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•■:

•ISEAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.'

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The OMC FBDCEYAL LAMuLiNAf. Parte I. n. in. Syo. 1853-52-58.
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'ISEAEL e THE WILDERNESS ;'

OB,

GLEAASINES FROM THE SCINES OF
THE WANDCEINGS.

AN ESSAY ON THE TRUE DATE OP KOHAH'S HEBELLION.

THE REV. CHARLES FOESTEE, E.D.

LONCKN:
RICHAED BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREEt,

FITBLISHEa IS OSDIKASY TO HZB UAJBEITT.

//^ , z"-. "3.

Off warpl TtKxov"
avy w'xl ideuhvetrew ciff ra thayyikiop,

Philipp. ii. 22.

}

TO

THE EEV. JOHN JEBB FOESTEE, M.A.

CUBATB OF WBST MALLINO

IN THB DIOCESH OF ANWTBBBx7ST,

THESE CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCES
OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOKS OF MOSES

ARE INSCKIBED FROM THE HEART

BY

HIS AFFBOTIONATB FATHB|B

THE AUTHOR.

Batmount, Torquat,
ChrUtmai Eve, 1864.

.

'IF THBBB SHOULD HOLD THBIB PBACB,
THB STBNBS WOTTLD I?HDEiATBLT CRY OUT.

St. Luee, zix 40

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ISEAEL IN THE WILDEBNESS.

V

INTEOOUCTION.

The opening chapter of « The Voice of Israel,' will be
the most appropriate Introduction to « Israel in the
Wldernesa.' Those readers who are already familiar
with that portion of my former work,« will here find it
leading them on to new fields of research and disco-
very ; while any readers to whom the subject of Sinai
and its Israelite monuments may still be new, will be
hereby prepared to enter intelligently upon those
newly discovered fields of the wanderings, over which
it is the object of the present publication to conduct
them. Without further preface, here is the initiatory
chapter.

It is now somewhat more than thirteen hundred years,
since a merchant of Alexandria, Cosmas by name, from
his voyages to India sumamed Indicopleustes, visited

« " The One Primeval Language' Part I.

B

2 ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.

on foot the peninsula of Sinai ;« and was the first to
discover, or at least to make known to the world, the
extraordinary fact of the existence, upon all the rocks
at the various resting-stations throughout that unsmba-
bitable wildeness, of numerous inscriptions in a then,
as now, unknown character and language. A certain
Jewish tradition, of the most ancient and widespread
character, to understand and to interpret their meaning, these
inscriptions, Cosmas further relates, were assigned to
the age of Moses and the Exode, and ascribed to their
own ancestors, the ancient Israelites, during their wan-
derings "in the desert of Sin.' The high antiquity
implied by this Jewish tradition was corroborated to
the eye of the Egyptian voyager by a most remarkable
circumstance ; namely, that many of the inscriptions in
question were upon broken-off rocks" \p" scattered
over ithe vabsys ; fooks which had fallen, at unknown
periods, from the oliffthe above, self-evidently by reason
of the wear and tear of the winter torrents in the lapse
of iaeg8.t for as it k now ascertained that the inscrip-

« If this visit took place, as seems not unlikely, at the time of
his trade-voyage from Mathi (Akaha) to Adulc on the African «
coast, the date is fixed by Cosmas himself: Gapovs ctfv fsat to xoXq
Ba<TiXeo<; Ai0iOTrwv Ev^ayyeXiov Ka^ ^ Ai0iOTrwv ^ Ai^ovoq ^ Jlarrov»
^i'y ipXO ^^^ ^aeSiXeai 'IaoTi'leov rov Pattiiaa PuttiXeoq ..
Cosmas IncMcoplouit, ap. Coloc, Nov, Patr,y iii. p. 140. Justin
was proclaimed Emperor July 9, 518. The voyage to Adulc, con-
sequently, took place about a.d. 518, 519.

t 'In universum, inscriptiones temporis injuria Isesob sunt : in-

INTRODUCTION. 3

tions upon the Ailen fragments still in being, in several
instences are found inverted, it fellows that the writing
had been engraved before the rooks were broken off."
This admitted fact, though unnoticed by him, it is
essential to keep in view, if we would estimate at its
real value the relation of Cosmas. In other times, it
might well be presupposed that the first announcement
of the fact of inscriptions in Sinai would have attracted
the cisinity of the learned world, and engaged the
serious attention of the Christian Church. But in the
reign of Justinian, the world and the Church were
occupied by other matters than researches into the far
distant past. The minds of men, bound up in the labu-

rinths of controversy, or busied in ihe enactment of
codes of human law, had little leisure, and less encou-
ragement, for entering on an inquiry, which might, by
possibility, throw light upon *Hhe Law Divine.'

The curious report of the Egyptian merchant lay,

pnmis Tapidis fluviarum hibemarum, quibua siccffi ilka valles
nonnunquam in iluvios mutantur/ — J&. F. F. £eer, StiidiaAsiatica,
Introd. p. viii. : LipsiaB; 1840.

* ' Magnus inscriptionum numerus reperitur in saxis in viam
delapsis. Haec, aut delapssB sunt pogtqi4am inacnptiones facUs sunt,
unde nonnunquam hae sUu inverso descriptsB sunt/ — lb. The fact
of the inverted inscription speaks for itself. The assumption that
those not inverted were, therefore, written subsequently to the fall
of the rocks on which they are engraved is perfectly gratuitous.
The just inference from the two phenomena is, that, in their fall,
some inscribed -rocks rolled over, while oUiers dided down.

accordingly, unnoticed in his work, entitled ^ Christian
Topography.' Nor was its repose disturbed from the
sixth, until the commencement of the eighteenth cen-
tury of our era; when the geographical treatise in
which it occurs (Cosmas's only extant work) was pub-
lished for the first time, with a Latin version and notes,
in the year 1707, by the celebrated Montfaucon. So
total, in the long interval, had been the neglect of in-
quiry, that the editor was compelled to rest his belief
in the existence of the Sinaitic inscriptions wholly upon
the unimpeachable fidelity of Cosmas ; which he most
justly pronounced to be beyond all question.* For
this honourable testimony to his author's good faith,
Montfaucon, in the true spirit of supercilious scholar-
ship, indemnifies himself by indulging in reflections on
his credulity, and by contemptuously setting aside,

• Since writing the above passage, I have recovered what
would appear to be the avtograph record, by Cosmas himself^ of his
visit to the peninsula of Sinai. In looking over the plates of
Sinaitic inscriptions, published by Pococke, my eye was caught by
the proper name Koafiav, in the Greek inscription No. 10, at the
close of its second line. Upon closer inspection it was manifest
that the first line, and the last two lines, of this inscription were
detached fragments, in different handwritings } while the second
and third lines composed, apparently, a separate record, complete
in itself. This record was the usual pilgrim invocation, so often
found at Sinai, asking the prayers of succeeding pilgrims. The
inscription was found and copied by Pococke near the summit of
Mount St. Catharine, in the grotto where Moses is said to have
fasted forty days. He describes it ' as an imperfect Greek inscrip-

without pausing to examine, the assigned date and ori-
gin of the inscriptions themselves.*

tion, which seems to he older than the heginmng of the Mahometan
r^Ugion,' The following is a fac-simile of the two centre lines : —

Mt^HCTHOUKolMAfC
TOYNTCBD-^NAYDOY

fxvriff Tri9? Kofffiav

Tov *v Ti€d .... vavrtov

Remember Cosmos,
The voyager to Thihet,

The characters TEBD, not forming any known Greek word,
seemed at first enigmatic. The enigma seemed solvible by the
proper name Thibet (arabtcb, ls^^J), the ultima Thule, it hence
would seem, of Cosmas's travels ; who, in this inscription, if cor-
rectly ascribed to him, styles himself Ti€dvavrriCf as afterwards,
in his work, IvdiKOTrXivartjc, The Greek here is most barbarous ;
but so also is that of all these Greek inscriptions. K it be his, he
learned to write better Greek in his monastery. The literate
monk may, in youth, have been an illiterate merchant or shipman
(yavTtjg): perhaps the latter. Poverty seems indicated by a
pedestrian caravan.

• * De hac universa CosmsB relatione, Montefalconius editor, qui
nondum compererat ad montem Sinai inscriptiones re vera esse
servatas (parva enim et imperfecta etiam tum erat fama earum et
notitia) bene haec observavit : Qusb de visis a se inscriptionibus
hujusmodi refert Cosmas, a nemine sueto in dubium vocanda : nam
fide dignus ac sincerus scriptor est, si quis alius. An vero in-
scriptiones illsB veterum HebrsDorum in deserto oberrantium
fuennt, id sagad lectori aestimandum mittimus. Nos sane Cosmam
HebrsBorum mendacio deceptum probabilius exisnmamus.' — Mont
faucon ap. JBccr, Introd. p. xiv.

* YiwryMVt as a genitiTe, is authorised by an Apaznean medal, rov ayuvoOeroi/ kprttkav.

To this point an Irish prelate. Dr. Robert Clayton,
Bishop of Clogher, had the honour of being the first to
direct public attention, by his publication of the manu-
script Itinerary of the journey from Cairo to Mount
Sinai of the Prefetto of Egypt, and by his^ munificent
ofier of the sum of five hundred pounds to the traveller
who should copy, and bring to Europe, the inscriptions
of the Wady Mokatteb, or * written valley ; ' which
(though the opposite of credulous in his tone of mind)
he believed and pronounced to be the work of the
Israelites of the Exode.

Bishop Clayton's praiseworthy efibrts to awaken
attention to the subject at home, were (in verification
of the maxim that an efibrt never is lost) soon after fol-
lowed up in the East by the enterprise of Dr. Richard
Pococke (afterwards Bishop of Ossory), the first Euro-
pean traveller who visited the peninsula of Sinai with
the object of examining and taking copies of its inscrip-
tions. By the publication of Pococke's Travels, and of
a paper from the pen of the eccentric Edward Wortley
Montague in No. 65 of the Transactions of the Royal
Society, learned Europe at length was put in possession
of copies of a few of those mysterious records of the
past, and obtained the first specimens of the unknown
characters employed in them. Some slight additions
were subsequently contributed by Niebuhr and others.
But adequate materials for the alphabet remained a

^

desideratum, until^ in the yeaar 1820, they were happily
supplied by Mr. Gr. F. Grey,* whose cdlectioa of 177
fairly copied Sinaltic inscriptions appeared in 1830, in
VoL n. Part L of the Transactions of the Royal So-
ciety of Literature.

The appearance of this more abundant harvest (the
fruit, like most that had preceded it, c^ British enters
prise) at length reawakened to the nearly foi^otten
subject the diunbering curiosity of Europe, and en-
gaged the studious attention of one of the first orien-
talists of Germany. The result was the publication,
in tiie year 1840, by the late Professor E. F. F. Beer,
of Leipsic, (tiie friend and fellow-labourer of Gesenius,)
in his work entitled * Studia Asiatica,' of a collection
styled by him Inscriptionum Centuria, or * A Century

• Now the Rev. G. F. Grey. The iDgenioiw device employed
successfully by this gentleman and his fellow-traveller, an Italian
artist, to gain an opportunity of making their copies, was thus
described to me by a friend of Mr. Grey, by whose permission
the incident is given. Finding all efforts vain to induce their
Arabs to stop for this purpose, they privately agreed, on reaching
the station beside the Wady Mokatteb inscriptions, where they
were to halt for the night, to loose the camels from their picquets
while the guides slept, and let them wander over the desert. At
daybreak the Arabs missed their camels, and went off in quest of
them; while, during their absence of some hours, Mr. Grey and
his companion quietly and uninterruptedly took copies of all the
inscriptions within their reach. The anecdote may fiimish a
useful hint to future travellers, not at Sinai only, but wherever
inscriptions similarly located may occur.

of Sinaitic Inscriptions ; ' compriizing a selection of
examples from Pococke, Montague, and Niebuhr, to
Coutelle, RoziSre, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Grey, Laborde,
Lord Prudhoe (now Duke of Northumberland), and
Major Felix. To this Collection (the originals en-
graved in 16 Plates, and his versions printed in Hebrew
characters) Professor Beer prefixed an Introduction,
an Alphabet, and his own translations.

From this short account of the publication, we will
now pass at once to the principles of investigation on
which the author proceeded, and the conclusions at
which he arrived : inasmuch as the simple statement of
these principles and conclusions will best prepare the
way for the widely different principles adopted, and
the wholly opposite conclusions arrived at, in the
present work.

Following in the steps of Montfaucon, Professor
Beer sets out with discarding, as unw:orthy of note or
comment, the belief of Cosmas, and the affirmation of
the Jews who accompanied him, as to the Israelitish
origin of the inscriptions in the Wady and Djebel
Mokatteb : records which he, in his turn, asserts to be
of Christian origin, and of a date scarcely more than a
century and a half prior to the age and voyage of
Indicopleustes himself.

It is essential to the subject, and due to the memory

^

of the only scholar who has hitherto treated it, to
examine the steps by which our author reaches these
inferences. We will begin with his own statement of
the numerical amount, and topographic extent, of the
inscriptions themselves.

* The inscriptions are found in the neighbourhood of
Mount Sinai; or, to speak more accurately, in the
valleys and hills, which, branching out from its roots,
run towards the north-west, to the vicinity of the
eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez: insomuch that
travellers nowadays from the monastery of Mount
Sinai to the town of Suez, whatever route they take
(for there are many\ will see these inscriptions upon
the rocks of most of the valleys through which they
pass, to within half a day's journey, or a little more, of
the coast. Besides these localities, similar inscriptions
are met with, and those in great numbers, on Mount
SerbaJ, lying to the south of the above-named routes ;
as also, but more rarely, in some valleys to the south of
Mount Sinai itself.

* But the valley which, beyond all the rest, claims
special notice, is that which stretches from the neigh-
bourhood of the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez,
for the space of three hours' journey [from six to seven
miles], in a southern direction. Here, to the left of
the road, the traveller finds a chain of steep sandstone

rocks,* perpendicular as wallsy which afford shelter, at
midday and in the afternoon, from the burning rays
of the sun. These, beyond all beside, contain a vast
multitude of tolerably well-preserved inscriptions ;
whence this valley has obtained the name of Wady
Mokatteb, or *' the written valley.'* Adjoining it is a
hill, whose stones, in like manner, are covered with
writing; and which bears the name of Djebel Mo-
katteb, or ** the written mountain.''

antermingled with the inscriptions, images and
figures are of very frequent occurrence ; all the work
of art, if art it may be called ; executed in the rudest
style,! and evidently with the same instrument as that
employed in executing the inscriptions : which figures
prove themselves the production of the authors, by their
very juxtaposition to the writing. These drawings

• A material beyond all others, from its softness, its redness,
and its indisposedness to flake off, alike fitted to receive, exhibit,
and preserve the inscriptions. It has been observed to the author
by a friend that, while the inscriptions on granite in Egypt had
often perished owing to the scaling off of the outer surface, those
on sandstone, in the quarries of Masara, are as fresh as if executed
yesterday. Sinai repeats this experience. Burckhardt describes
the inscriptions upon the granite rocks of Serbal as mostly ille-
gible; while those in the Wady Mokatteb are very generally
perfect. The material, it appears, is that best suited to realize
Job's aspiration (xix. 23).

t ' The rude manner in which they are exhibited may well be
supposed to be such as belonged to the time, when men first began
to inscribe on rocks their abiding memorials.' — Note from the

^

most frequently represent camels and men. But for
the sake of readers desiring more accurate information
on the subject^ we will comprize, in a bird's-eye view,
those hitherto described, giving the precedence to the
figures of most frequent occurrence :

' Camels, standing, moving, running, laden. Moun-
tain goats. Lizards. Serpents. Horses and mules^
Dogs. Ostriches. Tortoises.

' Men, standing, in motion ; lifting the hands to hea*-
ven ; looking down ; sitting, on camels, on laden camels,
on horses, on mules ; standing, on camels, on horses ;
leading camels; armed with spears, swords, shields;
fighting; drawing the bow (on foot, on horseback);
hunting ; a man upon a crosg, &c.

^ Which images those who copied the inscriptions
describe as often diflScult to distinguish from the letters.
The truth is, that the original writers sometimes
employed images as parts of letters, and, vice versd,
images for groups of letters.^ *

^Pictorial Bible,^ p. 161, on Job xix. The engraver of tlie frontis-
piece of tlie present work made a similar remark to the author.
His impression as an artist, when engaged upon it, was chiefly
this, that the execution of the inscriptions betokened the infancy
of society. Laborde's impression on the spot was the same : 'These
inscriptions come out clearly on the red ground of the rock; and
the irregularity of the lines betrays the unskilfulness of the persons
who confided their story to the custody of these rocks.' — Journey
to Mt Sinai, p. 262.

* ' Quas imagines haud ita raro difficile a litteris discemi dicunt

From this well-drawn sketch of the numbers, extent,
and pictorial or hieroglyphic character of the Sinaitic
inscriptions, the author proceeds to the consideration of
their probable origin and date.

Their origin he pronounces to be Christian^ upon the
strength of a siugle argument, or rather of a single
character, which he denominates the emblem of the
cross. * Sometimes, either at the beginning, or at the
end of inscriptions, are found crosses, in the form"!" ; but
they are of rare occurrence in the inscriptions hitherto
transcribed, for they are observable only in the places
cited underneath.* Yet rarer is another form of the
cross t erect ; which has the form of a semicircle, to the

qui descripserunt. Ita factum est ut liUeraspro parttbtcs imaginumy
et, vice versfi, imagines pro litterarum symplegmatef nonnunquam
dederint.' — Beer, Introd. p. xii.

* ^Greyy inscr. 142 (nostra 42), crux basi imposita. — Cf. Rozierii,
inscr. 26 ; Montagu, ys. 12 j Grey, inscr. 85, inscr. 86 et 111, ubi
basi impositse sunt. — Bis in iuscr. Pocockii, 59, et Seetzen 17,
sed ita positsB ut suspicionem moveant.' — Beer, introd. p. xii.
notse c, d,

t ^ Grey, inscr. 11, et aliquoties ap. Labordium.' — lb, nota e.
Altogether, five certain and three dubious examples of what our
author terms the ^ Crux Christiana,' out of some 200 inscriptions.

Here are his specimens : f I | ^ jT I Four of the

five characters are obviously monograms. The last, an Egyptian
hieroglyphic, which he converts into the monogram for Christ
Jesus ! There remains one simple cross. I leave it to the reader
to settle with Level, in ' The Antiquary,' whether it is not ' a nar-
row foundation to build a hypothesis on.'

right, in its upper limb, taken, probably, from the con-
tracted Greek letters X and P, in order to express, at
the same time, the Cross and the name of Christ, But
upon the rocks themselves I suspect crosses to be more
frequent than one might conjecture from the copies.
For Montague thinks the authors to have been Chris-
tians ; and Burckhardt seems to have held the same
opinion, when he refers to the crosses. Which opinion,
although, owing to their great simplicity, there is nor-
thing whatever to favour in the alignments of the inscrip-
tions heretofore explained by me, yet, on reading the
characters, I seem to myself to discover something tend-

ing towards the confirmation of their Christian origin. For a certain sign occurs, which, although in form it does not differ from the letter daleth of this character, [my] interpretation of the inscription shows not to be a letter. That sign has the form of the Latin letter Y ; and is observable, sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end, of the inscriptions. Compare, especially, inscriptions 100 and 99, in our eleventh table, which consist of the same letters and lines, and to the former of which our figure is added, both at the beginning and at the end. On account of this location in the inscrip- tions, I think this sign to be the figure of the Christian Cross which was used in some countries; in which, perhaps, malefactors were commonly fixed on crosses formed in this figure of a fork. To which opinion it

may seem an objection^ that such a form of the Christian Cross is novel ; and certainly I have found no evidence of its existence : but this I think of very slight mo- ment *•

Having thus disposed of the authorship^ the Profes- sor proceeds to settle the date. * In my judgment, it appears that Cosmas saw in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, in various parts, and those nmnerous, many inscriptions on stones ; which, both from their brevity, and the further proof arising from their great similarity to each other, I take to be the same with those very inscriptions of which we treat in this volmne. But their real origin and meaning were little known in the time of Cosmas ; for what he pronounces certain in this matter is self-evidently false. Nor would this pious Christian have ascribed to Jews inscriptions wrought by Christian piety, had he known better.

* He appears to have conveyed the first tidings of the existence of these inscriptions to the learned of his own age : f whence we conjecture the date of the inscrip-

* The version reads so improbable that I give the original : ^Cui sententiffi obstare Tidetur, quod talis ChristiansB crucis %ura [Y scilJ] nova est : certe equidem nullum ejus testem reperi : sed hoc levioris moment! esse puto/ — ^Introd. p. xiii,

t ' Integra ejus verba afierimus, quum locus sit magnsB auctori-

tatis. Aat6vTiQ dk Kal vapd rov Biov rbv vofxov iyypd^<agj Kai didaffKSfitvoi ypdfifiara vcoxtt/, kcI iUffwip iraiSivrripiift yffvxv ^^ "^V

tions to be very Uttle prior to the age of Cosmas him- self.*

^ Whether the figure of the Christian Cross, Y^ which in our inscriptions is more frequent than "J", could have

ypdfjifAaTa. *'OQiv iffTiv t^etv, iv kxtlvy rp tpi)ii*fi tov Stvatov opovg, iv rrdffatc xar air aixrifriy frdvraQ Toi)Q \i9ovQ t&v aitroBi^ rove iK ruv 6ps<av dwoKXwfikvovQ^ yty p<ififJUvovQ ypdJMfiaai yXvrrroXf *'B€pdiKoXe* wc avrbg kyut Trf^ovtrac tovq tottovc fiapTvpw, "Anva fcai rivts *IovSdioi dvayvovng Sitiyovvro "hfiXv^ \kyovT6Q y<- ypd^Bai oXmaQ* airiptriQ [uTrapcrt^] rovSi %k ^vkriq rfitrtt^ free r^^e, /lii^vi Tif^V KaBd Koi leap ^fjiiv voWokis rtvkg iv rate ^sviaiQ ypdtpovffiv. Avroi dej xal ioq vtioorl fiaBovrtg ypafifiara, avvix^Q icarfxp^VTOj Kai ktrXriOvvov ypdtpovrtQ, ware TrdvraQ Toi}Q t6vovq iicct- vovQ fjittrrovjc t^vai ypafAfidrwv *E€pa'iK&v yXvTrrCjVj tiQ in Kai vvv (TioZofiiviov.^ Sid To'i)g diricTTOvg^ utQ iywyt ol/iai. *EKbv dk rif fiovXofikvifi ly toXq tSttoic ytvsadai Kai didaaaOai, rj yovv IpctTrjaai Kai fxaBiXv TTtpl rovTOV a»c dXrjOiiav ilvofitv, Ilpwr<itQ ovv *E§paXoi, irapd TOV Qiov ffo^icBsvresy Kai ypdfifAara did t&v XiQlvotv trXaKwv Udvuw wapaXatovrte, Kai fitfiaBrjKOTtg, fi trri iv rf lpVfJi(fif ytiTvi&at toXq ^oivi^i frapadBSiitKaai Kar iKiivo Kaipovy 'trpu>rtft ILdSfJUfi T(f Tvpiutp /BavcXcT, fK Udvov TraptXatov "EX\j;v«c,* Xeiirbv KaOe^rjg wdvra rd fBvri.^ — CosnuB IndicopleustcB Topograph, Christianay b."^, Montfauconf CoU, Nov, Patr.f &c., t. ii. p. 206 ; and ap. JBeer, ut supra, pp. S, 4. "* 'Ipse primus inscriptionum harum nuntium yiris eruditis suee SBtatis tradidisse yidetur. Unde conjicimus aetatem harum in- scriptionum hatid ita brevi superiorem esse cevo Cosnue,^ The language, consequently, must have utterly perished, and its characters must have been totally forgotten, in one or two life- times ! The scepticism which strains at gnats, has a marvellous aptitude for swallowing camels.

■• *T r w or T o d to tbis dqr** The cxpreuion dezuonfltcates tbdr ariSuxie appMranee in the time of Cosmas.

*> The Panic and Greek characters in the Stnaitic inscriptions were apparently recognized by Cosmas ; and, if referred to their proper alphabets, would have yielded the true interpretaticm.

continued in use, as well as the other form, long after the time of Constantine, when it is so well known that both the temples, the military ensigns and shields, and the imperial coins themselves, were ornamented with the figure of the Cross, I doubt. Therefore I think that the greater part of these inscriptions were engraved in the fourth century.

^ About this period, the custom among Christians of making pilgrimages to the sacred localities, principally to Jerusalem, in expectation of seeing miracles, and from religious motives, was greatly on the increase ; inso- much that, towards the end of this century, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssen, judged it necessary to write against the practice in a separate treatise. That Mount Sinai should have been visited at that period by the inhabi- tants of Palestine or Syria, is, indeed, scarcely credible. Certainly we have no proof whatever of their doing so ; though we do not deny that Helena, the mother of Constantine, journeyed to that mountain, and there erected a sanctuary, as the traditions of the Monastery of the Transfiguration allege. But it may very well have chanced that this appetite for visiting the sacred localities may have kindled, in some tribes of Arabia Petraea, a like desire of frequenting, from pious mo- tives, for a time, Mount Sinai, and the valleys which witnessed the great miracles of Moses.

' The only remaining question is, the space of time

within which these inscriptions were engraved. The internal evidence of the writing is so uniform, that / doy,bt whether the oldest can be parted from the most recent by an interval of m&re than a single age. Those, however, who are unconversant in paleography, should be forewarned against being drawn into an opposite opinion by ill-preserved or ill-copied inscriptions, both Sinaitic and Arabic* To those who consider these as holding a middle term, or as marking the change effected in written characters in the course of ages, I answer, that inscriptions of this kind are inexplicable from their corruptness, and, therefore, from them no conclusion can be drawn ; but, rather, we must beware lest inscriptions should be confounded with each other, which are separated by an interval of a thousand years or more.'

Having thus settled the date to his own satisfaction, the author passes, lastly, to the consideration of their probable origin ; which, upon the grounds which follow, he decides to be Nabathsean. * The question arises.

• The truth is, that the modem Arabic alphabet contains many characters adopted from primitive inscriptions at Sinai, in Egypt, and in other parts. In a single rock inscription from Hadramaut, bearing all the marks of high antiquity, I find, amidst the Hamyaritic, from eight to ten Arabic characters, so perfectly formed that they would serve as models to cast types from. This identity proves that the Nishki characters now in use were borrowed, not invented.

Who were the people who executed these inscriptions ? — a question of moment, since by its solution may at last be brought to light the region in which this cha- racter and language was formerly in use. In fact, as I have already intimated, I can have no doubt that Arabia Petraea was that region, since I see no other which can be put in competition with it. Here, in the ages immediately preceding our era, existed that people vidgarly known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Nabathaeans ; a people wealthy, skilled in the arts, and flourishing in connnerce ; at first independent, and under their own kings-afterwards, by Trajan, sub- jected to Home. Of this people and kingdom the capital was Petra, whose splendid ruins have at length been discovered and delineated in our days. But as to the character and language in general use in this kingdom, and in western Arabia Petraea, of these no monuments whatever remain to us.*

* In this statement Pr. Beer is in error. Messrs. Irby and Mangles discovered a genuine Nabathsean inscription at Petra, carved deep on rock, in five long lines. It was copied by these gentlemen, but their copy, unfortimately, was not preserved. After several fruitless attempts to procure another copy of this unique monument, I was imexpectedly favoured by a friend with the fac-simile of an inscription on rock, found by the late Capt. Frazer, H. A., in the Wadi Suttoun Bedtha, near Petra, which, on inspection, proved to be the five-line inscription mentioned by Irby and Mangles. It is remarkable, in disproof of Beer's theory, that the characters in this indubitable Nabathsean monument,

*This lacuna in paleography and philology I con- sider to be now filled up by our inscriptions. I have no means^ indeed, of demonstrating that their authors sprung from those tribes which properly constituted the kingdom of the Nabathaeans ; but it will readily, I hope, be granted me, that these inscriptions, if not perhaps appertaining to the people of that kingdom, may well be attributed to tribes adjoining, and so akin to it, that their dialect would scarcely differ from the idiom of the Nabathaeans in any respect, beyond the admixture of a few Arabisms, and thus would give no very imperfect notion of that idiom. But that the writing can have been the writing of any but the Nar bathaeans, ^I greatly doubt ; for the free drawing and bold conjunction of the letters are such as I find upon the sculptured rocks of no people of that or of an earlier age, evincing the people to whom these inscrip-

though belonging to the same alphabet^ are differently and far more regularly formed and executed than those in any of the in- scriptions west of Sinai. Captain Frazer perceived, and points out, this diversity, in his notice of the Petra inscription : ' Inscrip- tion from the Um Amdan, in the Wadi Suttoun Bedtha. The inscription is between the two centre columns [of a monument with a facade of four columns, about 20 feet from the ground], about nine feet long, and perfectly preserved. The writing bears a strong resemblance to those I saw east of Sinai, between which and those on the wed, as at Wady Mokatteb, and Wady Alleyat, there is always a certain difference observable,^ — ^Extract from impublished Journal.

tions owe their origin to have written much and calligraphically, and therefore to have been highly- cultivated and flourishing as a commonwealth.'*

Such is the account given by the late Professor Beer of the origin, date, and authorship of those mysterious records, which, by his own admission, cover miles of cliffs, and are found engraved on the fallen rocks, in all the valleys of the peninsula north-west of Mount Sinai; in other words, on the acknowledged route of Moses and the Israelites from the Red Sea to Mount Sinaij\

• There is no credulity like the credulity of scepticism, whether theological or philological. Pr. Beer determines the Sinai'tic inscriptions to be Nabathsean, and their date the middle of the fourth century. Now, as in the age of Cosmas, all knowledge and tradition of their characters and contents appear to have been lost among the Arabs of the district, by whom he was sure to be attended, it results that the Nabathsean language and letters (being those of the most polished and powerful people of Arabia) must have flourished, and become unknown, between a.d. 350 and a.d. 620.

t ' My view of the Wady Mokatteb is taken from the south-east. The caravan which is seen in the distance is approaching from Suez by Wady Taib^ and the coast. — My caravan stopped in a small plain near the sea, where it is said to have been passed by the Israelites. We then ascended Wady Taib^, and, passing near the Mara of Scripture (Ain Howara), we traversed the great plain which occu- pied the Israelites the first three days of their journey. Suez lay in front.' — Lahordef p. 263. Thus it is to a locality on the western, or Egyptian, side of the peninsula of Sinai, and situated, therefore, imavoidably on the line of march of the Israelites, that pilgrims unknown to history and tradition are to be imported from its eastern, or Arabian, side, in order to explain, or rather explain away, the unparalleled phenomena of the Wady and Djebel Mokatteb I

The sHghtness of his premises, and the inconse- quence of his conclusions/ might well have spared those who come after him the task of analyzing this account in detail, had not the favourable reception which it appears to have experienced, not in Germany only, but elsewhere, rendered a strict examination of it indispensable, in order, by anatomizing and clearing away a misleading theory, to prepare the way for the recovery and establishment of the truth. To this preliminary object I must now, therefore, address myself.

1. The single ground upon which the Professor's theory rests is, as already stated, the occasional occurrence of a character "J* , which he assumes to be

* The rude execution of the characters of the Wady Mokatteb inscriptions in dot^d scratches, and the facility of their execution on the face of its soft sandstones, are mainstays of Pr. Beer^s argu- ment (if argument it must be called), for their being the pro- ductions of passing pilgrims. When out of the Wady Mokatteb, however, he is not ' out of the wood.' His difficulties are only commencing. The reasoning which, amidst its sandstones, may pass with some, will not hold amidst the granite rocks of Serbal. The same characters, in the same handwritings, are to be found upon the rocks and stones of this lofty and nearly inaccessible mountain, from its base to its summit, and in greatest numbers upon its highest peak. One of its latest visitors thus describes the phe- nomena : ' Huge masses and debris of red granite, that, rent from Serbal's side, and hurled down the rugged walls of the Wady, seemed to oppose our progress and efforts to ascend. It is ahoays an this red rock that the inscriptions, which were numerous here, are found.' — Capt, Frazer's MS. Journal.

the sign of * the Christian Cross.' The occurrence of this sign, however, being too infrequent alone to sustain his hypothesis, this ingenious writer proceeds to strengthen it by the discovery, in another character, Yj of a second form of the cross. With singular siniplicity he confesses, at the same time, that for this form he can produpe no precedent, that it is unexampled and unknown in church history. Un- daunted, however, by this consideration, he believes it to be the cross, because, in some parts, the male- factor's cross may have been so constructed, or furcated instead of transverse ; and because, prior to the age of Constantine, when the transverse form -I- (as he freely admits) was the only form of the Christian cross, as emblazoned on the ensigns, and shields, and coins of the empire, the furcated form Y ^^y have existed somewhere, and among some Christian people, as a sign of the cross.

Now, as the absurdity of learned hallucinations such as these has not prevented their finding learned admirers, it becomes necessary for the truth-sake to bring this argument from the sign of the cross to an issue. It is clear that none who subscribe this dis- covery of the sign of the cross in the Sinaitic inscrip- tions, and who thence infer with Beer the Christianity of their authors, can, consistently, at least, object to the extension of the argument. If the occurrence of

the character •(• be a ground of argument at all, it ought to be so everywhere.

To begin with the oldest country, and the earliest records of mankind, Egypt, heathen Egypt, discloses Professor Beer's sign of *the Christian cross' upon her monuments, from the sands of Rosetta to the upper cataracts of the Nile. The character ^, for example, which, on its single occurrence at Sinai, appears to the heated imagination of this writer, at once the sign of the Christian cross and the monogram of the sacred names Christ Jesus, is, by the plain English common sense of Mr. Grey, pronounced ^ an Egyptian hieroglyphic ; ' * and is neither more nor less than that most frequent character of the hieroglyphics, so well known by the names of the * Crux Ansata,' and of the ^ Sacred Tau.'

From Egypt to whatever quarter of the globe we turn, to the old world or to the new, to Assyria, to Bactria, to Etruria, to Central America, this sign of the cross reappears on the monuments and in the inscriptions of every heathen land. And while Professor Beer ad-

duces, from Sinai, the forms "J* or Y^ as indubitable forms of ^ the Christian Cross,' and irrefragable proofs of the Christianity of the authors of the Sinaitic

♦ ' It is to be observed that there is an Egyptian hieroglyphic of precisely this form.' — Greyy 11.

inscriptions, I can produce, from heathen Bactria, the figure of an Indo-Macedonian king, Azes, B.C. 140, mounted upon the double-humped Bactrian camel, and bearing in his right hand a cross, which might have graced the hand of a standard-bearer of Constantine, or of a warrior Bishop of the Crusades. The key to the whole mystery is shortly and simply this: the character misnamed the cross, is the letter^; the Sinai ty the Egyptian t,* the old Hebrew t, the Assyrian t, the Bactrian t, the Etruscan t, the Ethio-

* The Egyptian character in the form of a cross, if we include the crux ansata, or ' sacred tau,^ is one of the most prominent and frequept of the hieroglyphics. Its power as t is curiously demonstrable from comparison of a definition in the Arabic leiicons with the subjoined woodcut from ' Wilkinson's Egypt/ Under the root ^ij tiwa, one definition seemed unintelligible, imless on the

assumption that it had its origin in a mage : viz. '^^J, Signum

in *animalis /cmore vel coUo impressum cruets forr}id,\ 'Tiwa, a mark made on the neck or thigh of an animal in the form of a cross,* The annexed vignette proves and illustrates the usage whence this

definition took its rise ; viz. that of ^-eeing animals, or branding them with the letter T. We see here the brand of t, as mentioned

k.

pic t, or (to come nearer home) the plain, honest English ty the oldest at once, and latest, form of the letter, in the most widely parted alphabets of the world.

2. In his theory of the Nabathasan origin of the Sinaitic inscriptions, this author has most unaccountably closed his eyes to the noted fact, a fact fully brought out in his own statements, that the great mass of these inscriptions occurs, not on any of the routes from Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai, but on the direct road from Mount Sinai to Suez and Egypt, and pre-eminently in the Wady and Djebel Mokatteb, on the coast road to Suez. The single known exception to this remark, the road from Djebel Mousa or Mount Hor to Akaba through the Wady Arabah, which has been described but very recently, is in the ascertained line of march of the Israelites, it being the only route open to them from Mount Hor to Akaba or Ezion-Geber.

But this very strange oversight is one only among the manifold difficulties in which Professor Beer's theory involves him. For example, while he invites his readers to believe, with him, those records to be the workmanship of Nabathsean pilgruns, or of Chris-

in the definition of tiwa, on the neck, thigh, and side, of the cow and calf. The mark of ' the Prophet's fingers/ is now the brand upon the hind quarter of Arab horses of the Koheyle breed.

tian pilgrims of some kindred Arab tribes,* he frankly admits that, beyond his more than dubious sign of the cross, he has not an iota of evidence of any kind to countenance his conjecture. Again, when he refers their origin to these casual wanderers in the wilderness, to pilgrims, by his own confession, unknown to history or tradition, and invisible to every eye save his own ; and represents their execution as the amusement of his ideal travellers, in the heat of the day, during their halts under the shady resting-stations ; he confesses, on the one hand, that the inscriptions are numbered by thousands, and forgets, on the other hand, that the cliffs are described as clothed with them to heights attainable only by the aid of platforms or ladders from below, or of ropes and baskets from above; heights which no passing voyagers, necessarily unprovided with such appliances, could by any possibility reach. It would be easy to multiply, from the Professor's treatise, examples of inconsistencies like these, but, for readers who, like the English reader, require consistency at least in an

• Burckhaidt, on the contrary, brings the authors of the inscriptions on Mount Serbal, and of a portion of those in the Wady and Djebel Mokatteb, ^rom £ffypt: ' It is not at all impossible that t?ie proximity of SerbcU to Egypt may, at one period, have caused that mountain to be the Horeb of the pilgrims.' — Syrian p. 609. His pilgrims, like Beer's, are imaginary; but his reference of the inscriptions to Egyptian pilgrims is made with his usual good sense, and quadrates with the truth.

argument, and will refuse their confidence where consistency is not found, one more example may suffice. In one passage, we are told that the Sinai inscriptions and pictorial representations evidently belong to a people in the rudest state of society. In another passage, we are taught to admire, with the author, the freedom, boldness, and beauty of the characters, as conclusively evincing the progress in wealth and commerce, and the consequent proficiency in the calligraphic art, of a people in a highly cultivated state.

3. The date assigned to the inscriptions, the fourth century, is so irreconcileable with the laws of reason and analogy, that our only difficulty in dealing with it lies in the difficulty always experienced in bringing' argument to bear against assumption in the face of facts. Cosmas has described the inscriptions as wearing, early in the sixth cfentury, all the hoar marks of dilapidation, consequent ordinarily upon the lapse of ages, and the waste of slow natural decay.* The inscription rocks, fallen fractured from the cliffs, were by him seen

• ' They are engraved upon the surface of a red sandstone, which receives a hard dark crust £rom the effect of the heat and weather. Very large fragmei^ts of the rock have fallen down into the valley, and are there found with some of the inscriptions upon them j and, in one place, the action of an occasional torrent [the bed of which Mr. Grey found entirely dry in March] has worn away about four-teen feet in height from the lower surface of the rock, evidently since the inscriptions were made^ — Orey^ ap. Transact, It, Soc, of Lit., vol. ii. part i. p. 147.

lying scattered over the valleys, precisely as they arc to be seen lying scattered in the same valleys at the present day. To an ordinary observer, surely, this description would imply, that the signs of nature's ruin and decay which Cosmas beheld, had as long preceded his time, as those which travellers to Mount Sinai now witness have confessedly succeeded it : the phenomena being alike the sure, though slow, work of the winter torrents, undermining the cliffs above. We are certain that the silent progress of this work of ruin has occupied nearly fourteen centuries since the days of Cosmas: why, then, may not the similar progress of decay which he beheld, have occupied twenty centuries before? *

* The reluctance to admit the idea of a higli antiquity in this case^ resolves itself into causes altogether apart from the state of the evidences. Had the monuments been indubitably heatheny and the localities unconnected with events of Scripture history, would the same reluctance have appeared ? The analogy of the treatment of all other antiquities by the learned show that it would not. The Israelitish origin claimed by Cosmas and his Jewish companions for the Siniutic inscriptions is dismissed by modem critics^ not only without examination, but without a single ground of objection alleged. The sole ground of objection which could be alleged, would be antecedent presumptions, upon the score of improbability, against a date of so high antiquity. For Pr. Beer's negative objection, from their not being mentioned by any writer before the time of Cosmas, is about as worthy of notice, as one against their existence, from their not being mentioned after till the time of Montfaucon. Now, to test the value of the improbability on the score of antiquity, we wiU take a neighbouring and cognate case, that of heathen Egypt. Egypt, from the borders of Nubia to the

Not such, however, is the reasoning of Beer. While the fourteen centuries occupied in producing the one set of phenomena is a point inevitably conceded, he "would allow, for the production of the other, the space only of 150 years.

Happily, however, for the truth, among the copies of Sinaitic inscriptions already procured, there are forthcoming some legible documents of unquestionable dates ;

mouths of the Nile, abounds with written monuments of as high, and of far higher antiquity. The hoar old age of the written stones of Ipsambul, of Elephantine, of Philse, of Masara, of Thebes, has been admitted and enhanced by the veriest atheists of revolutionary France. The critic who would arraign, on the ground of antecedent improbability, the dates of three thousand, or of four thousand years, for Egyptian monuments and records, would be scouted, and scouted most justly, by the whole learned world. Away, then, with the shallow scepticism which would deny, on this sole ground, the coexistence, for a corresponding term of years, of the written records upon the rocks of Sinai : which would deny it for no other assignable or conceivable cause than this,— that, instead of being works of heathenism (like the erroneously so-called Egyptian tablets in the Wady Maghara, whose antiquity none affect to dispute), the Sinaitic inscriptions were the work of God's chosen people ; a written witness against an imbelieving world to the end of time, that ^ Israel (of a truth) came out of Egypt.' But, in the argument from analogy, Egypt stands not alone. For the recently recovered monuments of Assyria, the claim has been advanced of an antiquity ascending nearly to the confusion of tongues. And, upon fair proof, we are ready to admit it. Upon one tenth of the proof producible from Sinai, we might rationally receive the obelisk from Nimroud, now in the British Museimi, as a monument of the son of Ninus, B.C. 2,000, or as of a date of three thousand nine hundred years.

and of dates, at the same time, completely eversive of Professor Beer's hypothesis. Some few Greek, and one Latin inscription, from the Wady Mokatteb itself, are in our hands. The dates of these are self-evidently posterior, it may safely be added long posterior, to that of the unknown inscriptions, among the countless multitudes of which these more recent superadditions are well-nigh lost. Their style of execution, moreover, in more than one instance, marks comparative recency; since, unlike all the unknown characters, in one at least of the Greek, and in the only Latin inscription, the characters are cut^ not dotted out.* From these ^ little drops of light amidst a sea of •darkness,' I select two, because, within certain known limits, their dates are determinable : the one, Macedonian, belonging to the era of the Seleucidae ; the other, Boman, belonging, at the latest, to the age of Trajan. The Greek inscription, of which the first lines only are legible, reads thus : —

^KA MO N r£ NOC^ \oyTo C

c rpATi LiTii c £ rpA TA

HA NEMi X/ '

• ' The whole of the original inscriptions are on the shady side of the valley. — The few that are found on the opposite side are in Latin [or Greek ?]. The former are aU executed with the same instrument^ punched in a series of holes. The latter^ and all the modem inscriptions, are cut with a different instrument; and in a

The date from the Macedonian Calendar^ the month Panemos^ corresponding with our July,* fixes this record irrefragably in the era of the Seleucidae. And the tone of the engraver, some Syro-Macedonian soldier, indicating his novel experience of the character of a wild and savage people, argues an early period in that famous epoch. At the latest, however, the date must be before Christ 85 ; in which year AntiocTius XII., after traversing Judea, invaded Arabia, defeated the NabathaB^ns in a first encounter, but was killed in a second. The language of the inscription, expressive of the vexation of a foiled invader, harmonizing with this event, I am willing to adopt this lowest date, which gives to this Syro-Macedonian record an existence of 1930 years : in other words, a date more that four centuries prior to that assumed by Beer as the date of its unquestionable predecessors, the unknown Sinaitic inscriptions.

^ The following Koman inscription (observes Mr. Grey) is perfect and plain — but cut, not dotted out : '

C£SS6MTSyR/
ANTeiAT/NVS

ROM/\NOS

different manner. '-6rrcy, ap. Transact. JR. Soc, Lit,, vol. ii. part i. p. 147. .

• Udvifiog • ovofia litivbg wapd MaKidoaiv, o 'loAiof. — Suidas et Phawrimu in voc

This IS the language of conquest ; of the invader in the hour of victory ; of a Roman soldier^ in the pride of newly won empire, impelled, on first sight of the supposed Syrian inscriptions, to blot out, as it were, in one sweeping sentence, the records and the race. The name Syri would seem to refer to the wars of Rome with the Seleucidae. But I am content, for my argument, to aaopt the age of Trajan, the Roman conqueror of Arabia Petraea : a date which assigns to this inscription an existence of upwards of 1730 years.

Such is the undoubted antiquity of these comparatively modern records : while their unknown precursors, according to Professor Beer, cannot lay claim to an antiquity of more than fifteen centuries.

