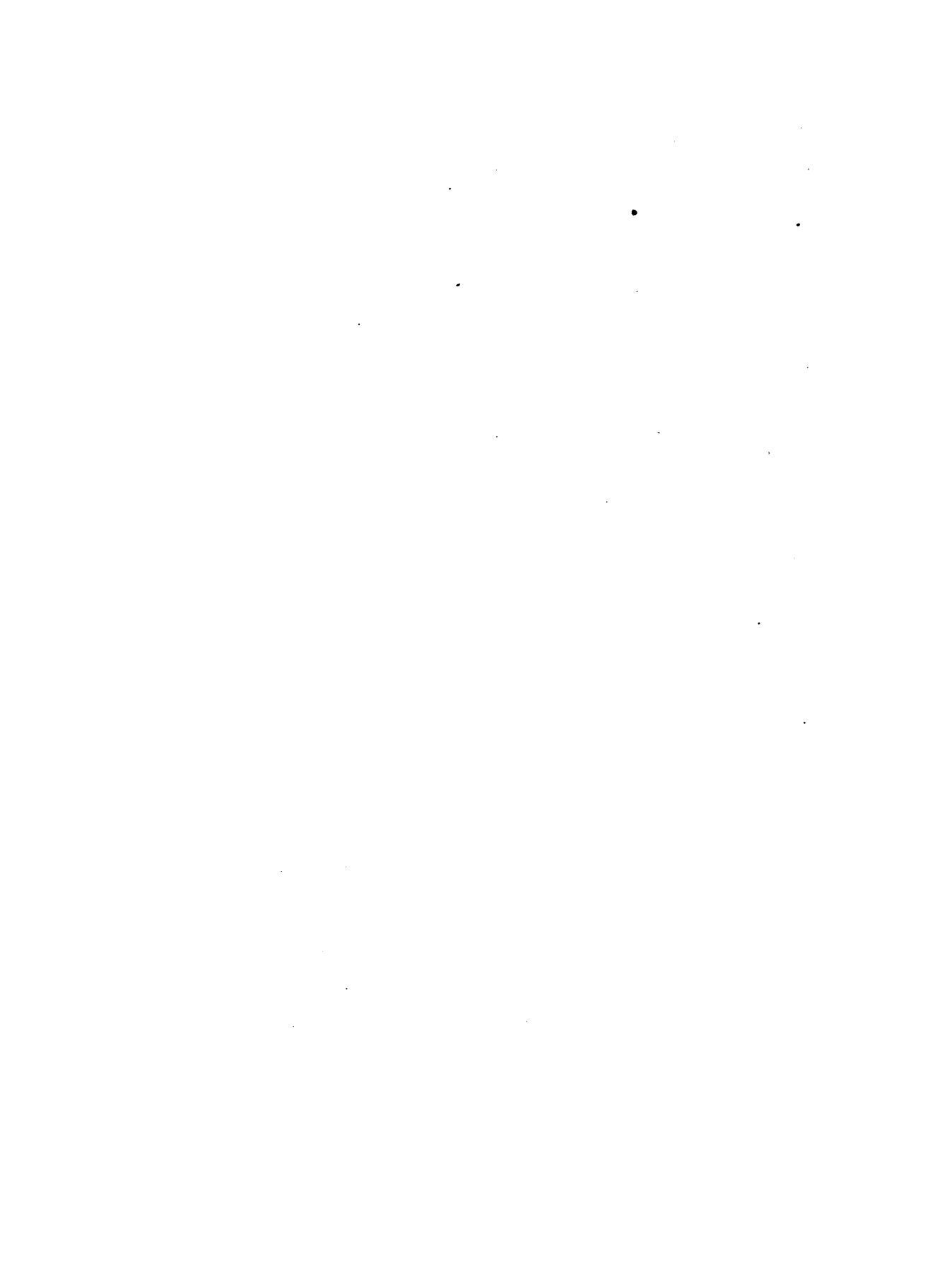


UNEXPLORED SYRIA

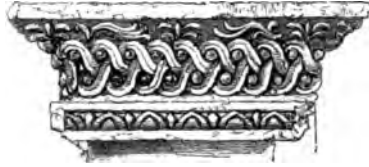
BURTON & DRAKE

UNEXPLORED SYRIA.

LONDON :
BOBSON AND SONS, PRINTERS, PANCRAS ROAD, N. W.



KANAWÁT ALTAR.



THE ASTARTE SIDE.



THE BAAL SIDE.

UNEXPLORED SYRIA

VISITS TO

THE LIBANUS, THE TULÚL EL SAFÁ,
THE ANTI-LIBANUS, THE NORTHERN LIBANUS,
AND THE 'ALÁH.

BY

RICHARD F. BURTON

AND

CHARLES F. TYRWHITT DRAKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18 CATHERINE ST. STRAND.

1872.

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УРАДУ ДИВООН ДИТ

TO

MY FATHER,

HENRY RAYMOND ARUNDELL,

THESE PAGES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

الملكُ يَبْقَى بِالْكَفِّ وَلَا يَبْقَى بِالظُّلْمِ

Kingdom endureth without the True Faith (*i.e.* El Islam); but it endureth not with tyranny. (*Hadis, or Saying of the Prophet.*)

We live in an age of free-thinking and plain-speaking, 'rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias docere licet.' (*Christian Theology and Modern Scepticism*, by the Duke of Somerset, K.G. : London, 1872.)

PREFACE.

I HASTEN to own, before reviewers tell me so, that this production is what my great namesake, Robert Burton of melancholy and merry, of facete and juvenile memory, honestly termed a 'Cento:' it is a *pot-pourri*, a gathering of somewhat heterogeneous materials—all, however, bearing more or less upon the subject of Unexplored Syria.

For instance, with reference to the contents of Volume I., the general remarks are mine. The first chapter is by Mrs. Burton, with my annotations. Chapter ii. is, again, my property. Appendix No. 1 contains observations for altitude, taken by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake and myself, and computed by Captain George, R.N. Appendix No. 2 offers a short specimen of neo-Syrian Proverbs: it forms part of a much larger collection, which I have not had time to prepare for the press; and it may curiously be compared with the ancient proverbial philosophy of the Holy Land. In Appendix No. 3 my friend and fellow-traveller contributes an essay upon 'Writing a Roll of the Law, according to the rules laid down by Maimonides and other Hebrew authorities.' Appendix No. 4 contains a paper by myself upon the 'Hamah

Stones;' followed by the interesting remarks of Mr. Hyde Clarke, and accompanied by transcripts reduced to quarter-size. I need hardly draw attention to these 'Memorials,' which, first cursorily mentioned by Burckhardt in A.D. 1810, now appear in lithograph for the first time.

As to Volume II. : in chapter i. I tell the tale of travel ; whilst chapters ii. and iii. are the handiwork of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. The *catalogue raisonné* of my collections in Syria and Palestine is by myself, with the able assistance of Dr. C. Carter Blake, Professor Busk, Messrs. A. W. Franks and John Evans, and Dr. Barnard Davis. In Appendix No. 2 my old and valued friend, W. S. W. Vaux, has taken the trouble to decipher, as far as was feasible, the eighty-one original Greek inscriptions collected in the Haurán Mountain (Jebel Durúz Haurán) and in the 'Aláh by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. Messrs. William Carruthers and James Britten have been good enough to catalogue for Appendix No. 3 the small collection of Alpine plants which we brought from the apex of the Libanus. Mr. Gwyn Jeffreys kindly catalogued the shells brought home by me ; and Dr. Percy and Mr. Reeks named the geological specimens.

The original plans and sketches are all the work of my *compagnon de voyage*. The map, which alters the aspect of Northern Syria, has been drawn by Mr. Keith Johnston from the materials thus supplied to him, and supplemented by the sketches of Count Léon de Perthuis and M. F. Bambino, Vice-consul for France at Hums and Hamah. To these I also have added a few observations.¹ The frontispiece of the first volume is the artistic production of Mr. Richard Knight ;

¹ Some of the bearings, especially those from Jebel Sannin, proved, when protracted, so erroneous, that future travellers are advised to ascertain if there are any peculiar elements of disturbance upon this wind-lashed crest.

whilst that of the second is a photograph put on stone by those able lithographers Messrs. Kell Brothers for the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The second volume concludes with an Index; and I here take the earliest opportunity of apologising to the public for the absence of so necessary an adjunct from my last two volumes, *Zanzibar,—City, Island, and Coast* (Tinsleys, 1872). Finally, my thanks are due to Messrs. Robson and Sons, my printers, for the prodigious trouble caused to them by the state of a manuscript written on board ship, and subjected to various corrections.

It need hardly be remarked, that while we (the writers) all hold ourselves responsible to readers for our own sentiments, opinions, and statements, we disclaim being called to account for those of one another. This principle of limited liability we would extend, like those who give evidence before 'Select Parliamentary Committees,' even to such small matters as Arabic orthography.

The discoveries contained in these volumes originated from the Palestine Exploration Fund. The distinguished Committee of that Society declined, somewhat imprudently, I thought, to secure the services of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, who understood that he had returned to Syria as its representative. Thereupon I proposed to him that we should proceed, when leisure offered, to the field of action, and leave nothing save details for the Exploration Fund to explore. We succeeded, despite many risks and chances. We carried off the cream of discovery; but during the process, and in the moment of victory, we discovered how much more than we expected still remains to be discovered.

Unfortunately the *Œil-de-bœuf* still reigns to a considerable degree over the learned societies of the day, from those 'Fifty Immortals,' the French Academy, downwards. A spirit of

clique too often succeeds in ignoring the real explorer, the true inventor, the most learned writer, and the best artist; in fact, the *fauteuil* is denied to the right man; the pin-cushion stuck full of pins is still the fittest legacy. Party is not rarely successful against Principle. The Pharisee—with his aggressive and vigorous but narrow-minded nature; with his hard thin character, all angles and stings; with his starch and inflexible opinions upon religion and politics, science, literature, and art; and with his broad assurance that his ways are the only right ways—forms not unfrequently a minority that rules with a rod of iron the herd headed by Messrs. Feeble-mind and Ready-to-halt. And this we find notably the case in the present phase of our national life, when the Battle of the Creeds, or rather of ‘Non-Credo’ *versus* ‘Credo,’ has been offered and accepted; when every railway-station is hung with texts and strewed with tracts for the benefit of that working-class which now monopolises public interest; when the South Kensington Museum offers professional instruction in science and art for women—that is to say, for the girl before she becomes a mother—suggesting that creation by law may be as reasonable as creation by miracle; when Secularism draws the sword against Denominationalism; and, briefly, when those who ‘believe’ and those who do not can hardly, as the saying is, ‘keep hands off one another’ in a *mêlée* which suggests a foretaste of the mystical Armageddon.

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Additional Note to p. 110.

The three steps referred to in page 110, beginning from the seaboard, may thus be supplemented :

1. Sáhil; Shore (רֶמֶשׁ);
2. Wusút; Hill (הַבְּשׁ)—Volney (i. 190) mentions only Nos. 1 and 3, ignoring the Wusút; and
3. Jurd; Mountain (רֶמֶשׁ).

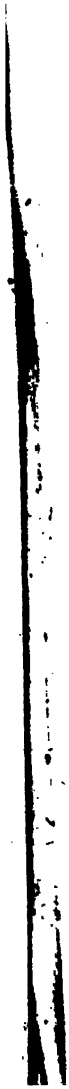
The Sáhil, shore or coast,¹ opposed to Aram, the upland plateau which may be said to form Syria and Palestine, is a strip of ground, here flat, there broken, at this part barely exceeding two miles in breadth, and extending from the lower slopes of the Libanus to the sea.

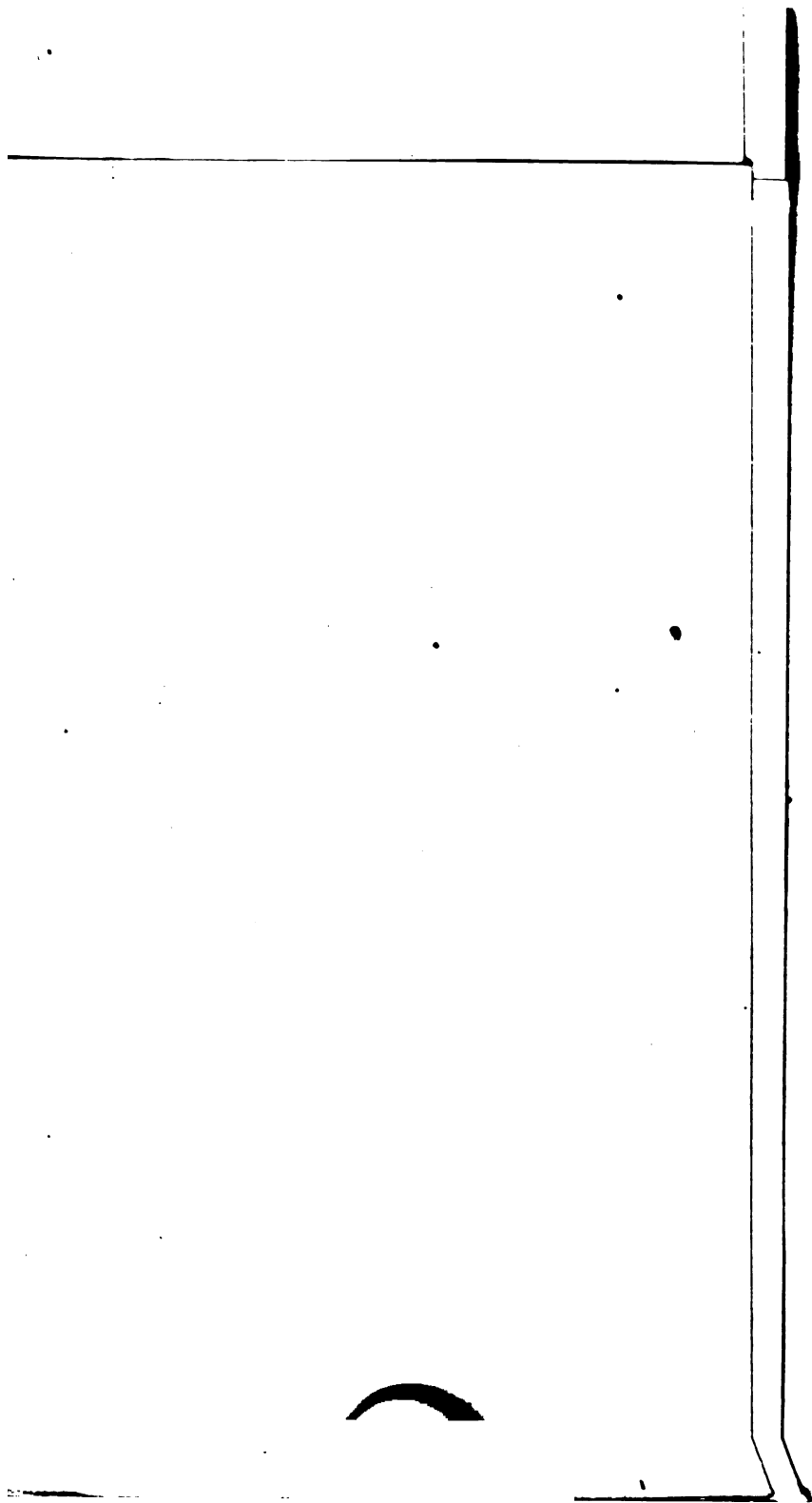
¹ It is the ancient Kana'an (Canaan, the lowland), and the Palaestheth (Philistia), the Greek Paralia (παράλια), and especially the Macras and the Macra-pedium of Strabo, opposed to Shephelah (רֶמֶשׁ, Josh. xi. 16) of the Hebrews, whence the Arabic Sofalah. 'Aram,' in its widest sense, includes all the uplands lying between the Mediterranean and the middle course of the Euphrates, from Phœnicia and Palestine to Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and even Assyria. Upon the disputed point of 'Shephelah,' the following note by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake (Report of Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, April 1872) will be found valuable :

“Shephelah” has been wrongly rendered “plain” and “valley” in the A.V. (e. g. Zech. vii. 7 and Josh. xv. 33). Eusebius says that the country about Eleutheropolis was still called Shephelah in his time. It is in fact the district of rolling hills situated as above mentioned, and forms a most marked feature in the physical geography of the country. It is not, however, so far as I am aware, shown on any map otherwise than as a series of spurs or shouldered running down from the main range, which in reality it is not.

It is very important that these natural features should be well understood and carefully borne in mind, as most important in helping to clear up the obscurity in which the geography of the Old Testament is now enveloped. These distinctions of mountain, hill, and plain are more than once mentioned in the Talmud (cf. tract Shevith, &c.). Rabbi Jochanan says that from Bethoron to Emmaus is mountain (רֶמֶשׁ); from Emmaus to Lydda, hill (רֶמֶשׁ), and from Lydda to the sea, plain (רֶמֶשׁ); which is perfectly correct, as Amwas is situated at the base of a spur from the mountains, and the hills extend to within a very short distance of Lidd, beyond which is the plain.’







UNEXPLORED SYRIA.



GENERAL REMARKS.

My eyes were still full of the might and majesty of the Chilian Andes, and of the grace and grandeur of Magellan's Straits—memories which fashionable Vichy and foul Brindisi had strengthened, not effaced—as I landed upon the Syrian shore on Friday, October 1, 1869.¹ The points of resemblance and of difference between the South Pacific coast and Mediterranean Palestine at once struck my glance. Both are disposed nearly upon a meridian; mere strips of flat seaboard, mostly narrow, rarely widening, bounded by two parallel Cordilleras, flanking waterless deserts on the far eastern lee-land: the

¹ My last appointment had been at Santos, São Paulo, the Brazil.

northernmost are notably the highest blocks of mountain; and the low-lying southern extremities, in Asia as in America, are ever rising by secular up-growth; whilst either shores, Pacific and Mediterranean, are subject to remarkable oscillations of level, chiefly the result of Plutonic agencies. Both coasts are subtended by currents with northerly sets; both lands depend greatly upon snow for their water-supply; both show the extremest contrasts of siccidity and humidity, of luxuriance and barrenness; and both abut upon a 'desert,' an extensive tract of extreme aridity. In both, as was said by a lover of Spain, God has still much land in His own holding. Syria and Palestine are, indeed, an Eastern Chili dwarfed and grown old—whose wadys (*Fiumaras*) are measured by yards, not furlongs; whose precipices answer to feet, instead of metres; whose travelling distances are registered in hours, not in days and nights. The former boasts of its Hermon, its Libanus, and its Anti-Libanus; the latter caps them with her Maypú, her Tupungáto, and her Aconcágua—names which, by the bye, drew groans as I pronounced them at the last anniversary dinner of the Alpine Club—while lakes and rivers, plains and valleys, cities and settlements, storms and earthquakes; in fact, all the geo-

graphical, the physical, and the meteorological, as well as the social features of the two regions, show a remarkable general likeness, but every thing upon a similar scale of proportion.

On the other hand, the difference in all that may most interest the imagination, fire the fancy, and upheave the heart is yet more pronounced than the resemblance. The New World, which had been my latest scene of action, wearies with its want of history, of association, and consequently of romance; it was born to the annals of humanity within the space of four centuries; its aborigines, so to speak, were savages that can interest only in Fenimore Cooper; its legends are raw and grotesque, wholly wanting the poetical charms, tender and delicate, of South-European paganism; whilst art and science were, till the other day, words unknown to it. It is the prose of prose, the veriest reality. Its past is insignificant; its present is the baldest and tamest of the kind; and the whole of its life of lives dwells in the future—a glorious and gorgeous realm, ever dazzling the eyes, and serving chiefly to cast a grayer, sadder tone over the things that are.


The Old world of Palestine, again, is oppressively old, as the New is uncomfortably new: it is over-

ripe, while its rival is yet raw; it makes the dissatisfied poet cry,

‘The world is weary of the past.’

In these regions we find hardly a mile without a ruin, hardly a ruin that would not be held deeply interesting between Hudson’s Bay and the Tierra del Fuego; and, in places, mile after mile and square mile upon square mile of ruin. It is a luxuriance of ruin; and there is not a large ruin in the country which does not prove upon examination to be the composition of ruins more ancient still. The whole becomes somewhat depressing, even to the most ardent worker; whilst everywhere the certainty that the mere surface of the antiquarian mine has been only scratched, and that years and long years must roll by before the country can be considered explored—before even Jerusalem can be called ‘recovered’—suggests that the task must be undertaken by Societies, not by the individual.

Of history, again, of picturesque legend, of theology and mythology, of art and literature, as of archæology, of palæography, of palæogeography, of numismatology, and a dozen other -ologies and -ographies, there is absolutely no visible end. And if the present of the New World be bald and tame, that of



the Syrian Old World is, to those who know it well, perhaps a little too fiery and exciting, paling with its fierce tints and angry flush the fair vision which a country has a right to contemplate in the days to be.

The reader will understand this mingled feeling—a feeling never absent except in books—with which this pilgrim cast his first look upon the ‘holy, beautiful Hermon;’ a commonplace hogsback (*χοιράς*), where he had been led to expect a mighty and majestic Mont Blanc; upon the short barren buttress of Carmel by the Sea (*la Vigne du Seigneur*), type of graceful beauty to the Hebrew, and now crowned with a convent not quite useless, and with a French lighthouse decidedly useful, though uncommonly expensive;² upon the insignificant lines, the dull tintage, and the sterile surface of the Libanus—that Lebanon which served the Israelites as a *beau idéal* of glory and majesty; upon the memorial Ladder of Tyre,

² The French company (L'Administration des Phares) of Constantinople must administer to advantage, must make money, even at Carmel. Whilst a ship, say of 740 tons, pays 8*l.* for lightage-fees up the English Channel to Liverpool, the same vessel going the usual Mediterranean round of Papayanni & Co.'s steamers expends 30*l.*, or 3*l.* 10*s.* at each port. For Gibraltar light a vessel contributes 2*s.*; at Bayrut she is mulcted 370 piastres, or within a few pence of 3*l.*

much resembling from afar a snowy patch taken from the Dover cliffs; and upon Bayrut, classic Berytus, a little city of the true harbour-town species, with terraced lines and tenements flat-roofed enough to support a bran-new settlement in Southern Italy. There was, indeed, to me something almost quaint in the contrast between the pictures which the fancy of childhood, aided perhaps by Mr. Bartlett and others of his craft, had traced and had deepened till the print might have been indelible, and the realities which rose somewhat misty and cloud-veiled above the light-blue Mediterranean wave. Like almost all realities, the scene declined answering to the anticipation. The comparison presently suggested the want of a realistic description, showing sights and things as they are; not as they are wished to be, nor as they ought to be—realistic chiefly as to the outer and visible part of such things and their bearings; thus serving to set off the other, and to many the more interesting, phase of the subject, ‘la merveilleuse harmonie,’ as M. E. Renan expresses it, ‘de l’idéal évangélique avec le paysage qui lui sert de cadre.’

I doubt whether this explanation will satisfy the man of artistic tastes, who writes to me, ‘Surely you will not “unweave *all* our rainbows”? Who will be



the gainer by reading your comparison of the plain of Sharon with the Bedfordshire fields? I, for one, am certain that many take a delight in believing the contrary.' But surely this belief, which thus depends upon 'delight,' may be attacked to advantage, not only because it makes physical size and topical beauty the chiefest charm of the Holy Land, but also because it dwarfs the true importance and grandeur of its effects upon humanity, by setting its events in a frame far too large and fair. A great action appears the greater by being placed upon a small theatre. Pombal was a giant in Portugal; and though we still do right to measure—despite the Dean of Westminster—the power of a country by its size, yet we ever take the highest interest in those bygone days when the smallest of nations, Egypt and Greece, were perhaps the greatest. Why, then, make 'the mighty wall of Lebanon rise in indescribable majesty:' had Dr. Robinson never sighted the Alps, or the White Mountains of his native land? What means the 'eternal snows of the royal Hermon:' did Dr. Tristram ever see his favourite mountain all berry-brown in September and October? Why quote of a poor bell-shaped, onion-topped mound,

'What hill is like to Tabor's hill in beauty and in fame?'

Had M. Chasseaud never glanced at Patras or Reggio, to quote no others, when he asserts: 'It would be superfluous to say that the immediate neighbourhood of the hills defining the landscape about Beyrout is, without one solitary exception, the finest and the most fertile in the known earth'³

The fact is, we find here, and not elsewhere, a complaint which may be called 'Holy Land on the Brain.' It is no obscure cerebral disorder, like the morbid delusions of the poisoner: it rather delights to announce its presence, to flaunt itself in the face of fact. This perversion of allowable sentiment is the calenture which makes patients babble of hanging gardens and parterres of flowers, when all they beheld was sere and barren. The green sickness mostly attacks the new and unseasoned visitor from Europe and North America, especially from regions where he has rarely seen a sun. It is a 'strange delusion that the man should believe,' Carlyle says, 'the thing to be which *is* not.' As might be expected, it visits the Protestant with greater violence than the Catholic, whose fit assumes a more excited and emotional, a spasmodic and hys-

³ *The Druzes and the Lebanon*, by George Washington Chasseaud. London, Bentley, 1855.

terical, form, ending, if the patient be a man and a poet, in a long rhapsody about himself, possibly about his childhood and his mother. It spares the Levantine, as yellow Jack does the negro: his brain is too well packed with the wretched intrigues and the petty interests of a most material life to have room for excitement at the 'first glimpse of Emmanuel's Land.' A long attack of the disorder—which is, however, rare—leads from functional to organic lesion. Under such circumstances, the sufferer will, to adduce only one instance, hire a house at Siloam, and, like the peasant of yore, pass his evening hours in howling from the roof at the torpid little town of Jebus, 'Woe, woe to thee, Jerusalem!' The characteristic and essence of the complaint are not only to see matters as they are not, but to force this view upon others; not only to close the eyes of body and mind to reality, but also firmly to hold that they are open, and to resent their being opened by any hand, however gentle. A few limestone blocks stained with iron rust become 'beautiful blush marble,' because they are the remains of a synagogue at Tell Hum—which, by the bye, is *not* Capernaum. Men fall to shaking hands with one another, and exchange congratulations, for the all-

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sufficient reason that the view before them embraces the plain of Esdraelon. The melon-shaped article which roofs the greater Rock in the Noble Sanctuary becomes an 'exquisite dome;' and so forth unto nausea. In art, poetry, and literature generally, 'Holy Land on the Brain' displays itself by an exaggeration of description which distorts the original; by sentimental reminiscence; by trite quotation, more or less apposite; and sometimes by a trifle of pious fraud. Its peculiarity in the Englishman and the Anglo-American is the rapture with which it hails the discovery in some ruinous heap of some obscure Scriptural name, belonging to some site still more obscure. As it especially afflicts writers of travels and guide-books, the sober and sensible tourist in Syria and Palestine must be prepared for not a little disappointment. Finally, it is in some few patients incurable: I have known cases to which earthly happiness and residence in the Holy Land were convertible terms. It endures time and absence, affecting the afflicted one with something of that desiderium, that 'sad and tender passion which a father nurses for the child whom he has loved and lost.'

Another advantage of the realistic treatment in

the perfect cure for all such complaints is its power of turning the thoughts from the interminable vista of bygone days, and of fixing them upon the times that are, and the times to come—a process which in Syria and Palestine has been grossly neglected. Syria indeed, north of Palestine Proper, is, I have said, and I repeat it, an old country in more than one aspect virtually new. A long and a happy life is still before it, the life which shall be called into being by the appliances of a later civilisation. The ruined heaps strewn over its surface show what it has been, and enable us to look forward to what it shall be. The 'Holy Land,' when provided with railways and tramways, will offer the happiest blending of the ancient and the modern worlds; it will become another Egypt, with the distinct advantages of a superior climate, and far nobler races of men.

I visited the Libanus, with the half-formed fancies of finding in it a *pied à terre*, where reminiscence and romance, tempered by reality and retirement, might suggest *inveni portum*; where the side, weary with warfare and wander, could repose in peace and comfortable ease. The idea of pitching tent for life on 'Mount Lebanon'—whose Raki and tobacco are of the best; whose *Vino d'oro* has been compared with

the best; whose winter climate is likened to the charms of early English summer, and whose views are pronounced to be lovely; in a place at once near to and far from society—I must cut short the long string of imaginary excellences—was riant in the extreme. Pleasant illusions dispelled in a week! As the physical mountain has no shade, so has the moral mountain no privacy: the *tracasserie* of its town and village life is dreary and monotonous as its physical aspect; broken only by a storm or an earthquake; when a murder takes place, or when a massacre is expected; when the Mount of Milk threatens to blush with blood; when its population, which, at the call of patriotism, would hide their guns and swords, are ready and willing, under the influence of party feeling, to deal death like Cyrillus, or to meet it like Hypatia. And I hasten to say that Europeans as a rule, with a few notable exceptions, set in these matters the very worst example. For the reasonable enjoyment of life, place me on Highgate's grassy steep rather than upon Lebanon. Having learned what it is, I should far prefer the comfort of Spitalfields, the ease of the Seven Dials, and the society of Southwark.

Such was Syria under the rule of Rashid Pasha,

the late Wali, or Governor-general. And as my four years in the Brazil were saddened by the presence of the fatal though glorious five years' war with Paraguay, so my residence of nearly two years in the Holy Land, from October 1, 1869, to August 20, 1871, was at a peculiarly unfortunate time, when drought and famine combined with despotism and misrule to madden its unfortunate inhabitants.

The following pages by no means exhaust the information which I collected in Syria and Palestine. The book is an instalment respectfully offered to the public rather as a specimen of what remains to be done, than as a proof of what has been done by myself with others. Though the explorations are upon a small scale, they have all the value of novelty; and by pointing out the direction and the proper measures, they may stimulate and encourage future travellers to enlarge the field of correct topography.

An abstract of these volumes has been offered for the benefit of those who have no time for perusing anything beyond its preface. The first chapter, I repeat, in which we determined the forms and bearings of the Cedar Block, the true apex of the Libanus, was written by my wife: I have added to it a few philological notes and explana-

tions. The second chapter contains a visit made by my friend Mr. Charles F. Tyrwhitt-Drake, and by myself, to the unknown and dangerous region called the Tulúl el Safá—Hillocks of the Safá district—a mass of volcanic cones lying east of the Damascus swamps called ‘Lakes.’ I alone am answerable for the text; whilst my fellow-traveller responds for the map of the cones, and for the plan of the far-famed cave ‘Umm Nírán.’ The third chapter (first in Vol. II.), written and illustrated under precisely the same conditions, is an exploration of the northern Anti-Libanus, a region which seems hitherto to have escaped the tourist and the traveller, and which still appears a blank of mountains upon the best of maps. The appendices which contribute so much to swell the bulk of these volumes are simply necessary: an endless succession of labour left me no time for working the matter into the text, nor perhaps would it have been advisable so to do. As the book now stands, the heterogeneous matter, much of it being the valuable contribution of friends and well-wishers, is relegated to the end, where it can most easily be found.

A few words concerning Volume II. A sudden and unexpected departure from Damascus pre-

vented my carrying out a variety of exploration-projects, matured during a residence of twenty-three months, by collecting for them much preliminary and hearsay information. It was a great comfort under somewhat trying circumstances for me to know that these novelties would fall to the lot of one fully competent to do them justice. Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake, who accompanied us in July 1870 to the Cedar Block, and who in March 1871 returned from England to Northern Syria, considering himself the representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is no common traveller. He has visited and collected in Morocco and other Moslem regions of North-western Africa; he is familiar with Egypt; and his survey of the Tih, or Desert of Wandering, made in conjunction with Mr. (now Professor) E. H. Palmer of Trinity College, Cambridge, a linguist and an Orientalist already of note, has made his name familiar to geographers. He is well acquainted with conversational Arabic; he is versed in the manners and customs of Moslem people, who respect him as a hard rider and a good shot, not to mention other weightier reasons; and he is inured to all the small hardships, the privations, and the fatigues inseparable from explorations and from gip-

syng over rough countries in the inner and the outer East. He has read at Cambridge, and he is practised in copying inscriptions; whilst his photographs, his drawings, and his coloured sketches speak for themselves. A diligent student of natural history, his specialty should be topographical surveying; he has an unusually keen eye for ground, and a trained judgment in determining distance, which render his compass-sketches as correct as those made by most men with the theodolite. A glance enabled him to set right Captain Wilson's (R.E.) plan of the environs of Jerusalem, where M. C. Clermont-Ganneau, Drogman-Chancelier to the Consulat de France, and I, by chatting with the peasants, had found (April 19) in the Mashárif Hills, immediately on the right of the high road to Nablus, the true site of Scopus, which topographers had placed too far east.

I have thus spoken of Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake as a fellow-traveller: I will not trust myself to speak of him as a friend. Suffice it to say, that during three tedious months of contending unsupported against all that falsehood and treachery could devise, he was ever ready to lend me the most valuable and energetic assistance. Those only who have been

placed in a similar predicament can appreciate at its real worth the presence of a true-hearted Englishman, staunch to the backbone, inflexible in the cause of right, and equally disdainful of threats and promises. I speak with allowable enthusiasm: in this asthenic age of England and the English — a physical as well as mental asthenia, which some derive from tea taking the place of ale, and which others date from the first attack of cholera — such men are rare.

My friend tells his own tale of travel in the second part of this volume, which he has entitled 'The Northern Slopes of Lebanon,' and the 'Alah, or Highland of Syria.' The latter is an absolute gain to geography, as the road lay through a region hitherto marked on our maps 'Great Syrian Desert.' The limestone ruins in the Jebel el Zowi were explored and described by the Count de Vogüé; but the basaltic remains in the extensive and once populous plain lying to the north-east and the south-east of Hamah have been visited, sketched, and portrayed, for the first time, I believe, by my friend.

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CHAPTER I.

CARTOGRAPHIC AND OTHER NOTES ON THE WATER-SHED
OF THE BA'ALBAK PLAIN, ON THE 'CEDAR BLOCK,'
AND ON THE NORTHERN LIBANUS.

PART I.

FROM BA'ALBAK TO THE CEDAR CLUMP.

I ARRIVED on December 31, 1869—why will not travellers be less chary of their dates?—at Damascus, where a bare-walled whitewashed cottage had been hired, and where the usual troubles of settling ourselves awaited me. Everything was to be done: the tenement wanted 'cleaning' and repairing; the stables and outhouses required additions which were often reconstructions; servants were to be engaged; horses and asses were to be bought. I found myself face to face with the difficulties of Arabic; of strange weights and measures; of new ideas; of outlandish manners and customs, which took me back half-a-dozen centuries, and which made me feel six times farther away from home than when living in Brazil. The hardest trial of all was to feel that every soul had a deep design upon my purse, from the little lad who stole my kitten for a *khamsah* (5 farthings) to the gray-headed dragoman who wore two medals

presented to him by her Majesty's government, and who would rather mulct me in a piastre ($2\frac{1}{2}d.$) than not mulct me at all. However, there was a certain amount of so-called 'society;' a few visits were to be exchanged with the little European colony, almost all consular, missionary, medical, and educational; whilst many and long were the visitations from and to all Haríms — we here drop the 'harem' — who wished to enjoy an emancipation of a few hours, and the pleasant ride up to our green little village. At times also some relative or friend from the distant fatherland dropped down upon us like manna from the skies; and the result was a rapid fleeting of time, with long rides into the country, minute inspection of the bazaars, and solemn interviews with white-bearded Abú Antiká (father of antiquities) and other vendors of *rococo* and *bric-à-brac*.

Briefly, these every-day cares tasked me at Damascus for some three months; and it was early April (5, 1870) before I could find leisure for a holiday excursion to Palmyra. We returned after the seventeenth day, delighted with our 'outing,' despite all manner of small troubles. I may here quote the short account of my trial trip, which found its way

into the home papers : such sketches, drawn from Nature upon the spot, often have a freshness of local colouring and a perspective of events which drawings finished in the study notably want.

Damascus, May 7, 1870.

Perhaps the welcome intelligence that the road to Tadmor or Palmyra is now open to European travellers may procure a place for these lines in your columns.

Until the present time, a traveller visiting Syria, perhaps expressly to see Tadmor, after having been kept for months in hopes, had to return as he came. Only the rich could hope at all, as it was necessary to hire a large Bedawin escort ; for which even 6000 fr. and more have been demanded. Add to this the difficulties, hardships, and dangers of the journey. I allude to the heat of the arid desert, to chances of attack, to want of water, and to long forced marches by night, and hiding by day, thus seeing literally nothing of the country. Another drawback was the customary halt of two days at a place to see which so much had been sacrificed, and where twelve or fifteen could be well spent. Thus Tadmor, except to a few English travellers, has been totally excluded from the Oriental tour.

For more than a generation the Porte has deliberated about establishing a *cordon militaire*, extending from Damascus, *via* Jayrud, Karyatayn, Palmyra, and Sokhnah, to Dayr on the Euphrates. The wells were to be commanded by block houses, and the road to be cleared by movable columns ; and thus the plundering Bedawin, who refuse allegiance to the Sultan, would be kept perforce in the Dau or Desert be-

tween the off-sets of Anti-Libanus and the fertile plains of Nejd. This project—for which M. Denouville hopes and fears in his charming little work on the Palmyrene—has at length been rescued from the fate of good intentions. Omar Bey, a Hungarian officer, with some 1600 men, is now at Karyatayn, a three days' infantry march from Palmyra, and waits but carriage and rations to make the next move.

A certain semi-official business compelling Captain Burton to visit Karyatayn, which is within his jurisdiction, I resolved to accompany him, in the hopes of pushing on to Palmyra. In this enterprise I was warmly seconded by the Vicomte de Perrochel, a French traveller and author, who has twice visited Damascus with the hope of reaching Tadmor, and M. Ionine, the Russian consul for Damascus. We were mounted upon horses, and were wrongly persuaded not to take riding-asses—they would have been a pleasant change on long days. We engaged an excellent dragoman, Melhem Wardi of Beyrout, six servants, a cook, twenty-eight muleteers, fourteen mules and twenty-eight donkeys to carry baggage, tents, provisions, and barley for horses. These were escorted by one officer and two privates of irregular cavalry.

On the second day, Da'as Agha, a noted sabre, chief of Jayrud, and commanding one hundred and fifty lances, joined us with ten of his men. He still looks forward to military employment; and it will be surprising if they do not utilise such a capable man. The Wali or Governor-general Rashid Pasha, his agent Holo Pasha, the Mushir or Field-marshal commanding in Syria, and other high officers, lent us their aid. On our fifth day, when we arrived at Karyatayn, Omar Bey gave us a cordial welcome, and placed at our disposal

eighty bayonets and twenty-five sabres, commanded by two officers. We arrived at Palmyra only on the eighth day, as we diverged hither and thither to see and examine the country; but we rode back to Damascus at a hand gallop in four.

Nothing can be more simple than the geography of the country traversed. We crossed one small divide between the Marj, or Damascus Plain, and the extensive valley which, under a multitude of names, runs nearly straight up north-eastward to Palmyra. After leaving Karyatayn, however, we went by the Baghdad or eastern road, called Darb el Basir from the Basir well and ruin; and we returned by the Darb el Sultani, the main or direct road, with a slight digression to the Ayn el Wu'ul (Spring of the Ibex Antelopes). At no season is water wanting. The seventeen camels hired by us at Karyatayn were a complete waste of money. This is always supposing that the traveller rides in two days from Karyatayn to Palmyra, and that he camps for the night at the Ayn el Wu'ul, in order to water his animals on arriving and in the morning before starting, there being no other supply between the two villages.

Everything that we saw in the shape of Bedawin ran away from the hundred and five men who formed our escort. A ghazu or war-party of two thousand would not have attacked us; and thirty Englishmen, mounted on good horses and armed with breechloaders and revolvers, could, I believe, sweep the whole desert from end to end.

Murray's Handbook requires much reform. The plan of Palmyra is not only defective, but erroneous: the author visited it perhaps under the old difficult conditions. Traveling by night would have deceived him as to distance—which

he makes twenty, instead of fifteen, hours—and a constant feeling of insecurity as to attack would have enhanced many fanciful difficulties. A Bedawi shaykh can guarantee only from his friends; he cannot protect from inimical tribes; whereas we had the advantage of being independent.

If you ask me whether Palmyra be worth the trouble, I will reply Yes and No. No, if you merely go and come, especially after the splendours of Ba'albak; not for the broken Grand Colonnade, nor for the Temple of the Sun (the *fredaine* of a Roman emperor). Yes, if you would examine the site, the neighbourhood, and the old Palmyrene tomb-towers, which here represent the Pyramids. But who can pretend to do this in two days? We could not in five: it requires twelve or thirteen at least. The site is very interesting. Of Palmyra, as of Paestum, we may say:

'She stands between the mountains and the sea'

of desert, whose ships are camels, whose yachts are high-bred mares, and whose cock-boats are mules and asses. She lies on the threshold of the mountains, which the wild cavalry cannot scour as they do the level waste. The water is detestable, the climate unhealthy—all of us suffered more or less—and the people are ugly, dirty, poor, ragged, and ophthalmic. Let those who follow us encamp amongst the trees, a threshing-floor near three palms, close by the fountain; not near to and east of the Grand Colonnade, as did our muleteers, for the benefit of being at the side of a favourite well.

Yet it will not be difficult to revive old Tadmor. When there shall be protection for life and property, a large tract can be placed under cultivation. We found, by excavation,

an old rain-cistern. Even the aqueducts may be repaired; and food need not be brought, as now, from Homs and Hamah, a four days' march.

There are three tomb-towers, which still may yield results. The people call them Kasr el Zaynah (Pretty Palace), Kasr el Azbá (Palace of the Maiden), and Kasr el Arús (Palace of the Bride). Explorers, however, must bring ropes and hooks, ladders which will reach 60 to 80 feet, planks to bridge over broken staircases, and a stout crowbar. We had none of these things. I have little doubt that the upper stories still contain mummies, tesserae, and other curiosities. We made sundry excavations; but we lacked implements, and our stay was not long enough for good results.

The march from Damascus to Palmyra may be done, as we did on return, in four days, by strong people well mounted. The first is from Damascus to Jayrud, or better still, 'Utnah, a village half an hour beyond. The second to Karyatayn is a long day, *i. e.* nine hours of hand gallop, or fourteen of walking. At Karyatayn an escort is necessary, and would always be granted on receipt of an order from head-quarters. Those who have no camels must camp for that night three hours out of the direct road, by Ayn el Wu'ul, the before-mentioned well in the mountains. Those carrying water can proceed by a more direct road, *via* a ruin in the desert called Kasr el Hayr, which looks like a chapel, and near the remains of an aqueduct. They must choose between three hours' extra ride and the expense and slowness of camels. These two last days from Karyatayn to Palmyra may be done with twenty-four hours of camel-walking, thirteen of horse-walking, or with twelve of dromedary or hand

gallop. However, my experience is, that we usually started at 6.30 or 7 A.M., and encamped after having been out twelve or thirteen hours; but this included breakfast and halts, sometimes to inspect figures, real or imaginary, in the distance; sometimes a 'spurt' after a gazelle or a wild boar. May is the height of the season; and the traveller need not fear to encounter, as we did, ice and snow and alternate siroccos and furious sou'-westers. This year has been a phenomenon. I expect many friends to follow my example; and I am ready to give ampler details to all who ask for them.—I remain, sir, &c.

ISABEL BURTON.

The whole of May and a considerable part of June were spent at Damascus. Although we had a house on the highest ground, in the Sálihiyyah or northern suburb, the heat became intense, stifling. Between the solstice and the autumnal equinox all the English, and most of the Europeans, exchange the fetid City of the Caliphs for a villeggiatura; some contenting themselves with El Hámah, the first station on the French road to Beyrout; others pushing to Rasheyyá, on the western slopes of Hermon, distant two short days. The quarters belonging to Mr. Consul-general Wood, C.B., and kindly lent by him to the English consulate, are at B'lúdán, a little village near Zebedání,¹ about twenty-seven indirect

¹ Yakút (*Kitáb mu'jim el Buldan*) writes Zabedani and Ba'alabakk. The people pronounce the names Zebedání and Ba'albak.

miles to the north-west of Damascus: fast riding will cover the distance in four hours; whereas mules take ten, and camels rarely arrive there before the second day.

The duty of a consular officer in Syria is to scour the country as often as possible, to see men and matters with his own eyes, and personally to investigate cases which are brought before him at head-quarters in such disguise that all except the truth appears. My husband's presence being required at Ba'albak in July, I gladly embraced the opportunity of visiting the far-famed ruins. We were accompanied by Messrs. Palmer and Tyrwhitt-Drake — the former employed by the Ordnance Survey of the peninsula of Sinai, and subsequently by the Palestine Exploration Fund; and the latter travelling at his own expense, to investigate the natural history of Palestine, partly aided by the University of Cambridge. After hard work, and harder living, with not a few anxieties and risks on Mount Sinai, in the Badiyat el Tih, or Desert of the Wandering,² and at Petra and its ill-famed vicinity, these gentlemen were rest-

² May I suggest that this term, universally translated 'Desert of the Wanderings,' may mean with more probability the 'Desert of the (general) Wandering,' that is to say, where men wander and may lose their way?

ing themselves by a run through Northern Syria and Palestine.³ It was settled amongst us that we should do a little geography, and determine once for all the disputed point—the apex of the Libanus range.

As will presently appear, the best and most modern maps of Syria and Palestine⁴ that Europe has produced display unexpected inaccuracies; and even the hydrographic charts, though they give the coast-lines correctly, are by no means equally happy

³ Here, and in other parts of this volume, the term 'Syria and Palestine' is applied to the whole country extending from El Arish to Aleppo; the warning may prevent confusion with the Syria-Palestina (*e.g.* Philistine-Syria) of the Greeks, in fact the Land of Israel, the Tetrarch, or Terra Santa.

⁴ The following are chiefly alluded to:

(a) Map of Palestine, by the late A. Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S. Stanford, London; no date (a very bad practice, and apparently British).

(b) Map of Turkey in Asia. Same author, publisher, and defect.

(c) Map of the Holy Land. By C. W. M. Van de Velde. Gotha, Perthes. Second edition, Stanford, 1865.

(d) Carte du Liban, d'après les Reconnaissances de la Brigade Topographique en 1860-1861. Donnée au Dépôt de la Guerre, 1862.

Besides the minors, viz. I. Karte von Syrien den Manen Jacotins und Burckhardt's gewidmet. Berghaus, Gotha, Perthes, 1835. II. Carte Générale de l'Empire Ottoman. H. Kiepert, 1867. III. Syria. By W. Hughes, F.R.G.S. Printed for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. IV. Map appended to vol. iii. of Robinson and Smith's *Biblical Researches*. H. Kiepert, 1841. V. New Map of Palestine, &c. (from the Revs. E. Robinson, E. Smith, and J. L. Porter; by

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in the parts of the Libanus which they include. Looking at the position of Palmyra,⁵ to give no other instance, I may fearlessly assert that the present state of Syrian cartography is less satisfactory than the topography of the Brazilian 'Sertão,' and that the Anti-Libanus has not yet been so correctly traced as the Andes. The survey of the Holy Land lately proposed in the United States, as well as in England, will find novelties enough, and will smooth the way for the archæologist, the mineralogist, and the technologist. At present 'The Mountain,' as men call it, is scientifically almost unexplored; and to a careful observer every trip of a few days produces something new. During his rides my husband has found in various parts, where they were least expected, deposits of lignite and of true coal, and extensive strata of bituminous schists and limestones,

H. Kiepert), for Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*. VI. Map of Damascus, Hauran, and the Lebanon Mountains, from personal Survey. By J. L. Porter. *Five Years in Damascus*. Second edition. London: Murray, 1870. VII. New Map of Palestine and the adjacent Countries. By Richard Palmer. VIII. Palästina. Von A. Petermann (the worst of all), Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*. IX. Keith Johnston's Map of Palestine, published in 1856. It has gone through five editions, each time with some corrections, the latest being in 1870.

⁵ See Preface for the discrepancies.

leading down to the finest bitumen or asphalt (*hum-mar*), the 'slime' of Holy Writ, quaintly called by our ancestors 'Jew's pitch.' So far from being confined, as has been popularly stated, to the valley of the Upper Jordan, this semi-mineral exists almost everywhere in the Howára or chalk formation, alternating with the Jurassic limestone: hence its origin in the Lacus Asphaltites, where it is degraded from the cretaceous matrix, and not, as the ancients declared, found floating upon the waters.⁶ Mineral springs, especially sulphureous, chalybeate, and aluminous, are common; magnetic, specular, and pyritic ores, with hydrates of iron, abound, and copper is found in its native state. The coarse sandstone formations which crop out of the barren gray fields of secondary limestone⁷ often contain, as the landslips (خسفات) near Kufayr and Jezzin show, remains of

⁶ It need hardly be remarked that the Rev. Mr. Porter's theory (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 264; London: Nelson, 1869) about asphalt being thrown up from the bed of the Jordan valley, and that the 'travellers' tales' concerning the generation of bitumen in the so-called Dead Sea, recorded by Tacitus and others, are simply fabulous. The bitumen and bituminous schist are washed out of the chalk formation, especially after earthquakes.

⁷ I find in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* (p. 8), that 'the limestones about the "Holy City" are of the tertiary formation,' when they are distinctly secondary.

stone pine-forests (*P. Pinea* and *Halepensis*), rich in semi-mineralised Dammar, locally called Sandarús and Alfúnah; in alum and in sulphur, with other pyrites. The Hermon Mountain and the Anti-Libanus range produce two plants, both called Zalluá (زَلْوَع). They are famed for tonics like the once well-known and now neglected *Chob Chini*, or Chinese Orris. The hills behind B'lúdán are grown after snow time with a kind of rhubarb;⁸ the root is used medicinally by the peasantry, and the stalks which appear in spring are made, especially at Ba'albak, into sherbet; they are also seasoned with salt, like salad, or boiled and eaten with sugar as amongst ourselves. Rhubarb, it will be remembered, became an edible throughout England only in the latter part of the last century, and, like tea, it found at first but little favour.

The route from B'lúdán to Ba'albak lies up the Zebedání Valley to the Jisr el Rummánah — 'of the Pomegranate'—a common one-arched Saracenic affair, of which Mr. Porter (Murray's Handbook, 526) makes a 'Roman bridge, showing that we are in

⁸ Here known as 'Ribás,' which properly means sorrel (rhapontic), the classical Arabic name being 'Rāwand,' probably borrowed from the Persian, and perverted to Rewand, and even to Rāwand.

the line of the old Roman road from Damascus to Ba'albak.⁹ There are in this neighbourhood the ruins of two temples or Nymphæa, of a necropolis, and of three towns, which point out the line with less uncertainty. We then crossed the Saradah stream, and zigzag'd up the right bank of the Yahfufah Valley to the village which contains the sepulchre of Nabî Shays¹⁰ (Seth, the son of Adam). It is of the common Moslem pattern, raised upon two steps of masonry. The faithful have located almost all the Adamical and Noachian patriarchs around Damascus, which gave, according to some, the handful of red clay, 'the origin and true earth,' for the material part of our first father. Others prefer the Ager Damascenus, a bow-shot from Hebron, the city 'built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,' and claiming precedence over

⁹ Like Madame Ida Pfeiffer's 'bridge of Roman architecture at Lycus' (*Visit to the Holy Land*, p. 205). Both are as recent as the 'Roman bridge' at Preston.

¹⁰ 'Ab Seth,' Father Seth, whose name is composed of the initial and terminal letters of the Hebrew alphabet. According to a writer in the *Astronomical Register* (Dec. 1870), this alphabet is astral. The first twelve letters, from *a* to *l*, forming the popular name of the Deity (Al, Alat, Allah, &c.), are the twelve signs of the zodiac; the rest are—13 Eridanus, 14 Southern Fish, 15 Band of Pisces, 16 Pleiades, 17 Beta Tauri, 18 Orion, 19 Belt of Orion, 20 Delta Canis, 21 Canis Major, 22 Southern Cross.

Damascus, although writers will call the latter the 'most ancient city in the world.' Adam is buried, some declare, in the Muna Valley near Meccah; others say that his head is under Calvary, and his feet under the Hebron mosque;¹¹ Eve's tomb is undoubtedly at Jeddah, yet the hill-side (Jebel Arba'in) where Cain slew Abel lies hard behind our house in the Sálíhiyah suburb. Here an iron-riveted slope of the hardest limestone looks from afar as if a torrent of oxidised blood had poured down it to the foot of the white building known as the Arba'in Rijál (the Forty Martyrs).¹² Cain's last home is on the hideous rim of the Aden crater; Abel's looks down from its red cliff upon the cool green valley

¹¹ According to SS. Epiphanius and Ambrose the blood of the Redeemer dripped upon the tomb of the first man in token of salvation. St. Augustine finds it only reasonable that the Physician should go where the Patient lies. It is, however, an error to suppose, with Dean Stanley, that the burial of Adam's head by Noah under Cranion or Calvary is a Christian legend only, although it may have a Christian origin. The Moslems place the 'Makam Adam' in the enceinte of Hebron, and St. Arculfus seems to have remarked it there.

¹² They are evidently borrowed by the Moslems from the Latin and Greek Churches, which still keep the feast of 'those buried at Sebaste.' Mostly, however, the utterly ignorant Faithful believe the Forty to have been Mohammedans who died fighting hard against crusading Christians. It is a favourite invocation: there are no less than three 'Arba'in' about Damascus.

of the Damascus river near Súk Wady Barada. Seth enjoys a bird's-eye view of the Cœlesyrian vale; the sepulchre of Ham is a few furlongs to the east; whilst Noah reposes at Karak (the Ruin), near the Mu'allakah or suburb of Zahlah: here also is the tomb of the Sáhib el Zamán, *alias* Hezekiah, who heals the aguish. The stature of these patriarchs prodigiously varied: whilst Seth is a Cyclops 100 feet long, and whilst Nabi Nuh (Noah) measures 104 ft. 10 in. by 8 ft. 8 in. in width, and 3 ft. 3 in. in depth, his son Nabi Ham, a deplorable pigmy—size being here carefully proportioned to religious merit—covers only 9 ft. 6 in. between the headstone and the footstone, in fact he was only as long as his father was broad.¹³ I am sure of these

¹³ Although this 'grave of Noah' is a palpable absurdity in shape and proportions, curious to say, the author of the *Giant Cities of Bashan* quotes it, with other silly Moslem impostures or ignorances, as 'traditional memorials of primeval giants.' He would see similar enormous tombs even in the Jebel Kalbiyah of the Nusayri race, where no Rephaim are said to have existed. And near Karn Kaytú Messrs. Drake and Palmer found a gondola-shaped monolithic sarcophagus thirty feet in length by seven feet in breadth, in fact a family sepulchre. Barbarians everywhere confound size, the rudest element of grandeur, with grandeur itself: Adam was our first father, consequently his head touched the skies till he was reduced to a handful of miles. Moses was a great man, *ergo* he was sixty feet high; yet his tomb, to the west of the Jordan be it remembered, is not more than fourteen feet in length.

measurements; they were confirmed to me by our friends Mr. and Mrs. Rattray over a cup of tea at Kh'raybah.

Before leaving Damascus, Captain Burton applied to the Governor-general of Syria for official permission to clear away the hideous Saracenic wall which, pierced for a wicket, masks the smaller temple of Ba'albak, called of Jupiter or of the Sun. This was a step preparatory to levelling the interior, and to under-pinning the falling keystone of the noble portal. I have before related how our good intentions were foiled, and there is no objection to the story being repeated here.

You were so kind as to insert a letter from me last May concerning 'Tadmor in the Wilderness,' and I shall feel glad if you find a pendent letter about Ba'albak, its rival in the traveller's interest, worthy of a similar favour. Many of your readers have visited or intend to visit its magnificent ruins—gigantic remains which Rome herself cannot show—and they will be thankful for the information which my five days under canvas in the midst of its temples enable me to give them.

For some months past my husband has been making interest with Rashid Pasha, the Wali, or Governor-general of Syria, to take certain precautionary steps for the conservation of old Heliopolis. In the early Saracenic times the temple, or rather temples, had been built up into a fort;

whence, as at Palmyra, they are still known to the Arabs as El Kala'ah (the Castle). Of late years the moat has been planted with poplars, dry walls have divided it into garden plots; and thus the visitor can neither walk round the building, nor enjoy the admirable proportions, the vast length of line, and the massive grandeur of the exterior. Similarly, the small outlying circular temple called Barbárat el Atíkah (La Sainte Barbe) has been choked by wretched hovels. The worst, however, of all the Saracenic additions are—first, a capping of stone converting into a 'Burj' (tower) the south-eastern anta or wing of the smaller temple dedicated to the Sun, and popularly known as that of Jupiter; second, a large dead wall with a hole for an entrance, through which travellers must creep, thrown up to mask the vestibule and the great portal of the same building. Inside it there has been a vast accumulation of débris and rubbish; a portion was removed for the visit of H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Prussia in 1869, but the whole area wants clearing. Finally, nothing has been done to arrest the fall of the celebrated keystone in the soffit, which began to slip about 1759; which falls lower with every slight earthquake (we had one at 6.15 P.M. on June 24, 1870), and which, if left unsupported, will bring down with it the other five monoliths of the lintel and sides, thus destroying one of, if not *the* grandest of ancient entrances the world can show.

On July 21 we left B'lúdán, accompanied by Messrs. Drake and Palmer, who were finishing with a tour through Palestine their hard work and harder times in the 'Tih' and the mountains of Sinai. We were very happy to have the society of these gentlemen as far as the cedars of Lebanon, and we only regretted that the journey was so short. Rashid

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Pasha sent from Damascus Mr. Barker, chief civil engineer to the government of Syria, whose duty it was to undertake the actual work.

After examining the Saracenic capping of large stones overlying the south-eastern anta of 'Jupiter,' and which seems to crush down the cornice and to exfoliate the columns at the joints, it was judged inadvisable to remove them. The cornice, broken in two places, inclines slightly outwards, whilst the stones are disposed exactly over the centre of gravity, and serve to diminish the thrust: we therefore left with regret this hideous addition, this *bonnet de nuit*, which must now be regarded as a necessary evil. I may here remark for the benefit of your general readers, that no one can form an idea of the size of the stones used for building Heliopolis unless they have seen them. The three famous ones, measuring 64 ft., 63 ft. 8 in., and 63 ft. long, each 13 ft. in height and breadth, and raised to a height of 20 ft. or more, take away one's breath, and compel one to sit before them, only to be more and more puzzled by thinking how very superior in stone-lifting and transporting the Pagans must have been to us Christians of 1870.

The first work was to demolish the ignoble eastern masking wall. At an interview with the local authorities it was agreed that they should supply labour, on condition of being allowed to carry off the building material. During our stay of five days the upper part of the barbarous screen had been removed, much to the benefit of the temple, and it was a great excitement to the small population of the village of Ba'albak to see the huge masses of stone coming down with a thud.

We intended next to expose, by clearing away the rubbish-

heap at the proper entrance, the alt-reliefs extending on both sides of the great portal. Lastly, we had planned to underpin the falling keystone with a porphyry shaft, of which there are several in the Jami el Kabir, or chief mosque. The prop was to be as thin as possible, so as not to hide the grand old eagle, emblem of Ba'al, the Sun-god, which occupies the lower surface of the middle soffit stone.

Unhappily, Mr. Barker, immediately on beginning work, was summoned to Damascus by Rashid Pasha, who, after having kindly offered to carry out the improvements, changed his mind suddenly, inexplicably, *à la Turque*. He objected to the worthless building material being given away—the why will not interest your readers. The English nation would have spent hundreds of pounds in such a cause, and we could have done it with pence; but you cannot succeed in making an Oriental brain understand that a few piastres in the pocket are not a greater glory than saving these splendid antiquities. The indolent Eastern will only shrug his shoulders and call you a *Majnun*—a madman—and if he can put a spoke in your wheel, well, it might give him an emotion, and he will not neglect his opportunity. So Mr. Barker was kept doing nothing at head-quarters, hardly ever admitted to the 'presence,' and after short, rare visits uncourteously dismissed. I am always sorry to see an Englishman in 'native' employment, and if Mr. Barker had not been born at Aleppo, and knew anything of England, he would be sorry too. About the end of August he was ordered to lay out a road between Tripoli and Hamah; not a carriage road, but a mere mule path, which half a dozen Fellahs and donkey-boys could have done as well as the best of civil engineers. Thus poor Ba'albak has been again abandoned to the decay and desolation of the last four-

teen centuries. We do not despair, however, of carrying out our views, and we can only hope that when his Excellency has finished his goat-track he will lend help to the cause of science. Perhaps he would, if he could understand how much all civilised people will care about this our undertaking, and how abundantly patronising such a cause would redound to the credit of Constantinople.

I hope that my friends who visit Ba'albak will let this letter supplement 'Murray,' and by all means prefer to the latter the plan of the ruins given by Joanne et Isambert, as that in 'Murray' is very poor.

The temples are doubtless the main attraction, but they are not everything, at Heliopolis. A day may well be devoted to the following programme. Walk up the hill to the south-east of the Kala'ah, examining the remains of the western wall, about the gate now called 'Bawwábat Doris,' or 'El Sirr.' Visit the rock tombs and sepulchral caves, the remains of the small temple and Doric columns, and the Saracen 'Kubbat,' or dome, under which lies Melek el Amjad, of the Seljukian dynasty. From this high point the view of the ruins and of the valley is really charming. Descend to the nearest *Maklah* (quarries), and measure—as every one does, with different results—the *Hajar el Hablah*, or 'pregnant stone,' as the huge unfinished block is called. Our measurement was 70 ft. long, 14 ft. 2 in. high, and 13 ft. 11 in. broad. It was doubtless cut and prepared for building, but not detached from the quarry at one end; and the extraordinary sight makes you exclaim, 'Something must have frightened them away before they had time to carry it off.' Ride to the 'Kubbat Doris,' so named from a neighbouring village; its eight columns of fine granite have doubtless been removed

from the classic building. Thence proceed to the other quarries north of the temples. After some six indirect miles nearly due west (279° magnetic) of the ruins, you strike the sources of the Litani, or river of Tyre, and of the Asi (Orontes), which rise at the eastern foot of the Lebanon outliers, within one short mile of each other. Concerning these matters, however, Captain Burton will communicate with the Royal Geographical Society. On the way you can enter the tents of the Turkomans, who, though wandering about Syria since the days of the Crusader, have preserved, like their neighbours the Nuwar (gipsies), their ancestral language and customs. From the sources turn to the north-east, and see the 'Kamu'a Iyad,' named from a neighbouring village; evidently a memorial column like that of Alilamus, still standing at Palmyra. Thence across the north-eastern quarries, cut in steps like the Egyptian, to the eastern wall of Ba'albak. This must be carefully examined, and its difference from that of Tadmor, a succession of mausolea, should be duly noted.

Most travellers will now gladly return to their tents. If unwilling to spend a second day, they will remount about 2 P.M., and follow up to its source the little mountain torrent Ayn Lujuj. If the weather be not too cold, they can descend the Najmah, or shaft, explore the tunnel with magnesium wire, and extend the subterranean journey as far as the iron door reported by the natives. We found the prospect peculiarly uninviting. Retracing your steps down the wady, and visiting the tombs of the feudal house of Harfush, you strike the valley of the Ba'albak waters at the source known as the Ra'as el Ayn. This is by far the quietest and the prettiest spot for pitching tents, but most people prefer, as we did, for

convenience to encamp among the ruins. Examine the two mosques, the larger built by the Melek el As'ad, son of the celebrated Melek el Zahir, and the smaller, 'Jami' el Melawiyah,' dating, as the inscription shows, from A.H. 670, and erected by the Melek el Zahir himself. Those who have spare time might try a little digging in the mortuary caverns which riddle the soft chalky cliff on the proper left of the river valley. Even at Ba'albak little has been done in the way of *fouilles*. The general visitor stays one day, and, after looking at the temples, goes on his way rejoicing that he has 'done' his Ba'albak. M. Achille Joyeau, a young French artist, and *grand prix de Rome*, who, employed by his government, spent some months in measuring and modelling the temples, seems to have made a cross-cut on the south of the remaining six columns which mark the great temples of Ba'al. There has, however, been no work on a grand scale, and I am convinced that excavation would produce valuable results. Lastly, as the sun is sinking behind the giant wall in front, you pass down the valley of the Ra'as el Ayn to the tents or house, and you thus end the supplementary ride.

In fine weather nothing can be more delightful than this excursion. The clear, crisp, pure air at an elevation of 3000 feet above sea level; the abundance of water 'more splendid than glass;' the variety, the novelty, and the glorious associations of the view; the sublime aspect of the ruins crowning the fertile valley, and backed by the eternal mountains; the manifold contrasts of stony brown range, barren yellow flat, luxuriant verdure of irrigated field and orchard; and last, not least, the ermined shoulders of Hermon, Sannin, and Arz Libnan (the Cedar Block) thrown out into such relief by the diaphanous blue sky that they seem to be within cannot-shot

—if these things will not satisfy a traveller's taste, I don't know what will.

ISABEL BURTON.

B'lúdán, near Damascus, Sept. 20, 1870.

And the following note addressed by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake to the Editor of the *Times* will prove that during the year which elapsed since our visit the evil has rapidly increased.

Sir,—Allow me through your columns to plead for the ruins of Ba'albak.

After an interval of fourteen months I have revisited them, and was astonished to see how much damage had been done in that time, chiefly by frost and rain, especially to the seven columns of the great temple.

The third pillar from the east is in a very bad state; its base is undermined northwards to a depth of three feet: some five or six feet of the lower stone have flaked away in large pieces, and the stones are generally scaling.

The cornice above No. 3 and No. 4 is cracked midway between the columns, and as the stone is crumbling, it seems in great danger of falling.

A large mass at the north-west corner of the square base supporting the western column has been broken by frost, and the column now overhangs thirteen inches.

All the columns have been more or less undermined by the natives, who thus endanger them for the sake of the metal clamps worth a few piastres; and unless something is done, these fine columns will soon have fallen.

A few iron bands round the columns connected by bars,

and a little careful under-pinning, would doubtless preserve them for many years, and I have no doubt that permission to do this would readily be obtained from the new Wali of Syria, whom all speak of as an honourable and intelligent man.

Could not a subscription be made in England—I believe 40*l.* or 50*l.* would suffice—and would not some architect or civil engineer, intending to visit Palestine during the ensuing tourist season, volunteer to stay a few days and see the thing done? I fear that if it be not set about within a year, it will be too late.

CHAS. F. TYRWHITT-DRAKE.

Damascus, Nov. 20, 1871.

The Governor-general afterwards denied having summoned our friend Mr. Barker, C.E., and then declared that he did not know what his chief engineer was doing. I soon learned the full significancy of this petty trick, worthy of the school which produced the two bans of Turkey, Fuad and Ali Pasha, the late grand vizier. No foreigner, and especially no consul, must leave his mark upon the land unless he pay liberally for permission to benefit it. A similar neglect of the duty of bribery and corruption occurred to a French traveller at Rhodes. The Giaour, furnished with a Firman permitting him to carry off an inscribed stone, calls upon the Pasha, who is all consent, and who sends his aide-de-camp as an escort of honour, and to collect the corvée.

The stone is found freshly broken in two. The Frenchman storms, but after cooling down proceeds to carry off the pieces. 'Nenni,' objects the aide-de-camp; 'the Firman says stone, not stones.' Monsieur complains excitedly to the Pasha, who threatens there and then to cut off the aide-de-camp's head. The Frenchman, reassured, at once returns to his stones, but finds that all have been removed during the audience. Drop-scene: the Pasha threatening to decapitate the whole population, who smile with intense appreciation of the joke; whilst the Frenchman, with torn hair and wringing hands, vanishes into space.

The valley-plain of Ba'albak (Sahlal Ba'albak), as the people term it, is popularly but erroneously called by modern travellers El Buká'a,¹⁴ of which it is the northern prolongation. The Buká'a and the Sahlal are simply parts of a great depression between the once single range which at present is parted into the Libanus and the Anti-Libanus. It is a fissure formerly deep and gorge-like, as may

¹⁴ The Hebrew Bikath (בִּקְעָה), a plain as Shinar (Gen. xi. 2), or a plain between mountains, is translated by the Greeks *πεδίον*, and by the Latins simply *campus*. Some travellers have identified it with the Bikath Aven of Amos (i. 5), and have gone so far as to explain Aven by the Coptic On, the sun. Hence Heliopolis—but very doubtful.

still be seen in the lower course of the Litání. The latter in geological ages was doubtless the main drain of the Buká'a, when the secular uprising of the latter discharged the waters into the sea. Since that epoch the valley-sole has been raised and levelled by successive strata of moraine swept down from the west, especially about the Sahlat, by modern conglomerates, and by humus still forming. It heads the Ghor,¹⁵ the well-known Jordanic line of erosion; and the 'Eyes of the land,' the three main centres of depression shown upon the whole line, are the Waters of Merom, in a country almost purely basaltic; the Lake of Tiberias, about which the igneous alternates with the sedimentary formation, and the Dead Sea, where the trap completely disappears. When Van de Velde asserts (ii. 466) that the Buká'a throughout its entire length exhibits an unbroken chain of volcanic formations, he should have limited his 'bare and simple fact' to the fissure stretching southward from a little north of Rasheyyá, and to the northern section of the Sahlat Ba'albak, lying chiefly upon the left bank of the Orontes River. The eruption is evidently of more ancient date than

¹⁵ The Hebrew Ha Arabah, the steppe, the desert place. Arabah is applied to the plains of Jericho and Moab.

those which formed the Druze Mountain (Jebel Durúz Haurán), with its adjuncts the Lejá, the Safá, and the northern and southern Tulúl el Safá. The water which fed the eruptions was contained in the Cœlesyrian Valley proper, and it lay there till within the historic age;¹⁶ the focus of explosion is the Birkat el Rám, or Tank of the High Place, lying on the southern slope of Mount Hermon. The Rev. Mr. Tristram (*The Natural History of the Bible*, p. 22; London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1868) describes it as a 'circular fathomless pool.' Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake and my husband, on May 18, 1871, made a boat out of a table-leaf and four air-filled water-skins, and found the maximum of the centre, beyond the thick line of vegetation (*Asterophyllum Spicatum?*) which clothes the shallows, to be seventeen feet and a half, with a temperature of 68° F. In the Buká'a proper, at the section traversed by the modern French carriage road, the traces of depressions are distinctly visible in the uptilting of the outlying eastern buttresses, which

¹⁶ Antiochus the Great in his war with Ptolemy was stopped by the water that had collected in the great meridional fissure, flanked by the two fortresses, Bronchi (Kabb Iliyás) and Gerrha (Majdal Anjar), which were held by the Governor of Cœlesyria, Theodotus the Ætolian (Polybius, *Gen. History*, lib. ii. chap. 5).

enclose a valley of a higher plane, bounded farther east by the western slopes of the Anti-Libanus. About the village of Kafr Zabad these white-faced heaps of conglomerate are uptilted eastward at an angle of 35° to 45° ; whereas the opposite sides of the Anti-Libanus show highly but irregularly contorted strata.

By the moderns the valley is known as El Buká'a el 'Azíz, in order to distinguish it from other Buká'as,¹⁷ especially from El Buká'a near Salt, eastward of the Jordan, whose forty-five miles of the richest meadow land also appear to represent the now dried-up bed of a lake drained by the Zerka or Jabbok to the Jordan. The 'Beloved,' or the 'Precious,' is divided into two districts, both under the government of Damascus. The Buká'a el Sharkí (Oriental Buká'a), which contains three-fourths of the whole, but which is not so well watered as the other quarter, extends from the Kariyah village to Kafr Zabad: it is sometimes called *par excellence* 'El Buká'a.' The Buká'a el Gharbí (Occidental Buká'a) is bounded northwards by Karak and Barr Iliyás, the little Moslem villages

¹⁷ The diminutive form El Bukay'ah is also common in Syria and Palestine.

close to and north of the French road; southwards by Lusáh and Maydún; eastwards by the Litání River; and westwards by the unhappy village of Bawárish and by the Khan Murayját. It clings, in fact, to the eastern flanks of the Central Libanus. This 'Valley of Lebanon,' as Hebrew writers know it, must not therefore in modern days be made synonymous with 'Cœlesyria,' the name which Macedonian conquests gave to the 80 miles between N. lat. $33^{\circ} 20'$ and N. lat. $34^{\circ} 40'$; whilst the Romans extended it to the Damascene and to the Peræa or Trans-Jordanic Palestine.

The aspect of the Buká'a proper much resembles the fair lowlands of southern England, whilst the finest views of 'the Mountain' suggest those of Spain and Portugal. It is a Vega green even in mid-summer, with trees and herbage and queer misshapen fields where water reaches. The redness of the sides is not from the vineyards, but from the oxide of iron, the rust of the decomposed Jurassic lime, dating with the lower secondary, which enriches the ground. It is not 'smooth as a lake,' but undulating in gentle land-waves, whose depressions are formed by the sundry little river valleys. It abounds in settlements and hamlets, which are said

to number 137; the greater, which are of high antiquity, usually hug the hill folds, where they can more easily defend themselves against the campaign and the razzia. The little villages, which here and there affect the centre, are of mud hovels built upon dwarf mounds, the débris of ages; whilst the material is a dark clay brick, contrasting with the limestone material of the hill hamlets: in this point the view suggests Egypt, and a single steam-engine and sundry haycocks which have lately appeared add to the resemblance. The hill settlements apparently prefer the neighbourhood of the white chalky Howára, which, after the basalt, forms the best of vineyards. The population must have been even thicker in classical days: on the eastern side we still trace two important cities, Chalcis ad Libanum (Anjar)¹⁸ and Gerrha (Mejdel Anjar), within cannon-shot of each other. The climate, despite an average altitude of 2500 feet, is rich in fevers as the soil is exuberant in fertility, and no European resident upon the lowlands can hope to escape repeated attacks. What

¹⁸ Anjar is evidently a modern corruption of Ayn el Jurr, the proper name of a spring. The peasantry have made it the name of an ancient king. They call the ruins Husn Anjar, or Anjar-el Kadim, and relate how Caliph Ali rode from Meccah and slew its Jewish ruler Malak Ankabüt (the Spider). The tale suggests a Guinea Coast 'Spider story.'

little of beauty it has is essentially that of contrast, a smiling valley red and rich green parting two blocks of mountains barren, brown, and yellow. Here the Libanus is essentially never picturesque except by moonlight, or when its snow-capped summits gleam through storm-cloud rack above and mist-wreath below. There is even less to be admired in the northern projecting tongue of Ba'albak and in the Safet Block, which, dwarfed by distance, bounds the view to the south.

Beyond Ba'albak the Cœlesyrian Vale breaks into rough parallel ridges and becomes comparatively sterile, the result of deficient water, a want extending from that parallel throughout the northern head of the Libanus and the Anti-Libanus. Here also appear scatters of stones, showing subterranean and igneous action. South of Jubb Jenín the fissure is composed of four distinct meridional depressions, beginning from Jebel el Shaykh (Hermon) to the east, and abutting westward upon the Tau'amát Nihá or Mashgharah (the Twins of the Nihá or the Mashgharah village). These are—1st, the Wady el Yábis, the northern extremity of the Wady Taym¹⁹ and

¹⁹ Mr. Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, 2d edition, p. 7) makes the Plain of Marsyas correspond with the Wady Taym, including the Marj

the uppermost water parting of the Jordan, which separates the Hermon from the Jebel el Minshár, or ridge upon which Rasheyyá town lies; 2d, the Wady el Arís and Marjat el Sh'maysah in a lateral range, where basalt outcrops; 3d, the well-known gorge of the Litání, with its natural bridge and its Khatwah or 'step across,' visited by every traveller; and 4th, the Maydún depression, lying at the eastern foot of the Libanus.

The people of Ba'albak correctly say that their town lies '*Al 'el mízán* (upon the balance); that is to say, it occupies the flattened crest of the versant which discharges to the north and south; thus the plain lying east of Sanúr is declared to 'drink its own water.' The streamlet formed by the Ra'as el Ayn or Ba'albak fountain is absolutely without water-

'Uyun (Ijon), south of the Buká'a proper. Strabo (xvi. 2) would have informed him that Chalcis (not the ruin in the Buká'a, but the place formerly known as Old Aleppo) is the 'Acropolis, as it were, of the Marsyas,' and that the southern boundaries were Laodicea ad Libanum (now Tell Nabi Mindoh) and the sources of the Orontes. When Polybius (ii. v.) speaks of the 'close and narrow valley which lies between the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and which is called the "vale of Marsyas,"' he must be understood to signify that ancient Cœlesyria continues the vale of Marsyas. Pococke (chap. xii.) tells us that the river Marsyas, now called the (northern) Yarmuk, falls into the Orontes near Apamea, and that the plain doubtless took its name from the stream.

shed, though bounded immediately to the right and to the left—north and south—by the two great river systems of Cœlesyria.

On July 26th the travellers proceeded to examine the spot where lie the true sources of the Litáni and the Orontes. And here I may premise, that in Syria and Palestine generally, great influents have ever since historic ages been confounded with sources; whilst the latter are those represented by the most copious, not by the most distant fountains. Moreover, Wasserschieds, versants and river-valleys were and are universally neglected, if, as often happens, the young spring is drawn off for irrigation: this will especially appear at the head of the Upper Jordan. Hence we have the historical, which is still the popular, opposed to the geographical or scientific source. Again, in highly important streams like the Jordan, the historical may be differently placed by the Hebrews, the classics, and the Arabs. Finally, there is often a mythical or fabulous source, like the cave near Afka, which forms the Orontes; the Jurah or sink, in the hill-range called Zebadáni, which sends forth the Barada of Damascus; and the Lake Phiala (Birkat el Rám), which Josephus made the highest water of the Jordan.

A slow walk of two hours led through some forty to fifty Turkoman tents, where the women, habited in the normal green and red, were making butter, by swinging a skinful of milk supported by a triangle. Part of the way was over ground which carried a good turf. It is called Marjat el Sahn, and it is owned by the little Fellaḥ-village Haush Baradah.²⁰ After covering some six indirect and five direct geographical miles, Fáris Rufáil, the guide, informed the travellers that they had reached the Tell Barada. This mound, bearing 279° (Mag.) from the north-west angle of the great temple of Ba'al above the Trilithon, is one of the many tumuli, artificial and natural, which are dotted over the plain. They generally affect the vicinity of a source or a pool, and some of them may have upheld forts to protect the precious element. Upon its western flank appears an inscriptionless sarcophagus of white limestone.²¹ The surface ma-

²⁰ Captain Warren, R.E. (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. V. p. 189; London, Richard Bentley) translates Haush, which is also written Hosh, 'herd-fold,' thus unduly limiting the generic word for courtyard. *patio*, and so forth.

²¹ The classical Arabic name of this article is Náús (ناوس), possibly from the Persian Nawús, a Magian cemetery. The vulgar call it Jurn (a place for drying dates), properly a basin, a caldron, a large pot, also popularly applied to the monolithic lid of the Náús. In Northern Syria the favourite term is Rasad, plural Arsád.

terial is invariably an ashen-gray débris, comminuted and often powdery, remarkably contrasting with the red soil about it. It much resembles Mr. White of Selborne's 'black malm,' which he describes to be a 'warm forward crumbling loam, saturated with vegetable and animal matter.' It is essentially 'rotten,' and it runs down in streams like water when pierced with shaft or gallery. The country folk, who use this material for compost to their plots of vegetables and tobacco, all know that it shows signs of ancient building. We found it well defined in the old Sayyaghah (gold and silver smiths' quarter) at Damascus, Palm-*yra*, and Ba'albak. It may be useful in tracing out the limits of immense cities like Tyre and Sidon; but the ground about the ruins of smaller settlements—for instance, Fákah near Rashey*yá*, and Sardánah near Banyás—has been ploughed over till no traces of the gray matter remain, and the rains assist to remove it, especially if it lies upon a slope.

A few yards to the north-west of the mound is the true source of the Litáni, a muddy unclean pool, without perceptible current during the dries; an oval, whose longer diameter was about 100 feet in July. It is treeless but rush-fringed, like most of these northern waters, and, as usual, it abounds

in small fish and large leeches, which may seriously injure man and beast. The low grassy land about it (Marjat el Baradah) is flooded in winter; during the summer, a hole sunk three or four feet deep readily strikes the water, which percolates from the uplands. Hence the place is much affected by the nomad Turkomans, and the cavalry horses are here sent by the military authorities for spring grazing. South of the line drawn through 279° (Mag.) the fountains of the valley plain, such as the Naba' el Na'na' (mint spring), and sundry minor supplies, shed southwards, feeding, when they do not sink, the Litáni river. At the source the aneroid gave an altitude of 3595 feet, Ba'albak itself standing at 3847.

Here the upper part of the river of Tyre is called El Baradah, and must not be confounded with the Barada or Chrysoröos (Abana?) of Damascus. Mr. Hughes's map (No. III.) derives the latter from the north-west of the Litáni, and boldly leads it up and down the southern heights of the Anti-Libanus. This change of name in the upper course—almost invariably the case with rivers, valleys, and plains in this country—accounts for the error of Dr. Robinson (iii. 143), who, when going from Zahlah to Ba'albak,

did not find the Litání, which he must have crossed, and who makes its fountain the streamlet of the Anjar Valley. This Ghuzayyil (غزِيل) water is simply a large influent, gushing plentifully from the limestone rock at the western base of the Anti-Libanus, and flowing through a lateral valley of a higher plane than the Buká'a, till it forms in the latter what classical geographers call the river of Chalcis. The traveller on the French road sees the stream on his left, immediately before striking the Khán el Masna' (*Station de la Citerne*), at the western jaw of the Wady el Harír (the Valley of Silk), an article of Damascus manufacture here often plundered in days gone by.

But nothing will excuse a scholarly writer like Dr. Robinson, in speaking (iii. 344) of the river Litání as the ancient Leontes.²² Of course, guide-books and tourists cling to their Leontes. Murray

²² Strabo (xvi. 2) writes, 'between these places [Berytus and Sidon] is the river Tamyras [the modern Dámúr] and the grove of Asclepias and Leontopolis,' but he does not mention the river. Pliny (v. 17) also records the 'town Leontos' (of the lion). Ptolemy (v. xv.) places the *λέοντος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί* in N. lat 33° 5', and E. long. 67° 30', also between Bayrut and Sidon. This would point to one of the many Wadys or Fiumaras, especially the Nahr el Yábis, a mountain stream probably then perennial, as its modern name the 'Dry River' suggests, and now flowing only after rain.

a little village, near the true source of the Baradah, alias Litání; but it brings the latter from fourteen direct miles to the north. D prolongs the stream fifteen miles north, and both throw it across the watershed of the Orontes. Berghaus (No. I.), whose Anti-Libanus is a marvel of incorrectness, makes the 'Quell-see des Leontes' a pool, apparently following Burekhardt; but he places it to the south-west, whereas it lies west, of Ba'albak. Mr. Hughes (No. III.) is also correct about the pool-source; but he has, I have shown, confounded the Baradah and the Barada of Damascus. Dr. Robinson (No. IV.) ignores the Haush Baradah and the Naba' el 'Illá. The rest seem simply to have drawn a frayed ribbon by way of mountain, and to have derived from the fringings certain cobweb lines meaning rivers.

The Orontes or Axios²⁴ has fared no better. C

²⁴ According to Strabo (xvi. 2. 7) the oldest name of the stream was Typhon, from the serpent here struck with lightning. It was changed to Orontes, the name of a man who bridged it; the site is near the modern Metawili village of Hurmul. The legend of its underground course doubtless alludes to the deep and shady gorge below Már Mirún's summer quarters. The other Greek name Ἀξίος is evidently the Arabic 'Asi' (عاصي), meaning the rebel: Sozomeni *Historia*, vii. 15. quoted by Pococke, chap. xii. Mr. Hyde Clarke (on the pre-Israelite population of Palestine, &c.) has lately been developing a remarkable theory (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. II. pp. 97-100), namely, that

and D bring it from the north-east of the Yunín village, and about ten miles east-north-east of its proper position. Mr. Hughes (No. III.) makes it rise near the hamlet of Lebwah (the lioness),²⁵ which boasts of a fine fountain; its three sources are divided into five leats of high and low levels, all feeding the Orontes, except the easternmost spring. The latter is said once to have watered Palmyra; but we could not trace it beyond El Ká'ah. At Lebwah the Orontes Valley, which we saw to the westward as we travelled above it, is already deeply cut and well defined; the popular name is El Majarr, or the Place of Draught. Travellers and consequently maps the more easily confound influents

the Canaanites spoke a Caucaso-Tibetan or Palæogeorgian language of the earlier stage, 'when there were several types of the same root, and when the radical letters were susceptible of permutation at will.' The 'river-term,' for instance, contained the radicals *d r n*. In the modern Georgian and Mingrelian *dinare*, a river, the *d* and *n* or *n* and *d* represent water, and the *r* gives the idea of running. But it was indifferent to the Canaanite how he placed the letters: thus in Jordan the *r* is in the beginning; it is in the middle of Kedron and Orontes.

²⁵ The modern name is sometimes pronounced *Lebu*. It is the *Lybo* or *Lybon* of the Antonine Itinerary, evidently derived through Arabic from the Hebrew *Labi* or *Labiyah*, 'an old lion,' 'a lioness' (supposed to be a Coptic root), whence *Beth Labaoth*, or *Lebaoth*, the house of lionesses.

with source, as after heavy rains all the gorges discharge surface water. The word Wady²⁶ is usually translated by us 'valley,' instead of Fiumara or Nulah: nothing, in fact, is less like our English valley than a Syrian Wady: the former word would be more fitly Arabised by Sahlah or Watá. The Wady, almost all the year round, is a winding broken line of bleached and glaring white, of lamp-black or of brown-gray rock faced with slime-crusts and water-worn pebbles, and scattered over with large angular stones. It becomes a storm-brook or rain-torrent; a raging, foaming, muddy débâcle, which for a few days or hours dashes the boulders together, hurries down tree-trunks, and is certain death to man or beast that would cross it. Few travel in Palestine during the hot season; and we saw the country at a time when the real and perennial river-sources are best shown.

²⁶ In Hebrew nachal (נַחַל), and in Greek χειμαρρός, storm-brook or rain-torrent. It is opposed to the Hebrew Ge (גַּי—for instance, Geben Hinnom) and the Arabic Fijj, a ravine *praruptum eoque neglectum*. About a score of years ago, when I ventured to translate Wady by Fiumara, objections were raised to naturalising the latter term: it was local, incorrect, unintelligible. But let the traveller in Southern Italy and in Sicily declare whether the mountains are not streaked with true Wadys, and whether the latter are not called Fiumare. The incongruity of such expressions as the Brook Kedron and the Brook Cherith (Wady el Kalt)—bone-dry lines of rock—must be palpable to all who see nature as it is.

Although Pliny (v. 19) expressly tells us that the Orontes takes its rise near Heliopolis (Bá'albak), its origin has suffered perversion in books as well as in maps. Abulfeda derives it from the Ra'as Bá'albak, one of its minor influents. Mr. Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, p. 315, 2d edit.; repeated in Murray, 541) makes the Lebwhah fountain the 'highest source of the Orontes.' Mr. W. A. Barker (*Journal of London Geographical Society*, vii. of 1837, p. 99) follows the still popular opinion, and derives it from the eastern foot of Libanus, under the caverned hill known as Dayr Már Márún (Convent of Saint Maro): yet in the same page he mentions the small spring from Lebwhah, which, after flowing several hours through the plain, falls into a basin, whence rises the Orontes.

This Dayr Már Márún, well known to travellers, is a mere summer-place hewn in the rocks, like the Lauræ of modern Coptic fraternities; in fact, a Chaitya or Church-cave, as opposed to a built Vihara or monastery; and from the hands of the holy men it passed into those of bandits, rebels, and goatherds. The true convent, the old head-quarters and cradle of the once heretic sect, which is still remembered as the 'Maradat Jebel Libnán'—the contumacious of

Mount Lebanon — is now the site of Khán Rastan (رستن), vulgarly pronounced Restan. As late as A.D. 1745 the 'ruins of a very large convent' were here noticed by Pococke; it lay upon the right bank of the Orontes, and it supplied materials for a huge fortified caravanserai, which also is rapidly falling to decay. Rastan²⁷ is the Arethusa of Seleucus Nicator, whose King Sampsiceramus (Shams el Karam, the Sun of Generosity?) was conquered by Pompey. Though fortified, provisioned, and strongly garrisoned, it was easily taken by Abu 'Ubaydah and his men in boxes. But if the Laura does not deserve its title of Dayr, nothing can be more charming than the view which it commands over the deep and tree-lined gorge below—nothing more refreshing to the eye than the gushes of liquid crystal pumping out of the living rock into basins shady with tender-leaved planes and strongly-scented wild vines; nothing, in Palestine at least, more memorable than the succession of huge arteries worked as if by hydraulic pressure, and at once forming with their blue waters a river some sixty feet wide, brawling down

²⁷ The plan of the Greek city is admirably plain, and there is, I should say, no more promising digging-ground in North Palestine. Mr. Porter (Murray, p. 589, sub voce *Rastán-Arethusa*) gives ten arches to the Rastan bridge; I counted eleven and a bittock.

the rocky and tortuous conglomerate bed. I could not wonder that the imaginative Hellenes made its beauties the scene of a marvel; and although the Ayn el Zarka (the Blue Spring), and the Naba' el Asi, its more copious neighbour, are not the true fountains, they are at least the main sources. They seem to explain the two rocks from which, according to Nero's travelling captains, the vast force of the river Nile issued forth.²⁸

Three reasons are given for the epithet 'El Asi,' or the Rebel. Popularly, the injurious term alludes to the belief that the Orontes never faces the Ka'abah, flowing north, contrary to the rule of all waters in Cœlesyria: hence, according to Pococke (chap. xii.), it is also called by some the Makloub—El Maklúb, or the Inverted. Abulfeda (*Syria*, p. 149) makes its rebellion consist in refusing water for the fields, unless compelled by the Na'úrah, or mighty box-wheels—one of them, El Mohammediyyah, is said to be forty metres in diameter—which travellers going northwards see at Hamah for the first time. I am disposed, however, to agree with Volney (p. 155, ii. English translation) and many others that the

²⁸ 'Ibi, inquit, vidimus duas petras ex quibus ingens vis fluminis exidebat' (L. Annæi Senecæ *Nat. Quæst.* lib. vi. cap. 8).

Rebel is so named from the swiftness, the windings, and the turbulence of its upper stream. All who have forded it will carry away the same impression: the least curious about what the wild waves are saying might ask:

‘Qual diverrà quel fiume
 Nel suo cammino
 Se al fonte si vicino
 E tumido così?’

It is a rebel to the last: the gusts of the Asi gorge, where it falls into the Gulf of Antioch, are, as sailors well know, fierce, furious, and unmanageable as are the head-waters.

We inspected the Christian villages Ra'as Ba'albak and El Ká'ah, where the Cœlesyrian valley becomes unusually barren, and presently flares out into the rolling ground-waves—often divided by valleys so deep, that from a short distance the rider will fail to catch sight of them—stretching from the northernmost block of the Anti-Libanus to Hasyah, Sadad, and Hums (Emesa). After crossing the Jádah²⁹ westwards and south-westwards, we made for

²⁹ The word Jádah (جاده) is here applied to flattish ground, especially opposed to Saniyyah (سنيية), a Col or Pass. I have explained the latter to mean 'Winding Pass' in *Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah* (vol. ii. p. 147, 2d edit.). Murray (p. 509) makes the road to

the Wady Fárih. This distinctly-marked lateral gorge, which has a namesake in the 'Eastern Mountain,' separates the barren crest of the highest Libanus—whose two southern prolongations are the gray walls of Jebel Sannín and Jebel Kafr Salwán, 'of the Siloam Village'—from its eastern outliers; the latter, a distinctly-marked lumpy mass, is called the Sha'arat Ba'albak, in order to separate it from a similar extension to the north known as the Sha'arat 'Akkár. The surface of reddish humus, dotted over with trees, explains its name, the 'hairy,' popularly applied to such features.³⁰ The undergrowth is mostly of Suwwayd (the little black), not unlike our black-thorn, and of Unnayb (the little grape), a bilberry (*vaccinium*), whose gratefully acid currant-like fruit is here used for pickles. The trees are the Sindiyán (*Quercus pseudo-coccifera*), vulgarly termed ilex, or native oak, and forming an extensive scrub; the

Palmyra skirt the base of 'a rounded barren peak called Jebel Tiniyeh, 'the hill of figs.' The peak in question is the celebrated Abu 'Asá (عشا), pronounced 'Atá, and the Pass to the east is called Darb el Saniyyah, or Road of the Col. Van de Velde, probably led into it by his predecessors, makes the same mistake.

³⁰ Some etymologists recognise the word in the Hebrew Seir (שעיר), popularly termed 'rugged,' the ancient term for the country about the Gulf of Akabah. Others hold the derivation inadmissible. Similarly Josephus (i. 18, i.) interprets Esau by 'hairy roughness.'

Mallúl, another kind of oak, whose wood does not decay in water; here and there a Ballút, or cociferous oak, which upon these heights produces the 'Afs or gall-nut; the Za'arúr (a hawthorn); the Kaykab or maple; the wild pear and almond; the arbutus and the Butm, or terebinth.³¹ The principal growth is the Lizzáb, a juniper³² with blue berries, of which only one specimen was seen upon the valley plain. Its foliage, though not the bole, from afar resembles cypress; hence Van de Velde (ii. 475) terms these juniper barrens 'cypress groves.' The tree is nowhere so plentiful as upon the northern half of the

³¹ It seems not settled amongst Hebraists following Celsius, that al (plural elim) is the oak; whilst alah (cloth and clath), popularly translated evergreen oak, is really the terebinth called by the Arabs El Butm. Even in these days the two trees are confused, e.g. the Bálút Ibrahim, 'Abraham's oak,' near Hebron. When Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 243) tells the world 'there are more mighty oaks here in this immediate vicinity' [i.e. Mejdal el Shams, in the southern slopes of Hermon, where, by the bye, no mighty oaks are now preserved] 'than there are terebinths in all Syria and Palestine together,' he speaks from a limited experience. Towards Palmyra and the desert the terebinth becomes essentially *the* tree.

³² The juniper of the English version is an error for the broom, in Hebrew Retem or Rethmeh (רתם, in Arabic Ratam (رتام), the Retama of Tenerife and the Andes, and the Ratam genista (monosperma?), of Forskål, the planta genista of popular travels. Dr. Robinson (ii. 806) makes the Arabs of Wady Músá call the juniper 'Ar'ar (the Hebrew aröer (ערוער), translated 'heath' by Luther and in the English version.

Anti-Libanus, though it has been well-nigh extirpated from the southern parts.

Neither C nor D has any trace of this important Sha'arah. The former, however, calls the outliers a 'girdle of trees and brushwood ;' the latter, '*plateau boisé*,' whereas it is everywhere a slope. Dr. Robinson (iii. appendix, 183) mentions 'on the northern declivity of Lebanon a tract, El Sha'arah, which is a forest generally infested by robbers.' Wady Fárih is still celebrated in local tale and legend as the scene of conflicts between the Turkish Pashas and the turbulent feudal family of Harfúsh—a snake now scotched. He should not, however, have called it a forest, as does Mr. Porter (2d edit. p. 314). The only places in Syria and Palestine where I have seen anything worthy the name even of a wood are between Hasbeyyá and Kufayr, and about Kafr Shobah—all settlements upon the western slopes of the Hermon. For a few rods the head is in the shade, and the foot treads upon fallen leaves, a pleasing reminiscence of the far north. Tabor on its western side, and parts of Jebel Ajlún, are still tolerably tree-clad ; but the former is a mass of craggy limestone, and short sharp earth-slopes, from which the illexes grow like pines ; and the latter has no charcoal

market. Dr. Robinson (iii. 172) calls such growths 'orchards of oaks' (*Quercus ægilops*); and American travellers often compare the Sindiyán with their apple-trees. When *Tancred or the New Crusade* and *Five Years in Damascus* were written, Syria and Palestine appear to have been far better wooded than they are now. About Kunayterah, and in the Jaydúr district south of the Hermon, for instance, many such groves and woods have of late years completely disappeared.

We all remarked that the unmade road up the 'Glad Fiumara' (Wady Fárih), with its natural metal, was the best yet seen in the 'Holy Land;' and this afterwards proved to be the rule. Near the head of the course, where the trend was 260° , we found a succession of shallow swallow-holes, sinks or punch-bowls—hollows all without watershed—bone-dry at this season, but showing a pale green tint amongst the browns and yellows. After five hours of slow riding, a descent of thirty minutes placed us in an oval basin, bounded on the east by the 'Sha'arah' outliers of the Jurd el Gharbi, or Western Highlands—a term presently to be explained—and west by what we afterwards called the 'Cedar Block.' The latter is here faced eastwards by a sharp slope

with sundry slides. In places it is not impracticable; but now and then the natural macadam appears almost too loose for a safe footing. Looking up from this basin, it is difficult to determine which point of the Libanus is the highest. The north-eastern head, a buttress known as 'Jebel 'Uyún Urghush,' being the nearest, appeared to rise a little above its fellows; whereas, afterwards seen from the true apex, from Mount Sannín, from the Hermon, and from the northern Anti-Libanus, it proved itself to be of secondary importance.

The basin merits attention. It is known as the 'Wady 'Uyún Urghush,' which, as His Eminence the Maronite patriarch afterwards informed us, is a corrupted translation from the Greek 'Eyes of Argus.' The name is explained by the number of little sources rushing, bubbling, and springing from the stony feet of hills, often as if a pipe or a conduit had just been broken: the valley is said to water 15,000 goats and sheep per diem. Examining it narrowly, we found that although D drains it to Orontes it has absolutely no slope, being subtended on all sides by higher ground. C is more correct, showing this phenomenon in several places. We passed two sinks, into which the streamlets, bending

sharp round in a loop, disappear, absorbed by the bowels of the earth, leaving, as if in a filter, superficial brown scum. Here, for the first time, we could account for the multitude of bright runnels which, cleared and refined through the huge strainer of mountains, everywhere in Cœlesyria—‘a land of brooks and fountains that spring out of valleys’—gush quick from the stony edgings of the highlands, whose upper reservoirs are hidden from the sight.

These reservoirs form an important feature in the two Libani and the Hermon, together with the adjoining uplands; they are unnoticed by traveller or tourist, and I saw them for the first time on this excursion. The natives call them, when large, ‘Júrah,’³³ meaning a hollow or sunken plain: it is opposed to Marj, a flat timberless meadow, and to Ghútah (أطاح),³⁴

³³ The classical word appears to be Juwár, *spelunca montis*.

³⁴ Dr. Beke (*Origines Biblicæ*, &c. p. 19, Preface to ‘Jacob’s Flight,’ &c.) makes the Ghútah (more classically pronounced ‘El Ghautah’) of Damascus, the Land of Uz, ‘Aúsitis.’ The Hebrew ‘Ayn has, it is true, in many cases—some scholars say always—the sound of the Arabic ghayn; Oreb, a raven, for instance, being pronounced Ghoreb, like the Arabic Ghuráb, whence corvus and crow. But the early Hebrews may, like the modern Egyptians, have softened the Ghayn by turning it into ‘Ayn. In the case of Ghútah and Uz or Húz, I cannot see how my friend etymologically gets rid of the Tú (ط), a characteristically ob-

a green and well-watered lowland with the addition of trees. When there is a distinct swallow, the name is 'Bálú'ah' (بالوعه), meaning literally a deglutator, such as a house-sink, or sewer for offal, a sun-crack, or a whirlpool: the word is particularly applied to what the Bedawin call El Hazúzah (حوضه),³⁵ a stony hill rising from a circlet of sand so fine and loose that, like the dry Syrtis of Hazramaut, it swallows up man and beast. I am informed that it lies at a distance of four days' dromedary march from Roman Bostra (Nova Trajana), in the Eastern Hauran. The third kind is the large crateriform depression in the limestone surface called Tallájah (تلاجج), because it acts as ice, or rather snow, house.

In all three types the action is the same, and the cause is evidently that very common phenomenon in limestone countries, a fault in the strata. Similarly the waters of Lough Mask do not pass into Lough Corrib by surface channels, but by underground chasms and rock arches. The inflow is generally

stinate dental. We want instances in which the Hebrew Tsade becomes not Sád (ص), nor Zád (ض), nor Zá (ظ), but Tá (ط).

³⁵ In classical Arabic Hazúz or Hazauzá is the name of a certain mountain in the sea used by the Arabians as a place of transportation.

down a gentle slope of humus, towards a wall of calcareous rock that shows perpendicular fractures above the surface, doubtless continued below. In some of them there is a funnel-shaped hole, which remains open during the dry season, and an alpenstock can probe it, often returning wet. The only rule that could be laid down by us concerning these reservoirs was, the more stony the land the more frequent the sink. They vary in size from a yard to 250 yards in length, and each mountain block seems to preserve some characteristic Júrah: these will be noticed as we sight them.

From the 'Eyes of Argus' we rode in one hour and forty-five minutes down the Wady el Nusúr (of the Vultures), a common name in these highlands, where the birds are supposed to affect particular springs. An especially vile bridle-path placed us before sunset upon the highway for the crowd that crosses the Cedar Pass from west to east, and that strikes Ba'albak *viâ* the summer village 'Aynátá (عيناتا). This word is given in C, 'Ainat;' in D, 'Ain Aaata;' in Mr. Barker and his editor's paper, 'Ain-net-e' (is the man writing Chinese?), or 'the forthcoming spring,' and 'Ainete (perhaps Ain Atá, *i. e.* gift spring);' Murray (540) finally gives 'Ain

'Ata: erroneous all. It is simply the Arabised form of the Hebrew Anathoth (Josh. xxi. 18, &c.), except that the latter is in the plural.³⁶ From our camping ground, under a walnut clump on the eastern slope of the Wady separating the bare and barren dorsal spine of the Libanus from its lower heights and its Sha'arah outliers, we could see, distant about one hour and thirty minutes' ride to the south-west, and apparently draining northern Sannín, El Yammúnah, the blue sink resembling a mountain-tarn. Van de Velde (ii. 476) calls it 'the small Lake Lemone or Yemone;' travelling dragomans prefer Birkat Yammúnah, which would mean 'tank-tarn.' Yamm in Syriac, as in Hebrew and Arabic, is the deep, the great sea; Yammúnah, its diminutive, a lake or tarn—synonymous, in fact, with the modern and popular Buhayrah (بَحِيرَة), diminutive of Bahr.³⁷ Near this lakelet is the intermittent spring called Ayn el Arba'in, because it appears annually on March 9 (new style), the Maronite festival of the Forty Martyrs.³⁸ Similar features are El Mambaj,

³⁶ So in 'Ayn Hadherah' for Hazeroth, Ejnub for Ije-abarim, Tibnah for Timnath, and in many other cases.

³⁷ The reader will find El Yammúnah again referred to, with fresh details, in vol. ii. chap. ii.

³⁸ Murray (p. 425) calls it 'Beit Jann, the House of Paradise,' and

near the Bayt Jann village at the eastern foot of Hermon, the well-known Pool of Siloam, and the Bir Sittná Maryam (the Virgin's Well) below Jerusalem.

On Friday, July 29, we zigzagged up the mountain whose sloping crest forms the Cedar Pass (Zahr el Kazíb, قسيب). The path is fitly termed a 'rod' or 'switch;' it is an ugly narrow track, where a false step would insure a roll of some hundred feet. The time occupied was one hour and thirty minutes, and the general direction magnetic north. At the first turn the thermometer showed 58° F., but the mercury was still falling, and might perhaps have reached 45° F. The height of the Cedar Col was made by aneroid 7700 feet.

A few minutes more led to the Col; and the panorama of the little but most interesting Syrian world, at once so central and so isolated, viewed from this summit, amply repaid my labour. All but the foreground showed blue, bluer, and bluest; darkest in the nearer ravines, palest upon the horizon. Looking westward, where now 'a mournful and solitary

observes that it deserves the name as contrasted with the wilderness around, &c. &c. It simply means 'House in the Garden' (جن for Jannat); and the villages have a legend about the origin of the name. There is another Bayt Jann in the Druze country, near St. John of Acre.

silence prevails along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate,' there was a fine perspective of mountain chain running north and south, with lateral offsets of craggy hill-ridge, broken by cañon and wady, ravine and gorge, all trending towards one common object—the profundity of shore and sea. Most remarkable here was the noble amphitheatre, which we called the Cedar-basin: it is precisely the Arco³⁸ of the Portuguese, and I had already studied its shape in the great Curral das Freiras at Madeira. The latter, however, wants the Valley of Saints,

‘ A cañon so cleft asunder
By sabre-stroke in the young world's prime,
It looked as if broken by bolts of thunder
Riven and driven by turbulent Time.’

Inland, the whole of the Cœlesyrian Vale lay map-like under my eyes: the Hermon Mont running athwart the southern limit, with more of Easting than the Anti-Libanus; and the latter sinking into the upland plain about Katana, into the Ager Damascusus or Padan-Aram, and into the dreary tracts of desert extending far as the Euphrates. From

³⁸ Literally arch or bow; secondarily applied to a curved mountain ridge, and to the lands subtended by such curve, *e.g.* Arco de Calheta, de São Jorge, and others.

afar off we could distinguish the lay of the waters of Merom, heading the huge and unique fissure which is bisected by the rapid Jordan till it expires in the bitter waters of the Asphaltite Lake. The whole formed an epitome of Syria and Palestine, which have been said to epitomise the habitable world. Here we saw at a glance all the gradations of climate, from the tropical to the polar. We were viewing from Alpine heights the plains of the temperate zone, falling into the torrid about Tiberias. Our range embraced every form of ground, coast-scenery and inland, volcanic and sedimental, mountain and hill, fertile plain, rich valley and gardenland, oasis and desert, rock and precipice, fountain and spring sweet and mineral, river, rivulet, and torrent, swamp and lakelet and sea. There were all varieties of vegetation, from the mushroom to the truffle; from liquorice to rhubarb and sumach; from the daisy, the buttercup, and the bilberry, to the mulberry, the grape-vine, and the fig; from the pine, the walnut, and the potato, to the palm, the plantain, and the jujube. A fair range of products—coal, bitumen (Judaicum), and lignite, iron, copper, and pyrites, with perhaps other metals still unexplored—lies beneath its surface, expecting the vivifying touch of

modern science; whilst its gypsum, syenite, porphyry, pudding-stone, and building-material have been worked since the dawn of history. Thus the country was directly fitted for the three chief forms of human society—the pastoral, the agricultural, and the commercial, represented by the tent, the cottage, and the city on the shore. In its palmy days the land must in many places have appeared to be one continuous town; whilst even at the present time there is no country of proportional area which can show so many and such contrasts of races. Syria and Palestine, I may safely prophesy, still await the hour when, the home of a free, a striving, and an energetic people, it will again pour forth corn and oil, it will flow with milk and honey, and it will ‘bear, with proper culture, almost all the good things that have been given to man.’ Such also was the abode of the Peruvian Yncas; but, physically speaking, the latter was nobler far, as the Andes are to the Libanus.

Whilst I descended the sister-slope winding to the Cedars, the rest of the party struck off to the north-east. The surface was strewn with pierced and drilled, with ribbed and pointed calcareous stone, the horizontal striæ being regular, and the trans-


verse irregular—a form remarked by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake in the Valley of the Tih and about Sinai. The alternate and excessive contraction and expansion, the work of frost and thaw, of sun and storm, of exceptional siccidity and of extreme dampness, have cracked, split, and broken up the stone into cubes, which farther degrade into flakes and fragments nearly flat. This is the normal revetment of the Syrian Jurd or highlands. The shingle, which somewhat resembles the burnt shale used to metal park-roads in Lancashire, should not, however, be called ‘gravel,’ with Mr. Porter (304, 2d edition); nor must this sign of contemporary glacial action be confounded with that of the true Frozen Age, as shown by the polishing, the grooving, and the rasping of the rocks above the cave whence issues the principal lower influent, called Source, of the Nahr el Kalb (Lycus River). The yellow interstitial soil which also underlies this natural macadam is swollen and puffed up, especially after rains and thaws; and finally the solar rays loosen and crumble it, rendering the surface easy to man and beast. When walking, the mountaineers always prefer it to the stones, and those who value their boots will do well to imitate the native example. The round-topped hills

of the limestone formation, which look not a little like old contour-drawings in maps, are so easy and regular, that one can ride without dismounting to the very summits of the Libanus, the Anti-Libanus, and the Hermon; whilst everywhere goat-paths streak the highlands. In fact, the only decent roads in Syria and Palestine, except that of the French Company from Bayrut to Damascus, and not excepting the Turkish Sultani (king's highway) from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and the ridiculous 'carrossable' from Iskanderún (Alexandretta) to Aleppo, are the nature-metalled Fiumaras and mountain slopes. Those of the Anti-Libanus are perhaps superior to all others: up many of them a carriage-and-four might be driven.

Skirting a mamelon on the left, the travellers followed a knife-board ridge; its long lean flanks sloped gradually on the right (east) to the Wady el Nusúr on our road of yesterday; whilst sharp slides, and in places sheer precipices, fell westwards to the Cedar Valley, whose great drain, the Wady Kadíshah, first showed its fine and bold proportions. This immense amphitheatre is undoubtedly the most characteristic feature of the Libanus. After one hour and twenty-five minutes of walking from the col, they

halted upon a rounded summit called by Fáris Rufáil, Ra'as Zahr el Kazíb, the Head or Hill of the Rod-back, to which the zigzag from the 'Aynátá Valley is compared. The thermometer showed 53° Fahr., the barometer 20·980, and the aneroid 20·870. Thus the Rod-back would be one of the three highest peaks of the Libanus, and measure 10,077 feet in altitude.

Then, leaving their horses in a sheltered hollow, they struck to the N.N.E., and after a stiff pull of thirty minutes, they stood upon Jebel Muskiyyah (مسقية), here often pronounced Mushkiyyah and Mishkiyyah. The term may be a corruption from El Maskiyy, the saturated or the soaked. In the maps it is not noticed even by name; and Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake, on a subsequent visit, found the people calling it Naba' el Sh'maylah (the Northerly Spring). Van de Velde, however (ii. 476), assigns to Jebel Muskiyyah an altitude of full 10,000 feet. Here the hypsometer gave absurd results: unfortunately, air had been left in the tube, the column of mercury had split, and being too fine and thread-like, it could not be reunited. This sudden failure of instruments is always a severe trial to the traveller's temper. He should, before buying 'B.P.s,' carefully ascertain that the



glass tube has been exhausted of air, in which case the quicksilver moves freely to and fro. Throughout these countries also he must not forget spirits of wine, as the common 'Raki' will not burn.⁴⁰

From Jebel Muskiyyah various compass-bearings were taken to places laid down on the maps. The northern apex of the Anti-Libanus bore 102° , a little south of east, whilst the Ra'as el Nuriyyah (النوريه), upon the seaboard, was north of west (291°). This point is erroneously called in A, Ra'as ash Shakeh (Theoprosopon),⁴¹ and in B, Cape Madonna. It lies about nine miles south of Tarabulus (Tripoli), and it is accurately given by Murray according to the hydrographic charts. I may here mention the difficulty to which travellers in these mountains are ever subject. The Wadys and the water-courses, like the wells, are known by name to everybody; but none save the goatherds see any use in applying specific terms to peaks and heights which they never visit. Consequently it often happens that an interesting and peculiar feature will be included under some general term, to the great detriment of maps. A committee of Ma'áz, or goatherds, is absolutely

⁴⁰ For other remarks on instruments, see Appendix No. I.

⁴¹ *Tò tou theou prosōpon* of Strabo (16—): the bold promontory which forms the north of the Libanus proper.

necessary, if the hills of Unexplored Syria are to be correctly named.

At this point the travellers left their guide and attendants, who showed signs of 'caving in.' Descending the northern slope of the Muskiyyah, walking along a dorsum occupied by moles—what can they find to eat there?—and bending north-east (47° Mag.), they mounted another eminence, which, as often happens, appeared to be of greater height. The aneroid, however, showed the same as before, and still 100 feet above the Ra'as Zahr el Kazib. This apex is called by the people Jebel Makmal (مكمل); and the villagers of 'Assál el Ward have a tradition that the 'Perfect Mountain' contains a pit into which men have fallen. Seen in profile from the Anti-Libanus, it is rendered remarkable at this season by its long snow-line sloping to the north.

Amongst the angles taken from the Makmal was one to the Jebel Fumm (or Famm) el Mizáb, 286° . This headland forms a bluff upon the northern rim of the Cedar Valley, and it derives its name, 'Mouth of the Funnel' or 'Spout,'⁴² from a gutter-like water-course which opens upon the semicircle below. The

⁴² The Persian Mizáb is naturalised even at Meccah (*Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, vol. ii. p. 161, 2d edit., where Burckhardt calls it Myzab). The dictionaries, however, convert Mizáb to Mi'záb.

people corrupt the term to 'Tum el Mezib.' In Syrian Arabic *f* and *t* are interchangeable, like *d* and *z* (ﺫ and ﺯ), *s* and *sh*—the latter a confusion old as the days of *sibboleth* and *shibboleth*. The 'Fumm' is popularly supposed to be the highest point of all the Libanus; whereas the eye, looking from the east, sees that it is not. Mr. Henry A. de Forest (Van de Velde, ii. 495) made by aneroid 'Füm el Mizáb' 'just 9000 feet, or say 600 less than Major Von Wildenbruck found some years since with his barometer;' and that officer had placed it only 100 feet or so below 'Dhöhr el Ködhîb' (Zahr el Kazîb).

The next was a longer stretch of an hour and a half in a general direction of 15° (Mag.), but with many windings, chiefly to the west. Descending the slope of a little strath, the travellers found long narrow strips of snow disposed upon the levels, and upon the faces exposed to the south, whence the cold wind comes. Since the days of the Evangelists (Luke xii. 55) it is known that in the lowlands of Syria when the south wind blows, people say there will be heat: here, however, the reverse is the rule. In the Buká'a, as in western England, the south wind is essentially rainy, being probably a deflection from the west and the south-west caused by

the mountain funnels. North, again, about the plains of Hamah, it becomes the warm wind.

These névés are called Manásif el Talj⁴³ by the people, who, curious to say, have no name for the avalanche; yet the latter is frequent, and does much damage amongst the mountain villages. They were found hard and icy only at the edges, where the soppy ground was puffed-up and swollen; the surface was not too soft for the tread; at the lower end, however, all formed a nearly upright wall, eight to ten feet high. Each névé was footed by a distinct moraine of large and small blocks, which were the worst of walking ground, and through the stone field trickled at the lowest level runnels of water set free by the sun—miniature copies of the impassable torrents which issue from the immense glaciers of the north. After flowing for a few yards into and down the valley, the streamlets disappeared in pits; some mere wells, not a little resembling the air-holes called 'Najmah' of the Kanáts, or underground aqueducts, common from Damascus through Sind and Afghanistan to Western India, whilst others measured forty feet across: a few were evidently

⁴³ Manásif is the plural of Mansaf, the place of Nusúf (نسوف) *i. e.* a long and difficult ascent.

artificial, the many were natural. This is the characteristic Júrah or sink of the Cedar Block. It is found also on the western flank of the Hermon, above the Ayn el Jarníyyah, its solitary fountain; and three sunken holes occurring close together may be observed on the Arazí el Ghayzah, the rolling upland plain south-west of Assál el Ward.

The locusts, which in 1870 had ravaged the plains, left their scattered wings all around the névés. The birds were mostly larks, and of these chiefly the spur-lark. A small collection was made of the Flora, which is here excessively stunted by wind and frost, and it was deposited by Mr. E. H. Palmer with Professor Babington of Cambridge. Since that time Mr. W. Carruthers of the British Museum has kindly undertaken to name them.

Of all growths the most remarkable was the thorn, called in different parts of the country Billán, Tabbán, Atát, and Kibkáb, which forms large green prickly beds, shaped like giant mushrooms, pin-cushions, and pillows, with a contrast of small tender-coloured and delicately-shaped flowers profusely scattered over its spiny surface. This growth is nowhere more monstrous than over the upper slopes of the Hermon; and in places it stands up as if

raised by a stem from the ground. It makes a hot and sudden blaze like the *Quebra panella* of Brazil, and the guides frequently amuse themselves with giving to the mountains the semblance of volcanoes.

A steep ascent of thick Tabbán, and a long névé with a bend to the right, placed the travellers upon the summit of the third apex. It was called by one goatherd Karn Saudá (the Black Horn); by another, Jebel Akkár, evidently the general name of the northern range; and Jebel Timárún by the father of the schoolmasters at Nabk and Yabrúd. The thermometer showed 75° F., and the aneroid now proved a descent of 0·30 from Jebels Zahr el Kazíb, Muskiyyah, and Makmal; whilst a second visit by Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake gave it an altitude of 9175 ft. Northward the mountains, denuded of snow by the hot breath of the north, fell in folds towards the river-valley of the Eleutherus (Nahr el Kabir), the northern boundary of the Libanus, separating it from the Jebel Kalbiyyah of the Nusayri race. From this elevation it became evident that neither the Fumm el Mizáb (as the people said), nor the Jebel 'Uyún Urghush (as we had supposed) was entitled to hold up its head with the highest. Unfortunately for farther observation, the sea-clouds, which in the forenoon

had flecked and mottled the horizon, gradually stealing an inch deep of sky, began about midday impudently to seethe up and to invest the mountains, which at 3 P.M. were obscured by drizzle and Scotch mist. The travellers congratulated one another upon finding themselves at home in the far north. July and August are not too late for surveying the highlands; but the wind, they say, blows regularly for three days from the west, which of course gathers the clouds; during the next three, the norther and the easter sweep the firmament clean.

From Jebel Timárún the travellers had good sights to the rival Anti-Libanus. The Halímat el Kabú (bearing 111°) seemed to be, probably because the nearest, the very apex of the 'Eastern Mountain:' this was afterwards found not to be the case. It is remarkable for the sloping saddle-back which forms its summit, somewhat resembling the celebrated Gávia near Rio de Janeiro. By an extreme confusion the guide called it Jebel Mu'arrá⁴⁴ and Jebel Kára: these mistakes will be cleared up in Chapter III. treating of the route survey of the Anti-Libanus.

⁴⁴ El Mu'arrá, meaning stripped, bald, denuded, is a common village name in Syria: two are found upon the eastern slopes of the Anti-Libanus.

After building, by way of landmark, a 'kákúr' (dead man or old man) of loose stones, the travellers returned to their men and horses: happily for the people, Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake had taken exact bearings. The cloud-fog uncommonly facilitates losing oneself; moreover, as usual in calcareous formations, the outlines are uniform and monotonous, with a family resemblance resulting from degradation, disintegration, and erosion, which everywhere exert nearly the same force. They found no sign of granite or porphyry, nor even the tertiary trap and basalt which characterise the Hermon. Neither fossils nor moulds came to hand, not even the ammonites, the snakes of St. Hilda, so common on the Tau'amát Nihá. But the limestone was of many different kinds: the Jurassic (secondary and cretaceous) formed the base; there were also in sight dolomites (magnesian limestones); lime almost crystalline, in fact nearly marble; oriental alabaster (fibrous carbonate of lime); selenite; satin spar (a variety of the same); yellowish-white gypsum in small lumps (hydrous sulphate of lime); crystals of lime (often called diamonds by the natives, and probably the 'masses of quartz' mentioned by Van de Velde, i. 138); columnar crystalline carbonate of

line (sometimes mistaken for gypsum); bituminous limestones, and many others. As a rule, each mountain block of any importance has its own peculiar stone. That of Jebel Sannín, for instance, is a white nodule set in a yellow ring. About Abu el Hín in the Anti-Libanus we find the limestone stratified with bright red and tawny yellow; that about Nabi Bárúh is remarkably crystalline; on the counter-slope of the Tala'at Musa it is blood-red; that of the Halímat el Kabú is variegated pink and yellow. The stone about Ra'as Rám el Kabsh is of leaf-like thinness, and a little beyond, it splits into giant cubes like Cyclopean blocks, here paving the ground, there lying moraine-like below the cliffs; now it strews the hills in large slate-like slabs of an inch thickness, then it is rough as sandstone: the 'horse-bone' variety is common, and the holes drilled through the stones vary from the size of a pin's head to what would admit a man's shoulders.

