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BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR, PHŒNICIA AND ARABIA.

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THE

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY

OF

ASIA MINOR, PHŒNICIA,

AND

ARABIA.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY THE REV. N. MORREN, A. M.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

Containing an Abstract of the more important Geographical Illustrations of Messrs. ROBINSON and SMITH, in their "Biblical Researches" in Mount Sinai, Arabia Petræa, and Phœnicia.

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The present Volume of the Biblical Cabinet completes the translation of that part of Rosenmüller's work, which relates to the Scripture Geography of *Asia*, (exclusive of Palestine)—the other portions having formerly appeared in the *eleventh* and *seventeenth* volumes.

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1198
Part 12

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ERRATUM.

At p. 6, line 1 of Note 10, for ف اف read داد.

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

ASIA MINOR.

THE name of Asia Minor designates that large peninsula between the 26th and 38th degree of longitude, and the 36th and 42d degree of latitude, which is bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, the Hellespont or Dardanelles, and the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, and on the south by the Mediterranean. It was not till about the fifth century that the name of *Lesser* Asia was given to this peninsula,[1] in order to distinguish it from the rest of Asia, which is of far greater extent. Ptolemy, who wrote in the second

[1] Paulus Orosius Histor. adversus Paganos L. I. Cap. 2. Asia regio, vel, ut proprie dicam, *Asia Minor*, absque orientali parte, quae ad Cappadociam Syriamque progreditur, undique circumdata est mari, a septentrione Ponto Euxino, ab occasu Propontide atque Hellesponto, a meridie mari nostro. Different opinions as to the signification and etymology of the word "Asia" will be found in *Bochart's* Phaleg. Lib. IV. Cap. 33, p. 337, and in *Wahl's* Asia, p. 249, *Note*.

century, calls it "Asia Proper,"[2] and in the New Testament it is simply called "Asia;" Acts ii. 9; vi. 9; xvi. 6. 1 Corinthians xvi. 19. 1 Peter i. 1. Revelations i. 4, 11. The modern name is *Anadoli*, or *Natolia*, from the Greek word *anatoli*, *i. e.* the rising, (namely, of the sun); because, in reference to Greece, and the south of Europe generally, it lies to the east. The French and Italians call this country, for the same reason, the *Levant*, which denotes the *East land.*

This province, extending in length about 200, and in breadth about 100 German miles,* and containing about 12,000 geographical square miles, is, for the most part, mountainous. On the coast of the Ægean Sea, near the promontory of Chelidonia, begins one of the principal mountain chains of Asia, the Taurus.[3] It consists of a long range of lofty snow-clad mountains, which extends first towards the north, and then towards the east, throughout the whole of Asia Minor. The entire country between the two ridges of Taurus and Anti-Taurus, (which run parallel from north-west to south-east,) contains valleys more or less wide, which are separated by

[2] V. 2. Comp. *Cellarius* Notit. Orb. Ant Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 1, § 7, 8.

* A German mile is nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ English.

[3] "The name Taurus is formed from the Oriental word Toōr, Tour, or Taur, which generally signifies *a mountain.* In the Semitic dialects it is commonly written with a *th*, (טור) but in the Japhetic languages of Asia, as well as in Greek, with a *t*, and less frequently with a *d*." *Wahl's* Asia, p. 803. Comp. p. 223, *Note*, and p. 577, 578.

hills that connect the great mountain ranges together. The smaller valleys are better cultivated than the plains, which, notwithstanding a fertile soil, lie, for the most part, waste, and only in the neighbourhood of the thinly scattered villages show any fields or gardens, and rarely a tree.[4] The most important and celebrated river in Asia Minor is the Halys of the ancients, now the Kisil-Irmak,[5] which rises in the Ardgeh Daghler mountains, in the district of Kodje-Hissar, has its course from east to west and then towards the north, and, after flowing through a part of ancient Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus, falls into the Black Sea near Basira. We may likewise notice the Yekil-Irmak, formerly the Iris, which springs not far from Kara-Hissar, and runs into the Black Sea near Samsun; and the Pyramus, now the Djeihan, which empties itself into the Mediterranean. In consequence of the situation of the country, which is surrounded on three sides by the sea, the climate is, on the whole, temperate. The winter is rather severe, but short. In summer the heat is great, but, in some districts, is lessened by the prevalent winds; while, in other districts, where morasses render the air unwholesome, the inhabitants betake themselves, in the hot season, to the neighbouring mountains. The plague not unfrequently causes great devastations. Many tracts in the province have a poor and unfruitful soil, but others have a soil peculiarly fertile; yet scarcely the half of the latter is cultivated. The well-tilled dis-

[4] *Otto von Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 354. Comp. 690.

[5] See *Ker Porter's* Travels, Vol. II. p. 716, et seqq.

tricts yield corn in abundance. Rice is also produced, being particularly excellent near Angora; and at Miles, or Melasso, tobacco is grown, which, next to that raised at Latichea, is the best in Turkey. The saffron of this country is of a superior quality, and several districts yield it in abundance. The finer kinds of fruit are found in great plenty. Olives grow abundantly, and mulberry trees are thickly planted for the sake of the culture of silk; cotton, also, is largely produced. The sheep's wool is coarse; but, to make up for this, they have the celebrated Angora goats hair,[6] which is commonly white, sometimes grey, and very rarely black. It is curled into locks which are often a foot long; the finest is procured from the male kids, when one or two years old. The short and common goat's hair, which grows under the long, and is taken from the skin of the animal when it is dead, is exported to Europe, and used for hats.[7] At the foot of Mount Ida, now Kas Daghi,[8] Pococke found, in the year 1739, mines of silver, lead, copper, iron, and alum,

[6] The Angora goat is the animal of whose hair is manufactured the stuff which in Arabic is called خمل *stratum villosum.*

[7] Several particulars regarding the goats of Angora have been given by the author in a note to his edition of *Bochart's* Hieroz. Tom. I. p. 710.

[8] قاز طاغي *i. e. the Goose Mountain.* This is the name by which Ida is known among the Turks, as we learn from *O. v. Ritcher*, loc. cit. p. 424. According to *Meninsky's* Lexicon Arab. Pers. Turc. Tom. III. p. 940, Kas-Daghi is also the name of the Caucasus.

which, however, did not yield much profit; he also found a copper mine in the district of Angora.[9] Earthquakes have, in modern times, occasioned frequent and severe devastations.

Asia Minor, in the time of the Greeks and Romans, comprehended twelve great provinces, some of which formed occasionally distinct kingdoms or principalities: viz. three in the north, on the Black or Euxine Sea, *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia;* three in the west, on the Ægean sea, *Mysia*, (including Troas and a part of Æolis), *Lydia*, (including a part of Æolis, and the greater part of Ionia), and *Caria*, (including the rest of Ionia and the whole of Doris); three in the south, *Lycia*, with Milyas, *Pisidia*, and *Pamphylia*, with Isauria and Cilicia; three in the interior of the country, forming a kind of triangle, *Phrygia*, (including Lycaonia), *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, which comprised Little Armenia.

Most of these provinces are mentioned in the New Testament, for Asia Minor was the principal scene of the labours of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and their coadjutors in the propagation of the gospel.

1. The province of *Pontus*, which derived its name from the sea that formed its northern boundary, extended eastward from the river Halys as far as to Colchis. It was joined on the west by Paphlagonia, and on the south by Cappadocia. Part of this country was inhabited, in the earliest times, by the Tibareni, so called from the Thubal of

[9] Description of the East, Part III.

the Hebrews.* Ptolemy and Pliny connect Pontus and Cappadocia as one province, but Strabo, on the other hand, rightly considers them as different, for each formed a distinct government, with its own ruler or prince. The Mithridates[10] family reigned in Pontus, that of Ariarathes in Cappadocia. Nature has also separated the two countries from each other by a considerable range of mountains. The Romans, in the time of Augustus, divided the province of Pontus into certain districts with specific names. Next to the river Halys was *Galatian* Pontus, which bordered on Galatia, and was also called Helenopontus. Then followed the Pontus *Polemoniacus*, so called from Polemon, the king appointed by Mark

* See Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 130.

[10] "Mithridates" is formed from the Persian مهر داد *Miher-dad*, as indeed the name is always written by the Armenians. See *Schröder's* Thes. Ling. Armen. p. 396. Hence the more correct orthography of "Meherdates" sometimes occurs. Yet مهر *Miher*, may have been a contraction of مهتر *Mihter*, *i. e.* "Lord." *Miher* or *Mihter* (whence Mithra), does not, as is commonly alleged, denote "the sun," but it is, in the religious system of the Parsees, the name of an *Ized*, or celestial genius, the king of all kings in relation to this world, working in it all things moral and physical. See *Kleuker's* Zend Avesta (abridged), p. 102, *note*. Miherdad means "one given by Miher," having thus a similar sense with the Greek Theodoretus. One of the treasurers of Cyrus, mentioned in Ezra i. 8, was *Mithredat*, מתרדת. Comp. *Simonis* Onomast. V. T. p. 590.

Antony. Farther east lay *Cappadocian* Pontus, extending to the country of the Colchians.[11]

That Jews had settled in Pontus, previous to the time of Christ, is evident from the circumstance, that among the strangers assembled at Jerusalem, on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 9), some are mentioned as being from Pontus. Christianity also became very early known in this country. The Apostle Peter addressed the first of his epistles to the strangers "in Pontus," (1 Peter i. 1). Of this province Aquila, the tent maker, was a native. He had settled in Rome, but, on the expulsion of all the Jews, by the emperor Claudius, he went to Corinth, where (according to Acts xviii. 2, 3, 18, 26), he became acquainted with the Apostle Paul, (who followed after the same occupation), and being converted to the faith of Christianity, he was employed as an assistant in its extension. When Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, Aquila was again in Rome, (Romans xvi. 3); but we find him afterwards at Corinth. 1 Cor. xvi. 19, see also 2 Tim. iv. 19.

Pontus, once a satrapy of the great kingdom of Persia, became, about four hundred years before the Christian era, an independent state under Mithridates, a descendant of the Persian prince Artabazes. It continued to be governed by a succession of powerful and renowned kings, most of whom were called Mithridates. The most celebrated of them was the sixth of the name, whom

[11] See *Cellarius*, loc. cit. Tom. II. Lib. III. Cap. 8, Sect. III. § 63 and 89, et. seqq. Comp. *Mannert*. Part VI. Div. I. 2, p. 350, et seqq.

Cicero considered the greatest prince of Asia, after Alexander. He had formed the design of making himself king of all Asia, but having thereby excited the jealousy of the Romans, their enormous power at last subdued him, after a long and obstinate struggle. Under Nero, Pontus became a Roman province, for Polemon II. wishing to marry Berenice, the sister of king Agrippa, gave up Pontus to Nero, and only reserved for himself a part of Cilicia.

The principal towns in Pontus were *Amasia*, the residence of the ancient kings of the country, and the birth place of the geographer Strabo;[12] *Themiscyra*, the first abode of the Amazons; *Cerasus*, a sea port, whence the Roman consul Lucullus transplanted the first cherry-tree to Rome, from which circumstance that fruit received its name in Latin, as well as in other European languages of Latin descent; and *Trapezus*, now Trebizond, near to Colchis, and which the Romans allowed to retain its freedom. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, Trapezus was the capital of the dukedom or empire of Trebizond, founded by Alexis Comnenus, which, 257 years after, was invaded and destroyed by Mohammed II. The Sampsane,[13] mentioned in 1 Maccabees xv. 23, along with other districts and

[12] A description of the romantic vale in which this town lies is given in *Ker Porter's* Travels, Vol. II. p. 706; and there is a view of it in plate 87.

[13] In the printed editions there is Σαμψάκη, for which, however, very probably, we ought to read Σαμψάνη with the Vatican M.S. and the Syrian translator. See *J. D. Michaelis*' note to his German Transl. of the First Book of Maccabees, p. 320.

towns of Asia Minor, is probably the same place as Abulfeda[14] calls Samson or Samsun, the name which it still bears. It lies near the mouth of the river Yekil-Irmak, (the Iris of the ancients), has a good harbour, and is a considerable trading town of about 500 Mohammedan and 200 Christian families.[15]

2. *Paphlagonia*, called by poets *Pylœmenia*, was separated on the east from Pontus by the river Halys, and on the west from Bithynia by the river Parthenius, now the Bartin. On the north the Black Sea was the boundary of the province, and on the south Galatia. It appears to have derived its name from the raging and tumultuous waves of the stormy, restless sea which washes its shores. The eastern part has high mountains, but the western is a fruitful plain, well watered by small rivers. The most important town is Sinōpe, now Sinob, on the river of the same name, where it empties himself into the Black Sea. It lies on a neck of land, and has harbours and dockyards on both sides. It was once a splendid and flourishing commercial city, and formed an independent republic, having subdued the country around. Diogenes the Cynic was born there.

3. *Bithynia* was separated on the east from Paphlagonia by the river Parthenius; on the west the boundaries were the Propontis and the Thracian Bosphorus, as far as the river Rhyndacus, (now the Mehullidj); on the north a part of the Black Sea,

[14] In the Description of Armenia, or note 21 of *Michaelis*, in loc.

[15] Comp. *Ker Porter*, loc. cit. p. 696.

and on the south Phrygia and Galatia. The chief river is the Sangarius, the modern Sakari, which, after receiving several small rivers in its course, flows into the Black Sea. The western part of the province contains the lofty wooded mountain range Olympus; elsewhere the country is level, and productive of corn, wine, pasture, and timber, the latter being much employed for ship-building. In the time of Xenophon there were no towns properly so called, but only large open settlements. Of the cities afterwards built, the most remarkable were: *Prusa*, now Brussa, or Bursa,[16] at the foot of Olympus, still the largest and finest town in Asia Minor, and the residence of a Pacha; *Nicomedia*, now Is-Nikmid,[17] called after its founder, Nicomedes king of Bithynia, situated at the end of the bay of Artecan, on the sides of two hills, which reach to the shore,—once the splendid capital of the country, and where Constantine the Great was baptized; *Nicaea*, or Nice, formerly Antigonia, now Isnik,[18] on the Lake of Ascania, in a fruitful plain, once one of the largest and finest towns of Bithynia, and where, in the year 325, the first general council was held against the Arians,—now an unhealthy place of not more than 300 houses; and *Chalcedon*, now Kadikyoi,[19] on the

[16] See *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part III. *Le Chevalier's* Voyage to the Propontis and Euxine Sea; and *O. v. Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 460, et seqq.

[17] See *Pococke*, Part III. *Ker Porter*, II. p. 732.

[18] *Pococke*, Part III. *Le Chevalier*, loc. sit. *Richter*, p. 378.

[19] *Le Chevalier*, ibid. *Ker Porter*, II. p. 737.

Bosphorus, where, in the year 451, the fourth general council was held against the Eutychians, now only a village. That Christian congregations were formed at an early period in Bithynia, is evident from the Apostle Peter's having partly addressed the first of his Epistles to them. The Apostle Paul (according to Acts xvi. 7), was inclined to go into Bithynia with his assistants Silas and Timothy, but was prevented from doing so.

4. *Mysia* is bounded on the north by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora, and on the west by the Hellespont; on the east it is separated from Bithynia by the river Æsepus,[20] and on the south it joins Æolis. But that district was latterly included in Mysia, so that, with these extended limits, Mysia was separated from Ionia and Lydia by the river Hermus, now the Sarabad or Djedis. It was divided into *Greater Mysia*, traversed by the river Caicus, now the Bakirtshai,[21] (Copper river), which flows into the Ægean sea; and *Lesser Mysia*, the northern part, which lay on the Hellespont and Sea of Marmora. On account of its fertility in corn and wine, the ancients set a high value on this province, and it is still esteemed one of the finest tracts in Asia Minor. "I was now crossing," says a late traveller,[22] "the magnificent region of Mysia; it consists partly of meadows, partly of cultivated fields, (adorned with the most picturesque groves full of nightingales), partly of moderately sized heights,

[20] *Richter*, p. 423.
[21] *Ibid.* p. 492.
[22] *Richter*, p. 415.

covered with shrubs and brushwood, yet susceptible of cultivation. Upon the whole, the excellent soil is but poorly tilled, unless near the thinly scattered villages in the valleys, which, nevertheless, present, with their inhabitants, a picture of great misery."[23]

In Northern or Lesser Mysia, was *Troas,* the district of the town of Troy, the Ilion of Homer. Its site was near the modern village of Bunar-Bashi, and not far from the forty springs of the Scamander; or, as others suppose, it was rather in the neighbourhood of the village of Tshiplak. The later built Troy, which received many privileges from Alexander the Great, lay thirty stadia west of this ancient Ilium, on the coast of the Ægean Sea. The town of Troas, or Alexandria Troas, now Eski-Stambul,[24] (*i. e.* Old Stambul), is in a different locality from both these places. It was a famous Roman colony, distant about fifteen or twenty miles from the second Troy, and situated on an eminence opposite the Island of Tenedos. The Apostle Paul was twice at Troas, (Acts xvi. 8; xx. 6, et seq.) During his second residence there, he restored to life a young man called Eutychus, who had fallen down from a window. Paul also mentions this town in 2 Cor. ii. 12. 2 Tim. iv. 13.

Assos is another town of Lesser Mysia, mentioned in the New Testament. It is situated on the Gulf

[23] *Richter*, p. 460, et seqq.

[24] *Pococke*, Part III. *Richter*, p. 462: "The whole country is full of the finest oaks, which overshadow not only the sides of the mountains, but even the roads and fields. The ruins lie concealed in the heart of a deep wood."

of Adramyttium, opposite the island of Lesbos or Mitylene, and is now called Beiram.[25] It is a miserable village, built high upon the rocks towards the side of the land. Paul came hither from Troas, on foot, to meet with his friends, in order to take shipping for Mitylene (Acts xx. 13, 14.)

In Southern or Greater Mysia, is the remarkable place called *Pergamus*, (now Bergamo,) situated on the north bank of the river Caicus, at the base, and on the declivity of two high and steep mountains, (on one of which stands a dilapidated castle,) and six to seven leagues distant from the sea.[26]

[25] The ruins and antiquities here, which are both considerable and interesting, have been described by *Richter*, p. 465, et seqq.

[26] The Plain on which Pergamus lay, as well as the modern town, is described by *Thomas Smith*, chaplain of the English factory of Smyra, who, in the year 1671, visited the sites of the Seven Churches of Asia, mentioned in the Revelation of St. John. His work is entitled Epistolae duae, quarum altera de moribus et institutis Turcarum agit, altera Septem Ecclesiarum Asiae notitiam continet, Oxford, 1672, small 8vo. He says, p. 110: Hic omnia ad luxuriem a natura composita esse videntur, nec fortasse vix alicubi terrarum par planities reperienda est. Viginti sex milliaribus [Anglicis], aut circiter, in longum extenditur, antequam aequalitatem ipsius abrumpat vel unus colliculus. Post quem multo longius excurrit in Notapeliotem, variae autem est latitudinis, ubi amplior est quinque milliaria occupat. Illius partem tegunt oleae; pars culta est; partem depascunt numerosi greges. Ad Boreazephyrum amnis, ni fallor, Caetius, perparvo aquarum decursu fluit, a Pindaso monte ortus, ad austrum vero Caicus, quem ad mille passus ab urbe trajecimus. Hic quoque pleraque ex parte lenissime decurrit alveum Hermo dimidio minorem habens, quem pluviis ubertim cadentibus, et nivibus in vicinis montibus li-

The eastern part of the town now lies waste. The other part is almost entirely inhabited by Turks, there being only a few poor Greek Christians, who have a church. About two centuries and a half be-

quefactis adauctus transgredi solet, et campos inundare, unde urbs est aditu perquam difficilis tempore hiemali ob paludes. Effunditur in sinum Elaeensem, non procul ab Elaea Aeolidis, hodie a Turcis, ni male memini, Ayasman dicta, ad Occidentem. Hinc merces aliaque Pergamum devehuntur (nec enim propius accedunt naviculae), a quo foristan duodecim millia passuum distat. Amnis autem hic limes est, qui Aeolidem a Mysia disterminat.—Pergamus, olim metropolis Mysiae Olympicae, perparva variatione a Turcis dicta Bergamo, sexaginta fere quatuor mille passus versus Circium a Smyrna dissita, sub praealto et praecipiti monte jacet, a quo adversum flatus Boreales satis munitur. Urbi imminet arx in vertice montis posita, ab antiquis Asiae minoris dominis exstructa, quod innumeris indiciis patebat: hanc Turcae jam ab omni suspicione belli securi, et sibi ab hostibus in hisce regionibus mediterraneis neutiquam metuendum esse censentes, negligunt, utpote tormentis reliquoque apparatu bellico destitutam. . . . . Dum plateas curiose lustrarem, mihi aedificia pulchra e quadrato lapide exstructa, quae adhuc durant, quam maxime placuerunt. Paene credideram, Turcas non illic habitare, Pergamumque ipsis non cessisse; adeo omnia nitebant. Non possem quin primo adspectu huic metropoli gratularer, quod tam bene cum ipsa actum esset prae ceteris, quarum splendidae aedes solo aequantur, iisdemque fundamentis angusta tuguriola et gurgustia e luto sole cocto, nulla arte, nullis ornamentis, constructa insistunt. Sed me ab hac placida cogitatione cito abripuere ingentes ruinae in orientali urbis regione extantes, quibus equidem vivis, eo gravior animum concussit moestitia, quo antea laetabar. . . . . Magis ad orientem, versus planitiem, ecclesiae cathedralis, olim D. Joannis memoriae consecratae, ruinas vidi: e latere condita est, quinquaginta sex passus longa, lata triginta duos. Parietes altum assurgunt, duobus fenestrarum ab alterutra parte ordinibus superimpositae. In ipsa ecclesiae nave

fore the Christian æra Pergamus became the residence of the celebrated kings of the family of Attalus, and a seat of literature and the arts. King Eumenes, the second of the name, greatly beautified the town, and increased the library of Pergamus so considerably that the number of volumes amounted to 200,000. As the Papyrus shrub had not yet begun to be exported from Egypt, sheep and goats' skins, cleaned and prepared for the purpose, were used as manuscripts; and, as the art of preparing them was brought to perfection at Pergamus, they, from that circumstance, obtained the name of *Pergamena* or parchment.[27] The library remained in Pergamus after the kingdom of the Attali had lost its independence, until Antony removed it to Egypt, and presented it to Queen Cleopatra.[28] The valuable

aliquot restant columnae, sed adeo mutilatae, ut a debita altitudine maxime deficiant. . . . Urbs fere tota occupata est a Turcis, paucissimis illic Christianorum familiis hodie relictis, quorum status admodum tristis et deplorandus est. Hic una ecclesiola S. Theodori memoriae sacrata restat, et ne nomen Christi in Pergamo penitus deleretur, pia Metropolitae Smyrnensis cura cautum est, qui sacerdotem ad fungendum sacris officiis ad ipsos continuo mittit. Hortorum culturae maxime vacant, aliaque vilia obeunt munera, quibus si pauculos nummulos exactoribus rigidissimis pro capite pendendos corradant, de ceteris vix sunt solliciti, utpote servituti tam deploratae adeo addicti, ut ad eam longo usu et patientia paene occalescant. Comp. *O. v. Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 488.

[27] *Plinii* Hist. Nat. XIII. 11. Comp. *J. G, Rambach's* Archæological Researches, (or *Potter's* Archæologia Græca, Part III.), p. 299, et seqq.

[28] *Plutarch's* Antony. Cap. 58, Tom. V. p. 202 of Reiske's Edit.

tapestries, called in Latin, *Aulaea*, from having adorned the hall (*aula*) of King Attalus, were also wrought in this town. The last king of Pergamus, Attalus II., bequeathed his treasures to the Romans, who took possession of his kingdom also, and erected it into a Roman province, under the name of "Asia Propria."[29]

One of the seven churches of Asia Minor, to which John addressed the book of Revelation, was at Pergamus. He commends this church for their fidelity and firmness in the midst of persecutions, and in a city so addicted to idolatry. "I know," it is said (ch. ii. 13,) "thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is; and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth." Now there was in Pergamus, a celebrated and much frequented temple of Æsculapius, who probably there, as in other places, was worshipped in the form of a living serpent, fed in the temple, and considered as its divinity. Hence Æsculapius was called the God of Pergamus; and, on the coins struck in that town, Æsculapius appears with a rod encircled by a serpent.[30] As St. John mentions, (xii. 9,) the Great Dragon and the Old Serpent, there is scarcely room

[29] See Martial's Epigrams, Book IX. 17.

[30] *Beger's* Thesaurus, Tom. I. p. 492. *Richter*, (loc. cit. p. 492), found among the ruins of this city, before the door of a bath, a circular altar, adorned round about with a *relievo* of bay berries, which hang on the heads of oxen, and upon one side a laurel tree, around which the holy serpent of Æsculapius winds itself.

to doubt, that, when he says in the above passage, that the church of Pergamus dwelt "where Satan's seat is," he alludes to the worship of the serpent, which was there practised.[31]

5. *Lydia* is bounded on the east by Greater Phrygia, on the north by Aeolis or Mysia, on the west by Ionia and the Ægean sea, and on the south it is separated from Caria by the Meander. The country is for the most part level. Among the mountains, that of Tmolus, now the Bosdaghi, was celebrated on account of its saffron and red wine. From it spring the rivers Pactōlus and the Kaystrus, or Lesser Meander, now the Kutshuk Minder, which falls into the Ægean sea, not far from Ephesus, and which, along with the adjacent meadows, is celebrated for its swans. In ancient times gold was found in the sand of the Pactōlus, but, before the age of Strabo, it had disappeared. That river joins the Hermus, which comes from Phrygia, and runs into the Gulf of Smyrna.

Lydia appears to be noticed in Scripture so early as to find a place in the ethnographical table in the tenth chapter of Genesis, (x. 22), under the name of *Lud;* and hence the Lydians would seem to have descended from the fourth son of Shem. It is related in the first book of Maccabees, (viii. 8), that Antiochus the Great was compelled by the Romans to cede Lydia and other provinces to king Eumenes. Another people called Lud, most probably African,

[31] *Josephus* Antiq. Book I. Cap. 6, § 4. *Bochart's* Phaleg. Lib. II. Cap. 12.

are noticed, Genesis x. 13. Isaiah lxvi. 19. Jeremiah xlvi. 9. Ezekiel xxvii. 10; xxx. 10.

Three towns of Lydia are mentioned in the New Testament: Thyatira, Sardis, and Philadelphia. *Thyatira*, which was called in earlier times Pelopia, and was a Macedonian colony, is the northernmost of these towns. It lies between Pergamus and Sardis, at the base of a mountain, in a beautiful plain, through which flows the river Lycus, now called the Goerduk. It is still a considerable place, but is ill-built and dirty: its modern name is *Ak Hissar*, *i. e.* White Castle.[32] Ruins of large edifices, columns of

[32] *Smith*, loc. cit. p. 121: "Thyatira, urbs Lydiae, hodie a Turcis *Ak-hissar* اق حصار, *i. e.* album castrum nuncupata, a Pergamo quadraginta octo aut circiter milliaribus distantia in planitie conduntur. Hic omnia primo adspectu adeo sordebant, ut urbem hanc non a prioribus Asiae minoris incolis, qui pulchris aedificiis delectabantur, eorumque magnificentiae et nitori studebant, sed a Turcis ab origine plane habitatam esse, paene contra fidem historiae suspicari ausus essem: unicum enim aedificium antiquum invenimus, quod forum olim fuïsse videbatur, columnis ornatum, quarum quatuor tantum eminent, ceteris multum defixis in terrâ. Sed ecclesiarum dirutarum ne exstant quidem vestigia. . . . . Hanc autem urbem esse Thyatira ex antiquis commentationibus et quibusdam inscriptionibus illic repertis jam extra omne dubium ponitur, licet Graeci hodierni, qua profundâ et plane prodigiosâ harum antiquitatum ignoratione laborant, Tiriam, oppidulum, quod ab Epheso viginti quinque mille passus ad Notapeliotem distat, pro iisdem sumendum esse contendant, affinitate soni decepti." Smith then introduces several of the ancient Greek inscriptions found here, in which the magistrate of Thyatira is mentioned. Comp, *Richter*, loc. cit. p. 509.

temples and palaces, and several ancient monuments with Greek inscriptions, attest its former splendour. Manufactures and commerce flourished in the town, but the inhabitants were reproached for their immorality. Thyatira was the birth place of Lydia, the dealer in purple, who was converted to Christianity by the preaching of the Apostle Paul at Philippi in Macedonia, (Acts xvi. 14, 15, 40). Another of the seven churches, to which John addressed the "Revelation," was here, (Rev. i. 11). He commends this church, (ii. 18, et seqq.), on account of many of its members being sincere professors of Christianity, but, at the same time, he reproves several of them as having suffered themselves to be seduced by a woman, who represented herself as a prophetess, and whom he calls Jezebel, in allusion to the impious queen of Israel,[33] who introduced impure and idolatrous worship into that country, (1 Kings xvi. 31).

Sardis was the chief town of Lydia, and the residence of the Lydian kings, until the time of Croesus, who was subdued by Cyrus of Persia. It is situated

[33] Those who hold the opinion, that by the name "Jezebel," in the above cited passages of the Apocalypse, we are to understand generally the false teachers in the church at Thyatira, do not seem to have duly weighed the reasons assigned for rejecting that opinion, which have been advanced by *P. E. Jablonsky* in his profoundly erudite and acute Dissert. de Jezabelé Thyatirenorum pseudoprophetissa, in his Opuscula ed. Te Water. T. III. p. 225, et seqq. As to the church of Thyatira, comp. Fred *Stosch's* Demonstratio existentiae ecclesiae Thyatirae adversus Alogos, &c. in his Symboll. Litterr. T. II. P. 1. and his Dissertat. de Moribus Thyatirenorum. Lingen, 1747.

on the river Pactōlus, in the fertile plain below Mount Tmolus. Wealth, pomp, and luxury characterized this city from very ancient times: it prospered alike under the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman governments. Tiberius, after it had been destroyed by an earthquake, caused it to be rebuilt. One of the seven Christian churches, to which John addressed the "Revelation," was also at Sardis, (Rev. i. 11; iii. 1—6). A mean shepherd's village, called *Sart*, occupies a small part of the site of this once great and rich city. "At the western base of the castle wall," says a late traveller,[34] "lie a dozen of wretched huts, built of mud, (as Thyatira and all the other places of this district are), and at its eastern extremity is a garden with a mill. Such is the form of the modern Sardis. Between these points the space is occupied by the ruins of walls and churches of comparatively recent erection, in the building of which the large marble square stones of the more ancient edifices had been employed. The foundations of the old walls, which ran out from the mountain, and surrounded the town, are observable in some of the mounds of earth by which they are now covered. In the garden already mentioned, there are still standing the remains of large marble pillars resembling towers, upon which brick arches had been constructed, which are now quite fallen down. The summit of the Tmolus is bare, rocky, and snow-clad: a little lower its heights are covered with wood, and at the base there are high ridges of earth

[34] *Otto v. Richter* in his Wallfahrten, p. 511.

and rocks, with deep ravines, On one of these eminences, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, stood the ancient castle of the governors of Lydia. A concealed, narrow, and steep passage conducts to the walls, near to which, probably, is the place where the Persians appeared before the town."[35]

Philadelphia, about twenty or thirty miles south-east

[35] *Smith*, loc. cit. p. 133: Sardes, quarum nomen adhuc retinetur, a Turcis nuncupatae Sart, in latere celeberrimi montis Tmoli versus septentriones sitae sunt: urbi praetenditur ampla et jucundissima planities, Pactolo ad Eurum, aliisque aquarum fluentis a vicino monte Euronotum scaturientibus, quae in Hermum cadunt, irrigua. Hic primo intuitu subibat animum, quantum vetustas possit, quantum terrae motus, quantum belli furor, sed praecipue quantum ira Numinis, quae hasce intulit clades. Triste erat spectaculum, nec tantae urbis ruinis illachrymari puduit. Sardes in Sardibus quaerebamus. Viculus enim hodie ignobilis est, aedes augustae et humiles, sine splendore, sine ornatu: nec alios fere incolas habet praeter pastores et bubulcos, qui gregum et armentorum in planitie depascentium curam habent. . . In australi urbis regione ingentes exstant ruinae, quibus visis facile in animo concipiebamus, quam magnifica olim fuerit, quam splendida et superba, antequam everteretur. Ad Orientem ecclesiae Cathedralis, ut videbatur, ruinas luximus. Turcae unicam habent Moscheam, pulchram quidem, olim Christianorum templum, cujus propylaeum columnis affabre politis ornatum est. Pauci admodum hic reperiuntur Christiani, ingenti patientiâ, vel potius stupide ac sine sensu, miseram servitutem sustinentes, sed quod longe miserius est, absque ecclesia, absque sacerdote. En deplorandum urbis quondam glorississimae statum! Ad congeriem casularum redacta est Lydiae urbs primaria, et sedes metropolitica destituitur ecclesiola.

of Sardis, and also at the foot of the Tmolus, received its name from its founder Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus. This town was formerly the second in rank in Lydia, and it was so well fortified, even in the Byzantine age, that among all the places of Asia Minor, it withstood the Turks the longest. At last, however, it was taken by Bajazet I. in the year 1392. It is now called Ala-Shaehr, *i. e.* "the High Town." The wall, built in the times of the Greek emperors, still remains. The streets are dirty from the filth that incessantly runs through them: the town, though spacious, is meanly built of mud. There are still standing four strong marble pillars, which supported the dome of a church. The dome itself has fallen down, but its remains may be observed: the arch was built of brick. On the sides of the pillars are inscriptions, and some architectural ornaments, along with the figures of saints. A steep hill, with four flat tops, rises above the town. Across these summits, and the three small vallies between them, runs the town wall, fortified by circular and square towers, and forming also an extensive and long quadrangle in the plain below.[36] One of the seven churches to

[36] *Richter*, loc cit. p. 513. Smith, loc. cit. p. 138: Relictis Sardibus iter Philadelphiam versus prosequimur, fluentis quibusdam a Tmolo ortis, quae uberem et foecundam reddunt planitiem, subinde trajectis; tandem post iter novem horarum illic pervenimus. Philadelphia a Sardibus ad Euronotum viginti septem milliaribus aut circiter distat, in radice montis Tmoli sita, cujus aedes ob clivum, qui leniter assurgit, pendulae videntur, unde fere ab omni parte in planitiem

which the Revelation of St. John is addressed, was also at Philadelphia, Rev. i. 11; iii. 7—14.

6. *Ionia* is bounded by Lydia on the east, and Mysia on the north: on the west it is washed by the Egean or White Sea, and on the south it joins Caria. This maritime province was, from very early times, the most flourishing part of the Peninsula of Asia Minor. From the year B. C. 1144 to the year B. C. 900, several Greek tribes, mostly Ionians, being expelled

subjectam versus septentrionem et orientem prospicere licet. Hodie a Turcis nuncupatur *Alah-Shahr* (اعلي شهر), urbs excelsa, ob hunc situm commodissimum; ceterum nihil, quod pulchrum aut magnificum, in ea reperiri potest. Olim triplici murorum ordine versus planitiem, quum ab altera parte mons pro munimento fuerit, munita, quorum intimus adhuc manet, non integer quidem, utpote hic illic dirutus, cui inaedificantur turres. . . . Nobis maxime displicuit, haec rudera intueri, sed in barbariem Turcicam plane excandescebamus, dum ad S. Johannis ecclesiam, ad euronotum urbis, olim, ut amplitudo ipsius paene demonstrat, Cathedralem, jam sterquilinium factam nos convertimus, in quam purgamenta conjiciunt impuri Turcae. Ad austrum fluit amnis, a monte ortus. Colliculi vineis, quas colunt Graeci, consiti sunt, sed a vino conficiendo, autumno proxime elapso, abstinuerunt, Edicto Imperatoris, quo vetitum erat, territi, ut, prout mihi narravit Graecus Papas, *i. e.* sacerdos, ad sacros Eucharistiae usus vix ipsis suppeteret. Nescio an dicerem, cum posteris eorum, qui in defendenda Christiana religione mortem adeo fortiter oppetiere, ideo melius actum esse: hi enim quatuor hic ecclesias, quae τῆς παναγίας, seu Sanctissimae Virginis, S. Georgii, magnae apud Christianos Orientales famae, S. Theodori, et S. Taxiarchae nominibus insigniuntur, habet, unde eorum numerum neque parvum, neque contemnendum esse, quis facile censeat.

by the Heraclidæ and the Dorians, settled there and built towns. Twelve of these colonies, (among which Miletus, Phocæa, Ephesus, and Smyrna, were the most celebrated), formed, in an extent of nearly a hundred miles, an almost uninterrupted line of buildings, and impressed strangers with a high idea of the state of civilization at which the country had arrived. The harbours were filled with ships from all the countries of the Mediterranean, and the Ionian fleets covered the Egean Sea. We shall here confine ourselves to a notice of the towns of Ionia mentioned in the Bible. Of these, in traversing the province from north to south, the first in order is,—

Smyrna, called by the Turks Ismir. It is situated at the extremity of a gulf, into which runs the small river Melos, and at the foot of a range of mountains, which enclose it on three sides, and upon the highest summit of which stands an old dilapidated castle. Strabo describes this town as the finest in Asia, which, in his time, it was; and even now it is much better built than Constantinople, the metropolis of the Turkish empire. The town was destroyed by an earthquake A.D. 177; but Marcus Aurelius, the Roman emperor, caused it to be rebuilt in more than its former splendour. It afterwards, however, repeatedly suffered from earthquakes and conflagrations. There are few places in the Turkish dominions which have, in proportion to the size, so great a population as Smyrna. From the latest accounts it may be computed at 120,000 souls, of which the Franks compose a greater number than in any other town in Turkey, and they are generally in

good circumstances. Smyrna is the most thriving commercial town in the Levant, with respect both to export and import trade. The Greeks who, next to the Turks, compose the most numerous class of inhabitants, have a bishop and two churches. A Christian church was early planted here, which is noticed in the Revelation of St. John, chap. i. 11, and chap. ii. 8—11.[37]

[37] *Richter*, p. 495 et seq. Comp. *De Bruyns*, Voyage au Levant, p. 23, et seqq. Smith loc. cit. p. 162. Smyrna, hodie a Turcis *Esmir* [ازمير] dicta, in extremo recessu sinus, qui ab utrisque lateribus praealtis montibus cinctus, ab Occidente Orientem versus decem circiter leucis exporrigitur, sita, amne Melete ad septentrionem irrigatur. Adhuc eminet et celebris est, non ob splendorem et pompam aedium (diu enim est, ex quo hae igni, ferro et terrae motibus conciderint), sed ob copiam civium, opes et commercia. In latere montis, et magis ad austrum urbem olim stetisse, e fundamentis, quae inter effodiendum detegunt, aliisque ruderibus, certissime liquet, licet mari jam magis appropinquat. In jugo montis adhuc vetus arx manet, non nisi duobus tribusve tormentis, quae appetente nova luna Beirami, aut quo tempore cum classe triremium portum ingreditur *Capitaneus Bassa*, copiarum navalium Praefectus, explodi solent, munita. . . Inter descendendum a monte, cui arx imposita, amplum Amphitheatrum ad Notapoliotem, quo S. Polycarpus martyrio coronatus erat, intravimus. In cujus lateribus duae cavernae, quibus claudebantur leones, sibi invicem opponuntur. Sepulchrum S. Polycarpi, quod in latere montis versus euro—austrum adhuc conservatur, Graeci die festo ipsius memoriae consecrato, pro more, qui apud ipsos obtinet, solenniter invisunt: situm est in quadam aedicula, ecclesiae forte sacello, alii, per quam illuc transeundum est, contiguâ. . . . Turcae hic tredecim numerant Moscheas, Iudaei suas hic habent Synagogas: inter hos Christiani nominis

Ephesus, once the capital of Proconsular Asia, lay fifty or sixty miles south south-east of Smyrna, near the river Caystrus, about five miles from the coast. At present the heaps of ruins that are a little to the east of the village of *Aya Soluk*, or *Aya Juni*, are all that indicates its site.[38] The first of these names has probably been formed by the Turks from the Greek words "Hagios Theologos," which the modern Greeks pronounce "Agios Seologos," and the second from "Hagios or Agios Joannes," the Greeks believing that the Apostle John, whom they call "the Theologian," was buried here. Ephesus was celebrated from being the emporium of commerce to the countries on this side the Taurus, as well as on account of the Temple of Diana, which was built at the joint expense of several cities of Asia. From its size, beauty, and magnificence, that edifice was considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. According to Pliny's account,[39] all Asia was engaged for a hundred and twenty years in the building. The length was 425 feet, and the

hostes viget quoque religio Christiana; adhuc enim dignitatem Metropoleos retinet Smyrna, licet solae duae Graecorum ecclesiae illic hodie sint, quarum altera S. Georgio dedicatur, S. Photino altera. Armeni unicam habent ecclesiam.

[38] A detailed account of the country, its antiquities and ruins, as also of the temple of Diana, has been given by *Pococke*, in his Description of the East. Part III. p. 66, et seqq., with a plan on plate XLV. Comp. *de Bruyn's* Voyage au Levant, p. 29. Smith, (p. 155,) is in error when he supposes the village of Aya Soluk to be the ancient Ephesus.

