

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM LIBRARY







PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

---

Patron—THE QUEEN.

---

*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1877.

9-70

---

LONDON :  
PUBLISHED AT THE SOCIETY'S OFFICE, 9, PALL MALL EAST,  
AND BY  
RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, 8, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

ITAG.100  
Y128377  
Y128378

# INDEX.

- Abrikhâ, 171  
 Ailom, 26  
 'Ain el Mudauwereh, 122  
 'Ain el Melahah, 167  
 'Ain et Tineh, 122  
 'Ain es Serar, 122  
 Ai, Rock at, 27  
 Alma, 174  
 Aloth, 22  
 American Explorers, 150  
 Anath, 29  
 Aphecos, 140  
 Ard el Sauwâd, 167  
 Ascension of our Lord, Traditional Site  
 Ashnah, 22 [of, 22  
 Asochis, 140  
 Ataroth Adar, 139  
 'Athlit, 180  
 Avim, The, 133  
 Baalath, 139  
 Barak and Sisera, 190  
 Bekün, 29  
 Belât, 166  
 Belfort, 170  
 Berea, 24  
 Bethabara, 185  
 Bethany beyond Jordan, 184  
 Beth Dagon, 22  
 Bethel of Judah, 29  
 Bether, 28  
 Beit Rima, 26, 140  
 Bethsaida, 13  
 Bileam, 182  
 Bint umm Jebil, 167  
 Biri, 181  
 Birket 'aly edh Dhâher, 123  
 Boundaries of Ephraim, Manasseh, and  
 Issachar, 41  
 British Association, Grant of, 7  
 Burjmus, 27  
 Bussa, 174  
 Byzantine and Crusading Sites, 141  
 Capernaum, 123  
 Capharnaum, 123  
 Caphrath, 140  
 Carmel, 180  
 Chasbi, 87  
 Cherethites, The, 138  
 Chilzon, 187  
 Christian and Jewish Traditions, 30  
 Christian Sites, 97  
 Cities of the Midbar, 23.  
 Cities of the Negeb, 23  
 Cities of the Plain, 23  
 Clermont-Ganneau, M.: Church of Holy  
 Sepulchre, 76; Deir Ebân, 154  
 Conder's, Lieut., Notes from Memoir,  
 20, 85, 137, 178  
 Crusading Castles: Baniyas, 173; Chateau  
 de Montfort, 176; Chateau du Roi, 177;  
 Keratiya, 138; Chateau Pelerin, 182  
 Crusading Forts: Humin, 169; Kalât  
 ed Dubbah, 168; Kasr 'Atru, 167;  
 Taiyebeh, 169; Kal'at esh Shükif,  
 170; Tibnin, 169  
 Cydoessa, 30  
 Dan, 171  
 Daphne, 171  
 Deidebeh, 181  
 Deir Eban, 154  
 Dibl, 165  
 Dolmens, 121  
 Early Christian Churches, 165  
 — Abrikhâ, 171  
 Early Christian Sites, 29  
 Eder, 139  
 Elijah's Fountain, 180  
 El Jish, 125  
 El Kheit, 167  
 El Khudr, 172  
 El Maudaseh, 27  
 El Mejdel, 121  
 En Kushi, 26  
 Er Rameh, 167  
 Feast of Shiloh, 180  
 Ferka, 29  
 Furn, 181  
 Geba, 87  
 General Committee, Meeting of, 192  
 Gibbethon, 139  
 Gibeah of Saul, 104  
 Giloh, 24  
 Giscala, 125  
 Gitta, 30  
 Habakkuk, Tomb of, 86  
 Hachilah, 86  
 Hagar's Spring, 28  
 Hajr ed Dûm, 124  
 Hamthau, 29  
 Harosheth, Site of, 167  
 Haruph, 28  
 Hasbany, 171  
 Hawa, 87  
 Hazor, Site of, 167  
 Hepha, 187  
 Hiram, Tomb of, 174  
 Hirieh, 140  
 Herodium, 27  
 Hittites, The, 138  
 Hornah, 24  
 Hot Springs, 121  
 Humin, 169  
 Ibleam, 182  
 Irbid, 118  
 Issachar, 87  
 Itineraries of our Lord, 8  
 Jabneel, 139  
 Jacob's Well, 72  
 Janoah, 24  
 Jemrûrah, 86  
 Jerusalem, 21  
 „ Age of the Temple Wall,  
 75, 131  
 „ Discovery at, 160, 205  
 „ Excavations at, 9  
 „ The Asnerie, 143  
 „ The Holy Sepulchre, 76, 123  
 Jeshânah, 182, 206  
 „ Site of, 206  
 Jeshua, 24  
 Jewish Owners of Land, 177  
 Jisr Benât Yâkub, 167  
 Jordan, Sources of, 171  
 Joshua's Tomb, 182

- Judæo-Greek Epitaph from Jaffa, 106  
 Judges iv., Topography of, 190  
 Journal of the Survey, 113, 162  
 Kabr Hebrun, 28  
 Kades, 167  
 Kalamon, 71  
 Kalaat Jiddin, 178  
 Kalât ed Dubbah, 168  
 „ el Fenish, 138  
 „ el Kurein, 176  
 „ esh Shükif, 170  
 „ es Subeibeh, 173  
 „ Ibn Ma'an, 118  
 „ Jalud, 205  
 „ Marûn, 173  
 „ Shem'a, 175  
 Kasr 'Atru, 167  
 Kefr Likitia, 29  
 Keisun, 168  
 Kerak, 120  
 Kernthim, 29  
 Khurbet Abu Shusheh, 122  
 „ Difnah, 171  
 „ Hamsin, 175  
 „ Kerazeh, 124  
 „ Minyeh, 122  
 „ Shêlabun, 167  
 „ Ureidât, 122  
 Kings of Judah, 195  
 Kitchener's Reports, Lient., 70, 116,  
 Kunin, 169 [165]  
 Kurn Hattin, 117  
 Kustul, 181  
 Laish, 27  
 Literary Remains of C. F. Tyrwhitt  
 Lobnah, 28 [Drake, 126]  
 Magdiel, 181  
 Makaz, 24  
 Mahrakah, 173  
 M'aliâ, 177  
 Mamre, 28  
 Marûn, 166  
 Megiddo, 13  
 Meiron, 125  
 Melloth, 139  
 Meronoth, 28, 139  
 Milla, 21  
 Mizpeh, 21  
 Moslem Mukams, 89  
 Mount Heres, 139  
 „ Tabor, 119  
 Mujir ed Din, 170  
 Mukams, The Moslem, 89  
 Naorath, 26  
 Nahr Hasbany, 171  
 „ Leddûn, 171  
 Nakurah, 174  
 Nebartein, 124  
 Neby Lâwih, 180  
 Nob, 51, 204  
 Notes and News, 1, 67, 109, 159  
 Nomenclature, 183  
 „ of the Survey, 144  
 Osheli, 86  
 Palestine, State of the Country, 1, 163,  
 Patras, 29 [164, 165, 176]  
 Pirathon, 139  
 Porphyreon, 187  
 Rabbith, 24  
 Ras el Abiad, Inscription at, 175  
 Representatives and Lecturers to the  
 Robbers' Caves, 118 [Fund, 161]  
 Roche Taille, 181  
 Saab, 140  
 Safed, 124  
 Sahyûn, 21  
 Samaria, 180  
 Sarid, 25  
 Saul's Journey to Zuph, 37  
 Scarioth, 183  
 Sea of Galilee, 120  
 Sefsaf, 121  
 Sepulchres of David and Kings of Ju-  
 Sellem, 86 [dah, 195]  
 Shakrâ, 168  
 Shalisha, 139  
 Sinjil, 88  
 Sirah, 28  
 Subeibeh, 172  
 Sun Dial in the Haram, 88  
 Surâr, 181  
 Survey, Fieldwork continued, 71  
 Survey completed, 159  
 Sycaminon, 187  
 Sychar and Sychem, 149  
 Synagogues, 179  
 Synagogue of Irbid, 118  
 „ Nebartein, 124  
 „ Sifsaf, 126  
 Tabighah, 123  
 Taiyebah, 169  
 Talmudic Sites, 29  
 Tarichæa, 10, 181  
 Tel Hum, 123  
 Tell el Kâdy, 171  
 Tell Harâ, 167  
 Temple at Belât, 166  
 „ Kades, 167  
 „ Keisun, 168  
 Tiberias, 121  
 Tibnin, 169  
 Tirzah, 25  
 Tomb of Habakkuk, 86  
 „ of Jacob's Daughters, 124  
 Tombs at Kedes, 183  
 „ of Shamai and Hillel, 125  
 Tora'n, 181  
 Toron, Castle of, 169  
 Tyre, 173  
 Tyrwhitt-Drake, C. F., Literary Re-  
 Umm el 'Amûd, 175 [mains of, 126]  
 Wâdy Amûd, 122  
 „ el Hajeir, 173  
 „ Hamam, 118  
 „ Mesâ'adet Aisa, 22  
 „ Rabâdiyeh, 122  
 „ Selâkiab, 168  
 „ Wukkâs, 167  
 Yânûeh, 176  
 Yarûn, 165  
 Yassâb, 29  
 Zaanaim, 25  
 Zanoah, 26  
 Zemaraim, 26  
 Zereda, 26  
 Zion, 21, 178

# THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF  
THE ARCHÆOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL  
GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND,  
FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

## PATRON:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE:

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *President.*

DR. H. W. ACLAND, F.R.S.  
REV. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.  
REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ASSO-  
CIATION  
AMHURST TYSSEN AMHURST, Esq.  
CAPT. ANDERSON, R.E.  
REV. JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D.  
DUKE OF ARGYLL  
T. FARMER BAILY, Esq.  
REV. JOSEPH BARCLAY, LL.D.  
JAMES BATEMAN, Esq., F.R.S.  
REV. CANON BIRCH  
SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
REV. W. F. BIRCH  
REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.  
MARQUIS OF BUTE  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
EARL OF CARNARVON  
T. CHAPLIN, Esq., M.D., *Hon. Sec. for  
Jerusalem*  
BISHOP OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH  
LORD ALFRED CHURCHILL  
LORD CLERMONT  
J. D. CRACE, Esq.  
JOHN CUNLIFFE, Esq.  
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
EARL DUCIE  
W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq.  
PROFESSOR DONALDSON  
LORD DUFFERIN  
F. A. EATON, Esq.  
S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE, Esq., *Beirut*  
BISHOP OF EXETER  
REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D.  
JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq., F.R.S.  
A. LLOYD FOX  
H. W. FREELAND, Esq.  
M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU  
F. WAYMOUTH GIBBS, Esq., C.B.

REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.  
CYRIL C. GRAHAM, Esq.  
JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.  
H. A. HARPER, Esq.  
REV. J. C. HARRISON  
A. J. BRERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.  
JOSEPH D. HOOKER, Esq., PRES. R.S.  
HOLMAN HUNT, Esq.  
GEN. SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E.  
LORD LAWRENCE  
E. H. LAWRENCE, Esq.  
RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD  
F. LEIGHTON, Esq., R.A.  
GENERAL LEFROY  
LORD HENRY LENNOX  
PROFESSOR HAYTER LEWIS  
DEAN OF LICHFIELD  
AMBROSE L. P. DE LISLE, Esq.  
BISHOP OF ILLANDAFF  
SAMUEL LLOYD, Esq.  
BISHOP OF LONDON  
WILLIAM LONGMAN, Esq.  
JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq.  
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH  
DR. SAMUEL MANNING  
MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD  
R. B. MARTIN, Esq.  
REV. SAMUEL MARTIN  
HENRY MAUDSLAY, Esq.  
EDWARD MIALI, Esq., M.P.  
REV. DR. MOFFATT  
SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.  
NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., *H.B.M. Con-  
sul, Jerusalem*  
SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P.  
REV. J. MULLENS, D.D.  
JOHN MURRAY, Esq.  
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.  
DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND  
ADMIRAL OMMANNEY  
PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BT.  
 PROFESSOR E. H. PALMER  
 BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH  
 HERR PETERMANN  
 REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE  
 REV. J. L. PORTER, LL.D.  
 REV. PROFESSOR PRITCHARD, F.R.S.  
 REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D.  
 SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.  
 REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON  
 HENRY REEVE, ESQ.  
 MARQUIS OF RIPON  
 BISHOP OF RIPON  
 EARL RUSSELL  
 DR. SANDRECKZY  
 VISCOUNT SANDON  
 M. DE SAULCY  
 LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.  
 EARL OF SHAFTESBURY  
 WILLIAM SIMPSON, ESQ.

WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.  
 SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.  
 W. SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN R. W. STEWART, R.E.  
 REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.  
 VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE  
 DUKE OF SUTHERLAND  
 REV. CANON THOROLD  
 WILLIAM TIPPING, ESQ., M.P.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S.  
 W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.  
 DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.  
 REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE WOOD, ESQ.  
 BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, ESQ., *Chairman.*

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.  
 SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.  
 J. D. CRACE, ESQ.  
 F. A. EATON, ESQ.  
 JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.  
 SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.  
 REV. F. W. HOLLAND.

H. A. HARPER, ESQ.  
 WILLIAM LONGMAN, ESQ.  
 WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM.  
 W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

*Bankers*—MESSRS. COUTTS AND CO., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

*Treasurer*—WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.

*Hon. Secretaries*—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.

*Acting Secretary*—WALTER BESANT, ESQ. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East.

---

NOTE.—The Price of the “Quarterly Statement” is Half-a-Crown, It is sent free to Subscribers.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Survey party are at this moment actively engaged in preparing for their departure. It has been decided to dispatch Lieutenant Kitchener, who assumes the command, to Damascus, where he will buy horses and provide for the starting of the party. Everything ready, he will repair to Haifa *via* Beyrout and the coast road, there to await the arrival of his staff, who will probably reach Palestine early in February, and will consist of Sergeant Armstrong, who has been in the Survey from the commencement; Sergeant Malings, who was with Major Wilson on the Survey of Sinai; Corporal Brophy, who was with Lieut. Conder in 1873—1875; and one other non-commissioned officer of Royal Engineers.

---

Meantime, Lieut. Conder remains in England engaged in the preparation of the memoirs to accompany the sheets of the map. A great deal of work has already been done towards the reduction to order of his voluminous notes; but a great deal remains. The map will be safely locked up until the Survey is completed, and the difficulties which have arisen in the laying down of the work have been settled by a revision on the field.

---

Consul-General Eldridge reports from Beyrout that the country is quiet. Two of the men engaged in the Safed attack were still in prison when he wrote (Nov. 30). The sum of £270 has been forwarded to England out of the £340 granted for fines and damages levied on the Safed people, and there can be no doubt that the moral effect of this firmness will be excellent. The £200 claimed for compensation has not yet been allowed.



The Survey of Galilee, including the levelling for the depth of the Lake below the surface of the sea, for which a grant of £100 was made by the British Association two years ago, is calculated to take until the middle of August. Lieutenant Kitchener proposes then to finish off the two hundred and fifty square miles at the south-west of Palestine yet remaining to be surveyed; and, this done, will then ride through the country to clear up various points of difficulty which have arisen during the execution of the map from the notes.

---

Such is the programme for the year 1877. If it is carried out successfully, the Committee will be, at its close, in possession of a complete map of Western Palestine, on the scale of one inch to a mile, with every town, village, ruin, tell, wady, hill, and plantation marked upon it, and every name which our officers have been able to collect.

---

The cost of this expedition, including the office expenses, printing, postage, &c., will amount to over £320 a month. The income of the Fund, which was, roughly, £4,200 in 1875, fell to £3,800 in 1876, in consequence of no special effort having been made beyond the ordinary machinery of reminding subscribers and holding occasional lectures. The latter amount, which may fairly be assumed as an average income, seems to promise to the Committee a sufficient guarantee that means will be found to carry on their work even on this large scale of expenditure. *It is, however, very earnestly requested that subscriptions may this year be paid as early as is convenient, so that the Committee may be free to act.*

---

The financial position on Jan. 4, 1877, was as follows. Income, Sept. 28, 1876, to Jan. 4, 1877, £1,146 2s. 9d., and the balance in the bank on the latter day was £538 0s. 10d. Opportunity has been taken of the lessened expenditure during the year to pay off nearly all the debts, as will be shown in April by the balance-sheet of the year.

---

We have to announce with great pleasure that the offer made by Dr. Nathaniel Rogers, of Exeter, to subscribe £50 towards the complete clearing out of Jacob's Well, has been seconded by a promise from Miss Peache, of Wimbledon, to give the remaining £50 required for the work. Miss Peache also offers to give £50 more for the purpose of surrounding and protecting the well with proper stone-work. The Committee have accepted this proposal of Miss Peache, and desire to



record here their grateful sense of this munificence. A design for the stone-work will be contributed by Mr. J. D. Crace.

---

At least three cases have come to the knowledge of the Secretary during the year of letters containing stamps being purloined or lost on their way to the office. It is extremely difficult, even next to impossible, to trace the theft home in such a case, and the only way to avoid its recurrence is to send subscriptions by cheque or P.O.O., *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co. or the Union Bank of London.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now in the press, and will be ready by the end of the month. It contains a full account of the work done, the results obtained, and the reasons for undertaking the work, down to the commencement of the Survey. It does not contain any of M. Ganneau's archaeological work, or any account, except a few brief notes, of the Survey. A special work will probably be issued eventually, containing popular narratives of these explorations.

---

The literary remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake will be published early in the year by Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They will be edited, with a memoir, by Mr. Walter Besant, and will contain, among other papers, his pamphlet on Modern Jerusalem, his Report on the Natural History of the Desert of the Exodus, materials towards a new Historical and Archæological Guide to Palestine, Natural History Notes, Notes on Travel, &c., chiefly unpublished. His letters and reports which have appeared in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Fund will not be reproduced in the volume.

---

The Bishop of Adelaide has informed the Committee that he has established a Local Committee for the furtherance of the Society's objects in his diocese. Among the members are at present—

The Hon. J. J. Way, Chief Justice ;  
 The Hon. G. W. Guy, Surveyor-General ;  
 C. Todd, Esq., Telegraph and Postmaster-General ;  
 Lieutenant-Colonel Barber ;  
 J. C. Muir, Esq., Engineer-in-Chief ;

and J. Hyndman, Esq., Hon. Secretary.

The following are at present the Diocesan Representatives of the Society :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farnish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, and Winchester : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 10, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

#### IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques and post-office orders to Coutts and Co.

---

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print. That for January, 1872, is especially wanted.

---

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of one shilling.

---

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

---

### GRANT OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

The following is the Report of the Committee, consisting of Major Wilson, R.E., and Mr. Ravenstein, appointed for the purpose of furthering the Palestine Explorations :—

The sum of £100, granted at the last meeting of the British Association for the purpose of furthering the Palestine explorations, was paid over by Major Wilson to the Palestine Exploration Fund, with a request that the wishes of the General Committee of the Association, as expressed in their resolution, might be carried out.

No complete account of the work of the last twelve months has yet been received from Lieutenant Conder, R.E., the officer in charge of the Survey ; but from his monthly reports to the Committee of the Fund, it would appear that, since the grant of £100 was made, the triangulation of Palestine has been carried southwards as far as Beersheba, and that a large tract of interesting country, including the plain of Philistia and the southern slopes of the mountains of Judah, has been surveyed and plotted on a scale of one inch to a mile.

Amongst other results have been the recovery of several ancient sites, and the corrections of many errors in the topography of Southern Palestine.

Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, R.E., were recently engaged in running a line of levels from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee ; but this work was unfortunately stopped by the attack made upon Lieutenant Conder and his party by the people of Safed.

Lieutenant Conder, who was badly wounded, has been unable to send a full report on the levelling ; but in a letter written shortly before the affray he mentioned that more than ten miles, or about one third of the levelling, had been completed, and gave some details of the manner in which the work was being carried out. The line of levels was being run by two independent observers (non-commissioned officers from the Ordnance Survey) ; bench-marks were being cut at frequent intervals, and their position fixed by a line of traverse survey

from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee, which will be laid down on the one-inch survey.

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry James, the Director-General of the Ordnance-Survey, was kind enough to lend instruments for the work, and he has taken much interest in its progress.

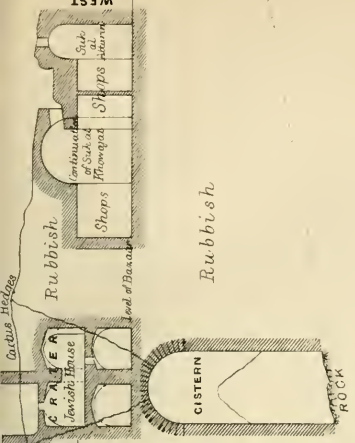
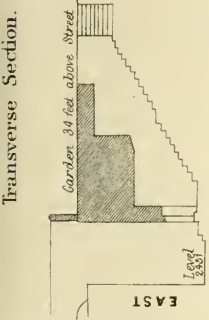
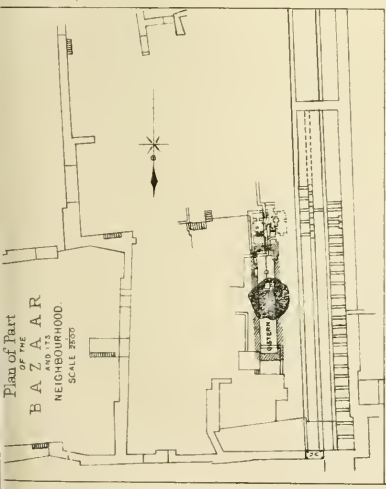
In consequence of the attack on the Survey party and the spread of cholera, it has been decided to withdraw Lieutenant Conder and his staff from Palestine for the present ; but as soon as the Survey is recommenced the levelling will be completed.

### ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.

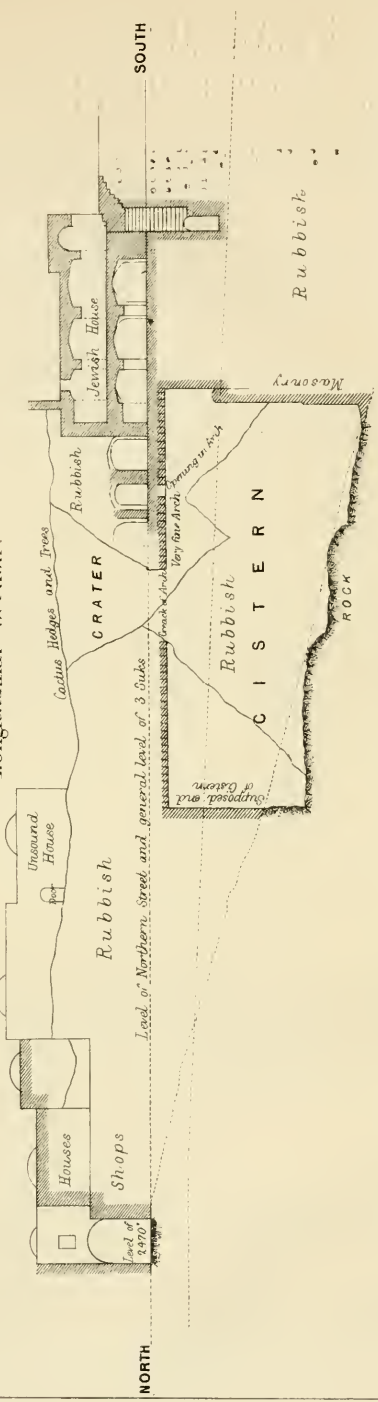
IN the history of our Lord's life and labours no subject is of deeper interest (apart from the purely sacred aspect of His work) than the itineraries. Yet no special and continuous study has been given to this important subject. Every one who writes about the Sacred Story has, of course, to mention His various journeys, and to mention that He went up to Jerusalem for the great feasts and returned to His home in Galilee. Certain points in these journeys are, of course, fixed points. Our Lord is at Bethlehem, at Nazareth, at Jerusalem, at Jericho, at Sychar, at Cana, at Capernaum, at Bethany, and so forth. But the roads by which He travelled from place to place have not been scientifically laid down. We are not certain, as yet, by which road He came up from the Jordan valley to Jerusalem. There was a great military highway from Jericho to Jerusalem by way of Bethany. This was probably the road usually followed by the Teacher and His disciples. But there was another road by way of Wady Farah—a less frequented road. It is probable that road passed by Ænon, the place where John baptized. If it can be proved, as I think it can, that Ænon lay on or near this second road from Jericho to Jerusalem, we shall have a fixed point in this part of our Lord's journeyings.

The whole subject invites evidence and discussion, and the attention of special students of New Testament archæology cannot be too seriously called to it. I shall be glad to see the matter taken up and elucidated by our subscribers and correspondents in the next and following *Quarterly Statements*.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON.



Longitudinal Section.



1900  
1901  
1902



RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT JERUSALEM, BY HERR  
C. SCHICK, K. K. BAURATH.

I HAVE, on more than one occasion, drawn attention to the good work which my friend Mr. Schick is doing in a quiet way at Jerusalem, by ascertaining the actual level of the original rock surface whenever it is exposed, and I have now much pleasure in communicating a short note on an excavation recently made by him which will be of interest to those who make a study of Jerusalem topography.

It appears that some time last year, the ground, at a point a little east of the bazaars, suddenly gave way, carrying with it a fig-tree and several bushes of cactus, and leaving a large crater or depression in the surface. For some months occasional earth-slips took place, and it became evident that the *débris* was finding its way into one or more subterranean chambers; the ground was at the time considered too dangerous for examination, but last summer Mr. Schick was requested by the Pacha to investigate the whole matter. It soon appeared that the earth had been running away into a great chamber over 100ft. long and 17ft. 6in. wide, and that the cause of the slip had been the sudden fall of a portion of the covering arch. The interesting point is, that in the floor of the chamber, which is entirely of rock, we have presented to view a larger area of the original surface of the ground on which Jerusalem stands than has hitherto been exposed within the city walls. We have, too, not only the depth of rubbish at a point near which there were few previous rock levels, but the actual fall of the rock over a distance of 100ft. in a north and south direction, or combined with the known level of the rock in the street to the north, a section over more than 200ft.

I was hardly prepared for the great accumulation of rubbish, 80ft., at this particular place, or for the rapid fall in the rock, 1 in 4, towards the south, which seems to indicate that the valley running eastward from near the Jaffa Gate is deeper than has generally been supposed, and that it may perhaps partake of the ravine nature of the valley examined by Captain Warren under Robinson's Arch. The section from east to west, though only 17ft. 6in. long, is of value as showing a steady fall of the rock towards the east, and thus indicating that the axis of the spur between the valleys from the Jaffa and Damascus Gates has been passed.

Mr. Schick's investigation has also proved that the bazaar called on the Ordnance Map of Jerusalem,  $\frac{1}{2500}$  scale, Suk-al-Khowajat, formerly extended as far north as the other two bazaars, and has brought more prominently to notice the great depth of rubbish on which all the bazaars stand.

The long cistern or chamber is parallel to the bazaars, and as it was evidently not originally intended to be used as a cistern, we may perhaps have in it the line of one of the streets of ancient Jerusalem. The

chamber, at any rate, offers a favourable base of operations for an exploration of this part of the city, as galleries could be driven in several directions to examine the ground.

I take this opportunity of pointing out the great importance of collecting and registering in a methodical manner the levels of the rock exposed from time to time at Jerusalem, as it is only by obtaining a correct idea of the topographical features of the ancient city that we can hope to understand Josephus. Mr. Schick has published amongst Zimmermann's maps of ancient Jerusalem a map showing the original features of the ground, and coming from such an authority it is of considerable interest; but we have, unfortunately, none of the data used in its construction. There are still places at Jerusalem where it is impossible to say what the rubbish conceals, and any map showing, by contours, the natural features of the ground, must for the present be considered premature, or at most suggestive. How much is still left to the imagination of the draughtsman may be inferred from the fact that on a line joining the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the Dome of the Rock, a most important part of the city, there is not a single rock level. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Schick may find time to prepare a table of rock levels for publication, for since Capt. Warren left the city our knowledge of underground Jerusalem is almost entirely due to him, the excavations of M. Ganneau and Mr. Maudslay being, I think, the only exceptions.

*December 5th, 1876.*

C. W. W.

### THE SITES OF TARICHEÆ AND BETHSAIDA.

A CONVERSATION with M. Ganneau some time ago relative to the positions of Taricheæ and Bethsaida, two important places on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, led me again to examine the question of their respective sites, and to modify considerably the opinion expressed in the "Recovery of Jerusalem" with regard to that of the former place. Lieut. Conder's approaching return to Palestine offers a favourable opportunity for examining these questions on the ground, and the following notes may draw his attention to certain points which might otherwise escape notice.

*Taricheæ.*—In 1866 I too hastily assumed that Dr. Robinson and other distinguished travellers were right in identifying Taricheæ with Kerak, the mound covered with shapeless ruins which occupies such an important strategical position at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake, but a careful perusal of Josephus leaves no doubt in my mind that Taricheæ was north and not south of Tiberias. Taricheæ appears to have been a place of considerable importance, and to have played a conspicuous part in the Roman campaign against the Jews in Galilee, as well as in the troubled times which preceded it; the description of its capture by the Romans, and of the great naval engagement on the Lake



which followed, is amongst the most graphic and interesting passages of Josephus, and to this I must refer the reader for fuller detail than space will now allow. The description is contained in B. J. iii. 9. 7, 8, and 10. 1, and there are other passages in the Life.

To summarise briefly, Vespasian, whilst enjoying the hospitality of Agrippa at Cæsarea Philippi (Banias), determines to make an expedition against the two cities Tiberias and Taricheæ, and sends Titus to bring up troops from the maritime Cæsarea to Scythopolis (Beisan), the largest city of Decapolis, situated in the Jordan Valley a few miles south of the Sea of Galilee. Vespasian proceeds to Scythopolis and, on the arrival of Titus, marches against Tiberias with three legions, and pitches his camp at a place called Sennabris\* in full view of the city and thirty stadia (three and three-quarter miles) from it. A decurion, Valerian, with fifty horsemen is sent forward to hold a parley with the peace party in the city, but being treacherously attacked whilst on foot, he is obliged to retire; upon this the chief men of the city, fearing Vespasian's wrath, fly to the Roman camp and offer their submission, whilst the members of the war party who had attacked Valerian deem it prudent to run away to Taricheæ. The next day Trajan is sent forward to secure the citadel, and the gates are thrown open to the Roman army, but as it "was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance."

After the capture of Tiberias, Vespasian pitches his camp between that city and Taricheæ, and fortifies it strongly, "suspecting that he should be obliged to stay there and have a long war;" the soldiers were,

\* M. Ganneau, in his paper on Hippos, adds an interesting note on the subject of Sennabris, from which it appears that during a skirmish between Baldwin and the Saracens the latter were camped near a place called El-fakharin in the Jordan Valley, whilst the former were at Sinnabra, near the Jordan, opposite the ascent of Fik, and three miles from Tiberias; there was also a bridge of Sinnabra which played an important part in the fight. Josephus, B. J. iv. 8. 2, says Gennabrin (Sennabris) was a village at the commencement of the Ghor or Great Plain; Schwarz mentions a ruin called *Sinabri*, and in Baedeker's Guide I find Sennabris (Es Sinnabra) identified with Kerak. There is no difficulty in identifying the ruins of the old bridge which connected Kerak with the eastern bank of Jordan with the bridge of Sinnabra of the fight; but Kerak itself does not answer to the Sennabris of Josephus, as it is too far from Tiberias, and is not visible from that place. There are, however, some inconsiderable ruins, such as would be left by a village, situated on the slope of the hills which run down to the lake south of Tiberias, within full view of the ruins of the old town, and exactly at the required distance,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  miles, from them. Here, where there is space for Vespasian's camp, and where the level ground in the Jordan Valley commences, was probably Sennabris, and it is not unlikely that the name, after lingering to the middle ages, may still be known to the fellahin of Semakh or the Ard el Huma. Whether the form Gennabrin given by Josephus, like Gennesareth, may retain traces of the old name Chinnereth, is a question for consideration.

however, attacked whilst forming the camp, and it appears never to have been completed.

We here have Vespasian advancing northwards from Scythopolis to Tiberias, entering the latter city over its *south* wall, and passing on to camp between Tiberias and Taricheæ; this cannot be reconciled with any theory placing Taricheæ south of Tiberias, or with the position assigned in the note, with some probability, to Sennabris; we are therefore led to the conclusion that Taricheæ was north of Tiberias.

The actual position of Taricheæ must be determined by the topographical indications given by Josephus. They are briefly as follows. The city was "situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain; and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias." A great many ships fitted for sea-fights were possessed by the people. There was a plain "before the city," on which a number of Jewish soldiers, sufficient to make Titus and 600 horsemen hesitate before attacking them, were assembled. Vespasian sends 2,000 archers "to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall, which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way." Titus extends his horse, and charging across the plain, cuts his way through the Jews; but their numbers were so great they were able to force their way into the city; a tumult ensues between the peace and war parties, and taking advantage of this, Titus rides down to the lake, and marching along its shore enters the city. This manœuvre appears to have disconcerted the Jews, and a great slaughter followed, many being "slain as they were getting into their ships." In his *Life*, par. 32, Josephus states that Taricheæ was thirty stadia (three and three-quarter miles) from Tiberias; and the size of the place may be inferred from the numbers, 45,000, said to have been killed, sold as slaves, or otherwise disposed of at the time of the capture. The numbers are evidently much exaggerated, but they still indicate a large place.

Now, just three and three-quarter miles from the ruins of old Tiberias (south of the modern town), towards the north, is Mejdal (Magdala), and here it seems to me must have been Taricheæ. I find from my notebook that a considerable extent of ground at Mejdal is covered with remains of foundations, apparently those of houses, and that these ruins can be traced to the shore of the lake, where there is the tomb of a sheikh shaded by a large tree. Behind the village itself the cliff rises abruptly, about 1,000 feet, to the plateau on which Irbid lies. We have at Mejdal all the requirements of Josephus's narrative; it lies at the foot of a hill like Tiberias; it appears at one time to have extended to the lake; the beach is admirably suited for drawing up war galleys; there is some level ground to the south on which the fight may have taken place; the cliff overhanging the landward face of the town would enable the archers "to repel those that were upon the wall," and the shallowness of the lake at this point would be favourable to the form of attack adopted by Titus.

The position of Mejdol is of some importance, commanding the north end of the road passing by Tiberias along the western shore of the lake to the Jordan Valley, and I would suggest that there was originally nothing more than a small fortified position, the Migdol, Magadan, or Magdala of the Bible; that afterwards the town spread down to the shores of the lake, receiving the name of Taricheæ; that this new town was fortified by Josephus, the old Migdol becoming the citadel; and that on the capture and destruction of the town by Vespasian the place sank into insignificance. As in many other cases, the later name may have fallen into disuse, and the original name, under the form Mejdol, may have survived to the present day. The camping-place of Vespasian, half-way between Tiberias and Taricheæ, would be the plain of Ain Barideh, on which, according to a very early Christian tradition, the 5,000 were fed. There are other minor points connected with the question which need not be entered upon at present.

*Bethsaida.*—In the "Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 375—387, I gave my reasons for believing that there was only one Bethsaida, afterwards called Julias, at the point at which the Jordan enters the lake. At the time of the visit of Captain Anderson and myself the Jordan was in flood, and the state of the country very unfavourable for examination. We were, however, stopped in our progress over the plain by a deep arm or backwater of the lake, which is shown on the map of the Sea of Galilee, and it has struck me that this may have been either an old bed of the Jordan, or an artificial cutting made to isolate the site of Bethsaida-Julias in the same way as Kerak is isolated at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake. It would almost seem from the map that this backwater was the former outlet of the Jordan, and that the river now follows the course of an old artificial ditch; and if this were the case, it is easy to see how Bethsaida may have been sometimes considered as belonging to Galilee. Lieut. Conder will probably have an opportunity of visiting the ground when the water is lower and the country not flooded, and I think the question of the original course of the Jordan at this point one well worthy of examination. A few small excavations amongst the ruins between the Jordan and the backwater might also serve to throw light on the question.

November 11, 1876.

C. W. W.

---

## MEGIDDO.

### I.

THERE are few places in Palestine which possess more general interest for students of the Bible than does the ancient Canaanite city of Megiddo. It was here that the death of Josiah, King of Judah and ruler, apparently, of the greater part of Palestine, closed the history of the Jewish monarchy, being immediately followed by the defeat, at Carchemish, of the victorious Necho, the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chron. xxxv.,

xxxvi.), and the captivity of the children of Judah. To the student of prophecy, again, it is of importance as identical with the "place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon" (hill of Megiddo) (Rev. xvi. 16). It is curious to find that so important a site has been identified by Dr. Robinson on such apparently insufficient evidence.

Megiddo will be found on the map placed about four miles north of *Taanuk*, the ancient Taanach, at the large ruin of *Lejjûn*, on the western edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. *Lejjûn* is undoubtedly the ancient Legio, a place well known in the fourth century, and mentioned by Jerome as being four miles north of Taanach. There is, however, nothing to connect Legio with the Biblical Megiddo.

The arguments in favour of the site are three.

1st. That Megiddo is mentioned in many passages in connection with Taanach, and was therefore probably near it.

2nd. That we find, in Judges v. 19, the expression, "then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach, by [Heb. *Al*, "over"] the waters of Megiddo," pointing to the same connection.

3rd. In Zechariah xii. 11 we read "the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." This word is taken by Jerome to be the name of a town, and he identifies it as being the place called in his time Maximianopolis, "in Campo Magiddo." The distances given by the Bordeaux Pilgrim serve to fix Maximianopolis at or near the present village of *Rummâneh*, near Taanach, as discovered by Vandevelde, whence the identification made by Jerome; and hence Jerome's supposition that the "plain of Legio" (the modern *Merj Ibn 'Amir*) is equivalent to the "valley of Megiddon" comes to be accepted.

It will be noticed that none of these arguments fix Megiddo at *Lejjûn*, which is only adopted as the most important site near both Taanach and the Hadadrimmon of Jerome, in a place well supplied with water, and which in the fourth century gave its name to the great plain. Insufficient as these arguments evidently are, they have been pretty generally accepted, in default of any better proposition, and in consequence of the very scanty information as to the position of Megiddo which can be gleaned from the historical books of the Bible.

There are, however, at the outset, objections even to these arguments which may be stated as follows:—

1st. Megiddo is often mentioned in connection with places farther east in the Jordan valley.

2nd. The battle in which Sisera was defeated was not fought at Taanach or Megiddo, but near Mount Tabor. This is to be gathered from the Biblical account (Judges iv.), and it is clearly stated by Josephus that Barak camped "at Mount Tabor. . . Sisera met them, and pitched not far from the enemy" (Antiq. v. 5. 3); an account in strict accordance with the expression, "And I will draw unto thee to the river Kishon Sisera" (Judges iv. 7), for the sources of the Kishon are at the place called *el Mujahîyeh*, or "the springhead," where is to be found an extensive chain of pools and springs, about three miles west of the foot of Mount Tabor.



Thus the site of this famous battle is almost identical with that of Napoleon's battle of Mount Tabor, and the advantage obtained by Barak in his impetuous descent from the mountain on the enemy in the plain is evident. 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. The words "*in Taanach*," therefore, mentioned in connection with the "*waters of Megiddo*," over which the kings fought, 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*." This term is evidently derived, in the case of the town of Taanach, from the loose, basaltic soil in its neighbourhood; and the same soil is found all over the great plain and in the immediate neighbourhood of Tabor.

3rd. As regards Hadadrimmon, it is sufficient to remark that Jerome's identifications are often extremely misleading, that Megiddo was evidently unknown at his time, that it is doubtful whether Hadadrimmon was the name of a town or of a pagan deity, and that the Hebrew word *Bikah*, rendered "*valley*," is not properly applicable (judging by other instances) to a broad plain like that of Esdraclon, but rather to a great valley such as that leading down to the Jordan at Beisân.

The discovery that there is an important ruin in the neighbourhood of Beisân, called *Mejedd'a*, led me to re-examine the question with the view of seeing whether the site would fit the various requisites of the case, and the arguments appear to me sufficiently favourable to bear discussion.

## II.

Megiddo occurs in connection with other towns in the following passages:—

Josh. xii. 20, 21.

Shimron Meron (in Upper Galilee).

Achshaph (near Accho).

Taanach (west of the great plain).

Megiddo.

Kedesh.

Jokneam (west of the great plain).

Again: Josh. xvii. 11.

Bethshean (in the Jordan valley).

Ibleam (probably in the same direction).

Dor.

Endor (near the Jordan valley).

Taanach (west of the great plain).

Megiddo.

Again: Judges i. 27.

Bethshean.

Taanach.

Dor.

Ibleam.

Megiddo.

Again : 1 Chron. vii. 29.

Bethshean.

Taanach.

Megiddo.

Dor.

Lastly : 1 Kings iv. 12, Solomon's 5th district included.

Taanach.

Megiddo.

Bethshean.

Zartanah (below Jezreel).

It is evident that a position near *Beisán* is not at variance with the various notices of Megiddo in these passages.

Placing Megiddo in this position, the "valley of Megiddon" becomes the great valley leading down from Jezreel to Bethshean, and the "waters of Megiddo" the strong stream of the *Nahr Jalúd*, which receives a considerable supply from numerous large springs round the site, called *Mejedd'a*. We are thus brought much closer to the neighbourhood of Tabor, where the battle was fought by the "kings of Canaan" against Barak; nor is the distance from Taanach itself very great, as it is situate  $14\frac{1}{2}$  English miles west of the proposed site at *Mejedd'a*.

Two other passages remain in which Megiddo is mentioned: 1st, the account of Amariah's flight from Jehu; and, 2nd, the battle of Megiddo, in which Josiah lost his life.

Amariah flying from Jehu "by the way of the garden house" (*Beth-hag-Genn*) was slain "by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there" (2 Kings ix. 27). The town of *Jenân* is generally supposed to represent the garden house, but the explanation of the topography on this supposition is extremely confused, as it obliges us to trace the flight southwards from Jezreel, and afterwards back northwards (that is to say, *away from Jerusalem*) to the supposed site of Megiddo at *Lejjûn*.

If, however, we suppose the *Beth-hag-Genn*, or "garden house," to be the modern *Beit Jenn*, the flight of Amariah was directed northwards; and there exists in a position intermediate between Jezreel and *Beit Jenn* a site called *Bel'ameh*, which may very probably represent Ibleam. In this case the King of Judah by a detour would have reached Megiddo, lying on his route *towards Jerusalem* along the Jordan valley, and it is worthy of notice that all the district thus supposed to have been traversed is suitable for the passage of a wheeled vehicle.

As regards the battle of Megiddo there is but little to be said. The Egyptian records make it pretty clear that the route across Palestine, usually followed by the Egyptian armies, was the same as that by

which the Midianites descended into Egypt with Joseph. Following the great plain northwards until the high Judean watershed and the great Samaritan chains were passed, it struck across the lower hills and emerged into the plains near Dothan. Thence along the great plain of Esdraelon it led towards the valley of Jezreel, and descended by Bethshan to the fords of Jordan at the *Makhâdet 'Abâra*. Here the road crossed into the plain below the plateau of Mount Gilead, and so continued eastwards towards the empire of Assyria.

There can be but little doubt that this was the route pursued by Necho, being the shortest and easiest which he could choose in crossing Palestine; and on this route we find the ruin of *Mejedd'a*, whilst *Lejjiûn* lies some miles to the north of the line. Still further, there is no point at which the King of Judah would be more likely to intercept the advance of the Egyptians. To toil over the mountains of Judea, to pass the hostile district of Samaria, to camp at a spot north of the enemy's line of march, and thus to cut himself from his own base of operations, would have been a dangerous and difficult, and yet further, an extremely improbable course for Hezekiah to pursue; but an advance along the highway of the Jordan valley into a strong position on the flank of the enemy, threatening them in their attempt to cross the river, would have been an easy and, strategically, a probable proceeding. Any reader who will take the trouble to look for a moment at the map will see that *Mejedd'a*, near Bethshan, is a natural place of meeting for the Egyptian and Jewish armies.

As far, then, as the scanty indications obtainable from Biblical accounts are concerned, there is fair reasons for identifying Megiddo with the present *Mejedd'a*.

### III.

In three ancient Egyptian documents, Megiddo is mentioned in connection with other towns, namely:—1st, in the history of Thothmes III., especially in the document called the "Battle of Megiddo;" 2nd, in the "Travels of a Mohar;" and, 3rd, in the "Geographical List of Shishak."

With regard to the last, it is sufficient to remark, that though Taanach occurs in the same list it is separated by ten other names from *Makedau*, which is supposed to represent Megiddo. In the same way, in the lists of Thothmes III., Megiddo stands first, as being the objective of the campaign; but Taanach, in company with other places in the great plain, is to be found in the third group as No. 42 on the list.

It remains to see how the other documents fit with the new site, for the difficulties which arise in endeavouring to reconcile these with the generally accepted position at *Lejjiûn* are very considerable.

The Egyptian advance is described with considerable minuteness from the "fortress of the land of Sharuana," where the troops as-

sembled. The advice of the allied chiefs, with regard to the line of march, is given as follows (see "Records of the Past," vol. i., p. 39):—

## LINE.

26. "They say in reply to his Majesty what is it like going on this road
27. which leads along so narrow . . .
31. The enemy were standing at the main roads
32. of Aaaruna they will not fight. Now as to the course of the main roads.
33. One of the roads it leads . . . us . . .
34. of the land Aanaka the other leads to
35. the north road of Genta. Let us proceed to the north of Maketa.
36. How will our mighty Lord march on (the way in triumph there) Let his Majesty make
37. us to go on that secret road."

This advice was, however, rejected by the king with contempt. "I will go on this road of Aaaruna," said Thothmes, "if there be any going on it," and a march over difficult country followed, the third fragment commencing as follows:—

## LINE.

1. "Aaruna the powerful troops of his Majesty followed to
2. Aaruna the van coming forth to the valley.
3. They filled the gap of that valley.
12. (It was the time of) noon when his Majesty reached the south of Maketa on the shore of the waters of Kaina it being the seventh hour from noon his Majesty pitched . . .
14. The south horn of the army of his Majesty was at the shore of Kaina the northern horn to the north-west of Maketa."

In previously discussing the question of this march, I found considerable difficulty in reconciling these details with the position of Megiddo at Lejjûn. As I had then occasion to explain, the site of *Arrâneh* would fit well with the Aaruna of the list of Shishak, but could not be reconciled with the present account, supposing Megiddo to be correctly identified. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, pp. 90, 91.)

In the same way we are obliged to seek for Kaina south of Megiddo, and this identification is easily made with the important ruin of *Ka'un* in the Jordan valley, supposing Megiddo to be at the newly proposed site.

The route may probably be traced as follows:—

The main road from *Jenin* towards Egypt passes, as I have had occasion to explain previously, along the plain north of Dothan; the easiest route then follows one of the spurs to the north of *'Arrabeh*, and descends by the villages of *Kefr Ra'i*, *'Ellar*, and *'Attîl*, to the plain of



Sharon. A little to the north is the strong site called *Jett*, which would seem to be the Geuta or Gethuna of Thothmes.

A second road passing through *Jett* leads across more open country to the neighbourhood of Lejjûn, and thence descends by Jezreel into the Jordan valley north of *Mejedd'a*. This is probably the route which the allied chiefs proposed to follow, and though longer it is undoubtedly easier than the former.

The valley of Aaruna, first reached by the troops of Thothmes, is probably the plain of Esdraelon, in which '*Arâneh*' now stands. It does not appear clearly whether they attacked a town of that name, but we understand that they advanced to Kaina, south of Maketa, and consequently we must suppose the main body at least to follow the line of the Roman road eastwards from Jenin to the site of *Ka'ûn*, in the Jordan valley, four Roman miles south of *Mejedd'a*. The northern horn, which was on the next day to the north-west of Maketa, may very possibly have taken a more direct route by the old road through '*Arraneh*' across Mount Gilboa.

As regards the time required for these operations. From the plain of Sharon to Jenin is a distance of fifteen Roman miles, which might probably be traversed in five hours, and from Jenin to *Mejedd'a*, or to *Ka'ûn*, is some ten miles farther, or three hours. Thus, leaving the neighbourhood of Geuta at 4 a.m., Thothmes might easily have arrived by noon at the "shores" or border of Kaina.

This explanation of the topography is not only consistent in itself, but the new position of Megiddo serves to confirm the identifications proposed by me for several places in the Geographical List. (See *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 146.) Thus Nos. 9 and 10, Raba and Tutina (*Raba* and *Umm et Tât*), are now on the line of march, and Nos. 14, 15, Atara and Abara (*et Tireh* and *el Bireh*), in the Jordan valley, are a little to the north of the new site for Megiddo.

Turning to the journey of the Mohar, we find the new site for Megiddo also presents less difficulty than the old. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 81.) In this document Megiddo appears in company with Beithsheal (*Beisân*), Rohob (*Sheikh Arehâb*), and the fords of Jelden (*Wady Jalûd*), and it would seem to be close to the latter, if we accept the most simple rendering of the words :

"The fords of Jelden, how does one cross them? let me know the passage to enter Mageddo."

The difficult country of which the Mohar is warned lay apparently west of Mageddo, and to avoid it he makes a detour. This is easily explained if we accept the new site for Megiddo at the foot of Gilboa, and suppose the Mohar to follow that same north road along the valley of Jezreel, which was recommended by the allied chiefs to Thothmes, and which necessitates a considerable detour before joining the direct road to Egypt.

As far, then, as this document is concerned, the site is possible, and, indeed, fits in a remarkable manner. Thus not only do the lists of the

Old Testament and those of Thothmes and of Shishak all allow of the proposed identification, but the site allows us to trace in a satisfactory manner the routes pursued by successive expeditions in various directions, namely, that of Thothmes advancing from the south-west, that of the Mohar reaching Megiddo from the north, and that of Pharaoh Necho in his direct advance on Carchemish.

#### IV.

It only remains to investigate the relations between the Hebrew and Arabic words, and to describe the site.

The Hebrew word Megiddo is apparently derived from the root *Jeded* (to cut down). It is certain that the translators who rendered Zech. xii. 11 regarded it in that light, for the Greek reading in this passage has *εκοπτομενος*, where the English has Megiddon. This root, *Jeded*, is synonymous in its meanings with another Hebrew root, *Jed'a*, with the guttural *Ain*, also meaning "to cut down." In Arabic, however, the root *Jed'a* only has this meaning, "to cut down;" thus the Arabic derivative, *Mejedd'a*, is the equivalent in meaning of the Hebrew Megiddo; and the fact that the Arabic root, *Jedd*, has no connection with the Hebrew *Jeded*, but means "to be large or great," explains in a satisfactory manner the existence of the guttural in the Arabic which is not found in the Hebrew.

*Mejedd'a* means "the grazing place," or place cut down by sheep. It is not improbable that this may be the original meaning of the name Megiddo, as the site is situate in a part of the country where a plentiful supply of water produces a large crop of herbage during the greater part of the year.

As regards the site itself, it resembles most of the more ancient cities of Palestine in presenting nothing beyond huge mounds of débris, with traces of ruins rendered indistinguishable by age. It has every appearance of having been at one time a place of importance, and no less than four springs exist close to it, the water being clear and good, and a considerable stream flowing north-east from the ruins to join the *Nahr Jalûd*. The distance from Jenin is ten Roman miles, and from *Beisân* about four.

These notes may perhaps serve to show that a place of great importance, previously identified on very insufficient grounds, has been recovered by the Survey party. The name *Mejedd'a* will, however, be found on Murray's new map.

C. R. C.

---

#### NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE following points have been noticed in preparing the nomenclature of the southern sheets of the map since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement*.

*Jerusalem Sheet.*—During the three months in which the non-commissioned officers were left at Jerusalem in the summer of 1874, they were employed in the revision of Major Wilson's Survey of Jerusalem, to bring it up to date. Following our usual plan, they were instructed to endeavour to obtain *every* native name in the environs, and in this they received most valuable assistance from Dr. Chaplin and other residents. The result is the addition of nearly eighty Arabic names within the boundaries of the six-inch Survey, but outside the walls of the city, the nomenclature within which had already been most carefully studied, as is evident to all who consult the larger scale-map of Jerusalem.

One of the most curious discoveries resulting from this work relates to Zion.

(1.) *Zion* has been placed by different authorities in very different positions, and generally has been thought by modern writers, as by the early Christians, to refer to the higher hill on which the upper city of Josephus stood. The name, however, has never been recovered. According to Gesenius it means "sunny," and the proper equivalent in Arabic or in Syriac, according to this same authority, is *Sahyûn*. It is a remarkable fact that about one and three-quarter miles west of the Jaffa Gate there exists a valley having exactly this name, *Wâdy Sahyûn*. It runs southwards towards the Convent of the Cross, and debouches on the plain near Beit Sufâfa; during part of its course it is called *Wâdy 'Ammâr*, apparently meaning "the cultivated valley." This discovery may perhaps lead students to consider the name *Zion* as a district name rather than that of a particular mountain.\*

(2.) Another curious point seems to bear on the question of *Millo*, the name of a part of Jerusalem which is rendered *Akra* by the LXX., and is thus very probably identical with the *Acra* of Josephus. The root from which the word is derived has the meaning "to fill up," and hence it is doubtful whether "a mound" or "a trench filled with water" is to be understood. It has apparently escaped notice that the pool west of Jerusalem, commonly called the Upper Pool of Gihon, has a similar name. It is called *Birket Mamilla* by Robinson, and he derives the name from the Church of St. Mamilla, which is mentioned by Bernhard the Wise, 780 A.D., as existing near, traces of which still remain. By the native scribes, however, the word is written *Ma Milla*, which may be rendered Water of *Millo*. The Arabic root *Mela* means "to fill," and *Ma Melân* would mean "full of water," but *Milla* must come from another root, *Mell*, "to hasten," unless it be derived from the Hebrew.

As regards the mediæval St. Mamilla it is important to know if such a saint existed, as the Crusaders were often in the habit of creating saints to suit localities, as in the famous instance of St. Architrclinus, at Cana of Galilee.

(3.) A third point of interest relates to the name *Mizpeh*. Many

\* It is remarkable that in 1334 A.D. Isaac Chelo speaks of *Zion* as being not *at* but *near* Jerusalem.

students, including Dean Stanley, are of opinion that a town of this name stood on the range now identified with Scopus, north of Jerusalem. The main objection to this view is that no ruins have been found in this direction. It will, however, be of interest to scholars to hear that the name *Süffa*, which almost exactly represents the Hebrew Mizpeh, refers, according to our nomenclature, to part of the ridge in question, which is called 'Arkûb es Süffa, or the "ridge of the view." In former notes I have spoken of the probable position of the Mizpeh of Samuel and of the later Mizpeh of Jeremiah.

(4.) Another very curious name occurs in the Jordan valley on Sheet 18 of the Survey—viz., *Wady Mesâ'adet 'Aisa*, "the valley of the ascension of Jesus." It applies to a large valley leading from the ridge of the 'Osh el Ghürâb, a prominent peak north of Jericho, which I have proposed as identical with the Rock Oreb. This is not far removed from the traditional scene of the temptation of Christ at the Quarantania mountain, and it is possible that the name retains some reminiscence of a monkish tradition making the 'Osh el Ghürâb the "high mountain" of the temptation. The question, however, requires further investigation, for it may also refer to some tradition of Joshua.

The following are scattered over the southern sheets in various directions:—

(5.) *Ashnah*.—This town belongs to the Shephelah' group (Josh. xv. 33), occurring between Eshtaol (*Eshû'a*, according to Vandevælde) and Zanoah (*Zanû'a*, Robinson). M. Ganneau has proposed 'Aslîn, which supposes the *sin* to represent the Hebrew *shin*, the L to take the place of N, the 'ain for *aleph*, and a final N not in the Hebrew. It must be remarked that some of these towns, as well as some of those in the next group, were certainly north of the boundary of Judah, as given in Joshua xv. 1 to 12. Mr. Grove points to the probable identity of Ashnah with the *B. Asan* of the Onomasticon. This is probably, as I have already endeavoured to show (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 151), the present *Beit Shenna*, two and a half miles north of 'Amwâs. The only objection to the identification of this spot with Ashnah is that the place is north of the boundary line of Judah, but the same objection applies to the sites of Zoreah, Eshtaol, Naameh, Beth Dagon, Adithaim, and Gederah, which are nevertheless fixed with tolerable certainty.

(6.) *Aloth* (1 Kings iv. 16), in the tribe of Asher, means "higher places." It does not appear to have been suggested that this is the present 'Alia (*i.e.*, "higher place") in a position which seems to fit the account of the division into districts.

(7.) *Beth Dagon*.—This is one of the points on the boundary of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 27). Other points on this line—Zebulon, Neiel, and Shihor Libnath—I have already noticed, as all leading to the supposition that the River Belus formed the northern boundary of Zebulon. Beth Dagon was apparently on this same line, near the western end of the boundary. This leads to the identification with the large site called *Tell Dâûk*, which will be found on the Survey sheet close to the banks



of the Belus. The change is similar to that of the name Dagon, applying to a place near Jericho, called afterwards Doch, and now *Dūk*.

(8.) *Cities of the Plain*.—Our information as to these cities is so slight that any notes will be of interest. The Rev. W. F. Birch, of Manchester, suggests to me the identity of Admah with the “City Adam” of Joshua iii. 16, the modern *Damieh* probably representing the name at the point where the *plain* of Jordan contracts into a narrow *valley*. Of Ghomorrah I have already spoken. Zoar we seem to owe to Dr. Tristram. Sodom and Zeboim alone remain entirely without a suggestion.

(9.) *The Cities of the Midbar* (Josh. xv. 61).—This group of six towns includes Engedi, and they have been sought accordingly in the desert west of the Dead Sea. The entire absence of ruins or of water in this district is very much against the supposition that it was ever inhabited. It would seem more probable that the cities stood on the hills skirting the desert. The first of these cities has been supposed identical with the Beth Arabah of Josh. xv. 6; but it is worthy of notice that according to the Talmud there was a place called Beth Arabah near Bethlehem (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 98). Secacah, the third of the towns in question, may perhaps be the present ruin called *Khürbet es Sikkeh*, and also *ed Dikkeh* east of Jerusalem. Engedi is already well known, and it is very tempting to suppose the “city Maleh,” or “of Salt” to be *Tell el Milh* east of Beersheba. The identification of this last site with Moladah of the Negeb does not rest on a very secure basis, and the latter site may prove to be farther west, perhaps at the present *Tell Melâha*. Two of the six cities, Nibshan and Middin, remain without any suggested site.

(10.) Another question of considerable interest regards the *Cities of the Negeb*, some of which belong to Judah, some to Simeon. The total number of this group is given as twenty-nine in the Hebrew; but the number of names as translated in the Authorised Version is no less than thirty-seven. Many of these towns are far south of the limits of the Survey, such for instance as Kedesh and Hezron, and probably Eder and Heshmon; but others have been identified as some fifteen miles north of Beersheba; and the Negeb included, as we know, the neighbourhood of Debir, even farther north. The word *Negeb*, “dry land,” so evidently refers to the waterless chalky district in the south of Palestine, that the limits of the Negeb may very naturally be considered to exist at the line where the formation changes, giving place to the harder limestone. In this case the country west of Debir and north of Beersheba must be included in the Negeb, as we know it was included in the Christian district of *Daroma*, which is synonymous in meaning.

In this country are a large number of ruins, and their names immediately recall many of the group of Negeb towns, as will be seen from the following list of possible identifications:—

- |                      |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Hormah (Zephath). | Sulifât.         |
| 2. Sharuhên.         | T. esh Sheri'ah. |
| 3. Shilhim.          | Kh. Shelkhah (?) |

|                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 4. Ashan.       | 'Aseileh.   |
| 5. Etam.        | 'Aitûn.     |
| 6. Hazar Susim. | Beit Sûsîn. |

*Hormah*.—The meaning in Hebrew is “destruction,” and it is twice used (Numb. xxi. 3; Judges i. 17) to denote places where a destruction had been made. There is no reason, however, to conclude that the site is the same in the two cases, and indeed the fact that the historical origin is different in each case, seems clearly to point to two sites. The town in question was called Sephath, and only named Hormah after its destruction; some of the towns in its neighbourhood may be identified as being north-west of Beersheba, hence geographically the site of *Sulifât* would be suitable, whilst it represents the Hebrew Zephath more closely than any formerly proposed name. Close to Sulifât is a large mound called *Tell Hôra*, in which name possibly we have a trace of the second name Hormah.

(11.) *Berea*.—The account of the advance of Bacchides on Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 4; Ant. xii. 11), contains some points of topography little understood. The town of Berea where he encamped is called apparently Beth Zetho by Josephus. Judas Maccabeus encamped at Eleasa, or, according to another reading, at Adasa. Bethzetho is thought to be a corrupt reading for Berzetha. Eleasa was apparently farther from Jerusalem than Berea. The defeated troops were pursued to Mount Azotus (or Aza, according to Josephus) (1 Macc. ix. 4). Bacchides was advancing from Arbela in Galilee, and the mention of Adasa shows that the place of the battle is north of Jerusalem.

The Survey clears up the whole of this question in a remarkable manner, by the following identifications:—

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Berea.        | el Bireh.        |
| 2. Adasa.        | Khurbet 'Adaseh. |
| 3. Berzetho.     | } Bir ez Zeit.   |
| 4. Mount Azotus. |                  |
| 5. Eleasa.       | Khurbet Il'asa.  |

(12.) *Janoah*, a town of Naphtali, probably the modern *Yanûkh*, near the western limits of the territory of this tribe (2 Kings xv. 29). This is, I believe, a new identification.

(13.) *Giloh* (Josh. xv. 51) is possibly the present *Khûrbet Jâla*.

(14.) *Jeshua* (Neh. xi. 26), a town near Beersheba, is very probably the important ruin of *S'awi* in this direction; the letters being the same with a slight introversion.

(15.) *Makaz* (1 Kings iv. 9).—Possibly the modern *Kh. Makkûs*, written with the *Sad*.

(16.) *Rabbith*, a town of Issachar (Josh. xix. 20). The two next towns on the list are unknown, though Abetz might perhaps be the modern *Yabid*; but Rabbith seems very probably towards the southern limits of the tribe. In this direction we find the modern *Raba*, a place of import-

ance, situate south-east of Jenin, and due east of *Râmeh*, supposed to be the Remeth of Issachar.

(17.) *Sarid*.—This place is one of the unknown points on the southern boundary of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 10-12). It is to be sought near the north boundary of the great plain, and between Chisloth (*Iksal*) and Jokmeam (*Tell Keimun*). This is the position of the large ruin *Tell Shaddud*. It is possible that we should read *Shadid* instead of *Sharid*, and this supposition is strengthened by the LXX. reading  $\Sigma\epsilon\delta\delta\omicron\omicron\kappa$ . The confusion of D and R in Hebrew and Aramaic is well known to be of constant occurrence.

(18.) *Tirzah*.—This important town, once the capital of Israel, has been identified (though not with great confidence) by Robinson as being the modern *Tüllüza*.

The argument in favour of the site cannot be taken from similarity of name, because the Arabic *ta* does not properly represent the *teth*, nor does the *zain* ever take the place of *tzadi* as far as yet proved. The double L also remains to be accounted for. Brocardus speaks of Thersa as "on a high mountain, three leagues from Samaria to the east." Tüllüza is only six English miles from Samaria, and is not on a high mountain. At the distance of twelve English miles is an important and ancient site, standing in well-wooded country, on the main road from Nablus to Beisan, and called *Teiasir*. The word is spelt with the *sad*, and the identification supposes only the introversion of the last two letters, as the first letter is a *te* (or *teth*). The site seems well fitted to represent an ancient and important town, and there are numerous ancient sepulchres and caves north of the village, which may perhaps include the tombs of the first four kings of Israel buried at Tirzah (1 Kings xvi. 6). Full notes of the antiquities of this site have been made during the course of the Survey.

(19.) *Zaanaim* (ELON BEZAANAIM) may be rendered "the plain of Bezanaim," and is rendered by the Targum "plain of swamps," *i.e.*, BITZAH, in modern Arabic *Bassah*. In the Talmud also (Tal. Jer. Megilla 70a) the B is evidently considered an integral part of the name from the translation *Agina Kedesh*, *Agina* being the rendering of *Bitzah*, "a swamp" (Josh. xix. 33). It has been supposed identical with the place called Plain of Zaanaim (ELON BEZAANAIM), near Kedesh (Judges iv. 11), but the towns mentioned in connection with this plain, namely Adami, Nekeb, &c., are easily identified with places east of Tabor, *ed Dameh*, *Nakib*, &c.

It is remarkable that Barak called together the children of Israel in Kedesh, and then took up a position on Mount Tabor. It seems highly probable that this is another Kedesh, not Kadesh Naphtali, which is thirty English miles from Tabor, and separated by some of the most difficult country in Palestine. In this case we may very probably suppose Bezanaim to have been east of Tabor, and may identify it with the modern *Bessüm*. This is a discovery of no little importance as bearing on the whole account of the battle of Tabor, and on the position of

Harosheth of the Gentiles, which may very probably be placed at el *Harathîyeh*. The site of this Kedesh has still to be recovered, and there are independent reasons for supposing a town of this name to have existed in the same direction, probably at the place now called *Kadis* on the shore of the Sea of Galilee.

(20.) *Zanoah* (Josh. xv. 56) was identified by Robinson as the present Zanuta, but there are philological and topographical objections to this view. The name *Zenâkh*, applying to a valley beneath the important ruin of *Beit 'Amrah*, represents the Hebrew far more closely, and the ruin is apparently in the required position, though it would seem to have lost its original name, the modern one meaning only "the inhabited building."

(21.) *Zereda*, the birthplace of Jeroboam (1 Kings x. 26), is possibly the modern *Surdeh*, one and a quarter miles south of Jufna, and therefore within the limits of Mount Ephraim, as we gather Zereda to have been from the LXX. interpolation (1 Kings xii. 24.)

(22.) *Zemaraim*, a town of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22), has long been identified as the present *Khûrbet Sumra* in the Jordan valley, but the reason why the name is in the plural is explained by the Survey, for two ruins of the name Sumra will be found close to one another. The name of Mount Zemaraim (2 Chron. xiii. 4) also possibly survives in the modern *Tal'at es Sumra*.

(23.) Out of about 400 places in Western Palestine known to the authors of the Onomasticon, only some twenty remain now to be fixed. The early Christian topography is indeed far more completely recovered than could have been foreseen. Among the places not fixed are the following:—

*Ailom*, or *Aialon*, is also mentioned as a place three miles east of Bethel. This would seem to be the modern *'Alia*. Jerome identifies it with Ajalon, but states that the Jews in his time considered Alus (*Yalo*), near Nicopolis (*'Amwâs*), to be the true site, as it is now held to be.

(24.) Two Talmudic sites have also fallen into place, namely: 1st. Beth Rima (Mishna Menachoth, viii. 6), a place in the Judean hills, whence good wine was brought. It is no doubt the modern *Beit Rîma* in the hill country north of Jerusalem. 2nd. *En-Kushi* is mentioned (Tal. Jer. Abodah Zarah, v. 4) as near Kefr Shalem, apparently in Samaria; this would seem to be the spring below *Kh. Kefr Kûs*, one and a half miles north-west of *Sâlîm*, near Nablus.

(25.) Another site, *Nuarath*, which is noticed more than once as on the boundary of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 7), may possibly be fixed by the following evidence:—

1. Naorath is mentioned in the Onomasticon as being five miles from Jericho, which is the position of a ruin called *Khûrbet el Aûjeh* (a common Arabic name meaning "crooked," taken from the valley near the ruin).

2. Josephus (Ant. xvii. 13, 1) mentions that Herod "diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off



that water into the plain to water those palm-trees which he had planted." An ancient aqueduct leads to the ruin noted above from 'Ain Dūk, and several channels lead out of it at right angles, evidently for purposes of irrigation. This, coupled with the distance given in the Onomasticon, seems to point clearly to the identity of Naarath with *Khūrbet el Aūjeh*.\*

(26.) *Laiish*, near Anathoth (Isaiah x. 30), is possibly *el Isawīyeh*, in the required direction.

(27.) Another discovery of no little interest is the name of one of the Jordan fords, *el Mandesch*, which means "the place struck." It is situate north-east of Jericho, and we are immediately reminded of the verse 2 Kings ii. 8:—

"And Elijah took his mantle and wrapped it together and smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, so that they two went over on dry ground."†

(28.) The present name of Herodium, where Herod was buried, is *Jebel Fureidīs*, or "little paradise mountain." The word is a diminutive of *Ferdūs*, "a paradise." We have over and over again had occasion to remark that *foreign words*—Latin, Greek, or Frankish—undergo strange metamorphoses in the Fellah language. It is not impossible that *Ferdūs* is a corruption of *Herodus*, and this supposition is strengthened by a discovery which I made personally in the middle of the country of a sepulchre to which the title *Kabr el Melek Ferdūs* applied. This can scarcely be supposed to mean, "tomb of King Paradise," but may mean "tomb of King Herod," being probably one of the many Idumean princes who bore the name. This explanation would account for the modern name of Herodium, and serve to still more certainly identify the site.

(29.) Another very curious name applies to a remarkable rock feature near Et Tell, Major Wilson's Ai. It is called *Burjmus*, and the word having five radicals, cannot be Arabic or Hebrew. It is, however, exactly the pronunciation which would be given by the natives to the Greek *περγαμος*, which means originally "a high rock." We have here a Greek word preserved, a fact of very rare occurrence in Palestine.‡ Farther north we find a Latin word, also corrupted in a curious manner, for the fortress which is called *District* (Petra Incisa) by William of Tyre, is now known as *Dustrey*.

(30.) A sacred place called *Jamī'a Abu Nejeim*, "Mosque of the Son of

\* Naarath, or Naaran, is also mentioned in the Talmud (Medrash Ekha i. 17) in connection with Jericho.

† It must, however, be remarked that there is on Sheet 9 a marsh called *el Mandesi*, so that the word would appear to apply to the character of the ground near the ford. The other name of the marsh is *el Maskenīyeh*, or "place of sinking." Freytag in his Lexicon gives "to be prostrate," and "to exude" (of water from the sides of a well) as other meanings of the root *Nedes*, the primary meaning being "to strike"—with a spear, or club, &c.

‡ In the same way the Arabic *Burj* is the Greek *πυργος*, "a tower," though perhaps not immediately derived from it.

the Star," exists about two miles south-west of Jebel Fureidis, not far from the Pool of Solomon.

The neighbourhood of Bether (*Bittér*) suggests a possible connection with Bar Chozeba (perhaps named from the town Chozeba, now *Kueizíba*, about seven miles farther south), called by his followers Bar Chochebas, "Son of the Star."

(31.) The name *Kābr Hebrūn*, "grave of Hebron," applies to an ancient Jewish sepulchre outside Hebron on the west. The origin and antiquity of the name I am not able to vouch for, but the fact is well worthy of notice.

(32.) On Sheet 21 (Hebron Hills) there are several points of considerable interest to be noted.

The present site of Mamre is shown at the *Ballutet Sebta*, or "oak of rest," a fine old tree, almost entirely withered, near the Russian Hospice, north-west of Hebron. Close to this site is a spring called '*Ain Kheir ed Dîn*, "spring of the choice of faith." This is probably due to a tradition of Abraham's choice of faith. "And I will make my covenant between me and thee" (Gen. xvii. 2).

It is often impossible to obtain from the peasantry the traditions attaching to such names, and when obtained it is uncertain what may be their antiquity, but the present name is interesting in connection with the *Kabr Hebrun*, and the passage speaking of "the field of Machpelah before Mamre, the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan" (Gen. xxiii. 19), and it is further remarkable that the name of Canaan is still applied to a ruined site close to Hebron on the south (*Khūrbet Kan'an*).

(33.) The origin of the name Sirah, the well where Abner was killed (2 Sam. iii. 26), is also of interest. It means "withdrawn," and the present name, '*Ain Sareh*, has the same meaning. It is probably so called from its position being reached by a little alley leading out of the main road. The modern name might be thought to be connected with Sarah, Abraham's wife, but Sirah is spelt with *Samech*, which is properly represented by the Arabic *sīn*.

(34.) *Hagar's Spring*.—On the same sheet, No. 21, south-west of Hebron and east of Dūra, is a fountain called '*Ain el Hejjeri*, "spring of the fugitive," or, as it might also be rendered, "of Hagar." This cannot really represent the Beer Lahai Roi (Gen. xvi. 7-14) which is to be sought south of Beersheba, but may be connected with a traditional site of the occurrences mentioned in this chapter, being situate on the high road from Hebron to the desert of Shur.

(35.) Three other indications of places mentioned in Scripture may be added:—

1. *Meronoth*, a town mentioned Neh. iii. 7, possibly the present *Merrina*.

2. *Haruph*, the home of one of David's heroes, probably the present *Khūrbet Kharūf*.

3. *Lobnah*, noticed by the Onomasticon as identical with Libnah, and

situate in the district of Eleutheropolis, is not improbably the large ruin called *Beit el Ban* in the required direction.

(36.) *Talmudic Sites*.—About 350 places in Western Palestine are noticed in the Talmudic writings, the large majority being incidentally referred to in the Gemara. Nearly 230 of these are easily identified, and the following new proposals may be added:—

1. *Ferka* (Mish. Kelim, xvii. 5; Orlah, iii. 7) is generally identified with *Ferkha*, but the name is more properly represented by *Beit Furik*. Its nuts are mentioned in the Mishna, and walnuts still flourish in the neighbourhood of the modern *B. Furik*.

2. *Bekün* or *Pekiin*, in or near the maritime plain (Tal. Jer. Chagiga, 3a; Tal. Bab. Sanhed. 32b) is not impossibly the present *Wady Fukin*.

3. *Anath*, a town built by the giant Ahiman (Tal. Bab. Yoma, 10a) is not improbably the early Christian Anna, "a city above Jericho," and very probably the modern *Kefr 'Ana*, north of Bethel.

4. *Kefr Likitia*, (5) *Hamthau*, (6) and *Bethel of Judah* were places where Hadrian placed posts to stop the Jews flying from Bether (Midrash Ekha, ii. 3). They are, therefore, to be sought on the main roads leading from Bether, and may very well be identified with the places called *El Katt* on the southern main road, *Khamasa* (Emmaus) on the western road, and *Beit Aula* (Elath or Aila of the Talmud and LXX.) on the south-western.

7. *Keruthim*, a word in the plural, referring, therefore, apparently to more than one place, is noticed (Mish. Menachoth, ix. 7) as a place whence the best wine was obtained. There are, in the Shephelah, within the boundaries of Samaria, two villages called *Kerawa* near each other, and at one of these, *Kerawa Ibn Hasan*, are unusually numerous remains of ancient cultivation, wine-presses, and vineyard towers.

8. *Yassüb*, a place which has never been correctly fixed. Neubauer identifies it with the *Yassuf* of the Samaritan book of Joshua, which I have proposed to identify with the modern *Yassif*. It is noticed with the next.

9. *Patris*, noticed in connection with Antipatris (Tosiphta Demoi, ch. i.) is probably the village of *Budrus*, not far from *Räs el 'Ain* (Antipatris).

(37.) *Early Christian Sites*.—A very curious remnant of a Greek name has just presented itself. Nearly all the long titles given by the Greeks to places in Palestine, e.g., Nicopolis, Maximianopolis, Diocletianopolis, have entirely disappeared or have left but a fragmentary reminiscence, as *el 'Atr* for Eleutheropolis, *esh Shök* for Scythopolis. In the latter category we may now rank *Aristobulias*, a city near the wilderness of Ziph, mentioned in the life of St. Euthymias (see Reland, p. 685), and noticed with Kephars Barucha, the present Beni Na'im. Close to Tell Zif, which is near the last-mentioned place, is the large ruin of *Istabül*, which, having four radicals, cannot be referred to any known Arabic or Hebrew root. We can scarcely hesitate in recognising in this name the remains of the Greek title *Aristobulias*.

*Cydoessa*, a town noticed by Josephus as near Paneas, is evidently the modern *Kadeisa*.

*Gitta*, the native place of Simon Magus (Justin Martyr, Apolog. ii.) is generally supposed to be the modern *Kuriet Jit*, but it may much more properly be placed at *Jett*, the Gath of the lists of Thothmes III. All that is known of Gitta is that it was a Samaritan town, which would fit with the proposed site.

The following is a rough conspectus of our present information of topography in Palestine:—

|                          |              |                |            |
|--------------------------|--------------|----------------|------------|
| Biblical sites . . . . . | 420 known .. | 160 unknown .. | 580 total. |
| Talmudic sites . . . . . | 240 ,, ..    | 110 ,, ..      | 350 ,,     |
| Early Christian sites..  | 370 ,, ..    | 30 ,, ..       | 400 ,,     |

Many of the unknown sites lie beyond the bounds at present surveyed.

C. R. C.

## CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH TRADITIONS.

THE question of the value to be attached to traditions concerning Biblical sites is one of so great importance that many readers will be interested in knowing what bearing the Survey of Palestine has upon it. The following remarks are intended to illustrate the value in various cases of the early and mediæval writings, both Christian and Jewish, in instances which have not been touched by general controversy, but from which we may draw deductions to guide us in the more important questions, especially as regards Jerusalem topography.

Whatever may be the history of the early Christian Church in Palestine, and the continuity of its traditions, it cannot be denied that from a literary point of view there is a break between the New Testament writings and the earliest pilgrimages of nearly 200 years. We find, indeed, in the writings of Justin Martyr (circ. 150 A.D.) a reference to the grotto of Bethlehem, but the earliest account of the sacred places of Palestine is the Jerusalem Itinerary (A.D. 333), composed by the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited the city just at the time of the building of Constantine's Basilica.

That the Christians were in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries spread through the whole country the Survey abundantly testifies: from the deserts of Beersheba to the slopes of Hermon we have come across innumerable convents and churches which cannot be dated later than this period. The nomenclature of the country bears witness to the existence of flourishing communities, charitable convents, and holy Christian sites, in every part, and the titles given to many ruins show the fate they finally underwent in perishing by fire.

It was during this time (A.D. 420) that St. Jerome came to Palestine and commenced in the dark grotto at Bethlehem his translation of the



Bible. He was, as is well known, one of the few fathers of that period who were acquainted with Hebrew; and it would appear also that he understood the Aramaic, which was, as he informs us, in his day the language of the natives. To him we owe the first attempt at a Bible dictionary, in his enlarged translation of the Onomasticon of Eusebius. The work contains some 400 places in Western Palestine, defined with sufficient exactitude to allow of their being still recognised. The study of this work leads, as I have often had occasion to remark in former papers, to two very clear conclusions.

1st. That St. Jerome's knowledge of the country was most intimate and accurate. That he had traversed almost the whole of Palestine, and had been able to note the direction and distances of places so exactly that they measure sometimes to a few hundred yards on the map. This, probably, was because the milestones on the great Roman roads were still in use.

2nd. That similarity of name was considered sufficient reason for identifying a Scriptural with a then existing site without any very careful examination into the question whether the position was geographically satisfactory. It follows that although the identification is often correct, Jerome's opinion cannot of itself be considered authoritative, unless supported by other considerations.

In order to clearly establish this statement it will be well to give the most striking instances in which accurate information has been combined with inaccurate conclusions; but in justice to the memory of the great man whose work we are now able thus to criticise, it must be remembered that the number of instances in which he has enabled us to preserve undoubted traces of the Scriptural nomenclature equals, if it does not surpass, these instances of error.

In the Onomasticon we find Adullam fixed as ten Roman miles east of Eleutheropolis, or about the position of the new site at 'Aidelmâ, but this is coupled with the extraordinary statement, "which also is Eglon" (a city known to exist at 'Ajlan, eighteen miles south-west, at a site which is mentioned by Jerome under the name Agla, and actually suggested as identical with Beth Hogla, now known to be 'Ain Hajleh, in the Jordan valley, or quite on the opposite side of Palestine). The origin of this mistake as to Eglon has been explained by M. Ganneau in his paper on Adullam.

Another striking instance is Jerome's identification of Ajalon as being three miles east of Bethel, evidently the modern 'Alia; for he admits that the Jews in his time considered Ajalon to be situate at a village called Alus, "not far from Nicopolis"—evidently the modern Yalô, now generally accepted as representing Ajalon. This error is also remarkable because Jerome knew of the position of the upper and nether Bethoron, which renders his site for Ajalon quite inadmissible.

The ideas formed of the position of the tribe boundaries must have been very vague, for Jerome places Gibeah of Benjamin, or of Saul, which he confuses with Gibeah Phineas (now *Awertah*), between Beth-



lehem and Eleutheropolis, evidently at the modern *Jeb'a*, whereas the proximity of Michmash and Ramah, both of which he identifies correctly, should have suggested quite a different direction.

Again, in speaking of Neiel (now *Ya'nîn*), on the boundary of Asher and Zebulun, he suggests *Betoœnea*, which, as I have shown previously, must be the modern '*Anîn*', in the territory of Manasseh. And again, he makes the same place to be Bethanoth of Naphtali, speaking with even greater certainty.

Anob, a city close to Debir, in the extreme south of the hills of Judah, is transported by the Onomasticon to the neighbourhood of the low hills at *Beit Nûba*. Jerome hesitates between this site and that of '*Annâbeh*', a little farther north. Anob was fixed by the Survey at '*Anâb*', close to *edh Dhâherîyeh* (proposed by me as identical with Debir).

Beth Arbel was the farthest northern limit of Palestine, and is to be sought north of Tyre and Sidon; yet Jerome would place it in the great plain, nine miles from Legio, evidently the modern '*Arûbôneh*', on the boundary between Galilee and Samaria. Anim, a town in the Negeb, is supposed by Jerome to be situate at "the terebinth," now called "Abraham's house," north of Hebron. Yet the site now accepted as that of Anim, the modern *el Ghûweïn*, is fixed with considerable precision in the Onomasticon, and the fact that there were two sites, "the upper" and "the lower," which are both still in existence, is noted, but one of these he supposes to be Anob, which he had already fixed in another position; whilst he would seem to place a second Anim at the upper site, which he notices as entirely Christian in its population, Ain, the city of Simeon, also supposed to be *Bethemin*, two miles from "the terebinth," evidently the modern *Beit 'Ainûn*, far away from the territory of Simeon.

It is clear from the account given in Joshua xv. that the Valley of Achor, where Achan was stoned, lay south of Jericho, probably being the present *Wâdy Kelt*, but Jerome notes the existence of the name north of Jericho. His identification of Ebal and Gerizim as being in the same neighbourhood has been enlarged upon in a former paper (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1876).

A few other important errors may still be added, including the supposition that Emmaus Nicopolis was the Emmaus of the Gospel, and that Makkedah was eight miles east of Eleutheropolis, or in the hills of Judea. It is also inexplicable how Jerome can suppose Engannim of Judah to have been close to Bethel, yet he places it there evidently at the modern '*Ain Kânia*'. Gedor, again, a town in the hills near Hebron, he supposes to be Gedrus, which from the distances given is evidently the present *Jedireh*, not far from Gezer and Ekron in the plains, and probably identical with the ancient Gederah of Judah.

From this weight of testimony there is no escape. It shows clearly that the Christian writers of the fifth century were treating of a country strange to them, and of a topography which had been at least partially lost. Though the greatest scholar, and perhaps one of the ablest men

of his time, St. Jerome was evidently puzzled in regard to the whole question of the ancient topography, and unable to settle many important points in spite of a complete acquaintance with the country as then existing.

In the Onomasticon we see tradition not made, but in the process of making. The method by which the early fathers endeavoured to arrive at an understanding of Scripture geography was apparently not far different from that employed by modern writers; the miraculous discovery of sacred sites dates later, and has no place in the writings of Jerome, and the main difference which we detect is that when a father of the church jumped at a conclusion not strictly warranted by his facts, his opinion was generally adopted without being subject to the very strict criticism of our day.

It is scarcely to be expected that the reliability of tradition would increase with the lapse of time. The period between the early centuries of church history and the Crusades was one of trouble in Palestine. From the era of the Hegira down to 1100 A.D., the opportunities of studying the geography of the country were few and small. The early travellers, Arculphus and Willibald in the eighth, and St. Bernhard in the ninth century, followed nearly the same route, and treat principally of the more important sites which it is not proposed now to touch on. One thing only is very remarkable, namely, the gradual increase in the number of sacred places; Arculphus only notices about half a dozen sites in Jerusalem, but St. Bernhard, little more than a century later, mentions nearly twenty, and Sœwulf in 1102 adds many more. In crusading times there were upwards of twenty churches in Jerusalem, all supposed to mark sacred spots; but the only one which can claim an antiquity at all equal to that of the church of the Anastasis, appears to be that of the Tomb of the Virgin, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

With the advent of the Crusaders we enter upon a new era, and upon a traditional topography of a new and entirely different character. There is now no doubt that we deal with men entirely strange to the country, and very ill acquainted with the contents of the Bible.

It is here for the first time that we meet with undoubted instances of *transference of tradition*, and as this question has an important bearing on many disputed points, some instances may be of value.

The best known instance of such transference relates to the site of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. A very early tradition fixed this on the north side of Jerusalem, outside the Damascus Gate, and near the spot where the ruins of the crusading Asneric have lately been recovered; as late as the time of Sœwulf (1102 A.D.) the site was unchanged, and William of Tyre still places it north of the city; but St. Stephen's Gate is now shown on the east of Jerusalem.

More important places were in the same way transferred to new sites, and the most remarkable case is that of Capernaum. To Jerome, Arculphus, Willibald, and other early travellers, Capernaum was known as situated on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, but in 1160 A.D.,

Benjamin of Tudela places it at a site which he calls Kefr Thancum between Haifa and Cæsarea. I have already shown (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1876) that the distances given by him fix this site at the modern *Kefr Lam*, which is probably thus a corruption of *Kefer Nam* or Capernaum. Kefr Thancum is probably the Kefar Tanhum of the Talmud, a name somewhat resembling the Talmudic Kefar Nahum, which seems undoubtedly to be identical with Capernaum. As early, however, as the time of Jerome the H had been changed to 'ain in this word, for he translates Capernaum "villa pulcherrima" (NAUM), instead of "town of consolation" (NAHUM).

We find the same site for Capernaum again noticed in the Itinerary of Richard I. with circumstances which still further serve to fix it as situate at Kefr Lam, for the king, after halting there, proceeds to the "house of narrow ways," evidently situate at the point south of the village, where a rocky passage has been cut through to give a communication between the plain and the shore separated by a sandstone ridge. Further on in the same narrative we find Maon mentioned among the castles in the maritime plain destroyed in 1191 A.D. by Saladin, and Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela informs us that Maon was the same place as Capernaum. The remains of a fine crusading fortress are still visible in the modern village of Kefr Lam.

This site thus furnishes us with a double instance of transference. Maon was known to be close to Carmel, the city of Judah, where Nabal lived, the true site (*Mâin*) was well known to Jerome, who carefully distinguishes between the town of Nabal (now *Kürmül*) south of Hebron and Mount Carmel, where Elijah offered his sacrifice. This distinction was unknown to the Crusaders who, being only acquainted with the mountain, were forced to transfer the site of Maon a distance of nearly one hundred miles, to a place in the vicinity of Mount Carmel.

Tyre and Sarepta, in like manner, were transferred southwards to the very same neighbourhood. Sarepta is correctly placed in the Onomasticon in the neighbourhood of Sidon "by the public road," evidently at the real site of the modern *Sürfend*, and Tyre was known to William of Tyre, who was bishop there for many years. Yet this author, in company with other mediæval writers, speaks of "ancient Tyre" as a site south of Caïpha and seemingly the modern *'Athlit*, the crusading Castellum Perigrinorum. This curious mistake necessitated two others. Porphyriion was a town near Tyre, and is accordingly placed by William of Tyre at Caïpha, which was supposed by the Crusaders to have taken its name from Caiaphas the high priest, or from Cephas, the second name of St. Peter. Sarepta also was to be sought near Tyre, and we still find a second village called *Sürfend* immediately north of *Kefr Lam*.

Thus Maon, from the extreme south of Palestine, Capernaum from the east, and Tyre and Sarepta from the north, were all brought within a few miles of one another; and as the Castellum Perigrinorum was the principal landing-place for pilgrims, one is tempted to suppose that



motives of expediency had something to do in the matter, as neither Capernaum nor Maon lay in country then held by the Crusaders, and as the pilgrims would naturally be anxious to visit sites of so much interest.

Instances of such confusions may be multiplied indefinitely. Thus the crusading maritime fortress of Arsuf, the ancient Apollonia, was supposed to represent Ashero Antipatris, and even Ashdod, the true sites of which were all known to Eusebius and Jerome, all at considerable distances apart.

Benjamin of Tudela places Keilah of Judah, a city west of Hebron, at Caco (now *Kakûn*), some sixty miles from the real site, now *Kilah*, which seems to have been known to Jerome.

Nob, the city of the priests, was apparently unknown to Jerome, who confuses it with Nobah (Judg. viii. 11), but to the Crusaders it was pointed out as identical with Betenoble (*Beit Nûba*), in a situation quite irreconcilable with the requirements of the Scripture narratives.

Two still more glaring errors are to be found in William of Tyre, who places Gath at Ibelin, now *Yebnah*, the ancient Jabneel, whilst he identifies *Beit Jibrin* with Beersheba, explaining its modern name to mean "house of Gabriel." There is still in Beit Jibrin a sacred place called *Mûkâm en Neby Jibrîl*, "station of the Prophet Gabriel," close to the remains of a crusading church, but this interpretation and the consequent connection with Gabriel are evidently late, for the older form of the name found in the Talmud is Beto-Gabra. Both Beersheba and Gath were known and fixed at their true sites in the time of Jerome.

In conclusion, we find at this period the site of Adullam transferred to its present position (*Mûghâret M'asa*) from the true situation known to Eusebius.

It is evident, therefore, that a broad distinction must be made between the statements of the early Christian writers and the wild guesses of the mediæval chroniclers.

The question of Jewish mediæval writings is one entirely apart from that as yet treated, and as we have already seen, the Jews in the time of Jerome knew the real site of Ajalon, though their hatred of the Samaritans induced them to transfer those of Ebal and Gerizim to the neighbourhood of Jericho. It must be remembered that we have in their case to deal with an indigenous population which never entirely lost its hold on the country, and with a tradition in which there is no break. In the Talmud we get not a traditional but an actual topography; and in the travels of Jewish pilgrims we find a thorough acquaintance with Talmudic characters and topography, which gives to their statements a reality and value not possessed by Christian chronicles.

Immediately after the fall of Bether (120 A.D.) the Sanhedrim fixed its seat at Jamina, and afterwards successively at Ausha (*Hûsheh*, C. R. C.) Shafaram (*Shefa 'Amer*), Beth Shearim, Sepphoris, and Tiberias. By

200 A.D. Rabbi Judah, the saint, had committed the Mishna to writing, closing the list of the doctors called Tanaim; by 300 A.D. the Jerusalem Talmud was complete, and by 500 A.D. the Talmud of Babylon was finished by the last of the Amoraim. Thus we have an unbroken series of writers till after the date of Jerome, and their casual references to places and natural features are of the highest value because only incidentally introduced.

The Talmudic topography is that of Palestine as actually then existing, but instances of *identifications* do occur, notably in commenting on the list of the towns of Naphtali and Zebulon which are identified as follows:—

|  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Josh. xix. 33.                             | Tal. Jer. Megilla, 70a.           |
| Heleph .. .. .                             | = Heleph.                         |
| Allon } .. .. .                            | = Aialin.                         |
| Bezaanaim } ( <i>Bessûm</i> , C. R. C.) .. | = Agnia Kadesh.                   |
| Adami ( <i>ed Dámeh</i> ) .. .. .          | = Damim ( <i>Damûn</i> ).         |
| Nekeb ( <i>Nakib</i> , C. R. C.) .. ..     | = Zedatha.                        |
| Jabneel .. .. .                            | = Kaphar Jamah.                   |
| Lakum .. .. .                              | = Lekim.                          |
| Josh. xix. 15.                             |                                   |
| Kattath .. .. .                            | = Katunith ( <i>Kateineh</i> ).   |
| Nehallal .. .. .                           | = Mahlul ( <i>M'alûl</i> ).       |
| Shimron .. .. .                            | = Simunieh ( <i>Sammûnieh</i> ).  |
| Idalah ( <i>ed Dâlieh</i> , C. R. C.) ..   | = Hiriah.                         |
| Bethlehem ( <i>B. Lahm</i> ) .. .. .       | = Bethlehem Zeriah.               |
| Josh. xix. 35.                             |                                   |
| Ziddim .. .. .                             | = Kaphar Hitia ( <i>Hattin</i> ). |
| Zer .. .. .                                | (near) Desmikah Lah.              |
| Hammath ( <i>el Hûmmâm</i> ) .. .. .       | = Hamatha.                        |
| Rakkath ( <i>Tuberîyeh</i> ) .. .. .       | = Tiberias ( <i>Tuberîyeh</i> ).  |
| Chinnereth ( <i>Beit Jenn</i> ) .. .. .    | = Genezar.                        |

This comparison is of value as showing that many sites had been lost even to the Jews as early as 300 A.D., and that the nomenclature had undergone a change, for many of the identifications here enumerated are to all appearance correct, though others are seemingly wrong.

Passing on to the Jewish mediæval travellers we find statements fully in accordance with those of the Talmud. Thus, R. Samuel Bar Simson states that the synagogue of Arbela was built by R. Nitai, and in the Mishna we find Arbela noticed as the native place of R. Nitai, who lived about 200 B.C.

The Jews of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries visited Palestine chiefly on account of the tombs of their ancestors. Hence, in their writings we find constant notice of the tombs of many worthies both of Biblical and also of later times, and most of these sites remain to the present day. They also give the names of the builders of various synagogues, and there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of their



statements. Thus we learn that no less than twenty-four synagogues, mostly in Galilee, were built by R. Simeon bar Jochai about 120 A.D., among which were those at Kefr Birim, at el Jish, and at Meirun, probably the ones visited by Major Wilson, as this date agrees with the opinion formed by architects as to the character of the work. Two others are noticed at Sasa and Tiria which have still to be discovered, and it is not impossible that others of the known synagogues are to be attributed to the same founder.

As regards the tombs the Jewish information appears also to be reliable. Thus at Gath-Hepher, which he identifies correctly, Isaac Chelo mentions the tomb of Jonas now visible in the centre of the village. It is remarkable, however, that Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a little earlier, places Gath Hepher at Caipha.

The tombs of Joseph at Balata, near Shechem, and of Hillel and Shammai at Meirun, are still shown as described by these mediæval Jewish pilgrims; the sepulchre of Samson at Zoreah, is no doubt the present *Mukâm of Sheikh Samit*, and it will in all probability prove equally easy to recover the numerous sepulchres in Upper and Lower Galilee mentioned in these itineraries, many of which are of considerable interest.

The deductions which it appears to me may safely be drawn from the facts detailed in the foregoing pages, are simple:—

1st. As regards early Christian topography, and especially that of the Onomasticon, the authority of the writers is not sufficient when unsupported by other evidences to establish the identity of a Scriptural site.

2nd. Crusading topography subsequent to 1100 A.D., is so hopelessly obscured by the ignorance of priests and pilgrims alike, and by the continual transference of sites from their true place known by the early Christians into new positions, quite irreconcilable with the requirements of the original narrative, that it must be considered entirely valueless in fixing the real sites.

3rd. The mediæval Jewish pilgrims appear, as a rule, to have had a much more accurate knowledge both of the country and of the Bible, their assertions are borne out by existing remains, and are in accordance with the Scriptural narrative, and the indications contained in their writings frequently appear to be of the greatest value.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

27th October, 1876.

## SAUL'S JOURNEY TO ZUPH.

1 Sam. ix. and x.

THE wanderings of the hero "who, seeking asses, found a kingdom," form one of the most curious puzzles in Scriptural topography, for the starting-point is unknown, the point to which he returned doubtful, and

the intermediate places, though noted with much apparent exactitude, have not been recognised as identical with any well-known or important sites. The following notes derived from the Survey may, however, prove interesting to those who have given attention to the subject:—

1. The starting-point was Saul's home. Kish, his father, was a Benjamite, and it seems almost certain that he must have inhabited Zelah, a Benjamite city (Josh. xviii. 28), for here we find later the "sepulchre of Kish," in which the bones of his descendants were interred (2 Sam. xxi. 14).

We find, however, immediately afterwards, a town or a district known as Gibeah of Saul as being the home of the king. It may be, therefore, that this place, called Gabaoth Saule by Josephus, is the starting-point. The question is too long to enter upon at present, but as it appears that Saul first passed through Mount Ephraim, the starting-point may be generally stated as towards the northern limits of the territory of Benjamin. The consecutive order of the list in the book of Joshua would seem perhaps to place Zelah (more properly translated *Tzel'a*) in the northern part of the land of Benjamin, and it may perhaps be identified with a large ruin called *Khürbet Sh'ab Salâh*, "ruin of the ridge of Zelah," the last word being a natural equivalent of the Hebrew *Tzel'a*. This place is only four miles north-west of Jeb'a (Geba of Benjamin), and there are strong arguments in favour of identifying Jeb'a with Gabaoth Saule, which need not, however, be discussed here.

2. On leaving his home at Zelah, or Gibeah, Saul first passed through Mount Ephraim (ix. 4). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 4, 1), having first sought over the territory of his own tribe, he went over that of other tribes. This would seem to make his first direction northwards.

3. Leaving Mount Ephraim, Saul passes through the land of Shalisha (ix. 4). It is only natural to connect this name with that of Baal Shalisha or Beth Shalisha (2 Kings iv. 42), and this place may be fixed as at the present *Sirîsia*, thirteen miles north of Lydda, from entirely independent considerations. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 69.)

4. Leaving this district, Saul comes to the land of Shalim (or "foxes"). This might be identical with the "land of Shual" (of the fox), near Ophrah (1 Sam. xiii. 17); but this seems irreconcilable with the last indication, and the land of Shalim was not in the land of Benjamin (comp. verse 4, lower down), which the land of Shual evidently was. Gesenius, in giving the meaning of the word (S.V. Shalim), suggests a more probable identification, namely, that the territory of Shaalabim ("foxes"), a city of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), is here intended. This place has been fixed at *Selbît*, south of Lydda, which gives a direct journey southwards of about a day's duration.

5. Saul next enters the land of *Yemeni* ("Benjamites," A.V.), and passes through it. *Selbît*, it may be remarked, is not far from the western border of Benjamin, which would be crossed in journeying to Zuph if identified as below.

6. Saul arrives at the land of Zuph, the farthest point of his journey,

and here encounters Samuel at a certain city, the name of which is not given (ix. 5, 6).

The meaning of the word Zuph has not been determined with certainty, the Targum on the passage, however, connects the name with the root *Zephah*, meaning "to shine," and hence "to be conspicuous," whence come the words Zephathah, Zophim, Zephu, and Mizpeh. In other targums the words Zophim and Mizpeh are used indiscriminately in speaking of one place, both words being applicable to a "watch-tower," or city in an elevated situation. Zuph was, however, the name of a man, and it is not impossible that the land of Zuph may have been named after him (1 Sam. i. 1). In the first case the city in the land of Zuph would possibly be Mizpeh, in the second it would be Bethlehem the home of Zuph. The former identification appears to me the more probable for the following reasons.

1st. That the Targum derives the word from the root *Zephah*.

2nd. That on the departure of Saul, Samuel immediately gathers Israel together in Mizpeh (x. 17).

3rd. That the city is evidently one of those *visited* by Samuel (see ix. 12), and cannot be Bethel or Gilgal (see 1 Sam. vii. 16).

4th. That placing Mizpeh near to Kirjath Jearim, the land of Zuph would be reached immediately on leaving the land of Benjamin.

Mizpeh may be fixed as in this station on entirely different grounds. (See *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 149.)

Zuph has already been fixed as in this neighbourhood (see Murray's new map); but the identification with *Sôba* is open to the objection that there is no good authority for supposing the letters F and B ever to be confused.

The root *Zephah* is represented by two Arabic roots, *Safa* (whence *Mesuffa*, "a place of view"), meaning "bright, shining, conspicuous," and *Shâf* (whence the exclamation *Shûf*, "look"), having also the meaning, "shining, looking out, viewing." Thus the modern *Khûrbet Shûfa* represents the Hebrew Zophim or Mizpeh, with which I have proposed to identify it on account of its position near Ebenezer and Kirjath Jearim. The name *Shûfa* probably still denotes a district, for there is a hill called *Râs Shûfa* about two miles north of *Khûrbet Shûfa*. This district, I would suggest, may be the land of Zuph. There is, however, another site which might also claim to be identified as Zuph, viz., the village of *Sâfa*, ten miles west of Bethlehem; and this position, indeed, fits in yet better with the subsequent part of the journey.

There is only one valid objection to these views. Josephus gives the name of the city as Ramah. Hence it has been supposed to be Ramathaim Zophim, which is here intended. Ramathaim Zophim was, however, in Mount Ephraim, and so not far from Zelah, in which case it seems impossible that Saul on his return journey should ever arrive at Rachel's sepulchre.

There is no space here to discuss the value of this statement by Josephus. The whole of his account (Antiq. vi. 4) is shorter and less

detailed than that in the Old Testament, and the order of the events differs. It will be generally allowed that the history of contemporary events given in the Wars and later books of the Antiquities, gives indications to be placed in quite a different category to those of the earlier books. The Survey gives many opportunities of forming a judgment as to the value of Josephus's descriptions in such cases as the sites of Herodium, Masada, and Jotopata. In some cases it seems impossible to reconcile Josephus with the Mishnic doctors, and in these cases the Talmud is often the better guide.

7. Leaving Samuel, Saul first arrives at "Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah" (x. 2). Supposing this to be the modern *Kubbet Rahîl*, near Bethlehem, which Saul might have reached in journeying to the main road along the watershed, two questions arise.

1st. How can this monument be called "in the border of Benjamin," being four miles south of that boundary in the territory of Judah?

2nd. Where was *Zelzah*? supposing it to be the name of a town, for no such name has been found anywhere near Bethlehem.

It is possible that the reading of the Vulgate, which renders *Zelzah* by the words "in meridie" (towards the south), gives the best explanation, and that we should read Rachel's sepulchre towards the south, either of Zuph, or of Saul's route, or of the border of Benjamin.

8. Supposing Saul to be returning to his own home, it is natural to suppose the plain of Tabor (x. 3) which follows to be the plain south of Jerusalem and north of Rachel's sepulchre, now called the *Meidân*.

9. The end of Saul's wanderings appears to be reached at a place called "the hill of God," where is the garrison of the Philistines (x. 5). This place, *Gibeah-ha-Elohim* in the Hebrew, appears to have been so called because it contained a "high place" (see verse 13).

In another verse it is called simply *Gabatha* ("the hill," A.V., verse 10), and Josephus also calls it *Gabatha*. It would seem that Saul's uncle lived here (verse 14), which would lead us to identify it with *Gibeah* of Saul. It was not improbably on the road to *Gilgal* where Saul next went, which would seem to place it at *Geba* of Benjamin, and it was a Philistine garrison, which points in the same direction, for immediately after we find Jonathan smiting "the garrison of the Philistines," which was in *Geba* (1 Sam. xiii. 3). After the great meeting at *Mizpeh*, we find that Saul "went home to *Gibeah*" (x. 26).

The outcome of these various expressions seems to point to Saul's return to *Gibeah* of Saul, and to the identity of this town with *Geba* of Benjamin. There are many independent arguments which lead to the identification of these two places as the modern *Jeb'a*, which may, however, be reserved for the present.



## ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE BOUNDARIES OF EPHRAIM, MANASSEH, AND ISSACHAR.

THE boundaries of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh have not, so far as I know, been yet laid down in accordance with the outline given of them in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Joshua. In every Biblical atlas that I have seen they are always drawn from side to side—*i.e.*, from the sea to the Jordan, in a sort of parallel lines, whereas it does not appear to me that any of them touched the Jordan at all, except, it may be, in a single point. Having given this subject considerable attention, I have obtained results, in singular conformity with the description of Joshua that traces out the entire outline of these tribes, and have discovered some curious aspects of the case that have hitherto escaped observation. Of course I have not been able to determine the borders with perfect geographical certainty at every point, as the topography of the country has undergone such changes in the course of between three and four thousand years, and the names of places have either disappeared or been so altered that they cannot now be easily identified. The great natural features of the country, however, remain, along with a few of the more permanent ancient names, by which we are enabled to some extent to grope our way. With the aid of these, and a more accurate reading of the book of Joshua, I hope to be able to give such an account of these two tribes as to clear up this part of the map, throw some new light upon the lot of Issachar, and meet a difficulty that has so long been felt in the geography of Palestine.

### (1.) JOSEPH.

The southern border of Joseph is laid down in Joshua (xvi. 1) with considerable clearness, so that it is not difficult to follow the description, even though several of the landmarks are lost. It is as follows:—

“And the lot of the children of Joseph fell from Jordan by Jericho, unto the waters of Jericho on the east, to the wilderness that goeth up from Jericho throughout Mount Bethel. And it goeth out from Bethel to Luz, and passeth along unto the borders of Archi-Ataroth, and goeth down westward to the coast of Japhleti, unto the coast of Bethhoron the Nether, and to Gezer; and the out-goings thereof are at the sea.”

Starting from a point on the Jordan nearly opposite to Jericho, this line passes to the north of that place, ascends the ravine on the north of Jebel Kūrüntil, passing the fountain of 'Ain Doch, the ancient “Dagon” of the Maccabees, and pursues its course through the mountain passes till it comes out near to Bethel and Luz, which it reaches on the south of them. Luz and Bethel may indeed be regarded as the same, seeing they either lay contiguous to each other, or were actually united. From Bethel the border proceeds westward by Archi-Ataroth to the coast of Japhleti (places now unknown, but lying somewhere on the ridge that runs between the Wadies Bûdrûs and Suleiman) till it reaches



the end of that ridge on a very prominent hill lying to the south of the Nether Bethhoron. From this place, which commands one of the finest views of the great western plain, the border line descended into the course of the Merj-Ibn-Omeir, touching Gezer on the Wady Suleiman, which it followed on to the sea.

This tracing is corroborated by the sketch which Joshua has given of the northern border of Benjamin, which is almost exactly the same as far as it goes (Josh. xviii. 11).

“And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin came up according to their families: and the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph. And the border on the north side was from Jordan; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side, and went up through the mountains westward; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Bethaven. And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Bethel, southward. And the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near the hill that (lieth on) the south side of the Nether Bethhoron. And the border was drawn (thence) and turned southward,” &c.

With a little variety of description, this line is identical with the former so far, and the variation only helps to fix the track laid down above with the greater precision. Commencing at Jordan, as before, the border passes Jericho on the north, and runs up the deep defile before described, till it comes out upon the high plateau of “the wilderness of Bethaven.” Here it proceeds to Luz, and passes it on the south side, descending westward to Ataroth-adar, which is clearly the same with Archi-ataroth. Without referring to Japhleti, the description carries the line at once “to the hill that lieth on the south side of the Nether Bethhoron;” or rather, Ataroth-adar is so near this hill that it is connected with it. But here the boundary of Benjamin takes a sweep to the south, to form the western limit of that tribe. It is fortunate that the two Bethhorons have been preserved to this day, and help us easily and at once to decide where we are. The hill that lieth to the south of *Beit Ur et-Tahta* was ascended by Dr. Robinson, who has given us a very satisfactory account of its commanding position. It abuts upon the great western plain like a promontory, and takes in an extensive view of Ramleh, Lydda, Ajalon, and other places of less note, while it stands between the two Bethhorons, at the head of the famous pass, the *descent* or *ascent of Bethhoron*, so famous in Biblical story. Dr. Robinson in his ascent of it found, on one of its ridges, the remains of what he supposed to be *an ancient castle*, that seemed to have guarded the pass, and still *crowned* the brow of the hill. This is probably the “Ataroth,” *the crown*, or Ataroth-adar, the “*glorious crown*,” looking forth so beautifully over the western lowlands, and forming a conspicuous ornament to the hills of Ephraim.

## (2.) EPHRAIM.

So far, then, these two lines are the same, and so far we have a well-defined base laid down for our future investigations. We therefore take

up next the description of the lot of Ephraim, which lies to the north of this base, and which has not been so clearly defined.

Josh. xvi. 5: "And the border of the children of Ephraim according to their families was thus: even the border of their inheritance on the east side (was) Ataroth-adar unto the Upper Bethhoron. And the border went out toward the sea (west) to Michmethah on the north side; and the border turned about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah; and it went down from Janohah to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to Jericho, and went out at Jordan.

"From Tappuah the border went out westward unto the river Kanah, and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families.

"And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. And they drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute."

The commencement of this survey seems to be a fragment of a fuller description of the southern border of Ephraim, containing only two references, and these to places about the centre of the line,\* Ataroth-adar and Upper Bethhoron. The LXX. seem to have felt this, and they fill up the account by saying that the boundary went on to Gezer, and then to the sea. We can thus make nothing of it but to congratulate ourselves that it is of no importance, as we have a double description of the line already laid down. The survey properly begins in the next verse, which says, "And the border on the north side went out *on the west* † to Michmethah." Michmethah, we are told, in the account of Manasseh's border, "lieth before ‡ Shechem," so that we must take this for our starting-point; and as this place has not yet been identified, we must fix it as we can from the language of the text, and the tribal position of Shechem. First, then, it is near to Shechem, and lieth before it, that is, in sight of it. If  $\text{לְעֵבֶר־מִיְמֵינוּ}$  meant always "on the east of," Michmethah would have lain on that side of Shechem; but as it has this meaning only at times, we are not obliged to identify Michmethah with el-Mükhna. From the fact that Shechem was within the tribe of Ephraim, and was its chief Levitical city, we must place Michmethah on the west of it, and perhaps this is the meaning of the phrase "the border went out on the west," as if it had originally been "the west§ of Shechem." If we place this starting-point on any other side, it will throw Shechem, as we shall soon see, out of its own tribe. Take, then, for Michmethah, the site of any one of the many small towns to the west or north-west of Nablus, say Zawata, and from it carry the border round to the east along the back

\* The original description, which seems also to have run from west to east.

†  $\text{לְעֵבֶר־מִיְמֵינוּ}$  seaward or westward.

‡  $\text{לְעֵבֶר־מִיְמֵינוּ}$  before, in view of, in front of.

§ Or rather that Michmetha was at the west end of this east-going line.

of Mount Ebal, and then south-east in the direction of Yanûn, which represents Janohah; for "the border *went about* from Michmethah eastward unto Ta'anath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah." The site of Ta'anath-shiloh may have been about where the modern Salim stands, and as Shiloh in the one case and Salem in the other are closely cognate and almost identical, we cannot say but that they are the same. From Janohah, the border touches next at Ataroth, an eminence somewhere probably on the *Wady Fusail*, near to its head: and then it passes Na'arath and comes to Jericho. Na'arath seems to be the same place that is called *Naaran* in 1 Chron. vii. 28, on the east of Bethel, as Gezer was on the west, in the tribe of Ephraim. Jerome mentions Naaratha as a town five miles north of Jericho, just about the place where we should expect to find it; but Josephus is still more decided, for he mentions once and again a town called Neara, to the north of Jericho, supplied with abundance of water, the half of which Archelaus diverted from that village into the plain to irrigate the palm-trees that he had planted at the palace he had rebuilt with great magnificence at Jericho. These notices leave us in little doubt that this place was somewhere about "*Ras el-'Ain*," which is just about five miles to the north of Jericho, and pours a considerable stream into the *Wady Nawayimeh*.

From Na'arath the boundary "came to Jericho;" but עָבַד here translated "came," has a much more definite meaning. It means that this boundary line *touchèd, met, and struck* into the line that came from Jordan and formed the southern base line of the tribe, running out hence with it to the Jordan.

We have thus traced the eastern half of the north border of Ephraim, and must now return to where we started near to Shechem, and take up the remaining western half. This is pretty distinctly laid down by Joshua with only a single difficulty, and that at the outset. Instead of commencing from Michmetha he begins with En-Tappuah, but this place he tells us, in the description of Manasseh's border, was a little way to the south of Michmethah, as we shall by-and-by see. We must therefore seek a site in this direction that will answer to the character of En-Tappuah which has disappeared from this part of the map. It will not, however, be difficult to find such a fountain as we require, for there are several hereabout, almost any of which will answer. There is, four miles south of Shechem, the fountain of *el-Mûkhna*, pouring its waters into the plain so called. A mile and a half, or thereabouts, farther south, is the fountain *'Ain Abûz*, and beyond it a little way *Jem-'ain*, but that of Abûz appears to be the more probable site of Tappuah, besides the seeming etymological reference to the name.

From Tappuah the boundary of Ephraim ran south-west into the brook Kanah, which is not above two miles from it. This brook has been well identified by the retention of its ancient name, so that here we are again certain of our course out to the sea, which formed the terminus of this border

## (3.) MANASSEH.

Having now followed the outline of the tribe of Ephraim, so clearly defined by Joshua, we must next trace that of its confrère Manasseh. This tribe lay to the north of Ephraim, but instead of crossing the country from east to west, as it is usually made to do, it occupied only the half of that space, and lay along the sea to the west, bounded on the east by the range of Mount Carmel. The description is as follows:—

Josh. xvii. 7: “And the coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that lieth before Shechem; and the border went along on the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. [Now Manasseh had the *land* of Tappuah: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim.] And the coast descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river; these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh: the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea: southward it was Ephraim’s, and northward it was Manasseh’s, and the sea is his border; and they met together in Asher in the north, and in Issachar in the east.”

The boundary of Manasseh is here described as commencing from Asher, which is not a *town*, as has so often been supposed, but the *lot* of Asher with which that of Manasseh bordered in the north, as the concluding words of Joshua above indicate. The tribe of Asher would seem to have embraced a portion of the coast south of Carmel as far as the royal city of Dor, for Dor was given out of Asher to Manasseh. The border of Asher on the south was probably the *Nahr Zurka*, if not a lesser stream nearer to Dor, and passed up over Carmel, crossing the highest ridge about the famed site of el-Maharaka. It was from about this spot we think the border of Manasseh commenced; and from this it ran along the ridges of the range west-south-west, in a direct line for Michmetbah, that famous landmark on the west of Shechem, a distance of at least thirty-five miles. The line of division now went, we are told, “along on the right hand,” this is, *to the south*, “unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah.” This, as we said above, clearly defines the position of En-tappuah, and may yet serve to identify it. Joshua here inserts an explanatory note with great precision, which may be also useful, that the district of Tappuah lay within the lot of Manasseh, but the town of Tappuah itself lay within that of Ephraim. That city and its territory were thus divided by the boundary line, but the fact is carefully noted that there might be no division between the tribes in regard to its possession. If the town of Tefuh is ever discovered, this singular precision of Joshua will show by it the line of demarcation. We have already indicated *Ain Abūz* as the probable site of Tappuah; but if another fountain, and one nearer in name to that of Tappuah, should turn up, the point will be determined. From this place the border line bends down west to the brook Kanah, as we have shown above in Ephraim’s northern border, and then it follows the course of that tor-



rent to the sea. From Michmetha westward the border of the two tribes is the same, and yet there is a curious legal-like reiteration of terms, as if there was some risk of misunderstanding this part of the line which nature itself has drawn, for it seems that this brook is deep and rugged in its banks, so as to form a very marked boundary. "The coast," says Joshua, "descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river; these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh." The punctuation here is not very certain, and the descent of Manasseh's border to the south of the stream is as little so; for it seems to be contradicted by what follows; while the expression, "these cities," would seem to imply that they had been named, but have been somehow lost from the account, so that the words stand meaningless and unconnected. The passage that follows is clear and decisive as to the natural boundary here between the two tribes, "the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea: southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea is his border." This of course does not imply that there were drawn two border lines, but merely that the lot of Manasseh lay north of the river, and that of Ephraim south. The river was the border.

A passage in the account of Ephraim's border line, to which we did not advert when that tribe was under discussion, appropriately comes in here. It is—

"And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. And they drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute."

The statement in the description of Manasseh's border is rather indefinite,—"these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh"—it not being clear on which side the cities lay, and to whom they belonged; but in the passage quoted above it is perfectly plain. They were cities and their suburbs within the lot of Manasseh that belonged to Ephraim; but, not being named, we are left in utter ignorance about them still. We know that in the lot of Issachar and Asher there were four cities and their surroundings that were assigned to Manasseh which exceedingly increased the territory and importance of the latter tribe, viz., Bethshan, Ta'anach, Megiddo, and Dor, with their towns. The three former were taken from the tribe of Issachar, and Dor, the latter, from that of Asher. By the addition of Dor to the lot of Manasseh, it is probable that the most, if not the whole, of that portion of Asher which lay to the south of Carmel was given to Manasseh so as to run their boundary line along the entire ridge of that range.

There remains only one sentence of the description of Manasseh's border to be considered, but it is one of some importance, and which has never before been attended to.

"And they met together in Asher in the north and in Issachar in the east."



The border of Manasseh marched in the north with that of Asher, and in the east with that of Issachar. "They met together" [יָשַׁעְוּ] is the very same word that we found before, describing the coincidence of Ephraim's north border in the south border line at Jericho, where they formed one; so here it singularly occurs again to describe one of the most striking and conclusive features of the sketch we have given of these tribes.

#### (4.) ISSACHAR.

The outline of the above two tribes marks out to some extent the lot of the tribe of Issachar. It lay to the east of them, along the entire line of the Jordan, from the sea of Chineroth on the north to nearly the Salt Sea on the south, where the border of Benjamin had a small part of it, from the Wady Kelt to the north bay of the sea. Issachar, as a tribe, is not described by Joshua, who only mentions the names of towns contained in it. It did not require description, as the containing boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh on the west, with the River Jordan on the east, sufficiently defined it. It was of a triangular form, having its apex at Jericho and its base to the north of the plain of Jezreel, where it was met by the border of Zabulon, and where its chief cities lay. It contained thus a long tract of territory, but as this was for the most part wilderness, its dimensions were much greater than its worth, while three great and fertile districts were taken from it and given to Manasseh.

Such is the account we have drawn from the simple reading of Joshua, and we have followed that reading closely, without bending, as we think, a single word to serve a private purpose. The outline, if correct, gives an entirely new configuration to these three tribes, relieves a very intricate and important part of Scripture of the cloud that rested on it, and may, we hope, help to open up the way to a better delineation of the other northern tribes that still remain so confused and undetermined.

DUNSE, 1st November, 1876.

DANIEL KERR.

---

#### NOTES ON THE ABOVE.

There can be no doubt that the general direction of the boundaries is correctly understood by the author of the above paper, and that the arrangement will be new to the general public. The Survey allows of our throwing further light on the details. The following seem to me the most important points to notice.

1. *Archi Ataroth*. The first word is considered by most scholars to be separate from the second, and to be the name of a tribe (the *Archites*, 2 Sam. xv. 32, &c.) derived from a place called *Arich*. I have already pointed out (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 184) that this is probably the modern *Arîk*, between Bethel and Bethhoron.

2. *Bethel and Luz*. The Hebrew has *Bethel Luzah* where the English has "Bethel to Luz." The Vulgate reads Bethel Luza, and the LXX. Βαιθηλ Λουζα. As we have also the direct assertion (Gen. xxxviii. 19)

that Bethel was "called Luz at the first," we cannot hesitate in coupling the two names together as referring to the modern *Beitîn*.

3. *Gezer*. The author places this town on Wâdy Suleimân, apparently forgetting M. Ganneau's identification of Gezer at *Tell Jezer*, much farther south. It is possible that there was more than one Gezer; and, again, that the word Gezer in this passage may be a corruption. On the other hand, a position for Gezer near Jimzu, on Wâdy Suleimân, would fit well with the description of its position given in the Onomasticon; and it is impossible to bring the boundary of Ephraim farther south than Wâdy Suleimân, because the sites of Aijalon, Beth Hanan, Beneberak, Jehud, and El Tekeh, all towns of Dan, are pretty certainly fixed immediately south of this line. The Gezer, however, of this passage has not as yet been recovered. The proposed line agrees also well with Josh. xvii. 10.

4. *Ataroth Adar*. The author has not apparently noticed my proposed identification of this site with the modern *et Tîreh* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 168) though agreeing with his view of the subject.

