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## ORDINARY MEETING.

D. HOWARD, ESQ., D.L., F.C.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections took place :—

**MEMBERS** :—Lieut.-Col. A. M. Arthur, London ; G. F. Healey, Esq., Lancashire.

**ASSOCIATES** :—Rev. R. Adams, M.A., T.C.D. ; H. Keeble, Esq., London ; Rev. W. Summers, Egypt ; Mrs. Vaughan, Glamorganshire.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

*HOLY SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED AND CONFIRMED BY RECENT DISCOVERIES IN PALESTINE AND THE EAST.* By Professor E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S.

**T**HE present period has been one of searching inquiry and criticism regarding the authenticity and authority of Holy Scripture ; the criticism—often euphemistically called “the higher criticism”—has sometimes been carried beyond all reasonable bounds ; but this is a subject which I cannot further touch on as it is outside our present object.

But it is also a remarkable fact that within the last few years there have been many discoveries, especially amongst the ruins of Palestine and adjoining countries, which have tended to corroborate in a remarkable degree the accounts of events recorded in the Bible, particularly in the Old Testament. As these events are essentially connected with the assertion of the miraculous interposition of Almighty power, without which they become illusory and incredible, it is important that those who deny the possibility of such interposition should be confronted with evidence going to show that the narratives are trustworthy, and stand on evidence which

would be considered ample in the case of any other document. The whole account, for example, of the Exodus is saturated with the miraculous; and to eliminate this element would be to set up a history of events absolutely unintelligible. Either the account of the Exodus must be taken with its statements of the interposition of Almighty power at successive periods and in critical stages of the Israelitish history, or the whole must be relegated to the catalogue of mythical narratives such as the *Odyssey* of Homer or the *Aeneid* of Virgil. I refer to the Exodus as a typical case on which it is desirable to obtain whatever light can be thrown by modern research; for if we can show that such research has resulted in the identification of the localities and sites of the events recorded we have a strong argument for maintaining that the events themselves actually occurred and that the narrative is authentic.

I do not intend on this occasion to dwell at any length upon the subject of *The Exodus*; having done so on several previous occasions, particularly at the meeting of the Church Congress at Carlisle. But I desire to point to the fact that this narrative is so intimately mixed up with topographical details that they are essential to its credibility. If the physical features of Egypt, Sinai, Edom, Moab, the Jordan valley, and Palestine (which have undergone but little alteration within the past three or four thousand years) were essentially different from those required by the narrative in the books of Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, we should have grave cause to doubt the authenticity and truth of the events recorded. These physical features remain standing monuments to the truth or falsehood of the Biblical narrative. So the question may be asked under which aspect are they to be regarded? Well, I might summon a number of witnesses who are able to record from their own observation the fact that the physical features, and often the very names attached to them—translated from the Hebrew into the Arabic—accord remarkably with the narrative; so that, standing on the spots with our Bibles in our hands, we can picture to ourselves the successive events as recorded in the sacred books. I have only to mention the names of such travellers as the late Dean Stanley; of Professor Palmer, who in his *Desert of the Exodus*, has succeeded in identifying almost every spot where important events occurred in connection with the Israelitish emigration; of Burckhardt; of Sir Charles Wilson and the officers of the

Ordnance Survey of Sinai, who with great detail have shown that Jebel Musâ, or Moses Mount, in the centre of the Sinaitic Peninsula, fulfils in all its characteristics the conditions of the narrative of the giving of the Law; and that Jebel Haroun (Mount Hor), rising conspicuously above the numerous ridges and prominences which bound the great valley of the Arabah on the eastern side in the vicinity of Petra fulfils the requirements connected with that portion of the narrative recording the events of Aaron's death, and the resumption of the journeyings after the lapse of forty years. Having myself had the opportunity of corroborating, from personal observation, many of these identifications, and comparing the narrative with the features of the ground which are indispensable to right understanding thereof, I am much tempted to linger amongst these interesting spots, but as time does not permit I must do so no longer; and I pass on from these general topics to others of a more special kind, and I shall select five cases which seem to me of special interest in this connection, namely:—1. The inscriptions on the Temple of Karnak; 2. Tel-el-Hesi and Tel-el-Amarna; 3. The Moabite Stone; 4. The Siloam Inscription; 5. The Holy Rock under the dome of the Mosque of Omar.

Some of these cases have already been brought before the members of this Institute by Professors Sayce, Maspero and others. On this account I have not thought it necessary to do more than give a summary of the results necessary to the argument in question. Others are to be found recorded with more or less fulness in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*; a publication which like our own *Journal of Transactions*, contains a vast amount of information on Biblical Archæology and kindred subjects, and will prove of great value for reference in time to come.

1. *The inscriptions on the Temple at Karnak* by Sheshonk I, who appears to be the Shishak of Scripture (1 Kings xiv, 25; 2 Chronicles xii), giving a list of the fenced cities of Judah over which he had established his supremacy in the time of Rehoboam, have been investigated by Champollion, Brugsch, Blau, and others. The most recent attempts at deciphering the hieroglyphic character are those of Professor Maspero (*Journal of VICTORIA INSTITUTE*, May, 1893), who to some extent supplements the results of Brugsch's investigations (*Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 666), and by transcribing the Egyptian letters rigorously into Hebrew has recovered the names of a large number of cities and towns recorded in

the Bible. Some of these still exist, and are known by the Arabic renderings of the original Hebrew.\* Of the total number of one hundred and thirty-three names recorded at Karnak—some twenty-eight or twenty-nine can be identified with the utmost certainty as occurring in the Bible—chiefly in the books of Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles i and ii. The account of Shishak's invasion is given twice over in the Bible; first, in the book of 1 Kings xiv, 25; again, at greater length in the book of 2 Chronicles xii. In this latter book we read that the King of Egypt invaded Southern Palestine, captured Jerusalem, and all the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and returned into Egypt carrying away with him the treasures of the King's house, and the shields of gold which Solomon had made. On his return into Egypt, he had the names of these conquests inscribed on the great temple of Karnak at Thebes, which have now been deciphered and identified with those of the books of the Old Testament, and connected with events therein recorded. The invasion of Palestine by Shishak took place about 972 B.C., and the inscription a little later. Thus these identifications come down to us through a period of nearly 3,000 years. They confirm the account of this historical event as given in the books referred to; and the special interest of the confirmation lies in the fact that it comes through an Egyptian source, rather than through one connected directly with the Holy Land. Amongst the names on the temple of Karnak we find those of Gaza, Megiddo, Shunem (Shaunama), Mahanaim (Mahanema), Beth-horon (Bit-haouroan), Ajalon (Aiaouloun), Shocho (Shaouka), and Berachah (Baruk).†