[39] Hist. Nat. LXXXVI. Cap. 21.

breadth 220: it was adorned with 127 pillars, sixty feet high. In the year B.C. 356, on the same night that Alexander of Macedon was born, it was set on fire by Erostratus, and so much injured that nothing remained but the outer walls; yet it was soon restored in more than its former beauty and splendour.[40] The wooden image of the goddess Diana in this temple, had, according to the popular belief, fallen down from heaven.[41] Hence the town-clerk of Ephesus said, (Acts xix. 35,) "Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter." The cities in which there were splendid and famous temples of a divinity, were proud of this distinction, and called themselves Neokoroi, *i. e.* wardens of the temple, and attendants on the deity to whom it was dedicated. Coins are still extant upon which the town of Ephesus bears this designation.[42] Demetrius, a goldsmith at Ephesus, (Acts xix. 21,) made small silver temples, which found an extensive sale, both as objects of art and as representations of the great temple of Diana. They also served as repositories for images of Diana, to which the worshippers of the goddess performed their devotions; it being not uncommon, among the Greeks and Romans, to place such small temples of the gods in their

[40] *Strabo*, XIV. 1. 22.

[41] See *Rosenmüller's* Morgenland, Part VI. No. 307, p. 56.

[42] See *Selden's* Marmor. Arundell, p. 571, et seqq.

houses, and also to carry them with them on journeys and during campaigns.[43] Hence it appears, that the worship of Diana of Ephesus having become very extended, Demetrius was enabled to carry on his business on so large a scale as to employ a number of assistants; and these "craftsmen," fearing lest the propagation of Christianity might put an end to their occupation and gains, easily succeeded in stirring up the populace of Ephesus against the apostles; but the prudent conduct of the town-clerk allayed the tumult. Paul had been at Ephesus previously to this occurrence, (Acts xviii. 19,) but had only remained there a short time; on his second visit, however, he remained three months, (Acts xix. 8.) Apollos, also, visited this city, (Acts xviii. 24,) and Onesiphorus was here serviceable to the Apostle Paul, (2 Timothy i. 16, 18.) According to Ephesians vi. 21, 22, Paul sent Tychicus to Ephesus, in order to give the Christians there information regarding his affairs. The church at Ephesus is the first noticed, by John, among the churches of Asia Minor, to which he addressed the Revelation, (Rev. i. 11; ii. 1, 7.)

Trogyllium or Trogyllion, a place on a headland at the foot of Mount Mycale,[44] where, according to Acts xx. 15, the Apostle Paul passed a night on his journey from Assos to Miletus.

[43] Thus, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (XXII. 13,) the philosopher Asclepiades always carried about with him a small silver image of Venus.

[44] *Strabo*, XIV. 1. 13, Καὶ αὐτή δ'ἡ Τρωγίλιος ἄκρα πρόπους τις τῆς Μυκάλης ἐστί. In Acts xx. 15, the name of the place is written Τρογύλλιον.

Miletus, on the southern frontier of Ionia, was, after Smyrna and Ephesus, the most important town of that province. It was famous for the numerous colonies which emigrated from it, and also as being the birth-place of the astronomer Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and of Anaximander the naturalist. There only now remain the ruins of a few palaces and temples near a place consisting of small shepherds' huts at the north of the Meander, called Palat or Palatsha.[45] Paul allowed the elders of the church at Ephesus to accompany him to Miletus, where he took leave of them, with the affecting discourse recorded in Acts xx. 17, and following verses. The apostle left Trophimus, one of his fellow-travellers, sick at Miletus, (2 Tim. iv. 20.) It is uncertain whether the town Melothi, mentioned in the ancient Latin translation of the book of Judith (ii. 13,) along with Cilicia and Tarsis, (as having been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar's general, Holofernes,) be identical with Miletus or not.

7. *Caria*, lying at the south-western extremity of Asia Minor, and extending from the river Meander, or, according to others, from Cape Posideum southwards to Cape Cragum or the Gulf of Glaucus, is bounded on the east by Lycia and Phrygia, on the north by Lydia and Ionia, on the west by the Egean sea, and on the south by the Mediterranean. The

[45] See *Busching's* Geography of Asia, p. 100. The modern Melasso is not, as some suppose, the ancient Miletus, but Mylasa. See *Pococke's* Descript. of the East. Part III. p. 87 of the Ger. Transl.

country is mountainous, and runs out into various head-lands. It is tolerably well watered, though not so fertile as the other western provinces of Asia Minor. In very early times, this country was inhabited by the Phœnicians. The Carians, who accounted themselves the aborigines, were not considered Greeks. Homer calls them[46] "a people of barbarous speech;" and it was believed that they had formerly occupied, under the name of the Leleges, some of the islands of the Ægean, and had thence removed to the continent.[47] They became powerful on the sea, living as pirates, or serving foreign powers for hire, especially the kings of Egypt. They were subdued by Croesus; but they submitted, of their own accord, to the Persians, and it was probably on that account that they were allowed to retain their own kings. A colony of Dorians from Greece settled on the south-west coast of Caria; and that district thence received the name of *Doris*. Their native country being mountainous and barren, they exchanged it for this tract in Asia Minor, and formed, at first, a small independent state, which, however, was soon incorporated with Caria, for Halicarnassus, the chief town of Caria, and the residence of the governors, was situated in Doris, upon an isthmus in the Ceramic Gulf. The place is now called Bodru, or Budron;[48] it is opposite the island of Stanchio, is very small, and inhabited by poor Greeks. Anciently it was a large and rich commer-

[46] Iliad. II. 867. [47] See *Herodotus*, I. 171.
[48] *Büsching's* Geogr. of Asia, p. 102.

cial city. Queen Artemesia erected here, to Mausolus, her brother and consort, the celebrated monument called *Mausoleum.* Of this sepulchral edifice, which was twenty-five ells high, and surrounded by thirty-six marble pillars, there only remain a few uncertain vestiges: it was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.[49] Halicarnassus was the birth place of Herodotus and the two Dionysius', viz. the historian, who lived in the time of the emperor Augustus, and the musician, a contemporary of Hadrian, who composed thirty-six books on the history of music. Among the states and cities connected with the Romans, to which (according to 1 Maccabees xv. 22, 23,) letters were sent by the Roman senate, requesting them not to molest the Jews, the three Carian towns of Halicarnassus, Cnidos and Myndos are also mentioned. Cnidos was situated at the end of the southern peninsula, and had two harbours. Here stood the celebrated statue of Venus by Praxiteles, which was esteemed one of the first master-pieces of ancient sculpture.[50] The Apostle Paul, on one of his voyages, sailed past Cnidos, (Acts xxvii. 7.) Myndos, on the northern side of the isthmus on which Halicarnassus lay, was an insignificant town, and is still a small place, called Menteshe or Mentese. Diogenes, the Cynic, ridiculed the immense gates of this small town.

[49] *Plinii,* Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 5. *Strabo,* XIV. 2. 16. *Vitruvius,* II. 8. VII. Præf. *Aulus Gellius,* X. 18.

[50] *Pliny,* loc cit. *Strabo,* loc. cit. § 15. *Pausanias,* Attica, Cap. 1. § 20.

"Shut," cried he to the inhabitants, "your large gates, lest the town escape through them."[51]

8. *Lycia* was bounded by Caria on the west, the Mediterranean and Syrian seas on the south, Pamphylia on the east, and Phrygia on the north. This province was anciently called Milyas, which name was afterwards applied to the part of Termessus adjoining Caria and Phrygia, as far as to Apamea.[52] The country is very mountainous, the Taurus commencing here beside the Chelidonian, or Holy Cape. Here also was the famous volcanic mountain Chimaera, one of the eight summits of the range of Cragus. The land is well watered by small rivers, which flow from the Taurus. The inhabitants of this region were believed to be descendants of Cretans, who came thither under Sarpēdon, brother of Minos. One of their kings was Bellerophon, celebrated in mythology as the conqueror of the monster Chimaera. Homer mentions two nations in this part of Asia, the Lycians and the Solymi, who were also called Milyi. They were a warlike people, and powerful on the sea. They maintained their freedom against Croesus, but were subdued by the Persians after a bloody resistance, being allowed to retain their own kings as satraps. Their love of independence, however, continued, for they afterwards formed a kind of confederated republic. Twenty-three towns sent deputies to a general diet, where they deliberated on the public affairs of the

[51] *Diogenes Laertius*, Lib. VI. cap. 2. No. 6. § 57.
[52] *Mannert*, Book VI. Div. 3. p. 156.

commonwealth, declared war or peace, settled differences, and elected magistrates. The Romans, after their victory over Antiochus, (B. C. 189,) gave up Lycia and Caria to Rhodes; but, on the Rhodians affording clandestine aid to Perseus of Macedonia, the Romans declared Lycia a free state; in the reign of the Emperor Claudius it became a Roman province. According to 1 Maccabees xv. 23, the Romans sent one of the letters there mentioned in favour of the Jews, to the province of Lycia. There were here a number of towns, but the names of only three of them occur in the Bible: Patăra, Myra, and Phaselis.

Patăra was a large and rich maritime city. King Ptolemy Philadelphus, who enlarged and beautified it, called it after his consort Arsinoë; but this name was seldom given it. Among the numerous temples of this town, that dedicated to Apollo was particularly celebrated; and, next to the Delphian oracle, that of the Patarean Apollo, was most frequently visited. The Apostle Paul, on his voyage from Philippi in Macedonia to Jerusalem, came from Rhodes to Patăra, where, finding a ship about to sail, he embarked for Phœnicia, (Acts xxvi. 1, 2.) Near the ancient Patăra, the ruins of which are still to be seen, is now an insignificant place called Scamandro.

Myra, also one of the six great cities of Lycia, lay about a league from the sea, on a rising ground, at the foot of which flowed a navigable river, which had a commodious harbour at its mouth. The town now lies quite desolate. When the Apostle Paul was on his way from Cesarea to Rome, he landed at

Myra,[53] where he embarked in an Alexandrian ship for Italy, (Acts xxvii. 5.)

Phaselis, situated on a rock,[54] east of Myra, was a town on the Pamphylian frontier of Lycia. It is mentioned, 1 Maccabees xv. 23, among the places which received letters from the Roman senate in favour of the Jews. It was large, had a harbour, and carried on maritime commerce, but was destroyed by the Romans in their war against sea-robbers, because it had concluded a treaty with the pirates of Cilicia, promising them here a place of shelter.

[53] In the Vulgate "Lystra" is found in place of Myra; but it is manifestly an error; for Lystra was not in Lycia (the province mentioned in Acts xxvii. 5,) but in Lycaonia. Besides, Lystra was not a maritime town.

[54] "This town," says *Von Richter*, (in his Wallfahrten, p. 330,) has the most singular and peculiar situation in the world. At the base of the high mountain-chain of Taurus, and at the end of a broad gulf, there spreads along the sea, a fruitful and well cultivated plain. It completely separates from the mountains the oval rock upon which stands Alaya, (the modern name of Phaselis,) and which forms a peninsula, running into the sea from north to south, and having two bays, one to the east and the other to the west; the former seems land-locked, and well sheltered from the wind. The rock is nearly a straight perpendicular on all sides, especially on the south and west. The town is built on the steep eastern declivity; one house rises above another, intermixed with fruit trees and cypresses. The houses are meanly constructed of unhewn stones and mortar, with upper rooms and wooden kiosks, formed of thin lath, and resting on slender piles. The streets wind in a zigzag form, with steps made of rough sharp-pointed lime-stones; they are very inconvenient, and often so narrow that a man of moderate size can pass with difficulty. In some places I was obliged to scramble up on all-fours." Comp. Strabo, XIV. 2. 9.

It is now called *Alaya*, and is surrounded, on the north and east, by a double wall of free stone and broad flat bricks, which, to judge from the Arabic inscriptions over the gates, must have been built in the time of the Seljook dynasty, that is, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

9. *Pamphylia* joins Lycia on the east; on the south it is bounded by the Mediterranean sea, on the north by Pisidia, and on the east by Cilicia. The country is in general hilly: the river Eurymedon, now called Ai Nikola, (St. Nicholas,) flows through it. In the north, the mountains of Taurus gradually diminish in size, and are covered partly with meadow and partly with brushwood. From the numerous ruins of houses, towers, and castles, it is evident that the country must have been formerly very densely inhabited; now, however, there are only to be seen a few poor Nomadic tribes, of Turkish extraction, called *Yuruk*, who, with their small black cattle, occupy the green hills of ancient Pamphylia.[55]

Attalia or *Attalea*, one of the most considerable towns of Pamphylia, is mentioned in Acts xiv. 25, in the account of the travels of the Apostle Paul through Asia Minor. This town is situated on the coast, near where the river Cataractes falls, with a great noise, into the sea from a precipice: it has a harbour, which, however, can only accommodate small vessels.[56] It is surrounded by a fertile district, in which a great quantity of storax is raised.

[55] *Von Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 344.

[56] Strabo, XIV. 3. 1.

The heat is so insupportable in summer, that most of the inhabitants remove, during that season, to the neighbouring mountains. The modern town is composed of three parts, which are divided by walls; there is the lower town, which lies on the sea; the upper town, which is built upon a height towards the north, and the middle town, which lies between the other two. Attalia is the residence of a pacha. The Greeks have here a church and an archbishop.

Perga, on the river Cestrus, about eight or nine miles from the sea, was originally the capital of the whole province; but, on the division of Pamphylia into two districts, Side became the chief town of the First, and Perga of the Second Pamphylia. On a hill near the town stood the temple of Diana of Perga, at which the inhabitants of the surrounding country held an annual festival in honour of the goddess.[57] The Apostle Paul was twice in this town: first when he went from Paphos to the continent of Asia Minor; on which occasion, however, he merely passed through it, (Acts xiii. 13, 14,) and the second time, on his return from Antioch in Pisidia, when he appears to have remained there, along with Barnabas, for several days; since it is said that they there preached the gospel, (xiv. 25.)

Side, a maritime town, with a spacious harbour, in the gulf of Chelidonia, and on the frontier of Cilicia. This town is mentioned, 1 Maccabees xv. 23, among the places to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jews.

[57] Strabo, loc. cit. § 2.

10. *Pisidia*, to the north of Pamphylia, is mostly composed of the range of Taurus. *Antioch*, the most important town of this province, was situated near a lake at the foot of the Taurus. The water of this lake was of so saline a quality, that bodies immersed in it became, in a short time, encrusted with salt. In a synagogue of this Antioch of Pisidia, (so called to distinguish it from other towns of the same name in Syria and Asia Minor,) the Apostle Paul delivered the discourse of which we have an account in Acts xiii. 14—41; but was expelled from it, along with Barnabas, his fellow labourer, at the instigation of the Jews, (ver. 50, compared with 2 Tim. iii. 11.) On its site there now stands an unimportant town, called *Ak Shehr*, *i. e.* White town.[58]

11. *Cilicia* extended from Pamphylia, (from which province it was separated by the river Melas,) eastwards, along the coast of the Mediterranean, as far as to Mount Amanus, which divided it from Syria: on the north it was bounded by the Taurus. Narrow passes are the only roads through these mountain chains: there are two through the Amanus

[58] *Olivier*, Tom. VI. p. 296. "The town of Ak-Shehr, which is supposed by geographers to occupy the site of Antioch in Pisidia, lies very pleasantly, in an uncommonly fruitful country. The water is good and very abundant. The mountain to the west of the town, (which stretches to its base,) is wholly covered with vegetation. To the east is a beautiful, well cultivated plain, in which are several villages. The lake, which is sometimes incorrectly laid down as under the city walls, is distant about two leagues, and seems to be about two leagues in circuit." [Comp. *Arundel's* Discoveries in Asia Minor.—*Tr.*]

and one through the Taurus above Tarsus. The western part of the province being very mountainous, it was called Trachea, *i.e.* "the rough country;" and also "Isaurian Cilicia," because it joined Isauria on the north. The part to the east of Cape Zephyrium and the river Lamus, was, on the other hand, level, and was called "*the plain*," and also *Cilicia Proper*.

This district was peculiarly fertile in grain, fruit, and wine; and the caravans were not prevented by the high mountains from carrying away the natural productions of the country in exchange for foreign commodities. The Cilician breed of horses was also celebrated. The Cilicians who dwelt on the coast were adventurous pirates, who ventured into the Egean and Ionian seas; and, in these cruises, human beings sometimes became the objects of their traffic. The inhabitants of the north subsisted chiefly by the rearing of cattle, those of the east more by the tillage of the soil. In early times the Cilicians had their own independent kings; but the country was reduced by Alexander the Great to a Macedonian province. Afterwards it became a part of Syria, and (upon Pompey's subduing the pirates), it was nominally annexed to the Roman empire, but was not entirely subjugated till A.D. 73, under Vespasian.

The chief town of Cilicia was *Tarsus*, situated in a fertile plain, through which flows the river Cydnus, which the Turks now call, on account of its depth, Kara-Su, *i. e. black water*. It was a large, populous, and rich town, and hence the Apostle Paul, whose

birth place it was, calls it "no mean city," (Acts xxi. 39). In the time of Strabo, (that is, in the first century of our era), it was a seat not only of Grecian but also of Jewish literature.[59] Gamaliel, one of the most celebrated Rabbis, had there gathered around him a numerous school, to which Paul belonged. Although Tarsus, in the time of the apostle, recognized the supremacy of the Romans, yet it was what was called a *free town*, *i. e.* it had the right of choosing its own magistracy, was not amenable to a Roman *præses*, had no Roman garrison, and was governed by its own laws. These things, however, did not confer on the inhabitants of such a town the privileges of "a citizen of Rome;" and when Paul appeals to his prerogatives as a Roman, (Acts xvi. 37; xxvii. 29), he could not have derived them from the rights of his native town, but his ancestors must have obtained them by purchase or otherwise.[60] In the time of Abulfeda, *i. e.* at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, Tarsus was large, and surrounded with a double wall, and was in the hands of the Armenian Christians.[60a] It is now a decayed and poor town, inhabited by Turks,

[59] *Strabo*, XIV. 4. 12, 13.

[60] Comp. *Kuinoel's* Comment. on Acts xvi. 37. That the Tarsus of Cilicia was not, as some suppose, the *Tarshish*, (תַּרְשִׁישׁ) of the Hebrews, is shewn in another part of this work. Comp. Gen. x. 4. Jer. x. 9. Ezek. xxvii. 12. Jon. i. 3; iv. 2.

[60a] Tab. Syriæ, p. 133 of Köhler's edit. Abulfeda reckons Tarsus as in Syria, from its having been a boundary-fortress of the Mahometans against the Greek empire.

Greeks, and Armenians: it belongs to the government of Cyprus.

Mallus was situated east of Tarsus, in "the plain" of Cilicia, upon an elevation on the east bank of the river Pyramus; it was once a town of some prosperity and power. Tradition bore that it was built by Amphilochus and Mopsus, the sons of Apollo and Mantus. According to 2 Maccabees iv. 30, the citizens revolted against king Antiochus Epiphanes, for having set one of his concubines over them; but the tumult was soon appeased. In the district of this town there is still a place called *Malo*.

12. *Cappadocia* is bounded on the east by Armenia, on the south by Pontus, on the west by Lycaonia, and on the south by Cilicia. In very remote times this country extended as far north as the Black Sea, but, in the time of Alexander the Great, the northern part was detached from it under the name of Pontus. In the age of Herodotus, the inhabitants of Cappadocia were called "Syrians," and even in Strabo's days they received the name of "Leuco-Syrians," *i. e.* White Syrians, in contradistinction to those dwelling beyond the Taurus, whose complexion was darkened by the sun. The country is mountainous, and abounds in water; it was celebrated on account of the fertility of its corn-fields, the excellence of its pasturages, and particularly for the good breed of horses, asses and sheep: its cavalry also stood in high repute. Cappadocia was subjugated by the Persians under Cyrus, but after the time of Alexander the Great, it had kings of its own, who bore the common name of Ariarathes.

The tenth of these kings was a son of Mithridates king of Pontus, who, pretending that he was the son of Ariarathes VII., established him on the throne. The Romans detected the fraud, and asserted the freedom of the Cappadocians, who elected Ariobarzanes as their king, and he being protected by the Romans against Mithridates, was repeatedly confirmed by them in his kingdom, and presented by Pompey with several new provinces. Ariobarzanes III. was deposed by Antony, who made Archelaus king of Cappadocia. The latter retained the sovereignty until Tiberius summoned him to Rome, and caused him to be put to death, upon which Cappadocia (A.D. 17,) became a Roman province. Christianity was very early propagated in Cappadocia, for the Apostle Peter, in addressing his first Epistle to the Christian churches in Asia Minor, includes it also, (1 Peter i. 1), without however specifying any particular place in the province. Cappadocians had been present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 9.)

13. *Lycaonia* joins Cappadocia on the east, Galatia on the north, Phrygia on the west, and Isauria and Cilicia on the south, extending in length about twenty geographical miles from east to west. The country is in general mountainous, particularly in the interior, where there is a chain of bare hills, called "the hills of the Lycaonians," on which wild asses find their sustenance. Beyond these hills is a plain, so dry and void of moisture, that, according to Strabo's account, at Soatra or Sabatra, water had to be purchased. These steppes, however, furnished good

pasturage for many hundred herds of sheep. It is uncertain whether the language of the Lycaonians, (Acts xiv. 11), was the ancient Assyrian also spoken by the Cappadocians, (as Jablonsky seeks to prove,[61]) as a corrupted Greek dialect, as is maintained by others.

The chief town of Lycaonia was *Iconium*,[62] which was situated at the foot of the Taurus, in a fertile plain, rich in valuable productions, particularly apricots, wine, and cotton. In the middle ages it was the seat of the Seljookian Sultans of Roum. It is now called *Conia*, and is surrounded by a wall with a ditch, and has also a castle. It is the seat of a pacha, and is inhabited by Turks, Armenians, and Greeks.[63] When Paul and Barnabas were driven from Antioch in Pisidia, they betook themselves to Iconium, in order to publish the gospel there, (Acts xiii. 5; xiv. 1), which they did with so much success, that many Jews and Greeks were converted to the faith. But commotions having soon arisen in the town on that account, they were obliged to leave it, and went to other towns of Lycaonia, of which, in

[61] Disquisitio de lingua Lycaonica, in his Opuscula, edited by Te Water. Tom III. p. 3, et seqq.

[62] *Xenophon* (Anabasis. Lib. I. 2. 19,) reckons this town in Phrygia; but *Ammianus Marcellinus* (XIV. 2. 6.) places it in Pisidia. *Cicero*, again, (Epist. ad Familiar. XV. 4,) as well as *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. V. 27,) and *Strabo*, (XII. 6. 1.) speak of it as a town of Lycaonia. The reason of this discrepancy is, that Lycaonia was sometimes held to belong to Phrygia and sometimes to Pisidia.

[63] Comp. *Olivier's* Voyages. Tom VI. p. 388.

particular, the following are mentioned in Acts xiv. 6.

Lystra and *Derbe.*—The latter was a small place east of Iconium, at the foot of the Anti-Taurus; it was the birth place of Gaius, a disciple and fellow-traveller of Paul, Acts xx. 4. Lystra was a town south of Iconium. Here Paul miraculously cured a man who had been lame from his birth, in consequence of which he and Barnabas were taken for the gods Jupiter and Mercury in human form;[64] and they with difficulty restrained the people from offering them sacrifice. But soon after there came to Lystra certain Jews from Iconium and Antioch (in Pisidia), who excited the populace so much against them, that they were stoned and dragged out of the town as dead, (Acts xiv. 8, 19). Timothy was a native of Lystra, (Acts xvi. 12. 2 Tim. iii. 11).

14. *Phrygia* adjoins Cappadocia on the east, Galatia and Bithynia on the north, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria on the west, and Lycia and Pisidia on the south. In early times Phrygia seems to have comprehended the greater part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. It was subsequently divided into Greater and Lesser Phrygia, the former comprising the southern part, and the latter, (called also Phrygia Epictetos, *i. e. acquired,*) the north-western. The Romans divided the province into three districts: Phrygia Salutaris in the east, Pacatiana in the west,

[64] Comp. Rosenmüller's Alte und Neue Morgenland. Part VI. p. 22.

and Katakokaumene, (*i. e. the burnt*), in the middle. The ground is for the most part level, and fruitful in grain, fruits, and wine. The breed of cattle peculiar to this country was very famous, and the fine raven-black wool of the sheep round Laodicea on the Lycus, was also in high repute. The mountains of Dindymus and Berekynthus were celebrated on account of the worship of Cybele. Several large rivers water the country; the Mæander, which slowly carries its whitish water in numerous windings over the green plains,[65] rising at Celænæ, near the source of the Marsyas, (famous in Mythology), with which river it afterwards unites, and, after receiving the Lycus near Colossæ, empties itself into the Egean sea. North of this stream runs the Hermus, now the Sarabad, called also the Gjedi,[66] anciently celebrated for its golden sands. It is a broad river, and flows gently through an extensive plain, bounded in the distance by blue mountains, and full of groves, fields, and gardens, but very hot in summer, and in winter an impassable swamp. The banks of the river are only partially cultivated, and generally yield only a marshy pasturage. The Phrygians were a very ancient people, and probably formed, along with the Pelasgi, the aborigines of Asia Minor. In ancient adages they are represented as untractable, effeminate, and superstitious; yet they very early were an industrious and commercial people. To them is to be ascribed the invention of the anchor, and of the four-

[65] *Von Richter's* Wallfahrten, p. 519.

[66] *Von Richter*, p. 493, 508.

wheeled waggon; they manufactured the wool of their sheep and goats, and their woven, as well as their embroidered stuffs, were much esteemed. Their tutelary and chief divinity was Cybele, or Cubebe, the great mother of the gods. The priests of this goddess were called Cubebes, Curetes, Corybantes, and Galli, and were eunuchs, (if not all at least the Galli), and were obliged to refrain from bread, wine, and all oaths. The history of the Phrygians is fragmentary and uninteresting, the earlier portion being entirely mythical. Their kings were in general called Midas, but sometimes Gordius. Gordius I., raised by the verdict of the oracle from the peasant's cottage to the throne, tied on his cart the famous Gordian knot, which, a thousand years afterwards, Alexander of Macedon could only loose by his sword. With Adrastus, the pretended son of Midas IV., the Phrygian race of kings expired; the country fell into the hands of Croesus king of Lydia, in the year B.C. 555, and, five years after, it was reduced, by the invasion of Cyrus, to a Persian province.

Three contiguous towns of Phrygia, *Colosse, Laodicea,* and *Hierapolis,* are mentioned in the New Testament. The first of these, (perhaps more properly called *Colassæ,*[67]) was situated on the river Lycus, now the Gòerduk, or the Emr Sultantshai, near the place where it disappears under ground, but soon emerging, unites with the Meander. On the site of

[67] See *J. D. Michaelis'* Introd. to the New Test. Part II. p. 1275 of the 4th edit.

the ancient town, there now stands a castle built on a rock, and surrounded by a small village called *Chonos* or *Konos*.[68] In the times of Herodotus and Xenophon, it was an important town, but it subsequently appears to have decayed, since Strabo reckoned it among the smaller towns of Phrygia,[69] and Ptolemy takes no notice of it at all. In the year A. D. 65, it was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake. A Christian church was very early planted here by Epaphras, a friend and assistant of the Apostle Paul, (Col. i. 7 ; iv. 12, 13). Among the scriptures of the New Testament, is a letter of the apostle to this church at Colosse, occasioned by the spread of certain heresies. Although Paul twice traversed northern Phrygia, (Acts xvii. 6, comp. with xviii. 23), he does not appear to have been at Colosse. He himself says that he had not visited it before he sent his epistle, (Col. ii. 1), and there is no record found of his having afterwards done so.

Laodicea, on the Lycus, one of the most considerable towns in Asia Minor, was the chief town of Pacatian Phrygia, (1 Tim. vi. 22). It received its

[68] *Smith*, loc. cit. p. 148. Decimo quarto die *Colossas*, a Turcis *Chonos* dictas, in clivo montis scansu perquam difficilis sitas ingredimur, sed tantummodo ad exeundum. Hic enim a latronibus quam maxime periclitabamur, nec minus a civibus, qui atroci in Christianos ac Occidentales odio flagrabant : apud quos reperiuntur pauci e gente Graecorum, qui inter tot opprobria et calamitates, quibus obnoxii sunt, adhuc fidem Christianam profitentur : nulla apud ipsos est Ecclesia, nullus sacerdos, qui Liturgica praelegat et Sacramentum Eucharistiae celebret. Graecae linguae penitus obliti miseri Colossenses Turcice in familiari sermone loquuntur.

[69] Book XII. Cap. 7, § 13.

name from king Antiochus II. called Theos, (*i. e.* God), in honour of his consort Laodice. It had been previously called Diospolis and Diocaesarea. Laodicea was a commercial town of some importance, partly inhabited by Jews. The earthquake by which Colosse and Hierapolis were destroyed A.D. 65, inflicted great injury on this town, but it was speedily rebuilt under Marcus Aurelius. It is now called by the Turks *Eski Hissar*, *i. e.* the old castle.[70] The place takes in a long hilly ridge, running from south-east to north-west, between the small valleys of Asopus and Caprus. Here there is still to be seen a subterraneous aqueduct, which brings the water of the hills to the town; as also a

[70] Von Richter, p. 521. *Smith*, loc. cit. p. 149: Laodicea, hodie a Turcis dicta *Eski Hissar* [اسكي حصار], *i. e.* vetus castrum, super sex septemve colles posita est, qui circulum, cujus perimeter ingens terrae spatium occupat, quasi conficere videntur: ad mille quingentos passus versus Boream et Boreapeliotem dilabitur Lycus, latera vero urbis alluunt duo fluenta, Asopus et Caper, alterum ad Occidentem, ad Euronotum alterum, quae in Lycum cadunt, uti Lycus in Meandrum. A nemine jam habitatur, nisi quod hic noctu lupi, vulpes, et alopecidae, quas *Jackal* nominant, praedam investigatum eant. Quam misera et deserta jacet Laodicea, quae tot palatiis olim tumebat! Sola enim hodienum supersunt rudera, quae tamen eam testantur celeberrimae urbis nomen meruisse. E quatuor theatris magnitudinem et gloriam ipsius colligere licet, quorum duo sunt admiranda, &c. . . . . Amplissimae ecclesiae muri nobis demonstrarunt, veteres Christianos nullis sumtibus in fabricandis aedibus religioso cultui destinatis pepercisse, prope quam exstant tres pulcherrimi fornices.

Stadium, or race course, which is almost quite entire on the north side. Adjoining it are the remains of a large edifice, the use of which cannot be clearly ascertained. Its outer wall had seven gates on the longer side, and one at each of the ends: they inclosed two large halls, sixty paces long and forty broad, besides several apartments of smaller dimensions, with porches and vaults, in the construction of which columns and pillars had not been spared. There are also observable the remnants of several temples, and of two theatres, the larger of which is still tolerably entire. A Christian church was here as early as the time of the Apostle Paul, to whom they addressed a letter, which is mentioned by him in his Epistle to the Colossians (ch. iv. 16.) A letter, pretended to have been written to the Laodiceans, by the Apostle, was proved, by Theodoret, (who lived in the fifth century,) to have been falsely attributed to him.[71] The church at Laodicea was one of the seven churches to which John addressed the Revelation, (Rev. i. 11; iii. 14—22.) He mentions this church last, it having been the farthest from Patmos whence he wrote.

From one of the ancient theatres still remaining in Laodicea, is beheld, a short distance towards

[71] In his Comment. on Col. iv. 16. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis'* Introd. to the New Testament, Vol. II. p. 1281 of the 4th edit. and *P. E. Jablonsky's* Dissertatio periodica exhibens Spicilegium breve observationum de epistola scripta Laodicea, ad Coloss. iv. 16. He endeavous to shew, in § 13, that this letter was addressed by the superintendents and teachers of the church of Laodicea to those of Colosse, and referred to heresies which had been spread in the latter city by Gnostics.

the south, the ancient *Hierapolis*, built upon white rocks, on which account it is called, by the Turks, Pambuk Kulassi, (*i. e.* Cotton Castle.[72]) The ruins of the ancient town are situated on the flat summit of the lowest elevation of the mountain, which terminates steeply towards the valley of the Lycus.

[72] Smith, loc. cit. p. 144: *Hierapolis*, hodie a Turcis *Fambuk Kulasi* [پنبوق قلعه‌سي], *i. e. gossypina turris* dicta, ob rupium clivos, qui a longe instar gossypii candicant, urbs majoris Phrygiae, sub excelso monte ad septentrionem conditur, Laodiceae ad austrum ex adverso opposita, planitie quinque circiter mille passus lata intercedente, quam interluit Lycus, Laodiceam tamen propius attingens: situ, ut videtur, perquam incommodo, ac ob nimium solis calorem, cui tota patet, infesto. Sed hoc quicquid est incommodi, abunde pensatum est *aquis calidis*, quibus suam debet magnificentiam Hierapolis, et quarum gratia tantam celebritatem olim adepta est. Balneum illud, unde scaturiunt, marmore candido stratum est, in quod columnae, quae id olim circumambiebant, conjiciuntur. Aquae autem continuo fluxu quosdam canaliculos sibi excavavere, quibus supergressae, albicantis terrae superficiem in tophum maxime friabilem convertunt. Jam penitus eversa est incolisque destituta, cujus tamen ruinae illam magnificentiam et gloriam prae se adhuc ferunt, ut, dum eas circumspicerem, nescio an mentem meam major invaserit horror an admiratio. Lugebam quoque hujus admirandae urbis vere flebilem et miserandam sortem, tot templa intercidisse mihi doluit, quorum parietinae adhuc durant, ubique erant altaria, fornices et columnae, palatiorum aliarumque insignissimarum aedium appendices, ut inter praecipuas non solius Orientis sed totius mundi urbes, recenseri, dum staret, mereretur. Nomen vero *Sacrae Urbis* forte ipsi impositum erat tum ob numerum fanorum, quibus olim superbiebat, tum ob aquas, quibus vim salutarem et medicinalem inesse crediderunt. Qua de causa Apollinem his olim praecipue cultum fuisse, vero quam maxime proximum est, rel-

The adjacent ground is entirely composed of stalactites, the deposit of a strongly impregnated hot spring, which rises above it. Strabo observes, that the petrifactive properties of this fountain are so powerful, that when its stream is introduced into a channel, it produces a stony substance, which gradually chokes up the course. On a plain surface, it forms excavations, with high borders, similar to shell-formed basins in fountains. Several small stalactitic caves are found, and, in many places, the ground sounds hollow under the feet. In those places where the stream falls precipitately over the rocks, its colour is a brilliant white; but in other places it is grey, from the influence of the atmosphere. This water flows, in numerous channels, through all the upper part of the mountain, from which there extend, along the valley, walls and aqueducts, all built of the same petrifactions. The stream drives a mill at the foot of a rock, and then flows, in many branches, to the Lycus. Whatever is placed in it becomes encrusted with a stalactitic covering; even the grass petrifies when the water runs over it. Surrounding the east and south sides of the town there are walls, apparently of Turkish architecture, clumsily constructed out of old materials. On the east side they inclose the mountain; on the south they only extend for a short distance. The chief entrance to the warm baths seems to have been on the north side, where there is found a large court, fully eighty paces broad. On each side of this court is a spacious hall. The whole edifice is built upon the rocks. There are still remaining very beautiful fragments of a white

marble facade, with pillars, sculptures of acanthus-leaves, and other ornaments. The interior was laid with fine marble. Proceeding westwards, the traveller arrives at one of the principal streets, which is intersected by another. The latter conducts him to a large heap of ruins, at the foot of the mountain which overlooks the town. In the direction towards the baths, he observes four great columnar walls, which had supported arches and been connected with the baths: farther on are seen quadrangular walls, (probably the remains of a temple,) between which are many fragments of pillars and doors, the posts and lintels of which are each composed of a single stone. A large gate, between two square towers, opens to a continuation of the same street, along both sides of which runs a portico with low oval pillars of the Doric order. Then succeeds a gate, with triple arches, behind which are a great many sepulchral monuments, extending for a considerable distance around. These monuments are composed of sarcophagi, which rise, more or less, from the ground; several of them are still unopened; they have small doors, and have commonly, in the inside, three benches for a like number of coffins. Among these graves there still remains the nave of a large church, which is distinguished by crosses over the gates. North of the baths, behind the mountain, there are several other places enclosed with pillars and gates, and also two temples, whose marble facades are destroyed. High above all these, on the side of the mountain, is the theatre, which is in a more perfect condition than almost any other

in Asia Minor.[73] In this town, whose former extent, population, and prosperity, may be estimated from the remains above described, there was a Christian church under the care of Epaphras, so early as the time of the Apostle Paul, who commends him for his zeal and fidelity, (Col. iv. 12, 13). According to the account of Eusebius,[74] the Apostle Philip was crucified here.

15. That province of Asia Minor which joined Cappadocia and Pontus on the east, Paphlagonia on the north, Bithynia and part of Phrygia on the west, and Phrygia and Cappadocia on the south, was called *Galatia.* The inhabitants were of Celtic or Gallic origin. A few centuries before the Christian era, numerous hordes of Gauls migrated from their European settlements, and spread themselves in all directions. A few tribes who had been settled in Pannonia, (Hungary,) on the Danube and the Save, invaded, about the year B. C. 300, the countries to the south, which were Illyria, Thrace, Thessaly and Macedonia. After some of their tribes had taken Byzantium, and rendered tributary the whole coast of the Propontis, a part of them, on the invitation of Nicodemus I., king of Bithynia, passed, about the year 278, into Asia Minor, where they received northern Phrygia, and notwithstanding several defeats from the Syrians and Egyptians, spread themselves over the whole peninsula. Being at length subdued by Attalus II., he confined them to the possession of Galatia, about the year B. C. 238. These Gauls were composed of three

[73] *Von Richter,* loc. cit. p. 523, et seqq.
[74] Hist. Eccles. Book III. Cap. 31, § 9.

different races,—the *Trocmi*, who dwelt in the eastern district, near Cappadocia and Pontus; the *Tectosages*, (whose chief town was Ancyra,) towards the south, near Phrygia; and the *Tolistoboii* towards the west, the chief town being Pessinus. Each of these tribes formed an independent republic, with four tetrarchs at its head; the dignity was not hereditary but electoral, and their power was limited by that of the judges and generals. The three tribes held common assemblies, and were in mutual alliance; the other races in this fertile and populous region being subject to them. The Galatians or Galli, were practised soldiers, and hence were often hired by foreign states. Molon, satrap of Media, in his revolt against Antiochus the Great, (in which he was finally subdued,[75]) employed them as mercenaries. It is uncertain whether the engagement in which Molon was unfortunate be that alluded to in the pretended speech of Judas Maccabeus,[76] (2 Maccabees xiii. 20,) where it is said that once, in a battle in Babylonia, eight thousand Jews, who, with four thousand Macedonians, took the field against a hundred and twenty thousand Galatians, defeated the latter, without the aid of the Macedonians, (B.C. 190). On account of their having co-operated with Molon, the Roman consul Vulso Manlius advanced against them and defeated them, but granted them peace, (B.C. 188), under the stipulation that

[75] *Polybius*, Book V. Cap. I. 41—56.

[76] As to the great historical improbabilities in this pretended speech, see *Gottl. Wernsdorf's* Commentat. de fide historica libror. Maccabaicor. p. 98.

they should remain within the confines of their own territory, and not molest their neighbours. They still continued, however, to take part in the wars of Asia Minor; and the Romans found it politic to protect the independence of this warlike people, in order to keep in check the neighbouring princes. For this reason Sylla restored freedom to Galatia after it had become subject to Mithridates, and from that time forth, the Galatians remained faithful allies to the Romans. Pompey not only secured to them their territories, but richly rewarded their tetrarchs, particularly Dejotarus, on whom he bestowed a part of Pontus, and also the title of king. At his death, Amyntas, his secretary, received from Antony the greater part of Galatia, and from Octavian, not only the whole of Galatia, but likewise Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Isauria, along with the regal title. When he died, however, (B.C. 25), all these countries became Roman provinces.[77]

The most important town of Galatia, even from remote antiquity, was *Ancyra* (Ankyra), now Angora and Enguri.[78] After the death of Amyntas, Augustus made it the capital of Galatia, and called it "Metropolis," a name which appears on its coins, of which there are still a considerable number. It lay on the great road from Byzantium to the east of Asia, and was a principal emporium for the commerce of the caravans. The citizens of this town

[77] On Galatia generally, see *Gottl. Wernsdorf's* De Republica Galatarum Liber Singularis. Nuremberg, 1743, 4to.

[78] See *Busbeq.* Epist. I. p. 92. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part III. p. 127.

erected a white marble temple in honour of the emperor Augustus, in which was the celebrated "Ancyrian monument." This contained an account, composed by Augustus himself, of the most important events of his life, engraved upon pillars in the porch of the temple; it was discovered 220 years ago.[79] In ecclesiastical history, Ancyra was noted for two synods that were held there: the first, in the year 315, was composed of eighty bishops of Roman Asia, who met to put a stop to various abuses in church discipline; the other, in the year 358, consisted of Semi-Arian bishops, who assembled for the purpose of solemnly disavowing certain tenets of the stricter Arians. Angora is, at present, the chief town of the district of the same name, and the seat of a richly endowed Armenian bishopric. It lies on several small hills, encompassed on the north and east by a range of mountains; the castle is on the top of a high rock, round which there flows a small stream. The population of the town cannot now be reckoned at more than 20,000, of whom a third part are Catholic Armenians, and by them the trade is almost wholly engrossed. In return for cloth, and colonial merchandise imported from Smyrna, they chiefly export fine coloured camlets, manufactured of the hair of the Angora goats, (vide ante, page 4). Angora is celebrated on account of its fruits, particularly the fine peaches which grow in the gardens on the plain that opens towards the north-west.

