

LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

I.

BEYROUT, 22nd April, 1881.

HAVING reached Beyrout on the 29th March, and being unable to commence actual operations until the arrival of our men, stores, and instruments, which were not due for a month, we cast about for some useful occupation of the time which must thus of necessity intervene—the month of April being one of the best in the year for field operations. Our projected field of action in the Hauran was for the moment closed, in consequence of difficulties between the Turks and the Druzes; while the time necessary for travelling to the Sea of Galilee, and for making any really useful explorations on its shores, would have been so long as to interfere with our other plans. We therefore determined to devote a fortnight to the investigation of a question which is probably of greater antiquarian interest than any other, of those as yet unsettled in Northern Syria, namely, the recovery and exploration of the sacred southern capital of the Hittites—the famous city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

For this purpose we hired horses and tents, and armed with a circular letter from the Wāly at Damascus, kindly obtained by the Consul (Mr. Jago), we left Beyrout on the 1st of April—the third day after our disembarkation—and journeying across the Lebanon to Zahleh and Baalbek, pushed northwards to the lake and town of Homs, returning by the pass between Lebanon and the Anseir'yeh mountains to Tripoli, where we were caught by the equinoctial gales, and whence, after the delay of two days due to the storm, we returned to Beyrout on the 17th April. The expedition was more successful in its results than we had hoped, and Lieutenant Mantell was not less of opinion than I am myself disposed to be, that the discovery of the true site of Kadesh—a city as old as the time of Moses at least—has been the reward of our investigations.

BAALBEK.

We were detained for two days at Baalbek awaiting the Wāly's letter; and our studies were, I hope, not without interest. Several inscriptions in the temple-fortress are enumerated by M. Waddington, and others were shown to me in 1873 by Mr. Wright; but one which we lit upon, in a small ruined chamber behind the northern apse of the basilica of Theodosius in the great court, is possibly unknown. It is written in long narrow letters rudely painted in red on white plaster, and has been partly obliterated by the fall of the plaster. The form of the letters seems to indicate Byzantine origin, and the inscription seems probably to be of the date of the erection of this basilica (379 to 395 A.D.). It occupies a space of 1 foot 9 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, but there are traces of other letters to the right. On the left no further letters can have existed, the inscription

being close to the south-west corner of the vault, near the ground. After carefully cleaning the plaster the following letters became clearly visible :

ΠΡΟΧΗ
 Ν Π . . . Α . . .
 ΤΟΝΡΥ ΕΝΔΑΥΑ . . .
 ΡΟCΑΑΜΒΑΝΩΝΦΩCΚΑΙΑΝ
 Υ . . . ΟΥΠΡΟΦΑΙΟΥ . Ο .

I have not the means at hand for attempting to decipher this text, although several words, including the *προσλαμβανων φως* of the fourth line, are easily legible. It may be noted that the peculiar form of the Ω (which resembles a W), is observable in another inscription at Baalbek, namely, in the round temple which was dedicated in later times by the Christians to St. Barbara. Here, on the stones of the interior, is painted a red cross on a white ground in a yellow circle, with the inscription *τουτωνικη*, the form of the Ω being that of a W. There are many other crosses cut on this building, and also on the bases of the columns in the Temple of the Sun, or smaller temple. It is curious to observe that the basilica of Theodosius has its apses at the west end, showing that the practice of orientation was not invariably adopted until after the close of the fourth century—a conclusion which agrees with the direction of Constantine's basilica at Jerusalem.

The basilica of Theodosius is built on the same central line with the great temple, of which only the six pillars remain. Lieutenant Mantell took careful azimuth and altitude observations, which determine the bearing of this line as 77° east of true north. The sun rises on this line on April 28th and August 14th (as nearly as can be determined), and sets on February 24th and October 17th.

It may be remarked that the mourning for the sun-god Thammuz occurred in the sixth month of the Jewish year on the fifth day (Ezek. viii., 1-14), or about the middle of August—as nearly as can be reckoned considering the periodical intercalation of the Veadar month. This mourning was succeeded by a joyful feast three days later. Possibly the orientation of the Sun Temple may have some connection with the rising of the sun on this line on the 14th August. It is also noticeable that the Jebel Sunnīn appears on the west framed by the pillars of the great temple, the centre line of which passes about 3° to the left of the apparent summit. Whether this be designedly so arranged, or is merely accidental, seems doubtful.

The inscriptions on the bases of the two columns of the portico at Baalbek, attributing the erection of this sanctuary, built in honour "of all the gods of Heliopolis," to Antoninus Pius, and to Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus, and daughter of Bassianus, priest of the sun at Emesa (Homs), are well known. In the southern vault, by which the great platform is usually reached, there is, on one of the keystones, a bust of Hercules in high relief, with the inscription *DIVISIO MOSCI*, as recorded by M. Waddington. In the southern parallel vault are inscriptions shown to

me in 1873 by Mr. W. Wright, also on keystones of the arched roof; the first, on the east, *DIVISIO CHON*; the second near the west, *CIRSV*. In the same vault is one keystone ornamented with a female bust in high relief, and another with some floral emblems. These are scarcely visible in the darkness, but the vaults were originally lighted by windows in the arches, which are now filled up with rubbish.

On the north side of the great court are other fragments of inscriptions on pedestals projecting from the walls, doubtless once supporting statues. I do not know whether they have been previously copied, but they are apparently too fragmentary to have any value. The first noticed is:—

. . ΟΠΟΙ . . . ΝΕΜΙ

The second to the left:—

ΙΟ . . ΛΑΝΔΑ.

As the temples of Baalbek were dedicated to all the gods, it becomes of interest to study the symbolism of the niches and other decorated portions. One of the alcoves on the north wall of the great court has five niches with carved roofs, the central one having a head of the sun-god surrounded with rays, like that at Rukhleh on Hermon. On the left is a niche with the figure of a man, and another with an eagle flying among stars. On the right the design represents fishes swimming on a great shell; the fifth design is unfortunately obliterated, but perhaps represented some kind of beast, all creation being thus shown surrounding the sun-god.

Among the busts carved on the roof of the colonnade surrounding the smaller temple may be recognised Diana with her quiver, Ceres with the cornucopia, a winged genius—perhaps Eros or Ganymede, a warrior—possibly Mars, a graceful Dionysius with bunches of grapes, and other figures with attributes less easily interpreted. Dr. Robinson speaks of one as a Leda. Hercules with his lion's skin and club is sculptured, as above noted, in the southern vault. On the west side of the colonnade lies a portion of the fallen roof, with a design representing a female suckling an infant—probably one of the nurse-goddesses of Asia. The size of this block may be imagined by the fact that innumerable names of visitors have been written on a single fold of the drapery.

The frieze which is sculptured on the retaining wall of the raised western cella of the smaller temple has been mutilated by later occupants of the place; but it is sufficiently preserved to show that it originally represented some kind of religious dance. One figure blows a long pipe, a second appears to have some kind of horn, a Pan's pipe lies at the foot of the latter, and to the left the thyrsus is plainly visible in the hand of a long robed figure with floating hair. Beneath this cella is a vault, in which a tomb was discovered, containing human bones and other relics. These would probably belong to the Christian period, when this temple was converted into a church.

The exterior masonry at Baalbek is generally drafted, though not with the regularity of the Temple walls at Jerusalem. A careful examination

shows, however, that the tooling of the stones is entirely different. Those at Jerusalem were worked with a toothed instrument, while at Baalbek a pointed chisel had been employed. The *criss cross* dressing never appears at Baalbek, and seems to be distinctive of the Herodian masonry at Jerusalem. In 1873, Mr. Wright pointed out on the north wall some Greek masons' marks, but I was unable to find these again, perhaps in consequence of the direction of the light.

Magnificent as is the ornamentation of these great temples, the work seems never to have been completed. We were much struck with evidences of unfinished work; capitals sketched in stone, but not cut out; mouldings terminating suddenly, and leaving an unfinished line along the cornice. At the great height at which many of these details are placed, the imperfections are invisible; but in many cases, when closely examined, there can be no doubt that the design has never been completely worked out.

From Baalbek we travelled along the western slopes of the Antilebanon, passing Nahleh, which preserves the Hebrew name Nachal ("a Torrent"), due to the fine stream in the gorge beneath, and where are remains of a temple; Lebweh, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, near to which is one of the principal sources of the Orontes; and the village, El 'Ain, which seems not improbably to be the Biblical Ain (Num. xxxiv, 2), south of Riblah; and on the evening of this day (6th), we reached Râs Baalbek, where we found Christian ruins and a tradition of a ruined monastery, with a holy spring, the water of which was said to give milk to any nursing mother who might make a pilgrimage to the spot—a tradition which may be found in other parts of Palestine, as, for instance, at Bethlehem.

From Râs Baalbek we rode north-west to visit the fine blue pool of 'Ain el 'Asy, the largest source of Orontes, situated in a desolate gorge under Lebanon, and thence to the little mediæval hermitage of Mâr Martîn, where the Maronite saint is said to have had his eyes put out by a certain Nicola. The caves are situated in a cliff east of the river, and look down on the rushing stream beneath. A masonry wall, with loopholes, once protected the passage in front of the caves—a narrow ledge of rock; the site was one well fitted for a hermitage, and similar caves occur west of the river, a few miles further north, at a site called Maghâret er Râhib ("Monk's Cave").

KAMU'A EL HIRMIŁ.

About noon we reached the conspicuous monument called Kamû'a el Hirmil, from the village of Hirmil, which is not far from it, on the opposite or western side of the Orontes. The Kamû'a ("Monument") is perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, standing on the summit of swelling downs of black basalt, with a view extending northwards in the vicinity of Homs, and southwards in fine weather to Hermon. We carefully measured and sketched the details of the monument, but it has

been visited by Robinson and Vandevelde, and the beautiful drawings of detail made by the latter (now in possession of Mr. W. Dickson, in Edinburgh) leave little to be desired. The building appears to have been solid, and is founded on three steps of black basalt. It measures 10 yards side at the base, and consists of two stories each, with flat pilasters and cornice, and a pyramidal superstructure above them. The height, as calculated from the vertical angles taken by Lieutenant Mantell, appears to be as follows (a much higher estimate than that given by Bœdieker):—

				ft.	in.
Three basalt steps	....	....	....	3	6
First story, including cornice			....	28	0
Second "	"	"	....	21	0
Pyramid	....	....	....	26	0
				<hr/>	
Total	....	....	....	78	6

On the lower story are designs in relief. On the east a wild boar hunted by two hounds, flanked by bows and quivers, with spears and other implements represented above. On the north are two stags, one standing, one lying, with horns like the fallow deer—spears and other weapons flank and separate them. On the west are bears, one walking and followed by its young one, the other rising erect. On the south-east the monument, which appears to have suffered from earthquake, has fallen down; and the design on the south side is partly destroyed, the fore-part of a dog pursuing a stag being, however, still visible.

The monument is built of coarse limestone. The walls near its base are covered with the Wasûm, or "tribe marks," of the Turkomans, who inhabit the desolate basalt moors which stretch to the north almost to the shores of the Lake of Homs. The details of the cornices and pilasters, some of which we measured carefully, appear to belong to a late period of classic art, and the whole structure seemed most to resemble the work of the second century A.D. in Syria. According to local tradition, the Kamû'a is the tomb of a Roman emperor, and there is nothing about the monument which seems to necessitate the idea of any earlier origin. It may be noted that the name CONNA occurs in the Antonine Itinerary between Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Laodicea (Tell Neby Mendeh), in just about the proper position for the Kamû'a, of which name CONNA may be perhaps a corruption.

From the Kamû'a we rode north-east to Riblah (Num. xxxiv, 2), a large mud village, with poplars, close to the Orontes on the east bank, and thence to Kuseir, the seat of a Caimakam, or lieutenant-governor, lying some 3 miles south-east of the Lake of Homs. The following day (8th April) we devoted to a thorough examination of the southern and eastern shores of this interesting lake, and on that day we discovered the actual site of the great Hittite city.

KADESH.

Before detailing our observations on the spot, it will perhaps be best briefly to explain the reasons why special interest attaches to this site. The conquest of the great eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ, extended over the greater part of Palestine and Syria, and even as far as Asia Minor. Amongst their most formidable opponents were the Kheta, a light-coloured hairless people, wearing high caps and dresses somewhat similar to those of the Assyrians, but specially distinguished by their pointed and turned up boots, like the modern Turkish slipper. The Kheta are by most antiquarians identified with the Hittites who inhabited Northern Syria (Josh. i, 4), and who had monarchs of their own in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x, 29; 2 Kings vii, 6). Thothmes III encountered these formidable mountaineers in his expedition against Meggido, and one of the pylons at Karnak, discovered by the late Mariette Bey, gives a list of towns, including the names of Kinnerin, Aradus, Aleppo, and other places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III after his subjugation of the plains of Palestine and Galilee.

The most important contest, was, however, that between Rameses II and the Hittites, in the fifth year of the Egyptian monarch's reign, when he marched against the city of Kadesh on Orontes. A formidable league was formed to oppose him. The Wysians, the Teurcians, the Dardanians, the inhabitants of Aradus, Aleppo, and Carchemish, and even the Trojans (Iluna), and the tribes of Mesopotamia (Naharain), are said to have gathered to the Hittite standard, with many other unknown tribes. On the hieroglyphic pictures the Semitic bearded allies are distinguished by dress and arms from the beardless Hittites, who are supposed by some antiquarians to have belonged to a Turanian or Turkoman race from Asia Minor, which had overrun and subjugated the fertile plains of the Orontes, and had even penetrated to the very borders of the Egyptian territory.

According to the ordinary chronology, the expedition of Rameses II occurred while Israel was being oppressed by Jabin, King of Hazar, with his chariots of iron; and, as it is clear from Egyptian records that the Canaanites were allies or tributaries of the Egyptians at this period, it is highly probable that the iron chariots came from Egypt, and belonged to that formidable force of chariots which Rameses brought up to the plains of Kadesh to subdue the Hittites. The route pursued by Rameses was no doubt controlled by the impossibility of crossing rugged mountains with a force of chariots, and the road which we know him to have followed either on his return or on his advance—and probably on both occasions—led along the sea-coast towards Tripoli, passing the Dog River north of Beyrout, where three tablets carved in the rocks by his order still exist.

Thothmes III, who had attacked Kadesh in the thirtieth year of his reign, founded a strong fortress near Aradus (er Rûad) and Zamira (es

Sumra, near the river Eleutherus), at the foot of Lebanon, and it seems probable that Rameses would have advanced from the same fortress—that is to say, from the Western Plain across the pass which separates the Lebanon from the Anseiriyeh mountains, and leads from Tripoli to Homs.

The town of Kadesh on Orontes is generally said to have been on an island in a lake; but the representation in the Ramesseum at Thebes of the great battle between Rameses II and the Hittites appears rather to show a fortress surrounded by a river, and situated not far from the borders of a lake. The name of this river in the hieroglyphs is Arunatha, or Hanruta, and the city is described as lying “on the western bank of Hanruta at the lake of the land of the Amorites.”

The various references to Kadesh on Orontes were kindly collected for me in 1880 by the Rev. H. G. Tomkyns. The portion of the great battle-piece representing the town is to be found copied in Sir G. Wilkinson’s “Ancient Egyptians,” vol. i, p. 257. The city is shown with a double moat crossed by bridges; on the left a broad stream flows to the lake, but on the right the piece is obliterated, and it is impossible to see whether the moat ran all round, or whether the town lay between the junction of two streams. Three higher and two smaller towers are shown, and the Hittite army occupies the ground to the left of the river, near the shores of the lake.