2. *Tel-el-Hesi and Tel-el-Amarna.* I now come to another discovery, this time in Southern Palestine, tending to throw light on Old Testament history; namely, Tel-el-Hessi—a mound in Southern Palestine on the borders of Philistia, taken in connection with another excavation in Tel-el-Amarna (or Tel Berri Amran, according to Mr. Bliss) near the banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt.

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\* There are much older inscriptions at Karnak belonging to the reign of Tothmes III (about B.C. 1650). See Prof. Maspero *On the names of the list of Tothmes III, which may be assigned to Judæa.* *Journ. Vic. Inst.* Vol. xxii (1889).

† See Notes by Colonel Conder, *Quarterly Statement, P.E.F.*, July 1893, p. 245. (Colonel Conder, R.E., has added some observations to M. Maspero's Paper, generally confirmatory of his identification.)

It will be recollected that five cities of the Amorites under their respective kings joined in an attack upon the Gibeonites for having made a treaty of peace with the children of Israel under Joshua (Josh. x, 3-5). This was about the year B.C. 1451. One of these cities was Lachish under its king Japhia, and of this city no trace remains at this day even in name. Of the five cities of the Amorites mentioned, only Jerusalem and Hebron could be identified down to the time of the excavations at Tel-el-Hesi, which by a remarkable coincidence has been determined with the utmost probability to be Lachish; thus completing the identification of three out of the five Amorite towns, and it comes about in this way:—

Amongst the remarkable series of tablets with inscriptions in the cuneiform characters of Assyria, discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, near Assiout, in Egypt, amounting altogether to two hundred and forty in number, there is one addressed from a certain Zimridi, the Governor of Lachish, to Amenophis IV, otherwise known as Khuenaten, who introduced the worship of the solar disc (Rawlinson, *Sketch of Universal History*, Vol. i, p. 40, 1887). This was about the year 1400 B.C. Very recently, in 1888-9, excavations were undertaken by Prof. Flinders Petrie, and afterwards by Mr. Bliss at Tel-el-Hesi, in Southern Palestine, which had been conjectured by Professor Sayce and others to be the possible site of Lachish. As the excavations proceeded it became more and more probable that the conjecture was correct. Under a great mass of rubbish of more recent date the workmen came upon some Egyptian beads, scarabs, and Babylonian seal-cylinders. On one of the beads was the name of Queen Tere (or Taia). This queen must have been very beautiful to judge from her portrait discovered by Mariette at Karnak.\* She was the mother of Amenophis IV, to whom most of the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence is addressed. But of all these objects the most interesting and important was that made at the very end of the operations. This consisted of an earthenware tablet inscribed with characters which, according to Professor Sayce, are identical in style with the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and containing a letter addressed to Zimridi; so that we have here, in fact, part of the correspondence between the mother of Amenophis IV, on the one hand, and Zimridi, the Governor of Lachish, on the other, carried on in Babylonian characters, and thus

\* See Perrett and Chipier's *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, p. 242.

identifying the mounds as covering the site of the ancient Amorite city.\* The Tel-el-Amarna tablets have been translated by Colonel Conder, R.E. The letters, numbering one hundred and seventy-six, are from Palestine and Syria, were written about 1480 B.C. by Amorites, Phœnicians, Philistines, and others to the King of Egypt, to generals and officials; and contain the names of contemporaries of Joshua mentioned in the Bible; the translation is published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1893.†

The discovery of this correspondence enables us to infer that at and before the period referred to (between 1500 and 1700 B.C.) there existed schools in which the Babylonian literature was taught, and that documents were preserved in tablets in the cuneiform character, a great improvement for all literary purposes on the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. This style of character was probably introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos conquerors about 2200 B.C., and it is of the greatest importance for us to know that it was employed in Egypt and the adjoining countries, because we can now explain what has been denied by some of the critics:—how the early books of the Bible were written at the period to which they refer, and are not, as has been contended, compilations of later date. In the words of Professor Sayce, “The Tel-el-Amarna tablets have overthrown the primary foundation on which much of the criticism of writers like Stade was built.”‡

3. *The Moabite Stone.* While Egypt and Southern Palestine have, as shown in the preceding cases, yielded monuments illustrative of the veracity of the Scriptural narrative, another, in some respects more remarkable than either of the preceding cases, has within the last few years been recovered from

\* “Many of the letters written in Babylonian from Syria contain words and grammatical forms closely related, in some important details, to the Hebrew of the Old Testament.”—*Quarterly Review*, April, 1893, p. 348.

† Colonel C. R. Conder, *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, published by the P.E.F. (1893).

