

68 Ihma or Yhm, "where the king held a council of war as to which route he should take over Carmel" (Max Müller, p. 160). That is to say, Yhm lay on the extreme north of Sharon as Joppa, Lydda, and Ono did on the extreme south. Apuqn and Suqa must have lain between, and if Suqa be, as is probable, Shuweikeh (Tomkins identifies it with the Judæan Shuweikeh), then Apuqn must have lain near by Sharon. But this is another link added to the evidence for an Aphek in Sharon, an important military point; and the only link still wanting to complete the argument is some modern trace of the name. W. Max Müller (160) admits that Apuqn is an Aphek, but is unable to suggest which Aphek. He adds in a note that the final "n" might be amended to "i."

Among the sites in Northern Sharon, which might be the ancient Aphek, are, besides Kakon (mentioned above) Bâka el Gharbîyeh, a village on the plain, with wells and springs to the west and north of it, and with the main road passing through it; and Jett, "evidently an ancient site" on a high mound at the edge of the plain, beside the main road, near the junction of the latter with the road to Shechem, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the road through 'Attil to the great plain.

THE STOPPAGE OF THE RIVER JORDAN IN A.D. 1267.

By Lieut.-Colonel C. M. WATSON, C.M.G., R.E.

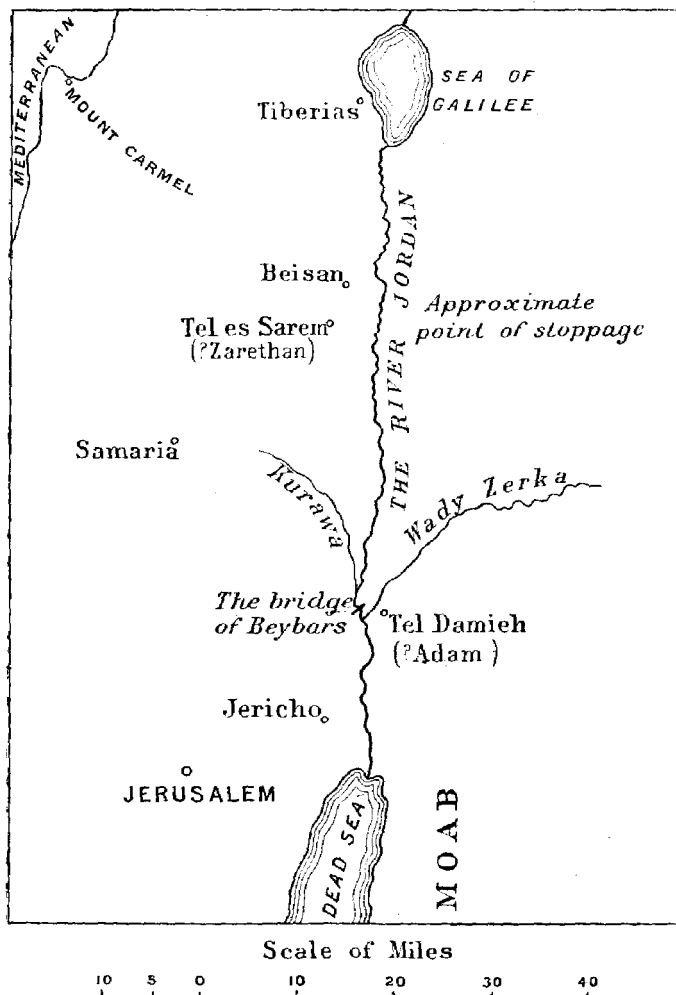
MONSIEUR CLERMONT-GANNEAU, to whom the Palestine Exploration Fund owes so much with regard to the investigation of the antiquities of the Holy Land, has recently devoted considerable attention to the examination of a passage in the writings of a little-known Arab historian of the fourteenth century, wherein is given an account of a stoppage in the flow of the waters of Jordan, bearing a remarkable likeness to the miraculous arrest of the river at the time of the passage of the Israelites under Joshua.

Monsieur Ganneau has been so good as to place his notes at my disposal, and believing that they will prove of interest to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, I propose to give a *resumé* of his observations on this interesting question.

Those who have studied the history of the wars between the Christians and Mohammedans in the Holy Land will remember the fierce struggle which took place after the last crusade, a struggle that ended in the complete defeat of the Christians and their expulsion, so far as any power was concerned, from the land of Palestine. One of the greatest leaders on the side of the Mohammedans was the Sultan Beybars I of Egypt, who, during his reign from 1260 to 1277, conducted many successful campaigns in Syria, and proved a worthy successor of the great Salah ed Din, better known as Saladin, the foe of Richard I of England.