Mr. Tyrwhitt-Drake's sketch-map of the Cedar Block shows a double line of four and three heads each, disposed north to south, with a deviation of about 35°. To the east rise the 'Uyún Urghush, the Makmal, the Muskiyyah *alias* Naba' el Sh'maylah, and the Ra'as Zahr el Kazíb; whilst the Karn Saudá

or Timárun, the Fumm el Mízab, and the Zahr el Kandíl front seawards. A single reliable barometric observation, almost coinciding with the aneroid, enabled us to fix the altitude of the southern feature, Zahr el Kazíb, at 10,018 English feet, whilst the other peaks are almost upon the same plane. Thus the highest points of the Libanus are the northern: the contrary is the case in the hill country of Judæa, Mount Ebal being 2700 feet high, and Hebron 3029.⁴⁵

The people call this group Arz (ارز) Libnán, 'Cedar of Lebanon' (mountain), thus preserving the Hebrew name Arz (Cedrus Libani): we followed their example in naming it the 'Cedar Block.' It is evidently the Mount Hor⁴⁶ (Hor ha Har), which

⁴⁵ According to Lieut. Warren, R.E. (p. 210, No. V. *Palestine Exploration Fund*), the Hermon, which he makes 'a portion of the Anti-Lebanon range,' was assumed to be 10,000 feet; but on September 14, 1869, we reduced it by aneroid to 8700 feet (p. 222), or, in round numbers, to 9000 feet, the height estimated by Lynch and Russegger.

⁴⁶ The Hebrew הור, an archaic form for Har, a mountain, or possibly an intensive form, a 'great mountain;' in the Septuagint ὄρος ὄρος; and in the Vulgate Mons altissimus. 'Hor ha Hor' (or 'Har') is rendered by some the 'Mountain of (or upon) the Mountain;' a good description of the barren Cedar Block based upon its lower story, the wooded 'Sha'arah.' There is no reason for concluding, with Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* ('Hor'), that the whole range of the Libanus is intended by the term. Nor can I agree with Mr. Porter, that the

formed part of the northern Israelitic border as promised to Moses (Num. xxxiv. 7-9), before it was extended eastward by Ezekiel.⁴⁷ The northern head, at whose feet flows the defining line of the Eleutherus, is, I have shown, the apex of the Libanus, and the wall droops with tolerably regular slopes and steps to the south. Here its boundaries are uncertain. Politically it ends with the Nahr el Awwali (Bostrenus river), so called because it was the first stream of Lebanon to those going northwards from Sidon: others prolong it to the Litání or River of Tyre. Geographically, there is no doubt that its southern limit is the Plain of Esdraëlon.

Volney in 1786 was therefore right in placing

'entrance of Hamath' (Numb. xxxiv. 8) should be confined to the ugly gorge (Wady Dayr Mar Jiryus) commanded by the castle El Husn, or Husn el Akrád. The traveller from Hums to Hamah will at once remark the depression forming a great highway between the Northern Libanus and the Jebel el Hulah, or southern section of the Jebel Kalbiyyah, the valley of the Nahr el Kabir (Eleutherus), up which the sea-breeze finds its way to the uplands—the line by which it is proposed to run the Euphrates railway, and along which the Circassian colonists have just driven their wagons. This has been, is, and ever will be, the true 'entrance to Hamath.'

⁴⁷ There are, in fact, three limits: 1. (Gen. xv. 18) from the Nile to the Euphrates; 2. (Numbers xxxiv. 4, 5) from the Nile to the entrance of Hamath—a mere section; and 3. (Ezekiel xlvii. 15-17) which includes the Damascene.

(i. 293) the most elevated point of all Syria 'on Libanus, to the south-east of Tripoli:' he gave it a theoretical altitude of 1500-1600 (French) fathoms, the computed point of perpetual congelation which Dr. Kitto here laid down at 11,000 English feet. By subsequent travellers, and especially by Dr. Robinson (iii. 440), the Cedar Block has been vaguely recognised as 'perhaps the highest summit of the mountain.'

The names, the heights, and the shapes of this great feature are variously given by geographers and travellers. A assigns to 'Dhahr el Khotib,' the 'highest summit of Libanus,' 10,050 feet. This is repeated by the Rev. Mr. Tristram (*The Natural History of the Bible*, p. 1), who makes the highest peak to be 'Dhor el Khodib, just above the famed cedars, 10,050 feet high, capped (?) with all but perpetual snow.' The American missionaries, quoted by Dr. Wortabet in an able paper ('The Hermon and the Physical Features of Syria and Northern Palestine,' *Journal R. Geog. Soc.* No. xxxii. of 1862, pp. 100-108), represent Makmal to be the 'highest summit of the Lebanon,' with 9200 feet absolute altitude, or 300 feet lower than the Hermon (9500). Some write the word Makhmal, which would mean 'velvet;' others Mahmal, a litter, a place of carriage: Mr.

Paton, however (*History of the Egyptian Revolution*, i. 246), gives correctly the 'bare peaks of Sannin and Makmal.' D allots to 'Jebel Makhmal' 12,000 feet—a slight exaggeration. C places 'Jebel Makhmal' south of the Cedar Pass, and proposes as the 'highest summit' the mountain 'Dhor el Khodib,' which is probably the *Jebel Timárún* of these pages. It neglects the other great apices, the *Muskiyyah*, the *Fumm el Mízáb*, and the *Jebel 'Uyún Urghush*; it does not trace the noble Cedar Valley; in fact, the map is a novelty to one who has travelled over and studied the country. D, pretending to scientific accuracy, has the proud preëminence of being the very worst. After laying down the Cedars (usually placed at 6500 feet) at the reasonable altitude of 1925 metres, he has been led by some wondrous error of triangulation into assigning 6063 metres (= 18,189 English feet) to 'Dahr el Khotib,' which is, moreover, made the apex of 'Dj. Makmel.' It shows to a certain extent, but without sufficient precision, the grand development of the Cedar Valley; which, being by far the most characteristic feature, has been the most neglected by the cartographer. On the other hand, it supplies the highest levels of the *Libanus* with a lateral fissure, long, broad, and shed-

ding to the north-east. Murray makes 'J. Makhmal,' the 'highest summit of Lebanon,' 10,050 feet; and accurately transcribes all the errors of the French map.

* * * * *

P.S. The following note upon the subject of the Ba'albak ruins lately appeared in the *Builder*:

Sir,—I am very glad to see that by quoting Mrs. Burton's recent letter you have called attention to the magnificent remains of the temples at Ba'albak, and to the precarious condition of some of the most striking features in what is perhaps the most beautiful group of classic ruins in the world. As you invite comment from those who have visited them, I will, in a few words, point out what are, in my opinion, the most pressing dangers; and offer a few suggestions as to the readiest and most desirable mode of meeting them.

Those even who know Ba'albak only by pictures will remember that, occupying the most conspicuous place on the great platform, six gigantic columns, surmounted by an entablature, tower high above all others, and stand boldly out in deep golden contrast to the lilac, snow-streaked range of Lebanon. These six columns are all that remain of the fifty-four which composed the peristyle of the Great Temple. Three fell in 1759. The columns have a height of 75 feet, and a diameter of 7 feet 3 inches. It will appear hardly credible that at the present time the shafts stand on but half their diameter. The Arabs *have cut away the other half to abstract the metal dowel* which joined the shaft to the base. In a dis-

trict often affected by earthquakes it may be imagined in what jeopardy these columns stand.

Now, with careful workmen and skilled superintendence, considerable additional security might be given to the structure. There are some good Greek masons in Damascus, but as to competent superintendence available I have no information. To act without a skilled architect would be to imperil the group. But I regard the underpinning of these columns as by far the most pressing work.

The great portal of what is called the 'Small' Temple (it is bigger than the Parthenon) next calls for attention as described in Mrs. Burton's letter. This portal is 42 feet high by 21 feet wide, and has beautifully sculptured architraves. The dropped key of the lintel requires support, which might, I think, more readily be given by metal cramps, or by notching in stone dovetails, than by the granite shaft proposed by Mrs. Burton, which would obstruct the opening and deface the interesting sculpture on the soffit of the stone. To clear away the obstructive Arab wall, now built in between the antæ, as well as the accumulated rubbish, which work seems to have been commenced by Captain Burton, is an admirable step. Except here, however, I should discountenance demolition; especially *demolition paid for with the materials removed*. This is a most dangerous course in such a case; and, with such people as the Arab population of the neighbourhood, not to be thought of; not a stone in the place would be safe.

In conclusion, I venture to recommend the subject of the present condition of Ba'albak to the consideration of the Institute of Architects. Their committee might probably, with-

out great trouble, gather together whatever information or suggestions are within reach, and found thereupon some simple recommendations. If these were forwarded to Captain Burton, I do not doubt that he would value them, and turn them to account as opportunity allowed.

For my own part I am delighted to find so energetic a man taking an interest in the subject, and I heartily wish him support and success.

(Signed) J. D. CRACE.

PART II.

FROM THE CEDARS OF LEBANON TO ZAHLAH TOWN.

THE day after our arrival at the Cedars (Saturday, July 30) was idly spent in prospecting the valley, and in counting the clump: superstition says that this is impossible, and perhaps it is difficult to the uninitiated in such matters of woodcraft. I fear it will be considered bad taste to confess that none of us fell into the usual ecstasies before these exaggerated Christmas-trees, which look from afar like the corner of a fir plantation, and which when near prove so mean and ragged that an English country gentleman would refuse them admittance into his park. Indeed many a churchyard at home has yews which surpass the 'Arz Libnán' in appearance, and which are probably of older date. Volney (ii. 177) is still correct in asserting, 'these cedars, so boasted, resemble many other wonders; they support their reputation very indifferently on a close inspection.' It is now emphatically incorrect that

‘The mountain cedar looks as fair
As those in royal gardens bred.’

As a rule, the Cedars of the Libanus are a badly-clad, ill-conditioned, and homely growth; essentially unpicturesque, except, perhaps, when viewed from above. Especially these. All the elders are worried like Cornish cheese-wrings, hacked and stripped, planed into tablets, shorn of branches, and stained with fire, chiefly by the ‘natives;’ we found them burning their lime and boiling their coffee with the spoils of the ‘Lord’s trees.’ There is an old man, entitled Wakil el Arz, but, as usual, this ‘guardian of the Cedars’—a Custos sadly wanting custodes—is the first to abet, for a consideration, all who would see ‘Lebanon hewed down.’

The number of the trees is variously given by travellers: Mr. William Rae Wilson (*Travels in the Holy Land*, 1847), has taken the trouble to make a *résumé* of their statements, which will now bear an appendix. In 1550 the patriarchs were twenty-five, and the same total is given by Furer in A.D. 1565, and by travellers in 1575. The good missionary Dandini, in A.D. 1600, found twenty-three; in A.D. 1657, Thevenot, twenty-two; in A.D. 1696, Maundrell, sixteen; in A.D. 1737, Pococke, fifteen; whilst in A.D.

1786, Volney declared (i. 292), 'there are now but four or five of these trees which deserve any notice.' In 1810, Burckhardt mentions 'eleven or twelve of the oldest and best-looking Cedars;' twenty-five very large, about fifty of middle size, and more than three hundred small and young: of the latter some now remain. In 1818, Mr. Richardson reckons seven; in 1832, M. de Lamartine, who did not visit them, also seven; Van de Velde (ii. 478) found twelve oldsters surrounded by an after-growth of 400 youngsters, more or less, and he was told by the Maronites that the mystic dozen was planted by the Apostles. Madame Pfeiffer (p. 197, Eng. trans. *Visit to the Holy Land*) saw in 1842 'twenty very aged, and five peculiarly large and fine specimens, which are said to have existed in the days of Solomon.'

And the descriptions differ as much as do the numbers. The Rev. Mr. Tristram (p. 360, *Land of Israel*) declared the birds perching upon the tops 'beyond reach of ordinary shot'—where *did* he buy his powder? We could throw stones over the trees. Dr. Stanley found a dozen patriarchs, repeating Mr. Porter (p. 303, 2d edit.), 'only a few, about a dozen.' The former should have been more careful of his topography; he represents his 'apex of the

vegetable kingdom'—whatever this may mean¹—as 'huddled together on two or three of the central knolls.' We counted nine old trunks, whilst the grove was scattered over seven distinct ridges, four larger and three of smaller dimensions, the former disposed in cross shape. The base is of snow-white limestone, here covered with, there piercing through, the dark humus of cedar-needles and débris. The largest mound, to the north-east, and separated from the eastern ravine by a smaller feature, supports the miserable little chapel, where I was horrified to see the holy elements placed in a sardine-box; this has since been remedied by the piety of English Catholics and by the kindness of the *Tablet*. The oldest trunks are those which clothe the south-eastern ridge. There are no 'babies,' as the goats, now a standing nuisance in Syria, devour them at their birth, and mostly the conifer, like the orange family, is an aristocrat—intolerant of plebeian undergrowth and humble grass. The Reverend Mr. Thompson (*The Land and the Book*), which should have been called *The Book*

¹ Possibly alludes to :

'No tree that is of count in greenwood groves,
From lowest juniper to cedar tall

* * * * *

But there it present was, and did fraile sense entice.'



and the Land) declares that the true cedars grow only in this valley. They are doubtless a local type, probably part of the arctic flora, in which the Libanus, like the Anti-Libanus and the Hermon, abounds. According to Mr. B. T. Lowne,² the cedars of the Libanus moraines and the papyrus of the Jor-

² 'On the Flora of Palestine,' *Science of Biblical Archaeology*, July 4, 1871. Mr. Lowne reduces the flora to eight distinct elements, each occupying its own region. Four of these are dominant existing types in Southern Europe, Russia, Asia, North Africa, Arabia, and North-west India. The fifth is found in numerous examples of plants belonging to Palearctic Europe; whilst the cedar and the papyrus form the sixth. Mr. Lowne, however, is in error when he confines the latter to the Jordan Valley. It is found near the Mediterranean shore in the beds of small streams; and the traveller going down the coast to Jaffa will pass through a miniature forest upon the River Falik, near the Arsuf ruins and the sanctuary of Shaykh Ali ibn el 'Alaym el Färüki (a descendant of Omar). *En passant*, I may remark that when Dr. Potter translates, in *Prometheus Vincitus*, βυβλίνων ὀρωῶν ἄνω,

'Where from the mountains with papyrus crowned,'

he makes the poet utter an absurdity. The paper rush (*papyrus antiquorum*) may grow about the swampy feet of hills—not upon their summits. We should therefore read:

Where from the bases of the Bybline hills.

It would be curious to inquire what was the cedar (Psalm xcii. 13, 14) planted in the Temple of Jerusalem. For the traditional connection of Seth with the seeds of the cedar and the cypress, the pine and the apple, readers are referred to the *Legends of the Holy Rood*, &c.; Early English Text Society; edited by Richard Morris, LL.D.; London, Trübner, 1871.

dan are traces of the two ancient and almost extinct floras descending from old geological periods. But the existence of the true cedar in other parts of the Lebanon has been known since the days of Seetzen (1805), and the next few hours' march showed us another cedar grove, within a few miles of whose shades Mr. Thompson must have ridden. He also declares, that 'at night the trees wink knowingly, and seem to whisper among themselves you know not what.' I am pleased to be able to report that these venerable vegetables neither winked at me nor whispered aught that all the world might not hear.

'The cedars wave on Lebanon,
But Judah's statelier maids are gone'—

is not topographically correct of this, *the* Cedar Clump. It is rather *in* than *on* the Libanus. The site is an amphitheatre of imposing regularity and dimensions, being some five miles in diameter, gaped only on the west where the Kadishah, a gorge-valley deeply cut in the rent strata—the valley smiling above with village and hamlet, with orchard and terraced field; the gorge grim below with stony cliff, precipitous shelf, scattered boulder, and sole of sheet-rock—conducts at times a furious torrent to the 'Great Sea,' alias the Little Mediterranean.




The general conformation is that of a bow and arrow, the bow being bent almost to a circle, and this shape is not uncommon in the Anti-Libanus as well as the Libanus. From a ship's deck we see only the mouth of the gorge and a shallow spoon-shaped depression below the mountain-crest.

The modern version of the old Syriac is Wady Kadishah, in Arabic Wady Kaddísín (Fiumara of the Holy Men,³ Cœnobites whose convents and hermitages are scattered in all directions. The cedar knolls stud a half-way plateau, a step comparatively level, backed by the large yellow-brown rim of bare rock and débris which we had ascended and descended on the yesterday; they are fronted, a few hundred feet below, by a white semicircle of cretaceous formation, cut and carved into ribs and pinnacles, walls and castellations, of singular wildness. This forms the true head of the Wady Kadishah, which in many points resembles the Wady el Nár (Kedron), to whose eastern cliff-bank clings the celebrated Greek convict-convent of Mar Sabá. But whilst the latter is harsh, rugged, and desert, burning

³ The name corresponds with the Hebrew Ha-Kodashim 'of the Saints.' The Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic roots are to be found in קדש , viz. *puer mollis*, that is to say, consecrated to Astarte or Venus. The feminine is קדשה , a harlot, one dedicated to the Dea Syra.

in summer and cold as death in winter, the Kadíshah, bare and stony itself, runs through a riant land. It is a question whether the Kadíshah, like the Wady el Nár, be not formed by glacial action; a modern popular traveller terms the latter a 'glacial valley,' but in a very different sense. Unable to praise the cedars, I may say in favour of their 'park,' that it affords the only tolerable mountain view hitherto seen in the Libanus—I may say in Syria and Palestine, with the exception perhaps of the fair region about Náblús. Here there is something like variety, like outline, and it revived faint memories of romantic Switzerland's humbler beauties. When Van de Velde (ii. 490) ranked the latter after the tame and uninteresting Libanus, he must have been labouring under a more than usually severe attack of 'Holy Land on the Brain.'

I was fortunate enough to secure, with the permission of Murray's Handbook, sundry of the small valueless cones which are used chiefly as charcoal for application to wounds. But who will absolve me from the 'sacrilege' of carrying off a large block as a present for my cousin B——? Protestant writers are very severe upon this point. 'The cedars of Lebanon,' we are told, 'are not merely interesting



and venerable—they are “sacred,” and ‘deliberately to use knife or saw is an act that would disgrace a Bedawy;’ yet the same writer in another place assures us that Christianity is not a religion of Holy Places; and if so, we may be certain that it utterly neglects Holy Trees. There is nothing more curious in the Reformed Faith, and in the multiplicity of wild sects which have branched from it, than the ever-increasing respect and even veneration for all things Jewish, from the institutions of the Hebrews to their material remains. It is an unconscious reaction from the days of the Crusaders, when even the Templars looked upon Solomon’s Temple as a something impure.

At the Cedars, Messrs. Drake and Palmer, greatly to our regret, proceeded direct *viâ* Tripoli to Beyrout. On the same day (July 31) we travelled over a truly detestable short-cut, when we should have passed through Bisherri town to Dímán, the summer residence of ‘his Eminence’ (Ghabtatuh) the Maronite ‘Primate of Antioch and of all the East,’ Monseigneur Bulus Butrus Mas’ad.⁴ We were charmed with the reception given to us by this

⁴ The Petro-Pauline prænomen is assumed by every patriarch; Mas’ad is the family name.

prelate, of whom his flock says, 'the Patriarch is our Sultan,' and for once we saw the simplicity and the sincerity of the apostolic ages. Since our visit I have frequently corresponded with his eminence, who is a secular author as well as a theologian, and his letters, it may be remarked, are as edifying as his manners are plain and dignified.

From Dímán we resumed our way through the Jibbah Bisherri, the 'village land of Bisherri,' which lies on the western or seaward face of the Libanus. This is the heart of the Maronite or purely Christian region; and this district, like Jezzín farther south, and Sadad (the ancient Zedad?) to the north-east, produces a manly independent race, fond of horses and arms, with whom I am not ashamed to own community of faith. Undisturbed by the defiling presence of Rashid Pasha, the people are happy and contented; their industry has converted every yard of rock-ledge into a miniature field; they show a steadily-increasing population, resulting from the absence of the tax-gatherer and the recruiting officer; and their only troubles are those bred and born of Ottoman intrigues, of that barbarous policy which still says, 'Divide and rule them all.' Long may the *Règlement de la Montagne* reign! may Moscovite lord

it in Stamboul ere a Moslem governor is suffered to rule the land of the Maronite! The words applied by Dr. Hooker to Marocco are perfectly descriptive of unhappy Syria under her present affliction. 'The government is despotic, cruel, and wrong-headed in every sense; from the Sultan to the lowest soldier, all are paid by squeezing those in their power. Marocco itself is more than half ruinous, and its prisons loaded; the population of the whole kingdom is diminishing; and what with droughts, locusts, cholera, and prohibitory edicts of the most arbitrary description, the nation is on the brink of ruin; and but that two-thirds of the kingdom is independent of the Sultan's authority, being held by able mountain chiefs, who defy his power to tax or interfere with them, and that the European merchants maintain the coast-trade, and the consuls keep the Sultan's emissaries in check, Marocco would present a scene of the wildest disorder.'

The Jibbah road is not so execrable as might be expected, because it runs along the upper flank of what is properly called El Wusút. I may here explain that the Libanus and its neighbours are divided, according to altitude, into three portions. These zones, which, seen from the highest elevations,

appear clearly defined, correspond with the fertile, the woody, and the desert regions of Etna and the mountains of Southern Europe, and with the Tierra caliente, templada, and fria of Mexico and Spanish America. Beginning from the seaboard, there are three steps, namely—

1. Sáhil.
2. Wusút; and⁵
3. Jurd.

The Sáhil, shore or coast,⁶ opposed to Aram, the upland plateau which may be said to form Syria and Palestine, is a strip of ground, here flat, there broken, at this part barely exceeding two miles in breadth, and extending from the lower slopes of the Libanus to the sea. In pre-classical and classical times it was densely inhabited, as extensive ruins, often within bowshot, prove; and the mildness of the climate, combined with facility for traffic, render it still

⁵ Volney (i. 190) mentions only Nos. 1 and 3, ignoring the Wusút.

⁶ It is the ancient Kanaan (Canaan), and the Palesheth (Philistia), and Shephelah (שֶׁפֶלָה, Josh. xi. 16) of the Hebrews, whence the Arabic Sofalah, the Greek Paralia (παράλια), and especially the Macras and the Macra-pedium of Strabo. 'Aram,' in its widest sense, includes all the uplands lying between the Mediterranean and the middle course of the Euphrates, from Phœnicia and Palestine to Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and even Assyria.

a comparatively populous district, the number of settlements being determined by the water-supply. The climate is distinctly sub-tropical, and the damp relaxing heat of summer reminded me of Rio de Janeiro. It is, however, for a few days, a pleasant change, after the too dry and attenuated air of the uplands. The formation is mostly secondary Jurassic limestone, which renders the water hard and unwholesome, alternating with chalk, homogeneous as well as blended with bituminous schist, and banded with flint, chert, and other varieties of siliceous; whilst conglomerates of water-washed pebbles, and in places breccias, almost invariably clothe the sloping sides and the floors of river-valleys and ravines. The sandstone, which is so important a feature in the upper heights, is rare in the lowlands; trap and basalt may exist, but I have never seen a trace of igneous formation in the Libanus proper: it abounds in the southern Anti-Libanus, it is more plentiful still in the Hermon, and it is the only material of the Druze mountain (Jebel Durúz Haurán) to the east. In these levels the roads are incomparably the worst, and the people will not make or mend carriageable lines, for the same reason which prevents the African negro felling the dense jungle

around his village. The salts and the potashes washed from the higher sections give the lowlands their admirable fertility. Every stranger remarks that crops are grown, and probably have been grown year after year for the last forty centuries, without any of the appliances which most other lands find necessary.

The Wusút, as its name imports, is the middle region. Here towns and villages are perhaps not so numerous as near the coast; and like the upper heights, it still lodges a scatter of tented Bedawin. This zone, however, is extensively cultivated by the lowlanders with tobacco, cercals, and vegetables, especially the potato; rye would probably flourish, but it has not yet been introduced. The chalky soil, locally called Howára, or the floury ground, is excellent for vines, besides producing the true hard asphalt: the latter, when found in chalk capped with limestone, melts in the sun. The characteristic formation of the Libanus Wusút, however—the Anti-Libanus will show other varieties—is a sandstone of either hard grit or soft substance easily disintegrating into a ‘Rambla’ (Ramlah, or arenaceous tract). Here overlying, there underlying the calcaires, it is easily distinguished, at considerable distances, from

the blue-gray or glaring rust-patched limestones of the upper and lower regions by its colour, now a warm ruddy brown, then a lavender, like the Brazilian Tauá, and often by its dark purplish red, the Sangre de Boi of Portuguese America. Exceptionally rich in trees, it is the only home of the pine (locally called Sinaubar, *P. pinea*), whose light evergreen scatters—so different from the barrens and slashes of the Southern United States—at once attract the stranger's eye. They are found clustering upon a mound of sandstone protruding from the lime, as in the celebrated Wady Hammánah, and they conscientiously eschew the calcaires, which is not the case with the Shamm or sapin (*P. halepensis*) of the northern ranges about Alexandretta. Frequent landslips disclose at considerable depths (say sixty feet below the present surface) the indurated resin—one of the least perishable of substances—passing into a fossiliferous state, like copal. This sandstone formation supplies the only muscatel grapes ever seen by us in the mountains; it is the great storehouse of the valuable metallic formations of the Libanus—iron, pyrites, and copper. I do not despair of other metals being discovered in it. It is rich in crystalline hornblende, and in essonite where the garnet stands

out brightly from the hornblende. An important feature, as regards the cereals, it supplies them abundantly with phosphoric acid and with oxides; hence in the Wusút we never see the anæmia which affects those living in the purely calcareous and cretaceous districts; for instance, about Danascus. The sandstone region is, as a rule, far easier for horses than the limestone. It abounds in humidity, resembling in this point the strata about Liverpool, where the blow of a pick has more than once drowned out a coal-pit; hence its chief advantage—the abundance of excellent water, slightly, and in some cases abundantly, flavoured with iron. Yet almost all the principal springs of the Libanus and of Northern Palestine flow from the limestone formation. For instance:

The Ayn el Asáfir, the source of the river Ibráhím, and the Naba' el 'Afká, forming the Adonis River.

The Naba' el Hadíd (of iron); the Naba' el Laban (of soured milk);⁷ the Naba' el 'Asal (of honey); the

⁷ The natives say of the mountain, 'Yadur 'asalan wa laban'—'It flows soured-milk and honey.' Not a few suppose that this spring has given its 'meligalac' name to the Libanus, and assert that it was itself so called from its snowy pebbles; whilst those of the 'Asal (flowing honey) are of a bright yellow hue. The distinction is utterly fanciful.

Naba' Sannín : forming the Nahr el Kalb (Lycus River). I did not visit the Naba' el 'Asal spring, but all assured me that it is no exception to the rule.

The Barada and the Ayn Fijah, forming the Abana(?) and the Pharpar(?).

The Ayn Már Márún, the Ayn Lebawah and the Ayn el Tannúr, feeding the Upper Orontes, whose western bank, however, is purely basaltic, whence the celebrity of its waters.

The Ayn wady Dulbah, the Ayn wady Hasbání, and the Ayn wady Banyás, feeding the Upper Jordan; whilst the two influents from the Tell el Kádi are the produce of basalt.

On the other hand, the lower valley of the 'Awaj, or Crooked River, generally, but I believe erroneously, identified with the Pharpar,⁸ and running parallel with the calcareous plain of Damascus,

⁸ Murray's Handbook (p. 426) tells us: 'A short distance north of Wady 'Awaj is another wady, through which a small tributary flows into the 'Awaj. The name of this wady, *Barbar*, is the Arabic form of the Hebrew *Pharpar*.' This is a fair specimen of the carelessness with which these volumes have been compiled, and the recklessness with which important deductions are drawn from imperfect premises. There is absolutely no Wady *Barbar*: the name of the Fiumara (not in Van de Velde) is Wady *Buhayráni*. But there is a *Jebel Barbar*, which may be seen from *Damascus*. Its tall crest and sturdy sides have

is wholly basaltic, being in fact the beginning of the trap region, which extends southwards to the end of the Haurán, and eastwards as far as the Euphrates desert. Thus the waters of Syria, not including the mineral, are the produce of basalt, of sandstone, and of secondary limestone; the first being the best and the last the worst.

The Jurd, a word which we recognise in Guardafui—properly Jurd Háfún, the barren, open highland of Háfún—includes the remainder of 'the Mountain' to its crest, and may begin about 4000 feet above sea-level. The aspect from below appears bleak and barren; the mountain limestone, of a fawn-grey sometimes darkening to blue, often stands up bristling in crags and backs of fantastic shape, in regular courses like walls, or in huge blocks whose perpendicular chamfers and flutings, the work of time and weather, are supposed by the people to show treasure buried beneath them: where the disintegrated rock falls, deep-red stains of iron oxide show the fracture

given a rough joke against the inhabitants of B'ka'asam, who are held to be of the Bœotian kind. 'Shiddi ya mara, taktak Barbar min saubih!' ('Haul away, good wife; Barbar hill has cracked and clattered at his side!') is the address of the husband who, assisted by the able and energetic partner of his bed, had fastened a rope round the offending mountain, and was trying to pull it down.

from afar. Roads cannot run along the cliff-sides on account of their sharp pitch, except where projecting ledges divide the height into gigantic steps; the rounded crests, however, are almost always 'Markúb' (rideable), and they are often the best because the only natural highways in the land. The water—here abundant, there rare—is at all seasons icy cold. From December to early April these upper heights are swept by furious winds, drenched with torrential rains, and covered with snows whose depth renders them impassable; avalanches are common, and moraine is strewn under the 'teeth of the cliffs.' In summer, however, despite a sun of fire and the thin air, a plentiful though stunted vegetation enables the large flocks of sheep and goats, especially the latter, to exchange their Kishlák (كشلاق) or winter quarters for the fresh and pure Yailák (يالاق). This atmosphere, 'smelt' for the first time by the traveller who crosses the Libanus between Beyrout and Damascus, is a cordial enjoyed even by the lazy peasant of the plains, who finds his appetite increased three-fold, and his slumbers deep and dreamless. I never saw on the Jurd a case of goitre. Much cultivation is found in the gorges and sheltered plains; it will extend to 6000

fect above the sea-level, and even higher. The village-paupers raise temporary sheds whilst watching over their untithed wheat and tobacco, and when grazing the horses and the neat cattle intrusted to them by their wealthier neighbours. The growth of the Libanus Jurd consists of the Sindyán oak (two species), whose acorns are enormous in proportion to the tree, the terebinth, the Kaykáb or maple, the Anjás barri or wild pear, the Za'arúr or hawthorn, the Lauz el Murr or bitter almond, and the Lizzáb (Juniper), a slow and secular growth, capricious withal. The Anti-Libanus is affected chiefly by the Butm, Kaykáb, Anjás, Lauz, Lizzáb, and Dishár (ديشار) or wild honeysuckle. In olden times most parts of the Jurd were doubtless wooded with thick clumps, thin scatters, and long single lines of trees: the people still preserve the tradition of forests and groves—in classical times a favourite feature—and at the base of Jebel Sannín we heard of petrified trunks and branches of the 'Afs or gall-oak (*Q. coccifera*). The want of fuel about the Jurd renders the local deposits of poor coal doubly valuable, and the rich iron ores, found only in the rare places where a line of sandstone divides the calcaire, quite useless, at least in these days.

Having now ridden over the Libanus from north to south, I can supply travellers of my own sex with hints about mounting themselves. Riding-mules are rarely to be had. The best *monture* is the ugly, thickset, ambling pony from Hindustan, Persia, and Bokhara, known as Rahwán, Yábú, and Chehár-gúshah (the four-eared), from its split ears. The highest price should be twenty napoleons. Its plates, its girths, and its barley, which the 'natives' are uncommonly addicted to stealing, or rather to administering the 'horse-sandwich'—an ear of barley between two wisps of grass—require being looked after; and that is all. For riding it is safe as any mule, and it picks its way with almost asinine circumspection. The very worst animals are the valuable blood-mares of the plains, and these, till trained to hill-climbing or to skating over the ice-like pavement of the towns, are really dangerous. The poorest Kadish (nag) is unusually surefooted throughout Syria and Palestine; and the timid must remember that the horse has four legs, and that it can easily be kept under the rider. In dangerous places let me advise a long arm and a short bridle, giving head freely, so as never to shorten step or stride; at the same time ever ready to support the

mouth. In risky descents I lean a little forward where others bend backward, the object being to steady the horse's hands by additional weight.

The roads, or properly tracks, may be divided into four kinds. The most reprehensible are the hard, white, yellow, and reddish limestone-slabs and sheet-rocks, known as Balát or paving-stones: they are bad when flat, worse when rounded, and worst when inclined. In the water-worn channels and courses a hoof is sometimes jammed, and if the animal be not stopped at once, an ugly laming fall is the result: I have seen this happen three times. When descending the smooth steps and ramps, often foot-holed, channelled, guttered, and polished like glass—for instance the ladders near Tyre, and the Lycus River⁹—it is as well to dismount, especially if the attendants set the example. Next come the close conglomerates and compact chinks, the latter especially heating and dazzling when the sun in front makes them resemble the gleaming surfaces of streams. The hard and often crystalline clay-slates being jointed are not so slippery; they often, however, form very rough and unrideable ascents and descents. The fourth and the safest are the

⁹ Both of these dangerous passes have lately been repaired.

sandstone grits, the basalts, and the loose stuff, over which the horses walk as they would upon metalled highways. Here a man clears his garden by throwing the rubbish into the road; and *en revanche*, since the most ancient days the invader, after cutting down the enemy's fruit-trees, strews the finest land with stones: this practice has entailed even modern and present difficulties upon cultivation. A practised ear can tell by the sound, even at night, what kind of ground is below; for instance, limestone by its clink and tinkle, and sandstone by its gritty crunch.

Complaining loudly of the roads beyond the Jibbah traversing Kasrawán—high-sounding name of an ancient king—which may be the 'rampart and fortress of religious liberty in the East,' but which is certainly and proverbially the worst travelling country of the Libanus, we rounded the heads of the Nahr Ibrahim, near Akúrá (a source called preëminently El M'árah,¹⁰ *the Cave*), and we halted at the glorious Afká influ-

¹⁰ Syrians often slur over the guttural 'Ghayn' in this word; and thus assimilate it to the Hebrew מַעְרָה, concerning which I have spoken in part i. (*sub voc.* Ghutah *versus* Uz). Popularly Maghárah is applied in Syria to a small-mouthed cave; 'Arák or 'Irák (literally, the courtyard of a house) to one with a large aperture, like those of Bayt Jibrín (Dr. Robinson's old Horite city) and Dayr Dubwán, which the

ent, nobler than Vaucluse, with its crystal stream and its green kieve—a mirror fit for Adonis; no wonder that Venus here chose a home! We crossed the Naba' el Hadid, which C converts into El Hadis ('iron' into a 'traditional saying of the Prophet'), and finally the upper valley of the Nahr el Kalb. Upon the precipitous northern or right bank of the Lycus, and about one mile west from the May-rúbá village, my husband was shown a ruin of large stones—as a rule, the bigger the stones the older the ruins—some squared, and others part of the live rock, with signs of mortise and tenon along the coping for roof or ceiling-joists. The people believe this 'Kharbat el Záhír' to have been a Dayr or convent. We were curious to ascertain if the Assyrian tablets at the Lycus mouth, and said to date from Sin Akki irib (Sennacherib), 2570 years ago, were the memorials of armies marching by the short cut

people pronounce Dayri Dibbán, or Dubbán (of bears). The term Khaymah, tent or pavilion, is also applied to the largest of these columbaria and matamors, probably from its modern appearance. Throughout Syria and Palestine there are undoubtedly many caves originally formed by the escape of gases; others, show traces of water and of weathering in the softer parts of the rock; whilst not a few have been made, or have at least been enlarged, by troglodyte man.

to the coast, from Ba'albak *viâ* Zahlah and down stream, or if they followed the road preferred by the moderns, through El Bukay'ah, 'the low plain,' the 'entrance to Hamath,' which separates the Libanus from the Jebel el Húlah, to the port of Tripoli (Tarabulús el Sham), and thence down coast. We carefully inspected every ruin and remarkable rock, hoping, but in vain, to detect corresponding sculptures. Until these be found, we must believe that the invader took the longer route, by the original Iron Gate of Syria.

Ancient Ba'albak, I may remark, owed all its vast importance to a central position, almost equidistant from Damascus and its great ports, Tripolis, Berytus, and Sidon. This advantage, we may safely predict—in the long run site is sure to tell—will raise it once more to high commercial rank, when the coming railway shall connect it with the Mediterranean and with the Indian Ocean. The line to be taken is still under dispute, and each writer seems to propose his own. Alexandretta is at present the favourite terminus; but Suwaydiyyah, Tripoli, and Beyrout all have special pleaders. The route advocated by my husband begins at Tyre or Sidon, and runs through Ba'albak and Palmyra to Hit on the

Great River. It is certainly, although the Libanus is a serpent in the path, preferable to that which would connect pestilential Iskandarún *viâ* the difficult Baylán pass, the Lamk swamps west of Aleppo, and the barren lands to the east, with the River Euphrates at a section where the stream is not navigable throughout the year. And, unless our political status in Syria and Palestine, or rather, I should say, in Turkey, be much changed, we need not think of a railway to carry any one belonging to our generation.

After a cool and comfortable night under canvas at the Naba' Sannín, I rode direct to Zahlah: meanwhile my husband made two ascents of the mountain, whose western walls, stark and horizontally stratified, and whose bluff southern buttress are so conspicuous from Beyrout, whilst its knobbly sky-line renders it an equally good landmark to all Cœlesyria. Sannín is also, like the Jebel Libnán,¹¹ a milky mount, a White Mountain, a Mont Blanc, a Hæmus, a Doenyo Ebor. But its whiteness arises from its walls of glaring limestone, from its bare slides of chalk,

¹¹ In the Latin translation of Ptolemy by Bilibaldus Pirikimerus, a quaint derivation is given (margin lib. v. chap. xv. table 3): 'Libanus, a thure nato λιβανος dictus, Arabiam contingit.'

and from its big glistening outliers reflecting the light; its pearl-gray also becomes a brighter tint by its backing of black-blue sky, and by the foreground of dark pine-scattered sandstone and iron clay. Dr. Robinson (iii. 440) justly observes that the perennial snow does not exist in sufficient quantity to name it like Ben Nevis, Snowdon, or Himalaya; and we may extend his observation to all the mountains of Syria and Palestine.

The exaggerated description of the Arab poet, who makes that 'ruinous heap,' Damascus, a pearl set in emeralds, and sterile Sannín bear about his person the four seasons, is quoted by all travellers, from Volney to Wilson and Paton. The former terms this buttress (i. 295) the 'very point of Lebanon;' and in one place he seems to explain the word, 'the Sannín or summit of Lebanon.' Yet it certainly does not measure 9000 feet above sea-level. We were unable to trace the origin of the term, which is neither Syriac nor Arabic, unless we derive it from 'Shinna,' which, in the debased Arabo-Syriac of Ma'alúlah, still signifies a tall fort-like rock. Volney suggests (ii. 221) that it may represent Senir of the fir-trees (Ezekiel xxvii. 5). Senir, however, is usually made to be the Hermon,

or a part of it—the fortress of Sinna named by Strabo (xvi. 2. q. 17). We also read of the ‘Valley of Senyn’ (*Pilgrimage of Johannes de Solms*, 1483), or ‘Sennin’ (Le Tresdevot, *Voyage de Jeruzalem*, Anvers, 1608), both quoted by Van de Velde (i. 260). According to Monseigneur Ya’akúb, Bishop of the Syrian Catholics at Damascus, ‘Tor Saníno’ takes its name from the ‘Saníno’ spring, which we saw issuing from its western base; and this is a noun proper, without other sense. I fear that the origin of the word is irretrievably lost.

Captain Burton’s first ascent was from a dwarf, well-watered hollow on the Kasrawán-Zahlah road, known as the Jurat el Mahkam (Sink of the judgment-place?). The riding was not so good as up the Cedar Block; the hill-sides were studded and sprinkled with larger and rougher stones, and the natural macadam of shingle before described did not show in force till near the summit. Here the characteristic stone consists of chalky nodules of snowy-white limestone, often cube-shaped, and set as it were in a frame-block of yellow chert—the converse of what is so common in all other places, namely ‘Biz,’ or nodular and often kidney-shaped concretions of chert bedded in limestone. Reaching the


conical head of El Sughrat (الشجرة),¹² the Big Pit, not to be confounded with Sughrat el Bunduk, the Big Pit of the Filbert-tree, he rode along a knife-board to the foot of the rounded head known as Jebel el Mazár (of the Visitation place). Leaving the horses in a hollow, after one hour and fifty minutes of moderate walking he stood upon the base of the little sun-temple, whose ruins crown one of the summits. From this point there is a fine bird's-eye view of the western Libanus, whose features are marked and peculiar, if not picturesque. Eight main ribs, the first and northernmost of which sets off at Jebel 'Uyún Urghush and the Cedar Block, separated by valleys of erosion, which the torrents have deepened to chasms, trend from north-east, bending to south-west, and connect the highest chine, here almost meridional, with the lowlands bordering upon the Mediterranean. South-eastwards, the Kubbat el Sayyáh, the little dome that overlooks Damascus, and about which such wild

¹² Capt. Warren (p. 294, No. VI. *Palestine Exploration Fund*) finds the word Sughrat, which he writes 'Thogret,' very common about the hill-country east and west of Amman; and he explains the prefix by remarking that the ruins (T. Tusera, T. Tasin, and T. Umm Ramadán) were standing upon a watershed.

stories have been written, places Sannín *en rapport* with the capital.

On the 3d of August Captain Burton made a second ascent of Jebel Sannín; this time he struck the great southern buttress, which lies north of, with a little westing from, Zahlah. About half way he came upon the first of the Talláját (تالجات) or hollows, which are filled with snow between November and March, and which, assisted by the early and the later rains, gather and distribute the crystal springs, gushing out upon and making a garden of green in the Buká'a. As the heat increases the snow-labourers must go higher for their harvest, and they have run a decent bridle-path along the western flank almost to the summit of Jebel Sannín. It would hardly be advisable to ride an untrained beast up this line with a clean slide of 200 fathoms almost underfoot. There is the usual local tradition of a Harfúshí horseman having dashed down it to escape the avenger of blood; and, as usual, the man escaped, whereas the mare was killed.

The mule-path is headed by a Névé, and thence a stiff slope to the right leads to the apex of Jebel Sannín. Here also are two Júrahs, swallow-holes, crateriform hollows in the limestone surface; one



lying to the north-north-east of the other, and each measuring about 100 feet in diameter. From this spot a specimen of the 'Ud el Khull (vinegar wood) was added to our little collection, intrusted to Mr. Palmer. The aneroid made Sannín 1·60 lower than the apex of the Cedar Block, or 8895 feet. D gives the height 2608 metres; Murray, 8555 feet. The difference of altitude is visible to the eye, looking from the Buká'a plain at the outline of the Libanus clad in winter suit. When the Cedar Block, like the Hermon, is purely ermined with virgin snow, Jebel Sannín is more thinly robed in a lighter white, and its southern continuation, Jebel el Kunaysah (of the Chapel) and Kafr Salwán, show merely powdered heads. These three chief snow-caps are faced by an equal number upon the Anti-Libanus range: the northern Haláim near Kárá; the central or Fatli Block near Mu'arrat el Bashkurdí; and the southern, Jebel Ahhyár, fronted by the cliffs popularly known as the Jebel el Shakíf, north-east of Zebedání.

The descent of Sannín is down the southern face. Though practicable, it is steep, and it lasts less than half the time (17:40^m) which the ascent will occupy.

At Zahlah we were hospitably received by Miss Wilson, superintendent of the British Female Syrian

schools; and we met with nothing but kindness and attention from the authorities and notables of that energetic and somewhat turbulent Christian town. Here ended the geographical interest of our tour, which had lasted a fortnight, from July 31 to August 3, 1870. I venture to hope that our humble gleanings will show how rich is the harvest of information awaiting the traveller who has time and opportunity for reaping it; and that I may have contributed my mite towards promoting a more critical examination of this young-old land.

ISABEL BURTON.

CHAPTER II.

PRELIMINARY TOUR IN THE JEBEL DURUZ HAURAN—EX-
PLORATION OF THE UMM NIRAN CAVE AND THE
TULUL EL SAFA—THE VOLCANIC REGION EAST OF
DAMASCUS.

PART I.

PRELIMINARY TOUR IN THE JEBEL DURUZ HAURAN.

BEFORE the traveller in Syria and Palestine can explore, he is compelled to wander about the country far and wide, in order to find out what remains to be done. This information he will vainly seek from the citizens and from the caravan-dragomans, who love the beautiful simplicity of the highway, and who hate nothing more than to face the discomforts and the insecurity of the byway. Moreover, it is ever difficult in the extreme to gather exact topographical details amongst a people who require truth to be drawn from them 'by wain-ropes.' 'Le paysan interrogé,' says the astute M. Lecoq, 'ne répond jamais que ce qu'il pense devoir être agréable à qui l'interroge ; il a peur de se compromettre.' This is true of Syria with a shade of difference, for here we are Europe reversed : the interrogated peasant wishes, if possible, to compromise his interrogator. We were living, for instance, some six months at the foot of

that eastern spur of the Anti-Libanus upon whose south-eastern slopes lies the large northern suburb of Damascus, El Sálíhiyyah (of the Saints),¹ facetiously changed, on account of its Kurdish population, into El Tálíhiyyah (طالحيه), (of the Sinners). As we called it the Sálíhiyyah Hill, so of course did all those around us. Presently I found it laid down in all the maps as Jebel Kasyún, and adopted by Captain Warren (p. 240, No. V. *Palestine Exploration Fund*). On inquiry, this proved to be a mistake for Kaysún (كيسون); and conversation with a peasant-guide of B'lúdán presently taught me that the word, though not admitted into the common Arabic dictionaries, is universally used to signify yellow chamomile, a weed plentiful upon the slopes, and much used as a simple. Here, moreover, the name is not unusual: there is a ruin in the 'Aláh known as Shaykh Ali Kaysún, and a Kaysún village near Safet. The people have, in fact, a marked objection to correct the traveller's mistakes. I was allowed to call Kasr Namrúd

¹ This is the popular derivation; but I much suspect that it took its name from the Kurdish Sultan Saláh el Din (better known as Saladin). All the rulers of that race naturally enlisted their countrymen, who acted as Mamlúks before the days of the Circassians; and it is remarked of the Kurds that they always prefer for their quarters the highest ground in a city—'Like the English,' add the natives.

in my diary 'Kasr 'Antar;' and but for a second visit to the place, the mistake might have found its way into print. Again, nothing is more common, and I may add more mortifying, after you have ridden an hour or so from a village where you have spent the night, than to be asked whether you were shown such and such a ruin, of which you have never heard till too late. Incurious about the past, or rather about everything which does not immediately affect the interests of the present, the Syrians are profoundly ignorant, and even disdainful, of archæology. There are few men in Damascus who can point out the site of the Ommiade Palace, the tomb of the great Caliph Muawiyah the First, or even the last resting-place of Saláh el Din, the fearless and irreproachable knight of El Islam.

Again, most travellers, before entering upon exploration in Syria, of course determine to inspect places of general interest—Jerusalem and Damascus, for instance—otherwise, when studying the unknown, they will feel somewhat like the modern Englishman (by the bye, there are not a few of them), who has visited most of the European capitals, but who has not seen all the three chief cities of the United Kingdom; who is familiar with Switzerland and with the



Italian lakes, without ever having visited Westmoreland and Killarney; and who is at home on the Pyrenees, whilst he would be thoroughly abroad in Derbyshire and the Hebrides. But to visit carefully the beaten tracks in the Holy Land occupies some six months, and few can afford leisure, not to speak of health, beyond that time. Besides, no new-comer would suspect that so many patches of unvisited, and possibly at the time unvisitable, country lie within a day or two's ride of great cities and towns such as Aleppo and Damascus, Hums and Hamáh; and where the maps show a blank of virginal white around El Harrah, for instance, which should be black enough, students naturally conclude that the land has been examined, and has been found to be without interest,—the reverse being absolutely the case. Moreover, there are not a few who will scarcely have stomach for the task, when they learn the reasons why these places have escaped European inspection; namely, that they will not afford provisions, forage, and water; that they are deadly with malarious fever; or that they are infested by the Bedawin. The latter, indeed, compare favourably with the Greek Klephts; they have not yet learned to detain you for ransom, or to threaten you with excision of the nose

and ears, unless your friends consent at once to pay the exorbitant demand. They will spear you a little, as they did M. Dubois d'Angers, French Secretary of Legation at Athens, who, by firing a revolver, expected to put a razzia to flight like monkeys; but they will not kill you in cold blood, except according to the strict *lex talionis*—the Sár, or blood for blood. Still, even under these mitigated circumstances, travellers, certain that an escort, unless of overpowering numbers, will at once turn tail, hardly care to expose themselves, their attendants, and their effects to a charge of Bedawin cavalry. And, curious to say, this backward movement of the guard is the traveller's safety: the plundering tribe—which, if it could seize the whole party, might at times, more or less rare, remember that dead men are dumb—knows that it has been recognised by the fugitives, and that before evening the tale will be bruited abroad through the length of the land.

Our visit to Ba'albak and the northern Libanus, related in the last chapter, was followed, in October 10th to the 31st, by a sister excursion to the southern parts of the mountain, the home of the Druzes, better watered than that of the Maronites. We visited, at her palace of Mukhtará (the Chosen

One), the Sitt Jumblát, now the head of that great Druze house (properly written Ján-pulád, or Life of Steel); and we passed a morning with his Excellence Franco Pasha, Governor of the Libanus, who was busily engaged in restoring Bayt el Dín (in our books Ibteddin and Bteddin), the ruined castle of the late redoubtable Amír Beshír Shiháb. Thence we ascended the Hermon, to whose summit I had accompanied Captain Warren, R.E., on October 29th, 1869; and I succeeded in shipping off to England the stone with a fragmentary Greek inscription discovered by that officer. The excursion concluded with a gallop to the Waters of Merom—the ‘pet lake’ of a certain popular author—a hideous expanse of fetid mire and putrefying papyrus; with a call upon the only Bedawi ‘Emir’ in this region, the Amir Hasan el Fá’úr, of the Benú Fadl tribe; and with an inspection of the romantic and hospitable Druze villages, Majdal el Shams, ‘Arnah, Rímah, and Kala’at Jandal, which cling to the southern and the eastern folds of the Hermon.

The winter was now setting in apace, suggesting repose, or at least short excursions to those who can rest only by change of exertion. About the middle of January 1871, escorting an old Brazilian friend,

Mr. Charles Williams of Bahia, I rode out with the Meccan caravan as far as Ransah, its third station; wrote an official report upon its organisation; and returned to Damascus *viâ* 'Izra'a, the Edhr'a of the Handbook,² and the celebrated Haurán valley-plain, inspecting the chief settlements, and making acquaintance with the principal Shaykhs. An important inquiry concerning the interests of a British-protected subject made me set out on February 22d for Hums (Eimesa), and Hamáh (Hamath, Epiphaneia), on the northern borders of the consular district of Damascus. At the latter place—both will be found alluded to in the Appendix—I examined and sent home native facsimiles of the four unique basaltic stones, whose characters, raised in cameo, apparently represent a system of local hiero-

² Pp. 502-3. The author contends that this is the Edrei of the Pentateuch (Numb. xxi. 33), and founds his third argument upon the similarity of the modern Arabic Edhr'a. I can assure him that no Arab either writes it or pronounces it otherwise than Izra'a (أزرع), slightly corrupted to Azra'a. On the other hand, Dera'ah (درعاة), evidently alluded to by Eusebius, is a far more suitable site for the ancient Bashanic city. There is much to 'attract special attention in this place, which the author of the Handbook apparently never visited. Otherwise he would not have described the mosque to the north as a large rectangular building 'at the southern extremity of the town;' nor would he have converted its common Hauranic minaret into a 'high tower.'

glyphics peculiar to this part of Syria, and form the connecting link between picture-writing and the true syllabarium. My host, M. F. Bambino, Vice-consul de France, was kind enough to give me, amongst other valuable papers, two maps which he had traced by aid of native information, noting the most important of the 360 villages—this favourite number is also given to the Lejá—which stud the upland plain known as El 'Aláh (אלח) or 'Aláwát, sometimes pronounced 'Ulah and 'Uláwát. This high rolling ground, beginning at Selamíyyah, the well-known ruin and outwork of Palmyra, six hours' ride from, and bearing E.S.East (118° Mag.) of the Mound of Hamáh (the 'Mother-in-law'), extends some five days' journey, they say, to the north, and from east to west two or three days. The surface is not unlike Upper Norwood, if the latter wanted hedges and trees. Mr. Hughes marks it the Great Syrian Desert, forgetting that the Seleucidæ here kept their immense studs of elephants and horses. The whole is virgin ground, and the same may be said of the eastern slopes of the Jebel Kalbiyyah on the left bank of the Orontes, and of the country extending from the parallel of Hums to that of Selamíyyah. M. Prosper Bambino had the goodness to accom-

pany me during a day's ride, and after some five hours we had examined no less than five ruins, namely Tell Jubb el Safá, Marj Húr, Tell Iznín, Khirbat el Tayyibah, and Shaykh Ali Kaysún. The settlements are all provincial townlets of the Lower or Greco-Roman Empire, and the basaltic buildings exactly reflect the 'Giant Cities of Bashan;' that is to say, show Christian architecture of the first to the seventh century. The inscriptions which I saw were invariably Greek, and mostly in cameo or raised characters, some of them admirably cut. This *trouvaille* was, I have said, bequeathed by me to my friend and fellow-traveller, who, in view of the Circassian colonisation which had then already begun in this new and highly interesting region, lost no time about copying the inscriptions and sketching the buildings, whose destruction is now so imminent.

I returned to Damascus on March 10th, *viâ* the northern Jebel el Húlah ('that which intervenes'), studying on the way the fine crusading castle Husn el Akrád, and the plain of the Nahr el Kabír, the Eleutherus river. The hardships of this march were considerable; most of the country was under water, and the rushing torrents and deep ditches caused long detours. Heavy and continuous rains



KALA'AT EL HUSN, ALIAS HUSN EL AKRAD.

began shortly after we left Hamáh, accompanied by furious blasts, and ending in snow and sleet which approximated the climate of Syria to that of Norway; the weather suggested the 'Alpinas, ah! dura, nives' of Virgil, and it did damage. A Jew servant of my companion, M. Zelmina Füchs, soon afterward sickened and died; and I still bear the marks of frost-bite, an accident which also happened to Captain Wilson, R.E. The people of Damascus call the last four days (o.s.) of Shubát or February and the first three of Adár or March El Mustakrazát, the 'borrowed ones,'

and Ayyám el 'Ajúz, the 'days of the old woman;' because February becomes a borrower from March in order to kill off the old men, and to make the old women break up their spinning-wheels for fire-wood. This week, which ends in fact the later rains, is supposed to be the most fatal of the whole year. We also make March come in like a lion.

All my excursions were strictly within the limits of the consular district of Damascus. Not a little business was managed during what appeared to be mere trips and 'perpetual peregrinations.' On returning to head-quarters we resolved to avail ourselves of a short leave granted by her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to examine the Holy Week at Jerusalem. I rode down the country by the vile Kunayterah road *viâ* Tiberias, where the Hebrew subjects protected by Great Britain were complaining that Rashid Pasha, then, but happily no longer, Wali or Governor-general of Syria, had taken from them and had sold to the Greek bishop, Nifon of Nazareth, a cemetery and a synagogue which for the last 400 years had belonged to their faith; and *viâ* Safet, where men held passports which ought to have been annually changed, but of which sundry, by peculiar imbecility,

had not been renewed since 1850. Thence I galloped down the coast to Ramlah, and reached El Kuds *alias* Bayt el Mukaddas on Palm Sunday, April 2d, 1871. The Holy Week is the very worst time for studying the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem, especially if the varied and complicated ceremonies of Latin and Greek, Armenian and Copt—some of them lasting through the night, and none of them worth seeing after an Easter in Rome—must be ‘done.’ There are also certain Moslem rites well worth seeing, and the Jewish passover fell at the same time; whilst in 1871 the feasts and fasts of the Latin and Greek Churches happened to be synchronous—a combination which will not re-occur for many years. However, we laboured hard, and we brought away our pilgrims’ diplomas duly signed and sealed.³

³ The following is the form of certificate usually supplied to *viator* when not *vacuus* :

Ducal Crown.
 Ducal Crown. Dove. Ducal Crown.



ARMS OF ST. FRANCIS—PLAIN CROSS SURROUNDED BY CORD.

In Dei Nomine, amen.

Omnibus et singulis præsentis literas inspecturis, lecturis, vel legi audituris fidem notumque facimus, Nos Terræ Sanctæ Custos Devotum Peregrinum.

Illustrissimum Dominum Capit. R. Burton, Consulem Anglum Jeru-

Bethlehem, which supplied some silex-instruments hitherto rarely met with in the Holy Land; Hebron, where an especial order from Damascus had been sent directing the Shaykhs of the Haram (Sanctuary) to be more than usually fanatical; and a short tour in the direction of Beersheba, where we found the ancient Horite dwellings of Dr. Robinson, cut with Greek crosses, and rich in rude modern and Coptic inscriptions, concluded the journey south. We then returned by the banale route *viâ* Jericho and Bethel, Nâblûs and Nazareth, Tiberias and Safet, to Damascus. Of the events which

salem, feliciter pervenisse die 3 mensis Aprilis anni 1871, inde subsequentibus diebus præcipua Sanctuaria, in quibus mundi Salvator dilectum populum suum, immo et totius humani generis perditam congeriem ab inferi servitute misericorditer liberavit, utpote Calvarium ubi Cruci affixus devicta morte, Cæli januas nobis aperuit, SS. Sepulcrum, ubi sacrosanctum ejus corpus reconditum, triduo ante suam gloriosissimam Resurrectionem quievit, ac tandem ea omnia Sacra Palestinæ Loca gressibus Domini, ac Beatissimæ ejus Matris Mariæ consecrata a Religiosis nostris, et Peregrinis visitari solita, visitasse.

In quorum fidem has scripturas officii nostri sigillo munitas per Secretarium expediri mandavimus.

Datis Jerusalem ex venerabili nostro Conventu SS. Salvatoris die 10 mensis Aprilis 1871.

Secretarius Terræ Sanctæ,

(Signed) FR. ANTONIUS DE TYBURE, Ex. Prov.

Reg. *Seal of the Guardian
of the Convent of
Mount Sion.*

rendered the last journey memorable to us I shall have more to tell at a future time.

Reaching head-quarters on May 19th, I found the season far advanced. During the winters of 1869-70 and 1870-71 rain had been unusually scarce throughout the seventy-nine direct geographical miles between Sanamayn and Hasyah, including the Damascene, mountains and plains. It is mostly a limestone country, interposed between two great basaltic surfaces; and while the Neptunian was dry, the Plutonian was exceptionally well watered—the igneous formation, as has been remarked, begins south of the Damascus plain, about the valley of the 'Awaj River distant some five direct geographical miles. The rapidly-increasing heat also made me the more anxious to finish my visits in the lowlands, and again to find myself in summer quarters at cool, if not comfortable, B'lúdán.

During upwards of a year and a half's sojourn at Damascus, I had been tantalised by the sight of the forbidden Tulúl el Safá, the Tells⁴ or hillocks of

⁴ The word must not be written, with Capt. Wilson, R.E., 'Tel' (p. 123. No. IV. *Palestine Exploration Fund*). It corresponds with the Greek Μαγούλα and Hebrew Gibeah, a hill—a term once so common in the topography of Syria and Palestine. Safá, plural of Safát, means large smooth stones, and is the well-known name of a sacred eminence in Meccah.

the Safá region. These pyramids, hardly bigger than baby finger-tips, dot the eastern horizon within easy sight of the city, and thinning out northwards, prolong the lumpy blue wall of the Jebel Durúz Haurán, which appears to reflect the opposite line of the Anti-Libanus. Many also were the vague and marvellous reports which had reached my ears concerning a cistern, tank, or cave, called by the few who know it Umm Nírán, the Mother of Fires; that is to say, the burning; probably so termed from its torrid site, the great basaltic region of the Eastern Damascus. It is alluded to in 1860 by the excellent Dr. J. G. Wetzstein, formerly Prussian Consul at Damascus (note 1, p. 38, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*; Berlin, Reimer, 1860), an official whose travels and whose writings, not to mention his acquirements as an Orientalist, have perpetuated his name in Syria. After a journey through the Safá and the Haurán mountains, peculiarly rich in results, he was prevented by the imminence of the Damascus massacre of '60 from exploring Umm Nírán. It also escaped, in 1867, Mr. Cyril Graham, whose adventurous march is too little known. A collection of his papers, scattered throughout various periodicals—for instance, the *Journal of the Royal*



Geographical Society, vol. xxviii. of 1858—and published in a handy form like the *Reisebericht*, would be a valuable addition to modern travel-tale.

Perhaps the most interesting discovery made by Mr. Cyril Graham in the Eastern Haurán is the ‘writing which, though not purely Himayaritic, is nevertheless very much allied to it.’ I am far from answering in the affirmative to his question, ‘May we not be guided by this to the fact, that the Himayarites originally came from much farther north or north-east—perhaps from the Euphrates or Mesopotamia—and then gradually worked their way down into Central and Southern Arabia?’ It appears to me that he has unconsciously hit upon one of the great stations made by the Benú Ghassán (Gassanides), ‘that powerful but almost unknown people, of direct Himayarite extraction,’ when emigrating from Yemen, after the bursting of the Marab dyke, of disputed date,⁵ to the Damascene, where they are known to have long reigned, and where they became some of the earliest converts to Christianity. In this matter they followed in the steps of the Phœnicians,

⁵ There were two traditional ruptures of this stone embankment, so celebrated in Arab history: the first took place about a.d. 100; the second shortly after the time of Mohammed.

who, according to Herodotus, also came from the south; and we may remark that these fertile and populous regions, 'Arabia Felix,' translated from the Semitic 'Yemen,' has ever been the *Cunabula gentium*.

The difficulty and the danger of visiting these places arose in my time simply from the relations between the Serai or Government-general of Damascus and the hill-tribes of Bedawins ('Urbán el Jebel), who, mixed up with the Druzes, infest the Trachonic countries. The hill-tribes proper ('wild-ass men'), all descended from a common ancestor, are the 'Agaylát (written 'Ajílát), the Hasan, the Shurafát, the 'Azámát, and the Masá'id. The Safá, or eastern volcanic region, is tenanted by the Shitayá, the Ghiyás, and the Anjad, also connected; whilst the Lejá (or Lejáh, *i. e.* the Refuge) belongs to the Sulút, in conjunction with, or rather as clients of, the Druzes.⁶

⁶ In 1857 we are told by Mr. Cyril Graham (p. 283, vol. xxviii. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*) that 'Es-Solút' have almost always blood-feuds with the Druzes. Mr. Porter, in a footnote, adds: 'There are four other small tribes in the Lejáh—namely, El-Medlij, Es-Selmán, Ed-Dhohery, and Es-Siyaleh. I am informed that all these are sub-classes of the Sulút, and that there are about a dozen other divisions.' Burekhardt, in 1810, found that the 'Arabs who inhabit the Leja pay some deference to the Druzes, but none whatever to the Turks or Christians of the neighbouring villages.' He names these tribes Sulút (100 tents), Madlej (120), and Salmán Dhoherah and Siya-

These nine hordes are individually of small importance; but as there has been a certain amount of intermarriage amongst them, all readily combine, especially when a Razzia comes upon the tapis. They are the liege descendants of the refractory robbers of the Trachonitis, who, to revenge the death of their captain, Naub or Naubus (El Nukayb, diminutive for El Nakib, *the Leader?*), rose up against the garrison of 3000 Idumæans, stationed in their country by Herod, the son of Antipater. Wonderful tales are still told of their prowess as plunderers in the last century; for instance, how one of them, swarming up the mainstay, and cutting a hole in the canvas, entered by night the pavilion occupied by the Pasha of Damascus, a dignitary who in those days had the power of impaling or flaying alive; and how, having invested himself in the Káuk and Farwah—the melon-shaped cap and the fur pelisse of office—he quietly waddled, Turk-like, out of the entrance, and disappeared beneath the nose of the sentinel.

Several of these refractory tribes, however, especially the Shitáyá and the Ghiyás, had submitted

lah (50-60 each). Of the mountain tribes (Ahl el Jebel) he enumerates the following: Eshshenabele, El Hassan, El Haddie, Ghiath, Eshsherefat, Mizaid, El Kerad, Beni Adham, and Szammeral.

themselves, and had given to the Government of Damascus hostages, who were periodically changed. Yet, to the scandal of every honest man, their brethren at large were allowed to scour the plains, to carry off the crops, and to harry the flocks and herds of the peasantry. Each successful outrage encouraged another outrage, and a deaf ear was officially turned to every complaint. The fact is, the Bedawin made profitable work for the tribunals, and they served as the ready implements of revenge against all those disaffected to, or disliked by, the petty autocrat who then disgraced the land by his rule.

These Bedawin show no peculiarity of type. They are small and slightly-made men, notably different from the sturdy and stalwart peasant-class, and still more from the pale and etiolated citizens and burghers. The face is remarkably oval; the eyes are bright brown, with the restless roving look of the civilised pickpocket; the features are high and well formed, and the skin is clear olive-yellow. They wear the usual Jedáil, or long love-locks, well buttered and of raven's-wing tint; whilst their dress is conspicuous by its scantiness and irregularity. The action, like the expression of the countenance, is wild and startled, and the voice is a manner of bark.

They would make an excellent light infantry, and their pitched battles deserve a professional description. When attacked, they place the women, children and cattle in the rear, form a rude line, which they carefully guard against being outflanked, and advance file-firing with considerable regularity. They never hesitate to attack a stranger who enters their lands without the guidance of a fellow-tribesman; and their ideas of hospitality have been considerably modified in the presence of semi-civilisation. For this reason, it was not decently safe to ride three hours beyond the eastern gate of Damascus. The day before we set out for Palmyra, a Ghazú (plundering party) had murdered an unfortunate peasant near Kutayfah. Shortly afterwards, a troop of five Benú Hasan did considerable damage in the Ghútah villages; two of them lost their heads, but Mustafa Bey, then Chief of Police, and now deservedly disgraced, considered it barbarous to expose *in terrorem* Moslem pates over the Serai at Damascus. The Subá'a and other 'Anizah ruffians thereupon made the Ager Damascenus a battle-field; whilst the Wuld 'Ali, under the leadership of that notorious villain, Mohammed el Dukhí, were permitted to graze their herds—that is to say, to levy black-mail—in Cœle-

syria. Such a laxity of rule has never yet been remembered. In December 1870 a mixed mob of twenty-five Arabs, Kurds, and Maghrabis (Algerian Moors), firing their guns, and freely using their sabres, rushed into the Tahún el Zelay, a mile from the eastern outskirts of the capital, and wounding eight men, of whom six were Druzes, carried away grain, weapons, and whatever they could loot. This offence was also unnoticed by the local government. Early in January 1871 the hill-tribes drove off some 32,000 head of sheep and goats from the Jebel Kalamún (the Chameleon); and the offence was repeated on February 13th by the Subá'a and the Sawa'al, sub-tribes of the 'Anizah. Since that time, hardly a week passed without some such event being recorded. Yet the *Hadikat el Akhbar*, the French and Arabic paper highly salaried to wear the rosiest of rose-coloured spectacles, had the audacity to publish, 'Le désert est cultivé, les Bedouins sont soumis, et le brigandage anéanti.' And thus dust was thrown in the eyes of the civilised world, whilst the Government-general of Damascus employed hordes of banditti to plunder its own hapless subjects. Did the Emirs of Sind or the Nawwáb of Oude ever attempt aught more preposterous? It is fervently to be hoped that the

excellent orders issued to the Jurnaljis (newspaper editors) by Mahmúd Pasha, who, happily(?) for the empire, succeeded Ali Pasha of pernicious memory, will be strictly carried out; and if the proprietor of the Syrian *Moniteur* passes a few months in gaol, the example will be as beneficial to future libellers as the punishment is merited.

So it came to happen that all the broken-down Gassanian convents called El Diyúra (the Days) had never, to my knowledge, been visited by a European traveller.⁷ The Rev. Mr. Porter often alludes to them as the 'ruins said to exist in the untrodden regions dimly seen on the eastern horizon;' and he was told (chap. ix. 2d edit. *Five Years in Damascus*; London, Murray, 1870) that a hundred horsemen would not attempt a journey to the 'Diûra.' I was fortunate enough to inspect the three. My first excursion was in December 1869, when we—that is to say, M. Piochard de la Boulerie, a French entomolo-

⁷ Mr. Cyril Graham visited the square tower of basalt called by the Arabs Dayr, or Kasr Kasam, and the two 'Days' to the north; but he seems to have missed the northernmost near Dhumayr (vol. xxviii. p. 31, *Journal of Royal Geographical Soc.*). Curious to say, he believes them to be 'evidently castles, the three forming most probably a line of border fortresses to protect the country against the incursions of the Arabs.' Had that been the case, their cisterns would not have been outside the walls—to quote only one objection.

gist, who spent three months in Syria making an immense collection, and myself—escorted by a very slender and timid party, pushed along the Robbers' Road, and succeeded in reaching the two northern ruins. My companion was not a little surprised to find under the basaltic stones the coleopters of the Sinaitic desert; and he will doubtless give an interesting account of this curious fauna. On that occasion we nighted, without receiving or doing damage, at Harrán el 'Awámid, the old Sun or Ba'al Temple said to contain the well of Abraham, so accurately described by my learned friend Dr. Beke.⁸ The second trip, in early December 1870, led me to the third or southern building. On this occasion I had less luck. The Ghiyás ruffians, not so much startled by our sudden appearance as acting upon a concerted plan, formed a line of some forty skirmishers, and advancing steadily as if on parade, treated us to a shower of bullets, severely wounding in the leg my gallant companion Bedr Bey, son of the deceased Kurdish chief Bedr Khan Pasha. Intending afterwards to visit their country, and knowing how fatal to such enterprise would be a blood feud, we did not

⁸ *Origines Biblicæ* (vol. i. p. 10, &c. &c.) treats of Padan-Aram; and *Jacob's Flight* (passim) describes 'Rebekah's Well.'



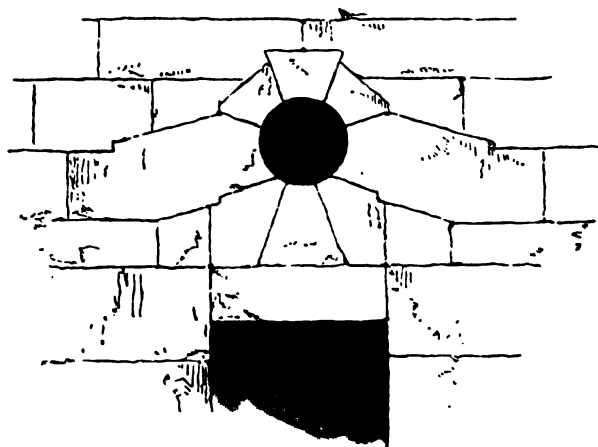
return their fire, although, being well mounted, and the riding-ground being good, we might have brought down as many of them as we pleased. It was a fiery trial to us both; and we afterwards bitterly repented our forbearance, when we found out that the ruffians were to remain unpunished, and that after answering our message by a declaration that some other tribe must have attacked us, the cowards openly boasted of the outrage. After the degradation of Rashid Pasha, the mystery was cleared up. We found nothing remarkable in the Diyúrá except their excellent state of preservation where man has left them uninjured. Their site is the Lohf,⁹ the Hebrew Chabal, the raised and rope-like edge of the lava torrents poured out by the volcanic Tulúl. The lip forms a true coast to the beds of the Damascus lakes, more properly called swamps, the *Fanges* of Spa, a salt clay-flat in the dry season, and a draining-ground for the Barada and the 'Awaj, when they have any water which the irrigated fields can spare. The style

⁹ Murray's Handbook (p. 471) translates El Luhf, confounding it with 'Luhuf,' the 'Coverings.' It is a local word, and it certainly does not mean 'a narrow strip of the plain extending round the Lejah.' This is apparently taken from Burckhardt, who repeatedly uses the word 'Loehf,' but confines it to the 'borders of the Ledja.' We heard the people apply it to the lip of the Safá as well.

of building, similar to that of the Haurán mountain and valley plain, and to that of the 'Aláh or uplands north-east of Hamáh, is old Christian, dating probably from the days when the Benú Ghassán (Gassanides) of Yemen ruled the Damascene. The material is basalt, generally porous; the stones are for the most part rudely trimmed, and the shape of all the buildings is parallelogrammic. No. 1, the northernmost, has round towers at the angles; the western wall is on the ground, and the entrance is by the south side. North of this is a large impost of white limestone, the lintel of a gate leading to the cells, and the outlines of the church may still easily be traced. Below the south-eastern tower is a well, now dry, but showing long use by a deeply-grooved kerb-stone, and hard by is a sarcophagus used as a trough.

A ride of forty-five minutes leads to the central Dayr, which is made conspicuous by a coat of dingy plaster revetting the lower third: from afar it looks more complete, but it is even more ruinous than the first. The large enceinte has fallen on the north-eastern corner, and the southern wall is hardly in better condition: the church on the north-west angle shows a cross cut in the stone, and remains of stucco

tinted green and red, both colours remarkably fresh, like the Phœnician mason-marks found upon the subterranean walls of the Jerusalem Haram. The cells are on the south of the church, and to the east is a small alcoved building partly fallen—it may have been a refectory. The third Dayr lies some two hours' ride from the second, and three from the villages of the plain west of the Swamps. It is much broken on the south and east; the south-western wall may be climbed, and gives a fine view of the 'Lake Region.' A rough cornice runs outside the



SPECIMEN OF RELIEVING ARCH WITH WINDOW (DAR EL HALIS, JENAYNAH).

building: the south-eastern door has a basaltic impost six feet six inches long by one foot two inches deep; at each end there is a Greek cross, and in the

centre I fancied might be traced the letters **K Y P** (Agios Kyrillos?).¹⁰ The impost is relieved by another basaltic block forming a shallow false arch; a favourite form in these regions, apparently derived from local Greek architecture, which possibly borrowed it from the Hebrews. Inside the southern door of the south-eastern room are three crosses, and outside, on the north-west, are two red crosses on a white ground, which might have been painted a year ago. From this Convent the Kasr Kasam, by some called the fourth Dayr, bore 189° (Mag.).

The Cœnobites who owned these religious houses doubtless converted into smiling fields the now desolate clay-flats which separate the swamp beds from the true coast of basalt. In the present day the ruins might be utilised as guard-houses and dépôts for irregular cavalry; and the latter, when happier times come to the province, will patrol along this line between the villages El Hijánah and Dhumayr, so as to bar the Bedawin bandits from their occupation of driving the fertile Marj or Ager Damascenus. To conclude this part of the subject: in Mr. Keith Johnston's map accompanying these pages the

¹⁰ The light was peculiarly unfavourable. Perhaps the letters in question were merely faults in the basalt.

Diyúra will be found accurately laid down by compass observations from various points north and south; they are erroneously placed in the maps of Van de Velde, Kiepert, Wetzstein, Porter, and others.

On Wednesday, May 24, 1871, we—that is to say, Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake and I, left Damascus, intending to crown a tour through the Hauran Mountain (Jebel Durúz Haurán) by an exploration of the Tulúl el Safá. Little need be said concerning our first eight days of travelling over a well-worn line, except that we found the mountain, like Syria and Palestine generally, explored as to the surface in certain well-worn lines, and elsewhere absolutely unknown, whilst the known part bore the proportion of a single seam to the rest of the garment. My fellow-traveller's map of our tour will be a considerable addition to our scanty geographical knowledge of the Trachonitis. Its correctness will be vouched for by the fact that his unbroken series of compass-bearings through the Badiyat el Tih (Desert of Wandering) and the rest of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which 'covered 600 miles of country, shows an almost unappreciable error on subsequently joining a place the latitude of which has been ascertained' (p. 7, No. I. June 1871, *Palestine Exploration Fund; The*

Desert of the Tih and the Country of Moab, by E. H. Palmer).

We collected during that week some 120 inscriptions: of these some proved to be new, and after having been submitted to the Palestine Exploration Fund, they now appear for the first time ushered into the world by my old friend W. S. W. Vaux. They include the three lengthy copies of Greek hexameters and pentameters from the Burj or mortuary tower at Shakkah, a ruin long since identified as the Saccæa of Ptolemy.¹¹ The subject is a certain 'eutyches Bassos,' whose wife and family and concubine are duly mentioned with all the honours: only one of the three, that on the left hand, and five lines out of the eleven on the right, had been copied by Burckhardt and by the Rev. Mr. Porter (chap. xi. *Five Years in Damascus*),¹² who makes the era '71 of the city' = A.D. 176. The building was a reduced copy of the old sandstone

¹¹ The skulls and other remains taken from the basement will be found described by Dr. C. Carter Blake in the Appendix I. of Vol. II.

¹² But Mr. Porter has carelessly applied this era to an inscription at Burák (which he writes Brakh), where one of them begins with ΕΤΟΥΣ Ε ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ. The months are Macedonian (Peritius and Apuleius); but, as Mr. Freshfield remarks (*Athenæum*, No. 2237, Sept. 10, 1870), they are used by Josephus, and consequently they might have extended to the Bostran era (A.D. 106).

tomb-towers on the Necropolis road of Palmyra, one of those Viæ Appiæ which exist in all ancient Syrian settlements. The inscriptions are incised over the doorway of the first floor, which opens to the east; and they are contained in three tablets, the centre one large and the two side ones small. The framing is the usual 'Lauh' or writing-board, everywhere used in the East: and the triangular handles of the *cartouches* are ornamented with flowers like roses, showing four, five, and six petals, that with four being double. On the left handle of the large *cartouche* is a scroll.

On Friday, May 26, we ascended the quaintly-fashioned tumulus of clay, or rather indurated sand, suggesting that volcanoes like those of Krafla may here have existed: the surface was sprinkled over with scorixæ. It is called by the people Tell Shayhán, from the Wali¹³ or Santon, equally respected

¹³ Usually written Wely. A curious misuse of this word has crept into general Anglo-Oriental use. It literally means a favourite, or a slave; hence, a slave of Allah, a saint. Saints are mostly buried under buildings of four walls, supporting a dome: the splendid building which covers the Sakhrâh or rock in the Haram Sherif of Jerusalem is a well-known instance. The traveller would point to such a structure and ask its name. Házá Wali—that is a Santon!—would be the native answer. Hence, we read of a 'little white-washed Wely,' the receptacle

by Druzes and Moslems, whose rude conical dome of basalt, carefully whitewashed to resemble a pigeon-house, and springing from an enceinte of the same material, natural colour, crowns the summit. Here, when taking a round of angles, we remarked for the first time that local influences greatly affected the magnetic needle; and subsequently, on the Tulúl el Safá, one reading showed an error of ten degrees. I could only regret that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund had refused the loan of a theodolite to one of their best observers, simply because his name did not conclude with the mystic letters R. E.

The ridge-like summit of Tell Shayhán—whose altitude is 3750 feet, and whose trend is north to south, with a slight deviation from the meridian—shows no sign of crater. In this matter it contrasted sharply with the neighbouring features—mere barrows pierced at the top, truncated, straight-lined

being confounded with the inmate, who probably never required such civilised operation. I observe that 'Nabi' (prophet) is about to share the same fate, the *contenu* being confounded with the *contenant*. Similarly, a popular modern book on Syria explains Tell (mamelon, hill, or hillock) by an 'Arab village,' because in Syria villages are usually built upon mamelons, hills, or hillocks.


cones, like the 'Bartlow Hills,' and similar formations in England. It was not till we had ridden round to the south-west, the route for Kanawát, that we



TELL SHAYHAN FROM THE NORTHERN GHARARAH.

sighted the huge lateral gash, garnished with stones, bristled with reefs, and fronted by heaps and piles of broken and disjointed lava, whence all the mischief had come. From the road its general appearance was that of a huge legless armchair. The first glance showed us that the well-known Leja, the Argob of the Hebrews, and the western Trachon of the

Greeks and Romans, famed in these later days for the defeat of the Egyptian Generalissimo Ibrahim Pasha, is mostly the gift of Tell Shayhán. It is, in fact, a lava bed; a stone-torrent poured out by the lateral crater over the ruddy yellow clay and the limestone floor of the Hauran Valley, high raised by the ruins of repeated eruptions, broken up by the action of fumaroles or blow holes, and cracked and crevassed by contraction when cooling, by earthquakes, and by the weathering of ages. This, the true origin of the Leja, is not shown in the maps of Mr. Cyril Graham and of Dr. Wetzstein (*ll. cc.*); and where they nod, all other travellers have slept soundly enough. In *Jerusalem Recovered* (p. 413), however, the Count de Vogüé, who visited Sí'a *viâ* Kanawát, suspected the source of the Leja to be from a mountain near 'the city of Schelbah;' the name is not given, but it is apparently Tell Shayhán. 'Tel Shiehhan' is distinguished by Burckhardt from 'Tel Shohba,' but he does not perceive the importance of the former. Dr. Wetzstein, on the other hand, rightly defines the limits of the pyriform 'Mal paiz,' placing 'Brák' town (Burák, the Cisterns) on the north, at the stalk of the pear; Umm el Zaytún on the east; Zora' (Dera'úh, before alluded to), at the westernmost



edge; and to the south, Rímat el Lohf¹⁴ (Hillock of the Lip), a village visited by Burckhardt. His Leja receives a 'grosser lavastrom,' proceeding in an artificially natural straight line from Jebel Kulayb, and flowing from south-east to north-west. We therefore determined to inspect that feature. How far 'abroad' other travellers have been in the matter may be seen by the example of the Rev. Mr. Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, p. 282). 'The physical features of the Lejah are very remarkable. It is composed of black basalt, which appears to have issued from pores in the earth in a liquid state, and to have flowed out until the plain was almost covered. Before cooling, its surface was agitated by some powerful agency; and it was afterwards shattered and rent by internal convulsions and vibrations.' The author, however, probably thinking of the Giants' Causeway, 'did not observe any columnar or crystallised basalt;' whereas both forms are common; the former imperfect, but the latter unusually well marked.

Two whole days (May 27, 28) were spent in studying the remains of Kanawát—the ancient Canatha and Kenath, a 'city of Og'—meaning the under-

¹⁴ It is thus distinguished from Rímat el Hezám (of the Girdles), Rímat el Khalkhal (of the Bangle), and a dozen other Rímats.

ground aqueducts : these bald ruins¹⁵ are intricate, and they have been very imperfectly described. Burckhardt found only two Druze families in the place ; now there are as many hundreds. We here, for the first time, remarked the 'beauty of Bashan,' in a comparatively well-wooded country, contrasting pleasantly with treeless plains and black cities of the Haurán. We copied many inscriptions, and found a few broken statues in the so-called Hippodrome : Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake fortunately secured a stone, which is evidently the head of an altar, with central bowl for blood, small horns at the four corners, and holes in the flat surface for metal plates. Upon opposite sides appear the features of Ba'al and Ash-tarah of the 'two cusps' (Karnaim),¹⁶ boldly cut

¹⁵ The traveller fresh from Europe is immediately struck by the absence of ivy, which beautifies decay as far south as Portugal ; and on his return to England is agreeably impressed by the difference. The plant is once mentioned in Scripture (2 Macc. vi. 7) ; but is it the true *Hedera helix* ? I have nowhere seen it in Syria or Palestine, except at B'lúdán, where Mr. Consul R. Wood planted two stems near the western wall of his summer quarters. The plants did not die ; but they would not grow ; the cause might have been the normal pest, goats ; or possibly a northern instead of the western presentation would have given better results. As will be found, however, in Vol. II. Chap. II., my friend and fellow-traveller found ivy growing in wild luxuriance upon the northern slopes of the Libanus.

¹⁶ Murillo's celebrated Virgin absolutely reproduces the idea of

in high relief upon the closest basalt, with foliage showing the artistic hand, here unusual. We then



CHRISTIAN ALTAR AT TELL MEFA'LANAH, NEAR KANAWAT.

travelled along the western folds of the celebrated Jebel Kulayb, and visited the noble remains of Si'a (حـ flowing—water or wine), a temple whose acanthus capitals, grape-vine ornaments, and figures of gazelles and eagles, all cut as if the hardest basalt were the softest limestone, showed the ravages of Druze iconoclasm. The blocks reminded me of the huge cubes of travertin, said to be entirely without

Ashtarah Karnaim. This fine relic was deposited at the Anthropological Institute, exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, and forms the frontispiece of this volume.

cement, which mark the arch of Diocletian at Rome, ruined in A.D. 1491 by Pope Innocent VIII. Here we met with three Palmyrene inscriptions, which were sent for decipherment to Professor E. H. Palmer: it is curious to find them so far from the centre, and they prove that the Palmyrene of Ptolemy, and other classical geographers, extended to the south-west, far beyond the limits usually assigned to it by the moderns. Otherwise, as a rule, these Tadmoran remains are not very ancient, and they have scant interest. The name of an Agrippa occurs in the Greek legends at Sí'a.

Travelling from Sí'a to Sahwat el Balát, the village of my influential friend Shaykh Ali el Hináwí, a Druze 'Akkál or Illuminatus of the highest rank, we crossed three considerable 'Stenaás'—stone floods, or lava beds—whose rough and rugged discharge glooms the land. The northernmost flows from the Tell el Ahmar, a fine landmark; and the two others trend from the western slopes of Jebel Kulayb; all three take a west-south-westerly direction, and end upon El Nukra; for an explanation of which term see Dr. Wetzstein (p. 87): this flat bounds the southern and the south-western lips of the Leja. Thus we satisfactorily ascertained that the 'grosser lava-

strom' is not in existence. Had it been there, we must have crossed it at right angles.

On the next day we ascended Jebel Kulayb, for the purpose of mapping the lay of many craters which appeared to be scattered about, inextricably confused. Viewed from the heights of the Libanus, the Anti-Libanus, and the Hermon, this mountain appears like a dwarf pyramid studding the crest of a lumpy blue wall, and it is popularly supposed to be the apex of the range which palæogeographers have identified with the Ptolemeian 'Alsadamus Mons.'¹⁷ The name has been erroneously written by Burckhardt and others, Kelb, Kelab, and Kulayb (كليب), meaning 'Little Dog,' and is mispronounced Kulayyib: the orthography, as pointed out by Mr. Porter, is Kulayb (قليب), 'Little Heart,' or 'Turning-point;' and the latter is doubtless the correct sense, as the central ridge of the Jebel Haurán here droops southwards into an upland valley. On a nearer view, El Kulayb has one peculiarity: where all the cones are barren heaps of red and yellow clay and scoriæ, it is feathered with trees up to the

¹⁷ See, however, Dr. Wetzstein (p. 90). I avoid making extracts from his excellent *Reisebericht*, as my leisure moments at Damascus were employed in translating and in annotating it.

summit. The vegetation does not, however, as is the case in other parts of Syria and Palestine, interfere with the view.

At the village El Kafr,¹⁸ south of 'Turning-point Mountain,' we found large flakelike slabs of fine compact crystalline greenstone, the first and last seen in this purely volcanic region. They are brought from a Júrah, or pit, known as Bátt (Settlement) Marj el Daulah, lying half an hour's walk to the east of El Kafr, and this is said to be the only quarry in the land. The exceptional outcrop may be connected with the greenstones, which in the northern part of the Sinaitic Peninsula overlie the true granites; and it will be remembered that these volcanic formations play an important part about the newly-discovered Diamond-fields of South Africa. Columns of granite and syenite are found profusely scattered about the ruins of Syria, extending even

¹⁸ M. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, Chancelier Dragoman of the French Consulate, Jerusalem, a man of singularly original mind and a conscientious student, suggested to me that Kafr and Kufr (a village and heathenism), being the same root, may bear the same relationship as pagus and paganus. It will be remembered that our heathen and the German heiden, to mention no others, are palpably derived from heath and heide—synonymous words showing that when Christianity became a state religion, the 'professors' of the earlier faith fled the cities and retired *in rus*.

as far as Palmyra. The modern inhabitants invariably declare them to be Masnú'a—of made stone: similarly the Lyonnais, we are told, determined that the pillars of the Athenæum or Augustan Temple, built at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone, were artificial, because they were spotted red and white. Those on the coast, as at Kaisáryah (the Augustan Cæsarea Palæstina, the old Tower of Strato), where they have been strewed to make modern jetties, were doubtless shipped from Egypt: in the southern interior, the material was probably conveyed from the Sinaitic regions *viâ* Moab and Ammon, even as in these unmechanical days basaltic millstones are rolled into Damascus from the Hauran. I found no traces of granite or of syenite in any part of the Holy Land proper; but, as will presently appear (Vol. II. Chap. III.), the northern cities, such as Hamáh, were supplied with syenite by the 'Aláh, where it exists *in situ*. This is ending at a point where other men began. In the days of my earlier residence in Damascus, however, the people had declared that they could show me the quarries; the latter proved to be a reddish porphyry, and a pudding-stone, which, somewhat like the Giallo antico of Egypt, takes a high polish. It is locally called

Shahm wa Lahm ('Fat and Flesh'); and at Ba'albak many of the well-educated applied the term to the true granitic and syenitic columns.

We rode from El Kafr through heaps of ruins and a tract of mulberry plantation to the Hísh Hamáh,¹⁹ large vineyards whence the vine sacred to a goddess has departed, leaving only long broad ridges and occasional cairns of rough stone, like the débris of Cyclopean walls; over these in days of old the genial plant was probably trained, and they still serve to protect the country from the wild horseman and from civilised cavalry. 'Dousaria' is usually supposed to be 'a deity who patronised the cultivation of the vine.' I would suggest that the root may be the Arabic 'daasa,' whence the back-treading ceremony usually called 'El Doseh' at Cairo and in the Buká'a: thus the goddess would preside over the treading down and trampling upon the grape for wine. Farther south, my fellow-

¹⁹ In Syria and Palestine a difference is made between Hishsh and Hish (حديش), which will not be found in the dictionaries. The former is applied to a volcanic cone almost bare of vegetation in the Jebel Durúz Haurán; the latter means a ragged bush, as in the Jebel el Hísh, which continues the southern Hermon. Of the word Hirah I shall presently speak. Burckhardt, noticing Hish and Hirsh, says that both are applied to 'forests' where the trees grow twenty paces from one another.

traveller had remarked a scene somewhat similar. 'Among the most striking characteristics of the Negeb, or South Country of the Bible, are miles of hill-sides and valleys covered with the small stone heaps in regular swathes, along which the grapes were trained, and which still retain the name of Teleilat el 'Anab, or grape-mounds' (*Desert of the Tih*, &c. p. 21). In other places they were called 'Rujúm el Kurúm, or vineyard (vine?) heaps' (p. 45). The stranger who passes through beautiful Jaulán on the high-road from Banyás to Damascus first sees these cairns and swathes.

The broken ground at the foot of El Kulayb was bright with the Kiskays, a species of vetch; the Sha'arari, or red poppy; and the Sha'arari el Hamír, 'donkey' or yellow poppy; mistletoe, with ruddy berries, clung to the hawthorn boughs, as has been observed upon the olives in the highlands of Judea and in the regions east of the Jordan; and the vivid green of the maple and the sumach, whose berries are here eaten, contrasted with the dark foliage of the ilex-oak scrub, and of the wild white honeysuckle. Cultivation extended high up the southern flank, and the busy Druze peasantry was at work, the women in white and blue (Argentine colours),

each, like the Tapada of the last generation in Peruvian Lima, sedulously veiling all but one eye. Half an hour led us from the village to the base; after eight minutes we left our horses upon a sheltered strip of flat ground, and seventeen minutes placed us upon the summit. The slope varied from 21° to 25° ; the surface was strewn with light and well-baked scoriæ of the usual red and yellow hues, especially the former, and a little south of the apex was a diminutive crater opening eastwards. The aneroid showed 4·18 lower than the summits of the Cedar Block, giving an altitude of 5785 feet.²⁰ The hygrometer supplied by M. Casella stood at 0° . The air felt colder than on the heights of the Hermon in June 1870, and the western horizon was obscured by the thickest of wool-packs.

Amongst the thin shrubbery of Sindiyan-oak which capped and dotted the western or rainy windward slopes of El Kulayb, whilst the eastern was bare like its brother peaks, we traced on the summit a line of cut and bossed stones set in Roman cement and bearing 195° . We then visited three remarkable caves in the descent below the crater, and

²⁰ Mr. Cyril Graham computed it to be about 6000 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

opening between south and south-west. All are evidently hand-hewn in the conglomerate of hard red scoriæ; probably intended for rain-cisterns, they have become of late years dens of Arab thieves. The uppermost had an outer and an inner arch, with a barrel-roof and a kind of Mastabah or bench at the farther end. The second was double and supplied with two entrances, the western semicircular, and the other square: in the inner north-western wall of the latter was a cut lamp-niche, and at the bottom appeared a recess resembling a locus. The third cave lay a few paces to the south-south-west; the outside slope on the western side showed a flight of steps much injured by wind and weather. The ceiling, like those of the other two, was arched, and the dimensions were 30 feet deep by the same width, and 45 feet in length. Light appeared at the northern or farther end, admitted by a small shaft, and a rude pier supported the wagon-tilt roof. The walls were white with etiolated moss which never saw the sun, and we found nothing inside these cool quarters but gnats and fungi.

The summit of El Kulayb gave us two important observations. The apparently confused scatter

of volcanic and cratered hill and hillock fell into an organised trend of 356° to 176° , or nearly north-south: the same phenomenon will be noticed in the Safá, and in its outliers the Tulúl el Safá, which lie hard upon a meridian. Thus the third or easternmost great range separating the Mediterranean from the Euphrates desert does not run parallel with its neighbours the Anti-Libanus and the Libanus, which are disposed, roughly speaking, north-east (38°), and south-west (218°).

The second point of importance is, that El Kulayb is not the apex of the Jebel Durúz Haurán. To the east appeared a broken range, whose several heights, beginning from the north, were named to us as follows:

1. Tell Ijaynah, bearing 38° , and so called from its village: though not found in Dr. Wetzstein's map, it is rendered remarkable by a heap of ruins looking from afar like a cairn, and it is backed by the Umm Haurán hill, bearing 94° .

2. The Tell, rock, and fountain of Akriba²¹ (Dr. Wetzstein's Akraba), bearing $112^{\circ} 30'$.

²¹ In Syria and Palestine there are many Akribás, two villages of that name lying within a few hours of Damascus. The most celebrated of all is that built six miles south-east of Náblús, identified with Ekrebel (Judg. vii. 18), and afterwards capital of the Acrabattine district.

3. Tell Rubáh, bearing 119° ; and

4. Tell Jafnah (Hillock of the Vine), a table mountain with a cairn at the north end, bearing $127^{\circ} 30'$.

During the course of the day we passed between Nos. 1 and 4, and we assured ourselves that an observation with a pocket clinometer and spirit-level taken from the summit of El Kulayb was not far wrong in assigning 300 feet of greater altitude to Tell Ijaynah; that is to say, in round numbers $5780 + 300 = 6080$ English feet. But though the Turning-point Mountain is not the apex of the Haurán highlands, it conceals the greater elevation to those looking either from the crest of the Hermon, or from any part of the Auranitis Valley; and while one standing upon the plateau which forms its base considers it a hillock, it appears from the lowlands and from the opposite highlands a mountain of considerable importance. Still it is hard to identify it, as Mr. Cyril Graham appears inclined to do, with the 'God's high hill, even the hill of Bashan,' spoken of by David.

A visit to the eastern settlements facing the Euphrates Desert—Sailah (Sâlâ, which Mr. Graham writes Sâli, and Mr. Porter Saleh); Bosán (Busán);

Sa'nah, Rámah, El Mushannaf,²² Kariyat el 'Agaylát ('Ajilát), Tarbá, and Nimrah—convinced us that the Jebel Durúz has greatly changed since it was described by travellers and tourists. In these days it becomes necessary for those who would enter into the architectural minutiae of Syria and Palestine, to carry with them the words of Burckhardt, Buckingham, and Lord Lindsay; the old plans will help to distinguish ruins which almost everywhere during the past half century have been so damaged as hardly to be recognisable. The general style of building much resembles the 'View of Chamber in Maes-Howe,' drawn by Mr. Farrer (No. 88, Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*). Here the land until the last 150 years was wholly in the hands of the Bedawin, especially of the Wuld Ali branch of the great 'Anizah family, and of the hill-tribes 'Agaylát, Shitáyá, and Ghiyás, together with the others included under the generic name 'Urbán el Jebel. About that time it began to be occupied by the Druzes, whom poverty and oppression drove from their original seats in the Wady Tayn, and upon

²² This is apparently Mr. C. Graham's 'Beshennef' on the wild glen that heads the 'Wádi en Nemarah.' In 1857 he found it, like Bosan and Sailah, freshly colonised by the Druzes.

the slopes of the Libanus and the Hermon: Burckhardt found them settled here in 1810.²³ During the last five years of Rashid Pasha's reign, not less than seventeen mountain villages have been re-peopled, and in the autumn of 1866 some 700-800 families fled to this 'safe retreat.' We can hardly wonder at the Exodus when we are told that nearly half the settlements of the Jaydúr district, the ancient Ituræa²⁴—eleven out of twenty-four—have been with-

²³ In 1812, when he was at 'Arah, he was informed that one hundred and twenty Druze families had exchanged the western mountains for the Haurán.

²⁴ The classical Ituræa seems to have extended eastward of the modern Jaydúr (Jedúr). St. Luke makes Philip tetrarch of Ituræa, and of the region of Trachonitis—that is to say, of the two Trachons. We also read (J. de Vitry) that the former bounded or adjoined Trachonitis on the west, and Gaulanitis on the north. Possibly it then included the Iklim el Billán (the Camel-Thorn region), which occupies the south-eastern and eastern slopes of the Hermon; but it could hardly 'lie along the base of Libanus, between Tiberias and Damascus.' In these days it is a tract of fertile but deserted country, separated from Jaulán (Gaulanitis) by the southern continuation of the Hermon range, a versant known as Jebel el Hish (scrub-mountain). Its *chef-lieu*, Kunayterah, is completely abandoned, though inhabited in the days of Burckhardt. I need hardly record my disagreement upon this point with this traveller. He makes Jaulán a plain (?) south of Jaydúr, and west of the Haurán, comprising part of Batanæa, Argob, Hippene, and perhaps Gaulanitis. But I agree with him when he remarks that the maps of Syria are incorrect regarding the mountains of his 'Djolan.' To the east, the Awwal Haurán, or northernmost extension of the Haurán Valley, divides it from the Leja (western Trachon),

in twelve months ruined by the usurer and the tax-gatherer. The fugitives find in the **Jebel Durúz Haurán** a cool and healthy though somewhat harsh climate, a sufficiency of water, ready-made houses, ruins of cut stone for building their hovels, land *à discrétion* awaiting the plough, pasture for their flocks and herds, and what they most prize, a rude independence under the patriarchal rule of their own chiefs. There is, it is true, a nominal **Kaimakam**, or Civil-governor, stationed by the **Turks** at Suwaydah, with a handful of foot-police and a few mounted irregulars. But the **Nizam** or regular troops do not extend here; the imposts are moderate, the **Bedawin** cannot harry the people, and **Sergeant Kite** is unknown. Hence, as has before been remarked, the only peaceful and prosperous districts of **Syria** are precisely those where exist the maximum of home-rule and the minimum of interference by the authorities.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the short-sighted and miserable management which drives an

How small this is, and how densely populated it once was, requires but a glance. The tetrarchs **Herod** of Galilee, his brother **Philip**, and **Lysanias** of **Abilene**—not on the middle course of the **Barada**, but on the western limits of the **Haurán**—had frontiers distant from one another a single day's ride.




ROUND TOWER AT KANAWAT.

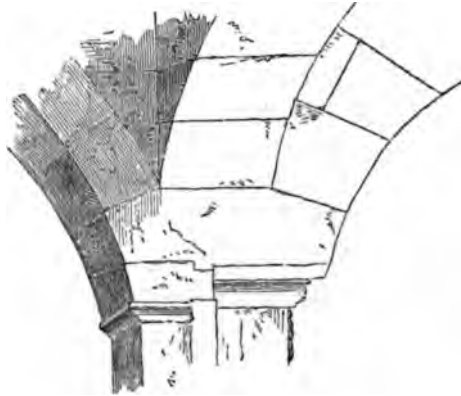
industrious peasantry from its hearths and homes to distant settlements where defence is much more easy than offence, and where, as Cromwell said of Pease Burn, 'ten men to hinder are better than an hundred to make their way.' This upon a small scale is a specimen of the system which keeps down to a million and a half the population of a province which, though not larger than Lancashire and Yorkshire united, in the days of Strabo and Josephus supported its ten millions and more. The European politician is not sorry to see the brave and sturdy Druzes thrown out as a line of forts to keep the

Arab wolf from the doors of the Damascene. On the other hand, the antiquary finds to his regret the statues and architectural ornaments broken up, the inscribed stones preferred as being the largest and smoothest for building rude modern domiciles, and the most valuable remnants of antiquity whitewashed as lintels, or plastered over in the unclean interiors. Similarly in Ireland those venerable piles the Catholic abbeys were mutilated by the people for the benefit of their own shanties. Many cities of the dead, described by the guide-books as utterly ruinous, have now become villages which do not date from more than eight or nine years. The next generation of travellers will see nothing like the tasteful house of basalt, in fact a 'mansion of Bashan,' sketched by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 54); and the sentimentalist will no longer 'find the perfect stillness and utter desolation very striking and impressive.'

On the evening of Wednesday, May 31, we reached Shakkah, the old Saccæa, still showing extensive ruins and sundry fine specimens of Hauranic architecture; especially the house of Shaykh Hasan 'Brahim, with its coped windows and its sunken court. The chief public buildings will be alluded to in the Appendix. Here we were received



by the Druze chief Kabalán²⁵ el Kala'áni, who, meeting us at Kanawát, had promised an escort to Umm



SPRING OF ARCHES IN 'EL KAYSAN,' SHAKKAH.

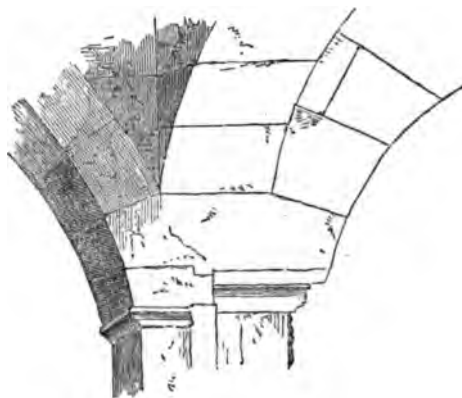
Nírán: he had, however, warned us that his people were on bad terms with the Ghiyás Bedawin, who were now in their summer quarters, the Wady Ruhbah (Spacious Valley), distant only about fifteen geographical miles from the cave. We were greatly disappointed in this man. He had travelled with Dr. Wetzstein, from whom he had received for a trip of fourteen days 365 napoleons, besides sundry rich presents, a sword, and a pair of pistols—and so say-

²⁵ Mr. E. H. Palmer has, I believe, suggested that this word may be a corruption of the Turkish *Kaplán*, a tiger. I have an indistinct memory of its being used as a name before the Turkish or Turkoman period. The Arabic signification would suggest 'acceptance,' *i. e.* from Allah.

Arab wolf from the doors of the Damascene. On the other hand, the antiquary finds to his regret the statues and architectural ornaments broken up, the inscribed stones preferred as being the largest and smoothest for building rude modern domiciles, and the most valuable remnants of antiquity whitewashed as lintels, or plastered over in the unclean interiors. Similarly in Ireland those venerable piles the Catholic abbeys were mutilated by the people for the benefit of their own shanties. Many cities of the dead, described by the guide-books as utterly ruinous, have now become villages which do not date from more than eight or nine years. The next generation of travellers will see nothing like the tasteful house of basalt, in fact a 'mansion of Bashan,' sketched by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 54); and the sentimentalist will no longer 'find the perfect stillness and utter desolation very striking and impressive.'

On the evening of Wednesday, May 31, we reached Shakkah, the old Saccæa, still showing extensive ruins and sundry fine specimens of Hauranic architecture; especially the house of Shaykh Hasan 'Brahim, with its coped windows and its sunken court. The chief public buildings will be alluded to in the Appendix. Here we were received

by the Druze chief Kabalán²⁵ el Kala'áni, who, meeting us at Kanawát, had promised an escort to Umm




SPRING OF ARCHES IN 'EL KAYSAN,' SHAKKAH.

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ing he lied. After putting us off with the usual excuses, he fixed—or rather, after the fashion of the Druzes, he caused to be fixed—as his ultimatum forty napoleons for ten horsemen; a lesser number could not go for fear of the Ghiyás. We simply refused, and the ruffian then hung out his true colours, declaring that we should not leave his house before signing a paper to show that we had set out in safety and that he was not answerable for our future; that is to say, he was to be allowed to plunder us, and to produce satisfactory testimonials that he had stood our friend. We laughed in his face, told him to stop us if he dared, sent for our horses, and at once made for the little village of Taymá, lying about eight miles to the south-east. It was out of our way; but the Shaykh Yusuf Sharaf, the brother of one Hamzah Sharaf, a Druze, who had accompanied us and who is domiciled at Damascus, showed far more good-will.

The first necessary step before venturing into a fighting country was to dismiss all the *bouches inutiles*. I sent back to Damascus my good old Kawwás Amín Agha, who had brought no weapon but his water-pipe, together with the muleteer-lad Ali Shadádat el Halabi, and his two mules carrying



impedimenta not required for the desert. Old Hamzah Sharaf was also returned into stores (Bayt el Mauni): a few years' residence at Damascus had converted him to the most timid and feeble of men. This change is often seen amongst the Druzes, a brave and even a desperate people in their own mountains, where they are 'everybody;' a residence in or about the capital, where their numbers are insignificant, appears utterly to demoralise them. We engaged as guide the Zabtayah or policeman Ahmad el Shami, who knew every inch of the road, who had travelled over it twelve years ago, who had never travelled it at all. During the night he was begged by Kabalan el Kala'uni to leave us in the lurch; but his hungry sense had scented bakhshish, and he pooh-poohed all threats even mortal. He had no gun, and evidently he never intended to use his two rusty single-barrelled barkers. It was a treat to see him doubled up—stockingless toes almost touching proboscis nose—bestriding his scurvy old gray mare, a vicious Rosinante which he had bought for a few measures of grain, and to hear the boastful 'cracks' about himself and his exploits, prolixly narrated in the corrupt Damascus jargon so grating to the ears after the pure speech of Nejd and El Hejaz.

We also managed to secure the services of a queer old Bedawi, who answered to the name of Ráhíl. Rachel—like Marie in France and Evelyn and Anne in England, to mention no others—is not unusually adopted by the wild men as well as by certain Syrian Christians. Of course we did not ask his tribe, for fear of being answered ‘Ghiyás.’ Talji (Snow-ball),²⁶ an assistant Bedawi, was also hired to lead the two mules which carried grain and water for our horses and the scanty rations which we had reserved for ourselves. The only attendant was Habib Jemayyil, a Syrian youth of good family from about Bayrut, who had during a year and a half more than once proved his pluck. This poor lad wept bitterly when he heard of my intended departure from Damascus, although he knew that I had provided for him. He was inconsolable because he was too late to wish me a final farewell at Bayrut. I do not imagine that the feelings of the Englishman are less warm and acute than those of the Syrian; but the former struggles to conceal his tenderness, he hates ‘scenes,’ and he has had considerable experience in painful hours stoically endured. The

²⁶ The polite Arab version of our rude address ‘snow-ball’ is ‘Y’abú sumrah’ (‘O father of brownness’).

latter has no object, natural or artificial, to hide his heart. This is probably one charm which attaches for life the memory of those dwelling in the chill and misty north to their few weeks of Syrian travel, despite the dragoman, the muleteer, and other inconveniences. They have gathered wild flowers in mid-December—that is to say, they have for once seen and felt the sun—to the benefit of the physical man, whilst the moral man has seen and felt what attention and affection the people have to bestow.

On the morning of Friday, June 2d, we quitted the inhospitable Shakkah, leaving the churl Kabalán, too surly even to return a parting salute, squatting baboon-like outside the Kaysariyyah, a fine old ruined pagan edifice converted to a Christian church, in which he and his had built their wasp-nests of clay. But we were not fated to set out for the wilderness so slenderly escorted. A late feud amongst the Druzes, wherein the villages of Dumá, Ruzaymah, and Junaynah had united against Shakkah, Taymá, and Nimrah, led to a conflict at the latter place, in which fifteen men were killed and a considerable number were wounded. The Druzes make their own gunpowder—it may be known by the smoke

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clinging to the ground and hanging long in air— of the saltpetre which they scrape from the sides and floors of their caverns,²⁷ of holm-oak charcoal, and of sulphur bought in the towns. The Turkish authorities are as jealous about admitting ammunition as arms to the mountain. The consequence is, that the old long-barrelled guns can do little beyond some 250 paces, and that an ankle-bone will stop, instead of being broken by, a bullet. We had prescribed for three youths, of whom one, Mahmúd Kazamáni, had a shoulder-blade pierced clean through : his style of treatment was inserting a Fatilah (a wick or long pledget of cotton), which perfectly well acted as perpetual seton. They were ashamed of their kinsman's conduct, and like the policeman, without dreaming of asking leave, they mounted their best mares and dropped in to Taymá by little parties, till at length we had a tail of six men. During our first march they were reinforced by an attendant who brought their rations, and thus

²⁷ It is also supplied by earth taken from ruined cities. The stuff is first placed in large wooden colanders, with another vessel below ; water is added, and after a single straining it is drawn off into copper caldrons. It is now boiled for a day and a night ; and then, on exposure to the open air, impure crystals, which require washing, form round the sides of the boiler.



our total amounted to the respectable figure of ten combatants—without paying forty napoleons.

We rather regretted than rejoiced at this act of supreme civility. It wasted our time in getting in forage for the quadrupeds; the barley required husking, and the peasant was busy with his harvest-home. Moreover in the short space of two or three days such a party cannot, without great violence, be duly disciplined. Each man carries out his own ideas: obstinate as a mule, he guides the guides; he squabbles to water his own mare first; he rides off the road, perhaps losing himself for hours; and he sings his war-song where he should be silent. Finally, the general object is to finish the distasteful, profitless task as quickly as possible, without any regard to the leader of the expedition. There was scant chance of fight being shown by seven youths against 200 or 300 Bedawin, a force which the bandits can generally muster; and the value of the mares suggested that the tactic would be the Parthian, without however the firing *à tergo*. Still it was intended as an act of civility, and we could not refuse it without seeming ungracious.

The youths escorted us during two day marches; and on the second evening, bidding us adieu at the

Bir Kasam, they wended their way home. These Drazes are, as the natives say, Shaitarin (devil) upon their own mountains: beyond them they will hardly house themselves, and they are as fish out of the sea. 'Their gods are gods of the hills.' Unable to walk, our friends ascended hardly a single volcano with us. They called for water every half-hour, pitilessly draining our scanty Zemzemiyahs.²⁸ They ate every hour, and they clamoured for rest every two hours, and for sleep every four hours. They complained of the heat and the cold: of the wind and the scirocco: of the dust, the mist, and the dew. They declared the fatigue of a half-night journey to be intolerable; and often they would throw themselves in the shadow of a rock, pitiably sighing forth the words, 'Mayyat laymūn'—lemonade! After the first day's work, they turned black with sun-burning; and one of them actually made for himself an umbrella of leaves, fastened to a long stick. On the march they were the most unmanageable, and at the halt the most unhandy of Eastern men; in fact, they were far more like fractious children. The

²⁸ The word is explained in my *Pilgrimage to Meccah and El Medinah*, vol. i. p. 24. Damascus does not make the neat crescent-shaped goatskin water-bags, which hang so handily along the saddle: the highest art resembles an old leathern fire-bucket.

mares were as soft and lazy as their masters; they dropped their plates, and after the second day half of them were lame. Only one Druze youth, Mahmúd Kazamáni, accompanied us to Damascus; and he received a five-shot revolver as an acknowledgment of his services. A similar weapon was also sent to the civil Shaykh Yusuf of Taymá—I only hope that it reached his hands.

Before leaving the Jebel Durúz Haurán, I can hardly refrain from giving my witness in the case of Porter *versus* Freshfield, which came on in the *Athenæum* Court about July 1870. Plaintiff had asserted that he was the undoubted possessor, in virtue of discovery, presumption, and occupation, of certain giant cities, belonging not to Fin M'Coul, but to one Og King of Bashan;²⁹ and he demanded an injunction against the defendant, who, wilfully mistaking sneering remarks and cynical allusions for logical arguments—ignorant moreover of the ethical law that 'criticism, to be effectual, must be honest'—had wilfully, scandalously, and injuriously asserted that most travellers in the aforesaid giant cities will be reminded, 'not of Og, but of the Antonines; not of the Israelitish, but of the Saracenic conquest.' The

²⁹ See preface, 2d edit. *Five Years in Damascus*.

suit ended *magno cum risu* by a verdict of the jury of Reviewers, duly charged by Mr. Chief-justice Fergusson, that defendant and his party had 'disproved the existence of any such giant cities whatever;' and furthermore, that 'the so-called giant cities of Bashan were in fact no giant cities at all, but mere provincial towns of the Roman Empire.'

To speak seriously, if it be possible upon such a subject: my conviction is, that Messrs. Freshfield and Fergusson, when assigning a recent origin to the Hauranic ruins, are thoroughly justified, if we assume the 'early date' to extend from the first to the sixth or seventh century of our era. We cannot in these days rank the Emim, the Rephaim, the Anakim, and the Zamzummim with the Titans, the Goetmagogs, the Corinaei, the Adamastors, and the Brobdingnagians, by translating the racial names 'physical giants.' They may have averaged a Patagonian stature, say from five feet ten inches to six feet four inches—the latter represented by the largest bones which I brought from the Palmyran tomb-towers. But the *charpente osseuse* of man is as unfit for gigantic height as his digestive organs are to endure through 600 to 930 modern solar years. All the European and United States giants personally known

to me have been, with one exception, mild and melancholy men—somewhat dull withal—afflicted with weak knees and often with chronic diarrhœa. ‘Whilst the dwarf struts the giant stoops.’ When skulls and bones, weapons and implements, of the Emim, Rephaim, &c. shall have been produced into court, and submitted to competent scientific authority, it will be time to believe that there were physical ‘giants’ on the earth. Ewald is not justified in asserting that a primitive race possesses gigantic stature more frequently than the advanced nations; the contrary is, if anything, the fact. Barbarism stunts, civilisation favours, the growth of man physically as well as morally. Privations and penury are adverse to, comfort and luxury increase, the development of human nature. Wealth prolongs, want shortens, the life of man. The process of deducing the antiquity of a people from architecture assumed to be primeval is merely begging the question; and the attempt to establish the gigantism of a race from the height of its doorways, or from the area of its halls, is hardly worthy of a modern observer. The old Conquistadores of Bolivia, finding the native huts provided with pigmy doors, called the tribe *Los Chiquitos*, whereas the ‘little

ones' proved to average above the ordinary stature of the so-called 'Red Man.' But to argue thus in the present age of the world is an anachronism. We want material proof to wait upon faith. To the iron bedstead of Og, which some have rendered a 'sarcophagus of black basalt,' we oppose the great bed of Ware.

MM. de Vogüé, Duthoit, and Waddington have published well-known plans and elevations of the chief Hauranic buildings. My fellow-traveller and I, thinking it just possible that the foundations might have escaped their observation, made a point of carefully examining them, and we found little, if any, difference between the groundwork and the superstructure. In buildings of undoubtedly high antiquity, such as Ba'albak, there is, I need hardly say, a notable contrast between the basement and what it supports. The point under dispute is simple, but it is not to be settled by an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, by the authority of Messrs. Graham and Robson. Let those who believe that any Hauranic building dates before the days of the Greeks and Romans, the Gassanides and the Palmyrenes, point out a single specimen of 'hoar antiquity;' show a single inscription, produce a single 'relic of the

primeval Rephaim.' If Mr. Porter would draw or describe any building of the kind which has come under his observation, he would confer a lasting benefit on students, and he would offer a tangible opportunity of discussing the subject: at present there is none, nor can there be any whilst mere assertions and authority occupy the place of proof.

Finally, it appears to me that our visits to the 'Aláh district, lying east of Hamáh, have brought to light the existence of an architecture which, though identical with that of the Hauran, cannot in any way be connected with that of Og and his days. Separated by barely seventy miles of latitude from the southern basaltic region, the northern has also its true 'Bashan architecture;' its giant cities; its Cyclopean walls, and its 'private houses, low, massive and simple in style, with stone roofs and doors,' and huge gates conspicuous for 'simplicity, massiveness, and rude strength.' Throughout Moab, again, we find the same style, only modified by limestone being used instead of basalt. Did the Rephaim and Co., then, extend from the southern parallel of the Red Sea to within a few miles of Aleppo? Did a Turanian race in the trans-Jordanic regions stretch from north lat. 31° to north lat. 36°, through 300 direct

geographical miles, leaving Damascus to average humanity? Evidently such an architecture is the work of necessity: stone rafters must be short, and they require supporting arches as well as large projecting cornices and corbels; we can hardly expect a sloping roof without wood for framework, or great height of wall where the ceiling is necessarily limited. Hence the 'simplicity' of the architecture; hence also its 'massiveness and its rude strength.' And, it must be remembered, these buildings are the reverse of gigantic. The temple of Bassæ shows stone rafters fifteen and sixteen feet long, whereas in 'Bashan' and the northern sister-region a stretch of eight feet is exceptional.

PART II.

EXPLORATION OF THE UMM NIRAN CAVE AND THE TULUL EL SAFA, THE VOLCANIC REGION EAST OF THE DAMASCUS SWAMPS.

DUMA and Taymá were visited by Mr. Cyril Graham (*loc. cit.*), who writes the latter word Theimeh, whilst Mr. Porter suggests that it is 'probably the Bezeine Burckhardt heard of.' It is described as 'presenting some of the most perfect examples of the old houses of Bashan.' We searched the village carefully, but we could not find a single specimen now remaining. The photographer should lose no time in visiting these lands.

A stiff scirocco began at 9 A.M. (Friday, June 2), blurring the outlines of the far highlands, before beautifully crisp and clear, and feeling at this elevation—4400 feet—exceptionally cool. During the day it worked round, as we had so often observed at Jerusalem, by the south to the west, probably the effect of the heated basaltic region on the east, which

would make room for the sea-breeze. Clouds also appeared to the north-east and the north-west, and a distant rag or two of rain—at this season not unusual, we were informed—trailed upon the head of Jebel Durúz Haurán.

After a copious breakfast with Shaykh Yúsuf we resolved to waste no more time, and at 1.50 P.M., though the water-skies were deplorably tearful, we rode down the hill-side upon which, like a Morean or rather Pelopónnesan township, the little Taymá is situated. Travelling toward the north-east, we passed on our left the Bir Arází, where the goatherds were watering their charges. It is so called from a village now ruined by the seizure of its lands, and lying *à cheval* upon both sides of the (Wady) Ghabíb el Jahjáh (غيبب الجاحج): of these words the first is meaningless; the second, signifying a chief or an unworthy fellow, is sometimes used as a proper name.¹ Farther afield lay Dumá, Ruzaymah occupied by three Buyút (great houses where there are no small), and the Junaynah hamlet. We had visited the latter, which is still, as in 1810, 'the last inhabited village on this side towards the desert. We

¹ It was a favourite with the Harfush family, the feudal heads of the Metaweli or Shiahhs of Syria.

were obliged to give up the two former, owing to the 'blood' between them and to our escort; these youths gave Ruzaymah the worst of bad names.

Our route now lay down the well-defined Wady Jahjáh, which after rains discharges eastward into the basaltic country known as El Harrah, the hot or burnt land.² To the right was the Tell el Barakah (of Blessing), a regular earthwork mound, with a quaintly-shaped mass of basalt, probably the top of a crater, hanging to its western flank. Beyond it rose the Tell el Hishsh, a truncated cone of bright red scoriæ regularly shaped as if heaped up by man. An hour's ride over rough but not difficult ground placed us at the Krá'a (القراء), the 'hard' or the 'firm,' which is simply a lava-torrent showing volcanic dykes, secondary craters, and blow-holes, with barrows arbitrarily disposed at all angles. The

² Dr. Wetzstein (p. 98) explains the term, which is applied to many similar features; and I have alluded to it in my *Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah* (ii. 230-5). Burckhardt's editor confines the term too much when he hints that to the west of the Safá proper is a district called 'El Harra—a term applied by the Arabs to all tracts which are covered with small stones, being derived from Harr, *i. e.* heat (reflected from the ground).' This Harrah must not be confounded with that south of Damascus—a hitherto unvisited region, said to abound in ruins and 'written stones.' I have committed it also to the charge of my friend and travelling companion.

two normal types, the long barrow and the round barrow, are sketched by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 13). He considers them to be big bubbles whose surface, reticulated like the armadillo's mail, is almost invariably blown off at the top or split along the ridge by the bursting of the gases which elevated them. In some cases, however, the narrowness and sharpness of the gashes at the summit and of the cleft which bisects the length seem to argue that the mere contraction of the cooling mass was sufficient to part it; moreover, not a few have cross cracks as well as longitudinal fissures. This may especially be remarked in the mounds or round barrows: where the gases had been actively at work the whole head had been heaved off as if a mine had been sprung within the mound, and only a circle of stone remained visible upon the ground.