From consequences self-evident, and self-destructive like these, it is surely high time to return, and to resume the real facts of the case: facts which require only a fair and full re-statement, discarding all mere hypothesis, to conduct us to the conclusions plainly dictated, by the narrative of the Books of Moses, by the fundamental laws of history, and by the first principles of conmion sense. Before, however, we resume the facts, it may be well to notice one precious admission conceded by Beer ; namely, that the genuine Sinaitic inscriptions bear upon their face, in the sameness of character of the handwriting, and the whole style of their execution, the clearest internal evidence of the whole of them being the

work of a single age or generation* This premised^ we pass on to the phenomena.

Foremost among these is that so often stated by travellers, and so irrationally under-estimated, both by visitors of these sacred localities, and by critics at home, — the numbers, extent, and positions of the inscriptions: their numbers (in the Wady Mokatteb alone) being computed by thousands ; f their extent by miles ; and their positions above the valleys being as often me^surable by fathoms as by feet. No difficulties of situation, no ruggedness of material, no remoteness of locaUty, has been security against the gravers of the one phalanx of mysterious scribes. The granite rocks of the almost inaccessible Mount Serbal, from its base to its summit, repeat the characters and inscriptions of the sandstones of the Mokatteb. The wild recesses of the Wady Arabah renew the phenomena in an opposite direction, and

* ' Superest qusestio; quantum sit temporis spatium quo hse iascriptiones factsB sunt. Scriptursd ratio interna tarn est uniformis, ut antiquissimas earum a recentissimis intervallo quod secukunrnxjlturn excedat dubitem.' — Beer, Introd. p. xv. Could words describe more accurately the ' forty years ' of the Exode ?

t Lord Lindsay's computation of those in the Wady Mokatteb alone: 'We now entered the Wady Mokatteb, a spacious valley, bounded on the east by a most picturesque range of black mountains; but chiefly femous for the inscriptions from which it derives its name of the Written Wady : inscriptions, too (and her© is the mystery), in a character which no one has yet deciphered. There are thousands of them,* — Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land, vol. i. p. 274, 2nd edit.

disclose them carried on to the extremity of the eastern head of the Bed Sea ; while countless multitudes more may possibly lie still imdiscovered^ in the numerous valleys branching out from the roots of Sinai^ and as yet, it would appear, unexplored. These circumstances, taken together, we might reasonably have thought would have barred at the threshold any theory grounding itself upon the assumption of the inscriptions being the work, or pastime, of chance pilgrims or travellers ; and that within a given period of from thirty to forty years j

and by hands from the Arabian side, while the great
mass of the inscriptions are found on the Egyptian side
of the peninsula.*

But let us examine one point more closely, for it is a
point of vital importance in this argument : the circum–
stance, namely, that very many of the inscriptions are
found at heights which no chance voyagers could reach.
Proof of this is presented to the eye in the frontispiece
of * The Voice of Israel : ' a view of the Wady Mokatteb
from the south–east (the first which has been taken of

* ' Extant hse inscriptiones ad montem Sinai : vel accuratius,
in yaUibus collibusque qui inde ab ejus radicibus caurum versus
siti sunt, usque ad littus orientale sinus Heroopolitani ; ita quidem,
ut qui hodie a monasterio montb Sinai proficiscuntur ad oppidum
Suez, quamcunque yiam eligunt – -plurea entm aunt – ^inscriptiones
has videant in rupibus vallium plurimarum per quas ducuntur,
usque ad eas regiones littoris quas dimidio et quod excedet itineria
confecto attingunt' – Beer, Introd. pp. L iL

it), by Count L^on Laborde, originally published in his
'Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai/
In this drawing, if the scale of the heights be re–
presented by that of the figures at their base, the
reader will see cliffs of an altitude to defy the pass–
ing pilgrim, covered with inscriptions nearly to their
summits.

Our next example shall be taken from the Djebel
Mokatteb : a locality of which we have so often read,
but which has not been described, and appears not to
have been inspected, by any of our recent travellers.
This * written mountain' is stated to contain an inscrip–
tion in forty–one lines, the dimensions of which may be
computed by the scale of the characters. The first
line of this inscription (the only part of it yet copied)
is styled by the Arabs, from the magnitude of its
scale, * The Title.' Its characters are described as
measuring each six feet in length : those of the forty
' lines beneath it, as being each one foot long.* Now,
allowing the mscessary spacing for the intervals between

* This scale is guaranteed bj a commensurate scale from Burck–
hardt; at Mount Serbal^ not on sandstone, but on granite. ' Just
below the top, I found, on every granite block that presented a
smooth surface; inscriptions^ the far greater part of which were
illegible. I copied the three following. The characters of the
first are a foot long,* – Syria, p. 607. The signare litteria cubitum
longis of Plautus (Hud. 5, 2, 7) shows the scale to have been one
. in common use with the ancients.

the lines^ and again^ for the probable distance between
the lowest line and the ground^ it will result that this
monument must rise to a height of from 60 to 80, or
even 100 feet. On the cliff on the opposite side of the
pass, we are informed, stands another inscription, on a
corresponding scale, in sixty–seven lines. The altitude
of this may be proportionately greater.

If these proportions be even approximately correct,
and they rest on high authority, is it within possibility
that either monument could be the work of pilgrims to
Sinai, during their midday halt? Mr. Grey's remarks
upon some of the inscriptions copied by him in the
Wady Mokatteb go, in different degrees, but with
equal conclusiveness, to demonstrate the same impossi–
bility. In the faces of perpendicular rocks, to travellers *
without appliances, 20 feet, or 12 feet, or 100 feet, are
alike inaccessible. With this in mind, we will proceed
to the descriptions and measurements of Grey.

' No. 60. Rock high up (12 feet).' ' 62. Same place,'

* ^5. Fragment high up,^ * 66. Rock high up,^ * 75.
Rock high up,^ * 77. Fragment high up^ * 90. Rock
high wp^ * 11. Rock high up in a remote place y–^–^rosa
letter hardly accessible J* * 17. Fallen rock, inaccessible
at present'^ * 29. Rock high up,'* * 56. Rock high up!

* 61. Rock high up {about twenty feet ^ in a place where
the winter torrent has undermined the slope).' *72.
Loose stone high up. ' 78. Fragment high up.^ * 79.

High up^ The degrees of altitude thus marked are
various, or undetermined. But whether the height be
12 feet (as in No. 60), or 20 feet (as in No. 61), or
anything between or beyond these elevations, one thing
is clear, namely, that their execution by chance travel–
lers, or unprepared pilgrims, is a thing impossible.*

Mr. Grey's statements of the elevations of many of
the inscriptions in the Wady Mokatteb is paralleled by
the independent testimony of Burckhardt, relative to
the original positions of fallen inscriptions discovered
by him at the foot of the rock of Naszeb, or Warsan,
near Siiez, on the same route. * While my guides and
servants lay asleep under the rock, and one of the Arabs
had gone to the well, to water the camels, and fill the
skins, I walked round the rock ; and was surprised to
find inscriptions similar in form to those which have
been copied by travellers in Wady Mokatteb. They

' * The absurdity of this theory has been exposed; with the sound
sense and dry humour of an antiquary, by Mr. Gough : ' Those who
reflect on the fatigue of. caravan–travelling in these parched coun–
tries, so feelingly detailed in Mr. Irwin's late journey over–land
from Suez to Cairo, may, perhaps, think it very extraordinary, that
pilgrims should consume the little leisure such journeys afibrd, in
attaching themselves to a rock (even the shady side), at the height
of 12 or 14 feet, to carve letters, which, while they are described
to approach nearest to the Hebrew of any known character, are
intended to be represented as having no more meaning than the
scrawls of children with chalk on a wall.' Thw fiote is Mr.
GougKa, – ^Nichols, lAt, Anecd, vol. ii. p. 244.

are upon the surface of blocks which have fallen down
from the cliff; and some of them appear to have been
engraved while the pieces still formed a part of the main
rock^*

While the whole facts of the case, as thus far exhibi–
ted, demonstrate the utter untenableness of Professor
Beer's hypothesis as to the origin and authorship of the
Sinaitic inscriptions, there remains in reserve one con–
sideration more ; a consideration alone sufficing to prove,
to the satisfaction of every capable and unbiassed un–
derstanding, that there was but one period, and one
people, in the history of the world, to which, and to
whom, those mysterious monuments can be rationally
ascribed. The consideration in question is this : the
physical character of the peninsula of Sinai,

This * waste and howling wilderness,' as it is expres–
sively designated in the Old Testament, is described by
all who have visited it in modern times, as (in most
parts) utterly destitute of sustenance for man,\ For

• Syria, p. 477.

t ' No reflection forced itself upon me so often, or so urgently,
in passing o^er the track of the Israelites^ as the utter and universal
inaptitude of this country for the sustenance of animal life. It
seems really to possess no elements favourable to human existence
besides a pure atmosphere ; and no appearances favour the supposi–
tion that it was ever essentially better. I am filled with wonder
that 80 many travellers should task their ingenuity to get clear of
the miracles, which, according to the narrative of Moses, were
wrought to facilitate the journey of that vast, imwieldy host;

flocks and herds^ indeed^ in the rainy seasons^ its valleys,
usually parched and withered (an oasis here and there
like Wadjr Feiran excepted), yield a sudden, abundant,
and short–lived vegetation. But, with the exception of
a few scattered date–groves, of food for the use of man
its produce is as nothing. Even the wandering Bedouin,
who seeks pasture for his camels or his sheep, during
the rains, amidst these wilds, must carry with him, we
learn, hiB own simple and scanty meals. But what
Sinai is in our days, it has been through all preceding
ages. From the Deluge, if not from the beginning, it
has been, is, and must remain to the end of time, the
same * i^aste and howling wilderness.' However peri–
odically traversed, it never could have been permanently
occupied by mankind. This decisive consideration
brings us back once more to the phenomenon of its

when it is demonstrable that they could not have subsisted three days
in this desert without supernatural resources. The extensive region,
through which we were twelve days in passing on dromedaries, is,
and ever must have been, incapable of affording food sufficient to
support even a thousand, or a few hundred people, for a month
in the year. There is no corn–land or pasturage; no game nor
roots ; hardly any birds or insects ; and the scanty supply of water
is loathsome to the taste, provoking, rather than appeasing, thirst.
What could the two millions of Israel have eaten, without the
miracles of the manna and the quails ? How could they have
escaped destruction by drought, but for the healing of the waters
of Marah? A miracle that was probably repeated in Wady Gerun–
del, and at the other salt wells on their route to Sinai.' – Dr. Olvn^s
Travels in Egypt, Arahia Petrceay and the Holy Land, vol. i. p. 881.

multitudinous and mysterious inscriptions. To execute
these monuments^ it has been already seen, ladders and
platforms, or ropes and baskets, the appliances of a
fixed and settled population, were indispensable. But
no people ever could have been fixed and settled there,
unless provided with daily supplies of food and water
in some extraordinary way. Now the only people in
the history of the world answering to this description,
was God's people Israel, after their Exode out of
Egypt: a fact which tells with a force of which he
never dreamt upon the independent admission of Beer,
that the Sinaitic inscriptions bear upon their face self–
evident marks of their having been the work of a single
generoHan. '

To Israel in the Wilderness, it follows, and to her
alone, every antecedent consideration connected with
those monuments conducts, or rather compels the mind;
their numbers, their diffusion, their localities, their ele–
vations, their internal tokens of being the workmanship
of one and the same people, within the space of forty
years ; and over and above all this, their existence in
an uninhabited and uninhabitable wilderness, leave no
alternative between this one sound conclusion, and a
host of puerilities like those presented in the ^ Studia
Asiatica ' of the late Professor Beer.

The next stage of investigation brings us to the in–
scriptions themselves ; and to the inquiry whether and

how far the antecedent considerations are sustained by
evidences apparent on the face of the characters. To
this branch of the inquiry I would now invite atten–
tion.

If the Sinaitic inscriptions be indeed, what Cosmas
and his Jewish fellow–travellers believed them to be,
the autograph records of Israel in the wilderness, it
is only reasonable to presuppose that the characters
employed in them would bear a close affinity to the
written language of Egypt. As Divine Providence
never needlessly employs extraordinary, to the neglect
of ordinary means, we are justified in assuming, where
there exists neither proof nor presumption to the con–
trary, that the Israelites in the wilderness used the
characters and language which they had acquired in
Egypt, during a sojourn of two hundred and fifteen
years. They may not, it is true, have written : but if
they did write . (as from Deut. xxviL 1–8, we learn
they certainly did at a later period of the Exode *) we

* . The command given here by Moses to the Israelites, to write
all the words of the Law upon great stones, cased over with fresh
plaster (clearly to facilitate the execution of the writing in small
characters), on their first crossing the Jordan, demonstrates the
important fact that the art of writing was familiar to Israel in the
wilderness. This fact, again, supplies a strong presumption that
their knowledge of the art had not lain dormant during their forty
years' soj oum in the peninsula of Sinai. The existence of thousands
of inscriptions upon the rocks and mountains, and in the valleys of

might expect to find in any monuments of theirs the
written characters of Egypt. Of the soundnesa of
this expectation^ a single but decisive proof has been
already given from Mr. Grey ;,who, on the occurrence
in No. 11 of his Sinaitic inscriptions of the character
–f , has this remark, * It is to be observed that there is
an Egyptian hieroglyphic of precisely this form.'* The
character, it should be observed, is not only Egyptian,
but it is the sacred taUy the most prominent of all the
Egyptian hieroglyphics. From this identification with
Egypt of a single character, the present writer has
advanced the proof to the identification of the Sinaitic
alphabet with the enchorial alphabet of the Rosetta
stone; and with the characters, also, found in the

Sinai (all in the enchorial characters of Egypt); meets this pre–
sumption. And from the coincidence of the probahilities with the
facts of the case, arises evidence of a very valuable kind in support
of the Israelitish origin of the writings. Upon the face of the case
it is clear, that nothing but practice in the art of writing could, in
the natural order of things, have enabled the Israelites, on entering
Canaan, to cover the stone pillars with their whole written Law,
as the expression ' all the words of this Law * seems plainly to
imply. Nothing miraculous, be it observed, is indicated in the
transaction. They knew how to write ; and were simply enjoined
to apply the art to record, on a material soft at first, but afterwards
hard as the stone on which it was plastered, the Law given them
by Moses. Is it not probable that the Mosaic Law, as a whole,
was transcribed on these ' great stones ' P the soft plaster admitting
at once, of close writing, and small characters; large blocks of
stone (their number is unspecified) might contain, had it been the
Divine will, not the Law only, but the five Books of Moses.

quarries of Masara^ of a date prior to the age of
Moses. The case is matter of fact. And a har–
mony of the two alphabets^ executed, not by transcript,
but (to secure perfect accuracy) by tracing, is published
in Plate I. of * The Voice of Israel.'

The general identity of the two alphabets is
apparent at first view. But I would direct special
attention to three characters : the old Syriac A, \J*
the Hebrew airiy I^, and the Ethiopic koph, ^ . Of
each of these characters, from both alphabets, there
are two or three different forms ; and forms so pecu–
liar, in the koph especially, as to preclude all pro–
bability of accidental coincidence. So perfect, in
.truth, is the identity, that it is only the difference of
place and time that excludes the idea of the characters
being formed by the same hand. The forms of the
aiuy I may add, fully justify Beer's tribute to the
freedom, boldness, and calligraphic beauty of the
Sinaitic characters.

The double 5, Jxjy/ 9 is another point of corre–
spondence, less obvious, but equally conclusive.
Having stated the identity of the alphabets, I leave it
with reflecting readers to draw their own conclusions

* As written in a MS. of the fourth Century, now in the
British Museum. I had treated it successfully as h for several
years, before I found it authorized by this MS. of about a.ik
400.

from this point of the evidences^ as to the true origin
and authorship of the Sinaitic inscriptions.

It is not the design of the present volume to reenter
upon the subject of the Sinaitic inscriptions. The
Israelite authorship of these rock–engraven records^
first treated on in * The Voice of Israel from the Rocks
of Sinai,' has been since most fully unfolded and illus–
trated in my recently published work, * Sinai Photo–
graphed.' My present object is to elucidate, not for
biblical scholars alone, but for general readers, the
scenes of the wanderings*: to conduct them through
the Wady Maghara, the site of numberless Sinaitic
inscriptions,* interspersed, here and there, with a few
hieroglyphic tablets, but most remarkable for its triple
inscription in a mountain cave, in which the two
classes of writing, the hieroglyphic and Sinaitic, stand
side by side on the same monument, thus demonstrat–
ing the comnjpn and contemporary origin of both classes:
thence to the mountain necropolis of Sarbut–el–Khadem
(the Kibroth–Hattaavah of Scripture), with its stately

* ' They are doubly numerous all along the Wady Maghara,
and much more legible. The Mokatteb ones cannot be compared
to them/– rocflrfuw Tourists, p. 853 : 1862–63.

hieroglyphic monuments on the summit, and its wide–

spread burial-grounds in the valleys beneath: and thence, lastly, through the * great and terrible wilderness ' (the mountains of the Tih) to the wilderness of Paran, the term of the joumeyings down to the last or fortieth year. In the course of these investigations, the sites of Kadesh-Bamea and Kithmah, the scene of the battle of Hormah, the seats of the Amalekites and Canaanites of the Tih, and the very hill appropriated to the worship of the golden calf, Djebel Egele, or * The Mount of the Calf,' will, it is hoped, be determined conclusively by evidences now first brought to light, which, however they may be questioned, never can be confuted.

The volume closes with an essay, written in compliance with the last request of the late Lord Lyndhurst, upon the true date of Korah's rebellion. The rectification of the chronology of this awful event throws light upon other dates, and thus appropriately concludes these gleanings from the wanderings of Israel in the Wilderness.

» 1

Ottrieh of the Iryik Itucriplion.

CHAPTER I.

HIEROGLYPHIC TABLETS AND TOMBSTONES IN THE PENINSULA OF SINAI.

The singular phenomenon of the occurrence, amidst the desert wastes of the Sinai peninsula, of hieroglyphic tablets, and of monuments in the form of tombstones similarly covered with hieroglyphics, while full of matter for reflection to the thoughtful and studious, has opened a tempting field for superficial theory and speculation. The phenomenon, happily, first met the eye of a man of science, a philosophic voyager of severe good sense, and his solution of it has not since been improved on. In the opinion of NiEBUHR, the discoverer of the mysterious cemetery on Sarbut-el-Khadem, these remains were most probably the work of the Israelites of the Exode, and the cemetery itself the Mosaic burial-ground of Kibroth-hattaavah.* In that of Burckhardt, again, these

* 'Ne seroient-ce pas ici lea sepulchres de la convoitise, dont il est fait mention Nomb. xi. 34? II n'^toit point d^fendu aux Israelites d'employer les figures hi^roglypliiques, ni d'avoir des images d'hommes et de betes ; il ne leur etoit interdit que de les

monuments were not Egyptian, but the production of some one or other of the nations ^ under Egyptian influence ; ' * a description which appKes or belongs to the Israelites of the Exode, as it could not apply or belong to any other people, for they were not only a people ^ under Egyptian influence,' but a people recently emerged from the very heart of Egypt, and identified with the Egyptians as no other of the subject nations ever were. Burckhardt thus comes, practically, to the same conclusion with Niebuhr, only by a process all the more valuable, because the inference which inevitably follows from it was wholly undesigned, and his witness to the Israelite authorship of the monuments in question as unconscious as it is indirect ; he

adorer, et meme encore aujourd'hui les Juifs gravent toute sorte de figures, et meme des portraits; sur des cachets.' — Voyage en Arable, torn. i. p. 191.

Upon tlie very face of these phenomena we read a law of evidence which irrefragably severs them from Egypt. The hieroglyphics in ^ the tombs of the kings/ and, it is believed, in all other Egyptian sepulchral chambers, were uniformly paintings on plaster, not tablets cut in stone. Now, as this Egyptian practice was one of religion, it never would be departed from by Egyptian artists. The practice is thus noticed by my friend Sir J. Emerson Tennent, in his most interesting work on Ceylon : ^The interior [of an ancient Cingalese crypt] is painted in the style of Egyptian chambers.^ — See vol. i. p. 349. The fact, therefore, that the hieroglyphics in the excavated chamber at Sarbut-el-Khadem are executed in sculpture, alone precludes the idea of their being the work of native heathen Egyptians.

• ' Travels in Syria,' p. 482.

thought not of the Israelites, he thought solely of the phenomenon, and in so doing arrives virtually at the same conclusion with his predecessor, and thus unconsciously confirms, without adopting, his view.

Both conclusions, I would now observe, derive just authority and sanction from the fact of vital discrepancies of style observable between the Uero-glyphic remains at Sinai and the hieroglyphic monuments of native art in Egypt. Some of these discrepancies have been specially noted by Niebuhr, and Burckhardt's inference has been clearly grounded on them. The fact only is noticed here, its evidences will appear hereafter.

Such was the state of the question as bequeathed by these eminent men to the consideration of those who should come after them ; with what results it is almost needless to state. It is enough to say, that their judgment has been reversed without trial by the whole series of succeeding travellers and tourists. Niebuhr's idea of an Israelite authorship has been passed over in disrespectful silence ; Burckhardt's less obnoxious theory, that these relics were the works of a nation under Egyptian influence, has been equally disregarded ; and the tide of modem opinion has set in in favour of the hypothesis that the hieroglyphic remains at Sinai are the unquestionable workmanship of native Egyptian art, their sites the seats of

Egyptian colonies, their existence irrefragable proof of the presence of Egyptian rule and Egyptian civilization, and their subjects either the epitaphs of Egyptian miners or the apotheosis of Egyptian kings I Amidst this dazzling galaxy of new lights it is difficult to clear the eye for a sober observation. By ascending, however, to the laws of analogy, and to the antecedent probabilities, I hope to place the matter in a point of view which may spare the reader this inconvenience.

To begin with the argument from analogy, I would submit to the reader two matter of fact considerations, which would, seem effectually to bar at the threshold all idea of Ae monuments here in question being Egyptian. 1. No Egyptian monuments are to be found throughout the conquered provinces of Egypt 2. The hieroglyphic monuments in the Sinai peninsula are so * few and far between,' as to negative the very idea of their being landmarks of ancient Egyptian colonies.

1. If Sinai (as the theory before us presupposes) was at any period a province of ancient Egypt, and its hieroglyphic monuments, consequently, works of Egyptian art and evidences of Egyptian rule, similar monuments were certain to be forthcoming in the other conquered provinces of Egypt. Do any such monuments exist, are any such known to have existed, throughout the subject provinces of that once vast

empire ? There are none in Thrace, none in Colchis, none noticeable in Syria, none in Phoenicia, none in the other real or supposed possessions of the Pharaohs in ante-historical times. The famous, but perhaps fabled, pillars of S^sostris are the sole exceptions ; and, if these ever existed, they have long passed away. The inevitable inference is, that it was contrary to Egyptian customs to carry the mysteries of their monumental system into foreign lands. Their hieroglyphic monuments, accordingly, were confined to the valley of the Nile ; and for this obvious reason, that they were sacred memorials connected with an exclusive religion, and inseparable from an Egyptian priesthood ; but an Egyptian priesthood never existed, was no where to be found, beyond the limits of their sacred soil. The idea of Egyptian monuments, and of their inevitable accompaniment, an Egyptian priesthood, at Sinai, is therefore a contradiction in terms. Yet hieroglyphic monuments certainly exist at Siaai, and as certainly they are the works, not of native Egyptians, but of Moses, who ^ was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' and of ^ Israel who came out of Egypt.'

2. The fewness of these monuments, again, is a fresh disproof of their Egyptian origin, as results arid evidences of a supposititious Egyptian colonization. For what are their numbers, and the only sites of

their occurrence? A few scattered tablets in the Wady and Djebel Maghara, and the sculptured stones and sculptured rock-chamber at the cemetery upon the summit of the solitary and almost inaccessible mountain of Sarbut-el-Khadem ; monuments, confessedly, altogether without precedent even in Egypt itself. These statistics alone suffice to nullify any theory tracing the origin of these hieroglyphic anomalies at Sinai to Egyptian colonization. So small is their number, and so secluded their sites, that their place might be lost in the wilderness, were they not surrounded and forced into notice by the countless multitudes of their kindred and coeval records, the Sinaitic inscriptions. But for the light reflected on them from these far-famed monuments, the history of those hieroglyphic samples must have remained inexplicable to the end of time. Let the phenomenon, on the other hand, be viewed through this light, and it at once admits of easy and natural explanation.

The case, happily, is no longer one of theory, but one of fact. The integral connection, and consequently the common authorship, of both classes of inscriptions at Sinai, the alphabetic and the hieroglyphic, have been recently demonstrated by the discovery of the interlineary occurrence of both kinds of writing upon the same stones. Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, has the merit of being the first to make the

discovery, and has done further good service by calling pubHc attention to it. I give it, therefore, in his words: *I was surprised to find on several of the tablets [in the Wady Maghara] a line or two of what seemed to be the Sinaitic characters, which abound on the rocks of the neighbouring Wady, followed by many lines of hieroglyphics. In another there is one line of Sinaitic writing, and twelve of hieroglyphics. As I do not remember to have seen this noticed in any book of travels, I would invite the particular attention of future travellers to these tablets in Wadi Makhara; for if it be foupd, on further examination, that they contain genuine Sinaitic inscriptions as well as hieroglyphics, this will go far to settle the age to which all the others belong.' * It is impossible to overrate the bearings of this discovery ; and the inference drawn from it by the author is as just as it is important ; for, once fairly established, it not only ^ will go far to settle the age to which all the other inscriptions belong,' but must settle finally and conclusively the common age and common authorship of them all.

Now I am prepared to establish, by independent evidence from this very locality, that the alphabetic lines observed by this writer at the head of several hieroglyphic tablets, are ^ genuine Sinaitic inscriptions.' For fortunately the Djebel Maghara supplies

* Stewart, ' The Tent and the Khan/ p. 88.

a specimen, beyond all doubt or question^ of a genuine Sinaitic inscription standing side by side on the same tablet with two hieroglyphic inscriptions. This previously unpublished monument will be found in ^ Sinai Photographed.'

Before parting from the phenomenon of the intermixture of hieroglyphic and Sinaitic inscriptions on the same tablets, I must notice the striking confirmation which it derives from the fact (already glanced at) that it is not peculiar to Sinai ; that a similar intermixture of the hieroglyphic and enchorial writing is to be met with in Egypt, and that the enchorial inscription on the Rosetta stone supplies an example of the converse of the bilingual tablets observed by Dr. Stewart; the first line of that inscription being in pure hieroglyphics, while all the rest is in the enchorial characters. The fact is doubly important, 1, as confirmatory of the same phenomenon at Sinai; and 2, as showing this phenomenon to be in strict conformity with Egyptian usage.

The Triple Inscription on Djebel Maghara.

But this and all the preceding marks of the common age and authorship of the hieroglyphic and Sinaitic inscriptions in the scenes of the Exode are at once corroborated and eclipsed by Mr. Pierce Butler's

discovery of a triple inscription on the Djebel Maghara^ in the immediate viciaage of the hieroglyphic tablets in the Wady below ; in which a pure Sinaitic inscription, illustrated by the hieroglyphic of an ostrich, stands engraved on the same tablet with two purely hieroglyphic inscriptions; a trijfte record on the one monument, on the principle appac^gtly of the Rosetta stone.

Not contenting himself with the ordinary informa-

■

tion and ordinary phenomena, M.x* Butler, arrived in the Wady Maghara, cross-questioned and cross-examined his Arab guides as to the existence in the locality of any other inscriptions besides those already known. After much and close inquiry they at length informed him that in a mountain cave, half-way up the adjoining Djebel Maghara, there were writings or inscriptions of the kind he was in search of. He asked them to conduct him to the cave, and they agreed to do so. He climbed with them half-way up the side of the mountain, until he came to where his sheikh pointed out a low-browed cavern. The entrance was between four and five feet in height, but looked so unpromising that he thought himself deceived, and had almost decided not to enter it. However, he wisely judged it better to try; he knelt and entered its mouth, when, to his unfeigned astonishment, he found the entrance on both sides cut into regular planes or'

tablets ; and^ upon the right-hand plane^ discovered a sculptured triple inscription, two of its columns being in pure hieroglyphics, while the third was in pure Sinaitic characters. The three inscriptions stood side by side on the one tablet; all three cut, not dotted out, obWously with the same graving-tool and by the same engraver. The Sinaitic inscription was illustrated by the hieroglyphic figure of an ostrich, splendidly sculptured on a good scale, the wings ruffled, the neck ^outstretched, the throat expanded, the mouth open, as though startled by some sudden alarm, and in the act of crying aloud. The disjecta membra of the ostrich reappear in the hieroglyphic portion of the tablet, showing that there is a common subject. But the hieroglyphic ostrich was self-evidently the leading figure of the whole piece ; and this hieroglyphic (the reader will mark and remember) occurs, not in the supposed Egyptian, but in the Sinaitic column of the tablet. A more commanding demonstration of the common origin of all these inscriptions surely is not to be conceived than this double union; 1, of the hieroglyphic and Sinaitic characters upon the same monument ; and, 2, of the grand hieroglyphic of the piece with the Sinaitic characters in the same column. The ostrich in this Sinaitic column was so spirited and life-like as at once to attract Mr. Butler's special attention : no copy or

cast even, he observed, could do justice to the bird ; to realize its life-like character it must be seen upon the rock, so life-like as to appear almost to fly.

He at once took a cast, on prepared paper, of this unique monument, which, by his kindness, is now in my possession. With his permission it has been photographed for my folio work, both on a reduced scale as a whole, and on the original scale in its most prominent and important feature, — the hieroglyphic

ostrich in the Sinaitic colimin.

The scale of the bird is such as to mark it out at first sight as the main subject of the whole monument. It is, perhaps, fifty times the size of any of this other hieroglyphics, and stands forth beside them like a colossus among the petty statues of household gods. But this symbol has far higher claims on our attention than the magnitude of its scale, or the beauty of iis execution: for, 1, the internal evidences prove that it is not a work of Egyptian art ; and, 2, the Scriptural evidences prove that it is the prophetic symbol, and therefore the self-evident workmanship, of God's people Israel.

1. The internal evidences suffice to show that this bird is not a work of Egyptian art. In the monuments of Egypt it is true that the ostrich not unfrequently occurs among their hieroglyphics, but always in mere and miniature outline, as a hieroglyphic character ; and

always, moreover, not singly, but in interlinked groups of three or four birds, uniformly runnings as the emblem of speed.* The bird is never represented as a picture, and never, I believe, alone. In the hieroglyphic collections of Young, Champollion, Wilkinson, &c., I do not recall a single example of the ostrich, save as a conventional hieroglyphic character or group.t Like its counterpart, the camel, it seems to have been prescriptively excluded from pictorial representation, and, in all likelihood, for the same reasons of superstition. Now the uniformity of conventional usage in Egypt, and its vital connection with religion, plainly render departure from its rigid rules by native Egyptian artists a thing impossible.

But the living portrait of the ostrich of the triple inscription is not more contrary to Egyptian usage than

* It is specially note-worthy that three ostriches (the usual conventional group) thus running at full speed, interlaced in the usual Egyptian style, mark the connection between this triple tablet and the hieroglyphics at Sarbut-el-Khadem, as of common origin^ and with a common object; this object, judging by the grand hieroglyphic ostrich, being to symbolize the wanderings of God's people.

t Since writing the above I discover a solitary exjception in Wilkinson : the figure of an ostrich led by a string round the neck in a procession of Abyssinians leading various animals, supposed to be tributes to the Pharaoh of the day. But the figure is hard and lifeless, without the least expression. The tablet in which it occurs, moreover, is on a foreign subject, wholly unconnected with Egyptian idolatry.

it is foreign from Egyptian art. Such a breathing copy from nature will be sought in vain throughout the monuments of the Pharaohs. The artist, indeed, may detect a hidden grace and expression lurking behind those dry conventional forms, but the realities of life and nature will ever be missing to the common eye. It is left with the general reader to determine whether these realities do not meet in the glyphograph of the ostrich prefixed to this chapter ; although, according to Mr. Butler, neither cast nor photograph can adequately convey the living, breathing expression of the original, as seen by him upon the rock.

2. From these internal proofs that the ostrich of the triple inscription could not have been the work of an Egyptian artist, we come next to the Scriptural proof that the ostrich is the prophetic symbol of God's people Israel ; a point which, once established, authoritatively identifies any figure of the ostrich at Sinai of unquestionable Mosaic antiquity (as the ostrich of this triple inscription most unquestionably is) with Israel and the Exode. The proof required is supplied by the prophet Jeremiah ; who, in a passage of his Lamentations, connects the apostate Israel of his day with the ostrich, and the ostrich with the wilderness, in terms which irresistibly carry back the mind to apostate Israel in the desert, and to the symbol of the ostrich, certainly as old as the age of Moses, which stands a

witness to the force of the prophecy to this day, in the cave on Djebel Maghara. It is with this glyphograph before us that we can realize his imagery, as without its aid we never could : ^ The daughter of my people is cruel like ostriches in the wilderness.' *

We will now briefly consider the bearings of this monument as a whole, upon the whole subject of the inscriptions at Sinai, both hieroglyphic and enchoriaL And, in the first place, I observe that the triple inscription on the Djebel Maghara, in which the two kinds of writing stand side by side on the same tablet, is the clear nexus utriusque between the hieroglyphic tablets and Sinaitic writings in the Wady Maghara underneath. The certainty that the former triple record was of the one age and authorship attests the common age and authorship of the latter. For the occurrence of the two classes of characters on separate rocks below in no way affects the question of their common origin, when immediately above we find both classes standing together upon the same rock tablet. But, in the next place, the fact claims our most special attention, that the ostrich of the triple inscription, the most splendid hieroglyphic at Sinai, unequalled, it might be added, as a work of art, by any single hieroglyphic figure in Egypt itself, occurs, not in the

• Lam. iv. 3.

hieroglyphic, but in the Sinaitic portion of this tablet. This one fact annihilates at a stroke all those sweeping assertions which have been so boldly advanced, that genuine Sinaitic inscriptions are uniformly mere scratches upon the rocks, and the figures of animals which usually accompany them uniformly rude and ridiculous caricatures. That many of those inscriptions are rudely executed, and many of those animals as rudely drawn, never ha« been questioned, and is freely admitted. Who said they were not rude ? Who expected them to be otherwise? Their very rudeness indicates the workmanship of shepherds ; and such were the Israelites of the Exode. As to exaggerated proportions in some of the figures, symbolic writing depends often upon exaggeration.* The Israelites in

* This is the answer to the laboured attempt in Dean Stanley*s ^ Sinai and Palestine/ p. 61, to throw ridicule upon the rude delineations of animals, especially upon the most frequent of the Sinaitic symbols, the ibex. The horns of this animal, large in nature, are most appropriately enlarged if used as symbols, as in the case of the Israelites they were certain to be. For the Old Testament, passim, represents the power of kings and peoples by the image of ^ the exaltation ' or enlargement of ' horns j ' while this imagery is peculiarly appropriated to the Israelites, both in the wilderness (Deut. xxxiii. 17), and through the whole range of Jewish history and prophecy down to their fulfilment in the Gospel (S. Luke, i. 69). Thus, where the neological.eye can discern only disproportion and deformity, the archaeological eye of true Christian philosophy may discover prophetic symbols of the future power of Israel under her captains and her kings ; a power thus

Egypt had abundant examples of this in the equally rude tablets of Samne or Sakkara. In fact^ ruder characters, or ruder representations of animals^ are nowhere to be found than in Egypt. The beauty and freedom of the enchorial writing at Sinai, on the other hand, often equal, or excel that on the Kosetta stone. The work of M. Lottin de Laval abounds with examples of calligraphic beauty ; while, for pictorial effect, Egypt may safely be challenged to produce a match for the ostrich at Djebel Maghara.

The Sinaitic inscription which is the legend of this device obviously derives a surpassing interest from the connection ; and its decypherment becomes matter of proportionate importance. If the symbol represent Israel (as we are taught by Jeremiah to infer), it is clearly essential to the evidence of its so doing, that the inscription over it should mark its connection with Israel in the plainest, most direct, and most appropriate way. Its contents may be, intrinsically, more or less important ; but it should bear on its front the impress of God's people Israel. Now the one mark beyond all beside, by which God's people Israel is made known to

symbolized even by the lying prophet Zedekiah, in his address to Ahab and Jehoshaphat : ' And all the prophets prophesied before them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him horns of iron : and he said, Thus saith the Lord, with these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them.' — 1 Kings xxii. 10, 11.

US at Slnai^ Is, — the key-note of the vast majority of the Sinaitic inscriptions, the initial formula known of all, in pure old Hebrew characters, but first interpreted by the present writer in a former work,* — the Scriptural designation of Israel, namely, ni^y * ^^^ People.'

Now the legend over the ostrich opens with this word: a fact which receives light from, and reflects light upon, the whole of the Sinaitic inscriptions conventionally so called. Here are the characters as drawn by Mr. Pierce Butler, after careful comparison

of his own and Major Macdonnell's casts : qJ- • The monogram disjoined gives D jj^ ; in our present Hebrew D I^. . The word is variously written at Sinai,t but never to be mistaken. It often occurs in the common Hebrew characters, 'q^ and Di^, or DI^.

The description goes on to depict the attitude and action of the ostrich, the word representing this standing right over the bird's head. It concludes with a delineation of the wanderings of the Israelites from land to

♦ ' Voice of Israel/ pp. 68—74.

t There occur four examples^ and four only, of the very peculiar form of the om in the triple inscription, throughout the 700 Sinai inscriptions now in our possession. They all occur in Mr. Grey's collection. The peculiarity is so marked, as to be apparently a characteristic of handwriting ; almost indicating these four inscriptions to be by one and the same hand. The point is most interesting, if Moses was himself the engraver of the triple inscription. And who more likely to have been its engraver ?

• land, fleeing from the face of persecution. A folio glyphograph in * Sinai Photographed ' represents the ostrich and its inscription upon the original scale, accompanied by my decypherment of the legend. I would fix the attention of the reader upon the first two words, over the head of the bird : because the one designates the people, and the other depicts the action of their prophetic symbol, the ostrich, with a clearness which may well accredit the remainder of this decypherment, where there is less advantage from the position and significancy of the

words. The first two words, moreover, 11 q /] fj j x are in known characters : the Hebrew I^, the Hebrew D, the Hebrew rl , the Iberian and Tibetian qot A ,

and the Syriac u, as written in MSS. of the fourth century.

But the lifelike form and expression of the ostrich of the triple inscription, which, to the eye of the discoverer, looked as though it would fly out of the rock,* is especially remarkable.for the total contract which it presents to the hard conventional Egyptian style, not only as seen on the monuments of Egypt generally, but as exhibited particularly on the adjacent tablets in the Wady Maghara immediately beneath. For the

• The symbol of the ostrich, I would here observe, recurs in an enchorial inscription in the Wady Mokatteb ; and its recurrence, I must add, decisively connects the inscriptions of both localities as of common origin.

execution of these tablets is strictly in the conventional style, and their figures are all stiff, hard, and dry; in so much that, seen amidst them, a living figure like this ostrich is a solecism in art Yet the living figure is there ; and the fact of its being there throws a new and most valuable light upon the artistic skill of the sculptors ; demonstratively showing that, while employing the conventional Egyptian style for the purposes of language, they had the high power at their command of representing life and nature, whenever special cause or fit occasion arose to represent them. The reader is asked to remember this remark, as similar anomalies will hereafter present themselves at Sinai, which the clear example here before hini may serve to illustrate and confirm.

The position of this tablet, no less than its studied design, argues it to have been a record of no ordinary importance. A mountain side was selected for its site, and (doubtless for security against the ravages of time and weather) the inside of a cavern for its execution. The cave's mouth, we have seen, was, on both sides, regularly planed down, and the monument engraved sideways, so as to be screened, as far as possible, &om the direct action of the elements. When I consider the marks of thought and time and care legible on the face of this triple tablet, I cannot be surprized at the

sudden exclamation of a friend on first seeing it^ — * Moses ¥nrote it.*

I would observe in passings that precisely similar marks of design and thought and care are to be found in another Sinai locality ; only on a grander scale^ and at a far loftier elevation: where the mountain has been again selected for the site^ its summit for the record-office^ and the record-chamber has been excavated in the solid rock to receive^ and more effectually preserve, the inscriptions.

Tourist after tourist may visit and report on these wonderful phenomena; paradox after paradox may continue to be invented to expound them; but it is in the closet and at the desk^ in thoughtful study of the Holy Scriptures, guided, not by our own theories, but by their facts — ^the plainly suggestive facts of the Mosaic history — that the only rational solution of them can ever be arrived at. Let Christian advocates for Egyptians, Sabeans, Nabatheans, Midianites, Amalekites, in a word, for any and every heathen tribe or people they can conjure into the wilderness to solve the authorship, say what they will, the plain conmion sense of the case only returns with augmenting force upon the mind, telling us that they are the works of Moses and the Israelites of the Exode.

CHAPTEE 11.

SABBUT-EL-KHADEM THE KIBEOTH-HATTAAVAH

OF NUMB. XI. 34.

Eldad and Medad^ and the Sinaltic Inscriptions.

Two pious IsraeKtes, named Eldad and Medad^ gave birth to a beautiful yet mysterious episode in the sacred narrative, which is familiar to every reader ; but which has a peculiar interest in the present connection, as the incidents which it relates occurred in or near the very locaUty at which we have now arrived, the camp of Kibroth-Hattaavah. ^ But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the Spirit rested upon them, (and they were of them that were written, but went not out unto the tabernacle,) and they prophesied in the camp. And there ran a you^g man, and told Moses, and said, Eldad and Medad do prophesy in the camp. And Joshua, the son of Nun, the servant of Moses, one of his young men, answered and said. My lord Moses, forbid them. And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake ?

Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them ! And Moses gat him into the camp^ he and the elders of Israel.' *

In this context the Hebrew phrase^ rendered by our translators (after the Septuagint and Vulgate) * among them that were written,' is confessedly obscure; and its obscurity has been increased only by the vain attempts of the rabbins and commentators to clear it By the Jewish doctors, with one consent, the phrase has been understood to refer to certain scrolls or tablets (what in modem parlance might be termed

* tickets of admission ') on which Moses inscribed the word * Elder,' and delivered them to the seventy (in whose number Eldad and Medad were included) as their passport to oflSce.f Now, although this solution of the diflSculty is without a particle of foundation in the sacred narrative, it has yet been implicitly acquiesced in by most conunentaries ; nor has any other solution hitherto been proposed.

♦ Numb. xi. 26—30.

t ^Inter scriptos, &c.] i.e. descripti fuerant m dibo Ixz. Seniomm, sed non egressi fuerant e castris ad tabemaculum foederis cum ftliis.' — MungteTy ap, Crit, Sacr, in loc,

' Et tpsi erant in conscriptis,"] Sermo est de Eldad et Medad, qui erant inter conscriptos d Mose, sed Tocati ad tentorium non venerant. Kemanserunt enim in castriS; ubi prophetarunt. Jon. hoc loco : Et ipsi ex Senibus qui ascenderunt in scheduUs conscr^iti. Hoc nunc illustrabo ex scriptb Doctorum. Igitur R. S. Conscripti

In a work, however, entitled ' A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers,' published in the year 1850, a new interpretation of the original Hebrew was proposed ; which, coming from one * bom of the stock of Israel,' and with whom Hebrew was as ' a mother tongue,' justly merited a measure of attention which it has not yet received. For this writer discovers in the difficult phrase ih question a clear and direct reference to the coexisting Sinaitic inscriptions ; and by its literal translation has at length dispelled that impenetrable obscurity, which arose solely from the unacquaintance of the authors of the Septuagint, and of all succeeding versions and commentators, with the existence of those Mosaic monuments. For the enigmatic rendering of the Hebrew in all former versions, * they were of them that were written,' he would substitute the literal rendering, *they were among the inscriptions.' The case is simply one of alibi. * They [Eldad and Medad] went not out unto the tabernacle,' because they were elsewhere ; occupied in executing, or direct-

erant omnes nuncupatis nominibua per sortem educendis, Moses accepit Ixxii. schedulaS; et scripsit super Ixx. Senex ; et super duas Pabs : elegitque ex quaque tribu sex, et erant Ixxii. Dixit eiS; Tollite schedulas yestras h medio pyxidis. Is in cujus manum ascenderat Sexex, sanctificatus fuit; et is in cujus manum ascen- derat Paks, ei dixit, Deus non vult te, k,tX,^ This is indeed explaining the ignotum per ignotius. — See DrusitiSf ap, Crit. Sacr, tn he. Grotius, more suo, passes over the ignotum in silence.

ing the execution of, those records of the Exode, * graven with an iron pen, and lead, in the rocks for ever ! ' But to give the author's own words :

* Did those travellers, philologists, and archasologists make a Hebrew Bible their guide-book, they might have found mention made of those inscriptions in the Book of Numbers xi. 26. The passage, as it occurs in the English version, runs thus : ** But there Remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad; and the Spirit rested upon them, and they were of them that were written." The original words of the last clause are but the two following : D'«nnDl 7ra^^ W^haymah Baccthoobeerriy which signify literally, ** and they were among the Cthoobeem, or inscriptions."

* On examining what different travellers have written about the locality of those inscriptions, I am convinced that Eldad and Medad were then in that famous region. By a reference to the chapter alluded to, it will be found that the children of Israel were then at that awfully memorable place, called Kibroth-Hattaavah ; and no one who has a slight knowledge of ancient geography will be at a loss to see that it is the very spot where the mysterious inscriptions are found.' *

In summing up the evidence I would now observe

* * A Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers,' vol. i. pp. 6, 7. London, Bentley, 1850.

that the identity of the Mosaic term^ Catoobim and the Arabic local name Mo-katteb^ is by no means to be overlooked. It is most significant. For, the high antiquity of Eastern nomenclature of places taken into account, there arises hence a strong probability that the present name, Wiady Mokatteb, may be the name borne by that * written valley ' from the time of Moses and the Exode.

