

The veneration in which these saints are held cannot be doubted. As in England the fairies were feared, so in Palestine the peasantry will not, if they can avoid it, speak of a *Wely* by his full name; they prefer a complimentary nickname, such as "the good Sheikh of the raft" (*Haj 'Alián*), "the lady of childbirth," "the famous Sheikh," "the father of the Crescent," "the strength of the faith," &c., &c. These divinities have a local power extending to a greater or less radius; within this circle they are feared, and it is said a man would rather confess a murder than allow himself to be perjured in swearing on the tomb in the *Mukâm* of his village. Whether the complicated mass of tradition, the growth of so many centuries, and the product of three religions, can be disentangled or is worthy of minute investigation, I leave others to judge.

The general outcome of this inquiry is, it will be seen, the probability that the whole language of the native peasantry (following the indications given by topographical nomenclature) approaches much closer to the Aramaic, which Jerome tells us was in his time the common tongue of the country, and even to the Hebrew than it does to modern Arabic. The dialect of Palestine is not understood in Morocco, where the Arabic words are entirely different, nor even in Egypt, and many words in the Survey sheets are not to be found in any dictionary of Arabic, though easily traced in Buxtorf or Gesenius.

If such be the case there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that by far the larger majority of Scripture sites are capable of recovery, and the collection of these names becomes a greater service to the study of the Bible than any amount of excavation for ruins which scholars doubt ever to have existed—such as Ahab's palace of ivory, or the temples of the Calves at Bethel.

CLAUDE R. CONDER.

PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA.

By LIEUT. CONDER, R.E.

(Continued from *Quarterly Statement*, April 1876, p. 87.)

GROUP I.

Section III.


THE third section refers to towns in the plain of Esdraelon and the *'Ard el Humma*. In seeking for the sites, we are guided by the identifications proposed by Mariette for Nos. 42, 43, 52, 57. The list proceeds as follows:—

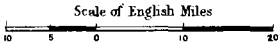
41. *Kebatua(n)*.—As this follows sites near Acca it is to be sought north of the next. No doubt it is the Gabatha of Josephus, the modern *Jebâta*, on the north edge of the plain.

42. *Taanak*, Mariette Bey identifies with the famous Taanach of the Bible (Josh. xii. 21), the present ruin of *Taanuk*.

PALESTINE

Sketch of CONQUESTS OF THOTHMES III.