The basaltic formation of the Anti-Libanus, the Hermon, and the Jebel Durúz generally may be divided into five kinds: compact, porous, ropy, crystalline, and subcolumnar. As a rule, it is quadrangular; in some places we found five angles, but never more. The pores are not rarely filled with an opalline substance, like that of Aden, and with that crystallised calcareous spar which has been

noticed between basaltic pillars by travellers in volcanic regions, and which forms a remarkably white deposit in the black Wadys. Externally the colour is a dull red, the effect of iron oxide; often it is a pure lamp-black, which appears extra dark when parts are overgrown with the hard and persistent white cryptogams that make their base resemble calcareous stone. This lichen is very difficult to remove, and it renders many inscriptions more or less illegible. My fellow-traveller, after long taking thought, hit upon the common currycomb as the best remedy, and he found it completely successful. Some men waste much trouble and more time in cleaning before they venture to copy inscriptions; we could almost always tell by the look of the stone when it had been handled by some such 'slow coach.' The basalt in the classical buildings, when spared by vegetation, has often assumed by age the mellow cream-colour which we admire in the marbles of Tuscan Pisa; but the fracture is invariably black; at first I often mistook it for reddish-yellow sandstone. The ropy variety either stands up like a shield with concentric circles of metal, or it lies upon the ground like treacle freshly poured out. Nowhere in the Trachonitis did we see the old and degraded material of a dull

French gray, and simulating slate, which is met upon the slopes of the Hermon; for instance, about the Kataná village.

Evidently the basaltic formation of the Trachons is of younger date than that of the Hermon. An active volcano always presupposes the neighbourhood of the sea or of some large lake.³ This outbreak

³ Upon this subject I venture to subjoin a correspondence which took place in the *Field*, Dec. 16 and Dec. 23, 1871.

The reviewer of the discussion about the 'Lake Victoria Nyanza' remarked, in two bracketed paragraphs, of which it is enough to quote one: 'It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that in the Royal Geographical Society Captain Burton made his assertions at two following meetings, and it was only at the second of these he was reminded, in a rather timid way, that what he supposed to be new was known before. So well known is the fact, that, when Humboldt supposed two active volcanoes to exist in the Thian-Shan, geographers were obliged to cast about for the sheet of water which was considered essential to be found near volcanoes, and adopted Lake Balkash as not too far distant. When the two Thian-Shan volcanoes of Humboldt, Peshan and Ho-chew, were shown by a Russian geographer, M. Semenov, to have no actual existence, there remained no exception to the well-known general rule as to the proximity of active volcanoes to water. Lyell has a theory about it which will be found fully detailed in his *Principles of Geology*; and, in fact, the statement is constantly repeated in manuals of physical geography. It is, therefore, not easy to understand either why Captain Burton should have claimed the idea as one specially his own, or why geographers were so slow and timid in reminding him that he advanced nothing new—unless, indeed, they imagined that he had something quite fresh to bring forward, which he would develop in process of time.'

My text is left as I wrote it in September 1871—it does not seem

probably belongs to the days when the Eastern Desert—a flat stoneless tract, extending from the Trachonitis to the Euphrates—was a mighty inlet of the Indian Ocean. The northern limit of this

to claim any idea as my own—and the following copy was at once addressed to the editor of the *Field*:

' To the Editor of the "Field."

' Sir,—Perhaps you will allow me to notice in a few lines certain remarks which appeared in your last issue: I allude to two bracketed paragraphs—one long, the other short—in your correspondent's report of our third session of the Royal Geographical Society, when the discussion concerning the existence of the so-called "Lake Victoria Nyanza" took place.

' My attention has been strongly drawn to the fact that the existence of an active volcano presupposes the vicinity of a large sheet of water, salt or fresh, by my last two years' residence in Syria and Palestine. The Hermon, for instance, which I propose to place in a separate orine system from the Anti-Libanus, is distinctly basaltic to the south, to the east, and to the west. The lava evidently issued from the mountain-tarn known to Josephus as Lake Phiala, and to the moderns as Birket el Ram, or Tank of the Highland. On the other hand, as history tells us, the now shrunken "Waters of Merom," still subtending the southern flank of the Hermon, extended far to the north of the present site, and occupied, indeed, the whole southern third of the noble Cœlesyrian Valley proper.

' Again, when travelling about the trachytic region known as Jebel Durúz Haurán, which is to the Anti-Libanus what this is to the Libanus, and when inspecting the multitude of little volcanic cones called the (Northern) Tulul el Safá, I remembered my journey to Palmyra—that wondrous city built upon the very shore where the last waves of the wilderness break upon the easternmost outlines of the northern Anti-Libanus. It became apparent that the desert, a flat

extinct Mediterranean may be found in the range of limestones and sandstones, the farthest outliers of the Anti-Libanus, upon whose southern and eastern feet Palmyra is built, and which runs *viâ* Sukhnah eastward to the actual valley of the Great River.

and mostly stoneless tract, rich in salt-diggings, and showing maritime fossils, was the bed of an extinct Mediterranean—an arm, in fact, of the Persian Gulf, which during geological ages—before it was raised, not by a catastrophe, but by secular upheavals—occupied part of what is now the lower valley of the Euphrates.

‘Returning to England, I spoke upon the subject with sundry geographical friends, two of whom were named at the meeting—Mr. John Arrowsmith and Mr. Trelawney Saunders. Both told me that they had not given the subject that attention which it merits. Mr. Saunders, indeed, quoted Thian - Shan as an exception. Mr. John Ball afterwards named Cotopaxi, distant about two direct degrees from the Pacific, but possibly connected by a tunnel, whose spiracles are the great cones to its west. Others have since pointed out Jorullo. In fact, I have never found my friends “slow and timid” when differing from me in opinion.

‘The “somewhat curious circumstance” alluded to by your able correspondent loses all its “curiosity” when accurately stated. I have no right to originality of idea in the matter, after reading Humboldt and Lyell like most other men. I did not propose the theory as new, but rather as one still deserving our attention, and at any rate far from hackneyed even to professed geographers. I regret having conveyed a “wrong impression;” but we are all liable to be misunderstood. I hope it is not my habit to claim what is not my own. And, finally, the *naïveté* with which a very serious charge is insinuated, if not advanced, argues either some hastiness of composition, or a somewhat lax morality in the larger sense of the term.

‘RICHARD F. BURTON, F.R.G.S.’

At the ruin known as Kasr el Hayr (الحير, of the lowland where water lodges), in the Jayrud-Palmyra Valley, I found the stone composed mainly of pebbles so loosely agglutinated, that the fingers could pick them out.

We crossed the K'r'a in fifty-five minutes, and entered the Naka' (النقع): the word, meaning a flat country where rain stagnates, is here applied to rolling ground of loose ruddy-yellow soil, the detritus of basalt, which during wet weather balls the feet so as to prevent walking, and in which during the dries horses sink up to the fetlock. This is the staple material of the Haurán Valley, and the Anti-Libanus shows it especially in the little basins, such as that which faces the well-known classic temple Dayr el 'Asháyir. The Naka' is distinguished by thin yellow grass and a scatter of stones, with here and there a deep hole dug by the rain-water, and enlarged in some cases by animals. We started two hares—an ill-omened move. The *Lepus Syriacus*, very little bigger than a young rabbit, has remarkably long ears, possibly developed by the perpetual necessity of being vigilant, and the coat is pale ash, very well suiting the ground. The rotten surface is dotted with Rujúm or stone-heaps, placed as landmarks, and

there were not a few graves and Maráh (مرآح), where goats are herded during the spring. Here the Bedawin distinguish between the Rasm (رسم) or winter place, and the Maráh or Makíl used during the rest of the year. In the Libanus and the Anti-Libanus, 'Maráh' and 'Makíl' are most used; and the building may consist of dry stone walls, or of well-made and carefully-roofed huts, like the Greek *καλύβια*.

About 4 P.M. we halted to await the camels at a Rajm whose name was unknown. The shadow of the cloud crept over us like the beginning of an eclipse; a few drops of rain fell, and we were never without gnats or mosquitos, whilst fleas seemed everywhere to grow from the ground. The aneroid corrected showed 26·26, the thermometer 85° Fahr., showing that we had descended to 3780 feet; and the hygrometer stood at 13° dry. Our passage of the Naka' occupied two hours. Then ascending a hill-brow, which in Spain would be termed a Loma, we fell into El Hazir, 'the Hollows.' The only difference in the aspect of the land was a trifle more of stone, whilst the basalt was either lamp-black or snow-white with the usual cryptogam. These people borrow from the Bedawin a special term for every modification of terrain, however trifling. The lands to the north, a mixture of clayey soil and

stone, are called El Hármiyyah; the stony ground to the east is El Wa'ar, the usual generic word; and still on our right ran the stony Wady el K'rá'a, which we had crossed and left southwards.

The term Wa'ar is explained by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 15). It is not a little singular that the three Hebrew words signifying forest—namely, Jear (Kirjath-Jearim, City of Forests), Chôresh, and Pardês, a forest, a wood, and a garden—are all preserved in Arabic, and are intelligible in Syria, with some changes of signification. Wa'ar is rocky ground especially hilly, with or without trees: Burckhardt explains it as an appellation given to all stony soils, whether upon plains or mountains. Hirsh, from a root that means 'scratching,' is a scrub; and Furaydís (*παράδεισος*, opposed to *κῆπος*, an orchard, and often confounded in the English Version) is what our imaginative travellers insist upon dignifying by the name of a 'garden:' correctly speaking, it is a hunting-park.

From the Loma we had our first fair view of the Safá. The little volcanic block, with its seven main summits, is well laid down in outline by the Prussian traveller (p. 7); to its south is an outlying scatter of cones and craters, which the Druze youths called

Tulúl el Safá,⁴ a term naturally confined at Damascus, where no others can be seen, to the northern offsets. A deeper blackness made the Safá stand conspicuously out of the Harrah; here the latter is a rolling waste of dark basalt, broken by and dotted with lines, basins, and pans of yellow clay, bone-dry at this season, and shimmering in the summer sun. These veins are generically known as 'Ghadír,' or hollows where water stagnates. The general trend is north-east to the Ruhbah, a long waving streak of argillaceous formation. In the far distance, extending from east to south-east, and raised by refraction above the middle ground of flat basalt, which lay beyond and below our rolling volcanic foreground, glittered the sunlit horizon of the Euphrates desert—that mysterious tract never yet crossed by European foot.

The Ruhbah was afterwards described to me by Daúd Effendi, Governor of Yabrúd, as a clay plain, dotted with stones (basaltic?) of egg size, gradually becoming larger as they neared the enclosure of mountain, but in shape always three-cornered. To the

⁴ Mr. Cyril Graham (*loc. cit.*) prefers Safáh to Safá. But the names of regions terminating in Alif often take and reject indifferently a terminal Ha (ح): cases in point are Leja or Lejah, and 'Ala or 'Alah.

north of the Kasr or Khirbat el Bayzá is a valley, upon whose stony sides are cut figures of men and beasts, and cuneiform perpendicular tracings which appeared to be inscriptions. Copies, he said, had been sent to Berlin, but they had not yet been deciphered. This account reminds us of Mr. Cyril Graham's 'written plain' in the Harrah, where he found hosts of stones covered with inscriptions in a character resembling the Sinaitic, accompanied with hundreds of such figures, representing horsemen, camels, leopards, deer, and asses. These 'writings' are reported to be scattered all over the Harrah, frequently where no traces of ruins remain. We here began to find out the right names of the several features, which had been changing ever since we left the Hijánah village, and to appreciate the precautionary measures by which the old Roman soldiery kept the Bedawin at bay. Far to the east, and in the heart of the Harrah, which is bisected by a military road, are shown their outstations, Khirbat el Bayzá, El Odaysiyyah, and Nimárah,⁵ which must

⁵ All visited by Mr. Cyril Graham. The word may be translated 'panthers' (Nimárat, not 'tigers,' as Burckhardt has it, p. 45); but the usual plural of Namir, popularly pronounced Nimr, is 'Numur.' He is, I imagine, in error when he writes for Odaysiyyah 'Tell 'Odza.' Dr. Wetzstein has, after the German fashion, 'Ode'sije;' whilst Burckhardt gives 'Oedesie.'

have been impregnable to the wild man, and behind which lay the waterless waste moating the fertile regions of Syria. But whilst civilisation in these regions flows and ebbs, Bedawi barbarism exerts a constant thrust and pressure from without: the moment he finds a weak place, he rushes at it with ruin in his van and with savagery in his rear. Hence, according to no less an authority than Napoleon the Great, the ephemeral tenure of empire in olden West Asia. As has been shown, under modern Turkish rule the Bedawi is lord of the land, and he will remain so till some strong European power revives the strong system of the Romans.

At 6.20 P.M. we halted for a few minutes near the Mintár el Kharúf (Look-out Place of the Lamb), upon the borders of the stony black Wa'ar; a distorted and devilish land. Here we remarked, for the first time in Syria and Palestine, that the secondary limestone, over which the basalt had been poured out, was baked to a drab colour, and crystallised by the heated contact. In a subsequent page the reader will find that parts of the 'Alah show basalt deposited in shallow strata upon limestone. As the shadows of night deepened around us, and the clouds, which at times shed heat-drops, obscured the moon, though

near its full, we could see nothing but the wild ink-tinted stone region, now in front, then on either side, and we could distinguish only that we were following—now crossing, and then recrossing—the course of a Wady which had become so winding that at times it ran south-east and even south, instead of north-east. We almost repented not having made the Bir Kasam, where we were sure of a full well, and having trusted to the Ghadír Abú Sarwál, the ‘near’ water of an Arab guide, whose ‘karíb’ may mean half a day’s march. The young Druzes insisted upon hurrying on and chattering with old Rá-híl, who, mourning for his water, and unaccustomed to be flurried, more especially to be conversationised with, on the line of march, lost his way; consequently our small party of three was obliged to creep in the rear alongside of Talji and his camels.

At last, after two hours and forty-five minutes of this weary work, we called a halt, determined not to exhaust for the next day horses already thirsty. Our escort wasted enough water for a week, and were more utterly helpless than European children would have been under similar circumstances. The stallions had their usual stand-up fight, which injured the accoutrements much more than the wear-

ers; and the camp, reckless of watch or ward, slept the sleep of the weary. Our day's march had been a total of six hours and forty minutes, which may be assumed at seventeen indirect geographical miles.

We left our hard beds at four A.M. on Saturday, June 3, and a few yards of advance showed us the Ghadí where we had been promised water. It is called Abú Sarwál (of the Man in Drawers); which, not having been used by the sansculotte Prophet, are 'un-Arab,' as a beard was 'un-English' in the year of grace 1830. This dwarf depression in a shallow Wady underlies a mass of rock which forms the right bank, and the yellow surface of caked and curling silt proved to us that it had been bone-dry for the last six weeks. Here we again fell into the 'Sultání,' or main track, which we had lost during the night; and after half an hour we struck El Nabash, a depression in the slope, thinly clothed with light green; it is said to reach the Ghadí el Ka'al (القعل). The name was not intelligible to our Druzes, and the dictionaries offer the usual extensive choice of significations common to Arabic trilaterals: 'El Ka'al' may mean a miser, (a man) short of body, debased or unfortunate, and the forked stick that props young vine-branches, especially

about Hebron. Limestone appeared once more *in situ*, and the surface was scattered with the normal snail-shells: at this season the tenements were all 'to let.' On the right of the Wady lay the shapeless ruins of the village El Nabash—meaning a camel whose sole is so marked that its footprint is at once known:—the Bedawin had long ago caused the place to be deserted; the left bank showed dykes and piles of rough stones, which may have been homesteads or graves. Ráhíl with his beasts, intending to cut off the projecting corners of the Lohf, had pushed forwards to the north-east, the straight line for Umm Nírán, whilst the Druzes had ridden eastwards to see if the second Ghadí́r was also waterless. Presently a shot recalled us; and we bent south-east to a point where a network of paths converged through a stony tract, upon whose wave-crests appeared ruins of small towers and look-out places. At six A.M. we reached the Ghadí́r el Ka'al, thus expending a total of eight hours and forty minutes upon a march which all assured us may be covered by laden camels in six hours to six hours and thirty minutes.

The Ghadí́r el Ka'al is, according to our guides, the drainage basin of the Wady el K'rá'a; at this season a mere sink without watershed; trending east

to west, it is about 90 yards long, and some 4 feet deep. It does not outlast the year, and its highest watermark never exceeds four feet above the actual level, when it would flood the eastern clay-plain. South of the pool rises a bank of basalt, showing two artificial watercourses, which may have been made by the now ruined village, El Hubbayrīyyah; and on the north is a narrow line of basaltic gravel and mud, like the floor of the Ghadí, here and there garnished with heaps and ribs of volcanic stone. The water was yellow, forming a green slime round the twigs which had fallen into it, and it abounded in small diatomaceæ. The birds were Katás (*Pterocles alchata*), a white-and-black duck, and the desert partridge; we saw tracks of waders, and we heard of wild pig. The vegetation was composed of the perfumed Shih (*Absinthium*), the alkali plant, and salsolaceæ, whose lower growth was almost of mauve colour; a shrub with a mimosa-like leaf, and known as El Kharayrīyyah (الخريزينة); together with the conspicuous blue-flowered 'Ghár,' so common to the Wadys of these regions.

We spent an enjoyable fifty minutes at the water, which lies 3290 feet above sea-level, and when the watch showed 7.15 A.M., we began to retrace the

ground already covered. Presently we fell into the Saut (السوط), or Scourge,⁶ a line of drab-coloured clay which subtends the Western Lohf, or rim of the Northern Tulúl el Safá region, and which sheds to the south-south-east; the mud dries as the basalt splits, in lozenges and in five-angled flakes. The same phenomenon was remarked by Captain Forbes when travelling about Ellborg. 'The mud, in many cases, had separated itself into perfect basaltic forms, not always regular in their number of sides' (*Iceland*, chap. x.). According to Dr. Uno von Troil (*Letters on Iceland*, p. 283), this distinct and peculiar appearance has been noticed by him, not only in dry clay, but 'even in starch when dried in a cup or basin.' Here the country was good travelling; we saw many old footmarks of sheep, goats, and shod horses; overlying them, however, was the fresh spoor of a dromedary, which still bore the sign of last night's heat-drops. The rider was evidently bound, like ourselves, from Shakkah, or an adjacent village, for the north-eastern regions, where the Bedawin dwelt; but not on a visit of curiosity, nor for the

⁶ It may also mean a place where water collects: Arabic contains several hundred terms which express every possible modification of this common geographical feature.

purpose of exploration; and we gave the ill-omened footprints all the significancy which they deserved. We had set out on a Friday, we had seen a crow, and two hares had crossed our path. Hard on our right hand rose the Lohf, a crusted embankment of black and 'mailed' basalt, somewhat resembling the old Saracenic revetments of Hums, and of David's Tower at Jerusalem. It is evidently the bank formed by



LOHF RAGHAYLAH: THE TULUL OF THE SAME NAME AND JEBEL ZIRS.

the lava torrent when beginning to cool, and thus becoming able to resist, like a dyke, the pressure and thrust of heated matter in its rear. The height varied from 30 to 50 feet without a break, and the

cast-iron prism projected into the yellow wady capes, bluffs, and headlands, separated by dwarf bays. The feature is familiar to those who have crossed the Leja, and it gives the volcanic patch the shape of a frying-pan without the handle. We did not, however, sight the Eastern Lohf of this north-western dependency of the Safá; and when we thought to see it, the elevation proved to be merely an independent fragment of eruption. Small ruins and look-out places of the liveliest coal-black crown the coping, and in places where the outline droops it is crossed by paths practicable to horsemen. As the attack must be made in front, a small party taking shelter behind any natural breastwork on the crest could easily defend itself against Arabs in force. Near a spot called El Hezábah (الهزابه) we ascended the summit, and found the shape a tolerably regular prism, disposed in sections at right angles like giant fortifications. Here the western side was lamp-black, and the eastern was white with the normal cryptogam; there the rule was reversed; in fact, we could only determine that the lichen least affects the sunny southern frontings.

After one hour and fifty minutes up the Saut, which often became a scatter of stones, apparently

swept down from the Lohf, we turned sharp to the right, and crossed the lava ridge-lip where it had a break. Here it was subtended by several parallels, which bore much the appearance of earthworks and cavaliers. Within the rim the surface of the naked plateau was rough to the last degree: now the basaltic barrows showed heads blown off, where the gases had converted them to suffiones and fumaroles; then they were domed, where the force of the explosion was insufficient to burst them. Upon the slopes here and there lay concentric circles of ropy lava, as if poured out upon a level and then tilted up. This shield-like formation is not uncommonly seen in the contortions of the limestone strata; near 'Cana of Galilee' there is a remarkable specimen. The surface was everywhere striated with longitudinal gashes and fissures; between the lava-passages were circles and long streaks of stoneless yellow clay, now dry as summer dust, but impassable during the rains, except by working round the stone-scattered edges. It was a grim and grisly scene of volcanic struggle and devastation, mocking all the ruins ever made by 'Tamerlane' el Wahsh;⁷ a landscape spoiled and

⁷ The civil name of this mighty devastator is the Amir Taymúr, a corruption of Dimir, Lord Iron. The Persian Shiahhs, who hated his

broken to pieces, blistered, wrinkled, broken-backed, and otherwise tormented; here ghastly white, there gloomiest black, and both glowing under the gay sunlight of a Syrian June. The altitude was 1300 feet, some 900 below that of Damascus city; but the light sweet breath of the morning from the north ceased when we left the Ghadí, and the shape as well as the components of the Wa'ar or Trachon admirably condensed the heat; the air danced and reeked upwards, the abnormal evaporation affecting man and beast with intolerable thirst.

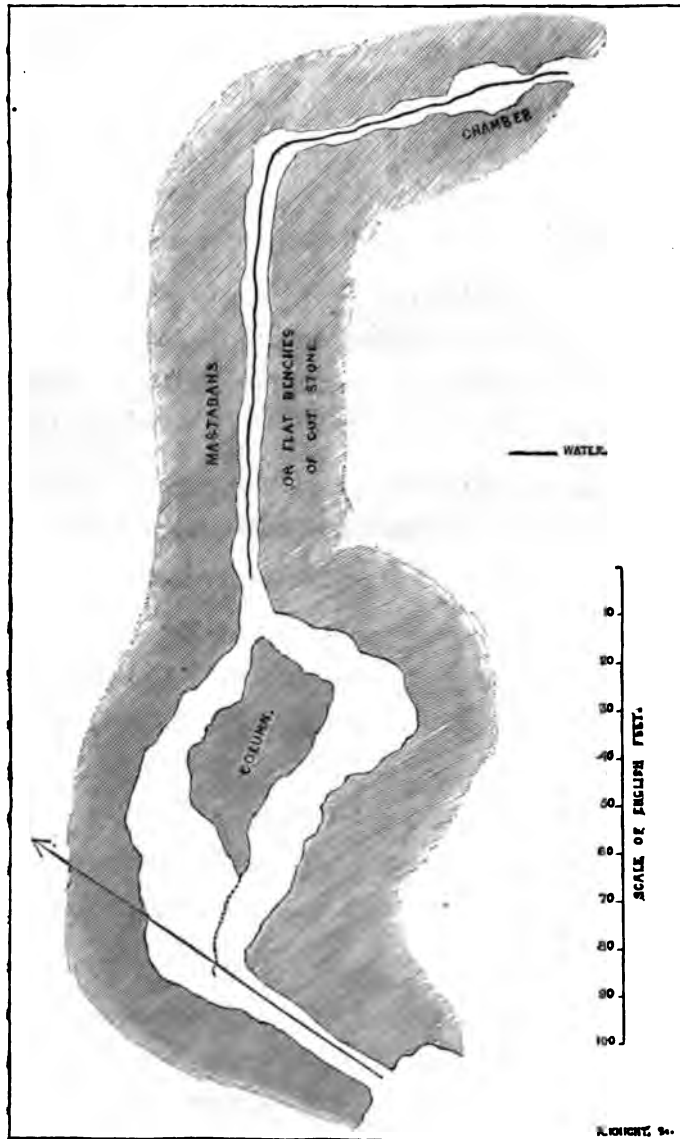
The only sign that human foot ever trod this inhospitable wild was here and there a goat-Maráh, with a Mintar (sentinel-place) perched on some commanding spot. Bedawin, however strong and however safely camped, never fail to keep, at all hours of the day and sometimes at night, as sharp a lookout as the most prudent of old 'salts;' and their little parties of scouts, reduced not unfrequently to

orthodoxy, nicknamed him Taymur-i-lang, *i. e.* limping Taymur, whence our Tamerlane. He is called El Wahsh (the wild beast) by the Damascans, because he rode his horse over the corpses of their ancestors, whilst his people played at Chaugán or hookey with the heads of the slain. The city caught a Tartar when the Amir Taymúr stabled his horse in it. In the Haurán he is still accused of filling up the wells, and of throwing quicksilver into the springs so as to prevent the water rising to the surface.



MOUTH OF THE CAVE AT UMM NIRAN.

This accomplished writer, who was a philologist rather than a topographer, did not, I have said, visit in person the Umm Nírán and the Tulúl el Safá; hence his description of the former and his map of the latter abound in inaccuracies, which contrast remarkably with the exact descriptions of what he really saw. The mysterious cave, occupying the eastern slope of a rounded bubble of basalt, opens to the S.S.East (133°) with a natural arch of trap, which at first appears broken into artificial vousoirs; and it is fronted by a circular



hollow of the usual yellow clay, to which rude steps lead from the stony eastern edge. There is another approach from the west, and both show that at times the water is extensively used. All above the cave is dry as the Land of Sind, and in the summer sunshine the hand could not rest upon the heated surface. After rain, however, there is evidently a drainage from the fronting basin into the cave.

The preceding plan (p. 223) by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake will explain the form of Umm Nírán better than any words of mine. The floor, coated with shallow dry mud, is of ropy and other basalt; therefore the entrance, low as it is, can never have been more than a few inches higher. The slope is easy and regular; but we found no sign of the inside 'treppen' alluded to by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 38). The roof displays a longitudinal ribbing, as if the breadth had, near the entrance, been almost doubled by the handiwork of man. A sensible widening with a lozenge-shaped pier, the rock being left to act column, succeeds the narrow adit through which a man must creep; and boulders are heaped up along the right side, apparently to show the way. Passing this bulge, and entering a second tunnel, we came, after a total distance of some 200 feet, to the wa-

ter; a ditch-like channel, averaging four feet in breadth, with mud-clothed Mastabahs, or flat benches of cut rock on either side, varying from two to six feet wide. The line then bent from N.N.East at an angle of 50° to the right (north-east). Here, by plunging his head below the water, and by raising it beyond where the roof-spine descended, my companion found an oval-shaped chamber, still traversed by the water, which gleamed fitfully in the candle-light. He could not, however, reach the end; a little beyond this point the rock ceiling and the water definitively met. The supply was perfectly sweet, depressing the immersed thermometer from 74° in the air to 71° - 72° . The atmosphere was close and dank; and whilst the roof was an arid fiery waste of the blackest lava, the basalt ceiling of the cave sweated and dripped: apparently simple evaporation could not have been the only cause. The water, which varied in depth from a few inches to mid-thigh, is said by the Bedawin to be warmer in the morning; but that may be explained by the air being colder to the sense. The taped length of the tank was 140 feet, making a total of 340 feet; but the extent may be greater. According to the Arabs, it is supplied by springs as well as by rain,

and the hottest season fails to dry it. The altitude by aneroid proved to be 2745 feet, or 446 feet above our lowest level. A water-scorpion was the only living thing found in the cave.

This curious tunnelled reservoir is evidently natural; but it has been enlarged and disposed by man. There is no local legend concerning the origin of a work so far beyond the powers of the Bedawin past and present; we could only conjecture that it was made by some of the olden kings of the Damascene, who, finding a fountain and a rain-cistern so inconveniently placed as to be almost useless, enlarged the approach for the benefit of their flocks and herds intrusted to Arab care-takers. The Bedawin knew naught of cut blocks, written stones, or of ruins in the neighbourhood; and we could see only the rudest of dry walls, used to shelter the shepherd from wind and rain. As regards the Shitáyá clansman mentioned by Dr. Wetzstein (p. 38), who went in with black locks, and who after the third day came out with white hair, such a visitor in such a place would be easily frightened out of his wits, and, losing his light, he would grope and wander round and round the pier, in mortal dread of the Jánn (genii) and other crea-

tures of his fancy. We carefully searched the bays and enlargements in the two branches around the pier, and we found no trace of human bones. Of course the Mother of Fires, which should be called the Father of Waters, situated and constructed as it is, would naturally be a theme for the grossest exaggeration. One of our Druze lads declared that he had taken an hour to reach the water; we timed the approach, which was on all-fours, and found it occupy three minutes.

Our straggling and losing way upon the march was the more regrettable, as it prevented our inspecting the mountain El Zirs, whose bluff northern face, distant about three miles, suggested the necessity of a long détour. The 'Grinder-tooth' is the northernmost apex of the Tulúl el Raghaylah (رغيلة), which Dr. Wetzstein's map, adopting the apocope of the Fellahin, erroneously calls El Ġele (Anglicè Ghaylah).⁸ The Raghaylah range has three well-

⁸ They will sometimes also, like the Bedawin, broaden the word to Gháilah, as if written غايله. Rahl, the root of Raghaylah, means sucking (as a lamb sucks the ewe), grain fresh-formed in the ear, or fulness of grain in an ear of corn. Rahlat is also sucking, or a small animal (*e.g.* lamb or kid). Ghayl and Ghilat have also the signification of sucking; but the former more generally denotes thickly-tangled trees: hence Umm Ghaylan (literally Mother of Thickets), Egyptian thorn, *Acacia Nilotica*.

marked summits, without including the Hlewá (حليوا) —an un-Arabic term, which some pronounce Hlewiyyá (حليويّا)—and other cones to the east, or the detached volcanic cone El Mafradah (the Solitary), which lies upon the southern decline. The minor altitudes of all these Tulúl are technically known as El Iistirát, or the Outliers: thus the Bedawin say Iistirát Umm Izn, Iistirát el Dakwah, and so forth.

We are now at the southern limit of the northern Tulúl el Safá, a projection from the Safá proper, the eastern Trachon (τράχων, or rough range) of the classics, which apparently has been so puzzling to modern translators. Strabo (book xvi. chap. 2, par. 20, Hamilton and Falconer's translation; London, Bohn, 1857) says: 'Above [read beyond] Damascus are the two hills called Trachones [read the two so-called Trachons, namely the twin Wa'ars of the Leja and the Safá]; then towards the parts (*i.e.* south and south-east) of Damascus occupied by Arabians and Ituræans promiscuously are mountains of difficult access, in which are caves extending to a great depth. One of these caves (Umm Nírán?) is capable of containing 4000 thieves.' Pliny (vol. i. chap. 16, Bostock and Riley; Bohn, 1855) reckons Trachonitis amongst the Tetrarchies.

The 'revolt of the Trachonitis' is the subject of Josephus's essay (book xvi. chap. 9, *Antiquities of the Jews*); but though familiar with the sea and the shores of Tiberias, he evidently, knew nothing of the northern regions. Ptolemy (chap. xv. table 4) mentions among Syrian mountains the Alsadamus, whose centre would be in E. long. 71° and N. lat. 33°; and the *Bathaneæ provinciæ* (Bataniyyah, Bashan), *a cujus orientali parte est Saccæa* (Shakkah). *Et hujus sub Alsadamum montem sunt Trachonitæ Arabes*. Popular works (e.g. Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, sub voce) of course repeat that 'Trachonitis was for the most part a sandy desert, intersected by two ranges of rocky mountains called Trachones;' a grand 'elimination' from the self-conscious depths of the author. Similarly in the *Concise Dictionary of the Bible*, Trachonitis is represented 'to have included the whole of the modern province (!) called El Lejâh, with a section of the plain (?) southward, and also a part of the western (add eastern) declivities of Jebel (Durúz) Haurân. This may explain Strabo's two Trachones.' One fortnight's excursion will, it is hoped, introduce correct topography to future educational writers. The fact is, that the Safâ or eastern Trachon, together with the western—

that is to say, the Leja proper—would be included in the Tetrarchy of Trachonitis, which thus extended from Auranitis, or the Haurán⁹ Valley, to the Ruhbah Valley and the Hammád or Desert of the Euphrates.¹⁰

The shape of the Tulúl el Safá region is pyriform, like the Leja. The lone El Mafradah forms the stalk; the bluff end to the north is the Tell Shámát, together with its dependencies abutting upon the limestone range of the Anti-Libanus, at whose base runs the desert road to Karyatayn and Palmyra; whilst the boundary to the north-west is represented by a dark outpouring of lava known as the Arz el Jaháshiyyah (of Asses' Colts?), and looking like the dry bed of a torrent, brown and rust-stained upon the yellow surface of the limestone. We did

⁹ Haurán is popularly derived from Hor (חור), a hole, a cave, therefore cognate with troglodyte or Horite—Firlbog, Terrigena, Cavigena—which is not satisfactory. The word occurs once only in Scripture; Ezekiel (xlvi. 16) speaks of 'Hazar Hatticon, which is by the coast of Hauran.' Haur in Arabic means only a poplar, and the region is as a rule utterly destitute of trees. The Hawárinah or actual tenants of the Haurán have a very bad name, and as far as my experience enables me to judge they merit it: Hayyarú Rasúl Ullah sálasah marrát ('They bewildered the Prophet of Allah three times'), is the punning explanation of the Arabs.

¹⁰ Burckhardt had heard that this Hammád is sandy.

not lay down the eastern limit; but the villagers of Dhumayr pointed out certain unnamed cones ('Istirá't) depending upon the Umm Rakíbah: this frontier may perhaps be extended to Jebel Says (the Ses of Dr. Wetzstein's map), bordering upon the Hammád region. The western Lohf projects a few yards beyond the second or middle Dayr, and the last heights in this direction are the outliers of Jebel Dakwah.

After bathing in the Mother of Fires, and a comfortable sleep upon the lap of Mother Hertha, we set out, in a cool west wind, at 5 A.M. on June 4th. Striking north, with a *tantinet* of westing, we made for the great red cinder-heap known as Umm el Ma'azah (Mother of the She-goat). The ground suggested that the eastern Lohf was not distant: it was mostly stony, and we passed on the right a crater whose surroundings when viewed from lower levels, the surface over which we were travelling, appeared like giant earthworks. The course was very devious, and frequently a stiff descent compelled us to dismount: at the base of the wall we found a dry well and a stone trough. After one hour and thirty-five minutes, in which we covered perhaps four and a half direct geographical

miles, we halted for observations at the southern slope of the Umm el Ma'azah, and we then fell into the trodden way which winds round the west of this volcano. It leads from the Ghútah section of the Damascus plain, about Harrán el Awamid in fourteen hours—twelve upon a good dromedary—to the Ruhbah Valley. No Arabs, however, had passed since the spring rains, as the camel-chips all well washed showed, and our escort did not for five minutes cease singing their war-song.

As we wound round the western side of the great cinder-heap we found its crater in its lap, as if it extended far out upon the plain two fat red thighs, the Jarcath (ירכה literally thighs, hips, loins) of the Hebrews, applied to the Libanus and Mount Ephraim, the East African Tumbo la Mlíma (Belly of the Mount). After twenty minutes of slow march we ordered the camel-men to make straight for the Bir Kasam, whilst we ascended a remarkable feature, the Tell 'Akir (by the Bedawin pronounced El 'Ajir).¹¹ Usually known as the Shaykh el Tulúl,

¹¹ By changing the Káf (ك) into Jim (ج). So they say Jiblah for Kiblah, and Jaryatayn for Karyatayn. In the Hejaz the words would become Giblah and Garyatayn. The eastern Bedawin, however, like the Syrian, prefer Jawásim to Kawásim (the name of the noted pirates of the Persian Gulf). There are several 'Akir villages in Syria and

this 'Headman of the Hillocks' rises some seven statute miles north, with a suspicion of westing from the Umm el Ma'azah. We then rode up in one hour and twenty minutes to the foot of the cone, which springs from a high plane with large outliers trending to the south, with a little easting. Seven minutes were spent in stiff climbing up the ridgy surface of exceptionally light and thoroughly burnt scorix, dark below, and above light red and yellow, containing sulphur. The angle of the north-western slope was $19^{\circ} 30'$; that of the north-eastern 22° ; the southern range up which we walked showed $22^{\circ} 30'$; and the stoniest part above the lateral folds reached 24° . The altitude proved to be 3328 feet.

We had expected to stand upon the lip of a large crater; we found only a tall horseshoe open to the north and the north-west, without any sign of a bowl. Accordingly we ascended the eastern or highest point for a better view of the peculiar scene before us. Seen from this elevation, the volcanic Tells and craters, modern, tertiary and

Palestine; and one of them in the Philistian Plain represents the Ekron or Accaron of old. The word means a high sandhill, or (large tracts of) unfertile sands.

pleiocene, which before seemed scattered in wild confusion, fell into regular lines, with trifling interjections, towards north-south, slightly deviating to east-west. The parallels are distinctly three. The middle range is represented on the north by Umm Izn (Mother of an Ear), so called because the table-top, bearing 246° , has a projection at one end, a kind of 'cock-nose' breaking the straight line of features: the word is classical; we read in Joshua (xix. 34) of Aznoth Tabor, the ears or projections of Tabor. About the centre of the line stands the Monarch of the Mounts, Tell el 'Akir, and to the south project the Zirs and the Raghaylah blocks. The map will give the best idea of the meridional lines which flanked us on the east and west. The ground at the foot of El 'Akir was of silt upon a limestone floor, and its high level explained how from afar a yellow sheet appears shelving up to the very bases of the pyramids: it here represents the Arz Tanánir (Land of Gathering Water),¹² the system

¹² The Hebrew Tanur in our version is translated furnace; but it mostly applies to a baking-oven. The latter in modern Arabic would be Furn, opposed to Tannúr (plural Tannúrin and Tanánir), a smelting-place. In Jerusalem the Furn is still called Tabúnat. Tannúr also means the surface of the earth, or any place where water gushes out, or gathers in a depression.



of shallow and heated basins between the Hijánah village and the Dayrs or monasteries. The volcanoes rise from this sterile investment in naked heaps, black and white, red and yellow; they are conical, table-topped, or saddle-backed, whilst inky dots show the smaller fumaroles, and sable bars and lines denote the connecting bars and ridges of basalt. The section from Umm Izn to Jebel Dakwah, where the basalt preponderates over other formations, explains the low and widespread dark dome called at the Hijánah village El Mutallá. The effect of these upheavals displays itself in the tilting-up of the northern range of limestone hills about Dhumayr, where the strata have been raised almost to a perpendicular, and the intervening waves of calcareous ground are deeply fissured. We could not at the time explain why all the Tells, especially those to the north-west, projected immensely long black tails to the east.

In twenty minutes we walked down the whole height of El 'Akir, and remounting, we proceeded to cross the silty plain on the W.S. West, which was cut and broken by many shallow Wadys. A little southwards of our course was a detached block, a long ridge, red above and dark below, which seemed to

be crowned by a castellated ruin; this, however, proved to be a mass of rock. The gash of El 'Akir presently showed big and ruddy. After forty minutes we passed an extinct crater in the western range; it is known as El Halayyawát, probably a corrupted diminutive of El Hlewa, before mentioned; forty-five minutes then placed us at the foot of the small black cone El Huwayfir, remarkable for the disproportionate bigness of its bowl; hence probably its name, derived from El Hufir, the digging.

The last of this day's march was wearying and monotonous. The only new feature was a fine white sand, composed mainly of triturated fresh-water and land shells (*Neritinæ* and *Helices*), the latter belonging chiefly to two species. They are produced in considerable quantities by the limestone region generally, and especially by the Fanges or swamps, when these basins bear water: after the death of the mollusk, they are swept up inland by the strong and regular west wind, which rushes from the Anti-Libanus to the Desert. It may here be mentioned, that during nearly two years in Damascus I never saw a drop of water upon the chalky-white surface of the so-called 'lakes.' Mr. Porter (chap. ix. *Five Years in Damascus*) assures his readers that he has



established two points of some importance: the first being, that the Barada continues to flow into the lake during the whole summer; whilst the second is, that the waters of the lake do not dry up during the hot season. Between December 1869 and June 1871 I repeatedly followed the course of the Damascus river; and I also had 'ocular demonstration' that, firstly, the stream does not reach its basin (Bahrat el 'Utaybah);¹³ secondly, that the said basin, like the three southern features which look so neatly and prettily blue upon the maps, showed nothing of the element, except in pits and wells. I shall not easily forget the disappointment of my first visit, when eyes accustomed to lake scenery in the four quarters of the globe fell upon an ugly expanse of dried and

¹³ A small collection of shells made in Syria and Palestine was presented to the British Museum, where Messrs. Gwyn Jeffreys, F.R.S., and Edgar Smith kindly named the species as follows:

FRESH-WATER—*Unio Niloticus*, Férussac; *Unio dignatus*, Lea; *Corbicula fluminalis*, Müller; *Neritina turris*, Mousson; *Neritina Numidica*, Récluz; *Melania tuberculata*, Müll.; *Melanopsis prærosa*, Linné; *Melanopsis cariosa*, L.

LAND—*Helix candidissima*, Draparnaud; *Helix candidissima*, var. *prophetiva*, Bourguignat; *Helix lactea*, Müll.; *Helix spiriplana*, Olivier; *Helix figulina*, Jan, and var. *minor*; *Helix simulata*, Fér.; *Bulimus Alepi*, Fér.; *Bulimus Syriacus*, Pfeiffer; *Clausilia Boissieri*, Charpentier.

The fossil shells were in such bad condition that Mr. Woodward could not give specific names. He found the genera to consist of: 1. *Pecten*; 2. *Ostrea*; 3. *Turritella*.

flaky mud, varied only by dwarf white rises where the salt outcropped, and by lines of thickety rush, denoting that the subsoil was a trifle muddier than usual. Our statements, however, are easily reconciled. Mr. Porter visited the swamp region during years of average rain-fall; I during two years whose winters were remarkable for drought: for the winter of 1870-71, the pluviometer at Damascus gave only 3·32 inches.

I may be allowed a few words touching these so-called lakes, which have of late been made the subject of discussion.¹⁴ Moreover, some maps show two, others three, and mostly four waters. They are laid down with tolerable accuracy, and are correctly named, in the map of Dr. Wetzstein, which Van de Velde has evidently transferred bodily to his own. The Prussian traveller, however, calls the northernmost basin 'Atêbe, and Dr. Beke Atabeh; whereas I would write 'Utaybah, with the initial Ayn moved by Dammah, the name of the village on the western plain, and also that of the ruffian tribe of hill-Bedawin who fired upon our caravan as we were approaching Meccah. The terms Bahrat el Sharkiyah (Eastern Tank) and El Kibliyah (Southern Tank),

¹⁴ *Athenæum*, Nov. 1870 (*passim*).

applied by mappers to the same basin, are totally unknown to the people, and are simply absurd, because one 'lake' does not lie east of the other. The basin also is not bisected by a band of higher ground, as shown by Mr. Porter, although a shallow natural trench, connecting the northern half of the kidney-formed depression with the lower, is distinctly to be traced. In rare places I found mud, though the people spoke of dangerous quagmires. The dry bed is here and there white with a saltine efflorescence, and all the sheep fed upon the grass would become *près salé* perforce, as in Northern France, where mutton is now unknown. The ground-waves not usually submerged are known by the tamarisk-scrub, and the deeper depressions are overgrown with tall reeds and rushes, which rear colonies of shells and shelter wild pig. Ducks and aquatic birds also are said to abound when the place is flooded.

The second 'lake' to the south, called from a village also on its west Bahrat el Hijánah, receives, when there is any to spare, the drainage of the 'Awaj River. I found it a chalky-white surface, with mushroom-shaped pillars horizontally ribbed and left in the harder material by the water, which has washed away

the rest. This ground is in spring and autumn the favourite camping-place of the Wuld Ali; they find water in pits some five to six feet deep, generally sweet, but here and there brackish. When riding from El Hijánah to visit my friend Shaykh Salih Tayyár, I crossed a deep drain which connects the basin with that of 'Utaybah, and down which Mr. Macgregor probably paddled the 'young lady.' I cannot agree with that traveller, who suggests that the Abana (Barada?) and the 'Awaj (Pharpar?) do not flood or dry up together; both are fed by the same rains and by the same snows, whilst their springs are perennial.

The Bahrat Bálá, so called from a village now ruined,¹⁵ and at times swamped by the surplus of the Bahrat Hijánah, evidently occupies the lowest gradient of the plain, which is bounded eastward by the westernmost Lohf, a rim of the volcanic floods poured out by the Tulúl el Safá. The surface is of the light bistre-coloured soil (*goldgelbe humus*), called farther west Arz Haurániyyah: friable in the extreme, and in places rotten, it becomes after rain ankle-deep mud, and in the dry season it is full of

¹⁵ There is a prosperous place of the same name upon the Damascus Plain, near the well-known Tell Sálihiyyah.

treacherous sinks and holes, attributed by the people to the sinking of water. These man-traps often widen below, and in one of them I have seen a horse fall to the saddle-flaps. Similar to this is the formation of the fourth water, the Matkh B'rák (Burák), the 'Flooded Plain of the Cisterns.' It takes its name from an almost deserted town at the stalk or northern end of the pyriform Leja. Here Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt established his commissariat, and upon this point, where the stone breastwork still remains, he fell back when the flower of his army was destroyed by the Druzes. The Matkh B'rák, separated from the Hijánah basin by a high wave of rugged basaltic ground called Fas'hat Tell el Ra'as, admits after heavy rains the waters of the Wady Liwá or Luwá, a fiumara defining the eastern limits of the Leja. This rough and rocky conduit receives, a little north of B'rák town, the tributary Wady Abu Khunayfis, and the latter drains off the southern slopes of the basaltic block through which the 'Awaj Valley passes, and whose culminating point is the Jebel el Máni'a (the Forbidding or Difficult Mountain). Rising from the northern slope of the Jebel el Ashkára (Schkára in Dr. Wetzstein), and the eastern gradient of Tell el Huzaynah, the Liwá conducts, under a complexity of names, the

surface-water of the Jebel Durúz Haurán; and it often becomes a violent torrent with a rapid descent and overfalls, carrying with it boulders of basalt, and here and there forming little holms. In the dry season the bed is lined with the pinkest and greenest oleanders, and with the blue-flowered Ghár. Mr. Porter derives the Wady Liwá from the neighbourhood of Nimrah town, where a deeply-cut river-valley runs up far beyond it; and he terminates it in the Hijánah 'lake;' finally, he omits the third and the fourth basins.

The Druzes, as usual, rode on, leaving us to follow with the camels, and every hour and a quarter of march obliged us to halt, wearying us by want of exertion. We saw only a small drab-coloured snake and a few Katás, where the ground was faintly green. Pterocles once saved my life, and I never shoot him or his kind.¹⁶ At last, after three hours and thirty minutes of actual riding, we came upon the scorched yellow-white plain of the Kala'at and Bir Kasam (the Fort and Well of an Oath), concerning which I could find no trace of tradition. Features now familiar

¹⁶ Surely this is the bird alluded to by Isaiah (xxxiv. 10) when he speaks of the 'Land of Edom being abandoned to kath'—of which the commentators have by turns made an onocrotalus, a pelican, a bustard, a stork, and a cormorant?



stood before us: the Hermon hogsback, El Kulayb of the Druzes; Abu'l Atá, on the Palmyra road; Jebel el Máni'a, on the way to Moab;¹⁷ and others familiar to me for the last year and a half. The shallow silty basin in front was backed by what seemed to be plantations round villages, and a little to the south was the Tell Kasam; a small black rock, conspicuous from afar, supporting a ruin, which some Arabs call the fourth Dayr, others the Kasr (Palace) Kasam. We reached the fort in thirty minutes; and thus ended our total of nine hours and forty-eight minutes, the work of that day.

¹⁷ I hope that the geographical reader will not understand me to agree with the Rev. Mr. Porter (*passim*), who, instead of assigning Wady Mújib (Mojob, the ancient Arnon), about the middle parallel of the so-called Dead Sea, as the northern limit of later Moab proper, unjustifiably prolongs the latter region northwards through Ammon, and El Barriyyah, the chalky lands north-east of Jebel Ajlun (Gilead), right into the Hauranic Valley. By thus confusing the Roman city of Bostra (Nova Trajana), or Bosra in Bashan, which he calls (p. 67, *Giant Cities of Bashan*) 'this city of Moab,' with the true 'Bozrah of Moab,' the southern settlement of the same name, better known as Bosrah the Lesser, he is able to apply to the rich and well-peopled lands of the Haurán, still the granary of Syria, all the hideous curses and denunciations pronounced by the Jewish prophets against their illegitimate cousins. Strange to say, he is followed in this course by Mr. Cyril Graham (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxviii. p. 230). The curious student will do well to consult the 'Carte pour l'intelligence des Campagnes de Mesa, Roi de Moab,' which concludes *La Stèle de Dhiban* (see Appendix I. Vol. II.).

The arrival at the well was not, as it usually is, a time of rejoicing, of smoking long pipes, of coffee-drinking, and of rest upon cushioned carpets. The Druzes, who had finished the journey, twelve and a half direct statute miles from the Halayyawát cone, a good hour and a half before us—the camel escort—had dispersed wildly in all directions looking for water, which they could not find. We inspected the fort, a square of modern construction, sadly broken down; and to the west we were shown a large ‘Jurn’ or sarcophagus-trough, which, according to our guides, once denoted the well. My companion and I, obedient to the maps, took the south-eastern direction, in which the Bir Kasam is laid down by Dr. Wetzstein and his copiers. He had, however, passed it by night, with fear and trembling of his escort; and his mistake caused us a couple of hours of thirst and general discomfort. In the high west wind, fast stiffening to a gale, which seemed to confound earth and sky, and which filled the air with acrid and pungent dust, like a storm in Sind or the Panjáb, we could descry no trace of the water-pit, although I had taken a ‘blind sight’ to it in December 1869. On the south were two rubbish-filled pits, both evidently unused for years, and north of the fort lay

a third in the same condition. At last a wanderer of the party, happening to go farther afield, was lucky enough, when we began asking each other what on earth could be done, to hit upon the well, bearing 10° from the Kala'at, and $39^{\circ} 30'$ from the Tell Kasam. The lip, well-worn and deeply-grooved in the hard basaltic stone, shows how long it has been used by the Bedawin. It is sunk some twenty feet deep in the live rock, and it is flanked by two shallow pans or vats, for the convenience of watering cattle. The salt and silty plain around had made its yield particularly unsavoury, and it is never sweet except when copiously drawn. Our eyes were peppered with pungent dust, and we felt in the flesh what spoils the water.

The Druzes kept us waiting as long as possible, each, according to custom, fighting to water his mare first; and here, upon the very Darb el Ghazawát (the Road of Razzias from time immemorial), they seemed unwilling to leave the well. A Bedawi never commits the imprudence of lingering near water, especially about sunset; so, leading the way to a shallow bulge in a Wady south of the fort, we made preparations for the night. As evening fell, we found that a 'palaver' was to be held. Every

attempt was of course made to find out what our intentions were, and all equally failed. Presently we told our friends that we were not going direct either to Damascus or to the Dhumayr village ; and this item of news determined their action. All but one disappeared during the night ; and when morning dawned, we felt a sense of relief in having seen the last of men and mares. The society of the Fellahin is not more wearying, and our horses had become utterly demoralised.

The next day (Monday, June 5) saw the last of our excursion into the desert. We set out from the well at 5.30 A.M., leaving the third Dayr or monastery to the north ; whilst far beyond it, and a little westward, appeared the break in the limestone ridge which allows passage to the Ruhaybah rivulet of Dhumayr.¹⁸ This was to be our resting-place ; but luckily for ourselves, we bent to the north-east, intending to inspect the Dakwah

¹⁸ Erroneously called in maps and plans the 'Mukabrit,' or Sulphur Water. This name is applicable only to the produce of the western affluent, which flows, or rather which used to flow, for a few yards a little to the north-west of the gate or gap debouching upon the Damascus Plain. These waters would answer all the purposes of the Tiberias thermal springs ; and formerly there was a Hammam for the accommodation of invalids. The cupidity of the peasants, however, has ruined all present prospect of reëstablishing it.

Mountain—the cone which from Damascus appears the best defined and the most picturesque.

Travelling slowly, in unusually hot and still weather, over an exceptionally rough country—a sea of basalt, a mass of lava, which, in the moment of its most violent commotion, appeared suddenly to have cooled—we reached, after three hours and forty-five minutes, the base of El Dakwah,¹⁹ and we found the ascent a stiffer affair than usual. The height was 3370 feet above sea-level, and 580 feet above the plateau from which it rises. The slope must again be compared with a well-stuffed and legless arm-chair; or, to describe it less prosaically, it is

‘Hook’d and crook’d like the horn’d moon.’

The ‘Dakwah’ is a kind of shell, with a hollow opening to the north-west. The inside of this crater of eruption is ribbed with semicircular rocks, whilst the outside is ridged with long shunts and shoots. My fellow-traveller ascended from the interior hollow; I tried the western rim, which had two slopes, the lower occupying eight minutes, and the upper ten minutes. The surface is the usual red and yellow

¹⁹ The word is probably derived from Dakk, or Dukk, a hillock or low hill.

scoriaceous matter, resting upon what seems to be hardened mud. At the highest point we found masses of rock, in whose shade grew lichens and small-leaved plants. The beetles were all elytra and exuviae; but the big and little flies appeared lively enough. We cast scrutinising glances about the lowlands, which were a complete network of foot-paths; and we were easily consoled at not seeing a living thing. This had been the rule, since we left Taymá, with, but one exception, those ominous dromedary tracks. The shepherds evidently frequent the Dakwah in the days of grass; and, returning to Damascus, we were told that a Mangalah (Mankalah), a pitted stone used for a popular Egyptian and Syrian game, is found upon the very summit. We were afterwards shown from Dhumayr a cone to some distance north-eastward of the Dakwah, and called Milh el Kuranful (Salt of Cloves?). Upon this the stranger may pick up cloves; but if he does, he dies. It is said that snow falls upon the 'Hillock volcano;' but in this matter I am disposed to be incredulous.

The summit of the Dakwah explained to us the secret of the long dark brushes which the westernmost of the three lines of cones project far to the east. The zebra-like stripes of black and white are



the effect of the regularly blowing west wind, which disposes the shell-dust in thin sheets over the western slopes of the cones, whilst the latter shelter the basaltic ground to their lee or east. Thus on the Jebel Dakwah we found the line of wind to run about 60° ; the leeward plain was a sooty stripe of naked lava about one mile broad: north of this lay a snowy band averaging about half that width; and farther north was a second black ribbon about one-third of a mile in breadth, kept clear and clean by the 'Three Brothers.' As will be seen in the map, this triple formation adjoins the Dakwah, whereas Dr. Wetzstein places it on a parallel instead of a meridional line, and distant some twelve direct geographical miles to the north. He also gives them the curiously corrupted name 'Tulesawa' for Salás Akhwán (the Three Brothers), which only the most ignorant of peasants would pronounce 'Tulays a'wwá.'

At eleven A.M., leaving the foot of Jebel Dakwah, we made for Dhumayr, to the north-west. The white shell-sand seemed to gather mostly around this western group of hills, and presently we passed out of it. The limestone flooring of the plain again exposed itself; it was more deeply fissured than usual by volcanic action, possibly by earthquakes.

This line led to an irregular north-western Lohf, composed of long narrow dykes and barrows, blow-holes and circlets, the drums of domes which had burst into space: all was of the blackest basalt. Gradually the igneous formation fined off, and we found ourselves riding over the *Arz Tannúrín* (the Land of Furnaces), and the *Zuhúr el Surr* (Ground-waves of the *Billán-thorn*), the rolling ground which outskirts the rich plain of *Dhumayr*. We passed the well-known features, *Hayt Rambay* (*Rambay's Wall*), which defends the entrance to cultivated land, and which runs straight up hill and down dale; and the *Sadd Rambay* (*Rambay's Dyke*), vestiges of a dam which, formerly spanning the narrow neck between the basalts on the south and the limestone outliers of the *Anti-Libanus*, pent up the eastern waters, and converted a widening expanse of meadow into a tank. Its large blocks of white limestone have been used to make two diminutive drains; according to the villagers, they were mill-races. A gallop over the plain placed us (4.50 P.M.) at the *Maskabahs*²⁰ of *Dhumayr*, where we were well received by the good *Rashid el Bostaji*. We had covered twenty indirect

²⁰ Strips of arable or ploughed ground, fifty to sixty piks (cubits) long × five, separated by rough baulks.

miles from Jebel Dakwah, and a day's total of thirty.

Our arrival was in the very nick of time. The Druze traitor sent from Shakkah by Kabalán el Kala'ání, at the instigation of the Governor-general of Syria, set out on Friday, June 2d, and reached the Ruhbah Valley on the evening of the next day. The Sunday was employed in mustering the Bedawin: the Razzia missed us on Monday at the Umm Nírán, at the Bir Kasam, and upon the direct Lake-road to Dhumayr; they were, in fact, a few hours too late. On Tuesday they plundered, although some 600 Turkish soldiers were in camp within half an hour's ride, three neighbouring villages — Suwaydah, Ab-bádah, and Harrán el Awánid;²¹ the first mentioned belonging to M. Hanna Azar, dragoman to her Majesty's Consulate, Damascus. They also threatened the life of this valuable official; and the inspectors sent by the Governor-general pronounced the damage done to his property to have been the work of wild pigs! Such was the justice to be obtained by English-protected subjects at Damascus, and this

²¹ It must not be confounded with Harrán in the Leja, famous for its bilingual inscription, Greek and Nabathæan. The first traveller who passes there is strongly advised to get a 'squeeze' of the stone.

was the state to which England in Syria has been allowed to fall.

We rode into Damascus before noon on Wednesday, June 7th, escaping by peculiar good fortune a plundering party numbering 80 to 100 horsemen and some 200 Radifs (dromedary-riders), two to each saddle. I duly appreciated the compliment—can any unintentional flattery be more sincere?—of sending 300 men to dispose of three. Our zigzag path had saved us from the *royaume des taupes*, for these men were not sent to plunder; besides, *honneur oblige*. The felon act, however, failed; and our fifteen days of wandering ended without accident.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.



I.

OBSERVATIONS TAKEN WITH ANEROID AND THERMOMETER (FAHR.)
ON THE ROUTES TO THE LIBANUS, THE HAURAN MOUNTAIN,
THE TULUL EL SAFA, AND THE ANTI-LIBANUS, BY R. F. BUR-
TON AND CHARLES F. TYRWHITT-DRAKE.

THE aneroids used by me were two pocket instruments.

No. 1 (Spencer, Browning, and Co., patentees, London) was presented to me by the Royal Geographical Society in 1861.

No. 2 (L. Casella, London, 1182, compensated) was bought before I left England in 1869.

After each journey these pocket instruments were tested by comparison with a larger instrument (name and number unknown), which was kept at home; and eventually with mercury-filled glass tubes, also supplied by M. Casella.

The heights taken in October 1871 by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake are by aneroid, the latter corrected by comparison with tubes filled with mercury. Needless to say that we both agree with Captain Warren, that in Syria and Palestine aneroids, however useful for laying down moderate differences of elevation in neighbouring places, as in the process of drawing the contour lines of a country, are worse than useless for absolute determinations of height. The instrument has many disturbing influences. Owing to eccentricities of make, to not being regulated for extreme heat, and

perhaps to rapid transition from one elevation to another, the index error changes to any extent; and the readings show a greater variation than is due to the diurnal range, or to other alteration in the atmospheric pressure. Indeed, in these sub-tropical climates, even mercurial barometers do not keep relatively well together, because one is more sluggish in its movements than the other.

My friend Captain George, R.N., remarks :

‘These aneroid observations have been reduced to the *level of the sea*, at which the reading of the barometer is assumed to be 29.92 in. The corresponding temperature at the sea-level was obtained from K. Johnston’s Physical Atlas, sheet 18, in which the extremes of temperature are given, *i. e.* January 50°, and July 78°; the intermediate months obtained by interpolation.’



Observations taken on the Route to the Libanus and upon the Cedar Block.

Place.	Date.	Aneroid.	Barom. tube.	Therm. local.	Sea-level.	Altitude. Feet.
1. Ba'albak ¹	Mean of obs. at different times	26.11	26.20	70°	78	3,847.5
2. Source of Litani	July 26, 1870	26.39	.	69°	78	3,595.
3. Uyun Urghush, Eyes of Argus (Valley)	July 28, 1870	23.34	.	78°	78	7,147.5
4. Cedar Col	July 29, 1870	2.20	.	53°	78	8,351.
5. Summit of Zahr el Kazib	October 1871	20.87	20.98	.	64	10,018.
6. Jebel Muskiyyah (Cedar Block)	July 29, 1870	20.98	.	75°	78	10,131.
7. Jebel Makmal	Do.	20.98	.	63°	78	9,998.
8. Jebel Timarun ²	Do.	20.68	.	75°	78	10,533.
9. Cedars of Lebanon ³	July 30, 1870	23.16	.	78°	78	7,368.
10. Jebel Sannin ⁴	August 3, 1870	21.84	.	67°	74	8,895.

Nos. 9 and 10 can hardly be depended upon, as the instrument was somewhat out of order.

¹ Captain Warren assigns to Ba'albak an altitude of 3450 feet; M. Gérard de Rialle 1170 metres.
² Van de Velde (Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land) makes the highest point of the Lebanon Pass on the road from Ba'albak to the Cedars (v. Schubert) 7624 feet.
³ Van de Velde gives the Cedars (Scott) 6315 ft.; (Russeger) 6400 ft.; (v. Schubert) 6264 ft.; (v. Willdenbruch) 5898 ft.
⁴ Van de Velde gives Jebel Sannin (Scott) 8554 ft.; (Marshall Marmont, in *Voyage du Duc de Raguse, &c.*, i. 226) 8983 ft.; (estimated by Russeger) 7250 ft.

Observations taken on the Hauran Mountain (Jebel Durúz Haurán) and the Tulúl el Safá.

N.B. The pocket instrument showed at Damascus 27.55; and the standard 27.555, after returning from this journey.

Place.	Date.	Aneroid.	Therm. (F.) local.	Sea-level.	Altitude.
11. Summit of Jebel Shayhan	May 26, 1871	26.26	84°	60	3758
12. Summit of Jebel Kulayb	May 29, 1871	24.42	75°	69	5785
13. Taymá Village	June 2, 1871	25.64	69°	74	4309
14. El Nak's	Do.	26.26	85°	74	3781
15. The Ghadir el Ka'al	June 3, 1871	26.69	78°	74	3289
16. On the Lohf	Do.	28.59	70°	74	1299
17. At the Cave Umm Nirán ^s	Do.	27.22	86°	74	2745
18. Top of Tell el 'Akir	June 4, 1871	26.64	74°	74	3328
19. Bir Kasam (a little above the Damascus swamps)	June 5, 1871	27.94	57°	74	1930
20. Top of the Jebel Dakwah	Do.	26.62	81°	74	3373
21. Dhumayr Village	Mean of several observations	27.78	72°	74	2124

^s N.B. Inside the cave the aneroid showed 27.36; the thermometer 74 degrees; and the difference between the barometer was 11 degrees (dry).

Observations on the Anti-Libanus.

N.B. After returning from this journey, the pocket instrument showed at Damascus 27.28, and the standard 27.480.

Place.	Date.	Aneroid.	Therm. (Fabr. local.)	Sea-level.	Altitude.
22. Top of El Akhyar ^e	July 25, 1871	22.78 + 0.20	65°	78	Feet. 7736
23. Birkat el Mudawwarah	July 31, 1871	23.53	66° (in winter 54°)	78	6827
24. Top of Abū 'l Hin	Do.	22.37	75°	78	8330
26. Ayn el Durrah	August 1, 1871	23.66	55°	70	6589
26. Western Cliff-ridge of Anti-Libanus	Do.	22.99	62°	76	7441
27. Assal el Ward Village	Do.	24.06	76°	76	5553
28. On Nabi Baruh Block (50 to 60 ft. below cairn)	August 2, 1871	22.72	71°	76	7841
29. Top of Tala'at Misā	Do.	22.06	75°	76	8721
30. Mu'arrat el Bashkurdi Village	Do.	24.41	72°	76	5688
31. Top of Col Wady el Mal	August 3, 1871	23.20	70°	76	7321
32. Well of Kurrays	Do.	23.16	74°	76	7324
33. Top of Halimat el Kabū	Do.	22.40	73°	70	8257
34. Wells of Wady Katmin	August 4, 1871	23.20	70°	70	7245
35. Well of Wady Jubāb	Do.	22.90	65°	76	7573

^e Van de Velde gives 'highest top of Anti-Lebanon near 'Ain Hawar' (Porter, about) 7000 ft.; also 'Zebedany' (Russegger) 4289 ft.; (Schnubert) 3760 ft.; (Allen) 4155 ft. (the best); B'lūdān or Belhūdān (Porter, in *Rob. Later D. R.* 487, and in Ritter, xvii. 1816 ft.), 4642 ft.; (in his *Five Years*, &c., p. 260), 4539 ft.

*Aneroid Observations by Charles F. Tyrwhitt-Drake en route
from Telfita, near Damascus, to Hamah.*

N.B. These are calculated without allowing for local temperature or
temperature at sea-level.

Place.	Aneroid reading.	English feet.
Telfita	25·110	4845
Ka'abet Kalkas	24·230	5625
El Watiy	24·480	5375
Ain el Durrah	23·600	6255
Ba'albak	26·110	3772 mean
„ (barometer)	26·200	
B'teddar	26·100	3665
Watershed above Yamunah.	25·340	4515
Ainata (vil.)	24·830	5025
Cedar Col.	22·200	7665
Base of Dhahr el Kodhib	21·420	8435
Dhahr el Kodhib	20·870	9003 mean
„ (barometer)	20·980	
J. Tizmarin	20·680	9175
Pass to north of preceding	21·000	8855
Sahlet el Jubab	24·050	5705
Merj Ahin	24·230	5625
Fenaydir	24·050	5705
Bayno	28·120	1735
Akkar	26·500	3355
El Abéyyat	28·050	1805
Antakit	27·750	2105
El Bukáya	28·800	1055
Plateau to east of former	28·150	1705
Hums (mean of four observations)	28·125	1730
Mijmar el Sohun	28·560	1295
Shemmamit	28·160	1695
Tell above Arúneh	28·260	1505
Múrik (vil.)	28·650	1305
Mo'arrat el No'aman	28·150	1705
Abú Tin	28·700	1155
Hill above Abú Tabbeh	28·430	1425
Safirch	28·750	1105

Aneroid Observations en route from Telfita to Hamah
(continued).

Place.	Aneroid reading.	English feet.
Howwayyith	28·180	1675
Aleppo	28·660	1195
Serákib	28·700	1155
Tarutin el Tnijar	28·620	1235
Jirjinnaz	28·420	1435
El Farajeh	28·800	1055
Temányeh	28·720	1135
Hamah (mean)	28·940	995

Aneroid corrected thus:
 Mean 23 days' standard barometer . . . 29·842
 „ aneroid „ . . . 29·697
 „ too low ·145

Aneroid Observations by Charles F. Tyrwhitt-Drake en route from Kara to Sadad and back.

N.B. These are also calculated without allowing for local temperature or for temperature at sea-level.

Place.	Aneroid reading.	English feet.
Peaks above B'udan:		
1st (Northern)	22·520	7335
2d (Southern)	22·380	7475
Watershed near Khan Liban, north of Jebel Abu Ata	26·320	3535
Kutayfeh	26·620	3235
Watershed south of Kastal	25·060	4940
Kara	25·340	4660
Sadad	26·640	3215
Yabrud	25·080	4775
Watershed near Buk-ha	24·390	5465
Maalulah	25·480	4375
Watershed at head of Menin Valley	25·350	4505



II.

PROVERBIA COMMUNIA SYRIACA

‘The genius, spirit, and wit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs.’—BACON.

A writer remarks, ‘If men at the lowest as well as the highest stage of civilization enunciate the same truths, the fact goes to prove that these truths are unimportant.’ I can hardly assent to the conclusion, even were the premiss correct, whereas it is not. Those familiar with proverbial literature have remarked that some aphorisms are common in matter, and a few even in actual manner and form, to almost all nations and languages. The Syrian, for instance, will say, ‘The egg of to-day, not the hen of to-morrow;’ and ‘A live dog is better than a dead lion.’ On the other hand, the points of difference are far more important. Setting aside the sayings which ‘bear the stamp of their birth-places, and which wear the colouring and the imagery of their native climes,’ we find that there are proverbs peculiar to every race—proper to it, as are its syntax and its idiom; that each people speaks out the truth or the half truth which is in it, and, consequently, that for the most part neither the idea nor the wording bear comparison. Moreover, were it a fact that all enunciate the same truth, it by no means proves the latter to be unimportant, except to the few. The student of the nineteenth century will not, for higher thought, consult proverbs or proverbial philosophy, or other saws and instances; but he will treat not a few of them as chapters of anthropological and ethnological history; showing how truth arose in the silent education of the world; how the experience of every-day life gradually took shape and status; how the appreciation of experience became concrete in the

pithy aphorism, till at last the 'wisdom of many' gained life by the 'wit of one.' In it he sees the process of a pencil of light stealing into the child-like savage brain, slowly but surely dispersing the fatal glooms of ignorance and prejudice, of falsehood and barbarism; assuming various degrees of illumination, and at last becoming the perfect day of wisdom and judgment, of truth and civilization. No wonder, as Count Lucann observes, that proverbs have ever been so popular with the human race.

As regards these *Proverbia Communia*. The labours of Pocock, Erpenius, Freytag,¹ and others, have introduced to Europe the repertories of classical *Amsal* (امثال), in which the Arabs delighted from the days of the Khalifah Ali to those of El Maydani. My object is not so high. Returning to Western Asia, and resuming the studies which had been interrupted by long service in Africa and South America, I at once recommenced them at the commencement—the alloqualisms of a people new to me. Presently I remembered Burckhardt's *Amsal el Masr* (Arabic and English, 1830), which aimed at illustrating manners and customs from proverbial sayings current at Cairo, and it appeared to me that the same might be done for Syria.

The modern dialect of Syria retains distinct traces of the old Aramæan, and, as may be expected in a land where men live much at home, every great city—Damascus, for instance—preserves peculiar words and phrases. And without living interpretation it is impossible to master sayings of purely local use and unfamiliar allusion, further mystified by proverbial sententiousness and conciseness. They must, however, be learnt, and even committed to memory, before a stranger can feel himself at home with the people. Here

¹ His '*Amsal el Arab*,' in four vols. octavo, is an excerpt from the vast collection of El Maydani.

proverbs have not passed from the learned to the vulgar tongues; they are in universal circulation, amongst all degrees, from the ignorant to the man of highest cultivation; and the apposite use of aphorisms is, like wit and eloquence, a manner of power. Some of the sayings are mostly confined to women, and the nursery; not a few of them have some popular tale whose point they resume. Many are quoted only in part, the rest being suppressed for some obvious reason. So we, for instance, might say '*qui facit per alium.*' As will be seen, the peculiar vagueness inherent in Arabic speech allows them an immense range of application, and permits them to be used in a variety of senses, which require from us a certain amount of study. Nor is the labour of studying them for their own sake in vain. It is highly interesting to observe the modern succedaneum for the old aphoristic philosophy of Syria, which in some form or other has overspread the civilized world.

Of all the races known to me, the Syrians and certain West African tribes are those who delight most in proverbs. The Spanish type, immortalized in Sancho Pança, comes next; the Portuguese loses much of the characteristic; and the Brazilian, his descendant, has wholly lost it. When visiting Yoruba I was so much struck by the speeches and harangues—mere conglomerates of quotations—that I persuaded Messrs. Tinsley to publish, in 1865, a collection of 2859 proverbs, popular amongst seven Negroid and Negro nations. The volume, which bore the title of "Wit and Wisdom from West Africa," was not so successful as the *Adagia* of Erasmus, and of course brought out the remark that the 'sparkles of wit were few and faint, and the wisdom of the mildest order.' This was to be expected. But my object was to make the people describe themselves, to put them, as it were, in the witness-box upon their racial trial.

Pace the critics who differed from me, I cannot but think that the idea of the compilation was good. At any rate, it obtained the approval of one whose opinion in such a matter is worth a thousand cavils of men, who, ignorant of the subject, must borrow from the book itself the arms with which they would assail it. I need hardly mention the name of Mr. William Stirling, now Sir William Stirling Maxwell, of Keir.

1. الذى زوجها معنا بتدير التمر باصبعها

'She who hath her husband with her, shall turn the moon with her finger.'

2. جيبوا بنات ولا تقعدوا بطالات

'Bring girls, and sit not to no purpose.'—It is better (for a woman) to bear girls (if she cannot have boys), and not to remain childless.

3. بنيه على بنيه ولا حائل سنيه

'Girl upon girl, and not retaining (barren) for a year.'—Meaning the same as No. 2.

4. ستى من غير وحام مريضه

'My lady without (the) queasiness (of pregnancy) is unwell.'—Said of a woman who affects to be an invalid; to be delicate, to be interesting.

5. الحب والحبل والركوب على جمل لا يختنوا

'Love and pregnancy, and riding upon a camel, cannot be hid.'—Similar to the Persian 'Musk and murder cannot be concealed.'

6. كل شى تشتغل السمرة لا يكفيا خطوط و حمرة

'However much the brown woman works, it will not pay for her eye-paint and rouge.'—Applied to men and women who spend more than they make. So the Turkish proverb, *Fantasia chok, parah yok*

7. دور الدورة ولو دارت وخذ بنت البيت ولو بارت

'Go the round way, though (it be) long, and marry the daughter of a house (*i.e.* good family), though she be stale (or has lain fallow, from بور).'

8. تتكئى القرعه بشعر بنت خالتها

'The scald-headed woman prides herself on the hair of her (maternal) aunt's daughter.'—Said about a small or a bad man who boasts the greatness or the goodness of his relatives.

9. الحمار يتكئى بان الحصان خاله

'The ass prides himself upon the horse being his (maternal) uncle.'—Meaning the same as No. 8.

10. مثل اليهود على اخف الصنایع

'Like the Jew who (ever) chooses the meanest work.—Said of one who neglects important for trivial matters.

11. مثل فقرا اليهود لا دنيا ولا اخره

'Like Jew beggars, who enjoy neither this world nor the next.'—Said of a man who fails in life. So they also say *Misl el Fawákhirah* (plur. of *Fakhúri*, a jar-maker) *wa la dunyá wa la ákhirah*. The jar-maker is proverbially a rascal, and his calling is a poor one. The first three words are generally found sufficient; and to make it more offensive to the Jews, Moslems say, *Misl el yahúd*.

12. تفشفسى يا خاله كل الدعوى بطاله

Be wroth, O aunt! (here means a stepmother) for all thy curses are in vain.'—Said to any one who curses or uses bad language. *Fishfish* means literally 'vapid wine.'

13. ألف دعوى ما شقت قميص

'A thousand curses never tore a shirt.'—So our adage, 'Hard words break no bones.'

14. لا الفاره طاهره ولا دعاها مستجاب

'The mouse is not pure, nor is her prayer answered (by heaven).—Said to a bad man who curses.

15. طب البجره على فمها تطلع البنت مثل امها

'Turn the jar mouth downwards: the daughter will turn out like the mother.'—The first half is merely for the purpose of rhyme. *Li ummihā* is also said, instead of *Misl ummihā*.

16. يا بنت من ملاكى مزكك وبيت حماكى

'Girl, who raised thee (so high)? Thine honour (*i.e.* husband) and the house of thy mother-in-law.' (*Bayt Hamā*, the husband's family; *Hamu*, *حمو* father-in-law; and *Hamā*, *حما* mother-in-law.)

17. رقعده شنعده ولا لحم بصال

'(Let a man wear) foul rags, but not show (a naked) skin.'—Said, for instance, to woman. Meaning that though poor she may be honest.

18. يا بنت لا تفرحى بشوب عرسك يا ما وراه من الشقا

'Girl! don't exult in thy wedding dress. Ah! how much trouble is behind it.'—Said to a man enjoying himself without thought of the future.

19. لا تروح بين القبور ولا تشم رايحة المنتنه

'Go not amongst the tombs; nor smell evil odours.'—Said to one, for instance, who wishes to meddle in troubles which do not concern him.

20. لا تقول للمغنى عنى ولا للمصلى صلى

'Say not to the singer, sing, nor to those praying, pray.'—Meaning, it is useless to ask a man to do what he is compelled to do; he will only make excuses, and perhaps refuse.

21. بدل ان تقول الدجاجة كش اضربها واكسر رجلها
 'Instead of saying to the hen Kish (pst! be off), strike her and break her leg.'—Spoken by one asking a favour from another; and when the latter, who can grant it, makes excuses and puts him off.

22. رافق الديك وشوف وين يوديكت
 'Befriend the cock, and see where he bears you.' Evil communications corrupt good manners. (*shuf* for *shuf*: others say بوم the owl.)

23. كل عنزة معلقة بكرعوبها
 'Every goat is stuck to her circle.'—Said after giving good advice to a man who will not take it.

24. كل الدروب توصل للطا حون
 (Or, *Kull ud durub ala 't 'tahun.*) 'All the roads lead to the mill.'—Spoken to a man who tries roundabout ways, when he can go straight to the point.

25. ماني طلعه حتى قبالها نزله
 'There is no rising up without a falling down in front of it.'—Meaning, that any man will have his turn of good and bad fortune.

26. مايجي الترياق من العراق حتى يكون ملسوع البوام فارق
 'The tiryak (Mithridate) will not come from Irak (where it is made) till the man bitten by the snakes is released (by death).'—Said by a man whose important business is deferred. Others say, *Malsu' el hawá*, i.e. the victim of love.

27. على قد بساطك مد رجلك
 'According to the size of your carpet stretch your legs.'—The same as our 'Cut your coat according to your cloth.'

28. لِسَانَهُ مِثْلَ مَقْصِ السَّكَافِ لَا يَقْصُ إِلَّا التَّجَاسَةَ

'Like a cobbler's scissors, which cut nothing but the impure (leather).—Spoken of a foul-mouthed man. Often the first half of this proverb is found enough.

29. كُلُّ الْكَلَابِ أَحْسَنُ مِنْ حَيْمُورٍ

'Every dog is better than Haymúr (proper name of dog, generally pronounced Hammúr).—The speaker is supposed to declare his dog worse than all others. Said by a man who complains of his wife, children, friends, and so forth.

30. مِثْلَ الْكَلَابِ شَبَعُهُ أَوْ جُوعُهُ

'Like dogs, full or empty (it is all the same).—Benevolently said of a poor man, or of one who wants everything.

31. النَّذْرُ لِلدَّيْرِ وَالْوَحْمُ عَلَى سَمْعَانَ

'Gifts to the convent and filth (polite people prefer *El balvá*, toil and trouble) for Samaan (proper name of the convent servant).—Said of a servant or a slave working for his master.

32. كُلُّ الدِّيُوكِ تَصْبِيحٌ وَالصَّيْتُ إِلَى أَبِي قَوْمْبُرَةَ

'All the cocks crow, but honour is given to the crested cock (*Abu kumburah*, a bird with feathered tuft, and therefore more remarkable).—Spoken of a man who carries off honours or profit from those more deserving.

33. كُلُّ شَيْءٍ عِنْدَ الْعَرَبِ صَابُونٌ

'Everything is soap to the Arab.'—Meaning, all is fish that comes to his net.

34. حَتَّى ابْنِ مَنَّا الَّذِي عَاشَ أَلْفَ وَمِائَةَ سَنَةٍ وَمَا تَهْتَأُ

'Hanná, son of Manná, who lived a thousand one hundred years, and never enjoyed himself.'—Said to one complaining of a little misery. The Spanish *Ommiad Khalifat el Nasr*. 'the heir of prosperity,' was more easily contented; he owned to two happy days in a reign of fifty years and seven months.

35. اذا امحلت حوران تساعد هجانه

'When the Hauran (plain) fails, Hijanah (the swampy region east of Damascus) supplies (provision).—Popularly said in praise of Hijanah.

36. الطيز طيزى والارض للسلطان

'My rump is my rump, and the land is the Sultán's.'—Spoken by a man, for instance, when another would turn him out of his place or property.

37. شرابه خرج لا بتعدّل ولا يتمل

'The tassel of a saddle-bag, which cannot straighten nor incline (the saddle).—Applied to a ne'er-do-weel, a useless fellow, a man of no consequence.

38. رعيف برغيّف ولا يبات جارك جيعان

'A loaf for a loaf (*i.e.* lend him a loaf), and let not thy neighbour remain hungry (for he will return thy loan).—Meaning, assist thy brother man, and he will assist thee.

39. خبزكم اكبر من خبزنا عيرونا برغيّف

'If your bread be greater than our bread, shame us with a loaf!'—Said to one from whom a favour is wanted, and who boasts that he can do it.

40. جارك القريب ولا اخوك البعيد

'Your neighbour who is near, and not your brother who is far.'—Meaning, your neighbour who does you good is better than a brother who does not. Also, a live dog is better than a dead lion.

41. العين ما ترتفع فوق الحاجب

'The eye cannot rise above the eyebrow.'—Said by an inferior to a superior, who would do him more honour than he deserves.

42. العين ما تقاوم مخرز

'The eye does not oppose a collyrium needle.'—Meaning, you are too cunning of fence for me to fight you.

43. اليوم لو كان فيها خير ما فاتها الصياد

'If there were any good in the owl, the hunter would not pass her by (but would have shot her).' Spoken thus, a man would buy an article; he hears that it has been seen and not bought by another whose judgment he values, and then he applies the proverb. Also, it means that the valuclessness of a person or thing is his or its safety.

44. يمصريّة كرفس ما بهينك يا نفس

'One para (*misriyah*) worth of watercress (is enough), and I won't dishonour you, O myself!'—Better be contented with humble fare (etc.) than support an obligation.

45. شهر الذى ما منه فايده لا تعد ايامه

'Of the month which does not profit you, count not the days.'—Meaning, take no useless trouble about what will not do you good.

46. يا ويل الذى ما له اضافرو يا ويل الذى ما له ظفر

'Woe to him who has no nails, and woe to him who has (no one to) back (him).'—The man who has no nails cannot enjoy King James's greatest pleasure, and the friendless man cannot prosper.

47. كل ديك على مزبلته صياح

'Every cock crows loudly on his own dunghill.'

48. الحجر بمحله قنطار

'The stone in its place is a *kantár* (hundredweight).'
The same as No. 47. Also they say, *Haswah saghirah tasnud khábiyah kantáriyah*. 'The little pebble supports (upright) the jar that holds a *kantár* (hundredweight).'

49. الذى يخفف راسه يتعب رجليه

'He whose head is light soon tires his feet.'—Meaning, that the foot is always running about; or said of a man who does a thing without reflection, his bolt is soon shot.

50. الحكى من فضه والسكون من ذهب

'Speech is of silver, silence is of gold.'—An old proverb in Syria; a comparatively new saying amongst us.

51. فرس الاصيله لا يعيبها جلالها

'A thorough-bred mare is not disgraced by her (bad) saddle.' They also say عدتها *iddat-há*, 'her packsaddle.' The *Jilál* is the flat pad, the *Sarj* is after the Frankish fashion.—Spoken, for instance, of a rich man in a bad hat.

52. مصفايه ما بيعيتها ثقب

'The cullender is not hindered by a hole (more or less).'
—Applied, for instance, to a man who habitually lies.

53. كل شى على بابه يشابه اصحابه

'Every thing in its place resembles its race.'—There is a similar saying, *Kullu aná yunzhah* (ينضح) *má fh*. 'Every pot pours out its (own contents).' Good trees bear good fruits.

54. قال النا جرابنه شوف الذبون واعطى على شكله

'Quoth the merchant to his son, look at the habitual buyer (the pratique), and deal to him accordingly.'—Meaning, treat every man as he deserves.

55. وقعت الفاره من القف قالت لها لسقطه الله

جوبتها انت ابعدى عنى وانا بالف خير من الله

The mouse fell from the ceiling, and the cat cried "Allah." The mouse replied (generally *kálat liha el fúrah*), "Go far from me, and I am with a thousand blessings from Allah." Allah,

is ejaculated when a man stumbles or falls. Said to a man who is getting into the hands of those who will harm him.

56. وقعت البقره وكثرت السلاخين

'When the cow falls, the knackers flock (to her).—Meaning, when a man gets into trouble his enemies collect to injure him.

57. مستهزئ الرجل برأس لنت يقتل

'He who despises men will be killed (for the sake of) a turnip.—Meaning, that if a man oppose one stronger than himself he will be lost by the least *faux pas*.

58. لو ما جراده ما وقع عصفر

'Had there not been a locust, the bird would not have fallen.—This alludes to a long story about a bird following a locust into a house, and being trapped. The king was anxious to take a young woman called Jeradah (the locust) from her old husband named Usfur (the bird); and the latter managed to escape by using the proverb. It is applied to a person who ventures too much. Also it means, 'If I had not bribed him, I should not have won my cause.'

59. يا ما اكثر اصحابي عند ما كان كرمي دبس ويا ما اقل اصحابي

عند ما صار كرمي يبس

'Oh! how many were my friends when my vines produced syrup; and oh! how few were my friends when that same vine dried up.—Familiar to all, *Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos*.

60. مثل الدجاج دايمًا يهدس بالغرابة

'Like the fowls which always think of the broken (or spoilt, corn, poultry food).—Said to a man always talking shop, about money, or women, for instance.



61. ما دامك على هل حصيرة لا هي طويلة ولا هي قصيرة

'As long as you lie on this mat, it will become neither longer nor shorter.'—Meaning, whilst you are so lazy and inactive, you will do no good, you will not prosper.

62. ايش المرليذي امر منه

'What is the bitter to one (who has tasted) the more bitter?'—Said when misfortunes or sorrows come one after the other.

63. لا عين تقشع ولا قلب يوجع

'Let not the eye discover what pains the heart.'—Meaning, wink at small annoyances. Also, the heart does not grieve at what the eye does not see.

64. مثل الدجاجة ما تملك على بيضها

'Like the hen who is not mistress of her own eggs.'—Said to a man of property who is not master in his own house.

65. كل قمحه مسوسه ابا كيال اعما

'Every worm-eaten (corn-)grain has a blind (others say one-eyed) measurer.'—Reproving a servant, for instance, who buys a bad article. Also, *Toute Fadette a son Fadet*.

66. الكذب ملح الرجال وعيب على من يصدق

'Lying is the salt (goodness) of men, and shameful (only) to one who believes.'—Said to a great liar, whose lies are, like salt, required for all kinds of food. It is also used in a literal sense, even as Bacon declared that the mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure—only a little less usually than the Syrian adage. The first half is often said without the second, and then it becomes a curious index of material thought.

67. لا تلوم الغائب حتى يحضر

'Blame not the absent (who is doing your work) till he shall appear.'—Similar to our *De mortuis*, etc. *Les absents ont toujours tort*.

68. مثل المرابعين يفرح بفتح العدل

'Like the *Murábatn* (hired labourers) who rejoice at the opening of the grain-bags (which benefit the master).—Spoken to or about a man who works for another's advantage.

69. الحق الكذاب لباب الدار

'Follow the liar to the house-door (*i.e.* to the end of his lies).—Said of a 'promising' man, push him as far as possible.

70. الذى يلعب القط يحتمل خراميشه

'He who plays with the cat must suffer her claws.'—Addressed to one, for instance, who is insulted after speaking to a rude fellow, who has touched pitch, and has been defiled.

71. من كثرة بناته صار الكلب صيرة

'From the number of his daughters, even the dog (in the streets) has become his son-in-law.'—The man with many (plain) daughters must make presents to every one in order to get them off his hands.

72. مثل حمار الزبال يمشى عاتق ومحمّل وخم

'Like the dustman's donkey, who paces swaggering, and yet carries only dirt.'—Spoken of or to a pretentious fellow. Also they call him *Himar muhammal Asfár*, 'ass laden with books.'

73. من يعتاز الكلب يقوله صباح الخير يا خالى

'He who wants the dog says to him, "Good morning, O my uncle," (or, *Sabahak el khayr haji halb*, "Good morning, Mister Dog").—So the people of Trinidad wittily say,

Dëir chein, cé chein ;

Devant chein

Cé, 'Missier Chein.'

74. اليد الذى ما تقدر تعضا بوسها و ادعى عليها بالكسر

'The hand which you cannot bite, kiss it, and pray that it may be broken.'—Same meaning as No. 73. They also say, 'He kisses the hands and he laughs at the beards.'

75. جهنم وبين البوابيح

'Hell and amongst the slippers!'—Meaning, for instance, that when you condescend to visit your enemy you expect to be civilly treated, and yet you are not—adding insult to injury. Also, don't let people say that I am in hell and also disgraced; I am lost in both worlds.

76. ما بقى احدا حتى قرص حتى دبان الفرس

'Every one has stung him, even the horse-fly.'—Said about a man who suffers from every one.

77. نلم الاعوج من ثورالكبير

'The crooked furrow is (the work) of the big bull.'—Meaning that the fault is from the great man. A saying often used about the rulers, who, of course, should set the best example.

78. ما عمره مقسيم دخل الجنه

'Never in all his life shall the divider (arbitrator) go to heaven.'—Because the arbitrator in these lands is always a rascal; he gets the best portion—the oyster, not the shells.

79. فراق البدو بعبا ولا بسوق العبي كله

'Get rid of the *Badawi* (wild man) with a cloak, and not with the whole cloak-market.'—Meaning, sacrifice a little to save much.

80. اذكر الذئب وهى القصيب

'Speak of the wolf, and make ready the club.'—So our adage, 'Talk of the Devil,' etc.

81. ابن الحلال عند ذكره يبان

'The honest man appears when he is spoken of.'—Said as No. 80. Also about a man who does good.

82. لا تستكثرا اولادك على عزرائل ولا مالك على الظلام

'Do not boast of thy many children before 'Azrail (the angel of death), or of thy wealth before the tyrants.'—The first half of this phrase is the more used.

83. لا تقول فول حتى يصير بالمكيول

'Do not say "beans" before they are in the measure.'—So our proverb about counting chickens; the vision of Mirza, etc.

84. حساب الحقله ما يبجي على حساب البيدر

'The estimate of the field (whose crop is still in grass) does not agree with the estimate of the thrashing-floor.'—Same signification as No. 83.

85. يا حواجه يا عينيه على المغتسل بائن

'O his (fine) eyebrows! O his (fine) eyes! they show upon the *mughtasal* (place where the Moslem dead are washed).'—This is especially a woman's proverb, meaning, it is useless to praise a thing which is before your eyes. They generally say, *Ya hawájibhu, ya 'uyunhu*, etc.

86. شد الخيط ومطه الذى عليه شى بيحطه

'Tighten the thread and draw it close; whoso has a share let him put it down (contribute it).'—Said, for instance, to a shareholder, one of a picnic, etc., who grumbles.

87. عشرة حلييه تحنك وشرب مويه

'A friendly party of Aleppines laugh, jaw, and drink water.'—Our 'tea and turn out.' *Tahannak* from *hanak*, a jawbone; in low language, as we say, to jaw, to chaff.

88. ديك انتحج من البيضه يصيح

'The clever cock crows from the egg.'—Alluding to a sharp boy: also meaning that the boy is the father of the man.

89. كل الجمال يتعارك ما عدا جملنا بارك

'All the camels are fighting together, except our camel, which is kneeling.'—Said by a man to himself when others are working round him, and he does nothing. *Jamal-kum* is used if applied to another. It also means all are employed except myself.

90. مثل الحمام حنيه بلا رضاعه

'Like the pigeon, fond (of her young) without suckling (them).'—Spoken of a man who is civil, but who will not spend his money.

91. انظريا حمار حتى يطلع الربيع

'Wait (for grass), O donkey, until spring comes.'—Said to a man who works without getting his wage. *Unsur* is for *intazir*.

92. هل اقرع عمرى ما جمرت

'This scald-head all my life I never cured (cleaned).'—The *akra* is always supposed to be a quarrelsome man. The saying would mean, I never met with such a tiger; I never interfere in this matter, and so forth. *Tajmir* is especially applied to burnishing gold and silver.

93. مثل شحمة قرد ما بيسلى ولا بيدوب

'Like the monkey's fat, which does not soften (*bi-yasli*) and does not melt (*bi-yadub*).'—Said of an impracticable or avaricious man. *sulu* means becoming semi-liquefied

94. احترت فيك يا اقرع كيف اداويك .

'I marvel at thee, O scald-head! how I shall cure thee?'—
Said when a man will not consent to anything. Like No. 93.

95. الكحل احسن من العما

'Kohl (collyrium) is better than blindness.'—Meaning, better to have a little than to lose all; because the use of kohl for a month may save the eye. The better form is *el ramad*, (ophthalmia) is better, etc.

96. كل ما شفت اعمى طبه ما انت اخبر من ربه

'When thou seest the blind man beat him down; (for) thou art not greater than his God.'—Punish the bad man, because he cannot do good. The Creator made the blind man blind. Also said of an ungrateful man. They tell a tale of the Prophet Jonah, who prayed the Lord to heal a blind boy, whereupon the latter began to stone him; the prophet quoted the proverb as above.

97. كنيسة القريبه ما بتشفى

The church which is near does not cure.'—Said of a man, for instance, who buys (or consults a doctor, etc.) from afar, when he can buy as well near. Also of near relations, one's cousins, for instance. Opposed to the Scotch idea of blood being thicker than water.

98. حس الطبل يودى الى بعيد

'The noise of the kettledrum goes far.'—Report flies abroad: the end often omitted is *wa juwáthū fārigh*, 'and she is empty inside.' That would be said of a windy boaster, etc.

99. صوت الطبل غطّا النايّات

The sound of the (big) drum drowns the flute.'—Said of a great man when a greater appears. Also in the form *Ajá* (has come) *el Tabl*, etc.

100. *جمل مطرح الجمل يبرك*

'The camel kneels on the place of the camel.'—Spoken, for example, when dismissing a servant; another can soon be found. 'There are as good fishes in the sea,' etc.

101. *كنت أصلى حتى بحصلى لما حصلت بطلت أصلى*

'I used to pray till I obtained (what I prayed for); but when I obtained it, I left off praying.'—Meaning, for instance, women fawn and flatter till they get what they want.

102. *المعروف مع غير اهله ضايع*

'Kindness is wasted on the undeserving (the ungrateful).'

103. *خذ الاصيل ولو انه على الحصير*

'Take the noble, though (sleeping) upon a mat.'—Meaning, in marriage (or in hiring servants, and so forth) prefer blood to money.

104. *الجمل لو شاف حردبته لوقع فك رقبتة*

'If the camel had seen his hunchback, he would have fallen and broken his neck.'—Corresponds with Burns's lines about the 'Giftie.'

105. *قالوا للعميان غلى الزيت قالوا هذا الهم لا يعنيننا*

'They said to the blind (men), "Oil is dear!" They replied, "This is a sorrow which does not touch us!"'—The blind not wanting lamps. The saying is applied to those who spread reports that do not concern the hearer.

106. *من جرب المجرّب كان عقله منحرب*

'Whoso tries the tried his intellect is belied.'—Meaning that he is a fool.

107. *حط قردك على قردك*

'Put thy monkey upon his monkey.'—Meaning, if a man will not hear you, din it always into his ears; or try who is the better man. A favourite proverb with the Jews.

108. لا تدعى لصاحبك بالسعادة تعدمه

'Pray not for the prosperity of thy friend, lest thou destroy him.'—Meaning, that when prosperous he will forget you. Said to a friend who has waxed rich.

109. اذا انعاق مرسالك استبشر فيه

'If thy messenger delay, hold it (a sign of) good news.'—As we say, 'No news good news.'

110. لا تكثر الزياره على الملوك اذا كانوا اهلك يكرهوك

Visit not often the kings (*i.e.* the great), for even if related to you they will hate you.'—Said to a tuft-hunter; also an excuse popularly made to one who reproaches you with not visiting him often enough.

111. كن بعيد وانتظر الذى تريد

'Remain afar and await what you want.'—Equivalent to 'Await the opportunity.' Almost same signification as 110.

112. كثر الشد يرخى

'Too much tying loosens.'—Meaning that man loses by pushing too fast.

113. ان كان ماشى على هل درب خيط بغير مسله

If he (the muleteer, etc.) be walking upon this road, let him sew with another pack-needle.'—Said, for instance, of one who asks an impossible favour, deeming it easy, 'Let him take some other thought;' this pack-needle can do no good.

114. البير الفارغ لا يملاه النداء

'Dew fills not upon an empty well.'—Said to a person who lives beyond his income.

115. هذه المصفاة لا يملأ طرف

'This filter will not fill the (water-) skins.'—Same as 114.

116. من يدق الباب يسمع الجواب

‘Whoso knocks at the door hears the reply.’—Similar to our ‘Knock, and it shall be opened to you.’

117. لا ظرف انخزق ولا زيت اندلتي

‘No skin has burst, and no oil has been lost (*lit.* poured out).’—Used when a man wishes, for instance, to decline a contract.

118. اذا دقيت على باب وما فتخوا لك فتش على عرضك ورج

‘If thou knock at a door which is not opened to thee, consult thine honour and go.’—Said when a favour is asked of one who makes excuses.

119. فاطمه بالعلم ولا حسن بالكتاب

‘Is not Fatimah (my daughter) at her task? Is not Hasan (my son) at his school?’—Meaning ‘What matter to me?’ *Kuttáb* in low language means a school.

120. لا من الذين آمنوا ولا من الذين كفروا

‘He is not of those who believe, or of those who disbelieve.’—Said of a man who does not care for anything. (Quoted from the Koran.)

121. مثل حمار المطران عاقل شيطان

‘Like the archbishop’s ass, a clever devil.’—Applied to a slippery fellow. They also say, *Misl himár el khákhán*, ‘Like the ass of the (Jewish) Scribe.’

122. اذا ضربت اوجع واذا اطعمت اشبع

‘When you hit, hurt (*i.e.* let him feel it): when you feed, fill.’—Our *Age quod agis*.

123. يا شى يصلح يا تركه اصلح

‘Either the thing is good, or to leave it (undone) is good.’—Same signification as 122.

124. أسرق على عدوك جيعان ولا تمر عليه عريان

'Pass by thy foe hungry; but pass him not naked (so that he can see you).—Meaning that if you ask a favour of an enemy, do not let him see that you want it.

125. العما ولا هذه الدوله

'Blindness, and not (rather than) this government.'—Said when an enemy gets into power. They tell a tale that the bear, the fox, and the monkey were in conversation, and the former expressed a desire to be *Wali* (Governor-General) of Syria. 'What will you do for me?' said the fox. 'I will make you my *Kihaya* (secretary),' was the reply. 'Strike me blind,' cried the monkey, 'before I see such a government!'

126. نحس تعرفه ولا سعد تتعرف به

'An unlucky man whom thou knowest, and not (rather than) a lucky man whom thou dost not know.'—Meaning, if you dismiss a servant, or drop a friend, you will probably take one worse. For *Sa'ad*, some say *Jayyid* (noble). They also say, *Al Usman marhumin bi yeji wahid anhas min el sani*, 'The sons of Usman (the Ottomans) are pitied, (because) he who comes is worse than the other (preceding him).'

127. من غير دف بيرقص

Without the timbrel he dances.'—Said of an excitable, passionate, fidgety man.

128. قالوا للاعمى ايش بتريد قال جوز عيون

They said to the blind man, 'What dost thou desire?' He replied, 'A pair of eyes!'—Said when you offer a thing which you know is wanted.

129. الذى ما هو من ظهرتك كلما جنّ افرحلنه

‘He who is not of thy loins, however mad he be, be glad.’
—Because his madness does not concern you. A rascal proverb, and great contrast to the *Homo sum*, etc.

130. حبيبي مليح وا جاء هبة ريج

‘My lover is handsome, and a breath of wind came to him (and made him love me the more).’—Meaning, he was glad (or grieved), and now he is the more gladdened (or grieved). To whom much is given, more shall be given us, etc.

131. حبيب بحبة ولو كان عبد اسود

‘I love my friend, though he be a black slave.’—Said when a man blames you for liking what is not worthy.

132. مثل معلم الاولاد حاضر الدقن وعايب العقل

‘Like the teacher of boys, whose beard is there, but whose wits are nowhere.’—Said to an absent man, one *cupo concentrato*, etc. There are the usual multitude of stories against schoolmasters. It is enough to quote part of this proverb, e.g. *Házir el dakan*.

133. عزيمة الحمار العرس يا للخطب يا للمويه

‘The invitation of the ass to a wedding is to (carry) wood or water.’—Said, for instance, of a man who has no right to be in a distinguished assembly; of one who works without pay, etc.

134. بلادى ولو جارت على عديّة واهلى ولو شحو اعلى كرامة

‘(It is) my country (home), although comfort has fallen out with me: (it is) my family, although they fail to befriend me.’—Used, for instance, when advising an exile to go home.

135. لو ما كان الوطن قتال كانت بلاد السو خراب

'If (one's) birth-place were not deadly, the poor lands (of the world) would be deserts, (as no one would go abroad).—Almost the same as No. 134.

136. الذى ما بده بجوز بنته يغلى نقتها

'He who wisheth not to marry his daughter asks much (ready) money.'—*Nakd* is the same as *Mahr*, the pre-nuptial settlement made upon the *Moslemah*. Said of one who, not wishing to sell, asks a ridiculous price. In Syria, men do not refuse to part with an article to a superior, but demand something unconscionable, as £100 for a dog.

137. بيحكى من كل وادى عصا

'He talks a stick from every valley.'—Said of one who talks much nonsense. A favourite proverb with the peasantry; not used in the city, but of course intelligible.

138. كما ستى كما سيدى

'Like my mistress, like my master.'—Supposed to be said in the language of a black slave girl. Applied to a man who cannot get satisfaction from or content any one. It would also mean, 'There is no good (to be got) from my mistress or my master.' Amongst Syrian Moslems the grandchildren address their grandparents *Sidi* and *Sitti*. The Christians for *Sidi* would say *Jaddi*.

139. ما بيحكك بدنك الا ضفرك

'No nail can scratch (thy body) but thine own.'—Advising a man to do his own business, and not to ask the aid of others.

140. البصه ما بتحرق الا مطرحها

'The (live) coal burns only its place.'—Meaning the heart knoweth its own bitterness, etc. Said to those who administer useless pity.

141. الذى تخدمه طيعه والذى ترهنه بيعه

'Obey the man thou servest, and sell the thing thou pledgest.'—Because it is useless to keep it. The proverb means, finish off your business—*Age quod agis*.

142. بيت الذى ربانى ما بينسانى

'The house which brought me up will not give me up (forget me).'—Although you will not assist me, others will.

143. كل شى تربيه ينفعك الا بنى آدم يقلعك

'Every thing (which) thou plantest will profit thee, save the son of man, who will uproot thee.'—Ingratitude is apparently the rule in Syria.

144. جيناك يا اقرع توانسنا كشفت قرعتك وخوفتنا

'We brought thee, O scald-head! to be company with us; thou didst uncover thy scald-head and frighten us.'—Said of a friend whom you summon to your aid, and yet he goes against you.

145. من تزوج من غير ملتة يموت بغير علتة

'Whoso marries out of his faith, he dies a living death (*lit.* he dies of a disease besides his own disease).'—The signification is evident. The proverb is also said to one who meddles with what does not concern him.

146. من آمنك لا تحونه ولو كنت خوان

'One who trusts thee, deceive not, though thou be a deceiver.'

147. ان ضاعت الامانه اعمل مخزنك حُبك

'If trust be broken make thy pocket thy store.'—Spoken to a man when you lose confidence in him.

148. يقتل القتيل و يطلع في جنازته

'He kills the killed (man) and goes to his funeral.'—Applied to a man who tricks you and pretends sympathy or friendship.

149. هلى بده نج ما يقول اح

'He who wants *nah* (goodies), says not *Ah*.'—Meaning, who wants to be a rich or great man must not show funk or doubt.

In Syria, and especially in Damascus, there is a child's language, which may perhaps number a hundred words, and which has found its way into literature. Witness the following rather pathetic 'Rubai' of the Shaykh Abd el Ghani el Nablusi :

طعميتك النم و نمم و نج النج
وسقيتك انبو والبستك حرير الدح
وتطلب التس منى ما اقدر اقل لك نج
اليوم يا منيتى انا البعبع وغيرى الدح

'I fed thee with the *nam* (goodies) and the *nam-nam* and the *nah-nah* (goody-goodies) ;

And I gave thee drink (*unbu*), and I clothed thee in silk the *dah* (nice) ;

And when thou askest a tip (*tiss*) I could not say thee *bah* (there is none) ;

But to-day, O my beloved ! I am the bugbear (*bu'bu'*), and another man is the nice (*dah*).'

In the proverb *nah* is a child's word for sweetmeats. *Ah* is the exclamation when eating something too hot, or when wanting to be led to the closet; in the latter sense *kikh* and *kukh* are used by the nurse. *Daadah* means 'walking,' *du*, 'falling,' 'a-'a (أأ), 'going near something dirty.' The camel, the horse, the ass, all have their nursery names, and these are sometimes by no means easy to write.

150. خاص التجارة لا مكسب ولا خسارة

'The specialty of trade is not to gain and not to lose.'—Said to a man when disappointed of a great profit.

151. مثل الذى أسلم الظهر ومات العصر عيسىي تر منه ومحمد ما عرف فيه

'As one who Islamized at noon, and died (before prayers) in the afternoon; Jesus got rid of him, and Mohammed has not learned him.'—Between two stools you fall to the ground.

152. كلشى عند العطار الا حبنى نصب ما فيش

'Everything is (to be found) in the druggist's shop, but "love-me-by-force" is not there.'—Applied to one who would force his friendship upon another.

153. لا نحلتك ولا تعتنى

'(Give me) not thy bee, and do not sting me.'—Said to a treacherous man who pretends to be friendly or who talks 'honey-mouf.'

154. الذى يموت يوميك باولاده

'He who dies bequeaths to thee his children.'—Quoted of a person who has not done the good you expected him to do. Some end the proverb—*yamûtú min al jua*, 'they (the children) die of hunger.'

157. شئ اقتير ما يبتلى

'The borrowed cloak never warms.'—Spoken by a man to whom a favour is done ungraciously.

158. شئ الذي لا يطلع من قلبه صعب

'The thing which comes not from the heart: its assistance is hard.'—Almost the same as No. 157.

159. دق الماء يدي ما

'Beat the water, and still it is water.'—Meaning a pig-headed man who agrees to nothing.

160. الذي ما تصب له اليدى ما يكتف عنك التوب

'What the hand has not toiled for, the heart does not toil for.'—We say, 'Soon won, soon lost.'

161. خير أئيدرو شمانه تعدا

'The greatness of the thrashing-floor, and not the exultation of thine enemies.'—Meaning, he works hard in order to disappoint those who would revel in his misfortunes.

162. المجنون ما له إلا أهله

The madman has none (to care for him) but his own (people).—Said to a man who is friendly, and from whom you want a favour. Also meaning, 'No one will have patience with your ill-haps but a relative.' A similar saying is, *Mā li yahian al 'at ul illa kishruh*, 'No one sympathizes with the lute except its wood' (its shell). Applied to the wife taking the part of her husband, etc.

163. تعلم من العشق كلمة او حشتنا

'He has learned from love (only) the word *Auhasitanā*.' ('You have made me sad by your absence,' 'it is long since I saw you.')—He learns only that, and he pretends to know much. Applied to a man who would be a sage, a doctor, a merchant, etc.

162. المولى ما له صاحب

'The departed (from this world) has no friend.'—Spoken of a man always changing his friends during life.

163. يوم الله يعين الله

'On God's day, God helps.'—Said, for instance, to a person who predicts your failure.

164. ارض الواطيه تشرب ما ها وما غيرها

'The lowland drinks its own water and the water of the other (upland).'—Meaning, he keeps friendly with all.

165. الذى ياخذ امى يصير عمى

'He who marries my mother becomes my (step-) father.'—We must be resigned to those who govern us. 'Amm is the paternal uncle, the step-father, or the father-in-law.

166. ما يكفى المية موته بل عصبته بالقبر

'Death is not enough for the dead, he must be squeezed in his grave.'—Meaning, a man not only dies, his family must spend money on his funeral. Said also, when, for instance, a man has too much to do, and more business comes. A similar saying is *khurkah* (for *khirkah*) *fauk el khurdah*, a wad or rag upon the (charge of small) shot; and *Shanḳulah fauk el himl*, a package upon the load—the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

167. قلنا لك شويه ما قلنا لك احرقه

'We said to thee, "cook it," not burn it.'—*Pas de zèle*.

168. انفخت الطبل وتفرقت العشاق

'The timbrel burst and the lovers were scattered.'—Quoted when offence is taken in company and all part displeased.

169. كل جديد له بهجه وكل عتيق له دفسه

'Everything new brings joy: everything old brings repulse.'—The new broom expels the old.

170. احفظ عتيقتك جديدك ما بيبقا لك

'Preserve thy old; (for) thy new will not last thee.'—Opposed to the former. In Syria also these sayings are in pairs.

171. قلبه من الحامض لوى

'His stomach from (eating) sour things is crude.'—Said when trouble (or business) comes upon trouble, etc.

172. كثير الغلبه راح لجهنم قال الحطب اخضر

'Much meddling went to hell (and) said, "The fuel is green" (there).'—Of course it is useless to tell those there what the state of the fuel is. *Ghalabah* is mostly applied to excessive talking, e.g., *Lá takassar el ghalabah!* in Persian, *Fuzuli ma-kun.*

173. من ذكرني بعظمه كنت عنده عظيم

'He who remembers me with his bone, honours me with his bone.'—Meaning, he shows that he remembers me. The play of words is upon 'Azm and 'Azim; *induh halb 'azim* is said by the baser sort.

174. اطلب الخير لجارك تجده بدارك

'Seek the good of thy neighbour, and thou wilt find good at home.'—Benefit yourself by benefiting others.

175. نفع لا لضيف ولا لالسيف ولا لغدرات الزمان

'He is no good; neither to the guest, nor to the sword, nor to the treachery of time.'—Said of a man utterly worthless.

176. نفع ما منه دخانه بيعمي

'There is no profit from him, and his smoke blinds.'—Spoken of one utterly worthless, and harmful withal.

177. ان كان طبّاخك جعيص لا تبالي من القرف

'If Yaís be thy cook, take no thought of thy squeamishness.'—Yaís was a notoriously unclean cook, who put too much water in his *marak* ('kitchen' poured on rice, etc.). The saying means expect no good from a bad workman.

178. كثرة الطباخين تحرق الطعام

'The number of cooks burn the food.'—'They spoil the broth,' as we say. A similar proverb is, *Kisrat el ruasa be yagharsik el markab*, 'Too many captains sink the ship.'

179. مفتاح البطن لقمه ومفتاح الشركمه

'The key to the belly is a bit (to eat, a mouthful), and the key to quarrel is a (hot) word.'—Used when people are to be dissuaded from quarrelling, or when persuading them to eat.

180. بارك ولا جنة غيرك

'Your (hell) fire, and not another man's heaven.'—Meaning, I prefer a poor gift from you to a rich one from another.

81. وعلى الكبير يساع الصغير

'The big vase contains the small one.'—That is to say, 'Be patient, you are a greater (or wealthier) man than he is.'

182. لا بد يذوب الثلج ويبان الوحم

'The snow must certainly melt and show the filth' (also خراً). Spoken of a man who makes much fuss about business of no importance.

183. مثل دجاج داريا بيترك اتعممه وبيأكل الخريه

'Like the hen of Dárayá (village) that leaves the wheat and eats the filth,' which explains itself.

184. التنايه عوجه

'The cucumber is crooked.'—Meaning, you can't make the cucumber straight, or the liar a truthful man. So they say, *Zanab el kalb a'awaj wa lau hattuh alf sanat li 'l kálíb*, 'The dog's tail is crooked though you put it in the mould for a thousand years.' Applied to bad government, etc.

185. ما شفت ولا قشعت ولا بعرف

'I have not seen, and I have not perceived, and I don't know.'—It is said that this is the first sentence of the catechism taught to the Jewish child at Damascus.

186. كل فعل جائز وكل مطلوب حرام

'All (things) done are lawful; all (things) asked for are unlawful.'—Used when encouraging a man to act upon his own responsibility.

187. مثل خورى عين طينه

'Like the priest of Ayn Tinah.' They relate that the parishioners having complained of their tyrannical parson to the Moslem authorities, found him sitting amongst and in high favour with the latter. A kind of Vicar of Bray. *Sajd* of one from whom you cannot escape.

III.

ON WRITING A ROLL OF THE LAW.

THE RULES PRESCRIBED BY MALMONIDES AND OTHER HEBREW AUTHORITIES.

I WAS led to investigate the rules established for the guidance of scribes in writing a roll of the Law by noticing the remarkable differences to be found in manuscripts of various dates, both as regards the arrangement of columns and the spaces left between certain words or portions, as well as in the forms of the letters and other minor points. I especially observed these in some old rolls from Saná in Arabia, mostly written upon red leather, in the possession of Mr. Shapirá of Jerusalem.

Feeling sure that much curious matter would be contained in Jewish writings—not only interesting in itself, as coming from sources but very little known, and scarcely available to any but Hebrew scholars, and showing in what regard, nay even how infallible, the laws and traditions of the scribes and elders are held, but also valuable in aiding to settle the date of mss.—I determined to devote some time to the subject. In this I have received most valuable assistance from Mr. Shapira, a German-speaking Jew by birth, thoroughly read in the Talmud and traditional lore of the Hebrews, and now a member of the Protestant community at Jerusalem. The gist of these notes is taken from Mai-

monides' מִשְׁנֵה חוּרָה, Mishna-Torah—Deuteronomy, or Repetition of the Law—which is also known as יָד חֲזָקָה, or Strong-hand; while the remarks and explanations are derived from various sources.

This Maimonides is frequently spoken of as Rambam, from the initial letters of his name—*Rabbi Musha Ben Maimon*. He lived in the twelfth century, and wrote about the year 1170 A.D., as we know from finding that date mentioned in his treatise on the calendar. He resided chiefly at Cairo, but visited Jerusalem in his capacity of physician to Salah-el-din, commonly known as Saladin. In addition to his knowledge of medicine, he was well versed in astronomy and Jewish traditional lore, on which subject he is still the chief authority of the Sephardim, or Spanish and Maghrabi Jews. After his death, his writings were attacked by certain Rabbis, but never with much success; many of the Safat school vigorously defended him, especially Yusuf Kara; a most learned and bigoted teacher in that then famous centre of Rabbinical learning, who flourished about the year 1540 A.D., and whose tomb is held at the present day in great reverence by the Jewish colony of Safat, one of the four holy cities of Palestine in Jewish estimation.

The first statement of Maimonides with regard to the duty of writing the Law is found in ch. vii. sect. 1, where he says, 'Every member of the house of Israel is commanded to write a roll of the Law for himself, as it is written (Deut. xxxi. 19), "Now therefore write ye this song for you."' This, he goes on to say, must be done by every one for himself; and not the song only, but the whole of the Law in which the song is contained, it being forbidden to write separate portions of Scripture by themselves.

In the Talmud, tract Sanhedrim, p. 21, according to the

teaching of Rabeh, it is necessary for every male Jew to write a roll of the Law. This argument is founded upon the plural 'ye' in the above-quoted passage, and the Rabbis take it to mean every one of the house of Israel, although there is no such injunction given in the Bible. 'Ye' clearly means Moses and Joshua, who (ver. 14) were ordered by the Lord to present themselves in the tabernacle of the congregation. And again (ver. 22), it is said, 'Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel.' Thus we see that the Talmudical rule is based upon a misinterpretation of Scripture, and supplemented by a purely Rabbinical command (Talmud, tract Gittin, p. 60), where the teaching of Abai and Rabeh forbid the writing of detached portions of the Law. No reason is given for this order, but it was issued seemingly to prevent men from transcribing some favourite portion more frequently than another, which would lead the unlearned to believe that these sections were more worthy of reverence and honour than others, and thus the integrity of the Scriptures would be impaired. Hence the command to write the whole Law or none. Our author goes on to state, that even if a man inherits a roll of the Law from his ancestors, he is nevertheless in duty bound to write a new one for himself; and that it is reckoned to every one who writes a roll of the Law with his own hand as though he had received it in person from Mount Sinai. This is fully enunciated in the Talmud, tract Menachoth, p. 33. Again, should the man be unable to write himself, he is bound to commission another to write a roll for him; and if he then corrects but one letter of the roll so written, it will be the same as though he had written the whole of the Law. This easy method of writing a roll is given in the teaching of Rabb Sheshath (Talmud, tract Menachoth,

In the Jerusalem Talmud tract Megilla 21a. it is said that three oral commandments were given to Moses at Mount Sinai, and that all three were to be written upon skins. One upon each phylactery, and upon the door-post. It is said that they were to be written with golden ink. It is said that they were to be written upon animal skins.

With reference to the first of these injunctions, we find that the ink must be written upon the skins of clean animals, that is to say those lawful for food. It is unlawful to write upon the skins of unclean animals, or of fishes, even though they be clean. The skins must be tanned by an adult male Jew, who is responsible and a true believer, not by a Gentile or slave, nor by a Jew that is insane or not arrived at majority, nor by a heathen. The tanner must tan the skin with the full purpose that it be used to write the Law upon: in fact, on purpose, it says the job, he must repeat this formula: "I do tan this skin on purpose that a roll of the Law be written upon it." The process of curing the skin must be gone through in the following order: first, to shave off the hair; secondly, to soak it in salt water; thirdly, to lay it for a time in meal-paste; fourthly, to tan it with gall-nuts; and lastly, to clean it. The skin so prepared is called Gevil parchment, and was orally bidden to Moses, who at the same time was enjoined to write only on the outer or hairy side of the skin, the side towards the body being unlawful.

Two other preparations of the skin were used, by splitting it into two thicknesses, the outer part being called Kalaph (vellum), and the inner Ducusustus דּוּכּוּסְטוּס. The law of tanning these is the same as that for Gevil. It is said to have been orally commanded to Moses to write the four portions of the arm and head phylacteries upon the inner side of Kalaph, and the door-post phylactery upon the outer side of

Ducsustus. Thus a scribe is enjoined to write a roll of the Law upon Gevil, arm and head phylacteries upon Kalaph, and door-post phylacteries upon Ducsustus.

Should it happen that a roll, by ignorance, had been written upon Kalaph, and there were no other at hand to read from, it would still be lawful to make use of that in such a case, provided that the whole of it were written upon one preparation. Should part, however, be on Gevil, and part on Kalaph, the roll must in any case be unlawful.

As regards the ink, *deyou*, י"ג (for the word see Jer. xxxvi. 18), we find in the Talmud, tract Shabath, p. 133, the recipe for making it, viz. to take soot deposited by the smoke of burning oil, resin, wax, and suchlike things, knead it up thoroughly with gum and honey, make it into small cakes, and dry it; then pound it very fine, and mix it with infusion of gall-nuts or some acid. This is an ink which does not leave an indelible mark; for if the ink dyes or stains, or gold letters be used, then the roll becomes unlawful.

The marked lines must be made (Talmud, tract Sophrim) with a hard piece of wood or iron, or some other substance which does not leave behind it any coloured mark. If more than three—or, as some say, four—words be not written upon marked lines, then the roll is unlawful. The writer too, in transcribing, must always have a correct copy before him; and it is forbidden, even to the most learned scribe, to write one single letter without copying it from the text that lies in front of him.

Maimonides continues, that the length of the line should be such as to contain thirty letters, or three times the length of the word לְמִשְׁפַּחֹתֵיכֶם ('to your generations'). This word is only twice used in the Bible, viz. Exod. xii. 21 and Num. xxxiii. 54; and in both these places the *vau* is omitted

after the cheth, thus making it a word of nine letters instead of ten. It is curious that so careful a writer should have made this mistake; and that it should have been quoted and copied, without comment or correction, by his very numerous followers, is still more remarkable. In the Talmud the word is given, but no number of letters assigned to it; thus the correct number of letters in a line would be twenty-seven. This breadth is ordered for the column in order that the *ms.* may not have the appearance of an Agiroth, or epistle. This word *תנא* is only used in those portions of Scripture which were written after the Exile, as Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and 2 Chronicles; and it seems that letters were written on narrow strips of skin or parchment; the word itself, in Hebrew, means a gathering together, a collection, and is used in old Karaite writings for a lexicon.