It was during one of the campaigns of Beybars that the event took place (to which Monsieur Ganneau has drawn attention) in the year 1266,

MAP OF THE JORDAN
TO ILLUSTRATE THE ACCOUNT OF THE STOPPAGE
OF THE RIVER IN A. D. 1267.



when it was important for the Sultan, for strategical reasons, to transport an army across the River Jordan. The event is related in the history of

the Sultan, written by the Arab chronicler, Nowairi, a copy of whose work is preserved in the National Library in Paris.

Having said so much by way of preface, I will now epitomise Monsieur Ganneau's notes upon the subject.

A question which has always been discussed with much interest by commentators on the Book of Joshua, is the passage of the Hebrews, dry shod, across the Jordan, and anything that can throw light upon the miraculous stoppage of the river in its onward flow to the Dead Sea must naturally call for serious attention. According to the Biblical account of the entry of the children of Israel into the Promised Land, what took place was as follows :—After the death of Moses in the land of Moab, Joshua took command of the Israelites, and, by command of Jehovah, prepared to lead the host across Jordan into the plains of Jericho. The river was at the time in full flood ("for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest," Joshua iii, 15), thus adding to the wonderful nature of the event. At the command of Joshua, as directed by God, the priests, carrying the ark, advanced into the river, which, when their feet touched it, divided to give them passage, the water below flowing towards the Dead Sea, while the water above rose in a heap a great way off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan. All Israel then marched over past the ark, the bearers of which stood in the empty bed of Jordan until all had gone over safely. The passage completed, the bearers of the ark also followed; Joshua then caused twelve stones to be taken from the bed of the river to be set up to commemorate the passage, and also set up twelve stones in the midst of the river at the place where the bearers of the ark stood.

Numerous explanations have been given of the Biblical story. Some have tried to reduce it to less marvellous proportions, and have suggested that there may have been a fortunate diminution in the amount of water in the Jordan at the time of the passage. Josephus, in his "Antiquities of the Jews," apparently tried to diminish the miraculous nature of the event, perhaps to make the story more easy of acceptance by Roman and Greek readers of his history; while some modern critics have gone so far as to suggest that the crossing may have been effected by means of an ordinary ford. But the Biblical account is perfectly clear that the Jordan was *in full flood* and overflowing its banks, a time when, as can still be ascertained from an examination of the river, all the fords are impassable.

It cannot be questioned but that the author of the book of Joshua speaks of an absolute stoppage of the river at the time of its full height, and to explain how this could have occurred it has been suggested that the waters were obstructed by some physical obstacle, and that the miracle consisted in this obstruction having taken place at the actual moment when the Israelites had to cross the Jordan. But, hitherto, this idea has been purely hypothetical, based on facts known to have happened with regard to other rivers, but not known ever to have taken place in the course of the Jordan. If, however, it can be shown that such a stoppage has actually occurred, within historic times, in the case of the

Jordan itself, the conjecture would naturally assume a high degree of probability. And it is just such a stoppage which is described in the writings of the Arab historian, Nowairi, as having been observed in the thirteenth century of our present era.

The chronicler relates that in the year of the Hegira, 664, corresponding to A.D. 1266, the Sultan Beybars caused a bridge to be built across Jordan to facilitate the strategic movements of his army. The Arabic text of the passage in the manuscript runs as follows :—

ذكر عمارة جسر دامية

وفي جمادى الاول سنة اربع وستين وستماية رسم السلطان
ببنا جسر على نهر الاردن وهو نهر الذي يشق غور الشام
ويسمونه الشريعة وهذا الجسر هو يقرت (يقرب) دامية فيما بينها
وبين فراوا (قراوا) واتفق فيه اعجوبة لم يسمع بمثلها وثلث
ان السلطان ندب الامير جمال الدين بن نهار بعمارته ورسم ان
يكون خمس قناطر واجتمع الولاة لذلك ومنهم الامير بدر الدين
ومحمد بن رجال متولى نابلس وحملوا الاصناف وجمعوا
الصناع وعمرها على ما رسم به السلطان فلما تكاملت عمارته
وتفرق ذلك الجمع اضطرب بعض اركان الجسر فغلق السلطان
لذلك وانكر (انكر) عليهم واعادهم لاصالح ذلك فعدر (فتعذر)
عليهم لزيادة الماء وقوة حريانه (جريانه) فاقاموا كذلك اياماً
وقد تيقنوا العجز عنه فلما كان في الليلة المسفرة عن السابع عشر
من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ست وستين انقطع ما الشريعة حتى
لم يبق بها شى منه فتبادروا واشعلوا النيران الكثيرة والمشاعل
واغتموا هذه الحادثة واصلحوا الاركان وقوها واصلحوا منها ما لاكان
يمكن عمله وركبوا من يكشف جدير هذه الحادثة فساقوا الخيل
فوجدوا كداراً (كباراً) مرتفعاً كان يشرف على الشريعة من الجانب
الحغري والكبار شى يشبه الجبل وليس لجبل لان الماء يحمله