Mr. Tomkyns also called my attention to another representation of the town to be found in the Denkmäler of Lepsius (III, plates 158, 159), where the plan is a long oval with a single moat. Three high towers are seen projecting above the rest, and the moat leads downwards on the left, and also away on the right, no bridges being shown.

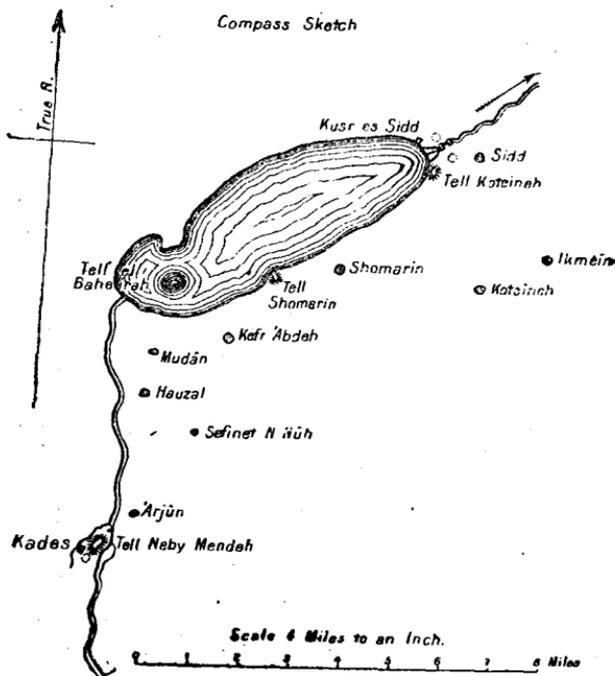
The lake, near or in which Kadesh stood, has long been identified with the Baheiret Homs, or Baheiret Koteineh, the lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad, through which the Orontes passes between Riblah and Homs about 8 miles south-west of the latter town. This lake, according to Abu el Feda, the geographer, was called in his times Bahr et Kades; but the title is no longer known, and the actual site of Kadesh was doubtful. It is true that an island exists in this lake, but the Egyptian account of the fight cannot be understood easily on the supposition that this island, three-fourths of a mile distant from the shore, was the place attacked, and I was never able to understand the topography of the battle until, when standing on the true site of Kadesh, it became suddenly all clear.

The Egyptian army was arrayed south of the city of Shabatun, with the brigade of Amun behind and the brigade of Ra west of Shabatun. Shasu (or Arab) spies were here brought before the Pharaoh and gave false intelligence to the effect that the King of the Hittites was far away, near Aleppo, whereas he lay really in ambush behind the town of Kadesh. Rameses accordingly began to *descend* towards the region north-west of Kadesh, and there halted to rest. His scouts here informed him of the secret which they extorted from some Hittite prisoners, and the forces near Shabatun were ordered to advance. The King of the Hittites passed over the ditch south of Kadesh and fell upon and routed the brigade of Ra,

which retreated "on the road *upwards* to the place where the king was." Rameses was thus attacked on his right flank, and his retreat cut off by 2,500 chariots of the allies. He, however, charged the Hittites, and drove them before him to the Orontes, where many of their soldiers and chariots were lost, and where the king of Aleppo was drowned. The battle is said to have been "in the plain of the land of Kadesh." On the following morning, Rameses attacked the city, which yielded to him, and a peace was made with the Hittite king and written on a plate of silver, the text of which venerable treaty remains to the present day preserved in the official account of this campaign.

Such, then, was the problem to be solved—the discovery of a moated city on Orontes near the lake of Homs, in such a position as to agree with

LAKE OF HOMS



the minute description of the Egyptian scribe. This site we lit upon unexpectedly in the important ancient city generally known as Tell Neby Mendeh, situated on the left bank of Orontes about four English miles south of the lake of Homs: for we discovered that the name Kades was known to all the inhabitants of the vicinity as applying to extensive ruins on the south side of this great Tell, while Neby Mendeh is the name of an important sacred shrine on the highest part of the hill, close to which a

small Arab village has now grown up. Not only is the name of *Kadesh* thus preserved, but in looking down from the summit of the Tell, we appeared to see the very double moat of the Egyptian picture, for while the stream of *Orontes* is dammed up so as to form a small lake, some 50 yards across on the south-east of the site, a fresh brook flows on the west and north to join the river, and an outer line of moat is formed by earthen banks, which flank a sort of aqueduct parallel with the main stream. The united waters flow northwards from the Tell, and fall into the lake of *Homs*. Thus only on the south is *Kadesh* not naturally protected with a wet ditch, and the moat may very possibly have formerly been completed by cutting a cross channel from *Orontes* to the northern stream.*

We spent some considerable time in examining this important site, and in taking compass observations from the Tell. The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides, and the view from the top is extensive. On the south the plain of the *Bukâ'a* is visible, stretching between the *Lebanon* and *Antilebanon*, as far as the ridge or shed on which the *Kamû'a* stands up against the sky-line. To the east is the rich fertile plain which extends from *Orontes*, some 20 miles, to the foot of the mountains, and the fine peaks above *Palmyra*, streaked with patches of snow, form the extreme distance. On the north-east the plains of *Homs* stretch to the horizon, and great Tells, the sites of buried cities, rise from the flat expanse, while a dusty mound, and a few white domes and minarets, with dark gardens to the left, mark the position of *Homs* itself. On the north the long narrow lake gleams between its shallow marshy shores, and three large Tells, one in the water, two on the eastern shore, are specially conspicuous. The north-west shore is bare and black, the basalt moors rising westwards, to form a long low ridge, and dotted here and there with black Turkoman encampments, while behind these downs is seen the distant chain of the *Anseiriyeh* mountains, with the great crusading fortress of *Krak des Chevaliers* (*Kal'at el Hosn*) in a conspicuous position on the heights.

To the south of these mountains a gap occurs, and on the west and south-west the ridge of *Lebanon*, with dusky brushwood and rocky spurs, rises to the snow-clad summit of the *Cedars*. The rich plateau east of the *Orontes* is scattered with mud villages, with here and there a group of poplars, but the basalt moors are almost entirely uncultivated. In the arable land a race of *Fellahin*, whose black beards and hooked noses bear a strong family likeness to the feature of the ancient Assyrians, as shown on the bas-reliefs, is settled; but the *Turkomans*, who may perhaps be considered to be the modern representatives of the *Hittites*, are encamped on the moors, and are found far west in the pastures below *Kal'at el Hosn*.

* Dr. Robinson states that the only traveller who had visited *Tell Neby Mendeh* in his time was Dr. Thomson, of *Beyrout*, who in 1846 found a ditch running from *Orontes* to the stream on the west (which he calls *el Mukadiyeh*). This ditch we did not see, but it possibly exists still rather further south than the point on which we followed the stream. Dr. Thomson especially notices that the Tell was thus isolated on an island between the two streams.

The scene is perhaps almost unchanged from that on which Rameses looked down as he crossed the western watershed and descended to the south-west shores of the Hittite lake ; and the same mixture of Turanian and Semitic nationalities which students trace on the walls of the Ramesseum is still observable by the traveller in the vicinity of Kadesh.

Dr. Robinson, whose journey only extended as far north as Riblah, identifies the site of Tell Neby Mendeh with the Laodicea of Lebanon (also called Laodicea Scabiosa), mentioned by Ptolemy and Polybius, and shown on the Peutinger Tables. The distance from Homs, and the fact that Polybius mentions a lake and marshes near this Laodicea, serve to confirm this identification, which does not in any way interfere with the supposition that the town was formerly called Kadesh. Laodicea ad Libanum (as it is called by Strabo and Pliny) was one of the six towns named by Seleucus Nicator (about 300 B.C.) in honour of his mother Laodice ; and the fact that the site at Neby Mendeh was that of an ancient capital of the district, would naturally have commended it to the Greek monarch, while at the present day we find, as in so many other cases in Palestine, that the ancient Semitic appellation has survived the more modern foreign title, and that Laodicea is once more known as Kadesh.

Tell Neby Mendeh is a great mound without any trace of rock—so far as we could see—extending about 400 yards in a direction about 40° east of true north. The highest part is on the north-east, where is a Moslem graveyard looking down on gardens in the flat tongue between the two streams. The height is here perhaps 100 feet above the water. On the south-west the mound sinks gradually into the plough land. The village is situated about the middle of the Tell, with the shrine of Neby Mendeh—a large square building with a very white dome, at the north-west angle of the group of houses, which are rudely built of basalt chips in mortar, with mud roofs. Large mud ovens are erected east of the village. On the south-west, at the stream of el Mukadiyeh, is the Tâhûnet Kades, a modern mill built of older materials, chiefly of basalt, and immediately north of this the brook is crossed by a bridge of one arch, while a second arch crosses the outer channel or aqueduct, these bridges being just in the same position in which they appear on the Egyptian picture, and while on the one hand they are of modern masonry, on the other they lead to roads, the line of which is probably unaltered. The stream is fresh and flows quickly ; we saw a good many fish swimming in it, and fragments of column shafts lay on the ground near the mill and the bridges.

The principal ruins are on the flat ground east of the mill. Here in 1864 Dr. Thomson found the peasants breaking up the stones ; and long trenches have been dug, from which blocks of limestone have been excavated and carried away. The ground is strewn with chips of limestone and basalt, and fragments of pottery all over the ploughland. A piece of wall is still standing, built of small rubble in hard mortar, which is full of pounded pottery and charcoal, while courses of thin well-burnt bricks, like those used by the Romans, are built in between the courses of rubble. Still further east are the foundations of a building called el Kamû'a,

about 50 feet square, with remains of a doorway in the south-east corner. Some broken pillar shafts lie near, and the walls appear to have been ornamented with pilasters in low relief, the details of which, as well as those of a fragment of cornice, resemble the moulding at Kam'á el Hirmil. These probably are remains of the Laodicea of later times, for even in the early Christian period this city was the see of a bishop.

Recrossing the western bridges we followed the stream of el Mukadhiyeh southwards, and found lying in a field a fragment of sculpture representing a seated figure without head or shoulders. It was of very rude execution, and probably not very ancient. No inscription was visible on the stone.

Crossing to the south of the village we regained the great dam with sluices which is built right across the Orontes, at the foot of the Tell on the east. It occupies the position of the eastern bridge shown in the Egyptian picture, and though the masonry is apparently modern, the foundations may perhaps be ancient. The mill on the dam has several fragments of ancient masonry built into its walls, and the door lintel has a curious design, with an Arab inscription much defaced, and a central circle enclosing what appears to be a sabre or cutlass.

Near the eastern end of the dam—which is some 25 yards or more in length—a Greek tombstone has been built into the causeway, and had apparently been lately excavated. The following letters were very clearly legible on the stone which lies on its side:—

OABI
 TYMBOCEΠEI ...
 MACEAAAYAXENAIN^o
 AMMAICHNAΔEIIΠA
 TPIEC . . OCYNHC
 TEPEIAN
 ETQN
 NA

So far as a cursory examination throws light on the text, it would appear to have belonged to a priest of Emesa (*Ἀμμιασῆν*), and to contain his age at the time of his death (*NA*). This inscription proves the late period of construction of the upper part of the masonry in the dam.

The inhabitants of the village were quite unaccustomed to seeing Franks, and much alarmed at our appearance accompanied by soldiers. They denied that any inscriptions existed on the spot, and would not allow that they had ever found coins or other antiquities in digging. Nevertheless, I have rarely met with any site which seemed more likely to repay careful examination, and it seems highly probable that, if a mine could be driven through the Tell, Hittite remains might be discovered. It is just such a mound which has lately, at Jeráblús (the northern Hittite capital of Carchemish on Euphrates), produced the valuable sculptures now in the British Museum. The interest taken by Professor Sayce and other learned authorities in the recovery of monuments similar to the

Hamath stones and the inscriptions of Carchemish and Asia Minor, would, I think, lead them to attach great importance to a complete examination of the ruins at the site of Kadesh, which, it will, I think, be generally admitted we have now at last recovered. The suggestion that the Hamath stones were of Hittite origin, was, I believe, first put forward in 1873 by the Rev. W. Wright, of Damascus, and it is now generally admitted on the authority of Professor Sayce. The Hamath stones were cut in basalt, and the chief material used in the village houses at Tell Neby Mendeh is the same—a hard compact volcanic stone. It is possible that a minute examination of the village buildings, and of the interior of the shrine of Neby Mendeh, might result in the discovery of inscribed stones even above the surface; but we were unable to see or hear of any such during our visit.

Tell Neby Mendeh appears to be a sacred site of great antiquity, and this again is not unnatural when we reflect that the name Kadesh itself indicates a "sacred" city consecrated to the sun-god, or to his consort Astarte. Neby Mendeh is said to have been a son of "Our Lord Jacob," though which of the twelve tribes, is intended—unless the word be a corruption of ~~Manasseh~~—it is not easy to understand. The spring from which the tributary stream of el Mukadtyeh flows is called et Tannur ("the Oven") a term applied (I believe in the *Koran* itself) to a certain deep chasm, whence, according to Moslem tradition, the waters of the Deluge first broke forth; and it is evident that a tradition of Noah's flood still exists in connection with the Tell and the lake, for some three miles north of the Tell and east of the river there is a curious site, known as Sefinet Neby Nûh, "the Ark of the Prophet Noah."

It is a great platform of earth, some 300 yards square, with small mounds at the four angles, as if representing the remains of towers. It is surrounded with a ditch about 40 feet deep and wide. No traces of masonry are visible, and the platform is covered with furrows, having been converted into a ploughed field by the peasantry. The direction of the sides is about north-east and south-west. An ancient road runs northwards, a little to the west, and on this, close to Arjûn, about half-a-mile from Tell Neby Mendeh, we found a Roman milestone lying fallen—another detail which favours the identification of the Tell with the Laodicea of the Itineraries.

Before quitting the subject of Kadesh on Orontes, a word must be said as to the position of Shabatuna, the place whence Rameses II advanced to attack the Hittite capital. This town or fortress was situated north of the position occupied by the most advanced brigade of the Egyptian army. Rameses, at sunrise, went further upwards, and arrived south of Shabatuna; he then went "further downwards," and came to the vicinity of the lake. The defeated brigade of Rameses retreated "on the road upwards to the place where the king was." The final advance on Kadesh was made in the evening, and the Hittites were driven into the Orontes.

Now all these indications of topographical features are easily explained on the supposition that Rameses was advancing by the pass which leads

from the plains of Tripoli to the lake of Homs. It is evident that in an advance of some 15 or 20 miles from the vicinity of Shabatuna, the Pharaoh crossed a ridge and descended into the plains north-west of Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake.

Just such a ridge intervenes between the broad plains of Homs and the small basin called el Bukei'a, which lies west of the watershed, and which is commanded by the castle on the mountain to the north, the great stronghold Kal'at el Hosn. The lake of Homs is some 1,500 or 1,600 feet above the Mediterranean, and the top of the basalt ridge forming the pass is probably about 2,000 feet above the same level. The Bukei'a basin, which is a fertile plain about 5 miles wide, full of springs, which feed the river Eleutherus, dotted with clumps of oak and covered with Turkoman encampments, is surrounded with basalt hills, 400 to 500 feet high. The great Crusading fortress, on its steep limestone ridge, looks down on the whole region. To the west, the Mediterranean is seen beyond the low hills, and the broad seaside plain; to the south, the spurs of Lebanon rise from the Bukei'a basin; to the south-east, the greater part of the lake of Homs is seen, with two black mounds, one being the Tell Neby Mendeh, the other the island in the lake itself.

