

fulfil all the conditions of the incident. From it the ground swells back and upwards in every direction, so that a vast host of people might have been assembled around, and witnessed whatever was transpiring here ; a ten minutes' walk would have taken Elijah's servant to the top of the hill on which stands the Khurbet Duweibeh, from which the sea is plainly visible. Water in any quantity, even at that time of drought, could have been supplied from the tanks at Khurbet Ali-eddin, also only ten minutes' distant, a plan of which I have already given ; and we are told that twelve barrels of water were used. Within a hundred yards of this pile the present path passes down the Wady el Jennadyeh, and at the bottom of it is Tell el Kussis ("The Hill of the Priests"), the traditional site of the massacre. Again, this must have been in the centre of the most populous part of the mountain. Indeed, it is difficult to realise now the extent of the population which must in those days have inhabited the south-eastern angle of Carmel. The best idea of it can be formed from the fact that within a radius of two miles and a half from this pile of stones there are, including Esfia, which is doubtless an ancient site, no fewer than twelve Khurbets or ruins of ancient towns and villages on the various hill-tops and mountain spurs which surround it. Here, then, are all the conditions required to satisfy the Biblical narrative, and to support the hypothesis that the events recorded—which certainly could not have taken place at the site generally assigned to them without involving contradiction—occurred rather on the plateau a mile distant, which is surrounded by so many of the villages of the mountain to which "all Israel" was summoned, rather than to the more limited space half-way down the mountain on the other side, where water was scarce, and the opportunity of witnessing the scene that was transpiring was less favourable.

LAWRENCE OLIPHANT.

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## RECENT BIBLICAL RESEARCH IN PALESTINE, SYRIA, AND ASIA MINOR.

*(A paper read at the Reading Church Congress, October 3rd, 1883.)*

By Colonel Sir C. W. WILSON.

THE most important features of recent Biblical research in Palestine are the discovery of the Siloam Inscription, and the survey of a portion of the country east of Jordan, by Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., for the Palestine Exploration Fund. The Siloam Inscription, found accidentally in the rock-hewn channel which conducts the water of the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam, records the meeting of the workmen, and the completion of the channel. Its value for philology

and epigraphy is very great, for it not only gives us a form of the Phœnician alphabet of a very early date, and closely resembling that of the Moabite Stone, but brings before us the Hebrew language as it was spoken in the age of the Kings. Professor Sayce, who remarks on the Biblical character of the language and the occurrence of Old Testament idioms in the inscription, assigns it to some date between the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., and Professor Neubauer has suggested that the channel was cut in the reign of Ahaz.

The expedition of Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell was brought to a premature end by the refusal of the Porte to grant a firman, but not before 500 square miles of country had been surveyed, and plans, drawings, and photographs procured of the principal places of interest. The district examined included Jebel Neba, Mount Nebo, so that we have now detailed plans of the spot whence Moses took his final view of the Promised Land; the plains of Moab on which the Israelites encamped before crossing Jordan, and where, in all probability, the cities of the plain were situated; and the heights from which Balaam looked down on the people he was called upon to curse. It is extremely interesting to find the name Zophim, under the form Tal'at es Sufa, "ascent of Zuph," still lingering on the slopes of Mount Nebo; and no less so to find groups of rude stone monuments near the sites upon which Baalam, probably, erected his three altars. These cromlechs have been noticed by Irby and Mangles, De Saulcy, Duc de Luynes, Dr. Tristram, and other travellers, but until the recent survey no one was aware of the great number of them scattered over the country east of Jordan, or of the remarkable manner in which they are grouped round certain centres. The survey confirms the identification of Ashdoth Pisgah with the "Springs of Moses," and throws much light on many obscure Biblical sites in the vicinity of the Dead Sea; but for these points, and also for an accurate description of the view from the summit of Nebo, I must refer you to the interesting work recently published by Captain Conder, under the title of "Heth and Moab." The results of the survey are so valuable that its abrupt termination is a matter for unfeigned regret.