بسرعة كالطين قد سقطت في الشريعة فسدها واستكر الماء وتحامل على جهة الغور مما ورا السكر فعادوا بالخبر وانقطع الماء من نصف الليل الى الرابعة من النهار ثم تحامل الماء وكسر ذلك الكبار و جاطول رصح فلم يوتر (يوثر) في ذلك البنا لاعانة (تقانه) وحمل الماء ما كان هناك برالات (من الات) العمارة وهذا الحادث من عجائب الاتفاق وهذا الجسر باق الى وقتنا هذا

Some of the words in the Arabic MSS. of Nowairi are rather obscure, in consequence of the absence of diacritical points or apparent mistakes in writing, and in the above copy of it the readings of these, as proposed by Monsieur Ganneau, are given in brackets after the words which are thus doubtful. The translation of the story runs thus:—

“Construction of the Bridge of Damieh.

“In the month of Jumad the First, in the year 664, the Sultan issued orders for the building of a bridge over the River Jordan. It is a river which flows through the low-lying valley of Syria, which is called the Sharieh. The bridge is in the neighbourhood of Damieh, between it and Kurawa, and there happened in connection with it a wonderful thing, the like of which was never heard of. The Sultan charged the Emir Jamal ed Din ibn Nahar with the erection of the bridge, and commanded it to be made with five arches. Officials were assembled for the purpose, and amongst them the Emir Bedr ed Din Mohammed ibn Rahal, the Governor of Nablus. They obtained supplies, collected workmen, and erected the bridge as commanded by the Sultan. When it was completed and the people were dispersed, part of the piers gave way. The Sultan was greatly vexed and blamed the builders, and sent them back to repair the damage. They found the task very difficult, owing to the rise of the waters and the strength of the current. But in the night preceding the dawn of the 17th of the month Rabi the First of the year 666 (8th December, A.D. 1267), the water of the river ceased to flow, so that none remained in its bed. The people hurried and kindled numerous fires and cressets, and seized the opportunity offered by the occurrence. They remedied the defects in the piers and strengthened them, and effected repairs which would otherwise have been impossible. They then despatched mounted men to ascertain the nature of the event that had occurred. The riders urged their horses and found that a lofty mound (Kabār) which overlooked the river on the west had fallen into it and dammed it up. A “Kabār” resembles a hill, but is not actually a hill, for water will quickly disintegrate it like into mud. The water was held

up, and had spread itself over the valley above the dam. The messengers returned with this explanation, and the water was arrested from midnight until the fourth hour of the day. Then the water prevailed upon the dam and broke it up. The water flowed down in a body equal in depth to the length of a lance, but made no impression upon the building owing to the strength given it. The water carried away the apparatus used in the work of repairs.

“The occurrence is one of the most wonderful of events, and the bridge is in existence to this day.”¹

This is the story related by Nowairi, and, considering what a striking resemblance it bears to the occurrence chronicled in the Book of Joshua, it appears strange that no one, from Quatremère downwards, seems to have thought of comparing them with one another. Nowairi's account bears the evidence of truth on the face of it. It is not at all likely that he had in his mind the miracle related in the Bible, of which he probably had never heard, nor does he claim any miraculous character for the occurrence, which he might perhaps have felt inclined to do, as the stoppage of the Jordan rescued the Sultan from a very awkward difficulty. In fact, for Nowairi the event was simply matter of history, a very extraordinary circumstance, but not outside the bounds of natural phenomena. And the explanation he gives is fully corroborated by the configuration of the valley of the Jordan as it exists at the present time.