5. *Asher ham. Michmethah*. It is the opinion of Reland and others that the two names refer to one site, the second being a qualifying term. This considerably simplifies the understanding of Josh. xvii. 7, "Asher to Michmethah that lieth before Shechem." The site has been identified in various places as *Teiasîr*, or as *'Asîreh* (Asher of the early Christians), north-east of Shechem, or as *'Asîreh*, south of Shechem; but the last two names are spelt with the *Ain* and the *Sad*, and represent properly an ancient Ozor or Hazor. The word Michmethah is of uncertain meaning, but is thought by some to mean "rocky" (Arabic *Makhammeh*; compare Michmash and *Mukhmâs*, the *Khe* for the Hebrew *Caf*). There is immediately west of, and in sight of Shechem, a remarkable precipice crowned by a sacred building called *Sheikh es Sîreh* (spelt with the *Sîn*). This seems to me the most probable site of this important point, and there are two indications which tend the same way: 1. The head of the "Brook Kanah" leads up towards this point as now laid down by us. 2. Ophrah of Abiezer (in the territory of Manasseh) is not improbably the modern *Fer'ata* immediately north of the same line (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 197, *Ophrah*). We have not, however, any very definite idea of the north boundary of Ephraim, though it very probably ran close to Shechem, and so towards *Salîm*, to the head of Wâdy Far'ah (the waters of Ænon), which formed, there is good reason to suppose, the north-east division between Ephraim and Manasseh.

6. *Ataroth*, in the Jordan Valley, is very possibly *Tell et Trûni*, not far north of the next site.

7. *Naurath*. The question of the identification of this site will be found discussed in the "Notes from the Memoir," No. 25, of the present number of the *Quarterly*.

8. *En Tappuah*. The author does not notice Robinson's identification of this site with the present *'Atûf*, to which there is no valid objection, and the "Land of Tappuah," lying north of the large and important valley

called *Wādy Far'ah*, would naturally belong to Manasseh, though the town was given to Ephraim. The word used to specify the position of this town does not strictly mean *on*, but rather *near* the boundary line, being near the north bank of the valley; the words, "on the right hand unto the inhabitants of En Tappuah," may be better rendered "south of the dwellers in En Tappuah;" it cannot properly be rendered "southwards to," nor is there any indication that the place was south of Shechem instead of east, as generally placed. The author appears to have had a difficulty in tracing the boundary line from Shechem to *Wādy Kānah*, which is due solely to the latter having always been incorrectly laid down on the maps. It rises not far from Shechem. Its suggestion that *Jem'aîn* may be En Tappuah is unfortunate; the word has nothing to do with the word *En*, "a spring," but appears to be the dual of *Jem'a*, "a people," and it is very curious that the greater part of Mount Ephraim is called by the native peasantry *Belāl el Jem'aîn*, "land of the two tribes."

9. *Taanath Shiloh* is not identified by Mr. Kerr; there are, however, two sites which may be proposed, viz., 1. *T'ana*, a ruined site north of *Y'anûn* (Janohah). 2. *Thala*, east of *'Atûf*, which appears to have been the *Thena* of the Onomasticon, being exactly the distance from Shechem noticed by Jerome.

None of these notes, though considerably strengthening the general correctness of the conclusions made in the above paper, at all interfere with the statement made by me in the paper on Samaritan Topography, that "we have no description of the boundaries of the two great Samaritan tribes *similar* to those for the northern and southern tribes." Mr. Kerr, as well as Mr. Grove (Bible Diet. s.v. *Michmethah*), agrees with me in the conclusion that the Book of Joshua "is incomplete in the portion referring to Samaria."

10. *Issachar*. It is probable that all the tribe boundaries were natural, and *Issachar* appears to have had plains and no hills. Thus, though the north and north-east boundaries of *Manasseh* are undescribed, the identifications of *Remeth* (*Rameh*), *Tirzah* (*Teiasir*), *Rabbith* (*Rāba*), *Aner* (*Allar*), allow us to divide the two territories along a natural watershed.

11. *Asher*. The paper here noted does not remove the great difficulty of the passage, "and they met together in *Asher* on the north" (Josh. xvii. 10), though it does explain how the tribes met "in *Issachar* on the east." The enumeration of separate towns of *Manasseh*, "in *Issachar* and in *Asher*," is followed by a list of places all in the lot of *Issachar*, except *Dor*, which belonged, according to *Josephus*, to *Dan*. It is usual to suppose that a strip of coast between *Carmel* and the sea belonged to *Asher*, which thus touched upon *Manasseh*, but the following are the objections to such a supposition.

1st. The following identifications may be proposed for places on the northern boundary of *Zebulon*, the southern of *Asher*.

1. *B. Dagon* .. .. . *Tell Dauk*, C. R. C.
2. *Zebulon* .. .. . *Sh'ab*, C. R. C.

- |                                  |                                |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3. Han. Neiel .. .. .            | Y'anín, C. R. C.               |
| 4. Cabul .. .. .                 | Kabúl.                         |
| 5. <i>Shihor Libnath</i> .. .. . | Wády <i>Shaghár</i> , C. R. C. |

These all point to the Belus as forming the boundary of Asher on the south.

2nd. Josephus states Asher to be bounded by Actippus (ez Zib) north of Acre.

3rd. Josephus states Carmel to have belonged to Zebulon.

4th. The town Idalah of Zebulon may be identified with *ed Dálieh* on Carmel.

5th. The places on the south boundary of Zebulon, between the sea and the "river that is before Jokneam" (Josh. xix. 10-12), may be identified as existing between the sea and *Tell Keimún* along the south boundary of Carmel as follows:—

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. Maralah = the crusading Merla .. .. . | = <i>el Mezr'ah</i> , C. R. C.  |
| 2. Dabbasheth (the hump) .. .. .         | = <i>ed Dúweibeh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 3. Jokneam .. .. .                       | = <i>Tell Keimún</i> .          |

If this view be correct, Asher was separated from Manasseh by the land of Zebulon.

It appears, therefore, more probable that the Asher intended in the present sentence (Josh. xvii. 10) is Asher-ham-Michmethah, which was situate at the north-west corner of the tribe of Ephraim.

The following is the complete list of places identified on the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh. It is very scanty as compared with the detailed account in the case of Judah, and it follows that the question of the boundaries between Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulon (or Asher) is the most difficult topographical question in the Book of Joshua.

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Waters of Jericho .. .. .      | ' <i>Ain ed Dák</i> .           |
| 2. Wilderness of Bethaven .. .. . |                                 |
| 3. Mount Bethel .. .. .           |                                 |
| 4. Bethel Luzah .. .. .           | <i>Beitín</i> .                 |
| 5. Archites .. .. .               | ' <i>Ain 'Arík</i> , C. R. C.   |
| 6. Japhlites .. .. .              |                                 |
| 7. Bethhoron the upper .. .. .    | <i>B. Ur el Fóká</i> .          |
| 8. Ataroth Adar .. .. .           | <i>et Tíreh</i> , C. R. C.      |
| 9. Bethhoron the lower .. .. .    | <i>B. Ur et Tahta</i> .         |
| 10. Gezer .. .. .                 |                                 |
| 11. Asher-ham-Michmethah .. .. .  | <i>Sh. es Sírch</i> , C. R. C.  |
| 12. En Tappuah .. .. .            | <i>Atúf</i> .                   |
| 13. Taanath Shiloh .. .. .        | <i>Thula</i> , C. R. C.         |
| 14. Janohah .. .. .               | <i>Y'arún</i> .                 |
| 15. Ataroth .. .. .               | <i>Tell et Trúni</i> , C. R. C. |
| 16. Naarath .. .. .               | <i>Kh. el 'Aújeh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 17. Brook Kanah .. .. .           | <i>Wády Kánah</i> .             |

C. R. C.



## NOB.

JEROME says that the ruins of Nob were visible from Diospolis of Lydda. A better acquaintance with the Holy Land in recent years has shown that the statement must be incorrect.

Nob is mentioned in three passages in the Bible—1 Sam. xxi., &c.; Neh. xi. 32; Isa. x. 32. From the last place it is evident that it was on the way from Geba to Jerusalem—*i.e.*, in the land of Benjamin.

It is called (1 Sam. xxii. 19) "the city of the priests." This would seem to mean "the city of the priests who were slain," and further, since Nob was entirely desolated by Saul, and burnt, as Josephus adds, a city specially appropriated to them.

So far no difference of opinion seems to exist.

In Joshua xxi. 4 it is said that thirteen cities were allotted to the children of Aaron—*i.e.*, to the priests. In case, then, of Nob being one of these, the question of its position is brought within a very narrow limit, if not virtually settled.

Josephus, himself a priest, seems to assert without hesitation that Nob was one of the cities set apart by divine command (under Joshua) for the priests, since, in moralising about Saul, he speaks of his "overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property and for the support of the priests." (Whiston. For the remainder of the passage see below, Addenda 5.)

This language is apparently as plain and precise as could be desired, but it is not stronger than is warranted by fact so far as concerns Levitical cities, for their number was fixed at forty-eight by *divine command* (Numb. xxxv. 7), and the particular cities were given by *lot* at Shiloh (Joshua xxi. 2; but see also Jos. *Ant.* v. l. 24). This language, however, is utterly without meaning if Nob was neither one of the forty-eight cities originally selected nor situated within the confined limits of their suburbs.

Admit the testimony of Josephus, and the question is at once settled in favour of Nob being one of the thirteen priestly cities (Josh. xxi.).

No hesitation should be felt in accepting this conclusion merely because the name of Nob is not given to any of these cities, for it was no uncommon thing for a city to have more than one name (*e.g.*, Hebron and Kirjath-jearim).

It has been suggested, however, that Nob was either added to the forty-eight Levitical cities or substituted in the place of one of them. This view must be examined, for if one instance of such addition or substitution can be clearly proved, then the expression, "the city of the priests," certainly, and the words of Josephus perhaps just possibly, cannot be used as an argument that Nob was one of the thirteen priestly cities so assigned under Joshua.

I have failed to find any evidence adduced in favour of either of these suggestions.



On the other hand, it would seem absurd to expect to be able to demonstrate that no addition or substitution was ever made in regard to the original forty-eight Levitical cities.

Certain evidence, however, on the point at issue is forthcoming. There is a second list of Levitical cities in 1 Chronicles vi. dating after the captivity. There is much that points to its being a parallel list to that in Joshua.

That the total number of cities is given at forty-eight seems to me at once to dispose of the question of any addition having been made to the original forty-eight cities.

But though the totals of the two lists agree, the list of names in Chronicles is defective.

A comparison of the lists shows this result (see Paper A below):—

| <i>Joshua.</i>                 | <i>Chronicles.</i>  |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Names of cities given ..... 48 | Names of cities wanting..... 6  |
|                                | „ same as in Joshua, or with<br>difference admitting of<br>explanation ..... 38 |
|                                | „ entirely different (apparently) ..... 4                                       |
| —<br>48                        | —<br>48   |

It is remarkable that the only difference in the order of the names in the two lists exists in regard to the cities in Benjamin—viz., in Joshua Anathoth precedes, and in Chronicles follows, Almon or Alemeth.

When it is borne in mind that the text of the Chronicles is very corrupt, that certain known cities had actually two names, that the four exceptions (Kishon, Helkath, Kartah, Dimnah) were in Galilee, where there was a great mixture of nationalities, four unexplained discrepancies will hardly be taken as sufficient to disturb the probable identity of the two lists. Further, while Levites and even priests seem to have been settlers in other tribes than those among which their respective cities were situated, we have, I believe, conclusive evidence—

1st. That to the priests there never were assigned special cities within what became the limits of the kingdom of Israel. For on the division the kingdom (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14) “the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him (Rehoboam) out of all their coasts. For the Levites left their suburbs and their possessions and came to Judah and Jerusalem; for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest’s office unto the Lord.”

The priests are not here said to have left their suburbs, and with reason, since they had not any to leave in Jeroboam’s kingdom, according to the original institution.

But a passage in Joshua (xxiv. 33, &c., LXX.) seems at first sight to

assert an instance of a perpetual possession being assigned to a priest in the tribe of Ephraim outside the limits of the special inheritances :

“They buried Eleazar in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim.”

But if this had been an inheritance appertaining to a *priestly* family, why is no mention of it made in the above passage in 2 Chronicles xi. 13, 14 ?

What thus antecedently would seem to be an exception to is rather a confirmation of the above (the 1st) proposition.

2nd. That to the Levites there never were assigned special cities within the tribes in which the thirteen original priestly cities were situated (2 Chron. xxxi. 19, Auth. Vers.; also 15 verse).

“Also of the sons of Aaron the priests, which were in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, the men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogies among the Levites.”

Here nothing is said about the *cities* of the Levites. But if there had been any precedent for giving additional cities to the tribe of Levi, surely the time for thus acting would have been when the Levites forsook their possessions and flocked in a body to support Rehoboam ; and some trace of such an assignment ought to appear in this passage.

Nehemiah xi. 3 and 20 perhaps, at first sight, seem to tell the other way, but I think not really, for while Lev. xxv. 32-34 preserved the original possessions of the Levites, there was no regulation laid down to prevent their acquiring and holding as an inheritance houses in a walled city, as Samuel apparently did.

So also 1 Chron. ix. 2 is to be explained. Clearly Neh. xii. 28, 29, and 1 Chron. ix. 16, prove only residence on the part of the Levites, and not specially assigned dwelling-places allotted to them, and this, too, at a date after the return from the captivity (1 Chron. ix. 3).

May not a wide dispersion of the Levites be contemplated in the repeated expressions in Deuteronomy, “The Levite that is within thy gates” ? just as it seems to be confirmed by Judges xvii. 7 ; xix. 1 ; 1 Sam. i. 1 ; vii. 1, Abinadab being a Levite, according to Josephus, and much later, 2 Chron. xxiii. 2.

Even Shiloh does not seem to have been specially allotted to the tribe of Levi, and when David brought the ark to Jerusalem there is no indication that he assigned lands to Abiathar and the Levites (1 Chron. xvi. 5, 6, 37).

The case then may be summed up thus :—

1. Josephus regarded Nob as one of the thirteen priestly cities.
2. The difference between the two lists of Levitical cities in Joshua and Chronicles is such (of so slight and uncertain a character) that no argument for the diversity of the cities can be based upon it.
3. We find the original regulations in regard to the forty-eight Levitical cities strictly observed in these two respects :—

1. No special cities in the ten tribes were, up to the time of Rehoboam, ever allotted to the *priests* as their peculiar property, although the ark was for a long time at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim.

2. No special cities (so far as we know) were ever peculiarly allotted to the Levites in the kingdom of Judah, although there were special circumstances favourable to such an allotment being made, if allowable.

It seems, then, reasonable and fair to conclude that the rest of the regulations in regard to the Levitical cities were strictly observed—*i.e.*, that the tribe of Levi never had any city appropriated to itself other than the forty-eight originally given, and that, therefore, Nob was one of the thirteen priestly cities named in Joshua, just as Josephus distinctly states.

From Isaiah x. 32, Nob was evidently in Benjamin, and so one of the four priestly cities—Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth, Almon.

As the second and third are also mentioned in the above passage, the final choice lies between Gibeon and Almon.

The argument (attempted above) must now prove a hopeless dilemma if the conditions under which Nob is mentioned in the Bible are not satisfied by the situation of one of these two places.

Major Wilson (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 95) gives reasons for rejecting Gibeon. It remains therefore that Almon or (Chronicles) Alemeth is the city Nob under another name.

The name Almon or Alemeth, as obviously applied to a place, is only found in the two lists of Levitical cities, and happily there seems to be no question about its identification.

One mile north-east from Anathoth (Anâta) is a ruin marked Almit on Van de Velde's map.

Dr. Porter says, "Descending from Anathoth into a bleak valley, we see on a hill on the right a ruin called Almit, the ancient Alemeth or Almon, a city of Benjamin."

It remains now to submit this site to the ordeal supplied by the requirements of the three passages in which Nob is mentioned.

1st. It is mentioned in the flight of David (1 Sam. xxi., &c.). Almit is not much more than two miles east of Tuleil el Fûl (generally taken to be Gibeah); but since David manifestly went to Nob to consult the priest, as the story shows, the question is not one of a few miles in any direction.

A curious coincidence may be mentioned here, even though there be nothing in it. David, to quiet Ahimelech's alarm at not seeing any attendants with him, replies that Saul had commanded him saying, "Let no man know anything of the business . . . and I have appointed my servants to such and such a place."

LXX. ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ θεοῦ πίστις φελωνί 'Αλμωνί.

It is odd that the word 'Αλμωνί, Almon (however explained), should

turn up in this place, when it is sought to show that Nob itself was Almon. From the New Testament we learn that David actually had attendants with him, though they kept out of the priest's sight. (Perhaps there was not so much of falsehood in what David said as is generally supposed.)

The command of Solomon to Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, and Josephus), "Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields," would seem to show that the inheritance of Abiathar was in that priestly city. Could the contiguity of the two places (Anathoth and Almon—*i.e.*, Nob) in any way explain the circumstance that on a Sabbath day the only food Ahimelech had within reach was the shew-bread just removed from the table?

Indeed the two places were so close to one another that their Levitical boundaries must have almost touched, if not intersected, so that after the destruction of Nob its lands might have been said to be at Anathoth.

2nd. It is named in the march of Sennacherib (Isaiah x. 28-32) in a passage on which the present Survey will probably throw much light.

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

(*Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. Nob.)

The great king, instead of advancing to Jerusalem by the easier road past Beeroth (Bireh), here first is found or comes into sight at Ai, and passes on (through or) to Migron, or the precipice (no place would seem so well to answer this description as the broken cliff on the north side of the passage of Michmash, and then the south cliff might well be the Migron of 1 Sam. xiv. 2, the two making the rocks Bozez and Seneh. See Lieutenant Kitchener's photograph), to secure for himself as a base for operations Michmash, a position of advantage, as being the centre of a fruitful district (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 125, and 1 Sam. xiii. 17), and of great strength (held by Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 2; by the Philistines, *id.* 5; and the residence of Jonathan, Jos. Antiq. xiii. 1. 6, and 1 Maccab. ix. 73). Here then he lays up his baggage, crosses the great ravine by a short march to Geba, where he encamps for the night. The next day he continues his advance upon



Jerusalem by the road past Anathoth, but abruptly, after a very short stage, turns aside a little out of the way to Almon—*i.e.*, Nob.

This slow advance may have been due to the pestilential distemper from which (Josephus says) Sennacherib found his army suffering.

Isaiah's description seems to be worked up to set forth in the strongest light the greatness of the catastrophe, being equivalent to

He has occupied the strongest position,  
Crossed the most difficult ravine,  
Seized the fortress of the northern frontier,  
Penetrated to a very secluded spot in the country,  
Threatens to destroy Jerusalem;  
And then himself is suddenly overthrown.

NOTE 1. Perhaps the mention of Nob, recalling the memory of its former total destruction, is meant to be ominous of Sennacherib's approaching overthrow, and to encourage confidence in the fulfilment of the second terrible prophecy by the recollection of the first.

NOTE 2. It seems possible (see below, Addenda 4b) that Nob was near the road to Jericho, and so commanded the road eastward as well as northward.

The words in Isaiah xiv. 25, "Upon my *mountains* tread him under foot," would seem to indicate that Sennacherib's disaster took place in the mountainous district of Judæa.

Josephus says, "On the very first day of the siege" (*i.e.*, of Jerusalem), but it is a question how far this statement is consistent with 2 Kings xix. 32 :

"Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the King of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return."

Is it necessary, however, to understand that Sennacherib's army was destroyed at Nob, or that even from that place he was to shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Sion?

A further examination of the passage (Isa. x. 28-32) will perhaps show that it is not less worthy of an accurate topographer than of an inspired prophet.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that the places are named in consecutive order as they would be thought of by, if not rather actually visible to, an observer on the look-out from Geba.

First, looking north, he sees the invader rushing down from the heights of Ai, marching through (or on to) Migron, occupying Michmash, crossing the ravine and ascending to Geba.

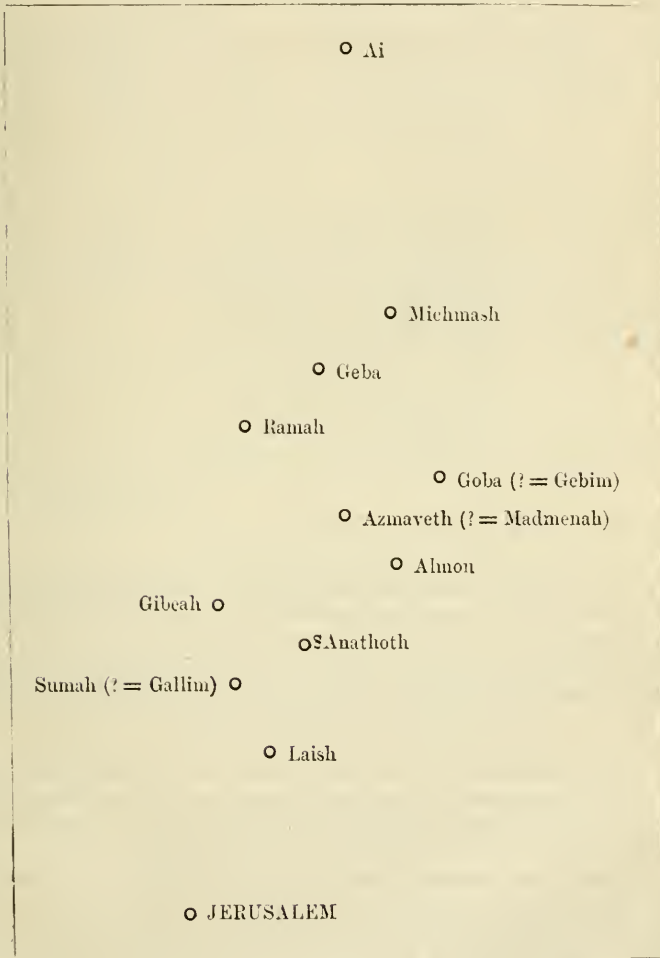
The next morning (as has been said) dawns upon a terror-stricken neighbourhood. The spectator faces southwards towards Jerusalem, and, beginning from the right (as in the view of Moses from Pisgah), he sees in thought, or in reality, and probably in the very order



specified, all the cities named—viz., Ramah, Gibeah, Gallim, Laish, Anathoth, Madmenah, and Gebim. Nob also is probably in sight (and, perhaps, just possibly Jerusalem itself).

The accompanying tracing from Van de Velde's map shows the relative position of the above places, so far as they are known for certain, and always supposing that map to be correct. The new map of the Fund will settle the positions conclusively.

[NORTH.]



## Places mentioned Isaiah x. 28—32, and seen in the panorama from Geba:

|                      | Modern name.                       |  |   | Situated on |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|--|---|-------------|
| Ai.....              | Et Tel                             | —  | Is visible from Geba ...                    | Hill.       |
| Migron ...           | —                                  | Not identified, but if a district, near the passage of Michmash  | „ „   | Hill.       |
| Michmash..           | Mukhmas                            | —  | „ „   | Hill.       |
| Geba .....           | Jeba                               | —  | —   | Hill.       |
| Ramah.....           | Er Ram                             | Not visible from Geba according to Murray's guide book, but  | Not visible.                                | Hill.       |
| Gibeah.....          | Tuleil el Ful                      | —  | Is visible from Geba ...                    | Hill.       |
| Gallim.....          | ?Sûmah<br>or<br>Khîrbet el<br>Somâ | Named in Captain Warren's letters, page 19.<br>Lt. C. R. Conder. Possibly the same place .....   | } Is probably visible from Geba .....       | Hill.       |
| Laiish .....         | L'Isawiyeh                         | Lt. C. R. C., in a valley (perhaps ruins also on a hill) in either case .....  |   |             |
| Anathoth<br>Madmenah | Anâta<br>—                         | (I believe)<br>Not identified ?=Hizmeb, <i>i.e.</i> Azmaveth — which, as required, is to the left of Anathoth, or some other ruin thereabouts .....  | } Is visible from Geba ...                  | Hill.       |
| Gebim .....          | —                                  | Not identified (in this locality), but almost so by Capt. Warren (Letters, p. 29), who mentions "a high hill S.E. of Geba (in the position required), which may have been one of the ancient Gibeahs or Gibeons" ..... |   |             |
| Nob .....            | Almit                              | —  | Must be visible from Geba .....             | Hill.       |
|                      |                                    |  | Must also, I believe, be visible from Geba. | Hill.       |

But Jerusalem (?) can hardly be visible from Geba.

If all the places named Ramah-Gibeah . . . Gebim were visible from Geba, it might seem that Nob also might consistently be expected to be visible.

It is said that nine ruined towns are visible from Geba. A careful examination of the prospect from the spot would probably, according to the above theory, settle the doubtful or unknown sites here mentioned.

I hardly think that any part of Jerusalem can be visible from Almit (though this point can only be finally settled by a careful observer), so that the condition that "Sion should be visible from Nob," can scarcely, I imagine, be fulfilled by the proposed identification.

This condition, however, though very desirable, is not (so far as I can see) absolutely required, or necessarily involved in the words, "he shall shake his hand against the daughter of Sion," which may be only a very significant expression for threatening Jerusalem with destruction.

It is stated that the Rabbins assert that Jerusalem might be seen from Nob; but, on the other hand, D. Kimchi says his father took it for Jerusalem (on 1 Sam. xxi. 1).

3rd. Nob is mentioned in Neh. xi. 32 next to Anathoth, agreeably to what is stated above, that Almit is in close proximity to Anata. (See Paper B.)

#### ADDENDA.

In conclusion, a few points of doubtful value may be briefly touched upon:—

1. Among David's warriors were men from several cities in Benjamin—viz., Gibeon, Gibeah, Azmaveth, Anathoth, Rama, Beeroth, and Bahurim, but none are mentioned from Almon, which was likely to be the case if Almon was Nob, all of whose inhabitants, except Abiathar, were slain by Doeg the Edomite; though, of course, it is not necessary that every native of Nob should have been in Nob at the time so as to be slain. (See below, § 4.)

2. Can the remarkable tombs or peculiar constructions (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 78) a mile north of Almit, called generally Kabur Beni Israil or Kabur el Amalikeh, mark the spot where the massacred priests or people were buried, and by these interchanging names preserve the memory of the victims and instrument of Saul's frenzy, for Doeg the Edomite might perhaps be an Amalekite. The number of priests slain (A. V. 85; LXX. 305; Josephus, 385) shows that with all the inhabitants of Nob included, a great multitude of persons must have been slain, and that Nob itself was therefore a considerable place.

3. I think from Paper A it will be seen that we might fairly expect to find the Levitical cities among the tribal cities. Can the city of Benjamin called (Josh. xviii. 24) Cephar-Aammonai represent the city Almon? Cephar = Kefr or village, just as we have Beth-azmaveth, or simply Azmaveth.

4. The Targum says Bahurim (2 Sam. xvi. 5) was the same as Almon. Bahurim still defies identification, and the question is too wide to be discussed here, but it may be mentioned that—

a. David went past the top of the hill (*i.e.*, Mount of Olives), and one road to Anathoth still crosses the same ridge.

b. "There are two Roman roads to Jericho, one near El Isawiyeh and one by Bethany" (Lt. C. R. Conder); perhaps the former, farther on, passes near Almit.

c. The same road to Anathoth would probably bring David nearer to Saul's estates, so that Ziba would more easily meet him.

d. The above road by Anathoth (if continued, as supposed) would also bring Phalti to Bahurim (= Almon) on the direct way to his home at Laish (2 Sam. iii. 16).

e. The words (2 Sam. xvii. 20), "They be gone over the brook of water," are of doubtful meaning, but possibly might apply to Wady Farah or W. Suweinit.

5. This point is suggested by the remainder of the passage quoted from Josephus, Ant. vi. 12. 7, which perhaps ought not to be kept out of sight, lest it should seem to have been purposely suppressed, because by the novelty of its statement it might appear to throw discredit on the previous part of the sentence. The words quoted already are, "over-

throwing the city which God had chosen for the property and for the support of the priests" (the remaining words are) "and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men."

The instant objection is obvious—viz., that we do not know of any particular cities being allotted to the prophets.

But, then, what is meant by "prophets"?

We learn this from a comparison of 1 Sam. x. 5,

"Thou shalt meet a company of *prophets* coming down from the high places with a *psaltery*, and a *tabret*, and a *pipe*, and a *harp*, before them; and they shall prophesy,"  
with 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 6, ;

"David separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy* with *harps*, and *psalteries*, and *cymbals*."

"The sons of Asaph which *prophesied* according to the order of the king."

"The sons of Jeduthun who *prophesied* with a *harp*."

All these were of the tribe of Levi receiving their appropriate work. Why should the prophets mentioned by Josephus be different? Why should musical instruments not be used in the service of the tabernacle before the time of David?

It seems, then, that there is no reason for thinking that Josephus makes his assertion without any warrant.

But if one had to show that Nob was famous for the education of such men (*i.e.*, men skilled in sacred music), something might perhaps be built upon the baffling expressions, "With psalteries on *Alamoth*" (= Alemeth = Almon), 1 Chron xv. 20; "A song upon *Alamoth*" (Title, Psalm xlvi.).

W. F. BIRCH.

#### NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The country in question consists of a series of parallel ridges of about equal height. The view from Tell el Fûl is very extensive, including Jerusalem, Anathoth, Hizmeh, Jeb'a (Gibeah of Saul, C. R. C.). Michmash is hidden, and the neighbourhood of Ai and Rimmon is seen. From Anathoth also a good view is obtained of the villages lying north, Hizmeh (Azraveth) being very conspicuous. Almit is visible from near Anathoth, but Jeb'a is hidden by the Hizmeh ridge. As regards the remainder, Ai (et Tell) is not visible from Jeb'a, nor is Rameh and Laish' (L'Isawiyeh), which is hidden behind Anathoth; Almit being directly in line, is hidden from Jeb'a by Hizmeh. The view from Jeb'a is not so good as might be expected, and is especially very confined on the north and north-west. It is certainly impossible to see Jerusalem from *Almit* or from any place north-east of the Olivet ridge.

The peculiar position of Jerusalem makes it impossible to place Nob near Anathoth, or indeed in any position except near Tell el Fûl, and the only objection to its identification with Sh'afât (a word having a similar meaning) lies in the identifying of Tell el Fûl with Gibeah of Saul, for which no adequate reason has ever been adduced. Placing the latter at Jeb'a the whole question is simplified. See my note, *Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 183.

C. R. C.



*Conspectus of Levitical Cities (Joshua and Chronicles), and Tribal Cities (Joshua).*

| Levitical Cities.                         |              | Tribal Cities.   |                             |
|---|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Joshua xxi.                               | 1 Chron. vi. | Joshua.  | Chapter.                    |
| Judah and Simeon, 9:                      |              |  |                             |
| Hebron .....                              | id.          | id.  | xv. 44                      |
| Libnah .....                              | id.          | id.  | " 42                        |
| Jattir .....                              | id.          | id.  | " 48                        |
| Eshtemoa .....                            | id.          | id.  | " 50                        |
| Holon .....                               | Holon        | Holon  | " 51                        |
| Debir .....                               | id.          | id.  | " 49                        |
| Ain .....                                 | Ashan        | Ain or Ashan   | xix. 7                      |
| Juttah .....                              | Wanting.     | id.  | xv. 55                      |
| Beth-shemesh .....                        | id.          | 1r-Shemesh in Dan.   | xix. 41                     |
|   |              |  | In Simeon.                  |
|   |              |  | Afterwards allotted to Dan. |
| <i>Benjamin, 4:</i>                       |              |  |                             |
| Gibeon .....                              | Wanting.     | id.  | xviii. 25                   |
| Geba .....                                | id.          | Gaba   | " 24                        |
| Anathoth .....                            | (2) id.      | ?  | —                           |
| Almon .....                               | (1) Alemeth  | ? Cephar Ammonai   | xviii. 24                   |
| The above are the priestly cities (= 13). |              |  |                             |
| <i>Ephraim, 4:</i>                        |              |  |                             |
| Shechem .....                             | id.          | Wanting.   |                             |
| Gezer .....                               | id.          | No attempt made to give cities of Ephraim, only border cities named. | xvi. 3                      |
| Kibzaim .....                             | Jokmean      | Wanting.   |                             |
| Beth-horon .....                          | id.          | id.  | xvi. 3 or 5                 |

? Can Parah xviii. 23 = Farah near Wady Farah, and Ophrah, or Ophni, be any corruption of Anathoth? Gaba seems (xix. 21) to stand out curiously from the other cities, being named next to Ophni (generally = Gophna) and is in a separate list from Rama, Beeroth, though the ravine, Wady Suweinit, would seem the natural geographical boundary—but there is a good deal of confusion in MSS.

| Levitical Cities.      |              | Tribal Cities. |          |
|------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|
|                        | 1 Chron. vi. | Joshua.        | Chapter. |
| <i>Joshua xvi.</i>     |              |                |          |
| <i>Hea</i> , 4 :       | —            | Wanting.       | xix. 44  |
| Eltekeh .....          | —            | id.            | 44       |
| Gilbethon .....        | —            | Ajalou         | 42       |
| Ajalou .....           | —            | id.            | 45       |
| Gath-rimmon.....       | —            |                |          |
| <i>Masseb</i> , 4 :    |              |                |          |
| Tanach .....           | may=(B. D.)  | Tanach         | xvii. 11 |
| Gath-rimmon* .....     | =(B. D.)     | Ibleam         | 11       |
| Golan .....            | —            | { included in  |          |
|                        |              | { "all Bashan" | xiii. 30 |
|                        |              | { xiii. 30     |          |
| Beeshterah .....       | =            | Ashtaroth      | xiii. 31 |
| <i>Issachar</i> , 4 :  |              |                |          |
| Kishon .....           | ?=           | Kishion        | xix. 20  |
| Dabareh .....          | =            | { ? Rabbith    | xix. 20  |
|                        |              | { or Daberath  | xix. 12  |
| Jarmuth .....          | =(B. D.)     | Remeth         | xix. 21  |
| En-gannim .....        | =            | En-gannim      | xix. 21  |
| <i>Asher</i> , 4 :     |              |                |          |
| Mishal .....           | =            | Mishcal        | xix. 26  |
| Abdon .....            | —            | ?=Hebron       | xix. 28  |
| Helkath .....          | ?=           | Helkath        | xix. 25  |
| Rehob .....            | —            | id.            | xix. 28  |
| <i>Naphthali</i> , 3 : |              |                |          |
| Kedesh .....           | —            | id.            | xix. 37  |
| Hammoth Dor .....      | =            | Hammath        | xix. 35  |

\* Error of copyist for Ibleam from Gathrimmon above in Dan.

{ But how to be explained? In the great plain.  
 { But Daberath mentioned xix. 12 as on the borders of Zebulun.

{ ? Error in transcribing on account of similarity of letters.

Kartan ..... = ..... Kinjathaim ..... ?=Iron ..... xiv. 38 ...

*Zebulon*, 4 (2 out of 4 wanting):

Jokneam ..... — ..... (say) Wanting ..... Jokneam ..... xix. 11 .....  
 Kartah ..... ? ..... Rimmon (or 2) ... Rimmon-methoar ..... xix. 13 .....  
 Dimnah ..... ? ..... Tabor (or 1) ..... ? Chisloth-tabor ..... xix. 12 .....  
 Nahalal ..... — ..... (say) Wanting ... Nahalal ..... xix. 15 .....  
 { Or Kattath, xix. 15.  
 { But "Tabor" simply mentioned  
 { as limit, xix. 22.

*Reuben*, 4:

Dezey ..... — ..... id. .... { Included as one of }  
 ..... { the cities of the } ... xiii. 17 .....  
 ..... { plain.  
 Jahazah ..... = ..... Jahzah ..... xix. 18 .....  
 Kedemoth ..... — ..... id. .... xix. 18 .....  
 Mephaath ..... — ..... id. .... xix. 18 .....

*Gad*, 4:

Ramoth Gilead ..... — ..... Ramoth in Gilead ... Ramoth Mizpeh ..... xix. 26 .....  
 Mahanaim ..... — ..... id. .... " 26 .....  
 Heshbon ..... — ..... id. .... " 26 .....  
 Jazer ..... — ..... id. .... " 25 .....

48 cities in all. In Chronicles, Cities wanting ..... 6

" of same name, or difference explainable ..... 38

" different altogether apparently—

Kishon—Kedesh.

Hekath—Hankok.

Kartah—Rimmon { or rice *tr/rd* ..... 4

Dimnah—Tabor } ..... 48

## PAPER B.

The only object of this note is to show that Nob (in Neh. xi. 31-35) is not out of its place in being named after Anathoth instead of before it. The consecutive order of the places must only be looked for within certain limits.

| Group. | Name.                         | Modern Name.   | Relative Situation represented (roughly). | Direction in which mentioned.   |
|--------|-------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 1 {    | 1. Michmash...                | Mukhmas  | Bethel                                    | From S.E. to N.W.   |
|        | 2. Aija = Ai...               | Et Tel   | · Ai                                      |   |
|        | 3. Bethel .....               | Beitin   | · Michmash                                |   |
| 2 {    | 1. Anathoth ...               | Anâta  | · Almit                                   | From S.W. to N.E.   |
|        | 2. Nob .....                  | Almit  | · Anathoth                                |   |
| 3 {    | 1. Ananiah =                  | Beit Hanina<br>C. R. C.                                    | Hazor · Ananiah                           | ? E. to W.  |
|        | 2. Hazor =                    | Khirbet Hazur<br>C. R. C. ( <i>Q. S.</i><br>1875, p. 183.) |   |   |
| 4 {    | 1. Ramah .....                | Er Ram   |   | Perhaps points to Gittaim being near Ramah. ? Northward — ? near Beeroth. Inhabitants of Beeroth fled to Gittaim, 2 Sam. iv. 3. |
|        | 2. Gittaim .....              | ? Unknown  |   |   |
| 5 {    | 1. Hadid .....                | ? = El Haditheh  | Neballat                                  | S.W. towards N.E.   |
|        | 2. Zeboim .....               | ? Unknown  | ·   |   |
|        | 3. Neballat ...               | Beit Nebala  | · Hadid                                   |   |
| 6 {    | 1. Lod .....                  | Ludd   | · Ono                                     | S. to N. with some W.   |
|        | 2. Ono .....                  | Kefr Anna  |   |   |
|        | 3. Valley of the<br>Craftsmen | ? Unknown  | · Lod                                     |   |

From the above, with one exception (in which case no map has been consulted, No. 3), it would seem that the universal direction of the cities of each group is S. to N., sometimes inclining to W., occasionally to the E.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

PATRON :  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

GENERAL COMMITTEE :  
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *President*.

DR. H. W. ACLAND, F.R.S.  
REV. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.  
REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ASSO-  
CIATION  
AMHURST TYSSEN AMHURST, Esq.  
CAPT. ANDERSON, R.E.  
REV. JOSEPH ANCUS, D.D.  
DUKE OF ARGYLL  
T. FARMER BAILY, Esq.  
REV. JOSEPH BARCLAY, LL.D.  
JAMES BATEMAN, Esq., F.R.S.  
REV. CANON BIRCH  
SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
REV. W. F. BIRCH  
REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.  
MARQUIS OF BUTE  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
EARL OF CARNARVON  
T. CHAPLIN, Esq., M.D., *Hon. Sec. for  
Jerusalem*  
BISHOP OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH  
LORD ALFRED CHURCHILL  
LORD CLERMONT  
J. D. CRACE, Esq.  
JOHN CUNLIFFE, Esq.  
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
EARL DUCIE  
W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq.  
PROFESSOR DONALDSON  
LORD DUFFERIN  
F. A. EATON, Esq.  
S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE, Esq., *Beirut*  
BISHOP OF EXETER  
REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D.  
JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq., F.R.S.  
A. LLOYD FOX  
H. W. FREELAND, Esq.  
M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU  
F. WAYMOUTH GIBBS, Esq., C.B.

REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.  
CYRIL C. GRAHAM, Esq.  
JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.  
H. A. HARPER, Esq.  
REV. J. C. HARRISON  
A. J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.  
JOSEPH D. HOOKER, Esq., PRES. R.S.  
HOLMAN HUNT, Esq.  
GEN. SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E.  
LORD LAWRENCE  
E. H. LAWRENCE, Esq.  
RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD  
F. LEIGHTON, Esq., R.A.  
GENERAL LEFFROY  
LORD HENRY LENNOX  
PROFESSOR HAYTER LEWIS  
DEAN OF LICHFIELD  
AMBROSE L. P. DE LISLE, Esq.  
BISHOP OF LLANDAFF  
SAMUEL LLOYD, Esq.  
BISHOP OF LONDON  
WILLIAM LONGMAN, Esq.  
JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq.  
W. McARTHUR, Esq., M.P.  
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH  
DR. SAMUEL MANNING  
MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD  
R. B. MARTIN, Esq.  
REV. SAMUEL MARTIN  
HENRY MAUDSLAY, Esq.  
EDWARD MIALL, Esq., M.P.  
REV. DR. MOFFATT  
SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.  
NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., *H.B.M. Con-  
sul, Jerusalem*  
SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P.  
REV. J. MULLENS, D.D.  
JOHN MURRAY, Esq.  
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.  
DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND  
DEAN OF NORWICH

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

ADMIRAL OMMANNEY  
PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.  
SIR S. MORTON PETO, BT.  
PROFESSOR E. H. PALMER  
BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH  
HERR PETERMANN  
REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE  
REV. J. L. PORTER, LL.D.  
REV. PROFESSOR PRITCHARD, F.R.S.  
REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D.  
SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.  
REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON  
HENRY REEVE, Esq.  
MARQUIS OF RIPON  
BISHOP OF RIPON  
EARL RUSSELL  
DR. SANDRECZKY  
VISCOUNT SANDON  
M. DE SAULCY  
LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.  
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

WILLIAM SIMPSON, Esq.  
WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., LL.D.  
SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.  
W. SPOTTISWOODE, Esq., F.R.S.  
CAPTAIN R. W. STEWART, R.E.  
REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.  
VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE  
DUKE OF SUTHERLAND  
REV. CANON THOROLD  
WILLIAM TIPPING, Esq., M.P.  
REV. CANON TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S.  
W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S.  
THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ  
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.  
DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.  
REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.  
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.  
GEORGE WOOD, Esq.  
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq., *Chairman*.

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.  
SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
J. D. CRACE, Esq.  
F. A. EATON, Esq.  
JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.  
GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.  
REV. F. W. HOLLAND.

H. A. HARPER, Esq.  
WILLIAM LONGMAN, Esq.  
WALTER MORRISON, Esq.  
REV. CANON TRISTRAM.  
W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S.  
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

*Bankers*—MESSRS. COUTTS AND Co., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

*Treasurer*—WALTER MORRISON, Esq.

*Hon. Secretaries*—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L.

*Acting Secretary*—WALTER BESANT, Esq. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East.

---

NOTE.—The Price of the “Quarterly Statement” is Half-a-Crown,  
sent free to Subscribers.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Survey Expedition is once more in the field. Lieut. Kitchener's letters, dated the 29th of January, the 6th, 14th, and the 20th of February, announce in succession a delay of eight days at Port Saïd, his arrival at Beyrout and at Damascus, and his departure for Haifa. He received the greatest assistance at Beyrout from Consul-General Eldridge. The new Wali of Syria arrived while he was at Beyrout, and he had an opportunity of showing him a portion of the map-work. Horses, which are very dear, in consequence of an epidemic in Egypt and extensive purchases by the Government, were bought at Damascus. Here, too, Lieut. Kitchener saw Abd el Kader, who expressed his deep regret that the Safed outrage had been perpetrated by his followers, and gave him letters which should secure the party from a repetition of the attack. The country is reported quite quiet, and apparently safe for surveying purposes. The noncommissioned officers were to have landed at Haifa, but were carried on to Beyrout in consequence of bad weather. The heavy luggage was sent back to Haifa by sea under charge of Corporal Brophy; and Lieut. Kitchener, with Sergeant Malings and Corporal Sunderland, rode down the coast from Beyrout. Work was started on the 27th. The work already completed consists in the filling-in of the detail of the Akka plain, and running the line of levels from Mejdél to the Mediterranean.

---

Lieutenant Conder, as his papers in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* prove, is occupied entirely in the preparation of his notes for the Memoir to accompany the Map. All the sheets drawn during the last year are consigned to the charge of the Union Bank of London for greater safety. When Lieut. Kitchener has been able to clear up certain points of difficulty which require investigation on the ground, there will be nothing to prevent the publication of these sheets.

---

The programme for 1877, announced in January, has thus been fairly commenced. The cost of the whole is, as then stated, upwards of £300 a month. The supporters of the undertaking will remember that the Committee are always in want of money, and that the earlier subscriptions are paid, the better it is for the Society.

We publish a paper by M. Clermont-Ganneau on the "Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The discovery there announced and described is of great importance from an archaeological point of view. If his conclusion be correct, then the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would seem to be built over—not one tomb only, but a collection of undoubted Jewish tombs.

---

Local Societies have been formed since last January in Norwich, where the Dean has consented to join the General Committee; in Derby; and at Melbourne. The particulars of the formation of the latter are given in a letter below.

---

Captain Anderson gives an account of Jacob's Well and its surroundings as he saw it on his visit ten years ago. We are able to promise for the next number a drawing from a sketch made on the spot two years ago, by Mr. H. W. Harper. Meantime Lieut. Kitchener will report to the Committee, as soon as he has time to visit the place, what can be done there. Until this report is received, no further action will be taken in the matter.

---

An offer has been made by Mr. F. Locock of £50 towards a special fund for the examination and preservation of Rachel's Tomb. The Committee have ordered this offer to be recorded. As in the case of Jacob's Well, no action can be taken until a report has been received from Lieut. Kitchener.

---

A letter has been received from the Rev. Selah Merrill, of the American Palestine Association. He has presented the Committee with a sketch of his route map east of Jordan. He was to start for Moab on the 6th of March, with the design of visiting Kerak, the south end of the Dead Sea, Bezer, Ramoth-Gilead, Penuel, and many other places.

---

The following is the financial position of the Fund (March 29th). Receipts from Jan. 1 to March 29th, £1,201 15s. 3d. Expenditure for the same period: Exploration, £856 1s. 1d.; office and management, £206 16s. 6d.; unpaid bills, £100. The balance in the banks on the 29th was £362 19s. 3d. This is only equal to the expenditure for the month of April. The sum of £2,000 is asked for between April 1st and Sept. 30th. This will be very easily raised if subscribers will be good enough to forward their subscriptions for the year at once instead of waiting till the end of the year. The balance-sheet and Treasurer's statement will be found in their usual places.

---

Several cases were discovered in 1876 of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready, and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey.



The following are at present Diocesan Representatives of the Society :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

---

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

---

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

---

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteen pence.

---

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

---

#### FORMATION OF A NEW LOCAL ASSOCIATION AT MELBOURNE.

The following Report, dated Dec. 21st, 1876, has been received from Mr. H. W. Fry, authorised to act on behalf of the Society during his visit to Australia and New Zealand :—

"I have much pleasure in now sending a *résumé* of the work I have done in this town. When I arrived I presented your letter to Mr. W., but found that the interest he takes in the subject is only very general, and he has not the time to

assist us. I therefore wrote to the leading paper here on the subject, but before I got an answer I was introduced to the Rev. W. Poole, of Dorcas Street, Emerald Hill, Melbourne; and I determined to accept his offer to undertake the post of secretary. He knows almost every one, is very energetic, and takes great interest in the work. He promised to get up a committee, but after I left him I thought there would be nothing like doing what could be done at once, so I arranged to hold a meeting at the earliest date convenient, and did all I could to get a fair attendance. The meeting was held on Wednesday afternoon, an account of which you will find in the papers which I send you. It was there resolved to appoint a provisional committee, and Mr. Poole secretary *pro tem.*, and to hold another public meeting this afternoon, which was advertised and done. The committee were then made permanent, and one or two names added, and they all pledged themselves to support the Society. The committee consist of the following gentlemen: the Very Rev. Dean Macartney; Revs. S. L. Chase, A. Gosman, A. Davidson, C. M. Yelland, W. Wood, G. P. Lush, and Mr. E. M. Gibbs; also the treasurer, Dr. Iflla. There already exists a good deal of interest in the matter amongst the general public. Mr. Poole would like two calico maps similar to those I have, and he and the other clergy on the committee will give lectures on the subject. I asked the Governor, Sir Geo. Bowen, to let his name appear as patron, and I think he will do so. I am not able to write more fully now as I am just leaving for Tasmania. I think we may congratulate ourselves on having started very well here, and I quite believe it will prove a very valuable branch.

"H. W. Fry."

## LIEUTENANT KITCHENER'S REPORTS.

### I.

PALESTINE SURVEY CAMP, HAIFFA,  
6th March, 1877.

AFTER seven days' delay at Port Said, owing to the non-arrival of the Russian steamer, I reached Beyrout on the 6th February, and found that the newly-appointed Governor-General of Syria, Zia Pacha, had not arrived. He was, however, daily expected, and on the 8th February he landed. On the 9th I went with Mr. Eldridge, who was making his official visit, and saw him. The Wali appeared to take considerable interest in our work, and wished me every success. I was informed that he probably would not be able to give me the letters I required until he reached the seat of his government at Damascus. On the 11th, therefore, I went to Damascus to await him there, as also to collect our scattered servants and to buy horses. Mr. Jago, the English Consul at Damascus, kindly asked me to stay with him.

After calling upon the acting Governor-General, I saw the Emir Abd el Kader, who received me very well, and expressed great regret for the conduct of his people in the late affair at Safed. On his returning my visit he gave me letters to his chiefs at Tiberias and Safed, which I hope will prove of great use to me.

While at Damascus I heard of the arrival of my noncommissioned officers at Beyrout, having been driven past Haiffa by stress of weather, and as the Wali did not seem likely to attempt the crossing of the mountains, I went back to Beyrout, hoping to get my letters there. After three days, by the kind efforts of our Consul-General, Mr. Eldridge,

I received the required letters, and as my party was now complete, men and animals, I started the same day for Haiffa, where I arrived with my noncommissioned officers on Saturday, the 24th.

Some time was lost in getting our things out of store, in repairing damages, and in cleaning instruments. On Wednesday, the 28th, I am glad to report that work was fairly started. The day before I saw the Pacha of Acca, who received me very well and gave me a letter to all his kaimacams; also, after a short correspondence, I have received from him a special letter for the kaimacam of Safed and two zabtiehs to be permanently attached to the expedition. The country seems to be very quiet and orderly, the Government having determined to put down all fanaticism, and the calling out of the redifs has drained the country of young men. I have, therefore, no apprehension of any difficulty occurring to delay our work or to interfere with the manner of its progress.

The work that had to be done from this camp was: 1st. The detail of the Acca Plain had to be worked in; 2nd, the line of levels running from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee had to be completed from Mejdal to the sea. I am glad to be able to report that both these works have been satisfactorily finished. The detail of forty-five square miles has been worked in, and two bench-marks have been cut at Haiffa on the rocks, and one at Jiden, thus finishing the levelling on this side.

Owing to the lateness of the rainy season this year the country is still in a very swampy condition, and even had we not been unavoidably delayed, work could hardly have been begun before. The Kishon has to be crossed in a boat, the horses and mules swimming, and as we have had to cross it twice every day it has caused great loss of time. The first day we found considerable difficulty in crossing the Plain of Acca owing to the marshy nature of the ground after the late rains, and could only get to our work by making a long detour after some of us had experienced the pleasures of a mud bath. We were also delayed one day by wet weather.

I have also made a strict inquiry after the name of "Kulmon" or "Kalamon," mentioned in *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20, as to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin, but not on those of M. Guerin and Vandevelde, and which also occurs on Murray's map. The German colony here have purchased nearly all the land north of Tireh, and by the kind permission of Mr. Sennaker, I have been allowed to carefully examine their title-deeds; though they have land all round Khurbet Kefr es Samir, no such name occurs.

I have also ridden to Tireh with the sole object of finding this name. I asked every one I met on the road there and back, about twenty people, first for all the names of the country round, and as a last resource, if they had ever heard of "Kulmon," "Kulamon," or anything like it. At Kh. Kefr es Samir I found an old man who inhabited a cave close by, and put the same questions. At Tireh I saw the sheikh and about

two dozen men; none had ever heard of such a name. Since then the superior of the convent of Mount Carmel, who knows the district most thoroughly, has assured me that no such name occurs. I can therefore only assume that the name does not exist, and that our map is therefore right in not putting it on. How other maps have procured the name seems difficult to understand; but, as in some other case, it may have been supplied by some too enthusiastic traveller, who looked more for what ought to be in the country than what is.

Lieutenant Conder appears to have got over the difficulty of the want of the name in the case of the identification of Kalamon, *vide Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20.

I hope to-morrow to move my camp to Hattin, and from thence, and the camp after, to survey the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.,  
Commanding Survey of Palestine.

---

### JACOB'S WELL.

A PARAGRAPH in the last *Quarterly Statement* informed subscribers that Dr. Nathaniel Rogers, of Exeter, had contributed £50, and Miss Peache, of Wimbledon, £100, for the purpose of clearing out Jacob's Well, and for surrounding and protecting the well with stonework. Before this can be done it is necessary that a careful examination should be made of the site, and this will be carried out at the earliest opportunity by Lieutenant Kitchener, who is now in Palestine. Pending the receipt of Lieutenant Kitchener's report, it may be interesting to the subscribers to have before them an account of the well and the adjacent site from notes taken on the spot by our explorer, Captain Anderson, in 1866.

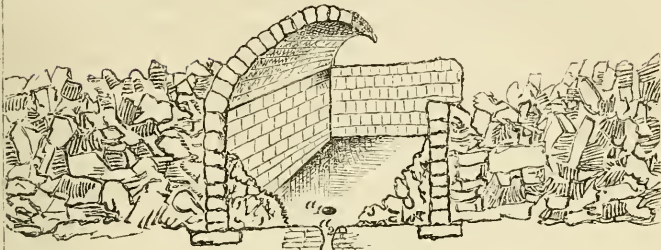
“March 31st, 1877.

“Jacob's Well is situated at the spot where the Vale of Shechem merges into the Plain of El Mukna, and the site is acknowledged by Jews, Moslems, and Christians. The existence of a well sunk to a great depth in a place where watersprings on the surface are abundant is sufficiently remarkable to give this well a peculiar history. It is remarkably characteristic of the prudence and forethought of the great Patriarch, who, having purchased a parcel of ground at the entrance of the vale, secured on his own property, by dint of great toil, a perennial supply of water at a time when the adjacent watersprings were in the hands of unfriendly, if not actually hostile neighbours.

“In the midst of a mass of ruined stones, among which are two or three columns still standing, is a vaulted chamber about fifteen feet square, and in the floor of the chamber are two openings four feet apart, one of which is the proper mouth of the well. The other opening is either an accidental breach, or has been designedly made in a rough and ready way for the convenience of having two mouths, by which pitchers



RUINED VAULT OVER  
JACOBS' WELL.



SECTION OF JACOBS' WELL

Rough Masonry

Depth of Well 75 ft.  
1866  
Diameter 7 ft. 6 in.

$a_1 a_2$  Openings  
into Well

Limestone  
Rock

Fig. 2.



Plan of Church  
built over Jacobs Well  
described by Isidore  
AD 700



could be lowered into the well simultaneously. The true mouth of the well has a narrow opening just wide enough to allow the body of a man to pass through with arms uplifted, and this narrow neck, which is about four feet long, opens out into the well itself, which is cylindrically shaped and about seven feet six inches in diameter. The mouth and upper part of the well is built of masonry, and the well appears to have been sunk through a mixture of alluvial soil and limestone fragments till a compact bed of mountain limestone was reached, having horizontal strata which could be easily worked, and the interior of the well presents the appearance of being lined throughout with rough masonry.

"The well, when examined in 1866, was only seventy-five feet deep, but there can be no doubt that the original depth was much greater, as quantities of rubbish have fallen into the well from the ruins of the buildings that formerly covered it, and passers-by for many centuries have probably thrown stones into it. Robinson states that the well in 1838 was 105 feet deep, and if his measurement is correct, *débris* to a depth of thirty feet has accumulated in thirty-eight years. In 1875 the depth was found by Lieutenant Conder to be seventy-five feet, the same as in 1866. The well was undoubtedly sunk to a great depth for the purpose of securing, even in exceptionally dry seasons, a supply of water, which at great depths would always be filtering through the sides of the well and would collect at the bottom. When examined in April, 1866, the well was dry, but an earthenware pitcher was found at the bottom of the well and not broken, which would indicate that water still collects in the well at some seasons, as the pitcher would have been broken had it fallen upon the stones.

"The vaulted chamber over the well might possibly be the crypt of the church built over the well about the fourth century.\* Areulphus, one of the early travellers in Palestine, describes the church in the form of a cross and the well in the middle; but by the time of the Crusaders the church was destroyed, and subsequent travellers who visited the well mention only the ruins around it.

"It would be a matter of the greatest interest if the Committee were enabled, through the liberality of Dr. Rogers and Miss Peache, not only to clear out the well, but to excavate and disclose to view the foundations of one of the earliest cruciform churches. It would then be for consideration how to give effect to the proposal to surround and protect the well with stonework.

"The accompanying woodcut illustrates the state of the vault as it appeared nine years ago, but since then many of the stones composing it, and probably all the well-cut stones in the adjacent ruins,

\* In *Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1874, page 6, reference is made to the church at Abu Ghôsh, named after St. Jerome, where excavations have disclosed a crypt, forming a complete subterranean church, which contains a cave or cistern filled with water.

have been removed to supply materials for the new Turkish barrack, situated half a mile distant in the direction of Nablûs.

“S. A.”

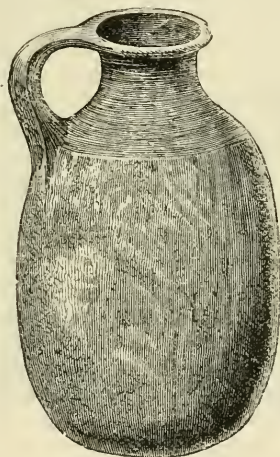
Mr. H. A. Harper, another member of the Executive Committee, has kindly consented to contribute to the next *Quarterly Statement* a sketch, taken in 1875, of Jacob's Well and the adjacent slope of Mount Gerizim.

### AGE OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

A QUESTION having arisen as to the possible date of the small jar of Phœnician pottery found by Captain Warren in a hole scooped in the rock, three feet east of the corner foundation-stone of the south-east angle of the Temple wall, the Committee have referred the jar itself to their colleague, Dr. Birch, probably the highest living authority in relation to such matters. Dr. Birch's report is as follows:—

“January 10th, 1877.

“MY DEAR SIR,—The little vase which you left accompanies the



present letter. It is of rather rude shape and coarse terra-cotta, and closely resembles some in the British Museum, said to have been found in Rachel's tomb at Bethlehem. As there was also found at the same site a shell engraved with figures, and partly carved, which might be as old as the fourth or fifth century B.C., it is just possible that the vase, which resembles Egyptian ware in shape, might be as old as that period, but there are no data to my knowledge from inscriptions on this class of pottery to determine its actual age.

“Believe me,

“Yours very truly,

“WALTER BESANT, Esq.”

“SAMUEL BIRCH.

## THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

## I.—TOMB OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA.

ABOUT twenty yards west of the Holy Sepulchre, in the church itself, is a little crypt traditionally known as the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, or the Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus. The question whether this crypt is ancient or not has long been recognised as one of the essential elements in the great controversy over the authenticity of the Sepulchre.

The ascertained existence in this place of remains belonging without doubt to a Jewish burial-place, would at once remove one of the principal objections to the authenticity of the site.

The question may, in fact, be resolved into two propositions, the latter subordinate to the former—viz., (1) Can the traditional Sepulchre, which is within the walls of the modern city, really be a Jewish tomb? and (2) If so, can it be the Tomb of our Lord?

The presence round the Sepulchre of a group of ancient tombs would solve the first difficulty, which many desire to see removed before proceeding to the second. They do not see their way to admit that there were, in the time of our Lord, tombs existing on the spot which now is shown as His. It is, therefore, most important to establish, if possible, the fact that the shrine now adored has, or may have, within it, if not the very tomb in which Jesus was laid, at least a real Jewish tomb.

Both adversaries and partisans of the Sepulchre have appreciated the value of this preliminary difficulty, and have from the first made it the starting-point of their argument. But neither have, in my opinion, produced an exhaustive examination of the place in dispute.

I have been enabled, by a careful study of this crypt, to ascertain sundry points which I believe have not been noticed by my predecessors, and which appear to me decisive in this question.

Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon has recently, in a remarkable article on the Holy Sepulchre,\* called attention to this aspect of an archaeological problem which, in spite of its erudite character, has had the rare privilege of exciting general interest and raising the most passionate discussions, and he has shown the value of the new facts ascertained by my own researches on this point. I will endeavour to explain very briefly the nature of these results, and to bring before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* a few observations on their nature and extent.

A few yards west of the Holy Sepulchre, which rises isolated in the midst of the rotunda of the church, we enter, after passing through two of the columns on which the cupola rests, a little chapel belonging to the Syrians. At the end of the chapel is an apse looking west. A passage on the left, at the commencement of the apse, gives access obliquely to a narrow and dark retreat partly formed by walls cut in the rock, and partly by the wall belonging to the church itself.

\* *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1877.

There is a step cut in the rock. Mounting this, we see at our feet, by the uncertain light of a smoky lamp, a black and angular hole in the rocky soil. A few inches beyond we have before us the wall cut vertically in the rock. In the middle of this wall is an arcade semicircular and sunk in the wall, about 4 feet in height by 24 feet in breadth. It covers two smaller arched openings, two black and gaping jaws—*kokim* (K J, Fig. 2), which are sunk horizontally into the rocky foundation to a depth which we shall presently learn.

On the right is another wall of rock, making, with that of the end, an obtuse angle. Two other openings (I H) are pierced in it, but these are walled up. Between the second mouth and the entrance of the vault the wall is constructed; in it is a door (E) shut with a key.

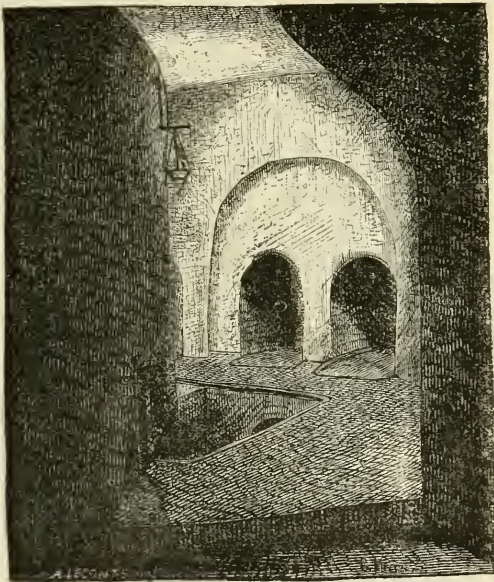


Fig. 1

The wall on the left is made up of a thick wall (Fig. 1) which traverses diagonally the ditch cut in the ground, and forms, with the two other walls, two very acute angles. The lamp is suspended to this wall.

This singular retreat is therefore triangular. Two only of the sides are of rock, the third being a part of the wall belonging to the church, which appears to have been thus built across a pre-existing cave. The greater part of the roof is also cut in the rock.

At the left extremity of the wall, at the back, beside the opening of the hole K, we may recognise the existence of a third opening similar to the others, but walled up and partly hidden by the thick oblique wall.



The stopping of this opening is not so perfect but that we can insert a thin stick and prove that here is a third place, I, parallel to the other two, and lying, like those, horizontally in the rock.

On the wall to right we make a similar observation. There was once following the two openings I H (Fig. 2), in the place occupied by the little closed gate E, a third opening parallel to the preceding. It is easy to ascertain, towards the point O, the commencement of the lateral wall of the opening now destroyed.

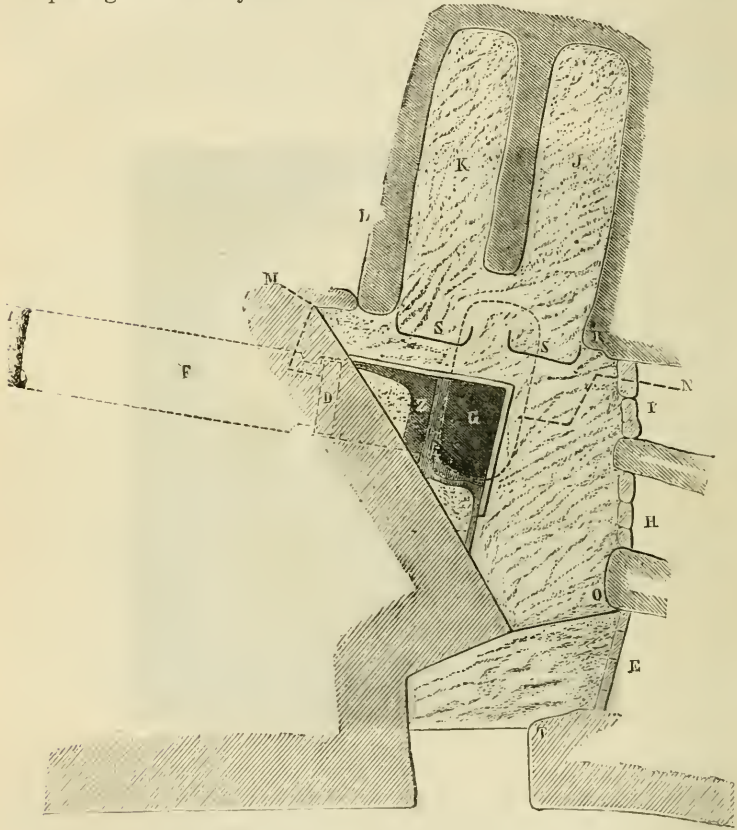


Fig. 2

Already in this disposition of rock-cut openings had been recognised the general form of Jewish tombs, which consists of a small square cave, with a certain number (generally 3+3+3) of loculi in three of the four faces. But even those who admitted this resemblance were unable to give a satisfactory account of the primitive form which belonged to this cave, and could offer no reply to the grave objections which their adversaries made on certain strange peculiarities.



Before proceeding further, let us consider a point which has contributed largely to the controversy; it is the kind of hole cut in the rocky floor of the chamber in front of the loculus K, which I have already mentioned. It consists of a triangular opening, Z G, the angle of which is opposed to the oblique wall on the left. The two sides of this angle show on the edge a small groove or rebate, probably intended to receive a horizontal slab. Along the wall the edges of the trench are irregularly cut away.

On descending (at G) into this hollow, which is 3ft. 7in. deep, we find ourselves in a kind of long cave, marked in dots on the plan (Fig. 2), which runs partly (especially on the right between S S) under the rock; thus we can see at G, on Fig. 2, how it penetrates beneath the loculi K J. This hole is less than 5ft. long by 1ft. 8in. in breadth. Certainly no adult body could have been placed in it. Still less, again, in the

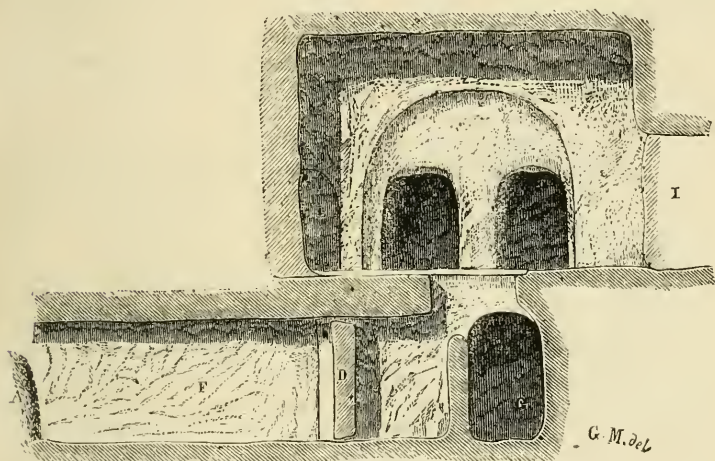


Fig. 3.

hole Z, which is close to G, and separated from it only by a thin partition cut in the rock. This is rectangular, and 2ft. in length by 1ft. 7in. in breadth; it is partly covered over by a fragment of flat rock. Its height is 2ft. 7in. Between the edge of the rock forming the ceiling and the upper edge of the partition, which separates the two trenches Z H, there is only 10in. of breadth.

The smallness of these dimensions renders the examination of these holes extremely difficult. That is probably the reason why no one before me ever ascertained a *fact of capital importance, so much so as to profoundly modify all received ideas up to the present on one side and the other.*

But before stating what I may without any exaggeration call a discovery, let me return to a few details which are not without interest.

Those who maintain the apocryphal character of the Holy Sepulchre, relying on the dimensions of the two latter holes (to which tradition attaches the names of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus) deny them any sepulchral character, because they are not large enough to contain the bodies of adults. The objection is specious, and it has been even pushed to an extreme by the supposition that we have here a pseudo-sepulchre hollowed out at the period of the Crusaders on a Jewish model, in order to furnish a material justification of the legend. I need not point out how inadmissible this supposition is, and how little in accordance with popular habits, which generally imagine the legend in order to explain the monument.

It might be replied that we have simply two hollow places excavated as ossuaries, and intended to receive the bones accumulated in the sepulchre either directly or by means of those little funerary chests or coffins of which I collected so many and such curious specimens during my mission.

The same objection has been urged against the loculi K J placed in the higher level. In fact, these two loculi hardly measure more at the present moment than 5ft. in depth, which is insufficient for a body of ordinary proportions.

The loculi have in general a depth of 6ft. 6in.; and it must be owned that this time the objection is more embarrassing than before, and that those who think these are fictitious or artificial sepulchres may find an occasion for triumph over this argument. The reply, however, although it has never to my knowledge been made, is easy.

We saw above that the mouths of the two loculi are within a sunken arcade; hollowed out, that is, of the flat vertical wall. Suppose for a moment that the arcade was made after the loculi. What follows? The loculi would be increased in length by the space which they lost in sinking the arcade, as the arcade would have simply shortened the loculi by cutting away the front part. Well, that is exactly what has happened. The loculi originally extended as far as S S in the drawing; we have the material proof. The removal of the rock has not been so skilfully effected as not to leave behind the visible traces of this original extension. These traces are easily to be recognised in the engraving of the cave.

We must also observe that this unmistakable mark, which goes considerably beyond the end of the arcade, is slightly in advance of the perpendicular face of the wall, which would tend to prove that the wall itself had experienced a slight setting back.

If we proceed to restore the loculi to their original dimensions by measuring them from the end to the line S S, we shall find ample room for our regulation two metres.

But, it will be asked, for what purpose was this arcade hollowed out and the two loculi thus disfigured? For what purpose? Here we may introduce our legend. Popular belief attached to this place the names of Joseph and Nicodemus. The double site has been localised in the

two loculi, visible at once to pilgrims, to this crypt half destroyed by the construction of the church. Then, in order to fix this association indissolubly to the spot, and to give the sanctuary in course of formation a religious consecration, they constructed this kind of niche, convenient for the purposes of worship, and lending to these openings thus connected the aspect of a little chapel. I am convinced, for my own part, that in the middle ages the two tombs revered were the two loculi, and not, as is generally admitted, the two little subterranean hollows to the consideration of which I must now come.

If we descend into hole G and contrive to introduce a head into the narrow opening of Z (10in.) to examine its walls, we shall be amply rewarded for this disagreeable kind of *tour de force*, which makes the archæologist, so to speak, stand on his head. The same results can, to be sure, be arrived at by lying flat on the ground and then sliding into the hole head first: a position quite as uncomfortable as the first. We perceive, then, that the rectangular hollow, Z, is not in reality en-

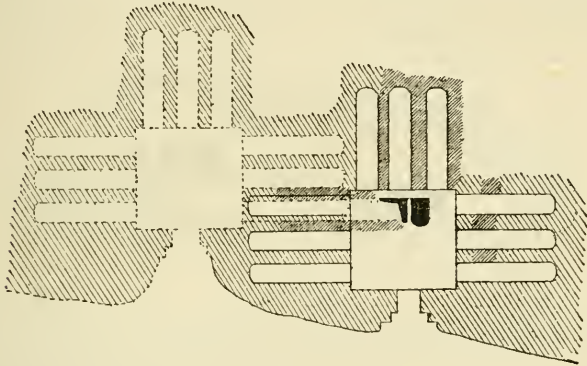


Fig. 4.

tirely formed by the rock, but that one of its sides, that of the end, parallel to the partition of rock, consists of a vertical slab about 2ft. 3in. in height.

This slab covers the entrance of a long passage apparently cut in the rock; it seems to be placed against a little rebate, also well cut and jutting out behind it. I was able to introduce between the interstices of the slab and the rock in which it rests a long stick, which penetrated to more than 6ft. 6in.; after that I could get no farther, and I thought I was stopped by earth and rubbish. I repeated my experiment several times, and touched with the stick the side walls and roof of this kind of corridor. M. Lecomte relieved me in this fatiguing work and it is thus that we were able to get the elements of the figures marked F in Figs. 2 and 3. After a good many failures I managed to light up the passage by arming the extremity of my stick

with a bit of lighted candle, and so verify by sight what I had discovered by touch.

A single glance at the drawings will show all those who are at all conversant with the question the considerable value of this fact, which, I think, I was the first to discover, and by which the field of a discussion already large is remarkably enlarged. I need hardly speak of the ardent curiosity which impelled me to find out, if possible, whither the passage blocked by this mysterious slab leads. There is the chance of finding oneself in some new sepulchral chamber totally unknown before: perhaps inviolate, perhaps pillaged, but so as to leave behind some relics precious to an archæologist—funerary objects, worthless in themselves, but furnishing valuable evidence of synchronisms; ossuaries, fragments of ossuaries, with Hebrew inscriptions such as I found in other places round Jerusalem. Cannot we picture to ourselves the conclusions which might be drawn, on the points at issue, from an epigraphic document of this kind? I indulged in all these dreams of an antiquary, and I may go on indulging in them, because the authorisation to remove the slab could not be procured. The possession of this sanctuary is, like so many others, the object of dispute among the various clergies, so that

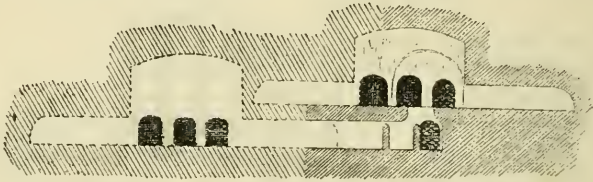


Fig. 5.

one does not know where to apply. Besides, at the moment I was in a very delicate situation towards the administrative and religious authorities of Jerusalem, in consequence of the quarrel about the "Moabite" potteries and the Gezer case. I had raised up against myself so many animosities that even my personal credit was beginning to suffer. Everybody knows, besides, what grave political complications may be caused in that singular city of Jerusalem by the least attempt to touch, not only a stone, but even a rag, or a nail, in these disputed sacred places.

Is it possible, from what we already know, to form any idea of what this unknown passage may be?

The first idea which presents itself is that, as in many other sepulchral chambers, a corridor gives access to a second chamber situated at a lower level (Fig. 5). But, on reflection, that seems difficult to suppose. The dimensions of this corridor, although narrow, are indeed broad enough to admit of passage, and the different cemeteries of Jerusalem furnish us examples of corridors as narrow and as low; but the dimensions of the mouth of the passage, between the edge of the flooring and the partition, are certainly too small. A living man might with difficulty thrust him-



self through this kind of cleft; but it appears to me almost impossible to force a body through. The rigidity of death would prevent the bending of the limbs necessary to get through this cleft into the passage itself.

The same objection may be raised against those who may be tempted to consider this space (F, Fig. 3) as belonging simply to a supplementary loculus, the slab closing the original opening, and the loculus coming to an end in the rock close to the point A, where I ascertained the presence of the *débris*. Passage or loculus, this hole offers equal difficulties to the introduction of a corpse. Besides, in the latter assumption, we are open to new considerations.

1. The mouth, nearly impracticable, of this opening, would be in advance, in the middle of the sepulchral chamber; we should expect it to be, as usual in such cases, below the loculi in the left wall, and in the vertical level of this wall.

2. The height of this loculus, about 2ft. 7in., would be greater than that of the loculi (L K J) of the same sepulchre.\*

3. The length of this pretended loculus, measured from the partition which separates G and Z to the point A reached by my rod, is 9ft. 1in.; that is, it would exceed by 2ft. 7in. the regular length of the loculi. If we only measured from the slab D—*i.e.*, from the rebate, we should obtain the normal length of 6ft. 6in.; but what are we to make, in that case, of the trench Z, which would then be situated in front of the loculus, and would be a useless and unintelligible prolongation?

4. The accumulation of rubbish in A (Figs. 2 and 3), at the end of the passage, seems to show that there is a large space beyond from which the rubbish comes; the angle of this accumulation  $\Delta$  leads us to believe that the *débris* has fallen in a direction from A to D, and not from D to A, in which case the angle would be  $\angle$ , just the reverse. Now, the end of the loculus being exactly marked by this point A, whence come the *débris* which we find where we looked for rock?

This place, therefore, is not a blind passage.

The right wall (R O, Fig. 2) is not the original wall, although it is cut in the rock. It would form, with the rocky wall at the end (in which are the loculi K J), nearly a right, and not, as in fact it does form, an acute angle. It is probable that it lay originally along the line R T, and that it was afterwards cut again to enlarge the chamber, and especially to form a passage between the wall on the left and the point O. Naturally the loculi I H E have been shortened by the operation, so that we can now predicate of them that when it is possible to explore them, they will not be found of the normal length of 6ft. 6in.

The original *point de départ* of this wall thus altered is perhaps marked in the rock by a small notch at the point R, although this lies a little behind the marks at S S, the mouths of the loculi K J.

\* The same remark applies to the niche G, which is nearly of the same height, and which we cannot, for reasons given above, consider as a loculus, but as a receptacle for ossuaries.

We may observe besides, that in adopting this, so to speak, forced restoration of the wall on the right, we note that one of the walls of the loculi N and E (in O) is manifestly perpendicular to this imaginary line. If we suppose that the side walls of the three other loculi have been slightly altered or re-cut transversely to a depth at which they were originally irregular, we can establish between the wall on the right and the loculi which were pierced there, the perpendicularity which is *de rigueur*, and which the present state of the place is far from showing.

The loculus J of the wall at the end, and the loculus I on the right wall (Fig. 2), considered by themselves, are very nearly at right angles at R, as is the custom in the tombs of Palestine; but the irregularity commences at the second side wall of the loculus I, which is not parallel to the first.

Taking all these observations into consideration, we had better suppose the corridor to be nothing else than a loculus belonging to a *neighbouring chamber* (Figs. 4 and 5), and that the end of it was perforated and prolonged at the time when the trenches G and Z were cut. It is an accident which not infrequently happens in the tombs of Palestine: often two sepulchral caves are so close, that the *kokims* of the one penetrate to the interior of the other. This penetration may be accidental, the result of inaccurate measurements, or ignorance of the existence of a neighbouring chamber, or intentional to establish a communication between the two caves and make them one and the same tomb. Here the communication would seem to have been due to accident, otherwise they would have had to make access to the "corridor" easier and less painful. Nevertheless I cannot be certain on this last point; it is most prudent to wait for a complete exploration.

However that may be, loculus or corridor, it is more than probable that this passage, unknown up to the present day, leads to a second sepulchral chamber situated on a slightly lower level than that of the first, and completely covered over with the building of the church.

## II.—THE FRIEZE OVER THE SOUTH DOOR.

In one of my Reports published in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1874, p. 140) I gave an account of a remarkable bas-relief in marble, found in an Arab's house in Jerusalem, and representing the triumphal entry of our Lord on the Day of Palms. I ascertained the presence in this fragment of the mediæval dressing, which I have proved to be the infallible sign of Crusaders' work in Palestine; and I drew the conclusion that the monument, despite its Byzantine air, was really Western work. I also observed a general inclination of the figures forward, which seemed to show that the sculpture was intended for some door-lintel or decorative frieze, and meant to be seen from below, like that which surmounts the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*not* the Church of St. John, as by some typographic error I am made to say in the *Quarterly Statement*).

I believe I have found the exact origin of this interesting fragment ; and if so, this origin fully confirms all the observations and conclusions I then drew from the appearance of the fragment.

It is nothing else than a piece of the frieze of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which represents different scenes in the life of our Lord. On examining recently a drawing of the frieze, I find that there is a great gap in the scene of the triumphal entry, which this fragment just fills up. I have a photograph of the fragment, but, unfortunately, none of the frieze, else I might be able to show at once that the edges of the fragment correspond with the border of the frieze.

It is to be desired that the fragment might be restored to its original place, which would be an exceedingly simple operation. They told me that it belonged to the foundation of an Arab house ; very likely the truth, because the mutilation may be old enough to allow of the piece broken off being used over again in new buildings. We have on this point evidence as far back as 1480, that of the German monk, F. Faber, otherwise Friar Schmidt, who has left us a minute account of the church. After saying that the lintel over the entrance of the church is of white marble (*de candidissimo marmore*), and that it is sculptured on the outside to represent the entry into Jerusalem of the Lord mounted on an ass (*sculptum imaginibus de ingressu Domini super asinam in Jerusalem*), the scene of those who bought and sold in the Temple, and the resurrection of Lazarus, he adds that these sculptures have been broken and mutilated (*violenter destructe et mutilate membris*). The mutilation is thus at least as old as the 15th century. Baedeker's Guide says : -- "Then follows the entry into Jerusalem : here, unfortunately, the principal figure is destroyed, with the exception of the head. . . . The execution of the whole work is remarkably lifelike."

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

---

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE memoir of Sheet 7 is now complete, and contains many points of interest. Among others the notes on Cæsarea will be of great value, as giving dated specimens of the Crusading work. It is possible to distinguish the work of Gautier D'Avesne (1218 A.D.) in the walls, from that of the time of St. Louis (1251 A.D.), and thus to give indications as to the date of many buildings in Palestine as yet undetermined and not heard of in history. The use of "male" and "female" arches in the cathedral and other buildings, also, is of importance, as disproving the idea that one kind was Saracenic, the other Gothic.

The mediæval history of Palestine is of the greatest importance. If ignorant of the towns and castles built by the Crusaders, we shall always be in danger of imputing too great antiquity to existing ruins, and unable to disentangle the threads of native and foreign tradition. I

have now prepared an index of more than 300 mediæval sites; but many will be added by study of the Chronicles before this can be considered at all complete.

One or two out-of-the-way identifications may be noted.

*Sellen* was a casale, or village, which was given to the Teutonic knights, about 1200 A.D. It was in Galilee, and mentioned with Mogar (*el Mûghâr*), Zekkanin (*Sukhnûn*), Arabia (*'Arrâbeh*), and Romane (*Rammâneh*). It is evidently, therefore, the modern *Khûrbet Sellâmel*, the Salamis of Josephus; but the identification seems to have been missed by M. Rey, who identifies the other places. It was a Druse village, but was reduced to ruins in 1110 A.H.

*Jemvârah*.—This curious name exists in the south, on Sheet 21, applied to a ruin. It is no doubt the Gæmmararis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (*circa* 140 A.D.) as in Idumæa (a term applied to all the Hebron hills by Josephus) on the west of Jordan.

*Oshch*, in Galilee, was one of the seats of the Sanhedrim, the only one as yet unknown. It was separated from Shafram (*Shefa-'Amr*) by a sabbath day's journey. This serves to identify it with the little ruin called *Hûshch*, S.W. of the latter town, and which, if we allow each town to have had a limit of a sabbath day's journey, is separated from *Shefa 'Amr* by the required distance.

*Tomb of Habakkuk*.—This was shown according to St. Jerome at Eccela, seven miles from Eleutheropolis, which he supposes to be the site of the hill Hachilah (Onom. s.v. *Echela*). Again he speaks of the same place as being Keilah (s.v. *Ceila*), and eight miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron. Again, speaking of Gabatha, twelve miles from Eleutheropolis (s.v. *Gabuath*), he states that the tomb of Habakkuk was to be seen there. The remains of Habakkuk and Micah are said to have been found at Keilah in the time of Zebenus, Bishop of Eleutheropolis, according to Nicephorus (H.E. xii. 48) and Sozomen (H.E. vii. 28). The two accounts of Jerome do not seem to agree; the first place, Keilah or Hachilah, is evidently the modern *Kilah*, which is about seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, where old tombs occur. The Gabatha mentioned is evidently *Jeba'*, further north, eleven Roman miles from Beït Jibrin, near which is a ruin called *Habeik*, which it struck me might have some connection with the name of Habakkuk, as it comes from an equivalent root. The *Mûkâms* here do not preserve the name required.

*Hachilah*.—As regards Hachilah, Jerome is evidently wrong. The hill Hachilah (Εχελά) was on the right, or south of the Jeshimon (1 Sam. xxiii. 19), and is also noticed as "facing" it (1 Sam. xxvi. 3). The Jeshimon is generally supposed to be the desert between the Dead Sea and the Hebron hills. It seems to me most probable that the name of this famous hill is preserved in the *Dahret el Kotah*, or "hilly ridge," which runs down from the plateau on which *Zif* stands, towards the desert of Engedi. The identification supposes a softening of the first guttural, of which there are accepted examples. The Hebrew *caf* is



properly represented by its equivalent in Arabic, and the slight change would be accounted for by the meaning thus given to the word in Arabic.\*

*Geba*.—Another place of this name is noted in the Onomasticon as five miles from Gophna, in the direction of Neapolis. This is evidently the modern *Jibia*, a village in the required direction. Jerome makes it the Gebim of Isaiah x. 13, but the position seems rather far north for this to be correct. Out of 211 places known to Jerome, and noted in the Onomasticon, the following only have escaped identification:—

1. *Adasa*, near Gophna.
2. *Addara*, near Thamnitica and Diospolis.
3. *Adia*, near Gaza.
4. *Arath*, west of Jerusalem.
5. *Aser*, between Ascalon and Azotus.
6. *Azekah*, on road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem.
7. *Giththa*, between Antipatris and Jamnia.
8. *Erimiththa*, in Daroma.
9. *En Nadab*, ten miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Jerusalem.
10. *Curnea*, nine miles from Jerusalem.
11. *Lochis*, seven miles south of Eleutheropolis.
12. *Morasthi*, east of Eleutheropolis.
13. *Salaba*, a large village in the country of Sebaste.
14. *Sanim*, east of Neapolis.
15. *Cophtis*, in Judea.

This will give an idea of the completeness with which the topography has been worked out. Sites without the present boundary of the work (about six in all) are not in this list.

*Chasbi*.—This place, which Jerome makes to be Chezib, he notices as deserted, and near Adullam. The name is probably preserved in the modern *Ain Kezbeh*, near *Beit Nettif*. Jerome's identification seems in this case not improbably correct. (Compare Joshua xv. 44.)

*Hawa*.—This word enters into the names of many places in Palestine, and has, I think, been generally mistranslated. Thus Robinson renders *Kaukab el Hawa* "Meteor of the air," and *Deir el Hawa* "Convent of the wind." But the original meaning of the root in Arabic is "to fall down," and in Hebrew the same word means "ruin." It would seem a considerable improvement to render these names "Kaukab the fallen," and "the tumbled-down convent," titles which apply well to the heaps of fallen masonry. *Kaukab* means, among other things, "a prison," and is the name of several places in Palestine.

*Issachar*.—The cities of this tribe are important, because its limits

\* In a former report I proposed the hill of *Yâkin* as Hachilah, but there are several objections to this: first, it is *west*, not *south* of the Jeshimon; secondly, the letter K is a *Koph*, not a *Kaf*, as required; thirdly, the place has been identified as the site of the town of Cain.

are not otherwise marked. Those identified as yet are given in the list below:—

|                                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Jezreel .. .. .                | = <i>Zerûn</i> .             |
| 2. Chesulloth .. .. .             | = <i>Iksal</i> .             |
| 3. Shunem .. .. .                 | = <i>Sulen</i> .             |
| 4. Haphraim (Affarea, Onom.).. .. | = <i>el Farrîyeh, C.R.C.</i> |
| 5. Shihon (Seon, Onom.) .. ..     |                              |
| 6. Anaharath .. .. .              | = <i>en N'aurah, C.R.C.</i>  |
| 7. Rabbith .. .. .                | = <i>Râba, C.R.C.</i>        |
| 8. Kishion .. .. .                |                              |
| 9. Abez .. .. .                   | = <i>el Khûzneh ? C.R.C.</i> |
| 10. Remeth .. .. .                | = <i>Râmeh</i> .             |
| 11. En Gannim .. .. .             | = <i>Jenin</i> .             |
| 12. En Haddah .. .. .             |                              |
| 13. Beth Pазzez .. .. .           |                              |

Abez means white (Arabic, *Abeid*); the town from position would perhaps be near Taanach (as Kishion is near Kedesh = *T. Abu Kûdeis*). There is here an important ruin called *el Khûzneh* ("the treasure"), and a spring called '*Ain el Abeid* ("white spring"), perhaps a trace of Abez. The last two sites may perhaps be recovered in the Jordan valley or the hills just above it.

*Sun Dial in the Haram*.—This is a curious piece of solid masonry, shown on the Ordnance Plan south-west of the Kubbet es Sakhrâh, on the platform. Its use was explained to me by the sheikh of the mosque. The dial is, however, gone.

In the anonymous description of Palestine (*circa* 1151-57 A.D.), published by De Vogüé (*Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 426), is a passage which may be translated from the Latin as follows:—

"Between the temple and the altar was Barachias the son of Zacharias slain, which altar, afterwards converted by the Saracens into a sun-dial (horologium), may still be seen in the court."

The Temple (*Templum Domini*) in the middle ages was identified with the Kubbet es Sakhrâh. In the rock the chronicles suppose the ark to be hidden under the Holy of Holies; in this they follow Jewish tradition, which supposes the ark in the Temple of Herod to have been in a cave under the Eben Shatiyeh, or stone of foundation.

*Sinjil*.—This curious name, applying to a village just west of the Nablus road, and about twenty miles from Jerusalem and twelve from Nablus, has always been a puzzle to me. In the itinerary above mentioned we probably see the explanation, for the name, containing four radicals, is apparently not Arabic.

"Ten miles from Sychem is the Casale of Saint Gilles (Sancti Egidii), taking its name from the Count of Saint Gilles (Raymond, the fourth Count of Toulouse, called of Saint Gilles—first Crusade, according to Du Vogüé's note), who here camped with the Frank army the day before they came to Jerusalem. Fourteen miles from this Casale is Jerusalem."

The proportionate distances agree, though the mile used seems to have been longer than the English mile. This is almost the only case I have met of a town retaining a Crusading name; there were many others to which the Crusaders gave new names, as Casal Blanc (*Kueikât*), Casale Lambert, Casal Beroard (*Minet el Kü'rah*), Casale Royal, which have lost their mediæval names.

C. R. C.

---

## THE MOSLEM MUKAMS.

### I.

NEXT to the study of the language of the peasantry in Palestine there is probably nothing which will throw more light on the question of the origin of their race than that of the vulgar faith as exemplified in the local sanctuaries scattered over the country, a study which is also of no little importance in relation to the ancient topography of Palestine, as is shown by the various sites which have been recovered by means of the tradition of sacred tombs preserved after the name of the site itself had been lost.

In his interesting paper on the Peasantry (*Quarterly Statement*, Oct., 1875) M. Ganneau remarks: "A methodical search for these *Mükâms* is of the greatest importance." This search has been made during the course of the Survey, so that the names of no fewer than 300 sacred places are now marked on the map, many of which are of the greatest value. It is proposed here to give a sketch of the character of these sites, abstracted from the notes which are to form part of the memoir.

It must be stated first that there is a marked difference between the Bedouin and the Fellahin in regard to the *Mükâms*. In the country occupied by the nomads no such buildings exist, with exception of one or two fallen into ruins. The Arabs, or Bedouin, are by profession Moslems, by practice (at all events east of Jordan) heathen and moon-worshippers, as in the time of Mohammed. Their sacred places are the tombs of their ancestors, and the ancient history of Palestine forms no part of the religion of a race which only entered and conquered the country a thousand years after Christ.

With the *Fellahîn* it is far different. In their religious observances and sanctuaries we find, as in their language, the true history of the country. On a basis of polytheistic faith which most probably dates back to pre-Israelite times, we find a growth of the most heterogeneous description; Christian tradition, Moslem history, and foreign worship are mingled so as often to be entirely indistinguishable, and the so-called Moslem is found worshipping at shrines consecrated to Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and often Pagan memories.

It is in worship at these shrines that the religion of the peasantry consists. Moslem by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and pro-

tection of the village *Mūkām* than to *Allāh* himself, or to Mohammed his prophet.

The word *Mūkām* (the Hebrew *Makom*) means simply "a place" or "station," but the use as meaning a "sacred place" dates back to the Bible times, and it is found in Deuteronomy (chap. xii. v. 2) applied to the places of false worship existing throughout Palestine at the time of Joshua's conquest.\* Other titles are applied to the sacred sites. *Haram* ("sanctuary"), *Kubbeh* ("dome"), *Jāmi'a* ("meeting-house" or "mosque"), *Mazār* ("shrine"), *Mesh-hed* ("monument"). The latter is used also for the little piles of stones (*Meshā-hed*) raised by pilgrims at the various high points (*Meshārif*), whence the sanctuaries first become visible.

The divinities are also known by various titles: *Neby* (Hebrew *Neby*), "the prophet," only applied to the more important and generally the most ancient; *Sūdna*, "our Lord," applied to the patriarchs and to Moslem saints of the first order; *W'ely*, "favourite," or saint, a term often applied by a very simple ellipsis to the building itself; *Sheikh*, "chief" or "elder," by far the commonest term; and *Hāj*, "pilgrim," applied very rarely.

The *Mūkāms* are not always supposed to stand over the tombs of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A cenotaph is indeed almost always to be found there, but often they are regarded merely as "stations," like those in Roman Catholic countries, not necessarily connected with the history of the saint, though very often erected on spots where it is considered probable that he once stood.

The white dome of the *Mūkām* is the most conspicuous object in a Syrian village. The sacred chapel on the hill-top, or the sacred tree by the road-side, is of constant occurrence, and brings forcibly to mind the words of Scripture denouncing the idol altars on mountain-tops and "under every green tree." Few who have visited Palestine will doubt that in the *Mūkāms* we see the survival of the Canaanite false worship; and in one case (*Sheikh Abu 'Amr*) I found beside the chapel a huge platform of unsquared stone and a pit cut in rock, which seemed not impossible to be the remains of the ancient altar of this divinity, whose present title means simply "the father of worship."

The *Mūkāms* differ very materially in their importance. Mr. Drake, writing on the subject (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1872, p. 179) remarks that whilst in one instance the *Mūkām* is a mosque, in another it is merely a rude circle of stones. In some cases nothing is to be seen at all, in others (as at *Tibreh*) the name is attached to a sacred tree, to the branches of which rags are attached as votive offerings.

The reverence shown for these sacred spots is unbounded. Every

\* The word is also used in Exod. xx. 24, as follows: "In all places (*Ham-Makom*) where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." The passage in Deuteronomy is as follows: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places (*Ham-Makmoth*) wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree."



fallen stone from the building, every withered branch of the tree, is carefully preserved. The chapels are sanctuaries in which property can be left with perfect safety. Thus a plough is often to be found put away inside, and one of the sheikhs receives the title "the trustee," from the fact that articles of value to the peasantry are left under his care. The ordinary *Mūkâm* is a little square building, some 10 feet side and 8 feet high, surmounted by a dome, generally having a rude stone crescent in the centre. The building is generally modern, of rude masonry, whitewashed, and therefore very conspicuous. In the south wall, in the interior, is a *Mîhrab*, or "prayer niche," and very generally there is a rude grave in the corner—a cenotaph resembling a modern Moslem tomb. A few mats cover the floor, the door is often ornamented with henna, and a pitcher of water is left for the pilgrims. A large tree, also held sacred, very generally grows close by, a carob, or oak, or terebinth being the most common.

There is frequently a custodian to the site—a religious *sheikh*, a *derwîsh*, or perhaps the elder of the neighbouring village.

The sanctuary is never entered except with bare feet, and the expression *destâr* ("permission") or *destâr ya mubârakeh* ("your leave, O blessed one") is used on crossing the threshold.

It is stated that sacrifices are offered at these places, but this I have never witnessed; votive offerings are given, and when a person is sick a little earthenware lamp is lighted at the *Mūkâm*. Processions round the chapel are also often made, especially at the feast of *Beirâm*.\*

The fear of the anger of the local divinity is deep-rooted in the hearts of the people. To forswear oneself by the sacred tomb is thought sure to bring disaster and death on the offender. Many persons state that they have received blows from invisible fists, supposed to proceed from an enraged *Neby*. The influence of a powerful *sheikh* is thought to extend ten or twenty miles round his *Mūkâm*.

The *Mūkâms* may be divided into seven categories, though the distinction is not observed by the natives, and saints or *Welys* are now living who will at death be honoured with *Mūkâms*. The separate species are as follow:—1st. Biblical characters. These are, no doubt, generally the oldest, and can often be traced back to Jewish tradition. 2nd. Christian sites venerated by the Moslem peasantry, and not always distinguishable from the first class, but often traceable to the teaching of the monasteries or to monkish sites. 3rd. Native heroes or deities not to be identified as belonging to either of the other class, and perhaps sometimes the most ancient sites of all. 4th. Later and known historic characters. 5th. Saints named from the place where they occur, or having appellations connected with traditions concerning them. 6th. Sacred sites not connected with personal names. Some of these are of the greatest value. 7th. Ordinary Moslem names which may be of any date and are often modern. These classes will be con-

\* The Jews do perform sacrifices of small objects at Joseph's tomb and that of Bar Jochai the Cabalist.

sidered in order, and the deductions which naturally may be drawn will prove to be—1st. That however modern the building, the site is often of great antiquity. 2nd. That in the mixture of so many separate classes of sacred sites we find proof of the mixed character of the peasant population, and the influence of successive races and religions on the original stock.

## II.

*Biblical Characters.*—The patriarchs, from Adam downwards, and Scripture characters, including Our Lord himself, being venerated by the Moslems as by Christians, it is not always easy to make certain whether a tradition concerning them is of native or of imported Christian origin. Many Scripture stories are, indeed, found more or less garbled among the peasantry; but these, by internal evidence, can often be shown to come from monkish teaching, and very often are modern and due to the inhabitants of neighbouring convents. Many examples of this corruption of true tradition might be adduced to prove the point. Thus, for instance, the Druse inhabitants of Mount Carmel visit and revere the grotto of Elijah which is now in the centre of the chapel of the convent, and the ceremony of devoting a child to the prophet I have myself witnessed in this church.

If, however, the tradition be traceable to Jewish origin, it is, of course, of greater value; and instances of this kind are not wanting, as in the case of the sacred rock in the temple of Jerusalem, to which traditions now attach which reproduce exactly those to be found in the Mishnah concerning the *Eben Shatiyeh*, or foundation of the Holy of Holies.

It is among the *Nebys* principally that the Scripture worthies are to be recognised, and of these shrines no less than fifty have been found as yet, including most of the patriarchs and greater prophets.

Adam and Eve are traditionally supposed to have been buried at Mecca, and have no *Mükâms* in Palestine. On expulsion from Paradise, however, they are supposed to have hidden themselves in or near a spring at Hebron, which is now called *Ain el Judeideh*, or the "excavated fountain," being cut in rock with an arch above. Here also the red earth, from which Adam was said by the Jews to have been formed, is shown by the Moslems.\*

Cain and Abel also are not, properly speaking, represented in Palestine. The tomb of Abel is shown at Abila above Damascus, and is thought by modern explorers to be only a huge reservoir. A curious tradition of the wanderings of Cain with the body of Abel bound to his back here exists. Cain, however, appears among the prophets as *Nebî Yûkân*, but this is evidently a case of the saint being named from the

\* The tradition is mentioned by several writers in the time of the Crusades, and may be of Christian origin.

place, as the ruin of *Nûkîn* has been identified with the town of Cain. (Josh. xv.)\*

Nimrod again, though having no sacred place, is an important character in the native mythology. He is supposed to be the author of many ancient forts, notably the *Kûsr Nimrûd* below Hermon at *Kûl'at el Jindl*, where no dew ever falls, "according to the natives, because his body lies buried there. Another tradition concerning him attaches to *Khûrbet Mird* (Mons Mardes) in the Desert of Judah, as mentioned by M. Ganneau.

Noah, again, is a favourite divinity, and has several sanctuaries; one at the ancient Adoraim (*Dûra*) in the south of Judah, and another at *Khûrbet Nûh* farther west, where there is a tradition of Noah's daughter and of a spring whence the flood originated. Of his sons, Ham alone has a *Mûkâm* in the Gaza district, and farther north we find at Beshshit (the House of Seth) the tomb of *Neby Shît*, who has also another sanctuary—*Haram en Neby Shît*, in Samaria, and another in Lebanon.

First of all the Bible heroes, however, Abraham, "the friend," stands out in the estimation of the native peasantry, and his tomb, in the sanctuary of Hebron, is now the most sacred spot in Palestine. The monuments of the patriarchs are mentioned by Josephus and by all subsequent travellers, and the tradition is thus, no doubt, older than Christian times. With Abraham lie the bodies of Isaac, Jacob, and the three wives—Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

Isaac enjoys a peculiar reputation as being the most easily offended of all, and the Moslems are more afraid of his wrath than of that of any other prophet or chief. There is another *Mûkâm* of Isaac (*Neby Is-hâk*) in Galilee, the origin of which is not known, but as the name is of common occurrence among the Jews it may possibly represent the tomb of a later historic character, for, as we shall see clearly in proceeding, historical names are often wrongly applied in the confused mythology of the peasantry.

Jacob also has a second *Mûkâm*, the mosque of the *Hizn Y'akûb*, or "mourning of Jacob," connected with the tradition that here (at Shechem) he mourned the loss of his son Joseph. It may perhaps represent a tradition of Samaritan origin.

At Hebron also the tomb of Joseph is shown outside the Haram wall, but this tradition of the transportation of his bones from Shechem to Hebron is apparently of later origin, and Jews, Samaritans, and Moslems unite in venerating the *Kabr Yûsef*, or "tomb of Joseph," outside Nablûs, a tradition of great antiquity, and traceable, through Josephus, to Jewish origin. By Christian and Jewish writers alike, from the fourth century downwards, this tradition is handed on unchanged.

Hebron contains other sanctuaries of less note, the tombs of Esau, Abner, and Jesse being shown by the Moslems in and around the town.

\* The Crusaders considered *Keimân* (ancient Camon) to mean "Mount Cain," and showed at this site the place where Lamech killed Cain with an arrow.

Alone and separated from the family sepulchre, the little "dome of Rachel" stands between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The *Kubbeh* itself is modern, and has been repaired of late years. In 700 A.D. Arculphus saw only a pyramid, which was also visited by Benjamin of Tudela in 1160 A.D., and perhaps by Sanuto in 1322 A.D. The site has been disputed on account of the expression (1 Sam. x. 2) "in the border of Benjamin," and there can be no doubt that the *Kübllet Rahîl* never was on or very near this border. The Vulgate translation, however, seems perhaps to do away with this difficulty, and as Rachel's tomb was only "a little way" from Ephrath, "which is Bethlehem" (Gen. xxxv. 16-19), and the tradition is of great antiquity, there is no very good reason for rejecting it.

Farther up the country, near Sharon, is another sacred place dedicated to *Sheikh 'Obeid Rahîl*, or "Rachel's servant."

Next in order come the children of Jacob. At Shechem, outside the town wall, is the *Mükâm Oulad Y'akûb el 'Asherah*, "the ten sons of Jacob," a tradition dating no doubt after the division between Judah and Israel.\* In Galilee is the sanctuary of the *Benât Y'akûb*, or "daughters of Jacob," and a bridge over Jordan also bears their names.

Of the twelve patriarchs, we find the *Mükâms* of seven, not including the northern tribes, in the part as yet unsurveyed. Joseph has two sanctuaries as above noted. Benjamin may perhaps be represented by *Neby Femîn*, whose *Mükâm* is towards the centre of Samaria. Reuben (*Neby Rûbîn*) lies near the shore south of Jaffa, Simeon (*Neby Shen'on*) in the plain of Sharon. Levi is possibly *Neby Larwîn*. Judah has a *Mükâm (Neby Hûdah)* in the Sharon plain, near which, in the territory of Dan, is the *Mükâm en Neby Dîn*. Issachar, Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali, Gad, Manasseh, and Ephraim,† we have not as yet found in the number of the sanctuaries.

Proceeding to the period of the Conquest, we find south-west of Jericho the reputed tomb of Moses, much revered by the Moslems. But this tradition appears to be of Christian origin, and will be subsequently noticed. The tombs of Eleazar and Phineas are, however, more probably authentic, and have been already described in my paper on Samaritan Topography. Aaron was buried on Mount Hor, where his tomb is now shown. Joshua requires a more particular notice.

The foregoing characters are all known by the peasantry in their proper relations. No special legends seem attached to the tombs, but if one inquires who *Neby Hûdah* was, the answer of an intelligent native will be, "The son of our Lord Jacob." There is one curious instance of confusion, however: *Neby Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb*, who probably represents Jared, the ancestor, not the son of Jacob (Gen. v. 15). When, however, we seek for the memory of Joshua we find the name to have entirely disappeared. At Jericho he is confused with the *Imâm 'Aly Ibn*

\* This tradition is noticed by Josephus.

† The *Mükâms* of Ephraim and Gad and Manasseh might be expected east of Jordan.



*Abu Táleb*, brother-in-law of the prophet, in a tradition which seems most probably of Christian origin, being located to a sacred spot standing apparently on the site of the mediæval Chapel of the Apparition of St. Michael to Joshua; but Joshua also seems to appear under the name of *Neby Kijîl*, "the apportioner," whose *Mükâm* is shown in *Kefr Hâris*, where mediæval Jewish tradition fixes the site of Timnath Heres. *Neby Kijîl* has two other sanctuaries in the centre of the country. At *Tibneh*, which is now generally held to be the true Timnath Heres, there is a large oak called *Sheikh et Teim*, "the chief the servant of God," and in this perhaps some memory of Joshua is still retained, but it is remarkable that the name of so great a hero should so completely have disappeared from the native mythology.

Proceeding to the later period of the prophets, kings, and judges succeeding the Conquest, the mythology becomes more confused. Barak may perhaps be recognised in *Sheikh Ibreek*, a *Mükâm* standing over the Kishon, in which the host of Sisera was engulfed; but Gideon is forgotten, unless he be recognised as *Neby Dûhy*, "the general," whose sanctuary stands above the site of Gideon's battle on the summit of what is supposed by many to be the "Hill of Moreh."

Samson, however, plays a more conspicuous part. The tomb of *Sheikh Samat* I discovered, and described in October, 1873, at Sür'ah (Zoreah). It is mentioned in 1334 apparently in the same position by Rabbi Isaac Chelo, so that the tradition is apparently not of Christian origin. M. Ganneau has given the legends which are connected with Shamshûn el Jebbâr ("the hero"), the brother of Sheikh Samat, which are, however, of doubtful origin. At Gaza, Samson has also two *Mükâms*, that of 'Aly Müntâr, on the hill south of the town, traditionally that to which the gates of Gaza were carried, where an annual festival takes place,\* and that of 'Aly Mirwân ("Aly the enslaved"), now supposed to be the tomb of Samson. The origin of these legends is as yet undiscovered. It is remarkable that on the hills east of Gaza is another chapel dedicated to 'Aly (at *Duweimeh*), near which is a ruined convent called *Deir Samat*, which raises a suspicion that Christian teaching as to Samson has been confused by the peasantry as referring to 'Aly, the famous Imâm, who has many sanctuaries all over the country.

Samuel, the next hero, has but one sanctuary, *Neby Samwîl*, but this tradition seems of Christian origin, and is not recognised as genuine by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who accuses the Christians of pretending to have transported the body from Ramleh, which he considers to have been Ramathaim Zophim. If the latter place is to be identified with *Süffa*, then perhaps the real tomb of Samuel may be represented by the sanctuary of *Shehâb-ed-Dîn*, "the hero of the faith." There was, however, as will be seen later, a historic character of this name.

The tombs of David and Solomon at Jerusalem are sanctuaries of no mean order, and the praying-places of Abraham, David, and Solomon are shown in the cave of the *Sakhrâh*, but the origin here again is.

\* This tradition dates from the middle ages.

doubtful, and cannot easily be traced to indigenous tradition.\* There are many sanctuaries of *Sheikh Dâūd* in the country, but whether connected with the king it is impossible to determine. There is also a curious tradition of the *Bint Sultân el Fenish*, "the daughter of the Phœnician Sultan," not far from *Tell Jezer*, which may perhaps be attached to Solomon's wife, whose dowry was Gezer.

We have finally to deal with the names of the later prophets, of whom the most famous is Elijah. In the native mythology he is called *el Khûdr*; but as the same title is also applied to St. George, it is impossible to distinguish the two in many cases. There is, however, in Samaria a *Mûkâm* dedicated to *Neby Elyâs*, in which we recognise the name of the prophet unchanged.

‡ Daniel (*Neby Dâniîdn*) has five sanctuaries, and is perhaps to be recognised also as *Neba Kunda*, "the Chaldean," whose sanctuary exists near *Yebna*.

Ezekiel also is represented in *Neby Hazkîn*, on a high hill over the Jordan valley, and perhaps Isaiah in *Neby S'afn* above Nazareth, a name which is of otherwise unknown origin.

Jonah has no fewer than four *Mûkâms*: that at *el Mesh-hed* (Gath Hopher), where his tomb was shown at an early period, the tradition being apparently of Jewish and not of Christian origin; secondly, *Neby Yûnis*, south of Jaffa, on the coast, representing probably a tradition of the spot where he was left by the whale; thirdly, *Neby Yûnis*, at Halhûl, which seems at one time to have been considered to be the tomb of the prophet Gad; fourthly, the tomb near Sarepta, a tradition which dates from the middle ages, and appears to be of Christian origin.

Of smaller prophets Haggai is perhaps *Neby Hûj*, near Gaza; Zechariah, *Neby Zekariya*,† near el Medyeh; and Baruch possibly *Neby Bürk*, at *Burka*, though this may be a case where the tradition originates from the name of the town.

One important name remains still to be collected—the *Mûkâm* of Nahum the Elkoshite. It was shown to Isaac Chelo in 1334, on the road from Tiberias to Kefr 'Anan, and may prove to be the *Kubbeh* in *Abu Shushel*, situate above the *'Ain el Madawerah*, which Dr. Tristram identifies with the Fountain of Capharnaum. Could this be settled, we should have entirely new materials for settling the position of Capernaum, which is still so much disputed, for the tradition in this case is of Jewish and probably indigenous, and not of Christian or foreign origin.

It may be thought that the above is a mere list of names to which traditions should have been attached. The natives, however, as a rule,

\* Professor Palmer informs us that the tradition of the site of David's tomb is of purely Moslem origin, and dates back only to 1447 A.D. (Jerusalem, Besant and Palmer, p. 436. See also the account of the discovery of the tomb given by Benjamin of Tudela.)

† This, however, is also perhaps Christian in origin, as the site is noticed by Marino Sanuto as being the birthplace of John the Baptist.

are either ignorant, or affect ignorance of the history of the saints. This is no doubt partly due to suspicion and fear of consequences in telling sacred names to infidels; but it seems to me certain that in many cases the ignorance is real, and that the name has long survived any memory of the circumstance which first consecrated the sacred station.

### III.

*Christian Sites.*—The sites treated of as yet are, as far as can be judged, mostly of pure native origin, and often traceable to Jewish and therefore indigenous sources. Nothing is more important in studying Palestine than to draw a broad line of distinction between all that is of native origin on the one hand, and foreign traditions principally Christian on the other.

The second class of *Mūkâms* includes those sites which, though now venerated by the peasantry, are undoubtedly of Christian origin. A few examples will show clearly that such sites exist undistinguished from those belonging to a more reliable tradition. Thus on the hill east of Hebron, near *Beni Nu'âm*, stands the Minaret and Sanctuary of *Neby Lût*, and a tradition existed in the fourth century that it was from this point that Lot and Abraham surveyed the Promised Land. From this origin doubtless the modern site has arisen. Again, in the Jordan valley we are surprised to find the reputed tomb of Moses (*Neby Mûsa*) near Jericho. Many traditions connected with the prophet exist; a valley, a pool, and an aqueduct are called by his name. Yet there is evidence which points to the Christian origin of all this mythology, for in the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr we find the “*thermæ Moysi*” mentioned in connection apparently with *Wâdy Kelt*, and the Quarantania mountain, near Jericho, in which we may probably recognise the present *Birket Mûsa*.

There are also two *Mūkâms* sacred to our Lord, one in a village near Hebron, where a church once existed, the other at *Nein*, connected with the site of the raising of the widow's son, and no doubt standing on the site of a mediæval chapel. In the centre of the country also there is a *Mūkâm* of *Sitti Miriam*, the Virgin Mary, whose memory is kept alive at Jerusalem in the *Birket Sitti Miriam*, which is not, however, a sacred place.

Several of the apostles also have *Mūkâms*, notably *Neby Metta*, the “prophet Matthew,” whose sanctuary, in the village of *Beit Ummer*, is no doubt the St. Matthew mentioned by Willibald of Oldenburg, 724 A.D., as between the Fountain of the Eunuch (*'Ain Dhirweh*) and St. Zacharias (*Beit Iskâria*), south of Jerusalem, or in the very position of the village above mentioned.

St. John has a very curious *Mūkâm*, called *Neby Yahyah*, in the plain of Sharon, which, though it is now a Moslem sanctuary with Cenotaph and *Mihrab*, is yet sometimes called *Mâr Hannah*, “St. John,” as well as *Neby Yahyah*, the native name of the Baptist.

St. Paul again is recognisable in *Neby Bulus*, whose sanctuary lies near *Sūr'ah*, in the Shephelah, and a little farther south we find at Beit Jibrin the *Mūkâm en Neby Jibrîn*. The town was called Gibelin by the Crusaders; but William of Tyre translates the original name to mean "House of Gabriel;" and two churches, one to St. John (*Sandannah*) and one to St. Gabriel, seem to have existed here. The last is almost entirely destroyed, but *Neby Jibrîn* is worshipped on a plot of open ground just south of one of the aisles, in a part which probably was once in the middle of the church of St. Gabriel.

St. George, *el Khüdr*, was considered by the Saracens to be the patron of the Crusaders, and his sanctuaries, though now Moslem, seem to be almost always on the site of chapels or churches. Thus at Deir Belâh (the Fort of Darum of the Crusaders), the *Mūkâm* of *el Khüdr* is full of fragments of Christian work, and the second name of the village is *Deir Mâr Jirius*, monastery of St. George. At Ascalon and at Blanchegarde the same saint is worshipped, and the name attaches to many Christian ruins, and to one Christian village. Wherever, in fact, *el Khüdr* appears, we may suspect Christian origin to attach to the ruins.

St. Anne (*Sitti Hannîyeh*) has also a Moslem sanctuary, but the most curious confusion is in the large Kubbeh, on the edge of the Sharon plain, now called *Sheikh Sandahâwi*, in which we recognise at once an original St. Eve or St. Eva, now changed in sex as in creed, to become a Moslem chief.

The adoption of so many Christian worthies appears to me to show that at some time, probably the peaceful era of the fifth century preceding the invasion by Omar, the peasantry were considerably under the influence of the monastic establishments which then covered the whole country, and of which an almost affectionate memory seems retained in such titles as "the charitable convent," &c.

It is to this period that the class of legends which treat of Scripture history may be referred with great probability; with the invasion the names were changed, and hence to the companions of the Prophet we find the deeds of Joshua and Samson now ascribed. In some cases Scripture traditions may be of even later origin, and due to direct monastic teaching at the present time.

#### IV.

*Native Traditions.*—There is a third class of sacred characters which I have not succeeded in identifying with certainty, but which are occasionally of great interest, and which form a large proportion of the whole number.

Thus, for instance, *Hâj 'Aleiyân* is a much-respected saint, whose history I have told in a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1874, p. 23), and several prophets may be enumerated. *Neby Sâleh*, "the good prophet," has four *Mūkâms*, one of which is shown as the place of his martyrdom. The red streaks in the limestone are supposed to be



due to his blood; and the cave in which his son hid is also shown near the place. Who was Neby Sâleh? is a question still to be answered. *Neby Belân* and *Neby Baliân* belong to this class. *Neby Heiyis* (possibly Ahijah), *Neby Mâmin*, *Neby 'Anîn* (or Ananiah), *Neby N'amân* (Naaman), *Neby Kâmil* ("perfect prophet"), and *Neby Nûrân*.

Two others have a curious bearing on Scripture—viz., *Neby Turfîni*, which may be rendered "the Tarpelite," one of the races which were brought by Asnapper (Ezra iv. 9, 10) to colonise Samaria, and secondly, *Neby Leimân*, near Jerusalem, whose name recalls that of the unknown King Lemuel (Prov. xxi. 4). Equally obscure are *Neby Kundah* (the Chaldean), *Neby Târi* (the Stranger), and *Neby Serâksh*, perhaps named after *Surîk*, "the valley of Sorek."

Amongst the Sheikhs also curious names occasionally occur, as *Ahya* (Ahijah), *'Awed* (Uz), *Iskander* (who appears to be Alexander the Great). In the Jordan valley, not far from the sites which I suggested as representing the Rock Oreb and "hole" of Zeeb, we have *Sheikh edh Dhiâb*, "chief of the wolves," or possibly a tradition of Zeeb. At Beit Jibrin is *Sheikh Sh'aîb*, the native name of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. At Adullam is *Sheikh Madhkûr*, "the famous chieftain," perhaps David himself.

Then there are *Sheikh Nedhîr*, "the Nazarite," *Sheikh Kanwâsh*, "the Æthiopian," and *Sheikh Kâmîr*, a name apparently of Syriac origin, meaning "priest," and found applied (2 Kings xxiii. 5) to the idolatrous priests "put down" by Josiah.

There are also female Saints among the native divinities, and it is instructive to find couples in which a sister or mother is revered with the Sheikh, or in a neighbouring sanctuary. Thus, close to *Sheikh Abu Leimân*, we have the *Umm esh Sheikh*, "mother of the chief," who was the daughter of *Ahmed ed Dujâni* (the man of Beth Dagon). At Yebnah *Sheikh Waheb*, "the devoted," has a sister, *Sheikhah S'adeh*, "the fortunate." And many other instances occur of this purely pagan mythology. With these we may class the many "ladies"—*Sitt el Kâmeb*, and *Sitt Nefisah*, apparently representatives of Lucina; *Sitt Eslamîyeh*, who gives her name to Mount Ebal; *Sitt Nekîyeh*, "the pure lady," and *Sitt Men'a*, "the recluse." From these titles we gain no small insight into the native religion, and the fifth category still further enlightens us; but before proceeding to it it is necessary to separate out the sacred characters of later historical times.

## V.

*Historical Characters.*—The early companions of the Prophet have gradually become mythical characters of importance. Not only is this the case with the Nuseiriyeh, Druses, and other heretical sects, but in Palestine they have developed into saints of the first order, and have grouped round themselves the history, tradition, and mythology of other races and creeds. We have seen that the *Imam 'Aly Ibn Abu*

*T'aleb*, son-in-law to the prophet husband of Fatimah, and "lion of God," with *Bellâl Ibn Rubâh*, the Muezzin of the Prophet, have been converted at Jericho into Joshua and his servant. 'Aly also, on the other side of the country, represents Samson, and he has many other sanctuaries in the centre and north of Palestine.

At Hebron we have *'Aly Bukka*, who died in 670; and west of this *Sheikh es Sehab*, "the companion" (of the Prophet). There are also some half-dozen sanctuaries dedicated to the *Arb'ain Ghazâwy*, "the forty champions," companions of the Prophet, the most important being the White Mosque at Ramleh, where their memory has been confused with the Forty Martyrs of Cappadocia.\* We have also two *Mükâms* of *Sheikh Khalif*, "the Caliph," or "Successor," of the Prophet, and thus we gradually descend to more modern times.

South of Jerusalem is the *Deir Abu Tôr*, where is the monument of *Abu Tor*, or *Sheikh Ahmed et Tori*, "the father of the bull." This worthy, whose name was *Sheikh Shehâb ed Dîn el Kûdesy*, "the sacred hero of the faith," was a follower of Saladin, who in 1187 gave him the monastery of St. Mark, now called *Deir Abu Tor*.† Professor Palmer tells us that he derived his name from riding on a tame bull. At St. Mark's he lived, died, and was buried, and has now become a saint.

Then, near the great plain, we have on a high hill *Sheikh Shibleh*, who was a powerful Emir about 1700 A.D. Though now a saint, he was, when alive, no better than a common robber. Maundrell, the traveller, had the satisfaction of seeing him in the flesh, and was "courteously relieved" by him of his great-coat as baksheesh.

At *'Arsûf* (the Crusading Arsur) is the *Haram 'Aly Ibn Aleim*, who lived in the time of Sultan Bibars, 1270 A.D., and defended the town against that monarch. His mosque is said to have been built by Bibars himself.