Next to his clear literal rendering of the sacrjd text, the relative positions of the tabernacle, the camp, and the written valleys in their rear, will be found of great collateral value to this author's argimient, if it can be shown that they were so placed relatively, as to afford Eldad and Medad ready access from the camp to the sites of the inscriptions. Now the tabernacle, we know, was always pitched, on their marches, in front of the host. But this is specially noted of the encamp- ment at Kibroth-Hattaavah : ' And they departed from the Mount of the Lord three days' journey ; and the ark of the covenant of the Lord went before them in the three days' journey, to search out a resting-place for them.'* The tabernacle, at Kibroth-Hattaavah, consequently was pitched north, or north-east rather, towards Hazeroth. The camp stretched behind it towards Sarbut-el-Kladem, and the entrance to the Wadys Maghara and Mokatteb. Eldad and Medad

• Numb. X. 33.

consequently, who remaimed behind the seventy elden in the camp, had every facility of access to the inscribed valleys in their rear ; a circumstance which tells with fresh force upon those hitherto obscure, but henceforth most luminous, words D'^SinDS iTOn% ' and they were among the inscriptions.'

This mention of the Sinaitic inscriptions by Moses himself, in the Book of Numbers, may continue to be questioned, but never can be refuted. The text is so simple, and the meaning so clear, when once elucidated from the phenomena to which it so plaiu^ refers, that no hypercriticism can eventually succeedibi replunging the question into that obscurity in which it was so long inevitably involved, solely from the absence of the only lights that could clear it. Had the Sinaitic inscriptions been known to the Alexandrine trans- lators, or to St. Jerome, as they are known to us, it is not too much to presume that the true sense of D'^innDl would have been long anticipated, and that instead of ^ they were of them that were written,' our noble English version would have read, 'they were among the inscriptions.'

The immense majority of these inscriptions, thousands to one, are in alphabetic characters; and these characters have been shown, in a former work, to be to a great extent identical with the enchorial

characters of Egypt.* A few hieroglyphic tablets, however, we have seen, occur in the Wady Maghara, and at one or two other points, side by side with, the enchorial or Sinaitic inscription, and sometimes inter- linearly with them on the same tablets. The inference that all are of the one origin is as natural as it. is irresistible. In one locality only hieroglyphic monu- ments present themselves on a great scale, and stand alone. The reader will anticipate the reference to the mysterious mountain cemetery of Sarbut-el-Khadem. The origin of this cemetery is of course, in the present argimient, a (Question of the very highest importance. In the preceding chapter antecedent reasons have been submitted which prove it not to be Egyptian, and antecedent reasons also which indicate it to be Israelite. We now come to consider the evidences against the former, and in support of the last-claimed origin, furnished by these monuments themselves.

The absence of the usual Egyptian symbols of Apis, and of most if not of all the Egyptian deities, has been noticed by Niebuhr and others, as essentially discriminating these remains from the native monu- ments of Egypt; and most justly led Burckhardt to the conclusion Hhat they were the works of some

* ' The Voice of Israel from the Bocks of Sinai/ Part I. of ' The One Primeval Language.' See plate fiacing p. 43 of that volmne.

people under Egyptian influence.' This inference is strengthened, as will hereafter appear^ by the presence of symbols altogether unknown to the native monn- ments of Egypt. Both points militate alike against the idea of an Egyptian origin. While on the con- sequent abandonment of this origin, no nation what- soever * under Egyptian influence' can make the remotest approach to the claim of the Israelites of the Exode: the only foreign race historically known, at once, to have been settlers for 215 years in Egypt, and, on emerging from Egypt, to have passed forty years in these very wildernesses.

If, however, the cemetery on Sarbut-el-Kliadem be, what all the antecedent evidences combine to in- dicate, the workmanship of the Israelites (a chief burial-ground of their fatal encampment at Eabroth- Hattaavah), it may most reasonably be expected that its monuments shall contain symbolic representations of the miracle of the * feathered fowls,' and of the awful plague which followed it. Now Niebuhr happily enables us to meet this just expectation, by his copies of the hieroglyphics on three of those tombstones, published in the XLVth and XLVIth Plates of his first volume, and prefaced Plate XLI V.

by A PLAN OF THE CEMETERY ITSELF, which is of

more value than any or all subsequent descriptions.

These plates are here republished in order that the reader, having fac-similes of the monuments before him, may form his own judgment on the symboUc representations which they contain, and on the in- ferences now about to be deduced from them.

It was discovered by the present writer (as stated in a former work),* on the evidence of no less than four Sinaitic inscriptions, that the birds of the miracle, named by Moses, generically, iVty, salu^ and by the Psalmist, still more generally, tjaD t]ip, dwf canephy * winged fowls,' or more correctly, * long-winged fowls,' t were not (as rendered by all our versions, ancient and modem) * quails,' but a crane-like red bird resembling a goose, named in the Arabic ^W) nuham. The discovery (as already mentioned) received sub- sequently a singular and signal corroboration from the further discovery, by Dean Stanley, and previously by Schubert, of immense flocks of these very nuhams on the reputed scene of 'the miracle at Kibroth- Hattaavah.^ With these antecedents in his mind the

* 'Voice of Israel/ pp. 98—110.

t Psalm Ixxyiii. 27.

X * In connection with this incident of " the quails " may be mentioned the fact that; on the evening and the morning of our encampment; immediately before reaching the W&dy-Huderah, the sky toas literally darkened by the JUght of innumerabie birds j which proved to be the same red-legged cranes, three feet highj

reader will now turn to the three monuments copied by Niebuhr in the cemetery of Sarbut-el-Khadem. He will at once see that a crane-like bird resembling a goose, with slender body and long legs, is the leading hieroglyphic symbol in all the three tablets. No fewer than twenty-five of these symbolic birds occur in the first, ten in the second, and fifteen in the third tablet. The goose appears occasionally, but the principal

with black and wMte wings^ measuiing seven feet from tip to tip, which, we had seen in like numbers at the first cataract of the Nile. It is remarkable that a similar flight was seen by Schubert near the very same spot. That any large flight of birds should be seen in those parts^ at any rate illustrates the Scripture narrative. But, if the recent explanation of the difficult passage in Numbers xi. 81 be correct, and the expression ** two cubits high upon the face of the earth " be applied, not to the accumulation of the mass, but to the size of the individual birds, the flight of cranes such as we saw may be, not merely an illustration, but an instance, of the incident recorded in the Pentateuch ; and the frequency of the phenomenon in this locality may serve to show that Kibroth- hattaavah and Haaeroth were not far distant,^ — Sinai and Pcdestine, pp. 81, 83.

It is very remarkable that Fhilo JudsBus's account of the pheno- mena of the miracle perfectly tallies with Schubert's and Dean Stanley's ocular observation of the effect of the flights of red-legged cranes: — toXq yap kawkpaiQ opTvyofitirpdv vk<l>oc cvvex^Si ^k ^aXdrrijc iirtK^ipop-tvoVy irav rb trrpaTOTredov iTTicrcia^^e, toc "J^rritJUQ frpoffytioToraQ noiovfjievov eig ri ivQtipov. — ^Phil. Jud. Opera, p. 636. It would hence seem that Philohad this most elact information through a Jevdsh tradition handed down from the very date of the miracle. The circumstance of the darkening of the air is mani- festly historical.

specimens have the air of the goose, but the form of the crane. In a word, they are the very species of bird seen by Dean Stanley, both at this point of Sinai, and at the first cataract of the Nile ; and which constantly occur also in Egyptian monuments: as though the very food of Egypt, after which the Israelites lusted,* was sent to be at once their prey and their plague.

The reader has here before him the irrefragable fact that tte very birds which by every kind of evidence stand identified with the solus ^ or long-legged and long- winged fowls of the miracle, are the very birds depicted on the tombstones of Sarbut-el-Khadem, both standing, flying, and apparently even trussed and cooked. In a word, they are so depicted as to make them con- spicuously the leading symbol on those stones. The impartial reader might safely be left to draw his own inference ; for the inevitable inference is, that if sym- bolic writing be meant to convey any meaning at all, and if its meaning can ever be educed from the collation of the symbols with a known event of Scripture history in a known locality, these tomb- stones record the miracle of the ^ feathered fowls,' and

* ' And the children of Israel said unto them, Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when, we sat hy thejkshpots,^ — ^Exod. xvi. 3.

stand over the graves of the gluttons who consumed them I

But self-evincing and self-confirmatory as this de- duction is, it is still only the first step in a pictorial induction. For these monumental tablets contain other symbols which, if the first step be sound, open an

untrodden way, by throwing Ught upon the miraxsle reaching altogether beyond what has been verbally revealed in Scripture. Moses and the Psalmist say only in a general way that the miraculous wind brought the salu8 ; that they covered the camp ; that the Lord let them fall in the camp, and round about their habi- tations. No light is thrown upon the process of capture, or the means by which they were taken. Now the economy of miracle assures us no needless miracle was here wrought ; that, when the birds were brought over pr into the camp, the Israelites were to use their own means of securing them. This indeed is sufficiently indicated by the word Dp% ^ the people stood upy that is to say, * rose up hostihly^ Still, however, we have no clue to the means employed. These pictorial inscrip- tions fully supply it.

Intermingled with the geese, the reader will observe <a succession of hieroglyphic archers, kneeling (as in the Egyptian monuments) in the act of discharging their bows. There occur no fewer than eighteen in the first

tombstone^ and they reappear in the two others. These figures are the known Egyptian hieroglyphic for archers. But, as though to prevent mistake, or to silence scepticism, while all the rest are without their bows, at the end of the penultimate line of the first tombstone, we have the figure of an archer kneeling in the act of shooting, fiilly equipped, with full quiver, bended bow, and presented arrow. In these unmis- takeable symbols, therefore, we see represented un- equivocally the means employed to bring down the * feathered fowls.' For the Israelites of the Exode (like their father Israel*) were a nation of archers.t Their national weapons were ever in their hands, or by them in their tents. When, therefore, the nuhams, or long-legged geese, flew over the camp in clouds which

darkened the ab, they would fall by tens of thousands*
as the arrows of six hundred thousand armed Israel-
ites flew amongst them. The case is one of facts, for
the flights of those very birds, seen by Dean Stanley
over his own encampment, in clouds to darken the air,
came at one time so near that he could clearly ascertain,
by their distinctive marks, the species to which they

belonged. % The learned author and his friends had

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* Gen. xlviii. 22.

t Gen. xlix. 24 ; Psalm Ixxyiiii. 10 ; I Chron. v. 18, xii. 2.

X MS. Journal.

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eaten pf the same birds In Egypt, and * found them
very good food.' * The birds which he now saw were,
in fact, on the wing towards the Nile, which accounts
for their passing and repassing periodically, in all ages,
by this sandy plain between Hazeroth and Kibroth-
Hattaavah.

Besides the archers, there occur figures running,
armed with throw-sticks, which may, perhaps, sym-
bolize the pursuit of the wounded birds. But this is a
minor circumstance; a more significant one is the
figure of a man standing up, and greedily devouring
food, because this symbol seems so plainly to carry us
on from the miracle to the sin and plague which
followed it. This symbol, however, and another of the
same type, I reserve for the decipherment of these
inscriptions; when, interpreted on the principle of
legend and device, they will be shown, by the sense of
the alphabetical characters beside them, to be designed
hieroglyphic emblems of that sin, and of the plague of
Kibroth-Hattaavah.

The slaughter of the salus or nuhanny by the Israelite
archers, brought to light by Niebuhr's tablets, throw.
further, the clearest light upon another difficult point in
the Sacred text. Commentators have been much per-
plexed by the verse, « And there went forth a wind

* MS. Journal.
G

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from the Lord, and brought salus from the sea, and let
ihemfal by the camp, as it were a day» j ourney on this
side, and as it were a day"s journey on the other side,
round about the camp.»* It is clearly explained by the
simple consideration that the valleys of arrows extended
the length of the encampment, the beneficial effect of
the birds had got out of reach. The Israelites could
bring them down only within the limits of their own

domicile.

Dean Stanley, somewhat felicitously, remarks, as
an indication of locality towards fixing these sites,
that "in the murmurs previous to their arrival at
Hazeroth, "the sea" is twice mentioned in a manner
which may indicate its proximity, and which is, there-
fore, certainly mor" appropriate to these valleys touch-
ing on the Gulf of Akaba, than to the more inland
route over the Tih.»* Shall the flocks and the herds
be slain for them, to suffice them ? or shall all the J1sh
of the sea be gathered together to suffice them ? "
" There went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought
salus from the sea." " f I" is " curious corroberation of
the remark, and a striking coincidence with the texts
of Scripture, that the 'sea' is mentioned twice, or so
less than seven times in the first of Niebuhr" s tablets

* Numb. xi. 31. t ' Sinai and Palestine,' pp. 81-83.

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'0aq« n. KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH. 83

rom the cemetery of Sarbut-el-Khadem, and once in
be second.

The ostrich" it has been shown, is an indubitable
(Mpture symbol of God's people Israel.* This symbol,
fe'3bas been seen, occurs prominently, both in the Wady
dbkaetob Sina'itic inscriptions, and in the Sinaitic part
(;iiie triple inscription in the cave onDjebel Magharra.
% &i a significant link between these records and the
Mmoonts at Sarbut-el-Khadem, that this very symbol
eappears in the thirteenth line of Niebuhr's first tomb-
bibe ; only, here, not after the life, but in the con-
ddional Egyptian style (the only one in which the
Btrich is represented on Egyptian monuments), namely,
h38 hieroglyphic of three estriches running. The
horizptal symbol, however, is equally expressed in all
lioBm examples, and its recurrence in the last helps to
(reserve, so far as a single link can preserve, the other
.mys established connection and common authorship of
n the hieroglyphic remains at Sinai.

* Jeremiah; Lam. iv. 3.

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Niebuhr, Plate XLVL

(1)

Decipherment of the Hieroglyphic Tablet, Niebuhr,

Plate XLVI. (1).

I Sola i_ib "j 5"j j^" ij "J

The perishing doomed men more to and fro, they change colour vomiting.

2 ,, 1 "j "^\ 7 j.^"

From the aea the cranee congregate to the one spot. The wild bulls to the

inaccessible places.

3 j= — < fj J ' j^

Stricken with pleuri", corroded by disease, rise up with difficulty the rebels.

4 ("" UaA jit>j .^

The archers shoot at the cranes passing o"er the plain.

5 <J- «- w) J " ^" ~ t"-b "j

Evil-stomached th" rush after the prey, twnging their bows against the

cranes.

6 (. \ ) J 1j

The sepulchre (their doom ?), their marrow corrupted by God.

7 Jij < j-^ — < "j

stricken with disease by the visitation of God, a bloody flux they moap.

8 "" Lai "'j J "^\ j<-i-^

Pretending they stretch the bow against the oongr"ated birds, caterintr for

provisions.

The sleepy owl, emblem of death, GA>0 sends destruction among them.

10 5U>J "■■ J 1 " ^^

The bow arrests the birds on the wing congregated.

11 \ i L JJ ^ \ V tm«. ^jU

They make ready cooking the flying prey, nourished and sustained by it ' for

a whole month,' spreading it out.

12 ^\ tv. L5 — m — ' i^

Arrest the prey, the messengers of death swift flying.

* So ap. Cicero, ' per triennem,' < for three years.'

(2)

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(C2)LITI"

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I 1! vvvv

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Mebuhr, Plate XLVL

(2)

Decipherment of the Hieroglyphic Tablet" Niebuhr,

Plate XLYI. (2).

Speeds on the wild ox, satiated to repletion with water his thirst.

2 \ 5\ I >

Th" shoot wounding with arrows, rising np with difficulty.

3 (,\ "1j\ "j < J

The mother of sepulchres, the black and white geese.

* The mixed multitude/ by the flock of fowls God affecting their marrow

with corruption, come to the tomb.

5 t — m — " ^ > " d" S-"J j'"

A sudden death, greedily lusting after flesh, die the gluttons. The mountain-
top ascend the Hebrews.

6 J ■ Ij Lsy" > <T"

•t

God affects the marrow with corruption, the feathered flocks causing a

bloody flux vitiating the stomK".

7 yt) J-

The cranes heaping upon the embers to roast they exceed all bounds.

8

Corroded by disease, seized with pleuriqr after exceeding all bounds.

9 ^j\ ^ « 5

They eat, devour, consume, until nothing is left, exceeding all bounds.

10 ^S) J* ^ ^j^fU

Their bodies corrupted by pleurisy, they die.

The felicitous occurrence, in the preceding monu-
mental tablets, of two synonymes, viz. m^ jct^n, in
Plate XLV. line 14, and ^^ harm, in Plate XL VI.
(2), line 5, supplies a reciprocal proof, at once, of their
conmion subject, and of the correctness of their de-
cypherment, which claims a separate notice. Reading,
after my published hieroglyphic alphabet, the latter
word ^, I found its sense to be, * A vide expetivit,
vehementer appetivit : peculiariter i. q. m^ camem,
homo! ^A man vehemently desiring, or greedily lust-
ing after, flesh! the same as a*5j-.' — Golius, The
definition so aptly quadrated with the case of the
Israelites at Kibroth-Hattaavah, that I could not doubt
its application ; although the sitting bird-headed figure
beside the word was not in the act of eating. The
decypherment, however, became demonstration, when
I found most unexpectedly the synonyme for ^ viz.

M,%s^ in the first of these tablets, and a standing figure
in the act of cramming down food beside it !

Evidence more conclusive than that reciprocated by
these two synonymes it seems impossible to conceive.
The glutton beside the word m>%^ places us on the very
scene.

The Sepulchral Crypt at the Cemetery of

Sarbut'^UKhadem, .

Niebuhr discovered, and Robinson thus describes,
the most singular feature of the mysterious remains on
Sarbut-el-Khadem : ^ At the eastern end is a subter-
ranean chamber, excavated in the solid rock, re-
sembling an Egyptian sepulchre. It is square, and
the roof is supported in the middle by a square
column left from the rock. Both the column and the
sides of the chamber are covered with hieroglyphics,
and in each of the sides is a small niche.'*

The first thought suggested by this description is,
that every unbiassed judgment must pronounce this
chamber a sepulchre. Its form, its niches, its sculp-
tures, are all of the sepulchral character ; and it is fit
for no other use, as it will hereafter appear that it is
perfectly dark.

The next thought suggested by it is, that the
sepulchre is not Egyptian. For the tombs of the
kings at Thebes, and the other Egyptian sepulchres,
are not hewn out of rocks but excavated in the earth ;
and the hieroglyphics within, instead of being carved

• ' Biblical Researches/ vol. i. p. 114. The ' niches * are most
significant /They are the usual recesses for the reception of the
dead. All the marks certify that this excavated rock chamber
was a sepulchral crypt.

on rock tablets, are painted on fresco or plaster walls.
It would be a solecism to ascribe to a nation so wedded
to ancient usage as the Egyptians, so great a departure
from the models of their burial usage on the Nile, as
this rock-hewn and rock-sculptured chamber. But, if
not Egyptian, the next presumption is that it must be
Israelite.

Now, if it be Israelite, and the locality Kibroth-
Hattaavah, we are entitled to expect, in the hiero-
glyphic sculptures on its walls and central column, the
same leading symbols of that awful judgment which
have been already pointed out on the three tombstones,
whose hieroglyphics have been copied by Niebuhr.
The main symbol upon those tombstones, it has been
seen, is the hieroglyphic of the sdlu, nuham^ or crane-
like reddish goose ; the bird of the miracle which
terminated in the plague. This is exactly what might
be anticipated, and the frequent recurrences of this
hieroglyphic give it a place and prominence, which
force upon the mind the idea of the miracle and
judgment which it seemed self-evidently designed to
represent.

But, while Niebuhr contented himself with discover-
ing, and Robinson and all our other travellers with de-
scribing, the hieroglyphic sculptures of the sepulchral
crypt in question, the late Captain Thomas Henry
Butler was the first to supply materials for substantive

investigation^ by taking casts of the four tablets upon
the sides of the central column. By the kindness of
his brother and fellow-traveller, the Rev. Pierce
Butler, these precious casts came into the present
writer's possession; and (in just fulfilment of the

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natural anticipation) the first symbol which struck
upon the eye, on the first tablet of the column, was
not the mere hieroglyphic, but the sculptured figure of
the salUf nuham, or crane-]|ike goose; the form so
clearly delineated as to enable the naturalist to ascer-
tain'* the species to which it belonged; the general
appearance strongly resembling the goose, yet the
length of the bill and the lightness of the body clearly
distinguishing it from the anser, and as clearly identi-
fying it with the nuham of the Arabs, whose definition
in Golius is * ^Uj) Nomen avis rubrse, quae toTmk
anserem refert.' * A bird of a reddish colour, in form
resembling a goose.' The main subject, consequently,
of the hieroglyphics on Niebuhr's tombstones and on
the Butler column appears to be one and the same,
namely, the miracle of * the feathered fowls,' and the
plague at Kibroth-Hattaavah.

It remained to be inquired how far this strong
initial indication was sustained by the contents and
details of the four columnar tablets. As these tablets
contained each a large full-length human figure, in the
conventional Egyptian style, together with appearances

of smaller busts or figures, more or less distinct, above
and below the principal subjects, it became matter of
interest to try whether any additional lights could be
thrown upon the tablets by a closer examination of
their details. With this view they were photographed;
and the judicious application of photography, by bring-
ing out the lights and shades, projected several points
which had been invisible, or imperfectiy discernible, in
the original ca^ts. In the hieroglyphics presenting the
appearance of human figures, the point obviously of
most interest and importance for examination was,
whether (so far as supposable in the case of conven-
tional forms) any signs or traces of the Hebrew type
might be discoverable. In this aspect of the matter,
it from the first had struck the present writer that in
two of the large central figures, the one in the same
tablet with the nuham^ the other in the adjoining
tablet to the right, while the forms were drily conven-
tional, and the costumes stifl3y Egyptian, the contours
of the countenances were Israelitish : in that to the
right of the nuham tablet, especially, so far as legible,
the arched and heavy nose, and in both the bearded
chin, were certainly not Egyptian, and seemed dis-
tinctly Hebrew. In this first impression he was
confirmed by the judgment of more than one artist,
who gave decided opinions, independently, that the
type of both these heads was Hebrew. Some time

i^ter^ while reexamining a hieroglyphic somewhat like
a small rude human figure^ immediately under the
feet of the central figure in the so-named nuham tablet,
on happening to turn the photograph in an opposite
light, the author was startled by the apparition of a
recumbent human head, apparently that of a dying
man, the whole countenance and expression being
that of a perfect Jew. Feeling the duty of caution
to be proportioned to the interest of the discovery,
the thought occurred of testing the phenomenon,
by impanelling a jury of a novel kind. The photo-
graph was submitted, separately, to twelve individuals,
artists and non-artists, grown persons and children,
asking each apart whether they saw any object below
the central figure ? All the twelve answered that they
saw a man's head with a hat or * wide-awake 'on it ;
each pointed out the head, accurately described the
features, and those who knew the Jewish type at
once pronounced it to be the head of a Jew. Several
of the jurors were then asked to draw their own ideal
of the head from the photograph. They did so, and
the drawings were all in keeping with each other, and
with the author's own impression of the character of
the original. Four of these wholly independent
drawings, three by eminent artists, the fourth by an
amateur, were made.

This head has been photographed in four different

sizes, and with the light falling upon it at as many
different angles, so as to change its position from pro-
file towards quarter-front, yet it still presents the same
countenance, altered only as in all likenesses, by the
changes of position ; experiments and results which, it
is conceived, serve further to authenticate the reality
of the original.

But the Israelite appears marked out, not more in
the character of the physiognomy, than in the form
and fashion of the beard. This is a note of race of
the very highest importance, because the form of the
Israelite beard was specially prescribed by the Mosaic
law, and was essentially connected with religion. In
the Book of Leviticus we read, twice repeated, this
precept : * Ye shall not round the corners of your
heads, neither shalt thou mar the comers of thy
beard ; ' * and again, * They shall not make baldness
upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner
of their beard.' f The precept was levelled against
idolatry, inasmuch as the worshippers of Baal rounded
their beards, in order to make their faces round like
the sun. The law as to the arrangement of the beard,
consequently, was absolute and immutable, because
given to distinguish the Israelites from the idolatrous
nations around them. Now the form of the beard in
this photograph is, to all appearance, precisely that

• Lev. xix. 27. t ^"^' ^cd. 5.

prescribed by tbe Mosaic law.- Tbat this is bo will be
seen from the subjoined illustratioo, where the head in
question is placed in juxtaposition with a head of
Aaron, copied (of course from Jewish exemplars) by
Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century, and con-
jectured by Montfaucon to be au autograpli sketch.

If, therefore, this photographed head be, what it
appears, a reality, the fact of the portrait of an Israel-
ite occurring among the hieroglyphic at Sarbut-el-
Khadem, taken in conjunction with all the previous
evidences, must settle at once and for ever the question
of their authorship. It must be stated, however, at
this point, that in the judgment of high authorities in
art (while fully recognizing tbe appearance of the
head in the photograph, and also that it is ' a perfect
Jew '), this ' living head ' (as it has been expressively
styled) is, or may be, the result of a fortuitous com-
bination of the effects of the wear of time and weather
mingling with remains of ancient art.

In a question proper to artists^ and upon which
artists themselves have come to opposite conclusions,
it is not for the uninitiated to offer any opinion : it is
left open to the judgment of the public and of the great
tribunal of art, always with a reserve of the rightful
claim to a suspense of that judgment, until perfect
casts from the original tablet can be obtained.

Meanwhile, I would now lay before the reader some
points of fact, which appear strongly to militate against
the theory of this head being, not a reality, but an
accidental illusion. The theory itself, I would here
premise, is wholly grounded, first, on the assumption
that the monument in question is in a state of ruinous
decay ; and, secondly, on the principle that a living
head like this, amidst the dry conventional Egyptian
forms which surround it, is an inadmissible solecism in
art; that Assyrian art, Etruscan art, Egyptian art,
had all fixed laws, were each consistent with itself, and
allowed of no anomalies.*

We will take these two objections in their order, in
the full assurance that they will readily be withdrawn
if it can be shown, 1, that the assmnption as to the
monument being in a ruinous state is groundless, and
that any appearance of the kind in the photograph can

• Fojr (it is conceived) a conclusive answer, from the very same
crypt, to this objection, see the Mosaic type of ' The Infant Samuel,'
note 17, p. 65, of ^ Sinai Photographed.*

be otherwise accounted for ; and if it can be shown, 2,
that a like anomaly of a living figure amidst dry
conventional forms undoubtedly occurs in another
hieroglyphic tablet, in the near neighbourhood of this
very tablet and of Sarbut-el-Khadem.

1, The former of the objections I communicated to
my friend, the Rev. Pierce Butler, as our best
authority as to the character and position of the rock
chamber, and the consequent liabilities to injury from
exposure to winds and weather of the hieroglyphic
monuments within it. His answer, here submitted,
will abundantly prove that there was no liability what-
soever to injury or erosion, the inscriptions within
being certainly in no danger of suffering from time
alone, and being effectually and completely secured
from all influences of wind or weather. But the
reader shall judge for himself.

' 30 Eversfield Place, St. Leonard's on Sea,
April 12tli, 1860.

' My dear Mr. FoRSTERf

^ I write one hurried line in answer to your letter
just received. I greatly fear that I shall not be able
to throw any light on the mystery of the " Israelite's
head." I have before me at this moment Sarabut-el-
I^adim and its rock chambers, &c., perfectly enough,

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but unluckily I cannot at all speak with any certainty
as to the state of preservation in which the inscriptions
were. The chamber was a dark one, and I can only
recall the fact of there being inscriptions in it ; and,
while Henry was employed in taking the impressions,
I was wandering about, exploring the summit of the
mountain. The sandstone of the mountains in that
neighbourhood (very similar in character to those of
Saxon Switzerland) is very soft, and easily worn by
weather when much exposed. I should therefore be
inclined to think that any inscriptions on the column
outside would be much damaged, but that those inside
the chamber would be in a good state of preservation,
for if I remember rightly they were perfectly protected
from the influence of weather. One thing, however,
must be bom in mind, that the paper we had was of a
very coarse kind, ill adapted for taking their impres-
sions, and .that consequently (as in the case of my cave
tablet) it is sometimes diflScult to distinguish the true
impressions from the stone (even where the inscription
itself was perfectly clear and distinct), from the rough-
ness of the paper. Many thtoks for sending me the
photographs, which are very good.

^ Believe me to be, dear Mr. Forster,
* Yours very sincerely,

'Pierce Butler.'

While the hieroglyphics of the rock chamber were
thus effectually protected from the influences alike of
time^ wind, and weather, by complete enclosure ; by
the inaccessibility of their site, as well as by the dark-
ness and seclusion of their receptacle, they were
equally screened from the assaults of human violence.

equally screened from the assaults of human violence,
so often more destructive than the elements. In a word, had we to conceive of a spot on earth more favourable than all others for the conservation of such antiquities, it seems impossible that conception could surpass the securities presented by the sepulchral crypt on Sarbut-el-Khadem. The action of the elements was here an impossibility. And how time could do nothing is abundantly apparent from the nullity of its effects, in some instances, in that climate, even in the most exposed situations: ^Not the least singularity,' observes Dr. Kobinson, ' about these monuments is the wonderful preservation of the inscriptions upon this soft sandstone, exposed as they have been to the air and weather during the lapse of so many ages. On some of the stones they are quite perfect ; on others, both the inscription and the stone itself have been worn away deeply by the tooth of time.' * K, even in the outer air, some of the inscriptions were thus per- fectly preserved, in the crypt, so far as time alone was concerned, all would be in perfect preservation.

♦ BibL Kes. L 114, 116.
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If, then, the casts, or photographs, of its inscriptions present, as they are thought to present, any appearances of decay or ruin, the explanation should be sought, not in the state of the monuments themselves, but in some adventitious cause. Happily the cause is furnished to our hand by Captain Butler, who wrote thus to me at the time : * I took impressions of the inscriptions, but imperfectly from want of water.' The matter was subsequently explained to me more in full by his brother ; who told me that, while they were scaling the mountain, their Arab attendants employed themselves in drinking up the contents of their only water-skin, 80 that, when they had reached the summit, they found nothing but the dregs to work with! It is to the faintness of the impressions, therefore, rather than to imperfectnesses in the monimients, that what have been thought ruinous appearances should be ascribed. It is most important that the fact just mentioned should be known : in a case of so intense and sacred interest it is a call on future visitors to Sarbut-el-Khadem to bring home fresh impressions.

2. The second objection rests, not on assumption, but on what is held to be a fundamental principle of all ancient art, namely, that its character is uniformity ; and, consequently, that the idea of exceptions or anomalies is inadmissible. The appearance of life and nature and high art, in the apparently Israelite head

under consideration^ in this way becomes converted into an argument against its reality. According to the common saying, * It is too good to be true : ' it has been likened to the style of Rembrandt, and said by an artistic efe ^ to have the Rembrandt touch.' Among the judgments passed upon it, one of the most remark- able is too happily expressed to be omitted : ^ We discover well and thoroughly, after careful examination, the recumbent Israelite head; but the figure apper- taining to it we cannot decipher. Certainly that living head comes in very oddly in the middle of the dry conventional forms, like a figure from the cartoons in the middle of a Byzantine mosaic' Upon the principle of the absolute sameness of Egyptian art, however, a testimony like this, which admits the head to be an anomaly, is conceived only to fortify the objection. Other considerations, therefore, may seem necessary for its removal; and to these we will now come.

1) The first consideration is, that, if the work be Israelite, the art is not native Egyptian. It is Egyptian art used only for the purposes of language, and accommodated to higher ends. Egyptian art here is the handmaid, not the task-mistress. Moses most certainly would use * the learning of the Egyptians,' in which he was so eminently a proficient, in no other way. Specimens of a higher art therefore, in hiero-

glyphic works of the Israelites, would be, not anoma- lous, but marks of a foreign hand. And are we not authorized by Scripture to expect such marks ?

For, 2), we learn from Scripture that the Israelite workmen of the Exode were not mere mechanics ; they were all inspired men ; men inspired by Jehovah for the execution of a hallowed workmanship. This work- manship was often of the finest and most difficult character: the engraving on gold and gems and precious stones. Bezaleel and Aholiab and their fel- lows executed all these exquisite jewel-gravings under the influences of inspiration.* And the men who could do all this most assuredly could do more, f

3) But we now come to a tiiird consideration, one of fact y which is this : that an anomaly quite as great as that of the living Israelite head most undoubtedly occurs in the triple inscription in the cave on the Djebel Maghara, discovered by Mr. Pierce Butler. It is the living figure of the ostrich of the triple inscription, so deeply sculptured in the rock as to set scepticism at

• Exod. XXXV. 30-35.

t Tlie origin of Grecian architecture has been traced to the buildings of Solomon at Jerusalem and Tadmor. Why should not the origin of Grecian sculpture and engraving be equally traceable to the inspired works of Bezaleel and Aholiab and their fellows ? Judging with the eye, not of art, but of faith, ' the evidence of things unseen,' — the present writer does not hesitate to express the belief that, were the gems engraved by these Hebrew artists still in existence, they would be found altogether to surpass the most exquisite gem engravings of Greece or Home.

defiance ; so beautifully executed as to charm artists as a work of art ; and so full of life and motion and expression^ that (to use Mr. Butler's words) it looks as though it would fly out of the rock. Asa work of art, this lifelike hieroglyphic, like the Israelite head, stands in the most violent contrast to the lifeless, dry, con* Tentional forms of Egypt. Both are equally instinct with life, and the artist who executed the one could execute the other. Until, therefore, this ostrich be proved to be an illusion, all who think with the present writer may safely rest in the conviction that the Israel- ite head at Sarbut-el-Khadem is a reality.

But we have not done with the points of fact. The fact that the apparent head is that of a perfect Jew, is in itself no insignificant mark that the appearance is a reality. Why, out of all the various types of the human countenance, should the type of an imaginary head at Sinai be that of a Jew ? the most peculiar of all national types, and the only appropriate one here. Upon the doctrine of chances the probabilities are im- mense against the type being accidental ; and, if the type be not accidental, the head is real. Again, the likelihood of its reality is strengthened by its being surmounted by a hat ; or, if this be thought assumption, we wiU say, by the appearance of a head being sur- mounted by the appearance of a hat. I willingly put the case so low, because I am now prepared to convert this appearance into a reality.

Having placed the photographs, for the first time, in the hands of a friend, who was himself an artist, for his inspection and opinion of the Israelite head, my friend, who at once recognized the hat, on looking more closely at one of the photographs, asked whether I had ob- served that the hat was encircled by a crown. With great surprise at the question, I answered that I had not. He rejoined. There is certainly a crown here ; and pointed it out. There was no mistaking it, the cusps or triangular points were clear and sharp.

I returned home to consult Calmet, though with little or no expectation of finding any connection between the Israelite and the crown. The reader may judge of the intense interest with which I read what follows : * Crown.] There is frequent mention in the Scripture of crowns, and the use of them seems to be very common among the Hebrews, The high priest wore a crown, which girt about his mitre, or the lower part of his bonnet, and was tied behind his head. It seems as if private priests, and even common Israelites, wore also a sort of crown, since God commands Ezekiel not to take off his crown, nor assume the marks of one in mourning. This crown, with which the Jews girt their heads, differed in colour only and value from the diadem of princes. When Moses commanded the Israelites to bind the words of the law for a sign upon their hands, and to have them as frontlets fixed between their eyes, he intimates the use of crowns and bracelets

among them.' The use of the crowD among the laraeliteB, it hence appears, was conimon in the age of MoBeB ; and its appearance on any monuments at Sinai, whether upon head or hat, stamps the wearer as an Israelite of the Ezode. But the crown, in the present instance, proves the genuineness of the hat, and the hat, in its turn, the genuineness of the head. To get rid of one you must get rid of all three. The crown- encircled hat, however, or as Cahnet expresses it, ' the crown girt about the lower part of the bonnet,' is not 80 easily got rid of; and wherever it appears at Sin^, the head beneath must be real, and must be the bead of an Israelite of the Exode.

The subjoined glyphograpb represents the head with

^*ii^S^^^' ^*^^<^^^''°''to

its crown-encircled bonnet It is from an eclectic drawing made by comparison of all the photographs. As one result of this comparison^ the artist ascertained to his entire satisfaction that there is no want of the light and shade of sculpture in the original, and that the light and shade is perfectly correct.

The Eastern and Celestial Crown.

On communicating this discovery of the crown around the bonnet to an eminent London artist, he immediately pointed to an object in the photograph adjoining, which I had been unable to decypher, observing, * Here is certainly a crown.' Once attention was drawn to it there was no mistaking the object : it was a regular crown with five cusps displayed. My informant tactfully suggested that it should be shown to a herald ; as very possibly a herald would be able to tell what particular kind of crown it was. The same object was independently pointed out and pronounced to be a crown by my noble and learned friend Lord Lyndhurst, immediately after its first discovery.

Keeping in mind the suggestion I had received, I took an opportunity some time after of submitting the object, without any comment, to a heraldic engraver wholly unacquainted with the photographs and the subject. On being asked what the object might repre- sent, this artist, after some consideration, said, ^ It is a

bind of coronet' On being infomaed what it was and whence it came, he observed that there was more here Hian I seemed aware of: ' For this is not an ordinary crown, but what, in heraldry, we call the Eastern or Celeetial crown. Do you observe the live balls termi- nating its cusps ? They are five Btars, or meant to represent stars. I have frequently engraved this Eastern crown,' I had all along observed the balls, but could not decypher them. I now asked could I see an example of the Eastern crown ? and was shown one in a volume of heraldry, the very counterpart of that in the Sinai photograph, with the same five cusps dis- played, and the stars crowning them I

At my request my heraldic friend kin^y made regular drawings of both, which, by his permission, are

here presented to the reader. The facts, that the crown on the recumbent head is the proper Eastern crown, and that in the adjoining photograph the Celestial crown, are connecting links with Sinai and the Israelites, which, the more closely they are tested, the more strongly will they hold. For while we know from other sources that the Israelites of the Exode did wear crowns, what crowns so preeminently appropriate to God's chosen people as the Eastern and the Heavenly crown?

But we have Scripture authority for the appropriation of these symbols, and Scripture proof that crowns and stars were the common prophetic ensigns of the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles, in other words, of the J ewish and of the Christian Church. Thus, in Joseph's dream, while his parents were depicted by the sun and the moon, he and his eleven brethren were represented by twelve stars : * And the eleven stars made obeisance to me.'* Again, the golden crown of Aaron was a symbol of royalty, not peculiar to the priesthood, but common to all Israel, of whom it is declared in the book of Exodus, by God himself: ^ And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. 't Hence, unquestionably, the crowns worn even by common Israelites ; J and hence, no less

* Gen. xxxvii. 9. t Exod. xix. 6.

} From my friend Mr. Greaves^ Q«C., I learn, on the authority

unquestionably, the Eastern crown, and the Celestial crown, on the sepulchral column in the crypt at Sarbut- el-Khadem, are Scripture marks that the wearer of the one, and the engraver of both, were Israelites.

On the prophetic character of the symbols of the crown and stars, the New Testament repeats the witness of the Old. Thus, in the Apocalypse, the Church is depicted under the symbol of a woman wearing the very ensign represented in the crypt at Sarbut-el-Khadem, namely, a starry crown : ^ And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars.' *

But the presence of crowns in this monument further proves it to be Israelite, by demonstrating that it is not Egyptian. For the crown was unknown to Egypt. The regal head-dresses of the Pharaohs are depicted upon her monuments, and they are invariably high pointed helmets or bonnets, never a crown. The crown was worn by the kings of Israel,t by those of the Ammonites,^ and, perhaps, of other Eastern nations, but not by any kings of Egypt. The earliest notices of it are at the death of Saul, and the death or capture

of his friend, Mr. Calvert, Britieli consul at Trebizond, that crowns are still worn by the Eastern Jews.

* Kev. xii. 1. t 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12.

X 2 Sam. xii. 30. A gold and jewelled crown, which was set upon David's head.

of the king of Ammon. The certainty that the crowns at Sinai cannot be Egyptian, and the equal certainty that the crown was a prophetic symbol of Israel, and that the Israelites of the Exode wore crowns, thus unite to make this ensign of a national royalty, one of the most commanding proofs that any inscriptions in which it appears at Sinai were works of the Israelites.

Subdivisions of the Columnar Tablets.

• The reader must be apprized that the hieroglyphics below the central figures in the four tablets are sub- divided into several groups, or smaller compartments, of which that with the recumbent head is a principal specimen. Other figures with hats, and rude figures of* dogs, may be discerned. But the clearest and most reinarkable is that of a gryphon or dragon, to the extreme right of the second tablet, the head upraised, the claws expanded, and a crux ansata held between the points of the crooked jaws. This monster, if

correctly decyphered, would seem almost an impersonation of ^ the dragons of the wilderness,' alluded to Deut. xxxii. 33, but more fully by Malachi : ^ I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness.^ * If this hieroglyphic be read correctly, it would almost seem

• MaL i. 3.

that the gryphon or dragon of heraldry once really existed^ both at Sinai and in Assyria^ and may be classed, therefore, among the extinct animals. In the present case and connection it looks very like a symbolic impersonation of those evil spirits of whom the Psalmist speaks, as in like manner sent to plague the Egyptians : ^ He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, wrath, and indignation, and trouble, by sending evil angels among them. He made a way to hid anger: he spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the pestilence.'^ * Thus Satan, we i^ad, was permitted to plague holy Job in the wilderness. And what more Scripturally consistent, than that he should be the instrument of the deadly plague at Kibroth-Hattaavah ? However this may be, the hieroglyphic is a fresh proof that these monuments are not Egyptian, as no similar hieroglyphic is to be met with throughout the monuments of Egypt.

Alphctbetic Decipherments of Parts of the Columnar

Tablets.

The alphabetic characters in these tablets are so few as to give little hope, beforehand, of their throwing much light upon their subject. They afford clear proof, however, that the subject is a conmion one ; for those in the top lines of the first and second tablets are iden-

• Pa. Ixxriii. 49, 60.

tical with those in the bottom line of the third and fourth. This point did not escape the eye of Captain Butler, who specially notes it in his copies. The iriiportant question is, what sense may be deducible from these twice-repeated hieroglyphics ; and, if there be a sense, has it any connection with the Israelites, and with Kibroth-Hattaavah ? Now, few as the characters are, when decyphered by the hieroglyphic alphabet published in my ' Harmony of Primeval Alphabets ' in 1851,* the first three words at the top of the second tablet, and at the bottom of the fourth, do yield senses directly connected with the Israelites, and with the plague of Kibroth Hattaayah. The words are ^j^ ^^ Jj rad awi marts, dj rad signifies a reprobate^ a deserter from TQM^OTLy an apostate ; ^j^\ (^f^^\ j^j a Jlock of birds ; and (jOj^ marts, smitten with disease by God. These definitions are thus given by Golius : J; Defecit, pecul. a religione. i^j Defectus, pec. a religione, Apostasia. djAi Perditus, reprobatus ; and jJ-« Deserter religionis, Apostata. ^^ awi, Aves simul congregates ; and ^jxi marts y In morbum conjecit Deus. The sentence, therefore, reads plainly thus :

* The apostates by means of the feathered fowls smitten with disease by God.'

Besides this sentence at the bottom, in the fourth tab-

* See ap. " Voice of Israel."

let, we read at the top and down the right side sentences in a sense perfectly corresponding with it, viz. in the horizontal oval at top, and a word beyond it, Mi ^ hia berriy They vomit deep groaning ; and down

the right side, \^^ Jj u^j*^ (^ J^ c/ir* ^^^^^ tahir nam du marts rir awi :

' Smitten with disease by God in the sandy plain (Bandeh) exceeding the bounds of moderation. Sickening^ stricken with disease by God, their marrow corrupted by God by means of the feathered fowls/

In the perpendicular hieroglyphic line, in the same fourth tablet, we read j^S ^z c::,^ hit dm damar^ at the back of the large central figure, the mouth of which, it will be noted, is wide open :

' Crieth aloud the People given over to destruction.'

The perpendicular line in front of the same figure wiU r^^^J>j\^WjRajajatitirgarm:

' The weak languishing men punish the feathered fowls plunging them into destruction.'

In the adjoining third tablet, facing the large central figure, which is crowned with horns, is very plainly to be read, in large hieroglyphic characters^ the word ciJijj Omnipotence^ GoD. The figure may be symbolical, and, if so, may be explained from the song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 10, and from S. Luke i. 69, as

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symbolical and typical of the Messiah. But we cannot, here, go beyond conjecture.

The perpendicular line in front of the figure, if connected with this first word, may be read *3 ^y d^ jj

' God pours down deep sleep, messenger of death, upon the pilgrims (or strangers).'

The hieroglyphic of an owl in the middle of this line is at least in congruity with this decypherment. The last word in the line, I should observe, is t^^^, and has reference to the feathered fowls. The perpendicular line at the back reads very distinctly ^J^j^ Ij >>-^ ^ :

' The end of life the tomb to the sick stricken with disease by God.'

The hieroglyphic line above is indistinct and uncertain, and the characters too few for decypherment. That below is clearer, but reads less significantly than the middle lines. Its first word, however, is plainly legible, viz. jb Gannivit ad eum canis, ^ Howls at him the dog;' and there is a dog before it, in the very action represented by the definition. Kude figures of dogs recur throughout. The next legible words read ju^ Jti nai rased, * messenger of death springing on its prey.' Here, again, the owl reappears, in keeping with the theme.