In order clearly to understand the narrative, it is necessary, in the first place, to fix, if possible, the position of the two localities referred to by Nowairi, and to ascertain the site of the bridge built by order of the Sultan Beybars. The historian says that the bridge was situated between Damieh and a second locality, the name of which is not clear in the Arabic MSS. In fact, Quatremère appears to have regarded the latter word as illegible. Damieh is found without difficulty, as on the east bank of Jordan, near the spot where the Wady Zerka joins the latter, there still exists a mound called Tell Damieh, where are the remains of an ancient town, which is, without doubt, the Damieh referred to by Nowairi. The other place named by him is not so easy to find, and it is not stated clearly whether it was on the same bank as Damieh or at the further end of the bridge on the west bank of the river, but it is probable the latter is intended, as it is not likely that the historian wished to indicate that the bridge was between two places on the same bank. And on the west bank, just opposite Damieh, there is a locality which bears the name of Karawa, a name that at present is rather applied to a district than to a fixed point. But in the Middle Ages, according to the testimony of the Arab geographer Yakut, there was formerly on the banks of the Jordan a market town named Karawa, which was in the centre of a district where

¹ The above English translation was kindly made by Mr. H. C. Kay, and is practically identical with the French translation made by Monsieur Ganneau. Mr. Kay has pointed out that another translation of the passage in French is given in Quatremère's "Histoire des Sultans Mamluks," vol. ii, p. 26.

the sugar cane was largely cultivated. It was probably the same as the ancient town Corea, which is mentioned by Josephus in the account of Vespasian's march to Jerusalem, as being one day's journey distant from Jericho.¹ The Arabic name is written *قراوا* and *قراوى*. Comparing this word with the word in the manuscript of Nowairi, it will be seen that it is only necessary to add the points of the letter *ق* to obtain the form of the word Karawa as it is written once in Yakut, and as it is also written at the present day. An examination of the ground leads to the same conclusion, as near the place where the Wady Zerka joins the bed of the Jordan, there is now an important ford on the road of communication between Nablus, west of the river, and the ancient city of Salt to the east of Jordan. At a short distance above this ford are the remains of an old bridge, which have been regarded by some as Roman, while others have considered it to have been built by the Arabs or the Christian crusaders. There appears, however, to be little doubt that this was the very bridge erected in A.D. 1266 by command of the Sultan Beybars, in connection with which occurred the remarkable phenomenon described by Nowairi. It is much to be desired that some explorer would make a more minute examination of the remains of the bridge, and possibly some inscription might be found similar to that upon the bridge built by the same Sultan Beybars at Lydda, or at least one of the lions passant, the badge of the Sultan, usually sculptured on buildings erected by his orders.

Now let us turn to the physical character of the phenomenon of the stoppage of the river which recalls so forcibly the Bible narrative. According to the statement in Nowairi, the damming up of the Jordan took place at a time when it was in full flood, just as at the time of the passage of the Israelites it was also in full flood. But these were not at the same period of the year. In the Arab story the date of the event was the 8th December, a time of year when the winter rains had commenced and caused the Jordan and its tributaries to swell. In the account in the Book of Joshua, the stoppage took place in the time of harvest, which, in this region, where a tropical temperature prevails, is in the month of April or even in March, when the melting of the snows of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon also causes a swelling of the Jordan. It is clear, therefore, that on both occasions, although not at the same time of year, the Jordan must have been, as stated, in full flood, and therefore the same physical cause would act. To understand it, it is necessary to consider the nature of the Jordan valley, which has a very unique character. Rising at the foot of the snowy Hermon, the Jordan descends rapidly to the lake now called Huleh, anciently known as the Waters of Merom, the surface of which is about 7 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Thence it descends rapidly for a distance of 11 miles to the Sea of Galilee, 682 feet below sea level, leaving which it falls deeper and deeper in its course of 80 miles to the Dead Sea, and

¹ Josephus' "Wars of the Jews," Book IV, chapter viii.

is there no less than 1,290 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, a depression without parallel elsewhere on the surface of the globe. This remarkable fissure in the earth's surface, possibly due to volcanic action in prehistoric times, may, in past ages, have formed a long and narrow inland sea, which has now disappeared, leaving only the lakes of Huleh and Galilee and the Dead Sea, and the traces of its existence in the gypseous marla strongly impregnated with salt, of which the bed of the River Jordan is composed. In this thick deposit of marl the river has gradually hollowed out its present bed, whereon it deposits, year by year, a stratum of yellowish alluvium, quite distinct from the marl deposits forming the bed of the ancient sea. The bed of the river, properly so called, is practically a narrow winding trench, the line of which frequently alters in consequence of the friable nature of the soil. In a district east of Beisan, and from 15 to 20 miles south of the Sea of Galilee, the river passes through what might be described as a gorge between steep banks of marl, sometimes nearly perpendicular, which, on the right or left bank, exceed 150 feet in height. These marly banks are frequently undermined by the water and fall in, making it dangerous to approach the river in times of flood.