‡ Accounts, with plans and drawings, of the excavations at Tel-el-Hesi will be found in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1892–93; also Professor Sayce, *Records of the Past*, new series, Vols. ii, iii, iv, and v; Ludwig Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna*, Berlin, 1889–90. Some of the Amarna tablets are in the Berlin Museum, some in the British Museum, and some in Paris. Those in the British Museum have been deciphered by Dr. Budge and Dr. Bezold.



amongst the ruins of Dhiban, one of those vanished cities whose remains strew the lofty plains of Moab beyond the Jordan—now the camping ground of the Bedawin Arab. This monument consists of a slab or block of basalt, about three and a half feet long by two feet in breadth and thickness, bearing on one side an inscription in Phœnician characters, which tells its own tale regarding its origin and object. The account of the discovery and ultimate rescue of this unique monument is much too long to be inserted here; but of the many accounts which have been published perhaps the most complete and graphic is that of Dr. Pakenham Walsh, Bishop of Ossory.\* It is an interesting fact that the honour of first bringing this stone to the knowledge of the outer world belongs to a Christian missionary, the Rev. F. Augustus Klein, one of the Church Missionary Society's labourers in the East. The language is almost identical with the ancient Hebrew, and shows that at the period to which it belongs, namely, the tenth century before Christ, the Israelites and the Moabites had a common language, as being sprung from the same ancestry, though there is considerable dissimilarity between the characters in which this language was inscribed by the two nations, as was to be expected owing to their long separation and isolation from each other. Still they bear an essential relationship which may be recognised, first in the number of the letters of the alphabet, which is twenty-two in both cases. (In the Moabite inscription one of the letters (Teth) is missing owing to the mutilation of the tablet; but it must have been used in the "A(t)aroth.") Second, in the similarity of many of the letters themselves. Till the discovery of the Moabite Stone the oldest alphabetic document of any length with which we were acquainted was the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, which dates back about 600 B.C. But the Moabite Inscription carries us back by over 300 years to an earlier period, and so we have in it the most archaic form of the Phœnician alphabet.

So far for the language and alphabet. We must now con-

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\* *The Moabite Stone*, 2nd Ed., 1872; also Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 134. A photograph of the stone and inscription is published by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The alphabets of the Phœnician inscription, as contained in the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Tablet, will be found in *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, published by the Oxford University Press, Ed. 1893, Plate I.

sider the object and purport of the inscription. This, as I have already observed, can be clearly gathered from the contents. The tablet tells its own tale. It is, in fact, an historical monument erected by Mesha, King of Moab, recounting his wars with Omri, King of Israel; the capture of Ataroth, a city of the Gaddites, the slaughter of the men, the reservation of the women, and the carrying away of the vessels used in the worship of Jehovah (Yahveh) as an offering to Chemosh. Many more of Mesha's exploits are recorded, and numerous names of places which he built or destroyed. But what we are here chiefly concerned with is the testimony the inscription bears to the historical accuracy of the Books of the Kings (1 Kings xvi, 21; 2 Kings iii, 4). For it fills up a gap in the brief account we have in these books regarding the reign of King Omri. The Moabites had been reduced to subjection by David, but after the separation of the kingdoms, probably regained their independence. During the reigns of Jeroboam and Ahab they were again tributaries; but after the death of Ahab Mesha rebelled against the King of Israel, as we learn from 2 Kings iii, 4. This successful insurrection thus referred to in the Biblical history, is recorded by Mesha himself on the Moabite Stone, and his victory is ascribed to Chemosh, called in the Bible the God of Moab, as we read, "Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh" (Numb. xxi, 29); and again, "Chemosh, the abomination of Moab" (1 Kings xi, 7).

How remarkably confirmatory of all we read in the books of the Old Testament regarding this period of Israelitish history is all this! We have here recorded names of persons, places and events, which we find in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, together with others which are supplementary. Jehovah is recognised as the God of Israel; Chemosh is worshipped as the god of Moab, to whom Mesha is indebted for his victories. We find the names of Dibon, Nebo, Bael-Meon, Ataroth, Kiriathain, Aroer, the river Arnon and Horonaim, which last is referred to in the Book of Isaiah as connected with the destruction of Moab (Isa. xv, 5); but which was captured by Mesha from the Edomites, as we learn from the inscription.

Thus the Moabite Stone is amongst the latest of those monuments which modern research has brought to light in this age of hypercriticism to bear testimony to the veracity of the Bible record.

4. *The Siloam Inscription.* During the excavations carried

on by the officers of the Royal Engineers, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for the purpose of determining the form and position of the ancient foundations of Jerusalem beneath the accumulated rubbish of centuries by which they are concealed from view, a remarkable inscription was met with in an ancient aqueduct near to the Pool of Siloam in the year 1880; this is now known as "The Siloam Inscription." The inscription is in Phœnician characters on a tablet of stone, and describes how that the workmen engaged in hewing out the conduit from opposite directions, approached so near that the sound of their pickaxes and their voices became audible through the intervening partition; and that ultimately this partition of solid rock was hewn away so that the waters flowed through into the covered reservoirs prepared for them; there being a cubit between the roof of the conduit and the surface of the waters. The inscription is very nearly perfect, and has been reproduced in a photograph from a squeeze by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

When we come to inquire whether there is any reference to the making of this conduit in the Bible, we are not long left in doubt. We read in the books of 2 Kings xx, 20, and 2 Chronicles xxxii, 30, how that Hezekiah on the approach of the army of the King of Assyria, impounded the waters coming down from the upper springs of Gihon, and covering them over with masonry so as to conceal them from the Assyrians, carried them by a conduit into a pool within the city "to the west side of the City of David." The work was one considered of great importance, as we gather from the fact that the account of it is thrice referred to, and were it not that an erroneous opinion has gained considerable ground regarding the true position of the "upper spring of Gihon," no doubt could be entertained that this is the very conduit constructed by Hezekiah. The identification has now happily been established by Colonel Sir Charles Warren and Colonel Conder, who explored the conduit from end to end, and have given an account of the somewhat perilous undertaking, which is exceedingly graphic and interesting (*Survey of Western Palestine*, part II, page 346, 1886; also the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, page 257). It was also explored by Dr. Robinson in 1838, and is referred to by Quaresimus in 1625. It has a length of about 1,760 feet, or 1,200 cubits of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches each. The waters of the spring are intermittent, as mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Jerome in the fourth century; and the

intermittent character, which is difficult to account for, remains to the present day, as illustrated by the fact that while Warren and Conder were groping their way up the conduit in 1880, the water suddenly rose and so nearly filled the conduit that the lives of the explorers were for some moments in jeopardy.