 Mountain Districts
not invaded

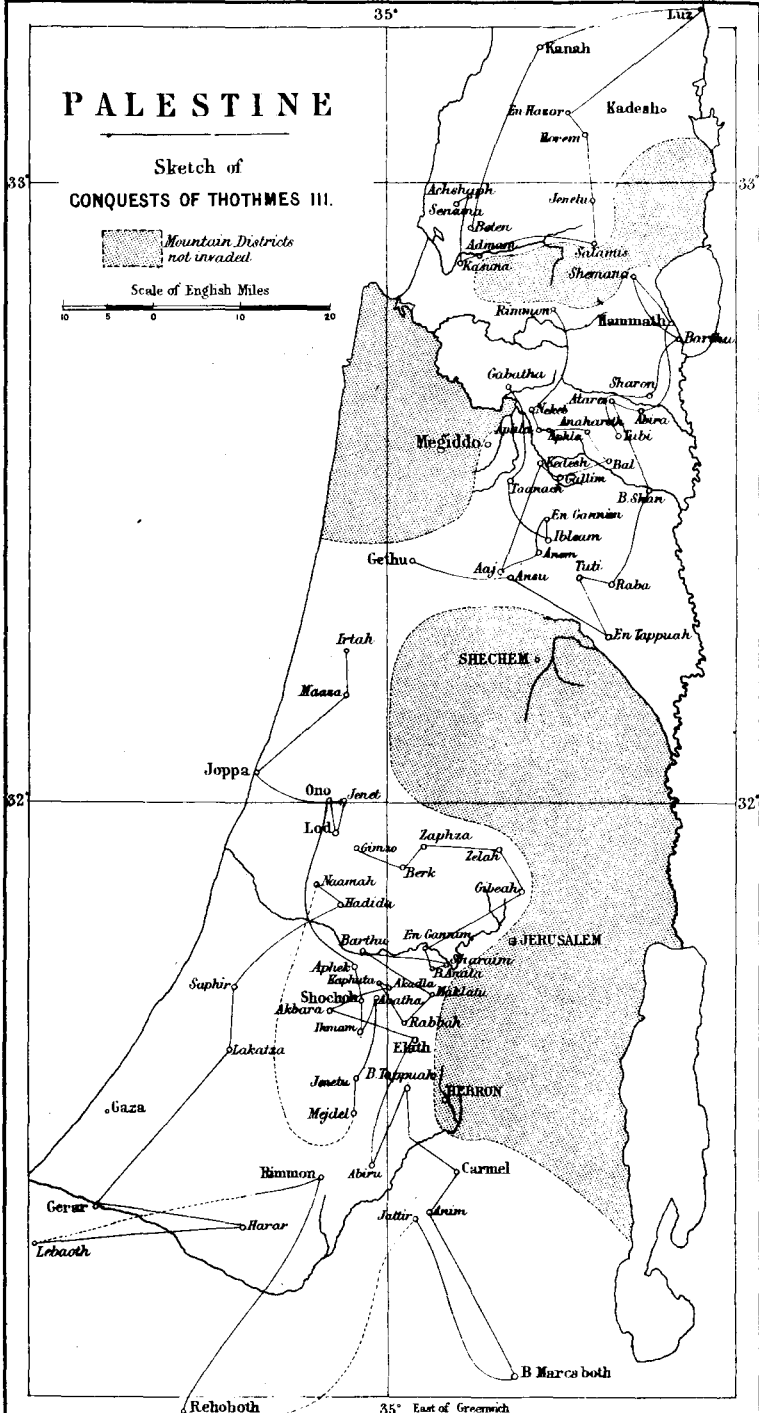


33

33

32

32



43. *Ibl'amu*.—Mariette Bey proposes the Biblical Ibleam (Josh. xvii. 11), which Mr. Drake finds at *Bel'ameh*, south of Jenin.

44. *Geneth Asnah*.—Following close upon the last may be translated "Garden of Palm," as the hieroglyphic may probably represent the Hebrew words (גַּנְתֵּי תְּמָרִים). It probably refers to *Jenîn*, the Biblical En Gannim (Josh. xix. 21), or "Spring of the Garden." Both a spring and a palm garden are to be found at Jenin.

45. *Latav 'Araka*.—This long name is difficult to connect with any Hebrew word. A place called *el 'Araka* exists north of Jenin, but the identification is very doubtful.

46. *Aina*.—The neighbourhood suggests Anem, a town of Manasseh, which must have been near En Gannim, since the name stands instead of the latter in 1 Chron. vi. 73. For this I have already proposed the present ruin *el Ghanâm*, immediately south of Jenin, fitting the requirements of the Biblical site and of the present list. The Arabic *Ghein* is only a variation of the *'Ain*.

47. *'Aak* or *'Aaj*, following next, suggests the ancient site of *'Ajja*, west of Jenin.

48. *Ras Ketes*, a second Kadesh. There was a town of Issachar called Kadesh (1 Chron. vi. 72). It is to be sought in the plain of Esdraelon, and is probably the ancient ruined site called *Tell Kedts*, or *Tell Abu Kedis*, near *el Lejjân*. The list of the Royal cities (Josh. xii. 22) reads in consecutive order, if we accept this site instead of Kadesh Naphtali as the Royal Kadesh. Mariette Bey inclines to this identification, but does not fix upon it.

49. *Kiliimna* or *Jiliimna*, equivalent to the Hebrew *Gallim*, "heaps," or "fountains," is evidently *Jellameh*, immediately east of the last.

50. *Bar* or *Bal*.—Possibly from the indications afforded by Nos. 49 and 52, that this site is somewhere in the valley of Jezreel, we may identify it with *Khurbet Yebla*, an ancient site near *Wady el Bîreh*. The word means "stream," derived from the Hebrew (יַבֵּל).

51. *Shemesadmah* is possibly to be found in the present *Tell esh Shemdîn*, east of the last.