The scribe is farther specially enjoined not to make any words or letters smaller than the rest, and not to cramp his writing in order to make space for the necessary divisions. If at the end of a line he meets with a word of five letters, he is to be careful to write three letters in that line, and two in the next, not *vice versa*. If there is not room to write the three letters, he is to leave a blank space, and begin another line. If a word of two letters come at the end of a line, he is not to write it beyond the edge of the column—though this is allowed in the case of two final letters of a long word—but begin a new line with it. Half a long word, as of ten letters, may be written at the end of a line, and the other half beyond the column; but should there not be room for the half, the space must be left blank, and the whole word put at the beginning of the new line.

Most of the Rabbis, however, disagree with Maimonides about this last rule, and prove from the Talmud that of words

of five letters and upwards it is allowable to write at most two letters, while of words of two, three, or four letters it is permitted to write one only beyond the edge of the column. Most authorities, too, forbid the leaving of a blank space at the end of a line, because it has too much the appearance of a division; and to obviate this they allowed the letters מ ה ל א to be spread out thus, מ ה ל א, so as to fill up or cover the required space.

In ch. viii. sect. 7, our author says that the scribe is bound to leave four blank lines between each of the five books of Moses, neither more nor less; the following book is to be commenced at the beginning of the fifth line. Care must be taken to end the book of Deuteronomy in the middle of the last line of the column; should the scribe calculate that the writing will not reach to the end of the column, then he must gradually reduce the length of his lines, so that the last word but three may reach to the end of the penultimate line of the column; the first half of the last line must then contain the three final words, ל עיני כל ישראל ('in the sight of all Israel').

These rules are taken from the Talmud, tract Baba-Bathra, p. 13; tract Menachoth, p. 90; tract Sophrim, ch. ii.; and from the Jerusalem Talmud, tract Megila, ch. i., where it is also added, that the books of the Pentateuch must end and begin at the middle of a column; while the books of the Prophets are to end at the bottom and begin at the top of a column. This is so arranged that a man, if he wished it, might cut out any one of the books of the Prophets for his own convenience, but would be obliged to keep the five books of Moses together, it being unlawful to separate them.

Some rolls in the possession of Mr. Shapira, which were brought from Arabia, have all the books conterminous with

the columns. These may possibly have been written before the end of the third century A.D., when this rule was promulgated.

In sect. 8 of the same chapter the writer is admonished to be very careful about those letters which have to be made large or small, about the words which have to be pointed, and those which have to be written differently from the others; the winding *p*'s and crooked letters are to be written in conformity with the traditions handed down from the scribes of old till the present day. The Tagim תגים too (dots or crowns) must be scrupulously attended to; some letters must have no dots at all, some three, and some seven. Every crown must have the form of a *ʿ*, but as fine as a hair.

There is one complete alphabet of letters larger than the others, and one of smaller letters, in the whole of the Old Testament. These are not only pointed out by the Masoretic school, but mentioned in the Talmud, especially in tract Sophrim. Thus we see that they are as early as the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D.

The words in the Pentateuch were required to have a point over some of their letters, as we see from tract Sophrim and other passages in the Talmud. In tract Aboth of Rabbi Nathan we find that Rabbi Elieser, son of Simeon, gave reasons for some of these. For example, he asks, 'Why is the word וישקו ("and he kissed him"), Gen. xxxiii. 4, pointed?' It is to show that this was the only time that Esau gave Jacob a true kiss, all the others being false. This punctuation, consequently, has nothing in common with the grammatical points for helping the reader, which are of much later date, and are not mentioned in the Talmud. No points are prescribed to mark the ends of verses, chapters, &c. Some say that the division of the books into verses dates from the

eighth century A.D.; this I shall disprove from passages in the Talmud. In tract *Sophrim*, ch. iii., the following is contained in the seventh doctrine: 'A roll of the Law which has a division of verses, or has points at the beginning of a verse, is unlawful to read from. If the points have afterwards been scratched out or mixed up with the letters, the roll nevertheless remains unlawful.' (The tract *Sophrim* was written in the third century A.D.)

In certain of the old rolls before mentioned there is a single point at the beginning of the verses, and three at the beginning of portions. Some of these points have been scratched out, but some have been overlooked. These rolls have other points under the letters, in places one, and in others as many as four, in a verse. It seems impossible to assign any reason for these eccentricities, as it is difficult to imagine that a scribe, a learned man, should be ignorant of, or inattentive to, the doctrine of the Mishna, unless we say that the rolls were written before the promulgation of the above-mentioned rules or the publication of the Mishna.

With reference to the *Tagim* (from Syriac *tag*, a crown), see Talmud, tract *Menachoth*, p. 30, where Rabeah (who lived A.D. 300, and is not to be confused with Raba, who lived thirty-five years later) says that seven letters must have three crowns¹ each, viz. ש ע ו נ ט ב צ. Thus we see that the dots upon these seven letters are not only a tradition of the scribes, but a doctrine of the Talmud. There are other letters which, by tradition of the scribes, supported by anecdotes scattered through the Talmud, ought to have one crown apiece, viz. ק י ה ד ב.

¹ The single crown would be represented by our acute accent; the triple by an acute and a grave, forming an acute angle and bisected by a perpendicular. See note at end of this Appendix for these illustrations.

The rules for crowns on certain letters in the portions of Scripture used for arm, head, and door-post phylacteries, need not here be enlarged upon. It is an established rule, however, that all the crowns should be above the letters. A curious case of the non-observance of this regulation is to be seen in a ms. now in the hands of Mr. Alt of Frankfort-on-Maine. The letters have not only crowns and flourishes above but also below.

Maimonides states (ch. vii. sect. 9), with regard to the above-mentioned rules, that it was a virtue to follow them exactly; but should it happen that the scribe omitted some of the crowns, or made the lines too near together or too far apart, too long or too short, still, if none of the letters touch another, if no single letter has been omitted or inserted out of place, if all the letters are properly shaped, &c., then the roll is lawful in case of need.

It seems from the Talmud, and the demonstration of many later Rabbis, that our author referred only to the crowns on the letters which are ordained by tradition of the scribes. The seven which are so clearly mentioned in the Talmud must be crowned, and the roll in which they are not so written becomes unlawful, as though some of its letters were misshapen and improperly written.

In tract Menachoth, Rabbi Yehuda said, in the name of Rab (who lived A.D. 210), that every letter must stand distinct and separate, or else the roll is unlawful. The form of all the letters of the alphabet is nowhere mentioned collectively in the Talmud as a doctrine; but from scattered sayings, debates, teachings, and questions in the Babylon and Jerusalem Talmuds, we can pick out the form of nearly every letter. From these authorities it seems that the letter ן, as it now stands in printed books, was formerly writ-

ten otherwise. It is forbidden too to make any separation between the members of the letters; so the Yod of the Aleph must touch the body; and the three Yods of the Shin must be joined to the basal line. There are, however, two letters whose parts must be separated, viz. ך and ם: it is unlawful, according to the Talmud, to write them otherwise; and if they are so written, it is not enough to scratch out the necessary space, but the whole letter must be re-written: see tract Menachoth, p. 29, and tract Shabbath, p. 104, for the reason of these rules. Here we find that if there was any doubt as to whether a letter was correctly written or not, it was to be shown to a moderately-intelligent boy. If he could read it without difficulty, then it was lawful, and *vice versâ*. In some of the mss. before mentioned, we find nearly all the left feet of the letter Koph obliterated; a few have been overlooked, and these touch the main body. From this we may be led to imagine that these rolls were written before the promulgation of this rule, which is, however, very old. In the latter passage of the Talmud, we find that Rabanan told Rabbi Joshua son of Levi (who flourished about 250 A.D.), that among other things taught on a certain day in the synagogue was this: The letter Koph ך represents the word קדוש, the Holy One; and the letter Resh ר the word רשע, the sinner. 'Why does the Koph turn away its face from the Resh?—it being written thus ךׁ. It means that the Holy One has no pleasure in looking on the sinner. Why does the crown of the Koph incline to the Resh? To show that the Holy One holds out the crown to the sinner if he repent. Why is the space left between the foot and main body of the Koph? To tell the sinner that the door of the holy place is open to him if he repent.'

There are many rules observed in writing, which, though

In the Jerusalem Talmud, tract Megila, ch. i. it is said that three oral commands were given to Moses on Mount Sinai: viz. 1. that all rolls were to be written upon skins, not upon cloth, papyrus, or any other material; 2. that they were to be written with *deyow* ink; 3. that they were to be written upon marked lines.

With reference to the first of these injunctions, we find that the roll must be written upon the skins of clean animals, that is to say, those lawful for food. It is unlawful to write upon the skins of unclean animals, or of fishes, even though they be clean. The skins must be tanned by an adult male Jew, who is responsible and a true believer, not by a Gentile or slave, nor by a Jew that is insane or not arrived at manhood, nor by a Jewess. The tanner must tan the skin with the full purpose that it be used to write the Law upon; in fact, on putting it into the pit, he must repeat this formula: 'I do tan this skin on purpose that a roll of the Law be written upon it.' The process of curing the skin must be gone through in the following order: first, to shave off the hair; secondly, to soak it in salt water; thirdly, to lay it for a time in meal-paste; fourthly, to tan it with gall-nuts; and lastly, to clean it. The skin so prepared is called Gevil (parchment), and was orally bidden to Moses, who at the same time was enjoined to write only on the outer or hairy side of the skin, the side towards the body being unlawful.

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the columns. These may possibly have been written before the end of the third century A.D., when this rule was promulgated.

In sect. 8 of the same chapter the writer is admonished to be very careful about those letters which have to be made large or small, about the words which have to be pointed, and those which have to be written differently from the others; the winding *p*'s and crooked letters are to be written in conformity with the traditions handed down from the scribes of old till the present day. The Tagim תגים too (dots or crowns) must be scrupulously attended to; some letters must have no dots at all, some three, and some seven. Every crown must have the form of a *!*, but as fine as a hair.

There is one complete alphabet of letters larger than the others, and one of smaller letters, in the whole of the Old Testament. These are not only pointed out by the Masoretic school, but mentioned in the Talmud, especially in tract *Sophrim*. Thus we see that they are as early as the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D.

The words in the Pentateuch were required to have a point over some of their letters, as we see from tract *Sophrim* and other passages in the Talmud. In tract *Aboth* of Rabbi Nathan we find that Rabbi Elieser, son of Simeon, gave reasons for some of these. For example, he asks, 'Why is the word וישקו ("and he kissed him"), Gen. xxxiii. 4, pointed?' It is to show that this was the only time that Esau gave Jacob a true kiss, all the others being false. This punctuation, consequently, has nothing in common with the grammatical points for helping the reader, which are of much later date, and are not mentioned in the Talmud. No points are prescribed to mark the ends of verses, chapters, &c. Some say that the division of the books into verses dates from the

eighth century A.D.; this I shall disprove from passages in the Talmud. In tract Sophrim, ch. iii., the following is contained in the seventh doctrine: 'A roll of the Law which has a division of verses, or has points at the beginning of a verse, is unlawful to read from. If the points have afterwards been scratched out or mixed up with the letters, the roll nevertheless remains unlawful.' (The tract Sophrim was written in the third century A.D.)

In certain of the old rolls before mentioned there is a single point at the beginning of the verses, and three at the beginning of portions. Some of these points have been scratched out, but some have been overlooked. These rolls have other points under the letters, in places one, and in others as many as four, in a verse. It seems impossible to assign any reason for these eccentricities, as it is difficult to imagine that a scribe, a learned man, should be ignorant of, or inattentive to, the doctrine of the Mishna, unless we say that the rolls were written before the promulgation of the above-mentioned rules or the publication of the Mishna.

With reference to the Tagim (from Syriac *tag*, a crown), see Talmud, tract Menachoth, p. 30, where Rabeah (who lived A.D. 300, and is not to be confused with Raba, who lived thirty-five years later) says that seven letters must have three crowns¹ each, viz. ש ע ו נ ט ב צ. Thus we see that the dots upon these seven letters are not only a tradition of the scribes, but a doctrine of the Talmud. There are other letters which, by tradition of the scribes, supported by anecdotes scattered through the Talmud, ought to have one crown apiece, viz. ק י ה ר ב.

¹ The single crown would be represented by our acute accent; the triple by an acute and a grave, forming an acute angle and bisected by a perpendicular. See note at end of this Appendix for these illustrations.

The rules for crowns on certain letters in the portions of Scripture used for arm, head, and door-post phylacteries, need not here be enlarged upon. It is an established rule, however, that all the crowns should be above the letters. A curious case of the non-observance of this regulation is to be seen in a ms. now in the hands of Mr. Alt of Frankfort-on-Maine. The letters have not only crowns and flourishes above but also below.

Maimonides states (ch. vii. sect. 9), with regard to the above-mentioned rules, that it was a virtue to follow them exactly; but should it happen that the scribe omitted some of the crowns, or made the lines too near together or too far apart, too long or too short, still, if none of the letters touch another, if no single letter has been omitted or inserted out of place, if all the letters are properly shaped, &c., then the roll is lawful in case of need.

It seems from the Talmud, and the demonstration of many later Rabbis, that our author referred only to the crowns on the letters which are ordained by tradition of the scribes. The seven which are so clearly mentioned in the Talmud must be crowned, and the roll in which they are not so written becomes unlawful, as though some of its letters were misshapen and improperly written.

In tract Menachoth, Rabbi Yehuda said, in the name of Rab (who lived A.D. 210), that every letter must stand distinct and separate, or else the roll is unlawful. The form of all the letters of the alphabet is nowhere mentioned collectively in the Talmud as a doctrine; but from scattered sayings, debates, teachings, and questions in the Babylon and Jerusalem Talmuds, we can pick out the form of nearly every letter. From these authorities it seems that the letter ן, as it now stands in printed books, was formerly writ-

ten otherwise. It is forbidden too to make any separation between the members of the letters; so the Yod of the Aleph must touch the body; and the three Yods of the Shin must be joined to the basal line. There are, however, two letters whose parts must be separated, viz. ך and ם: it is unlawful, according to the Talmud, to write them otherwise; and if they are so written, it is not enough to scratch out the necessary space, but the whole letter must be re-written: see tract Menachoth, p. 29, and tract Shabbath, p. 104, for the reason of these rules. Here we find that if there was any doubt as to whether a letter was correctly written or not, it was to be shown to a moderately-intelligent boy. If he could read it without difficulty, then it was lawful, and *vice versa*. In some of the mss. before mentioned, we find nearly all the left feet of the letter Koph obliterated; a few have been overlooked, and these touch the main body. From this we may be led to imagine that these rolls were written before the promulgation of this rule, which is, however, very old. In the latter passage of the Talmud, we find that Rabanan told Rabbi Joshua son of Levi (who flourished about 250 A.D.), that among other things taught on a certain day in the synagogue was this: The letter Koph ך represents the word קדוש, the Holy One; and the letter Resh ך the word שׂר, the sinner. 'Why does the Koph turn away its face from the Resh?—it being written thus ךׂ. It means that the Holy One has no pleasure in looking on the sinner. Why does the crown of the Koph incline to the Resh? To show that the Holy One holds out the crown to the sinner if he repent. Why is the space left between the foot and main body of the Koph? To tell the sinner that the door of the holy place is open to him if he repent.'

There are many rules observed in writing, which, though

not mentioned in the Talmud, have been handed down by tradition of the scribes. For instance: Maimonides directs (ch. vii. sect. 10) that every column of a roll should have not more than sixty nor less than forty lines. In tract Sophrim, ch. ii. doct. 6, the number of lines is to be forty-two or sixty, seventy-two or ninety-eight; and the reason for these numbers is there given. The blank space between the portions, which I enter into fully in another place, is to be of sufficient length to write nine letters in it, or thrice the word **אשר**. In the column which contains the Song of Moses after crossing the Red Sea, there are to be five lines preceding the Song itself, the first line to begin with the word **הבאים**, 'that came;'; the second with **ביבשה**, 'upon dry land;'; the third with **יהוה**, 'the Lord;'; the fourth with **כה**, 'dead;'; and the fifth with **במצרים**, 'the Egyptians' (Ex. xiv. 28-31). After the Song there must also be five lines to begin with the words **ותקה**, 'and she took;'; **אחריה**, 'after her;'; **סוס**, 'the horse;'; **ויצאו**, 'they went out;'; and **ויבאו**, 'they come,' respectively (Ex. xv. 20-23). At the top of the column which contains the Song of Moses before his death there are to be six lines, to commence respectively with the words, **ואעירה**, 'to record' (or rather, 'to witness'); **אחרי**, 'after;'; **הדרך**, 'the way;'; **באחרית**, 'in the latter;'; **להכעיסו**, 'to provoke him to anger;'; and **קהל**, 'congregation' (Deut. xxxi. 28-30).

After this Song there must be five lines in the column, having these initial words: 1st, **ויבא**, 'and he came;'; 2d, **לדבר**, 'of speaking;'; 3d, **אשר**, 'which;'; 4th, **הזאת**, 'this;'; and 5th, **אשר**, 'which' (Deut. xxxii. 44-47).

The exact form in which the two Songs themselves are to be written will be described in another place.

In ch. vii. sect. 10, Maimonides states that the above-mentioned rules are given in order that the writer may pre-

pare to conform to them ; and it will be considered a virtuous action on his part if he does so. Should the scribe even depart from these rules, the roll does not become unlawful, unless he has written those words defective (קטר, *versio defectiva*) which ought to be written full (מלא, *versio plena*), or *vice versâ* ; or has written the Keri קרי, 'reading,' instead of the Katib כתוב, 'written' version ; or has made open instead of closed divisions, or *vice versâ* ; or has written the prose portions of Scripture in the form of a song. In any of these cases the roll becomes unlawful, and must not be regarded with the reverence due to a roll of the Law, but only as a book suited for the teaching of children.

A full list of the defective words here spoken of is nowhere given in the Talmud, this wearisome task being left to the so-called Masoretic school ; but there are many notices of them scattered throughout the book. The difference between the reading and written texts is frequently adverted to by the Talmud, and reasons given for it. As an example, we may take the words 'ishkabena' and 'ishgalena' (Deut. xxviii. 30), which have almost the same meaning, the former being the Keri, and the latter the Katib text ; or again (Deut. xxviii. 27), 'ubatchorim' and 'ubapolim.'

The roll may be used for teaching children to read from, if the inaccuracies consist only in the open or closed divisions, or in the manner of writing the poetical and prose portions. If, however, the spelling of words or shape of the letters be incorrect, then it is unlawful even to keep the roll in a house ; it must be buried.

A man is forbidden—see Talmud, tract Ketuboth, p. 19, where Rabb Aini quotes Job xi. 14 in support of his doctrine—to keep in his house, or even in his possession, an incorrect roll of the Law for more than thirty days ; but he must

either correct or bury it. Later on there will be occasion to speak more fully of this custom of burying rolls of the Law. A roll may be corrected even though it has three inaccuracies in every column; but if there are four mistakes in half or more of the number of columns, even though there be no other faults at all, then the roll may not be corrected, and must consequently be buried. If, however, the majority of the columns be correct, and in the minority there be one that has less than four errors, then it is lawful to correct such a roll. See the teaching of Rab (who lived about the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries, A.D.) in tract Menachoth, p. 29.

These rules only refer to the case of words which have been written as defective (רדף) when they ought to have been full (רדף), as these must be corrected by writing the omitted letters over the word. In the case of full words being written instead of defective, any number may be corrected, as it is only necessary to scratch out the superfluous letters (Maim. ch. vii. sect. 13). This is also mentioned in the Talmud, tract Menachoth, p. 29, where Agra, the father-in-law of Rabbi Aba (flourished in the third century), having superfluous letters in his roll, asked Rabbi Aba what he should do with them, and received this reply: 'Where it is forbidden to make corrections applies only to the case of wanting, not of superfluous letters.' This, however, hardly tallies with the rule (Maim. vii. 4) before mentioned, which prescribes a hair's breadth as the space to be left between the letters.

It is allowable to write the five books of Moses separately, one by one; but in this form they are not holy as a roll of the Law. It is not, however, lawful to write portions or selections of Scripture, even for the purpose of teaching children from them; but a man may commence a roll, and

use it as a book of instruction, if he has the intention of finishing it within a reasonable time. The only condition under which a person may write a portion of Scripture is, that he put no more than three words in each line (see Talmud, tract Juma, p. 37).

It is permitted to join the Prophets and the Scriptures to the Pentateuch in one roll; but the scribe must leave four blank lines between each book of Moses, and three between each book of the Prophets, whether the Greater or the Lesser. This rule was given as early as A.D. 120 by Rabbi Mair, in Talmud, tract Baba-Bathra, p. 13.

The order of the Prophets is: 1, Joshua; 2, Judges; 3, Samuel; 4, Kings; 5, Jeremiah; 6, Ezekiel; 7, Isaiah; and then the twelve minor Prophets. The Scriptures stand thus: 1, Ruth; 2, Psalms; 3, Job; 4, Proverbs; 5, Ecclesiastes; 6, Song of Solomon; 7, Lamentations; 8, Daniel; 9, Esther; 10, Chronicles. The blank lines for the purpose of dividing the books has already been noticed, ch. vii. sect. 7.

It is explained in the Talmud, tract Baba-Bathra, p. 14, that although Hosea prophesied before Isaiah, his writings are put after the greater Prophets, for fear of their being lost by reason of their smallness; and although Isaiah's prophecy is earlier than that of either Jeremiah or Ezekiel, the former of these two is made to follow Kings, because that book ends with the Captivity of Judah, and the whole contents of Jeremiah relate to this time of bondage. Ezekiel then follows, as he prophesied during the Captivity; and his book, which ends with words of comfort, is suitably followed by Isaiah. Notwithstanding that Job lived in the time of Moses, his book is put in the third place, it being judged unadvisable to begin the Scriptures with a book of suffering.

In the list just given, Maimonides has left out the book

of Ezra, seemingly by mistake, as it is clearly mentioned in the Talmud—Nehemiah there being included in it—which says that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch, except the last eight verses of Deuteronomy (here we see incidentally that the division into verses was recognised as early as the beginning of the third century); that Joshua wrote his book, except the verses relating to his death; that Samuel wrote the books called after him, and also the books of Judges and Ruth; the verses, however, relating to his death were written by Gad and Nathan the prophets. David and ten prophets were the joint authors of the Psalms. Jeremiah wrote his book of prophecy, Lamentations, and the books of Kings. Hezekiah and his disciples are said to have written the book of Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the prophecy of Isaiah, who, according to the Talmud, tract Jebamoth, had not time to complete his work, being slain in the prime of life by king Manasseh, who sawed him in two as he was hiding in a hollow cedar-tree. Ezra wrote the book of Chronicles, and part of the book called by his name, which was finished by Nehemiah. The members of the Great Synod wrote the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther, as well as the twelve Minor Prophets.

The whole of the Scriptures must be written upon marked lines, which I have already described, even though they be upon paper, which seems to be allowed for the use of schools, though it is distinctly contrary to the command stated to have been given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai (see Talmud, tract Megila, ch. i.). The doctrine of marked lines is at least as old as the second century A.D.; for we find in the Talmud, tract Megila, p. 18, and tract Menachoth, p. 32, Rabbi Jeremiah, quoting Rabbi Jehudah (the author of the Mishna), says that phylacteries need not be written on marked

lines, &c. Some of the rolls from Arabia, which I have before mentioned as frequently differing from Talmudical regulations, are not written upon marked lines.

As regards the peculiar sanctity attached to a roll of the Law, it seems that if the Scriptures and the Prophets were joined to the five books of Moses, then the roll was only to be regarded with the reverence due to one book of Moses. The reason given for this curious decision is, that too much is equally a fault with too little. The promulgator of it seems to have feared that the holiness of the Pentateuch would be diluted by contact with the other books of the Bible, or its odour of sanctity absorbed by some chemical process.

Chapter viii. of Maimonides commences with the rules for open and closed, or broad and narrow, partitions (*petucha*, פתוחה, and *stima*, סתימה). The open partition is of two forms: 1st, if the scribe ends one section in the middle of a line, and there is still space in that line to write nine letters, then he must begin the next section at the beginning of the following line. 2d, if there is no blank space at the end of the line, or not sufficient to write nine letters in it, then a whole line must be left blank, and the succeeding section must begin with the third line.

The introduction of the open and closed partitions seems to be earlier than the time of the Mishna; for we find in the Talmud, tract *Menachoth*, pp. 31, 32, mention of Rabb having written the door-post phylacteries with closed partitions, as in the Pentateuch. The texts used for these phylacteries are Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21. A saying of Rabbi Simeon is also quoted, to the effect that he once saw Rabbi Mair writing a door-post phylactery upon a piece of *Ducusust* like a board (*i. e.* long and narrow), and leaving blank borders at top and bottom, and open partitions. Rabbi Simeon asked

the reason of this, and was answered, that though they were closed partitions in the roll of the Law, yet the two texts are not near one another in the Pentateuch, and have consequently no right to closed partitions.

We see here that the doctrine of closed and open divisions is as early as the time of Rabbi Mair (flourished A.D. 120), though they are not mentioned in the Mishna, which generally left rules of this kind to the Masoretic teachers. In the Talmud, tract Sophrim, ch. i. doct. 14, and in the Jerusalem Talmud, tract Megila, ch. i., rules are laid down about them. Many of the later Rabbis disagree strongly with Maimonides, and most modern rolls are written in conformity with his first rule. There is great difference of opinion too about the size of the blank to be left; Maimonides maintains that it must be sufficient for nine large letters, as in the word *שָׁמַיָּם*; while other Rabbis hold that space for nine yods is enough.

We now come to the closed partitions, which are of three forms: 1st, if the scribe ends a section in the middle of a line, he must leave room for nine letters, and then write one word of the following portion at the end of the line. 2d, if there is not space for the above rule to be carried out, then the latter part of the line is to be left blank, and the next section to be begun in the middle of the second line. 3d, when a section is conterminous with a line, sufficient space must be left blank in the next line, and the next section made to begin in the middle of the line.

Some of the Rabbis allow a smaller space for the closed than for the open partitions; but most rolls, even the oldest, are written in conformity with the rules given by Maimonides, who lays great stress upon their being rigidly adhered to; for he says that a roll which is incorrectly written with regard to

the defective or superfluous letters may be easily corrected, as already shown ; but if the blank spaces are not left in their proper places ; if an open be put for a closed partition, or the contrary ; or if a blank space be put where it ought not to be, or be omitted ; or if the form of a poetical portion be changed, then the roll becomes unlawful, and can only be remedied by cutting away the whole of the incorrect portions, and substituting properly-written ones in their places.

Maimonides then goes on to tell us (ch. viii. sect. 4) that, owing to the great confusion in all the treatises on these partitions, he has judged it expedient to give a full list of all the passages in the Pentateuch which require open or closed divisions. Of the former there are 290, of the latter 379. (The chapters and verses in this list are taken from the printed Hebrew Bible, not from the Authorised Version.) The roll which Maimonides used as his standard was one for many years in the possession of, and corrected by, Rabbi Ben Asher, who lived about the beginning of the tenth century. It contained, he says, all the twenty-four books of the Bible, and was considered so trustworthy, that it was taken from Jerusalem to Egypt, in order that all the mss. there might be corrected by it. The twenty-four books are counted thus by the Jews : 1-5, the Pentateuch ; 6, Joshua ; 7, Judges ; 8, Samuel ; 9, Kings ; 10, Jeremiah ; 11, Ezekiel ; 12, Isaiah ; 13, the twelve Minor Prophets ; 14, Ruth ; 15, Psalms ; 16, Job ; 17, Proverbs ; 18, Ecclesiastes ; 19, Song of Solomon ; 20, Lamentations ; 21, Daniel ; 22, Ezra and Nehemiah ; 23, Esther ; 24, Chronicles.

IN GENESIS

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	6, 9, 14, 20, 24.
II.	1, 4.
III.	22.
VI.	5, 9.
IX.	18.
X.	1.
XI.	1, 10.
XII.	1, 10.
XIV.	1.
XVIII.	1.
XXI.	22.
XXII.	1, 20.
XXIII.	1.
XXV.	1, 12, 19.
XXVI.	1.
XXXII.	4.
XXXV.	1, 9, and in middle of v. 22.
XXXVI.	1, 31.
XXXVII.	1.
XXXVIII.	1.
XL.	1.
XLI.	1.
XLVIII.	1.
XLIX.	1, 5, 8, 13, 14, 27.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
III.	16, 17.
IV.	1.
V.	1, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 25, 28, 32.
VI.	13.
VIII.	15.
IX.	8.
X.	15, 21.
XI.	12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26.
XV.	1.
XVI.	1.
XVII.	1, 15.
XX.	1.
XXI.	1.
XXIV.	1.
XXVI.	34.
XXVII.	1.
XXVIII.	10.
XXXIII.	18.
XXXIV.	1.
XXXVI.	20.
XXXIX.	1.
XLIV.	18.
XLVI.	8, 28.
XLIX.	16, 19, 20, 21, 22.

IN EXODUS

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	8.
II.	1, 23.
IV.	18, 27.
VI.	10, 13.
VII.	1, 8, 26.
IX.	1, 8, 22.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
III.	1.
VI.	2, 14, 20.
VII.	14, 19.
VIII.	1, 12, 16.
IX.	13.
X.	12.

IN EXODUS (*continued*)

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
X.	1.
XI.	1.
XII.	21, 37, 43.
XIII.	1, 11.
XIV.	1, 15, 26.
XV.	1, 20.
XVI.	11.
XVII.	1, 8, 14.
XVIII.	1.
XIX.	1.
XX.	8, 18.
XXI.	1, 28.
XXII.	13, 24.
XXIII.	20.
XXIV.	1.
XXV.	1, 23, 31
XXVI.	15.
XXVIII.	6.
XXX.	1, 11, 17, 22.
XXXI.	12.
XXXII.	7, 15.
XXXIII.	12, 17.
XXXIV.	1, 27.
XXXV.	4, 30.
XXXVI.	14.
XXXVII.	1, 10, 17, 25.
XXXIX.	2, 8, 22, 33.
XL.	1, 34.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
XI.	4, 9.
XII.	20, 51.
XIII.	17.
XV.	22, 27.
XVI.	4, 28.
XX.	1, 2, 7, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22.
XXI.	7, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 33, 35, 37.
XXII.	4, 5, 6, 9, 15, 17, 10, 27.
XXIII.	1, 4, 5, 6, 26.
XXIV.	12.
XXV.	10.
XXVI.	1, 31.
XXVII.	1, 9, 20.
XXVIII.	1, 13, 15, 31, 36.
XXIX.	1, 38.
XXX.	34.
XXXI.	1, 18.
XXXIII.	1.
XXXV.	1.
XXXVI.	8, 20.
XXXVIII.	1, 8, 21, 24.
XXXIX.	6, 27, 30, 32.
XL.	17, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33.

IN LEVITICUS

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	14.
III.	1, 6, 12.
IV.	1, 13, 22, 27, 32.
V.	1, 17, 20.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	10.
II.	1, 4, 5, 7, 14.
V.	11, 14.
VI.	7.

IN LEVITICUS (*continued*)

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
VI.	1, 12, 17.
VII.	1, 11, 28.
VIII.	1.
X.	8, 12.
XI.	1.
XII.	1.
XIII.	1, 9, 18, 29.
XIV.	1, 33.
XV.	1, 19.
XVI.	1.
XVII.	1.
XVIII.	1.
XIX.	1, 23.
XX.	1.
XXI.	1.
XXII.	1, 17.
XXIII.	1, 4, 9, 23, 33.
XXIV.	1, 5, 13.
XXV.	1.
XXVI.	3, 14.
XXVII.	1.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
IX.	1.
XI.	29, 39.
XIII.	24, 38, 40, 47.
XIV.	21.
XV.	16, 25.
XVIII.	6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.
XIX.	33.
XXI.	10, 16.
XXII.	26.
XXIII.	15, 26.
XXIV.	10.
XXV.	8, 25, 29, 35, 39, 47.
XXVI.	27.
XXVII.	9.

IN NUMBERS

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48.
II.	1, 32.
III.	1, 5, 11, 14, 45.
IV.	1, 17, 21.
V.	1, 5, 11.
VI.	1, 22.
VII.	18, 24, 30, 36, 42, 48, 54, 60, 66, 72, 78, 84.
VIII.	1, 5.
IX.	1, 9.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
I.	20.
II.	10, 17, 18, 25.
III.	27, 40.
IV.	29, 38.
VI.	24, 25, 26, 27.
VII.	1, 12.
VIII.	23.
IX.	15.
X.	29, 35.
XII.	4.
XV.	22, 27, 35.

IN NUMBERS (*continued*)

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
x.	1, 11.
xi.	1, 16, 23.
xii.	1, 14.
xiii.	1.
xiv.	11, 26.
xv.	1, 17, 32, 37.
xvi.	1.
xvii.	6, 16, 25, 27.
xviii.	8, 25.
xix.	1.
xx.	1, 7, 22.
xxi.	4, 21.
xxv.	1, 10, 16, and in middle of ver. 10.
xxvi.	1 (in the middle of the verse), 52.
xxvii.	6, 12.
xxviii.	1, 9, 11.
xxix.	1.
xxx.	2.
xxxi.	1.
xxxii.	1, 20.
xxxiii.	1.
xxxiv.	1, 16.
xxxv.	1, 9.
xxxvi.	1.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
xvi.	20, 23.
xvii.	1, 9.
xviii.	1, 21.
xx.	12, 14.
xxi.	1, 17.
xxii.	2.
xxvi.	12, 15, 19, 23, 26, 28, 35, 38, 42, 44, 48, 57.
xxvii.	1, 15.
xxviii.	16, 26.
xxix.	7, 12, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 35.
xxxi.	13, 21, 25.
xxxii.	5, 16.
xxxiii.	40, 50.

IN DEUTERONOMY

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
iv.	1, 25, 41.
v.	1.
vi.	4.
vii.	12.
viii.	1, 17.
ix.	1.

The closed are :

Chap.	Verses.
ii.	2, in middle of ver. 8, 17, 31.
iii.	23.
v.	6, 11, 12, 16, 17 (as well as three others within this and the following

IN DEUTERONOMY (*continued*)

The open partitions are :

Chap.	Verses.
X.	1, 12.
XIII.	2.
XIV.	22.
XV.	19.
XVI.	1, 13.
XVII.	8.
XIX.	11.
XXI.	1.
XXII.	6.
XXV.	17.
XXVI.	1.
XXVII.	1.
XXVIII.	1, 15.
XXIX.	1, 9.
XXXI.	1, 14.
XXXII.	1, 44, 48.
XXXIII.	1, 8.

The closed are :

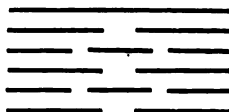
Chap.	Verses.
	ver.), in the middle of ver. 19.
VI.	10, 16, 20.
VII.	1, 17.
XI.	10, 13, 22, 26, 29.
XII.	20, 29.
XIII.	7, 13.
XIV.	1, 3, 9, 11, 28.
XV.	1, 7, 12.
XVI.	9, 18, 21.
XVII.	1, 2, 14.
XVIII.	1, 3, 6, 9.
XIX.	1, 14, 15.
XX.	1, 10, 19.
XXI.	10, 15, 18, 22.
XXII.	1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28.
XXIII.	1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26.
XXIV.	1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20.
XXV.	1, 5, 11, 13.
XXVI.	12, 16.
XXVII.	9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.
XXVIII.	69.
XXX.	1, 11, 15.
XXXI.	7.
XXXIII.	7, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 24.
XXXIV.	7.

As no reason is given for the form of these divisions, one would imagine that the open partitions would be used as a break in places where there is but little connection between sentences or relations; but this is not the case, for we find

open partitions even in the middle of verses, and frequently between two sentences closely connected by sense, while closed partitions are often put between passages whose contents have no relation to each other.

The rules given for writing the Song of Moses before his death are very precise, but it is enough to say here that the whole Song be written in seventy lines, and that a blank space is to be left in the middle of each line.

The Song of Moses at the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 1-19) is to be written in thirty lines in this form :



etc. etc.

The exact words with which each division is to begin will be found by reference to any printed Hebrew Bible.

In ch. ix. of our treatise we are told that the circumference of a roll should not exceed its breadth or height—in fact, they ought to coincide. If the roll be written upon Gevil, it should be twenty-four fingers or six hand-breadths' wide, and the same applies to Kalaph. The exact width, however, is not considered of very great importance, so that it equal the circumference. The blank margins ought to be three fingers broad at the top of the columns, four at the bottom, and two between the columns : so that a blank of one finger's breadth must be left at each side of a sheet of parchment, as well as a piece sufficient for the stitching. The doctrine of the size of the roll is as early as the second century ; for we find it enunciated by Rabbi Jehuda, the author of the Mishna, in the Talmud, tract Baba-Bathra. The size of the margins is prescribed in tract Menachoth, p. 30, and in tract Sopherim.

Then follow rules for cutting the parchment to a convenient size for a roll, the number of lines and letters in a column, and various calculations and pieces of advice given by Maimonides to assist the scribe: these, as of no general interest and not being dependent upon any maxims of the Talmud, are best omitted. The finger-breadths before mentioned are stated to be equal to the width of seven ordinary barley-corns placed side by side, or to the length of two such grains. A hand's-breadth is four fingers, and a cubit six hands'-breadth: this is the standard of all measurements given in the Bible or the Talmud. The roll which Maimonides wrote for himself is recommended as a pattern: it was made from rams' skins, and contained 226 columns, each four fingers wide, except the three which contained the Songs, and these were each six fingers broad: there were fifty-one lines in each column. The whole length of the roll, including the margins, was thus 1366 fingers.

In ch. ix. sect. 12, a *Beraita* is quoted from the Talmud, tract *Menachoth*, p. 30, or tract *Sophrim*, ch. ii., to the effect that it is not permitted to write more than eight or less than three columns on one sheet. If the scribe has a piece of skin on which he could write nine columns, he is advised to cut it into two, and write four columns on one and five on the other. This rule does not apply to the final sheet of a roll, for on that he may write even a single verse.

This expression, 'a single verse,' is most difficult to understand; for in ch. vii. sect. 7, we have shown that the last three words of Deuteronomy must be written in the first half of the last line in the page or column, which (see tract *Sophrim*, ch. ii. doct. 6) must not have less than forty-two lines. To write nine words, containing thirty-five letters in all, over this space would not be easy. We cannot even get out of the

difficulty by supposing that the verses were formerly larger than now; for in the Beraita of tract *Baba-Bathra*, p. 14, the number of verses in Deut. xxxiv. from the words, 'So Moses the servant of the Lord died,' to the end, is given as eight; this corresponds to our division. We can only imagine that the Beraita is not to be taken at the letter, but to mean that a small portion at the end of the Law may be written on a separate sheet.

When the roll is written, the sheets are to be sewn together with sinews, taking care to leave the stitches a little open at the top and bottom to prevent the sheets from tearing asunder; the whole is then to be sewn on to two sticks or rollers. The sinews must be taken from clean animals; the best and whitest are found in the legs. The rule for sewing with sinews is at least as early as the second century, as we see in Talmud, tract *Makoth*, p. 11, where, in a dispute between Rabbi Jehuda and Rabbi Mair, it was decided that cotton threads were unlawful for the purpose of sewing a roll together. Phylacteries, too, were to be sewed with sinews, on the authority of Hillel, who was chief Rabbi B.C. 30 (see Jerusalem Talmud, tract *Erabun*, last chapter; and also tract *Sophrim*, ch. i. doct. 1). The regulation for leaving the stitches open at the top and bottom of the sheets is found in tract *Megila*, but as it was not one of the oral commands given to Moses, the neglect of it does not make a roll unlawful. The custom of using two sticks to roll the manuscript upon is at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, as we learn from the testimony of Rabbi Elieser the son of Rabbi Zadek, who says that he saw the scribes of Jerusalem making use of them, and who lived at this period (see the Beraita in tract *Baba-Bathra*, p. 14).

When a roll is torn, it must be sewn together, even if the

rent be only in the margin or between the words. If, however, the tear go through more than two lines in an old manuscript, or three in a new one, then it is necessary to put in a new page. By a new roll is meant one on which the marks of the acid or infusion of gall-nuts are still visible, otherwise it is accounted old. All rents must be mended with sinews, but great care must be taken not to injure the letters by sewing through them. On the authority of Rabb in tract Menachoth, p. 31, it is allowable to paste a strip of parchment under a rent; but this doctrine seems not to have been generally recognised, or we should expect to find it in the Beraita.

In ch. x. sect. 1, we find a list of twenty causes for a roll of the Law becoming unlawful, in which case we are told that it is to be considered merely with the reverence due to one book of the Pentateuch: it may be used for the instruction of children (except in certain cases, as No. 10), but it is forbidden to read from it in the synagogue.

The twenty causes are :

1. If it be written on the skin of an unclean animal.
2. If it be written on the skin of a clean animal which has not been prepared according to the rules given in ch. vii.
3. If the skin has not been prepared in the name of God and for the purpose of writing the Law upon it.
4. If it be written on the inner side of Gevil or the outer of Kalaph.
5. If part be written on Gevil, and part on Kalaph.
6. If written upon Ducsustus.
7. If not written upon marked lines.
8. If there be no margin.
9. If it be written in any language other than Hebrew.

In the Talmud, tract Megila, pp. 8, 9, it is permitted to write with Greek characters, and even in the Greek language,



because the seventy-two Elders translated the Law into Greek by order of king Ptolemy. Here, too, we find the reasons for the variation of the Greek translation from the original. In tract Sanhedrim we are told why Ezra changed the form of the letters from Hebrew (as the Samaritan character is called in the Talmud) to Ashirith, as the character in use at the present day is called.

10. If written by an Epicurean, or any other person who cannot lawfully be a scribe.

In tract Gittin we find that a roll of the Law written by an apostate, by a man who takes money from Jews on behalf of Gentiles, by a man who denounces a Jew to a Gentile, by a slave, a woman, or a boy, must be buried: one, however, written by an Epicurean must be burned.

11. If any of the names of God are carelessly written.

The names of God are as follow: יה, Lord; יהיה, Lord; אהיה, I am; שדי, Almighty; צבאות, Heavenly Host; אדני, Lord; אל, God; אליה, God; אלהי, God; אלהים, God.

Some of the names, as Adonai, Elohim, and Sebaoth, did not always apply to God Almighty. These are considered as profane in the Talmud, and most of the passages of the Bible in which they occur are found scattered here and there throughout the book. It will be sufficient if a few examples be given: 'For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof ye shall be as gods,' Gen. iii. 5. In this passage the first 'God' is holy and 'gods' is not, nor is the word 'God' in Gen. xx. 13: 'And God caused me to wander.' In Isaiah, ch. viii. 7, the word Immanuel is not considered holy, but in v. 10—where the Authorised Version translates it 'God with us'—it is holy.

The laws relating to the use of the names of God in vowing, swearing, or cursing, have no reference to our subject,

but those which have to do with writing the Law are as follow: 1. A scribe must say before writing a holy name of God, 'I am ready to write the name of the Lord with mind and understanding.' If he omit this formula even once, the roll is made unlawful. 2. He must not write the name of God with a freshly-dipped pen, for fear of making a blot, but must fill his pen when he has at least one letter to write before the holy name. 3. He is not allowed to put a single letter of the holy name either out of, or between, the lines. 4. According to the Talmud, it is forbidden in Deut. xii. 3, 4, to scratch out, destroy, or blot out even a single letter of a holy name, in the words, 'Ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place. Ye shall not do so unto the Lord your God.' If a holy name be written incorrectly upon anything, whether an earthen or stone vessel or a sheet of parchment, that thing must be buried, and replaced by a correct one. 5. The scribe is not allowed to think of anything else, or to speak, while he writes the holy name, nor to give an answer even to the greeting of the king (see Jerusalem Talmud, tract Brachoth, ch. v.). Some of the cabalistic scribes went so far as to wash their whole body in water before writing the holy name.

12. If a single letter be wanting.

13. If there be a single letter too many. As before shown, however, these may, under certain conditions, be corrected.

14. When one letter touches another.

Most Rabbis also include under this head letters which are written partly in the empty spaces of other letters, though they do not absolutely touch.²

15. If a letter be illegible, or can be mistaken for another letter on account of its being badly written, or worn by age,

² See terminal note.

or blotted. (This will of course refer also to omission of Tagim, &c.)

16. If space has been left in the middle of a word, so that it has the appearance of two, or if two words are so close as to seem like one.

This rule seems to contradict that mentioned in ch. vii. sect. 13, where it is permitted to scratch out superfluous letters, even if there be many in a page; but if a letter be thus scratched out from the middle of a word, then that word will seem like two, and the roll will become unlawful. In one of the old rolls from Arabia words are frequently written so close together that there is no more space between them than what is required to prevent the letters touching.

17. If the form of the partitions be changed.

18. If the form of the songs or poetical portions be not properly observed.

19. If the prose portions be written like the poetical.

20. If the roll be sewn together with sinews of an unclean animal (and, as has before been shown, with cotton or silk).

All the other rules mentioned in the foregoing chapters are to be carefully kept in mind whilst the roll is being written; but the neglect of them will not make the roll unlawful.

Our author, however, omits some points which would render the manuscript unlawful, viz. 1. If it be not written with *deyow*. 2. If written with blue, green, red, or any other dye; coloured inks being forbidden orally to Moses on Mount Sinai. 3. If written with gold or any other metallic matter. 4. If written on papyrus, linen, cotton, or other substance than skins. 5. If the scribe write with his left hand. The neglect of any of these rules makes a roll unlawful, so that it may not be read from in the synagogue even in time of need. It is curious to find them left out by Maimonides in his re-

capitulation, and none of the commentaries seem to have remarked this omission.

A kind of Fetish worship seems to have attached to a roll of the Law, and every stick or stone touched by it immediately acquired the odour of sanctity, and lost its market value. In ch. x. sect. 2 of Maimonides, we are told that a properly-written roll of the Law is most holy, and that the greatest honour and reverence must be paid to it.

A man is not allowed to sell it even if he be starving, although he possess many others, nor even may he sell an old one to buy a new one. In two cases a man is permitted to sell a roll, provided he have nothing else in his possession which would fetch any money: they are, first, to get means for studying the Law by help of the purchase-money; or secondly, to marry a wife (see Mishna, tract Megila, p. 27). It seems, however, from tract Baba-Bathra, ch. i. that it was allowable to sell a roll in a third case, viz. to ransom captive Jews with the money.

We are farther told that a roll of the Law which has become decayed or otherwise rendered unlawful must be placed in an earthen vessel, and buried near the grave of some learned man. This is called treasuring up a roll. The cover of a roll which has become worn out ought to be made into a winding-sheet for a 'virtuous deceased.' By this term is meant one who has left neither money nor relations behind him to pay the cost of his funeral. It is esteemed a virtuous act to help to bury such an one, or even to attend his burial.

A bag made to hold a roll of the Law—even if it had never actually been used, but only made for that purpose—or one in which a roll of the Law had been kept, as also the linen in which it was wound up, and the box and case in which it was kept, even though it were never put in without its cover;

and lastly, the stool made to lay it upon, and which had been used for that purpose (seemingly the stool was only holy when both made and used for laying a roll on it, see tract *Megila*, p. 27); all these partook of the sanctity of the roll. It is forbidden to cast them away till they be decayed or broken, and then they must be buried. The gold or silver pomegranates used to ornament a roll are not to be sold unless the money is to be used in purchasing a roll of the Law or the Pentateuch. The platform on which the Rabbi stood to read the Law, and the tablets on which the master wrote for the instruction of his scholars, are not to be reckoned sanctified.

The Pentateuch is to be considered the most holy part, then the Prophets, and next the Scriptures; and consequently it is forbidden to lay the Scriptures or Prophets upon a roll of the Law, nor the Scriptures upon the Prophets. In tract *Eriben*, p. 98, it is forbidden to throw from place to place not only any portions of the Bible, but even books containing divine doctrines and sermons. In tract *Shabath*, pp. 61, 62, it is ordained that charms containing portions of the Scriptures should be covered with pieces of parchment when the wearer enters *latrinæ* or other unclean places. A man is enjoined (tract *Sanhedrim*, p. 21) never to enter *latrinæ*, baths, or burial-grounds with a roll of the Law about his person, even though it be enclosed in its linen cover and case; he must not read from it till he is at a distance of four cubits from these unclean places; he is forbidden to touch a roll when undressed, and to sit on a couch or divan on which it has been laid (see tracts *Megila*, p. 32, and *Moed-Ratan*, p. 25).

In certain cases a roll must either be taken into another room, or placed in a box or vessel not intended to receive it, or must be bestowed in a chamber specially prepared for it

and cut off from the rest of the room by a wooden partition ten hands'-breadth high (see tract Berachoth, p. 25).

A roll of the Law does not become unclean by an unclean person reading from it and touching it, provided that he has—as is required of every one—previously washed his hands.

If a roll of the Law is carried by any person from one place to another, all those whom he passes must stand up and remain on their feet till either the roll has reached its destination or the bearer be out of sight (tract Kedushin, p. 33).

In tract Berachoth, p. 18, it is declared to be a most virtuous action to prepare a separate place for the roll of the Law to be kept in, and to honour and glorify it exceedingly, as the words written upon the two tables of stone are contained in every roll. A man must never spit, undress himself, or stretch out his feet—it is still a sign of great disrespect in the East for an inferior to do this before his betters; rules of politeness require him to cover both hands and feet—before a roll, nor must he turn his back towards it unless it be at least ten hands'-breadth above the place where he is; he must not carry it on his head as if carrying a burden, but in his arms or bosom. If a man be on a journey, he must not lay the roll on the animal he rides and sit upon it, nor even beside it, but he must carry it in his bosom next his heart: in case of danger from robbers, he may lay it on the animal.

Elsewhere these precepts are enlarged, and we find:
(1.) That when a man hands a roll to another, it must be given and received with the right hand, the reason being that God himself gave the Law on Sinai with his right hand: 'From his right hand went a fiery law for them,' Deut. xxxiii. 2. (2.) When a manuscript is being rolled up, the

reader must not touch the writing, only the outside. (3.) The skins must not be folded under or back by the reader. (4.) The roll must not be laid upon the reader's knees, nor must he put his elbows on it. (5.) If a roll be placed on a stool, one end must never be allowed to hang down, but must be held in the hand. (6.) A roll must never be put under a bed; if upon it, only at the end towards the head.

A man before a roll of the Law must sit with humility, fear, and trembling, because it is a true witness to all mankind to bear witness against him; as it is written, 'That it may be therefore a witness against thee,' Deut. xxxi. 26. Therefore he must pay it all honour. A wise man of old wrote (see Mishna, tract Aboth, ch. iv., in the name of Rabbi Josi), 'Every one who despises the roll of the Law, his person shall be despised by the whole universe; and he who pays due honour to the roll, his person shall be honoured by the whole universe.'

From these scattered notes may be gathered with what scrupulous care the Jews were obliged to write a roll of the Law; and how, when their work was finished, they mistook the creature for the Creator, and turned their manuscript into a kind of demigod, honoured as is no saint by Catholic devotee, or unique sheet of papyrus by the most rabid bibliomaniac; and how, finally, to spite palæographers, they buried it as food for worms.

Note explaining certain peculiarities of Hebrew Bibliography.

1. Specimen of single crown : א ז ט י כ
2. Specimen of triple crown : ו ז ט י י ז ט א ב ג ד
3. Foot-crowns and head-crowns (M. Alt of Frankfort) :
(Vav) ו, (Yod) י, װ ם ן ם ם ם ם ם ם

4. Ancient form of letter א א

5. The Yod of the Aleph must touch the body thus א, not א; and the three Yods of the Shin must be joined to the line ש, and not written thus ש. There are two letters whose parts must be separated, viz. ו and ן: it is unlawful, according to the Talmud, to write them thus ו ן.

6. Most Rabbis also include under this head letters which are written partly in the empty spaces of other letters, though they do not absolutely touch: thus א or א

IV.

NOTES ON THE HAMAH STONES, WITH REDUCED TRANSCRIPTS.

I VISITED Hamah between February 28th and March 5th of 1871; and my first care was to inspect the inscriptions, as Mr. Walter Besant, M.A., Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, had asked me to do in his letter of Dec. 7, 1870.

The Stones were noticed as early as A.D. 1812. Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, p. 145) says of them: 'In the corner of a house in the Bazar is a stone with a number of small figures and signs, which appear to be a kind of hieroglyphical writing, though it does not resemble that of Egypt.' They remained in obscurity till 1870, when Mr. J. Augustus Johnson, of New York, Consul-general for the United States at Bayrut, and the Rev. S. Jessup, of the Syrian Mission, remarked them while looking through the Bazar of the old town. The former presently printed, in the 'First Statement of the Palestine Exploration Society' (No. I. July 1871, New York; published by the Committee), a reduction from a facsimile of No. 4 inscription—that noticed by Burckhardt, and still embedded in a wall near the bridge. The latter also 'endeavoured to purchase a blue (basaltic) stone¹ containing two lines of these strange characters; but failed to obtain it, because of the tradition connected with, and the

¹ The term may remind us of the 'blue stones' of Stonehenge, which differ from the others, and which were brought, it is supposed, either from Cornwall, or preferably from Ireland.

income derived from it. Deformed persons were willing to pay for the privilege of lying upon it, in the hope of a speedy cure, as it was believed to be efficacious in spinal diseases.' I heard nothing of this superstition.

A certain Syrian Rayyah, of the Greek orthodox faith, named Kostantín Khuri bin Daud, made sundry transcripts of the inscriptions, and a copy was deposited with Dr. Bliss, President of the (U.S.) Syrian Protestant College at Bayrut. Here they were inspected by Messrs. Tyrwhitt Drake and Palmer, the latter then acting under the (English) Palestine Exploration Fund, before their return to England in September 1870. Herr Petermann published some details concerning the inscriptions in the *Athenæum* (No. 2267) of April 8, 1871. In March 1871 I bought from Konstantín the originals of the copies possessed by Dr. Bliss; and I proposed sending them home to the Secretary of the Anthropological Institute, when Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake apprised me of his intended return to Syria with the object of photographing and 'squeezing' the Stones. He set out for Hamah on June 13; and on June 24, 1871, he brought back good 'squeezes,' and sun-pictures which were not wholly successful. I believe that his second visit gave better results; and he also found a similar inscription at Aleppo.

The local Dryasdust, Kostatín el Khuri, had not visited the country to the east of that venerable town, Emesa (Hums), and he had only heard of the interesting region on the north-east known as the 'Aláh (الآل) or 'upland.' The extent may be roughly laid down as two days' riding west-east towards the Euphrates, and from Salamiyyah, the *avant-garde* of the Palmyrene, on the south, to six hours north of Mu'arrat el Nu'umán, on the Aleppo-Damascus road. Here, according to tradition, although our maps inscribe the region 'Great

Syrian Desert,' are some 360 villages—a favourite popular number—almost all, if not all, in ruins. I was able to visit only four of them: their stone-built floors and ceilings, with monolithic doors, shutters, and rafters of basalt, reminded me of the 'Land of Bashan,' that is to say, the Leja and the Hauran valley and mountain. Two ruins showed sundry large clean-cut and raised inscriptions, with crosses which suggested their origin. It is not a little curious that in this section of the country, lying east and west of the Orontes valley, many inscriptions are found in cameo, not incised, as is the general rule of Syria and Palestine; thus perpetuating the style of the Hamah Stones.

It was at first my intention to employ Kostantín el Khuri in copying these monuments. He proved himself, however, so ignorant, leading me a long way to see a Hebrew inscription which proved to be Kufic; so greedy of gain, and so untruthful a *Græculus esuriens*, that I was compelled unwillingly to abandon the project. Although Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake has successfully accomplished his somewhat perilous task of exploring the 'Aláh, the country east of Hums still awaits a reconnaissance.

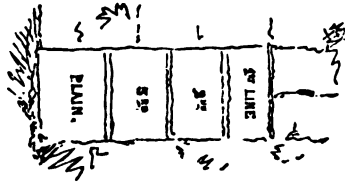
The ten sheets accompanying this article had been applied to the blackened or reddened faces of the four Stones, one of which has, it will be seen, a double inscription; and the outlines were afterwards drawn with a reed pen. In a few cases the fancy of the copyist had been allowed to run wild: these vagaries have been corrected. The size of the facsimiles shows, *cetera va sans dire*, that of the Stones.²

The material of all four is compact black basalt, polished as if by hard rubbing. The characters are in cameo raised from two to four lines, separated by horizontal framings also

² They have here been reduced to quarter size.

in relief: they are sharply and well cut. The first thing which strikes the observer is, that they must date from the metal age, and that they are the work of a civilised race. No Bedawi would take the trouble to produce such results, nor, indeed, has he any instruments which would answer the purpose. I proceed now to a short description of each Stone.

No. 1 (three lines) is in the north-western or Christian quarter of Hamah, known as the Hárat el Dahhán (of the Painter). The house (No. 23) belongs to one Sulayman el Kallás (the Lime-burner), and it is tenanted by Khwájah Jabbúr el Nasrani. The Stone stands, or rather lies, on its side in the eastern wall facing the front impasse: it is close to the left jamb of the doorway to one coming out of the tenement, and the height of the lower margin is five feet from the ground. Under the three lines is a plain surface; and the general appearance of the Stone is shown by the accompanying sketch.



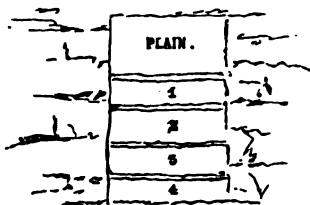
No. 2 (two lines) is lying in the lane called Darb Tak el Tahun (Road of the Arch of the Mill), that runs south of the same garden. It is a roughly-shaped block of basalt, with more length than breadth or thickness, and presenting this appearance:



No. 3 (three lines) is in the orchard or so-called 'garden' of Sayyid Umar bin Hajj Hasan, a little to the west of the ruined Bab el Jisr, the gate at the southern end of the third bridge which spans the Orontes, the whole number being four. This tablet is built up with common stones around it, close to the ground, in the northern face of the southern wall, whose upper part is of unbaked brick. It is remarkably well and sharply cut, with long raised lines separating as in No. 1 the three rows of writing.

No. 4 (total, nine lines) is at the north-west corner of a little shop belonging to Mohammed Ali Effendi, of the great Kilani house, the Emirs descended from that arch-mystic Abd el Kadir el Kilani. Its site is the dwarf Bazar, a few paces from the west end of the Jisr el Tayyarah, also called Jisr el Shaykh, the second of the four bridges beginning from the south. It is easily found: fronting it to the east is the Hauz or tank belonging to the small Jami' (Mosque) el Nún, and it is within a few paces of the French Vice-consulate.

This Stone, unlike the others, shows two inscribed faces. To the north, where its breadth is least, appears inscription No. 4 (four lines), with the upper part plain, after this fashion:



The other inscription (No. 5), in five lines, is upon the western side of the wall: it is considerably larger than the

other; hence the transcriber has called it the 'long lines.' The five compartments are here again divided by well-raised horizontal ribs, and the lower row of characters is not so easily read as its neighbours: the upper line also does not cover more than half the breadth of the stone.

Besides obtaining photographs and facsimiles, it would, I believe, be highly advisable to secure the Stones; and Nos. 1 and 3 might be bought at a reasonable price. But this will require a Vizierial letter, intended to be obeyed, and not like the tons of waste-paper issued during the reign of the late 'Ali Pasha. A direct order will at once enable the Governor-general of Syria to take the Stones from their owners, paying just compensation, and to send them out of the country. When at Hamah, I began to treat with the proprietor of No. 1, the Christian Jabbûr, who, barbarously greedy like all his tribe, began by asking a hundred napoleons. And if the purchase of the Stones be judged advisable, the less said or written about them, on the spot at least, the better, as they may share the fate of Mesa's Stele.

I borrow the following notice of the Stones from Mr. Johnson's notes before alluded to:

'We should naturally expect to find in this vicinity some trace of the Assyrian and Egyptian conquerors who have ravaged the valley of the Orontes, and of their struggles with the Hittites on this ancient battle-field, and of Solomon, who built stone cities in Hamath (2 Chron. viii. 4), of which Palmyra was one. But we find nothing of the Palmyrene on these stones. The arrow-headed characters are suggestive of Assournasirpal. In the inscription on the monolith of Nimroud, preserved in the British Museum, in relating his exploits 915 B.C., he says: "In this time I took the environs of Mt. Lebanon. I went towards the great sea of Phœnicia.

. . . I received tributes from . . . Tyre, Sidon, &c. . . They humbled themselves before me." And a little later, 879-8 B.C., Salmanazar V. says: "In my 21st campaign I crossed the Euphrates for the 21st time; I marched towards the cities of Hazael, of Damascus. I received the tributes of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal."

'Until the interpretation of these mysterious characters shall be given, a wide field is open to conjecture. Alphabetic writing was in use 1500 B.C., but the germs of the alphabetic system were found in the hieroglyphic and hieratic writing of the Egyptians upwards of 2000 B.C. Some of the attempts at picture-writing on these Hamath stones suggest the Egyptian system, which consists of a certain number of figures to express letters or syllables, and a vast number of ideographic or symbolic forms to represent words. Other characters represent Phœnician letters and numerals not unlike the Phœnician writing on the foundation stones of the Temple at Jerusalem, recently deciphered by Dr. Deutsch of the British Museum.

'In framing their alphabet the Phœnicians adopted the same process previously employed in the Egyptian phonetic system, by taking the first letter of the name of the object chosen to represent each sound; as, A for aleph (a bull); B for beth (a house); G for ghimel (a camel): in the same manner as the Egyptians represented A by an eagle, *akhem*; M by an owl, *moulag*, &c.

'Some scholars have designated Babylonia as the true mother of the characters employed in very ancient times in Syria and Mesopotamia. And it appears that, besides the cuneiform writing found on Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, a cursive character was also employed identical with the Phœnician, and therefore possibly borrowed by the lat-

ter. Kenrick, however, remarks on this theory, that the occurrence of these characters only proves the intercourse between the two people, and not that the cuneiform was the parent of the Phœnician. We have in these inscriptions of Hamath a mélange of all three, and perhaps a connecting link between the earliest systems. To suppose them to be bi-lingual or tri-lingual only increases the difficulty of interpretation in this case, for there is not enough of either to furnish a clue to the rest.

‘The “Carpentras Stone” contains an analogous inscription; it comes near to the Phœnician, and has been thought to present the most ancient specimen of the Aramean series. This and the Palmyrene writing form the links between the coin characters and the square characters, and are supposed to represent a language in a state of transition. That the Hebrews borrowed the use of writing from Mesopotamia or Phœnicia has been universally admitted; and according to Gesenius, the old form of their writing was derived from the Phœnician, and retained by the Samaritans after the Jews had adopted another character of Aramaic origin.

‘Now may it not be that in these Hamath inscriptions we have fallen upon a transition period, when the Phœnicians, or their predecessors in the land, were using the elements of writing then in existence, and before the regular and simple Phœnician alphabet had been perfected?

‘The “Carpentras Stone” has been considered by Gesenius to have been executed by a Syrian of the Seleucidan period. The “Rosetta Stone” dates back to 193 B.C. The characters on these stones have much in common with those of Hamath. Champollion’s *Key to the Hieroglyphics* will be of aid perhaps in solving the present mystery. But we shall be surprised if the inscriptions of Hamath do not prove



to be older and of greater interest than any recent discovery of Egypto-Aramean or hieroglyphic characters.'

Dr. Eisenlohr, Professor of Egyptology, Heidelberg, in a letter asking permission to publish these inscriptions, writes: 'Though I believe we are at present not able to give a translation of them, I am still persuaded they will be of the highest interest for the scientific world, because they are a specimen of the first manner of writing of the people of that country.'³

My conviction is, that the Hamah inscriptions form a link between picture-writing and alphabetic characters: and I would suggest, that the most feasible way of deciphering them would be by comparing them with the 'Wusúm' (وسوم) of the several Bedawi families, tribes, and clans. These marks are still branded on the camels, and are often scrawled or scratched upon rocks and walls, as a notice to kinsmen that friends have passed that way. I need hardly say that the origin of 'Wasm' is at present unknown; it doubtless dates from the remotest antiquity, and it has probably preserved the primitive form of the local alphabets. For

³ I cannot, however, believe, with Mr. Johnson, that the bas-reliefs on the monument called Kamu'a Hurmul (the column of the Hurmul village) can date from the same period. The people declare that it was built upon a basaltic mound to denote the source of the Asi or Orontes; we (that is, Messrs. Tyrwhitt Drake, Palmer, and I) thought it the tomb of some hunter; our reasons being that, 1. there are no inscriptions; 2. the rude alt-reliefs on the four sides represent weapons, and wild beasts wounded in the act of flight; and 3. the solid three-storied building is near the ancient Paradisus (παράδεισος, or hunting-park), identified by Dr. Robinson with the ruins at Jusyat el Kadimah. Mr. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus* represents the solid square structure as it stood some twenty years ago—now the southern side has fallen to ruins, and the pyramidal capping will soon follow.

... and the we find ... instance, represented in ... Sidonian ... character ...

... shown on the ... of New ... 65 and 71. ... London, 1872. ... 14: ... No. ... 1867 ... upon the pointed ... the ancient ... saw the ... camel, and ... district (?) ... there are marks peculiar to districts and ... with them, just as ... camel: they appear also to be ... Other Eastern ... hundreds of these 'Wusun'; ... we might soon produce a ... which would not only supply a special ... prevent future writers confusing, as lately done ... Bedawi brands with 'Nabathian' cha- ... Drake and Palmer neglected no opportunity when mapping the Sinai: Tri- or Desert of the ... I have also been able to fill up sundry pages of ...

... of the ... of Scripture ... Hamath-Soba, or Zohab;+ was the

+ We find the name again in Amathus of Cyprus and Laconia. It must be remembered that the Talmud, the Targum, and the ancient Syriac version of the Old Testament all explain Hamath by Antioch—a city which must have had a name before conquered by Alexander. The northern entrance to Hamath would be via Seleucia.

capital of a little kingdom at the period of the Exodus. Its king, Toi, yielded allegiance to David (2 Sam. viii. 9); it was called 'great' by Amos (vi. 2), and was, we have seen, ranked by an Assyrian monarch with the most important of his conquests. Originally inhabited by the Canaanites (Gen. x. 18), it is frequently mentioned as the northern border of the Land of Promise, although it has as yet formed no part of the 'Holy Land.' Every guide-book will tell how, under the name Epiphaneia, it became famous in the days of the Seleucidæ, and how Seleucus Nicator, founder of Apamea (Kala'at el Muzik), kept his stud of 500 elephants and 30,000 broodmares in the rich lands which the twin curses of Syria, the Bedawin and Misrule, have converted into the Great Syrian Desert; how subsequently it became, as it is now, a bishopric; and how, under the Moslem rule, it produced (A.D. 1743) the celebrated savant Abú'l Fida (Abulfeda) prince of Hamah, the worthiest scion of the Kilani house.

If Nablus occupies the most beautiful, Hamah certainly owns the most picturesque of sites in modern Syria. It has a cachet peculiarly its own, yet the general aspect of the valley somewhat suggested Bath. And it has its own sounds. Here the traveller hears for the first time the Na'úrahs, those gigantic undershot box-wheels, one of them said to be forty metres in diameter, which, creaking and groaning night and day, continually raise the waters of the Orontes from their deeply-encased bed to the level of the houses and the fields, and which serve adventurous gamins as merry-go-rounds. Each aqueduct and wheel, the latter built up of infinite piece-work, and with axles playing upon the summits of masonry triangles, has its own name—for instance, El Mohammediyah, mentioned by Burckhardt in 1812; and each is the property of a (very) limited company.

remarkable are the Mádnahs of Bab el Hayyah, of Khizr (El Maksúrah), and of the Suk el Shajarah: the model is that of the Jámi'a el Kabir, or Cathedral Mosque; it consists of the following structures, and the dwarf buttresses, or rather bevels, that break the basal angles, refer it to the days of Sinán Pasha, when architectural taste had not wholly died out of El Islam:

An urn-like domed finial of solid (?) stone.

Cornice and pendentives.

Eight light pillars and ties.

Smaller octagonal shaft.

Flat-topped wooden awning.

Larger octagonal shaft.

Three archlets sunk in each face of shaft.

Rose-light between two horizontal bands of black stone.

Plain circular light between ditto.

Base of octagonal tower.

The traveller will do well to visit the splendid saloons of Muayyad Bey, son of the Sherif Pasha who fought the French in Egypt. The hideous dome contrasts strangely with the interior: such a mixture of Persian writing, painting, and gilding, with granite pillars, porphyry, marbles of all colours, and infinite variety of decoration, all gorgeous in the extreme, but tasteful, from the admirable proportions in which colours apparently discordant are made to blend, he will not see even at the capital. An architect might fill a small volume with the beautiful geometrical intricacies which everywhere meet the eye, and his study would add not a little to our northern ideas of ornamentation.⁵

⁵ In consequence of a suggestion by Mr. D. F. Crace, I made careful inquiries at Damascus from the books of patterns, coloured and plain, which contain the models still used by house-decorators. It is believed

A local curio is also to be found at the Jami'a el Hayyah, whose variegated dome rises conspicuously from the large cemetery in the Khan Shaykhun road at the southern extremity of the city. It derives its name, 'Mosque of the Snake,' from a block of the purest white marble, forming plain double capitals and bases, whilst the highly-polished shafts have been twisted into cables, writhing, as it were, in imitation of two huge boas locked in the closest embrace. I tried, but in vain, to buy this gem—it was 'church property.' A similar *tour de force*, but not so large nor so perfect, is found in the Mihrab, or praying niche, at the south-east angle of the Jami'a el Aksa at Jerusalem, and I lately saw a sketch of it, by the Rev. J. Niel,⁶ at the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

One of the most interesting parts of modern Hamah is the Castle-mound, whose green feet approach the left bank of the 'Rebel River.' Like that of Hums, it probably served for a Sun-temple; but it has suffered even more severely from time and man. The hillock is evidently natural; a core of chalky rock is suggested by the silex and the agates which bestrew the summit. Naked stone also appears in parts of the scarp and the counterscarp. To the east and south the material stands up in dwarf cliffs showing artificial strata of different colours, formed by charcoal, strews of pebbles, broken pottery, and other rubbish. The terrepleine was

that upwards of three hundred different arabesques are to be collected. Unfortunately we were obliged to leave Syria at the very beginning of my search.

⁶ *Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. IV. p. 176. But why the reverend gentleman should call the pillars 'Solomonic twisted pattern,' I cannot guess. Did Solomon invent any masonic patterns or orders of architecture?

prepared for supporting the fane by layers of earth to which ruins have added ; it is still tolerably regular, except where the people have dug into it for materials. The Saracens probably revetted the slopes with an armour of stone, which has almost entirely disappeared in building and rebuilding the venerable city. The length of the oval summit from north to south is 350 paces ; the shorter diameter from east to west measures 250, and the height (by aneroid) is 90 perpendicular feet. The green sides of the rain-seamed mound have not yet assumed the natural angle : here and there they are *bombés* ; and whilst the talus in many parts measures 60°, at the south-east it is almost vertical. The lower folds, as in the mound at Hums, fall into a fosse which in olden days could probably be swamped by means of conduits ; now the broad expanse is cultivated, like the grounds around the temple of Ba'albak. The main entrance was at the eastern fort, and here the rocky counterscarp was cut to resemble the buttresses of a bridge : in the scarp appears a silo, shaped like a soda-water bottle. The path winds easily up to the left ; on the southern side there is another track, but this is steeper and less used. I need hardly suggest here, as at Hums, the necessity of a few shafts and tunnels.

The Hamathites have gained for themselves a very bad name in the guide-books. ' They are haughty and fanatical, living in entire ignorance of the world beyond their own little sphere.' The fact is that they are somewhat unused to the visits of strangers, and the turban, especially the green turban, still expects the hat to make way. Fortunately for me my friend Abd el Hadi Pasha, an honest and honourable man, was occupying the Serai, and he assisted me through the little ' difficulties.' On the day after my arrival, a crowd assembled near the bridge to see me compare Kostantin's

facsimile with inscription No. 4, and two men who behaved rudely, refusing to 'move on,' soon found themselves *au violon*. The red-cloaked owner of No. 2 stone also charged me with entering his garden, where women might, as is the custom, have been walking about unveiled. I asked him if it was the practice of his family to leave the gate wide open on such occasions—an innuendo which brought the blood to his pale face—and a reference to the Mutasarrif (Governor) soon settled the question. Beyond this I met with no incivility from the people. It must, however, be confessed that much of their good treatment was owing to my host, the excellent M. Fazli Bambino, Vice-consul de France for Hums and Hamah, whose energy and *savoir faire* have given to the European name an importance before unknown to it in these regions, and who is distinctly not one of the 'time-servers that write home their semi-annual reports, glossing over everything unpleasant to the official ear, and carefully omitting to mention the many opportunities they have missed of doing their duty.' M. Bambino's nephew, Prosper Bey, soon showed me all that was worth seeing at Hamah, and guided me during a day's exciting ride over the outskirts of the 'Aláh.

The population of Hamah is laid down by Mr. Johnson, probably from Murray, at 30,000 souls. They own to 38,000 or 40,000, and I believe the number to be nearer 45,000. Of these, some 10,000 are 'Greeks,' that is to say Fellahs belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church under their Matran (Metropolitan) Jermanos. The Jacobites range from 200 to 300; there are two or three Syrian Roman Catholic families, who 'sit under' their priest Khuri Mikhail. The French colony, including dragomans and all protected subjects, amounts to a total of thirty-nine souls, of whom two are settled in the 'Mountain' (Jebel Kelbiyyah). The Christian

quarter in the south-western part of the city is the most filthy and miserable of the twenty-four 'Hárát.' As a rule the Nazarenes are poor; one man owns 200,000 francs, another 100,000 francs, and two others have 100,000 piastres. The Jews have entirely disappeared, leaving only a cemetery, which is also rapidly disappearing. The Moslems therefore number at Hamah more than three-quarters of the population. They boast of three great houses. The highest is the Kiláni, above alluded to: at their funerals all the names of their ancestry are recited, after the fashion of Dahome. The chiefs of this family are the Mufti Shaykh Sujjádát el Kádiri and Shaykh Mohammed el Azhari: from a visit to the tent which some of the juniors had pitched on the hill of Zayn el Abidin I judged that this *jeunesse dorée* had no absolute dislike to a guitar or to a glass of strong, very strong, waters. Second rank the Meccan Sherifs; and third the house of Mullah Khunkhwar of Kuniyah (Iconium). I may end these notes on Hamah by saying that my visit took place during the Id el Kabir, or greater festival—a season when fanatical Moslems are apt to become extra-fanatical.

NOTE ON THE HAMAH INSCRIPTIONS.

BY HYDE CLARKE.

THE Hamah inscriptions excite great interest; and as they will soon be in the hands of scholars, I think it may be useful to publish the results of a cursory examination. This I do, because while in some quarters it is believed these will prove to be ancient and valuable inscriptions, yet in others they are pronounced by men of high authority not to be inscriptions at all, but vagaries of ornamentation. It is like-

wise doubtful if, on the supposition that they are inscriptions, the characters are ideographs, syllabics, or letters.

My inspection has been, as stated, a cursory one of the copies in the hands of Captain R. F. Burton, and of the small portions printed by Mr. Wilson in the Journal of the American Palestine Fund. The results are consequently open to verification, but they are already sufficient to throw some light on the questions mooted. Thus it appears that the matter consists of recurrent symbols, and that it is presumably composed of characters. I estimated the number of characters at upwards of 500, but they may be found to be more, when the opportunity of careful analysis is obtained.

Of one of these types I found thirty-three examples, of one twenty-one, of two eighteen, and of others the proportions which would appear in an alphabet. Other reasons support this view.

Although there is a figure something like a man with a club and two hands, the bulk of the inscriptions are not ideographs or hieroglyphs, but characters. There appear to be double letters, and possibly ligatures and abbreviations; but so far as can be at present judged, the characters are rather alphabetic than syllabic, though some may be found to be so. The hands are found in Himyaritic.

On examining the most frequent characters, I am disposed to assign five as the vowel-aspirates of the old alphabets. Using the most convenient type-symbols for the characters which are not available, these would be represented thus :

÷	equal to	κ, A, γ.	i. e.	Α	vowel	Kh	aspirate.
l	"	η	"	E	"	H	"
Θ	"	ι	"	Oo	"	Y	"
U	"	υ, U, V, O	"	U	"	V, F, Ph.	"
○	"	ϕ, O	"	O	"	W, Hw	"

⊕ is probably S.

▽ appears to be D.

Other common forms include | |, | | | |, 7, l, E, Σ, L,]. These are sufficient to show elements of an alphabet; but many of them conform to the characters of the Himyaritic inscriptions, in which, as translated by Dr. M. Levy, I recognise as identical ע, ז, ב, ד, ר, ש, ש, ל, &c. The mode of writing is different in Hamah. The alphabet is in actual use in Abyssinia.

÷ thus gives us the type of N. This is not really connected with A, but is another type to be recognised in Aramaic, Italic, Palmyrene, and square Hebrew. ÷ is the analogue of N. If this be so, the N of the latter square alphabet has been borrowed from a source more ancient than A in the Phœnician and other alphabets. In Himyaritic | is a bar of division between words; and ÷ sometimes assumes the same character.

⊙ appears as a new type, but is the analogue of the Phœnician, which has a corresponding form, as in Greek, ε. It is the most frequent letter, occurring thirty-three times. This letter may also be recognised in Phœnician, Aramaic, old Hellenic, Italic, and Palmyrene. It appears to possess a double form, one less frequent, in which a dot appears on each side of the bar.

U needs little comment; it occurs eighteen times. Its value is 100.

○ occurs about ten times. Its value is perhaps 1000.

The Hamah inscriptions confirm my former opinion that the alphabet as named by the Hebrews is not in its right order, and that the names are not the original names having the significations usually attributed to them, but are representatives of the ancient names, adopted to avoid idolatrous references. All the alphabets of the Hamah class are chiefly

founded on the intersections of two crosses, still used by Rabbis, &c. as a secret alphabet.


The words or phrases appear to be read from top to bottom, and may then possibly return, as in boustrophedon and in Himyaritic.

The remains, on comparison, suggest that there are at least two inscriptions differing in character.

The inscriptions are of such antiquity that if, on transliteration, they do not conform to a Semitic rendering, I would suggest they should be tried for Georgian, the nearest representative of the Caucaso-Tibetan languages spoken in the region before the Semitic.

Since these lines were in print, Mr. Hyde Clarke kindly addressed to me the following note upon the relations of the Hamah Inscriptions :

With regard to the Hamah inscriptions, it is the more difficult to say anything, since doubts are entertained by men of learning whether they are inscriptions at all. Such being the condition of public knowledge or ignorance, we are yet at the first steps of the investigation, when we have to make out our road and may go astray. Some of those who are best fitted are afraid to venture because they fear failure, much as they covet success. We must, however, make a beginning, even at the risk of going the wrong way and having to retrace our path. At all events, in any such attempt this good will be obtained, that we shall know where not to go in the future. In fact, while the very prudent are waiting the whole course of labour is stayed, and the task of research in this instance does require much, and very possibly protracted, exertion.



In making such an essay, no assurance of accuracy can be entertained, and it is quite possible that much of what is here written may, in the moment of its perusal, be superseded. In my own case my views have been modified from week to week, and one day's observations have tended to modify all the previous records. The toil is not, however, to be regarded as thrown away. It is as in a painting, where the first rough sketch in chalk is rubbed out, drawn over, and at last lost in the finished outline; but yet that fleeting embodiment of thought was the foundation of the perfect presentment upon which, touch by touch, from loose forms, sharp and accurate definition was reached, to become a lasting memorial.

In this case the very first question before us is, whether these drawings, reproduced by Captain Burton, are to be considered inscriptions or not; and the best answer will be to prove that they are. The appearance of them is uncouth and unpromising. They are not Egyptian hieroglyphs; they are not entire ideographs; and any semblance they show to Cadmean, or Phœnician, or such characters, is susceptible of other explanations. In No. 5 there are two unmistakable hands; there is a figure like a man or a monkey; and there appear to be darts, knives, bracelets, and other objects. The plates themselves do not afford exact representations; but they are much more useful for current reference and for study than the photographs or rubbings.

With the miscellaneous assemblage referred to we might associate some rude enumeration of tribes or of tribe-marks, such as are suspected to be inscribed on some Irish stones, and as are to be found painted by savage races. One mode to ascertain what may be the nature of these signs is by the simple statistical method of counting them.

The number of characters enumerated is about 300, but

there are others not as yet defined. These characters present about 50 different types, but of these 17 have each only a single representative. Of the remainder, the characters (symbolised by common printing types) exhibit the following results: Φ 27, \div 26, \circ 24, \ominus 21, \vee 15, $|$ 11, $||$ 11, Q 9, ε 7, ∇ 7, and so on. Thus we get indications of the distribution of the characters in the way in which an alphabet is distributed into vowels and consonants: but some of these may be stops or determinatives.

The next step is to search whether these signs are to be found in other alphabets. There are few of them like the Phœnician alphabet, but still there are familiar forms; as O , Φ , $|$, C , ∇ , and V (Λ reversed). Nevertheless they are not to be classed as Phœnician. Another kind of alphabet found in the northern region is the Himyaritic. In this case the correspondence is greater, and a dozen forms can be compared with the Himyaritic.

The main seats of Himyaritic inscriptions are near Aden and in Abyssinia, and the descendants of the alphabet are the Ethiopic and the Amharic or Abyssinian.

It has long since been pointed out by Professor Newman and M. Judas of Paris, that there are resemblances of this Eastern African group with a Western African group, the ancient Libyan of Carthage (not the Phœnician), and its modern descendants the Berber and Tamashek alphabets. It is worthy of note, and indicative of our being in the path of truth, that following the Himyaritic as we ought, we get a number of identifications with the Libyan—a dozen.

We obtain out of the Hamah characters at least sixteen identifications of form with Himyaritic and Libyan, leaving no reasonable doubt that the Hamah characters are partly related to one alphabet, in its origin allied to the others.

This is a clue we have obtained, but the whole Hamah alphabet is identical with neither; and as we cannot yet determine precisely the direction of the letters, we cannot tell the absolute value, this differing in some cases in both Himyaritic and Libyan. As to the Libyan alphabet, the value of its letters is as yet undecided, the latest views of M. Judas being opposed to those of his predecessors. What the Libyan language may be, is also an open question.

There is much resemblance between the Hamah and the Cypriote characters in the dart form, and this probably indicates a cuneiform alliance.

The characters on the bricks from Warka in Babylonia are allied to Hamah, and present another connection with cuneiform.

To increase difficulties, the Libyan and Cypriote are unknown tongues, though the Himyaritic is not. We have, however, a bilingual inscription, that of Thugga, now in the British Museum, Libyan and Phœnician; and some from Algeria, Libyan and Latin. We have therefore hope, and perhaps, as the Hamah so nearly resembles the Libyan, the Hamah will in time throw light on the Libyan.

Under all circumstances, we may consider we have materials for our investigation, and these we may proceed to apply. The hands have been referred to as a disturbing element. In No. 5, top line, we have a hand with the thumb and fingers displayed; and in the second line there is another, with the thumb but not the fingers displayed.

In the Himyaritic inscriptions published by the British Museum we have two examples of the hand with the thumb and fingers displayed. In one case there is a pair of hands, and in another about nine pairs of hands. These are above the inscription, but pointing downwards. These inscriptions

The first section of the document discusses the early years of the nation, focusing on the challenges faced by the young republic.

The second section details the political and economic developments that shaped the country's growth during the 18th century.

The third section explores the impact of the American Revolution on the nation's identity and governance.

The fourth section examines the role of the judiciary in maintaining the balance of power among the branches of government.

The fifth section discusses the expansion of the United States into new territories and the resulting territorial disputes.

The sixth section analyzes the social and cultural changes that occurred as the nation grew in size and diversity.

The seventh section focuses on the economic challenges and opportunities that arose from westward expansion.

The eighth section discusses the role of the military in defending the nation and maintaining internal order.

The ninth section examines the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the American economy and society.

The tenth section discusses the political movements and reforms that emerged in the mid-19th century.

The eleventh section focuses on the role of the press in shaping public opinion and holding government officials accountable.

The twelfth section discusses the impact of the Civil War on the nation's political and social structure.

The thirteenth section examines the Reconstruction era and the challenges of rebuilding the South.

The fourteenth section discusses the rise of the Gilded Age and the influence of industrialists on politics.

The fifteenth section focuses on the Progressive Era and the reforms aimed at addressing social and economic inequalities.

The sixteenth section discusses the impact of World War I on the United States and its global standing.

The seventeenth section examines the interwar period and the challenges of economic recovery and international relations.

is not known; but what was determined by Gesenius, and generally admitted, is that 𐤁 is represented by =.

= is consequently the genealogical sign, and such is apparently its application in Hamah, the groups ending with 𐤁 being names. In Warka, however, 𐤁 corresponds with a cuneiform character.

With regard to 𐤁, which ends the words, in my opinion it is equivalent to 𐤁 in the Thugga inscription, but it is to be found in its own form in one Algerine inscription. Gesenius reads the Thugga character as 𐤁, but M. Judas does not. M. Judas has a wish to make it conform to the Berber genitive in N. In my view it is equivalent to S; and both in the Thugga and the Hamah inscriptions it may be the Caucasian genitive in S; a solution, according to my historical investigations, very probable.

On the subject of the Caucasian or Tibeto-Caucasian epoch in the Hamah region and surrounding countries, my papers in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Journal* and the *Athenæum* may be referred to. If the inscriptions prove to be Tibeto-Caucasian, they may or may not be comparatively ancient or modern; for on the evidence of words in the Book of Kings, I communicated to the *Athenæum* a solution of Mephi Bosheth, &c., as signifying the king's son in Georgian, and as implying the use of Caucaso-Tibetan terms in the time of King Saul as a court language adopted from the Canaanites.

The supposed ideographs are possibly determinatives or official symbols. The character like a celt is found as a technical mark on enamelled tiles all over Babylonia, and others are to be so recognised.

The first word in No. 2 and No. 3 is evidently the same, being chiefly composed of the same letters, a 𐤁, followed by

there are others not as yet defined. These characters present about 50 different types, but of these 17 have each only a single representative. Of the remainder, the characters (symbolised by common printing types) exhibit the following results: Φ 27, \div 26, \circ 24, D 21, \vee 15, I 11, II 11, Q 9, z 7, ∇ 7, and so on. Thus we get indications of the distribution of the characters in the way in which an alphabet is distributed into vowels and consonants: but some of these may be stops or determinatives.

The next step is to search whether these signs are to be found in other alphabets. There are few of them like the Phœnician alphabet, but still there are familiar forms; as O , Φ , I , C , ∇ , and \vee (Λ reversed). Nevertheless they are not to be classed as Phœnician. Another kind of alphabet found in the northern region is the Himyaritic. In this case the correspondence is greater, and a dozen forms can be compared with the Himyaritic.

The main seats of Himyaritic inscriptions are near Aden and in Abyssinia, and the descendants of the alphabet are the Ethiopic and the Amharic or Abyssinian.

It has long since been pointed out by Professor Newman and M. Judas of Paris, that there are resemblances of this Eastern African group with a Western African group, the ancient Libyan of Carthage (not the Phœnician), and its modern descendants the Berber and Tamashek alphabets. It is worthy of note, and indicative of our being in the path of truth, that following the Himyaritic as we ought, we get a number of identifications with the Libyan—a dozen.

We obtain out of the Hamah characters at least sixteen identifications of form with Himyaritic and Libyan, leaving no reasonable doubt that the Hamah characters are partly related to one alphabet, in its origin allied to the others.

This is a clue we have obtained, but the whole Hamah alphabet is identical with neither; and as we cannot yet determine precisely the direction of the letters, we cannot tell the absolute value, this differing in some cases in both Himyaritic and Libyan. As to the Libyan alphabet, the value of its letters is as yet undecided, the latest views of M. Judas being opposed to those of his predecessors. What the Libyan language may be, is also an open question.

There is much resemblance between the Hamah and the Cypriote characters in the dart form, and this probably indicates a cuneiform alliance.

The characters on the bricks from Warka in Babylonia are allied to Hamah, and present another connection with cuneiform.

To increase difficulties, the Libyan and Cypriote are unknown tongues, though the Himyaritic is not. We have, however, a bilingual inscription, that of Thugga, now in the British Museum, Libyan and Phœnician; and some from Algeria, Libyan and Latin. We have therefore hope, and perhaps, as the Hamah so nearly resembles the Libyan, the Hamah will in time throw light on the Libyan.

Under all circumstances, we may consider we have materials for our investigation, and these we may proceed to apply. The hands have been referred to as a disturbing element. In No. 5, top line, we have a hand with the thumb and fingers displayed; and in the second line there is another, with the thumb but not the fingers displayed.

In the Himyaritic inscriptions published by the British Museum we have two examples of the hand with the thumb and fingers displayed. In one case there is a pair of hands, and in another about nine pairs of hands. These are above the inscription, but pointing downwards. These inscriptions

are dedicated to Almakah (whom I regard as Moloch) and Ba'al.

In Phœnician and Carthaginian inscriptions the hand is common, accompanying the sun, moon, and stars.

In the worship of the Israelites the application of the two hands with the thumbs displayed is still a form of blessing, and undoubtedly of great antiquity.

The presumption is, that No. 5 Hamah inscription is dedicated to the fire-gods, possibly Moloch and Ba'al.

Then comes the question of the dedicator. No. 5 is unfortunately imperfect in an important part, but in the lowest line we find =. This is near 8. Let us resort to No. 1. In the third and second lines we find 8, and also =. The position of the former character shows us that No. 1 is reversed, as is No. 2. Proceeding to No. 3, we have the like characters.

These inscriptions are presumably at least four in number and beginning in the same way, and that is at the bottom, and reading from right to left. The Himyaritic and Libyan inscriptions read from right to left; one Himyaritic inscription winds to and fro. The Libyan Thugga inscription reads from right to left, beginning at the top, but then each line corresponds with the Phœnician. The Algerian bilingual Libyan inscriptions read from left to right and from bottom to top in columns; and this appears to be the case in Hamah, with the characteristic that the lines also begin at the bottom.

The Hamah inscriptions are divided by partitions or bands. This is to be found also in the Himyaritic.

A dedicatory inscription in the Himyaritic character, and so also in that of Thugga, begins with the genealogy of the dedicator. A *son of B, son of C, son of D, &c.* In Phœnician this *son of* reads 12. Not so in Libyan: what it reads

is not known; but what was determined by Gesenius, and generally admitted, is that 𐤁 is represented by =.

= is consequently the genealogical sign, and such is apparently its application in Hamah, the groups ending with 𐤁 being names. In Warka, however, 𐤁 corresponds with a cuneiform character.

With regard to 𐤁, which ends the words, in my opinion it is equivalent to 𐤂 in the Thugga inscription, but it is to be found in its own form in one Algerine inscription. Gesenius reads the Thugga character as 𐤂, but M. Judas does not. M. Judas has a wish to make it conform to the Berber genitive in N. In my view it is equivalent to S; and both in the Thugga and the Hamah inscriptions it may be the Caucasian genitive in S; a solution, according to my historical investigations, very probable.

On the subject of the Caucasian or Tibeto-Caucasian epoch in the Hamah region and surrounding countries, my papers in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Journal* and the *Athenæum* may be referred to. If the inscriptions prove to be Tibeto-Caucasian, they may or may not be comparatively ancient or modern; for on the evidence of words in the Book of Kings, I communicated to the *Athenæum* a solution of Mephi Bosheth, &c., as signifying the king's son in Georgian, and as implying the use of Caucaso-Tibetan terms in the time of King Saul as a court language adopted from the Canaanites.

The supposed ideographs are possibly determinatives or official symbols. The character like a celt is found as a technical mark on enamelled tiles all over Babylonia, and others are to be so recognised.

The first word in No. 2 and No. 3 is evidently the same, being chiefly composed of the same letters, a 𐤁, followed by

∇ traversed by l. This is possibly Tomb, conforming to such inscriptions in Himyaritic and Phœnician. The same words occur at the end in the last line of No. 5. The beginning of No. 5 is missing. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that these characters occur on the most ancient Warka bricks, and have a cuneiform parallel, of which translations have been given.

On examining the inscriptions, No. 1 is seen to be chiefly composed of single characters; and so, apparently, is No. 2; but there must be some double letters. No. 3 is of the same class, but with occasional ligatures of characters bound together. No. 4 is very different from these, as it contains double letters and ligatures. It is to be noted, the characters are coarser and less well-proportioned. No. 5 has many ligatures or monograms.

In Himyaritic we have one example of the monogram in the published British Museum inscriptions, and there are others in the gems from Babylonia treated by Dr. Birch and Dr. M. Levy as Himyaritic, but which I am inclined to regard as possibly Hamah. The monogram or ligature is therefore to be accepted as a true type. These monograms are to be decomposed and read from bottom to top. A sufficient example is found in the word supposed to be Tomb. In Nos. 2 and 3 this is composed of single characters, but in No. 5 they are tied together.

As to double letters, they are found in the Tamashek alphabet, presumably a survival from Libyan.

Himyaritic, Libyan, and Phœnician inscriptions possess stops dividing the words. The words in Hamah appear to be so divided, apparently by O and C. Whether ÷ is a letter or a stop is not yet clear, for it has both values in other alphabets. It appears to be the same as *, and in the

cuneiform it is a determinative for 'God.' If a letter, it is A, and the same as K. In two cases, and possibly three, it accompanies the supposed word for Tomb.

The beginnings of the Hamah inscriptions when divided into words and written out in straight lines present a great conformity with the Thugga inscription, though not an identity.

Putting forward an opinion based on my observation, the Hamah alphabet appears to me to be of the same origin as the Himyaritic and the Libyan, and possibly the Cypriote, Lycian, and Warka, but intermediate between the two groups, and more nearly related to the latter or cuneiform type.

The original type of the Himyaritic and the Libyan, and also of the Phœnician, the Cypriote, the Etruscan, the Celtiberian, and the square Hebrew alphabets, is a series of angular forms preserved in a cabalistic or magic alphabet still in use as a secret alphabet, and the observation of which may assist in giving the key to the Libyan and Hamah alphabets. The nearest approximation to this type is found in the Himyaritic and square Hebrew class.

As to the age of the inscriptions, they can hardly be lower than the latest date assigned to the Himyaritic, namely 100 of the common era, but they may be as old as the oldest Himyaritic are supposed to be, 600 before the common era; and there is a great possibility of their being of the age of the Moabite Stone, or even earlier—of the age of King Saul. The Warka characters were in use 1500 years before the common era. The palæographic indications already given show that the Hamah characters partake of the elements of the ancient alphabets and inscriptions; but the ligatures rather suggest an earlier date than the simplicity of the

Phœnicians, the Himyaritic, or the Libyan. The real value of the Phœnician alphabet must have consisted in its reduction of the number of characters, in its abolition of ideographs and determinatives, and in the simplification of writing. Thus ligatures, monograms, and boustrophedon inscriptions had to give way to Phœnician simplicity; and the probability is, that the Himyaritic and Libyan were made to conform to this influence, as the Etruscan and Hellenic inscriptions did. It is interesting to observe that Tamashek still uses double characters and winding lines for inscriptions. Oriental monograms begin from the bottom, as is exemplified in the Sultan's Toghra, and from right to left. These are examples of survival.

Whatever may prove to be the positive date of the Hamah inscriptions, they probably give us the records of a very ancient alphabet, and they are certain when deciphered to add to our stores of knowledge for the epoch preceding the Phœnician and Semitic. When the Phœnicians came to Carthage they found an earlier civilisation; they found the Libyan writing there, and did not import it. Presumably this latter style of writing is also earlier in the East, and that we must strive to ascertain. The cuneiform undoubtedly was.

HYDE CLARKE.

END OF VOL. I.

هَذَا كَرِيْمٌ طَرَفٌ الْبَارِعُ الْا

NO 1.
INSCRIPTIO
1ST LINE.



سَهْمًا كَرِيْمًا طَرَفًا

NO 1.
INSCRIPTIO
2ND LINE.



Phœnicians, the Himyaritic, or the Libyan. The real value of the Phœnician alphabet must have consisted in its reduction of the number of characters, in its abolition of ideographs and determinatives, and in the simplification of writing. Thus ligatures, monograms, and boustrophedon inscriptions had to give way to Phœnician simplicity; and the probability is, that the Himyaritic and Libyan were made to conform to this influence, as the Etruscan and Hellenic inscriptions did. It is interesting to observe that Tamashek still uses double characters and winding lines for inscriptions. Oriental monograms begin from the bottom, as is exemplified in the Sultan's Toghra, and from right to left. These are examples of survival.

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HYDE CLARKE.

END OF VOL. I.

هذا كرسى من طرف ال

NO 1.
INSCRIPTION
1ST LINE.



من هذا كرسى

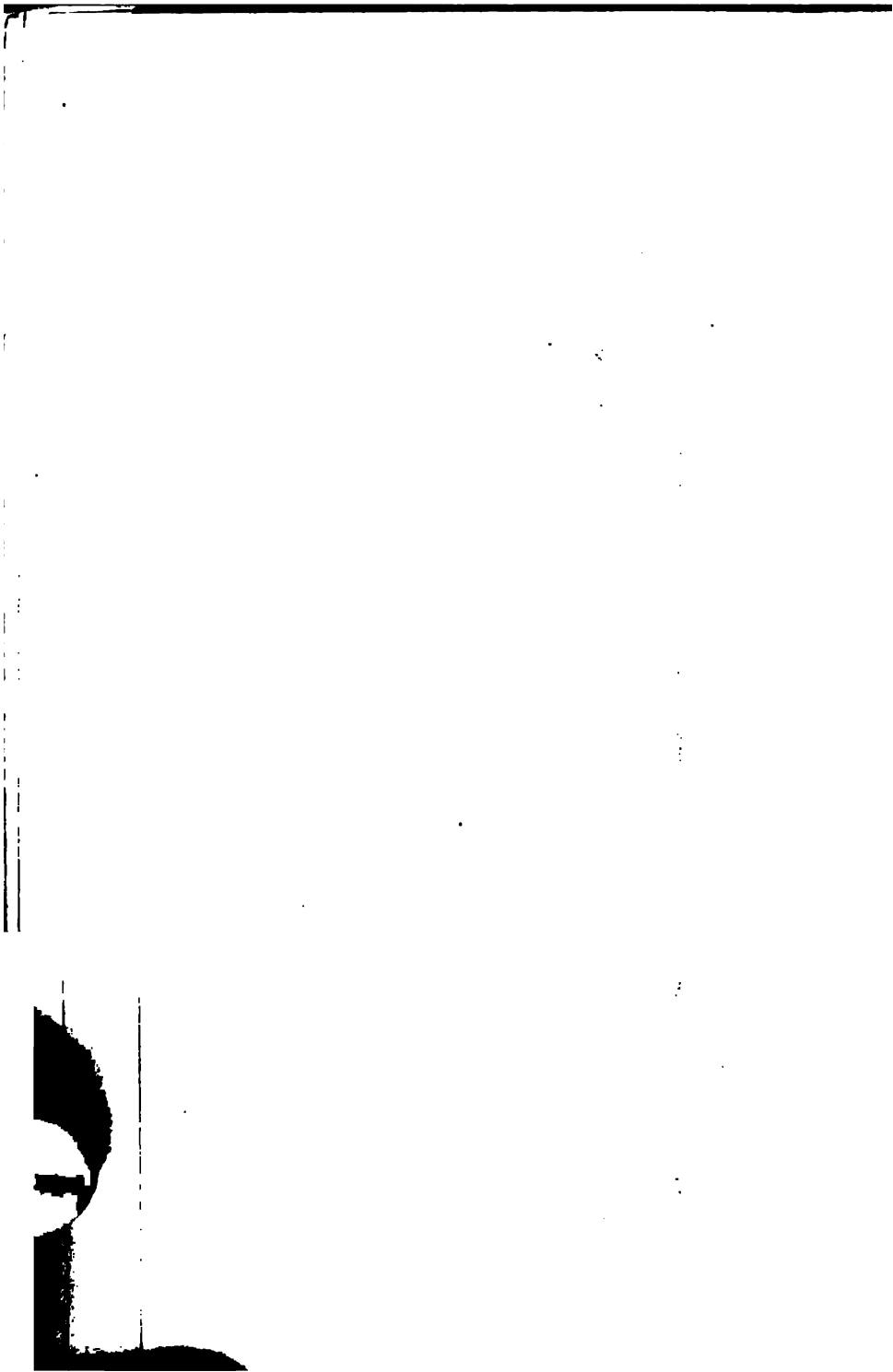
NO 1.
INSCRIPTION
2ND LINE.





WOMAN PLAY KIL





PHAY KUN.





DESCRIPTION (LONG LINE
WEST SIDE OF
2ND & 3RD LINES

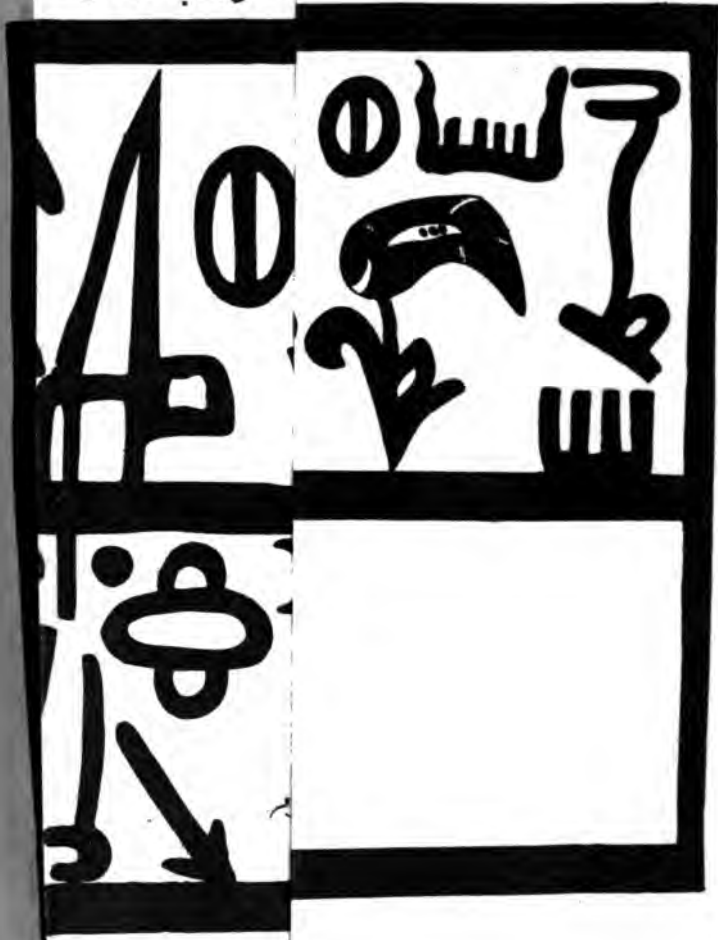
مع التاج مع خمسة من طرأ





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VISITS TO

THE LIBANUS, THE TULÚL EL SAFÁ,
THE ANTI-LIBANUS, THE NORTHERN LIBANUS,
AND THE 'ALÁH.

BY

RICHARD F. BURTON

AND

CHARLES F. TYRWHITT DRAKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

A RECONNAISSANCE OF THE ANTI-LIBANUS—FROM
B'LUDAN VILLAGE TO THE APEX OF THE 'EASTERN
MOUNTAIN'—AND RETURN MARCH THROUGH THE
ANTI-LIBANUS TO B'LUDAN.

PART I.¹

FROM B'LUDAN VILLAGE TO THE APEX OF THE 'EASTERN MOUNTAIN.'

MANY readers, even professional geographers, will think that we are to pass over trodden ground, and that in describing the Anti-Libanus we can do nothing but fill up with details the broad outlines traced by predecessors. The contrary is positively the case. I expected great things from 'L'Anti-Liban,' par Gérard de Rialle (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, tome xvi. 1868), and found that it had covered only the well-known lower altitudes. He passes by Zebadání; over the 'Pont Romain,' of which mention has been made, to Ba'albak; he then 'does' the Cœlesyrian Valley from Anjar to Homs, and returns to Damascus by the eastern road, *viâ* Hasyah, Kára,

¹ It is difficult to understand why Murray's Handbook (*passim*) insists upon retaining the bastard Latin and Greek term 'Anti-Lebanon.' Libanus is found in Psalm xxix. 5. Anti-Libanus we may derive from the Greek with Eusebius (*Onom.* sub voce Anti-Libanus), and it has, moreover, the merit of being legitimate.

and Yabrúd. Surprising as it may appear, it is still true, that the best and most modern maps do not name a single valley north-east of Zebadání, nor a single summit, except the 'Jebel el Halímah, an utter misnomer. They show merely the long conventional caterpillar, flanked by the usual acidulated drops and seamed with the normal cobweb of drainage: when they have disposed all this parallel with the Libanus, they have apparently done their duty. Thus they neglect to show, amongst other things, the important change in the chain, whose northern half becomes exceptionally arid and barren, whilst the southern is remarkably fertile: this is also true of the Libanus, but to a lesser extent. The traveller in Syria and Palestine is also kept ignorant of the fact, that the general aspect of the range is far superior to that of the maritime sierra; that the colouring of the rocks is richer, the forms are more picturesque—often indeed 'weird, savage, grand, almost magnificent, like parts of Moab;' that the contrasts of shape and hue are sharper; and that the growth in places assumes the semblance of a thinned forest. Of the Anti-Libanus we may say, of the Libanus we may not, that 'ravines of singular wildness and grandeur furrow the whole mountain-

side, looking in many places like huge rents;’ whilst the views from the summit are far superior in extent of range and in variety of feature. Moreover, the chain, which is thus in many points richer and more remarkable than its western sister, has the attractions of novelty: it may fairly be called a section of new ground in an old land.

During my twenty-three months of service—perhaps it might be called servitude—at Damascus I had twice inspected the most interesting features of this *Jebel el Sharkí* (the Eastern Mountain), the modern equivalent for the ancient Hebrew ‘Lebanon towards the sunrising.’ In August 1870 I had ascended successively the *Haláim* (or *Paps*) of *Kará*, *Kurrays*, *Zammarání*, and *El Kabú*, taking angles, laying down their altitudes, and building *Kakurs* (or old men), to serve for a theodolite survey. Poor *Jiryus Kátibah*, father of the young schoolmasters who have been stationed by the Irish-American Presbyterian Mission at *Yabrúd* and *Nabk*, together with his ‘*Asús*,’ will not readily forget one day’s work. In November 1870 we had pushed up the *Nabi Bárúh* block, but the snow had begun to fall before the work was finished: it was in *Ramazan*, and the little party of fasting Moslems, *Shaykh Sálíh*,

and others who accompanied us from 'Assál el Ward, will long remember that walk and ride. Finally, on July 31, 1871, taking advantage of a visit from Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, I resolved to connect the two excursions by a march along the backbone from Jebel el Shakíf to the northern end. My fellow-traveller had, as usual, sole charge of the mapping and of the route-sketching, whilst the humbler task of keeping the journal fell to my lot.

The Anti-Libanus proper begins in north latitude $33^{\circ} 30'$, at the north-western flank of the Hermon, which I am disposed to place in a separate orine system. The modern French road, as it traverses the gorge Wady el Harír, the level upland Sahlat Judaydah, the ravine Wady el Karn, the *arête* 'Akabat el Tín—the basaltic link between the two chains—the descent Daurat el Billán (Camel-thorn Zigzag), and finally the unpopulated Saharat el Dí-más—Wild of (Saint?) Dimas—before plunging into the Barada Valley, accurately defines the southern limit. About north latitude $34^{\circ} 28'$ it falls into the Hasyah-Hums plain, whose altitude is in round numbers 1600 feet; and the total length is thus fifty-eight geographical miles, and the lay is north-easterly (38° Mag.). The breadth varies: the

maximum—from the eastern mouth of Wady Zammarání to the Fíkah settlement—may be assumed at fourteen direct geographical miles, and the minimum—from Ba'albak to the 'Assál el Ward village, without including the rolling eastern outliers—would be eleven miles and a half. The northernmost section is bounded eastward by the upland plains of Kára and 'Assál el Ward, and westward by the lowlands of Ba'albak, the northern prolongation of the Buká'a or Cœlesyria. Southward the mountain is flanked by extensive buttresses, and even by lateral chains. For instance, about Zebadání,² the Buká'a is broken on the east by a line of detached upheavals, called after the settlements Kafr Zabad, Nabi Zaúr, and so forth; whilst still farther east is a rugged mass of highland, with crest scarped towards the rising sun, and known as the Jurd or upland of Zebadání, of Ayn Haur, of Sargháya, and of the other villages occupying its flanks. This great outlier is bounded on the north-east by the Wady Yahfúfah, and south by the Wady el Harír, through

² Burckhardt writes, after the Syrian mispronunciation, Zebdání for Zebadání, and Ainette for Aynata; but in the same page we find such barbarisms as Moya (water), and Argile (for Nargilah) a water-pipe, and elsewhere Djebel es Sheykh for Esh Shaykh. M. Gérard de Rialle prefers Zebdany and Bludán.

which runs the French road between the capital of Syria and Bayrut its port.

Our preparations were easily made. We carried with us the few necessaries for a bivouac, not forgetting the indispensable water-skins, and two mules were lightly loaded with all our belongings. They were driven by old Ahmad Khálid, who grumbled that he was being taken away from his plums—locally called Khokh—as they were full ripe for market, and by the youth Hasan Khazzá Abú Zirs, who insisted upon bestriding a diminutive donkey up and down the steepest of slopes. The extra hand was Mohammed of B'lúdán, whose profession was partly that of a Shikari, a hard-working laddie, who knows every hole and corner in his own beat. I can safely recommend him to all who would follow in our steps. The *point de départ* was B'lúdán, a little Christian village, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic, which clings to the eastern flank of the Zebadání Valley, bearing 285° from that important Moslem town. The valley is well known to travellers, because it leads from Damascus to Ba'albak: in it we found the official sources of the Barada,³ or

³ This word is variously written by Arab geographers, nor can any *savant* in Damascus explain the meaning. Yákút (*Báb el Bá*) gives

River of Damascus, and the pool from whose head it pumps lies at an angle of 239° Mag. from Mr. Consul-general Wood's summer quarters. The geographical or true source must be sought some five miles to the north-east; it is called Ayn Haur (Poplar Fountain), from the little valley of the same name, and it is fed in winter by the Sayl or torrent of Jebel el Shakíf. The water flows down a broken but clearly-defined valley, divided into sections, every one, as usual amongst these ungeneralising races, with its distinctive term; *e. g.* Wady el Kabír, Wady Ayn Haur,⁴ and Wady Dillah. In summer, however, its precious supply is drawn off for the fields; hence it has not the honour of being popularly known as the Barada-head. The mythological source is the Júrah or swallow-hole in the western block which separates the valley of Zebadání from the Cœlesyrian Vale: this sink was, until late years, used as a Tarpeian rock, the offenders being of the sex formerly sacked at Damascus and Stambul.

Barada and Baradiyyá; Firozabadi, Baradat or Barada (بردي), making it spring in the Zebadání plain. There is no such word in classical Arabic as Baradah, which English writers have attempted to connect with hail, sleet, tempest. The vulgar, however, sometimes use Baradah in the sense of Mabrad, a file.

⁴ In classical Arabic the white poplar is Hawar, plural Húrán; but Syrians always corrupt it to Haur.

B'lúdán lies about 1000 feet above the Marjat Khan el Funduk, in the vale of the Wady Zebadání. Its site is a bulging shunt of fertile red humus, secondary limestone, iron-clay, red-black sandstone-grit, with here and there a bit of basalt. The general slope is 9° , and the rhumb 285° (Mag.). Although neither striations nor burnish are now retained by the easily-degraded rock, it has all the appearance of an old moraine, deposited by glaciers that once debouched from the uplands upon the Zebadání Valley, and which hollowed a passage for the Barada through the heart of the Anti-Libanus. Similar features are found in the Cedar Valley; in the red ground north and south of the Zahlah gap, which blushes so beautifully to the evening sun; and, without mentioning others, in the heaps at the gorge-mouths to the east and the north-east of Islandarún (Alexandretta). This moraine is bounded north by the depression called *Arz el Zahlát*, and south by the Wady Már Iliyás, a ruined temple converted into a Byzantine church and monastery, to which the modern hamlet faces.

The upper section of the B'lúdán Valley is a complicated bit of ground bearing 41° from below, and wheeling suddenly to 60° . It is walled on

the east by a continuous line of heights, which here form the crest of the Anti-Libanus, and which appear from afar like a bending spine. As usual, every section has its own name. The mountain immediately behind B'lúdán is known as Jebel Rahwah; then come Jebel Rizmah; Jebel Ayn el Ghanim; Jebel Talláját bú Halláwí, Jebel el Ahhyár (which the people compare with Hermon), and the somewhat lower bluff (the aneroid showing a difference of 0·14) known as the Shayyár Ayn el Nusúr. Murray's Handbook, repeated by M. Gérard de Rialle and by Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Lebanon), makes this B'lúdán Block a 'few miles north of the site of Abila,' the 'highest summit of Anti-Lebanon,' and assigns to it an inadequate altitude of 6800 instead of 7730 feet. It is bounded south by the gorge of the Barada; while northwards the rough and rugged apex of bare castellated and creviced lime-rock, showing on almost the highest part three Jurahs or sinks, is prolonged by a lower ridge to the cliff-spine of the farther Anti-Libanus. The B'lúdán Valley on the west, and to the east the Wady and the Sahlat of Bísán, and the Hakl (حقل)⁵ or Wady el Anjásah (Pear-tree

⁵ Literally rich arable land, here generally applied to narrow culti-

Ravine), complete its limits: the latter is the northernmost of the three westerly forks of the great Jayrúd or Palmyra depression which end in the Fijj or gorges of Minnín and Ma'araba.

The deep snows render the ridge impassable during the winter: in fine weather it commands a noble view of the northern Libanus from the Cedar Block to the 'Twins of Nihá,' of the luxuriant Cœlesyrian Vale, of the B'lúdán range, and of the Zebadání Jurd and Valley—the latter spoon-formed, its handle being the upper Wady Dillah. This shape is not rare; we see it, for instance, in the Wady Hammánah, to the left of the French road going to Damascus where the handle is the gorge below. To the south and south-east the eye can detect the three great lateral gradients which form gigantic steps, each averaging 700 to 900 feet above its neighbour, and leading from the Padan-Dammasak (upland Plain of Damascus) to the Oriental base of the true Anti-Libanus. The highest is the 'Assál el Ward terrace, with its picturesque edging, the Jebel Marmarún or Danhá (Dinhá), near Yabrúd, huge crested

vated lowlands. Similarly in classical Arabic 'Fajj' is a broad way especially between two mountains: here it is pronounced Fijj, and applied to a cluse, gap, or narrow gorge.

rock-waves, of which we can count from four to seven, looking as if about to break upon the plain below, and flowing south instead of north, the usual lay: they are prolonged by the Kurún Rankús;⁶ pearl-coloured nipples, twins, horns, towers, and high-crested walls projecting from red breasts of decomposed limestone. The middle gradient is that of Kárá-Nabk, ending west in the Jebel Fakhúk⁷ (the Palisades of Helbon); and the lowest is the Said-náyyá-Jayrúd, which runs almost without a bend to Palmyra. The other remarkable features are the hogsback of Hermon, the blue wall of the Jebel Durúz Haurán, the Tulúl el Safá, including Jebel Dakwah and the range which overlooks the desert of the Euphrates. The slope of the strata forming the wall of El Ahhyár, the highest point, and striking north, is upwards inclined, and disposed at angles of 13° and 17° rising to 70°; the beds are not always conformable, and sometimes they dip 70° to 80°, looking as though they were reversed.

This B'lúdán block is fronted on the west by the

⁶ The name is popularly derived from 'Dakk' el Nákús (the bell struck): it was a Christian village with a large convent. Marmarun (from Marmar, being angry) is suggested by the murmurings of those who had to climb its stiff sides.

⁷ In classical Arabic Fakhukh would be Fakhkh, a gin or snare.

Jebel el Shakíf, or Mountain of Cliffs with gaps and gorges, a name sometimes erroneously applied to the higher elevations on the east. The word is commonly used in the Sinaitic group, and there is a Jebel Shakíf near Jebel Usdum, south of the so-called 'Dead Sea.' The celebrated Kala'at Shakíf (Belfort of the Crusaders) is the Castle of the Cliff, upon whose majestic brow it stands; and the huge slice of perpendicular rock pierced with caves and south of Safet is the Shakíf el Ahkáf (Cliff of Tunnels). Shakíf is also in Syria still the popular name for a door-jamb: I can only suggest that it is borrowed from the Persian Shikáf. These Jurassic waves, with jagged edges like the Dolomites of Titian's Cadore, seem as if ready to burst into a spray of stone which will overwhelm the valley 1500 feet below them. Three principal buttresses are seen, towering like Titanic steps in the clear blue air, by those who take the French diligence from Bayrut to Damascus; east of them lies the upland valley of B'lúdán, green and gay with corn and wine; it is bounded on the other side by the winding spur which culminates in the apex El Ahhyár, and it is backed by the solitary head of El Horayrah, so conspicuous to those who approach Damascus from the

south, *viâ* Sa'sa' and the 'Awaj River. Their scarped faces form the eastern flank of the Wady Dillah and its continuations—the Arází el Nahás and others—to the Wady Sargháya. Their broad backs represent the western part of the B'lúdán Valley. The first or lowest of the buttresses is the Ma'abúr Ayn el Daulah, bounded on the south by the gap of the Daulah and the Saraymah fountains, which combine to form the Wady Arz el Zahlát. No. 2 is separated from No. 1 by a Fiumara called the Wady Kharrád; and it bears the name of Dayr Nabi Yunán, from ruins picturesquely situated upon the tilted field of gray limestone whose perpendicular face looks down upon the Wady el Kabír.

The ruins are connected by the people, who will gather together as many biblical names as possible, with the prophet Jonah: they are most easily approached by the Shu'abat el Mu'allakah, a deep gorge with a pathway to the Ayn el Haur village, and separating No. 2 from No. 3 buttress. A red track creeps up the limestone, and leads to the first pile situated upon an eastern eminence and facing towards the rising sun. It has evidently been a Ba'al temple, as is shown by a stone with rosettes and beam-ends, pilaster caps, bases of columns,

straight round mouldings, cut corner-stones, large lintel, and in two instances the marginal draft and boss miscalled a bevel, which is, however, shallow and much worn. It then became a Christian place of worship, evidenced by a Greek cross ✠ upon a block near the well to the south-west; the latter, some sixteen feet deep, has long been dry. Finally, smaller stones, cut as usual from the more ancient material, prove that, like the opposite Kasr el Banát ('Maidens' Castle'), it ended life as the watch-tower of some robber baron. Although M. de Rialle had warned us 'là, point de traces de monuments grecs ou romains,' we found two inscriptions, both mutilated. One lay to the south-west of the wall, and had originally two long lines and two short; the right half of the whole length, however, was missing, and the left reads as follows:

K P A T E P Ω N

(Ω?) O C E B I Δ O Y A P O (C or O?)

C Y N T

Z Y Γ O O (C or O?)

The other, farther to the south-west, appeared to be upon an altar, which suggested a projecting cornice at the top and bottom, like that which we brought from Kanawát. Originally it had also four lines,

of which the upper and lower had been defaced, and about a finger-length on the right had been chipped away. We could only read :

.....
 Π □ T □ T O Y
 □ Y B E T □ Y A N (etheken?)
 Y C (K?)

Descending a slope to the west, and passing a small cave which points to the north, we found in a dwarf depression a huge block, which might have served in Syro-Hellenic days for a sacrifice-table; the surface was streaked with crystals of lime resembling chisel-marks. The long or northern wall measured 28 feet 5 inches, and the shorter eastern 22 feet 5 inches; whilst there was a sign of the peribolos to the south, distant 6 feet 5 inches from the fane.

Beyond the great buttress *Jebel Dayr Nabi Yunán* is No. 3, generally known as the *Khashshá el Shakíf* ('rough ground of the *Shakíf*'), and it right well deserves its name. The guides call the southern part of this split and jagged ground *Oz*⁸ (وز) pro-

⁸ I can only suggest that the word is a Syrian corruption of the classical Arabic *Kuz* (كوز), a round heap or hill. Other debased pronunciations are *Ghánim* for *Ghanam*, *Jábil* for *Jebel*, *Hossa* for *Hasa* (pebbles), and so forth.

nounced Osh) el S'núni, denoted by a single Za'arúr or hawthorn, and divided from the other part, the Shakíf el Kháshi'a, by the Wady Fawwár (the Spouting Ravine), which drains after showers to the Ayn el Haur. These crests are well grown with the Lizzáb, a juniper which has almost disappeared from the lower altitudes; and here, whilst the Hummus (*Cicer arietinum*, the East-Indian 'gram,' *i.e.* grāo) lasts, is the favourite home of the bear. Farther north, the last rock-waves sink into the Wady el Manshúrah (Gorge of the sawn Stone), a deep gash falling into the western lateral Wady about the Sargháya village, where there is a change of watershed. The southern part of the valley drains to the Barada; the northern discharges through the Saradah and the Yahfúfah gorges into the Buká'a, eventually feeding its main artery, the Litání or River of Tyre.