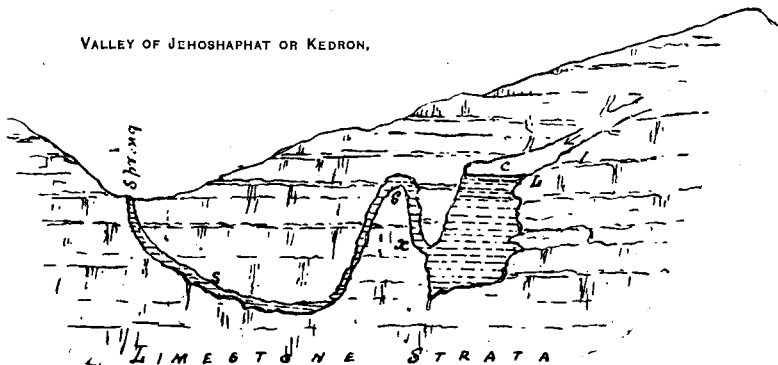
As regards the characters of the inscription, the internal evidence of their approximate date is complete; they are clearly Phœnician or ancient Hebrew, most of the letters being similar to those of the Moabite Stone which, as we have already seen, belong to the Phœnician group of highly archaic forms. In the opinion of Professor Sayce, the letters of the Siloam tablet belong to a period lying between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C., the period within which the reign of Hezekiah is included, and the letters correspond to those on Jewish coins of this epoch. The evidence, therefore, regarding the date from the character of the inscription itself appears quite conclusive.

But the evidence derived from a consideration of the topographical position of the conduit appears at first sight less satisfactory. The idea is prevalent that the upper and lower pools of Gihon are those to be found in the Valley of Hinnom, which descends along the base of the western walls of the city; and if this be the case, then the view of the officers of the Ordnance Survey falls to the ground. So general is this idea that I find in the excellent map of ancient Jerusalem prepared by Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston, in the *New Biblical Atlas* (Pub. by the Religious Tract Society), that the pools of Gihon are placed in this valley, the upper near its head; the lower, about half way down where the well-known artificial pool has been constructed. Now the name "Gihon" as I learn from Colonel Conder, signifies the "spring" or "bursting forth of water," a term which would be applicable to the "Fountain of the Virgin," but certainly not to the upper reservoir in the Valley of Hinnom, which has no spring at all, and only receives the waters which collect from surface drainage; the date of its construction is uncertain, but Conder doubts if it is older than Pilate's aqueduct. The "Lower pool of Gihon" is known to have been constructed by the German knights late in the twelfth century, so that it is out of court at once! As a matter of fact the "Fountain of the Virgin" (Ain Umm ed Deraj) is the only strong natural spring about Jerusalem; and it was a matter of policy that Hezekiah should endeavour to deprive the army of the

Assyrians of this supply; "for why, said he, should the Assyrians come and find much water?"

IDEAL SECTION TO EXPLAIN THE ORIGIN OF THE INTERMITTENT SPRING OF THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN.

MT. OLIVET.



- c. SUPPOSED UNDERGROUND CAVERN.
- s. SYPHON-LIKE FISSURE, FILLED WITH WATER.
- 1. LEVEL OF WATER IN CAVERN WHEN SPRING BEGINS TO FLOW.
- 2. LEVEL OF WATER WHEN SPRING CEASES TO FLOW.

One more point still remains to be investigated, namely, the statement in 2 Chron. xxxii, 30, that the upper water-course of Gihon was "brought straight down to the west side of the City of David." The pool of Siloam is situated at the entrance of the Tyropoean Valley at the southern extremity of the City of David. But as Major Conder, supported by Dr. Davidson, the Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh, contends, the passage may be quite correctly translated "westwards towards the City of David." If this be accepted the apparent discrepancy disappears, and thus the evidence, derived from the characters of the inscription on the tablet within the conduit, as also the topographical details, are all brought into harmony with the Biblical account as given in the books of King and Chronicles; and the identification of the conduit with that of Hezekiah is established.\*

\* As regards the cause of the intermittent character of the spring much uncertainty must exist. I have consulted Gen. Sir Charles Wilson and Mr. George Armstrong, Secretary of the P.E.F., on the subject, and they both concur in the view that it is due to a siphon-like structure in the underground natural fissure or duct through which the water passes to the spring. This seems to me a very probable supposition; indeed, the only one in a district which is not volcanic.

5. *The rock under the dome of the "Mosque of Omar."* My last illustration will be taken from the Holy City—as it once was—and from an object which possesses an interest second to none amongst all the objects of immemorial interest in Palestine.

Some years ago when visiting Rome, and after wandering for several days amongst the buildings and structures ancient and modern of the once mistress of the world, I came to the conclusion that amongst all these objects there was one which stood out clear and distinct for its unique, historical interest, and as a standing monument to the truth of prophecy; and that was the triumphal arch of Titus. Amongst the objects in modern Jerusalem, that which occupies a similar position when I look back upon the whole scene, is the "Holy Rock" beneath the beautiful dome of the so-called "Mosque of Omar."

Whatever doubt there may be regarding the site of the Crucifixion, whether in the traditional spot near the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or, as seems more likely, outside the northern wall of the modern city, there can be none regarding the history of this boss of native limestone rock, which rises amidst so much that is of human art. It is the natural summit of Mount Moriah, which, though doubtless somewhat "disfigured by hard treatment and rough chiselling" (as stated by Sir Charles Wilson), yet is, to all intents and purposes, the same which witnessed several remarkable events in Jewish history, dating from its earliest commencement to its close. Let us for a moment glance at these events in the order of their succession.