52. *Anuheru* is evidently the Biblical Anahareth (Josh. xix. 19), with which Mariette Bey identifies it. I have already proposed the modern *en N'aûrah*, agreeing well with the requirements both of the present narrative and of the Biblical lists.

53, 54, *'Aphla*, *'Aphla*.—These two places of identical name, equivalent to the Hebrew Ophel, or "swelling" ground, are evidently *'Afûleh* and *el Fûleh*, two ancient sites close together, and not far west of *en N'aûrah*. These identifications form a most satisfactory proof that the preceding identifications are correct, and that the theory of consecutive groups is capable of being carried out.

55, 56. *Heshbu*, *Tasulat*, I have been unable to find, but the next in number indicates a district beyond the present extent of the Survey.

57. *Nekebu*.—Mariette Bey suggests the Nekeb of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33). This fits well with the general idea of the district in which we now are. It is no doubt the present *Nakîb*, a site in the *'Ard el Humma*.

58. *Ashushen*.—Mariette Bey suggests *Jebel Shihân*, but this is an immense leap. Near to Nekeb there was a town, called Shihin in the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Taanith, iv. 8). It was also near to Rumah (Tosiphta Erubin, chap. iii.), now *Râmeh*, which agrees in a remarkable way with the next identification. This site is not yet fixed. The place was known to Jerome under the name Seon, and is mentioned as existing under the form *Sîn*, by Schwartz. It will no doubt be found in the course of the Survey somewhere east of Nazareth.*

59. *Ranama*.—Probably for Rimmon. {Rimmon of Zebulun (*Rummâneh*) (Josh. xix. 13), fits perfectly as to position.

GROUP II. (*probably the Plains of Sati.*)

Section I.

The identifications of Nos. 62, 64, 65, show the list to refer to the south] of Palestine; the former sections including all the low country and part of the hills in the north.

60. *Irtah*.—No doubt is the modern *Irtah*, north of Jaffa.

61. *Maäza*.—Possibly the ruin of *Maghazun*, between the last and the next.

62. *Iphu*.—Joppa—Mariette Bey.

63. *Kenul* or *Jenet*.—Possibly *Kefr Jennis*, near the next.

64. *Luten* or *Luden*.—Lydda—Mariette Bey.

65. *Aana*.—Ono (1 Chron. viii. 12)—Mariette Bey.

66. *Aphuken*.—Evidently one of the Apheks, and apparently near Shochoh. This would seem to fix it as the Aphek of 1 Sam. iv. 1, and probably as the present ruin called *Beled Afokah*, or *el Foka*, a little to the north of the next.

67. *Suka* Mariette Bey identifies with Shochoh, now *Shuweikeh*, in the low hills north-east of Beit Jibrin. The list has hitherto been proceeding directly south.

68. *Ihmam*.—Possibly the ruin called *el Hummâm*, south of the last.

69. *Habatza*.—Mariette Bey suggests *Chezib*, which would agree well as to position, but the ה and ז can hardly ever have been confused, or at least no known example exists. The hieroglyphic may also (according to the alphabet given by Mariette Bey) be read עבצ, or עבט, in which case it is perhaps the present ruin of *'Abbad*, in the neighbourhood of the next.

70. *Jenetu*.—Probably the large ruin of *Jenneta*, south of Beit Jibrin.

71. *Mejdel* is in this case the important ruin of *Mejdeleh*, near the last; both are on the border of the Survey, hence the next is probably outside the part completed.

72. *Aph(en)* is no doubt the Hebrew Jiptah (Josh. xv. 43), a town

* Jerome supposes Seon to be the Biblical Shihon (Josh. xix. 19), properly spelt Sion, but this is at present very doubtful; he places it "near Mount Tabor."

near Libnah, and from the consecutive order of the lists of Joshua, evidently in this very neighbourhood.

73, 74. *Shebtuna* and *Dia*—Unidentified as yet.

75. *Naun*.—Mariette Bey suggests *Naamah* (Josh. xv. 41), identified by Capt. Warren with *Na'aneh*. This seems to fit with the succeeding.