South of Jerusalem is a real "Mosque of Omar," *Jami'a 'Amr Ibn Khüttâb*, close to the village of *Beit T'âmir*, dating perhaps from 636 A.D. West of Jerusalem is *Sheikh Abu Ghôsh*, a bandit whilst in the flesh, about 1813 A.D., now a respected saint. It is curious to find in Galilee Jewish rabbis in the same category, as, for instance, at *'Arrâbeh*, where is the *Kabr Y'akûb es Seddik*, "tomb of Jacob (or James) the Just," probably representing that of Rabbi Chanina, shown here as far back as 1564, the Rabbi himself (if Chanina ben Dosa) having lived about 70 A.D.

\* *Sidna Hashem*, the prophet's father, is buried at Gaza.

† *Abu Tor* might be thought to be St. Mark himself, whose emblem is the bull. The place is also called *Deir el Kaddis Modestus*, "Monastery of St. Modestus," probably the monk who restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, about 620 A.D.

## VI.

*Appellations.*—The fifth category includes no less than eighty names, nearly a third of the whole, the saints being principally of the second order, *Sheikhs*, or “chiefs,” known by titles either showing their origin or their attributes. The peasantry appear to believe that the saint sometimes gave his name to the town where his *Mūkām* exists; but there is often historic evidence to prove that the process has really been the reverse, and the saint has been created from the town. Thus at *Yānūn* we have *Neby Nān* (apparently the father of Joshua), but the name of the town is probably a corruption of the ancient Janoah. *Neby Tōba*, again (perhaps Tobiah), has his sanctuary at *Tūbās*, the ancient Thebez. *Neby Yūkīn* derives his name from the town called Cain, and *Neby Hūshān*, at *Hūsheh*, from the place which is apparently Osheh, the seat of the Sanhedrim.

Another curious case is that of *Sheikh Selmān el Farsi*, companion of the prophet, whose sanctuary stands on Mount Salmon, whence it probably derived its name originally. At *Tell Jezer*, again, we have *Muhammed el Jezāri* (the Moor), who seems to derive his name from Gezer. *Neby Būrk* is found in Burka, *Sheikh er Rāfāti* at Rafat, *Sheikh el Hubāni* at Hubin, *Sheikh Arehāb* at the ancient Rehob, and *Sheikh Mukhnaḥ* in the plain of the same name, the word meaning “camping-ground.”

The second class of appellations is of more value, and examples taken at random will serve to show clearly the attributes and characters of these revered saints. Thus we find in Philistia “the father of the lion,” and “the father of curls” (names, perhaps, for Samson), also “father of the crescent,” “of the mail coat,” “of the olive,” “of the carob,” “servant of the almighty,” and “servant of the prophet.” “The Stranger,” “the Median,” “the man of Aleppo,” “the rain-giver,” “the idiot,” “the madman,” “the goodly,” “the pleasant,” “the shining,” “the healer,” “the place of sickness,” “the high place,” “the place of prayer,” “the place of steps,” “the dwarf,” “the sun of the faith,” “the honour of the faith,” “the trustee,” “the pilgrim,” “the soldier,” “the full moon,” “the propitious,” “the place of protection,” “the place of flight,” “the conqueror,” “the champion,” “the inspired,” “the just,” “the fortunate,” “the wise,” “the snow-white,” “the beautiful.”

In this category of adjectives we see the character of the mythology. The personal names in these cases are often common Moslem names, but in some cases the title very probably conceals an important name. The peasantry shrink from pronouncing the true name, especially before Christians, and prefer a circumlocution, just as the English and Scotch peasantry might speak of “the good people” and the “canny folk.” The titles are, however, of no small value. They show that the mythology is extremely mixed, and that many strangers are admitted into the pantheon. They show also that the *Sheikh* is the protector of

property, the giver of rain, the healer of sickness; that the olive, the carob, the oak, are sacred to him; that warriors, madmen, idiots, pilgrims, are alike canonised after death, and that prayer is offered and assistance begged in all the calamities of life from the *genius loci* of each village or town.

## VII.

*Sacred Sites.*—A few *Mükáms* not to be classed under either of the foregoing titles appear to refer to traditions now forgotten. Thus we have the *Hizn Y'akúb*, "mourning of Jacob," the *Jami'a el 'Amúd* (Pillar of Shechem), and the *'Amád ed Dín*, marking, as I have proposed to identify it, the monument erected on Ebal by Joshua. At Shiloh, also, there is the *Jami'a el Yetaim*, "mosque of the servants of God," retaining probably a memory of the tabernacle. Such sites are, however, few, and the traditional connection appears to be lost.

## VIII.

Last of all come the common Moslem names applied to some fifty less-important *Mükáms*; Abdallah, Omar, Ali, Abraham, Kasim Mohammed, Hasan, Moses, Othman, Joseph, Masud, David, and Solomon are among these.

In some cases it is possible these names may be falsely given, in others they are distinguished by adjectives, "the long," "the tall," &c., and appear certainly genuine. In one or two instances the peasantry differ as to the name, but this is never the case where a *Neby* is concerned.

Such is a brief review of the worship and origin of the *Mükáms*. The subject is well worth further study by competent Arabic scholars. Traditions may probably remain to be collected, and other names may be added; but the greatest caution is necessary, and the subject could scarcely have been further pursued during the course of the Survey without raising the fanatical suspicions of the peasantry, from whose zeal and superstition the Survey party has always been in continual danger.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT. R.E.

Feb. 17, 1877.

## LIST OF THE NEBY MUKAMS.

|    |                                   |            |
|----|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | <i>Mükám</i> on <i>Neby 'Aisa</i> | Jesus.     |
| 2. | " " <i>'Anin</i>                  | Ananiah?   |
| 3. | " " <i>Balián</i>                 |            |
| 4. | " " <i>Belán</i>                  |            |
| 5. | " " <i>Bulus</i>                  | Paul.      |
| 6. | " " <i>Bürk</i>                   | "Blessed." |
| 7. | " " <i>Dánián</i>                 | Daniel.    |
| 8. | " " <i>Dáúd</i>                   | David.     |



|     |               |                   |           |
|-----|---------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 9.  | Mükâm on Neby | Dân               | Dau       |
| 10. | "             | "                 | Dûhy      |
| 11. | "             | "                 | Elyas     |
| 12. | "             | "                 | Hâm       |
| 13. | "             | "                 | Heiyis    |
| 14. | "             | "                 | Hûdah     |
| 15. | "             | "                 | Hûj       |
| 16. | "             | "                 | Hûshân    |
| 17. | "             | "                 | Is-hâk    |
| 18. | "             | "                 | Jibrîn    |
| 19. | "             | "                 | Kâmil     |
| 20. | "             | "                 | Kifl      |
| 21. | "             | "                 | Kunda     |
| 22. | "             | "                 | Lâwîn     |
| 23. | "             | "                 | Leimûn    |
| 24. | "             | "                 | Lût       |
| 25. | "             | "                 | Mâmin     |
| 26. | "             | "                 | Metta     |
| 27. | "             | "                 | Mûsa      |
| 28. | "             | "                 | N'âmân    |
| 29. | "             | "                 | Nûh       |
| 30. | "             | "                 | Nûn       |
| 31. | "             | "                 | Nûrân     |
| 32. | "             | "                 | Râbi      |
| 33. | "             | "                 | Rûbîn     |
| 34. | "             | "                 | S'ain     |
| 35. | "             | "                 | Sâleh     |
| 36. | "             | "                 | Samwil    |
| 37. | "             | "                 | Serâkah   |
| 38. | "             | "                 | Shem'ôn   |
| 39. | "             | "                 | Shît      |
| 40. | "             | "                 | Târi      |
| 41. | "             | "                 | Toba      |
| 42. | "             | "                 | Turfîni   |
| 43. | "             | "                 | Yahyah    |
| 44. | "             | Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb | St. John. |
| 45. | "             | "                 | Yemîn     |
| 46. | "             | "                 | Yukîn     |
| 47. | "             | "                 | Yunis     |
| 48. | "             | "                 | Zakarîya  |

"Leader."  
 Elias.  
 Ham.  
 Judah.  
 Haggai?  
 Oshanite.  
 Isaac.  
 Gabriel.  
 "Perfect."  
 Joshua, "divider."  
 Chaldean.  
 Lemuel?  
 Lot.  
 Matthew.  
 Moses.  
 Naaman.  
 Noah.  
 Nun.  
 Reuben.  
 "Good."  
 Samuel.  
 Sirach?  
 Simeon.  
 Seth.  
 "Stranger."  
 Benjamin?  
 Cain.  
 Jonah.  
 Zechariah.

## GIBEAH OF SAUL.

THE site in question is one important to fix, as a good deal of topography depends upon it. Thus, though no new discovery can be claimed in this case, I may perhaps be allowed to state the arguments which appear to me sufficient to determine the situation of this town.

In the first place I would again insist on the importance in all such cases of having the name identical. No site can be considered as identified unless two conditions are fulfilled: 1st, that the name be recovered; 2nd, that the position be suitable. It will, I think, be found that in almost every instance where a site has been fixed without connection between the native existing name and the ancient title, the site has proved, sooner or later, unsatisfactory. I may point to Megiddo placed at *Lejjûn*, to Mizpeh at *Neby Samwîl*, to Tirzah at *Talluza*, as instances in which the sites can only be considered conjectural, and against which there are important objections. The same applies to Gibeah of Saul placed at *Tell el Fûl*. Gibeah was about 30 stadia from Jerusalem according to Josephus. *Tell el Fûl* is little over 22 stadia. If it represent an ancient Hebrew name it is a former Ophel that has become transformed into the modern Arabic "bean hill," and it is more probably the site of Ophni of Benjamin, as far as the derivation of the name is concerned.

Robinson, in visiting Palestine for the first time, was inclined to place Gibeah of Saul near Geba of Benjamin (the present *Jeb'a*), a conclusion which he afterwards rejected, choosing the site of *Tell el Fûl*.

The word Gibeah is the feminine, according to Gesenius, of Geba, "a hill," but a further difficulty has been raised in this case by the fact that the authorised version has occasionally Gibeah where the Hebrew reads Geba. In the list of the towns of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 24, 28) we have two names—Gaba, which is generally supposed to be *Jeb'a* near *Mukhmâs*, and Gibeah, which is noticed as near Kirjath (*Kuriet*). This second town is, however, probably *Jibi'a*, a ruin north-west of Jerusalem near *Kubeibeh*, and a place distinct from Gibeah of Saul, for it occurs in a different category among towns far from the site in question. If this conclusion be correct, Gibeah of Saul is not noticed in the enumeration of the cities of Benjamin, unless indeed it be identical with Gaba.

Another connection between Geba, or Gaba, and Gibeah exists in the history of the Levite whose wrongs brought punishment on the Benjamites. Travelling along the north road from Jerusalem towards Mount Ephraim, he "turns aside" towards *Gibeah* and Ramah (Judg. xix. 13), arriving at Gibeah, whose inhabitants were Benjamites.

In this chapter, and the one succeeding, the place is invariably called Gibeah except in two verses (Judg. xx. 10, 33), where it appears in the Hebrew as Geba of Benjamin, and again "the cave of Geba" (A. V., "Meadows").

A third connection between Gibeah and Geba has been noticed in the paper on Saul's journey to Zuph, where he returns to Gabatha, "the hill," where was a garrison of the Philistines. Such a garrison we find to exist in Geba of Benjamin shortly after (1 Sam. xiii. 3).

Thus we find, apparently, places close together, or identical, known under the names of Geba, Gaba, Gabatha, Gibeah of Benjamin, and Gibeah of Saul. The natural conclusion would be that they are one and the same place. It seems probable, however, that the feminine form Gibeah was used for the country in which the city Geba stood. This idea will be found to be supported by the passages in the book of Judges above referred to, and also by the various notices of Gibeahs near Geba. Thus we have "Gibeah in the fields" (*Gabathah bi Sadeh*), Judg. xx. 31, and in the later history of Saul we find the king "in the uttermost part of Gibeah under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron" (1 Sam. xiv. 2). And, again, "Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii. 6). It may also be remarked that many of the Hebrew words signifying "land" or "country" are of the feminine gender.

But beyond the evidence of name it would appear from the facts of the case that there was only one town of the name in this direction. The Levite turns aside to Gibeah of Benjamin, an expression which certainly applies well to *Jeb'a* but not to *Tell el Fâl* on the main road. The town where he was insulted was, as we have seen above, Geba of Benjamin, the same town afterwards taken by Jonathan, and here, at the passage, was the rock of *Senneh*, which is translated "thorn."

Now in speaking of Gabaoth Saule (B. J. v. 2. 1) Josephus places it near the *Valley of Thorns*, and at the present day the valley below *Jeb'a* is called *Wâdy Suweinî*, "the valley of the little thorn tree." Josephus is not absolute as to the distance of this place from Jerusalem, but states it at "about 30 stadia"—the distance being nearer to 40 to *Jeb'a*—but this fits the text as well as the 22 stadia to *Tell el Fâl*.

In addition, it may be urged that the watchmen of Saul, in Gibeah of Benjamin, were able to see the conflict which was going on at Michmash, and to hear the sound of the battle. *Tell el Fâl*, though *Jeb'a* be visible, does not command a view of Michmash, and the distance is no less than five miles between the scene of the battle and Saul's supposed position. Finally, in Gibeah of Benjamin there was a cave large enough to contain the ambush (Judg. xx. 33). No cave exists near *Tell el Fâl*, but a large cave exists at *Jeb'a*.

The conclusion appears to me to be that Saul's city was Geba of Benjamin, and that the district round was called first Gibeah of Benjamin, afterwards Gibeah of Saul.

If we accept this view, the question of the position of Nob is greatly simplified, and the position of Gabatha, to which Saul returned after his journey to Zuph, is also confirmed.

C. R. C.

## JUDÆO-GREEK EPITAPH FROM JAFFA.

THE little inscription of which you send me a sketch is very much like those of which I found a great number of specimens in the ancient cemetery of Jaffa. In my earliest reports (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874) I determined the site of this cemetery, and called attention to the importance of fuller examination on a spot so interesting to Hebrew archæology.

This new text is engraved on marble. I may add, without fear of being wrong, guided as I am by analogy, that it must be, probably, a very thin slab—that is, a *titulus*. The symbol below the fourth line is the seven-branched candlestick of the Temple. I have already found it on similar epitaphs of Jaffa, notably on one very much mutilated, on which only the ends of the words could be made out.

The new inscription is somewhat difficult to decipher from the pencil sketch, you ought to obtain a squeeze. It begins with the word ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ, genitive of Lazarus; the word *μνήμα*, expressed in some of the Jaffa stones, is understood here. Then comes the word ΚΑΙ, followed by a proper name also in the genitive, but difficult to restore on account of the doubtful characters in the middle of the line. Perhaps it is CHAA for CIAA, genitive of CIAAC, a name common among the Judæo-Greeks; for example, a friend of Agrippa (*Joseph. Antiq.* xviii. 6. 7; xix. 8. 3); a Babylonian (*Joseph. Bell. Jud.* ii. 19. 2; iii. 2. 1); a tyrant of Lysias (*Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. 3. 2); a governor of Tiberias (*Joseph. Lip.* xvii.); a companion of St. Paul, chief of the church of Jerusalem (*Acts of Apostles*, xv. 22), &c. We see also the name of Silas borne by an Egyptian priest (*Zoeg. Cat. Codd.* 546. 2); many Jews, whose epitaphs I found at Jaffa, were of Egyptian origin, as is stated in the inscriptions.

The inscription ends by the name, also in the genitive, of Simon, written CΥΜΩΝΟ for CΥΜΩΝΟ, an interesting form which occupies a middle place between *Συμεωνος*, Symeon, and *Σιμωνος*, Simon. It is probable that we must read immediately before the name ΚΑΙ, instead of ΚΑ, the Ι having crept in accidentally. As for the letters which follow as far as the CHAA, they are too indistinct to permit a restoration. We may have to add them to CHAA in order to form a proper name, and we may look for the name *ΥΙΩΝ* among them. The frequent inaccuracies in these little texts make it imperative in every case to have a careful squeeze.

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

PATRON:  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

GENERAL COMMITTEE:  
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *President.*

DR. H. W. ACLAND, F.R.S.  
REV. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.  
REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION  
AMHURST TYSSEN AMHURST, ESQ.  
CAPT. ANDERSON, R.E., C.M.G.  
REV. JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D.  
DUKE OF ARGYLL  
REV. JOSEPH BARCLAY, LL.D.  
JAMES BATEMAN, ESQ., F.R.S.  
REV. CANON BIRCH  
SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.  
REV. W. F. BIRCH  
REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.  
MARQUIS OF BUTE  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
EARL OF CARNARVON  
T. CHAPLIN, ESQ., M.D., *Hon. Sec. for Jerusalem*  
BISHOP OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHESTER  
DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH  
LORD ALFRED CHURCHILL  
LORD CLERMONT  
J. D. CRACE, ESQ.  
JOHN CUNLIFFE, ESQ.  
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
EARL DUCIE  
W. HEPWORTH DIXON, ESQ.  
PROFESSOR DONALDSON  
LORD DUFFERIN  
F. A. EATON, ESQ.  
S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE, ESQ., *Beirut*  
BISHOP OF EXETER  
REV. CANON FARRAR, D.D.  
JAMES FERGUSON, ESQ., F.R.S.  
A. LLOYD FOX  
H. W. FREELAND, ESQ.  
M. C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU  
F. WAYMOUTH GIBBS, ESQ., C.B.  
REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.

CYRIL C. GRAHAM, ESQ.  
JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.  
H. A. HARPER, ESQ.  
REV. J. C. HARRISON  
A. J. BERESFORD HOPE, ESQ., M.P.  
SIR JOSEPH D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I., PRES. R.S.  
HOLMAN HUNT, ESQ.  
LORD LAWRENCE  
E. H. LAWRENCE, ESQ.  
RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD  
F. LEIGHTON, ESQ., R.A.  
GENERAL LEFROY  
LORD HENRY LENNOX  
PROFESSOR HAYTER LEWIS  
DEAN OF LICHFIELD  
AMBROSE L. P. DE LISLE, ESQ.  
BISHOP OF ILLANDAFF  
SAMUEL LLOYD, ESQ.  
BISHOP OF LONDON  
WILLIAM LONGMAN, ESQ.  
JOHN MACGREGOR, ESQ.  
W. McARTHUR, ESQ., M.P.  
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH  
REV. SAMUEL MANNING, LL.D.  
MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD  
R. B. MARTIN, ESQ.  
REV. SAMUEL MARTIN  
HENRY MAUDSLAY, ESQ.  
EDWARD MIALI, ESQ.  
REV. DR. MOFFATT  
SIR MOSES MONTEPIORE, BART.  
NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, ESQ., *H.B.M. Consul, Jerusalem*  
SAMUEL MORLEY, ESQ., M.P.  
REV. J. MULLENS, D.D.  
JOHN MURRAY, ESQ.  
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.  
DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND  
DEAN OF NORWICH  
ADMIRAL OMMANNEY  
PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART.  
 PROFESSOR E. H. PALMER  
 BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH  
 HERR PETERMAN  
 REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE  
 REV. PROFESSOR PORTER, LL.D.  
 REV. C. PRITCHARD, F.R.S.  
 REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D.  
 SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.  
 REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON  
 HENRY REEVE, Esq.  
 MARQUIS OF RIPON  
 BISHOP OF RIPON  
 EARL RUSSELL  
 DR. SANDRECKZY  
 VISCOUNT SANDON  
 M. DE SAULCY  
 LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.  
 EARL OF SHAFESBURY  
 WILLIAM SIMPSON, Esq.

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., LL.D.  
 SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.  
 W. SPOTTISWOODE, Esq., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN R. W. STEWART, R.E.  
 REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.  
 VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE  
 DUKE OF SUTHERLAND  
 REV. CANON THOROLD  
 WILLIAM TIPPING, Esq., M.P.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S.  
 W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S.  
 THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.  
 DUKE OF WESTMINSTER  
 REV. CANON WILLIAMS, B.D.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE WOOD, Esq.  
 BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq., *Chairman*.

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.  
 SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
 J. D. CRACE, Esq.  
 F. A. EATON, Esq.  
 JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L.  
 SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.  
 REV. F. W. HOLLAND

H. A. HARPER, Esq.  
 WILLIAM LONGMAN, Esq.  
 WALTER MORRISON, Esq.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM  
 W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

*Bankers*—MESSRS. COUTTS AND Co., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

*Treasurer*—WALTER MORRISON, Esq.

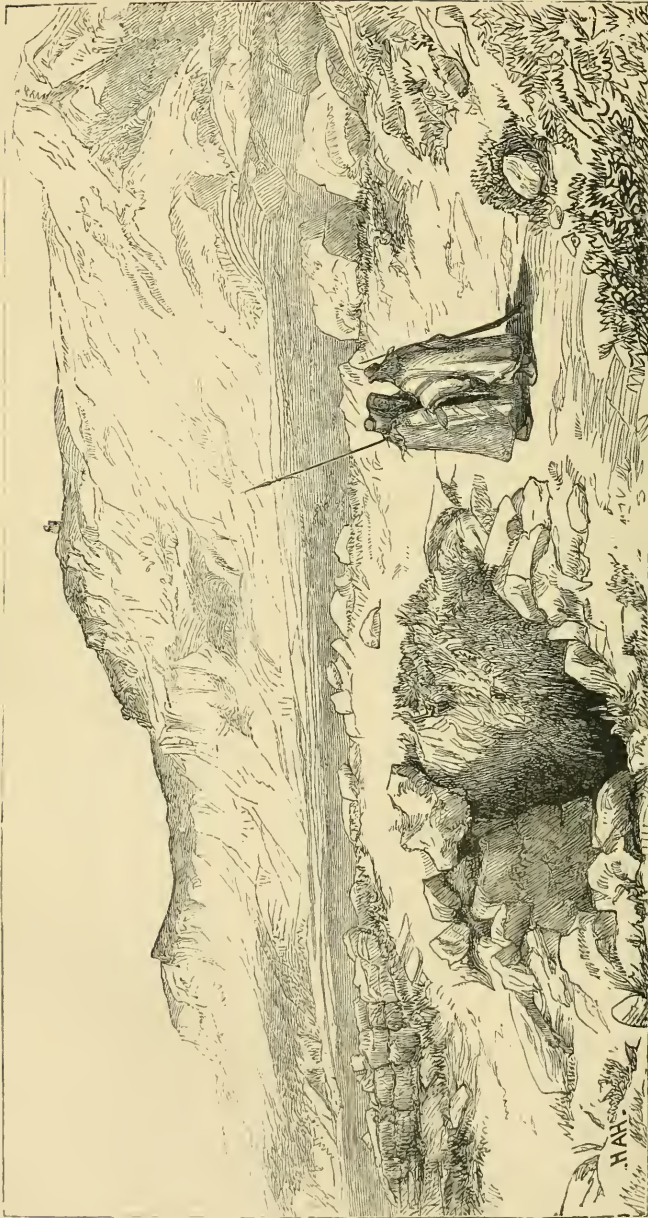
*Hon. Secretaries*—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L.

*Acting Secretary*—WALTER BESANT, Esq. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East, S.W.

Cheques and P.O. Orders payable to order of Walter Besant, Esq. It is *particularly* requested that both may be crossed to Coutts and Co., or to the Union Bank of London, Charing Cross Branch. Post Office Orders may be made payable at Charing Cross.

NOTE.—The Price of the “Quarterly Statement” is Half-a-Crown.  
 Sent free to Subscribers.





[From a sketch by H. A. Harper.

JACOB'S WELL.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE following Resolution of the Executive Committee, passed July 3, 1877, has been ordered to be communicated by means of the *Quarterly Statement* of July to all subscribers:—"That considering the heavy expenses of the Survey now in progress, which must be met during the next three months, the Committee beg that every subscriber who has not yet paid his subscription for the current year will kindly send it in at once, either to the Head Office or to the Hon. Sec. of his town, although it may not fall due till the last quarter; that intending donors will bear in mind the urgent importance of finishing the Survey at once; and that Honorary Secretaries be asked to forward the subscriptions paid to them as soon as they may be conveniently collected."

---

The progress of the Survey is detailed at fortnightly intervals in the "Journal" extracted from Lieut. Kitchener's letters. In starting the work he received the greatest assistance from Consul-General Eldridge; got letters from the new Wali of Syria and from Abd-el-Kader; was welcomed at Safed, the scene of the late attack; and has proceeded undisturbed with his triangulation. Up to the latest account the total amount surveyed was 550 square miles, leaving about an equal amount to complete the Survey of Northern Palestine.

---

If things remain tranquil, Lieut. Kitchener will have finished Northern Palestine by the middle of August. He will then probably move southwards, in order to settle various points of difficulty which have arisen in laying down the map. This done, there will remain only a small area of 200 miles at the extreme south, where two tribes have been carrying on war against each other for the last three years.

---

In order to assist in promoting a friendly feeling towards the party, the Committee have resolved on giving up their claim to the rest of the fine imposed on the Safed people. They have addressed a letter, which is now under consideration, to the Foreign Office, asking for the re-establishment of the Haiffa consulate.

---

The actual depression of the Sea of Galilee has been ascertained to be 682.554. This result may be slightly modified on re-examination. The papers are in the

hands of Major Wilson, and will be read at the next meeting of the British Association.

---

From the camp of Tiberias five extinct volcanoes were observed from which the basalt has been thrown out over the surrounding country: the plains being covered by the ashes and boulders of basalt are rendered extremely fertile. Two miles south of the Kurn Hattin occur two extinct volcanoes, and Lieut. Kitchener is of opinion that the Kurn Hattin is another.

---

The drawing of Jacob's Well as it now appears, which is our frontispiece to the present number, has been drawn and presented to the Committee by Mr. H. A. Harper from a sketch taken by himself on his last visit to the Holy Land.

---

The Rev. Selah Merrill, Archæologist of the American Association, passed through London last month on his way to New York. He was received by the Committee, to whom he showed his route map and explained some of his discoveries and theories. These will shortly be published by the American Committee.

---

Lieut. Conder is still occupied upon the Memoirs; part of his work, with his own conclusions, is published in this *Statement*.

---

An office has been taken at the Royal Albert Hall, where the work of map-drawing can be at once proceeded with. The services of two non-commissioned officers have been granted by the War Office, who will work under the superintendence of Lieut. Conder.

---

The Committee have to thank Captain Hamilton, R.E., for the two sketches which are published to illustrate Lieut. Kitchener's report. They were taken on the spot while Captain Hamilton was with the Survey party.

---

A complete set of the American photographs, one hundred in number, has been presented to the London Committee. They are large and handsomely mounted. About fifty of them are views of places never before taken. Among them are photographs of Um el Jemeil, Lake Phiala, Bozrah, Salchad, &c. There are also views of Canon Tristram's discovery, the Ruins of Mashita. These photographs are lying at the office in 9, Pall Mall East, where they may be seen by any visitor.

---

The new *Statement* (the fourth) of the American Society is also ready. Extracts from this will be given in the October *Quarterly Statement*.

The following is the financial position of the Fund (June 30th). Receipts, March 29th to June 30th, £936 3s. 8d. Expenditure: Exploration, £673 1s. 9d.; office and management, £185 5s. 11d. The balance in the banks on the latter day was £398 0s. 4d. We asked in April for £2,000 between then and September 30th. At present we have received less than £1000. We now ask for £1000 in the present quarter, or rather in the present month, before the summer holidays begin.

---

Attention is called to the statement advertised on the cover, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publisher to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letters asking for them must be sent to the office at 9, Pall Mall East only.

---

Oxford subscribers will make a note that an account Old Bank by Canon Ridgway for the receipt of subscriptions and donations.

---

An Association for the Exploration of Palestine has been formed in Germany. The prospectus is signed by Dr. Zimmermann, and Professors Socin, of Tübingen, and Kautzsch, of Basel. Among the committee are Count von Moltke, Karl Baedeker, Dr. Kiepert, the German Consul of Jerusalem, Dr. Sandreczki, and Herr Schick. A long list of those who have promised support includes the names of Professors Ebers, Schlottmann, Sepp, and Sprenger, Herr Weser, and other well-known men. The society will publish a "Quarterly Journal of Palestine Research," which, like our *Quarterly Statement*, will be issued free to all its subscribers. It will contain papers on Topography, Natural History, Ethnology, including Folk-lore, Statistics, Political History, Coins and Inscriptions, and General Literary News. The yearly subscriptions will in the first instance be devoted to this magazine, and if the revenue of the society exceed the cost of the periodical, a fund will be formed for the issue of scientific works on the subject.

---

Several cases were discovered in 1876 of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the Hon. Secs. :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh : Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

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

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteen pence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.



## JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY.

THE following extracts from Lieut. Kitchener's letters give a rough current history of the progress of the party from Lieut. Kitchener's arrival in Palestine:—

“*Beyrout*, Feb. 6, 1877.—You will be glad to find that the country is not in so bad a condition as you think. I have seen Consul Eldridge to-day, and he thinks there is no reason against my taking the field. The Moslems are quiet, and the Government has a strong wish to put down any rising or disturbance, and is keeping the people in capital order.”

“*Damascus*, Feb. 14, 1877.—The new Wali of Syria arrived at Beyrout on the 8th, and next day Eldridge very kindly took me with him when he was making his official visit. Of course no business could be done. Next day the Wali returned Eldridge's call, and I saw him again and showed him some of our work. Both times Eldridge spoke very highly of it, and the Wali agreed that it was of great importance. I came here the next day with Jago in order to collect the servants and horses. Eldridge said if possible he would get the letters I want from the Wali. He has written to say that I had better wait for him here, as he cannot do business out of his government. . . . Since I have been here I have seen Abd-el-Kader, who was very civil indeed. We spoke of the Safed affair, and he expressed his deep sorrow that his followers should have behaved so badly. I asked him for a letter to his people in the country, which he promised me.”

“*Beyrout*, Feb. 29, 1877.—The men have arrived here safely. They were not able to land at Haiffa owing to bad weather. All the luggage is safe. The new Wali has not yet gone to Damascus, and Eldridge has written officially asking for an answer about my letters. I have no doubt I shall receive them in a day or two. I got letters from Abd-el-Kader to his people at Tiberias and Safed, so that I shall have no difficulty in that part of the country from our old assailants. The delays of this country are most annoying. Eldridge recommends my waiting still for the Wali's letters. . . . My time has been fully taken up bargaining for horses and getting the party together. I intend sending Corporal Brophy with the heavy luggage down to Haiffa on Friday morning, the 23rd, by steamer. I dare not risk being carried on to Port Said myself, so with Sergeant Malings, Corporal Sutherland, and all the necessaries for finishing the levelling, I mean to ride down the coast, starting from here on Saturday morning. I think this is the best way, though it is rather difficult, owing to all our loose things being at Haiffa. I hope to be at Haiffa on Monday, and to start work on Tuesday, the 27th. The rains are very late this year, so it is perhaps as well that we have not been in tents up to now. On last Saturday there was a tremendous storm all along the coast. The authorities have all been very polite, and I have on every occasion found the scientific posi-

tion of the Society much thought of. I have seen a great many Pashas and officials. Nothing could be kinder than Mr. Eldridge and Mr. Jago, who have greatly helped me since I have been here. I am sure you will understand how anxious I am to begin work, and that it is only a series of insurmountable delays that keeps me here. However, you may be sure that work will be started on the 27th, unless something new turns up."

"*P. E. Fund Camp, Haiffa, March 6, 1877.*—You will see by my report how we have been getting on, and I hope you will be satisfied. . . . Next time I shall have a more attractive country to describe. All is going quietly; the country is quiet, and I hope to do well. Colonel Fremantle, of the Coldstreams, is now with me for a short visit."

"*Tiberias, March 30, 1877.*—We are getting on all right with the work, and I hope in another fortnight to have finished the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and be on the road to Safed again. My servants rather dread going back, so I shall have to keep a look-out on the rearguard as well as in front going up the hill. Eldridge has gone to a good deal of trouble to make things go well. . . . If the Fund could get a consul established at Haiffa it would be a very good thing. If I am well received at Safed and report satisfactorily, would the Committee give up their claim to the rest of the fine imposed? It would smooth matters. . . . The Druses are giving a good deal of trouble, cutting people's throats on the road to Damascus. Also there is a report of war between the Druses and Arabs in the Jebel Druse, and Mohammed Said Pasha is to be sent with a large force to put it down. This is merely an *on dit*, and not very reliable. In the south, near Hebron, the Arab tribes Tarabin and Teyyaha have had a fight. The latter lost 101 men killed, the former only 12. This *is* reliable. Consul Moore has telegraphed and sent out people to stop all travellers from going that way. It is lucky I am doing the north after all."

"*Safed, April 11, 1877.*—You will be glad to hear that we have made a most successful entry into Safed. The Governor, Kadi, and H.B.M. Consular Agent, with twenty-two followers, came out about an hour and a half on the road to meet me. We rode into the town in quite a triumphal procession. I at once went to the Serail and was saluted by the guard. After coffee with the Governor, I pitched camp, and then the Governor came and called. After him the British Agent, and then the Kadi, with all the members of the Mejlis. Nothing could be more civil and obliging than everybody was. To-day I have had the Governor, the British Consul, and our old enemy Ali Agha Alan, the cause of the row; the latter expressed deep sorrow for what he had done, as well he may, as I hear he and the Mogrebbins are all but ruined. I called on the Consul and the Kadi and measured up the castle. . . . On Monday I shall move to Meiron, where we shall have rather a long camp, working up to date and carrying the triangulation north. Of course without Sergeant Armstrong I shall not get done so soon as I said in my estimate, though I do not think we shall be much behind time. . . . Captain

Hamilton, R.E., who has been staying with me, takes this. He will be in town on May 5th, and will give you all the latest news."

"*Meiron*, April 17, 1877.—Yesterday I left Safed for this place, having had a most successful camp there. Everybody was very polite. The Governor came here yesterday, and has impressed upon the people the necessity of doing all we want. In the evening he dined with me. H.M.S. *Torch* has been at Akka. I was informed by a telegram from Eldridge when he would come, and was thus able to make considerable impression on the minds of the natives. I do not know what to think about war or peace, I get such contradictory telegrams, but I suppose every one is in the same case. In case of war breaking out, I hope to finish up to Banias before marching to the coast; but it is a very difficult thing to see what effect it would have on the country. I might be able to go on without interruption, or I might have to march to Beyrout and wait a little."

"*Meiron*, April 25, 1877.—I may not be able to send a report per next post—*i.e.*, the one this will go by—as I shall be on the move north. We have been getting on very well, and I have found two new synagogues and four dolmens. They are small, but very distinct, and two have names. I have been obliged, on account of the triangulation, to modify my plan of moving direct on Banias, and shall go to Dibl, or near there, and thence to Kedesh, and so on to Banias. I hear on all sides that war has been declared, but have not yet received any telegram to that effect from Eldridge. I shall continue the work until I see a good cause for shutting up, and then shall probably move to Beyrout and wait. I see no reason as yet why I should not finish the north, but of course any day may change this view of the matter. I am in constant correspondence with Eldridge, who is most kind, and sends me all the news. I wish you could get the matter of the consuls in North Palestine looked into by the Foreign Office, as it is really wanted. An Englishman at Haiffa or Akka, and an advance to some of the consular agents, such as at Safed, who have neither seals of office nor any status in the country, though French, Austrians, and others have, is much wanted. When we have finished this camp, in four days we shall have surveyed 400 square miles, judged roughly. It is very close country just about here, full of names, and takes time.

"I shall send you a report next mail on the Sea of Galilee. We have been kept in camp two days here by wet weather."

"*Dibl*, May 4.—Yesterday I saw our northern boundary and took trigonometrical shots into what will be our most northern station. Our triangulation has been very satisfactory, 17ft. difference in check lines of from 10 to 12 miles. . . . Health of party has been exceptionally good."

"*Dibl*, May 13.—Correction for the Tiberias Report. The aqueduct above Ain et Tinch is 52 feet instead of 57, which makes it and the top of the reservoir nearly on a level. The reservoir was levelled down to the sea, and the aqueduct computed by the theodolite. . . . I have very little additional news to tell you. We have surveyed 430 square miles

and found a good many inscriptions and the remains of one fine early church. The country is full of villages. I move to Kadesh the day after to-morrow, and shall probably be at Banias before you get this."

"*Taiyebah*, May 25, 1877.—Since the declaration of war I have pushed on the work as fast as possible, and even before that, for many reasons. I had no time for any excavations such as at Khan Minyeh and some other places. We are now at the northern boundary of our work, and I hope to finish in the estimated time, but this will depend on the nature of the ground near the coast, which I am afraid is rather difficult. We may be a week or two later on this account. The total surveyed is now 550 square miles, and the triangulation is already finished from this camp.

"I find the authorities in the country most active and obliging in helping the work as far as they can. I have had no serious difficulty with the natives. The health of the whole expedition has been excellent."

## LIEUTENANT KITCHENER'S REPORTS.

### II.

#### CAMP AT TIBERIAS, 30th March, 1877.

HAVING completed the Survey of the Akka Plain, and finished the levelling down to the Mediterranean, it was necessary to carry the eastern portion of the Survey north, from a line about two miles south of Tabor, and to run the line of levels down to the Sea of Tiberias.

Camp was struck at Haiffa on the 8th of March, and after passing one night at Nazareth we arrived at Hattin, an important village on the road from Nazareth to Tiberias, seven miles from the latter, and well situated for the work we had to complete.

The triangulation was started next day by taking a series of observations from Jebel Toran. Our old trigonometrical stations were satisfactorily picked up, new cairns being erected at all the stations, and the triangulation well advanced. This work occupied us nine days. The detail was then started, and has been worked in for 100 square miles, reaching as far north as the village of Yakuk. The levelling was also begun at the same time. The difficulty of running the levels to the Sea of Galilee was considerable, owing to the steep inclines and the narrow and precipitous gorge of the Wady Hamam, down which it had to be carried. The result, however, is very satisfactory. In the 16½ miles levelled, the difference between the results obtained with the two instruments used is .215 of a foot. Adopting the ten-inch level readings throughout, and considering the theodolite readings merely as a check on the more accurate instrument, we arrive at a depression for the Sea Galilee of 682.554 feet. Thirty-five bench marks have been cut on the line of levels and fixed on our map.



In this portion of the Survey we have mapped five extinct volcanoes from which the basalt has been thrown out over the surrounding country; and the plains, being covered by the ashes and boulders of basalt, are rendered extremely fertile. Other smaller outbreaks have also been noted. Two miles south of the Kurn Hattin occur two extinct volcanoes, one of which is called the Kal'at es Sandâ, or "The Basalt Castle;" in both the black basalt rock is seen thrown up, forming a crater in the centre. The Kurn itself is, in my opinion, another; the basalt does not show itself so much, but the rocks forming the crater bear signs of the eruptions that took place, and the plains around are strewed with basalt rocks and *débris*. North-eastward of the latter are two more large outbreaks overhanging the Plain of Genesareth, one of which is called el Waret es Sandâ, "The Rocky Plain of Basalt."

Immediately above our camp at Hattin was the field of the last great fight of the Crusaders. The Kurn rises about 100 feet in rocky ridges above the plain on the south-west, whilst on the north and east there is a very steep descent of 800 feet to another plain, the Sahel Hattin, which again terminates abruptly over the Sea of Galilee. The Kurn Hattin, or "Horns of Hattin," was the last place held by the king and his brave knights when surrounded by the forces of Saladin. The rocky top seems a very natural fortress, and well adapted to be defended against far superior numbers. The Crusaders were, however, worn out by their long marches and hard fighting, and after driving back the stormers three times the place was carried, the king surrendered with the remnant of his forces, and the Christian kingdom in Palestine ceased to exist. The name of the plain south-east of the Kurn is "'Ard el Bûrnus." Bûrnus is the Arabic form of "Prince." In a history of Palestine by el Kadi Mujir ed Din, 1585 A.D., Count Renaud de Châtillon, Lord of Kerak, who was the cause of the war, is always called el Bûrnus Irbât, or el Bûrnus, Êmir of Kerak. The story is told of the King of Jerusalem when in Saladin's tent passing water to "el Bûrnus" after the fight, which the Sultan does not admit as an act of hospitality to "el Bûrnus;" afterwards the Sultan offers him his life if he will change his religion for that of Islam; but on the "Emir of Kerak" refusing to do so, he was slain by Saladin himself. No one else in the book receives the title of el Bûrnus; we have therefore an historical name remaining attached to the site of the battle.

On the Southern Horn of the Kurn are the foundations of an ancient square tower and some small cisterns; the former was probably a watch-tower on the great road to Damascus. A copious spring of water flows out of the north-west base of the Kurn, where a short wâdy breaks down from the plain above. In this wâdy, immediately above the 'ain, is the Kubbeh of Neby Shu'aeb (Prophet Jethro) still existing. Robinson, in Bib. Res. p. 239, in a footnote, mentions that, according to Boha ed Din, the Kubbeh stood upon the Tell in his day—*i.e.*, at the close of the twelfth century (Vita Salad. p. 69). The same is

mentioned in the Jewish Itinerary in Hottinger's *Cippi Hebraici*, p. 74, ed. 2. Quaresmius supposes the remains on the top of the Kurn to be those of a chapel (ii. p. 856).

The top of the Kurn is called *Medinet el Aikeh*, perhaps from the large number of loose stones which resemble the ruins of an important place.

At the mouth of the gorge of the Wady Hamam on the southern side occur the ruins of Irbid, the ancient Arbela, in which there is a very good specimen of a ruined synagogue, which has been measured and described by Major Wilson, R.E. (*Quarterly Statement*, No. 2, p. 40). Two columns and one doorpost remain standing *in situ*; the lower part of the other doorpost also remains. They are all monolithic blocks of limestone. Among the ruins lie several fine capitals of different sizes and styles; black basalt and white limestone seem to have been mixed both inside and out; some of the capitals being of the latter material. The ground on which the synagogue stands slopes towards the north, the southern portion being cut away to receive it. In the centre of the southern wall is a mihrab or apse 6ft. 4in. in diameter and 4ft. 2in. deep. Among the ruins are several blocks of cut stone with semi-attached columns 9in. in diameter with Ionic capitals; these seem to have been portions of the exterior decorations. On one block were two semi-attached fluted columns 6in. in diameter, one with straight and the other with twisted flutings. Lying to the north of the synagogue there is a cut stone which appears to have been the top of a niche; it measures 5ft. long, 2ft. 8in. high, by 1ft. 8in. thick. In the centre of the length is a circular niche 2ft. 4in. in diameter, cut 10in. into the depth, with lines radiating from the centre. A moulding 3in. wide and raised 2in. above the face of the stone runs round the niche; enclosing this is a triangular moulding, its apex being above the centre of the niche at the top of the stone, and its two ends at the lower extremities of the stone. It is raised 4in. above the face of the block on the outside, and is 4in. wide; three slight mouldings are carried along it, and on the inside it is flush with the face of the stone; the bottom line of mouldings end at the moulding round the niche. Special plans and drawings have been taken of the building and details.

In the precipitous rocks of the Wady Hamam, east of Irbid, are situated the celebrated caves from whence Herod the Great dislodged the robbers by attacking them from above. Both sides of the wady are honeycombed by caves, but the principal ones, called *Ka'at Ibn Ma'an*, are situated on the southern side, where the cliffs are upwards of 1,000 feet above the bed of the wady. A steep slope on the *débris* fallen into the valley leads up about 600 feet to the foot of cliffs, which then rise perpendicularly, and in some cases have crumbled away below till they are overhanging. The castle is situated opposite where the Wady Muhammed el Khalaf breaks into the valley, and immediately below is a fine spring, 'Ain es Serâr. The traces of well-made basalt stairs lead up to the foot of the castle. The entrance was flanked by small round

towers, besides loopholed galleries on the face of the rock. The castle consisted of natural and artificial caves in several tiers, walled in on the outside and connected by galleries and staircases along the face of the rock. The walls were built with great care and finely dressed; they are of crystalline limestone and black basalt in rows; they are loopholed. All the arches are pointed, and the building appears to be very good Arabic work of probably the fifteenth century, when also well-built khans were constructed on the road from Damascus, such as Khan et Jujjar, near Mount Tabor.

Inserted in the lower wall is a large block of limestone bearing two lions facing each other, one front paw of each being placed on some indistinguishable object. It appears to me extremely probable that this stone, quite distinct from those around it in material and workmanship, was brought from the ruined synagogue at Irbid. It also greatly resembles the stone bearing two lions at the synagogue at Umm el Amud. Should it have been brought from Irbid, it would appear that both synagogues had similar lintels ornamented with lions. The first cave entered is a large natural cavern, which probably served as a stable for the horses of the garrison; from this a staircase leads up to smaller caves opening from a gallery along the face of the rock; stairs led up from either end of this gallery to similar caves in different tiers. Some are now quite inaccessible from below. The place is inhabited by immense flocks of pigeons, from which the valley takes its name, and a great number of vultures and eagles. Water was brought from Irbid by an aqueduct running along the face of the cliff above the castle, and then fell vertically into cisterns in the building. At one place the water was conducted through an earthenware pipe.

This fortress, rendered almost impregnable by nature and art, might afford accommodation for six hundred or seven hundred men, and commands the main highway from Damascus to Western Palestine, which leads up the Wady Hamam.

The ruins on Mount Tabor were also visited from this camp. They consist of a large *enceinte* defended by numerous towers built of drafted masonry and surrounded by a large rock-cut ditch. These works appear to date from the time of the Crusaders, and to have been built of the old materials of previous fortifications. The remains of three churches have been uncovered in the recent excavations by the Latins, besides numerous foundations. It is proposed to pay a further visit to this interesting place, and a fuller description will be given in a subsequent report.

The country is now very lovely, carpeted with flowers and green with the growing crops. The people complain of being short-handed owing to the large numbers that have been taken away for military service. The second ban and some of the third ban of redifs have been called out, and the people fear lest the Muharfez or Landwehr may be required. Old men and women have to take their places in the fields, and when the harvest time comes it will be very difficult to gather in the crops.

Owing to the good offices of Mr. Eldridge, H.B.M.'s Consul-General

at Beyrout, and the willing assistance rendered to me by the Mutteserif of Akka, I have not had the slightest difficulty in the prosecution of the work; still it would be an immense advantage to this part of the country if the British Consulate at Haiffa were re-established.

The influence of an Englishman at this port would be of the greatest benefit to all the Christians of the district, which contains a thriving English mission and schools at Nazareth, many English subjects among the Jews of Tiberias and Safed, besides a considerable amount of English shipping trade from Akka.

### III.

MEIRON, *April 30, 1877.*

THE work of this month includes the survey of the shores of the Sea of Galilee, where a great many points of interest occur.

The scenery of the lake is hardly what would be expected of a basin 685 feet below the sea level. The hills on the eastern side have an almost perfectly level outline, scarcely broken by any valley of importance, and decidedly monotonous in appearance; still the bright sunshine throws a rosy haze over the country, and the contrast with the bright blue water is very beautiful.

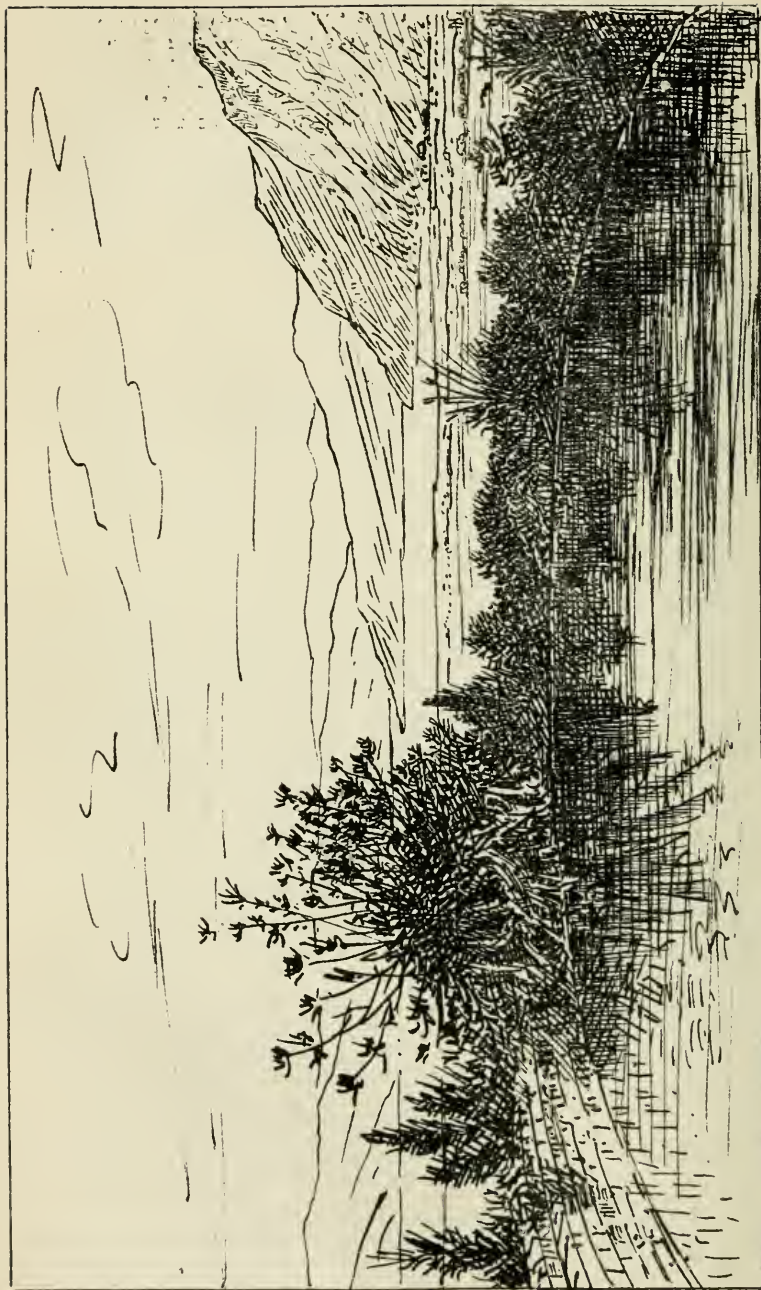
The best views of the lake are from a distance on the many heights from which it is visible, as thus seen in the evening it is particularly lovely. Deep blue shadows seem to increase the size of the hills, and there is always a rosy flush in the sky and over snow-clad Hermon.

The road at the southern end of the lake passes through Kerak, which appears to have been a fortified place of considerable strength. Two castles, one on either side of the road, with a wall joining them, seem to have guarded this entrance to the shores of the lake. On the west a spur runs down from the hills ending steeply close to the road—on this the western castle was placed. On the east there is a large partially artificial plateau which extends from the road to the exit of the Jordan; a broad water ditch from the Jordan and the river itself defends two sides, while the third is on the shore of the sea, thus leaving only a narrow entrance on the west from which it might be attacked. The remains of both castles are very slight, as the place has been ploughed up. There are ruins of modern dwellings on the north-west corner of the plateau, where probably the principal citadel stood, and traces of a wall round the plateau and joining the two castles. The only remains of the western castle are heaps of stones. The place must have been of great importance, as it closes the passage of the valley, and also that of the Jordan at its northern extremity, where it is now crossed by a ferry. It also must have required a large garrison owing to the great size of the plateau.

Josephus describes Vespasian as advancing to the attack of Tiberias from Seythopolis or Beisan: "He then came with three legions and







Drawn by T. Villiers Lister Esq.

AIN EL MUDAUWARAH.

From a Sketch by Capt. A. C. Hamilton, R. E.

pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen; it is named Sennabris."

Measuring 30 furlongs north from Kerak it brings us well within the ruins of the ancient town of Tiberias, though not up to the walls of the present city.

I think it is possible that the large artificially levelled plateau, surrounded by traces of a wall on the east of the road, may be the remains of that camp of the Roman army here described, and that this was the station on the road named Sennabris.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles north of Kerak, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile west of the road, is Khurbet Kadesh; below it runs the aqueduct which brought water from Wâdy el Fajjâs to Tiberias.

The next place of interest is the hot springs, with their baths, much frequented by the Jews of Tiberias. The three principal springs had a temperature of 132, 143, and 144 degrees respectively, commencing with the southern one. Above the Hammam, or baths, is the tomb of Rabbi Mair Ramban, the celebrated Maimonides. Two schools are now built over his tomb, one for the Askenazim and the other for the Sephardim Jews.

A quarter of a mile farther north commence the ruins of the ancient town of Tiberias—they have been largely excavated for cut stone for modern buildings. A great number of fine granite columns are lying about, in one place as many as nine close together; there are also remains of the sea-wall, with towers, along the coast. These ruins are of considerable size, extending a mile south of the present town, and it seems probable that the latter is entirely or partially on a new site. Immediately behind the ruins the cliffs rise steeply, with traces of former fortifications on them.

Two miles north of the southern wall of the present Tiberias (which may be on the site of the northern wall of the ancient city), a spur runs down from the hills ending in a rounded hill, the eastern slope of which descends steeply to the water. On this top are ruins called Khurbet Kuneitriyeh, consisting of heaps of cut stones, with foundations of walls. Near the seashore is a spring called 'Ain Fuliyyeh; to the north is an open space where Wâdy Abu el 'Amis runs down to the sea, now occupied by some gardens; beyond are the high rocky hills called Burj Neiât, which again run down steeply to the seashore.

This must have been a very strong position on the road, and I think fulfils the requirements of Taricheæ, which was besieged after Tiberias by Vespasian, his camp being placed between the two towns (B. J. iii. x.).

The road north leads along the slope of the hills to el Mejdal, a small village with a few ruins, which has been identified with Magdala; it is situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gennesaret or el Ghueir. The hills here fall back from the sea, leaving the plain, which extends  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles along the coast, and is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles wide at its greatest part. Beyond the Wâdy Hamam the hills are topped with black basalt as far as Wâdy Amud, and there are two small outbreaks on the plain itself. The coast line is nearly straight, broken by small bays.

The land is extremely rich, but is now only partially cultivated by a few Bedawin and the people of Mejdél. It is wonderfully well watered, no less than five streams of water running to the sea through it, commencing from the south. First, the Wâdy Hamam brings down a good stream through a narrow precipitous gorge. The water is supplied from two springs, 'Ain es Serar, near which is Khurbet Ureidât, situated two miles from the sea in the gorge, and 'Ain Wâdy Hamam farther up.

The water is used for irrigation purposes directly it reaches the plain.

The second supply is from 'Ain el Mudawwerh (the round fountain), so named because it rises in a round basin formed by a low masonry wall 32 yards in diameter. The water in the basin is very clear, and there were numbers of coracinus and other fish swimming in it. The supply of water is rather less than half that of Wâdy Hamam.

The next stream is Wâdy Rabâdiyeh, the largest of any, descending through an open valley, and used to turn a number of mills. On reaching the plain it is at once diverted for irrigation purposes. The supply of water is about twice or three times that of Wâdy Hamam.

Immediately north of Wâdy Rabâdiyeh is Khurbet Abu Shushch, situated on the slope of the hills, where there are no remains of importance to be seen; only a few basalt huts and some scattered stones, round a white wely called Sheikh Hassan Abu Shushch.

The fourth supply of water comes from Wâdy Amûd, a winter torrent which, I was told, dries up in summer; it was probably on this account that water had to be brought by an aqueduct to fertilise this northern portion of the plain.

'Ain et Tineh is the most northern running water on the plain; it bubbles out by several heads under the rocks which close the north-east of the plain; it forms a clear stream of good water with many fish; slightly warm around it, there is most luxuriant vegetation and papyrus; it runs into the sea after forming several pools.

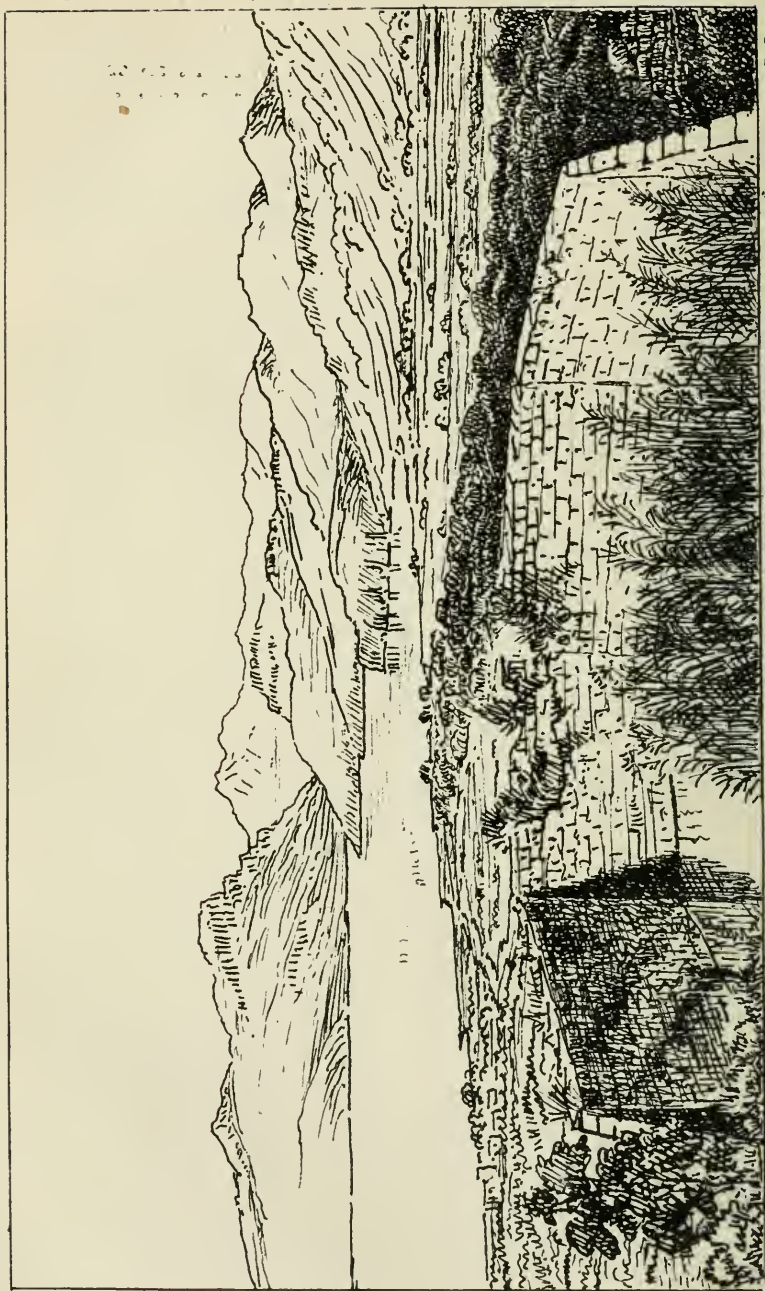
Besides those ruins at Mejdél and Abu Shushch, the only remains found on the plain were those at Khurbet Mînyeh, where there are extensive ruins, though nothing but remains of walls are now visible. I was informed\* by two authorities that hewn stones and good walls existed below the present surface, and are excavated for building purposes: unfortunately, I had no time to test the truth of this assertion. The Khurbet is situated near the north-east extremity of the plain, and about 100 yards from the shore of the sea.

The Damascus road traverses the ruin, and a little farther on it passes the now ruined Khan Mînyeh, which is still occupied by a few Arabs; it then passes up on the western slope of the steep hill which here ends the plain. On the top of this hill is an artificially levelled square plateau,

\* Peasants were observed by Dr. Merrill digging at this spot in April, 1876, and unmasked a wall, at a depth of five or six feet, of fine squared stones in superior workmanship. See Fourth Statement, p. 67, American Exploration Society.







Drawn by T. Willers Lister Esq.

## AIN ET TABIGHAH.

From a Sketch by Capt. A. C. Hamilton, R. E.

with traces of walls and buildings; there are also traces of steps leading up to it. It is called Khurbet 'Aureimeh. Round the southern brow of this hill, where the rock runs steeply down to the lake, is the rock-cut aqueduct now used as a road, and described by Major Wilson. It is 52 ft. 4 in. above the sea, which is almost perpendicularly beneath it at one part, and has a fall of 7 feet in the mile; the water would not have been carried far on to the plain, but would have watered the gardens round Khurbet Minyeh. Half a mile farther along the coast is the pleasant bay of Tâbighah, where there are several small and one very large spring which turns several mills. The water is brackish. The 'Ain is enclosed by walls of masonry forming an octagon 26 feet side; by this means the water was raised to the required height, and carried by the aqueduct to the plain. Considerable remains of the masonry of the aqueduct leading to the rock-cut portion, and a small piece beyond, with the watercourse coated with thick cement, still remain.

The height of the top of the reservoir is 51 feet above the sea, thus it would require very little more to carry the water over the rock-cut portion of the aqueduct. I was informed by the people that this reservoir was built by Dhâher el'Anor, and it is now called Birket 'Aly edh Dhâher. It was probably repaired by him when building the mills around it; the lower portion appears to be older, and is built of better dressed stone coated with cement. The whole structure is of basalt.

The coast between Tâbighah and the Jordan is still indented with small bays; the country is entirely basalt, and slopes gradually down to the sea. The ruins at Tel-Hum,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles from Tâbighah, are along the water's edge, and are of considerable extent, and contain the famous synagogue excavated and measured by Major Wilson. A little beyond Tel-Hum are the ruins of a few basalt hovels called Khurbet 'Eyshsheh. At the mouth of the Jordan there is a small plain, in which are two small collections of huts without any traces of antiquity; they are called Khurbet Abu Zeiny and Khurbet esh Shemaliyeh. There is a small lagoon at the mouth of the Jordan, and the ground in wet weather is deep.

The site of Capernaum is the most interesting of all the places around the lake. I cannot help thinking, with Dr. Robinson, that it was at Khurbet Minyeh. The guard-house, where the Centurion resided, was probably on the great Damascus road at Khurbet el 'Aureimeh, which seems to be the ruin of such a station.

Josephus describes the fountain called Capharnaum as watering the plain, and that some thought it to be a vein of the Nile, owing to its containing the fish called coracinus. This description evidently alluded to the 'Ain et Tâbighah, the water from which was brought in an aqueduct past Khurbet Minyeh to water the plain, and was naturally called after that place. The source is only  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile away, whereas it is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles from Tel-Hum, and all the water was carried in exactly the oppo-

site direction, so that it could hardly be called after the latter place had it been Capharnaum. The coracinus was not observed in the 'Ain. The reservoir is nearly full of reeds, and the water is not clear, so that it is impossible to see the bottom where these fish occur; other fish were seen, and I was convinced there was no reason why the coracinus should not be there.

Our next camp was at Khân Jubb Yusuf, where we arrived on the 4th of April. The Khân is a large building falling into ruins on the main road to Damascus. There was no village near, the country being occupied by Bedawin of the Semakiyeh and Zenghariyeh tribes. To the east the country was entirely composed of broken basalt, while to the west all was limestone, much contorted, and forming north-west the Jebel Kauan range. From the camp we visited Khurbet Kerazeh, generally allowed to be the remains of Chorazin. The ruins are extensive, and contained a synagogue, measured and described by Major Wilson. The highly ornamented niches of this building, entirely cut in basalt, remain as sharp and clear as when new.

North-east of our camp we found the first perfect dolmen I have seen in the country; it is called Hajr ed Dûm, "the stone of blood." From the camp at Meiron we found four others. They are small, the covering stone measuring  $11 \times 7 \times 1$ "  $\cdot$ 6, and no traces of signs on them were observed.

On the 10th, camp was moved to Safed, where previously we had some difficulty with the natives. By the kind offices of Mr. Eldridge, Consul-General for Syria, the Governor was warned of our coming, and prepared to give us a good reception. We were met half way by the Governor, the Consular Agent, and the Kadi, surrounded by a score of followers, and conducted to the town, where I was received with every civility.

Unfortunately, on the road the standard barometer got broken, and had to be replaced by our duplicate one from the store at Haiffa.

From this camp the ruined synagogue at Nebartein was visited. The principal remains are prostrate columns, and the fine lintel with Hebrew inscription. A squeeze and photographs were taken of the latter. On the pedestal of a column there is an engraved hare. The occurrence of animals figured in these synagogues seems to be common. At Umm el Amud there are two lions; at Irbid there were probably the same. The stone is now in Kal'at Ibn Ma'an. At Nebartein a hare; at Keft Bir'im, on two synagogues, lambs. At Sefsaf the remains of a synagogue were found by us; the lintel bears two sheep's heads. At el Jish, in a ruined synagogue discovered by us, an eagle resembling the top of a Roman standard, which seems to show that though the Jews objected to the Roman standards in the Holy City, they were put up in the country synagogues without trouble. I hope in my next month's report to give a fuller description of these very interesting buildings.

I also visited at Safed the Mukam Benât Yakub, where I was told the seven daughters of Jacob lay embalmed. The place is only a collection of caves walled up and made into a holy place. There are no mummies.



On the 18th, camp was moved to Meiron, a Jewish holy place. There are the remains of a fine synagogue and a great number of rock-cut tombs. One has sarcophagi for thirty-seven bodies, covered with stone lids; this is said to be the tomb of Rabbi Hillel and his thirty-six companions. The tombs of Rabbis Shamai and Hillel, and several other great Rabbis, occur here. Over the tomb of Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai there is a large modern building, where the Jews come from all parts of Palestine on his *fête* day, the 30th April, to hold a sort of revel, lasting two or three days and nights. They dance and pray and light fires over the tomb. It is very extraordinary to see them in their long dressing-gowns and large hats dancing round in a circle.

The country to the north of this camp is thickly covered with villages, Christian, Druse, Mahommedan, and Mettawaleh. Grapes are extensively cultivated, and a number of young trees have been planted, principally figs and olives.

El Jish, the ancient Giscala, is situated on the south slope of a hill three miles north of Meiron. It is a thriving village of approximately 300 Christians and 400 Mahommedans. On the top of the hill there is a small church, which is probably built nearly on the site of an old synagogue, the remains of which are strewed about and built into the walls of the church. Several large stone sarcophagi, with ornamental garlands and bands, have been turned up round the village. There are also a large number of cut stones scattered about, which probably composed the walls Josephus built round this place. On the western slope of the descent to Wady el Jish are the remains of another synagogue. Three pedestals are *in situ*, and the doorposts, with traces of the walls. A badly preserved square Hebrew inscription has been found on one of the pillars, and an eagle, resembling a Roman standard, on a detached stone. We also discovered the remains of a hitherto undescribed synagogue at Sefsaf. The lintel of one of the small doors is built in over the door of the mosque, and the niche, with ornamental voussoirs belonging to the principal entrance, are arranged above. A few portions of columns are all that remain above ground. From the highly ornamental character of the lintel of the side door, the principal lintel would probably be very fine if discovered. The two synagogues at Kefr Bir'im were also visited and planned from this camp. Close round Meiron, in the rocky hills, four dolmens have been discovered.

The amount of country surveyed up to the end of this month is 350 square miles.

On the 28th I received a telegram to the effect that war had been declared between Turkey and Russia. I hope this sad news will not interfere with the successful completion of the survey of Galilee.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.,

*Commanding Palestine Survey.*

LITERARY REMAINS OF C. F. TYRWHITT DRAKE,  
WITH A MEMOIR.\*

THE "Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund" is the fittest place wherein to notice, however briefly, a work which gives an account, modestly but clearly written, of the comparatively uneventful life of one, whose various qualities and qualifications fitted him in a remarkable manner for the excellent work he accomplished during the two years and a half he was employed on the Survey of Palestine.

Born at Amersham in 1846, and educated at Rugby and Wellington College, Mr. Drake went to Cambridge in the hope of being able to carry out the solid student work for which he had already given good promise, especially as an accurate observer of subjects of natural history. But, though tall and otherwise robust in frame, Mr. Drake suffered from an incurable chest disease, which compelled him after a short stay at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a rifleman, to go for the winter (of 1866) to Morocco. Here, however, he was able to complete most successfully the ornithological studies for which he had shown so decided a taste while yet a schoolboy, and, in two visits he paid to this part of Africa (valuable as these were to him personally, that they gave him a practical insight into the habits and the language of Arab populations), to collect and bring home no less than 169 species of North African birds, many of them of considerable interest and variety. In 1868, he for the first time visited Egypt, and came to the natural conclusion that "the sphinx was rather a delusion," and, in 1869, commenced his exploration of the Holy Land; first, alone, in Sinai, and subsequently with Prof. E. H. Palmer in the Desert of the Tih—the University of Cambridge having given him a small grant to enable him to prosecute his researches there in natural history. The scientific results of this pedestrian expedition have been published in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund. About the same time, or rather on the conclusion of this tour, Mr. Drake had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Captain and Mrs. Burton, some appreciative notices by each of whom, incorporated in this memoir, showing how highly he was esteemed by them, and being, at the same time, among the most interesting communications the editor has been allowed to embody in his narrative.

In company with Captain Burton, Mr. Drake made more than one journey of exploration, most of which are published in their joint volumes entitled "Unexplored Syria," the most important, probably, being that to Hamath, where he was able to obtain paper squeezes and photographs of the famous hieroglyphical inscriptions still remaining there. It is now generally admitted that the Rev. W. Wright made the first suggestion that these inscriptions were of Hittite origin. One

\* R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. Price, to subscribers only, 10s., postage paid.

district of Upper Syria, that of *El Alah*, Mr. Drake examined alone, and found there many ruined cities abounding in Greek inscriptions.

In the autumn of 1871 Mr. Drake "volunteered" his services as naturalist, draughtsman, and linguist for the "Survey of Palestine," which were gladly accepted, and, going out early in 1872, became for some time, owing to the sudden illness of Captain Stewart, the head of the exploring party. Soon after, however, Lieutenant Conder took the chief command. From that time till his unfortunate death on June 23, 1874—that is for about two years and a half—Mr. Drake was of the greatest assistance on the "Survey." What he did has been for the most part admirably detailed in the letters from him, published from time to time in the *Quarterly Statement*; but in these he did not tell the world, what it is most important should be recorded—viz., how greatly the expedition was aided by his remarkable serenity of temper and invariable good humour, together with his singular skill in dealing with the native population. Of his letters the editor justly remarks, that the charm of them lies "in the quiet style, the earnestness, and the occasional strokes of humour" which characterise them and demonstrate "the unpretending thoroughness with which he went about his work. Always, whether he wrote, spoke, or worked, it was as the quiet typical English gentleman."

It will be readily believed that in a life so busy, as long as he had the power to make use of his abilities, and yet, withal, so short, Mr. Drake had but little time for writing either books or brilliant essays; besides, however, his letters, he left behind him several papers, more or less finished, which the editor of this memoir has very properly made public. They are as follows:—

1. "Modern Jerusalem" (printed separately as a pamphlet), pp. 51-113.
2. "Notes for the History of Jerusalem" (a plan for a larger and more comprehensive work), pp. 115-147.
3. "Notes for Travellers in Palestine," pp. 149-178.
4. "Morocco and the Moors," pp. 179-211.
5. "Notes on the Birds of Tangier and Eastern Marocco," pp. 213-236.
6. "Reports on the Natural History of the Tih," pp. 237-277.
7. "Extracts from Journal in Egypt," pp. 279-305.

We recommend this record of a life, short, indeed, but rich in work, to those who followed Charles Tyrwhitt Drake's too brief career in the Holy Land.

---

## THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

## II.—TOMB OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHÆA.

IN an extremely interesting paper in the last *Quarterly Statement*, M. Ganneau has drawn attention to the tomb-chamber (Fig. 1) in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, known as that of Joseph and Nicodemus, and has given his reasons for believing that there is a second and somewhat similar tomb-chamber at a lower level. There is nothing improbable in this suggestion, though I think it rather hazardous, as the facts upon which M. Ganneau bases his argument might be explained in another way. My object, however, is not to criticise M. Ganneau's paper, but to give a



Fig. 1.

few additional details which came under my own observation whilst employed upon the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem in 1864-5.

The first is that, contrary to the usual custom at Jerusalem, the tomb-chamber is excavated in the hard (*missa*) and not in the soft (*malaki*) strata of limestone; the second is that the beds or floors of the *kokim* slope downward from the mouth, the general rule being to cut them horizontal. M. Ganneau mentions a door, E (Fig. 2), on the right of the chamber of which he does not appear to have been able to procure the key. I was more fortunate, and the following note on the chamber to which the door gives access may be of interest to the subscribers of the Fund. The chamber, as will be seen from the plan (Fig. 2A), is irregular in shape;



the wall on the right-hand side on entering is masonry; the remaining sides, as well as the roof, are rock. It is evident that the chamber was formed, probably when the church was built, by cutting away a portion of the original tomb-chamber in such a manner as to leave a sort of cave, and the floor was lowered at the same time for a certain purpose explained below. I think M. Ganneau is quite right in supposing

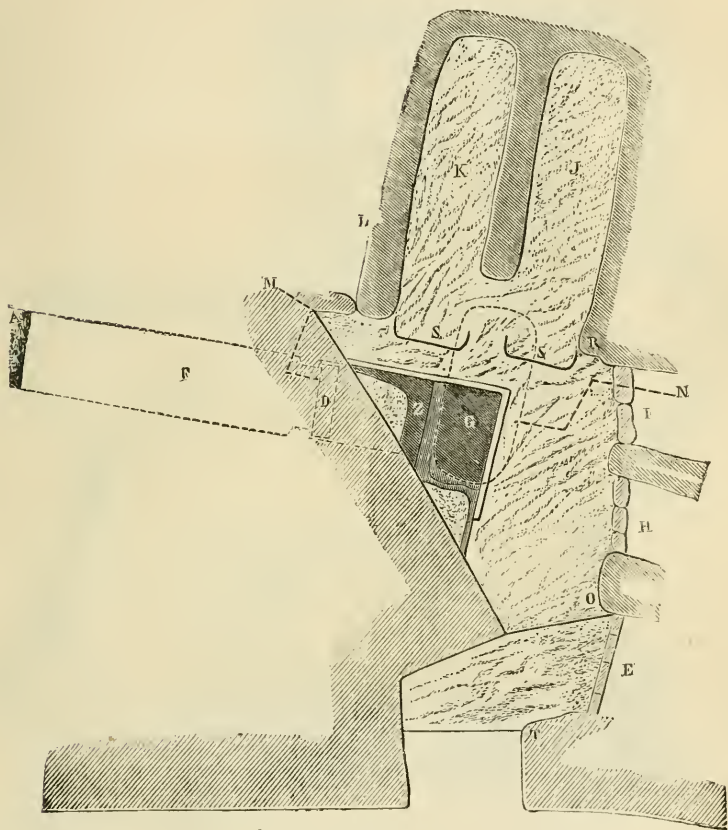


Fig. 2.

that the door, E, was originally a *kok*, though its shape is now rectangular; this *kok* has entirely disappeared, and so has that marked H, with the exception of the mouth and a small portion of the sides. The third *kok*, I, is of special interest; the right side and a portion of the roof have been cut away, but the bed has been left untouched, and the remaining portion of the roof forms a sort of rock-canopy over it.

The reason (Fig. 3A) for lowering the floor (*g f*) is now apparent; it was to convert the bed of the *kok* (*d e*) into a raised bench or altar, and I believe on certain occasions it is still used as an altar by the Syrian community to whom the chamber belongs. Fig. 3A shows also in elevation the openings of the *kokim* H, I, and of the door E, in the thin wall of rock which separates the chamber from the original tomb-chamber

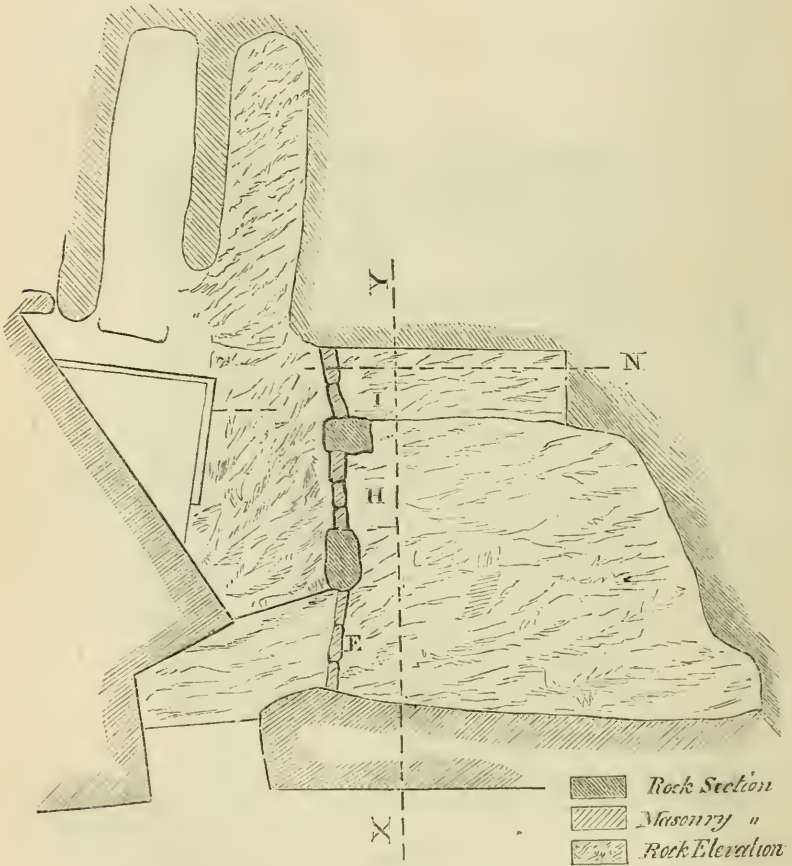


Fig. 2A.

of "Joseph and Nicodemus." In my notes to the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, I alluded to the light which the *kok*, I, might possibly throw on the primitive form of the Holy Sepulchre. My impression is that if the Holy Sepulchre were originally a *kok*—and I see no reason why it should not have been—the mode of proceeding was somewhat

similar to that described above; that is to say, the floor of the original tomb-chamber was lowered, the side of the *kok* was cut away, and a canopy of rock left over its bed. As time went on and changes were made the *kok* would probably be entirely isolated, the canopy of rock disappear, and the tomb assume its present form. I have endeavoured

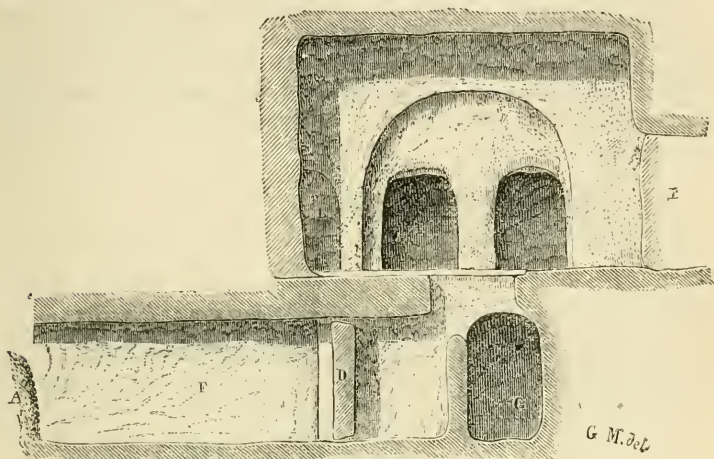


Fig. 3.

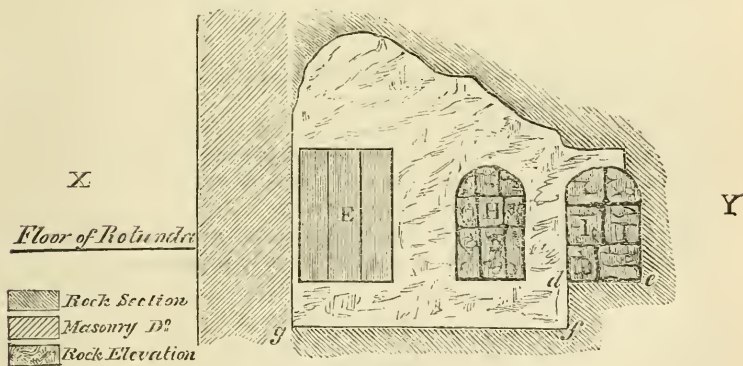


Fig. 3A.

to show this in the sketch (Fig. 4). Felix Fabri, 1480 A.D., mentions that pilgrims were in the habit of knocking off little pieces of the rock to carry away as relics, and it is possible that this may partially account for the disappearance of the roof of the *kok* (*ef*). Some of the earlier pilgrims mention a cave; this may be explained by reference to the little

Syrian chamber in which a roof of rock has been left, and the Holy Sepulchre may have undergone similar treatment.

M. Gamneau, in his opening paragraphs, alludes to the doubt which at one time existed as to the nature of the so-called tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus; I cannot understand how any one who had ever seen the rock-hewn tombs near Jerusalem could have any doubts on the subject. The chamber in which they are situated is unmistakably a Jewish tomb-chamber, and the tombs themselves are as clearly Jewish *kokim*. Whether this tomb-chamber was inside or outside the second wall is quite another question; I think myself it was inside, but the question is one which would require more space for argument than can be given at present.

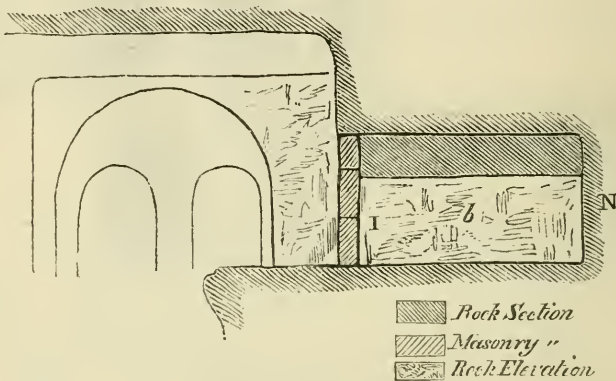


Fig. 4.

*a b.* Present floor of chapel of Holy Sepulchre sunk below floor.

*l c.* Of the original tomb-chamber.

*c d.* Bed of original *kok* now covered with marble slab.

*e f.* Roof of *kok* cut away at some period of alteration.

*h k i.* Rock cut away at some period of alteration.

*g h.* Masonry above level of rock.

There is no rock visible in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at the present day; it is entirely concealed by the marble casing.

C. W. W.

### III.—NOTE BY LIEUT. CONDER.

“And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre.”—Matt. xxvii. 60.

It has long been pointed out that the stone closing the door of our Lord's tomb was not a mere shapeless mass of rock, but a carefully-constructed apparatus peculiar to Jewish tombs. There are one or two



points with regard to the rolling stone which I have not, however, seen noticed in any account of such tombs.

The rolling stone is not a very common method of securing the entrances of the rock-cut sepulchres, and it is natural to suppose, from the great advance in mechanical simplicity, that it is a late contrivance. The large majority of the rock-cut sepulchres, some 500 of which have been examined in the course of the survey, are not fitted with the groove necessary for the use of the stone. They are closed in some instances by a sort of portecullis of stone, but most frequently by a stone door on pivots fitting into holes bored above and below the entrance, and closed by a lock. The lock was probably of metal, since in every instance yet examined it has disappeared. The rolling stone generally measures about 3 feet diameter, and is 1 foot thick in some instances, resembling a cheese set on end. It rolls right or left of the doorway, which is some 2 feet wide, and it is kept up by a ledge of rock having a groove behind it, into which the stone is pushed back to open the tomb. The bottom of this groove is slightly sloping in some cases, so that the stone would roll down to close the door by its own weight. The weight, taking the specific gravity of the rock at 2·7, would be about 6 cwt. Thus not only is it entirely impossible to open the tomb from within, but it is difficult to do so from without; and a shock of earthquake would not, as has been lately suggested, cause the stone to roll back up hill, nor would it remain in that position unless scotched beneath.

The principal point to be noticed is that this kind of door seems to belong to the later Jewish tombs. This accords exactly with its use in the new tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa. The only dated example known is that of the tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, mother of Izates, who was buried in Jerusalem in the first century (Ant. xx. 4. 3). In addition to this, it may be remarked that in the country north of Cæsarea, where there are many examples of this kind of door, the tombs are of the *loculus* description, and not *kokim* tombs. The same remark applies to the instance of a tomb near Endor, and in other cases the tombs contain both *loculi* and *kokim*; but we have collected no instance of a tomb with *kokim* only closed by a rolling stone. In a former paper I have shown reasons for supposing the *kokim* tombs to be the older form used by the Jews, the *loculi* to be the later form, also used by them. (See *Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1876, p. 19.) In the Mishna (Baba Bathra vi. 8) a description of a tomb is given having *kokim*, but no account of a rolling door is added, and the form of antechamber prescribed precludes the possibility of such a method of closing the entrance, but the description applies exactly to the majority of the more ancient Jewish sepulchres.

The conclusion which may be drawn from the above notes seems to be that the Holy Sepulchre was in all probability a *loculus* tomb.

This deduction is in accordance with the description in the fourth Gospel (xx. 12)—“two angels in white sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain”—a dis-

position which is evidently impossible in the case of a tomb with a *koka*, which is, as has often been explained, a sort of pigeon-hole running in from the wall of the chamber some 5 to 7 feet in length, and 2 feet 6 inches to 2 feet broad, the feet of the corpse being at the nearer end, the head at the further. The *koka* was closed by a slab 2 feet broad, 2 to 3 feet high. The *loculus* tomb has a sort of sarcophagus under an arched roof, the body lying parallel to the wall of the chamber.

An argument for the identity of the present site has been drawn by De Vogüé and by M. Ganueau from the existence of an ancient *kôk* tomb in the church. This position has been considerably strengthened by the quotation of the Mishna furnished by Mr. Hepworth Dixon (Baba Bathra ii. 9), which runs as follows:—

“Corpses and sepulchres and tanneries are separated from the city fifty cubits.”

Still there is evidence from the same sources to show that sepulchres dating from an early period existed within the walls of Jerusalem, and I may perhaps be allowed to collect these passages for the use of those interested in the argument.

Mishna Parah iii. 2: “The buildings (*Hazereth*) of Jerusalem were founded on the rock, with caves beneath them, because of the *Kabr Hat Taktum*” (or “Sepulchre of the Abyss”).

The passage continues to explain that for the same reason the children sent to fetch water for the Red Heifer Sacrifice from Siloam were mounted on bulls, in order to have their feet off the ground, so as to escape pollution from the same source.

The explanation of the term “Sepulchre of the Abyss” is given by Maimonides, commenting on another passage (Nezir ix. 2), where he speaks of it as a hidden tomb, the depth of which was not known to any man. Thus it would appear from the Mishna that the Jews were aware of the existence of ancient tombs in and beneath the surface of the city.

The Tosiphtah gives us further information. It is a work of authority almost equal to that of the Mishnah, being attributed to Rabbi Hifah, about 120 A.D. Commenting on the same tract (Tosiphtah Baba Bathra, ch. i.), it states that all the sepulchres within Jerusalem were transferred outside the walls except those of the family of David and of the prophetess Huldah.

Another passage of the Tosiphtah is given by Neubauer (Edouyoth, ch. ii.): “Bones had once been found in a house of wood. The Rabbis wished therefore to declare the capital unclean, but Rabbi Jehoshua objected, saying, ‘It would be shameful if we declare our houses unclean.’”

C. R. C.

## AGE OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

## II.—PILASTERS OF THE WEST HARAM WALL.

IN investigating the rock-cut aqueduct which leads from the Twin Pools to the Haram wall just south of the great rock scarp at the north-west corner, I was able to penetrate into a chamber (see Fig. 1) whence the old wall is visible at a higher level than that at which it has been observed at any other point.

This discovery was briefly referred to in my report written after the visit which was made April, 1873, in company with Mr. Shick and a party of young Englishmen then in the city.

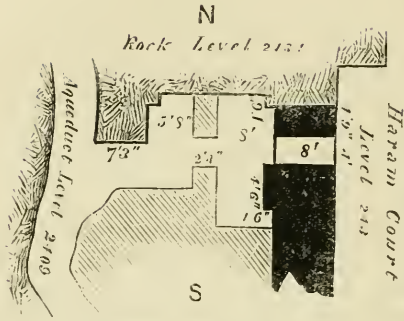
We passed along the passage which had been cleared out by Joseph Effendi on boards, and reached the end of the aqueduct at the point where the masonry had been previously described by Mr. Shick (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1872, p. 50). The most interesting point with regard to the wall at this place is the fact that each course is set back about 6 inches, thus giving a batter to the wall. The care taken to preserve the effect on the eye produced by the sunk draft is remarkable. The set-back would naturally have the effect of making the horizontal drafts appear narrower than the vertical, which are flush, and for this reason the former are made 6 inches broad, the latter being only 3 inches; thus the total breadth of the surface on one plain is equalised.

The level of the rock at this point is 2409, 29 feet higher than the base of the great course, the highest left *in situ* along the greater part of the south wall. The height of the course visible is greater than the average given in Captain Warren's table, and less than that of the great course, being 4 feet 7 inches.

A batter was seen on the east wall by Captain Warren ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p 168) at a level 2370 and upwards. The set-back was here  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

From the point where the aqueduct begins to turn round towards the Haram wall, a small passage leads due east beside the south face of the great corner scarp. We were thus able to ascend through the floor into a small chamber built against the Haram wall outside (see Fig. 2). A window in this chamber looks into the Court of the Haram, which has here the level 2431. We found the masonry of the wall to be similar to that beneath, and the window to be ancient. Still more interesting was the fact that the wall is here seen built with pilasters projecting just like those of the Haram at Hebron. The breadth of the pilaster is more than double that at Hebron, which is, I believe, 2 feet 6 inches, and the distance apart 5 feet, whereas the buttress here visible is 4 feet 9 inches broad, and the distance from the corner one 8 feet 9 inches. The projection is 1 foot 6 inches.\*

\* The rock buttresses found in Souterrain No. 29 north of the platform might also be compared; they are 3 feet 6 inches broad, and from 12 to 13 feet apart. Their projection is about 8 feet.



PLAN SCALE  $\frac{1}{250}$

Fig. 1.

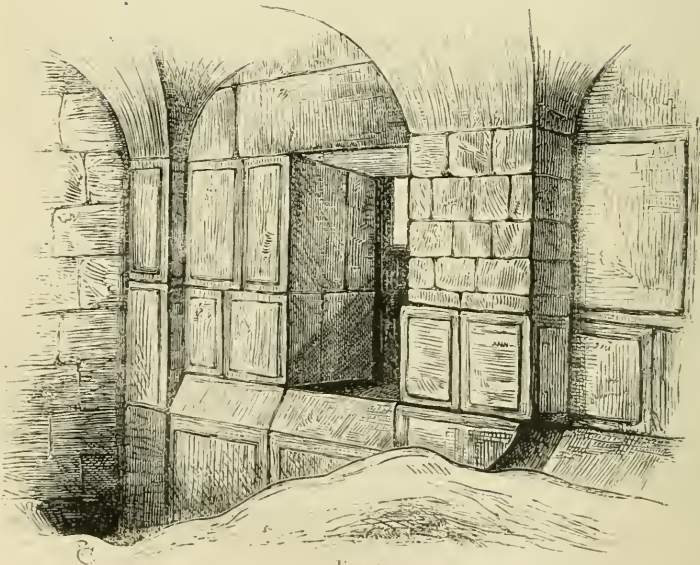


Fig. 2



The north wall of the chamber is partly of rock, which here runs up in a scarp to the level 2434; in the north-east corner is a buttress of masonry 1 foot 6 inches broad. In the intervening space is the window with a flat lintel, the wall being 8 feet thick, the window 4 feet broad.

The projection of the pilasters is due to a bevelled set-back in the wall at the level of the sill of the window (2429). This measures 2 feet along the slope and 1 foot horizontally. The course immediately under the bevelled stones projects 6 inches, and is thus flush with the pilaster. This arrangement is similar to that of the tower at the north-east corner of the Haram. (See Plan and Sketch.)

This is, I believe, the only point where the masonry of the Haram has been observed at a higher level than that of the interior of the court, and it appears to show that the outer wall was originally decorated with pilasters. In his restoration of Herod's Temple, M. De Vogüé has so represented the wall.

It is probable that there would have been 70 of these buttresses along the south wall, but unfortunately the third buttress is south of the south wall of the chamber, so that the space between cannot be checked.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

SINCE the publication of last *Quarterly Statement* the Memoir has been making very steady progress. Four sheets are now arranged, being respectively the Cæsarea sheet (7), the Bethshean sheet (9), the Gezer sheet (16), the Jericho sheet (18). The Jaffa sheet is also nearly ready (13). In addition, the translation of the nomenclature (6,000 names) is completed, and many valuable results have thus been obtained. Some 150 sites have been recovered (according to identifications proposed by me), which bear the names of Biblical towns, not to mention the numerous additions to our information as to Egyptian, Samaritan, early Christian, Talmudic, and Crusading sites furnished by the map.

The principal points of interest in the sheets as yet completed may thus be briefly summed up.

*Sheet 7.*—A full description of Roman and Crusading Cæsarea, the hippodrome, temple, theatre, harbour, the Crusading cathedral and walls, the two great aqueducts, an account of *Kefr Lâm* (the Crusading Capernaum), and of various rock cemeteries along the shores.

*Sheet 9.*—The description of the Roman town of Scythopolis, its theatre and hippodrome, the Crusading citadel. Full account of the fortress of Belvoir, of the sites of Nain, Endor, Jezreel, and Shunem; also the proposed sites of the well Harod, of Bethabara (*'Abâra*), and of Megiddo (*Mujedd'a*).

*Sheet 16.*—An account of Yebnah (Jabneel), its church and mosques, with their inscriptions, the probable site of Gath at *Tell es Sâfi*, and of

Gezer at *Tell Jezer*, with its inscriptions. Ekron, Ashdod, and a number of the towns of Judah.

*Sheet 18.*—This is one of unusual interest and importance. The question of the three sites of Jericho, the Roman town at the foot of the pass, the Crusading at *Erîha*, and the Jericho of Joshua at *'Ain es Sultân*, receives illustration. The early site of Gilgal recovered by the Survey Party, and the Crusading site found by Captain Warren, are discussed. The Mountain of the Scapegoat comes also into this sheet.

The numerous Crusading monasteries of the Jericho plains are described; the inscribed frescoes of the Quarantania chapels are shown by a careful comparison of the characters with those at Bethlehem to belong to the twelfth century. The mediæval "high mountain" of the Temptation, shown to be the *'Osh el Ghürâb*.

The most interesting points in the nomenclature are noticed in a separate paper. The latest identifications resulting from this study may be noted as follow:—

*The Hittites.*—Egyptian records show that the Chita, or Hittites, extended their dominion at one time to the borders of Egypt. It is possible therefore that the town *Hatteh*, in Philistia, may be named from them, as well as *Kefr Hatteh* in the centre of the country. *Hattin* has been previously fixed as the Kefr Hittai of the Talmud, another Hittite town.

*The Avim.*—This aboriginal people dwelt in "Hazeroth," or walled towns, as far as Gaza. It is therefore probable that *Beit Auwa* is named after them, as the word represents the Hebrew *Aui* closely. This ruin lies on the borders of Philistia, in a district where several Hazors occur in the Bible, and where remains of great flint walls surrounding the ruined towns are still standing.

*The Cherethites* appear to have been a division of the Philistines dwelling in the Maritime Plain, near the Negeb (1 Sam. xxx. 14). They appear in the same connection in Zephaniah ii. 5. The LXX. translate the word *Κρηται*, whence has arisen the theory that the Philistines came from Crete. But, as far as their origin is known, this great people were Caphtorim, or *Kabtu*, as the word appears in the Egyptian records, a name connected with the modern *Kubt*, or Copt, and this agrees with the derivation of the Caphtorim from Mizraim or Egypt (Gen. x. 14).

A relie of the name of *Cherethi* exists, I would suggest, in the important village of *Keratiya*, spelt with the *Kaf* and *Te*, as in the Hebrew. It is situate in the very centre of the Philistine country, and at the edge of the Negeb, or "dry country."

In the town of Keratiya there is an ancient Crusading castle. To this the natives have given the name *Kül'at el Fenish*, or "Castle of the Fenish." The name of the *Fenish* lingers in the neighbourhood of Philistia at various points: at *Soba*, where the Fenish sultan had his palace in summer, his daughter dwelling at *Khürbet Ikbâla* below; at *Latrân*, where were his winter quarters, near which is the "spinning mound of the Fenish sultan's daughter;" at *Beit Jibrîn*, where is the

“Cavern of the Fenish,” and the “Garden of the Fenish.” The tradition seems, as far as can be ascertained, localised to this part of Palestine. Hence one is led to conjecture that the peasants have made the usual change of L into N, and that the *Fenish* are really *Felish*, or Philistines. If this be the case, it is curious that we should find both the Cherethites and the Pelethites (who are supposed to be the Philistines under a slightly changed form of the word) leaving traces of their name in one village of Philistia.

*Ataroth Adar*.—This important point on the boundary of Benjamin is described (Josh. xviii. 13) as “near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-horon.” I have already noted that a village, *et Tیره*, here exists which may represent Ataroth. I now find there is also in the same neighbourhood a ruin called *ed Dârieh*, which is very possibly Adar.

*Eder*, one of the towns of Simeon, is very possibly *Khûrbet 'Ader*, south of Gaza (Josh. xv. 21).

*Gibbethon* of Dan may perhaps be the ruin of *Geibûta* north of Jaffa.

*Baalath* of Dan has never been fixed in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. I would suggest *Bel'ain* as being in the same part of the country with the towns next on the list (Josh. xviii. 44).

*Jabneel* of Naphtali is not impossibly *B'aineh*, an ancient site for which no identification has yet been offered. The loss of the final L is supposed.

*Mount Heres* was a district of Mount Ephraim in which lay Timnath Heres, where Joshua was buried. Its real signification seems to be “rugged mountain.” Traces of the name perhaps may be recognised in *Bâtn Harâsheh* (“rough hilltop”), *Hâris*, *Kefr Hâris*, and perhaps *Khûrbet Hirsha* (Charashim), all towards the west of Mount Ephraim.

*Shalisha*, a district seemingly west of the last in the Shephelah (1 Sam. ix. 4). Besides *Sirîsia*, which represents, as I have before shown, the Baal Shalisha of the Onomasticon, there are in this direction ruins called *Salîta*, *Shîlta*, and *Kefr Thilth*, which are all modifications of the Hebrew *Shalsh*, “three”

*Meronoth*, noticed 1 Chron. xxvii. 3, Neh. iii. 7, is probably the present *Khûrbet Marrîna*.

*Pirathon* is a city noticed in the book of Judges (xii. 15) as “in the land of Ephraim in the Mount of the Amalekite.” It is commonly supposed to be the modern *Fer'ata*, but this is a mediæval identification, and if the Samaritan Chronicle is to be received, the ancient name of *Fer'ata* was Ophrah. It would seem better to place this site at the important ancient site of *Fer'aûn*, supposing only the loss of the weak letter *Teth*. The name is known as early as 1322 A.D., being marked as *Farona* in an approximately correct position by Marino Sanuto on his map.

To pass on to sites not noticed in the Bible, but all of some interest.

*M'lloth* is noticed by Josephus (B. J. iii. 3. 1) as the western boundary

of Upper Galilee. This would seem to fix it at the modern *M'alia*, the *Castrum Regium* of the Teutonic knights.

*Saab*, a town in Galilee (B. J. iii.), native place of Eleasar son of Sameos, is no doubt the modern *Sh'ab*.

*Caphrath*, a town fortified by Josephus, in Galilee (see Rel. Pal. p. 684), is probably the modern Kefrah.

*Asochis* is the name of the great plain north of Nazareth. No trace of this title has as yet been discovered. The word in Greek is written *Ασωχίς* (Vita 41 and 45), and this would be represented probably in Hebrew by the *Cheth*. The name of the mountain south of the eastern part of the plain is *Jebel es Sîh* ("mountain of running water"), having many fine springs on it.

One of the valleys running from this hill into the plain is called *Wâdy es Sîh*. In these, perhaps, we may see traces of the required name.

*Aphecos*, a place mentioned in Samaria (B. J. ii. 19. 1) is perhaps the present *Kh. Ifkâs*.

*Beth Rîma*.—The importance of the identification of this site with the modern *Beit Rîma* is great as giving another point near the boundary of Judæa and Samaria. It is noticed in the Mishnah (Menachoth ix. 7) and identified by Neubauer (Geog. Tal. p. 83). From it was brought wine of a secondary quality, but it must have been in Judæa, as no wine can have been allowed in Jerusalem if brought from Samaria. The wine of various Samaritan places was forbidden (*Tal. Jer.*, Abodah Zarah, v. 4), and even that from Regueb in Peræa was doubtful because it had to pass through part of the land of the Cuthim (*Tal. Jer.*, Hagigah, iii. 4).

The modern village is south of the great valley which seems to have been the boundary, and not far from *Brûkin*, which I propose to be Borceos (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 67). It would perhaps be better to identify the Anuath of Josephus, "belonging to Borceos" (B. J. iii. 3. 5), with *Kefr 'Ain*, close to *Brûkin*, rather than with the Anuath of the Onomasticon. Thus we get the following towns on the boundaries all on the Jewish side.

|            |    |    |    |                   |
|------------|----|----|----|-------------------|
| Antipatris | .. | .. | .. | Ràs el 'Ain.      |
| Borceos    | .. | .. | .. | Brûkin, C.R.C.    |
| Anuath     | .. | .. | .. | Kefr 'Ain, C.R.C. |
| Beth Rîmah | .. | .. | .. | Beit Rîma.        |
| Beth Laban | .. | .. | .. | Lubben.           |
| Shil'ah    | .. | .. | .. | Seilun.           |
| Corea      | .. | .. | .. | Kuriyut.          |
| Keruthim   | .. | .. | .. | Kurâwa (?).       |

These would seem sufficient to determine the great valley of *Deir Ballât* as the boundary.

*Hirîch* is a place mentioned in the Talmud (*Tal. Jer.* Megillah i. 1) as identical with the Biblical *Idalah* of Zebulon (ed Dâlich, C.R.C.), Josh. xix. 15. The position suggests that the place meant by the commentators is the ruin now called *Huwarah*, which is an ancient site near Bethlehem of Zebulon.



In the Byzantine and Crusading period several other places of interest may be noticed.

*Beth Sur* is noticed in the Onomasticon as a place one mile from Eleutheropolis. It is probably therefore the modern *Khürbet es Sûrah* in the required direction.

*Mejiddo*.—It is interesting to know where the Crusaders supposed Megiddo to have been, as we can often trace our errors to their ignorance of the country. Marino Sanuto gives its modern name as Sububa. This is evidently the ruin called *Ezbâba*, south of el Lejjun, on the west side of the great plain.

*Gihon*.—Another curious instance of Crusading error is found in the mediæval identification of the Upper Gihon and Lower Gihon with the pools now called *Birket Mamilla* and *Birket es Sultân*. These identifications are countenanced by Robinson, but there is an important passage in the "La Citéz de Gherusalem":—

"When one had passed over Zion one found a lake in the valley which was called Lac Germain, because the Germans caused it to be made to gather the waters which descended from the mountain when it rained."

This Lacus Germanicus is shown on the charts as the *Birket es Sultân*. The description given of the Lacus Patriarchæ, or *Birket Mamilla*, leads to the suspicion that this also was of the same date, but it is not positively stated to be of mediæval origin. The Crusaders placed a Mount Gihon on the hill south of this last lake. Robinson apparently accepts this identification, which is curious, since Reland had previously shown that Gihon was probably Siloam. The word means "springing forth," and is therefore only applicable to a fountain, none of which exist west of Jerusalem. In the Targums Siloam is put instead of Gihon, and there is no reason to doubt the identification. The question is of great interest, because it would follow that the great water channel from the *'Ain Umm el Deraj* (en Rogel) to Siloam is the work of Hezekiah, and further light would be thrown on the locality of the City of David.

*The Stone of Bohan* is placed by Marino Sanuto on Olivet. This is of course a gross error, but it is interesting to observe that there are heaps of flints on Olivet, now called *Rujâm el Behâmeh*, and this word comes from the same root with *Ibhâm*, which is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew Bohan, or "thumb."

*Shafat*.—This name contains the radicals of the Hebrew Jehosaphat, and the natives of the place state it to have been named after a king of Jerusalem. A place of the name Jehosaphat is noticed near Jerusalem by Marino Sanuto, and Fetellus in his account of the city describes the Church of St. Stephen as between Jerusalem and Jehosaphat. This church was outside the Damascus gate, and it would seem that Fetellus means *Sh'afât* by Jehosaphat. The name of this town was perhaps altered by the Crusaders, or slightly modified from the word *Sh'af* (in the plural *Sh'afât*, spelt with *Te*), meaning a "mountain top," or any high place, like the Hebrew Nob.

*Mountain of the Temptation.*—It appears to have escaped notice that there was a second site shown in the middle ages as connected with the temptation of our Lord. Quarantania (*Jebel Kūrüntül*) has been shown, from the twelfth century downwards, as the site of our Lord's fast of forty days (Matt. iv.). Saewulf (1102), however, places the "high mountain" of the Temptation three miles from Jericho (which was then identified with the modern *Erīha*), in the direction of Galilee. Fetellus (1150) places Quarantania two miles from Jericho, and the "high mountain" two miles from Quarantania. John of Wirtzburg (1100 A.D.) gives the same measurements. The tradition afterwards underwent modification. Sir John Maundeville (1322 A.D.) knows of Quarantania only, nor does his contemporary Marino Sanuto mention the "high mountain." John Poloner (1422) speaks of Quarantania, and adds: "Others say that it is that high hill towards Galilee, distant two leagues from the aforesaid mountain, on whose summit was a chapel." This would be probably the site mentioned above.

Measuring on the plan it becomes clear that the place meant is no other than the remarkable conical peak of the 'Osh el 'Ghūrab. It is a curious instance of the ideas then entertained, that the summit of this "high mountain," whence the Crusaders believed our Lord to have seen "all the kingdoms of the earth," is about 300 feet below the surface of the Mediterranean.

The question has, however, a further interest. I have noted before that one of the valleys leading from the hill in question is called *Wādy Mesā'adet 'Aisī* ("Valley of the Ascent of Jesus"). The reason is now clear, for the origin, like that of the name Kūrüntül, is evidently Christian. This is then a case where the Bedawin have preserved a mediæval monkish tradition. Quarantania is another; the site shown to Captain Warren as Gilgal (*Tell Jiljā'*, or *Khūrbet Mifjir*) is a third, for the place represents apparently the Crusading Gilgal. This throws considerable doubt on the origin of other traditions with regard to Biblical sites found among the Bedawin.

*Tomb of Micah.*—This was discovered, according to Sozomen (vii. 29, Hist. Eccles.), ten stadia from Kilah, at a place called Barath Satia, and was named in the native language Nephsa Neemana, or "Monument of the Faithful." In this very neighbourhood, west of Kilah, we found a sacred place dedicated to *Neby Naaman*, the name attaching now to a sacred tree near the ruin called *Khūrbet Sherweh*. In my paper on the Mukams I have pointed out this name, but was not then able to explain how Naaman occurs among the prophets. C. R. C.

NOTE.—Papers on "Archæology in Palestine," "On the Value of Josephus's Descriptions," and some further notes, are under consideration.

## THE ASNERIE.

IN the mediæval account of the Holy City, dating about 1187 A.D., known as "La Citez de Jherusalem," a building called the Asnerie, or "donkey," is described as outside the gate of St. Stephen, which is stated to be the northern gate (*Bâb 'Amûd el Ghûrâb*). The Church and Monastery of St. Stephen stood towards the right on entering, and the Asnerie, in front of it, to the left, or east of the northern road. The monastery was destroyed by the Christians before Saladin's siege, because it was near the walls and might be used in the attack, but the Asnerie was not destroyed and was afterwards in use.

The remains of this building were excavated by the owner of the ground in 1875, as mentioned in my report (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1875, p. 190), but no full description has as yet been published of the discoveries. The following notes are taken from those made on the spot during our stay in Jerusalem in May, 1875.

Outside the Damascus Gate (*Bâb 'Amûd el Ghûrâb*) is the hill called *el Heidhemûjeh*, "the cutting," in which is the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah. A plot of ground at a lower level extends between this hill and the road, with a house in its south-east corner, as shown on the Ordnance Survey. On the north and west it is surrounded with a modern wall, and the garden is entered from the road in the north-west corner. The plot thus enclosed is about 150 feet square, with a scarp of rock on the north and east. It seems probable that the great inn called the Asnerie, originally belonging to the Hospitallers, occupied the whole of this site.

The scarp on the north was excavated in 1873 (see *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1873, p. 153) and traces of arches observed along it. A chamber is cut in the scarp, which was apparently a Christian double tomb, and this was found to be full of bones. The eastern half of the chamber measures 11 feet 7 inches by 7 feet 10 inches, and has three *loculi* 2 feet wide, one on either side, one at the east end. On the east wall are two crosses, rudely painted in red, with the Greek letters  $\Lambda$  and  $\Omega$  either side of the cross. The other half of the chamber on the west measures 6 feet 2 inches east and west, 10 feet 8 inches north and south, and was full of bones. This tomb is entered by a double door on the south—the eastern 2 feet wide, the western about 4 feet.

Near the cistern marked on the Ordnance Survey, which appears to be very extensive and cut in rock, remains of piers of masonry were found, the stones about 2 to 3 feet long. On one of the stones a masons' mark, representing the letter R, occurs, showing the masonry to belong to the Crusading period. The stone has the diagonal dressing found on the best specimens of such date. A capital in marble, the base of a small attached column, and a pillar shaft 1 foot 6 inches thick, were also discovered.

About forty paces south of the garden gate the excavations laid bare the remains of a building—a wall of masonry similar to that above described running in two directions from its south-west corner, which

was laid bare. Northwards the wall extended 33 feet 6 inches, where it ends apparently at a gateway. A cross wall runs east 6 feet 6 inches south of the north end. Eastward the excavations were pushed for about 36 feet—both walls are 6 feet 6 inches thick.

Inside the southern wall are a row of what would appear to be stone mangers for the beasts here stabled. Each manger is 1 foot 9 inches broad, and they are separated by partitions 4 inches broad—about fifteen were uncovered. The back of the mangers slopes, so that at the top they are 2 feet 6 inches, measuring north and south, and at the bottom 1 foot 10 inches, the depth being 8 inches. Their discovery is of great interest as confirming the opinion which I ventured to express previously as to the identification of the building.

It is probable that the Church of Saint Stephen, built in the fifth century by the Empress Eudoxia, may still remain to be discovered beneath the rubbish on the west side of the road, where tombs were discovered in 1876, as reported by Dr. Chaplin (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 9).

C. R. C.

## THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE SURVEY.

THE translation of 6,000 Arabic names on the Survey sheets has just been completed, and I propose to sum up some of the principal points of interest noticeable in this mass of nomenclature.

That the task of translation requires special acquaintance with the peculiarities of the peasant dialect may be easily shown. In the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1872 (pp. 123, 150), Dr. Sandrezki's provisional translation of the names collected by Captain Warren, and written down by the dragoman, is given. The true local meaning of the word is in a great many cases apparently unknown. A few instances will be sufficient to show how materially the translation may be improved.

*Ku*, rendered "retreat," or "window," is used by the Bedawin in its original Hebrew signification of a "hollow place." *Tabakah*, rendered "stage," or "story," or "floor," occurs constantly in the Jordan valley, meaning a "terrace" with precipitous edges. *Miseh* untranslated means the "mace tree" (*Cordia myxa*). *Matal es Sirch* is best rendered "the ridge of the sheepfold," not "extension of the march." *Matkh* means a "height," not a "shepherd's staff," and *Rikbeh* is constantly used for a "hill-top" (properly *Râkib*), not a "knee." *Jârat el Beid* means "the white hollow," but is transformed by the dragoman into "ditch of eggs." *Hawârah* is the term used for a kind of soft white chalk, which fits better than the translation "a new-born camel." *'Ain el 'Abharah* means "spring of the mock orange" (*Styrax officinalis*), a plant which gives its name to a large wooded district near Carmel. This cannot but be considered an improvement



on "fountain of the fleshy damsel." In addition, *Bâtn* is a word often used in Palestine for a round lill-top, or "belly," as the word strictly originally means. *Hish* also is applied to a confused underwood, and should not be rendered "tumultuous assembly." Many other examples might be added.

The system according to which the Survey names were collected was as follows. A guide accompanied the surveyor and gave the name on the spot. It was repeated in camp in his presence, and written down by an Arabic scholar. Thus correctness of locality and of pronounciation was as far as possible secured. This nomenclature I have three times examined all through—once with a native scribe, once with the official lists and others furnished to us in the country, lastly with three Arabic Dictionaries, one Hebrew Lexicon (Gesenius), and one Aramaic (Buxtorf). Whenever the word was strange and new the meaning was as far as possible obtained from the guide, and a note made opposite. The late Mr. Drake had a very unusual acquaintance with the peasant dialect, and the Survey has the full benefit of his knowledge. In addition, the meaning of words is often rendered quite clear by the comparison of various instances of their occurrence in different parts of the country.

In addition to the various precautions to ensure accuracy described above, it must be understood that unusual or important names were not accepted on the testimony of one person, that every effort to check the veracity of the guides was used, incompetent guides dismissed, and spurious names cancelled. It is our hope, therefore, that what has been produced may prove to be accurate as well as sufficient.

Captain Warren\* has stated that we have probably collected less than one half of the existing names, and this might lead to an impression that our work is imperfect in this respect. I would therefore call attention to the character of the native nomenclature, for it appears to me that the value of many names has been immensely overrated, from the fact that their origin and meaning have been entirely unknown. It is probable that the sheets might be thickly covered with such titles as the following given on one man's authority, or very probably impromptu inventions: *Shekhâkh et Tôr*, *'Alim el Hada*, *Maradd Hânî Abu Selheb*, *Hanût el Alein*, *Makarfet el Kattâm*, *Kurnet Sahsul Hameid*.

These titles actually occur on the Survey sheets, and might, as they stand untranslated, be considered of importance; they mean respectively, "the place where the bulls lie down" (beside a spring), "the directing sign-post," "the twisting zigzag—father of length" (a winding mountain ascent), "the public booth," "the place smelt by Kattâm" (an Arab having here fallen on his nose from his horse, as explained by the guide), "the peak of the fall of Hameid" (a Bedawi boy having fallen thence and broken his neck).

It is clear, probably, from the above that the map without a translation of the nomenclature will be a sealed book, that we should be in danger of falling into the error of the traveller who wrote down *Ma-*

\* "Underground Jerusalem," p. 262.

*bâruf* ("I don't know") as the name of a village, and that in very many cases only the explanation obtained on the spot will account for a curious and unusual name.

The examination of the nomenclature shows that the answers given by guides and other natives were generally truthful. No attempt to work on our ignorance of the language appears to have succeeded, no evidently absurd names can be detected, and the fact that the most valuable names are those of ruins and villages gives reason to suppose that the various titles which might be added would prove of little value, being simply descriptive and modern: "brown mountain," "bubbling spring," or "heap of stones," being titles which obscure the map without any advantage.

With regard to the comparative value of names, two important points must be noticed: first, a great difference between the nomenclature of the peasantry and that of the Arabs; secondly, the antiquity of ruin names as compared with the later descriptive titles applied to natural features. On these points I have touched before, and there is nothing in them contrary to expectation; but it is important to remember the last, because if all important ruins are, as we hope, marked, and their names attached, then probably all that is of value in the nomenclature of the Survey has been collected. The number of names in the Bible relating to Western Palestine is under 600, and the collection of 7,000 modern names ought in all probability to ensure the recovery of all that can be recovered. Already all but about 100 are fixed with more or less accuracy, without including disputed sites or those within Upper Galilee, and the topography of Byzantine and Crusading Palestine can be worked out in even greater perfection from the Survey documents, as I hope the Memoir will clearly show.

Another interesting aspect of the nomenclature is the light which it throws on the language of the peasantry. I have already tabulated some of these results, but other points of interest have since come under notice which may be briefly enumerated.

The words used in the nomenclature may be divided into various classes: first, those exclusively of Hebrew or Aramaic origin not used in modern Arabic; secondly, words common to Aramaic and Arabic; thirdly, foreign words. The question of the change of words from their original form is part of the same subject.

In the common vulgarisms of the peasant dialect valuable indications may be detected. Thus the confusion of the gutturals and the hardening of the *Aleph* into the guttural *'Ain*, which were a reproach against the Galileans in the older times of the Talmudic writers, are still remarkable among the peasantry. The placing of an *Aleph* at the beginning of a word, as *Abzîk* for *Bezîk*, *Ajdûr* for *Jedûr*, and the introduction of *Aleph* and *Wow* in various words giving a broader and longer sounds, are peculiarities noticeable in Aramaic nomenclature when compared with Hebrew, and also in the peasant dialect. In addition to this, various letters are pronounced in a manner which agrees with their

proper relation to Hebrew. *Dhâl*, the Hebrew *Zain*, is pronounced like *Z*. *Tha*, the equivalent of *Sin*, like the Hebrew *Sin*. The N and L are confused constantly, as also in Aramaic. The pronunciation of the Bedawin differs from that of the peasantry in many letters, and the pronunciation of townspeople is again different. The words used by the Arabs are again local, and not used by the peasantry in many cases. Thus in the Jordan Valley *Tuweil* is the title employed for the long knife ridges, and is derived from the root "*Tâl*," to be long. *Suwâd* is used for a cave; *Hurubbet* for a cistern; *Râz* for a shepherd. The peasantry commonly use the words *Sk'ab*, *Mughârah*, *Birkeh*, and *R'ai* instead, these being Hebrew words, and the Bedawin words more strictly Arabic.

The laws of relation between Hebrew and Arabic letters are well known. Though the sound may differ as in *Abeid*, the Arabic of the Hebrew *Abez*, "white," still, in my opinion, no change can properly be said to have taken place where the Arabic is the proper equivalent of the Hebrew or Aramaic. It is commonly said that the original nomenclature has been much altered, in order to give a significance in modern dialect to ancient words. The examination of the nomenclature does not, however, bear this out so fully as may have been expected. It seems that the word has often remained quite unchanged where the meaning has been lost, or that the peasantry attach a more archaic meaning to the word than we suppose; but scarcely one substantiated case has been found, as far as I am aware, of any very considerable "introversion" or radical change of a name, *except in cases where the name is of foreign origin*.

Many words commonly used have meanings in Hebrew or Aramaic which apply well, but have no topographical significance in Arabic.

Thus *Shu'al* is a word applied in several cases to caverns, and has the significance of the Hebrew root, "to be hollow." In Arabic it would mean "a firebrand." *Fukhteh* is used to mean "a quarry" or "cutting," as in Hebrew. In Arabic it means "a pigeon." *'Ain* is used as in Aramaic to mean "a flock," in Arabic it means "a she ass." Many instances of this archaic condition of the language might be adduced, and, as I have previously noticed, the common words such as *'Ain*, *Khurbeh*, *Tell*, &c., &c., are all Hebrew words unchanged in the modern nomenclature. These form a very large proportion of the whole.

The translation of the nomenclature also furnishes us with various identifications which might otherwise be lost; thus *'Ain el Jem'aîn* means apparently "spring of two troops," and its position suggests it to be the well Harod, where Gideon divided the men who lapped from the rest. *Wâdy Mes'adet 'Aisa* means "valley of the ascension of Jesus," and applies to a point where mediæval tradition supposes our Lord to have been carried to a lofty mountain-top by the tempter. *El Mahrakah* means "place of burning;" were this unknown we should have no indication of the possible site of Elijah's sacrifice.

To pass on to the more modern or strictly Arabic nomenclature. This

as before observed, belongs principally to the nomadic people. The old names are forgotten, and modern descriptive titles substituted; in addition to this, modern events, such as the slaughter of an Arab by Government, the destruction of a camp by a flood, the fall of an Arab boy from a cliff, result in well-known titles of formidable appearance, but of no value for purposes of Biblical research. The majority of the Jordan Valley names belong to this kind, and the deserts of Judah and Beersheba repeat the same class of titles. The Bedawin have in addition to their peculiar dialect a sort of slang, which we found ourselves quite unable to understand, the words being all new to us. This they use apparently to prevent the peasantry or Government officials from understanding their conversation. When in communication with them or with us they used a corrupt Arabic, with various peculiarities of pronunciation.

The stock of the language is apparently Aramaic, as it was in the fourth century, and this gives a clear explanation of the preservation of the ancient nomenclature. Various foreign words have, however, crept into use. Thus *Bordugan* is the Italian *Portugallo*, an orange. *Burj* is equivalent to Burg, or *πύργος*, "a tower." There are also indications of the earlier importation of foreign words. To the Greeks the nomenclature owes no doubt *Terkûmich* for Tricomias; *Fendekûmich*, Pentecomias; *Burjmus*, Pergamos; *Beidus*, Pedeios. To the Romans, *Koloniyeñ* for Colonia, *Küstül* for Castellum, and many others. To the Crusades, finally, many titles are to be traced—*Sinjil* for St. Gilles, *Bardawil* for Baldwin, *Dustrey* for District, are instances.

