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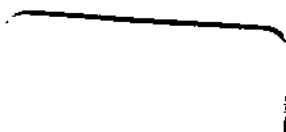
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'ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.'

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- SINAI PHOTOGRAPHED. 1 vol. folio. London, R. Bentley. 1862.
- ~~~~~
- LIFE of BISHOP JEBB. 2 vols. (Second Edition, 1 vol.) 8vo. 1836-7.
- APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY of the EPISTLE to the HEBREWS.  
1 vol. 8vo. 1838.
- CRITICAL ESSAYS on GENESIS xx. and ST. MATTHEW ii. 18, 19.  
1826.
- DISCOURSES on SUBJECTS of SCRIPTURE HISTORY. 8vo. 1823.
- SIX-PREACHER SERMONS. 8vo. 1863.

LONDON  
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.  
NEW-STREET SQUARE

# 'ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS;'

OR,

## GLEANINGS FROM THE SCENES OF THE WANDERINGS.

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THE TRUE DATE OF KORAH'S REBELLION.

BY

THE REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D.

SIX-PRAACHER OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, AND RECTOR OF STINTED, ESSEX;

AUTHOR OF 'THE VOICE OF ISRAEL FROM THE ROCKS OF SINAI,'

AND OF 'SINAI PHOTOGRAPHED.'

---

'The subject of the Exodus is everyday attracting more and more attention.'

LORD LYNDHURST.



LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

PUBLISHER IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.

1865.

110. j. 23.



Ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον,  
σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

PHILIPP. ii. 22.



TO  
THE REV. JOHN JEBB FORSTER, M.A.

CURATE OF WEST MALLING

IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY,

THESE CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCES

OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOKS OF MOSES

ARE INSCRIBED FROM THE HEART

BY

HIS AFFECTIONATE FATHERS

THE AUTHOR.

BAYMOUNT, TORQUAY,  
*Christmas Eve, 1864.*

IF THESE SHOULD HOLD THEIR PEACE,  
THE STONES WOULD IMMEDIATELY CRY OUT.

ST. LUKE, xix 40

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## ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.

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### INTRODUCTION.

THE opening chapter of 'The Voice of Israel,' will be the most appropriate Introduction to 'Israel in the Wilderness.' 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 discovery; 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 surnamed Indicopleustes, visited

\* 'The One Primeval Language,' Part I.



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 uninhabitable wilderness, of numerous inscriptions in a then, as now, unknown character and language. By certain Jews, who formed part of his company, and who professed to understand and 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 wanderings '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, lying scattered over the valleys; rocks which had fallen, at unknown periods, from the cliffs above, self-evidently by reason of the wear and tear of the winter torrents in the lapse of ages.† For as it is now ascertained that the inscrip-

\* If this visit took place, as seems not unlikely, at the time of his trade-voyage from Elath (Akaba) to Adule on the African coast, the date is fixed by Cosmas himself: Παρόντι οὖν μοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἐναντιῶν εἰκοσι πέντε, κλίον ἢ ἑξαττον, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινίου τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως.—*Cosmas Indicopleust. ap. Collect. Nov. Patr.*, tom. ii. p. 140. Justin was proclaimed Emperor July 8, 518. The voyage to Adule, consequently, took place about A.D. 518, 519.

† 'In universum, inscriptiones temporis injuria læsæ sunt: in-

tions upon the fallen fragments still in being, in several instances are found inverted, it follows that the writing had been engraved before the rocks 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 this startling discovery must, at once, have attracted the curiosity 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, buried in the labyrinths of controversy, or busied in the enactment of codes of human law, had little leisure, and less encouragement, for entering on an inquiry, which might, by possibility, throw light upon "the Law Divine."

The curious report of the Egyptian merchant lay,

*primis rapidis fluviarum hibernarum, quibus siccae illae valles nonnunquam in fluvios mutantur.*—*E. F. F. Beer, Studia Asiatica*, Introd. p. viii.: Lipsiæ, 1840.

\* '*Magnus inscriptionum numerus reperitur in saxis in viam delapsis. Hæc, aut delapsæ sunt postquam inscriptiones factæ sunt, unde nonnunquam hæc situ inverso descriptæ sunt.*'—*Ib.* 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 others slid down.

accordingly, unnoticed in his work, entitled 'Christian Topography.' Nor was its repose disturbed from the sixth, until the commencement of the eighteenth century of our era; when the geographical treatise in which it occurs (Cosmas's only extant work) was published 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 inquiry, that the editor was compelled to rest his belief in the existence of the Sinaïtic 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 scholarship, 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 autograph record*, by Cosmas himself, of his visit to the peninsula of Sinai. In looking over the plates of Sinaïtic inscriptions, published by Pococke, my eye was caught by the proper name *Κοσμων*, 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 origin of the inscriptions themselves.\*

tion, *which seems to be older than the beginning of the Mahometan religion.*' The following is a fac-simile of the two centre lines:—

ΜΝΗΕΤΗΘΗΚΟΖΜΑΝ  
ΤΟΥΝΤΕΒΔ...ΝΑΥΤΙΟΥ

μνησ τηθρ Κοσμαν  
του 'ν τεεδ . . . ναυτιου

*Remember Cosmas,  
The voyager to Thibet.*

The characters ΤΕΒΔ, not forming any known Greek word, seemed at first enigmatic. The enigma seemed solvable by the proper name *Thibet* (*arabice*, تيبت), the ultima Thule, it hence would seem, of Cosmas's travels; who, in this inscription, if correctly ascribed to him, styles himself τεεδναυτης, as afterwards, in his work, Ινδικοπλευστης. The Greek here is most barbarous; but so also is that of all these Greek inscriptions. If 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 (ναυτης): perhaps the latter. Poverty seems indicated by a *pedestrian* caravan.

\* 'De hac universa Cosmæ 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 hæc observavit: Quæ de visis a se inscriptionibus hujusmodi refert Cosmas, a nemine susto in dubium vocanda: nam fide dignus ac sincerus scriptor est, si quis alius. An vero inscriptiones illæ veterum Hebræorum in deserto oberrantium fuerint, id *sagaci lectori* æstimandum mittimus. Nos sane Cosmam Hebræorum mendacio deceptum probabilius existimamus.'—*Montfaucon* ap. *Beer*, *Intro.* p. xiv.

\* Κοσμαν, as a genitive, is authorised by an Aramean medal, του αγιωθετου Αρμεμα.

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 manuscript *Itinerary of the journey from Cairo to Mount Sinai of the Prefetto of Egypt*, and by his munificent offer 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 efforts to awaken attention to the subject at home, were (in verification of the maxim that an effort never is lost) soon after followed up in the East by the enterprise of Dr. Richard Pococke (afterwards Bishop of Ossory), the first European traveller who visited the peninsula of Sinai with the object of examining and taking copies of its inscriptions. 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 year 1820, they were happily supplied by Mr. G. F. Grey,\* whose collection of 177 fairly copied Sinaitic inscriptions appeared in 1830, in Vol. II. Part I. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.

The appearance of this more abundant harvest (the fruit, like most that had preceded it, of British enterprise) at length reawakened to the nearly forgotten subject the slumbering curiosity of Europe, and engaged the studious attention of one of the first orientlists of Germany. The result was the publication, in the year 1840, by the late Professor E. F. F. Beer, of Leipzig, (the 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 ingenious 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 furnish a useful hint to future travellers, not at Sinai only, but wherever inscriptions similarly located may occur.

of Sinaïtic Inscriptions;’ comprizing a selection of examples from Pococke, Montague, and Niebuhr, to Coutelle, Rozière, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Grey, Laborde, Lord Prudhoe (now Duke of Northumberland), and Major Felix. To this Collection (the originals engraved 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 unworthy 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 Serbal, 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 neighbourhood 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 walls*, 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 Mokatteb, or "the written mountain."

'Intermingled 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 illegible; 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).

† '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. Mountain goats. Lizards. Serpents. Horses and mules. Dogs. Ostriches. Tortoises.

‘ Men, standing, in motion ; lifting the hands to heaven ; 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 cross, &c.

‘ Which images those who copied the inscriptions describe as often difficult to distinguish from the letters. The truth is, that the original writers sometimes employed *images as parts of letters*, and, vice versâ, *images for groups of letters.*’ \*

‘ *Pictorial Bible,*’ p. 151, on Job xix. The engraver of the frontispiece of the 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 discerni dicunt*

From this well-drawn sketch of the numbers, extent, and pictorial or hieroglyphic character of the Sinaïtic 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 single 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 † erect; which has the form of a semicircle, to the

qui descripserunt. Ita factum est ut *litteras pro partibus imaginum, et, vice versâ, imagines pro litterarum symplegmate, nonnunquam dederint.*—*Beer*, *Introd.* p. xii.

\* '*Grey*, *inscr.* 142 (nostra 42), *crux basi imposita.*—*Cf. Rozierii*, *inscr.* 26; *Montagu*, *vs.* 12; *Grey*, *inscr.* 85, *inscr.* 86 et 111, ubi *basi impositæ sunt.*—*Bis in inscr. Pocockii*, 59, et *Seetzen* 17, sed ita positæ ut suspicionem moveant.'—*Beer*, *introd.* p. xii. notæ *c, d.*

† '*Grey*, *inscr.* 11, et aliquoties ap. *Labordium.*'—*Ib.* 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 :



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 *Lovel*, in '*The Antiquary*,' whether it is not '*a narrow foundation to build a hypothesis on.*'

right, in its upper limb, taken, probably, from the contracted 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 Christians; 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 nothing whatever to favour* in the arguments of the inscriptions heretofore explained by me, yet, on reading the characters, I seem to myself to discover something tending 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 inscriptions, 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 moment.\*

Having thus disposed of the authorship, the Professor proceeds to settle the date. 'In my judgment, it appears that Cosmas saw in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai, in various parts, and those numerous, 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 volume. 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: † whence we conjecture the date of the inscrip-

\* The version reads so improbable that I give the original: 'Cui sententiæ obstare videtur, quod talis Christianæ crucis figura [Υ scil.] nova est: certe equidem *nullum ejus testem reperi*; sed hoc levioris momenti esse puto.'—Introduct. p. xiii.

† 'Integra ejus verba afferimus, quum locus sit magnæ auctoritatis. Λαβόντες δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐγγράφως, καὶ διδασκόμενοι γράμματα νεωστί, καὶ ὡσπερ παιδευτηρίῳ ἡσυχῆ ἐν τῇ ἱερίῳ χρησάμενος ὁ Θεός, μ' ἔτη μάλιστα αὐτοῦ καταλαξέυσαι τὰ

tions to be very little prior to the age of Cosmas himself.\*

‘Whether the figure of the Christian Cross, **Υ**, which in our inscriptions is more frequent than **†**, could have

γράμματα. “ὅθεν ἰστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναιῶν ὄρους, ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτόθι, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς· ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πιεζούσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ. “Ἄτινα καὶ τινες Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγούντο ἡμῖν, λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως· ἀπερσις [ἀπαρσις] τοῦδε ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἐτε τῶδε, μηνὶ τῶδε· καθὰ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν πολλάκις τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ξηναῖς γράφουσιν. Αὐτοὶ δὲ, καὶ ὡς νιωστὶ μαθόντες γράμματα, συνεχῶς κατεχρῶντο, καὶ ἐπλήθυνον γράφοντες, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους μιστοῦς εἶναι γραμμάτων Ἑβραϊκῶν γλυπτῶν, εἰς ἐτε καὶ νῦν σωζομένων· διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους, ὡς ἐγωγε οἶμαι. Ἐξὸν δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν τοῖς τόποις γενέσθαι καὶ θεάσασθαι, ἢ γούν ἐρωτῆσαι καὶ μαθεῖν περὶ τούτου ὡς ἀληθείαν εἶπομεν. Πρώτως οὖν Ἑβραῖοι, παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σεφισθέντες, καὶ γράμματα διὰ τῶν λιθίνων πλακῶν ἐκείνων παραλαβόντες, καὶ μεμαθηκότες, μ’ ἐτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, γειννώσι τοῖς Φοινῖξι παραδεδώκασι κατ’ ἐκείνο καιροῦ, πρώτῃ Κάδμῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ βασιλεῖ, ἐξ ἐκείνου παρέλαβον Ἕλληνας,<sup>b</sup> λοιπὸν καθέξῃς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.—*Cosmae Indicopleustae Topograph. Christiana*, ap. *Montfaucon, Coll. Nov. Patr.*, &c., t. ii. p. 206; and ap. *Beer, id supra*, pp. 8, 4.

\* ‘Ipse primus inscriptionum harum nuntium viris eruditis suæ ætatis tradidisse videtur. Unde conjicimus ætatem harum inscriptionum *haud ita brevi superiorem esse ævo Cosmæ.*’ The language, consequently, must have utterly perished, and its characters must have been totally forgotten, in one or two lifetimes! The scepticism which strains at gnats, has a marvellous aptitude for swallowing camels.

\* ‘Preserved to this day.’ The expression demonstrates their archaic appearance in the time of Cosmas.

<sup>b</sup> The Punic and Greek characters in the Sinaitic inscriptions were apparently recognized by Cosmas; and, if referred to their proper alphabets, would have yielded the true interpretation.

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 inhabitants 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 Petræa, a like desire of frequenting, from pious motives, 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 *I doubt whether the oldest can be parted from the most recent by an interval of more than a single age.* Those, however, who are unacquainted in paleography, should be forewarned against being drawn into an opposite opinion by ill-preserved or ill-copied inscriptions, both Sinaïtic 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 Nabathæan. 'The question arises,

\* The truth is, that the modern 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 character and language was formerly in use. In fact, as I have already intimated, I can have no doubt that Arabia Petræa 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 vulgarly known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Nabathæans; a people wealthy, skilled in the arts, and flourishing in commerce; at first independent, and under their own kings—afterwards, by Trajan, subjected to Rome. 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 Petræa, of these no monuments whatever remain to us.\*

\* In this statement Pr. Beer is in error. Messrs. Irby and Mangles discovered a genuine Nabathæan inscription at Petra, carved deep on rock, in five long lines. It was copied by these gentlemen, but their copy, unfortunately, was not preserved. After several fruitless attempts to procure another copy of this unique monument, I was unexpectedly favoured by a friend with the fac-simile of an inscription on rock, found by the late Capt. Frazer, R. 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 Nabathæan monument,

‘This lacuna in paleography and philology I consider 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 Nabathæans; 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 Nabathæans 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 Nabathæans, 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 inscriptions west of Sinai. Captain Frazer perceived, and points out, this diversity, in his notice of the Petra inscription: ‘Inscription from the Um Amdan, in the Wadi Suttoun Bedtha. The inscription is between the two centre columns [of a monument with a façade 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 west*, as at *Wady Mokatteb*, and *Wady Alleyat*, *there is always a certain difference observable*.’—Extract from unpublished 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 Sinai.*†

\* There is no credulity like the credulity of scepticism, whether theological or philological. Pr. Beer determines the Sinaitic inscriptions to be Nabathæan, 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 Nabathæan 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. 520.

† '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 Taibé 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 Taibé, and, passing near the Mara of Scripture (Ain Howara), we traversed the great plain which occupied the Israelites the first three days of their journey. Suez lay in front.'—*Laborde*, p. 263. Thus it is to a locality on the western, or Egyptian, side of the peninsula of Sinai, and situated, therefore, unavoidably 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!

The slightness of his premises, and the inconsequence 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 †, which he assumes to be

\* The rude execution of the characters of the Wady Mokatteb inscriptions in dotted scratches, and the facility of their execution on the face of its soft sandstones, are mainstays of Pr. Beer's argument (if argument it must be called), for their being the productions 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 phenomena: 'Huge masses and débris 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 always on 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, **Y**, of a second form of the cross. With singular simplicity he confesses, at the same time, that for this form he can produce no precedent, that it is unexampled and unknown in church history. Undaunted, however, by this consideration, he believes it to be the cross, because, in some parts, the malefactor's cross *may* have been so constructed, or furcated instead of transverse; and because, prior to the age of Constantine, when the transverse form † (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** *may* 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 discovery of the sign of the cross in the Sinaïtic inscriptions, 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 adduces, from Sinai, the forms † 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.'—*Grey*, 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 *t*; the Sinai *t*, 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 frequent of the hieroglyphics. Its power as *t* is curiously demonstrable from comparison of a definition in the Arabic lexicons with the subjoined woodcut from 'Wilkinson's Egypt.' Under the root *توي* *tiwa*, one definition seemed unintelligible, unless on the assumption that it had its origin in a usage: viz. 'توي', Signum in *animalis femore vel collo impressum crucis formâ.* '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 *t*-eeing animals, or branding them with the letter *T*. We see here the brand of *t*, as mentioned

pic *t*, or (to come nearer home) the plain, honest English *t*, 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 Nabathæan origin of the Sinaïtic 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 Petræa 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 Nabathæan pilgrims, or of Chris-

in the definition of *tiva*, 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

\* Burckhardt, on the contrary, brings the authors of the inscriptions on Mount Serbal, and of a portion of those in the Wady and Djebel Mokatteb, from *Egypt*: 'It is not at all impossible that the proximity of Serbal to Egypt may, at one period, have caused that mountain to be the Horeb of the pilgrims.'—*Syria*, 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 irreconcilable 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 century, 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 from the effect of the heat and weather. Very large fragments of the rock have fallen down into the valley, and are there found with some of the inscriptions upon them; 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 fourteen feet in height from the lower surface of the rock, *evidently since the inscriptions were made.*'—Grey, *ap. Transact. R. Soc. of Lit.*, vol. ii. part i. p. 147.