Abram doubtless caught sight of the summit of Mount Moriah as he journeyed towards the plains of Mamre; but the first recorded event was the intended sacrifice of his son Isaac "on one of the mountains which the Lord would point out to him in the land of Moriah." By this event the mount became ever after hallowed to his descendants; this was about the year 1872 B.C. The distance from the plain of Mamre or Hebron is about twenty-one miles, or two days' journey on foot, thus corresponding to "the third day" (Gen. xxii, 4), on which the top of the mount came into view.

Passing down more than eight hundred years we again recognize this mount as the spot where by the Divine direction David reared an altar to make atonement for his presumption in numbering the people and to avert the plague from Jerusalem. The rock was then the threshing floor of

Araunah the Jebusite, one of those Canaanites who maintained their possessions after the conquest, but who acknowledged the sovereignty of the kings of Israel. It was natural and fitting that a spot previously consecrated by Abraham's sacrifice should be chosen for this purpose.\*

The next event connected with this rock was the selection of the mount of which it forms a part as the site for Solomon's Temple. The rock, however, was not the site of the Temple itself, but of the brazen altar which stood in front of this structure. Its previous history marked it out for this purpose; it had in fact been consecrated as the altar of sacrifice by the offerings of the Father of the Faithful, and of David, King of Israel. What more fitting site could have been selected? Amongst all the places of historical interest in Palestine there is none more certain of identification or of more hallowed interest.

And now a few words regarding the rock itself. It rises beneath the beautiful dome of the Mosque about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  feet above the tessellated floor. Its length is 43 feet, and width 8 feet. Along the west side runs a platform—cut out along the natural scarp of the limestone rock—which dips in the opposite direction, the surface corresponding to the plane of stratification. We read that Solomon's altar of brass was 20 cubits long, 20 cubits broad, and 10 cubits high above the ground, so that the floor of the Mosque conceals the base upon which the brazen altar rested. At a distance of about 20 cubits to the west of the altar rose the grand porch of the Holy Place, approached by a flight of steps; in an opposite direction were the pillars of the Levites' court, the men's court communicating by means of the Nicanor Gate with the court of the women, while the whole of this inner structure was surrounded on four sides by the grand colonnade of three groups of columns, enclosing on the south side the Court of the Gentiles. Such were the uses and such the surroundings of this once bare limestone crest—rising, in the time of Abraham, out of the thickets of scrub and bramble which clothed the sides of Mount Moriah.†

\* Under the rock is a cave about 6 feet high, doubtless of human work; and it seems probable that this may have been a granary for the corn which was threshed on the solid rock above.

† Colonel Conder calls in question this identification and regards the rock as having been the site of the Holy of Holies in the temple. But I must adhere to my view on the ground of the eminent suitability from its previous history for the place of the altar, as well as from considerations based on the form and structure of the rock and the cave below it.

The illustrations I have thus somewhat briefly and imperfectly dealt with are far from exhausting those which modern research has disclosed, as testifying to the accuracy of the Biblical record of Old Testament events, but may, perhaps, suffice to confirm our belief not only in the truth of the statements and the reality of the subjects with which it deals, but also may induce us to hold more firmly the conviction that we may implicitly rely on the historic accuracy of the accounts recorded from the time of the call of Abraham downwards. It is at this momentous epoch, as it seems to me, that the historical, prophetic, and didactic pages of the sacred volume really commence, and succeed to the traditional portions of the early chapters.

The CHAIRMAN (D. HOWARD, Esq., D.L., F.C.S.).—I am sure you will join with me in thanking Professor Hull for the very valuable paper which he has given us. The concurrence of testimony that he has brought together from very recent investigations is yet another link in the chain of evidence which has accumulated in our time of the marvellous historic accuracy of the Old Testament. It is curious to be able to remember, not so long ago, the discussions that took place as to the historic truth of the Old Testament when the only testimony for or against large portions was that of the fragments of Berosus that have come down to us; and now we have these marvellous discoveries of ancient inscriptions which, from one quarter and another, have come to us, and to which, though hidden for thousands of years, we can now turn with deep interest to know what they can tell us. It is most interesting and remarkable, and it is necessary to explain (if we are not to accept the historic accuracy of the Old Testament) how it is that they have confirmed in these little details (which, after all, are the test of the truth of the MSS.) the minute accuracy of the Old Testament. We do not expect the inscriptions of the defeated and the victorious to give the same account; but as they compare the one with the other, they prove to demonstration the truth of the Scripture narrative, and the more one studies them, the greater is the interest that attaches to them. All these little details are like



the water-marks in paper that proves its origin—they are like the little details in writing—all those minute points on which the validity of the title to an estate may turn in the law courts

I am glad to see some here who have specially studied the question, and I hope they will give us the benefit of some remarks.

Professor J. H. GLADSTONE, D.Sc., F.R.S.—I join with you most heartily, sir, in your thanks to Professor Hull for the way in which he has brought these matters before us, and for the very interesting points that he has united in one focus, so as to illustrate more fully the general historic accuracy of the sacred writings of the Old Testament. I have not myself to add anything to those particular instances which he has brought forward as to places and buildings. There is one point, however, on which I have worked a little, and perhaps you will allow me to add that to the five points which Professor Hull has dealt with. It is the metals that were used in ancient times.