It is in these foreign words that change and corruption is, as might naturally be expected, most clearly to be traced. The classical titles of Seythopolis, Elentheropolis, and Sycaminos have disappeared entirely, unless a trace exists in the words *Shôk*, "thorn;" *el 'Atr*, "scent;" *Semak*, "fish;" applied to ruins close to their sites. With regard to the latter, it is curious to observe that the Talmudic writers found just as great difficulty with the name Sycaminos, which became in their hands *Shikmûnah*. One may remark in the Talmud the clumsy attempts to transliterate Greek or Latin words, giving evidence of the difficulty with which the natives of Palestine adapt their tongues to an Aryan language. The native nomenclature does indeed give instances of change, as in *Shefa 'Amr* for the Talmudic *Shafam*, the modern name meaning "healing of Omar," and connected with a tradition; but such instances are few compared with the almost universal corruption of the foreign words.

Thus translated the nomenclature becomes, I think, of value, the ground is cleared, the origin of various names explained, and the really ancient and valuable titles distinguished from the surrounding cloud of modern and unimportant names.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.



## SYCHAR AND SYCHEM.

In the new illustrated edition of Dr. Farrar's "Life of Christ," part 6, p. 164, a view of Nablus is given with the title Sychar beneath it. There are, however, good arguments, it would seem to me, in favour of the view that the Sychar of the fourth gospel (iv. 5) is a place distinct from the ancient Shechem.

The reason for supposing identity between the two sites appears to be Robinson's assumption that Sychar ("drunkard") was a Jewish corruption of Sychem, in contempt of the Samaritans.

By Jerome the two are considered as distinct places. Thus in the Onomasticon (s.v. Sichar) Jerome and Eusebius agree in placing this town "before" (i.e., east of) Shechem, and the Bordeaux pilgrim (Itin. Hierosol) places Sechar one mile from Sechim by Jacob's Well.

In his time the ancient site of Shechem was supposed not to be actually at Neapolis (Nablus), but at ruins farther east nearer to Joseph's tomb, which accounts for the distance given by the Bordeaux pilgrim.

In Crusading times, however, the distinction between Shechem and Sychar was not observed, thus Jaques de Vitry identifies Neapolis with Sychar (*Gesta Dei*, p. 1078).

It is important in this connection to mention another name connected with this spot. In the Onomasticon we have the name Balanus, "id est quercus Sicimorum" (*Judges ix. 6*), as close to Joseph's tomb. Of this title we have a trace in the modern *Balâta*, which may probably be connected with *Bullât*, "an oak" in Arabic. This place is mentioned in the Samaritan book of Joshua, and is perhaps the Elonah Tabah or *Shejr el Kheir* (i.e., "Holy Oak") of the Samaritan Chronicle. (See the paper on Samaritan Topography.)\*

It would appear that Sychar was in Jerome's time separated from Shechem, having near it another village, *Balata*, supposed to represent the "oak of the pillar that was in Shechem" (a.v., *plain*).

The reason why Robinson failed to identify Sychar with the village of 'Askar, just above Jacob's Well on the side of Ebal, seems to be that he did not know the name, which does not appear in his lists or in his account of Nablus. The identification has been supported by Canon Williams and Dr. Thomson, and the main difficulty appears to lie in the existence of the guttural 'Ain in the name.

A comparison with the Samaritan Chronicle is of interest as removing the philological difficulty (see *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1876, p. 197), for in the list of places inhabited by the high priests after Tobiah we

\* In spite of the fact that the Greek reads βαλανος, and the Latin Balanus in the Onomasticon, it is probable that the word intended is the Aramaic בלֹט, an oak, equivalent to the Hebrew לִילָם. The radicals in the Aramaic word are the same as in the Arabic *Balâta*, though the word in Arabic means "pavement."

The same place is probably intended by the "Terebinthus in Sicimis," where Jacob hid the idols (*Gen. xxxv. 4*), "juxta Neapolim" (*Onomasticon*).

find both Shechem and Iskar (יִסְכָּר). If this latter be the Sychar of the gospel it is possible that it has no connection with the Hebrew word for "drunkard," but comes from a Hebrew and Aramaic root meaning "to be shut up." Sikra (סִיכְרָא) is noticed in the Talmud as the name of a place (Baba Metzia 42a, 83a), and En Sukar (עֵין סוּכָר), is also noticed in the Mishna, Menachoth vi. 2. The Samaritan Chronicle dates back to 1150 A.D.; the Arabic translation gives 'Askar as a rendering of the Samaritan Iskar, and as by comparison of other towns we find the Arabic evidently to intend the same place with the original, we see that the Samaritans themselves identify the modern 'Askar with an ancient Ischar or Sichar. The Arabic word means "a collection" (hence an army).

In writing on this subject (see Smith's Bible Dictionary, art. Sychar) Mr. Grove has remarked how much more naturally the narrative in the gospel would apply to a comparatively obscure site than to the very capital of Samaria itself.

"Then cometh he to a city of Samaria (ἐἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας), which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph.

"Now, Jacob's well was there. . . ." (John iv. 5, 6.)

This description is most accurately applicable to 'Askar. The well of Jacob is situate at the point where the narrow vale of Shechem begins to broaden into the great plain of the Mukhnah (or Camp). It is about 2,000 yards east of the town of Nablus, which lies hidden from it. Immediately west lies the little village of *Balâta* with its fine spring and gardens. Little more than a third of a mile north-east is the tomb of Joseph, and from this a path gradually ascending leads to the village of 'Askar, which is visible from Jacob's Well. It is merely a modern mud village with no great indications of antiquity, but there are remains of ancient tombs near the road beneath it.

As regards the position of Shechem, it may be noticed that the ancient cemetery occupies the side of Mount Ebal above the modern one, and extends thence westward, being separated by about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the site of 'Askar.

In confusing Shechem and Sychar Robinson has, as in other cases, followed that very monkish tradition of the middle ages which he so strongly condemns in other instances.

C. R. C.

## THE AMERICAN EXPLORERS IN PALESTINE.

(Reprinted from the *Athenæum*, by permission of the Proprietors.)

BEIRUT, SYRIA, May 10, 1877.

THE better acquainted I become with the country east of the Jordan, the more I am amazed at its fertility and natural resources. The scenery everywhere among the Gilead hills is picturesque and beautiful. The forests and cultivated fields, the green valleys and grassy slopes, remind one of the park scenery in England. The hills in many parts

are well wooded, but besides this there are also dense forests of large fine old trees, such as are not elsewhere seen in this peeled and poverty-stricken land. The upper portion of Wady Yâbis is called "el Akhdar"—*i.e.*, the green, and its gardens and orchards, as well as its fields of grass, combine to render it a charming place. But Wady Ajlun surpasses the Yâbis in respect to cultivation and beauty, because it is larger, and the fountains which feed its copious stream are at a much higher level in the mountains. Ain Jenmeh is near the head of this wady, and the fountains and streams flowing among the olive trees and walnut groves there make this one of the most delightful valleys in Syria. There are three other flourishing villages, Ajlun, Anjara, and Keferenji, all except the latter in the immediate neighbourhood of Ain Jenmeh, and the valley at that point is full of ancient ruins, which extend clear up to Kallat er Rabad itself, showing that this locality has been occupied by towns or cities from remote times.

At one place on this wady I saw an orchard of unusual extent, in which there were at least eight kinds of fruit trees—the fig, olive, apricot, quince, plum, lemon, apple, and the pomegranate growing side by side. The valley is full of mills, flour-mills, of which I counted about twenty, but not all of them were in working order; and not only on this but on many other streams as well the number of ruined mills surprises one. For instance, on the line of the Zerka, or Jabbok, I counted between twenty and thirty ruined flour-mills, besides a very few that were in operation. I learn that in some cases the locality chosen for the site is not a good one, and the investment proves a failure; and in the more dangerous sections, as has doubtless been the case on the Zerka, the people have been either driven away or murdered, consequently the place and the business have been abandoned.

As yet I have only referred to the region of Jebel Ajlun, or the mountains of Gilead. But the great plateau which stretches eastward from the lake of Tiberias to the Lejab, and south to Dra (Edrei) and Gerash, is one vast natural wheat field. Some portions of this plateau are rocky, but these furnish excellent pasture; the soil, however, is for the most part tolerably free from stones, and the ploughman has no excuse for turning a crooked furrow. Those who are familiar only with the country west of the Jordan will perhaps hardly believe me when I state that on the Hauran plains I have seen in the ploughed fields furrows a mile and a mile and a half in continuous length, and as straight as one could draw a line.

The region south of Bozrah, towards Um el Jemal, and south-east of Dra, and east of Gerash, is full of ruined towns, and the soil is fertile and once supported a large population. For generations, however, this section has not been occupied, because life and property have been so insecure. But within a year or two past a good many families have gone in there and occupied some of the ruined towns, and are attempting to cultivate the land. They will succeed if they are not interfered with; but they are exposed to danger, and it is to be feared that the

Aneizeh Arabs are not yet sufficiently civilised to overcome their instincts for plunder. The people of El Hosn and of Dra informed us, however, that thus far these settlers had not been molested. The Hauran wheat is considered one of the very best kinds in Syria, and if the government would encourage the farmer, instead of oppressing and robbing him, this section would become a source of wealth to the country. It is difficult to exaggerate the extent and beauty of the vast plain about Fik, and along Wady 'Allan, and at Nawa, and those which stretch southward to Tel Ashtara, Mazarib, and Dra. This would be a paradise for the wheat-grower, if he could only be protected in his rights.

In searching for Biblical sites, I have followed up the whole line of the Zerka from its mouth to its source, and I find the valley pretty extensively cultivated. It being sixty-five or seventy miles in length its capacities are great, because the supply of water is abundant, and every acre could be reached by irrigating canals. There are already a multitude of farms in this valley, and the wheat-crop this year is good. With regard to the canals just referred to, the present cultivators of the land say that they dig no new ones, and the Arabs say that those which exist now have always existed there. There are on the hill-sides many unused canals, a few of which can be traced to a distance of five or ten miles. These remains show that in ancient times there was a perfect system of irrigation, by which not only the bottom land was brought under cultivation, but in some cases even the foot hills themselves. When the present farmers want to utilise a new piece of ground, all they have to do is to clear out and repair one of these old canals. Some of these canals exhibit such skilful engineering that I often wondered how the people of to-day, whether Arabs or fellahin, could have built them, until they assured me repeatedly that neither they nor their fathers had anything to do with their construction. They must have been built originally at great expense, for they lead under ledges, and around bold rocky cliffs, where only skilled workmen could carry them, and in one case the canal was carried along far up on the hill-side, keeping its level, and following the irregularities of the mountain to a great distance. The farmers generally combine and share the expense of keeping a certain canal in order, and then each will have specified days when he can use the water for himself.

I have in former letters mentioned the fact that the Jordan valley between the Zerka and Nimrin was quite barren, because there are no streams or fountains in the hills to water it; while north of the Zerka, where streams are numerous, the valley is clothed with wheat-fields and vegetation. Just south of the Zerka there are some traces of ancient canals, showing that a portion of the valley between the Zerka and the road leading from Nablús to Es Salt was formerly under cultivation, although it is now a desert; excepting, of course, during the winter rains. Perhaps more than half of the Jordan valley (I speak always of the valley east of the river) is now reached by irrigating canals; and in



those sections not occupied by wheat-fields the thistles and weeds are rank, and grow as high as a horse's back, and often as high as the shoulders of a man on horseback, and form such dense jungles that it is almost impossible for a horse to make his way through them. I have examined the Jordan valley throughout its whole extent, with special reference to its being irrigated from the Jordan itself; and I am convinced that the project is very feasible. Every square mile not now irrigated could be watered from the Jordan, and the expense for a dam and canals would be small compared with the large number of square miles of valuable land that would thus be made productive. If we reckon the valley at sixty miles in length, and from two or three to six miles in width, we shall have 180 square miles of land as fertile as any prairie, and which, at twenty or twenty-five bushels per acre, would produce between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 bushels of wheat. If it is objected that people could not live in the valley, the answer is, that the people who cultivate the soil there at present live there all the year round, and besides, the ruins of a dozen important towns along the line of the foot-hills show that the valley has been inhabited by civilised people at some time in the past. These remarks with regard to irrigation apply with equal force to the vast plains of Cœle-Syria, along the Leontes, and those of Hums and Hamma and others along the Orontes to the north. Give these plains and deserts water, and you can transform them into gardens.

If we go south of the Zerka we find the Jazer region, which the children of Reuben and the children of Gad once coveted as a fine pasture-ground for their cattle (Numb. xxxii.), still abounding in wheat fields and covered with numerous flocks and herds of the Bedouin. At Khurbet Sar there is a large plateau extending north and east a distance of three miles perhaps, and in this plateau is the watershed between the Zerka on the east, and wadys Keferein and Hesbân on the west and south. The region is studded with ruins, and among them I think I am able to identify some of the cities of the tribe of Gad.

In these notes I can only refer to the Belka or plains of Moab, which equal in fertility the most favoured sections of the country elsewhere, and which, when covered with wheat-fields and herds of cattle, as they are about the 1st of May, is not surpassed in beauty by any plain in England or America.

The wheat-fields at the mouth of wadys Keferein and Hesbân, as well as those in the upper Jordan valley between the Zerka and the Lake of Tiberias, are as fine as any in the world. In the former locality, *i.e.* on the Shittim plain, the harvest began about the middle of April, and farther north about the 1st of May.

Some of the tribes in the Jordan valley, north of the Zerka, cultivate their own land. But the more aristocratic Bedouin, like the Adwan, the Beni Sakhr, and the Beni Hassan, employ fellahin entirely. Along the upper Zerka, in the Jaazer region, in the fertile sections of the Shittim plain, and elsewhere, fellahin do all the work. Large numbers of Chris-

tians go out from Es Salt to the Zerka every year for the purpose of cultivating the land on shares. The peasant or farmer is given, at the beginning of the season, four or five or six dollars, as the case may be, and a pair of shoes at the outset. He also has seed furnished him; besides this he receives nothing. He must do all the work, from ploughing to threshing, furnish cattle and tools and men, and his own food; and at the end he receives one-fourth of the crop. I went one bright moonlight night to visit the theatre at Ammân, which, by actual measurement, I had found would seat upwards of 10,000 people; and in one of the corridors I aroused a man, who proved to be a "Saltee," as they are called, a Christian peasant from Es Salt, who was cultivating land for the Arabs, and who found here at night a temporary shelter for himself and his cattle.

A poor ignorant Christian cultivating land for a degraded and wretched Bedouin, the present nominal owner of the soil, and making his home in the ruins of a theatre that was once brilliant with ten thousand eager spectators gathered together from a city of churches and palaces and temples—the people of intelligence and wealth all gone, the people and buildings that remain sunk down into moral and physical ruin—is in human judgment a strange reversal of the law of progress, which gives rise to serious and painful reflections.

SELAH MERRILL.

## DEIR EBAN, THE GREAT EBEN, AND EBEN HA-EZER.

(Reprinted from the *Academy*, by permission of the Editor.)

PARIS, October 20, 1876.

IN my last, very brief, report (Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*, No. XIII., October, 1874, p. 279), I formally proposed the identification of *Deir Ebân* with the great *Eben* on which the ark was placed on its arrival at Ekron. I had long before arrived at this result; I have repeatedly spoken of it to several persons, especially Messrs. Drake and Conder, reserving to myself the right of dealing with the question in detail, and particularly the relation of the great *Eben* to *Eben ha-ezer*. Mr. C. R. Conder having in one of the recent *Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (July, 1876, p. 49) proposed afresh to recognise in *Deir Ebân* the Hebrew word *Eben* (stone), and to locate *Eben ha-ezer* there, I am happy to see him partially adopt my theory, and I think I ought to seize this opportunity to set forth briefly the conclusions at which I long ago arrived on this subject.

(1) *The Great Eben*.—The Philistines, bringing back the ark on a waggon from Ekron to Beth-Sheanesh, reach the verge of that city, now represented by Ain Shems (1 Sam. vi. 12); the waggon stops in the field of Joshua the Beth-Sheaneshite, where there was a great stone (*Eben*); the ark is rested on the "great stone," a sacrifice is offered in this place,

and the cows which were drawing the ark are sacrificed (v. 14-15). A little further on (v. 18), in speaking of the gold offering, the narrator returns to this "great stone"\* on which the ark was rested, and which is pointed out to this day in the field of Joshua: it seems this time to indicate clearly the limit of the Philistine territory (to the great stone . . .), which, moreover, is confirmed by the fact that the Philistines go no farther, and that, after accompanying the ark to this point, they return to Ekron. The memory of this event is, in my opinion is correct, preserved in the name of *Deir Ebân*; as to the extraordinary importance assigned it by the book of Samuel, this is explained by the following considerations: †

(2) *Eben ha-ezer*.—The Israelites on their way to attack the Philistines, who had advanced to Aphek, encamp—probably on the confines of their territory—near the stone of succour (*Eben ha-ezer*). Beaten the first time, they bring up the ark of Shiloh, and again try the fortunes of battle; they are completely defeated, and the ark, which falls into the hands of the Philistines, is transported by them from *Eben-ezer* to Ashdod. These events occur, be it understood, *before* those which we have just related.

Is it not natural that later on the ark should have been carried back to the same point where it had been captured? On the very same spot where the sacrilege had been committed should the expiation be made. Now this spot bears precisely, as we have seen above, the name of "the great stone" (*Eben*).

There is yet another argument. It is only farther on (chapter vii.) that the narrator tells us the origin of the name of *Eben ha-ezer*, whence it results that, at the moment of the return of the ark, the place did not yet bear this name of *Eben ha-ezer*, and that the narrator only used it by anticipation when speaking of the defeat of the Israelites: as the religious outrage inflicted on the ark had been repaired on the very same spot where it had taken place, so the national outrage was to be atoned for under identical conditions. It was at *Eben ha-ezer* itself that the Israelites, beaten at *Eben ha-ezer*, were to take, under the leadership of Samuel, a signal revenge. It was then only that the

\* *Abel* must be corrected into *eben* in the opinion of all the commentators.

† Between *Deir Ebân* and *Ain Shems* is a rocky spot called *Tantura*, and perhaps also *Es-sâ fÿyé*. This was the scene in ancient times, according to the legend, of a great massacre of fellahs by the soldiers of the Government (*sic*). Since that time *dhabat tantâra* has been a proverbial expression for a great massacre. It should be noted that the word *dhabbu* (slaying) is precisely the Hebrew *zebah* (sacrifice). In the middle of the valley between *Sar'a*, *Artouf*, *Ain Shems*, and *Deir Ebân*, there is also a low flat-topped hillock, covered with small stones, called *Khîrbet er-Itoudjoâm*; there was there a *qub'a* like a church (*sic*). The old name of *Deir Ebân*, according to the fellahs, is *Zeid el-mâl*. This word *mâl* (silver, money) is added to many names of places as a kind of epithet; thus we have, between *Ramleh* and *Jaffa*, *Sarsawl el-mâl* (in allusion to *Sarf el-mâl*, money-changing) = *zeid el-mâl*, meaning "increase of silver."

battle-field, determined by the position of Maspha, Bethkar, Sen (and Aphek), was consecrated by the erection of a stone to which Samuel gave the name of *Eben ha-ezer*, "stone of succour."\* It marked the point reached by the pursuit, and the Philistines never again crossed the borders of Israel.

It results, therefore, from these comparisons, which I can now only briefly indicate, waiving certain obscure points :—

(1) The place where the Israelites were beaten and where they lost the ark did not assume till a later date the name of *Eben ha-ezer*.

(2) It is to this same spot, this time called *Eben*, that the Philistines carried back the ark.

(3) The Israelites having beaten the Philistines in their turn at this same place called it *Eben ha-ezer*.

(4) This place must have been on the confines of the Philistines and the Israelites—may, perhaps, even have been one of the boundary-marks.

(5) All these data, including that of the *Onomasticon*, apply remarkably well to Deir Ebân.†

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

\* It results from a passage in Josephus that the stone must have borne in certain Hebrew MSS. the name of *Azaz* (strength, strong), with a final *zain* instead of a *resh*, for he translates this name by *ισχυρόν*, strong.

† The track of the *waggon* carrying the ark from Ekron to Deir Ebân must have been by the present Wady Sarar, which is certainly the Valley of Sorek, as I conclusively proved by the discovery of *Khirbet Souriq*, in 1874.



THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHÆOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND, FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

PATRON:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

GENERAL COMMITTEE:

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *President.*

DR. H. W. ACLAND, F.R.S.  
 REV. W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.  
 REV. HENRY ALLON, D.D.  
 THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION  
 AMHURST TYSSEN AMHURST, Esq.  
 CAPT. ANDERSON, R.E., C.M.G.  
 REV. JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D.  
 DUKE OF ARGYLL  
 REV. JOSEPH BARCLAY, LL.D.  
 JAMES BATEMAN, Esq., F.R.S.  
 REV. CANON BIRCH  
 SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
 REV. W. F. BIRCH  
 REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.  
 MARQUIS OF BUTE  
 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
 EARL OF CARNARVON  
 T. CHAPLIN, Esq., M.D., *Hon. Sec. for Jerusalem*  
 BISHOP OF CHESTER  
 DEAN OF CHESTER  
 DEAN OF CHRISTCHURCH  
 LORD ALFRED CHURCHILL  
 LORD CLERMONT  
 J. D. CRACE, Esq.  
 JOHN CUNLIFFE, Esq.  
 DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE  
 EARL OF DUCIE  
 W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq. (*Chairman of Executive Committee*)  
 PROFESSOR DONALDSON  
 EARL OF DUFFERIN  
 F. A. EATON, Esq.  
 S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE, Esq., *Beyrout*  
 BISHOP OF EXETER  
 REV. CANON FARRAR, D.D.  
 JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq., F.R.S.  
 A. LLOYD FOX  
 H. W. FREELAND, Esq.  
 M. C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU  
 F. WAYMOUTH GIBBS, Esq., C.B.

REV. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.  
 CYRIL C. GRAHAM, Esq.  
 GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L. (*Hon. Sec.*)  
 JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S.  
 SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.  
 H. A. HARPER, Esq.  
 REV. J. C. HARRISON  
 REV. F. W. HOLLAND (*Hon. Sec.*)  
 A. J. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.  
 SIR JOSEPH D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I., PRES. R.S.  
 HOLMAN HUNT, Esq.  
 LORD LAWRENCE  
 E. H. LAWRENCE, Esq.  
 RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD  
 F. LEIGHTON, Esq., R.A.  
 GENERAL LEFROY  
 LORD HENRY LENNOX  
 PROFESSOR HAYTER LEWIS  
 DEAN OF LICHFIELD  
 AMBROSE L. P. DE LISLE, Esq.  
 BISHOP OF LLANDAFF  
 SAMUEL LLOYD, Esq.  
 BISHOP OF LONDON  
 JOHN MACGREGOR, Esq.  
 W. McARTHUR, Esq., M.P.  
 DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH  
 REV. SAMUEL MANNING, LL.D.  
 MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD  
 R. B. MARTIN, Esq.  
 REV. SAMUEL MARTIN  
 HENRY MAUDSLAY, Esq.  
 EDWARD MIALL, Esq.  
 REV. DR. MOFFATT  
 SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.  
 NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., *H.B.M. Consul, Jerusalem*  
 SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P.  
 W. MORRISON, Esq. (*Treasurer*)  
 REV. J. MULLENS, D.D.  
 JOHN MURRAY, Esq.  
 SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.  
 DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

DEAN OF NORWICH  
 ADMIRAL SIR ERASMUS OMMANNEY  
 PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.  
 SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART.  
 PROFESSOR E. H. PALMER  
 BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH  
 HERR PETERMAN  
 REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE  
 REV. PROFESSOR PORTER, LL.D.  
 REV. C. PRITCHARD, F.R.S.  
 REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D.  
 SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.  
 REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON  
 HENRY REEVE, ESQ.  
 MARQUIS OF RIPON  
 BISHOP OF RIPON  
 BISHOP OF ROCHESTER  
 EARL RUSSELL  
 DR. SANDREZCKY  
 VISCOUNT SANDON  
 M. DE SAULCY

LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.  
 EARL OF SHAFTESBURY  
 WILLIAM SIMPSON, ESQ.  
 WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.  
 SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.  
 W. SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN R. W. STEWART, R.E.  
 REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.  
 VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE  
 DUKE OF SUTHERLAND  
 WILLIAM TIPPING, ESQ., M.P.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM, LL.D., F.R.S.  
 W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 THE COUNT DE VOGUÉ  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.  
 DUKE OF WESTMINSTER  
 REV. CANON WILLIAMS, B.D.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE WOOD, ESQ.  
 BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq., *Chairman*.

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.  
 SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.  
 J. D. CRACE, ESQ.  
 F. A. EATON, ESQ.  
 JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.  
 SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.  
 REV. F. W. HOLLAND

H. A. HARPER, ESQ.  
 JOHN MACGREGOR, ESQ.  
 WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.  
 REV. CANON TRISTRAM, F.R.S.  
 W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
 CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
 MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

*Bankers*—MESSRS. COUTTS AND Co., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

*Treasurer*—WALTER MORRISON, Esq.

*Hon. Secretaries*—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, Esq., D.C.L.

*Acting Secretary*—WALTER BESANT, Esq. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East, S.W.

---

Cheques and P.O. Orders payable to order of Walter Besant, Esq. It is *particularly* requested that both cheques and orders may be crossed to Coutts and Co., or to the Union Bank of London, Charing Cross Branch. Post Office Orders may be made payable at Charing Cross.

---

NOTE.—The Price of the “Quarterly Statement” is Half-a-Crown.  
 Sent free to Subscribers.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are happy to announce that the survey of the north of Palestine is at length completed. It was commenced by Lieut. Kitchener on the 27th of February, and finished on the 10th of July. In the course of the work 1,000 square miles of country were surveyed; 2,773 names were collected, and 476 ruins were visited and described, some with special plans. All the villages were also described with regard to the number and religion of inhabitants, the remains of ancient buildings, and the nature of the country. The water-supply has also in all cases been specially described. The whole country has been hill-shaded; the altitudes of a great number of points have been obtained by aneroid readings besides the observed heights: special notes have been taken on the geology, archaeology, &c., of the country. The line of levels connecting the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee was completed on the 24th March. Photographs have been taken of the more interesting sites.

---

The whole of this work, except the photographs, has arrived in England, having been brought home by Sergeant Malings. It is now placed under the charge of Lieutenant Conder, at the Royal Albert Hall.

---

Among the reports sent home by Lieut. Kitchener were a number of Greek inscriptions, many in a fragmentary condition. These will all be published together in January.

---

With regard to the progress of the Memoir, Lieutenant Conder writes that since the last report two more sheets have been entirely completed. Sheet 13 contains the coast round Jaffa and Ramleh, and these towns and Lydda are described. The site of Antipatris, as suggested in 1850 by Consul Finu ("Byeways of Palestine," p. 133), and upheld by Major Wilson, is shown to agree with the distances in the Antonine Itinerary (see *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 13). The *Minet Rubin*, or harbour of Jamnia, is described, as well as the White Mosque at Ramleh and the Church of the Virgin, first planned by the Survey party, with the inscriptions of the time of Bibars in the mosque. Sheet 5, though not a full sheet, has a very long memoir. It includes Nazareth, Carmel, the Kishon, Haifa, Shefa 'Amr, Seffurieh, and other places of import-

ance. The towns are all described at length, and the population of every inhabited place on the sheet given on Consul Rogers's authority. From this an average population of four hundred and fifty souls is deduced as that of a country village, which will allow of an estimate of the population of Palestine when the Memoir is finished.

---

Dr. Chaplin has forwarded an account, with a plan by Herr Schick, of a discovery at Jerusalem about which we have written for further information. He says, in a letter dated Aug. 2, 1877: "There seems little room for doubt that the lower portions of the tower Psephinus has been at last discovered. In the plan of the so-called "Goliath's Castle" appended to the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, two square masses marked "Old masonry" are shown, and corresponding to these, on the west, two other similar structures have been recently exposed by the Latins in their excavations for the foundations of a new college. These four huge piers are connected by an arch of very ancient appearance, and appear to have formed the foundation of the tower. Mr. Schick has been good enough to make a plan of the locality in its present state. The angle of a very old wall of rough megalithic masonry which is shown lying to the south of the piers is very interesting. It is the only relic I know of which seems likely to have formed part of the hastily erected wall of Nehemiah."

---

At the annual meeting of the General Committee (see the Report, p. 192), Mr. John MacGregor, after an absence of three years, again became a member of the Executive Committee. The death of Mr. William Longman has deprived the Committee of a member who took a very deep interest in the welfare of the Society and the progress of its work.

---

A report on the levelling of the Sea of Galilee was read before the British Association in August by Major Wilson. We shall be probably able to publish this in the January *Quarterly Statement*.

---

The following is the financial position of the Fund (Sept. 19th). Receipts, June 30th to September 19th, £706 13s. 5d. Expenditure: Exploration, £650 6s. 2d.; office and management, £170 4s. 11d. Reduction of debt, £55. The balance in the banks on the latter day was £208 1s. 3d. We asked in July for £1,000 between then and September 30th. We now ask for £1,500 in the present quarter.

---

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letters asking for them must be sent to the office at 9, Pall Mall East only.



Several cases were discovered in 1876, and one or two this year, of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

---

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs.:—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales : Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire and Durham : Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh : Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

---

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

---

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

---

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

---

## JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY.

*Nakura*, June 24.—All well so far. I hope that before you get this you will have got a telegram, "North finished, all well, Lebanon," which will mean that I have finished the north and am off to the Lebanon for three weeks after that. . . . Phœnicia was the worst country we have surveyed yet, all up and down, and crowded with ruins and villages; where Murray has 7 names I had 116; instead of 7 villages and ruins I had 63. . . . I took the last observations for the triangulation of the country the other day.

*Haifa*, July 11.—I have finished the north under my original estimate and without Armstrong, and there has been no accident, as you will have been informed by telegram. We are now off for the Lebanon for three weeks' rest, which we sadly want. . . . A report was started in the Beyrout paper that I had been attacked and wounded by Bedouin near Baniyas. Eldridge sent soldiers and scoured the country. I in the meantime had gone peacefully across to Tyre, so there was no end of alarm at my not being found or heard of.

*Aleih, Mount Lebanon*, July 24.—We arrived here safely on the 21st, after a hot march from Haifa. I have now started office work in a room close to our camp, and I think we shall have a month or more hard work; everything has to be made in duplicate, and all observations, descriptions, &c., have to be copied out. It is charmingly cool up here compared to what we have been used to in the low country. Mr. Eldridge and several Europeans are living here for the summer

months; in fact, it is quite a return to civilisation again. . . . I enclose a letter just received from H.E. the Pasha of Acre, which will show you the good relations existing between us and the Government. The superior of the convent on Mount Carmel has also presented me with a copy of the History of the Carmelites.

*Aleih, Mount Lebanon, July 31.*—We have been hard at work since I last wrote getting everything into order, writing out notes, and making duplicates of the map-work. I am sorry to say my sergeant is laid up with fever; this will delay the work a little, as I should like to get everything done and put away before starting a fresh piece of work. I start to-morrow for a short excursion in the Lebanon, leaving the noncommissioned officers here under Mr. Eldridge's care. I hope to be in Jerusalem the first week in September, and then, if everything goes well, four or five weeks will finish the map, and I shall have only revision to do. . . . Don't be nervous about us, we are safer here than you are in London.

*Aleih, Aug. 15.*—I have arranged that Sergeant Malings shall return to England with all the original work, leaving here by the Austrian steamer on the 23rd, and taking an English ship at Port Said. You may therefore expect him in England about the 8th September. I found it was impossible to send him by the French to-morrow; firstly, because he is in bed very ill, and not able to take over the things and attend to them properly on the journey; secondly, because I could not finish up work in hand in time, which would make part of the work arrive incomplete in England. I shall start for the south at the same time he does for England. I had intended starting to-morrow, but I think it will be wiser to wait and see the work safely out of the country; also I have my hands full of work now. One of my horses had a bad accident with Corporal Brophy; it seems he ran away on the French road and tumbled over one of the parapets, rolling down the hill some forty feet. The horse is dreadfully cut about, and will not be able to move for some time. It is a wonder the corporal was not killed—a loose seat saved him. I had a very pleasant trip in the Lebanon. . . . I hope not only to finish the southern portion of the survey, but the revision as well. Don't get a panic like the Damascus Christians. I shall take every precaution for the safety of the party.

*Camp at Aleih, Aug. 22.*—We have been working from 6 to 6 to get done, Sundays included, so that the sergeant may take everything, at the same time leave all behind in duplicate. Directly I receive the receipt for the work I will send you the duplicates. I have been delayed here doing this, otherwise I should be at Jerusalem now; however, it is all for the best, as I could not have moved one of my horses. . . . The sergeant starts on the 23rd and I on the 24th. Eight or nine days will take me to Jerusalem, and then for the Desert.

*Jerusalem, Sept. 7.*—All safely arrived here after a dreadfully hot journey down the coast. Our first day, from Aleih to Sidon, was the

hottest day that has been known for seventeen years; up at Nazareth the thermometer registered in shade 114 deg., according to Dr. Varton. I got a slight sunstroke on the plain by the seashore, and was not able to get into camp at Sidon till 1.30 a.m. Everybody was very much done up. Next day we started in the evening and travelled in the night. We made Tyre, Acre, and then Nazareth. At Acre I saw the Pasha and settled some little things. At Nazareth I presented the gun to Abdallah Agha, who wishes to express his thanks to the Committee, and to say that he is entirely at their service for anything that may be wanted. The gun was very suitable.

On leaving Nazareth I paid a visit to the tents of Fendy el Feis, the chief of the Beni Sakr. He was encamped at Solam, on my road to Jenin. The sheikh was very civil, and I spent two hours in his tent; he showed me a coat of mail and a Damascus sword he was very proud of. The large flocks of camels belonging to the Arabs do some damage to the country, but otherwise I heard nothing certain of any extortion or stealing committed by them. The Government are on good terms with the Beni Sakr, as Fendy el Feis can muster 4,500 spears, which renders him an undesirable enemy. The Arabs show no great patriotism for their co-religionists at war; they hate the Turk, and do not much care which way the war goes. Fendy el Feis expressed his willingness to help in everything he could do if a survey was made of the east of Jordan. He is now the most powerful chief in that country.

The sheikhs of the Adouan have been taken prisoners by the Pasha of Nablus; ed Diab, Aly ed Diab his son, and about twenty chiefs, have been sent to Damascus for trial. As I heard the story, it seems that the Pasha of Nablus sent to the Adouan to come and help him drive out the Beni Sakr, with whom the Adouan have a feud. The sheikh came to consult with the Pasha on how they should attack the Beni Sakr, when they found themselves surrounded by soldiers, cut off from their horses, and taken prisoners. I am afraid this will have a bad effect on the tribe, which has always had a good name from travellers before. My next three days were Jenin, Nablus, Jerusalem.

Next mail I will send you a full report on the recent discoveries at Jerusalem. I think the ancient work unearthed by the Franciscans is the foundation of an Herodian tower or gateway. There are several other discoveries of which you shall have an account next mail; now I have no time to do it, as the mail goes to-day.

I am anxious to be off south as soon as possible, but there is lots to do here. Early next week I shall be off.



## LIEUT. KITCHENER'S REPORTS.

## IV.

P. E. F. CAMP, TAIYEDEH, 30th May, 1877.

THIS month's work has finished the Survey up to the northern boundary, the River Leontes. The next camp will be at Baniyas, and when that is finished there will only be the strip along the seashore to do to finish the survey of the north. I hope this will be accomplished before the end of July.

On the 2nd of May camp was moved from Meirôn to Dibl, a Christian village eleven miles north of Meirôn. The inhabitants were extremely glad to see us, as our presence afforded them some protection. They were debating whether they should desert their village for some safer place, but finally decided to remain and see how matters would turn out. There are several large Christian villages in this part of the country, and they are naturally in a great state of alarm and panic. They fear, in case of a Turkish defeat, that the neighbouring Mohammedan villages will revenge it on them. They are anxious to buy arms and defend their lives and property in case of attack, but up to the present time the Mohammedans have given very little cause for alarm. The Government has always promptly suppressed any fanatical feeling, and is evidently doing its best to tide over a critical time. The Christian villages are very superior in cleanliness to their Moslem neighbours, and a great deal more care is taken in the cultivation of the ground. They are generally surrounded by vineyards and fig-trees, and a few mulberry-trees are cultivated. The people are simple and devout, looking up to their priests as their guides in every difficulty; they are mostly Maronites, and the priests marry. Every village has its little chapel, and at Dibl they had a service every evening. After sunset a bell was beaten in the village, and all the male population went to chapel, where there was a short service in Arabic. After this they often came and sang and danced in front of our tents till a very late hour. The country round our camp consisted of low hills, either cultivated or covered with brushwood. To the west the brushwood increased, and the wadies ran in deeper gorges down towards the sea. Villages are very numerous and seem to be prosperous; they have generally large herds of cattle and goats, and are surrounded by well-tilled fields. There are not so many olive-trees as in the south. The water-supply is principally from cisterns which keep the rain-water; besides these, large birkets or pools of rain-water occur at every village; springs are rather scarce.

At the village of Yarûn, south-east of Dibl, are the remains of an early Christian church. The ruins occur on a tell immediately east of the village, and the foundations of the church, with three apses, are clear. It measured eighty-eight feet long by fifty feet wide, and the stones are large and well-dressed. The capitals are principally Corin-

thian, and the church was paved with Mosaic work. A good many carved stones lie about, and there are cisterns and an old rock-cut birket, with a double round arch for supporting the water-wheel. West of the church was another round birket of good masonry. In the mosque of the village I found a Greek inscription—the left-hand side had been cut away, on the right a palm-tree was very well carved in relief. The stone measured five feet by two feet four inches. A plan of the church and drawings of the detail have been made. The village is built round the east and northern slopes of a slight basalt outbreak, the top of which has been quarried into large cisterns, and the natives asserted it was once the site of a castle. Large well-dressed stones are continually dug up, and there are several sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs round the village. The inhabitants are half Mutwaly, half Christians. At el Khūrbeh and Tell 'Ara—ruins half a mile south—I found similar cut stones and some columns; at the latter place there is a large sarcophagus.

North of Yârûn, on the top of high hills, is the village of Marûn. Here there are also some similar carved stones to those at Yârûn, mixed up with large well-dressed stones, apparently the remains of an early Christian church. There is an inscription on the remains of an architrave. At Dibl, in an ordinary rock-cut tomb with ten square-headed loculi, there is also an inscription—it occurs immediately above the loculi; and another on a stone dug up in the village. There are also remains of a fine mosaic pavement, in a fair state of preservation, in the village.

The most extraordinary ruins of this neighbourhood are those of Belât (marble), which have been described by Dr. Robinson (*Later Biblical Researches*, page 65). On the top of a high wooded ridge are the ruins of what must have been a noble temple. The remains of sixteen columns are apparently *in situ*, and six of them still bear an architrave. If the building was originally uniform it would have been formed of a double colonnade of twelve columns, the intercolumnar distance varying from six to eight feet. The total length of the colonnade is ninety-nine feet seven inches, and its breadth sixteen feet; the whole is surrounded by a wall at a distance of seven feet. The columns and architrave make a total height of fourteen feet six inches. The entrance was probably in the centre of the eastern side, where two columns are squared on the outside—it was probably double, with a round column between. The end columns at both ends of the colonnade were squared on the outside, forming a double column on the inside, exactly the same as in Jewish synagogues, such as at Kefr Ber'am, where the southern columns of the portico were two double columns corresponding with those at the north end of the building. Another point of resemblance is the direction of the colonnade, being within twelve degrees of north and south. The columns are very much weathered, and some of them are considerably out of the perpendicular. There seems to have been no elaborate decoration—the architrave is not cut, and the capitals are simply rounded blocks of stone. A plan and photographs were taken of the ruins. Adjoining,

on the eastern side, are the foundations of some buildings. Enclosing a paved court, with a large cistern in the centre, flights of steps led down the side of the hill.

Er Rameh, the ancient Ramah of Ashur, is a small Mutwály village two miles west of Dibl. It is situated on a rocky watershed where two valleys start east and west; the sides of the hill are terraced, but there are no other remains of antiquity except a few sarcophagi; the hills around are covered with brushwood.

At Kh. Shélabun, about the same distance east of Dibl, there are two very finely ornamented sarcophagi on a raised platform; the ornamentation consists of figures bearing up wreaths and trophies of arms similar to those at Kades described by Major Wilson.

On the 16th camp was moved to Kades, the ancient Kedesh of Naphtali. The road led past Bint Umm Jebil, a populous Mutwály village, where a market is held every Thursday, which is largely attended. Kades is situated on a spur overlooking on the east a long narrow plain, which runs north and south, and is enclosed by low hills covered with brushwood. On the east these hills fall abruptly to the Huleh marshes. Tell Harà stands out prominently to the south-east, and its eastern slopes descend to the northern shore of the Lake Huleh. Immediately below the steep slope of the hill is a very large spring, 'Ain el Melahah, which at once turns a mill. West of the lake is the broad plain of El Kheit, occupied by Arabs and a few Mughràbins; the lake is three and a half miles long, and broadest at its northern extremity, where it ends in an impenetrable jungle of papyrus canes growing out of a marsh, which extends for five and a half miles north, and is about two miles broad. One and a half miles south of the lake is the bridge across the Jordan, Jisr Benàt Yàkub, over which passes the main Damascus road. Opposite the bridge are the ruins of an ancient khan, and south are the remains of a small Crusading fortress called Kasr 'Atru. The whole district is, by tradition, intimately connected with the life of Jacob. There is only one place in this district that might have been the site of Hazor; it is called Ard el Sauwàd, and is immediately west of Khùrbet el Wukkàs. A square plateau of considerable size appears to be artificially constructed, with traces of walls upon it. The natives assert that it was not a ruin, and it has more the appearance of a camp or entrenchment, perhaps to guard the Damascus road, than the ruins of a large town. There are some large springs in Wàdy Wukkàs, just below this site. Tell Harà, identified by Major Wilson with Hazor, appears much more like the site of an ancient and royal city. The name Harà seems to me to be more nearly allied to Harosheth of the Gentiles; perhaps this is the site of Sisera's head-quarters.

The ruins at Kades are of considerable extent. The village is situated at the end of the ridge, and below it there is a spring. A few columns and capitals are found in the village, but the principal remains occur beyond the spring. The first building is a masonry tomb thirty-

five feet square; solid piers at the four corners support round arches, which rise to a height of twenty-one feet; between these arches are the loculi, three between each, and one on either side of the door, which takes up the southern side. The arches were walled up on the outside, and the whole was probably covered with a dome. There is a niche on the outside, to the right of the doorway; a little beyond this there are several sarcophagi on a raised platform; two double and two single ones still exist; they were formerly carved with figures, but these have been effaced. The next building, about 100 yards east of the first, is the Temple of the Sun, which has been examined and described by Major Wilson. The building forms a rectangle 63 feet by 75 feet, and one of the doorposts still standing is 15 feet high; the masonry was large blocks of well-dressed limestone. On either side of the main entrance are two small doors with ornamented lintels; and outside these, on the left, is a niche with traces of a robed figure cut on it, and on the right a small projection has a hole leading to the interior, through which money might be passed; on the inside there was a recess in the wall opposite the orifice. The highly-ornamented lintel has been described by Major Wilson. Plans and photographs of all these buildings were taken.

Four miles south of Kades, in the hills descending to the plain, are the ruins of Keisun, where are the remains of an ancient temple; three bases of columns still remain *in situ* on a wall over a ruined birket facing north, and one has fallen from its position. To the west there are pedestals in the walls, as if for columns; both sides, north and west, seem to have been washed by the water of a large birket, and a causeway was found across from the north-west corner to the temple. There are remains of a highly-ornamented cornice similar to that at the Temple of the Sun at Kades. On a stone, with a slight draft round it, I found a Greek inscription, a copy of which is enclosed. There are a good many rock-cut tombs around the ruins.

North of Kades, on a spur running out into Wady Selúkiah, occur the ruins of a small Crusading fortress called Kalát ed Dubbah. The Crusading remains of large drafted stones with rough projecting bosses are slight, and the place was probably totally destroyed when taken; it has been rebuilt under the Saracens, and these latter walls are in fair preservation. A rock-cut ditch encloses the castle. There are several cisterns and a few sarcophagi cut in the rocks near. The castle is now inhabited by two families; it measures 100 feet wide by 220 feet in length, and encloses a courtyard. A plan has been made of the building. The position in the wady is very picturesque and romantic; high hills close it in on both sides, so that it is not visible until quite close. In the centre, on a very narrow ridge rising about half as high as the surrounding hills, stands the castle. It is so shut in by hills that I believe it never has been seen by any travellers before. To the west of the castle is the village of Shakrà, where I obtained a copy of an inscription.



The sheikh of the village was extremely rude, and threw stones against the inscription when I attempted to copy it. I therefore left without doing so, and reported the matter to the governor, who immediately put the sheikh in prison. The next time I went to the village there was no opposition to my copying the inscription, I therefore had the sheikh set at liberty. At the village of Kunin there is a lintel seventeen feet long, with an inscription.

On the 24th camp was moved to Taiyebeh, a village within easy distance of the Leontes, the northern boundary of the Survey. From this camp three Crusading castles were photographed and planned.

The castle of Tibnin stands on a high steep ridge breaking down from the west; the north and south slopes descend to the same deep wady, which makes a curious bend, cutting the ridge about half a mile east of the castle. Immediately below the castle on the west is the small village of Tibnin, containing 200 Christians and 450 Mutwâly. A broad paved way led up from the village to the castle, and the slopes were faced with dressed stones, at a steep angle; there were no ditches, as the ground falls all round. The castle measures 512 feet north and south, by 440 feet east and west. The principal walls are Saracenic, only the bases of a few towers on the outside showing Crusading work. These consist of either large stones roughly squared, or of similar stones drafted with the bosses left rough. In the interior the Crusading remains are all of finely-dressed stones. The modern Saracenic work has now fallen to ruins; in the north-west corner, however, there are still large vaulted chambers, and sufficient accommodation for the Modir or governor of the Blâd Beshâru, who is an intelligent old gentleman, exceedingly polite and obliging. The principal portion of the interior of the castle is a shapeless mass of ruins. The view from the castle is very fine, over undulating and cultivated ground to the sea and Mount Hermon in the distance.

We know from William of Tyre that the castle was built in 1107 A.D. by Hugues de St. Omer, Seigneur of Tiberias, and received the name of Toron. It is expressly stated that it was built because no strong place existed on the road from Tiberias to Tyre, and the remains may therefore be taken as a fair example of the Crusading style of masonry.

Hunin is another Crusading castle, eight miles north-east of the latter; it was on the ancient road from Tyre to Baniâs, and must have been a place of considerable strength. It is situated on a slight elevation in a gap in the hills, where they fall steeply to the Huleh valley. Adjoining the castle on the east is the small village of Hunin. The castle measures 740 feet east and west by 340 feet north and south. On the west a rock-cut ditch, 40 feet broad, surrounded a citadel 240 feet square, separating it from the remainder of the castle. There were two entrances, one by a causeway which led up to the castle on the south, similar to the one at Tibnin, and the other was a gateway in the eastern wall, which still remains, showing Crusading work. The whole of the interior is a mass of shapeless ruins, and most of the Saracenic

walls and buildings are also ruined. There was a mosque on the south side, but the roof has fallen in. The Crusading remains show similar work to that at Tibnin in every respect, and there seems to be nothing which would lead to giving to this castle an earlier date than the former.

In Ansel Jelil, by El Kâdy Mujir ed Din, a history of Jerusalem and Hebron, dated 900 A.H., it is said: After the battle of Hattin, as Saladin went to Tyre, he detached a chief to invest the castle of Hunin; the garrison were reduced by famine and surrendered. Saladin gave the castle to one of his chiefs, Beder ed Din Widrâm el Bârizny.

Kal'at esh Shükif, the Crusading castle of Belfort, is much the finest building in this part of the country. Situated on the top of an almost perpendicular precipice, which descends 1,500 feet to the River Leontes, it is thus quite impregnable from the east. On the west the ground falls rapidly, so that the castle is on the top of a narrow ridge running almost north and south. The castle measures 500 feet long by 200 feet broad east and west; the greatest diagonal length to outside of rock-cut ditches would be 700 feet. A broad rock-cut ditch, with large reservoirs for water, surrounded the castle on three sides; the fourth was defended by the precipice. The rocky escarp of the ditch was faced with well-dressed stones, and the top crowned by round towers and ramparts. The base of one round tower at the south-west corner forms a striking feature, as the circle has been strictly preserved, gradually increasing in size down to the bottom of the ditch; the whole was faced by smooth-dressed stones. The entrance is at the south-east corner, and the passage was carried along the eastern front on a terrace overhanging the precipice, considerably below the main portion of the fortress, which was reached by stairs at the north-east corner. There is a plentiful supply of water in immense cisterns. On the top of the castle is a small groined building which may have been the chapel.

The masonry of this building is of the same type as Tibnin and Hunin, drafted stones with rough bosses on the outside, and smooth-dressed stones on the inside. Some of the ancient walls were nine feet thick, and built with wonderful solidity. There seems to have been a later addition in Crusading times on the east side of the castle, giving probably increased stable accommodation; this part is all of smooth-dressed stones. The principal doorways were formed by lintels cut to represent drafted voussoirs; there is also a pointed arch in the drafted masonry wall, the only difference being that the bosses of the voussoirs were hammer-dressed. On the top of these magnificent Crusading remains the Saracenic masonry looks ridiculously small and insignificant. The castle of Belfort is first mentioned by William of Tyre as the refuge of the Christian knights after being defeated by Saladin near Banias in 1179 A.D. The Crusaders evidently knew the value of stone walls against the attack of irregular forces. Small garrisons in Belfort town and Hunin must have kept the whole of the north secure against raids.

Belfort is the most northern point of the Survey. The country has now been surveyed from Bir Seba to a point north of Dan.

At the village of Abrikhâ there are the remains of an early Christian church; one of the columns is still standing, bearing its capital, and several pedestals are *in situ*. Under the altar there was a rock-cut tomb, with the entrance to the east, outside the church.

The amount surveyed up to the end of May is 640 square miles.

The country is still quiet, though disturbed by numberless rumours, which are started without the slightest foundation. A good many of the Christians have left their villages in this part of the work, but apparently without cause; the Government officials are doing all they can to keep the people from panic.

## V.

### CAMP AT NAKURAH, 30th June, 1877.

On the 2nd June the survey of the country round Taiyebah was completed and camp was moved to Banias.

The road descended steeply to the Huleh plain, here covered with basalt rock and *débris*, and considerably raised above the marsh, which commences about five miles south. After crossing the bridge over the Nahr Hasbany, a fine torrent running in a deep gorge it has cut for itself out of the basalt rocks, the plain appears to be studded with small springs that bubble up everywhere, the water now running to waste, as this portion of the plain is uncultivated; these gradually increase as we approach the great spring of the Nahr Leddûn. Tell el Kâdy, the site of Dan, is a round tell, broad and low, on the northern side, rather steeper to the south; it is situated a mile south of the slopes of Hermon, and stands up prominently on the plain, marking the boundary of the basalt. There are two springs at Tell el Kâdy; one of them, the largest in the country, starts on the west side of the tell, the other from the centre joining the first stream immediately south of the tell, where they form the Nahr Leddûn. This is the largest source of the Jordan, being, as far as I could judge, about twice as large as the Nahr Hasbany. The ruins on the tell are very slight. I saw nothing but the basalt remains of modern cattle-sheds. Two very large trees by the side of the centre stream shade the tomb of a dog which has been turned into a holy place under the name of the Sheikh Merzuk. It must have been the favourite of some Arab chief.

The river rushes away south through luxuriant vegetation, irrigating the country round; it passes Khurbet Difnah on the east, a smaller mound than Tell el Kâdy, with no ruins of importance, which has been identified with Daphne. The stream then runs close alongside the Hasbany and joins the Nahr Banias four miles south of Tell el Kâdy; the two together are then joined half a mile farther south by the Hasbany.

The ancient records always speak of the spring at Banias as the source

of the Jordan, and, though the correctness of this has been doubted, they seem to have been quite right. Working up the river, the Hasbany joins the stream composed of the Nahr Leddûn and the Nahr Banias, and as it is smaller than either of them there can be no doubt that it is only an affluent of the River Jordan; farther up these two separate, and then, the flow of water being nearly equal, the longer course was taken, and the source was fixed in the romantic cave of Banias. The water from the Leddûn is much diverted for irrigation purposes in the plain, which yields splendid crops, and some of the water is even carried into the Nahr Banias.

From Tell el Kâdy to Banias the road passes through park-like scenery, the country being thickly studded with trees, principally oak, not very large, but very refreshing after the bare plain on the west of the tell. After mounting a slight ridge, the village of Banias is seen situated in a small plain at the junction of two wadies coming from the north and east; these join in front of the town and run south. The village is completely surrounded and shut in by trees of all sorts, and looks remarkably green and lovely, with the castle of Subeibeh towering above it.

On approaching the village the rushing water is seen falling over cascades, tearing through thickets, and almost hidden by creepers. The source is to the north-east of the town, and the stream runs west till it joins the wady from the north at the north-west angle of the town, in which there is also a small stream; it then rushes down a steep fall forming a foaming torrent to its junction with Nahr Leddûn.

A bridge crosses the stream before the town. The spring itself is a few hundred yards east, and before reaching the bridge a great deal of the water is diverted for irrigation and to turn mills in the town. Little streams seem to be running in every direction, cooling the air, and making this one of the most lovely spots in Palestine. Above the spring there are about forty yards of stones and *débris*, which gradually rise to a large cavern in the face of the rocky cliff. The roof of the cavern has fallen in, but it shows no visible signs of artificial work. Immediately to the right are the three niches for statues, two of which have inscriptions on tablets cut in the rock; these have been often copied and described.

On the left of the cavern, high up on a ledge of rock, is the little Moslem sanctuary to el Khudr, or St. George; the rock is a good deal cut on this side to allow of buildings on the ledges, and the hill-side seems to have been terraced, and the walls of the terraces ornamented by small stones three inches square set diagonally in cement. A little farther west, about 200 yards from the spring, some mosaic pavement was found running under the roots of very large olive-trees.

The town was naturally fortified on three sides, north and west by the river, and south by a deep valley. On the eastern side a wall with three large square towers was defended by a broad and deep ditch, which was probably flooded with water. At the north-west angle



another large square tower defended the bridge over the river and the northern side, where the river does not run so deep as on the western side, and therefore more liable to be attacked. Surrounded by water, and with strong towers and walls, this must have been a very strong place in the early days of siege operations.

All the fortifications are of large drafted stones, and appear to be Crusading work; they probably are the remains of the citadel of the town alluded to by William of Tyre (XX.), which resisted Noor ed Deen's attack on the town.

The only other remains of ancient Baniās are some fine granite columns lying about, and the remains of a Roman aqueduct running through the town, now almost buried in refuse.

The castle of Baniās, Kal'at es Subeibeh, is situated on a lefty spur  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of the town, and towers nearly 1,500 feet above it. It is the finest ruined castle I have seen in the country, measuring 1,450 feet from east to west, by an average of 360 feet north and south. Deep valleys defend it on the north and south; on the west there is a rock-cut ditch, and the end of the spur falls steeply away from it; on the east, the only approachable side, it is difficult of access, as the rocks rise steeply from the narrow ridge to the castle. The walls are defended by round towers, and are built of drafted stones with the bosses left rough, having a good many masons' marks. There seems to have been an earlier tower at the north-west angle, built of much larger stones, with the faces hammer-dressed, and without masons' marks. Some of the stones are double drafted; in this portion there are the remains of an undoubted pointed arch, thus limiting the date of the most ancient portion.

In the interior the rock rises to nearly the level of the top of the round towers, and at the eastern end is a massive keep. A good many chambers are still perfect. The Saracenic repairs seem not to have lasted as well as the ruins themselves, and, except the inscriptions cut on more ancient work, they have almost totally disappeared. The earliest of these dates from 625 A.D., and details how Melek el Azis Murâd ed Din, nephew of Saladin, rebuilt the eastern portion of the fortress. There are several others of nearly the same date, relating how different kings and sultans restored or rebuilt portions of the walls. The castle is well supplied with water in very large cisterns. A special plan and photographs of the castle were made. On the 11th camp was moved to Mahrakah, a village on the highland of Phœnicia, about two hours east of Tyre. The road led across the deep Wady el Hajeir, in which there is a fine spring, and past Kal'at Marûn, a modern Saracenic castle, to Mahrakah, which is situated on the top of a ridge. The rocks of this district are composed of white chalky limestone, and the valleys are deep and difficult to cross. The country is thickly covered with villages, but, except just round them, is bare of trees, and has a very barren appearance. A remarkable feature is the number of olive-presses; they occur on almost

every top, and are different to the more southern ones. Two square pillars of stone stand side by side about five feet high, with a slit cut in each of them, and by them is the circular stone press about four feet in diameter. Occasionally the round stone is also there that crushed the olives by being rolled round the press. The stone pillars, which do not occur in other parts of the country, were evidently to hold up the rolling stone, and the centre of the press is always raised slightly to receive the framework to which the roller was attached. They have a very ancient appearance, and as these pillars stand up very distinctly all over the country they look like ancient landmarks. The steep hills are almost all terraced, and there are a great number of ruins, showing that the ancient population of this part must have been very great. No remains of importance were found; all the ruins are simply heaps of stones with door-posts and lintels of stone. Some rude figures cut in the rock occur at different places; they are of the rudest description, occasionally only a parallelogram with a small circle for the head, which is pierced for eyes, mouth, &c. Others are better finished, and show portions of the dress. They occur on the face of the rock generally near tombs. Another feature in this part of the country are the large number of sarcophagi, which occur all over the country, some on pedestals, some lying on the ground. The grandest remaining is the tomb of Hiram, though I think there must have been formerly many equally magnificent, though now ruined. A very good view of this tomb is given by Dr. Tristram. The sarcophagus measures twelve feet long by six feet high, and the largest portion of the pedestal, which projects at five feet above the ground, is fourteen feet two inches long by nine feet nine inches broad. On the north side steps lead down to a small rectangular rock-hewn chamber; it was arched above and was full of water. This, and many places in the country round, I was told, were excavated by the French. Some enthusiastic Freemason has left a badly-scratched representation of the crossed triangles on the tomb. Tyre has been so often and so thoroughly described that I shall not attempt a description in this month's report; next month I hope to spend a few days there to plan and photograph the cathedral. I was much struck with the enormous monolithic columns of red granite which had been used in that building; they have evidently been taken from some ancient temple, and two of them are perfect double columns, as in the Jewish synagogues. If these were taken from an ancient temple, not a synagogue, it would appear that the Jews imitated those ancient buildings, and would account for the double columns at Belât, which may have been a copy of the more magnificent temple at Tyre.

Our next camp was at Nakurah, which we reached on the 22nd. Here we closed the triangulation of the north, the point on Ras en Nakurah being our last station. The country round this camp is principally limestone hills covered with small scrub and bushes. The roads are very bad. There are two large Christian villages in the neighbourhood, Alma and Bussa; the latter is situated on the south side of the Ras en Nakurah,

and contains from 1,200 to 1,300 inhabitants. The former is on the top of the hills, and shows by its superior cultivation that these bare hills might be made very productive. The country east of Alma is principally given up to the Arabs of the Haramsheh and Khletât tribes. Some members of the former are active thieves. Not long ago an Englishman was robbed on the road to Tyre, a little north of the Ras en Nakurah, and there are continual tales of robbery and murder in this district. North of our camp on a high top is Kal'at Shem'a, only 140 years old, and uninteresting except from its fine position. This country, which looks so bare and uninviting, was once covered with villages, the ruins of which occur on almost every top. Nothing of interest was discovered at any of them. They are mostly merely heaps of stones, with traces of foundations and cisterns. Some of them have a few pillars and tombs. At Kh. Umm el 'Amûd there are a good many columns and other traces of an ancient temple; there are also remains of an ancient mosaic pavement and a good many olive-presses. The French have excavated here. The road from Tyre to Akka shows a large amount of ancient paving, particularly so after passing the white promontory Ras el Abiad. An interesting inscription was discovered at the 'Ain at Nakurah, giving an account of the mending and enlarging of this road. Unfortunately, the name of the king is cut out. The inscription reads: "He has given the order to make the road broader and to build the walls of it between Akka and Tyre. By the virtue of God, our King, his Highness, the Great Sherrif (name broken), The Victorious (broken), He is great and high and pure. This inscription was written in the year seventy and eight hundred." The year 870 of the Hejira would be 1294 A.D., and at that time there reigned over Egypt and Palestine edh, Dhahr Khushukdum, one of the Memlûk rulers: he reigned  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years and died in 1296. The inscription is probably due to him. I made an expedition by sea to the end of the Ras en Nakurah, in order to see an inscription I was told existed on the face of the rock. There was nothing but a few natural marks in the rocks, which looked something like letters. I expect the boatmen have started the delusion in order to get travellers to hire their boats.

One of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity in the country is a solitary column that stands upon the low hills forming the eastern edge of the Akka plain, immediately north of the entrance of Wady Kurn; it is called Khûrbet Hamsin. Three courses of large stones form a pedestal 11 feet by 10 feet and 9 feet high. A deep moulding runs round it near the top, almost entirely worn away by the weather. The column is composed of 11 circular discs 2 feet 10 inches high, and is 17 feet in circumference. It does not stand on the centre of the pedestal, being only one foot from the eastern edge. The total height of the monument is 40 feet; around it are a few ruins with some small columns and a few old olive-presses.

The amount surveyed up to the end of the month is 870 square miles.

I hope to finish the survey of the north about the 15th of next month.

There is very little information in the country of how the war is really going on, though there are a great many rumours started without foundation. All regular troops have now left the country for the seat of war. The Bedouins of the Beni Sakr tribe have taken advantage of this, and are now in the ghor under their chief, Fendy el F'ais. They muster about 4,000 spears. Their raids are quite unopposed by the authorities, and I hear they are demanding the Khowy or Arab tax from the fellahin. Fendy el F'ais, I am told, took £300 from Tiberias on this plea a short time ago.

## VI.

### CAMP AT ALEIH, *August 14, 1877.*

On the second of the month camp was moved to Yânûeh, a small village situated on the brow of the hills east of Akka. We were here 1,500 feet above our last camp at Nakurah, and consequently in a much pleasanter climate. The view over the whole of the Akka plain, bounded by Carmel and Râs en Nakurah, was very fine. Unfortunately two of our baggage camels fell on the road up the hills, and one of them died; the mules had, therefore, to make a second journey, and it was 2 a.m. before we got all our things safely into camp. Nothing of importance was broken. The country round our camp was principally composed of rocky hills, covered with small scrub and brushwood, only used as pasturage for goats. The cultivation occurs in patches near the villages, and large tracts of country lie waste which were probably once covered with vineyards.

The work from here was entirely surrounded by surveyed country, which made our progress more rapid. In the ten days we finished 140 square miles. The heat was very great in the low portions of the work, and the want of roads and difficulty in finding and examining ruins in the thick brushwood made it more tiring and took up a good deal of time.

The principal ruin of importance is the Kal'at el Kurein; in the Crusading times this was the Château de Montfort, and previous to its history under that name there appear to be no records of its existence. It is situated on a spur from the hills forming the southern bank of the Wâdy el Kurn, and is about 560 feet above the river in the valley below. The slopes from the sharp ridge on which the castle was placed descend very steeply on the north and east to the river, which here forms a bend on the west to a valley running into Wâdy el Kurn, and on the south it is cut off from the hills by an artificial ditch, which also formed the quarry where the splendid stones used in the construction of the building were excavated.

The ridge was not cut away to receive the castle, the outer walls were built some little way down the slope, the same as in several other



Crusading castles in this country, such as Belfort and Subeibeh. Thus a solid building was formed, the core being of natural rock; in this enormous cisterns were excavated, and on it the upper stories of the building rested firmly. The walls were all built with great care of large well-dressed stones, drafted on the outside, and with their faces smooth-dressed; the interior work was not drafted. These walls closely resemble the earliest portion of the masonry at Kul'at Subeibeh, and have been assigned to Phœnician origin, principally on account of the splendid size of the stones employed, and from the drafting and dressing, which resembles the Herodian work at Jerusalem. In both cases, however, there are undoubted remains of pointed arches, which seem to prove that the art of building had not degenerated in more modern times.

At the south-west angle one of the lower courses overlaps the courses below; it seems to have been thus constructed either to prevent scaling or to increase the size of the platform above; it seems to me to be a great defect in the defences of the castle, as it would form an easy lodgment from which the walls might be undermined, and unless carried up in successive courses much higher, of which there is no proof, would have been easily surmounted by a scaling party.

On the northern side of the castle a large octagonal pillar remains, which probably formed a part of the chapel of the castle. The dimensions of the castle were 570 feet long, north and south, by from 84 to 125 feet broad. The remains are now unfortunately only slight, and are mixed up with Saracenic work of probably the time of Dhahr el Amr.

In the valley below there is a fine spring besides the stream of running water; there are also the remains of an ancient bridge, which probably carried an aqueduct over the river to drive a mill immediately below the castle. The position is a fine one, and the castle must have been of great strength.

Photographs and a special plan were made of the ruins.

M'aliâ is another Crusading site  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-east of Kal'at Kurein; it was called Château du Roi. No traces of the ancient buildings now remain *in situ*, but there are a large number of drafted stones with bosses left rough built into modern walls and lying about.

A modern Christian village now occupies the place; it is situated on a round space, forming the south-east corner of two ranges of hills coming from the north and west, and rises steeply from the broad valley; on the south it is slightly detached from the hills by small valleys.

In the south-eastern portion of our work from this camp a large number of Druses are settled in one of their villages, el Bukeiah; there are also some Jewish families who till the ground. They state that their land has been handed down from generation to generation for a great number of years. I believe these are the only Jews who own and till land in this country. It is curious that they should thus appear close by where we find so many ruins of their ancient synagogues.

One mile and a half west of our camp is the Kal'at Jiddin, built in the time of Dhahr el Amr, who ruled this country as an independent chieftain. The castle from a distance has an imposing appearance, but on close inspection it is found to be a badly constructed pile of buildings without interest and rapidly falling to ruin. It is quite unoccupied, though there are several chambers and vaults that could serve as habitations. The country round is given up to the Arabs, except close round some small hamlets, where a few crops are grown.

On the 10th July the survey of the north was finished, containing 1,000 square miles of country; 2,773 names have been collected, and 476 ruins have been visited and described, some with special plans. All the villages have also been described with regard to the number and religion of inhabitants, the remains of ancient buildings, and the nature of the country round, &c., &c.

The water-supply of the country has also in all cases been specially described.

The whole country has been hill-shaded; the altitudes of a great number of points have been obtained by aneroid readings besides the observed heights.

Special notes have been taken on the geology, archæology, &c., of the country.

The line of levels connecting the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee was completed on the 24th March.

Photographs have been taken of the more interesting sites in the country.

On the 11th, camp was moved to Haifa, and after four days' arranging stores, &c., we marched up the coast to Aleih, where Mr. Eldridge, H.B.M.'s Consul-General, has his summer residence. The journey was very trying from the intense heat. Office work was at once started, a room in a ruined house close to our tents being all we required.

I hope early in September to be at work in the south, the only portion now remaining to complete the Survey of Palestine.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.,

*Commanding Palestine Survey.*

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

*Zion.*—In a former paper I noticed the occurrence of this name at some distance west of Jerusalem. I may perhaps be allowed to cite some of the passages tending to support my view that Zion is to be taken as a district name, like "Mount Ephraim." From 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, and xxii. 30, we gather that Hezekiah's aqueduct was brought to the west side of the City of David from Gihon, which was the Virgin's Pool, according to the Jews, the Lower Gihon being Siloam in the

Targums (see *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1877, p. 141). Thus the city of David, in this case, is Ophel. From 2 Chron. v. 2 we learn that the city of David was Zion. But Millo (Ακρα) was also in the City of David, and this extends the names to the lower city. Again, the Temple was on Zion (1 Maccab. iv. 36-39); and, lastly, the "stronghold of Zion" (or "mountain fortress," as the word may be rendered, 2 Chron. xxxii. 5; 2 Sam. v. 8; 1 Chron. xi. 7) was in the City of David, and is called by Josephus the Citadel, as distinguished from the Lower City (Ant. vii. 3, 1). This seems to point to the Upper City of Josephus, the modern Zion.

It seems, then, that not only is Mount Zion used in the poetical books in a general sense, but that the terms, City of David (which means Jerusalem in general, according to Josephus) and Zion were applied to Ophel, to Moriah, to Millo or Aera, and to the Upper City. Thus we may naturally suppose it to be a general title applicable to the site of Jerusalem and to the hills round among which the same name, "Sunny Mountain," still lingers.

The question where the early Christians and Crusaders placed Zion is distinct. Besides the notices of Jerome and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, which refer apparently to the modern Zion, we have the following. Arculphus (700 A.D.) places the Gate of David on the west of Zion: this is shown as the present Jaffa Gate on all the old charts. The city did not, according to him, cover the southern part of Zion, which is now outside the walls. The ground north and east was lower, as is the case with the present Zion. Aceldama (*Hak ed Dumm*) was south of Zion, and the Church of the Last Supper was on Zion. St. Bernard, in 867, mentions the Chapel of Peter in *Gallicante* (the place where he hid when the cock crew) as towards the east of Zion. This vault is still shown on the modern Zion.

Sœwulf, in 1102, places this chapel outside the city wall, on the slope of Zion, and all later chroniclers and the Crusading maps give the same position to the hill and its two churches.

From the fourth century downwards Zion has thus apparently been localised in its present position, that of the "Upper City" of Josephus.

*Synagogues.*—The synagogues as yet visited and described have been in Upper Galilee, and were principally built about 120 A.D., according to Jewish accounts, as I have before pointed out. At this period the Jews were beginning to gather in Galilee, and the Sanhedrim had its seat at *Shefa 'Amr* and *Osheh* (*Hûsheh*). It might be expected that some synagogues would occur near these places, as also farther south—the Jews inhabiting Haifa and Cæsarea to a late period. There is a ruin called *Taiyibeh*, near *Shefa 'Amr*, at which occurs one of those curious double columns distinctive of the corners of the colonnades to synagogues in Galilee. Excavations among the heaps of hewn stones here might, perhaps, bring another synagogue to light. On Carmel, also, is a ruin called *Khûrbet Semnûka*, or the "ruin of the Sumach tree." Here I found, in 1873, a couple of lintels and a part of a

colonnade. The larger lintel belonged to the eastern door, and is still *in situ* with its jambs. The mouldings which are carried back so as to form a sort of T head, resemble those of the lintel at *Meirân* and at *Kefr Birim*. The pillars are about the usual dimensions of the pillars in the synagogues, and the lintels about the usual size. The second lintel has two lions carved on it with a cup between, as at the synagogue of *Umm el 'Amed*.

*Carmel*.—The scene of Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel is noticed, and the history of the convent, taken from the records and recollections of the oldest monks, is given in full. The statistics of the German colony will also be found in section D, with many traditions collected from the natives. Gotapata and Khûrbet Kâna are also noticed in detail, and the site of Sycaminon at *Tell es Semak*.

'*Athlît*.—A full account of the beautiful fortress of '*Athlît* (Castel Pellegrino), built by the Templars in 1218, is given, and also of the older advanced post of *Detroit*, now called *Dustrey*. A very important observation was made at '*Athlît*: the masonry is all drafted and *in situ*, whence it has been supposed to be earlier work than the Crusading erections, but the posterns of the towers have pointed arches, in drafted masonry, identical with that of the walls, showing that here, as at *Kaukab el Hawa*, the Crusaders cut their own stones and drafted them. The synagogue (as it appears to be) on Carmel is described, and the important necropolis at Sheikh Abreik. Last, but not least, the ruined aqueduct to Sephoris, and the construction of the tower above that town, partly crusading, partly eighteenth century work. In section D, the history of the famous native family of the *Zeidanîyin* is given, as taken from the lips of the last survivor of the race.

*Samaria*.—The extent of Samaria on the north differed at various times. It is doubtful if the plain of Sharon belonged to Judea or to Samaria, for Cæsarea was inhabited by both Jews and Samaritans. A yearly feast was held in commemoration of Bethshean being taken by the Jews from the Samaritans. There are two indications of border Samaritan towns on the north, which are, perhaps, of value: 1st. *Khûrbet es Samrîyeh*, "ruin of Samaritans," just south of Bethshean. 2nd. *Kefr es Samîr*, "village of Samaritans," called by the Jews *Castra*, and said by them to be the seat of heretics. This is the place known later as *Calamon*.

*The Feast of Shiloh* (Judg. xxi. 21).—Some memory of the locality of this feast may perhaps be retained in the name *Merj el 'Aid*, "meadow of the feast," applying to the plain south of Shiloh.

*Elijah's Fountain*.—Another instance of an imperfectly preserved word occurs in this case, for the valley in which this spring, now called '*Ain es Sîh* ("spring of gathering of water") exists, is called by the natives *Ashlâl el Haiyeh*, "waterfalls of the snake," probably corrupted from *Eliha*, or Elijah.

*Nëvy Lâwîh*.—This name applies to a Mukam below *Silet ed Dhahr*, north-west of Nablus. The word means "Levite," and it is curious to



observe that it is applied by the Samaritans to Sanballat the Horonite, who was, according to them, the head of the House of Levi.

*Tarichæa*.—Lieutenant Kitchener mentions this as, perhaps, near Mejûel, north of Tiberias. There is, however, in Pliny, a passage, as follows:—

“On the east Julius and Hippos, on the south Tarichæa, by which name the lake also was formerly called, on the west Tiberias” (Rel. Pal., p. 440).

Tarichæa must therefore be sought on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, thirty stadia south of Tiberias.

*Magdiel* was a place five Roman miles north of Dor (*Khûrbet Tuntûrah*), noticed in the Onomasticon. The distance brings us to an important ruined site now called *Mâlthah*.

*Biri* is a town noticed in the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Pesachim iv. 1) as near Kabul. This points to *Berweh*, but the identification is omitted by Neubauer.

*Tor'an*.—This name is applied to a mountain and village in Galilee. It seems to have no Arabic meaning. It may, it is suggested, be the old French word *Turon*, used by the Crusaders, as in the castle of that name and the mount east of Acre, also so called by them; the meaning is given by Rey, speaking of the Castle of Toron, as signifying an isolated hill, such as *Jebel Tor'an* is. Here probably we have another Crusading word to which we may add perhaps the next.

*Kustul*.—This is the name of a well-known village near Jerusalem, and there is another called *Kustîleh* or *Kustîneh*, which has probably the same origin. The word suggests the Latin *Castellum*; but at *Seffûrieh* the gardens and mills round the great spring about a mile south are called *Kustul Seffûrieh*. Perhaps a better derivation is from the Crusading word *Casale*, also derived from the Latin, but applied, according to William of Tyre, to country villages, and used by the thirteenth century writers of places not defended by walls.

*Roche Taille* was the name of the present river *Falik*; the Arabic, it may be noted, has the same meaning.

*Deidebeh* is the name of a mountain. It has, apparently, no Arabic meaning, but in Aramaic it means a “watchtower.” On the top of the mountain an ancient watchtower exists.

*Sûrâr*.—A good instance of the peculiarities of the peasant language is furnished by this word. A native of Beyrout called on me, and I asked him if he knew what the word meant. Though an educated man, he could not tell, but Mr. Bergheim, who lives among the peasantry, informs me that it means “pebbles.” Thus the word, unknown to the townsmen, but retained amongst the peasantry, is the Hebrew *Tzerur*, “a pebble.”

*Furn*.—This word means in modern language “an oven,” but it is applied to various large mounds throughout the country, and in especial to one near Beisan. It seems to be a corruption of the Aramaic *Pharan*, meaning “a royal house like a basilica,” according to Buxtorf. This

is striking, because in the case mentioned above, Jerome (*Ep. ad Evang.*) states that the ruins of the palace of Melchisedec were to be seen near Scythopolis, or Beisân.

*Bileam* and *Ibleam* are often supposed to be the same towns, but the first appears to have been towards the west of the territory of Manasseh (1 Chron. vi. 70), and may very well be *Bel'a*, near the plain. This does not suit the requirements of *Ibleam*. If that town be near "the garden house," which is generally supposed to be *Jenân* (2 Kings ix. 27), then Mr. Drake's identification with *Bel'ameh*, a ruin in the valley beyond *Jenân*, is most satisfactory. It is, however, worth notice, that the name "garden house" (*Beth-hag-ben*) is preserved in *Beit Jenn*, north of *Jezreel*, and that a *Bel'ameh* exists in this direction also.

*Jeshanah*.—I am happy to support M. Ganneau's identification with the modern *'Ain Sinia*, p. 205. Before the publication of this suggestion, the same identification had been independently communicated by me to the Fund.

*Joshua's Tomb*.—It is certain that the modern *Tibneh* represents the site supposed by Jerome to be Joshua's tomb. He speaks of the place as on the road from *Lydda* to *Jerusalem*, and the tomb as still shown. The name of the sacred tree, *Sheikh et Teim*, may perhaps preserve the memory of the "servant of God;" but the Jews have always held *Kefr Hâris*, south of *Nablus*, to be *Tinnath Heres*, and their traditions generally prove the most reliable. In this case, *Neby Kifl* ("the apportioning prophet") must represent the tomb of Joshua, though, as in the case of *Joseph's tomb*, the building is modern.

The neighbourhood of *Chateau Pelerin* is minutely described in the tract called "*Citez de Jherusalem*" (1187 A.D.)

The monastery of *St. Margaret* is here noticed as on the side of *Carmel*, near the place where *Elijah* used to live. This appears to be the ruined *Deîr*, south of the promontory by *Elijah's spring*. A league and a half away were habitations of *Carmelite hermits*, in the side of the mountain by springs. Between *St. Margaret* and these places was a place above the sea called *Anne*, where the nails were made for the cross. In front of the hermits' habitations was a place called *St. John of Tyre*; in front of *Chateau Pelerin*, not far off, was *Capharnaon*, where the forty marks were struck for which Christ was sold.

This curious piece of topography is explained by the Survey. *St. Margaret* had a rock-cut chapel and a Greek monastery: this points to *ed Deîr*, where such a rock-cut chapel exists. There are caves and ruins with water east of *Chateau Pelerin* (*'Athlit*), south of *ed Dier*, eight miles by *Wâdy en Neb'a*, "valley of the perennial spring." Just in front of them is a *Mukâm* of *Sheikh Yahyah*, the native name for "John the Baptist," facing *'Athlit*. *Capharnaon I* have shown in former papers is the modern *Kefr Lâm*, according to the distance given by *Benjamin of Tudela* from *Haifa*.

In this case the place called *Anne*, on a hill above the sea, must be *'Ain Hand*, "spring of the trough," sometimes called *el 'Ain* only. It

lies between the two places just mentioned—ed Deir and Wady en Neb'a—on the top of a spur above the sea.

St. John of Tyre was so called because Chasteau Pelerin was supposed to be Ancient Tyre by the Crusaders. The reason for this identification it is very difficult to imagine, but it may perhaps have arisen from the name *Tireh* belonging to a neighbouring village owning extensive lands—a name very easily confounded with “*Tire*,” as the word is spelt in ancient chronicles.

*Scarioth*.—The native town of Judas was shown to the Crusaders ten miles from Cæsarea to the east (Fetellus). It seems to have been on the road leading to Porphyreon (Haifa) by Caim Mons, or “Mount Cain” (*Keimân*), where Lamech was said to have killed Cain. On this road, twelve English miles from the shore at Cæsarea, is a well with ruins called *Abu Shakra*, “father of red colour.” This very probably preserves the tradition, being in the right direction east of Cæsarea.

*The Nomenclature*.—The following are the lists compared by me in arranging the nomenclature:—

1st. The Survey Lists, corrected by Naaman Kasatly, the scribe of the party.

2nd. Official Turkish lists for the provinces of Jerusalem and Acre, furnished by Consul Moore in 1875, containing all the villages and many ruins.

3rd. Lists of Nablus and Acre provinces, furnished by Consul Rogers in 1859, with the population of the villages and towns, and the cultivation and taxes.

4th. A list for Northern Palestine, furnished by the Rev. J. Zeller, of Nazareth, including ruins and villages.

5th. A similar list near Nablus, furnished by Rev. J. Elkarey, of Nablus.

6th. Robinson's lists.

7th. A list of the possessions of the family of *Zeidân*, furnished by the last living member, 162 villages and ruins in Galilee.

From the comparison of all these lists a great amount of certainty as to spelling is obtained, as they are all in Arabic characters.

The lexicons used in translation were:—

1st. Lane's Arabic Lexicon.

2nd. Freytag's Latin and Arabic Lexicon.

3rd. Newman's English and Arabic Lexicon.

4th. Katafago's English and Arabic Lexicon.

5th. Gesenius's English and Hebrew Lexicon.

6th. Buxtorf's Chaldee and Latin Lexicon.

The number of standard works which I have abstracted for use in the memoir to the map is now over fifty, according to the list. Nearly one-third of the Memoir is now completed.

C. R. C.

## BETHANY BEYOND JORDAN.

"It is generally admitted by Biblical critics," writes the author of the article entitled, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (*Edinburgh Review*, January, 1877), "that the true reading of chap. i. 28 (St. John's Gospel) is Bethany, not Bethabara."

The Sinaitic Codex with the Vatican and Alexandrine reads Bethania (*Βηθανια*), and Origen states that in his time (186-253 A.D.) most of the ancient manuscripts had this reading (in *Evan Johannis*, tom. viii.). He, however, adopted the reading Bethabara. "For Jordan is far off from Bethany," and Chrysostom (347-407 A.D.), though mentioning the reading Bethania, prefers the now accepted Bethabara. Jerome follows in the same steps, and speaks of Bethabara only.

The objection made by Origen is the same which has lately been urged by the author of "Supernatural Religion," who points out the probability that Bethania is the true reading, and that while this cannot refer to the town of Lazarus, it "is scarcely possible that there could have been a second village of the name" (vol. ii., p. 420). He further states that the place in question "is utterly unknown now."

That Bethania, if the true reading, has no connection with the village near Jerusalem, is clearly evident from the Fourth Gospel, as the position of that place is defined (chap. xi., verse 18).

"Now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off."

The place in question "beyond Jordan" is therefore not in any way connected with this village, for "beyond Jordan" is applied in the Old and New Testament, and in the Talmud, to the third division of the Holy Land, called in the Mishna (*Shevith ix. 2*) Perea, the limits of which are fixed with great exactitude by the Rabbinical commentators.\*

To show that Bethany beyond Jordan is a well known title, and that this reading is quite reconcileable with the other reading Bethabara, seems to me a point of considerable interest, as materially strengthening the argument of the topographical correctness of the Fourth Gospel, the geography of which has been lately subjected to severe criticism, though not by authors very well acquainted with the subject.

The Edinburgh reviewer points to the identification of Bethany beyond Jordan with a certain *Tell Anihji*, as proposed by Dr. Caspari (see *Ed. Rev.*, p. 14, note); but this will not be admitted by any Arabic student as representing the word Bethania, because the H and the J are radicals, which have no equivalents in the Greek word, and because the name applies to a Tell east of Jordan, about twenty-one miles from *Kānu*; it has a descriptive meaning in Arabic which may be rendered "the prominent (or conspicuous) hillock."

It is, however, quite a gratuitous assumption that Bethania is here

\* The Greek title Perea has the meaning "beyond." The limits of Perea, or the country "beyond Jordan" (*πέραν του ιορδανου*), are given by Josephus, and agree with those described in the Talmud. The title is equivalent to the Hebrew *Aber ha Yarden*, "over Jordan," used in the Bible.



meant to be the name of a village or town, and the suggestion I would make is that the writer refers to the well-known district of Batanea, which has left traces of its name to the present day in the district called *Ard el Bethâniéh* "beyond Jordan."

The name Batanea occurs in the Targums and the Samaritan versions of the Old Testament, in the writings of Josephus, Ptolemy, and Eusebius, and the following are the indications of the position of the district:—

1st. In the Targum of Jonathan (Psa. lxxviii. 23), Bothenin (בוֹתֵינִי) stands instead of the Hebrew Bashan, and the same change occurs in Deut. xxxiii. 22. In the preceding chapter (xxxii. 14) the Targum of Jerusalem reads Bathenia (בַּתְּנִיָּא) for Bashan. The two words are, in fact, the same, *Sin* and *Teth* being convertible in Hebrew, as they are constantly interchanged in the language of the native peasantry, who pronounce the *Thé* of the Arabic alphabet like *Sin*. The Targums therefore identify Batania with Bashan.

2nd. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads Batanin (בַּתְּנִין) in every instance where Bashan occurs in the Hebrew.

3rd. Eusebius (Onom. s.v. βασιάν) gives its name as existing in his day under the form *Batanaia* (βαταναία), in which statement he is followed by Jerome.

It is, therefore, important in the next place to state the limits of Bashan, and these are approximately given in the Old Testament (Deut. iii. 10-14; Josh. xii. 5). It belonged to the half tribe of Manasseh, and was situate north of Gilead, and extended as far as Hermon. On the east it included Salehah (*Sulkhah*), on the west it reached to the *Arabah* or Jordan Valley (see Bib. Dict.); the name signifies "soft and level soil" (Ar. *Bathana*), and applied to the rich cornland of this district, where the crops are finer than in any other part of the Holy Land.

4th. The notices of Batanea in Josephus are few. The districts of Trachonitis (*el Lejah*), of Gaulonitis (*Jaulan*), and Auranitis (*Hauran*), were within the limits of the ancient Bashan, and Batanea appears to have been specially applied to a district south of Trachonitis and west of Auranitis (see Rel. Pal., p. 108). The name *Ard el Bethânia* now applies rather farther east to the district of the *Lejah*, north of *Jebel Hauran* (the hill of Bashan); but the position given by Josephus would appear to include the south-western portion of the kingdom of Og.

5th. Ptolemy (140 A.D.) speaks of the region of Batanea as including Trachonitis, and gives it apparently a greater latitude of meaning, and the same extension of the meaning, as referring to all Bashan, is deducible from Josephus (Ant. iv. 7, 4), where Golan is placed in Batanea, which thus reached to the Jordan valley (see Rel. Pal., p. 318).

6th. In the Onomasticon Batanea is made identical with Bashan, as above noticed, and the following places are noticed as within its limits:—

1. *Ashtaroth*      *es Sunamein*.
2. *Golan*            *in the Jaulân*.
3. *Gergasa*        *on the east of the Sea of Galilee*,

besides others of doubtful position. In addition to these, a place of some importance to the present question must be noticed, which is also placed by the Onomasticon in Batanea—namely, Namara.

Under the head of *Nemra* Eusebius mentions a town as existing in his day called *Nabara*, or according to another edition, *Abara*. The former is more probably the correct reading, as the Latin has *Namura*, but it is worthy of notice that the place is identified by Eusebius with Nimrah, near Heshbon (Numb. xxxii. 3), and that Epiphanius (*Contra Hæres* 51, 5th cent.) reads Bethamara for Bethabara (Rel. Pal. p. 627). This town of Nabara was in Batanea according to Eusebius, and would seem to be possibly the same which is mentioned as identical with Bethnimrah (Josh. xiii. 27), a town of Gad, and as being near to Livias, which was situate in the neighbourhood of Mount Nebo. Eusebius evidently refers to the true site of Bethnimrah, opposite Jericho, in one case, but in the other probably to a ruin still existing near *Kanawât*, within the limits of the modern *Ard el Bethaniah*, and called *Nimreh*. This place is noticed in the Jerusalem Talmud as on the eastern boundary of the "land."

The curious connection which thus apparently exists between Batanea, Abara, and Nimrah, has led modern scholars to place the site of Bethabara at *Nimrîn*, in the Jordan valley, opposite Jericho (see Smith's Bible Dict. and Murray's new Map), yet this connection is only apparent, as the reading Abara is easily shown to be a corruption, and because the Jordan valley site is not in Batanea as Namara was.

The general drift of the above notes tends to show that Bathania was the well-known late appellation of the kingdom of Og, which still existed in the fourth century, and of which traces still remain. The exact limitation of Batanea is not deducible, but Reland, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, considers the district to extend to Jordan, and thus a town near the river could have stood within this territory, if it were not further south than that part of the valley which is opposite to Lower Galilee. It is impossible, however, to include the traditional site of Bethabara, or that at *Nimrîn*, within the limits of Batanea.

An objection to the identification of Bethany beyond Jordan with Batanea may perhaps be founded on the long form  $\beta\eta\theta\alpha\nu\iota\alpha$ , but as has been shown above, the longer form *Bothenin* occurs in the Targums, and in addition to this, the use of the letter H in the Greek of Old and New Testament is irregular. Thus in the LXX we have  $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\alpha\beta\epsilon\epsilon$  for Bathsheba, and  $\beta\alpha\theta\rho\epsilon\phi\alpha$  for Bethrapha. In the New Testament Bethphage is spelt with the long H and also with the short E, and in the Onomasticon Bethshemesh and other words are given in the same way with both.

An old objection to the topographical exactitude of the fourth gospel was founded on the assumption that Bethabara was near Jericho, and that it would thus be impossible for our Lord to reach Cana of Galilee "on the third day;" but there is no evidence beyond the tradition of

the fourth century to fix Bethabara so far south, whilst a position near upper Galilee would both suit the narrative and allow of the reconciliation of the two readings Bethany and Bethabara.

Bethabara is commonly spoken of as the site of our Lord's baptism. In this again we follow the fourth-century tradition. From the gospel we gather nothing beyond the fact that it was the scene of certain events which are placed in the Gospel Harmonies (see Smith's *Bib. Dic.* p. 721) after the Temptation, and which occupied two days, seemingly consecutive, whilst on the third Jesus reached Cana of Galilee.

In a former paper (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1875) I called attention to the fact that the name 'Abâra still applies to the principal ford of Jordan north of Beisân, and thus leading to Bashan or Batanea, whilst the site is within a day's journey of the neighbourhood of Nazareth. Against this identification all that can be urged is the tradition which places Bethabara near Jericho. It may be said also that the name is merely descriptive, and might apply to any other ford; to this I can only reply, that of more than fifty fords the names of which were collected by the Survey party, not one other had any name at all approaching in sound to this, and that, though doubtless descriptive, it is not a common name in the country, as it does not reappear in the list of 6,000 names within the limits of the Survey.

It seems difficult to understand how the name Bethabara can have been accepted by the early fathers of the church unless the site either existed in their day, or a tradition dating as early as the middle of the second century pointed to it as the site of the Bathania of the Gospel. The above notes will serve at all events to show that the topography is capable of exact explanation whichever reading be the more authentic.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## SYCAMINON, HEPHA, PORPHYREON, AND CHILZON.

THE question of the sites of the four towns above named is interesting and somewhat complicated.

Haifa is noticed in the Talmud under its modern name (Gemara, Sabbath, 26a) and by the name Cayphas in Crusading chronicles, such as Geoffry de Vinsauf 1187, Scœwulf 1102, Benjamin of Tudela 1160, and Sir John Mandeville 1322; under this title also it is marked on Marino Sanuto's map (1321). The name comes from a Hebrew root meaning "shore," and in Arabic a "mountain side," referring to its position at the foot of Carmel by the sea. The Crusaders, however, had curious ideas of the derivation of the title. According to some it was built by Caiaphas, the high priest, and named from him; others supposed a connection with the name Cephias, and referred it either to the "stonyness" of the place, or to Simon Peter, who fished there according to one account.

This curious legend has probably some connection with the Crusading Capernaum, which was shown near the shore of the Mediterranean farther south, at *Kefr Lām*.

The Crusaders further called Haifa Porphyreon, as is certain from William of Tyre. The real town of this name, which was derived from the purple of the Murex there caught, was eight Roman miles from Sidon towards the north, and just south of the River Tanyras (*Nahr Damūr*), but the Crusading idea was probably connected with their extraordinary fancy for placing Ancient Tyre at 'Athlīt, which would bring Porphyreon into a relative position near Haifa.

The question of Palætyrus, or Ancient Tyre, thus becomes connected with the present subject. This place, the original site of Tyre, was, according to Strabo, thirty stadia south of New Tyre on the promontory; yet there is a passage which looks as if even in the fourth century it was placed near Athlit, for Jerome speaks of Dor (s.v. Dornapheth, Onomasticon) as nine miles north of Cæsarea (at *Khūrbet Tantūrah*) "to those going to Tyre now deserted." The Crusaders added to their theory the position of Porphyreon at Haifa and of Sarepta, possibly at *Surafeud*, just south of 'Athlīt. They also grouped the sites of Capernaum and Meon (the town of Nabal) close by, and the pilgrim on landing was thus shown immediately sacred places, the true sites of which were removed by days of travel.\*

There is further some evidence that Sycaminon was also placed, in the fourth century, at Haifa. Jerome, in the Onomasticon (s.v. Japhie), identifies Haifa with Japhia of Zebulon (*Yāfa*, near Nazareth) and with Sycaminon. The latter name appears as Shikmonah in the Talmud (Mishna Demoi I.), referring to a place celebrated for its pomegranates, and Sycaminon is also noticed by Josephus (Ant. xiii. 20) as near Ptolemais. The derivation is supposed to be from the Sycamine figs, one tree of which still remains on the shore near Haifa. Sycaminon is also noticed in two early itineraries, and its distance given from Acre and Cæsarea.

The fact that in the Talmud both names occur seems to indicate that Sycaminon and Hephah were distinct places, and this leads to their identification with the ruined sites of *Haifa el 'Atika* (ancient "Haifa") and *Tell es Semak* ("mound of the fish"), the latter possibly a corruption of Shikmonah; but as these two are only two miles apart they might easily be confounded, as identified in the Onomasticon; in the Crusading times we find them again distinct—Haiphah, under the name Cayphas, whence the modern Frankish Caiffa originates, and also as Porphyreon, Sycaminon, and Sycamazon, a bishopric under the metropolitan of Cæsarea, as early as 431 A.D.

The distance of Sycaminon from the two well-known points of Acre

\* The name *Tiech*, applied to a village near Athlit, may perhaps have some connection with this idea.



and Cæsarea is differently given by the Antonine and Jerusalem itineraries, thus:—

|                             | Antonine.  | Jerusalem. |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| Sycaminon to Acre . . . . . | xxiv. r.m. | xv. r.m.   |
| „ Cæsarea . . . . .         | xx. r.m.   | xvi. r.m.  |

Total area to Cæsarea . . . . . 41 Roman miles      31 r.m.

The true total distance is thirty-five and a half Roman miles measuring in a line, and by road thirty-nine and a half Roman miles. As Sycaminon was close to the Carmel promontory, according to every early account, it could not be only sixteen miles distant from Cæsarea, and a single X has evidently dropped out, which would bring the total of the Jerusalem itinerary nearly right, thus:—

|                             |         |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Sycaminon to Acre . . . . . | 15 r.m. |
| „ Cæsarea (xxvi.)..         | 26 „    |
|                             | -----   |
|                             | 41 r.m. |

This, if the road went a little inshore of the Bay of Acre, would be correct. In the other itinerary, on the contrary, an X seems to have been added to the northern measurement, for Sycaminon under Carmel near Haifa could not have been twenty-four Roman miles from Acre. The correction makes the total thirty-four Roman miles, which is rather short unless direct measurement over the Bay of Acre be supposed.

There is, however, another difficulty in the question, for Sycaminon in the Jerusalem itinerary is placed after Calamon, three miles farther. Now Calamon was really three miles farther on the road than Sycaminon, and situate at *Khürbet Kefr es Samîr* (see *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20), and this would seem to make the total from Acre to Cæsarea forty-three miles.\*

The two itineraries, however, agree in placing Sycaminon fourteen to fifteen miles from Acre, measuring along the shore, and this distance agrees with the position of *Tell es Semak*, fifteen Roman miles from Acre and three Roman miles from Calamon (*Kefr es Samîr*) and twenty-four and a half Roman miles from Cæsarea.

The sites of Sycaminon and Haifa were thus near one another, but separate towns, as the literature of the subject indicates, and the ruins and names and distances point out.

The curious question remaining is whether Chilzon was ever a name applied to Haifa.

\* A possible explanation of the Calamon difficulty suggests itself to me as follows: That the Bordeaux Pilgrim crossed over Carmel to Calamon and went north to Sycaminon. This route would fit the distances very well, as follows:—

|                                    |           |                  |
|------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Acre to Kefr es Samîr (Calamon)    | 12 r. m., | really 11½ r. m. |
| Kefr es Samîr to Tell es Semak     | 3 „       | „ 3 r. m.        |
| Tell es Semak to Cæsarea . . . . . | 26 „      | „ 24½ r. m.      |

This would make the Jerusalem itinerary agree with the known position of Calamon without giving too great a total.

The name is that of the Murex, and means "snail" in Hebrew (the Arabic *Halzân*). It has thus the same derivation with Porphyreon, also named from the Murex which yielded the purple. Reland supposes a connection with the text (Canticles vii. 5), "Thy head like Carmel, and the hair of thy head like purple," as alluding to the fishery of the Murex near Carmel. Chilzon is noticed, according to this authority, as a town from which, as far as the ladder of Tyre, the Murex was caught, but Neubauer supposes the word to be used only for the name of the mollusk in the Talmud.

In another ancient itinerary the town Chilzon is noticed as distinct from Haifa, and might be the northern or true Porphyreon. In the Targums the Chilzon or Murex is noticed as among the riches of the tribe of Zebulon, and as "coming up into the hills" (Buxtorf). This seems to give a clue to the real position of the place, for Zebulon did not possess any of the land north of Sidon where Porphyreon really stood, but the country from Carmel to Acre, and the Belus, in and near which the Murex is found and was caught originally.

The name still exists. It is applied to a large valley, a confluent of the Belus, called *Wâdy Halzân*, "the valley of the snail" (or Murex). Here, then, if anywhere, Chilzon most likely stood, and not at Haifa, as supposed by Reland, if, indeed, a town of the name ever existed.

The fishery of the Murex extended from Phœnicia down to the Bay of Acre, and along these shores the mollusk (*Murex Trunculus*) is still found.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

---

## BARAK AND SISERA.

Judges iv.

THERE are few episodes of the Old Testament history on which more light has been thrown by the Survey discoveries than that of the famous defeat of the Canaanites under Sisera.

The topography hitherto has been wonderfully obscure. The central position is Tabor. Hazor, Kedesh, and Bitzaanaim have been generally placed in Upper Galilee, over thirty miles from Tabor, whilst Megiddo has been placed close to Taanach, fourteen miles south-west. This is contrary to what we generally observe in the Scripture narrative, for the places noticed in a single episode are almost always close together.

I propose to show how the whole scene can be laid in the neighbourhood of Tabor within a radius of five or six miles.

The kings of Canaan (or of the low lands) were governed by Jabin, who lived at Hazor. They assembled at Taanach, and by the waters of Megiddo, but the battle was apparently not fought close to these places, for in Psalm lxxxiii. we read that they "perished in Endor," and the

army of Sisera was destroyed in the Kishon, which has its origin far north of these towns.

It cannot be supposed that Barak would desert the fastnesses of Tabor and undertake a long march of fifteen miles over the boggy plain to attack the Canaanites strongly placed on the slopes of the low hills at Taanach. Scripture says, "I will *draw unto thee*, Sisera . . . unto the river Kishon." And here, with the full advantage of a rush from the high ground, Barak, like Napoleon in his battle of Tabor, descended upon the Canaanites, who were driven into the bogs and swamps from which the main stream of the Kishon rises, and in which the Turks lost so many men in the later battle. It is true that an affluent of the Kishon comes from near Taanach, but the *Mujahîyeh*, or "spring head," is under the Nazareth hills, just west of Tabor.

The notice of Endor shows that the kings in the first instance advanced from the south, and no doubt posted themselves at the foot of the conical mountain on which Endor is placed before venturing into the open plain south-west of Tabor. Thus the position of Megiddo at the ruin called *Mujedda*, in the Jordan valley, which I proposed in a paper on the subject on entirely different grounds, is in accordance with this advance. The "waters of Megiddo" must be the innumerable streams of the broad valley of Jezreel and the springs which flow in abundance from the mound of *Mujedda*.

The defeat of Sisera drove his host into the Kishon, "that river of battles—the river Kishon" (according to Gesenius' rendering instead of "ancient").

This points to the identity of Harosheth of the Gentiles with *el Harathîyeh* as generally accepted, and the name "wooded country" is derived, no doubt, from the fine oak woods on the hills west of the Kishon, towards which the Canaanites who succeeded in getting through the swamps would have fled.

But Sisera fled away by himself to the plain Bitzaanaim, which was in the neighbourhood of that Kedesh where Barak had gathered his men before advancing to Tabor.

Barak was of the tribe of Naphtali, and this has directed attention to *Kedes* (Kadesh Naphtali) and the great plain near it. We must then suppose Sisera to have fled for thirty miles, over mountains 4,000 feet high, through the most difficult country in Palestine. We must suppose Barak to have marched down from these hills to the plain, and then back again to Hazor, over the waters of Merom, according to Josephus.

There is, however, a far simpler explanation. There is a *Kedesh* on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, only some sixteen miles from Tabor, a place appropriate for a gathering of the tribes and within the bounds of Naphtali, as that tribe held all the country east of Tabor. And between this Kedesh and Tabor there is a broad plain, and in it a place called *Bessum*, a word radically identical with the name Bitzaanaim, and close to the towns of Adami (*el Dâmeleh*) and Nekeb (*Nakîb*), which are noticed in the Book of Joshua (xix. 33) in connection with Bitzaanaim.

Thus the whole of Sisera's flight is reduced to the far more probable distance of five or six miles from the scene of his defeat—a distance possible for the powers of a man so exhausted as Sisera was, and is directed in a line just opposite to that of the pursuit of his army towards Harosheth. It may be added that the name Bitzaanaim has not been recovered in the old supposed position, and does not occur in any other part of Palestine.

Much might be added in illustration of this episode with regard to the storm, the meteor shower, the butter given by Jael, the hammer and nail, and the alleged reasons, according to the Jews, for the murder; but this paper is intended to point out only the probable topography of the account.

C. R. C.

---

### MEETING OF GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the office of the Fund on Tuesday, July 17th, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Barclay in the chair.

1. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. The following Report of the Executive Committee was then read:—

“The Executive Committee have, on resigning the trust committed to them on June 26th, 1876, to render an account of their administration and work during the past twelve months.

1. On their first sitting Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon was elected Chairman for the year.

2. The number of meetings held during the year has been twenty-four. There have also been meetings of the Publication Committee, the Finance Committee, and various sub-committees, specially appointed from time to time, to investigate and report on matters of importance as they occurred.

3. The exploration work of the year divides itself into two portions—the field work, and that of drawing the map, calculating the observations, and preparing the memoirs. From June to January the whole strength of the Royal Engineers in the service of the Committee was employed on the latter branch of work, two officers and five non-commissioned officers being engaged upon the map in an office taken for them for this purpose. The result is that out of twenty-six sheets, twenty are so far advanced that, were it not for a few points of difficulty which must be answered by re-examination of the ground, they might be put into an engraver's hands at once. As regards the memoirs, which are the special work of Lieutenant Conder, the last report of progress shows that the whole of the names collected by Lieutenant Conder for the map—6,000 in number—have been translated, compared with the official lists and those of Rogers, Robinson, Zeller, and others, and the translation has been completed as far as possible. This very important part of the



work will be carefully examined before publication by the best Arabic scholars.

The memoirs of three of the sheets (Nos. 13, 16, and 18) have been completed, and two more (*viz.*, 7 and 9) only have to be rearranged in accordance with the modified plan of the editors.

The greater part of the indexes of the remaining sheets have been made.

At the beginning of the year the Committee thought themselves justified in sending out Lieutenant Kitchener with a party of three non-commissioned officers to complete the survey of Western Palestine. There remained, as was estimated, about 1,200 square miles in northern Palestine, and 200 in the south. Lieutenant Kitchener's letters have reported steady and uninterrupted progress. In his last letter he estimated that the work would be finished in the north by the end of July. By a telegram which reached the Chairman on Saturday last, the Committee receive the gratifying intelligence that the whole of the northern portion, which appears to consist of 1,000 square miles, or 200 less than was estimated, has been now completed.

There remain, therefore, only the 200 square miles in the south and the examination of certain points in the country to clear up the difficulties mentioned above.

The Committee take this opportunity of expressing their high sense of Lieutenant Kitchener's ability and zeal. He has conducted the work for six months without any accidents during a period of suspicion and excitement. His reports, which are in the hands of the General Committee, are careful and intelligent, and his monthly accounts show due regard to economy. He has hitherto managed to conduct the Survey for a monthly sum less than that which the Committee gave him as a maximum. It is hoped that he will return to England in the autumn, bringing his work with him, after which the Committee recommend that no time will be lost in arranging and working up the detail, with a view to the early publication of the map and its accompanying memoirs.

This map, when produced, will, the Committee may fairly promise, fully justify the work and expenditure of the last five years, and will form by far the most important contribution ever yet made to the knowledge of the lands of the Bible.

4. The income of the Fund from June 30th, 1876, to June 30th, 1877, was £3,709 14s. 1d. The classified expenditure during the same period was as follows:—Exploration account, £2,399 12s. 8d.; Printers, £317 12s. 4d.; Loan repaid to Treasurer, £100; Postage, £80 18s. 10d.; paid to Photographer, £109 7s. 9d.; Office, Rent, Salaries, and Advertising, £649 15s. 5d. The balance in hand on June 30th was £398 0s. 4d.

The Committee, on considerations of general policy, have decided on abandoning their claim to the rest of the damages awarded for the Safed outrage. They have received from Consul-General Eldridge the sum of £262 12s. 5d., representing an amount of £270, less exchange.

5. Several new Local Societies have been formed in Australia and

New Zealand through the exertions of Mr. H. W. Fry, to whom the best thanks of the Committee are due.

6. The holding of drawing-room meetings continues to be carried on by Mrs. Finn, and the best thanks of the Committee are due to those ladies who have held meetings.

7. The publication of the *Quarterly Statement* has been under the consideration of the Committee. It has been proposed to make certain changes in the contents of the periodical, which shall tend to make it more generally interesting. The matter has been referred to a sub-committee, consisting of the Chairman and one of the Hon. Secretaries, who will report and recommend what, if any, change is to be made. The Executive Committee recommend that powers be granted from the General Committee to adopt such improvements in the management of the *Quarterly Statement* as, on consideration, they may find best suited to serve the interests of the Fund.

8. The Committee have undertaken to examine and restore to its proper use, so far as may be found practicable, the interesting site of Jacob's Well. For this purpose £100 has been given by Miss Peache, and £50 promised by Dr. Rogers, of Exeter. It is proposed to clear out the well, take away the rubbish which lies round it, and have it guarded by the low wall, part of which is still standing, that once formed part of a church erected over it. Another special offer of £50 has been made to the Committee for the purpose of examining Rachel's Tomb. This will be done if possible.

9. The special thanks of the Committee are due to Consul-General Eldridge for the very great trouble he has taken in starting Lieutenant Kitchener in his work; to Mr. Harper, Captain Anderson, and Captain Hamilton for sketches published in the *Quarterly Statement*; to the Duke of Northumberland, Mr. G. Harris, the Hon. W. Cowper-Temple, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Forbes, Miss Baxter, of Ellangowan, Mr. H. N. Middleton, Mr. Jno. Edward Wilson, Mr. P. Mackinnon, G. M. E., Sir T. Archibald, Mr. W. H. Gamlen, Lord Lawrence, Mr. Dimmock, Mr. Arthur Jones, Mr. Maitland Spencer, Mrs. Lawrence, Mr. Robinson Douglas, Mr. H. M. Ormerod, Mrs. Stewart Dykes, Mr. W. Kemble, Rev. W. Hall-Houghton, the Bishop of Norwich, Rev. Archibald Morrison, Sir W. Ramsay Fairfax, Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Lady Herschel, Mr. S. H. Officer, G. C., Rev. C. Watson, Mrs. Atkinson, Rev. S. S. Mander, Mrs. Cunliffe, Rev. G. Lawrence, Mrs. Oliphant, Mr. Wagner, M. J. T. Houghton, Professor Kinke, Mr. F. Pease, J. S., Captain Warren, Mr. E. H. Palmer, and others for donations varying from £5 to £100. Many of these are second, third, or fourth donations."

3. This Report having been formally adopted, the Committee proceeded to confirm the action of the late Executive Committee in strengthening the body of the General Committee by the names of the Bishop of Adelaide, Mr. M'Arthur, M.P., and the Dean of Norwich.

4. The Executive Committee was then re-elected for the following year, with the addition of Mr. John MacGregor.

The Honorary Officers were re-elected.

5. A vote of thanks was passed to the President of the American Association for the gift of their photographs.

6. The Executive Committee received full powers to deal with the improvement or alteration of the *Quarterly Statement* as might be found expedient.

7. A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the Committee adjourned.

## THE SEPULCHRES OF DAVID AND OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

A HALO of intense interest surrounds the tomb of David. While its true position is a much disputed point in the topography of Jerusalem, its discovery would reveal the most ancient monument connected with the Holy City, and perhaps might throw some light upon the expression, "the city of David."

The recovery of such a precious relic of the past is a reward yet in store for some successful explorer; the definition of its exact or probable position it is now proposed once more to assay by argument.

We possess but scanty knowledge about early Jewish tombs, yet in three instances in the Old Testament (the sepulchre of Abraham, of the prophet at Bethel, and of Elisha) their situation seems to have been at least at some little distance from human habitations.

It is stated, however, in the Bible more than twenty times of some one or other of the kings of Judah, that he was *buried in the city of David*, frequently with the additional words, "with his fathers." No special honour was necessarily conferred by such burial "in the city of David," as is clear from the case of Jehoram, who was so buried (2 Kings viii. 24; 2 Chron. xxi. 20), whilst Josephus says (Ant. ix. 5. 3), "They neither buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers, nor vouchsafed him any honours, but buried him like a private man."

The surprise naturally arising at this intramural sepulture on the part of the Jews increases to amazement when one reads that all Israel "buried Samuel in his house at Ramah" (1 Sam. xxv. 1).

Perhaps, however, in our simplicity we have been making the Jews to do what they neither did nor thought of doing; so that it is necessary to examine the two expressions, "buried in his house," and "buried in the city of David," with the view of ascertaining the precise meaning of the three words "*house*," "*city*," and "*in*."

(A.) House. "They buried Samuel in his house."

The Hebrew word here used for house is "Beth." In the following passages the same term is applied to a tomb:—

Job xxx. 23. "The *house* appointed for all living."

Job xvii. 13. "If I wait, the grave is mine *house*."

Eccles. xii. 5. "Man goeth to his long *home*" (= house).

Isaiah xiv. 18, 19. "All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own *house*. But thou art cast out of thy grave."

Unless it can be very clearly shown that the use of the word *Beth* in these passages in the sense of *tomb* is inadmissible in the historical books, it seems that without hesitation it ought to be admitted that *house* = *tomb* in these three passages, viz.—

1 Sam. xxv. 1 (as already quoted and elsewhere suggested).

1 Kings ii. 34. "Joab was buried in his own *house* in the wilderness."

2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. "They buried Manasseh in his own *house*." (Compare the parallel passage in 2 Kings xxi. 18, "Manasseh slept with his fathers and was buried in the garden of his own *house*, in the garden of Uzza.")

This seems to me sufficient to dissipate the common misapprehension that when Sammel is said to have been buried *in his house*, he was buried in his dwelling-house. "House" in such passages = (and should be translated) tomb or sepulchre.

(B.) City, as in the words "the city of David," and similar expressions.

From one passage it may be conclusively demonstrated that *city* (in the phrase *city of his refuge*) embraces the surrounding suburbs—*i.e.*, fields, and all the space within the Levitical boundary of 2,000 cubits. See Numb. xxxv. 25-28. Here it is said—

25. "The slayer shall abide in it" (*i.e.*, the city of his refuge).

26. "If the slayer shall at any time come without the border of the city of his refuge; (27) and the revenger of blood find him without the borders of the city of his refuge . . . and kill the slayer; he shall not be guilty of blood:

28. "Because he should have remained in the city of his refuge."

These verses show that the slayer was not required for safety's sake to remain within the walls of the city of refuge, but only within its Levitical boundary; and yet if he went beyond that boundary and was slain, the avenger was not guilty, for the other ought to have remained *in the city*—*i.e.*, within its prescribed boundaries.

Hence it is clear that the word *city* in such a case as Hebron or Kedesh includes a district outside the fortified walls. Why should it not have the same meaning in other cases, and even in the expression, "the city of David"?

Indeed, in the story of Shimei (1 Kings ii. 36, 37) Jerusalem evidently means more than the city within the walls, for Solomon first says to him, "Build thee a house in Jerusalem, and dwell there, and *go not*



forth thence any whither ;” and then adds, “ For it shall be, that on the day thou goest out and *passest over the brook* Kidron, . . . thou shalt know for certain that thou shalt surely die.” Thus the limit imposed was not strictly the circuit of the walls of Jerusalem, but its suburbs, at least in one direction, so far as the Kedron.

(C.) The Hebrew prefix translated in A. V. “ *in*,” is given by Gesenius as also signifying “ *at*”—“ *near*.”

The following passages in which this prefix is in A. V. rendered *in*, seem obviously to require it to be translated “ *near* ” :—

1. Gen. xiii. 18. “ Abraham dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is *in* Hebron.”

Surely not within the city itself, but only near it.

2. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13 (twice). “ Feed their flock *in* Shechem.” This must be equivalent to “ *at* ” or “ *near*.”

3. Josh. xxiv. 32. “ The bones of Joseph buried they *in* Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought.”

Surely the Shechemites would never have sold any of the land in the city to a stranger ; and the story in Genesis shows they did not.

4. Josh. v. 13. “ When Joshua was *by* Jericho.”

This passage happily removes the last shadow of doubt. Here it was impossible for the translators (taking Jericho as = the city within the walls, as in chap. vi. 1, “ Jericho was straitly shut up ”) to render the Hebrew prefix any longer by the word *in*, so that they substituted “ *by*,” since “ *in Jericho* ” was just where Joshua was not.

These examples are enough to show that in certain cases the prefix translated “ *in* ” cannot mean within, but only *at* or *near*; and therefore the oft-repeated phrase rendered in A. V. “ *in the city of David*,” does not of necessity mean *within* the walls of the city, but may equally well mean *near* the city of David.

The prevalent opinion, then, that the sepulchre of David was *within* the city of David, having been founded on the above repeated expression, is thus shown to be based on a misapprehension. The narrow meaning of “ *in* ” (*i.e.*, within) being given to an equivalent having equally the wider signification of “ *at* ” or “ *near*,” has given rise to an “ *ignis fatuus*.”

Therefore the position of the sepulchre of David, whether within or without the walls of the city of David, must be decided on other considerations than this most misleading translation “ *in the city of David*.”

Further, there is strong, if not conclusive, evidence in the Bible that one king said to have been buried *in* the city of David was really buried *outside* the walls. Azariah (or Uzziah) having been smitten with leprosy for his profane attempt to offer incense, was “ a leper unto the day of

his death, and dwelt in a several house. . . . And they buried him with his fathers in the city of David (2 Kings xv. 5-7). In 2 Chron. xxvi. 23 this is explained, and it is more fully stated, that "they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which *belonged* to the kings; for they said he is a leper." The fact of his being a leper was the reason of his being buried in a *separate* rock-cut chamber of his own in the same field (LXX. *πεδίω*) indeed, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

Josephus says (Antiq. ix. 10. 4): "So he abode out of the city for some time, and lived a private life; . . . after which he died with grief . . . and was buried by himself in his own gardens."

If the defilement of leprosy shut out Uzziah for the rest of his life from the city, and when he was dead excluded him from sepulture in the sepulchres of David, we can hardly suppose it would have admitted of his burial within the city walls.

The indirect testimony of Josephus is hardly conclusive either way. From his statements (Ant. vii. 15. 3; xiii. 8. 4; xvi. 7. 1: and Wars i. 2. 5) of the great treasures buried in the tomb of David, it has been urged that the tomb could not have been outside the walls, otherwise it would have been plundered when Jerusalem was besieged by foreign armies. To this there is the unanswerable reply, that if ever such treasures were deposited there it is incredible that they should have been left untouched in the dire extremities to which the kingdom was reduced, as for instance "when Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord." The suggestion that Hyrcanus took the Corban and then invented the story about the treasures found in the tomb of David, or that Herod spread the tale about Hyrcanus to excuse his own entrance into the tomb, seems satisfactorily to explain the statements of Josephus. It is highly probable, however, that the tombs of some of the kings, if not the sepulchral chambers of David and Solomon, had been rifled long before; for in Baruch ii. 24, reference is made to the prophecy of Jeremiah (viii. 1) as already fulfilled. "At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah . . . out of their graves." Still the passage (Ant. xvi. 7. 1) may be worth something as bearing upon the position of the tomb. On the words, "Εἰσερχεται πραγματευσάμενος ἥκιστα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερώς εἶναι," Lewin observes, "He was anxious to elude the observation of those *in the city*, from which the inference arises that the tomb itself lay *without* the city; for if both the palace and tomb were within it, the words *in the city* would have been superfluous."

We now come to the exceedingly *valuable*, but (to most) very *perplexing* testimony of the book of Nehemiah—*valuable*, because it alone gives any indication of the position of David's sepulchre; *perplexing*, because the position indicated has by most authorities been considered as lying outside the walls of the Jerusalem of David's time; and therefore has seemed to clash with the oft-repeated statement "*in the city of David*."

Two passages have to be compared in Nehemiah—

iii. 15, 16, 26.

xii. 37.

*The gate of the fountain*  
repaired Shallum . . . he built it  
. . . and the wall of the pool of  
Siloah by the king's garden, and  
unto the stairs that go down from  
the city of David.

*At the fountain gate,*  
which was over against them, they  
went up by

*the stairs of the city of David,*  
at the going up of the wall,

After him repaired Nehemiah . . .  
unto the place over against the  
sepulchres of David, and to the pool  
that was made, . . .

above the house of David,

(26) Moreover the Nethinims  
(*marg.*) which dwelt in Ophel, (re-  
paired) unto the place over against  
the water gate toward the east.

even unto  
the water gate eastward.

This is not the time to enter upon the difficult question of the course of the wall and position of the gates of Jerusalem as restored by Nehemiah; but it is agreed (universally, I believe) that the description in chap. iii. begins at the north-east and goes round by the west and south, returning at last to the starting-point at the north-east; and that in the procession in chap. xii. the first company proceeds from west by south to east. The pool of Siloah is also admitted to be the pool of Siloam, so considered now, at the south end of the Ophel hill.

Beyond this the case is almost one of "*quot homines, tot sententiae.*" Still since the position of the sepulchre of David is affected by the position of other points named in these passages, reasons are given below (Note A) which seem to me to indicate that—

1. The fountain gate was near the pool of Siloam.
2. The water gate was a gate leading from Ophel to the virgin's fountain, and was near to it.
3. The pool that was made was one lower down the Tyropæon valley (the "*old pool*" on the ordnance map).
4. The stairs of the city of David led down the Ophel hill to near the pool of Siloam.

The remarkable coincidence (in the parallel verses above) will have been observed.

iii. 16.

xii. 37.

"The sepulchre of David" (corresponding to) "the house of David."

If now we take the word "*house*" (it is the former word "*Beth*") in the sense it has been shown to possess by paragraph A, the difficulty about the palace of David vanishes, having all along been based on a misapprehension, and the two passages in Nehemiah, mutually supporting one another, afford us their combined assistance towards fixing the position of the tomb of David.

The order given in Neh. iii. 15 seems to me to show that the stairs

of the city of David could not have descended westwards from Ophel into the Tyropœon valley to a point at all considerably north of the pool of Siloam; for (1st) the procession went up *at* (most probably = *close to*) the fountain gate, and (2nd) it most certainly went up by the stairs, *at* the point where the wall went up, "*at the going up of the wall.*"

Again, as the pool *that was made* seems almost certainly to be the *lower* pool of Siloam, the first company cannot possibly have gone round by the south side of it, because such a course for the wall would not admit of the stairs of the city of David forming a point in the rebuilding of the wall between the *pool of Siloam* and the *pool that was made*.

The city wall may have run round the north side of the pool of Siloam, *i.e.*, of the upper pool, or (less probably) on the south side of it.