76. *Hadideh*.—The Hadid of the Bible (now *Haditheli*) seems too far north. It is more probably the *Ha-Adithaim* of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), which is most probably the present ruin of *Hadid*, not far from *Na'aneh*.

77. *Hara*, or *Hala*.

78. *Isphar*.—Mariette Bey proposes the Saphir of the Onomasticon, now *Su'fir*. This agrees well, as the list will be found to treat next of sites in the extreme south.

79. *Lakatza*.—From position this might be *Umm Ldkis*. The name agrees much more closely than that of Lachish, with which Robinson identified this site.

Section II.

Will be found to refer exclusively to the Negeb, or "South Country" of the Bible.

80. *Kerara*, or *Gerara*.—Evidently, from name and position on the lists, the Biblical Gerar (Gen. x. 19), with which Mariette Bey identifies it. This is the *Umm el Jerrar* of Vandevelde.

81. *Horar*. Aroer of Judah (*'Ararah*) does not agree with the consecutive order which is preserved by the identification with *Tell Abu Harireh*, east of the last.

82. *Rabau*, or *Labau*, probably is Lebaoth (Josh. xv. 19), a town which may possibly be the modern *Libben*, near Gerar.

83. *Numana*, 84. *Namana*, lie in country not as yet surveyed.

85. *Maramam*.—From the identification of the next, this seems evidently Rimmon of Simeon (Josh. xv. 32), now *Umm er Rummamin*.

86. *Ani*.—Identified by Rougé with 'Ain, a town of Simeon, close to En Rimmon (Josh. xv. 32). It has not yet been fixed.

87. *Rahebu*.—Evidently Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22), now *Ruheibeh*, as Mariette Bey places it.

88. *Akara*, or *Alala*.

89. *Hiklaim*, or *Hikrain*.—The nearest Biblical name in this district is that of Jagur (Josh. xv. 21).

90. *Abala*.—Probably Baalah, a town of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. xv. 29).

91. *Atara*.—Adoraim seems too far north; it is more probably Jattir, 'Attir in the neighbourhood of the next (Josh. xv. 48).

92. *Abar*.—Possibly the present ruin of *Umm el Abhar*, as suggested by the regular progress of the list eastwards, to return as it will appear later, northwards, and east of all preceding names.

93. *Kenetu* or *Jenctu*, in an unknown district, not as yet visited by any travellers.

94. *Makeryphut* is identified by Mariette Bey with Beth Markaboth.

This is fixed by Vandevelde at *Mirkib*, a site which fits the order of the Biblical list (Josh. xix. 5) very well.

95. *'Aina*.—Anim of Judah (Josh. xv. 50), given by Mariette Bey, fits perfectly with the next. The distances given in the Onomasticon would fix this at *el Ghûwein*, S.W. of the next site.

96. *Keramen*.—Carmel of Judah (Josh. xv. 55), as given by Mariette Bey, identified by Robinson with *Kurmul*.

97. *Badia*.—Possibly *'Abdeh*, north-west of the last.

98. *Taphu(nu)*.—Evidently Beth Tappuah of Judah (Josh. xv. 53). It is curious that Mariette Bey should have missed this identification, which follows in perfect order.

99. *Abira*.—Possibly *el Bîreh*, a large ruin south-west of the last in the *Dhâheriyeh* district.

100. *Itatu*.—Probably Elath, which occurs in the LXX version of Josh. xii. 16). It also is mentioned in the Talmud (מ"ט Mishna Maaser Sheni v. 2), as a day's journey south of Jerusalem, and is not improbably the present *Beit Aulâ*.

Section III.

In this section Nos. 103, 113, are identified by Mariette Bey with places in the Shephelah, thus giving a clue to the list.

101. *Harkara* or *Harjara*.

102. *'Akbara*.—Probably *'Aukbûr*; in the other copies of the list it is *Akbamra* and *Akbam*. This is because the eagle representing \aleph is only distinguished by its beak from the figure representing \beth .

103. *Kaphuta*.—Mariette Bey suggests Kaphtheis of the Onomasticon. A ruin called *Kîafa* exists east of *'Aukbûr*.

104. *Akadla*.—Possibly *'Aklidia*, close to the last.