[79] See *Edm. Chishull's* Antiquitt. Asiatt. p. 165, et seqq.: also printed in Oberlin's Edit. of Tacitus, Tom. II. p. 837, and in Wolfius' Edit. of Suetonius, Tom. II. p. 369.

That the Apostle Paul established Christian churches in Galatia, appears from his own intimations, in his letter to the Christians of that country, (Gal. i. 6, 8; iv. 13, &c). He does not, however, specify any of the towns in which these churches had been formed. According to the narrative in the Acts, the apostle went twice to Galatia, in the course of his travels; first, after he had parted from Barnabas (xv. 39), along with Silas and Timothy, (xvi. 6), probably in the year 53; and then, in the year 57, after he had returned from Corinth to Asia Minor. On the first of these journeys Paul had doubtless founded churches in Galatia,[80] for although Luke does not expressly say so, yet it may be inferred, partly from the invariable practice of the apostle to teach Christianity every where in his travels, and partly from what is stated in Acts xvi. 6, "they were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, (*i. e.* in Proconsular Asia). It is also related, Acts xviii. 23, that he *confirmed* the Christians of Galatia in the faith of the gospel, which presupposes that they had formerly been converted by him to that faith. Crescens, an assistant of the apostle, who taught the gospel in Galatia, is mentioned by him, 2 Tim. iv. 10. Peter also had probably established Christian churches in Galatia, on which account they are mentioned among those churches to which he addressed his first Epistle.

[80] *Koppe* and *Keil* have supposed, on insufficient grounds, that the apostle had founded churches in Galatia at a still earlier period, but see *Winer's* Prolegomena to his Comment. on Galat. p. 3.

When Theodosius, surnamed the Great, divided the Roman empire, (towards the close of the fourth century), between his two sons, Honorius and Arcadius, the former received the western and the latter the eastern provinces, and Asia Minor became a part of the Eastern Roman, or Greek empire, the emperors of which had their seat at Byzantium or Constantinople. The Arabs, however, wrested from the Greek emperors a considerable portion of Asia Minor; and although it was again recovered, yet a much larger part of the country was seized by the Seljookian Turks in the eleventh century. Asia Minor then became successively subject to the dynasty of the Moguls (established by Genghis Khan) of Timur, and (since the fourteenth century) of the Turks, under which it still remains. It is at present divided into five governments, viz. *Eyaleti Anatoli*, the government of Asia Minor, which is subdivided into fourteen Sandshaks or circles, under one Beglerbeg, who has his seat at Kutehiya; *Eyaleti Karaman*, the government of Caramania, subdivided into seven Sandshaks, under the pacha of Coniah, and containing Southern and part of Eastern Asia Minor; *Eyaleti Sivas*, which has seven Sandshaks; *Eyaleti Meraash*, and *Eyaleti Trabesun*, *i. e.* Trapezunt or Trebizonde; which three last governments contain the northern part of Asia Minor.[81]

[81] See *Von Hammer's* Osman. Reichs Staats verfassung. Part II. p. 255.

END OF ASIA MINOR.

PHŒNICIA.

THE Greeks and Romans gave the name of *Phœnike*[1] or *Phœnicia*, to that narrow tract of country along the coast of Syria, which extended southward from the insular town of Aradus, beyond the river Eleutherus.[2] Strabo[3] carries its southern boundary as far as to Pelusium on the east branch of the Nile. Pliny[4]

[1] The Greek name Φοινίκη probably denotes a country which abounds in φοίνικες, *palm trees*, as these trees would present themselves to the view of Greek navigators who approached the coast. *Burckhardt* (Travels, Vol. I. p. 314 of the German Transl.), passed not far from Beirout, through a village, Ain Aanab, which appeared to him remarkable on account of a great number of palm trees, which grew on a considerable eminence near the sea. For other less probable derivations of the name Phœnike (*e.g.* from בְּנֵי עֲנָק, *Bne-Anak*, *i. e.* the sons of Anak or Anakites, a tribe of Canaan), see *Bochart's* Geogr. Sac. Part II. s. Canaan, Lib. I. Cap. 1. p. 362.

[2] See the former part of Rosenmüller's work in the *Biblical Cabinet*, Vol. XVII. p. 218, 288, 289.

[3] XVI. 2. 21. After remarking that the part of Syria which lies between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, is properly called Κοίλη Συρία, [Cœle Syria, *i. e.* Hollow Syria. Comp. the "How of the Mearns" in Scotland,] he continues: Τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Πηλουσίου παραλία Φοινίκη καλεῖται, στενή τις καὶ ἀλιτενής. Comp. § 33.

[4] *Hist. Nat.* L. V. Cap. 12: Juxta Syria litus occupat, quondam terrarum maxima, et pluribus distincta nominibus. Namque Palaestina vocabatur, qua contingit Arabas, et Judaea, et Coele, deinde Phoenice. . . . Qui subtilius dividunt,

and Ptolemy,[5] however, fix the frontier at Dora. Yet, since Acco and Acsib or Ecdippa, (two places between Tyre and Dora,) as also the promontory of Carmel, are reckoned, in the Bible, to belong to the territory of the Hebrews, it will best suit our plan to regard Tyre, and the adjacent district, as forming the southern boundary of Phœnicia.

The native, and likewise the Hebrew name of the country, seems to have been *Zidon* or *Sidon*, which was, at the same time, the name of its most ancient capital.[6] It was a part of the land of Canaan, under which designation Phœnicia is specially mentioned by Isaiah in his prophecy against Tyre and Sidon, (ch. xxiii. 11.) In the time of Christ, it was called *Syro-Phœnicia*, from its being considered a part of Syria, and lying withing the jurisdiction of the Roman governor of that province. Hence the female who, by Matthew, (ch. xv. 22, 24,) is called "a woman of Canaan," is styled by Mark, (ch. vii. 26,) "a Syro-Phœnician." The Arabic writers, of the middle age, speak of Phœnicia under the appellation of *Es-Sāchel*,[7] *i. e.* "The coast."

On the west, the natural boundary was the Mediterranean, as was mount Lebanon on the east; and where

circumfundi Syria Phœnicen volunt, et esse oram maritimam Syriae. Farther down, at Cap. 19, he begins the enumeration of the southern Phœnician towns with Doron or Dora.

[5] Lib. V. Cap, 15. *Josephus* cont. Apion. II. 9: *Τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλων ὄρος Δώρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται.*

[6] Comp. *Gesenius* Comment. on Isa. xxiii.

[7] الساحل. See *Alb. Schulten's* Index Geograph. in his "Vita Saladini," under "Phœnicia."

that mountain terminates southward, Phœnicia met Galilee and Samaria. The tract of country inclosed within these bounds is not more than twenty-five German miles* in length from north to south, and nowhere more than three German miles in breadth. The greater part is mountainous; in several places the mountains run out into the sea and form promontories. One of the most famous of these was called, by the Greeks, "Theou-Prosōpon," *i. e.* the Face of God,[8] and is now known by the name of Cape Caruge or Bel-Monte; it is to the south of Tripoli, and rises precipitously from the sea, but is flat on the top.[9] It is only close on the coast that plains are met with, and they are very narrow, being hemmed in between the sea and the hills. The most considerable of them is *Djunia*, (that is, "the Valley," by way of pre-eminence,[10]) which extends for seven leagues in

* A German mile is about $4\frac{3}{4}$ English.—*Tr.*

[8] Strabo XVI. 2. 15: Τῇ δὲ Τριπόλει συνεχής ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, εἰς ὃ τελευτᾷ ὁ Λιβάνος τὸ ὄρος. Comp. also § 18. The Phœnician name was probably פְּנוּאֵל, Pnuel or פְּנִיאֵל, Pniel, *i. e.* "the Face of God," which was the name given by Jacob to the place where God appeared to him on his return from Mesopotamia. Gen. xxxii. 30.

[9] *Maundrell* found, on the top of this promontory, a Greek monastery, of which, however, *Otto v. Richter* says nothing. Wallfahrten, p. 116. Comp. *Olivier's* Voyage, Tom. V. p. 122.

[10] Thus is the name explained by Maundrell, who writes it, however, *Janina.* Paulus, in his Ger. Edit. of Maundrell, (Collection of Remarkable Travels, Part I. p. 302), writes it in a note جوف, which signifies "Valley." That mean-

a northerly direction from Tripoli to the neighbourhood of Antaradus.

The fertility of the soil is promoted by the numerous rivers which Lebanon sends forth to the sea. Of the most northerly of these, (which is also the most important), viz. the *Eleutherus*, now the *Nahr-el-Kebir*, an account has already been given in the chapter relating to Syria in a former volume.* To the south of that river runs the *Nahr-Kadisha*, *i. e.* the Holy River, dividing the city of Tripoli or Tarabolos into two parts.[11] About a league below Djebail, the ancient Byblus, flows another conside-

ing, is found, indeed, along with others, in Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton, but only on the precarious authority of Bedwell. It occurs neither in the Kamoos nor in Golius. The name in question appears to be the Arabic جوانية, an adjective from جواء, "a wide valley." See Golius p. 557. Comp. p. 550, under جو. Maundrell found it very fertile and well watered. Comp. *Pococke's* Description of the East, Part II. p. 296.

* See the Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XVII. p. 218, 288, 289.

[11] The Aramaic name is נַהַר קַדִּישָׁא. *De la Roque* says, (Voyage de Syrie T. I. p. 41): On appelle ce fleuve *Nahr-Kadicha*, c'est-à dire, le fleuve saint, parce, disent les Chretiens Maronites, que la source est dans une montagne sainte, et celebre dans l'Ecriture; outre que l'une et l'autre montagne, qui forment la longue valée par où il coule, sont remplies de grotes, d'hermitages, et de chapelles des anciens Anacoretes, sans parler des Monastères remplis de bons Religieux, qu'on y voit encore aujourd'huy, toutes choses, qui ne respirent que la pieté. C'est par les mêmes raisons, que cette valée porte aussi le nom

rable stream, the *Nahr Ibrahim*, *i. e.* the river of Abraham[12]; it issues from a narrow valley, and has its course skirted with reeds and mulberry trees.[13] This is the river *Adonis*, rendered so famous by an ancient tradition, according to which it received its name from a god of the Phœnicians, who, while he still resided among mortals, received a fatal wound from a wild boar on Mount Lebanon. The river named after him gave occasion to a yearly lamentation for his death, in consequence of its water becoming of a blood-red colour about the time of the festival observed in his honour. That appearance can be traced for a considerable distance into the sea at the river's mouth; the cause of it was long ago assigned by Lucian,[14] and is confirmed by modern travellers. The earth of that part of Lebanon through which the river flows, is of a reddish colour, and, when it is carried down by the heavy rains into the river, it imparts that tinge to the water.[15] About

de valée des Saints. See also p. 49, 266. *Burckhardt*, p. 273. According to him and *Otto v. Richter*, (p. 112) the river is now called *Nahr Abu-Ali*.

[12] نهر ابراهيم. According to Maundrell, the Turks call it *Ibrahim Pacha*. Comp *De la Roque*, p. 276. *Pococke*, Part II. p. 142 of the Ger. Transl. *Burckhardt*, p. 299. *Otto v. Richter*, p. 119. The last-mentioned traveller found the sources of this river on the western side of Lebanon in an uncommonly beautiful country.

[13] *Otto v. Richter*, p. 119.

[14] In his work on the Syrian goddess. Tom. III. p. 554 of the edition of Reitze.

[15] *Maundrell* says, (Journal p. 34, 35,) " Leaving Gibyle,

two leagues farther south, between Byblus and Beirout, (the ancient Berytus), the *Nahr-kelb*,[16] or Dog's River, rushes into the sea between two high and precipitous rocks. The ancients called it the Lycus, *i. e.* the Wolf, probably on account of its rapid course, or, as others suppose, from the statue of a wolf which stood in the neighbourhood.[17] Be-

we came, in one hour, to a fair large river, which the Turks call *Ibraim Bassa;* but it is, doubtless, the ancient river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of Adonis. Upon the banks of this stream we took up our quarters for the following night. We had a very tempestuous night, both of wind and rain, almost without cessation, and with so great violence, that our servants were hardly able to keep our tents over us. But, however, this accident, which gave us so much trouble in the night, made us amends with a curiosity which it yielded us an opportunity of beholding the next morning, (Wednesday, March 17.) For, by this means, we had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates, concerning this river, viz. that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathen looked on as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar, in the mountains out of which this stream rises. Something like this we actually saw come to pass, for the water was stained to a surprising redness, and, as we observed in travelling, had discoloured the sea, a great way, into a reddish hue, occasioned, doubtless, by a sort of minium or red earth, washed into the river by violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood."

[16] نهر الكلب.

[17] *De la Roque*, loc. cit. p. 280. "Tous les Auteurs conviennent que ce fleuve est le Lycus des Anciens, et l'inscription,

low Beirout, the *Damir*, or Tamyras of the ancients, issues from a narrow valley, enclosed by steep hills. When swollen by rains its current becomes strong

qu'on lit encore à l'entrée du chemin, que les Romains ont taillé dans le rocher [*Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius . . . . montibus imminentibus Lico flumini caesis viam dilatavit*], ne laisse aucun lieu d'en douter. Son nom moderne le prouve encore, car les Arabes ont appellée *Kalb*, ou Chien, la figure de pierre d'un animal, que les Grecs avoient nommé λύκος, Loup, et qui étoit autrefois placée sur un roc assez près de l'embouchure du fleuve. Cette figure est depuis tombée dans la mer, et on l'y entrevoit encore quand le temps est calme. C'étoit une espece d'Idole, dont on conte encore de grandes merveilles. Les Musulmans disent, que le Diable entroit quelquefois dans ce corps de pierre, et qu'il hurloit d'une étrange force jusqu'à se faire entendre par toute la côte de Syrie, et même jusqu'en l'isle de Chypre, et que ce prodige présageoit toûjours quelque funeste evenement. D'autres plus sensés croyent que le fleuve se jettant dans la mer entre deux hautes montagnes qui le reserrent, et son lit étant tout rempli de roches, ses eaux font un bruit terrible quand elles sont enflées par la fonte des neiges; ce qui augmente dans le silence de la nuit, et peut être comparé aux hurlement d'un loup: effet naturel, que la superstition du Paganisme a rendu mysterieux. qui a donné lieu sans doute à dresser l'Idole en question, et à nommer ce fleuve du nom qu'il porte encore aujourd'hui. *Otto von Richter*, (loc. cit. p. 95,) says, " that on the highest part of the road towards the north, there is a pedestal hewn out of the rock, on which stood the statue of the wolf, whence the river had its name *Lykos*. There is still a local tradition of a dog having been here changed into stone; and there is a rock, not far off, which presents, at low water, something of that appearance. The view of the Nahr-Kelb from the pedestal, is enchanting. It issues from a narrow ravine in a bare grey rock, and runs under a bridge of light construction, with one large and two smaller arches. On the north branch there is

and dangerous; the water, however, is generally clear and cool, and the banks are adorned with rose trees and laurels.[18] Still nearer Tyre is the *Kasmih* or *Leitane*, which proceeds from a wild mountain tract, and meanders in serpentine windings and through flowery meadows, till it reaches the sea.[19] Besides these larger rivers, the plains, which are generally fertile, are irrigated by many smaller streams, and by innumerable rivulets.

The climate of Phœnicia is mild. The spring and autumn are very pleasant, and the summer is, in general, not oppressively hot, unless in places near

an aqueduct. The verdure along the river sides and at its mouth is most luxuriant. Comp. *Maundrell*, p. 48. *Olivier*, Tom. IV. p. 122. *Burckhardt*, p. 311.

[18] The Arabic name of دامر *Damir*, (from دمر perdidit, exitio dedit), it probably received from the rapidity of its stream. *De la Roque* says: De Baruth à Seyde en continuant la même route sur les bords de la mer, on passe encore une riviere considerable, qui se décharge dans la mer; les Anciens l'ont nommée Tamyras, les gens du Pays l'appellent *Nahr Damer*. Le passage en est fort dangereux dans le temps des pluyes; c'est du milieu de son lit, que le jeune Mr. Spon fut entraîné avec son cheval dans la mer, où il périt malheureusement. Comp. *Maundrell*, p. 53. *O. v. Richter*, p. 74.

[19] It comes from the northern part of Lebanon, where it was crossed by Burckhardt, who writes the name ليطاني *Liettani*, Travels, p. 42. Not far from its embouchure it unites with the *Kasmieh*, قسمية, and hence is sometimes confounded with it. See *O. v. Richter*, p. 72. Comp. *De la Roque*, p. 285. *Maundrell*, p. 58.

the coast. On the other hand, the winter is so temperate, that pomegranate-trees, palms, fig trees, and many delicate plants, thrive in the open air. In Tripoli it is to a European a picturesque sight to behold, under his window, in the month of January, pomegranate-trees, with flowers and fruit, whilst, over his head, shines the snowy Lebanon. Climate and soil unite in rendering the coast of Phœnicia one of the finest and richest countries on the face of the earth. Besides wheat, rye, barley, and cotton, it produces, in excellent quality and great abundance, citrons, oranges, figs, dates, olives, pistachio nuts, and all the best kinds of fruit. The vines, which are either tied to stalks, or cling round the oak, yield excellent red and white wine. The white mulberry tree promotes the culture of fine silk, and, in the gardens of Beirout and Saida, the sugar cane is cultivated.[20] If, even now, when the country groans under an oppressive despotism so unfavourable to industry, nature, nevertheless, continues to lavish her gifts so profusely, we may form some idea of the sight which Phœnicia must have presented, when it formed the central point of the commerce of the world, and was inhabited by a most active and enterprising population. Even in the fourth century of our era, Ammianus Marcellinus,[21] calls it " a country rich in charms and beauty,

[20] See *Volney's* Travels, Part I. p. 242. II. p. 128, 171. *O. v. Richter*, p. 75.

[21] L. XIV. Cap. 8, § 9 : Phoenice regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris. *Cotwyk*, who visited this country at the end of the sixteenth century, says in his Itinerar. p. 330. Regio in foecundissimos colle

adorned with large and fine cities." The sites of the latter are now occupied, for the most part, by decayed and mean villages or hamlets, the names of which alone recal any memorial of their ancient greatness. This is specially the case with the northernmost town of Phœnicia, viz.

1. *Aradus*, in the Bible *Arvad*, now *Ruad* or *Rowada*.[22] It is first mentioned in the Genealogical Table of nations, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, (v. 18), among the posterity of Canaan. According to a tradition in Strabo,[23] the town was founded by fugitives from Sidon. . It occupied the entire surface of a small rocky island, four or five miles from the coast, and not more than seven stadia in circuit. As so small a space could accommodate but few inhabitants, they endeavoured to provide for the increasing population, by the erection of houses with a number of stories raised one above another. The island affords no water, and, therefore, it was necessary to preserve rain-water in cisterns, or bring supplies of spring-water from the mainland.* In cases

vallesque fertilissimas distincta, agrorum fertilitate nulli terrarum cedit, inculta tamen hodie pleraque atque deserta jacet.

[22] אֲרוָד, ارواذ (*Abulfeda's* Annall. T. V. p. 180), رواد, رويدا.

[23] XVI. 2. 13: Ἔκτισαν δ' αὐτὴν φυγάδες, ὥς φάσιν ἐκ Σιδῶνος.

* [It is curious to compare these ancient accounts with the dispatch of an officer of the British navy, written off *Ruad*, during the operations of the allies on the Syro-Phœnician coast

of necessity, the Aradians could, by an ingenious process, described by Strabo,[24] procure fresh water from a spring at the bottom of the sea, near the island. In the earliest times, Arad, like most of the Phœnician cities, had its own native princes or kings;[25]

in 1840.—"We found the island without troops or arms of any kind, but an immense population just arrived from Tripoli, Tortosa, and other parts of the coast, at present menaced with military operations. About two hundred cavalry and two field pieces were encamped at the watering place on the main land, immediately opposite to the island, and I was informed that two squadrons, (each of two hundred men, with two field pieces) were stationed about nine miles distant to the north and to the south, with orders to prevent any persons taking water, and to obstruct all communication between the inhabitants of the country and the ships. The island of Ruad is very small, and dependent on tanks and cisterns for water, which are generally quite sufficient for its ordinary population, said to amount to fifteen hundred; but in consequence of the influx of refugees, there cannot be less than five thousand souls upon it just now, and therefore an extra supply of water became necessary; but the cavalry prevented any boats from the island approaching the watering-place. We, therefore, at day light next morning, dislodged them, by throwing a few shot and shells, and the ships were moved nearer the watering-place, and every precaution being taken, all her Majesty's ships were completed with water; and ever since the place, (being under our guns,) has been quite free to the people of Ruad to water." Extract from a dispatch of Captain Houston Stewart, in the London Gazette, dated, "Her Majesty's ship Benbow, off Ruad, Sept. 26, 1840." —*Tr.*]

[24] Loc. cit.

[25] Strabo, in loc. cit. § 14: Τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν οἱ Ἀράδιοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐβασιλεύοντο, παραπλησίως, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστη πόλεων τῶν Φοινικίδων. On one of the Phœnician coins, mentioned by *Duens*, (in his "Explication de Quelques Medailles,

and there belonged to the territory of the town a tract of land on the neighbouring coast, in which Paltus was the northernmost place, Simyra the southernmost, but Marathos the most important.[26] In the time of the Prophet Ezekiel, about the year 590 B. C., the people of Arad served the Tyrians, probably for hire, in the capacity of soldiers and sailors. Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11. It afterwards came successively, (with the rest of Phœnicia,) under the dominion of the Persians, the Syro-Macedonian kings, and the Romans. We find it mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 22, 23, among the cities and states in alliance with Rome, to which the Roman senate sent letters, begging them not to deal harshly with the Jews.

Maundrell, who on his journey to Tripoli from Tortosa, (the ancient Antaradus,) saw this island from the coast, remarked,[27] that it seemed not to be above four or five hundred paces in length, and covered with high buildings, that looked like castles. But that, in this supposition, he must have been mistaken appears from the description given by Shaw.[28] "The prospect of Rouwadda, from the continent, is wonderfully magnificent, promising, at a distance, a continued train of fine buildings and impregnable fortifi-

&c. Lond. 1773, 4to.) there is the inscription מלך לארד, which is correctly explained by J. D. Michaelis as meaning "King of Arad." See his Orient. Bibliothek. Part VIII. p. 14.

[26] Comp. *Mannert's* Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans, Part VI. 2d Div. p. 398.

[27] Loc. cit. p. 28.

[28] Travels, p. 267 (of the original.)

cations. But this is entirely owing to the height and rockiness of its situation: for at present, [*i. e.* about the year 1730], all the strength and beauty it can boast of lies in a weak unfortified castle, with a few small cannon to defend it. Yet we are not to judge of the ancient strength of this place from its present condition. For it was formerly surrounded with a large strong wall, consisting of stones of an immense bigness; which (as in many other specimens of the ancient buildings), so exactly tallied and corresponded with each other, that the architect might very justly estimate the weight and symmetry alone of the materials, without cramps and mortar, to have been sufficient to withstand the violence of the sea, and the engines of the enemy." Richard Pococke,[29] who visited the island in the year 1737, found on the eastern side the remains of bulwarks, intended to protect vessels from the storm, and on the north and west sides he discovered traces of a double wall. "These walls," says he, "were fifty paces asunder, and there still exist considerable remains of the outer wall, which, on the north side, was very high, was about fifteen feet thick, and was built of large stones, some of which are fifteen feet in length. It is possible that small ships and boats may have lain between these walls; the rock towards the west has all the appearance of a wall, and there is on the summit a cross and bishop's staff in *alto relievo*. Every where on the island there are, under the houses, cisterns hewn in the rock, having openings at the top, through which the water is drawn up. Besides the

[29] Description of the East, Part II. p. 293.

two small castles, which have a few cannon to defend them against pirates, there are very few houses on the island. The vessels that touch here commonly take in a cargo of tobacco, which grows plentifully on the neighbouring coast. They carry it to Egypt, and when there is no stock of it ready, they lay in wood, which they take to the same quarter." In 1784, Volney,[30] found this once flourishing insular city in a still more decayed condition: "Not a single wall is remaining of all that multitude of houses, which, according to Strabo, were built with more stories than even those of Rome. The liberty enjoyed by the inhabitants made it very populous, and it subsisted by naval commerce, manufactures, and arts. At present the island is deserted; nor has tradition even retained the memory of a spring of fresh water in its environs, which the people of Aradus discovered at the bottom of the sea, and from which they drew water, in time of war, by means of a leaden bell, and a leathern pipe fitted to its bottom."

2. *Zemari*,[31] (*i. e.* the inhabitants of the country or town of Zemar), is mentioned in Gen. x. 18 as a Canaanitish tribe, coming immediately after the people of Arad. It probably denotes the inhabitants of the district of Simyra or Ximyra, a place at the western base of Lebanon.[32] Shaw[33] saw, "about

[30] Travels, Vol. II. p. 175 of the English Translation.

[31] צְמָרִי.

[32] *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 390. Comp. *Bochart's* Phaleg. p. 347. *J. D. Michaelis'* Spicileg. Part II. p. 49.

[33] Travels, p. 269. Comp. *Pococke*, loc. cit. and note 268, and *Maundrell*, p. 34.

twenty-four miles to the S.S.E. of Tortosa, [the ancient Antaradus] other considerable ruins, known by the name of *Sumrah*, with several rich plantations of mulberry and other fruit trees, growing within and round about them. These, from the very name and situation, can be no other than the remains of the ancient Simyra or Ximyra, as Strabo calls it, the seat formerly of the Zemarites."

3. *Arki*,[34] (*i.e.* the inhabitants of Arka,) is likewise mentioned in Gen. x. 17, along with the two preceding tribes, as belonging to the posterity of Canaan, and it was, no doubt, like them, a settlement of Phœnicians. Josephus and Jerome[35] have remarked that it was by the Arkites the town of Arka was founded, which lay to the north of Tripoli, at the western base of Lebanon. That place is also noticed by the Arabian writers of the middle age, as well as by the Europeans who wrote the history of the crusades. It

[34] עַרְקִי, عِرْقَةٌ, عِرْقَا; See *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syriæ, p. 11 of Koehler's edit. Comp. *Michaelis'* Spicileg. Part II. p. 23. *A. Schultens*, Index to his Vita Saladini, under "Arka." *Cellarius*. Orb. Antiq. Tom II. p. 457. From the circumstance of the Emperor Alexander Severus having been born in this town, it received the name of Cæsarea Libani. See *Mannert*, p. 391. With respect to coins with the inscription מלך לארק *i. e.* Arcæ Caesariae, see *Kopp's* Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit, Part II. p. 205.

[35] *Josephus* Antiqq. I. 6. 2. Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ ἔκτισεν Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. *St. Jerome's* Quæstt. in Gen. (ch. x. 15.) Aracaeus, qui Arcas condidit, oppidum contra Tripolim, in radicibus Libani situm.

lay thirty-two Roman miles from Antaradus, eighteen miles from Tripoli, and, according to Abulfeda, a *parasang* from the sea. "Five miles," says Shaw,[36] "from Sumrah, to the east, are the ruins of Arca, the city of the Arkites, the offspring, likewise, of Canaan. It is built over against the northern extremity of Mount Libanus, in a most delightful situation; having a prospect, to the northward, of an extensive plain, diversified with an infinite variety of towers and villages, ponds and rivers. To the westward, it sees the sun set in the sea; and to the eastward, sees the sun rise over a long and distant chain of mountains. Here, likewise, are not wanting Thebaic columns and rich entablatures to attest the splendour and politeness that it was once possessed of. The citadel was erected upon the summit of an adjacent mount, which, by the figure and situation of it, must have been impregnable in former times. For it is shaped like a cone, or sugar-loaf, in an ascent of fifty or sixty degrees, and appears to have been originally intended for a *mons exploratorius*, (or watch-tower), not being a work of nature, but of art and labour. In the deep valley below, we have a brisk stream, more than sufficient for the necessities of the place; yet it has been judged more convenient to supply it with water from Mount Libanus; for which purpose they have united the mountain to the city by an aqueduct, whose principal arch, though now broken down, could not have been less than a hundred feet in diameter." Burckhardt,[37]

[36] Travels, p. 270. [37] Travels in Syria, &c. p. 162.

when on his journey from the northwest of Lebanon to Tripoli, in the month of March 1812, came, when a few miles south of the Nahr-el-Kebir, (Eleutherus,) to "a hill called Tel Arka, which appeared, by its regularly flattened conical form, and smooth sides, to be artificial." "I was told," says he, "that on its top are some ruins of habitations and walls. Upon an elevation on its east and south sides, which command a beautiful view over the plain, the sea, and the Anzeyry Mountains, are large and extensive heaps of rubbish, traces of ancient dwellings, blocks of hewn stone, remains of walls, and fragments of granite columns; of the latter I counted eight, six of which were of grey, and the other two of fine red granite. Here, then, must have stood the ancient town of Arca, where Alexander Severus was born. The hill was probably the citadel, or a temple may have stood on its top. On the west side of the hill runs the deep valley Wady Akka, with a torrent of the same name, which we passed over a bridge near a mill."

4. In this country, at the south-western end of Lebanon, appears also to have been situated the district and town of *Sin*, whose inhabitants are mentioned among the tribes of Canaan, in Gen. x. 17.[38] The castle of Sinna, on a mountain on this side of Lebanon, is mentioned by Strabo;[39] and St. Jerome[40] says, that in this part of the country were to be seen the ruins of the destroyed city of Sini. A

[38] סִינִי.

[39] XVI. 2. 18.

[40] Quæstt. in Genes. x. 17.

German nobleman, Bernard Von Breidenbach, who travelled through Phœnicia to Jerusalem in the year 1483, found, about half a German mile from the river of Arka, a village called *Sin*. It lay in a wide, pleasant and fruitful plain, which reached as far as Tortosa or Antaradus, and was in the neighbourhood of a castle called Crach, which had formerly belonged to the knights of the order of St John.[41]

5. *Orthosia*, a town above the mouth of the river Eleutherus,[42] is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 37. Tryphon, first the prime minister of Alexander Balas, king of Syria, and afterwards king himself, but subsequently defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, the rightful heir, fled to Orthosia, whence he repaired to his native city, Apamea. "Strabo," says Shaw,[43] "places Orthosia immediately above the Eleutherus, and to the northward of it; agreeable whereunto we still find, upon the north banks of this river, the ruins of a considerable city, whose adjacent district pays, yearly, to the bashaws of Tripoli, a tax of fifty dollars, by the name of *Ortosa*. In Peutinger's Table, also, Orthosia is placed thirty miles to the south of Antaradus, and twelve miles to the north of Tripoli. The situation of it is likewise further illustrated by a medal of Antoninus Pius, struck at Orthosia, upon the reverse of which we have the goddess Astarte treading upon a river. For this city was built upon a rising ground, on the northern banks of the river, within half a furlong of the sea; and, as the ragged eminences of

[41] The entire passage has been quoted by Michaelis in his Spicil. Part II. p. 29.

[42] ἡ Ὀρθωσιὰς, Strabo, XVI. 2. 12.

[43] Travels, p. 270, 271.

Mount Libanus lie at a small distance, in a parallel with the shore, Orthosia must have been a place of the greatest importance, as it would have, hereby, the entire command of the road, (the only one there,) betwixt Phœnice and the maritime parts of Syria."

6. *Tripoli* or *Tripolis*, lay on a promontory several miles below the mouth of the Eleutherus. It received its name, (which denotes the " Triple town,") from the circumstance of the three principal cities of Phœnicia, viz. Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre, having each built here a distinct town, surrounded with a wall, and filled it with colonists. Though each was a stadium distant from the other, they formed but one community, which was governed by deputies sent by the three states, whom a common interest bound in strict alliance.[44] Tripoli has a secure and spacious harbour, and, at one time, carried on extensive commerce. It appears, from 2 Macc. xiv. 1, that, in the year B. C. 162, the pretender to the crown of Syria, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, came hither with a powerful fleet, after he had fled from Rome, and made himself master of the town and the adjacent country. In the year 1109, after being defended by the Arabs against the crusaders for a period of five years, it was taken by Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem, assisted by the Genoese, and became the capital of a county which was received as *fief* by Bertrand, a son of Raymond of Toulouse.[45] But, in the year 1289, the Sultan of Egypt, Ma-

[44] *Diodorus Siculus*, XVI. 41. Strabo. XVI. 2. 15. *Pliny*, Nat. Hist. V. 10. *Mela*, I. 12. Comp. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 386.

[45] See *Wilken's* Hist. of the Crusades, Part II. p. 210.

lek el-Mansūr, took it and razed it to the ground.[46] It was rebuilt indeed, but on a site which is half a sea-league farther east. The modern Tripoli, or, as the Arabs call it, *Tarabolos*,[47] lies on the declivity of the lowest ridge of Lebanon, by which it is inclosed on the east, the south, and somewhat also on the north-west. A small triangular-shaped plain, half a league long, separates the town from the sea. It is divided by the Nahr-Kadisha into two parts, of which that lying to the south is the larger. On the same side of the river stands the castle, which was built in the time of the crusades. "Many parts of Tripoli," says *Burckhardt*,[48] "bear marks of the age of the crusades; amongst these are several high arcades of gothic architecture, under which the streets run. In general, the town is well built, and is much embellished by the gardens, which are not only attached to the houses in the town, but cover also the whole triangular plain lying between it and the sea. Tripoli stands in one of the most favoured spots in all Syria, as the maritime plain and neighbouring mountains place every variety of climate within a short distance of the inhabitants. The Wady Kadisha, higher up than Tripoli, is one of the most pic-

[46] *Abulfeda's* Annal. Tom. V. p. 91.

[47] طرابلس, اطرابلس. See Abulfeda's Tab. Syr. p. 101, and Schultens' Geograph. Index to the Vita Saladini, under "Tripolis."

[48] Travels in Syria, p. 163. Comp. *Shaw*, p. 237. *Pococke*, Part II. p. 245. *Volney*, Part II. p. 127. *Olivier's* Voyages, Tom II. p. 123. *O. v. Richter*. p. 112.

turesque valleys I ever saw. At half an hour from the town is an aqueduct across the Wady, built upon arches; the natives call it *Kontaret el Brins*, a corruption, perhaps, of Prince. It conveys the water used for drinking into the town, by means of a canal along the left bank of the Kadisha. A few yards above the aqueduct is a bridge across the stream. I estimate the inhabitants of Tripoli at about fifteen thousand; of these one-third are Greek Christians, over whom a bishop presides. I was told that the Greeks are authorised, by the firmahns of the Porte, to prevent any schismatic Greek from entering the town. This may not be the fact; it is however certain, that whenever a schismatic is discovered here, he is immediately thrown into prison, put in irons, and otherwise very ill treated. Such a statement can be credited by those only who are acquainted with the fanaticism of the Eastern Christians. There is no public building in the town deserving of notice. The Serai was destroyed during the rebellion of Berber. The Khan of the soap manufacturers is a large well built edifice, with a water basin in the middle of it. Ten minutes above the town, in the Wady Kadisha, is a convent of derwishes, most picturesquely situated above the river, but at present uninhabited. At half an hour's walk below the town, at the extreme angle of the triangular plain, is El Myna, or the port of Tripoli, which is itself a small town; the interjacent plain was formerly covered with marshes, which greatly injured the air; but the greater part of them have been drained, and converted into gardens.

The remains of a wall may be still traced across the triangular plain; from which it appears that the western point was the site of the ancient city; wherever the ground is dug in that direction the foundations of houses and walls are found; indeed, it is with stones thus procured that the houses in the Myna are built. From the Myna, northward to the mouth of the Kadisha, runs a chain of six towers, at about ten minutes walk from each other, evidently intended for the defence of the harbour; around the towers, on the shore, and on the sea, lie a great number of columns of gray granite; there are, at least, eighty of them, of about a foot and a quarter in diameter, lying in the sea; many others have been built into the walls of the towns as ornaments." The chief article of trade is silk, which is raised on the mountain; the quantity exported is estimated at 800 cwt., selling at about L.80 each. Other objects of exportation are sponges, (which are collected on the coast), soap, gall-nuts, wax, and madder. This town is the seat of a pacha, whose government extends over the greatest part of Lebanon. To it belongs,—

7. *Djebile* or *Djobail* also *Djibleh*, pronounced by the ancient Hebrews *Gebal*,[49] and called by the Greeks and Romans *Byblos*. This town was reckon-

[49] גְּבַל, جبلة, جبيل; See *Shultens'* Index, under "Sjibla," and *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 109. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Commentatt. Societ. Reg. Goetting. per annos 1763—1768. praelect. p. 92.

ed the most ancient in Phœnicia, and was famous for the temple and worship of Adonis, whose father, Kinyras, was said to have built a palace here.[50] According to Joshua xiii. 5, the Israelites extended their conquests as far as Gebal, but they do not seem to have retained possession of it. The inhabitants are celebrated in 1 Kings v. 32, as builders, and in Ezek. xxvii. 9, as skilled in navigation. The town lay, according to Strabo, at a small distance from the sea, upon an eminence. "The walls of the town," says Pococke,[51] "are still in existence. They are about half a league in circuit, and at the south-east end is a strong castle of rustic architecture, built of massive stones mixed with pebbles. Some stones, lying on the ground, are as long as twenty feet. There are but few inhabitants; [Volney[52] estimates them at 6000], yet there are a number of ruined houses, from which it may be conjectured, that two or three generations ago it was well peopled. The remains of a beautiful church are pointed out, which appears to have been the cathedral. It is of the Corinthian order, and was evidently built before the complete decay of taste in architecture in the fourth or fifth century." Otto von Richter visited the ancient Byblus in the year 1815: "It is still," says he,[53] "a not inconsiderable town, lying close on the sea, and surrounded with walls and towers, into which many

[50] Strabo XVI. 2. 18. Comp. *Cellarius* Orb. Antiq. Tom. II. p. 377. *Mannert*, p. 382.

[51] Part II. p. 142.

[52] Part II. p. 132.

[53] Loc. cit. p. 118.

fragments of pillars have been built. The adjacent country is adorned with gardens, and the place itself is distinguished by three remarkable edifices. The castle stands on the highest point, commanding the town and harbour. It is of a singular form, consisting of the walls of an old ruinous tower of French architecture, joined together by an arch. On that arch, and on the walls, apartments have been built, which are surmounted by white cupolas; these likewise adorn the neighbouring cloister of dervishes. But what interested me more than either of these buildings, was the Christian church, which reminded me of what is called the Gothic style, except in the roof, which is circular; the interior is in the Byzantine style, and of mean appearance. It rests upon square pillars made of logs of wood, to which are attached a few semi-circular Corinthian columns. The walls are white-washed, and covered with uncouth paintings. By the wall of the church, outside and near the entrance, there is a small fountain, covered with an arch, supported by low pillars. In the centre is an interesting piece of antiquity, namely, an entablature, the architrave and frieze small and plain, but elsewhere adorned with figures of pearls and olives, and having on the top a small cornice of serpent eggs. Above there is a second entablature, which recedes somewhat, and has in the middle the winged serpent and globe of the Egyptians in relief, and in very good workmanship; the space on each side is filled up with a thick garland of roses.[54]"

[54] See also *De la Roque*, Part I. p. 38. *Maundrell*, p. 45. *Burckhardt*, p. 296.

8. In travelling along the coast southwards, the next place of consequence, after Djebail, is *Beirout*,[55] the ancient *Berytus*, called by the emperor Augustus (from whom this place received many favours), *Colonia Felix Junia*, after his daughter Junia.[56] It is commonly supposed to be identical with the Berothai or Berotha, mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 8. Ezek. xlvii. 16; but that is very uncertain. [See the Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XVII. p. 265, 306.] The modern Beirout is rather an important place, with about 12,000 inhabitants; it lies on a beautiful green peninsula, on the north of which is a gulf, at the mouth of the tolerably broad and deep Nahr-Beirout, the Magoras of the ancients. A lime-stone hill, covered with country houses, vineyards, and mulberry plantations, so completely conceals the town towards the land, that it can only be seen from a high elevation. Between the gardens there are groves of pine trees. The plain on which the town is situated is wholly planted with white mulberry trees, remarkable for their beautiful vegetation; and the traveller, in coming down the mountain, descries afar the rich effect of the verdant appearance of these useful trees. The silk produced in this district is uncommonly fine, forming, along with cotton, the principal article of export, especially to France and Italy. Beirout enjoys, at present, by far more extensive commerce than any other place on the coast

[55] بيروت, See Schultens' Index under "Berytus," and Abulfeda's Tab. Syr. p. 94.

[56] See *Cellarius*, loc. cit. p. 378. *Mannert*, p. 378.

of Syria.* There is, in the town, a capuchin monastery, where European travellers receive a hospitable reception.[57]

9. *Sidon*, called by the Hebrews *Zidon*,[58] one of the oldest towns of Phœnicia, is called in the Ethnographic Genealogy, in Genesis, (ch. viii. 15,) "Canaan's first born son," *i. e.* the first settlement of the Canaanites. In the dying blessing of Jacob, wherein he divides the land of Canaan among his children, it is said, (Gen. xlix. 13,) that "the portion of Zebulon shall border upon Sidon." After the conquest of Canaan, Joshua pursued the vanquished inhabitants as far as to "Sidon the Great," (Josh. xi. 8,) or the chief city, as it is also designated in Josh. xix. 28. According to the passage last referred to, the portion of the tribe of Asher extended to Sidon, and even included that city and its territory. But it is remarked in Judges i. 31, that the Sidonians were not expelled thence; and, among the nations who are mentioned in Judg. x. 12, as oppressing the Israelites, are found the people of Sidon. Yet it would appear

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that Beirout was the first place attacked by the allies of Turkey, in their recent operations on the Syrian coast, against Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, (September 1840).—*Tr.*

[57] See *Von Troilo's* Travels, p. 74. Maundrell, p. 52. Pococke, Part II. p. 131. Volney, Part II. p. 138. J. H. Mayr's Adventures of a Swiss, Part II. p. 208. Von Richter, p. 75.