A narrow pass is seen leading through the basalt ridge from the western basin to the long flat eastern slope which stretches to the borders of the lake. In the Bukei'a basin, south of Kal'at el Hosn, a suitable situation for the great camp of the Egyptian armies might be found. By the eastern pass Rameses would have ascended and again descended in a distance of some 15 miles before reaching the battle-field. On the west an equally easy line of advance would have brought the Egyptian reinforcements from the sea-coast to the Bukei'a basin. The question thus naturally suggests itself whether Kal'at el Hosn may not stand on the site of Shabatuna, and of that fortress at the foot of Lebanon built by Thothmes III., not far from the river Eleutherus.

I find that this identification has already been proposed in 1874 in a paper communicated by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul at Tripoli, to the Institut Egyptien, on 7th August, and, through the kindness of this gentleman, I am able to give the arguments in favour of this view, which agree with the discovery of Kadesh at Tell Neby Mendeh.

The last syllable Na, in the name Shabatuna, is probably an Egyptian affix, such as was commonly added to Semitic words. The word to be understood is the Hebrew Shabat, or Sabbath, which, in modern Arabic, would take the form Sebta, "rest" (as in the case of the Balltlet Sebta at Hebron). Now, immediately north of Kal'at el Hosn is the deep gorge in which the white monastery of St. George, with its red-tiled roof, is seen nestling; and about a mile below the monastery is the wonderful intermittent spring whence rises the Nahr es Sebta, or "River of Rest," the Sabbatic river of the ancients (see "Wars," vii, 5, 1), which still flows on an average once a week from its cavern. Here, then, in the immediate vicinity of Kal'at el Hosn, the name Shabat still exists, and is known from remote period to have always existed, and there seems, therefore, no

good reason to doubt that the fortress of the Crusaders occupied the site of an older Egyptian stronghold commanding the important pass from the sea-coast to Tripoli.

Our attention, after leaving the site of Kadesh, was devoted to the examination of the lake itself, which is generally allowed to be mainly and perhaps altogether artificial. We visited the shore at the point nearest to the island, which is called Tell el Baheirah, "The Mound of the Lake." The shore is flat and marshy; the island is about three quarters of a mile from the mainland, and perhaps a quarter of a mile in length. We found it to be entirely laid out in gardens, which are cultivated with a mattock. A few huts (el Mezrah) exist on the south-west, the peasantry crossing over on rafts formed of inflated skins, which are, however, only large enough for one man each, and quite unmanageable in a wind. Three of these rafts we saw, on each of which a man stood punting with a long pole, and drifting eastwards to the shore. We were informed that it would take five hours to make a raft, and that with the wind in the west the island could not be reached from that side of the lake—if, indeed, the raft could be used at all. The idea of constructing boats or large rafts to convey animals seems never to have occurred to the natives; but my interest in the island was much lessened by the previous discovery of the site of Kadesh on the mainland. There is no reference in the Egyptian records to any attack on an island situate at so great a distance from the shore—no account of rafts or boats; while the picture of Kadesh shows a double moat with bridges, indicating a river rather than a lake; for the Hittites can scarcely be supposed, even if we consider the scale of the Egyptian picture to be distorted, to have constructed bridges nearly a mile in length, from the island to the shore, as would be necessary if this part of the lake were as wide at that time as it now is.

Leaving the island, therefore, unvisited, we rode along the right bank of the lake, near which there are several mud villages and fine corn-fields and lentil patches. Tell Shomarín is a conspicuous green mound on the edge of the water, and Tell Koteineh a larger one, with a flat top and evidently artificial. Excavations in these Tells, as well as in two others between Kadesh and the lake, might lead to interesting results. On the north-east there are low cliffs of white limestone, but on the north-western shore the basalt appears to come down almost to the water, and the only traces of habitation are a few miserable ruins of basaltic stone, among which the Turkoman encampments are spread out.

Our camp was pitched close to the Sidd, or great dam, which was built across the mouth of the lake, and which banked up the waters to a height of 10 feet above the level of the original river bed. The existence of the lake is mainly, if not altogether, due to the construction of this fine engineering work, and the original "Lake of the Land of the Amorites" would probably only have occupied the southern or upper part of the present basin, where the shores are flattest.

The view from the Sidd in the evening was interesting, though not remarkably picturesque. The flat basaltic slopes on the right, concealed

the pass by which Rameses approached. On the south-west, the black mounds of Kadesh and of the island were conspicuous, and Lebanon, with its snowy ridge, rose behind them. A strong breeze blew down the lake, which was covered with tiny "white horses," and broke in surf on its shingly shore. Great piles of cumulus towered above the mountains, and a flock of pelicans was soaring over the water, flapping slowly against the wind.

The lake of Homs is mentioned by Talmudic writers under its present name as Yam Hemetz (Tal. Jer. Kilaim, lx, 5; Tal. Bab. Baba Bathra 74 b), and the Rabbis state that it was not a natural lake, but a reservoir formed by Diocletian at the junction of several rivers. In the time of Abu el Feda tradition ascribed the building of the dam to the favourite Arab hero, Alexander the Great; but while we have evidence that the construction dates from the early Christian centuries, at latest, we have no sound reason for supposing that the Hittites were the original engineers of the dam. The object of constructing this great work was that of heading up the waters of the Orontes for the purpose of irrigating the plains round Homs. A great aqueduct between earthen banks (after the Egyptian and Chaldean fashion) leads from the east end of the Sidd to the gardens of Homs. Similar channels once existed west of the stream, and other earthen aqueducts occur near Kadesh; and again, further south, running across the cultivated plain from the Orontes, which flows west of it.

We examined the Sidd or dam carefully, but the waves were breaking over it, and the water was rushing through the ruined sluice and through the gaps in the masonry, so that it was impossible so early in the year to walk along it. The total length is about half a mile, and the thickness 25 feet at the top. The dam is built in the shape of a very flat V with the point towards the lake. The difference of level between the lake surface and the stream below the dam is as nearly as possible 10 feet. On the outer or lower side, the thickness is increased by stepping the masonry regularly in each course. On the inside the construction is probably the same. The masonry is a coursed rubble of flat pieces of basalt, undressed, set in hard white mortar full of pounded pottery, with a little charcoal. The rubble was originally faced with small ashlar, also of basalt. There were at the western end buttresses on the lower side at frequent intervals. Near the centre of the dam there appears to be a pillar or vertical pier of masonry. This could not, however, be reached. The general impression obtained, by comparing the masonry with other monuments I have examined in Palestine, is, that the whole structure is Roman work; and the Talmudic story, which attributes the dam to Diocletian, may perhaps be founded on fact.

There were several sluices and passages for the water, and masonry aqueducts leading off at different levels. The various streams now run at will, from all sides, and unite to form the main stream of Orontes at the mills about half a mile below the dam. At the west end of the dam a small mediæval tower has been built on a solid rubble base. It consists of a vaulted chamber with an upper story without roof. The walls are

battlemented ; the total height is 28 feet ; the exterior measures 28 feet by 25 feet on plan. There are loopholed windows, and on the east a doorway 8 feet from the ground, the lintel of which consists of an inscribed block of basalt, which has been built in sideways, and is evidently not *in situ* ; the inscription is boldly cut on a sort of tablet surmounted with a rosette, possibly meant for a cross in a circle, but much worn by the weather. The text is as below, and may possibly have some connection with the history of the dam. Of the tower and the lintel-stone we took careful measurements, plans, and sketches, as well as of the masonry of the dam. The inscription is perfect, and too well preserved to allow of any hesitation in transcribing.

ETOY
 CHAY
 IAA
 AAI
 OCIAAAE
 OYAAAYH
 EXAIIPE

It contains a date, and appears to be of early Byzantine origin, from the form of the letters—as compared with the dated inscriptions of the Hauran, collected by Waddington.

A small town once stood on either bank of the Orontes below the Sidd. Tradition says that the village Sidd (which takes its name from the “dam”) was removed from this site to its present position down on the small Survey which accompanies this report. There are five basalt shafts 32 inches in diameter, lying about 300 yards from the little town, which is called Kusr es Sidd, on the left bank of the river. They at present surround a modern tomb made of mud and stones, and covered with rags stuck on little stakes, so as to form streamers. A stone cut into the shape of an arch 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and 1 foot thick (a single block of basalt) has been laid on the south side of the tomb to form a kibleh, and piles of basalt chips are heaped up on the fallen pillar-shafts. The site is thus evidently a sacred shrine, to which pilgrimages are made, and it is called “Jertyet Aly,” “the slave of Aly.” Probably this modern Wely marks the spot where a small temple was once dedicated, perhaps by the builders of the Sidd.

Such are the main results of our visit to Kadash on Orontes, including the recovery of the name at a site which fully agrees with the monumental records, and with the topographical notices which are to be found in the great Court Epic of Pentaur ; the recovery of traditions showing the site to be an ancient sacred place ; the exploration of the lake and dam ; and the examination of the site of Shabatuna and of the route of the Egyptian advance. The Survey of the lake is laid down from compass observations taken at various points, and the eastern shore may be looked upon as well fixed, while the western shore is more roughly indicated.

APPENDIX.

[IN connection with the discovery of Kadesh may be read Professor Sayce's learned paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites," published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology (vol. vii, Part II). These remains and inscriptions—the reading of which will probably throw as much light upon the early history of the Bible as the cuneiform inscriptions have already done—are found scattered over a wide area : at Karabel, on the road from Ephesus to Sardes, which shows that they extended as far as the seaboard ; in Central Asia Minor, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia ; at Aleppo, Carchemish, and Hamath, in the earliest times the "children of Heth" were in the south of Palestine. This sacred city on the Orontes has now been found ; of Jerusalem itself it is said (Ezek. xvi, 3) that her "father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite." As regards the characteristics of Hittite art, they are thus described by Professor Sayce :—

"It is modelled upon the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness ; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. The feet are shod with boots which have the ends turned up, the head is usually covered with the so-called Phrygian cap, and a spear is often placed in one hand. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual, and at Eyuk we find a representation of a doubled-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days. At Eyuk also we have two sphinxes, which, though modelled on an Egyptian model, differ profoundly from the Egyptian type, while the mode in which the feet are represented reminds us of the prehistoric statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus. At Boghaz Keui, the female deities wear mural crowns, from which we may infer the Hittite origin of this decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. The mural crown seems to have been a specially Hittite invention. On the other hand, the general character of the sculptures at Boghaz Keui, where some of the deities, for instance, are represented as standing upon animals, shows its dependence not on Assyrian, but on early Babylonian art."

As regards their history, it is learned from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments that they were the leading people of Western Asia from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries B.C. Their city of Kadesh, so curiously found by Lieutenant Conder, disappears from history after the thirteenth century B.C. Their city of Carchemish (now Juablis) was finally captured by Sargon, B.C. 717, when it became the seat of an Assyrian Satrap. Their connection with the Bible narrative is well known.

Professor Sayce is of opinion that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language: and that they did not belong to the Semitic race. "Their features and physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is, at least, as old

as the beginning of their writing, since the boot is the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned up toes, like the boots of the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day."—Ed.]

HOMS.

From the lake we rode to the city of Homs, where we remained for the Sunday. I made such inquiries as were possible respecting the site of the famous Sun Temple at this place, of which the Roman Emperor Helio-gabalus was high priest, but no known remains exist, although Homs is full of ancient pillars and stones, with Greek inscriptions. A possible site is the great mound of the fortress south of the town, where a sacred place called Mes-haf 'Othmân still stands. The great mosque contains the remains of the basilica built by Constantine; several of the pillar bases being *in situ*, while capitals of early Byzantine character are scattered about the courtyard. On one of the bases we were shown the following inscription:

KYKAOTEPHC KOOMOIO TYPHC BACIAEYC EKO . .
EONEAPIAIH AM XONTACOΦAICΦ PECINHNIOX . .

KALAT EL HOSN.

Our return journey from Homs led along Midhat Pasha's new road, north-west of the lake, and we made a long detour to visit the magnificent castle Kal'at el Hosn, which has been already described and explored by M. Rey. It is probably the finest specimen of Crusading work in Syria, and almost perfect, the battlements and machicoulis still remaining in place. We made a collection of masons' marks, some of which are unlike any previously collected in other parts of Palestine. Many of these occur on drafted stones, the drafts having (as at Sôba and in other instances) the diagonal dressing distinctive of mediæval work. This is an additional instance of the fact (which has not as yet been generally grasped) that the Crusading masons in Syria, as in Cyprus and other places, made use of the draft in masonry which they themselves hewed. It has often been supposed that such masonry was always more ancient, and was re-used by the Crusaders; but the presence of masons' marks on the drafted stones, and that such stones are often cut in the form of voussoirs for pointed arches, seem conclusively to prove that drafted masonry was actually cut by the twelfth century builders for use in their fortress walls.

There is a finely executed Gothic inscription on the walls of the chapel at Kal'at el Hosn. I find, however, that it has already been deciphered by M. Rey. The text, which has many abbreviations, reads:—

Sit tibi Copia.
Sit Sapientia
Formaque detur
Inquinat Omnia
Sola Superbia
Si Comitetur.

TRIPOLI.

From Kal'at el Hosn, we travelled to Tripoli, where we were detained by the storm, and were most kindly and hospitably received by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul. From him I gathered many interesting traditions and other indications connected with the neighbourhood. We also visited the Dancing Derwish Monastery, and were much interested in the details of the symbolism observable in the performance, which, as is generally allowed, had its origin in an astronomical worship, the tradition of which is, however, apparently lost to the performers.

The ancient name of Tripoli is unknown, but the name Kadfishah, applying to the river on which it is built, may indicate that here also an ancient Kadesh is to be sought. North of the town is the sacred shrine of el Bedâwa, which M. Blanche assures me was an old church of St. Anthony of Padua, of whose title the Arab is a corruption.

In the courtyard is a basin or tank containing fish, which are held sacred by the Moslems. Vows and offerings are made to them, and in time of war they are said to disappear, and to depart to fight for the Prophet against the infidels, returning to Tripoli on the conclusion of peace. This occurred even during the late war with Russia, and no doubt accounts for the successful defence of Plevna. M. Péretié, at Beyrout, assures me that there is another tank of these sacred fish at Acre, in the great mosque, and when we remember the sacred fish of the lake of Derceto at Ascalon, and the sacred bath of Venus mentioned in the Mishna as existing at Acre, there seems good reason to suppose that in these traditions we have the survival of the Dagon and Derceto worship of the Phœnicians.

Several other curious traditions have been related to me recently and carefully noted, but the only other point of interest for which space can be found in this long report is the curious chapel of Marfna, south of Tripoli, to which our attention was drawn by M. Blanche, and which we visited on our way down the coast.

MARINA.