Such are the interesting blocks of mountain which form the eastern and the western walls of the upland valley of B'lúdán. The vale itself is not less complicated, and there is the usual lavish expenditure of proper names, every hillock, field, and tree-clump having its own. The lower part, Arází el Zahlát, is laid out in vineyards, plantations, and orchards of hazels, poplars, and mulberries, of almonds, apricots,

and walnuts, which weigh down the trees; of apples shredded and sun-dried for winter, when they will be eaten with Dibs or grape-syrup, and of plums, figs, and greengages; whilst most precious of all is the vine. The natives are already preparing for their *vendange* by frightening away wild beasts with the 'Ar'ár or Nakkárah, a pot and clapper, whose monotonous sound becomes familiar as the owl-like cry with which the people shout to one another at a distance. Their principal enemies are the jackals and foxes.⁹

Higher up we reach the fields fed by little streams which everywhere issue from the slopes. Here the surface, like that of the Zebadání Valley, is mottled with port-wine marks standing out against the limestone of French gray. In places it becomes reddish-brown, blackish-red, and dull lavender, like the Tauá of the Brazil, parted by natural and artificial lines of calcaire. The hedgerows are unusually

⁹ The Ta'lab, also called Abú Husayn (Father of the Little Fort), is the fox, in Morocco termed Akkáb; while Tálíb Yusuf and Wa'wi are the jackal. Arabs do not say 'jackal,' although the Hebrews have Shu'al and the Persians Shaghál (not Shagul); nor do they confound Dhub (Dib, a wolf) with the fox (pp. 85-6 of Dr. Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible*; London, 1860: a book which would be valuable, were it subjected to many corrections).

comely for Syria, the principal growths being the 'Allayk, locally called Tás, a tasteless kind of blackberry; the olive-coloured Zayzafún; the bright green Mughílán (Umm Gháylán, Mother of Thickets); and the white and red Saraymah (dog-rose), whose haws are of the largest. Here upland wheat flourishes, and the land is kindly to Dukhn or holcus. We pass the Kala'at el Safá, a dwarf bluff of yellow limestone, with a smaller feature to the south-east: between the former and rock-wave No. 1 lies the Arz el Mushak-kakah, or split and cracked land; and between the two 'forts' rises the little water Naba' Abú Zayd.

After one direct geographical mile from B'lúdán we pass out of the limestone into a band of pure sandstone, which somewhat differs from that of the Libanus; it alternates with iron-revetted clay, slag-like masses, and purple grit, degrading into a blackish humus. Here, with its Khirbat or ruined village to the south is the fine fountain Ayn el Daulah, the first of the chalybeate waters. They are bright bubbling streams, whose margins are green with the Anjayl grass, good for fodder; the unedible Zu'zái, resembling a watercress; the Kurrays nettle; the Sú'ad or common rush; and the Haba', a blue-flowered cat-mint, eaten by the peasant with bread. The limonite

water is strong enough to be called mineral, and, like the ale-wells of the north, if imprudently used will affect the head: the *badauds* of the capital, who begin to make the place a picnic-ground, complain that it is exceptionally heavy, and all my Damascus servants suffered from it during the first few weeks. To the left is the Ayn el Saraymah, which drains the western Wady Anjásah: it shows traces of compact black basalt, probably a continuation of the Dayr el Asháyir basin, and of the iron which outcrops on the French road at Akabat el Tín ('Col of the Mud'). Here is one of the few places where we found signs of igneous formation upon the Anti-Libanus, and it is possibly a projection from the north-western flank of the Hermon.

About this point ends the scatter of secular trees, six walnuts and one wild pear; the highest three are called the Jauzát bú Abbás, and the winds will not allow such growth in the altitudes above them. The features of the iron region now become less complicated, forming three distinct torrent-valleys. The eastern is the Wady Ayn el Ghánim, which feeds the Ayn el Daulah bed; the central is the Sayl Arz el Anjásah, leading above to the Sayl Arz el Mu'al lakah, a 'hanging ground' of dark humus and white

lime; whilst the Wady Kharrád, whose upper part becomes the Wady el Shakíf, is the western drain. The most important feature is the Arz el Mu'allakah, which might indeed be assumed as a name for the whole of the B'lúdán upland valley.

After two hours (equal to three and one-sixth direct geographical miles) we pass a rock-gorge known as the Mujarra, and reach the Marjat Ayn el Nusúr (Plainlet of the Vultures' Spring). Here are some twenty fountains, the Ayn el Gharrám, the Bighur¹⁰ el Fawwár, and others of less importance, which keep the ground green throughout the year. Though there is sandstone *in situ*, we found lime all around, disposed in regular courses, and often capped with the remnants of a course. We picked up fine blocks of gypsum, and bits of red porphyry with white *paillettes*, doubtless brought from the Zebadání Jurd, in which it has been quarried for the Ba'albak pillars since time immemorial.

Resting at the Marj el Baghl, we heard from the Nátúr or *garde champêtre* dreadful tales of the wild hogs and bears, that use the night to destroy the thirty measures of Hummus vetch raised upon this

¹⁰ Baghr in classical Arabic means a heavy sudden shower of rain, that moistens the earth and waters the land.

fertile dark land. In the summer of 1870 I was shown the pelt of a full-grown male, and a cub that had been killed to the great distress and anger of its dam: in 1871 a second peasant was mauled by a hungry Bruin, whose meal he had unwittingly interrupted. The result was, that guards with firelocks passed the night amongst the crops; but they were very careful not to wound; in fact, they hold with our old songster that

‘Married men should bide at home
From the hunting of the bear.’

They divide the beasts into two kinds: the Akish or vegetarian, and the Lahhám or meat-eater, who often takes a fancy for a lamb or a kid. They all agree that the bear hybernates during the Marba’níyyah, or forty days following the winter solstice, and that the best season for sport is in early September, when the ripe grapes bring him down from his hidden and distant haunts.

We turned to the left over the Khashshá el Shakíf in search of a Bruin, but with little better luck than usual. Large footlike spoor (the bear’s is that of a man, and the porcupine’s that of a child) may be found on almost every path; and traces of the animals had been left in many of their sleeping-places.

Suddenly one started up, and scrambled round the corner so fast that neither of us could get a shot; and we regretted it the more, as the big gray stern showed him to be a veteran dweller in the land. They will soon be almost as rarely seen as the Gibraltar ape, which, according to the British sailor, passed over by submarine tunnel from Ape's Hill (Calpe). I suppose the tales of ursine ferocity to be much exaggerated, except when Bruin is suffering from intense hunger, or if frightened suddenly, or when the maternal feelings are roused; and with a fortnight's leisure I should not despair of making a bag, especially about the southern and the eastern slopes of the Hermon. Some writers argue, from the fact of bears being found in a wood between Jericho and Bethel (2 Kings ii. 24), that the country was then better wooded than it is now; but they are thinking of the northern bear, which prefers the warmth of dense forests. A very small clump of trees in Palestine is here found sufficient for shelter; and in most places (as the Hermon and the Anti-Libanus) to which the beasts are now driven they take refuge in rock caves. Upon the Khashshá we followed coveys of Greek partridges, which seemed, however, to walk faster than we could. The *Perdix Saxatilis* is a

fine strong-flying and game bird; the same can hardly be said of the smaller species (*Caccabis Heyi*). The land was evidently bear-haunted, abounding in fine cool caves and in deep sinks, often several lying side by side. The limestone, in which we found water-worn sandstone embedded, was streaked with crystals like petrified coral, and dotted with the usual Biz or kidney-formed bits of chert, in some cases coprolites (?). Crystal-lined geodes lay about, and in places the rock was a conglomerate of fossils, encrinites, and nummulites. The blanched 'horse-bone limestone' and the perforated calcaires were common features; and we picked up scallops (pectines), gryphæas, echini, and fossil oysters.¹¹

The Marjat Ayn el Nusúr, a bit of true Alpine pasturage, is divided into the Barráníyyah (exterior), and the Juwwáníyyah (the interior) which lies higher up. Here is a second versant, the northern waters escaping through the Wady el Manshúrah

¹¹ Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S. (*Quarterly Journal of Science*, July 1871, pp. 328-29), explains the fact that fossil oysters and limpets are common, whilst cockles are rare, by the suggestive discovery of Mr. Sorby. The latter in 1862 pointed out that the carbonate of lime in the oyster, the limpet, and certain other mollusks, took the form or condition of calcite, whose molecules are in stable equilibrium; whilst the cockle-shells and their allies are of the unstable aragonite.

into the Cœlesyrian Vale. A stiff descent then leads to Júrat Birkat el Mudawwarah, at the head of the Manshúrah; a copy of the B'lúdán upland valley, except that this is only half a basin, whereas that is whole. After one direct mile from the Vultures' Spring we halted (11 A.M.) at an excellently cold pond, 'the round tank.' Here the horses became Mamghus or Maryúh (affected with colic), and we could hardly wonder at it, when the temperature of their drink was 54° Fahr., and that of the air 65° Fahr. My companion collected a variety of water-beetles, which he judged to be new; and we spent part of our time fighting with Abú Fás (the Father of a Hatchet), a large fly whose bite makes it formidable. According to Mr. G. R. Crotch, the water-beetles 'are, from the arid nature of the country, rare, but abundant when found:' several received by him from Mount Sinai appeared peculiar to that place. They were described in 1832 by Klug in the *Symbolæ Physicæ* of Ehrenberg, a work replete with information concerning the Syrian fauna, and whose illustrations leave little to be desired.¹²

¹² Quoted from an able paper upon the Coleopterous fauna of Palestine, by the assistant-librarian of the University of Cambridge.

A little before noon, when the cloud-pack coming up rendered the air of *les hauts* delightfully fresh, we rounded a dark sandstone hill, and found in its folds the Ayn el Naháif, loved of goats and bears. It is one of the many south-western feeders of the Wady Manshúrah, another being the Hill Jurábak (Open your Scrip !), so called because none may resist eating after having drunk of it: therefore it is a great favourite with the picnicker. A long and sharp ascent led to a sandstone ridge overlooking the gorge: the latter can be ridden down, and it shows a big square block of limestone, the Hajar el Manshúrah, split not by contraction and expansion, but by Zú'l Fikár, the irresistible sabre of Caliph Ali: hence the name of the gorge. We afterwards saw several of these 'Cloven Stones,' but this was the only one with a legend attached to it; unlike the Sinaitic rocks, upon so many of which Hazrat Músa (Moses) has left marks. The sandstone was here capped by long lines of lime-cliff, where the abundant junipers had been scorched by the goatherds' fires: apparently this process makes them flourish the more, like the leathery-skinned growth of the Brazilian 'campo.' Upon the Col or pass we picked up a bit of red oxide of iron, which was mistaken, as Burckhardt did near

Hasbeyyá, for cinnabar,¹³ and a scatter of stones richer in copper than those of the old Wady Magharah diggings; whilst the characteristic formation was a bright red and yellow calcaire in distinct layers. I have heard of two places in Syria where copper has been found. The first is in the Balka, where, by the advice of Mr. Acting-consul Charles Wood, the Governor-general sent an English engineer to report upon its value; Mr. Barker, I believe, did not recommend its being worked. The other was mentioned to me by the Rev. William Wright of Damascus: about 30' south of Jenín, at the border of the Esdraelon plain, he found traces of an old mine with a short shaft and sundry tunnels, some of them one hundred yards long, and with a roof supported by piers. On our north-west a field of yellow limestone lay like a Cyclopean pavement: similar flat strata are to be seen from the French diligence near El Rawaysát in the Libanus. To the southward (137° Mag.) rose the Hajar Bísán, a castellated fragment commanding its hill: the valley, a counterscarp of the Manshúrah, is known as Wady

¹³ Burckhardt (p. 487), however, afterwards saw cinnabar in the Sinaitic Peninsula. It was called Rásúkht by the Arabs, who usually found small pieces about the size of a pigeon's egg, especially in the gneiss formation.

el Hossá (Hasá); and its head, the Marj el Khanzír (Plain of the Wild Hog), shows several Makíl ('bughts' or folds), dry stone enclosures for protecting goats in summer. The hog, like the buffalo, I may remark, would never, like the rest of the animal kingdom, be converted to El Islam; he still remains a Kafir and a fast friend to the Christian.

Another rough ascent, leading round the southern lip of the Manshúrah Valley, placed us upon a conspicuous summit: it is called the Ra'as Zahr Abú'l Hin (Head of the Ridge of the Father of Henna—that is, of the wren); a name as sensible as Shrimps' Mountain (Camarones), applied to one of the tallest volcanoes in inter-tropical Africa. The Ra'as, numbering 8330 feet, is the apex of an arc forming the Manshúrah Valley, which resembles that of the Cedars, but upon a small scale; the slope of the ramp is precipitous, but there are various ledge-steps and overfalls of bare rock, which support goat-paths. A north-eastern fountain, the Ayn el Bítí, attracts larks and partridges, hobby-hawks and griffons; the latter are numerous, but they generally tower like specks in the blue air; and when descending they sweep past as condors do, so unexpectedly that it is no easy matter to shoot an eligible specimen.

The wintry winds must rage furiously upon this Zahr. The Lizzáb (juniper), often bare and bleached to the south and south-west, with the tops eaten away, is blown to the north and north-east: a few young shoots show that even the goats spare the place; and in the elder growths the wood is ridiculously out of all proportion to the foliage. The height of a tree girthing some twelve feet at twenty inches above the ground will perhaps be ten feet; whilst the roots, peculiarly strong and long, will contain double the timber of the bole. The bilberry throws itself prostrate upon the nearest stone, and clings to it, as though fearing to be blown away into space. And all the rest of the vegetation, especially the rose and the thistle, is exceptionally stunted, when the actual altitude is considered.

From the Ra'as Abú 'l Hin we could see to the north-east, and divided by a water-parting, another steep valley flanked by the axis of the Anti-Libanus, and resembling the Manshúrah, and the Arz el Mu'al-lakah or upland-valley of B'lúdán. The eastern and higher lip is the normal crest of palisaded limestone cliffs (Hawálís), above which the goat-paths run, and it is capped by rounded summits of red-yellow humus scattered with stone. On the west, rock-

waves and crag 'islets,' the Ilheos (Loo rocks) of Portuguese geographers, separated by torrent-beds, which, like those of the Jebel el Shakíf, drain the surface into the Ma'arabún gorge below, add to the resemblance; and the unusual quantity of vegetation, especially juniper, that finds a footing in the jagged limestone, gives this view the most pleasing aspect.

The chord of our second valley runs $33^{\circ} 30'$ towards the Ra'as Rám el Kabsh, far away on the N.N. East. As usual in these lands, the whole lacks generic name; it is sectionally called after its springs, which patch the surface with nettles and green weeds, Wady Ayn el Báridah, Wady Ayn el Sakhrah, Wady Ayn el Za'arúr, and so forth. From above, the floor appeared smooth and easy; but experience proved it to be otherwise. The material was sandstone, alternating with lime in detached blocks and in sections of pavement: plots of wheat and tobacco, which never pay tax nor tithe, grew in sheltered places; but at times, when rain is wanting, the seed refuses, it is said, to sprout. In this part of the highlands such growths will extend to 6000-7000 feet above sea-level, and perhaps higher: the wheat is horny and stunted, and the people declare that grazing

animals will not allow barley to be reaped. Burckhardt mentions the eagerness with which the wild swine feed upon Shaír Arabí or common barley.

We descended some 800 feet by the Wady Juwar el Akkúb (Sinks of the Artichoke), and we struck the No. 3 valley, where the 'Akibat el Hamrá (the red Col) is traversed by the Sargháya-Rankús road. We passed successively on the left the Wady Laulabi, the Wady Ayn el Za'arúr, and the Wady el Naháir, the latter headed by a large cornfield. A few goat-herds were there to give us the names, and we found a yeoman from Mu'azzamíyyah in the Jayrud-Palmyra Valley, an ursine biped rendered truly ridiculous by a huge turban of white wool, normal wear derived of old from Christian ancestry. After a rugged ride, crossing the eastern crest of the Anti-Libanus, we fell about sunset into the Wady Ayn el Durrah (of Maize), a slope well sheltered from the biting draughts of the passes, and shedding from the western sierra to the Jauz Durrah and the Ra'as el Ayn in the 'Assál el Ward upland to the east. It has a fine fountain, which waters horses and neat cattle, and which feeds a Hímah (trenched field) of Hummus or grain. The owner was a Rankús man, who with his two shirtless and sharp-witted lads occupied

the place during summer: being elevated 6580 feet, it is too cold for permanent settlement. He passed his nights in shouting and in firing random shots, to scare away plundering bears.

As the mountain air began to nip and the last rays disappeared from the hill-tops the slopes were dotted with goats, two large flocks which hailed from Haush 'Arrah or Haush 'Assúl. We had no difficulty in procuring milk and in buying a kid: the driver took fifty-five piastres, bluffly remarking, 'That is the way I sell them!' Our men spent the early night in cooking and eating the unusual delicacy: the animals on the Jurd, covered with fat about an inch deep, contrast wonderfully with their lean dry brethren of the plain. Mohammed the Shikari anointed his slippers with the adipose tissue, which, despite all his *bonne volonté*, he was unable to consume.

After a cool night we were in the saddle at 5.20 A.M. on Tuesday, August 1st, and traversing the Wady Ayn el Durrah,¹⁴ we ascended the direct

¹⁴ Mr. Porter (p. 311, 2d edition, *Five Years in Damascus*), when travelling from the capital to Ba'albak, crossed the 'backbone of Anti-Lebanon,' and lunched at the 'fountain of Dura.' But where he found the basalt above the water I am unable to guess. Possibly it may exist; but more probably 'basalt' is a confusion with ferruginous sand-

mountain-road from Mu'arrá to Ba'albak. Then rounding the head of a parched valley, the Wady el Maksam, in which, as the name denotes, the highway anastomoses, we passed a group of old round graves, rough heaps and circles of stones, called the Kubúr el Turkomán (Turkomans' tombs), from the tent-dwellers who winter upon the Ba'albak plain. Certain travellers speak of 'Turkoman Arabs,' the latter word being used, I presume, as in our modern phrase 'City Arabs.' Here probably in days of old was a Mazár or place of pious visitation. On our left lay a dwarf depression, separated by a watershed from valley No. 3: it is apparently the north-eastern end of the lateral basins which subtend the western crest of the Anti-Libanus.

A ride of fifty minutes (equal to one and one-third direct geographical miles) placed us at the head of the Wady el Hawá ('Fiumara of the Wind,' meaning that which points to windward¹⁵). This long depression, leading from the chain to the south-

stone. The latter, indeed, at times so well imitates the igneous formation, that the two cannot be distinguished by the 'geologist on horse-back'—as poor Mr. Schoolcraft had it.

¹⁵ Hence in Syrian towns the Bab el Hawa is the gate that faces to windward.

western part of the 'Assál el Ward plain, contains the Ayn Hassíní; and some way down it is said to be a ruin, called Kabr el Shátir (of the Rascal? or the Running Footman?), with a 'Hebrew' inscription, probably some insignificant marks in the stone. We walked up the crest on our left, a prolongation of the Abú 'l Hin ridge, which gave us a fine front and back view. Here we picked up a fragment of old glass much irisated, and we found the calcareous strata of leaf-thickness: as at Abú 'l Hin, the limestone *in situ* was so regularly placed, that it suggested the foundations of walls. From that point travelling along a knife-board with a succession of Júrahs (sinks or swallow-holes) to the right, we headed the Wady el Marhalah, in which were goats and goat-herds; and threading huge cubes like Cyclopean masonry, we ascended the south-eastern flank of the Ra'as Rám el Kabsh, 'Head of the High Place of the (wild) Ram,' or Mouflon (*Ovis musimon*). The people call it Ra'as Rám el Jábil, their 'Doric' for Jebel.

Here the regular cliff-like crest, which we had followed on our left or westward from B'lúdán, apparently ends, but presently to reappear as a central spine. We could see nothing in front (35°

Mag.) but a long perspective of lateral ridges running parallel but palpably detached, with broken ranges streaked with trees, and evidently parted by the deepest gorges. The general direction is somewhat south of east (80° - 100°), towards the 'Assál el Ward plain, and the drainage eventually feeds the waters of Yabrúd. Their names we afterwards learned are: 1. the Wady Bir Sahrij, which lay at our feet; 2. the Wady Bir el Washil,¹⁶ which anastomoses with the lower course of the former; 3. the Wady Zuwayyik (the Narrowish), said to contain two or three Mihrábs or praying niches of the normal size and fronting in the usual direction, but without inscriptions; and 4, 5, and 6. the Wadys Batrah, Za'arúr, and Bir el Khashabah, the latter rounding the southern base of Nabi Bárúh, whose hogback arose in the distance. The 'Prophet' was backed by a cone, which we afterwards learned to call Tala'at Musa; whilst far on the north-eastern horizon appeared the Haláim Block. Evidently we

¹⁶ In the singular Washlah, or water-pit, a term common in these mountains. In classical Arabic, Washal (plural Aushál) would mean a small quantity of water, especially running or dripping from a height. Sahrij, though not given in the common dictionaries, is a fountain; hence the 'Chafariz,' for which the Portuguese are so much derided by the Spaniards.

might have kept our course along the western ridge, by rounding the valleys for some six miles, which would have brought us to cultivated ground. But we wanted a guide, and our horses were threatened with thirst as well as with hunger; so, being merciful men, we resolved to follow the nearest long depression, which we knew must lead to the 'Assál el Ward village.

Before leaving the Rám we examined the country, and we found a wild currant (a *Ribes rubrum*, not the currant or Corinth of trade, which is a small and luscious grape): Mohammed called it Lok (لوك): like the gooseberry shrub, it has apparently never been cultivated in these parts. We also saw for the first time upon the Anti-Libanus huge specimens of the wild honeysuckle (Díshár, pronounced Dayshawr), which in a stunted state we had met on Mount Tabor and on the Kulayb cone of the Jebel Durúz Haurán. We afterwards observed it in many high places, chiefly in basins, like the Wady el Fatlí, sheltered from direct exposure to the winds. An average specimen gave six feet of circumference to eleven feet of height; the flower was stunted, and the old bark was white and reticulated, whilst the young twigs were red. This tree probably comes

from a northern region, or it could not thus prefer the barren Jurd. The Wady Bir Sahrij may be called the Honeysuckle Fiumara, as the growth far preponderates over all others, and we observed that the greater number of trees grew upon the western face. This is the windward, and consequently the rainward side. In the lower lands trees mostly affect the north flanks of rising ground, to avoid the heat of the sun, and thick scrub and undergrowth often interrupt an extensive view from the surveyor. So throughout Judea, in early spring the northern hill-fronts are green with grass and bright with flowers, whilst the southern slopes are still burnt and brown. And let it be remembered that the vernal is ever the worst season for the archæologist: the outlines of ancient buildings and remains of antiquity are deep buried in tall gramens and in thistle-barrens rivaling the growth of the South-American Pampas.

Descending into the Fiumara-head at a point made remarkable by a broken line of curious sausage-shaped stones, whose well-weathered conglomerate abounds in fossils, we struck the excellent road of natural macadam which threads the gorge. Here we observed only one new shrub, the barbary or prickly pepperidge, locally called Barba-

rús (بربروث)¹⁷ and Kaukabán: the elongated berries of this frutex are used to cure stomach pains, and its wood makes the best of pipe-stems. The heights on both sides became, as we descended, more precipitous, and concentrated upon us an uncomfortable amount of caloric.

After two hours down the Fiumara we struck the Bir Sahríj, an old and solidly-built well twelve feet deep, with the usual adjuncts, swarms of flies, which appear in the most unlikely as well as in the most likely places, rough tree-trunks, and hollowed stones. The water, though muddy, was sweet and cool. Continuing our course, we passed on the right what appeared to be the fragment of a road, and we saw cresting the tall ridge to our left broken and detached rocks perfectly imitating ruins. Here was the anastomosis of the Wady Bir el Washil, whose water-pit is also never dry. The heights lower down were seamed with paths; wood-cutters, charcoal-burners, and goatherds presently appeared; and finally cultivation marbled the gentler slopes. Mortally long seemed the rest of the way: after a ride of ten and a half direct geographical miles down

¹⁷ Here never pronounced Barbaris, the Arabic form given in our derivative lexicons.

the 'Quebrada,' it was 11 A.M. before we debouched upon the plain of 'Assál el Ward. The Wady Bir Sahríj evidently divides the comparatively well-watered southern section of the Anti-Libanus from the parched and dusty northern half. We can only suggest that here the limestone formation becomes more deeply fissured and less able to retain the springs,¹⁸ which directly disappear underground. The same rule holds good in the Libanus, where the northern is less fertile than the southern and lower half. But M. Girard de Rialle gives (loc. cit. p. 226) an exaggerated idea of the northern Anti-Libanus when he declares that it must be travelled on foot, and asserts: 'Cette contrée est même si sauvage, qu'il est impossible de trouver un guide pour y pénétrer.'

It is now time to notice the wild vegetation through which we have passed. The chief characteristic is the great variety of thistles and thorns. The former do not, however, attain the stature of Southern Palestine; but they are typical of the land as of Caledonia. We find the Shauk Azrak,

¹⁸ Thus, to mention no other cases, the Kaldá River in Iceland after an impetuous run of a short two miles, entirely disappears beneath the lava-fields.

or blue thistle; the Dardáriyyah, likest to our common Scotch species; and several that are more or less edible. The Shindáb is sledged for animals, like Tibn or crushed straw. The Shauk 'Urs'anní, called Arba'aniyyah in the Libanus, is also an azure kind, eaten in Salátahs (soured milk with cucumber and other vegetables); the Shauk el Dabbús, or knobstick thistle, contains in its large lavender-coloured head an edible kernel; the Murrár and the 'Ak-kúb¹⁶ are remarkable for ball and spikes with a leaf broader than usual: whilst the latter is much prized, especially by the Jews of Tiberias and Safet. It is, in fact, a wild artichoke, and far superior in flavour to the cultivated species. Of spiny plants we meet with the Ausaj, often mispronounced Aswaj, which makes the modern crown of thorns at Jerusalem: the Tar (ثَر), a cushioned spine with reddish flower; the Billán or Tabbán, of many names; the Bāsít, like the Tabbán, but with a longer thorn, a mimosa leaf, and seed covered with white cotton; the Kabáb or Shibri, with white-gray and white-pink flower parted into four rays; and finally the dwarf red rose, which is as the Pyrenean compared with the Covent-garden strawberry. About the lines of

¹⁶ Burckhardt p. 338. miswrites the word Khob.

water which streak the slopes with green grow the perfumed Na'na' el Mayyah (water-mint); the yellow-flowered Hindibah, with edible leaf like the lettuce (an endive?); the Maddaydah barriyyah, a pink-coloured convolvulus with a colocynth leaf; the 'Antírísa or dandelion; the two poppies known as Sha'rari and Sha'rari el Hamír; the Shukaylí, a grass with a bushy ear like that called Zayl el Kadísh or nag's-tail; and the Hurbú barri, a crow's-foot with red and yellow papilionaceous flower, pounded and externally applied to unclean wounds. Upon the higher and drier spots we find the rock cistus, pink and yellow; the Hallúb barri, a euphorbaceous plant, glaucous below and gold above, the latter sometimes becoming a dull puce; the Zallúa', whose gum is the reverse of fragrant; the wild rhubarb, the Funduk barri, or wild filbert; the Tuffáh barri, a miniature apple, whose pome is not eaten, although not considered poisonous; the Ajram or 'Unnayb, an edible bilberry; and the Suwwayd, resembling a blackthorn, which is the largest of undergrowth. The latter is also found in the high plains, like the Hurmul plant, resembling the liquorice, whose seeds are considered medicinal. The growths most familiar to us are the Ishbat Mayyah, or buttercup;

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the Ward Kuttá or Ward el Wakíl the homely daisy; the Nafal or Náfilah, a white clover with a pinkish flower; the Khubbayzah Khitaní or Khuwaytmi, a wild hollyhock with pink and white blossom; the Kurt, or trefoil; the Uzn Jady, a big burdock with a blue flower; the pimpernel; the anemone (large and small); the wild pink, whose oat-like calyx grows upon every mountain, and is called by certain of the people Hashíshat Hamrá (near Tiberias, Hum-hum); and the chamomile, stored by the people for remedial use in winter. Of the latter there are two species, the Bábúnaj or white, and the Kahwán, also called Kaysún, the yellow. The Khubbayzah (a malva) follows the footsteps of man, and is found only about the villages and ruins; it is extensively used by the peasantry in years of dearth. This malva must not be confounded with the 'Jew's Mallow' (*Corchoris olitorius*, in Hindustani Bhendi, and in Arabic Mulukhiyyah), which is so much cultivated in Egypt and Syria. There is in the richer grounds an abundance of the mountain sorrel (*Oxyria reniformis*), which Dr. Hooker found upon the Libanus, and which he regards as the typical representative of an Arctic and North-Alpine flora. Less familiar kinds are the Habbíyyah, a broom-

like salsolacea; the Bawwál el Kalb, with a white bloom and a leaf like sage; the Ghazá (غضا), a yellow-blossomed artemisia or absinthe, whose wood is said to burn like holm-oak; the Kh'maysah, with whose caustic juice women blacken their hands; the Murrayr, a sage which smells like lemon thyme; the pink flower known as Katá el Wasl, or the jointed; and two yellow-flowered bulbs, one large, the other small, both called Kubá el Ráhib (friars' caps), and eaten at Damascus. Finally, the slopes are overgrown with the Sha'ir barri or wild barley, a true oat, which shows that here, as in India, the civilised species can be introduced: it is a plant of many names—Shúfán, Kháfúr, Salaysalah, and Sasaybán. Hence the Ghor el Saysabán to the north-east of the Dead Sea, one of the multifarious sections of the Jordan Valley. The Avena will grow in the hottest parts; for instance, upon the Ghuwayr (Little Ghor), north of Tiberias.

We halted within sight of the large bluish-gray ash-heaps and hillocks upon which 'Assál el Ward is built, and of the dozen poplars that garnish its upper spring. My old friend Shaykh Sálíh came out, and gave us the usual hospitable welcome; here the people, uncorrupted by travellers, are al-

ways civil in the extreme. The men, Shafei Moslems all, may muster some 250 guns; they are more than usually intelligent, especially in topographical matters, and they are never unwilling to fight. The coffee-pot was at once placed upon the fire, and the hungry and thirsty horses ate and drank their fill, whilst we were led to the cool divan: this was my second visit, and I shall long remember the little Syrian village in the uplands.

In the days when Syria was the Land of Roses, 'Assál el Ward, as its name suggests, supplied the flower to the ottar-makers of Damascus. The harvest of sixty to seventy Kuntars has been reduced to one or one and a half by the domestic animals, chiefly the large flocks of goats, which being placed under no wise restraint as in the classical days, now work an incalculable amount of damage to Syria and Palestine. An old record in the Tower of London admits the claims of certain manor farms to turn their live stock into the forest, *bidentibus exceptis*; and in these days it is a truism to say, that whilst agriculture and manufactures multiply population, herding stock of all kinds diminishes it. Yet the people under present circumstances must sacrifice much for an animal which supplies them

with milk, butter, and cheese, hair for clothing, and skins for the market.

The neighbouring village, Rankús, also produces a small quantity of roses, but all is called the produce of 'Assál el Ward. Tolerable ottar is still made in the Ma'asumíyyah quarter of Damascus; but the distillers import the flower from every direction, even from Meccah. 'Assál (of the Rose) is a well-to-do place; and the cold keen air, which compels the houses to be built like those of ancient Dun-Edin, almost without windows, and the rooms to be vaults rivalling those of Jerusalem, reddens the fat cheeks of the children, and preserves the fresh complexions of the graybeards. This settlement is of olden date, as fragments of columns and large cut stones prove.

On the next day (August 2) we set out betimes, accompanied by my good friend Shaykh Kásim, our host's brother, who was bent upon guiding us the whole way. Passing the lower pond, which I had last seen frozen, we found an animated picture of village life in Syria: flocks and herds being driven to pasture; bullocks being yoked, and children taking their stations upon the *tribula* that here act as flail and thrashing instruments; while the adults

were busied in the genial morning sun with prospecting the grain-heaps which lay upon the floors. We took the southern or upper road to the hogs-back, a little Hermon known as *Jebel Nabi Bárúh* (pronounce *Bárawh*), of *Baruch the Scribe*. There is a northerly line, *viâ* the *Wady el Maghárah*, where a large cave, said to contain two springs, long sheltered the *Harfúsh Amírs*, especially *Emir Mohammed* and his kerns, after these *Desmonds of Syria* were driven from the *Arází Tufayl*. The exploits of the *Metawali (Shiah)* chiefs, the last of the feudal barons, have supplanted in the popular mind the sad tale of the *Druze Fakhr el Din Ma'an*, and they are to *Syria* what the adventures of *William Wallace* and the *Bruce* were to the country-folk of *North Britain*.

Passing through the vineyards, whose vines have been brought from the village of *Hám*, we plucked the green grapes, to serve as a remedy against thirst, without the *Nátúr* or guardian daring to slang us from his leafy nest. Mixed with a little *Raki*, they form a very cooling drink. Dismounting beyond the vineyards, we walked up a stiff slope lying nearly north-east from *'Assál el Ward*, and we inspected the *Maghárat Taht el Kar-*


nah²⁰ ('Under the Horned Hill'). This cavern is partly natural, partly artificial; the low entrance leads to a basin full of water, and beyond this appears a dark tunnel, into which people have crept for some distance. [Memorandum. Never forget in these regions to carry a wax-candle in pocket.] Formerly a wild almond-tree marked the spot; now it has been cut down. The summit of the same hill is a long dorsum falling bluff to the east; and this, the most commanding site, conspicuous from the lowlands around, is capped by the ruins which the people call Dayr Taht el Karnah or Dayr Nabi Bárúh. They bear 5° from 'Assál el Ward, and 34° from the Bárúh Mountain.

The remains are evidently those of a Sun-temple before they became a convent. The pronaos fronts eastward, with the altar to the west, and the dimensions of the cellar are 26 feet north to south, and 23 feet 10 inches east to west.²¹ The western wall, the least ruinous, or possibly the last repaired, mea-

²⁰ Karnah is a corner; also the horn, extremity, or projection of a thing (*e. g.* spear or mountain).

²¹ I find in my note-book a general remark, that the altar is usually a quarter length of the whole temple, not including the portico. Unfortunately, however, I left Syria before this could be verified by a sufficient number of measurements.

tures 114 feet; and one of the stones is 11 feet in thickness, by 4 feet 6 inches broad and 3 feet 6 inches high: it is pierced for the entrance, a simple impost upon cut blocks, some of which show a well-raised bossage. To the north and south the peribolos or enceinte could hardly be traced, whilst there are vestiges of later building around, probably the remnants of the monkery. East of these ruins lies a large broken silo of exaggerated soda-water-bottle shape, and well built with stone and lime. The cliff beyond is riddled with sundry small caves like those of the adjacent hills, and the guides pointed them out as burial-places: they may have been larger before falling away with the wear and tear of time. We descended the north-eastern hill-slope by a spine showing traces of a paved causeway to a little knoll below, which looks like an outwork of the temple and the convent. Bits of old and iridescent glass were picked up, but the people with us knew nothing about coins. This Ba'al temple is unhappily built of rough conglomerates, the common stone of the valley, some of them prettily coloured and variegated as those which I admired in the diamond regions of Brazilian Minas Geraes. It is, however, a heterogeneous formation, alternately hard and soft, and thus easily degrading



when exposed to severe weather. The 'Convent under the Horned Hill' is ruinous in the extreme; but it gave both my companion and myself the idea of being perhaps the most ancient which we had seen throughout Syria and Palestine.

Resuming our ride towards the mountain, we entered its eastern outliers, rough ground with abruptly-capped eminences of stone, and we passed on the left the mouth of Wady Za'arúr, up which there is a footpath to Ba'albak. The world was dotted over with black goats, the property of Jubbah, a small but turbulent village dependent upon 'Assál el Ward. Thence riding over a rough hill-spur, we fell into the bend at the south-eastern base of Jebel Bárúh, and we visited the (eastern) Bir el Khashabah, which gives its name to this Wady. The well, known by its outlying lines of rough stone, is a cistern sunk ten feet in the conglomerate rock, and entered by a rude ladder: it is fed partly, they say, by a spring; but apparently it is more dependent upon the rains. As these had been scanty during the last winter, it gave only a little muddy water; but doubtless a thorough cleaning out would increase the valuable supply.

From the Bir el Khashabah my friend walked

up the western slope of the hogback, whilst I followed the south-western path, which my party had taken in November 1870. The latter, beginning through cultivation, zigzags over broken ground, which here and there causes all to dismount, and leads after some fifty minutes to the Makám Nabi Bárúh. This visitation-place is a rude circle of dry-stone wall, some four feet high, and stuck over with rags, clubs, camel-sticks (the Muhajjin or Mas'hab²²), and similar rustic offerings. It was built by the well-known Rúfá'í family of Yabrúd, descended from the great Sufi Ahmad of Baghdad, and apparently it is utterly modern. No one pretends that Baruch²³ the Scribe actually visited this wild spot in the Anti-Libanus; but a dream or a vision always suffices to create a place of holy visitation: the latter answers the popular demand, and none cares to inquire too curiously into the sources of the supply.

The view afforded a novel aspect of the Anti-

²² This article appears to be universal in the nearer East: we find it in the old frescoes of Egypt and in the hands of the modern Peloponnesan. In the Morea it is one of the principal relics of Moslem rule, the others being the fez, the bagged breeches (which are waxing rare), the nargilah, the papooches, and the ' seal of Solomon' on the walls and doors.

²³ The Baron d'Anglure (*Le Saint Voyage de Jerusalem*, A.D. 1395; Paris, Rue Caumartin, 1858) calls Bayrut ' Baruch.'

Libanus. At this point a section of the breadth from east to west gives the outliers of the main crest, the dorsum itself, a rolling outline here and there broken by cliff and crag; and westward the *Arázi el Khashshá'* ('Lands of the Rough Country'), a high and wavy expanse of reddish ground, remarkable for long and regular lines of trees, juniper all, which look black in the clear blue air. Farther would be the lower and western mountain crest, fronting the *Cœlesyrian Valley*; and beyond that the Cedar Block, still streaked and patched with snow, forms the horizon. In this section the eastern watersheds are uncommonly short, and the western are proportionably long.

In the distant south-west we could see the *Ra'as Akhyár*, the *Ra'as Abu 'l Hin*, and their adjacent blocks, all forming fine bold landmarks; whilst nearer we traced the long gray-white line of the *Rám el Kabsh* ridge. To the S.S. West ($220^{\circ} 30'$), the pearly back of the *Jebel Bísán*, which during the first day's march we had left on our right, fell into the upland plain; and the latter was bounded by the 'palisades' of *Jebel Fakhúk*, cliffing to the west above the *Helbon* village. On the southern horizon the *Hermon hogsback*, whose 'eternal snows'

had now nearly disappeared, lay athwart the line of the Anti-Libanus. North-west of us ($296^{\circ} 30'$) arose a prominent mass of tree-clad rock, which our guides erroneously called Kala'at or Oz (اوز) el Jubáb: we shall presently visit the true Jubáb. Far to the S.S.East lay the blurred white blot denoting the northern Damascus Swamp, the Bahrat 'Utaybah; and by its side, bearing $143^{\circ} 13'$, rose the familiar pyramid Jebel Dakwah.

We resumed our way to the north-eastern peak, upon which, eight months before, I had built a Kákúr (bench-mark or cairn). Passing a large Jurah on the left, we reached the higher eastern vertebra, below which is a double sink. The characteristic stone of this mountain, which also extends to the eastern outliers that rise above the conglomerates of the plain, is a *calcaire* more than usually crystalline with a white fracture, in fact almost marble. This would represent the white stone (λίθος λευκός) of Josephus, and the Hebrew Shesh, which we translate 'marble:' of the latter I have never found throughout Palestine and Syria a true specimen *in situ*. The fine stone formerly used for the decoration of buildings came probably from Egypt and Greece; now it is imported from Marseille.

The apex of the Bárúh Block gave us a view to the north-east, before concealed: here rose straight before us the Shaykh el Jebál (Le Roi de la Montagne), the very summit of the Anti-Libanus. It is variously called, from its component parts, Tala'at Mus'a, Jebel el 'Awaj, from a valley and a village; Jebel Fatlí, after a deep Wady in the mountains; and Jebel el 'Uyún, from certain unnamed springs. We have distinguished it as the Fatlí Block, supplementing the absence of a general term amongst the natives; when asking for it, however, the traveller must call it Jurd Mu'arrat el Bashkurdí. He must also carefully distinguish it from the Ra'as Rafí'a or the Rafí'a Mu'arrá, a reddish block or buttress prolonged to the north-east (46° Mag.) of the Fatlí Proper by a Col with two remarkable nicks, which prove to be natural gateways, with piers or buttresses of rock.

After resting under a juniper, we set out along the crest, rounding on the left the head of the Wady bayn el Kala'atayn (Between the Two Forts), a name, I have said, locally given, like Husn, to lone and castellated blocks of limestone. The abrupt gorge is curiously disposed, devious as the Niger, trending through West, S. West, and South to East,

instead of striking off directly to the latter. Here, some twenty years ago, the last Wa'il²⁴ or ibex was killed. Beyond lay the upland wheat-fields belonging to the Mu'arrániyyín, or people of Mu'arrá. We travelled easily over crests and bridges between big sinks; but after one hour's march we came suddenly upon the southern brink of the Wady el Fatlí. Here the gorge which divides the Nabi Bárúh Block from the apex of the Anti-Libanus, and which trends towards Lebwah in the Cœlesyrian Plain, forms a southern bulge or bay, yawning some 700 feet deep. The perpendicular rock-wall has a Mizáb or central gully for drainage; but that part is impracticable. Horses and laden mules, which find

²⁴ Evidently the Hebrew Ya'él, the climber. It is a beast of many names: Wa'il (not Wa'al), in the plural Wu'úl, often corrupted by the Bedawin and others to Mu'ál; Tays el Jebel (mountain he-goat); Widád in parts of Africa, and in Morocco Taytát. About Mount Sinai it is known as Badan (plural Budun), meaning primarily a body, and secondarily applied to fat cattle, camels, and horses. The remarkably knobby and imperfectly ringed horns of the Syrian Wa'il suggest that it is a different species from the Sinaitic. About the hills of the Palmyra-Jayrúd Valley large flocks of ibex abound, and the country people bring in the meat for sale. It is of a remarkably dark colour, and heating, though well flavoured: the chief fault, when we tasted it, was its excessive leanness. Burckhardt compares it with the Steinbock or Boquetin of the Swiss and Tyrol Alps, and tells us that in his day the horns were worked into handles for swords, daggers, and knives.

it a serious matter, must descend the abrupt slopes, broken with bare strata of stone, and strewn with moraine and humus. Here, in addition to the wild honeysuckle, we found a growth new to us, the Tin el Dubb,²⁵ or Bear's Fig, which others called 'Anab el Marrán, because it bears a berry loved by birds. Reaching without accident the Bir el Fatlí, a well sunk ten feet in the chalky ground, and supplying icy-cold water, we sat upon the shady rock-shelves, which were composed of nummulitic limestone with encrinites (or nerineæ?), of which specimens were brought home: these fossils are useful, because they establish a precise age to the rocks. The stone was so hard, as almost to baffle the hammer. Here we listened to the echo, which distinctly said, 'b'a 'arifhum' (*I know them*); and we were provided with Laban by the two wives of the civil goatherd As'ad ibn Yusuf, who wore a green turban in token of appertaining to the Holy House, Bayt el Rufá'í.

Resuming our way, we crossed the noble rock-walled gorge Wady el Fatlí by a 'Darb el Khashabah' (wood-road), whose natural metalling had been rol-

²⁵ This may be the Khokh el Dubb, or Bear's Plum, found by Burckhardt on Mount Hermon.

lered by deep snows, by fierce winds, and by dragging heavy juniper-trunks: up this part at least a lady might have driven her pony-phaeton. We then breasted the summit of the Anti-Libanus by an easy incline, a shallow Wady known as Tala'at Músá, the 'Ascent of (a?) Moses;' and after some forty-five minutes (equal to one and a half miles), we reached the rock-capped head. The escarpment was rich in ammonites and pectens, whilst the eastern counter-scarp was of bright ochre-coloured limestone, looking as if a certain 'curious juice' had lately been poured over it.

From this commanding site upon the great central knot we could effectually study the apex of the Anti-Libanus, which viewed from below, and indeed from almost every quarter, assumes the appearance, not inappropriate, of a mural crown. It forms a regular circlet of ridge surmounted by three peaks, and broken only to the east: here it is drained by the lesser Wady el 'Awaj (the Crooked Gorge), whose mouth we shall pass to-morrow. The 'Fatlí Block' is bounded north by the greater Wady el 'Awaj, and south by the Wady el Fatlí. The highest point (Ra'as el 'Awaj), that caps the crest and bears N.N. East ($18^{\circ} 30'$ Mag.) from the summit of Tala'at Músá,

was shown by a small clinometer with spirit-level to be some twenty feet higher than that upon which we stood. Eastward rose another point, dotted with juniper: this third head was decidedly lower. The aneroids corrected by the mercurial barometer-tubes gave 22·06; the temperature was 75° Fahr., showing that the Tala'at Músá cannot number less than 8740 feet—about the height assigned by Lieut. Warren to the Hermon.

Thus the apex of the Anti-Libanus, from which the Cedar Block bears 311° 30' (Mag.), is not at the south, where Mr. Porter has placed it, nor at the extreme north, where Lieut. Van de Velde has located it. The true position of the central Massif is at the head of the second third beginning from the Hermon. The correspondence of the highest altitudes in the Anti-Libanus and the Libanus is unusually regular. The Haláim reflect the Jurd Akkár, the Fatlí the Cedar Block, and the Ahhyár and Shakíf summits, the Jebel Sannín bearing from it 307° 30'; whilst the heights about the Horayrah village imitate the Kunaysah above Zahlah and the Jebel Kafr Salwán.

Descending the eastern slope of Tala'at Músá, we followed the eastern ridge leading to the red buttress, the Rafí'a Mu'arrá, whose expressive name, the

'Cabo Delgado' of the old Portuguese navigators, is derived from the thinness of its crest. We heard when too late, that to the south-west of the 'Lean Mountain,' on an eminence in the Wady Rasáil, there is a ruin called Husn Idrísí,²⁶ which the people described as a look-out tower. Our way was rough, along the Col with two nicks—one a small, the other a large gap, looking from afar like hollow roads running between towers of rock, which not a little resembled the heads or buttresses of broken bridges. The guides and muleteers preferred descending into the Wady el 'Uyún, a northern bay of the great Fatlí gorge, and there they found a good supply of water.

We rejoined the party by winding down the southern flank of the Rafí'a Mu'arrá into the valley below. Thence a short ascent and a very long descent over the western rim led us through vineyards and fig-yards to the little old settlement Mu'arrat²⁷ el Bashkurdi (of the Head Kurd). The peasants insist upon dignifying it with the title of Bash-Karriyah (the head village); a bastard term, half Turkish,

²⁶ We also were afterwards told of a mountain Abú Idris, pronounced Daris. Its Hurúf (bounding hills) are alluded to when describing the view from the Halimat el Kabú.

²⁷ It must not be confounded with Mu'arrá near Saidnáya, as was done by our guide to the Cedar Block, Fáris Rufáil (chap. i. part i.).

half Arabic, and preferred only because it cuts off all connection with Carduchian foreigners. Like Jubbah and Falitah, neighbouring settlements, it is so hidden that the traveller is in its streets almost as soon as he sees them. It hugs the bed of a narrow Wady, defending it from the winds that sweep this bleak and barren upland: on the north rises the Ra'as el Muhaddad, and to the south are the Arázi Mu'arrá, both being the lowest folds of the Anti-Libanus apex, the tail-end of Ra'as Rafi'a, whose outliers break in many directions the regularity of the 'Assál el Ward plain.

The gorge-sides are both cut away, and in places are honeycombed with caverns; on the left bank, hard above where the settlement begins, is a long smoke-blackened and wagon-vaulted tunnel, with smaller piercings high up on both flanks. The former, known as the Husn (Fort) Mu'arrá, was probably the church of an old Laura or monastery: the smaller caverns show by the window above each door that they are hermitages; and the soft chalky rock has scaled off, till scanty traces are left of the steps leading up to the cells. The caves on the right hand are probably part of the normal extra-mural necropolis, which from Bayrut to Palmyra forms the

invariable approach to all the classical settlements. And whilst the ancients hid their dead in the rocks, the moderns place them in whitewashed tombs of surprisingly different shapes upon some exposed hill-side.

Mu'arrat el Bashkurdí contains some two hundred houses, a number limited by the single little fountain which, traversing the settlement, flows off under a dwarf slab-bridge to feed the fields and orchards below. It is, as usual, filthily dirty, and the people have allowed their doors to be almost blocked up by the growth of offal. All are Moslems except a brace of ignoble Christians from Yabrúd, temporarily employed on tithe business for government, and not a few wear the green turban of the Rufá'í. The women are peculiarly hard-featured and ill-favoured.

In this out-of-the-way place, rarely visited by the tourist, we were of course hospitably received; as amongst the ancient Irish, with their Brehon law commanding that no Rath or residence should break up suddenly, lest the traveller be disappointed in his reception. The Shaykhs, who, according to custom, number half a dozen, contended for the honour of lodging us, and Shaykh Sa'id carried

off the prize almost by force. The reception in such places is almost always the same, supposing that the traveller has the sense to avoid a village of Nazarenes. The head or heads, accompanied by the notables, who, if ceremony is necessary, should be forewarned with a message, meet the stranger and his escort at a short distance beyond the houses, and the farther they go the greater the honour. As the two parties meet he reins in his horse and touches hands, snatching his away with a jerk if they attempt to kiss it, and reproachfully ejaculating, 'Astaghfir Ullah!' (I beg pardon of Allah, *i. e.* God forbid). If he allow the osculation, they kiss and compare him with a Khurí, or *prete di casa*, who delights in such outward and visible taken of homage, and who is kissed and ridiculed accordingly. Then, guided by the Shaykhs, each in strict precedence, he rides leisurely onwards, not hastening the pace lest he cause his hosts to run; and he dismounts at the door, whilst the chiefs and half a dozen notables rush to hold his horse, his stirrup, and his back under the shoulders. He should always, if possible, ride into the courtyard, no matter how broken be the gate threshold or how slippery the pavement; otherwise men will suspect that he is a born 'Zala-

mah,' or man afoot. He is then led to the Salamlik²⁸ (drawing-room) in winter, or in summer to the verandah under which the divan is placed; but he must not enter till the women who have been sweeping and sprinkling the floor have made themselves scarce. He sits down, doubling his legs a little—it is highly uncivil to present the boot-soles, like looking-glasses as the people say—whilst the party of graybeards and *honoratioren* forms a semicircle upon humbler rugs before him. Each salams and is salam'd to as he takes his place, squatting ceremoniously on his shins till the visitor says, 'Khuz ráhatak' (Take your ease), thus suggesting a more pleasant posture. If he fail in this act of decorum, they will after a decent interval change the seat; and if disposed to be impertinent, they will stretch out their shanks and require a rough reproof.

Water, pipes, sherbet, or lemonade, and lastly coffee, are brought; after which, if the Shaykh be 'Insán'—that is to say, a man opposed to 'Wahsh,' a wild beast—he will temporarily retire, expressly recommending repose to his guest, and he will proceed

²⁸ A modern writer who has been many years in the country confuses this word, half Arab, half Turkish, with 'Salám Aleik' ('Alayk). Peace be upon thee!—vulgarly 'Salem Allicum.'

to hurry the 'culinary department,' especially if the good wife be a gossip or a gad-about. A breakfast, generally of cheese, soured milk, grape-syrup, raw green onions, boiled rice, wheaten scones, and eggs fried in clarified butter, is served shortly before noon. The stranger may drink his own wine, and produce cold meat from his saddle-bags; but the latter proceeding is not complimentary to his Amphitryon. At sunset flesh is usually added to the noonday material: a kid is a prime sign of honour; but the wayfarer may fall asleep before it is cooked. At both meals one of the family stands up, holding a metal pot full of drinking-water. Pipes, and coffee with or without sugar, conclude, as they commence, every movement. The sympathetic traveller will compel the Shaykh and the chief notables to sit at meat with him; and the followers and retainers will eat from the tray when removed to another part of the room. Signs of repletion, once so common, are now going out of fashion. At night there will be a Samrah or palaver, in which the state of the country generally, and of the village in particular, is discussed; grievances are quoted; the usurer and creditor are complained of; the governor and government are roundly abused; local legends are told;

and the traveller can sometimes gather an abundance of topographical details, which he will be careful to verify in person. He is always invited to rest through the following day, and his excuses are received with respectful and regretful unwillingness.

Before leaving next morning, the stranger finds out the price of barley—he has of course taken measures to know that his animals fed well—and drops into the hand of a child or a woman the equivalent of his night's entertainment. This, privately done, will not be objected to by any villager, however rich; yet, as a rule, all subscribe to entertain the guest. I made a point of paying for such entertainment the more strictly, as it was impossible for me to repay it in kind at Damascus. Shaykh Mohammed was impossible: he could not be asked to dine, to sit upon a divan, or even to occupy an outhouse, when mats and rugs, pillows and coverlets, were necessary. My usual plan was to place him in the house of some dependent, paying his expenses at the same time; but this necessary precaution is not looked upon as complimentary.

Probably the women of the family, even if Moslems, will, before the guest's departure, offer excuses for their poor fare, beginning with 'Lá tawákhizná

(Don't be offended with us); and he will hasten with many 'Astaghfir Ullahs' to express, however unsatisfied, his supreme satisfaction. He mounts ceremoniously as he dismounted; and preceded by his escort, he reins in at times, dismissing them with 'Arja'ú ya Masháikh!' (Return, O Shaykhs!) They persist in walking to the last house, and even farther if extra civility is to be shown; here they again try to kiss his hand, which he pulls away, as before; and thus the visit ends. The visited then retire home, and debate about, *primò*, what has caused the event; *secundò*, what will be the best way of utilising it.

Shaykh Sa'id, to whose house we went, told off two of his relations, Sa'id and Táhir, to guide us on the next day. The contrast between these men, Syrian villagers pure and simple, and between Shaykh Kásim, who had seen Jerusalem and Hebron, Bayrut and Jaffa, is highly unfavourable to the former. They accompany the traveller not because they know the road, but apparently to honour him, and really to receive pay—say ten piastres or two francs per diem; consequently he soon finds himself obliged to guide his guides. They are gentlemen, who ride mules, carry guns, and wear embroidered

jackets. Their feelings are hurt if they are asked to collect firewood; they are ever aristocratically fatigued; and they openly wonder at the Orsonism which prefers the Jurd, abode of bears and other beasts, to the hovels of civilised man. Their screaming voices and perpetual directions, 'Ta'al haw-aw-awn!' (Come this way), affect the nerves. Their brains are the brains of children. They will undertake to pilot anywhere; yet presently, after setting out, comes a hint that they have seen the line once, perhaps twelve or fourteen years ago. Though they have been told for hours what is the object of the day's march, they will ask, especially if they dislike the trip, 'Do you really wish to see such-and-such a place?' When they have transparently dodged from dawn till noon to prevent a pull up a mountain or a scramble into a Wady, and have failed, they will inquire, 'And why did you not say where you wanted to go?'—thus throwing all blame upon the employer. If they lag behind for a sleep, and allow the misguided one to toil on alone, they will, when twitted with idleness, boldly blurt out the lie direct: 'You told me to halt there!' Should any question concerning details, of which they are utterly ignorant, be put to a chance goatherd, they

will cry out, 'Yah! the Ma'áz knows nothing;' and yet five minutes afterwards—such is their inconsequence—'Had we not better engage the Ma'áz to show the way?' Meeting a brother peasant, they will clamour for his being taken as an extra guide: 'Mohammed Falítah knows every span of the mountains;' concerning which they are sure that he is profoundly ignorant. But they rely upon the European being a stranger—*ergo* a fool. Consequently they are ever trying to circumvent him: they privily tell his escort not to show him interesting places, which may waste time; and they deter him from trouble, which they deem useless, by exaggerating distances, by sinking enormous ravines, and by sending hosts of Bedawin to scour the land. In this matter they equal the craftiest Dragoman, and even the Consular Kawwás (Janissary), of all travelling companions the least satisfactory. Yet they yield to pressure as readily as they 'dodge;' perhaps remarking, 'The English always *will* have their own way!'

PART II.

RETURN MARCH THROUGH THE ANTI-LIBANUS TO

B'LUDAN.

AFTER a sleep in the moonlight, which did us no good, we left dirty hospitable Mu'arrat el Bashkurdí at the late hour of 8 A.M. (August 3): these villagers are by no means, like Hindus, early risers, which may partly be accounted for by the temperature and the altitude of their village—5680 feet. Rounding the rough northern hill, Ra'as el Muhaddad, and leaving to our right the shallow vine-clad valley, Zábih el Ráhib, we watered at the Bir Bir'ad (برعد), a stone-lined well sunk some twenty feet in the Fiumara. We afterwards travelled along the western foot of the Zábih el Makábir (Dwarf-hill of the Cemeteries), whose slopes bore frequent stone-heaps. Of this place the people have preserved many traditions that date from the crusading days: how Jemál el Dín Abú Shíhah, jester of the mighty Malik el Dáhir, penetrated disguised as a monk into the fortified con-

vents of Mu'arrá and Már Ya'kúb near Kára, and opened their doors to his master; how the mob of Cœnobites and soldiers was massacred; and how in a mighty battle between Moslem and Christian, the latter peopled these slopes with their slain.

We then emerged upon the upland plateau, which farther north falls into that of Kára. It is a rolling expanse, disposed in regular ridges by shallow Wadys, the lower courses of torrent-beds that drain the 'Eastern Mountain;' and at this season it is all barrenness, except where some perennial fountain greens a patch of field, or feeds a few poplars. The wintry cold is extreme, when biting winds blow snow and sleet, explaining the native saying:

'Bayn Kára wa Nabki
Banát el Mulúk tabki.'

'Twixt Kára and the Steep¹

Kings' daughters (*i. e.* fur-clad women) oft must
weep (for cold).

Close by our left ran the long line of the northern Anti-Libanus, and it showed well the Fatlí Block drained by the lesser Wady el 'Awaj, and separated from its northern neighbours by the greater gorge

¹ Nabk in classical Arabic means a sharp-topped and red-coloured hill, like that upon which this little settlement is, or rather was, built. Kára is derived from the root Karr, denoting coldness: 'Karat,' however, also means a small hill detached from the others.

of the same name. At either jaw of the latter rose a regular cone: the northern pap was known to our guides as the Halímat Subbah, or Kasírah. Beyond it, after a line of insignificant heights, the Karnat or Sadr el Wayrik (ويرق) displayed its regular pyramid, with the angles sharply defined by the golden lights and the purple shades of morning; whilst farther still appeared successively the Halímats Wady Zummarání, Kurrays, Kar'á, and El Kabú. The Wadys dividing these features are, going from south to north, the Wady el Makhnaf (مخنف); the Wady el Maghárah; the Wady el Harík, which has a double mouth, northern and southern; the Wady el Wayrik; the Wady Zummarání; the Wady Khirbat el Bárúd; the Wady el Mál; the Wady Mar-Tobíyá; and lastly the Wady el Kárin, where the large blocks fall with four principal undulations into the plain of El Hasyah, which the Turks call Iki-Kapu-li, or the Two-gated.

The Wady Zummarání, by the people pronounced Zummarawni, with the *a* (of father) broadened into the *aw* (of yawn), means the 'Piping Fiumara;' so called from the violence of the wintry winds which sweep it.² The course is a little south of

² The root is Zamr, performing on the pipe or flute.

west (Mag.), and from its mouth the town of Kára bears 85° (Mag.). It is the southern limit of the Haláim properly so called. The classical Arabic word would be Hilmah (حلمه), in the plural Hal-mát, nipples, here corrupted to Halímah and Haláim. The word corresponds with the two hills called the Paps in the Lake Region of Southern Ireland, of which a traveller in the last century tells us, 'They are smoothly formed to the fairest portion, imitating in the closest manner the beautiful outline of a woman's bosom.' Burckhardt also proposes to translate Beteddin, the seat of the Libanus Pashalik, by the Syriac 'two teats, from the similarity of two neighbouring hills, upon one of which the village is built.' Usually it is considered to be a corruption of Bayt el Dín, from a religious house which once existed there.

Viewed from the eastern heights—for instance, above Már Músá el Habashí, the eastern limit of the Kára Plain, and the western wall of the Palmyran Valley—this northernmost block of the Anti-Libanus seems to consist of a range ending north and south with two giant buttresses, supporting a broken sky-line of paps and cones somewhat inferior in elevation. The eye also can hardly determine

which is the higher, the Fatlí Block or the Halímah; but the aneroid readily decides. The four greater Haláim, running from north to south, are :

1. Halímat Wady Zummarání, with the Piping Fiumara bounding it on the south; and to the north, the Col of the Wady el Mál and the eastern Kurrays. It is a long saddleback, which seen from

Halímat Kurrays.
↑

Halímat Wady Halímat
Kárá, Markáshih, Kabu.
↑ ↑ ↑

Wady el
Karm.
↑



FROM KARA.

Nabk to the south-east suggests an elephant's dorsum with head and ears. The goatherds do not appear to have any other term for it.

2. Halímat Kurrays, so called after a Syro-Arabic word meaning a nettle whose young sprouts are

edible, though held to be a somewhat Lenten diet. From the eastern plain it appears a flat buttress, in fact a table-mountain: one standing upon the heights north and north-west of it sees a double and parallel line, with a north-east to south-west lay, separated by a gorge and connected by a band of rock.

3. Halímat Kar'á (قرتا), the 'bald pap;' similarly Mount Casius, near the Gulf of Antioch, is called in the masculine Akra' (Jebel Okra), the Bare Mountain. The reason in both cases is the comparative want of trees. This Halímat is a round and lumpy eminence, presenting to the eastern plain two large and sundry smaller shields of lime rock, whose strata are almost perpendicular. Upon the Cedar Block we heard it called Jebel Kárá, from the large town which is nearest to it; and the peasantry would naturally prefer the well-known name to Kar'á. Kárá (كرا) has been identified with Comochara, a bishopric of the Second Phœnicia, under the Metropolitan of Damascus and the Patriarch of Antioch: the Greek name is a corruption from the Arabic Kumm Kárá³ (the Mound of Kárá).

³ We recognise the word Kumm, which radically means 'a dusting' or 'sweeping,' in the word 'Kumámat,' sweepings, rubbish, kitchen-

4. Halímat el Kabú (كَبُو), of the Covered Cistern or vault,⁴ called *par excellence* El Halímah (*the Pap*), but not 'Jebel el Halímah' (Mountain of the Pap). From the eastern plain it appears a small saddleback, topping the Kar'á (No. 3), and hardly to be distinguished as a separate feature, although divided from it, and indeed from each neighbour, by a deep and toilsome gorge. The Cedar Block shows it standing boldly up, and claiming to be the King of the Mountains. Seen from between Hasyah and Hums, it rises during the winter a tall snowy peak with two foregrounds, the farther blue-brown, and the nearer brown. North of Jebel el Shakíf, it is the only feature given by Van de Velde (Stanford's edition); and he declares it to be the 'highest top' of the Anti-Libanus, which it is not.

midden, a heap: the term is applied by Moslems to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in opposition to the Christians, who know it as El Kiyámah, the Resurrection. In *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin* (Messrs. Besant and Palmer), we find (p. 73) the Holy Sepulchre called in the days of 'Omar ' *El Camámah, dung*; which is explained a little farther on to be a designed corruption of the word *Caiyámah*, "Anastasis."

⁴ Kabú, literally building (an edifice), and resembling Kubbat, a dome, is the modern term applied to the two great parallel tunnels which support the platform of Ba'albak, and to the underground passages under the Jami' (Mosque) el Aksá at Jerusalem.

Bending towards the northern block, we passed on the left the Khirbat el Bughúl, one of many ruins in a classical land, and we crossed the well-trodden path leading to the Baydár—not thrashing, but sledging floor—of the Falítah village. The settlement, which lurks deep hid from the rude winds in the Wady el Fusúkh, is known by its rock-crowned cone, the Husn Falítah. After filling our water-skins at the Bir el Abyaz, we struck the eastern feet of the Anti-Libanus, upon whose folds were patches of ploughed field, particularly affecting the bays and short shallow valleys not much subject to Sayls or torrents. The Wady el Makhnaf, which lay upon our path, showed signs of lately having rolled three feet deep of water: rain, unusual at this season, had been remarkably heavy in the Anti-Libanus. Beyond it lay two wells, the Masna' el Atrúbah, both dry, and the Maghárat Hájj 'Umar, a large cave at the mouth of the Wady Wayrik.

Here we should have stood in full sight of the Kára plain, had it not been partially obscured by the 'smokes,' where the salsolaceous Sinán is burnt for alkali. Knowing the place well, we could trace its several features: on our right, the Zábil el Kasr, a castellated hill forming the northern terminus of

a sub-range, which the Rafí'a Mu'arrá projects into the plain and its prolongation of low mounds, behind which are the well and the ruined village El Jarájír, so called from the gurgling of the rain-torrents. The trees and fields of Kárá and its outlying monastery, of Dayr 'Atiyah, and of Nabk, pleasantly variegated the brown upland; and on the eastern sky-line, far over the range of Már Músá el Habashí, rose the 'Abd and 'Abdah (Slave and Slavess), the cone and conelet which cap the eastern outliers of the Palmyran Valley.

At the mouth of the Wady el Mál, the very jaw of a mountain gorge, and the next in importance to the Zummarání, we bent west towards the nearest water: the northern Fiumara, Wady Khirbat el Bá-rúd, would have been a nearer way to the Kabú summit. The Col was remarkably easy, and here once more we breathed the light brisk air of the Jurd: the sensation of a cloak falling from the shoulders much reminded me of the atmosphere of Brazilian São Paulo after the damp horrors of rusty and mildewed Santos. Hence a descent and a dwarf rise led us to the Washlat Kurrays, near the southern end of the western 'nettle-pap:' it lies at the head of the great Wady Fárih, similar in name to that of

the Jurd Ba'albak, and also draining to the Cœlesyrian Plain. The water, bubbling down a short conduit of cut stone, pours into a little pool surrounded by a dry wall, and, like the Biyá-Gorá or night-flowing stream of the Somali Country, it is notably more copious during the cool dark hours. It supplies thirsty travellers on the way from Ba'albak to 'Assál el Ward, reapers (Hassádín) of the upland crops, and large flocks of white and light gray goats. Mr. Tristram (*The Land of Israel*, p. 608) says that upon the Libanus any other colour than black is rarely met with. We ever found the contrary to be the case: the goat, like the negro, as a general rule, waxes fairer in the higher, and consequently the less heated, altitudes. At this well we first saw the Zaghzaghán Abú Masáh (or Sweeper, *i.e.* with its tail), a true magpie; and we afterwards met it singly and in pairs on the Jurd, to the south-west, and in the Wadys Bir el Khashabah and Jubáb. Many have observed it upon the Libanus as well as on the Anti-Libanus, and in places it is numerous as in the Western Morea.

We rested at the well and water-pit of Kurrays, which lies five hours' ride (equal to about twelve and a half direct geographical miles) from, and almost

due north of Mu'arrat el Baskurdí: after feeding we started, despite the remonstrances and the prognostications of the goatherds and the guides, to visit the highest of the Haláim Block, El Kabú. In order to save time, we were led 'cross country by a short cut, which, as usual, proved itself the longer way, necessitating the descent of a deep valley smaller than, but not unlike, the Wady el Fatlí. Thence we fell into the Sultani or high-road from Fíkah to Kára, which runs up and down the Wady Már Tobiyá (طوبيا, St. Tobias), pronounced 'Mártábyá.' Passing sundry bays in the great Halímah, which promised short but sharp ascents, we dismounted at the Pass, and turning suddenly to the left, we ascended in forty minutes the long eastern spine. On the way were two large outcrops of the hard limestone rock which, resisting degradation, forms knobs on the sides, cliffs at the faces of the hills, and everywhere good copies of ruined walls and towers. The upper fourth of the mountain is revetted with this substance, compelling horses to go round by the north: in the latter direction it caps the lower heights, like platforms or tables. This calcaire breaks into the usual cubes and cubelets: its characteristic colour is yellow banded with pink, in

many variegated and contrasted lines and meanders, doubtless caused by unequal distribution of the colouring oxide of iron. I have seen it cut into pillars, which when new and polished are highly ornamental.⁵ It is often met with in large thin plates, which are easily broken. This stone is found not only all over the Haláim Block, but also on the eastern and parallel range of Már Músá el Habashí. My companion picked up a brown striated stone, which seemed to be coarse alabaster, like that found about the Dead Sea; and I remarked a nodule of the snow-white chalk, set in a framing block of yellow chert, which reminded me of Jebel Sannín. Upon these heights the thistle, five to six feet high below, and seven to nine feet tall in the Jordan Valley, dwindles to two to three inches. A drab-coloured field-cricket was frequently seen.

The Kákúr, or stone man, which I had planted upon the summit had been overthrown: though frail, these structures are protected by the snows from the power of the winds. But unfortunately it had been placed at the edge of a dwarf pit in which Makhbáyá,

⁵ The small specimen brought home by me was much admired by Dr. Percy, Mr. Reeks, and the other officers of the Jermyn-street Museum, to whose courtesy I am indebted for the classification of our geological specimens.

or hidden hoards of gold and silver (the native disease of Syria seems to be Buried Treasure on the Brain), is said to be Marsúd or magically guarded; and the visit of a Frank had of course caused a fresh search. Here, as upon the Fatlí Block, swarms of ladybirds—less prettily termed by us lady-cows, by the Christians Dellálah, and by the Moslems Umm 'Isa—nestled under the stones, as in the chinks of St. Paul's dome, and the hollows were scattered with their last winter's dead. The elytra were of buff yellow rather than red, each wing had three (?) spots, and they reminded me of the *Coccinella* described from the 'Rob Roy specimens' by Mr. F. Smith of the British Museum. My fellow-traveller brought away a boxful for maturer investigation. According to Mr. Crotch, before quoted, the ladybirds or *Coccinelladæ* of Palestine are not abundant nor remarkable; the common seven-spotted species appears to occur there without change, and is in fact spread over half the world.

An east to west section of this the northernmost line of the Anti-Libanus gives—1. the outliers of the main ridge, such as the Jebel Kar'á and its dependencies, called the Hurúf (points or peaks) of Már Tobíyá; 2. the Halímat el Kabú, which is the eastern

apex of the main ridge, and bounding a large valley opening and draining to the west; 3. an upland plain of rolling ground, broken and treeless, but not wholly uncultivated, shedding towards Cœlesyria—we shall ride down it to-morrow; and 4. the western ridge of rough and barren hill which forms a right bank for the head valley of the Orontes.

The Halímat el Kabú stands at an altitude of 8257 feet above sea-level, 464 feet below the Fatlí Summit, and 52° feet above the Ahhyár or Southern Block. From its summit we enjoyed a view at once extensive and picturesque; far superior, indeed, to anything seen in the Libanus. Southwards, where is the finest sight, appear in lengthened perspective, and differently tinted by distance, the several planes of ridge, separated by their respective gorges. Below the vertical precipice under our feet, and beyond the skirts of the Halímah, rise the two parallel lines of the Kurrays; steep savage hills, flat-topped, and disposed like dykes, their sides banded with stony outcrops and dotted with the darkest juniper. Farther off in the bluer air stand the waving Hurúf of Abú Idrís, backed by the Sadr el Bostán and the Hurúf Ayn Sharkíyín, the 'salient points of the Fount of the Easterns,' a labyrinth of range and

chasm. Farthest upon the azure horizon is the diademed head of the Fatlí Summit, still showing three points, and connected by the narrow ridge with its subject height the Ra'as Rafi'a Mu'arra. Contrasting with these bold altitudes lies the south-eastern plain of 'Assál el Ward, an upland which here appears a lowland: its billow-like edging, the Jebel Marmarún or Danhá, and the stone-breakers of Rankús, part it from the eastern or lower gradient, the Kára-Nabk terracc, whose boundary is the long low lump, Már Músá el Habashí. To the west, beyond the valley of the Orontes, where the white patch of the Hurmul village and its decaying pillar are conspicuous, rises the lumpy dome, reddish-yellow and tree-dotted, known as the Sha'arah of Ba'albak. Above these outworks of the highest Libanus towers the long bald chine of the Cedar Block, on which still linger long lines and large spots of snow, which glow like amethysts in the evening light. On the Libanus, the Anti-Libanus, and the Hermon, as on the part of the Atlas lately visited by Dr. Hooker, 'all the snow that falls annually on fairly-exposed surfaces melts in the same year.' The three summits of nearly equal altitude fret the sky-line, and the 'Uyun Urghush buttress is set

off and detached from the wall-like surface by the shadow which it casts upon the long and regular ridge that backs it. Farther north, the apex of the Libanus falls into the Jurd of Tarábulus (Tripoli), speckled with black points and dotted with cones; while farther still, the mountains are absorbed by the valley of the Nahr el Kabir, the Eleutherus River. To the west there is a gleam of distant sea, adding another glory to the view; whilst almost melting into a blue cloud of hill, the Jebel el Húlah, or southernmost heights of the Jebel Kalbíyyah, defines the haunts of the mysterious Nusayri. Between the N.N. West and the N.N. East, the glance, passing beyond the foreground of ever-decreasing ridges and hollows, falls upon the Orontes Lake and thready stream; upon the rich cultivation of Hums and Hamáh, one of the gardens of Syria; upon the tiny clumps of trees, each denoting a settlement; upon the ridge of Salámiyah, that outpost of ancient Tadmor, and upon the unknown steppe, El 'Aláh, and the Bedawin-haunted tracks which sweep up to the Jebel el Abyaz; whilst on the clearest days the Castle of Aleppo bounds, it is said, the septentrional horizon.

After making sketches and taking angles we de-

scended the Halímat on the N.N.West flank, guided by a civil goatherd in the service of the now superannuated Agha Mohammed Suwaydán of Kárá. He told us that the Kabú, which gives its name to the Pap, was not far down; but we were somewhat unpleasantly surprised, as the sun was falling low, to find that it was at the very base of the mountain. At the foot of a shallow shunt lay a plentiful supply of cold sweet water; a deep well, a reservoir, a conduit of cut stone, and an independent spring discharging into a dwarf pool, showed traces of old and solid work. A few paces to the north-west lay the ruins of a small and rustic Sun-temple, facing east, and retaining remains of antæ. The North-South walls of the cella (?) measured inside seven and a half feet; and ten feet to the north lay the tracings of the peribolos or enceinte, which almost always accompanies these buildings. Farther to the north-west stood the Kabú, a dry cistern with heavy masonry, in the lower courses rudely arched over, and broken down towards the east: this might be of any age, as the experience of my companion in the true Moabitic region suggested. Finally, the ruins were bounded on the west by a single line of tall stone wall, composed of big and

small blocks, some drafted and bossed, others plain; evidently old materials put together at a later date, and apparently of no use whatever.

From the Kabú we had a weary ride back to the Kurrays fountain. We rounded, despite the shouts of the guides, who struck up-hill, the western flanks of the Halímah, whose folds and ridges, separated by Fiumaras, shallow at this low altitude, seemed to grow as we advanced, and though the natural road was excellent, we had to spare our animals for the next day. The only signs of animate life that drew our attention were the scratchings of the partridge upon the hill-sides; a large burrow, evidently occupied by the badger of Syria (*Meles Taxus*, by the people called Gharárah⁶); and two gazelles, whose gray coats glinted white through the shades, as they paced towards their resting-place leisurely, and with frequent halts to turn back and stare—the Singhavalokan⁷ of the Hindu. Here as in Arabia, and indeed in the tropics generally, the best stalking time is the earliest dawn, when animals

⁶ From Gharr, literally meaning being white (the face), or having a white spot (the forehead).

⁷ The 'looking back of the lion.' The word is picturesquely employed to denote the action of refreshing the memory by glancing over the books which the student has read.

are far more intent upon feeding than on suspecting danger. During the midday they seek refuge from the sun in places where they can rarely be found; and in the evening they are wild and scared, keeping a sharp look-out whilst they make ready for the night: at such times they will run to considerable distances.

It was a long time before we fell into the Fíkah-'Assál el Ward road, traversing the mountains to the Wady el Mál; and we saw with pleasure, through the darkening air, its white thread stretching over the red-brown hills. The cross-country track proved itself in places uncommonly rough and slabby, the ground having been bared to the bone, and the bone broken by the use of centuries, which had never seen it repaired. Mohammed the Shikarí, Shaykh Sa'íd the guide, and his companion, fell far behind; in fact, they did not come in till a good hour after us. After a single 'purchase of pigs,' as the Brazilians call losing the path, we hit the right-hand rim of Wady Fárih, and thence a long and rough ascent, crossing the ground-waves which formed its head, placed us at the camp. It was the only occasion during my travel in Syria and Palestine when I felt thoroughly tired; my Rahwán, though a Kurd nag,

trembled with weakness; and had it not been for the advice of my fellow-traveller, I should have spent the night upon the hill-side. The youth Habib had built a glowing fire, the beds were spread, tea was brewed, and presently the arrival of a kid restored all to the best of humours. Our day had given us fifteen hours of hard work, and we uncommonly enjoyed the fine cool night, illuminated by the first annual fall of 'shooting stars.' Is M. Chapelas right in his theory of double meteoric currents—the higher constant, and the lower variable?

On the next morning, Friday, August 4th, we resolved upon returning to 'Assál el Ward by a long circuit to the south-west; thus we should be able to prospect the third part of the East-West section of the northern Anti-Libanus, including the Ba'albak Crest, which we had missed by travelling down the Wady Bir Sahríj. Nothing would then be wanting for the route map but a ride up the Cœlesyrian Valley, so as to fill-in the bearings of the western Wady-mouths. We had forage for our beasts; water was promised along the whole way; and we were excited by hearing of inscriptions and ruins.

Our course began down the long Wady Fárih, near whose mouth we found a small troop of horses

at grass. We then passed on the left the Wadys el Dubb (the Bear) and of Zummarání (the Piper). At this elevation, the Fiumaras, whose mouths are so deeply cut and precipitous where they debouch upon the 'Assál el Ward gradient to the east, disappear in the upland plain of rolling ground which bounds the main ridge on the west. We afterwards found the same to be the case at the Ba'albak Crest, and it became at once apparent why the gorges of the Anti-Libanus opening east and west bear different names. In Arabia generally Wadys are seldom called the same on both sides of a watershed: here, moreover, there is no connection between them, and the lines of road, as well as the valleys, traverse, as it were, neutral ground.

The Sahlat or plainlet at the head of the Zummarání was cultivated with upland wheat, a pigmy growth of a few inches, and on one of them we counted eight heads bearing a small horny grain too hard for man's teeth. A few sickles were afield, but they did not prevent our men from somewhat abusing the privilege of gleaning; and we met a party of peasants going to their homes at the Cœlesyrian village 'Arsál—they were absolutely ignorant of everything that lay to the right and left of their path. The country was

well grown with the Lauz barri, a wild almond bearing a stunted bitter fruit rich in Prussic acid; it is an article of trade at Damascus, where it is pressed for hair and body oil. Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 112) speaks of Birittan, evidently confounding the Butm or terebinth with the 'bitter almond, from the fruit of which an oil is extracted, used by the people of the country to anoint their temples and forehead as a cure for colds.' There was a quantity of wild pear at this season, small and berry-like; it ripens about the 'Id el Salib, the Festival of the Invention of the Cross (o.s. September 14), a holiday of distinctly astronomical origin, and here the popular date for the beginning of autumn: it is known even to Moslems, who, as well as other peoples, require certain luni-solar dates. The wild pear is preferred for comfits on account of its superior flavour, and a score of them with a scone or two of wheat is many a stout carle's meal. The abundance of Kaykab or maple suggested that the sugar-tree of Southern Italy and Canada might here be made valuable.

Presently we struck up a large and well-defined Fiumara, which, as usual, rejoices in as many names as a Portuguese Grandee; its clear blonde sands and itsavenued trees reminded me of Somaliland. At

this point it is the Wady Khírbat Yonayn (Yunín), a settlement apparently of the old Troglodytes, Terri-genæ, and Antricolæ, some thirty caves, many of them broken, a few blocked up, and some converted with adjuncts of dry wall and juniper roof into cool and comfortable quarters for the ubiquitous goatherd. There were remnants of shattered walls built apparently without plan. Yunín, which must not be confounded with a flourishing village of the same name between Ba'albak and Lebwhah, hugs the left bank of the torrent-bed; and a large cave in a towering mass of rock on the opposite side is called the Husn el Khírbah, the castle of these ancient Horites. Farther on to our right was a similar feature, but smaller, and both were approached by a multitude of foot-tracks.

Beyond this point we fell into a regular road running north-east to south-west with sundry windings, and separating the Bilád el Sharkí (East Countries) about Kára from the western, the Bilád al Gharbí, whose head-quarters are Ba'albak. The valley is hemmed in and protected on both sides by hill and mountain, mostly stone-lined and cliff-topped, its armoury against wind and weather: over the narrow sole are scattered ploughed fields, and with the assistance of tanks and cisterns it might once

more become a land of plenty. Now it depends wholly upon the rains, which at these altitudes are even more precarious than the snows. In olden days this barren upland was doubtless a fertile plain, girt by rises well grown with wood: it wants only a Brigham Young to order the planting of a round million of trees. This reforesting, which must be preceded by abating the goat-nuisance, will give a new life to the old country. The employés of the Palestine Exploration Fund remarked, when travelling over the trans-Jordanic regions, that while they were on the barrens the sky was brass; whereas in the beautifully wooded tracts about Jarash the atmosphere at once became damp, and they observed clouds constantly forming a screen from the solar rays, whilst they could see at a distance the painful splendours which glared over the treeless ground. So little is this matter at present known in Syria and Palestine, that the wood-cutters and charcoal-burners are allowed to ply their trades in the very valley of the Barada, which supplies the capital with the prime necessary of Oriental life. I ventured to recommend the Australian 'gum-trees' with as much success as the underpinning of the columns at Ba'albak.

Presently we came upon the western Bir el Khashabah, a masonry-lined pit ten feet deep, which gives its name to the southern prolongation of this long line. It is a Jama' or cistern for shower-water, opposed to a Naba' or spring; and deep in its parched jaws we saw for the first time the Hart's-tongue fern (?). Sundry rough Maráhs, evidently used for goats, suggested soured milk and butter; but the only human being, a woman in Bedawi attire, took the first opportunity of disappearing.

We then rode up the Wady el Hikbán, which continues that of the Bir el Khashabah; it becomes more irregular, closing in and flaring out; and near a bulge larger than usual we passed a group of old Arab graves. Beyond them begins the Wady el Ruhwah, bending to the westward and becoming a Via Mala, in places only ten to twelve feet wide. The precipitous sides are profusely grown with fine old juniper; the sole is encumbered with strews of rocks, some whole, others fissured, which have fallen from the perpendicular cliffs; and the white limestone of the path has been polished like glass by the myriad little hoofs of goats and sheep—how many generations must have trodden it? The sun, which in the lower valley had scorched us, and had made our

muleteers very quarrelsome, was now tempered by the cool brisk atmosphere of the heights, and the novelty of the scenery was charming to our eyes—we congratulated each other on not having missed it.

At length traversing a small black circus, a *rond point* where charcoal had been burnt, we debouched upon the Wady el Biyará (of the Wells). As usual it is a widening in the Fiumara, a meeting-place of four shallow passes: it now takes the name Wady Katnín, pronounced 'Atnayn;' and its south-eastern branch is known as the Wady el Turkoman. The slightly inclined sole is strewn with natural macadam and with the droppings of goats and sheep; it is girt on all sides by Kala'ats or tall bristling rocks, in which caves are numerous. There are three waters, apparently independent: El Ayn (the Spring), a shallow unclean pool to the south-east of the hollow; on the south-west the Bir el Tahtání, a lower well; and higher up the Bir el Faulání, both containing pure cool water sheltered by a dark dense bed of nettles. The goats were all of the short-eared variety—there are some four or five kinds in the mountains—and wore the normal light coats; whilst the sheep, invariably black,

and of the 'five-quarter' species, used one another for shade against the mildest of suns: the two races show neither companionship nor aversion, affection nor jealousy, doubtless not knowing the preferences and prejudices *pro* and *con* of mankind.

The goats usually prefer the more difficult and venturesome places, whilst the sheep browse in the lower lands; yet I could never perceive that one took the lead of the other: *au reste*, the goat is curious and somewhat impudent; he will go out of the way to stare and to sneeze at you: he is a '*polisson, calidus juventa.*' The sheep is far more staid and respectable; he may be compared with the curious biped called a 'good young man.'

We had travelled four hours and fifty minutes, representing some ten direct geographical miles from the Waslat Kurrays. This suggested a rest and a pleasant sleep, *strati sub umbrâ*, in a pair of dwarf caves. As the flocks began to gather we resumed our way to the north-west, exchanging the Wady el Biyará for a succession of stony ridges, which led to the Wady Barbarús (of the Barberry), *alias* the Wady el Jamrá (?). In this shallow slope we found two wells, the lower scanty, the upper full. Many goatherds, all more or less armed, were

here watering their charges, and their aspect, gestures, and manners—one fellow kept bawling, with bawling, bullying voice, that he could not wait for us, as his flock had a long way to travel—showed that a fight at the well is as easily managed now as in the days of Abraham and Lot. The Ma'áz or goatherd, almost always a hired servant, is a type in these mountains: we have just met one who wore the green turban of a Holy House; and we shall presently meet a retired soldier of the line, easily known by his superior civility and docility, who had fought in the Crimean War. The 'good shepherd' of the lowlands will often wear a billycock hat, and apparently passes his time not in leading, but in pelting stones at, his muttens. Here he dresses in picturesque rags, like an 'apple-gatherer of the country of Perche:' he is always accompanied by shaggy dogs, said to be of Kurdish breed, but certainly of various origin, which show the greatest antipathy to strangers until admitted 'within the lines:' the finest variety with cropped ears, large head, brindled coat, rough hair, and bushy tail; often too they are not smaller than a St. Bernard's, and they wear an appearance uncommonly ursine. I educated one of these Kurdis taken from a Be-

dawi's tent: 'Kasrawán,' of course docked to 'Cuss, began to play watchman from his earliest puppyhood, and to lead the horses by their halters; grown to dog's estate, he would hardly allow a native to pass along the road at night. He wrangled with and he made love to my English bull-terriers with all his might, and like the Scotchman's collie he appeared to be sorely oppressed with the seriousness of life, and could never get fighting enough. He died young, of a grain of strychnine, rendered necessary probably by a needle having been thrust into his meat, the favourite style of revenge with a Fellaah who has been once bitten and who does not care to be bitten again; and he was honourably buried in the garden at B'lúdán as a dog who had done his duty.

The mountain goatherd leads a hard life, especially in the cold season. During the summer he emigrates to the Jurd, where he lives mostly on wheaten scones and soured milk, drinking coffee 'when he can come by it.' He passes his spare hours in smoking, in dozing, and in playing upon the scrannel pipe; only one man was seen by me spinning yarn. If exceptionally honest he will refuse, without his master's leave, to sell a kid, even

for tobacco: usually, however, he tells you that he will be contented with what is given to him. On the other hand he is no beggar—I was never asked for ‘bakhshish’ by a Ma’áz. At early dawn he drives, or rather pelts, to pasture his charges with countless screams which seem to have been originally derived from them, and he slowly works up hill till about noon, when all gather at the well. Here the masters allow themselves two or three hours of what is chat or dispute, as the case may be, and the one subject of conversation is the Girsh or piastre. In England they have two, beer and money; in Normandy also two, money and lawsuits; and so forth. The flock, after resting crouched under the shade of rocks whilst the sun shows midday, is now gathered for the afternoon, and is again driven down, feeding, struggling, fighting, and being pelted together, till the Maráh built in some sheltered valley is reached before sunset. The animals are milked, if it be the season for Laban and cheese; and before spending the night in the slumbers of the just the old flintlock is looked to, in case that some bandit bear has set heart upon a meal of savoury meat. All these men are fond of weapons, and a ready way to win their hearts is to

explain to them the use of some such marvel as a revolver.

With the first cold breath of winter the goat-herd exchanges the Jurd for the Wusút, the milder middle regions: here he finds circles of dry walls and caves, which partially protect him as he cowers under his sheepskin before his bit of fire from the blast, the sleet, and the pouring rain. When in the lower lands he will often be joined by his family, which remains in the nearest village whilst the goats are being pastured amongst the upper crags. The best of air is some set-off against the hardships of an out-of-doors life, and the result is that his leathery brown skin is well lit-up about the cheeks; whilst his hard-featured wife and his chubby urchins, when old enough to accompany him aloft, rejoice in physiognomies of the apple order, like the French *pomme d'apis*.

At the Bir Barbarús we vainly endeavoured to hire a guide; all refused to leave their charges. 'Eothen' need not wonder at the ignorance of Bedawin: these men, when asked about the length of our march, denied all cognisance of Sa'át (hours): some said that we should reach our destination long before evening, others late on the

next day. They pointed, however, vaguely to the south-west as we resumed our way up the Wady. Travelling for thirty minutes over a down-like country with gentle waves of grassy ground, and for twenty minutes across upland cultivation, we crossed a short divide of limestone ready cut by Nature's hand, like the old red sandstone of the Orkneys, into self-faced slabs. Here and there it was piled up in landmarks, to show where the flocks might and might not go: the stranger will everywhere find in Syria and Palestine these primitive contrivances, which, however, cannot be removed privily, as every neighbour knows every inch of his own ground. Presently we sighted to the left, or east-south-east, the lofty walls of the Wady el Fatlí, and here the soldier goatherd gave us exact directions. The guides declared that he was sending us a long way round, but we preferred his certainty to their uncertainties: they afterwards took to themselves great credit that we reached the goal at all.

We then passed into El Khashshá'a, the 'rough' red region, lined with trees which we had seen bearing westward from Nabi Bárúh: apparently this outcrop is a central spine, which continues the cliff-

crest facing to west between the Jebel el Shakif and the Ra'as Rám el Kabsh. It is a goatherd's paradise; a succession of the hardest limestone crests and ridges, bristling with bare rock and crag that shelter tufty vegetation, and divided by such a continuation of grassy Jurahs that he could find no better name for it than 'Sinkland.' The swallow-holes are here rarely round, mostly of the long narrow order; now they are single, then a huge pair will be parted by a natural bridge. I afterwards remarked them when visiting at Bulstrode, near Slough, a chalky country: the people declare them to be old gravel-pits, but some are apparently natural. The English Júrah, unlike the Syrian, is well grown with timber, which it protects from the wintry gales.

The junipers are mostly large and patriarchal, but in some places we saw young shoots; clumps are rare, and the branches invariably grow so low that nowhere could we have ridden under their shade. All distinctly form single lines, but indifferently on the ridge-crests as in the gorges, avoiding, however, the reservoirs where rain lies: the growth is doubtless directed by the nature of the strata, by the direction of the wind, and by the underlay of the water. The road of polished stones

and steps, with sidings in the worst places, leading from the 'Assál el Ward plain to Ba'albak, was distinctly bad: in most parts a horse could hardly have travelled off the path; and each tongue of ground, however well covered with humus on the top, was bounded on the sides by falls of stone which the rains, snows, and winds had stripped naked.

After one hour and ten minutes of slow riding to the west we passed out of the Khashshá'a Proper. The country again became a counterpart of the downland above the Wady Bir el Barbarús, although in places it was scattered over with vertebræ from the main spine. The hollows contained mud, the result of the heavy showers which had fallen between the 26th and the 29th of July, and the limestone again changed from rough lumps to thin slabs. Another forty minutes upon the high road, spanning shallow rises and falls, placed us at the head of the Wady Jammálah, where the watershed changes, and the path drops westward into the Cœlesyrian plain.

Here, turning a few paces to the right, we found in a swallow-hole the Hajar el Mukattab, or the Written Stone, of which every goatherd had spoken to us. It was a block of cretaceous calcaire, whose depth measured one foot eight inches, including the

edge chipped off by the treasure-seeker; the length was four feet six inches, and the width was two feet.

The mortuary legend read as follows:

E T O Y C

Δ I C I O

M C P O (O?)

A I Δ A I A

K A I K A M (A? KAMATOC?)

T O C Y I O C

A N E ⊙ H

K A N

Upon the summit of the Júrah's western lip lay another 'written stone;' the inscription, however, was too much defaced to be worth copying. About it was strewed a shapeless scatter of ruins; some of the blocks were of considerable size, but there was nothing to tell whether the site had been that of a temple or of a townlet.

From the Hajar el Mukattab we rode a short distance down the head of the Wady Jammálah, which, as is here usual, appeared to become narrow and gorge-like as it descended. We then struck abruptly to the south-east across country over sundry sinks and divides, the latter mostly overgrown

with an asphodel, whose onion-like leaves are refused by horses and cattle, and whose tall, thin, upright stem, garnished with pink-white flowers, has obtained for it the name of 'Asáyat el Rá'í (the Shepherd's Staff), and near the Dead Sea 'Asáyat Sayyadna Musa (of our Lord Moses). According to Burckhardt, the powdered root of the asphodel mixed with water forms a good glue, 'superior to that made with flour, as it is not attacked by worms.' After fifty minutes we reached the Khirbat Ayn el Shams (Fountain of the Sun), which is included in the Jurd of Ba'albak: its title bears a significant resemblance to Heliopolis. On the north of the ruins is a larger Júrah; while to the south a deeply tunnelled cave with a fragmentary ceiling and a dry sole may of old have represented the solar 'eye.' The Khirbah is evidently a little rustic Sun-temple roughly oriented, and mostly composed of uncut stones set in cement: the dilapidation of the whole affair rendered a plan impossible. Of course we heard the old tale of treasure trove in the ruin: the trove was, as usual, a Maghrabí or Moor, a race celebrated throughout Eastern Africa and Western Asia for magic and unholy arts, as were the Germans of the middle ages in Europe.

We then rode north-westward up a dwarf eminence to the deserted Dayr or monastery, a rude little hermitage built of the slabby limestone scattered all around it. After this our course lay south-westward in the direction of the Kala'at Jubáb, the high cliff defining the left jaw of the Fiumara, so named from its wells. It is no exception to the general rule which makes the western Wadys of the two Libani better forested and more fertile than those opening eastward—the effect of the damper sea-winds. After crossing the usual succession of divides, we struck in twenty minutes the right side of the picturesque ravine, and descending by a goat-path into its sole, we reached the upper well⁸ in twenty-five minutes. The bottom was the usual excellent travelling, and the drainage of the spacious bulge in which the water lay was derived from three large and three small torrent-beds. Closely-cropped grass still carpeted the ground, and semicircles of dry stone opening to the west defended travellers from the raw eastern land breeze which at night pours down the gap. In places the blocks had been ornamented by the Turkomans with spots and dabs, with

⁸ Our guides mentioned a lower Jubb or well: it may exist, but we did not see it.

patches and fretted lines, somewhat resembling the wooden key of Syria in profile; the paint was the ruddle which the tent-dwellers apply to their sheep. After the usual tow-row about fetching firewood, we were not sorry to rest and to warm in the genial blaze limbs somewhat cramped by nine hours and thirty minutes of hard walking and slow riding. The guides insisted upon retreating to a side-bay, beyond reach of the high road, and declared that the people of the Jubbah are mighty Harámís or highway robbers. The only sound which disturbed our sleep in the cold damp air was the singing of some lively traveller upon his lone march who had no reason to fear thieves. •

At dawn on the next morning (Saturday, August 5) we dismissed our muleteers at their own request, and gave them pay, presents, and provisions for their way home direct to B'lúdán. Mohammed the Skikarí accompanied them: he had declared last night that he meant to be the robber, not the robbed; we were anxious to take him with us, but intending a rapid move, we could not travel with a man on foot. At 5 P.M. mounting to the tune of many benedictions and valedictions in chorus, the former permanent, the latter temporary, we rode gaily to the south-east up

the Wady Jubáb. The upper part soon breaks into Júrahs, and reaching the counterslope after twenty minutes we fell again into the Khashshá'a, which we had crossed diagonally on our last march. This rough ground again severed all connection between the gorges opening into the eastern and the western lowlands. Sundry paths struck to the north or left, and an error in the bearing of a mountain made us cut across for the direct track leading due east to Mu'arrat el Bashkurdí, which we particularly desired to avoid. This was, however, hardly so bad as the case of the naval man, who after surveying up a certain West African river grounded his ship on the way down. •

Presently, guided by the well-known hogsback of rugged old Bárúh, we fell into the comfortable Wady which prolongs the Bayn el Kala'atayn gorge into the eastern Fiumara of the (eastern) Bir el Khashabah. Our horses were starving, and the loosening of their fore-plates threatened to lame them; this untoward state of things prevented our seeing the Hajar el Manshúr (or sawn stone) known as 'Abid el Rumád: it is said to lie in a lateral cañon north of the Wady Jubáb. After a total of three hours thirty minutes direct from the nighting-place we found ourselves

once more in our former quarters at 'Assál el Ward. The whole march had taken a somewhat longer time. I was anxious to find a level path leading from the village to the south-eastern slope of Bárúh, and obeying my memory I miserably failed. Here it is easy to get off the road ; but the process of returning to it is not always satisfactory.

That day ended with a gallop of some sixteen to seventeen miles to the market-town of Yabrúd, where we were anxious to inspect certain skulls and mortuary lamps lately found in a tomb near the settlement, and kept for us by the energetic young schoolmaster Ibrahim Kátibah.⁹ He was absent at Nabk, but he did not fail punctually to forward everything to Damascus. Early on the next day we returned once more to 'Assál el Ward, where Khwájah Yúsuf, a Greek of Zahlah, domiciled at Damascus, and here employed by the impeached employé Osman Bey Mardum Bey in collecting village debts and in buying up lands, had offered us a picnic.

All the Shaykhs donned their gayest attire and spear in hand, mounted their best mares to show us the Arz el Jauzah, which I had visited in November

⁹ See Appendix No. I. in this Volume.

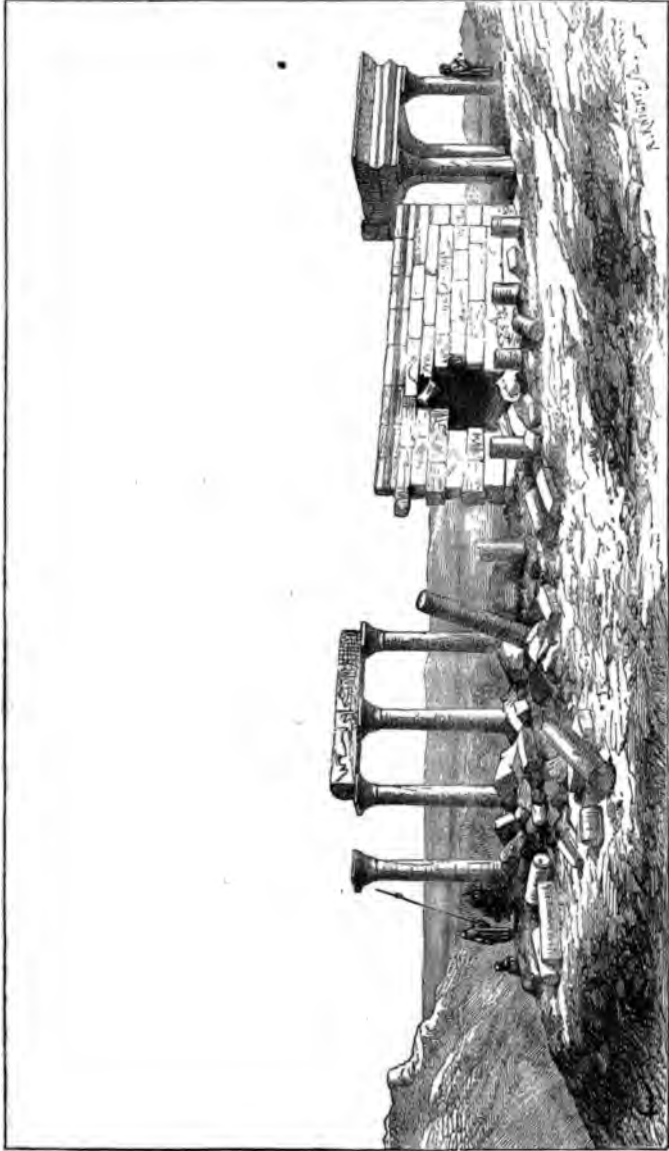
1870. Taking a south-westerly direction from 'Assál el Ward, we skirted the eastern foot of the Anti-Libanus, and we passed a once-flooded hollow, the Birkat el Ruz: this tank receives after rains the drainage of the Wady Bir Sahrij, and discharges it north-eastwards to Yabrúd after the general norm of the plain. A huge Za'azafún-tree,¹⁰ which the Syro-European translates 'Camomilla,' and a dwarf hill crowned with a natural stele, led us to the Khirbat Tufayl. This was a Metáwali or Shiíte village, which, after a century of battle and murder with all its Sunnite neighbours, was laid waste a few years ago. The site is doubtless classical. Below the settlement which faces east is a fine old well containing excellent water; frusta of columns and large hewn stones lie strewed about the hill-top—unfortunately the material, like that of the Dayr Naby Bárúh, is a loose conglomerate—whilst huge wine-vats, the Yekeb of the Jews, as opposed to the Gath or press, excavated in the live rock show that where not a single vine now lingers Lyæus had once been profuse in his boons.

Resuming our way we passed the Wady Maghárat

¹⁰ The Syrians borrow a proverb from this tree, 'Like the Za'azafún, which bears flowers, but no fruit.'

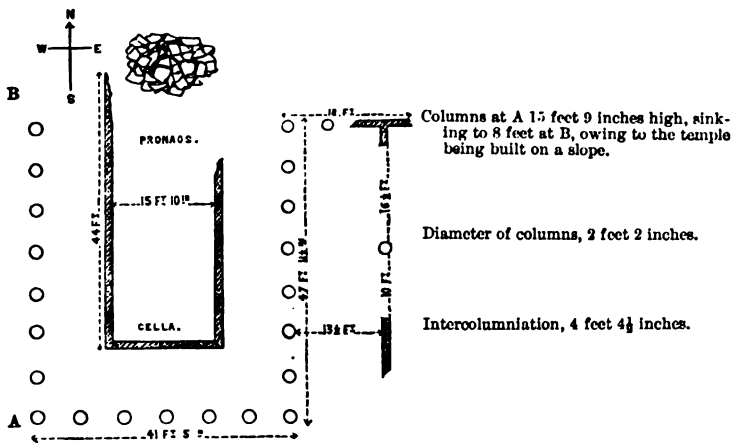
el Sábi, also with a deserted village; the Wady Ayn Hasíni, of which we had heard in the Wady el Hawá; the rich red lowlands called El Wáti; the Wady Safrá and the Wady Sá'úrah, both the latter draining the Rám el Kabsh Block. From the eminences we could sight in front of us the tall hill Jebel Washil, which contains the Fount of Sabná. To the right rose the Khatm (or 'Signet Ring') Ayn el Jauzah, so called from its cabochon of stone, a noble Saracenic dome and drum of limestone rock, falling abruptly into gentler earth slopes: it is the typical site of a Hindu hill-fort.

After a ride of two hours we ascended the Valley Ayn el Jauzah, and came upon the well of the same name. The water flows through a conduit of masonry, and is said to pass into a large underground cistern below; around the ample stone troughs are scattered fragments of columns. The Temple is known as Kasr Namrúd (Nimrod's Palace), and the traveller in Syria and Palestine will soon find that Namrúd and 'Antar represent the Devil and Julius Cæsar of Western Europe. The venerable building lies to the south-west of the well, on the right side of the valley, which bearing 295° runs high up the Jebel Washil. Like the large ruined temple or Nymphæum



KASR NAMRUD FROM THE WEST.

of Ayn Fijah in the gorge of the Barada, which Mr. E. H. Palmer believes to have been of similar use, and the famous Temple of Apollo Epikourios (the Helper) at Bassæ, it fronts north; the line running a little south of the spring to whose god it may have been dedicated. The material is rough limestone; the style peripteral and rude Doric, unlike the Stylobate system so common in the Anti-Libanus; it was approached probably on the northern front by a flight of steps, now, like the interior, a mere pile of ruins; the southern back is built against the hill-slope, under which appears the chalky mouth of a cavern



KASR NAMRUD.

said to be of large dimensions. The whole building shows the ravages of time, aided perhaps by an oc-

casional earthquake, but not requiring the assistance of man. No modern settlement has existed in this lone bleak spot, otherwise the injury done would have been much greater.

The long sides of the Temple are formed of eight columns, including the corners, and of these three are fallen. The circumference of the shafts is three feet six inches, and they are composed of several frusta, mostly three. The total length from the outsides of the pillars is fifty-five feet. The shorter sides, representing thirty-two feet five inches from end to end, had five columns, not including those at the angles. The full-length pillars to the north or down-hill measure, from the top of the capital, fifteen feet nine inches, nearly doubling those which rest upon the southern slope, these being only eight feet high. The inter-columniation is classical, although the peristyle does not, according to the Attic canon of Doric, number 13 pillars \times 6—hence its solid look. The circumference of the columns in the Temple of Jupiter at Ba'albak is eighteen feet six inches, and the inter-columniation nine feet. Thus the interval is only one and a half diameter, the least allowed by the canon of architecture, rare in the best style: and it has generally

been observed that the inter-columnar distances of ancient Jewish synagogues follow the same rule. At the Kasr Namrúd the diameter of the pillars is two feet two inches, and the inter-columniation is four feet four and a half inches. The pillars support a flat and plain architrave-cornice, without interposition of frieze.¹¹ The imposts appear chiefly to the south; on the west there are two fragments; eastward, only one remains. Architrave and cornice are simply and chastely ornamented with raised horizontal bands; the lowest is three inches deep, the second is four inches, and the upper five inches, whilst the cornice measures nine inches in depth.

Of the solid cella, only the western wall, forty-four feet long, is standing; and that, shaken and bulging outwards, is likely to fall with the first shock. It is revetted with cut but not large stones, whilst the interior is lime-set rubble. The inner dimensions of the long walls from north to south measure thirty-six feet, and the short walls twenty, whilst the partition separating pronaos from cella

¹¹ In the Stylobate temples of Syria we sometimes find the architrave and frieze in one piece (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. V. p. 193). The frieze was decorated in Ionic, but not in Early Doric.

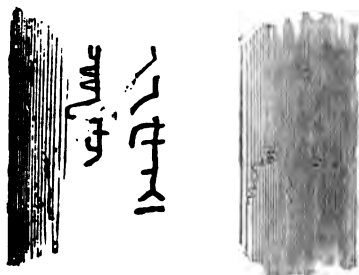
is fifteen feet ten inches. At the south-west corner there are traces of a double cornice and pilaster-capital, a plain moulded capital subtending the true cornice; below this is a space of masonry; and lastly the pilaster-capital, similar to the isolated, or rather dependent, false cornice, one horizontal line moulded below the other. This ornament appears the stranger and the less called for, as corresponding shafts do not exist. Large stones, bevelled evidently for joists, and cumbering the interior, show that the roof was of wood.

Adjoining the north-eastern pillar, and subtending the eastern side of this temple, there is a curious wing or outwork, measuring some eighteen feet by ten, and best shown in the plan. The foundations can still be traced, and the south-eastern extremity abuts upon the seventh pillar of the eastern peristyle. This adjunct does not extend to other parts; and it is hard to guess what may have been its use, unless indeed it was a sacellum, a temenos, or a treasury, attached to the main fane, like the unroofed rectangle below the temple crowning the Hermon head. Possibly it was added when the old fane was converted to Christianity. Two inscriptions were here found: the more ancient is upon an


ornamented stone, evidently half of the broken lintel, measuring two feet nine inches in length, and lying near the north-west angle of the cella. It bears in clear and well-cut characters (third century?)—

I A M Λ I X O C B A P I B A O V
T Ω Θ E (Ω?)

The other is a rough Syriac inscription, perpendi-



PORTION OF NEARLY OBLITERATED SYRIAC GRAFFITE ON N.E. COLUMN.

cularly cut or scratched on the eastern face of the north-eastern pillar; and below it are two well-cut Greek crosses of archaic type.  Mosheim, it will be remembered, informs us that heathen worship was tolerated in Syria and Palestine till A.D. 420. In A.D. 407 the Emperor Theodosius the younger finally decreed the destruction of all temples dedicated to the gods, in default of being used by the disciples of the new faith. An instance of a temple converted into a Christian church, and

bearing date A.D. 410, is still found at Izra'a. We could hardly agree with Professor Donaldson: 'If you were to draw a line across the country from Sebaste to Jerash, you would find that all the Roman works are to the north of that line. At Jerusalem there are no Roman works (Hadrian's Arch); they are rather Greek than Roman.' But early Christianity was Greek rather than Latin, and the former still lords it over the latter. Thus we both came to the conclusion that the Kasr Namrúd was originally a Grecian and pagan fane dedicated 'tó Theó,' to the local deity of the mountain or the spring; the principal reasons being its classical architecture, and its wild and isolated position. The crosses show that it was afterwards appropriated by the Christians, who were, however, not likely to build in such a place, or with such an orientation. We saw nothing of the vault said to support the cella, as in the well-known temple of Habbáriyyah (Burckhardt's Hereibe), on the western slopes of the Hermon.¹²

¹² Murray's Handbook (p. 433) thus informs his readers: 'Another peculiarity of this building' (the Rakhlah ruin) 'is that it faces Hermon. It is a curious fact that the temple at Hibbáriyyeh also faces the mountain, though on the opposite side. Can it be that the mountain was regarded as holy—a *Kiblah* to which the worshippers in the surrounding country turned in prayer?' This idea was first suggested by Dr.

The picnic under the shade of this venerable building passed off happily enough. The Kabábs of kid, skewered instantly after the sudden death, were excellent; the soured milk and the goats' cheese were perfection; and the Zahlah wine had

Robinson. But Rakhlah, as any compass bearing will show distinctly, does not face the mountain. Habbáriyyah, because situated upon the eastern slopes, fronts as usual the Orient sun. On the other hand, the large ruin at Hinah (Ina), not to mention half a dozen other instances, being built on the east of the Hermon, turns its back upon the 'Kiblah' above proposed.

Since these lines were written, I have had the opportunity of reading (in the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, pp. 184-199, No. V.) an interesting paper by that able and conscientious traveller, Captain Warren, R.E., upon the orientation of temples in the Holy Land. Casually remarking that the entrances of the ancient heathen were to the west, enabling the worshippers to face eastwards, and that this was the case with the Temple of Jerusalem, whereas the synagogues in Galilee are entered by the south, with the back to the Holy City, he observes (p. 187): 'In Syria [better say Coelesyria], where the temples, as they exist at present, do not appear to be earlier than B.C. 100, and to range up to A.D. 300, the entrances, as far as I know, are in all cases to the east.' He instances the fanes of 'Thalthatha, also called na'bi Sufa,' lying east and west, the entrance towards the east, the side bearing due east (00°) by compass, and with a bearing to the Hermon summit of 136° ; of Hibbariyyah, whose entrance is towards the east, the magnetic bearing of the side being 101° , and therefore out of line with the Hermon summit, being considerably to the north of east; of Ayha, whose entrance apparently was towards the east, the bearing of the temple-side being $78^\circ 30'$, while that of the Hermon summit is 195° , and that of Jebel Sanin is 353° ; of Dayr el Ashayir, overlooking a pleasant prospect towards the east; and of Rakhlah, 'originally a temple with entrance to east,

but one fault—it wanted a demijohn instead of a *demi-bouteille*. It was late in the afternoon before we shook hands for the last time with our good hosts, and mounted en route for Talfitá. It is pleasant to think back upon happy partings—I never saw them again.

and afterwards turned into a church with entrance to west, the bearing of the sides being north-west or south-east (307° and 127°), while that of the Hermon is 231° . He justly remarks: 'This is a very important point, as it is probable that the finding of this temple with entrance to west, while temples west of Hermon have their entrances to east, may have first given rise to the idea of the Hermon being the Kiblah of these temples.' The direction of the Burkush temple is difficult to find in its jumble of different epochs. That of Zakwah, unlike Rakhlah, lies north-east and south-west. Kasr Naba' lies east and west, the entrance to east; the magnetic bearing of the side being 81° , while the bearing to Ba'albak is $69^\circ 30'$. The temple of Niha had an entrance to the east, but the bearing of the side was not booked. Husn Niha lies east and west, the magnetic bearing of the side being $83^\circ 30'$. The temple of Ayn Harahah faces due east (90°), while the bearing to the summit of Hermon is 134° . The same is the case with the temples lying east of the Hermon, e. g. at 'Arnah.

The traveller cannot but be struck by the similarity of plan which connects the heathen temple with the modern Christian church: the pronaos being the body, whilst the cella, separated by a transverse wall, is the Iconostasis of the Greeks, the stone sarcophagus became the altar of the Basilica, containing the relics of the saint or saints under whose invocation the building was placed. In most cases the fanes had underground buildings, store-rooms, or perhaps hiding-places for the priests; these are our crypts and vaults. We can hardly wonder that St. Augustine so readily accepted the Pagan temple, and that a sprinkle of holy water so easily effected the conversion.

Our line, a short cut, bearing nearly due south, did not on this occasion become a detour. During my previous visit I had ridden down through the castled rocks of the Ghayzah Wady, which debouches northwards upon the rich lands of that name. Now we passed straight across the hills, and nearly due south (Mag.) to the same terminus, the 'Assál el Ward upland, which here runs from south-west to north-east. We passed two wells, the Ayn Sarár (Surcir of Mr. Porter) and the Burák, before reaching the short ascent and the long descent which falls into the Palmyra Valley. This Col is especially easy. A little to the south is a difficult line *viâ* the Karnat el Hamrá, upon which are the ruins of a Dayr, and still farther south is an even more troublesome zigzag. Before reaching it on the north-west are the ruins called Malkatá, evidently a Christian village with its necropolis. The remnants of the settlement are scattered upon a gentle rise in the valley, and present nothing remarkable. The cemetery on the sides and at the mouth of the abrupt little Wady which leads to it shows arched caves, with and without supporting pillars and niches cut for mortuary lamps: there are also sarcophagi sunk in the

ground rock and facing in all directions, whilst the northern wall of one of the largest displays a rude crucifix. Still farther south is said to be a ruined Dayr, at a place called El Sajarát, Syrian and Syriac for El Shajarát—the trees. This and the Karnat el Hamrá I did not visit—the traveller soon tires of ruined convents.

It was late before we sighted the whitewashed dome which covers the remains of Shaykh Mohammed el Na'ana'awi, the patron saint of Talfitá. We were received with all the honours by the Shaykh el Balad Mahfúz and by his villagers, who had long been my clients: half their pauper houses had been destroyed and the rest were threatened with ruin by certain villanous money-lenders under British protection. On the next morning we rode into Damascus *viâ* the well-known Wadys of Minnín, Ma'araba, and Barzah, rich and well-watered gorges, whose dark green lines in the barren yellow hills are miniatures of the typical Barada Valley.

Our excursion had lasted eight days, between July 31st and August 7th, 1871. We had seen in a range supposed to be impracticable, four temples, of which three are probably unvisited. We had prepared for local habitation on the map of Syria

and Palestine the names of five great mountain blocks: Abú'l Hín, Rám el Kabsh, Naby Bárúh, the Fatlí Apex, and, to mention no others, the curious Haláim. We had traced out the principal gorges: the Wady el Manshúrah, on whose upper lip an outcrop of copper was found; the Wady el Hawá; the Wady Bir Sahrij; the Wady Zummarání; the Wady el Mál; and the Wady Már Tobiyá,—all before absolutely unknown to geography. Finally, we had determined the disputed altitudes of the Anti-Libanus, and we had proved that the caterpillar and the acidulated drops of the best and most modern maps are as worthy of study as, and are more worthy of inspection than, the much vaunted Libanus.

R. F. B.



CHAPTER II.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN SLOPES OF LEBANON.

NOTE.

I HAVE been compelled by unforeseen circumstances to write the following Notes very shortly, hurriedly, and far from books of reference. The only maps I chance to have with me are those of Murray (1856), Van de Velde (1865), Tristram (1866), Murray (1868), and Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, 1870). All of them show an equally bold disregard for watersheds and mountain ridges; the same faults of nomenclature run through all; and though in the open country they are of some use, in the mountainous regions they prove valueless. Let us hope that the surveying party sent out by the Palestine Exploration Fund, which has just landed at Jaffa, may be enabled to complete not only the map of Palestine, but that of Syria. No country in the East has been or will be so much trodden by travellers, and yet the maps we have of it are one and all full of blunders.

A somewhat severe attack of fever has prevented my visiting Mount Hermon, which has hitherto been only very superficially examined. To my great disappointment, too, I have been obliged to give up a long-projected visit to the Harreh, a *dry* quicksand

some distance in this desert to the south-east of the Hauran. It has been described to me by many Bedawin who have seen it as a circular plain of sand, having a black peak of rock rising from the centre. All the Arabs agree in saying that if camels, gazelles, or any animals set foot on it, they are straightway engulfed. Though many absurd and exaggerated stories are told of this place, yet I believe the main facts to be true. I have myself met with a somewhat similar phenomenon in the desert, though on a small scale: suddenly in the centre of a large plain the soil gave way beneath the camels, and they floundered nearly up to their bellies; such was their terror that they became stupefied, and were with difficulty extricated, and then stood trembling and unwilling to move. The men who were walking passed over this place without sinking in at all. I examined the soil, and found it to be the very finest and driest sand, into which I could bury a stick four feet long. The surface had become caked by the rain to the depth of three or four inches, and thus supported the weight of a man.

C. F. T. D.

Damascus, Nov. 1871.

I. THE NORTHERN SLOPES OF LEBANON.

CONSIDERING that the Lebanon has frequently been visited even by scientific men, it is curious to see how great are the discrepancies in the heights assigned to the range, from Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 628), who gives 10,000 feet, to the map executed by French Engineer officers in 1862, who by some unaccountable blunder put it at 6063 metres.¹

These differences of altitude showed such evident traces of guess-work, that I was hardly surprised, when I visited the mountain in company with Captain Burton and Mr. E. H. Palmer in July 1870, at finding that the aneroids, uncorrected for temperature, gave a reading of barely 9000 feet. The peak, or rather hillock, on the top of the range, called Dhahr el Kodhîb, is commonly considered the highest; but in reality it is 300 feet lower than the double-crested summit to the north-north-east by east, which the goatherds know by the name of Tiz Marún. Feeling, however, that aneroid readings,

¹ These points have been fully discussed in Chap. I.—Ed.

are always unsatisfactory,² I determined to ascertain the exact altitude by means of barometrical readings. Various circumstances hindered me from doing this till October 1871; on the second of which month, accompanied by my servant Habib Jemayyil, and by two Zabtiyahs (policemen) whom I took at the request of the native government, I left Damascus, with the intention of crossing the Anti-Libanus by the direct road to Ba'albak, and of taking certain observations necessary to complete the sketch-map of that range which I had begun in August, in company with Capt. Burton. This road, though the shortest way to Ba'albak, is never used by travellers: Mr. Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, p. 310 et sq.) rode over it, but curiously enough missed the Kasr Nemrúd, which stands at little more than half a mile

² In the Sinai survey of 1868-9, conducted by Captains Palmer and Wilson of the Royal Engineers, several aneroids were tested at various heights by comparison with a barometer, and it was discovered that the error was never constant: thus, an aneroid which at 3000 feet would perhaps be a few hundredths too low, was found at 5000 feet to read too high. The truest instrument used by this expedition was a small one made by Mr. Cary of the Strand, and the property of the Royal Geographical Society, who afterwards kindly lent it to me. During the explorations of Mr. E. H. Palmer and myself in the Desert of the Tih in 1869-70, I found it a most reliable little instrument, and have since tested it at various times with barometers. The table of heights given in the Appendix are taken from its readings.

to the north of the path. Though the architecture of this temple is somewhat base, yet the fair state of preservation in which it stands renders it an interesting building.