lying scattered over the valleys, precisely as they are 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 high antiquity in this case, resolves itself into causes altogether apart from the state of the evidences. Had the monuments been indubitably *heathen*, 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 Sinaitic inscriptions is dismissed by modern 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 will 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 Sinaïtic 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 Philæ, 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 Sinaïtic inscriptions were the work of God's chosen people; a written witness against an unbelieving 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 Museum, 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 Seleucidæ; the other, Roman, belonging, at the latest, to the age of Trajan. The Greek inscription, of which the first lines only are legible, reads thus:—

'ΚΑΚΟΓΕΝΟΣ } ΟΥΤΟΣ'  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ ΕΓΡΑΤΑ  
 ΠΑΝΕΜΙΧΙ

\* 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 *all* executed with the same instrument, punched in a series of holes. The latter, and all the modern 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 Seleucidæ. 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 Antiochus XII., after traversing Judea, invaded Arabia, defeated the Nabathæans 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 than four centuries prior to that assumed by Beer as the date of its unquestionable predecessors, the unknown Sinaïtic inscriptions.

‘The following Roman inscription (observes Mr. Grey) is perfect and plain—but *cut*, not dotted out:’

CESSENTSYRI  
ANTE LATINOS  
ROMANOS

different manner.’—*Grey, op. Transact. R. Soc. Lit.*, vol. ii. part i. p. 147.

\* Πάνημος ὄνομα μηνὸς παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, ὃ Ἰούλιος.—*Suidas et Phavorinus* 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 Seleucidæ. But I am content, for my argument, to adopt the age of Trajan, the Roman conqueror of Arabia Petræa: 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 common sense. Before, however, we resume the facts, it may be well to notice one precious admission conceded by Beer; namely, that the genuine Sinaïtic 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; † their extent by miles; and their positions above the valleys being as often measurable by fathoms as by feet. No difficulties of situation, no ruggedness of material, no remoteness of locality, 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 quæstio, quantum sit temporis spatium quo hæ inscriptiones factæ sunt. Scripturæ ratio interna tam est uniformis, ut antiquissimas earum a recentissimis intervally quod *seculum* multum excedat dubitem.’—*Beer*, Introd. p. xv. Could words describe more accurately the ‘forty years’ of the Exode?

† 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 famous for the inscriptions from which it derives its name of the Written Wady: inscriptions, too (and here 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 Red Sea ; while countless multitudes more may possibly lie still undiscovered, 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 ; 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 circumstance, 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 hæ inscriptiones ad montem Sinai: vel accuratius, in vallibus collibusque qui inde ab ejus radicibus caurum versus siti sunt, usque ad littus orientale sinus Heroopolitani; ita quidem, ut qui hodie a monasterio montis Sinai proficiscuntur ad oppidum Suez, quamcunque viam eligunt—*plures enim sunt*—inscriptiones has videant in rupibus vallium plurimarum per quas ducuntur, usque ad eas regiones littoris quas dimidio et quod excedet itinera confecto attingunt.'—*Beer*, Introd. pp. i. ii.

it), by Count Léon Laborde, originally published in his 'Journey through Arabia Petraea to Mount Sinai.' In this drawing, if the scale of the heights be represented by that of the figures at their base, the reader will see cliffs of an altitude to defy the passing 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 inscription 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 necessary spacing for the intervals between

\* This scale is guaranteed by a commensurate scale from Burckhardt, 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 litteris cubitum longis* of Plautus (Rud. 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 impossibility. 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.'  
 '65. Fragment *high up*.' '66. Rock *high up*.' '75.  
 Rock *high up*.' '77. Fragment *high up*.' '90. Rock  
*high up*.' '11. Rock *high up in a remote place,—cross  
 letter hardly accessible*.' '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 travellers, 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 Suez, 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 countries, 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 afford, 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.' *This note is Mr. Gough's.*—Nichols, *Lit. 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 exhibited, demonstrate the utter untenableness of Professor Beer's hypothesis as to the origin and authorship of the Sinaïtic inscriptions, there remains in reserve one consideration more; a consideration alone sufficing to prove, to the satisfaction of every capable and unbiassed understanding, 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 expressively 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.

† 'No reflection forced itself upon me so often, or so urgently, in passing over 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 supposition that it was ever essentially better. I am filled with wonder that so 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, unwieldy host;

flocks and herds, indeed, in the rainy seasons, its valleys, usually parched and withered (an oasis here and there like Wady 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, his 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 'waste and howling wilderness.' However periodically 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 Gerundel, and at the other salt wells on their route to Sinai.—*Dr. Olin's Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*, vol. i. p. 381.

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 generation*.

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 elevations, 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 inscriptions 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 attention.

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 contrary, 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. xxvii. 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' sojourn 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 soundness of this expectation, a single but decisive proof has been already given from Mr. Grey ; who, on the occurrence in No. 11 of his Sinaïtic inscriptions of the character  $\text{Ⲑ}$ , 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 tau*, 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 Sinaïtic 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 presumption. And from the coincidence of the probabilities 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' ? 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 harmony 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 *h*, 𐤀,\* the Hebrew *ain*, א, and the Ethiopic *koph*, ቀ. Of each of these characters, from both alphabets, there are two or three different forms; and forms so peculiar, in the *koph* especially, as to preclude all probability 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 *ain*, I may add, fully justify Beer's tribute to the freedom, boldness, and calligraphic beauty of the Sinaitic characters.

The double *s*, 𐤃𐤃, is another point of correspondence, 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.D. 400.

from this point of the evidences, as to the true origin and authorship of the Sinaïtic inscriptions.

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It is not the design of the present volume to reenter upon the subject of the Sinaïtic 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 illustrated in my recently published work, 'Sinai Photographed.' 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic, stand side by side on the same monument, thus demonstrating the common 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.'—*Vacation Tourists*, p. 353: 1862-63.

hieroglyphic monuments on the summit, and its widespread 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 journeyings down to the last or fortieth year. In the course of these investigations, the sites of Kadesh-Barnea and Rithmah, 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.



*Ostrich of the triple Inscription.*

## 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 les sépulchres de la convoitise, dont il est fait mention Nomb. xi. 34? Il n'étoit point défendu aux Israélites d'employer les figures hiéroglyphiques, ni d'avoir des images d'hommes et de bêtes; il ne leur étoit 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 applies 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 même encore aujourd'hui les Juifs gravent toute sorte de figures, et même des portraits, sur des cachets.—*Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 191.

Upon the 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 hieroglyphic 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 modern 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! 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 the 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 Phœnicia, none in the other real or supposed possessions of the Pharaohs in ante-historical times. The famous, but perhaps fabled, pillars of Sesostris 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 Sinai, 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 and 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 Sinaïtic 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 public 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 Sinaïtic characters, which abound on the rocks of the neighbouring Wady, followed by many lines of hieroglyphics. In another there is one line of Sinaïtic 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 found, on further examination, that they contain genuine Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic 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 vicinage of the hieroglyphic tablets in the Wady below; in which a pure Sinaïtic inscription, illustrated by the hieroglyphic of an ostrich, stands engraved on the same tablet with two purely hieroglyphic inscriptions; a triple record on the one monument, on the principle apparently of the Rosetta stone.

Not contenting himself with the ordinary information and ordinary phenomena, Mr. 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 Sinaïtic characters. The three inscriptions stood side by side on the one tablet; all three cut, not dotted out, obviously with the same graving-tool and by the same engraver. The Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic characters upon the same monument; and, 2, of the grand hieroglyphic of the piece with the Sinaïtic characters in the same column. The ostrich in this Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic column.

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 the 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 its 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 running, 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.† 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.

† Since writing the above I discover a solitary exception 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 Sinaïtic 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 Sinaïtic portion of this tablet. This one fact annihilates at a stroke all those sweeping assertions which have been so boldly advanced, that genuine Sinaïtic 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 has 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 Sinaïtic 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;' 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 archæological 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 Rosetta 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 Sinaïtic inscription which is the legend of this device obviously derives a surpassing interest from the connection; and its decyphering 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 Sinai, 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, , 'the 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: . The monogram disjoined gives ; in our present Hebrew . The word is variously written at Sinai,† but never to be mistaken. It often occurs in the common Hebrew characters,  and , or .

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. 63—74.

† 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?



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 him 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, from 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 wrote it.'

I would observe in passing, 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 common 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.

## CHAPTER II.

SARBUT-EL-KHADEM THE KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH  
OF NUMB. XI. 34.

*Eldad and Medad, and the Sinaitic Inscriptions.*

Two pious Israelites, 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 locality 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 young 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 modern 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 office.† Now, although this solution of the difficulty is without a particle of foundation in the sacred narrative, it has yet been implicitly acquiesced in by most commentaries; nor has any other solution hitherto been proposed.

\* Numb. xi. 26—30.

† '*Inter scriptos, &c.*] i.e. *descripti fuerant in albo lxx. Seniorum, sed non egressi fuerant e castris ad tabernaculum foderis cum aliis.*'—*Munster, ap. Crit. Sacr. in loc.*

'*Et ipsi erant in conscriptis.*] Sermo est de Eldad et Medad, qui erant *inter conscriptos à Mose*, sed vocati ad tentorium non venerant. Remanserunt enim in castris, ubi prophetarunt. *Jon. hoc loco: Et ipsi ex Senibus qui ascenderunt in schedulis conscripti. Hoc nunc illustrabo ex scriptis 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 'born 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 in question a clear and direct reference to the coexisting Sinaïtic 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 nominibus per sortem educendis. Moses accepit lxxii. schedulas, et scripsit super lxx. SENEX; et super duas PARS: elegitque ex quaque tribu sex, et erant lxxii. Dixit eis, Tollite schedulas vestras à medio pyxidis. Is in cujus manum ascenderat SENEX, sanctificatus fuit; et is in cujus manum ascenderat PARS, ei dixit, Deus non vult te, κ.τ.λ.'* This is indeed explaining the ignotum per ignotius.—See *Drusius, ap. Crit. Sacr. in loc.* 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 archæologists 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: וְהָיְתָה בְּתוֹבִים *W'haymah Baccthoobem*, which signify literally, "and they were among the Cthoobem, 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, *Wady 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 sacred 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 argument, 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 encampment 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-Khadem, and the entrance to the Wadys Maghara and Mokatteb. Eldad and Medad

\* Numb. x. 33.

consequently, who remained behind the seventy elders 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 *והמזוה בכרובים*, '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 plainly refers, that no hypercriticism can eventually succeed in 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 translators, or to St. Jerome, as they are known to us, it is not too much to presume that the true sense of *בכרובים* 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 monuments 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 argument, 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.

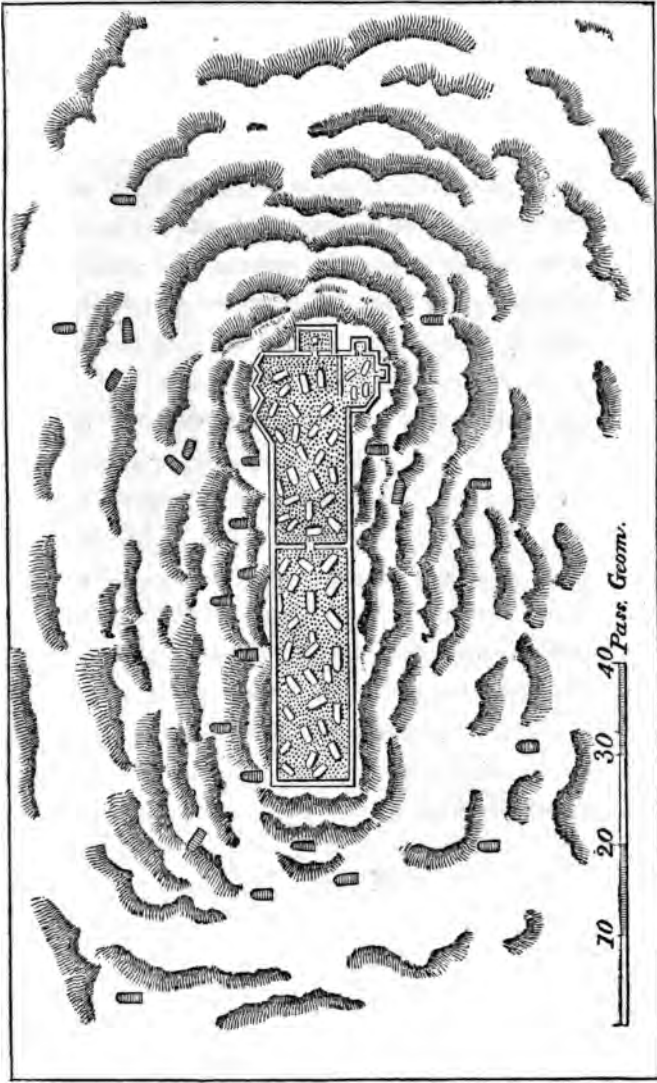
The absence of the usual Egyptian symbols of Apis, and of most if not of all the Egyptian deities, has been noticed by Niebuhr and others, as essentially discriminating these remains from the native monuments of Egypt; and most justly led Burckhardt to the conclusion 'that they were the works of some

\* 'The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai,' Part I. of 'The One Primeval Language.' See plate facing p. 43 of that volume.



people under Egyptian influence.' This inference is strengthened, as will hereafter appear, by the presence of symbols altogether unknown to the native monuments of Egypt. Both points militate alike against the idea of an Egyptian origin. While on the consequent abandonment of this origin, no nation whatsoever '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-Khadem be, what all the antecedent evidences combine to indicate, the workmanship of the Israelites (a chief burial-ground of their fatal encampment at Kibroth-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 XLIV. by A PLAN OF THE CEMETERY ITSELF, which is of more value than any or all subsequent descriptions.



*Plan of the Cemetery on Sarbut-et-Khadem.*

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 symbolic representations which they contain, and on the inferences 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 Sinaïtic inscriptions, that the birds of the miracle, named by Moses, generically, שָׁלוּ, *salu*, and by the Psalmist, still more generally, כַּנְף כַּנְף, *āwf caneph*, 'winged fowls,' or more correctly, 'long-winged fowls,'† were not (as rendered by all our versions, ancient and modern) 'quails,' but a crane-like red bird resembling a goose, named in the Arabic نُهَامٌ *nuham*. The discovery (as already mentioned) received subsequently 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.

† Psalm lxxviii. 27.

‡ '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 Wādy-Huderāh, the sky was literally darkened by the flight of innumerable birds, which proved to be the same red-legged cranes, three feet high,

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 white wings, measuring 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. 31 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 *Hazereth* were not far distant.—*Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 81, 83.

It is very remarkable that Philo Judæus's account of the phenomena of the miracle perfectly tallies with Schubert's and Dean Stanley's ocular observation of the effect of the flights of red-legged cranes:—*ταῖς γὰρ ἰσπίραις ὀρνυγομητρῶν νέφος συνεχές, ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπιφερόμενον, πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπισκιάζει, τὰς πτήσεις προσγιότατας ποιούμενον εἰς τὸ εὐθρον.*—*Phil. Jud. Opera*, p. 635. It would hence seem that Philo had this most exact information through a Jewish tradition handed down from the very date of the miracle. The circumstance of the *darkening of the air* is manifestly 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 the very birds which by every kind of evidence stand identified with the *salus*, 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 conspicuously 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 symbolic 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 tombstones 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 by the flesh pots.*'—Exod. xvi. 3.

stand over the graves of the gluttons who consumed them!

But self-evincing and self-confirmatory as this deduction 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 light upon the miracle 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 *salus*; that they covered the camp; that the Lord let them fall in the camp, and round about their habitations. 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 or into the camp, the Israelites were to use their own means of securing them. This indeed is sufficiently indicated by the word  $\text{קם}$ , 'the people *stood up*,' that is to say, '*rose up hostilely*.' Still, however, we have no clue to the means employed. These pictorial inscriptions 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, fully equipped, with full quiver, bended bow, and presented arrow. In these unmis-takeable symbols, therefore, we see represented unequivocally the means employed to bring down the 'feathered fowls.' For the Israelites of the Exode (like their father Israel\*) were a nation of archers.† 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 air, they would fall by tens of thousands, as the arrows of six hundred thousand armed Israelites 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

\* Gen. xviii. 22.

† Gen. xlix. 24; Psalm lxxviii. 10; 1 Chron. v. 18, xii. 2.

‡ MS. Journal.

eaten of 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, across this sandy plain between Hazeroth and Kibroth-Hattaavah.

Besides the archers, there occur figures running, armed with throw-sticks, which may, perhaps, symbolize 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 decyphering 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 *nuhams*, by the Israelite archers, brought to light by Niebuhr's tablets, throws, further, the clearest light upon another difficult point in the Sacred text. Commentators have been much perplexed by the verse, 'And there went forth a wind

\* MS. Journal.