A ledge of limestone, with a rock-wall facing east, and curving out above so as to form a natural roof, here constitutes a narrow platform with a rock-screen, which has been at one time covered with frescoes painted on a coating of cement. The greater part of the cement has fallen off, but one row of designs with inscriptions is left. A niche in the wall formed a sort of apse, and seems still to be used, for the blackened stone gave evidence that some kind of lamp had recently been burnt before the picture. The place seems to have belonged to a hermitage, and various caves and rock-excavations were visible to the south. A pit, as if for a tomb, is sunk at one end of the platform, and another smaller recess under an arcosolium occurs in the rock-wall.

The frescoes were originally painted in a series of square partitions,

but at a later period a large head has been painted over the older designs, and is flanked with coarse letters nearly double the size of the older inscriptions. The designs are as follow, commencing on the right :

First panel.—A saint visiting another saint represented as in bed, while a third figure, also with a nimbus, stands behind ; the saint raises his hand as though about to heal the invalid. Above, in Gothic characters, carefully painted in white on a blue ground, are the letters PATMRSS.

Second Panel.—A child with a nimbus, brought by a long-robed figure on the right to another saint on the left. The older inscription is nearly illegible, but the Gothic letters remaining of it read thus :

. . . PTSABATS

SPE . .

Over the lower line a larger inscription has been painted in characters and with contractions similar to those found in the thirteenth century inscriptions at Bethlehem.

AH MITPIOC

Third Panel.—A robed saint with nimbus, kneeling to a second on the right, who appears to extend a cloak or some similar article towards him. .

The Gothic inscription is mutilated, but the letters remaining are SICUT -- LO -- IT : ANTE ABATE PROTE -- FILIA -- SUAM : beneath which is the remainder of the Greek inscription on panel No. 2, viz :

OAIIOC

Fourth Panel.—Two long-robed figures, with nimbi, are standing in conversation. The Gothic inscription is almost illegible, the words GEORGII -- NIRIA alone, being plainly recoverable.

Fifth Panel.—A large design of the Saviour, seated, with the Virgin to the right (spectator's left), and Joseph to the left. The panel measures 72 inches in length by 30 in height. The original Gothic inscriptions read MATER and AS IOSEPH ABTI, over which the Greek texts appear, much contracted, but reading *Μητρησ θεου* and *Ιω* on either side of the four letters IC. XC. (Jesus Christ).

Sixth Panel.—A man in a tree bearing apples ; beneath is a hart or stag ; and some native visitor has added a lion in black ink, and signed his sketch in Arabic.

Seventh Panel.—A nimbus only is left, with an inscription in Gothic letters above, ANUNCIAT : VIRGOMARIA, showing that the design represented the Annunciation. The Greek letters, *ΜΡ...ΘΥ* ("Mother of God") are scrawled across the Latin inscription, and the whole of the fresco is thus converted into a kind of pictorial palimpsest.

Eighth Panel.—A saint, with a hammer, probably Christ as the carpenter. There is no Gothic lettering visible, but the Greek reads thus :

ΗΑΙΜΑΡΙΑ

This, though much confused, is evidently to be rendered *Η: Αγια Μαρια*, and belongs to the design on the seventh panel to the right.

We took a sketch with dimensions of these frescoes, and a rough plan

of the place. In sheet XVIII of the "Memoirs" a similar case will be found (Section B., s. v. Deir el Kelt), where inscriptions of two periods occur above one another. The Latin inscriptions at Marina cannot well be earlier than the twelfth century, and the character of the Greek letters appears to belong to the thirteenth—as determined by M. du Vogüé.

Returning from Tripoli by land to Beyrout, we found Messrs. Black and Armstrong awaiting us, and commenced our active preparation for the Eastern Survey. Meantime I may, in conclusion, express my conviction that a most interesting field of operations awaits the archæologist almost untouched in Northern Syria.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

II.

JERUSALEM, 24th May, 1881.

IN marching down the coast from Beyrout to Jerusalem, we halted for two days at Tyre, for the purpose of investigating more closely the various points which have given rise to discussion in connection with its topography. The most important of these are: 1st, the extent of the ancient city; 2nd, the position of the Egyptian harbour; 3rd, the site of the Temple of Melkarth; 4th, the extent and situation of Palæ Tyrus.

I.—THE ANCIENT SITE OF TYRE.

It is generally agreed that the original city stood on the islands and reefs which were separated from the shore by a channel, filled up by the mound which Alexander the Great constructed during the course of his famous siege of Tyre. Two islands originally existed, and are traditionally believed to have been connected by a mound, constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. A careful inspection seems to lead to the conclusion that very little, if any, subsequent change has occurred since this connecting mound was made, and that the smaller island, which then lay south of the main reef, is represented by the promontory which projects at the sea corner of the present headland, enclosed by the Crusading walls. That the reefs presented in the middle ages the same outline as at present, seems to be clearly indicated by the line of the 12th century fortifications, which rise close to the cliffs from the flat ledges of rock existing everywhere, both on the west and on the south. The promontory, representing the smaller island, rises some 30 or 40 feet above the sea, and is bounded by cliffs of soft sandy limestone above the flat reefs. There are no indications of any artificial alterations on these cliffs, and it seems very improbable that the action of the sea can have materially diminished the area of the island, for on the south, as will be seen immediately, the remains of the Egyptian harbour are clearly

traceable, while all along the west the reefs have been hewn, with great patience and ingenuity, so as to form a series of small harbours, landing-places for boats, and shallow docks, &c., salt-pans, which are probably attributable to the early Phœnician period of Tyrian prosperity. In one place only on the west is the line of reefs broken, by a little round bay with a fine sandy beach measuring some 70 yards in depth, and perhaps 100 yards across north-east and south-west. It is probable that the original channel, dividing the small southern island from the larger one, here ran out on the west. On the south also there is a corresponding bay, but much shallower, measuring about 200 yards east and west, which may define the limits of the smaller island on the east. The area thus limited appears originally to have included about four or five acres. On this islet stood a temple, which the Greeks called that of Jupiter Olympius. A sarcophagus measuring 7 feet by 5 feet 10 inches and 2 feet 5 inches in height (outside dimensions) lies on the smaller island. It is quite plain, and cubical in shape, with a pillow for the head of the corpse cut inside at one end.

The western flat reefs, below the Crusading walls, extending to the north-west end of the larger island, present many points of interest. Fragments of the mediæval fortifications, rubble masonry bonded with pillar shafts of granite and syenite, lie fallen upon them. The rise of the tide (about 18 inches) brings the water, on a calm day, almost on a level with the reefs, and in stormy weather they must be partially covered. In the summer, however, safe landing places, and channels for small boats, occur in every direction, many bearing signs of having been artificially enlarged and altered, while in other parts there are remains of an ancient concrete pavement, full of fragments of pottery, which seems to have been spread over the sharp and uneven ridges, to form an open quay close to shore. In one place there is a basin some 3 feet deep and 40 to 50 yards long, surrounded on all sides by the reef. It has no entrance, but a boat could be easily dragged over the narrow rock-mole on the outside, and the basin would thus form a rude dock for the smaller craft in summer time. North of this, on a somewhat higher level, are the basins called *Burak es Salib*, "Pools of the Cross"—four large salt-pans divided by cross-walls of rock some 3 feet thick. One of these pools measured 35 feet by 22 feet, the depth being about 3 or 4 feet apparently. These excavations were full of sea water, but are no longer used as salt-pans. Many smaller pans exist close by, and in other places along the reefs, resembling those at 'Ath lit, which are still known by their proper name, *el Mellahah*.*

Near the north-west angle of the reefs there is a heap of fallen pillar shafts, which, though quite black externally, show, when broken, a fine pink granite. They are some 2 feet in diameter, and look at first sight

* It may be remarked that the existence of these salt-pans and jetties forms an argument—were a new one needed—against the exploded notion of the partial submergence of the site of Tyre in consequence of earthquake shocks—an error which seems to have originated in the account given by Benjamin of Tudela.—C. B. C.

like the remains of a small shrine on the reef, but possibly they may have been collected by the Crusaders for use in the walls, or for the construction of a jetty, like those which they formed at Cæsarea, Ascalon, &c., and even at Tyre itself in the Egyptian harbour, and they may thus have been left unused in their present position.

The above observations along the reefs seems to indicate that the Phœnician port included, not only the two main harbours on north and south, but also a series of quays, landing-places, and small harbours, on the west. On the east the accumulation of blown sand on the mound of Alexander has rendered the extent of the original site doubtful; but it seems probable that the line of the Crusading walls on this side, founded as they probably are on rock, would mark approximately the limits of the island. Within this line—which is indicated by the position of the Algerine Tower in the Orange Gardens on the south-east, and by the small mediæval tower on the north-east of the city, which contains a well, and is partly built of rustic masonry, such as the Crusaders used—the ground is everywhere covered with fragments of broken masonry and pillar shafts. The inhabitants use this open space, east of the modern town, as a quarry, digging down to a depth of 10 or 15 feet, and excavating good building stones. Small gems, Cufic and Byzantine coins, and other antiquities are often found, belonging apparently to the early Christian period; and a hoard of gold coins is said to have been lately discovered, but of what epoch I was unable to learn.

The total area which seems thus to have been enclosed, within the insular site formed by joining the two islands, is little short of 200 acres; and considering the small size of all the famous cities of Phœnicia (Sidon, Byblos or Aradus, the latter only occupying 100 acres) this appears amply sufficient for the site of a town, even of the importance of Tyre.

It would not be difficult to sink shafts beneath the superficial excavations now made by the townspeople, and results of interest might probably be expected at a depth of some 30 feet; but, in any further explorations at Tyre, it would seem clear that the only place where excavation would be likely to succeed, is in that part of the site which lies east and south-east of the present town, within the area of the Crusading walls.

As regards the necropolis of ancient Tyre, we made an interesting discovery. The modern graveyard occupies the ground north of the smaller island, and in this part there is a cliff, bounding the little bay already mentioned on the south-west side of the larger island. About 6 feet above the beach is a narrower cleft, which has been, I believe, recently broken through, or enlarged by the *fellahin*. We squeezed into it with difficulty, and found within a grotto, which had been pointed out to us under the name *Mughâret el Mujâhed*, "Cave of the Champion." There seems little doubt that it is an ancient tomb, a domed cave about 8 feet by 10 feet, and 11 feet high. A shaft exists above, the roof being covered in with flat slabs of stone, which were all in place. No sarcophagus remains, and, unless the shaft has been at some time or other opened and again closed, no sarcophagus can ever have been placed in the chamber.

There is on the north-east side a flat shelf or step, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, on which, perhaps, the sarcophagus or coffin may have rested. No remains of wood or bones were noticed on the floor. The roof of the cavern is probably some 20 feet below the present surface of the ground on the top of the cliff. The discovery of this tomb, with the shaft arrangement which distinguishes the Phœnician from the ancient Jewish tombs, seems to indicate the possible existence of an old Phœnician cemetery, in the cliffs under and near the modern graveyard; and this may account for the puzzling circumstance that the island city had no apparent necropolis. Remains of sunk places in the rocks immediately south of the cave may, perhaps, represent other tombs which have been destroyed in quarrying, but it is possible that some of these are salt-pans. In accordance with the ordinary conservatism of the East, I may, perhaps, suggest that the features of modern Tyre preserve ancient Phœnician localities. That the necropolis is unchanged; that the site of the great temple is indicated by the ruined cathedral; and that the Eurychoros, or "wide-place," may have been identical with the broad Meidân, which is now found inside the line of the Crusading walls, and west of the modern town or village. The necropolis of Tyre was sought by Renan at the important cemetery in the hills east of the plain, a distance of nearly two miles; but it seems probable that, although in later times the rich may have hewn their sepulchres on the mainland, the older tombs, at the time when (according to Pliny) a strait, 700 passus broad, divided the island from the shore, would have been hewn in the cliffs of the reef, and still exist buried some 20 feet beneath the modern graveyard.

II.—THE EGYPTIAN HARBOUR.

The opinion of Renan and other writers appears to be that the ancient southern harbour of Tyre is no longer traceable;* and it is stated by Professor Socin that the supposed mole, on the south side of the town, was more probably the boundary of a piece of land artificially reclaimed from the sea. We gave considerable attention to this question during our recent visit. Lieutenant Mantell and I examined the mole and the harbour by swimming across it in various directions, thus ascertaining the depths, and closely inspecting the portions furthest from land; and the conclusion at which we arrived was different from that of the authorities mentioned, being to the effect that the harbour is distinctly recoverable, and that the only changes which have taken place are due to the wilful blocking up of the inlets to the port, and to the filling in with stones of portions of the interior; over which stones the sand has now

* Lieutenant Conder, writing without books at hand, has here fallen into a slight error. Renan does not think that the Egyptian port is no longer traceable. He supposes that the site generally proposed, and accepted by Lieut. Conder as the Egyptian port, was formerly a part of the island, and that the mole was a retaining wall. He places the Egyptian port farther east, and supposes that it has now been entirely silted up. (*See Renan, "Phœnicie,"* p. 569, and "*Memoirs of the Survey,*" vol. i, sheet 1, § B.)—Ed.

drifted, and partially silted up the harbour. Even in the narrowest part there is still, however, an anchorage for small boats, which we found lying close to shore ; while the water was far beyond our depth in that part of the port lying nearest to its western entrance.

It should be remembered that the ancient ports along the Syrian coast, including the famous Phœnician harbours, are extremely small. The harbour of Sidon includes 20 acres, the Sidonian or northern port at Tyre only occupies 12 acres. The harbour at Cæsarea, and that inside the reef at Jaffa, are equally unfitted for the requirements of modern navigation ; and it seems never to have occurred to the Tyrians to construct works connecting the various rocks in the two great reefs, which run out southwards and northwards beyond the actual harbours ; although the existence of these reefs was no doubt the determining cause in fixing the site of the island city, as safe anchorage in the open roadsteads was thus obtained, from whichever direction the wind blew on shore. Strabo (xvi. 2) speaks of the Egyptian harbour as open, referring probably to the reef which runs out southwards, but the space enclosed within the southern mole is nevertheless equal to the area (12 acres) of the Sidonian harbour.

The southern harbour we planned carefully. It is divided in two by a pier which runs out from land, and which, in calm weather, is visible at a depth of 2 or 3 feet below the surface, but is now covered by the silt and by sea-weed. The southern mole runs out westwards from the land, at the extreme south-east angle of the ancient city, as defined by the Crusading wall.

It consists of ancient concrete full of large pieces of pottery, and had two paths paved with concrete, each about 4 feet wide, with a wall some 6 feet thick between them. The length of this mole is about 500 yards, the western and eastern ends are closely defined ; and Lieutenant Mantell walked along a good portion which lies under water, between the extremities, and found in one place those fallen columns on the line of the wall.

The pier from the shore divides the harbour into two portions, the western measuring about 400 feet north and south, by 500 feet east and west, while the eastern measures 400 feet at its widest, opposite the shallow bay previously noticed, which is enclosed in the harbour, while on the east the harbour narrows to a point between the cliffs and the mole.

There are two entrances at least to this port, through the mole, one being 50 feet wide. They have been partially filled with great blocks thrown down apparently from the wall on the mole, but we were obliged to swim across each. Other entrances no doubt also occurred in the part now under water, but the main adit was from the west, where is a gap, in the reef which runs between the mole and the shore, of 140 feet. This entrance is skilfully constructed with an inner traverse, formed by a small tongue in the reef, so that the approach is completely defended from the waves outside. The water is here still very deep, but large blocks have been thrown down to close the entry, and the harbour is too small, and too much silted up, to be of any present value.