We return, now, to the first and second tablets, viz. that with the recumbent head and that with the dragon. The top line of the first is identical with the bottom line of the third, which has been last decyphered, with the variation only of another bird of deaths the vulture, substituted for the owl. Rude dogs, with the same monogram, ^ messenger of deaths appear in this tablet both at top and bottom.

In the second, or dragon tablet, the crown, with a hieroglyphic rho beside it, reads very clearly ^ Air^ Dominus principesque Populi, * The lord and prince of the People.^ The next word below is j)j rir, corruptione medullam affecit DeuSy * God affects the marrow with corruption.' And underneath this,^ rahuy Hhe cranes,' * the feathered fowls.'

I give these roots without rendering them in a connected sense, as more open for the judgment of the reader. One word only, in three prominent characters at the bottom of this second tablet, remains to be noticed. It stands isolated between the dragon and a small hieroglyphic figure under a sort of canopy. The prominence of its position, and the scale and clearness of the characters, give this word, whatever may be its meaning, very special interest and importance. The three characters stand under each other engraven sideways. Read by the hieroglyphic alphabet of my published * Harmony of Primeval Alphabets,' the

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characters are, n, % 1, tur. The word, therefore, is the Hebrew mm, and the Arabic ij" taure or tauraty words signifying, alike. Lex Mosaica, * The Mosaic Law.' I leave this without comment.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this chapter was written, and while engaged in the composition of the next, I found the identity of Sarbut-el-Khadem with Eabroth-Hattaavah confirmed by a discovery as striking as it was unexpected. From this discovery it appears self-evident that its Arabic denomination was as directly drawn from the Scripture miracle and plague as its Hebrew. In reviewing the evidences a^ a whole, the thought arose of trying whether the Arabic version of Numb. xi. 33-34 threw any light upon the nomenclature ; I was surprized and rewarded by reading in that version the very name ijj^ Sarbaty which the mountain and cemetery bear at the present day. The difference between the Hebrew and the Arabic denomination being simply this : that the Hebrew, miap Kihrothy * graves,' is taken from the result of the judgment ; the Arabic ijJ> Sarbat, * a blow,' from its inflicting cause. The original and the version, it will be perceived, are identical in construction and sense, although, as distinct idioms, synonymous

only in expression. Here are the original and rendering of Numb. xi. 33 :

n«D nn mo • • • y

yalde magna percussione Percussit.
' He struck with one great stroke.' ,

valde magna percussione Percussit.
'He struck with one great stroke.'

Thus the only difference between the Scriptural and Arabic names of the locality is, that Moses named it from the graves^ the Arabs from the plague^stroke, Gesenius remarks that the Hebrew term nDTi is specially used, Deut. xxviii. 59, &c., to denote plagues sent by God; and its Arabic equivalent ^-^ or ^J is manifestly used here in the same peculiar sense. The l)^ Sarhat of the Arabic version, it necessarily follows, is the plague at Kibroth-Hattaavah. In a word :

the HebreW) Kihroth-Hattaavahy signifies ^ the graves

of lust : '

the Arabic, Sarbut~el-Khadem^ signifies *the heaven-sent plague-stroke of the ancients.'

The adjunct of *^ jj to i^-^ , it should be noted, is in special accordance with the Arabic idiom, in denoting all events of very remote antiquity. Thus in the

Koran, we continually meet this commonplace, * These are only fables of the ancients.'^ Nothing, therefore, could be more natural, or more consonant to Arab usage, than to name the Kibroth-Hattaavah of Moses * Sarbut-el-Khadem,' or ^ Th^ heaven-sent plague-stroke of the ancients.'

CHAPTER III.

SITES OF KADESH-BABNEA AND BITHMAH.

The Site of Kadesh-Barnea,

The true site of Kadesh-Bamea Is the most important point to fix, both as regards the routes of the Israelites, and the recovery of lost surrounding stations ; because both the great progresses were directed towards it, and the two main joumeyings terminated in it, and retrograded from it. I have never lost the impression made on my mind some fifteen years ago, in a conversation with the Rev. J. Rowlands, formerly fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, by his identification of this stative Israelite camp with Ain Kades,* an Arab watering-

* It is a most remarkable coincidence that Ain-Kades, the Kadesh-Bamea of Mr. Rowlands, occurs on the very line of route pointed out by the Prefetto of Egypt in 1722 as that on which to look for the site of Eadesh-Bamea, namely, the line across the Tih, running north-west between Dahab on the Gulf of Akaba, and Egypt. ' He [the traveller on a voyage of discovery in the desert] should likewise visit Dizahahy which is mentioned in Deut. i. 1, and which is to this day called Dzahab or Munahel Dzahab, which literally signifies " the port of gold." [' In the

place, at the foot of Djebel Hel&l (an inland range bordering on the Wady-el-Arish), immediately under its western shoulder. The attempt of Dr. Robinson to negative this discovery, in order to substitute his own site of Kadesh-Barnea, namely, Ain Weibeh, in the same parallel of latitude, on the opposite or western side of the Tih, and the discourteous attack of Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, on Mr. Rowlands' identification, served only to draw my attention more closely to the question at issue. The result of a strict examination of the topography of this whole neighbourhood has been, that the Kadesh-Barnea of Mr. Rowlands depends not for its authentication upon similarity or identity of name only ; it stands (a commanding corroboration of its name) within one day's march of another station placed in juxtaposition with it in the Mosaic narrative, and retaining to the present day its Scriptural character and name ; while both are surrounded by names corresponding with Scripture names of other stations also

Hebrew it is Zdhab^ or DzaJuib, as it should have been translated.' — Note by Bishop Clayton,^ Possibly in crossing over the Promontory (i.e. the Sinai Peninsula) from thence towards Egj^t, he may find out some traces of the city of Kadesh, mentioned in Numbers xx. 16, and in numberless other places, from whence that whole wilderness was denominated t?ie WUdemesa of Kadeahj which city was originally called En-Misput.* — Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai. Its original Hebrew name -4m-Misput strongly corroborates the identity of Kadesh-Bamea with ^m-Eades.

mentioned in Numbers xxxiii., plainly showing that we are here in the midst of Israelite encampments in the desert.

Before entering further upon the main subject of this chapter, the sites of Kadesh-Bamea and Kithmah, I must here repeat the canon laid down in my recent volume, namely, that the Scriptural conditions of the route and journeys of the Israelites must always be had in mind, if we would make any real progress in the recovery of their lost stations. We must constantly remember that their marches and halts were not directed or regulated by Moses, but by the rising up, or settling down, of * the cloud,' from or upon * the ark of the covenant.' This Divine law of movement takes the order of their course wholly out of the category of ordinary calculations. The law is most clear, but practically in abeyance. It has not at all entered, heretofore, into the computations of commentators.

The direction of the routes and the distances between the successive stations being thus wholly dependent upon the ark of the covenant and the cloud, it follows that stations will often be found where least expected, and that the stations named in juxtaposition in Numbers xxxiii. admit of all varieties of intervals, from a march of one, to a march of, perhaps, ten or twelve days. The whole progress, in fact.

was one of marching and countermarching. This circmnstance gives great authority to any Mosaic names of stations still extant in the desert, because their lying out of course, or out of distance, forms no valid objection.

The catalogue of stations in Numbers xxxiii. gives us only the regular encampments, the joumeyings between which occupied a widely varying amount of marches and halts. Of the continuous marches we have two indicative examples, namely, the three days' journey between the Arabian shore of the Red Sea and Marah; and, again, the three days' journey

between Mount Sinai and Eabroth-Hattaavah. These are precious indexes to the character of the whole pro- gress.

But where Scripture is silent, signs are not absent of still more numerous diurnal stages between one station and another. Kibroth-Hattaavah and Hazeroth, it is conceived, have been now fully identified with Sarbut-el-Khadem and Wady or Ain Hudherah. But the distances between these points is sixty-five miles, and must have been to the Israelites a journey of five days. This fact is one of great importance in the present inquiry, because it prepares the way for the still greater interval interposed, and the still more numerous diurnal stages required, between Hazeroth and the station next mentioned, Bithmah. For the

unexpected distance between these points will be found on examination to be no less than 140 miles^ an interval requiring for the host of the Israelites, between marches and halts, a journey of little less than twelve days.* The site of Eithmah has been not only hitherto imknown,but altogether unsuspected. From the juxta- position of the names in Numbers xxxiii. 18, judging by the ordinary rules of Itineraries, we might naturally look for Eithmah in the neighbourhood of Hazeroth ; but in the neighbourhood of Hazeroth it would be looked for in vain. No attempt, however, appears to have been made by Eitter, Eobinson, Wilson, or Stewart, to re- cover this station, which of course has been assumed to be lost in the unknown recesses of the Tih.

I will now venture to undertake, for its recovery, to produce the very Mosaic name and locality in its Scriptural signification ; and to add, that it has been passed and repassed by all preceding travellers, without awakening a suspicion of the ground on which they stood. The oversight can be accounted for only from the cause already assigned, namely, forgetfulness of the law of movement which regulated all the journeys of the Israelites, and a consequent unpreparedness to look for Eithmah at so great a distance from Hazeroth.

• A similar journey is noted Numb, xxxiii. 36 : viz., between Kadesh and Ezion-Geber.

The Site of Rithmah.

For the recovery of this lost station we must begin with its Scriptural indications. From Numb, xxxiii. 18, we learn that Kithmah was the next station to Hazeroth: 'And they departed from Hazeroth and pitched in Eithmah.' But from Numb. xii. 16, we find that Kithmah, at the same time, was in the wilderness of Paran : * And afterwards the people re- moved from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran ;' that is to say, at Eithmah.

From the joint evidence of these texts we irrefragably gather that, instead of being near Hazeroth, Rithmah was in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-Barnea ; inasmuch as both it and Kadesh-Barnea were alike ^in the wilderness of Paran : ' ' And they (the spies) came to Moses — unto the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh.' *

Again, Kadesh-Barnea was 9n the confines of Edom : 'Behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border.' Kadesh and Rithmah, therefore, were both in the neighbourhood of Edom.t

* It miglit seem extraordinary that Kadesh-Barnea^ the most prominent of all the Israelite encampments^ is not named in the first list of stations enumerated in Nmnbers xxxiii. From its position, however^ as here ascertained^ the reason of the omission is clear : it was included in the adjoining station of Eithmah. In the later list^ on the other hand, Kadesh is named instead of Eithmah, Numbers xxxiii. 36, 37.

t Not, however, in the near neighbourhood. This is clear from Numbers xxxiii. 37 : ^ And they removed from Kadesh and pitched

K, then, we discover in this quarter the name of a locality corresponding with that of Bithmah, and the name of an adjoining locality corresponding with that of Kadesh, we have sure Scriptural grounds for the conclusion that the places so named are the Bithmah and Kadesh-Bamea of Moses.

Now these conditions are categorically met by the Ain-Kades of Mr. Rowlands, and Wady Abu-Betemah or Bathumah, an adjoining locality, situated about fifteen miles due east of Ain-Kades. For both localities lie facing the mountain range of Seir (or Edom), on the opposite or eastern side of the Tih ; thus corresponding alike with the Mosaic position of Kadesh, as * a city in the utter- most borders of Edom,' and determining the position of the Wilderness of Paran, in which both stations were situated. I have observed that Ain-Kades and Wady Bathumah are only fifteen miles apart, or about a day's joumfey. The area of the Israelite camp would, of course, include both stations; a circumstance which would naturally lead to their being mentioned indis- criminately in Numbers xi 16, and xxxiii. 18.

The common etymology and signification of the ancient Hebrew and the present Arabic name, nr^m

in Mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom.' It was a long journey from Kadesh to Moimt Hor. The latter was * in the edge of the land of Edom/ the fonner, consequently, was at a very considerable distance from the Edomite frontier-line.

or Ij^j* Rithmah or Rathumah, give great additional force to this Terification : for the Hebrew name denotes a pbice abounding in the retemy ffenista, or white broom; and the name of the Arab locality, Abu Sathomah, or ' the Father of Betems/ demonstrates its notoriety for the production of those desert shmbs.

With the forgoing coincidences of name, of site, of nei^ibonrhood to Ain-Kades or Kadesh, can, I would ask, a reasonable doubt remain that the Rithmah of Numbers is the Abu-Rathumah or Retemah of Ritter, Robinson, and Wilson ?

To turn for a moment to a collateral topic, there is a Scriptural occurrence of sad interest suggested to the mind by the local denomination Rithmah ; an incident which, perhaps, may have taken place in this very lo- cality, and possibly may have ^ven name to the Israelite station. The reader may possibly anticipate my refer- ence to ' the man who gathered sticks on the sabbath day.' Having thrown out the thought, I may mention, without pressing it, Ihe grounds of my conjecture. The reteniy or white broom, is the chief firewood of this desert It is to be found in many of the valleys of the Tih. where it is collected, to be converted into charcoal.

• 'The Hebrew name Dfl^ rethem is the same as the present Arabic name. The roots are very bitter, and are regarded bj the Arabs as yielding the best charooaL This illustrates Job xxx. 4^ and Psalm cxx. 4.' — Mobm$omf voL L p. 2d9 note.

by the Bedouins, and exported annually in great quantity to Cairo. The name Abu Rathumah, * the Father of Retems,' proves that Rithmah preeminently abounded in this valuable material for fuel.* Hence it struck me as a good probability that Wady Rathumah may have been the scene of the sabbath-breaker's transgression, thus related in Numbers xv.: ^ And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day. And they that found him gathering sticks brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congrega- tion. And they put him in ward.' The wilderness here spoken of is manifestly the Wilderness of Paran, mentioned as the abode of the Israelites in the preceding context (Numb. xi. 16), and where they continued to abide long after their defeat at Hormah. But in this very wilderness lay Rithmah or Wady Rathumah, the chief repertory (as the name implies) of the retem or white broom, the favourite material, we have seen, for firewood and charcoal in the desert. What more

• The fact, as regards Wady Katemah, is attested by Kobinson, but without any perception of its palpable relation to the name and etymology of the Israelite station. ' At Ih. 10m. we came upon Wady Abu Retemat, a wide plain, with shrubs and retemJ' — ^Vol. i. p. 279. Wilson is more observant as to the relation between the reiem and Mithmah, see Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 279; but misses the identification of Bithmah with Wady Abu Rathumah or Retemat altogether.

natural or likely than that during their encampment at Kadesh all the Israelites frequented this valley for the purpose of collecting fuel ; but that one Israelite only, the guilty sabbath-breaker, like the greedy manna-seekers, broke the commandment, and violated the sabbath day ? * They found him,' we read ; that is to say, his fellow-woodmen suspected and went in quest of him, otherwise they would not themselves have been thus abroad on the Sabbath. If this were so, the name of Bithmah, ' the place of retem sticks,' might naturally be given at the time to the scene of so awful a transgression aiid judgment

The connection of Bithmah with Kadesh, and of both stations with a still more fearful catastrophe, will further appear in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF HOBMAH.

The proximity of Kadesh-Bamea to Rithmah has been shown on Scriptural evidences in the preceding chapter ; both stations^ according to the account in Numbers^ being in the same wilderness of Paran. They are identified with the Ain-Kades of Mr. Rowlands^ and Wady Abu Rathumah or Retemat^ not only by the clear correspondence of the names^ but by the geo- graphical positions^ in the latitude and distant neigh- bourhood of Edom^ or Mount Seir, which they face on the opposite or western side of the Tih. Their distance from each other, about fifteen miles, or one long day's journey for the Israelites, supplies us, as already re- marked, with grounds for a further computation ; for it is obvious that the camp of Israel, numbering more than 3,000,000 of sotds, must have covered the entire space between Kadesh and Rithmah. The character of the whole position strongly augments the probabi- lities that we are here on the very camping-ground oc- cupied by Moses and the Israelites. It seems, indeed^

a district specially suited for a vast encampment : as containing at its western extremity a copious supply of water from the fountain, or stream rather, of Ain- Kades, and at its eastern extremity an abundant supply both of water and of firewood from Wady Rathumah ; a valley rich in wells,* and obviously named from its teeming growth of the shrub retem^ in all ages the chief fiiel of the desert.t

But the Ain-Kades discovered by Mr. Eowland^

• In Robinson's map we find ' wells ' marked in Wady Abu Ketemat. The wells and the firewood here united in ^ a wide plain,' supply threefold proof of the special suitableness of this valley for an Israelite station ; while its present name tells us that station was Hithmah.

t The prominence of the retem among the shrubs of the desert well accounts for the common Hebrew and Arabic name of thQ valley of Kithmah or Rathumah. Robinson's description will show t^e importance of this shrub as a characteristic feature of the country. ^ The shrubs which we had met with throughout the desert still continued. One of the principal of these is the reterriy already mehtioned, a species of the broom plant, Genista raetam [raetd] of Forskal. This is the largest and most conspicuous shrub of these deserts; growing thickly in the watercourses and valleys. Oui Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind [what a conunent upon the selection of Rithmah as a station by the Israelites] j and during the day, when they often went in advance of the camels, we found them, not unfrequently, sitting or sleeping under a bush of retem to protect them from the sun. It was in this very desert, a day's journey from Beersheba, that the prophet Elijah lay down and slept beneath the same shrub.' — Bibl, Res, vol. i. p. 299. How thoroughly Oriental, that, as Phoeni- . cum and Palmyra were so named from their palms, so the valley

seems identified with Kadesh-Bamea by other local associations belides its name and its neighbourhood to Wady Bathumah^ already identified with Kithmah. For on comparison of this locality with the description given in Numbers xiv. 45 of the scene of another memorable event of the Exode — the battle of Hormah, the features of the country will be found most remark- ably to correspond with the scene of that disastrous

now in question should receive, and retain to tliis day, its Mosaic name, from its abundant growth of so doubly valuable a product, a screen from the sun by day, and from the cold dew by night I

Dr. Wilson depicts graphically from his own experience the spreading boughs and grateftil shade of the retem. ^We were glad to be able to halt at four o'clock. Our encampment was in Wadi Kureish. Jebel 'Kraif-en-Nakah, a remarkable conical hill, bore N.N.W. of us. The valley in which we rested had a good deal of herbaceous and ligneous vegetation, and some beautiful and large specimens of the white broom, or ratham. We dined under the shade of one of these bushes, with its branches spreading over us. This plant, to which I have already referred, has for some time been acknowledged to be the Dm of Scripture. It was under such a bush that Elijah, when he had gone a day's journey into the wilderness, came and sat down, and requested for himself that he might die, and under which he lay and slept.' — Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 279.

See 1 Kings xix. 4, 5. We may approximate to the locality. ' A day's journey ' from Beersheba (say fifteen miles) would bring him to the Wady EJiidasah, As this is the high road, tlie only one, to Kadesh-Bamea and Mount Siaai, there cannot be a doubt, if his 'day's journey' be correctly computed, that here the jHrophet rested. Wady Khtdasah (the Eleusaof Ptolemy) I have elsewhere identified conjecturally with the Israelite station of KehekUhah^ See " Sinai Photographed," chapter xii.

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conflict with the Amalekites and Canaanitee. For Kadesh^ it thence appears^ lay immediately at the foot of a mountain^ the summit of which was occupied by the Amalekites. So clo^e was the contiguity^ ihat^ from their camp beneath^ the Israelites were able to scale the mountain and assatdt the Amalekite position on its summit in the early part of one and the same morning. This description corresponds graphically and circumstantially with the position of Ain-Kades^ which is located at the foot of the lofty mountain of Djebel Hel^5 on its n.e. side^ and so close to the mountain as to make the dscent an affair of a few hours. The identification may be brought still more- home by con- sideration of the obvious .prerequisites of the point assailed — the Amalekite encampment on * the top of the mountain.' Now it is quite certain that no mountaineers in any climate^ and least of all in the burning East^ would take up such a position without an adequate supply of water nigh at hand. The stronghold of the Amalekites must have been in the immediate neighbour- hood of a mountain source or spring. If we find the spring, therefore, we fix the position. From these absolute prerequisites we turn to the topography of this locality. Mr. Rowlands, we have seen, found the water of Ain-Kades (his site of the Israelite encampment) directly under Djebel Heidi; while <Dr. Stewart (an independent and involuntary witness) heard on the spot.

from the Arabs, of a well of Ain-Kh&des on the western shoulder of the mountain, so immediately over the Ain- Kades of Mr. Rowlands, that he (Dr. Stewart) very justly conjectures that the well aboVe may be the source of the water beneath. As this independent coincidence (the impartial evidence of an adversary) is a most im- portant feature in the verification, it shall be given in Dr. Stewart's own words.

' As Ghebel Hel&l seemed not more than four hours distant, I began to question our guides whether there was any well known to them at the foot of Hel&l, or on its sides, and learned that near the top of the western shoulder of the mountain there is a spring called Ain-el- Kh&des. They said that no camels could approach it, but that a man, with a water-skin slung on his back, could get at it by climbing with his hands and feet.

This differs very widely from the glowing description
given of it [?] by the Eev. Mr. Bowlands, in a letter
which appears in the Appendix of his friend Mr*
Williams's book (" Holy City," voL i. p. 464) ; though
it is probable they can be reconciled by supposing the
stream by which he encamped to come down from the
spring near the summit. From the similarity of sound,
Mr. Rowlands suggests that this probably was the
position of Kadesh-Bamea ; though, had he reflected,
the Scriptural indications concerning the position of
ihat place might have convinced him that Kadesh-

Bamea could not possibly lie so far to the west.' — The
Tent and the Khan^ pp. 189, 190.

Now this account, instead (as the author designed)
of throwing any doubt on Mr. Bowlands' discovery,
doubles the evidence of its I'eality, inasmuch as it
meets all the prerequisites already pointed out for the
positions of both armies. To the positions of both,
water was indispensable ; and we have here a pool or
stream at the foot of the mountain, and a living spring
immediately above on its summit. The Israelites,
Moses states, ^ gat them up into the top of the
mountain ; ' and Dr. Stewart informs us of Djebel
Hel&l, that * near the top of the western shoulder of the
mountain there is a sj^ring called Ain-el-Khddes.' Here,
then, are two Ain-Khddeses ; the one appropriate to
the mountain fastness of the Amalekites, the other
to the camp of Israel below. A more perfect corre-
spondence with the relative positions as described by
Moses on the one hand, and with the indispensable
requirements of the two hostile hosts on the other
hand, cannot surely be conceived.

The post occupied by the Amalekites was evidently
a permanent station or stronghold, whither, in
emergency, theji betook themselves for refuge, and
whence they could rush down upon enemies below. It
W^as obviously a position which barred the way against
•invaders : Uke the passes of Afghanistan, unassailable^

ias the event proved, from beneath ; and threatening, at
once, front, flank, and rear of any army that might
attempt to penetrate the country by pressing forward,
or by passing by or under.

Accordingly, the Israelite assailants were not only
driven headlong down the hill, but (like our country-
^ men in the Bolan and Khyber Passes) were pursued
with fearful slaughter to' Hormah, a locality as yet
unknown,* but of course at a great distance from the
field of battle. Reference to the maps will show that
Djebel HelS.1 presents all the features, and combines
all the facilities, requisite to be met with in the scene
of the Scriptural overthrow.

As for Dr. Stewart's cavil against Ain-Khddea^ as
lying far too much to the west to correspond with the
Scriptural indications of the site of Kiidesh-Bamea, it
is founded solely on his mistaken version of the Scrip-
tural indications, as will appear when we come to Dr.
Robinson's similar objection ; f and has been already

* But see Deut. i. 44, and Judges i. 17.

t Robinson's reasoning is equally erroneous with Stewart's, and
from the same cause. Both have wholly mistaken the sense of
Numbers xx. 16. The former says : ^In respect to the route of
the Israelites in approaching Palestine, we have obtained only the
conviction that they could not have passed to the westward of
Jebel ' Araif ; since such a course would have brought them directly
to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh, which latter city lay near to the
border of Edom.' — Btbl Res. vol. i. p. 276.

His argument here rests on the groundless assumption that by

disposed of bj the law of the Israelite route^ as laid
down in a preceding chapter.

May we not^ then^ reasonably conclude that in Mr.
Rowlands' Ain-Kades at the foot of Djebel Helil^ and
in Dr. Stewart's Ain-Kh&des on the top of its western
shoulder^ we recover at once the true Kadesh-Bamea^

and the actual site of the great battle of Hormah ? I
wotdd only ask the reader to keep Djebel Helil before
him in Bitter's or Kobinson's map^ both the mountain
and its eastern valley, with their two springs, in order
to see, while he reperuses the passage of Nmnbers
xiv. 40, with what perfect clearness the Mosaic descrip-
tion places before our eyes the whole scene of action, —
me^i^ures the hours of the assault, and explains the
cause and character of the overthrow. * And they rose
up early in the morning, and gat them up into the top
of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and will go
up unto the place which the Lord hath promised : for
we have sinned. And Moses said. Wherefore now do
ye transgress the commandment of the Lord? but it
shall not prosper. Go not up, for the Lord is not
among you, that ye be not smitten before your enemies.

^ the uttermost of the border ' is intended the actual frontier line
of Edom, whereas the phrase very plainly implies a considerable
distance from it. Hi^ reasoning is at once, however, nullified by
the fact that the course of the Israelites did conduct them directly
towards Beersheba : for ' Israel came by the way of the spies/
(Num. xxi. 1) ; and this was from Kadesh, through Kehoboth and
Beersheba, to Hebron. Compare Numbers xiii 21, 22, with xzL 1.

For the Amalekltes and Canaanites are there before
you, and ye shall fall by the sword ; because ye are
turned away firom the Lord, therefore Ihe Lord will
not be with you. But they presumed to go up unto
the hill top. Nevertheless, the ark of the covenant of
the Lord, and Moses, departed not out of the camp*
Then the Amalekites <3ame down, and the Canaanites
which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discom-
fited them, even unto Hormah.' *

Dr. Bobinson's site of Kadesh-Bamea, namely,
Ain-Weibeh, on the western border of the Arabah, in
the same latitude as Ain-Kades, has been controverted
on geographical groimds by succeeding travellers. It
is equally controvertible upon Scriptural grounds ; for
instead of being conformable, I proceed to show that it
Is directly contrary, to 'the Scriptural indications.'
Bobinson's argmnent rests on the assumption that
Moses places Kadesh immediately upon the border, or
frontier line of Edom, in other words, at the very foot
of Mount Seir, — ^that he had only to step across the
border to be, with his whole people, in Edom. Now,
nothing can be more contrary to the sense of his words*
He says, 'Behold we are in Kadesh, a city in the
uttermost of thy border.* The meaning is not, we are
near ; but, we are outside, beyond, at a distance from
your frontier. The learned Mimster thus correctly

* Num. xiv. 40-45.

interprets the Hebrew expression : * Urhe extremitatis
regni tut : i.e. in urbe qu(B non huge distat a regno tuc'
The context, * And Moses sent messengers /rom Kadesh
unto the king of Udom,^ strongly corroborates this inter-
pretation. For the sending of envoys to open a
negotiation implies a work of time, and presupposes a
considerable distance between the party sending and
the party to whom ambassadors are sent. Again, when
a vast army, whose destination was still unknown, had
occasion to encamp in the neighbourhood of a neutral
power whom it meant not to disturb, it would be
certain to halt at a distance not threatening invasion.
Such was the situation of Moses and the Israelites.
All the circumstances of the case demonstrate this. So
long as he lay at a reasonable distance, so long as his
further line of march was uncertain, and his eventual
purpose unknown, he might create alarm, but could
not give just cause of offence. But had Kadesh-
Barnea lain, as Kobinson and Stewart assume, im-
mediately upon the Edomite frontier line, instant
collision between the armies would have been inevitable,
because Moses cotdd have advanced to this point only
for purposes of invasion. His only road now lay
through the heart of Edom.

But what are the Scriptural facts ? He had already
lain a long time encamped at Kadesh-Bamea, without
giving any umbrage to the king of Edom ; obviously

because Kadesh was at so considerable a distance from
the Edomite frontier as not to awaken apprehension,
and as to leave it doubtful what line of march north-
ward the Israelites would take. The thunder-storm of
war lowered, indeed, in the horizon, but none yet knew
where ,the thunderbolt would fall. The case is clear
as day. The Edomites would not needlessly provoke
hostilities with so formidable a host, and this at the
disadvantage of 'quitting their mountain fastnesses.
But the moment Moses sends messengers from his
safely distant camp, to ask l6ave to approach their
border, and to obtain a passage through their country,
all becomes changed. Edom at once took alarm,
refused any entrance, flew to arms, and prepared to
repel any advance by force : * And Edom came out
against him with much people, and with a strong hand.'
Their policy was that of all warlike mountaineers in all
ages, from the days of Alexander and Hannibal to the
Affghauns in the KhyberPass. In a word, the whole cir-
cumstances of the caae unite with the Scripture notices
to show that Kadesh must have been at a very consider-
able distance from the frontier of Edom, or, in the
words of Moses himself, ^ in the uttermost of its border.'
Now Ain-Kades and Wady Abu Kathumah, on the
western side of the Tih, answering literally to the
Mosaic names, Kadesh-Bamea and Bithmah, in the
.wilderness of Paran, stand, we have seen, exactly so

located ; within fifteen miles of each other. They re-
dprocate the evidence of their names and positions as
the true representatives of liie two Israelite stations ;
while Ain-Kades^ regarded as the head-quarters of
Moses^ was amply distant from Edom to avoid offence^
and to give time for the recorded journey ,of his ambas-
sadors to the Edomite king.

From ' Nimibers zz. 20^ it would almost appear that
the Israelites (not anticipating so unfavourable a result
of their embassy to a kindred and conceived friendly
people) had broken up from Kadesh^ and advanced
towards Mount Seir, before the receipt of the Edomite
king's refusal; as^ otherwise^ the Edomites would
hardly have moved forward, and set their army in
battle array, as that passage manifestly implies. While,
from Judges xi. 17, it is clear, that, if they did thus quit
it, they retreated back to Kadesh, and continued en-
camped there pending the fresh negotiations opened
with the Moabites for a passage through their country,
ere finally retrograding to Ezion-Geber, by way of
Mount Hor. Their prolonged stay at Kadesh after
those occurrences is certain, from the statement in
Judges xi. 17 : ^ Then Israel sent messengers imto the
king of Edom, ^saying. Let me, I pray thee, pass
through thy land : but the king of Edom would not
hear him thereto. And, in like manner, they sent
unto the king of Moab: but he would not consent.

And Israel abode in Kadesh.' Now this last fact alone
demonstrates the impossibility of either Robinson's or
Stewart's position of Kadesh-Bamea : for had Kadesh
been seated^ as both affirm, on the actual frontier of
Edom, the Israelites could not possibly have continued
encamped there after ^ Edom came out against him with
much people, and with a strong hand.' On the con-
trary, Kadesh must have stood at a safe distance from
the Edomite frontier, for the camp of Israel to remain
still stationary there after Edom had thus risen in arms:
to remain on there, moreover, wholly unmolested, as
the expression, ^ and Israel abode in Kadesh ' unequivo-
cally implies. The Scriptural requirements of the
case are happily met by Mr. Rowlands' Ain-Kades, and
by it alone.

On the whole, * the Scripture indications,' instead of
coimtenancing Dr. Stewart's theory, decisively support
Mr. Rowlands' ; a comparison of Numbers xx. 1, with
the statement in Judges xL 17, most clearly showing
that Moses and the Israelites were encamped at Kadesh-
Bamea, both long before, and long after, their collision
with the Edomites — a result wholly incompatible with
Dr. Stewart's view, but in perfect harmony with that
of Mr. Rowlands.*

* I cannot pass by unnoticed^ in this connection^ tlie treatment
of another statement of Mr. Eowlands' by Dr. Stewart^ as to his
discovery of the Well of Hagar, or ^ Bir Laha-roi/ and of a rock

From Numbers xx. 18-20, it is plain that a great
battle was imminent. No battle, however, took place.

habitation in its neiglibourliood, where (according to Arab tradi-
tion) Hagar dwelt. This well Mr. Kowlands conceived be had
recovered in a spring near Djebel Helal^ named by the Arabs of
the country, ^ Moilahhi Hadjar.' Dr. Stewart disputes the cor-
rectness of Mr. Rowlands* version of the name upon verbal grounds,
which turn entirely upon the relative value of his own and Mr.
Rowlands* readings of the name as pronounced by the Arabs. But
as he more than insinuates, without a shadow of proof, that Mr.
Rowlands had put ' leading questions ' to the Arabs, who, as usual
with them, adopted his suggestion, I feel it my duty distinctly tp
contradict this unworthy insinuation. I had his account of the
occurrence from Mr. Rowlands himself some twelve years ago. It
is as fresh in my memory as though I had heard it yesterday. The
Bedouins of the district told him, without anything said to lead to
the point, that the well by which he sat was named ' Moilahhi
Hadjar.' Upon' his expressing his doubtful surprise, they added,
' that it was the very well by which Hagar sat ; and that her habi-
tation, called Beit Madfar, ^ the house of Hagar,* was still extant
in the near neighbourhood. Still more incredulous on this point,
Mr. Rowlands asked them to conduct him to the spot ; a request
with which they readily complied. I will now give, first Dr.
Stewart's, and then Mr. Rowlands*, version of the result.

Dr. Stewart writes — ^ The only other proofs Mr. Rowlands offers
in support of this iwpposed discovery, are, that the Arabs took him
to a small cavern in the chalky hills hard by, which they called
Beit Hagar, '' the house of Hagar,** * &c. (p. 195.) It does not
appear that Dr. Stewart visited the spot thus depreciatingly de-
scribed. I will now, therefore, give his deluded readers Mr.
Rowlands* eye-witness description of it. In compliance with his
wish the Arabs conducted him to a neighbouring valley, embo-
somed in cliflfe ; on the perpendicular face of which they pointed
out an excavated chamber high up on the rock (apparently similar
in idea, though not in architecture, to the rock chambers at Petra),
and exclaimed, ^That is the Beit Hadjar.* He asked how anyone

And why? Because God had forbidden it; and the
Israelites^ in obedience to the Divine prohibition,

could have lived there, as there appeared no way of getti&g up to
it ? The Arabs answered by conducting him to a narrow fissure or
cleft at the foot of the precipice, on entering which he came upon
a spiral staircase cut in the rock, which led up to the rock-chamber
above, where, to his amazement, he found an excavated apartment^
divided (if I remember aright) into three small rock-chambers,*
supported or subdivided by pillars. This habitation, the Arabs
again assured him, was the Beit Hadjaty the dwelling-place of
Hagar. I give Mr. Rowlands' oral account from memory. Ho
will correct me if I remember wrongly. I leave it with the un^
biassed reader to reconcile this account with Dr. Stewart's state-
ment, that ' the Arabs took him (Mr. Howlands) to a smaU cavern in
the chalky hills hard by, which they called Beit Hagar, " the house
of Hagar." '

The matter is here brought to an issue ; one or other of these
statements is unfounded. I believe the eye-witness, I leave the
ear-witness to the judgment of the reader.

And now a few words upon the abstract probability of both these
Arab traditions. Bochart (after Bp. Walton) most justly observes
that, unless there is reason to the contrary, we are bound to credit
every people in their accounts of their own origin. This canon is
pre-eminently true of the East. Now the Bedouins of this part of
Northern Arabia are mostly Ishmaelites ; and all their traditions
about Hagar and her son come down from patriarchal times. When,
therefore, they point out, in the very ' wilderness of Paran,' the
dwelling-place of Hagar excavated in the solid rock, why should
it be judged incredible ? A structure in the rock, like writing on
the rock, is one to last for ever. Here is the structure in the
Scriptural abode of IshmaeL Why should it not be his mother's
dwelling-place ? What morally more likely than that the outcast
wanderer should owe this ' shadow from the heat, and shelter from
the storm,' to the piety of her only son ? We know how shq

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* Is not the ooinddenoe of number Bignifloant? Three chambos — three
ooonpantB.

instead of moving forward to encounter the advancing
army^ either remained at^ or retired to^ Kadesh-Bamea^

loved him^ aad how lie loved her. Dutiful in manliood as in
ehildhood, he obeyed his mother*s choice, ' and his mother took
him a wife out of the land of Egypt/ • Her own native country.
How natural, how touching, for Hagar too was an Egyptian.

How like Rebekah, only without her guile.

But the fact of Hagar being an Egyptian greatly augments the likelihood of her pious child providing her with a fixed and lasting home. She was not a Bedouin of the desert, bom to live in tents, but a daughter of the most civilized and settled nation of the primeval world. Accustomed to houses in her native land, she would naturally prefer, if &ee to choose, a rock-chamber to a waving tent. And was her son unlikely to be mindful of her preference ? What, on the contrary, abstractedly more likely than that, himself half Egyptian, he should provide a settled habitation for his Egyptian mother and his Egyptian wife P The caves of Masara or Saccara, and the rock temples of Ipsambul or Beni ELasan^ supplied him with Egyptian models of rock excavation. Here is a rock-chamber, of three apartments, in his own wilderness of Paran. Why, I repeat, should not what the Arabs of the district, his own descendants, constantly affirm, be true ? Why may not this structure have been the work of Ishmael, and the habitation of Hagar P Its isolated character points to a peculiar origin. When did mere Bedouins execute such an undertaking P Why, if executed by Bedouins, where there is this one rock-chamber, are there not more P Questions like these, at the sight of such a phenomenon, crowd upon the mind, and press for utterance. How pitiable the shallow scepticism of this pretentious age I I repeat a former saying, that 'a vaunting and vain-glorious age carries within its own bosom living witness of being an age of small things and little men.' This saying was hailed with public approval more than a quarter of a century ago. Would it be so hailed now P I trow not. The self-styled Rationalists, and their

• Gen. zxi. 21. Hagari with this view, obviously revisited Egypt.

i.e. Ain-Kades (^wherefore Israel turned away from him '), thereby keeping the mountain plateau of the

more foolish followers, have since made great strides. Everything is believed save what alone is worthy of all belief, sacred history, the Word of God I That Israel was in the wilderness is, in words, confessed by all ; that any traces of her Divinely ordered domiciliation remain, is pronounced the illusion of fanatics or fools ! But who are the real fools ? They who believe God's Word, or they who set up their own vain imaginations against it ? Israel was in the wilderness for forty years. Yet every rambling holiday tourist comes home with some fresh absurdity to prove that no traces of the Israelites are discoverable there ! I ani unable to express the pity (I am unwilling to use a harsher term) with which all who think and reason soundly must regard these miserable counterfeits of ratiocination. And who are these pretenders ? Men who reject Scripture testimony, and its physical confirmations, to receive theoretical incredibilities : men who have the amazing foolishness, the fatuitous audacity, to outrage the first principles of all laws of evident 3, by substituting idle inventions of their own imaginations for facts recorded in the only infallible annals of the world. That Israel was in the wilderness none, as yet, venture to deny. That the Sinaitic inscriptions were the work of the Israelites is the one only consequent, logical, and reasonable conclusion. They are mostly in pure old Hebrew characters, many of which might serve for types in our Hebrew Bibles. They contain many pure Hebrew words. Yet to Israelites of the Exode alone is their authorship denied ! Arab Christian pilgrims, Nabatiiseans, Sabeans, Amalekites, (of whom none save their rationalist patrons ever heard) have all had their turn. These literary phantoms are now dismissed, to make way for the Horites I Instead of being ' Christian pilgrims of the 4th or 5th century*, the authors are now discovered to be contemporaries of Esau or of his immediate descendants ! And who is the author of this latest discovery ? The paradox sounds so incredible that I must quote the oracle : ^ Mr. Stuart Poole has since informed me that it is now ascertained that the captive miners [were Horites], and therefore the majority of the inscriptions (all the

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Tih between themselves and the enemy. From a comparison of Numbers xx. 21, 22, with Judges xi. 17,

original ones, in fact) are by Horites — the work of the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir, mentioned Gen. xiv. 6 and Deut. li. 12-22. They were exterminated by the Edomites in their northern mountains, and seem to have been subdued here by Egypt [I], and expended at the mines by their conquerors. No doubt King Soris's victim is an Horite.' — Vacation Tourists, p. 354.

What a crowd of questions again throng upon the mind, and press for utterance, at this bold announcement. Who is * Mr. Stuart Poole? ' who his informants ? What is the weight of his or their authority? By what process do they profess to arrive at their conclusions ? By what alchemy do they bring to light these netoli/ discovered Horites ; trace their flight to Sinai ; find them falling into the hands of ideal Egyptian taskmasters, to be incarcerated in imaginary Sinai'tico-Egyptian mines ;• and (though the last not the least in this ' century of inventions ') employing themselves in their rare intervals of rest from the most dreadful of all slave-labour, in carving thousands upon thousands of inscriptions upon the rocks, even to the summit of the almost inaccessible Mount Serbal, to hand down to the latest posterity the story of their wrongs, and their complaints and lamentations ?

What authority, we repeat, brings Horites to Sinai, and makes Horite miners the authors of its multitudinous and mysterious inscriptions ? There is no trace of them in history, none in Arab tradition, not a straw or cobweb of foundation on which to build a hypothesis. These are the visions of the brain to which men are driven who 'forsake the fountain of living waters [the Bible history], and hew them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.'

Perhaps the most significant sign in these endless modem lucubrations is the silence about the Israelites. All allusion to them is either shunned, or made with a passing slight. There is deep meaning under this. This silence betrays, at once, the spirit and the fears of the parties concerned. None can plead ignorance. For the com-

• For a full exposure of the mining theory, see ' Sinai Photographed/ pp. 9-15.

the expression, ^wherefore Israel turned away from him,' would seem to denote that they had partially advanced, and then fallen back to Kadesh; because the passage referred to in Judges shows that, after this fuming away,' Israel abode still in Kadesh, while Numbers xx. 22 shpws that it was from Kadesh they broke up, when they commenced their retrograde journey by Mount Hor to Ezion-Geber. The two , accounts are thus perfectly in accordance.

manding evidences for the Israelite authorship of the Sinai inscriptions are now known throughout Europe. They have been accepted as entirely conclusive by some of the first minds^ and first reasoners, of our own, or of any age. All our modem theory-mongers know this well. Why do they conceal their knowledge ? Simply because they durst not face evidences which they are as unwilling to acknowledge as they are unable to refute.

K the only real claim, the Israelite claim, be noticed, it is in a way so passing and disparaging as at once to betray the animus of the writers. Take, for example, the following medley from the holiday writer who has called forth these remarks: 'Two great granitic masses stand pretty well in the centre of this outer triangle [on the summit of Om Shaumer], set, as it were, in those beds of new red sandstone, which have furnished tablets for the official bas-reliefs of Egyptian kings ; for the names and complaints of Nabathsean or Horite miners imprisoned in the great and terrible wilderness ; perhaps, also, for the lamentations of Hebrews^ ^^ greatly discouraged because of the way.''^ ' — Vacation Tourists , p. 332.

With men like this, the idle dreams of Egyptian, Nabathsean, or Horite authorship are all certainties : the Israelites alone come in with a ' perhaps * ! Even his ' perhaps,' however, may prove too much. For, as all the old inscriptions are confessedly of one age and one family (see Beer, ap. Introd.), it follows, that, if any be by the Hebrews, they all are.

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The evidences adduced in the present chapter suffice^ it is conceived, conclusively to determine the question raised as to the true site of Kadesh-Bamea, between Ain-Kades and Ain-Weibeh, and fully to establish Mr. Rowlands' discovery, in Ain-Kades, of the Scripture Kadesh-Barnea. While I write, however, I observe one proof hitherto unnoticed on all sides, which might have spared Drs. Robinson and Stewart the trouble of impugning this most important verification, and Mr. Rowlands or his friends the task of vindicating it. This unanswerable proof is contained in a single text. In Numbers xxi. 1 we read : * And when king Arad, the Canaanite, which dwelt in the south, heard tell that Israel came by the way of the spies, then he fought against Israel and took from them prisoners.' This passage alone settles the question. For what was the route of the spies ? They went from Kadesh-Barnea, through Rehoboth, to Hebron, being the direct inland road to Palestine, far to the west of the Dead Sea. ^ So they went up and searched the land from the wilderness of Zin [or Paran] unto Rehob, as men come to Hamath. And they ascended by the south, and came unto Hebron' (Numb. xiii. 21, 22). Now this is the very line of road marked out by the geographical position of Ain-Kades; namely, from Ain-Kades or Kadesh-Pamea, through Ruhaibeh or Rehob, and Hamid or Hamath, to Hebron. This

inland route, passing north-east into Palestine, is lined all along with Israelite or Abrahamic stations, — as Kithmah or Abu-Rathumah, el-Ibna or Libna, Oboth or Eboda (now el Abde), Kehelathah or Kulasah (the Eleusa of Ptolemy), Beersheba or Bir-es-Seba, — certifying, like so many road-marks, the true line.

Dr. Robinson's Kadesh, Ain-Weibeh, on the contrary, lying nearly eighty miles south-east from Ain-Kades, has no relation whatsoever to * the way of the spies.' The road from it to Hebron comes at no point within half a degree, or two days' journey, of Rehob or Rehoboth, through which, as Moses himself informs us, the spies passed; and, what is most remarkable, does not present, throughout its entire course, the name or trace of a single Israelite station.