[58] צִידוֹן. See *Cellarius*, Tom. II. p. 379. *Mannert*, p. 37.

that more friendly relations had afterwards been established between them and the Hebrews; for, in Judges xviii. 7, it is said that the inhabitants of Laish lived quietly and peaceably with the Hebrews, "like the Sidonians.* The name of the town is conjectured to have arisen from its being originally a settlement of fishermen.[59] It was, in all probability, more ancient than Tyre; for in the Ethnographic table, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, (ver. 15—18,) Sidon is introduced, but not Tyre, the name of which, indeed, does not occur until the time of David. Even Homer takes no notice of Tyre, but he speaks of the Sidonians as rich merchants, trading in curious wares, and as mariners skilled in astronomy and navigation.[60] It has been already remarked, in the beginning of this chapter, that the name "Sidon," denoted the whole coast of northern Canaan, to which the Greeks and Romans gave the appellation of Phœnicia. About six hundred years before the Christian æra, Sidon, as well as Tyre, was governed by its own princes.

* In the English Version it is, "they dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure."

[59] The root צוד signifies in the Hebrew "to hunt game," but it appears to have been employed with a peculiar reference to *fishing*. Justin says, (Book XVIII. Cap. 3): Phoenices . . . . mox mari proximum litus incoluerunt, condita bi urbe, quam a piscium ubertate Sidona adpellaverunt; nam pisces Phoenices Sidon vocant. Instead of *piscis* he ought rather to have said *piscatus*.

[60] Iliad VI. 289. XXIII. 745. Odyss. IV. 84. Comp. *Strabo*, XVI. 2, § 22, 24. *Gesenius* Comment. on Isa. xxiii. p. 725.

Jerem. xxvii. 3. Comp. ch. xxv. 22. According to the Prophet Ezekiel, (ch. xxvii. 8,) Sidon furnished the Tyrians with rowers. The same prophet predicted, (ch. xxviii. 21—24,) that this city should be so devastated by pestilence and war, as to be unable to undertake any thing against Israel. About three centuries and a half before the birth of Christ, it was taken and destroyed by the Persian king Artaxerxes Ochus. It was, indeed, afterwards restored, but it had for ever lost its independence, and all the future conquerors of Syria obtained possession of it without opposition.* *Pomponius Mela,*[61] writing in the first century of our æra, calls it still a rich city. Of the many branches of industry and trade for which it was anciently noted, one always remained in Sidon, namely, the manufacture of much fine glass, for which the sand of this coast was peculiarly adapted. Even in the middle ages, Sidon continued to be of some importance, but it is now sunk to an inconsiderable place, known by the name of Saida,[62] being the ancient name somewhat altered in pronunciation. "This town," says Pocoke,[63] "lay upon a hill, which was protected by the sea on the north and west. The present town lies

* This was not exactly the case when it was lately captured by a brilliant *coup-de-main* of Commodore Napier (September 27th 1840); but the opposition was unavailing.—*Tr.*

[61] Book I. Cap. 12: Adhuc opulenta Sidon; antequam a Persis caperetur, maritimarum urbium maxima.

[62] صيدا. See *Schultens'* Index, under "Saladin." Abulfeda's Tab. Syr. p. 93.

[63] Part II. p. 126.

chiefly on the north side of the hill. The ancient city appears to have extended farther towards the north, as is evident from the ruins of a thick wall, which ran eastward from the sea. On the south side, it seems to have met a stream, the bed of which served for a natural trench. On the north side it joined another river; and, on the east, it extended as far as the high hill, which lies about three quarters of a mile from the modern town. The space between this hill and the town is, at present, laid out in gardens and orchards. On the north side there are considerable remains of an excellent mole, the walls of which were built of very large stones, twelve feet long, (which is the thickness of the wall,) and some of them eleven feet broad, and five feet high. The harbour is at present useless, having been, like several others on the coast, intentionally chocked up by the famous Emir Fakhr-eddin, in order to prevent the approach of the Turkish fleet sent against him. This appears to have been the *inner* harbour for the winter season, mentioned by Strabo; the outer having been, probably, to the north, in the open sea, between Sidon and Tyre, where there is safe anchorage during summer. In a garden, south of the town, stands a small mosque, called Nebi-Sidon, and where, according to the belief of the Turks, the patriarch Zebulon was buried, though it is not very likely that his bones were brought hither from Egypt. In another garden, to the east, is another small mosque, which the Mahomedans call Zalusa, and where, as they give out, another holy person lies buried. The Europeans call it *La Cananaa*, from the idea of its being the place

where the woman of Canaan exclaimed, (Luke xi. 27,) "Blessed be the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked!" This building has the appearance of an old chapel. On the hill to the west of the town stands a large old church, transformed into a mosque. The highest point of the ancient town appears to have been a little hill on the north side. Here are the remains of an old castle, built by Louis IX. of France; but, on the top of the hill, there is a structure more ancient still, in the form of a square castle of hewn stone rusticated. There are also the remains of a circular wall which, probably, inclosed the building. It appears to have been built by the Greek emperors, and repaired or rebuilt by Louis IX. In like manner, on the north side, near the bed of the river El-Hamly, is an ancient building called the Venetian Khan, perhaps from the Venetians having possessed it when they traded here." In Pococke's time, (*i. e.* about the year 1737,) Saida was still the seat of a pacha; but, in the second half of the eighteenth century, his residence was removed to Akka. Volney[64] gives the following description:—"This town, formerly the residence of the pacha, is, like all the Turkish towns, ill-built, dirty, and full of modern ruins. Its length, along the sea shore, is about six hundred paces, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. On the south side, on a small eminence, is a fort built by Degnizla. From thence we have a view of the sea, the city, and the country; but a few cannon would easily destroy this whole work, which is only a tower of a single story, already half

[64] Travels, Vol. II. p. 207 of the English Transl.

in ruins. At the other extremity of the town, that is, to the north-west, is the castle, which is built in the sea itself, eighty paces from the main land, to which it is joined by arches. To the west of this castle is a shoal, fifteen feet high above the sea, and about two hundred paces long. The space between this shoal and the castle forms the road, but vessels are not safe there in bad weather. The shoal, which extends along the town, has a basin, enclosed by a decayed pier. This was the ancient port; but it is so choked up by sands that boats can only enter its mouth, near the castle. Fakr-el-din, emir of the Druzes, destroyed all these little ports, from Beirout to Acre, by sinking boats and stones, to prevent the Turkish ships from entering them. The bason of Saide, if it were cleared out, might contain twenty or twenty-five small vessels. On the side of the sea, the town is absolutely without any wall; and that which encloses it on the land side is no better than a prison wall. The whole artillery does not exceed six cannon, and these are without carriages or gunners. The garrison scarcely amounts to one hundred men.* The water they have comes from the river Aoula, through open canals, from which it is fetched by the women. These canals serve also to water the orchards of mulberry and lemon trees. Saide is a considerable trading town, and is the chief emporium of Damascus, and the interior of the country. The French, who are the only Europeans to be found there, have a consul, and five or six commercial houses. Their exports consist in silks, and, par-

* The defences were afterwards much improved, especially by Mehemet Ali.—*Tr.*

ticularly, in raw and spun cottons. The manufacture of this cotton is the principal art of the inhabitants, the number of whom may be estimated at about five thousand."

The view of the town, when it is approached from the south, is, according to Richter,[65] very picturesque, "At sunrise we came in sight of Saida (Sidon). A single tower on a height is first seen, rising from among the gardens which encircle the town like a beautiful garland. It produces a pleasant impression on the traveller. In the environs the houses are large and well built, and before each there is a garden with groves of bananas, and many odoriferous plants, which spread a perfume around. Near the gate is a Turkish burying-ground, full of the finest trees. Upon a hill, which commands the town, stands a castle, and there is another near the sea. But the interior of the town does not answer the traveller's expectations, the streets being narrow, and the houses, for the most part, mean. All traces of the ancient Sidon are lost; the once flourishing commerce has been transferred to Beirout. The harbour, where are still the remains of a mole, is completely blocked up with sand. The population of the place is above 8000, who are chiefly Greeks. In our journey northward, in the afternoon, we found the neighbourhood prettily adorned with gardens, as far as the river Aulah, while the hills, in the back ground, imparted a very lovely appearance to the town itself."[66]

[65] Wallfahrten, p. 73.

[66] *Cotwyk* gives a very different account of Saida from *Rich-*

10. Two and a half leagues south of Sidon, on the road to Tyre, lay *Sarepta*, called by the Hebrews *Zarpath*,[67] where the prophet Elijah dwelt during the time of the great famine in Israel, 1 Kings xxii. 9, et seqq. In the time of St. Jerome, and long after, a small tower was shewn, which was supposed to have been the prophet's residence; and, at a later period, a church was built on the same spot, in the middle of the town.[68] The wine of Sarepta was esteemed in ancient times, but at present there are no vines in the district. By the historians of the Crusades this place is mentioned under the name of Atsareb.[69] It was then one of the strongest castles of Rodvan, prince of Aleppo. In the year 1111 it was taken by Tancred, after a three months siege, and its walls and towers were then repaired and strengthened. *Maundrell*[70] found, in the part of the country where

ter. He says in his Itiner. p. 116: Latronum speluncam, non urbem dixeris, adeo suis ruinis horrida est, habitatore omni paene vacua, paucissimis Mauris [Arabibus] Turcisque exceptis. Portu quidem ditata insigni et capaci, sed infrequenti. Solo gaudet optimo et ubere. Agri circumjacentes aquarum rivulis et fontibus irrigui mira fertilitate exuberant: incultos tamen plerosque nostra hac tempestate conspicias. Comp. *V. Troilo*, p. 76, and *Maundrell*, p. 59.

[67] צָרְפַת אֲשֶׁר לְצִידוֹן, Zarphath which belongs to Zidon, 1 Kings xvii. 9.

[68] *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 371.

[69] See *Wilken's* Hist. of the Crusades, (Ger.) Part II. p. 208. Another اثارب is mentioned by Abulfeda in his "Syria," p. 21.

[70] In *Paulus* Collect. Part I. p. 62.

Sarepta stood, a small place of a few houses upon an eminence, half a mile from the sea, and bearing the name of Sarphand. But, between the hill and the sea, he remarked many ruins; and it is probable that the greater part of the town stood there. *Otto von Richter*[71] also saw in this quarter (where the ground lies nearly waste), not far from a small natural harbour, the remains of cisterns, pillars, altars, and the foundation of a square building near the sea, to which there was a descent by steps. He conjectures, with some probability, that these are the ruins of the ancient Sarepta.

The southernmost town of ancient Phœnicia was,

11. *Tyre*, a name which seems to have been formed from an Aramaic pronunciation of the Phœnician and Hebrew name *Zor*, (Tor[72]), *i. e.* "Rock." With a slight modification of the sound of the initial letter, the ancient Latin writers called it *Sarra*.[73] Although not so ancient as Sidon, (see above, at p. 84), it nevertheless ultimately surpassed it in greatness, and became the largest and richest commercial city of the ancient world. In the Bible "the strong city of Zor" is first mentioned in Josh. xix. 29, and is there reckoned as belonging to the tribe of Asher, by whom, however, it was never subdued. The

[71] Loc. cit. p. 72. Comp. *Cotwyk*, p. 117. *Von Troilo*, p. 80. *Pococke*, Part II. p. 125.

[72] צוֹר, טוֹר, صور, *Abulfeda's* Tab. Syr. p. 92. Comp. Volney, Part II. p. 157.

[73] See *Virgil's* Georgics, II. 506. *Juvenal*, Satt. X. 38. Aulus Gellius XIV. 6.

"stronghold of Zor" is also spoken of in 2 Sam. xxiv. 7. This was no doubt the old city which lay on the mainland, and was called *Palaetyrus*, or Old Tyre. There stood the temple of Melkarth,[74] (a symbol of the sun), or the Tyrian Hercules, which, according to the account given by its priests to Herodotus,[75] had been built 2300 years before the time when he wrote. In allusion to the high antiquity of their city, (of which the Tyrians boasted), it is said in the prophecy against Tyre, in Isa. xxiii. 7: "Your beginning is from ancient days." According to the common opinion, Palaetyrus lay near the place which is now called *Ras-el-Ain*,[76] *i. e.* "Head of the Fountain." The water is there collected into a large stone basin of Turkish architecture, but resting on an ancient foundation; it is a copious stream, which drives several mills, and is led into the plain by an old picturesque aqueduct.[77] In describing this aque-

[74] מֶלֶךְ קִרְיָתָא king of the city. Comp. *Bochart's* Geogr. Sac. Part II. or Canaan, Lib. I. Cap. 34, p. 682, and Lib. II. Cap. 2, p. 787.

[75] Book II. Cap. 44.

[76] رأس العين. Comp. *Reland's* Palaest. p. 1049.

[77] *Otto von Richter*, p. 70. The following is *Mariti's* account, ("Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, from the years 1760 to 1768. *English Translation*, Vol. II. p. 215): To go to the peninsula of Tyre from the continent, you must cross an isthmus seven hundred paces in breadth, and formed, as I have said, by the army of Alexander. This passage is difficult, as it is filled with sand, carried thither continually by the winds from the sides of the sea. On crossing a

duct Volney[78] says; "Leaving the village on the side of the isthmus, at a hundred paces from the gate, we

beautiful plain, lying towards the south, you arrive at the wells of Ras-Elein, two Arabic words which signify a spring of water. Several tribes ascribe the construction of these wells to Solomon, and call them by his name; but, in my opinion, that idea is destitute of all probability. As this prince was never master of Tyre, how can we suppose that he either would or could raise any monument in the territories of another? We must, therefore, apply to some other wells than those of Ras-Elein, the following words of the Song of Solomon: *Putens aquarum viventium quae fluunt impetu de Libano.* The largest of these wells, which are three in number, is about fifty feet in diameter, twenty in height on the south side, and a little less in other parts. It is of an octagona form; but when seen on one side it is confounded with a square tower in the neighbourhood. The structure of it is admirable; for being formed of small flints closely cemented by a kind of mastich impenetrable to water, one would almost say that it is cut out of the solid rock. Though it has subsisted for a long series of ages, it has not yet sustained the least injury. One may ascend on horseback to the top of it, by a kind of path, constructed of beautiful stones, but kept in very bad repair at present. The water of this well, which is sufficiently abundant, flows from the cavities of the mountains of Anti-Libanus; the nearest of them is distant from this place about seven miles. The natives say that the bottom of this well cannot be found. As I could not sound it myself, I shall here quote what *M. de la Roque* says of it: "M. de Mointel is the first European who made this experiment, by means of a rope with a lead fixed to it, which, in his presence, was let down into the principal reservoir. Bottom was found at the distance of about thirty-five feet from the surface of the water; and M. Galland, who witnessed this trial, assured me several times, and I have since learned that other travellers have done the same thing with the

[78] Travels. Eng. Transl. Vol. II. p. 213.

come to a ruined tower, in which is a well where the women go to fetch water. As we proceed along the isthmus towards the continent, we perceive, at equal distances, the ruins of arcades which lead, in a right line, to an eminence, the only one in the plain. This hill is not factitious, like those of the desert,

like success. It is probable that the water of this well was conveyed into the other two by means of an aqueduct. The latter, which are of a square form, are constructed of the same material as the former. One of them is about fifteen feet in breadth, and the other about forty. The water in them is visibly low; which sufficiently proves that these two reservoirs had need of a supply from the principal well, in order to enter the grand aqueduct, by which the water was conveyed to the city of Tyre. The subterranean channels, by which these waters were conducted, had their course from the well towards the south. Several of them may be still seen, which extended in one direction for the space of three miles, and afterwards took another from east to west. When you arrive at the highway, which is opposite the city, at the distance of about a mile, you ascend a mountain, and find on the side a Mahometan mosque, which exhibits nothing worthy of observation. A little further there is a heap of ruins, which have been so ill treated, that nothing certain can be said respecting them. I however thought that I perceived in them the remains of a church, and a tower of modern architecture. Near these ruins there is a village, but it contains nothing remarkable. I remember that Strabo had placed the city of Palae-Tyrus at the distance of thirty stadia from New Tyre, towards the south. Being on the same point of the horizon, and nearly at the same distance, it appeared to me probable that this place might indeed have been the spot where Palae-Tyrus once stood. The inhabitants whom I questioned on this subject, confirmed my opinion in some measure, but could give me no information respecting the fate of this city."

but a natural rock of about one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, by forty or fifty high. Nothing is to be discovered there but a house in ruins, and the tomb of a *Sheikh* or *Santon*, remarkable for the white dome at the top. The distance of this rock from Sour is about a quarter of an hour's walk. As we approach it, the arcades of the aqueduct become more numerous, and are not so high; they terminate by a continued line, and, at the foot of the rock, form suddenly a right angle to the south, and proceed obliquely toward the sea; we may follow their direction for above an hour's walk at a horse's pace, till, at at length, we distinctly perceive, by the channel on the arches, that this is no other than an aqueduct. This channel is three feet wide, by two and a half deep; and is formed of a cement harder than the stones themselves. At last we arrive at the well, where it terminates, or, rather, from which it begins. This is what some travellers call the well of Solomon, but among the inhabitants of the country it is known only by the name of Ras-el-Ain." It is very probable that the well of Ras-el-Ain, and the aqueduct connected with it, are those to which reference is made in history, when it is said that Salmanassar, king of Assyria, on returning from the siege of Tyre to Nineveh, left a part of his army near the "river and aqueduct," to cut off their supply of water.[79] But as

[79] This is the account of *Menander* in the Annals of Tyre, from which *Josephus* gives a long quotation in his Antiqq. IX. 14. 2. *Ἀναζεύξας δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατέστησε φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑδραγωγίων, οἱ διακωλύσουσι Τυρίους*

to the rock where the aqueduct ended, it is, according to the conjecture of Volney, the same on which the colony of Sidonians established themselves when driven from their country two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's Temple,[80] thus laying the foundation of Tyre.[81] "They made choice of this situation," says he, "from the double advantage of a place which might be easily defended, and the convenience of the adjacent road, which would contain and cover a great number of vessels. The population of this colony augmenting, in time, and by the advantages of commerce, the Tyrians were in want of more water, and constructed the aqueduct; the industry we find them remarkable for in the days of Solomon, may, perhaps, induce us to attribute the work to that age."

ἀρύσαθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔτεσι πέντε γενόμενον, ἐκαρτέρησαν πίνοντες ἐκ φρεάτων ὀρυκτῶν.

[80] *Josephus* Antiqq. VIII. 3. 1. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκήσεως Τύρου εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ διαγεγόνει χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων.

[81] *Justin* Histor. XVIII. 3. Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati (Sidonii) navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante annum Trojanae cladis condiderunt. *Volney* says, in his Recherches, (Tom. III. p. 146.) A cette epoque (de Nabukodonosor) la métropole des Tyriens, située dans le continent, avait pour citadelle un monticule de roc, qui se voit encore dans la plaine saillant en pain de sucre, à environ 1000 toises de la mer. Comp. *Fontenu's* Recherches sur la Fondation de la Ville de Tyr, in the Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, T. XVIII. p. 17. *Joh. Rich, Weinrich's* Observatt. de prima Tyri origine, in the Miscellann. Lips.§ T. III. p. 264.

"It must, however," he adds, "be very ancient, since the water of the aqueduct has had time to form, by filtration, a considerable incrustation, which, falling from the sides of the channel, or the inside of the vaults, has obstructed whole arches. In order to secure the aqueduct, it was necessary that a number of inhabitants should settle there, and hence the origin of Palae-Tyrus. It may be alleged this is a fictitious spring, formed by a subterraneous canal from the mountains; but if so, why was it not conducted directly to the rock? It seems much more probable that it is natural; and that they availed themselves of one of those subterranean rivers of which we find many in Syria. The idea of confining this water to force it to rise is worthy of Phœnicians." Upon an island somewhat to the north of old Tyre, and only thirty stadia from the coast, was another town of the same name; it arose at an unknown but very early period,[82] and has continued to exist to the present day, while of Palae-Tyrus not a trace remains.

Like other Phœnician cities, Tyre had its own princes or kings. According to 2 Sam. v. 11, David obtained from Hiram, king of Tyre, cedar-wood and artizans for the building of his royal palace; and the same king furnished Solomon with cedars, precious metals, and workmen for the erection of the temple, as well as mariners for the navigation to Ophir, in

[82] *Volney*, (in his Travels, Eng. Transl. Vol. II. p. 219. and his Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne Tom. III. p. 146,) is of opinion that the foundation of insular Tyre dated from the capture of the ancient city by Nebuchadnezzar; but the conjecture is not supported by any historical evidence.

exchange for which he received supplies of corn and oil, and the transfer of twenty towns in Galilee, 1 Kings ix. 10—14, 27; x. 22. But, at a later period, the friendly relations between the Hebrews and Tyrians were disturbed, in consequence of the latter purchasing from neighbouring states, with whom the Hebrews were at war, prisoners belonging to that nation, in order to sell them as slaves. With this they are reproached by the prophets Joel and Amos (about the year B.C. 789), who threaten them with the destruction of their city, and the expatriation of the inhabitants into far distant lands, Joel iii. 4—9. Amos i. 9, 10. By the time when the Assyrians, under Salmanassar, extended their conquests over Western Asia, (B. C. 724), Tyre had risen to such greatness, that in several of her colonies *kings* held rule, who were appointed by the mother city, and probably continued to be dependent upon her.[83] Hence Isaiah (chap. xxiii. 8), might justly call her "the crown-dispenser—whose merchants are kings." The same prophet says, at the ninth verse:

> "Pass now through thy land like the Nile!
> O daughter of Tarsis, (*i. e.* Tartessus)
> No girdle hems thee in any more!"

It may be inferred from this, that the Tyrians held their colonies in a state of oppression, and imposed severe restrictions on their trade. On this account the Kittæi, or inhabitants of Cittium, on the island of Cyprus, re-

[83] Comp. *Heeren's* Ideas, Part I. Div. 2. p. 18 of the third edit., and *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah xxiii. 8, 9.

volted against them; and when Salmanassar had taken Samaria, and was moving towards the coast, the neighbouring cities of Sidon, Arke, and Palæ-Tyrus, (which were under the Tyrian yoke), not only submitted to the conqueror, but furnished him with ships for the siege of the insular city, which was then the seat of government, and had eclipsed Palæ-Tyrus in importance. The Tyrians, however, made peace with Cyprus, and defeated Salmanassar's fleet; yet the Assyrians held them for five years in a state of blockade, by which they were cut off from a supply of water from the continent.[84] It would appear, however, that the power of Tyre, which arose chiefly from its colonial possessions, was not materially weakened by Assyria. When the Assyrian monarchy was overthrown by the Chaldæans, Nebuchadnezzar their king, during his career of conquest in Upper Asia, attempted to subjugate Tyre. He besieged it from the third year of his reign, (B. C. 584), for a period of thirteen years, on which occasion the prophet Ezekiel foretold the downfall of Tyre, (chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.) It is no where expressly said that Tyre was taken by Nebuchadnezzar[85]; yet that it became dependent upon Babylon seems probable from the circumstance, that, subsequently to this period, one "Merbal from Baby-

[84] See *Menander* in *Josephus*, IX. 14. 2. [as cited in note 79, *supra*.]

[85] See *Gesenius*, loc. cit. p. 711. He thinks it highly probable, from the oracle of Ezekiel against Egypt, (ch. xxix. 18,) that Nebuchadnezzar failed in his attempt against Tyre.

lonia," is mentioned among its governors.[86] After the destruction of the Chaldæan empire, it appears to have become, like the rest of Western Asia, dependent on Persian rule. Among the commanders in the great naval expedition of Xerxes, mention is made of a Tyrian called *Mapen*, and a Sidonian.[87] At an earlier period, namely, in the reign of Cyrus, we are informed, (Ezra iii. 7), that by his permission the Tyrians and Sidonians furnished cedar from Lebanon to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. When Alexander the Great had conquered the rest of Phœnicia, Tyre refused to submit to him, and he therefore laid siege to the insular fortress, about the year B. C. 330. He endeavoured to connect the island with the mainland by means of a mound, in order to facilitate the approach of his army; but in this attempt he was frustrated by the persevering efforts of the besieged to hinder the completion of the work, in which they were aided by the heavy swell occasioned by a succession of gales from the north-west. At length, in the seventh month, Alexander got possession of Tyre by a general attack upon the two harbours and the walls, which had been partly beaten down. Several thousand of the inhabitants fell during the assault by

[86] See *Josephus* contra Apion, I. 21. Gesenius is of opinion (loc. cit.) that the siege by Nebuchadnezzar ended in a friendly alliance. Volney, on the other hand, (loc. cit. p. 146,) thinks that Merbal had sprung of one of the principal Syrian families that Nebuchadnezzar had carried to Babylon as hostages.

[87] *Herodotus*, VII. 98; VIII. 67.

the sword of the enemy, who were exasperated by the length of the siege; and about 30,000 were carried away as slaves.[88] In other respects the city was left uninjured, and Alexander appointed over it a king from one of the ancient families. Tyre remained a place of great strength, and, not long after the time of Alexander, (about the year B. C. 314), it sustained a fourteen months siege from Antigonus, who found it impossible to take it without a marine force. Although it lost a great part of its commerce by the increasing prosperity of its rival Alexandria, it nevertheless continued to be a rich and flourishing commercial city, both under the Seleucidæ, (who granted it many valuable privileges), and under the Romans. As such it is described by Strabo,[89a] who compares the style of its architecture to that of Aradus, both these places being noted for their lofty edifices, which were higher than even those of Rome. Tyre was indebted for much of its prosperity to the manufacture of stuffs of a purple dye.[89b] In the fourth century St. Jerome calls it the finest and most considerable town in Phœnicia, carrying on trade with almost all

[88] *Justin*, XI. 10. *Diodorus Siculus*, XVII. 40, et seqq. *Arrian's* Exped. of Alexander, II. 16, et seqq. *Quintus Curtius*, IV. 2, et seqq.

[89a] XVI. 2. 23.

[89b] On the *Tyrian purple*, see *Heeren's* Ideas, Part I. Div. 2, p. 97. Comp. *Mariti's* Travels, p. 326. *Mayr*, (Adventures of a Swiss, Part II. p. 204,) heard that the shell-fish which yields it is still found in abundance on the coast between Sur and Saida, (Tyre and Sidon,) in the months of April and May.

other countries.[90] Even in the time of the Crusades, Tyre was a most important commercial city, having been the central point of the busy intercourse between the coast of Syria and the other shores of the Mediterranean.[91] The Tyrian glass, made of the sea-sand in the neighbourhood, was no less in demand then than in more ancient times. Another valuable product of Tyrian industry was sugar, as the sugar-cane was extensively cultivated in the district, and the town was famous for its sugar refineries. In the month of June, in the year 1124, Tyre yielded by capitulation to the Crusaders, after a siege of more than four months, in which the Venetians especially distinguished themselves. The captors, upon taking possession, were filled with astonishment at the size and magnificence of the houses, the strength and durability of the walls, and the richness of the storehouses. Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, attempted to retake it in the year 1187, but was compelled to raise the siege.[92] But, about a century later (A.D. 1291), the town surrendered to the Egyptian sultan Khalil, who was of the dynasty of Bahirite Mamelouks. The Christian inhabitants were allowed to retire unmolested, and the fortress was razed to the ground.[93] From that period Tyre fell into gradual decay, and is now a very inconsiderable place.

[90] In his Comment. on Zech. ch. xxvi. 7, and ch. xxvii. 3.

[91] See Wilkens' Hist. of the Crusades, Part II. p. 502.

[92] *Bohaeddin's* Life of Saladin, edited by A. Schultens, p. 72.

[93] *Abulfeda's* Annall. Moslemm. T. V. p. 98.

"The present town of Sur, says *Otto von Richter*,[94] which ought rather to be called a village, scarcely embraces two-thirds of the former island. The isthmus, and the shores around it, are covered with sand. Towards the north there is a double harbour; the inner was strengthened with walls and towers, the ruins of which (probably constructed in the middle ages), are still to be seen. It is very shallow. The rest of the original island is laid out in fields or orchards of fig-trees and the *cactus opuntia*, which are inclosed, however, by a decayed wall with bastions (but without guns), as is indeed the whole island; it has, moreover, two towers on the side towards the land."

A more minute description of the present state of this, the most ancient of commercial cities, is given by Volney:[95] "Sour is situated on a peninsula, which projects from the shore into the sea, in the form of a mallet with an oval head. This head is a solid rock, covered with a brown cultivable earth, which forms a small plain of about eight hundred paces long, by four hundred broad. The isthmus, which joins this place to the continent, is of pure sea sand. This difference of soil renders the ancient insular state of the plain, before Alexander joined it to the shore by a mole, very manifest, since it is evident that the sea, by covering this mole with sand, has enlarged it by successive accumulations, and formed the present isthmus. The village of Sour is situated at the junction of this isthmus with the ancient island, of

[94] Wallfahrten, p. 71.

[95] Travels, Vol. II. p. 210 of the Eng. Translation.

which it does not cover above one-third. The point to the north is occupied by a basin, which was a post evidently formed by art, but is at present so choked up that children pass it without being wet above the middle. The opening at the point is defended by two towers, opposite each other, between which formerly passed a chain fifty or sixty feet long, to shut the harbour. From these towers began a line of walls, which, after surrounding the basin, enclosed the whole island; but, at present, we can only follow their traces by the foundations which run along the shore, except in the vicinity of the port, where the Metoualis [a Syrian tribe], made some repairs twenty years ago, but these are again fallen to decay.

"Further on, in the sea, to the north-west of the point, at the distance of about three hundred paces, is a ridge of rocks, which rise to the surface of the water. The space which separates them from the main land in front, forms a sort of road, where vessels may anchor with more safety than at Saida; they are not, however, free from danger, for they are exposed to the north-west winds, and the bottom injures the cables. That part of the island, which lies between the village and the sea, that is the western side, is open: and this ground the inhabitants have laid out in gardens; but, such is their sloth, that they contain far more weeds than useful plants. The south side is sandy, and more covered with rubbish. The whole village contains only fifty or sixty poor families, which live but indifferently on the produce of their little grounds, and a trifling fishery. The houses they occupy are no longer, as in the time of

Strabo, edifices of three or four stories high, but wretched huts, ready to crumble to pieces. Formerly they were defenceless towards the land, but the Metoualis, who possessed themselves of this place in 1766, enclosed it with a wall of twenty feet high, which still subsists. The most remarkable building is a ruin at the south-east corner. This was a Christian church, built probably by the Crusaders; a part of the choir only is remaining; close to which, amid heaps of stones, lie two beautiful columns, with shafts of red granite, of a kind unknown in Syria. Djezzar, who stripped all this country to ornament his mosque at Acre, wished to carry them away, but his engineers were not able even to move them."[96]

The situation of the two following places is uncertain.

12. *Mearah*, "which belongs to the Sidonians,"[97] is mentioned in Josh. xiii. 4, among the places which the Hebrews had not been able to subdue. The Hebrew word *Mearah* signifies "a cave"; and as there is mention, in the history of the Crusades, of a "Tyrian cave,"[98] (which was reckoned an impregna-

[96] See also in reference to Tyre, *Cotwyk's* Itiner. p. 117. *Von Troilo's* Travels, p. 83. *Maundrell* in Paulus' Collection of Travels, Part I. p. 63, 65. *De la Roque's* Voyage, Tom I. p. 21. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part II. p. 161. *Mariti's* Travels, p. 319. *Mayr's* Adventures of a Swiss, Part II. p. 203.

[97] מְעָרָה אֲשֶׁר לַצִּידֹנִים.

[98] In the Histor. Hierosolymit, of *William*, Bishop of Tyre, (Book XIX. Chap. II.) Eadem tempestate Syrawaus, vir in

ble stronghold), between Sarepta and Sidon, it is not improbable that it was the same place as Mearah. The possession of such a place would, on account of its natural strength, be of great consequence to the inhabitants of the surrounding country.

13. *Misrephoth-Maïm.*[99] It is said, in the book of Joshua, (chap. xi. 8), that the Hebrews being attacked by certain Canaanitish tribes, vanquished them, and pursued them as far as Sidon and Misrephoth-Maïm. In Josh. xiii. 6, in the account given of the Canaanites, who had not then been expelled, mention is made of "all who lived in the mountain, from Lebanon to Misrephoth-Maïm, and all the Sidonians," *i. e.* the Phœnicians. The Hebrew name signifies literally, "burnings of water," but what is intended by that it is difficult to determine. Luther translates it "warm water," and understands thereby, (as do other interpreters), a place of *Hot Baths.* Others think of canals, into which the salt water was led from the sea, and, being evaporated by the heat of the sun, a residuum of salt remained. *Andreas Masius* conjectures that the Hebrew word denoted *Glass-houses,*[100] or furnaces in which the sand of the

nostram argumentosus perniciem, municipium quoddam nostrum, in territorio Sydoniensi situm, speluncam videlicet inexpugnabilem, quae vulgo dicitur *cavea de Tyro*, corruptis, ut dicitur, pretio, custodibus, subitis et improvisis occupat machinationibus.

[99] מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם.

[100] In his Comment. on Josh. xi. 8. Ego probabili conjectura augurari posse videor, *vitrarias officinas* istis verbis esse

river Belus was melted by fire, and then formed into glass. Yet this ought rather to have been called, "burnings of sand" than of "water;" and indeed the etymology of the Hebrew name seems as obscure as the situation of the place is uncertain.

In the Genealogical and Ethnographic Table, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, (ver. 15, et seqq.), the Phœnicians are introduced among the posterity of Ham, as if a people of African origin; and this seems somewhat confirmed by an ancient tradition recorded by Herodotus, namely, that they had been originally settled on the Red Sea.[101] Yet, to judge from their language, which was not different from the Hebrew and Syriac, they might be regarded as a branch of the great Aramæan family, which, from time immemorial, has inhabited the countries which extend from the Mediteranean Sea to the Tigris, and from the southern point of Arabia to the mountain chain of Caucasus. As Syria was anciently divided into

significatas. Constat enim eas apud Sidonem fuisse plurimas, sive illic etiam loci vitrariae arenae effoderentur, sive a Pagida vel Belo rivulo, qui prope Ptolemaidem ex Carmelo defluit, illuc importarentur. Nam eam arenam, ut in vitrum duci queat, perpetuo igni necesse est excoqui, quod apud Venetorum Murranum ipsi vidimus; illuc enim navibus pro saburra ex Palaestina usque devehitur.

[101] Book VII. Cap. 89: Φοίνικες μὲν συν Συρίοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. . . . . οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τοπαλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίης οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν. τῆς δὲ Συρίης τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνη καλέεται.

several small principalities, or cities with their territories, which were independent of each other,* so likewise was Phœnicia. Down to the time of the Persian dominion over Upper Asia, it never formed one nation, but was made up of various distinct communities, each having its own king or prince. They were, indeed, for the most part, in a state of close alliance together, in order to enable them to resist foreign aggression, the richest and most powerful city (first Sidon and then Tyre), being at the head of the confederation.[102] So early as a thousand years before the Christian era, we find in the historical books of Scripture, mention made of a king of Tyre, Chiram (Hiram) by name, a friend and ally both of David and Solomon, 2 Sam. i. 11. 1 Kings v. 1, 10, 11; ix. 11—14, 27; x. 11. The historians Dius, and Menander of Ephesus, (extracts from whose works are given by Josephus,[103]) call this Hiram a son of Abibal; and Menander says, that he enlarged and beautified Tyre, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. Of the six successors of Hiram, viz. Balnazar, Abdastaratus, one whose name is unknown, Astartus, Asarymus, and Pheles, who are said to have reigned twelve years each, nothing has been left on record. The next in order, Ithobal, (in the Bible, Ethbaal, 1 Kings

* See the Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 268.

[102] See *Heeren's* Ideas, Part I. Div. 2, p. 13 of the third edit.

[103] For example, in the Jewish Antiqq. IX. 14. 2, and in his Lib. contra Apion, I. 21. Comp. *Fabricius* Bibl. Gr. Tom. I. p. 166.

xvi. 31), king of Tyre and Sidon, was the father of Jezabel (Isabel), the wife of Ahab, king of Israel. He built several towns in Phœnicia, and founded a colony at Anza in Africa. His son Badezor was succeeded by Matgenus or Mettinus, the father of Pygmalion, and Barka, of Dido or Elisa and Anna.* Dido being oppressed by her covetous and cruel brother Pygmalion, fled from Tyre and founded Carthage. The neighbouring island of Cyprus must have been previously subject to the Tyrians, for Pygmalion built on it the town of Karpatia. During the following century, there are few or no materials for the history of Phœnicia, but it would seem that Tyre had not only maintained but perhaps abused its authority over the other cities, as well as over its own colonies. For about the year B. C. 700, the Kittæi in Cyprus rebelled under Ebulæus, and attached themselves to the Assyrians, who had made an inroad into Western Asia. Yet Eubalæus was subdued by the Tyrians, and Salmanassar made peace with them, as he probably saw he could prevail nothing against their naval power. Yet, about the same time, Sidon, Accho, and other Phœnician towns, rose in rebellion against the metropolis, offered their submission to Salmanassar, and gave him their ships to be used against Tyre. But twelve Tyrian vessels destroyed sixty of the enemy's, and the Assyrians were compelled to raise the siege of the city, after it had lasted for five years. Some time after, however, Sidon appears

* Some of these names are found different in different writers.—*Tr.*

to have recovered its former independence; for about a hundred years posterior to this event, when Nebuchadnezzar was pursuing his career of conquest, the kings of Tyre and Sidon sent ambassadors to Zedekiah king of Judah, to engage him in an alliance against him, Jerem. xxvii. 3. That Tyre, Sidon, Arvad, and Byblos, were, about that period, in close alliance, and that Tyre was probably at the head of the confederation, appears from the prophecy of Ezekiel (chap. xxvii. 8, 9, 11), where he speaks of the above mentioned cities furnishing the Tyrians with ship-builders, mariners and soldiers. Yet they do not seem to have effected any thing against the Chaldæan conqueror. After he had subjugated Judæa and destroyed Jerusalem, he invaded Phœnicia, took Sidon and besieged Tyre. But the Chaldæans then, (as the Assyrians formerly), there encountered the most formidable resistance. For thirteen successive years their troops lay before Tyre, yet there is no authentic record of its ever having been subdued by them. The siege probably ended in a friendly compromise. Ithobal or Ethbaal survived this siege, and his successor Baal appears to have ruled in Old Tyre as a Chaldee vassal. After his death the principal tribe removed to the island, when the form of government underwent a change, the supreme authority being vested in magistrates chosen by the people, and called *Suffetes*.* This constitution, however,

* A word of similar import with the *Sophetim* (Judges) of the Hebrews. Magistrates, bearing the same designation, had authority in Carthage, a Phœnician colony.—*Tr.*

only lasted for seven years. Various kings of Tyre, such as Balator, Merbal, Hiram, are mentioned as ruling under the Chaldeans, until the time of Cyrus, when Phœnicia came under the Persian sway. At the battle of Salamis, the principal admirals of the Persian fleet were Mapen, king of Tyre, and Tetramnestus of Sidon, the latter of whom brought to Xerxes no fewer than three hundred ships, and took precedence of the king of Tyre in the council of war.[104] When, at a later period, the Phœnicians felt the oppression of the Persian yoke, they allied themselves with Nektabenus of Egypt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and afterwards against Artaxerxes Ochus. Tennes, king of Sidon, being supported by the Greeks under Mentor, defeated the Persians. But Ochus having then taken the field at the head of an immense army, Mentor treacherously advised Tennes to surrender the strongly fortified city. The noblest of the citizens were put to death, and the Sidonians having first set fire to their ships, (that none might escape), committed themselves to the flames with all their treasures, and left no booty to the enemy but the melted gold and silver in their ruined houses. The other Phœnician towns then made a voluntary submission. After the destruction of the Persian monarchy by Alexander of Macedon, Phœnicia belonged to his empire; and, after his death, it became, along with Syria, the share of Antiochus the Great, (about the year B. C. 218). It then continued to form part of the dominions of the Seleucidæ until Pompey reduced the whole of Syria and Phœnicia

[104] Herodotus, VII. 98. VIII. 67.

to a Roman province. Since that period Phœnicia has uniformly shared the fate of Syria, the modern history of which was slightly sketched in a former volume.*

The natural situation of Phœnicia, with a line of coast lying upon a sea full of islands, evidently designed it to be a country for the pursuit of navigation and trade; and, as such it has been known from the remotest period of antiquity. Even before the Trojan war, (*i. e.* more than 1500 years prior to the Christian æra,) the Phœnicians visited commercially the islands of the Mediterranean and the coasts of Greece, trading in the products and merchandise of Syria and Egypt. They also, when opportunity offered, stole or purchased boys and girls,[105] whom they disposed of at a high price, in the slave markets of Asia, or returned to their parents or relations at a heavy ransom. In the poems of Homer, *amber* is mentioned, not only as a production of nature, but as formed into articles of art; and hence it has been conjectured that the Phœnicians must, at an early

* See the Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 272. In consequence of the Quadruple alliance of the four powers of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in support of Turkey, (formed in the month of July 1840), and the consequent operations of the British, Turks, and Austrians on the Phœnician coast, the whole country, along with Syria and Palestine, was recovered from the Pacha of Egypt, and restored to the Porte.—*Tr.*

[105] As an instance of this, see the case of Io, stolen by the Phœnicians from Argos. *Herodotus*, I. Comp. Homer's Odyssey XV. 4. 15, et seqq.

period, have sailed as far as the north-east coasts of Europe, and, at a period earlier still, to the west end of the Mediterranean, to Tarshish, or Tartessus, on the Guadalquivir.[106] In the time of Solomon, Phœnician trading vessels went regularly from a harbour of Edom, on the Aelanitic Gulf, to Ophir, on the south coast of Arabia, 1 Kings ix. 27, 28: x. 22. We possess a clear and comprehensive account of the commerce of Phœnicia, when at its highest prosperity, (extending, as it did, to every part of the then known world), furnished us by the Prophet Ezekiel, in the 27th chapter of his prophecy. It was written six hundred years before the Christian era, about the period of the irruption into western Asia of the Chaldee conquerors, of whom Ezekiel was a cotemporary. It is contained in his "lamentation over Tyre," and, as it embraces many particulars regarding the commerce, not of the Tyrians only, but of the nations with whom they traded, it may appropriately find a place here; the more especially as there is no similar record extant of the age to which it relates.