Having carefully planned this harbour (which is, however, I believe, shown on Gaillardot's "Survey of Tyre"), we were unable to come to any other conclusion than that it represents the Egyptian harbour. The reefs which run out 600 yards or more, in continuation of the rocks through which the western entrance is cut, break the force of the sea so that a calm open roadstead is formed within, in which a small bark was lying at the time of our visit. Without reference to the history of Alexander's siege of Tyre, I am unable to remember what was then done by his ships to the southern harbour. It is possible that the filling in of the port may, however, have been accomplished by the notorious Fakhr ed Dîn, who mined the harbours of Acre and Sidon, and who seems to have had a special aversion to maritime structures: there appears, however, no more reason to doubt that the Egyptian harbour still exists, than to question the identification of the equally small Sidonian harbour north of the present town of Tyre.

III.—THE TEMPLE OF MELKARTH.

I have suggested above that the Christian church at the south-east angle of the modern town may stand on the site of this famous temple. Melkarth ("the King of the City") was the Tyrian sun-god, identified by the Greeks with Hercules; and it is worthy of notice that from the site of the cathedral (which probably replaced the older basilica said to hold the bones of Origen), a clear view is obtained of the great centre of sun-worship, Mount Hermon. The ruined cathedral stands on the highest part of the larger island, in a position marking as nearly as possible the centre of the ancient city; and the ruined apses are directed towards Hermon. The fact that Christian churches were originally built on the sites of heathen temples (as at Rome, Constantinople, or Jerusalem), is too well ascertained to need more than a passing notice; and in the case of Tyre we find, lying within the Crusading building, various enormous granite shafts, two being double with diameters of 3 feet 6 inches, the length of the blocks being 26 feet. Such monoliths are entirely unlike any work of the Crusaders, and the rude marble bases and capitals lying in the ruins, are too small to have been placed in connection with them. The shafts must have been employed as piers from which the vault ribs sprung, and would have had a clumsy and unsuitable appearance even then in contrast with the small masonry and delicate mouldings of the Gothic structure. The material of these huge shafts is a fine red granite, which must have come from Egypt; and the Crusaders are little likely to have imported such stones, as they were always on bad terms with the Egyptian Saracens. Such monoliths are, however, still to be found at Jebel (Byblos), and in other Phœnician towns, and it seems far more probable that the Phœnicians, who by religion and commerce were so intimately connected with the Egyptians, would have brought the pillars to adorn their great temple, which no doubt faced the rising sun on a line not far different from that of the orientation of the Christian basilica.

The church has been already described by other explorers. We noted some smaller grey syenite shafts and a pillar base with the Greek cross, flanked by four globes, and having the Λ and Ω below, the material being a good white marble. This stands *in situ* on the south side of the central apse. We also found a marble capital of Gothic design, and both of these details were sketched and measured. The ancient font which was visible some years since has been, however, removed. I noticed that the windows of the apses show two periods of construction, the original "dog tooth" moulding, which ran round them inside, having been replaced in the upper part with small stones.

The ashlar is of small size throughout, and the centre of the walls of rubble, as usual in Crusading buildings. The material is a soft sandy limestone from the neighbouring cliffs. Only a few masons' marks are visible.

We copied the inscription which occurs at the foot of the wall, outside the north apse on its north. It is already known, but was seen under a good light.

PONTHN
 ΟΠΟΜΗ
 Ο . . ΟΙ . . Ν
 ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

It is said that during the excavations of Sepp in 1874, a set of sacerdotal robes, a silver cup or chalice, with rings and other treasures were discovered in the cathedral.

I made inquiry as to the festivals of St. Barbara and St. Mekhlar, said by Professor Socin to preserve the cultus of Melkarth, but found no one acquainted with either name. The Maronite church is called after Our Lady, and the Greek after St. Thomas. St. Catherine is also worshipped in the town. These churches with their little belfrys, and the minaret of the single mosque, break the sky line in the long row of badly built cottages which constitute modern Tyre. There are also one or two better houses with red tiled roofs. The little Sidonian harbour was full of small craft; the walls of the buildings along its mole, with heavier masonry below and smaller above, are decidedly attributable to the 12th century, as the upper storeys of the towers present round arches, such as are never used by the modern native builders.

Various antiquities were presented to us, and I purchased a small yellow glass coin or medal, of which two were offered. It represents the sun-god with his whip standing in his chariot drawn by four horses, and was said to have been found in an excavation near the cathedral.

IV.—PALÆ TYRUS.

In describing Tyre, Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 17), gives it a circumference of 19 miles including Palæ Tyrus, the place itself extending 22 stadia.

The latter estimate would agree fairly with the area above described as

probably occupied by the island city, but if the 19 miles were distributed along the plain between the Nahr el Kâsimiyeh (which Abu el Feda identifies with the Leontes) and the springs of Râs el 'Ain—as has been proposed I believe by M. Renan, we should have to suppose a city almost one quarter as large as London, and quite without parallel in any other town of Syria. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions Palæ Tyrus as existing 20 stadia south of Tyre, and having a stream flowing through its midst, without in any way indicating a large suburb extending over the plain.

A careful examination of the ground between the Kâsimiyeh River, the hills east of Neby M'ashûk, and the springs of Râs el 'Ain on the south, seems to me to point clearly to the conclusion that no such extensive suburb ever existed, and that there is only one site within the area where an ancient town of any extent can have stood. Such ancient sites are clearly indicated in Palestine by various sure signs, such as the grey soil, the numerous thistles, the growth of the yellow marigold, the remains of pottery, cement, and glass, which mark the crumbling mounds long after the original buildings have disappeared. At the great mound of Tell Habîsh, near Râs el 'Ain, these indications of an old site are found. At Neby M'ashûk there are no remains which seem to indicate that there was more than a single building on the hill. The rest of the plain consists of red virgin soil or of sand dunes, with here and there traces of a single building.* The existence of a great open unprotected suburb extending over a flat plain without water, is entirely contrary to the ordinary Oriental method of growth in the more important ancient cities, where the houses appear generally to have crowded round the central fortress or sanctuary, and to have nestled close outside the walls when they could no longer find space within their circuit.

There are no indications in the way of wells, cisterns, mounds of ruins or other remains in the plain which would lead to the conclusion that a great defenceless open suburb ever existed, and the theory appears to depend only on the loose expression of Pliny, which may, perhaps, be otherwise explained, either as referring to the district of which Tyre was the capital, or else as being merely a blunder of the Italian writer, who had probably not visited the city.

The more definite description given by Strabo is easily reconciled with existing remains; and these, including the sites of Neby M'ashûk, Khubet el Lawâtîn, Wâdy et Tin, Tell el Habîsh, and Râs el 'Ain, may in conclusion be briefly described.

A curious mound of rock rises in the plain due east of Tyre. The summit is about 100 ft. above the sea and 40 above the plain. On all sides

* At a point about half-way between Tyre and Neby M'ashûk and south of the ancient aqueduct, some boys digging in the sand dunes have found remains recently of a little shrine or chapel. Fragments of marble, of glass mosaic, of a small twisted pillar shaft, and the shoulder of a small statue in high relief, remains of a marble cornice with feebly executed mouldings, and some curious pieces of dark pottery, seem to indicate that a small Byzantine or Crusading chapel stood here among the dunes.

the bare rock is visible, and on the east is a perpendicular cliff. Close to this cliff, on the south-east extremity of the hill, stands the shrine of Neby M'ashúk, with two domes and a courtyard containing a palm. A few hovels exist north of the building. The rock is quarried on the west; and on the top of the hill there are indications of old foundations. On the north are rude rock steps, perhaps leading up to the ancient building on the summit, perhaps only made in quarrying. On the north-west are some rock-cut tombs of Tyrian character. The great aqueduct to Tyre runs close to the foot of the hill on the south, and once supplied a small mill, but its course seems to be controlled rather by the fall of the ground than by any intention of carrying water to Neby M'ashúk, as no cisterns to receive the supply appear to exist at this point. Parts of the hill were covered at the time of our visit with corn, and this may have concealed ruins, but a large part of the site shows only bare rock, and there is nothing to indicate that Neby M'ashúk was ever the centre or the acropolis of a city or suburb, while the excavations made by M. Renan brought to light only the remains of a small and comparatively modern shrine.

Although Neby M'ashúk does not, therefore, appear likely to have been the acropolis of the theoretical Palæ Tyrus, there is no doubt that it must have been a sacred shrine of antiquity and importance. It has been proposed to identify it with a temple of Astarte, but the name M'ashúk ("beloved") is in a masculine form (the passive participle of 'Ashaka), and the Neby is said to have been a man who was so fascinating that every woman who saw him fell in love with him. Probably, therefore, we have here the more ancient temple of the sun-god, pointed out by the Tyrian islanders to Alexander—the shrine of an Adonis, or youthful solar hero. A curious story is told in connection with the place. A cave is said to exist beneath it and to contain a treasure; the cave is also said to be full of bees, and we were shown a narrow cleft in the eastern cliff supposed to be the entrance and from which honey is said occasionally to exude. We saw, however, neither bees nor honey, and although our guide's story was confirmed by other witnesses on the spot, it seemed improbable that the narrow fissure in the strata should really be the mouth of a cavern. The natives say that if the cave were opened the building above would fall in ruins. The sacred cave (as has been remarked in a recent paper in the *Quarterly Statement P. E. Fund*) is usually an adjunct of a sun-worship centre; while bees and honey are also intimately connected with the sun-god; and bees form the string of the Indian Cupid's bow (Kama Deva). In this tradition we have, therefore, possibly an echo of the old cultus of the heathen divinity now known as the "beloved prophet."

East of Neby M'ashúk lies the great cemetery called Khürbet el Lawâtin. Careful inquiry proved that the spelling Awâttin given by some authorities is incorrect. The word is the plural of *Lattîn*, the well known name for a "lime kiln" in Syria, and the character of the site agrees, as will be seen immediately, with this translation of the title. To anyone who has read M. Renan's account of this place, the impression

made by a visit to the spot is very disappointing. There are no excavations at all equal to those at Beit Jebrin, and the character of the cemetery, in spite of its being an extensive site, is very rude, and quite beneath comparison with many other collections of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The caves which M. Renan describes as "immense hypogées, of which the roofs have fallen in," appear to me to be nothing else than quarries whence the soft chalk (*Huḍrah*) used for burning into lime, has been obtained. Such excavations are common in all parts of the country where the very soft chalk appears, and the name *Khūrbet el Lawātin* "ruin of the kilns," is no doubt an indirection of the origin of these caverns. The niches which have been observed in the walls of these caves appear to be the remains of loculi, occurring at different levels, showing that here, as at *Beit Jebrin*, an ancient cemetery has been destroyed in quarrying—the original excavators finding it easier to commence operations by breaking up the walls of the tombs, than by cutting into the face of a solid cliff. Similar destruction of ancient cemeteries may be noted wherever modern quarrying has been undertaken in almost any part of Syria. There are no remains visible of the supposed roofs of the caverns, and they do not seem on inspection ever to have been covered in, except in such parts as still are roofed, where the excavations have been pushed deep into the cliff. These caves are now used as goat folds, but they are not of a size or execution in any way comparable to the great caverns of Southern Palestine.

North of the chalk quarries, the hill-side is covered with tombs. We took plans of several of these, all belonging to one type—a square chamber reached by a shaft some 6 to 10 feet deep, and having rude *Kokim* on the four walls. These tombs which, on account of their rude execution, might be thought very ancient, differ only from the Jewish *Kokim* tombs in the existence of the shaft, which takes the place of the small door entered from the face of a low cliff, in the ordinary type of Jewish sepulchre. The Jew hewed a chamber inwards from the face of the hill, while the Phœnician sunk downwards from the flat surface of the hill-top; but the chamber within was in both cases identical in its general arrangement.

The cemetery in question is certainly very extensive, and may contain unopened tombs. It seems, however, by no means clear that it is the ancient necropolis of Tyre, which, as already suggested, is more probably to be sought on the island itself. The existence of the temple at *M'ashūk* may perhaps account for the cemetery, the Phœnicians being eager to find sepulture near the sacred place, just as the Jew or the Moslem at Jerusalem, and in any sacred city, still desires to be buried close to the sanctuary; but the hill towns or even distant cities may have had their share in this great graveyard, as well as the island town of Tyre, which is distant some two miles from these hills.

Following the hills southwards, we visited the flat valley between *Burj esh Shemaly* and *Burj el Kibly*, which is sometimes called *Wādy et T'in* from the fig trees which occur on the slopes. On both sides of the valley there are tombs, and we obtained plans of some of these, which are simply

loculi in the rock : remains of wine presses also occur, and on the south side of the valley, near 'Ain el Judeidoh ("the rock-cut spring") is the curious bas-relief visited by Renau and Guérin. It measures 18 inches by 23 inches, and is surrounded by a rude frame projecting 3 inches. The design (of which a sketch accompanies this report) represents a single male figure in long robes, the head purposely defaced. On the right, at his feet, is an animal most resembling a dog, and on either side an arabesque of grape-bunches and leaves (much defaced) runs vertically—the vine on the left springing apparently from a pot, as is generally the case where this design occurs (see 'Abûd es Semû'a, Shefa Amr, &c., in the "Memoirs"). I am aware that M. Guérin has described these defaced details as representing the heads of sheep surrounded by *nimbi*; but careful examination shows that the curving stem of the vine is continuous throughout. Nor is it clear that the human figure represents the "good shepherd," as the lamb or sheep which he would carry is not distinguishable. The existence of the vine, a symbol of the sun-god; and of the dog (if dog it be), may indicate that the sun-deity, Hercules, is represented, whose dog is recorded first at Tyre to have discovered the Murex or purple fish, which he brought from the sea in his mouth. It seems clear, moreover, that there is a tomb beneath the block of rock on which the bas-relief is cut, although the entrance is now so completely blocked that excavation would require considerable time.

Hitherto we have found no site which can really be considered to represent Palæ Tyrus. A visit to the fountains of Râs el 'Ain, however, made us acquainted with the importance of the ruin called er Rusheidiyeh, the old name of which is *Tell el Habîsh*, "Mound of the Abyssinian." There is here a great hillock measuring about 400 yards north and south, and including some 25 to 30 acres. It rises about 60 feet above the sea, and has a modern farm-house on the flat summit. The hill was covered with corn, but remains of ancient masonry were visible all over its plateau. On the north-east are two fine springs which have been enclosed with walls like those at Râs el 'Ain, the work, however, in parts looks like Crusading masonry. On the north-west is a small mill originally fed from these springs, but the water now runs in a stream to the sea. It appears, therefore, that at this site the description given by Strabo of Palæ Tyrus, as having a stream running through its midst, as well as the distance of twenty stadia from Tyre, is realized in a satisfactory manner. A small jungle of brambles, canes, and wild figs grows on the edge of the Tell to the north, following the stream to the beach, and at Tell Habîsh we have every requirement for an ancient town, a fine water supply, a lofty and spacious mound, and a small landing place on the beach itself.