105. *Rabbatu*, suggests the Rebbo of the Onomasticon, and Rabbah of Judah. There is an important ruin called *Rubba*, which is the Rebbo in question, and which fits well for Rabbatu (Josh. xv. 60).

106. *Maklatu*.—Perhaps the ruin of Malkatta, north-east of the last.

107. *'Ameku*—i.e., "the valley." The form of the hieroglyphic with a very slight change would give *Armeku* or *Yernûk* in the immediate vicinity of the last.

108. *Zartha*.—Possibly from its position Zoreah (Josh. xv. 33), now *Surah*.

109. *Baratu* suggests the Bera of the Onomasticon, north of Eleutheropolis; for this I have proposed *Bîreh*, in a position suiting the present list and the distance in the Onomasticon.

110. *Bet Shara* suggests the Biblical plural form Sharaim (Josh. xv. 36), which is identified by M. C. Ganneau with *Saireh*.

111. *Bet Anata*.—Close to the latter ruin is another called *en Naiteth*.

112. *Harkatu*.

113. *An Kenamu*.—Evidently as identified by Mariette Bey, En

Gannim of Judah (Josh. xv. 34), identified by M. C. Ganneau as *U'min Jina*.

114. *Kebau*.—One of the numerous Gibeahs; the one which seems to fit best is that in Benjamin, [mentioned with Kirjath (Josh. xviii. 28). These two places I propose to find at *Jibia* and *Kuryet*.

115. *Tzella*.—Mariette Bey remarks this similarity to Zelah of Benjamin (Josh. xix. 28).

116. *Tzafza*.—Probably *Suffa*, probably near the last.*

117. *Berk(na)*.—Possibly *el Burj*, near the last.

118. *Ham*.—The tablet is here imperfect; it may stand for Ham-math or Emmaus, '*Amwas*.

119. *Ajmes*.—Spelt with D is possibly the Hebrew Gimzo (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), which Robinson found in the modern *Jimzu*.

The two great groups may thus be carried in consecutive order in great circles, the second returning exactly to its starting point. Each group is apparently divided into three sections of almost exactly equal proportions, showing six well-defined natural divisions of country. All the towns occur in the open country or in the low hills easily overrun, and the more difficult mountain country is entirely omitted.

A glance at the map† will show how natural is the order in which these places occur. The only liberty which can be allowed in the change of the names consists in a certain confusion of the gutturals and of the *s* sounds, which is specially noted at the beginning of the paper.

The order seems not impossibly to be that in which the towns were captured, the campaign being thus marked out as in the campaign of Joshua in the south of Palestine.

The Conspectus attached shows only the more certain identifications, leaving out the more doubtful. A long gap will be found here and there, indicating parts of the country not yet surveyed. Of the 88 identified places, 48, or over half, are mentioned in the Bible, and as others are noted in the Talmud and early Christian writers, only 34, or a little over two-fifths, would be peculiar to these lists.

Of the identified places, 27 in all are due to Mariette Bey, one to M. Rougé, and the rest are suggested newly, without counting cases in which the modern site of the ancient towns was unknown to the Egyptian scholar. Had Mariette Bey been better supplied with books (which he regrets), many of these he would have found himself.

The Conspectus shows in parallel columns—1st, the Egyptian; 2nd, the Hebrew; 3rd, the modern Arabic names.

* This place is not improbably the Zuph of 1 Sam. ix. 5.

† See the lithographed sketch map accompanying the paper.

CONSPECTUS OF THE LISTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS.

FIRST GROUP (NORTH).

Section I. (Towns in Samaria and Galilee.)