If the stairs were close to the wall (which seems probable) then since the company went *above* (= *over*, as in xii. 37, "(from) *above* the gate of Ephraim," &c.) the sepulchre of David, it is rather difficult to understand how the entrance to the tomb could have been otherwise than outside the wall of the city. But if the stairs diverged from the wall, then they might have been said to have gone *over* the house (= tomb) of David, even while the entrance was within the walls. Again, Nehemiah (iii. 16) might probably have been said to have repaired *over against* (= in sight of, or opposite to) the sepulchres of David, whether the entrance was within or without the city, for it is difficult to limit the use of the words "*over against*" exclusively to objects either inside or outside the line of the walls. (See Note B.)

It may be added that, since it seems to have been an especial mark of honour to possess a sepulchre in an elevated situation—as was the case with Shebna's tomb (Isa. xxii. 16), "He that heweth him out a sepulchre on high" (LXX. ἐν ὑψηλῷ), and perhaps with Hezekiah's (2 Chron. xxxii. 33), "They buried him in the *chieftest* (margin, "highest;" LXX. ἐν ἀναβάσει) of the sepulchres of the sons of David"—it seems probable that the entrance to the tomb of David was either cut in the face of a high wall of rock or situated near to the top of the steep point (forty or fifty feet high, Robinson's "Researches") with which the ridge of Ophel ends, just over Siloam. The field of the burial of the kings, 2 Chron. xxvi. 23 (in which Uzziah was buried in his own gardens, probably the same as the garden of Uzzah, 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26), may have been just below in the Tyropœon valley, at the south end of Ophel, the position apparently (Zech. xiv. 10) of the king's winepresses and near the king's garden.

The actual discovery of the tomb of David is more properly the work of the pick than of the pen, but if the argument here attempted be sound, the position of the tomb is brought within very circumscribed limits.

If, therefore, the Ophel wall could be found near the pool of Siloam and traced east or north-east till opposite the lower end of the *pool that was made* (the old pool, O. S.), we must come somewhere to



“*the going up of the wall,*” and then we ought to find cut in the rock on its western side the stairs of the city of David. Ascending these we pass over the tomb of David, while its entrance would seem to be below us, somewhere on the right hand. Captain Warren (“*Recovery of Jerusalem,*” p. 280) speaks of steps existing at Siloam, and states that they lead up towards the Ophel hill.

## NOTE A.

*Fountain Gate.*—It will be allowed by the supporters of all theories that—

1st. *The fountain gate stood somewhere on a line drawn from the south-east brow of the upper city to the pool of Siloam, perhaps passing through a point up the Tyropæon valley and ending close to the pool of Siloam.*

2nd. *The wall of the city, after the rebuilding by Nehemiah, at least approached near to the same pool.*

A wall must certainly have done so in the time of Hezekiah to protect the pool: but that another wall ran across the Ophel hill farther north, to a point opposite to the Virgin’s fountain, seems to me to be a pure supposition; while the crossing of Ophel along such a line would have formed so remarkable a feature in the night journey that its omission in the narrative would be inexplicable. A necessary consequence of this second point seems (to me) to be that we must allow that—

3rd. *The wall of the pool of Siloam* means (as seems natural) the city wall towards the south end of Ophel, close to the pool, and not (as has been suggested as probable) the wall on the distant heights round the lower part of the Tyropæon.

4th. *There was a gate or some kind of outlet from the city close to this spot.*—For (1) if the pool were outside the walls and no access to it existed at this point, whither did the stairs lead? but (2) if the pool were inside the city wall, the weakest point in this part is taken thereby into the line of defences, and with its admission the objection to drawing the city wall from the south-east corner of the upper city to Siloam at once vanishes. Then the fountain gate ceases to be one leading down from the city wall above, having found its natural position close to the fountain of Siloam, and it becomes instead an outlet from the city at the south of Ophel. In placing the fountain gate elsewhere than close to the pool of Siloam, we should have to account for the extraordinary omission of any mention of, or allusion to, a gate near Siloam, even while we are told of the wall being repaired at this point as far as *the stairs that go down from the city of David*. Besides, we should have also to alter our translation of Neh. iii. 37, which is (I think) fairly rendered—“*At the fountain gate, which was over against them, they went up by the stairs.*”

It would seem, therefore, that it is not practicable to avoid placing the fountain gate close to the pool of Siloam, whether we adopt the *curve* round the Tyropæon, or the *line straight* across to Siloam, as the course of the city wall on the south.

*The water gate towards the east.*—It seems to me that *this water gate* was the gate by which women used to go down from Ophel to draw water from the Virgin's fountain. Captain Warren's interesting discovery of the way in which it was rendered practicable to obtain water from this spring without going out of the city, tends to show that there was a need for using this supply; and that therefore it was previously the custom to go outside the city to draw water from this source.

We ought, then, naturally to look for a gate near the Virgin's fountain, and we seem to have such a gate (agreeing both in *name* and *position* with what we want) in that mentioned as *the water gate towards the east*. (The same descriptive expression is used in connection with the *horse gate* farther north in Jer. xxxi. 40, "Unto the corner of the horse gate toward the east.") Obviously there must have been a gate in this position, so that if it was not *the water gate* mentioned in iii. 26, we have one gate (and even two, if we suppose the fountain gate not to be near the pool of Siloam) passed over without any mention or allusion in chap. iii.; for in ver. 7, "the throne of the governor on this side the river" answers, I believe, to *the gate of Ephraim*, the place for administering justice being, of course, at the gate.

No argument against *the water gate* having been a gate in the outer wall seems (to me) to lie in the fact that no mention is made of its having been repaired, since the same silence is observed both in regard to *the horse gate* and *the gate Miphkad* (not to mention the Ephraim gate); and if it be urged that no one of these three was in the outer wall, then we have to explain the astounding circumstance, that there is neither any mention of, nor allusion to, any outer gate in the whole course of the eastern wall—a thing perfectly incredible, while so many particulars are given of the repairing of that wall.

*The pool that was made.*—In case of the water gate being an outer gate near the Virgin's fountain, as seems to me to be proved above, then in default of any evidence of a pool situated farther south in the valley of the Kedron, it follows that *the pool that was made* must be a pool in the *Tyropæon ravine*, somewhere lower down than the pool of Siloam—that is, it must be *the lower pool of Siloam*, marked *Old Pool* (O. Survey), and now indicated by the remains of an embankment across the mouth of the valley.

It seems probable, however, that we must arrive at the same result from other considerations.

In three places (2 Kings xxv. 4, Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7) we are told that Zedekiah escaped by the gate *between the two walls near the king's garden*. Had mention been made only of the *king's garden*, then it might have been that he escaped by a gate near the Virgin's fountain, since the royal gardens were near this spot (see *Quarterly Statement*, No. V., 1870, p. 253, and Jos. Ant. vii. 14. 4). Or had mention been made only of *the two walls*, then he might have escaped on the west side of the city near the valley gate, since certainly in the time of Manasseh there were two walls in this part (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14), though the difficulty of eluding

the Chaldæans would have been vastly increased by quitting the city on its western side. The combined mention, however, of the *king's garden* and *the two walls*, forces upon us the conclusion that Zedekiah escaped down the Tyropæon valley, or at all events through the part of it near the pool of Siloam,

This seems to be the way indicated by Josephus when he says he fled out of the city through the fortified ditch (*καρτερᾶς φάραγγος*, Ant. x. 8. 2).

The LXX. have a remarkable gloss on Jer. lii. 7, for they render between the two walls by *ἀναμέσον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτείχισματος*.

When this is compared with their translation of 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, "(Hezekiah) built up all the *wall* that was broken and raised it up to the towers and (*ἕξω προτείχισμα ἄλλο*) another *wall* without," one is inclined to think that the translators possessed considerable topographical knowledge in this case, and that *προτείχισμα* in both cases represents the same wall. It seems to me reasonable to conclude that the *wall* "without" of *Hezekiah* and that of *Manasseh* (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) were not identical, but that while the latter was on the west side of the city near the valley gate, the former was either (1) built by Hezekiah from near the pool of Siloam (or the south part of the Ophel wall) taking in the pools of Siloam, and reaching to the south-east part of the upper city wall, or (2) was an outer wall built round one or both of the two pools of Siloam of the present day; at any rate round the lower pool, since the upper might previously have been within the walls.

As the *two walls* in the three passages named have undoubtedly to do with some part of the Tyropæon valley, south of the present city wall, it seems only reasonable to consider that they are also referred to in Isa. xxii. 11. "Ye made a ditch (= pool) *between the two walls*." As this took place in the time of Hezekiah, there seems every reason for concluding that the very same pool is referred to in 2 Kings xx. 20, where among the acts of Hezekiah it is stated that he "*made a pool*."

As we are not told of any other pool being specially made, it seems that nothing short of a very strong reason can release us from concluding that *the pool* thus already (apparently twice) mentioned as *being made*, is the identical pool described in Neh. iii. 16 as *the pool that was made*. Thus we arrive at the former result in another way. From this it would seem that the king's pool (Neh. ii. 14) must be the Virgin's fountain, and so identical with Solomon's pool (Jos. Wars, v. 4. 2); while the contracting of the Kedron ravine at this point may have caused the ruins to have completely blocked the way.

*Stairs of the city of David.*—As these are mentioned *after* the fountain gate and the wall of the pool of Siloam, and *before* the pool that was made, it is obvious that they were both near the pool of Siloam, and on the hill of Ophel; while if "*at the fountain gate*" is a correct translation, meaning "close to it," it follows that the foot of the stairs must have been very near not only to the gate but also to the pool of Siloam; because the order in Neh. iii. 15 is the *gate*, the *pool*, and then the *stairs*.

## NOTE B.

Even on the admission (Note A) that the *pool that was made* was in the Tyropœon valley, it might still be urged that the *lower* pool of Siloam was the pool of Siloah, and the *upper* pool of Siloam was the pool made by Hezekiah.

Such a view may possibly be consistent with the LXX. rendering of Neh. xii. 37, Isa. xxii. 11, though the objections to it on other grounds seem to me very strong. If it could be maintained, then the line of the wall and stairs would have to be drawn from the north end of the embankment up the Ophel hill, and the position of the tomb of David altered accordingly.

W. F. BIRCH.

St. Saviour's Rectory, Manchester.

## NOTE ON NOB.

(a) Bearing on page 56, lines 13, 14 from the end, and page 58, last paragraph, is the important passage in Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 18, "In his time Sennacherib came up and sent Rabsaces, and *lifted up his hand against Zion* and boasted proudly" (LXX., καὶ ἀπῆρε (ἐκ Λαχεΐς) καὶ ἐπῆρε χεῖρα).

The words in italics seem only a reproduction of Isaiah x. 32, "As yet shall he remain at Nob that day: *he shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion.*"

Here it has been commonly assumed that the shaking of the hand was to be effected both *at Nob* and also *in sight of Jerusalem*. The writer of Ecclesiasticus, however, the earliest commentator on the passage, evidently takes Isaiah's words to refer to the haughty message of Sennacherib delivered by Rabshakeh (2<sup>d</sup> Kings xviii. 17—xix. 4).

Therefore the shaking of the hand took place not at Nob, but in fact within earshot of Jerusalem—"by [the] conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field," and the condition that "Zion should be visible from Nob" is not required by Isa. x. 32.

(b) I cannot but think that Lieutenant Conder must have fallen into some mistake in saying in his note on page 60 that—

(1) "Ai (et Tell) is not visible from Jeb'a." My observations give et Tell as visible from a point of lower elevation than Jeb'a, about half a mile east of it, and as being a hill to attract attention all the way to Ramah.

Robinson (Researches, vol. ii. p. 113) from Jeb'a saw Deir Diwân; so that the loftier et Tell immediately west of it can hardly be out of sight.

(2) "Jeb'a is hidden by the Hizmeh ridge" (*i.e.*, I suppose from Anathoth). But (*ibid.*, p. 110), "From this point Anâta there was an extensive view. Jeb'a was before us, bearing N. 10 degrees E."

These discrepancies show how sometimes even careful observers may



be mistaken. Accordingly I still hope that some part of the hill of Ramah may prove to be in sight from some part of Jeb'a, perhaps from the old tower, possibly also Almit, as well as the western ridge overlooking L'Isawiye, since Laish might easily have stood higher than the present village.

(c) One reason for identifying Tell el Fûl with Gibeah of Benjamin is that the Levite (Judges xix.) going north from Bethlehem proposed to lodge at Gibeah or Ramah. Josephus (Ant. v. 2. 8) says, that from near Jerusalem he went on twenty stadia and came to Gibeah. Lieut. Conder says the distance to Tell el Fûl is little over twenty-two. The agreement is sufficiently close.

Again, Tell el Fûl may be identified with Gibeah of Saul, for Titus, marching from Gophna (Wars, v. 2. 1), pitched his camp at the valley of thorns, near a village called Gabaoth Saul—*i.e.*, the hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty stadia. The "distant" refers to the valley, not to the village or hill, and even then Josephus, who often speaks in round numbers, only ventures to say *about* thirty stadia. Geba lies quite away from the direct road.

That there should have been two Gibeahs close together, and that both names should have perished, seems more improbable than the identity of Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Saul.

It is allowed that Gibeah may = Geba in 1 Sam. xiv., but that Geba was ever called Geba (or Gibeah) of Benjamin (xiv. 16) is not so clear.

*Errata.*—For visible from, etc. (p. 51), read visible not far from Diospolis or Lydda, in justice to Jerome, whose words are, "*Haud procul ab eâ (i.e., Lyddâ) vidit Nobe.*"

After but (p. 58, line 8) read ?

After S.E. of Geba (*id.*, line 26) read called Goba.

W. F. BIRCH.

---

### NOTE ON KAL'AT JALUD.

IN 1872, I sent home a sketch of the southern chamber of this castle and some notes published in the *Quarterly Statement* for October of that year (see p. 172).

The drafted masonry is of no great size, and the bosses are rustic. On the west wall of the south chamber is a pointed arch, with masonry dressed with a draft, the boss carefully worked; there are five voussoirs to the arch. The piers, which are older than the small modern masonry, have also rustic bosses to the stones. I saw nothing in the two chambers which I visited which could be ascribed to an earlier period than the Crusading Tancred's Tower. The descriptions given in the memoir of the Crusading castles of *'Athlît*, *Kaukab*, and *Kalansâwieh*, built in places where no old ruins of importance are known to have existed before the twelfth century, will, I hope, show clearly that large masonry, three to five or six feet in the length of the stones, was hewn by the

Crusaders, and dressed with a deep draft and a rustic boss quite different from the dressing of the temple stones. The tool marks are often diagonal (as at *Soba*), and the stones used in pointed arches at 'Athlit are of exactly similar character, and must evidently have been quarried by the twelfth century masons.

C. R. C.

---

## THE SITE OF JESHANAH.

(Reprinted from the *Athenæum*, by permission of the Proprietors.)

REHOBOAM, son and successor of Solomon, was powerless against the usurper Jeroboam, who caused the schism of the ten tribes, and established, for his own advantage, the kingdom of Israel. The hands of the king of Judah were too full already with the invasion of the Egyptian Shishak, protector and, perhaps, father-in-law of Jeroboam.

Eighteen years later, Abijah, Rehoboam's son, found himself strong enough to measure arms with his father's enemy. He assumed the offensive, and, at the head of a strong army, invaded Jeroboam's territory, taking up his position in Zemaraim, in Mount Ephraim, north of Jerusalem. Jeroboam, whose forces were double those of his adversary, accepted battle; wishing, however, to take advantage of his superiority in numbers, and to attack Abijah in flank, he divided his forces in two parts, and was completely defeated. Abijah, following up the victory, took possession of three cities, Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron, each "with the towns thereof" (2 Chron. xiii. 19), a fact which assigns them considerable importance. Two of these places are already identified, Bethel with Beitin, Ephron with Ophrah at Taiyibeh. As to Jeshanah, it is classed among the desiderata in Biblical topography.

These three places, whose capture is the immediate result of Abijah's victory, must be very near each other. They formed a strategic group; they were on the confines of Judah and Israel; Bethel marked very nearly the frontier, Jeshanah was probably to the north of that place, and in its neighbourhood; it would, therefore, belong to Ephraim, a fact which explains why it is only mentioned once in the Bible, the list of Ephraim, as every one knows, being omitted from the Book of Joshua.

This granted, I propose to locate Jeshanah at Ain Sînia, about five kilomètres north of Beitin.

The village of Ain Sînia is indubitably an ancient site. Its numerous and abundant springs must very early have attracted residents. A large cemetery is cut in the rock, and on the door of one of the tombs I found an inscription in ancient Hebrew character, in which I traced the name of Hananiah, son of Eleazar.

The name of Sînia, found also in that of the valley where the village stands, corresponds exactly to the Hebrew Jeshanah, generally explained to mean *old*. Geographical names commencing in Hebrew with *je*

generally lose the initial syllable on passing into Arabic, as Jericho=Riha, Jeshimoth=Suweimeh, Jezrael=Zerin, &c.; the Hebrew *shin* becomes an Arabic *sin*, the alteration of *â* into *î* is quite natural in the mobility of Semitic vowels. We thus obtain successive and normal transformations, Jeshânah, Shanah, Sanah, Sînah. From Sînah to Sînia is but a single step, and we have the analogous names of Kebbia, Ain Kefria, Jilgilia, &c.

Topographically and onomastically, Ain Sînia has every right to be accepted for the ancient Jeshânah. It is remarkable that Beitin, Ain Sînia, and Taiyibeh, otherwise Bethel, Jeshânah, and Ephron, form a triangle (its south point represented by Bethel), which must have possessed considerable strategic value, occupying as it does a plateau whence run in different directions the wadys to the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. It is in this triangle that I would place the territory acquired by Abijah with the "benoth," or villages dependent on the three cities, and now represented by ruins or scattered hamlets.

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

---





PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

---

Patron—THE QUEEN.

---

*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1878.

---

LONDON :  
PUBLISHED AT THE  
SOCIETY'S OFFICE, 11 AND 12, CHARING CROSS, S.W.,  
AND BY  
RICHARD BENTLEY & SON, 8, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.



## INDEX.

- Abel Mea and Abel Maula, 21  
 Acra, 185  
 Ai, The Site of, 74, 132, 194  
 Anath, 20  
 Arimathæa, 20  
 Ataroth Adar, 18  
 Beidan, 20  
 Bethabara, 120  
 Bethamari, 20  
 Bethel and Dan, The Calves of, 27  
 Bethphage, The Stone of, 51, 146  
 Bethulia, 18  
 Beth Shearaim, 19  
 Bir Eyûb, 21  
 Bornata, 22  
 Charashim, Valley of, 18  
 Conder's, Lieut., Notes from the Memoir,  
     18, 76  
     ,, ,, Notes on Architecture  
     in Palestine, 29  
 Debir, 121  
 El Heidhemiyeh, 20  
 El Mîneh, 22  
 Elon, 19  
 Etam, The Rock, 116  
 Galilee, Synagogues of, 123  
     ,, Survey of, 159  
     ,, Expedition to Sea of, 176  
 Gaza, Note on, 199  
 General Committee, Meeting of, 108  
 German Association for the Exploration  
     of Palestine, 200  
 Gilgal, 118  
 Gutter, The (Heb. Tzinnor), 184  
 Hinnom, The Valley of, 179  
 Irpeel, 18  
 Itineraries of our Lord, 15, 67, 193  
 Jebel Tôr'an, Panoramic view from, 122  
 Jerusalem, Recent Discoveries at, 78  
 Joshua's Tomb, 22  
 Kefr Kama, 19  
 Kirjath-jearim, The Site of, 114, 196  
 Kitchener's, Lieut., Reports :—  
     (7 and 8) Jerusalem, 10, 11  
 Kitchener's, Lieut., Reports :—  
     ,, (9) Nablus, 14  
     ,, New Photographs, 134  
     ,, Report of, 174  
 Lachish, 19  
 Maccabees, Tombs of the, 74  
 Meiron, Note on the Ancient Synagogue  
     at, 24  
 Midian and its Gold, The Land of, 141  
 Moabite Pottery, The, 41, 88  
 Nain, The Village of, 115  
 Nehhalin, 18  
 Notes and News, 1, 47, 105, 155  
 Palestine, Northern Boundary of, 76  
 Patriarchs, The Tombs of the, 20  
 Rabbah of the Children of Ammon, 189  
 Saiyadeh, 19  
 Scapegoat, The, 118  
 Seir and Jearim, Mounts, 19  
 Sharon, The Rose of, 46, 51  
 Siddim, The Vale of, 18  
 Siloah, Siloam, 187  
 Sion, The Position of, in the fourth,  
     fifth, and sixth centuries, 16  
 Sirah, The Spring of, 121  
 Sisera, The Death of, 115  
 South Kensington, Meeting at, 4  
 St. John, The Penance Mountain of, 20  
 Succoth, 21  
 Succoth and Penuel, 81  
 Surtubeh, 21  
 Survey, Completion of the, 5  
 Survey, Journal of the, 8, 62  
 Sychar of St. John, The, 114  
 Taricheæ, Note on, 79  
     ,, Notes on the Position of, 190  
 Temple, The Veil of the, 79  
 Tent Work in Palestine, 50, 114  
 Virgin's Fountain, 187  
 Wady Kelt, 119  
 Werdeh, 22  
 Yemma, 19  
 Zion, The City of David, 129, 178  
 Zir, 21





THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

\* \* ON and after December 27th, the address of the Fund will be at 11 and 12, Charing Cross, S.W.

---

We were able early in October, immediately after the issue of the *Quarterly Statement*, to announce that the Survey of the *whole* of Western Palestine was completed on the 28th of September, and that Lieut. Kitchener had started from Jerusalem to execute the revision of certain portions of the country. This, too, is now finished, and the materials for completing Map and Memoirs have all arrived in England. Thus the Survey, announced in the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1872, as then commenced, has taken exactly six years to execute. Had it not been for the interruption due to the attack at Safed, it would have been accomplished a year ago.

---

We print at page 5 the letter sent by the Chairman of the Executive Committee to the papers announcing the completion of the Survey.

---

Lieut. Conder's Memoirs steadily progress. His party are now at work in an office placed at the disposal of the Committee by Her Majesty's Government in the South Kensington Museum.

---

The work of the Committee for 1878 will probably consist entirely in the preparation of Map and Memoirs. It is believed that Lieut. Conder will finish his part of the Memoirs early in the spring. Probably Lieut. Kitchener will not require more than a year for the Memoirs of North Palestine, and the hill-shading, observations, and map-drawing will be pushed on as rapidly as possible.

---

The following is the financial position of the Fund (Dec. 12, 1877). Receipts, September 19th to December 12, £874 13s. 9d. Expenditure: Exploration, £485; office and management, £172 17s. 7d. Printers, &c., £190 19s. 7d. The balance in the banks on the latter day was £230 16s.

---

The maintenance of a large staff of engineers, with the current expense of printing our reports, &c., requires an expenditure of over £200 a month; there are debts to pay amounting to about £600, and it will be most desirable to have a fund in hand for future work. Will subscribers remember *that the earlier their subscriptions are paid in the better it is for the Committee?* It would be, indeed, best that all subscriptions should date from the beginning of the year, but this point is only suggested, as it has always been the practice in the Fund for subscribers to choose their own time.

Lieut. Kitchener writes with regard to Jacob's Well:—"When passing Nablus, on my way to Jerusalem, I paid a visit to Jacob's Well. As it was late when I arrived, and I was obliged to leave early next morning, I had not much time to examine the well very thoroughly. The well is situated in an almost square enclosure, which measures 192 ft. by 151 ft.; the wall of this enclosure is almost entirely destroyed; in many cases it is completely levelled with the ground; the ground contained by this enclosure is completely covered with shapeless ruins, forming a large mound. The well is situated in a vaulted chamber, the entrance being through a broken portion of the roof of the vault, with about 7 ft. drop on the inside. Above this vault there is about 3 ft. to 6 ft. of rubbish accumulated. The entrance to the well itself was closed by large stones."

The shield of Hamseh has been taken down from the mosque by the Pasha, and is now in the serail. It was said that a brass plate was found in the Haram bearing the arms of the twelve tribes of Israel, and there was some excitement amongst the Jews. It appears to have been the cover of a baptismal font or of some vessel, and is made of bronze containing a great deal of silver. The work appears to Lieut. Kitchener to be Italian, of the twelfth century; the shield was cast.

Outside the Damascus gate an inscription has been found in a tomb west of Jeremiah's grotto and near the probable site of St. Stephen's Church; it is in one line on a slab of stone 4 ft. by 2 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., and runs as follows:—

+ ΘΗΚΗΧΔΙΑΦΕΡΣC

Lieut. Conder reports that he has obtained from Jacob Shellaby, now in London, some interesting information on Samaritan traditions. He states that the Samaritans believe the Cave of Makkedah to be a certain cavern now blocked up on the side of Gerizim, between the place of sacrifice and the road leading down to Râs el 'Ain.

At 'Awertah are not only the tombs of Eleazar and Phinehas, but also of Ithamar and Abishuah (supposed author of the famous Samaritan Roll), close to the tomb of Eleasar. At Kefr Hâris, south of Shechem, they believe Joshua, of Nun, and Caleb, son of Jephunneh, to be buried. Joshua died in 'Awertah, which agrees with the account in the Samaritan book of Joshua.

Lieut. Conder also reports as follows on the nomenclature:—"During the months of August and September Mr. S. Bergheim, of Jerusalem, was in London. Being the owner of 5,000 acres of land at Abu Shûsheh, he has lived there many years, and knows thoroughly the peculiar dialect of the peasantry. I was glad to submit to him, therefore, the translation of the nomenclature, on which he pronounced a very favourable opinion, and also gave me the local meaning attached to a variety of curious words, and special information as to the neighbourhood of Abu Shusheh, and as to many places in Jerusalem. It must be borne in mind that the peasant dialect proves to be much nearer to Aramaic (which Jerome says was the native language in his time) than to modern literary Arabic, and the criticism of persons who are familiar with this dialect is thus of the highest value. The natives of the great towns are often quite at a loss to understand the peasants, and ignorant entirely of the meaning of many words which they use commonly.

Lieut. Conder proposes (see p. 46) that the Rose of Sharon, (the meaning of which has never been certainly determined, is probably the Narcissus, a plant which grows freely in spring in the Plain of Sharon.

A letter from the German Consul at Jerusalem, Baron Von Munchausen, which we reproduce from the *Athoræum*, describes a visit to Moab, in which he found certain vases and idols resembling the "Moabite" antiquities sold by

Mr. Shapira to the German Government. We publish this letter, with Mr. Shapira's notes, and Professor Neubauer's reply, in continuation of the arguments for and against the genuineness of this collection which have already appeared in these pages.

---

Lieut. Conder is engaged on a work entitled "Tent-work in Palestine," in which he will give an account of his work, its progress, its difficulties, and some of its results. The book, which will be published for the Committee by Messrs. Bentley and Son, will be in two volumes at 24s. But a large reduction will be made for subscribers. As in the case of other writers, the Committee leave Lieut. Conder to express his own conclusions, without in any way sanctioning or adopting them.

---

Several cases were discovered in 1876, and one or two last year, of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

---

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs. :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire : Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. J. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales : Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire and Durham : Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh : Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

---

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letters asking for them must be sent to the office at 9, Pall Mall East only.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be published in April, as, owing to the early publication of this *Statement*, it could not be prepared in time.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

## MEETING AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

ON Monday evening, November 12th, a meeting on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Vestry Hall, Kensington, the Vicar presiding. The hall was densely crowded by an attentive and enthusiastic audience, and a large number of persons were unable to obtain admission. On the platform were the Rev. Dr. Hessey, Rev. Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., Mr. J. MacGregor, M.A., Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Rev. H. Coeks, Dr. Raleigh, Mr. S. C. Hall, Rev. S. Sabunjee, D.D., of Beyrout, Rev. G. Wingate, M.A., Rev. R. Macbeth, Mr. T. Fordham, Lieutenant C. R. Conder, R.E., Dr. Grove, Mr. Edmond Beales, M.A., Mr. Walter Besant, Dr. Dudfield, Rev. J. S. Russell, M.A., Mr. H. Wright, J.P., Rev. C. T. Ackland, Mr. Hugh Matheson, and other gentlemen. The Rev. Horrocks Coeks having stated that letters from the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., Mr. J. A. Froude, M.A., the Bishop of Sydney, Sir Trevor Lawrence, M.P., Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon, Rev. Dr. Forrest, Major Wilson, Hon. Captain Maude, R.N., Lord Kensington, M.P., and several other gentlemen, had been received, all cordially approving of the object of the meeting, the Vicar, after a short but suggestive address, called upon Mr. George Grove, founder of the Fund, to address the meeting. Mr. Grove, in a most lucid address, explained the origin and purposes of the Exploration Fund. Mr. John MacGregor (Rob Roy) gave a description of the size of the Holy Land, and taking Hyde Park as representing Jerusalem, gave the relative positions of the Temple, the Mount of Olives, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, the Sea of Galilee, and other localities. Mr. MacGregor said that the outline was but a rough one, but it was suggestive. Thus modern Jerusalem might be supposed to occupy that part of



Hyde Park to the east bounded by the Serpentine. The site of the Temple—Mount Moriah—the space north of the Achilles statue, and Zion—the Dairy. Gethsemane would be located at Grosvenor Square, and the Pool of Bethesda at Grosvenor Gate, while the Pool of Siloam would be Buckingham Palace Gardens water, and the brook Kedron Park Lane. The Holy Sepulchre would be on the site of the Barracks, and Herod's Palace on the house of the Royal Humane Society. The Guards' House at the bridge represented the Jaffa Gate, and the Mount of Olives—2,700 feet above the sea level—would be in Bond Street. The upper pool of Gihon would be at the Round Pond in Kensington Gardens, and the Damascus Gate would be represented by Victoria Gate. Petersburg-place, Bayswater, would be the site of the Russian Convent, and Rachel's Tomb would be close to Chelsea Bridge. Bethlehem would be on Wandsworth Common; Hebron at Redhill; the Dead Sea—1,300 feet below the sea level—at Erith; Carmel at Leicester; Nazareth at Peterborough; and Mount Hebron at the mouth of the Humber; while the Sea of Galilee would be in the Fens of Norfolk, near Stoke, and the Mediterranean at Great Marlow. Dr. Gladstone followed in an earnest and admirable speech, and he was followed by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., who, in a most interesting and instructive address, gave an outline of some of his discoveries in the Holy Land. Lieutenant Conder was followed by the Rev. Dr. Stoughton, the Rev. Horrocks Cocks, and the Vicar.

The following is the first list of subscriptions and donations, some given in the room, and some following after the meeting:—

|                              |     |   |   |                               |    |    |   |
|------------------------------|-----|---|---|-------------------------------|----|----|---|
| The Vicar of Kensington ...  | £10 | 0 | 0 | Rev. C. T. Ackland.....       | £1 | 1  | 0 |
| Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S. ....   | 10  | 0 | 0 | Rev. N. L. Blewitt.....       | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Lord Lawrence, G.C.B. ...    | 5   | 0 | 0 | Gisborn Molineux, Esq.....    | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Lord Kensington .....        | 5   | 0 | 0 | Mr. Lyon .....                | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| H. Wright, Esq., J.P. ....   | 5   | 0 | 0 | Mr. Walter T. Lyon .....      | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Miss E. Hockley .....        | 5   | 0 | 0 | Mr. Reuben Green .....        | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Miss Mary Hockley .....      | 5   | 0 | 0 | Mr. C. R. Stanham.....        | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Mrs. Deane Browne .....      | 5   | 0 | 0 | Mr. W. N. Froy .....          | 1  | 1  | 0 |
| Rev. C. D. Reade, M.A. ...   | 2   | 2 | 0 | Mr. E. M. Courtney .....      | 1  | 0  | 0 |
| Rev. Francis Hessey, D.C.L.  | 1   | 1 | 0 | Miss Browne.....              | 0  | 10 | 6 |
| Rev. R. W. Forrest, D.D.     | 1   | 1 | 0 | Mr. W. Wright .....           | 0  | 10 | 6 |
| Hon. Capt. Maude, R.N....    | 1   | 1 | 0 | Mr. Webb.....                 | 0  | 10 | 6 |
| Edmond Beales, Esq., M.A.    | 1   | 1 | 0 | Small sums .....              | 0  | 14 | 6 |
| Capt. Obert .....            | 1   | 1 | 0 | Collection at Vestry Hall ... | 24 | 3  | 6 |
| S. C. Hall, Esq., F.S.A. ... | 1   | 1 | 0 |                               |    |    |   |

## COMPLETION OF THE SURVEY.

THE following letter appeared in the morning papers of October 5th, 1877:—

### “ PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND,

“ 9, Pall Mall East, Oct. 3.

“ SIR,—I have great pleasure, in the name of the Committee of this Fund, to inform you that a telegram has this day been received from

Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., the officer in command, announcing the completion of the scientific Survey of Western Palestine. When that officer took out the party in January last there remained to be done about 1,000 square miles of Northern Palestine, including the greater portion of the province of Galilee, and 200 miles in the south, between Gaza and Beersheba. The northern piece of country, begun on the 27th of February last, was finished on July the 10th. The whole of this portion of the work, including the map in sheets, the hill-shading, and the special plans, was put together in the Lebanon, and sent home by one of the noncommissioned officers. It is now under the charge of Lieutenant Conder at the Society's working office in the South Kensington Museum. After a short rest the expedition proceeded to the south and completed the small portion there waiting to be surveyed. Lieutenant Kitchener is now riding over the district already surveyed in order to clear up on the spot certain small difficulties which have arisen in laying down the work at home. We expect the party back in England before the end of the year. The Committee, in making this gratifying announcement, must express their sense of the zeal, ability, and vigour with which their work has been conducted by the officers of Royal Engineers placed at their disposal by her Majesty's Government during the last twelve years, including the names of Major Wilson and Captain Anderson, the first officers sent out by the Society, and that of Captain Warren, the excavator of Jerusalem. With the exception of fifteen months in 1875-76 spent in office work, the Survey has been in active progress since its commencement in January, 1872. Its history, which remains to be written, and which we hope to present to the world before long, abounds in records of events, adventures, and escapes, as well as of solid and uninterrupted labour. At the very beginning success was threatened by the illness which compelled the officer who began the Survey, Captain Stewart, to return to England. His place was taken and the Survey carried on by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake until the arrival of Lieut. Conder. In the third year of the Survey Mr. Drake fell a victim to the climate, exposure, and hard work. After his death Lieutenant Kitchener went out to join the party as second in command. In the fourth year, July 1875, occurred the attack on the expedition at Safed, after which the party came home and remained in England during the necessary office work until last January, when Lieutenant Kitchener went out again to complete the task now happily accomplished. We now hold in our hands the materials of a map which will give the world such a geography of Palestine as will make the topography of the Bible for the first time completely intelligible. The map will consist of twenty-six sheets, each to be accompanied by its own memoir. These memoirs contain some thousands of names, very many of them of Biblical places heretofore not identified, together with many of those found in Talmudic, early Christian, and Crusading histories. There are special detailed plans of the most important ruins, and there is a vast mass of information on Biblical subjects which Lieutenant Conder is now reducing to

shape. As regards the future of the Society we have, as our first duty, to get our observations worked out, the map-drawing and hill-shading completed, and the memoirs finished. We are confident that the support which has enabled us to complete our Survey will be continued until the map and the results of the exploration are placed in the hands of the public in an available form.

“ I remain, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ W. HEPWORTH DIXON,

“ *Chairman of the Executive Committee.*”

---

The following correspondence has passed between the Chairman of the Executive Committee and H.E. Musurus Pasha:—

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND,

9, Pall Mall East, Nov. 1, 1877.

Sir,—I have the honour, in the name of the Committee of this Society, to inform your Excellency that the Survey of Western Palestine is now completed, and that the Committee have in their hands material for the construction of an accurate map, on the scale of one inch to a mile, of the whole of that country.

The success of this important work has been much aided by the liberal and generous way in which it has been regarded from the outset by the Imperial Ottoman Government and by the Pashas and Governors of the districts over which the work was carried. The Committee desire to express to your Excellency their sense of the assistance thus afforded. The duty further devolves upon me of conveying to you the best thanks of the Committee for your personal intervention on more than one occasion in favour of our work.

We believe that we shall have the map ready for publication in the course of the next year, when I hope to have the honour of forwarding one of the earliest copies to your Excellency for the use of the Imperial Ottoman Government.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient servant,

W. HEPWORTH DIXON,

*Chairman Executive Committee.*

---

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN EMBASSY,

London, Nov. 3, 1877.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which you are good enough to express the thanks of the Palestine Exploration Committee for the assistance afforded by the authorities of the Imperial Government in the Survey of Western Palestine.

In thanking you for your kind intention of sending me a copy of the

map for the use of the Imperial Government, I beg to say that I shall have much pleasure in communicating your above-mentioned letter to my Government, who will, I am sure, share the satisfaction I experience at having in any way contributed to the success of the efforts of your Committee.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

MUSURUS.

## JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY.

THE following are extracts from Lieut. Kitchener's letters to the Committee:

*Jerusalem, Oct. 2, 1877.*—I am sure you will be glad to hear that the map is an accomplished fact, and six years' work has been finished. We wound up at Beersheba on the 28th of September, much quicker than I expected, though the work in the south was 340 square miles instead of 200. The fact is we had to work hard; the water was so bad, being salt, and the colour of weak tea, and our bread all went mouldy. The country we have been in is only inhabited by Arabs, who have been at war amongst themselves for the last three years. They said no Europeans had ever been in this part of the country before, which I can believe from the very bad state of all existing maps of the district. You will see by my report the details of our campaign and the discovery of Ziklag. Everybody was very full of the danger of going to Beersheba, but I found no Arabs within five hours of the place. In fact, every one is so afraid that no one goes there. I had some difficulty in getting rid of the expensive escorts the Kaimacam of Gaza wanted to impose upon me, but at last we started with only our own party. The Kaimacam did it out of civility, and really was afraid of us. We got back here at the end of the month, a week earlier than I had calculated upon. I now have a full fortnight of office work, and will then send you home the results, keeping duplicates; we shall then take up the revision, which I expect will take some time. I cannot say how long it will take me till I get it well in hand; I will then send you an estimate. Expenses were high among the Arabs, and I had a great deal of travelling, but I still keep on the right side of the estimate. From Beersheba I had to take my camels by force, as those that brought us wished to desert and leave us there, in which case we might be there now.

The most important revision work is about Nablus, and I hope to do Jacob's Well up at the same time. The party are all well, none the worse for the roughing it. The news in the country is of the murder of a young Englishman named Gale, who started from Nazareth to walk to Haifa, and was not afterwards heard of. His remains have since been found. I knew him at Haifa, and am extremely shocked and dis-



tressed at his sad end. Mr. Moore is going up to hold an official inquiry. Here everything is quiet, and people hope for travellers to bring a little cash. There is a good deal of distress, as the year has been very bad, harvest failing entirely, and all the men taken for the war. A committee have started subscriptions for the poor families of redifs. The country seems quite safe for travellers. If any one asks you, I believe myself safer than before the war, as there are so few young men in the country; extra precautions are now necessary against thieves, as deserters are hidden about in all the hills, caves, &c., and make raids in the night-time. I am not sure whether I told you before of an expedition that was made to Moab to verify the Shapira pottery. It was sent by the German Government, and the consul here, Baron Von Munchausen, went as the principal commissioner.

*Jerusalem*, Oct. 11.—I have little or no news to tell you. The thermometer has been at 102 deg. in shade at noon every morning for the last week. I am in treaty with the Patriarch about Jacob's Well. If I build up the wall, repair the well, &c., I want him to build a small lodge and undertake to keep a guardian to preserve the site. His Beatitude, as they call him here, has referred the matter to the synod, and will give me an answer in a few days. Of course I give up all claim to the promised site for the Protestant Church.

*Jerusalem*, Oct. 15.—To-morrow I start for the north, and work the revision back, doing Jacob's Well *en route*. The Greek Patriarch has delayed me two days in negotiating about the well. I told you in my last he had refused. I saw him next morning early, and put it clearly before him that a refusal, after having promised to allow the work, would cause a very bad impression in England. After considerable talk he promised to see the synod again on the subject, and Monday afternoon called upon me. I was unfortunately out revising; however, this morning, by his desire, I attended a service in the H. S. Church, and afterwards saw him at the Patriarchate. It was his *fête* day, and he held a reception of all the Greek community. I was treated with the greatest civility, chair and carpet in the church, and a seat next Patriarch above all the bishops in reception. He then showed me a French document declaring I had no claim on the site, and that Protestant Church had none, that no work could be done without his permission. This I agreed to, but stipulated if I put a wall round the site and a gate, that all Christians should have a right and facility of entrance. This was at once agreed to. He then said they had no money to build the chamber for the guardian, as I had asked him to do, and that the key should be kept till he could do so at the Greek convent in Nablus. I objected, and said in that case I would buy the gate, but not put it up till the guardian's chamber was ready. At last we came to the decision that the key should be kept in the village close by, within a stone's-throw, and that a notice in English of where it was to be procured should be put on the gate, and notice of any change should be given to the English Consul. I hope these arrangements will meet

with the approval of the Committee. All discoveries of antiquities, &c., are to be handed over to Greek Patriarch by agreement. Corporal Brophy is ill, but will be well enough to start to-morrow, I hope. I have seen the German Consul about his visit to Moab. The Baron was extremely civil and obliging in giving me a detailed account of his expedition. The question seems, however, still an open one as to the genuineness of the pottery. A curious point was on a cave they dug open; there was vegetation on the earth and rocks that had to be removed to effect an entrance. They found a broken idol and some pots inside.

*Nablus*, Nov. 4.—I have just received the October *Quarterly*, and wish to notice a mistake in punctuation which makes my description of Malia nonsense. It is on p. 177. Will you alter it thus:

“A modern Christian village now occupies this site. It is situated on a narrow top, forming the south-east corner of the ranges of hills coming from the north and west, from which it is slightly detached by small valleys. A steep descent on the south leads to a broad valley.”

I was very much gratified at the way the Committee mentioned my work at the General Meeting.

I hope, if we are not further delayed by wet weather, to finish up by the end of November. The revision has been the hardest work I have done yet, and not at all the pleasant trip it has been described to be.

*Beit Ur el Tahtâ*, Nov. 10.—We are getting on very well with the revision. I have discovered Ai, I think—Khurbet Haiy; I do not think any one has found it before, but am not sure. It is one mile east of Michmach. I think all the sites proposed hitherto for Ai have been west of Michmach.

---

## LIEUT. KITCHENER'S REPORTS.

### VII.

JERUSALEM, 7th September, 1877.

THE work of this month has been entirely office work and travelling. In order to send home the map of the north everything had to be made in duplicate for fear of loss on the journey. Early in the month I took a short trip in the Lebanon, leaving the non-commissioned officers at work at Aleih. I first visited Mr. Jago at Bludan, and then rode round by Baalbek, the Cedars, and Nahr el Kelb, back to Aleih. This route is so well known that a description of it would be superfluous. On my return I found the resolution of the Committee, recalling one of my non-commissioned officers with the map. I selected Sergeant Malings to go, as he had been suffering from fever for some time, and he left by the Austrian steamer of the 23rd with all the originals of the map complete. A duplicate of everything has been kept in this country. On the 24th I started from Aleih for Jerusalem. Our first day was to Sidon.

We suffered considerably from the heat. For over ten years so hot a day has not been known in the country. At midday I got a slight sunstroke, and I did not get into camp at Sidon till 1.30 a.m. Everybody was much exhausted, and my dogs nearly died, though they were carried all the way. At Aleih the thermometer stood at ninety-three degrees in the shade, and at Nazareth at 114 degrees. Next day we started at six p.m., and travelled by moonlight, which was much more pleasant. In the next three days we camped at Râs el 'Ain, Acre, and at Nazareth. At Acre I saw H.E. the Pasha, who was very polite and obliging. I stayed two days at Nazareth to rest the animals, and then left for Jenin. On the way I paid a visit to the sheikh of the Beni Sakr—his camp was close to Solan. The tribe have come from the other side of Jordan, and now occupy the country between Beisan and Tiberias; their large troops of camels are seen grazing over the plain of Esdraelon. The fellahin have to take up whatever crops remain on the ground before they are ripe, or have it eaten by them. Fendy el Feis is the chief sheikh of the tribe, and can muster 4,500 spears in case of necessity. His tent was much longer than any of the others. The sheikh is a very fine old man, and was better dressed and cleaner than the others. We received Arab hospitality, in the shape of excellent coffee, preserved dates, &c. The sheikh showed us his sword, a Damascus blade kept with great care, also a coat of mail, which probably dated from early Saracenic times. They had none of their trained falcons with them, having left them all on the other side of Jordan. The sheikh said he would be very glad to help us if we came to make a map of his part of the country. Next day we arrived at Nablus, and I visited Jacob's Well, about which I send you a few separate notes. The day after, the 2nd September, I rode into Jerusalem. The mules had to make two days of this journey, so we put up in the hotel for one night.

I hope soon to be able to start for the southern portion of the Survey. The country is now quiet in that direction for the first time for three years. I send you some special notes on recent discoveries at Jerusalem.

### VIII.

#### CAMP AT JERUSALEM, *October 2nd, 1877.*

I am glad to be able to report that the work of this month has finished the map of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba. There remains only the revision of the earlier portion of the map, and when that is completed all the data necessary for the publication of the map will be safely in England.

On the 12th September we left Jerusalem with the object of surveying the desert between Gaza and Beersheba. Our first day's march was to Hebron, where I attached two soldiers to the expedition. The acting kaimacam replied to my request for the soldiers that two were quite insufficient. However, on my asking for his reply in writing to submit to the pacha, the soldiers were immediately forthcoming. I found out

here that the next village I was going to, Dhoheriyeh, was entirely deserted. Owing to the bad year, the inhabitants were not able to pay taxes, and found it better to desert their homes. There is also a great want of water in the country.

I therefore changed my plans, and marched to Beit Jibrin. Here we found barley and provisions very dear, owing to the bad harvest. I could learn little or nothing about the country I was going to, as the fellahin and Arabs have always a feud with each other, and neither dare venture into the other's territory. However, I found out that there was water at Tell el Hesy, and determined to find my way there. Next day we marched to Tell el Hesy, and encamped there. We were now entirely in the Arab country, having left all villages some hours behind us. The principal sheikh of the Jubarât Arabs, Sheikh 'Aid ed Dibs, came, and was very civil, promising all sorts of assistance. The Arabs were naturally extremely astonished to see us, as no travellers had ever been in their country before. I found it was necessary to establish an Arab guard on the tents, as the Taiyâhah Arabs make frequent raids in this part, and by this means Sheikh 'Aid ed Dibs was made to a certain extent responsible for anything that might be stolen.

The whole country was as bare as a freshly-ploughed field, and, far from being a dead level, as shown on existing maps, not a tree or house to be seen in the wide prospect of rolling ground. In the spring, however, all this country is green with barley. Last year the crops entirely failed. We had luckily come to the only place with water for many miles round, and here it was very brackish, and the colour of weak tea.

On Saturday, the 15th, we started the triangulation, and were able to finish in one day after observing from three points. On Monday the surveying commenced. Our Arab guides were a cause of some difficulty, as they were afraid of going far south, and were most exorbitant in their demands for backsheesh. Luckily it is Ramadan, the month in which the Moslems are not allowed to eat or drink while the sun is up, so that we escaped being obliged to feed a large number of visitors.

All the week the work went on steadily. Coming back from the south, or enemy's country, in the evening, we often scared the Arabs with their flocks of camels, and once Corporal Brophy was charged by an Arab with a spear to within a few inches of his face.

Our principal discovery was the ruins of Ziklag, which still bears the name of Khûrbet Zuheilikhah. Lieutenant Conder first heard the name, and suggested the identification. The ruins occur on three small hills in the form of an equilateral triangle, nearly half a mile apart. The highest hill of the three is to the north, and forms the apex of the triangle. There are a number of ancient ruined cisterns at the ruins, but, as in almost every case in this part of the country, the stones have all been removed, the sites ploughed over, and they are only visible now by the white patches on the dark soil, which show well even at a distance at this time of year, though in the spring they are completely



hid by the crops. The site is in the open rolling plain, some distance from the low hills of the Shefalah. It is 11 miles distant from Gaza, on a line bearing 25 degrees south of east, and is 19 miles south-west of Beit Jibrin.

Three miles south of Khûrbet Zuheilikh runs the broad Wâdy Bashkhal, or Wâdy Sheri'ah (both names are used for it by the Arabs). This may be the brook Besor mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx., where the 200 faint and weary stayed from following David in his pursuit of the Amalekites. South of this is the country of the Azzazimeh Arabs, the modern representatives of the Amalekites, and even now continual raids are made across the wâdy into the northern country, from which they carry off all they can lay hands on. One hundred and sixty government soldiers are now stationed on the wâdy to prevent these incursions. It is evident that this portion of the country is in a very similar state to what it was in the time of David, when this wâdy probably formed the boundary of the kingdom of Gath.

Another fine ruin, Khûrbet Zebâlah, five miles east of Khûrbet Zuheilikh, appears to me as likely to represent Baalah or Balah of the list in Josh. xv. It is a large and important ruin on the banks of a wâdy, with many cisterns and an ancient well.

On Monday, the 24th, camp was moved to Kuweilfeh, where there is a fine well of water. Our Arab friends, though very strong in their protestations that they could not let us go to Bir es Seba alone, at the last moment shirked off, and would not come, which I was not sorry for.

We had one hard day's work amongst the low hills of the Shefalah, which are studded with large ruins, principally of early Christian times, judging from the remains of churches found at them. Kuweilfeh itself is a large and important ruin commanding a pass through which the main road leads from the hills to the plain. A large partially artificial plateau was probably the site of some important fortress, of which there are now no traces except cisterns. The valley down to the well shows many traces of ruined buildings.

Three quarters of a mile south of Kuweilfeh is another important ruin, Khûrbet Umm er Remâmin, which has been identified with Rimmon. Here there are foundations of many buildings. On the top of the hill there are the foundations of an important square building of large well-dressed stones, and lower down there are the bases of three columns *in situ*, which probably belonged to a church, though without excavations it is impossible to say exactly. There are numbers of caves and rock-cut cisterns at all these ruins.

On the 26th we moved camp to Bir es Seba. We had been warned of some danger from the Arabs in this part, but found the country entirely deserted. The fact being that this portion of the country is equally feared by both tribes, therefore neither dare venture into it except for raids. We had considerable difficulty about the names, and I am convinced that in less troubled times more might be collected in this part.

From this camp we finished the map commenced almost exactly six years ago.

Our journey back was rapid, owing to all our bread having gone mouldy and our provisions run short. Our first day took us to Dura on the road. At the wells near El Burg some fellahin were watering their flocks of goats. Seeing a mounted party arriving from the Bedouin country, they raised a shout of "Bedouins!" Away went the goats at a gallop up the hills. This we were used to, and rode on trying to reassure them by shouting "Soldiers!" when about fifteen men ran together behind some stone walls, and after gesticulating frantically, opened fire upon us. The balls whistled by and threw up the dust under our horses' feet, so we pulled up, and after some difficulty succeeded in making them understand who we were. After all, we ran more danger from our friends than from the much-dreaded Arabs. At Dura some boys threw stones at Corporal Sutherland, so I had them publicly flogged.

Next day, Saturday, we marched into Jerusalem, our horses rather done up by their hard work. Our tents and camels did not arrive till after dark. We shall now have about a fortnight's work preparing everything in duplicate. I will then send home the last portion of the map and take up the work of the revision.

The amount surveyed was 340 square miles, making a total since we have been out of 1,340 square miles.

One hundred and four ruins have been examined and mapped in this latter portion of the Survey.

## IX.

NABLUS, 1st November, 1877.

The early portion of the month of October was taken up in preparing the last 340 square miles of the map to go home; this was done at Jerusalem; some revision of the country round was also completed. Arrangements were also made with His Grace the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, granting me full permission to repair Jacob's Well.

On the 17th I marched north to Zerín, revising on the road. My camps were Khân Lebban, Jeb'a, Zerín.

From Zerín I sent an expedition to Tiberias to inquire after the name Sinn en Nabiâ, which I had heard still existed on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The name was found to be well known, and applies to the ruins west of the road at Kerak. A description of this site was given in my report on the Sea of Galilee.

On the 23rd the revision of the country round Zerín was complete, and camp was moved to Nablus, where I intended to repair Jacob's Well. Unfortunately, owing to the bad government here, that design has been frustrated; when the matter is settled I will forward a special report on what has occurred.

A special plan has been made of Samaria, and another of the church there; also one of the town of Nablus.

The revision of the country round is almost completed.

The weather has been very bad—heavy storms of wind and rain; two days have been lost by wet weather.

The country is, in my opinion, now in a more dangerous state than it has been any time this year. I attribute it to the elation felt by Moham-medans at having been able to beat so large a Christian power as Russia.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

## ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.

ST. AIDAN'S COLLEGE, Nov. 1877.

IN the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1877, Mr. Hepworth Dixon invited attention to this subject. Having studied it carefully myself, I shall be glad to lay the results before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, and hope it may call forth further information.

Our Lord's ministry lasted, in all probability, three years and a half. In this opinion, and in my succeeding statements, I follow Robinson's *Harmony*, a cheap edition of which has been published in English by the Religious Tract Society, and forms an excellent manual for studying the subject. We may divide the three years and a half into three periods, reckoning by the Passovers which occurred during our Lord's ministry. The first period will be eighteen months, the second a year, the last also a year. In the first period our Lord's Itinerary would be, so far as the places are mentioned in the gospels: 1, Bethabara to the wilderness; 2, to Cana of Galilee; 3, to Capernaum; 4, to Jerusalem for the first passover; 5, to the Jordan; 6, to Sychar; 7, to Cana of Galilee the second time; 8, to Nazareth; 9, to Capernaum, which became our Lord's headquarters in Galilee, and from which He made various excursions, of which no details are given; 10, to Jerusalem again for the Passover. It should be noted here that instead of Bethabara which appears in our Bibles as the place of Christ's baptism, the best manuscripts read Bethany in John i. 28.

In the second period the Itinerary would begin again at Jerusalem and go (2) to Capernaum; (3) to the Mount of Beatitudes; (4) back to Capernaum; (5) to Nain; (6) back to Capernaum, from which our Lord made a circuit through Galilee, and returned to the Sea of Galilee, where He preached from the ship; (7) to Gadara; (8) back to Capernaum; (9) to Nazareth the second time; (10) back to Capernaum, from which He made another circuit in Galilee; (11) to Bethsaida east or north-east of the lake; (12) to Capernaum, when He walked on the sea.

This ends the second period. Our Lord did not go up for the Passover that year (John vii. 1), but He went up to the Feast of Tabernacles six months later. The third period, therefore, begins at Capernaum in the spring. From Capernaum He went (1) to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon; (2) to Decapolis; (3) to Magdala and Dalmanutha across the lake; (4) to Bethsaida; (5) to Cesarea Philippi; (6) to the Mount of Transfiguration,

probably Hermon, and not Tabor as generally supposed; (7) to Capernaum for the last time; (8) to Bethany; (9) to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles; (10) to Bethany again; (11) to Jerusalem to the Feast of the Dedication in winter; (12) to Bethabara (or Bethany beyond Jordan), where He was baptized; (13) to Bethany to raise Lazarus; (14) to Ephraim; (15) through Peræa; (16) to Jericho; (17) to Bethphage and Bethany; (18) to Jerusalem for the last Passover.

These Itineraries, though partly conjectural as to the exact order, are in the main features, and in the names of the places, clear and certain. They are also of the deepest interest, yet, as Mr. Hepworth Dixon has observed, no special and continuous study has been given to the subject. I have never seen maps drawn to illustrate these Itineraries, except what I have drawn myself.

I should like also to add a supplement to a letter of Lieutenant Conder in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1876. He there gives a list of twenty-two names which he says "almost, if not entirely, exhausts the topography of the New Testament" as regards Palestine. Yet he has omitted the following: (1) Arimathea; (2) Azotus; (3) Bethphage; (4) Dalmanutha; (5) Gadara; (6) Gergesa; (7) Joppa; (8) Lydda; (9) Magdala. We should observe that instead of Magdala in Matt. xv. 39 the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. read Magadan; also that the name Peræa, which does not appear anywhere in the common text, is given in Luke vi. 17 in the Sinaitic MS.

J. T. KINGSMILL.

### THE POSITIONS OF SION IN THE FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

THE following extracts, taken from Tobler's "*Palæstinæ Descriptiones ex Sæculo, IV., V., et VI.,*" contain what bears upon the position of Sion in the accounts of travellers of that period. They are given here without note or translation for the use of those interested in the determination of this question.

1. The first is from the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333). After describing the site and condition of the Temple, he says:—

"Item exeunti Hierusalem ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistra et deorsum in valle, juxta murum, est piscina quæ dicitur Siloa et habet quadriporticum et alia piscina grandis foras. . . .

Inde eadem viâ ascenditur Sion, et paret ubi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autem, intra murum Sion, paret locus, ubi palatium habuit David. . . .

Inde ut eas foras murum de Sion eunti ad portam neapolitanam ad partem dexteram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive prætorium Pontii Pilati; ubi Dominus auditus est antequam pate-



retur. A sinistrâ antem parte est monticulus Golgotha ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidis missum est crypta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertio die surrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est, dominicum miræ pulchritudinis habens ad latus exceptorium unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo ubi infantes lavantur.”

II. Sanctæ Paulæ Peregrinatio (circa A.D. 380). After praying at the Holy Sepulchre she ascends Sion :—

“Inde egrediens ascendit Sion quæ in arcem vel speculam vertitur. Hanc urbem quondam expugnabit et reædificavit David.”

III. P. Eucherii epitome de aliquibus locis Sanctis (A.D. 427):—

“Situs ipse urbis pene in orbem circumactus, non parvo murorum ambitu, quo etiam montem Sion quondam vicinum jam intra se recipit qui a meridie positus pro arce urbi supereminet. Major civitatis pars infra montem jacet in planitie humilioris collis posita.

Mons Sion latere uno quod aquilonem respicit, clericorum religiosorumque habitationibus frequentatur cujus in vertice planitiem monachorum cellulæ obtinent ecclesiam circumdantes quæ illic, ut fertur, ab apostolis fundata pro loci resurrectionis dominicæ reverentia.

Primum de locis sanctis. Pro conditione platearum divertendum est ad basilicam quæ martyrium appellatur a Constantino magno cultu extracta. Dehinc cohærentia ab occasu insunt Golgotha atque anastasis; sed anastasis in loco est resurrectionis Golgotha vero medius inter anastasin ac martyrium locus est dominicæ passionis; in quo etiam rupes apparet quæ quondam ipsam, affixo Domini corpore, crucem pertulit. Atque hæc tum extra montem Sion posita cernuntur quo se ad aquilonem deficiens loci tumor porrigit. Templum vero in inferiori parte urbis in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum magnificeque constructum quondam miraculum fuit, ex quo parietis unius in ruinis quædam pinna stat super reliquis ad fundamenta usque destructis.

Ab ea fronte montis Sion quæ prærupta rupe orientalem plagam spectat infra muros atque e radicibus collis fons Siloa prorumpit.”

IV. Theodori Liber de situ Terræ Sanctæ (sixth century):—

“In medio civitatis est basilica. A parte occidentis intras in sanctam resurrectionem ubi est sepulchrum Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Et est ibi mons Calvariæ ad quem montem per gradus callis est. Ibi Dominus crucifixus est et ibi est altare grande; sub uno tecto est. De Sepulchro Domine usque in Calvariæ locum sunt passus numero XV. . . . De Calvariæ loco usque in Golgotham passus sunt numero XV. . . . De Golgotha usque in Sanctam Sion passus numero CC, quæ est mater omnium ecclesiarum. . . . De Sancta Sion ad domum Caiaphæ quæ est modo ecclesia Sancta Petri sunt plus minus passus numero L. De domo Caiaphæ ad prætorium Pilati plus minus passus numero C. Ibi est ecclesia sanctæ Sophiæ.”

---

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

*The Vale of Siddim.*—There has been much doubt as to the meaning of this name. Gesenius compares it with the Arabic *Sidd*, and Dean Stanley with *Sâdeh*. It is worthy of notice that the words *Sidd* and *Sâdeh* are frequently used in the Jordan valley with a meaning peculiar to the dialect of that part of the country. Thus we have *Sidd el 'Atîyeh*, "the dry Sidd," applying to one of the great marl banks below the cliffs of the Dead Sea, near Râs Feshkhah. The word was in this instance explained to us as meaning a cliff. Again, we have *Deir es Sidd*, "Convent of the Cliff," a ruin on the edge of a precipice; *Sidd Harîz*, "the fortified cliff," a precipice near Phasaelis; *Sâdet el Fikiah*, "the cracked cliff;" *Sâdet el Hirmîl*, "cliff of rue;" *Sâdet en Nahleh*, "cliff of the torrent;" *Sâdet et Tâleb*, "the straight cliff;" *Wâdy Siddeh*, "the valley of cliffs." The word is unknown to the inhabitants of the towns; it seems peculiar to the Jordan valley, and does not occur in the nomenclature of the other parts of the country. We may perhaps render the Vale of Siddim "Valley of Cliffs," and the title would apply to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea or to the whole valley.

*Ataroth Adar* (Josh. xviii. 13).—This place is of the highest importance in drawing the boundary line of Benjamin. It is most minutely described as "near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-horon." Looking at this spot on the map, I find it occupied by the ruin of *ed Dârieh*, which no doubt represents the ancient name Adar. The same place is perhaps the Addara of the Onomasticon, east of Lydda.

*Irpeel* (Josh. xviii. 27) is a town of Benjamin, long sought in vain. The root of the name may be recognised in the modern *Râ-fât*, being the same from which the name Rephaim is derived. The final *el* would in this case be supposed to have been lost, as in many other instances in the country in which it has disappeared.

*Valley of Charashim.*—I do not think I have ever noticed that this word is recognisable in the ruin called *Hirsha*, on the side of the valley which has always been supposed to be intended (1 Chron. iv. 14; Neh. xi. 35).

*Nehhalin*, near Jerusalem, may perhaps be the native town of Shemaiah the Nehelamite, the enemy of Jeremiah (Jer. xxix. 24, 31, 32).

*Bethulia.*—This site has never been fixed in a satisfactory manner. The narrative of the Book of Judith requires that the place should be in the neighbourhood of Dothan (*T. Dothân*), and within sight of the plain of Esdraelon. It has never, I think, been noticed that this applies to the neighbourhood of the modern *Mithilia*, east of the main road from the plain of Esdraelon to Shechem. *Mithilia* approaches very closely in name to Bethulia; it is only about three and a quarter miles from Dothan, and the plain of Esdraelon is visible from the pass south of the village. The site is thus described in the Memoir:—

"A small village with a detached portion on the north, and placed

on a slope, with a knoll to the south. It is surrounded by good olive-groves, and has a plain to the north."

The place is not far from Sânu'r, where Bethulia is generally placed, but Sânu'r is open to the objection that the plain of Esdraelon cannot be seen from it.

*Elon*, a town of Dan, near Jethlah (*B. Tûl*) and Thimnatha (Josh. xix. 43). Possibly this might be *Beit Ello*, in which case Thimnatha would be the northern *Tibneh*, not far off.

*Mount Seir* and *Mount Jearim* were places on the boundary of Judah, between Kirjath Jearim and Beth Shemesh; the last was close to Chesalon (*Kesla*). There are two ruins which seem to preserve these names. 1st. *Datu es Saghîr*, a ruin on the great ridge west of Soba. 2nd. Khûrbet 'Erma, a ruin on the brink of the great valley, two miles south of *Kesla*, or Chesalon.

*The New Work*.—A cursory glance at the new traces which arrived in September shows that a great deal of value is to be recovered from them. The following points may be noticed.

*Yemma*, near Tabor, no doubt represents the Caphar Yama of the Talmud, which is said (Tal. Jer. Megilla, 70a) to have been the late name of Jabneel of Naphtali.

*Kefr Kama* is probably the Lekim of the same passage, the ancient Lakum of Naphtali.

*Saiyadeh* is no doubt the Ziadetha of the same passage, the ancient Nekeb, near *Damieh*, or Adami, of Naphtali.

Higher up the country is a ruin called *Ummah*, perhaps Unmah of Asher.

In the bit of desert near Beersheba and Beit Jibrin is a ruin called *el Benâwy*, possibly Libnah.

As regards mediæval and other places there is also much of value in the new traces. There was a town of St. George, the position of which is carefully described by Marino Sanuto as in the great valley now called Wâdy Shaghûr. Here I find a place sacred to St. George, marked on the new work by one of the principal villages.

The tomb of Habakkuk is often noticed by mediæval Jewish travellers near *Yakûk*; it is shown on the new trace.

*Beth Shearaim* was an important place, as being the seat of the Sanhedrim. A ruined site called *Sha'arah* has been found in a position which seems suitable.

*Lachish*.—The part of the country in which this town should apparently be sought is now completed, and I find nothing to shake my previous view, which is as follows:—

The site was apparently known in the fourth century, and is placed seven miles from Eleutheropolis, towards Daroma, that is towards the "south," and not, as some have supposed, towards the town called Darum by the Crusaders, which is explained in the Chronicles to mean "Greek Monastery" (*Deir-er-Rûm*).

Robinson's site at *Umm Lays*, as the name is pronounced, does

not agree in distance with the Onomasticon, nor in name has it any connection with Lachish. The place was, I may boldly say, never the site of an ancient city, consisting only of a few traces of ruins, two masonry cisterns, and a small low mound, which I visited in 1875.

On the main road from Beit Jibrîn (Eleutheropolis) to Gaza is the great mound of Tell el Hesy ("hillock of the water pit"). It is a conspicuous and important site, supplied well with water, and giving its name to a great valley. It is ten miles from Beit Jibrin, and not far from 'Ajlân (Eglon). The name *el Hesy* may, I would suggest, be a corruption of Lachish, the Hebrew *Caph* being changed into the guttural, just as it has been changed in the case of *Mukhmâs*. Tell el Hesy is evidently an important site, commanding the approach to the hills, and fits well in position the requirements of Lachish.

Passing from Biblical questions to those of mediæval sites, I may enumerate the following:—

The *penance mountain* of *St. John* was shown to Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1432, between Gaza and Hebron. I find on our map that the hill south-west of *Dhâherîyeh* still retains the name *Mukut'at Ahya*, "the place of separation of *St. John the Baptist*," showing yet one more Christian tradition lingering among the Moslem peasantry.

The *Tombs of the Patriarchs* were shown to Paula at or near Shechem, as noticed by Jerome. Robinson expresses his inability to find a trace of this tradition; but there is a sacred place on the north side of the town of Nablus, near the modern cemetery, which is called *Oulâd Ya'kûb el 'Asherah*, "the ten sons of Jacob." This, no doubt, represents the early Christian site.

*Anath*, a town of Judea, north of Jerusalem, mentioned in the Talmud (Neubauer, p. 754) as built by the giant Ahiman, is perhaps *Kefr 'Ana*, near Bethel.

*Bethamari*, noticed in the Onomasticon as near Gabaa, is probably *Beit Ummar*, near the southern *Jeb'a*, south of Jerusalem.

*Beidan* is noticed in the Samaritan book of Joshua as being the place of purification of the hosts entering Palestine to build the temple on Gerizim. The upper part of the great Wâdy Fârâh, by which a host from beyond Jordan would naturally approach Shechem, is called *Beidân*, and is well supplied with water for the purifications described.

*Arimathæa*.—A very good instance of the uncertainty which was felt regarding many Scriptural places in the fourth century is afforded by this town. Jerome mentions two places—one in the district of Thamnitica, near (*juxta*) Diospolis, which he makes to be both Ramathaim Zophim and also the town of Joseph. This would probably be *Rentieh*, near Lydda. A second place, called Remphis, in the bounds (*finibus*) of Diospolis, was considered by many to be Arimathæa. This second site farther from Lydda would be the modern *Rentîs*. Evidently there was no certain tradition, at least on this subject, in the fourth century.

*El Heidhemîyeh*, "the place torn down," is the native name of the rock which Christians call Jeremiah's Grotto at Jerusalem. This is a



valuable instance of change. Mr. Berghem tells me that in the sixteenth century, according to the Moslems of Jerusalem, the name is found in Arabic MSS. written *Heirenâyeh*, or "Jeremiah," and is thus derived from the fifteenth-century tradition. Hence we may see how many changes have occurred which it is now quite impossible for us to trace in the nomenclature, and how wide a field of conjecture might be entered upon if we once discarded the rule to accept for identification only names radically unchanged.

*Bîr Eyûb*.—Here also we find a change creeping over a tradition. This well was discovered and opened up by the Crusaders in 1184, and a century later it had come to be considered the ancient En Rogel, whence the modern name, "Joab's Well." In the eyes of the peasantry, however, it is *Neby Eyûb*, or Job, not Joab, after whom the well is named. The tradition has thus become distorted, and furnishes yet another instance of the preservation of Christian traditions and of the influence of the monks over the peasantry during the palmy days of Christian rule.

*Succoth*.—A great deal of argument has been expended on the question whether *Sâkût* in the Jordan valley could be Succoth. The general conclusion has been that it was not the Biblical town, which is rather to be sought east of Jordan, and much farther south. The name *Sâkût* has radically not the least connection with Succoth, the first letter only being common to the two words in Hebrew. It is interesting, however, to note that Marino Sanuto on his map marks Succoth just where *Sâkût* now exists. Probably, therefore, we have here a mediæval traditional site.

*Abel Mea* and *Abel Maula* were places, the first on the way from Scythopolis to Neapolis, the second ten miles south of Scythopolis, and called Beth Aula in the fourth century. The first would probably be represented by the ruin of *Bel'ameh*, south of Jenin, on the road from Beisan to Shechem, across the great plain. The second is evidently the present *'Ain Helweh*, ten miles south of Beisan. This would very well suit for Abel Mehola, with which Jerome identifies it.

*Surtubeh* is well known to have been a beacon station in the late Jewish times connected with the watching for the new moon. Perhaps the name *Dalûk*, "burning," applied to one of the principal tops of this block, may have a connection with this fact, especially as the valley leading down from the peak is called *Wâly en Nâr*, "the valley of fire," and another of the principal peaks is called *Umm Hالل*, "mother of the new moon."

*Zîr*.—In the last *Statement* of the American Society I notice traditions of this famous chief in the Jordan valley. We also collected some of these traditions. The camp of Zîr is shown close to Fusail, and one of the fords of the river at this point is named apparently after his brother Jerro. Farther north, at *Ma'lâl*, near Nazareth, the curious structural tomb measured by Major Wilson is called "Zîr's house," and a little farther north is the *Meidân* or "open place" of Zîr. Zîr and his

brothers Kuleib ("little dog") and Jerro ("cub") are said to have come from beyond Jordan, and to have camped at Semmunieh, west of Nazareth. Their tent-pegs were made of acacia wood, and from them sprang the acacia trees of Semmûnieh, which are of a species (*Acacia vera*) not generally found in Palestine.

It must be noted that the same tradition occurs in the south of Palestine (see Finn's "Byeways," p. 151). The acacia trees of *Wady es Sunt*, which is named from them, are said to have sprung from the tent-pegs of a certain king of Egypt called Abu Zeid, who was here defeated.

The derivation of a few curious names may also be noticed.

*Bornata*, meaning "hat," is a name applied to several ruins. Perhaps it may be considered to be the Aramaic *Birnathah*, meaning "a palace" or large building.

*Werdeh*, commonly translated "rose," is the name of a great many springs in Palestine. It is unnecessary to say that there are no roses near any of them, because roses do not exist in Palestine. The word has a very special meaning of "going down to fetch water," and is thus equivalent to the Hebrew *Yered*, which has a similar meaning. Thus at Tell Jezer we have a spring which is called either *Werdeh* or *Yerdeh*, the latter from being understood by the peasantry to mean "collection" of flocks, &c., round the water. It is, in fact, the root of the name of Jordan, "the descender," which still lingers in the language.

*El Mîneh*.—This title is applied to the various harbours along the coast, but it is not an Arabic name. In the Talmud the harbour of Cæsarea is called *Lemîneh*, though not a Hebrew word. It is, in fact, the Greek *λμην*, "a harbour," which was adopted apparently by the Jews, and which has become corrupted into *El Mîneh*. The Jews were not a maritime people, and Palestine has no harbours; thus for the small ports built by the Romans they seem to have adopted a foreign title still used, though its derivation is obscured by a slight corruption.

16th November, 1877.

C. R. C.

## JOSHUA'S TOMB.

THERE are two places in Palestine which might claim the honour of being the place of sepulture of Joshua. The one is pointed out by Christian tradition, the other by Jewish and Samaritan.

The name of the city where Joshua was buried was Timnath Heres, and it was situate in Mount Ephraim; but the exact site of it is not defined in the Bible, except by the statement that it was on the north side of Mount Gaash, a place as yet not known.

Christian tradition points to the town of Thamnathah, now the ruin of *Lîbneh*, on the Roman road from Antipatris to Jerusalem. Jerome speaks of this place as on the border between the possessions of Dan and Judah (though that border was not very well understood in

his days), and on the way from Lydda to Jerusalem; here Joshua's tomb was shown in his time.

The ruin of *Tibneh* has a remarkable rock cemetery, containing nine tombs south of the site of the town, which was once the capital of the surrounding district. One of these tombs is large, with a portico supported on rude piers of rock with very simple capitals. One of the piers was destroyed between 1866, when Major Wilson visited *Tibneh*, and 1873, when the Survey party were there. There are niches for over 200 lamps, once burning in front of the tomb entrance. Within there is a chamber with fourteen graves, or *kokim*; and a passage, which at first looks like another grave, leads into an inner chamber with only one *koka*.

There is no direct evidence as to the date of this tomb, but in most cases where the more important rock tombs with such porticos can be approximately dated, they do not seem older than about the first century of our era. Thus, though the tomb may well be that described by Jerome, there is considerable doubt as to its being really that of Joshua.

There are two other curious facts as to *Tibneh*. The great oak-tree, some forty feet high, near the tomb, is called *Sheikh et Teim*, "the chief the servant of God." There is also a village, about three miles to the east, called *Kefr Ishu'a*, or "Joshua's Village."

The second site for Timnath Heres is Kefr Hâris, south of Nablus and about nine miles from it. The Samaritans of the present day state that Joshua, son of Nun, and Caleb, son of Jephunneh, were here buried. On the map of Marino Sanuto (1322) the same place will be found marked as Timnath Heres. The two tombs of Caleb and Joshua are noticed as here shown by Rabbi Jacob of Paris in 1258 A.D., and thus three separate traditions point to the same place.

Kefr Hâris is an ordinary village on a hill among olive groves. It has on the east of it two sacred places resembling the other *Mukâms* of the country, inclusive of Joseph's tomb. One of these has the curious name *Neby Kifl*, "Prophet of the division by lot," who is called now "Companion of the Prophet." The other is now named *Neby Kulda* or *Kunda*, possibly a corruption of Caleb. May we not under the title *Kifl* recognise Joshua, who divided the inheritance among the children of Israel? It seems by far the most probable that the place to which Jew and Samaritan both point would be the true site, for it is most striking to find Jews visiting and venerating a place in the country of Samaria, yet in Samaria the tombs of Joseph, Eleasar, Phinehas, Ithamar, and Abishuah are still shown, and if we follow the *indigenous* rather than the *foreign* tradition, it is here that we should place the tomb of Joshua also.

C. R. C.

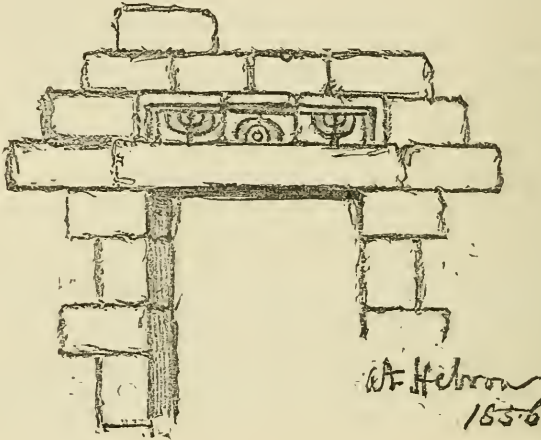
31st October, 1877.

## NOTE ON THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE AT MEIRON.

LEEDS, Oct., 1877.

I OBSERVE in Lieutenant Conder's "Notes from the Memoir" in last month's *Quarterly*, an incidental mention of the ancient synagogue at Meirôn, in which he refers to the singular T-shaped moulding on the lintel of the main entrance.

This reminds me of an outline sketch in my journal, which I send, as it may possibly prove interesting to your readers. During my four years' residence in Palestine I spent a month in Galilee, in 1859, and camped at Meirôn on the 30th April, the day of the annual Jewish *fête* in honour of Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai.



The scene was such as I shall never forget. We could scarcely find room to pitch our tent for the crowds of Jews assembled from all parts of the world. Representatives were there, not only from Jerusalem and all parts of Palestine, but European Jews, and others from America. Two had come all the way from Calcutta, ostensibly to pray at this "holy place." Men, women, and children filled the building over the Rabbi's tomb as well as the surrounding ruins, and covered the ground like locusts. As night approached a fire was lighted in the court, and many who had brought offerings of valuable garments, embroidery, shawls, and jewellery, threw them into the flames, while old and young joined in frantic dancing and singing round the fire. It looked more like some heathen orgies than anything akin to modern Judaism.

The dancing, drinking, and singing was kept up the greater part of the night, which happened to be moonlight, and, together with the wild



rocky hills around, lighted up partly by the moon and partly by numerous camp-fires, constituted the most strangely weird picture I ever beheld.\*

Next morning, May 1st, we visited the ruins of the ancient synagogue, and were struck with the sharpness of the masonry, considering it had stood probably for seventeen centuries.

Robinson's description of the ruin, written seven years before our visit, is so much to the point that I cannot do better than transcribe it.

"The site is an area, artificially levelled off, on the eastern side of a huge overhanging rock. The edifice fronted toward the south, and here, too, only the fine portal and a portion of the front wall (including side doors),† is standing. The architecture is almost precisely like that of the remains at Kefr Bir'im, but of more massive proportions, larger stones, and richer sculpture. Some of these stones are  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. The portal is nearly 10 feet high by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide. Its side posts are each of a single stone, elaborately sculptured. The sculptured lintel projects somewhat beyond the side posts, and is without inscription and without the wreath. The portico is wholly gone, except a corner pedestal fitted inside for a double column. Some fragments of columns and sculptured entablatures are scattered around. The area of the inside is empty."—*Bibl. Res.* iii. p. 74.

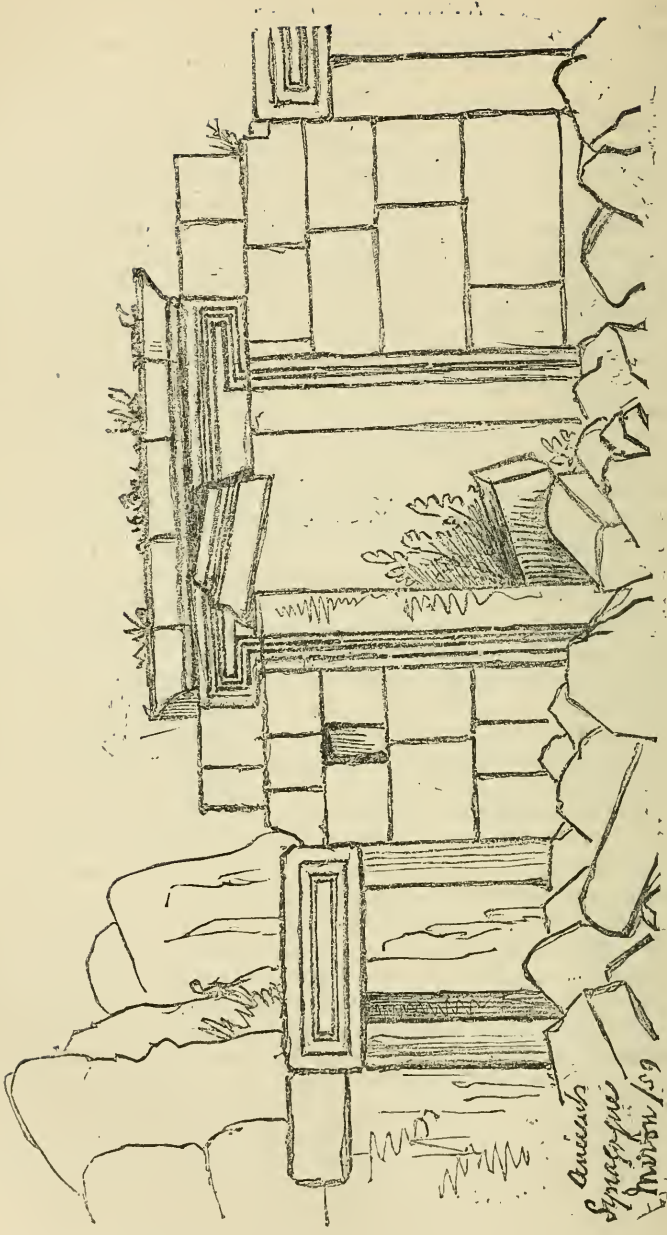
The coincidence of the T-shaped moulding occurring both at Kefr Bir'im and at Khurbet Semmâka, on Carmel, is curious, and would seem to imply that they were about equal in date, while the absence of either inscription or sculptured symbols at Meirôn, such as are found in the other synagogues, might lead to the inference that this building was the latest of the three.

The broken and displaced lintel may perhaps be a record of that terrible earthquake which, so lately as the year 1837, ruined the neighbouring village and castle of Safed.

Speaking of Jewish symbols introduced as architectural ornaments, I find in my sketch-book a note of a door I saw at Hebron in 1856. What was the building of which it formed a part, or whereabouts situate, I cannot now recall—not even whether the building were occupied or a ruin. One thing appears certain—namely, that the sculptured lintel is not in its original position. It may have belonged originally to the same structure, and even to the same door, but the three stones with the seven-branched candlesticks (two upright and one reversed) enclosed in a moulding or entablature, while evidently belonging to one another and in their proper *relative* position, have been built into their present place, above the true lintel, at some time subsequent to their first employment. This is evident from the abrupt termination of the moulding. The use of this sacred symbol stamps these stones as Jewish, and suggests their having belonged to a synagogue. This, if true, would be very

\* Robinson *Bibl. Res.* ii. p. 431.

† One side door is imperfectly preserved, but its ruin is recent.



Arche  
Syracuse  
Morton 189

interesting, occurring in Southern Judea, while all the ancient synagogues hitherto described have been in Galilee and the north. The sculpture has all the appearance of antiquity. I trust the officers of the Survey may be able to throw additional light upon this interesting fragment.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

---

## THE CALVES OF BETHEL AND DAN.

It is generally supposed that the idols erected by Jeroboam were placed, the one at the sources of Jordan beneath Hermon, the other at the town which lay on the north boundary of the tribe of Benjamin; but this was not the understanding of the mediæval writers, who placed them upon the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim. The authorities are as follows:—

Marino Sanuto, who represents the opinions of the Crusading epoch, gives a very exact account of Shechem. On a high mountain west of the town he states that Jeroboam placed the one calf, and on a second higher, east of it, the second. The city lay in a valley beneath and between these mountains.

John of Wirtzburg in like manner (1100 A.D.) speaks of Shechem as between Dan and Bethel, and says that the latter, also called Luz, was beside Gerizim.

The manuscript of Fetellus (1150 A.D.) is yet more explicit:—

“In Sichem, at the foot of Gerizim, by the spring, Jeroboam made the golden calves; one he placed in Dan, another in Bethel. The Samaritans say that four mountains overshadowed Sichem; Gebal and Dan to the east, Bethel and Gerizim to the south” (see Du Vogüé, “Eglises de la Terre Sainte,” p. 424).

It is evident that the Crusaders here adopted the Samaritan view. Gerizim, according to them, is Moriah, where Abraham sacrificed Isaac, and also Bethel of Jacob's vision. The ruins below the main peak on the west are still called *Lôzeh*, or Luz, the ancient name of Bethel, and this site is constantly noticed from the time of Jerome downwards by pilgrims visiting Shechem.

There are also traces of the name Dan on the opposite hill. A spur of height not much less than that of the summit runs out west of Ebal, and is north-west of Shechem, as Gerizim is south-east, agreeing roughly with the description of Sanuto. On this hill stands the sacred site of *'Amâd ed Dîn*, “monument of the faith,” which I have previously proposed as the site of Joshua's altar erected in Mount Ebal. The hill itself is called *Râs el Kady*.

Dan in Hebrew means “judge,” and at the northern Dan under Hermon the meaning, not the name, is preserved in the title *Tell el Kady*, “hill of the judge.” Here at Shechem it would seem as if the

same change had occurred, and the mediæval Dan is now represented by *Râs el Kady*, "mountain top of the judge."

It is curious that in the possession of a Samaritan at Nablus I found a small brazen calf, for which, however, he asked an extravagant price.

The facts of the Crusading view are thus clear; it is interesting to consider further whether they were right. It seems at first sight very probable that Shechem would have been chosen by Jeroboam as a religious centre, for Gerizim was the Mount of Blessing, and on Ebal Joshua's altar was perhaps still standing. There are many indications which point the same way which may be briefly enumerated.

1st. Bethel of the Calf was close to the king's palace (Amos vii. 13), and Jeroboam lived in Shechem (1 Kings xii. 25).

2nd. The southern Bethel was taken from Jeroboam by the king of Judah (2 Chron. xiii. 19), but the calf of Bethel was not destroyed, nor is it mentioned as having been taken. It remained standing long after (2 Kings x. 29).

3rd. The southern Bethel was in the tribe of Benjamin (Joshua xviii. 22), and would scarcely have been chosen as a religious centre by a king who was anxious to draw away the people from Jerusalem (1 Kings xii. 28).

4th. The Bethel of the Calf is constantly mentioned in connection with Samaria (1 Kings xiii. 32; 2 Kings xxiii. 19; Amos iv. 1—4; v. 6), and the old prophet at Bethel was, according to Josephus (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 18), a Samaritan.

5th. The Samaritans in Shechem having been plagued with lions, a priest was sent to Bethel to instruct them. It is most natural in this case also to suppose a Bethel close to Shechem (2 Kings xvii. 28).

6th. The ancient name of Bethel still lives amongst the peasantry on the slope of Mount Gerizim at the ruins of *Lôzeh*.

7th. The southern Bethel was the seat of a school of prophets visited by Elijah, which is scarce consistent with the existence of the calf (2 Kings ii. 2, 3).

Whilst thus stating what appears to me a strong case in favour of the supposition that the golden calves were erected in Ebal and Gerizim, and thus became the original cause of the establishment of a rival religious centre at Shechem, which has been carried down to our own day by the Samaritans, it is fair to state the objections to the view, which are two.

1st. Josephus certainly understood by Dan the site at the source of the Jordan, a place not consecrated either by the prescriptions of the Pentateuch or by the memories of Jewish history (Ant. viii. 8. 4).

2nd. The prophet Hosea mentions Bethel and Bethaven together. The passage is considered by the Jews and by Jerome to mean that the two places were one; the verse contains a paronomasia, the prophet saying that the place once *Beit-Al*, "house of God," had become *Beit-aun*, "house of vanity," a change of which we have an echo in *Beitûn*,



the vulgar pronunciation of the name of the modern Bethel (Hosea iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5).

Whether this last passage can be considered as conclusive appears to me doubtful in face of the extreme improbability of the establishment of a place of worship by Jeroboam beyond the bounds of his own kingdom, but it is certain that a district of desert east of the Bethel of Benjamin was called Bethaven (Joshua xviii. 12) probably meaning "the empty place," as being uninhabited, and it is also certain that a town so-called existed near Bethel (xviii. 12) and distinct from it (1 Sam. xiii. 5; xiv. 23); this place Major Wilson places at *Khürbet An*. Hosea, however, refers to Bethel itself.

The question appears to me worthy of consideration by Biblical students as tending to throw a new light on the history of Israel.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## NOTES ON ARCHITECTURE IN PALESTINE.

THE different rate of progress which has been observed in architectural style in various countries renders it very important that any building of unknown date should be compared with examples of known date which exist in the same country and were erected by the same nation. The notes in the Memoir to the Map are more than half devoted to the description of ruined buildings. Many of these are dated, and I propose to abstract all that I have been able to collect of value as throwing light on the question of the dates of those which possess any marked architectural features.

Palestine may be said to have had five building epochs. First, the Jewish period before the nation became subject to the western powers of Greece and Rome; secondly, the period when Jewish architecture was influenced by that of the western nations, which might conveniently, if not very exactly, be entitled the Herodian epoch; thirdly, the Byzantine period; fourthly, the Crusading; and lastly, the Saracenic. These may be considered separately.

### I.—JEWISH ARCHITECTURE.

It is not a new remark, but it is an important one to keep in memory, that the Jews were not a great building people. At one of the first meetings of the Fund (July 23rd, 1866), Mr. Layard, M.P., warned the subscribers that "they could not expect such important results as had attended the investigations in Assyria and Babylon." The explorations have fully justified this dictum, for whilst topographical discoveries of the highest interest are obtained, and the illustration of

the Bible most fully carried out, no great archæological finds like those in Assyria have ever been made in Palestine outside Jerusalem. There is only one building which has been thought worthy of notice in the Bible—Solomon's Temple; of this we find the foundations, but even this was the work of foreign masons obtained from Hiram king of Tyre. The Jews were forbidden to produce sculptured images, and they were evidently not an inscribing race, or inscriptions would occur on the fine sepulchral monuments of the country, which is scarcely ever the case. The Temple of Jerusalem was their one central building, the pride of the nation, and their supreme architectural effort. That we have found, and no other building remains to be found, as far as we have any indication in Scripture.

On the other hand, many passages may be adduced to show that the Jewish ordinary architecture was, on the whole, much what is now the natural style of the country.

Thus we may point to the rapid overthrow of the Canaanite cities by Joshua, to Joab's proposal to draw a whole town into the river, to Samson's destruction of a house supported on two pillars, to the removal of the roof of a building in order to lower the sick of the palsy, and to many other indications which show that the buildings were neither large nor very solidly constructed.

In the time of Saul the people are found living in caves just as they still do in parts of the country where protection is most needed. In the account of the siege of Megiddo by Thothmes III., the defeated army is said to have been dragged up the walls of the town by those inside, who let down their cloaks from above; evidently the town walls were not very lofty.

The names used for cities in the Bible include "fenced cities," which were surrounded with stone walls (1 Kings xv. 22) and unwalled hamlets (*Perezoth*). The former may be thought to have resembled some of the Galilean villages which were walled round by the great native family of the Zeidaniyin, and which have houses built against the walls, just as Rahab's house at Jericho was built.

Of these ancient towns nothing seems now left beyond what is cut in the rock. If we remember the repeated overthrow of almost every important place in successive invasions, the violent action of weather, and the fact that these buildings were erected two or three thousand years ago, it is surely unreasonable to expect to find much else remaining. In Palestine a building of the sixth century, or five hundred years earlier than the Norman conquest, is looked upon as quite modern and uninteresting.

Time, weather, and the hand of man have left of the Jewish cities only the great mound on which the modern houses stand, but there are indications that the power and energy of the old inhabitants far surpassed that of their descendants. The town (which stands almost invariably on the old site, as far as we can judge from name and the position of the water supply and cemetery), is often surrounded with a

scarp of rock artificially cut. The most wonderful of these scarps is that at the south-west corner of Jerusalem, where a carefully worked wall of rock, 50 feet high, is traced for over 150 yards. Similar scarps on a smaller scale are not uncommon throughout the country.

The second indication of an ancient site is the existence of rock-cut reservoirs and cisterns. The bell-mouthed cisterns occur so constantly near and in connection with Jewish tombs that it seems natural to ascribe them to Jewish workmen, though they have no marks of date which will fix them so early.

Still more important are the rock-cut tombs which generally serve to show that the site is unchanged, for they are cut on the hill-side opposite the modern village or ruined site, and hardly ever are found within or beneath the ruins. The rock-cut tombs may be conveniently divided into three classes—1. *Kokim* tombs. 2. *Loculus* tombs. 3. Sunk tombs. The two first classes seem to be of Jewish origin, but the third will be noticed later.

The *Kokim* tombs are those which have parallel tunnels running in, three or four side by side, from the walls of a rectangular chamber. The bodies lay with their feet towards the chamber, and stone pillows for raising the heads are often found at the farther end. The *Kokim* vary in number from one or two up to fifteen or twenty, and are of various lengths, from 3 or 4 feet to 7 feet. There is no system of orientation, and the entrance-door is in the face of the cliff, the chamber within being directed according to the lie of the rock.

This kind of tomb is certainly the most ancient in the country, for the *Kokim* are sometimes destroyed in enlarging the tomb on a different system. There are also instances of tombs in which the old outer chamber has *Kokim*, the inner or late chambers *loculi*, but the reverse has not been found. There are cases of a transition style, in which an arched recess has been cut, and two bodies laid beneath it, side by side, the feet pointing to the chamber.

These tombs were used by the Jews. Over one we found a Hebrew inscription; over another, the representation of the golden candlestick; others are sacred to the modern Jews as the tombs of their ancestors; and if further proof were required, the description of a tomb in the Talmud might be adduced.

As regards their date, they are earlier than the *loculus* tombs, because they have been afterwards enlarged on that system. They are therefore earlier than the Christian era, but how much earlier there is as yet no evidence to show.

One further relic of Jewish architecture must be noticed—the vineyard towers. These buildings are generally about 15 feet square outside, and the same in height. The walls are of unhewn blocks, 4 or 5 feet long; the roof, supported on a buttress, is of slabs 7 or 8 feet long. These solid and rude buildings occur near rock-cut wine-presses and ancient tombs, and appear to be referred to in Scripture (Mark xii. 1).

## II.—HERODIAN PERIOD.

Although the conservative portion of the race set its face against the ways of the heathen, the influence of Greece and of Rome penetrated into Palestine about the time of Christ. The great works of Herod at Cæsarea, Samaria, Ascalon, Antipatris, Jerusalem, and Herodium, described by Josephus, were conceived in imitation of Roman art. These buildings have, however, almost entirely disappeared.

At Cæsarea, excavation might recover entirely the theatre and the temple, the sites of which we found and planned in 1873. The two magnificent aqueducts on the north are no doubt also of this date, and these have been traced and carefully described.

At Samaria, the columns still stand in place, without their capitals, but the superstructure has disappeared. These pillars are of no great size, being only 11 feet high and 2 feet diameter.

At Ascalon, the Crusaders seem to have uprooted Herod's colonnades, and to have used the shafts in the walls of the town as thoroughbonds.

At Antipatris, nothing remains above the surface. At Herodium, there are buildings of moderate masonry, well cut, but in no way remarkable for grandeur or beauty. At Masada, all that can be ascribed to Herod is of rude workmanship, and the masonry of no great size,

Thus it is only at Jerusalem and at Hebron that the megalithic masonry occurs with the peculiar draft and dressing of the stones, the like of which is not found elsewhere in Palestine. This is ascribed by M. Du Vogüé, in the case of Jerusalem, to Herod, and Mr. Fergusson dates the walls of the Hebron Haram to the same epoch. The peculiarities of style in the two monuments are the same, and even the pilasters of the Hebron Haram occur, as I found in 1873, on the walls of the Haram at Jerusalem.

Perhaps to this epoch we may also ascribe some of the aqueducts which bring water down the Kelt valley to the foot of the hills, where the Jericho of Herod seems to have stood. The Aqueduct of Pontius Pilate, 41 miles long, is of the same kind of masonry—small and rudely hewn, but laid in excellent mortar; and this would point to the great reservoirs called Solomon's Pools, which form part of the same system, and resemble the aqueducts in masonry, being also dated as the work of Pontius Pilate.

We have also to consider at this date the Galilean synagogues. That at Arbela is said by Samuel Bar Simson (1210 A.D.) to have been built by Rabbi Nitai, who lived about 200 B.C. Rabbi Simeon Bar Jochai lived about 120 A.D., and he built twenty-four synagogues, including those at Kefer Birim, el Jish, and Meirûn (where he was buried). Four other synagogues visited by Major Wilson at Tell Hum, Kerazeh, Nebartein, and Umm el 'Amed, may very probably be ascribed to this builder, as they closely resemble in style the three dated examples; and the synagogue at Taiyibeh, with the one on Carmel, and perhaps the



ruin at Balata, might serve to swell the number. The conclusion thus arrived at historically agrees with the judgment of architects, founded on a study of the architectural style, fixing these synagogues as of the second century of our era.\*

The tombs belonging to this second Jewish epoch are far more ambitious works of art than the *kokim* tombs. They have facades covered with decoration of a peculiar kind, a rude copy of classic mouldings with details entirely original. There is generally a portico with a frieze above, supported by pillars cut in the rock with Ionic or Corinthian capitals. Within, the chamber is sometimes ornamented, and has an arched recess with a sort of rock-cut sarcophagus or *loculus* beneath, the body lying parallel to the side of the chamber. If Robinson's argument be allowed, we have a dated example of this style at Jerusalem, in the tomb of Helena, queen of Adiabene, which belongs to the first century of our era. This agrees with the conclusion at which architects have arrived by study of the style, and the curious admixture of classic and native ideas cannot well be ascribed to any other period.

The rolling stone is found almost invariably with the *loculus*, not with the *koka*. This agrees with its use in the time of our Lord, and the fact that the Holy Sepulchre must have been a *loculus* tomb. The only inscriptions which can be certainly ascribed to the same period are the Hebrew inscription over one of the Jerusalem tombs, and a Greek one consisting of only the word "Parthenes," which occurs at Sheikh Ibreek, in a cemetery of tombs with *kokim* enlarged later with *loculi*.

There are several other methods of closing the entrances of the tombs: stone doors with pivots, doors with a bar across, doors which slide down from above, and doors of masonry carefully built up, as though intended never to be opened. The rolling stone was perhaps a late invention, remarkable for its simplicity. It may be described as a stone like a cheese on end, rolling in a deep groove in front of the entrance; the groove generally inclined, so that unless wedged up the stone ran down across the doorway. In order to open the tomb it had to be rolled up hill.

### III.—BYZANTINE PERIOD.

Advancing to late times, we come to the most important building epoch in the country. From the year 326 A.D., when Helena visited Palestine, down to 636 A.D., when Jerusalem fell into the hands of Omar, a Christian invasion of the country was carried out. Jerome speaks of "the great multitude of the brethren and the bands of monks," and mentions a town full of Christians almost as far south as Beersheba. It is therefore natural that we should find the country covered with the remains of Byzantine monasteries and chapels.

We possess two dated examples during this period—the Basilica of Constantine at Bethlehem of the fourth century, and the fortress of

\* See Major Wilson's "Notes on Jewish Synagogues in Galilee," *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1869, p. 37.

Justinian round Zeno's church on Gerizim in the sixth. The Bethlehem Basilica serves to show the plan on which a church was built at that time, with an atrium, narthex, basilica, transept, and apse; the character of the pillar capitals is also important, and the fact that they support not arches but a straight entablature.

The fortress on Gerizim is of value as giving a dated example of drafted masonry, and this drafted masonry is found in all the innumerable Byzantine buildings which have been planned during the course of the Survey. It is very important to note the difference between this masonry and that at Jerusalem; the draft is deeper and broader, irregularly cut, and finished with an entirely different dressing. It has too often been assumed that drafted masonry is always of Jewish origin, because the Temple stones are drafted. It is impossible to suppose that in every case where a monastery was built ancient foundations or old drafted stones were found and used up. The only natural explanation is that the masons in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were in the habit of drafting their masonry, and this is borne out by the fact that in a great many cases the stones have evidently been cut to fit the place in which they stand in the walls.

A second important feature of this style is the character of the arching. Semicircular arches are used, and the keystone is narrow, whilst the haunch stones are broad. This is also the case in the tunnel vaulting of the buildings (as in the church of St. John at Beit Jibrin, for instance).

If, as appears almost certain, this kind of arch is peculiar in Palestine to the Byzantine period, then the roofs of the double passage in the Haram, of the two great Tanks No. 1 and No. 3, and of the Twin Pools, are all of this period, as they all have round arches with the narrow keystone.

Another peculiarity by which Byzantine buildings may be known, is that a large and heavy lintel, generally having the cross upon it, once existed above every door. The weight in many cases is really taken by a low relieving arch above, but the lintel seems to have been used invariably, and is often all that remains to show the site of a large building. The lintels sometimes have inscriptions on them, as at Khoreisa, where we found a Greek text, "This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter in."

This construction, a lintel with a low relieving arch, may also be observed at Jerusalem at the double gateway, and the supposed date again agrees with that of the vaulting of the passage within. The lintel in this case is, however, probably older than the arch above, as it is drafted like the wall below it.

It may be here noted that the peculiarity of the Byzantine arch is not found in the arching of the Dome of the Rock. The arches in that building are indeed round, but the voussoirs are all of one breadth, and in appearance they approach nearer to the arches used in the earlier Crusading churches, as hereafter to be described.

The question of the kind of tomb used in the Byzantine period is not a very easy one. The *rock-sunk tomb*, to be described later, occurs near a Byzantine monastery, but the kind of tomb most frequent near such sites is the *loculus* tomb. At Shefa 'Amr is a tomb of this kind, elaborately ornamented with a Greek inscription and crosses which are cut on bosses, so that they must evidently be part of the original design. At *Be'ah* we found a *loculus* tomb inscribed "One God alone," with a date 332 A.D. At *Deir Serûr*, a fine Byzantine site, probably the ancient Sozuza—an episcopal town in the fifth century—is a cemetery of *loculus* tombs. There are crosses cut on the walls of tombs of every class, but very rudely, and they seem to be due to hermits who have lived in the sepulchres. At Jerusalem, however, there is a tomb with a *loculus* and crosses in red paint, with the  $\Lambda$  and  $\Omega$  either side. Nor must we forget the tombs in the so-called Hinnom valley with inscriptions, "The excellent monument, the tomb of Amarulph of Germany," and "The monument of various persons of the Holy Zion from Rome," proving that Christian pilgrims—for the cross occurs in the inscriptions—were buried in *loculus* tombs.

¶ The Jews cannot be supposed to have shared their cemeteries with the Christians, and the tombs in many cases were certainly not old Jewish tombs used again by Christians, but special sepulchres hewn in Byzantine times.

¶ The only method by which it seems that the Jewish *loculus* tombs can be distinguished when inscriptions do not exist, is by the existence of *kokim* tombs in the same cemetery. The Christian *loculus* tombs occur by themselves, and are never enlargements of older *kokim* tombs.

#### IV.—CRUSADING RUINS.

The following table of dates, compiled from various sources, will be valuable as the foundation of the study of Crusading work in Palestine:—

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Jerusalem taken by Godfrey .....                                   | 1099 |
| Toron ( <i>Tibnûn</i> ) built .....                                | 1104 |
| Church on Tabor .....  | 1110 |
| Montreal, east of Jordan .....                                     | 1115 |
| St. Marie Latine in Jerusalem .....                                | 1120 |
| Tyre taken, a period of peace begins .....                         | 1124 |
| The Church of the Holy Sepulchre built .....                       | 1130 |
| The Castle of Ernuald.....   | 1134 |
| The fortress of Gibelin ( <i>B. Jibrîn</i> ) .....                 | 1134 |
| The Monastery of Bethany.....                                      | 1138 |
| The Hospital and St. Marie La Grande .....                         | 1140 |
| Blanche Garde ( <i>T. es Sâfi</i> ) and Ibelin ( <i>Yebna</i> ) .. | 1144 |
| The church at <i>Bîreh</i> .....                                   | 1146 |
| Mirabel ( <i>Râs el 'Ain</i> ) built before .....                  | 1149 |
| Nablus, the Hospital .....   | 1156 |

|   |      |
|---|------|
| St. Samuel ( <i>Neby Samw'îl</i> ) .....        | 1157 |
| Darum ( <i>Deir el Belâh</i> ) .....            | 1170 |
| Beauvoir ( <i>Kaukab el Hawa</i> ) .....        | 1182 |
| Nazareth, the Church .....                      | 1185 |
| Saladin takes Jerusalem .....                   | 1187 |
| Ascalon, Plans, Capernaum, Galatia (rebuilt) .. | 1190 |
| Castel Pelegrino ( <i>'Athlît</i> ) .....       | 1218 |
| Cæsarea .....                                   | 1218 |
| Saida .....                                     | 1227 |
| Cæsarea restored .....                          | 1251 |
| Bibars destroys Cæsarea .....                   | 1269 |
| Acre taken from the Christians .....            | 1291 |

From this outline of the best dated specimens an idea of the progressive style of the Gothic work in Palestine may be obtained. The question has been fully treated by competent authorities, and I only propose to add a few notes of practical utility.

The whole building period is confined to about sixty years, with the exception of the towns along the coast. The most ancient buildings are the frontier fortresses and the churches round Jerusalem; the latest are the thirteenth-century erections in the neighbourhood of Acre, the last Christian stronghold in Palestine.

In the earliest specimens, as in the Hospital at Jerusalem, we find the semicircular arch used, and the heavy mouldings approach the Byzantine style. In the Convent of St. Marie la Grande we have a beautiful window (Photo. No. 16, Lieut. Kitchener's set), with mouldings which approach the English "dog-tooth" of Early English work, but the arch is here slightly pointed. Even as late as the latter half of the twelfth century the round arch is occasionally in use, as at the Church of Samaria. At Beit Jibrîn we have remains of the Church of St. Gabriel, a Crusading structure, dating probably about 1134 A.D. (Photo. No. 29, Lieut. Kitchener's set). In this the arches are slightly pointed, but the heavy pillars and cornice have a Byzantine appearance. In most of the earlier Crusading churches marble capitals in imitation of Corinthian style occur, and in some cases there seems no possibility of their being derived from any older building. The fact that some half-dozen are found in one building all exactly alike (as at Beit Jibrîn) induces one to conclude that this kind of capital was sculptured by the twelfth century masons, and not, as in the case of Saracenic buildings, stolen from some other ruined structure.

As we advance, the character of the architecture gradually changes, the heaviness of proportion disappears, beautiful clustered columns take the place of heavy pillars, and ribbed groins are introduced. In the thirteenth century we find the pointed arch exclusively in use, with vousoirs, sometimes an odd sometimes an even number. The Corinthian capital disappears, and is succeeded by an endless variety of form, from the smooth-leaved "crochets" of Samaria, to the deeply-serrated



leaves at *Bireh*. The beauty of the later churches far surpasses that of the clumsier buildings of the earlier period.

There are two other points of great importance to note in Crusading sites. One is the character of the masonry, the other is that of the inscriptions. Either of these is sufficient to class a ruin without the discovery of pointed arches.

M. Ganneau was, I believe, the first to call attention to the *diagonal* dressing on the stones as distinctive of Crusading work. It is not so much that this dressing is the only one which they used, but that the diagonal dressing is not to be found on earlier work. Care is, however, very requisite in this examination, because the Saracenic masons also used this dressing, though their work being rougher, it is generally possible to recognise it.

The use of a toothed chisel is still common in Palestine, and this instrument may be driven over the surface in any direction, so that in a wall of twelfth-century work the stones will be found dressed at every angle, but always in parallel lines.

A far safer indication of Crusading work lies in the masons' marks. No other buildings but those of the twelfth century and thirteenth century in Palestine have masons' marks. These marks are finely cut on the best dressed stones of interiors, and vary in size from an inch to two or three in length. They include every letter of the alphabet except D G Q and X, with various geometrical signs. The same mark is found in buildings separated by the entire length of the country; the marks have no reference to the position of the stone in the building, but seem rather to be those distinctive of the workmen employed. Some buildings have a great variety, others have the same often repeated. As a rule, the larger buildings seem to have a greater number of different marks, the smaller fewer, showing that a larger number of masons were employed on the more important buildings. There is no impossibility in matter of date in the view that each mark is distinctive of one man, for the thirteenth-century marks, though similar, are not identical with those of the twelfth century buildings. The collections of these marks are given in the Memoir to the Map.\*

The above remarks apply to the masonry of interiors. The exteriors are of much more massive ashlar. In the case of the fortresses, the stones are almost invariably drafted. The only exceptions are the

\* The diagonal dressing of the stones is characteristic, as Professor Hayter Lewis remarks, of Norman work in England, as is also the comparatively small size of the masonry. The toothed chisel was used, he says, in England and France in the thirteenth century—rarely before. The church of St. Marie la Grande (1140) has masonry dressed with this kind of chisel. The size of the stones is from 1 foot to 2 feet in length, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height. Almost all the Crusading masonry is small, excepting that of the exterior of the fortresses, the drafted stones being 2 feet high, and from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 or 6 feet in length, as at *'Athlit* (1218 A. D.) and *Kaukab el Hawa* (1180 A. D.)—C. R. C.

thirteenth-century works, which have sloping scarps of small masonry. This drafted masonry differs both from the Jewish and from the Byzantine in having a rustic boss to the stone, which projects sometimes a foot from the draft. I found instances in which the draft had diagonal dressing at Sôba and Kolôniah.

These exteriors have nearly all at various times been ascribed to the Phœnicians, yet we know that in many cases the sites chosen by the Crusaders were entirely new ones, where no old city had stood. The use of this rustic masonry in the middle ages is not peculiar to Palestine, and not only is the diagonal dressing found on the drafts, but the pointed archways of gateways are in some cases of drafted masonry exactly similar to that of the walls. It is thus clear that these stones were quarried by the Crusaders and cut with a draft; and the presumption, when a drafted stone with a rustic boss is found, is, that it was cut by a twelfth-century mason, who would have used such a draft, and not by the Phœnicians, whom we do not know to have made use of such masonry. I have, indeed, not seen a single piece of masonry in Palestine which could be ascribed to the Phœnicians, and historically, I believe, we do not know of their territory having extended beyond Phœnicia proper.

The question of inscriptions is also of great importance. At Bethlehem we have the dated example of the Mosaics which were erected in 1169 A.D. by the emperor Manuel Comnenos. In the inscriptions of these Mosaics we have various peculiarities distinctive of the time. The shoes of the letters, the peculiar forms of U, M, and N, the contractions used, the accents, and the smaller size of the vowels, which are placed above the line, are all distinctive. It is important to notice these indications in the case of the numerous frescoes on the walls of various Crusading monasteries of the Jordan valley and in those of the chapels on the Mount Quarantania. These frescoes are thus shown to belong to the twelfth century, and not, as has been supposed by former travellers, to the fourth or fifth.

Lastly, we come to the question, how the Crusaders buried their dead. Wherever rock-cut tombs are found near Crusading ruins (as, for instance, at Mejdél Yâba), they belong to the kind called "Rock Sunk." A shaft some 7 feet long and 3 feet wide is sunk 5 or 6 feet in the flat surface of the rock; on either side an arched recess is cut back, and thus two bodies lie, one each side of the shaft, parallel to each other, and to the length direction of the shaft.

We have no indication that this form of tomb is Jewish. The natives of the country say that such cemeteries are Frank cemeteries, and the tomb seems fitted for the reception of a man and his wife. In Jerusalem such a tomb has been found to contain leaden coffins with crosses on them. At another site we found an inscription with crosses cut at the back of one of the *loculi*. It runs thus—+ MIMOPIN + ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ. The form of the letters, the barbarous Greek, and the small size of the vowels, seem to point to a twelfth-century origin for the text. The only

question which remains doubtful is as to whether this kind of tomb was used also in the fifth century, but there is no evidence of any kind to carry it back to the Jews. It does not occur at the really ancient sites, but only in connection with Christian ruins; and as we know the tombs used in former eras, we may perhaps safely ascribe the "Sunk Tomb" to the Crusaders.

#### V.—SARACENIC BUILDERS.

A few words only in conclusion are required. The Saracenic buildings are fortresses, khans, and mosques; they are thus easily distinguishable, except in the matter of the fortresses. In this question we must be guided principally by the masonry. A building with masons' marks cannot be ascribed to the Saracens, for their dated buildings (as in the White Mosque at Ramleh) have no such marks. The large drafted masonry of exteriors is, again, never found in buildings of Saracenic origin.

The work of the Moslem conquerors of Palestine was destructive rather than constructive. We have Saladin's walls of Jerusalem either repairing or replacing the Crusading work. We have the great mosque of Ramleh, and a few more such edifices, but the buildings of this class are not numerous. Christian churches were converted into mosques, Christian strongholds were patched up, and almost the only native work, excepting the khans, consists of the small fortresses in Galilee built by the famous native family of Zeidâniyîn. Thus the fifth epoch is not by any means so important as the two which preceded it.

The value of these architectural notes will lie in the application of the observations to sites of unknown date and origin, which may be judged of from the following distinctive marks:—

1st. To distinguish a Jewish site, the presence of tombs with *Kokim* is almost indispensable, and the great mounds with rock scarps, cisterns, and pools are almost the only other indications.

2nd. Later Jewish work may be recognised by the florid character of its ornamentation, combining the classic with native ideas of art. The finer tombs with *loculi*, and the synagogues with their peculiar double pillars at the corners of the cloisters, are to be ascribed to this period.

3rd. Byzantine buildings may be distinguished by lintel stones with crosses, by round arches with a narrow keystone, by irregularly drafted masonry, and by the architectural details of capitals and cornices.

4th. Crusading buildings are known by masons' marks, by the diagonal dressing of the stones, by the character of the written inscriptions, by the rustic masonry of the exteriors, and by the clustered columns and pointed arches.

5th. Saracenic buildings are known by the small and less finely-cut masonry, without masons' marks; by the pointed arches, and by the comparative timidity of the low relief in ornamental designs as contrasted with the bold sculpture of the Crusaders.

The deductions which are to be obtained from an archaeological examination of Palestine seem to me to be—

1st. The Jews were not a great building people. Fine buildings of Jewish origin are not to be looked for, nor does the Bible lead to the expectation that they will be found. They were not an inscribing people; and it is not probable that many important inscriptions will be found in Palestine dating back to Bible times.

2nd. The influence of the Western nations is to be noticed in later Jewish buildings, which date back only as far as the Herodian period, or about the time of Christ.

3rd. The great buildings of the country are to be ascribed to the Byzantine and Crusading Christian epochs.

4th. The study of archæology in Palestine, by excavation or otherwise, is not likely to bring to light very much of value with respect to the illustration of the Bible. The work which is really of importance is that in which the Fund is now engaged, namely, the examination of the topography of the land: from this we may expect, and have obtained, results of the highest importance, as illustrating the accuracy and consistency of the Bible history; and thus the discovery of even the most obscure of Bible towns, and its identification by the recovery of the ancient name radically unchanged, together with the examination of the natural features of the ground, and of the ways and customs of the peasant population, are studies of infinitely more valuable character than the costly attempt to explore by excavation, with results which, though of antiquarian interest, have no bearing on Bible questions.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R. E.

The above notes are necessarily rather brief and general, but for those who wish for further information a perfect mine exists in the Memoir from which these are extracted. The size and dressing of masonry was always noted in every ruin, with the character of the mortar and all other points to which attention had been called by architects in the papers given to me before leaving England. Mouldings of capitals, cornice, and bases were measured with the greatest accuracy possible, and sketches of tracery made. Photographs of buildings and of architectural details were taken when possible, and to these notes I must refer those who wish for further information.

17th November, 1877.

NOTE.—A paper on the actual measurements of various places described by Josephus, such as Cæsarea, Masada, &c., is under consideration.

---



## THE MOABITE POTTERY.

THE following letters have appeared in the *Athenæum*, and are here reproduced by kind permission of the Proprietors:—

Consulate of the German Empire for Palestine,  
Jerusalem, *November 1st*, 1877.

MY DEAR MR. SHAPIRA,—Mrs. Shapira has informed me of your departure for England on business, and, at the same time, requested me to give you in writing my detailed opinion on the present state of the disputed Moabitic question, immediately after my expedition to Moab, and to forward it to you in London.

I accede with pleasure to so reasonable a request, and hereby authorise you expressly to have the following statement translated into English, and to make such use of it as you may think fit.

According to my humble opinion, nothing at all had been positively proved respecting either the genuineness or non-genuineness of your collections before the expedition of Dr. Almkvist to Moab; nor did the learned antagonists of their genuineness—the Professors Socin and Kautzsch—finally arrive at any other result in their well-known work. The difference between myself and these gentlemen, as well as other antagonists of the genuineness, was only that I considered the falsification of the collections to be *less probable*.

The researches made by Dr. Koch in the summer of 1875 have proved it to be utterly impossible to manufacture such pottery-ware here in Jerusalem; a similar result had been already obtained, by the researches made by Mr. Drake. The pottery-ware manufactory alleged to exist at Jericho by the Sheikh Kaplan, on whose statements the local antagonists of the genuineness—Pater Antonin and Missionary Klein—are relying, has long ago been proved to have been a fable. On this occasion I may state that my most sincere exertions to obtain light in *this direction* have remained without success. Both these gentlemen always decline to name their authority, however often and urgently I begged they would do so. It was from another source only that I obtained information of Sheikh Kaplan's being one of them. No proof could therefore be established in this way, and all I can do is to consider all statements coming from that quarter as empty talk.

But if the pottery-wares have not been manufactured here, might they not have been made at Damascus, Port Said, or even in Europe? Certainly not in a position to refute these questions, I nevertheless hold such a proposition to be most improbable, especially with respect to the first collection. How could a falsifier risk so uncertain an undertaking, subject to such large expenses as this manufacture would have necessarily implied, before the Prussian Government bought the first collection? But as utterly impossible I must declare the supposition that the manufactured objects had been interred in Moab in order to give the finishing stroke to the forgery.

Whoever is acquainted with the superstition and greediness of the Bedouins will surely agree with me that they would not have permitted the execution of an undertaking, which must needs appear to them as monstrous and adventurous, such as the interment of thousands of vases and idols in the ground of which they are the sole lords and masters, and the desecration of which must unavoidably be followed by the heaviest divine punishments—to say the least, by lasting dearth; I say that the Bedouins would not have suffered all this, not even on payment of the entire sum given by the Prussian Government. How, then, about the expenses? In this case the falsifiers would, indeed, have done more than *travailler pour le Roi de Prusse*.

I cannot enter here individually on the attacks of the learned, and must limit myself to expressing my regret at the want of moderation, objectivity, and especially impartiality they manifest so frequently. Thus everything stated by M. Ganneau is declared to be proof *à priori*, and whatever falls from M. Weser is subjected to polemical criticism. One of these gentlemen goes, indeed, so far as to declare at once, that the result of Weser's expeditions of verification is null, because Selim, who was suspected of falsification, was concerned in it; but he says nothing about Pastor Weser's having also undertaken one expedition *without Selim*, during which also something has been found. This silence, however, throws a curious light on that critic. I must here ignore entirely the superficial opinions which have been put forth among the German public in consequence of the pamphlet emanating from Kautzsch and Socin, and which found expression during one of the sessions of one of our parliamentary bodies in such a manner as to appear comical to those conversant with the actual circumstances. Such was the state of affairs up to the end of last year, and this state I will resume once more in this sense, that nothing has been positively proved either for or against, except that the pottery-wares could not have been made here, and that notwithstanding a sentiment antagonistic to the genuineness pervades the circles of both scholars and laymen in Germany.

All of a sudden this state of things was altered by the expedition of Dr. Almkvist. This scholar, who set to work with the utmost distrustfulness, found in the rocky wall of a cave in the Moabitish mountains, chosen by himself at a venture, after delving for two hours, two feet deep in the rocky wall, a jar with a Moabitic inscription! But Selim was again present; yet would it be certainly insulting to these gentlemen to expect from any of them an opinion to the effect that Selim had been able to conjure also this jar into that place, surrounding it afterwards, artificially, by a rock of one mètre in thickness. Moreover, such a supposition, independently of the physical impossibility, would stamp honest Dr. Almkvist, who went to work much rather with distrust than with gushing confidence, as a liar, declaring expressly as he does that he, entirely by his own inspiration, had indicated that identical spot to commence opening the rock. The discovery made by Dr. Almkvist offers, therefore, a real proof—indeed the first—not only to the impartial, but

also even to the prejudiced observer, that pottery-wares had been lying for considerable periods in the rocky soil of Moab.

Less fortunate was the result of my own expedition, which was interrupted by the Russian war. The discovery I made represents, in my opinion, a proof only to an unprejudiced judge. After perusing so many criticisms on Weser's expeditions,—I mean besides Prof. Socin, also the learned geographer Hellwald,—one must be prepared for anything. Both my companions and myself found the caves of Kubeibe, Mack'ad, and Kyriath-Aleyan, materially changed from the description given by Almkvist. No doubt some people have continued digging after that expedition. It seems, too, that the principal proprietor, the Sheikh Mutlak, also had obtained some experience in forming an opinion on the rocks. He told us that the pottery-wares were to be found only in certain formations. Here I mentally hear the learned critics exclaim, "Ah, very well; those are Mutlak's own formations, behind which he has hidden his or Selim's manufactures." But I should like to see the great conjuror who is able to create artificially that stratum of flint protruding from the side wall of one of the caves more than one mètre high above ground, and losing itself in the depths of the earth, behind which, after excavating for several hours, we found some large fragments of clay, bearing inscriptions.