Râs el 'Ain, about half a mile south of this great mound, may possibly have formed part of the site of Palæ Tyrus, which would have covered the intervening space if it was indeed a town of any size. We visited the great reservoirs and aqueducts of Râs el 'Ain, and made a plan of the three principal tanks. There appear to have been originally two springs, of which one is enclosed in the great octagonal reservoir called Birket

'Isrâwy, while the other rises in a quadrangular cistern called Birket Sufsâfeh, which is situated 370 feet east of the former, and is connected by a short channel, with a smaller rudely octagonal reservoir situate at the south-western angle of the Birket Sufsâfeh.

The level of the water in these two springs is the same, about 80 feet above the sea. The two groups of reservoirs were connected by an aqueduct, of which only a few traces remain. The walls of the pools are 20 feet thick, faced with fine ashlar of stones, sometimes 5 feet long, and built inside with concrete, formed by alternate layers of pebbles in hard cement, and of flat pieces of stone or pottery. Birket 'Isrâwy has the appearance of having been originally domed over, the walls curving over above the water some 3 feet beyond the perpendicular of the inner surface. This Birket is now surrounded with small houses. Its sides are of irregular length, and were carefully planned by Lieutenant Mantell. On the north and on the east bifurcated channels lead from the surface of the pool to two pairs of vertical shafts of circular form, each 3 feet in diameter. These shafts are lined with good masonry, the stones having their faces cut to the form of the circle. They feed two modern mills, but are evidently part of the original structure of the reservoir.

On the west side of this tank a modern pool has been built; it is now covered with trees and canes, but was distinctly visible from the top of Birket 'Isrâwy. It is called Birket el Mâlti, and said to have been built by the Egyptian Emir Bishr el Mâlti, apparently about the time of Ibrahim Pasha; while the Birket 'Isrâwy is locally, though no doubt wrongly, attributed to Alexander the Great.

Birket Sufsâfeh ("the willow-pool") measures 51 feet by 48 feet inside, with walls 10 feet thick. It is built on a hill side, so that on the south the path reaches almost to the level of the top of its walls, whereas the walls of the second octagonal tank are some 15 feet high on the west side, and over 20 feet in thickness.

No ancient aqueduct leads from the quadrangular tank, but alterations have been made in its walls, and a modern aqueduct on arches, some of which are pointed, and others round, runs south-west for a short distance from the east side of the tank. Probably these alterations may be attributed to the Crusaders of the 12th and 13th centuries.

From the octagonal tank contiguous to the Birket Sufsâfeh, the original aqueduct to Tyre still runs about 2 miles, to the vicinity of Tell M'ashûk on the north, where it turns round westwards, and disappears in the sand dunes; the water which is carried to the town and rather beyond it, escaping to form a marsh behind the dunes. This aqueduct has the appearance of Roman work, and is lined with concrete. It has a channel, increasing from 2 feet 9 inches near the pool to 5 feet in width, and 6 feet in depth near Neby M'ashûk, where the arch is still intact, the voussoirs surmounted by a series of long slabs laid horizontally as a top covering to the structure. The fall, from Râs el 'Ain to Neby M'ashûk, is at the rate of about 10 feet per mile, which would give a level of about 40 feet above the sea at Tyre, were it continued uniformly.

In crossing low ground the aqueduct is carried on large round arches with strong piers, and a string course is added above these as an ornament. The arches are generally formed by voussoirs of even proportions, but Lieutenant Mantell noticed near Tell Habish a row of arches, not truly structural, but formed by cutting the stones of the succession courses into the shape of a round arch, each course being corbelled out so as to form together a complete semicircle in elevation. This unusual construction may, perhaps, be a sign of the early date of the aqueduct, and the arches thus formed are dependent for strength, not on structure, but solely on the hardness of the cement used in building. The masons were, however, evidently not ignorant of the theory of the arch, as voussoirs are used in other parts of the aqueduct.

In addition to the three ancient reservoirs, and the later Birket el Mâlti, there is a fifth pool of quite distinct character situated north-west of Birket 'Isrâwy. An aqueduct with masonry of late character leads to this tank, which is some 12 feet square inside. The arches of its aqueduct were originally round, but near the tank an outer facing of masonry not bonded in, has been added with pointed arches on the north side of the piers. The tank is called Birket es Seiyideh, "Our Lady's Pool," and is a sacred place, pilgrimage being undertaken to visit the spot, and vows offered to the local divinity. The tank was probably filled at one time through its aqueduct from the more ancient aqueduct from Birket es Sufsâfeh, or rather from the contiguous octagonal reservoir. It should be noted in connection with the last-named octagonal tank, that like Birket 'Isrâwy it contains a pair of cylindrical shoots of good ancient masonry, which convey the water to a modern mill.

It seems clear that the original constructors of these fine old water-towers had in view rather the utilization of the springs for mill-work than the supply of the distant city of Tyre by an aqueduct.

The conclusions which suggest themselves after a visit to the spot are, that the three older tanks were originally built for local purposes, that an aqueduct to Tyre (seemingly Roman work) was afterwards made from the smaller octagonal reservoir. That the Crusaders subsequently built the Birket es Seiyideh and its aqueduct, as well as the broken aqueduct leading south-west from Birket Sufsâfeh, and that the Birket el Mâlti is the latest addition to the group of five tanks at present existing. The arrangement will, however, be rendered clearer by a glance at the plan of the older reservoirs.

The general results of our three days of exploration at Tyre may be briefly summarised in conclusion. They include:—

First, the discovery of a tomb (Mûghâret el Mujâhed), which seems to indicate the situation of the ancient Tyrian necropolis.

Secondly, the examination of the existing remains of the southern or Egyptian harbour, and of the reef west of the island city of Tyre.

Thirdly, a suggestion as to the position of the Temple of Melkarth, rendered probable by the conspicuous and central position of a site which has long been consecrated by a Christian basilica pointing towards Hermon.

Fourthly, the examination of the hill of Neby M'ashûk, its traditions and the neighbouring Tyrian cemetery.

Fifthly, the examination of the important mound of Tell Habîsh and the neighbouring springs of Râs el 'Ain, the possible site of Palæ Tyrus.

Excavations at Tyre might still produce results of interest and importance. They should be confined to the area within the Crusading walls, or to the sites of el Lawâtîn and Tell Habîsh, where alone promising indications occur. The old necropolis of Tyre may, perhaps, exist untouched beneath the accumulated rubbish heaps of Greek, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab times, but the vicinity of the modern graveyard would make the exploration a very delicate matter.

*It should, however, be remembered that the remains as yet found have been of a very rude and uninteresting description, and that the Phœnician inscriptions discovered by M. Renan in this district were of very late date. Perhaps the most interesting piece of work which could be suggested would be a complete excavation of the cathedral by shaft sunk to rock, or to such a depth as should enable the explorer to determine whether any relics of the famous temple of Melkarth still exist on the spot.

Modern Tyre has been described as a rising place, and there is no doubt that since the Metâwileh settled here, it has grown into a town from a condition of complete ruin. Its trade is, however, quite insignificant, its harbours far too small to be of any value, and its inland communications too difficult to allow of its competing with Acre, Tripoli, or Alexandretta, as a point of strategical or commercial importance.

The fisher spreads his net on the reefs and ruined walls, as the prophet of old proclaimed in one of the most poetic chapters of the Old Testament, (Ezek. xxvii), and the little town is scarcely more than a fishing village with a small coasting trade in cereals, fruits and silk. Our knowledge of other ancient cities leads us, moreover, to conclude that even when the hardy Phœnician mariners were planting colonies in Africa, in Spain, or in France, and were the first of Orientals to discover our own stormy islands, the ports of the mother city, to which the merchants of Asia and the Mediterranean gathered from every quarter, were scarcely larger than the capacity of a fishing harbour in England, while the metropolis itself only covered an area about equal to that of Hyde Park.

The conclusions of archæologists, which a short though careful examination of the site led me to regard as requiring reconsideration, are as already detailed. First, that the Egyptian harbour has disappeared; considering the existence of a well defined port as large as the northern or Sidonian harbour. Secondly, that the Palæ Tyrus was a great suburb covering the plains east and south-east of Tyre; since no indications of such a suburb exist, while the idea is quite contrary to all we know of the size and arrangement of ancient eastern cities. Third, that the necropolis of Tyre lay at Khûrbet el Lawâtîn; since we were able to discover at least one Tyrian tomb on the island, the natural position in which the cemetery might be expected to exist. Fourthly, that the somewhat exaggerated

description which has been given of the caves at the site of el Lawâttî, should be modified by a comparison with similar excavations in other parts of Palestine. And lastly in general, the expectation of finding at Tyre an immense city equal in size to Rome or Athens, should be controlled by the experience which we derive from the examination of the other sacred or commercial cities of ancient Syria, which, like the modern towns of the country, seem to have been crowded into areas quite insignificant in comparison with those occupied by European metropolises, and strangely contrasting to the world-wide fame which such little cities as Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, or Jerusalem have obtained in later ages.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

III.

FROM BEYROUT TO JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, 28th May, 1881.

THE disturbances in the Hauran rendered it prudent to relinquish our original plan of commencing the Eastern Survey on the north; and, as many of our heavy stores were in Jerusalem, it appeared necessary to shift our base of operations to the Holy City, whence we hope to proceed to Gilead and Moab. Leaving Beyrout on 7th May, we journeyed down the coast by Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Nablus, reaching the capital on Saturday, 21st. We remained two days in Tyre, and one day in Nablus when we revisited the top of Ebal, and rebuilt the cairn erected in the summer of 1872, as the point will probably be conspicuous east of Jordan. From Ebal we beheld the great plateau broken only by the valley of the Jabbok, which is the scene of our expected labours. Many things, however, required to be settled on a satisfactory basis before we could hope successfully to attack our work, and the time spent in thoroughly organizing the expedition will probably be saved later in the increased working power of the party. Meantime a few scattered notes, on the points which were observed along the road, will probably be thought of interest.

Our camps were pitched at Neby Yûnis (where we rested for Sunday, 8th), Sidon, Tyre (where two days were spent), Nakûr, el Bahjeh, near Acre (where the second Sunday was passed), Sheikh Ibreek, Jenîn, Nâblus, 'Ain el Haramiyeh, and Jerusalem; the result of our explorations at Tyre are given in another report.

THE ROAD.

It has been suggested that the main coast road dates from Arab times, but it has all the appearance of Roman origin, not only because Roman milestones have fallen beside it at intervals, but because the broad central rib or backbone of cut stones is visible in places, with side-walls of rough blocks, both of these features being peculiar to Roman roads in Syria. In many places where the road runs along the beach, concrete

was used instead of stone to form the roadway, and the remains of this, set in hard white or pink cement, are still to be found in parts.

The remains of Roman bridges with round arches are also observable both at the River Kásimiyeh and also at the Nahr Abu el Aswad when the arch is still perfect.

KHURBET UMM EL' AMUD.*

This important site south of Tyre (the old name of which seems to have been Laodicea) was visited by Renan, who found here some late Phœnician inscriptions. There is a temple in a conspicuous position on a rugged hillside, and many other ruins, but they are so overgrown with copse that a long time would be necessary for their exploration. The plan of the temple is very difficult to make out, but it appears to have had three aisles, and to have measured about 180 feet E. and W. (true bearing 30°), with an outer colonnade 25 feet wide having two rows of pillars. The capitals are Ionic, and the mouldings have a simple and pure character which marks the temple as being earlier than the Byzantine period. Some curious stones which have the form of segments of spheres about 18 inches in diameter (looking like slices from a Swiss cheese) have sockets in the spherical surface. They may, perhaps, have formed parts of some ornamental erections over the cornices, either as bases from which a small needle was raised or perhaps as representations of shallow vases on a base fitted into the socket.

We measured various curious details, including a sarcophagus with a projecting pilaster at one end, and a stone 5 feet square, 3½ feet high, with two square shallow troughs, 1 foot side sunk in the upper part, and rude sculptures on the sides, one of which resembled a headless sphinx or lion apparently with wings.

There is a second block 2 feet 8 inches square, 3 feet high, with a trough 1 foot square and a few inches deep. Possibly these may have been altars, as there seems no other good explanation of the shallow sunk places in which a fire might have been kindled. A double tomb, rock-cut, exists further north, of which we made a plan; but our visit was too short to enable us to obtain a good idea of the site. There is a large amount of broken tessellated pavement on the hillsides below the temple.

NAKURAH.

I made special inquiries as to the meaning which the natives attach to this word applied to the pass generally identified with the ancient Scala Tyriorum. Professor Palmer renders the word "trumpet" and suggests that as *Sár* in Arabic may also mean "trumpet," the natives may have misunderstood *Sur* (Tyre) to mean a trumpet, and not as in Hebrew "a rock," and that in process of time they may have substituted the word *Nákúrah*, applying it to the promontory originally called *Sár*.

* See "Memoirs," vol. i, p. 182.

The word *Nákûrah* comes, however (as Professor Palmer tells me), from a root meaning "to pick," or excavate by picking out. It occurs more than once in the survey nomenclature, as in 'Ain en *Nákûrah*, 'Ain en *Nukr*, and the village *Nákûrah* near *Nâblus*, places which have no connection with Tyre. I find that the meaning attached by the natives to the term is that of excavation or scarping, which is exactly the Talmudic use of the word, where it is applied to caves excavated artificially. The name, in fact, of *Râs en Nakûrah*, is derived apparently from the rock-cutting through which the road passes. This has been destroyed in making the new road, which is on a higher level than the old, but the vertical cutting of the rock is still visible in more than one place on both sides of the road. I may, perhaps, venture here to remark that I do not know a single instance in which the Fellahin have substituted one word for another in the manner that Professor Palmer supposes. They adhere, it is true, often to the Hebrew name of a place, long after the meaning has been lost (as is the case also in our own country), sometimes modifying the sound slightly to give it a modern—and often erroneous—meaning.

In the case of *Sûr*, however, it should be noted that the word is still used by the peasantry to mean a rock, and it is not known, as far as I have ascertained, to mean a trumpet.

MESELIEH.

In 1876 I proposed to identify the village of Meselieh, or Mithilia, south of Jenin, with the Bethulia of the Book of Judith, supposing the substitution of M for B, of which there are occasional instances in Syrian nomenclature. The indications of the site given in the Apocrypha are tolerably distinct. Bethulia stood on a hill, but not apparently on the top, which is mentioned separately (Judith vi, 12). There were springs or wells beneath the town (verse 11), and the houses were above these (verse 13). The city stood in the hill country not far from the plain (verse 11), and apparently near Dothan (Judith iv, 6). The army of Holofernes was visible when encamped near Dothan (Judith vii, 3-4), by the spring in the valley near Bethulia (verses 3-7).

The site usually supposed to represent Bethulia—namely, the strong village of *Sândr*, does not fulfil these various requisites, but the topography of the Book of Judith, as a whole, is so consistent and easily understood, that it seems probable that Bethulia was an actual site. Visiting Mithilia on our way to Shechem (see Sheet XI of the Survey), we found a small ruinous village on the slope of the hill. Beneath it are ancient wells, and above it a rounded hill top, commanding a tolerably extensive view. The north-east part of the great plain, Gilboa, Tabor, and Nazareth, are clearly seen. West of these a neighbouring hill hides Jenin and *Wâdy Bela'meh* (the Belmair probably of the narrative), but further west Carmel appears behind the ridge of Sheikh Iskander, and part of the plain of 'Arrâbeh, close to Dothan, is seen. A broad corn vale, called "The King's Valley," extends north-west from Meselieh towards Dothan, a distance of only three miles. There is a low shed formed by rising ground between two

hills, separating this valley from the Dothian plain; and at the latter site is the spring beside which probably the Assyrian army is supposed by the old Jewish novelist to have encamped. In imagination one might see the stately Judith walking through the down trodden corn-fields, and shady olive groves, while on the rugged hill-side above, the men of the city "looked after her until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more" (Judith x, 10).