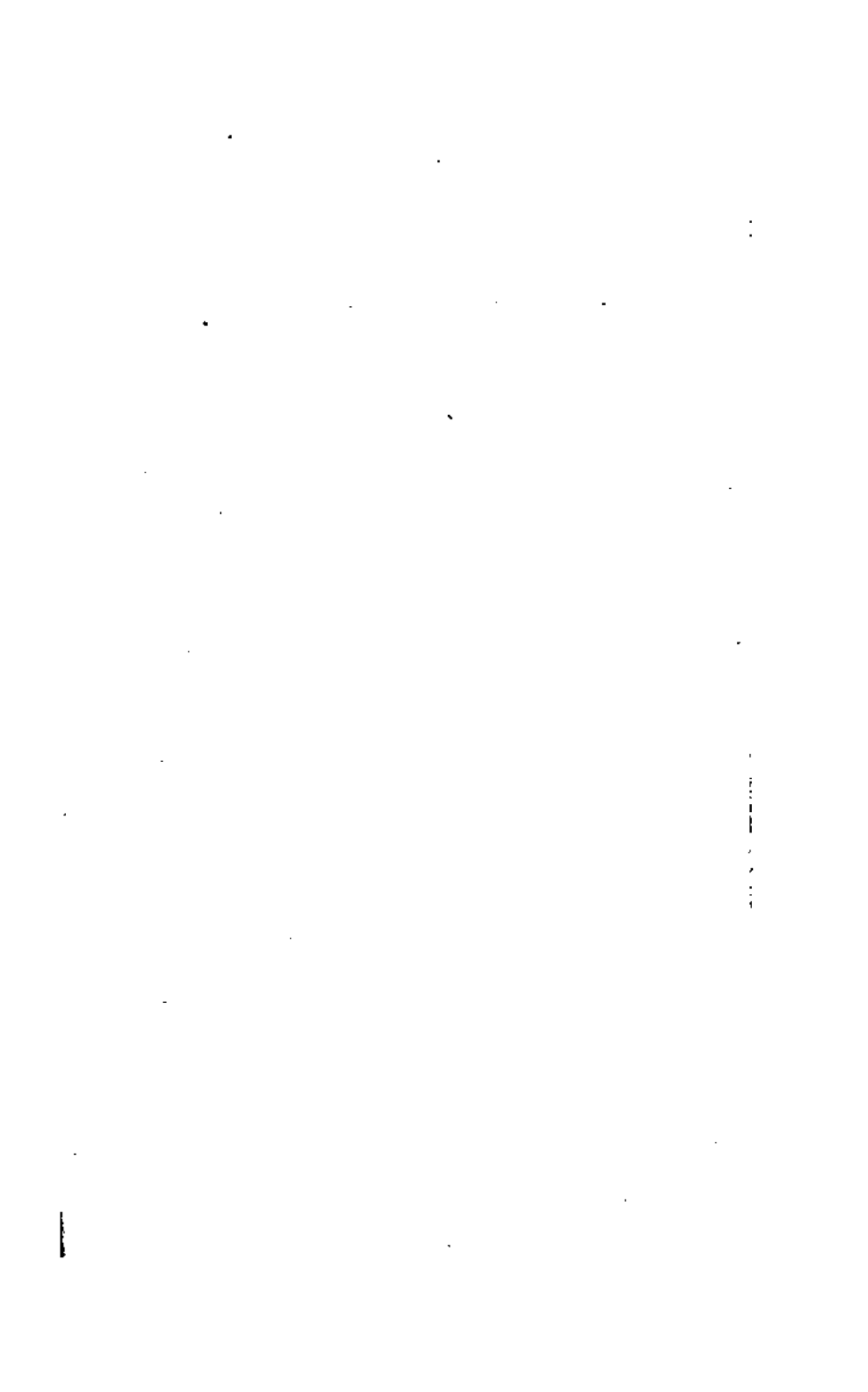


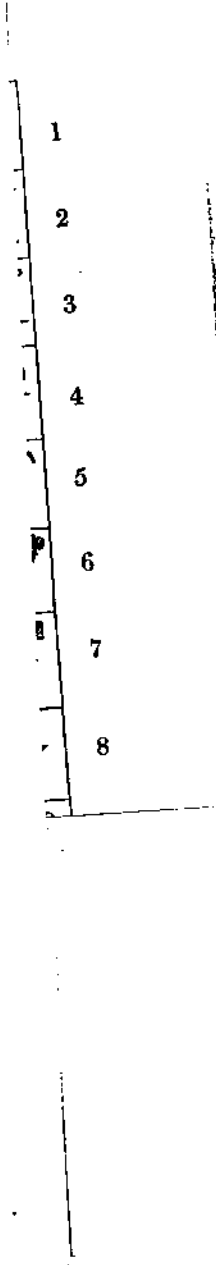
from the Lord, and brought salus from the sea, and let them *fall by the camp, as it were a day's journey on this side, and as it were a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp.*'\* It is clearly explained by the simple consideration that the volleys of arrows extended the length of the encampment, while, beyond that term, 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, therefore, certainly more appropriate to these valleys touching 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 fish of the sea* be gathered together to suffice them?" "There went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought *salus* from the sea." † It is a curious corroboration of the remark, and a striking coincidence with the texts which gave rise to it, that hieroglyphic *fishes* appear no less than seven times in the first of Niebuhr's tablets

\* Numb. xi. 31.

† 'Sinai and Palestine,' pp. 81—83.





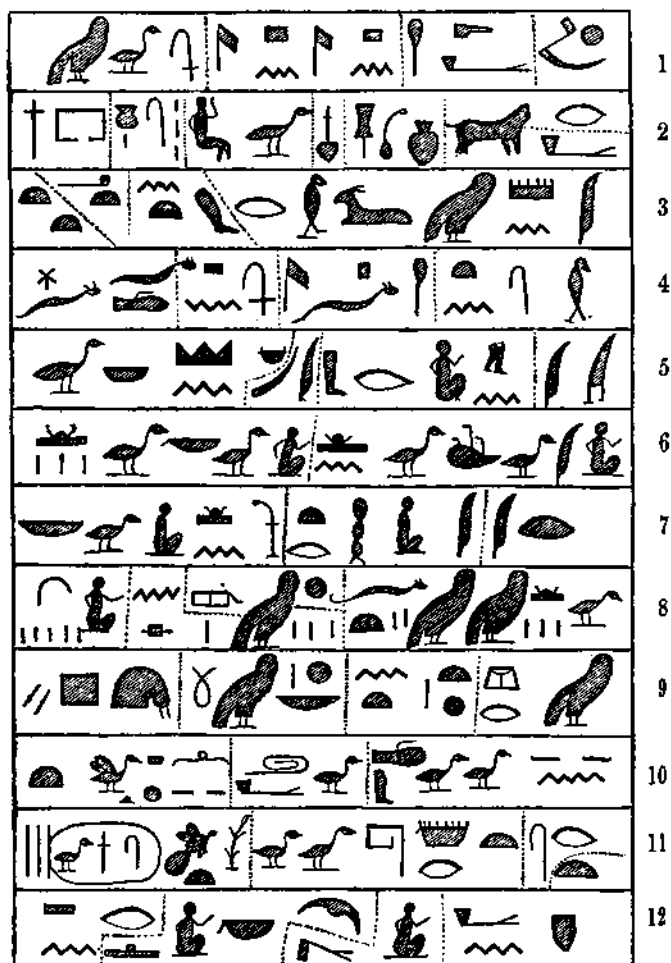
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from the cemetery of Sarbut-el-Khadem, and once in the second.

The ostrich, it has been shown, is an indubitable scriptural symbol of God's people Israel.\* This symbol, it has been seen, occurs prominently, both in the Wady el-Khattab Sinaitic inscriptions, and in the Sinaitic part of the triple inscription in the cave on Djebel Maghara. It is a significant link between these records and the monuments at Sarbut-el-Khadem, that this very symbol appears in the thirteenth line of Niebuhr's first tombstone; only, here, not after the life, but in the conventional Egyptian style (the only one in which the ostrich is represented on Egyptian monuments), namely, the hieroglyphic of three ostriches running. The scriptural symbol, however, is equally expressed in all these examples, and its recurrence in the last helps to preserve, so far as a single link can preserve, the other ways established connection and common authorship of the hieroglyphic remains at Sinai.

\* Jeremiah, Lam. iv. 3.

(1)



Niebuhr, Plate XLVI

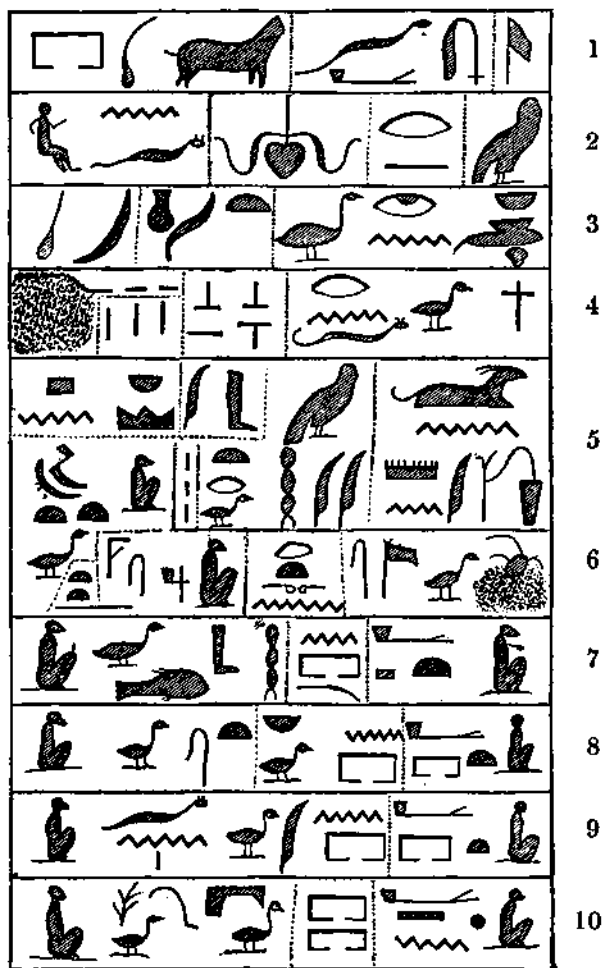
(1)

*Decypherment of the Hieroglyphic Tablet, Niebuhr,  
Plate XLVI. (1).*

- 1 قى رنسع رجبج هـنطط  
The perishing doomed man move to and fro, they change colour vomiting.
- 2 منيع ثور تـــــــــــــــــاي رهو طمم  
From the sea the cranes congregate to the one spot. The wild bulls to the inaccessible places.
- 3 نعر نـــــــــــــــــو رم مـــــــــــــــــم  
Stricken with pleurisy, corroded by disease, rise up with difficulty the rebels.
- 4 مـــــــــــــــــج رهو هظا قوس  
The archers shoot at the cranes passing o'er the plain.
- 5 رهو رنـــــــــــــــــين كـــــــــــــــــر معف  
Evil-stomached they rush after the prey, twanging their bows against the cranes.
- 6 رـــــــــــــــــر رـــــــــــــــــم  
The sepulchre (their doom?), their marrow corrupted by God.
- 7 رن مـــــــــــــــــنهر مـــــــــــــــــرض  
Stricken with disease by the visitation of God, a bloody flux they moan.
- 8 مـــــــــــــــــير اوي قوس ما هوي  
Protending they stretch the bow against the congregated birds, catering for provisions.
- 9 دـــــــــــــــــم مني دامة وجم  
The sleepy owl, emblem of death, God sends destruction among them.
- 10 اوي طـــــــــــــــــير منع نحااة  
The bow arrests the birds on the wing congregated.
- 11 ماي \*هنا مغمم ند طـــــــــــــــــا  
They make ready cooking the flying prey, nourished and sustained by it 'for a whole month,' spreading it out.
- 12 نـــــــــــــــــع مـــــــــــــــــرغ اني  
Arrest the prey, the messengers of death swift flying.

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

(2)



Niebuhr, Plate XLVI.





The felicitous occurrence, in the preceding monumental tablets, of two synonymes, viz. جمع *jam*, in Plate XLV. line 14, and قرم *karm*, in Plate XLVI. (2), line 5, supplies a reciprocal proof, at once, of their common subject, and of the correctness of their decyphering, which claims a separate notice. Reading, after my published hieroglyphic alphabet, the latter word قرم, I found its sense to be, 'Avide expetivit, vehementer appetivit : peculiariter i. q. جمع *carnem, homo.*' 'A man vehemently desiring, or greedily lusting after, flesh! the same as جمع.'—*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 decyphering, however, became demonstration, when I found most unexpectedly the *synonyme* for قرم viz. جمع 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 جمع places us on the very scene.

*The Sepulchral Crypt at the Cemetery of  
Sarbut-el-Khadem.*

Niebuhr discovered, and Robinson thus describes, the most singular feature of the mysterious remains on Sarbut-el-Khadem: 'At the eastern end is a subterranean chamber, excavated in the solid rock, resembling 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.'<sup>\*</sup>

The first thought suggested by this description is, that every unbiassed judgment must pronounce this chamber a sepulchre. Its form, its niches, its sculptures, 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

<sup>\*</sup> '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 hieroglyphic 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 *salu, 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 discovering, and Robinson and all our other travellers with describing, 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 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 *salu*, *nuham*, or crane-like goose; the form so clearly delineated as to enable the naturalist to ascertain 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 identifying it with the *nuham* of the Arabs, whose definition in Golius is 'نحام Nomen avis rubræ, quæ formâ 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 bringing out the lights and shades, projected several points which had been invisible, or imperfectly discernible, in the original casts. 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 conventional 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 conventional, and the costumes stiffly 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 distinctly 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

after, 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 photograph 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 profile 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 corners of thy beard;'<sup>\*</sup> and again, 'They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard.'<sup>†</sup> 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

<sup>\*</sup> Lev. xix. 27.

<sup>†</sup> Lev. xxi. 5.

prescribed by the Mosaic law. That this is so will be seen from the subjoined illustration, 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 conjectured by Montfaucon to be an autograph sketch.



If, therefore, this photographed head be, what it appears, a reality, the fact of the portrait of an Israelite occurring among the hieroglyphics 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 the 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 combination 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 assumption as to the monument being in a ruinous state is groundless, and that any appearance of the kind in the photograph can

\* For (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 whatsoever 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.

‘90 Eversfield Place, St. Leonard’s on Sea,  
April 12th, 1860.

‘MY DEAR MR. FORSTER,’

‘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-Khadim 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 born in mind, that the paper we had was of a very coarse kind, ill adapted for taking their impressions, and that consequently (as in the case of my cave tablet) it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the true impressions from the stone (even where the inscription itself was perfectly clear and distinct), from the roughness of the paper. Many thanks 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 darkness and seclusion of their receptacle, they were 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. Robinson, '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.\*' If, even in the outer air, some of the inscriptions were thus perfectly preserved, in the crypt, so far as time alone was concerned, *all* would be in perfect preservation.

\* Bibl. Res. i. 114, 115.

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, so 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 monuments, 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 eye 'to have the Rembrandt touch.' Among the judgments passed upon it, one of the most remarkable is too happily expressed to be omitted : ' We discover well and thoroughly, after careful examination, the recumbent Israelite head ; but the figure appertaining 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 anomalous, 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 workmanship was often of the finest and most difficult character: the engraving on gold and gems and precious stones. Bezaleel and Aholiab and their fellows executed all these exquisite jewel-gravings under the influences of inspiration.\* And the men who could do all this most assuredly could do more.†

3) But we now come to a third consideration, *one of fact*, 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.

† The 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 Rome.

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. As a work of art, this lifelike hieroglyphic, like the Israelite head, stands in the most violent contrast to the lifeless, dry, conventional 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 Israelite 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 immense 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 will say, by the appearance of a head being surmounted 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.

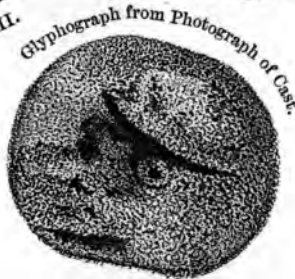
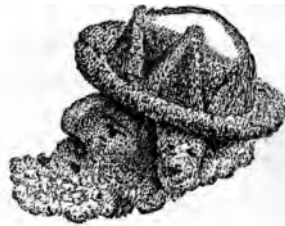


Having placed the photographs, for the first time, in the hands of a friend, who was himself an artist, for his inspection and opinion of the Israelite head, my friend, who at once recognized the hat, on looking more closely at one of the photographs, asked whether I had observed that the hat was encircled 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 crown among the Israelites, it hence appears, was common in the age of Moses; and its appearance on any monuments at Sinai, whether upon head or hat, stamps the wearer as an Israelite of the Exode. 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 Calmet expresses it, 'the crown girt about the lower part of the bonnet,' is not so easily got rid of; and wherever it appears at Sinai, the head beneath must be real, and must be the head of an Israelite of the Exode.

The subjoined glyphograph represents the head with



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.

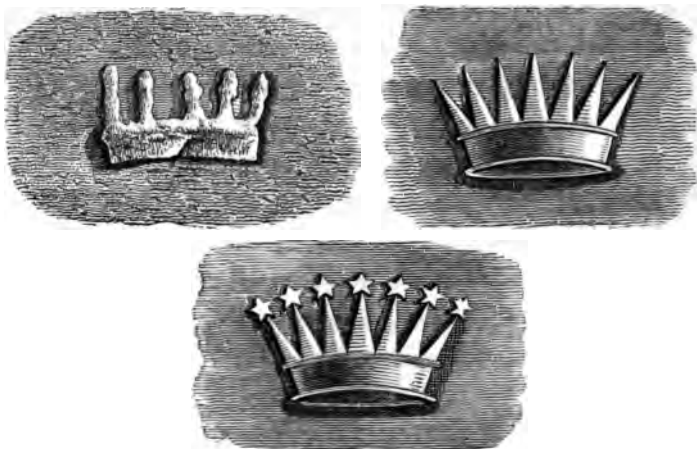
*The Eastern and Celestial Crown.*

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 represent, this artist, after some consideration, said, 'It is a

kind of coronet.' On being informed what it was and whence it came, he observed that there was more here than I seemed aware of: 'For this is not an ordinary crown, but what, in heraldry, we call the Eastern or Celestial crown. Do you observe the five balls terminating its cusps? They are five stars, 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 displayed, and the stars crowning them!

At my request my heraldic friend kindly 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 Jewish 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.'† Hence, unquestionably, the crowns worn even by common Israelites; ‡ and hence, no less

\* Gen. xxxvii. 9.