The surface (of the cave) was covered by a kind of fine grey moss, which was distributed over it like mould, having ruts worked by the passage of insects, a proof that no human hand had touched it for long periods. This stratum, which rose diagonally from below, reaching into the side wall of the cave, was burst, and soft earth had sunk into the rents. Thus we were enabled to loosen them by degrees, and, after having rolled aside several fragments of rocks of upwards of a cubic foot in diameter, we found *behind* them, in the soft earth that had fallen down, these fragments of clay, together with a small idol and several bones. After these boulders of rock had been removed, a niche in the cave was discovered behind them, which, so long as the flint stratum had not been touched, could not even have been seen, much less entered. But now my companions examined it with a lantern. They found, in a crack of the rocky ceiling over the niche, a large idol, consisting of two portions, not entirely fitting together, the front part of which shows Moabitic letters in relief, while at the back they are imprinted, as is the case with the articles of the present collections.

The gentlemen appointed to accompany me on the part of the Imperial Government,—consisting of Messrs. Schick, Councillor for Architecture, Ser Murad, first Dragoman to the Imperial Consulate, and A. Niepagen, Inspector of the Ruins of the Convent of St. John, all of whom are perfectly impartial and unconcerned in all matters relating to the disputed Moabitic question,—have declared with me that the supposition of a forgery was, under these circumstances, utterly impossible. Mr. Schick did not even consider it worth while to allege, in his technical report to the Imperial Government on the results of our expedi-

tion, all the individual elements calculated to prove the correctness of our supposition. Certainly the objections which, no doubt, will be raised against it in Berlin can, in the presence of the tangible facts in the cave, only make him smile; but I, being cognisant of the state of things there, and aware of the criticisms lavished on the results of Weser's expeditions, could not be satisfied, and, therefore, completed Schick's report in the essential points.

It is thus to be hoped that the truth may at last be known respecting this interesting question.

In the hope that the foregoing explanation may be of service to you in England, I remain, my dear Mr. Shapira, very faithfully yours,

(Signed)                      FRIEHR VON MUNCHHAUSEN,  
*Imperial German Consul in the Holy Land.*

---

London, Nov. 29th, 1877.

Allow me to state here the results of my own observation:—

I observed that the rocky mountains south-east of Moab, from the upper Wadi Themad to the lower part of it, called Wadi Vali (the maps all wrongly give two separate wadis), as well as farther south to the Wady Sepha (perhaps the Supha of the Bible) and the River Arnon, consist of white soft limestone intermingled with masses of flint, as also some other harder stone called Missi in Arabic. Many holes occur in the limestone, some smaller, some larger, especially near the flint strata, which holes seem to be natural earth bubbles. The softer parts of the rock are apt to dissolve into very fine white dust, which tumbling down, and mixing with some harder pieces of stone fallen from above, in process of time petrifies, and so forms a new "rock."

The same thing must, in my opinion, have happened in the hundreds of caves I have seen, all of which are hewn in the original rock. The upper parts resolved themselves into powder, and the idols, vases, etc., hidden in the natural holes there (and used as talismans? or monuments?), also fell down to the bottom of the caves, and are, consequently, often found under ground near the rocky walls of the caves. Others, which were hidden in a hole in the midst of the rocky wall of the cave, behind a prominent row of flint, became covered by a petrifying new wall, formed in process of time from the dust, stones, or even buried pottery, which had fallen slowly from above.

Dr. Almkvist is Professor of Oriental Languages at Upsala. Mutlak, I may add is Selim's greatest enemy, and would have long ago killed Selim if not afraid of me.

M. W. SHAPIRA.

---

Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dec. 3, 1877.

All Semitic scholars, I have no doubt, will read with the greatest



satisfaction, Freiherr von Münchhausen's letter, addressed to Mr. Shapira, so far as his new discoveries of Moabite idols and potteries, with and without inscriptions, are concerned. No one ever believed that the Mesha inscription was the first and the last made by Moabites, and hopes were expressed that some other documents would turn up in the land of Moab, and I may add, perhaps, even in the land of Ammon. But, as to the potteries bought at Berlin, no official or unofficial document will ever prove their genuineness. Before Profs. Socin and Kautzsch had even the idea of investigating the subject, I had shown, from Prof. Schlottman's specimens, published in the *Transactions* of the German Oriental Society, that, from a palæographical point of view, the inscriptions published by him must be a forgery, since we find there not only one and the same letter sometimes in the right position and sometimes upside down, but also Himyaritic and even Arabic characters, which cannot occur in a genuine document of at least 600 B.C. It is probable that the unskilful falsifier worked with a table of alphabets, let us say with that of Gesenius. I shall not insist, either, on the shape of the goddess of the earth, which, according to my opinion, represents rather the type of a German girl—this must be left to the judgment of the archaeologists—or on a passage of these inscriptions which represents a permutation of a passage of the Proverbs, which might, perhaps, be disputed. If I am right in the last point, the falsifier must have been a person knowing the Hebrew text of the Bible. At all events, as I have pointed out, whilst no two words can be explained in the specimens published by Prof. Schlottmann, not even with the professor's strange method of decipherment, by having recourse to all the Semitic dialects, the Mesha inscription is read with facility except in the broken parts. I may add that the Moabite potteries at Berlin are considered tacitly by all the German Semitists, with the exception of Prof. Schlottmann, as forgeries, otherwise the inscriptions found upon them would have been published already. I may remind the Imperial German Consul in the Holy Land that the Crimean tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions, mentioned in your columns, were declared by a professor of geology to have lain buried horizontally for 1,800 years; and, in spite of this statement, it is now evident, from Dr. Harkavy's researches, that the inscription, which was believed to be 6 B.C., is not earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. Allow me to express the hope that, in the further discussions concerning these Moabite antiquities, no one will imitate the example of Prof. Schlottmann, who declares, in the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, M. Clermont Ganneau's statements to be the result of *chauvinisme*. Science is, and ought to be, cosmopolitan, and professors have to give the first example to the general public of confraternity and candour.

AD. NEUBAUER.

---

## THE ROSE OF SHARON.

(Cant ii. 1 ; Isaiah xxxv. 1.)

THE question of the proper translation of the word *Habatstseleh*, rendered "rose" in the English version, has never been settled with certainty. The following notes may be of interest regarding it:—

The word in Hebrew comes from the root *Batzl*, "bulbous," from which it has been generally concluded that some kind of lily was intended, and a great many species have been proposed.

The Targums translate the word by *Narkus*, the narcissus, which is not only of the lily tribe, but also a plant very common in spring in the Plain of Sharon.

Roses are not found in Palestine, though the dog-rose flourishes on Hermon in the cooler atmosphere 6,000 feet above the sea and in the Anti-Lebanon. It seems improbable that the climate of the lower regions can ever have been fitted for roses.

We found that the name *Buseil* was applied to one plant only in Palestine, and that plant is the narcissus. This is confirmed by M. Bergheim of Abu Shusheh, whose acquaintance with the peasant language is intimate.

The agreement between the modern name and the Jewish tradition of the meaning of the word used in the Bible seems perhaps sufficient to identify the rose of Sharon with the beautiful white narcissus which covers the low hills in spring and is also found on the plain.

C. R. C.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

Lieutenant Kitchener returned to England in January, and after a short leave, joined Lieut. Conder at the South Kensington Museum, where he is now engaged in arranging and writing the Memoirs for the sheets of the Map executed by himself. The Memoirs of Lieutenant Conder are almost completed. He leaves the service of the Committee at the end of April, after six years' work on the survey of Western Palestine. A note on his new book will be found later on.

---

The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, amounted in all to the triangulation and survey of 1,340 square miles of country; every ruin was examined, and special reports on all villages and water supply were drawn up; the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee was completed, 1,700 square miles of country were revised, 3,850 names were collected and 816 ruins examined and described, 29 special plans and 19 photographs were taken, besides notes on all archaeological and geological points of interest in the country.

---

The most interesting discovery, from a Biblical point of view, announced in the present *Quarterly Statement*, is that of the "Stone of Bethphage." The account given by Captain Guillemot differs from that of Lieut. Kitchener in one important particular. The stone is not in the centre of a circular chapel, but within a chapel the plan of which has been drawn by Lieut. Kitchener. It is probably that mentioned by Theodoricus, the passage from whom is quoted by M. Clermont Ganneau (p. 59). We have here, therefore, the Bethphage of tradition.

---

The work for the year will consist entirely of the preparation of Map and Memoirs. Everything is being pushed on as rapidly as possible.

The following is the financial position of the Fund (March 25, 1878). Receipts, December 12th to March 25th, £911 6s. 5d. Expenditure, same period: Exploration, £455 6s. Printing, £200. General expenses and small bills, £355 1s. 6d. The balance in the banks at the latter date was £126 13s. 5d.

---

This small balance would probably have been much larger but for an apparently prevalent belief that the work of the Fund is over, and its expenses no longer heavy. First, the special work of the survey of Western Palestine is by no means over, nor will it be over until Map and Memoirs are completed and published. And secondly, not only is there the usual monthly expenditure to be met, but there are many debts which have to be paid off. Subscribers will strengthen the hands of the Committee very much if they will send their subscriptions for the year as early as convenient.

---

The controversy on the Moabite pottery has been continued during the last quarter. We reproduce the most important portions of the letters on the subject published in the *Athenæum*. The two "idols" brought home by Lieut. Kitchener are now in the office of the Fund, and can be seen by any visitor.

---

Two mistakes were allowed to pass in the January *Quarterly Statement*. In one of them the meeting in the Kensington Vestry was spoken of as a meeting in South Kensington. And in the other, the extracts from the *Descriptions Palæstinae* on the Position of Sion were headed *Positions* of Sion.

In the account of the Kensington meeting in the last *Quarterly Statement*, the names, also, of the following speakers were omitted: Rev. Dr. Francis Hessey, Rev. Dr. Raleigh, and Mr. Edmond Beales.

---

We have to report the loss of three members of the General Committee by death. The first of these, Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, was a member of the Committee from the beginning, but has not of late taken an active interest in work. The second, Sir Gilbert Scott, also joined the Committee at the foundation of the Society. The third is the Rev. George Williams, whose interest in the Fund has been unflagging, and whose personal assistance in addresses, speeches, and writing has always been very great. Canon Williams is chiefly known by his work on Jerusalem called the "Holy City." The first edition of this, partly prepared during his residence in Jerusalem, appeared in 1845. A second edition, greatly enlarged, and enriched by Professor Willis's paper on the Architecture of the Holy Sepulchre, was issued in 1849. The author was at the time of his death, which was sudden, engaged in the preparation of a third edition. It is not yet known how far he had advanced with this design.

---

The death is also announced of Mr. Joseph Bonomi, the companion of Mr. Catherwood, the first European who (in 1833) examined and surveyed the Haram



area. Mr. Bonomi, who spoke Arabic fluently, had often visited, but was not able to survey or sketch, the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el Aksa in the disguise of a Mohammedan pilgrim. Mr. Catherwood, who wore the dress of an Egyptian officer, was suffered to make drawings and take measurements, in the belief that he was ordered to do so by Mehemet Ali for the purpose of repairing the holy places. He introduced Bonomi and Mr. Arundale, on the pretence of requiring assistance, nor was it till the work was completed and the travellers at a safe distance from the city that the deception was discovered. Mr. Bonomi was for many years Curator of the Soane Museum.

---

Later on will be found an announcement of the general contents of Lieut. Conder's new book. It will be published at 24s. The Committee have resolved on reducing the price to subscribers to 17s. 6d., postage paid. But it can only be obtained at this price by application to the London office. Names will be received in advance. The book will be ready towards the end of April.

---

Several cases were discovered in 1876, and one or two last year, of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

---

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs.:—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire : Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. W. F. Creeny.

Suffolk : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. J. Foster, Farnlish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales : Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King is now in the Holy Land, but communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh: Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

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

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

### TENT WORK IN PALESTINE.

Lieut. Conder's book is expected to be ready about the third or fourth week in April. The Committee are anxious that the work should be understood to be presented by Lieut. Conder not as the scientific result of the Survey, which will be looked for in the twenty-six sheets of the Map, and the voluminous Memoirs, plans, special surveys, and drawings which will accompany them, but as a book naturally growing out of the note-books and observations of a traveller. It is a record of personal adventure, with sketches and drawings made on the spot. It contains also a more popular account of certain interesting discoveries and suggested identifications than is possible in the dry details of a scientific memoir.

From the table of contents of the book are taken the following heads:—

Vol. I. An account of the Samaritans and of the ancient manuscripts of Shechem. Description of Ebal and Gerizim. The accounts of Josephus compared with the results of the Survey as regards Samaria, Cæsarea, and Masada. The origin of the monastery of Carmel told by one of the last monks who remembers the foundation. Cana of Galilee, with an account of the early notices of the place. Adventures among the Arabs of Sharon, Damascus, and Baalbek. From the Summit of Hermon. Christmas at Bethlehem. Easter at Jerusalem. The site of Calvary. The site of the Temple compared with the ascertained rock levels of the Haram Area.

Vol. II. Jericho, Gilgal, and the Cities of the Plain. The Jordan Valley. Bethabara and Megiddo. David's Wanderings. The Desert of Judæa. Masada.

The Valley of Michmash, Bethel, Ai, Spring in Philistia, Lachish, Ascalon, Galilee. The Safed attack. Customs, language, and probable origin of the Fellaheen. Arabs, Jews, Russian Pilgrims and German Colonists. Fertility and Future of Palestine.

In an appendix will be published a complete list of the cities and towns mentioned in the Bible, with the identifications which have been proposed.

The illustrations, all from drawings made by the author in Palestine, or from new photographs, and chiefly of scenes never before figured, consist of six full-page and about thirty half-page woodcuts, engraved by Mr. Edward Whymper.

Those subscribers who wish to avail themselves of the privilege of obtaining the book at reduced price are requested to forward their names to the Secretary as soon as possible.

Although the work is issued by the Committee, it must be understood that the opinions expressed are those of the author, and that the Committee do not, in publishing the book, sanction or adopt Lieut. Conder's views.

### THE ROSE OF SHARON.

Mrs. Finn writes, with reference to Lieut. Conder's note on this subject (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1878, p. 46): "During our seventeen years' residence in Palestine I had many opportunities of seeing roses growing in the Holy Land, both cultivated and wild. I have a wild dog-rose gathered in Lebanon. I saw another growing and in blossom on the roadside between Nablûs and Jerusalem. Roses have been also cultivated in Palestine for a very long period, and they thrive well. The Hebrew word may well mean the Rose. It signifies, as does its cognate Arabic, the root of a bulbous plant. The flower of a rose is like a bulb in the way its petals are folded over each other. Hence the name applied to both."

### THE STONE OF BETHPHAGE.

#### I.

(Abridged from a paper published in the *Revue Archæologique*, Dec., 1877, by M. Clermont Ganneau.)

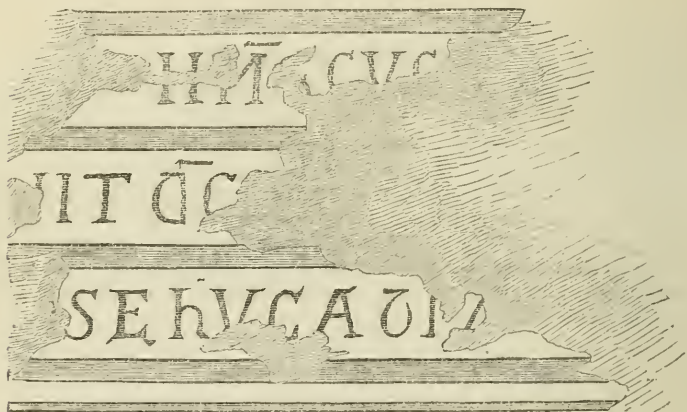
I HAVE received from the Frère Lièvin certain documents and drawings relating to an important discovery lately made near Jerusalem. They describe a Crusaders' monument, interesting both as regards the history of Western art in the East, and as illustrating the topography of Jerusalem. Frère Lièvin was fortunate in obtaining the valuable assistance of Captain Guillemot, to whose pen we owe the drawings here engraved. Farther on will also be found a notice drawn up by Captain Guillemot on the monument, its origin and destination, in support of which I shall have a few remarks to offer. The drawings are the more valuable because the monument has greatly suffered since

the clearing out. I heard, for instance, in October, that a part of the inscription painted on the western side fell off shortly after it was copied.

The excavations undertaken with a view to clear out the monument met with every kind of obstacle from the natives until the intervention of Reouf Pacha, who has rendered a great service to science in this matter—one which ought not to be forgotten, and which leads us to count on him for the future as an enlightened protector and patron of archæological research.

The following is the text of Captain Guillemot's report :—

“ On leaving the Convent of Carmelites on the Mount of Olives to go to Bethany, the path to the east follows the contour of the south side of the mountain. After a gentle descent of about five hundred metres it turns abruptly to the south, passing over a natural ridge, which unites the Mount of Olives with that of Bethany.



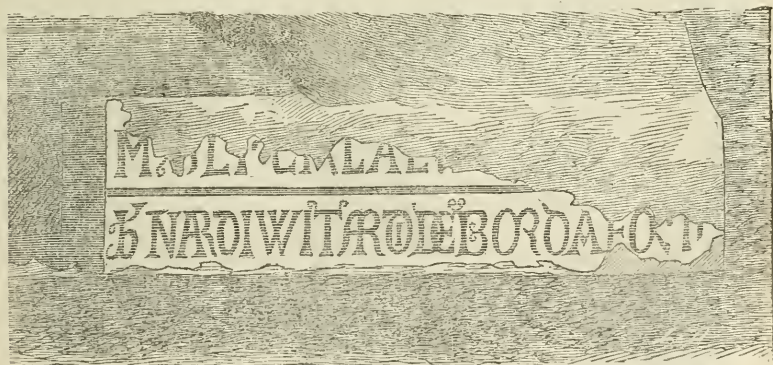
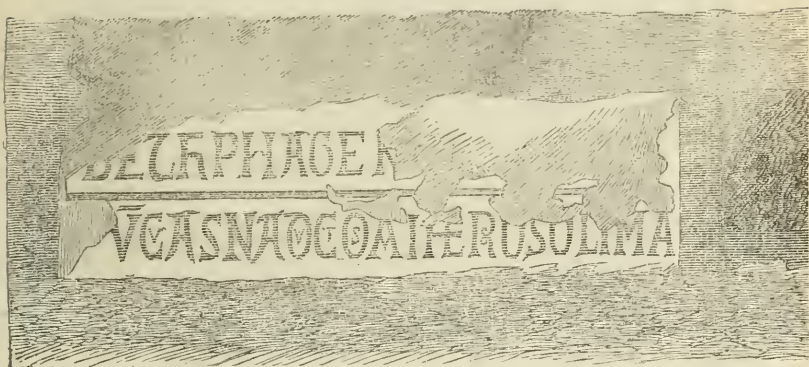
“ When you are arrived at the middle of the ridge, turn to the east, the Dead Sea is visible in the distance ; behind you, on the west, is the group of sanctuaries, the Ascension, the Pater Noster, and the Credo ; on the north, at the left, you are overlooked by the new constructions of the Russian Archimandrite ; the road of Bethany, on the right, runs to the south, and if you advance a few steps you are on the spot where the most ancient traditions place Bethphage.

“ Some time in the spring of the present year a *fellah* of Jebel Tur, digging on this spot in the hope of finding building stones, struck upon a polished block, upon which, on clearing away the earth, he found paintings and characters. In the hope of backsheesh he ran to his neighbours the Russians ; these, however, preoccupied with the coming war, told him to cover all up and leave it for the present.

“ For centuries past the Franciscans have been accustomed to celebrate

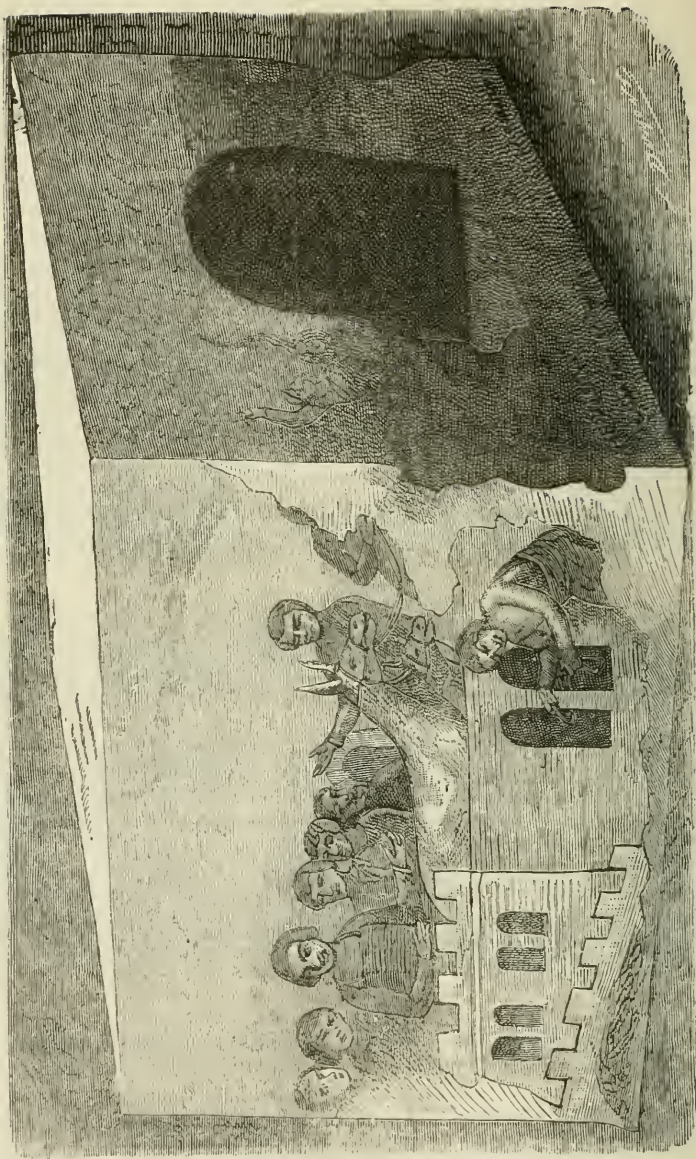


every year the Feast of Saint Magdalene at Bethany; on their return they halt at Bethphage in order to recite the Gospel of Palm Sunday. During the ceremony of this year (July 23, 1877) an assistant perceived certain letters on the *stèle*, which had been imperfectly covered over, and clearing away a portion of it, found a Latin inscription in Roman characters. The father in charge of the sacred places, recognising at once the importance of this discovery, instructed Frère Liévin to com-



mence excavations as soon as possible; to take notes of and to copy accurately everything that should be found.

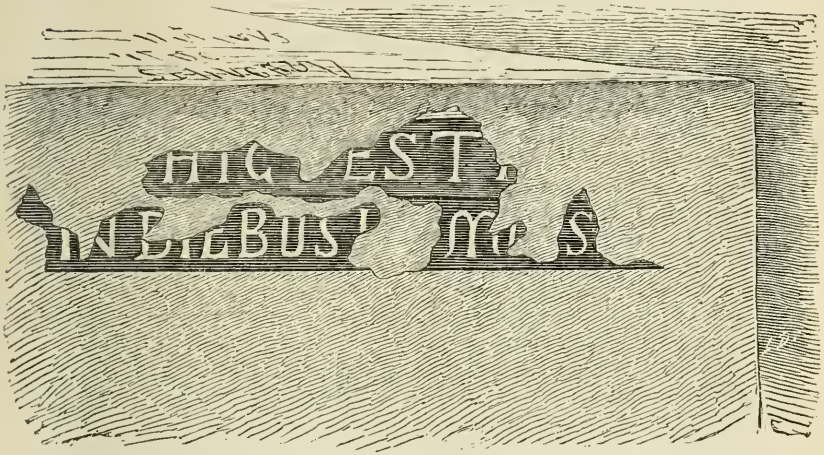
“Shortly after, Frère Liévin, having with him a small band of workmen armed with pickaxe and spade, brought me to the Mount of Olives and asked for my assistance. The moment our work was commenced the cupidity of the *fellahin* began to raise difficulties. Every resident of Jebel Tur pretended immediately to be the sole proprietor of this spot, hitherto neglected; and, to crown all, the villagers of Bethany declared



that the place belonged to their territory. I had, however, time to make notes of two fragments of inscription and a sketch of the north side of the fresco, representing the master of the castle according to the two disciples permission to carry away the ass and the foal.

“Next day, when I came back to compare my finished drawing with the original and to study the details, the excavations had been completely filled up and again partly cleared out. Happily, the part which I then wanted was not hidden.

“Next day, the same trouble; there was only the western face which remained partly uncovered. It was possible, however, to draw the figures bearing palms and hardly visible which stand on the right and left of the niche. Two days afterwards the whole was completely covered over; not even the top of the stone was visible.



“These proceedings resulted from disputes between the *fellahin*, some of them wanting the excavations to proceed in the hope of getting back-sheesh, and the others filling them up, as fast as made, out of jealousy.

“Things being in this position, Frère Liévin had recourse to the Pacha, who immediately accorded us his protection. Orders were given by his excellency to the chiefs of the villages of Bethany and Jebel Tur; a soldier was placed on guard over the excavations, and we were enabled to continue our labours in peace.

“The fresco which I had, happily, copied carefully had been seriously damaged by the pickaxes and by the continual friction with stones and earth; several letters of the inscription had disappeared. I made haste to note all that remained; it was fortunate that I did so, because shortly afterwards an unknown hand destroyed in our absence the greater part of the rest.



“The *stèle* measures 1·30 metres (4ft. 3·18in.) in its greatest length; in breadth it is 1·13 metres (3ft. 8·49in.) at the northern end, and 1·06 metres (or 3ft. 5·63in.) at the southern end. The height at the northern end is irregular, and averages one metre (3ft. 3·37in.) At the southern end it is 0·90 metres (2ft. 11·4in.). It is constructed of the rock on which it stands, a porous limestone, lying in irregular strata, with alternate soft and hard beds.

“The monolith has not been separated from the rock of which it forms part, except on the four faces.

“At first sight the monument would be taken for an altar, or even for a tomb. But there exist no traces of the steps and other accessories to an altar. As regards the second, there is no sign of any opening. The white stucco which covers it is still solid in certain places. The paintings are finely executed and of a striking character. Nevertheless, the inscriptions leave no doubt as to the origin of this decoration.

“But is it only a restoration? At what period was the stone cut? That is a question impossible to answer. Those who thus ornamented it must have had no doubt that formerly the rock stood out above the level of the soil, presenting a sort of rustic seat, and that our Lord may have sat upon it on a certain memorable day.

“*The Resurrection of Lazarus.*—The choice of the south side for this painting, which faces Bethany, and the subject, that of the permission to take the ass and the foal, makes me think that the west part, facing Jerusalem, must have represented the triumphant entry of our Lord into the Holy City. The figures which can still be seen bearing palms, on the two sides of the niche, are in favour of this hypothesis.

“This painting is much superior to the others. I believe, however, that it is by the same hand.

“On the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there is a Resurrection of Lazarus carved in the prolongation of the lintel. It is in great measure identical with that of Bethphage. Did the painter copy the sculptor? Perhaps while studying the vigorous bas-relief he may have acquired a more perfect understanding of the line and of light and shade. I am happy in having been able to copy this composition in time. At present it is greatly damaged; wet fingers have been passed over the figures, and have effaced them; many of them have quite disappeared.

“The fresco on the other side appears to be the blessing of the restoration of this little sanctuary. The notch which is observed in the upper part, about the middle, may have been to hide a defect in the stone.

“On clearing away the earth from our excavations we came upon a circular construction of a much more ancient appearance than the decoration of the *stèle*. The disposition and arrangement of the materials have nothing in common with Crusaders' work. Besides, at two metres from the circumference we found the fragment of a column standing still upright upon its base. Is this the first and most ancient



sanctuary, which those who restored the monument were unable to repair in its original grandeur? More complete examination of the place is required to prove the point.

“In any case, we ascertained that the *stèle* itself was in the centre of the circular space.\*

“Near the monument lie a number of cisterns, some in ruins, some covered over and still in use. Their depth and size, and the fact that they are gathered together over a narrow space, their acknowledged antiquity, all go to prove that there once existed an important village in this place. Two of the reservoirs are in ruins; two others serve as watering-places for cattle. A small rocky ravine which used to feed these cisterns separates them towards the west from a mamelon which may very well be the site of Bethphage. I have seen on the ground broken pillars, fragments of marble pavement, an enormous quantity of broken Jewish pottery, and mosaic cubes of all colours, all of which have been brought to light by the cultivation of the soil.

“I one day met the proprietor on the spot at the moment when he was taking out of the ground a stone evidently once part of an aqueduct, and evidently of great age. I asked him if he found many things like it. He replied, ‘You see all this place; I cannot dig anywhere without finding walls.’ Then he added, ‘There was formerly a city on this spot.’ That, indeed, is the opinion of the whole country.

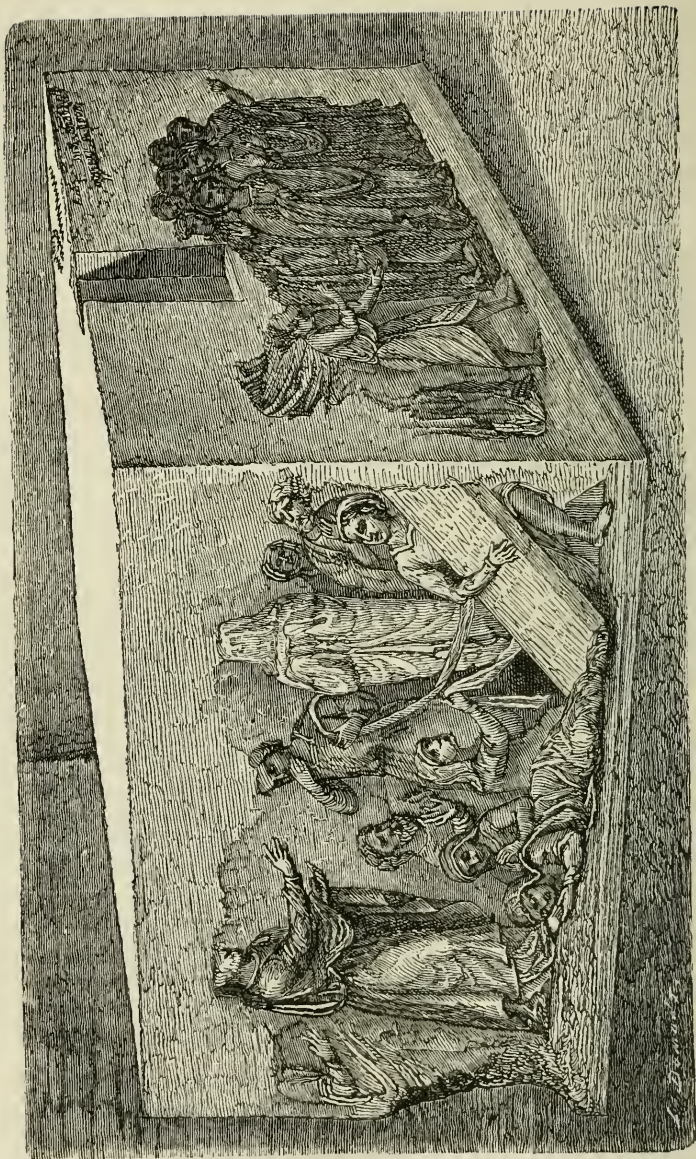
“It does not seem to me possible that Bethphage could have been placed on the side of a road which, shut in to right and left by two hills, is a mere gulf for the west wind, so terrible in this country. The old cities in the vicinity are all built on slopes which incline to the south-east. Now this mamelon near the cisterns has a similar inclination.

“Again let us turn to the sacred narrative. The Saviour came from Jericho towards Jerusalem; He had passed Bethany, and passed over the ground broken by the hills which separate the valleys of Bethany and Bethphage. ‘Go,’ He said to His disciples, ‘to *the village over against you*’ (Matt. xxi. 2). Now the road has not been changed, since it could have passed no other way than over the narrow ridge to join the Mount of Olives. If, then, the village was on the road, why send the disciples, since the Lord would pass it Himself? And if we look at the plan, we may be sure that the disciples, to make a short cut, descended the valley to climb the mamelon of Bethphage, while our Lord, with the rest of His disciples, continued to follow the road in the direction of the Mount of Olives, and there waited the return of the disciples.

“And to the faithful this stone would be that on which Jesus rested by the wayside and when He mounted the ass.”

To this report M. Clermont Ganneau appends several pages of valuable comment. He points out that the niche shown in the drawing may, as Captain Guillemot suggests, have been carved on the stone originally, and in order to hide some defect; or it may have been cut by a *fellah* of more modern days to receive a beam for some construction of his

\* See Lieut. Kitchener’s Report and Plan, p. 61.



own. The inscription he ascribes, as beyond doubt, to the twelfth century. On one of the faces occurs the name of Bernard Witard. There appears in the Cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the name of Johannes Guitard (= Witard). Probably Bernard belonged to this family, and defrayed the expenses of the monument.

As regards the constructions found round the *stèle*, M. Ganneau is of opinion, in which Lieut. Kitchener's observations (see plan, p. 61) support him, that the wall was not actually circular, but apsidal, and part of a church, and he calls attention to the importance of proving that the church was built before the stone was painted. His own discovery of the *taille médiévale* (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874) may be applied here.

As regards Captain Guillemot's suggestion that the stone may have been regarded as that on which our Lord rested, M. Ganneau brings direct proof that such was the case. He quotes Theodoricus de Locis Sanctis (A.D. 1072):—"Milliario ab Hierosolymis Bethania, ubi domus Simonis leprosi, Lazari et ejus sororum Mariæ et Marthæ erat, distat, ubi Dominus sæpe hospitari solebat. Sita est autem Bethania juxta vallum Oliveti, montem à parte orientali terminantem. A Bethania ergo in die palmarum dilectissimus dominus noster Jesus Christus præcedens et Bethphage veniens, qui locus inter Bethaniam et montem Oliveti medius est, ubi etiam honesta capella in ipsius honore est fabricata binos ad adducendum asinam et pullum misit discipulos, et stans super lapidem grandem qui in ista capella manifeste videtur, et asino insidens per montem Oliveti Hierosolymam properavit cui turba multa in descensu montis ipsius obviam processit."—Tobler's edit. p. 52.

So that in the second half of the twelfth century they showed between the Mount of Olives and Bethany the site of Bethphage and the place where Jesus had sent two of His disciples to seek the ass and the colt. There they had raised a "fair chapel"—*honesta capella*—and in this chapel was visible the stone on which our Lord stood before mounting the ass.

"This rock," says M. Ganneau, "can be no other than this monolith, from which the surrounding rock has been carefully cut away, lovingly covered on all sides by delicate paintings, which remind one of illuminations in a precious missal rather than an ordinary fresco drawn to hide the naked stone. . . . We may remember that the Crusaders had an especial predilection for fresco painting; they covered the walls of all the churches on the sacred sites with frescoes. Many pilgrims, especially John of Wurzburg, have preserved the description of these paintings, the subjects of which, all borrowed from the Old and the New Testament, were in accordance with the traditions of each sanctuary. These paintings were accompanied by long inscriptions, generally in rhymed Latin, according to the fashion of the time. It is a pity that John of Wurzburg did not visit the place and copy the inscriptions. He mentions, however, the church of Bethphage. Several other writers of the twelfth century speak of Bethphage and its church. Sæwulf, however (A.D. 1102), speaks as if a church had not yet been erected: "Bethphage, ubi



Dominus præmisit discipulos ad civitatem est in monte Oliveti, sed fere nusquam apparet."

Bernard (A.D. 865) says:—"In descensu etiam de monte Oliveti ad occidentalem plagam ostenditur marmor, de quo descendit dominus super pullum asinæ."

The "western" slope of Olivet will not fit in with our *stèle*, but the fact remains that in the ninth century such a stone was shown.

M. Ganneau goes on to show that the traditional site of Bethphage was maintained up to the 17th century. He concludes his paper (*Revue Archæologique*, Dec., 1877) as follows:—"We know, therefore, beyond any doubt, the point where the Crusaders localised the episode to which the name of Bethphage is attached. The ruins noticed by M. Guillemot not far from the painted stone belong to the Bethphage so called by the Crusaders. Is this mediæval Bethphage identical with that of the Gospel? This is a question quite distinct from the first. We know how different are opinions on the site of Bethphage. According to some who rely on the Greek text of Luke xix. 29, it is placed to the east or the south-east of Bethany; others consider it as identical with the modern village of Silwan; others, again, relying on the authority of the Talmud, make Bethphage a suburb of Jerusalem. For my own part, I confess that I ask myself whether Bethphage is not simply the village of the Mount of Olives called *Kefr et-Tûr*. I believe this village ancient on account of its name of *Kefr*, on account of its situation, and on account of the ancient remains that one sees there. *Kefr et-Tûr* means the *Village of the Mount of Olives*; it may formerly have had a designation more personal, which is lost. Now the Gospel tells us of an ancient locality whose name has disappeared; it is Bethphage, the *Village of the Mount of Olives*.

"This hypothesis will enable us to explain and understand certain Talmudic passages, which are all clear if one admits that Bethphage marked on the East the boundary of the Sabbatic zone which on every side surrounded the city. The Mount of Olives (by which we may now understand a particular point of this mount) was exactly a Sabbath-day's journey from Jerusalem. And what point could this be except the village of the mountain which occupied its principal summit and now bears its name?"

## II.

### LIEUTENANT KITCHENER'S REPORT.

The road from the Mount of Olives to Bethany crosses a narrow ridge of land which joins the Mount of Olives to the hill above Bethany. On this narrow strip ancient tradition placed the site Bethphage, mentioned (Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; and Luke xix. 29) as the place where our Lord mounted the ass for his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The remains of an ancient chapel have been uncovered, dating probably from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

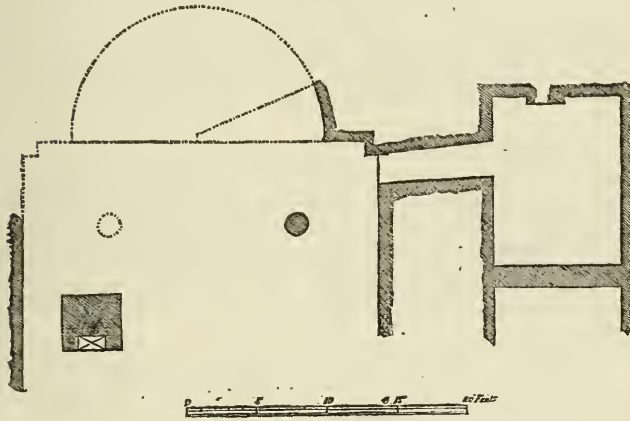
In the chapel there is an almost square block of masonry or rock covered with paintings; it measures 4ft. 3in. by 3ft. 6in. by 3ft. 10in.



high, and its position in the chapel is curious—being on the north side, probably between two columns of the nave, as seen on the accompanying plan.

This square block is supposed to be either an altar, a shrine, or a portion of the rock cut out and ornamented, being the exact place where our Lord mounted the ass.

*Plan of recent discovery  
near  
Mount of Olives*



The paintings, of which I send you pen-and-ink sketches, are well done, though now much disfigured. On the south side is the Raising of Lazarus; on the north are the Disciples fetching the Ass; on the east there are a number of persons standing in a row, but it is too much disfigured to be recognisable; on the west there is a niche covered by an arch, which was probably supported by two small columns; below the niche is a portion of an inscription still remaining; several lines have been destroyed.

On the top there was also some design and the traces of an inscription. The walls of the small chamber to the south were also painted with a design of squares containing circles, and the walls of the church were painted in a common pattern.

M. Le Capitaine Guillemot was the first to visit these remains, and he has made elaborate drawings and copies of the paintings and inscriptions when everything was almost perfect. These he is about to publish. He was able to read on different parts of the inscription, "Hic est," "Bethphagus," and "Hierusalem."

H. H. K.

## JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY.

JERUSALEM, 23rd November, 1877.

The obstruction of the authorities of Nablus to my repairing Jacob's Well continued during the whole time I was there, in spite of all the measures I took to gain their compliance in a work which could only be for the good of all, Mohammedans and Christians alike. I was subjected to many indignities by the officials, which culminated on the 3rd of November by my being stoned by a mob of boys in the streets of Nablus. My letter of complaint to the acting governor was sent back unopened, showing that, if they had not connived at the insult to me, they intended taking no steps to punish the delinquents. The case is now officially before the ambassador, but owing to the unsatisfactory state of things in Turkey there is little hope of its being attended to for some time.

While at Nablus the revision went on steadily, and many important results were obtained. I made considerable search on Mount Ebal for the el Keniseh (the church) described by Major Wilson, and with some difficulty found the name of a ruin (el Kuneisah) spelt differently, and therefore not meaning a church. The people from the north side of the mountain who cultivate the ground were an extremely bad lot, and I had to make three expeditions to the top before I could gain any reliable information.

I sent Corporal Brophy with an expedition to Tulkerum to revise that portion of the map, which was successfully accomplished. On the 2nd I rode out to Teiasir to search for the tombs of the kings of Israel. As I was passing the village of Tubás I made some search after an inscription which had been reported, but after careful inquiry and search among the tombs, I could not hear of any inscription answering to my description. On visiting the mosque, however, they told me of a valuable stone that was built into the wall. Getting my fingers into a crevice under the stone, I could feel that it was inscribed. I therefore urged them to pull it out to adorn the mosque, and after a little persuasion in the shape of bucksheesh they set to work and soon rooted out the stone. It proved to be an Arabic inscription, very much defaced, telling of the building and dedication of the mosque. Tubás is a large village of about 1,500 inhabitants, situated in a most fertile country. By paying £100 in gold to the Pasha of Nablus the people have escaped the conscription up to now, but I expect their term is nearly out, and unless they pay another heavy bribe they will soon be called upon to make up for the time they have been spared.

At Teiasir I was unable to identify the tombs of the kings. There are large numbers of caves and tombs on the side of a valley, but nothing to distinguish any above the rest. The surface of the walls is cut up with winepresses and cisterns. On the top of the hill, above the tombs, there seemed to be traces of what might have been some large attached

sarcophagi, but they are so broken and worn down that it was impossible to be certain about them. The village is deserted, owing to the heavy demands for taxes and conscription. Half a dozen very unpleasing-looking men rushed out of a cave when they heard us, evidently meaning mischief; but on seeing that we were three, and well armed, they skulked off amongst the bushes. Poor creatures! they looked pinched with hunger, and were evidently very nearly driven to desperation. These are the sort of people that are making the country dangerous at this time. After visiting all the rock-cut tombs and caves and examining the remains of the old Roman masonry tomb, which reminded me of the one at Kades, though much smaller, we rode back along the remains of the Roman road. At one place four Roman milestones were thrown together in a heap. The engineering of these Roman roads was excellent. Over a most difficult country such as this it excites admiration to see the way that difficulties were got over with the least possible expenditure of labour. Should Palestine ever be reopened to civilisation, these roads will form the basis of the principal lines of communication through the country.

On passing Wady Farah I visited the tent of Fendy el Feis, the chief of the Beni Sakr. The tribe left the neighbourhood of Zerín on account of the row that was made about the murder of Mr. Gale, near Nazareth. The government had long wished to get rid of them, and seized the opportunity, when Mr. Moore arrived at Acre in a British man-of-war to inquire into the murder, to inform the Beni Sakr that it might be disagreeable to them if they remained, as suspicion was likely to fall on some of them.

Their tents were pitched in a lovely spot close to Burg el F'arah, on the high ground between the two springs 'Ain el F'arah and 'Ain ed Duleib. Both of them form streams of water at once, and run through groves of oleanders and bushes.

Fendy was absent in Moab arranging for the sale of camels for the Hâj. The tribe make about £1,500 a year by selling or hiring camels for the pilgrimage to Mecca; the Beni Sakr tribe seem to have almost the monopoly in this trade. While at Bosra the government on some plea took Fendy prisoner; his son at once got together a band of Arabs and came to the rescue of his father. The first shot fired by the escort guarding Fendy killed his son; this seems to have ended the affray. There was some fear that this would be a cause of feud between the tribe and the government, but Fendy is reported to have said on the occasion, "My son and I were servants of the Sultan, now he has one less," which is taken to mean he does not intend making a feud of it. I got back to my tent late.

On the 3rd I sent the two non-commissioned officers to Lebban with a party to go on with the revision of that district. I stayed at Nablus owing to a telegram from the consul-general asking me to wait and see what steps the Vali of Syria would take in the matter of Jacob's Well. I rode out and examined the fine site of El 'Ormah, south-east

of Nablus. The position was very grand, standing high above the surrounding hills; from a distance the castle seems almost inaccessible; by approaching it from the west, however, a narrow tongue of land leads to within a little of the top. A stiff climb along rock terraces and over scarped rocks leads to the plateau on the top on which the castle was situated. The foundations of two square towers of large drafted masonry, similar to Crusading work, still guard the southern entrance; these and some cisterns and ruined houses are all that now remain; the whole area of the plateau would be about three-quarters of an acre. The rock was scarped perpendicularly on the west side; on the east and north sides the hill descended very steeply about 500 ft. to a valley; on the south a very narrow ridge led to another small round hilltop, slightly lower than the fortress, which was equally inaccessible. The place must have been one of great strength; the remains still existing do not seem to date from a period previous to the times of the Crusaders.

I returned by the village of Awertah, which is very pleasantly situated amongst olive-groves, and well supplied with water. It is famous for the tomb of Eleazar (el 'Azeir), which is held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, Jews, and Samaritans. I had to search for the tomb of Phinehas; but, though there are three other sacred places, the inhabitants knew nothing of Phinehas. The three others are Sheikh el Mansury, Neby el Mefuddil, and el 'Azeirât, and in each there are Samaritan inscriptions. In Neby el Mefuddil the inscription is plastered up. The people are very obliging, and all the sacred places are kept in excellent repair. A Samaritan told me that Sh. el Mansury was the tomb of Phinehas according to their records, but it seems more probable from the positions on the ground that el 'Azeirât, which corresponds with el 'Azeir, should be the site. The place is evidently very ancient; there are many rock-cut tombs, wine-presses, cisterns, and a fine spring of water. The people told me that el 'Azeir was a very great Neby next to Mohammed, and that he had even lived before the Prophet of God.

As I found, on my return to camp, that the government intended still to raise objections, though they had received a pressing telegram from the Vali, I determined to move next day to Beitin. Telegraphic communication at Nablus is in a curious state, no telegrams being considered private. The Greek bishop often brought me copies of telegrams received by the government, and I am quite convinced the authorities received copies of mine probably before they were forwarded. To frustrate this I sent some of mine round by Jerusalem. Next day I moved camp to Beitin, as nothing official had arrived in the twenty-four hours. My non-commissioned officers were there before me. From this camp a large tract of country was revised.

Corporal Brophy having reported some inscriptions and carved stones at Jifna, I rode there next day. The inscriptions are on a small modern bridge, and are in modern Greek and Arabic, stating the bridge to have been built by the head of the convent.

Let into the wall of the Greek church there is a very beautifully



carved sarcophagus in perfect preservation. It is very rare in this country to find figures un mutilated, but in this case the sarcophagus was found on Greek ground, and the village being Christian, it has escaped. The work and finish is very fine: four small angles support a wreath hanging in festoons; in the centre of each compartment thus formed above the wreath is a cherub's head; the expression on the faces is very beautiful; the whole is cut in white marble. There is a great difference between this sarcophagus and those described by Major Wilson at Kades, of which two remarkably well-preserved specimens may be seen at Kh. Shelabûn. The work is much smaller and finer, and I should think of a later date.

Next day I moved camp to Beit Ur et Tâhta, every one revising on the road, as usual when we moved camp.

The following day I rode down the great valley that witnessed the flight and pursuit of the Philistines by Joshua on that day that was like no other. After visiting Beit Nuba and Yalo I returned by Beit Sira, and met a bridal party. Our village had arranged to give a bride to a man of Bir Main in exchange for one of equal beauty and wealth for one of their sons. Both brides started at a given time from their villages, accompanied by all the women in their gayest attire, and escorted by mounted men galloping frantically about performing "fantasia," as they call it. The brides were veiled and so muffled up that they could hardly move. The women kept up a chant the whole way. When the two processions came within sight of each other they halted, and the brides were dragged off their horses and took leave of their friends with a good deal of lamentation. They were then mounted again, and two men led the horses alone to the opposite party; the men changed horses midway, and brought back the new brides. They were at once received with great joy, and had to dismount again to receive the congratulations of their new friends. Both parties then returned with a good deal of shouting and firing off of old rusty guns. In the evening the shouting and noise in the village was kept up to a late hour.

The following day I sent the non-commissioned officers to make special plans of the White Mosque at Ramleh and the reservoir of St. Helena. I rode to Jaffa revising, and slept there; the ground was very deep in the plain, owing to the rains, and great care had to be taken. Our horses were frequently up to their girths in the soft ground.

I was astonished to learn at Jaffa that the French steamer would arrive on the 23rd instead of the 29th, as I had expected and calculated for. It was extremely important that the non-commissioned officers should go home by that steamer, as otherwise they would have to wait a fortnight for the next. I rode from Jaffa to Arsuf to examine the castle, while the non-commissioned officers made a special plan of Râs el Ain and revised the country round. The castle at Arsûf is very like Ascalon in the style of its masonry and the excellence of the cement employed. In places where the stones are weathered away, the cement remains. It was almost impossible to break off a piece. In other

places the pointing remains as fresh as when the masons left it. The castle was built on a bad foundation of very soft rock, on the seaside; this has been worn away, and the walls have slid down bodily. They are naturally cracked and broken, but immense portions of the walls have rolled down from a great height without breaking up. In some parts the walls look as if they had been built on sloping scarps, so perfectly have they slid from their high position. A quantity of green sulphate of copper is scattered about attached to rocks in crystals. I had to leave early, as it was necessary to get back to camp at Lidd that evening. Next morning I sent Corporal Brophy up to Jerusalem to get on with the packing up, and moved camp to Deir Aban. I visited Mr. Bergheim's farm at Abu Shusheh, and found the position of 'Ain et Tamuir. It is now applied to a spot on the hill side, where the ain is said to commence. The water is carried from this spot in an aqueduct underground to the present 'Ain el Yerdeh, lower down. This theory is carried out by the discovery, when the men were cleaning out 'Ain el Yerdeh, that the water came into the well from an aqueduct. After examining the country round, I rode to Amwas to see the church. I entered the mosque and measured it up. On coming out I found a throng of people, who said it was a most sacred place, being the tomb of Sheik Obeid. I apologised for going in with my shoes on. The people were extremely civil and obliging, and though I had a Turkish soldier with me, they expressed their longing that England would take the country and give them the benefits of a just government. Nothing I could say would induce them to believe that England had no intention of doing anything of the sort. There had been a wedding that day, and as the bridegroom has to stand a certain amount of powder for fantasia on these occasions, the young men very sensibly determined to use it for firing at marks, instead of throwing it away uselessly. They made some very good practice. At a certain time they all formed in line in front of the mosque, with the old sheikh in front, and went through their devotions together. They were very fervent in their prayers that God would give victory to the Sultan and confound the Muscovites. I then visited the remains of the magnificent church. The stones are very large, and the church, in my opinion, is older than the Crusading times, very probably dating from the fifth century.

I next visited the fine remains of the Crusading castle at Latron; it must have been an important place, and is still in very fair preservation. I had no time to make a plan of the remains. Pushing on for Deir Aban I soon caught Corporal Sutherland, who had been revising in another direction; his horse was evidently very ill, and as Corporal Sutherland had a very bad foot I had to lead it all the way, about six miles, to Deir Aban. We got in some time after dark; the horse was very bad on the road, and though everything was done he died a quarter of an hour after getting into camp. It was sad he could not last another day, as that would have finished his work.

Next day we marched into Jerusalem. I visited Beit Atah and Ellar

et Táhta, making inquiries about Azekah, but could hear of no such place except Ez Zak near Khuweilfeh, and Kh. Habeik, both well-known places.

I came round by Solomon's Pools and the Bethlehem road revising, while Corporal Sutherland took a straighter course; Corporal Brophy revised the road on his way up from Lidd. The revision of 1,700 square miles was therefore completed on the 17th November. We had some very bad weather during the month—six days may be characterised by continuous rain—but the work was carried on the same and no day was lost. Packing up and arranging for the sale of the horses took two days. The men left on the 22nd and sailed next morning with all the luggage. I made some final arrangements and sailed myself for Constantinople on the 26th.

The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, has been 1,340 square miles of country triangulated and surveyed, every ruin examined, and special reports on all villages and water supply; the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee completed, 1,700 square miles of country revised, 3,850 names collected and 816 ruins examined and described, 29 special plans and 19 photographs, besides notes on all archæological and geological points of interest in the country gone over.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

## ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.—CANA OF GALILEE.

ST. JAMES'S TERRACE, REGENT'S PARK,

*March 30th, 1878.*

IN trying to lay down the routes by which our Lord made his journeys, nothing is more important than to fix, if possible, disputed sites. A place identified becomes a fixed point, from which other lines may be pushed out. Happily, a few of the more important places—Nazareth, Bethlehem, Bethany, Mount Olivet, Jerusalem, and Jacob's Well—have never been the sport of theorists. But this good fortune has not attended Cana, Bethsaida, Capernaum, and Bethabara. If all these places could be fixed beyond dispute, much would be done towards framing an outline for the Itineraries. In the following notes I venture to submit the case in favour of Cana, and to ask for a verdict on the evidence adduced in favour of the historic site, against the theorists.

Where was this sacred place?

All the native Churches, whether Greek or Latin, Coptic, Nestorian, or Armenian, reply that Cana of the marriage feast lay at Kefr Kana, on the road from Nazareth to Capernaum. Kefr Kana means Village of Cana. Till the days of Robinson there had been no dispute about the locality. Cana was a common name in Palestine, very much like

Ashton in England, Steinberg in Germany, San Lucar in Spain. There was a Cana in Judæa, a second Cana near Mount Tabor, a third Cana near Tyre. There may have been more. Villages of this name rose and perished without a record. One such village flourished in a recent period at a spot some six miles north of Sephoris, and is now called Khurbet Kana, Ruins of Cana. An ignorant Frank confused the new Cana north of Sephoris with the old Cana north-east of Nazareth; but the false suggestion died with the ignorant Frank who made it. Quaresmius, hearing of the suggestion, put an end to it by simple statement of the facts. Robinson revived the doubt.

On going up the hill of Nazareth with his Arab servant, Abu Nâsir, to get a view of the country, Robinson heard of that dead Cana, lying beyond Sephoris. The name was new to him, and the spot indicated was a desert place. Abu Nâsir spoke of it as Kânâ el-Jelil—Cana of Galilee. Robinson adopted the ridiculous heresy which Quaresmius fancied he had crushed. Robinson thought he had caught the monks at their tricks. The real Cana lay out of their way, and they changed the site for their own convenience. Abu Nâsir's word was enough. "The name is identical. . . . On this single ground, therefore, we should be authorised to reject the present monastic position of Cana." When Robinson had made up his mind he found plenty of texts to support his theories—found them by the easy process of misreading and false translation. He never went to see the spot! The place was called Khurbet Kana, Ruins of Cana; but he never asked whether the ruins were new or old—the waste of an Arab village later than the Crusades, or a Syrian hamlet earlier than the birth of Christ. Enough for him that Abu Nâsir called it Kânâ el-Jelil; Abu Nâsir's word outweighed for him the authority of all the native Churches.

This story sounds like farce; and yet, since Robinson's time, Khurbet Kana has for many persons usurped the place of the genuine Cana of Galilee. Karl Ritter adopted Robinson's mistake, and his authority has led to the insertion of his blunder in many maps. A note to the last edition of Ritter's work affords the means of correction; but several map-makers were misled before that correction came; see Chambers's map of Palestine, Hughes's map of Syria, Bædeker's "Galilee," and (I'm sorry to add) Murray's far more valuable map of the Holy Land. Let us scan the evidence of fact.

#### I.—EVIDENCE OF NAME.

Kefr Kana (Village of Cana) and Khurbet Kana (Ruins of Cana) are places in the same district of Galilee, hardly a dozen miles apart. In Greek their names are identical—they are both called *Kaná*; in our English form Cana. To distinguish either of them from Cana in Judæa it was necessary to add the words "in Galilee" or "of Galilee," as we, in speaking of our northern Richmond, should add "in Yorkshire" to distinguish it from the better known town near London. Robinson's first mistake arose from treating the form "Cana of Galilee" as a proper



name. His whole theory rests on this foundation. "Cana of Galilee," he argues, is the name of a place mentioned by St. John; "Kânâ el-Jelil" is the name of a place mentioned by Abu Nâsir. They must be one and the same. Such is his process—such his proof.

But was "Cana of Galilee" a proper name? Some names of towns are compound, the words wedded and inseparable, like Civita-Castellana, Boulogne-sur-Mer, and Ashton-under-Lyne. Is "Cana of Galilee" such a compound name? If not, Robinson's theory is untenable—his inference unsound.

On this point there is not much room for philological mistake. Cana is mentioned by two authors, and no more. They mention it by the same name, and with very nearly the same descriptive adjunct. These authors are Josephus and St. John. The name is only known in the Greek form *Kavá*, to which the English form Cana corresponds with perfect accuracy. No Hebrew, Chaldee, or Aramaic form of the word is known. All modern forms, whether Arabic or Frankish, are derived from the Greek word, and must be carried back to it in case of variance. Robinson saw an argument in favour of his heresy in the fact that some modern Arabs have rendered the Greek word *Kavá* by two Arabic forms, Kana and Kenna. So he used the form Kana in reference to Khurbet Kana, Kenna in reference to Keft Kana. There is no ground for such a distinction. Kana and Kenna come from Cana and return into Cana. Such variations as occur in the name of Cana belong to modern Arabic, not to ancient Greek.

Josephus and St. John knew Cana well. While Josephus held his command in Galilee, he lived at Cana; a convenient post from which he could watch Sephoris on one side and Tiberias on the other side. Cana figures in the narrative of his life on at least one very important occasion—that of his night-march on the capital of Lower Galilee. Josephus calls the place in which he lived and from which he started "a village in Galilee called Cana." Nothing in his text suggests that the place was called "Cana of Galilee," as Robinson imagines it to have been called. St. John knew Cana as well as Josephus. He was at the marriage feast. Cana was the home of Nathaniel, his fellow-disciple, and was only a few miles from his own house at Capernaum. He calls the place Cana of Galilee. The name occurs twice in the fourth Gospel—in the second chapter, and in the twenty-first chapter. Our translators render the first passage Cana of Galilee, and the second Cana in Galilee. The texts of Josephus and St. John leave no doubt that Cana is a proper name; Cana of Galilee, or Cana in Galilee, a descriptive phrase. Josephus says "a village of Galilee called Cana," as we should say "a village in Kent called Sevenoaks." He never mentions his dwelling-place as a village called "Cana of Galilee." There being more than one Cana in Palestine, as there is more than one Richmond in England, like causes produced like use of language. A Yorkshire writer mentioning Richmond would describe it as Richmond in Yorkshire, not because "Richmond in Yorkshire" is a proper name, but

because he might otherwise run some risk of being thought to mean Richmond in Surrey. John uses the form Cana of Galilee in order that his ordinary readers may not confuse the scene of the marriage feast with the better known Cana in Judæa. Cana in Judæa had in the days of St. John a fame like that of Sedan in our own days. There Antiochus had given battle to the Arabs. There he had fallen, and his whole army had been destroyed. A Jew writing in those times of "Cana" would be understood to mean Cana in Judæa, the scene of that great disaster to the Jewish arms. Hence, for the sake of clearness, both Josephus and St. John added the name of the province in which his Cana lay—the first saying, simply, a village of Galilee called Cana; the second, no less simply, Cana of Galilee.

When the notion of "Cana in Galilee" being a proper name is set aside, it is waste of time to seek a modern equivalent in Arabic for that unknown form. If any place is now called Kânâ el-Jelil—Cana of Galilee—the place is likely to be modern, and the name a mistake. Kefr Kana is an exact Arabic rendering of the Greek words used by Josephus—Village of Cana; so that the whole argument from philology is in favour of the native Churches.

## II.—EVIDENCE OF SITE.

Cana (Kefr Kana) is five English miles from Nazareth, in a north-eastern line, on the present main road to Tiberias and the lake district. Sefurieh (old Greek colony of Sefhoris) stands north-west of Kefr Kana, on the road to Acre, the city called in the time of our Lord, Ptolemais. Sefhoris was a walled city, and the Roman road passed through its streets.

The heap of ruins now called Khurbet Kana lies five miles due north of Sefhoris, which walled city cut it off from the whole region in which the Teacher lived. Khurbet Kana is *not* on the road from Nazareth to Capernaum. A man coming up from Capernaum to Nazareth, as in the Gospel, could not have come near the spot now called Khurbet Kana. That spot lay on the road from Sefhoris to Ptolemais, not on the road from Sefhoris to Tiberias. A man coming up from Blackwall to Highgate does not pass through Harrow.

In the time of St. John, Cana was a station at the crossing of two roads; a country road used by Hebrew herdsmen and peasants, and an imperial road used by Roman and other strangers—a fact which gave it value from a military point of view. The country road led from Nazareth, and other open towns and villages, through Cana, to Magdala, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and other water-places on the lake. The Roman road ran from Acre (then Ptolemais) to Sefhoris, the old Greek capital of Upper Galilee, and thence through Cana to Tiberias, the new Roman capital of Lower Galilee. Thus, Cana was a station on the road between Sefhoris and Tiberias, very much as Rochester is a station on the road from London to Dover.

Keeping this position on the map in mind, turn to the several texts

in which Cana is mentioned. Jesus, coming up from the lake country with his disciples, met his mother at Cana (St. John ii. 2). From Cana He goes "down to Capernaum" (ii. 12). The expressions show that Cana stood on the ledge of the hill country, above the lake, and on the road from Bethsaida and Capernaum to Nazareth. The words could not apply to a place standing six miles beyond Sephoris, on the way to Ptolemais. Again, the nobleman of Capernaum, coming to seek Jesus, finds Him in Cana. "Come *down*, ere my child die," says the father. On being assured that his son lived, the nobleman went down. "As he was now going down, his servants met him." A journey from the spot now called Khurbet Kana could not be described as "going down;" for the road first leads up to Sephoris, the capital, and then through a rough sort of table-land as far as Cana; and it is only from this point that the road begins to drop down. Every word in the Gospel narrative implies that Cana stood near the ledge of the hill country over the lake.

Next turn to Josephus. Happily for us, Josephus had a good deal to do with Cana. Sent from Jerusalem into Galilee, as a delegate of the Sanhedrin, he first went to Sephoris, capital of Upper Galilee, where he found the people excited but at peace. He next went to Tiberias, capital of Lower Galilee, where he found the people in revolt. Josephus raised a large body of men, fortified several strong places, including Mount Tabor, and in a short time became master of the whole province. He saw a good deal of fighting. Twice he had to storm Sephoris; four times he had to storm Tiberias. These populous cities had to be sternly watched. In order to keep effective watch over both, Josephus fixed his camp at Cana, a position in the hill country between the two capitals. When John of Gischala induced the Jews of Tiberias to rise against Silas, Josephus says he left Cana with 200 men, made a night-march down the hills, and came before Tiberias early in the morning. That night-march was possible from Kefr Kana; impossible from the place now marked as Khurbet Kana. The distance from Kefr Kana to Tiberias is about ten miles; and a night march means, in the language of Josephus, a march from midnight watch to morning watch, a period of five hours. Everyone who has walked in Palestine knows that ten miles down-hill are not easily done in less time than five hours. If the camp of Josephus had been at the spot now called Khurbet Kana, the Jewish captain could not have made his secret night-march at all; since he would have had to pass through Sephoris, a walled city, with her gates closed and her sentinels on guard.

The whole argument derived from site is therefore in favour of the native Churches.

### III.—EVIDENCE OF REMAINS.

The evidence of existing remains is no less strong than that of name and site. Kefr Kana is an old place and a prosperous place; Khurbet

Kana is a new place and a deserted place. At Kefr Kana there are remains of ancient edifices ; at Khurbet Kana, though the buildings are in ruins, there is nothing older than late Saracenic times, even if the broken tanks and cisterns belong to Saracenic times at all.

No one can look at Kefr Kana without a strong conviction that the place is old. Here is a house old enough to pass for that of St. Bartholomew. Here are the foundations of an early church and monastery. The church, built in honour of the miracle, was standing in Cana before the Moslems established their power in Galilee. St. Willibald prayed in that church, then dedicated to the Ruler of the Feast. "A large church stands here," said the English saint in 721. Four hundred years later—that is to say, in 1102—another English pilgrim, Sæwulf, saw that monastic edifice. Five hundred years after Sæwulf, Quaresmius mentioned the monastery. To-day the ruins of that early Christian edifice may be seen. This sort of evidence is, for ordinary men, decisive. Syrian Christians build a church and monastery at Cana, in honour of the marriage feast. Various pilgrims from the western countries see that shrine from time to time during a period of 900 years. The foundations of these buildings are now in site.

Are there any remains of ancient buildings at the other Kana? None at all. The village is a heap of rubbish ; but the dust and ashes are new—not old. No house there is old enough to be shown as that of St. Bartholomew. There are no foundations of church or convent. All the dwellings are small and mean. The shards of pottery are not of ancient form or colour. Here and there you come on a tank or cistern of later date ; but these are seemingly of Arabic construction. The stones used in building are small, and of a modern pattern. Jackals prowl in the ruins, and wild boars grub among the tanks, while the hills<sup>§</sup>around are barren and the plains in front are desert waste. No vestige of an antique world is seen. In truth, from the mere evidence of remains, a traveller without a theory to support would say that Khurbet Kana was a modern village which had sprung up round a potter's field and furnace, and had perished with the trade that gave it birth.

On the other hand, the house of St. Bartholomew and the monastic ruins prove the antiquity of the true Cana ; so that from the evidence of existing remains a traveller, without a theory to support, would have no difficulty in identifying Kefr Kana with the Cana of Josephus and St. John.

#### IV.—EVIDENCE OF HISTORY.

The evidence of history, as regards Cana of the marriage feast, is a chain in which there is no missing link. St. Willibald, visiting Galilee in 722, started from Nazareth on his way to Cana. His route lay eastward, not northward—that is, toward Kefr Kana, not toward the place now called Khurbet Kana. He took Cana on his way from Nazareth to Mount Tabor. "He stayed at Cana one day, and then continued



his journey to Mount Tabor." Khurbet Kana lies in the opposite direction. Sæwulf, who went to Galilee in 1102, is even more precise. "Six miles to the north-east of Nazareth, on a hill, is Cana of Galilee, where our Lord converted the water into wine." Sæwulf uses the Roman mile of 1,614 yards; and his guess of "six miles" is near the actual truth. If our knowledge of the site of Cana had perished as completely as that of Bethsaida or that of Chorazin has perished, the bearings and distances supplied by Sæwulf would enable us to lay it down correctly on a map. When Sæwulf was in Galilee, Cana had been partly but not wholly destroyed. "Nothing is left standing," he says, "except the convent called after the Ruler of the Feast"—Holy Architrclinus. Later in the twelfth century, Phocas, following in the track of Sæwulf, from Acre to Nazareth, describes the points of his journey. Leaving Acre, Phocas comes—first to Sephoris, next to Cana, and then to Nazareth. To all these witnesses, Kefr Kana was the true Cana of Galilee. The distance of Cana from Nazareth is given by Mandeville in 1322: "four miles from Nazareth." Mandeville uses the old English mile; which gives the distance of Kefr Kana pretty accurately, but not the distance of Khurbet Kana, which is fully eleven miles from Nazareth.

Robinson was not original in the mistake corrected by so many proofs. The first blunder is due to Marino Sanudo, a Venetian, who compiled a book on Palestine for the use of Crusading princes. Sanudo lived in the fourteenth century. There is no evidence that he ever visited Palestine, or that he had the use of actual itineraries in making his tract and chart. He placed his Cana to the north of Sephoris, instead of to the south-east. At that time Palestine was closed to pilgrims. Sæwulf and Phocas were the latest authorities on the subject, but their accurate observations seem to have escaped the notice of Sanudo. After Sanudo had put Cana in the wrong place on his map, a Frank pilgrim now and then fell into his error, until Father Quaresmius, a monk who lived in Palestine, took the matter up, and settled the dispute in favour of Kefr Kana.

The only passage which Robinson found in any writer previous to Sanudo that appeared (only appeared) to favour his theory, is a line in Sæwulf. "Cana," says that author, "stands six miles north-east of Nazareth." This is the true text; but Robinson, ignorant of the use of middle-age Latin, translated Sæwulf's *six miliaris ad Aquilonem*, "six miles north," instead of six miles north-east. (See Wright's Vocab., p. 16, for illustrations of the meaning of *aquilo* in the age of Sæwulf.) Contrary to the usage in classical Latin, this word, in the time of Sæwulf, was always used for the north-east wind.

Such is the evidence in favour of Kefr Kana as the true Cana "of Galilee"—identity of name; identity of site; constant record of the Syrian Churches; actual remains of antiquity; and the testimony of a succession of travellers from East and West.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON.

## TOMBS OF THE MACCABEES.

FROM our camp at Lidd, I visited El Medyeh, to resolve, if possible, the much disputed site of the graves of the Maccabees. I first visited Sheikh el Gharbawy, which M. Ganneau has proved not to be the site. There are a good many tombs in the neighbourhood, some of which are called Kabr el Yahûd, tombs of the Jews, but a deep valley separates them from Medyeh, and the sea cannot be seen from immediately above. I next crossed the ravine and visited the village, which is evidently an old site. To the south of the village and close to it there is a round hill, flat on the top, which has almost an artificial appearance; it is called er Râs. From this hill a good view of the sea is obtained. On the top I found one rock-cut tomb, which had been turned into a cistern; there are many cisterns, and some other cuttings in the rock which might prove to be tombs if they were cleared out. A Mohammedan holy place, el Arbain, now occupies the top. I have no doubt in my own mind that this was the site of the tombs of those celebrated heroes of later Jewish history. The hill is a very prominent feature, and appears to me to fulfil all the requisites of this very important and much disputed site. A little farther on I took refuge from a storm in a curious rock-cut cavern, el Habis. A large face of rock has been scarped perpendicularly, leaving an overhanging ledge at one end. This ledge projects considerably, and is supported by rough square blocks cut out of the rock and left when the rest was excavated. High up in the face of the rock a small hole gives access to a gallery running in a circular direction. Ledges along the sides in alcoves seem to have been intended for sarcophagi. I have little doubt that this was once a spacious tomb, and that the overhanging ledge supported by square columns ran the whole length of the scarped rock—some 50 yards.

H. H. K.

## SITE OF AI.

FROM our camp at Beitin I found, in the course of the revision, that the name of Kh. Haiy was well known at Deir Diwân, but on talking to the natives I heard of another Kh. Haiy, which seemed to me nearer to Ai. Having secured a guide who knew the place, he led me to a ruin about one mile south-east of Mukhmâs and north of Wâdy Suweinit. It appears to have been an old and important place. The ruins have escaped previous observation owing to being hidden away behind a small rising ground.

It is extraordinary how the name of Haiy, or something like it, clings to this region. First there is Kh. Haiyân close to Deir Diwân, then there is a Kh. Haiyeh south of Wâdy Suweinit, and now there is a third

Kh. Haiy one mile east of Mukhmâs ; thus we have three ruins having the name of Ai in a space of about two square miles.

Kh. Haiyan has been suggested by M. Ganneau for Ai, and I would point out that, if Deir Diwân be Bethaven, as suggested by the Rev. W. F. Birch, this site is most certainly beside it, as mentioned in Joshua vii. 2. Looking at the position on the ground, Kh. Haiyan appears to have been only the site of the graves and cisterns of Deir Diwân, and may have been, as the natives say, the former site of that town. As a strong place of ancient times it is hardly suitable, and the difficulties of the position of et Tell are still prominent at Kh. Haiyan. It also seems difficult to see how the people of Bethaven took no part in the fight, and how their town was not taken with Ai. Kh. Haiyeh, south of Wâdy Suweinît, is evidently not Ai.

The third Kh. Haiy has, however, some claims to consideration. Situated one mile south-east of Mukhmâs, on the ancient road leading up from Jericho into the interior, it would be naturally the first stronghold Joshua would have to overcome.

Dean Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 199, says: "The designation of the site of Michmash is so similar to that which is used to describe Ai as inevitably to suggest the conjecture that it was the successor, if not to its actual, at least to its general position." This deduction exactly suits the new position, hardly one mile south-east of Michmash.

Major Wilson, R.E., had identified et Tell with Ai, but there seems some difficulty in this case in accommodating 5,000 men and 30,000 men in ambush on the west of it, so that the people of Bethel, only one and a half miles distant, knew nothing about it. From Josh. viii. 17 it appears that not only the people of Ai sallied out after the Israelites when they pretended to fly, but also the people of Bethel ; they therefore could have known nothing of the ambush. Also there is some difficulty in seeing how a force attacking from the east should move across an almost impracticable valley in order to attack from the north across the same ravine.

At Kh. Haiy these difficulties are cleared away. There is a plain to the north not cut off by any impassable valley and very fit for a battle-field. There is also plenty of room for the ambush to hide without being seen by the men of Bethel.

The connection between Ai and Michmash in the Bible is very close in Isa. x. 29. Here Bethel is not mentioned, as it seems natural to suppose it would have been had Ai been at et Tell, and this seems to me to point to a different site for Ai. Kh. Haiy, however, would have to be passed by the great king before the baggage was laid up at Michmash for the passage of the Wâdy Suweinît.

H. H. K.

## NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF PALESTINE.

THE new sheets throw much light also on the boundary between "the Land" and Phœnicia, which is minutely described in the Talmud. Thus, in *J'athûn* we recognise the G'atin of the Talmud, and in *Jelîl* the Katzra of Gelil mentioned in the same passage. The list in the Talmud, which is of no little importance, now stands as below, giving the boundary from Acre to Hermon. The general result is to draw the Phœnician boundary farther south than it is usually placed, thus agreeing with Josephus, who makes Ecdippa (*ez Zîb*) the boundary. The great valley of *Nahr Mefshûkh* forms the division, having Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 along its course.

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Aceho .. .. .                        | 'Akka.      |
| 2. Gatin .. .. .                        | J'athûn.    |
| 3. Kabartha .. .. .                     | el Kâbry.   |
| 4. B. Zanita .. .. .                    | Zuweinita.  |
| 5. Katzra of Gelil .. .. .              | Jelil.      |
| 6. Kubaia .. .. .                       |             |
| 7. Bir .. .. .                          | Kefr Birim. |
| 8. Tirii .. .. .                        | Tireh.      |
| 9. Tifni .. .. .                        | Tibnch.     |
| 10. Ailshitha .. .. .                   | 'Atshîs.    |
| 11. Aulem .. .. .                       | 'Almân.     |
| 12. Mejde! Kherub .. .. .               | el Khirbeh. |
| 13. Chasm of Ayun .. .. .               | Merj 'Ayûn. |
| 14. Tortagla ("Snowy Mountain") .. .. . | Hermon.     |
| 15. Kisrin .. .. .                      | Baniâs.     |

Of these fourteen identifications ten are, I believe, quite new.

I would further suggest that the Beth-Baltin of the Talmud may be the present *Belatûn*.

C. R. C.

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE Memoir is now rapidly approaching completion, and the sheets from Nazareth to Beersheba may be expected to be complete in the month of April; the Jerusalem sheet (the heaviest of all the twenty-six sheets) being now nearly finished.

The following points are worthy of notice as concluding notes from my portion of the Memoir:—

*The Cities of the Negeb.*—In a former report it was noted that many of these towns might be identified with places farther north than is generally supposed. Thus in the district within ten miles of Beit Jibrin, to the south, we have *Shu'alîyeh*, possibly Hazar Shual; *Jedeideh*,



perhaps Hazar Gaddah; *Umm Deinnah*, for Madmenah; and *Hazzârah* for Hazor Hadattah, or "new Hazor."

*Northern Sheets*.—Several valuable names have been collected also in the north, including above all the title *Hudhûreh*, a word radically identical with Hazor. This is applied to a mountain, a plain, and valley some four miles east of the position in which the Royal Hazor—said by Josephus to have been over the waters of Merom (the *Hûleh*)—has hitherto been placed. No name approaching that of Hazor has been found in this district by former travellers, but in Lieutenant Kitchener's lists the name occurs under the same form in which Robinson found it preserved in the Southern Desert at the site of another Hazor. Madon, also a royal city, which has long been sought in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee, is no doubt the ruin of *Madîn*, on the plateau west of that sea, and the neighbouring ruin of *el Aikeh* may well represent the ancient Lakum, which is to be sought in the same district.

Diblath, a town mentioned, apparently, as in the north of Palestine (Ezek. vi. 14), may, I would suggest, be the modern *Dibl*; and the position of Edrei (Josh. xix. 37), near Kedesh and En Hazor, seems to agree with that of the modern *Y'atir*, some three miles north-west of *Hazîreh* (En Hazor), at the edge of the high hills of Naphtali. The change of D to T is not unknown, and the modern name preserves the guttural found in the Hebrew.

Two places mentioned in the Book of Judith near Shechem do not appear, as far as I can gather, to have been recognised—viz., Esora and Chusi, which may very well be the modern *'Asîreh* and *Kuzah*, in the neighbourhood of that city.

One of the few places noticed in the Onomasticon, and not as yet fixed, was Arath, west of Jerusalem. This I would suggest is the ruin of *Harâsh*, near Kolônia.

It is also worthy of notice that the modern name of the valley of Aijalon, the site of the great defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, is *Wâdy el Mikteleh*, "the Valley of Slaughter."

In conclusion of these last notes from the Memoir, I would call attention to one more example of the archaic character of the peasant dialect. The word commonly employed for a threshing-floor is *Beiâdir*, which is a corrupt pronunciation of the proper word *Neiâdir*. But among the peasantry another word, *Jurn*, is often employed, which in ordinary Arabic means a "trough," but is in this case used in the sense of the Hebrew *Goren*, for "a threshing-floor."

C. R. C.

Sth March, 1878.

## RECENT DISCOVERIES AT THE KAL'AT JALUD, JERUSALEM.

*7th September, 1877.*

An interesting discovery has been made lately by the French monks at Jerusalem. While digging for the foundations of a new school on the site of the Kal'at Jalud, or "Goliath's Castle," they came upon four massive piers of ancient drafted masonry. A number of ruined vaults and masses of rubbish have been removed, and now the ancient work is uncovered almost down to the rock. Two of these piers were seen by Major Wilson, and were, in his opinion, of mediæval date; but the lower portions now disclosed seem to be earlier. The French monks are quite confident that they have here discovered the foundations of the tower of Psephinus.

The stones are large, measuring 8ft. 6in. by 2ft. 9in. by 2ft. 4in. high, and 7ft. 6in. by 2ft. 8in. by 2ft. 4in. high. Some are rather smaller; they are all drafted, the draft varying from three to four and a half inches. The joints are carefully finished, and the courses are quite regular; the stones are fixed together by a thin layer of very hard cement. The bosses are left rough and project in some cases as much as eight inches; the stones show no signs of being weather-worn. Four courses of the ancient work remain, and they measure 9ft. 4in. in height; on the top of these courses is mediæval work for two or three courses; there are also walls of probably the same date faced with large drafted masonry. In the vaults and passages there are also considerable remains of Crusading work. I have sent you a plan which will show the form of the four piers; where the lines are dotted the walls were not visible. The enclosed photograph was given me by the French monks. It seems impossible to make an octagon out of these remains, which is necessary for the tower of Psephinus, according to Josephus. I could see no traces of ancient arches, or any clue to what these piers supported originally. As far as I was able to see, there is no reason why the piers should not have been originally joined, forming two walls running south-east and north-west; this would then have probably been an ancient city gate. The scarpèd rock on the north-west, on which the city wall is built, runs out almost at right angles to the line of this gate, and on the south-west there are traces of ancient work running in the same direction; thus the gate would appear to have been flanked by two towers. That on the south-west may have been Psephinus, as it would have been on the highest ground of the city.

I am glad to be able to report that the owners have modified their plan so as to preserve these interesting remains for future examination. Unfortunately an ancient corner of wall south-east of the piers had to be removed. The stones are described as larger, and the appearance was not so finished as those recently found. Major Wilson examined them while excavating in this direction.

H. H. K.

## NOTE ON TARICHÆA.

NABLUS, 1st November, 1877.

LIEUTENANT CONDER, in one of his "Notes from the Memoir," October *Quarterly*, p. 181, states:—"Tarichæa must be sought on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, thirty stadia south of Tiberias."

In the passage he quotes from Pliny no mention is made of distance.

Pliny's account of the lake in the passage quoted appears to me very difficult to understand, unless he had a very imperfect knowledge of what he was writing about. He states Julias to be on the east of the lake, whereas, from the fight Josephus had near that place, it must have been very near the entrance of the Jordan, and therefore north.

As Sennabis is now undoubtedly fixed at Kerak, it seems to me Pliny must have made another mistake with regard to Tarichæa.

Josephus lived a considerable portion of his life on the shores of the sea, and in the localities in question I think his evidence should have a prior claim to consideration. His description of Vespasian's march appears to me to give conclusive proof that Tarichæa was situated north of Tiberias, and other accounts by him make it close to the latter place.

A distance of thirty stadia south of Tiberias is, if I remember right, mentioned by him with regard to Sennabis, and answers very well to the distance between Tiberias and Kerak, as I think I pointed out in my report on that district in a former *Quarterly*.

H. H. K.

---

THE VEIL OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM AT  
OLYMPIA.

(Reprinted from the "*Athenæum*" by permission of the Proprietors.)

IN pursuit of the hitherto neglected question of the connection of the Phœnicians with the Peloponnese, I have been led to ascertain the existence in the province of Elis of certain facts, customs, and observances which offer a remarkable analogy with what we know of the Phœnicians, and, particularly, of the Hebrews. I confine myself in this place to a succinct enumeration of the principal points, full details of which will appear in my forthcoming work, called "*Le Dieu Satrape et les Phéniciens dans le Peloponnese.*" (Nearly ready: E. Leroux, Rue Bonaparte, 28, Paris.)

1. The Eleans, alone in Greece, cultivated the *byssus*, a textile plant the Oriental origin of which is incontestable. Pausanias tells us that the Elean byssus was quite equal in fineness to the byssus of the "Hebrews."

2. The Eleans were forbidden, for religious reasons, to breed mules: the same interdiction existed for the Jews, as we know. It was based on a passage of Leviticus (xix. 19).

3. In Elis, near Lepreos, a city whose name is traditionally explained as derived from the leprosy which *afflicted its earliest inhabitants*, flowed a river anciently called *Ἰάρδανος*—the same as Jordan.

But it is especially at Olympia, the famous theatre of the Olympic games which have given Elis so considerable a place in Greece, that we are presented with points which strike us at once as resembling observances of Semitic religion.

4. Anointings with oil were practised on the celebrated statue of Olympian Zeus (to preserve the ivory, says Pausanias).

5. In the temple of Olympian Zeus were certain *βωμοί*, held in extreme veneration, formed by the accumulation of the ashes of victims, and exactly similar to the deposits of ashes coming from the altar of Jehovah,—deposits regarded as sacred (Leviticus i. 16, iv. 12; 1 King, xiii. 3; 2 Macc. xiii. 8).

6. The women of Elis were absolutely forbidden to penetrate into the sanctuaries of Olympia: they were not to pass beyond a certain limit. This is parallel with the Court of Women. The women of Elis were also forbidden to be present at the Olympic games and to cross the waters of the Alpheus at certain periods, the whole under pain of death. This idea of woman's constitutional impurity, this implacable penalty which sanctioned it, are traits essentially Semitic.

7. The women of Elis, thus kept apart, had ceremonies of their own, on the other hand, which seem based on those of the Phœnicians, those mourners for Adonis and for the solar Tammuz whom Ezekiel (viii. 14) shows us in the very Temple of Jehovah. "At a certain season," says Pausanias, "at the moment of the setting sun, the women of Elis went to weep round the empty sepulchre of him whom they called Achilles,"—a fabulous Achilles, an Achilles sprung from some Oriental *Ἀδωνιασμός*, rather than from Homeric tradition.

8. At Olympia, near the Temple of Hera, sixteen women were employed in weaving the *peplos* of the goddess, just as the women wove the sacred tents for Asherah in the Temple of Jehovah (2 Kings xxiii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 16).

9. At Olympia also was adored the singular *Ζεὺς Ἀπόμωνιος*, whose literal prototype is found in Baalzebub, or *Βααλ μυνία* of Ekron (2 Kings i. 2, 3, 16).

10. Finally, there was in the sanctuary of Olympia a great woollen veil, of Assyrian workmanship, dyed with the Phœnician purple, given by Antiochus, and executed, perhaps, on the same plan as that great veil of the Temple, of Babylonian texture, the marvels of which have been described by Josephus.

I even venture to ask whether this veil of the Olympian Temple might not have been the very veil of the Temple of Jerusalem carried off by Antiochus IV., the grand pillager of temples.

This conjecture may appear rash at first sight. There are, however, certain facts which seem to me to lend to it a high degree of probability.

The first book of Maccabees (i. 23, 24) informs us that Antiochus



took away from the holy city "the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread . . . and the veil (τὸ καταπέτασμα) . . ." This is confirmed by Josephus, according to whom Antiochus "did not spare even the veils made of fine linen and scarlet" ("Antiq. Jud.," xii. 5. 2).

Pausanias said that Antiochus dedicated (ἀνέθηκεν) his oriental veil in the Temple of Olympia.

It was the custom to adorn temples with similar trophies.

But there is more.

Pausanias minutely explains that the *παραπέτασμα*, or curtain of the sanctuary of Olympia, in place of rising up to the roof as, for instance, that of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, was dropped to the ground from above by means of ropes. He might have spared himself a good deal of trouble by stating at once that it was not a *παραπέτασμα*, but a *καταπέτασμα* (down-curtain), *i. e.*, he might have used the word always employed by Josephus and in the texts of the Maccabees to designate the Jewish veil. St. Matthew also says that the veil (*καταπέτασμα*) was rent, *ἔνωθεν ἕως κάτω*.

Again, to whom did Antiochus dedicate the Temple of Jerusalem-plundered and defiled by him? To *Olympian Zeus* (2 Macc. vi. 2), We need not be astonished, therefore, if he hung up the veil of the Jewish Temple in that of the Olympian Zeus. Are not always the spoils of the conquered deities consecrated to the victorious deities? (Cf. the sacred utensils of Jehovah consecrated to Chemosh by Mesha, king of Moab.)

If the veil of the Olympian and that of the Jewish Temple are identical instead of being similar, the argument which I thought to draw from an analogy to establish an affinity must be set aside. On the other hand, we obtain a result important in quite another way. There are not two objects to be compared, but two deities placed side by side.

I think the foregoing reflections are of a kind to draw special attention to the excavations now being conducted at Olympia. Should, for instance, any discovery be made bearing upon Syrian rites, religions, and antiquities, I for one should not be surprised.

C. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

## THE IDENTIFICATION OF SUCCOTH AND PENUEL.

(Reprinted from the "Athenæum" by permission of the Proprietors.)

ANDOVER, MASS., U.S.

THESE places are mentioned in the Bible in connection with such men and events as to make their identification a matter of peculiar interest and importance. But before I give the facts which my recent researches have brought to light, it will be necessary to correct an error into which two Biblical scholars no less eminent than Mr. Grove in

England and Dr. Robinson in America have fallen. Burckhardt, in a passage which refers to the west bank of the Jordan, makes the statement,—“Near where we crossed, to the south, are the ruins of Sukkot.” This has been misunderstood as referring to some ruin on the east of the river. But it will be noticed that after Burckhardt had crossed the river, he gives the names of all wadies, ruins, or tombs between the crossing and the Zerka or Jabbok, and among them Sukkot is not mentioned. Burckhardt did not himself visit Sukkot. In the *Leisure Hour* for 1874, p. 599, Rev. W. Wright, formerly of Damascus, appears to take it for granted that Burckhardt’s Sukkot was on the east of the river. He says,—“Jerome places Succoth east of the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis, at the place where Burckhardt found its ruins.” Dr. Robinson and Mr. Van de Velde visited a place on the west of the river, about ten miles south of Beisan, which they call “Sakut.” This Dr. Robinson labours to identify with the Succoth of the Bible. Mr. Grove thinks this place is “entirely distinct both in name and position from that of Burckhardt,” while in my judgment they are identical. But independently of these writers I can testify that in the portion of the valley opposite Beisan there are no ruins, nor, further, are there anywhere on the eastern side of the river any ruins bearing the name of Succoth or any name that might correspond to it.

As to Dr. Robinson’s view, that the Biblical Succoth was on the west of the river, all the facts seem to prove the opposite. In the division of the country under Joshua, Succoth was allotted to the tribe of Gad, and hence must certainly have been on the east of the river. Jerome seems to know of a town named Succoth which was “beyond the Jordan.” The Talmud in its physical divisions of Perea adopts those of the Bible, namely, “Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphom,” which makes Succoth a district as well as a town, and fixes it on the east of the river. Again, in Gideon’s pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna, it was *after* he had crossed the Jordan, going south and east, that he came to Succoth. Mr. Grove is right in saying that the “Sakut” of Robinson is too far north, and entirely out of the way of any route leading from the Jabbok to Shechem. This writer’s conclusion, derived from Genesis xxxii. 30 and xxxiii. 18, that Succoth lay between Penuel (on the Jabbok) and Shechem, is correct and important, and must be borne in mind in discussing this question.

It is necessary also to remember the physical divisions which the Bible makes of the valley east of the river, and which are repeated, as I have said, in the Talmud, namely, “Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, and Succoth.” Beth Haram is the vast oasis of the Shittim plain at the north end of the Dead Sea. Beth Nimrah is the vast oasis immediately north of the Shittim plain, and which appears to be really a part of it when looked at from the neighbouring hills. From Wady Nimrin northward to the Jabbok there are no fountains or streams, and that portion of the valley is entirely desolate and barren, except during the rainy season. About the mouth of the Jabbok there is a plain of great

extent and fertility, and this is the Succoth region of the Talmud, and here, if anywhere, we are to seek for the Succoth of Jacob, and Gideon, and Jerome.

But have we any clue as to the precise locality which bore the name of Succoth? I think we have, and, further, I think that this interesting Biblical site can be identified beyond any reasonable dispute. The Talmud states definitely that in its time Succoth was called "Ter'alah," and in the great plain north of the Jabbok, about one mile from the stream, and about three miles from where the river leaves the hills, there is a large mound or tell, which bears the name of Der'ala. The letters correspond to those of the Hebrew word, except that *t* in Hebrew becomes *d* in Arabic, a change of very frequent occurrence. There are places in other sections of the country bearing the name of Der'ala, but in this case the fact of its being found in this particular locality, considered in connection with the testimony of the Talmud, is more than a coincidence. Adjoining this tell is a smaller one, a kind of shoulder, on which there are at present some ruins, with a few columns. The principal mound is so thickly covered with broken pottery that it could be raked into heaps. I picked up as I passed over the tell as many as twenty specimens of different kinds and qualities of pottery. On one side of the tell some animal had burrowed, which enabled me to examine the soil for at least four feet below the surface, and I was surprised to find that the broken pottery extended all through it. I was anxious to make some cuttings into the mound, but had neither time nor means to do so. The Bedawin living in that region have a tradition that a city existed upon that mound in ancient times. This I mention incidentally, attaching to it no special weight. Among the facts brought to light in this region during my researches is that of a ford or crossing of the Jabbok, some distance to the east of Tel Der'ala, but before the hills are reached, which bears the name of "Mashra'a Canaan," *i.e.*, Canaan's Crossing. Canaan may here be a man's name, or the name of the country, and the words may mean "the crossing which leads to Canaan." But either way this discovery is very interesting and important, because, as I shall soon show, the course of the Jabbok is the only feasible route by which the caravans of commerce and the swarms of Midianites from the east and south could reach the country of the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan.

If we examine the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites, we may get some hints as to where we should look for Penuel. After their terrible midnight rout in the valley of Jezreel, a remnant escaped amounting to about 15,000 men. These were pursued by Gideon, who crossed the Jordan, and came first to Succoth and afterwards "went up thence to Penuel," asking at both places for assistance, and being each time refused. (Judges viii.) Gideon threatened to punish the men of Succoth, and with regard to Penuel he says, "I will break down this tower." These "children of the east" keep to the lowlands, plains, and the good roads. They come from the deserts of Arabia, they follow the

course of the Jabbok to the Jordan, they move up the Jordan valley till nearly opposite Beisan, and then cross and spread themselves, "like grasshoppers for multitude," over the great Esdraelon plain. After the rout just referred to they retrace their steps, hotly pursued by one of the heroes of Hebrew history. Gideon crosses the Jordan by one of the fords near Beisan, hurries down the Jordan valley as far as Succoth, and halts there to rest and refresh his weary but resolute band. The men of Succoth reason with themselves: "We live on the great army route between Canaan and the east, and it will not do for us to show a decided friendship for Gideon; for if we do, and he is unsuccessful, we shall bring upon our heads the terrible vengeance of the Midianites. Our own safety demands that we be strictly neutral. The men of Penuel, living on the same great thoroughfare, were actuated by similar motives, and likewise refused to assist Gideon.

It will be noticed from the eighth verse of the chapter just referred to that Gideon *goes up* from Succoth, evidently leaving the Jordan and turning into the mountains to the east. But we know with absolute certainty from the account of Jacob's return (Gen. xxxii.) that Penuel was somewhere on the line of the Jabbok, and hence we are justified in concluding that Gideon on this occasion followed the course of that stream.

The impression that I get from reading this eighth chapter of Judges is that Penuel was at no great distance from Succoth, although there are no certain hints to prove this beyond dispute. The points that have been hitherto established with certainty are, 1, that Penuel is on the line of the Jabbok, and 2, that below Penuel, near where the stream leaves the hills, there is a ford called "Canaan's Crossing." It is also established beyond any reasonable doubt that Succoth is situated a little to the west of this crossing and north of the Jabbok. So far everything seems to corroborate Mr. Grove's conclusion noticed above, that Succoth must be somewhere between Penuel and Shechem. If Succoth is where I have placed it, it will be on the direct route between the Jabbok and Nablûs or Shechem by way of the Damia ford. But we have still an interesting hint with regard to Penuel in the life of Jeroboam. After the division of the kingdom "Jeroboam built Shechem in Mount Ephraim and dwelt therein; and went out from thence, and built Penuel" (1 Kings xii. 25). It will be remembered that Gideon in his threat to the men of Penuel says, "I will break down this tower," as if a tower or fortress were a principal feature of the place. This leads to the suggestion, which is confirmed by all the circumstances connected with the case, that Penuel was a frontier fortress, built on the great thoroughfare from the east for the purpose of repelling invasions from that quarter. When Jeroboam comes into possession of his kingdom he feels the need of a defence on that side, and hence one of his first acts is "to go out" and rebuild Penuel, which lay almost directly east from his capital; otherwise invading bands or hosts might pour down the valley of the Jabbok, cross the Jordan by the Damia ford, and



sweep up what is now called Wady Fari'a, and attack him in his royal residence. The rebuilding of Penuel was evidently of such importance to the nation as to demand the personal attention of the king, and such as to receive special mention in the annals of his reign.

In the account of Jacob's journey after he had parted with Esau it is said: "And Jacob came to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle" (Gen. xxxiii. 17). Even to this day the fertile fields along the mouth of the Jabbok are the favourite resort of the powerful tribes which occupy the eastern plains, for here they find abundant pasture for their numerous flocks and herds. They could not go south of the Jabbok, and very seldom do they go very far north of it; but if they desire to find pasture for their cattle they go directly to the Succoth region. The same physical conditions exist now that existed in Jacob's time, and coming from the east with his sheep, and cattle, and camels, he went at once to Succoth, where he abode perhaps for a considerable period.

I have alluded to the valley of the Jabbok as being the main thoroughfare from the eastern plains to the Land of Canaan. There is more evidence for this than perhaps would occur to the casual reader. When Gideon pursued the Midianites from Succoth up through the eastern hills on to the plains beyond, he "went up," it is said, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents"—*i.e.*, went up by the route which such people usually took; as if they were confined to one route, or had at least a favourite route by which to approach the country on the west of the Jordan. The apparently incidental circumstance which the words just quoted record did not assume in my mind the importance which it now has until I had been backwards and forwards over all that region several times, and followed the whole course of the Jabbok from its source to where it enters the Jordan. North of the Jabbok there is no other possible route until the valley of the 'Ajlûn is reached, and this is altogether out of the question is considered as a thoroughfare for the "children of the east" on their way to Canaan. South of the Jabbok again, as far as the line of the Dead Sea and Hasban, while there are difficult paths, there is no feasible route by which large caravans or any invading "host" could pass down into the Jordan valley on its way to Canaan. For various reasons I judge that the phrase "the way of those dwelling in tents" refers to a well-known route that has been followed for ages. It was not once, but often, that the swarms of Midianites and Amalekites invaded Western Palestine, and caused terrible distress in all that region.

With regard to their route it may be said: 1. That such people as are here under consideration do not, when they move in large masses with their flocks and herds, go over difficult hills if there is a better road, even if this should be somewhat longer. 2. From a thorough personal examination of the country, I think I can say with truth that neither to the north nor to the south of the Jabbok is there any other feasible route by which to enter Canaan from the plains and deserts of Arabia. 3. Along

the course of the Jabbok these people were sure of a good and easy road for themselves and their camels. 4. Here they would always be sure of grass for their flocks. 5. Here they would always be sure of abundance of water.

It is on this great thoroughfare that I suppose Penuel, a frontier tower or fortress, to have been built in the earliest times in order to repel invasions from the east. Jeroboam, as we have seen, felt the need of defence on that side, and therefore he rebuilt Penuel. This frontier fortress may have played a more important part in the history of those troublous times than we at present have any conception of. How many times the garrison was successful in repelling invasions, or how many times they must yield to superior numbers, and allow the desert hosts to sweep on to plunder their fatherland, we cannot even guess.

But can Penuel itself be located with any certainty? In my judgment the possible places that can represent Penuel are reduced to a single locality, which I will proceed to describe.

About one hour and twenty minutes, or say four miles, above Canaan's Ford or Crossing, following the course of the stream, there is one of the most singular formations in Syria. At this point the valley is quite narrow, and its walls are precipitous. In a line with the valley, the course of which is from east to west, there spring from its lowest level and rise to a height of two hundred and fifty feet *two conical hills*. One of these sugar-loaf hills is on one side of the stream, and the other is on the other side, and the stream winds about them in a peculiar manner which can only be described by a chart. The sides of these mounds are steep, and it took me fifteen minutes to reach the summit of one of them. These hills are called at present Tulul edh-Dhahab, or "Hills of Gold." The inhabitants of the region can give no account of the origin of the name. They speak of a place on the side of one of the tells from which a strong current of air issues at times, but I did not remain there long enough to investigate the matter. The prevailing stone or rock upon the tells is a yellow sandstone which one might fancy to resemble gold, and the name may have arisen from this fact. On both these tells there are extensive and ancient ruins. The one to the west is larger than the other, and has upon it more ruins; but the ruins upon the one to the east are remarkable. They consist of the ruins of buildings on the summit, and of a long wall of massive stones which runs from the summit to the foot of the mound on the southwest side. The hill at this side is so steep that it is a marvel to me how the wall could have been built. In addition to this wall there is, about half way up the mound or a little less, a great platform running along the side of the hill for several hundred feet, which is supported by a wall of great strength and solidity. In some places this wall is fifteen and twenty feet in height, and one portion of it is still quite perfect for a distance of over one hundred feet. The walls which remain have a substantial appearance, and the platform referred to was probably the foundation of a castle or fortress. Whatever the nature

of the structures once standing here may have been, they could have been built, considering the nature of the ground and the size of the stones, only at enormous expense. The work is certainly not Moslem, nor does it appear to be Roman; while the great unhewn stones would seem to classify it more properly with the ancient cyclopean work which still exists in a very few places, perhaps half a dozen, in the country east of the Jordan. This, if anywhere on the Jabbok, would be the most suitable place for a frontier fortress, and such we have reason to believe was Penuel. A fact which seems to indicate that this may have been Penuel is, that on the whole line of this great thoroughfare which followed the Jabbok there are no ruins, except ruined mills here and there, until Kalat Zerka is reached, fifty or sixty miles from the mouth of the river. At this point the Haj road touches the Zerka, and this castle was built for the protection and convenience of the pilgrims to Mecca.

If this is Penuel, the ruins are certainly such as would justify Jero-boam in recording in his public annals the fact of his having rebuilt the place.

What I have called the "Succoth region" answers very appropriately to the "valley of Succoth" in Ps. lx. (repeated in cviii.) This psalm appears to refer to some victory, or to the wresting of some portions of the fatherland out of the hands of their enemies. Putting Succoth where there are valid reasons for locating it, the order of places is very natural—namely, "Shechem, the valley of Succoth [in the direct line towards Gilead], Gilead, and Manasseh."

With regard to the name Penuel or Peniel I am pretty well convinced, since I have been over the ground and examined the strange physical conformation there existing, that it is connected in its origin with that remarkable phenomenon. Mr. Grove has already anticipated me in referring to a similar fact occurring in another section of the country:—"The promontory of Ras es Shukah, on the coast of Syria above Beirût, was formerly called 'Theouprosopon,' *face of God*, probably a translation of Peniel, or its Phœnician equivalent" (Smith's "Bible Dictionary," article *Peniel*). An Oriental people would easily persuade themselves that such a place as the Hills of Gold marked the site of some special manifestation of Deity, and would give it a name accordingly. And as the same name is frequently given a second time to one and the same place, the foregoing remarks can be made without invalidating or obscuring in the slightest degree the truth and beauty of that incident in the life of Jacob where the process of giving this particular name was a second time repeated.

From the ruins and summits of these strange tells, as my eye followed the course of the valley east and west, I felt that I was looking down upon the very route along which the ancient "sons of the east" passed with their camels, a wild throng from the desert, on their way to the land of Canaan, or by which they returned, either laden with plunder gathered from the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan, or, as

sometimes happened, a fugitive rabble,—the mere wreck of a host, beaten and ruined by the bravery of some Old Testament hero. Succoth and Penuel are interesting places in the geography of Palestine from their connection with Gideon, but especially because they are associated with the life of Jacob. Here at Penuel the patriarch wrestled all night with a strange messenger, and at sunrise he passed on to meet his brother. Esau came from the south along this very road, and somewhere, not far from this spot, probably, was the scene of the famous meeting and reconciliation between them. It was at Succoth that Jacob rested for a season on his way to Canaan, after his injured father-in-law and brother had been appeased, and the offending one had by them been forgiven.

SELAH MERRILL.

### THE MOABITE POTTERY.

THE controversy on the genuineness of these collections has been carried on vigorously during the last quarter in the pages of the *Athenæum*. From the letters which have appeared we make, by permission of the Proprietors of the *Athenæum*, the following extracts, in the endeavour to present everything that is urged on either side as fairly as possible; but without the repetitions which have naturally found their way into the long letters written from either point of view.

#### I.—LETTER FROM MR. SHAPIRA.

The main arguments against the genuineness of the Moabite pottery are four, as follows:—

First, many false inscribed stones and squeezes of inscriptions had been forged in Jerusalem and Nablus, some of which came into my possession; why then should the pottery also not be forged, especially as Selim, my agent, is certainly a great rogue? For this reason I myself doubted the character of the pottery; hearing of thieves makes a man cautious, yet it does not follow every man he meets is a thief; but Prof. Koch has shown in his well-known pamphlet that the forgers of the stones could have had no hand in the pottery.

The principal forger of inscribed stones was Martin Bulus, who appears to have learned imperfectly the alphabet of the Mesa stone and some of the names found on that monument. He is an ingenious stone-cutter, but an ignorant man. In his forgeries the words Jehovah, Israel, Melek, Mesa, Moab, Chemosh, recur suspiciously, often with Abraham and all the patriarchs. In one case all the twelve tribes are named; in another, he brought me the squeeze of a large stone, with the words "the holy shekel" on it, in Hebrew, evidently from some coin; and in



another the inscription, AVSVSTVS HADPNNVS, by which he probably meant Augustus Hadrianus. On the other hand, I may remark that, in many hundred inscriptions which I have examined on the pottery, the words Mesa and Melek, Israel, Jehovah, and Abraham never occur, and Chemosh only twice; nor is there any evident attempt to make the inscriptions interesting to the casual reader of the letters.

Secondly, it was thought suspicious that nothing of the kind had been found before, and that the American exploring party found no specimens. I can only say to this that Dr. Almkvist and Baron Münchhausen have shown in their reports that the pottery was too carefully hidden to be found except by special excavation. The American party never went into Moab proper, and it is not likely that the Arabs would have shown the pottery to strangers accompanied by a Sheikh (Kablan) of the hostile tribe of the Adwan, considering that Mutluk would not even give a single piece to Mr. Shick, who went over with the Consul, though he was represented to have come over from me to build a water-mill which the Arabs had asked for.

Mutluk had found pottery about six years ago in digging for saltpetre, and, with a few companions, had sought for it since with great secrecy, in fear of his life. The Bedawin believe that the inscriptions are charms or directions for finding hidden treasure, and that to reveal where they are to be found should be punished by death.

Thirdly, the letters of M. Ganneau have raised an unfavourable feeling regarding the pottery. I will answer this objection shortly. M. Ganneau has never seen pottery made in Jerusalem like the Moabite; he only reports the hearsay evidence of a few wretched underlings, who contradicted themselves and one another, and were probably told by a servant or dragoman that they had better tell a tale likely to be acceptable. Attempts to get imitations from the Jerusalem potters only showed that they were unable to imitate the texture or art of the Moabite antiquities, and if Selim did attempt to forge any small objects he certainly did not succeed.

The attack made by Prof. Kautzsch is even less important (*Allge. Zeitung*, June, 1876). He begins by giving me a high character for honesty and uprightness, but argues that all my supporters rely on my critical judgment, whilst I myself did not confidently believe in the genuine character of the pottery, as I had refused to sell any more specimens till they had been proved not to be forgeries; but evidently it does not follow that because not *proved* genuine they were, therefore, in my opinion forgeries.

Again, this gentleman says he was told in Jerusalem (by Mr. Klein) that an Arab boy had told his informant that Selim had ordered pots to be made, and had engraved upon them the inscriptions after they were baked, which, he says, explains how all attempts failed to trace them to the potters, as they knew nothing of what happened after the pots left their hands. Now, not only does this theory not account for the jars with raised letters and the idols, but the professor has not even taken

the trouble to notice that the sunk inscriptions are not engraved after baking, but must have been made by impressing the clay when damp.

Still stranger is the proof of forgery which he gives, that a gentleman from Jerusalem had told him that he had heard from his Arab servant that an Arab merchant from Es Salt had said that he met a Bedawin passing over Jordan, and when he asked, "What have you got in your saddle-bag?" he answered, "Seventeen bits of pottery, which I am going to bury in the East for the Consuls to find," in which the professor recognises for certain the twelve inscribed pieces found by Pastor Weser and his party at Madeba. When the man who related this story was asked, he said it occurred in the summer of 1874. Thus we have a new natural phenomenon. The seventeen pieces buried in the summer of 1874 had increased in the course of two years *backwards* to the August of 1872, to twelve inscribed pieces and several hundred not inscribed found in Madeba, with forty-two at Diban, all the result of interring seventeen pieces only two years *later*!

Fourthly, the most important and substantial objection is on the palæographical grounds which have been relied on by English and French scholars: some letters supposed to belong to a later period are found with others thought to belong to an earlier one. Three letters especially have been suspected from their peculiar shape—namely, the *Mim*, the *Yod*, and the *Alpha*. This question is about to be treated in Schlottmann's large work soon to be published, and Prof. Koch has already partly answered the objection in his pamphlet.

I will only add that the three disputed letters are all found on the jar discovered by Dr. Almkvist, the genuine character of which cannot, of course, be disputed; and that these letters are consequently indisputably Moabitic.

But, finally, all that is said above only shows the objections to have no ground; but, as the idols and inscriptions are destined to form so important a new link in the obscure history of the habits and ritual of the nations surrounding Israel, it is only natural they should not be accepted unless positively proved genuine. I come, then, to the most important point. It has been proved by the greatest technical authorities in Europe, by Mr. Behme, the owner of the great pottery at Halle, and by one of the first technical authorities in Berlin on the subject, the Commerzienrath Marsch, that the jars and idols with raised letters on them require an artist of technical skill, as the letters are not stuck on, but the soft clay cut away round them to leave them standing out—a most difficult plastic work, and requiring that the jar should be kept wet for seven or eight days until moulded. Mr. Marsch thinks that with all their modern improvements it would be impossible to make such a jar for less than seventy marks (£3 10s.), and an idol would be yet more costly. This kind of work is, according to these gentlemen, entirely new, and they cannot explain why the Moabite potters should have done their work in so difficult a manner, unless, they say, the potters wished for that holy purpose to imitate the stone idol sculptors.

In any case the Jerusalem potters or any others in the country would

not know how to do such work ; and why should a forger choose so expensive a method, costing ten times what he would get for the jar ? My expenses in actual price of the antiquities are often very small, the principal cost being in travelling to fetch them. The objects were also proved to be of many different styles of workmanship, and of different kinds of clay, especially those of my third collection.

The above proof seems to show that the pottery is unquestionably genuine. See the Report of the above-mentioned gentlemen (No. 40 *Beilage der Aug. Allg. Zeitung*, 1877).

The jar found by Dr. Almqvist was also examined by these gentlemen, and was found in all respects similar to those in the Berlin collection.

The above proof refers only to the raised inscriptions ; fortunately some of the same jars have also impressed inscriptions made when the clay was moist, and nearly all the large idols have such double inscriptions raised in front and impressed behind. The impressed must consequently also be genuine. Other specimens which have only impressed inscriptions are found to resemble, in the peculiarities of different systems of writing from different localities, as well as in texture, those with the double inscriptions. These also are thus shown to be genuine.

---

## II.—FROM M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

Paris, 4 *Décembre*, 1877.

Je viens de lire dans l'*Athenæum* la longue lettre de M. le baron de Münchhausen tendant à établir l'authenticité des poteries moabites. Comme mon nom s'y trouve incidemment mentionné, et qui, d'ailleurs, les conclusions de M. de Münchhausen visent incontestablement les idées que j'ai émises le premier sur cette question, et qui sont celles de la majorité des savants anglais, allemands et français, permettez-moi de répondre quelques mots—mais quelques mots seulement, car je considère, pour ma part, que c'est perdre son temps et sa peine que de revenir sans cesse sur cette affaire depuis longtemps jugée. D'autres travaux plus sérieux me réclament.

La majeure partie de la lettre de M. de Münchhausen est consacrée à exposer sa manière de voir d'après des faits déjà connus et discutés ; elle ne nous apprend de ce chef rien de neuf, et il serait oisieux de recommencer *da capo*, pour l'édification personnelle de M. de Münchhausen, tout ce fastidieux morceau. Je retiens seulement de cette première partie de la lettre une indication : c'est que M. de Münchhausen avait déjà son opinion faite sur l'authenticité quand il a entrepris son excursion au pays de Moab. Je crois d'ailleurs (si je ne m'abuse ou si ma mémoire ne me trahit) que c'est précisément sous M. de Münchhausen qu'a eu lieu en 1874 la grande enquête consulaire dirigée par M. Weser, enquête *absolument officielle*, comme je l'appris non sans quelque étonnement après avoir reçu de M. Weser l'assurance positive du contraire. M. de Münchhausen ne saurait donc se présenter, je ne dis pas comme un juge impartial, mais comme un arbitre neutre. Son siège était fait depuis longtemps quand il s'est rendu en Moab.

Je n'ai jamais prétendu qu'on ne trouverait en Moab aucun monu-

ment authentique; la stèle de Mésa serait là pour donner à une aussi absurde assertion le plus éclatant des démentis. J'ai seulement affirmé, et j'affirme encore, que les poteries moabites de Berlin sont apocryphes. M. de Munchhausen aurait donc parfaitement pu découvrir dans la grotte de Sheikh Mutlak des poteries dont je serai le premier à reconnaître la "genuineness" si elles sont "genuine"; j'aurais même été disposé, jusqu'à plus ample examen, à tenir ces poteries pour authentiques; mais si, comme l'affirme M. de Münchhausen, ces poteries sont identiques à celles de Berlin, je déclare *à priori*, que pour moi, elles sont fausses. Maintenant, M. de Münchhausen, dont le dire n'est point parole d'évangile en matière d'archéologie, peut se tromper dans son *criterium*—et c'est à souhaiter dans l'intérêt même de sa découverte.

Je ne saurais discuter ici les conditions dans lesquelles cette nouvelle trouvaille aurait été faite; j'attends sur ce point le rapport technique annoncé de M. Schick, pour l'autorité de qui je professe une grande estime scientifique; en tout cas la "kind of fine grey moss" qui recouvrait le sol de la caverne, et les "ruts worked by the passage of insects" (lesquels?) sont des arguments bien faibles pour en tirer avec M. de Münchhausen la preuve que "no human hand had touched it for long periods"; il suffit d'une saison pour que la mousse pousse, et de quelques heures pour que des "insects" (p. ex. de vulgaires lombrics) se frayent un chemin dans un sol précédemment remué.

M. de Münchhausen relate en passant que le Dr. Almkvist, accompagné de Selîm, a fouillé une caverne de Moab choisie par lui seul, au hasard, et y a déterré une jarre avec inscription moabite. Si le Dr. Almkvist n'a réellement obéi à aucune suggestion, directe ou indirecte, de son compagnon éminemment suspect, s'il n'a pas été victime de ce tour de passe-passe, que nous appelons en français la *carte forcée*, on ne peut qu'admirer cette bonne fortune qui du premier coup, sur un point pris au hasard dans le pays de Moab, le fait tomber précisément sur une de ces jarres épigraphiques qu'il était allé y chercher! Je ne connais d'ailleurs ni la relation du Dr. Almkvist, ni le monument qu'il a rapporté; je m'abstiens donc de tout autre commentaire, mais je réclame le droit de rester, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, dans mon scepticisme.

Je me permettrai, en terminant, de demander à M. de Münchhausen pourquoi le Museum de Berlin n'a pas cru devoir acquérir les suites de la collection si intéressante de M. Shapira, pourquoi l'on a renoncé à exposer et à publier les monuments déjà acquis. Si les arguments de M. de Münchhausen possèdent réellement la valeur qu'il leur prête, il semble que le premier effet qu'ils doivent avoir c'est de convaincre ses propres compatriotes.

---

### III.—FROM M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

Paris, 16 Décembre, 1877.

Je viens de lire l'article de M. Shapira dans le nombre de l'*Athenæum* du 15 courant. Ce long plaidoyer *pro domo sua*, fruit naturel et attendu



de la lettre de M. de Münchhausen, ne contient aucun élément nouveau d'information pour ceux qui sont au courant de la question.

M. Shapira affecte de faire porter le débat sur des points qui sont hors de conteste, et qui lui offrent l'occasion de triompher à peu de frais d'objections imaginaires. Il néglige en revanche de répondre aux arguments les plus directs et les plus catégoriques. Ainsi, par exemple, je n'ai jamais, pour ma part, attribué la fabrication des poteries moabites au lapicide Martin Boulos; je sais, je savais et j'ai publié, bien avant que M. Shapira ne le sût et ne le publiât, ce dont ce concurrent de Selim était capable; Martin Boulos a fait, en effet, ses premières armes sur la stèle du Temple que j'avais découverte et qu'il avait travaillé, pour mon compte, à dégager du mur où elle était encastrée.

Les essais infructueux tentés pour faire fabriquer à certains potiers de Jérusalem des poteries analogues à celles de M. Shapira, ne sont pas de mon fait; je n'ai jamais eu recours à ce moyen puéril qui devait nécessairement échouer, parceque ceux qui ont eu la naïveté d'y recourir; ne s'adressaient pas aux véritables fabricants, en s'adressant aux potiers arabes.

M. Shapira crie victoire parcequ'il croit devoir tirer des trouvailles de MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen la preuve qu'il est possible de découvrir dans le pays de Moab des monuments épigraphiques authentiques; mais—qu'il me permette de le lui dire—c'est encore ce qu'on appelle enfoncer une porte ouverte: cette possibilité n'a jamais été mise en doute, et il est plus que superflu de l'établir. Les trouvailles de MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen, fussent-elles à l'abri de tout soupçon—et nous avons vu qu'il était loin d'en être ainsi—ne prouveraient absolument rien pour l'authenticité des séries actuellement à Berlin ou entre les mains de M. Shapira.

En effet, ou les objets recueillis par MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen ne ressemblent pas aux poteries contestées, et alors ils ne peuvent être invoqués en leur faveur; ou bien, au contraire, ils leur ressemblent, et alors ils tombent sous le coup des graves accusations dont leurs sœurs n'ont encore pu se faire décharger par aucun tribunal sérieux. Ces objets, déterrés par MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen, soit en compagnie de Selim, soit dans une caverne de Cheykh Mutlak (l'un des ex-comparses de Selim), appartiennent par leur aspect—d'après ce que nous apprennent ces messieurs eux-mêmes—à cette famille plus que suspecte. Tant pis pour ces objets! Ils partageront le sort commun.

En un mot M. Shapira raisonne à peu près ainsi:

“ Les premières poteries sont les congénères des nouvelles poteries; or les nouvelles sont authentiques (?), donc les premières sont également authentiques.

On me laissera libre, j'espère, de retourner ce raisonnement arbitraire et de dire:

Les nouvelles poteries sont les congénères des premières poteries; or les premières sont apocryphes, donc les nouvelles sont également apocryphes.

C'est un peu la fameuse histoire du prisonnier :

“ Mon capitaine ! j'ai fait un prisonnier !—Eh ! bien, amène-le !—Je ne peux pas ! il m'emmène ! ”

---

IV.—FROM MAJOR WILSON, R.E.

December, 1877.

I have hitherto taken no part in the discussion as to the genuineness or otherwise of the so-called Moabite pottery, nor do I wish to do so now, but the letter of Freiherr von Münchhausen, in your issue of the 1st inst., which I have only just seen, seems to call for some remark. The letter is avowedly written for publication, and, as it were, officially recognises the genuineness of the pottery. There are, however, two or three points which have never been satisfactorily cleared up, and I still hesitate to believe in the pottery. No inscribed pottery, or images of any kind, that I am aware of, were found in Moab before the discovery of the Moabite stone, of which Selim is known to have made a copy, opened up visions of untold wealth to the hungry eyes of the Bedawin sheikhs. The visits of Messrs. Shapira, Weser, and Münchhausen to Moab have been hurriedly made for the purpose of digging up pottery, or proving that pottery could be dug up. On the other hand, Prof. Palmer and Mr. Drake heard of no pottery during their stay in Moab, and the members of the expeditions sent by the American Palestine Society, who passed not days but weeks in Moab, have been similarly unfortunate. Is it likely that the scientific officers of the American expeditions, in daily communication with the Bedawin, would have allowed articles of such extreme interest, if genuine, to have been unearthed only by gentlemen from Jerusalem ?

In one respect Fr. von Münchhausen's letter is likely to create a false impression as to the conclusions arrived at by the late Mr. Drake. Mr. Drake, it is true, at first believed, though doubtingly, in the genuineness of the pottery, but he was at last quite convinced that the greater number of the pieces, including all those with inscriptions, were forgeries. (See *Quarterly Statement of P. E. F.*, April, 1874, p. 119.)

I may add, that after carefully reading the German Consul-General's letter, I can quite conceive that he was deceived by the Bedawin.

---

V.—FROM THE “ATHENÆUM.”

The latest event in the history of the “ Moabite ” pottery is the arrival in England of two idols recently brought home by Lieut. Kitchener. These were procured in Jerusalem, and their manufacture has been traced by Lieut. Kitchener to the renowned Selim el Kari. He has also ascertained that similar pottery may be obtained at a low price from the same source. The two specimens have been seen by Baron Münchhausen and others in Jerusalem, and are regarded as identical with the idols of the Shapira collection. One of them is a truncated figure in hollow pottery,

the front of which is covered with the familiar letters, not inscribed, but in relief; the neck is decorated with the constantly recurring seven dots, and the back is adorned with inscribed letters. The second is a hollow, circular tube, with a face. The front has the letters in relief, and the back inscribed letters. The faces resemble those of the drawings and photographs already sent home of the Shapira collection. As Mr. Shapira has very kindly offered to lend to the Committee of the Palestine Fund a small collection of his pottery, comparison will shortly be possible. Meantime Lieut. Kitchener's idols remain for the present at the office of the Fund. Any definite conclusion, from these specimens alone, as to the worthlessness of the whole would be at present premature, but it may be useful to point out that, as the case at present stands, the following facts are indisputable: (1) Two independent investigators, Messrs. Ganneau and Drake, working in ignorance of each other's movements, arrived almost simultaneously at the discovery that Selim el Kari was engaged in manufacturing sham antique pottery, and (2) Lieut. Kitchener has traced the production of his two idols to the same workshop.