JACOB'S WELL.

In 1876 some misconceptions appeared to exist as to the condition of this famous site. The well itself has never been choked. It is 75 feet deep, and still at times contains water. Over the shaft, however, is built a Crusading vault (as described in the "Memoirs"), and this is entered from the present surface through a hole in the roof. The floor is covered with stones, which have fallen from above, and which, until lately, quite concealed the well-mouth. During the present travelling season the vault has been partly cleared by an English traveller, and the mouth of the well is now visible with the shaft as far down as there is light enough to see it. A stone, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, covers the well, and in it is a circular hole, 18 inches in diameter, with a raised square moulding round it. The dressing somewhat resembles Crusading work. The masonry of the shaft beneath is apparently well finished. There are remains of mosaic pavement round the stone forming the well-mouth, and, as has been already noticed in "Tent-Work," two pillars of the ancient church are still in site in a vault north-west of the well. They are of grey syenite, and it is probable that the other shafts of similar character lying near the enclosure (70 paces square) in which Jacob's Well now stands also belonged, not as some have thought, to the Temple on Gerizim, but rather to the ancient Cruciform Basilica, which was so built as to have the well in the centre of the cross. Excavations would probably result in the tracing of this church under the present surface, but any interference with the place is looked on with extreme suspicion by the peasantry, who imagine that the Franks wish to take the well away to Europe.

EN TAPPUAH.

According to the views of recent writers, this place is to be sought south of Nâblus, and west of the plain of el Mukhnah. There are several good springs in the direction, and it seemed possible that en Tappuah, the "apple spring," might still exist under the Arabian form *Ain et Tuffâh* (or *Tuffâh*) somewhere either near 'Ain Abûs, or further south. We accordingly went along the route in question, as far south at Yâsûf, and enquired, both at 'Ain Abûs and afterwards, for the situation of 'Ain et Tuffâh. In spite of this leading question, no one professed to know the site, and the goat-herds (who are the best authority on such questions) denied that any such place existed. They enumerated many other springs which are marked on the map, and curiously enough

suggested that we meant 'Ain Yásuf, which (according to the view advocated in the "Handbook to the Bible") is just where en Tappuah should be sought. Although it is thus only a negative result which we have obtained, it is so far satisfactory that careful enquiry, both in 1881 and 1877, failed to recover the name. So that there is no need to suspect that an important name has been omitted from the Survey in this case.

JUFNA.

A curious instance of the way in which small objects may be overlooked occurred in this instance. The village had been visited in 1872 by the Survey party, and subsequently by Lieutenant Kitchener. Colonel Wilson has also been there, and Dr. Clapton has visited the place, yet no one seems to have noticed the sarcophagus side built into the courtyard of the Greek Church of St. George, which stands south of the village in the valley. The design represents three wreaths supported by a winged genii, and three Medusa heads occur in medallions above the wreaths. The side has been broken off and built into the north wall of the courtyard, the door of which bears a modern Greek inscription, with the dates 1858 and 1860.

Inside the courtyard, in a corner, is a fine old Crusading font of the usual pattern, cylindrical, with a square basin and four semi-circular seats forming a quartrefoil within the circle (as at Tekoa and in many other places south of Jerusalem). There is also a rude Byzantine capital outside the Church, and the other portions of the sarcophagus lie near. Thus, in the little shrine of St. George, we have remains of every period from the Roman epoch downwards, and the site with its fine trees and pomegranate bushes is probably an ancient shrine.

ER RAM.

At the shrine which is so conspicuous near this village are remains of a former chapel. The lintel stone (as it would seem) with a bas-relief of rosettes, has been found by Dr. Chaplin within the building, and a very curious stone mask is in his possession, obtained from the village. It represents a human face without hair or beard, the nose well-cut, the eyes and mouth very feebly designed.

The mask is hollowed out behind, and has two deep holes at the back as if to fix it to a wall. It is over a foot in longer diameter, and curiously resembles some of the faces of the Moabite collection of Mr. Shapira. There cannot well be any question of its genuine character, and nothing like it has been found so far as I know in Palestine.

JETT.

Two Roman lamps with double wicks were shown to me at Nâbus, one is in the form of a bull, the forefeet extended in front to form the spouts for the wicks. These were found in 1874 at *Jett*, and I had often heard of the bull as an ancient idol. The place in question is

situate near the plain of Sharon (Sheet XI), and is an ancient site of importance, probably the Gath of the Egyptian records, and the *Gitta* of which Simon Magus is said to have been a native.

JERUSALEM.

It is almost exactly six years since I last visited the Holy City, and during this time the growth of the place has been very rapid. A Jewish village, not marked on the Survey, has grown up along the Jaffa road, and the Jewish population is now estimated at 1,500 souls out of some 2,503 inhabitants. The number of Germans has also largely increased, and similar changes are said to have occurred at Bethlehem and Hebron. There is always something new to find in the city, and Dr. Chaplin pointed out to me several interesting details. The under-mentioned inscription is not to be found, so far as I am aware, in previous papers, and was unknown to Dr. Chaplin, nor is it among those collected for the Society in 1873, by M. Ganneau. It was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. S. Bergheim. It occurs on the north wall of the tower in which Herod's Gate (*Báb ez Zahreh*) is built, and is placed on a sort of tablet, measuring 3 feet by 1 foot with triangular wings. The stone is built into the wall upside down, and the existence of the tablet, the form of the letters, and the words in the 2nd and 3rd lines, *Της Αγίας τῆς*, seem to show that it is of Christian and Byzantine origin.

ΓεΡ ΔωΝ
 ΤΑΙΝωΝCYCI THC
 ΑΤΙΑCTHC ΟΙω
 ANNOY . . . C . . INHΘ . ANTIωN

I have omitted various doubtful letters, as the inscription does not appear valuable. The stone is too rough and crooked to allow of a satisfactory squeeze being taken. It is some 15 feet from the ground, and I copied it standing on a ladder. It was probably taken from one of the early Christian Churches in the city.

In passing through the bazaars and the *Viâ Dolorosa*, Dr. Chaplin pointed out to us various remains of Crusading Jerusalem. The bazaar was known in the twelfth century as *Malcuisinat*, and the groined vaulting of the roof seems to belong to this period, while on one of the corbels supporting the arches is cut in mediæval characters the inscription

n
 sca
 anna

Probably there was property belonging to the Church of St. Anne at this spot. There are many other little Crusading relics at Jerusalem of which I have made notes at different periods, and which serve to illustrate the curious mediæval account contained in the "*Citez de Jherusalem*."

SILOAM.

The excavations now conducted on the Ophel ridge by Dr. Guthe for the German Exploration Society are of great interest. Through

his kindness we were enabled to visit them all, but I should ill repay his courtesy by forestalling his own account of his work. It is sufficient to say that he is engaged in investigating a corner of the city where, perhaps, more than anywhere else, success may be expected to attend the employer, and where, moreover, we are most in want of information. He has shown, moreover, that the Ophel spur was once covered with buildings down almost to the very edge of the pool. It is difficult to give a date for such buildings, but with some exceptions they seem at least not later than the time of Hadrian, and I was disposed to think that the continuation of Colonel Warren's Ophel wall has really been found by Dr. Guthe running southwards. Some remains seem, however, clearly (as Dr. Guthe also thinks) to belong to the Byzantine period, and the excavations require to be extended considerably before any final conclusions can safely be reached.

Dr. Guthe also kindly gave us the opportunity of visiting the now famous inscription in the great rock-cut channel. Far from wondering that it was never seen before, the marvel appears to me to be that it was ever found at all. Two youths of Jewish birth endeavoured to walk along the passage to the north end, but failed to do so—yet stumbled on the inscription, but the water was then running almost on the level of the highest line of the text. It has now been carried off so as to show the whole height of the tablet, which is about 2 feet square, with a face carefully polished and slightly convex. The letters are remarkably distinct, but the flaws in the rock render the text very difficult to follow. The letters are filled with a deposit of lime formed by the water action, and it is consequently impossible to take a squeeze which will give any really valuable idea of the text.

Dr. Guthe has taken several paper squeezes and one gypsum cast, but none of these give a good idea of the letters. With the aid of these, however, and by sketching from the letters themselves, he has produced a copy which will probably supersede all others. This has taken him several weeks of work, and I thought it impossible to rival it in the time at our command. The inscription is on the right hand on entering the passage from the Siloam end, and some 12 paces from the entrance.

It is thought in Jerusalem that Professor Sayce's copy and translation may prove too hasty to be of any value. Mr. Shapira gives a different interpretation to the text, explaining it as referring to the cutting of the tunnel from the two opposite ends. This we know was really how the excavation was effected, and Mr. Shapira's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew idiom (as a Talmudist of 20 years' education) seems to render his opinion worthy of consideration.

It might appear strange that the visitor who scratched his name in the upper part of the tablet did not see the text, but there was an old water-mark above the inscription when first discovered, and the letters were no doubt hidden. Dr. Guthe has found part of the ancient pool to which the channel ran, and the impression which I obtained on the spot, when carefully observing the scarps on either side of the valley, was, that

the ancient pool of Siloam, the "ditch" which Hezekiah made for the water of the Old Pool (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11) may have been a large sheet of water forming a defence where the wall was lowest, and closing a weak point at the outlet of the Tyropœon valley.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

IV.

NABLUS. JERUSALEM. THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, 7th June, 1881.

IT appears now unavoidable that some delay should occur in commencing the Eastern Survey, in consequence of the difficulties raised by the Turkish authorities which cannot be overcome without patience. Meantime much interesting work remains to be done, in collecting the various discoveries made by residents, and noting the results of excavations and alterations which have occurred during the last five years. During 1872 it was impossible to enter the mosques at Nâblus, but during my recent visit I was able, by the kind assistance of M. Falsher, to visit every monument of interest within the walls of the town, and to collect several new traditions.

In the middle of Nâblus is a quadrangular building with whitewashed walls, containing the tomb of Sheikh Badrân or Sheikh Bedr er Rafia'. The walls are whitewashed, and the roof is supported by four pillars having early Byzantine capitals and grey granite shafts. This is evidently an early basilica which has as yet, so far as I am aware, escaped notice. Sheikh Badrân is said to have been the father of Sheikh 'Amâd ed Dîn, whose sacred place is on Ebal. This also indicates the Christian origin of the tradition, for the companion shrine on Ebal was originally also a church, and the Greeks and Latins alike in Nâblus, regard it as the place where the head of John the Baptist was buried; his body, according to an early but erroneous tradition, being buried at Samaria. 'Amâd ed Dîn ("monument of the faith") appears (according to the description given by Marino Sanuto) to be the place which the Crusaders called Dan, and where they supposed the calf to have been set up by Jeroboam,—the Bethel of the narrative being, according to their explanation, the Samaritan site of Luz on Gerizim.

In addition to the great mosque, the Mosque of Hezu Ya'kûb ("the wailing of Jacob"), and the Leper's Mosque (the old crusading hospital in the north-east angle of the city), I visited the sacred place called Oulâd Y'akûb, "the sons of Jacob," a sight which Robinson sought in vain, and which seems to have an antiquity not inferior to Jacob's well or Joseph's tomb. It is recognized by Jew, Samaritan, and Moslem alike, and is mentioned by St. Jerome in his account of Sta. Paula's journey. It is in the north-east angle of the town, north of the Leper's Mosque, and close

to the "Raisin Mart" (Khân Ezbîb). A door on the north leads to a little paved court, with a division of stone, some 6 inches high, beyond which ones boots must be removed. In this court are two small marble pillar shafts, one of which has an Arab inscription, with the name of *Malik 'Amr* and the date 622 A.H. (13th century). In other respects the building seems quite modern. On the south side is a double chamber, the southern half entered from the east, while in the northern half is a large cenotaph of the ordinary kind, covered with green cloths, and having a high pilla with sculptured turban at either end. This, according to the Sheikh, was the tomb of three of the sons of Jacob, to whom he gave the names Reiyâlûn, Sahyûn (apparently Sion), and Bushera (perhaps Asher).

I have also paid a visit to the Samaritan High Priest Y'akûb, for the purpose of enquiring as to various Samaritan traditions. We found him in the little synagogue, where a representative congregation, robed in white, were reading the law in high nasal key much like that of a Jewish service. The Samaritans appear to be prospering, as their numbers have increased from 135 to 160 souls; and I was much impressed with the fine physique and handsome countenances of the men, which seem to contradict the idea that the race is dying out, as does also the fact that the number of males is considerably in excess of that of the females (98 to 62).

I was, however, disappointed by the results of our conversation with respect to the character of Samaritan traditions, not only because I found that the present High Priest has forgotten many things known to Amrâm, his uncle and predecessor, and has only a confused remembrance of many important points, but also because in many cases the traditions which he related, as commonly received, are of very recent origin, and traceable to the Crusaders. Thus, for instance, he believed that Dothan was not to be placed at Tell Dothân, the site recognized by Jerome and by modern writers, but at Khân Jubb Yusef, where it is placed by the Crusading historians, north of the Sea of Galilee. He stated that this was to be proved from ancient Samaritan books, and was quite unaware of the unsatisfactory nature of the identification.

The Samaritans have a tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried each within the bounds of his own tribe. The sites which they point out are not, however, in accordance with this view. As regards Joshua's tomb, both the modern Samaritans and the mediæval Samaritan writers are divided into two parties, the one saying that he lies with Eliazar and Phinehas at 'Awertah, the others that he is buried with Nun and Caleb at Kefr Hâris.

I found that Caleb is known among them as Kif, which renders the identification of the three sites at Kefr Hâris complete; Neby Nua being Nun, Neby Kif Caleb, and Neby Lusha' Joshua, in accordance with the account of R. Jacob of Paris, and other Jewish travellers of the middle ages.

The tombs of the twelve sons of Jacob, as believed in by the Samaritans,

are all now in the hands of the Moslems, excepting perhaps that of Joseph, to which Jews and Samaritans have access, and where they burn oil and incense on two altars, one at the head, the other at the foot of the cenotaph. Judah lies at Neby Húdah in el Yehudiyeh (Jehud), north of Jaffa. Dan, at Neby Dan, in the village of Neby Danián, a little further east. Asher is said to be Neby Tota (the good prophet), in Túbás, north-east of Náblus. Simeon is Neby Shem'ón, near Kefr Sâta, north of Jaffa. Reuben is Neby Rúbîn, a sacred place east of Yebnah, to which for at least 300 years pilgrimages have been made (far, however, from the lot of the tribe of Reuben). Levi is Neby Lawín, who has a conspicuous shrine near Sileh, north-west of Náblus. Benjamin, Gad, and Naphtali were unknown to the High Priest, who thought they might be the three buried at the Oulád Ya'kub as above noticed. I believe, however, that Neby Yemín near Neby Sham'ón probably belongs to this group, and represents Benjamin.