† 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,† 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, British consul at Trebizond, that crowns are still worn by the Eastern Jews.

\* Rev. xii. 1.

† 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12.

‡ 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 subdivided 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 remarkable 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 his anger: he spared not their soul from death, *but gave their life over to the pestilence.'*\* Thus Satan, we read, 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.

*Alphabetic Decyphermets 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 common one; for those in the top lines of the first and second tablets are iden-

\* Ps. lxxviii. 49, 50.



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 important 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 Hattaavah. The words are *ر اوي مرض*, *rad awi marts*. *ر*, *rad* signifies *a reprobate*, a deserter from religion, *an apostate*; *اوي* (طير اوي) *a flock of birds*; and *مرض* *marts*, *smitten with disease by God*. These definitions are thus given by Golius: *ر*, Defecit, *pecul. a religione*. *ر اوي*, Defectus, *pec. a religione*, Apostasia. *ر اوي* Perditus, reprobatus; and *مرند* Desertor religionis, Apostata. *اوي* *awi*, Aves simul congregatæ; and *مرض* *marts*, 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, *قي بم* *kia bem*, *They vomit deep groaning*; and down the right side, *مرض تهير نعم دو مرض رير اوي* *Marts tahir nâm du marts rir awi*:

'Smitten with disease by God in the sandy plain (*Ramleh*) 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 *دمر هيت تم* *hitâm damar*, at the back of the large central figure, the mouth of which, it will be noted, is wide open:

'Cristh aloud the People given over to destruction.'

The perpendicular line in front of the same figure will read *رجاج اتي طير غرم* *Rajaj ati tir garm*:

'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 *قدرت* *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

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 **قدرت نوم نعي** **عجم** :

‘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 **اوي**, and has reference to the feathered fowls. The perpendicular line at the back reads very distinctly **امد رجم دا مرض** :

‘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. **هر** *Gannivit ad eum canis*, ‘Howls at him the dog;’ and there is a dog before it, in the very action represented by the definition. Rude figures of dogs recur throughout. The next legible words read **نعي رصد** *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 death*, the vulture, substituted for the owl. Rude dogs, with the same monogram, نعي *messenger of death*, 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 عير *Air*, *Dominus princepsque Populi*, 'The lord and prince of the *People*.' The next word below is رير *rir*, corruptione *medullam* affectit *Deus*, 'God affects the marrow with corruption.' And underneath this, رهو *rahu*, 'the 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

characters are, ת, נ, ר, *tur*. The word, therefore, is the Hebrew תורה, and the Arabic نورة *taure* or *taurat*, 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 Kibroth-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 as 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 ضربة *Sarbat*, 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, קברות *Kibroth*, 'graves,' is taken from the result of the judgment; the Arabic ضربة *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 :

יָדָהּ . . . מַכָּה רַבָּה מְאֹד

valde magna percussione Percussit.

'He struck with one great stroke.'

ضرب . . ضرباً عظيمة جداً

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 *מכה* is specially used, Deut. xxviii. 59, &c., to denote *plagues sent by God*; and its Arabic equivalent *ضرب* or *ضربة* is manifestly used here in the same peculiar sense. The *ضربة* *Sarbat* of the Arabic version, it necessarily follows, is *the plague* at Kibroth-Hattaavah. In a word :

the Hebrew, *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, signifies 'the graves of lust:'

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

The adjunct of *ضربة* to *قديم*, 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 'The heaven-sent plague-stroke of the ancients.'

## CHAPTER III.

## SITES OF KADESH-BARNEA AND RITHMAH.

*The Site of Kadesh-Barnea.*

THE true site of Kadesh-Barnea 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 journeyings 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-Barnea 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 Kadesh-Barnea, 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 *Dzahab*, 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 Helâl (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 *Zahab*, or *Dzahab*, as it should have been translated.' —*Note by Bishop Clayton.*] Possibly in crossing over the Promontory (i.e. the Sinai Peninsula) from thence towards Egypt, 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 *the Wilderness of Kadesh*, which city was originally called En-Misput.'—*Journal from Cairo to Mount Sinai.* Its original Hebrew name *Ain-Misput* strongly corroborates the identity of Kadesh-Barnea with *Ain-Kadea*.

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-Barnea and Rithmah, 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 circumstance 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 journeyings 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 Kibroth-Hattaavah. These are precious indexes to the character of the whole progress.

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, Rithmah. 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 Rithmah has been not only hitherto unknown, but altogether unsuspected. From the juxtaposition of the names in Numbers xxxiii. 18, judging by the ordinary rules of Itineraries, we might naturally look for Rithmah 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 Ritter, Robinson, Wilson, or Stewart, to recover 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 Rithmah 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 Rithmah was the next station to Hazeroth: 'And they departed from Hazeroth and pitched in Rithmah.' But from Numb. xii. 16, we find that Rithmah, at the same time, was in the wilderness of Paran: 'And afterwards the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran;' that is to say, at Rithmah.

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 on 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.†

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

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

If, then, we discover in this quarter the name of a locality corresponding with that of Rithmah, 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 Rithmah and Kadesh-Barnea of Moses.

Now these conditions are categorically met by the Ain-Kades of Mr. Rowlands, and Wady Abu-Retemah or Rathumah, 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 uttermost 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 Rathumah are only fifteen miles apart, or about a day's journey. The area of the Israelite camp would, of course, include both stations; a circumstance which would naturally lead to their being mentioned indiscriminately in Numbers xi. 16, and xxxiii. 18.

The common etymology and signification of the ancient Hebrew and the present Arabic name, רתמה

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

or رتم,\* Rithmah or Rathumah, give great additional force to this verification: for the Hebrew name denotes a place abounding in the *retem*, *genista*, or white broom; and the name of the Arab locality, Abu Rathumah, or 'the Father of Retems,' demonstrates its notoriety for the production of those desert shrubs.

With the foregoing coincidences of name, of site, of neighbourhood 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 locality, and possibly may have given name to the Israelite station. The reader may possibly anticipate my reference to 'the man who gathered sticks on the sabbath day.' Having thrown out the thought, I may mention, without pressing it, the grounds of my conjecture. The *retem*, 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 רתם *retem* is the same as the present Arabic name. The roots are very bitter, and are regarded by the Arabs as yielding the best charcoal. This illustrates Job xxx. 4, and Psalm cxx. 4.'—*Robinson*, vol. i. p. 299 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 congregation. 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 Ratamah, is attested by Robinson, but without any perception of its palpable relation to the name and etymology of the Israelite station. 'At lh. 10m. we came upon Wady Abu Retemat, a wide plain, with shrubs and *retem*.'—Vol. i. p. 279. Wilson is more observant as to the relation between the *retem* and *Rithmah*, see *Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 279; but misses the identification of Rithmah 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 *Rithmah*, 'the place of *retem* sticks,' might naturally be given at the time to the scene of so awful a transgression and judgment.

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

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE BATTLE OF HORMAH.

THE proximity of Kadesh-Barnea 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 geographical positions, in the latitude and distant neighbourhood 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 remarked, with grounds for a further computation ; for it is obvious that the camp of Israel, numbering more than 3,000,000 of souls, must have covered the entire space between Kadesh and Rithmah. The character of the whole position strongly augments the probabilities that we are here on the very camping-ground occupied 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 fuel of the desert.†

But the Ain-Kades discovered by Mr. Rowlands

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

† The prominence of the *retem* among the shrubs of the desert well accounts for the common Hebrew and Arabic name of the valley of Rithmah or Rathumah. Robinson's description will show the 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 *retem*, already mentioned, a species of the broom plant, *Genista raetam* [*raeta*] of Forskal. This is the largest and most conspicuous shrub of these deserts; growing thickly in the watercourses and valleys. Our 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 comment upon the selection of Rithmah as a station by the Israelites]; 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 Phœnicum and Palmyra were so named from their *palms*, so the valley

seems identified with Kadesh-Barnea by other local associations besides its name and its neighbourhood to Wady Rathumah, already identified with Rithmah. 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 remarkably to correspond with the scene of that disastrous

now in question should receive, and retain to this 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!

Dr. Wilson depicts graphically from his own experience the spreading boughs and grateful 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 רתם 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 Khulasah*. As this is the high road, the *only one*, to Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai, there cannot be a doubt, if his 'day's journey' be correctly computed, that here the prophet rested. *Wady Khulasah* (the Eleusa of Ptolemy) I have elsewhere identified conjecturally with the Israelite station of *Kehelathah*. See "Sinai Photographed," chapter xii.

conflict with the Amalekites and Canaanites. For Kadesh, it thence appears, lay immediately at the foot of a mountain, the summit of which was occupied by the Amalekites. So close was the contiguity, that, from their camp beneath, the Israelites were able to scale the mountain and assault 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 Helâl, on its N.E. side, and so close to the mountain as to make the ascent an affair of a few hours. The identification may be brought still more home by consideration 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 neighbourhood 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 Helâl; while Dr. Stewart (an independent and involuntary witness) heard on the spot,

from the Arabs, of a well of Ain-Khâdes 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 important feature in the verification, it shall be given in Dr. Stewart's own words.

‘ As Ghebel Helâl 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 Helâl, or on its sides, and learned that near the top of the western shoulder of the mountain there is a spring called Ain-el-Khâdes. 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 Rev. Mr. Rowlands, 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-Barnea; though, had he reflected, the Scriptural indications concerning the position of that place might have convinced him that Kadesh-

Barnea 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. Rowlands' discovery, doubles the evidence of its reality, 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 Helâl, that '*near the top of the western shoulder of the mountain there is a spring called Ain-el-Khâdes.*' Here, then, are two Ain-Khâdeses; the one appropriate to the mountain fastness of the Amalekites, the other to the camp of Israel below. A more perfect correspondence 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, they betook themselves for refuge, and whence they could rush down upon enemies below. It was obviously a position which barred the way against invaders: like the passes of Affghanistan, unassailable,

as 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 countrymen 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 Helâl 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-Khádea, as lying far too much to the west to correspond with the Scriptural indications of the site of Kadesh-Barnea, it is founded solely on his mistaken version of the Scriptural indications, as will appear when we come to Dr. Robinson's similar objection; † and has been already

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

† 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 'Arâif; 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.'—*Bibl. Res.* vol. i. p. 276.

His argument here rests on the groundless assumption that by



disposed of by 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 Helâl, and in Dr. Stewart's Ain-Khâdes on the top of its western shoulder, we recover at once the true Kadesh-Barnea, and the actual site of the great battle of Hormah? I would only ask the reader to keep Djebel Helâl before him in Ritter's or Robinson's map, both the mountain and its eastern valley, with their two springs, in order to see, while he reperuses the passage of Numbers xiv. 40, with what perfect clearness the Mosaic description places before our eyes the whole scene of action,—measures 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. His 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 Rehoboth and Beersheba, to Hebron. Compare Numbers xiii. 21, 22, with xxi. 1.

For the Amalekites and Canaanites are there before you, and ye shall fall by the sword; because ye are turned away from the Lord, therefore the 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 came down, and the Canaanites *which dwelt in that hill*, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah.\*

Dr. Robinson's site of Kadesh-Barnea, namely, Ain-Weibeh, on the western border of the Arabah, in the same latitude as Ain-Kades, has been controverted on geographical grounds 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.' Robinson's argument 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 Munster thus correctly

\* Num. xiv. 40-45.

interprets the Hebrew expression: '*Urbe extremitatis regni tui*: i.e. in urbe quæ non longè distat a regno tuo.' The context, 'And Moses sent messengers from *Kadesh unto the king of Edom*,' strongly corroborates this interpretation. 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 *Robinson* and *Stewart* assume, immediately upon the *Edomite* frontier line, instant collision between the armies would have been inevitable, because *Moses* could 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-Barnea*, 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 northward 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 leave 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 Khyber Pass. In a word, the whole circumstances of the case unite with the Scripture notices to show that Kadesh *must* have been at a very considerable 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 Rathumah, on the western side of the Tih, answering literally to the Mosaic names, Kadesh-Barnea and Rithmah, in the wilderness of Paran, stand, we have seen, exactly so

located ; within fifteen miles of each other. They reciprocate the evidence of their names and positions as the true representatives of the 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 ambassadors to the Edomite king.

From Numbers xx. 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 encamped 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 unto 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-Barnea: 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 contrary, 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' unequivocally 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 countenancing Dr. Stewart's theory, decisively support Mr. Rowlands'; a comparison of Numbers xx. 1, with the statement in Judges xi. 17, most clearly showing that Moses and the Israelites were encamped at Kadesh-Barnea, 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, the treatment of another statement of Mr. Rowlands' 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 neighbourhood, where (according to Arab tradition) Hagar dwelt. This well Mr. Rowlands conceived he had recovered in a spring near Djebel Helâl, named by the Arabs of the country, 'Moilahhi Hadjar.' Dr. Stewart disputes the correctness 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 to 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 habitation, called *Beit Hadjar*, '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 *supposed* 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 described. 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, embosomed in cliffs; 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 getting 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 Hadjar*, the dwelling-place of Hagar. I give Mr. Rowlands' oral account from memory. He will correct me if I remember wrongly. I leave it with the un-biassed reader to reconcile this account with Dr. Stewart's statement, that 'the Arabs took him (Mr. Rowlands) to a *small 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 she

\* Is not the coincidence of number significant? Three chambers—three occupants.



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

loved him, and how he loved her. Dutiful in manhood as in childhood, he obeyed his mother's choice, 'and *his mother* took him a wife out of the land of Egypt.'<sup>a</sup> 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, born 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 free 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? The caves of Masara or Saccara, and the rock temples of Ipsambul or Beni Hasan, 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? Its isolated character points to a peculiar origin. When did mere Bedouins execute such an undertaking? Why, if executed by Bedouins, where there is this one rock-chamber, are there not more? 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 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? I trow not. The self-styled Rationalists, and their

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxi. 21. Hagar, 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! 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 am 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 evidence, 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, Nabathæans, Sabæans, 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! 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

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. ii. 12-22. They were exterminated by the Edomites in their northern mountains, and seem to have been subdued here by Egypt [1], and expended at the mines by their conquerors. *No doubt King Soria'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 *newly discovered* Horites; trace their flight to Sinai; find them falling into the hands of ideal Egyptian taskmasters, to be incarcerated in imaginary Sinaïtico-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 Serbâl, 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 modern 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 'turning away,' Israel abode still in Kadesh, while Numbers xx. 22 shows 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 modern 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.

If 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 Nabathæan 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, Nabathæan, or Horite authorship are all *certainities*: 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.

The evidences adduced in the present chapter suffice, it is conceived, conclusively to determine the question raised as to the true site of Kadesh-Barnea, 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-Barnea, 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 Rithmah *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 the true site of

\* Incidental evidences of this character to the historical verity of the Books of Moses (a class of evidences with 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 unexpected quarter, that it is a duty to the public at the present crisis to give the passage to which I refer *in extenso*. 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 *Arian* Bishop Clayton. It is a witness which puts to public shame the unblushing effrontery 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 religion 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 Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai*, by 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 destruction 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 difficulty, connected with the movements of Moses and the Israelites, on the eve of breaking up finally from the camp at Kadesh-Barnea, located, as has now been proved, under Djebel Helál, 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, O Lord:  
Till the people pass over which thou hast purchased.'

*Exodus 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 Serbâl (the true Mount Sinai), and fought the fiercely disputed battle

of Rephidim. 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 those 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 *Seir*, even unto *Hormah*.' 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 *Kuer-es-Sir*, which Dr. Wilson takes for *Zior*, 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-Barnea*, 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 may 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. If his *Kuer-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 Helál. 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 discomfited 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 circumstances 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 impending the impregnable position of Djebel Helál, 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 Helál and at Hormah. All were filled with the memories of that disastrous day; all

gazed upon the mountain graveyard of their people ! 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 command, and its implied miraculous support, 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 determines 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 propositions, 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 *θεόπνευστοι* (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, Rom. xii. 16,—'Be not wise in your own conceits.'

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE MOUNT OF 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 gleanings-field,\* where we are free to range without order, picking up, here and

\* Among the gleanings none are of more obvious importance than remains of ancient architectural constructions, or excavations, in the Sinai peninsula, because such remains demonstrate the presence, at some remote period, of a people capable of executing architectural works; and, in so doing, point unavoidably 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 phenomenon appears hitherto to have escaped notice.

'October 5 [1722]. We departed at half an hour after six; and, by that road which leads north-west, proceeded towards the baths of Pharo, and continuing our journey through these mountains, which they say are also written with unknown 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 Serbâl, shown in our next chapter to be the true Mount Sinai, Horeb,

we went to a neighbouring valley, which lay westward, called *Magena* [*Maghara*?], 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 hall*, supported on every side by rude unfinished 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. 35.

‘This supposition is in my opinion a little extravagant, considering 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 my friend Mr. Govett, of Norwich, by a happy conjecture, opened my eyes to the probability of our being able to crown all the evidences which identify the Serbâl 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 identification 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 Serbâl, with a view to trace any connection 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 Egele*, a hill situated some three or four miles north-east of the Serbâl, and exactly facing the Wady Aleyât; 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 supposed root, جلا, *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 apparent analogy to the Israelites and Mount Sinai.

Mr. Govett, on the other hand, conceived that, in rendering the name of Ritter'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. Assuming 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 עגלה, *Ajele*, (Arabic عجل), *Vitulus*? and *Djebel Egele* signify 'The Mount of the Calf,' thus denoting the actual site of the idolatrous worship of the golden calf?

Immediately on receiving this hint, I reexamined with new eyes both the 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.