Before crossing the Jordan, Captain Conder made an excursion from Beirût in search of the great Hittite city of Kadesh, on the Orontes, and believes that he discovered it in Tell Neby Mendeh, on the south slope of which there are ruins still called Kades. Until the last few years the Hittites were only known to us as one of the tribes inhabiting Palestine at the time of the conquest, but recent discovery has shown them to have been a powerful kingdom, or, perhaps more rightly, a confederation of small states, able to hold their own against the great monarchies of Egypt and Assyria, and exercising a widespread religious influence, if not dominion, over the people of Asia Minor. In the time of Abraham the power of the Hittites appears to have extended to the southern limits of Palestine; it is from Ephron the Hittite that he buys the cave of Machpelah, and the bargain is confirmed "in the audience of the children of Heth;" so too it is to the same children of Heth that

he "bows himself down," an obsequiousness which indicates clearly that they were the ruling race. At the time of the conquest there is a marked change; during the interval the Hittite power in Palestine had been weakened by the campaigns of Thothmes III, Rameses I, Sethi I, and Rameses II; and the Hittites re-appear as a people inhabiting Syria and Northern Palestine, or the country from "Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates." This decline of Hittite power in the south was followed, apparently, by the rise of the Amorites, a kindred Hamitic race, and by the formation of numerous petty kingdoms, which were never able to form a coalition sufficiently strong to resist the onward march of the compact Israelite force under the leadership of Joshua. The Amorites seem to have spread themselves over a large portion of Palestine; the Kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon were Amorite; Sihon and Og, after driving out the Ammonites and other peoples, established Amorite kingdoms east of Jordan, and even Kadesh on the Orontes is said to have been an Amorite city, under the jurisdiction of the Hittites, during the reign of Sethi I.

While the conquest of Palestine was being effected by Joshua, the Hittites appear only as the allies of Jabin, King of Hazor, and during the stormy period of the Judges which followed, they are mentioned only as one of the tribes with whom the Israelites intermarried, and as having afforded shelter to the traitor who betrayed Bethel into the hands of the children of Joseph. During the earlier portion of this period occurred the remarkable invasion of Syria by the European nations who, after subduing the Hittites, advanced on Egypt, and were defeated by Rameses III in Southern Palestine; and there are traces of another disturbance, from which the Hittites probably suffered as much as the Jews, in the conquests of Chushan Rishathaim of Mesopotamia, who held Palestine for eight years. After this the Hittites regained some of their lost power, and in the reign of Tiglath Pileser I, who died 1100 B.C., they were paramount in Northern Syria; that monarch defeated a powerful combination of Hittite tribes, amongst whom the Muski, Karkiya, and Urumiya, were the most important, and subdued the whole country as far as the Mediterranean, upon which he embarked in a ship of Aradus. From this blow the Hittites never fully recovered, and they were soon afterwards forced northwards by the expansion of the Hebrew and Syrian monarchies, which rose to importance during the period of Assyrian decline that followed the death of Tiglath Pileser's son Samsiovil. Carchemish henceforward takes the place of Kadesh, as the centre of Hittite influence, and Hamath appears as a small Hittite state—first in alliance with David, and afterwards as tributary to Solomon, who built store-cities there. On the death of Solomon, and the break up of his empire, Hamath recovered its independence, and the Hittites regained something of their former power; this did not, however, last long, for they and their allies were signally defeated by the Assyrian Kings Assurnazirpal (885–860 B.C.) and Shalmanezar II (859–824 B.C.). From the latter date the history of the Hittites, as gathered from the Assyrian records, is one of constant revolt

and cruel repression, until the final overthrow by Sargon, who took Carchemish 717 B.C., led the people away captive, and appointed Assyrian governors over the country. The most striking events of this period are the three years' siege of Arpad by Tiglath Pileser II, and the same monarch's campaign against the King of Hamath and his ally Azariah, or Uziah, King of Judah.

Little is known of the Hittite power in Asia Minor; it was probably at its height in the fourteenth century B.C., but must have been profoundly shaken by the great victory of Rameses II at Kadesh, which, according to the striking epic of the contemporary court poet Pentaur, broke "the back of the Khita for ever and ever." The tendency of such a defeat must at any rate have been to weaken the influence of the Hittites over the Mysians, Lycians, Dardanians, and other tribes of Western Anatolia, who fought with them on that occasion. It would appear, from the Assyrian records, that the Hittites gradually split up into a number of independent tribes or states, such as the Cilicians, Moschians, Tibarenians, Comanians, the people of Commagene, and others, who are mentioned in the annals of the wars of Sargon and his successors; the final extinction of their power, however, appears to have been due to the inroads of the Cimmerians and Scythians, and they afterwards formed part of the Median empire, which extended to the Halys. So complete was their overthrow that even their distinctive name was lost, and they appear in Herodotus and Strabo as Leuco-Syrians, Cappadocians, Cataonians, &c. The widespread influence of the Hittites may, however, be gathered from their monuments: the inscriptions on the monument at Karabel, the Sesostris of Herodotus, on the old road from Sardis to Ephesus, and near the Niobe, in the Valley of the Hermus, show that they penetrated to the Ægean, and there are certain indications that Sardis was once in their hands. The next monuments are those at Giaour Kalessi, between Sivrihissar and Angora, and then follow the interesting remains at Boghazkeui, near Yuzgat. The ruins at Boghazkeui, of which Herr Humann, so well known from his excavations at Pergamos, made a plan last year, are quite unlike those of an ancient Greek city; they cover a wide extent of ground, and have more in common with cities like Babylon and Nineveh than with the typical Greek city gathered round its acropolis. The walls are still standing to a considerable height, and there are underground means of exit which offer several interesting features; there are also the foundations of a large temple, constructed of massive stones jointed together in a peculiar manner, and a long inscription in which, though almost obliterated, several Hittite symbols are distinctly visible. The rock sculptures, of which casts were taken by Herr Humann, are a series of religious representations with Hittite symbols above the gods and goddesses; the majority of the figures are female, and amongst them are twelve of the armed Amazons who played such an important part in the religious worship of Asia Minor. In one figure can be recognised the "effeminate character, the soft outlines, the long sweeping dress, the ornaments of the eunuch high priest of