I was first led by Professor Flinders Petrie to take up the matter of the metals of Egypt, and, later on, those of Assyria; but, just recently, through the kindness of Mr. Bliss, I have been able to examine those of Tel-el-Hesi. I do not know the arguments that will be brought forward against its being Lachish, but if it is not Lachish, it is probably a similar place. At any rate, it is, apparently, a series of towns, one above the other, forming a great mound. There are remains of several ancient Amorite towns at the bottom. Then you come to a level where there is little else than sand and ashes, and above that there is an Israelitish town or towns. This agrees at any rate very well indeed with the general history we have of Lachish in the Bible. I asked Mr. Bliss for specimens of the metals he had obtained, and he gave me some from the bottom to the top. The lower portion contains the metal which you will find almost always in ancient civilization, viz., copper. Above that there was found to be bronze, that is, copper alloyed with tin, and bronze continued from near the bottom of the mound up to the top, but as you rise to the upper part of the Amorite city, that is, towards the region of the Israelitish city, the bronze thins out and its place is taken by iron, so that iron tools appear almost exclusively in the upper part of the mound, and they are very numerous. The lowest part contains copper tools, as I said; but the copper has been hardened,

so that it is good as a cutting material, which copper really is not. There is very little doubt that they had the means, in some way or other, of hardening copper, and it is a matter of speculation amongst many of us as to what those means of hardening copper were.\* I believe there were more than one method. They did not always use hard copper, because the last I examined from Chaldea was soft. That was very ancient, and pure copper. This has a bearing on the metal spoken of in Scripture. We often read of bronze under the name of brass, and this word is constantly employed in the Old Testament. It was the metal *par excellence* of those days. They made almost everything of it, cutting implements, fetters, chains, ornaments and other things which one would not expect to find made of bronze; for instance we read of gates of bronze in the ancient cities, and there is one particular expression in the 18th Psalm, v. 34, where David says, "So that mine arms do bend a bow of steel." It occurs also in the book of Job (20th Chap. v. 2). In both places it is translated in the Authorised Version as a "bow of steel." The word is "brass" or bronze, and it is put so in the Revised Version. (See Calmet and others.) It required great strength, no doubt, even to bend this bow of bronze. As to the matter of gates of bronze, I have put in my pocket, thinking it possible I might have the opportunity of showing it to somebody here (probably you have seen it before) a portion of the gates of Shalmaneser's Palace. This is Assyrian, of course; but it is connected with the history of the Israelites; for we know that Jehu sent tribute to Shalmaneser, and probably his messengers passed between those doors of which this is a portion of the bronze. (Producing the specimens.) It is not that they were made of solid bronze.

Mr. HORMUZD RASSAM.—They were of timber.

Dr. GLADSTONE.—They were gates of timber covered with bands and bolts of bronze. The language of Scripture, therefore, is correct in reference to this large use of bronze. But let me go a little further and refer to iron. Iron does not appear to have been used except in comparatively late periods. It was used, no doubt, more or less, during most of the time when the Jews were

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\* It is reported that the process has been re-discovered in America.—Ed.

settled in the Holy Land. As regards the arguments which some critics in these days have urged with respect to the authorship of these earlier books of the Bible, the evidence goes to show that whether they were written after the return from Babylon, or just before it, or 500 years previously, they do contain or quote from old documents. The ancient facts are there. The question, with those who are interested in this "higher criticism," is as to the structure of the books and as to the period and the way in which they were built up. If they were written long after the events, the writers would be sure to put in a great deal that is true out of the ancient documents, but they would be very likely to put in some erroneous thing too. Now it is curious that in the book of Exodus you do not meet with the mention of iron, whereas it speaks constantly of bronze; and in the later books of the Jews you find bronze and iron talked of very freely indeed; and I think that throws some light on the antiquity of the documents.\*

Perhaps I might mention that amongst the metals found at Tell-el-Hesi there are lead and silver, metals often mentioned in Old Testament books. The lead is exceedingly pure: the silver appears to be ornamental, the bangle of a child perhaps, but there is a good deal of copper in it and of gold also.

There is one other point to which I will refer, and that is that flint knives are spoken of in the Bible, and of course swords are spoken of at various times. We know there were bronze swords antecedent to the period of Abraham, and certainly flint implements. That is also evident from Tel-el-Hesi. The flint knives there are exceedingly numerous, and occur from the bottom right up to the top of the mound of Tel-el-Hesi. They are of various sizes, and the art seems to have been maintained for various purposes long after bronze and iron were in common use.†

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\* The late Rev. F. W. Holland, M.A., referred to the use of flint knives being common to this day in Egypt. (*Transactions*, Vol. xiv., p. 1.)—Ed.

† Professor Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., remarks, March, 1896:—"The whole evidence of actual remains in Egypt is entirely against any iron having been there till 700 B.C." Up to the present, investigation would seem to show that iron is not mentioned in any *ancient* Egyptian inscription; and, so far as one can judge, it came into Egypt from countries to the north-east, in which research has proved that it was known in much earlier times.—Ed.

Mr. HORMUZD RASSAM.—There are a few points I should like to deal with in regard to some matters that have been referred to. I was the only fortunate Assyrian and Babylonian explorer who discovered any metal. I first discovered brass in the form of one of the leaves of the gates of Babylon; the one which is now at the British Museum is copper. As to the remainder, everything was copper. I found, also, a piece of gold. There was certainly silver in Babylonia and also iron.

Dr. GLADSTONE.—The iron must have been introduced at a comparatively late period.

Mr. HORMUZD RASSAM.—I also found a good many implements of metal both in Babylon and in Assyria.

Mr. JOSEPH OFFORD, JUNR., B.A.—The interesting paper we have just heard from Professor Hull touches upon several subjects upon which, with your kind permission, I will add a few remarks. First, with regard to inscriptions in the Phœnician characters such as the “Moabite stone.”\* An important early paleographical specimen of that script, has been made known by the discovery of the inscriptions of Panammu I. and Bar Rekeb at Zenjîrlî.† This site, which has been excavated by the Germans, is situated near the Gulf of Antioch, and the mound covers the remains of a palace in which was found a long inscription of Esar-haddon referring to his conquest of Egypt. It also contains the two famous Aramaic monuments of Semitic Kings who ruled there, not only before Esar-haddon; but, in the case of one of them, before the time of Tiglath Pileser. These inscriptions have been translated by MM. Sachau, Halévy, and Müller; and one very remarkable fact derived from them, appertaining to the history of the Old Testament Scriptures, is the proof they afford of the correctness of the view of many Semitic and Biblical scholars, that the doctrine of a future life was a matter of common knowledge to the early Semitic people: for the contents of the Zenjîrlî Aramaic texts leaves no doubt whatever of the belief being a matter of faith there. Speaking of another Phœnician inscription, that of Eshmunazar, I note that Professor Hull assigns it the date of 600 B.C. Some ten years ago M. Cler-

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\* 890 B.C. (*Sachau*).—ED.