\* جلا, *Revelatus, reiectus, et manifestatus, clareque patuit, et splendide apparuit—Deus homini.—Golius.*

The name Egele, in Ritter's map, is printed as one word, with an initial capital E. On reexamination of the nomenclature 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. Ritter's Egele, therefore, is certainly one word—the name of this locality. Upon consulting other modern maps, I further found that the Hebrew *א* 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 consideration 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 Serbâl, 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

take place in the relative positions of Mount Serbâl and Djebel Egele. For from Ritter's map it appears that Djebel Egele stands due N.E. of Mount Serbâl, at the extremity of a wide sandy plain, with nothing intervening 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 supposes 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 camp, 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 Serbâl. But the required Scriptural conditions are further and most fully met by the whole

circumstances of the locality. For Djebel Egele is a considerable hill; and nothing but the calf and the dancing being upon a lofty hill could enable Moses to discern them from afar, in the centre of the vast Israelite encampment. This consideration, it is scarcely necessary to remark, adds great weight to the evidences independently arising from the relative positions of Mount Serbâi 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 calf *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 *must* have stood upon a hill-top, because all the worship of the heathen, whether of Baal, of calves, or of whatever idols (Egypt alone excepted), took place invariably upon the summits of lofty hills. When this consideration 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 the lists of Arabic names of Sinaitic localities, in Robinson and other travellers, in quest of the Arabic original of Ritter's Djebel Egele. None of them, however, save Ritter, make any mention of this locality. But my mind was so full of this happy suggestion—it

so, I may say, haunted my imagination—that 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 successful. Most successful, however, it did prove: the results of the inquiry exceeding even higher anticipations 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 improbably 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,' i.e. 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

גבל עגלה, *Djebel 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 modern 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 Serbâl, and presumed, by Mr. Govett, followed by the present writer, to commemorate the actual site of the 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, عجل, '*Ajul*' (being the same root as the Hebrew עגלה) Vitulus, 'The Calf.' This village is seated between Bethlehem and the mountain town of Beit-Jâla, 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 Egele*, and a consequent corroboration of the origin of that name.

Passing on through Robinson's lists of local nomenclature, 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, عَجُول, '*Ajul*, or 'The Calf.' But the name, in this second example of its occurrence, has peculiar force and significancy, because this عَجُول stands in juxtaposition with another town, جَلْجَلِيَا *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 '*Ajul*, therefore, we recover a third *Djebel Egele*, most probably the actual site of the calf-worship of *Gilgal*.

In these two local denominations in modern Palestine (due regard being had to the significancy and permanency, as a general rule, of local nomenclature in the East), I think we may fairly conjecture, or rather reasonably infer, that we have the reproduction only, and repetition, of Ritter's *Djebel Egele* at the foot of Mount *Serbâl*; assuming with Mr. Govett, as there is every reason to assume, the true reading of the Arabic name to be גְּבֵל עַגְלוֹה, or جَبَل عَجُول, 'The Mount of the Calf,



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 circumstances of this Sinaitic 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 narrative, by showing the perfect adaptation of the region of the Serbâl 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 neighbourhood of Djebel Egele for the vast encampment of the Israelites. It is well known that one chief objection made to Mount Serbâl as the scene of the giving of the Law, 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 congregated multitude.
2. The camp was at some considerable distance from the mount, inasmuch as, after his descent to the foot 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 congregation: 'The Lord will come down, *in the sight of all the people*, upon Mount Sinai.' 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 at Ritter'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 Serbâl. 2. It stands between three and four miles from the Wady Aleyât 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 lightnings, and thunderings, and voices on the summit. 4. The ground between Djebel Egele and Mount Serbâl 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 Serbâl

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 demonstrate 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.'

## CHAPTER VII.

## MOUNT SERBÂL THE SCRIPTURAL MOUNT SINAI.

THE first step towards any real settlement of the imperishably interesting question, *Which of the Sinaitic mountains 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 Serbâl 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, tom. vii. pp. 573—580; and tom. xiv. pp. 189—218. From these authorities, together with that of Cosmas Indicopleustes, we learn:

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

Justinian of the monastery of St. Katharin upon the mountain to which it has given name. It is equally allowed on all sides that, prior to that event, the unbroken consent of ecclesiastical tradition, throughout the preceding third, fourth, and fifth centuries, had handed down Mount Serbâl as τὸ ὄρος, '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 præ-Justinian tradition, on the contrary, is *ecclesiastical history*. It is the unbought, unbiassed witness of the Primitive Church. 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.

2. That it was two days' journey from Elim, then called Raithu: the fact as regards the distance between Mount Serbâl and the best-vouched site of Elim.
3. That Elim, or Raithu, was close to Nakk-Buderah, is proved by the expedition of the African tribe called *Blemmyes* against the Raithu solitaries, who lived in caves in the face of the mountains immediately over the plain 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 upon the same footing, is about as rational as to confound the shadow with the substance. Yet, upon the question 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, Serbál, or Pharan, with a city of the same name at its foot, was the only acknowledged Mount Sinai; and Dr. Stewart significantly marks the point of transition to the monkish Sinai, when he adds, ‘ere imperial patronage had brought Ghebel Mousa into favour, and when Serbál was reckoned “the Mount of God.”’\*

*Notices of Mount Serbál as Mount Sinai, in Church History, from the Third to the Sixth Century.*

In the Pentateuch, Mount Sinai is emphatically styled ‘THE MOUNT.’ Hence, the phrases τὸ ὄρος, and τὸ ὄρος Ἀραβικόν, ‘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 Serbál irrefragably proves its occupancy by the anchorites of the fourth century as the true Sinai, as stated by Ammonius. Burckhardt and Stewart unite to establish this point. ‘Burckhardt

Mount,' when used with reference to the Sinai peninsula 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 Serbâl 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 Alexandria, A.D. 258, where he speaks of the flight of Charæmon, bishop of Nilus in Egypt, during the persecution under Diocletian, *eis τὸ Ἀραβίων ὄρος*: and again, more definitely, of the flight of many other Christians to the Sinai peninsula, where *κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος*, 'at the same Arabian Mount,' they were made slaves of by the Saracens. The passage clearly means Mount Sinai, and as clearly describes Mount Serbâl, standing, as it does, a separate mountain, apart from all others.

The earliest positive identification of Sinai with Serbâl 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 Robinson's *resumé*, *Bibl. Res.* vol. i. p. 180, etc.

the fourth century. Speaking of Rephidim, 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 description. It is the valley of Firan under Serbál. 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 from the rock in Horeb, and is a standing witness to the miracle.†

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.'

\* 'Ραφιδίμ, τόπος τῆς ἐρήμου παρά τοῦ Χωρήβ ὄρους, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει Χωρήβ ἐβρύησε τὰ ὕδατα· καὶ ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος πειρασμός· ἐνθα καὶ πολεμῆν Ἰησοῦς τὸν Ἀμαλήκ Ἰγγύς Φαράν.—Euseb. ap. S. Hieron. Op. tom. ii. p. 474, ed. Bened.

† 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 lxxviii. 16, 20, and cv. 41. A Jewish tradition to the same effect is preserved by Philo Judæus.'



*' The Site of Rephidim and the true Mount Sinai.*

' Dr. Lepsius, as I have already stated, has settled both questions to my entire conviction, and to the full 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 he explains miraculous events by natural causes. Moses, according to him, had frequented the fertile Wâdy Firan during his forty years' previous sojourn in these deserts; and the miracle at Rephidim consisted in his conducting the fainting Israelites to that vale of living waters! 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 Rephidim, it is its absolute and total destitution of water. I need but refer to Exod. xvii. 1—3, in proof of this point. It is perfectly impossible, therefore, that the Wâdy Firan, in its

present state, could have been the scene of the miracle, or the site of the Mosaic Rephidim, as Dr. Lepsius and all his followers maintain it to have been. The idea is too puerile, 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 Aleyât 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 Mosaic Rephidim; 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 arrived 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

at Rephidim, 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 Aleyât may be the offspring of the miracle; and it appears, in Bartlett's sketch, 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 lxxviii. 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 run 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 CITY to dwell in :  
 That they may sow their land, and plant vineyards,  
 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: ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρέων ποταμός τὴν πόλιν, ποτὲ μὲν ἐρήμου τῆς ἀνύδροῦ ἐρηότερος ὤφθη, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρχμώδης ἐκείνης, ἣν διαπορευόμενος ὁ Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως

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 city, or any city, 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 found in any other region 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 corn and its palm-groves, its city and its waters, is a standing witness to the miracle at Rephidim, and a lasting memorial of the dealings of Almighty God with his people Israel.\*

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

*Ἰδίψησεν, ὡς Μωσῆς μὲν καταβᾶν βυῆναι δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θανμάσια ποιῶντος μόνου ἐκ πίτρας ἀκροτόμου ποτόν· ποτὶ δὲ τοσαῦταν ἐπλήμμυρην, ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν περιχώρον, τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπικλύσαντα· τῆς ἐπὶ Νῶε γενομένης τοῦ ὑδάτος φορᾶς ἐπαγαγῆν ἀπειλήν.—Dionys. Alex. ap. Galland. t. iii. p. 535.*

\* Exod. xvii. 1-6, xxxii. 20, Deut. ix. 21, taken together, seem to supply a perfect demonstration of the correctness of the above view. For from Exod. xvii. 1-6, it is certain that, previously to the miracle at the rock of Rephidim, Mount Horeb and its valley

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

(i. e. Serbál and the Wady Firad) were absolutely *waterless*: from Deut. ix. 21, it is equally certain that, immediately after the miracle, a *running brook* descended perennially from Mount Horeb; and, from Exod. xxxii. 20, that this brook became a broad stream in the valley beneath, upon whose waters Moses cast the dust of the golden calf, and which was sufficiently prolonged to give space for all the children of Israel to drink of the waters thus sprinkled. The stream of Wady Firan, 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:

#### BEFORE THE MIRACLE.

'And all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin, after their journeys, according to the commandment of the Lord, and pitched in Rephidim:

*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 unto them, Why chide ye with me? wherefore do ye tempt the Lord?

And the people thirsted 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 cattle, *with thirst?*

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

#### THE MIRACLE.

'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 smoteest 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 Horeb; 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.'

#### AFTER THE MIRACLE.

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

'And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped and ground it very small, even until it was as small as dust; and I cast the dust into the brook that descended out of the Mount.'

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 Serbâl to 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 *Raithu*, 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 Serbâl and Raithu as *his* Mount Sinai and Elim. The site of Raithu is fixed determinately by the following description: 'Ce qui arriva à Sinaï, arriva le jour mesme à Raïthe, qui en est éloigné de deux journées. C'est le lieu que l'Écriture appelle Elim, et l'on y voyoit encore les douze fontaines qu'elle marque, mais le nombre des 70 palmiers étoit beaucoup augmenté. La plaine qui



s'étendoit le long de la mer Rouge, et qui avoit 4 ou 5 lieues de large, étoit bornée à l'Orient d'une coste de montagnes, dont les chemins estoient très difficiles : et c'est là qu'il y avoit 43 Solitaires, qui demeuroient séparément dans des cavernes, sous la conduite du saint Abbé Paul, qui estoit de Petra.\*

\* From the account of Nilus, who visited Sinai twenty years 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, demouroit avec sons fils Théodulé sur la montagne de Sinai. Plus bas, sur la même montagne, il y avoit d'autres Solitaires au lieu qu'on appelloit encore le Buisson. S. Nil avoit accoutumé de les aller souvent visiter,' etc. After the massacre of most of the brethren by the Saracens, 'ceux qu'ils renvoyèrent se hastèrent de gagner le haut de la montagne, dont les Sarrazins n'osoient approcher, persuades que la Majesté de Dieu y résidoit. Ainsi il se sauva avec les autres sur le haut de la montagne. S. Nil, et les autres qui s'étoient retirez au haut de la montagne, en descendirent le soir, pour ensevelir les corps de leurs frères. Après l'avoir enterré [Théodule 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 Serbâl; 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 very top of Serbâl, 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

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 Nakk Buderah is the most formidable, and about thirty miles, or two days' journey, from Serbâl. The site of Raithu is further determined to this point, in that the description agrees with no other point on this coast. Tillemont seems to confound the Raithu 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 full fifty miles south of this wilderness. Raithu, on the other hand, certainly lay north of Sin. According to Ammonius, Elim, therefore, appears to be identified with Wady Nasb or Nûsb, 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, for the assistance of pilgrims who once frequented this mountain as a holy place.'—p. 113. It is scarcely needful to remark how decisively this fact 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 Nûsb.'\*

But with all who believe the Sinaïtic inscriptions to be the work of the Israelites, the Wady Nash presents a still stronger claim to be the Elim of the Exode, 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 Sinaïtic inscriptions; and, if an Israelite station, it can be no other than Elim.† The following is Burckhardt's description:

\* Bibl. Res. vol. i. pp. 110, 112.

† The present non-existence of these twelve wells is no disproof of the identity of Wady Nash 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 (وادي النصب), 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. pl. 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*, 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 inhabitants are more likely to be found than anywhere else. The Wady Naszeb empties its waters, in the rainy season, into the Gulf of Suez, at a short distance from the Birket Farsoun.

‘ 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 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 resting-place, at 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 throw any light upon the locality, I have given special care to the decyphering 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 Sinaïtic inscriptions, the word elsewhere first decyphered by the present writer, *Am*, 'The People,' viz.  *hebraïce* אָמ, occurs in both these inscriptions.\* In the next place, the word *رخام*, *rickham*, 'a great rock,' or 'the great 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 the word in question is engraved. Its component characters are, the Samaritan  *rho*, the old Syriac  *heth*, and the ordinary Arabic , only, the writing 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 inscriptions and their decypherments.

\* 'Upon my first inspection of Mr. Grey's inscriptions, judging simply from the forms of the characters, I read in the initial term , the Hebrew word אָמ, *Am*, "The People." This initial key-word, while never to be mistaken, is written in the Sinaïtic inscriptions with the utmost admissible latitude of form. Even a cursory glance over the initial *Am* of these inscriptions [which Beer reads , *shakum*, "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  
Wâdy Nasab.' Burekhardt.*

No. I.

١ | ٧ | ٢ | ٧ | ٠ | ٥ | ٦ | ٦ | ٦  
 ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥  
 ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥ | ٥

سباب يتبع ورا  
 سراهية حجاج  
 رخام اجسم

'The welling springs meet together confluent 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, عم ام. The first may indicate the sword.

## No. II.

' Strike with the sword inflicting 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



سرادية *sarahit*, 'hungry and thirsty' (*edax et bibax*), expresses the fact, which requires two words in the Hebrew, and two in the Arabic version of Psalm cvii. 5. The next word حجاج *hajaj*, 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 they 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 were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks and herds, even very much cattle.'—Exod. xii. 37, 38.



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 Sinai, 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 Serbâl: 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 summit, 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 Serbâl, 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 Serbâl, 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 Serbâl, which I ascended, is the one described by Burckhardt and Bartlett, where the granite rocks *are covered with them*. Rùppell found them on the second peak from the west. Stanley found 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. 135, 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 Sinaitic 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 united in the belief that SERBÂL 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 Serbál 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 Serbál through [its adjoining valleys] the Wadys Maghara, Mokattab, Firan, and Aleyât; 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 Lord Lyndhurst*, 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 Serbál 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 flocks 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 Aleyât their short and simple records of the wonders and miracles of the Exode.'—*Letter to Lord Lyndhurst*, p. 78.

shall now be shown, in conclusion, from the testimony of Cosmas Indicopleustes. This accurate topographer thus describes the relative positions of Raithu or Elim, 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 athirst, 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, exclaims in the Psalms, "He clave asunder the rock in the wilderness, and gave them drink as out of the great abyss;" and again, "He clave asunder 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." The Apostle 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 *ἐκεῖ πάλιν*, however, is still a difficulty here.

\* Εἶτα πάλιν ἀδεύσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Μερόαε, ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλεῖμ, ἣν νῦν καλοῦμεν Ραῖθού· ἐνθα ἦσαν δεκαδύο πηγαί, αἱ εἰσὶτε καὶ νῦν σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φοῖνικες πολὺ πλείους ἐγένοντο· ἕως δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα, δεξιὰ τὴν θάλασσαν εἶχον, καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὴν ἔρημον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἄνω ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους βαδίζουσιν, ὀπίσω λοιπὸν τὴν θάλασσαν ἰάσαντες, τὰ πρόσω δὲ τὴν ἔρημον βαδίζοντες. ἐνθα γενόμενων ἀνὰ μέσον Ἐλεῖμ καὶ τοῦ Σιναιίου ὄρους, ἐκεῖ κατελήλυθεν ἐπ'

The topography of this passage is as clear as daylight. According to Cosmas, and in exact agreement with the Scripture narrative, Raithu or Elim was separated from Mount Sinai only by 'the wilderness of Sin,' the site of the midway encampments between Elim and Rephidim, or rather, of the encampment between Elim and Dophkah, since both Dophkah and Alush lay between Sin and Mount Sinai.\* Mount Sinai or Horeb, on the other hand, is here stated by Cosmas as distant six miles from Rephidim or Pharan;

αὐτοὺς τὸ Μάννα· ἔνθα καὶ πρῶτως ἰσαεβάτισαν κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς, ὡς δίδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Μωϋσῆ ἀγράφως ἐν Μερρόῃ.

Καταντήσαντες ἐνταῦθα εἰς Ἐλεῖμ ἀπὸ τῆς Μερρόας, καὶ πάλιν ὁδεύσαντες ἀπὸ μέσον Ἐλεῖμ καὶ τοῦ Σιναιίου ὄρους εἰς τὴν ἔρημον εἰς τὴν ἰκεῖ, καὶ ὀρνυγομήτρα κατήλθον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς ἰσπίραν, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρῶν τὸ μάννα. ἐκεῖ πάλιν ἤρξαντο πρῶτον σαββατίζειν, τοῦ μάννα διατηρουμένου ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκτης καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου.