Cybelâ;" and in another the warlike goddess Cybele. Not far from Boghazkeui are the ruins of Uyük, with the curious sphinxes, which, though made after an Egyptian model, differ widely from the Egyptian type. Uyük is interesting as the only instance of what may be called a Hittite mound building in Anatolia, and shows us that, contrary to the practice in Assyria, the Hittites placed their sculptures so as to face outwards. To this peculiarity of construction is probably due the almost universal selection of trachyte or basalt for the sculptures instead of a softer stone; the only exception is, I believe, at Jerablûs, where some of the slabs are of limestone. In Pontus there are traces of Hittite art in two small slabs, which I found at Kaisariyeh, but which came originally from the neighbourhood of Amasia. At Iflatûn Bûnar, near the Lake of Beischehr, there is a large monument of Hittite origin; and at Ivriz, near Eregli, there is a well-preserved rock-hewn monument, representing a thanksgiving to the god who gives fertility to the earth. "The god is a husbandman, marked as giver of corn and wine by his attributes; and the gorgeous raiment of the suppliant priest, praying for a blessing upon the country and people, is purposely contrasted with the plain garments of the god." The god wears the very dress still used by the peasantry of Anatolia; the high-peaked cap is still in use among some of the Kurdish tribes; the tunic fastened round the waist by a girle is the present loose garment with its *kummerbund*; and the tip-tilted shoes are the ordinary sandals of the country, with exactly the same bandages and mode of fastening. The sandal is very like the Canadian mocassin, and the long bandage wound round the foot and ankle is the equivalent of the blanket sock; it is the best possible covering for the foot in a country where the cold in winter is intense, and the snow lies on the ground for a long period; and as it appears on all Hittite monuments, I think, it is an evidence of the northern origin of the Hittites. It is interesting also to notice that some of the patterns on the priest's dress have not yet gone out of fashion amongst the Cappadocian peasantry. At Bor, between Eregli and Nigdeh, Mr. Ramsay, whilst travelling with me last year, discovered a new inscription which, unlike all Hittite texts hitherto known, is incised, and not in relief; near the silver mines in the Bulghar Dagh is another inscription, and at the mouth of a curious gorge close to Gurun, near the head waters of an arm of the Euphrates, I found two others. It is, however, south of the Taurus, between that range and Aleppo, and eastward to the Euphrates, that the most numerous traces of the Hittites are to be found; near the eastern extremity of the Bagtché Pass, by which Darius crossed Mount Amanus, when he came down in rear of Alexander's army before the battle of Issus, I visited a large mound on which a long row of Hittite sculptures, representing a hunting scene with great spirit, was standing *in situ*; here, as at Uyük, facing outwards; a few miles beyond, on the road to Aintab, I saw other sculptures taken from one of the mounds. The district between the Giaour Dagh (Amanus) and the Kurt Dagh contains a large number of mounds; in a small area I counted eight, which I feel sure would well repay exca-

vation. The slabs are all small, and could be easily conveyed to the coast, but, unfortunately, the British Museum has not seen its way to excavate; and the question is now, I believe, being taken up by the Germans. At Marasch, near the foot of the Taurus, several Hittite slabs have been found, and between Aintab and Aleppo, and towards the Euphrates, there are many large mounds, evidently of Hittite origin, including Tell Erfad, Arpad, and Azaz, the Khazaz of the Assyrian monuments. Several slabs have reached this country from Jerablús, but the excavations at that place, owing to want of skill and inexperience, have not been so fruitful in their results as might have been expected. Jerablús is generally identified with Carchemish, but unless a distinct statement is found in the Assyrian inscriptions that that city was on the Euphrates, I would place it at Membij, the ancient Hierapolis, a site which impressed me more than any other I visited west of the Euphrates. Hittite inscriptions have also been found at Aleppo and Hamath, and I think the slab obtained for the Palestine Exploration Fund from Tell Salhiych, near Damascus, is also Hittite.