† Of circa 790 B.C. and 730 B.C. respectively (*Sachau*).—ED.

mont Ganneau offered reasons for placing Eshmunazar at a later period, about 400 B.C., contemporary with the Ptolemies; and the discovery of another inscription, that of Eshmunazar's son Tabnith, has lent support to M. Clermont Ganneau's views. This text of Tabnith's was found upon his tomb at the same time as the marvellous recovery of the splendid carved sarcophagi at Sidou which now form the chief glory of the Constantinople museum. An interesting fact is derived from this find in regard to the origin of the so-called anthropoid sarcophagi so common in Sardinia and all over the Phœnician world. The inscription of Tabnith, like that of Eshmunazar, is graven upon a granite sarcophagus, not only, apparently, of Egyptian workmanship, but positively so, for it still bears, unerased, the hieroglyphic text of an Egyptian general, of one of the middle dynasties, for whom it was originally made. It is evident that there was at one time, in the era of Greek dominion on the Nile, a large export trade in these valuable sarcophagi, which were purchased for the purpose of providing the coffins of wealthy Phœnician princes, and it was when local manufacturers copied these for a poorer class of burials that the anthropoid shape became the vogue.

The progress of discovery in Egypt is still rapid, and only lately an inscription has been found throwing quite an unexpected light upon a chapter of that Bible of Ancient Egypt, the so-called *Book of the Dead*, which had hitherto been inexplicable. Early in 1892 a splendid tomb was opened at Assouan, in honour of the visit of the Princess of Sweden, and its inscriptions have been published by Professor Schiaparelli of Florence. It is of exceedingly early date, being the grave of one Hirkhouf, who was born in the time of Pepi I. of the sixth dynasty. In his autobiography, Hirkhouf takes great credit to himself for having successfully brought to the Pharach, a sort of dwarf or ape\* from the Soudan, celebrated for his power of dancing, who was called a Danga. It appears from M. Maspero's researches that a Danga had been brought to the court upon a previous occasion, and this sort of dancer seems to have been an object whose possession was greatly desired by the Pharaohs. Hirkhouf took special precautions by means of sentries day and night to pre-

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\* Professor Flinders Petrie considers this was a dwarf, a *Danga*.—ED.

vent his Danga escaping from the Nile ship, and appears as proud of his bringing him safe and sound to the King as other Egyptian functionaries were of the safe conduct of a mighty obelisk from its quarry to a Temple.

Turning now to Babylonian excavations, the Americans, French and Germans have been more successful lately in obtaining literary records than ever before, the American explorations in and around Niffer, having found many thousands of tablets, and these have been so scientifically excavated, the strata in which they were found registered, and each tablet catalogued and so well arranged, and presenting such a continuous series of many centuries, that it may at length be said that the history of cuneiform paleography can now be written.

In reference to Babylonia and the remark of Mr. Rassam upon the metals found there, it may be mentioned that a tablet of anti-mony was brought home by a French explorer, and I believe some pure carbonate of magnesia has also been found among Assyrian relics.

Rev. R. C. W. RABAN, M.A.—There is one point in Professor Hull's most interesting paper to which I should like to direct attention, *i.e.*, the question whether Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac took place on Mount Moriah. I cannot, unfortunately, speak as the Professor and others can, from topographical knowledge of the Holy Land; but I have studied the matter carefully, and there appear to me to be two difficulties in the way of Professor Hull's acceptance of the site afterwards chosen for Solomon's Temple. One difficulty is that mentioned by Dean Stanley, that Moriah does not rise prominently from "the mountains round about Jerusalem," so as to agree with Genesis xxii., 4, "On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw the place afar off," compared with verse 2, "One of the mountains which I will tell thee of."\* The other difficulty is that the oldest interpreters have not identified them. The lxx. render both Moreh and Moriah (Gen. xii., xxii.) by "upland," and 2 Chron. iii., 1, they render Moriah by Ammoriah. The Samaritan gives for Moriah (Gen. xxii.) *terra visionis*, which is confirmed by Aquila and Symmachus. The Targum of Onkelos on Gen. xxii. renders the land Moriah "the land of worship."

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\* Dean Stanley's view has been questioned by some.—ED.

The AUTHOR.—I must offer you my ardent apology for venturing to undertake to address you on such a subject as I have done this evening, because I quite feel how limited my knowledge of it is. I have not gone very deeply into the history of Bibliology of these matters. I have taken them very much as they occurred to myself, after my visit to the Holy Land, and from subsequent reading in the books and pamphlets to which I have given references.

I quite admit, with the last speaker, that possibly this identification of the summit of Mount Moriah may be illusory. At the same time, I think there is a great deal to be said in its favour. Let me mention one circumstance. The only high road which Abraham could have taken in journeying south, after crossing the Jordan, in order to reach Mamre (or Hebron) must have passed close to Mount Moriah; because, as I am sure Mr. Raban is well aware, there was only one high road along the table land of Palestine at that period, and, indeed, down to the present day, and that is the road which runs along the centre of the ridge, towards which the valleys coming up from the Jordan on one side and the Mediterranean coast-line on the other, converge, leaving a highway from north to south or south to north,—and passing by Mount Moriah and the City of Jerusalem. Therefore, this Mount Moriah would be, naturally, the road along which Abraham would have come, and it is the road by which he would have returned, I should say, towards the mount where the sacrifice was to be offered. I think this point seems to weigh very much in favour of the view I have taken.