Ἐτα πάλιν παρενίβαλον εἰς Ῥαφιδίον, εἰς τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Φαράν· καὶ διψησάντων αὐτῶν, πορεύεται κατὰ πρόσταξιν Θεοῦ ὁ Μωϋσῆς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰς Σωρῆς τὸ ὄρος, τουτίστιν ἐν τῷ Σιναιίῳ, ἐγγὺς οὖν τῆς Φαράν ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων ἕξ. καὶ ἐκεῖ πατάξαντος τὴν πέτραν, ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα πολλὰ, καὶ ἔκειν ὁ λαὸς, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐν ψαλμοῖς βοῶ, Διέρρηξε πέτραν ἐν ἔρημῳ, καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ἀβύσσου πολλῇ· καὶ πάλιν, Διέρρηξε πέτραν, καὶ ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα· ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν ἀνύδροις ποταμοί· καὶ πάλιν, Καὶ ἐξήγαγεν ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ κατήγαγεν ὡς ποταμὸς ὕδατα. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος φησὶν· Ἐπινοῦν γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός· ἵνα εἴπῃ, ὡσπερ ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πέτρας δαψιλῆς ὕδωρ ἀκολουθεῖν ἀφθόνως ἐπότισεν, οὕτως ἡμῖν ζωοποιὰνάματα παρέχεται ὁ Χριστός διὰ τῶν μυστηρίων, οὗ τύπος ἦν ἡ πέτρα.—Cosmas Indic. Cosmographia, Nov. Bibl. Patr. pp. 195, 196.

\* Numb. xxxiii. 12—15.



being the exact distance between Firan and Mount Serbâl.\* These statistics, while they determine Mount Serbâl to be Mount Sinai or Horeb, absolutely exclude both the monkish Sinais, which, instead of six miles,

\* The Wady Aleyât is the nexus utriusque. And here the presence of the Israelites is attested by that of the Sinaitic inscriptions, on a scale and with characteristics first brought to light by Mr. Pierce Butler, and so extraordinary as to set at nought all rationalistic explanations. The reader has seen, in a preceding note (p. 105), Dr. Stewart's account of the inscriptions which clothe Mount Serbâl to its summits. Let him now peruse Mr. Butler's report of those in the Wady Aleyât, the main avenue to the Serbâl. 'In ascending the Wady Aleyât, on his way to the summit of Mount Serbâl, Mr. Butler observed traces of a path to the left, out of the usual track of the ascent, which led through a chaos of enormous rocks, evidently precipitated from the broken face of the perpendicular mountain above by some great convulsion of nature. Into this untrodden path he struck, and as he clambered through these wrecks of nature, he discovered, to his great astonishment, that hundreds upon hundreds of the fallen stones were covered with Sinaitic inscriptions. So numerous were the instances, that, he added, he could state with safety, 'that every second stone was inscribed.'

'But there occurred a still more remarkable phenomenon. The granite rocks were largely interspersed with blocks of trapstone; a species of stone black on the surface, but lemon-coloured inside. Now this peculiar material had been studiously selected by the Sinaitic engravers as the receptacle for their inscriptions; and the consequence was, that the inscriptions carved on this material came out with the effect of a rubricated book, or an illuminated manuscript; the black surface throwing out in relief the lemon-coloured inscriptions. The proofs of thought and care, of taste and judgment, contained in this eclectic choice of materials, are such as to require no other comment than the statement of the wonderful fact.—*Letter to Lord Lyndhurst*, pp. 29, 30.

are upwards of twenty miles from Firan, and which I have already shown to be excluded by the limit of the entire distance between Raithu or Elim and Mount Sinai, as stated by Ammonius and Nilus, namely, 'two days' journey:' a statement most exact, as respects the distance between Wady Nasb and Serbâl, which is under thirty miles; but wholly incompatible with Djebel Katharin or Djebel Mousa, both of which are above fifty miles, or nearly four days' journey, from the Raithu or Elim of Cosmas, and of both the other authorities. Until, therefore, the advocates of the monkish Sinais, or of any more novel theory, can disprove the sites and distances given by Eusebius, by Ammonius, by Nilus, and by Cosmas Indicopleustes, their calculations and reasonings (however plausible or ingenious) are nothing better than the labours of 'men beating the air,' and could not stand for one moment against the evidences here before us, were it not for the bar to the final settlement of most questions, inherent in the human intellect, once pointed out by a profound thinker,—'It is astonishing how few men know *when a point is proved.*'

*Modern Advocacy of Mount Serbâl as Mount Sinai.*

After Dr. Lepsius, the best and fullest identification of Mount Serbâl with Mount Sinai is to be found in a

volume by Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, entitled 'The Tent and the Khan.' His statement of the case is so clear and simple, that I shall give it collectively in his own words:—

'From Wadi Feiran we turned to the right into Wadi Aleiat, which leads directly to the base of Serbál. In a few minutes more than one hour we reached the entrance to the ravine which separates the easternmost peak of Serbál from the rest of the mountain; so that I should reckon the length of Wadi Aleiat to be about five miles. A turn to the south-west, at the entrance, completely shuts it in from Wadi Feiran, a ridge of hills running between them. The avalanches of rock and stone which, during the course of ages, have been brought down from the mountains by the winter torrents, have so covered this valley, as to suggest the idea that the clouds must, at some period, have rained down boulders instead of hailstones; \* yet it is not deficient in such verdure as

\* One would have thought that these phenomena must have forced upon the mind of any eyewitness of them, otherwise convinced of the identity of Mount Serbál with Mount Sinai, the conviction that this wreck of nature is the standing result and evidence of the shock given to the mountain at the giving of the Law; when Scripture tells us it was shaken to its foundations. Serbál is the only Sinai mountain that corresponds with the Scriptural account, and this alone ought to be decisive of the question. Let the reader only compare Dr. Stewart's description with the following extract from my 'Letter to Lord Lyndhurst':—

this desert produces, and there are more saut trees than we have yet met with, scattered over the surface. These are the *shittah* trees of Scripture, from the wood of which the Ark of the Covenant, the Cherubim, and the Pillars of the Tabernacle were made; and it is a fact worthy of remark, that, while these trees are

‘Now, if the Scriptural account of these miraculous phenomena contains any matter available for our guidance in the ascertainment of the true Mount Sinai, it is perfectly clear that traces of those marks ought to be discernible on the face of that holy mountain. Thus, if, as Moses tells us, “the whole mount did quake greatly,” if the shock of an earthquake rocked it, literally, to its foundations, if “the earth did quake, and the rocks rent,” as we all know and believe they did at the time of the crucifixion,—it is most clear that we must look for marks of this wreck of nature in any mountain of the peninsula claiming to be Mount Sinai. Now, the very marks described and required in order to the verification, *are* to be found at Mount Serbál, and are not, it appears, to be found on any of the other reputed Mount Sinais. For the Wady Aleyát, on its northern face, is, as already noticed, one vast chaos of ruins—of rocks precipitated from the face of the perpendicular mountain above by some great convulsion of nature. The face of the perpendicular mountain, 2,000 feet in height, has been torn open, and the only practicable ascent (as Mr. Pierce Butler ascertained) is up the chasms made by the fallen rocks below. There are no signs, Mr. Stanley allows, of volcanic agency. The shock, therefore, which thus shook the mountain, resembled rather that of an earthquake. Now compare these physical facts and features with what took place at the giving of the Law. “And the Lord (we read) came down upon Mount Sinai, ON THE TOP OF THE MOUNT.” Can words describe more graphically the precipitous summit of the Serbál? Can facts attest more literally the awful sequel, than do the rifted precipice, here, beneath the feet of Jehovah, and the rent rocks of the Wady Aleyát in chaotic confusion below it? If,

found here still in considerable numbers, there is not one to be seen, so far as my observation served, in the plain of Er-Rahah, or in any of the Wadis about Ghebel Mousa. This valley is sufficiently ample to have contained the tents of all the Children of Israel; and my impression is that, from every part of it, the summits of Serbál can be seen; but I am quite certain

therefore, Sinai is still recoverable by its Scriptural signs, MOUNT SERBÁL is THE TRUE MOUNT SINAI.'—*Letter to Lord Lyndhurst*, pp. 75—77.

Since transcribing the above extract, I observe a passage in the prophecy of Nahum, which singularly quadrates with this view. It clearly refers to what took place at Sinai, and categorically states the throwing down of the rocks:

הרים רעשו ממנו  
 והגבעות התמגגו.  
 והשא הארץ ספניו  
 ותבל וכל יושבי בה  
 לפני זעמו מי יעמוד  
 ומי יקום בהרון אפו  
 חמתו נתכה כאש  
 והצרים נתצו ממנו

'The mountains quake at him  
 And the hills melt,  
 And the earth is burnt at his presence,  
 Yea the world and all its inhabitants:  
 Who can stand before his indignation,  
 And who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?  
 His fury is poured out like fire,  
 And the shivered rocks are thrown down by him.'

*Nahum* i. 5, 6.

\* צר-צור • *Rupes prærupta*.—*Gasenius*.

that, from the upper part of it, at least, the whole mountain is visible.

‘Serbâl does not disappoint one on a near approach to it. Majestic as he seems when you trace his serrated crest towering above all his compeers, for days before you reach the base, his presence is still more noble as seen from Wadi Aleiat. There are no out-works or fences, no shoulders or projecting spurs, to detract from his stature or hide his summit, until you have achieved half the ascent; his precipitous sides rise sheer and clear from the rough valley along which we were toiling, like a large three-decker from the sea. I perceived at once the force and propriety of that description which is given of the Mount of God, “The Mount which might be touched!”

‘The first impression made on the mind, when the wide waste of wilderness [as seen from the summit] is unfolded before us, is one of stupefaction. The view is so extensive, it seems as if we should never be able to master all its details; but gradually wadis and mountains begin to link together in the memory, until we discover that almost the entire Arabian peninsula is mapped out at our feet. But for the more southerly Sinaitic range, we should take in the whole length and breadth of it at a glance, from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the head of the Gulf of Akabah. To me, however, there was something more attractive in that

desolate mountain top than the view. From previous study of the subject (which subsequent personal observation has confirmed) I made my pilgrimage there under the impression that it is *the* Mount Sinai; that on this, or one of the neighbouring peaks, Jehovah spake with Moses from out of the cloud, and gave him the Law, both moral and ceremonial, for a testimony in Israel; and that the Wadi Aleiat is that portion of the wilderness of Sinai where the Tribes were gathered. Leaving my guides, I sought shelter from the piercing blast under the venerable granite rock which crowns the summit, that I might meditate awhile, not only on that scene, so terrible that it caused Moses to exclaim, "I do exceeding fear and quake;" but also on Saint Paul's allegory, in which he likens Mount Sinai in Arabia to Hagar the bondswoman, and Jerusalem above to Sarah the mother of the free. It was a solemn thing, too, sitting on that spot, to realize the fact, that the terrible majesty in which God appeared on Sinai as the Law-giver, was but an emblem and foreshadowing of his yet more glorious and terrible appearing, when he comes as the Law-avenger, "when every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him."

'The peak we ascended is the same which Burckhardt visited, and, on consulting his Travels after my return to Europe, I found his description of it very accurate.

The Bedouins who live in Feiran declare that it is the highest of all the peaks, but its exact elevation has never yet been ascertained. Ruppell, 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 Serbál, it must be remembered that, rising as the latter does from a far lower level,—standing completely isolated from all the surrounding mountains, 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 Serbál as Sinai, but deferred stating my reasons for it until the reader had accompanied me to Dgebel Mousa: this seems, therefore, the fitting place to refer briefly to the whole subject. If anyone will consult the account given in the book of Exodus of the encampment of the Israelites 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 Serbál 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. 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.'—*Stewart*, pp. 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 Serbál 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 Mount 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 Mountain of God,' or 'Horeb,' is here described as the furthestmost 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, הר, τὸ ὄρος, 'THE MOUNT.'

Now these Scriptural marks agree absolutely with Mount Serbâl; but not one of them with either of the monkish Sinais. For the Serbâl 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 Sinaïtic 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 Serbâl, 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 τὸ ὄρος, 'The Mount;' being,

instead of a single mountain, two of a cluster of five mountains in the inner Sinaïtic range. If, therefore, we read the text of Moses literally, and follow his geography as to the relative positions of Midian and Horeb, Mount Serbâl 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 which 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. iii. 12.

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

‘*Tuesday, March 20th.*—At 6½ o’clock, we came out upon the higher tract or plain, and soon had a view of Jebel Serbál, which as here seen in the direction of its ridge, *appeared like a lofty rounded peak* [τὸ ὄρος], bearing s.e. by s.’—*Robinson*, vol. i. p. 101.

‘*Wednesday, March 21st.*—Crossing a low ridge, at 10<sup>h</sup> 45’, *we got our first view* of the granite peaks around [the monkish] Sinai, *still indistinct and nameless*, bearing s.s.e., while Serbál, at the same time, bore s. by e.’—*Id. ib.* p. 112.

These diary notes are alone decisive of the respective claims. Dr. Robinson had a clear commanding view of Serbál, as one mountain, at 6½ on the morning of March 20; and it was not until 28 hours after, 10½ on the following morning, that he obtained his first indistinct, amorphous view of the confusedly jumbled peaks of Djebels Katharin and Mousa.

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

separated from us only by a low ridge or tract, beyond which lies Wady Feirân. 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 the beams of the morning sun, *a grand and noble object*, 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 Serbâl is still alike the one grand object, τὸ ὄρος, 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 Serbâl 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 Josephus, that its favourable reception among the lovers of novelty is its only claim to a serious refutation. Josephus\* describes Sinai as 'the loftiest mountain

\* Μωϋσῆς δὲ συγκαλίσας τὸν πληθύν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέ-  
χισθαι τὸ Σινάϊον ἔλεγεν, ὡς συνισόμενος τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τινα λαβῶν παρ'  
αὐτοῦ χρησμών, ἱπανήξεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐκείνους δ' ἐκίλευσε πλησίον  
μετασκηνῶσαι τῷ ἄρει, τὴν γειτνίασιν τοῦ Θεοῦ προτιμήσαντας. ταῦτ'  
εἰπὼν, ἀνῆγε πρὸς τὸ Σινάϊον, ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς  
χωρίοις ὄρων τυγχάνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους,

of the peninsula.' Scripture tells us that Jehovah descended,  $\text{וַיֵּרָד עַל-רֹאשׁ הַהָר}$ , 'upon the top of the Mount.' Now the term  $\text{רֹאשׁ}$  denotes, primarily, *the crown of the head*, and hence, derivatively, 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 Safsaffah, equally precludes Djebels Katherin and Moussa, upon neither of whose summits could the descent have been seen from below. In the case of Serbál alone the indispensable conditions are found. To the eye, it is the loftiest mountain in the peninsula, and the descent

*καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον, ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον ἀναβατόν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁραθῆναι διχα κόνου τῆς ὀψιως δυνάμενον.*—Joseph. Jud. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. v. ed. Hudson.

If ever mountain was made known by description, the Serbál seems to rise before us as we read: its towering elevation (*ὑψηλότατον\* τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὄρων τυγχάνον*); its vast circumference (*τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους*); its many and precipitous peaks (*τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον*), all but inaccessible by man (*ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον ἀναβατόν\**), and straining to the eye to look up to (*ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁραθῆναι διχα κόνου τῆς ὀψιως δυνάμενον*). These characteristics of Mount Sinai all meet in Mount Serbál, and in Mount Serbál alone. But to verify this graphic description, the reader has only to turn to the published accounts of travellers, or, still better, to the lithograph of the Serbál in "Sinai Photographed." Mount Serbál, then, was, to a certainty, the Mount Sinai of Josephus; and the Sinai of Josephus was, as certainly, the Sinai of immemorial Hebrew tradition.

\* Josephus of course describes, not from measurement, but from the appearance to the eye. For this see Stewart, p. 118.

† Stewart, pp. 112, 11

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

‘The fourth mountain which puts in a claim to be Sinai is Serbál. 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 picturesque pass in the range of Ghebel Wateiyah. Another half-hour’s ride brought us full in view of Serbál, 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 Serbál came again into view, bearing w. by s.w., and continued the most prominent

\* Stewart, p. 154.

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.\*

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### POSTSCRIPT.

When the present chapter was sent to press, it was under the impression that the whole of the commanding evidences which combine to identify the Mount Serbâl of the Arabs with the Mount Sinai of the Exode had been embodied in its argument. A discovery the most unexpected, however, has just brought to light a crowning proof of this identity, which shows that, however ample those already adduced, the evidences 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 contain and conceal points of Scripture history under idiomatic disguises. To test the thought by experiment, I resolved to examine the definitions, in the Arabic lexicons, of existing local names around Serbâl

\* Stewart, p. 157.



(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 'Zebeir,' being that of a rocky offshoot, lying N.N.W., near the mouth of Wady Sheikh, and at the very foot of Mount Serbâl. 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 Serbâl 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 feelings, the feelings with which I first found the ipsissimum verbum, and then read the following definition: 'الزبير AZ-ZEBIR, Mons in quo loquutus Moysi fuit Deus.' Richardson repeats this definition of Golius, 'زبير ZABIR, 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 conclusiveness. The reader, then, will observe that the local name 'Zebeir' in Burckhardt, and the Arabic

word *Zabir* in Golius, are wholly independent witnesses. The Arab lexicographers had no reference whatever to this local name, which has to the present moment escaped altogether unnoticed. They give the denomination زبير or الزبير solely as an old proper name in the Arabic language, and this name, moreover, a proper name for Mount Sinai,—as their synonym for ‘The Mount 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 Serbâl,—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 Serbâl, 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, term Serbâl, AZ-ZEBIR, 'The mount on which God 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 Burckhardt'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 see, at once, the isolated prominence, and the sublime

priority, of Mount Serbâl, 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 Serbâl 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 *زبر* *zabr* 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.