	EGYPTIAN.		HEBREW.		ARABIC.
1.	<i>Kadesu</i>		Kadesh Naphtali, Mariette		El Kedes.
2.	<i>Makedi</i>		Megiddo, Mariette	...	El Lejjûn.
3.	<i>Hai.</i>				
4.	<i>Jethu(na)</i>				Jett, C. R. C.
5.	<i>'Ansu</i>				'Anza, C. R. C.
6.	<i>Tabuh</i>		En Tappuah, C. R. C.	...	'Atûf.
7,8.	<i>Kamata</i> or <i>Bamai.</i>				
9.	<i>Tuti(na)</i>				Umm Tûteh, C. R. C.
10.	<i>Raba(na)</i>				Râba, C. R. C.
11.	<i>Keret Sennau.</i>				
12.	<i>Malma.</i>				
13.	<i>Tamesku</i>				
14.	<i>Atara</i>				Et Tîreh, C. R. C.
15.	<i>Abira</i>				El Bîreh, C. R. C.
16.	<i>Hamata</i>		Hammath, Mariette	...	El Hûmmâm.
17.	<i>Akid.</i>				
18.	<i>Shemana.</i>				
19.	<i>Barthu</i>				
20.	<i>Madna.</i>				
21.	<i>Sarana</i>		Lasharon, Mariette	...	Sarôna, C. R. C.
22.	<i>Tubi</i>				Et Taiyibeh, C. R. C.

Section II. (Upper Galilee and Phœnecia.)

23.	<i>Batna</i>		Beten, Mariette.		
24.	<i>Amashna.</i>				
25.	<i>Matzah.</i>				
26.	<i>Kaanu</i>		Kanah, Mariette	...	Kânah.
27.	<i>Arna</i>		Iron, Mariette.		
28.	<i>Ashtaratu.</i>				
29.	<i>Anaurpeli.</i>				
30.	<i>Makata.</i>				
31.	<i>Lautza</i>		Luz		Luweizeh, C. R. C.
32.	<i>Hatzara</i>		En Hazor, C. R. C.	...	Hazzûr.
33.	<i>Hurah</i>		Horem, C. R. C.	...	Hûrah.
34.	<i>Jenaratu</i>				Beit Jenn.
35.	<i>Samana</i>		<i>Salamis</i> , Josephus, C. R. C.		Sellâmeh.
36.	<i>Adman</i>				Ed Damûn, C. R. C.
37.	<i>Kasuna</i>				Tell Keisûn, C. R. C.
38.	<i>Senama.</i>				
39.	<i>Mashalâ</i>		Misheâl, Mariette	...	
40.	<i>Akshaph</i>		Achshaph, C. R. C.	...	El Yasîf, C. R. C.

Section III. (Issachar and Naphtali Lowlands).

EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.
41. <i>Kebathu(n)</i>	<i>Gabatha</i> , Josephus, C. R. C.	Jebâta.
42. <i>Taanak</i>	Taanach, Mariette... ..	Ta'anuk.
43. <i>Iblamu</i>	Ibleam, Mariette	Bel'ameh.
44. <i>Jenet Asnah</i>	En Gannim, C. R. C.	Jenin.
45. <i>Latau Araka</i> .		
46. <i>'Aina</i>	Anem, C. R. C.	El Ghanâm, C. R. C.
47. <i>Aaj</i> ... ..	... ..	'Ajja, C. R. C.
48. <i>Ras Kedcs</i>	Kedesh, C. R. C.	Tell Abu Kediz, C. R. C.
49. <i>Jiliimna</i> ... ..	... ..	Jellameh, C. R. C.
50. <i>Bal</i> .		
51. <i>Shemesadmah</i> ... ..	... ..
52. <i>Anuheru</i>	Anahareth, Mariette	En Na'ûrah, C. R. C.
53. <i>'Aphla</i> ... ..	... ..	'Afûleh, C. R. C.
54. <i>'Aphla</i> ... ..	... ..	El Fûleh, C. R. C.
55. <i>Heshbu</i> .		
56. <i>Tasulat</i> .		
57. <i>Nekebu</i>	Nekeb, Mariette	Nâkib, C. R. C.
58. <i>Ashush-hen</i>	<i>Shîhin</i> (Tal.), C. R. C....	
59. <i>Ranama</i>	Rimmon, C. R. C....	Rummâneh.

SECOND GROUP (SOUTH).

Section I. (Juda).