I listened with great interest to the statements Mr. Offord has made, and it occurred to me could this Danga he refers to have been one of those dwarfs which Stanley, in his last journey through the great forest of the Congo, came across? There is a tribe of dwarfs, I believe, referred to in ancient Egyptian history.

Then I am sure we heard with great pleasure Dr. Gladstone's account of the materials of these mounds. He has stated, amongst other things, that flint knives were to be found, amongst all the other materials, from the base of Tell-el-Hesy up to the summit. This we might have expected, inasmuch as beds of flint are extremely common amongst the Cretaceous and Eocene limestones of Palestine; and flint would, therefore, naturally be used for such purposes, even when metals were brought into use for more important work.

The CHAIRMAN.—I might mention that there is a curious intermittent spring in Settle, in Yorkshire. With regard to flint knives, it is very curious how, almost all over the world, they are used for sacrifices and occasionally in surgery. I have a strong suspicion that the latter use of them is because they are antiseptic as compared with a dirty bronze knife.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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### REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER,

By Colonel C. R. CONDER, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

I am in sympathy with Dr. Hull's paper, and much interested in what he says. He will perhaps forgive one or two remarks on points to which I have devoted attention for many years.

The Karnak lists have now been studied for thirty years. That by Shishak is very short as compared with the lists of Thothmes III., which include the names of 350 towns. A large proportion of these are known, and I have recently found 30 more to add to the 66 which I had previously fixed. The latter were in Palestine, the 30 new ones are in Syria (see volume on the Tell Amarna letters).

I hardly think the presence of Queen *Taia's* name shows that she wrote to Zimridi. Her name has been found also on scarabs at Mycenæ, and in Rhodes. The discovery, however, agrees with the fact that the Tel el Hesi tablet is in the same characters used by other inhabitants of Philistia in the fifteenth century B.C. The Tell Amarna tablets themselves show that the Egyptians used their own hieratic characters, and their own language, at this time, docketts having been written in ink on the tablets, when they arrived. They only used cuneiform letters and clay tablets in writing to Asiatics.

The date of the accession of Thothmes III. in 1600 B.C., is fixed by three separate astronomical calculations, and Egyptian chronology thus agrees with the independent dates of Assyria and Babylonia, derived from Canons of Kings, and from statements as to contemporaries. The new tablets agree with the results formerly obtained.



The Hyksos are called the *Men* in Egyptian records, and came, we are told, from Assyria. This points to their being of the same race with the Hittites, and with the Minyans of Matiene, whose King Dusratta wrote nine long letters to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. One of these is in a Mongol language, which appears to be the same used by a Hittite prince writing to Egypt. These three races all adored the same deity Set.

The German work on the Tell Amarna tablets contains no translations. The British Museum volume contains only abstracts of the supposed meanings. The theory which I put forward that the Hebrews are mentioned, as conquering Ajalon Lachish Ascalon, &c., in these tablets, has been independently proposed by Dr. Zimmern in Germany, of which I was not aware when I proposed it in 1891.

As regards contemporaries of Joshua, there is I think no doubt that Japhia is noticed. The Bible speaks of him as King of Lachish, the tablets as King of Gezer. He may have been both. The name of Jabin at Hazor is damaged, but seems fairly certain. The name of Achnizedek at Jerusalem is a personal view, which is not accepted by others, but for which I have given my reasons.

The language of the tablets, no doubt, recalls Hebrew, just as Arabic does; but the *Quarterly Review* is wrong in regarding the grammatical forms as Hebrew. The grammar and vocabulary alike are Aramean, and almost indistinguishable from Assyrian.

It is also incorrect to speak of the language of the Moabite stone as almost identical with Hebrew. It is remarkable that this is not the case. The plural, the voices of the verb, and other important differences, class the Moabite language as Aramean rather than Hebrew. I speak after long study of this important text. The absence of the letter *Teth* is not due to mutilation of the tablet. This letter is also absent from the Siloam tablet; and, from its early forms, it appears not to have been an original letter, but one probably added later to the Phœnician alphabet. The character used on the Siloam text is unlike that of any other known text. It is the peculiar alphabet of Israel; and not strictly Phœnician, though of the same class. It differs from that of the Moabite stone, which is more like the Phœnician.

Sir Charles Warren surveyed the Siloam tunnel in 1869. I was not with him. When I was in command of the Survey party, in 1880, I was accompanied twice through the tunnel by Captain Mantell, R.E. On one occasion Mr. G. Armstrong was with us.

The Ordnance Survey calls the Western Pools "Pools of Gihon," because that was their traditional name from the twelfth century down to 1879, when I raised the question, and pointed out that the lower Pool was made by the Teutonic knights in the twelfth century, and was then called the "New Pool."

The syphon of the Virgin's Pool is not the only one in Syria. The Sabbatic River and the great lake on Hermon owe their intermittent flow to the same natural cause, which has long been indicated by various writers.

I am sorry that the term "Mosque of Omar" still survives. The Dome of the Rock is not a mosque, and it was built half a century after Omar died. His mosque was a wooden structure which was then pulled down.

I do not know why Dr. Hull thinks that the Holy Rock was the site of the Brazen Altar. In Herod's Temple the altar was a mass of rubble and mortar, standing on the flat floor of the court. In my opinion the Holy of Holies stood on this rock, which is called the "Stone of Foundation" in the Talmud. It is only by such an arrangement that the levels of the Temple Courts can be made to agree with the actual rock levels of the Haram, without supposing enormous foundations of which no trace exists.

In regard to the foregoing, the author replies:—

I am obliged for these remarks; and feel I should apologise for the use of the term "Mosque of Omar," which I shall henceforth discard. I am probably in error in placing the brazen altar on the Holy Rock, and I find that Col. Conder's view that the Holy of Holies stood on the Holy Rock is supported by the elaborate description of the site of the Temple by Lieut.-Col. Watson, R.E., in the *Quarterly Statement P.E.F.*, for January, 1896, which every one interested in the subject ought to consult.