EZEKIEL, CHAP. XXVII. 1—27.

The word of Jehovah came unto me, saying;—"Son of man! raise now a lamentation over Tyre: Say unto Tyre:
Thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea!
Thou that tradest with the people of many a coast!
Thus saith Jehovah God:—
Thou sayest, O Tyre: 'I am the perfect in beauty.'
In the heart of the seas are thy borders;

[106] See Bredow's Histor. Researches, Vol. II. p. 267.

Thy builders have perfected thy beauty.
Of the fir-trees of Senir[a] have they built all thy ships;
Cedars took they from Lebanon to make for thee masts.
Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars;
Thy rowers' benches, (inlaid with ivory,) of boxwood[b] from the coasts of Chittim.[c]
Embroidered linen, from Egypt, was for thy sails and streamers;
Blue and purple, from the coasts of Greece,[d] were thine awnings.
Men of Sidon and Arvad* were thy rowers;
But thine own wise men, that were in thee, they were thy pilots.
The expert artizans of Gebal[e] were thy caulkers;
All the ships of the sea, with their sailors, were employed in thy commerce.
Persians, Lydians, and Libyans were in thine army,—thy warriors;
Shield and helmet they hung round thee, to shew forth thy splendour.
The men of Arvad, with thine own army, were upon thy walls round about;
And the Gammadites were upon thy towers.
They hanged their quivers[f] on thy walls, round about;

[a] A part of Lebanon.

[b] In the Eng. vers., it is "the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory;" but see *Rosenmüller's* Biblical Botany, in the Bib. Cabinet, Vol. XXVII. p. 302.—*Tr.*

[c] Cyprus, and perhaps Cilicia.

[d] In Heb. "Elishah," supposed to denote Elis, in the Peloponnesus.

* Rosenmüller has, by mistake, "Arabians."—*Tr.*

[e] The Byblos of the Greeks. See the present volume, p. 79.

[f] Rosenmüller has "shields;" but, in his Scholia, he has "quivers." As to the difficult word *Gammadim*, see *Dathe's* edition of Glassius, p. 801.—*Tr.*

They made thy beauty perfect.
Tarshish[g] traded with thee on account of the abundance of all thy riches;
Silver, iron, tin, and lead brought they to thy markets.
Javan,[h] Tubal, and Meshech[i] traded with thee;
Men and copper vessels they exchanged for thy merchandise.
They of the house of Togarmah,[k] brought to thy fairs horses and mules.
The sons of Dedan[l] traded with thee, (yea, many a coast!);
Ivory and ebony gave they in exchange for thy wares.
Aram[m] traded with thee for the multitude of thy manufactures;
They brought to thy markets carbuncles, purple, and embroidery, fine linen, corals, and rubies.
Judah, and the land of Israel, traded with thee;
Minnith-wheat, sweet-meats,[n] honey, oil, and balm, furnished they to thy markets.
Damascus traded with thee for the number of thy precious goods;
In the wine of Chelbon[o] and in fine wool.
Wedan, Javan, and Meusal[p] came to thy fairs

[g] The south of Spain.
[h] Ionia or Greece.
[i] The Moschi and Tibareni in the Caucasus. See Biblical Cabinet, Vol. XI. p. 130, 291.
[k] Part of Armenia. See Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 133, 293.
[l] A tribe in the north of Arabia.
[m] Syria.
[n] This is the difficult word *pannag*, which many take for a plant. See *Celsius* Hierobot. Part II. p. 73.—*Tr.*
[o] Supposed to be Hhaleb or Aleppo. See Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 238.
[p] Places or districts in Arabia.

With wrought iron, cassia, and sweet reed.
Dedan was thy merchant in caparisons for horsemen.
Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar[q] had commerce with thee,
In young camels, rams, and goats.
The merchants of Sheba[r] and Ragma[s] were thy merchants;
They brought to thy markets the finest spices, gems, and gold.
Charan,[t] and Canneh,[u] and Eden were thy merchants;
With the merchants from Sheba, Assur, and Kilmad.
These were thy merchants in costly garments,—with blue and embroidered mantles;
And in chests of coloured stuffs, bound with cords, and brought to thy markets well compacted.
But the ships of Tarshish were the chief traders in thy markets:
Through them wast thou filled with treasures, and made glorious in the midst of the sea.
Over the mighty floods shall thy rowers carry thee;
But there shall the east wind shatter thee in the midst of the sea.
Thy riches, thy fairs, thy merchandise;
Thy mariners, thy pilots, thy carpenters, thy traders;
All thy warriors in thee, and thy whole multitude in the midst of thee,
All shall sink to the bottom of the sea,
In the day of thy destruction.*

[q] The Bedouin Arabs. See below at p. 122.

[r] In the south of Arabia.

[s] On the Persian Gulf.

[t] In Mesopotamia. See Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 186.

[u] Ctesiphon on the Tigris. See Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 29, 310.

* I have arranged the above translation in parallel lines, and likewise made some slight alterations.—*Tr.*

It is on good grounds that the prophet says, that the ships of Spain, (or Tarshish,) were among the most important that frequented the markets of Tyre, and filled that city with their treasures. For Spain was richer in silver than almost any other country on the earth. Gold, also, was there found in great quantity, as also the less precious metals. The immense riches, in gold and silver, which the Tyrians found upon their first visit to the southern coasts of Spain, had so astonished them, that traditions were preserved regarding it.[107] "When the first Phœnicians visited Spain, it is said they found silver there in such abundance that they not only freighted their ships with it to the water's edge, but made their common utensils, anchors not excepted, of this metal. Thus laden, they returned to their native country, which lost no time in taking possession of this ancient Peru, and there founding colonies. The commerce of the Phœnicians, in their Spanish settlements, was carried on in the same manner as they usually carried it on elsewhere;—the only method, indeed, by which it can be carried on among uncivilized nations, namely, by barter. It is not only so described in the passage above quoted, from the Prophet Ezekiel, but the same is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus. They brought, on their side, Tyrian wares, probably linen, the usual clothing of Spain;

[107] See *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 73. The whole chapter, [on the navigation and sea-trade of the Phœnicians,] as well as Chap. IV., on their manufactures and land trade, may be considered as the best commentary on the above description of Ezekiel.

perhaps, also, trinkets and toys, and such articles of finery as are eagerly coveted by barbarians. In exchange for these they obtained various natural productions and silver, not as money but as merchandise, and upon which their profit must have been doubled, if the conjecture, not destitute of probability, be true, that they bartered it in the southern countries for gold." It was, therefore, literally true, as the prophet says, that the ships of Spain filled Tyre with treasure.

But the Phœnicians not only visited the countries mentioned by the prophet, in the way of trade; they also settled colonies in several of them, especially on the islands of the Mediterranean and the continental coasts to the west. The most considerable of these settlements were Tarshish, or Tartessus, in the south of Spain, on the Guadalquivir; Gades or Gadeir, the modern Cadiz; Kittim or Citium, (on the island of Cyprus,) and Carthage.[108] In Isaiah's prophecy of the overthrow of Tyre, (Isa. xxiii. 6, 12,) the prophet calls to the Tyrians to pass over to their colonies of Tarshish and Kittim, in consequence of the destruction of the mother city.[109] That Tyre, during

[108] On the colonies and foreign possessions of the Phœnicians, compare Heeren, loc. cit. p. 24.

[109] "It would seem," remarks *J. D. Michaelis*, on this passage, "that the richest Tyrians went down to Spain, (where they had colonies and commercial establishments,) as soon as they saw that they could no longer remain in Tyre; in much the same way as, in 1672, [when Holland was invaded by Louis XIV.], the richest Dutch merchants intended to remove to Batavia, had the country fallen a prey to the enemy."

the period of her greatest prosperity, often exercised a tyrannical domination over her colonies may be inferred from the facts already stated.* And hence, says the Prophet Ezekiel, (ch. xxvi. 17,) in speaking of the "coasts and islands" of the Mediterranean:

> "They shall raise over thee a lamentation, and shall say of thee,
> How art thou brought to nought, thou that dwellest on the sea, the city renowned!
> She that was mighty on the sea, she and her inhabitants
> Who thence spread terror on all who frequented it."

The Phœnician colonies appear to have made themselves, one after another, independent of the mother country; for, even in the time of Cyrus, the Phocæans found, when they came to Tartessus, an independent king called Argenthonius, who gave them a friendly reception, and was desirous of an alliance with the Greeks.[110]

The *Phœnician language* differed so little from the ancient Hebrew, that it can scarcely be deemed a different dialect.[111] This appears, not only from the words and names preserved in ancient writings, but from the inscriptions and coins found in those places where there were formerly Phœnician colonies. The

* See above, at p. 98.

[110] Herodotus, p. 163.

[111] On the relation of the Phœnician language to the Hebrew, see *Gesenius*' Hist. of the Hebrew Language and Literature, (Leipzig, 1815,) p. 223; [or the Preface to his Manual Heb. Lexicon, in German, p. 25]. Comp. *A. Th. Hartmann's* O. G. Tychsen, Vol. II. Part I. p. 275, 280.

Phœnicians were deemed the inventors of writing, or at least of the alphabets used in Western Asia, (from which even the Greek was derived); and that a people who were so extensively engaged in commerce would be early led to such a discovery, appears exceedingly probable.[112]

[112] See *Gesenius*, loc. cit. p. 139. Comp. p. 16. A. F. *Kopp's* Bilder und Scriften der Vorzeit. Vol. I. p. 197. Vol. II. p. 62, 64, 65, 177, 185, et seqq. For the literary history of the Phœnician language and literature, see in *Hartmann*, loc. cit. Vol. II. Part II. p. 505.

END OF PHŒNICIA.

ARABIA.

ARABIA, or *Djezhirat-el-Arab*,[1] *i.e.* the peninsula of the Arabs, is, properly speaking, that country which is bounded on the south by the Indian ocean, on the east by Persia, on the west by the Red Sea, and which terminates on the north with the extreme east end of the Red Sea, the extreme end of the Persian Gulf, and an imaginary line drawn between them. But the Greeks and Romans reckoned as belonging to Arabia the great deserts of Syria, Mesopotamia and Chaldæa, or Arabian Irak, which extend far to the north of the imaginary line supposed.[2] Abulfeda also mentions, as the most northerly frontier-town of Arabia, Balis on the Euphrates.[3] But, indeed, the precise boundary has never yet been defined. The superficial extent of the whole country may be estimated at 55,000 geographical square miles.

The ancient Hebrews called all the countries, which we have comprised under the above definition of Arabia, by the name of the "*land of the east*,"[4]

[1] جزيرة العرب.

[2] See *Strabo*, XVI. 4. l. 2. Comp. *Reland's* Palæst. p. 86, et seqq.

[3] See *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arabiae descriptio, p. 12, et seqq. Comp. Institutiones juris Mohammedani circa bellum cet. or Analecta Arabica, P. I. p. 10, § XXXVIII.

[4] אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם.

(Gen. xxv. 6), and the inhabitants "the sons of the east,"[5] or orientals, Judges vi. 3. Job. i. 3. 1 Kings iv. 30. Isa. xi. 14. Of a similar meaning is the well-known epithet of *Saracens*, which comes from the Arabic Sharakiyun,[6] and denotes persons who dwell towards the rising of the sun. The name *Arab*[7] was given by the ancient Hebrews to only a small portion of the extensive region which we comprehend under the name of Arabia. For the prophet Ezekiel, when enumerating several Arabian provinces, which traded with Tyre, mentions, (chap. xxvii. 21), "Arab* and all the princes of Kedar." In the second book of the Chronicles, (chap. xxi. 16, 17), it is mentioned, that in the reign of the Jewish king Joram, the Philistines and the "Arabs, who lived near the (Arabian) Cushites," invaded Judæa, and plundered the royal palace. In connection with the Philistines, mention is likewise made, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 7, of "the Arabs who dwelt in Gur-Baal,[8] and

[5] בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם.

[6] شَرْقِيُّون. Some, with less probability, explain the name Saracens by "robbers," from سرق to rob; the Bedouin Arabs being given to plunder travellers. See *Pococke's* Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 34 of the 2d Edition.

[7] עֵרֶב. The meaning of the name seems to be the same with that of its feminine form, עֲרָבָה a plain or desert.

* See before at p. 116.

[8] גּוּר־בַּעַל *i. e.* Baal's-Abode, perhaps from there being

the Meunites (or Mehunims)." By "all the kings of Arabia," (1 Kings x. 15. Jer. xxv. 24), we are probably to understand the chief leaders of the nomadic tribes. The Arabs spoken of in Isa. xiii. 20, and Jer. iii. 9, are the Bedouins, who live in the desert in tents. When the Apostle Paul says, (Gal. i. 17), that he "went into Arabia and returned again into Damascus," he no doubt refers only to the northern part of the country, which borders on the territory of Damascus. But when, in another part of the same epistle, he remarks, that "Mount Sinai lies in Arabia," he uses the name in its more extended acceptation.

Since the time of the geographer Ptolemy, (who flourished in the second century), Arabia has been generally divided by Europeans into "Desert, Stony, and Happy Arabia." The geographers who had preceded him, such as Eratosthenes and Strabo, speak only of Happy and Desert Arabia.[9] It was after their age that *Petra* became so flourishing a city, lying in the country of the Nabathæans, between Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia, and it was from that city, which was the capital, that Arabia Petræa derived its name.

We begin our description with Arabia Deserta, which is the northernmost portion of this extensive region.

there a temple to that god. The Septuagint translates the words by ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας τοὺς κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας. Petra was the chief town of Arabia Petræa.

[9] Strabo, XVI. 4. § 2. 21.

1. ARABIA DESERTA.

This country is by the Arabs called *El-Badiah*,[10] *i. e.* the Desert, and is bounded on the east by the Euphrates, which separates it from El-Djezirah or Mesopotamia, and Arabian Irak or Babylonia. It is divided into three parts, which receive their respective names from the countries to which they lie contiguous, viz. the Desert of *Syria*, the Desert of *El-Djezirah*, and the Desert of *Irak*.[11] The soil of these deserts consists, for the most part, of arid and interminable plains of sand, which, in some districts, yield neither grass nor herbage, but in others bear thinly scattered saline plants, and low stinted shrubs, or green prickly bushes, that serve as food for camels.[12] So strongly is the soil impregnated with salt, that the nitre is seen covering it like a white shining mineral. A part of the Syrian desert is called the Desert of *El-Hhammad*,[13] a dead flat, without either hills or *wadys*, (the name given to the beds of occasional streams), and which cannot be crossed in less than seven, eight, or ten days, according to the strength of the camels. It is entirely destitute of water, except in winter, when the rain collects in hollows. It extends from Djebel Hauran* to the neighbourhood of

[10] البادية.

[11] See *Rommel* (as cited in Note 3), p. 19. 95.

[12] Comp. the description of this desert from Volney's Travels, in the Bib. Cab. Vol. II. p. 40.

[13] الحماد.

* See Bib. Cab. Vol. VII. p. 226.

the Euphrates.[14] Between the right bank of that river and the desert, there are fertile tracts, which are irrigated by means of water-wheels or oxen, that draw the water from the river in large leathern buckets.

In these districts, as in Arabia generally, the air is pure and dry, and the sky generally cloudless. Della Valle found the heat supportable, even in the months of June and July; for, though the sun was very hot, the atmosphere was cooled by a strong wind, which, however, often raised a very disagreeable dust. From the middle of June, till about the 21st of September, there prevails, from time to time, that burning and suffocating south-east wind, which is known by the name of the *Samūm* (Simoom) or *Samyeli, i. e.* "the Poisonous."[15] It blows in occasional gusts of longer or shorter duration, but the shortest lasts longer than a man can hold in his breath. Hot and cold blasts succeed each other. One of the most accurate of recent observers[16] found the difference of these, in point of temperature, to be from seven to ten degrees;

[14] *Burckhardt's* Travels in Syria, p. 1040 of the German Transl.

[15] سموم from سم *poison,* is the Arabic name; and سم يلى the Turkish. The latter is composed of the same Arabic word *Samm*, and the Turkish *Gel, i. e.* wind, with the addition of the possessive pronoun of the third person. Another Arabic name is حرور Hharur, *i. e.* the Hot.

[16] *Count W. St. Rzewuski,* in a letter from Aleppo, dated 2 0th August 1819, in the Fungruben des Orients. Vol. VI. p. 396.

and the highest degree produced by the hot and cold blasts was 63° of Reaumur, while the temperature in the sun, when the Samyeli was not blowing, was from 43° to 47°. "When this wind blows, the atmosphere assumes a yellowish appearance, fading into grey, and the sun becomes of a dusky red. The smell is nauseating and sulphureous, the vapour thick and heavy, and, when the heat increases, one is almost suffocated. The wind appears to be composed of various elements, including not only heated air, but a dense and noxious gas. Its effect upon the human body is to produce a very violent perspiration, which may partly proceed from the anxiety and alarm which it excites, and also from the extreme difficulty of breathing. The sweat appears denser and more clammy than what is natural. With a view to ascertain better the nature and properties of this wind, I opened my mouth to inhale it, when my palate and throat were in an instant completely parched. The same thing happened, though not so rapidly, when I breathed only through my nostrils. The plan taken to protect one's self against the effects, and to breathe more freely, is to envelope the face in a cloth called *kesieh*, which the Arabs wear on the head. By this means the deleterious influence is in part destroyed, as the atmosphere is somewhat moistened by the breath, and respiration is rendered easier; while the hot air is prevented from rushing so suddenly into the mouth and lungs. Hence it is the practice of the Arabs, whenever they lie down to sleep, to wrap the whole body, and even the head, in their *mashlach* or mantle, and this they do even in

the shade, and, however hot may be the weather. The Samyel causes a very rapid circulation in the blood, which soon superinduces great debility. The effect it produces on the human frame is either to occasion a kind of deadly *asphyxia,* or to excite a sense of extraordinary weakness. In the former case relief is sometimes afforded by a natural discharge of blood. It is remarked of bodies that have died of the *asphyxia,* that, after a few days, or, as the Arabs affirm, even after a few hours, the members, on being slightly moved, part from the joints; such bodies are regarded as containing a contagious poison.[17]

The Hebrews called this wind, which is peculiarly destructive to vegetation, "the east wind,"[18] Gen. xli. 6, 23. Joel iv. 8; also the "wind from the desert,"[19] and it is described as a violent tempest. Job i. 19. Isa. xxi. 1. Jer. iv. 4; xiii. 24. Hos. xiii. 15.

Through the powerful effect of the sun's rays on the burning sand of the desert, it not unfrequently (and especially about mid-day) assumes the appearance of an expanse of water. The tremulous, undulatory movement of the vapours raised by the excessive heat, creates this deception, which is increased by the circumstance, that trees, shrubs, and other

[17] For a confirmation of this account see Rosenmüller's Alte und Neue Morgenlund, Vol. II. p. 235, and Vol. III. p. 242. The *Sirocco* is a continuation of this wind, as appears from its name, which comes from شروق Shorūk, *the East.*

[18] רוּחַ קָדִים, also simply קָדִים.

[19] רוּחַ מִדְבָּר.

objects are likewise seen as it reflected in water. Travellers, who are not familiar with the appearance, are, consequently, not only disappointed in their hope of finding water, but are led off their road in quest of it, since the imaginary lake can never be reached, the *mirage* remaining still at the same distance, or wholly vanishing.[19a] This is the phenomenon which the Prophet Isaiah had in view when, in describing the happiness of future times, (ch. xxxv. 7,) he says:

> The glowing-sand[19b] shall be a lake,
> And the thirsty land water-springs.

The inhabitants of these deserts are called *Bedouins*,[20] and are necessitated, from the above described

[19a] For more particulars regarding this phenomenon, and the explanation of it on the laws of optics, see a dissertation by Casp. *Monge* in the Mémoires sur l'Egypte publiés pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte. P. II. p. 169. Accounts of it, from Oriental writers, may be found in *Erdmann's* "Thoughts on Refraction, &c. in the *Steppes* of the governments of Saratov and Astrachan," in Gilbert's Annals of Physics, Vol. LVIII. (Vol. XXVIII. of the New Series.) p. 19. Comp. *Rosenmüller's* Morgenland, Vol. IV. p. 238.

[19b] The Hebrew word there is שָׁרָב, in Arabic, سراب, which denotes the above mentioned appearance. See the author's Scholia on Isa. xxxv. 7.

[20] From the Arabic word بدوى Badawiyi, in the plural بداوى Badawi, *i. e.* "the people of the desert," from بدو Badwu and بادية Badia, a desert.

nature of their country, to lead the life of *nomades* or wandering shepherds. Hence we find, that since the days of Abraham till now, this extensive region has been traversed by pastoral tribes who, in their mode of life, their manners, customs, and government, have always continued, and still continue, unalterably the same. As it is only in a few places that the soil is susceptible of cultivation, their chief means of subsistence is the care of their cattle, which are content with the wild herbage of the desert. When the grass is not very abundant, they are compelled to traverse large tracts of this stinted pasture during a single day. The Bedouins consist of a great many distinct tribes, which are independent of each other, and claim a particular district as their own property; the only difference between them and other pastoral nations being, that a much greater extent of territory is required for each, in order to furnish nourishment for their cattle during the whole year. "Each of these tribes is collected in one or more camps, which are dispersed through the country, and which make a successive progress over the whole, in proportion as it is exhausted by the cattle; hence it is that, within a great extent, a a few spots only are inhabited, which vary from one day to another; but as the entire space is necessary for the annual subsistence of the tribe, whoever encroaches on it is deemed a violator of property; this is, with them, the law of nations. If, therefore, a tribe, or any of its subjects, enter upon a foreign territory, they are treated as enemies and robbers, and a war breaks out. Now, as all the tribes have affinities with each other, by alliances of blood, or treaties,

leagues are formed, which render these wars more or less general. The tribe which loses the battle, strikes its tents, removes to a distance by forced marches, and seeks an asylum among its allies. The enemies, satisfied with their success, drive their herds farther on, and the fugitives soon after return to their former situation. But the slaughter made in these engagements frequently sows the seeds of hatreds which perpetuate these dissensions."*

As they are constantly changing their residence, they are constrained to have their dwellings in *tents*, which can easily be transported from place to place. It was on account of this peculiarity that the Greeks gave the nomadic Arabs the name of Skenites, *i. e.* "Dwellers in tents." Such was Abraham's mode of life; and it became the settled custom of the Arab tribes, who descended from him by Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, Gen. xiii. 3, 5. 1 Chron. i. 32. 2 Chron. xiv. 45. Ps. lxxx. 7. Isa. xiii. 20. Jer. xlii. 29, 31.

"Their camps," says Volney, "are formed in a kind of irregular circle, composed of a single row of tents, with greater or less intervals. These tents, made of goats or camels hair, are black or brown,† in which they differ from those of the Turkmans, which are white. They are stretched on three or four pickets, only five or six feet high, which give them a very flat appearance at a distance. One of these camps seems like a number of black spots; but the piercing eye of the Bedouin is not to be deceived. Each tent, inhabited by a family, is divided, by a curtain, into two

* Volney, Vol. I. p. 398 of the Eng. Trans.

† Song of Solomon, ch. i. 5.

apartments, one of which is appropriated to the women. The empty space, within the large circle, serves to fold their cattle every evening. They never have any intrenchments; their only advanced guards and patroles are dogs. Their horses remain saddled and ready to mount on the first alarm; but, as they are utter strangers to all order and discipline, these camps, always easy to surprise, afford no defence in case of an attack. Accidents, therefore, very frequently happen, and cattle are carried off every day;—a species of marauding war in which the Arabs are very experienced."*

The heads of the tribes are called *Sheikhs*,[21] a name which properly denotes "an old man;" but,

* Volney, Vol. I. p. 397 of the Eng. Trans.

[21] شيخ [On the different acceptations of the name Niebuhr has the following remarks:—"Of all the titles in use among the Arabian nobility, the most ancient and most common is that of *Schiech*. The Arabian language, which is, in other respects, so rich, is poor in terms expressive of the distinctions of rank. The word schiech has, in consequence of this circumstance, various significations; sometimes it is the title of a prince or noble, at other times it is given to a professor in an academy, to a man belonging to a mosque, to the descendant of a saint, to the mayor of a town; and, in Oman, even to the chief of the Jewish synagogue. Although thus seemingly prostituted, yet is not this title despised by the great. A schiech of an ancient Arabian family would not change the name for that of sultan, which has been assumed by some petty princes in the highlands of Hadramaut and Jaffa. The schiechs of illustrious families, among the Bedouins, have reason for considering their genealogy as a matter of some consequence. Some of them are descended from ancestors who

like the Spanish Señor, (Segnor,) and the Italian Signor, is used as a title of honour. When several lesser tribes find themselves unable to defend their property against hostile neighbours, they unite and elect a common chief. Some superior Sheikhs will occasionally submit, (with the consent of the inferior leaders,) to one greater than themselves, styled a Sheikh-el-Kbir,[22] or Sheikh-es-Shuiukh;[23] and the whole tribe then assumes the name of the great sheikh. "These tribes," says Volney,* "are distinguished from each other by the name of their respective chiefs, or by that of the ruling family; and, when they speak of any of the individuals who compose them, they call them the children of such a chief, though they may not be all really of his blood, and

were princes before the days of Mahomet and the first caliphs. As it would be difficult, among a people who have no public registers or historians to make out regular tables of genealogies reaching farther than ten centuries backwards, the Arabians have contrived a compendious mode of verifying their lines of descent. From among their later ancestors they select some illustrious man from whom they are universally allowed to be descended. This great man, again, is as universally allowed to be descended from some other great man; and thus they proceed backwards to the founder of the family. The Sherriffes and Seïds, by the same expedient, prove the origin of their family to have been with Mahomet, and thus abbreviate their genealogy, without rendering it doubtful." Travels, Eng. Trans. Vol. II. p. 18.

[22] شيخ الكبير.

[23] شيخ الشيوخ.

* *Volney*, Vol. I. p. 401 of the Eng. Transl.

he himself may have been long since dead. They say Banu-Temim, Aulad-Tai,[24] the sons of Temim, and the children of Tai," *i. e.* the tribe of Temim, the tribe of Tai.[25] They are all soldiers born, but pursue the rearing of cattle. The riches of the Bedouins, like that of the patriarchs in early times, consist in cattle, Gen. xiii. 2, 5; xxiv. 35. Job i. 11, 13, 17. The Sheikhs of the larger tribes possess a great many camels, partly to be employed in their wars, partly to transport the goods of merchants from town to town, and partly to be disposed of by sale or barter. The smaller and poorer tribes confine themselves more to the rearing of sheep. The Bedouins leave tillage and other hard labour to the Arab peasants, who are often their vassals. The latter dwell in wretched huts, the former in tents.[26]

[24] بنو تميم, اولاد طيّ. In the same manner we find בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Sons of Israel, *i. e.* Israelites; בְּנֵי לֵוִי Sons of Levi, *i. e.* Levites; בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן Sons of Ammon, *i. e.* Ammonites.

[25] "This mode of expression is even applied, by metaphor, to the names of countries; the usual phrase for denoting their inhabitants, being to call them the "children" of such a place. Thus, the Arabs say Oulad Masr [اولاد مصر], the Egyptians, Oulad Sham, [اولاد شام], the Syrians. They would also say, "Oulad Franse, the French; Oulad Moskou, the Russians,—a remark which is not unimportant to ancient history." Volney's Travels, Eng. Transl., Vol. I. p. 401.

[26] See Niebuhr, loc. cit. p. 379. The Arabs who practise agriculture are called Fellahs, فلّاح from فلح to *till*, to

The government is hereditary in the family of each Sheikh, though it is not always the oldest son that succeeds, but often that individual of their number, or of the near relatives, who may be selected as the ablest. They pay little or nothing to their rulers. Each of the lesser Sheikhs is the representative and leader of his own family; and the superior sheik must treat them rather as allies than as subjects. When they are dissatisfied with his rule, and yet are not strong enough to depose him, they drive their cattle to another tribe, who are commonly very glad to strengthen their own party. It is the interest of every Sheikh to govern well his own adherents, otherwise they may depose or abandon him. "Hence their situation is subject to great vicissitudes, according to the good or bad conduct of their chiefs. Sometimes a feeble tribe raises and aggrandizes itself, whilst another, which was powerful, falls into decay, or perhaps is entirely annihilated; not that all its members perish, but they incorporate themselves with some other tribe; and that is the consequence of their internal constitution."*

The Bedouins have never been wholly subdued by foreigners, and, from the nature of their country and habits, such an event is scarcely possible.[27] Hence,

plough. The Bedouins, who pursue the rearing of cattle, regard them as of less noble birth than themselves. See *Burckhardt's* Travels in Syria, p. 977. (Ger. Transl.)

* Volney, Vol. I. p. 400 of the Eng. Transl.

[27] Niebuhr, loc. cit. p. 381. In confirmation of the above view, Volney remarks, (Travels, Eng. Transl. Vol. I. p. 401): "The government of this society is at once republican, aristo-

as the independent lords of their own deserts, they think themselves entitled to demand tribute, or presents, from all travellers and caravans that pass through. The Sultans of Turkey tacitly acknowledge this right, inasmuch as they cause a sum of money, and a present of clothing, to be given yearly to every Arab tribe on the route to Mecca, on condition of their not filling up the wells nor molesting the pilgrims. These gifts, however, are frequently refused by the conductors of the great pilgrim-caravan, who endeavour to make a way for themselves and their fellow-travellers by force of arms, regarding the Bedouins as rebels. The latter, whenever they find

cratical, and even despotic, without exactly corresponding with any of these forms. It is republican, inasmuch as the people have a great influence in all affairs, and as nothing can be transacted without the consent of a majority. It is aristocratical, because the families of the Shaiks possess some of the prerogatives which everywhere accompany power; and, lastly, it is despotic, because the principal Shaik has an indefinite and almost absolute authority, which, when he happens to be a man of credit and influence, he may even abuse; but the state of these tribes confines even this abuse to very narrow limits. For if a chief should commit an act of injustice, if, for example, he should kill an Arab, it would be almost impossible for him to escape punishment, the resentment of the offended party would pay no respect to his dignity; the law of retaliation would be put in force, and should he not pay the blood, he would be infallibly assassinated, which, from the simple and private life the Shaiks lead in their camps, would be no difficult thing to effect. If he harasses his subjects by severity, they abandon him and go over to another tribe. His own relations take advantage of his misconduct to depose him, and advance themselves to his station."

themselves in sufficient strength, offer a stout resistance, and often succeed in beating the escort and plundering the caravans. The smaller mercantile caravans are also liable to be plundered, when the tribe that offers to protect them on their journey happens to be at feud with neighbouring tribes.[28] Every Bedouin, moreover, thinks himself justified in plundering all travellers whom he may meet, if they are not accompanied by some members of his own tribe. If the order to strip be unresistingly obeyed, the traveller has commonly no reason to dread any farther ill-usage, and may even receive back part of his most necessary clothing; but the least shew of opposition endangers his life. On the other hand, the stranger who takes shelter in a Bedouin's tent, and places himself under his protection, is secure against all violence to his person, or robbery of his property. He is even treated with generous hospitality—a virtue for which the East has always been celebrated, but which is no where more conspicuous than among the Bedouin Arabs.[29]

[28] Niebuhr, loc. cit. p. 382.

[29] *Burckhardt*, loc. cit. p. 638, 795. See also D'Arvieux and Mayeux. Volney says, (Eng. Trans. Vol. I. p. 411): "The Arabs have often been reproached with this spirit of rapine; but, without wishing to defend it, we may observe, that one circumstance has not been sufficiently attended to, which is, that it only takes place towards reputed enemies, and is consequently founded on the acknowledged laws of almost all nations. Among themselves they are remarkable for a good faith, a disinterestedness, a generosity which would do honour to the most civilized people. What is there more noble than that right of asylum, so respected among all the tribes? A stranger,

That the Bedouin tribes of Arabia Deserta, (like the Arabs generally), belong to the great *Semitic* race, is asserted in the Scripture, and is confirmed by their language, which is closely related to the Aramaic and Hebrew.

Aram, the fifth son of Shem, who gave name to the extensive country of Syria,* had, (according to Gen. x. 23), *four* sons, of whom the eldest was *Uz*. The same name was also borne by the eldest son of Nahor,[30] (Gen. xxii. 21), the brother of Abraham, both descending in a direct line from Arphaxad, Shem's third son, Gen. xi. 10. From one or other of

nay even an enemy, touches the tent of the Bedouin, and, from that instant, his person becomes inviolable. It would be reckoned a disgraceful meanness, an indelible shame, to satisfy even a just vengeance at the expense of hospitality. Has the Bedouin consented to eat bread and salt with his guest? Nothing can induce him to betray him. The power of the Sultan himself would not be able to force a refugee from the protection of a tribe, but by its total extermination. The Bedouin, so rapacious without his camp, has no sooner set his foot within it, than he becomes liberal and generous." [Whether it be from the partial intercourse of former travellers with the Bedouin tribes, or that their character has undergone deterioration, yet certain it is that a great many recent travellers speak unfavourably even of their alleged virtues. See especially the graphic and lively sketches of the American Stephens.]—*Tr.*

* See Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 205.

[30] Nothing is more common among all nations than for the name of an early progenitor to be borne by many of his descendants. Thus, in the genealogy of Arphaxad's race, (Gen. xi. 24, 26), we find two Nahors, grandfather and grandson [Terah's father and son]. A third Uz appears at a much later period in the genealogy of Esau's family, Gen. xxxvi. 28.

these two individuals the land of Uz obtained its name—the country inhabited by Job (chap. i. 1), who is described as a man that possessed every thing which constitutes the riches of a Sheikh or Bedouin chief.[31] The land of Uz is mentioned nowhere else in Scripture, except in the writings of Jeremiah. In his prophecy (chap. xxv. 20), in describing the nations round about Judæa, that were to drink successively of the cup of Jehovah's fury, he mentions "all the kings of Uz." From this we may conclude that the country was of some extent, for by kings must at least be understood independent *emirs* or heads of tribes. In another place (Lament. iv. 21), the prophet says: "Rejoice, O Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz;" from which it may be inferred that the Edomites had at one period extended their dominion as far as Uz, since, in the passage of Jeremiah, cited before (chap. xxv. 20, 21), the latter is expressly distinguished from Edom. We cannot, then, greatly err if we consider Uz as the northern part of Arabia Deserta, between Damascene Syria and the Euphrates. According to Ptolemy, the Ausitæ [or Aisitæ] dwelt in this district, which was near Babylonia and Chaldæa, and by them he probably understood "the inhabitants of the land of Uz," or, according to the Greek form of the word, Ausitis. This is also the

31 "His cattle were seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very great household, (*i. e*, a vast number of servants), and he was greater than all the sons of the east." Comp. D. Arvieux's Manners of the Bedouin Arabs, p. 61, 178.

name by which the ancient Greek translation renders Uz, in Job i. 1.[32]

A tribe, related to Uz, was *Buz*, which is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, (chap. xxv. 23), along with the other Arab tribes. Buz was the second son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, Gen. xxii. 21. To this tribe, doubtless, belonged Elihu the Buzite, who appears as one of the speakers in the book of Job, (chap. xxxii. 2).

According to the genealogies in the book of Genesis, other tribes of Arabia Deserta, (some of whom are mentioned by Greek and Roman writers), trace their descent back to Abraham,[33] partly through Ishmael, and partly through the six sons he had by Keturah. Abraham's descendants by Hagar, an Egyptian slave, (Gen. xvi. 1; xxvi. 2), are sometimes called *Hagarenes* [or Hagarites], after the mother, at other times *Ishmaelites* after the son, though the tribes known by these distinctive names seem to have occupied diffe-

[32] Other, but less probable conjectures, as to the locality of the land of Uz, are discussed in the author's Prolegomena to his Scholia on Job, p. 26, et seqq. of the 2d Edit.

[33] The Arabian accounts so far agree with those of the Bible, that the people of that country also trace their origin to two progenitors. One of them is Joktan, called by them قحطان Kahhtan, the great-grandson of Shem, (Gen. x. 25), whose descendants spread themselves through southern Arabia or the Arabian peninsula. The other is Ismael, whom the Bedouins acknowledge as their ancestor. See *Edw. Pococke's* Specim. Histor. Arab. p. 39, 423, 469 of the 2d Edit.

rent countries. The former,[34] (according to 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 22), dwelt on the borders of Gilead, or the district of the tribe of Reuben, with whom, in the days of Saul, they carried on a war, but were defeated and dispossessed of their territory. In Ps. lxxxiii. 7, they are mentioned, along with the Ishmaelites and Moabites. The apocryphal book of Baruch says of them, (ch. i. 35; iii. 23), that they "sought wisdom upon earth,"[35] from which it may be inferred that they possessed a certain degree of culture. At the period to which the passage in Chronicles refers, the Hagarenes must have formed a very numerous tribe, for it is said, (1 Chron. v. 19—21), that the Reubenites took from them, and their allies the Ituræans and Naphishæans,* a hundred thousand prisoners, five† thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and two thousand asses. Yet it is possible that the text there, as in many other places in Chronicles, may have been corrupted by transcribers. The *Agræi*, who are mentioned by Eratosthenes[36] and Pliny,[37] among the tribes of the interior of

[34] הַגְרִים. Ps. lxxxiii. 7. הַגְרָאִים, 1 Chron. v. 10, 19.

[35] Οἵ τε υἱοὶ Ἄγαρ οἱ ἐκζητοῦντες τὴν σύνησιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

* In the Eng. Version it is "Jetur, and Nephish, and Nodab."—*Tr.*

† So in Rosenmuller, (after the Sept. and Luther), but in the English Bible it is 50,000, which is the reading of the printed Hebrew text and the Vulg.—*Tr.*

[36] In Strabo, XVI. 4. 2.

[37] Hist. Nat. L. VI. Cap. 28.

Arabia, are not different from the Hagarenes of the Bible. Hagar[38] (pronounced by the Arabs *Hadjar*), is still the name of a province of Arabia, which is bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the north by the district round Bassora, on the west by Nadjed, and on the south by Oman.[39] This province, which is properly called Lachsa or El-Hhassa,[40] lies indeed far to the south of where the Hagarites of Scripture are represented as having dwelt; but as we have seen, that at an early period they were driven from their first abode, it is quite possible that they gradually moved south, and at length settled in this district, which has retained their name. The greater part of it is inhabited by various tribes of Bedouins, who acknowledge the supremacy of the tribe of Beni-Chaled. They are chiefly supported by the rearing of camels, several thousands of which are yearly sent for sale to Syria. The asses of Lachsa are also celebrated, and fetch a high price from foreigners.

In Ps. lxxxiii. 7, the *Ishmaelites* are expressly distinguished from the Hagarenes. The former name properly designates all the descendants of Ishmael, who, according to the account in the book of Genesis, (with which the Arab tradition agrees,*) had twelve sons, each of whom became the leader or prince of a tribe, Gen. xxv. 12—16. They settled in that part

38 هجر

39 Niebuhr's Descript. of Arabia, p. 339. Comp. *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arab. Descriptio, p. 87.

40 الحسا

* Pocock's Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 46.

of Arabia which lay south-east of Palestine, extending from Chavilah or Chaulan to Shur, on the borders of Egypt, (ver. 18). The Ishmaelites are mentioned as a distinct people so early as the time of Jacob, Abraham's grand-son; for it is said in Gen. xxxvii. 25; xxxix. 1, that it was a caravan of Ishmaelite merchants, on their way from Gilead to Egypt, that bought Joseph from his brethren. In another part of the narrative, indeed, (ch. xxxvii. 28,) these traders are styled *Midianites*, who also dwelt in Arabia, and were descendants of Abraham, but through Keturah. In the book of Judges, the names of "Midianites," and "Ishmaelites," seem, likewise, to be used as nearly synonimous. Comp. Judg. viii. 22, 24, 26, with ch. vii 12. It has hence been concluded that, by the Ishmaelites, we are to understand Arabs generally; and, in two of the above quoted passages in Genesis, (viz. ch. xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 1,) we find the word "Arabs," substituted in the ancient Oriental Versions of Onkelos, Jonathan, the Syriac, Saadias, and the Arabic translation edited by Erpenius. In one of the places referred to in the book of Judges, (ch. viii. 24,) it is said that after Gideon had vanquished the Midianites, he requested of his countrymen to give up the ear-rings of their prey, "for, (it is added,) they had golden ear-rings, because they were Ishmaelites." It would seem that, in consequence of their trade, they had become richer than the children of Israel. There is no mention of "Ishmaelites," either in the Greek, Roman, or Arabic* writers.