Having regard to the geological formation described above, it is easy to understand what happened in the time of Beybars, as related by the Arab historian. The Kabār, or hill of marl, undermined by the action of the river, had fallen into it and completely obstructed the passage of the water for a certain time. The water thus dammed up accumulated for some hours, until, by its weight, it overcame the marl obstruction and swept it away. The point indicated above, east of Beisan, and about 25 miles above Damieh, is just the place where such an accident would be most likely to occur.

The narrative in the Book of Joshua states that the damming of the Jordan in the case of the passage of the Israelites took place at a point a long distance above the city called Adam, which there can be little doubt was the same as Damieh. The Arabs frequently suppress the initial vowel in the ancient names of Hebrew places, which will explain the change in the spelling of this name.

It is interesting to observe that it was a considerable distance above the same place, where the landslide occurred, which Nowairi has described in his history. And it is at the same part of the course of the river where landslips occur at the present day, one of which might, if on a sufficiently large scale, again dam up the Jordan and let it run off into the Dead Sea, leaving the bed dry for a certain time. Indeed it may, and possibly has happened at other times, and not have been recorded, in consequence of not being connected with an important event, such as the passage of the Israelites or the building of the bridge of Beybars.

In order to illustrate Monsieur Ganneau's very interesting remarks, I have appended a small map of the course of the Jordan, upon which are marked the various places which have been mentioned. Readers who are provided with the excellent maps of Palestine issued by the

Palestine Exploration Fund, will be able to examine the question more satisfactorily.

There is another point which appears to me worth noticing. Tell es Sarem, a mound about 3 miles south of Beisan, and the same distance west of the Jordan, has been identified as the site of the ancient Zarethan, and it is in the vicinity of the marl gorge through which the river flows. If this identification is correct it would add still greater force to the conclusions of Monsieur Ganneau. If the passage in the third chapter of Joshua is read: "The waters which came down from above were dammed up beside Zarethan, that is far above the city Adam," the place thus described would correspond exactly with the place where the temporary dam was formed in the time of the Sultan Beybars. It is for Hebrew scholars to consider whether the verse might be thus translated.

THE SEPULCHRES OF DAVID ON OPHEL.

By Rev. W. F. BIRCH.

PERSEVERANCE is irresistible, while swiftness is not often accompanied by accuracy. Careful research in Palestine, begun by Robinson, has at last brought us near to the discovery of the sepulchres of David. Many will be extremely disappointed if the present excavation work at Jerusalem does not end the dispute as to the correct site of the City of David, by the actual discovery of the long-lost tomb of David.

As soon as Dr. Bliss turns the southern extremity of Ophel and begins to follow the wall of Jerusalem northward towards the Virgin's Fount, he will have two most important points to settle. On his right hand there will be Schick's aqueduct (*Quarterly Statement*, 1889, p. 35; 1891, p. 18) to be traced to Gihon (Virgin's Fount), and on the way to it he ought to alight on the old pool (Is. xxii, 11), which possibly may be the perplexing "pool that was made" (Neh. iii, 16). On his left hand, before reaching this pool, he will pass "over against" (*i.e.*, if the rock was bare, in sight of) the sepulchres of David (Neh. iii, 16). It is much to be desired that ample funds should be at once forthcoming, to enable Dr. Bliss to make a successful dash at the magnificent catacombs of Israel's greatest and wisest king. He must, in due course, certainly pass in front of them, and not improbably very near to them. All that is practicable ought to be done to find this grand treasure. The present golden opportunity of making such a splendid discovery must not be lost for the want of a few hundred pounds, as such a good chance may not occur again for years.

Let me therefore earnestly appeal for aid to the Palestine Exploration Fund, that it may this year gain a glorious victory in its topographical campaign. The contest raging when I entered the lists 18 years ago, has been long, as well as keenly and obstinately maintained, on the one side

by tradition and numbers, on the other by patient investigation. The small body of the Ophelites, like David's three mighty men after the fall of Zion, makes little account of the numerical superiority of its opponents. Our constant watchword is: "No peace with error." We rely on sound consistent Biblical evidence, and are as thoroughly convinced that Ophel is the site of the Royal Sepulchres, as we should be if amid its labyrinthine recesses we had already actually gazed on David's empty *loculus* and threaded the maze to Solomon's costly rock-hewn house where he lies in glory; or had examined Asa's sarcophagus, "which was filled with sweet odours . . . prepared by the apothecaries' art," and explored the sepulchral chambers of venerable Jehoiada, *pater patriæ*, or of Jehoshaphat and other honoured kings of Judah. It remains for Dr. Bliss to find and describe these monuments of ancient Jerusalem.