60. <i>Irtah</i> ... ..	... ..	Irtah, C. R. C.
61. <i>Maaza</i> .		
62. <i>Iphu</i>	Joppa, Mariette	Yâfa.
63. <i>Jenet</i> ... ..	... ..	Kefr Jennis, C. R. C.
64. <i>Luden</i>	Lod, Mariette	Ludd.
65. <i>Aana</i>	Ono, Mariette... ..	Kefr 'Ana.
66. <i>Aphuk(en)</i>	Aphek, Mariette	Belled Afoka, C. R. C.
67. <i>Suka</i>	Shochoh, Mariette... ..	Shuweikeh.
68. <i>Ihmam</i> .		
69. <i>'Abatha</i> .		
70. <i>Jenetu</i> ... ..	... ..	Jenneta, C. R. C.
71. <i>Mejde</i> ... ..	... ..	Mejdeleh, C. R. C.
72. <i>Aph(en)</i>	Jiphtah, C. R. C.	
73. <i>Shebtu(na)</i> .		
74. <i>Dia</i> .		
75. <i>Naun</i>	Naamah, Mariette... ..	Na'aneh.
76. <i>Hadida</i>	Ha Adithaim, C. R. C....	Hadîd, C. R. C.
77. <i>Hara</i> ... ..	... ..
78. <i>Isphar</i>	<i>Saphir</i> (Onom), Mariette	Suâfir.
79. <i>Lakata</i> .		

Section II. (Negeb).

80.	<i>Jerara</i> ...	Gerar, Mariette	Umm el Jerrâr.
81.	<i>Harar</i>...	...	Tell Abu Harieh, C. R. C.
82.	<i>Lebau</i>	Lebaoth, C. R. C.	...
83.	<i>Num'ana</i> .		
84.	<i>N'amana</i> .		
85.	<i>Maramam</i> ...	En Rimmon, C. R. C.	Umm el Rummamin.
86.	<i>'Ani</i> ...	Ain, Rougé.	
87.	<i>Rahebu</i> ...	Rehoboth, Mariette	Rûheibeh.
88.	<i>Akara</i> .		
89.	<i>Hikraim</i> .		
90.	<i>Abala</i> ...	Baalah, C. R. C.	...
91.	<i>Atar'a</i> ...	Jattir(Josh.xv.48),C.R.C.	'Attir.
92.	<i>Abara</i> .		
93.	<i>Kenetu</i> .		
94.	<i>Makerphut</i> ...	Beth Marcaboth, Mariette	Mirkib.
95.	<i>'Aina</i> ...	Anim, Mariette	El Ghûwein.
96.	<i>Karamen</i> ...	Carmel, Mariette	Kurmul.
97.	<i>Bedia</i> ...		
98.	<i>Taphu(nu)</i> ...	Beth Tappuah, C. R. C.	Tuffûh.
99.	<i>Aberu</i> .		
100.	<i>Ilatu</i> ...	Elath (LXX.), C. R. C.	

Section III. (Shephelah).

101.	<i>Harjara</i> .		
102.	<i>'Akbâra</i> ...	...	'Aukbûr, C. R. C.
103.	<i>Kaphuta</i> ...	<i>Kaphtheis</i> , Mariette.	
104.	<i>Akadla</i> .		
105.	<i>Rabbath</i> ...	(<i>Rebbo</i> , Onom.), C. R. C.	Rubba, C. R. C.
106.	<i>Maklatu</i> .		
107.	<i>'Ameku</i> .		
108.	<i>Tzertha</i> .		
109.	<i>Barthu</i> ...	<i>Bera</i> (Onom.), C. R. C.	Bîreh, C. R. C.
110.	<i>Bet Shara</i> ...	Sharaim, C. R. C.	S'aireh.
111.	<i>Bet Anata</i>...	...	En Niatel, C. R. C.
112.	<i>Harkatu</i> .		
113.	<i>An Jenamu</i> ...	En Gannim, Mariette	Umm Jina.
114.	<i>Keb'au</i> ...	Gibeah, C. R. C.	Jîbia, C. R. C.
115.	<i>Zella</i> .		
116.	<i>Tzaftza</i> ...	...	Suffa, C. R. C.
117.	<i>Berk(na)</i> ...	...	El Burj, C. R. C.
118.	<i>Hum</i> .		
119.	<i>Akmes</i> .		

N.B.—Twenty-one unidentified or doubtful places are in parts of the country not surveyed. Thus, finally, about five-sixths of the total number may probably be recovered.—C. R. C.