*Zabr*, consequently, is synonymous with *كتب* *katab*, 'To write;' and its participle *مزبور* *mazbur*, with *مكتب* *mokatteb*, '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 denominations 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 valleys.

But the name Djebel ez-Zebir may have been given for this additional cause, that Mount Serbâl (now, it is conceived, fully identified with Mount Sinai) is itself covered with Sinaïtic 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-eminently '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 Serbâl, or 'Jebel ez-Zebir' (as Ritter 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 Serbâl looking N.N.E. towards its offshoot Jebel ez-Zebir, descends the Wady *Aleyâh* or *Aleyât*; 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 *Aleyát*, in this general sense, has nothing in it appropriate or peculiar. Yet in the whole great Sinai range, it is appropriated and peculiar to this valley of Mount Serbál alone. The fact suggests inquiry after some more specific meaning, and the ample proofs already adduced of the identity of Mount Serbál with Mount Sinai, send us naturally to the Sacred narrative in quest of that meaning. Now in Exodus xix. 3, we read:—

ומשה עלה אלהאליהם : ויקרא אליו יהוה  
 Jehovah him unto called and God unto *ascended* And Moses  
 : הורד מן  
 .the Mount out of

Again, v. 20 :

ויקרא יהוה למשה אלראש הורד ו  
 and of the Mount the top to Moses up Jehovah And called  
 : משה יעל  
 .Moses *ascended*

Exodus xxiv. 13, 15, we read :

ו יעל משה אלדוד :  
 .the Mount into Moses *ascended* And  
 and  
 : ו יעל משה אלדודד :  
 .the Mount into Moses *ascended* And

And xxxiv. 4 :

ו יעל אלדוד סיני :  
 .Sinai Mount unto *ascended* he And

Now the Hebrew  $\eta\lambda\gamma$ , with its derivative  $\gamma\lambda$ , is synonymous in sound and sense with the  $\text{عليا}$  or  $\text{عليه}$  *Aleyâh* or *Aleyât*, of the Arabs. Viewed through these Mosaic lights, the name *Wady Aleyât*, no longer an unmeaning generality, assumes an altogether new, peculiar, and Scriptural sense, namely,  $\text{وادي عليه}$  '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 *Ras*, 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 Serbâl through the Wady Aleyât 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 '*opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ 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 the 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 Wady Mousa or Tawarik on the Egyptian side, and the opposite coast from Ayûn Mousa southward, on the Arabian. Those, on the other hand, who would read God's Word with man's spectacles, whose temper of mind leads 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 miraculous event at a point of the Red Sea near the modern Suez; where, from the narrowness of the Gulf, the shallowness of its waters, and the cooperative aids of shoal sandbanks, a sweeping wind, and an ebbing tide (only supernaturally 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 the area of his partial deluge, I ask, What becomes of the birds? for 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

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 ? 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 universality 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 is 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 the 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 power, 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 *Geshen*, 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;

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 not 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 valley called *Budeah*, 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 Red 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-el-Beder*, "The Mouth of Beder;" *Fum-el-Terfovey*, "The Mouth of Terfovey." *Hhoreth*, the flat country along the Red Sea, is so called from *Hhor*, 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-HAH-ROTH, 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 forms 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 Deraga.

' 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 their return, to restore them their moveables. But when the Israelites were observed turning to the south, among the mountains, 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: which 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 Shur, which was immediately 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 North Cape is called Ras Mûsa, 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 swallowing up.’ *بحر قلزم Bahar Kolzum*, Mare inglutitionis seu 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, בלע, or بلع, *balā*, Deglutire, Inglutire, *To swallow up*. *تبلعونهم*, or *تابلعونهم*, *الارض*, 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 *قلزم kolzum* is itself of immemorial antiquity), having only substituted this synonyme for the original term *בלע balā*. 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 without 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. If 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 God 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 no greater miracle to divide the Red Sea 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 difficulty 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 difficulties 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

historian, from his mention of Latopolis (the Latone 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 Cairo.† 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 Israelites found themselves completely hemmed in between a semicircular

\* Τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιούνητο κατὰ Ληγοῦς πόλιν, ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε. Βαβυλῶν γὰρ ὑπερὸν κτιζεται ἐκεῖ, Καμβύσου καταστρεφόμενου τὴν Αἴγυπτον.—Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ii. c. xv. tom. i. p. 87.

† On the site of the Βαβυλῶν of Josephus.

chain of mountains and the sea, while the Egyptian army already 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 Rameses (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-

\* Συντόμως δὲ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄφοδον, εἰς Βελσεφῶντα χωρίον τριταῖον παραγίνονται τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. . . . καταλαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάσαντο· καὶ συναυνοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας εἰς ὀλίγον χωρίον· ἑκατόσια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄρματα εἶπετο, σὺν ἵππεσσι πεντακισμυρίαις, καὶ ὀπλιτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν εἴκοσι· τὰς τε ὁδοὺς ἀπεφράγγυσαν αἷς φεύξεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξὺ κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπολαμβάνοντες. τελευτῆ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος, ὑπὸ τραχύτητος ὁδῶν ἀπορον, καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβάνόμενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τῇ πρὸς θάλασσαν τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπέφραττον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κατὰ στόμα τοῦτο ἰδρυσάμενοι· ὅπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔξοδον ὣσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφρημένον.—Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ii. cap. xv. tom. i. p. 88.

ness hath shut them in.' A curious light is thrown on this text by the Ethiopic. The term מַדְבָּר, rendered by all the versions in the sense of *wilderness*, in the Ethiopic (a dialect of the Egyptian) signifies *mountains*, or *a mountain range*. Pharaoh, speaking in his own idiom, plainly uses the word מַדְבָּר, 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 modern 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 Tawarik*, 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 *طرق*, *tarak*, signifies, primarily, 'travelling by night,' and its derivative *طوارق*, *tawarik*, 'the nocturnal travellers.'† The denomination *Wady Tawarik*, 'The Valley of the Nocturnal Travellers,' as we learn from Scripture, again marks the Exode of the Israelites with a clearness and peculiarness 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

\* *بدا bada*, i. q. *خرج*, *Egressus est, excessit patria.* *بدو hudeah*, pro *بدا*. 2. *Intrans. peculiariter, Exivit in desertum.*—*Golius* in voce.

† *طرق taraka*, *Noctu venit.* *طارق tawarik*, *Noctu veniens: Viator nocturnus.* *طرقه*, i. q. *طارق tawarik*, *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 *by night*. Here is the Scripture record of the unparalleled fact. Exodus xii. 31: 'And he called for Moses and Aaron *by night*, 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 night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.' And again, Deuteronomy xvi. 1: 'In the month of Abib, the Lord thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt *by night*.'

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 from 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 Sea*, 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 *Ayûn 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 Deráj and Jebel ’Atákah, which is marked in Captain Moeresby’s admirable chart as Wádi Músá. I shall say nothing more respecting it at present, than that the officers 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 ’Ayún Músá, or Wells of Moses, to the north-east.’†

Again : ‘I have already remarked that the [Wádi]

\* Pococke, Travels, vol. i. p. 156.

† Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 36.

Badiya, or W. Tarawik, bears the Arabic name of Wádí Músá, 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 Moses.*" On cross-examination, he continued to make the same affirmation.\*

But there is yet a fourth local denomination, ancient, at once, and modern, 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 *Clysmá Civitas* of Ptolemy, and to the *Bahr Kolzum* of Arabian geography. For the Greek name Κλύσμα, and the Arabic قَلْزُوم, are one and the same. Clysmá 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.† Cosmas Indicopleustes describes it as lying

\* Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 136.

† Βεηλοσφών, πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ σταθμός τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἐξιόντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον διὰ τοῦ Κλύσματος, παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. 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.' 'Hæc verba, διὰ τοῦ κλύσματος, redundantia visa sunt Bonperio, et forte Hieronymo qui ea prætermittit. Nescio an hoc significat quòd in eum locum confluerint Iraelitæ quasi aquarum multarum inundatio.'—S. Hier. Op. tom. 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 irrefragably

on the right hand of travellers coming by the mountain pass, and close to the sea-shore.\* These statistics place Clysma at the southern extremity of the Wady Tawarik, under Djebel Abu Deraje. Dr. Robinson discovered its ruins, but without identifying them, owing to his erroneously placing Clysma, or Kolzum, at the head of the Gulf of Suez. His words are: 'On the more southern and longer branch of this route through Wady Tawârik is the well of 'O'dheib (sweet water), near the shore *south* of Ras Attakah, about eight hours from Suez. Here is, also, a small mound of rubbish, with fragments of pottery, *indicating a former site.*'† The agreement of this site with that of the Clysma of Ptolemy, Cosmas, and D'Anville is decisive.‡ But

the site of Clysma, and the origin of the name. The miracle survives in it as commemorated by the heathen Egyptians and Greeks.

\* Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, . . . τοῦ ὕδατος ἀναστρέψαντος ἐκ' αὐτοῦς ἐηλάτω θρηγῆ, ἀπολῶντο καταποντωθῆντες· ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κλύσματι, ἀπερχομένων δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος.—Cosmas, ap. Montfaucon, Biblioth. Nov. PP. tom. ii. p. 194.

† Bibl. Res. vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Also with the Clysma of Pococke: 'From this place [Ayûn Mousa] 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. *Clysma* 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 Red Sea.'—*Descript. of East*, vol. i. p. 138. Clysma, as thus located, self-evidently was the Baal-Zephon of Moses, or on its site.

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 قَلْزُوم *kolzum* signifies *deglutitio, inglutitio*, 'swallowing' (the Greek κλύσμα is analogous, viz. *ablutio, lotio*), and the name of the Gulf of Suez, بَحْرُ قَلْزُوم, is literally 'the sea of *the swallowing up*.' I give the definitions of the word in Golius: 'قَلْزُوم *kolzum*, Clysma, *Ægypti urbs prope montem Sinai*. قَلْزُومَة *kolzumāt*, *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 assumed, 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

name of the adjoining gulf. Most 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 Κλύσμα, 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 Ras Attakah, or south of Abu Deràje. Under and

\* The original name Baal-Zephon may, perhaps, still be traceable in that of Ras *Zafrané*, the next headland to Clysma on the south. The change from *Zephon* to *Zephran* 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 Ras 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 Ayûn Mousa to Wady Sudr, is a low sandy shore, with the Wadys Reiyânah, Kurdhieh, 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 *pur sue*, 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 brought 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 xxxiii. 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 the 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.' †

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

'The waters saw thee, O 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 abroad.

\* Exod. xv. 19.

† Psalm lxxvii. 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 man to trifle with, for it is spoken by 'God that cannot lie.' In the following place of Isaiah we have Jehovah's own account 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 His  
 glorious arm,  
 Dividing the water before them,  
 To make Himself an everlasting name ?  
 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.' †

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 lxxvii. 16-19.

† Isaiah lxiii. 11-14.



who is tempted to trifle or tamper with these Divine 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 Revelation.

*Character of the Miraculous Passage of the Red Sea.*

By most modern 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 column 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

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 Tawárik; 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 modern 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 assume 'half a mile,' or any *theoretical* space, as 'the largest supposition admissible'? 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 computation, 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 any 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, preternaturally 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 pastoral 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 dimensions. But tents require *intervals*, and *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 encampment 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 space 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 simultaneously 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 reaching 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: οἱ δὲ ἑνυχον ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς ἡῖοσι τῆς θαλάσσης στρατοπεδεύσαντες.—Op. p. 628. The expression τοῖς ἡῖοσι τῆς θαλάσσης corresponds only with the long shore of the Wady Tawarik, as the definitions, ἡῖων, *littus*, ἡῖοις, *habens magnum littus*, show.

simultaneous entry of the whole host into the waters :  
 ‘ And the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto the children 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 night*, and made *the sea dry*, and the waters were divided. 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.’†

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 ;  
 And leaped like lambs ;  
 Praising thee, O Lord, who hadst delivered them.’ ‡

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.

† Ib. xiv. 29.

‡ Wisdom xix. 7-9.

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 adduced 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 evidence 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 with the preceding text from Wisdom, and with a following passage from Bruce.

The words of Diodorus are: ' Among the Ichthyophagi 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 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 accordance with that in Wisdom: for both represent the whole bottom of the gulf, at a given part of it, to have been laid open; † and both state the appearance of the bottom to have been ‘green.’ This last coincidence, from its specialty, is of singular value. The phenomenon is one which could not be thus arbitrarily in-

\* Παρά δὲ τοῖς πλησίον κατοικοῦσιν Ἰχθυοζάγοις παραδίδοται λόγος, ἐκ προγόνων ἔχων φυλαττομένην τὴν φύμην, ὅτι μεγάλης τιμῆς γενομένης ἀμπώτους, ἰγευήθη τοῦ κόλπου ἑρῆς πᾶς ὁ τόπος, ὁ τὴν χλωρὰν ἔχων τοῦ τόπου πρόσοψιν, μεταπισούσης τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὰναντία μέρη. φανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ βυθῷ χέρσου, πάλιν ἐπιελθοῦσαν ἑξάισιον πλήμην ἀποκαταστήσαι τὸν πόρον εἰς τὴν προὔπερξασαν τάξιν.—Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxxix. tom. ii. p. 279. ed. Bip.

† 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 (αἰγιαλόν) on the Egyptian side, and to the opposite extremities or headlands of the corresponding coast on the Arabian: πλῆξαντες Μωυσείως κατακρουτὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, τὸ πᾶν ὑπερβάλλει πύλαγος, ἕως ἄκρου τῆς ἀντικειμένης ὀχθῆς.—Ap. Hist. Byzant. p. 102. His description applies most graphically 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 Tawarik 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 Red Sea very plainly was, 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, 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 north-east monsoon*, raking in the direction of the gulf, *blows the water out of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb into the Indian Ocean*, where, *being accumulated*, 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 Red 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 back*, by a *strong east wind*, all that night, and made *the sea dry land*, and the waters were divided.'

Now here is the same agency, an east wind, operating miraculously, with the self-same effect with which it operates naturally, to this day, in the Straits 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 difference being, that what occurred once only in the history of the world supernaturally between Wady Tawarik and the opposite coast, occurs annually and naturally in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. The accounts of Wisdom and Diodorus stand thus circumstantially corroborated, 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

fathoms in depth. Let us now take Bruce'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 Scripture, was a work of time; and the agency employed

to effect it was *identical* with that which produces precisely similar effects at Bab-el-Mandeb.

We return to the Scriptural account of the miracle, and to the twofold agency\* there represented as employed 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 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 Judæus: ῥῆξις θαλάσσης, ἀναχώρησις ἑκατέρου τμήματος, i. e. ῥῆξις, the effect of the rod: ἀναχώρησις, the effect of the wind. Ph. Jud. Op. p. 691.

‘smote the dust of the earth, and all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.’

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 night, 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 question; 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

opposite or Arabian coast. Now difficult as this question 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 *Ayûn 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 Ayûn Mousa. If so, his headquarters (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 interesting 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 coincidence 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 Ayûn 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 travellers, to the judgment of men of science. The evidence 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 Ayûn 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 embouchures are, Wady Mousa, W. Reyaneh, W. Kurdhieh, W. el-Ahtha, W. Sudr, W. Wardan. I shall 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. AYÛN MOUSA speaks for itself.
2. W. REIANEH, or Reiyâneh, appears to be a derivative of رن *rana*, viz. رني *rani*, and with the article, الرني *ar-rani*, Populus, 'The People.' This name, therefore, signifies 'The Valley of the People.'
3. W. KURDHIYEH, apparently from كرح *hardah*, signifies, transitively, Collegit, congregavit *homines*; and, as a substantive, means 'The Valley of the Congregation.'
4. W. EL-AHTHA, derived from اتا *âtâ*, Venit, denotes, in the form اتى or اتيو *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 صدر *sadar*, and most



distinctly applies (whether designedly or otherwise) to the case of the Israelites. صدر *sadar*, Redditus ab aquâ, *Return from, or out of, the water.* But still more home, صادر *sadur*, Homines ab aquâ du-cens via, 'A road leading men up from the water.' This last definition applies to the Israelites with a specialty which tells us *it belongs to them.*

6. W. WARDAN. This last name certainly comes from وارد *warud*, the opposite of صدر *sudr*. It literally means *entering into*, instead of *coming up out of*, the water. But both names apply alike to the Israelites: 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 وردان *wardan*, in full, describes the Israelites with a graphic force applicable to no other case or people: namely, واردون *wardun*, plur. وارد *rou*, Aquatores, '*The Watermen:*' from وارد *ward*, Descendens, adiens, 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 Scripture 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.

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### 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

a line of demarcation which placed a space of two thousand cubits, or two thirds of a Roman 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 injunction 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 thousand 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 sacerdotal 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 Zaretan; 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: Jordan was driven back.’

And again :

‘What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest ?  
Thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back ?’

These two verses settle the whole question. The river and the sea were equally cleared out. The extent of the array in line at the one, is the just measure 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 word employed in Scripture to describe them, may be signally elucidated, in conclusion, from the contrast presented by two later miracles at the river Jordan: the passages, namely, of Elijah and Elisha. In the former examples 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 back all that night.'