Our route from Damascus lay through the orchards and fields—the term ‘gardens’ as applied to them being purely poetical license—to the hamlet of Barzeh; thence past the villages of Ma’arabah, Hornah, and El Tell to Menin, which stands on a mound at the head of and overlooking the fertile though narrow Wady, whose sides, as high as the water can be brought, are covered with fig, apricot, and pomegranate trees, beneath whose shelter maize, corn, and various vegetables are cultivated. The lower part of the valley is thickly grown with poplar (of two kinds, *Ar. Haur*), oriental plane, and walnut trees of considerable size. The poplar-wood is very valuable, being invariably demanded in and near Damascus, as the only suitable wood for rafters. It is also made into the boxes used by muleteers for the transport of fruits and other goods liable to damage if packed in bags. Though possessing but little arable land, the inhabitants of Menin are among the richest of the Fellahin: their proximity to the mountains enables them to keep large flocks

of sheep and goats: the wool and hair are spun by the women, who in summer take their primitive spinning-wheels, and sit all day in the shade of their trees, guarding their fruit—a necessary precaution in this land, where walls and fences are rare, and the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* practically ignored.

On the summit of the hills to the north-east of the village are several interesting ruins and excavations; but I could find no inscription to give a clue to their date. The hill-side is of that peculiar whitened earth, thickly strewn with fragments of pottery and a few morsels of glass, which always points out the site of ancient dwellings. At the point where the soil ceases I observed two chambers cut in the rock, with a thin partition-wall between them. The doorways faced the south, and a niche, as if for a statue, occupied the northern end. A little higher up are the foundations of a temple, forty feet by seventy-five feet, having the remains of a portico and flight of steps to the south. A portion of the northern wall is hewn from the living rock, and drafted on the outside in imitation of large blocks of stone. A few yards to the north of this ruin are two rock-hewn caves opening west-

wards. The northern of these has a square doorway, surmounted by a cornice of regular and somewhat conventional acanthus leaves and vine tendrils: a broad ornament of thistles (?) and fruit surrounds the entrance. The southern cave is also hewn out of the rock; but the centre of the roof has been cut away, thus leaving it open to the sky. At the east end is a wedge-shaped recess some three feet wide at bottom, and fining off to nothing at the height of twelve feet. At the western end a flight of steps cut in the rock, and surmounted by a row of columns, can still be traced. Some 250 feet below these remains, and a quarter of a mile to the west, is a spring which pours out an abundant stream, and fertilises the valley as far as Barzeh, being eventually lost in irrigating part of the Damascus plain near that settlement. From Menin an hour and a quarter's ride brought us to the small village of Telfita, whose altitude by aneroid (only) was found to be 4845 feet. It is built at the foot of the long step outlying the Anti-Libanus, and extending from Helbon to Yabrúd, showing an abrupt, and in places precipitous, face towards the east, and sloping gradually down into the upland plain which stretches from Yabrúd to Helbon, and contains, amongst

others, the villages of 'Assál el Ward, Mu'árrat el Beshkurdi (vulgarly Besh Kyria, which would have no meaning), and Jubbeh. The water drainage from Ma'álulah, Akawber, and Towáneh runs in a north-easterly direction, while that of Saidnayya and Mu'arra runs into the Menin valley. Crossing the above-mentioned step by the pass called Ka'ábet el Kalkas, from some barely traceable ruins in the Wady below, we descended slightly into the plain El Wati'i, on which 'Assál el Ward stands. This was traversed in an hour; and ascending Wady Tumm el Ghaytah, we passed about three-quarters of a mile to the south of Kasr Nemrúd, described in the last chapter. Our road then lay across a most intricate series of small Wadys, running north and north-east to join the main Wady, which runs eastward. I know of no mountains so full of surprises as the Anti-Libanus: the drainage, by means of the 'sinks,' causes unexpected breaks in a seemingly regular range of hills, and makes the convolutions of the Wadys assume most eccentric forms.

We reached Ain Durah soon after sunset, and found the same man from Rankús whom we had met two months before. He was lodged with his two boys in a circular enclosure some eight feet

in diameter, formed of a loose stone wall three feet high, and partly covered in by a few sticks and a bit of old matting, which had suffered severely from the teeth of the half-dozen privileged sheep who shared the mansion with their owner. This man had been living here for three months, and would remain till his Indian corn was fit to eat: he complained bitterly of the damage done by the bears to his 'hummus.'

The next morning a four hours' ride brought us into Ba'albak. I was surprised to find how much basalt was strewn on the western slopes of the Anti-Libanus: it is of the same hard compact formation that we found above Bludan, near Zebdany and at Sarghayya. A short distance below the village of Sh'áibeh, which stands above Wady Shábát, are the foundations of a small ruined temple called Dayr Ain el Libníyeh. It measures forty-five feet by twenty-five feet outside. The cella is very small, and the door is turned to the north-east. The stones, though not of any great size, are well hewn, and the fragments of the cornice show that it was very plain, but in good style. On the west side of Wady Shábát, opposite the bold bluff round which the Wady winds, are the

remains of a small temple, and of a building which was probably a Roman roadside-station to command the valley. At fifty minutes from this place are the ruins of Harfesh; and between them and Ba'albak—an hour and a half's ride—the whole country shows traces of vineyards and cultivation in the ruined walls and heaps of stones, which occur at regular intervals.

The afternoon was spent in strolling through the well-known ruins of the great Sun-temple, whose magnificence and grandeur make themselves more appreciated at every visit.

Riding across the Buka'a, and passing through the village of Ya'ád, in an hour and a half we reached the foot of a small spur of the Libanus, shooting out between the villages of Shellifah and B'teddár. The ruins at its eastern base are called Harf, and on the summit is an enclosure formed by a wall of hewn masonry, some eighty yards by fifty yards. At the south-west corner of this court is a collection of ruined chambers, evidently composed of materials still older. In the centre of these is a building thirty-five feet by twenty-four feet outside, and about fourteen feet high. An elaborately moulded cornice runs outside. The doorway origin-

ally faced east, was protected by a portico, and was approached by a flight of steps, but is now quite ruined, as is the west end. To the east of this building I found a quantity of burnt earth, and two large beehive-shaped cisterns cut in the solid rock, and carefully cemented inside. Between the ruined chambers and the temple I traced the semi-circular apse of an early Christian church. The ruin itself is called Dayr Mar Liaut—the Convent of St. Leontes.

At the foot of the hill, just above the ruins of the town, is a rock-hewn cistern, with two circular cup-shaped drinking-troughs, somewhat tastefully cut, below it.

Passing on to B'teddár, I stopped a short time to breakfast with the native Greek priest. This village, though now consisting only of a few houses, evidently stands on the site of an ancient town of some importance, as may be seen by the traces of ruins round the Wely's tomb, which stands a short distance up the hill at the mouth of Wady Dabbus. Soon after entering this valley, I came upon a broken milestone, with some thirteen or fourteen lines of Greek inscription. These, however, are so weather-worn, that I could not decipher more than the

name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The mountain-sides were, for this country, thickly wooded with wild pear (*Najás barri*), a kind of sloe, a wild plum (*Khokh ed Dubb*, the bear's plum), bearing a pretty red and yellow fruit, having when dead-ripe a not unpleasant acrid taste; the wild almond (*Lóz barri*), Sindian (*Quercus pseudo-coccifera*), maple (*Kykab*), oak ('Afs); *Berberús*, with a long purple berry; *Kokolán*, a kind of juniper; *Shohát*, a honeysuckle tree, which attains the height of twelve to fifteen feet, while the trunk is as much as two feet in girth.

On the maple I noticed mistletoe with white berries, similar to that of Europe. I had frequently seen a variety in the south of Palestine, especially on the olive-trees, but bearing a coral berry. As we advanced up the valley, the growth of trees became scantier and shorter, and at last ceased entirely on the watershed of the outlying ridge, separated from the main chain of Lebanon by the series of enormous 'sinks,' which, beginning with *Yammúneh*, extend as far as *Merj Ahín*. On the crest of the ridge I found a small ruined temple, thirty-six feet by twenty-eight feet outside, containing a cella eight feet by five feet. The door opened to the south-

west, and a short Greek inscription, in a square tablet with circular ears, has fallen down in front, but is so defaced that I could only make out the name of Diom(edes?).

From this point I gained my first view of El Yammúneh, and was surprised to see an expanse of dry white mud, in place of the fair blue lake that I had pictured to myself, and of which I had caught a glimpse from Aináta the previous year. On descending to the shores of the lake the phenomenon was explained. The men from the village of El Yammúneh had discovered the principle of this great sink, and were hard at work removing the mud at the south-east edge of the lake, where it was thinner than elsewhere, and only covered the substratum of pebbles to a depth of two or three feet. Immediately this was done, the water poured off into the unknown depths of the mountain; and thus the river, which rises at the old ruined temple below the Neba' el 'Arbain, though some twenty-five feet wide by one and a half deep, only flows a quarter of a mile, and is then swallowed up. The place where the men were digging was close to a great hollow, evidently the natural sink for the waters of the lake. If at any period the tank had an outlet

into the Buka'a, it must have been at the south-eastern end of the basin, about three miles from Aináta. Unless the flow of water chokes up the work of these wise men of Yammúneh, the whole bed of the lake, where they intend to plant Indian corn, will be an arid waste, parched and valueless. This great sink, at whose south-west end the true basin of the lake lies, is about three and three-quarter miles long by one broad. To the north-west of the lake-bed is the Neba' el 'Arbaín—spring of the Forty (Martyrs).

On the 9th day of 'Adáv (March), the Feast of the Forty Martyrs, the spring begins to flow, and continues to do so till the last day of Tammuz (July), when it ceases.³ All the neighbouring natives agree in saying that it keeps to these dates within a day, or perhaps two. I climbed up about one hundred feet to the point where it issues from the hill-side, and found a cave some twenty feet deep with a dam of ancient masonry in front of it, and a small aqueduct leading from it to one of the mills below. The course taken by the water is clearly marked

³ A similar intermittent spring, 'El Mambaj,' has been noticed near the hills in Wady Bayt Jann, to the south of Jebel el Shaykh (the Hermon).

by the thick black moss, now dried and tough, covering all the stones over which this intermittent stream flows. When the spring knocks off work, the water rises on the edge of the plain only a few feet above what used to be the ordinary level of the lake. This water leaves a black deposit on the stones near the sources, which nearly surround the Kala'ah or Fort, as the Temple is called. The exterior enclosure or 'peribolos' of this building is irregular in shape, being about ninety yards on the northern and eastern sides, and on the western and southern rather longer. The temple itself is raised upon a platform, and measures forty-nine feet by thirty-four feet. The doorway, as usual, with its portico and flight of steps, opens eastwards. At the west end I observed a piece of the frieze and a broken corner of the pediment lying half buried; but the dilapidated state of the ruin was explained by a limekiln which I espied close by, in which many a stone had been burnt. I remarked one stone with a rope ornament built into the walls of this anti-archæological institution.

Riding up to Aináta, it was noticeable how far the old vineyard walls extended up the mountainsides, while now only a few grapes are grown on the

level ground below. But the stones preach the same sermon of former prosperity not only from Dan to Beersheba, but from Petra to Aleppo, telling us at the same time that the ruin is of comparatively late date. Will England ever look upon Syria as anything else than a land for tourists to amuse themselves in, and see that a *pied-à-terre* there would secure her not only an uninterrupted passage to India, but wealth incalculable in mineral and agricultural produce?—for both may yet be drawn from this fertile land, whose soil needs no manure and whose mountains teem with ores.

Though Aináta is more than five thousand feet above sea-level, all the villagers were sleeping out in their vineyards, and so warm was the air, that I found even the covering of a blanket superfluous in the kind of verandah where I passed the night. Soon after midnight I was awoke by a sudden crash of falling walls. On starting up, I saw one of my horses standing in the centre of the courtyard, looking with a most comical air of pleased astonishment and satisfaction at the ruin he had caused; but directly the men began to stir he walked off, and unconcernedly pretended to eat straw beside the other horse. It seems that he had been tied

to a large stone at the bottom of the loose stone wall which formed one side of an outhouse, and by pulling at his halter had brought down the whole affair, roof and all, to the ground. A few piastres, however, more than compensated the old woman whose property it was.

As my intention was to leave the road at the top of the Pass overlooking the Cedars, and to ride along the ridge or Jurd of the Lebanon to its northern extremity, and then descend to the nearest village, I of course wished for a guide to tell me the names of its various summits and Wadys. After some trouble I found a man who professed to know every yard of the mountain, and as he maintained that he had been a goatherd for several years, I fondly trusted to his representations and engaged him; but, alas! no more than half an hour had we quitted the road at the Col than I found that my ruffian was at the length of his tether, and though I had only once been along the Jurd as far as Tiz Marún one misty day fifteen months before, from that moment I found the conduct of the party devolve upon myself.

Ascending to the top of Dhahr el Kodhíb,⁴ I

⁴ The 'Zahr el Kazib' of chap. i. Ed.

took out my barometer tubes, and after having the misfortune to break one, I succeeded in getting most satisfactory readings. We then rode in a north-north-east direction, and passing close by the base of Tiz Marún I halted the party, and went to take observations on this the highest point of the Lebanon; the day, however, was so far advanced that I was obliged to content myself with aneroid readings. All the springs which I had noted in July 1870 on the Jurd had dried up this year, and only three or four small patches of snow remained on the whole range; thus men and horses had been since early morning without water. The clouds too were beginning to come up for the first time, being unusually late this year, and I felt myself compelled to descend. From the summit I looked in vain for the island of Cyprus—which I saw three consecutive evenings from B'hamdún in September—but a thick mist hung over the sea. The vegetation on the mountain-top—except *Turmus barri*, a kind of wild lupin—was dried up. No birds were visible but a few ravens and kestrels, and small parties of the Persian horned lark (*Otocoris pencillata*, Gould). The goatherds were already beginning to seek the lower slopes, and had I come one day later I should .

have been unable to have done anything; for the very next day the mountain-tops were covered with thick clouds, which did not lift for three weeks, at the end of which period, as I was returning from Aleppo one morning at sunrise, I saw the Lebanon shining in a mantle of virgin snow.

Dismounting from our horses at the base of Tiz Marún, we led them down a Wady running in a north-west direction, and in two hours found that we had descended 3000 feet, and reached the edge of Sahlet el Jubab—the 'Plain of the Sinks'—which separates the Lebanon Block proper from its outliers. Here we found some goatherds from Kirmil, camped under the Lizzab trees in rude compounds, which were shared by goats, dogs, and children, on a footing of perfect equality, and from them we learned that the nearest water was at Merj Ahín, whence they daily brought it themselves, distant about an hour and a quarter. Leaving the goatherds we skirted the Sahleh, putting up many partridges and a hare from the bushes of Berberús, which is very abundant here, and soon after sunset reached Merj Ahín, the most northern of the great sinks, and watered our thirsty horses at a spring which irrigates a considerable tract of

fertile soil. Taking care to fix upon a camping ground sufficiently raised above the marsh not to be chilled by the cold fog which rose from it, we picketed our horses, and were soon sound asleep rolled up in our blankets around a blazing fire of Lizzab branches.

The next morning I questioned my trusty guide, and found that he had once before been to Merj Ahín, but had come from Aináta by the lower or direct road. When I asked him whether he had never been farther to the north, he exclaimed in pious horror, 'O no; that's the country of the Metawileh!' So I dismissed this brave youth, who, though armed with a double-barrelled gun, a pair of pistols, and a knife, evidently did not relish the prospect of the four hours solitary walk that lay before him.

On descending to the spring we found the cold intense, and our fingers became quite numbed, though at an elevation of some fifty feet above the water we had not suffered at all during the night. A number of the small magpies (*Ar. Bouzerái*), which I have never seen except in the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, were hopping merrily about in search of the 'early worm.'

Taking a direction nearly north by west, as being the most likely to bring us to some village, we left the insignificant ruins of Merj Ahín to our left, and crossing a small pass where an outcrop of sandstone occurs, we found ourselves at the head of a large Wady called El Nakrah running westward. We now entered upon the prettiest scenery I have yet seen in the Lebanon: wild deep gorges, overhung by fantastic rocks and in some places thickly wooded, are alternated by open grassy Alps, contrasting well with the deep rich purple of the basalt, and the yellow sandstone which was never far from it. In one or two places I observed porphyritic greenstone cropping out.

In about two hours all traces of the path disappeared, and the hill-side began to be thickly covered with trees, while a tangled growth of brambles and fern grew luxuriantly in their shade. At this point a lad came up with us, driving two unladen camels down from their mountain pasturage. From him we learnt that there was a village called Fenaydir in the valley beneath us. The long spine of the Lebanon which runs northwards is termed Jebel el Abiadín, and, as I afterwards learned, has a ruin on its crest called Kalá'at el

Rúbeh, which from the description given me of it seems to have been a large temple.

Descending into Wady Ayyun el Diab (the Wolves' Fountain), we found ourselves in a wood composed of *Shuah* (? *P. halepensis*), a pine usually growing with two or three leaders, and reaching the height of sixty feet, while the branches begin close to the ground; the Scotch fir; a few scattered and gnarled cedars; the common oak, and the species bearing the edible acorn, which, however, remains bitter till the rains have begun; the wild or barren Sinawbar, a stone pine whose seeds are useless, while those of the true Sinawbar are an important article of food to the Lebanon mountaineers; the 'bear's plum,' before mentioned; Kokolan, Lízzáb, and willow-trees, as well as ivy, clematis, bracken, and many other plants which recalled the woodlands of Northern Europe. The scenery was so pretty, that one of the soldiers who accompanied me, a stolid Turk, whose general idea of earthly bliss was sitting in a coffee-house at Damascus, smoking a narghileh at some friend's expense, actually went into ecstasies, and said that since he had left his native mountains near Diarbekir he had never seen anything so lovely.

The Moslem village of Fenaydir is surrounded by magnificent walnut-trees, and I was soon seated in the shade of one of these, discussing with a mountain appetite a breakfast of hot maize cakes, Burghul (prepared corn), and fried eggs, which the Shaykh brought me. Afterwards all the village worthies and an old merchant on a pedlar's excursion from Tripoli gathered round me, to examine my breech-loading guns and revolvers. One man, thinking to make a munificent offer, said that the Shaykh would give me five hundred walnuts for one of the latter; but I turned the laugh against him, by saying that I accepted if they were all as large as the tree we were seated under: the word for the tree and the nut being the same in Arabic. Near the village is a spring issuing from a cave, which is said to be of great extent, but can only be entered by swimming.

Taking leave of the hospitable Shakyh, who scouted the idea of receiving any backshish 'for entertaining the stranger,' we crossed over a low range of hills to the north of the village, and found ourselves at the head of Wady Mimnah and overlooking the 'Entrance to Hamath'—the comparatively level tract that stretches from Tripoli

to Hums, and divides the Lebanon from the Jebel Nusayri. Our glimpses of this district were, however, but momentary, as the clouds began to surround us: I could see that the sides of the Wady we were descending were terraced, and grown with maize on the lower parts, while the upper portion was rugged and covered with brushwood. Leading our horses, we scrambled down a broken staircase of rock which did duty for a path, and after slipping and stumbling for an hour and three-quarters, we emerged from the clouds on the edge of a circular plain enclosed by hills, near a clump of trees on a mound which marked the tomb of the Wely Maritna.

The vegetation in Wady Mimnah was distinct from that of the upper regions, and consisted of the large-leafed arbutus (*A. andrachne*), Butm or terebinth, Spanish broom, and a few plants of butcher's broom. About half way down the Wady on the left-hand side I noticed some ruins overgrown with brushwood, and a small tower built of drafted stones with large bosses.

Half-an-hour's ride across the plain brought us to Bayno, where I determined on stopping for the night, as some of the horses had lost shoes in scam-

bling down the mountain. Finding that the village was a Christian one, I began to repent my decision, but too late. My reception was anything but encouraging: the Shaykh seemed to think that he was doing me a great favour in allowing me to enter his house; there was none of that ready dignified courtesy and evident wish to please that so distinguishes the Moslem in his reception of guests. Among the Christians an ill-bred prying curiosity, which if not repressed would be mixed with insolence, a disobliging manner, a greed for piastres—I had almost said exceeding that of the Hebrews—take their place. All the Christians that I have ever been among in this country are equally bad, with the exception of the Jacobites of Sadad, who are even more brave and dignified, more hospitable and courteous, than the generality of Moslems. It is a curious speculation as to what is the cause of this inferiority of the Christians, who, though often richer than their Mohammedan neighbours, are niggardly and churlish, avaricious, and, with very few exceptions, arrant cowards. I cannot help thinking, that in the peculiarly constituted native mind religion has something to do with it. The Syrian is to a European an unintelligible creature: bodily he not

unfrequently suffers from hysteria and other maladies peculiar to the weaker sex; mentally he unites the cunning of a Macchiavelli with the stupidity of an Essex chawbacon; he learns to lie before he can lisp, and if he ever speaks the truth by mistake, he forthwith experiences the bitter stings of remorse. The Moslem fights bravely, for he feels sure that when he falls he will, as a True Believer, go straight to his Paradise: the Christian, on the other hand, especially a susceptible nervous subject like the Syrian, priest-ridden and steeped in superstition, unless he can die *en règle*, feels the utmost uncertainty as to his destination. These and similar causes, added to long years of oppression, to which he has submitted with a fawning, cringing hypocrisy, concealing the bitterest hatred not only to Moslems, but to all sects differing from his own, have tended to make the Syrian Christian the wretched creature that he is. Unlike a Mohammedan, he does not consider hospitality a sacred duty, but a means of extorting so many miserable piastres; and in the bazaars it is almost impossible for a European to buy from Christian shopkeepers, so extortionate and unscrupulous are they.

Taking a guide the next morning, I started for

'Akkar; and though this gentleman managed to lose his way two or three times, we arrived there in two hours. 'Akkar is situated on the east side of Wady Lustwán, a pretty gorge, densely overgrown with brushwood, and watered by a rushing stream full of excellent fish. A sort of island-peak rises in the middle of the Wady, and is crowned by a castle—partly, at all events—of Roman work, called Kalá'at Nusayr el Nimr. The town has been of considerable importance in early Saracenic times; and some of the vaults on which the houses are built are Roman. As I was riding through the village, two or three servants came down from Mohammed Agha, the chief of the place, a man of old family, who still keeps up a sort of feudal state, inviting me to breakfast, and would take no refusal. Finding that I could not get off, and being quite prepared to do justice to a good feed after my treatment by the Christians of Bayno, I rode up to the house, and was received by Mohammed Agha and his uncle Mahmúd, a cheery old man with a long white beard. After the usual talk about the state of Syria and a glance at European politics, a most excellent breakfast of meat, eggs, fish, vegetables, and grapes made its appearance, and received

ample justice from all. Then, taking leave of our hospitable hosts, we started for Kalá'at el Husn, or, as it is sometimes called, Husn el 'Akrád. Keeping along the right side of Wady Lustwán, we passed, at the outskirts of the village, a ruined Saracenic khan, built in good style with alternate courses of limestone and basalt. Beyond this was the burial-ground, with the usual grove of trees over the grave of the patron Shaykh.

Our road from this point wound among the hills, and after three hours and a half we had descended some 1700 feet, and reached the edge of the Bukay'ah—Little Buká'a—as the plain between the Nusayri Mountains and the Lebanon is called. The basalt begins to crop out at the village of Antakit, which is almost entirely built of this stone, about an hour south of the plain. Half an hour before reaching this village we passed through El Abeyyat, which is separated into two distinct portions, and boasts of a Jesuit convent. The whole of this district, which has an average elevation of 2000 feet above the sea, is very fruitful; the olives are much esteemed; and were the silk-trade fostered, it would be exceedingly remunerative both to the government and to the grower.

At the edge of the Bukay'ah the basalt is *in situ*, and the soil of the plain itself is exceedingly rich. After halting for a few minutes beside a stream fringed with oleanders, and abounding in small fish, we rode on to the Jisr el Aswad, a half broken-down bridge over the Nahr el Kebír, which, rising to the west of Hums Lake, runs into the sea between Tripoli and Tartús. The plain was covered with the tents of Turkomans and mongrel Arabs, who, belonging to no particular tribe, are known by the general name of Ráyyan (shepherds), from their acting in that capacity to the neighbouring Fellahin. Passing a circular mound of worn basaltic stones, with a crater-like depression in the centre, surmounted by a few trees sacred to some local Shaykh Mohammed, an hour and a half's ride brought us to the foot of the spur on which the Kala'at el Husn is built: a steep climb of forty minutes brought us to the small village nestling beneath the castle, and we were soon installed in the Shaykh's house, as comfortably as his limited means—continually drawn upon by the lawless irregular cavalry of the Turkish Government, then quartered in the château—would permit.

The castle itself has been often described; and

though Murray (Handbook, 'Syria and Palestine,' p. 543, ed. 1868) states that the first mention of it is in A.D. 1101, when it was attacked unsuccessfully by Raymond de Toulouse, yet I think that there can be no doubt of its being originally a Crusading fortress. All the Arabic inscriptions on the walls—except perhaps the almost, if not quite, illegible ones over the entrance—are of a date posterior to this. The great square tower in the southern wall, near the aqueduct, which, supported on four arches, supplied the castle with water from the upper part of the hill, is known by the name of Burj Melek el Dhahir (who reigned about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.).⁵

On the side of one of the trefoil windows of the cloister which lies to the east of the chapel and hall, in the centre of the castle, is a Latin inscription half broken away, and beginning—

SIT TIBI COPIA
SIT SAPĒCIA

⁵ See pp. 433-435 in *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, by Messrs. Besant and Palmer; London, Bentley, 1871. Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 158) found over the gate the arms of the Counts of Toulouse, like the lions on the Burj el Subá'a at Tripoli. He justly determines the Husn to be a mediæval and Crusading building. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake's sketch has already appeared.

The walls are built of basalt-rubble and faced with limestone: the stones at the north-west corner are drafted, as are some in the keep. Externally the machicolation is continuous on the south, on the north-west walls the openings are in threes, and to the south-west in fours.

The irregular cavalry, who some sixty in number live with their wives and families in the holes and corners of the castle, like rats in an old barn, excited the wrath and contempt of my Zabtiyehs. 'The idea of long ruffians like those Kurds,' they said, 'with such *kedishes*' (pack-horses) 'and such arms receiving the same pay as we do, and having many more opportunities than us for picking up waifs and strays!' pointing at the same time with pride to their own trim well-fed little mares. Every man in the Turkish irregular cavalry provides his own horse and weapons, and consequently no two are mounted or armed alike; some have a pair of pistols only, while some sport double-barrelled gun, sword, and pistols.

Bidding adieu to the Shaykh, whose wife could with difficulty be persuaded to accept the modest backshish I offered her, saying that it was too much, and that it would be 'shame' for her to take it,

we rode down to the village of Howwash, and thence into the plain, leaving an old mill seemingly coeval with the castle on our right. Passing the Tells Ala'yik and 'Addi, in two hours we reached the eastern edge of the Bukay'ah, near Shaykh Mohammed, over whose tomb is the usual grove and a few pillars and capitals.

We then ascended some low hills, and passing the village of Khoz el Khuz we came to Tell el Koshúf—distant an hour from the plain—and found ourselves on the rolling plateau extending nearly to Hums, and some six hundred feet higher than the Bukay'ah. At this mound I tried to get some information out of a knot of shepherds and herdsmen collected there for their midday meal, but it was labour lost: like all the surrounding population, they were sojourners in the land, not earth-born, and neither knew nor cared anything about it if it had no reference to the material necessities of grass and water for their cattle. They knew the name of the volcanic-looking Tell we stood on, and its neighbour—Kaslaghir—to the south-east, and the little village of Waybili some fifteen minutes distant, but no more.

An old paved road runs directly across this plat-

eau, whose formation is entirely basaltic, to Hums—probably from Tripoli and Antaradus. In three hours and a half we came in sight of Hums, thoroughly drenched, cold, and not over well-pleased, having been overtaken by a furious thunderstorm, which burst down from the Lebanon, and having missed the road to Liftayeh, whence I had intended visiting the Hums Lake. At 3.30 P.M. I tried to restore my equanimity by procuring some breakfast at a miserable hamlet of half a dozen huts, and was thankful to get a small millet cake and an onion.

An hour and a half's slight descent over an execrable road of basalt boulders brought us to the 'Asy (River Orontes), and a sharp gallop of five-and-twenty minutes through the gardens landed me safely at Hums.

CHAPTER III.

**AN EXPLORATION OF THE 'ALAH OR 'HIGHLAND' OF
SYRIA.**

THE 'ALAH.

THIS district lies to the north-east and south-east of Hamah, and is bounded by most strictly defined limits, on which all the neighbouring people agree. The reason of this unity of opinion is self-evident: the whole of the 'Aláh is basaltic, while the country to the north and west is limestone. Mr. Porter has fallen into the curious mistake (Murray's 'Palestine and Syria,' ed. 1868, p. 583) of giving the name *Jebel el 'Ala* to *Jebel el Zowí*, as the mountains between *Jebel Kalbíyeh*¹ and *Jebel Sim'án* are invariably called.

The boundary of the 'Aláh is at *Salámiyeh* to the south, and running westward it encloses the plateau overhanging the *Orontes*; the villages of *Kefr Ra'a*, *Duwayr*, *Temányeh*, *Jirjinnaz*, and *Maáseran*

¹ *Jebel Kalbíyeh* is the northern, *Jebel Sulayb* the central, and *Jebel Nusayri* the southern portion of the mountain range extending from *Kalaat el Husn* to *Antákia* (Antioch).

are built on its extreme limits to the west and north; while to the east it is bounded by the edge of the hills which slope down to the great marsh extending from Tell Tokan to Tell el 'Ays, known by the name of Matkh el 'Ays.

All the ruins in this tract are of basalt, with the exception of the Burj el Abiadh (White Tower), which has received its name from the colour of the unusual material of which it is built. The ruins in Jebel el Zowí—which have been explored by M. le Comte de Vogüé—are invariably limestone; and from being built with blocks of a size impossible to bring into general use in a basaltic region, on account of the specific gravity of this latter material being so much greater than that of limestone, they are in good preservation, and contrast strongly with the remains in the 'Aláh, which have evidently been ruined and rebuilt, in many cases more than once: this is clearly proved by finding—as in the Hauran—inscriptions and fragments of ornamentation built into the walls of houses.

The Arabs all agree in declaring that there are three hundred and sixty-five ruined towns in the 'Aláh; for they say that 'a man might formerly

have travelled for a year in this district, and never have slept twice in the same village.' Judging from the number of ruins that fell under my own observation, I can quite believe that this assertion is but little, if at all, exaggerated. Curiously enough, the very existence of these ruins seems to have been quite unknown, even to European residents in this country, till within the last eighteen months. M. Prosper Bambino, nephew to M. F. Bambino, Vice-consul de France at Hamah, then heard of them for the first time from a native hunter, who used to go there in the spring and catch jackdaws to sell to children. Captain Burton, in company with the former, made a brief reconnaissance of the western region, and satisfied himself that it contained valuable matter; but as he was Consul at Damascus, his time was necessarily limited. The number of Bedawin too who infest this region has been sufficient to keep strangers at a respectful distance; and this, with the want of water, the loose basaltic soil, so tiring to horses, and want of reliable information, has probably been the reason why this district has never been explored.

The only difficulties I experienced were the natural ones above mentioned, and the impossi-

bility of making the greedy but not over valorous horsemen, sent to escort me by a too-obliging government, venture their precious selves in the 'Chol' or desert, which is as great a bugbear to them as the haunted belfry of an outlying church would be to a ten-year-old urchin in some unmodernised English village. As soon, however, as I had freed myself from these vampires, difficulties vanished as if by magic.

On arriving at Hums I sent to the Kaimakam, or Military Governor, requesting him to tell off two horsemen to act as guides to Salámiyeh. Soon afterwards I received a visit from this functionary, who opened the conversation by depicting in vivid colours the dangers and useless inconvenience of such a journey. Satisfied at last of the impossibility of convincing me of these horrors, and consequently of making me change my mind, he went away, saying that he would see what could be done. After receiving many messages from him, to which I invariably replied that I only wanted two horsemen, or, better still, one, I thought the matter concluded; but next morning I found eight mounted Zabtiyehs awaiting me with a message from the Kaimakam, to say that he had received

orders from the Pasha of Hamah not to let me go with less. Feeling annoyed at this imposition, which, as I well knew, was only for the purpose of drawing upon my purse, I said that of course I could not prevent him if he chose to send a regiment with me on his own responsibility, but that I only required two men.

This valiant troop would have made the fortune of any theatre as a gang of bandits in a burlesque: there were horses of all sizes and colours, some with bridles, some with halters; pistols that would never go off, and swords that took five minutes to tug from their scabbards; one of the men, a short-bodied long-legged fellow, was mounted without stirrups on a year-old colt, his only arm being a lance some sixteen feet long, which made him look like nothing but a monkey armed with a broomstick and riding a small dog.

Followed at a respectful distance—for their half-starved horses were not equal to too much exertion—by this imposing escort, we rode through the village of Dayr Ba'albi, and crossing Wady el Aswad, reached in one hour and forty minutes Sohún el Aswad, where a few Arab tents were pitched on a patch of grass beside some shallow

pits of water. Forty minutes farther brought us to Khirbet el Meshrifeh (the Look-out), and I then discovered that the small village of El Meshrifeh was built at the corner of a large earthwork, which upon examination proved to be an entrenched camp, measuring some six hundred and fifty to seven hundred yards square. The embankment is still nearly sixty feet high in some parts, and the fosse is well marked. During this journey I found several of these fortified camps, but none so large as that at El Meshrifeh, except perhaps the one known by the name of Tell el S'fnet Núh—the Mound of Noah's Ark—which lies between Tell Nebi Mand² and the southern end of the Hums Lake.

Passing Ain Hosayn, a small spring which serves to irrigate a few acres of Indian corn, in two hours we reached the little village of 'Azz el Din, which has been rebuilt by a colony of Circassians, to whom the Government has assigned a tract of land. Unless these somewhat unruly foreigners are sharply looked after by the Turks, they may, before many years are over, prove a source of considerable annoy-

² I found it called Mindau or Mindoh, and that it contained the tomb of Nabi Benyamin (Benjamin!).—R. F. B.

ance. Hardy, brave, and well-armed mountaineers, they will scarcely rest content in the open plains where they have been placed; and if once the different colonies unite and establish themselves in the mountains, they will become virtually independent. I hear that one party has already—discontented with their lot—gone up into *Jebel Sulayb*, and, ousting the rightful owners, taken possession of a village of the *Nusayri*.



CASTLE OF SHEMMAMIT.

Leaving 'Azz el Din, where I noticed the first outcrop of basalt east of Huns, we reached the edge of the plain, in the middle of which *Salámiyeh*

stands, in an hour and a quarter. Sending on some of the men to warn the Shaykh of my coming, I turned off to visit the Castle of Shemmamit, which stands on an isolated Tell some 250 feet high. The summit of the mound, 115 yards in diameter, has been built upon; then the rock has been scarped perpendicularly for twenty feet, and below this a fosse has been excavated to the same depth. The outer edge of this moat, which is not visible till the mound has been scaled, is only a few yards in width. On the southern side I noticed ruins of a drawbridge leading to the principal gateway: to the north is a small postern. With some difficulty I made my way up to the ruin, and found that part of the building was Roman; but even that was patched with fragments of a more ancient edifice. The greater part of this fort as it now stands I consider to be early Saracenic. In the corner to the east of the great gate I found a well, which, by carefully marking the length of time taken by a stone to reach the bottom, I judged to be somewhat over 300 feet in depth. The formation of the Tell is similar to that of the neighbouring hills, and is shown to advantage by the artificial section. The upper part, to a depth of from twelve to fifteen

feet, consists of basalt, compact above, but fissured and somewhat friable beneath. Below this stratum of basalt lies the limestone, slightly bituminous, and abounding in dark yellow and brown flints. On a neighbouring hill to the east are some unimportant ruins; and here the Moslems have built a small mosque, which is named Makam el Khadhr, or, as we might translate it, the Station of St. George.

Salámiyeh, mentioned in the Antonine Tables as Salamias, and placed at a distance of eighteen Roman miles from Hemisa (Hums), has but few relics of antiquity. Two or three rude Greek inscriptions, some stones ornamented with crosses and grape patterns, and several coarse granite columns, are all that it can boast of. Two Cufic inscriptions, the one over the door of the bath, the other at the mosque, are seemingly of the fifth century of the Hejra. The village is still a flourishing one, and can bring 300 muskets and 100 horsemen into the field. The chief of the place, Emir Ismail, a patriarchal old gentleman with a flowing white beard, received me with great hospitality in the Kala or Fort, as the natives call the old Saracenic Khan, which, built of basalt, rises proudly above the conical-roofed mud-huts peculiar to North Syria. These

dwelling are built of sun-dried brick, and are often of considerable size. The base is square, sometimes measuring thirty feet each way; and the roof is formed of thin bricks, laid with their edges overhanging inwards; and thus a cone of fifteen to twenty feet in height is formed. Once every year this is plastered outside, and camel-bones are fastened into it at intervals, to enable men to reach the top for that purpose.

About midnight I was awakened by the arrival of several horsemen; and from the conversation of the new-comers, I gathered that nine men and a Yuzbashi had been sent off by Holo Pasha, Governor of Hamah, to escort me to that place. With a hearty growl at the meddling officiousness of the Government, I pulled my blanket over my head, and was soon fast asleep again. In the morning the men from Hums took their backshish and went off; but when I explained to that valiant lieutenant, Mohammed Agha, my intention of striking across to Khan Shaykh Hun³ by the desert road, he began to make so many objections, that I found nothing would induce him — accompanied by only eleven armed men, of whom two, viz. myself and servant,

³ I found this word pronounced Shaykhún. R. F. B.

had twenty-nine consecutive shots between us—to peril his precious life in the ‘Chól.’ I then tried to get a guide from the young Emir Mohammed; but the evident disinclination of the soldiers to take the desert road compelled him, though evidently against the grain, to say that he could not find a man to go with me.

With an inward vow to rid myself at the first opportunity of my impracticable following, I took leave of the Emir, and started with the horsemen, on the distinct understanding that I was not going to Hamah. In an hour we reached Ain Burbah, at the northern edge of the plain on which Salámiyeh stands: several of the Haddidiin Arabs were camped beside it. Forty minutes farther brought us to Ain Zagharín; and close beside it I found coarse gray granite, or rather syenite, *in situ*. This explained the number of columns hewn out of this stone which are found at Salámiyeh, Hums, Hamah, and the neighbouring towns. Though I have hitherto been unable to find the red granite—called by the natives Dak or concrete—I have little doubt of its existence in some part of Syria.

Leaving Ain Zagharín, half-an-hour's ride brought us to Kalaat Rubbeh, an oval fortification of rude

construction on an isolated hill, at the base of which are some insignificant ruins. Near this place we met a large number of the Haddidiín coming southward in search of pasturage, and accompanied by large flocks of sheep and goats and numbers of donkeys; I observed that the shepherds in this district always ride on one of these long-suffering animals when wandering about in charge of their flocks. Notwithstanding that the sheep and goats are continually on the move from sunrise to sunset, and that the pasturage consists only of scattered stalks of withered grass, these animals are ever fat, owing, I imagine, to the perfect way in which their food is digested. At midday they are usually taken to water; and if this is not done, numbers of them die in consequence.

The hills of the 'Aláh have unmistakably the outlines of a limestone formation; but this is easy to understand when we know that—as shown at Shemmamít—the basalt is merely a deposit of a few feet in depth overlying the limestone. The soil is exceedingly rich, but, as in the Hauran, peculiarly tiring to horses, from the fact of its continually giving way beneath their weight, and letting them sink in to the hock. On these upland plains I

noticed a few large bustards (*Otis habara*) and small flights of Kata or sandgrouse, and on the lower grounds the large flocks of larks are remarkable. Descending from the plateau near Tell Arúneh, we left Surán at a short distance to the west, and reached Múrik at sunset. At Bezzam I remarked an entrenched camp similar to, but smaller than, that at El Meshrifeh.

At Múrik there are two Tells, one of which, surmounted by the tomb of Shaykh Mohammed el Halebi, forms a conspicuous landmark. After dinner at the Shaykh's house a young Arab, Shahir by name, who stated that he was the son of the late Shaykh Mohammed of the Liab division of the Hasayneh, volunteered to enter my service as guide; and glad of any pretext to dispense with the farther services of the horsemen, I told him that he might come with me. A couple of days, however, with this gentleman, who was happily described by a Fellah as '*Dam-hu Khafif*' ('Light-blooded'), made me glad to get rid of him; for he combined great ignorance with excessive vanity, and whenever I asked the name of a village which he did not know—and this was of very frequent occurrence—his invariable answer in Bedawi dialect was '*Wallahi ya Bayj háda jedid*'

(By the Lord, O Bey, that is newly built). This soon became monotonous, as did a few conversations like the following: 'Shahir (loq.). You see that white Tell over there? *D.* I see five or six (the horizon being studded with them): which do you mean? *S.* *That* one—t-h-e-r-e. *D.* Which? on this side of the plain, or beyond it? *S.* I don't know. *That* one. *D.* Do you mean the one about half an hour distant, or the one three hours off? *S.* I don't know. *That* one (pointing vaguely with his finger). *D.* Do you mean the one near that black hill? *S.* I don't know. *That* one.' And so on *ad infinitum*, every time emphasising more strongly the 'that' in the peculiar way the Bedawi have of expressing distance by drawling out the syllables to an almost indefinite length. After a long time, however, it proved that the brilliant youth wished to draw my attention to a mound about a mile distant.

From Múrik I rode through Khan Shaykh Hún, a considerable village, boasting of a large Khan, a Hammam, and a Birket, to Mo'árrat el No'amán, where I found a quarantine for travellers from Baghdad established in a large Khan, known as that of Saíd Yusuf, to the south of Khan el Tekiyeh. Into this establishment a number of Turkish soldiers

wished to put me, *malgré moi*; but my replies were sufficiently forcible to make them fall back and quickly apologise; but too late, for on reaching Aleppo I made my complaint to Suraya Pasha the Governor, and had the satisfaction on my return to Mo'arrah of seeing the principal offenders put in prison. They had of course hoped that I should pay them a few piastres to be let off quarantine, as a native would have done to avoid a disturbance; but they will in future treat English travellers with more courtesy and respect. This quarantine is a source of considerable revenue to whoever farms it; for not only are all travellers from north, south, east, and west impounded, but even the townspeople, if they venture two hours distant from their homes, are either put in limbo, or made to pay 100 piastres (20 francs), on returning. The quarantine lasts ten days, and the charges are, for every man ten piastres, a camel five, a mule three, and a donkey two, and for every load two piastres additional per diem. As might be expected, an incubus like this has nearly ruined the town of Mo'arrah, and business of all kinds is at a standstill.

The road I was now travelling is the ordinary one from Hamah to Aleppo, that mentioned by Murray (ed. 1868) as passing through El Barah

and Rihah being one-third longer, and seldom, if ever, used. The old road passed from Hamah to Kefr Ra'a, across the plain to Burj el Abiadh and Ma'áserán or Tárútin el Tujjar, and thence direct to Aleppo, which would thus be reached in eighteen or nineteen hours' ordinary riding. Leaving the extensive ruins of Danah, with the curious pyramidal roofed tomb at their northern end, to the left, I reached in an hour the ruins of Babíleh, which show that an important town formerly stood here. Parts of the city wall can still be traced, and numbers of large well-hewn stones and columns attest the grandeur of its buildings. I noticed a few Greek letters on one stone, but time had rendered the inscription illegible. As is usual in all the ruins in this district, there are numbers of rock-hewn cisterns and a quarried tank.

At a little more than a mile from these ruins we crossed the Jorf el Ahmar (the Red Bank), from which a Wady running north-eastwards from Mo'árrah takes its name. Three-quarters of an hour farther brought us to Khan Sebil, to the south-south-east of which are three pyramidal-topped tombs, distant about two miles and situated on the open plateau towards Ma'áserán. Khan Sebil is one

of the many instances in this district of the village being called after the Khan around which it sprang up. The Fellahin here were the most discourteous boors I ever met with, and I afterwards learnt that they have the worst name in all the country-side: though I offered to pay them their own price for a chicken, eggs, or milk, they refused to bring me anything but a few small cakes of bread. The men were not poor, their houses were good, they were well dressed and looked well fed, and I saw one of them pull out his purse and pay away seventy piastres; so that their conduct must be attributed to simple churlishness, not to poverty. Soon after sunset three blind men came in, who said that they were tramping to Aleppo; and they too complained bitterly of the abuse heaped upon them by the Fellahin of the place, simply because they came to sleep in the mosque, a resting-place always open to pilgrims and way-faring men of the faith of Islam.

Early next morning we left this inhospitable den and rode on half an hour to Mo'arrat el Dubsi, where we had difficulty in escaping the Shaykh's pressing invitation to breakfast; but it was too early, and we had a long day before us. Near this village, as at Khan Sebil, the old quarries were cut to serve an

ulterior purpose, namely that of tanks, and it is curious that this inexpensive way of obtaining water-storage was not more often resorted to. Passing through a considerable olive-grove, we reached Tell Merthíkh in half an hour, and there I found an earthwork differing essentially in construction from those I had already seen. The sides of a Tell had been cut away, while the centre was left, and round this a rude hexagonal embankment had been heaped up measuring from 250 to 300 yards on each side. The village of Merthíkh lies about a mile to the north, and from this point we began to descend to the Matkh el 'Ays. An hour and a half's toilsome plodding over rich arable land, where all traces of path had disappeared under the plough, brought us to Tell Shaykh Mansúr; and a little farther we came to a well and small encampment of Haddidiín at Rasáfat Khalayf. Crossing Wady 'Alú, we found the Arabs busily watering their flocks at a well called Jubb Juseh. The wells in this district are of great depth, usually varying between 100 and 150 feet: the method of raising the water is the same as that employed in central Morocco. A horse is attached to the end of the rope, which works over a roller, and trotting away, brings the leathern bucket to the

surface; sometimes, if the well be not very deep, a couple of women take the place of the animal.

A section of the soil is well shown in Wady 'Alú: the surface consists of rich red earth to a depth of four feet; below this a stratum of waterworn stones five feet in thickness rests upon the limestone rock. Passing a few huts collected round the wells at Taláfeh and Howwéyyir, we came in two hours and fifty minutes to El Háthir, a considerable village to the north of the Matkh el 'Ays. This marsh has been now dry for two years, but abounds with a peculiarly large and troublesome horsefly, whose bite is so severe that the horses' necks were soon streaming with blood. Beyond El Háthir the ground gradually rises and becomes stony. A tedious hour and a half's ride brought us to the village of Abú Tin, where we stopped for the night: the water—an unusual occurrence in this district—is brackish and unpalatable.

The next morning an hour's ride took us to Ain Mellahieh, a spring which irrigates a small patch of land belonging to Abú Tin, on which watermelons and some tobacco are cultivated. The tomb of Shaykh Mohammed, which forms a conspicuous landmark, lies to the north-north-west; and close

beside the spring are some small ruins, among which I noticed a sarcophagus cut out of a block of basalt.

Striking over the basalt-capped hills which divide the Matkh el Ays from the *Sabbákhah* (or Salt-pan), which lies near Safireh, at the western edge of this great plain, extending in an east-south-east direction to the Euphrates, we passed the village of Sufayri, and reached the eastern edge of the hills in one hour and forty-five minutes. We then passed through the ruins of Abú Tubbeh, and leaving the modern village of El Hetáneh to the left, reached Safireh in one hour and twenty minutes. The present village is built a third of a mile to the north of the site of the ancient town, amongst whose ruins I noticed several basaltic columns and a few large blocks of limestone; it consists of the usual conical mud huts, it is of considerable size, and it is inhabited by a thriving population. The Salt-pan, or lake as it becomes during the winter months, is a source of considerable revenue to the Government, and soldiers are stationed at El Haklah—in Bedawi parlance Haglah or Hajlah—to prevent contraband trade: the chief stores of salt are at Jabúl, on the east of the lake. At this season of the year, though there is not a drop of water, the refraction from the crystals of salt induces

such a mirage, that at even a very short distance it is almost impossible to believe that one is not looking upon a pellucid unruffled lake, in which both the houses of Jabúl and the outlines of an insular Tell are clearly reflected by the mirage.

Next morning we rode in a southerly direction along the foot of the plateau west of Safireh, the northern portion being called *Jebel Shaykh Abú Sa'adi*, the central *Umm Kayrín*; and this is separated from *Jebel Abú 'l 'Ashti* by *Wady Zinyan*. A headland called *Búz el Khanzir*, on the summit of which is a ruined fort known as *El Bab*, projects towards the southern extremity of the Salt-pan. The range then takes a south-westerly bend, and after passing *Kanásir*, trends to the north-west as far as the *Matkh el 'Ays*, thus making an isolated plateau similar in formation to that of the *'Aláh*.

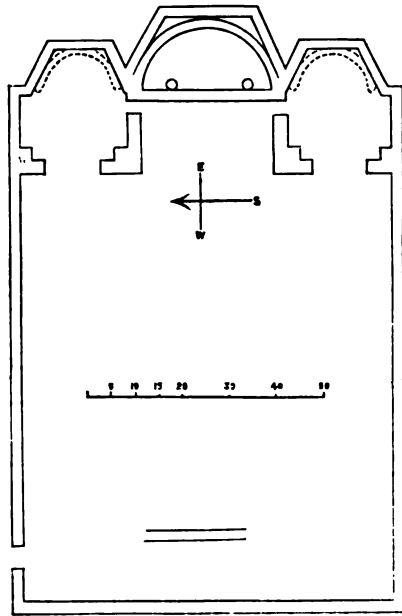
An hour's ride along the plain brought us to some small ruins called *Shaykh Ibrak*, where the wells are in good condition and the water sweet, though not more than two miles away from the Salt-pan. A short distance up *Wady Zinyan*, which runs N.N.East, brought us to ruins bearing the same name as the valley. On the hill-top to the east is a circular entrenchment, with remains of masonry

within it. Forty minutes farther we came to 'Akrabeh, which, judging from the extent of ground over which the now nearly obliterated ruins are spread, must have been a place of importance. It is situated near the head of Wady Zinyan, on the western side of Sahel el Jefrah, an oval basin some four miles long, draining into the Sabbákhah by Wady Tat, the valley which divides Jebel Abú 'l 'Ashti from Búz el Khanzir. Leaving our blankets in charge of some mongrel Arabs who were encamped at 'Akrabeh, and taking one of them as a guide, we rode a couple of miles in a south-east direction over the Sahel, and gaining the plateau by a steep path at the mouth of Wady Kurdi, another mile brought us to the small basaltic ruins of El Burj at the head of the Wady. A well-defined road leads eastwards from this point to the ruins of Abú Jallus; cutting this at right-angles, we soon struck the road to Kanásir, and left the ruins of El Hajib and Kefr Hút to our right. Keeping a little to the south of our original course, we came to the head of Wady Jubb Antash, between the Rasm Amwayik and the Rasm Shokan. The ruins of Salhíyeh lay a mile and a half to W.S. West, and distant from El Burj about three miles. Our route then lay for an hour along the crest of a ridge

overhanging Wady Washshash. The ruins of How-wiyith, remarkable only for the number of rock-hewn cisterns and grain-pits, lie near the top of the steep descent called El Derrajeh (the Steps), from an old basalt-paved road built in broad steps, which leads down to Bir Ain el Derrajeh, a well of muddy but sweet water, situated in a small Wady opening out into the plain on which the ruins of Kanásir stand. Murray (*Syria and Palestine*, p. 580, ed. 1868) calls it—seemingly on the authority of Pococke—‘a village named Kinneserín;’ but the Arabs invariably call it Ganásir, and there is no appearance of any habitation having stood there for centuries. Neither is it (as stated *in loc. cit.*) on the shortest road from Aleppo to Hamah: from Kanásir it would be necessary to pass between Hammam—where there are hot springs—and Zerka, past the Sabbákhah of that name, and then by Tell Tokan through the centre of the 'Aláh, thus making a considerable bend to the south. I have already shown the ancient highway past Burj el Abiadh to be by far the shortest.

The ruins of Kanásir cover a somewhat irregular oblong, measuring 400 yards by 1200; the outer walls and those of the houses are razed to the ground;

but where a pit had been dug I noticed coarse flooring-tiles *in situ* at a depth of four feet. The foundations of a large church with a triple apse stand near the middle of the town. The place is crowded with



PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT KANASIR.

old Arab graves, for the headstones of which a large number of basaltic and a few limestone columns have been used. I remarked several large blocks of basalt, one in particular near the northern gate of the city measuring fourteen feet by three feet wide, and the same in depth; outside the walls are the remains of

a massive building sixty feet square. A fortress, now an almost indistinguishable heap of ruins, occupies the summit of a low mound at the south-west corner of the town; there are several wells, but the water is slightly bitter.

Returning by the same road, we arrived at 'Ak-rabeh a couple of hours after sunset. The soil on the rolling uplands we crossed was of the usual loose rich red earth, strewn in places with blocks of basalt, and thinly covered with tussocky grass. I saw here for the first time, though I have since found them near Kharayeh, a kind of hawthorn (Arabic *Zar'úr*),⁴ bearing a yellow fruit which sometimes grows as large as a Morella cherry; it contains three seeds, and has a pleasant acrid taste: quantities of this berry were for sale in the Aleppo markets when I was there. The steep hill-sides in this region are frequently covered with lines and heaps of stones—to which, in the desert of the Tih, the Arabs give the name of Telaylat el 'Aneb, or Grape-mounds—marking the site of ancient vineyards. No vines, however, are now cultivated, except a few at Safireh;

⁴ Burckhardt (*Syria*) mentions the Za'arúr, bearing fruit about the size of a small cherry, with much of the flavour of a strawberry. He found it in Syria, not in Egypt. R. F. B.

but the water-melons of the Aleppo district are justly celebrated both for size and flavour. At Damascus the natives term them *batikh*; but the Aleppines call them *jebes*, and only apply the former word to the ordinary melon.

Our road to Aleppo lay down Wady Tat, so called from the ruins at its mouth, distant one hour from 'Akrabeh; another hour brought us to Abú Jerayn, a small village near the edge of the Salt-pan, passing the insignificant ruins of Johrah half way. A small stream, called Nahr el Dahab, falls into the northern end of the Sabbákhah; the water from Ain el Safireh is all used up for irrigation, and this supply not being sufficient, many of the gardens have a *sakia* or water-wheel, similar to those used in Egypt. In the light soil of this district I saw a plough with a double share being drawn by a single yoke of oxen; and thus the work of two ordinary ploughs was gone over in a day.

An interesting ride of three hours and a quarter past Tell 'Aran, Tell Hásil, Jibrin, and Nayrom, over a slightly-undulating country, brought us to the gate of Aleppo, the last mile of our ride being through olive and pistachio groves.⁵

⁵ Burckhardt found wild pistachios (?) growing in the Belka. R. F. B

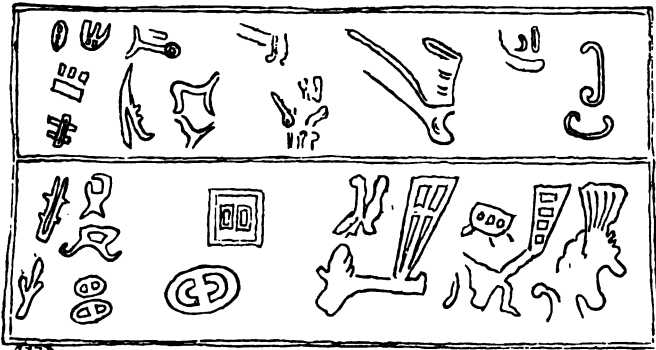
It is not my intention to enter into any description of the town of Aleppo, but merely to touch upon one or two points which perhaps have not before been noticed. To any one well acquainted with Hums and Hamah, the resemblance borne by the mounds on which the castles were built, at those places, to that of Aleppo is most striking. The latter is the largest, but in shape, outline, and construction of its fosse, it is almost identical with the other two.

The overlying Saracen revetments at Hums and Aleppo doubtless conceal much of interest; but at Hamah, where nearly every stone has been carried away for building purposes, we find monuments of the greatest possible value. History is silent about the construction of these three sister castles—for I cannot but so regard them; but I believe that the five blocks of basalt at Hamah, covered with hieroglyphs in excellent preservation, may be the opening page to a new chapter in history.⁶ These inscriptions were found in the Kala, and are now scattered about the town; they were brought first to the notice of Mr. E. H. Palmer and myself in August 1870 by Mr. L. M. Johnson, U.S. Acting Consul-general, Beyrout, who showed us copies made by

⁶ See Appendix, Vol. I., No. IV. R.F.B.

some American missionaries. In the spring of this year Captain Burton made other copies during his visit to Hamah, and later on I took squeezes of them. It appears that some European made a large offer for one of them about two years ago; had he proposed a twentieth part of the sum, he would in all probability have obtained it; but now the owners have such exalted ideas of their value, that fabulous prices are asked. At Aleppo I stumbled upon a connecting link in the history of these castles. In the south wall of the Jami'a el Kákán is a block of basalt, with an inscription similar to those at Hamah; though much defaced, I made out nineteen characters (including repetitions), identical with the above-mentioned. The door-step of a house to the north-west of the mosque is made of another piece of basalt, on which I could trace sufficient to feel sure that it also had been covered with inscriptions. The key to these characters must, I believe, be looked for in *beth*, the house, *kaf*, the hand, *gimel*, the camel, *ain*, the eye, &c., of the Semitic alphabets. Hands, flowers, teeth, and other unmistakable signs occur in these inscriptions; and I feel convinced that these stones will be sufficient to contradict the assertion of certain Hebraists, who maintain that the oldest forms were

the simplest. If the existing apathy with regard to these unique relics, cut in the hardest basalt, and belonging to an age which, if my supposition prove correct, will make the well-known Moabite stone



Stone about $3\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 feet.

RAISED INSCRIPTION ON A BASALT BLOCK BUILT INTO S. WALL OF
JAMIA EL KAKAN, ALEPPO.

appear modern when put beside them, continues in England, we may expect to see these remarkable monuments deposited in the Louvre or the St. Petersburg Museum; and after the steed is stolen, there will be the usual gnashing of teeth *à l'Anglaise*, as in the case of the Moabite stone, but, as then, too late.

In entering the Castle of Aleppo, the iron-work of the gates is remarkably good; the pattern is of small square sunken panels, in the centre of which a horse-shoe, and beneath it a wedge, fastened on with

large-headed nails, stand out in relief. The upper gate bears the name of Melek el Dhaher, and the date 605 A.H.

In the centre of the Kala is an immense vault, partially cut in the solid rock; the roof is supported by four columns of masonry seven feet square; it is entered by a steep staircase, to arrive at the head of which it is necessary to creep on hands and knees for some distance through a hole barely large enough to allow a man's body to pass. The tradition is that this was a Christian church; but judging from the cement on the walls, and from its position, I imagine that its original use was a cistern.

At the north-west corner of the Kala are two old cannon, formed of bars and rings of iron soldered together with lead; four rings are attached, by which to lift this wonderful field-piece; and there is a long but now illegible Arabic inscription above the touch-hole.

In one of the vaults beneath the castle a quantity of arrows are stored away, and I procured a few; they are from thirty to thirty-one inches in length; the wood is seemingly pine; the head is iron, and about an inch long by one-third in thickness, and somewhat diamond-shaped. I had heard it stated

that there were bows also in the same place; but a careful inquiry has convinced me that there are none.

Having been officially informed that 'the mosques of Aleppo cannot be entered by any Christian,' I thought that it would be worth while to examine them, as something interesting might be found. The Jamié Aysafia at once suggests 'Αγία Σοφία (in modern Greek Ayya Sofia), and doubtless occupies the place of, a Christian church with that dedication; it stands a short distance to the south-west of the Kala.

The Jamiá el Hallaywiyyah is opposite the north-western door of the great mosque, and its arrangement will be best understood by referring to the plan. The pillars are surmounted by florid acanthus capitals, in some of which the leaves run straight up, while in others they are volute, and considerably overlap, running upwards from left to right. The cornice too is of the same pattern, and traces of colour are distinguishable both upon it and upon the pillars.

In the great mosque, the Jami'a el Amawi, a Cufic inscription on the Madneh gives the date

482 A.H. This tower is about 170 feet in height, and stands at the north-west corner of the courtyard, which is large, and contains small chambers for the servants of the mosque, who are seventy-two in number, under the colonnades on three sides: the body of the mosque occupies the south end, and—a rather unusual arrangement—it is divided lengthwise by a wooden lattice, thus leaving an outer passage, which is used at ordinary prayer-times, the inner and larger portion being reserved for Fridays and special occasions. A gorgeously embroidered pall covers the tomb of, it is said, Zachariah, the father of St. John the Baptist (the head of the latter is buried both at Damascus and Hums, which fact I can answer for, having seen both the tombs).⁷ On the top of the tomb, which is protected from the vulgar touch by a handsome gilt iron lattice, is a large Koran, said to be written in Cufic.

During the two visits I made to this mosque, I was followed by a gaping, staring, but perfectly respectful crowd; and the Shaykhs were only anxious to give me all the information they could, and gratefully received the modest backshish I offered

⁷ My friend might have added, that he also saw the burial-places of Zachariah and John the Baptist at Samaria. R. F. B.

them on leaving. But enough of the fanatical Aleppines, who still keep up the old system of mad-houses, though happily there are but few lunatics to put them in. I visited the Maristán Khan el Kadi, and saw the one occupant—a pitiful creature, from which every trace of intelligence had fled—sitting chained on a miserable rug: food was sent it daily from the Serai. This Maristán contained some twenty-five cells, vacant and falling to ruin; two or three of the larger rooms being occupied by the family of a man in charge of the building.

On October 21st I left Aleppo and crossed the Nahr el Kowwayyik, which, instead of running twenty or thirty miles to the south of Aleppo, as depicted in the maps, loses itself at a distance of two hours and a half from the city. The view, looking back upon the town from Ain Sara, a small village lying on the west side of the river, is pretty, but the monotonous outline of the hills and dreary bareness of the soil detract much from the picturesqueness of the buildings. At the end of two hours we reached Khan Tumán, a small village near two large ruined Khans close by the Nahr Tumáneh. As we rode up we found that a row was going on between some Kurdish shepherds

and the Fellahin of the place : these shepherds bring sheep down from Mesopotamia and Diarbekr by easy stages, and sell them at Aleppo, Damascus, and the seaports, whence they are shipped to Egypt. The Fellahin have a great dislike to these itinerant pastors, and sometimes make pitfalls covered with twigs and earth for the sheep to fall into, and otherwise annoy them. In the present instance they accused them of letting their sheep eat the Indian corn, which the shepherds denied : words waxed high, and at last a Fellah drew his knife, which was promptly appropriated by a soldier who just then rode up, and by this simple means the disturbance was quieted. Perhaps if the policemen of civilised England were backed up by the powers that be in the same way that the Zabtiyeh is protected in barbarous Turkey, we might hear less of Fenians, Bradlaugh, Beales, Park-rioters, and treasonable demagogues.

A little south of Khan Tumán we entered upon a rich plain dotted with villages and specked with flocks and herds ; most of the soil, however, is untilled for want of hands ; and I imagine that a population at least seven times as large as the existing one might be maintained. Crossing this fine up-

land, which lies at an elevation of 1200 feet above the sea, and passing the villages of Zerbí and Shaykh Ahmed, we arrived at Serákib about sunset, having been seven and a half hours from Aleppo.

The Fellahin here, though differing in dress and dialect from their congeners of Palestine, have one great characteristic in common—the impossibility of two or more of them meeting together and not beginning an animated conversation bearing on *fulús*, money, directly or indirectly, either by discussing prices, or by disputing over their private transactions. In this they form a striking contrast to the Bedawi, who delights in listening to or telling stories of travel and adventure, or smokes his pipe in placid enjoyment whilst one of the party sings an endless romance to the stirring tones of a one-stringed fiddle.

Four hours' ride from Serákib brought us to Mo'arrat el No'aman, from which point I visited some of the very interesting ruins in Jebel el Zowí; but, as this country has been worked by an accomplished scholar and patient investigator, M. le Comte de Vogüé, whose work, however, I have not been fortunate enough to see, I shall merely insert a few notes on these ruins at the end of this paper.

After some consideration, I determined upon making the village of Jirjinnaz my head-quarters for a few days, and after visiting such of the ruined cities of the 'Aláh as were within reach, to move on to Temányeh; and I soon found that I could not have made a better choice. The Shaykh at the former village was obliging and sufficiently intelligent; but having once got the idea into his head that I had come to buy some of the waste lands, nothing would induce him to believe that I had no such intention, and in order to get at the information I wanted about the ruins, I had to talk farming with him. But happily in this land sub-soil, ploughing, phosphates, monster turnips, and wire fences are unknown, and the simplicity of agricultural operations is remarkable, being confined to ploughing, sowing, and reaping: clearing the land, manuring it, or suchlike work, is quite unheard of. The natural features of the 'Aláh and the character of its ruins are similar throughout the district, which consists of a rolling plateau, varying from 1300 feet at the northern and eastern portions to 1600 feet above sea-level at the southwestern part; at this latter point the Wadys are deeper and more precipitous, while towards the

north they are broad and shallow. The formation is basalt, overlying a stratum of crumbly calcareous limestone, which, at a depth of some twenty feet, changes into a harder and more compact stone. When the basaltic soil runs to any depth, the earth is loose and treacherous, fatiguing to traverse in summer and impassable in winter; but if, as is sometimes the case on the crests of the ridges, the limestone approaches the surface, then the ground is firm and pleasant to ride over, but of comparatively little value for cultivation. The water is without any unpleasant taste, but strongly diuretic. The vegetation is scanty, and consists chiefly of grass growing in scattered tussocks, and the *shih*, an aromatic wormwood, attaining only a few inches in height, which, with the exception of camel-chips and dried cow-dung, is the only fuel obtainable in the country. One may travel from the edge of the Damascus plain to Aleppo, and only meet with trees near a few favoured villages whose supply of water is sufficient to irrigate a patch of land; but the timber so grown is of course too valuable to burn, and this accounts for the piles of 'patent fuel,' sometimes as large as the huts themselves, which one sees in every village of North Syria. The Fauna of the 'Aláh,

like its Flora, is very scanty. I saw but two or three hares and as many great bustards; 'sand-grouse,' though common in the plains, are rare upon the uplands. Gazelles, which are said to abound during the summer, had already migrated eastwards; the wild boar, so numerous throughout the winter, had not yet arrived, as rain had not fallen in quantities sufficient to soften the ground, and to render their search for bulbs an easy task.

The first ruin I visited in the 'Aláh was that of Abú Mekkeh, and I was immediately struck with the resemblance it bore to the uninhabited cities of the Hauran and Lejah: the same incongruous heaping together of stones to form a shelter, without much reference to their former use; lintels used as pillars, stone doors as lintels, ornamented cornices and bits of inscriptions built in wherever they fitted best. Here and there a tower or some solid piece of masonry, with perhaps a Greek inscription *in situ*, had defied the ravages of time and showed the original style of architecture. The use of the arch, with one or two exceptions, was confined to the interior of the buildings, where one or more were thrown across to support the stone beams forming the flooring of the upper story. At Abú Mekkeh I noticed

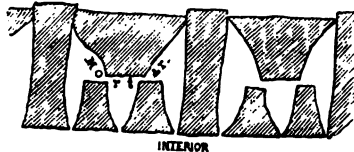
a sarcophagus, half buried in the soil and covered on one side with a Greek inscription, placed beside the well and used as a drinking-trough. This and a large broken sarcophagus at Ajaz are the only sepulchral relics—excepting the mortuary inscriptions, which were never *in situ*—observable throughout the district. The variety of tombs, sarcophagi, and burial-caves so remarkable in Jebel el Zowí, are wanting here, though I remarked that they extended to within a short distance of Ma'áserán and Jirjinnaz, that is to say to the extreme limits of the 'Aláh. The ruins of Surr 'Amán are a mere collection of rude shelters piled up with old materials; even the tower which stands in the centre, the lower half being built of basalt and the upper of limestone, is of comparatively modern construction. Near these ruins stands an old oil-press hewn out of two blocks of basalt; the upper stone measures four feet nine inches in diameter by four feet in height, while the nether stone is six feet three inches in diameter.

As we rode towards the ruins of Kursenti,⁸ which proved to be insignificant, we were overtaken by a

⁸ The distances between the different ruins being shown on the map, I shall omit mention of time.

heavy thunder-shower, which continued till we reached Jirjinnaz at sunset: the wind being west and piercingly cold, I found it difficult to sympathise with the delight of the Fellahin, to whom early and plentiful rain foreshows an abundant harvest.

The Tell near the ruins of Surr 'Amán shows traces of having been squared and formed into a rude earthwork, as if for a mere temporary camp. The tower at S'káyyah is constructed with oblong blocks of basalt set as bricks are in England, with this difference, that those laid endwise are made to project an inch and a half, and thus form a kind of boss between the long stones; a small retreating cornice marks the position of the different stories on the outside. I observed that this style of construction was invariably adhered to in the case of these watch-towers, one of which stands in the centre of nearly every ruined town. The setting of the masonry will be best understood by the following section.



The ruins of Ajaz are of considerable size, being

about one-third of a mile square; the houses around the central tower have as usual been rebuilt, but the rest of the town is razed to the ground, or rather buried, as was proved to me by finding at Tarútín el Tujjar an unbroken exterior staircase, the top step being even with the present level of the soil. The ruins of Tarútín el Tujjar are nearly thrice as large as those of Ajaz, and seemingly the most important in the 'Aláh; many of the buildings are a now indistinguishable heap of basaltic pillars and cornices, but these are enough to show that much time and labour had been expended on their construction. The largest ruins are towards the east of the town; but I found more inscriptions and the houses in a better state of preservation towards the north, where the watch-tower is situated, bearing an inscription which gives us the name of the patriotic individual who built it and the date of its construction. A Khan, which must have been kept in repair while the rest of the town was allowed to fall to ruin, stands in the south-west corner: it is chiefly remarkable for the arch of the outer gateway, and two or three others which are semicircular and double, the outer row of stones being much larger than the inner, and having no regular key-

stone. As in the Hauran and Jebel el Zowí, I found that the arches in the 'Aláh were built indifferently with and without a central keystone.

Having examined the ruins I returned to the Khan, where the Shaykh of Jirjinnaz and one or two of his friends had been comfortably smoking their pipes. On asking for the water-jar, which I had taken the precaution to bring, knowing that we should not find water till late in the afternoon, I was told that it was empty. This was rather annoying, but experience has taught me that it is utterly useless to abuse a Fella—hard names run off him like water from a mackintosh coat; but being exceedingly vain, like all Syrians, he is very thin-skinned, and sarcasm is a weapon which touches him to the quick—its novelty too takes him by surprise.

A quietly expressed hope that they had enjoyed their drink, and a regret that I had not brought them a roasted sheep or two, a tent to shelter them from the sun, &c. &c., soon made them so ashamed that they behaved to me like lambs ever after, but had a serious quarrel amongst themselves in trying to lay the disgrace of their conduct on one another's shoulders.

Riding through the ruins of Burayyah, we passed on to Sharrah, situated in Wady el Arayb, and here we found wells of good water beside the ruins, which are almost obliterated: thence we went on to an isolated Tell called Rasm el Cott (the Cat's Cairn), and a little before sunset reached the village of Harrákeh, which was repeopled four or five years ago. It had been deserted for many years for fear of the Badawin, and the villagers had migrated to the east of Aleppo; but at last they summoned up courage and returned to their homes, and rather to their astonishment have been unmolested by the predatory Arabs, whose tents are never at any great distance. Here I was informed by the Shaykh as a startling fact, that a Franji (a European) had visited the place a few years before and copied two Greek inscriptions: happily these Fellahin have not the organ of destructiveness so fully developed as their brethren in Palestine. None of the inscriptions I saw had been purposely defaced: some were broken by the fall of the buildings to which they belonged, and others were somewhat obliterated by time; but of wilful damage such as I had noticed in the Hauran I saw no trace. I generally, however, took the

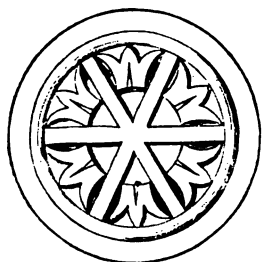
precaution of translating inscriptions, to prevent these men imagining that they either referred to concealed treasure or were in any way connected with the tenure of the land, in which case their destruction would be certain.

Riding the next day to Burj el Abiadh, I observed ruins of considerable extent surrounding the 'white tower,' from which they are named. This building is constructed with large bevels of soft limestone placed upon a foundation of five courses of basalt, which were originally revetted with the same material.

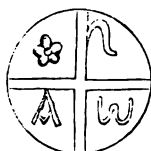
Passing on to Kufayr, I found a ruined tower of two stories in height: the arch of the gateway and those of the windows are round-topped with central keystones; close beside it is a similar arch leading into a building having a double row of seven columns on the left hand, while those on the right are nearly destroyed. This building is similar in general appearance to those I afterwards saw at Tell Dumm and at Atshán in proximity to the towers there, which leads to the conclusion that they were the guard-houses or barracks, especially as the word *φύλαξ* occurs in the building at Tell Dumm.

The number of cisterns found in these ruins shows that the inhabitants depended chiefly upon rain for their water-supply; but little labour is required to repair and make them again fit for use. Some of the beams of basalt at Kufayr are of a size unusual in this region; I measured one that was nine and two-thirds feet by two feet by one and one-third feet. At Tell Dumm, to the mutual surprise of both, we suddenly came upon a party of four or five old men from Tell Minas, who had walked over here on a pigeon-catching and general foraging expedition: they were busily engaged in sun-drying the flesh and livers of the birds they had captured in the old cisterns, whither large numbers resort to roost. These old gentlemen were very anxious that I should invest in land here, considering, I suppose, that any settler, especially a European, would act as a sort of buffer between them and Bedawi plunderers. At Tell Tineh the stone door of the tower is still *in situ*, and covered with curious rude ornaments in the panels. On the lintel is an illegible Greek inscription, and barbarous representations in slight relief of two unknown animals at the sides, with a central panel containing a cross, above the arms of which two

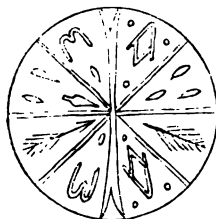
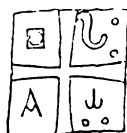
doves are depicted, and the usual Alpha and Omega below.



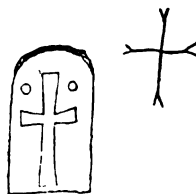
ON SARCOPHAGI. SERRAJIB.



IN THE 'ALAH.



AT EL BARAH
(The upper very common).



SURE AMAN.

The tower and ruins at El Fárajeah are of the usual type, excepting that the former is of more solid construction than is generally the case, some of the stones being nearly six feet long. At El Ikhwayn good water is supplied by a well which,

like the generality of those found in the 'Aláh, is not more than forty or fifty feet deep. It is dug in front of a Khan built of old materials taken from the ruins close at hand; over the gateway is a half-defaced Greek inscription; and on the lintels of the doors in the north-east and south-east corners are the usual Christian monogram and the date—*ro, pi, psi*—in Greek characters. The ruins from which these stones have been taken stand a couple of hundred yards off to the south-west, and cover a considerable extent of ground. Some thirty of the houses have been very rudely rebuilt by the men of Kefr Omar, a village lying to the west-south-west of Mo'arrat el No'amán, who come down every year to sow and reap a portion of the adjacent plain. Watering our horses at Jubb Erk'í, which, with the exception of a few pits for the collection of rain-water and surface-drainage, is the only water-supply on which the villagers of Temányeh can depend, we rode on to that village, which is situated on the hill above the well, and about a mile distant.

When Ibrahim Pasha came into this part of the country, he found that Temányeh had lain in ruins for seventy or eighty years, and rebuilt it.

The men, however, whom he settled there did not remain more than two or three years, and again the village was deserted; and it is only two years ago that the present inhabitants migrated from Khan Shaykh Hún. The change seems to have been much to their advantage, for they take close beneath their village as much of the rich plain, which receives all the drainage from the land as far as Burj el Abiadh, as they can manage to plough, and in this light soil the *feddan*, or plot of land which can be worked by one yoke of oxen, is of considerable extent.

The houses of Temányeh are built with a rude groined roof, like those at Jerusalem and other places in the south of Palestine; but in Northern Syria it is very rare, the usual form being conical, as I have before mentioned; at Hamah, and other places where timber is procurable, the simple flat roof is immediately reverted too.

Taking a guide, I started the next morning for Atshán, passing the mounds and pillars which mark the site of S'kayk el Rubíyet en route. All the ruins in this district are so much alike, that—as on any English railroad—if one knows one of the small stations, one knows them all. I naturally

walked up to the tower, and copied the pious inscription I felt sure was inscribed over its door, as if the place was familiar to me. The guard-house I have already mentioned, but I may remark that it is called the *Seraï* or Government House by the natives. In addition to the pigeons large flights of jackdaws, to all appearance identical with the English species, inhabit the ruins and cisterns. Big flocks of *Kata* (sandgrouse) too passed over my head soon after sunrise, on their way to the *Orontes*; for these birds invariably fly to water in the morning, and usually in the evening also. Some of the flights that I saw must have numbered several thousand individuals, and the 'swishing' sound of their wings was audible at a great distance.

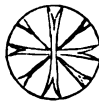
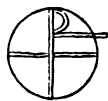
The next ruin I visited was *El Ma'án*, which can boast of the largest guard-house in the '*Aláh*, built, as we are informed by a well-cut raised inscription on the lintel of the great gateway, by *Justinian*: this stone is now fallen and broken into three pieces, but its original size was eleven and a half feet by two and a half feet, and two and two-thirds feet deep. The building itself measures one hundred and twenty by sixty feet. A few small mounds stand near this fort, but the

ruins of the town are of inconsiderable size. Of the ruins of Duwaylīb but little has been left, the greater part of the stones having been carried off to Surán and Hamah for building purposes.

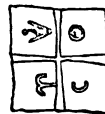
Obtaining water for our thirsty horses at the shallow wells of Arúneh, beside which a considerable number of Mowayleh were encamped, we rode through the ruins of Kefr Raa, and then descended into the valley of the Orontes to Hamah, where the hospitality of M. F. Bambino, Vice-consul de France, soon made me forget the hardships of my ride.

EXAMPLES OF CHRISTIAN ORNAMENTATION.

On Limestone.



On Basalt.



AT SERRAJIB.

AT KHAN ATIN.

AT HUMS.

NOTES

I. ON SOME RUINS IN JEBEL EL ZOWI.

II. ON THE ARTIFICIAL ORIGIN OF THE HUMS LAKE.

I. RIDING from Mo'arrat el No'amán in a W.S.W. direction, I kept along the line of an old paved road, and in fifty minutes reached some ruins called Khan Atín. A small building on the top of the hill seems to have been the station or post-house; below this are several ruins and tombs. One house is in good preservation, but not so perfect as some of those I afterwards saw at Serrájib, whither the paved road led in fifty minutes.

A description of one of these houses, which from the ornamentation are clearly shown to be Christian, will suffice, with slight alterations, for all. The masonry consists of large oblong blocks of limestone, carefully fitted and piled up without mortar. The arrangement of the ground-floor and the upper story is the same: a broad portico runs the length of the house, and is supported by two sets of columns, generally circular but occasionally square,

those on the ground-floor being usually less ornamented than those on the upper story. At the back is a room running the length of the house, sometimes divided into two or three rooms; an arch thrown lengthwise supports the floor of the room above. The house has gable-ends, and the central roof is pitched at an angle of from 35° to 40° ; that covering the front verandah, and in some cases a set of rooms at the back, is laid at about 25° . In all cases the roof, and sometimes the central flooring, was constructed of timber, as shown by the sockets in the masonry made to receive the beams. At Serrájib the bath-house is still in excellent preservation; beneath it is a cistern some thirty feet deep, supported on arches; and in one corner of the building I noticed a rock-hewn bath twenty feet long. The ornamentation on the houses and sarcophagi is in most cases a more or less artistic elaboration of the simple cross, the upright of which is usually a pastoral staff, combined in a circle with the Alpha and Omega. These circular ornaments are mostly three in number on the lintels of the doors, and two or three above the windows when these are flat-topped, some of the upper windows, especially in the gable-ends, being arched. A

niche, as if for the reception of a statuette, is usually placed at each side of the doors, and sometimes of the windows also.

Just at the edge of the ruins I found several sarcophagi, whose contents had long since been scattered to the winds. They were cut out of a single block of limestone, and rang with a clear bell-like tone on being struck with a hammer. The dimensions of two of them are as follow :

	Length.		Breadth.		Height.	
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
(1)	7	10	3	5	3	6
(2)	8	7	3	10	4	2

The lid is ridged, and fourteen inches high in the centre. They are placed due east and west, the feet turned to the former point.

In a pyramidal-roofed tomb at El Barah, which is an hour distant from Serrájib, the sarcophagi—as is usually the case with loculi in rock-hewn tombs—were placed to suit the building. Thus the door opens southwards, and the two sarcophagi on either hand as one enters run north and south; and one only, which is placed across the northern end, runs east and west. The cornices of this building are sufficiently curious to deserve notice, those

at the (1) south-west and south-east corners differing entirely from those at the (2) north-west and north-



east. The roof of these curious sepulchral monuments is built of massive stones, open inside up to the apex; on the outside most of the stones have one or two triangular brackets, whose use is difficult to imagine, unless it be for the support of funereal lamps, such as we find in tombs throughout Palestine and Syria.

In the centre of the town is a large tomb—measuring thirty-one feet square outside—whose pyramidal roof has fallen in. This building is overburdened with ornament, having two acanthus cornices outside, as well as one over the door; a plain cornice half-way up the wall, with acanthus capitals to the pilasters at the corners, which are thus divided into three divisions, each headed by a florid capital. A cornice in the same style of carving as the exterior runs round the inside of the building.

Two round-topped windows with plain mouldings open to every side except the east, where the door is placed.

One rock-hewn cave that I visited contained six loculi, five and a quarter feet long by three and a quarter feet deep, and two and a quarter feet wide, with semicircular arches above them. The front of a small portico at the entrance consisted of two circular pillars, supporting rounded arches. On one of the rounded pillars I remarked that two crosses had been obliterated, and that only part of the first word (Euseb-) of a short Greek inscription had been left.

To the south-west of the ruins is a large building, probably a private house of importance, but differing in no material point from those I have already described. Part of its west wall has been thrown down by an earthquake, and the masonry, unconnected by mortar or any fastening, lies in regular lines upon the ground inside the building. An outer wall to the east has suffered the same fate, but the curious thing is the perfect regularity in which the fallen stones lie. The whole town has suffered severely from an earthquake, which, judging from the appearance of the ruins, must have

taken place long ago; and none of the natives could remember the ruins in a more perfect state, nor had they, as far as I could ascertain, any tradition about the earthquake.

I entered the lower story of one house, and found it still perfect. In one corner was an oil-press. I noticed that the breadth of the arches, supporting the slabs to form the floor of the room above, was equal to the width of the spaces between the arches. Every available piece of ground among the ruins is planted with vines and olive-trees, which thrive right well in the rich soil of the old city.

A roundabout road, owing to the stupidity of a guide, took us to Kefr Omar, where I observed a ruined monumental column built of circular stones upon a square base, standing on the top of a low hill opposite the village. A short distance below this pillar are nine or ten rock-hewn tombs, with round arched entrances. An old half-ruined bridge, built with solid piers and huge slabs, or rather blocks between, crosses the Wady, which communicates a few yards lower with a deep rock-hewn Birket (tank), which would thus be filled if any 'sayl' or flood comes down the valley.

Thirty-five minutes' ride brought us to Hass, a small village round which is a slight scattering of basalt. Ten minutes to the west of the houses is an isolated building running east and west. The south wall is still standing, and is pierced by four round-topped windows, at the east end; then by a door, then three windows, followed by a second door, and two more windows. A square tower



DIFFERENT STYLES OF TOMBS AT HASS.

stands in the east corner, and is entered by two doors on the ground-floor, one opening south and the other north. The first story has one round-topped window opening northwards, and another

southwards, and an oblong window to the west. The second story has small oblong windows to east and south, and the third story one only turned to the north. In the north-west corner of the tower is a pilaster with an acanthus capital, forming probably the commencement of the semicircular apse of the church; for such, I doubt not, was the original use of the building. Part of the west wall is still standing, and is pierced by two small doorways.

The old cemetery lies to the north of the village of Hass, and is peculiarly interesting from the variety of forms of sepulchre. The two-storied tomb, from the cornice of which I copied the inscription given in the Appendix, is much dilapidated in its upper portion, and the four sarcophagi there deposited are all more or less broken up. The ground-floor is entered by a door facing east, and surmounted by an acanthus cornice. The interior is partly hewn in the rock, and contains three loculi sunk into the walls, with round arches above them.

A little lower down the valley is an excavated set of loculi, covered in by an arch of rude masonry, supported by smaller arches, as shown in the sketch. Near this are two pyramidal-roofed tombs, similar

to those at Barah; and between these and the village are six cave tombs, fronted by porches. I noticed also some caves—as at Khan Atin, &c.—excavated in the level rock, having recesses on either side containing loculi. Over the narrow oblong entrance to these tombs a ridged cover, like that of a sarcophagus, with bosses at each corner and in the centre, is laid. All the tombs, however, whatever their construction, have long since been rifled. The number of ruined villages in this district is surprising; from many points during the day's ride I could count five or six, and on one occasion eight. The distances too between them are very trifling, often not exceeding half or three-quarters of a mile.

A quarter of a mile to the west of Mo'arrat el No'amán is a castle similar in many respects to that which I have already described as existing near Salámiyeh. A small rise in the ground has been taken advantage of, and the earth cleared away to a distance. Thus the top of the rock on which the castle wall is built rises some ten feet above the head of a man standing on the opposite side of the moat. The building itself is now much dilapidated. It is considerably larger than Kala'at Shemmamit, having originally had eleven square

towers projecting at intervals of about fifty yards. The moat too is deeper and more precipitous; the bottom of it is now planted with fig-trees and a few vegetables by the families who live like rats among the ruins of the old fort.

An hour's ride brought us to Danah, where the ruins are of great extent. One building, called by the natives *El Kinisch*—the Church—much resembles that which I have described in the neighbourhood of Hass; the tower, however, is placed in the north-east corner, and its second story is open, having pillars at the corners surmounted by capitals of smooth leaves. A pyramidal tomb like those at Barah goes by the name of the *Hammam* or Bath, from the sarcophagi within, and a cistern beneath it. I found a fragment of Greek inscription on the moulding of a florid acanthus cornice, but nothing legible. The stones used in buildings here commonly run five or six feet long by two wide, and as many deep, which is rather larger than the generality of those I had seen before.

Outside the town are a number of the usual bossed sarcophagus-lids covering sepulchral caves; all, however, have been lifted to one side to allow ingress to the tomb. The *Shaykh* told me that the

last had been opened some twenty years before, and that a small gold image, a sword and a dagger, together with some little glass and pottery vessels, had been found. I noticed here that one or two of the tombs were built of masonry, in imitation of rock-hewn sepulchres.

The architecture of this limestone region is incomparably better and more interesting than that found in the 'Aláh, and the ornamentation, though this may be partly accounted for by the difference of material, is much more tasteful. The almost utter absence of inscriptions in Jebel el Zowí and their comparative abundance in the 'Aláh seems to point to the conclusion that these two districts were inhabited by distinct races. The former, as being mountainous, was probably the home of the native Syrian, civilised by intercourse with Greek and Roman art and luxuries. The latter would seem to have been the most northerly district colonised by the Beni Ghassan, to whom, as owners of flocks and herds, the plains and uplands were suitable for pasturage. The style of inscriptions too bears considerable resemblance to that of the Hauran, though sufficiently separated from it by peculiarities of its own.

I am fully persuaded that excavations in the ruined cities of Jebel el Zowí would thoroughly repay any one who possesses time and opportunity to make them. It is probable too that much of interest would be found in the 'Aláh, as the towns doubtless stand upon very ancient sites, and many of them must always have been places of considerable importance. The difficulties of travelling are now so much lessened in Syria, that we must hope for something farther being done in this interesting region.

II. Being curious to examine the Bahret Hums — Hums Lake — whose position, considering the rapid fall of the Orontes Valley, had always been somewhat of a puzzle to me, we left the town of Hums on October 30th, and in half an hour passed through the little village of Bab 'Amr. Thirty minutes farther I remarked 'Asun and Barábu on our right hand, the former on the east and the latter on the west bank of the 'Asy (Orontes), which we crossed two miles higher up by the mill-dam, a short distance below Saddi. A little to the south-west of the village is the tomb of Shaykh 'Ali Jeríd, conspicuous by the pieces of a large

column piled on his grave. Arrived at this point, I came in sight of the dam of masonry, nearly twenty feet high in the centre and five hundred yards in length, built across the northern end of the lake. A small square tower called Burj el Abiadh stands at the western end of this embankment, which, though patched and repaired in places, is originally composed of some of the hardest concrete I have anywhere seen, mixed up with, and faced by, blocks of basalt. The upper part is somewhat broken away, and the water leaks through in several places, but yet the dam looks as if it would stand many a century longer. Even at this season, when the level of the lake is four or five feet lower than in winter, the surface of the water is about twelve feet higher than the river at the base of the dam, and several feet higher than the housetops at Saddi. Were this barrage ever to give way, the destruction of life and property down the valley of the Orontes would be terrible.

Mr. Porter (*Five Years in Damascus*, p. 325, ed. 1870) visited this place; but the fact, that were it not for this dam the lake would have no existence, or be at most a small marsh, seems never to have struck him; but such is undoubtedly the case.

The base of the tower above mentioned is old, but the upper part is more modern: I copied a rude Greek inscription from the stone which does duty for the lintel of a window. Riding along the western side of the lake, I found the soil, to a depth of sometimes three and even four feet, composed of little else than dead shells (*Neritina* sp.? *Lymnæa*? and a small fresh-water mussel). During the day I observed a large number of coots (Ar. *Gharryyeh*), several pelicans (Ar. *Bejî*), snipe, ducks, buff-backed herons, dabchicks, a grebe (sp.?), cormorants, sandpipers, and quails. Large numbers of geese and ducks come, I was told, in the winter. Otters (Ar. *Kelb el Moya*, water-dog) are common, and their skins now seldom fetch more than twenty piastres (four francs), unless taken from an old animal, in which case they are large, nearly black, and much more valuable: formerly an ordinary skin used to be worth eighty piastres.

Half an hour brought us to Khirbet el Saudá (the Black Ruin), a miserable collection of huts, thatched with reeds, and built of the loose basaltic boulders, which come down to within a few yards of the lake, the intermediate space being occupied by turf and rushes. Passing Abú K'ryyeh, a similar village,

thirty-five minutes distant, we came in twenty-five minutes more to Zayti. Here a large arm of the lake, covered with a dense thicket of reeds, and now (October) more than half dried up, stretches a mile to the north. Crossing this water two-thirds of the way up, and observing a Tell with small ruins on its summit half a mile from the edge of the marsh, we reached the little village of 'Amari in fifty minutes. Keeping along an old paved road for half an hour, the ruins of Wajh el Hajar next presented themselves to my notice, but afforded little of interest: the inhabited village of the same name lies half a mile to the north-west. Leaving the villages of Tibbín and Nayáin to the right, and some insignificant ruins called Kefr 'Abd to the left, an hour and a half brought us to Tell Nebi Mand, called in various maps Tell Min Dhau, Mindau, or Mindoh—a conspicuous mound, so called from a prophet whose Makam or station exists here. The native Moslems have an idea that this personage was in some way related to the patriarch Joseph;¹ but I have been unable to gather any information about him. There are traces

¹ I visited it, entered the building, and was assured by the Shaykh that the tomb was of holy Benyamín (Benjamin): the statement was at once disputed by my *compagnon de voyage*, M. Zelmina Füchs. R. F. B.

of a very large town here; on the mound itself I was shown a fine piece of tessellated pavement; and on the plain below are many fragments of columns and hewn stones, as well as earthwork embankments, to the west of Nahr Tannurín, a stream which runs into the 'Asy a little lower down. Here too I saw a rude piece of sculpture, which had lately been dug up, representing two figures seated side by side, and draped in flowing robes; the heads were broken off. At the edge of the stream is the foundation of a square building, constructed with flat bricks and good cement, containing several sarcophagi laid nearly due east and west.

The idea of Mr. Porter, that Tell Nebi Mand represents the ancient Laodicea and Libanum, is in all probability correct.

Tell el Tin is a large mound standing at the south-western extremity of the lake, and separated from the mainland by nearly two miles of marsh. Ruins of a Dayr or monastery are said to exist on its summit, but I had not time to visit them. At the south-east end of the lake is a large ruin, which I regretted not to have heard of sooner, called Kasr Sitt Belkís—Queen Belkís' Castle—and described as a massive building standing at the water's edge; it

is clearly visible from Tell Nebi Mand, to the north-east of which, about two miles distant, is an entrenched camp some 400 yards square, and known as Tell S'finet Núh—the Mound of Noah's Ark. This was probably a Roman post of observation to guard the entrance of the Buká'a. From Tell Nebi Mand three days' riding brought me to Damascus.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME II.



I.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS FROM THE HOLY LAND.

At the meeting of the Anthropological Institute for November 20, 1871, the following papers were read :

On Anthropological Collections from the Holy Land. By Richard F. Burton (late her Majesty's Consul at Damascus). With Notes on the Human Remains. By Dr. C. Carter Blake, F.G.S.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, before proceeding to the business of the evening, I may perhaps be allowed a few words of personal explanation, and briefly render to you all an account of my stewardship as your representative during the last two years in Syria and Palestine, the so-called Holy Land. Firstly, allow me to express my satisfaction at finding myself again standing in this room,

‘Where, girt by friend or foe,
A man may speak the thing he will.’

But the two years have brought with them many a change. I miss an old familiar face and the cheery presence of the Founder and President of the Anthropological Society, my energetic and indefatigable friend, the late Dr. James Hunt. The newspaper press throughout the world has borne such testimony to his efforts in the cause of anthropology, that nothing remains to add to his fame. Secondly, I must congratulate you upon what the *Court Journal*, when announcing

a marriage *à la mode*, is apt to term the uniting of two ancient families—in other words, the amalgamation of two societies which always should have been one. This happy union has been successfully effected, and now it remains only for us, by extending and by maturing our system of establishing local secretaries and collectors over the globe, to take that position which the high importance of our studies claims. It is, perhaps, not generally known, even in this room, that the Brazilian coast, from Rio Janeiro to the southern province, Rio Grande de Sul, is fringed with a mighty line of ‘kitchen-middens:’ these have been found even in the Bay of Rio, upon the shores of the Ilha Grande; whilst from my pleasant and salubrious station, Santos, one of the S’a Leones of the Brazil, I sent home to this society specimens of the hatchets used by the Tupy race for opening shell-fish, and mostly of the class denominated palæolithic or archaic. I use the words generally, not confining ‘palæolithic’ to the Drift period or ‘archaic,’ as has been proposed for the Cave implements; whilst ‘prehistoric’ is limited to those of the Tumuli, and ‘neolithic’ to the finished and polished Celt specimens. A pluralist as regards employment, I can hardly find time at present for working up my long notes upon this subject; but I shall be most happy to place them in the hands of any brother member who has leisure and inclination to attempt the task.

Since we last met in this room, I have had two years of service in Syria and Palestine; and I may assure you, gentlemen, that I have not found the Holy Land a bed of roses. Without entering into political or official matters, which would here be out of place, I may, in a few words, assure you that my post was one of great difficulty and of greater danger. I have been shot at by some forty men, who, for-

tunately, could not shoot straight; I have been wounded on another occasion; and lastly, my excellent friend and fellow-traveller Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake and I were pursued by a party of about three hundred Bedawin assassins, placed upon our track by a certain Rashid Pasha, late Wali or Governor-general of Syria. On the other hand, my friend and I have been able to explore the highly interesting volcanic region lying immediately to the east of Damascus, and to bring home a plan of the giant cave, which seems to have been mentioned by Strabo. We have also surveyed the whole of the Anti-Libanus, a region far less known than the heart of the Andes, the best proof being that upon the best maps the name of only one peak is given, and even that is given incorrectly. Our notes upon the subject are reserved for the Royal Geographical Society, whose actual president, the world-famed Sir Henry Rawlinson, has, in his opening address of Monday, November 13th, made courteous allusion to our labours: it is sufficient for me here to state that our joint publication will alter the map of Northern Syria. And, neglecting all details concerning the peculiar circumstances which led to my leaving Syria, I may briefly assert, that the action taken by the authorities has led to a result which I hardly expected: it has made my name historical in the Holy Land. The Moslems of Damascus gathered in thousands at the great Amawi, or Cathedral Mosque, of that once imperial capital, and prayed publicly for my return; whilst Mrs. Burton was compelled to quit the city privately, in order to avoid a demonstration which might have been dangerous. You will excuse me if I have made these personal details too personal; but I feel it due to you and to myself that my unexpected appearance in this room should be honourably accounted for.

Before proceeding with the business of the evening, I will read a note addressed to me by my friend Mr. Fred. Collingwood :

‘ November 15, 1871.

‘ My dear Capt. Burton, I am directed, on behalf of the Publication Committee, to ask what illustrations you wish should accompany your papers on Collections from the Holy Land ; and whether we can help you in the preparation of diagrams for our evening meetings.—I am yours faithfully,

‘ J. FRED. COLLINGWOOD.’

The wishes of your Council should have been consulted upon this and other matters ; and, indeed, without illustrations it is almost useless to describe a great variety of articles, especially silex implements. Unfortunately, however, time is wanting ; and the delightful hospitalities of an English country life have, I fear, considerably modified the rugged energy that results from wild travelling.

It has been suggested to me that a few words of explanation concerning a report now made public by the press, may be desirable, as certain persons may be expecting me to lecture upon a man fourteen feet long. The fact is, that Capt. Murray, R.N., a Fellow of the Royal Society, lately informed me that, when excavating at Ramlah, near Alexandria, he came upon some ancient catacombs ; that he found a skeleton measuring eleven feet long ; that he carried off sundry ribs and vertebræ, and that he still possesses one of the latter. He has promised me the loan of it ; and, should the article be forthcoming, its first appearance shall be in this room.

In offering you this instalment of a *catalogue raisonné* of an anthropological collection made in Syria and Palestine between April 15th, 1870, and August 6th, 1871, I purpose,

with your permission, to read out a list of the articles lying upon the table; to illustrate the position of the finds by certain topographical remarks, which I beg leave to say will not be found in the guide- or hand-books; and finally, to refer the matter to Dr. C. Carter Blake. My friend has kindly volunteered to supply my deficiencies in comparative anatomy and zoology; and we shall both feel grateful for all suggestions and additional information, especially concerning the mummy-cloths and the tesseræ, which may be offered by learned members of our Institute. In conclusion, we owe the loan of the map to the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Secretary Bates and Captain George, R.N., of the Royal Geographical Society.

Catalogue Raisonné of an Anthropological Collection made in Syria and Palestine between April 15, 1870, and August 6, 1871.

No. 1 Lot. The following is a list of the articles which were collected at Palmyra, during a tour which lasted between April 5th and April 21st, 1870:

7 skulls; 3½ jaws, and sundry fragments; 1 hand, perfect; 1 ditto (minus thumb), and fragment; 1 foot.

1 parcel of bones; namely, 2 thigh-bones, a foot nearly perfect, a back and ilium of a mummied child, 3 spinal vertebrae; various fragments of skulls, ribs, spine-bones, and tibiae, with odds and ends of bone.

1 parcel of common mummy-cloth, mostly cotton (?), including a hand.

1 parcel of coloured ditto, yellow with purple edging being the most common; a bit of blue stuff (linen?).

2 fragments of bitumen cup (?), like those made at Kabr Músá (Moses' tomb, west of Jericho).

3½ mortuary lamps.

4 fragments of rough old stone pottery, like our gray-beards.

A remnant of shoe-leather (?).

Specimen of mummied hair, stained yellow. Of this stained hair that distinguished physiologist Dr. Barnard Davis remarks: 'The specimens of light hair have certainly *not been raddled*. The colour may be natural, or the true colour may have been discharged by lime or other bleaching application. We know that the Romans used such appliances. It is most probable that this hair has belonged to some Palmyrene beauty.' 'The dark specimen appears to come from a mummified body.' 'If one of the two small locks of Palmyrene hair could be spared, I should be glad to add it to my collection as a great curiosity. I never could anticipate getting a lock of ancient hair from Palmyra, and certainly not bleached by art;' and it is evidence of the civilisation prevailing at the court of Zenobia.

1 oblong tessera, with Palmyrene inscription.

9 circular tesserae, one inscribed.

7 oval and square tesserae.

2 pyramidal ditto.

1 circular pebble, apparently worked.

Miscellaneous.

25 coins of little importance. These we picked up everywhere at Palmyra: we never walked out without finding some.

1 glass coin, apparently of the same kind offered for sale at Tyre. None of the Palmyran collections which I have inspected contained any glass coins. In the eighteenth century, glass money for local currency, like the Hebrew bank-notes of Tiberias and Safet, was made at Hebron.

26 date-stones, 1 peach (?) stone, and 1 apricot-stone, taken from mummy heads. No skull was found without them. At Shakkah (*Saccæa*), in the Jebel Durúz Haurán, the succedaneum is an almond-shell with the sharp end cut off, and forming a diminutive cup.

1 coin, Leon and Castile.

6 fragments of pottery.

1 fibula.

1 bell.

1 mutilated figure (Virgin and Child?).

1 bloodstone, engraved with figures of two horsemen.

1 scalloped bead.

1 Egyptian figure (?).

1 larger figure (Egyptian?).

1 smaller figure.

2 seals.

1 scarabæus.

The skulls, bones, and mummy-cloths, are evidently those of the ancient and pagan population of the Palmyrene; the tomb-towers, whose age is known from Palmyrene inscriptions to bear date 314-414 of the Seleucidan era, corresponding with our A.D. 2 and 102, have evidently, however, been restored, and this perhaps fixes the latest restoration. It is highly probable that the heathen practice of mummification declined under Roman rule, or after A.D. 130, when the great half-way house between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean became Adrianopolis. Still vestiges of the old custom are found extending deep into the second century, when, it is believed, the Himyarite Benú Ghassán (*Gassanides*) of Damascus had abandoned their heathen faith for Christianity. Corpse cremation, I may here remark, went out of fashion in the days of the Anto-

nines. Always a Greek exotic, it frequently made way for burying, the habit of republican Rome and of the Jewish and Christian world.

Our short visit of five days allowed me only a day and a half to try the fortune of exploration at Palmyra. It is easy there to hire a considerable number of labourers at two and a half piastres a head per diem—say sixpence—when in other places the wages would be at least double.¹ I secured forty-five coolies, who had nothing but diminutive picks and hoes, grain-bags and cloaks, which they converted into baskets for removing sand and rubbish. Operations began (April 15th, 1870) at the group of tomb-towers marked 'cemetery' in the Handbook, and bearing W.S. West from the great Temple of the Sun. It is one of the two Viæ Appiæ, which enter, or rather which entered, Palmyra: this is upon the high-road to Damascus; whilst the other, to the north-west of the official or monumental city, was doubtless the main approach from Hums and Hamah. Both are lined on each side with the monuments which here take the place of the Egyptian pyramids; and their squat solid forms of gloomy and unsquared sandstone contrast remarkably with the bastard classical Roman architecture, meretricious in all its details, and glittering from afar in white limestone.

I chose the south-western group, because it appeared to be the oldest of the series. The Fellahs know it as Kusúr Abú Sayl, the Palaces of the Father of the Torrent; and they stare when told that these massive buildings are not Kusúr,

¹ The labourer's hire throughout Palestine would now be five or six piastres, a little more than one shilling. In the time of the New Testament money must have been nearly as dear again; for we find a denarius (sevenpence-halfpenny) paid as the established price of a day's work.

but Kubúr (tombs). 'I daresay it is all one (*kulluh wahid*) to the owner,' said a Voltairian hand, when the words of truth were announced to him. Here the loculi in the several stages were easily cleared out; they had been ransacked before, and they supplied only a few bones and shreds of mummy-cloth. A calvaria (No. 1), however, and the larger thigh-bone, with attachments of dried muscles, were found in the upper story by one of the Fellahs. From another and a neighbouring tomb-tower they brought calvaria No. 2, which evidently belongs to an elderly and masculine person, of decidedly unpleasant propensities. He is, in fact, a fit companion for No. 1.

The rest of the collection came from the adjacent ruins. Calvaria No. 3, pierced near the suture, contained a greater number of olive-stones than the rest: can this peculiar process have been adopted in order to show the extent of the owner's possessions? No. 4 is the head of a young girl displaying all the peculiarities of the modern Syrian cranium—it can hardly have been buried many years ago. No. 5 looks as if it had been compressed behind after burial; but it is distinctly of the old Syrian type, whilst even the solidity cannot be considered abnormal. As a rule, in these countries the oldest calvariæ are the thickest, and similarly the largest building-stones are the most ancient. No. 6 is also evidently distorted by pressure to the proper right. No. 7 is apparently modern, and its fragility contrasts with No. 5; the peculiarity about the orbits of the eyes is not to be noticed in other heads.

I then applied the hands to a plain mound, lying about a hundred yards to the south of the largest tomb-tower. It offered a tempting resemblance to the undulations of ground which cover the complicated chambered catacombs already

laid open, and into one of which, some few years ago, a camel fell, the roof having given way. Three shafts were sunk in the slopes of the barrow, and four men were told off to each. The first four feet passed through hardened surface-soil, and a loose conglomerate of pebbles rolled down from the Jebel Mintár (the Look-out Mountain), upon whose lowest folds we stood. Then came lumps of snow-white gypsum-mortar, which gradually formed a stratum also four feet deep. It appeared to be artificial, but all the hands agreed that it was not. This *fouille* was abandoned, as time pressed us hard.

The third attempt was made at a spot to the north of and next to the largest tomb-tower. Here a skeleton square of large blocks, containing an area that corresponded with the nearest building, and ranged in line with it, suggested something below. After three feet of the usual surface-soil, the pick struck three large unworked stones, firmly embedded in mortar, and disposed in tripod shape. The labourers declared that we had come upon the foundations of a house: we persevered, however, to a total of nine feet six inches, and presently, on the west of the tripod, appeared a semicircle of cut stone, like the curb of a well. The contents were pure sand—in fact, the Desert drift, mixed with fragments of coarse and heavy pottery, some light brown, others yellowish, with lumps of gypsum-lime and bits of well-preserved charcoal. The colour of the arenaceous matter was at first pale ruddy, as if affected by damp; but after ten minutes' exposure to sun and air, it became dull white, and it was easily sprayed by the wind like that around us. The shape of the hollow below the half rim was that of a Florence flask—in fact, the Algerian silos and Moroccan matamors, which are extensively found in this part of Syria, and which, in

places like the Tell Shaykh Abdullah, near Hasyah, and the Khan Shamsín,² between it and Hums, occupy the greater part of a hill. None, however, are equal to the immense excavations near Bayt Jibrin and Dayr i Dubbán, which, despite their Greek crosses and Cufic inscriptions, were believed by many travellers to be 'Horite dwellings.' But, judging from its position, this was probably an old cistern, filled by the drainage of the roof. Ancient Palmyra, which I estimate to have been at least nine miles in circumference, without including the outlying tomb-towers extending in a broken line from the north-east to the south-west, could not have been adequately supplied by the two streamlets of a water resembling that of Harrogate, or by such an aqueduct as that whose ruins are still visible. The Wady el Sayl (Valley of the Fiumara), which separated the monumental from the popular city, is a mere nullah, generally bone-dry, sometimes a raging torrent; and the disforested hills to the north and west has doubtless reduced it to its present state. The depressed site of the great dépôt, upon the very threshold of the Dau, or Wilderness, upon the shore-edge where the sandy sea breaks against the farthest headlands off-setting from the Anti-Libanus, suggests the extensive use of cisterns and wells. And these will be required again—the world has not yet heard the last of Palmyra as a half-way house between the Mediterranean and Hindustan.

My fourth and last attempt was to pierce into a heap to the west of No. 3. Here I directed the men to sink a shaft five feet deep, and then to tunnel under the loose stones which lay upon the surface. The dirt was, as usual, superficial alluvium and gypseous lime. Presently, however, during our absence, the workmen came upon two oval slabs of

² The maps are in the habit of calling this place 'Shimsán.'

soft limestone, almost like chalk, each with its kit-cat in alt-relief. One was a man, with straight features, short curly beard, and hair disposed, as appears to have been the fashion for both sexes, in three circular rolls; it might have been a priest had there been a sign of tonsure—I have, however, been unable to determine the period at which tonsure prevailed throughout these regions. The style of coiffure is frequently seen in heads brought from Palmyra. The other was a feminine bust, with features of a type so exaggerated as to resemble the negro: both being too debased to deserve transport, they were left upon the ground. A third and similar work of art was brought, but the head had been removed.

On the next day the villagers exhibited a fourth slab of the same kind, but they would not show the place of their *trouvaille*. This specimen had a double inscription, the incised characters being stained with a red vivid as vermilion, and between them was a larger head, with a smaller on its proper left. This hideous work of art was secured for M. Peretié, Dragoman of the French Consulate-general, Bayrut. That well-known collector has a bust, which possibly represents Zenobia: the material is terra-cotta; the ornaments are numerous and peculiar; and the general style of the workmanship will be understood from the illustration, the latter taken from a photograph.³

The remnants of statuary which we found at Palmyra were of two styles: the one above described native and barbarous; the other classical, or rather subclassical. The type may be judged from the tesserae, and most of the tomb-towers probably had over the entrance, or in niches disposed at various altitudes, the full-length figure reclining upon a couch, and propped upon the left elbow. In all cases the

³ It forms the frontispiece of Volume I.

heads have been knocked off by the iconoclastic barbarians who conquered the land ; but sufficient of the members and of the drapery remains to show that the workmanship was far superior to the indigenous articles. Specimens of Palmyran art are to be found almost everywhere in Northern Syria. More than one figure is rare. I have seen, however, several groups : the most remarkable was that of a woman carrying a well-grown child upon the left shoulder. Both are clad in the plaited clothing, which also appears to have been *à la mode*, and the mother's front hair is dressed in three horizontal lines, with the rest pulled back. One of the most pleasing figures is an alt-relief in the house of my kind friend, M. F. Bambino, Vice-consul of France for Hums and Hamah. In the adjoining illustration the hair is drawn off the face, and the features are somewhat Grecian.

This semi-barbarism of art seems to be characteristic of Syria and Palestine generally ; Cyprus, on the other hand, as General Cesnola and Mr. Lang have proved, yields terracottas, mostly heads, busts, and full-length figures, which in beauty and expression are purely Grecian. A marble Cupid, sent to Paris before the war, showed the finest chiseling. Unfortunately, the savage who disinterred it at Bayrut smashed the features ; and when told that he had spoilt his property, proposed to restore it by means of a stone-cutter from the bazar. The marble statue of a woman, in high relief, and double the size of life,⁴ seated upon a throne, with a sphynx at her left, still lying in a back street of Ba'albak, is also Greek in style and dress, but the proportions are poor ;

⁴ M. Gérard de Rialle (p. 243) believes it to be *d'une bonne époque Romaine*. It was bought and abandoned to the boys of Ba'albak by M. Achille Joyeau, who had been sent to study old Heliopolis by the Minister of 'Beaux Arts.'

in fact, the finest Greek art never seems to have strayed far from the shores of the Mediterranean.

Umar Bey, a Hungarian officer, who was stationed for some months at Palmyra, in command of the troops, made a large collection of clay tesserae, which here seem to represent our 'tokens.' He kindly allowed me to take notes of them. I did not, however, copy the inscriptions, knowing that he intended them for his father-in-law, M. Mordtmann, the archæologist.

The forms greatly vary, being square, round, oblong, crescent-shaped, semicircular, triangular, pyriform, rhomboid, and jug-shaped. Some have three plain lines, and the fourth or uppermost a waving outline. They are mostly of plain yellowish clay; some bear traces of a purple colour; and one circular tessera is half red, half black.

The characteristic obverse is the reclining woman before mentioned, raised in tolerable relief and facing to the left. Sometimes there are two, three, and even four figures, resting upon a couch more or less solid. Those with inscriptions below are rare, and, of course, more valuable. On the proper right of the figure there is often a vine, realistically or conventionally treated, either with leaves or with mere whorls like exaggerated tendrils. Some have a bird placed above the figure; others a sacellum showing a human shape, in an oval raised upon a circle. That the figure enclosed in the sacellum represents the Yoni, I have no doubt whatever. Let it be compared with Layard's Egyptian seal (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 156), representing the god Horus, by the Greeks mis-called Harpocrates, seated upon the mystic lotus, in adoration of 'Havah,' the Great Mother of all living.

The reverses of these tesserae are treated in many ways. The following are the principal:



PALMYRENE FIGURE

From the Collection of Mr. F. Bambino.

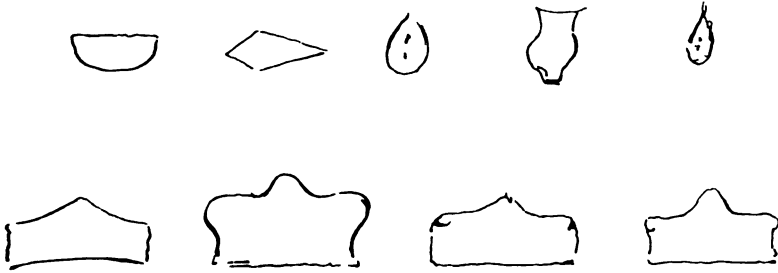


PALMYRENE MOTHER AND CHILD

from Ditto.

VARIOUS SHAPES OF TESSERÆ

From Collection of Umar Bey.



VARIOUS FIGURES ON TESSERÆ

From Ditto.



Sacellum



*Sacellum
on pillar*



*Bull's head
Crescent & Stars*



*Trefoil shaped
Ornament*



*Head
like that at
Rakhlah.*



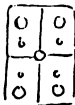
Crescent shaped Tesseræ



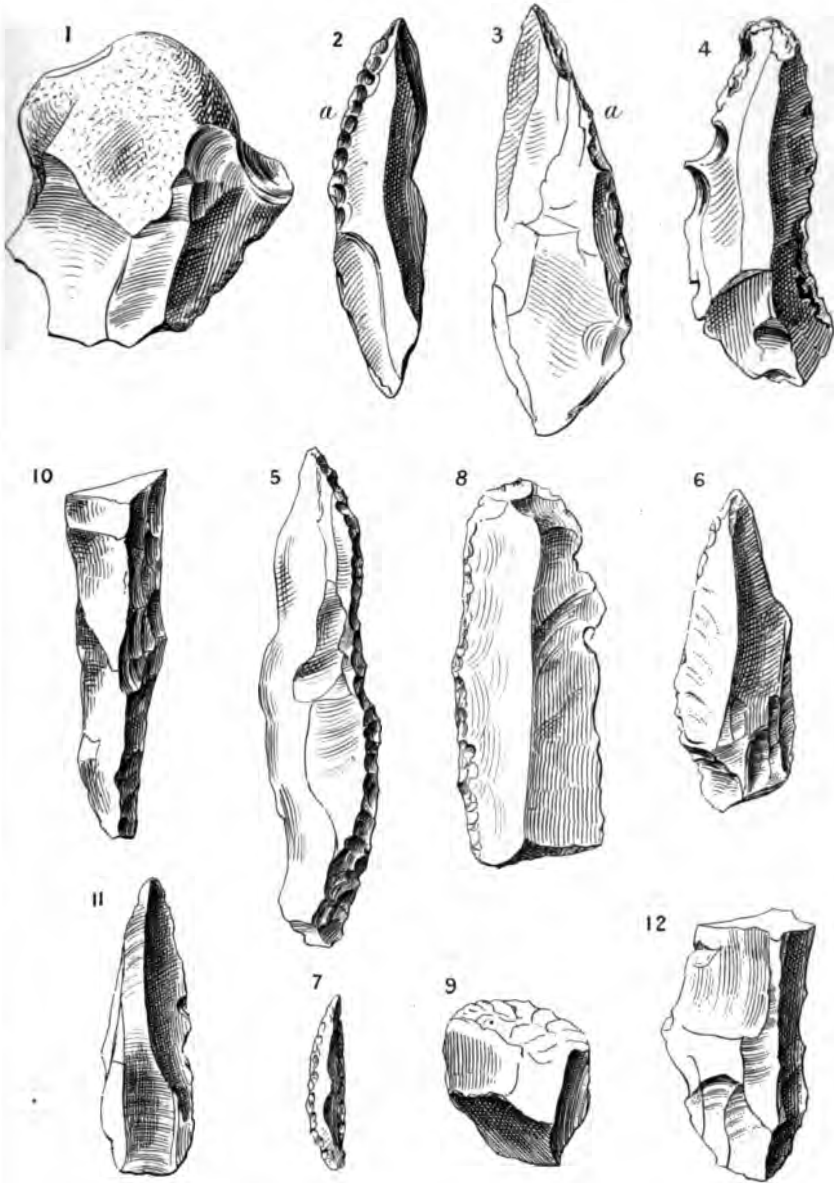
R. plain



*The latter contains
the word Bar,
son of.*







*All Silex.
Colours. buff, grey, and black.*

All nat. size.



Two persons reclining upon a couch (as in the obverse).

Two figures kneeling before a smaller, with a vase above the pair.

Two figures, one tall, the other short.

Two figures with a sacrificial altar between: there are many specimens of this reverse; sometimes there is a bust enclosed in an oval above them, at other times this is wanted.

Two figures, with one large and one small vase.

One figure standing.

Two or three busts with the tall head-dress, a very common form; sometimes two stars are disposed about the busts.

A head, with two sacella and Yoni, each inverted upon a column.

A wreath (of ghár or laurel?), a bust, and two sacella, like the above.

A spreading tree, not unlike the alphabet, called El Mushajjar, which resembles a palm-branch more or less stripped, and planted upright.

A cup.

A wreath enclosing a sacellum.

A trefoil-shaped ornament.

The Ba'al figures are, of course, common, especially the following:

Head and spike-like rays. r. Couchant bull, facing to right.

Ditto, with crescent and star under it.

Head and wavy hair, like the sculptured head at Rakhlah ruin. r. Sacellum and standing figure.

Ba'al and Ashtarrah, artistically treated. r. Head of woman.

Two bulls' heads meeting at an angle of 45°, with a star above and below, and a crescent opposite the horns.

Bull's head, and ball (sun or star?) between the horns.

r. Eagle.

Bull's and horse's heads. r. Inscription.

Bull with high hump like the zebu. r. Wheel and eight spokes.⁵

Man facing right; head crowned with seven spike-like rays. r. Bust.

Standing figure. r. Sun and stars (lozenge-shaped tessera).

Head and crown of rays facing right, under it eagle. r. Serpent (tessera half red and half black).

Two figures on throne and two standing. r. Three pinecones(?); eagle and star below.

Spread eagle. r. Umbo and inscription.—N.B. This umbo is a phallic emblem, which appears sometimes on one side, sometimes on both. It is, in fact, the Kamos or Priapic idol of Moab, a 'gerundert stein.' This well-known figure naturally leads me to notice the last work by my learned friend Dr. Beke (*The Idol in Horeb: Evidence that the Golden Image at Mount Sinai is a Cone and not a Calf*; London, Tinsleys, 1871). Dr. Beke (p. 4) is distinctly of opinion that the golden cone was an image of the flame seen by Moses in the burning bush, and of the fire in which the Eternal had descended upon Sinai; and he rejects the allegations of a correspondent (p. 34), which make him impute to the Israelites the 'obscene phallic worship.' I cannot, however, but believe that, like cannibalism, infanticism, and perhaps sati (suttee), the adoration of the Yoni-Lingam has been, at various ages of the world, universal, typifying by

⁵ I found this emblem well carved on basalt at Sanamayn, south of Damascus, and believe it to allude to the local deity, Agathe Tykhe—in fact, the wheel of fortune.

a gross material image the reproductive powers of Nature. The subject is far too extensive for anything but casual mention in these pages; but no one will forget the Crux Ansata of Egypt, or the Yoni-Lingam of Ancient and Modern India; and upon this subject I venture to recommend an excellent work by Dr. Thomas Inman, *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names* (London, Trübner, 1868). It abounds in information of the highest interest; and, probably on account of its freedom from prejudice, it has been damned with faint praise by the many who reviewed it.

Eagle not spread. R. A tick resembling the Brazilian carrapato.—N.B. One of the leaden coins bears a bust and a carrapato on the reverse.