The twelve sons of Ishmael, who are mentioned by name in Genesis, ch. xxv. 13—15, were the princes

* Comp. Note 33.

or *sheikhs* of their respective tribes.[41] The latter are said to have lived "in villages or tents, with hedges or enclosures,"[42] for their cattle, (ver. 16,)—following the same mode of life as the Bedouins of the present day, and having the same form of government.

The names of Ishmael's first and second sons were *Nebaioth* and *Kedar*,* which are at once recognized in the Nabathæi and Cedrei of the Greeks and Romans. They are joined together by Pliny,[43] in the same way as we find them connected by Isaiah, (ch. lx. 7,) when he says:—

> All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered to thee,
> And Nebaioth's rams shall be thy sacrifice.

The Nabatæans had spread themselves not only in Desert Arabia, but also in Arabia Petræa, and even in

[41] נְשִׂיאֵים לְאֻמֹּתָם princes of their peoples, *i e.* their tribes. St. Jerome, in his Quæstt. in Genes., (Cap. XXV.), correctly renders this by φύλαρχοι, id est, principes multarum tribuum.

[42] בַּחֲצֵרֵיהֶם וּבְטִירֹתָם. [In the Eng. Vers. it is "by their towns and by their castles." But the former word denotes a moveable village of tents, (called by the Tartars a *horde*,) and the latter the pens or folds for cattle and sheep, erected for security in time of war.—*Tr.*]

* נְבָיֹת וְקֵדָר. In the Arabic genealogies, also, both نبت or نابت and قيدار are mentioned as sons of Ishmael. See *Pococke's* Specimen Histor. Arab. p. 46 of the second Edit.

[43] Hist. Nat. L. V. Cap. 11. His Arabes junguntur, ab Oriente Canchlaei, a meridie Cedrei, qui deinde ambo Nabataeis.

Arabia Felix; and hence we find the name of Nabathæa employed sometimes in a wider and sometimes in a more restricted acceptation. Josephus and Jerome say that it denotes the whole tract of country between the Euphrates and the Red Sea, being a part of Arabia.[44] When Judas Maccabæus, with his brother Jonathan, had crossed the Jordan, they reached, after a three days march, the country of the Nabathæans, who gave them a very friendly reception.[45] According to Artemidorus,[46] a Greek geographer, who lived about a hundred years before the Christian æra, Nabathæa was a populous country, rich in pastures, upon the Ælanitic Gulf, [an arm of the Red Sea.] The same thing is affirmed by Diodorus Siculus,[47] who also places the Dead Sea in the country of the Nabatæans;[48] and remarks that it is a desolate and arid region, with but few fertile spots. All this suits the description of Arabia Petræa, where both Strabo[49] and Pliny[50] expressly place the Nabatæans.[51]

[44] *Josephus* Antiqq. I. 12, 4. He says, in speaking of the twelve sons of Ishmael, Οὗτοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσι, Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος, καὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν καλοῦσι. St. Jerome loc. cit.: A Nabajoth omnis regio ab Euphrate usque ad mare rubrum Nabathena usque hodie dicitur, quae pars Arabiae est.

[45] 1 Macc. v. 24, 25. Josephus Antiqq. XII. 8. 3.

[46] In *Strabo* XVI. 4. 18. [47] III. 43. [48] II. 48.

[49] Loc. cit. Πρὸς τὴν Πέτραν, τὴν τῶν Ναβαταίων καλουμένων Ἀράβων.

[50] Loc. cit. VI. 28. Nabataei oppidum includunt Petra nomine in convalle; and XII. 27, in Nabataeis, qui sunt ex Arabia contermini Syriae.

[51] The Arabic writers speak of a tribe called نبط *Nabat*,

The *Kedarenes* dwelt in black tents, (Song of Solomon, i. 5,) which is the colour of those of the Bedouin Arabs, and in nomadic villages, (Isa. xlii. 11,) under sheikhs or leaders of tribes, (Ezek. xxvii. 21.) They were rich in cattle, (Isa. lx. 7. Jer. xlix. 29. Ezek. xxvii. 21,) and warlike, being peculiarly expert in the use of the bow. Isa. xxi. 16, 17. Ps. cxx. 4, 5, 7. The name of Kedarenes seems also to be used in a more extended sense, to desigate the Bedouin tribes generally; and the Jewish rabbis are in the habit of calling the Arabic language the Kedarene.[52] The seat of this tribe is not particularly mentioned in scripture. Stephen of Byzantium,[53] reckons them as belonging to Arabia Felix; and Theodoret[54] mentions that, in his day, they drove their cattle for pasture, as far as the neighbourhood of Babylon.

The third, fourth, and fifth sons of Ishmael were *Abdeel*, *Mibsam*, and *Mishma*, (Gen. xxv. 14, 15,) but they are no where else mentioned in the Bible; nor is any notice taken of Arabian tribes of these or similar names in any profane writer.

But the sixth son of Ishmael, *Dumah*,[55] appears in Isa. xvi. 11, as giving name to an Arab tribe, against which a short prophetic denunciation is directed. Arabian writers mention two places of this name,

[52] לשון קדר.

[53] Under the word Κεδρανίται. What St. Jerome says in his Comment. on Isa. xlii. 11, is very vague: Kedar inhabitabilis est regio trans Arabiam Saracenorum.

[54] In his Comment at Ps. cxx. Οἱ δὲ τούτου (τοῦ Κηδὰρ) ἀπόγονοι οὐ πόῤῥω τῆς Βαβυλῶνος μέχρι τήμερον ἐσκήνωνται.

[55] דּוּמָה

Dumat-el-Irak,[56] *i. e.* Dumah of Irak, and *Dumat-el-Djendel*,[57] *i. e.* Dumah of the Rock, also *Syrian Dumah*.[58] The Dumah of Scripture is probably the latter, which lies in a valley on the borders of the Syrian desert, towards Irak, seven (or, according to others, five) days journey from Damascus, and has a strong castle on an eminence.[59]

Some trace of Ishmael's seventh son, *Massa*,[60] (Gen. xxv. 14,) was preserved in the Masanoi, an Arabian tribe, which Ptolemy[61] locates in the hilly country of Arabia Felix, on the road between Egypt and Babylon.

The name of Ishmael's eighth son is uncertain; for,

[56] دومة العراق. [57] دومة الجندل.

[58] الدومة الشامية.

[59] See *Rommel's* Abulfed. Arab. Descrip. p. 98, the extract from Yakuti's Geogr. Diction. in Michaelis' Supplem. p. 420, and in *Freytag's* Notes to the Histor. Halebi, edited by him, (p. 52); and *Niebuhr's* Descript. of Arabia, p. 344. In the last mentioned work, the position is precisely laid down as in "the hilly country of Dsyof-al-Sirhan, among the mountains of Shamer, in Syria, which are reckoned as belonging to the Arabian province of Nedjed." St. Jerome, (on Isa. xxi. 11,) says that Dumah was a part of Idumæa: Est autem Duma non tota Idumaea provincia, sed quaedam ejus regio, quae ad austrum vergit et ab urbe Palaestinae, quae hodie dicitur Eleutheropolis, viginti distat millibus juxta quam sunt montes Seir. But, in that case, the Dumah he speaks of would be different from the one above described. Yet that the Dumah of Scripture was not very distant from Idumæa may be inferred from its being said, (in Isa. xxi. 11,) that a voice called to Dumah out of Seir.

[60] מַשָּׂא. [61] Μασανοὶ, Geogr. V. 19.

in some manuscripts, it is written *Chadad*, in others *Chadar*, and in others *Hadar*.[62]

Ishmael's ninth son was *Thema*,[63] Gen. xxv. 15. This name is introduced in Jerem. xxv. 23, between two other Arabic tribes, viz. Dedan and Buz. In Job vi. 19, mention is made of the "caravans of Thema." And in Isa. xxi. 14, it is said, that when the trading-caravans of Dedan should flee before their enemies into the desert, they would be refreshed with bread and water by the friendly people of the "land of Thema." Ptolemy calls Themme[64] a town of Arabia Deserta. Identical with it, (at least in name) is the castle of Taima,[65] mentioned by Abulfeda, which lies a few leagues east of Hedidj, on the caravan road from Mecca to Damascus, and on the western borders of Nedjed.

Jetur and *Naphish*,[66] the tenth and eleventh sons of Ishmael, are mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 19, 20, as tribes in alliance with the Hagarenes, with whom the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites made war in Saul's days, and overcame them, (ver. x.) See

[62] חֲדַד, חֲדַר, הֲדַר. The Septuagint, has Χοδδὰν. [The Eng. Vers. has "Hadar."]

[63] תֵּימָא.

[64] Θέμμη, Geogr. V. 19.

[65] تيما. The name signifies "Desert." See *Rommel*, loc. cit. p. 96. There are three other places of this name, but none of them can be thought of here; one is near Mecca, the second in Yemen, and the third, according to Edrisi, also in Yemen.

[66] יְטוּר, נָפִישׁ.

above at p. 140. We infer from this, that the Ituræans and Naphishæans lived in the neighbourhood of the Gadites; and, from the similarity of the former name, we naturally place them in Ituræa, that extensive hilly tract which separates Syria from the deserts of Arabia by several mountain ranges.

Kedmah,[67] the twelfth son of Ishmael, is mentioned no where else than in Gen. xxv. 15.

The six sons which Abraham had by his concubine *Keturah* were Simran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Jishbak, and Shuach, Gen. xxv. 2. They had not, however, equal rights with Isaac, any more than had Ishmael. Abraham, we are told, sent them away with gifts or portions, and they all migrated towards the east, *i. e.* to Arabia, (ver. 5). It is only the descendants of the fourth of these sons of Keturah, viz. the *Midianites*, who appear to have formed a considerable tribe at a very early period. Even in Jacob's time, (Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28. Comp. xxv. 36), they are mentioned along with the trading Ishmaelites; and there, as well as in Judges viii. 22, 24, they are spoken of (as we have remarked above at p. 142), as if they had been but one people. That they were occasionally in alliance with their neighbours the Moabites might be inferred from a passage in Gen. xxxvi. 35, but it is still more evident from its being said, (at Num. xxii. 3, 4, 7), that the elders or leaders of Midian consulted with those of Moab as to how they might arrest the progress of the Israelites. Soon

[67] קֵדְמָה.

after this, many of the latter were enticed to idolatry by women of Moab and Midian, Num. xxv. 1, 6, 14, et seqq. With a view to prevent the contagion from spreading, a body of Israelites, to the number of 12,000, was commanded to attack them, and destroy their cities, Num. xxxi. 2. The captives and spoil, were collected in the plains of Moab, (ver. 11). Though the Midianites must have been very much weakened by this overthrow, yet they subsequently recovered their strength, for after the Israelites had obtained possession of Palestine, they were brought under the yoke of the Midianites for seven years, (Judg. vi. 1,) until delivered by Gideon, (ch. vii. 1.) It does not appear that the two nations came into collision after that period.

The chief town of the Midianites was *Madian;* and even in the days of Eusebius and Jerome,[68] there were traces of it on the river Arnon, not far from Areopolis, the former capital of the Moabites. Both Midian, and the kindred tribe of Ephah,[69] were famous for their breed of camels; and to this there is an allusion in the picture of the future golden age in the prophecy of Isaiah, (ch. lx. 6):—

> "A multitude of camels shall cover thee,
> The dromedaries of Midian and Ephah."

That many of the Bedouin tribes are chiefly employed in the rearing and sale of camels has been already remarked. The Midianites who dwelt to the east of Palestine, in Arabia Deserta, are not to be

[68] In his Onomasticon, under "Madian."

[69] עֵיפָה from Midian's, eldest son, Gen. xxv. 4.

confounded with those who settled farther south, in Arabia Petræa, on the Ælanitic Gulf.[70] The latter will come under our notice afterwards.

The sixth and youngest son of Keturah was *Shuach*, Gen. xxv. 2. To the tribe that descended from him Bildad, one of Job's friends, belonged, for he is called, (Job. ii. 11,) "a Shuchite." It has been conjectured, with some probability, that the Schuchites were the same people as those designated by Ptolemy and Stephan of Byzantium, the Saccæi and Sauchitæ, who were neighbours of the Agræi and the Ausitæ.[71]

Jokshan, the second son of Keturah, had two sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*,[72] (Gen. xxv. 3,) whose posterity formed distinct tribes. The former is called, by the Greek and Latin translators, *Saba*, and his descendants appear to have settled in the vicinity of Uz, and to have adopted the predatory habits of Bedouins, for they are mentioned as having plundered the cattle of Job, (ch. i. 15). But they must not be confounded with two other tribes of the same name, who inhabited the south of Arabia, were engaged in the pursuit of trade, and had quite a different origin.[73]

[70] Both Eusebius and Jerome mention, (loc. cit. Note 68,) the ruins of two towns that bore the name of Madian, one of which, (above mentioned), was in Arabia Deserta, and the other lay on the Red Sea.

[71] Ptolemy's Geog. V. 15. Βαταναίας χώρας, ἧς ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡ Σακκαία, καί ταύτης τὸ Ἄλσαδαμον ὄρος οἱ Τραχωνιτα Ἄραβες,

[72] שְׁבָא, דְּדָן.

[73] They were descended from Cush, the son of Ham, (Gen. x. 7,) and from Jocktan, a son of Eber, (Gen. x. 28), *Vater*, (in his Comment. on Genesis, p. 243.) and *Gesenius*, (in his Ma-

The descendants of Jokshan's second son *Dedan* seem to have lived in the neighbourhood of Idumæa; for the prophet Jeremiah (chap. xlix. 8), calls on them to consult their safety, because the calamity of the sons of Esau, *i. e.* the Idumæans, was at hand. The same prophet (chap. xxv. 23), connects them with Thema and Buz, two other tribes of Desert or Stony Arabia; as does Ezekiel (chap. xxv. 13), with Theman, a district of Edom. Another tribe of the same name, but of different origin, (Gen. x. 7), dwelt in the south of Arabia, on the Persian Gulf, and is mentioned below. In Gen. xxv. 3, *Ashshurim*, *Letushim*, and *Leummim*,[74] are introduced as sons of

nual Lexicon under שְׁבָא) are of opinion, that the three Shebas were not different tribes, but the same tribe derived, according to different traditions, from different progenitors. But all the genealogies in the tenth chapter of Genesis are evidently recorded by one and the same writer, and it is very unlikely that he would have classed the same tribe first among the Hamites at v. 7, and then among the Shemites at v. 28. It is true that, in v. 7, Sheba and Dedan are put together as in ch. xxv. 3; but, in the former place, they are mentioned as descendants of Raghmah, a Hamite; in the latter of Jokshan, a Shemite. In confirmation of his own opinion Vater remarks on the similarity of this name Jokshan, יקשן with Joktan, (Gen. x. 26,) the name of the great progenitor of the Arab tribes, whose name he writes יקתן. But it should be יקטן, so that the two names differ in the characters ט and ש, which are never interchanged, but are essentially distinct. The repetition of the same proper names, in early times, has already been alluded to in Note 30.

[74] אַשּׁוּרִם וּלְטוּשִׁם וּלְאֻמִּם. Both the Chaldee Paraphrasts, Onkelos and Jonathan, take these names

Dedan, but are no where else spoken of; they were probably small tribes, which, in course of time, became intermixed with others, and so lost their distinctive appellations. A trace of the name Leummim may have been preserved in the Allumaiotæ,* who are placed by Ptolemy[75] in the centre of Arabia.[76]

The prophet Jeremiah mentions as being near the Kedarenes, the principalities or territories of *Cha-*

for appellatives, and are followed by the Persian translator. They differ, however, in the meaning they attach to them. Onkelos has; "they divided themselves into camps, tents, and islands." Jonathan: "they were merchants, artizans, and heads of tribes." The Persian Transl.: "they were princes, great men, and (became) nations." It is certainly remarkable, that the names of the three sons of Dedan should alone be in the plural form, and it might seem to intimate that the words should be regarded as appellatives. Yet the other ancient Versions take them for proper names, and the explanations of the Chaldee and Persian translators cannot be satisfactorily established. See Rosenmüller's Scholia on Gen. xxv. 3.

* Ἀλλουμαιῶται.

[75] Geogr. V. 15.

[76] Josephus (in his Antiqq. I. 15), gives an extract from Alexander Polyhistor, in which Cleodamus the prophet, also called Malchus, is introduced as stating, in his Jewish history, that Keturah bore several sons to Abraham, and of these he expressly names these three, Aphera, Surim, and Japhra. From Surim it is added Assyria received its name, (ἀπὸ Σουρεὶμ μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλῆσθαι). The two others, Aphera and Japhra, are said to have gone to Africa, and to have built the city of Aphra, whence Africa took its name &c. In two of these names we recognize the Hebrew עֵפֶר and אַשּׁוּרִים. Japhra is perhaps עֵפָה, for which the LXX. put Γεφὰρ. Vater thinks that אַשּׁוּרִים, may have been really an

zor,[77] Jer. xlix. 28, 30, 33. This name seems to designate those Arabs, who, in the countries frequented by the Bedouins, possessed settled dwellings, and pursued agriculture;[78] and they are therefore put in opposition to the Kedarenes, who dwelt in tents. Both are threatened with destruction by the hosts of Nebuchadnezzar; but it is added, that Chazor shall be a dwelling for wild beasts, and become a desolate region, never more to be inhabited by man.[79]

Between Arabia Deserta and Arabia Petræa, there dwelt, in early times, the *Ammonites*,[80] a considerable tribe, whose origin is traced to Ammon, a son of Lot, the nephew of Abraham; for he is mentioned in Gen. xix. 14, 30—38, as the fruit of the incestuous intercourse between Lot and his younger daughter,

Arabic tribe, since it is said, in Gen. xxv. 18, that the Ishmaelites dwelt towards אַשּׁוּר, Ashur. [In the Eng. Version, "Assyria.]

77 מַמְלְכוֹת חָצוֹר.

78 חָצוֹר denotes "a place hedged in or enclosed, a court or farm-yard," and then "a village, a canton."

79 *Della Valle* says, (when speaking of the different kinds of Arabs in Arabia Deserta, Travels, Part I. Letter 17): "The meanest among them are the *Hadhri*, who always live in towns." They are the same with those whom Abulfaradj calls حواضر and اهل الحضر, "people of fixed dwellings." *Ed. Pococke's* Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 2.

80 בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן.

—his brother Moab being the son of the elder daughter. The name Ammon signifies, according to the mother's own explanation, "son of my people, or family,"—Ben-Ammi.[81] The descendants of Ammon spread themselves towards the north-east, and expelled a race of giants, the Zamzummim, from their possessions between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon. (Deut. ii. 20.) The latter river formed the southern boundary of the territory of Ammon towards that of Moab. When the Israelites invaded the country east of Jordan, with a view to penetrate into Canaan, they did not encroach on the strong frontiers of the Ammonites (Num. xxi. 24); but they took possession of a part of Bashan, which the Amorites had conquered from the Ammonites at an earlier period. It was this circumstance which gave occasion afterwards to the first war between the Ammonites and the Hebrews. The former demanded of the latter to be put again in possession of the lands which had been once seized by the Amorites, but were now occupied by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, Num. xxxii. 33. As they sought to enforce their claims by the sword, the Israelites, with Jephthah at their head, took the field

[81] Gen. xix. 38. וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ בֶּן־עַמִּי הוּא אֲבִי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן. *De Wette* (in his Critic. Rem. on the Hist. of Israel, p. 94), and *Gesenius* (in the Hall. Encyclop. Part III. p. 371), regard the whole story as a fabrication occasioned by the bitter national hatred of the Hebrews to the Ammonites; but there is nothing in it at all improbable, nor inconsistent with those modes of thinking and acting that prevailed in very remote antiquity.

against them, defeated them, and retained possession of the disputed district. Soon after Saul had been crowned as king, yet had not been acknowledged by all (1 Sam. x. 27), the Ammonites, under their king Nahash, attacked Gilead, but were defeated by Saul, who, after this victory, was universally acknowledged as king, in a solemn manner at Gilgal, 1 Sam. xi. During the persecutions to which David was a prey, the king of Ammon appears to have befriended him; for, though that is not expressly recorded, we may infer it from the circumstance that, on his accession to the throne of Israel, he sent messengers to Hanun, the son and successor of Nahash, to condole with him on his father's death, and this upon the ground, that "his father had shewn him kindness," 2 Sam. x. 2. Hanun, however, being persuaded by his counsellors that David's ambassadors were sent as spies, subjected them to the vilest treatment, by "shaving off the one half of their beards, and cutting off their garments in the middle." David being exasperated at this flagrant breach of the law of nations, dispatched Joab with an army, who took Rabbah, their capital, after a two years siege, and put most of the inhabitants to death, 2 Sam. ch. x.; xi. 1; xii. 26—31. When David had to flee across the Jordan, before his rebellious son Absalom, one of those who met him with provisions, and other necessaries, was Shobi, a son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon, 1 Sam. xvii. 27. At a subsequent period the Ammonites combined with the Moabites, and other neighbouring tribes, against Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, but were defeated and spoiled, 2 Chron. xx. They sought to

maintain friendly relations with Uzziah by means of presents, 2 Chron. xxviii. 8, but having made war on his son Jotham, they were by him subdued, and rendered for some years tributary, 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. Of the hostility which almost always prevailed between the Ammonites and Hebrews, we have standing evidence in the denunciations of the former in the writings of the prophets. Amos (chap. i. 13), threatens them with destruction, "because they ripped up the women with child in Gilead, that they might enlarge their border;" Zephaniah (chap. ii. 8), on account of their scornful reviling of Israel; Jeremiah, (xlix. 1—5), because they had seized the territory of the Gadites, who had been carried captive into Assyria; Ezekiel, (chap. xxii. 1), on account of their malignant exultation over the downfal of Jerusalem. They joined themselves to Nebuchadnezzar in his invasion of Palestine, 2 Kings xxiv. 2. Gedaliah, the governor of Judæa, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar, was murdered by Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, at the instigation of Baalis, king of the Ammonites, Jerem. xl. 14; xli. 1—10. On the return of a part of the Jews from captivity, the Ammonites still shewed their hostility by combining with other tribes to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, Nehem. iv. 3. They are mentioned among the idolatrous nations with whom the Hebrews at that period had intercourse, and with whom they intermarried, Ezra ix. 1. Neh. xiii. 23, though Moses had expressly forbidden them ever to receive an Ammonite into their society, Deut. xxiii. 3. Proofs of their inveterate hatred of the Jews appear even at so late a period as the reign

of Antiochus Epiphanes; for, after Judas Maccabæus, by his victory at Bethzur, had restored the temple service, and enabled his countrymen to throw off the Syrian yoke, they were attacked by some of the surrounding nations, and especially by the Idumæans, with an Arabic tribe called Bayian, and the Ammonites. They appear to have been then an independent people, for they sent against Judas a considerable army, commanded by one Timotheus, who fought several battles with the Jews, but was defeated, 1 Macc. v. 6, 7, 8, 24—44. At a later period, when John Hyrcanus reigned in Judæa, we find mention made by Josephus[82] of a prince of Philadelphia, the capital of the Ammonites, Zeno by name. In the second century of our era, Justin Martyr[83] calls them still a numerous people. But by the first half of the third century, we are informed by Origen,[84] that both Ammonites and Idumæans were comprehended under the general name of Arabians, their distinctive appellations having disappeared. The Ammonites are no where mentioned by Greek or Roman writers.

The capital of the country was called *Rabbath of the Ammonites*, *i. e.* the Great City of the Ammonites, Deut. iii. 11; and also simply Rabbah, *i. e.* the Great,[85] Josh. xiii. 25. Its capture by David, after

[82] Antiqq. XIII. 8. 1.

[83] In his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 346 of Jebb's Edit. καὶ Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐστὶ νῦν πολὺ πλῆθος.

[84] In the First Book of his Comment. on Job.

[85] רַבָּה, רַבַּת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן.

a two years siege, has been already noticed. Joab had previously got possession of what is called "the city of waters," which was probably that part which lay on both sides of the river, by which the valley is traversed. Its entire destruction is threatened by the prophet Jeremiah, (chap. xlix. 2, 3). During the rule of the Egyptian Ptolemies over Syria, it received the name of *Philadelphia,* (no doubt from Ptolemy Philadelphus), yet continued to be most commonly designated by the ancient name of Rabbat-Amana.[86] Josephus calls it *Rabbatha,*[87] Eusebius and Jerome, *Amman;* but, on the coins from Titus to Commodus, it is styled *Philadelphia.* It was at that period one of the most important cities of Arabia, and the district in which it lay was named from it Philadelphian Arabia.[88] Abulfeda calls it Amman,[89] and remarks that there were there, in his day, considerable ruins. These also have been more recently found by Seetzen[90] and Burckhardt,[91] the latter of whom gives a plan of the town, with the following description:—

"The town lies along the banks of a river called

[86] Ῥαββατάμανα. For example Polybius, (Book V. Cap 71), who mentions its capture by Antiochus the Great.

[87] Ῥαβαθᾶ (רַבָּתָה), Archaeol. IV. 5. 3.

[88] Ἀραβία τῆς Φιλαδελφίας, Arabia Philadelphiensis. See *Reland's* Palaest. p. 105, 612.

[89] عمّان. Tab. Syr. p. 91.

[90] In Zach's Monthly Correspondence, Vol. XVIII. p. 423.

[91] Travels in Syria, p. 357.

Moiet Amman,[92] which has it source in a pond at a few hundred paces from the south-western end of the town. I was informed that this river is lost in the earth one hour below the pond, that it issues again, and takes the name of Ain Ghazale; then disappears a second time, and rises again near a ruined place called Raszeyfa, beyond which it is said to be lost for a third time, till it reappears about an hour to the west of Kalaat Zerka, otherwise called Kaszr Shebeib, near the river Zerka, into which it empties itself. Ain Ghazale is about one hour and a half distant from Amman; Kalaat Zerka is four hours distant. The river of Amman runs in a valley, bordered on both sides by barren hills of flint, which advance on the south side close to the edge of the stream. There is a high arched bridge over the river, which appears to have been the only bridge in the town, although the river is not fordable in the winter. The banks of the river, as well as its bed, are paved, but the pavement has been, in most places, carried away by the violence of the winter torrent. The stream is full of small fish. On the south side of the river is a fine theatre, the largest that I have seen in Syria. It has forty rows of seats; between the tenth and eleventh from the bottom, occurs a row of eight boxes, or small apartments, capable of holding about twelve spectators each; fourteen rows higher, a similar row

[92] *i. e.* The Water of Amman. Seetzen calls it Nahr Amman, نهر عمّان the river Amman, and says it is a branch of the Serka or Zerka, (the ancient Jabbok.)

of boxes occupies the place of the middle seats; and, at the top of all, there is a third tier of boxes, excavated in the rocky side of the hill, upon the declivity of which the theatre is built. On both wings of the theatre are vaults. In front was a colonnade, of which eight Corinthian columns yet remain, besides four fragments of shafts; they are about fifteen feet high, surmounted by entablatures;—the workmanship is not of the best Roman times. Near the theatre is a building, the details of which I was not able to make out exactly; its front is built irregularly, without columns or ornaments of any kind. On entering, I found a semi-circular area, enclosed by a high wall, in which narrow steps were formed, running all round from bottom to top. The inside of the front wall, as well as the round walk of the area, is richly ornamented with sculptured ornaments. The roof, which once covered the whole building, has fallen down, and choaks up the interior in such a way as to render it difficult to determine whether the edifice has been a palace or destined for public amusements. Nearly opposite the theatre, to the northward of the river, are the remains of a temple, the posterior wall of which only remains, having an entablature, and several niches highly adorned with sculpture. Before this building stand the shafts of several columns, three feet in diamater. Its date appears to be anterior to that of all the other buildings of Amman, and its style of architecture is much superior. At some distance farther down the Wady stand a few small columns, probably the remains of a temple. The plain between the river and the northern hills is covered with ruins

of private buildings, extending from the church down to the columns; but nothing of them remains except the foundations and some of the door posts. On the top of the highest of the northern hills stands the castle of Amman, a very extensive building; it was an oblong square, filled with buildings, of which about as much remains as there does of the private dwellings in the lower town. The castle walls are thick, and denote a remote antiquity;—large blocks of stone are piled up, without cement, and still hold together as well as if they had been recently placed;—the greater part of the wall is entire; it is placed a little below the crest of the hill, and appears not to have risen much above the level of its summit. Within the castle are several deep cisterns."[93]

[93] "The town, says Seetzen (loc. cit.) consists of two parts, the finest of which lies in the valley, ("the city of waters," 2 Sam. xii. 27,) on both sides of the river; but the larger part on the hill. Though Amman has been destroyed and uninhabited for many hundred years, I, nevertheless, found many remarkable ruins which attest the grandeur of the ancient city. The most conspicuous were, an old square building, very much ornamented, perhaps an ancient mausoleum; the ruins of a considerable palace; a large, very well preserved, splendid amphitheatre, with a peristyle in front, of Corinthian pillars, without pedestals; a temple with many pillars; a large decayed church, perhaps the seat of a bishop in the time of the Greek emperors; above, upon the hill, the remains of a columnar temple, which formed a rotunda, and whose pillars were of astonishing size, besides many other edifices. In the territory of Ammon there were, in the days of the Judges, twenty towns that were taken by Jepthah, (Judg. xi. 33); now there is not a single house."

In the war which Jephthah carried on against the Ammonites, with a view to deliver his country from their yoke, he smote them "from Aroer to Abel-Keramim, [in the Eng. Vers. 'plain of the vineyards,'] and took from them twenty cities, even to Minnith," Judg. xi. 33. These places probably lay within the Ammonitish territory. The one first mentioned, *Aroer*, must have been a place quite different from a town of the same name which lay far to the south, on the Arnon, and the ruins of which were seen by Burckhardt. As Jephthah advanced into the territory of the Ammonites from Gilead, (v. 29,) we are, no doubt, to understand by Aroer the place which, according to Josh. xiii. 25, lay opposite to Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites, and had formerly been in possession of the tribe of Gad. Num xxxii. 34. This Aroer is also mentioned in the history of David. The men whom that monarch sent out to number the people, "went over Jordan and pitched in Aroer, on the right side of the city that lies in the midst of the river of Gad," 2 Sam. xxiv. 5. The river of Gad is here the Jabbok or Wady Serka, which separated the possessions of the tribe of Gad from the territory of Ammon. From its being said that this Aroer lay "in the middle of the river of Gad," it may be conjectured that it was built upon an island.

The name of the second place of Ammon, mentioned in Judg. xi. 33, namely, *Abel-Keramim*,[94] denotes "a Place of Vineyards." In the time of Eusebius there

[94] אֲבֵל כְּרָמִים.

was a village called Abel, where wine was raised, six Roman miles from Philadelphia.[95]

Minnith is mentioned no where else than in the above passage, and in Ezek. xxvii. 17, where its wheat is spoken of as exported to the markets of Tyre. That the land of Ammon was rich in corn appears from 2 Chron. xxvii. 5, where it is said that the Ammonites, when conquered by Jotham, gave him in tribute, besides a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures (*cors*) of wheat, and as much barley. Minnith still existed in the age of Eusebius, four Roman miles from Hhesbon on the road to Philadelphia.

II.—ARABIA PETRÆA, OR STONY ABABIA.

Arabia Petræa[1] was so called by the Greeks and Romans, from its capital *Petra*, in Hebrew *Sela*, *i. e.* "Rock;" but as Burckhardt observes,[2] the name is also appropriate, on account of its rocky mountains; and, especially on account of the elevated plain running south from Belka to Akaba, which is so covered with stones, and, particularly flint, that, though susceptible of cultivation, it may fitly be described as a "stony desert." A part of this tract lying on the Ælanitic Gulf, (an arm of the Red Sea,) was called *Nabatæa*,[3]

[95] In Onomastic.: Ἀβελαμπελών, ἔνθα ἐπολέμησεν Ἰεφθαὶ, γῆς υἱῶν Ἀμμών, ἥ ἐστιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν κώμη ἀμπελοφόρος Ἄβελ, ἀπὸ ς' σημείων Φιλαδελφίας.

[1] Πετραία Ἀραβία, Arabia Petraea.

[2] Travels, p. 723 of the German Translation.

[3] See *Cellarius* Notit. Orb. Antiqui. T. II. p. 585.

from a tribe who dwelt there, but who, as we saw above, (at p. 143,) likewise spread themselves into Desert and Happy Arabia.

Arabia Petræa is surrounded by Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, by Palestine, Egypt, and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea. That sea forms the western boundary of the greater part of the district, which is now called *Hedjaz*.[4] The two northern arms of the sea inclose another portion of Arabia Petræa, which has Egypt for its western border. We shall describe this extensive region according to the divisions found in the Bible.

1. *The Territory of the Moabites.*

The northern part of Arabia Petræa was occupied, at a very early period, by the *Moabites*, a tribe who were related to the Hebrews; for their progenitor Moab[5] was a son of Lot, Abraham's nephew, and a brother of Ammon, Gen. xix. 30—38. The Moabites, like their kinsmen the Ammonites, spread themselves through the country on the east of the Dead Sea, expelled the aborigines, who were the Emim, a race of giants, (Deut. ii. 9, 10), and extended their frontier northward as far as the Jabbok. But the northern portion of this territory, lying between the Jabbok and the Arnon, was taken from them by the Amorites, so that the Arnon became their permanent

[4] حجاز. [The author follows Niebuhr in reckoning Hedjaz in Arabia Petræa; but see the Preface to Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia.—*Tr.*]

[5] מוֹאָב, *i. e.* seed, son of the father.

boundary to the north, Num. xxi. 13, 26. Judges xi. 18. When the Israelites had to penetrate into Canaan, they were commanded not to seize on any of the possessions of the Moabites, (Deut. ii. 9), and, accordingly, they merely passed through a portion of their territory on the east side of the Dead Sea, (Num. xxi. 1. Deut. i. 5; ii. 18, 29; xxix. 1). Balak, the king of Moab, was alarmed at the approach of the vast army of the Hebrews, (Num. xxii. 3), and though he did not venture to attack them, he employed a renowned magician, Balaam, to direct against them his enchantments; but, being controlled by a higher power, Balaam's intended curses were changed into blessings, Num. ch. xxii. 23, 24. During the period which elapsed from the death of Joshua to the anointing of Saul as king, the Israelites were tributary to Moab for eighteen years, but were delivered from the yoke by Ehud, one of the Judges. Judges iii. 12, 30. Towards the close of the government of the Judges, friendly relations subsisted between the two countries; for the land of Israel being visited with famine, many of the inhabitants betook themselves to the fertile plains of Moab, and, (as appears from the book of Ruth), some of them intermarried with the natives. In the reign of Saul, however, we find the Moabites again ranked among Israel's foes, 1 Sam. xiv. 47. During David's persecutions by Saul, he found shelter with the king of Moab, (as Saul's enemy), both for himself and his aged parents, 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. But when he himself came to the throne, he found it necessary to attack the Moabites killing two-thirds of those who were able to bear

arms, and making the rest tributary, 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xix. 2. Whether this state of things continued during the reign of Solomon we are not informed; but, soon after the revolt of the ten tribes, we find the Moabites in subjection to the kings of Israel. Mesha, king of Moab, "rendered to the king of Israel (Ahab) a hundred thousand lambs, and a hundred thousand rams with the wool;" but, after Ahab's death, they rebelled against Israel, 2 Kings iii. 4, 5. Comp. chap. i. 1. Joram, his successor, attempted (in conjunction with Judah and Edom) to reduce the Moabites again, and invaded their country, but without success, 2 Kings iii. 6—27. 2 Chron. xx. 1—30.[6] At a later period, in the reign of Joash, the Moabites attacked the king of Israel, 2 Kings xiii. 20; and they seem to have subsequently made themselves masters of a portion of the territories of Reuben and Gad. For, in a prophecy of Isaiah, (probably delivered in the reign of Ahaz, chap. xv. xvi.), several towns between the Jabbok and Arnon, which had belonged to these tribes, are spoken of as towns of Moab. They may have got possession of them after Tiglathpilesar had carried captive into Assyria the tribes beyond Jordan, 2 Chron. v. 25. Comp. 2 Kings xv. 29.[7] When Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judah, the Moabites appear as allies of the Chaldeans, 2 Kings xxiv. 2. The prophet Ezekiel reproaches them (chap. xxv. 8—11), with having

[6] On the discrepancies in the narratives of these wars, in the books of Kings and Chronicles, see *Gesenius*' Comment. on Isaiah, Vol. I. p. 502, *note*. Comp. *Gramberg* on Chronicles, p. 15, 97, 111.

[7] Comp. *Gesenius*, loc. cit. p. 503.

joined the Edomites and Ammonites in their malicious exultation over the calamities of their kinsmen the Hebrews. But, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar, when on his expedition against Egypt, reduced to subjection both the Moabites and Ammonites.[8] They nevertheless afterwards appear as an independent state; for, in Ezra ix. 1. Nehem. xiii. 1, they are mentioned among the people with whom the Jews had intermarried. It appears, from Dan. xi. 41, that they (as well as the Edomites and Ammonites) were left unmolested by Antiochus Epiphanes; but, about ninety years before the Christian era, Alexander Jannæus subdued them, along with other tribes on the east of Jordan,[9] after which their name does not appear in history.

The land of Moab was remarkably fertile. So much grain was raised in the plains, that when a scarcity prevailed in the neighbouring country of Palestine, its inhabitants repaired hither, Ruth i. 1. It was also rich in wine and fruit, (Isa. xvi. 8, 9, 10), and in numerous herds of sheep, 2 Kings iii. 4. The northern part of the country, which reverted to the Moabites after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel is now called *Belka*, and is still the finest pastureland of Syria. The southern portion, or Moab Proper, bears at present the designation of *Karak* or *Kerek*, from the town of that name.

The most considerable river in the country is the

[8] *Josephus*, Antiqq. X. 9, 7.
[9] *Josephus*, Antiqq. XIII. 13. 5 : and Cap. 14. § 2.

Arnon, now the Wady-Mudjeb. Farther south was the brook Sered[10] or Sared, which rose in the mountain-chain of Abarim, and on the banks of which the Hebrews had an encampment, when passing through the Moabitish territory to Canaan, Num. xxi. 12. Deut. ii. 13. The Chaldee translator Jonathan renders it by "the Valley or Brook of Willows,"[11] and a rivulet of that name,[12] in the country of Moab, is mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, (chap. xv. 7). A fountain, in the neighbourhood of Kerek, still goes by the name of the "Willow Fountain."[13] The valley, on the west and north sides of that town, is watered by several copious streams, beside which the natives rear kitchen vegetables, and have considerable plantations of olives.

[10] זֶרֶד. The name denotes in Chaldee, "luxuriant branches" which are lopped off. In the Hebrew the phrase is וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּנַחַל זָרֶד, which may also be translated "they encamped in the valley of Sared." The word נַחַל signifies a deep dale or ravine, which is the bed of a torrent; it corresponds to the Arabic *Wady*. See Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 14.

[11] בְּנַחְלָא דְמַרְבֵּי חִלְפֵּי.

[12] נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים.

[13] عين صفصاف. *Burckhardt*, p. 644 of the German Transl. [Comp. Bib. Cab. Vol. XXVII. p. 273.] In the map of the Land of Moab, given by *Gesenius* in his Comment. on Isaiah, the brook of Sared is laid down as the Wady Kerek, and the "Brook of the Willows" is placed at the southern boundary of the country; but that is mere conjecture.

The principal fountain is Ain-Sarah,[14] which gushes from the rock in a very romantic spot; the stream drives three mills in its course. By the "waters of Nimrim," in Isa. xv. 6, we are probably to understand some rivulet or pond in the vicinity of Beth-Nimrah, which was in the northern division of what became the country of Moab after the captivity of the Reubenites and Gadites.[15]

Of the numerous mountains in Moab only three are mentioned in Scripture. Mount Peor was near Nebo and Pisgah; it commanded an extensive view into the desert, (Num. xxiii. 28), and on it probably was placed the Moabitish idol Baal-Peor, *i. e.* the Lord or God of Peor, Num. xxv. 3, 5. Near Luchith was a hill of that name, (Isa. xv. 5. Jerem. xlviii. 5), which was known by its ancient appellation[16] in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, and lay between Areopolis and Zoar. Then there was the mountain-ridge of Abarim,[17] on the southern frontier of Moab, dividing it from Edom or Idumæa, Num. xxi. 11; xxxiii. 44, 47, 48. The high mountain of Dhana,[18] which sepa-

[14] عين سارة.

[15] In the Map of Gesenius, (mentioned at note 13), he follows Seetzen in identifying the Nahr (river) Nimrim with the Wady Shoaib, which falls into the Jordan south of the Jabbok.

[16] Λουειθ, לוּחִית.

[17] הָרֵי עֲבָרִים. The name denotes "mountain-passes."

[18] ضانة, *Burckhardt*, p. 688 of the German Transl.

rates Moeyr Djebal from Sherath, the ancient Edom, may have been part of Mount Abarim.