In the case of Elijah and Elisha, no second action occurs; and why? Because no similar result was required. 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 stood alone by

the bank of Jordan. They crossed together, and Elisha recrossed alone. The space required was for the passage of a single man; and nowhere is the economy of miracle more beautifully exemplified than in the account 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 'dryshod.' The mantle of Elijah 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 interpretative 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

of the 'strong east wind,' to make, as Isaiah 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 returned 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 returned 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-

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 born 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 discriminative 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 commentators. Amama has done it full justice: 'Ubi agit de exsiccatione Jordanis utitur auctor voce טפנינך, cum affixo 2 personæ; ubi verò de exsiccatione Maris Rubri, usurpat vocem טפנינו, cum affixo primæ personæ. . . . Quin non sine causâ vocem eam cum alio affixo iteravit Spiritus Sanctus. Cùm enim omnes, quos ibi alloquitur, transivissent Jordanem, utitur pronomine secundæ personæ ubi de ejus transitu agit. At ex iis qui Mare Rubrum sicci trajecerant, ipse cum Calebo supererat, reliquis, quos hic alloquitur, maximam partem necdum natîs. Ideo mutat personam.'—*Amama* in loc. *ap. Crit. Sacr.*



## CHAPTER IX.

## STATIONS OF ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE recovery of the Stations of Israel in the wilderness 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 lie concealed in the unknown recesses of the *Tih*, 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 modern travellers, sometimes even without their seeming aware of their own discoveries. In this state of the question, the best service, perhaps, that can be rendered it will 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 identifications, in the present work, of *Dophkah* with the Wady *Dughade*, the valley leading directly from the sea and the wilderness of Sin to Serbâl, or Mount Sinai; and of *Alush*, the next station to *Dophkah*, with *el-Hesueh*, a copious spring and stream between Wadys *Dughade* and *Firân*, the latter being, according to all the ancient authorities, the site of *Rephidim*, the next station to *Alush*.

Burckhardt's identifications of *Marah* with *Ain Hawarah*, of *Hazeroth* with *Huderah*, and of *Sarbut-el-Khadem* with *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, rise above probability, 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 *Mukberah*, in the neighbourhood of *Sarbut-el-Khadem*. *Rithmah*, the next station to *Hazeroth*, has its name very clearly preserved in the *Ratheni* or *Rathemi* of Ptolemy, and in the *W. Rathumat* of Wilson, in the same latitude 30'.

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 representatives, so far as is yet known, in the classical

or the modern geography of the country. In compensation, however, for this great hiatus, the darkness is as suddenly dispelled, and a burst of light most unexpectedly breaks in upon us in the very heart of the Tih. How the acute eye of Robinson 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 Rütter'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"; and *Hor-Hagidgad* most perfectly, the radicals letter for letter, in the Wady el-*Ghâdhâgidh* or *Gadgad* (for the vowels are interpolated), in long. 34' 40", lat. 30' 5", in (as I have already said) the very heart of the Tih. Now, if the identifications here rested on the names alone and the fair probabilities 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, consequently, two days' journey between *Moseroth* and *Hor-*

Hagidgad, and three days' journey between Hor-Hagidgad 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-Ghâdâgîdh, giving to the Israelites two days' journey, at  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles per day. Again, Wady el-Ghâdâgîdh is precisely  $37\frac{1}{2}$  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  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles per day. These measurements, coupled with the absolute identity of the names, are decisive of the question before us. The Wady el-Mazeirah and the Wady el-Ghâdâgîdh are to a certainty 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 disturbing of all previous calculations, the average day's journey of the Israelites. Instead of the diverse and disputed computations of modern travellers, fluctuating between 10 and 15 or 16 miles, we have here the absolute certainty that the average rate of travel of the Israelites was 12 or  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles a day. This result bears with great force upon Burckhardt's identification of Marah with Ain Hawarah, where the distance from

Ayûn Mousa, the first landing-point, is exactly 36 miles; thus giving the precise Scripture measurement of the distance, viz. 'three days' journey into the wilderness.' It equally affects the question of the true sites of Elim, of the encampments by the Red Sea and in the wilderness of Sin, and of the true Mount Sinai, which, on this ground alone, can be no other than Mount Serbâl.

It is obvious how greatly the reduplication of the word, in the examples of Hor-Hagidgad and Ghâdâ-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 Travels 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.

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 *Hor*, 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-Ghâdghâd, or el-Ghâdâgîdh. 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 ה or ال prefixed.

In Deuteronomy x. 7 the name of this station is repeated without the *Hor* prefixed, viz. הגדגדה *Gadgadah*, in the Arabic version rendered by جد جد *Djaddjad* or *Gadgad*. The identity of these forms, גגדג and جد جد 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: הר הגדגד *Hor-Hagidgad*, حور الجدد *Hor-el-Djaddjad*. The Arabic حور *hor* here stands obviously as the synonyme for *wady*:\* حور denoting,

\* It is observable that in Deut. x. 7, the prefix *Hor* is omitted, the name being written *Gudgadah*, הגדגדה; a form identical with the present Arabic name جد جد *Ghadaghyd*.

Locus in quo aqua colligitur, A place of the gathering together of waters.

In consequence of his mistaking the native Arabic name for an original Hebrew compound, Crudens has fallen into the error of translating it 'The Hill of Felicity.' The sense is altogether wrong. Golius defines جاد جاد *djaddjad*, 1. Via dura et plana; and, 2. Puteus multæ aquæ. Compare, now, with Bruce's *Hor*, a *Wady*, a *Valley*, and with these definitions, Robinson's description of Wady el-Ghâdhâgîdh:

'A somewhat steep descent brought us to the broad sandy valley, Wady el-Ghâdhâgîdh, which drains the remainder of this region between the Jerâfah and el-Mûkrâh, and carries *its waters* eastward to the Jerâfah. We encamped in this Wady at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  o'clock, near its northern side.\*'

Here, then, irrefragably lay the station of the Israelites 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 justness 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 from a description in Deuteronomy of an adjoining Israelite station in these very localities: 'And the children of Israel took

\* Bibl. Res. vol. i. p. 267.

their journey from *Beeroth*, of the children of Jaakan, to Mosera. From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah; 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'; Gudgodah, we have seen, is a valley full of springs; and Jotbath is, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, 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 light 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 them.

To apply these considerations to the stage of the Exode with which we are here more immediately concerned, the neighbourhood of Moseroth and Hor-Hagidgad. In the surrounding country there still exist apparent traces of the Scripture names of other adjoining stations. Thus *Hash-monah*, the station preceding Moseroth, may very well be identical with *Ain*

el-*Mayein*, a well-watered valley, from its eastern extremity within one day's journey of Wady el-Mazeirah, already identified with Moseroth. The circumstance of its lying to the south-east, instead of to the north of Wady Mazeirah, 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 irremovable, and their names more permanent, commonly, than the names of places, so often no longer existing. The Mount Shapher of Moses, there can be no reasonable doubt, is the Djebel Shafeh of the Arabs, the mountain range lying NNE. of Akabah, and extending from the head of that gulf to the neighbourhood of Petra and Mount Hor. In this range there occur two chief mountains, viz. Djebel Shafeh towards Akabah, 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 Hor-Hagidgad and Jotbathah. The former station we have seen recovered with certainty

in the Wady el-Ghâdhâgîdh 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 *Jot-Bathah* and *el-Beytar* 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, *κατ' ἄξοχῆν*, '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. Bir-Aleim and Bir-Sheba are further and familiar examples. Bir-Beytar thus in all points corresponds with Jotbathah; and may safely 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 *Makheloth* with *Nûkhl* or *Nâkhl*, in all ages a central station of the Tih, on the Hadj route from Cairo to Akabah. It is the Necla of Ptolemy; and so situated,

that it would seem impossible for any wayfarers in the more northern parts of the Tih to pass it without halting. The probabilities, consequently, are very high, that the Israelites halted here: if they did, Nukhl is certainly the Makheloth 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 *Ha-radah*, the single intervening station between Mount Shapher and Makheloth. But it is too near the much later station of Gâdgâd or W. Ghâdhâgidh, and the intervals are far too great for one half-way station, unless there were halts.

Ain *Turfah*, lat. 29' 50'', with more probability, may represent the *Tarah* of the Exode.

The later stations are mostly known, or fairly discoverable. *Mount Hor* 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 Dhuhl, within four miles of Doan, the site assigned for Punon by Saint Jerome.\* *Oboth* is obviously the *Eboda* of Ptolemy, now el-Abdhé.

\* Φινών, ἣν κατέφησαν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου· ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλις ἡγεμόνων Ἐδώμ. Αὕτη ἐστὶ Φαινών, ἐνθα τὰ μέταλλα τοῦ χαλκοῦ, μεταξὺ κειμένη Πέτρας πολέως καὶ Ζοορῶν [*Doan*].—Onomast. ap. Hieron. Op. tom. ii. p. 442.

*Dibon-Gad* is the *Dibon* of Robinson, and possibly the *Gadara* of Ptolemy. Here the Israelites enter the mountains of Moab, and approach the banks of the Jordan. Their five final stations must be sought, and probably will one day be found, in this border region.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES FROM RAMESSES TO BETH-JESIMOTH, presenting in one view the lost names, the recovered names, and the names more or less probably recovered. The restorations considered certain are given in capitals; the more probable in Roman letters; and the less probable in italics.

רַעַמְסֵס	1.	RAMESSES.	
סֹכֹת	2.	Succoth.	
אֶתְנָם	3.	Etham.	
פִּי־חַרְיָבוֹת	4.	PI-HARIBOTH .	Mouth of Wady Tuarik. (Bruce.)
מִגְדֹל	5.	Migdol (and Baal-Zephon)	Light-house, or watch-tower, under Ras Attakah. (Baal-Zephon, Clysma.)
מָרָה	6.	MARAH . . . .	Ain Howarah.
אֵילִים	7.	Elim . . . .	Ain Nasb.
יַם סוּף	8.	THE RED SEA .	Wady Murkha.

סין	9.	SIN . . . . .	Wilderness stretching southward along the sea from W. Murkha.
דפקה	10.	Dophkah . . . . .	Wady Dughade.
אלוש	11.	ALUSH . . . . .	El-Hesueh.
רפידים	12.	Rephidim . . . . .	Hill of Firân.
מרבן סיני	13.	Wilderness of Sinai	Skirts of Mount Serbâl.
קברות חמאוא	14.	KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH	Sarbut-el-Khadem.
חצרת	15.	HAZEROTH . . . . .	Ain Huderah.
רתמה	16.	RITHMAH . . . . .	Wady abu Rathumat, lon. 30' lat. 30'-20'. (Lands of the Bible.) Ratheni or Rathemi of Ptolemy.
רמון פרי	17.	Rimmon Perez.	
לבנה	18.	Libnah . . . . .	Mukrih el-Ibna (so Lachsa or el-Achsa).
ריסא	19.	Rissah.	
קהלאתה	20.	Khelathah . . . . .	Khulassah.
הר שפר	21.	MOUNT SHAPHER	Djebel Shafeh, or Djebel eah-Shefah.
חרדה	22.	Haradah . . . . .	W. er-Raudah.
מקהלות	23.	Makheloth . . . . .	Nâkhl, or Necla.
תחת	24.	Tahath.	
תרה	25.	Tarah . . . . .	Ain Turfah ? lat. 30' 8". (Ritter, <i>ibid.</i> , lat. 30' 11".)
מתקא	26.	Mithcah.	
חשמנה	27.	Hashmonah . . . . .	Ain el-Mayein.
מסרית	28.	MOSEROTH . . . . .	W. el-Mazeirah.
בני יעקן	29.	Bene-Jaakan, or Beeroth	Beyam. W. Lahyan ? so <i>ap. Ptolem.</i> Lathrippa pro Iathrippa: Yathreb or Medinah.

הר הנדנד	30.	HOR-HAGIDGAD .	Wady el-Ghâdâghidh. (جدجد, Terra dura et plana. Puteus multæ aquæ. An exact description of this valley.)
ימבתה	31.	Jotbathah . . .	Bir el-Beytar.
עברנה	32.	Ebronah . . .	Adron. (Ptolemy.)
עצין נבר	33.	EZION-GABER .	Ailah.
קדש	34.	KADESH . . .	Ain Kades.
הר החר	35.	MOUNT HOR . .	Above Petra.
צלמנה	36.	Zalmonah . . .	Maon ?
פונן	37.	PUNON . . . .	Dhuhl, 4 miles from Doan: site of copper mines. دحل, Foveam terræ ingressus fuit: pec. supernè angustam, infernè latam. Per latera fodit puteum. (Gol.)
אבת	38.	Oboth . . . .	Eboda.
עיי העברים	39.	Iji-Abarim.	
דיבן נד	40.	DIBON-GAD . .	Dhibân. (Burckhardt, Robinson.)
עלמן דבלתי	41.	ALMON-DIBLATH-AIM	Nom. prop. oppidi Moabitorum. (Hieron. Onomast.) Et usque hodie ostenditur inter Medaka et Diblati. (Gesenius.)
הרי העברים	42.	The mountains of Abarim.	
ערבת מואב	43.	The plains of Moab.	
בית הישמח	44.	Beth-jesimoth.	

## 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 Serbâl was the true Mount Sinai, I had identified one of the most obscure of the Israelite stations between the Red Sea and Rephidim, namely *Alush*, with *el-Hesueh*, the Arab name of a water-spring, about a half-day's journey, or from six to seven miles, from Firân, the assumed Rephidim, at the foot of the Serbâl; 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 : אלרש (*sec.* Talmud. *turba hominum*). The Talmudic definition suggested the thought of testing my previous identification of *Alush* with *el-Hesueh*, 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 هوش *haush*, and found under it the approximate form الهواشة, *Turba hominum*; being one and the same with the Rabbinical definition of *Alush*. Freytag and Richardson add the reduplicate phrase الهوش الهائش *al-haush al-haish*, as expressing a vast multitude, *multitudo ingens*.

Moses, it follows with moral certainty, has preserved to us the then existing Arabic name *al-Hesueh*, *Turba hominum*, in the Hebrew form אלרש *Al-ush*. For the Hebrew ה, he substitutes the Arabic ال; 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, would 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.

But the form *Alush*, or *el-Hesueh*, 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 Rephidim, 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,—על-אלוש, *الهلوايش* (*Alush* or *El-Hesueh* \*)—‘What a crowd of men!’ 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 form *الهوش* *al-Hush* into the Hebrew form *אלוש* *Al-ush*, by simply dropping the aspirate, is obviously so slight as not at all to interfere with their identification. The Arabic form *الهواشة* *el-huashat* is sufficiently near to the present denomination *el-Hesueh*, to mark them out as varying forms from the same root, *هوش*. The well-known interchangeableness of the *s* and the *sh* is, in the example of *el-Hesueh*, singularly vouched for by the common and very peculiar definition of the Hebrew *אלוש* and the Arabic *الهواشة*, viz. *Turba hominum*.

## CHAPTER X.

## TRUE DATE OF KORAH'S REBELLION.

Levi	Levi	Joseph	Reuben	Levi
Kohath	Kohath	Manasseh	Pallu	Kohath
Amram	Izhar	Machir	Eliab	Amram
Moses	Korah	Gilead	Nemuel, Dathan, Abiram	Aaron
		Hepher		Eleazar
		Zelophehad		Phineas

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 in 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 mentioning 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 discriminated from the judgment on Korah and his company, be it observed that the same discrimination 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 observations upon the sense of Numbers xxvii. 3, for which I am indebted to my valued friend, Charles Sprengell Greaves, Esq., Q.C., see *POSTSCRIPT*, 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 born 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-

ness, the presumption is that he was upwards 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 born 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 Moses 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.



will be observed, exists in the case of Nemeuel, Dathan, and Abiram, who were also of the same generation with Moses. Yet in their case there must have been a wide disparity of age; since it is certain that they had 'little children,' when Moses was a hundred years old. Korah, therefore, although, like them, of the same generation with Moses, must, like them, have been greatly his junior; and Korah's children, like theirs, would be 'little children' at the time of the judgment upon him and them. And as 'the children of Korah died not' (Numbers xxi. 11), they, like those of Nemeuel, would be twenty years old or upwards at the 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, viz. 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 Reuben.

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

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.

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 at Kibroth-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.†

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, 18th, 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.

\* Τῶν ἐκ τῆς μωρᾶς ὀπλισμένων σοφίας.—*St. Basil.*

† See final Note.

15. Foremost among these enactments stands the record of that perpetual miracle, which sheds its light upon 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 commandeth. 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 point, 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.’

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### POSTSCRIPT.

(FROM C. S. GRAVES, 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. xxvii. 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," (בְּרֵשָׁתוֹ, "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 Beer-sheba 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.

## 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 'gainsayer 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.

Moses, heretofore regarded as THE WELL-HEAD of all revealed religion, are posthumous fabrications! 'a pious fraud,' compiled from fabulous traditions, after the lapse of several hundred years, by the prophet Samuel or the prophet Gad, for the benefit of the Israelites of their day! 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 understanding,' observes Glanville, in his *Scepsis*, 'hath its idiosyncrasies, as well as the other faculties') 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 names,' are to be found, both in the classical and in the modern geography of Arabia, disposed along the very lines of country, 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 face of this matter-of-fact 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 modern, geography of the Arabian peninsula, is utterly annihilative of the Anti-Mosaic theories of Bishop Colenso and the whole Anglo-German school. In all countries, 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 *after 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 immaculate truthfulness of the Mosaic annals, which must ever make the cavils of scepticism recoil upon their employers. In the awful words of the Psalmist, applied, not individually, but to the ' hinderer and slanderer of God's Word ' as a caste :

' HIS TRAVAIL SHALL COME UPON HIS OWN HEAD;  
AND HIS WICKEDNESS SHALL FALL ON HIS OWN PATE.'

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