But the testimony of king Arad, ^ that Israel came by the way of the spies,' supersedes all other considerations.* With this crowning witness to thelrue site of

* Incidental evidences of this character to the historical verity of the Books of Moses (a class of evidences vrith which they abound; and which are ever forthcoming to repay honest inquiry and real research) place those Divine records utterly beyond the reach of petty cavillers of the ^ Essay and Review ' and the Bishop Colenso class. The authenticity and authority of the Pentateuch have been, however, so justly vindicated, and the aim and end of its assailants so thoroughly exposed above a century since from an imexpected quarter, that it is a duty to the public at the present crisis to give the passage to which I refer in extenm. The testimony in question is all the more valuable, because it is that of a

Kadesh-Barnea I close the present chapter ; reserving the statement and solution of a great apparent difficulty, connected with the movements of Moses and the Israelites on their final departure from Kadesh, for the next.

cold yet candid reasoner, the Avian Bishop Clayton. It is a witness which puts to public shame the unblushing effirontery of the whole pseudo-rationalistic school^ which usurps and dishonours the name of reasoners at the present day.

* The Books of Moses (observes this author) with regard to early antiquity^ are a light that shineth in a dark place ; and indeed wonderful is the light which darts from them, whenever the enquirer crosses it in his searches into the early ages of the world. Besides, as the truth of the Christian reHgion depends upon the veracity of the Jewish history as delivered by Moses, anything which may serve to corroborate or enlighten that history must be of service to the Christian revelation.* — Remarks on the Origin of Hieroglyphics, ap. A Journal from Chrand Cairo to Mount Sinai, hy Robert, Lord Bishop of Clogher, p. 131, 4to. London, William Bowyer, 1753.

Bishop Clayton, in this extract, as with an Ithuriel spear, strikes the rationalistic snake upon the head : the aim and end of all assailants of the Mosaic Scriptures is, as he well points out, the destruc' tion of Christianity, Of this the silly movers in these impieties may themselves be often unaware : for ' fools rush in where angels fear to tread ! ' But what the Bishop states is not the less certain.

CHAPTER V.

AMALEKITES AND CANAANITES OF THE TIH.

As intimated at the close of the preceding chapter, I would now address myself to the statement and solution of a great seeming diificulty, connected with the movements of Moses and the Israelites, on the eve of X breaking up finally from the camp at Kadesh-Barnea, located, as has now been proved, under Djebel Heidi, in order to advance into Palestine. The difficulty in question would have been sure to be started and insisted on by the episcopal assailant of the Pentateuch, and his Anglo-German brother-rationalists, had they been aware of the true position of Kadesh-Barnea. For, at this point, the Israelites were on the direct route, through Rehoboth and Beersheba, to Hebron, by a line of march lying far to the west of the Dead Sea. Why, then, did not Moses move straight to his object ? Why did he send envoys to the king of Edom, whose territory lay far distant to the east of the Dead Sea, to seek a circuitous passage through the passes of Mount Seir, by way of Moab, to the Jordan, instead of

following, in *the way of the spies,' the road into Palestine immediately before him ?

To questions like these, as to all similar objections, a careful examination of the Mosaic narrative will supply a triumphant answer : for the whole country in his front was peopled, we find, by the Amalekites, the first and fiercest enemies of Israel, intermingled with and backed by the Canaanites, whom Israel came to destroy.

That all these nations were already fully aware of the object of this great national migration, we clearly learn from the prophetic song of Moses himself: —

' The peoples shall hear, and be afraid :
Sorrow shall take hold on the inhabitants of Palestina.
Then the dukes of Edom shall be amazed ;
The mighty men of Moab trembling shall take hold of them ;
All the inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away,
Fear and dread shall fall upon them ;

By the greatness of thine arm they shall be as still as a stone ;
Till thy people pass over, Lord :
Till the people pass over which thou hast purchased/

Exodtis XV. 14-16.

The historical fulfilment of this poetical prediction is proved at every stage of the Exode. No sooner did the Amalekites get tidings of the passage of the Red Sea, than they descended from their mountains of the Tih, advanced to the foot of Mount Serbal (the true Mount Sinai), and fought the fiercely disputed battle

of Eephidlm. This, however, was but a vanguard. The head-quarters and stronghold of the great Amalekite nation was the mountain region of the Tih ; here lay their main power and central seats. When, accordingly, Moses reached Kadesh, he found himself in the midst of thgse warlike mountaineers. In the expressive imagery of Scripture, ^ they compassed him about like bees : ' it is his own description — * Ye went presumptuously up into the hill; and the Amorites which dwelt in that mountain came out against you, and chased you as bees do.' * This was the disastrous

* Deut. i. 44. The verse concludes, ' And destroyed you in Seivy even unto Hormali/ Dr. Stewart rightly discriminates the Seir here mentioned from Seir of Edom. ' A little further to the south [of Bir-es-Saba or Beersheba] there is a river called Kusr^es-Sir, which Dr. Wilson takes for ZioVf one of Judah's towns to the south, but which, from its name and position, should rather be identified with Seir in the neighbourhood of Hormah and Kadesh-Bamea, mentioned in Deut. i. 44, where the Amorites slew the Israelites when they went up to fight contrary to the command of Moses, after the return of the men who had been sent to spy out the land : a Seir totally distinct from that in the land of Edom.' — Tent and Khan, p. 217.

If this conclusion be correct, as there is every reason to believe, it ma)y be a clue to the site of the Hormah of Numbers xiv. 45. Dr. Stewart mentions, on the authority of the Bedouins, that ' directly east from Khulasah there are ruins called Kherbut Sebata, at the foot of the Magrah mountains, which were in sight,' and adds, 'This most probably is the Zephath of Judges i. 17, also called Hormah^ p. 205. K his Kusr-es-Sir be the Seir of Deut. i. 44, and this Sebata be Zephath (alias Hormah), may not the latter be the Hormah of Numbers and Deuteronomy, where the pursuit closed ?

battle of Hormah, fought, we have seen, on the north-eastern side and summit of Djebel Heidi. Another passage informs us that in this great fight the Amalekites were leagued with the Canaanites, who, it is hence made clear, had pushed their settlements southwards into the wilderness of Paran, where the two races became intermingled, and occupied together the whole southern, or Arabian, frontier of Palestine.
* Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites

which dwelt in that hill, and smote them and discom-
fited them even unto Hormah.' Thirty-eight years
later Moses found himself a second time upon this
same ground. And we have only to consider his cir-
cumstances regarded as a human leader, to see the
wisdom and necessity of the fruitless embassy to Edom.
For he was here placed in circumstances which
nought but miracle could overrule. In his front lay
the whole strength of the combined Amalekite and
Canaanite population. On his left flank hung impend-
ing the impregnable position of Djebel Heidi, a post
at which the Israelites had before been forsaken of
God, and in the assault of which they had experienced
the most disastrous repulse recorded throughout the
history of their wanderings. The men whom he now
led were the brethren or the sons of those who had
fallen on Djebel Heidi and at Hormah. All were
filled with the memories of that disastrous day; all

gazed upon the mountain graveyard of their people 1
Against this formidable position, threatening at once
both flank and rear, Moses, before he could move one
step onward, must lead his disheartened panic-stricken
followers. Strong in faith, had God commanded it, he
would have done so ; for to Him, he knew, nothing was
impossible. But God had not spoken ; and without
the Divine conunand, and its implied miraculous sup-
port, to have made the attempt would have been simply
madness.

We are now regarding Moses apart from his Divine
mission, as a great captain only, placed in circumstances
of extreme difficulty and peril ; thrown upon his own
resources, and upon the prompt exercise of a sound
military judgment. See now how he acts, and let the
intelligent reader judge for himself whether Alexander
or Hannibal, Napoleon or Wellington, ever showed
more consummate strategy. Unable to break through
the hostile barriers opposed to him, he at once de-
termines upon a circuitous flank march. ^ Turning
away' from the impenetrable front and implacable
hostility of the allied Amalekites and Canaanites, he
proceeds to negotiate with a neutral, a kindred, and a
conceived friendly power, the Edomites, for a peaceful
passage through their passes and fastnesses of Mount
Seir. All this was done on the soundest principles
of human calculation; but all was, nought the less.

ordered, directed, and overruled to the accomplishment
of the ends of Divine Providence. It was in the
declared counsels of Providence that the forty years'
wanderings should be fulfilled. It was in the secret
purposes of Divine Wisdom that the Moabites, who
afterwards came against Israel under Balak, should be
chastised ; and that Og, the king of Bashan, and
Sihon, the king of the Amorites, should be destroyed.
But these judgments all turned, first upon the abortive
negotiations with the king of Edom, and next upon
the consequent retrograde and still more circuitous
route round the border of the land of Edom.

All the circumstances unite to show that Moses, at
the time of the embassy and negotiation, acting on
man's judgment, believed the king of Edom to be
friendly, or at least that he might, by conciliatory pro-
positions, be brought round to be so. Yet all the
while it is perfectly clear, from the result, that he
partook in the alarm of all the surrounding nations,
and most probably was in secret league with the
Amalekites and Canaanites. This, indeed, is what
Moses himself, when speaking in the spirit of prophecy,
had foretold: *Then the dukes of Edom shall be
amazed; the mighty men of Moab trembling shall
take hold of them ; all the inhabitants of Canaan shall
melt away.'

The providential result of the failure of this negotia-

tion has been anticipated. It secured the completion
of the allotted period of forty years, by bringing
Israel through devious paths in the wilderness back
to Ezion-Geber, and round the border of Mount Seir,
by the east of Moab, to the Jordan. While, in the
whole transaction, the human elements and the Divine
are so wonderfully blended,* as to show that, in all
things, the ways and counsels of man are subordinated,
subservient, and subsidiary to the secret counsels and
hidden wisdom of God.

• It is the fashion of the day to talk of discriminating between
the Divine and human elements blended together in the Bible.
Every such attempt is a distinction without a difference. For
everything in the Old and New Testaments, the simplest histories,
and the most stupendous miracles, are alike Qtoirvivaroi (God-
breathed) : that is to say, every book, every chapter, every verse,
of the canonical Scriptures, is under the law of plenary inspiration.
This, irrefragably, is the doctrine of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 16. They
who, upon this high matter, think themselves wiser than St. Paul,
have only the more need to be reminded of the great Apostle's
warning admonition, Kom. xii. 16, — ^Be not wise in your own
conceits.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOUNT OP THE GOLDEN CALF.

The track of Israel in the wilderness is unavoidably a
broken one ; and the scenes of her wanderings may not
unaptly be compared to a gleaning-field,* where we
are free to range without order, picking up, here and

* Among the gleanings none are of more obyious importance
than remains of ancient architectural constructions, or excavations;
in the Sinai peninsula, because such remains demonstrate the pre-
sence, at some remote period, of a people capable of executing
architectural works ; and, in so doing, point imavoidably to the
presence of the Israelites of the Exode as a simple and complete
solution of the phenomena. In this view I have already invited
attention in ' Sinai Photographed ' to the tablets and excavations
in Wady Maghara, and to the mountain cemetery at Sarbut-el-
Khadem. To these irrefragable landmarks of ancient habitations
(and none save the Israelites ever have been, or ever can be, proved
to have inhabited these barren wilds) I would here add another
(if it be another) which I observe, while I write, in the Journal
of the Prefetto of Egypt, published by Bishop Clayton. The phe-
nomenon appears hitherto to have escaped notice.

' October 6 [1722]. We departed at half an hour after six ; and,
by that road which leads north-west, proceeded towards the baths
of Pharao, and continuing our journey through these mountains,
which they say are also written with imknown characters like
the others [in Wady Mokatteb], we stopped at half an hour after
nine in a plain totally surrounded with mountains. After dinner

there, the scattered stalks, to be afterwards gathered
into bundles. Following up the image, we will now
retrace our steps from the plain of Moab and the banks
of the Jordan, and try whether any gleanings still remain
to be gathered around the base of Mount Serbal, shown
in our next chapter to be the true Mount Sinai, Horeb,

we went to a neighbouring valley, which lay westward, called
Magena IMoffharaf], where is a grotto cut with infinite labour in
the marble rock; the entrance into which is, by the injury of time
and weather, for the most part obstructed by great stones, and
even the cave itself almost half filled with sand. Being obliged to
use the help of candles and other lights, on our entrance we came
immediately to a great Jiall, supported on every side by rude unfi-
nished pillars. This grotto we could perceive reached a great deal
further, but on account of the excessive heat we declined exploring
it on ; and we found the further we went the more the passage
was obstructed with sand. At length we concluded that this cave
was built for a burial-place to the Egyptians.' — Journal, p. 36.

^ This supposition is in my opinion a little extravagant, consi-
dering the great distance this place is from Egypt. But I see no
reason why it may not have been made by the Israelites, during
their abode in the Wilderness, for some public use or another.' —
Note by Bishop Clayton,

This excavated pillared-hall would appear to be in the Wady
Maghara. It clearly appears to be distinct from the cave with the
triple inscription, both from its character and dimensions, and
because of its lying in a valley instead of upon the side of the
mountain. Its scale, as here described, is very remarkable. The
rude and unfinished pillars, also, are indicative and significant, as
referred by Bishop Clayton to the Israelites in the wilderness,
who were always liable to begin a work, and to be called away
by the Divine summons before they were able to finish it. The
inquiries of any Sinai travellers who deserve the name, ought
obviously to be directed to the recovery of the site of this great
architectural excavation.

* the Mount of God.' In * Sinai Photographed,'
whence the chapter is taken, I had treated this
question so fully, as well nigh to have exhausted the
materials of proof already in our possession. Nor was
I aware of any point of evidence left untouched, until
ray friend Mr. Govett, of Norwich, by a happy con-
jecture, opened my eyes to the probability of our being
able to crown all the evidences which identify the
Serbdl with Mount Sinai, by the recovery in this
quarter of the actual site of the worship of the. golden
calf!

As the idea thrown out by this gentleman is one of
intense interest and importance as regards the identi-
fication of the Scriptural Mount Sinai, the reader will
allow me to place before him the circumstance in
which it originated. In examining, when preparing my
former work, the present nomenclature of localities
round Mount Serbal, with a view to trace any con-
nection discoverable between the meanings of the
Arabic names and of Scripture events at Mount Sinai,
I observed one local denomination, to be found only in
Ritter's map ; namely, Djebel EgeUy a hill situated some
three or four miles north-east of the Serbal, and
exactly facing the Wady Aleyfi,t ; the scene, as I had
previously adduced ample proof to show, of the descent
of Moses from the mount. Supposing the Egele of
Ritter to be a word with the article prefixed, I had

treated it accordingly ; and obtained from the gup-
posed root, IL>-, Jala^ a sense singularly connected,
apparently, with the awful transactions at Mount Sinai.
I laid no particular stress, however, on the conceived
etymology, but grouped the name with others in that
neighbourhood bearing various degrees of apparexvfc
analogy to the Israelites and Mount Sinai.

Mr. Govett, on the other hand, conceived ihat, in
rendering the name of Sitter's locality from his Roman
into Arabic characters, I might have mistaken the
original word. No unlikely supposition, as there was
no clue to it but conjecture. Assimiing that the
name Egele was one word, a single root, his felicitous
suggestion was. Whether the Arabic Egele might not
rather be represented by the Hebrew nb:ij^, Ajeh^
(Arabic ^jaiSi\ Vitulus? and Djehel Egele signify
^ The Mount of tlie Calf,' thus denoting the actucd site
of the idolatrous worship of the golden calf?

Immediately on receiving this hint, I reexamined
with new eyes both tlie name itself and its locality ; and
the more closely I investigated the more fully I became
convinced that my correspondent's reading is the true
one. I would now lay before the reader my reasons,
and the results.

* IL»-, Keyelatus, retectus^ et manifestatus, clareque patoit, et
splendide apparuit — Dea$ kommi, — GoUu»,

The name Egele, in Ritter's map^ is printed as one
word, with an initial capital E. On reexamination of
the nomenchiture in his maps, I found, on the other
hand, that the prefix article is uniformly printed in
small letters, with a hyphen, the name itself alone
beginning with a capital. Bitter's Egele, therefore, is
certainly one word — the name of this locality. Upon
consulting other modem maps, I further found that the
Hebrew V is not unfrequently represented by E. From
the local name Egele, therefore, taken alone^ there
arises a good presumption in favour of Mr. Govett's
conjecture. But the conjecture will be advanced more
nearly towards proof, when we come to the geographical
position and features of the locality. To the consider-
ation of these I shall in the next place address myself.

My learned correspondent's suggestion led me to
weigh the probabilities connected with the physical
relations between Djebel Egele and Mount Serbal,
regarded as the true Mount Sinai ; and all the features
of both relative positions proved corroborative of his
view. The Scripture narrative plainly gives us to
understand that Moses could, in a general way, see
what passed in the camp while he descended from
Mount Sinai; but that only when he had advanced
some way towards the encampment of the Israelites,
from the foot of the mount, could he distinctly see the
calf and the dancing. Now this is exactly what would

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take place in the relative positions of Mount Serbdl and
Djebel Egele. For from Bitter's map it appears that
Djebel Egele stands due n.e. of Mount Serb&l, at ,the
extremity of a wide sandy plain, with nothing inter-
vening to obstruct the prospect; while, on the other
hand, it is so far removed as to place a very considerable
interval between it and the mountain. Now these are
the exact conditions which the sacred narrative sup-
poses and requires. For we read that ^ Moses turned
and went down from the mountain. And when Joshua
heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said
unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp. And
he said.: It is not the noise of them that shout for
mastery, neither is it the cry for being overcome : but
the noise of them that sing do I hear.' All this implies
what would be seen and heard from a great height, by
those at a considerable distance. When they reached
the bottom of the hill, they were out of sight of, and
remote from, the encampment. This clearly appears
from what follows : ^ And it came to pass, as soon as he
came nigh unto the campy that he saw the calf, and the
dancing.' He had advanced, that is to say, some way
into the plain before either was discernible : a condition
perfectly in accordance with the site of Djebel Egele,
which is, perhaps, some four miles, more or less, from
the foot of ''Mount SerbSl. But the required Scriptural
conditions are further and most fully met by the whole

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circamfltanoeB of the locality. For Djebel Egele is a
oonnderable hill ; and nothing but the calf and the
dancing being upon a lofty hill couM enable Moses to
discern them from afar^ in the centre of the yast Israelite
encampment. This consideration^ it is scarcely neces-
sary to remark^ adds great weight to the evidences
independently arising from the relative positions ci
Mount Serb&l and Djebel Egele.

I have now to observe that these local evidences are
very materially strengthened from a wholly independent
source. I have noticed that the golden cidf must have
stood upon a hill^ to have been seen of Moses at a
distance from the plain. I have now to add. that it
mi$st have stood upon a hill-top, because all the worship
of the heathen, whether of Baal, of calves, or of what-
ever idols (Egypt alone excepted), took place invariably
upon the summits of lofty hills. When this considera-
tion is taken in connection with the position of Djebel
Egele, and all the attendant circumstances, the only
legitimate inference deducible seems equally imperative
and irresistible.

Mr. Govett suggested the desirableness of searching
ihe lists of Arabic names of Sinaitic localities, in
Bobinson and other travellers, in quest of the Arabic
original of Sitter's Djebel Egele. None of them, how-
ever, save Bitter, make any mention of this locality.
But my mind if as so full of this happy suggestion — it

80^ I may say^ haunted my Imagination — ^tfaat I could not
let the matter rest. It occurred to me^ that if the same
name could be found in Palestine — where we know
the worship of golden calves^ founded on that of the
golden calf in the wilderness of Sinai, certainly existed
and prevailed — this would be the strongest conceivable
confirmation of the true sense and origin of the name
Djebel Egele. I resolved to try the experiment, though
with scarcely the most distant hope of its proving suc-
cessful. Most successful, however, it did prove : the
results of the inquiry exceeding even higher antici-
pations than I had ventured to entertain.

We know from Scripture history that golden calves
were set up at Bethel, at Dan, at Gilgal, and not im-
probably at other points in Palestine. From the

description of the site of Jeroboam's calf at Bethel, in 1 Kings xii. 28-33, compared with 2 Kings xxiii 15, 16, we further learn that these idols, like the images of Baal, were all erected upon * high places,' Le. upon hill tops. It is equally certain that this form of idolatry was the reproduction only and repetition of the worship of the golden calf before Mount Sinai. Jeroboam himself proclaimed this, when he used at his impious consecration of this idol the very words of the idolatrous Israelites : ' These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt* Thus Bethel, whether so named or not, was virtually

nVair bn:i, Djehel Egele, or, ' The Mount of the Calf.' And so of Dan, of Gilgal, and other sites of this form of idolatry. If, therefore, we meet in modem Palestine " any places or localities denominated from the calf, there arises a strong presumption that they were ancient sites of this idolatrous worship. If so, these sites are certain to be on the summits of hills, and therefore are, each of them, literally Djebel Egele^ or ' The Mount of the Calf;' being the very name still extant under Mount SerbS,l, and presumed, by Mr. Govett, followed by the present writer, to commemorate the actual site of tlie original in the wilderness by Mount Sinai — of Aaron's golden calf.

Now on searching carefully the list of Arabic names of localities in Palestine with this view, in the second appendix to vol. iii. of Robinson's * Biblical Researches,' though not unprepared, I was taken agreeably by surprise by the occurrence, p. 123, in the district of Beni-Hasan, west of Jerusalem, of a village bearing the name required, namely, J^c> '^JmZ (being the same root as the Hebrew Th^v) Vitulus, ' The Calf.' This village is seated between Bethlehem and the mountain town of Beit-Jd.la, which it adjoins. Being in ' the hill country,' it is sure to be, like most of the villages of Judea, on the top of a hill. If so, it is a literal recurrence of the Sinai denomination.

Djebel EgeU^ and a consequent corroboration of the origin of that name.

Passing on through Robinson's lists of local nomen- clature, I was still more strongly impressed on finding the same denomination recurring in another locality, the district of Beni-Zeid, north of Jerusalem, as the name of another village, mentioned p. 125, where we again meet the same designation, J 4^, ^Ajuly or ^ The Calf.' But the name, in this second example of its occurrence, has peculiar force and significancy, because this J^-i stands in juxtaposition with another town, LL^sjl^- Jiljilia^ which Dr. Robinson justly identifies with the Gilgal of Scripture, also a mountain town, and a chief seat of the worship of the ' golden calf.' In this ^Ajuly therefore, we recover a third Djebel Egele^ most probably the actual site of the calf-worship of Gilgal.

In these two local denominations in modem Palestine (due regard being had to the significancy and perma- nency, as a general rule, of local nomenclature in the East), I think we may fairly conjecture, or rather reasonably infer, that we have the r^roduction only, and repetition, of Ritter's Djebel Egele at the foot of Moui^t Serbdl ; assuming with Mr, Govett, as there is every reason to assume, the true reading of the Arabic name to be nV:il^ Vn:i, or j.^ J^, ' The Mount of the Calf,

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being the name given by the Israelites^ in the age of Moses^ to the scene of their idolatrous worship.

But we have not yet done with the physical circum- stances of this Sinaidc locality. They are such as not only to strengthen this particular identification^ but as to let in new light upon this part of the Mosaic narra- tive, by showing the perfect adaptation of the region of the Serb&l to all that is said of what took place at Mount Sinai; and (what is of more special interest and moment) the peculiar adaptation of the neighbour- hood of Djebel Egele for the vast encampment of .the Israelites. It is well known that one chief objection made to Mount Serb^ as the scene of the giving of the LaWy by the advocates of the monkish Sinai^ is that its narrow valleys afforded no adequate camping- ground^ and no open space whence the whole people could witness the terrors of the Law-giving.

Now the only way to meet this objection, and the first step towards any just conclusion, is to consider the requirements of the sacred narrative.

1. The camp was visible and audible from Mount Sinai ; inasmuch as it was while Moses and Joshua descended from the mount that, looking towards the camp, they heard the noise of the 6ongregated multi- tude. 2. The camp was at some considerable distance from the mount, inasmuch as, after his descent to the fpot of the mountain, Moses advanced some way before

^ he saw the calf and the dancing.' 3. Mount Sinai was seen of all from the camp^ inasmuch as the descent of Jehovah upon it was visible to the whole congregar tion : ' The Lord will come down, in the sight of all the people, upon Mount Siniu.' 4. There was ample space in front, between the camp and the mountain, to give standing-room for the whole population ; inasmuch as ' Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God, and they stood at the nether part of the mount.' Here are the Scriptural conditions, and a glance atKitter's map of the locality round Djebel Egele will show that it possesses and unites all the foregoing requirements. For, 1, there is no obstruction whatsoever to the eye between it and Mount Serb&l. 2. It stands between three and four miles from the Wady Aley&t side of the mountain ; an interval which required time for Moses to cross it, yet near enough for any great popular commotion to be seen and heard by him from above. 3. It follows that all below could see and hear the Kghtnings, and thunderings, and voices on the summit. 4. The ground between Djebel Egele and Mount Serbd.1 is a spacious sandy plain, capable, at once, of containing an encampment of millions, and ample standing space for those millions, in front of the camp, when brought forth by Moses, and assembled ^ at the nether part of the mount.'

In the next chapter, the evidences for Mount Serbdl

being the true Mount Sinai will be laid before the reader in full ; while, the proof once established, the whole argument and evidences will combine to demon- strate that, in Djebel Egele we recover the actual hill on which stood the idol, and around which rang the singings and the shoutings of the worshippers of Aaron's

* golden calf.'

CHAPTEK VII.

MOUNT SERBIl the SCRIPTURAL MOUNT SINAI.

The first step towards any real settlement of the imperishably interesting question, Which of the Si- naitic mountJEuns is the true Mount Sinai, ^ The Mount of God ? ' is to get rid altogether of the rubbish of monkish tradition, under which the question itself has so long lain buried. If we confine ourselves to the received laws of evidence as to the positive and relative values of proofs and witnesses, the case may be stated and disposed of in a very few words. It is allowed on all sides that the idea of the monkish Mount Sinai being the true Mount Sinai first arose late in the sixth century,* subsequently to the erection by

• That Mount Serb&l was identified with Mount Sinai by the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries is demonstrated by the topographical details preserved in the martyrologies of Ammonius, A.D. 373, and of S. Nilus, a.d. 390 — 400, ap. Tillemont, torn. vii. pp. 573 — 580 J and torn. xiv. pp. 189 — 218. From these authori- ties, together with that of Cosmas Indicopleustes, we learn :

1. That Mount Sinai was close to Pharan (Firan)y within six miles : the fact as regards Mount SerbaL

Justinian of the monastery of St. Katharin npon tlie mountain to which it has given name. It is equally allowed on all sides that^ prior to that events the un- broken consent of ecclesiastical tradition^ throughout the preceding third, fourth, and fifth centuries, had bonded down Mount Serb&l as to Spos, ' The Mount of God.' Now these two lines of evidence are of about the same relative value as chaff and wheat The post- Justinian tradition is as absolutely worthless as those regarding the blood of St. Januarius, the shrine of Compostella, the winking idol of Belgium, or the negress of Loretto. The praj-Justinian tradition, on the contrary, is ecclesiastical history. It is the un- bought, unbiassed witness of the Primitive ChurcL But the witness of the Primitive Church on a point like this, we may reasonably infer, is itself based on Jewish tradition : at least no rival Jewish tradition is to be met with in Josephus or Philo.

3. That it was two days' journey trom Elim, then called Haithu: the fact as regards the distance between Mount Serbal and the best-YOuched site of Elim.

3. That Elim, or Raithu, was close to Nakb-Buderah, is proved

by the expedition of the African tribe called Blemmye$ against the Raithu solitaries, who lived in caves in the face of the mountains immediately over the plaio of Sin, and facing the sea.

4. These landmarks altogether exclude the monkish Sinai^

which, instead of the stated two days' journey, is nearer four days' journey from Raithu.

To argue on these opposed lines of evidence as npon the same footing, is about as rational as to confound the shadow with the substance. Yet, upon the ques- tion of the true Sinai, our travellers and our writers continue to reason as though ecclesiastical history and monkish tradition were of one and the same authority. Still Drs. Robinson and Stewart fully and freely admit that, down to the sixth century, Serb&l, or Pharan, with a city of the same name at its foot, was the only acknowledged Mount Sinai ; and Dr. Stewart signifi- cantly marks the point of transition to the monkish Sinai, when he adds, 'ere imperial patronage had brought Ghebel Mousa into favour, and when Serb&l was reckoned " the Mount of God." ' *

Notices of Mount Serbdl as Mount Sinaiy in Church History y from the Third to the Sixth Century.

In the Pentateuch, Mount Sinai is emphatically styled *The Mount.' Hence, the phrases to &po9^ wid TO opos ^Apa^iKovy * The Mount,' or ' The Arabian

* Stewart^ p. 110. It is highly important to remark that the statements of Ammonius and Nilus to this effect do not rest solely upon authority. They stand confirmed by physical facts. The existence of flights of stone stairs to the very top of the eastern peak of the Serbal irrefragably proves its occupancy by the ancho- rites of the fourth century as the true Sinai, as stated by Ammonius. Burckhardt and Stewart unite to establbh this point. * Burckhardt

Mount; when used with reference to the Sinai penm- sula in ecclesiastical history, must always be understood to mean Mount Sinai.* The Scriptural phrase is a mark of isolation : it tells us that Mount Sinai stood alone, and in this peculiarity it tallies with Mount Serbal as with no other mountain of the peninsula.

The earliest allusion to Sinai in Church history is in this form. It is made by Dionysius, bishop of Alexan- andria, a.d. 258, where he speaks of the flight of Charsemon, bishop of Nilus in Egypt, during the per- secution under Diocletian, sis to ^Apafiiop opos : and again, more definitely, of the flight of many other Christians to the Sinai peninsula, where Karh to avih ^Apa^LKov oposy ^ at the same Arabian Mount,' they were made slaves of by the Saracens. The passage clearly means Mount Sinai, and as clearly describes Mount Serbal, standing, as it does, a separate mountain, apart from all others.

The earliest positive identification of Sinai with Serbal occurs in a geographical treatise by Eusebius, preserved by Saint Jerome. This notice belongs to

mentions another road, containing flights of steps, which wound round its eastern shoulder till it reached the summit^ as that used by the monks and pilgrims in former days. I have no doubt his statement is correct, as we fell in with it about a quarter of an hour from the top.* — Stewart, p. 112.

* For the earlier ecclesiastical notices of Sinai see Tillemont, and Kobinson's resume, Bibl. Res. vol. i. p. 180, etc

the fourth century. Speaking of Eephidim, Eusebius describes it as ^ a locality in the desert close to Mount Horeb, into which the waters from the rock in Mount Horeb flowed ; and the place was called Temptation. Here, also, Joshua fought with Amalek nigh unto Pharan^ * There is no explaining away this descrip- tion. It is the valley of Firan under Serbal. The statement is in this respect further most important, that it categorically affirms the fact, arrived at by the present writer on other grounds, — that the perennial river in the valley of Firan sprang originally &om the rock in Horeb, and is a standing witness to the miracle, t

As, on a point of so high interest, this coincidence is one between two wholly independent witnesses, I give here my own view and explanation, as they stand in my published ^ Letter to Lord Lyndhurst.'

* 'Pa0i^i/i, t6'koq TrJQ Ipijfiov irapa rov X(opy€ opog, sv if Ik TTJg TTSTpac Trie iv t^ opa Xutpij^ ippvriat rd yiara* Kai 6K\y9ii o TOTTOQ 7r«pft<T/x6f • ivPa Kai rroXefiH *lij(rovQ rov *Apa\t)K ^yyvc ^apav. — Euseb. ap. S. Hieron. Op. torn. ii. p. 474, ed. Bened.

t A friend has called my attention to a note on Deut. ix. 21^ in Bagster's Bible, in which my view stands corroborated by an independent authority. The note is as follows: 'This was the stream which flowed from the rock that Moses smote with his rod (Exod. xvii. 6), and to which the Psalmist alludes in Psalm Ixxviii. 16, 20, and cv. 41. A Jewish tradition to the same effect is preserved by Philo Judaeus.*

* TTie Site of Rephidim and the true Mount Sinai,

* Dr. Lepsios, as I have already stated, has settled both questions to my entire conviction, and to the fiill satisfaction of all his own friends. I shall not task Your Lordship with the details, but shall only repeat my conviction that Dr. Lepsius has set both questions at rest for ever.

^ In coming to this conclusion, I am perfectly aware that very serious, and, unless in some way removable, insurmountable, difficulties attend his verifications of these long-lost localities. To Dr. Lepsius himself, it is true, they are not difficulties, because be exjdains miraculous events by natural causes. Moses, accordiiig to him, had frequented the fertile W&dy Firan during his forty years' previous sojourn in these deserts ; and the miracle at Kephidim consisted in his conducting the fainting Israelites to that vale of living waters I Mr. Stanley alludes, indeed, to his striking the rock, but seems not to doubt or question the preexistence of the waters.

^ Now if there is one point more clear than another in the Scriptural account of Kephidim, it is its absolute and total destitution of water. I need but refer to Exod. xvii. 1 — 3, in proof of tiiis point. It is perfectiy impossible, therefore, that the Wddy Firan, in its

present state^ could have been the scene of the miracle^ or the site of the Mosaic Bephidim^ as Dr. Lepsius and all his followers maintain it to have been. The idea is too pueiile, almost^ for serious discussion ; for, according to this theory, the Israelites already occupied this earthly paradise, and Moses, encamped on the hill of Paran, already held the key of this position, when attacked by the Amalekites. He lay, with the springs of the Wady Aley&t above, and of el Hesue (or Alush) below ; and the danger of the Israelites must have lain not in the dearth, but the plethora of water. All this notwithstanding, I hold Lepsius's site to be the Mosaio Kephidim ; and difficulties apparently insurmountable, to be explicable and removable by plain warrant of Scripture.

' My view and explanation of this great apparent difficulty is simply this : Rephidim, assuredly, was the waterless waste which the Sacred narrative describes, when the Israelites aiiived there; and the Wady Firan, with its palm-groves and water, then first sprang into being, when, by the Divine command, Moses smote the rock, and the living waters gushed

out:

" The desert smiled,
And paradise was opened in the wild."

' My belief is, that this loveliest oasis of Sinai, perhaps of all the East, was the creation of the miracle

;it Bephidim^ and remains to this day a standing record of that great miracle. If this be so^ the upper of the two springs of the Wady Aley&t may be the offspring of the miracle ; and it appears^ in Bartlett's sketchy to gush out of a rock.

' But a view so new and startling as this justly demands the strongest evidences to support it. I admit the proposition^ and am prepared with those evidences. My evidences are passages in the book of Psalms^ as yet wholly unexplained^ and, unless ^upon the grounds which I now submit to Your Lordship, altogether inexplicable. Thus, in Psalm cv. 41, we read :

" He opened the rock of stone.
And the waters flowed out,
So that rivers ran in the dry places.

Again, in Psalm IxxviiL 15 — 16 :

'^ He clave the rocks in the wilderness,

And gave them drink as out of the great depths :
He brought streams, also, out of the rock, .*

And caused the waters to rtm down like rivers".

^ St. Paul's spiritual application of the miracle equally proves its historical character. '* They did all drink the same spiritual drink ; for they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them : and that rock was

Christ."*

• 1 Cor. x, 4

^ These texts, if they prove anything, most incontrovertibly prove that the miracle at Rephidim was not a mere temporary relief, but a permanent and effluent supply. *^ Rivers ran in the dry places." " The waters ran down like rivers." Nay, they *^ followed '^ the course of the Israelites, as far as that course required this miraculous supply. Compare these inspired statements with the existing phenomenon of the Wady Firan, and they become all fully explained : take away this wonderful phenomenon, and they become and must remain inexplicable.*

*But there remains a crowning witness to these evidences in another Scripture, the 107th Psalm. The last part of this Psalm relates exclusively to Israel in the wilderness. And here are the words of its testimony:

^' He maketh the wilderness a standing water :
And water-springs of a dry ground.
And there he setteth the hungry,
That they may build them A citt to dwell in :
That they may sow their land, and plant yinejaxds,
To yield them fruits of increase.*'

* I pause to compare this description with the physical characteristics, and the actual circumstances, of

• St. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria in the third century, takes this Scriptural and only true view of the miracle : 6 S' imppstuv

TTOTafidc rtjv iroXiv, irork fihv kpiifiov rfjc dvvSpo'v ^riponpoc oiipOri^ Kui fxaXKov avxiiiiidfiQ iKtivris, fjv diaitoptv6\iivoQ b 'ItrpaijX o^tuq

v2

the Wady Firan. It is the only spot in the peninsula of Sinai where the " water-springs " run like ever-flowing rivers: it is the only spot in the peninsula of Sinai where an ancient citj^ or anj citj^ exists or ever did exist: it is the only spot in the peninsula of Sinai where corn ever did or ever could grow. In a word, all the conditions depicted in the Psalm are found in the Wady Firan : none of the conditions depicted in the Psalm are to be foimd in any other r^on of that •' waste and howling wilderness."

' I resume^ therefore^ with the authority attaching to those who bring substantive proof in support of what has been theoretically advanced^ the position from which I set out, namely, that the Wady Firan, with its com and its palm-groves, its city and its waters, is a standing witness to the miracle at Bephidim, and a lasting memorial of the dealings of Almighty God with his people IsraeL*

' Save from the 107th Psalm, the origin and date of

liii^rjtrtVf d>Q Mb»V9^c l^v Karat fv* Pvrjvai^ ovtoXq vapd. rov ^avfAatna 'TTOiovvroc n6vov iic wirpac oKporofiov irorov* irork Sk tooovtov ivXifiAfivptv^ (tff rraaav rifv inpixbtpoVy rde dk 6doi)c K<'tl Toiic dypoiiQ kiriKX^oavra' rtjc kiri "Sde yivofiivriQ rov vSaroQ ^opaq ivrayaynv &ieiiKriv, — ^Dionys. Alex« ap. Galland. t. ill. p. 535.

♦ Exod. xvii. 1-6, zxxii. 20, Deut. ix. 21, taken together, seem to supply a perfect demonstration of the correctness of the above iriew. For from Exod. xyii. 1-6, it is certain that, previously to the miracle at the rock of Kephidim, Mount Horeb and its valley

the ancient city of Pharan or Paxan is unknown. It is known only to be of immemorial antiquity. It could

(L e. Serl)al and the Wady Firan) were absolutely waierkM : from Deut. ix. 2\, it is equally certain that^ immediately after the miracle^ a rtaming brook descended perennially from Mount Horeb ; and; from Exod. xxxiL 20; that this brook became a broad stream in the valley beneath; upon whose waters Moses cast the dust of the golden calf; aad which was sufficiently prolonged to give space for all the children of Israel to drink of the waters thus sprinkled. The stream of Wady Firau; running now for six miles through the valley; it thus appears with moral certainty; was ' the water ' sprinkled by Moses with the ashes of the golden calf.

I subjoin the texts in question seriatim, in order^that the reader may have the evidence in one view :

BE70SE THE UIRACLE.

' And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wildeiDess of Sin; after their journey S; according to the commandment of the Lord; asd pitched in Kephidim :

and there was no water for the people to drink.

Wherefore the people did chide with MoseS; saying; Give us water that we may drink.

And Moses said imto thenii Why chide ye with me P wherefore do ye tempt the Lord P

And the people j^hirsted there for water, and the people murmured against MoseS; and said; Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt; to kill uS; and our children^ and our cattlo; toith thirst t

And Moses cried unto the Lord; saying; What shall I do unto this people P they be almost ready to stone me.'

THE 1CISA.GLE.

'And the Lord said unto MoseS; Go on before the people; and take with thee of the elders of Israel : and thy rod; wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold I will

not have been built by the Israelites properly so called, because they were, one and all, bound for the Land of Promise. But why may it not have owed its origin to •* the mixed multitude," who accompanied Israel out of Egypt? These had no longer a country ; they had no promised Canaan; and might gladly pause and rest, dwell and build, in an oasis uniting all that the hearts of an Eastern people could desire. Once severed from the Israelites, they were sure to relapse into idolatry ; the tradition of the Exode would remain, but its true character would be gradually lost ; until, in after times, it would be dissolved in those heathen myths, which Strabo, or Diodorus Siculus, chronicled and handed down, to be speculated and theorized on by the visionary votaries of German " Neology," who can find everything at Sinai but traces of God's people Israel. What I last submit to Your Lordship is conjecture only ; but

stand before thee there, upon the rock of Horeh ; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink.
And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.'

AFTEE THE MIRACLE.

' And he took the calf which they had made, and humt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strewed it upon tJie water, and made the children of Israel drink of it.*

'And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it "v«f th fire, and stamped and groimd it very small, even until it was as small as dust ; and I cast the dust into the brook that descended out of the Movant^

it is conjecture founded on the analogy of history, and on the instinctive tendency of every migratory people to colonize and settle down.' — Letter to Lord Lyndhurst^ pp. 63-69.

The next authority to Eusebius indicating Serbdl tdf be Mount Sinai is Ammonius, a monk of Canopus, near Alexandria; who, troubled by the Arian persecution, made a pilgrimage by way of Jerusalem to Mount Sinai ; took up his abode on the holy mountain with the Solitaries, a.d. 373 ; was himself, in part, an eyewitness of their martyrdom by the Saracens ; and received from an eyewitness the report of the massacre^ on the same day, of their brethren the Solitaries of Raithuy or Elim^ a point stated to be two days' journey from Sinai ; and who has left a written account of his visit, and of those melancholy transactions.

The tract of Ammonius is brief, and its geographical notices (after the manner of his age and calling) vague and general. Yet they are sufficiently specific to enable us to determine Serbal and Kaithu as his Mount Sinai and Elim. The site of Baithu is fixed determinately by the following description : * Ce qui arriva k Sinai, arriva le jour mesme d Raithe, qui en est ^loigne de deux journees, C'est le lieu que I'Ecriture appelle Elim, et I'on y voyoit encore les douze fontaines qu'elle marque, mais le nombre des 70 palmiers ^toit beaucoup augment^. La plaine qui

s'^tendoit le long de la mer Rouge^ et qui avoit 4 on 5 lieues de large^ £toit bom^e Sl I'Orient d'une coste de xnontagnes^ dont les chemins estoient trSs difficiles : et c'est Id, qu'il y avoit 43 Solitaires^ qui demeuroient s^par^ment dans des cayemes^ sous la conduite du saint Ahh6 Paul, qui estoit de Petra.' *

* From the account of JNHus, who visited Suud twenty yean later than Ammonius^ we gather that some of these Solitaries lived on or towards the summit of the mountain^ and others at the reputed site of the burning bush, lower down. Nilus took up his abode with the former. ' S. Nil, comme nous avons dit, demeuroit avec sons fils Th^odule sur la montagne de Sinai. Plus bas, sur la mSme montagne, il y avoit d'autres Solitaires au lieu qu'on appelloit encore le Buisson. S. Nil avoit accoutum^ de les aller souvent visiter,' etc. After the massacre of most of the brethren by the Saracens, ' ceux qu'Us renvoy^rent se hast^rent de gagner le hatd de la numtagnef dont les Sarrazins n'osoient approcher, persuadez que la Maj^t^ de Dieu y r^doit. Ainsi il se sauva avec les autres 8ur le haul de la montagne, S. Nil, et les autres qui s'^toient retirez au haut de la montagne, en descendirent le soir, pour ensevelir les corps de leurs frSres. Apres Tavoir enterr^ [Th^odule sen, scil.], ils se retirent avant le jour dans la ville de Pharan.' The mention of Pharan at once shows that we are at Mount Serb^l 'j that this is the Mount Sinai of which Nilus speaks. The correctness of his statement as to its summit being inhabited by the Solitaries (apparently so improbable) is demonstrable, however, from Burckhardt, who discovered regular flights of steps, up to the veiy top of Serbal, evident vestiges of those monastic dwellings. 'Burckhardt mentions another road, containing flights of steps, which wound round its eastern shoulder till it reached the summit, as that used by the monks and pilgrims in former days. I have no doubt his statement is correct, as we fell in with it about a quarter of an hour from the top.' — Stewart^ p. 112. And again : ^ About a. quarter of an hour from the top, we fell in with the

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This description (save in the substitution of miles for leagues) tallies most exactly with the character of the plain of Murkhah, bordering on the sea^ backed by a mountain range with difficult passes^ of which Nakb Buderah is the most formidable, and about thirty miles, or two days' journey, from Serb&l. The site of Baithu is further determined to this point, in that the description agrees with no other point on this coast. Tillemont seems to confound the Baithu or Elim of Ammonius with Tor; but this is plainly an impossibility, as Elim was the next station to Marah, and was succeeded by the encampment in ' the wilderness of Sin,' rightly marked by Robinson as commencing at el Murkhah, while Tor lies fuU fifty miles south of this wilderness. Baithu, on the other hand, certainly lay north of Sin. According to Ammonius, Elim, therefore, appears to be identified with Wady Nasb or Nusb, a valley central behind the plain of Murkhah, and which, from Robinson's report (who did not visit it), abounds still with fine spring water. * One or two of our men, with a camel, were sent round by this route, in order to fill the water-skins; and they

stair already referred to, consisting of large pieces of granite laid one above another on the surface of the smooth^ slippery rock^ fot the assistance of pilgrims who once frequented this mountain aa a holy place.' — ^p. 113. It is scarcely needful to remark how decisively this faxst accredits the narratives of Ammonius and Nilus.

brought us a load of better water than we had found since leaving the Nile.' Again: *We crossed about noon the other road^ coming up from the fountain in Wady Nusb.' *

But with all who believe the Sinaitic inscriptions to be the work of the Israelites, the Wady Nasb presents a still stronger claim to be the Elim of the Exodcy than those arising from the congruity of its site, and the abundance of its waters: for it possesses that surest landmark of an Israelite station, which all its rivals want, the presence, in abounding numbers, of those mysterious inscriptions. If it contains no longer the ^ twelve wells ' of which Moses speaks, and which still remained in the days of Ammonius and Cosmas, — it appears from Burckhardt's description, besides its one excellent spring-well, to be the great drain of the surrounding heights, and the receptacle of their waters. But the stamp of an Israelite station is in its Sinaitic inscriptions ; and, if an Israelite station, it can be no other than Elim.t The following is Burckhardt's description :

* Bibl. Res. voL i. pp. 110, 112.

t The present non-existence of these twelve weUs is no disproof of the identity of Wady Nasb with Elim. Burckhardt's reasoning upon the similar absence of the twelve wells at Wady Garendel applies equally here. ^ The non-existence, at present, of twelve wells at Gharendell must not be considered as evidence against

the just-stated conjecture: for Niebuhr says that his companions

^ We followed the windings of a valley, and in seven hours and a quarter reached the Wady el Naszeb (c^^wsiSl S^*^)^ where we rested under the shade of a large impending rock, which for ages, probably, has afforded shelter to travellers : it is, I believe, the same represented by Niebuhr in vol. i. pi. 43. Shady spots like this are well known to the Arabs; and as the scanty foliage of the acacia, the only tree in which these valleys abound, affords no shade, they take advantage of such rocks, and regulate the day's journey in such a way as to be able to reach them at noon, there to take the siesta. The main branch of the Wady Naszeb continues further up to the S.E., and contains, at about half an hour from the place where we rested, a well of excellent water. As I was fatigued, and the sun was very hot, I neglected to go there, though I am sensible that travellers ought particularly to visit wells in the desert ; because it is at

obtained water here by digging to a very small depth, and there was a great plenty of it when I passed. Water, in fact, is readily found by digging, in every fertile valley in Arabia, and wells are thus easily formed, which are quickly filled up again by the sands.* — Syria j p. 474.