The two principal towns of the Moabites were Ar or Rabbath-Moab, and Kir-Moab.

1. *Ar*,[19] the capital, (Numb. xxi. 15. Deut. ii. 18. Isa. xv. 1.) was also called *Rabbah*,[20] *i. e.* the Great, (Josh. xiii. 25), or more fully *Rabbath-Moab*,[21] *i.e.* the chief town of Moab—as the capital of the Ammonites was designated Rabbath-Ammon. The Greeks called it *Areopolis*, as they thought the name Ar denoted the city of Ares, *i. e.* the god Mars.[22] Abulfeda calls it Rabbah and Mab,[23] *i. e.* Moab, according to a common practice in the east, to call the chief town by the name of the country.[24] He remarks that the ancient city was destroyed, and only a village was on its site. The remains of Rabbath-Moab were, in modern times, first discovered by Seetzen.[25] He found, among other ruins, those of a very old palace or temple, part of the wall of which

[19] עָר, the same as עִיר "city."

[20] רַבָּה.

[21] Hence the Ῥαββαθμὼμ of Ptolemy, and the Ῥαββάθμωμος of Stephan of Byzantium.

[22] Comp. *Reland's* Palaest. p. 571.

[23] ربّة, مآب, Tab. Syr. p. 90.

[24] For example, شام *Sham*, [Syria,] for Damascus; مصر *Misr*, [Egypt,] for Cairo.

[25] See *Von Zach's* Monthly Correspondence, Vol. XVIII. p. 433.

was still standing, and of the peristyle two marble Corinthian pillars, but without pedestals. A few years after it was visited by Burckhardt,[26] who gives the following account :—

" The ruins of Rabba are about half an hour in circuit, and are situated upon a low hill which commands the whole plain. I examined a part of them only, but the rest seemed to contain nothing remarkable. On the west side is a temple, of which one wall and several niches remain, by no means distinguished for elegance. Near them is a gate belonging to another building, which stood on the edge of a Birket. Distant from these ruins about thirty yards, stand two Corinthian columns of middling size, one higher than the other. In the plain to the west of the birket, stands an insulated altar. In the town many fragments are lying about. There are many remains of private habitations, but none entire. There being no springs in this spot, the town had two birkets [reservoirs] the largest of which is cut entirely out of the rocky ground, together with several cisterns. About three quarters of an hour to the south-east of Rabba are two copious springs, called El-Djebeyba and El-Yaroud." It is probable that in very early times an aqueduct led from these springs to the town ; such, at least, seems to be the allusion in the ancient song, recorded in Num. xxi. 15, where mention is made of " the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar."[27] The sur-

[26] Travels in Syria, p. 377 of the original English.

[27] אֲשֶׁר הַנְּחָלִים אֲשֶׁר נָטָה לְשֶׁבֶת עָר.

rounding plain is very fertile, and large tracts are under cultivation by the inhabitants of Kerek, and the Arabs of the tribe of Hhamaide.

2. *Kir-Moab*,[28] *i. e.* the Wall, stronghold, or citadel of Moab, (Isa. xv. 31), also called *Kir-Chareseth*, and *Kir-Cheres*,[29] *i. e.* the Wall of Potsherds or Bricks, (Isa. xvi. 7, 11. Jerem. xlviii. 31), was the most important fortress in the country. Joram, king of Israel, took and destroyed it except the walls; but it appears, from the passages here referred to in Isaiah's prophecy, that it must have been subsequently rebuilt. The Chaldee translator has put for Kir-Moab, "*Kerraka-Moab*,"[30] *i. e.* the Castle of Moab; and the former of these words, which is in Arabic pronounced Karak, Kerek, or Krak, is the name it bears in 2 Macc. xii. 17,[31] in Ptolemy and Stephan of Byzantium,[32] in Abulfeda,[33] and in the historians of the Crusades.[34] It continues to be the name at the present day. Abulfeda calls Karak a small town, with a castle on a high hill, and remarks that it is so strong, that "one must deny himself even the wish to

[28] קִיר מוֹאָב.

[29] קִיר חֶרֶשׂ, קִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת.

[30] כַּרְכָּא מוֹאָב.

[31] Κάρακα. [32] Χαρακμῶβα. See *Reland* loc. cit. p. 705.

[33] Tab. Syr. p. 89. كرك. Comp. *Schultens*' Index Geogr. ad Vit. Saladini under *Caracha*.

[34] See *Wilken's* Hist. of the Crusades, (Ger.), Part III. Div. 2, p. 235.

take it by force." In the time of the Crusades, and when in possession of the Franks, it was invested by the famous Saladin, but, after lying before it for a month, he was compelled to raise the siege.[35] This place was also first visited, in modern times, by Seetzen. "Near to Karrak," says he,[36] "the wide plain terminates, which extends from Rabbah,[37] and is broken only by low and detached hills, and the country now becomes mountainous. Karrak, formerly a city, and bishop's see, lies on the top of a hill, near the end of a deep valley, and is surrounded on all sides with lofty mountains. The hill is very steep, and, in many places, the sides are quite perpendicular. The walls round the town are, for the most part, destroyed, and Karrak can, at present, boast of being little more than a small country town. The castle, which is uninhabited and in a state of great decay, was formerly one of the strongest in these countries. The inhabitants of the town consist of Mahomedans and Greek Christians. The present bishop of Karrak resides at Jerusalem. From this place one enjoys, by looking down the Wady Karrak, a fine view of part of the Dead Sea, and even Jerusalem may be distinctly seen, in clear weather. The hill on which Karrak lies, is composed of lime-stone, and brittle marl, with many beds of black, blue, and grey flints. In the neighbouring rocks there are a number of curious grottoes; in those which are under

35 See *Bohaeddin's* Life of Saladin, p. 55. *Bar-Hebræus* Chronic. Syr. p. 392.

36 Loc. cit. (Note 25,) p. 434.

37 Burkhardt travelled from Rabbah to Kerek in six hours.

ground, wheat is sometimes preserved for a period of ten years." Burckhardt, who was for a considerable time in Kerek, has left the following account of it.*

"The town of Kerek (a common name in Syria,) is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep and narrow valley, the mountains beyond which command the town. In the valley on the west and north sides are several copious springs, on the borders of which the inhabitants cultivate some vegetables, and considerable plantations of olive trees. The town is surrounded by a wall, which has fallen down in several places; it is defended by six or seven large towers, of which the northern is almost perfect, and has a long Arabic inscription on its wall, but too high to be legible from the ground; on each side of the inscription is a lion, in bas-relief, similar to those seen on the walls of Aleppo and Damascus. The town had, originally, only two entrances, one to the south and the other to the north; they are dark passages, forty paces in length, cut through the rock. An inscription on the northern gate ascribes its foundation to Sultan Seyfeddin. Besides these two gates, two other entrances have been formed, leading over the ruins of the town wall. At the west end of the town stood a castle, on the edge of a deep precipice, over the Wady Kobeysha. It is built in the style of most of the Syrian castles, with thick walls and parapets, large arched apartments, dark passages, with loop holes and subterraneous vaults; and it probably owes its origin, like most of these castles, to the pru-

* Travels in Syria, p. 379 to 387 of the original English.

dent system of defence adopted by the Saracens against the Franks during the crusades. In a large Gothic hall are remains of paintings in fresco, but so much defaced that nothing can be clearly distinguished. Kerek having been some time in the hands of the Franks, this hall may have been built at that time for a church, and decorated with paintings. Upon an uncouth figure of a man, bearing a large chain, I read the letters IONI, painted in large characters; the rest of the inscription was effaced. On the side towards the town the castle is defended by a deep fosse, cut in the rock; near which are seen several remains of columns of gray and red granite. On the south side the castle hill is faced with stone, in the same manner as at Aleppo, El Hossn, Szalkhat, &c. On the west side, a wall has been thrown accross the Wady, to some high rocks which project from the opposite side; a kind of birket has been formed, which formerly supplied the garrison with water. In the castle is a deep well, and many of the private houses also have wells, but their water is brackish; others have cisterns, which save the inhabitants the trouble of fetching their water from the Wady below. There are no antiquities in the town, except a few fragments of granite columns. A good mosque, built by Melek el Dhaher, is now in ruins. The Christians have a church, dedicated to St. George, or El Khuder, which has been lately repaired. On the declivity of the Wady, to the south of the town, are some ancient sepulchral caves, of coarse workmanship, cut in the chalky rock.

"Kerek is inhabited by about four hundred Turkish and one hundred and fifty Christian families; the

former can furnish upwards of eight hundred firelocks, the latter about two hundred and fifty. The Turks are composed of settlers from all parts of Southern Syria, but principally from the mountains about Hebron and Nablous. The Christians are, for the greatest part, descendants of refugees from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Beit-Djade; they are free from all exactions, and enjoy the same rights with the Turks.

"The inhabitants of *Kerek* being thus exempted, by their own strength, from all taxes and impositions, it might be supposed that they are wealthy. This, however, is not the case; the great hospitality that prevails prevents the increase of wealth. The Kerekein cultivate the plains in the neighbouring mountains, and feed their cattle on the uncultivated parts. One-third of the people remain encamped, the whole year, at two or three hours distance from the town, to superintend the cattle; the rest encamp in the harvest time only. During the latter period the Christians have two large camps or douars, and the Turks five. Here they live like Bedouins, whom they exactly resemble in dress, food, and language. The produce of their fields is purchased by the Bedouins, or exchanged for cattle. The only other commercial intercourse carried on by them is with Jerusalem, for which place a caravan departs every two months, travelling either by the route round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, which takes three days and a half, or by crossing the Jordan, a journey of three days. At Jerusalem they sell their sheep and goats, a few mules, of which they have an excellent breed, hides, wool,

and a little *Fowa* or madder, (*Rubia tinctorum,*) which they cultivate in small quanties; in return they take coffee, rice, tobacco, and all kinds of articles of dress, and of household furniture. The journey, however, is undertaken by few of the natives of Kerek, the trade being almost wholly in the hands of a few merchants of Hebron, who keep shops at Kerek, and thus derive large profits from the indolence or ignorance of the Kerekein."

The other towns, which lay within the territory of Moab at the period of the Chaldæan invasion, were those which had formerly belonged to the Israelitish tribes of Reuben and Gad. We find a tolerably complete list of them in the prophecy of Jeremiah against Moab, contained in the 48th chapter of his prophecies. The first is *Heshbon,** (ver. 2), the ruins of which (under the name of Hhesban), were found by Burckhardt, $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours south-west of Elealeh. He remarked a number of wells hewn out in the rock, and a large reservoir, which Seetzen had also noticed, and which reminded him of the passage in the Song of Solomon, (chap. vii. 4), "Thine eyes are like the pools of Heshbon." *Madmen*[38] (ver. 2), is mentioned no where else; it is not to be confound-

* [With regard to those towns of Moab, which had once belonged to Israel, the author refers to his volume on Palestine, from which I here give extracts to complete the description of Moab.— *Tr.*]

[38] מַדְמֵן, Dunghill.

ed with Madmenah, in the tribe of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem. *Hhoronaim*,[39] (ver. 3), probably lay on a declivity,[40] opposite the above mentioned hill of Luchith. *Dibon*, (ver. 18), is in Isa. xv. 9 called *Dimon*, the letters *b* and *m* being frequently interchanged. Jerome speaks of them as one place. As Burckhardt was about an hour north of the Wady Mudjeb or Arnon, the ruins of Dibon were pointed out to him lying to the north, in a plain which Seetzen describes as very fine, and which Legh crossed by a Roman road. On the north bank of the Arnon Burckhardt found the ruins of *Aroer*, (ver. 19), now Araayr, on the edge of a rocky precipice. In ver. 21—24 of the above chapter of Jeremiah, there is mention of eleven different towns of Moab. Two of these, *Cholon* and *Beth-Gamul* occur no where else. *Jahzah* or *Jahaz* (Isa. xv. 3) was the place where Sihon king of the Amorites was defeated by Israel, (Num. xxi. 23. Deut. ii. 32), whence we may infer that it was on the frontier of Moab towards the Amorites. *Nephaath* was in the time of Eusebius and Jerome the seat of a Roman garrison, to protect the country from the incursions of the Arabs. *Nebo* must not be confounded with a Nebo in the tribe of Benjamin; it lay near Mount Nebo, (now the Djebel Attarous,) eight Roman miles south

[39] חֹרֹנַיִם, *i. e.* two caves, or Double Cave. The neighbouring country is full of caves that have often been used for human dwellings

[40] וֹרַד חֹרֹנַיִם Ver. 5.

of Hhesbon. It received its name from the idol Nebo, (supposed to be the same as Mercury), who had probably been worshipped there; for in the middle ages there was still a place called "the Village of Nebo," with the ruins of a temple. *Kiriathaim* (*i. e.* the Double town), was one of the most ancient places in the country east of Jordan, for it was possessed by the giants called Emim (Gen. xiv. 5), who were expelled by the Moabites, Deut. ii. 9, 10. Eusebius places it west of Medebah; and about half an hour west of the ruins of that place Burckhardt found other ruins called *El-Teym*, which he conjectures to have been Kiriathaim, the last syllable of the name being retained. *Bozrah* (or as the Arabs pronounce it, Bosra), is commonly spoken of as the capital of Idumæa, and yet among the warlike and wandering tribes of these countries, places so often changed masters, that it may have frequently been in possession of the Moabites.* It did not lie within the original territory of Edom, but north of the country of the Ammonites, in the district of Haouran or Auranitis. The Romans called it Bostra, and reckoned it as belonging to Arabia. By Burckhardt's account it is still the largest town in Haouran, with extensive ruins. Whether the *Dibon* of Jerem. xlviii. 22, be the same with that we have noticed at ver. 18, is uncertain. As to *Beth-Diblathaim* (ver. 22) it is the same place as Diblathaim, an encampment of the Israelites,

* [Thus Sela, or *Petra*, the capital of the Edomites, which was taken by Amaziah king of Judah, (2 Kings xiv. 7), is mentioned in Isa. xvi. 1 as a town of Moab. Comp. Gesenius on Isa. xxxiv. 6.]—*Tr.*

Num. xxxiii. 46, and it still existed in the days of Eusebius and Jerome.[41] *Beth-Meon* (ver. 23) is the same as *Baal-Meon*, (Num. xxxiii. 3), the ruins of which, under the name of Myun, were seen by Burckhardt about three quarters of an hour's distance south-east of Hhesbon. It is also spoken of by Seetzen under the name of *Maein*. *Kerioth*, (ver. 24) is also mentioned among the towns[42] of Moab in Amos ii. 2.

Towards the close of the 48th chapter of Jeremiah, part of a more ancient prophecy is repeated, (taken from the 15th and 16th chapters of Isaiah), in which other towns of Moab are introduced. *Jazer*, (ver. 32), lay south of Aroer, ten Roman miles south-west of Rabbath-Ammon and fifteen from Heshbon. Seetzen and Burckhardt found in that locality the ruins of a place called Szir, where a small river runs into the Jordan through the Wady Szir. According to Jerome, *Sibmah* (ver. 32), was not more than 500 paces, or scarcely half a Roman mile, from Heshbon; it was famous for its wines. The ruins of *Elealeh*, (ver. 34), now *El-Aal*, were found by the same travellers on the top of a hill,* whence there is an extensive view of the whole southern Belka. Part of the town wall is still standing, with a great many cisterns, and the foundations and walls of houses. *Eg-*

[41] See Onomasticon, under "Jassa."

[42] Many (among the rest the LXX), regard the words אַרְמְנוֹת הַקְּרִיּוֹת, as meaning, "the palaces of the cities." See Rosenmüller's Scholia in loc.

* Hence the name אֶלְעָלֵה.

laim, which is mentioned in Isa. xv. 8, occurs no where else in Scripture,[43] but it was no doubt the place which Eusebius calls Agallim, eight Roman miles south of Areopolis, [Rabbath-Moab.] *Beer-Elim*, (Isa. xv. 8), was probably the same as Beer, (the Well), an encampment of the Hebrews on the borders of Moab, where they met with water,[44] Num. xxi. 16, 17, 18. Isaiah (chap. xv. 1), even mentions *Sela* or *Petra* as a town of Moab, but Jeremiah does not, because by his time it had no doubt reverted to the Edomites, to whom it formerly belonged, 2 Kings xiv. 7.

2. *Edom* or *Idumæa.*

On the southern border of the territory of Moab lay the land of *Edom*, called by the Greeks and Romans *Idumæa.* It derived its Hebrew name from Edom, a son of Isaac, and the elder twin-brother of Jacob. The name given him at his birth was Esau,[45]

[43] The above mentioned *Eglaim* (עֵין עֶגְלַיִם) can scarcely be the same with the *En-Eglaim* (אֶנְגַּלִּים) of Ezek. xlvii. 10, for the latter lay on the *west* side of the Dead Sea.

[44] It is there said the Israelites sung at that well: "This is the well which the princes, the nobles of the people digged, with their staves and sceptres." *Gesenius* remarks, (on Isa. xv. 8), that this seems like an etymological explanation of the name Beer-Elm, בְּאֵר אֵלִים, *i. e.* the Well of Heroes; and the situation of the place, far in the wilderness, suits the connection very well.

[45] עֵשָׂו.

i. e. "the Hairy;" the surname of Edom,[46] *i. e.* "the Red," he obtained from the circumstance of his favourite food being red or dark brown lentiles, for a mess of which he sold his birth-right, Gen. xxv. 29—34. Edom continued to be the name of his descendants; for, in the east still, many persons are better known by a surname, incidentally imposed, than by their own proper designation. Esau, or Edom, settled in *Mount Seir*,[47] which extends from the south-east end of the Dead Sea to near the Ælanitic Gulf, [the north-eastern arm of the Red Sea] and is now called *Sherath*.[48] This mountainous region had been pre-

[46] אֱדוֹם.

[47] שֵׂעִיר, properly "hairy," hence, in an extended sense, "rough, hilly." The name has thus the same meaning as Esau. Josephus was led to take Esau and Seir for the same person; for he says, (Antiqq. I. 20. 3): ὑπεχώρησον εἰς Σάειραν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίαιταν, προσαγορεύσας τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τριχώσεως Δασεῖαν. But it appears, from Gen. xxxvi. 20, that Seir was the progenitor of the Horites, and no doubt lived before Esau. Yet he may afterwards have received that name from the character of the country in which his descendants settled. The Arabs have also, in their ancient genealogies, an *Ashaar* اشعر, so called from being born *hairy*, عليه شعر; but he was a son of Saba and grandson of Joktan or Kachtan. See *Pococke's* Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 39, 45, of the 2d Edit.

[48] شراة. See *Abulfeda's* Syr. p. 8, note 31. *Saadias*, in Gen. xxxvi. 8, puts that name for שֵׂעִיר. Comp. *Reland's* Palaestina, p. 82, and the note which follows.

viously inhabited by the Horites or Troglodytæ,[49] (*i.e.* inhabitants of caves), who were however expelled by the posterity of Edom, Deut. ii. 12, 22. They subsequently spread themselves in a north-easterly direction, as far as the borders of Moab. That portion of the Edomite territory is still called *Djebal*,[50] *i. e.* "the Mountain," which the Greeks and Romans changed to Gebalene. It appears that

49 חֹרִי. See *Hiller's* Onomastic. Vet. Test. p. 506. *C. B. Michaelis'* Dissert. de antiquissima Idumaeor. Historia § XV. in Pott and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentatt. Theologic. Part VI. p. 121, and *J. D. Michaelis* Commentat. de Troglodytis Seiritis in the Syntagm. Commentatt. P. I. p. 194.

50 جبال. *Burckhardt* says in his Travels in Syria, (p. 674 of the Ger. Transl.): "The valley of El-Ahhsa separates the district of Kerek (the southern part of Moab), from the district of Djebal, the ancient Gebalene." And, (at p. 688), "the Wady Moeyr separates the district of Djebal from Djebel Shera, جبل شراة, or the Mountains of Shera, which run in a southerly direction to Akaba. These are the mountains which are mentioned in Scripture under the name of Mount Seir, the territory of the Edomites." *Gesenius*, in his remarks on this passage, (Ger. Transl. of Burckhardt, p. 1067), says: "That the Seir שֵׂעִיר of Scripture, and the Arabic Shera are of the same derivation, I cannot admit to be established; they have at least very different meanings, the former signifying "hairy, leafy," the latter, "a tract of land, a possession." Besides, the name Seir has in the Bible an extensive acceptation, and comprises the whole of the ancient territory of Edom, inclusive of Djebal, and hence, in Josh. xi. 17: xii. 7, it is mentioned as the southern boundary of Palestine." But Burckhardt does not say that Seir and Shera have the same etymology; and in addition to the significations given above, the latter word (according to the Camus, p. 1900) denotes

the ancient inhabitants of Seir did for a time continue to occupy a portion of their native mountains along with their Esauite invaders, (as the Canaanites did Palestine for a season along with Israel), for, in Gen. xxxvi. 20—30, we find a genealogical list of the heads of the Horite tribes, along with that of the princes of Edom. From these lists it appears that Esau's descendants, like the Hebrews and Horites, were divided into tribes, and that each tribe had its own *Alluf*,[51] or chief. This term seems to have been common in Mount Seir, for, at ver. 21, the chiefs of the Horites are also so designated. Among the tribes of Edom the one best known was that of *Theman*,[52] a grandson of Esau, (Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11), after whom a district of the country was called, (Jer. xlix. 7, 20. Ezek. xxv. 13. Obadiah ver. 9). The name was preserved to the time of Eusebius, in that of the small town Theman, which was five Roman miles from Petra or Sela, and was occupied by a Roman garrison.[53] The Themanites were famed for

الجَبَل, mountain. Seir, the original seat of the Edomites, was certainly the southern boundary of Palestine, but there is no proof that Djebal was included under the name of Seir.

[51] אַלּוּף from אֶלֶף, *family*. [Called in the Eng. Vers. "*duke*," a word which now suggests the idea of an order of nobility, but originally had the sense of the Latin *dux*, a leader.—*Tr.*]

[52] תֵּימָן. The name denotes properly, "what lies on the right hand," and then "the south." [See Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 7.]

[53] In Onomastic. under Θαιμάν.

their wisdom, (Jerem. xlix. 7. Comp. Baruch, iii. 22, 23), and the greater part of the dialogue in the book of Job proceeds from the mouth of Eliphaz the Temanite,[54] Job ii. 11. It would appear that at an early period (probably during the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt,) that portion of the Esauites who spread to the north-east, and took possession of Djebal, had adopted the monarchial form of government, while those in Mount Seir retained their ancient constitution. For, in Gen. xxxvi. 31—39, after the list of the heads of tribes among the Esauites, on Mount Seir, and the Horites, mention is made of eight *kings* of Edom, who reigned there before there was any king in Israel. But these Edomite kings did not come in the place of the heads of tribes, of whom there had been previous mention; both were cotemporary in two different districts of the country of which Esau's descendants had taken possession.[55] Keeping this distinction in view, it will be seen that, when it is said, (Num. xx. 14—21; xxi. 4. Judg. xi. 17, 18,) that the Edomites refused to the Israelites a passage through their territory, that statement does not contradict Deut. ii. 4—8, 29, where Moses says that the Esauites on Mount Seir granted them a passage. Hence, too, in the song of Moses, (Exod. xv. 15,) it is said that, at the tidings of the triumphant

[54] There is an Eliphaz also mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 11, a son of Esau, and the father of Theman.

[55] See *C. B. Michaelis*, in his Dissert. (quoted at Note 49,) § xi. and § xxii. p. 218 of the Sylloge. Commentat. See also *Rosenmüller's* Scholia on Gen. xxxvi. 15, 31.

passage through the Red Sea, Edom's *princes*,[56] (*i. e.* the heads of tribes,) trembled with affright; but that is not inconsistent with Num. xx. 14, where we read of Moses sending to the *king* of Edom, to ask permission to pass through his land. Yet it would appear that the monarchical constitution of Edom had this peculiarity, namely, that there was not, as in the neighbouring countries, one royal dynasty, with certain fixed rules of succession; but that, on the death of one king, another was chosen in his room, or that chief was acknowledged as sovereign who was best able to vindicate his claim by force of arms. In the list of Edomite kings given in Gen. xxxvi. 32—39, no one is mentioned as the son or relative of the preceding; one appears to have belonged to one place and family, and the next to another; and one of the number, viz. Saul, the sixth in order, would seem not to have been a native Edomite, for he came from Rechoboth,[57] on the Euphrates, whither the Esauites never extended their dominions. At a later period, indeed, in the age of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 14, we read of one Hadad, "of the king's seed in Edom;"[58] but no mention is made of the "heads of tribes," in that country, after the days of Moses. Perhaps the kings had brought the tribes, on Mount Seir, under subjection, so that the whole country came to be united under one government.

[56] אַלּוּפֵי אֱדוֹם.

[57] With regard to that city, see the Bib. Cabinet, Vol. XVII. p. 243.

[58] הֲדַד הָאֲדֹמִים מִזֶּרַע הַמֶּלֶךְ הוּא בֶּאֱדוֹם.

Towards the Hebrews, the Edomites like the other neighbouring tribes, were always in a hostile position. Saul warred against them with success, Sam. xiv. 47, but they were completely subdued by David, who placed garrisons in the country, 2 Sam. viii. 14. Ps. lx. 2, 10, 11. 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13. 1 Kings xi. 15, 16. Solomon fitted out trading ships in the harbour of Ezion-Geber, in that arm of the Red Sea called the Gulf of Ælana, 1 Kings ix. 26. In the last years of his reign, an Edomite prince, who had fled to Egypt, returned to his native country, and made an attempt to restore its independence, 1 Kings xi. 14; but it was without success, or the success was only temporary, for in the account of Jehosaphat's reign, (1 Kings xxii. 48,) it is expressly said, "there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king;" meaning, no doubt, a governor appointed by the king of Judah. It is added, that Jehosaphat, like Solomon, prepared a fleet in Ezion-Geber, but "the ships were broken there," probably by a tempest, 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49. When it is afterwards mentioned, that in the reign of the same Jewish monarch, a certain king of Edom made war upon the Moabites, in conjunction with Jehosaphat, and Jehoram, king of Israel, (2 Kings iii. 9, 12, 26,) we are, in all probability, to understand by that, a Jewish governor, with the title of king. But under Jehosaphat's successor, Joram, the Edomites revolted "from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves," 2 Kings viii. 20—22. 2 Chron. xxi. 8—10. They were afterwards attacked by Amaziah, king of Judah, who took their chief town, Sela or Petra, and changed its name to Joktheel,

2 Kings xiv. 7. 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 12, 14. His successor Uzziah took possession of the harbour of Elath, 2 Chron. xxvi. 2, but, under Ahaz, the Edomites made an incursion into Judah, and "carried away captives," 2 Chron xxviii. 17. About the same period, Rezin, king of Syria, after overrunning Judæa, drove the Jews from Ælath, which then revolted to the Edomites, in whose possession it remained, 2 Kings xvi. 6.[59] We find no farther mention of Edom in the historical books of the Old Testament; but it appears, from the writings of the later prophets that, about the time of the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, the Edomites enlarged their territory to so great an extent that, in the days of Jeremiah, it reached on the north-east as far as Bosra in the Hhauran, and, on the south, as far as Dedan, in Arabia, Jer.

[59] According to the Hebrew text, the passage runs thus:—"At that time Rezin, king of Aram, recovered Elath to Aram, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Aramæans came to Elath and dwelt there unto this day." But instead of אֲרוֹמִים, which is an unusual designation for the Syrians, (who, elsewhere, are always called אֲרַמִּים) the marginal Masoretic reading, (Keri,) has אֲדוֹמִים *Edomites*, which is also found in many MSS., and in the Septuagint [and Vulgate]. That this is the correct reading can scarcely be doubted; but, in that case, we must, along with אֲדוֹמִים in the second clause, follow Le-Clerc and Houbigant in reading, in the first clause, לֹאדם instead of לֹארם. Though there is no critical evidence for this, historical fact seems to require it, for Elath had never belonged to Syria.

xlix. 8, 20. Isa. xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1. Ezek. xxv. 13. When the Chaldæans invaded Judæa, they were joined by the Edomites, who rejoiced over the ruin of their kinsmen the Jews; hoping, doubtless, to obtain a large share of the conquered country. Obadiah, ver. 12. Ezek. xxv. 12—15; xxxv. 10; xxxvi. 5. The ancient national hatred of the Jews was, by this circumstance, rekindled in greater fury than ever; and we find many expressions of it in the writings of the poets and prophets of the Hebrews, Ps. cxxxvii. 7—9. Obadiah, v. 2, et seqq. Isa. xxxiv. 8, et seqq. Jer. xlix. 7, et seqq. Although the territory of the Edomites did not escape invasion, the inhabitants were not doomed to be carried captive into foreign lands.[60] On the contrary, after the expatriation of the Jews, they obtained possession of the south of Palestine, including Hebron, out of which place, however, they were afterwards driven by Judas Maccabæus, I. Macc. v. 63. Yet the southern part of Judæa obtained the name of Idumæa, especially after John Hyrcanus, about the year B. C. 130, subdued the Edomite inhabitants,—compelled them to submit to circumcision, and incorporated them with the Jews.[61] Yet, at a later period, we find an Idumæan, Herod, surnamed the Great, reigning over the Jews, for it was he who was their king at the time of Christ's birth. Not long before Jerusalem was besieged by Titus, twenty thousand

[60] Lowth, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt think that Edom was subverted, as a kingdom, by Nebuchadnezzar, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem; but see *Gesenius'* Comment. on Isaiah, Part I. p. 906, Note.

[61] *Josephus* Antiqq. XIII. 9. 1, and § 15. 4.

Idumæans were called in to the defence of the city, by the Zealots, but they gave themselves up to the pillage and murder of the peaceable and more opulent of the citizens.[62] They retired before the siege was actually commenced;[63] and, after this, we hear no more of the Idumæans, as a separate people, in history. They, no doubt, like the Ammonites and Moabites, became amalgamated with the general race of Arabs.

But few towns of Edom are mentioned in the Bible. Whether those places, whence the the kings of Edom came, who are enumerated in Gen. xxxvi. 32—39, belonged to the Idumæan territory, is very uncertain. One of these towns, Rechoboth, on the Euphrates, in all probability, did not. Three others, Masrekah, Awith, and Pagu,[64] occur nowhere else. Of *Dinhaba*,[65] the town of the king who is mentioned first, there was in Eusebius and Jerome's days a trace in *Dennaba*, the name of two small towns, one of which was eight Roman miles from Ar, or Rabbath-Moab, towards the Arnon, the other was beyond Mount Peor, in the territory of Moab, seven Roman miles from Hesbon. Of Bozra, the birth-place of King Jobab, and latterly in the possession of the Edomites, some notice has been given above at p. 179, and of Theman, at p. 184.

[62] *Josephus*, Jewish War, IV. 4; VII. 8. 1.

[63] Loc. cit. IV. 5. 5.; 6. 1.

[64] פָּעוּ, עֲוִית, מַשְׂרֵקָה.

[65] דִּנְהָבָה.

The most considerable town in ancient Idumæa was Sela,[66] *i. e.* "Rock," called by the Greeks and Romans *Petra*, a name of the same import. Though the town itself lay on an elevated plain, where there was no want of fountains or trees, it was surrounded with rocks, which rendered an approach impossible in all directions except one, and even there the access was difficult. Beyond that enclosure, the country was, for the most part, a desert, especially towards Judea, Isa. xvi. 1. It was distant from Jericho three or four days journey, which was from twelve to sixteen geographical miles.[67] It was, in ancient times, a considerable emporium for the products of Arabia, in which trade was hence carried on with Syria. When the troops of Antigonus made a sudden inroad upon it, they found large stores of frankincense and myrrh, and also five hundred talents of silver.[68] In the time of Strabo, *i. e.* about the commencement of the Christian æra, the town was the seat of a native king, with whom was associated a prime minister, or vizier, under the title of "the King's Brother." The philosopher Athenodorus, the friend of Strabo, lived there for

[66] סֶלַע. *Josephus* says, (Antiqq. IV. 4. 7.), that this town was called Ἀρκὴ for which, no doubt, we should read, as in chap vii. 1, Ἀρκημ or Ἀρεκέμη, *i. e.* الرقيم; but that opinion is not probable, though adopted by *Schultens*, Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin, under *Errakimum*. The Rekim, or Errekim, in question, lay to the north of Karrak. Comp. *Gesenius*' Comment. on Isaiah, Vol. I. p. 536, Note. [See also *Robinson's* Sketches of Idumæa, in the American Biblical Repository for 1833, p. 282, Note.—*Tr.*]

[67] *Strabo*, XVI. 4. 21. Comp. *Pliny's* Nat. Hist. VI. 28.

[68] *Diodorus Siculus*, XIX. 55.

some time, and informs him how astonished he was to find, in Petra, many Romans and other foreigners; and he mentions that, while the latter were constantly involved in litigation, the natives lived under most excellent laws, in amity and peace. The town, with the surrounding district, was brought under subjection to the Romans by Trajan;[69] and it would seem, from certain coins struck here, which are still extant, that Adrian had called the city by his own name.[70] In the acts of certain church councils are found the subscriptions of "Bishops of Petra."[71] The ruins of Petra were first discovered in modern times by Burckhardt, who visited it in the summer of 1812;[72] and six years after (viz. in May and June 1818), the ruins were carefully examined by a party of English travellers.[73] The following is the account given by Burckhardt:*

[69] Dio Casius, LXVIII. 14.

[70] It is there called Ἀδριάνη πέτρα Μητρόπολις. (See Eckel's Doctr. Nummor. Veter. Tom. II. p. 503.

[71] *Reland's* Palæst. p. 212.

[72] *Travels*, p. 420.

[73] Some account of this journey will be found in the appendix to *Macmichael's* Journey from Moscow to Constantinople, (Lond. 1819, 4to. p. 181), having been furnished by Legh, one of the party. A fuller description, to be illustrated by plates, may be expected from another of the travellers, Mr. Bankes. [This account has never appeared, but Captains Irby and Mangles, who were also of the party, have given a very interesting account of the visit in their "Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c." a work, however, that was only printed for private distribution.—*Tr.*]

* As the accounts and impressions of the first discoverer al-

"Ain Mousa is a copious spring, rushing from under a rock at the eastern extremity of Wady Mousa.[74] There are no ruins near the spring; a little lower down in the valley is a mill, and above it is the village of Badabde, now abandoned. It was inhabited, till within a few years, by about twenty families of Greek Christians, who subsequently retired to Kerek. Proceeding from the spring along the rivulet, for about twenty minutes, the valley opens, and leads into a plain about a quarter of an hour in length, and ten minutes in breadth, in which the rivulet joins with another descending from the mountain to the southward. Upon the declivity of the mountain, in the angle formed by the junction of the two rivulets, stands Eldjy, the principal village of Wady Mousa. This place contains between two and three hundred houses, and is enclosed by a stone wall, with three regular gates. It is most picturesquely situated, and is inhabited by the tribe of the Lyathene, a part of whom encamp during the whole year in the neighbouring mountains. The slopes of the mountain near the town are formed into artificial terraces, covered with corn fields and plantations of fruit trees. They are irrigated by the waters of the two rivulets, and of many small streams which descend into the valley below Eldjy, where the soil is

ways possess a peculiar freshness and interest, I have embodied some additional extracts from Burckhardt, and given the whole in his own language.— *Tr.*

[74] وادي موسى.

also well cultivated. A few large hewn stones, dispersed over the present town, indicate the former existence of an ancient city in this spot, the happy situation of which must, in all ages, have attracted inhabitants. I saw here some large pieces of beautiful saline marble, but nobody could tell me from whence they had come, or whether there were any rocks of this stone in the mountains of Shera.

"I hired a guide at Eldjy to conduct me to Haroun's tomb, and paid him with a pair of old horse shoes. He carried the goat, and gave me a skin of water to carry, as he knew that there was no water in the Wady below. In following the rivulet of Eldjy westwards, the valley soon narrows again; and it is here that the antiquities of Wady Mousa begin.

"At the point where the valley becomes narrow is a large sepulchral vault, with a handsome door hewn in the rock, on the slope of the hill which rises from the right bank of the torrent: on the same side of the rivulet, a little further on, I saw some other sepulchres with singular ornaments. Here a mass of rock has been insulated from the mountain by an excavation, which leaves a passage five or six paces in breadth between it and the mountain. It forms nearly a cube of sixteen feet, the top being a little narrower than the base, the lower part is hollowed into a small sepulchral cave with a low door; but the upper part of the mass is solid. There are three of these mausolea at a short distance from each other. A few paces lower, on the left side of the stream, is a larger mausoleum similarly formed, which appears, from its decayed state, and the style of its

architecture, to be of more ancient date than the others. Over its entrance are four obelisks about ten feet in height, cut out of the same piece of rock; below is a projecting ornament, but so much defaced by time that I was unable to discover what it had originally represented; it had, however, nothing of the Egyptian style.

"Continuing for about three hundred paces farther along the valley, which is in this part about one hundred and fifty feet in breadth, several small tombs are met with on both sides of the rivulet, excavated in the rock without any ornaments. Beyond these is a spot where the valley seemed to be entirely closed by high rocks; but, upon a nearer approach, I perceived a chasm about fifteen or twenty feet in breadth, through which the river flows westward in winter; in summer its waters are lost in the sand and gravel before it reach the opening, which is called El Syk.

"The precipices on either side of the torrent are about eighty feet in height; in many places the opening between them at top is less than at bottom, and the sky is not visible from below. As the rivulet of Wady Mousa must have been of the greatest importance to the inhabitants of the valley, and more particularly of the city, which was entirely situated on the west side of the Syk, great pains seem to have been taken by the ancients to regulate its course. Its bed appears to have been covered with a stone pavement, of which many vestiges yet remain, and, in several places, stone walls were constructed on both sides to give the water its proper direction, and

to check the violence of the torrent. A channel was likewise cut on each side of the Syk, on a higher level than the river, to convey a constant supply of water into the city in all seasons, and to prevent all the water from being absorbed in summer by the broad torrent bed, or by the irrigation of the fields in the valley above the Syk.

"About fifty paces below the entrance of the Syk, a bridge of one arch, thrown over the top of the chasm, is still entire; immediately below it, on both sides, are large niches, worked into the rock, with elegant sculptures, destined, probably, for the reception of statues. Some remains of antiquities might perhaps be found on the top of the rocks near the bridge; but my guide assured me, that notwithstanding repeated endeavours had been made, nobody had ever been able to climb up the rocks to the bridge, which was therefore unanimously declared to be the work of the Djan, or evil genii. In continuing along the winding passages of the Syk, I saw in several places small niches cut in the rock, some of which were single; in other places there were three or four together without any regularity; some are mere holes, others have short pilasters on both sides; they vary in size from ten inches to four or five feet in height; and in some of them the bases of statues are still visible.

"We passed several collateral chasms between perpendicular rocks, by which some tributary torrents from the south side of the Syk empty themselves into the river. I did not enter any of them, but I saw that they were thickly overgrown with Defle

trees. My guide told me that no antiquities existed in these valleys, but the testimony of these people on such subjects is little to be relied on. The bottom of the Syk itself is at present covered with large stones, brought down by the torrent, and it appears to be several feet higher than its ancient level, at least towards its western extremity. After proceeding for twenty-five minutes between the rocks, we came to a place where the passage opens, and where the bed of another stream coming from the south joins the Syk. On the side of the perpendicular rock, directly opposite to the issue of the main valley, an excavated mausoleum came in view, the situation and beauty of which are calculated to make an extraordinary impression upon the traveller, after having traversed for nearly half an hour such a gloomy and almost subterraneous passage as I have described. It is one of the most elegant remains of antiquity existing in Syria; its state of preservation resembles that of a building recently finished, and on a closer examination I found it to be a work of immense labour.*

* The whole description of this chasm, says Robinson, finely illustrates the epithet which Diodorus Siculus applies to the single approach to Petra, viz. χειροποίητος, *made by hand.* This approach is also described by Legh, under date of May 26th, but more fully in the work of Captains Irby and Mangles. From the latter we subjoin here the following account:

"The natural features of the defile grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it presented at last a continued street of tombs, beyond which the rocks, gradually approaching each other, seemed all at once to close without any outlet. There is, however, one frightful chasm for the passage of the stream,

"The principal part is a chamber sixteen paces square, and about twenty-five feet high. There is not the smallest ornament on the walls, which are quite smooth, as well as the roof, but the outside of the entrance door is richly embellished with architec-

which furnished, as it did anciently, the only avenue to Petra on this side. It is impossible to conceive any thing more awful or sublime than such an approach. The width is not more than just sufficient for the passage of two horsemen abreast; the sides are in all parts perpendicular, varying from four hundred to seven hundred feet in height; and they often overhang to such a degree, that, without their absolutely meeting, the sky is intercepted and completely shut out for one hundred yards together, and there is little more light than in a cavern. The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and owls, who were soaring above our heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one approaching their lonely habitation, added much to the singularity of this scene. The tamarisk, the wild fig, and the oleander, grow luxuriantly about the road, rendering the passages often difficult; in some places, they hang down most beautifully from the cliffs and crevices where they had taken root. The caper-plant was also in luxuriant growth, the continued shade furnishing them moisture.