Human figures are, perhaps, the most common; *e.g.*

Bust with tall coiffure, facing to right. R. Standing figure.

Head between two garlands on crescent-shaped tessera.

Bust. R. plain.

Bust. R. Sun (circle) and stars (lozenge-shaped tessera).

Head and two stars on quarter moon. R. plain.

Bust facing to front. R. Ladder of five rungs and stars.

This R. also occurs on pyriform tesserae.

Vase and hand.⁶ R. Flower-pot (?) and inscription.

Head. R. Head and sceptre.

Head. R. Head (pyriform tessera).

Head of Roman type facing left. R. Inscription.

Standing figure of man. R. plain.

Woman and vine. R. plain (pyriform).

Hand in square. R. Four cones joined at bases.

There are various figures of animals; *e.g.*

⁶ This may be Jewish; the hand and the manna-cup, especially the former, are favourite emblems.

Two horses. R. Two fishes.

Gazelle. R. Small Genius and two stars.—N.B. The gazelle often occurs upon the smaller Palmyran coinage.

Ibex. R. (?)

Lion pulling down gazelle. R. One figure sitting upon a chair, the other standing.

Lion. R. Bee on flower (?).

Winged griffin. R. Two bulls and inscription.

Scorpion on rhomboidal tessera. R. Lyre-shaped figure.

The other figures are chiefly :

Cornucopia. R. plain.

Vine-leaves. R. plain.

Large and small circles. R. plain.

Two vases and two stars'. R. Inscription.

Two vases, one large, the other small. R. plain.

Eccentric figure found upon many. The inscribed character is a contraction of 'bar,' son of —. I presume that the object denotes an altar.

Depressed sacellum and figure inside. R. plain.

Two large stars, and one small. R. Sacellum.

Semicircle and star. R. Inscription.

Wheel on conical seal (Agathe Tykhe?).

The principal beads are :

Long oval with eleven or twelve ribs ; the colours, green, blue, and white, appear at both ends.

Coarse blue glazed china bead.

Glass, red on white ground.

Fine purple glass, like garnet.

Blue glass, bright and good.

Long oval black glass, with three lateral and deeply-indented white bands.

Agate beads, small.

Bead of pink madrepora (unbored).

Imitation shell bead.

Bead in shape of phallic umbo.

The collection also contained a small stone weight, and many coins, some of them lead. The most curious were those which bear Moslem inscriptions, with heads of men and of lions.

Mr. Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake also made a collection of Palmyran antiquities, which he will himself describe to you after his return home. There is no better field for inquiry than these grand old ruins. As has been shown, labour is plentiful and cheap; and I will answer for the civility and kindness of Shaykh Fâris, who now protects the British Baghdad post. A month might be spent to great advantage at Tadmor. Future travellers are advised to carry with them a crowbar, a rope-ladder, a plank or two, and cords with hooks, so as to explore the upper stories of the tomb-towers, which may hitherto have escaped ransacking; and I should advise them to dig, not at the south-west of the ruins where we did, but to the north-east, where a large blot of dark ashen ground, scattered over with dwarf tumuli, denotes, according to our Fellahin informants, the Siyaghah, or gold and silver smiths' bazar. When searching ruins, the explorer will do well to remember General Cesnola's rule, namely, to dig along the inner walls, not in the centre. The result, in Cyprus at least, left nothing to be desired.

I will now make way for my friend Dr. Carter Blake, who requires no introduction from me. And I have the honour to return my best thanks for the patience and perseverance with which you have listened to a somewhat dull paper.

Notes on Human Remains from Palmyra. By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy and Zoology, Westminster Hospital. With an Illustration by George Busk, F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons.

CAPTAIN BURTON has done me the honour to place in my hands for description some of the valuable human remains which he has derived from Palmyra. The fact that these relics have only been in my possession since the tenth of the month will, I hope, induce the members of the Institute to grant me some indulgence in the description.

In order that the ancient skulls from Palmyra may be carefully considered, I shall commence my description with a short conspectus of the characters of the typical modern Syrian skull of the present day, marked No. 4 on the specimen.

Skull No. 4. It is ovately orthocephalic, its greatest length being 16·5, and its greatest breadth 12·7, the cephalic index being consequently ·76. With largely-rounded parietal tubers, not so prominent, however, as in the young Hindū of the same age (about nine years), the frontal region is remarkably square, and well developed; the jaws are orthognathic, and the malar region is delicate. An equable curved line extends from a spot at about one-third of the longitudinal diameter of the frontal bone, to the median portion of the supraoccipital. The lower portion of the occipital bone is largely developed, and proceeds gently to the foramen. Whilst there is no indication of *probole*, the transverse union of the supraoccipital bones are well shown. The base of the skull

exhibits few points of muscular attachment. The jugular foramen is largest on the left side. The teeth in place are, or have been throughout life, incisors $\frac{4}{0}$ can. $\frac{1-0}{0-0}$ p. $\frac{2-2}{0-0}$. The first molar, as such it may be called, is in the alveolus, and would have proceeded to cut the gum sooner on the left than on the right side. The remarkably small and delicate palate would, in after-life, have left but little room for the adequate development of the premolar and molar series. While slight and gracefully-arched pterygoid processes extended laterally, the junction between the basioccipital and basisphenoid bones is not nearly closed. The nasal spine is prominent, and the nasal bones well developed and slightly arched. The sub-orbital foramina are normal. The mastoids are very small, and there are no traces of paroccipital (jugular) or of pneumatic processes.

Generally it may be said that the present skull, with its graceful contours, is one of the 'prettiest' that the comparative anthropologist might examine; and that, in its general form and shape, it can be pronounced to be as distinct in form from the archaic or prehistoric Palmyrene skulls as it is possible to conceive. That these characters are not such as are merely dependent on sex and age, it will be the object of the comparison I am about to institute conclusively to show; and I believe that this comparison will be borne out by the investigation of another and larger series of Syrian skulls, which, through the kindness of Captain Burton, and with your permission, I propose this session to describe.

The consideration of Syrian and so-called Phœnician skulls is a subject which will always be attended with some difficulty. The dearth of literature on the subject enables me to refer to comparatively few authorities. Of these I shall briefly mention Nott and Gliddon, *Indigenous Races of the*

Earth, p. 314 (part written by Dr. J. Aitken Meigs); Marchand and Pruner Bey, *Les Carthaginois en France*, 8vo, Montpellier, 1870; Barnard Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum* (description of No. 1174, p. 86); Nicolucci, *Di un antico cranio fenico rinvenuto nella Necropoli di Tharros in Sardegna*, 4to, Turin, 1863; and the comprehensive and elegant memoir of the last-named author in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*, v. 703. A perusal of these works shows that the characters of the so-called Phœnician or Syrian branch of the Semitic race have been adequately discussed by far more eminent anthropologists than myself, and I therefore have ventured to presuppose your thorough acquaintance with them. I shall adopt the system of measurement of Barnard Davis (with Busk's instrument), and the nomenclature of Professor Huxley.

I now turn to the description of the skulls from Palmyra, the *gisement* of which has been already described by Captain Burton.

Skull No. 1. This remarkably thick calvaria comprehends the whole frontal bone and large portions of the parietals and nasals. The frontal suture has been open until a late period of life, as is shown by traces near the coronal suture and also on the glabella. The coronal suture is deeply denticulated, the greatest amount of serration being at the spot common in most Negro and some ancient British skulls, across the insertion of the *temporalis* muscle. The size of the individual must have been enormous. The nasal bones, or what little remains of them, do not indicate that the nose was large, and the supranasal notch is remarkably shallow. The calvaria is equally arched. It is subject of regret that the point of junction between the parietal and supraoccipital bones does not exist by reason of the fractured condition of the

parietals. The transverse diameter across the frontal bone could not have been less than 12·5 centimètres, and the degree to which the frontal arch is vaulted corresponds to this enormous dimension. Part of this great breadth is possibly due to the partially open condition of the frontal suture; but I think that this will scarcely account for more than the breadth. The frontal bone measures in circumference along the periphery, from the nasal to the coronal suture, 12·5 centimètres. The orbits were well arched, and the development of the superciliary ridges was slight. The skull, in fact, appears to have belonged to a very large and fine dolichocephalic individual; and it will be a subject of much regret that so little of the skull is presented to us, and that I am consequently unable to include its precise dimensions in the table of measurements.

Skull No. 2. This extremely large meciptocephalic skull accords in its chief characters, as Captain Burton informs me, with those of the existing Phœnician. With a cephalic index of ·70, it shows traces of having belonged to an exceptionally strong and powerful male, as shown by the largely developed superciliary ridges and mastoid processes, and by the general heavy and athletic contours of the cranium.

Comparison of this skull with those of the Sémite Phœnicien figured in plate ii. of Marichard and Pruner Bey's memoir shows agreement in nearly every essential aspect; and the characters which my excellent friend (now, I believe, still in ill health in Switzerland) has pointed out as distinctive of the Phœnician Semite skull are here strikingly manifest. For he says: 'Le palais est parabolique, *et excessivement profond, sans évatement.*'

This character of the deeply vaulted and capacious palate is perhaps the most striking fact connected with the present

skull. The large pterygoid and hamular processes ; the extraordinary development of the occipital region, and especially of the *probole* ; the peculiar flattening of the skull at the parietal bones above and behind the mastoid region ; the prominent parietal tubers, and the generally 'long drawn out' aspect of the skull, remind the student at first sight almost of the Negro calvarium. Possibly, on the application of Rokitansky's law, some of this great absolute length might have been due to the early and premature closing of the coronal suture. I am far from denying this theory (which I have elsewhere strongly supported⁷), and which would probably receive the advocacy of Dr. Barnard Davis;⁸ but I would point out, that the obliteration of all the sutures has proceeded to nearly the same extent all over the skull, and that the coronal, sagittal, lambdoid, sphenoidal, and temporal sutures are all nearly closed to the same degree. The head, as in skull No. 1, is equably and ovoidly curved from the forehead to the lambdoid suture, from whence, after a manifest bulge of the upper part of the supraoccipital bone, the occiput shelves towards the foramen in a line which may be roughly said to be parallel with the alveoli. The foramen is large, broad, and rounded ; the condyles are normal. The post-condyloid depressions are remarkably deep, with slight exostosis on the left side. The glenoid cavities are deeply excavated. There are small but well-developed paroccipitals, but no 'pneumatic' processes. The orbits are squared and depressed at the outer inferior angles. The supranasal notch is deep ; the superciliaries prominent ; and the forehead singularly flat towards the external angle. The teeth in position are only those of the molar and premolar series. The power-

⁷ *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, ii. 79.

⁸ *Thesaurus Cranium*, p. 49.

ful malar bones must have rendered the physiognomy of the individual exceedingly severe. The teeth are large and strong, and do not indicate much caries or wear; they have dropped out since death. The alisphenoido-parietal suture is exceedingly long.

It will be a question whether the extreme length of this skull is a character of race or an individual character. The conformation of one of the lower jaws I shall show to you, however, appears conclusively to demonstrate that one other individual, at least, possessed the character of extreme cranial length and of great narrowness. In the skulls figured by Professor Busk (*Platynemic Men in Denbighshire, Trans. Ethno. Society*, 1870, p. 467), 'the absolute horizontality of the place of the subnial portion of the occipital bone' is pointed out as a character of one of the skulls from Cefn, and to a certain extent in the Borris skull of Professor Huxley (*Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 125, figs. 60, 61). The same character is present in this Palmyrene skull to a great extent; but the latter has no relation whatever to these 'tapinocephalic' skulls in its measurements. The researches of Dr. Aitken Meigs on the form of the occiput illustrate how the same features of the occiput are often presented by a Negro, an Australian, a 'River-Bed,' or, as in the present case, a Syrian skull.

The extremely brachycephalic character of some of the more modern Syrian skulls which Captain Burton has brought from other districts, when contrasted with the length and peculiar aspect of the present specimen, leads the observer to two conclusions at least. The present skull accords with those of the Phœnicians, as figured by Pruner Bey, and differs *toto cœlo* from the skulls of much of the population of Syria at the present day, and within the last

thousand years. There are also slight resemblances at least between this skull and those of some of the Guanches exhaustively described by Dr. Barnard Davis (*Thesaurus Craniorum*, pp. 189-193). How far the Phœnicians and Atlantean races were connected, I shall not now inquire, farther than to refer to the opinions of Dr. Gustave Kombok; and I would merely at present adhere to the verdict of Dr. Barnard Davis and myself, that the Guanches of Teneriffe appear to be *sui generis* (*Journ. Anthropol. Soc.* ii. 293).

Skull No. 3. The calvarium before us is one which probably has belonged to an aged individual, as shown by the closing of the sutures; whilst it differs entirely from No. 2 in proportions, it presents characters which recall some of its proportions. The occiput, however, is full and round. The coronal suture is slightly denticulated, but is nearly closed; the sagittal is entirely so, with a tendency to the formation of a slight *rainure* on its hinder portion. The superciliary ridges are absent; the supranasal notch has not been deep; and the forehead is fairly arched and fully rounded. It is, of course, to be regretted that the facial bones are entirely absent. The malar bone on the left side has apparently been cut through, probably since death. The aperture in the parietal bone is also a 'pick-mark.' The mastoids are small, and there are no traces of paroccipital or of pneumatic processes. The basisphenoid bone is large and broad. It is possible this skull may have belonged to a female of middle or advanced age, but this is only a conjecture.

Skull No. 4. This skull has been already described above.

Skull No. 5. This calvaria is merely the occipital and parietal bones of a large dolichocephalic individual, closely resembling No. 3 in general contour. The sutures are all

open and highly denticulated. The occipital bone shows a large, elongated, and well-developed *probole*. The ridges for the attachment of muscles are not pronounced excessively. The greatest breadth has been fourteen centimètres.

Skull No. 6. This is a large and fractured calvaria, of which the broken condition precludes that any accurate measurements could be taken. The coronal suture (since death) has slightly bulged, probably owing to the presence of mud or other moist matter in the skull after death. The frontal sinuses have been large, and the superciliary ridges prominent. The frontals are equably arched, and there are distinct and large frontal bosses. The contour is ovoid as far as the edge of the lambdoid suture. The alisphenoidoparietal suture is large and wide. The skull is broad at the parietal bones, with an equable rate of bulging over its whole surface, with the exception of the coronal suture. The auditory foramina are large. The arterial impressions on the inner table of the skull are remarkably deep and profoundly excavated. It is, of course, impossible to measure this calvaria accurately.

Skull No. 7. The calvaria of a young individual, probably about seven years old. The present specimen can be advantageously compared with the modern Syrian girl's skull (No. 4). More prognathous than it, it is less ovate in its contour, and does not present that equable *tournure* of physiognomy which characterises the existing inhabitants of the district. The malar bones are remarkably small and weak, and the aperture for the temporal muscle very small compared with the typical Syrian, with the European of similar age, and with the Negro. The present skull exhibits many points which illustrate widely different race distinctions, which even in the young can be easily estimated. The maxillary bone

is fairly prognathous; the palate is deeply vaulted, and the molar series, as indicated by their alveoli, are large; the palatal and traces of the intermaxillary sutures are present. The suture between the basioccipital and basisphenoid is perfectly open.

Skull No. 8. This is merely a broken fragment of frontal bone, which appears to present some singular characters. Its fragmentary condition, of course, precludes any elaborate description of such a broken specimen. The superciliary ridges have been large; to a greater extent, in fact, than any of the other specimens. The edge of the frontal bone at the coronal suture has been preserved, and shows deep denticulations. The frontal bone appears to have been singularly depressed and low. The frontal sinuses have been large. It is to be regretted that, the junction of the sagittal and coronal sutures being absent, it is impossible to predict the size and shape of this very low frontal bone.

The three lower jaws, marked respectively α , β , γ , are all those of large and powerful males. In α and γ , many teeth are in place; while in β , which has belonged to an older individual, the teeth have been shed during life, and the alveolus, answering to m. 1 and m. 2, on the right-hand side, is absorbed. All these jaws exhibit the same characters of largely developed coronoid processes, with shallow sigmoid notches in β and γ , whilst in α the more normal formation exists. The degree of wearing of the molar teeth appears to denote a hard diet, and might be accounted for on the assumption of the much consumption of parched corn by the Badawi Arabs. The equable periphery and vertical widely exerted condyles of the jaw marked by γ , appear to denote that it belonged to a type of skull wholly distinct from those labelled α and β . The latter, with their comparatively

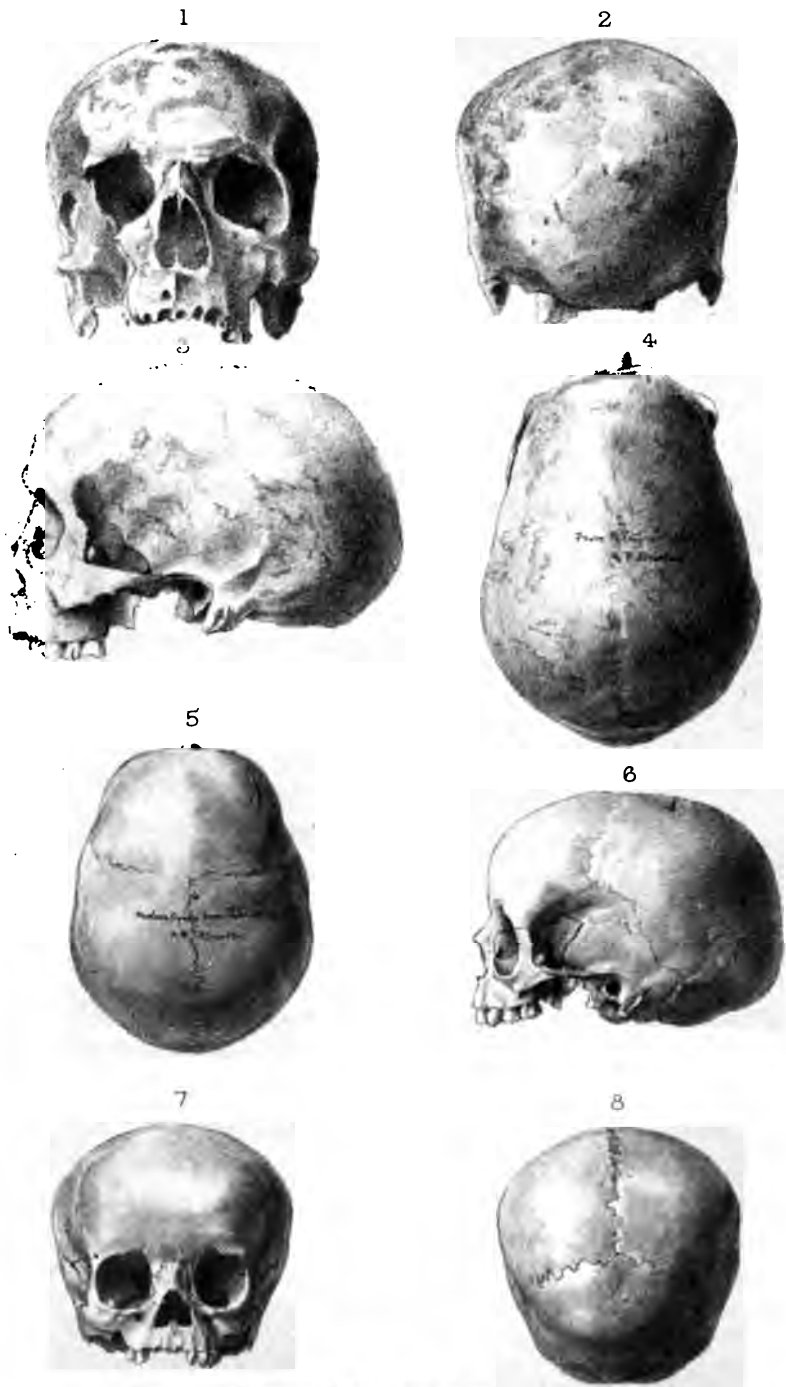
greater amount of obtuseness in the angle of the jaw, appear to have belonged to shorter-headed individuals than the jaw γ ; and I have little hesitation in affirming that the laws of correlation entitle us to affirm, although none of these jaws was found in juxtaposition with a skull, that the jaw γ belonged to an individual having the same cranial type as that which belonged to the meciptocephalic owner of skull No. 2.

Femur. This very long bone measures 51·50 centimètres in length; it is covered with integument which prevents more precise measurement.

Tibia. This measures 41·0 centimètres long. The proportion of tibia to femur, taking the latter as = 100, was 79. These figures are sufficient to show the stature of the present race.

A very large mass of scattered bones is also preserved in the present collection. These chiefly consist of young individuals, among which there are accidentally strewn a few bones of the gazàl (*Antilope dorcas*). There are numerous dorsal and some cervical vertebræ, also many fragments of lumbar vertebræ and one young child's lumbar region, with iliac bones attached.

There are two mummy hands, one left, which exhibits four fingers open, the thumb being broken away, the other on which the right fingers are contracted. In both these cases the fingers are delicate, tapering, and long, and the nails have been slender. There is also a right and left foot, one nearly complete in the case of mummy-cloth, and one in which there are preserved five metatarsal bones alone. These feet are of small and delicate size. None of these bones of extremities accord in dimensions with those of the larger skulls, and they are most probably those of females.



*Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, Views of the adult skull from Palmyra.
Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, Views of the child's skull from Palmyra.*

P.S. On Dec. 22d I received a note from M. A. de Quatrefages, Professor of Anthropology at the Paris Museum, in which he suggests to me that the Palmyrene skulls, or some at least of them, may belong to the Chaldean stock. 'This is in part characterised by the absence of the occipital *lame* and crests, and by the continuity of the curve above and below the latter.' This hint may be of value, but at present the materials for comparison are very small.

Discussion.

Mr. Avery wished to inquire what was the probable size of the persons whose remains had been remarked upon, and whether they exceeded the ordinary stature of man. Races of men of enormous size were said to have been found in Syria at the time of the Hebrew invasion; and Porter had professed to find remains of their dwellings in what was ancient Bashan. Are any remains of these races now in existence? He also inquired whether the present inhabitants of the ancient Palmyra, or the surrounding district, appeared to be the descendants of those who built that city. It was a curious fact that spasmodic civilisation had in that part of Asia arisen, flourished for a while, and then utterly disappeared. He should like to know if there be among the now existing races any apparent fitness for, or endeavours after, a higher state of civilisation than they now enjoyed, or whether the ancient civilisers had entirely passed away.

Captain Burton replied in a few words. He did not attach the least importance to the modern legends about gigantic races in ancient Syria and Palestine; of the size of ancient tombs he would treat elsewhere. Mr. Porter's theories and assertions have long ago been disposed of. The present tenants of Palmyra are simply Fellahin, reclaimed Bedawin.

Finally, although the ancient civilisation had passed away, he believed that the present race is capable, under favourable circumstances, of taking a high standing.

The meeting then separated.

At the meeting of the Anthropological Institute for December 4, 1871, the following paper was read :

On Anthropological Collections from the Holy Land. No. II.
By Richard F. Burton, F.R.G.S., late H.M.'s Consul at Damascus.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I propose this evening, with your permission, to resume the description which was begun during our last meeting; and I may open with remarking upon the favourable reception given to it by the press and the public. This is at once proof and earnest that our study, Anthropology, is growing, and will grow, in general esteem; and we are encouraged to hope that within a reasonable time it will take rank as the most interesting of all studies. The great problems reserved for Geography to resolve are now few: the Polar Seas; parts of China and Japan; the islands of the Indian Ocean; and a white patch in Africa, which I would willingly darken. But these done, only details will remain, and details can hardly be expected to arouse enthusiasm. With us it is very different; and the field of discovery is practically unlimited. Every few years open up another chapter of prehistoric lore: with the clue in our hands we can safely thread the labyrinths of antiquity, and we must thus reverse Palgrave's eloquent words: 'That speechless past has begun to speak; the lost is no longer the utterly lost; the gone is not gone for ever.'

No. 2 Lot. *List of Mr. Rattray's Collection presented to the Anthropological Institute.*

28 fragments of skull-bones, remarkably thick, and therefore presumed to be of old date.

1 jaw-bone and part of a skull. This appears to be comparatively modern, and may come from the neighbouring Moslem cemetery.

9½ old copper bracelets (Aswár).

1 copper pin.

1 fragment of brass bracelet.

2 bits of arm fibulæ.

Part of a buckle.

3 small coins.

15 bits of lachrymatories, the glass being highly iridescent,¹⁰ and of almost the consistency of talc.

4 pieces of old Syrian majolica, the usual type of what was made at Damascus by the Tartars from Kashan, who accompanied the several invading hordes. Hence the fine 'Persian tiles' are still called 'Hajar Kishání' (for 'Kashani'), stone-ware. They may generally be divided into three qualities, according to their age, which in no case can date before A.D. 1400: 1. the best, are easily recognised by the bright colours and the glazing, which looks like a plate of glass; 2. the middle class, is inferior, but still good; and 3. the worst, is the modern, showing poor colours and a weak attempt at vitrification. The specimen from the Harem of Jerusalem, which I now exhibit, seems to be of the second class.

1 bead of cornelian (Akik).

¹⁰ For an analysis of Syrian glass, see *Palestine Exploration Fund*, p. 31, Jan. 1872.

1 roundish bead of gum, probably Sandarus of the Sinaubar (*P. Pinea*?).

1 black bead.

1 green bugle.

1 double bead.

3 blue bugles. These beads should be submitted to some West-African merchant of long experience, who can compare them with the 'Popo,' so highly prized in Western Africa. This spindle-shaped or double-cone specimen is ground.

4 beads of sorts.

Mr. John S. Rattray built a house at a place where the eastern slope of the Libanus falls into the Cœlesyrian Vale, called Sâhib el Zamán (Lord of the Age). In January and February 1870 he happened to open a hollow to the south, which proved to be an artificial cavern, with a shaft or air-hole above, and containing five loculi; two only are shown in the accompanying sketch by Mrs. Rattray. Subjoined is a ground-plan of the cave, which faces towards the Buká'a, or Cœlesyria. The corpse farthest to the west enjoyed a loculus to itself; three compartments had their greater length disposed nearly due north and south, whilst the two others ran from east to west. The heads or feet of those occupying the latter would, therefore, have fronted Meccah, showing that they could not have been Moslems; on the other hand, they may have been Jews, who make the feet front Jerusalem, so that, on arising, the dead may face the Holy City. Each body was deposited within six slabs of cut stone. The bones crumbling when exposed to the light, were reburied; but I persuaded Mr. Rattray to dig them up, and to continue his interesting researches. In one of the skulls a tooth was found; but that disappeared.

The Sâhib el Zamán represents, according to some, Heze-

kiah, who is commonly supposed to sleep with his forefathers at Jerusalem. The tomb is in a ruinous state; but it is still visited by votaries, who, wishing to be cured of ague and fever, the plague of Coelesyria, bring with them a little frankincense and an abundance of faith, pass one night here, and return to their homes whole. The cemetery around is doubtless of high antiquity, and many skeletons have been thrown up when digging the adjacent fields.

A few yards in front of Mr. Rattray's house, and nearer the valley, lies the little village of Kerak Nuh,¹¹ the ruin of Noah; and a 'splendid ruin' Noah's is. It is inhabited by one family of Roman Catholics, with sundry Maronites and a majority of Metawalis (Shiah Moslems), who are kept in pretty strict order by Christian Zahlah. This sleepy little Rip-van-Winkle place, with stone houses, and without trees—they cannot survive the ants and worms—contains the tomb of Noah, which does not, however, bring in as much revenue as its size entitles it to claim. The dimensions are one hundred and four feet ten inches long by eight feet eight inches wide, and three feet three inches high.¹² The venerable votary of the vine was, therefore, of ninepin shape, and hardly so well proportioned as Sittná Hawwá (Our Lady Eve) at Jeddah. The sharp-ridged grave is of masonry, covered *honoris causâ* with the usual ragged green cloth; and the

¹¹ There are many Keraks in the country: the most celebrated, perhaps, is that which occupies the site of Kir, an ancient capital of the Moabites, near the lower extremity of the Dead Sea. It has been suggested that Kir is the 'Karhah' of the Moabite stone—of which much has been said.

¹² The size of tombs is evidently proportioned to fame. Burckhardt found that of Hosea (Nabi Osha), near Salt, 36 ft. long by 3 ft. wide, and 3 ft. 5 in. high.

dimensions of the little room, whose length is filled up by the tomb, are ten feet two inches in breadth by eight feet three inches high. Evidently the section of an old aqueduct has been pressed into doing duty as a patriarchal grave. Outside there is a small paved court, with a 'Mihrab' (prayer niche) and a domelet. The place commands a fine view of the luxuriant valley, and is a favourite with those who wish to 'smell the air.' In the dark store-room of an adjacent house lying south-west of the tomb, Mr. Rattray found the following Latin mortuary inscription, which speaks well for the longevity of the man with many names:¹³

ON. IVLIVS L. F. FAB.

RYFVS P. P.

HIC. SITVS EST. VIX.

ANNOS LXXXIV.

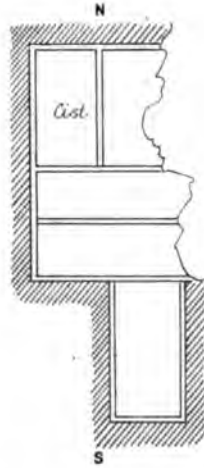
Half an hour west of Karak Núh lies Mu'allakah, meaning the 'dependency'—that is to say, suburb (of Zahlah); the word is, in fact, the 'hanger,' as applied to hanging woods. It is new, as Kerak is old, having been built and colonised by the Amír Bashir Shiháb, when that peremptory personage was offended by the Sectarrians who reposed under the shadow of the patriarchal wings; and its mud-huts might have sprung up like fungi in a night. The lower part suffers severely from ague and fever, the effect of poplar groves, of superabundant water, and of the barber: the latter sometimes bleeds his two dozen a day, till the place looks as if, after a heroic defence, it had just been taken by storm.

¹³ Mr. Rattray also copied, at the tomb of Nabi Shays (Seth, son of Adam), the fragmentary *VETTIVS BAGATAE VIXIT ANN.*, which shows that that part of the Anti-Libanus was also occupied by the Romans. The stone, I believe, has lately been destroyed.



GROUND PLAN OF MORTUARY CAVERN.

Opened by M^r John Scott Rattray



*A (Air hole in roof)
shaft to lower bodies
into the case*



MORTUARY CAVERN.

Opened by M^r John S Rattray at Sahib el Zaman.

Mrs. Rattray del.

Kell Bros Lith London

Winsley Bros Publishers

Description of Portions of Skulls from Sáhíb el Zamán (the so-called Cave-tomb of Hezekiah), from Mr. Rattray's Collection. By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

The specimens presented by Mr. Rattray, extracted from the tomb of the reputed Hezekiah, belong to at least three individuals, all being large and powerful athletic men. The occipital bones are indicative of the existence of three separate individuals, one of whom was large and powerfully athletic, as shown by the enormously hypertrophied condition of the bones, the great thickness of which indicates the existence of a man of large stature, and, to judge by the fractured frontal bone, of low forehead and dolichocephalous skull. That these remains are probably Jewish, the method of interment seems to indicate. That one of the three skulls can be identified with the remains of the Jewish king, or any other especial individual, is, of course, a matter of widest conjecture; but that they indicate the débris of some ancient king, patriarch, or other person of consequence, there can be no doubt.

The lower jaw of a young negro and a fragmentary occipital bone are also found in the Rattray collection. These indicate an individual of about twelve years of age, but in which the negro characters are markedly prominent. The large portion of animal matter still present in the bones shows that they have not long been interred; and the individual was probably alive twenty years ago. The occipital bone is, by its degree of ossification, probably referable to the same individual as the lower jaw belonged to.

No. 3 Lot. *Bones found at Ma'alúlah.*

1 jaw-bone, with chin much cloven : this 'Red Indian' type might belong to a Patagonian.

1 lower jaw and part of calvaria (in two pieces); the distance from the eye orbit to the upper jaw appears abnormally small.

29 fragments of calvariæ.

2 teeth.

1 rag of old stuff, apparently everywhere used for sepulture.

The site of this find (Sept. 26, 1870) was at the upland village of Ma'alúlah, distant three hours from the large Greek convent of Saidnáyá. On the left side of the Wady, just below the junction of the Fijj or gorge of Santa Tekla, is the site of a large old necropolis, wayside as usual, upon the lower road to Yabrúd, distant two hours. The tall cliffs of reddish-gray stone, breaking into a chalky white substance, stand perpendicularly at the sky-line, the débris below assuming the natural angle; and at the base of the latter are disposed immense masses, shaken down probably by earthquakes. Several of them are pierced for sarcophagi, disposed at different angles, one containing as many as eight; another has rude steps running up to the tomb; whilst a third shows two carved niches, each with two busts and the remnants of an inscription, ENAIIAKEIENI, which should be read in a better light. The bones and rag were found covered with a layer of earth in a boulder fronting to the south-east, and with a profile somewhat suggesting a huge faceless head. On the right side of the Ma'alúlah Valley are also four large fallen rocks pierced for sarcophagi and resting upon the conglomerate.

The situation of Ma'alúlah is peculiar, even in Syria. The tall caverned cliff-ridge of Marmarún and Dinha, and the nipples of Rankus—a caricature of the Cintra Mountain—outline viewed from the sea—are here prolonged west; and the line is split by two Fijj (*cluses*), deep transverse gorges caused by fracture at right angles to the strike or direction of the chain. The Fijj el Sharki (Eastern), which should be called Northern, bears from the junction 15° ; the Fijj el Gharbi (Western), 273° . The town, with its streets like mountain torrents, stands between them, at the south-eastern base of the bluff, which the two gashes insulate from the rest of the cliff-ridge; it runs up the lower slopes precipitous as Safet or Baylán, and above it, at the sky-line, is a perpendicular palisaded reef, much weathered, but showing marks of old carvings. Below the settlement is the great Wady of glaring white chalk, with its ribbon of cool deep shady green, the result of dense walnuts, tall poplars, and abundant water, which refresh the eyes like a bath. The peculiarity of the Ma'alúlah Valley is, that it produces the Fistuk (pistachio), a tree here unknown: a specimen was shown to us at Mukhtara in the Libanus, but it was a fancy growth. The pistachio, whose fruits are the 'nuts' of the A. V. (the Hebrew Botnim), flourishes chiefly in the district about Aleppo; it is extremely rare in Palestine proper, although a few, evidently transplanted, have been found near Jerusalem and Bayrut. All the trees scattered in the lower part of this valley, several of them showing more than one trunk supported by the same roots, are old, from afar much resembling venerable figs, but with fleshy ovate leaves attached to a red stalk. I did not see a single young specimen. The green pistachio is a luxury, but this year (1870) all are Háil or barren, and they will not produce till the

next. The same is the case in many parts of Syria with the olive. Does it show that the growth is not quite at home?

It is worth the traveller's while to thread the two Fijj, in order to understand the lay of the land. Beginning at the western, and passing up the roughest of streets, the path strikes the left bank high up. On the right is a cavern, with a breast-work of rough stones, and the remains of a ladder with sixty rungs. In this Husn or fort the Christians hid their women and children during part of July and August of the massacre year of 1860; and they were aided against the Moslems of the adjacent country places, who repeatedly attacked them, of course under order of the local government, by their Moslem fellow-villagers. This is one case out of many showing how well the two faiths can live together, were it not for the intrigues and the divisions bred for their own selfish objects by the authorities. It is as if, in order to hold India, we systematically fomented all manner of disturbances between Hindu and Moslem. Beyond El Husn, the gorge becomes wild; the torrents, which descend from four places to the west, must now be shallow, but they show a high old watermark, and a few trees are growing in one place by its side. The path then appears to be a stone staircase, with deep holes for the horses' hoofs. Reaching the summit in 15', and turning north, with the Sultani or modern high-road to Damascus on the left, the traveller finds the monastery of Már Sarkís, St. Sergius, a dome of common plaster supported by stone walls, with horizontal beams of wood let in, the custom of Persia as well as of Syria. Around it, to south-east and north-west, is a scatter of mortuary caves. The largest and best contains a niche with scallop-shell arch; another niche surmounted by a triangle containing a circle; an eagle with spread wings fronting

west; and a similar figure upon the roof. All the inscriptions were defaced, and I could read only the familiar beginning ΕΡΟΥΣ.

The people, who were sledging Sumach, pointed out to me, above Már Tekla, the place where Mir Mohammed el Harfushi, escorted only by twenty to twenty-five horsemen, finding himself pursued by a detachment of five hundred Turkish cavalry, rode up the slope, dismounted, and deliberately pushed his favourite mare backwards over the cliff, dashing her to pieces rather than allow his enemies to boast having captured her. He then attempted to scale on foot the left flank of the valley; but he was seized and led away to Damascus. At the beginning of the present century, he would have learned the use of the bowstring; but in these *tempi più leggiadri e men' feroci* he was merely exiled to Broussa. After a time, he fled disguised as a priest, obtained pardon at Damascus, and died at Sargháya—I am acquainted with his son Mir Ta'an. Mir Mohammed is described as a man with red hair and blue eyes, whose look suggested the cut-throat; he was, however, a fluent speaker, and the peasantry, who did not like him, but who have learned to like the Turkish rule less, now speak of him with regret.

I descended the right side of the 'Eastern Gorge' by a precipitous path down a rock-face lined with caverns. The large natural arch of stone which spanned it fell some forty years ago. At the bottom is a little rill, trickling from the upper gardens of the Convent, and by its shady side grows the Sha'ar Már Tekla (hair of Sta. Tecla), the maiden-hair fern. It will be remembered that when she was flying from her idolatrous father, this Fijj opened for her a passage. I followed her steps to the convent which bears her name,

mounted a multitude of stairs, passed up and down a variety of passages, and was shown a dripping of water which afforded her drink, and which still covers the rock with green. People ply the metal cup for Tabarruk—in order to receive a blessing. At right angles to the place of the spring is the saintly cell, now a chapel. After so much of pious reminiscence, it was a change to meet the inmates, who kindly gave us coffee and lemonade; one of them speaking English and showing an English dog, whilst all talked the latest politics, certainly not six months old.

Ma'alúlah can muster some six hundred muskets; the Catholics number three-quarters of the whole; the Greek Rayyáhs' one-eighth; and the Moslems, under their civil Shaykh Diyáb Hammud, about the same. The 'Sulútiyah,' as they are termed without reason in official documents, are a fine, tall, and stout race, more like mountaineers than lowlanders; and the brown-red complexions of the girls are pleasing to look at after the yellow and rouge of Damascus. All are, however, unusually unclean, partly being Christians, and *au reste* dwellers in a cold climate. Their houses avoid windows and ventilation as much as possible, and are capped by real chimney-pots; whilst cow-chips are dried, as in Sind, for fuel upon the roofs. Substantial walls are easily built with the freestone lying all around them, and the softer material composes their lime and whitewash. Almost every terrace has its plot of a strong-smelling yellow flower, called Ward Asfar or Karanful, and of perfumed Rayhán, or herb basil (*Ocimum basilicum*), in which they seem to delight as much as Hindus. There is no such thing as a Suk, or bazar, and I had trouble in buying a bottle of vinegar, unjustly entitled wine. Yet the people applied to me for a school: they were referred to my

friends Messrs. Wright and Scott, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission at Damascus, and I only hope that they will succeed.

Bilinguals, but rather Bœotians than Tyrians, all at Ma'alúlah, Moslems as well as Christians, speak Syriac, which they profess to have derived from their ancestry (Jaddán Ajdád). There are only three hamlets in the country where this lingers, the others being Jubb 'Adín¹⁴ and Bak'há'a. The old tongue is excessively corrupted, but it is still unintelligible to foreigners. Dr. Socin, a young Swiss traveller, whom I met at Damascus, and who has lately made a hit by discovering, at the Chaldean monastery of Mardin, the *Kalilag ve Damnag*, a complete translation of the original Panchatantra, spent two months with a friend in the Sarkis Convent, and learned all that he required. The following is a specimen of the half Arabic Syriac now spoken at Ma'alúlah :

Bohr, the sea (A., Bahr).

Bohrata, a tank (A., Buhayrah, Birkah).

Dayrá, a monastery (A., Dayr).

Ghauzta, a walnut tree (A., Jauzeh).

Hosoná, a horse (A., Hosan).

Humúra, an ass (A., Himár).

Huwwa, white (A., Howareh, chalk).

Lahmah, bread. (This is the Hebrew form, *e.g.* Beth-lehem; in A., Lahm signifies flesh).

¹⁴ Jubb, often corrupted to 'Jibb,' is a common prefix to Syrian villages; it means a well (Jubb Yusuf), pit, or water-hole, with or without surrounding vegetation. I have not visited Jubb 'Adín, and can only repeat the information picked up at Ma'alúlah; the three Syriac-speaking villages are usually said to be Ma'alúlah, Bak'há'a, and Ayn el Tiniyyah. Since the above lines were written, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake writes to me: 'Syriac is spoken only at Jubb 'Adín, Ma'alúlah, and Bak'há'a: they understand it a little, but do not regularly speak it, at Ayn Tiniyyah.'

Paytá, a house (A., Bayt).

Shinna, a tall fort-like rock.

S'jartá, a tree. (A., Shajar: hence the modern Syrian says 'Sajar,' upon the same principle which makes some of us prefer 'srimps' to 'shrimps.'

Tsalja, snow (A., Talj).

Tutshá, a mulberry tree (A., Tut).

Torá, a mountain (A., Tur).

The words are evidently harsher than the corresponding Arabic; and we find the elements of the 'Iltiká el Sákinayn,' the meeting of two quiescent consonants, which is so contrary to the spirit of the Koranic dialect, and which, especially at the beginning of words—*e.g.* 'Bráhim for Ibráhim—where it is most easily remarked, first strikes the ear of the Arabist landing at Bayrut.

Description of Skulls and other Remains from Ma'alúlah, Syria, discovered by Captain Burton. By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

The remains before us are of two descriptions, one white and bleached, and one which has been exposed for years to the erosive influences of interment. The first two specimens described belong to the first category.

1. Fragmentary occipital bone of young individual, possibly female. The marks for the attachment of muscles are not strongly marked.

2. Mandible (with canine tooth in place) of a large and aged individual. In the remarkably oblique ramus of this jaw, the shallow sigmoid notch, and the pointed coronoid, it bears some resemblance to the celebrated Moulin-Quignon

jaw. The chin is prominent and 'mesepicentric.'¹⁵ The alveoli for the molar series are small, and that for the third molar has been smaller than that for the second. The canines have been normal in form. The mylohyoid notch is deep. The two condyles are broadly divaricated; and the owner has probably been brachycephalous.

3. Facial bones of a large and tolerably prognathous person. The palate has been broad and shallow; and the molar teeth (two of which, and a premolar, remain in place) are large and worn. The orbits have been large and squared; the nasal bones large, thick, and curved; the nasal orifice of normal dimensions.

4. Frontal bone, with portion of parietal, probably of a female, with large frontal sinuses and prominent frontal bosses. The bones are very thin.

5, 6, 7. Portions of parietal bones, the one marked 7 being thicker than the other two.

8. Left mastoid process and petrous bone of a large and athletic male. The mastoid groove is deep, and the auditory foramen large.

9, 10. Portions of brim of ilium.

11. Molar tooth, not referable to the mandible above described.

If we endeavour to obtain any definite race-characters from the present remains, we can only conclude that they belong to not more than three individuals, and that there is not the slightest resemblance with any of those, described elsewhere, from Palmyra. They do not appear to have belonged to what is called the Phœnician type. Of the probable age of the interment, I can only say that the condition of the bones indicates considerable antiquity.

¹⁵ *Anthropological Review*, vol. v. 1867, p. 296.

No. 4 Lot. *From the Dayr Már Músá el Habashi.*

Two bangles of twisted glass, blue and white banded, called Dumluj, not Aswár (metal bracelets), and worn upon the arm, often till rolls of flesh are formed above and below them. The larger is much oxidised. It was bought from a girl, who had picked it up in a cemetery near Nabk where the gravediggers were at work; all the rest were broken. The material of both resembles Hebron work, but is of better manufacture than the modern. They are, therefore, locally called Dumluj Akik (carnelian), to distinguish them from the ordinary Dumluj Kizáz.

Five calvariaë, probably of priests; one has the mouth stuffed with wool.

These relics were found (September 28th, 1870) in the Wady Már Músá el Habashi. This rocky Fiumara, a bare line of white and reddish limestone, in places curiously streaked and banded, appears, from the great number of mortuary caves, large and small, which riddle its right bank, to have been the conventual cemetery. Some of the pigeon-holes are at considerable elevations, and the stone has fallen away so as to render them almost inaccessible. The bodies were placed within loculi of cut slabs, after the ancient custom of the country (as in Mr. Rattray's cavern), and they are mostly sitting, still the ecclesiastical position. One skeleton was wrapped in the Mas'h, a coarse canvas which touches the flesh, with silk outside. Amongst them women appear to have been buried. I collected in this gorge five skulls, and I might easily have collected fifty. The children of Nabk, Dayr Atiyah, and other neighbouring villages, are, however, in the habit of passing their holidays in skylarking

amongst the graves, and they have already done (anthropologically speaking) considerable damage.

The Fiumara in question drains to the east the upland *massif* which divides the Kara-Nabk terrace from the great Jayrud-Palmyra Valley.¹⁶ The range is locally known as the Jebel el Sharkí, or Eastern Mountain, which must not be confounded with the true Anti-Libanus, from which it is separated by two great steps. The name of the highest point, however, Jebel Kházim, from which the Halímat el Kabú bears 317° (Mag.) and Jayrúd 205° (Mag.), might be applied to the whole block. It is a long, lumpy, and uninteresting line, averaging 5500 feet in height. When viewed from the west, a shallow bulge in the centre, denoting the Wady Sha'ab, which opens opposite the Dayr el Atiyah village, divides it into two sections, northern and southern. Seen from the eastern and lower gradient, the Palmyran Valley depressed about 1000 feet, it becomes a far more picturesque feature, walling in the long narrow plain which runs from Jayrúd to Karyatayn. The monastery is perched on the left side of its gorge, and here the bridle-path, a narrow ledge and ladder of slippery stone, ends abruptly; the good monks preferred keeping a precipice of some 500 feet in front of them, in order to ward off the Bedawín who ride the lowlands. We exchanged a shot or two with some fifteen of these gentry, mounted, evidently for business, on mares and dromedaries, but more for bravado on both sides than with the intention of doing work. It is strange that of all those who have passed, when *en route* for the Zenobian city, almost under the walls of this conspicuous and commanding building, not one appears to have noticed it: they were probably too much occupied with the

¹⁶ These three gradients have been already described.

material hardships and the physical discomforts of the journey to look out for themselves, and they certainly had no guides who would look out for them.

Már Músá el Habashi (St. Moses the Abyssinian) was a hermit from the land of 'Prester John,' who lived upon this mountain, and who died here in the odour of sanctity. The first monastery, distant about an hour and a half of slow riding, or six miles, from Nabk town, was built, according to priestly tradition, over his remains by the Emperor Heraclius, A.D. 610 to 641, and it has, they say, been four times destroyed by sectarian hatred. Its annual pilgrimage was well attended until the last five or six years; but since that time the incursions of the Nomades have been an effectual bar to pious visitation. The holy man's thumb is kept in a silver box, and is kissed by wives who would become the joyful mothers of children. I managed here to secure an interesting 'Mabkharah,' a brass thurible for burning incense, whose art shows the extreme of quaintness. It is now passed round for inspection.¹⁷

The western face of the building is in two compartments; and, as is still the custom, wooden beams are disposed horizontally about the masonry; the wall is battlemented, so as to sweep the only approach; at the south, however, an active scaling party, with some mechanical aid, might command an entrance. Over the single low door of iron, which is not easily moved, even with a key, there is a Syriac inscription. A passage, with a well or cistern on the right hand, leads to the church. The latter is in the rudest Græco-Syrian style, with the vilest of daubs upon the iconastasis and the walls.

¹⁷ At the suggestion of Colonel Lane Fox it was exhibited, as well as the Kanawat altar, on Thursday, March 14, 1872, before the Society of Antiquaries.

From the court a flight of steps runs up to a rickety terrace, which commands a fine view of the Palmyran Valley; and an inscription—half Arabic, half Syriac—acknowledges the piety of a certain Matran (Bishop) Matta, who restored the building in A.D. 1799. Here we can distinctly see the White Mountain and the dark mound that form the Báb, or gate of Palmyra; the Sabkhah, or Malláhah, a succession of salt-pans, north-east of Jayrúd, which every one mistakes for ruins; and the ranges to the south-east, the Jebel Wustani, Jebel Zubaydah, and Jebel el Afa'í, which culminate in the tall horizon-wall supporting the Abd wa Abdah (Slave and Slavess), and ending the Anti-Libanus in the direction of the Desert.

Retracing our steps to the head of the Wady, and bending first to the north and then to the north-east, we pass the highest ledge of the range, Jebel el Kházim, before mentioned. From this point, striking the Wady el Mudakhkhan (Smoky Valley), and descending some 400 or 500 feet to the south-east, we presently reach El Mudakhkhanah (the Smoker). Here the stone is rough and cracked into cubes, which farther weathering converts into plates, and these plates break as easily as mica. Scattered amongst the rocks are a dozen cracks and crevices, with lips blackened, and the vegetation around them parched and charred. Apparently, however, there is thorough combustion, as no trace of brimstone remains. That some of these apertures are deep, the sound of dropped stones told us; at this season they are rather cold than hot, but all the people assured me that a dense vapour issues from them after rains. The guides spoke of a large pit, but could not find it. I made them build a cairn for the benefit of future travellers, who will, it is hoped, be more fortunate.

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*Description of Remains from the Dayr Mâr Músá el Habashi.**By Dr. C. Carter Blake.*

The five skulls before us belong to two broad divisions, to the first of which appertain skulls 1, 2, 4; and to the second one 3 and 5. Only one of these skulls possesses the lower jaw attached.

Skull 1. This large and powerful brachycephalous skull, supposed by Captain Burton to have belonged to a priest, is remarkable for the characters of extreme height and shortness. It is asymmetrical, there being a slight flattening on the right side. All the sutures are open, with the exception of the lower part of the coronal, and there is a large Wormian bone separating the alisphenoid from the parietal on the right side. On the left, the junction between the alisphenoid and parietal has been so short, that the frontal and temporal bones have almost joined. The coronal suture is not very completely denticulated. The distance between the orbits is large, and the higher portion of the nasal bones is comparatively flattened. The orbits are large, and depressed at their external superciliary borders. The superciliary ridges are undeveloped. The forehead is high; the coronal region dome-shaped; and the superoccipital bone vertical from above the greater semicircular ridge. The mastoids are remarkably small. There is a slight paroccipital on the right side. The temporal squama is small, and the zygomata weak, producing aphænozygism. The malar bones are, however, large and forwardly developed. The nasal spine is large. The palate is shallow and flat. The teeth are absent. The foramen occipitale is large and rounded. There is slight exostosis on its anterior border. The form of the forehead and

general contour of the skull may be figuratively said to resemble, though it is larger than, the ordinary extreme brachycephalous type found at Pachacamac, in Peru, and amongst the Malays. As with the other skulls of this series, the measurements are appended at the end of the present description.

Skull 2. Of smaller dimensions than the preceding, this elegant young female, with graceful aquiline nose, repeats most of the characters previously indicated. It is very asymmetrical, the flattening on the left side being proved to have taken place through life, by the existence of a large Wormian bone in the left half of the lambdoid suture. The age of the individual was not more than eighteen. The coronal suture is deeply denticulated, and the alisphenoido-parietal suture is long. The coronal region is carinated transversely along the direction of the suture, in concomitance with the forward compression of the parietal bones by the artificial pressure which has taken place since birth. I regard this to have been entirely due to a 'suckling board.' This is, however, not the cause of the absolute and natural brachycephaly of the skull, which appears to have existed without any adventitious aid from the mother or nurse. The second molar on both sides is in place. It is normally quadrate, and does not show marks of erosion. The canine and first premolar also are *in situ*; the former being acuminate. The nasal bones are large, arched, and curved. The orbits are small and rounded.

Skull 3. Vide infra.

Skull 4. Another brachycephalous calvarium from the same locality, in which the facial bones are entirely absent. The present specimen exhibits a greater globate and rounded character of the frontal region than skulls 1 and 2. The

coronal suture has been partially obliterated on the right side towards its lower region, and the junction with the alisphenoid bone is not clear. There is a slight *probole*. The occipital foramen is very small. The lambdoid suture is closed and almost obliterated at its apex. The mastoids are large, and the supramastoid ridge is thick.

All the above skulls belong to the same race.

Skull 3. The resemblances which exist between the skulls of the Phœnician branch of the Semitic race and the negroids of Abyssinia are so great, that the chief point of interest in the description of the present and following skulls will lie in the discussion to which race they belong. The resemblances which the present specimen exhibits to the large *mecistocephalic* skull from Palmyra are great, yet comparison with some of the skulls from Eastern Africa will show, according to my opinion, more strongly marked points of likeness. It is in the frontal region where these are most manifest. The present long *orthocephalic* skull, which is nearly perfect, with whitened condition, manifestly distinguishing it from the other four, and pointing to the existence of a greater lapse of time to which it has been exposed in a clear *dessicating* atmosphere, is well curved above and behind its retrocedent frontal bone, whence it arches gently along the parietals, across the *superoccipital squama* to the inion. The occiput thence shelves gently down to the narrow and small *foramen magnum*. The age of the individual has not been above twenty-three, as shown by the condition of the wisdom teeth. The palate is high and deep, but not, as in the Phœnicians, excessively so. The second molar shows the condition of partial *quadricuspitation* to which in some controversial remarks¹⁸ I have called attention, as being rare in the negro

¹⁸ *Reader*, March 1864.

aces. The first molar is large and eroded. Only the molar series on the left, and the second and first molars and first premolar on the right, are in place, the right dens sapientiæ not having been developed beyond the alveolus, and the remaining teeth having fallen out since death. All the alveoli are in good condition. The basisphenoid bone is thin and narrow, the glenoid cavities deep and broad, and there is a slight paroccipital process. The mastoids are large; the condyles as large as may be expected from the size of the skull. The norma verticalis shows a small narrow forehead with ovoid parietal bones. The coronal suture, which is deeply serrated, but not complexly denticulated, is more closed on the left than on the right side; yet the cranial contour is symmetrical. The zygomatic arches are thin, and the malar prominence, instead of being forward, as in the brachycephalous skulls of the present series, is lateral. The nasal bones are forwardly produced, not arched as in the other series, and there is no deep supranasal notch. The super-orbital foramen is converted into a notch on both sides. The maxillary is slightly prognathic. Whilst the sutures in the forward part of the skull are tolerably closed, the lambdoid suture, and especially the additamentum mastoidalis, are open and highly denticulated. The supraciliaries are slight, and the glabella forwardly produced and prominent. The measurements of the present skull will, perhaps, show best its points of distinction from the Phœnician type.

Skull 5. The 'priest's skull, with skull and mouth stuffed with wool,' of Captain Burton exhibits so many points of interesting accordance with skull 3, that it is much to be regretted that its semi-mummified condition, with so much of the integument remaining, precludes exact comparison with it. Nevertheless, as it affords evidence of the

manner of interment of the ancient monastic residents at Dayr Már Músá el Habashi, I do not think it necessary to remove the wool and integument in order to prove my assertion. The lambdoid suture is the only one visible, and shows deep and complex denticulations. The lower jaw is large and powerful, with deep sigmoid notch. The angle is exerted. Some of the cervical vertebræ are attached by the integument; and the base of the skull is in a condition which precludes accurate measurement. The canine teeth are acuminate, the incisors, with one exception, having fallen out. The molar teeth are not much eroded. The palate is broad, not deep or high, but angular. The supracanine notch is deep. The frontal bone has not been as low as in the skull No. 3. The proboscis is large and long. The mentum is mesepicentric, and the mandible shows strong dental prognathism.

The question will be of interest to what race the three brachycephalous skulls appertain. On this subject the opinion of Captain Burton will necessarily be of more value than my own speculation. He says: 'The Már Músá skulls may be Osmanli, or rather Tartars, for the convent has been inhabited during the last century.'

We therefore have two entirely discordant types, one in which the cranial index ranges from $\cdot 74$ to $\cdot 76$, and which I associate with the Eastern African negroid type, and not with the Semite of Syria, and the other with a proportionate diameter between $\cdot 80$ and $\cdot 90$, which appears to be identical in cranial conformation with the existing Turkish race. It may be generally said, therefore, that three of the skulls from Dayr Már Músá el Habashi are Turanian and two negroid.

A friend furnishes me with the following notes about St.

Moses the Abyssinian: 'Before Mousa was a Mar, he was a robber. There is an abstract of his life written by Palladius early in the fifth century. It does not at all follow that because the skulls were found within the precincts of the monastery, that they were therefore priests' skulls; for in the East, in the large monasteries, containing sometimes fifteen hundred monks, there were very often no more than three priests. Mar Moses was ordained very late in life. He was a tremendously muscular Christian, having on one occasion taken four of his former companions on his back to his monastery; in the *Historia Lansiacæ* he is spoken of as being an Abyssinian.'

Table of Measurements, according to Dr. Barnard Davis's System, in Centimètres.

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
	Internal capacity.	Circumference.	Fronto-occipital arc.	Intermastoid arc.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Length of face.	Breadth of face.	Prop. of breadth to length.	Prop. of height to length.
Skull 1	50·5	34·5	39·5	16·6	15·1	11·5	..	12·3	·90	·69
Skull 2	49·5	35·0	39·5	17·0	14·4	12·0	..	12·1	·84	·70
Skull 3	53·0	37·5	39·5	18·3	14·0	10·5	..	11·4	·76	·57
Skull 4	52·5	33·0	39·0	16·8	15·0	11·0	·80	·65
Skull 5 (approximate)	50·0	35·5	34·7	17·8	13·3	10·8	12·5	11·4	·74	·60

No. 5 Lot. *Collected at Hums.*

Broken skull.

Fragments of face-bones.

Mortuary lamp.

The skull and bones were picked up (February 25th, 1871)

at the ancient Roman baths, lying to the north-west and outside of Hums, Emesa of old. Excavations were going on for the sole purpose of removing the stones; the fine mosaic spoken of by travellers had already disappeared, and in a few years the place will be a mound of earth. This Hammám was probably outside the old city, which, however, extended far to the north, and was fed by the Sákiyat el Balad, or town-conduit, which sets off from the Orontes a little below the bridge at Bába Amru. Just before my arrival, a votive altar, with illegible inscription, had been dug up a couple of hundred yards beyond the gate. Hums is still liberally supplied with well-water; but whilst that to the east is sweet, all to the west and north, especially about the suburb containing the tomb of Sayyidna Khalid, is brackish. Beyond the Sákiyat stands the noble ruin known as Burj el Sauma'ah, Tower of the Oratory, and supposed to have been a prison or castle. The square pyramidal top has wholly disappeared, and the western part is now strewn upon the ground. There are no traces of the Greek inscription seen by Belon, which proved the Hums ruin to have been a cenotaph of Caius Julius (Cæsar), buried in the Mausoleum of Augustus. Poccoke (chap. xiii.) describes it when still comparatively well preserved, being forty feet square and thirty within, double-storied, and with five pilasters on each side, Doric below and Ionic above. Now nothing remains but a fragment of the northern wall, and smaller sections of the eastern and western flanks. The material, like that of the Balnea, is of flat Roman brick, set in concrete hard as stone; it is faced with basaltic squares, each about four inches, forming, with alternations of white limestone, diaper-work of rough mosaic. To the north, there are traces of five pilasters, but only the two central appear, and it is lined with five shallow

cornice-bands of the same black material. Viewed from the south side, the building seems to have had two vaulted stories, if not more. The inside of the western front shows a rude arch, with imperfect keystone,¹⁹ like the massive vaulting in the lower part of the Sidon Castle. To the north and south of this cenotaph is a large modern burial-ground: indeed, the cemeteries of Hums are more extensive than the city, and probably this has been so used from the most ancient times.

The mortuary lamp was taken from one of the cemeteries to the south of the great mound which bore the Temple of the Sun. To the south-west is the graveyard *Jabbánat el Asi*: here I was shown a solid basaltic door, like those of the *Haurán*, the *Jebel Durúz*, and the '*Aláh*, with an iron ring soldered into the outside. On the south-east is the tomb ignorantly supposed to lodge *Ja'afar el Tayyár*; it may have been tenanted by his descendants: around it lie the graves of the *Jenádilah Shaykhs*, descended from the celebrated Sufi, *Ahmad el Rufai* of Baghdad. Near the south-west angle of the moat is supposed to lie the poet *Ka'ab el Ahbár*; and in this part many of the graves, lined and roofed with slabs of basalt, have yawned open, exposing their inmates. All, however, appearing to be modern and Moslem, the bones were left in peace.

Hums is one of the most interesting towns in Syria, not

¹⁹ I am at pains to imagine how the popular opinion about the Romans ignoring the true keystone was formed. The utmost that can be said of classical arches in Syria is, that the keystone is not an invariable feature; generally there is but one, more rarely we find two. The massive remains of the semi-circus at *Baysán* (of old, *Scythopolis*), in the Ghor or Jordanic valley, may be quoted as one of the best instances.

and property was, according to local legend, terrible. In A.D. 1098, the Crusaders became masters of it; and finally they were driven out, after eighty-nine years' tenure (1187), by the Kurdish Sultan Saláh el Dín—the latter, according to Poccocke, probably fortified the Temple of the Sun.

It was, therefore, with more than usual curiosity that I proceeded to inspect the mound, which is still crowned with a tiara of torn and rent towers, some of them imposing even in the sadness of decay. The material is a hard yellow clay, which, when tunnelled into, stands without supports: this may be seen at the southern talus, where a passage about a hundred paces long is used by the thread-spinners. Ascending by the easy zigzag from the Turkoman Gate, the perpendicular height is found by aneroid to be 120 feet. The summit is an uneven broken oval, apparently covering a mass of ruins; the greater axis, from north-west to south-east, is 435 feet, and the conjugate, from north-east to south-west, is 375. I counted three wells sunk in the waving ground.

When 'Saladin' took the place, he seems to have thrown a revetment of masonry from the top of the hill to the bottom; many traces of it remain, especially on the northern, the eastern, and the south-eastern sides. The angle of this glacis was 45° , so as to prevent scaling, and the scarp now descends to the bottom of the fosse, which is sixty-two feet broad, and provided with a perpendicular counterscarp of masonry some twenty feet high; moreover it is not connected with the town moat. The material of scarp and counterscarp is basalt, set in a concrete of mortar and limestone, and the blocks become notably larger as they descend. In places where the hard clay has been washed from under, it stands up like piecrust, outside black and white inside,

allowing free passage like a covered way ; in parts, also, it is bound together by older pillars of basalt disposed horizontally, as ties or thorough-bonds. Labour is unspared, and the masonry evidently dates from the same time as that of Cæsarea Palestina (Strato's Tower), and the outer western works of the tower of David, near the Khalil gate of Jerusalem. Traces of this same kind of revetment may be found on the Tells of the 'Aláh ; at Tahúnat el Hawá, the northern point of Mount Girizim ; at Santa Hanná, near Bayt Jibrín ; at Baysán (Scythopolis) ; and at the celebrated Tell el Kazi (Dan)—to mention no others. The walls of Hums, although made of the same material as that which protected the mound, are apparently of much later date.

This immense revetment formed round the rim of the mound a regular crest, varying from two to seven feet broad, whilst below it is ten or twelve ; the rim is broken by towers and bulwarks within easy bowshot of one another. Of these ' Burj'²² there are now seven important remains. The long *meurtrières* intended for archers, not for matchlock men, the arches and the domed casemates, prove its date ; whilst the old basaltic pillars horizontally couched in the solid masonry, the large blocks of white stone, the imposts of snowy marble, and the columns of fine Syenite and gray Egyptian granite, show what has become of the Sun Temple's splendid remains. After several days spent chiefly in searching about this mound, I was fortunate enough to find near the sixth Burj, beginning at the round white tower above the Turkoman Gate, a place where the stone revetment and the modern débris had fallen away. Here, facing the north-east country, stood, apparently *in situ*, a Doric pilaster,

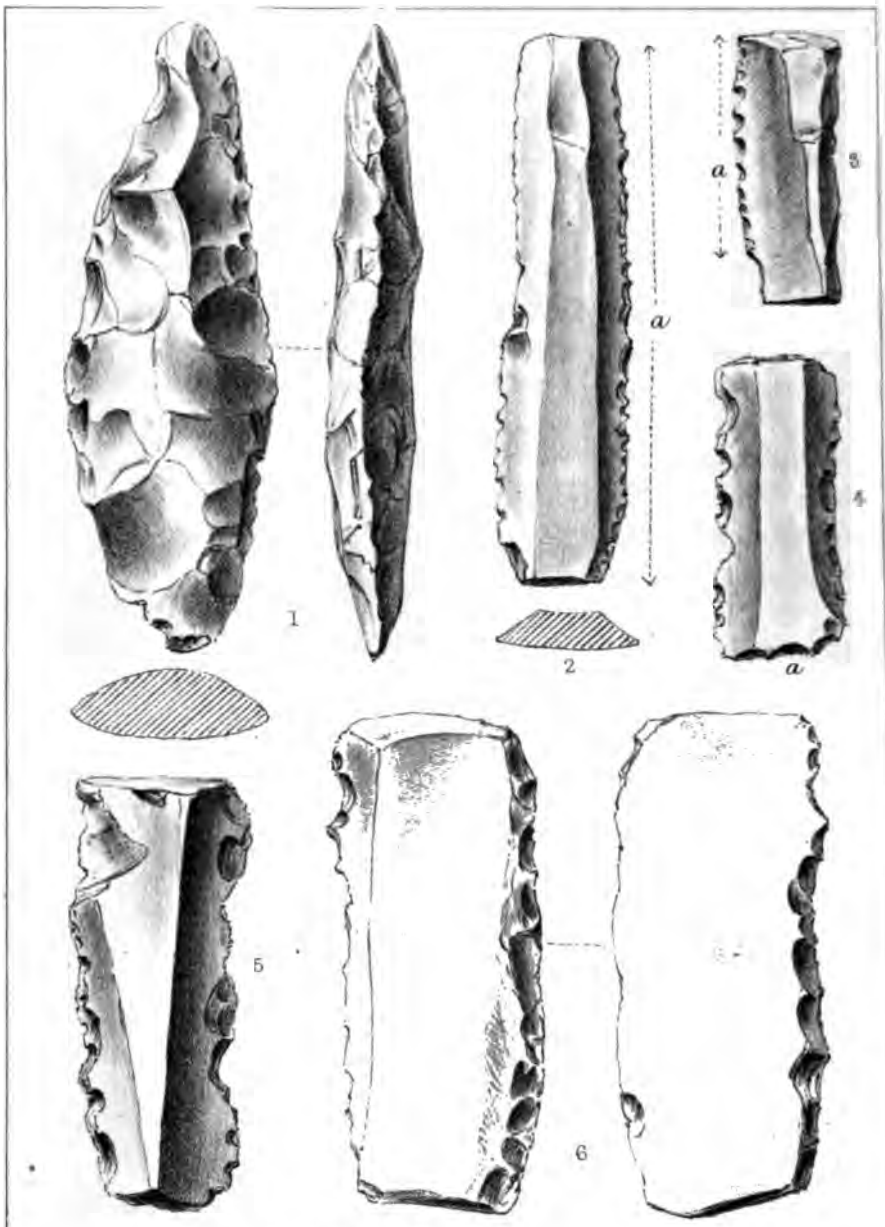
²² The Arabic equivalent—I will not attempt to argue the priority question—of the Greek *πίργος*.

which seemed to have supported an arch: it was about six feet below the actual level of the plateau, and the descent, which is still used by the silk-spinners, looked as if it had anciently served as a ramp or approach. Before Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake made his excursion to Hums and Hamah, I gave him details about the position of what I cannot but believe to be a remnant of the great shrine, and requested him to verify my observations: he searched everywhere without finding it, and he came to the conclusion that it had been covered by an earthslip, or had been broken up for building material. In these North Syrian towns, the destruction of old buildings is unpleasantly rapid: scores of old basaltic rafters, torn from the 'Aláh ruins, may be seen in the streets of Hamah. I would willingly offer a plan of this most interesting site; but it is far better left to the regular survey of Palestine, which will doubtless take the opportunity of making excavations.

Description of Remains from Hums (Emesa). By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

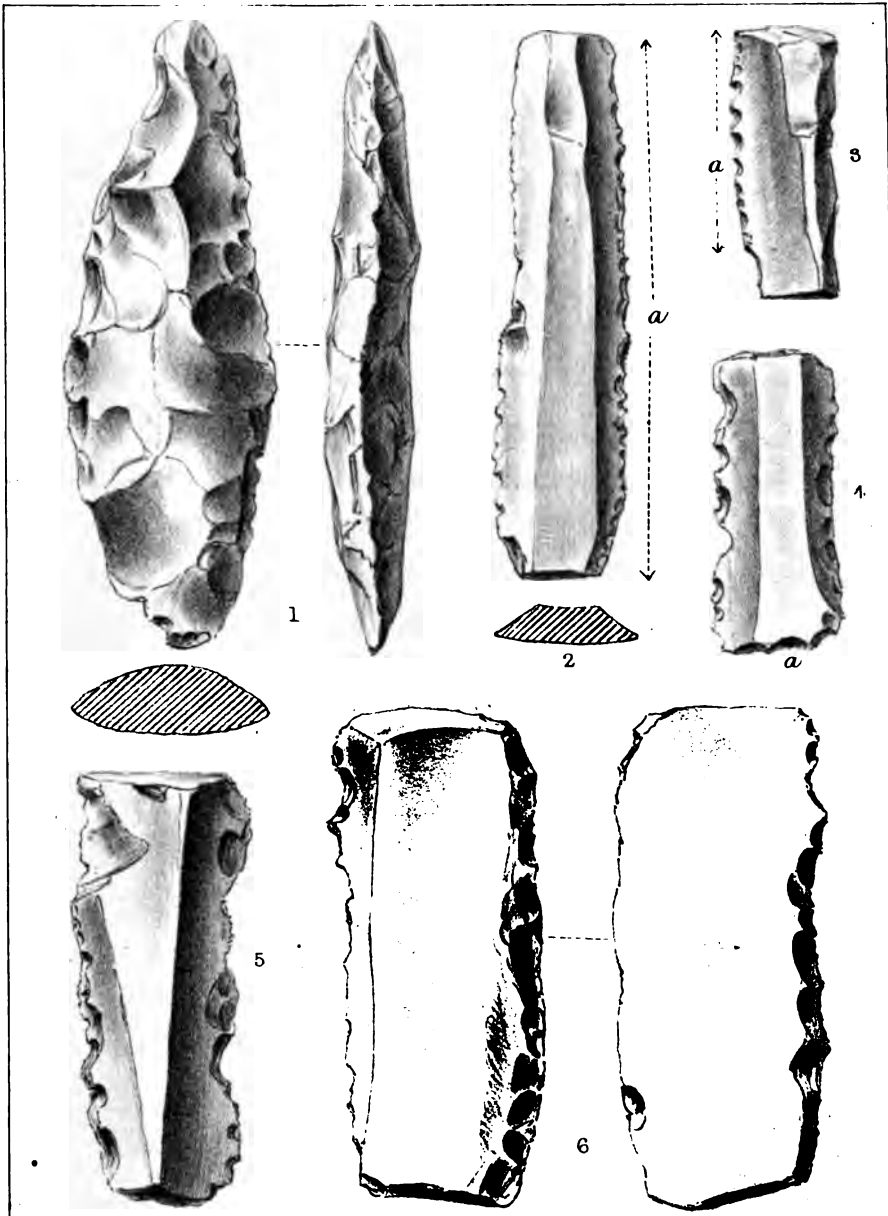
The brachycephalous skull from the ancient Roman bath at Hums is in two pieces, but sufficient remains to show that it appertained to the short-headed variety of the Romano-Latin stock. In fact, it is indistinguishable from the majority of skulls found in Roman sepulchres and belonging to the unmixed conquering race. The owner was a woman not of advanced age (as shown by the open condition of the sutures), but in which the dental series must have decayed early, as inferred from the absorbed condition of the alveoli. The





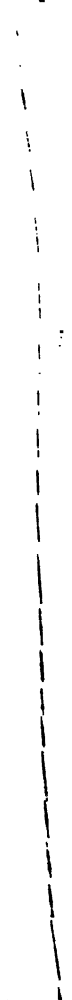
- All flint except 10 & 11*
1. Chipped, all over; Chalcidonic, weathering white.
 - 2, 3. Flakes used as saws; the edges marked 'a' are glazed on both faces like the lunate scrapers from Denmark; a flint flake from Egypt in the Christy Collection, is similarly glazed.
 - 4, 5. Worked flakes, apparently broken scrapers.
 4. End edge 'a' hollowed by scraping. Buff.
 5. Scraper end stripped off Buff.
 6. Used; in alternate faces of edges both ends stripped off. Brownish black colour.



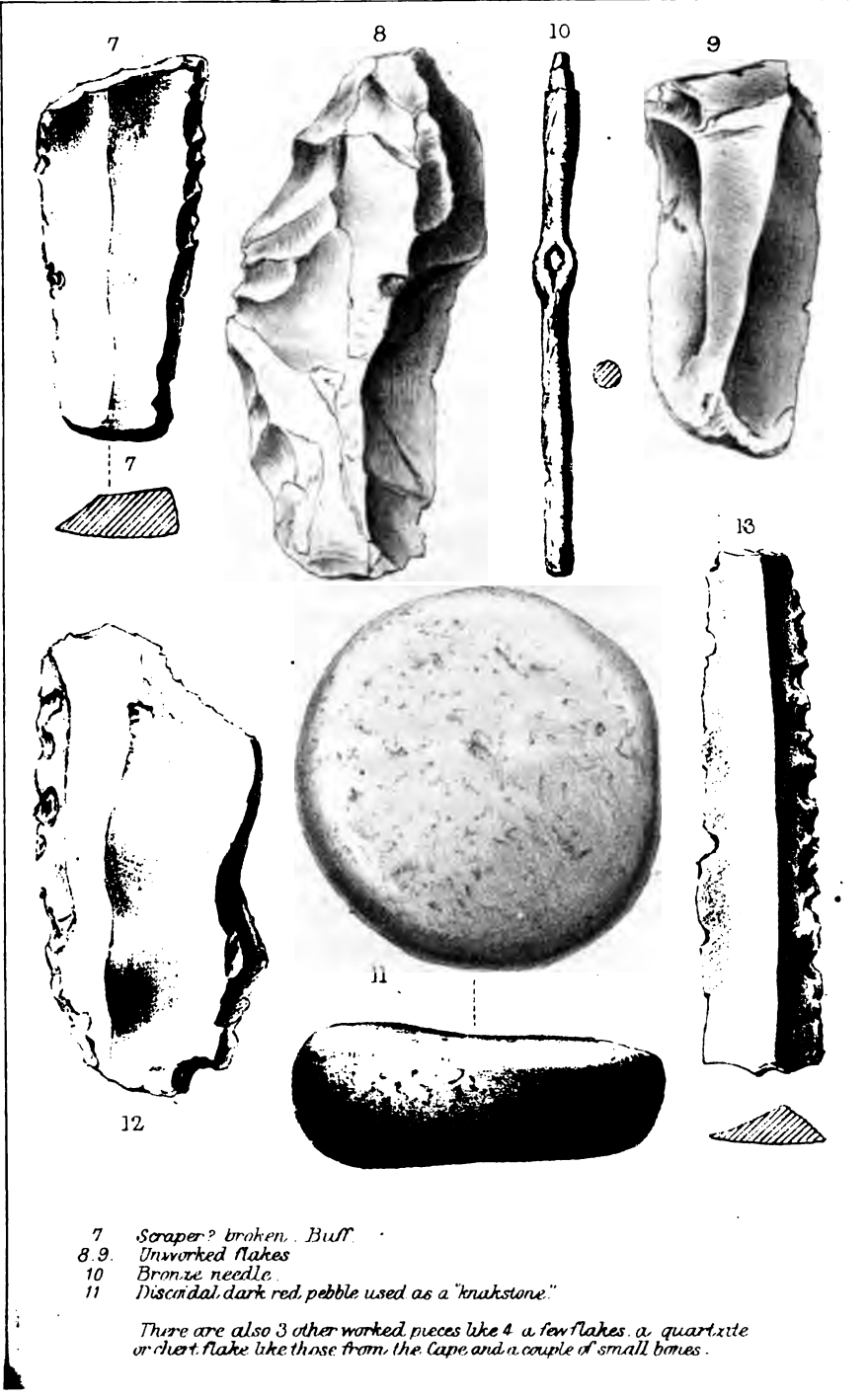


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5. Scraper end stripped off Buff.
- 6 used in alternate faces of edges both ends stripped off. Brownish black colour.



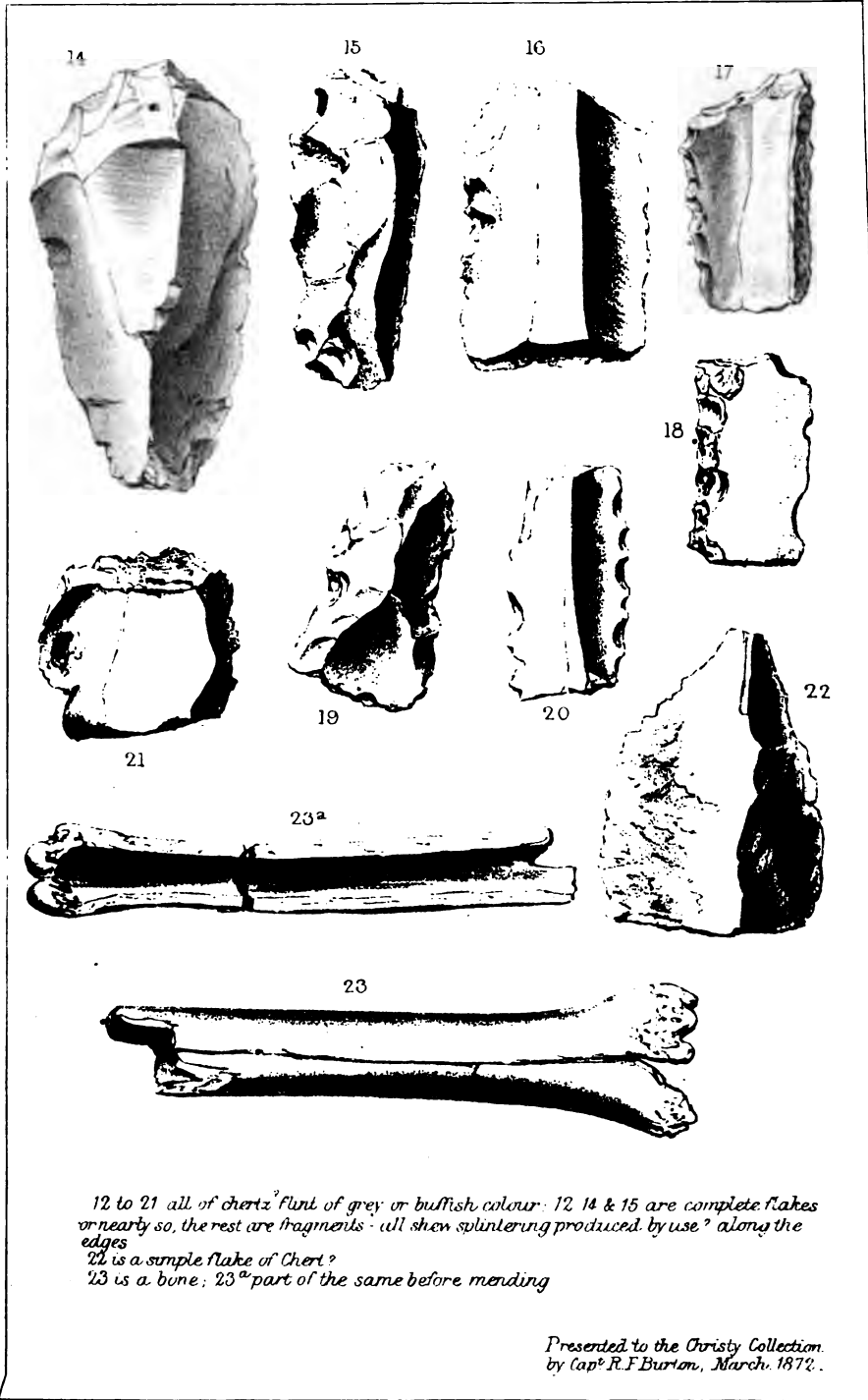
cher



- 7 *Scraper? broken. Buff.*
- 8,9 *Unworked flakes*
- 10 *Bronze needle.*
- 11 *Discoidal dark red pebble used as a "knakstone."*

There are also 3 other worked pieces like 4 a few flakes a quartzite or chert flake like those from the Cape and a couple of small bones.





A. Franks delt.

nose was, in life, fine, delicate, and sharp; the brow ridges prominent; and the orbits large. The forehead is evenly and regularly bombate; and the lambdoid sutures are open, the latter not being completely denticulated, and there being one very small Wormian bone in the left half of the lambdoid. The occiput is strongly marked. The bones of the skull are thin and delicate. It is difficult precisely to compute the proportions of the present specimen; but I estimate the length to have been 166 mm., and the breadth 133 mm., giving a cranial index of '80.

The occurrence of a skull of the Roman type amongst the remains from Hums was an event to be anticipated, and the skull is interesting, as it affords a specimen to compare with the other skulls of Phœnician, Jewish, Negroid, and Tartar origin brought by Captain Burton from Syria.

No. 6 Lor. *Collection of Flint Implements from near Bethlehem.*

1 Round flat hammer of porous basalt, shaped somewhat like the clay spindle of Inner Intertropical Africa, and remarkable because wanting depressions for the grip of thumb and forefinger; nor is it grooved as in the Aztec specimens.

1 brass or copper needle with the central eye.

1 bone²³ spicula (showing that copper or brass, bone and iron, were used at the same time).

2 fragments of bone and a human tooth, found with the flints.

6 fragments of arrow-piles or spear-heads.

²³ Mr. Boyd Dawkins, a high authority, pronounces the bone to be 'metacarpal of sheep or goat'—these animals not being distinguishable except in certain parts.

11 fragments of knives, flakes of silix, mostly three-planed above and with single plane below.

2 specimens marked doubtful, probably unfinished chip-pings.

This find took place in 1866-67, at Bayt Sahúr, a village about twenty minutes' ride to the east of Bethlehem, well known to travellers, because it is on the way to a favourite place of visitation. At the distance of an easy walk below the hill lies the Shepherds' Cave, a tunnel in the ruined Greek monastery Dayr el Ra'iyán (de'i Pastori), where the angel appeared; and here also is the valley where David is supposed to have kept his father's flock. The scenery of this Beulah is certainly remarkable in the bleak and barren highlands of Judea: the valley whose background is the mountain wall of Moab shows extreme fertility; its broad slopes of wheatfields are dotted and clumped with olives struggling down to the large square shrubbery about the Shepherds' Cave; the extensive vineyards produce the sweetest grapes; whilst the many convents to which the stone causeway led have fallen into picturesque ruins.

The site of the find is a ledge of chalky limestone, with a drop of rock and a bed of garden-stuff to the north; whilst behind, or southwards, are steps of higher ground, over which runs the rugged road to Bethlehem. The chalk, as usual throughout the country, abounds in silix; but the material is not homogeneous; it occurs in lumps striated white and brown, or white and black, and it nowhere shows the buff colours of the flint implements now exhibited to you. The latter, therefore, are of a different formation—possibly from the Moab plateau, and even farther south. The only material positively identical with these is that brought by the late Major Macdonald from the turquoise

mines of Mount Sinai, and exhibited at the Jermyn-street Museum, No. 46, principal floor, labelled 'Flint flakes found near some ancient ruins in Arabia Petræa.' Of the ten composing the total, three are like many of my specimens, three-planed above and buff coloured, on this point differing from the reddish silices of the Wady Magharah, collected by the same traveller, and shown to me by Mr. John Evans, of Nash Mills. One of them bears traces of the original *patina*. These ancient mining tools are well described in 'Notes on a Geological Reconnaissance made in Arabia Petræa in the Spring of 1858,' by H. Bauerman, Esq., F.G.S., Assoc. Roy. School of Mines (the *Geological Journal*, xxv. 1869). It may be added to this study, that Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake is convinced that the inscriptions of Wady Mukattab, which are *not* the 'Voice of Israel from Mount Sinai,' were cut with flint implements. The gloss and polish of these Bethlehem implements arise, I presume, from their having been brought from their beds of silicious or chalky sands; and one of them appears to be partly incrustated with carbonate of lime. The darker colours found in Major Macdonald's collection arise from ochreous sands, which would stain yellow, and from ferruginous sands and soils; the red-brick earth would give a brown tinge.

Sundry silo-like holes had been pierced in the soft rock, and of these not a few had been broken at the sides. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake descended into one, and brought up fragments of human bone, mostly split for marrow (?), suggesting that here also, within cannon-shot of Bethlehem, lived and died a people of cannibals, and adding another instance to the long list of anthropophagous tribes who, at different ages, I believe, composed the sum of humanity. We can here reply satisfactorily to the triumphant rejoinder, 'Why don't

you find the *bones* of the men as well as their *implements*?' (*Quarterly Journal of Science*, July 1871, p. 327.) Scattered around the well-mouths were silex chippings so coarsely shaped, that they had been thrown away as useless by the makers. This mine is probably far from being worked out, and a careful examination of the ridge to the west may be rich in results.

The highway begins at Bethlehem with a vile descent of slippery limestone, all steps, holes, and ridgelets, the Caldeirões of the Brazil; but here they are stone, not mud, whilst the sheets of rock severely try the horses' legs. Presently we reached (April 12, 1871) Bayt Sahúr, a filthy little hamlet, containing some fifteen hundred Greek RAYYÁHS, three hundred Moslems, and a hundred and sixty Catholics. Large bossed stones prove that the place has seen, like almost all in this land, better days. We dismounted at the little monastery, begun twelve years ago, still unfinished, and already named the (Latin) Church and Convent of the Shepherds. The principal, M. l'Abbé Moratin,²⁴ whom we afterwards met at Nablus on return from his wild ride, was engaged on missionary duty at Salt, the second *chef-lieu* of the Belka Mutessarifik; and the honours were done by his *locum tenens* the curate, M. Simeon Kajabejow, originally, I believe, a Circassian, and educated by the Propaganda.

After the normal pipes and coffee, the good curate led the way to the little museum, an outhouse to the west of the convent, where the collection from the silos was strewed about table and floor. It represented a score or so of large jars of

²⁴ He is called Moratain by M. de Saulcy, to whom he gave, on December 11th, 1863, six small *couteaux-scies*, found when digging the foundations for his church: the French traveller writes, 'Je suis ravi de posséder ces reliques des temps anté-historiques de la Judée.'

coarse pottery, and classical in shape; mortuary lamps, none of them inscribed so as to be interesting; a few medals; two fine brass (bronze?) hatchets; some bone-points for spears or arrows; two round flat stone hammers for chipping the silex; and about two hundred flint implements.

The importance of this discovery can hardly be exaggerated. Flint implements in Syria and Palestine were, before the days of M. Louis Lartet, almost as rare as Hebrew weapons—far rarer than Hebrew shekels, although traditionally known to have been used amongst the ancient Persians and the Greeks. The late Duc de Luynes, a man who devoted a noble fortune to scientific, linguistic, and artistic pursuits, was, I believe, the first to find a few, when 'cave-hunting' at the mouth of the Nahr el Kalb, or Lycus River. During twenty months' residence in Syria I had seen but one specimen, in the possession of M. Peretié, of Bayrut. Since my return to England, I have been more fortunate; and Mr. Augustus W. Franks, F.S.A., kindly forwarded to me the following notes (with illustrations) of the Lebanon Collection given by M. Lartet to the late Mr. Christy.

The curate Kajabejow allowed us to carry off a few specimens, which were presently forwarded for the inspection of the Anthropological Institute, refusing payment and referring us to the proprietor. He was of opinion, like those around him, that they were flint knives used by the Jews in circumcision; and I did not care to contradict him. Of this more hereafter. We have since then, through my friend, Mr. Noel T. Moore, her Majesty's Consul for Jerusalem, made an offer to purchase the whole collection from M. l'Abbé Moratin, and we are awaiting somewhat impatiently the result.

Amongst the company was a Syrian in a Zouave dress of

the military, not the fancy pattern, who answered to the name of 'Brahim Hanna Saïd. A native of Bayt Sahúr, he had accompanied the Anglo-Abyssinian expedition, and he had been wounded and invalided during the earlier stage of the Franco-Prussian war. He declared that similar instruments were to be found at Bayt Bassah, and at the complicated caves of Khoraytún (the old Laura of St. Chariton), so long supposed to be those of Adullam, till M. Ganneau, of whom more presently, pointed out the true site farther east, at the Khirbat Adalmiyyah, pronounced by the people 'Aïd el Miyyeh, and given in M. Guérin's map as Aïd el Mia, at a short distance from the well-known Bayt Natif. Jebel Furaydis (of the Garden), *alias* the Frank Mountain, *alias* the Herodeon, a word now known to the ragged sons of the Ta'ámirah Bedawin and other neighbouring sites, were also, he declared, to the full as rich as Bayt Sahúr. Though we vehemently distrusted his promises of sarcophagi, bone-brecia, human skulls, and many similar curios, we advanced him sixteen francs. He repaid us by bringing a few bad lamps and worse flints, with many promises of better things. These promises not having been realised, we commend him to the attention of future travellers.

This find gave us spirit to search for more; and in early June (1871) my fellow-traveller, when riding about the ruins of El Maksurah, near Dhumayr, the north-easternmost settlement of the Damascus Plain, picked up an undoubted arrow-head and two specimens of flaked flints.

Since my return to England, my attention has been drawn to a paper, entitled 'De l'Antiquité de l'Homme,' by M. l'Abbé Richard,²⁵ with comments by M. l'Abbé Moigno. The part

²⁵ *Archéologie: Découverte d'instruments de pierre en Egypte, au Sinai et au tombeau de Josué.* Par M. l'Abbé Richard. P. 540. 1871.

referring to the discoveries of flint instruments in Egypt and upon Mount Sinai is hardly to the point; but I will quote textually, and comment upon what regards Palestine :

‘ Vinrent ensuite plusieurs instruments trouvés en Palestine, à Elbireh, à Tibériade, et entre le mont Thabor et le lac de Tibériade; sur un plateau élevé de plus de 250 mètres au dessus du Jourdain, dans un champ cultivé, une hache semblable, quand à la nature du silex et à sa forme, à celles de la Somme (France). Mais les instruments qui méritent, je pense, la plus grande attention sont ceux que j’ai trouvés sur les bords du Jourdain, à Galgal, lieu où d’après la Bible, Josué reçut l’ordre de Dieu de circoncire le peuple d’Israël, et dans le tombeau que la science archéologique regarde aujourd’hui comme le tombeau de Josué. J’ai trouvé ces instruments, soit dans le tombeau même de Josué, dans la chambre sépulcrale intérieure, soit dans le vestibule, mêlés à des débris de poterie, à de la terre, &c. J’en ai trouvé aussi dans le champ qui est devant le tombeau et jusque sous un grand chêne vert éloigné de la tombe de Josué d’environ 70 à 80 mètres; ils auraient ainsi été disséminés quand on a fouillé et violé le tombeau. C’est la forme communément appelée *couteaux*, qui domine dans ces instruments; quelques-uns comme on peut s’en convaincre, sont encore très-tranchants. Il y a cependant des scies, des pièces plates et arrondies, &c. La plupart sont du silex; il y en a aussi en calcaire blanchâtre qui semble avoir passé au feu.

‘ J’ai l’espoir, continue M. l’abbé Richard, que ces instruments du tombeau de Josué et ceux dont j’ai parlé d’abord

intéresseront les amateurs si nombreux et si éclairés de l'archéologie humaine, que l'Association compte dans son sein ; et en les soumettant à votre appréciation, je viens vous apporter, non pas des idées préconçues, non pas des théories, mais des faits, de simples faits historiques et archéologiques. C'est un fait historique que la fabrication de couteaux de pierre pour la circoncision des enfants d'Israël à Galgal, non loin des bords du Jourdain. C'est un fait historique que le tombeau de Josué,²⁶ élevé non loin de Sichem, longtemps oublié ou perdu, a été retrouvé, été que ses restes ont été vus et décrits par MM. de Saulcy, Guérin, &c. C'est un fait historique, attesté par la version authentique des Septante, qu'un certain nombre de couteaux de pierre de Galgal ont été projetés dans le tombeau de Josué au moment de sa sépulture.

' M. de Saulcy, dans son voyage en Palestine, n'avait pas hésité à dire dans sa confiance absolue au récit des Livres saints, que ces couteaux de pierre devaient exister encore dans le tombeau retrouvé de Josué. M. l'abbé Moigno, mon illustre ami, dans son journal *Les Mondes*, avait rappelé l'affirmation de M. de Saulcy, et m'avait vivement pressé d'aller, pendant que j'étais en Palestine, chercher ces silex. J'y suis allé, et je les ai trouvés.

²⁶ M. V. Guérin, envoyé en Palestine par le Gouvernement Français en 1863, retrouva ce tombeau longtemps oublié ou perdu, et en établit l'authenticité dans un rapport adressé à l'Académie en 1865. M. de Saulcy, dans son *Voyage en Palestine* (t. ii. p. 233 et suiv.), confirme les caractères d'authenticité du tombeau de Josué, et dit que les couteaux doivent y exister encore. Etant, l'année dernière, en Palestine, je suis allé visiter à Tibneh le tombeau, et j'y ai trouvé un grand nombre d'instruments, généralement des couteaux. Quelques-uns même, comme on peut le voir, sont encore très-tranchants. Il y a aussi des scies, des pièces plates, allongées ou arrondies.

‘Quant aux conclusions que l’on peut tirer de mes instruments, aux arguments qu’ils peuvent apporter, ou aux objections qu’ils fourniront contre les théories mises en avant par les diverses écoles anthropologiques ou biologiques modernes, je les laisse de côté.

‘Si mes silex *historiques* ressemblent à s’y méprendre, par leur nature et leur forme, aux silex que l’on veut être essentiellement préhistoriques, je pourrai le regretter au point de vue des illusions que cette coïncidence peut faire évanouir, mais la vraie science doit accepter les faits et reconnaître l’identité des silex préhistoriques et des silex historiques.

‘Si j’ai découvert, non-seulement dans des terrains récents, mais à la surface du sol, des silex taillés que l’on croyait caractéristiques des terrains miocène, pliocène, éocène et quaternaires, ce n’est pas ma faute (applaudissements et rires approbatifs), et il faudra se résigner à revenir sur des conclusions par trop hâtives.

‘En résumé, messieurs, si les instruments trouvés par moi et mis sous vos yeux contrarient les jugements et les conclusions de plusieurs des honorables membres de l’Association britannique, je leur en demande pardon, mais le vieil adage l’a dit : *Il n’y a rien de plus inexorable que les faits.*’

J’ai cru devoir prendre aussi la parole et je me suis exprimé en anglais, à peu près dans ces termes :

‘Je tiens essentiellement à ajouter un mot à ce que vous a dit mon ami M. l’abbé Richard, et à la discussion que les silex taillés apportés par lui vont soulever.

‘J’ai employé les neuf mois des douloureux et périlleux loisirs que la guerre prussienne et civile nous ont faits dans Paris, à étudier à fond la question grave, solennelle de l’antiquité indéfinie ou très-reculée de l’homme, en tant que démontrée par la découverte de restes humains ou d’industrie

humaine trouvés dans le sol à des profondeurs plus ou moins grandes. J'ai lu attentivement, ou plutôt j'ai étudié de la manière la plus approfondie, tout ce qui a été publié sur ce sujet : les ouvrages ou les mémoires de Lyell, de Sir John Lubbock, de M. J. Evans, de Prestwich, de Pengelly, de Buchner, de Vogt, de Desor, de Mortillet, de l'abbé Bourgeois, &c. D'ailleurs, déjà, depuis longues années, je me tenais parfaitement au courant de tout ce qui était écrit sur ces matières ; or, je me fais un devoir d'honnête homme, de savant et de chrétien, de déclarer solennellement, après cette courageuse et patiente étude, qu'aucune des découvertes, qu'aucun des faits mis en avant, souvent avec beaucoup de passion, n'ont la portée qu'on leur attribue ; que non-seulement l'existence de l'homme dans les âges pliocène, éocène, miocène, comme M. le docteur Evans l'a déjà affirmé avec tant d'autorité, n'est nullement démontrée ; mais que les terrains quaternaires dans lesquels on a trouvé des débris humains ou des restes d'industrie humaine, sont certainement des terrains de transport, ou des terrains meubles sur pente, comme l'affirme notre illustre géologue M. Elie de Beaumont ; que le sol des cavernes à stalagmites, comme la célèbre caverne de Torquay, qui préoccupe tant l'attention de l'Association britannique, a été remanié par les eaux ou par d'autres agents naturels, de telle sorte que les couches de limon primitives naturellement et primitivement superposées aux stalagmites aient glissé sous les stalagmites, &c. ; mais encore que la géologie devrait rester entièrement étrangère à l'archéologie ou à la palontologie humaine, parce que son œuvre avait cessé quand l'homme est apparu sur la terre.

‘J'ajoute, en priant qu'on me pardonne mon excès de liberté ou de hardiesse, que la question de l'antiquité de l'homme, dans ses rapports avec la géologie et la palontéo-

logie, en est juste au point ou se trouvait cette même question d'antiquité : premièrement dans ses rapports avec l'histoire de l'astronomie indienne telle que la faisait l'infortuné Bailly, au moment où Laplace éclaira d'une lumière si brillante les rêveries de son illustre confrère ; secondement, dans ses rapports avec la découverte des zodiaques de Denderah et d'Esné, sur lesquels notre immortel Champollion, émule glorieux et continuateur heureux de Thomas Young, lut le nom de *Cæsar Autocrator*. La valeur apparente des arguments en faveur de l'existence de l'homme, de longs siècles avant l'époque assignée par la Sainte Bible à la création d'Adam, époque que, du reste, il est impossible de fixer, et que l'on peut faire remonter peut-être à huit mille ans, est aujourd'hui à son maximum ; elle diminuera de plus en plus jusqu'à s'évanouir. Alors, et ce bienheureux moment est appelé, j'en suis sûr, par les vœux ardents de l'immense majorité de l'Association britannique et des savants de l'Ecosse, la science, devenue adulte et vraie, sera parfaitement d'accord avec la Révélation ; la raison se déclarera non pas vaincue, mais illuminée et soumise par la foi.

‘ Je tiens à ajouter que je n'entends nullement retarder la science dans ses élans ; je lui laisse toute sa liberté. La foi sincère n'a jamais cessé de lui dire : Vous êtes une sœur, croissez et progressez sans cesse. Personne ne l'a plus aimée que moi et n'a plus encouragé ses progrès. Je lui rappelle seulement ce qui lui est déjà arrivé ; je lui prédis ce qui lui arrivera encore. C'est-à-dire que, lorsqu'elle aura assez grandi, que la lumière se sera faite pour elle entièrement, qu'elle sera arrivée à l'état de science complète, elle sera d'elle-même en accord parfait avec la Révélation.’

Je suis heureux de pouvoir dire que ces paroles si nettes ont été couvertes d'applaudissements, elles étaient un des

butts principaux de mon voyage. C'était un grand chagrin pour moi que de voir la libre-pensée se faire jour de plus en plus au sein de l'Association britannique. F. MOIGNO.

The learned Abbés would, I think, unduly limit the use of the flint instruments brought from the tomb of Joshua to one purpose, making them all *cultelli circumcisionis*. But how many implements of this nature would be required, even by a considerable body of people, for a couple of generations? It is also evident that more than one of my specimens is the pile of an arrow.

The traditional tomb of Joshua, according to the Moslems and Druzes, is, I may remark, very far from Tibnah. We visited Nabi Yusha'a on May 16th, 1871. The large mass of building is picturesquely situated upon the western highlands which border the southern extremity of Coelesyria, where the great valley (Arz el Húläh) is merged into the waters of Merom. The country here belongs to the Metawali sectaries, and until the last few years no Christian has been allowed entrance. The result has been a little loss of *prestige* to the shrine, but a great advance in the cause of toleration.

Entering the strong enceinte of stone and lime by a diminutive door, and passing through the large hypæthral court, we found two whitewashed domes at the farther end. The tomb is covered by the western cupola; it faces south-east, or roughly towards Meccah; and it measures in length one fathom and two spans. Under the eastern dome is the Makam Hammad Bey el Asa'd, a Metawali chief, buried here in A.H. 1280, and evidently quite new. We found the only care-taker to be a Fellahah, whose husband was absent, and she did the honours without in any way objecting to such unusual guests.

THE following note was read :

Note on the Implements from Bethlehem.

Dear Captain Burton, in accordance with your request, I send you a few notes on the antiquities found in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, which you were so good as to leave with me for examination.

The materials of which they consist are bone, bronze, and stone ; but it is mainly with the latter that I have to concern myself. Besides some fragments of human teeth, the bones are only two in number, being portions of the same bone of the right and left leg, possibly of the same animal, and split longitudinally, at what time, or with what intention, it seems hard to divine.

The only bronze object is about two inches and three-quarters long, and one-eighth of an inch in diameter, with a perforation apparently punched through it at one inch and three-quarters from one of its ends, which is blunt and rounded. The other end appears to have been broken, so that it is impossible to determine what may have been its original length or form—whether that of a hair-pin, or of a kind of needle for sewing purposes. I am not aware of the circumstances under which it was discovered ; but it appears to me to belong to another, and probably later, date than that of the stone antiquities next to be described.

These are twenty-one in number, and, with one exception, formed of flint ; the exception being a hammer-stone, formed apparently of a heavy basalt. This instrument is of discoidal form, about two inches in diameter, and about five-eighths of an inch in thickness ; the edges appear to have been considerably worn away by hammering, and at one place

a splinter has been broken off. Of the two faces of the disc, one is rather flatter than the other; but on neither is there any shallow cup-shaped depression such as so commonly occurs on the 'knapping-stones' of Scandinavia, and more rarely on those of British origin. Even on the hammer-stones of North America and Southern Africa the same kind of hollows are often worked, and afford an instance of the way in which similar wants and similar experiences lead to similar results in countries remote from each other, and at very distant intervals of time. It was probably found that if the stone were held tightly, the hand was jarred by the blow; while, if held loosely so as to avoid the jar, it was liable to be driven away from between the finger and thumb, if there were no depressions in the faces of the stone in which to place them.

Many, however, of the hammer-stones of flint and quartzite, such as have been found in England and France, are, like this Syrian specimen, left without any depressions on their faces, and were probably held between the thumb and middle finger when in use, with the forefinger passing over a portion of the periphery.

Among the worked flints that on the manufacture of which the greatest amount of labour has been bestowed is a rather thick leaf-shaped blade, chipped all over both faces, about three inches and a quarter long, and one inch wide in its broadest part. The outline is not quite symmetrical, one edge being flatter than the other, and neither end is brought to a well-defined point. I am inclined, therefore, to regard it as a knife rather than a lance-head. I have some flint knives of much the same shape and size from the Yorkshire wolds. In a larger and thinner blade of the same character, found in Suffolk, and also in my own collection, the more

curved edge has been made blunt by grinding, so as to convert it into the back of the knife.

The remaining objects are flakes and splinters of flint, some of them mere fragments, though of undoubtedly artificial origin. Some of the flakes, however, are very fine specimens of the kind, being skilfully and artistically made. One flat flake especially, two inches and seven-eighths in length and about five-eighths in width, is perfectly symmetrical; and the core from which it was struck would seem to have been as regular in outline as those found in the Indus, which I have described in the *Geological Magazine* (vol. iii. p. 493). The material is also of much the same character and colour. One of its edges is somewhat notched, and the surface near it polished, as if it had been used as a saw. A short flake, one inch and three-eighths long, has one edge more carefully serrated and its surface more highly polished. One end of it and the other edge have been chipped square, possibly to make it a scraping tool as well as a saw. It appears adapted for working in bone. The edges of several other flakes show signs of having been used for sawing and scraping, and in one or two instances have been worked to a right angle, either to produce a square scraping edge, or by wear in use.

The flint from which the instruments have been made varies in its character, and appears to have been derived from different sources. One broad flake is of black, nearly opaque flint, not unlike that from some oolitic beds; other flakes are of brown flint; but the bulk are of a buff colour, and in character much like the flakes found in the neighbourhood of the ancient copper workings of Wady Magharah, and brought to this country by Major Macdonald, Mr. Bauerman, and others. None of them, however, present the worn and blunted ends and sides so common on the Wady Magharah

flakes. One fragment is whitened in consequence of having been burnt; but the others, with the exception of the knife, have been little altered in colour or in structure. The knife has become whitened over nearly the whole of its surface, but to a very slight depth. As to the period to which these relics are to be assigned, we seem to have little to guide us, most of the forms being such as may have remained in use after the introduction of metal for some cutting purposes. On the other hand, we find the same forms among the refuse-heaps of the Cave-dwellers of the south of France. Unless the associated fauna prove that such cannot be the case, they are doubtless of Neolithic age, and probably of much the same date as the instruments of similar character from Sinai.

Believe me, dear Captain Burton, yours very truly,

(Signed) JOHN EVANS.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted, November 1871.

Discussion.

Mr. Avery ventured to express a doubt whether some at least of the flints exhibited were the work of man, or were not rather natural and accidental. On the hill behind Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, a visitor would easily find any number of flints of similar appearance, which were obviously of natural origin. The use of flint implements was regarded as marking a certain stage of civilisation; and it was a curious question what race of mankind now occupied that position. He had some doubts whether implements of so imperfect a nature had ever been very long or very extensively employed.

Mr. H. W. Jackson: The last speaker has been more

fortunate than I have been. I have resided for many years in a gravel district, and I must say that I have never yet found any stone whatever which it was possible to mistake for any of the many forms of implement manufactured by man. With regard to the quantity of animal matter in old bones, I should like to tell a short story. Many years ago, at one of the British Association dinners of the renowned 'Red Lions,' the late Dr. Buckland was appointed caterer for the occasion. So he decided to give his scientific brethren—a treat. He procured a large quantity of fossil bones—those of the Cave lion were, I think, among them—and he had some soup prepared from them. All the Red Lions partook of the soup, but all thought that the flavour was peculiar, and while some said that the soup was rather thin, others fancied that it was somewhat gritty. When the Doctor gave his explanation of the thinness and grittiness and peculiar flavour of the soup, I believe that some of the diners were not well pleased.

Mr. Lewis, referring to Captain Burton's statement that his fellow-traveller had been able to cut inscriptions upon some of the rocks on which ancient inscriptions were found, with flint implements found on the spot, showing thereby that the older inscriptions might have been cut with those implements, asked what kind of rocks they were, and what character the ancient inscriptions were cut in.

Sir Duncan Gibb inquired of Dr. Carter Blake his reasons for saying that some of the bones he described were not more than twenty years old.

Captain Burton replied. He declined to enter into elementary discussion about flint implements. This was not the place for such trials of strength. The inscriptions alluded to by Mr. Lewis were the celebrated Sinaitic epigraphs.

No. 7 Lot.

- 1 calvaria (imperfect).
- 1 frontal bone (two pieces).
- 1 lower jaw.
- 5 fragments.

These bones were chosen from a pair of large whitened heaps, lately (April 23, 1871) thrown out of two pits sunk in the western slopes of the Mount of Offence, the high ground above Kafr Salwan. No one at the modern representative of the Biblical Siloam could supply us with any legend concerning the event which led to this unusual style of sepulture; and we could only guess that it had been necessitated by a pestilence, by a massacre, or by some accident like the falling of the Siloam Tower.

There is no place in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem more interesting than Kafr Salwán, nor is there any that offers a better field for the collector and the explorer. The existence of an Egyptian sepulchre and of a Hebrew inscription in Phœnician characters²⁷ suggests that here may have been the head-quarters of the colony upon a small scale which would have accompanied Solomon's dusky daughter of Pharaoh. Instead of locating the strangers from the banks of the Nile around his palace, and making the Golden House, a little Egypt, or an Egypt in Jewry, the wise king wisely brought them out of the house of David, and settled them upon the farther side of the Valley of Many Names. The Moabitish wives were probably placed with the temple of 'Chemosh,'

²⁷ I am informed (July 29, 1871) by my friend Mr. Noel T. Moore, her Majesty's Consul for Jerusalem, that the now well-known 'Siloam inscription' has been secured by him for the British Museum at an expense of 25*l.*—a small sum well laid out.

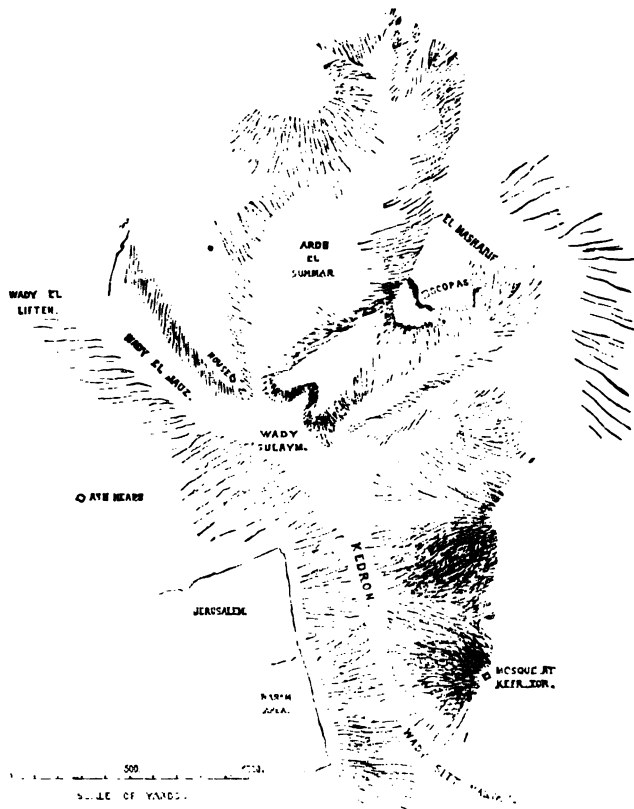
their Scandal or god (1 Kings xi. 1, 7, 33; 2 Kings xxiii. 13), upon the Mount of Olives, described as being the high place on the right side of the Mount of Offence, and the hill that is over against Jerusalem. The Bámah, high place or fane, endured for four centuries, till destroyed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 13).

A few words concerning the Valley of Many Names. The Arabs divide what we simply term the valleys of Jehoshaphat and the 'Brook Kedron' into seven different sections. The highest versants, the counterslope of the Mediterranean watershed, form a fork, the northern branch being the Wady el Jauz, and the western Wady Liftah. These slight depressions combine to form the Wady Sulaym, crossed by the road to Aynata. It then becomes Wady Sitt Maryam, so called from the Fountain of the Virgin. Farther down it is Wady Far'aun—not of Pharaoh, as it is popularly translated, but of the king (Ha-Malik), a tradition dating from the days of the 'King's Gardens.'²⁸ The sixth section is the Wady Bir Ayyúb: the term Wady Jahannum, applied to the part opposite the south-eastern angle of the Temple, is known only to the learned, who here place the 'Bridge of El Sirát.' It is very old, if we assume the Authorised Version of Jeremiah (xix. 2): 'Go forth into the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate.' Mr. S. Sharpe, however (pp. 31, 32, *Palestine Exploration Fund*, Jan. 1872), reads the 'Pottery Gate,' and suggests that it may be the Dung Gate of Nehemiah (iii. 14). After junction with the 'pleasant Valley of Hinnom,' that grisly western gorge of

²⁸ As M. Charles Clermont Ganneau (Dragoman - Chancelier du Consulat intérimaire du Consulat de France à Jérusalem) justly observes (*Athenæum*, No. 2211, March 12, 1870), the Arabs apply the p.n. Pharaoh to any ancient king, non-Egyptian as well as Egyptian: so in France every Roman encampment becomes for the vulgar 'Cæsar's Camp.'

barren rock, the Kedron ravine becomes precipitous, with broken floor and jagged sides; and it assumes the name of Wady el Nar (of Fire), which it preserves as far as the so-called 'Dead Sea.'

In Captain Wilson's Survey of Jerusalem, the upper part of this important feature is perfunctorily laid down, and I



think it as well to append the rectification by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake. It also proposes a new emplacement for the important site known as Scopas or Scopus.

M. Ganneau and I being dissatisfied with the position at present assigned to the 'Look-out,' proceeded, on April 9, 1871, to examine the country north of Jerusalem. Scopas is usually identified with Sha'afát, which would bear the same signification; others find it in the Jebel el Mintár, a teat of rock which rises conspicuously from its bulging base; whilst Dr. Pierotti places it upon the western slope of Olivet. After leaving behind us the north-eastern angle of the city and crossing the upper Jehoshaphat (Wady Sulaym), we asked the peasants who were flocking to the bazar with their sour milk and fowls for the name of a remarkable cairn-topped hill. To our great satisfaction, all called it El Meshárif, or the Look-outs. A second visit to it, in company with Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, showed us that it lies about 1300 direct yards N.N.E. of the north-eastern corner of the city wall, and north with a little westing of the mosque which crowns the Mount of Olives. It is also east of, and not far distant from, the 'street' or road which, from the remotest ages, has connected Jerusalem with Nablus.

The bone-heaps were pointed out to us by M. Ganneau, a young Orientalist, whose laborious and conscientious studies are likely to do much good by striking out a path beyond and beside the beaten tracks of Oriental and Biblical investigation. The English public has learned to appreciate such new blood after reading the two highly interesting letters which he published in the *Athenæum* of March 12th and May 7th, 1870.²⁹ His acuteness and penetration have been shown by

²⁹ A third letter, dated Jerusalem (May 30, 1871), is reprinted in the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, new series, August 1871. It briefly announces an important discovery, which will form the subject of a special *mémoire*—the *trouvaille* being 'one of those tablets which in the Temple reconstructed by Herod forbid strangers, as Josephus tells us,

identifying the 'Zahwaylah' Rock, which overhangs the Siloam Valley, with the Scriptural Zoheleth (1 Kings i. 9). He thus disposes of certain Talmudic glosses, which make the Stone of Zoheleth an instrument of Jewish gymnastic exercises, like the 'large spherical boulder of marble, which it is the custom of Indians to try their strength by lifting,' as described by Captain Musters at Amakaken. He also sets right the veteran 'numismathe' M. de Saulcy, who (vol. ii. p. 115) concludes an egregious mis-description of the Zoheleth Stone with the triumphant words, 'Inutile, je pense, de dire que je suis ravi d'avoir constaté ce fait.' Moreover, this discovery brings with it the important conclusion that the veritable En Rogel must be sought at the Virgin's Fountain (distant some sixty metres); not at Bir Ayyúb (700 metres), nor at the Piscina of Siloam (400 metres). We read that the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin passed Zoheleth to En Rogel, and thence up the Valley of Hinnom, which evidently identifies the Kedron and Hinnom (still called in Moslem books Wady Johannum). Afterwards it must have turned westward, leaving the Haute Ville or citadel and the Holy of Holies in the hands of Benjamin; whilst Judah claimed the lower town, and the southern part of the Temple.

One of the most interesting feats performed by M. Ganneau is deciphering the text of a votive inscription belonging to the Franciscan Convent at Jerusalem. Out of a few stumps and odds and ends of letters he has succeeded in reading—

from passing the sacred enclosure.' It is boldly affirmed that this Greek inscription in seven lines is 'not only the most ancient, but also the most interesting in all its bearings which Jerusalem has yet produced.'

LEG· X· FR· (etensis?)
 (Ju) LIUS· SABINUS
 (Centur) IO· PRINCEPS
 (Ej) YSDEM· D· D·

He thus connects it with Cæsar's celebrated Decuman Legion stationed by Titus upon the Mount of Olives (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. vii. 5), left as a garrison in the conquered city, and probably quartered there under Hadrian and his successors.

The following is but a small specimen of the changes which M. Ganneau proposes to make in the topography of Jerusalem and its environs. 1. He would find the Tyropæon of Josephus (which we would rather call the Valley of the 'Tyrian Merchants' than of the Cheese-makers, a caste which in Oriental countries prefers to work out of town) in Ge ben Hinnom (corrupted to Gebennon), and thus turn the Valley of Hinnom, as laid down in our plans, into the Valley of the Rephaim,³⁰ on the Bethlehem-road. 2. He would make the so-called Holy Sepulchre the 'Monument of the High-priest' (τὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον), the fifth after the return from the Captivity, popularly known as John son of Judas, but called in Nehemiah (xii. 11) Jonathan son of Joiada (Johaida). He was the grandson of Eliashib, the third high-priest; and his son Jaddua, the sixth dignitary, received Alexander the Great at Jerusalem. 'John' has left a sorry name in local history: he murdered his brother Jesus; consequently, when Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes II., profanely entered

³⁰ Amongst the Canaanites meaning 'Manes,' the Hebrew Ghosts, and the Νέκτες or Dead, the Autochthones who preceded the modern settlers. Zamzummim may be an onomatopœia ridiculing the jargon of hideous reduplications which the aboriginal language of Palestine might have presented to more civilised ears.

the sanctuary by force, he cried out to the priests who would hinder him, 'Am I not purer than the man who slew another in your Temple?' The monument, which dates from the fourth century B.C., is often spoken of in the Siege of Titus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 6, 2: v. 9, 1: vi. 2, 10). It was the easiest point of attack, as here the first enceinte was low, and disconnected with the second wall: hence the challenge of the bully Jonathes (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 2, 10) took place at this site. 3. He makes the Temple of Herod occupy, not the south-western angle, the centre and the northern part, nor the southern portion, but the whole of the present Haram Enclosure, extending to the Birkat Israil. It will be remembered that shafting showed the northern extremity of the eastern wall to be apparently *in situ*, extending to the great tank (p. 133, No. V. *Palestine Exploration Fund*). Together with Captain Warren (p. 341, No. VI.), he contends, and I think successfully, that the 400 cubits (600 feet) of Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. xii. 4, and xx. x. 7) apply not to the Temple of Herod, but to the Court of the Solomonic fane. Thus, unlike other translators, he would explain, by the squaring away of the north-west angle, still visible, the prophecy concerning the destruction of the Temple, current before the birth of Jesus, and referred to by the latter. 4. The Pool of Bethesda is not the traditional Birkat Israil, but an underground piscina lately discovered within the enceinte of Sta. Anna ('Hanná' in Arabic meaning compassion, and thus forming a suitable name for a hospital); and here he would expect to trace the five Stones of the *προβάρικη*. This theory is, I believe, also upheld by the learned architect M. Mauss. 5. The Ecce Homo Arch is of the Ælia Capitolina period, erected probably in commemoration of the decisive defeat over Bar Cochebas, and the third systematic destruction of

the city. 6. He cleverly compels the Hebrew הכרה and the Arabic حقرا³¹, both meaning low ground, to interpret the Ἀκρα, which Josephus explains by τὴν κάτω πόλιν. This would make the Acropolis of Jerusalem a depression in notable contrast with the Acrocorinth. 7. He finds the so-called Tombs of the Kings—which must be sought for about Sion, the city of David, and thence to Siloam—to be a monument of the later Asmoneans. 8. He makes the curious crypt, popularly known as the 'Tombs of the Prophets,' to be an early Christian cemetery, probably serving for one of the numerous monasteries founded at the earliest ages upon the Mount of Olives. This he proves by showing crosses over the loculi, and by a dozen or so of Greek *graphitæ*, mostly proper names of men and women, and belonging to 'a period as far back as the first year of official Christianity, that is to say, not far from Constantine.'³² 9. Rachel's Tomb, shabbily rebuilt by Sir Moses Montefiore, and lately quoted as the spot where the Jewish colony of Jerusalem offered up their prayers for the recovery of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales,³³ he

³¹ Mr. Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake finds in part of Palestine the word used to signify the scorched country or waste. I never heard it so applied.

³² They may be compared with the *graffiti*, the sport of the Vigiles or Fire Brigade in idle hours, found in 1867 at their station below the street level of Trastevere. (Mr. C. I. Hemans, *Athenæum*, No. 2309, Jan. 27, 1872.)