This view of the matter is curiously confirmed by the fact recorded in Numbers, that the Israelites of the Exode did thus dig wells. This incident is one more added to the countless internal marks of the truth of the Mosaic history, and of the unchangeableness of Oriental customs. From the days of Abraham and Isaac, the digging of new wells was the office, not of ordinary workmen, but of ^ princes and nobles.' (Numb. xxi. 18. conf.)

these natural stations that traces of former inliabitaitts are more likely to be found than anywhere else. Tlie Wady Naszeb empties its waters^ in the rainy seasoiii into the Gulf of Suez^ at a short distance £ram die Bii'ket Faraoun*

^ While my guides and servants lay asleep under llie rock^ and one of the Arabs had gone to the well to water the camels and fill the skins^ I walked round the rock^ and was surprized to find inscriptions similar in form to those which have been copied by travellers in Wady Mokatteb. They are upon the surface of blocks which have fallen down from the cliff, and some [all?] of them appear to have been engraved while the pieces still formed a part of the main rock. There is a great number of them^ but few can be distinctly made out I copied the following [three] from some rocks which are lying near the resdng-pUce^ h'c about a hundred paces from the spot where travellers usually alight' — Syria, pp. 477, 478.

As it is matter of deep interest to make trial, at least, how far these inscriptions may thiow buj light upon the locality, I have given special care to the decypherment of two of them, Nos. 1 and 3, because they possess leading words, or groups of characters, in common ; and these characters are all of well-known alphabetic forms. In the first place, the master-key

to all the Slnaitic inscriptions, the word elsewhere first decyphered by the present writer, Arrij * The People,' viz. f-J[f= hebraice DP, occurs in both these inscriptions.*

In the next place, the word ^U;^ rickham, * a great rock,' or * the gi eat rock,' in known characters, occurs equally in both ; and is certified as the true reading by the actual presence of the rock, on fallen fragments of which tlie word in question is engraved. Its component characters are, the Samaritan Q rho, the old

Syriac U hethy and the ordinary Arabic ^, only, the wiiting not being cursive, the upper limb of this character is upright, / , instead of being turned

down to join the next letter as in the Arabic.

With these preliminary remarks, I submit the two insciiptions and their decypherments.

* ' Upon my first inspection of Mr. Grey's inscriptioDs, judging simply from the forms of the characters, I read in the initial term ^i^, the Hebrew word U^f, 6m, *' The People." This initial key-word, while neyer to be mistaken, is written in the Sinaitic inscriptions with the utmost admissible latitude of form. Even a cursory glance over the initial om of these inscriptions [which Beer reads xh^y shalum, "Peace"] will show every impartial reader, who will be at the pains to take it, that great variety of form which the German professor has so strangely overlooked ; and by overlooking which he has brought darkness out of light, and reduced to senses the most insignificant and absurd, monuments the most awful and momentous in the annals of the world.' — Voice of Israel, pp. 69-71. Consult the entire context, pp. 68-73.

Inscriptions on fallen Rocks under the great Rock in Wddy Nasab.^ Burckhardt.

No.L

tl'H'r-^llAtii*

\j^ ilJ:j c^L^

* The welling springs meet together confluently in the one spot,

brimful to overflowing.
The People, hungry and thirsty, strive together.
Beside the great rock.'

The second inscription is in different characters, and on a different subject, from the first and third ; I give it in its order, with its interpretation. The monograms

in the second line are very peculiar ; but, I believe, are read correctly, j^\ \^^. The first may indicate the sword.

No. n.

LU I LuMu

zj-

»- iK_Jh

:' c

* Strike with the sword inflictmg many wounds
The People, cleaving the head.'

The inscriptions Nos. I. and III., as decyphered from my published Sinai alphabet, yield a clear consistent sense; a sense, moreover, in near agreement with the Scriptural account of Elim in its 'permanent characteristic, the abundance of its waters ; and in exact agreement with both the features which characterize Wady Nasb, namely, its great rock and its copious waters.

The internal evidence of the inscriptions, as here rendered, is also very strong. No. I. the single word

JLiLrf sarahity * hungry and thirsty ' (edax et bibax), expresses the fact, which requires two words in the Hebrew, and two in the Arabic version of Psahn cvii. 6. The next word -.^cs^^ hajajy rendered here * strive together,' represents appropriately the twofold strife, which, from all we know of them in the Pentateuch, was sure to take place among the contentious Israelites, first, for priority of access to the wells, and secondly, for priority of access to the cool and refreshing shadow of the great rock. The more these internal notes of national character are examined, the more, it is believed, will the truthfulness of the readings appear.

The internal congruities in No. III. will be found equally remarkable. For it was not while still * hungry and thirsty,' it was not until satiated with food and water, that a people like the gluttonous Israelites would think of writing inscriptions on the rocks. And it was not until iliey themselves had been fully satisfied, that the parched and eager cattle would be suffered to go down to the wells.*

* It may be well to recall to mind, here, the scale of the migration, to imagine the scenes of strife and confusion certain to arise in the camp on every such occasion : * And the children of Israel journeyed — about 600,000 on foot that wei-e men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them ; and fiocks and herds, even very much cattle/ — ^Exod. xii. S7, S8,

No. m.

sHuIi/Tl

J.J =>» s^b r^^ J^

' Inscribe the great rock beholding it The People satiate with

copious enjoyment.

Their flocks and herds seek eagerly

The waters.'

In determining the site of Raithu, Ammonius equally determines that of Sinai. It could not be either Djebel Katharin or Djebel Mousa, because both are fifty miles from Murkha and Nasb. It must, therefore, be Serbdl, which is the prescribed distance, a two days' journey, or thirty miles, from these points. But the Sinai of Anamonius is independently identified by the evidence of another monastic witness, who seventeen years later

followed in his steps. To this evidence we will now turn.

Ammonius was followed by Nilus in 390. The biography of Nilus is scanty and uncertain. He was born at Ancyra in Galatia^ it is said of illustrious and wealthy parentage. He is thought to have lived and held office at Constantinople, previously to his retreat from the world. He is known, however, chiefly by his writings. Quitting the world, together with his son Theodulus, he withdrew to Mount Sinal^ and lived there with certain Solitaries high up on the mountain, while other Solitaries inhabited the mountain lower down. While visiting the latter, on one occasion they were surprised by the Saracens : some were massacred, others made captives ; and Nilus, like Ammonius, witnessed a scene of martyrdom, from which he narrowly escaped, with those of his fellow-sufferers who were spared on account of their age, and with these took refuge on the top of the mountain. This mountain is certainly the same with that visited by Ammonius, and the evidence of Nilus demonstrates it to be Mount Serbal : for Nilus relates that he and his fellow-fugitives descended the same evening from the top of the mountain to bury the dead, and minister to the dying, martyrs. This work of charity accomplished, they retired before daybreak to the city of Pharan.

These details determine the locality beyond all doubt

^

or controversy. It was impossible that Mount Sinai and Pharan could be far asunder, when the descent from its smnmit, the burial of the martyrs, and the retreat to Pharan could all be effected in one night. But as the city of Pharan is seated at the foot of Mount Serbal, and the massacre took place between the city and the mountain top, the whole transaction, as related by Nilus, stands clearly and perfectly explained. Mount Serbal, consequently, is the Mount Sinai of both Ammonius and Nilus ; in other words, of the Jewish and the Christian world, before the reign of Justinian. The Sinaitic inscriptions, which crown the summit,* crowd the sides, and clothe all the valleys at

* ' The easternmost peak of Serbal, whicli I ascended, is the one described by Burckhardt and Bartlett, where the granite rocks are covered with them, Ruppell found them on the second peak from the west. Stanley fomid them on the top of the third or central peak } but he is mistaken in supposing that he ascended by the same ravine, or stood on the same peak, as Burckhardt did ; for the latter states clearly that he ascended that which lay farther east.' — Stewart, p. 136, note.

I have elsewhere expressed the conviction that the courses of the Sinaitic inscriptions are the true landmarks of the route of the Israelites. ' If it be asked, how are we to determine their main route ? I answer boldly and without reserve, by the landmarks of the Smcntic inscriptions. This is the true and only clue to . the labyrinth of doubt and error in which Mr. Stanley, and those who think with him, are lost. With this clue, all is clear ; without it, all is doubt and darkness. Nay, this is the only true clue, the enemies of their Israelitish origin themselves being the judges; for happily these are imited in the belief that SebbAl is the true Mount Sinai ; and that, if so, the Israelites certainly passed

the base of this lonely and sublime mountain* (while not a trace of them exists at Djebels Katharin or Mousa), bear independent witness to this then universal belief, which scepticism and rationalism may for ever cavil at, but never can disprove. The simple fact, that in the fourth century, and down to the middle of the sixth, Mount SerbS.1 had no competitor as the true Mount Sinai, is not only eversive, but annihilative, of any claims set up for other mountains of the peninsula in after times.

That the universal belief of the fourth century continued uninterrupted down to the middle of the sixth

to Mount SerMl through [its adjoining valleys] the Wadys Maghara^ Mokatteb, Firan, and Aleyat ; being the main lines of the Sinaitic inscriptions. It is needless to dwell upon the overwhelming force of this coincidence between the main localities of the inscriptions, and the independent identification, by the adversaries themselves, of these main localities, with the main route of the Israelites on their way to Mount Sinai/ — Letter to LordLyndhurst, pp. 33, 34

• The phenomenon has been elsewhere explained in a perfectly natural, and therefore, as I think, a satisfactory way : — ^ The identification of Mount Serbjil with Mount Sinai, I would now observe, completely solves the otherwise inexplicable phenomenon of the innumerable Sinaitic inscriptions which literally clothe its northern side. For the Israelite shepherds, with their fiocks and herds, were sure to frequent the fruitful and well- watered oasis of Wady Firan during the forty [38] years following the giving of the Law ; and they, and they alone, had ample leisure and endless opportunities to inscribe upon the fallen rocks of the Wady Aleyat their short and simple records of the wonders and miracles of the Exode.' — Letter to Lord Lyndhurst, p. 7S,

shall now be shown, in conclusion, from the testimony

of Cosmas Indicopleustes. This accurate topographer thus describes the miraculous position of Raithu, Pharan, and Mount Sinai :—

" After this, in the next place, journeying from Marah, they came to Elim, which we call Raithu. Here were twelve fountains, which remain to this day. But the palms have become much more numerous. Up to this point they had the sea on their right hand, and the desert on their left. But from henceforth they take the upper road to the mountain, turning their back on the sea, and moving onwards into the wilderness. Here, being midway between Elim and Mount Sinai, at this part of their route, the manna fell down on them ; and here, first, they kept the Sabbath day, according to the commandments which God gave Moses unwritten at Marah.

" Thus arrived at Elim from Marah, and again journeying onwards midway between Elim and Mount Sinai, into the desert of that region" the quails descended on them in the evening, and in the morning the manna. And there, again, they first began to observe the Sabbath, the manna being preserved from the sixth to the Sabbath day.»

* The sense of the original is confused. There cannot have been two first observances of the Sabbath. It has been suggested that the second paragraph is only an amplification of the first : a

* After this, they next pitched at Rephidim, in the locality now named Pharan. And they being attirst, Moses went forth by command of God, with the elders, bearing the rod in his hand, to Mount Horeb, that is, to Sinai, which is about six miles distant from Pharan ; and there having smote the rock, "many waters" gushed out, and the people drank : as David, also, extolles in the Psalms, «" Thou dividest the rock in the wilderness, and gave them drink as out of the great abyss." Again, he says, "Thou saundest the rock, and the waters gushed out : rivers ran forth in the waterless places ;" and again, " He drew forth water from the rock, and drew down waters like rivers." Moreover, Paul, also, saith, " For they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ ;" as though he would say, " As he gave these to drink copiously of the water which flowed in exhaustless abundance out of the rock, so unto us Christ supplies life-giving streams through the mysteries, of which gift the rock was a type." ' *

fuller description of the same events and locality. Cosmas's f «1 «dXiV however, is still a difficulty here.

* Eira TÎkhiv ohoaavrÎ dirb Tr:JO Mepqar, rjNOov eig TÊv:ii, fiv eva KoÔoTiÎv Y\ÊNov v ioÊv rioOu ÊvÊoOqo ÊvrjpaÎ ot «Ìaeu' Kai ÊÊ:ÊÊ:ÊÊ:

highest of all the peaks but its exact elevation has
never yet been ascertained. Riippell, however, made
the ascent of the second peak from the west, and
imagining it to be the highest, gives its height as 6,342
Paris feet above the level of the Red Sea, which,
according to Dr. Robinson, makes it 1,700 feet lower
than Dgebel Katerin. But even granting Dgebel
Katerin the advantage of a few hundred feet over the
highest point of Serbdl, it must be remembered that,
rising as the latter does from a far lower level, — stand-
ing completely isolated from all the surrounding moun-
tains, and presenting the most striking and magnificent
outline, as seen from all quarters of the peninsula^ — it
is, emphatically, the mountain of the desert.

* I have hinted my preference for Serbdl as Sinai, but
deferred stating my reasons for it until the reader had
accompanied me to Dgebel Mousa : this seems, there-
fore, the fitting place to refer briefly to the whole
subject. If anyone vrill consult the account given in
the book of Exodus of the encampment of the Israel-
ites in the wilderness of Sinai, and of the events which
subsequently happened there, he will find that the two
things required to fix the locality are, a mountain
sufficiently isolated and lofty to be seen from the region
lying round its base ; and secondly, a valley, or opening
of some kind, among the mountains, large enough to

contain the tents of Israel, and visible through all its
extent* from the mountain top. Though not so high as
the southern mountains, its great elevation above all
those in its immediate vicinity, and its perfect isolation,
make Serbdl the most prominent and commanding
feature in the peninsula. On its north-eastern side,
running up to its very base, are Wadi Aleiat and Wadi
Bimm, which would have aflPorded ample room for the
encampment of the Israelites, and from which its peaks
are clearly visible, thus fulfilling the conditions required
by the Scripture narrative. On entering Wadi Aleiat,
and leaving to the left the great central channel of
Wadi Feiran, the Israelites would, at the same time,
enter the confines of the desert of Sinai, which probably
embraced all the country south of Wadi Feiran ; and
this would account for their speedy reentrance into the
wilderness of Paran, when, after a year's sojourn before
the Mount, the cloud was at last lifted up from off the
Tabernacle.' — Stewartyp]^, 111-118.

Scripture Notices of Mount Sinai.

The earliest Scripture notices, equally with the
earliest Ecclesiastical traditions, we will now proceed
to show, all point to Mount Serbal as Mount Sinai.
The first of these notices occurs Exodus iii. 1 : * Now
Moses kept the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law, the

priest of Midian : and he led the flock to the extreme
back [i e. the extreme west] of the desert, and came
to the Monnt of God, even to Horeb.*

The geography of this passage is perfectly simple
and clear. Midian, the country of Jethro, lay along
the eastern coast of the Gulf of Akaba, beginning from
its head. ^The back side,' or extreme west, of the
desert of Sinai lay on the opposite side of the peninsula
from Midian, or along the Gulf of Suez. •* The Moun-
tain of God,' or * Horeb,' is here described as the
furthermost mountain to the west, or at the back of the
desert. It is further described (understanding the
• Hebrew literally) as a single and isolated mountain, ^n,
TO 6po9, ^ The Mount.'

Now these Scriptural m£u*ks agree absolutely with
Mount Serbfil ; but not one of them with either of the
monkish Sinais. For the Serbsll lies at the extreme
back, or opposite side, of the Sinai desert from Midian :
it is the remotest mountain to the west in the whole
peninsula, being twenty geographical miles due west of
Djebels Mousa and Katharin ; and it, and it only, of
the whole Sinaitic range, stands alone. Those monkish
Sinais, on the contrary, lie inland to the east, at least
twenty miles, or one third of a degree east of Serb^,
and as many miles, consequently, nearer to Midian:
they are in no sense at * the extreme back of the desert,'
and in no just sense to oposy * The Mount i^ being,

P

instead of a single mountain^ two of a cluster of five
mountains in the inner Sinaitic range. If, therefore,
we read the text of Moses literally, and follow his
geography as to the relative positions of Midian and
Horeb, Mount Serbal is to a certainty * The Mount of
God.'

Let us, in the next place, try its claims from the
opposite, or Egyptian, side. Mount Sinai, or * Horeb,
the Mount of God,' was the one grand object held up
by Jehovah himself, from the beginning, to Moses and
the Israelites, as the primary goal or term of their
pilgrimage: *And he said. Certainly I shall be with
thee ; and this shall be a token unto thee that I have
sent thee, — When thou hast brought forth the people
out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.'*
* The Mount of God,' consequently, was the one great
object to whicti Moses and the Israelites looked when
they came out of Egypt. The very idea implies
conspicuousness, preeminence, elevation. It would be
the first great mountain seen, and it would be seen
afar off. It would have been a thing impossible for
the Israelites to have passed by or round any great
mountain (and that mountain unnoted by their leader)
in order to arrive at Sinai The very idea is a self-
contradiction. The first great, conspicuous^ single

• Exod. ui. 12.

I

mountain must be the mountain sought^ must be Sinai ;
and that mountain is Mount Serbal. I submit the
following descriptions^ and leave my readers to judge
for themselves : —

* Tuesday y March 20^A. — At 6f o'clock, we came
out upon the higher tract or plain, and soon had a view
of Jebel Serbal, which as here seen in the direction
of its ridge, appeared like a lofty rounded peak [to &pos\i
bearing S.E. by s.' — Robinsony vol. i, p. 101.

* Wednesday y March 2\sL — Crossing a low ridge, at
10^ 45', we got our first mew of the granite peaks
around [the monkish] Sinai, ^^7/ indistinct and namelessy
bearing S.S.E., while Serb^, at the same time, bore s.
by E.' — Id. ih. p. 112.

These diary notes are alone decisive of the respective
claims. Dr. Robinson had a clear commanding view
of Serb&l, as one mountain, at 6f on the morning of
March 20 ; and it was not until 28 hours after, lOf
on the following morning, that he obtained his first
indistinct, amorphous view of the confusedly jumbled
peaks of Djebels Elatharin and Mousa.

Dr. Robinson's first view of Serb&l was gained from
the heights over Wady Garendell. His next, fifty
miles nearer in the direct line, from the junction of
Wadys Berab and Akhdah : * Here is a fine view of
Mount Serb^, which rose in full majesty upon our
right, at the distance of twelve or fifteen miles ; being

p2

i

«
separated from us only by a low ridge or tracts beyond

which lies Wady Feir&n. As thus seen, it presents

the appearance of a long, thin, lofty ridge of granite,

with numerous points or peaks, of which there are

reckoned five principal ones ; the whole being strictly

what the Germans call a Kamm, We saw it now in

tiie beams of the morning sun, a grand and noble objeety

as its ragged peaks were reflected upon the deep azure

beyond.' — Robinson, vol. i. pp. 125, 126.

Thus, whether nigh at hand, or * seen afar off,* the

Serb&l is still alike the one grand object, to Spo9, to

«

arrest the eye of all who make a pilgrimage to Sinai.

Dr. Robinson's impressions and descriptions are the
more valuable, because against his own bias ; since,
without ever visiting or examining Mount Serb&l or its
adjoining localities, he has invented for himself a new
Sinai in the low bluff of Safsaffah, not a separate
mountain, but a precipitous spur only of Djebel Mousa.
This theory is so directly opposed to Scripture and Jo-
sephus, that its favourable reception among the lovers
of novelty is its only claim to a serious refutation.
Josephus* describes Sinai as Hhe loftiest mountain

• MiMtvaijQ Sk avyKaXkffai rov ttXijOvv^ ahroQ fikv tic to opOQ dtrkp*
Xt<TGcLi— TO ^ivaiov (kfyev, wq (Tweaofiivoc Ttj Onf, Kai Tiva Xa^wv Trap'
aifTov XPV^f^^f iiravri^iiv Trpog avrovQ' skiIvovq d' kKi\tvG€ ttXiivUv
fifTaoKilvwcat Ttfopii, r^v ytirviaffiv tov Qiov vpOTifiTi<ravraQ, tovt*
tlirtitv^ dv^ju fcpoQ TO Sivaiov, v^tiXdraTOv twv iv ikuvoiq to\q
XWf>(Oi(opwv Tvyxavov^ naX iid ri}y vntptoXi^v rov fitykOovc^

of the peninsula.' Scripture tells us that Jehovah
descended^ "inn l^Kl ^Vl^, * upon the top of the Mount*
Now the term l^KI denotes, primarily, the croton of the
heady and hence, derivatiyely, the top, the summit, the
highest pinnacle, of a mountain. The descent of Jehovah,
therefore, must have taken place upon the highest point
of Sinai. This consideration, while it wholly excludes
Safsafiah, equally precludes Djebels Katherin and Mousa,
upon neither of whose summits could the descent have
been seen from below. In the case of Serb^ alone the
indispensable conditions are found. To the eye, it is
the loftiest mountain in the peninsula, and the descent

Kai T&v KpfjfivCjv rd A-nSrofioVj ivOpwiroic oit fiSvov ava^arov
dW ovSk bpaOijvai Sixo- irovou rifs o^n^s di/vafievov.— —Joseph. Jud.
Antiq. lib. iii. cap. v. ed. Hudson.

If ever mountain was made known by description; the Serblll
seems to rise before us as we read : its towering elevation (ini/rj\6'
rarov* rwv «v ecetVoic rocf x^P^*>V opwv Tvyxavov) ; its Tast circum-
ference (rrjv viTiptoXtiv tov /xeyldovc) ; its many and precipitous peaks
(rwv Kprjfiv&if ro d'lroTOfiov), all but inaccessible by man (ai/-
Opianoig ov novov dvatarov^), and straining to the eye to look up to
(aW* ovdi opaOrjvai ^(^a vovov rrJQ oi/zecuc Svvdftivov^. These charac-
teristics of Mount Sinai all meet in Mount Serbal^ and in Mount
Serbal alone. But to verify this graphic description, the reader
has only to turn to the published accounts of trayellers; or, still
better^ to the lithograph of the Serbal in ^* Sinai Photographed.'^
Mount Serbal; then, waS; to a certainty, the Moimt Sinai of Jose-
phus ; and the Sinai of Josephus was, as certainly, the Sinai of
immemorial Hebrew tradition.

• Joflephns of oonne detoribes, not from inMsarenieiit, bat from tbe %ppmamM to
the eye. For this see Stewart, p. 118.
k Stewart, pp. 112, 11

of Jehovah upon its loftiest peak could be seen from
all the surrounding valleys. Both facts are thus con-
clusively represented by Dr. Stewart, who (unlike Dr.
Robinson, who wrote, here, without seeing) saw vrith
his own eyes all that he describes : —

* The fourth mountain which puts in a claim to be
Sinai is Serb&l. Though not so high as the southern
mountains, its great elevation above all those in its
immediate vicinity, and its perfect isolation, make it
the most prominent and commanding feature in the
peninsula. On its north-eastern side, running up to its
very base, are Wadi Aleiat and Wadi Rimm, which
would have afforded ample room for the encampment of
the Israelites, and from which its peaks are clearly
visible, thus fulfilling the conditions required by the
Scripture narrative.

^January 31. — At 12.35 we emerged from the region
of Upper Horeb, through a narrow, lofty, and pictu-
resque pass in the range of Ghebel Wateiyah. Another
half-hour's ride brought us full in view of Serb&l,
looking as if in his majesty he could well defy the
comparison we had been making between him and his
brothers of the higher group.' *

* February 2. — At 1.20 we passed to the right Wadi
Musbach, and at this point Serbdl came again into view,
bearing w. by s.w., and continued the most prominent

♦ Stewart, p. 154.

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object during the rest of our journey down the Wadi;
The more I looked on this majestic mountain, standing
facile princeps among its compeers, the impression
became deeper that this was the scene of Jehovah's
glorious appearing at the giving of the Law.' *

POSTSCRIPT.

When the present chapter was sent to press, it was
under the impression that the whole of the command-
ing evidences which combine to identify the Mount
Serbal of the Arabs with the Mount Sinai of the
Exode had been embodied in its argument. A dis-
covery the most unexpected, however, has just brought
to light a crowning proof of this identity, which shows
that, however ample those already adduced, the evi-
dences may not yet be exhausted.

In the absence of the Mosaic names of most of these
Scriptural localities, it occurred to me, since writing
the foregoing pages, to try, as a last experimentum
crucis, whether some of the existing^ Arabic names of
localities in this sacred region might not possibly con-
tain and conceal points of Scripture history under
idiomatic disguises. To test the thought by experi-
ment, I resolved to examine the definitions, in the
Arabic lexicons, of existing local names around Serb&l

♦ Stewart, p. 167.

(the point with which I was now immediately concerned),
in the maps of Burckhardt and Ritter. The first name
which happened to strike my eye in Burckhardt's map
was ^ Zebeivy being that of a rocky offshoot^ lying
N.N.W., near the mouth of Wady Sheikh, and at the
very foot of Mount Serbal. The word was unknown
to me, nor could I venture to anticipate this name
proving of the least Scriptural importance. I felt
only that if it occurred in the Arabic lexicons, and if
its definitions should happen to contain any apparently
Scriptural allusions, especially any at all connected
with Mount Sinai, the position of the locality at the
foot of Mount Serbal must give to any such allusion
peculiar weight.

In this frame of thought, I can truly add without a
hope of its being realized, I opened the lexicon. I
leave the Christian reader to judge, from his own feel-
ings, the feelings with which I first found the ipsissi-
mum verbum, and then read the following definition :
* -jJ-J^ Az-Zebir, Mons in quo loqvutus Moysi fuit
Deus.' Richardson repeats this definition of Golius,
^j^j ZAsiR, The mountain on which God spoke to
Moses.'

Now the nature of the evidences here cannot be too
closely studied if we would justly estimate their con-
clusiveness. The reader, then, will observe that the
local name ^ Zebeir ' in Burckhardt, and the Arabic

word Zahir in Golius, are wholly independent wit-
nesses. The Arab lexicographers had no reference
whatever to this local name, which has to the present
moment escaped altogether unnoticed. They give the

denomination ^j ^^ j*^.j '^ solely as an old proper

name in the Arabic language, and this name, more-

name in the Arabic language, and this name, more over, a proper name for Mount Sinai, — as their synonym for ^ The Moimt of God.'

Now when we remember, on the one hand, that the Arabic is one of the oldest languages in the world, and that its vocabulary reaches back to and beyond the age of Moses ; and when we reflect, on the other hand, that the sole definition of this word Zebir is ^ The mountain on which God spoke to Moses,' in other words. Mount Sinai, while the very same word Zebir stands as a local proper name at the very foot of Mount Serbdl, — what reasonable man can doubt or question that the Zebir or Az-Zebir of the Arabs is the Mount Sinai of Moses, and that Mount Serbal, proved by the denomination at its foot to be this Az-Zebir, is itself the true Mount Sinai? This conclusion, in truth, inevitably follows from the independent coexistence of the proper name and its definition in the lexicons, with the self-same name as that of a locality at the foot of the very mountain independently, by every kind of proof, identified with Mount Sinai. Leaving, then, to the Bedouins its present denomination, we may hence-

forth, with the ancient Arabs, t«rm Serb&l, Az-Zbbib, ' The mount on which Grod spoke to Moses.' Having thus laid before my readers the facts of the case, I leave it with themselves to verify them by collation with BuTckhardt's clear and graphic map of this portion of the Sinai peninsula, as delineated in the subjoined glyphograph.

They will here, at the same time, most distinctly aee, at once, the isolated prominence, and the sublime

priority, of Mount Serb&l, which (conformably with all the Scripture notices of Mount Sinai) met first the eye of the advancing Israelites in its lonely majesty, while the monkish Sinai lay hidden behind it a whole two days' journey, or thirty miles ; a cluster, moreover,— not * a mount,' whose rival peaks may continue vainly to dispute with each other, to the end of time, a name and an honour to which the SerbSI is alone entitled.

In connection with the proper name Zebir or Az-Zebir, as the ancient Arab synonym for Mount Sinai, some concluding remarks upon the probable origin of the denomination will not be out of place. The appellation apparently originated in the primary senses of its root. For jj zahr signifies, ^ To write. Writing, Written, A book : ' especially ^ The Book, The Scriptures, The Word of God.' Az-Zebir, therefore, most appropriately denotes, the writing of the Ten Commandments ; the giving of the Law ; or the words spoken by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, and to the people from it.

Zahr^ consequently, is synonymous with _ ^^^-^

kataby ^ To write ; ' and its participle j jjia mazbur^

with i.^ji£=us mokatteby * Written.' This coincidence of sense between the two roots is most interesting,

from the relationship which it establishes between

those memorable localities at Sinai, the Djebel el-

Mokatteb and the Djebel ez-Zebir, or Mount Sinai.

These kindred denominationfl reciprocate their claims to a common high antiquity ; and our certainty that Djebel ez-Zebir is the old Arabic name for Mount Sinai^ is our certificate for the corresponding name, Djebel el-Mokatteb, being also as ancient as Moses and the Israelites^ and similarly appropriated to their records in the written yalleys.

But the name Djebel ez-Zebir may have been given for this additional cause^ that Mount Serb41 (now, it is conceived, fully identified with Mount Sinai) is itself covered with Sinaitic inscriptions, the records, as the present work is designed more fully to establish, of the Israelites of the Exode. In this light alone, it is pre-eminentiy * the written mountain,' — ^the rest of the Sinai range, the monkish Sinais inclusive, being wholly destitute of writing.

But there is yet another topographic link between Mount Serb&l, or ' Jebel ez-Zebir ' (as Bitter correctly gives the Arab name to its spur), and the Scriptural Mount Sinai, significantly indicative that we are here at the very side of the mountain, and in the midst of the localities, immediately connected with the scene of the giving of the Law. On that face of Mount Serb&l looking N.N.E. towards its offshoot Jebel ez-Zebir, descends the Wady Aleydh or Aleydt\ a name commonly understood as meaning merely ^the steep or high valley.' As most lofty mountains, however, are seamed by steep valleys, passes, or ravines, through

which their summits are attained^ the denomination Aleydty in this general sense/ has nothing in it appropriate or peculiar. Yet in the whole great Sinai range, it is appropriated ^nd peculiar to this valley of Mount Serb&l alone. The fact suggests inquiry after some more specific meaning, and the ample proofs already adduced of the identity of Mount Serb^l with Mount Sinai, send us naturally to the Sacred narrative in quest of that meaning. Now in Exodus xix, 3, we read: —

Jehovah him unto called and God unto ascended And Moses

: ^"nn p

.the Mount out of
Again, V. 20 :

1 -nn K^Kn-^K T^xh nin^ xnp^i

and of the Moimt the top to Moses up Jehovah And called

.Moses ascended

Exodus xxiv. 13, 15, we read:

.the Mount into Moses ascended And
and

.the Mount iato Moses ascended And
And xxxiv. 4 :

:^yD nn-Sh^ hv* i

.Sinai Mount unto ascended he And

Now the Hebrew nVl^, with its derivative ^Vir, is synonymous in sound and sense with the Lie or lis. Aleyah or Aleydty of the Arabs. Viewed through these Mosaic lights^ the name Wady Aleydt, no longer an unmeaning generality, assumes an altogether new, peculiar^ and Scriptural sense, namely, iic ^j^i^

* The valley of the ascent : ' i. e. the path through which Moses went up to Jehovah on Mount Sinai, All the physical circumstances connected with this celebrated valley harmonize with this view : its avalanches of fallen rocks, its numerous Sinaitic inscriptions, together with the fact of its being the only avenue to

* the top of the Mount,* and especially to ^ the easternmost and highest peak,' whose very BaSy or summit, is clothed with Sinaitic records, unite with the clearly Scriptural etymology of its name to suggest the awful thought, that those who ascend Mount Serbal through the Wady Aley&t are following in the footsteps of

* Moses, the man of God ; ' and, when they stand on its eastern summit, stand on the very scene of the giving of the Law ! Dr. Stewart has expressed this thought so well, that I would refer the reader to his own words, given above in pp. 202-208.

With these remarks, I leave the whole subject to time, the great test of truth, in the calm confidence that while ' opinioniun commenta delet dies^ naturae judicia confirmat.'

CHAPTER VIII.

PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

Among the events and miracles of the Exode, none has given birth to a more constant succession^ or a greater variety^ of theories and speculations^ than the Passage of the Red Sea. The reason is obvious. It is this. Upon the determination of the true point of the Passage depends the character of an event purporting to be one of the most stupendous miracles in the Mosaic history. On the one hand^ if this first great miracle of the Exode can be established in all its fulness, none of the miracles which follow it can be shaken, or explained away : on the other hand, if this transaction can be reduced to low proportions, and explained by natural and secondary causes, all thfe subsequent miracles must suffer with it; must lie open to the same minishing process, and become subject to the same lowering disparagement. Accordingly, all who believe implicitly in * what Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets have spoken,' all who receive in childlike simplicity the texts relating to this Passage in their literal sense, hold, with the early Christian and with the Jewish Church,

that it took place in ' the deep and wide sea,' between the long shore of TTady Mousa or Tawarik on the Egyptian side, and the opposite coast from Aydn Mousa southward, on the Arabian. Those, on the other hand, who would read God's Word with man's spectacles, whose temper of mind le%ds them to exalt human intellect by magnifying reason at the expense of faith, have combined, in various modes, but with singular unanimity, to place this confessedly niiraculoiiB event at a point of the Bed Sea near the modem Suez; where, from the narrowness of the Grulf, the shallowness of its waters, and the cooperative aids of shoal sandbanks, a sweeping wind, and an ebbing tide (only supematurally directed), the greatest miracle of * waters ' (according to Scripture language) since the Flood of Noah * becomes dwindled down into an

• 'The universality of the Deluge' (according to the new school of infidelity styling itself Rationalism) is among the open questions of Scripture, upon which men are at liberty to believe as much or as little as they please. Now, not to waste time upon his other 'open questions/ I observe that the attempt to limit the Deluge is suicidal : the neologist is strangled in his own noose. Let him limit the antediluvian diffusion of mankind, of beasts, of cattle, of reptiles as he may, in order to bring them within tiie area of his partial deluge, I ask, What becomes of the birds ? tot. these, we read, all likewise perished: all save those which, to preserve the race of winged creatures, were taken into the Ark. Now the birds of the air were certain to fly beyond the bounds of any partial deluge. Many of their tribes are migratory, and inhabit various quarters of the globe. The eagle^ the falcon, and

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occurrence for which one of its latest expositors, consistently, however profanely, finds a fitting illustration in the safe though perilous passage of General Buonaparte and his suite at this very point !

Having read (so far as I am aware) everything written upon the subject on the rationalistic side from Niebuhr to Robinson, and everything written on the orthodox side from Josephus to Bruce, I now venture to pronounce Bruce's Itinerary of the route of the Israelites from Rameses to the seaside and the place of passage, the best extant in regard to simplicity and clearness, and the only true one in regard to conformity with the twofold requirements of the Scripture narrative and the physical features of the country.

other swift-winged birds of prey and of passage^ are found in every part of the world. What partial flood could arrest the flight of the eagle, which would reach the antipodes in six days P What, then, shall be thought, not of the impious presumption only, but of the blind folly of the scepticism which could fabricate such a theory of the Deluge in the face of such facts ? The Scripture narrative describes the Flood of Noah as universal, by every mode of expression through which the idea of imiversality could be conveyed in words : the literal exactness of the description is demonstrated by the single fact, that all the birds perished. The waters, we read, rose to a height of fifteen cubits above the tops of the highest mountains. The limit of the rise 18 most significant : it would exactly drown the tallest of known quadrupeds, the elephant and the camelopard — the elephant even with his trunk upraised, and the camelopard with outstretched neck.

This account^ accordingly^ I adopt as the basis of the present Chapter.

* The next thing I have to take notice of, for lie satisfaction of my reader, is the way by which the children of Israel passed the Red Sea, at the time of their deliverance from the land of Egypt.

* As Scripture teaches us that this passage, wherever it might be, was under the influence of a miraculous powerj no particular circumstance of breadth, or depth, makes one place likelier than another.

^ I shall suppose that my reader has been sufficiently convinced, by other authors, that the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt in Egypt, was that country lying east of the Nile, and not overflowed by it; bounded by the mountains of the Thebaid on the south, by the Nile and Mediterranean on the west and north, and the Red Sea and desert of Arabia on the east. It was the Heliopolitan Nome : its capital was On. From predilection of the letter O, they called it Goshen ; but its proper name was Gesheriy the country of grass or pasturage, or of the Shepherds ; in opposition to the rest of the land, which was sown, after being overflowed by the Nile.

* There were three ways by which the children of Israel, flying from Pharaoh, could have entered Palestine. The first was by the sea-coast, by Gaza, Askelon, and Joppa. This was the plainest and .nearest way ;

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and, therefore, fittest for people incumbered with kneading-troughs, dough, cattle, and children. The sea-coast was full of rich commercial cities ; the mid-land was cultivated, and sown with grain. The eastern part, nearest the mountains, was full of cattle and shepherds ; as rich a country, and more powerful than the cities themselves.

* This narrow valley, between the mountains and the sea, ran all along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, from Gaza northward, comprehending the low part of Palestine and Syria. Now, here, a small number of men might have passed, under the laws of hospitality ; nay, they did constantly pass, it being the high road between Egypt and Tyre and Sidon, But the case was different with a multitude such as six hundred thousand men, having their cattle along with them. These must have occupied the whole land of the Philistines, destroyed all private property, and undoubtedly have occasioned some revolution; and, as they were not now intended to be put in possession of the land of promise, the measure of the iniquity of the nations being net yet full, God turned them aside from going that way, lest they " should see war," that is, lest the people should rise against them and destroy them.

* There was another way which led south-west, upon Beersheba and Hebron, in the middle between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. This was the direc-

tion in which Abraham^ Lot^ and Jacob are supposed to have reached Egypt. But there was neither food nor water there to sustain the Israelites. When Abraham and Lot returned out of Egypt, they were obliged to separate by consent, because, *^ Abraham said to his brother, the land will not bear us both."

* The third way was straight eastward into Arabia, pretty much the road by which the pilgrims go at this day to Mecca, and the caravans from Suez to Cairo. In this track they would have gone round by the mountains of Moab, east of the Dead Sea, and passed Jordan in the plain opposite to Jericho, as they did forty years afterwards. But it is plain from Scripture, that God's counsels were to make Pharaoh and his Egyptians an example of his vengeance ; and as none of these roads led to the sea, they did not answer the Divine intention.

' About twelve leagues from the sea, there was a narrow road which turned to the right, between the mountains, through a vaUey callod Budeahy where their course was necessarily south-east. This valley ended in a Pass between two considerable mountains, that called Geweibe on the south, and Jibbel Attakah on the north, and opened into the low stripe of country which runs all along the Eed Sea ; and the Israelites were ordered to encamp at Pi-hahiroth, opposite to Baal-Zephon, between Migdol and the sea.

* Pi-HAHIROTH is " the Mouth of the Valley," open-

ing to the flat country and the sea. As I have already said, such are called Mouths ^ in the Arabic Fum ; as I have observed in my journey to Cosseir, where the opening of the valley is called Fum-^l-Bedery ^* The Mouth of Beder ; " Fum-eU Terfoioey, " The Mouth of Terfowey." Hhoreth^ the flat country along the Red Sea, is so called from Hliovy a narrow valley where torrents run, occasioned by sudden irregular showers. Such we have already described on the east side of the mountains bordering upon that narrow flat country along the Red Sea, where temporary showers fall in great abundance ; while none of them touch the west side of the mountains or valley of Egypt. Pi-hahiROTH, then, is " The Mouth of the Valley " Budeah which opens to Hhoreth^ the narrow stripe of land where showers fall.

' Baal-Zephon, '' The God of the Watch-tower," was, probably, some idol's temple, which served for a signal-house upon the Cape which fonns the north entrance of the bay opposite to Jibbel Attakah, where there is still a mosque, or saint's tomb. It was, probably, a light-house for the direction of ships going to the bottom of the Gulf, to prevent mistaking it for another foul bay, under the high land, where there is also the tomb of a saint called Abou Derajja.

* The last rebuke God gave to- Pharaoh, by slaying all the first-born, seems to have made a strong impres-

sion upon the Egyptians. Scripture says that the people were now urgent with the Israelites to be gone : *^ for they said. We be all dead men." And we need not doubt it was in order to keep up in their hearts a motive of resentment, strong enough to make them pursue the Israelites, that God caused the Israelites to borrow and take away the jewels of the Egyptians ; without some new cause, the late terrible chastisement might have deterred them. While, therefore, they journeyed eastward towards the desert, the Egyptians had no motive to attack them, because they went with permission there to sacrifice ; and were, on tbeir return, to restore them their moveables. But when the Israelites were observed turning to the south, among the moimtains, they were then supposed to flee with a view of not returning, because they had left the way of the desert ; and therefore Pharaoh, that he might induce the Egyptians to follow them, tells them that the Israelites were now entangled among the mountains, and the wilderness behind them : wfiich was really the case, when they encamped at Pi-hahiroth, before or south of Baal-Zephon, between ^Migdol and the sea. Here, then, before Migdol, the sea was divided, and they passed over dry-shod to the wilderness of Shiir, which was inunediately opposite to them : a space something less than four leagues, and so easily accomplished in one night, without any miraculous interposition.

* The natives still call this part of the sea, Bahar Kolzum, or "The Sea of Destruction";* and just opposite to Pi-hahiroth is a bay, where the Nprth Cape is called Ras Musa, or ** The Cape of Moses," even now. These are the reasons why I believe the passage of the Israelites to have been in this direction. There is about fourteen fathoms of water in the channel, and about nine in the sides, and good anchorage everywhere. The far side is a low sandy coast, and a very easy landing-place.

* It was proposed to M. Niebuhr, when in Egypt, to inquire, upon the spot, whether there were not some ridges of rocks where the water was shallow, so that an army, at particular times, might pass over ? Se-

* Literally, 'the sea of the sivaUowtng up^ ^AS j^ Bahar

Kohsuin, Mare inglutitionis mu deglutitionis. It is most remarkable that; in the Song of Moses, Exod. xv. 12, the original Hebrew, the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Ethiopic, and the Arabic versions, all preserve the actual Arabic denomination for this sea, by their use of one and the same synonyme, j;?^, or «Jj» hold, Deglutire, Inglutire, To swallow up, JHK IDV^Sn, or ^, g • U < U ^y3.\J\ Deglutivit, inglutivit, absorpsit eos terra (i. e. the bed of the sea). The present name can thus be traced to a Mosaic origin : the Arabs, or rather the Egyptians [(for the name >|,l3

kohum is itself of immemorial antiquity), having only substituted this synonyme for the original term y^^ bald. The use of this last term in the Song of Moses abundantly explains the origin of the existing name of the Gulf of Suez.

condly, "Whether the Etesian winds^ which blow strongly all summer from the north-west, could not blow so violently against the sea as to keep it back on a heap^ so that the Israelites might have passed withont a miracle ? And a copy of these queries was left for me, so that I might join my inquiries likewise.

^ But I must confess, however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us, by Scripture, to be a miraculous one ; and, if so, we have nothing to do with natural causes. K we do not believe Moses, we need not believe the transaction at all ; seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in Grod that he made the sea, we must believe he could divide it when he saw proper reason, and of that he must be the only judge. It is jio greater miracle to divide the Red 3ea than to divide the river of Jordan.

^ If the Etesian winds, blowing from the north-west in summer, could heap up the sea as a wall, on the right hand or to the south, of fifty feet high, still the diflSculty would remain of building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles that hindered that wall to escape at the sides ? This is as great a miracle as that of Moses. If the Etesian winds had

done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since from the same causes. Yet Diodorus Siculus says the Troglodytes, the indigenous inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest and remotest ages, that once this division of the sea did happen there ; and that, after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again came back and covered it with great fury. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind. We cannot think this heathen is writing in favour of revelation. He knew not Moses, nor says a word about Pharaoh and his host ; but records the miracle of the division of the sea in words nearly as strong as those of Moses, from the mouths of unbiassed, undesigning pagans.

* Were all these diflficulties surmounted, what could we do with the pillar of fire ? The answer is. We should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all ? We have no authority for the one, but what is for the other : it is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things, and if not a miracle, it must be a fable.'