A few words may now be said of the origin, religion, language, &c., of the Hittites. I fully agree with Professor Sayce in considering that the Hittites of Northern Syria and Palestine were intruders, and that they came from the Anatolian plateau east of the Halys, which was occupied by Hittite tribes from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. This view of their northern origin is supported by their physical appearance, as depicted on the monuments, by the mocassin sandal already noticed, and by the fingerless glove, which is still commonly used by the peasantry, and is found in all cold countries. The sculptures show that the Hittites did not belong to a Semitic race. The features are rather those of a Northern people, and on the Temple of Abusimbel the Khita have a very Scythic character, with shaven head and a single lock from the crown. This peculiarity in the mode of dressing the hair is not seen on the Hittite monuments, but at Karnak and Thebes I noticed figures with the same type of feature as those on the monuments in Anatolia. It would be very interesting, and I hope it may be done some day, to obtain casts of the various types of face represented in the war pictures of Rameses II; they are very varied, and a careful comparison could not fail to be of value. Amongst some pottery dug up at Tarsus about thirty-five years ago, is a head, which seems to have been a likeness of a Hittite, as it gives the full lips, and the large thick nose, with a sharp curve at the end, which is found on the monuments. The type, which is not a beautiful one, is still found in some parts of Cappodocia, especially amongst the people living in the extraordinary subterranean towns which I discovered last year beneath the great plain north-west of Nigdeh. The religious belief of the Hittites, and its influence on the people of Western Anatolia, and through them on the Greeks, has been described, as far as it is known, in papers by Professor Sayce and Mr. Ramsay. I would only suggest now, as a subject for examination, how far the peculiar religious rites and observances at the two Comanas were of Hittite origin; at each place the priest was at least co-ordinate with the king in rank and religious power,

as appears to have been the case with the Hittites; and at Amasia the most magnificent tomb is that of a high priest. I do not know whether there was any peculiarity in the faith professed by the early Christians of Cappadocia, but it may be more than a mere coincidence that the country between Boghazkeui and Comana Pontica is inhabited by an indigenous people who, nominally Moslems, profess a religion which, as far as I could learn, approaches more nearly that of the Ansariych than any other. That the Hittites had made considerable progress in art is attested by their monuments, and we may infer from the fact that, before the Cimmerian invasion, Sinope was one of the principal outlets for the produce of the East, that they were a commercial people; the trade route seems to have passed through the Cilician gates to Kaisariych, and thence by Boghazkeui to Sinope. It would appear from the proper names on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language; the language was probably that of the Leuco-Syrians and Cataonians, and allied to the "speech of Lycaonia" which was in use in the time of St. Paul; and it possibly lingered on until the complete Hellenisation of the people under the Byzantine Empire. Little progress has yet been made in decyphering the inscriptions, but there is every reason to hope that success will attend the efforts of Professor Sayce and other workers in that direction, and we shall then have a flood of light thrown upon a people with whom the Israelites at one time intermarried, whose religion some of them adopted, and with whose history that of the Jewish monarchy was, on several occasions, intimately connected.

In conclusion, I would draw your attention to an expedition which the Palestine Exploration Fund is sending to the East this month. The expedition will be under the guidance of the distinguished geologist, Professor Hull, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland; Captain Kitchener, who has done good work in Palestine, will be associated with him, and pay special attention to topographical questions; Professor Hull will be accompanied by three gentlemen, who will devote their attention to special branches of science. The object of the expedition is, in the first place, to obtain a conclusive report on the geology of the Dead Sea basin, which has such an important bearing on the site of the Cities of the Plain; in the second, to determine the route followed by the Israelites after they left Sinai, and the pass by which they ascended to the desert of the Tih; in the third, to try and recover the sites of Elath and Eziongeber; in the fourth, to search for Kadesh-barnea, and determine the southern boundary of the Promised Land, and the boundary of Edom; and lastly, to examine the geology of Palestine itself. If but one or two of these objects can be thoroughly accomplished, a great addition will be made to our knowledge of the topography of the Bible. The Palestine Exploration Fund, and its system of working, is now well known, and I would only here express a hope that liberal subscriptions may be forthcoming to support an expedition which I confidently recommend to the notice of every student of the Bible.

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