---

#### VI.—FROM MR. SHAPIRA.

Jerusalem, *Jan. 11, 1878.*

It is with great satisfaction and pleasure that I announce to you that, after several years of vague rumours about Selim having fabricated "Moabitica," some specimens of his manufacture have, during my recent absence, been at last discovered. An investigation in reference to those forgeries was at once instituted by the Freiherr von Münchhausen, the Imperial German Consul for Palestine, who communicated to me a statement of the results hitherto obtained, which I would ask you to insert in your valuable paper, for the benefit of all who desire to arrive at the truth concerning the Moabite pottery.

The statement of the Freiherr von Münchhausen was accompanied by a note in German, of which I give the English translation:—

"Jerusalem, *Jan. 9, 1878.*

"Enclosed I hand you the English translation of a truthful description of an investigation concerning traces of Moabitic forgeries which I instituted during your absence, my attention having been drawn to the subject by Lieut. Kitchener's purchases. Let me add that, although Selim has, in the meantime, escaped to Alexandria, I have not failed to follow up the traces, and hope soon to be in a position to communicate to you further results.

(Signed)

"MUNCHHAUSEN."

---

Lieut. Kitchener, the chief of the last expedition sent out by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, showed me, a few days before his leaving for England in December last, some Moabitic clay idols,

bearing inscriptions, which had been secretly and in strict confidence shown to him, and which he had subsequently purchased. He could not, therefore, tell me the name of the person from whom he had bought them, but stated that not only had that person declared these idols to be forgeries, but that he had also expressed his readiness to lead him, Mr. Kitchener, to the house where the Moabitic antiquities were made, and especially that he would show him there a similar idol, made of clay, but *not yet fired*, or burnt. When I asked Mr. Kitchener, just before he left, about the results of his investigation, he told me that though he had actually had the house pointed out to him which was said to contain the unburnt idol as well as the whole factory of Moabitic antiquities, he had been unable, notwithstanding repeated efforts, to gain admission there.

The day after Mr. Kitchener had left, I discovered his informant, and the next day the house which had been pointed out to him. The former is a certain Kattan, a seemingly honest young Arab tradesman: the house is no other than that of Selim el Kary, whose name is sufficiently notorious in this controversy. Having at once procured a warrant from the Turkish police, I caused the house to be searched in the presence of one of the agents of the consulate, when the following articles were found:—1. A newly made unburnt clay idol, in a sitting posture, and more than a foot in height; 2. Four small iron chisels, which had clearly been used in the manufacture of this figure. No other pottery wares were found, nor any tools, except those mentioned, and no oven capable of being used for firing was to be seen in the whole house. These articles were confiscated by the police, and courteously placed at my disposal by the governor. The inscription on the idol's breast differs essentially in character from those of Mr. Shapira's antiquities: the letters, too, are very much smaller. They have been neatly enough inscribed—no doubt with the confiscated chisels—but they differ considerably from the usual alphabet. Besides, a number of fantastic marks are interspersed here and there among genuine letters. The figure itself is hollowed out a little at the base, but is otherwise massive and solid, and consequently very heavy, whereas the articles in Mr. Shapira's collection are mostly quite hollow and light.

When I examined Kattan and Selim el Kary at my office, I found them to agree in this, that they both stated that Selim had sold five Moabitic clay figures to Kattan, and that the latter had sold two of them to Mr. Kitchener. But with regard to the main point, viz., the origin of these articles, they contradicted each other. While Kattan asserted that Selim had declared them to be his own manufacture, Selim said, as he has often said before, that he had never imitated any Moabitic pottery at all, but that the five clay figures in question were part of a collection which had been offered two years ago to Mr. Shapira by a Bedouin, that Mr. Shapira had at that time declined purchasing them, and that he, Selim, had then bought them very cheaply. When I questioned him about the unburnt idol, he replied that he had received it from the well-



known antique forger, Martin Boulos, as also the four chisels, the latter for the purpose of closing up certain cracks and crevices in the clay. He further said that Martin Boulos had held out brilliant prospects to him which they might realise together if such forged articles could be sold. It is remarkable that Selim, in his declaration (upon which, since lying has become his second nature, no reliance whatever can be placed), always wished to give the impression that he *could* tell much more, but that *he would only do so in Mr. Shapira's presence*. This probably supplies the key to the whole business.

When, through the publication of Messrs. Socin and Kautzsch's pamphlet, the market value of the Moabitic antiquities had considerably fallen, Selim was dismissed by Mr. Shapira, who till then had kept him in his employment, and he was reduced to great poverty. A short time before Mr. Shapira left for Europe, Selim presented a petition here, in which he claimed wages due to him by his late employer; whereas, according to two bills in Mr. Shapira's possession, *he* proved to be the creditor, and not Selim. As the latter, however, would not yield, but persisted in his claims, I referred him to the competent Turkish authorities. There, of course, on the production of the bills by Mr. Shapira, Selim's claims were rejected; and on that occasion he told several persons, so that I came to hear of it, that if Mr. Shapira did not satisfy his demands to the last farthing he would "expose the whole of the Moabitic antiquities."

Even if, as above mentioned, the two idols acquired by Mr. Kitchener are suspected to be imitations, such is not the case with the other three clay idols which Kattan bought from Selim, and which he has since shown to me. To judge by their colour they seem to be very old, and in the deeply and elaborately engraved letters, all belonging to the well-known Moabitic alphabet, is found a quantity of hard, ancient-looking earth, firmly adhering to the clay. Some persons entirely unbiassed in this controversy, and experienced in judging of the age of pottery wares, to whom I showed the idols, declared them to be genuine, or at all events extremely old. The idea of these articles, as well as of those of the former collection, being imitations or forgeries is improbable, for many and frequently stated reasons, and yet it is not impossible that the idols in Mr. Kitchener's possession may be imitations, since even Mr. Shapira declares that he has one non-genuine clay figure. Mr. Koch's investigations in the year 1875 have proved it impossible for these articles to have been fabricated here in any *great quantity*, and yet the factory where they were fabricated to have remained undiscovered all this time. But, even granting such a possibility, the great and very genuine poverty of Selim seems sufficient proof that he could not have taken part in the wholesale profitable manufacture of unguenine "Moabitica." He must, in such a case, at least have earned enough to save him from the utter poverty into which he has now fallen. The most probable explanation of his conduct, and of the circumstances under which the confiscated articles came into his possession, seems to be simply

that he attempted to extort money from Mr. Shapira. Thus his way of selling them to Kattan shows his wish to excite curiosity by an affected mysteriousness of demeanour, and my agent informed me that Selim's conduct during the search in his house could not but make him suspect that he actually wished for it, and was glad that it took place. And if, besides, his absurd statement when examined by me is taken into consideration—viz., that he could only tell the whole truth in Mr. Shapira's presence, the conviction is almost forced on one that he procured the unburnt idol and the four chisels, and cautiously directed public attention to them, in order to compromise Mr. Shapira, and thereby perhaps manage to extort something from him for himself, or simply by way of revenge. However, I shall not content myself with this impression, but shall continue my investigations, and hope to obtain some definite and final results.

BARON MUNCHHAUSEN.

---

By Freiherr von Münchhausen's kindness I have been allowed to take a photograph of the unbaked idol mentioned in his statement. In sending you a copy of the same, together with a photograph of genuine pottery, taken, some three years ago, by Lieut. Kitchener, I hope that the publication of the two woodcuts, side by side, will enable your readers to arrive at an accurate idea on the subject.

M. W. SHAPIRA.

---

#### VII.—FROM THE REV. W. HAYES WARD.

New York, Dec. 31, 1877.

It may be interesting, in connexion with Mr. Shapira's late communications to the *Athenæum*, to tell the reasons why some in America have been so slow to accept his wares as genuine.

About six years ago, before the first collection of his wares was purchased by the German Government, through the kindness of the Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, of Beirut, a collection of squeezes of "Moabite" inscriptions, and drawings of pottery and idols with their inscriptions, including a fair share of the coarse and obscene figures, was obtained from Mr. Shapira, and sent to New York to be examined by the directors of the American Palestine Exploration Society, with a view to a purchase. A number of these copies are before me as I write.

These inscriptions and figures were carefully examined, among others by Mr. Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Prof. Isaac H. Hall, and myself, and our judgment was decidedly averse to their genuineness, although they came endorsed by Mr. Shapira's signature.

We found that it was utterly impossible to put them into words of a Semitic character. This was not through any lack of legibility, nor because the inscriptions were not of sufficient length. There is absolutely no reason to expect anything but inscriptions in a Semitic language from that region; but it was not in any way possible to reduce them to sense.

Then, again, the shape of the characters sufficiently proved that they were forgeries. There are, in the Phœnician alphabet, certain letters which, as every epigraphist knows, belong to the same class, so far as their construction is concerned, and which change their shape together. Such letters are *daleth* and *resh*; and such are *mem*, *nun*, and *shin*. To see *daleth* as a triangle and *resh* rounded was enough to prove the forgery. So it was absurd to find *mem* written in the later form, with the strokes at right angles, while *shin* was written in its oldest style, like our English W.

I may add that it was also startling to find, on the same squeeze, two long inscriptions, in two different alphabets, that could not have co-existed by less than five hundred years, one of these being Phœnician of the composite character above described, while the other was apparently made by random strokes, so as to produce the general effect of Nabathean.

Other evidence even more startling was not wanting. Of two of the longest inscriptions squeezes were sent. I noticed on the brown paper, over considerable portions, a light, whitish cloud, which appeared to me to suggest lime. It occurred to me, especially as the impressions of the letters and other marks seemed to agree therewith, that instead of being taken from black basalt at Um-el-Rasas and Aroer, they had been taken from a bed of mortar, impressed when wet with the inscription. This led to a more careful examination of the paper, when there were found adhering to it quite a number of hard white particles, which on analysis proved to be carbonate of lime, and which were just such as might have been detached from the bed of inscribed mortar, from which I have no doubt the squeezes were taken. This was confirmed by evident slips of the stick with which the letters were traced, so that the lines crossed each other at the apex of angles.

Not less surprising was the character of the border of the inscription. In one case the squeeze showed a border around the inscription of large dots, and in another of short diagonal lines, thus suggesting that the idea was taken by some ignorant forger from some plate in which the engraver had thus represented the edge of the stone.

The Palestine Exploration Society was advised not to purchase Mr. Shapira's collection, which was afterwards secured, much to our surprise, by the German Government.

WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

P.S.—Mr. Shapira says that "the American party never went into Moab proper." The American party, in 1873, made its camp in Heshbon, a Moabitic city, and were there all summer, and made excursions into all parts of the country north of the Arnon, including all the places from which Mr. Shapira's pottery was at that time said to have come, including Heshbon, El-'Al, Mahsuh, Madeba, and Main. There was then no difficulty about hostile tribes, and the range of the Adwan extended as far as the Zarga Main, south of Madeba, without hostility. A son of Kablan, who acted at times as guide of the American party,

confidentially yet repeatedly told them that none of the antiquities in the possession of "the gentleman of Jerusalem," meaning Mr. Shapira, came from the east of the Jordan. Further, one Rev. Bahnam Hassûni, formerly pastor of the Protestant Church at Es-Salt, informed them that at the beginning of his career Selim endeavoured to induce him to enter upon this work of forging and palming off antiquities from Moab.

---

VIII.—FROM M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

Paris, Rue de Vaugirard 60, *Février*, 1878.

1° La première fois que j'eus occasion d'examiner des reproductions de poteries moabites (à Londres, vers 1872) je n'hésitai pas à déclarer que, pour moi, ces poteries étaient fausses, et que j'y croyais reconnaître la main d'un Arabe chrétien nommé Selim.

2° Plus tard, pendant ma mission à Jérusalem (1873—74), j'acquis et publiai les preuves matérielles de ce qui n'était jusqu'alors qu'une présomption : je surpris le faussaire la main dans le sac, et se faussaire c'était le dit Selim—et de deux.

3° D'un autre côté, M. Drake, qui ne peut être soupçonné d'avoir obéi à des idées préconçues, attendu qu'il a cru, au début, à l'authenticité des poteries, arrivait au même résultat et rencontrait, comme moi, au fond de l'affaire un nom, celui de Selim—et de trois.

4° Il ne manquait plus, pour achever de convaincre les plus incrédules, que l'aveu même du mystificateur ; cet aveu nous l'avons aujourd'hui, grâce au Lieutenant Kitchener, et celui qui le fait c'est Selim—et de quatre !

La piquante découverte de M. Kitchener me fait un devoir de livrer à la publicité un curieux document que j'ai conservé par devers moi pendant plusieurs mois : c'est une lettre autographe de Selim, écrite en grec moderne fort incorrect, et à moi adressée au mois d'Août, 1877. J'y joins une traduction littérale que je dois à l'obligeance d'un de mes amis d'ici.

---

*A Monsieur Ganneau.*

De Jérusalem, *Mois de Août*, 6.\*

D'abord je te demande des nouvelles de ta santé et ensuite je te dirai que quand . . . les antiquités avec Khavadja Sapira, il me parla et me dit : "Je te donnerai beaucoup d'argent pourvu seulement que tu ne parles pas des choses secrètes relatives à la provenance des choses." Je m'en suis beaucoup occupé et à cette heure il me traite en ennemi parce que quand nos gardes s'en allèrent il me dit que je paie les hommes qui avaient mal parlé de nous, et moi, tout ainsi qu'il me l'avait dit, j'ai payé, d'ai voulu rentrer dans ces dépenses alors il me dit : "Maintenant je ne te crains plus parce que le roi le sait bien que ce sont des mensonges, il m'a payé ; toi et Ganneau (il sait) que vous voulez me nuire."

Pour moi je veux le perdre comme il m'a perdu, car je connais toute

\* Vieux style.

† Ici un mot douteux.



son affaire. Si tu veux que je vienne près de toi afin que je te dise tout et que tu le publies dans les journaux et qu'ainsi je dévoile tous ses mensonges, si tu le veux, écris à un de tes amis qu'il m'avance les fonds pour que je vienne près de toi et t'explique tout clairement, si tu veux que je sois présent pour rendre manifestes les mensonges depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin. Ton serviteur,

SALIM KARI.

---

La suscription seule est en arabe. La lettre m'est arrivée par l'intermédiaire d'un de mes amis de Jérusalem que Selim était venu trouver et à qu'il a débité une foule de choses que je m'abstiens de répéter. Je décline naturellement toute espèce de responsabilité pour cette lettre, dont je n'entends endosser en rien les assertions.

Je suis payé pour savoir la créance que méritent les dires de maître Selim, mon ex-accusateur, devenu spontanément mon correspondant. Connaissant le pelèin, je n'avais pas attaché à cette missive, embrouillée et paraissant dictée par un sentiment de vengeance, plus d'importance qu'elle n'en comportait. Je me demandais même par instants, je l'avoue, si cette démarche bizarre ne cachait pas un piège dressé contre moi, et si Selim ne jouait pas au Zopyre. Je mis donc la lettre de côté, sans y répondre bien entendu, et j'attendis les événements: l'événement est venu sous la forme des statuettes achetées par M. Kitchener.

Libre aux derniers partisans de l'authenticité de refuser de se rendre à l'évidence; ce n'est certes pas moi qui entreprendrai la conversion de pécheurs aussi endurcis. Après tout, il leur reste toujours la ressource d'expliquer l'inexplicable volte-face de Selim par une influence occulte, d'y voir même le résultat d'un plan machiavélique. N'est-ce pas moi qui ai offert autrefois à Selim, dans la rue des Chrétiens, je ne sais plus quelle somme fabuleuse pour acheter son faux témoignage contre M. Shapira? Aujourd'hui c'est Selim qui m'a fait des avances pour "perdre" le dit M. Shapira!

---

IX.—FROM DR. NEUBAUER.

Bodleian Library, *Feb.* 15, 1878.

During my last visit to Berlin, in December, although very busy with the more particular object of my journey, I could not help devoting a day to visiting the famous Moabitic collection of pottery; permission having been most courteously granted me by the authorities in the Ministry of Public Instruction, where this collection is preserved in a room by itself, and not in the Museum, as is wrongly stated by Prof. Socin and M. Clermont Ganneau. It must be said, to the honour of the authorities of the Museum, that they never thought of accepting it for their establishment.

As I have already stated in your columns, I was perfectly persuaded, from the specimens published by Prof. Schlottmann, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, that the pottery and idols are forgeries,

and I was confirmed in my belief by the elaborate book of Prof. Kautzsch, published in 1876, after a personal examination of the Berlin collection as well as those at Stuttgart and Basle. Still I thought I might find one or more pieces in the collection which would make the impression of being genuine, and justify Prof. Schlottmann's belief. I must say, however, that I have never seen such a heap of ugly objects altogether as in this collection, and I was quite astonished that a man of learning and common sense should not have seen in them at once the rudest forgeries possible. I shall not insist again upon the palæographical evidence of their spuriousness, nor on the fact that not a single Semitic word can be read in any of them, this having been made clear over and over again. Prof. Schlottmann, however, thinks he is able to explain the variety of forms assumed by one and the same letter in the same line, and Dr. Koch still believes the language might be some unknown one, although we know from the Mesha inscription what the Moabite language was like.

It has already been stated by Prof. Kautzsch that the shape of one of the gods has a resemblance to Napoleon the Third, wearing a *chapeau de gendarme*, and by myself that the goddess of the earth looks like a German girl; and now I find from personal inspection that one of the idols (that near the window at Berlin) is a copy of a Christ in the Greek churches, and that, too, executed in the rudest way possible.

Prof. Schlottmann says that these ugly figures are meant in the Old Testament by the word  $\text{עֲשֵׂבֹת}$ , which I deny. The word means "abomination," and is applied to all idols in general, and even the Venus of Milo would not have had another denomination. The Prophets from first to last speak of idols of gold, silver, and other metals, of stone and wood, but never of those of clay. Would, for instance, the passages in Isaiah xli. 19, 20, Jeremiah ii. 28, Psalms cxv. 4 to 8, not have been the place to make allusion to such fragile idols? The only mention of idols formed by potters is to be found in the apocryphal book, Wisdom of Solomon, xv. 8, which refers probably to the Greek period in Palestine. How is it to be explained that in a place where so many idols and vases have been found not a single one in wood and metal occurs, as the Old Testament would lead us to expect? What are those heaps of smaller and larger tablets, or *tesseræ*, in the collection of Berlin if not a forgery by a person who knew of the existence of such objects in old times? How comes the vase near the door of the collection to be ornamented with four Maltese crosses? The forgery is evident, and is confirmed now by the discovery of Lieut. Kitchener. AD. NEUBAUER.

---

The correspondence has for the present closed with a letter from Mr. Shapira, in which he analyses the letters on the inscribed jars, and one from the Baron Von Münchhausen, which called forth two notes from Lieut. Conder and M. Gamneau. It contains, however, no new fact likely to be of service to those who take interest in this discussion.







DOORWAY OF NEWLY-DISCOVERED SYNAGOGUE AT SÛFSÂF.

*(From a Photograph by Lieutenant Kitchener.,*







THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

The two points of greatest interest at the present moment are : (1) the Publication of the Map, and (2) the Future Work of the Fund. With regard to the former, the Executive Committee have announced (see report of meeting of General Committee, p. 108) that by an arrangement made with the Ordnance Survey Department the whole of the sheets are now being photo-lithographed and prepared for publication by the Director of the Ordnance Survey. They are also being photographed to a scale of three-eighths, on which scale they will be laid down on three sheets, which will form the reduced Map. It is proposed that this shall be engraved as rapidly as possible, and published simultaneously with the larger Map. It is expected that the two Maps, the greater and the lesser, will be issued early next year.

---

With regard to the Memoirs, Special Plans, &c., the Executive Committee are not at present in a position to recommend any method for their publication. The work will be of a very voluminous and costly nature, embracing long lists of Arabic names with their English equivalents, which will have to be carefully examined by an Arabic scholar, the whole of the notes prepared by Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, and a large number of special plans and drawings made for the Committee by the officers of the Survey, by Majors Wilson and Warren, Captain Anderson, Professor Palmer, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, and M. Lecomte (the architect who accompanied M. Clermont Ganneau).

---

The work proposed for the immediate future will be found in the Report of the Executive Committee. It is recommended to organise and dispatch a special expedition with the object of examining, by means of excavation where necessary, the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and the determination by this method of the sites of Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and the other places on these shores

associated with the New Testament history. A detailed prospectus showing what is wanted and how it is proposed to supply that want will be issued without delay.

---

Meantime Lieutenant Kitchener is occupied at the working office of the Fund, South Kensington Museum, in laying down the reduction of the Map, and in finishing his Memoirs. He calculates that he has six months' work before him.

---

Lieutenant Conder's Memoirs were finished on April 30th, when he formally handed over everything to the Committee, and took his leave of the Society, in whose service he has worked for more than six years. He has accepted, however, an invitation to join the list of General Committee, so that the advantage of his counsel and experience may still be looked for.

---

His book, "Tent Work in Palestine," was published on Monday, June 3rd. Extracts from it will be found farther on (page 114). Meantime subscribers who wish to take advantage of the reduction of 27 per cent. in the price (17s. 6d.) are requested to forward their names to the office, 11 and 12, Charing Cross, with as little delay as possible.

---

Invitations to join the General Committee have been issued to the following gentlemen:—

Lord Talbot De Malahide.  
The Bishop Designate of Lichfield.  
Col. Sir John Cowell, K.C.B.  
Sir Howard Elphinstone, K.C.B., C.M.G.  
General Cameron, R.E.  
Colonel Home, R.E., C.B., C.M.G.  
Dr. Erasmus Wilson.  
Lieutenant Conder, R.E.

---

Major Warren, R.E., C.M.G., now in command of a troop of cavalry (the Diamond Fields Horse) at the Cape, retires from the Executive Committee the following members of General Committee have been invited to join the Executive:—

Lord Dufferin,  
Mr. William Simpson, F.R.G.S.

---

The income of the Fund from all sources from March 23th, 1878, to June 27th, 1878, was £519 18s. 8d. The expenditure was as follows: Exploration (expenses of survey party), £262 8s. 6d.; printing, £163 15s. 8d.; office management, and bills, £221 6s. 3d.



Subscribers are entreated not to think that the expenses of the Fund are over because the field work in Western Palestine is finished. The monthly expenses amount to about £180; the liabilities of the Committee are not yet discharged, and provision must be made for the future work.

---

For the next six months, while the working office at the South Kensington Museum will be occupied by Lieutenant Kitchener and his noncommissioned officers, friends of the Fund are invited to call at that office and see such portions of the Map as may be then under their hands.

---

The death of Earl Russell deprives the Fund of one who had been a member of General Committee from the very foundation of the Society. Lord Russell showed his continued interest in the work of the Committee by a donation—his second—made to the Fund in 1875.

---

Several cases have been at various times discovered of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

---

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs. :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford: Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester: Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire: Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London: Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich: Rev. W. F. Creeny.

Suffolk: Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough: Rev. A. J. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester: Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon: Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales: Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King has now returned from the Holy Land; communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh : Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

---

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

---

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letters asking for them must be sent to the office at 11 and 12, Charing Cross only.

---

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

---

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

---

## MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE General Committee Meeting was held on Tuesday, June 11th, at the Society's Offices at Charing Cross.

The Chair was taken by Professor Donaldson.

The Minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed, the following Report of the Executive Committee was read.

“On resigning the trust committed to them on July 17th, 1877, the Committee have to render an account of their administration during the past twelve months.

1. On their first sitting Mr. Hepworth Dixon was elected for the second time Chairman for the ensuing year.

2. The number of meetings held during the year has been twenty-two, which does not include the meetings of Publication and other sub-committees, held for various objects.

3. The Committee were able to report at the last meeting of the General Committee that the whole of the northern portion of the Survey of Western Palestine was then completed, and that there remained to be surveyed at that date only a small district of 200 square miles in the north, together with the revision of certain sheets. On October 3rd, 1877, the Chairman was enabled, by the receipt of a telegram from Palestine, to send a letter to the papers containing the welcome intelligence that this remainder was also happily accomplished, and the whole of the work on its way home under charge of the noncommissioned officers. Lieut. Kitchener himself, to whom the Committee granted a month's leave of absence, arrived in January, and joined Lieut. Conder at the working office at South Kensington, very kindly lent to the Fund by Her Majesty's Government. Here he has been, and is still, employed in the preparation of his memoirs and plans and the reduction of the map.

4. It is due to this officer to state that his work, although it is in no respect inferior to that of his predecessor in command, was accomplished under the most urgent necessity for dispatch. For a large part of the eight months during which he was in the country he and his men worked without intermission in order to get the work completed while the country, then threatened with disturbances, was still tranquil. No serious hindrance was met with, nor was there any opposition from the natives, except at Nablus, where Lieut. Kitchener was attacked and stoned in the streets, and where he was prevented from executing the proposed repairs of Jacob's Well. The Committee desire to express their sense not only of the energy and ability, but also of the tact shown by this officer in the conduct of his expedition, and of the careful economy with which he kept his expenses below the estimate.

5. Lieut. Conder completed his Memoirs on the 30th April, and on the 1st May rejoined his corps, after a period of six years' consecutive work in the service of the Committee. No other officer has worked so long for the Society, and the Committee feel that they must ask the General Committee to record an expression of thanks for his services and of regret at his departure.

6. The Committee have the greatest satisfaction in announcing that they have made arrangements, through the courtesy which has always been extended to them by the different departments of Her Majesty's Government with whom they have been in correspondence, for photolithographing and preparing for publication the whole of the large map of

Western Palestine by the Ordnance Survey at Southampton. The sheets are now in the hands of General Cameron, R.E., the Director, for that purpose. Each sheet of the work will bear the usual imprint of the Department. There seems good reason to believe that the map will be ready for publication on this large scale as soon as the Committee can prepare the small map, which for business purposes must be issued simultaneously. The arrangement so made will enable the Committee to publish this large map on a scale of economy not originally considered possible. Facilities have been kindly offered by the department for preparing the smaller map also. Correspondence on this subject is still proceeding, and the Committee expect that their communications will result in an arrangement by which the publication of the smaller map will be greatly assisted both in time and economy. It is hoped that this may be completed within the coming twelve months.

7. The Committee, considering the desirability of providing a record of their Survey in a more popular form than their scientific memoirs, resolved on inviting Lieut. Conder to write for them a book which should contain such a record. This book, called 'Tent Work in Palestine,' is now ready. It is illustrated from drawings made by Lieut. Conder himself, and engraved by Mr. J. S. Whympcr.

They have followed the example set in the 'Recovery of Jerusalem,' in making a large allowance for subscribers, by whom it can be obtained at a reduction of 27 per cent. post free.

8. The Committee have next to consider the present and future operations of the Society.

The original prospectus of the Society contemplated the following main branches of exploration:—

(1) *Archæology*.—In this branch Jerusalem alone has occupied the attention of the Committee. Their excavations under Major Warren, although extensive, were necessarily not exhaustive, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining permission to dig in the Haram area. The other places mentioned in the original prospectus are still awaiting examination. Among them are Mount Gerizim, the Valley of Shechem, Samaria, the Roman cities of the coast, especially Cæsarea, Antipatris, Gaza, the tombs of Tibneh, the mounds in the valley of the Jordan, Bethshean, and Jezreel.

Special detailed plans of many of the places, especially Cæsarea, where Lieut. Conder believes that he has found the remains of the Temple erected by Herod, have been made during the Survey, but no excavations of any kind were conducted during the progress of that work.

A great quantity of archæological work has also been done for the Committee by the officers in charge of their several expeditions, especially by M. Clermont Ganneau in 1874. This work has all been published in the *Quarterly Statement*, which has been made, as far as possible, a medium for publishing other discoveries and researches made in Palestine.

(2) *Manners and Customs*.—Under this head the Committee originally



contemplated producing such a work on the Holy Land as was written by Mr. Lane for Egypt, which should describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants. A mass of materials has been collected towards such a work. They have been published among the reports of M. Clermont Ganneau, Lieut. Conder, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, and others. This part of their programme, however, remains to be carried into execution.

(3) *Topography*.—The exact words of the original prospectus, written, it must be remembered, thirteen years ago, were:—

‘Of the coast-line of Palestine we now possess an accurate map in the recent Admiralty Charts. What is wanted is a survey which, when we advance inland, should give the position of the principal points throughout the country with equal accuracy. If these were fixed, the intermediate spots and the smaller places could be filled in with comparative ease and certainty. In connection with the topography is the accurate ascertainment of the levels of the various points. The elevation of Jerusalem and the depression of the Dead Sea are already provided for by the liberality of the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society; but the level of the Sea of Galilee (on which depends our knowledge of the true fall of the Jordan) is still uncertain within no less than 300 feet—as are other spots of almost equal moment.

‘The course of the ancient roads, and their coincidence with the modern tracks, has never been examined with the attention it deserves, considering its importance in the investigation of the history.’

It is gratifying to record that, so far as Western Palestine is concerned, all these points then noted as requiring examination have been entirely cleared up. We have a complete survey of the country; the positions of all the principal points are observed; the levels are noted; that of the Sea of Galilee has been obtained; the ancient roads have been laid down.

Of Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Meteorology, almost the same words may be used now as were used in 1865. The objects then proposed by the Committee remain still to be carried into execution.

So far, therefore, the Committee have carried into effect the original prospectus of the Society. It remains to be considered what steps should be recommended for the future.

*a.* For the immediate future, or rather for present work, the Committee recommend the publication of the map as speedily as possible. Every hope is entertained of having both the larger and the smaller map ready before the next meeting of the General Committee.

*b.* This should be followed by the publication of the Memoirs and special plans. The Executive Committee are not at present prepared to recommend a mode of undertaking this costly publication, which should include the special plans of Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener, those of Majors Wilson and Warren, and the drawings made for the Committee by M. Le Comte and others, now in their possession.

c. As regards future field work, the opinion of Major Wilson, Captain Anderson, and Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener, has been invited, and their views have been considered by the Committee.

It is recommended that an expedition should be sent out as soon as may be found convenient, with the special object of examining, by means of excavations where necessary, the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and the determination by this method of the sites of Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and other places connected with the New Testament history. A special appeal might be made for this Mission to Galilee.

An alternative expedition would be the examination by a geologist of reputation of the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea. Both the Lake of Galilee and the Dead Sea must be examined at the same time of the year, namely, in the winter.

In the absence of any definite communication from the American Committee, nothing can be recommended as regards the survey east of Jordan. But it must be borne in mind that the work remains to be done.

Excavations would certainly yield valuable results at Jerusalem, Samaria, Cæsarea, Jezreel, Ras el Ain, Jericho, and many other places.

A special prospectus of future operations should be issued as soon as possible.

10. The Committee have to regret the loss by death of several members. These are, Mr. Ambrose de Lisle, a member of the General Committee from the commencement of the Fund; Mr. William Longman, on several occasions a member of the Executive Committee; Earl Russell, who showed his interest in the Society by several donations; Sir Gilbert Scott, one of its original founders; and the Rev. Canon Williams, author of the "Holy City," who, from the foundation of the Society, was active in rendering assistance on every possible occasion by addresses, by writing, by counsel, and by presiding or assisting at meetings.

It is proposed to fill up these losses by inviting the following gentlemen to join the General Committee:—

Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.

Sir HOWARD ELPHINSTONE.

Col. Sir JOHN COWELL.

General CAMERON, R.E.

Dr. ERASMUS WILSON.

Col. HOME, R.E., C.M.G.

Bishop of LICHFIELD.

Lieut. CONDER, R.E.

The Committee also recommend that Lord Dufferin and Mr. William Simpson be invited to join the Executive Committee.

11. The income of the Fund from June 30th, 1877, to June 11th, 1878, from all sources, has been £3,029 1s. 3d., a sum less than that received during the preceding twelve months by £680 12s. 10d. The falling off is not due to a decrease in the number of annual subscribers so much as

to the cessation of donations on the announcement that the Survey was finished.

The Committee have no doubt that when another expedition is announced their income will rise to its former level.

The balance in hand this day amounts to £160 11s. 10d. The expenditure has been distributed as follows:—Exploration, £2,002 8s. 0d.; sundries, petty cash, postage, &c., £126 12s.; printing, £390; salaries, management, advertising, rent, and all other expenses, £681 8s. 6d.

12. The best thanks of the Committee are due to those ladies who have kindly opened their drawing-rooms for meetings to be addressed by Mrs. Finn.

13. The special thanks of the Committee are due to the Rev. W. F. Maclagan (now Bishop Designate of Lichfield) for taking the chair at a meeting at the Kensington Vestry Hall, to the gentlemen who addressed the meeting, and to the Rev. Horrocks Cocks for the great trouble he took in organising it. Also to Mr. James Bateman, F.R.S., Mr. Robinson Douglas, Mr. Hall Dare, Lord Lawrence, Mr. J. P. Bacon, Mr. Dimmock, General Lefroy, Mr. R. D. Wilson, Mr. S. H. Officer, Mr. Burges, Miss Peache, Colonel Haig, Mr. Ormerod, Mr. Harper, Mr. Mackinnon, "Esther and Maud," the Sunday School Union, Lady Tite, Miss Hoekley, Miss Mary Hoekley, Mrs. Deane Browne, Mr. Cecil Turner, Mr. S. Morley, Dr. Gladstone, Lord Kensington, Mr. Jones, Mr. Gotto, Mr. Herbert Dalton, Miss Wakeham, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Mr. Wingfield Digby, Rev. G. H. Egerton, Rev. W. D. Maclagan, C.E., Rev. H. Hall-Houghton, Rev. W. H. Walford, H. Heywood, the Dean of Lincoln, Rev. C. Watson, Mr. Hastings Middleton, Rev. W. H. Gamlen, Mr. J. T. Houghton, C.D., Miss Ridding, Mr. David Johnstone, Mr. William Atkinson, Mr. W. Scott, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. J. S. Mander, Valley Field, Mr. J. F. Gibson, Mr. Peter Denny, Mrs. Nathaniel Muggeridge, and others, for donations, many of them annual, of sums varying from £5 to £100. Also to all the Hon. Local Secretaries, by whose assistance and encouragement interest in the work of the Fund is maintained.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON,  
*Chairman.*"

It was RESOLVED that this Report be accepted.

A letter was then read from Mr. George Grove, proposing to resign his office as Honorary Secretary on the ground of pressure of work. It was RESOLVED—That the Committee receive this letter with the greatest regret; that they hope Mr. Grove will reconsider his resignation, and will continue as Honorary Secretary, to give the Committee his counsel on occasions of emergency and importance; and that in this hope they should proceed to re-elect the Honorary Officers of the Fund.

It was next RESOLVED—That the thanks of the General Committee be conveyed to Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener for the skill and devotion displayed in the successful conduct of the Survey of Western Palestine.

It was then RESOLVED—That the thanks of the Committee be passed (1) to Mr. Hepworth Dixon, for his two years of office as Chairman of the Executive Committee; and (2) to Mr. Walter Besant for his zeal and activity as Secretary to the Society.

After a vote of thanks to Professor Donaldson for taking the chair the Committee adjourned.

---

## TENT WORK IN PALESTINE.

WE published in the last *Quarterly Statement* the table of contents of these two volumes, which have since been issued. These pages are not the place for a criticism of Lieut. Conder's book, but we may be allowed to show by a few extracts something of the nature of the work and of the manner in which the prospectus we gave last quarter has been carried out. We confine ourselves exclusively to those passages which most directly concern the special work of the Fund, Biblical illustration. Lieut. Conder's conclusions on the topography of Jerusalem, the present state of the Samaritans, the Bedawin, the modern colonists of Palestine, the fertility of the country, and other topics of the greatest interest, must be looked for in the book itself.

### THE SITE OF KIRJATH JEARIM.

“This fine site, standing out black against the sky, with its grand ravine and wild copses, is evidently an important spot; yet the name Sôba does not recall any Scriptural place, though not far different from the Hebrew Zuph where Saul met Samuel. In modern Arabic it means ‘a heap,’ such as the grain-heaps of the threshing-floors, a title which applies well to the shape of the hill, but probably this is a corruption of some older word. Dr. Chaplin, of Jerusalem, who is perhaps the soundest antiquarian in the country, supposes it to mark the real site of Kirjath Jearim, and there many points in favour of such a view. First of all, Kirjath Jearim is mentioned as on the boundary of Judah next to Mount Seir, which, in turn, is next to Chesalon. Chesalon is known to be the present Kesla, a village on the same ridge with Sôba, and between them is a mountain called Saghîr, a word radically identical with Seir. Then again the thickets west of Sôba may well represent those of the ancient Mount Jearim, ‘the hill of thickets.’ Geba also was a place near Kirjath Jearim, and a ruin called Jeb'a exists close to Sôba. Baalah was another name for Kirjath Jearim, and the word means ‘high’ or ‘elevated,’ applying well to Sôba, which is a strong place. It is also not impossible that in the name Sôba we have a trace of Shobal the founder of Kirjath Jearim.”

### THE SYCHAR OF ST. JOHN (iv. 4).

“It is here no doubt that we recognise the Sychar of the Fourth Gospel. An unaccountable confusion has grown up lately between



Sychar and Shechem, for which the Crusaders are originally responsible, as they are indeed for most of the false theories on sacred sites. It is only through careful study, and by such work as that of the Survey, that we are beginning to escape from the entanglements and confusion caused by the ignorance of knights and priests, arriving, in the twelfth century, strangers and illiterate enthusiasts in a hostile country.

“It will be evident to all readers of the Gospel narrative that Sychar, ‘a city of Samaria’ near Jacob’s Well (John iv. 5, 6), is a description hardly to be expected of Shechem, which is moreover mentioned by its original name in the New Testament (Acts vii. 16). The early Christians recognised the distinction, and place Sychar a mile east of Shechem, as noticed in the ‘Itinerary of Jerusalem,’ 333 A.D. It is clear that they refer to ‘Askar, and the identity is maintained by Canon Williams and others; but a difficulty has always been felt by students because the modern name begins with a guttural, which cannot have occurred in the name Sychar. This difficulty the Samaritan Chronicle seems to me to remove, for in it we find a town mentioned apparently near Shechem, called Ischar, which is merely a vulgar pronunciation of Sychar; and the Samaritans themselves, in translating their Chronicle into Arabic, call it ‘Askar. Thus the transition is traceable from the Hebrew form, having no meaning in Arabic but originally ‘a place walled in,’ through the Samaritan Ischar to the modern ‘Askar, ‘a collection’ or ‘army’ in Arabic.”

#### THE VILLAGE OF NAIN.

“The village of Nain lies below on a sort of spur to the north of Neby Dūhy, and the road from Nazareth ascends in a hollow to the west of it. On the right of the road, yet farther west, are the rockcut tombs, and thus the procession bearing the young man’s body would have come down the slope towards the little spring westwards, meeting our Lord on the main road. The mud-hovels on the grey tongue of limestone have no great marks of antiquity, but the surrounding ruins show the village to have been once larger, and a little mosque called ‘the Place of our Lord Jesus’ marks, no doubt, the site of an early chapel. There are, as far as we could see, no traces of a wall, and I think we should understand by ‘gate of the city,’ the place where the road enters among the houses, just as the word is used often in Greek, and in modern Arabic in such expressions as ‘gate of the pass,’ ‘gate of the valley,’ and even ‘gate of the city,’ where no wall or gate exists.”

#### THE DEATH OF SISERA.

“The Bedawin have a delicious preparation of curdled milk called Leben, which is offered to guests but generally considered a delicacy; from personal experience I know that it is most refreshing to a traveller when tired and hot, but it has also a strange soporific effect, which was so sudden in its action on one English clergyman after a long ride, that he thought he had been poisoned. It was perhaps not without a know-

ledge of its probable effects, that Jael gave to her exhausted guest a tempting beverage which would make his sleep sound and long.

“The murder of a fugitive and a guest is so contrary to the morality of the Semitic nomads, that we must seek for a very strong justification. It could not have been national enthusiasm which actuated Jael, for she was a Kenite, not a Jewess, one of a nation hostile to Israel, and there ‘was peace between Jabin King of Hazor (Sisera’s master) and the house of Heber the Kenite.’ The true reason is probably to be sought in Sisera’s entering the tent at all. There are instances in later history in which a defeated Arab has sheltered himself in the women’s apartments, but such an infringement of Eastern etiquette has always been punished by death; and it is not improbable that in revenge for such an insult Jael seized the iron tent-peg and drove it with the mallet, used to fix the tents to the ground, through Sisera’s brain.

“One final illustration may be added, suggested to me quite lately by an English clergyman. In the magnificent song of Deborah, the great storm which swelled the Kishon is described:

“‘They fought from heaven, the stars from their courses fought against Sisera’ (Judg. v. 20).

“The season was probably that of the autumn storms which occur early in November. At this time the meteoric showers are commonest, and are remarkably fine in effect, seen in the evening light at a season when the air is specially clear and bright. The scene presented by the falling fiery stars, as the defeated host fled away by night, is one very striking to the fancy, and which would form a fine subject for an artist’s pencil.”

#### THE ROCK ETAM.

“About two miles west of Beit ’Atâb, a valley running north and south, separates the high rugged mountains of the ’Arkûb from the low rolling hills of the Shephelah district, beyond which is the Philistine plain. This valley joins the great gorge which bounded Judah on the north, and forms a broad vale, half a mile across, filled with luxuriant corn, with a pebbly torrent-bed in the middle, and low white hills on either side. The vale is called Wâdy Sûrâr (a Hebrew word, meaning ‘pebbles’), and is the ancient Valley of Sorek. The ruins of Bethshemesh lie on a knoll surrounded by olive-groves, near the junction of the two valleys above mentioned. On the south is Timnah, where Samson slew the lion; and on the north are the little mud villages, Sûr’a and Eshû’a—the ancient Zoreah and Eshtaol—the hero’s home. The scene, looking up the great corn valley to the high and rugged hills above, is extremely picturesque, and is that which was spread before the eyes of the five lords of the Philistines, as they followed the lowing oxen, which bore the ark on the ‘straight way’ from Ekron to Bethshemesh.

“Here also, at the edge of the mountains, is the village of Deir Abân, supposed, by the early Christians, to mark the site of Ebenezer, the boundary of Samuel’s pursuit of the Philistines, and of the land held by

the Jews at that period. On the north brink of the Vale of Sorek (in which also Delilah lived) there is a conspicuous white chapel on the hill, dedicated to Neby Samit, and close to the village of Zoreah. Confused traditions—which are, however, probably of Christian origin—connect this prophet with Samson, whose name is recognisable in other parts of this district under the forms Shemshūn, Sanasin, and 'Aly (as at Gaza), and also a little farther south as Shemsin and Samat. It appears probable that the tomb now shown at Zoreah, is that known, to the Jews, in the fourteenth century as Samson's; and the tradition, thus traced to other than monkish origin, is very possibly as genuine as that which fixes the tombs of Joseph and Phinehas near Shechem. Here, then, we are in Samson's country, and close to Zoreah we should naturally look for the Rock Etam.

“The substitution of B for M is so common (as in Tibneh for Timnah), that the name 'Atâb' may very properly represent the Hebrew Etam (or 'eagle's nest'); and there are other indications of the identity of the site. It is pre-eminently a 'rock'—a knoll of hard limestone, without a handful of arable soil, standing, above deep ravines, by three small springs. The place is also one which has long been a hiding-place, and the requirements of the Bible story are met in a remarkable way; for the word rendered 'top of the Rock Etam' is in reality 'cleft' or 'chasm;' and such a chasm exists here—a long, narrow cavern, such as Samson might well have 'gone down' into, and which bears the suggestive name Hasûta, meaning 'refuge' in Hebrew, but having in modern Arabic no signification at all.

“This remarkable 'cave of refuge' is two hundred and fifty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and five to eight feet high; its south-west end is under the centre of the modern village; its north-east extremity, where is a rock shaft, ten feet deep, leading down from the surface of the hill, is within sixty yards of the principal spring.

“The identification thus proposed for the Rock Etam is, I believe, quite a new one; and it cannot, I think, fail to be considered satisfactory, if we consider the modern name, the position, and the existence of this remarkable chasm. Ramath Lehi, where the Philistines assembled when searching for Samson (Judg. xv. 9, 10), is naturally to be sought in the vicinity of Zorea—Samson's home, and of the Rock Etam where he took refuge.

“A little way north-west of Zoreah, seven miles from Beit 'Atâb, is a low hill, on the slope of which are springs called 'Ayūn Abu Mehârib, or the 'fountains of the place of battles.' Close by is a little Moslem chapel, dedicated to Sheikh Nedhir, or 'the Nazarite chief;' and, higher up, a ruin with the extraordinary title Ism Allah—'the name of God.' The Nazarite chief is probably Samson, whose memory is so well preserved in this small district, and the place is perhaps connected with a tradition of one of his exploits. The Ism Allah is possibly a corruption of Esm'a Allah—'God heard'—in which case the incident intended will be the battle of Ramath Lehi. Finally, we were informed by a native

of the place that the springs were sometimes called 'Ayûn Kâra, in which name we should recognise easily the En Hak-Kore, or 'fountain of the crier' (Judg. xv. 19).

"To say that this spot certainly represents Ramath Lehi—'the hill of the jaw-bone'—would be too bold. It seems, however, clear, that a tradition of one of Samson's exploits lingers here; the position is appropriate for the scene of the slaughter with the jaw-bone, and we have not succeeded in finding any other likely site."

#### THE SCAPEGOAT.

"According to the Law of Moses the Scapegoat was led to the wilderness and there set free. This was not, however, the practice of the later Jews. A scapegoat had once come back to Jerusalem, and the omen was thought so bad that the ordinary custom was modified, to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity. The man who led the goat arrived at a high mountain, called Sook, and there was at this place a rolling slope, down which he pushed the unhappy animal, which was shattered to atoms in the fall. It was always a matter of much interest to me to find out where this mountain was.

"The Scapegoat was led out on the Sabbath, and in order to evade the law of the Sabbath-day's journey, a tabernacle was erected at every term of two thousand cubits, and became the domicile of the messenger, who, after eating bread and drinking water, was legally able to travel another stage. Ten such tabernacles were constructed between Sook and Jerusalem, and the distance was ninety *Rîs*, or six and a half English miles. The district was called Hidoodim, and the high mountain Sook. The first means 'sharp,' the second 'narrow,' both applying well to the knife-edged ridges of the desert. The distance of ninety *Rîs* brings us to the great hill of El Muntâr, and here, beside the ancient road from Jerusalem, is a well called Sûk, while in the name Hadeidûn, applied to part of the ridge, we recognise the Hebrew Hidoodim.

"Here then, I think, we may fairly conclude is the Mountain of the Scapegoat. From this high ridge the unhappy victim was yearly rolled down into the narrow valley beneath, at the entrance of the great desert, which first unfolded itself before the eyes of the messenger as he gained the summit half a mile beyond the well of Sûk. Beside this well stood probably the tenth booth to which he returned after the deed, and where he sat until sun-down, when he was permitted to return to Jerusalem."

#### GILGAL.

"A question of even greater interest is that of the long-sought site of Gilgal, and our inquiries were rewarded with success. Robinson had heard the name Jiljûlieh, but had not been able to fix the site. A German traveller (Herr Schokke), in 1865, had been more fortunate, and was shown the place at a mound about a mile east of Eriha. It was important to ascertain the reliability of this discovery, and I succeeded



in fixing the spot visited by this traveller, by means of the compass-bearing which he had been wise enough to take. I found three persons who knew the site by the name Jiljûlich, and one of them conducted me to ruins to which a curious tradition applies.

“There was, however, still a difficulty to be met; for Captain Warren had been shown another place, as the true site of Gilgal, north of this Jiljûlich, where are ruins of a large mediæval monastery. The explanation is, however, the usual one. Our Jiljûlich is the Gilgal known to the early Christians, which St. Willibald (724 A.D.) places two miles from the Jericho of his time, and five miles from Jordan; Captain Warren’s site is just in the position in which Gilgal is shown on the mediæval map of Marino Sanuto. The Crusaders have again in this instance changed the site, and both traditions are extant among the natives. The questions naturally arise, which is the true one, or whether either is worthy of notice? The ruins of Jiljûlich, east of Jericho, appear to me to bear away the palm, for two reasons; first, the position is that described in the Bible, ‘in the east border of Jericho’ (Josh. iv. 19); secondly, the fourth-century site is noticed by Jerome, not as fixed by a monkish tradition, but as held in reverence by the inhabitants of the country, and thus apparently connected with a genuine or indigenous tradition. It is true that the existing ruins, with hewn stones and tesserae of glass, indicate traces of the early Byzantine monastery, which is noticed as containing the Church of Galgalis, but this does not militate against the genuine character of the site, for the tradition, in this case, appears to be derived from a more authentic source than that which fixes most of the early Christian sacred sites.

“The recovery of Gilgal ranks as one of the most important successes of the Survey work. The name is not commonly known among the natives, for the site is generally called Shejeret el Ithleh, ‘the tamarisk-tree,’ from the very large tamarisk just west of the ruins. The tradition connected with the place is, however, apparently common among the Arabs of the neighbourhood.”

#### WADY KELT.

“Wady Kelt has been also thought to be the Brook Cherith, and the scene seems well fitted for the retreat of the prophet who was fed by the ‘Oreb,’ whom some suppose to have been Arabs. The whole gorge is wonderfully wild and romantic; it is a huge fissure rent in the mountains, scarcely twenty yards across at the bottom, and full of canes and rank rushes between vertical walls of rock. In its cliffs the caves of early anchorites are hollowed, and the little monastery of St. John of Choseboth is perched above the north bank, under a high, brown precipice. A fine aqueduct from the great spring divides at this latter place into three channels, crossing a magnificent bridge seventy feet high, and running a total distance of three miles and three-quarters, to the place where the gorge debouches into the Jericho plain. On each side the white chalk mountains tower up in fantastic peaks, with long

knife-edged ridges, and hundreds of little conical points, with deep torrent-seams between. All is bare and treeless, as at Mar Saba. The wild pigeon makes its nest in the 'secret places of the stairs' of rock; the black grackle suns its golden wings above them; the eagle soars higher still, and over the caves by the deep pools the African kingfisher flutters; the ibex also still haunts the rocks. Even in autumn the murmuring of water is heard beneath, and the stream was one day swelled by a thunderstorm in a quarter of an hour, until it became a raging torrent, in some places eight or ten feet deep.

"The mouth of the pass is also remarkable; for on either side is a conical peak of white chalk—one on the south called the 'peak of the ascent' (Tuweil el 'Akabeh), while that to the north is named Bint Jebel, 'daughter of the little mountain,' or Nusb 'Aweishireh, 'monument of the tribes.'"

#### BETHABARA.

"The fords were collected and marked in the natural course of the Survey, the names carefully obtained, and every precaution taken to ensure their being applied to the right places. It was not, however, until the next winter that I became aware how valuable a result had been obtained. Looking over the nomenclature for the purpose of making an index, I was struck with the name 'Abârah applying to a ford. The word means 'passage,' or 'ferry,' and is radically the same word found in the name Bethabara. I looked 'Abârah out at once on the map, and found that it is one of the main fords, just above the place where the Jalûd river, flowing down the valley of Jezreel and by Beisân, debouches into Jordan.

"One cannot but look on this as one of the most valuable discoveries resulting from the Survey; and I have not, as yet, seen any argument directed against the identification which seems to shake it. It may be said that the name 'Abârah is merely descriptive, and perhaps applies to several fords. That it is descriptive may be granted; so is the name Bethabara, or Bethel, or Gibeah, or Ramah. That it is a common name may be safely denied. We have collected the names of over forty fords, and no other is called 'Abârah; nor does the word occur again in all the 9,000 names collected by the Survey party. . . .

"Here at 'Alârah we have the name, and nowhere else, as yet, has the name been found; the question then arises, is the position suitable?"

"We speak commonly of Bethabara as the place of Our Lord's baptism. Possibly it was so, but the Gospel does not say as much. It is only once mentioned as a place where John was baptizing, and where certain events happened on consecutive days. These events are placed in the Gospel harmonics immediately after the Temptation, when Christ would appear to have been returning from the desert (perhaps east of Jordan) to Galilee. Bethabara, 'the house of the ferry,' was 'beyond Jordan;' but the place of baptism was no doubt at the ford or ferry itself; hence the ford 'Alârah is the place of interest. It cannot be

Christian tradition which originates this site, for Christian tradition has pointed, from the fourth century down to the present day, to the fords of Jericho as the place of baptism by St. John.

“And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee” (John ii. 1). Here is the controlling passage. The hostile critics of the fourth Gospel have taken hold of it; they have supposed the traditional site to be undoubtedly the true one, and have thence argued the impossibility that in one day Christ could have travelled eighty miles to Cana. To the fourth-century inquirer the difficulty would never have occurred; he would have answered at once that Our Lord was miraculously carried from one place to the other; but the Gospel does not say so, and we should therefore look naturally for Bethabara within a day’s journey of Cana. The ford ‘Abàrah is about twenty-two miles in a line from Kefr Kenna, and no place can be found, on Jordan, much nearer or more easily accessible to the neighbourhood of Cana.

“I leave these facts to the reader, asking him to choose, between the difficulties attendant on the traditional site, and the suitability of the new site, where alone as yet the name of Bethabara has been recovered.

“There is, however, another point with regard to Bethabara which must not be overlooked. The oldest MSS. read, not Bethabara, but Bethany, beyond Jordan. Origen observed this, yet chose the present reading, and we can hardly suppose that the early fathers of the Church made such an alteration without some good reason; perhaps the original text contained both names, ‘Bethabara in Bethany’ beyond Jordan, being a possible reading. . . .

“If Bethabara be a true reading, the place should thus most probably be sought in Bathania, and the ford should therefore lead over to Bashan. This again strengthens the case for the ‘Abàrah ford, which is near the hills of Bashan, whereas the Jericho fords are far away, leading over towards Gilead and Moab.”

#### THE SPRING OF SIRAH (2 Sam. iii. 26).

“After his interview with David, Abner set out on his way to Jerusalem, and had gone as far as the Spring of Sirah, when Joab’s messengers overtook him and brought him back to Hebron, where he was murdered in the gate (2 Sam. iii. 26). Now on approaching the modern town by the old paved road to the north, the first spring beside the way is called Sàrah. Like the Hebrew Sirah, the word means ‘withdrawn,’ and the title is, no doubt, due to the fact that the spring is under a stone arch, at the end of a little alley with drystone walls, and is thus withdrawn from the high-road. This place may therefore be considered as one of the few genuine sites in the neighbourhood of Hebron.”

#### DEBIR (Joshua xv. 48).

“There seems to me to be every reason for supposing Dhàheriyeh to be the ancient Debir, a place not identified before the Survey. The name has the same meaning, derived from its situation on the ‘back’ of a

long ridge; and the position between Shoehoh (Shuweikeh), Dannah (Idhnah), Anab ('Anâb), and Eshtemoa (Es Semû'a), seems very suitable (Josh. xv. 48). The place, moreover, is evidently an ancient site of importance, to which several roads lead from all sides. The springs near Debir given to Achsah (Judg. i. 15) might well be the beautiful springs of Dilbeh, about seven miles north of the town, and the identification seems to me to be amongst the most valuable of those due to the Survey."

#### PANORAMIC VIEW FROM JEBEL TÔR'AN.

The view from the summit of Tôr'an is interesting and extensive. The Sea of Galilee is visible, and we were able to fix the direction of many points along its shore.

"On the south, separated from Tôr'an by a second plain, lay the low bare range of the Nazareth hills, Neby S'ain, and Gath Hopher with the tomb of Jonah, being visible, while rather farther east Kefr Kenna stood among its olive-groves and gardens of pomegranates.

"Tabor, crowned with two monasteries, was also plainly visible, east of the Nazareth range, the slopes partly hidden by oak-groves. Through a gap, between it and the western hills, the outline of Gilboa and part of Jebel ed Duhy could be seen. The plain of Esdraelon was hidden, but the cone of Sheikh Iskander was visible to the south-west.

"To the west the view extended over the low wooded hills to the long range of Carmel, which was visible, from the Peak of Sacrifice to the white monastery where, on a little spit, stands the German windmill, which showed up quite black against the gleaming sea.

"The brown and fertile plain of the Buttauf, in the basaltic soil of which tobacco, corn, maize, sesame, cotton, and every species of vegetable grow luxuriantly, lay at our feet. The high blunt top of Jebel Deidebeh ('mountain of the watch-tower'), crowned with its ring of thicket, rose behind, shutting out the view. Beyond this was the chain of hills running eastwards, with rolling grey uplands dotted with olives, while farther still, some ten or twelve miles away, rose the mountain-wall of Upper Galilee, culminating in Jebel Jermûk, a bare craggy ridge which closed the view to the north. Turning yet farther east, the large town of Safed shone white on the mountain side, divided into two quarters, with a double-pointed summit behind them. Beyond all, dark and dreamlike, the great Hermon, 'Sheikh of the mountains,' was seen streaked with silver lines of snow.

"But the view due east of Tôr'an was yet more interesting. A yellow plateau shelves down from the foot of the mountains of Upper Galilee and runs into little tongues and promontories, separated by tiny bays, along the north-western shores of the Sea of Galilee: only in one part of this line is there a cliff, just where the little fertile plain of Gennesaret terminates at Khân Minieh; the rest is shelving ground almost to the water's edge.

"The deep chasm running down from Safed, and known as 'the Valley



of Doves' (W. el Hamâm), debouches into the green oasis of Ghûweir, or plain of Gennesaret. East of the sea the long flat plateau of Bashan stretches from the precipices which enclose the lake, and reaches away to the volcanic cones and dreary lava-fields which are backed by the peaks of Jebel ed Drûz.

"Tiberias was hidden below the cliffs, and only about half the blue and limpid lake was seen behind them; most conspicuous on this line are the Horns of Hattin, so fatal to the Christian kingdom in 1187, and here also, as on the east, a broad plateau runs almost to the top of the precipices.

"It is wonderful to reflect how numerous are the ancient towns which encircled this little lake; speaking of the west side alone, they number more than twenty. Hidden by the cliffs we have Tiberias, or Rakkath, and Hammath (El Hummâm), Tarichæa (Kerek), Sinnabris (Sennâbreh), and Magdala (Mejdel), with Kedish, the probable site of the Kadesh of Barak.

"On the western plateau stand Adamah (Admah), Adami (Ed Damieh), Bitzaanaim (Bessûm), Lasharon (Sarôna), Shihon (Sh'aîn), and other sites of Biblical interest. Arbela, with the synagogue of Rabbi Nitai (200 B.C.), Hattin (the ancient Zer), Yemma (the Talmudic Caphar Yama), Kefr Sabt (Caphar Sobthi), Seiyâdeh (the Talmudic Ziadethah), Tell M'aûn (Beth Moan), Sha'arah (Beth Sharaim), and several other towns of later times swell the long list of cities. The district is full of sacred places: Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Meir, and the great Maimonides, were buried near Tiberias, and the supposed tombs of Jethro and Habakkuk are still shown on the hills above."

---

## SYNAGOGUES OF GALILEE.

THE number of known examples of synagogues in Palestine is eleven; besides these there are three doubtful specimens which may have been synagogues, making the total number fourteen. By dealing first with the three doubtful specimens the way will be left clear for a consideration of the date of these interesting buildings. The only specimen that does not occur within the limits of Galilee is that on Mount Carmel, described by Lieutenant Conder, at the ruin of Kh. Semmâka. Two lintels were found, one still resting *in situ* on its stone doorposts. The mouldings resemble those common in other synagogues, being carried back on the lintel in the peculiar T-shaped beading clearly seen in the synagogue at Meiron. Lieutenant Conder describes this principal doorway as being the eastern door, which is peculiar. The only other known example of the entrance being on the east is at the synagogue at Irbid, and there this position was rendered necessary by the fall of the ground on which the synagogue was built.

Part of a colonnade was observed, the pillars being about the same

dimensions as those usual in synagogues. The second smaller lintel has two lions carved upon it, with a cup between them; this is another peculiarity, as on all the other synagogues where carved figures occur they seem to have been on the principal lintel or upon all three. There is no other example known where the side-door lintels were thus ornamented and the principal door left bare.

The second doubtful synagogue is at Kh. Taiyebah, not far from Shefa 'Amr. A single double column and some pieces of ordinary columns were observed in the ruins of a small building, too much destroyed to be at all intelligible in its present condition. Excavation here might lead to the discovery of a synagogue. The third is the ruins at Belât, where the peculiar double columns again occur at both ends of a long colonnade. It was described by me in *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1877, p. 166, and the only photograph of these interesting remains is now in the Palestine Exploration Fund series. Though this building has some points of resemblance to synagogues, it is not, in my opinion, one of that class of buildings. In the first place it is longer and narrower than any known synagogue, the want of mouldings on the architrave, the archaic form of the capitals, and the general appearance of the building, seem to point to a much earlier date than that at which the synagogues were erected. The aisle or passage between the columns is made wider than in synagogues, and there is only one specimen (the small synagogue at Kefr Bir'im) where only two rows of columns occur. There is no sign of a southern doorway, though there is some reason to suppose that the entrance was in the centre of the eastern side, which is, as before pointed out, unlike the generality of synagogues. On the eastern side of this building there are the remains of buildings enclosing a courtyard containing a large well that resembles such as one would expect to find of a monastery or castle. The situation, on the top of a very commanding, steep, and narrow ridge, difficult of access, is unlikely to have been the site of an important town, of which there are no traces. From these considerations I am led to the supposition that we have here one of the most perfect and earliest specimens of a temple dedicated to some deity worshipped on this "high place," and attended by a number of priests or votaries who were lodged in the surrounding buildings. To its isolation in this, the wildest part of the country, is probably due its preservation up to this time.

It seems probable that from this and other specimens of the same class then existing, the architects copied those peculiar double columns that are always found terminating the colonnades in synagogues.

Another fact pointing to this view of the case may be derived from the enormous monolithic double columns of red granite now lying in the ruins of the cathedral at Tyre. These were certainly not made for the cathedral, as all the interior decoration of that building was of white marble. They must have been taken from some building, or, more probably, were found lying, half covered with sand, on the site, when the cathedral was

about to be built, and, from their great size and beauty, were used in that building by the Christians who did not know their Pagan origin.

We then come to the question, Were they not used in a synagogue formerly on this spot? If so, the Jews of that time were able to import from a distant country, probably Egypt, larger monoliths of more beautiful marble than any other race had been capable of bringing to the country. In no synagogue has any marble been found, the hard limestone of the country is always used, and the columns and door-posts, though of monoliths, are nothing like the stupendous size of these enormous blocks of granite. It appears to me that these columns are the remains of a very early and most magnificent temple, dedicated to some unknown deity. The remains at Belât (within sight) appear to have been an offshoot and, probably, a copy of this temple. What mysterious religion was inculcated at these places there is no evidence to show.

If it is allowed that synagogues were copied from an earlier form of temple, much additional interest is added to the study of the details of these buildings.

The known examples are eleven, and stated in order of their preservation would occur thus:—

|                    |   |   |               |
|--------------------|---|---|---------------|
| Large Synagogue at | . | . | Kefr Bir'im.  |
| Synagogue at       | . | . | Meiron.       |
| „                  | . | . | Irbid.        |
| Small Synagogue at | . | . | Kefr Bir'im.  |
| Synagogue at       | . | . | Tell Hum.     |
| „                  | . | . | Kerâzeh.      |
| „                  | . | . | Nebratein.    |
| Small Synagogue at | . | . | el-Jish.      |
| Synagogue at       | . | . | Umm el 'Amed. |
| Large Synagogue at | . | . | el-Jish.      |
| Synagogue at       | . | . | Süfsâf.       |

I have very little doubt that there were also synagogues at Tiberias and Sâsa. At both there are traces, but not sufficient evidence without excavation to say for certain that they are those of synagogues. The whole area covered by these synagogues is very small; only a little larger than Rutlandshire.

This shows how local the Jewish influence was in the country when these synagogues were built. A striking characteristic of these buildings is their similarity in plan and detail of ornamentation; at all of them the same class of mouldings are observable; and in many cases they are identical, even when cut out of the hard basalt as at Kerâzeh. No modifications were allowed, and the niches of this specimen are even more elaborately carved than in other cases. The capitals show some variation, being Corinthian, Ionic, and with simple mouldings; but all these forms occur in the synagogue at Irbid, and cannot therefore be taken to show different dates. These points seem to show that they

were all built at nearly the same time, and that no later specimens were attempted. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the Jewish influence which gave rise to these buildings was both extremely local and short-lived.

In the New Testament, synagogues are frequently mentioned as occurring commonly at all towns and villages: at Jerusalem, John xviii. 20, Luke xiii. 11; at Nazareth, Luke iv. 16; at Capernaum, Matt. xii. 9, John vi. 5, Mark i. 23, Luke vii. 5; Synagogues in all villages, Matt. iv. 23, xiii. 54. The question then is, are these ruins the remains of the synagogues there mentioned?

In the "Bible Dictionary," on Synagogues, under the sub-head "Structure," it is stated: "Its position was, however, determined. It stood, if possible, on the highest ground in or near the city to which it belonged." This is not what is found as characteristic of these ruins. Major Wilson, R.E. (*Quarterly Statement*, No. 2, p. 37), states: "In choosing sites for the synagogues in the different towns, the builders have by no means selected the most prominent positions."

Returning to the "Bible Dictionary," we find: "And its direction, too, was fixed—Jerusalem was the Kibleh of the Jewish devotion. The synagogue was so constructed that the worshippers as they entered and as they prayed looked towards it (Vitringa, pp. 178 and 457)." The existing remains have, with one exception, at Irbid, where the ground would not allow of this arrangement, their doors on the southern side, so that every Jew entering would have to turn his back on Jerusalem. The ark, if there was one in these synagogues, must therefore have been kept at the northern end, and the Jews would therefore pray with their backs to Jerusalem.

We know besides how abhorrent to the Jews were the figures of animals; yet in these synagogues we find them prominently carved in stone in six out of the eleven, and they probably existed in the others and in greater quantities than those already noted, but have been destroyed by the Mahommedans as contrary to their religion.

It may therefore be said that they differ vitally from the known form of the earlier synagogues, as well as from the tenets of the earlier Jewish religion, and yet there can be no doubt that they are synagogues; the Hebrew inscriptions and the sacred Jewish symbols carved on the lintels prove it.

Milman's "History of the Jews," Book XIX., gives an account of the establishment of the Patriarchate of Tiberias after the fall of Barcochab, less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian.

Before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organised communities: one, under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the Eastern Jews paid their allegiance.

The Sanhedrin was re-established under Simon, son of Gamaliel, and



five others, who were named by Judah, son of Bavah, secretly, before he was slain by the Romans; these were Judah, son of Ilai, Simon, son of Joehai, R. Jose, R. Elasar, R. Nehemiah, and R. Meir.

The foreign communities of Jews at Rome and in the whole of Asia Minor acknowledged at once the authority of the patriarch, and either came to live in the district or sent alms to their spiritual head.

The Romans recognised the Patriarch of Tiberias, and by their moderation granted him many indulgences; he was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, who visited all the colonies of the Jews in distant parts, and also to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. By this kind treatment and by the influence of the foreign Jews, who had been completely naturalised to the language and customs and partially to the religion of the people with whom they dwelt, the Jews of Palestine became tractable to Roman rule and Roman customs, and developed their great characteristic love for commercial pursuits which has ever since been typical of them.

Thus the colony round Tiberias became very powerful, and under Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D., some additional privileges were accorded to them, such as the permission to perform the rite of circumcision.

Synagogues were at this time erected in the villages belonging to the colony, and it seems probable that they were erected in imitation of the great works of that emperor in Syria.

At the beginning of the third century they were in high favour with the Emperor Alexander Severus; this emperor was even called the Father of the Synagogue, and this name may have been given him from his influence over the erection and architecture of these buildings.

At this time the most celebrated of the rabbinical sovereigns, Jehuda the Holy, had ascended the Patriarchal throne, which was then at the height of its power, and after his death its glory sank. Milman describes its fall:—"The small spiritual court fell like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the Pontiff, and of the spiritual aristocracy, the Rabbins, became more and more burdensome to the people. The people were impatient, even of the customary taxation. Gamaliel succeeded Jehuda, Jehuda the second Gamaliel."

Falling rapidly as Christianity arose, we find the two powers in frequent collision in later times. A last flicker of life was given to the community under the Emperor Julian, the apostate. His proposal, in 360 A.D., to rebuild the temple on Mount Moriah, gave the Jews an immense impulse; they flocked to Jerusalem, but the signal failure of the enterprise gave the last blow to the power of the community, and the Patriarchate became extinct in 414 A.D.

We thus find that there was a powerful body of Jews established at Tiberias, receiving contributions in money from the Jews of the whole Roman Empire; even the Babylonian Jews, under the Prince of the Captivity, acknowledged the supremacy of the Patriarch of Tiberias,

about the year 180 A.D.; and also that this power was under the protection of the great builders and restorers of temples in Syria, Antoninus Pius and Alexander Severus. The existence of the power of this community was also very short-lived; one century, or almost the life of one man, Rabbi Jehuda the Holy, appears to have been its limits.

It seems, therefore, almost a certainty that these emperors inspired and aided the erection of these synagogues, and that they were built by Roman labour; perhaps the same as restored the temple at Baalbek and built the Temple of the Sun at Kades. The Jews themselves, having taken to commercial pursuits, were unable to perform work of this sort, and by using Roman workmen obtained much finer results than we are led to think they would themselves have been capable of. The architecture of these buildings bears out this view of their erection. The dressing, size, and nature of the masonry is certainly Roman, so much so that the Temple of the Sun at Kades has been mistaken for a synagogue. No synagogues of the same kind have been found in other countries, though there were many in Babylon and in the colonies of the Jews, and this type has never been perpetuated in later works; no tradition of the Jews appears to have lingered that this was the proper form of a synagogue, and we have seen how many points of their religion were disregarded in their design and ornamentation. We may therefore suppose that they were forced upon the people by their Roman rulers at a time when they were completely submissive to that power, and that directly they were able, they deserted such Pagan buildings as a disloyalty to their religion. It has been stated that Rabbi Simon, son of Jochai, was the founder of these buildings; it is related that he built with his own money twenty-four synagogues in this part of the country, but putting aside the immense riches one man must have possessed to be able to build so many beautiful temples, from what we know of this rabbi he was a most fanatical teacher of the law, and during a public debate bearded Rabbi Jehuda, who was praising the Romans, and abused them roundly. For this he was adjudged by the Romans to have forfeited his life. This great scholar could therefore hardly have erected so many buildings in violent contradiction to so many points of the religion he guarded so jealously.

From these considerations I consider the date of these synagogues to be between the year 150 A.D. and 300 A.D.

Plans and detail drawings of the remains of all these buildings will be published in the memoirs to accompany the sheets of the large map. Photographs of most of them may be procured at the Fund Office.

Some points of interest, such as the formation of the court in front of the Great Synagogue at Kefr Bir'im might be mentioned. In this case the court was formed two bays wide, and the total length of the front of the synagogue. The pillars are on pedestals, and are as high as the building; they support an architrave with simple mouldings, and from a peculiar portion of this architrave that I found, I am led to suppose that over the centre bay, opposite the great door of the synagogue, the

architrave was carried up to a point. This must have been a striking feature in the building, and is a very peculiar formation; it may have been copied from the gate Tadi of Herod's temple, which is described as having been of this nature in the Talmud. The corner pillars of this porch or court were of the peculiar double form seen at the corners of the colonnades in the interior of all synagogues.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

---

## ZION, THE CITY OF DAVID.

WHERE WAS IT? HOW DID JOAB MAKE HIS WAY INTO IT? AND WHO HELPED HIM?

ARAUNAH could easily have answered these questions. Unhappily, we have not the spiritualistic power of cross-examining him. So we must be content if we can get conclusive answers by the laborious process of close investigation. The Bible, with various works on Jerusalem, and Captain Warren's remarkable discoveries, will be found to furnish sufficient materials for this end.

While the thrilling incident of the story will attract the general reader, the *savans* will require full proof of the statements advanced, so that both are given, but separately, to suit different tastes.

### THE STORY.

Ancient Jerusalem stood on a rocky plateau enclosed on three sides by two ravines; that on the west and south was called the King's Dale, that on the east the Brook Kedron. The space thus enclosed was further cleft by another ravine called the Valley of Hinnom. On the narrow ridge running between the "Brook" and "Valley," and towards its southern extremity, stood, at the beginning of David's reign, the hitherto impregnable fortress of Jebus. On the west side of this ridge, in the "valley," lay the rest of the city, once at least already captured by the Israelites, but occupied (perhaps at times in conjunction with them) by the Jebusites. On its east side, near the "Brook," was an intermittent fountain, or rather one of irregular flow, called then Enrogel, once Gihon in the "Brook," for a time Siloah, but now the Fountain of the Virgin.

To a stranger, this position of the fortress of Jebus or Zion would not have seemed to be well-chosen, for it was built on an inconsiderable hill, while loftier and more precipitous eminences were close at hand.

The founder, however, of this stronghold of Zion was a very subtle man. While the art of erecting and taking fortified places was then in its infancy, water was, of course, as much as ever a necessary of life. An ordinary wall of no great height was enough to baffle the most skilful general and the bravest army—always supposing the besieged kept a sharp look-out. Bethel on its low hill was a match for all the

might of Ephraim. Late in David's reign the shrewd Hushai proposed to capture a fortified city by dragging it down with ropes; and if the more practical Joab preferred raising a bank and using a primitive battering ram, still he too would have found considerable difficulty in dealing with the steep sides of Zion. Even perpendicular cliffs without water to drink would have been useless, while, after all, the height of walls was but a question of labour. Very wisely, therefore, the stronger positions on the western hill and northern part of the ridge were passed by, and the humbler slopes of the sunny Zion selected as the site of the future fortress on account of the copious fountain overflowing at its base.

It was not, however, that the damsels of Jebus might have a less distance to go for water that the stronghold was built on the hill of Zion.

The far-seeing mind of some Hittite or Amorite (perhaps of Melchizedec himself) had another project in view, which resulted in the execution of a monument destined after 3,000 years to be discovered by Captain Warren. A sketch of it is given.

It occurred to this engineer, who had never seen Woolwich, that from inside the city wall a subterraneous passage might be dug through the rock to the spring below, and so in troublous times, when the daughters of Zion could no longer venture outside the gates to draw water from the fountain, the needful supply would by this ingenious device be always obtainable, probably without the knowledge of the besiegers, and not less certainly without risk to the besieged; for what enemy would attempt the all but impossible feat of diving along a watercourse for 70 feet, and then climbing 50 feet up the smooth sides of a vertical rock-cut shaft?

This clever scheme was carried out, and though four centuries had rolled on since the conquest of Canaan, the stronghold of Zion was still unsubdued. Jericho had fallen by a miracle, Bethel by treachery, Hebron though defended by giants. In the plains alone, where war-chariots could be used, did the ancient inhabitants hold their ground against Israel. In the mountains but one invincible stronghold remained, and that was Jebus, never once taken—never, the Jebusites thought, likely to be taken; and possibly we may add, one that never would have been taken if Joab, the son of Zeruiah, and Araunah the Jebusite had not lived, and that perhaps at the same time.

The first act of David on being made king over Israel was to attack Jerusalem (*i.e.*, Jebus) with all his forces. The city in the valley fell into his hands, but the impregnable fortress on the hill above it baffled his most vigorous assaults. So secure, indeed, did its defenders deem themselves that, placing their lame and blind upon the walls, they defied David, saying, "Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither."

Somehow David got to know how the Jebusites obtained their supply of water. There was evidently no chance of taking the stronghold by



assaulting its walls. Would any form a forlorn hope and try the desperate expedient of one by one first pushing through the horizontal water-channel, at the imminent risk of being drowned, then of scaling the perpendicular shaft, when one stone dropped from the top would probably be certain death, and afterwards of penetrating into the fortress through the narrow passage, which two or three could easily hold against a hundred?

Desperate indeed the attempt seemed, but there was no alternative plan; David therefore issued a proclamation to his army that whoever first got up the "Gutter," or Tzinnor, which was the name of this aqueduct or subterraneous passage, and smote the Jebusites, should be commander-in-chief.

Great was the reward offered, but immense was the risk. David had plenty of heroes about him, who were not easily to be deterred from venturing on the most hazardous exploits; but, eager as they were to grasp the prize, one only attempted this most daring feat. That one (and sacred history justly records his name) was Joab.

He was a man of boundless ambition, who could brook no rival. The supreme command of David's army was the object on which his heart was set. This and his life he now staked on one throw. He made the venture and won.

Sacred history relates but the simple fact that "Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first and was chief."

It might seem idle, therefore, to speculate how the deed was performed; how he drew off the water in the channel, or got through it without being drowned; how he scaled the rocky shaft without falling; how he clambered through the low passage (and perhaps at last opened the gates to his comrades); and in all this how he escaped the notice of the Jebusites.

The second Joab, an Englishman, ten years ago found it no pleasant work to follow the track of his predecessor even in time of peace. One cannot read the account of his ascent of the Tzinnor ("Jerusalem Recovered," pp. 244 to 247) without coming to the irresistible conviction that Joab never performed such a feat without aid from within—*i.e.*, that some confederate among the Jebusites helped him in what was nevertheless a dangerous exploit. That such were to be found is clear from the history of Jericho and Bethel; while, again, great as was Joab's valour, his craft was greater. Who, then, was this traitor among the Jebusites? With whom did Joab tamper about the secret surrender of the stronghold of Zion? What "bucksheesh" was given for the betrayal of the impregnable fortress?

Years after this, at the close of David's reign, we find a Jebusite (a man of rank, too, it is probable), by name Araunah, actually in possession (strange to say) of the threshing-floor just outside the city of David; nor only of the threshing-floor, which was naturally the common property of the city, but also of lands adjacent, which he sells to the king for the enormous sum of 600 shekels of gold by weight.

How any Jebusite came to be left in possession of so much valuable property in such a situation the sacred history does not tell us.

Josephus says, "Araunah was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem, because of the good-will he bore to the Hebrews, and a particular benignity and affection which he had to the king himself."

I have no doubt it was something particular, yet not particularly creditable to Araunah, though, fortunately for him, we have no Jebusite account, nor, indeed, any professed account at all, of the transaction, otherwise there might be a revulsion of popular feeling as to his *noble* character. Araunah was the (but *nil de mortuis nisi bonum*) one who lost nothing when Zion fell, neither life, nor goods, nor, so far as we know, even character.

One word in the Hebrew (Tzinnor), followed by Captain Warren's wonderful discovery of the secret passage leading from the Virgin's Fount, has enabled us to understand a most obscure and baffling passage in the Old Testament, and to follow the very track by which the adventurous Joab gained access to the stronghold of Zion.

Who will say that a great discovery is not recorded in chapter ix. of "Jerusalem Recovered"? Who will question about the Bible being the most accurate and truthful of all books?

W. F. BIRCH.

## AI.

LIEUT. KITCHENER'S suggested identification of Ai with Kh. Haiy, one mile east of Mukhamas, has much to recommend it.

1. Ai was on the *east* of Bethel (Josh. vii. 2) and of Abram's tent (Gen. xii. 8). As the orientals call every wind an *east* wind which blows from any point between east and north and east and south (Jahn, *Antiq.*, p. 17), this extensive meaning of *east* favours equally any position for Ai in any degree east of Bethel.

2. "The Israelites pitched on the north side of Ai; now there was a valley (Hebr. *gai*) between them and Ai. . . . (13) Joshua went that night into the midst of the valley (Hebr. *emek*)" (Josh viii. 11-13).

With Ai placed at et Tell or Kh. Haiyan, Lieut. Kitchener well observes on the peculiarity of a force after approaching the city from the east crossing an almost impracticable valley, to be recrossed the next day. The valley north of et Tell might suitably be described as the *gai*, but we have also to find another wider valley answering to *emek*; for the two different words cannot here well mean exactly the same valley. The "*plain* to the north of Kh. Haiy" would, however, just suit the expression *emek*; and possibly the *gai* may be a ravine interposed between the liers in wait and Ai, unless the *gai* was the bed of a watercourse in the *emek* (see 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 3, 40).

3. As all the men of Bethel assisted Ai, it is strange that the former

city was not taken at the same time, for the Israelites would be close to it, if Ai = Et Tell or Kh. Haiyan. That the two cities were not taken together seems clear from Josh. xii. 9, 16.

4. But putting Ai at Kh. Haiy, where it commanded the road into the interior, its capture becomes essential to further progress.

5. From the order of the names, Michmash, Ai, Bethel, in Neh. xii. 31, it is natural to look for Ai between the other two, but in Neh. vii. 31, 32 they are classed differently. "The men of Michmas, 122. The men of Bethel and Ai, 123." Clearly there is no geographical order here. Probably, however, the places are grouped in Neh. vii. according to other considerations. In verse 29 the three Gibeonite cities, Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth are joined together; Gibeon (25th v.) being, as it seems likely, *not* the town of that name in Benjamin, but some Gibeah in Judea. So likewise the political connection first seen existing between Bethel and Ai (in Josh. viii.) may have led to these two places being always named together (Josh. xviii. 22, 23; and Neh. vii., xii. above). In Esdras v. 21 the two places are curiously welded into one—viz., Βηρολίω, though Michmash was afterwards built between them, a possible origin of the apocryphal (Βερούλουα) Bethulia.

6. If Sennacherib invaded Judæa from the east, as did Joshua, then he would *naturally* come to (Ai) Kh. Haiy, and we escape the difficulty of having to account for his diverging from the central north road, so as to get to et Tell or Kh. Haiyan.

7. The theory that all the places in Isa. x. 28-32 (except Jerusalem) are visible from Geba is unaffected by Kh. Haiy being Ai. I may rather say it receives a finishing touch from the identification. Lieut. Kitchener ascertained, on the revision of the survey, that not only et Tell was visible from Geba, but also Kh. Haiy. Taking Mignon (*i.e.*, the precipice) in Isa. x. 28 to be the hill forming the north cliff of the passage of Michmash, the proper order of the names with Ai at et Tell or Kh. Haiyan ought to be Aiath, Michmash, Migron; but with Ai at Kh. Haiy the order as seen by a spectator from Geba would be exactly as in Isaiah, Aiath, Migron, Michmash. Supposing Geba to be the centre or axle of a wheel, and straight lines drawn from it to the various places named (Isa. x. 28, 29, 30, 31) to be the different spokes, all the places will be found to be named exactly in geographical order, without one exception. This is the perfect result given by the new map. I may add, on the same authority, that Anathoth is visible from Geba, and so also must be Laish, since the relative heights are Geba, 2,220 feet; Anathoth, 2,225 feet; and a mile farther south, Laish, 2,390 feet. As to the other places I have no further information.

It seems to me highly desirable for Kh. Haiy to be visible from the site of Abram's encampment on the east of Bethel, and I should think it certainly is.

W. F. BIRCH.

## LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN GALILEE, WITH DESCRIPTIONS.

I. *Kū'at Tibnūn*, the Crusading Castle of Toron.—The view is taken from the south-west across the pool of water near the village, and gives a view of the whole of the western side of the fortress. The existing walls are Arabic work built by Dhahr el 'Amr, but the foundation and some of the interior vaults of Crusading masonry still remain. The entrance is seen on the right, and the whole of the hillside was formerly faced with smooth-dressed stones at a steep angle. The castle still forms the residence of the governor of the Belād el Beshara, a considerable district in the centre of Northern Galilee.

Hugues de St. Omer, Prince of Tiberias, founded the castle about the year 1107, in order to protect the road from Tiberias to Tyre. After the death of that prince the castle was given to a family who took their name, De Toron, from it, and of whom there are still descendants.

The place was taken twice by the Mahommedans—first in 1187, by Saladin, and secondly, in 1219, by the Sultan Melek Mohadam, who destroyed it. It was rebuilt in 1229, and became a cause of dispute between the Teutonic knights and the heirs of Philip de Montfort, who by his marriage had obtained the right of lordship over the castle.

II. *Kū'at Kurein*, the Crusading Castle of Montfort.—This castle was situated in the hills to the north-east of Acre, on the southern cliffs of the Wādy el Kurn, in which there is a fine stream of water. Like many other Crusading castles, its site was chosen on a narrow rocky ridge, separated by deep valleys with steep sides from the surrounding country.

The view is taken from the south-west, and is the first photograph taken of this castle.

On the east the narrow rocky ridge was cut artificially into a deep ditch, thus defending the most vulnerable part of the fortress. On this side of the castle the keep was situated, built of immense blocks of stone, beautifully dressed and drafted. This masonry resembles the larger work in the western tower of the castle of Banias.

The rock below the castle was faced with large masonry, as can be seen on the right of the picture below the keep.

The ridge was not cut away to receive the castle, the outer walls were built some little way down the slope, the same as at Belfort and Banias. Thus a solid building was formed, the core being of natural rock. In this enormous cisterns were excavated, and on it the upper stories rested firmly.

The photograph shows how the castle was built in steps, the highest on the right being the keep, the next the barracks and dwelling-places of the garrison, at the extremity of which was a large chamber with a centre octagonal column that can be seen in the view. This was probably the chapel. The next step was a courtyard defended by bastions



and loopholed towers. From that the hill falls steeply 560 feet to the valley below.

The first account in history of this fortress, in 1229, relates how the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman de Salza, by a treaty with the Lords of Mandeléc, became possessed of the fortress of Montfort. The castle was rebuilt, and received the name of Starkenburg. It was designated as the treasury of the Order, and the grand treasurers became guardians of it. Four of their names are known :

Helmerich, 1223 A.D.

Conrad, 1240 A.D.

Jean de Nifland, 1244 A.D.

Jean de Saxe, 1270—1272 A.D.

The Sultan Melek ed Dhahr Bibars made an unsuccessful attack upon the fortress in 1266. In 1271 he returned, and was successful. The Arabian historian, Ibn Ferât, describes the siege minutely, and relates how the castle was taken in stages, first the lower courtyard and so on. The Sultan destroyed the castle, and left it probably in very much the condition it now is in.

III. *Kûl'at esh Shukîf*, Crusading Castle of Belfort.—Situated high on the precipitous cliffs, 1,500 feet above the River Litâny, this castle is one of the most prominent and finest remains of Crusading times in the country. A little over two miles to the south, the river makes a curious bend at right angles and cuts through a deep gorge to the sea a little north of Tyre, forming the northern boundary of the survey.

The view is taken from the east, showing the River Litâny and the precipitous hill on which the castle is placed.

The form of the castle itself was determined by the site; it is long and narrow and in two portions; the lower of these is built on a terrace overhanging the precipice, the upper portion on the top of the ridge of rock.

The southern and western points are protected by deep ditches cut in the rock, and the scarp was faced with blocks of dressed stone; on the southern side there are two round towers that form a prominent feature, as the facing has been carried round symmetrically, gradually increasing in size towards the base.

The entrance was from the south, opening from the village that formerly occupied a plateau of rock at that side of the castle, and was protected by an outwork built by the Knights Templar; it led into the lower court of the castle, and from this a narrow ascent, cut out of the rock, had to be followed, entirely commanded by the upper works. This led to a gate at the southern end; on passing this obstacle, an entrance was obtained to a large court or "*place des armes*;" from this a vaulted passage led to the upper fortress, and after that the keep, which was massively built on the top, might hold out for some time.

The masonry is very massive drafted Crusading work, with some Saracenic patching, which has mostly fallen to ruins.

The Arabian historian, Muhammed Ezz ed din Shedad, relates that

the *Kū'at esh Shukif* was taken by Fulke, king of Jerusalem, in 1139. At that time it was in the possession of the Emir Shehab ed Din. It was made over to the Lord of Sidon, and from that time the title was Lord of Sidon and Belfort. In 1192 Saladin besieged this castle, and as the siege seemed likely to be long, and success was uncertain, he resorted to a ruse. He demanded an interview with Count Raynault of Sidon, who was defending the fortress, and sent his ring as a guarantee of safe conduct; when the count came he was seized and imprisoned, and as he would not give up the fortress he was taken in front of the walls and tortured; but, instead of counselling the defenders to surrender, he ordered them to hold out to the last. The count was sent to prison at Damascus, and after two years' siege the castle surrendered with the condition of their lives and the liberty of Count Raynault.

In 1240, a treaty with Salah Ishmael, Prince of Damascus, gave back Belfort to the Crusaders, but the prince had to come himself and besiege the castle in order to carry out his promise. It was then rebuilt and sold to the Knights Templar.

The castle was finally taken by the Sultan Bybars Boudoukay the 26th April, 1268.

IV. *Kū'at Subeibeh*, or *Kū'at Nimrūd*, Crusading Castle of Baniās.—This castle was situated at the extreme north-east of Palestine proper, overhanging the town of Baniās, the Panium of Josephus and the Cæsarea Philippi of the New Testament. It must have been within sight of this castle that the Transfiguration of Our Lord took place.

The site of the castle is a narrow rocky ridge, with deep valleys on the northern and southern sides. It is certainly the largest and best preserved ruin of its class in the country; it measures 1,450 feet east and west, by an average width of 360 feet. The only approach to the castle is from the east, by a narrow pathway amongst the steep rocks that rise to the castle; this path leads along the southern front past the keep, and then enters by a Crusading gateway in a square tower.

The view is taken from the south-east, and on the right are the ruins of the citadel, which is still in a fair state of preservation, many vaulted chambers and passages being still perfect. The wall was defended by round towers and strongly built of drafted stones, the bosses left rough, on which there are a number of masons' marks. At the western and north-western side there was another citadel of very much larger stones, beautifully dressed and drafted; some of these measure 8 to 10 feet long by about 4 feet square. In this the most ancient portion of the castle, the pointed arch was everywhere employed.

There are a number of Arabic inscriptions cut on more ancient work, detailing how different princes rebuilt portions of the castle; but very little Saracenic work remains, the old ruins holding out better than the patching attempted by these princes. The earliest dates from 625 A.H., equivalent to 1227 A.D., and details how Melek el Azis

Murâd ed Dîn, nephew of Saladin, rebuilt the eastern portion of the castle. Immense cisterns supplied the garrison with water.

There is no history of the castle before the time of the Crusades; it then followed the fortunes of other fortresses in Palestine. It was conquered by Nûr ed Dîn, prince of Damascus, when the town of Baniâs fell into the hands of the Saracens ("William of Tyre," Book XV., ch. viii.).

V. *Kû'at Hûnîn*, Crusading Castle of Chateau Neuf.—This castle was situated in an indentation of the hills overhanging the Jordan valley, and with Belfort, Toron, and Banias, protected the northern and eastern frontier of the Crusading kingdom.

The view is taken from the north-west, and shows the castle and village of Hûnîn. The castle consists of a large courtyard surrounded by walls defended by round towers. On the north-eastern side there was a *place des armes* overhanging the steep descent of the hill. The whole of the north-western portion was taken up by a square citadel, surrounded by a rock-cut ditch of considerable dimensions, and showing excellent workmanship. The older portion of the masonry shows drafted stones, with rough bosses, and some without draft, as at Tibnin. The citadel was reached by a drawbridge communicating with the courtyard in the interior. The castle has been much destroyed and rebuilt by Saracenic workmen, and their work is also ruined and mixed up with the original masonry in hopeless confusion. A Crusading gateway leads into the village. There is very little history of this castle: An Arab historian, Ansel Jelil, relates that after the battle of Hattin, Saladin detached a chief to invest the castle of Hûnîn. The garrison were reduced by famine and surrendered. It was probably built about the same time as Toron, and seems to fulfil the required position of the Crusading castle of Chateau Neuf.

VI. *Kû'at Jiddîn*.—A Saracenic castle built by Dhahr el 'Amr during his rebellion against the Turkish Government. Some parts of the castle are still in a fair state of repair, though now it is entirely deserted and is rapidly falling to ruin. The castle shows some good Saracenic masonry, and was protected by a wall with round towers on the eastern side.

The view is taken from the north.

VII. *Large Synagogue at Kefr Bir'im*.—This is the most perfect example of the *façade* of a Galilean synagogue remaining in the country. The south front is almost in a perfect condition, as shown in the photograph. The history and date of these synagogues, with some description of the peculiar porch of this synagogue, which resembled the gate Tadi in Herod's Temple, as described in the Talmud, are given in another paper in this *Quarterly*, on "Synagogues of Galilee."

VIII. *Central Doorway of Ditto*.—This view shows the mutilated remains of the sculptured Pascal lambs that once decorated the main entrance to the synagogue, also the finely-cut representation of a vine and grapes over the doorway.

IX. *Gateway of Small Synagogue at Kefr Bir'im.*—This fine gateway stands alone, the rest of the synagogue having disappeared. Major Wilson, R.E., was able, by means of excavation, to trace the walls of the building, and to show that this synagogue, unlike the majority, had only two rows of columns (*Quarterly Statement*, No. 2, April, 1869). The square Hebrew inscription on the lintel has been read by the late Mr. Emanuel Deutsch, "Peace be upon this dwelling-place." The remains of sculptured figures of lambs are still traceable, though much mutilated, on the lintel.

The gateway measures 11 feet high, and is 5 feet broad; the lintel is 9 feet 7 inches long, by 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 6 inches deep.

Both doorposts have been much shaken, but that on the left in the view has been shifted bodily in, as can be seen by the mouldings. How the gateway stood under this treatment, which was probably caused by earthquake, is a marvel.

X. *Synagogue at Meiron.*—Next to Kefr Bir'im the *façade* of this synagogue is the most perfect remaining specimen in Galilee. It was built on a rocky ledge, the west side and floor being excavated out of the rock. Traces of the position of the pillars in the building are still to be found on the floor. From this a plan of the building has been constructed. The eastern and southern walls, built on unstable made-up ground, have been entirely destroyed by time.

Meiron was an early sacred place to the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. It is the traditional burial-place of Shammai and Hillel, and later the great Rabbi Simon Bar Jochai was buried here. Pilgrimages are made to his tomb by Jews in all parts of the world, and the scene of one of these annual meetings is described in my report from Meiron (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1877).

The principal gateway is 14 feet high to the top of the lintel, and 6 feet wide. The lintel is 4 feet 2 inches high.

XI. *Lintel of Synagogue at Nebratein.*—On this lintel is seen the Jewish form of the seven-branch candlestick, and a Hebrew inscription somewhat difficult to decipher. The remains of the synagogue are traceable, and on the pedestal of one column there is a carved representation of a hare, an unclean animal to the Jews.

XII. *Newly Discovered Synagogue at Süfsâf.*—This is one of the two newly discovered synagogues found during the course of the survey last year. The remains seen in the photograph consist of a sculptured lintel built in over the doorway of the modern mosque of the village, and surmounted by a carved niche surrounded by ornamented voussoirs.

The lintel measures 5 feet long by 1 foot 8 inches high, and on it two rams' heads are sculptured on either side of a wreath with surrounding ornamental scroll work.

It appears probable that this lintel formerly belonged to one of the smaller of the three doors common to these synagogues; the niche is placed over it as it probably was in the original building, but the ornamented voussoirs probably came from the larger doorway, as they



do not fit round the niche. The probable voussoirs of the smaller doorways are seen built into the wall on the left.

With such an ornamental lintel for the side doors, the great one of the central doorway, if found, would probably be very elaborate.

XIII. *Colonnade at Belât*.—On the top of a high wooded ridge in the wildest part of Galilee are the ruins of what must have been a noble temple. The remains of sixteen columns are apparently *in situ*, and some of them still bear an architrave. The original building was formed of a double row of twelve columns, 16 feet apart, and with a varying intercolumnar distance of from 6 feet to 8 feet; the total length being 99 feet 11 inches. This is surrounded by a wall at a distance of 7 feet. The columns and architrave make a total height of 14 feet. The entrance was probably on the eastern side, where two columns are squared on the outside. The direction of the colonnade is within 12 degrees of north and south, and the end columns are doubled like those in synagogues. The view is taken from the southern end. The architrave shows no signs of mouldings, and the capitals and pillars have an archaic form; they are very much weathered by exposure.

The origin of this singular ruin is discussed in the paper on "Synagogues of Galilee" in this *Quarterly*.

XIV. *Masonry Tomb at Kades*.—This is probably a Roman tomb. Four massive piers supported arches, and may have been surmounted by a dome. In the spaces under the arches masonry loculi are built. The building measures 35 feet square, and a plan has been published (*Quarterly Statement*, No. 3).

The view is taken from the south-east, and shows the moulded doorway and niche on the right.

XV. *Temple of the Sun at Kades*.—The view is taken of the eastern *façade* of the temple. The great doorway and two smaller doorways are seen with their ornamented lintels and doorposts. On the left is a small niche, with traces of a robed figure cut in it, and in a corresponding position on the right there is a small hole leading into a recess in the wall, by means of which oracles might be given or money passed through to the interior. The ornamental lintel lying in front in the photograph shows the winged delineation of the sun as at Baalbek.

The building forms a rectangle, 63 feet by 75 feet, and one of the doorposts standing is a monolith measuring 15 feet high. The view is taken from the south-east.

XVI. *Ditto*.—This photograph of the front gives a better view of the ornamentation on the doorpost, and also shows a large Corinthian capital, that probably surmounted one of the two enormous columns that formed the portico of the temple, like those in Syria. It is taken from the north-east.

XVII. *Hiram's Tomb*.—This tomb is situated in the low hills running down to the sea on the east of Tyre.

It is the traditional tomb of Hiram, king of Tyre, in the days of

Solomon, but is unlikely to be the real place of sepulchre of that monarch. The number of sarcophagi in this part of the country is very large, and there must have been formerly many monuments equalling, if not surpassing, the present one. This, however, is the most perfect tomb of this kind existing, and gives some idea of the grandeur of this mode of burial.

The sarcophagus, cut out of a solid mass of limestone, is placed on a base 9 feet 8 inches high, formed of three courses of whitish limestone in large blocks. The upper course, projecting 6 inches all round, makes a platform 9 feet 9 inches by 14 feet 2 inches; on this the sarcophagus, measuring at its base 7 feet 9 inches by 12 feet 2 inches, stands. The lid is made with a ridge, and is 3 feet 7 inches high in the centre.

Immediately on the north side of the monument, two flights of a few rudely-cut steps lead to the door of an artificially-made cavern, 8 feet wide by 10 feet long. The view is taken from the south-east, and shows the Freemasons' mark that some too enthusiastic member of the craft has lately scratched on this monument.

XVIII. *Cathedral at Tyre.*—The cathedral occupies the south-east corner of the modern wall of Tyre. It is now in ruins; only the eastern portion with the three apses remains. The northern one of these is the most perfect.

The inside dimensions of the church were 214 feet long by 82 feet wide; the central apse has a diameter of 36 feet. The transepts project 15 feet, and have side chapels in them with small apses made in the thickness of the wall.

The masonry is small, of soft stone, fixed in strong cement, and having some masons' marks.

In the interior there are magnificent monolithic columns of red granite, measuring 27 feet long. They were probably taken from some ancient temple, and show the form of double column peculiar to synagogues. One of these, and fragments of others, are to be seen in the foreground of the photograph. The rest of the interior decorations appears to have been of white marble.

The windows of the apses are ornamented on the outside by zigzag tracery.

The cathedral, according to M. de Vogué, was Crusading, dating from the latter half of the twelfth century. It probably occupies the site of the church built by Paulinus, and consecrated by Eusebius 323 AD., in which the bones of Origen and the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa were buried. Some excavations were attempted in 1874 to find these tombs, but without success.

XIX. *The Source of Jordan.*—The great spring at Baniyas has from an early date been allowed to be the real source of the River Jordan. The water gushes out of a cave situated in the face of a cliff of limestone rock about 100 feet high. Earthquakes have shaken down great fragments of rock, so that the base of the cliff has been blocked up and the

cave almost entirely ruined. The water now finds its way through this mass of stones by different channels, uniting immediately below the *débris*, and forming at once a strong stream that irrigates the surrounding gardens and makes Banias the most beautiful place in Palestine. By this stream stood the ancient Panium of the Greeks, and here Herod erected a temple in honour of Augustus. There are three votive niches in the face of the rock, one of which is visible in the photograph. They were once much higher above the ground than now. Two of them bear Greek inscriptions, in one of which "Priest of Pan" is mentioned. This was also the site of Cæsarea Philippi of the New Testament, and it has been suggested that this rock was intended in our Lord's words, "Upon this rock I will build My church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18).

XX. *Palestine Survey Camp at Banias.*—The magnificent olive trees formed a delightful shade, while the trickling stream of water led through our camp, making everything cool and delightful. Under the roots of these great trees we found remains of tessellated pavement in different coloured marbles, showing that some ancient building once occupied this site. A hundred yards to the east of our camp was the great source of Jordan, clear and sparkling, and delightfully cold.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut, R.E.

## THE LAND OF MIDIAN AND ITS MINES.

*Reprinted from the "Times."*

ALEXANDRIA, April 27th.

THE return of Captain Burton and his party from the Land of Midian at the beginning of this week is already known by telegraph in England. The object of the expedition was to examine into the mineral wealth of the country, which hitherto has been very little visited by travellers, and is only imperfectly known to geographers. Yet the minerals of Midian were known both in Biblical and classical times. Everybody remembers how Moses, when he fled from the face of Pharaoh, dwelt in the land of Midian and married the priest's daughter; and how, notwithstanding this alliance, the children of Israel, after the Exodus, vexed by the wiles of the Midianites, made war upon them and slew their kings, and burnt their cities and their goodly castles, and spoiled them of "gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, and lead," and "jewels of gold, chains and bracelets, rings, earrings, and tablets;" and now Moses ordered the wrought jewels of gold to be brought into the tabernacle as a memorial. It is equally well known, too, how the Romans long afterwards again worked the mines whence these metals were dug, and many are the traces of their work which Captain Burton has recently found. Yet next to nothing is now known of the country, its wild wastes of

rock, its barren valleys and precipitous mountains, its vast half-worked mines, its ruined cities, and its wandering and savage population. That it lies to the east of the Red Sea, that it belongs, for some mysterious reason, to Egypt, is about all ninety-nine out of every hundred people know about it. Captain Burton's two expeditions will have at least one good result—they will instruct the people. Thanks to his kindness, I am able to give a sketch of his recent doings, and even my summary will prove the land to be at least as interesting as many countries which have long been the happy hunting-field of enterprising travellers of all nationalities.

The expedition left Suez December 10th, 1877, and returned there on April 20, 1878. During four months of hard travelling and voyaging upwards of 2,500 miles, they only lost one soldier, who died of fever. They brought home some 25 tons of geological specimens to illustrate the general geological formation of the land; six cases of Colorado and Negro ore; five cases of ethnological and anthropological collections—such as Midianite coins, inscriptions in Nabathean and Cufic, remains of worked stones, fragments of smelted metals, glass and pottery; upwards of 200 sketches in oil and water colours, photographs of the chief ruins, including catacombs, and of a classical temple, apparently of Greek art, and, finally, maps and plans of the whole country, including 32 ruined cities, some of whose names can be restored by consulting Strabo and Ptolemy, besides sketches of many *ateliers*, where perambulating bands like the gipsies of ancient and modern times seem to have carried on simple mining operations.

Among the specimens are argentiferous and cupriferous ores from Northern Midian, and auriferous rocks from Southern. There are collections from three turquoise mines, the northern, near Aynuneh, already worked; the southern, near Ziba, still scratched by the Arabs; and the central, until now unknown, save to the Bedouins. There are, moreover, three great sulphur beds, the northern and the southern, belonging to the secondary formation (now invaded by the trap granite), and the central, near the port of Mowilah, of pyretic origin. Rock salt accompanies the brimstone, and there are two large natural salt lakes. The whole of the secondary formation supplies fine gypsum, and in parts of it are quarries of alabaster, which served to build the ruins of Maghair, Sheéayb, Madiama (of Ptolemy), and el-Haurá (Leuke Kome), the southernmost part of western Nabatheia.

The term Midian, popularly derived from Medan, the Hebrew, is really the Old-Egyptian "Mádi," a word which occurs in many papyri, whose plural is Mádian, or Mádiná. The modern tribes that hold the land confine "Mádyan" to the strip of maritime country between the coast Ghauts and the sea, from the fort of Allabah (lat. 29deg. 30min.) to Mowilah (lat. 27deg. 32min.). Captain Burton calls this country Northern Midian, and he applies the term Southern Midian to the tract of about similar size stretching south from Mowilah to the great Wady Hamz (lat. 25deg. 55min. 15sec.), where Egypt ends, and the Hedjaz, the Holy



Land of the Moslems, the capitals of which are Mecca and Medina, begins. He also divides the country into two mineral districts: the northern, with Makná as its port, has not been much worked; the southern, with Wedj as its harbour, shows extensive traces of ancient scientific labour. But he describes the whole as affording great mining capabilities to modern science. These [conclusions he arrived at by dividing his four months' exploration into three several excursions—northern, central, and southern.

The caravan consisted of eight Europeans, three Egyptian officers of the staff and two of the line, 25 soldiers and 30 miners, 10 mules, and about 100 camels. The northern excursion commenced at Mowilah, the port of arrival in Midian. They revisited the country covered by Captain Burton's expedition last year, the story of which will be told in his forthcoming book, "The Gold Mines of Midian," which I must not anticipate. After reinspection of the ancient workings of the precious metals, passing the traditional site of Moses' Well, they marched upon Makná, the port, and spent a week digging into and extracting the veins of silver which thread the quartz, carelessly cupeled specimens yielding 15 to 20 per cent. of silver. The hill is within a few minutes' walk of the coast, and by means of Mr. Haddan's cheap tramways it would be easy to ship the ore in the harbour. Leaving Makná they rounded the windy Gulf of Allabah, and the incorrectness of the British hydrographic chart very nearly shipwrecked the party on the reefs off the island Tiran. They reached Mowilah again on February 3rd.

The second expedition followed and was directed to the inland region east of Mowilah. The object was to determine the longitudinal breadth of the metalliferous country. A double chain of ghauts subtends the coast, and a succession of valleys cut through these heights. Beyond the ghauts a rough and precipitous pass, terrible for loaded camels, leads to the Hisma, a plateau some 4,000 feet high, of new red sandstone, which is in reality the western wall of the Nejd, or great central uplands of the Arabian peninsula, and is remarkable for the beauty of its brick-red precipices and castellations. East of the Hisma lie the dark lines of the Marreh, the basaltic and doubtless volcanic regions whence the miners of old brought the rough mill-stones that served for their first grindings. But here the expedition reckoned without its hosts, the Maäzeh, a semi-Egyptian tribe, who received them apparently with friendliness, but all the while were preparing for attack, murder, and plunder. The trap, however, was badly set for an old traveller. Captain Burton guessed the coming danger, and was able to beat a hasty retreat without bloodshed. The expedition, altering its plans, then turned to the south-east. They passed through the lovely Wady Daumah, once teeming with fertility, now laid waste by the Bedouin, "the fathers of the Desert." They discovered the ruins of the city of Sheewak (the Souka of Ptolemy), which, with its outlying suburbs, its aqueducts carefully built with cement, its barrages across the village

heads, its broken catacombs, its furnaces and vast *usines*, covers some four miles. Here and elsewhere the furnaces were carefully searched. The Colorado quartz-ore and the chloritic greenstone, used as flur, showed what ore had been treated; but so painstaking were these old miners, that not the minutest trace of metal was left to tell its own tale. Sheewak was evidently a city of workmen, probably of slave workmen. A few miles to the south lay Shaghab, the ruins of which, far superior in site and construction, suggested the residence of the wealthy mine-owners. Here the expedition turned west. The country was barren, roadless, and very thinly inhabited, but they came upon the ruinous traces of mining operations at every stage. March 5th they arrived at the flourishing little port of Ziba (Zibber on the hydrographic chart), built with the remnants of some older town. Near Ziba was found the southernmost of the turquoise mines. Its natives have learnt the art of promoting the growth of pearls by inserting a grain of sand into each oyster.

The third, or southern excursion, which Captain Burton was enabled to undertake by the dispatch of a second ship and another month's food from Suez, proved by far the most interesting to mineralogist and archæologist alike. Gold mining evidently here takes the place of silver and copper extracting, and the vast traces of the labours of the scientific old miners in shafting and tunneling teach exactly their *modus operandi*. The Marreh, or volcanic district, which they inspected, extends as far as Yembo, and possibly as far as Medina, the Holy City. It is covered with ruins of mining works, and the expedition found gold threading and filming the basalt, which led them to believe this district to be the focus of the mineralogical outcrop. Meanwhile, M. Marie, the mining engineer, proceeded to the southern depôt of sulphur, and discovered a third hill distant only two miles from a navigable bay. He secured specimens of this rock and also of chalcedony, the material of the finely-engraved seals and amulets worked by the natives. He found, and the whole party afterwards visited, an outcrop of quartz, in mounds, hillocks, and gigantic reefs, called "Abel Marwah," and the disused works, of great extent, were surveyed. The caravan, now guided by the Balizi tribe, which claims some of the old mining districts, left the port of Wedj March 23, and visited the ruins of Um el Karayyat ("Mother of Villages"), where the remains of mining operations lie scattered about in all directions. In parts the hill of snowy quartz had been so well burrowed into that it has fallen in. All the shafts and passages were duly explored. The precious metal was extracted from the rose-coloured schist veining the quartz, and specimens of free gold appeared. The next march showed the Um el Kharáb ("Mother of Desolation"), in which an extensive vein had been worked, and pillars of quartz left standing between roof and floor. Travelling through a land once rich and prosperous as mining could make it, now the very picture of dreary desolation, the travellers reached the plain El Beda (Bedais of Ptolemy). Here the hills of red porphyry were covered with religious inscriptions

in the Cufic and modern Arab characters; nothing Nabathean, occurred. On April 8, after traversing another quartz country, the expedition reached their Ultima Thule, the Wady Hamz, the great gap worked by water in the maritime mountain chain which forms the highway for pilgrims returning from Medina, and constitutes the frontier between Egypt and the Hedjaz, which belongs to Turkey. Here a pleasant surprise awaited the party. On the southern brink of this wild watercourse was the site of a beautiful little temple, built of white and variegated alabaster, dug from neighbouring quarries. The foundations alone were left, and a few years ago the place was a tumulus into which the Arabs dug for treasure. The Wady had washed away the northern wall, and the adjacent bed was strewn with fragments of columns, bases, and capitals, all of alabaster, and cut in the simplest and purest style of Greek art. Can this be a vestige of that ill-fated expedition in which Ælius Gallus was foiled by the traitor Nabathæus?

This closed the expedition. The party returned to Suez, and arrived in Cairo the 21st of April. They received a most courteous welcome from his Highness the Khedive. Specimens of their ores will be sent to Paris and London; the rest will be analysed in Cairo by a local commission, while the curiosities of all kinds will be exhibited first in Cairo and then sent to the Paris Exhibition. So ends the story. After all allowances made for the traveller's love of the scene of his labours, it must be admitted that the Land of Midian is a wonderful place. As one hears of the mines that are spread over the country, with their shafts and their tunnels, their furnaces and their barrages, the towns of workmen, and the cities of mine owners, one begins to understand why "all King Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, none were of silver, it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon." And when one reads of the mines that are yet unworked, with their quartz and their Colorado ore, one feels tempted to ask why the Khedive at Cairo, like Solomon at Jerusalem, should not "make silver and gold as plenteous as stones." But hitherto brilliant prospects for Egypt have turned out very grey-toned realities. So we Egyptians are content once more to possess our souls in patience until the cool and cautious capitalists of Paris and London put their hands into their pockets, pay the Khedive a handsome royalty, and turn the Land of Midian into a limited liability company. One thing is certain. This dead country of Midian, thus suddenly brought back to life, is no fabulous land, where all the world can go and pick up gold and silver. Its development will need capital as well as science, and Egypt must, therefore, be content with a royalty and leave the risk and the work to foreign skill and enterprise.

## THE STONE OF BETHPHAGE.

THE recent discovery of the "Stone of Bethphage" has created considerable interest among Biblical students. Three months ago, on starting for a tour through the Holy Land, I was requested to inspect this monument and furnish a few details to the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*.

Accordingly, on arriving at Jerusalem, I made inquiries respecting the stone, and was astonished to find that even the guides of the city had not heard of the discovery. Mr. Shapira, of Moabite pottery fame, was the first to assure me that the discovery was no cunningly devised fable; and he moreover informed me that the site of the monument was somewhere on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives. Dr. Chaplin further indicated the exact locality; and thus fortified with topographical knowledge, I set out with much pleasure to gaze upon the precious relie. Passing out of the Holy City by David's Gate, I followed the course of the walls by Mount Zion and the Temple Hill, then crossing the valley of the Kedron, I ascended by the village of Siloam to the spot on the Bethany road where Christ wept over Jerusalem. From this point I climbed the south slope of Olivet, and after reaching the Carmelite Nunnery near the summit of the ridge, I followed the mountain path which runs due east along the side of the hill for about half a mile. Here Olivet proper ends, and is separated from the high lands above Bethany by a deep valley, while the path is continued over a ridge of limestone rock which spans the valley, and forms a kind of natural bridge. Before reaching the ridge we turned to the left into a field of corn, and after searching in vain for some time, at length I came upon some old foundations and a huge square block of limestone rock.

Fortunately Mr. Shapira with his daughter approached the stone just as we were about to examine it, and proved of great assistance by their valuable suggestions in deciphering the faded paintings. The frescoes are upon the whole well executed, and are evidently the workmanship of skilful hands; the perspective of the figures is accurate and the colouring vivid.

That on the north side is already much defaced, in consequence of exposure to the weather and the rough handling of the fellahin. It is therefore fortunate that drawings have been made by Captain Guillemot, otherwise many interesting details would have been lost for ever. The subject of the picture is the master of the house at Bethphage granting permission to the two disciples to take the ass and colt to Christ. The animals occupy the centre, and the heads especially are drawn and coloured with much care. Nine or ten persons were originally depicted, but many of them are now well-nigh obliterated. The figures of the two apostles—probably SS. Peter and John—are on the right hand; one, holding the bridle, is leading away the ass, while the other, standing by the head, has his right hand raised, and is represented as



saying to the owner, "The Lord hath need of him." The figure in the foreground, and consequently the most prominent, is the master of the house, who, with outstretched hands, is granting permission to the disciples to take them away. At first this prominent figure was thought to be the Saviour, but on further consideration it became evident that this could not be the case, first, because the Saviour was not at Bethphage when the colt was taken; and secondly, a comparison of the picture with the fresco on the south side of the stone revealed the fact that, while the figure under consideration has no hair on the face, the Saviour depicted on the latter wears the Pauline tonsure, and consequently has a large beard. The figures in the background represent those spoken of by St. Mark: "And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye loosing the colt?" At the bottom of the picture a well-executed face, looking downward, caused us much trouble, but from an inspection of Captain Guillemot's drawing, it is the face of a person who has just loosened the ass, and with the binding chain in hand, still retains a stooping posture.

In the background is the house at Bethphage, and the back door near to which the colt was tied. The place is evidently the courtyard or back part of the house, in accordance with the text of St. Mark xi. 4: "*καὶ εἶρον τὸν πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἐπιτοῦ ἀμφόδου,*" "And they found the colt tied by the door *without, at the back of the house,*" not "where two ways meet," as the English version translates it. Around the courtyard is a wall with a battlemented corner; and it is worthy of notice that leading up to the courtyard is an inclined sloping battlemented wall, suggesting the idea that the house, and consequently Bethphage itself, occupied an elevated position. The monument itself is near a level spot on the side of a hill, from 50 to 100 feet above the valley immediately below.

The fresco on the south side, facing Bethany, is the raising of Lazarus. And here the artist has shown his skill, not only in the arrangement of a complicated subject, but also in the superior finish of the details. Unfortunately the figures on the left side of the picture, including that of the Saviour, are much defaced, and the bottom part is well-nigh obliterated.

Christ, standing on the left side, has come to the tomb; Mary has fallen at His feet; Martha, on her knees, remains in a suppliant position. A third woman, perhaps Mary Magdalene, sits in front, looking in the same direction as the Saviour. Jesus has said, "Take ye away the stone," and a well-executed figure occupying the right corner is carrying away the huge stone taken from the mouth of the cave. The command, "Lazarus come forth," has been given by Him who had just said, "I am the resurrection and the life," and Lazarus, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes, is stepping forth from the sepulchral chamber.

On the west side of the stone, facing Jerusalem, it is said that the subject was a representation of the triumphal entry of Christ into the

Holy City on Palm Sunday, and there is no reason for disbelieving that this was the case; but at present the picture is so sadly marred that it is scarcely possible to trace the outline of a single figure. In the centre of this face a large niche, with a semicircular head, measuring two feet by one, has been cut deep into the stone. It seems to have been done subsequently to the fresco, but for what purpose it is difficult to say.

On the east side, which is probably the front of the stone, the picture contains about a dozen figures, all of whom, with one exception, are standing close together, as an attentive audience, listening to the person who, standing by himself, is addressing them with earnest mien. The compact arrangement of the figures made us at first conclude that the representation of a multitude was the ruling idea of the artist, and since other two of the frescoes are subjects connecting with Palm Sunday, we very naturally supposed that these constituted the multitude that followed the triumphal procession and cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David." On more minute examination, however, it was noticed that they bore no palms in their hands, and their faces were not turned towards the right, as they would have been had this picture been a continuation of the subjects on the north and west sides of the monument. Captain Guillemot suggests that the subject may be the blessing of the restoration of this little sanctuary. This may be so, but it ought to be observed that the figures are not looking out from the stone, but seem for the most part turned towards the speaker, who, judging from his demeanour, is neither praying nor praising, nor uttering a benediction, but fervently addressing an attentive audience. This being so, I would suggest that the picture represents the first scene in the Ascension—namely, the part where, having led out the disciples as far as to Bethany, Christ, before leaving His desponding apostles, is addressing to them words of comfort and assurance. This suggestion seems to acquire additional force from the consideration that the four frescoes, namely, the Loosing the Colt, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry, and the Ascension, are the four most striking events in the life of the Saviour that occurred near the spot where this monument stands. Moreover, as the Triumphal Entry faces Jerusalem, and the Raising of Lazarus faces Bethany, I would further suggest that the artist designed each of the four frescoes to face the scene of the picture, and therefore, that while Jerusalem is situated towards the west, and Bethany towards the south, that the traditional site of Bethphage was on the comparatively level table-land north of the stone, and the traditional site of the Ascension was the spot across the valley fronting the stone, where the road winds round the grassy mound towards the village of Bethany.

The monument has already been named the "Stone of Bethphage," and it is said to mark the spot where the village of Bethphage stood. Some there are who undervalue such an archæological discovery, while others, in their ardent zeal, rush too hastily to conclusions, and in their anxiety to find the site of the long lost village, they give loose reins to their wishes, and conclude that this monument must needs mark the

site of Bethphage. Until such time as the public are in possession of the promised publication of Captain Guillemot on this recently discovered monument, it seems desirable not to indulge too freely in bold conjectures, and therefore my remarks will rather be of a suggestive than exhaustive nature, and will deal mainly, if not solely, with data already furnished. First, then, it seems to me that there is nothing in the frescoes themselves that tends to prove that the stone marks the site of Bethphage. It is true that the picture on the north side represents the loosing of the colt, an event that occurred at Bethphage; but if from the existence of such we conclude that the stone marks the site of Bethphage, then by parity of reasoning we might pronounce the site to be Bethany, because the south face represents the raising of Lazarus; or Jerusalem, because the side facing the west represents the triumphal entry of Christ into the Holy City. Beside the frescoes, however, some inscriptions were also found painted on the stone. No traces of such inscriptions were visible when we examined the monument six weeks ago, and I am therefore sorry to think that such have been obliterated. I had been informed that one inscription was, "Hic est Bethphage," and this seemed to establish the fact, not indeed that the stone necessarily marked the Bethphage of the Gospels, but that such was the traditional site in the days when the inscription was inscribed on the stone. On looking at the drawings of the mutilated inscriptions as furnished by Captain Guillemot, I am disappointed in not being able to find the words "Hic est Bethphage." There are, indeed, the words, "Hic est," and only part of the initial letter of the following word, now obliterated. And although it is impossible from our present data to say what that word was, yet, as the fragment of this initial letter is certainly not a part of the letter B, we are morally certain that the word was not Bethphage. The word Bethphage does certainly occur in juxtaposition with that of Hierosolyma (a mediæval name of Jerusalem) in an inscription found on a different part of the stone, but until the import of such inscription is better known than it is at present, the mere occurrence of the name Bethphage no more proves the spot to be Bethphage than the name Hierosolyma proves it to be the site of Jerusalem.