Bruce's Itinerary of the first, or Egyptian, stage of the Exode, as given in the commencement of this extract, will be found, on comparison, identical with that of Josephus, as laid down in his narrative of the event. The point of departure is fixed absolutely by the Jewish

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historian, from his mention of Latopolis (the Latonse Urbs of Ptolemy) in the Nome of the same name, as standing on the spot (then a desert) whence the Israelites broke up.* This determines, at the same time, Josephus's land of Goshen ; which lay along the west bank of the Nile, opposite to the site of Old Caircf The road, in Ptolemy, from his Latopolitis Nomus to the Arabian Gulf, crossed the Nile where Old Cairo afterwards stood, and here immediately turns to the right for some miles. This turn is the entrance to Bruce's valley of Budeah, which leads direct through steep and rugged hills to the Wadi Tawarik and the sea. Here the valley opens into a plain, completely shut in behind on both sides by the mountains of Abu Deraje or Geweibe and Attakah: the former running quite, the latter nearly, to the sea. And this is exactly the route described by Josephus. For he tells us that the Israelites journeyed along a road difficult to be traversed, not only by an army, but by single travellers ; that this road lay between hills, for he adds that the Egyptians blockaded the passes at the sides; and that it issued into an open space, where the Israehtes found themselves completely hemmed in between a semicircular

Trjv dk wopiiav kiroiovvro Kard Aiyrovc voKiVf tprjfiov ovaav iv rati roTi, Ba€v\wv ydp varfpov Kri^erai eic«7, Kafi€v(Tov Karaarpt' ^ofikvov rr/v AlyvtrTov, — Josepli. Ant. Jud. 1. ii. c. XV. torn. i. p. 87.
t On the site of the Ba£v\utv of Josephus.

chain of mountains and the sea, while the Egyptian army ah-eady occupied the pass which they had just quitted, the only way of escape behind.*

The road thus described by Bruce and Josephus is exactly that from Old Cairo to the sea from the Wady Budeah or Tawarik, as laid down by D' Anville, without reference to the question before us. It is no less exactly the route described by Moses, from its commencement to its close, where the Israelites ^ turned ' to the right from Barneses (doubtless the site of Old Cairo) by the Divine command, and found themselves at the end shut in on all sides by the mountains and the sea, with the Egyptian army behind. Pharaoh, in fact, or the saying ascribed to him, describes the locality as accurately as Bruce or Josephus : ^ Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilder-

* "SiVVTonbiQ Sh TTOtovfitvot Ttjv aipoSov^ eiQ BtXffetfiwvra %6>piov TpiToiov irapayivovrai rrjc *Epv9pdc OaXdffarig, . • . KaraXdiovTSQ Sk Tov^ *E€paiovQ ol AlyvTrrioif ei^ fxdxijv TrapeaKevdffavro * xai ori/i/iXavvovffiv avTovQ vrrb voXyx^ipicLQ €«C dXlyov xtopiov' k^aKoaia yap avToig apfxara tirrerOf trifv iinrivffi rnvraKifffivpioic, koI OTrXirCav fAvpiddeg riaav iiKoai' rdg re odovg dirttppdyvvvav clIq ^ev^sffOai rohg ^E^paiovQ vireXdfxtavov, fiera^if Kprjfiviov avrovQ drrpoff" tdriov Kal rrji BaXdrrrjQ diroXafxtdvovrtg, reXevrf ydp tig aifTijv opogf VTTO rpaxvTijTog oSCjv airopov^ xal ^vyrjg dTroXafA^avofjitvov, Toiyapovv Iv ry (TVfi€oXy ry irpbg BdXavvav rov opovg ro^g *E€pai-' ovg dw€<pparTOv t^ <rrparo7rf^y, Kara Srofta rovro iSpvadfievoi* OTTwg rriv tig to irtoiov iKodov wtriv ain-oi>g d^yprjfikvov, — Joseph. Ant. Jud. 1. ii. cap. xv. torn. i. p. 88.

nes8 hath shut them in.' A curiouB light is thrown on this text by the Ethiopic. The term laiTD, rendered by all the versions in the sense of toildernessy in the Ethiopic (a dialect of the Egyptian) signifies mountains, or a mountain range. Pharaoh^ speaking in his own idiom, plainly uses the word intt, in the Ethiopic or Egyptian sense; and, in so doing, gives the actual topography of the scene.

Ancient and Present Names of the Locality.

From the permanency of Eastern customs, and the historical character of Eastern traditions, the names of places and districts are among our safest and surest evidences of their being really derived from the events with which they appear to stand connected. This is specially true of all ancient names, and often not less so of supposed modem ones. A single local denomination of this kind has great force ; but the evidence becomes cogently augmented when several differing denominations of the same locality plainly relate, in different ways, to one and the same event.

To apply these remarks to the valley leading diagonally S.E. from the Nile, at Old Cairo, to the Gulf of Suez, and the spacious enclosed plain along the seashore in which it issues. By Bruce this valley is styled Budeah; a name interpreted by Dr. Shaw * The Valley

of the Miracle,' but more correctly and appropriately to be rendered ^ The Valley of the Flight/ or * of the Departure.'* In either sense it signally applies to the Exode of the Israelites, and to no other known event. If their route (as has been proved) lay through this valley, this name must self-evidently have originated with them. But the valley bears another and better known name, viz. Wady Tawariky for which no interpretation has hitherto been offered ; and which yet applies still more forcibly, if possible, to Israel and the Exode, and to this people and event alone. For the Arabic root

J^, taraky signifies, primarily, * travelling by night,'

and its derivative Jj)^, tawariky * the nocturnal travellers.'! The denomination Wady Tawariky ^The Valley of the Nocturnal Travellers,' as we learn from Scripture, again marks the Exode of the Israelites with a clearness and peculiamess which admit of no other reasonable application, and which no local denomination could surpass. For the Israelites were * nocturnal travellers ' along this road on a night journey without parallel in

• Mjkj haday i. q. ^ji>-^ Egressus est, excessit patrid, ^Si hudeah, pro Ijj. 2. Intrans, peciUiariter, Exivit in desertum.' — Goltus in voce.

t '^Jh taraka, Noctu venit. ^J^ twank, Noctu veniens:

Viator noctumus. a5i?, i. q. j ,\t twartk, Iter faciens noctu.' — Ibid.

the history of the world : a whole nation, probably three millions of souls, with vast incumbrances of flocks and herds and stores and tents and household goods, passed through the Wady Tawarik bi/ night Here is the Scripture record of the unparalleled fact. Exodus xiL 31 : ^ And he called for Moses and Aaron hy nighty and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel ; and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said.' Again, ver. 42 : ^ It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt : this is that ilight of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.' And again, Deuteronomy xvL 1 : ^ In the month of Abib, the Lord thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt hy nighV

But a third name of this valley has been recently brought to light, which crowns and seals the testimony of both the others. It is that by which it is known at the present day, and we may be assured fijom time immemorial, among the Arab tribes inhabiting this coast It is given as its only proper name, not by passing travellers, but by the scientific officer of the H.E.I.C. who surveyed and laid it down. When I mention Captain Moresby, and state the name in his splendid chart to be Wady Mousa, ^The Valley of Moses,' the evidence of local nomenclature can be carried no higher. The wonder is that this conclusive denomina-

tion should be now only brought to light for the first

time : but it is all the better for the evidence, since it comes independent of theory and preconception, and, moreover, from an authority which even sceptical ignorance and presumption will not dare to question: while it comes ^ at a time when such doubts are thrown upon the whole of the Mosaic records ;' when they are described as a collection of ^ myths ;' and when the utmost efforts of infidelity, under the guise of rationalism, are specially directed to do away with the miracle at the Red Seay by transferring the scene of it from where Scripture and universal tradition place it, in ^ the great and wide sea ' under Wady Mousa, to the narrow shallows and sandbanks in the vicinity of Suez. The best antidote, I apprehend, to these worse than idle speculations, when puzzled and bewildered by their endless intricacy and confusion, would be simply to unroll Captain Moresby's chart, to contemplate the mouth of the valley (^Pi-hahiroth) with its mountain-girt plain, and read there its native Arab name, Wady Mousa^ * The Valley of Moses,' corresponding, like answering tallies, with Ayun Mousa, ^ The Wells of Moses,' on the opposite coast. These local names, on opposite sides of the point of passage, at once authenticate each other, as, landmarks of the transit, and fix its scene.

The local Arab tradition, reported by Pococke, also fixes the crossing of the Israelites at this point. ^ It is

probable that the Israelites went on the west side of the Red Sea, till they came to the ascent over the south part of Mount Attakah in Derb Touerik : for such a great number of people to pass such a road would take up much time : so here, it is probable, the waters were divided, and that they passed over to a point near the springs of Moses, which makes out a great way into the sea, within which the ships now lie at anchor. And the tradition of the country is^ that the Israelites passed over where the ships anchor.^ *

Dr. Wilson confirms the Arab tradition, and the name Wady Mousa, from the testimony of his own Arabs. * We then passed a remarkable opening in the mountains, between Abu Derdj and Jebel 'Atakah, which is marked in Captain Moresby's admirable chart as Wddi Mtisd. I shall say nothing more respecting it at present, than that the oflScers of the Indian navy, almost with one consent, have fixed upon it as the valley in which the Israelites were encamped, immediately before they passed through the Red Sea on dry land. We viewed it from the deck of the steamer with great interest. We turned our attention from it to the ' Ayfin Mtisd, or Wells of Moses, to the north-east.' f

Again : ^ I have already remarked that the [Wddi]

* Pococke, Travels, vol. i. p. 156.
t Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 36.

Badiya, or W. Tarawik, bears the Arabic name of Wddi Mtisd, or Valley of Moses, in Captain Moresby's map. When I asked our Sheik if this name was correct, he said, " This is indeed the path of our lord MosesJ*^ On cross-examination, he continued to make the same aflfirmation.' *

But there is yet a fourth local denomination, ancient, at once, and modem, which fixes this locality as the site of the miraculous Passage, and which belongs to the sea as well as to the land. The geographer will anticipate my reference to the Clysma Civitas of Ptolemy, and to the Bahr Kolzum of Arabian geography. For the Greek name T^Xvafia^ and the Arabic z^^? ^xe one and the same. Clysma is placed by Ptolemy and D'Anville in the plain at the mouth of the Wady Tawarik. By Eusebius it is identified with Baal-Zephon. f Cosmas Indicopleustes describes it as lying

* Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 186.

t B«€X(T<0to>j/, irpOQ Ty fp-fifitfi (TraSfiog riov vidv 'lapar/X, i^iovrcjv i^ AiyvTTTOV ^id tov K\6(TfiaroCf Trapd r^v 9aKatj<fav, The proper name here has been missed by all the editors, and even by Saint Jerome, who omits the word, probably as redundant. The note of the Benedictine editor is 'confusion worse confounded.' 'Hsec verba, ^id tov KXvtrfiaToc, redundantia visa sunt Bonperio, et forte Hieronymo qui ea prsetermittit. Nescio an hoc significat quod in eum locum confiuxerwt l9raelit<s quasi nqtmrum muUarum inundatio,^ — S. Hier. Op. torn. ii. p. 411, note c. The sense has been thus blundered from missing the proper name. The restoration is of great geographical value : it; at once^ fixes irrefragablj

OD the right Imid ci tnTeSeis oooui^ by the manntuii pass, and cloee to the sea-shore^* These statistieB pkoe Clrana at the southern extremitT of the TTadj Tawarik, under Dyebel Abn Denje. Dr. Bobinson discovered it« mins, bot without identifyiiig them, owing to his erroneouslT placing Clvsma, or Kolzam, at the head of the Gnlf of Suez. His words are : ^ On the more sonthem and longer branch of this route through Wadj Tawirik is the well of '0*dheib (sweet water), near the shore south of Bas Attakah, about eight hours / from Suez. Here is, also, a small mound of rubbish, with fragments of pottery, indicating a farmer site.^] The agreement of this site with that of the Clyama of Ptolemy, Cosmas, and D'Anville is deeisivcj But

the site of Clyama, and the oiigin of the name. The miracle survives in it as commemorated hy the heathen Egyptians and Greeks.

* 01 Alyifjrrioi Sk, ... tov vSarog dvaaTp(^avToc «t' aifTovg ftjjXdTtp f>pyy^ anoXuiVTo KaTavovTioHkvnQ* iari Sk aifroc o rovog iv Ttp Xtyofiivift KXvfffiarij diripxofiiviav diKtf dirt to opOQ, — CosmaB,

ap. Mon'lfaucon, Biblioth. Nc^. PP. tom. ii. p. 194.

t Bibl. Res. vol. i. p. 73.

X Also with the Clysma of Pococke : ' From this place [Aynn Monsa] a point stretches out a great way into the sea, being south-east of the shipping, and breaks the sea when the south-east wind blows. Clyama might be near opposite to this port, which Ptolemy places twenty minutes south of Arsinoe; and probably it was between Mount Attakah and Mount Gewebie. Here I imagine that the children of Israel might pass over the E«d Sea.? — Descript. of JSast, vol. i. p. 138. Clysma, as thus located, self-evidently was the Baal-Zephon of Moses, or on its site.

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our present concern is with what has hitherto been entirely overlooked, viz. the name. For, while all the authorities are agreed that the Clysma of the Greeks is the Kolzum of the Arabs, none have thought of investigating the etymology of this name. Now this one irrefragably ancient local denomination might alone suffice to determine the point of passage of the Red Sea, applying, as it does, not only to the city, but to the whole adjoining sea. For the Arabic word Ajjli kolzum signifies deglutiiioy inglutitioy * swallowing ' (the Greek tcKvayji is analogous, viz. ablutio^ lotio)^ and the name of the Gulf of Suez, /^ jsniiy is literally * the sea of the swallowing up,^ I give the definitions of the word in Golius : * g^LS kolzum, Clysma, JEgypti urbs prope montem Sinai. A-^cpJ kolzumat, Inglutitio.'

The name Clysma, or Kolzum, when interpreted, thus bears witness in the one word to the miracle at the Red Sea, by commemorating to all after-ages the miraculous ^ swallowing up ' of the Egyptians. Golius, at the same time, from the Arab authorities, determines the position of the city: 1. It was in Egypt \ and 2. It was near Mount Sinai, Both which conditions meet in the Clysma of Ptolemy ; while both are wholly incompatible with the site assiuned, in accommodation to their own views, by Robinson and the rationalists. If the name be applied by the Arabs to any ruin at the

head of the Gulf, it is a misnomer taken from the actual

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name of the adjoining gulfl MoBt probably (as usual) in answer to a leading question.

But the verification here established is one of the very highest moment, as carrying back the name towards the time of the miracle. The Greek city KXuafiOy at latest of the era of the Ptolemies, was doubtless of immemorial antiquity, and founded, most probably, on the site of an Egyptian city of the same name^ occupying the spot, and superseding the prior appellation of Baal-Zephon.* Its commercial position and importance sufficiently guarantee these inferences. But its name, Clysma, or Kolzum, is a record of the miracle^ It is the Egyptian memorial of their own miraculous engulfing ; and in it we obtain an approximation^ at least, to contemporary evidence for the Scripture miracle at the Red Sea, and for the actual point of its occurrence.

Scripture Proofs and Corroborations.

If we believe the Scripture narrative,, the Israelites (a whole nation) encamped on the shore, and the Passage took place through the middle and depths of the sea. The description answers to no point north of Has Attakah, or south of Abu Deraje. Under and

• The original name Baal-Zephon may, perhaps, still be traceable in that of Ras ZafranSy the next headland to Clysma on the south. The change from jiephon to Zepkran is slight and easy.

north of Attakah there is no space for camping-ground, and south of Deraje the coast is iron-bound to the extremity of the opposite peninsula, and the latitude of E-as Mohammed. This leaves absolutely no open space but the plain of Wady Mousa, or Tawarik. This plain, like that of El-Murkha already noticed, affords ample space for the encampment either of an army or of a nation. It is eighteen miles in length along the shore, and from three to five miles in width. The sea opposite this long and level beach varies from six to twelve miles in width, and in depth from nine to fourteen '

fathoms. The opposite coast, from Ayfin Mousa to >

Wady Sudr, is a low sandy shore, with the Wadys *

Reiydnah, Kurdhiyeh, Ahtha, and Sudr running down to it. Both sides thus presented the greatest possible facilities for the transit of the Israelites ; especially as Bruce states of* the bottom, ^ there is a good anchorage everywhere,' i.e. a clean bottom.

Let us now compare the Scripture statements with these facts, beginning with the Song of Moses :

' With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together,
The floods stood upright as an heap,
The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide

the spoil :
I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them.
Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them :
They sank as lead in the mighty waters/ *

• Exod. XV. 8-10. •

A deep sea is expressed by all the images ; a wide sea, by the ideas of * pursuing ' and * overtaking.'

' For the horse of Pharaoh went in, with his chariots and with his horsemen, into the sea ;
And the Lord hrought again the waters of the sea upon them ;
But the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea.'*

Depth and width are here equally expressed. The whole Egyptian army went in at once, and perished together.

This, it may be objected, is poetry ; but, Numbers xxxiiL 8, Moses resumes the subject, and repeats the character of the transit : ^ And they departed from before Pi-hahiroth, and passed through the midst of ike sea into the wilderness.'

David repeats briefly and incidentally the statement of Moses, and reaffirms the magnitude of the miracle :

' He turned the sea into dry land :
They went through the flood on foot.' f

And more fully, though allusively only, in the 77 th Psalm:

* The waters saw thee, God, the waters saw thee :
They were afraid : the depths, also, were troubled.
The clouds poured out water :
The skies sent out a sound :
Thine arrows, also, went ahroad.

• Exod. XV. 19. t Psahn Ixvi. 6.

The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven :

The lightnings lightened the world :

The earth trembled and shook.

Thy way is in the sea,
And thy path in the great waters,
And thy footsteps are not known.' *

We come now to a passage of awful character for inan to trifle with, for it is spoken by * God that cannot lie.' In the following place of Isaiah we have Jehovah's o^ accoTxnt of the miracle, in his own divine words :

^ Then he remembered the days of Moses and his people, saying :
Where is He that brought them out of the sea with the

shepherd of His flock ?
Where is He that put His Holy Spirit within him ?

That led them by the right hand of Moses with Hifi
glorious arm,

Dividing the water before them,

To make HimseK an everlasting name P

That led them through the deep,

As an horse in the wilderness,

That they should not stumble ?

As a beast goeth down into the valley.

The Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest :
So didst thou lead thy people.
To make thyself a glorious name.' t

The description here is drawn by God himself. Jehovah tells us of ^ the deep ' down into which He led his people Israel, and of * the valley ' out of which He brought them up. I would solemnly counsel any man

• Psalm Ixxvu. 16-19. f Ifi«iah Ixiii. 11-14.

B

Character of the Miraculous Passage of the Red Sea.

By most modem writers, the character of this transaction has been discussed on the principle of a general drawing up an army in marching order. The Israelites are marshalled in one compact column, and marched across, at the point of transit, through a narrow defile. The computations of time and distance, with all the other inferences, are grounded on this assumption. I give it in the words of Dr. Robinson. * As the Israelites numbered more than two millions of persons, besides flocks and herds, they would, of course, be able to pass but slowly. If the part left dry were broad enough to enable them to cross in a body, one thousand abreast, which would require a space of more than half a mile in breadth (and is perhaps the largest supposition admissible), still the colunm would be more than two thousand persons in depth, and in all probability, could not have extended less than two miles. It would then have occupied at least an hour in passing over its own length, or in entering the sea ; and deducting this from the longest time intervening before the Egyptians must

who is tempted to trifle or tamper with these Divine I words, to read (if he believes in it), before he sits down to his desk, the nineteenth verse of the last chapter of the book of Kevelation.

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also have entered the sea, there will remain only time enough, under the circumstances, for the body of the Israelites to have passed, at the most, over a space of three or four miles. This circumstance is fatal to the hypothesis of their having crossed from Wady Tawdrik ; since the breadth of the sea at that point, according to Niebuhr's measurement, is three German or twelve geographical miles, equal to a whole day's journey.'

In commenting on this statement, I would begin by observing that most modem travellers who ride their own hobby are sure to pronounce their theory * fatal ' to whatever theory it stands opposed to. The amount of this fatality, however, happily is a question not of words but of facts. I proceed to show that the learned doctor's theory, in this instance, is fatal only to itself.

1. What title has he to assimie ^ half a mile,' or any theoretical space, as * the largest supposition admis- sible'? Who gave him power to limit the power of the Almighty?

2. What title has he to draw up the Israelites in close column at all ?

3. His column is made to consist solely of the people. What becomes of the immense herds and flocks of sheep and cattle which are wholly excluded from his compu- tation, while requiring as great, or greater, space than the people themselves ?

4. What becomes of the enormous mass of tents

and goods and household furniture, which is equally excluded, yet which most certainly followed in their train?

Such are a few only of the questions raised by these equally absurd and monstrous assumptions. From day-dreams like these, and computations which would be scouted on all sides in toy ordinary case, we pass to serious realities, to matter-of-fact computation of the scale of the Israelite encampment, and to the inevitable extent of front required by it, in order to the Israelites crossing, not only at the Wady Tawarik, but even at Dr. Robinson's own two-mile passage near Suez, within the time, however calculated, prescribed by the Mosaic narrative. Judging by the laws of European census, namely, five to a family, the Israelites numbered three millions, exclusive of the * mixed multitude ; ' the laws of Asiatic census would carry the computation still higher; and those of a people like the Israelites, pretematurally prolific, would raise it higher still. But we will take it at three millions (as, without loss to the argument, were it not contrary to all analogy, we might, with Dr. Robinson himself, take it at two), and demonstrate the extent of front which the circumstances of the case absolutely require.

For argument's sake, we will, with Dr. Robinson, take the breadth of the miraculous fissure at half a

mile. A camp of three millions of persons, at ten to each tent, would require 300,000 tents ; or, at twenty to each tent, 150,000. The whole cattle of a wholly pastors^ nation is to be included within the camp; if (as most probable) within the tents, to swell their magnitude, if not so included, to increase its dimen- sions. But tents require intervals^ aud intervals imply more space than that under canvas. Allow twenty feet square for each tent, and ten on each side for intervals, and you have 1,500,000 yards in length, by 10 yards, we will say, in breadth, for the area of the camp. Now arrange this area as you will, a march of several hours must intervene, between the remoter parts of the en- campment and the fissure. In proportion as you carry the tents inland, or in proportion as you extend them along the shore, a similar time will be required to reach the point of passage. But this time has all to be added to the time occupied in the passage, and thereby doubles the time specified by the Scripture narrative solely for the transit. These calculations leave no alternative between absolute impossibilities, on the one hand ; and the extension of the camp along a great length of shore, and the expulsion of the sea along the entire length of the shore on both sides, on the other. Now the Wady Mousa or Tawarik presents the only level and open ispace for such an extension, along the entire western, or Egyptian, side. It is eighteen miles in length ; and

the Israelites, encamped along it between its opposite extremities, ^ Migdol and Baal-Zephon,' would simul- taneously enter into the sea at the one given time, and march across the uncovered bottom, like a vast army in line, without the loss of one needless hour in reach- ing the shore.

Even the figment of Jewish tradition preserved by Philo, that the twelve tribes crossed simultaneously, by twelve separate paths or openings through the waters, bears record to Jewish belief as to the vastness of the space miraculously laid bare ; and to the fact so demonstrable from the whole reason of the case, that (as subsequently in the Wilderness) the Israelites were marshalled by their tribes along the Egyptian shore, and entered the water, and crossed over, abreast.*

Having thus shown, by measurement, that this is the only rationale of the event, I will next show that it is the explanation indicated, at once, by the Scripture narrative, by the account in the book of Wisdom, by the native tradition preserved by Diodorus Siculus, and by the natural phenomena which take place periodically in the same Red Sea, at the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

The Scripture narrative conveys the idea of the

* So Philo: o\U irvxov rjSri vapd to7q ijt6<ri r^p Odkdrrtic tTTpnrorreStvtravrfQ, — Op. p. 628. The expression role tYiofTi riJQ 6a- XaVriyc corresponds only with the long shore of the Wady Tawarik, as the definitions, rfiiov^ lUtus, rfiotts, habens moffnum littu8, show.

simultaneous entry of the whole host into the waters : * And the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto the chil- dren of Israel that they go forward. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back, by a strong east wind, all that nighty and made the sea dry, and the waters were divi- ded. And the children of Israel went [as though at once and in one body] into the midst of the sea upon the dry bottom.^* Again : ^ But the children of Israel [as a whole] walked upon dry ground in the midst of

the sea.'t

These apparent indications of simultaneous action, and, consequently, of corresponding space, are thus paraphrased in the book of Wisdom, which has, at least, the authority of an ancient Jewish tradition :

' A cloud shadowing the camp ;
And where water stood before, dry land appeared ;
And out of the Red Sea a way without impediment ;
And out of the violent stream a green plain :
Where through all the people went, that were defended with

thy hand,
Seeing thy marvellous strange wonders.
For they went at large like horses j
And leaped like lambs ;
Praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.' J

The mention of ^ a green plain ' marks the vast width of the opening, as that of * a violent flood ' marks the

* Exod. xiv. 15, 21, 22. t lb. xiv. 29.

X Wisdom xix. 7-r-9.

immense volume of the displaced waters. It, at the same time, singularly harmonizes with the account of Diodorus Siculus, in which the green colour of the bottom is similarly specified.

We now come to this famous passage, so justly ad- duced by commentators as a heathen testimony to the miracle, but so carefully eschewed by Robinson and the rationalists, who would one and all carry the point of transit to the neighbourhood of Suez. By all sound Scripture critics it has been admitted, at once, as evi- dence for the miracle, and as a proof of its having taken place at the Wady Tawarik. But great as is its value when taken alone, it will be found largely augmented when now taken in connection vdth the preceding text from Wisdom, and with a following pas- sage from Bruce.

The words of Diodorus are : * Among the Ichthyo- phagi dwelling near those parts, an account has been handed down by tradition, the fame of which had been preserved through their ancestors from father to son from f remote ages, namely, that an extraordinary ebb-tide having taken place, the whole of that part of the gulf became dry land: that part, to wit, [already described as] having a green appearance : the sea falling asunder and rolling back in opposite directions, and the bare ground becoming visible at the very bottom of the abyss: when, anon, an immense reflux, rushing up.

restored the navigation to its former state.' * On the face of it, this statement is an apparent record of the miraculous division of the Red Sea. The description of Diodorus, moreover, is in the most perfect accord- ance with that in Wisdom : for both represent the whole bottom of the gulf, at a given part of it, to have been laid open ; f and both state the appearance of the bottom to have been ^ green,^ This last coincidence, from its specialty, is of singular value. The pheno- menon is one which could not be thus arbitrarily in-

* Uapd dk Tois TrXtiffiov KaroiKOVfrtv *lxOvo(f,dyotc vapaSeSorai Xoyoc, Ik irpoyovwv c^wv ^i/Xarro/ilviyv Ttjv (piififjVf 8rt fitydkqg rivoc yivoftevrjQ afi'jrd}Tiu)g, iyfvrjBi] rov koXwov Kripog wag 6 roTTOff, Tiyv x^^P^'*' ^X*^^ "^^^ tSttov Trpofroypiv^ fxirarrttrovfffig ri7C OaXdrTrjg dg ravavria fispij, ^avdffrig SI Trjg inl rf fivQ^ Xkptrov^ iraXiv iTTikQovaav l\ai<Jiov irXfiftriv dTroKaraffrriffai rov TTopov eig T-qv irpovirap^aoav Ta^tv. — Diod. Sic. £ibl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxxix. torn. ii. p. 279. ed. Bip.

t It is observable that the Byzantine chronographer, George Syncellus, without reference to these authorities^ takes precisely the same view of the breadth of the opening : describing the bed of the sea as having been laid bare along the entire length of * the shore (aiyia\6v) on the Egyptian side, and to the opposite extremities or headlands of the corresponding coast on the Arabian: TrXiiiavTog 'Mwvfre.ojg KaraKpovrop aiyiaXov rov ^darog, TO irav virsPpdyi] "jrsXayog, sutg axpov Tr\g dvriKiifikvrjg ox^rig, — Ap. Hist. Byzant. p. 102. His description applies most graphi- cally to the two level strands in front of the Wady Tawarik, while it is wholly inapplicable to any other part of the Gulf of Suez. There cannot, therefore, be a doubt that the Wady Ta- warik was known in his day (a.d. 700-750) as the scene of the miracle.

vented by two wholly independent authorities. The coincidence, in a word, can be accounted for only from the two narratives being records of one and the same historical fact.

Now if the report of the phenomenon, as given in Wisdom and by Diodorus, be correct, the effect of the miracle at the Ked Sea very plainly vras, to sweep out the whole body of the waters from that portion of the Gulf of Suez along the entire front of the Wady Mousa or Tawarik, so as to lay the entire bottom bare, I presenting the appearance of ^ a green plain,' for the children of Israel to pass abreast over. As this idea is new, and must appear very startling to all who are in the habit of setting their own limits to Almighty power, I will at once support it by bringing physical proof of the periodical natural occurrence, in another part of the same sea, of what here was a miraculous phenomenon.

The agency employed by Jehovah for dividing the Red Sea, we read, was * a strong east wind,' blowing ^ all that night.' Let us now learn the effect of that agency, as operating naturally in the Straits of Bab-« el-Mandeb. The following is Bruce's account : * The violent northeast monsoon, raking in the direction of the gulf, blows the water out of the Straits of liab-eU \ Mandeh into the Indian Ocean, where, being accumU" \ latedy it presses itself backwards, and, unable to find

way in the middle of the channel^ creeps up among the shallows on each coast of the Ked Sea.'

Compare with this phenomenon the account in Exodus :

* And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea : and the Lord caused the sea to go bach^ by a strong east windy all that nighty and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided.'

Now here* is the same agency, an east wind, ope- rating miraculously, with the self-same effect with which it operates naturally, to this day, in the litraits of Bab-el-Mandeb. In both cases alike, a strong or violent north-east wind, blowing continuously, sweeps out the waters from the portion of the sea thus acted on. The correspondence is complete, the only differ- ence being, that what occurred once only in the history of the world supematurally between Wady Tawarik and the opposite coast, occurs annually and naturally in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The accoimts of Wisdom and Diodorus stand thus circumstantially cor- roborated, while that in Exodus is verified at every point.

If we compare, in the next place, the relative scales of the two phenomena, we shall find the miraculous one equalled, or even exceeded, by the natural one. The sea before the Wady Tawarik varies from about six to ten miles in breadth, and from nine to fifteen

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fathoms in depth. Let us now take Brace's account of the breadth and depth of the sea in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb :

* After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two by the island of Perim, otherwise called Mehun. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian shore, is two leagues broad, at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathoms of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathoms,^

The result of the comparison (supposing the Straits, like the scene of the miracle, to be completely emptied) will be this, that the volume of water periodically swept out by ^ the violent north-east monsoon ' at Bab- el-Mandeb is, in proportion to the relative lengths, at least four times greater than that swept out from before Wady Tawarik by the miraculous ^ strong east wind.'

But Bruce's account further elucidates, in the most satisfactory way, the character of the Scripture miracle in its twofold agency, namely: first, the rod of Moses; and, secondly, ^the strong east wind.' The sea, it appears, was instantly divided by the lifting up of the rod ; and ^ the strong east wind, blowing all that night,' was then employed to drive out and pile up (as it does at Bab-el-Mandeb to this day) the disparted waters. This latter part of the miracle, we learn from Scrip- ture, was a work of time ; and the agency employed

to effect it was identical with that which produces pre- cisely similar effects at Bab-el-Mandeb.

We return to the Scriptural account of the miracle, and to the twofold agency* there represented as em- ployed to effect the Divine purpose : namely, first, the lifting up by Moses of the rod, which had already wrought such wonders in Egypt ; and, secondly, the action of the ' strong east wind.'

1. From Exodus xiv. 16, it is clear and certain that it was by the miraculous agency of the rod alone that the waters were first ^ divided ' or sundered : ^ And the Lord said unto Moses, Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch

Lord said unto Moses, Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch
out thine hand over the sea, and divide it; and the
children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the
midst of the sea.' The rod was here plainly endowed
with the same miraculous power as when it became a
serpent ; as when Aaron ^ lifted up the rod, and smote
[in like manner] the waters that were in the river, in
the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants,
and all the waters that were in the river were turned
to blood ;' the same power as when Aaron's outstretched
rod brought the plague of frogs from * the streams, the
rivers, and the ponds of Egypt;' and, again, when it

• The twofold character of the miracle is well noted by Philo
Judseus : pfjtig ddkdaarig^ dvax^ptj^iQ Uarkpov TfjirifjiaToC) i* e. prjKiCy
the effect of the rod : dvax^pv^'^Si the effect of the wind. Ph .
Jud. Op. p. 691.

8 2

^ smote the dust of the earthy and all the dust of the
land became lice throughout all the land of ^gypt,'

In all these previous examples, the rod was the sole
instrument of the miracle ; and, therefore, it was the
sole instrument of the miracle in its first stage, the
division or severing of the Red Sea.

2. The second stage follows at the twenty-first verse :
* And the Lord caused the sea to go back, by a strong
east wind, all that nighty and made the sea dry land,
and the waters were divided.' The miraculous wind,
following up the action of the rod, was here self-
evidently employed (as the same wind acts naturally
in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb) to sweep or drive out
the already divided waters from the whole basin of the
sea before Wady Tawarik, or ^ between Migdol and
Baal-Zephon,' the two places at its opposite extremities.

This office of the wind most aptly explains what might
otherwise appear obscure, namely, why it ^ blew all that
night.' A continuous effect required a continuous
action; at least, it was thus that Jehovah saw fit to
complete the miracle.

These Scripture notifications, I would now observe,
are preliminaries to a further and very curious ques-
tion ; a question which has not yet been raised, because
hitherto there existed apparently no data by which to
settle it : I mean, the direction of the transit, or the
extreme points to which it brought the Israelites on the

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opposite or Arabian coast. Now difficult as this ques-
tion may, at first view, appear, I believe it to be capable
of a fair solution. Authorities have been much divided
as to the particular point at which the Israelites struck
this coast ; the truth being, simply, that they reached it
abreast along the entire line of the contested localities.

But we have a nearer approximation to the details
of the Passage than this general view supplies. The
existing names, Wady Mousa on the western, and Ayun
Mousa on the eastern, side, very significantly indicate
that Moses first divided the sea at the northern end of
Wady Mousa, or at ^ Migdol,' under Ras Attakah, and
directly opposite to Ayiin Mousa. If so, his head-
quarters (if we may be allowed the expression) were at
Migdol, while the camp extended southwards to the
other extremity, or to ^ Baal-Zephon.'

Now these statistics prepare the way for a very in-
teresting comparison; namely, of the entire field of the
miracle, as thus laid down, with the necessary effects of
the north-east wind, the agency employed in producing
it, upon this whole field. For, if the action of this wind
shall be found exactly to coincide with the direction
and limits of the space considered as laid open for the
transit at this part of the Gulf, it is clear that the coin-
cidence becomes the strongest conceivable evidence in
proof of the discovery, at last, of the true field of the
transit. Now the reader has only to look into Moresby's

chart, or Robinson's map, of the Gulf of Suez, in order
at once to satisfy himself that a north-east wind, striking
the Arabian coast at Ayiin Mousa, would exactly sweep
the whole sea in front of Wady Mousa. So that the
already divided waters would be necessarily driven in
the diagonal, south-westwards, towards Abu Deraje;
while the upper, or northern, portion of them, like those
of the Jordan subsequently, would be arrested and
heaped up and driven back by the fury of the storm.
As this is a question of geographical science, the appeal
is made, from the contradictory opinions of mere tra-
vellers, to the judgment of men of science. The evi-
dence on the face of any map of the Gulf of Suez
tells, beforehand, what that judgment must be.

Vestiges of the Exode along the Arabian Coast opposite

to Wady Mousa,

The Passage of the Israelites being thus shown to
have taken place abreast along the entire length of
Wady Mousa or Tawarik, it becomes a question of high
interest whether traces of their landing-points may still
exist in the names of localities on the opposite, or
Arabian, shore. For, if local denominations here bear
internal marks of probable reference to the Passage
of the Israelites, the presumption is strong, taken in
connection with the whole preceding evidences^ that

such names have come down from that period^ and
point to that event. The question may be brought to
a short and clear issue. Beginning from Ayftn Mousa,
or ^ The Wells of Moses,' opposite to Ras Attakah,
there are six wadys, or landing-places, facing Wady
Mousa or Tawarik. The existing names of these em-
bouchures are, Wady Mousa, W. Reyaneh, W. Kurd-
hiyeh, W. el-Ahtha, W. Sudr, W. Wardan. I shaU
now submit the definitions of these several names, so
far as I can ascertain their orthography, and leave each
of my readers to form his own judgment.

1. AYt^N Mousa speaks for itself.

2. W. Reianeh, or Reiy&neh, appears to be a deriva-
tive of j^j rana^ viz. ^j rani, and with the article,
^^}^ ar-raniy Populus, * The People.' This name,
therefore, signifies * The Valley of the People.'

3. W. KuBDHiYEH, apparently from '^j^ kardah,
signifies, transitively, Collegit, congregavit homines ;
and, as a substantive, means ^ The Valley of the Con-
gregation.'

4. W. el-Ahtha, derived from Ui dtd, Venit, denotes,
in the form ^\ or ^1) ati, atiu, Peregrinus, ^ A
Pilgrim ' ; and renders itself, therefore, * The Valley
of the Pilgrims.'

5. W. Sudr is a name equally significant and decisive.
It unquestionably comes from jJ^ sadar^ and most

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distinctly applies (whether designedly or otherwise)
to the case of the Israelites. jJu^ sadar, Redditus
ab aqu&^ Return framy or out of^ the wciter. But
still more home, jjl^ sadur^ Homines ab aqu& du-
cens via, * A road leading men up frona the water.*
This last definition applies to the Israelites with a
specialty which tells us it belongs to them,
6. W. Wabdan. This last name certainly comes from
J«^ tcarudy the opposite of j*X^ sudr. It literally
means entering intOy instead of coming up out ofy the
water. But both names apply alike to the Israel-
ites : the one, to their entering into the sea at Wady
Tawarik ; the other, to their coming up out of it at
Wadys Sudr and Wardan. But ^^j^ wardan^ in full,
describes the Israelites with a graphic force appli-
cable to no other case or people: namely^ ^^'^j^)
warduUy plur. tov J;^j, Aquatores, ^ The Watermen ; '
from fc>;*, Descendens, adieus, ingrediens, aquam;
* Descending into, going to, entering into, the water.'

Can all these local names, facing the very scene of
the Scripture miracle, and describing or alluding to it,
apparently, in so many different ways, have come of
chance, or come together by chance ? Can the Scrip-
ture terms, ^ The People,' ^ Pilgrims,' &c., occur on the
very scene of their Exode, yet have no reference to
God's People Israel? Can their entrance into, and

exit out of, the waters of the Red Sea be here described
to the life in the local denominations of the very spot
which witnessed both events, and yet have no relation
or allusion to the miracle ?

Having put these questions, I leave the answers to
the Christian reader.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have stated that the character of the miracle at
the Passage of the Jordan is the true measure of the
character of the miracle at the Passage of the Red Sea.
The Divine object being one and the same, a rapid and
simultaneous transit, the extent of front presented by
the host of Israel to the river, in the latter case, would
self-evidently be commensurate with the extent of front
it presented to the sea in the former example. Now,
at the Jordan, all the details and measurements are
certain and clear. The Israelites lay encamped before
the river. The river was emptied out in front of the
camp for a space, of from sixteen to eighteen miles.
The miracle took place when ^ the soles of the feet of
the priests who bare the ark of the Lord ' touched * the
brim of the water.' But while the priests bearing the
ark were commanded to go forward, to enter the river
bed, and halt there, the people were forbidden to pass

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a line of demarcation which placed a space of two
thousand cubits, or two thirds of a Komaii mile^ between
them and the bank. They were to go, indeed, after
the Ark of the Lord when they first saw the priests,
the Levites, bearing it : but they were to halt on the
measured line ; and the reason is added, ^ that ye may
know the way by which ye must go.' For this injunc-
tion the plain reason was this, that the whole host might
see simultaneously, from such a distance, the entrance
of the Ark into Jordan, the appointed signal for their
advance. These circumstances demonstrate that they
were now deployed into line, in order to pass the dried-
up river simultaneously along the entire emptied space.
These prefatory remarks will be found intelligibly to
harmonize with the whole Scripture scene. The miracle
opens at the moment when the host of Israel stood
deployed along the entire line of demarcation, at a
distance, as already observed, of more than one thou-
sand yards from the river. The advance takes place
at the moment when the waters are piled up above, and
failed below, on the entrance of the Ark. Its sacerdo-
tal bearers halt in the middle of the bed ; and the
Tribes move forward as disposed in line, and pass over
on each side of the Symbol of the Divine Presence.
Then, and not before, the Ark and its bearers move :
^ And it came to pass, when all the people were clean
passed over, that the Ark of the Lord passed over, and
the priests, in the presence of the people. . . .

^ And it came to pass, when the people removed from
their tents to pass over Jordan, and the priests bearing
the ark of the covenant before the people ; and as they
that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet
of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim
of the water (for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all
the time of harvest), that the waters which came down
from above stood, and rose up upon a heap very far
from the city Adam that is beside ZJaretan ; and those
that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the
salt sea, failed, and were cut off; and the people passed
over right against Jericho. And the priests that bare
the ark of the covenant of the Lord stood firm on dry
ground in the midst of Jordan ; and all the Israelites
passed over on dry ground, until all the people were
passed clean over Jordan.'

Now, while the two miracles necessarily differed in
the mode, the Psalmist records twice in the same short
Psalm the identity of the results at the passage of the
Jordan, with the previous results at the passage of the
Red Sea. In both cases he dwells alike, not on the
miraculous scission only, but emphatically on the
miraculous recession of the parted waters :

^The sea saw, and fled i Jordan was driven back*

And again :

' What ailed thee, thou sea, that thou fleddest f
Thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back f '

These two verses settle the whole question. The
river and the sea were equally cleared out. The ex-
tent of the array in line at the one^ is the just mea-
sure of the extent of the array in line at the other^
and the space cleared out in front, between Adam and
the Sea of Sodom, not only gives that measure, but
exactly corresponds with the length of shore in front
of Wady Tawarik, a line of from sixteen to eighteen
miles.

But the equally stupendous scale and character of
both miracles, and the value of every w^ord employed
in Scripture to describe them, may be signally eluci-
dated, in conclusion, from the contrast presented by
two later miracles* at the river Jordan : the passages,
namely, of Elijah and Elisha. In the former exam-
ples I have remarked upon the double process : the
parting of the waters by the agency of the rod of
Moses and of the Ark; and the recession of the
waters, in the latter case by the continued action of
the Divine agency, in the former by the miraculous
introduction of a strong east wind, * causing the sea to
go hack all that night.'

In the case of Elijah and Elisha, no second action
occurs ; and why ? Because no similar result was re-
quired. No armies of Israel stood now in broad array,
no provision was to be made for the passage of a mighty
nation. The prophet and his servant 8tood alone by

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the bank of Jordan. They crossed together, and Elisha
recrossed alone. The space required was for the pas-
sage of a single man ; and nowhere is the economy of
miracle more beautifully exemplified than in the ac-
count of their passage. *And they two stood by
Jordan. And Elijah took his mantle, and wrapped it
together, and smote the waters ; and they were divided
hither and thither, so that the two went over on dry
ground.' Again: *He [Elisha] took up the mantle
of Elijah that fell from him, and went back, and stood
by the bank of Jordan. And he took the mantle of
Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and
said. Where is the Lord God of Elijah ? And when
he also had smitten the waters, they parted hither and
thither : and Elisha went over.' The one miracle here
sufficed. A narrow footpath only was required, through
which a single foot-passenger could cross over ^dry-
shod.' The mantle of EHjah twice cut this footpath,
and twice the parted waters instantly closed over it.
The case is simple, and the facts irrefragable ; and
hence the miracle itself is of the very highest interpre-
tative value, for the miraculous division of Jordan by
the touch of the mantle of Elijah demonstrates anew
what has been elsewhere proved, that the Red Sea was
first divided asunder by the agency of the outstretched
rod of Moses, before its parted waters *were driven
back all that night ' by the equally miraculous agency

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of the ^ strong east wind/ to make^ as Isaiah sublimely

of the ' strong east wind,' to make ' as Isaiasi sublimely
expresses it, ^the depths a way for the ransomed to pass
over.'

To resume the main point of this Postscript, the
identity of character between the Passages of the
Jordan and the Red Sea, I would now observe that
their designed analogy very significantly appears in
the similarity of the agency employed to effect them.
The sea was divided by the hand of Moses; the
Jordan by the feet of the priests. The sea returned
to its strength on the raising of his hand : * And Moses
stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the sea re-
turned to his strength.' The Jordan returned to its
bed on the uplifting from it of their feet : ^ And it
came to pass, when the priests that bear the ark of the
covenant of the Lord were come up out of the midst
of Jordan, and the soles of the priests' feet were lifted
up unto the dry land, that the waters of Jordan re-
turned unto their place, and flowed over all his banks
as before.'