The desired discovery seems to me practicable enough. Money, however, is necessary for carrying on the excavations. Surely a Bible-reading land will not grudge it; while, further, the valuable experience gained by Dr. Bliss in his past work well qualifies him to turn the right stone and discover the entrance to the right tomb.

Meanwhile, if need be, let me encourage to this task our explorer of happy name, and try to win some interested waverers' money for the work, by showing that Mr. Samuel Bergheim's proposed (April *Quarterly Statement*, p. 120) stronghold of Zion at the north-western part of Jerusalem is only a castle in the air, and by pointing out once more that the trustworthy evidence for the site of the City and Sepulchres of David cannot possibly admit of any other site than one on Ophel (so called). See *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, pp. 100, 208; 1886, pp. 26, 152; 1888, p. 42; 1890, p. 200; 1893, pp. 70, 324; 1894, 282, &c.

Let any should despise the Ophelites because they are few, let me add that we are a growing party. Indeed, since 1879 some notable recruits have dared to join us, coming over Jordan in the first month. Besides, we have excellent testimonials even from opponents, *e.g.* :—

(1) Sir Charles Warren in 1871 ("Jerusalem Recovered," p. 303) said: "The principal difficulty I find is, that in the Book of Nehemiah the City of David, the House of David, and the Sepulchres of David, all appear to be on the south-eastern side of the hill of Ophel, near the Virgin's Fount."

(2) Professor Robertson Smith ("Jerusalem," "Encycl. Brit.") observed: "A third view places the City of David on the southern part of the Temple Hill, and this opinion is not only confirmed by the oldest post-Biblical traditions, but is the only view that does justice to the language of the Old Testament."

To pass over favourable remarks from Thrupp, Lewin, Fergusson, and Major Conder, I come to Sir Charles Wilson.

(3) He says (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 325) on Neh. iii, 16: "This passage, when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position (on Ophel) of the City of David, of the sepulchres of the kings, and, consequently of Zion; all which

could not be mentioned after Siloah, if placed where modern tradition has located them."

With such splendid certificates in black and white, why should we Ophelites hide our heads, as if we were detected imposters? We know that we speak sober truth, and do not wish opponents to be silent, as the more they say (*e.g.*, Mr. Bergheim's fresh theory) the worse their case is seen to be. Therefore I say, Give! Excavate! and the *Bellum Topographicum* will end.

"Hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent."

THE CITY OF DAVID.

ZION NOT AT "GOLIATH'S CASTLE."

By Rev. W. F. BIRCH.

As I invited (*Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 151) any one to upset "Zion on Ophel," let me point out how Mr. Samuel Bergheim's "fresh theory" utterly fails.

It ought to be premised that in the controversy about Old-Testament Jerusalem, the quality of the evidence is of more value than the quantity. One verse of the Bible is better than a page of Josephus or a tome of Jerome.

Mr. Bergheim accepts on p. 120 (above) the A, B, C, of Jerusalem topography by admitting that the three terms Zion, the City of David, and the stronghold, are equivalent. That they are such is clear from the Bible (1894, p. 282), and ought to be cheerfully admitted, but is often ignored.

The locality to which the most reliable evidence assigns even but one of these three terms ought to be the right site.

I have pointed out repeatedly (1) that in the Bible Ophel (so called) is referred to as the site of the City of David, of the House of David, of the Sepulchres of David, which were in the City of David; and (2) that the Akra of Josephus, which was the Akra of the Maccabees, which was the City of David of the Bible, is consistently placed on Ophel.

Mr. Bergheim makes no attempt to meet these practical demonstrations. He could not wisely do so. I know well that the Ophel position is impregnable, and that the attempt would be useless.

Error, however, has as many lives as a cat, and must be met as often as it reappears.

I have therefore to show that what Mr. Bergheim alleges in support of his fresh theory that Zion was at the north-west portion of Jerusalem, and more precisely at Goliath's Castle, carries no weight at all, or at least not enough to prove his case.