JAMES KING.

---









THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

On Tuesday, September 10th, Lieutenant Kitchener formally handed over to the Committee the whole of the maps and memoirs complete. His final report, read to the Committee at the time, will be found further on (p. 174). The work thus completed consists, first, of twenty sheets, each with its memoir, prepared by Lieutenant Conder, and, secondly, of six, each with its memoir, prepared by Lieutenant Kitchener. There are also the special plans, surveys and drawings, made by both officers; there are the pen-and-ink sketches and water-colour drawings made by Lieutenant Conder, and Lieutenant Kitchener's photographs. In addition to all this there are the three sheets of the smaller map prepared by Lieutenant Kitchener, according to the instructions of the Committee.

---

On Tuesday, September 19th, Lieutenant Kitchener started for Cyprus to commence the survey of the island, to the command of which he has been appointed by the Foreign Office.

---

The Committee, at their meeting of September 10th, passed the following resolution: "That the Committee desire to express their grateful thanks to Lieutenant Kitchener for the way in which he brought the Survey of Western Palestine to a successful termination, and congratulate him on his appointment to the very important work of a similar nature which has been entrusted to him by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

---

The *Quarterly Statement* for 1878, therefore, closes with the completion of the Survey of Western Palestine, the history of which was commenced in the *Quarterly Statement* of January, 1872. The Survey has taken seven years to complete. The sheets of the map have been placed in the hands of the most competent judges, and are stated to be in every respect equal to the best work possible in map-making. The year 1879 will be the year of publishing. It is proposed that the regular subscriptions should be devoted to this purpose. It is needless to explain that a large part of the scientific memoirs and special plans, which must be published, can hardly be expected to pay the expenses of publication. Probably

in the January *Quarterly Statement* we may be prepared with a prospectus of time, price, &c.

In Lieutenant Conder's book, "Tent Work in Palestine," an opportunity has been afforded of turning over the leaves, so to speak, of the memoirs. The book, though published in a bad season, and not at the best time of the year, has done very well. It is satisfactory to record that the general opinion of the press has been very favourable, and that its sale has already justified the Committee in their confidence in the author.

The sale has, in fact, left, at the present moment, little more than a hundred copies in the hands of the publishers. Those subscribers who want to have the earliest and library edition should therefore send their names to the office without any delay.

By an oversight in the July *Quarterly Statement*, the editor omitted to mention that the illustration, "Jewish Synagogue at Sufsaf," was supplied by the kindness of the editor of the *Builder*, where it first appeared.

On p. 176 will be found the prospectus of the proposed expedition to Galilee. This has been already sent to the General Committee, and circulated privately to a limited extent. A first list of subscribers has been obtained, and is here published. The amounts are in some cases promised, in others already paid. The prospectus itself has been printed in large numbers, and copies can be had on application to the Secretary. It is illustrated with a wood-cut of Tel Hum, the proposed principal site for excavation.

|   |     |    |   |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Marquis of Bute.....                      | £50 | 0  | 0 |
| Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P. ....            | 50  | 0  | 0 |
| Lord Clermont .....                       | 25  | 0  | 0 |
| John Edward Wilson, Esq. ....             | 25  | 0  | 0 |
| W. Hepworth Dixon, Esq. ....              | 10  | 10 | 0 |
| John MacGregor, Esq. ....                 | 10  | 0  | 0 |
| Lord Talbot de Malahide .....             | 5   | 0  | 0 |
| Rev. Canon Lightfoot .....                | 5   | 0  | 0 |
| W. M <sup>r</sup> Arthur, Esq., M.P. .... | 5   | 5  | 0 |
| W. Atkinson, Esq. ....                    | 5   | 0  | 0 |
| J. Braithwaite, Esq. ....                 | 5   | 0  | 0 |
| Fritz Reiss, Esq. ....                    | 5   | 0  | 0 |
| Right Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P. ....        | 2   | 2  | 0 |
| Rev. F. W. Holland .....                  | 2   | 2  | 0 |
| Rev. W. F. Birch .....                    | 2   | 2  | 0 |
| F. L. Hausberg, Esq. ....                 | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Miss Erskine .....                        | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Rev. Dr. Ginsburg .....                   | 2   | 0  | 0 |
| Miss Mends .....                          | 0   | 10 | 0 |
| Per-Hon. Sec. for Chelmsford .....        | 2   | 5  | 0 |

The list will remain open. Subscribers can, if they please, devote their amounts, or any portion of them, to this special fund.



The small map of Galilee which forms the frontispiece to this number and illustrates the prospectus of page 176 shows the country which will be the field of operations of the new expedition. The western side of the lake has been already surveyed by Lieutenant Kitchener. The eastern side is almost unknown. The map itself is a portion of the reduced map on the three-eighths scale, the hill shading being omitted.

---

This is the first specimen of the reduced map published. It is noteworthy that it contains about five times as many names as any other existing map of this portion of the country, and this, although one half the map belongs to the unsurveyed part of Palestine.

---

At the meeting of the British Association in August three papers of interest to readers of this Journal were read: one by Lieutenant Kitchener, on the Survey of Galilee; one by the Rev. F. W. Holland, on his recent journey to Sinai; and one by Captain Burton, on his last expedition to Midian. We reproduce the first (p. 159), and hope, when the others are published, to present extracts from them.

---

We have to regret the death of the Rev. Samuel Martin, a member of the General Committee from the foundation of the Society, and of General Cameron, R.E., the Director of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton. General Cameron had only just joined the General Committee, but had on various occasions shown his appreciation of the work and rendered great help to the Committee.

---

The death of that great geographer, Herr Petermann, also a member of this Committee, is announced at the moment of going to press. His contributions to Biblical geography deserve a special notice, which we hope to give next quarter.

---

The income of the Fund from all sources, from June 27th to September 19th, 1878, was £814 5s. 4d. The expenditure was as follows:—Exploration, £219 13s. 6d.; office expenses, £172 14s. 11d.; bills, £68 1s. 6d.

---

It has been asked whether, since the Survey is finished, the *Quarterly Statement* will be discontinued. The completion of the Survey does not mean the completion of the work of the Society, as reference to the original prospectus will show at once. And there is, more than ever, need of a periodical devoted to the special line of research which is the *raison d'être* of this *Quarterly Statement*. It will therefore be continued as long as the Society exists and there is work of the kind which it represents to be done and reported.

---

The first number of the Journal of the new German Association has been received. A summary of its contents will be found on page 201. We shall receive and exchange the numbers regularly, and propose to transfer to our own columns, with due acknowledgment, whatever new intelligence and matter of interest the Journal may contain. Under the vigorous management of the Executive Committee elected to carry on the Association it ought to prove successful.

Several cases have been at various times discovered of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, Esq., and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

---

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

---

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs. :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford: Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester: Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire: Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London: Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square; and Mr. C. Stuart Lockhart (address at the office).

Norwich: Rev. W. F. Greeny.

Suffolk: Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough: Rev. A. J. Foster, Farnish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester: Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Gloucester and Bristol: Mr. John Brion (address at the office).

Diocese of Ripon: Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales: Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King has recently returned from the Holy Land; communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

IRELAND.—Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

---

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

---

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

Attention is called to the statement already advertised, that subscribers to the Fund are privileged by the publishers to receive both the "Literary Remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake," and the "Underground Jerusalem" of Captain Warren, at reduced rates. The former book will be sent for ten shillings, the latter for sixteen shillings, postage paid. But letters asking for them must be sent to the office at 11 and 12, Charing Cross only.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteenpence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.



## SURVEY OF GALILEE.

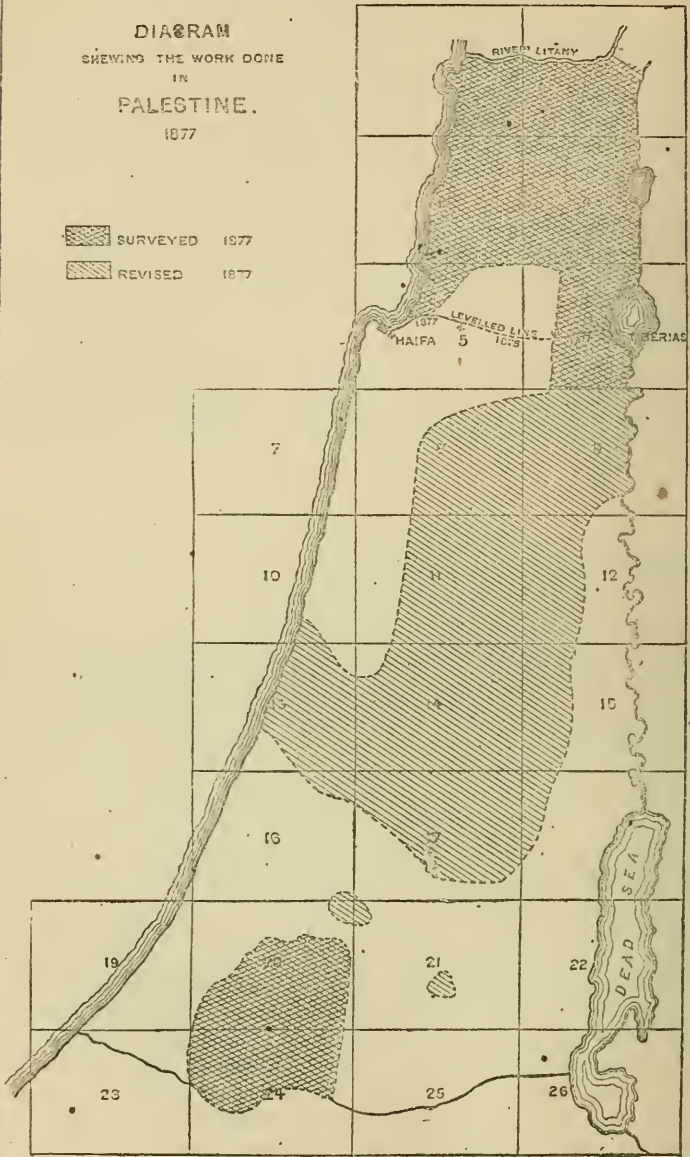
*A Paper read before the Geographical Section of the British Association by*  
LIEUT. H. H. KITCHENER, R.E., F.R.G.S.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I appear before you to-day as the representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund, an association which, as many of you are aware, was formed several years ago under the patronage of Her Majesty, and of many great functionaries in Church and State, for the purpose of exploring the Holy Land. The great work on which the Society has been occupied for the last seven years is a map of Palestine on the model of the Ordnance Survey of England and Ireland.

This map of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba on the 1-inch scale has now been completed, and will shortly be published. It was commenced by the Palestine Exploration Fund sending out Major Stewart, R.E., and a party of noncommissioned officers at the end of 1871. Major Stewart was invalided home after a very short period of service, during which he had, however, established a base line on the plain near Ramleh; this base line was over four miles long, and was calculated with considerable accuracy. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake had then charge of the party until the arrival of Lieutenant Conder, in July, 1872. The work then proceeded regularly, the triangulation being carried southwards to the hill country, and then north as far as the plain of Esdraelon, on which another base line was measured. The calculations and measurements of this check base agreed most satisfactorily, and proved the accuracy of the whole triangulation. In November, 1874, I joined the party, and after a year's work in the plain of Philistia, when commencing the survey of Galilee,

DIAGRAM  
 SHOWING THE WORK DONE  
 IN  
 PALESTINE.  
 1877

 SURVEYED 1877  
 REVISED 1877





we were met at Safed with a fanatical attack from the natives. As after this we all suffered severely from fever, and cholera was spreading rapidly all over the country, the party was withdrawn. After eighteen months of plotting and fair-drawing the work we had done, Lieutenant Conder's health not allowing him to return to the country, I was entrusted with the command of an expedition to finish the Survey of Galilee. My party consisted of three noncommissioned officers of the Royal Engineers, appointed from the Ordnance Survey. I left in January, 1877, and by the end of February my men had joined me at Haifa, and everything was ready for an active campaign.

On the 27th of February work was commenced. The survey of the Plain of Acre occupied one noncommissioned officer, while the other two and myself were employed in taking up the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee, for which a special grant had been received from this Association. After discovering our former bench mark at Mejdal the levelling went on swimmingly, almost too much so while crossing the swampy plain and the Kishon swollen by the winter rains. A paper on the successful completion of this line of levels was read by Major Wilson at the last meeting of this Association.

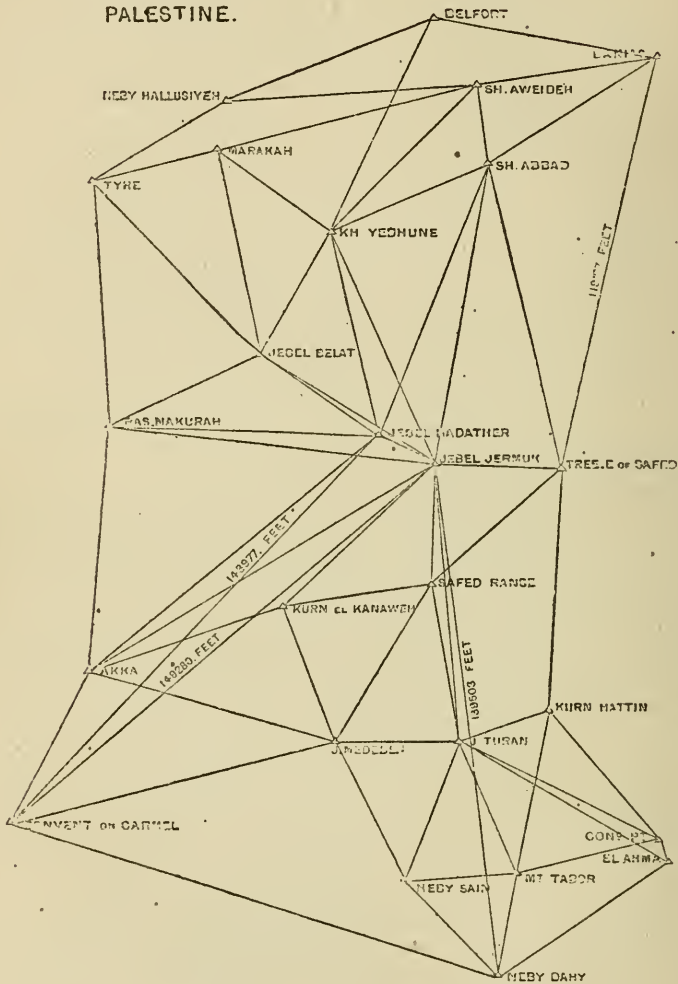
The weather was hardly settled at this time; storms of wind and rain made our tents no very pleasant abode. On the 8th of March the levelling and surveying were completed, and we marched across the country to Hattin, breaking the journey for one night at Nazareth.

Hattin is a village of some importance, well situated for our work. The natives proved civil and obliging. Our camp consisted of five Egyptian tents, seven little Arab horses, seven mules, four Europeans, ten natives, and two bashi-bazouks with their horses, attached to us by the Government.

From this camp we had to pick up the old triangulation-points which had been left on the withdrawal of the party in 1875. The cairns we had built were all destroyed, but after a careful search we found the broad arrows cut on the rock under where the cairns had been, and were thus able to carry on the triangulation from a base of 25 miles, and other calculated lines from 8 to 12 miles long; subsequently, after carrying the triangulation round the country, as will be described, the calculated length of this base was only 60 feet different from the measurement we had started with, or a little more than 2 feet in the mile of possible error. On our scale, this error in 25 miles is only the thickness of a pencil line.

The triangulation took eight days from this camp, as the old cairns had to be rebuilt, and new ones erected in the northern country. By thus doing the triangulation and survey of the ground from each camp, we were able to keep both going together; and the strength of my party was not sufficient to adopt any other method. While observing from the top of Mount Tabor I examined three chapels recently unearthed by the Roman Catholic monks; they date from Crusading times, when this was supposed to be the Mount of the Transfiguration, and the three

DIAGRAM  
 OF TRIANGULATION  
 OF  
 NORTHERN PORTION  
 OF SURVEY OF  
 PALESTINE.



chapels are mentioned in old chronicles of that time. The massive fortifications on the top of the mount, enclosing these later remains, were probably those erected here by Josephus in order to resist the Roman armies under Vespasian; they consist of a solid wall built of large drafted stones, flanked at intervals by square towers enclosing a large rectangular space that occupied the whole of the top of the hill.

Looking down on the broad plain of Esdraelon stretched out from our feet, it is impossible not to remember that this is the greatest battlefield of the world, from the days of Joshua and the defeat of the mighty host of Sisera, till, almost in our own days, Napoleon the Great fought the battle of Mount Tabor; and here also is the ancient Megiddo, where the last great battle of Armageddon is to be fought.

The country surrounding our camp was formed of decomposed basalt and the ashes and *débris* thrown from the volcanoes that once occupied this region; in some places the black basalt rock crops out, but the general colour of the ground is a deep red. Immediately above our camp was one of these extinct volcanoes; it is called the Kurn Hattin, or Horns of Hattin, being two peaks on the top of a steep mountain, having between them the crater of an extinct volcano; it will ever be remembered as the scene of the final struggle of the Crusaders after the fatal battle on the plain below. On the top was the king surrounded by his nobles, with the chiefs of the great Orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers, hemmed in on all sides by the seething masses of the Saracen host under Saladin. Thrice the heights were stormed and thrice the besiegers were driven back with immense slaughter, till at last, worn out by thirst, fatigue, and the hopeless task of holding out against such odds, the brave remnant surrendered and the Christian power in the country ceased to exist. Curiously enough, we found the plain just below still retains a reminiscence of this scene; it is called the Plain of Burnus, the Arabic designation of Count Rainaud of Chatillon, Seigneur of Kerak, who had caused the war by plundering a convoy of Moslem pilgrims, among whom was the mother of Saladin; he was killed immediately after the battle by the hand of Saladin himself.

During our triangulation we found some little difficulty from the natives, who thought we were magicians, with power to find hidden treasure under the ground, and that our cairns were marks to remember the places by. It was an unfortunate idea, as the result was that in the night time our cairns often disappeared, and the natives groped through any earth to the rock below, hoping to forestall us. After making the offenders rebuild the cairns on one or two occasions these annoyances ceased.

On the completion of the triangulation, the levelling had to be taken up from the last point on the line. The bench mark was found without difficulty. It was most fatiguing work dragging the levelling staves and heavy instruments over the rough country, and when the descent below the sea-level, in a steep narrow gorge, was attained, it was extremely trying; however, in seven days' work,  $16\frac{1}{4}$  miles were

accomplished and the seashore was reached, giving a depression of 682 feet 6 inches below the Mediterranean.

The survey of the detail had then to be done. Our process was very well suited to this open and barren country. From the fixed triangulation-points a number of supplementary angles were taken to every village, hill-top; prominent tree, or important object in view; as this was done from every point when these lines were plotted, we had intersections fixing these objects. Practically almost every place of importance was fixed in this way.

The surveyor then started with this diagram of fixed points, and by the interpolation of the angles taken with his prismatic compass was able to fix his own position at any point on paper; he then sketched in by eye the detail that was in his close vicinity, and by going through the same process all over his work the detail was obtained with considerable accuracy. The heights of all places of importance were taken by aneroids, besides the calculated heights of all the triangulation points. These aneroids were checked morning and evening with a standard barometer kept in camp. The slopes of the hills were taken by Abney's level, and on returning to camp in the evening a report was made of all ruins, villages, and water-supply in the work of the day. The nomenclature was written down in Arabic by a well-educated scribe kept for that purpose. Each surveyor had a guide with him, who gave the names of the different places. The surveyor wrote them down as near as he could to the sound, and on returning to camp he repeated them in front of the guide and the scribe. The guide then pronounced the names correctly, and the scribe wrote it down from him. I afterwards transliterated the Arabic in accordance with Robinson's method, and the proper spelling was thus obtained and written on the map.

Every possible check on the veracity of the natives was employed by asking numbers of people independently the names.

Dishonest guides were dismissed, and as these people are peculiarly susceptible of sarcasm, the offenders were not happy when they were laughed out of camp for not knowing their own country as well as we knew it.

One of the great values of the map is the number of unknown names it has made public; thus on this part of the survey 2,770 names were collected, only about 450 of which are to be found on the best existing map of the country.

Another is the accuracy of these names, taken down from the natives in a manner never attempted before, and the result has been to throw a vast light on the ancient nomenclature of the country and the origin of the races that inhabit it.

The survey of the detail took five more days, and on the 27th March we were able to move camp to Tiberias, with the assurance of having no obstacle of a technical nature to hinder our work. Our camp was pitched along the shores of the sea, and as the Governor had already received a reprimand from the Pasha of Acre for not answering a letter of mine, we were well received by the officials.



The scenery of the lake is decidedly monotonous, but there is a great charm in that dry and thirsty land in having a vast expanse of fresh water spread out before the eyes, and at night the effect of the moon in Eastern brightness shining on the calm lake was exceedingly beautiful. During the survey of the shores we made one considerable discovery: the site of Sennabris, mentioned by Josephus as the place where Vespasian pitched his camp when marching on the insurgents of Tiberias. The name Sinn en Nabra still exists, and is well known to the natives; it applies to a ruin situated on a spur from the hills that close the southern end of the Sea of Galilee; it formed, therefore, the defence against an invader from the Jordan plain, and blocked the great main road in the valley.

Close beside it there is a large artificially-formed plateau, defended by a water-ditch on the south, communicating with Jordan, and by the Sea of Galilee on the north. This is called Kh. el Kerâk, and is, I have not the slightest doubt, the remains of Vespasian's camp described by Josephus. It is just like another Roman camp found near Jenin, where an army was camped. Thus we have an example still in the country of the military precision of those irresistible conquerors. This Kh. el Kerâk has been identified with Tarichææ, but, as Major Wilson has pointed out, that site must be sought to the north of Tiberias. The finding of Sennabris, the place where the Roman host encamped before marching on Tiberias and Tarichææ, clearly proves that the latter place could not have been anywhere near the southern end of the lake.

The next point of interest on the shore is the hot springs of the Hammam, three copious springs burst out of the rock, with a temperature of 140 deg., and containing a considerable quantity of sulphur. Baths have been built, and they have been famous for ages for the cures of rheumatism and other disorders. They are constantly used by the natives, who often come from long distances to benefit by them.

The ruins of ancient Tiberias with its sea-walls and scattered columns extend nearly as far south as these springs, and it may be fairly supposed that the modern site of the town is situated to the north of the ancient place.

The next point of interest is the site of Tarichææ, an important town on the seashore. We know that it could not have been far from Tiberias, on the northern side, also that it was strong to the south, but had a plain to the north, for Vespasian, attacking from the south, sent his cavalry under Titus round the town to attack the Jews on the open ground, where he routed them, and entered the town with the fugitives. A ruined site was found answering to all these qualifications at Kh. Kuneitriah, situated on the top of a steep round hill rising abruptly from the seashore. This was, in my opinion, the citadel of Tarichææ; the town itself was probably on the plain to the north, along the seashore, where there are traces of ruins and springs of water.

Passing the ruin and the plain beyond, the path leads along the side

of the steep slope of the hills, with rocky cliffs towering above, and the sea almost directly below; turning a corner, the Plain of Gennesareth lies spread out before us, with the cluster of ruined hovels of the village of Mejdcl in the foreground. A fine stream of water irrigates this portion of the plain from Wady Hamam, the narrow gorge through which the levelling had been brought down, with cliffs 1,000 feet high on either side. In those on the southern side are the romantic caves of the brigands who were subdued by Herod the Great by letting down gangs of soldiers on platforms from above on the despairing defenders: these, sooner than be taken captive, slew one another with their swords.

I explored the caves, which consist of galleries at different heights conducted along the face of the precipice leading to different sized chambers; some appeared natural, while others were artificial; there were spacious halls, small sleeping-places, and some enormous stables, all cut out of the solid rock. Water was brought by a long aqueduct, cut in the face of the precipice, and poured down into cisterns inside the fortress. The place has been since occupied by Arab marauders, who have built walls to defend the outside of the galleries and round towers at different elevations on the face of the rock, to bring a flanking fire on the entrance, which was reached by a long flight of basalt steps. Now all is ruined, and only forms the resting-place of the eagle and the vulture; but in the bright future that seems to be about to dawn on that land, what a delightfully cool retreat this would make for the owner of the fair plain stretched out 1,000 feet below.

Beyond Mejdcl on the Plain of Gennesareth, and round the northern shores of the lake, are the most interesting sites of all; Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida. The country here has been so carefully examined by Major Wilson that the survey was not able to throw much new light on the question of these sites, the solution of which must be sought underground. I am sorry I cannot agree with Major Wilson on the position of Capernaum at Tell Hum, but would rather place it at Kh. Minyeh on the plain, believing the fine remains of Tell Hum to be the relics of the known grandeur of the ancient Bethsaida. The clearing up of this intensely interesting question by means of excavation is one of the objects to be attained by the future expedition that the Palestine Exploration Fund intends sending out as soon as sufficient funds are available.

On the 4th April our camp was moved to Khân Jubb Yusef, situated on the great Damascus road, and some distance from any inhabited village. The country round is occupied by wandering tribes of Bedouin Arabs with their goat flocks; to the east it is a mass of basalt which has flowed over the country, and down to the shores of the lake; to the west we had the limestone hills of Safed.

I visited the extensive ruins of Kerâzeh, the ancient Chorazin, and was struck with the precision and minuteness of the ornamentation of the niches of the ruined synagogue cut out of the hardest basalt, and remaining as fresh and sharp as they were when new.

On the 10th we marched to Safed, the scene of our conflict with the natives on a former occasion. Mr. Eldridge, the British Consul-General for Syria, had kindly arranged that I should be well received, and the arrival of H.M.S. Torch at Acre, of which I was informed by telegram, made it certain that I should not be molested on this occasion. The governor of Safed, with a score of soldiers and followers, came out half way to my camp to meet me, and we rode into the town in a triumphal procession. I remained six days, and was much annoyed by the continual visitors I had to receive. The most interesting of these was Aly Agha, the cause of our former unpleasantness. Now he came as a ruined, humble man, after undergoing his term of imprisonment, to beg for forgiveness. I was glad to be able to remit a small portion of the fine, some £60, that had not been paid, on account of their good behaviour on this occasion. Unfortunately our standard barometer was broken on the journey to Safed. I had to send to our store at Haifa for a duplicate one to be brought on foot.

The country was naturally very much excited about whether there would be war or not, and I was very pleased to learn on the very best Turkish authority that peace was assured, Bismarck having been dismissed. Unfortunately, next day a cipher telegram from Mr. Eldridge warned me that war was declared and advised a retreat.

I visited a Mohammedan sacred place in the town called the Mukâm Benât Yakûb, or the sacred place of the daughters of Jacob. Many legends were attached to the place. I was shown without difficulty into the little mosque and then into a large square cave, which had originally been a tomb of some importance. Two rows of recesses for sarcophagi lined the walls. Here tradition relates that Jacob and his children lived, and that when he was old and blind they brought him Joseph's coat, and the smell of it at once cured him. On regaining the outer mosque I saw a small door with a green curtain hanging over it and incense burning in front; this I was told was the tomb of the seven daughters of Jacob. There they were said to be all as in life, their beauty unimpaired, but it was too sacred to be approached by any but a true believer. I insisted, and was then told that these beautiful and holy maids were very quick to take offence, and devoured any one who came too near their place of rest. However, after a little persuasion I pushed the sheikh aside and squeezed through the hole, being nearly stifled with the bad incense. After a drop of some feet I found myself on the floor of a cave that opened into another. I explored the caves, one of which had been a tomb; the roof had fallen in, probably in the earthquake of 1838. No recumbent semitic beauties awaited me, and I was very glad to get out into the fresh air again.

Our next camp was at Meiron, where we were received very cordially, owing to the governor of the district, who accompanied us thus far, informing the villagers that if we were not well treated in everything he would come next day and burn the village down.

From this camp the triangulation required a considerable amount of attention. The Jebel Jermûk, the highest peak in Galilee, reaching an altitude 3,930 feet, had been observed from the south, but now it was necessary to ascend and observe from it; this was accomplished, and the triangulation was thrown well forward to the north, but I clearly foresaw that the triangulation would not allow of our descending to the low, unhealthy Huleh marshes as early in the year as I had hoped to do, and another two or three camps must intervene before we got that critical portion of the survey accomplished.

The village of Meiron is a famous Jewish place of pilgrimage, for there Rabbi Shamai and Hillel and the great Simeon Ben Jochai lie buried. The rocks around are honeycombed with ancient tombs, and there still remains an almost perfect *façade* of an ancient synagogue, dating probably from the second century after Christ.

The great pilgrimage of the year came off while we were there, on the 30th April, and lasted three days. The Jews arrived in thousands on foot, on donkeys, camels, or mules; some came from great distances—it was said some even came from England; and yet it was a very bad year, owing to the disturbed state of the country. The governor arrived to keep order, and a guard of soldiers protected the roads. This was no unnecessary precaution, as the first day they brought in an Arab they had shot while rifling some stragglers on the line. In the evening the ceremonies began in the large modern building that contains the tomb of Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai. The whole place was turned into a fair—feasting, dancing, and singing went on all night; great torches were lighted over the tomb and lit up the motley crowd; into these torches, or rather braziers, the devotees cast embroidered scarves, silks, and dresses. The chief rabbi sells by auction the right to light up these fires, and is said to clear £200 in one night.

The men kept up an incessant din with rude instruments and singing; they ran round and round in circles, holding each other's hands and occasionally throwing up their arms; they were all dressed in dirty long dressing-gowns and huge felt hats. Lit up by the blazing torches they had the most grotesque appearance. The contrast between all these intensely-excited Jews, some of them apparently intoxicated, and the solemn, unmoved serenity of the Turkish Governor and officials, sitting on their mats smoking, was very striking.

The women occupied the upper chambers of the building, and seemed more devout; some of them were engaged in prayer. They have a firm conviction that these pilgrimages insure their having children.

The principal results of the survey of this district were the discovery of three dolmens. During the course of the survey eight dolmens were discovered, and as these are the first that have been noted in Palestine, it adds a new district to those already known to possess these rude stone monuments, and may be a connecting link between the ancient inhabitants of Europe and India.

The remains of two synagogues, unobserved hitherto, were discovered,



one at Süfsáf and the other at el Jish. These add considerably to our knowledge of these interesting buildings, and the discovery of the Roman eagle engraved in relief in the synagogue of el Jish adds new proof that these buildings are due to Roman influence over a subjugated people. The eleven specimens that remain to us of these buildings were carefully examined and planned during the course of the survey where it was possible to trace the original work.

On the 3rd of May I moved camp to Dibl, a Christian village. I had received a telegram from the Society directing me to take steps for the safety of the party, and I therefore attached four bashi-bazouks to the expedition as guards. We thus formed a large party, quite capable of resisting any small fanatical rising; and as most of the young men had been drafted away in the conscription, I had no fear of a general massacre of the Christians.

The inhabitants of Dibl were packing their few portable articles, and preparing for flight to Tyre, when we arrived.

Our greeting was most enthusiastic, as they at once determined not to desert their village and crops, and to remain under our protection. There are a good many Christian villages in this part of the country quite distinct from the Moslems. A Christian village can be known from a distance by the greenness of its vineyards and fields, in striking contrast to the barren desolation surrounding most Moslem villages. The terrible fatalism of their religion destroys the country. "If God wills that fruit trees or vineyards should grow they will grow," says the Moslem, as he sits and smokes.

These Christians are perfectly distinct from the Levantine mongrel race of Greeks who inhabit the towns on the seacoast. They are poor, honest, and very religious, though not very intelligent; their creed is either Maronite or Greek, generally a mixture. The Maronite priests marry, and are looked up to as the father of their flock, and their director and representative in all cases of difficulty. It was soon spread through the neighbouring Christian villages that we had arrived, and a deputation of the priests came to me for advice. I recommended them to remain quietly at their villages, and to warn their people not to get into any dispute with the Moslems.

They were very anxious to buy arms and defend themselves, but that course might have led to what they most dreaded. I am glad to say that our influence in the country at this crisis caused these poor Christians to remain in their villages, which if they had deserted would have been seized by the Moslems, and would undoubtedly have led to a grave disturbance.

I must also bear testimony to the stringent orders sent from Constantinople to the Turkish governors and officials to protect these Christians, and to put down any attempt to drive them out of the country. There was more cause to fear this, as the ignorance of the people led them to believe the war was one of religion—Moslem against Christian, instead of Turk against Russian.

Every evening after sunset a bell was beaten in the village, and all the male population went to the poor chapel, where there was a short service; after this they came and sang and danced in front of our tents, sometimes for hours together.

One evening about eighty Bedouin Arabs with their wives and families arrived. Their chief's son had been ill, and they had taken him three days' journey to the tomb of the famous prophet Joshua; this was supposed to have cured him, and they were now returning joyful after their pilgrimage. I had a goat killed in their honour, which made us the best friends, and they kept up dancing and singing round fires in front of our tents all night. The men went through the usual war dance, imitating the attack and defeat of an enemy, to the accompaniment of clapping hands; but what was more curious was later in the evening, when two of the prettiest women were called out by their husbands, and went through a peculiar and very graceful dance with swords; they were unveiled, and looked quite handsome by the fire-light. Having rewarded them with lumps of sugar, I left them singing songs in our honour. Next morning they were all gone, having left pressing invitations for us to visit them. Two days later the chief came to thank me for the medicine I had given his boy.

The triangulation and survey of the country took twelve days; a number of curious ruins were visited, and special plans and photographs were made.

The country to the west was rugged and rocky, covered with brushwood, and occupied by Arab tribes. Deep ravines and gorges carried the winter rains down to the sea, and in many parts of this wild country a European had never been seen before.

To the east the country was more open and cultivated; there are not many springs, but numbers of rock-cut cisterns and large pools for collecting the winter rains at almost every village.

On the 16th camp was moved east to Kades, and from the camp a good deal of the plain of the Huleh and the low country was surveyed. The ruins of the Temple of the Sun were planned and photographed. On the plain below our camp the Arab tents stood exactly as those of Heber the Kenite did on the eventful day when Jael, his wife, slew Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host.

On the 24th we were again marching northwards, and having pitched our camp at Taiyebah the triangulation was carried to our most northern point, the great Crusading Castle of Beaufort. We were here in the neighbourhood of the four Crusading castles which defended the northern frontier of the kingdom, Beaufort, Toron, Hunin, and Baniyas. From a study of the masonry of these buildings, and after comparison with others in different parts of the country, I am led to suppose that they are none of them older than Crusading times, except a portion of Baniyas, which appears to be slightly older work; and, therefore, that none of them date, as most travellers assert, from Phœnician or even Roman times.

At Toron, or Tibnin, as it is now called, the governor of the district

still resides, in the castle which has been rebuilt by the Saracens on the old foundations.

On the 2nd of June camp was moved to Baniyas, the ancient Cæsarea Philippi of the New Testament, and the Panium of Josephus.

Our triangulation was here successfully closed on this side by observing from the castle.

This was the ancient acknowledged source of the Jordan springing out of the cave of Pan in the face of a precipitous rock, and rushing at once in a strong stream through the tangled groves of luxuriant vegetation to the plain below, there to be joined by its rivals in modern writings, the Leddan and the Hasbany.

I think our map will bring back the wavering allegiance to this ancient source.

The Hasbany has a less flow of water than either of the other two streams, and joins them after their junction, when they form a mighty stream. How, then, can it be followed as a source of the Jordan? When the other two divide into almost equal streams, the longest course leads to this fountain of Baniyas, the true source of the Jordan.

This leads us to a consideration of the most interesting geographical feature in Palestine, the great depression of the Jordan valley, which is merely a continuation of the great valley extending through Syria, dividing the Lebanon from the Anti-Lebanon, and down which the Leontes and Jordan rivers flow. I approach this portion of my subject with considerable diffidence, as advancing what, as far as I know, is a new theory for the solution of the physical geography of that region. Should it receive the support of geographical scholars it will be an additional scientific result of the Survey of Galilee.

There is little doubt that, as Canon Tristram has pointed out before this Association on a former occasion, the great depression of the valley was caused by a fault, and the sliding down of the strata, and that it was once an immense lake. This is proved by the ancient shore-lines found at different elevations along its course.

The general supposition is, that it has been a continuation of the Gulf of Akaba, and that the gentle rising of 130 miles has cut off the Dead Sea from the ocean. It is curious that on this raised land there is still a well-defined valley having a fall, and showing the channel of a water-course, as far as we know, the whole way. Considerable volcanic action was observed in the north, and a volcanic outbreak was found exactly in the bed of the valley of the Leontes, at the bend of the river; it has been mentioned previously by Canon Tristram, who noted the way the basalt had flowed down the western side of the Hasbany. We know that these volcanic outbreaks belong to a late period of geological time. What then would have been the effect before this outbreak in the bed of the river? The Leontes, instead of being forcibly turned off at right angles to its course in that most extraordinary bend which makes it cleave through the rocks to the sea, would have flowed into the mighty lake which then covered the plain,

and over the southern boundary along the Arraba, which still shows signs of its presence, to the Gulf of Akaba. The only supposition required in this theory is a more abundant supply of water, and of that the country gives striking proof. The extraordinary evidences of the action of glaciers on the rocks, the deep water-courses cut through hundreds of feet of solid limestone, now dry, speak of a former age of rushing torrents.

Thus this volcanic outbreak in the Merj Ayun is the key to the present formation of the valley; a very slight cutting through it would again turn the Leontes into its former course down the Jordan valley and into the Dead Sea. The saltness of the Dead Sea may be accounted for by the great natural cliffs of rock-salt found at its southern extremity, and by the many salt springs that are found in that region continually pouring brine into its waters. These cliffs of rock-salt at the Khashm Usdun are a natural crystalline formation, and cannot, therefore, have been deposited by an evaporating sea.

The formation of the lakes is accounted for by the silting up of the plain by the *débris* brought down from the hills in the winter torrents. The great river, the Yarmúk, which drains the whole of the Hauran, joins the Jordan immediately south of the Sea of Galilee, and formed the southern shore of that sea by the *débris* it brought down. There are a succession of streams south of this, bringing down *débris* from both sides of the valley, some large as the Zerka and the Farah, and thus a continuous plain was formed down to the Dead Sea; but along the shores of the Sea of Galilee there are no watercourses of importance, except where the Hamam and Rubadiyeh streams form the Plain of Gennesareth.

The northern shore of the sea is formed by a volcanic outbreak, which nearly blocks the valley. This is the only part in the course of the Jordan where it is shut in between rocky banks. To the north of this, another broad plain is formed by the *débris* washed down in the great valleys from the west, driving the little lake of the Huleh into the north-east corner, where no streams, except those from the north, can reach it. Thus protected, the marsh and lake of the Huleh is only being filled up from the north by the *débris* brought down by the Jordan itself, which is gradually forming a plain out of these beds of Papyrus.

Banias was extremely hot and unhealthy at this time of year, and though our camp was most delightfully situated under broad spreading olives, with water running from the source of the Jordan between our tents, still I was not sorry when, on June 10th, the work was finished, and we were able to leave without any ill health. The eastern portion of the survey being thus finished, we had to march across the country and carry the survey south, along the seashore. On the first day we marched to Taiyebah, and the next arrived at our new camp at Marakah. The country round was very difficult, and proved a very severe piece of work. First the triangulation was well



completed along the northern boundary; the stations being permanent objects, so that in future, perhaps not very distant now, we may extend it over the northern almost unknown country east of Sidon. When, however, the survey of the detail began, we found what an unpleasant country we were in; very deep wadies cut through the soft white chalky limestone, and the banks were so steep that when travelling north or south it was a continual case of sliding down one side of a valley to scramble up the other, a very fatiguing process. The country was crowded with villages and ruins.

On the 22nd camp was moved to Nakurah; here we suffered considerably from the heat, particularly at nights, and the mosquitoes added to the unpleasantness.

From the Râs en Nakurah I took the last round of observation angles which closed the triangulation of the whole of Palestine: these joined very well on our base, and the check calculations have proved its accuracy.

On the 2nd of July camp was moved to Yanûh, our last station; here we were completely surrounded by the work already done, and were able to make rapid progress.

On the 11th July we all arrived at Haiffa once more, safe and well, after completing the survey of 1,000 square miles of country. The whole expenditure was £900, and taking £100 as the cost of the fair drawing, we may claim to have produced a 1-inch survey at the cost of £1 a square mile.

After four weeks' rest in the Lebanon, the field was taken again on the 23rd August with a reduced party, as my sergeant had been obliged to return to England on account of ill health. A long march led to the South country, and we surveyed 340 square miles in the desert round Beersheba. This completed the survey of Palestine, but the early portion required revision, and from 10th October to 22nd November we revised 1,700 square miles. The party, having completed all it was sent to perform, then returned to England.

I have now told you what has been done. Let me say a very few words on what it is proposed to do next.

As soon as funds are available, an expedition will start to explore the sites of the most sacred scenes of the New Testament history: the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee, where undoubtedly Capernaum, our Lord's own city, Chorazin, and Bethsaida still exist.

In addition to this the expedition will make a thorough survey of the unknown country forming the eastern shores of that sea on the same scale and with the same accuracy as the present Survey.

If this great Association considers that what we have accomplished has added largely to the scientific knowledge of an ancient country, let me hope they will show their satisfaction in the results we have obtained by helping us in the renewed efforts in the same direction.

Let me add one more result we hope to obtain. We hope to rescue from the hands of that ruthless destroyer, the uneducated Arab, one of the most interesting ruins in Palestine, hallowed by the footprints of

our Lord. I allude to the synagogue of Capernaum, which is rapidly disappearing owing to the stones being burnt for lime.

Ought we not to preserve for ourselves and our children buildings so hallowed, so unique? Let us hope that if this expedition succeeds it may be the means of leaving some footprints in the sand of time—

“Footprints that perhaps another  
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, may take heart again.”

---

Major Wilson, C.B., F.R.S., observed that Lieutenant Kitchener had omitted to mention, through modesty, the difficulties he had to surmount owing to the country being at war. From private information he had received from the consuls in Palestine he could assure the meeting that the tact and energy displayed by Lieutenant Kitchener in protecting the Christian population had greatly tended to the preservation of peace in that country.

Canon Tristram pointed out the great value the map displayed would have on the Biblical knowledge of the future, and hoped that not only this Association, but all who took an interest in the work, would help in the renewed efforts that were about to be made by the Society.

The Chairman, Sir Wyville Thompson, said that he felt sure that such a project would not fail for want of funds. He hoped that the Association would be able to assist the work by a grant, and he felt sure that the meeting would unanimously pass a vote of thanks to Lieutenant Kitchener for his interesting paper.

---

## REPORT ON THE COMPLETION OF THE WORK.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with great regret that I leave the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund after a period of four years' work. I beg to tender to you and to the other members of the Committee who are not present on this occasion my best thanks for the universally kind and indulgent way in which I have been treated, particularly during the time I was in command of the Survey of Palestine in that country. During that very critical period when Turkey was at war the confidence placed in me by the Committee enabled me to carry out the survey in my own way, when, had it been necessary to apply home for detailed directions, I should very probably not have succeeded in the enterprise.

I strongly recommend to the Committee to adopt the same course with any brother officer who may be sent out in a similar position, and I feel sure that the Committee will not find their confidence misplaced in any officers of the corps of Royal Engineers who may hereafter carry on their work.

In handing over to the Committee the completed survey of Western Palestine, I beg leave to state what they have now in hand.

1st. A completed survey, 1-inch scale, of rather more than 6,000 square miles, prepared for publication with hill shading by the Ordnance Survey department.

2nd. Twenty-six volumes of Memoirs—viz., twenty by Lieutenant Conder and six by myself, comprising the notes made by the survey party while at work.

3rd. A reduced map prepared by myself in accordance with your instructions for the engraver, with corrected photographs to enable the printer to proceed.

4th. A number of photographs taken by me.

5th. A number of special plans by Lieutenant Conder and myself. A few of these are not fair drawn, but all are in such a state that they can be rapidly finished without further instruction.

With regard to publishing the reduced map, I have asked for and received black impressions of the hills, from which the engraver can work, and I shall be glad to correct the proofs.

With regard to the publication of the Memoirs, a considerable number of plans and sketches, in addition to those now in your hands, will probably have to be drawn from Lieutenant Conder's and my own notebooks. An editor with a thorough knowledge of the subject is necessary, as it may be thought desirable to comprise the results of Major Wilson's, Major Warren's, Captain Anderson's, and M. Clermont Ganneau's investigations, so as to make a complete publication up to date in every respect. This will be no light task, and in some cases the observations of different officers may not be found exactly to agree. A year's work for a capable man would, in my opinion, be necessary to produce a thoroughly good and permanent result.

The maps I hope will be published early next year, the Memoirs a year later.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the excellent services of Sergeant Armstrong and Corporal Brophy, who have served the Committee longer than any other non-commissioned officers.

Sergeant Malings and Corporal Sutherland are also deserving of great credit for the way they performed their work under me.

I shall at all times be ready to serve the Committee to the best of my ability, and beg again to thank them for their many kindnesses.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

## PROSPECTUS OF THE PROPOSED EXPEDITION TO SEA OF GALILEE.

AFTER the surveyor, the archæologist ; after the theodolite, the spade. The great Survey of Palestine, west of the Jordan, having been brought to a successful conclusion, the Committee are enabled to turn their attention to that examination of certain special districts which was contemplated in the original prospectus of the Society, and has been always kept in view. One great object of the Survey was to furnish that solid geographical knowledge without which the Historian and Commentator, as well as the Geologist and Mineralogist, work in the dark. That object is now attained. The ground has been cleared, the opportunity for a close examination gained. We have a real grasp of those districts in the Holy Land which are connected with the Life and Labour of Our Lord. The Survey is one means to the great end of Biblical illustration. For six years we have been engaged in work *on* the surface : we now propose to work *beneath* it.

Foremost amongst those special districts is the Sea of Galilee. A special examination of these shores will produce results of the greatest value. The work might be confined to a limited period ; its cost might fall within a stated sum ; and it would furnish materials for a monograph to be published without delay.

Our present knowledge of the Lake district may be briefly summed up. The western shore has been surveyed and the level of the sea accurately determined by Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener in the great Survey on a scale of one inch to a mile. Captain Anderson made a reconnaissance of the Eastern shore in 1866 ; tentative excavations were conducted at one or two points in the same year by Major Wilson. On the plain of Gennesareth there are many mounds, remains, probably, of towns and villages in which our Lord taught. These require examination. On the Eastern shore there are the sites of Gergesa (Khersa), Gamala (El Husn), the still unidentified Hippos, and Gadara (Umm Keis), which have never been thoroughly explored.

The main interest, however, gathers round the three towns of Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida. The controversy with regard to the sites of the three Gospel cities is still open. Capernaum has been variously placed at the Round Fountain, at the mounds of Minyeh, and at Tel Hum. The advocates of the first-named site, the Round Fountain, maintain that it is the Capharnahum of Josephus, and point to the fact that the coracinus is still found in it ; on the other hand, its opponents argue that there are no ruins nearer the fountain than Abu Shushah, which is on the hills some distance off ; that no tradition has ever been connected with it ; that the fountain does not now, and never could have irrigated any considerable portion of Gennesareth ; and that the fountain of Ain et Tabighah, once carried at a high level by a remarkable



piece of engineering into the Plain of Gennesareth, is more likely to be the fountain mentioned by Josephus. In favour of the mounds of Minyeh, it is urged that the old Roman road which crossed the Jordan at Jisr Benât Yakûb left the shores of the lake at this point; that the name of Capernaum might very well be taken from the Tabigah fountain, the waters of which were carried along the face of the hill above the mounds by a rock-hewn conduit; that the mounds in themselves are evidence of the former existence of a place of some size; and that Talmudic doctors (see Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine," vol. ii., p. 184) speak of Capernaum as the city of Minyeh. Against the site, it is agreed that no traces have been found of old buildings, or of any tombs of a distinctively Jewish character; and that in the excavations of 1866 nothing but modern masonry and pottery was found at the lowest depth (12 feet) reached; while the earlier Christian traditions favour Tel Hum rather than Minyeh.

The advocates of Tel Hum point to the existence of ruins covering a large extent of ground, including those of an undoubted Jewish synagogue, which appears to be the earliest of its kind in Galilee; the existence of a remarkable Jewish tomb of white stone beneath the basalt; and of another tomb, apparently one of a group, constructed in masonry on the plan of the rock-hewn tombs; the similarity in the name—"Mount of Hum" for "Village of Nahum;" early Christian tradition, the fact that the synagogue has been included in the scheme of a later building, probably an early Christian church; traces of an old road leading to Kerazeh (Chorazin); the fountain at Et Tabigah, which, on the hypothesis that Minyeh is not an old site, is near enough to have given its name to the place. Against Tel Hum it is argued that it is too far from the fountain of Tabigah; that there are no traces of a Roman road in the neighbourhood, or of any piers on the shore; and that the apparent similarity of the name is not real, because one of the radicals in the word Nahum has disappeared, and the modern name simply means "black mound." To show the diversity of opinion on the subject of Capernaum, it may be mentioned that Dr. Wilson ("Lands of the Bible"), Mr. Hepworth Dixon ("The Holy Land"), Sepp, Ritter, Major Wilson ("Recovery of Jerusalem"), Dr. Bonar, and Dr. Socin ("Bædeker's Handbook"), either pronounce strongly for, or incline in favour of, Tel Hum; while Dr. Robinson, Canon Tristram, Mr. MacGregor, Lieutenant Conder ("Tent Work in Palestine"), and Lieutenant Kitchener, advocate the claims of Khan Minyeh.

Chorazin, in the same way, has been placed at Minyeh, Tabigah, Tel Hum, and Kerazeh. Bethsaida, or the two Bethsaidas, at Minyeh, Ain et Tabigah, Tel Hum, Et Tell, and the mouth of the Jordan. Taricheæ, at Kerak, south of Tiberias, while later investigations seem to show that it was really north of that place.

IT IS PROPOSED to make an exact and exhaustive examination of the Lake District in the following respects:—

1. Excavations will be carried out at Minyeh, Tel Hum, Kerazeh, and

the mounds at the mouth of the Jordan. Minor excavations, according to the discretion of the officer in command, will be made at Ain et Tabigah, Tel Oreimah, the tombs to the north, the mounds of Gennesareth, Abu Shusheh, Mejdal, Ain el Fuliye, Irbid, Tiberias, Kerak, Umm Keis, Kalat et Husn, the ruins at Khersa, and tombs near it, Et Tell, the ruins in the Batiheh, and such other mounds and remains as are found on the borders of the lake.

2. The Eastern shores will be completely surveyed and mapped, and the ruins examined.

3. The remarkable synagogue of Tel Hum, which, if that place be Capernaum, is the synagogue in which our Lord taught (John vi. 59), will be cleared to the foundations; every remaining stone, and every fragment of its broken columns and architecture collected, and care will be taken to prevent further destruction.

4. Whatever additions can be made to the already large store of information in the hands of the Committee as to nomenclature, legends, and traditions will be collected. The geology of the district will be thoroughly examined, especially with reference to the formation of the Jordan valley, and former volcanic disturbances; notes will be taken of the meteorology, the botany, and zoology, of the district; casts will be taken of inscriptions; localities will be photographed; plans will be laid down on a conveniently large scale.

5. As regards the best time for working, the party should be in the field early in December, and work continuously till the end of March, after which field work becomes impossible on account of the growth of thistles and the thick vegetation. The expedition should consist, if possible, of two officers of Royal Engineers, an Arabic scholar, a geologist and naturalist, and two non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers. The whole expense of the expedition should not exceed £2,500. For this comparatively small sum a detailed and scientific examination may be made, and questions which have disturbed the Christian world for centuries may be finally set at rest.

It is sought to raise this amount by a special effort (independently of annual subscriptions).

Promises of donations or cheques may be sent to the Secretary, at the Society's Office, 11 and 12, Charing Cross.

---

## ZION, THE CITY OF DAVID.

WHERE WAS IT? HOW DID JOAB MAKE HIS WAY INTO IT? AND WHO HELPED HIM?

(N.B.—I am indebted to Lieut. Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine" for the annexed plan of Jerusalem. The positions mentioned in this paper correspond with the plan as follows):—

| In the Paper                   | In the Plan  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| A                              | is a <i>valley</i> bounding the "Upper City" on the west and south from "Hippicus" to near "Siloam." |
| B                              | is a <i>valley</i> bounding Jerusalem on the east, from "Corner Tower" to "Siloam."                  |
| C                              | is the <i>valley</i> marked "Tyropæon V." and extending to Siloam.                                   |
| D                              | is the "Upper City."   |
| E                              | is at "Acra."  |
| F                              | is at "B (Antonia)."   |
| G                              | is at the place of letter "H."   |
| Enrogel, or The Virgin's Fount | is at "Gihon."   |
| Araunah's Threshing-floor      | is at "A (Temple)."  |

IN answering these questions we shall use the Bible, and utilise two of Captain Warren's wonderful discoveries at Jerusalem.

Two valleys, A, B, claim to be the Valley of Hinnom; three positions, D, E, F, have been advocated as the site of Zion, the city of David. It is proposed to show that another valley, C, is the true Valley of Hinnom; another position, G, the true city of David; and, lastly, that the "Gutter" was the secret passagè above the Virgin's Fount, discovered by Captain Warren, up which Joab climbed with the aid of Araunah.

#### THE VALLEY (Hebr. GAI) OF HINNOM.

"The border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite, the same is Jerusalem" (Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16; Neh. xi. 30).

A. The valley west and south of the upper city of Josephus, Wady er-Rabâby, has been generally taken to be the Valley of Hinnom. This line puts Jerusalem *entirely* in the tribe Benjamin; but while "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," is reckoned to Benjamin in Josh. xviii. 28, some part of it must have been in Judah, for after the list of its cities (Josh. xv. 63) it is added, "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day."

Again in Judg. i. 3-8 Judah, contending for *his lot*, comes to Jerusalem and takes (or had taken) it, setting the city on fire, yet still (i. 21) "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." Apart from Josephus's remark that the lower city was taken and the upper was not, these passages alone show that Jerusalem was partly in Benjamin, partly in Judah.

Therefore it is impossible for valley A to be the Valley of Hinnom.

B. The valley (Hebr. Nachal = Brook) of the Kidron is accepted as the Valley of Hinnom (Jerusalem Rec., p. 307) to suit Arabic accounts, and (Jer. xix. 2, Auth. Ver.) *East Gate* as the translation of *Harsith Gate*. To this view is the fatal objection that it sets aside any distinction between "Gai" and "Nachal," by taking the two words to describe the same

valley, while Gesenius under *Gai* observes, "The Hebrews appear to have discriminated between this and several other words usually rendered valley (*Nachal*, *Emek*), for to the same place they *uniformly* apply the same name."

Therefore B is not the Valley of Hinnom.

C. The valley running through the city, called, in part at least, by Josephus the Tyropœon Valley, passing through the Pool of Siloam (so called), and now to a great extent filled up, as discovered by Captain Warren:

As there are no other valleys, either A or B or C must be the valley required. It has been demonstrated that neither A nor B is such:

Therefore C is the Valley of Hinnom.

If this identification be *not correct*, then the valleys of Jerusalem are in a state of inextricable confusion; but for it to be *satisfactory* it must rest, not on the faults of A and B, but on the merits of C, which are as follows. We have—

1. Just the boundary required between the two tribes, giving the south-west hill and one side of the valley to Judah.

2. A valley of a character suiting the name (*Gai*) ravine.

3. Possibly a link of connection between the "valley gate" (Old Test.) and Gennath Gate (Jos. Wars, v. 4. 2), taking the "*Gai*" to bend towards the Jaffa Gate.

Gennath = (?) Ge-hennath Gate = Gate of the Valley of Hinnom = Valley Gate (2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Neh. ii. 13; iii. 13).

4. Jer. xix. 2 in our favour, translating *Harsith* gate either (Targum) *Dung* gate, or (Thrupp) *Pottery* gate, or even *East* gate (A.V.).

Thus the apparently mysterious silence of the Bible about the great central valley is simply explained by its identification with the Valley of Hinnom.

But what becomes of the west and south valley? Is it not almost as mysterious that it, too, should not be named in the Bible? Most opportunely Jer. xxxi. 38-40 gives us just what we want. Here, obviously, a circuit is described round the city. In this the Valley of Hinnom, of course, could have no place, and so it is not found; but the west and south valley occurs in the words, "the whole valley of the dead bodies," where *valley* is not (Hebr.) *Gai* or *Nachal*, but *Emek* (LXX., *κοιλὰς*, and A. V. often *Dale*).

With what wonderful precision is the Bible now seen to speak, when we treat it on the reasonable principle that the same name is never given to any but the same valley—*i.e.*, when we accept as an axiom, in regard to Jerusalem, that *Nachal*=Eastern valley; *Gai*=Central valley; *Emek*=West and South valley.

This distinction has not been just invented to suit a new theory, though it suits exactly the topography of Jerusalem. Gesenius long since noticed it, Lewin approved of it, Williams "had misgivings" in disregarding it. We only insist on its *rigid* application, confident that it is the *key* to Jerusalem.



Armed, now, with Gesenius's canon, we rush fearlessly into the valleys, exploding errors and blowing away difficulties right and left.

*Gai*.—They bury Adonibezek *in the earth* ( $\gamma\eta$   $\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma$ ., Jos. Ant., v. 2. 2). As LXX. (Josh xv. 8) has  $\gamma\eta\varsigma$   $\text{'Ραφαε\acute{\iota}\nu$ , apparently for *Gai*, by error for Emek Rephaim, so Josephus may mean that Adonibezek was buried in the *Gai*, doubtless the burying-place of the early kings of Jebus, as afterwards of the kings of Judah.

*Emek*.—(1) Absalom's pillar (2 Sam. xviii. 18) was in the *king's dale* (*Emek*). Josephus adds, two furlongs from Jerusalem, which suits well Wady er-Rababy.

(2) The king of Sodom, Melchizedec, and Abram, met at the valley of Shaveh, which is the *king's dale* (*Emek*, again). As the great north road passed near Jebus, it is reasonable to accept the opinion of Josephus, and to identify the Valley of Shaveh with this Emek (Jer. xxxi. 40).

(3) The Valley (*Emek*) of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 2, 12) or decision (*id.* 14). Thrupp (p. 214) says "the allusion to the winepresses points to where the king's winepresses stood (south-east of Jerusalem), and the metaphor of the harvest conducts us further westward to the cornfields of the Plain of the Rephaim," and so concludes that the ravine of the Kidron cannot be exclusively intended. We may assert that the valley intended is no other than the "*Emek*" or the *King's Dale*, whose eastern and western limits are thus exactly marked by Joel.

(4) Isa. xxii. 1-7 possibly may not refer to Jerusalem (Spk. Comment.). Our *key*, however, passes smoothly the two wards "valley (*gai*) of vision" and "the choice of thy (*emek*) valleys"—*e.g.*, the King's Dale and the valley of Rephaim.

(5) Jer. xxi. 13 (commonly applied to Jerusalem), "I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley (*emek*) and rock (*tzur*) of the plain (*mishor*)," &c. "But," an objector says, "the inhabitants of Jerusalem never dwelt in the *emek*, and the *mishor* is an expression only used of the upland downs east of the Jordan. Your *key* won't move now." That is bad. But patience! We have found another near Og's iron bedstead, and it turns beautifully. (See note on Rabbah.)

*Nachal* (1), Jer. xxxi. 40. "All the fields (Hebr. Sademoth) unto the brook (Nachal) Kidron." This reading, compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 4, *fields* as distinguished from *brook* (*id.* 12) suggests that the proper name of the valley from (near) the Virgin's Fountain southwards, was not Nachal but *Sademoth*; and therefore possibly the *king's pool* (Neh. ii. 14) was (or was near) the Virgin's Fountain, from which point he went up by the *brook*.

(2) "Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 4) stopped the *brook* (Nachal) that ran (Heb. *overflowed*) through the midst of the land."

What he stopped was doubtless the Virgin's Fountain (*i.e.*, *Enrogel*), from which the stream issuing might well, on account of its irregular action, be said to *overflow*; for this word would exactly describe its character.

(3) "Manasseh (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) built a wall without the city of

David, on the west side of Gihon, in the *valley*" (Nachal). The importance of this passage cannot be overrated. Here the mention of *Nachal* fixes the wall on the east side of Jerusalem, and not on the west, which I wrongly adopted in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 203. Next, the mention of *Gihon* (a descriptive word = *fountain-head*) fixes the particular part of the Kidron ravine, viz., near the *Virgin's Fountain*, which, being the only spring in the Nachal, must be the one alluded to under the title of *Gihon*. This passage at once sweeps us right into the question of the *true* site of Zion, the city of David; for here a wall built on the west side of the Virgin's Fount was outside the city of David—*i.e.*, the Virgin's Fount was on the east side of Zion. But again the company (Neh. xii. 37, *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 199), about to enter the temple from the south, ascends the Ophel hill (so called) by "the stairs that go down from the city of David." This gives us further its west or south-west boundary. On the north we have as a limit Araunah's threshing-floor, afterwards the site of Solomon's temple.

Thus, begirt on every side, Zion falls, a second Sedan, and another great enigma is solved, for we see that *the city of David* stood on the eastern hill, on its southern part, commonly called Ophel (G), having the Virgin's Fountain (*i.e.*, Enrogel or Gihon in the Nachal) at its eastern base.

So strange will this position for Zion seem, that I must quote the words of Capt. Warren, who, fixing his Zion at E, says (Jer. Rec., p. 304), "The principal difficulty I find—but this is common to all theories—is that in the book of Nehemiah the city of David, the house of David, and the sepulchre of David all appear to be on the south-east side of the hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fount or Enrogel, and yet such a position for Zion appears at first sight to be out of the question." Since, however, 2 Chron. corroborates Nehemiah, it is best at once candidly to own that what the Bible here seems to say, it *really* says.

But if more Biblical evidence is wanted, here it is. Ophel (lit., *the Ophel*), in reference to Jerusalem, means always the hill or locality south or south-east of the temple. An apparent exception has been Micah iv. 8, "Thou, O tower of the flock, the stronghold (*Ophel*) of the daughter of Zion." Place Zion at D, E, or F, and what has Ophel to do with it? But *with Zion at G*, as required by Chronicles and Nehemiah, the connection could not be closer, and the uniform use of the word is preserved.

As the south part of the eastern ridge formed the stronghold of Zion, it is obvious that the higher portion to the north, the site of the temple, might naturally be called *Mount Zion*.

So far as I know, Josephus never mentions *Zion*, and only once *the city of David* (Ant. vii. 3. 2). 1 Maccabees (a trustworthy authority) mentions *Mount Zion* as the site of the temple or sanctuary, but never *Zion*, for it uses instead the term *the city of David*.

In the historical passages of the Bible *Zion* = *Stronghold of Zion* = *City of David*, or G, south of the temple, while *Mount Zion* never occurs.

In the poetical and prophetical passages both *Zion* and *Mount Zion* seem to have at times a wider meaning, but not always; e.g.—

(1) Micah iii. 12, “*Zion* shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.” Here it seems to me that *Zion* is simply the *city of David*.

(2) Psa. xlviii. 2, “Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is *Mount Zion*, on the sides of the *north*, the city of the great King.”

What does this mean geographically?

Compare Isa. xiv. 13, “I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation (*i.e.*, *Mount Zion*) in the sides of the *north*,” and Ezekiel xl. 2, “He set me upon a very high mountain, by which *was* as the frame of a city on the *south*.”

Lightfoot (Chor. 22) renders it, “The joy of the whole earth is *Mount Zion*, on the north side.” He quotes Aben Ezra, “*Mount Zion* is on the *north* side of Jerusalem;” Lyranus, “*Mount Zion* is in the north part of Jerusalem.” On Ezekiel he quotes Kimchi, “The temple was to be built on a mountain, as before, and the city of Jerusalem is near it on the *south*;” and Lyranus again, “The temple was in the *north* part, but the city in the *south* part.” Lightfoot then adds, “Behold! reader, *Zion* on the north part in the *Psalmist*, and the city on the south part in the *Prophet*!” On his map, however, he places *Mount Zion* at E.

Thrupp (p. 12) says, “Mr. Fergusson, following the Rabbies and Lightfoot, places *Zion* north of the temple (!)” Here is a strange error; but it does not belong to the Rabbies and Lightfoot, for they (as we have seen) place *Mount Zion* or the temple on the north of the *city*, which makes all the difference between right and wrong. Thus the old translation of Psa. xlviii. 2 exactly suits the position of the city of David at G, as proved above. The three rival sites, D, E, F, are all disqualified from being *Zion* by the evidence produced from the Bible, especially by 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, since it would have been trifling and useless to have described a wall just west of Enrogel, as being outside the city of David, if the latter had been at D, E, or F, but with *Zion* at G the precision of the passage is perfect.

Some writers, however, adopt a combination. For instance, F is extended southwards to take in part or whole of G. But the interposition of the temple between F and G is fatal to the notion that, in the time of David, both F and G were in the city of David, while an intermediate spot, the future site of the temple, was exterior to it.

Others prefer following Josephus, who says David named Jerusalem the city of David, and so they give the title of *Zion, the city of David*, to all four, D, E, F, G.

Josephus is not to be blindly followed, being at times inconsistent with himself. He ventures to say (Ant. vi. 12. 3) that the cave of Adullam was near the city of Adullam, and that the exploit of drawing water from the well of Bethlehem took place when David was at Jerusalem, although it is stated (2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 14; 1 Chron. xi. 15, 16) that the three captains “went to David, to the cave of Adullam, and

David was then in the hold." Josephus has no claim to settle the question before us.

All the Biblical evidence that I know of, which at all helps us to fix the position of Zion, the city of David, requires it to be at G. 1 Maccabees entirely agrees with the Bible. So does Josephus, except on those points in which he differs from 1 Maccabees. It has been commonly thought that in the topography of Jerusalem we might elucidate the Bible by Josephus; the truth is, we have to elucidate Josephus by the Bible. His evidence and that of 1 Maccabees is given below. (See "Aera.")

#### THE GUTTER (Heb. TZINNOR).

The only reason for building the fortress of the Jebusites on the comparatively weak hill, G, was, so far as I can discover, because the spring called Enrogel was at its foot. Just eleven years ago Captain Warren discovered a secret passage cut in the rock and leading down to the spring from the hill above, evidently made to enable the inhabitants in ancient times to draw water without having to come out of the city. The passage is described in Jer. Rec., p. 251. (See illustration.)

The capture of the fortress is thus described in the Bible:—

2 Sam. v. 8. "David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, *he shall be chief and captain.*"

1 Chron. xi. 6. "David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So *Joab* the son of Zeruiah *went first up*, and was chief."

Tzinnor has for centuries been another *cruz*. Recently, when the topography of Jerusalem has been more studied, to get a meaning out of the expression, the word by one has been translated precipice—"the cliff or portecallis which Joab climbed;" by another the *ravine*, by which the stronghold was begirt. The word only occurs in two places: here, translated (A.V.) *gutter*, and Psa. xlii. 7 *waterspouts*, *fistulæ* (Vulg.). Vatablus renders it canales; *Junius*, emissarium; Poole, *tubus aquæ*; Bochart, *alveus*; Patrick, "Whosoever cuts off their *pipes of water*; or their cisterns into which the water fell." The Speaker's Commentary, "The *watercourse*—the only access to the citadel was where the water had worn a channel—some understand a *subterranean* channel."

On this point, however, the intuition of Kennicott is perfectly marvellous. He observes: "Most interpreters agree in making the word signify something *hollow*, and in applying it to water—so we have in Josephus (Ant. vii. 3. 1) *διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων*—subterraneous cavities. Jebus was taken by a stratagem." He cites a similar occurrence from Polybius: "Rabatamana, a city of Arabia, could not be taken, till a prisoner showed the besiegers a subterraneous passage, through which the besieged came down for water." He adds, "This fortress of the Jebusites seems to have been circumstanced like Rabatamana, in having



also a subterraneous passage." Accordingly, he gives this as an amended translation :

"David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, and *through the subterraneous passage* reacheth the lame and blind."

Hence the conclusion is irresistible that the secret passage leading from the hill of Ophel to the Virgin's Fount is none other than the long-lost Tzinnor which Joab gallantly scaled on the way to fame.

Captain Warren's account of his own ascent is enough to convince us that it is extremely improbable, or rather impossible, that Joab ever climbed the rocky shaft without aid from within.

Both David and Joab were extremely fertile in artifices, and with the story of Rahab and Bethel in mind, we might well expect a helping hand would be found among the Jebusites and a large *bakhshish* given in return. Some one must have betrayed Jebus, and the preservation of Araunah after its capture, and his subsequent possession of great wealth, create an overwhelming suspicion that he was the man. England is prejudiced in his favour. Let some one at El Kuds decide.

The simplest explanation of one Hebrew word, followed by one of Captain Warren's remarkable discoveries, has enabled us to understand a most obscure passage in the Old Testament, and after 3,000 years to trace the very track by which the adventurous Joab gained entrance to Zion.

Who will say that the Palestine Exploration Fund has not done good work? Who will question about the Bible being the most accurate and truthful of all books?

#### ACRA.

According to 1 Macc. i. 33, the city of David being rebuilt became the Acra, the adjacent temple site being therein called Mount Zion.

Afterwards, in Josephus, Acra (ἄκρα) seems to have been used as the name of all that part of Jerusalem which was south of the temple; and of that *alone*, for I am not aware of a satisfactory proof that any part of Jerusalem north of the upper city and west of the temple is ever referred to by Josephus as *Acra* or *the lower city*. He rather calls it the suburb = Parbar. (Ant. xv. 11. 5.)

The famous passage in Wars v. 4. 1 seems to be easily explained by this position of Acra, which thus has a *deep valley* on the outside.

The Tyropœon Valley seems to me to extend from about Robinson's arch southwards, dividing the eastern hill from Acra as defined above. The temple is on the third hill, "*naturally lower than Acra*" (see below), which hill was parted by a broad valley, not from Acra, but from the upper city = the other city, Ant. xv. 11. 5, in about the line of Wilson's Arch.

So far as I can see this is the theory of Olshausen (Thrupp, p. 403), and it is not to be "*easily overthrown*."

*The lowering of Acra* named by Josephus has been a *crux*. In the passage above it does not seem to me that the filling up of the

Asmonean Valley has necessarily anything to do with the levelling of Acra. As to the latter, so different is the account of Josephus from that in the Maccab. that we are at liberty, if not bound, to reject both his statements, (1) that Acra was lowered—an exploit of which 1 Maccab. knows nothing. Indeed it is stated (xiv. 37) that Simon “placed Jews therein and fortified it (*Acra*) for the safety of the country and the city,” and three years after, when, according to Josephus, the Acra had been levelled, Antiochus (xv. 28) alleged against the Jews, “Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the *tower* (*ἄκρα*) that is in Jerusalem.” It is not said in reply that the *tower* (*i.e.*, *Acra*) had been razed. And (2) that Acra was naturally higher than the temple hill, as inconsistent with such passages as 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, &c., and contrary to 1 Macc. vii. 32, 33; for Nicanor having fled into the city of David, afterwards went *up* (*ἀνέβη*) to Mount Sion. Josephus, on the contrary (Ant. xii. 10. 4), says “he went *down* from the citadel unto the temple” (*αὐτῷ κατίοντι ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*). The passage is evidently both corrupt and wrong, yet it is used to show that the upper city or market-place was called Acra (Thrupp, p. 56), and also that the Acra was *above* the temple, and therefore to the *north* of it (Lewin, p. 325).

Though the northern position for the Maccab. Acra has been fixed upon to suit the statements of Josephus, who says that the Acra was higher than the temple, it fails to satisfy two other of his statements, (1) that “the temple was the highest of all the buildings, now that the Acra, as well as the mountain whereon it stood, were demolished;” and (2) that “the Asmonæans levelled the summit of Acra and reduced its elevation, in order that the temple might be seen above it in this direction.”

Williams, taking no account of Ophel, states, “any site for Acra is *higher* than the temple site;” and the (E) position for Acra required no levelling for the latter reason, since the ridge slopes eastwards.

Only the *southern* position for Acra satisfies these two statements.

Possibly some little levelling may have taken place south of cisterns 7 and 8 on plan, Jer. Rec., opp. p. 8.

Further, Josephus seems to me to have been misunderstood by (1) its being overlooked, that “upper” and “lower” are only relative terms, and (2) by its being assumed accordingly that *lower city* throughout his writings must mean the same place.

(a) In Ant. v. 2. 2 the city of David is spoken of as *ἡ κατῴπερθεν πόλις*; the city below, in the Valley of Hinnom, as *ἡ κάτω*.

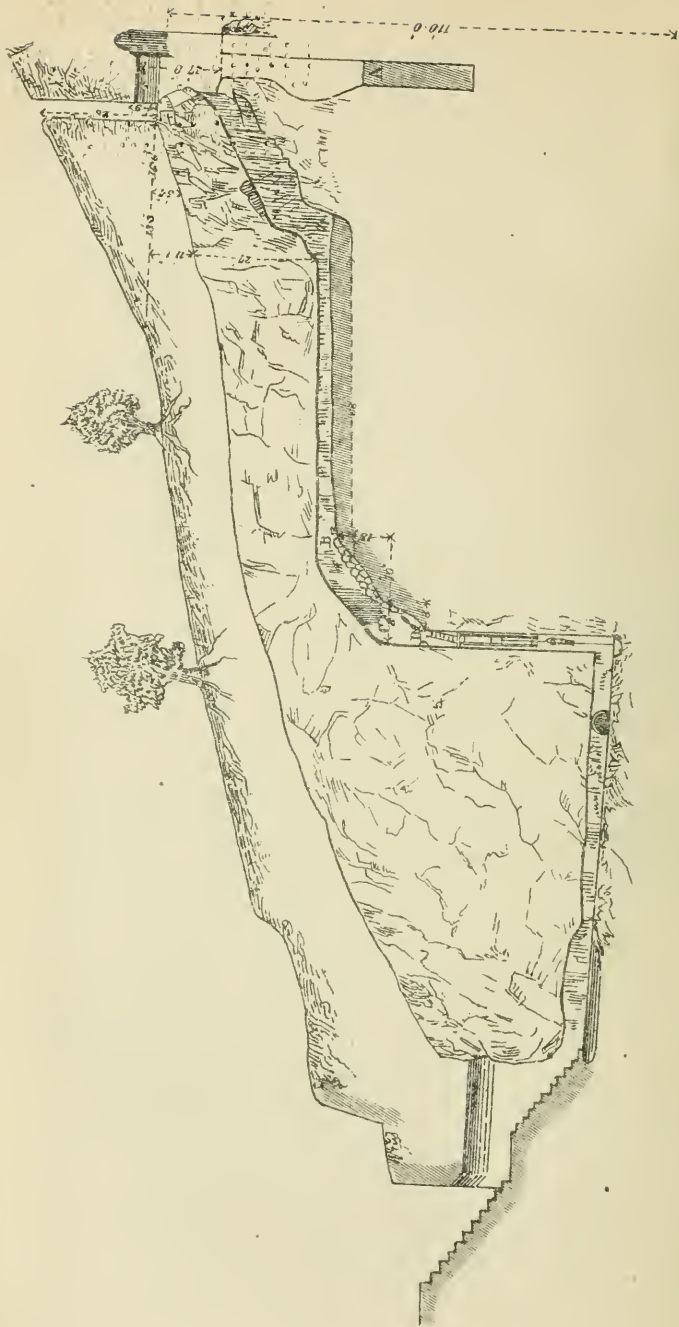
(b) In Ant. vii. 3. 1, the city of David becomes *ἡ ἄκρα* (a term it retained till the time of Josephus); and the other part he names as before.

(c) Wars v. 4. 1. He divides the city into two parts, built on hills of different altitude, and so naturally calls one the upper city and the other the lower city. When he speaks now of the loftier south-west hill, he calls it *ἡ ἄνω πόλις* (adding that David called it *φρούριον*)—and the city of David being in comparison lower—he now calls *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. It

1871

1872

1873



ROCK-CUT PASSAGE ABOVE VIRGIN'S FOUNT.



will be observed that while he applies the name *ἄκρα* to the upper city of David's siege, he tells us that David called the city which he subsequently built on the south-west hill, not *ἄκρα*, but *φρούριον*. *ἄκρα* is a fixed term, the *lower city* a variable term.

#### VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN.

(1) There is overwhelming evidence that the Virgin's Fountain is the *Enrogel* of Joshua. Biblical Dict., Ganneau, *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, p. 251.

(2) In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 it is *Gihon* in the Nachal.

(3) In Isa. viii. 6 it is the *waters of Siloah* that go softly. Thrupp, arguing for another object, says (p. 140), "The water of Siloah could not with any propriety have been used as a symbol of the house of David had the fountain not been situate within the city." The stream, however, flowed from Zion, and by help of the Tzinnor, "it was the property of the city in the event of a siege," words applied by Thrupp to *his* fountain of Siloah.

As it watered the king's garden which was in the Nachal (Song of Sol. vi. 11), the stream might easily have been dammed up so as to make—

(4) *The king's pool* (Neh. ii. 14), or Solomon's Pool (Jos. W. v. 4. 2), unless the Fountain itself was so called.

As Adonijah was feasting near Enrogel, the Gihon of 1 Kings i. 33 could not be Gihon (2). Indeed, Thrupp says a more accurate rendering is; "Bring him *down*, and then lead him *up* to *Gihon*," which would exclude Gihon (2) as the scene of Solomon's anointing, but would allow of a position either north or (as I think) west of Zion, near the Valley Gate, at the *Dragon's Spring*, possibly near the position of the Serpent's Pool of Josephus, and the Fons Sion of Marinus Sanutus (Jer. Rec., p. 29).

May not the identity of Gihon (2) with Siloah (3) have led the Chaldaic Paraphrast, confusing the two Gihons, to translate Gihon by Siloah in 1 Kings i. 33 and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, and the Mishna to call Siloah, Gihon?

(5) The old pool (Isa. xxii. 11) or, at any rate, one just below in the Nachal.

(6) The brook that *overflowed* (2 Chron. xxxii. 4).

(7) Supposing *Joab's Well* to be a genuine name, we must allow that it deserved to be attached to Enrogel after his great exploit there.

#### SILOAH, SILOAM.

A thread of error may, I think, have been woven into the argument (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 199) through the assumption that "the Pool of Siloah is admitted to be the Pool of Siloam, so considered now." Thrupp endeavours to prove that the Pool and Fountain of Siloam were within the city.

On the assumption that one place only is referred to as Siloah or

Siloam in the Bible and Josephus, I still hold to the traditional site. But it seems to me that there are weighty reasons for concluding that three different places are thus alluded to :

1. The waters of Shiloah (Is. viii. 6). The whole import of the passage appears to me to make this the Virgin's Fount = (probably) the Pool of Siloam (John ix.).

2. The Fountain of Siloam (Josephus) = that so called now, the name passing down with water from (1).

3. The Pool of Siloah (Neh. iii. 15) = a pool within the city, near Robinson's Arch.

The fact that the present Pool of Siloam is just below the level of the aqueduct from the Virgin's Fount seems to make it certain (as suggested by Lieut. Conder) that both were made at the same time—*i.e.*, by Hezekiah.

This, therefore, is the pool that was made between the two walls (Neh. iii. 16; Isaiah xxii. 11; ditch=pool). But to have made this pool with the large one existing just below would have been labour lost. Therefore it seems neither of these was the Pool of Siloah (Neh.), which must accordingly be looked for elsewhere.

Lightfoot (Chron. 345) asserts that there is a distinction in the Hebrew between Siloah (Neh.) and Shiloah (Isa.), so slight, indeed, that previously he had overlooked it, but that it is recognised in the LXX. by their different translations.

This distinction seems also to be preserved in Josephus. He calls the fountain of Siloam Σιλωάμ, but in one passage he uses the word Σιλοά. He says (W. ii., 16. 2), "The Jews persuaded Neopolitanus to walk round the city as far as Siloam (μέχρι τοῦ Σιλοά). So he walked round and then went up to the temple."

Eclus. xlvi. 17. "Ezekias fortified his city and brought in water into the midst thereof." Thrupp (101) reads εἰσῆγάγεν εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν τὸν ῥώγ, and adds ῥώγ may be another form for ῥιάν. Alex. MS. reads (as Eng. V.) not ῥωγ but ῥδωρ.

The Mishna say, "Now Siloam was in the midst of the city."

The position of the present (so-called) Pool of Siloam hardly suits these passages, but the former existence of a pool (called Siloah, Neh. Σιλοά Jos.) in the Valley of Hinnom somewhere near Robinson's arch would very well suit the walk of Neopolitanus and do away with certain difficulties.

It may be the lower pool (Isa. xxii. 9), formed by the junction of waters brought down the valleys running from the Damascus and Jaffa gates—

(a) By a conduit from the north ;

(b) By a conduit from the upper outlet of Gihon. "Hezekiah brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). The present Pool of Siloam cannot so well be said to be on the west side of the city of David, as on the south.

(2) It enables us to place the sepulchres of David in the position











approved by Major Wilson, not so far down in the Valley of Hinnom as we must do if the present Siloam is Siloah.

(3) We may also draw the line of the wall of Nehemiah (as proposed by Lieut. Conder) *across* Ophel, if such be necessary, instead of bringing it down to the present Siloam.

This doubt as to the exact position of the Pool of Siloah (Neh.) of course unsettles the position I endeavoured to fix for the sepulchres of David. Thrupp (p. 164) just notices a legend placing the tomb of the kings near the fountain of Siloam.

#### THE TWO WALLS.

1. As the wall (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) was an additional wall in the Kidron Valley, the words of Josephus, *διὰ καρτερῆς φάραγγος*, might be applied to this part, and so on this side Zedekiah may have escaped.

2. Or, since the ditch or pool of Hezekiah (Isa. xxii. 11) might have to be defended by a new fortification, two walls—the forerunners of the *long walls* of Athens—may have been run down to the present Pool of Siloam, and between them the escape made.

3. Or, since the diverting of the waters of Enrogel would prevent the easy irrigation of the king's gardens in the Nachal, fresh gardens may have been made in the Valley of Hinnom and Tophet, use being made of the water from the lower pool (that of Siloah), placed as above (3). The escape might then have been made by the fountain gate and through these gardens.

W. F. BIRCH.

#### RABBAH OF THE CHILDREN OF AMMON.

THE Rabatamana of Polybius, afterwards Philadelphia, now Ammân, deserves special notice.

A. It was situated in the *plain* (*mishor*) east of the Jordan, and consisted of two parts, the city and the citadel. "The city lay in two narrow *valleys*; these uniting become one, which has a good supply of water and pools large and deep enough for a swim" (Q. S., 1872, p. 65).

See Jer. xlix. 3, 4. "Cry, ye daughters of Rabbah. . . . Wherefore gloriest thou in the *valleys*, thy flowing *valley*" (*emek*, in each case).

Crowning the *height* (? = Hebr. TZUR = rock) on the north-west, the shoulder between the two valleys, rose the citadel, holding a commanding position over these *valleys* (= *emek*) and the country round (= *mishor*)," *id.* 65.

How perfectly do these characteristics suit Jer. xxi. 13, 14 (*emek* 5, above). Our *key* fits exactly, and makes it certain that the prophet refers to Rabbah. Besides (Jer. xxi. 13), "Who shall come down to us?" is the very question repeated (Jer. xlix. 4), "Who shall come unto me?" and the king of Babylon was advancing against both Rabbah and Jerusalem (Ezek. xxi. 20, 21) though he took the latter first.

Jeremiah prophesies (xxi. 12-14) that the gate of mercy was still open to Jerusalem, but not to Rabbah.

Thus the *topographical key* is useful in rightly applying misapplied prophecy.

B. Rabbah, as Polybius relates, was taken (B.C. 218) through its Tzinnor being revealed to the enemy.

In 2 Sam. xii. 26-28, "Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and took the royal city. And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and *have taken the city of waters*. Now therefore gather the rest of the people together, and encamp against the city and take it."

Some think the words in italics should be translated, "*I have intercepted or cut off the waters of the city.*" Houbigant gives, it "*et aquas ab urbe jam derivavi.*" This agrees with Josephus, who says, τῶν τε ἰδμάτων αὐτοῦς ἀποτεμνόμενος, and adds that the Ammonites besieged in the citadel "depended only on one small well of water, and this they durst not drink of too freely, lest the fountain should entirely fail them."

Joab might have been poetical, but it was more fit in a military despatch to say, "*I have cut off the waters which supplied the town*" (Junius) than to describe the "royal city" as "the city of waters."

Joab could never forget the Tzinnor of Jebus. It is not likely, then, that *he* would be over-hasty to say he had cut off the waters from the city, merely because he had possession of the stream or pool in the valley, but if there was a Tzinnor or gutter at Rabbah, and if with or without the help of some unpatriotic Ammonite (? Shobi, the son of Nahash) Joab found it and stopped it, he might safely speak of an impending surrender in his pressing message to David.

The words of Josephus are just the account we should expect from a person knowing but a part of the true case.

Here is a nice bit of excavation for our American cousins. "Biblical discovery in Philadelphia" would do for a sensational heading. With a Tzinnor found at Zion, another cropping up at Rabbah, I would ask, "What next?" Was not there a Tzinnor at Samaria, to enable it to endure a three years' siege?  
W. F. BIRCH.

---

## NOTES ON THE POSITION OF TARICHEÆ.

THE following notes on the position of Taricheæ may prove of value to those interested in the topography of the Sea of Galilee. The city, though not noticed in the Bible, appears to have been only second in importance to Tiberias, and was regularly besieged by the Romans. Taricheæ is apparently not noticed in the Talmud, and thus it is from Pliny and from Josephus only that we obtain any indications of its position.

Like Tiberias, Taricheæ was situate on the shore, with cliffs rising above it. It was washed on some sides by the sea, and strongly fortified on the land side. Before the city there was a plain. (B. J. iii. 10. 1).



One further important indication we obtain from the Life of Josephus, in which he says that Taricheæ was thirty furlongs from Tiberias (Vita, 32).

The town was walled, and contained a hippodrome. Its position was one of special strength, because surrounded partly by the sea, so that during the sieges the place could never be completely invested, and provisions and reinforcements could be—and were—brought into it by sea.

Taricheæ was apparently, as will be seen, in sight of a certain place called Sinnabris. This is another most important indication. The western shore of the Sea of Galilee is bowed outwards, and presents a steep wall of precipice above a narrow shore line. Tiberias lies in a recess, and cannot be seen from the south end of the lake west of Jordan; while the line recedes yet further in the neighbourhood of Mejdel.

Sinnabris is also mentioned as being thirty stadia from Tiberias (B. J. iii. 9, 7), and an important statement is made by Josephus that the Roman camp there constructed could "be easily seen by the innovators."

The name Sinnabris occurs in the Talmud, under the form Sineberii, as that of a place in Galilee, but without any notice of its position. The name was heard first by Rabbi Schwartz as still existing near the Sea of Galilee. In 1872 I received from the Rev. Mr. Zeller, of Nazareth, a list of villages and ruins in Galilee, and to my delight found the name *Sin-en-Nâbreh* put down by the native scribe as that of a place near Tiberias. I pointed this out to Lieut. Kitchener, and he was fortunately able to ascertain the exact position of the place and to verify the existence of the name among the peasantry.

Sinnabris has thus been fixed at a ruin on the road leading from Tiberias to Beisân. It is close to the ruined site of Kerak, and west of the road, being situate on a spur of the cliff, while a wall runs from it to the sea (see P. E. F., *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1877, p. 120).

The ruin of Kerak appears (as seen from the hills in 1874, and as described by Lieut. Kitchener) to have been that of a considerable town. It consists of a large plateau, partly artificial and projecting into the lake. Only a narrow entrance is left on the west by which the plateau could be reached; the lake and the Jordan surround it on the other sides, and a broad waterditch forms a further protection to the site.

These two sites, Sinnabris and Kerak, which are thus close together, are just about thirty stadia from the ruins of ancient Tiberias, which we learn from the Talmud did not exactly occupy the same position as modern Tiberias. (Tal. Jer. Megilla, i. 1.)

With regard to the identification of Sinnabris we can have no doubt. The name exists, the distance agrees, the direction is that in which the thirty stadia should be measured—namely, on the way from Beisân to Tiberias, for Vespasian, when camping at Sinnabris, was advancing from Scythopolis or Beisân to Tiberias.

The site cannot, however, be said to be "easily seen" from Tiberias,

as a wall of rocky cliff projects between the two. Thus we are led to suppose that it was the "innovators" of Taricheæ—the other revolted town which Vespasian was advancing to attack—who were overawed by the camp at Sinnabris.

The site of Kerak in every way agrees with the description of Taricheæ by Josephus. It is a large site, and was evidently once a place of importance. It lies beneath the cliffs, and is washed by the lake. It has on the south a plain—the broad, flat Jordan valley, and it is thirty stadia from Tiberias.

It has, however lately been proposed to look for Taricheæ north of Tiberias. Major Wilson places it at Mejdel, which is rather more than three miles (or not more than twenty-eight stadia) from Tiberias. Lieut. Kitchener proposes the ruin of Kuneitriyeh ("the little arch"), which stands on a hill-top, with a steep slope descending into the lake, and which is only two miles, or sixteen stadia, from Tiberias.

Neither of these sites seem to me admissible, for the following reasons, which I submit to the consideration of the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*:—

1st. The situation does not agree in either case with the description of a site washed by the lake on several sides and situate at the bottom of a mountain.

2nd. In the case of Kuneitriyeh the distance does not agree with that noticed by Josephus.

3rd. We have a definite statement of Pliny's that Taricheæ was at the south end of the lake, or just where the site of Kerak is now found. (See *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1877, p. 181.) Pliny is an authority who cannot be lightly set aside without some very strong counter evidence.

4th. It seems further clear from the narrative of Josephus that Vespasian in his attack on the revolted cities Tiberias and Taricheæ established two camps, one against the one, the other against the other. Sinnabris was his first camp, and his second was at the hot baths south of Tiberias (B. J. iv. 1, 3). Both of these sites are well known, and both are south of Tiberias. There is in the narrative of Josephus no account, so far as I have been able to find, of any third camp north of Tiberias. The second camp—that at the hot baths—is described as being between Taricheæ and Tiberias (B. J. iii. x. 1),\* and thus the words of Josephus fully agree with the statement made by Pliny that Taricheæ was south of Tiberias. The distance and the character of the site, with the proximity of Sinnabris in full view, all seem to point definitely to the important site of Kerak as being the ancient Taricheæ. I am not aware that I have omitted anything which could lead to a contrary conclusion, for Vespasian was evidently well able to leave Taricheæ in his rear in advancing on Tiberias after he had established a strong post in the commanding situation occupied by Sinnabris as now identified.

C. R. CONDER.

## THE ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.

THE following is a scheme of our Lord's travels, derived from a careful and repeated examination of the Gospels. The capitals denote that this is His first coming to the place during the ministry as far as appears from the narrative. J. means a direct journey; S. a more or less lengthened sojourn; T. an itinerating sojourn, or tour; V. a voyage.

I have added a few references in the case of the least definite paragraphs—not full ones, but just enough to indicate the allusion. No. 7 is specially interesting as informing us of a long day's journey; and Nos. 14, 18, 21, are so on account of the problems they present. "Bethania," it will be observed, denotes Bethany by the Jordan, the Bethabara of our English version.

I have ventured to insert Bethany in No. 24, believing that Luke x. 38-42 refers to this visit to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

1. BETHANIA and neighbourhood to CANA. J.
2. Cana to CAPERNAUM. J.
3. JERUSALEM and Judæa. S. Passover.
4. Jerusalem to SYCHEM. J.
5. Sychem to Cana. J.
6. Galilee; NAZARETH, &c.; with Capernaum as head-quarters. T. Luke iv. 14 to vii. 10, and parallels.
7. Capernaum to NAIN. J.
8. Galilee; Capernaum as head-quarters. T. Luke vii. 18 to viii. 21, and parallels.
9. Capernaum to GADARA. V.
10. Return. V.
11. As No. 8. Matt. ix. 10 to xi. 1; Luke viii. 41 to ix. 6. T.
12. Jerusalem. S. A Feast. John v.
13. Capernaum to near BETHSAIDA. V. Passover. John vi., and parallels.
14. Return. V.
15. As No. 8. John vii. 1; Mark vi. 56 to vii. 23. T.
16. To "the coasts of TYRE and SIDON." T. Mark vii. 24, and parallels.
17. To "the coast of DECAPOLIS." T. Mark vii. 31, and parallels.
18. From the east of the Lake to between MAGDALA and DALMANUTHA. V. Mark viii. 10, and parallels.
19. From the west of the Lake to near Bethsaida. V.
20. Thence to the "villages of CÆSAREA PHILIPPI." J.
21. Thence to the MOUNT OF TRANSFIGURATION—*i.e.*, HERMON. J.
22. Thence to Galilee. J. Mark ix. 30.
23. As No. 8. Matt. xvii. 22 to xix. 1; Luke ix. 43 to x. 16. T.
24. Jerusalem and BETHANY. S. Feast of Tabernacles.
25. St. Luke's long episode. T. Places for the most part unknown.
26. Jerusalem. S. Feast of Dedication.

27. To Bethania. J. John x. 40.  
 28. To Bethany. J. John xi. 17.  
 29. To EPHRAIM. J. and S. John xi. 54.  
 30. Ephraim to JERICHO. J.  
 31. Jericho to Bethany. J  
 32. Bethany by BETHPHAGE and the MOUNT OF OLIVES to Jerusalem.  
 The Triumphal Ride. T. H. GUEST.

### ON THE SITE OF AI.

I HAVE long felt insuperable difficulty in accepting as the site of Ai the spot known as et Tel. The fact that it is due south of Beitin, or Bethel, seems to me quite decisive against it. Mr. Birch, in the July *Quarterly Statement*, while advocating another southern site, quotes the authority of Jahn to show that orientals call any wind an east wind that blows from any point on the eastern side of a meridian. But I fail to see the bearing of this on the question. We have to do with geographical statements of a very distinct nature (Gen. xii. 8; Josh. vii. 2)—statements expressly intended to make themselves intelligible. And it is important to observe that the historical writers of the Old Testament do not as a matter of fact use the term אֵי, east, in the loose popular sense above mentioned. The utmost latitude we can assume in interpreting their designations of this and the three other cardinal points of the compass must be, I think, limited to within four points, right or left. May I venture to plead for another site to be identified with the Ai of Abraham and Joshua, and to examine the case for Rummon, the "Rock Rimmon" of Judges xx. and xxi. ?

(1) Of course there is at the outset the obvious objection of the total difference of name. But is this fatal? Dean Stanley (as quoted with approval by Lieutenant Kitchener in the January *Quarterly Statement*) did not hold such an objection decisive against Michmash.

Indeed I am not sure that a different name has not been occasionally a veil to obscure what lies before our very eyes; and I may just refer in passing to Mr. Birch's exhaustive article on the identification of Nob (Jan., 1877) as a parallel instance to the present identification of Ai.

(2) We must observe that the two names Ai and the Rock Rimmon are not contemporaneous, or used by the same writer. The two Rimmons of Joshua are unquestionably distinct from the modern Rummon and the Rock Rimmon. The latter appears in the last two chapters of the Book of Judges, some time after the utter destruction of Ai, but while Phineas, the son of Eleazar was still alive (xx. 28).

(3) The name of Ai, "a heap of ruins," was one not unlikely to be dropped. There were many spots with the same name. Dean Stanley mentions three ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 119, note 4), and there was one beyond the Jordan (Jer. xlix. 3). And in modern times we know of Haiyan, Haiych, and Haiy, hereabouts (Lieut. Kitchener, April



number). After the conquest, moreover, there would be many a "Ruined Heap," and perhaps the nation would gladly lay aside the memory of that one which was the scene of their first defeat and of an inglorious victory. The name of the "Pomegranate Rock" would readily offer itself to describe the spot.

(4) It is in favour of this view also that the name Ai no more appears in history, and very doubtfully, if at all (Isa. x. 28) in prophecy, until the times of the restoration, when man's knowledge was derived from books, not from tradition or usage, and antiquarian research was the fashion of the age.

Thus far I have been trying to anticipate some of the principal objections to the view. May I now point out how exactly it meets the requirements of the narrative?

(1) It is due east from Beitin, and thus corresponds exactly to the description in Gen. xii. 8; Josh. vii. 2; as well as Josh. viii. 9, to be referred to by-and-by.

(2) In Josh. xii. 9, Ai is described as beside (Heb. בְּצֵדָה) Bethel. "The idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from*, the *prope abesse ab* . . . aliquâ re." (Gesenius, Gram. p. 220).

(3). In Josh. vii. 2 it is beside (Heb. בְּצֵדָה) Bethaven. This indication is of little value until we know where Beth-aven was. But, taking it as identified with Deir Diwân, the description is sufficiently near. But the passage should probably be rendered thus: "And Joshua sent men from Jericho to Ai, which, *together with* Bethaven, is on the east side of Bethel." The Vatican Septuagint omits the clause, "beside Bethaven," altogether.

(4) The identification of Ai with Rummon renders the narrative of the capture of the place very clear and intelligible. The Israelites are encamped in the "plain" of the Jordan, the בְּרָדָה of viii. 14, and close by Jericho, vii. 2.

An army about to attack Rummon would probably make its way along the road which runs from Ain Dûk to et Taiyibeh, and so make its appearance on the north of the threatened place. Now we find (viii. 11) that Joshua did lead his main army to a camp on "the north side of Ai, with a valley (Heb. שֵׁבַע, ravine) between them and Ai. The Septuagint reads, "and as they were going they came opposite the city on the east," a clause which is strikingly in harmony with the supposed route. The ravine may be identified with the upper part of Wady Rubeiyeh, the encampment being about south south-east of et Taiyibeh.

During the night Joshua had prepared his ambush, which (v. 9) "abode between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai." Exactly so situated we find a wady above the Wady Es Sik, and in continuation of it, under the names of Wady El Muteh and Wady El Ain. Here they were bidden, while scattering themselves as far as necessary for concealment, not to go far from the city (v. 4).

For this ambush must do the work of destruction. The main army came forth only to show themselves, and then by a feigned retreat to challenge the people of Ai to a second pursuit.

As soon, then, as the latter perceived that the Israelites were gone by the way they came, into the midst of the valley (Heb. בְּתוֹךְ הַבְּרָדָּה, v. 13), the wide lower land over which they had passed, they started in pursuit. There was a feint of battle "before the plain" (Heb. לְפָנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה), in immediate sight of the open expanse of the low lands by the Jordan. The Israelites made as if they were again beaten, and fled by the way of the "wilderness." The sequel is well known, and further details have little to bear upon our present question. Ai was made "an heap" (Heb. הֵבֶל) for ever, even a desolation unto this day." And if Rummon be the spot, its very name is gone.

I fear this article is too long already, and designedly omit, on this account, the discussion of any further collateral and incidental questions.

T. H. GUEST.

## ON THE SITE OF KIRJATH-JEARIM.

THE exact position of Kirjath-jearim is of great importance for the right understanding of several Biblical narratives. Fortunately we have several statements as to its position relatively to known places. Thus Jud. xviii. 12 tells that it lay *east* of Beth-shemesh; and from 1 Sam. vi. 21, vii. 1, we learn that in relation to that same place it lay "up," and was on, or by, a hill (Gibea). These indications lead us to look for it at the head of the great valley of Surar, in which Beth-shemesh lies.

Chesalon (Kesla) lies up eastward from Beth-shemesh, and we know from Josh. xv. 10 that Kirjath-jearim must be sought still farther east, or *south-east*.

Again, Psa. cxxxii. 6, though obscure, manifestly implies that the ark while at Kirjath-jearim, or when on its way thence to Sion (2 Sam. vi.), was near Bethlehem Ephratah.

Further, the description in Josh xv. 8-10 of the boundary of Judah tells us that it ran up from the ravine of Hinnom to the top of the mountain lying west of that ravine and at the north end of the valley of Rephaim; that thence it reached along from the top of the ridge to the fountain of the water of Nephtoah, and went out to the cities of Mount Ephron, and reached to Kirjath-jearim, whence the border curved westward to Mount Seir, and passed over to the north shoulder of Har Jearim, which is Chesalon.

Of this boundary line the extremities, Hinnom and Kesla, are known.

A curious feature of it appears in Josh. xviii. 15, where the *southern* boundary of Benjamin (and *northern* of Judah), while traced from the west eastwards, is said to go from Kirjath-jearim *westward*. The cities

of Mount Ephron, or the last of the group, must therefore have lain to the south or south-east of Kirjath-jearim. The line could not have gone to the *north-west*, or it would have formed the *western*, not the *southern* boundary of Benjamin, and the borders of Judah and Benjamin would have touched to the west of Kirjath-jearim, contrary to Josh. xviii. 14.

Just such a line would be described if we trace the boundary of Judah from the valley of Hinnom, due westward, and not up by the north-west side of Jerusalem, sweeping around the valley of Rephaim so as to enclose it, coming thus near *Rachel's Sepulchre* (1 Sam. x. 2), and thence westward a little, then stretching back in a north-easterly direction towards Ain Karim, and so out westward by Kesla.

Or it might be drawn, I think, so as to exclude the valley of Rephaim, giving that to Benjamin. The boundary would then run by the Wady el Werd, and Rachel's tomb would be literally on the border of Benjamin.

The identification of Lifta with Nephtoah is no doubt conclusive against such a proposal, if it could be relied on. But does not Lifta rather represent Eleph of Josh. xviii. 28? And though the proposal to identify Nephtoah and Netophah has been condemned, there is not a little to be said for it. Nephtoah is only named in Joshua xv. 9, xviii. 15, while Netophah does not occur earlier than 2 Sam. xxiii. 28, 29. We read only of "the shining of the water of Nephtoah," not of a town of that name. There was a Wady Beth Netophah, and presumably "a water" in the wady of the same name. Netophah was applied to a considerable district: there were "villages of the Netophathites" (1 Chron. ix. 16, Neh. xii. 28). It lay not far from Bethlehem. (1 Chron. ii. 54, Neh. vii. 26, Esd. v. 17, 18); and the form of the name Anetophah has been recognised in Autubeh, to the north of Bethlehem, while Beth-Netophah has been identified with Beit Nettif some miles to the west. Notably the name of Netophah is found in the Greek both as *Νετωφα* and *Νεφωτα*, illustrating the very transposition of consonants required; while the change of *Teth* for *Tau* in the Hebrew cannot be accounted of much moment, considering the age of the record in Joshua, and that the "t"—sometimes "th"—disappears altogether in "Nehopas," yet another form of Netophah.

As to the Valley of Rephaim, it is not certain where precisely it lay, whether to the north or south of the boundary line, though probably to the south. From 2 Sam. xxiii. 13 we gather that at least its southern extremity lay west of Bethlehem, and so interposed between it and Adullam. The statement of 1 Sam. x. 2 may perhaps thus be explained; it is certainly precise as to the sepulchre of Rachel being on the border of Benjamin, while the description in Gen. xxxv. seems to fix it pretty conclusively. It would scarce be counted strange if the boundary here made even some detour to enclose the birthplace of Benjamin in the inheritance of his children.

May not *Ain Karim* preserve the sound if not the site of Kirjath-jearim. It is written in Ezra ii. 25, *'Arim* (possibly that is the correct reading in Josh. xviii. 28, where, as in 1 Sam. vii. 1, we find it linked

with a *Gibeā*). When the "city of the woods" became a ruin, the "well" would remain; and as the neighbouring Beth-shemesh became *Ain Shems*, Kirjath 'Arim would become Ain Kārim. That the *Ain* should take this *Caph* sound is nothing unusual. The proposed identification of Ain Karim with *Rekem* is a possible one, no doubt; but, if accepted, it would surely throw the boundary of Benjamin too far south to admit of locating Kirjath-jearim at Kuriet el Enab. And as the proper name of that place is simply *Kariet* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 80), it is more probably Kirjath of Josh. xviii. 28. Ain Karim has been identified also with Kerem of LXX., Josh. xv. 59, and with Bethear, so that it seems yet undetermined.

Since the probability of Ain Karim being the site of Kirjath-jearim had occurred to me, I have met with the interesting announcement in the January number of the *Statement*, p. 19, of the discovery of *Khūr bet 'Erma*, "a ruin on the brink of the great valley two miles south of Kesla or Chesalon." *Here may be the true site of Kirjath-jearim*; and the boundary may not have "reached along" so far north as Ain Karim. This is a matter to be judged of only on the spot, or by one intimately acquainted with the contour of the ground; but I venture to suggest that the boundary line should go thus, much farther south than is usually drawn, by the Wady Bitir down into the Wady Surar.

Such a line would fit the Biblical narratives. The men of Beth-shemesh would send the ark up the valley eastward, as its easiest road back to Shiloh. There is no trace of any road ever having led over to Kuriet el Enab. When, after its resting there, it was removed to Sion, it would pass not far from Ephratah (Psa. cxxxii. 6), and of it, as there, David must have known as a boy at Bethlehem, and so would naturally describe one going out to seek the lost ark coming on its track, so to say, "hearing of it" there. Again, it is more than probable that the gathering of Israel to *Mizpeh* (1 Sam. vii.) was to the neighbourhood of the ark; that this was the place where Samuel judged Israel, and where Saul found him in the land of Zuph, whence he returned by Rachel's sepulchre (1 Sam. ix. 11, 25; x. 2).\* *Might not this be recognised in Sōba?* Placing Mizpeh here, we could better understand the story of Israel's victory when they drove the Israelites to below Beth-car. Beth-car (or Bethchor) seems to be identified in the narrative with "Shen" (1 Sam. vii. 11, 12): for which we should rather read Ha-shen, probably for Ashan. The LXX. read Yasan, and the Peshito, Syriac, and Arabic versions render both words (Smith's Dictionary) by Beth-jasan. That they were two names for one place, or the names of places so close as to be practically one, is also rendered more than probable by their conjunction in Chorashan, 1 Sam. xxx. 30, as a district not far from Ziglag, somewhere south of Beit-jibrin and east of Gaza. If Ha-shen is the Ashan of Josh. xv. 38, this must have been its locality. If the defeated Philistines were

\* Compare 1 Sam. i. 1, where we have Zophim and Zuph connected with Ephrath in Samuel's ancestry. The frequent connection of Mizpeh and Zophim or Zuph is well known.



chased down the valley past Gath, Ebenezer, which was set up between Mizpeh and Beth-car, might be sought for in that neighbourhood; and the locality of the earlier battle, when "the ark of God was taken," would be fixed thereabouts, for the Israelites pitched in Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv.) and the Philistines in Aphek.

This suggested removal southward of all those scenes in Samuel's life which follows the abandonment of Neby Samwil for Sôba as the Mizpeh of 1 Samuel (not the Maspha of later times) seems to accord better, not only with these narratives, but also with vii. 16, as the places of judging are more equally distributed; with xv. 12, which implies that Samuel's house was not very far from Carmel; with viii. 2, as his sons at Beersheba were not so removed from him as otherwise might seem; and we would thus understand why David clung so tenaciously to a neighbourhood, hostile and treacherous to him (as Keilah), because of Samuel's frequent presence there.

July, 1878.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

### NOTE ON GAZA.

WHILE the Survey was being carried on from Gaza three sunken pillars were found, marking the angles of a racecourse or exercising-ground for horses, called Merdân ez Zeid. It was situated to the east of the town, in the level country beyond el Muntar, and is supposed to have been laid down by the Saracens about 700 years ago.

The pillar at the south-west corner was found to bear an inscription; it was of grey granite 18 inches in diameter. The inscription was considerably worn by time, and partially covered by the ground.

Mr. W. D. Pritchett has lately informed me of the discovery of a fourth pillar, exactly completing the rectangle, but only showing a few inches above the ground after the winter rains, and also inscribed.

The letters were filled with a red pigment, of which traces remain throughout. The rugged line shows where the stone was broken off with the portion probably bearing the date.

The inscription is  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by 12 high.

M. Clermont Ganneau, to whom this inscription has been submitted, reads it as follows:—

+ τοῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ  
 πλήρωμα αὐτῆς  
 ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον  
 διακόβου ἐπλα=  
 κώφη τὰ ὑδε(α)-(ξ=)  
 τους χμ περιτίου

He remarks: The first two lines appear to belong to a religious formula, a Biblical text; it is found in the commencement of Psalm xxiv., "The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is." The inscription gives the exact text of the Septuagint version.

The rest of the inscription relates to a work done under the Deacon Alexander, the facing with stones of the groundwork of some monument.

An inscription found at Ayûn, in Nabatea, mentions an exactly similar work employing even the same word *ἐπικακώθη*, meaning "has been faced." The modern Arabic term *Belâteh*, meaning "to pave with flags of stone," is in common use among the Arabs. The inscription is dated of the year 600, in the month *Peritios* (February), dating from a local era much used at Gaza, and employed in many other inscriptions of that place.

It is possible that the date may be read of the year 640. In the first case, the date  $\bar{X}M$ , where the *M* is not a numerical figure, but the initial of the word *μηρός* = month.

In the latter case, the superimposed line would extend over the  $\bar{X}M$ , forming one date.

As there is no sign of this horizontal bar this must remain an open question for the present.

M. Ganneau also remarks on the peculiar form of the Alpha in *Ἀλεξάνδρον* and in *διακονου*.

H. H. K.

---

## THE GERMAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE EXPLORATION OF PALESTINE.

WE have received from Herr Baedeker the first number of the Journal of the new German Association, with a copy of their rules.

The Journal opens with a preface written by Professor E. Kautzsch, in which the writer, after thanking the supporters of the undertaking, and explaining the necessity of establishing a German Society for the Exploration of Palestine, gives a sketch of the origin of the new Association.

It was in the summer of the year 1876 that Dr. Zimmermann, Dr. Socin, and Professor Kautzsch met together to consult on the best way of founding such a society. It seemed to them that the co-operation of influential men might be best obtained by personal and individual effort in introducing the subject by letter. This was accordingly done. The answers received proved more encouraging than was at first anticipated. A year was spent in preliminary arrangements, and on September 28th, 1877, the Society was at last definitely constituted. At a meeting held for the purpose a General Committee was elected, rules and statutes were read and approved, and an Executive Committee was chosen from the general body.

The following is a list of the General Committee:—Baron von Alten, Herr Karl Baedeker, Dr. A. Berliner, Dr. A. Brüll; Herr Brüning, German Consul-General in Syria; Dr. F. Delitzsch, Dr. O. Fraas, Rev.

C. Furrer, Dr. J. Gildemeister, Herr Guthe, Dr. E. Kautzsch, Dr. O. Kersten, Dr. H. Kiepert, Prof. A. W. Koch, Field-Marshal Count von Moltke; Freiherr von Münchhausen, German Consul in Jerusalem; Dr. F. W. M. Philippi, Rev. D. Reinicke, Dr. C. Sandreczki, Herr C. Schick, Dr. A. Socin, Dr. F. A. Strauss, Dr. Ph. Wolff, Dr. C. Zimmermann.

It will be remarked that the list is a tolerably representative one. It includes, besides the honoured name of Von Moltke, those of many travellers and writers on Syria familiar to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, such as Freiherr von Münchhausen, German Consul in Jerusalem, Dr. Sandreczki, Herr Schick, Dr. Socin, and Dr. Zimmermann, besides other names familiar to those who read German contributions to Biblical illustration, such as Von Alten, Baedeker, Kiepert, Fraas, &c.

The Executive Committee consists of:—Herr H. Guthe, Dr. E. Kautzsch, Dr. O. Kersten, Dr. Albert Socin, Dr. C. Zimmermann.

Herr Carl Baedeker is publisher and treasurer. Dr. Kautzsch is editor. There are at present about 186 members.

The rules state that the object of the Society is to promote the scientific exploration of Palestine in all branches of science, and to create a more general interest in the work.

The object of the Society is to be attained by:—

1. The publication of a Journal.
2. Scientific research in Palestine itself.

The Journal is to appear quarterly, or, in double parts, half-yearly. Its contents are to be:—

1. Scientific discussions on topographical, ethnographical, natural history, historical and archæological questions connected with the exploration of Palestine and the neighbouring countries so long as they promote a knowledge of the Bible.

2. Summaries and reviews of home and foreign literature bearing on the subject.

3. Statistical and political information on the present state of modern Palestine.

Scientific research in Palestine itself will be accomplished:—

1. By union with Germans settled in Palestine to obtain the benefit of their services in carrying out the objects of the Society.

2. By urging travellers in Palestine to take a scientific interest in certain definite questions.

3. By the accumulation of means for independent expeditions to Palestine in the name and at the cost of the Society.

Members of the Society to subscribe ten marks (10s.) and receive the Journal of the Palestine Association gratis. Larger subscriptions are much wished for to enable independent expeditions to be sent out.

The business of the Society to be managed by a Committee of at least eighteen members. For all important business, and especially for the expenditure of money, except office and correspondence expenses, a resolution of the General Committee is necessary. The conduct of current work and the execution of the resolution of the General

Committee are entrusted to an Executive Committee of five members. The responsible editor is necessarily a member of the Executive Committee.

The officers of the Society perform their duties gratis, and office and correspondence expenses are charged to the funds of the Society. The editor only is to receive remuneration for his trouble, the amount to be fixed by the first Ordinary General Meeting.

The Society holds a General Meeting at least every other year, if convenient, in connection with the German Oriental Society. Members present at the meeting have the power, by a majority of two-thirds, of passing resolutions which are binding on other members of the Society. The General Meeting appoints Members of the General and Executive Committees.

Leipzig is selected as the home of the Society and the place of publication of the Journal. The editor is not obliged to live in Leipzig.

The Executive Committee publish a statement of the business and of the accounts in the first number of the Journal in each year. Accounts to be audited by two auditors, selected from the General Committee by the Executive Committee.

Subscriptions to be paid, free of charge, to the Treasurer of the Society.

As regards communications to the Journal, preference will be given to original matter from Palestine itself, as well as to unedited records of pilgrimages, and notes from works on Palestine that are little known or not easily accessible. The secondary matter will consist of memoirs on topography, natural history, ethnography, statistics, numismatics, and inscriptions.

Great stress is laid on the effort to make the Journal scientific rather than popular, and the chief aim of the Society is to obtain for means the support of a German expedition to Palestine. Members are requested to use their best efforts to obtain subscribers.

A short note draws attention to the great importance of a correct transliteration of modern Arabic names for the use of those who do not know that language, and a list of equivalents for Arabic letters is given.

Herr Schick contributes a paper on some recently-discovered graves near Jerusalem and on the ruins at the north-west angle of the city.

1. A little below the aqueduct from Solomon's pools, on the slope of the Hill of Evil Counsel, and about 335 metres south-west of the modern Aeldama, a tomb was discovered which presents some peculiarities. A flight of nine broad steps leads down to a chamber, the walls and vaulting of which are of masonry. In the face of the chamber there is an opening 0.54 m. wide and 0.61 m. high, closed by a stone slab or plug kept in position by a stone roller 1.10 m. long and 0.70 m. diameter. From the opening two steps lead down to the floor of the tomb chamber, which is rock-hewn and contains 9 kokim.

2. About 200 m. north of this grave is another, hewn out of the rock



which appears never to have been completed. The arrangement of the kokim, as shown in the plan and section, is somewhat peculiar.

3. Another tomb at Khirbet Sabha, near the aqueduct from Solomon's pools, before reaching Sur Baher, is of somewhat novel construction. Nine steps lead down to a vaulted chamber of masonry, whence a small opening provided with a stone door gives access to the tomb chamber. On either side of the doorway is a "kok" in masonry; on the west side are eight kokim in two tiers of four each, also of masonry; on the east are eight masonry kokim in two tiers, and behind these five kokim cut out of the rock; on the north side two masonry, and behind them four rock-hewn kokim.

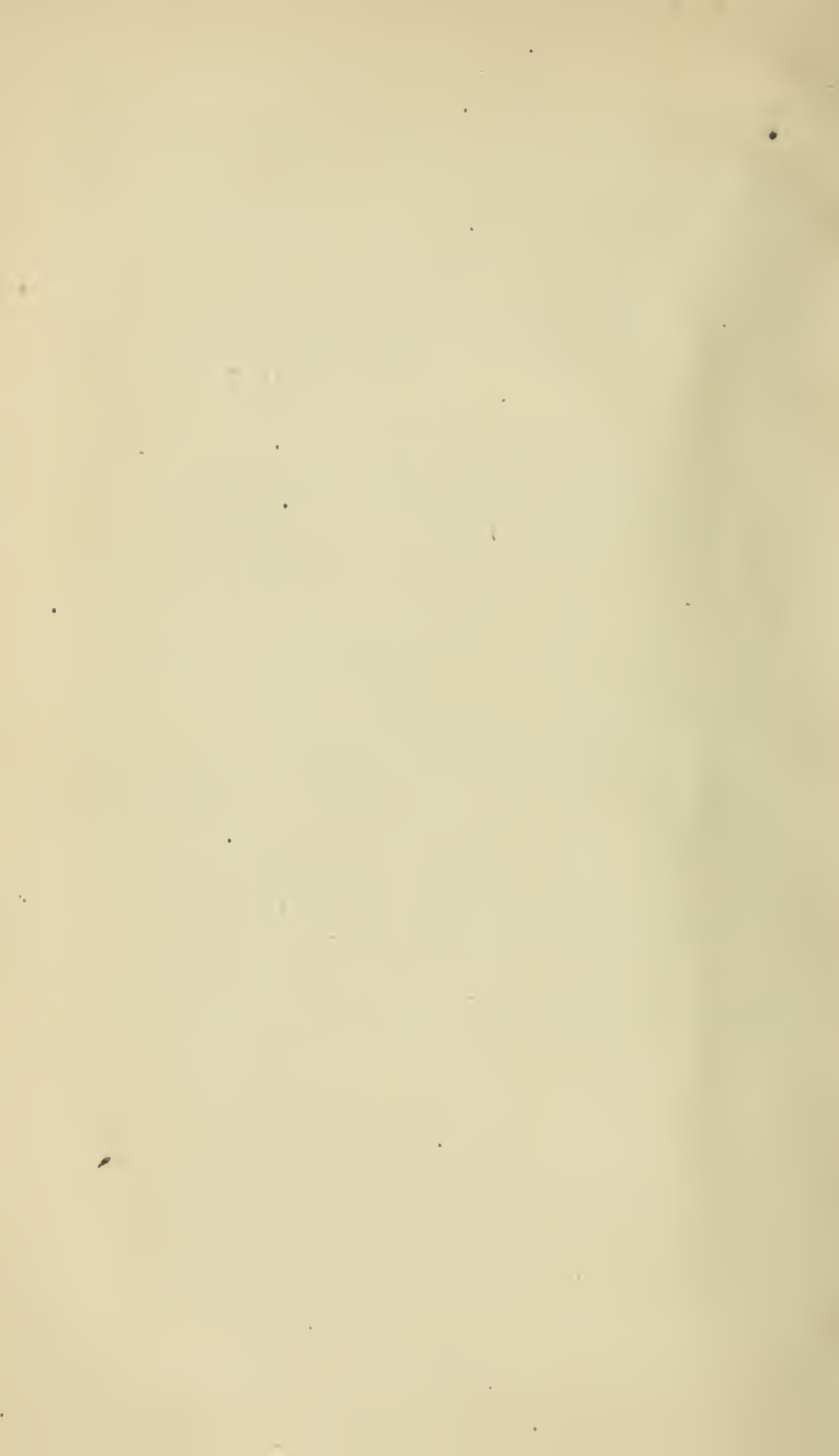
A somewhat similar arrangement of masonry kokim is to be found in the so-called tomb of St. John in Samaria.

Herr Schick, in another paper on Ancient Remains in the North-West City Wall of Jerusalem, describes traces of an older wall than the present, and shows that the existing city wall, at several points, is built within the older one. He then argues that the third wall of ancient Jerusalem followed the course of these remains, and supports his argument by the fact, pointed out by Consul Rosen, that beyond this limit the red virgin soil is found. An interesting description is given of the recent discoveries at Goliath's Castle, of the form of the ditch in front of the city wall, and the various ruins and fragments of masonry which have been uncovered in this locality. Herr Schick is of opinion that the Tower Psephinus stood on the ground now occupied by a small mosque, and he ascribes some portions of Goliath's Castle to a period as early as that of the kings of Judah. The paper is illustrated by plans and sections, and draws attention to some points not hitherto noticed.

The first number of the Journal closes with a very valuable article by Professor Socin on recent Palestine literature, which is almost exhaustive of the subject and of the greatest use for purposes of reference.

It is needless to say that we wish every success to the new Society, and that we shall send them all our publications. The Fund, indeed, has become a subscribing member. Should any of our subscribers wish to join the German Association, their names will be received by the Secretary at Charing Cross, or may be sent direct to Herr Baedeker, Leipzig.

---









GETTY CENTER LINRARY



3 3125 00666 2254