It has been proved, from the common nature of the
two cases, that the character of the miracle at the
Jordan is the true measure of the character of the
miracle at the Red Sea, that both are equally and
altogether supernatural, and that the phenomena of
the latter attest the parallel phenomena of the former
event. I close with a decisive proof that our argu-

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ment is based on Scripture ; that Joshua himself (who
witnessed both) affirms the latter miracle to be the
counterpart and measure of the earlier: *For the
Lord your God dried up the waters of Jordan from
before you, until ye were passed over, as the Lord
your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up from
before us, until we were gone over.' *

* This one fact is decisive of the character of the miracle at
the Passage of the Red Sea. Joshua, himself an eyewitness of
that miracle, and, save Caleb, now its sole survivor, here tells the
new generation of Israelites bom in the wilderness, that it was
identical in character and effect with that which they had just
beheld at the Passage of the Jordan : that the sea and the river
were ^ dried up ' in like fashion and to the same extent, viz. from
sixteen to eighteen miles. Now Joshua most certainly knew the
facts of both miracles ; and had not the one been in essential
character the counterpart of the other, he could not have thus
compared them. The comparison itself is drawn with the dis-
criminative exactness of a contemporary historian. The change
of persons, from 'you ' and 'ye,' to 'us ' and 'we,' distinguishes
with historical exactness between the new generation which had
just passed the Jordan, and himself and Caleb, the sole survivors
of the Passage of the Red Sea. The change of persons is so
clear 'and graphic, that the sense could not escape the com-
mentators. Amama has done it full justice : ' Ubi agit de ex-
siccatione Jordanis utitur auctor voce DS^ODDi cum affixo 2
personsB; ubi verd de exsiccatione Maris Kubri, usurpat vocem
lO^ODD, cum affixo primsB persons. . . . Quin non sine causcl
vocem eam cum alio affixo iteravit Spiritus Sanctus. Cum enim
omnes, quos ibi alloquitur, transivissent Jordanem, utitur pro-
nomine secundsB personse ubi de ejus transitu agit. At ex iis
qui Mare Rubrum sicci trajecerant, ipse cum Calebo supererat,
reliquis, quos hie alloquitur, maximam partem necdum natis.
Ideo mutat pexeonam.' — Amama in loc. (^* Crit, Soar,

CHAPTER IX.

STATIONS OP ISBAEL IN THE 'WIIiDEBNESS.

The recovery of the Stations of Israel in the wilder-
ness is confessedly one of the most difficult problems
for solution in the topography of the !Exode. It has
been commonly assumed, and seems generally admitted,
that most of the Scripture names of those localities
have been either wholly lost, or so altered as to be now
irrecoverable. There may be much truth, but there
is much misapprehension also, in this view of the
subject. People forget that many of those stations Ke
concealed in the unknown recesses of the TiA, or
^ Desert of the Wanderings ;' while the Scripture names
of others have been, not lost, but disguised only by
idiomatic changes in passing from the Hebrew into
Arabic. Several, moreover, have been recovered with
moral certainty by modem travellers, sometinies even
without their seeming aware of their own discoveries.
In this state of the question, the best service, per-
haps, that can be rendered it wiU be, to indicate the
probable, and fix the certain, restorations. The latter
are obviously of paramount importance, because each

authentic station becomes a clue to the adjoining
ones.

To begin with the probabilities. Among probable
restorations, I would venture to class my own identi-
fications, in the present work, of Dophkah with the
Wady Dughadcy the valley leading directly from the
sea and the wilderness of Sin to Serbfi,l, or Mount
Sinai ; and of Alush, the next station to Dophkah,
with eUHesuehy a copious spring and stream between
Wadys Dughade and Firan, the latter being, according
to all the ancient authorities, the site of Kephidim, the
next station to Alush.

Burckhardt's identifications of Marah with Ain Ha^
warahy of Hazeroth with Huderahy and of Sarbut-eU
Kliadem with Kibroth^Hattaavahy rise above proba-
bility, and may justly be pronounced conclusive,
especially when I add of the last, that the Scripture
name Kibroth is preserved to this day in that of the
Arab burial-ground of Mukberahy in the neighbourhood
of Sarbut-el-Kliadem. Rithmahy the next station to
Hazeroth, has its name very clearly preserved in the
Ratheni or Rathemi of Ptolemy, and in the W. Ra^
thumat of Wilson, in the same latitude 3(/.

At this point we come suddenly upon a wide chasm :
no fewer than twelve stations, all apparently in the Tih,
finding either no representatives, or very imperfect re-
presentatives, so far as is yet known, in the classical

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or the modem geography of the country. In compen-
sation, however, for this great hiatus^ the darkness
is as suddenly dispelled, and a burst of light most un-
expectedly breaks in upon us in the very heart of
the Tih. How the acute eye of Kobinson and others
remained blind to it I am at a loss to conjecture, for
the Scripture names stand out perfect and prominent in
his own and in Riitter's map. The names in question
are Moseroth and Hor^Hagidgad. Moseroth I discover,
most clearly legible, in the Wady el^Mazeirah^ in
long. 34' 30'', lat. 30' 27"; ^^^ Hor^-Hagidgad most
perfectly, the radicals letter for letter, in the Wady el-
Ghddhagidh or Gadgad (for the vowels are interpo-
lated), in long. 34' 40", lat. 30' 5", in (as I have already
said) the very hekrt of the Tih. Now, if the identifica-
tions here rested on the names alone and the fair pro-
babilities as to the sites of these localities, the evidence
would be strong. But the names and sites are only
the first steps to these verifications. For the account
in Numbers notes the distances between Moseroth and
Hor-Hagidgad, and, again, between Hor-Hagidgad
and Ezion-Geber, at the head of the Gulf of Akabah,
by intermediate stations : viz. one station between the
former places, and two stations between the latter;
namely, Bene-Jaakan or Beeroth in the one case, and
Jotbathah and Ebronah in the other. We have, conse-
quently, two days' journey between Moseroth and Hor-

Hagidgad^ and three days' journey between Hor-Hagid-
gad and Ezion-Geber. Ezion-Geber fixes the terminus
absolutely, being at the head of the Gulf of Akabah.
Let us now compare the Scripture stages with the actual
measurements. The Wady el-Mazeirah is exactly 25
miles from the Wady el-Ghaddgidh, giving to the
Israelites two days' journey, at 12 J miles per day.
Again, Wady el-Ghadagidh is precisely 37^ miles from
Aizioun or Ailah at the head of Akabah, giving to the
Israelites three days' journey, at precisely the same
rate of travel, or 12^ miles per day. These measure-
ments, coupled with the absolute identity of the names,
are decisive of the question before us. The Wady el-
Mazeirah and the Wady el-Ghadigidh are to a cer-
tainty the Moseroth and Hor-Hagidgad of the Exode.
But the value of the measurements does not end with
the identifications. They are, in another point of view,
highly interesting and important. For they determine
beyond controversy that much-vexed question, so dis-
turbing of all previous calculations, the average day's
journey of the Israelites. Instead of the diverse and
disputed computations of modem travellers, fluctuating
between 10 and 15 or 16 miles, we have here the ab-
solute certainty that the average rate of travel of the
Israelites was 12 or 12^ miles a day. This result
bears with great force upon Burckhardt's identification
of Marah with Ain Hawarah, where the distance from

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AytLn Mousa, the first landing-pointy is exactly 36
miles ; thus giving the precise Scripture measurement
of the distance, viz. ' three days' journey into the wilder-
ness.' It equally affects the question of the true sites
of EUm, of the encampments by the Hed Sea and in
the wilderness of Sin, and of the true Mount Sinai,
which, on this ground alone, can be no other than
Mount Serb&L

It is obvious how greatly the reduplication of the
word, in the examples of Hor-Hagidgad and Ghada-
gidh, augments the proof of the identity of the locality.
A most unexpected discovery carries this proof to the
greatest possible height : in a passage of Bruce's Tra-
vels I found, to my equal surprise and satisfaction,
the name of a locality in this very Hebrew form (at
present unknown in Arabia) on the opposite coast of
the Red Sea. The passage in question is as follows :
' At a quarter after one we came to Mariam Okhah,
and at half-past three arrived at Hor-Cacamoot. Hor,
in that country, signifies the dry deep bed of a torrent
which has ceased to run ; and Cacamoot, the shade of
death : so that Usini's village, where we now took up
our quarters, is called the Valley of the Shadow of

Death Hor-Cacamoot is situated in a plain, in

the midst of a wood,' etc. *

Now, in the name of this Abyssinian village, Hor-

• Bruce, Travels, vol iv. p. 324»

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Cacamoot^ we have the exact counterpart of that of the
Israelite station, Hor-Hagidgad, and we obtain proof,
consequently, of the reality of this Scriptural name.
But the passage supplies a further and still more home
verification. For JEfor, we learn, signifies a valley^ and
is synonymous with the Arabic term Wady. Hor-
Hagidgad, consequently, is simply the Hebrew version ^
of the actual Arabic name, viz. Wady el-GhS.dghS,d, or
el-Ghddigidh. The identity of form is complete in
every respect, the initial Ha in Hagidgad answering to
the initial el in the Arabic name, both being the definite
article, the n or Jl prefixed.

In Deuteronomy x. 7 the name of this station is re-»
peated without the Hor prefixed, viz. n*T:i*T:in Gadgadehy
in the Arabic version rendered by *^^ Djaddjad or
Gadgad. The identity of these forms, *t:i*t:i and Jc>- Jcj-
demonstrates the identity of the Scriptural with the
present Arabic name.

In Numbers xxxiii. 33, where the prefix Hor is given,
and repeated in the Arabic version, the identity of the
Mosaic with the present Arabic name of this locality is
equally apparent: *T:i*T:in in Hor-Hagidgad^ ^d^^j^
Hor-eUDjaddjad. The Arabic j^ hor here stands
obviously as the synonyme for wady* j^ denoting,

• It is observable that in Deut. x. 7, the prefix J?br is omitted,
the name being written Gudgodah, n*T!l*T!in ; a fonn identical with
the present Arabic name Jk^- j^^- Qhadaghyd,

Locus in quo aqua coUigitur^ A place of the gathering
together of waters.

In consequence of his fnistakiTig the native Arabic
name for an original Hebrew compound^ Crudens has
fallen into the error of translating it ^ The ITill of Fe-
licity.' The sense is altogether wrong. Grolius defines
Jcj- jcj- djaddjad, 1, Via dura et plana ; and^ 2. Putens
multae aquse. Compare, now, with Brace's Hor, a
Wady^ a Valley, and with these definitioiis^ Hobinson's
description of Wady el-Gh&dagidh :

* A somewhat steep descent brought us to the broad
sandy valley, Wady el-Gh&dhagidh, which drains the
remainder of this region between the JerSiah and el-
Miikrah, and carries its waters eastward to the Jera-
fah. We encamped in this Wady at 4^ o'clock, near
its northern side.'*

Here, then, irrefragably lay the station of the Is-
raelites described alike by its ancient Hebrew and by
its actual Arabic denomination as ' The Valley of Gid-
gad.' We have thus one example more of the just-
ness of Burckhardt's rule, viz. to trace the vestiges of
ancient stations and encampments by the wells. The
soundness of the rule may be illustrated feom a descrip-
tion in Deuteronomy of an adjoining Israelite station in
these very localities : * And the children of Israel took

• BibL Res. vol. i. p. 267.

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their journey from Beeroth, of the children of Jaakan,
to Mosera. From thence they journeyed unto Gud-
godah ; and from Gudgodah unto Jotbath, a land of
rivers of waters^ Of these four stations, Beeroth is so
named from its wells ; Mosera means * to drink ; ' Gud-
godah, we have seen, is a valley full of springs ; and
Jotbath is, Kar i^oxt]Vy described as ' a land of rivers
of waters,' *

The certain restorations of Moseroth and Hor-
Hagidgad, and through them of the positions of the
intermediate stations, throw important Kght upon the
winding and devious course which kept the Israelites
in the wilderness for forty years. For at this point of
their journeyings it is clear that they had advanced
northwards to, or beyond, Moseroth, and were now
retracing their course southwards to Ezion-Geber. And
this is exactly what the Psalmist describes : * They
wandered, or went astray, in the wilderness out of the
way.' They travelled, that is to say, without any
certain or definite course.

If it be asked why Moses and the Israelites, with
their eyes open, should do this, the answer is. It was
not they who did it, but God who did it for them. The
explanation is to be found in full in Numbers x, 33 — 36 :

* And they departed from the mount of the Lord

• Deut. X. 7.

three days' journey ; and the ark of the covenant of
the Lord went before them in the three days' journey,
to search out a resting-place for them. And the cloud
of the Lord was upon them by day, when they went
out of the camp. And it came to pass, when the ark
set forward, that Moses said. Rise up. Lord, and let
thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee
flee before thee. And when it rested, he said. Return,
O Lord, unto the many thousands of IsraeL'

From this passage we learn that every successive
station or camping-ground was determined, not by
Moses, but by the miraculous resting of the Ark of
the Covenant. The fact is well known to Scripture
geographers in theory, but, it is to be apprehended,
has been greatly neglected in application. Yet it is
only by constant attention to it that we can hope to
make much progress in the recovery of the stations of
the Exode, vestiges of which may sometimes be found
in the local nomenclature, in situations where, under
ordinary circumstances, we might least expect thenu

To apply these considerations to the stage of the
Exode with which we are here more inunediately

concerned, the neighbourhood of Moserath and Mor-
Ngadgad. In the surroundings there are still
exist apparent traces of the Scripture names of other
adjoining stations. Thus Mash-mafiak, the station pre-
ceding Moserath, may very well be identical with A in

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A'Mayein" a well-watered valley, from its eastern
extremity within one day's journey of Wady el-Ma-
ziraq, already identified with Moserath. The circum-
stance of its lying to the south-east, instead of to the
north of Wady Maziraq, we have seen, constitutes
no objection, as the marches of the Israelites were
regulated, not by the points of the compass, but by
the movements of the Ark. Amidst a number of now
unknown stations, at present irrecoverable, preceding
and following those here ascertained, there occurs one
salient point on which there can rest little doubt,
namely, Mount Shapher. For mountains are jrremov-
able, and their names more permanent, commonly,
than the names of places, so often no longer existing.
Mount Shapher, then, is identified, with no reasona-
able doubt, in the Djebel Shafeh of the Arabs, the
mountain range lying nnc, of Akabah, and extend-
ing from the head of that gulf to the neighbourhood
of Petra and Mount Nor. In this range there occur
two chief mountains, viz. Djebel Shafeh towards Aka-
bah, and Djebel esh-Shefah towards Mount Hor. One
or other of these is probably the Mount Shapher of
the Exode ; which of the two can be determined only ^
by the future recovery and arrangement of the lost
stations.

To return to Mor-Hagidgad and Jotbathah. The
former station we have seen recovered with certainty

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in the Wady el-GhadMgidh of Robinson ; the latter I
discover, and think it can be restored with nearly equal
certainty, in the Bir el-Beytar of Burckhardt. The
names JotnBathah and el'Betrar are nearly identical:
the distances absolutely so ; Jotbathah being two days'
journey from Ezion-Geber, and Bir el-Beytar about
thirty miles, or two long days' journey from the same
given point. But this identification is not limited to
coincidences of names and distances : it holds in the
equally important agreement in the character of the
locality ; for Jotbathah is characterized in Deuteronomy
as « A place of rivers of waters,' and Bir el-Beytar
signifies, /cut S^eyrix, « The Well, or Wells, of Beytar.'
The coincidence is the more marked, because Bir is
so often used in Scripture in names of places. Thus
Numbers xxi. 16 we meet Beer, an Israelite station,
and stated to be so named from its newly dug well
BirWaine and Bir-Omba are further and familiar ex-
amples. Bir-Beytar /hus in all points corresponds with
Jotbathah, and is likely be pronounced the site of
this Israelite station.

The interchange of m and n in Arabic words taken
into our reckoning, there seems fair ground for another
and very important restoration, in the probable identity
of Makheleth with Niikhl or Nakhl, in all ages a cen-
tral station of the Tih, on the Hadj route from Cairo to
Akabah. It is the Necla of Ptolemy ; and so situated.

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that it would seem impossiblo for any wayfarers in the
more northern parts of the Tih to pass it without halt-
ing. The probabilities, consequently, are very high,
that the Israelites halted here : if they did, Nukhl is
certainly the Makheleth of Moses.

Haradah. Wady er-Raudah lies in the direct route
between the northern Djebel Shefah and Nukhl ; and
its name perfectly corresponds with the Israelite station
of Meir-radahf the single intervening station between
Mount Shapher and Makheleth. But it is too near
the much later station of Gadgfc,d or W. GhddMagidh,
and the intervals are far too great for one half-way
station, unless there were halts.

Ain Turfahj lat. 29° 50M, with more probability,
may represent the Tar ah of the Exode.

The later stations are mostly known, or fairly dis-
coverable. Mount Mor is close to Petra. Zalmonah
corresponds accurately in name and site with Maon.
Punon (a celebrated site of copper mines, apparently
during, certainly after, the Exode) agrees with the
copper mines of Dhahl, within four miles of Doan,
the site assigned for Punon by Saint Jerome.« Oboth
is obviously the Ebode of Ptolemy, now el-Abdhd.

• ibiviavy fjv Kartprriaav 'lapaijX Ivi Tl3O IpffffiuV riv dk Kai trdXig
rlyjll.dvlav ^EwfAv Avrri Ictti Afaivdv, tvSa rd fiirrdma tev hakfcoii,
fAirv^ Kbffiivri Ukrpag tto3Ac vai Zoopov ^'Oaan), — Onomast. ap.

Hieron. Op. torn. iii. p. 442.

C1XG#.EL

dinr be fomwlj in dus borier

A SvyOFSIS OF THE. SXATIOS^ OF TSE ISRAELITES

FEOM Ramesss to Beth-Jesem ots, presentOq in
one Tiaw the lost names, the icoofered names, and
tiie ovnfB more or less probably reoofered. The
restorsoOnis considered cotam sre geren in capitals;
dse mOfe poobable in Roman letters ; and die less
probable instaliciB.

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2.

Kamern
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DHK

3.

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Pi-Hahiboth

Mouih of VTody Ta-

bn"r^

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\tn^ol(andBaal-
Zephon)

tank. (Bruce,)
light-house^or watch-
tower, under Eaa

mo

6.

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!E)!iiii • • • .

Attabih. (Baal-
Zephon, Clymna.)

AinMowaiah.

AinNash.

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8.

TheRedSea .

Wady Murkha.

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J^D 9. 1 5iK

t f • t •

npan 10.

C^I"K 11.

Dn^BI 12.

"i+O innD 13.

ni+nn nnnp 14

mvn 16.

nom 16.

pa JOi 17.

mn' 18.

NOI 19.

nn^np 20.

nae^nn 21.

nnnn 22.

h^npD 23.

nnn 24

nnn 26.

npno 26.

n^OB^n 27.

npOO 28.

Ipy" "ii 29.

Dophkah . • .
Atijah ....
Bephidin . . .
Wilderness of Si-
nai
Kibroth-Hatta-

AVAH

Hazeboth . . .

ElIMMAH . . .

Eimmon Parez.
Libnah . • • .

Eissah.

Kehelathah . .
Mount Shaphee

...

HaradaH
Makheleth . . •
Tahath.
Tarah .

...

Mithcah.
Haslunonah . .
MOSEBOTH . . .

JBenn-Jaakan" or
Beeroth

Wilderness stretcliing
southward along the
sea from W.Mlirkha.

Wady Dughade.

El-Mesueh.

KUU of Fukh.

Skirts of Mount Ser-

bai.

Sarbut-el-Khadem.

Ain Huderah.

Wady abu Eathunat,
Ion. Sly lat. 30 -2Iy'.
(lands of the Biblo.)
Eathenl or Eal-
themi of Pnalemy.

Mukrih el-Ibna (so
Lachsa or el-Achsa).

Khulassah.

Djebel Shafeh, or Dje-

bel esh-Shefah.
W, er-Raudah.
NaKhl, or Necla.

Ain Tarfah I lat. 30'
8^'. Ichter, Ktk, lat,
30° 11'.'i'.

W. el-Mayein.

W. el-Mazeirah.

Beyam. W. Lahyan?

so op. Ptolem. La-
thrippa pro lathrip-
pa : Yathreb or Me-
dinah.

nn:in nn so.

nhno^ 31.

n^nny 32.

nn:i p^ 33.

tnp 34

nnn nn 35.

n^D^v 36.

pifi 37.

nnK 38.

Dnnyn ^^y 39.

n:i pn 40.

Dniyn nn 42.
nKiD nnny 43.
ntoB^^n n^n 44.

HOB-H^GIDCKAD .

Jotbathah . .
Ebronah . .
Ezion-Gabee
Eadesh . .
MouKT Hob .
Zaimonah • .
PraoN . . .

Oboth ....
Iji-Abarim.
Debon-Gad . .

Almon-Diblath-

AIH

The mountains of

Abarim.
The plains of

Moab.
Beth-jesimoth.

Wady el-GhadaghidL
(Jk^-fcX^-, Terra du-
ra et plana. Pa-
teas multss aqiue.
An exact descrip-
tion of this valley.)

Bir el-Bevtar.

Adron. (Ptolemy.)

Allah.

Ain Kades.

Above Petra.

Maon?

Dhuhl, 4 miles from
Doan : site of cop-
per mines. J^-J,
Foveam terrs in-
gressus fuit: pec.
supemS angnstam,
infeme latam. Per
latera fodit puteum,
(Gol.)

Eboda.

Dhiban. (Burckhardt,
Robinson.)

Nom. prop, oppidi Mo-
abitomm. (ffieron.
Onomast.) Et usque
hodlie ostenditur in-
ter Medaka etihih
lotai. (Gesenius.)

POSTSCRIPT.

Among the restorations in the preceding table, some are established by every kind of evidence, as well by intervening historical or traditional notices, as by coincidence of names and relative distances between Israelite stations and known Arab localities. Others there are which rest chiefly or solely on the identity, or approximate identity, between the Scripture names and the present Arab nomenclature. The value of this kind of evidence in the East has been shown, on an extended scale, in my work on * The Historical Geography of Arabia.' I would close this chapter with one of the most interesting exemplifications of the soundness of the principle, and the safety of its guidance, ever perhaps happened on in investigations of this nature.

In the preceding Table, going on the ground that Mount Serbal was the true Mount Sinai, I had identified one of the most obscure of the Israelite stations between the Red Sea and Rephidim, namely Alushy with eUHesuehy the Arab name of a water-spring, about a half-day's journey, or from six to seven miles, from Firan, the assimied Rephidim, at the foot of the Serb&l; the approximate identity of the names being my only guide. Since the Table was drawn up, I observed in Gesenius for the first time, the following notice and

definition of the name Alush : ttnVK (sec. Talmud, turba hominum). The Tahnudic definition suggested the thought of testing my previous identification of Alush with eUHesuehy by trying whether the two words, in Hebrew and Arabic, had any corresponding sense with that in this Jewish tradition. I looked^ accordingly, for the Arabic root fJL^ haush, and found under it the approximate form i.i»lj-^^ Turba hominum ; being one and the same with the Rabbinical definition of Alush. Freytag and Richardson add the reduplicate phrase ,^^;i-jLfSl ^ji^-fJl al-hatish al-haishy as expressing a vast multitude^ multitudo ingens.

Moses, it follows with moral certainty, has preserved to us the then existing Arabic name al-JSesueh, Turba hominum, in the Hebrew form C^iVk AUush. For the Hebrew n, he substitutes the Arabic Jl ; and thus demonstrates the existence of the Arabic definite article at the distance of more than three thousand three hundred years. For a single proof, a higher one cannot be given or conceived as to the primeval antiquity of the Arabic idiom, which Bishop Walton justly traces up to the age of the confusion of tongues.

The name Al-ush, with other indications, woidd seem to show that the Israelite stations were often called by the Arabic appellations Hebraized, a circumstance which may materially aid in effecting future verification.

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But the form Alush, or eUHesueh^ suggests a thought of high historic interest. It is a witness, at this point, to the history of the Exode ; for we are here on the eve of the great battle of Rephidim, and within six or seven miles of the field. And what more likely than that its Mosaic name was then first given by the Amalekites, when they beheld the vast host of Israel halted on this scene, ere they advanced to take position upon the hill of Bephidim, on whose summit Moses stood, with Aaron and Hur, to survey the battle? What more natural than that the Amalekites, when they saw three millions of souls assembled at El-Hesueh, should exclaim, in Bedouin fashion, — C^r^K, J^}y'^y\ (Alush or EHIesueh*)— ^ What a crowd of men I ' Such was the exclamation of Balaam, when ^ he lifted up his eyes, and saw Israel abiding in his tents, according to their tribes — Who can count the dust of Jacob, or the number of the fourth part of Israel ? '

* The change of the Arabic fonn lJ^^\ al-Hush into the Hebrew fonn ^7K AUtuhy by simply dropping the aspirate^ is obviously 60 slight as not at all to interfere with their identification. The Arabic form JL^^A^t el-kuashat is sufficiently near to the present denomination d-Hesueh, to mark them out as varying forms from the same root, /jiyb. The well-known interchangeableness of the /^ s and the il «& is, in the example of el-Hesueh, singularly vouched for by the common and very peculiar definition of the Hebrew ^K and the Arabic aL^1^!> viz. Turba hominum.

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CHAPTEE X.

TRUE DATE OF EOBAH'S BEBELLION,

Levi

Levi

Joseph

Kohath

Kohath

Manasseh

Amram

Izhar

Machir

Moses

Kopah

Gilead

Hepher

Zelophehad

Reuhen

Levi

Pallu

Eohatli

Kliab

Amram

Nemuel, Dathan^ Abiram

Aaron

Eleazar

Phinehtf

The question which I aim to settle from these genealogies, taken in connection with the case and family of Zelophehad, is the True Date of the Judgment upon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Archbishop Usher places this awful event in the second year of the Exode. The English Bible chronology fixes it in b.c. 1471, or b the twentieth year of the Exode. I proceed to show that the Archbishop is wrong, and our English Bible date the correct one.

1. The case of Zelophehad and his daughters enables us to prove that Archbishop Usher's date is simply an impossibility. For, from Numbers xxvii. 3, it is clear that the death of Zelophehad occurred at the same period, though not on the same occasion, as that

of Korah. In this verse his death is so coupled with the judgment on Korah and his company, as to mark the two events as nearly simultaneous ; in truth, there could be no other reason for n^ientioning the one event in connection with the other : * ^ Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the Lord, in the company of Korah, but died in his own sin,' In other words, he died synchronously under a judgment, but a judgment distinct from that of Korah.

2. The plain inference suggested by the above passage is, that Zelophehad perished in the plague which followed on ^the morrow' after the swallowing up of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and after ' the fire which consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense : ' i. e. after * Korah and his company.'

3. If, in Numbers xxvii. 3, the death of Zelophehad is distinctly discrinunated from the judgment on Korah and his company, be it observed that the same discrinunation is made in Numbers xvi. 49, between Korah and his company, on the one hand, and those who perished in the plague, on the other : ^ Now they

* For some highly valuable obseryations upon the sense of Numbers xxvii. 3, for which I am indebted to my valued friend, Charles Sprengell Greaves, Esq., Q.C., see PostscbipT; p. 302 infra,

that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred^ besides those that died about the matter of Korah.^ That he perished in the plague is, therefore, the natural solution of the death of Zelophehad ; which, moreover, was very apparently a judgment.

4. We come now to the daughters of Zelophehad ; and to their share in determining the chronology of his death, and, in it, that of the judgment on Korah. Now, they were young marriageable maidens in the last year of the Exode, or B.C. 1451, This fact we learn from the last chapter of Numbers. Whereas, were Archbishop Usher's date of the judgment on Korah correct, — viz. the second year of the Exode, or B.C. 1490 — the youngest of them must, in B.C. 1451, have been in her fortieth year, or still older, unless bom in the year of her father's death.

5. We thus arrive at the real date of Zelophehad's death, which, taken in connection with the case of his daughters, must have taken place about the middle of the Exode ; a result which confirms our English Bible chronology of the judgment on Korah in the most conclusive way. For if, at the time of their claim to their father's inheritance — viz. B.C. 1452-51^ — we take the youngest at twenty years of age, this brings us back exactly to the English Bible date for the deaths of Korah and Zelophehad, viz. B.C. 1471. This demonstrative calculation, at one of the obscurest points of the chronology of the Exode, is a cogent proof of

the correctness generally of the chronology of .our English Bible.

6. The daughters of Zelophehad are the oldest instance of coheiresses in the history of the world ; and the fact that the divine decision in their case has continued to be the law of mankind from their day to the present, gives an interest to this Mosaic event and, its chronology beyond all ordinary rule. Its importance, in fixing the time of Korah's rebellion, is, however, our immediate concern.

7. Archbishop Usher's most erroneous date for Korah's rebellion is further and independently set aside, by consideration of the age of Zelophehad at the time of the Exode. This can be approximated to with good probability by reference to the four genealogies at the head of this chapter. From these genealogies it will be seen that Zelophehad was of the same generation with Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, and, consequently, two generations junior to that of Moses. Allowing thirty years (the usual average) for each generation, he might be sixty years younger than Moses ; which would make him about twenty years old at the time of the Exode from Egypt. This would make him forty at the time of his death. But as the marriages of the ancient Israelites were not early, and Zelophehad left five daughters, he was more probably thirty at the Exode, and fifty when he died. As he was of the number of those who perished in the wilder-

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ness, the presumption is that he was upi^ards of twenty at the Exode from Egypt.

8. There is always some uncertainty, however, in computing the ages of individuals by parallel generations. But in the case of Zelophehad this uncertainty is checked by the parallel case of his contemporary Phinehas. As Eleazar and Phinehas both entered the promised land, the father must have been under twenty at the commencement of the Exode, and the son must have been bom in the wilderness. He was living at the time of the war against the Benjamites (Judges XX. 28), B.C. 1406, and probably long after. He must have been under twenty at the time of Korah's rebellion, B.C. 1471, and about forty when he slew Zimri and Cozbi, B.C. 1452.

9. From this decisive computation it follows, that to have been the father of five daughters before b.c. 1471, Zelophehad must have been from twenty to thirty years senior to Phinehas.

Nemuel.

10. We have seen the English Bible date of the rebellion of Korah, viz. B.C. 1471, established by the case of Zelophehad and his daughters. A wholly independent establishment of this date arises from the case of Nemuel, the elder brother of Dathan and Abiram. That Nemuel had children, as well as his brethren.

appears from his being named^ and his family numbered (Numbers xxvi. 5),* among the Reubenites ^that were able to go to war in Israel ' (Numbers xxvi. 2)» The age of liability to this census is here of vital importance : it was ^ from twenty years old and upwards.' Nemuel, we may conclude, as well as his brothers Dathan and Abiram, had ^ little children ' at the time of their destruction. Now, take the youngest of his sons, at the time of the census, at twenty-one, B.C. 1452, and we arrive once more at the same date, B.C. 1471, as that of the judgment on Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The independent cases of the children of Nemuel and of Zelophehad thus signally combine to fix the judgment on Korah and his company, as our English Bible has fixed it, in B.C. 1471.

Korah.

11. We come now, in the last place, to the evidence to the same effect supplied by the case of Korah himself. A seeming chronological difficulty arises here, because Korah was of the same generation with Mqses and Aaron, and two generations prior to that of Zelophehad. The same apparent difficulty, however, it

* The children of Nemuel were named, not Nemuelites, but PalluiteS; after his grandfather Pallu; probably to avoid their being confounded with the Nemuelites descended from Nemuel; the eldest son of Simeon. — See Numb. xxvi. 12. .

win b« ohMrredp ezktt ia die caoe of Xemad, D>-dttii, and Abmrn^wlio were akoof tfaesamegeiienitMm with Mi»«k Yei in their ewe diere most hare been m wide dKpazitj of s^ ; since it is certam thai diey had ' little cfaildreiif ' when Moses was a hundred years old. Korahy therefore, aldioaghy like them, of tke same genentioii widi Moses, mnst, like them, hare been greatlr his jnnior; and Korah's children, like theirs, would be ' little dnldren ' at the time of ihe jn^ment upon him and them. And as ' the difldren of Koflrah died not' (Numbers xxL ll^thej, like thoee cf Xemnel, woold be twenty years old or apwards at die time of the last military census in B.C. 1452; which consideration reconducts us, for the third time, to our Bible date of the judgment, yiz. B.C. 1471.

12. But further, in the case of Korah, as a member of the tribe of Levi, and an officiating minister in the tabernacle, the chronology becomes determinable within certain limits; because his age is ascertainable with certainty within twenty or twenty-five years. For the service of the Levites in the tabernacle was limited to a period of twenty, or at most of twenty-five, years. It commenced, ordinarily, at the age of thirty, or, exceptionally, at twenty-five, and terminated at fifty. (Compare Numbers iv. 35 with viii 24, 25.)

Now, Korah's service began at Sinai, with the first erection of the tabernacle in b.c. 1491. He must then.

consequently, have been thirty years of age. At the period of his death, therefore (which has been already shown ex abundanti to have occurred in B.C. 1471), he was in his fiftieth year, and on the eve of the termination of his legal service. Whether this consideration had anything to say in prompting his impious rebellion is fair matter of conjecture. Certain it is that his office, and with it his personal consequence, was just about to expire ; circumstances in themselves strongly tending to provoke a bad man to an evil ambition. It is equally certain that, like Milton's Satan, he Stood alone among the Levites, the arch-conspirator against Moses and against God : as plainly appears from his calling into counsel and cooperation, not his brethren the Levites, but members of another tribe, the tribe of Keuben.

But the acme of Korah's guilt lay, not in suborning Levites (who might have some colour of right to the use of censers) to invade the priestly office, but in impiously placing censers in the unhallowed hands of the ^ two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation ;' thereby subverting the sacred orders both of the priests and of the Levites, to whom alone had been divinely committed the services of the tabernacle. The retort of Moses, however, ^ Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi,' would seem to indicate the presence of other Levites among these princes of the congregation.

However this may have been, the conspiracy of

I

Korah clearly aimed to overthrow the divine institutions^ in order to place himself^ whose legal term of service was just about to expire, at the head of a priesthood and polity of his own manufacture, to the doing away of all ecclesiastical authority and order. In this respect, however their aberrations may be redeemed by other considerations, Korah stands through all time the type and precursor of all irregular forms of revealed religion.

13. But the object of this essay is not theological, but historical. It is in answer to the inquiry of an illustrious layman,* who desired to learn whether any light could be thrown upon the deep darkness which shrouds from us the events of the Exode, during its unrecorded period of thirty-eight years. This light, it has here been shown (overlooked as the fact has been), breaks in from the' awful episode of Korah's rebellion, which •took place in the very middle of those unrecorded years ; a record all the more valuable as evidence to the reality of the Mosaic history, because it discloses the identity, in all stages of their wanderings, of the national character of the Israelites, as seen at the commencement in the murmurings at Marah and Rephidim, and the weeping at Taberah and Kibroth-Hattaavah; and as seen at the close, in their chiding and open rebellion at Meribah. It discloses, further, the identity

* The late Lord Lyndhurst.

\k

of the divine dealings towards them, in the sameness of the judgments which followed upon their greatest transgressions ; since a plague fell upon them at this middle period, as in the beginning atKibroth-Hattaavah, and at the end at Meribah Kadesh. *This consistency of crime and punishment throughout the forty years is very valuable in illustration of the truth to nature and Providence, and consequently of the historical fidelity, of those Mosaic narratives, which the wisdom of fools * would in these days question and impugn.f

14. Judging only from the internal evidences, the account of Korah's rebellion is clearly an episode ; for it has no connection whatever with what precedes it, and incidental connection only with what follows it, in the sacred narrative. Yet, isolated as it stands, it lets in germinating light upon the transactions at this period of the Exode. For his rebellion gave birth to the series of divine enactments which follow in the 17th, 18 th, and 19th chapters of Numbers. For most of these enactments are directed to prevent the recurrence of any like rebellion, by establishing anew, in terms more stringent, and by sanctions more cogent, the total distinctness of the orders and offices of the priests and Levites, through the medium of ordinances of perpetual obligation.

Twv Ik riJQ fiupag oTrXKTfikvojv (toipiaQ, — St' Basil,

t See final Note.

I

15. Foremost amoi^ these enjurtments stands tlie record of that perpetual miracle, which sheds its light ap(m the midnight of the thirty-eight years ; and which was wrought to render impossible the rise of future Korahs, by handing down in physical reality (the only available evidence for animal natures) a perpetual symbol of the divine origin of the Aaronic priesthood, namely, Aaron's miraculously budded rod. It is most remarkable that this miracle of the Exode, which comes in to enlighten its very darkest period, has but one fellow in the whole Mosaic history — ^the perpetual preservation of the manna : ' And Moses said. This is the thing which the Lord conunandeth. Fill an omer of it to be kept for your generations ; that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt.* In like manner, and for a like end, Aaron's rod, with its miraculous buds upon it, was to be kept also for a perpetual memorial : ^ And the Lord said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels.'

But it is to St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that we owe the knowledge how this divine commandment was fulfilled. From him, and from him alone, we learn that Aaron's rod was deposited along with the pot of manna in the ark of the covenant : a fact which demonstrates the common object of the two miracles :

* After the second veil, the tabernacle which is called the Holiest of all : which had the golden censer, and the ark of the covenant overlaid round about with gold; wherein was the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant.' (Heb. ix. 3, 4.) These kindred and most sacred memorials, with an interval between them of twenty years, were, as we here learn, treasured up in the ark, the only meet companions for the tables of the covenant : the manna in b.c. 1491 ; the rod in B.C. 1471 : the former in the full light of the Mosaic narrative; the latter in the darkest period of the Exode. The indissoluble union, in the ark, of these imperishable mementos of those two miracles, bespeaks them as alike of unparalleled moment. The command to preserve Aaron's rod before the testimony we learn from Moses ; but the fact, with the mode and place of its conservation, we know only through St. PauL We have here a fresh ray in the midst of the thirty-eight years. Even the surrounding darkness seems almost dispelled, when thus illuminated by four concentric miracles: — 1, the Judgment on Korah; 2, the Fire from the Lord which consumed the two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation; 3, the Plague which followed ; and, 4, the Budding of Aaron's rod.

In conclusion, while the story of Korah is only a single point in the unrecorded period of the Exode,

like a mathematical pointy it prolongs itself into a line - a line of light. For it assures us that this whole period was characterized by a succession of national transgressions and divine punishments^ varying of course in measure and degree, but always bearing the marks of a doomed people, * whose carcases were to perish in the wilderness.'

POSTSCRIPT.

(From C. S. Gbeayes, Esq., Q.C.)

* It occurs to me that the inference as to the time of the death of Zelophehad, which is fairly deducible from Numb. xxviiL v. 3, is very much more forcible than as you have represented it. It is obvious that the object of the daughters in making the statement in that verse was to prevent it being supposed that their father had died with Korah as one of his company. Now, unless he had died near that time, it is difficult to conceive how it could be supposed by any one that he died with Korah. But if he died about that time - a time when so many perished — nothing is more

probable than that an error might be made as to his dying with Korah; or, at all events, the daughters might well suppose that such an error might be made, and might make the statement they did to prevent it.

Men are not In the habit of distinguishing things or events which are totally different. It is only when there is a liability of one being mistaken for the other, that it occurs to any one to draw a distinction, I think also that this reasoning is very much strengthened by the fact, that Korah's rebellion was by no means the only misconduct in the wilderness, and I am at a loss to see any reason why the daughters selected Korah's misconduct, and omitted the rest, unless there was some such connection between the former and their father's death, as distinguished it from the rest ; and the only connection that occurs to me is the time when the events happened.

* All I infer from the verse is that Zelophehad died about the time of Korah's rebellion. It may be that he was one of the persons who died of the plague ; but I entertain considerable doubt whether the assertion, that he ^^died in his own sin," (jKtDm, "in his sin,") necessarily leads to the inference that he died in any misconduct in which others took part. I incline to think it means that he died in his individual sin, or " for," " by reason," or " on account of" his own sin ; and that his death was a judgment for his own individual sin. However, as the sin of a man who sins in company with others is his sin as well as theirs, it may well be that this view of mine is incorrect.'

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON NUMBERS Xxi. 1,

ap. p. 148.

The name of * king Arad, the Canaanite,' it is most remarkable, still lives in that of Tell Arad {the Mound of Arad), a town seated in the mountain district lying on the east along the road between Beersheba and Hebron, This local name (of Mosaic antiquity, see Judges i. 16) escaped me when verifying in the maps the adjoining Mosaic localities. It is too important to be pretermitted ; for it completes my verifications in p. 148, and gives historical reality to every point of the sacred narrative at this stage, linking together and riveting all the localities noted by Moses as upon * the way of the spies.' King Arad knew * the way of the spies.' And why ? Because, as his still existing capital. Tell Arad, acquaints us, he lay upon the flank of this very route. When he heard of the advance of the Israelites by this road, he saw, of course, the full extent of his danger ; and, with a view to avert it, took them by surprise in flank, coming down upon them from his mountains. The geographical position of Tell Arad thus throws the light of day upon the whole narrative and transaction.

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FINAL NOTE.

It has been reserved for the 19th century, this vaunting and vain-glorious age of newborn light and knowledge, to witness the miserable spectacle of a Bishop and Presbyters of the Church of England combining (like * Korah and his company') in unholy alliance, to rake up and reproduce the long-exploded anti-Scriptural impieties of bygone ages of infidelity.* This episcopal ' gainsay er of Scripture' has now, at length, made the startling discovery, that the Books of

* The animus of these men upon the subject of miracles is still more strongly marked by their reticences than by their rejections. It is most observable, and I would strongly invite public attention to the fact, that while every miracle in which they pretend to find or make a flaw is questioned or denied with all the zeal of partisans, and all the minuteness of special pleaders, not a single miracle of either Testament is substantively acknowledged by any one of them. Now, the course of all fair objectors most palpably would be, to specify the Scripture miracles in which they believed, ere attempting to shake the faith of others in those which they themselves believe not : — ^to affirm, for example, their belief in the Incarnation, in the miracle at Cana, in the miracles of the loaves and fishes, in the raising of Lazarus, in ' the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus.' For in proportion to the pertinacity with which these men assail so many of the Scripture miracles, is their moral, their bounden, their paramount obligation, if they believe in any, to state in which they believe. This course, I repeat, is demanded, not only by their fairness as disputants, but by their character as honest men. They are called upon, one and all, even now, to take it, or to relinquish all claim to credence as to their Christianity.

X

Moses, heretofore regarded as the well-head of all revealed religion, are posthumous fabrications ! ' a pious fraud,' compiled from fabulous traditions, after the lap^ of several hundred years, by the prophet Samuel or the prophet Gad, I for the benefit of the Israelites of their day I This impious theory, which would * make The Truth Himself a liar,' * at once exposes itself by puerility of which a schoolboy should be ashamed, from the monstrous absurdity it involves, in representing Samuel as devoting his time and thoughts, his mind and pen, to writing the whole history of Moses and the Law, while, save incidentally (1 Sam. xii.), no allusion to Moses, or to the Mosaic Law, is to be met with in either of. the books inscribed with his name : the first generally acknowledged to be his composition ; the second inferred (from a single text, 1 Chron. xxix. 29) to be the production of a fellow-prophet. Gad or Nathan.

To these wild ravings of a diseased idiosyncrasy ('the imderstanding,' observes Glanville, in his Scepsis^ * hath its idiosyncrasies^ as well as the other Acuities') I shall here content myself with opposing a mass of geographical facts, as certain, on the whole, as any propositions enunciated in Bishop Colenso's algebraic or arithmetical publications. The substantive physical evidence referred to will be found in full in my former work, * The Historical Geography of Arabia ;' in which it is demonstrated that all, or nearly all, the patriarchal tribes specified by Moses in the Book of Genesis, * according to their families^ after their places^ by their namesj are to be found, both in the classical and in the modem geography of Arabia, disposed along the very lines of coimtry, and occupy-

• See St John v. 45, 46.

&

ing the very localities, assigned to them by Moses, in the oldest history in the world.

The accuracy of these investigations, and the certainty of their results, rest not, like Bishop Colenso's discoveries, upon POSTULATES : they stand attested by the pronounced judgment of one of the first scientific geographers of our own, or of any age, the discoverer, in his closet, of the true course of The Niger, long ere that mysterious stream was navigated by the Landers, — James Macqueen, Esq., of London. I shall only add, that if, in the fece of this matter-of-fect statement of the historical fidelity of the Mosaic records, any choose to give credence to Bishop Colenso's views, without due examination of the annihilating physical evidence here adduced against them, they must, in so acting, give up all claim to the character of truth-loving or truth-seeking inquirers. I repeat it, and would openly challenge disproof of the allegation, that the array of Mosaic names of Arab tribes and localities brought together twenty years since in the above-named work, as extant, on the one hand in the classical, and on the other hand in the modem, geography of the Arabian peninsula, is utterly annihilative of the Anti-Mosaic theories of Bishop Colenso and the whole Anglo-German school. In all coimtries, and in all ages, the evidence of national nomenclature is allowed of all to be evidence of the most cogent and commanding authority : but in the East it is supreme. Moses, antecedently, testifies to its indelible value, when he speaks of the settlements of the patriarchal stocks, 'according to their families, after their places, by their names.' The Psalmist, long subsequently, repeats this witness : * They call their lands ajter their own names^ The past and present nomenclature throughout the Arabian peninsula is a living commentary

upon their words ; and a standing testimony to the minute fidelity, the historical exactness, and the immacnlate tmthfblness of the Mosaic annals, which must erer make the cavils of scepticism recoil upon their employers. In the awful words of the Psalmist, applied, not individnally, but to the ' hindeier and slanderer of God's Word ' as a caste :

' HIS TRAVAIL SHALL GOME UPON HIS OWN HEAD ;
AND HIS WICKEDNESS SHALL FALL ON HIS OWN PATE.'

^

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