Issachar, according to the High Priest, is now called Neby Hazkíl (Hazkíl or Ezekiel) by the Moslems, and lies in the village of Rameh. It is very remarkable that Rameh is a border town (Remeth) of Issachar, and that the name Hazkín occurs again in the same connection in Jebel Hazkín, which exists on the border of the same tribe near the south-east angle. In this case, therefore, the tradition has some *prima facie* appearance of being genuine. Finally the High Priest had heard that Zebulon was buried somewhere near Sidon. I presume that he referred to Neby Sebelán in the hills above Tyre. He also stated that other children (probably descendants) of Jacob were buried at 'Astret el Hatab and at el Bizdneh; all these places lie in the districts where in former times the Samaritans were numerous, and none are within the borders of Judæa. I give these traditions for what they are worth as a contribution to the folk-lore of Palestine.

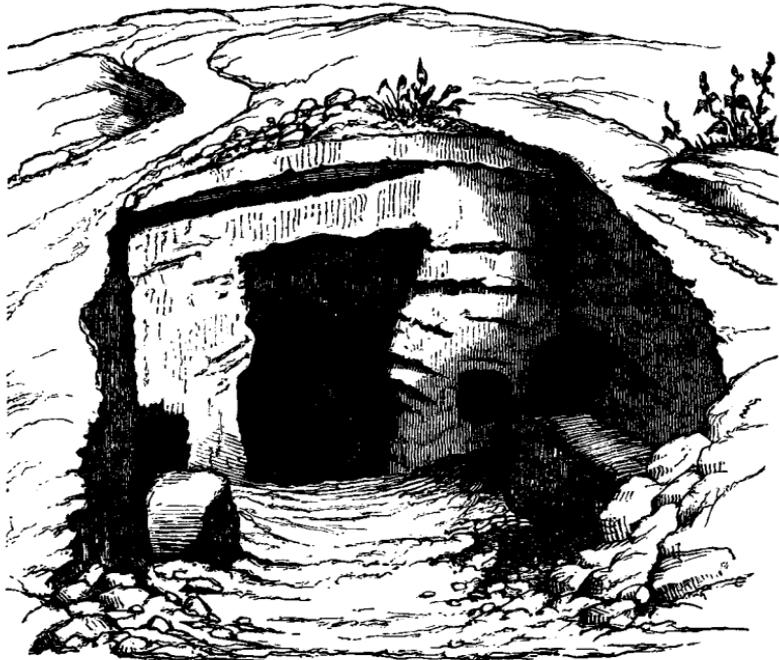
JERUSALEM.

I find that the identification of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto with the probable site of Calvary, which depends mainly on the fact that, according to Jewish tradition, this was the ancient place of public execution, has found favour with a large number of intelligent readers. I have already explained that we are indebted to Dr. Chaplin for discovering the tradition; but there are several facts in connection with this most interesting question which I have only recently ascertained.

The modern Arab name of the place is *el Heidhemáneh* ("torn down"), but this is a corruption of the earlier *Adhemáneh* as given by Mejr ed Dín, and there seems no doubt that it is derived from the tomb of a son of the famous Edhem, a historical character. The Sheikh of the Jerusalem Haram gave me this explanation, which is confirmed by Dr. Chaplin. It appears also from Mejr ed Dín, that the neighbourhood immediately east was called *es Sahira*, and was an ill-omened place connected in the imagination of Moslems with death and judgment (like the Kedron Valley

beyond it). Possibly in this we may have some trace of the ill-omened site of the ancient place of execution.

Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. This was mentioned to me by the Rev. A. Henderson, but I could not then remember the circumstance. On walking from the north-east corner of Jerusalem towards the rock I perceived, however, what was meant. The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base



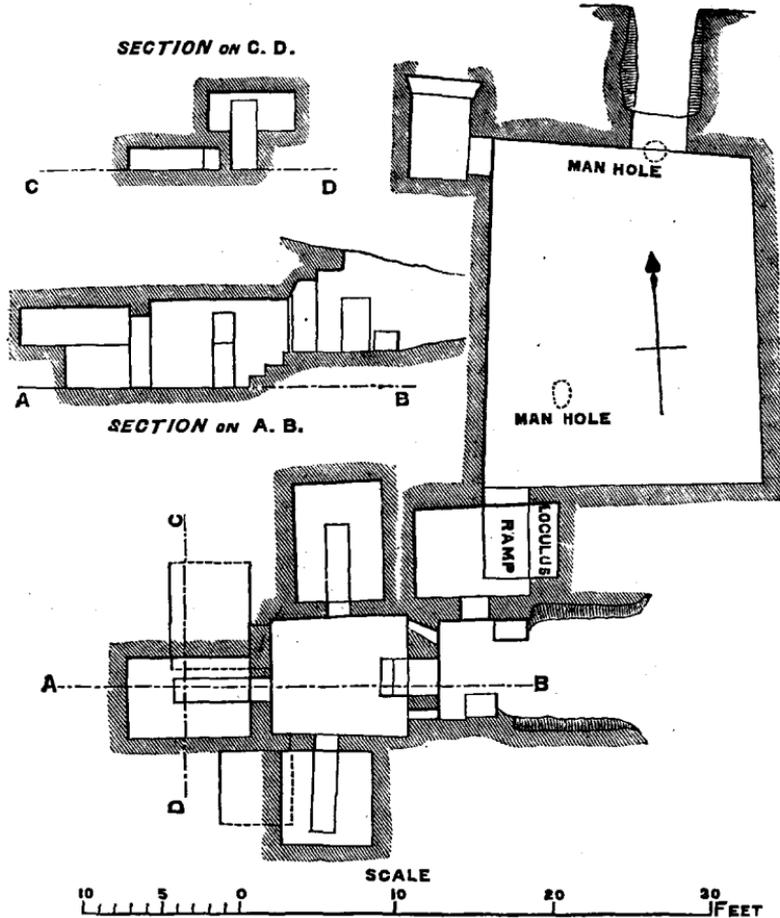
NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTA.—VIEW FROM EAST.

an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground, rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.

It is more important to notice that the site of Jeremiah's Grotto is peculiarly fitted for a place of execution in consequence of its commanding position. From the summit the eye roams above the city walls over the greater part of Jerusalem, while on the west the ground rises beyond the intervening valley like a theatre. There is hardly another

spot near Jerusalem so fitted to be the central point for any public spectacle.

Still more interesting is a discovery which I made about a week ago, of an indisputably Jewish tomb immediately west of the knoll in question. It has only recently been opened, and has not been as yet described, I believe, by any visitor. It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance



NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH TOMB NEAR THE CITY, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTA.

Survey about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarped on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarped. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform.

I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. This excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some thirty paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window, 4 ft. wide, either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling-stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall, and from the back wall is an entrance 20 ins. wide and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and on each side is a bench about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft., its length 7 ft. 2 in., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheikh Ibreik, and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs of the form commonly used by the Crusaders, was found in 1873 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north: the next nearest being the tomb discovered in 1873, about 300 yards further north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden, nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the old cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless

preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus of the position of the "Women's Towers" (see "Handbook to the Bible," page 352). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which he lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten, until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

A careful plan of the site and of the tomb is being made by Lieutenant Mantell,* as the alterations in this part of Jerusalem are proceeding so rapidly, that on our next visit rock and tomb may alike have disappeared.

THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.†

Since proposing the identification of this mountain, I have been unable until yesterday to revisit the spot. Readers of "Tent Work"

* In making this plan, Lieutenant Mantell found various remains of early Byzantine sculpture belonging to cornices, also pieces of tessellated pavement and of a stone pavement of squares about 6 inches side. These were dug up south of the rock platform, near the spot where Mr. Schick discovered the great sarcophagus, supposed by Dr. Chaplin to have been the tomb of the Empress Eudocia. It is known that the old church of St. Stephen, which she built and where she was buried, existed on this spot, and the cornices and terraces are no doubt fragments of this basilica.

† My identification of this site has been recently called in question by

will remember that there was a place called Tzuk, to which the scape goat was conducted, and where his conductor, seizing him by the legs, pushed him over a precipice, so that rolling to the bottom he was killed, and thus the evil omen of his voluntary return to Jerusalem was rendered impossible. The mountain was in a district called Hidoodim, and the place of precipitation was called Tzuk. It was apparently at a distance of eleven Sabbath days' journey from the city, and was at the entrance to the desert.

In 1876 I was able to show in the *Quarterly Statement* how all these requisites are met by the site of el Muntâr ("the watch tower"), a great hill north-east of Mar Saba, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk occurs under the form Sûk (radically exact) at an ancient well near the ridge. The name Hidoodim seems to be preserved, as I first remarked in 1876, in the title *Hadeidun*, applying to the ridge or spur running north-east from the mountain. The distance is almost exactly that required, and the view of the desert first opens on the traveller from Jerusalem as he nears the summit. Since I proposed the identification, Mr. Schick has visited the spot; and in our recent visit we were able to recover the names as before from another witness, and to make several other observations of interest.

Lieutenant Mantell, Dr. Chaplin, and myself rode yesterday to the mountain along the ancient road which leads to it from Jerusalem. This road, diverging from the Jericho highway at Bethany, leads west of Abu Dis, and descends into the upper part of the great Wâdy Abu Hindi, which will be found marked on our map west of the mountain. We could trace the ancient roadway by its side walls the greater part of the distance, and verified the nomenclature of the map in a very satisfactory manner in riding along. Ancient wells, the sites of which are marked on the map and their names recorded in the "Memoirs," occur all along the course of the road. The well of Sûk or Tzuk (Bir es Sûk or Herubbet es Sûk) is a little south of the road, on the side of a shallow depression in the wolds which extend unbroken from Abu Dis to el Muntar. It has every appearance of antiquity, with a small aqueduct some 200 feet,

Professor Neubauer, who does not, however, appear to have been aware of the strength of the arguments in its favour, as he refers only to the name Hadeidun. He supposes Tzuk to have been 12 Roman miles from Jerusalem, which is contrary to the explanation of the Mishna, given by Maimonides, and he places the site at Jebel Kuruntul, which is over 13 English miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk he proposes to recover in 'Ain Dûk, at the foot of this mountain; but this name (Doch or Dagon) has no connection with Tzuk (צוק).

It may be noticed, moreover, that while el Muntâr is a singularly conspicuous mountain, at the proper distance from Jerusalem, on an ancient road, and reached without crossing any great feature, Kuruntul can only be reached by a long detour northwards from the city; and far from being visible from the Temple, it is not even seen from Olivet, being hidden by the surrounding ridges. Kuruntul has, in fact, no circumstances in its favour, while the distance is about double that at which the site of Tzuk is to be sought.

bringing surface water from the hill slopes on the east. The great block in form of a cylinder, with a round perforation in the middle, covering the rock-cut cistern beneath, has been broken in two. On the well-mouth lies a rude term or pillar 2 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, much resembling a small mile-stone. There is a second stone collar lying beside the well, cut like the broken one in very hard stone, and showing no marks of the cords of shepherds' buckets, either because the well is little used, or because the stone is too hard. The reservoir is full of good water, and our guide said it extended some way under the ground. There is a small hole in the side of the well, through which the water from the aqueduct enters the cistern beneath at the end of the channel, which is also rock-cut.

Some 300 paces east of the well is a cave, with its mouth to the north. It is quite rough, and is 7 feet high and some 10 paces square.

On the spur north of the well—a high ridge, whence Jerusalem and el Muntâr are both distinctly visible, are remains of an enclosure called Rujm Ghuzâlêh ("Cairn of the Gazelle"), with a tradition attached, that a favourite horse of an Arab Chief, called "the Gazelle" from its speed and beauty, was here killed in an Arab skirmish. The enclosure is 30 paces east and west, by 24 paces north and south, presenting a single row of roughly cut stones, some being of considerable size (4 to 5 feet long), and one having a socket cut in it as if for a door post.

The identification of the Scape Goat Mountain does not seem to require further evidence than that already brought forward. Still two curious points may be noticed. In the first place the word *Ghuzâlêh* contains the root of the name *Azazel*, rendered "scape" in our version, but generally recognised as the name of a demon. The enclosure is just about the distance at which the last Tabernacle between Jerusalem and Tzuk should occur, and the messenger as he pushed the goat over the precipice would have been in full view. It is again worthy of notice that the name *Hidu* is used for "India" in the Talmud, and that the unusual name *Wâdy Abu Hindi*, "Valley father of the Indian," applies to the main ravine below el Muntâr.

As regards the mountain itself, I was delighted to find that my impression of the precipitous character of its eastern slopes was not exaggerated. El Muntâr is a great rounded hill as seen from the west, but a steep cliff as viewed from the east. A very steep slope of white marl, some hundreds of feet in height, here exists, and it would be difficult for a goat to find foot-hold in climbing on it, while if pushed over the edge it must inevitably roll to the bottom, and would no doubt be killed by the fall.

The view also from the mountain is very remarkable. Jerusalem is in full sight, the Haram Courts are visible, and the Dome of the Rock is only hidden by a group of olive trees. I was not aware that any point in this desert near Mâr Saba could be seen from the city; but the mountain appears through a gap between Olivet and the more southern hills. Thus, when the unhappy goat was pushed over the precipice, the worshippers in the Temple would have been able, by straining their eyes, almost to distin-

guish the figure of the conductor against the sky line, and the stations whence cloths were waved, to give the news of the death of the scape goat, need not have exceeded two or three in number. These observations serve to connect the mountain in a very remarkable manner with the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and the act of dismissal of the goat is brought, as it were, within the same theatre with the other ceremonies of the day. From the Mount of Olives, the course of the messengers could be distinctly seen almost throughout the whole distance of the journey, for no deep valley intervenes between the city and the Muntâr mountain, a narrow shed running out and connecting the hill with the Olivet chain.

Nor is the view east less striking; a traveller ascends the brown or tawny hill side, and finds himself at the top of the white precipice, the whole of the Judæan desert suddenly unfolds before and beneath him. On the south the Tower of Mat Saba and the peaks called Kurûn el Hayr ("horns of stone"). Beyond these the desert of Engedi, and far away south-east of Beersheba, the peaks of Safra Lawandi. On the east, the *Bukei'a* or white plateau above the cliffs, west of the Dead Sea. On the north-east the Jordan valley, the black line of the Jordan jungle, the dark thorn groves of Jericho, the white and modern Russian hotel at Eriha (one of the many Russian hospices built within the last five years in Palestine). Far away north the mysterious cone of Sartaba, and beyond all the dark slopes of Gilead and Moab, the high plateau which extends (in view) almost at an unbroken level from the Jabbok southwards, the great gorge of the Zerka M'âir, and the dark blue waters of the Dead Sea, with the yellow sand spit at the Jordan mouth, and the long yellow line of the Lisân.

The contrast of the glaring white desert, and the dark eastern hills, between the countless knolls and ridges on the west, and the great gorges on the east, was very striking; and there is, perhaps, no view on the earth which is so weird and strange, as this panorama of the Judæan desert from the mountain of the scape goat.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT., R.E.

A VISIT TO 'AIN QADIS: THE SUPPOSED SITE OF KADESH-BARNEA.

AMONG the unsettled sites of the Desert of the Exodus, none is entitled to more prominence than Kadesh-barnea. Dean Stanley says: "There can be no question that next to Sinai, the most important resting place of the Children of Israel is Kadesh." Professor Palmer adds: "This is perhaps the most important site in the whole region, as it forms the key to the movements of the Children of Israel during the forty years wanderings." And Dr. William Smith declares: "To determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route."