³³ 'We also sent a congregation of pious and learned men to pray the whole night at the tomb of our mother Rachel (may her merit protect us!), while at the same time we ordered a congregation of equally pious and learned men to call upon our God before the western wall of the ancient Temple, from which spot, we are told by our ancestors, the Divine glory never departed.'—Jerusalem, Tebet 2, A.M. 5632=Dec. 18, 1871.

believes to be the grave of Archelaus. 10. The village Bahurím, connected with David's flight, he denies to be Robinson's Wady Ruwaby. He points it out as Ahay't Fákúrí, an uninhabited spot between Siloam and the Mount of Olives, Bethany and Abú Dis; and he remarks that 'Fákúrí' corresponds letter for letter with Bahurím, lacking the plural termination. 11. The Ethnic term Phœnician is still preserved in the popular word 'Finish.' 12. El Dajjál, the Mohammedan Antichrist, is the idol Dagon of Lydda, the dragon of St. George. 13. The long-sought Gazara of the Maccabees is found at Tell el Jezeri, near Abu Shushah.³⁴ 14. He has found, I have said (p. 340), the traditional Cave of Adullam at Adul Miyyah. 15. He compares Dibon with Rome, the Karhah with the Roman Capitol (Caput), and the Barnat of Kamos with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. 16. Shi-

³⁴ This conjecture has since been confirmed by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake in January 1872 (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, April 1872, p. 40):

'Gezer.—A border town of Ephraim, from which the Canaanites were not driven out: it was afterwards given to the Levites. Destroyed by Pharaoh, it was rebuilt by his son-in-law Solomon. Battles with the Philistines are recorded as having taken place at it, and according to the marginal reading, it is made the same as Gob.

'I feel inclined to identify *Tell Jazar* with this Gezer. Eusebius mentions a village of Gazara, distant four miles from Nicopolis (Emmaus, now Amwas), and northwards from it, *ἔν Βορραιοῖς*. Now Tell Jazar lies W.N.W. of Amwas, and is a little more than four miles distant. This answers to the somewhat loose description, *ἔν Βορραιοῖς*.

'The tomb of a shaykh named Mohammad-el-Jezari, or more commonly "El Jezari" simply, makes a conspicuous landmark on the summit of a long high Tell, at the southern end of which lies the village of Abu Shushah.

'This Tell is somewhat in the shape of a figure 8, being narrowest in the middle. The eastern side is scarped and faced with large roughly-hewn stones in steps, many of which are still *in situ*; to the west it is terraced with three steep banks.'

cron, the north-western landmark of Judah (Joshua xv. 11), is the modern Zernúka. 17. The great Abel or meadow, the 'field of Joshua the Bethshemite' (1 Sam. vi. 18), is actually Dayr Abán. 18. The stone of Bohan or Bohem ('the thumb') is represented, etymologically and topographically, by the Arab Hajar el Usbú (of 'the finger'), lying on the flat strip to the north-west of the Dead Sea.

This batch of a dozen and a half is but an *échantillon* of the work done by M. Ganneau. He lately informed me that he has made some important discoveries in those remarkable Arenaria and Quarries, the 'Royal Caverns' of glacial memory; such as an unexplored branch on the right of one entering, that displays characteristic traces of human labour, rock-rings for hanging lamps, and very ancient *graffiti*, representing rudely but exactly the man-headed, bearded and winged Assyrian bull. The tail is trumpet-shaped, proving that the caricaturesque instinct dates from all ages, and is well shown in this *fantaisie d'ouvrier*.

M. Ganneau is careless in communicating, as he is careful in constructing, his theories; and I strongly advised him to establish his rights of discovery, upon which some unscrupulous traveller might not hesitate to trespass, by publishing an outline of them, however sketchy. He took, it is said, my advice, and sent home a goodly paper of notes, which has, however, unfortunately been lost: perhaps, an orthodox regard for those who hate the shock and disturbance of new things and theories may have led to the accident which I deplore.

No Biblical student will regret the expenditure at Jerusalem, by which the Palestine Exploration Fund has rendered such valuable services to topography and archæology; and all will be ready to praise the serious and honest work

done, in a thorough and conscientious manner round the Haram, by Captains Wilson and Warren. The 'Holy City' must ever be the main point of interest; and the very centre is the Haram. The money sunk in shafts, and the precious time and labour expended upon underground investigations, was by no means wasted; and although Jerusalem and even the Haram—nay, the minutest sections of it, as the so-called Palace of Solomon, are a work of decades rather than of years—cannot by any means be said to be "recovered," a sturdy step has been taken in the right direction. As Mr. Ferguson justly remarks, the question of ancient topography in the Holy City must now be settled by that *ultima ratio* the spade. But the Committee which manages the Palestine Exploration Fund should temper solid researches by lighter adjuncts, such as the collection of inscriptions and of materials for a museum, which would add greatly to the popularity, and consequently to the means, of a Society which has not adequately been supported. Such explorers as M. Ganneau, who will devote their acquirements and their leisure to excavation, provided that their bare expenses are paid, deserve to be looked upon as prizes. All around Siloam—at the Zuhura (Ophel? *i.e.* עפֿל, the 'slopes of Mount Moriah), where Captain Warren came upon the greater portion of the glass-work, the pottery, and other antiquities, including the 'Seal of Haggai,' the only relic bearing a Hebrew inscription as yet found at Jerusalem, sent home by him; from the Tomb of Zacharias to the Tombs of the Prophets; in the different Necropolises, and especially in the villages to the north of Jerusalem—there is an ample harvest for so active a reaper as M. Ganneau. I have lately taken the liberty of proposing him as one of the coadjutors of exploration; and I have only to add that the small sum of 200*l.*

per annum, applied to such a purpose, would be laid out at the best interest.³⁵

This subject naturally leads to what has made M. Ganneau's name historical in Europe—the interpretation of the celebrated Moabite Stone, concerning which I have been kindly permitted by the Editor of the *Athenæum* to publish the following letter :

THE MOABITE STONE.

Your article headed 'Moabite Stones' (*Athen.* No. 2910) induces me to request that you will insert this paper, whose object is not so much controversial as explanatory. A few hints may teach future discoverers to avoid mistakes, which, amongst Bedawin and other bandits, too often lead to catastrophes.

Possibly some of your readers may not object to a short *résumé* of what has been stated by others, *bien entendu*, not by myself, concerning the Moabite Stone, that 'peerless triumphant pillar,' 'the very oldest Semitic lapidary record of importance,' that 'giant page of a previously unknown tongue,' the 'first fragment of Moabite literature,' which, 'like a lucky actress or singer, took the world of 1870 by storm.'

Students do not differ much about the date of our 'Ebenezzer,' which may roughly be placed before B.C. 900. The Count de Vogüé (extract from the *Times*, Feb. 22, on the Count's pamphlet) remarks, 'If my conjectures are well founded, the pillar was engraved in the second year of the reign of Ahaziah, king of Israel; that is, following the chro-

³⁵ Since these lines were written, M. Ganneau has been transferred, temporarily I hope, to Constantinople by M. de Vogüé, ambassador of France.

nology usually adopted, the year 896 before the Christian era.' Prof. Wright (p. 29, *North British Review*, October 1870) prefers about the second year of Ahaziah's reign, or at the beginning of that of his brother Jehoram, B.C. 896—894; Prof. D. H. Weir, of Glasgow (*Athen.* No. 2221), about the beginning of the reign of Jehu, B.C. 884. Thus numbering upwards of two millenniums and a half, our 'memorial' or monumental stone is senior to Homer and Hesiod, who are supposed to have composed *circa* B.C. 850-76, writing being unknown to Greece before the first Olympiad(?). It dates between two and three centuries before the inscribed sarcophagus of Asmunazar, *circa* B.C. 600, long held to be the most ancient specimen of Phœnician epigraphy. It is the only præ-Maccabean document in a language almost identical with Biblical Hebrew; and its style has been pronounced to be older than two-thirds of the entire Old Testament, and purer than that of the other third. Finally, it shows us the very characters in which possibly the Law was written, and in which probably appeared the Psalms of David and the correspondence of Solomon with Hiram.

We cannot be surprised if this 'bulletin of victory' has, as our neighbours say, 'made epoch,' when we consider that it is at present unique and unrivalled. But the importance attached to it by continental scholars contrasts strangely with the comparative indifference of English students. Let me quote but two: Sir Henry Rawlinson and the Dean of Westminster. The former, who, it will be remembered, was the first in England to identify the Omri of the Diban inscription with the king whose name appears upon the famous black obelisk now in the British Museum, warns me in vain 'not to take an exaggerated view of the Moabite Stone.' The latter thinks that the special value of the discovery is its promise that

‘ there are more Moabitish and Jewish stones than this which has been found at Dhiban.’

The stele becomes, I believe, a *point de départ* in ‘ Semitic’ palæography, which will serve as a standard to calculate approximately the dates of any similar monuments that may be found. It converts into mere theory the old ‘ fact,’ that the ‘ more primitive the characters, the more complicated they were, in consequence of derivation from some pictorial prototype’ (Mr. Deutsch, *Times*, March 3d, 1870). The ‘ oldest epigraphic document in this species of writing’ suggests that the short vowel points which appear in parts of the inscription,³⁶ and which are popularly supposed to be a far later invention, were then known. It establishes the fact, that from the earliest days the four vowel-consonants, or *matres lectionis* (the mnemonic ‘ Ehevi’ of Hebrew grammar), were sometimes used (*scriptio plena*, or מְבֹרָא, of the Massorah) and sometimes neglected (*scriptio defectiva*, or כּוּבָא), the final being general, and the internal rare. Long ages before the now obsolete practice of writing *continuâ serie* became prevalent, it separates, as does the Citium inscription, words by points, and sentences by vertical strokes or bars. The same system appears in certain Cuneiform, Phœnician, and Himyaritic inscriptions; whilst I found the hexameters and pentameters upon the Tower of Bassus, near Shakkah (Saccæa) similarly divided.³⁷

³⁶ For instance, over the last word of line 1, and in the beginning of line 37. I offer this remark with great hesitation, nor is it advisable to pursue the subject until we shall have received facsimiles of the whole stone. The dots may prove mere flaws instead of being short vowel-points; but, if any approximation to the latter be established, all our theories on the modern origin of this refinement must be scattered to the winds.

³⁷ Burckhardt copied one of the three inscriptions, and five lines of the second, but he or his editor has neglected to insert the bars.

There are certain shades of accident in this chapter of Moabite history which are real acquisitions to 'Semitic' lexicography. The *vau conversivum*, once generally regarded as peculiar to Hebrew, evidently existed in the sister dialects. The dual termination '-im' (if correctly read in line 15) connects the Moabitish with the Phœnician and the Hebrew. In other places it appears to become '-an.' The plural ending in '-an' for '-in' approaches it, like the Himyaritic, to the Aramean (or Syrian) and to the Neo-Arabic tongues. Other Arabisms are Madaba for Medeba, Neba for Nebo, and Máb for Moab — modifications still preserved by the Bedawin. 'Máb' (Meáb?), personified like Israel and Judah, was, it has been observed, probably changed to Moab (Mu-ab, *i. e.* 'from the father,' or 'water of the father,' Gen. xix. 37) by one of those opprobrious distortions of national and tribal names to which the Orientals are still so much addicted. Again, we find the fifth Arabic conjugation a veritable تَفَعَّل instead of Hithpael, and the eighth a true اَفْعَل. The terminal Phœnician and Arabic 'T' is also common. Hence I would suggest that in line 15 בלילה, Arabic بليله, must not be translated, with Ganneau, '*pendant la nuit*,' nor with Wright, 'by night,' but 'in a (single) night,' holding the 'h' to be that technically called in Arabic grammar Há el Wahdah.

I venture to affirm, with continental scholars, that the smallest details of the Stone are deeply interesting; that it is a gain to palæography, philology, and linguistic studies, to theology and mythology, to history, geography, and anthropology, whilst the general considerations which it suggests are of the highest importance.

This specimen of a new dialect, the Moabitish, introduces us to a syllabarium, the 'prototype of modern writing,' which

was probably the only cursive character³⁸ then known to the 'Semitic' world. It has been remarked, that there is no sensible difference between it and the alphabet used on the metal weights and the clay tablets of Assyria, whilst it resembles the letters acting masons' marks lately found upon the stones at the north-eastern and south-eastern angles of the Jerusalem Haram. Prof. Rawlinson (*Contemporary Review*, August 1870) has shown its identity with the alphabet of Assyrian tablets and gems (ab. B.C. 750-650); with the Asmunazar alphabet (ab. B.C. 600), and with the ordinary Phœnician—which Mr. Deutsch would call Cadmean—alphabet of the Persian, Greek, and Roman times. Evidently dating in Phœnicia and Canaan from at least B.C. 1000, it proves the unity of the alphabet common to the 'Semitic' populations, extending from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus, from Nineveh westward over the Mediterranean basin, and bounded only by the colonies of Tyre and Sidon, of Greece and Carthage.

In its presence, the views of Aristotle and Pliny, before universally received, concerning the eighteen or sixteen *Cadmi*³⁹ *nigelle filie* become obsolete as Palamedes with his four extra characters, his art of besieging, and his invention of dice and discus, of measures, scales, and lighthouses. All the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabetical Psalms and the book of Lamentations are here embalmed. Many of them,

³⁸ The square Hebrew character did not exist even in any modified form until the return of the Jews from their captivity (*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, No. VI. p. 349). On the other hand, Mr. Hyde Clarke, who has long studied the subject, asserts 'the Phœnician alphabet with Hebrew names is relatively modern; and strangely enough the square Hebrew is in its origin much more ancient.'

³⁹ 'Cadmos,' it is well known, means either 'the Ancient' or 'the East.'

especially the A, D (a perfect delta), H, K (or Q), L, M, N, O, R, T, V (Vau, *i. e.* U and O), so resemble the Archaic Greek and Roman forms that we at once see the origin of our modern writing. And this is, indeed, the great palæographical value of the inscription—‘it takes us nearer to the fount and origin of our written characters than any other document or monument that has as yet been found.’

The style of this ‘unparalleled relic’ is not its least peculiarity. It proves that the Koranic high diction was common to the Moabites, and possibly to the Ammonites as to the Hebrews; it was known to the Phœnicians, as we learn from one of the most pathetic of epitaphs, the Asmunazar inscription. In it we see the *oratio directa* and *indirecta*, perhaps the prophetic perfect. It is startling to find the hyperbole, the parallelism, and the symmetry of sense which form the true Biblical style. Let us compare ‘And Kamos drove them out’ with Gen. iii. 24; ‘Before the face of Kamos’ with 1 Kings xiii. 6; ‘I will oppress Moab’ (line 6) with Ezekiel vi. 8, and many others; ‘And I built this high place (Bamat) for Kamos’ (line 3) with ‘Then did Solomon build an high place for Chamosh’ (1 Kings xi. 7); ‘And Kamos was angry with his land’ (line 5) with a multitude of places alluding to the anger of the Lord, as 2 Macc. viii. 5.

It names Yahvah (Jehovah) without a trace of mystic reticence, showing that the superstitious belief about the Tetragrammaton, whose utterance afterwards doomed men to death in this world and in the next, was then unknown to the people of Israel and Judah as to the Moabites. Jehovah here becomes a local god, bearing the same relationship to the Jews (Israelites) as Kamos bore to the Moabites, Moloch (Milchom) to the Ammonites, and Baal to the Phœnicians.

The men of Ataroth,⁴⁰ probably a great religious and strategic centre of trans-Jordanic Israel, are killed by way of *représailles* for the well-pleasing of Kamos (lines 11-13), a wrathful and vindictive deity, jealous and powerful. Kings were hewed to pieces before Jehovah; men, women, and children were 'consecrated;' the men and wives of Jabosh-Gilead, and the men of Jericho and Ai, of Makkeda and Libnah, were slaughtered, and generally warriors taken with arms in their hands were doomed to death. We have improved of late, despite the danger of *balles explosives* being adopted. The inscription speaks familiarly, as a contemporary might, of 'Ariel,'—M. Ganneau assured me that he had found the word in the inscription,—the mysterious Ariel, or Lion of God, usually supposed to mean the altar of burnt-offering. The Kali Yahvah, or 'vessels of Jehovah,' captured by the Moabite, may either prove, with Dr. Ginsburg, that the trans-Jordanic Hebrew tribes, Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, had a separate and complete ritual, or simply that the altars, knives, brass musical instruments, and articles used in slaughtering victims, and adapted for camp purposes, were in those early days carried with the armies when taking the field. It mentions the deity Astar (masculine), apparently the Athtar of the Himyaritic inscriptions, but evidently not Astarah, Sam-(Sham-) Baal, 'name' or 'glory' of Ba'al of the Phœnicians, nor the classical Astarte. Finally, it suggests that human

⁴⁰ I cannot explain how Dr. Ginsburg (p. 35) tells us that at Ataroth, 'every one was destroyed, men, women, and children, also property.' The inscription (lines 11-12) suggests only the warriors of the wall being killed, and the spoil being removed—probably to Dibon. Nor is it likely in those days and in such places that a large town like Nebo, the headquarters of Baalphegar and of Kamos worship, should be left unfortified.

victims offered to the Sun-god were slain as well as burned in Asia, whereas in Peru, Mexico, and Polynesia they were simply blood-offerings.

Geographically speaking, our 'memorial' revives with curious clearness the familiar Biblical names of Medeba, Baal-Meon (Baal-Meon, Numbers xxxii. 38, and Beth Baal-Meon, Joshua xiii. 17), Kiriathaim, Ataroth, Nebo, Dibon, Beth Diblathaim (Jeremiah xlvi. 22), Horonaim, and Beth-Bamoth, the Biblical Bamoth-Baal, or Baal-Bamoth, 'Sun-god of the high places.'

The interest of the inscription culminates in the fact that king Mesa, or Mesha, the Dibonite, breaks new ground. This regulus ruled a country not so large as our county of Huntingdon, and the re-subjugation of Moab under the rule of Omri (B.C. 924-919, or 6-10 years), after the seven days' reign of Zimri (ob. B.C. 930-929), made him the vassal of intolerable masters. Omri imposed upon Mesa a tribute as exorbitant as that of Brian Boromhe, who compelled the Danes to contribute a yearly quotum of 365 tuns of claret. Omri himself, the founder of the third Samarian dynasty, may be compared with the king of Anglesea, or with the mighty rulers of Essex, Wessex, and so forth.

Mesa, the 'sheep-master,' recounts in balanced speech and in the most dignified terms, almost rhythmic and poetical, how, after forty years of spoiling and oppression, the hour of deliverance was brought to Moab by the almighty but long-forgotten Kamos. 1. He begins by making a high place (Bamat) in gratitude to his God. 2. He relates how Omri tyrannised over Moab. 3. He records the wrath of Kamos against his land. 4. He relates how Omri and his son, the unfortunate Ahab, who ruled twenty-two years (B.C. 919-897), and his son's son, Ahaziah (B.C. 896-895), took

the land of Moab and occupied it forty years. He neglects or despises, however, the names of Ahab and of Ahaziah, whose two years' reign completed the forty years,⁴¹ and of course he says nothing of Jehoram, son of Ahab (B.C. 896-884). 5. He describes his campaign against the house of Omri, and perhaps Ahaziah (lines 18-19). 6. He enumerates his public works,—how he founded and rebuilt fortified cities, threw a road over the Arnon river, and generally improved the country. We observe that in those days the palace contained its prison, like the Serai of Damascus in the present age, and that every house had its rain-cistern; the same is now the case at Jerusalem, and I found an ancient well when excavating in the ruins of Palmyra. 7. He records his campaign against the Horonaim (Isaiah xv. 5), or Edomites, who had united themselves to invade Moab with Jehoram of Israel, and with his vassal, Jehosaphat of Judah.

We thus obtain a view of sacred history almost identical in terms, but in tenor very different from that offered by 2 Chronicles xx., by 2 Kings i. 1, and especially by 2 Kings iii. It is not merely an 'interesting comment,' but an explanation and a new version. I wonder when I read,—The differences between the two narratives are such as might be expected in two records of the same events emanating from two hostile parties, and are far less striking than the conflicting descriptions given by the English and French of the battle of Waterloo; by the English, French, and Russians of the capture of Sebastopol; by the Prussians and Austrians

⁴¹ 'The occupation of Medeba by Omri and his house would thus coincide with the duration of the dynasty of Omri, which, calculated from the close of the war with Tibni, extended, according to the received chronology, exactly forty years.' (Winer, B.C. 924-884).

of the battle of Sadowa; or by the French and Germans of the battle of Woerth' (Ginsburg). Nor can I agree with Mr. Wright (p. 36)—'That it' (the Stone) 'was not set up after the joint expedition of Jehoram and Jehosaphat is *certain* (the italics are mine), because in that case it would *inevitably* have contained a paragraph referring thereto. Mesha would *assuredly* have told how his foes besieged him in Kir Moab; how he sacrificed his first-born unto Kamos; and how his god, thus propitiated, dispersed his enemies, and made them flee again to their own land.' The inscription, fairly read, means that Mesa was not besieged in Kir Moab, and did not make a holocaust of his son.

The stele emphatically relates events which are far too euphemistically treated by the sacred writers. The apparently causeless departure of the hated Israelites⁴² and their return to their own country is shown to have been not an act of humanity and pity (pity from a Jew for a Gentile!), as the Jew Josephus explains (*Antiq. Jud.* 9, 3, § 2), but simply an ignominious flight. The absolute defeat of the allied host, the sacrifice of their soldiers and citizens, and the capture of their women and children, must have been sore blows to the worshippers of Yahvah. Hence, in the reigns of Uzziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, the so-called Isaiahic writings (B.C. 808-697) deal freely in threats which are enlargements of Numbers xxi. 27-30. We read of the pride, haughtiness, and wrath of Moab (xvi. 6), of the 'burden of Moab' (xv. 1-9), and of the bringing down of Moab (xv. 11). The latter, together with the captivity of Moab and Kamos in the later days, is evidently copied in the imprecations of Jeremiah

⁴² Why does M. Ganneau (p. 15) translate 'Against the Israelites' 'Parmi les Israélites'?

(chap. xlviii.), who wrote between B.C. 638 and 586, when Jerusalem and Judah fell under Nebuzadan the Chaldean.

On the other hand, we hear nothing, as might be expected, about the devoting of Mesa's son to Kamos, which, by the bye, suggests the unconsummated sacrifice of Isaac and Jephthah's horrid vow; nor do the Moabites mistake for the blood of the allies who had slain one another, the water miraculously supplied to Elisha. Do we not freely own to our desire for a supply of that 'double evidence which so often tantalises the student of ancient history,' especially in one of the most ancient of all histories? We sorely long for more Moabite Stones which will cry out to us *audi alteram partem*. It is only the conflicting version that can explain such legends as that of Lot and his daughters, possibly, as in the case of Ammon, the result of some blood feud, and that of Balaam, which may have been borrowed from a Moabitish chronicle. We would willingly also see the test of an *altera lectio* applied to the raid of David against the Moabites so laconically told (2 Sam. viii. 2, and 1 Chron. xviii. 2); an apparently causeless onslaught upon a people connected with him through Ruth by blood-ties, and to whom his father Jesse owed so much gratitude.

To measure the amount of difference, let us compare the statements found in 2 Kings iii. with the Moabite Stone, this chapter of realistic local history; the collation will prove how much the latter corrects and supplements the former.

2 KINGS III.

4. And Mesha king of Moab was a sheep-master, and rendered unto the king of Israel an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.

STELE.

Lines 4 and 5 mention only despoilers, enemies, and Omri, his son and his grandson, the oppressors and destroyers.

6-9. And king Jehoram went out of Samaria the same time, and numbered all Israel.

Lines 7 and 10 mention only Israel and the men of Gad.

And he went and sent to Jehosaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: I am as thou art, my people as thy people, and my horses as thy horses.

And he said, Which way shall we go up? And he answered, The way through the wilderness of Edom.

So the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the king of Edom; and they fetched a compass of seven days' journey. . . .

17. For thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water, that ye may drink, both ye, and your cattle, and your beasts.

No mention of this miraculous water-supply.

22-24. And they rose up early in the morning, and the sun shone upon the water, and the Moabites saw the water on the other side as red as blood:

And they said, This is blood: the kings are surely slain, and they have smitten one another: now therefore, Moab, to the spoil.

And when they came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them. . . .

No mention of this phenomenon, which is recounted as if the semi-nomade Moabites had never seen a mirage. It is like the mirage which may deceive a European, but not a Bedawi eye; and it reminds us of the bodies of the host of Ngatno lying heaped up in the cooking-places. (*Polynesian Mythology, the Curse of Manaia*. Sir George Grey. London, Murray, 1855.)

25. And they beat down the cities, and on every good piece of land cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the wells of water; and felled all the good trees: only in Kir-haraseth left they the stones thereof: howbeit the slingers went about it, and smote it.

No mention of the barbarous tactics referred to by the sacred writer.

26. And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew swords, to break through even unto the king of Edom: but they could not.

No mention of a failure more glorious to a warrior-king than many a victory.

27. Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall. And there was great indignation against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

No mention of this sacrifice.

No mention of this terrible loss to the tribe of Gad.

Lines 11-12. Storming of Ataroth by Mesa, slaughter of the warriors, dedication of the spoils to Kamos, and re-colonisation by the Moabites.

No mention of this terrible loss to the Israelites.

Lines 14-18. Capture of Nebo, slaughter of 7000 men, women, maidens, and vessels of Jehovah devoted to Astar-Kamos.

Ditto.

Lines 19-20. Capture of Jahaz, which had been fortified by the king of Israel.

Ditto.

32. Attack upon the Horonaim, allies of the Israelites.

The 'strong remark' that the Moabite Stone reads like

a page of the Bible might have been made stronger. It is evident that in the book of Kings we tread upon enchanted ground, whereas in the stele we find a chapter of realistic, local, and contemporary chronicle. The former offers, in a single chapter, a 'prophet,' a miracle, and a phenomenon so inexplicable as to be quasi-miraculous; the latter deals throughout with the world as we still know it. And the unprejudiced will find no difficulty in answering the question, Which is history, and which is the romance of history?

The literature of the Moabite Stone threatens to become extensive.⁴³ It was introduced by M. Charles Clermont Ganneau, Drogman-Chancelier du Consulat intérimaire du Consulat de France à Jérusalem, in a fac-simile and a letter to the Comte de Vogüé, 'La Stèle de Mesa, roi de Moab, 896 avant J.-C.,' dated from his post, Jan. 16, 1870, with a terminal note by M. de Vogüé, Paris, Feb. 5. The owner followed up his announcement by articles in the *Revue Archéologique* (Nos. 3 and 4, for March and June 1870) with a second and more valuable fac-simile. Finally came 'La Stèle de Dhiban,' a brochure of sixty pages, with fac-simile and a useful 'Carte pour l'Intelligence des Campagnes de Mesa' (Paris, 1870) completing the third recension. Meanwhile, a number of studies, exegetical and multilingual, appeared in the literary

⁴³ The first part of the list is borrowed from Professor Wright (*loc. cit.*). I should hardly have thought this reference necessary in a mere compilation, as this paper has been owned to be, had not the *Academy* (vol. iii. No. 47) ill-naturedly charged me with 'borrowing without acknowledgment.' Nor will I plead guilty to the following uncalled-for charge: 'The author then examines one by one the statements of Dr. Petermann, in the German Oriental *Zeitschrift* for 1870, with a fullness and authority which would carry conviction, were it not for his undisguised anti-German bias.'

world. In France, M. Renan contributed a short article to the *Journal des Débats* (Feb. 25, 1870), which did not add laurels to his crown. Next appeared a notice of M. Ganneau's first pamphlet, by M. J. Derenbourg, in the *Journal Asiatique* (January-February 1870), and a longer article by the same scholar (April 8), based upon M. Ganneau's second and revised copy. The first of the German scholars to take the field was Prof. Schlottmann, of Halle (March 15); he published his translation in the *Times* (May 5), and corrected it in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (xxiv. Bund 8, and 11 Heft, May 13): a third recension afterwards appeared. Meanwhile, the inscription had been discussed by Prof. Ewald (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, April 20); and Dr. Neubauer, in the April number of Frankel and Grätz's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, attempted a complete translation, which agreed closely with one that appeared in the *Times* of March 27. Rabbi Geiger, of Berlin, also discussed the subject in the *Zeitschrift* of May 15. Next appeared Prof. Land, of Amsterdam; Prof. Nöldeke, of Kiel (April 16), a treatise followed by a short notice in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (May 4); Prof. Haug, of Munich (*Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, April 16); Prof. Schrader, of Giessen (*Theologisches Litteraturblatt*, June 1), and Dr. Abraham Halévy (*Kakkud ha-Libnun*, Nos. 13, 14, and 15, of 1871). The United States are represented by *Scribner's Monthly* (April 1871), and by the Rev. Howard Crosby (Palestine Exploration Society, July 1871). England has spoken through Capt. Warren and others in the Palestine Exploration Fund (*Quarterly Statements*, Nos. V. VI. January 1 to March 31, 1870, and March 31 to June 30, 1870); through Mr. Deutsch (the *Times*, March 8, 1870); through Prof. D. E. Weir, of Glasgow (*Athe-*

næum, May 21, 1870); through Prof. Rawlinson⁴⁴ (*loc. cit.*), and through Prof. W. Wright, of Cambridge (*North British Review*, No. 1, October 1870-January 1871). Other notices are by the author of the anonymous article ('Capts. Wilson and Warren's Recovery of Jerusalem,' p. 496); by Dr. Ginsburg ('The Moabite Stone,' Longmans, 1870); by the *Journal of Anthropology* (vol. i. No. 3, January 1871); by the *Evangelical Review* (No. 1, February 1871); by the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, and by various others of minor importance.⁴⁵

And the literature on the discovery of the Stone is also gaining size. The controversy will be found in the *Athenæum* (May 7, 1870), of which a copy was kindly forwarded to me by the Editor; in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (No. V. of 1870, and No. III. of August 1871); and in the speech of Sir Henry Rawlinson at the annual meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, for May 1871. And in presence of the statement put forth by Dr. H. Petermann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (part iv. for 1870), and of the sentences concluding the report addressed by the North German Consulate at Jerusalem to the Chancellor of the Union (April 29, 1870), it is time that the whole case should be stated dispassionately and impartially. We read with some surprise, — 'The ordinary rules of discretion would seem to have demanded that nobody should have interfered with the transaction until it had been regularly brought to a conclusion or broken off.' It will be seen that the rules of discretion were

⁴⁴ His distinguished brother has not, I believe, published any study upon the Moabite Stone, except in the *Athenæum*, No. 2209.

⁴⁵ This list might be enlarged, but all the principal authorities are quoted above.

repeatedly violated by those who advance the charge, and that the transaction, having been avowedly broken off, *had* come to a conclusion.

The relic was found at Diban, or Dhiban, the Moabitish Dibon, a capital city in the days of Mesa. I can understand why M. Clermont Ganneau, Prof. E. H. Palmer, and Dr. Ginsburg write this evidently dual word Dhiban (ذيبان), but it is hard to see why the latter should also adopt Dibhân (p. 29) as well as Dibân (p. 10). It may be simply a clerical slip, as in line 3 of the stele we read Karaha, and in lines 21, 24, 25, Karcha; whereas in the original the words are identical. The relic lay at the feet of and between two monticules, still cumbered with extensive ruins. Prof. E. H. Palmer heard them called 'two háris,' properly meaning a ploughman, but here applied to these hillocks, and throughout the country to every eminence surmounted by ruined sites. Thus he was enabled cleverly to explain the name of Moab's ancient capital, Kir Haraseth, now Karak, meaning the 'city of the hill' *par excellence*.⁴⁶ The memorial escaped the notice of Irby and Mangles, in 1809; but in later days it had probably been heard of at Jerusalem. At last it was shown to the Rev. F. A. Klein, 'a Prussian gentleman,' not 'travelling for his pleasure in Palestine.' A professional matter took him from Jerusalem, and as he was *en route*

⁴⁶ Since these lines were first published, Dr. Beke has kindly supplied me with the following note on Professor E. H. Palmer's explanation of the name Kir-Haraseth, in *Athenæum*, No. 2321, April 20, 1872, p. 498, col. 3:

'Dr. Beke suggests that these eminences derived their name from their *conical* shape. In Hebrew the kindred roots, חרש, חרש, חרץ, may signify not only to *plough*, to *cut in*, to *engrave*, generally, but also to *cut to a point*, to *make pointed*, especially. As, then, the *hharitim* of 2 Kings v. 23, translated "purses or bags for money," are "so called

from Salt to Karak, on August 19, dawned the great discovery of the year 1868, an *annus mirabilis* in the history of Palestine exploration. Mr. Klein is French-born, employed and salaried by the English mission, and full of Prussian sympathies. His own statement reads as follows (letter to G. Grove, Esq., published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 19, 1870, and republished in No. VI. *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*): 'On my return to Jerusalem, I showed my sketch and parts of the inscription to Dr. Petermann, of Berlin, who . . . immediately took the necessary steps to acquire the Moabite monument for the Berlin Museum.' He thus showed himself, in a cosmopolitan sense, much below Capt. Warren, who frankly and honourably stated that it was to him a matter of utter indifference whether the relic, provided that it was secured intact for the civilised world, adorned the museum of Berlin, of Paris, or of London.


Evidently, as is owned by his friends, the discoverer did not understand the value of the find, or, instead of sketching and measuring the slab, and copying a few characters, he would, even at the cost of a little delay and personal inconvenience, have made a transcript of the whole inscription. And I am convinced that he might have done more. In such cases the best plan is at once to say, 'I want that stone,' and, without other formalities, to bargain down 'friends and pro-

from their long and round shape, perhaps like an inverted *cone*;" and as Dr. Beke contends, in his recently-published work *The Idol in Horeb*, that the *hhereth* of Exodus xxxii. 4 was, in like manner, a *conical* receptacle, in which Aaron cast the golden image usually supposed to have been in the form of a calf; so he considers the *hhariths* (*hharitim*?) on which the towns of Moab were built to have been so called from their *conical* shape. See the *Jewish Chronicle* of September 8, 1871.'

tectors' for the hire of camels: this distracts their attention, and thus they will often allow a valuable *antika* to be taken away and repaid by a few pounds of gunpowder. The Shaykh Ahmad bin Tarif expressed the true Bedawi feeling when he said to Messrs. Tyrwhitt Drake and Palmer: 'If you Franks had come down here twelve months ago, and offered us a pound or two, you might have taken all the stones you chose, the Dhibán one included; but now you have taught us the worth of written stones, and the Arabs are awake to their importance at last.' His Grace the Archbishop of York must have suspected something of the kind when he stated at the annual general meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund (May 16, 1870), 'I may say, had Capt. Warren been on the spot, or if Mr. Klein had adopted a different mode of operation, a more satisfactory result would have been obtained.'

But Mr. Klein went his ways—mistake No. 1. Arrived at Jerusalem, this 'agent of the English mission' thought proper to neglect the claims of the country which gave him birth, and of that which gave him bread. As has been seen, he reported the find only to the Prussian official, who, of course, declares it natural that 'a German preacher should lay his discovery before a German Consulate.' There are those who view the matter differently.

Consultations, telegraphs, and correspondence delayed, with a tardiness characteristically Teutonic, all movement till the latter part of September 1868, when Dr. Petermann sent 'a teacher named Bahnam,' the 'able assistant of Mr. Klein,' with a letter addressed by the reverend gentleman to Shaykh Findi el Faiz, the wrong man, an Arab completely under Turkish influence. This was mistake No. 2; and thus the Bedawin learned the value of their treasure, whilst no attempt to obtain a copy of the whole inscription was taken by



way of precautionary measure. Had this been done, and had a cast made from a photograph been shown to the Arabs they would again have parted with the monument for a *lira* or two. The next delay was of nearly six months; in March 1869 a second Christian, Saba Kawar, of Salt, was dispatched on the same errand. It is generally believed that the 'young clever Arab' applied to Shaykh Goblan (Kabalán), of the Adwán, instead of going directly to the tribe that owned the monument. This was not, as stated in the 'Recovery of Jerusalem' (p. 498), the Benú Hamídah, a small clan living to the north and north-west of the Dead Sea, but the wild Benú Humaydah, the Beni Hamíde of Mr. Klein, and the Beni Hamedy of the North German Consulate at Jerusalem. The two are, of course, *not* confounded by Prof. E. H. Palmer (p. 321, No. VI. *Palestine Exploration Fund*), who attributes to their opposition 'the lamentable destruction of the celebrated monument of Meshá.' However, this was mistake No. 3, which, by the bye, can hardly have been accidental on the part of so 'clever' a 'young Arab.' At any rate Mr. Saba Kawar returned with a demand for 1000 instead of 100 napoleons, made by the Bedawin non-owners, reporting at the same time that the Ishmaelites had buried the stone, and 'treated it as being the shrine of an evil spirit, whose power would vanish with the taking of a squeeze.' This tale is fit only for telling to the stolid Frank, and even Goldsmith's Mr. Burchell would have answered it with a 'Fudge!'

Dr. Petermann now saw 'no means of acquiring the stone but through the medium of the Turkish government.' Mistake No. 4, and crowning error! The Benú Humaydah, who appear to be veritable descendants from the ancient Moabites, and who deserve especial study, are the most savage and intractable tribe of the Belka. They roam freely about this

fine region, which the Romans termed, from the nature of its climate, 'Palestina Tertia sive Salutaris,' and of which the Arabs say, in their rhyming style,

'Misl el Belka ma taltaka.'

Naught to be found like Belka ground.

The tract extends southwards from the Jebel Ajlun (Mt. Gilead) and the Northern Zerka, or Jabbok river, to Moabitis Proper. This Araboth Moab was originally occupied by the Emim, Anakim, and Horim (Deut. ii. 10-12); subsequently the northern portion, namely, above the Arnon, was seized by the Amorites (Numbers xxi. 13-26); and lastly, before the death of Moses, it was allotted, together with Bashan, farther north, to the small tribes, Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh (Joshua i. 12 and 13, 15-29). Bounded on the north by the Wady Mujib, the ancient Arnon river, a 'frontier of Moab,' which divided it from the Amorite country, it extended southwards to a parallel of latitude projected from the lower extremity of the Dead Sea, which was the border of the Edomites. To this Moabitis Proper the Moabites were relegated, and about its centre was built their capital, Kir Haraseth, the modern Karak, a name found in the כַּרְכַּרְמֶשֶׁת of the Chaldean Talmud, the Charax Omanorum⁴⁷ (Ammon) of the Romans; in the *χαρακμῶβα* (*i. e.* Karak Moab, baldness or bald place of Moab), in Ptolemy, and in the Rabbath Moab of Eusebius. In 1812 it was explored by Burckhardt, who there noticed two peculiarities: the men were forbidden, under pain of infamy, to sell Samn, or clarified butter; and to sleep under the same blanket with their wives.

The Benú Humaydah had just suffered from the 'Belka

⁴⁷ Thus distinguished from another 'Charax' at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euleus.

Expedition,' led in person by Rashid Pasha, then Wali, or Governor-general of Syria; and, perfectly knowing what a 'dragonnade' meant, they were in paroxysms of terror at the idea of another raid. The Prussian Consul was grossly deceived by Ali Pasha, the late Grand Vizier, who, true to his well-known policy of thwarting and cozening Europeans, addressed a Vizierial letter, worthless as was the wont of such instruments, to the Pasha of Jerusalem, well aware at the time that it should have been sent to the Governor-general of Syria, for transmission to Mohammed Said, then Pasha of Nablus. Nor was Rashid Pasha inferior to his patron, Ali Pasha: he asserted falsely, as usual, that he 'could do nothing in the matter, since the exhibition of the stone to strangers' (only one stranger had ever seen it!) 'was a source of income to the Beni Hamedi, the loss of which might, not improbably, cause a *new revolt*.' We are assured that the Governor-general was 'completely deceived upon this point.' No! such men are deceivers; the deceived were the gentlemen of the North German Consulate, especially the Chancellor, Dr. Meyer. Those who well know that Mohammed Said, of Nablus, was a mere creature of Rashid Pasha, cannot read without admiration,—'Der Pascha von Nablus, in December, durch einen von uns ausgewirkten Firman vom Wali zu Damascus beordert, den Stein in unsere Hände zu schaffen—für 100 nap. d'or—forderte der Beni Hamedi auf, den Stein herauszugeben.'

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1869,—matters are not precipitated at Jerusalem,—the Rev. Dr. Barclay, then chief of the English mission to the Jews, having heard Mr. Klein report the discovery, suggested that time for action was come to Capt. Warren, R.E., who had been informed of the discovery by a man of Karak, only a few weeks after Mr. Klein

had left Diban, and to M. Ganneau, who was notably 'the first to recognise the immense importance of the monument.' The former, knowing that the Prussians had obtained a Firman from the authorities, and were still acting in the matter, declined to interfere until they failed. However, in the following June (1869), before leaving for the Libanus (July), he called, with Dr. Barclay, upon Mr. Klein, when a long conversation took place: the reverend 'discoverer' was offered all manner of assistance, in the shape of squeeze-paper, instruments, and so forth, but he declared himself quite able to look after the matter single-handed. About that time Dr. Petermann left Jerusalem, *after personally assuring M. Ganneau that the whole affair had fallen through.* In his own published statement we read, 'It was not until after my departure, and when the Prussian Consulate took no farther interest in the matter, . . . that the matter came to the ears of M. Ganneau.' These words make it abundantly evident that the 'ordinary rules of discretion' should not have been invoked in an extraordinary case, and that the field had been left clear for M. Ganneau. The latter has been freely condemned by Dr. Ginsburg for his 'unwise measures,' and for 'hasty and precipitate action.' On the other hand, Mr. Klein (March 23, 1870) 'cannot too highly praise the zeal, energy, and tact of M. Ganneau and Capt. Warren;' whilst Capt. Warren (No. V. *Palestine Exploration Fund*) attributes the success of the squeezes to the *entente cordiale* between himself and M. Ganneau, recording with pleasure his acknowledgment of his fellow-labourer's honourable and upright conduct in this delicate matter, as far as he had been concerned in it.

But Herr von Alten, successor to Dr. Petermann, *did* take 'farther interest in the matter,' and, as has been seen,

made matters worse with Rashid Pasha. Between July and November 1869 Capt. Warren sought health for himself and his party in the Libanus. M. Ganneau, after waiting patiently for a whole year, offered to advance 200 Majidis out of a total of 400⁴⁸ to Shaykh Id el Faiz, if the latter would put the Stone into his hands. At length he obtained two squeezes of the inscription, *in situ*, the first by 'Yaquob Caravacca,' in the shape of seven *lambeaux fripés et chiffonnés*; the second in November 1869,⁴⁹ a valuable work in four sheets, by an Arab, Shaykh Jemil, whom he had taught to use the brush; and the third in January 1870, showing the two large and sundry small fragments. These three, put together, form 'l'unique représentation de l'ensemble du monument.' The German Consular report is hardly correct when it asserts that M. Ganneau and Capt. Warren 'obtained, through an Arab, a squeeze of the two chief portions, as well as of some of the smaller pieces:' they obtained much more. And Dr. Ginsburg neglects the most important item when he declares (p. 11)—'The materials from which the restoration was effected are: 1. A squeeze of the whole Stone, as it was first discovered, in very bad condition; 2. Two very excellent squeezes of the two larger fragments, which represent about half of the entire surface; 3. Capt. Warren's second squeeze of the larger fragments; 4. M. Ganneau's rubbings of the lower fragments, obtained independently, which supplement each other; and 5. A number of small pieces of the Stone itself.'

Then came the catastrophe. The wild Benú Humaydah

⁴⁸ It would be interesting to know how Dr. Ginsburg discovered that 200 'Medshidjis' (Majidis) are 'about 375l.' Usually the Majidi is worth a fraction under twenty-three piastres, or less than five francs.

⁴⁹ I am somewhat doubtful about this second squeeze.

knowing, doubtless, that the 'delivery of the Stone to the German Consulate had been ordered by the Turkish government,' and finding that the Mudir (*sous-préfet*) of Salt was about to put pressure upon them, in agonies of fear made a bonfire round and below the precious relic, threw cold water upon it, and broke it to pieces with boulders. According to Capt. Warren, 'the bits were distributed among the different families to place in the granaries and act as blessings upon the corn, for they say that without the Stone (or its equivalent in hard cash) a blight will fall upon their crops.'

All local authorities agree in describing the Benú Humaydah as almost pure Bedawin, whose 'granaries' are mud-coated baskets, whilst their villages number more tents than huts. At once, however, they destroyed or buried every other fragment of antiquity in their neighbourhood. The later travellers report that the surrounding tribes—men whom Semitic cupidity has driven mad about 'written stones'—have led them long walks and rides out of the path, occasionally entailing a night in the open, without other rations but a dry crust and the tainted contents of a water-skin, in order to see a bit of frieze, a scrap of key pattern, a broken Ionic capital, or, at best, a fragment of Nabathean inscription.

The Franco-Prussian war tended not a little to embitter antiquarian rivalry in the matter of the Moabite Stone. Dr. Ginsburg, whilst freely owning that the young French *savant* has performed his task in a most scholarly, careful, and conscientious manner, charges him—it appears hardly just—with 'precipitate and hasty action,' and with jealousy and want of candour in not mentioning the 'real or original discoverer' of the Stone. Were I Mr. Klein, I should certainly decline the honour of being mentioned. Later in the same

year, the German Consulate at Jerusalem virtually charged the French Drogman-Chancelier with indiscretion. The latter, on the other hand, complains (No. V. *Palestine Exploration Fund*) of a 'regrettable omission' on the part of Mr. Deutsch, who, after using his labours, had not referred to them.

Very unsatisfactory is the present state of our knowledge concerning the Stone itself. The reductions of the fac-similes published by M. Ganneau, Dr. Ginsburg, and others, show 34 lines, of which 6 only are perfect, each averaging 10 words, or 30 characters. This would give us a grand total of 340 words or 1122 letters. Of the latter, which M. Ganneau reduces (why?) to 'about a thousand,' he has obtained from his 20 fragments—two of them large and 18 small—613 characters, namely 358 and 150 from the first and second sizes, 38 from the biggest of the little pieces, and one from the smallest. Captain Warren has 56 from 18 fragments, part of the broken stone having been placed in his hand by a Bedawi *employé* as he was returning from the Libanus to Jerusalem (November 1869). Thus a total of 669 characters has been preserved out of a total in round numbers of 1100. The other 430 are not, however, lost: the '*déplorables lacunes*' of 35 entire words, 15 half words, and 18 letters, or a little less than one-seventh, can be restored by M. Ganneau, whose four-sheet squeeze, though somewhat injured, is still exceedingly valuable. The best plan would be to make from a perfect estampage a fac-simile plaster-cast of the stele, coloured like nature, and upon it to photograph and to incise the inscription.

Curious to say, however, we are still doubtful about the number of lines, about the size, and about the shape of the stele's lower part. Mr. Klein's sketch rounds off the bottom

on both sides. M. Ganneau, from his squeezes, makes it square, and in this he is followed by Captain Warren. Professor Rawlinson holds fast by the square, Dr. Ginsburg adopts the round, and, whilst he offers a 'fac-simile of the original inscription,' he has not, I believe, seen certain portions of it. In May 1871 M. Ganneau assured me that he had found in it the word 'Davidah' as well as 'Arial,' words which nowhere appear in the copies hitherto published. Possibly Mr. Klein supplies the explanations (*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 19, 1870): 'in the lower corner there are not so many words missing as would be the case if it were square at the bottom.' Moreover, all the rubbings of the smaller fragments have not yet, I believe, been published. And again, whilst M. Ganneau, measuring his squeezes, makes the stone 1 mètre high by 0·60 broad by about 0·60 thick, Mr. Klein, from actual measurement of the Stone, proposes 1·13 by 0·70 by 0·35. Evidently in the latter there is room for a 35th line. Surely it is full time that this mystery should now be cleared up.

Meanwhile, all who do not exclaim with M. l'Abbé Vertot, *mon siège est fait*, must fervently hope that we shall not lose the opportunity of securing for England a memorial of such importance. During the next few years many will set out to search for other Moabite stones; the find is uncertain, but the stele of Mesa is a positive gain to all critical students of Early-Hebrew history. M. Ganneau is ready to part with it; but there are complications with M. de Vogüé; moreover, having, as he says, cohabited with it for so many years, he makes a point of setting it up and of publishing the whole inscription himself. Hence the remark in your pages—'While the public at large have got some vague idea that, after all, the Moabite Stone may have been only a myth, the

exhaustive labours of the learned on Moab and all that concerns it (together with a few new readings and suggestions) have ceased; and, worst of all, M. Ganneau's staunchest defender (Professor Schlottmann) and upholder against those few who prefer the text *au naturel* to that periodically furnished forth with the *latest* corrections by M. Ganneau.' I venture to suggest, that by disposing of his treasure he will consult its safety, and he may secure the wherewithal to continue his interesting excavations. My best wishes are with him that he may hit upon another *trouvaille* as valuable if possible as the Moabite Stone.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

P.S. Since these lines were penned I have heard from the Holy Land that the Rev. Dr. Tristram, Dr. Ginsburg, and party landed there on the last day of the last year. They expected hard work before they could even hope for success; and they found it harder than they expected. The people of Karak imprisoned them, and demanded a ransom of 500 napoleons, reduced, I am told, to 50 napoleons. We are assured by Messrs. Tyrwhitt Drake and Palmer, that there does not exist another Moabite Stone above ground. But the ruined and buried cities of the trans-Jordanic region, showing vestiges far more venerable than those actually existing at Jerusalem, may be expected to yield, under systematic excavation, a peculiarly abundant harvest. The first discovery must always be looked upon as a distinct promise of future revelation. We are assured by the highest authority now living that the Assyrians, like the Portuguese in their golden age, were in the habit of erecting 'padrões,' that the Phœnicians inscribed their sarcophagi, and that even the Jews, perhaps, set up trophies for themselves. With him, we find the 'inference inevitable, that this was

the general custom amongst the Semitic nations inhabiting the country between the Mediterranean and Syria, and that, if we are to examine the countries adjoining Palestine and Syria, the country of the Ammonites and the country of the Moabites, we shall find similar monuments.'

The first *fiasco* took the shape of the 'Medaba Stone,' which was announced (Nov. 30), with some pomp and circumstance, in the *Times*, and which, despite the indorsement of M. Shapira,—who should have known better,—was at once detected by Mr. Deutsch. The affair will do good, by putting the unlearned on their guard, and by making them suspect the 'highest authorities' when the price of 'Moabite Stones' is applied to Nabathean inscriptions. The second is the Karak affair, which is bringing Dr. Ginsburg home, and which threatened a little campaign in the Holy Land. What may be the third it is hard to say, unless a little more *savoir faire* and prudence be used.

Description of Remains from Siloam. By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

Any remains which are brought from the 'by no means prepossessing'⁵⁰ locality of Siloam must be of interest to the student of Shemitic tradition. The present reliques deserve our careful examination :

1. Calvaria, comprising frontal and fractured parietal bones of a large ovately dolichocephalous individual. The frontal bone is equably arched and vaulted; the frontal

⁵⁰ Dr. Thompson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 359-60.

bosses being large. There is a slight annular post-coronal depression, due (as Foville has pointed out) to the custom of swathing the head of the child tightly after birth. The coronal suture is deeply denticulated. There is a slight parietal exostosis, concomitant with enlarged Pacchionian depressions on the internal table. The superciliaries are small, and the external angular part of the frontal bone is flattish. The bones of the cranial vault are thin and delicate.

2. Frontal bone (in two pieces) of a large dolichocephalous individual. The supraciliary ridges are slight; the foramen converted into a notch on the left side. The orbital *voûtes* are wide and lofty.

3. Mandible of a powerful adult, with second molar on right side, and third and second molars, and second premolar in place, on left side. The third premolar on both sides has been shed during life. A large diastema exists between the second and third molars on the left side. The incisor teeth have been very small and delicate. The coronoid process is high, and its forward curve, as in some Andaman islanders, is prominent. The attachments for pterygoid muscles are strong; the mentum is prominent and mesepicentric. The fangs of the premolar teeth have been large and deep. The angle is turned outwards. The molar teeth have been much larger than in the next specimen; but otherwise there is nothing to infer that it possessed more negroid affinity than does the Semitic race generally.

4. Mandible of an aged individual of eurygonic form, with second and third molars in place on left side, showing much erosion, but of the size common in all non-negro races. The coronoid process is high and slender, the sigmoid notch consequently deep. The attachments for the pterygoid muscles well marked, and the angle prominent. The mylo-

hyoid groove deep. The genial tubercles are not large. The first molar on the right side has been shed during life. The mentum is prominent.

5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Fragments of parietal and occipital bones, probably referable either to skull 1 or skull 2.

On account of the broken condition of these bones, I do not attempt measurements. An examination of them leads, however, to the conclusion that they appertain to the race which has been called 'Jewish' by comparative anthropologists. That this race inhabited the neighbourhood of Jerusalem at the time of the deposition of the present remains is, therefore, a conclusion which rests not on hypothesis or tradition, but on comparison of the osteal evidences now before us.

Description of Skull from Deir-es-Sinne, near Siloam, from one of the graves in the necropolis termed Múghárat 'Isá ('Tomb of Jesus'). By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

The specimen before us is probably that of a small but adult individual, possibly female, and belonging to the (Osmanli) Turkish race. Its turreted aspect gives it some resemblance to the skull No. 1, from Dayr Már Músá el Habashi, and, like it, it has been asymmetrical, the depression having existed on the right side. The forehead is retrocedent in relation with the extreme height of the skull. The orbits are squared and laterally elongated. The nasal orifices are short, and round the nasal bone broad. There is slight maxillary prognathism. The first and second

molars on the left side, and the first molar on the right, are in place, and show signs of erosion. The palate is moderately broad, without any excessive depth being shown.

The norma verticalis shows phœnozygism; but the zygomatic arches are slight. A large portion of the right half of the cranium has been broken off since death, and at a comparatively recent period. The sutures in the region of the alisphenoid and temporal bones are entirely closed, and the suture is serrated, but not deeply so. The sagittal and lambdoid sutures are in the same condition. The supra-occipital bone is deeply concave just behind the foramen.

It is impossible to estimate the precise breadth of the skull. The length has been 15·5 cent., and the height 10·0 cent.; the proportion of height to length, taking the latter as = 100, being 64.

The race to which the individual belonged was certainly Turkish, and the date of interment cannot be precisely estimated.

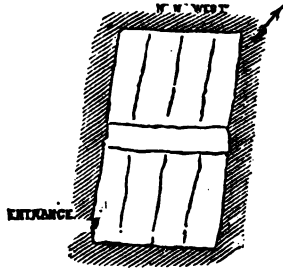
No. 8 Lor.

Thirty-three fragments of skulls (big and small).

Miscellaneous bones.

This parcel of bones was taken (April 25, 1871) from the Kala'at el Marad (مرد), 'of the Rebel,' that is to say of Namrúd (Nimrod); upon our maps it is usually written Mird. A tomb was found open on the western edge of the mound upon which the ruins stand: its shape is square, and the entrance is by a shallow pit at the southern angle. The rhumb of the cemetery is N.N.West. and S.S.East. In the former and in the latter direction there are four loculi faced

with masonry, the two sets being separated by a transverse passage which may also have been a loculus. The N.N. Western receptacle measures 6 feet 7' in length by 2 feet 9' 6'' in breadth by 2 feet 3' in depth, and the whole is covered over with a rude vaulting. No other graves were found amongst the ruins.



After a visit to the Greek monastery of Mar Sábá, 'la coza la mas atrevida en el mundo,' that can be imagined, said my Spanish colleague Conde de Caza Fiel, we rode along the slippery ledge of white chalky rock, well garnished with slides and holes, which, following the right bank of the Wady el Nár, a continuation of the Kedron, forms the Sultani or high-road to Jerusalem. The winding gorge that begins about a mile above, and ends some two miles below the convent, must have lodged an army of Cœnobites. The perpendicular faces of the rock are everywhere pigeon-holed with their dens, some mere caves, others roughly built up; these at low, those at high levels approached by paths which now would not tempt a goat, and showing every possible difference of size and shape. Instead of seeing Cæsar triumphing and hearing Tully perorating, I should prefer to behold the great Laura of the Fiery Valley restored, and gaze at its old tenantry creeping like beetles about the cliffs, and affording a touching lesson of what asceticism can do for the species *homo sapiens*. Reaching the shallower bed we crossed to the right side, and struck up the Wady el Bakkúr (بقر), so called from a well of that name. As we rose above the low level, Jebel Furaydis began to peep like Scylla in a storm above the long succession of huge ground-rollers. After an hour's ride from our

tents at Mar Sábá, we reached the divide, and began the descent of the Wady el Bakay'eh (بقية), which leads to the plain so called. Here only a hundred years ago the country was covered with vines; now there are but the ruins of vineyards, grape-terraces, and swathes of stone like those about Ma'in of Moab, the Haurán Valley, and the Jebel Durúz Haurán. The dark glaze upon the silex and the calcaire reminded me of what I had noticed in the Congo, the São Francisco, and the Uruguay, and what I had read of in the Rivers Orinoco, the Zambeze, and the Yang-Tse-Kiang (Captain Blakistone).

Some fifteen minutes from the summit down the Fiumara led us to a watercourse which of old was evidently intended to feed a number of cisterns; the guides called it Kanát el Marad, and all declared that it was fed by the Bir Ayyub, popularly supposed to represent En Rogel at the confluence of the so-termed Valley of Hinnom with the so-termed 'Brook Kedron.' Little value can be attached to these vague legends, but there are mysteries about the 'Well of Job' which will not be cleared up without difficulty. Another quarter of an hour placed us at a dyke partly natural, partly artificial, with rude stone set in mud instead of lime or concrete: it spans, or rather it spanned, a torrent-bed, damming up the precious water supply. Thence we ascended the Tell Marad by a path winding amongst broken walls and heaps of superior masonry. The hill-top was by aneroid 140 perpendicular feet above the valley; the Jordan mouth bore from it 77° , and the opening of the Wady Zerka Ma'in (Callirrhoe) 123° . The steepest part is to the south-west, and here the angle measures 31° . The southern rim was of natural rock, and the whole surface seems to have been vaulted over with arches mostly round: on the east was a well, and near it stood two

tanks of cut stone. We found tessellations, in fact these are picked up at the least likely places, for instance upon the hill of Dayr i Dubban.⁵¹ I have remarked that the tesserae are of two kinds: the small and carefully finished, like those about Sidon, and in the Dayr el Musallabah, the Convent of the Cross near Jerusalem; and the large and coarse, which are scattered all over the country. The former are evidently classical Græco-Roman, whilst the latter may be Saracenic imitations. At the southern mole of Kaysariyyah (Cæsarea Palestina) I observed masses of tessellated work on both sides of the concrete blocks, suggesting that they were party-walls.

*Description of Human and Animal Remains from Marad,
Syria. By C. Carter Blake.*

The fractured condition of the human remains from Marad precludes any very precise consideration of their racial characters. They may be comprised as follows:

Skull-pieces	37
Vertebrae	12
Ribs	7
Long bones	7
Scapulæ and ilia	4
Bones of extremities	7
	74
Horn-cores of sheep	2

The bones appear to have belonged to four individuals at least, one of whom was large and robust, and one was a

⁵¹ M. de Saulcy (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, vol. ii. p. 93; Paris, Didier, 1865) seems to attach an archæological importance to this kind of *grosse mosaïque*.

young child of probably about a year old. Some of the parietal bones are rather thick.

One of the axis vertebræ is heavily ossified.

It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the race to which these individuals appertained.

The fragments of frontal bone of young Syrian sheep accompanying them appear to be of the same age as the human remains.

No. 9 Lot. *From Tower of Bassus.*

Skull nearly perfect; a portion of bone fallen from the walls.

Part of calva.

Skull perfect, wanting only jaw-bone.

Back part of calva.

Front of calva (part of bone polished).

Three pieces of calvaria fitting together.

Two femoral bones, right and left.

One ilium; one calcareum.

Rag of mummy-cloth.

Fragment of coffin.

An almond cut off at the top (this has already been alluded to).

The greater part of the skulls was found in the upper story of the Tower called of Bassus at the Druze village of Shakkah (Saccæa): of these, six fragmentary skulls were taken from the tower, and three fragments from the monastery.⁵² The rest came from the basement, whose northern

⁵² My friend and fellow-traveller has kindly lent his own collection for description by Dr. Blake.

entrance we opened by the simple process of clearing away the rubbish with which it had long been blocked up.

The tower in question is called by the people El Burj: it is a square of nineteen feet measured outside, and it had apparently three stories. The base-course slopes with a bevel, and falls perpendicularly upon a foundation of good masonry: the entrance to the first overground story is to the east, and the large impost has bold bosses at each end. The interior shows a curious complication, being supplied with a cornice running all round, as if taking the place of corbels to support the stone beams; a portion of the northern and southern walls is pierced, as if to admit joists for floor and ceiling, and these holes are found in only one half of the building. The two upper cornices are evidently new, and the stones do not belong to the same style of masonry. Besides two skulls we saw scattered about this floor a number of human bones which could not have been those of Druzes, the present occupants of the village, or they would have been deposited in the adjoining cemetery.

With some trouble we persuaded a pair of *fainéants* to fetch a pick and a basket, and disregarding their eternal appeals, 'How much will you give us?' and 'What very hard work it is!' we made them open a passage into the basement. Creeping inside we found the space heaped with earth, but showing three loculi to the west, 6 feet 6 inches long by 3 feet wide, and beginning at 1 foot 18 inches from the entrance. Close above our heads was a slab and a layer of loose stones, with jammed mummies, calvariæ, bones, and cerements of all kinds; it was necessary to remove those required with caution, as there was a risk of bringing the whole of the human breccia bodily down. It was evident that our basement opened up only the north-eastern third of the lowest

story: we expected to find adits on the west and the south sides, and we had promised ourselves a renewal of exploration, which was, however, prevented by untoward circumstances.

We also met with remnants of skulls and bones in the western tower of the Dár el Sharkiyyah, a large church and monastery lying outside, and, as its name denotes, to the east of Shakkah: they are probably the mortal *dépouilles* of the reverend men. The upper part of the northern face is evidently of more modern date than the others. On the bossed stones of the lower face appear deeply-cut circles, probably masons' marks. The tower opens east, and opposite the entrance is a *loculus* nine feet long: the interior also shows four solid corbels calculated to support a very heavy roof. Climbing up to the second story, we observed older stones built into the more modern masonry; the area was divided by a party-wall, and the eastern half had two arches spanning it from north to south, the lower being larger than the upper: the stone shutter of the window was still in place. The fine cream colour of the older basalt showed long exposure, whilst the more recently quarried stones were black. The church to the south-east was composed of an auditorium or nave, and two ambulatoria (aisles), with the rounded apse (*Haykal*) which in the Hauran and the Southern Desert always characterises the most ancient architecture, ecclesiastic and Christian. We found in and about the pile a number of incised crosses, some inscriptions, and a headless feminine figure, with the loose dress looped up like that of a modern Bedawiyyah—possibly, as in Cyprus, all the heads, the fronts of offence, were buried by the Moslems in one spot.

Shakkah, near the north-western edge of the *Jebel Durúz Haurán*, is one of the most interesting and important which the mountain can show. The traveller will do well carefully

to examine the fine Pagan temple El Kaysariyyah, with the old Suk, or bazar, and its outwork El Akadah; the house of Damathos and other 'Kusur' (palaces), the Jámí'a or Madrasah to the north, and the adjacent tomb-tower. The northern face of the latter shows only three stories, with a few broken stones above the upper cornice; the lowest, pierced with an arch and quadrangular door, has five courses, mostly modern, as evidently appeared from repair; the second, with a single window, has ten, and the third has eight courses; the lintel of the window being supported by two corbels. The whole face is divided by cornices slightly projecting, and of the same shape and size as that above. Entering by the south we find an underground story, a second story seven feet high, and a third—probably two thrown into one—raised twenty feet; the flooring is supported by ponderous corbels built into the masonry, here and there two tiers within three feet of each other. The masonry shows an abundance of interior rubble. The houses of most ancient date prove that then, as now, the want of timber was supplied by arches built from three to four and even five feet apart; large stone beams being laid across to form the upper story floor.

Beyond this point the traveller will inspect El Kísán (قيصان), which, like the Kaysariyyah, has been supplied with a vast variety of crosses; one of them forked at the four ends, and chiselled over an ancient inscription with so shallow a cut as not to obliterate it: of this we also brought home a copy. The building, however, rich in architectural details, appears to have been a town-hall in the Græco-Roman city. The huge ruins called the Dayr, and its two important Kabús (cisterns) to the north, exhaust the objects of interest above ground.

Description of Remains from Bassus's Tower at Shakkah.

By Dr. C. Carter Blake.

ALL the remains described in the present lot show characters identical with a Græco-Roman race of varying dimensions, and exhibiting various conditions of post-mortem interment, which have affected the exact measurements of the skulls. They are in an exceedingly fragmentary condition.

No. 1. This large brachycephalous skull, of which the frontal portion has become detached, shows traces of occipito-frontal flattening on the right side, which has led to the *aplatissement* of the right parietals and the right supra-occipital bone. The sutures being all open at the period of death has led to this abnormal process being more effectual than it would have been in those skulls (*e.g.* the 'Louth') in which the sutures having been closed early in life, the post-humal compression has produced a greater amount of deformation than in the present case. The sagittal, coronal, and lambdoid sutures have been open during life. There is no doubt that the individual was brachycephalous. The frontal bone is round and bombate, the nasal bones having been wide. The supraorbital foramina have been converted into notches on both sides. All the sutures are deeply denticulated, the lambdoid excessively so, and the latter shows traces of at least six large Wormian bones. The supraoccipital bone is small, and beneath the superior semi-circular curved line the occiput rapidly curves towards the foramen. This is round and large. There are very slight traces of paroccipital processes on both sides, and the post condyloid foramina are deep. The facial bones are entirely absent. The auditory foramen (on the left side) is small

and the mastoids are large. The additamentum mastoidalis is ossified throughout the whole of its course. Although the post-mortem compression on the right side has been great, it is possible that during life a great flattening of the parietals and occipitals existed, due either to a 'suckling-board' or to the natural brachycephaly of the race. The points for muscular attachment on the skull are slightly marked, and it is probable that the individual did not exceed thirty years of age.

No. 2. Facial bone of young individual with rounded orbits, and exhibiting slight artificial (post-mortem) depression of the frontal bone on the left side. The facies has been orthognathic. The age of the individual was probably about seven or eight, the second dentition being just descending from the alveoli. This shows in place the two median top incisors, four premolar and molar teeth on each side in position, the last of the series being in the alveolus. The nasal spine has been large. The condition of all the sutures is such as indicates the extreme youth of the specimen.

No. 3. This very small female skull exhibits the frontal suture entirely open and elevated along its length. The sagittal suture is open as well as the lambdoid, which shows an enormous triquetral 'Wormian' dismemberment of the supraoccipital bone. The temporal is small. The palate is broad and shallow, the molar series having been entirely absorbed in the alveoli. The retrocedent frontal bone slopes rapidly back to the coronal suture, whence the curve is equable to the middle of the sagittal suture, and rapidly falls in an almost vertical line to the inion, beneath the 'Os Incæ' above mentioned, and shelves rapidly down to the foramen, which is round. The mastoids are small. The orbits are rounded. The supraorbital foramina have been converted into notches;

the canine fossa is almost obliterated. The post condyloid foramina are large. The nasal bones are large and broad, and the surface for the attachment of cartilage has been great. The skull has been immersed in soft humal mud, a large portion of which is adherent to it.

No. 4. The posterior portion of a very large cranium, broken off a little in front of the coronal suture, and probably having been brachycephalous. The proportions generally accord with those of No. 3, though the skull is much larger. This character is very distinguishable on the posterior surface of the parietal and occipital bones, which are asymmetrically flattened, the greatest depression being on the right side. There is a slight paroccipital process on this side. The condyles are proportionately small, and the foramen magnum is rounded. There has been a large triquetral bone cutting off the upper half of the supraoccipital, due no doubt to the use of the 'suckling-board' in youth.

No. 5. The fractured frontal bone of a young individual, in which the frontal suture has been to a great extent retained, and showing open and large frontal sinuses. The orbits have been rounded. The nasal bones are produced forwardly, and the forehead is fairly bombate.

No. 6. In three pieces. This portion of a brachycephalous cranium is much eroded and worn. The frontal bone is in a very shattered condition, the supraciliaries having been large, but broken away. The lambdoid suture is the only one which can be said to be partially open, and deeply denticulated. The superior semicircular curved line is large, and the inion prominent.

The skulls from Bassus's Tower are both male and female, and undoubtedly belong to one race, and probably to one family.

No. 7. *Right femur*, measuring 44 centimètres.

No. 8. *Right femur*, measuring 42 centimètres.

No. 9. *Left iliac bone*.

No. 10. Twenty fragments of parietal and other bones of great thickness.

No. 11. *Calcaneum*, probably female.

From the monastery at Shakkah are derived three specimens :

A. *Hyperostotic frontal bone* of great thickness and weight, with prominent nasal bones and large orbital elevations. The forehead has not been unusually depressed.

B. *Frontal bone fragmentary* on right side, with large frontal sinuses. The bones are thick, dense, and highly polished. The individual was smaller than A.

C. *Supraoccipital bone* very thick and dense, probably belonging to the individual numbered A, with whose character it agrees. The superior semicircular curved line is large and produced, and the occiput has been shelving. The lambdoid suture has been deeply denticulated.

All these bones contrast, in their osseous condition, very much with those from Bassus's Tower.

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
	Internal capacity.	Circumference.	Fronto-occipital arc.	Intermastoid arc.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Length of face.	Breadth of face.	Proportion of breadth to length.	Proportion of height to length.
No. 3	46·0	32·5	36·0	15·3	13·8	10·3	..	11·7	·90	6·7
No. 4	40·0	..	14·7	10·5

No. 10 Lot.

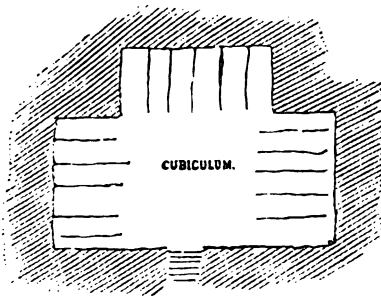
Twenty-two fragments of bone (remarkably thick).

Being often obliged to visit the Dhumayr village, the north-easternmost settlement on the Damascus Plain, when the Bedawi dromedary-rider brings the English post-bags from Baghdad, I had long resolved to try the fortunes of excavation at one of two likely places. The first lies close to the streamlet which rises in a fine spring at the Ra'as el Ayn, a little below the Ruhaybah village: it flows through a ribbon of grass down a deep gorge, and receiving the Mukabrit, or Sulphur Water, at the gorge of the same name, it passes, after turning six mills, through the western end of the settlement by a well-defined river valley; finally, when not absorbed by the fields, it finds the Birket 'Utaybah, or Northern Stagnum of Damascus. The right bank of this 'Nahr Dhumayr,' as it is here called, raised fifty feet high, and composed of soft breccia, conglomerate, and limestone, shows a scatter of mortuary caves deeply cut in the stone floor and facing in all directions: some are partially covered with huge boulders, of which many have been broken up for building purposes, others are open, and all are more or less choked with rubbish.

On the east of the modern townlet, after passing out of the lanes cumbered with dead donkeys, camel bones, and offal, there is a precisely similar formation upon the raised right bank of the Mayyat Maksurah, which also forms a distinct river valley, accommodating washerwomen and irrigating the fields. To the north of this line, still showing a large Sorus or sarcophagus, with pillow to receive the head and monolithic covering slab, is one of the modern cemeteries — the more

extensive graveyard is to the west of the town—and indeed the whole arc extending round the Mayyat Maksurah to the Nahr Dhumayr may have been the ancient necropolis.

Wishing to visit the Bayt and Ayn el Ráhib (of the Monk), some seven miles distant to the eastward of Dhumayr, we left orders (June 6, 1871) for half-a-dozen Fellahin labourers to clear out one of the catacombs on the east of the Dhumayr River. Unable to be in two places at once, and unwilling to separate in this rendezvous of plundering Bedawin, we could not superintend our excavation. Consequently the fellows cleared out only one, instead of half-a-dozen. Visiting the *fouille* about sunset, we found a heap of bones, including a quantity of the powder which has lately got the name of 'Egyptian guano,' selling for 7*l.* to 8*l.* per ton, disposed about the mouth of the pit, in which one labourer was working hard at doing nothing, whilst the rest were reposing after a similar toil. The cave was approached by six steps—the number greatly varies—and it showed three inner bays or alcoves, each made to accommodate six corpses. The latter were disposed in frames of cut stone, open at the top—the coverings had probably been removed by the treasure-



seeker. This was also the case with all those which I had previously visited and had found empty; in some, however,

No. 10 Lot.

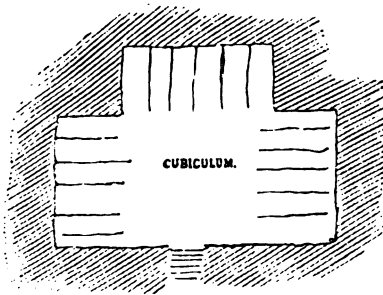
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the form of the cavern was circular, instead of being quadrangular; and I remarked that the conglomerate contained basalt.

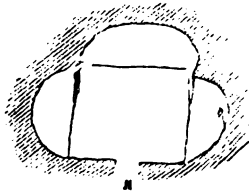
Dhumayr has suffered from maps and guide-books as much as comports with its insignificance. Van de Velde places it a little to the west of its streamlet, whereas the latter passes through the western extremity of the settlement, and both he and Murray's Handbook and map confound it with El Maksúrah, a place distant one short hour's ride to the east. The Sun-temple—converted into a church, and afterwards to a fort—has often been described; but sufficient attention has not been given to the cornice, with cinquefoils in compartments carried all round the exterior, as bearing upon its original date. Seen from inside also the apex of the pediment is formed by a flat stone supported by three on either side; whilst the arched Hellenic portal, now filled up, reminds us of Mr. Hamilton's gateway at Kerasunt, the ancient Pharnacia (*Travels in Asia Minor*, i. 264). A hideous *bonnet de nuit* of comparatively modern stones, with crenelles at the corners, has been run over the coping, and will contribute much towards bringing down the edifice: when something shall have been done for Ba'albak, it will be time to press for the suppression of this evil. One line of the Greek inscription upon the stones at the north-east angle has been carefully effaced—we found these erasures even in the Jebel Durúz Haurán—and we can only conjecture that the object was to obliterate some Christian expression antagonistic to Monotheism. In sundry cases the obliteration was not complete enough to prevent our deciphering the obnoxious words.

The Fellahs here, as elsewhere, have their own traditions about the Kasr or Kala'ah, which, surrounded by their clay

huts, likest to wasps' nests, appears to be such an anomaly. It was built by one Hanna bin Manna, who lived a thousand years, and 'enjoyed himself in no manner (*wa má tamanná*):' the same thing, however, is said of many other places, and it has passed into a popular dictum more concise, although less eloquent, than Gibbon's reflection. They account for the Nahr Yezid, an old aqueduct which passes north of the settlement upon the Barada rim, by telling the tale of a king who, of course, inhabited the Kasr, and whose daughter was sought in marriage by two suitors, Yezid and Awáján. The father promised the prize to him who should first bring water from Damascus, and the name of the conduit shows who won 'that young person.'

Thelsea is evidently to be sought at El Maksúrah—the 'broken down,' the ruin—upon the plain which is still one of the stations on the direct road to Karyatayn and Palmyra. It looks much in the condition in which I had seen Arica, and the extrados and voussoirs of the half-arch to the west are worthy of Mendoza. The building has evidently a square peribolos, and four cross roads meeting in the centre; the grooves for heavy doors, the well-carved cornice, and the massive masonry of large blocks, showing an inside stuffing of small stones and lime, are sub-classical. The impost under the arch reminds us of Mr. Hamilton's vignette (vol. i. p. 450), which he judges to be Byzantine Christian, destroyed by the Saracens and Seljukians of Iconium. A subsequent age fortified the north wall with six round towers placed near together, for the benefit of bowmen. A large coarsely-built pile of Kartah (قرته), or coarse marbly limestone, on the south-east, unprovided with an apse, shows upon its western wall a rude inscription of seven lines, the lower part being hardly legible; in the second, however, we easily read

heard from the Rev. Mr. Crawford of another and a fresh find, arrived at Yabrúd, and were at once led to a place a few yards above the three-vault grave. Here a round arch facing to the north had been opened in the loose stratification of the hill-side, and the entrance showed signs of having been closed with a slab. The interior consisted of a parallelogram subtended by three arches, shaped exactly like some of the pits which I had inspected at Dhumayr. The length of the three loculi⁵⁴ was five feet, and the upper stories showed 'reveals' or groovings, sunk round the margins, to receive the monolithic covering slabs. There were many little side ledges, upon which the lamps had been disposed. According to our informant, a relative of the young schoolmaster, a whole



skeleton was brought to light, and was wantonly broken up. My fellow-traveller paid a piastre to a boy for a bit of green bone, which had evidently been long in contact with some metallic substance.

Yabrúd, an episcopal (Greek) town, is still a place of some importance. The people derive its name from the cold

⁵⁴ I willingly follow the distinction adopted by Captain E. W. Wilson, R.E. ('Remains of Tombs in Palestine,' *Palestine Exploration Fund*, No. III. p. 66): 'The term "loculus" (*θηκη*, or chamber) is always applied to the actual resting-place of the body; a "sunk loculus" is an excavation made in the surface of the rock much after the manner of a modern grave; while a "deep loculus" is an excavation driven into the face of the rock, like a small tunnel or a large pigeon-hole.' The arcosolium is an arched loculus, a form common in Roman catacombs. And to these four I would add a fifth, namely, the 'built loculus,' a local Kist-Vaen, when, as is most commonly the case, microlithic slabs of cut, not rude, stone contain the body. And evidently the sepulchre may be unilocular, bi-locular, or multi-locular.

(Bard) of the winters; and if this be correct, the Jabruda of Ptolemy is right, whilst the later Christian name Yambruda has unduly added a letter to the root. Its western approach is remarkable. The traveller riding along the upland plain of 'Assál el Ward, with the great limestone waves El Marmarún⁵⁵ on his right, and to the left a fine profile view of the Anti-Libanus, with its crown-shaped Fatlí summit and its northernmost paps and pyramids El Haláim, passes through the mean village Ra'as el Ayn, and entering a short narrow Fijj (cluse), with a broken stony track, finds himself descending towards the second gradient, the Kára-Nabk Plain. Here is the ancient pagan necropolis; and the olden dead looked out upon a pleasant plot of greensward, like the Rabwat el Minshár,⁵⁶ where the gorge of the Barada opens upon the Damascus Plain, with trees and orchards, and a bright spring bubbling from under the rock at the farther side. The tall limestone walls on the right of the valley are pierced with a multitude of caverns, for which the moderns find no better name than Dakkákin (shops), declaring it to be the ancient Súk or bazar. And that the element of wonder, so necessary to the Syrian mind, may not be wanting, here the Malik Bardawil⁵⁷ stretched a chain across the valley, and hung to

⁵⁵ The word means troubling, annoying, on account of the difficulty of the ascent. It must not be confounded with the Aryan root Mar (whence murmur and myriad), which implies the rush of water drops.

⁵⁶ The 'Green Plainlet of the Saw,' so called because trees are here cut into planks. Some prefer—erroneously I believe—Rabwat wa'l Manshar, or where linen is spread to dry.

⁵⁷ This personage is perfectly capable of being King Baldwin the Crusader. Up the Wady el Samak, east of the Sea of Galilee, there is a ruin still known as Kasr Bardawin, or Bardawil, the Palace of Baldwin. In modern Syrian Arabic the 'n' may take the place of the 'l'; for instance, the word Ishmael is always pronounced by the unlearned Ismain, and not Ismail.

it a bell. It served as the Irishman's traditional jacket at Donnybrook; any one who wanted a fight had only to ring for it. And it will appear from the sequel that the combative monarch fought once too often.

A rough and rocky path, with the fields and orchards of the town on one side, and on the other a prolongation of the old pagan necropolis, leads to the town. In one place the path winds round a large boulder *in situ*, with a sarcophagus sunk in the summit. The Marmarún cliffs tower grandly over the diminutive Ra'as el Kúz, whose pallid brow contrasts with their warm red faces; and they gradually edge off to the north in smaller waves, like a sea tired of flowing. The city boasts of being able to turn out its 2500 to 3000 guns; and the number of houses, about 1000, would represent a population of not less than 8000.⁵⁸ Of these, some one-fifth are Christians, mostly Greek, but already contributing a quantum to the Reformed Faith; the rest are Moslems, and there is apparently no angry rivalry between the religions. Of this I have spoken before: it suggests the total absence of religious strife between Catholic and Protestant farmers in Ireland, when neither squire nor parson bids angry passions rise. The Yabrudites are a well-to-do race, driving a thriving trade in madder, and slaughtering some twenty sheep a day—in this land an unailing test of prosperity. Orderly, like almost all comfortable communities, they are managed by eight policemen. It is only fair to confess, however, that during my second visit we found the women, Moslem as well as Christian, thrashing the Kázi: the reverend man had, by the extreme freedom of his *propos*, richly merited the castigation.

The two lions of Yabrúd are the 'Castle' and the Ca-

⁵⁸ The Handbook of 1868 gives, 'Population about 3000.'

thedral. The latter rises to the north of the town, based upon an outcrop of hard limestone, up which leads a rugged path. The whole monticule shows traces of classical architecture; but the new walls of the modern buildings conceal everything except the remains of the eastern portico. Of four shafts only one half survives, the southern with two, the northern with three frustra, considerably shaken out of the perpendicular; and in both the capitals are wanting. Behind them is a single tall jamb of a fine gateway, adorned with egg pattern and with the honeysuckle. The natives call this building *Kasr Bardawil*; and here lived that pugnacious king, till slain one fine day by *Abu Jayd el Halálah*, a companion of *Antar*, who flourished circa A.D. 550. These people have minds utterly uncorrupted by chronological studies.

The Cathedral, now, of course, in the hands of the Greek Church, is attributed to *Constantine* and *Helena*. If they be its builders, either the pile was erected in the most careless and even barbarous style, or, what is far more probable, we now see a modern restoration. The stones of the northern wall belong to many systems of masonry. Some of the blocks are plain; others bear a single boss and draft; whilst in some the boss is double. There are several round arches, now blocked up, originally opening under imposts; and a kind of clerestory gives an archaic type to the whole. The interior is evidently modern, the nave and aisles being separated by four square piers, whilst over the door is the usual cage for the women bodies.

To *Constantine* and *Helena* also are attributed the watch-towers, which are planted at regular distances upon little eminences in the *Kará-Nabk Plain*, and which extend northward to *Hums*. Having been told that a *Karshúni* inscrip-

tion was to be found over the doorway, I examined that upon the Tell near Kara. The character was simply long Sulsí and the interior was a vault, with groinings which sprang from the four corner piers. Similarly on the shore-road from Bayrut to Sidon, the Burj Khuldah, usually supposed to be the Mutatio Heldua of the 'Jerusalem Itinerary,' and evidently one of the many Roman guard-houses which studded the fine causeway subtending the whole coast. A square, measuring outside twenty-three feet, and faced both ways with large stones containing rubble, is universally supposed by the natives to have been a kind of telegraph station, by means of which the momentous intelligence that the true Cross had been 'invented' might be instantly conveyed to Constantinople from that persevering old North-countrywoman who now bears the title of St. Helena.

Description of Remains from Yabrud. By C. Carter Blake, Doct. Sci., F.G.S., Hon. Mem. A. I., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Westminster Hospital.

PART I. CAPTAIN BURTON'S COLLECTION.

ALL the equably ovoid skulls contained in the present collection appear to appertain to one race, and that one which presents the modern Syrian type of skull.

Skull No. 1. A large high dolichocephalous skull, with very slight superciliary ridges and flattened forehead: the present specimen is more like the young Syrian skull from Palmyra, previously described and figured, than any skull which has yet come under my examination from the 'Holy Land.' The

contour forms an even curve throughout its whole fronto-occipital length. It is slightly asymmetrical, probably owing to the influences of interment.

The wisdom-tooth on the left side has been shed during life, and the alveolus is absorbed. The foramen magnum is small and round. The palate is rather high and vaulted, especially in its posterior portion. The nasal bones have been forwardly produced, arched, and the nose has been aquiline.

The sutures are all open, the alisphenoido-parietal suture on the right side being smaller than on the left. The coronal suture is very slightly serrated, and the denticulations on the sagittal and lambdoid are not excessive. There are no Wormian bones, nor the slightest traces of jugular eminences on either side. The supramastoid ridge is large and heavy, but although the individual has probably been an adult male, the mastoid processes are small. Supraorbital foramina exist on both sides. The frontal region is large, though the frontal bone is retrocedent. The ridges for the attachment of muscles are not pronounced. The age of the individual was probably about thirty or forty. As the next skulls for description accord closely with it in nearly all its distinctive characters, the description of this first one will nearly suffice for all. The mandible which probably appertains to this skull is low and narrow, the coronoid process being scarcely elevated, and the angle slightly exserted. The condyle being broken away, gives the sigmoid notch a greater appearance of shallowness than is really the case. All the teeth have dropped out since death. The sockets have been small, and those of the molar series are of the size in the Indo-European race.

Skull No. 2. With larger superciliary ridges than skull 1,

the present agrees with it in nearly all essential characters. The sutures are all nearly closed, with the exception of the lambdoid. The result has been that the superior portion of the occipital bone above the semicircular line is posteriorly developed. The supramastoid ridges are prominent and the mastoid processes large, there being a great depth between the supramastoid ridge and the apex of the mastoid process. The digastric fossæ are deep, and cleave the mastoid processes on each side into two portions, each of which shows cancellous structure. There are, however, no paroccipital or pneumatic processes. The auditory foramina are large. The palate is shallow and flat. The molar teeth in place are small. The orbits are depressed at their inferior and external margins.

Skull No. 3. Like the preceding, the present specimen belongs to the 'long oval type.' The dextral portion of the facial bones has been broken away since death. The bones are slender. The sutures are not deeply denticulated. The mastoid processes are small, and there are very slight paroccipitals. The molar teeth in place are not much worn, and exhibit the characters of the 'white' races of mankind. The jugular foramen is largest on the right side, where its size is disproportionately great.

Skull No. 4. In friable condition, this large quasi-brachycephalous calvaria, with open frontal suture, shows indications of having belonged to a large and powerful male. The sagittal suture is deeply denticulated with large Wormian bone at the confluence of it with the lambdoid.

Skulls labelled Nos. 5 and 6 belong to one person — a young child, with bombate forehead and rounded orbits. The skull has been broken off through the basisphenoid bone. The nasal bones are well developed and arched. The nasal

Description of Remains from Yabrūd.

PART II. MR. TYRWHITT DRAKE'S COLLECTION.

Skull No. 1. This large prognathic brachycephalous individual exhibits characters which indicate that it was of probably the Turanian or Turkish (Tatar) race, which occupied a large portion of Syria. The sutures are all open. The coronal is very slightly denticulated, and the sagittal shows signs of a large Wormian bone in its posterior portion. The large supraoccipital bone extends above a markedly-produced superior semicircular line, and stands out as a well-marked *probole* in relief from the rest of the bone. There are no paroccipitals. Traces exist of the original division between the basioccipital and basisphenoid bones. The palate is broad, but not deep, and the molar teeth have all either dropped out or become broken off since death. Oxide of iron has produced a chemical alteration in the dentine of some of the broken teeth yet in place. The supranasal notch is deep, and the nasal bones are curved forwardly. The maxillary bone is prognathic to a very great extent. The orbits are small, and the supranasal foramina have been converted into notches on either side. The surface of the skull around the coronal suture has bulged apparently since death, by the swelling of moist intercranial substance; and there also exists a slight carination along the length of the sagittal suture. The frontal bone is equably bombate. The individual has probably been adult.

Skull No. 2. A long dolichocephalous skull, which in some of its characters reminds us of the large mecistocephalic skull from Palmyra (No. 2), before described. Much more

prognathic, however, than the Palmyrene, it possesses the same character of large and long occipital region. The mastoid processes are small, and there are no paroccipitals. The palate is broad and shallow. The teeth have all been broken out since death. The cerebellar cavity has been large, as is shown even by the inspection of the outside of the occipital bone. The orbits are small and rounded. The temporal squama is unusually flat on both sides.

Skull No. 3. Smaller than the preceding. The same characters are repeated in it, so that the description of No. 2 will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the present specimen. The coronal suture has been early closed. The nasal bones are forwardly arched. Only one tooth, *m* 1, is in place on the left side. There has been broken off a 'process of Halbertsma,' which has formed evidently a small condylus tertius, but the friable condition of the bones has made it impossible precisely to measure the size of this abnormal ossification. The mastoids are small.

Skull No. 4. This large, almost brachycephalous skull, with prominentinion, differs in type from Nos. 2 and 3, and scarcely accords with that of No. 1. It is difficult to determine its race, and it may have been a mixed breed between the Syrian of Yabrúd and the Osmanli Turk. An adult male, the frowning beetle brows of the supraciliary ridges overhanging an aquiline hooked nose, and with an enormous development of the occipital region of the skull, give it a physiognomy at once robust and repulsive. The height of the skull appears comparatively great. The occipital condyles are broken away. The palate is flat and only slightly excavated. The teeth on the right side have chiefly been shed during life. The zygomatic arches are large, though the skull is not phœnozygous. The occipital foramen is

large and round, concomitant with the large size and brachycephalous character of the skull. The maxillaries are orthognathic.

It may be possible that the present skull may belong to the Jewish race, as it affords no characters contradictory of this conclusion; but, as I have said, it is extremely difficult to predict the precise race to which it belonged.

Skull No. 5. Fractured left parietal and occipital bones of a young dolichocephalous individual, with very thin osseous texture. The attachments for the muscles are not marked.

I have not seen the skull, which probably was labelled No. 6, from Yabrúd.

Skull No. 7. Occipital and fractured parietal bones, right side of a large, adult, brachycephalous man, in whom the bones are remarkably thick and strong. The mastoid processes are large. There are no paroccipitals. The lambdoid and coronal sutures have been entirely obliterated. The processes for muscular attachment are not so marked as might have been expected from a skull otherwise so robust. The tips of the asymmetrical cerebral lobes have projected far beyond the cerebellum.

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
	Internal capacity.	Circumference.	Fronto-occipital arc.	Intermastoid arc.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Length of face.	Breadth of face.	Prop. of breadth to length.	Prop. of height to length.
Skull No. 1	52·5	36·0	39·0	17·8	14·9	11·5	..	13·3	·83	·64
" 2	37·0	37·50	18·3	11·0	11·0	..	12·3	·60	·60
" 3	49·0	34·0	34·0	17·4	12·0	10·5	..	11·3	·69	·60
" 4	52·0	37·0	38·0	18·2	13·9	11·8	..	11·9	·75	·64

And now, Mr. President and gentlemen, I would again express my gratitude for the kindness and courtesy with which you have allowed me to read and print this somewhat lengthy *catalogue raisonné*, and to hope that you are not disappointed by the efforts of your representative in Syria and Palestine during the last two years. You will charitably remember that it was mainly a labour of love, undertaken amidst a variety of occupations, interrupted by business of a public as well as a private nature, and intended chiefly to supplement the geographical studies and explorations which occupied the greater part of my spare time.

In conclusion, I offer my thanks to my brother members of the Anthropological Institute who have enriched these papers with their valuable notes and illustrations; especially to Dr. C. Carter Blake, to Professor Busk, to Mr. John Evans, and to Mr. Augustus W. Franks. My friend Mr. F. Collingwood has also laid me under a heavy load of obligation by the energy and heartiness with which he has invariably assisted me.

II.

SUGGESTIONS OF READINGS

FOR THE INSCRIPTIONS NOT IN WADDINGTON.

MR. TYRWHITT DRAKE and I, when travelling about the Haurán, copied some 135 Greek Inscriptions, besides three Palmyrene which were sent to Professor E. H. Palmer, of St. John's College, Cambridge. The former were placed in the hands of my friend, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, and the same was done with the thirty-five Inscriptions which my fellow-traveller brought home from the 'Aláh region, East and N.East of Hamah. Many of the Hauranic finds had been published by Mr. Waddington, and by the advice of Mr. Vaux those only are retained which appear to be new. Thus a grand total of 170, including those from Hums, Hamah, and elsewhere, has been reduced to eighty-one. Those copied in the 'Aláh are novel as well as interesting; the country has not been visited, within the memory of man at least, by any European traveller.

Mr. Vaux read out a paper upon these Inscriptions at the meeting of the Royal Society of Literature on Wednesday, March 17, 1872, but he confined himself to naming, commenting upon, and describing the localities whence they came, and the sites are now familiar to the readers of these volumes. He found some of the transcripts 'very difficult, not to say impossible, to interpret.'

Facsimiles of the Inscriptions have been made by Messrs. Kell, and the observations supplied by Mr. Vaux have been reproduced in the usual type.

1. Σαιος ου αδδ[ου]
[Ναζ]αραιος ζων εστησεν—
4. ετους α Ζυλλη
ουαδε[ος] [Σ]αιου
..... χαρρε (χαιρε)¹
Two or three words at least gone.
5. ετου[ς] η . . . Μα[ργ]αιου
υιον γρα[μματευ]ς
χει[ρε]
7. ιουλιος Σοαιμος Αμψιονος
W. 2669 a, but W. only read
Αμ
8. υπερ ευχης σωτει[ρι]ας
Τιβηριου κληροχους (κληρουχος)
10. Selamiyah.
..... Σεργιου κεκυρου
οικονομου γεγονεν
11. Χριστε . . εκτισθεν ημων
επι
12. Selamiyah.
..... Θεος
Ακακιακω (There is such a name.)
βο[η]θει

¹ The numbers are retained as they were in the original, and before the eighty-nine were omitted. The sign [denotes that here a line begins.

13. Kefr Omar.
[Θε]ων Μαγισ . . . [Μεγιστον]?
14. Hass.
εκ θεμελιων
15. ευλογημενος ο ερχομενος εν
ονοματι Κυριου Θεος Κυριος
και επιφανεν ημιν — επισκεψου
την γην — και εμεθυσας (?)
αυτην τα συνθριμματα
αυτης οτι εσαλευ (εσηλθ . . . ?)
16. [Ευ]σεβιου
17. Διογενης [υι]ωνος Ευσεβιου
[Αν]τωνινου αδελφ[ου]
επι κοινα
18. τα ανω εις το[ν σορον] ?
τον? Αντουιν[ου]
ως αυτος ταμιος . . .
. . . . επι αρκτον
. ?
19. Κληρουνομιανος (Proper name.)
20. δοξα Πατρι κα[ι υψιστω] και αγιω
πνυμο [πνευματι] βοηθων [βοηθει]
Σαβιν[ω]
21. ιωθπερ [βοηθει υπερ ?]
22. ?

23. S'kaayah.

και τουτο το εργον το[υ] . . . φι]λτατου
Αβρααμου πρεσβ[ευτου . . .] ΙΝΔ Ind. ε.

24. Ajaz.

. μυριαων
πιστης (πιστις) μου· κεως (καθως) μου επι σε ελπις
. . . σωζον με εκ παντων των διωκο[υ]ντων με [και
β[λ]υσαι με ου κε (Ιησου Κυριε?) φυλαξει(ε?) σημα
και ημας· φυλαξον με κεως (καθως?)
. μου ενεκε[υ] [τοις
Ναβμασιν και ουτοι εν ημεις δε εν ονοματ[ι]
κν (κυριου) Θν (Θεου) [ημων . . . εχθρων? και δια
υμων παντες οι ελπίζοντες επι κν (κυριον ημων?)—
. [Some words I cannot guess at.]

+ Επηνης δομος ειμι βαου? κτεανων αετηρων
Δαινεασι πυλαις απημονα τεκνα φυλασσων.
ΙΝΔΙΚΔ. Ι του . . ετους

25. . . . διωκοι τον φθονον
. μειλιχιον φως
Δειμαχο[υ]

*St. Lh. le Cap. d'Alex. (Athens, 6. Nov.) 2. p. 599) tra-
-duit ainsi: "Je ne serai pas effrayé tout même
q. 10000 ennemis m'environt, car le Seigneur
sera mon défenseur. A Seigneur mon Dieu, j'ai été
éprouvé en toi, l'ame mon de tout ceux qui me
poursuivent et débora moi. Ton Seigneur tu
vous garderas et vous protégeras. Garde moi
Seigneur, car la promesse de ta grace. Tu me ve-
-seront sous l'ombre de tes ailes, les uns te
confient dans leurs chairs, d'autres dans leurs
chevaux, mais nous nous ne pourrions dans
le nom du Seigneur notre Dieu. L'œuvre de bon
ouvrage, et que vos cœurs soient prêts, vous tous
qui êtes dans le Seigneur." — Le tout des versets
du Psalme.*

27. αετηρες
 εταιρωι
 εμειο
 θεμεθλοις
 [End of four hexameters.]
28. Αγια Μαρια βοηθε(ει)
 ? [Θεο]φιλω κ[αι] της
 σοφιας φως κ[αι]
 οικος οντος ειν
29. Tarutin el Tujjâr.
 ετους
 κυριε
30. ιχθυς
31. Συν Θεω ανηγη(ει)ραν Καλλιοπιος και Αγριππινος
 υιοι Ευσεβιου ετους Ζξ φ 767
 [A.D. 455.]
32. ετους πρωτου λψμη (730 μηνος)? πανε(η)μου?
 [A.D. 425.]
33. ετους ηκψ? [728. A.D. 416.]
 κε (κυριε) χε (Χριστε)
 βοηθησον τψ δουλω σου Ευγενιψ συν τψ οικψ αυτου
34. ως σοφως την πατριδα φρουρων Ιωννης, αγαθοις
 βουλευμασιν [βρυων, αφειδως εκπονων,
 το[ν] χρυσιον πυργον κομιζει τοις φιλοις
 σωτηριον, σπουδη Παυλου διακ[ονου]? ενεκι(α?)
 ακω (α και ω?) [εν ονοματι Θν (Θεου)
 σωτηρος
35. ο και υιου και
 ετους

37. *Be ar' thana / b'khan. 9 Nov. 77 p. 60a) Fragment
 le s'aignent deus tout grincant aies pite de 1/2
 de fren e didonnais e b'fama l'empereur au jour
 du jugement.*

36. Harrakah.

ο δεσποτης ημων ις (Ιησους) χς (Χριστος) ο υιος
 (και) λογος τυ (του) θν (Θεου) ενθαδε . . . [κει (και)
 μηδεν ισιτω (εισιτω) κακον. Εκτισθη INΔICT
 [εν ονοματι πατρος (και) υιου (και) αγιου
 πνευματος εκτισθεν Ιωαννης Δομνου

37. κε (κυριε) θε (Θεε) παντοκρατω(ε) [ελεησον την
 ψυχην Ιωαννου [(και) Δομνου (και) σω(ζον?)
 Ιωαννας τονεων (τον νεον?) [εν ημηρα κρισεως
 τοκω

38. εαν ο Θεος υπερ ημων
 τες καθ νηω (ημων?) ετους ηω

39. Burj el Abiadh.

ορ φυλαξη την εισοδον (Compare No. 42 below.)
 εσφυλαξη? οδον σου και τουν (τον) εσοδον
 (εισοδον) σου αμ
 This looks barbarous.

40. Βασσε

42. Tell Dumm.

φυλαξη την εισοδον και υ—

43. Al Farajih.

εις υιω
 ετους νς επι

44. Al Ihwayn.

ο αγιος ο Θεος

45. ετους ρπψ (γψψ? 783).
 (A. D. 471)

47. Ιουστινιανος ο ευσεβεστατος και καλλινικος ημων
 βασιλευς ο τας πολεις σωζων απασας
 και τοδε το φρουριον εξανεστησεν ετους βνω
 [A.D. 540.]
 Ιωαννου του λαμπρικομητος και φιλοκτητου πολλα
 τα ετη . . . [ιον περιβλεπτου ασηκρητις (à secretis)
 πολλα τα ετη
48.

 οσιαμου αλυπε χαιρε
- 49, 50, 51. On first sheet from Hums.
52. Jebel Durúz Haurán.
 Φ(?)αρος Ε(υ)?
 μηδου οικονομος
53. Σαμακος Αυμ(ου?) ζησας (εστησε)?
54. Ηλιος
55. Διωνου?
56. ετους ε(ς) της πσλεως Απελλεου ιζ (17) φα (φανσ-
 τος) φλ (φλαβιος) Ευνομος Σαναμνους δυ (υιος?)
 ανετενωσαν (ανανεωσαν?) το μνημιον (μνεμειον)
 δηναριων φ
57. Φαζονη Μοστριβουνος τον ειδιον εκτισεν
58.
 την Κυρηνα(ιου)
 μενος (μηνος?)
 εκη λβ (32) καλως



8 AT HAMAH.

VIIPEPEYX
HCSY TEI
ACTIBEPYX
KTHPOXYC

AT EL HADIR. RAISED INSCRIPT
BELOW SMALL SEBIL.

R
IC
MACUS

HASS

14
EKΘEMELIΩN

ON MOSLEM TOMBSTONE AT SHAYKH SAWADAN

CORNER

CN / EPICKEYOU THNHGN

ON THE NORTH AND WEST SIDES OF CORNICE
OF THE TWO STORIED TOMB AT HASS.

16

(EBIOYK)

17

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΝΟΥΣΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΝΙΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦ
ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΑ
AMAN.

ΤΝΥΜΟΒΟΝΘΩΝΣΑΒΙΝ

21

ON DOOR

ON LINTEL

IΩΘΠΩΕΡ

AJAZ.

ΟΥΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΟΜΑ
ΠΙΣΤΗΣΜΟΥΚΕΘΕ
ΣΥΚΕΦΥΛΑΞΙΧ
ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΥΩΝΩ
ΜΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΥΝΑ

+ ΕΠΗΝΗ
ΔΑΙΝΕΑ

RAISED 25

ΩΔΙΩΚΟΙΤΟΝΦΘΟΝΟΝ
ΟΥΛΟΓΕΜΕΙΧΙΧΙΟΝΦΩΣ
= ΔΕΙΜΑΚΟΦΜΟΝΑΗΙΟΝ
ΞΗΝΧΑΒΙΝΑΟΥΠΟΝΑΙΣΙ
ΤΗΜΟΝΑΧΞΙΒΑΚΟΜΙΖΕΙ
ΜΙΚΑΚΟΞΕΤΟΙΟΜΕΝΟΙΝΑΣ
ΞΥΠΕΡΟΣΚΑΙΑΘΜΙΟ
ΞΕΙΛΙΑΤΗΞΑΘΓΑΙΗΣ
ΩΕΣΣΟΜΕΝΗΟΙΟΙΝΟΞΑΖΟΙΟ
ΟΙΔΙΜΟΝΑΙΣΝΟΡΑΡΕΑΙ

RAISED

26

ΟΙΟΥΚΕΙΜΕΘΕ
ΤΟΝΟΙΚΟΒΗΣΟ
ΜΑΡΑΤΙΑΞΕ
ΟΙΚΟΥ

11 LINES, OF WHICH THE LE
ARE ILLEGIBLE.

31

+ CYNBEWANH

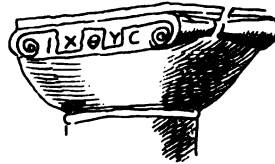
+ ΥΙΟΙΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΕΥΓΕΝΙΩΕΥΝΤΩΟΙΚΩΑΥΤΟΥ+

ON LINTEL

ON LINTEL OF DOOR

ET TUJJAR

RAISED 30



NEHW

ON LINTEL

IN
IC
QC

VER TO N.W. OF THE TOWN





HARRAKAT.

TO THE S.W. OF KU

INCISED

36

ΟΔΕΠΟΤΗΧΜΩΝΙΣΧΣΟΥΙΟΣΣΛΟΓΟΥΤΥΘΥΕΝΘΑΔΕ

RAISED

ΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΜΗΑΕΝΙΣΙΤΩΚΑΚΟΝΕΚΤΙΣΘΗΜΛΩΥΙΝΔΒΤΕΛΩ

RAISED PATTERN

ON LINTEL

RAISED

ΕΝΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΠΑΤ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣΕΚΤΙΣ



ΡΟΥΣΥΙΟΥΣΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΝΙΩΑΝΝΗΣΔΟΜΝΥ

ΤΚΕΘΘΣΟΠ
ΕΛΕΗΧΟΝΤΗ
ΣΔΟΜΝΥΣΧΩ
ΕΝΗΜΕΡΑΡΡΙΣΕ



ΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩ
ΨΥΧΗΝΙΩΑΝΝΥ
ΙΣΑΝΝΑΓΟΝΕΩΝ
ΩΣΕΡΤΙΣΘΗΣΤΑΚΩ

38

RAISED ON MOSQUE OF SHAYKH ABDALLAH

BURJ EL ABIADH.

ΕΑΝΘΘΕΟΙ ΤΙΣΚΑΦΥΗ



ΥΠΕΡΗΗΩΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΕΗΩ

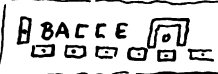
39

Ω ΕΣΦΥΛΑΣΗΤΗΜΗΧΟΔΟΝΣΟΥΚΑΙΤΥΝΕΣΟΔΟΝΣΟΥΑΜ

40

41

TO S.E. OF TOWER



TELL DUMM

42

ΦΥΛΑΣΗΤΗΝΕΙΣ ΔΟΝ ΚΑΙ



EL FARAJAH

43

ΕΙΣΥΙΝΔΟΙΩΤ ΥΙΩ



ΥΥΙΕΤΟΥΣΝΚΕΠ

EL TKWAYN

44

ΔΤΩ ΑΓΙΟΣΦΕΘΕ ΟΙ ΥΡΘΑ ΘΕΑΘΑΝΑΙ ΕΚΗΡΓ

45

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΡΠΥ



OVER TWO DOORS IN THE KHAN

+ ΘΥΔΟΞΑ
+ ΘΥΧΑΡΙΣ
+ ΘΥΠΑΡΟΥΧΗ



AT SHAN.

46

+ ΕΝΟΝΟΜΑΚΥΙΥΧΥΑΝΗΛΘΕΝ
ΤΩ ΕΡΟΥΡΟΝΤΥΤΟΥΕΝΗ
ΕΙΝΔΑ ΤΘΩΕΤΣ

ON LINTEL OF TOWER



RAISED EL MA'AN. 47

ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙ ΚΟΧΗΗΩΝ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΩΣ ΩΝ ΑΤΑ Σ ΑΣ ΒΟΝΩ Χ Ο
 ΡΗΓΕΙΑΚΑ Ι ΤΟ Δ Ε Τ Ο Φ Ρ Ο Υ Ρ Ι Ο Ν Ε Ζ Α Ν Ε Σ Τ Η Σ Ε Ν Ε Τ Ο Υ Σ Θ Ν Ψ
 ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΡΥ ΚΟΜΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΚΤΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΛΛΑΤΑ ΕΤΗ
 ΒΕΔΩΣΗ ΥΠΕΡΙΒΧΕΡΤΩ ΑΣΗ ΚΡΗΤΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΤΑ ΕΤΗ

48 RADE, AND NOT IN SITU AT THE W. GATE OF THE KALA'AH

CHAY
 IA Δ
 LA I
 OCIA M
 OYA ΛΥΠ
 EXAIPE

✠ ΕΞΕΒΗΘΗ ΝΕΟΣ ΝΕΙΠΕΝΥΣ ΠΙΣΙΕΤΟCΙΖΑΝΙΑ
 HAMAH.
 OVER WINDOW AT WEST
 END OF THE GREAT MOSQUE
 49

HAMAH.
 50
 VIIPEYX
 HCSCOTEI
 ACTIBEPYX
 KTHPOXYS
 AT EL HADIR
 IN THE TOWN

BUILT INTO THE BURJ
 EL ABIADH AT THE N.W.
 CORNER OF HUMS LAKE

✠ ΥΠΕΡΕΥΧ
 ΜΑΡΑΣ
 ΚΟΣ
 ΜΑ
 + ΗΜΑΘ ΜΕΝΙΝΟΕΜΒΡΥ ΚΕΕΤΕΘΙΟΛΙΘΟΣ ✠
 HAMAH.
 ALTAR OF S. MICHAEL
 IN THE GREEK CHURCH OF
 THE VIRGIN MARY RUDE

INSCRIPTIONS
 FROM JEBEL ED DRUZE HAURAN
 AT BURAK 52

✠ ΓΑΡΟΣΕ
 ΜΗΔΟΥΟΚΟΚΙΟ
 ΜΟΣ Κ

53
 САМАК
 ОСАУМ
 ЗΗΣΑΘ
 54
 ON LINTEL OF DOOR
 ΗΛΙΟΣ

ΕΤΣΠ
 (1) ON ARCH IN BUILDING CALLED
 EL KANISAH (THE CHURCH)
 55

56 IN KHAN
 ΤΟC
 ΑΝΘ
 ΛΑ
 ΕΤΟΥC Ε ΤΗCΤΟ
 ΛΕΩC ΑΠΕΜΕΟΥ
 ΙΖΦΑΦΛΕΥΝΟΜΟC
 CΑΥΑΜΝΟΥC ΔΥΑΝ
 ΕΤΕΝΩC ΑΝΤΟΜ
 ΝΗΜΙΟΝ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΩ

ΔΙΟΝΟΥ
 ON LINTEL OF OUTER DOOR (VERY RUDE)
 57

ΦΑΖΟΝΗ
 ΜΟCΤΡΙΒΟ
 ΥΝΟC ΤΩΝ
 ΕΙΔΙΟΝΕΚ
 ΤΙCΕΝ ✠

AT LAHTAH
 58
 ΤΟC
 ΑΝΘ
 ΛΑ
 ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΝΑ
 ΜΕΝΟC ΕΤΗ ΛΒ
 ΚΑΛΩC

AT TOMBS OF SHAYKH CHADIR
 60
 ΟΚΥΡΙΟC ΟΙΚΔΟΜΙCΗΟΙΚΟΝ
 ΗΝΕΚΟΠΙΑC ΑΝΘΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΟ



AT SULAYM.

62

ΑΡΒΑ
ΟΣΕΜΔ
ΙΚΟΥΙΠΠ

63

ΥΑΙ ΟΡΑΙΝΟΝ
ΣΤΥΛΟΥΣΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕ

65

ΥΣΑΘΟΕΠΟΗΕΑ
ΥΟΣΨΟΕΑΖΧΟ
ΝΑΡΟΣΟΥΘΙΤΡΗ
ΟΙΥΔΙΟΣΑΝΕ

AT KANAWAT.

72

ΕΛΕΝΑΜΕΟΣΕΝΤΑΥ
ΚΗΝΡΑΤΕΜΟΝΟΙΣ

TO N. OF EL SERAI. LARGE LETTERS.

AT TEMPLE (EL AWAMID. THE PILLARS)

74

AT MEFALANAH.

ON S.W. PILLAR

ΑΘΟΥΑΝΑ

78

ΔΒΟΥ
ΟΚΑΙΜΑΛΧΟ
ΝΑΝΛΟΥΘΕΩ
ΤΡΩΤΟΝΟ
ΕΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕ

ON NEXT,
NORTHWARDS.

ΑΙΦΙΛΟ
ΩΡΑΘ

Η ΕΓΓΕΣΟΥΑ
ΙΔΙΩΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΛΛΑΧΑ

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ΤΕΡΓΙΩ ΔΚΟΔ
ΤΟΧΟΜΡΟ>ΟΙΚΟΔ°Η
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OVER DOOR OF HOUSE, AND VERY RUDELY CHIPPED.

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ΩΝ

RAISED

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RAISED.

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AT SA'NAH.

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RAISED
INSCR

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VERY RUDELY CUT.

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ΠΡΕΙCΚΟΥ
CΑΒΑΟΥ

150
ΜΧ.ΘΜΑ

VERY RUDELY CUT

160. 161. 162. Pi. 163. (Athens & Trav.) 2 p. 600) traduct

Pour lui-même & sa prudente femme
à ses propres frais ayant beaucoup travaillé
Batrus en a fait un républicain au point de vue
de la ville
Puis il et lui & ses enfants entrent dans un village
sans demeure agréable
Mais au dessus il a bâti une chambre remarquable
une tour vue de loin d'une hauteur distinguée
Batrus et ses fils ont noblesse de son caractère grand
en a bâti de son propre travail
Pour lui & ses enfants, & aussi pour sa femme & ses
Et il plaie aux conseils de Dieu innocent
Je le rassure dans un bon vieux âge, lorsque chance
arrivera au terme de vie qui lui a été fixé
Batrus fils d'Algyron, a travaillé pour
des récompenses pour les bons & des punitions ^{ouestant} pour les
Mais son Myrthe reçoit & à ses enfants
à sa femme honoraire dans un bon vieux âge
à conduit son ame en état de Rhadamante au
chacun d'eux.

SEPULCHRAL TOWER
F BASSOS.
SHAKKAN.
TO NORTH.

ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΕΕΣΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΠΙ
ΝΥΤΗ ΜΕΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ 'ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ
ΚΤΕΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΠΟΝΗΣΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΒΑССОС ΤΥΜΒΟΝ Ε
ΤΕΥΞΕΝ ΕΡΙΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΡΜΑΠΟ
ΛΗΟΣ 'ΟΝ ΒΥΓΗΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙ
ΤΕΚΝΑ ΤΕ ΓΗΘΘΕΝΟΝ 'ΑΥ
ΤΑΡΥΠΕΡΘΕΝΕΝΕΙΟ ΠΕΛΙΑ
ΣΙΚΑΛΟΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕΝ 'ΚΟΣΜΟΣ
ΤΗ ΛΕΦΑΝΗ ΠΥΡΓΟΝ ΑΡΙΠΡΕ
ΠΕΟΣ'

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SAME TOWER.
CENTRE.

ΒΑССОС ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΗΣ ΜΕΓΑ ΚΥΔΕΟΣ
ΑΓΛΑΟΝ ΟΜΜΑ 'ΕΚΣΦΕΤΕΡΟΥ ΚΑ
ΜΑΤΟΙΩ ΓΕΩΠΟΝΙΣΤΕ ΜΕΔΕΙ
ΜΕΝΙΟ ΠΑΥΤΩ ΠΑΙΔΕΣΣΙ ΘΘ
ΜΩΣ ΚΕ ~~Η~~ ΗΤΕ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ 'ΗΝ ~~Η~~
ΑΓΑΝΟΝ ΒΟΥΛΑΙΣ ΙΔΑΕΙ ΖΩΟΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΙΟ
ΓΗΡΑΛΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΜΑΛΑ ΔΕΞΟ
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ΝΟΝ ΕΛΘΗ 'ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ΒΑССЕ

161

SAME TOWER
TO SOUTH.

ΒΑССОС ΑΒΟΥΡΙ ΟΙΟ ΠΟΝΗΣΑ
ΤΟΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ 'Χ ~~Η~~
ΜΑΤΑΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΚΟΙΣ ΕΥΡΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΔΥΝΑΣ 'ΑΛΛΑ
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162

SAME PLACE, ON ARCH.

+ ΜΡΕΝΒΕΘΣΙΙΙ
ΜΙΕΡΙC 168

AT ΤΑΥΜΑ. 170

ΓΑΔΟΥC
ΚΑΙ ΑΜΑΘΟΥC
ΕΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ

YIM

ΜΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΟC ΜΑΙΩΡ
ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟC ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡ
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ΧΑΡΙΝ

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DAR EL SHAKKAN



60. ο Κυριος οικοδομησῃ οικον
 ΗΝ (την?) ΕΚ ΠΙΑΣΑΝ (ΠΑΣΙΝ?)
 ΟΙ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΝ^ο (ΜΗΜΕΝ?)

62. At Sulaym.
 αρβᾶ
 (τ)ο σε(η)μα
 ... κΟΥ

63.
 στυλους ἀνηγειρε

65. υσαδο(υ) ἐποίησα
 Ρουφος (?) ΑΖΧΟ
 νδρος (Αλεξανδρος?)
 ο ναιτρα (ουετρανος?)
 ιδιος ανε(στησεν)

72. Ελενα Αλλεος ενταυ(θα)?
 μονοις

74. Αδουναθ(ως) Ρουφεινου

 εκτων ιδιων ευσεβειας χαριν

78. δαβου
 ο και Μαλχο(ς)
 Ναννου Θεω (πα)
 τρωη τον ο . . .
 εκ των ιδιων ε(στησε)

83. Κλαυδιος Σαναμου
 το μνημειον

94. εκτηθεθι (εκτιθει) ο οικος τουτο(ς) απο θημελιου
εν Μη(νι) Σεπτεμβρο(υ) χρ . . ετους Ξλ
95. εποισαν
εκ τ(ων)
οσι(ων)
.....
96. Αγχαριος Ευ(σεβης)?
.....
τουτον τοπον
εν (ετει)? ε
101. Εξ επιμελειας Βανιο
υ Σιλουανου και Ρουστικου
οιονς (γιου?) και Ελαδι
ου και Αμρουσαιμανου
Κυριλλος οικοδομησεν
111. χαιρε Αμεδεηστ
ατρη Συμβιου εκτι
σες και εφυτευου
και οικοδομησες
χαιρε Ανμε οικοδομε
112. Ιερων Μαλχον
Συνηγορος και Βασιλισ
κος Βενεδικ
αριος (*Benedicarius*) υπατικου
και Ιουστος αδελφοι (αδελφοι) το
υ πυρ[γον] φκοδομησ(αν)
117. Κυδος Ρακουδανου εποησεν
119. — Δη κερωνειψ (Δι κερωνειψ)
Ιουλιος Ουαλη(ριος)? Κασσιου

123. *Ιουλια Κασκιλλιανα*
σεαθε? και Μαλεχος
(συμ)? βιος
126. . . . οτε επιδημησαντα
ατο υπερ Ρουφου?
. . ρωντη κυρια αω?
127. —(μεγ)ιστου κυριου Αντω(νι)
(ν)ου φυλης χαυχαβ
(γραμμα)τευς Αντωνκιον (Αντωνινον)?
. . . ημερων οινον
128. ο δημος?
νικην επυνησεν (επηνεσαν)?
136. *τουτον μνημιον του Γουσαδου*
και εκ της
την Μαξιμα γυνε(η) κο (οικοδομησε)
138. *Ηυσιτους*
Διλου
υειος (υιος)
(ψ)κοδομε(η)εν
139. *Βασσοσεθρου*
υωνοσσορου
Ασουαδανον
οικοδομησεν
δια θαιμου τομου
144. *οικος αγιος Θεο*
συν

147. Πρεισκου
Σαβαου
165. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΣΕΝΤΙΟΣ ΜΑΙΩΡ (*Major*)
Ζηνοδωρος Ζηνοδωρ
ου Μαιορος (*Majoris*) διδασκαλων
Ευσεβων υιος ουετραν(ος) Δε ειδεν.
Απ(ο) Λεγ Κυρηναικης τομ υπερ
νημα επι Μαρκελλω Πακ χαριν
170. Γαδουος
και αμα θου
εκτησατο

III.

THE following note and list are printed by permission of Mr. Carruthers :

British Museum, April 24th, 1872.

Dear Sir,—The specimens from Syria you sent to the Herbarium of the British Museum were so fragmentary that it has been very difficult to determine many of them ; and some even now we have been able only to give the generic name. I enclose the list—amounting to forty species—prepared by my colleague, Mr. James Britten.

I am yours truly,

WILLIAM CARRUTHERS.

Captain Burton, &c.

Lebanon Plants ; Captain Burton. Communicated 1872.

Ranunculus demissus, DC.

Leontice leontopetalum, L.

Alyssum montanum, L.

Moricandia arvensis, L.

Dianthus sp.

Erodium sp.

Ononis picta, Desf.

Ononis sp.

Ditto sp. nov. ?

Astragalus sp.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Paronychia argentea, Lam.
Reaumuria Palæstina, Boris.
Poterium spinosum, L.
Viscum sp.
Galium orientale, Boris.
Echinops persica, Fisch.
Santolina fragrantissima, Forsk.
Pyrethrum (cfr. *santolinoides*, DC.).

The imperfect state of the specimens renders specific identification in many cases impossible.

Anthemis peregrina, L.
Centaurea Calcitrapa, L.
Artemisia (cfr. *fragrans*, Willd.).
Calendula ægyptiaca, Pers.
Taraxacum Dens-leonis, Desf. var. *alpinum*, Boris.
Scorzonera sp.
Campanula Libanotica, A.DC.
Convolvulus sp.
Salvia clandestina, L. β . *multifida*, Sibth. and Sm.
Scutellaria sp. ?
Ballota undulata, Bth.
Phlomis fruticosa, L.
Thymelæa hirsuta, Endl.
Daphne oleoides, Janb. and Spach. β . *jasminea*, Meisn.
Atriplex sp. •
Salix sp.
Oxyria reniformis, Hook.
Acantholimon androsaceus, Boris.
Ornithogalum sp.
Asphodelus Tauricus, Bisb.

(Signed)

JAMES BRITTEN.

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THE END.