"Very near the entrance into this romantic pass, a bold arch is thrown across at a great height, connecting the opposite sides of the cliff. Whether this was part of an upper road upon the summit of the mountain, or whether it be a portion of an aqueduct, which seems less probable, we had no opportunity of examining; but, as a traveller passes under it, its appearance is most surprising, hanging thus above his head betwixt two rugged masses apparently inaccessible. The ravine, without changing much its general direction, presents so many elbows and windings in its course, that the eye can seldom penetrate forward beyond a few paces, and is often puzzled to distinguish in what direction the passage will open, so completely does it

tural decorations. Several broad steps lead up to the entrance, and in front of all is a colonnade of four columns, standing between two pilasters. On each of the three sides of the great chamber is an apartment for the reception of the dead. A similar exca-

appear obstructed. . . . We followed this sort of half-subterranean passage for the space of nearly two miles, the sides increasing in height as the path continually descended, while the tops of the precipices retained their former level. Where they are at the highest, a beam of stronger light breaks in at the close of the dark perspective, and opens to view, half seen at first through the tall, narrow opening, columns, statues, and cornices of a light and finished taste, as if fresh from the chisel, without the tints or weather-stains of age, and executed in a stone of a pale rose-colour, which was warmed, at the moment we came in sight of them, with the full light of the morning sun. The dark green of the shrubs that grow in this perpetual shade, and the sombre appearance of the passage, whence we were about to issue, formed a fine contrast with the glowing colour of this edifice. We know not with what to compare this scene; perhaps there is nothing in the world that resembles it. Only a portion of a very extensive architectural elevation is seen at first; but it has been so contrived, that a statue with expanded wings, perhaps of Victory, just fills the centre of the aperture in front, which being closed below by the sides of the rock folding over each other, gives to the figure the appearance of being suspended in the air at a considerable height; the ruggedness of the cliffs below setting off the sculpture to the highest advantage. The rest of the design opened gradually as we advanced, till the narrow defile, which had continued thus far without any increase of breadth, spreads on both sides into an open area of a moderate size, whose sides are by nature inaccessible, and present the same awful and romantic features as the avenues which lead to it; this opening gives admission to a great body of light from the eastward. The

vation, but larger, opens into each end of the vestibule, the length of which latter is not equal to that of the colonnade as it appears in front, but terminates at either end between the pilaster and the neighbouring column. The doors of the two apartments opening into the vestibule are covered with carvings richer and more beautiful than those on the door of the principal chamber. The colonnade is about thirty-five feet high, and the columns are about three feet in diameter, with Corinthian capitals. The pilasters at the two extremities of the colonnade, and the two columns nearest to them, are formed out of the solid rock, like all the rest of the monument; but the two centre columns, one of which has fallen, were constructed separately, and were composed of three pieces each. The colonnade is crowned with a pediment, above which are other ornaments, which, if I distinguished them correctly, consisted of an insulated cylinder crowned with a vase, standing between two

position is one of the most beautiful that could be imagined for the front of a great temple, the richness and exquisite finish of whose decorations offer a most remarkable contrast to the savage scenery. No part is built, the whole being purely a work of excavation; and its minutest embellishments, wherever the hand of man has not purposely effaced them, are so perfect, that it may be doubted whether any work of the ancients, excepting, perhaps, some on the banks of the Nile, have come down to our time so little injured by the lapse of age. There is, in fact, scarcely a building of forty years' standing in England, so well preserved in the greater part of its architectural decorations.

"The area before the temple is about fifty yards in width, and about three times as long. It terminates to the S. in a wild, precipitous cliff."—*Tr.*

other structures in the shape of small temples, supported by short pillars. The entire front, from the base of the columns to the top of the ornaments, may be sixty or sixty-five feet. The architrave of the colonnade is adorned with vases, connected together with festoons. The exterior wall of the chamber at each end of the vestibule, which presents itself to the front between the pilaster and the neighbouring column, was ornamented with colossal figures in bas-relief; but I could not make out what they represented. One of them appears to have been a female mounted upon an animal, which, from the tail and hind leg, appears to have been a camel. All the other ornaments sculptured on the monument are in perfect preservation.

"The natives call this monument Kaszr Faraoun,[75] or Pharaoh's castle; and pretend that it was the residence of a prince. But it was rather the sepulchre of a prince, and great must have been the opulence of a city, which could dedicate such monuments to the memory of its rulers.

"From this place, as I before observed, the Syk widens, and the road continues for a few hundred paces lower down through a spacious passage between the two cliffs. Several very large sepulchres are excavated in the rocks on both sides; they consist generally of a single lofty apartment with a flat roof; some of them are larger than the principal chamber in the Kaszr Faraoun. Of those which I entered,

[75] قصر فرعون.

the walls were quite plain and unornamented; in some of them are small side rooms, with excavations and recesses in the rock for the reception of the dead; in others I found the floor itself irregularly excavated for the same purpose, in compartments six to eight feet deep, and of the shape of a coffin; in the floor of one sepulchre I counted as many as twelve cavities of this kind, besides a deep niche in the wall, where the bodies of the principal members of the family, to whom the sepulchre belonged, were probably deposited.

"On the outside of these sepulchres, the rock is cut away perpendicularly above and on both sides of the door, so as to make the exterior façade larger in general than the interior apartment. Their most common form is that of a truncated pyramid, and as they are made to project one or two feet from the body of the rock, they have the appearance, when seen at a distance, of insulated structures. On each side of the front is generally a pilaster, and the door is seldom without some elegant ornaments. These fronts resemble those of several of the tombs of Palmyra; but the latter are not excavated in the rock, but constructed with hewn stones. I do not think, however, that there are two sepulchres in Wady Mousa perfectly alike; on the contrary, they vary greatly in size, shape, and embellishments. In some places, three sepulchres are excavated one over the other, and the side of the mountain is so perpendicular that it seems impossible to approach the uppermost, no path whatever being visible; some of the lower have a few steps before their entrance.

"In continuing a little farther among the sepulchres, the valley widens to about one hundred and fifty yards in breadth. Here to the left is a theatre cut entirely out of the rock, with all its benches. It may be capable of containing about three thousand spectators; its area is now filled up with gravel, which the winter torrent brings down. The entrance of many of the sepulchres is in like manner almost choked up. There are no remains of columns near the theatre. Following the stream about one hundred and fifty paces further, the rocks open still farther, and I issued upon a plain two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards across, bordered by heights of more gradual ascent than before. Here the ground is covered with heaps of hewn stones, foundations of buildings, fragments of columns, and vestiges of paved streets; all clearly indicating that a large city once existed here; on the left side of the river is a rising ground extending westwards for nearly a quarter of an hour, entirely covered with similar remains.* On the right bank, where the ground is more elevated, ruins of the same description are also seen. In the valley near the river, the buildings have probably

* "The defile assumes, for about 300 yards [beyond the temple], the same features which characterize the eastern approach, with an infinite variety of tombs, both Arabian and Roman, on either side. This pass conducts (in a N. W. direction) to the theatre; and here, the ruins of the city burst on the view in their full grandeur, shut in, on the opposite side by barren, craggy precipices, from which numerous ravines and valleys, like those we had passed, branch out in all directions." *Irby and Mangles.—Tr.*

been swept away by the impetuosity of the winter torrent; but even here are still seen the foundations of a temple, and a heap of broken columns; close to which is a large Birket, or reservoir of water, still serving for the supply of the inhabitants during the summer. The finest sepulchres in Wady Mousa are in the eastern cliff, in front of this open space, where I counted upwards of fifty close to each other. High up in the cliff I particularly observed one large sepulchre, adorned with Corinthian pilasters.

"Farther to the west the valley is shut in by the rocks, which extend in a northern direction; the river has worked a passage through them, *and runs under ground*, as I was told, for about a quarter of an hour. Near the west end of Wady Mousa are the remains of a stately edifice, of which part of the wall is still standing; the inhabitants call it Kaszr Bent Faraoun,[76] or the Palace of Pharaoh's daughter. In my way I had entered several sepulchres, to the surprise of my guide, but when he saw me turn out of the footpath towards the Kaszr, he exclaimed: "I see now clearly that you are an infidel, who have some particular business amongst the ruins of the city of your forefathers; but depend upon it that we shall not suffer you to take out a single para of all the treasures hidden therein, for they are in our territory, and belong to us." I replied that it was mere curiosity which prompted me to look at the ancient works, and that I had no other view in coming here, than to sacrifice to Haroun; but he was not easily persuaded,

[76] قصر بنت فرعون.

and I did not think it prudent to irritate him by too close an inspection of the palace, as it might have led him to declare, on our return, his belief that I had found treasures, which might have led to a search of my person, and to the detection of my journal, which would most certainly have been taken from me, as a book of magic. It is very unfortunate for European travellers that the idea of treasures being hidden in ancient edifices is so strongly rooted in the minds of the Arabs and Turks; nor are they satisfied with watching all the stranger's steps; they believe that it is sufficient for a true magician to have seen and observed the spot where treasures are hidden, (of which he is supposed to be already informed by the old books of the infidels who lived on the spot,) in order to be able afterwards, at his ease, to command the guardian of the treasure to set the whole before him. It was of no avail to tell them to follow me and see whether I searched for money. Their reply was, 'of course you will not dare to take it out before us, but we know that if you are a skilful magician you will order it to follow you through the air to whatever place you please.' If the traveller takes the dimensions of a building or a column, they are persuaded that it is a magical proceeding. Even the most liberal-minded Turks of Syria reason in the same manner, and the more travellers they see, the stronger is their conviction that their object is to search for treasures. 'Maou delayl,' 'he has indications of treasures with him,' is an expression I have heard a hundred times.

"On the rising ground to the left of the rivulet, just

opposite to the Kaszr Bent Faraoun, are the ruins of a temple, with one column yet standing, to which the Arabs have given the name of Zob Faraoun,* *i. e.* hasta virilis Pharaonis; it is about thirty feet high, and composed of more than a dozen pieces. From thence we descended amidst the ruins of private habitations, into a narrow lateral valley, on the other side of which we began to ascend the mountain, upon which stands the tomb of Aaron. There are remains of an ancient road cut in the rock, on both sides of which are a few tombs. After ascending the bed of a torrent for about half an hour, I saw on each side of the road a large excavated cube, or rather truncated pyramid, with the entrance of a tomb in the bottom of each. Here the number of sepulchres increases, and there are also excavations for the dead in several natural caverns. A little farther on, we reached a high plain called Szetouh Haroun,[77] or Aaron's terrace, at the foot of the mountain upon which his tomb is situated. There are several subterranean sepulchres in the plain, with an avenue leading to them, which is cut out of the rocky surface.

"The sun had already set when we arrived on the plain; it was too late to reach the tomb, and I was excessively fatigued; I therefore hastened to kill the goat, in sight of the tomb, at a spot where I found a number of heaps of stones, placed there in token of as many sacrifices in honour of the saint. While I was in the act of slaying the animal, my guide exclaimed aloud, 'O Haroun, look upon us! it is for

* زب فرعون. [77] سطوح هارون.

you we slaughter this victim. O Haroun, protect us and forgive us! O Haroun, be content with our good intentions, for it is but a lean goat! O Haroun, smooth our paths; and praise be to the Lord of all creatures!' This he repeated several times, after which he covered the blood that had fallen on the ground with a heap of stones; we then dressed the best part of the flesh for our supper, as expeditiously as possible, for the guide was afraid of the fire being seen, and its attracting hither some robbers.

"*August* 23*d*.—The plain of Haroun and the neighbouring mountains have no springs; but the rain water collects in low grounds, and in natural hollows in the rocks, where it partly remains the whole year round, even on the top of the mountain; but this year had been remarkable for its drought. Juniper trees grow here in considerable numbers. I had no great desire to see the tomb of Haroun, which stands on the summit of the mountain that was opposite to us, for I had been informed by several persons who had visited it, that it contained nothing worth seeing except a large coffin, like that of Osha in the vicinity of Szalt. My guide, moreover, insisted upon my speedy return, as he was to set out the same day with a small caravan for Maan; I therefore complied with his wishes, and we returned by the same road we had come. I regretted afterwards, that I had not visited Haroun's tomb, as I was told that there are several large and handsome sepulchres in the rock near it. A traveller ought, if possible, to see every thing with his own eyes, for the reports of the Arabs are little to be depended on, with regard to what may be interesting, in point of antiquity; they often extol things which,

upon examination, prove to be of no kind of interest, and speak with indifference of those which are curious and important. In a room adjoining the apartment, in which is the tomb of Haroun, there are three copper vessels for the use of those who slaughter the victims at the tomb; one is very large, and destined for the boiling of the flesh of the slaughtered camel. Although there is at present no guardian at the tomb, yet the Arabs venerate the Sheikh too highly, to rob him of any of his kitchen utensils. The road from Maan and from Wady Mousa to Ghaza, leads by the tomb, and is much frequented by the people of Maan and the Bedouins; on the other side of Haroun the road descends into the great valley.*

* This tomb was visited by Mr. Legh and his party; see the description of it by Legh under the date of May 26. The view from the sumit of Mount Hor is said to be very fine. "No where," say captains Irby and Mangles, "is the extraordinary colouring of these mountains more striking, than in the road to the Tomb of Aaron. The rock sometimes presented a deep, sometimes a paler blue, and sometimes was occasionally streaked with red, or shaded off to lilac or purple; sometimes a salmon colour was veined in waved lines and circles with crimson and even scarlet, so as to resemble exactly the colour of raw meat; in other places, there are livid stripes of yellow or bright orange, and in some parts, all the different colours were ranged side by side in parallel strata; there are portions also with paler tints, and some quite white, but these last seem to be soft, and not good for preserving the sculpture. It is this wonderful variety of colours, observable throughout the whole range of mountains, that gives to Petra one of its most characteristic beauties; the façades of the tombs, tastefully as they are sculptured, owe much of their imposing appearance to this infinite diversity of hues in the stone."—*Tr.*

"In comparing the testimonies of the authors cited in Reland's *Palæstina*, it appears very probable, that the ruins in Wady Mousa are those of the ancient *Petra*, and it is remarkable that Eusebius says the tomb of Aaron was shewn near Petra.[78] Of this at least I am persuaded, from all the information I procured, that there is no other ruin between the extremities of the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, of sufficient importance to answer to that city. Whether or not I have discovered the remains of the capital of Arabia Petræa, I leave to the decision of Greek scholars, and shall only subjoin a few notes on these ruins.

"The rocks, through which the river of Wady Mousa has worked its extraordinary passage, and in which all the tombs and mausolea of the city have been excavated, as high as the tomb of Haroun, are sand-stone of a reddish colour. The rocks above Eldjy are calcareous, and the sand-stone does not begin until the point where the first tombs are excavated. To the southward the sand-stone follows the whole extent of the great valley, which is a continuation of the Ghor. The forms of the summits of these rocks are so irregular and grotesque, that, when seen from afar, they have the appearance of volcanic mountains. The softness of the stone afforded great facilities to those who excavated the sides of the mountains; but, unfortunately, from the same cause it is in vain to look for inscriptions; I saw several spots where they had existed, but they are all now obliterated.* The po-

[78] See Onomastic. under "Or." Comp. Num. xx. 27, 28; xxxiii. 37, 38.

* "The sides of the mountains, covered with an endless

sition of this town was well chosen, in point of security; as a few hundred men might defend the entrance to it against a large army;* but the communication with the neighbourhood must have been subjected to great inconveniences. I am not certain whether the passage of the Syk was made use of as a road, or whether the road from the town towards Eldjy was formed through one of the side valleys of the Syk. The road westward towards Haroun and the valley below, is very difficult for beasts of burthen. The summer heats must have been excessive, the situation being surrounded on all sides by high barren cliffs, which concentrate the reflection of the sun, while they prevent the westerly winds from cooling the air. I saw nothing in the position that could have compensated the inhabitants for these disadvantages, except the river, the benefit of which might have been equally enjoyed had the town been built below Eldjy. Security, therefore, was probably the only object which induced the people to overlook such objections, and to select such a singular position for a city. The architecture of the

variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented altogether the most singular scene we had ever beheld; and we must despair of giving the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present to us nature in her most savage and romantic form, while their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface." Irby and Mangles.—*Tr.*]

* Hence the boast of the Edomites in the strength of their impregnable abode, Obad. v. 4. Jer. xlix. 10, 16.

sepulchres, of which there are at least two hundred and fifty in the vicinity of the ruins, is of very different periods."

In the ancient Seir, the modern Shera, dwelt formerly the tribe of *Maon*,[79] who, in the period that elapsed between the death of Joshua and the commencement of the monarchy, joined the Amalekites in oppressing the Hebrews, but, in the reign of Hezekiah, were dispossessed of part of their lands by the Simeonites, 2 Chron. iv. 41, and were defeated along with the Arabs by king Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 7. There is still a place of the name of Maon[80] south of the Wadi Mousa, on the Syrian pilgrim road to Mecca; and, in an extensive but now desolate tract of country, full of the ruins of destroyed towns and villages, it is the only place inhabited. "At Maon," says Burckhardt, "are several springs, to which the town owes its origin, and these, together with the circumstances of its being a station of the Syrian Hadj, are the cause of its still existing. The inhabitants have scarcely any other means of subsistence than the profits which they gain from the pil-

[79] מָעוֹן *J. D. Michaelis* is in error when (in the Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebrr. p. 1533) he takes this Maon for a place of the same name in the tribe of Judah.

[80] معان. See *Abulfeda's* Syr. p. 14, and the additions in the Preface to the 2d Edit. p. 2. *Volney's* Travels, Vol. II.; but chiefly *Burckhardt's* Travels in Syria (p. 436, 437 of the original Eng.) from which the above particulars have been taken.

grims in their way to and from Mecca, by buying up all kinds of provisions at Hebron and Ghaza, and selling them with great profit to the weary pilgrims; to whom the gardens and vineyards of Maon are no less agreeable than the wild herbs collected by the people of Maon are to their camels. The pomegranates, apricots, and peaches of Maon are of the finest quality. In years, when a very numerous caravan passes, pomegranates are sold for one piastre each, and every thing in the same proportion. During the two days' stay of the pilgrims in going, and as many in returning, the people of Maon earn as much as keeps them the whole year. Maon is situated in the midst of a rocky country, not capable of cultivation; the inhabitants therefore depend upon their neighbours of Djebal and Shera for their provision of wheat and barley. The inhabitants, considering their town as an advanced post to the sacred city of Medina, apply themselves, with great eagerness, to the study of the Koran. The greater part of them read and write, and many of them serve in the capacity of Imams, or secretaries, to the great Bedouin Sheikhs. The two hills upon which the town is built divide the inhabitants into two parties, almost incessantly engaged in quarrels, which are often sanguinary; no individual of one party ever marries into a family belonging to the other."

The district of Sherath ends on the south-west of Maon with the valley of *Gharendel*, the stream of which empties itself into the valley of El-Araba,[81] in

[81] عربة. *Burckhardt*, p. 441.

whose sands its waters are lost. It partly consists of a wide sandy plain, whose surface is broken by innumerable undulations and low hills. Between these are seen, here and there, a few acacias and tamarisks; but the depth of sand precludes all vegetation of herbage. Numerous Bedouin tribes encamp here in winter, when the torrents produce a copious supply of water, and a few shrubs spring up upon their banks, affording pasturage to the sheep and goats.

Burckhardt[82] conjectures, that in this country lay *Kadesh-Barnea*,[83] or Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin. This is not improbable, as that place was on the borders of Idumæa, and there Moses negociated with the king of the Edomites for a passage through his territory, Num. xx. 14, 16, 22; chap. xxxiii. 36, 37. Deut. i. 19. Towards the west the Desert of Kadesh met the wilderness of Paran, (Num. xiii. 27. Comp. Gen. xiv. 7); and Eusebius places Kadesh in the neighbourhood of Petra. In his time the tomb of Miriam, the sister of Moses, was shewn there, Num. xx. 1. The southern boundary line of the tribe of Judah is said, in Josh. xv. 3, to have passed through Kadesh-Barnea, but the real possessions of that tribe seem never to have extended so far south.

The two southernmost points of the Edomitish territory, were the seaports of *Elath* and *Eziongeber*.[84] These places are spoken of (Deut. ii. 8,) as adjacent to each other; for Moses, in recounting to the Israel-

[82] Travels, p. 443.

[83] קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ,

[84] עֶצְיוֹן-גֶּבֶר, אֵילַת.

ites the principal events, that had occurred since they left Egypt, says: "When we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from *Elath* and from *Eziongeber*, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab." Both towns lay at the north end of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, which, from the first named town Elath, (called by the Greeks and Romans *Elana*,) was designated the bay of Elana, or the Elanitic Gulf.[85] It now bears the name of *Bahr El-Akabah*, the bay or gulf Akaba, from a castle of that name lying at the foot of a precipitous mountain.[86] By the Arabian geographers of the middle age, that steep cliff was called Akabah-Aila,[87] *i. e.* the "Steep of Aila," and the Bedouins of the country still

[85] This gulf does not form two branches at its extremity, (as it was formerly laid down in maps,) but has only a single ending, at which the castle is situated. *Burckhardt*, p. 510.

[86] The Arabic name عقبة signifies "a steep declivity."

[87] عقبة ايلة. See *Edrisi's* Geograph. Clim. III. Sect. 5, p. 1, of the Arab. text. Comp. Schultens Index Geogr. ad Vit. Salad. under "Aila." *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arab. Descript. p. 78, and *Reland's* Palaest. p. 554. The Egyptian Historian El-Makrizi, says of Aila (in a passage translated by Burckhardt, at p. 511.) "It is from hence that the Hedjaz begins; in former times it was the frontier place of the Greeks; at one mile from it, is a triumphal arch of the Cæsars. In the time of the Islam it was a fine town, inhabited by the Beni-Omeya. Ibn Ahmed Ibn Touloun (a Sultan of Egypt,) made the road over the Akaba or steep mountain before Aila. There were many Mosques at Aila, and many Jews lived there. It was

call Akabah by a similar name.[88] Solomon constructed at Eziongeber, with the aid of Tyrian shipbuilders, vessels which being manned with Phœnician sailors, went in company with the fleet of Hiram to Ophir, and brought thence the productions of India, 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28; x. 21, 22. This navigation of the Arabian Gulf must have been continued by the Jews after the time of Solomon, for it is said in 1 Kings xxii. 49, that the ships which Jehosaphat had built to send to Ophir, were wrecked at Eziongeber. The plain of Akaba, (or Elath and Eziongeber, Deut. ii. 8,) which is from three to four hours in length from west to east, and not much less in breadth northward, is very fertile in pasturage. To the distance of about one hour from the sea it is strongly impregnated with salt, but farther north sands prevail. The castle itself stands at a few hundred paces from the sea, and is surrounded with large groves of date trees. It is a square building with strong walls, erected, as it now stands, by Sultan el-Ghoury of Egypt, in the sixteenth century. In its interior are many Arab huts; a market is held there which is frequented by Hedjaz and Syrian Arabs; and small caravans arrive sometimes from Khalyl, (Hebron). The castle has tolerably good water in deep wells. The Pasha of Egypt kept here a garrison of about thirty soldiers to guard the provisions

taken by the Franks during the Crusades; but in 566 (of the Hegira,) Salaheddyn transported ships upon Camels from Cairo to this place, and recovered it from them. Near Aila was formerly situated a large and handsome town called Aszyoun" عصيون, Eziongeber.

[88] Descript. of Arabia, p. 400.

deposited for the supply of the Hadj, and for the use of the cavalry on their passage by this route to join the army in the Hedjaz. Cut off from Cairo, the soldiers of the garrison often turned rebellious: an Aga once made himself independent, and whenever a corps of troops passed, he shut the gates of the castle and prepared to defend it. He had married a daughter of the chief of the Omran, and thus secured the assistance of that tribe. Being at last attacked by some troops sent against him from Cairo, he fled to his wife's tribe and escaped into Syria. It appears that the gulf extends very little farther east than the castle, distant from which one hour in a southern direction, and on the eastern shore of the gulf, lies a smaller and half ruined castle inhabited by Bedouins only, called *Kaszer el-Bedawy*. At about three quarters of an hour from Akaba, and the same distance from Kaszer el-Bedawy, are ruins in the sea, which are visible only at low water. They are said* to consist of walls, houses, and columns, but cannot easily be approached on account of the shallows.[89] Perhaps these are the ruins of Eziongeber.[90]

* [It is right to add that this information was not given to Burckhardt by his guides, but (after his return to Cairo), by some Mamlooks in the army of Mohammed Ali Pacha, who had formerly been for several weeks in garrison at Akaba; and they had never seen the ruins except from a distance."—*Tr.*]

[89] *Burckhardt*, p. 509.

[90] *Busching*, in the third edition of his Geography of Asia, (p. 620) places Eziongeber where Sherme now lies (on Niebuhr's Map, *Dsjerm*), a spacious harbour, surrounded with high and steep rocks, and the entrance very narrow;

3. *The Amalekites.*

To the west of the Edomites dwelt the Amalekites,[91] who, according to the traditions both of the Jews and Arabs, were among the most ancient people of Arabia. We find them mentioned so early as the time of

"Sherme," says he, "I take to be Ezion-Geber, whither the Israelites came in their wanderings. (Num. xxxiii. 35, 36. Deut. ii. 8), and whence Solomon's fleet set sail to Ophir, 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. For, in the former passage, it is said that Ezion-Geber lay (not "near" but) along with Elath on the Red Sea, in the land of the Edomites, to whom this country formerly belonged; and, according to Bochart's explanation, (in his "Canaan," p. 764), the name עֶצְיוֹן־גֶּבֶר signifies a rock which runs into the sea in the form of a man's back. Now, a high rock of this description is off Sherme, and upon it the ships of Jehosaphat were wrecked in setting out for Ophir, 1 Kings xxvii. 49. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37." This opinion of Busching is certainly erroneous, for Eziongeber is expressly placed by the Arabian geographers near Ailah or Elath, (see note 87), whereas Sherme lies not far from the promontory of Ras-Abu Mohammed, at the southern extremity of the Gulf of Elath. Niebuhr incorrectly writes the name *Dsjerm*, جرم; it is rather شرم, *Sherm*, *i. e.* a bay or cove. There are here two deep inlets not far distant, but separated by high land, in which ships can lie with the utmost security. See *Burckhardt*, p. 527. [The Arabian geographer *Edrisi*, mentions both these bays, calling the one *Sherm-el-Beit*, the Bay of the House, and the other, *Sherm-el-Bir*, the Bay of the Well. Sherm is about four or five hours distant from the Cape of Ras Abu Mohammed.—*Tr.*]

91 עֲמָלֵקִים.

Abraham, Gen. xiv. 7; and Balaam calls them 'the first of the nations," Num. xxiv. 20. According to the Arabs, Amalek was a son of Aad, a great grandson of Ham, the second son of Noah,[92] or, according to others, a grandson of Shem.[93] Regarding the countries inhabited by the Amalekites in the earliest times, some conjecture may be formed from the account given in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis of the expedition of Chedorlaomer and his allies against the confederate kings in the east of Palestine. For after he had overran the country from north to south, by Astaroth-Karnaim and Seir or Sherath, into the wilderness of Paran, he then turned towards Kadesh, and passed through the land of the Amalekites and Amorites, who dwelt at Hazazon-Thamar or Engedi. It may thence be gathered, that the Amalekites were settled between Kadesh, Mount Seir, and Engedi, a tract bounded on the north-west by the territory of the Philistines, and on the south by Egypt or the desert of Mount Sinai. We likewise find, from 1 Sam. xv. 7; xxvi. 8, that the dwellings of the

[92] See *D'Herbelot's* Bibl. Orient. under "Amlik," and *Reland's* Palæst. p. 81.

[93] See *De Sacy's* Excerpta ex Abulfeda, in the New Edit. of *Pococke's* Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 464; عمليق بن لاوذ بن سام. Some erroneously make the progenitor of the tribe to be the Amalek who is mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 12, among the posterity of Esau, but see *Michaelis'* Spicileg. Geog. Hebr. Ext. Part I. p. 171. Other eastern traditions confound the Amalekites with the Philistines and the Canaanites. See *D'Herbelot* and *Michaelis*, in loc.

Amalekites extended as far as to Shur, *i. e.* Pelusium, which was a frontier town of Egypt.[94] Hence the Amalekites were the first who opposed the passage of the Hebrews on their journey from Egypt, but were defeated by them, Exod. xvii. 8—13; though, on a subsequent occasion, they were, along with the Canaanites, the victors, Num. xiv. 39—45. In the time of the Judges, also, they prosecuted successful wars against some of the tribes of Israel, in conjunction with the Ammonites and Midianites, Judges iii. 13; vi. 3. Saul gained a complete victory over them, and took prisoner their king Agag, who was afterwards hewn in pieces by Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. It was one of the offences charged against Saul,* which

[94] This agrees tolerably well with the account of Josephus in his Antiqq. VI. 7. 3, where he says the territory of the Amalekites extended from Pelusium to the Arabian Gulf; but, in the same work, (at III. 2. 1), he incorrectly places it farther east, towards Gobolitis, (Djebal) and Petra.

* According to Jewish and Arab tradition, the Amalekites belonged to the *doomed* tribes of Canaan, with whom they are always associated, and never with Esau's posterity, the 'brethren' of Israel. When the people were in straits at their entry into the wilderness, these Amalekites basely way-laid them, and cut off those who were too weak to keep up with the rest. This unprovoked cruelty had drawn from God the determination to 'blot out their name from under heaven'—a decree which was put on record for the guidance of Israel's future king, Deut. xxv. 18, 19. In almost every league against Israel we find the Amalekites a party, Ps. lxxxiii. 7; as with the Canaanites, Num. xiv. 45; Moabites and Ammonites, Judges iii. 13; Midianites, Judges vi. 3; and just before the command given to Saul, they had "spoiled the land," 1 Sam.

led to his being deprived of the kingdom, that he did not make this a war of utter extermination, as God had expressly commanded.[95] During David's residence among the Philistines, he made an inroad upon the Amalekites, sparing neither male nor female; but they took their revenge by attacking and destroying Ziklag during his absence, though he pursued them with success on his return, and recovered the spoil, 1 Sam. xxvii. and xxx. After he attained supreme power, he appears to have made

xiv. 48. Besides all this, they were *sinners* above others (ch. xv. 18,) and had made many a woman childless (ver. 33.); and being a wild, unsettled, aggressive, prædatory race, Israel's hereditary and implacable foes, there was a *social necessity* that such dangerous neighbours should be extirpated, or removed from the frontiers of a settled people.—*Tr.*

[95] Something similar is found in the Arab tradition preserved by Abulfeda, in the passage referred to in Note 93; only that what the Hebrew history mentions as the work of Samuel, is there ascribed to Moses. The account is, that after the confusion of tongues, the Amalekites settled at Sanaa in Yemen, or Southern Arabia, after they had extirpated the aborigines. Another portion fixed their abode in Syria, but were attacked first by Moses and then by Joshua, who rooted them out. But a third tribe had possessed themselves of Yathreb, (Medina) Chaibar, (in Nedjd, that part of Arabia which adjoins Syria,) and some other districts of the Hedjaz. Against these Moses sent an army with orders to exterminate them utterly. This army overcame and destroyed the Amalekites, but preserved the life of the king's son, and carried him a prisoner to Syria, where Moses had recently died. The rest of the Hebrews, however, reproached their countrymen with not having executed the command in all its rigour, and refused to allow them to settle again in the midst of them; whereupon they resolved to return and take possession of the country that had been occupied by

them his tributaries, for they are mentioned in 2 Sam. viii. 11, 12, among the conquered nations who sent gifts, that were dedicated by him to the Lord. At a later period they must have been very much reduced, since, in the days of Hezekiah, the Simeonites expelled the remnant of them from their territories, and took possession of them, 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43. After this there is no farther mention of the Amalekites in history. A "city of the Amalekites" is spoken of in 1 Sam. xv. 5, but without any notice either of the name or the site.

4. *The Kenites.*[96]

The *Kenites** are mentioned in Gen. xv. 19, among the tribes who, in the time of Abraham, dwelt in the land of Canaan. They seem, however, to have removed at an early period towards the southern borders of the country, (having perhaps been expelled by the Canaanites), and to have settled among the Midianites. For Hobab, a brother of Je-

the Amalekites. This it is said is the reason why there were Jews in Chaibar in the time of Mahomet. In the MS. of Abulfeda, from which De Sacy edited this passage, (p. 544,) when the name Moses occurs, there is written on the margin in a different hand, لا موسي بل ساموعيل. *Not Moses, but Samuel.*

[96] A variety of crude and unfounded opinions respecting the origin and residence of this tribe, will be found in *And. Murray's* Commentatio de Kinaeis, qua varia Cod. S. loca illustrantur, Hamburg, 1718. 8vo.

* [This paragraph is taken from the author's volume on Palestine, to which, in his chapter on Arabia, he here makes a reference —*Tr.*]

thro the Midianite, Moses' father-in-law, is called the father of the *Keni*, Judges i. 16; iv. 11. It would appear from the prophecy of Balaam in Numb. xxiv. 21, 22, that in the time of Moses, the Kenites occupied a mountainous tract in the neighbourhood of the Moabites and Amalekites. Balaam says: "Strong is thine abode, and founded on a rock is thy nest:" where there is perhaps a *paranomasia* on the word *ken*, which is the Hebrew for a nest. In the days of Saul, we find them located among the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 6.

5. *The Midianites.*

Among the sons of Abraham, whom he had by his second wife Keturah, the fourth was *Midian*.[97] His descendants must have settled in Arabia, and engaged in trade at an early period, for in Gen. xxxvii. 28, they appear along with the Ishmaelites, (see above at p. 142,) as merchants who travelled from Gilead to Egypt, and having on their way bought Joseph from his brethren, sold him in Egypt, v. 36.* There was a country of Midian in the neighbourhood of Mounts Sinai and Horeb, where Jethro and Hobab lived, the father-in-law and brother-in-law of Moses, Exod. iii. 2; xviii. 5. Numb. x. 29. These must have been

[97] מִדְיָן.

* In the Heb. text there is here הַמִּדְנִים the *Medanites* instead of מִדְיָנִים ver. 28. Medan was an elder brother of Midian, Gen. xxv. 2. Whether their respective descendants had become united in one tribe, or formed two distinct races, it is impossible to decide.

a different branch from those Midianites, who, in conjunction with the Moabites (Num. xxii. 4, 5,) way-laid the Hebrews as they approached Canaan, and enticed them to idolatry, Num. xxii. 4, 5; xxv. 6, 14—18. On this account Moses attacked them with a strong force, killed all their fighting men, including their five princes, making the women and children captives, Num. ch. xxx. At an earlier period these Midianites had been discomfited by the Edomites, in the fields of Moab, Gen. xxxvi. 35. Some time after the Israelites obtained possession of Canaan, the Midianites had become so numerous and powerful, that for seven successive years, they made an inroad on the Hebrew territory in the time of harvest, carrying off the fruits and cattle, and desolating the land. At length Gideon was raised up as the deliverer of his country, and his triumph was so complete, that the Hebrews were never more molested by them, Judges vi. 1—6; vi. 7; ch. vii. and viii. To this victory we find frequent allusions in the writings of the Hebrew poets, Ps. lxxxiii. 10, 12. Isaiah ix. 4; x. 26. Habak. iv. 7. That the Midianites, both in early and later times, were famous for the rearing of camels, appears from Judges vii. 12. Isaiah lx. 6.

The Arabian geographers of the middle age, Edrisi,[98] Ibn el-Wardi,[99] and Abulfeda,[100] speak of the ruins of an ancient town of *Madian*,[101] on the

[98] Clim. III. Sect. 5, p. 3 of the Arab. text.

[99] At p. 78, 182 of the edit. of Hylander.

[100] *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arab. Descript. p. 77.

[101] مدين.

east side of the Red Sea, where Moses is supposed to have watered the flocks of Shoaib or Jethro. It was the same as Modiana, a town in that district mentioned by Ptolemy.[102] Niebuhr[103] conjectures that the site is now occupied by Moilah, a small town or rather village, with a castle on the pilgrim-road from Egypt, and on the Red Sea. But that place lies too far south of Mount Sinai, to be identified with the Midian of Jethro.

The eldest son of Midian was *Epha*,[104] Gen. xxv. 4. His descendants formed a separate tribe, who are mentioned in Isa. lx. 6, along with Midian, as famous for their breed of camels.[105]

6. *The Peninsula of Mount Sinai and the Desert of El-Tyh.*

The southern part of Arabia Petræa is a penin-

[102] V. 19.

[103] Descript. of Arabia, p. 377. Comp. *Gosselin* in Bredow's Researches, Vol. II. p. 233.

[104] עֵיפָה.

[105] *Bochart* in his Hieroz. (I. 2. 3, Tom. I. p. 15,) supposes that Hippo in Arabia Felix, mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after Modiana, was the same as Ephah; but that is very uncertain. The Sept. explains עֵיפָה in Isa. lx. 6, by Γαιφὰ. Bochart compares that name with the place *Gaifah*, mentioned by Firusabadi in the Kamoos. But that cannot be thought of here; for the words of the Kamoos are (Calcutta edit. p. 1211.) غيفة ع (موضع) قرب بلبيس "Gaifah, a place in the neighbourhood of Bolbais," which is a town of Egypt, sometimes called Balbeis and Bilbeis.

sula, which is formed by the two arms of the Red Sea, that run up on each side, the one to the north-east, the other to the north-west. The former, which constitutes the eastern boundary, is called the *Ælanitic Gulf*, or *Gulf of Akaba*;[106] the other, which lies on the west, was anciently designated the *Bay of Heroopolis*,[107] and is now termed the *Bahhr-el-Kolsum*,[108] or the *Bahhr-es-Sues*,[109] *i. e.* the Gulf of Suez. This peninsula is bounded on the north by the desert of El-Tyh. The Arabian Gulf, which washes the southern shores, is commonly known by the appellation of the Red Sea. That epithet was given by the Greeks and Romans to the expanse of water which lies between the east coast of Africa and the East Indies, so that it might be considered as synonymous with the "South Sea."[110] It was

[106] بحر العقبة.

[107] So called from the city of Heroopolis at the north end of the gulf, which formerly ran farther inland than at present. See *Strabo* XVI. 1. 26. *Pliny's* Nat. Hist. VI. 29. On part of the site of the ancient Heroopolis, is now a place called Abu-Keysheid, where Dubois-Ayme found considerable ruins. See Et. *Quatremere's* Memoires sur l'Egypte, and the younger *Champollion's* l'Egypte sous les Pharaons. Tom II. p. 88. Comp. *Gosselin* in Bredow's Researches, Vol. II. p. 184.

[108] بحر القلزم. Kolsum is the Klysma of the ancients. See *J. M. Hartmann's* Geogr. of Africa, p. 947.

[109] بحر السويس.

[110] *Strabo*, XVI. 3. 1. Ἡ μεγάλη θάλατταή ἔξω τῶν κόλπων ἀμφοῖν (the two gulfs are the Persian and Arabian), ἣν ἅπασαν Ἐρυθρὰν καλοῦσιν. *Herodot.* IV. 37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι

called *Red* because it was exposed to the burning rays of the hot southern sun, and, for the same reason, the Greek and Latin poets give the designation of red to the countries of the torrid zone.[111] The Arabian Gulf, and especially its western branch, the Bay of Heroopolis, are styled "the Red Sea" by the oldest Greek translators of the Old Testament,[112] but that could only be on account of its being deemed a portion of the southern ocean.[113] The ancient

κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλουμένην. Comp. *Reland's* Dissert. de Mari Rubro, (the second of his Dissertat. Misc., Part I.) § II.—VII. p. 62.

[111] *Lucretius* says of the clouds, VI. 208,—

—— Solis de lumine multa necesse est
Concipere, ut merito rubeant.

Claudian, in his Gigant. ver. 9, calls the Sun *ruber*, and the horses of his chariot *rubentes;* and he says, de Laud. Stilicon. l. 257. Et calido rubicunda die sic Africa fatur. *Virgil* says of the torrid zone, (Georg. I. 234): Corusco semper sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igne. See other quotations in *Reland*, § X. p. 78. The different opinions of the ancients regarding the origin of the name of the Red Sea will be found in *Strabo*, XVI. 3. 20.

[112] For example, in Exod. x. 19. Καὶ ἐνέβαλην αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀκρίδα) εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἐρυθράν. See also ch. xiii. 18; xv. 4, 25, &c.

[113] *Reland*, in the Dissertat. above quoted, (§ XII. XIII.), has satisfactorily confuted other opinions respecting the origin of the name, *e. g.* that it was derived from a certain king Erythras, who lived on the Persian Gulf; as also the hypothesis of Scaliger, Fuller, and others, that the name of the "Red Sea" is a translation of the Hebrew יַם אֱדוֹם Sea of Edom, *i. e.* the Red Man; Esau having been so called from the colour of the land he inhabited on its shores. See *Niebuhr's*

Hebrews called the Arabian Gulf, or rather its western branch, which was best known to them, by the name of *Yam-Suph*,[114] which Luther has translated *Schilf-Meer*, the Reedy Sea. But the Hebrew word Suph denoted rather a kind of sea-weed, which the ancient Egyptians called Shari,[115] and hence the sea obtained, among them, the name of the Shari Sea. Shaw remarks,[116] that he saw here no rushes, but a great quantity of sea weed. Probably no place, says he,[117] exhibits a greater luxuriance of marine vegetation than the harbour of Tor, on the west coast of the Arabian Gulf: "In rowing gently over it, whilst the surface of the sea was calm, such a diversity of madrepores, fucuses, and other marine vegetables, presented themselves to the eye, that we could not

Descript. of Arabia, p. 418, and *Paulus*' Collect. of Travels, Part II. p. 251. The name יַם אֱדוֹם never occurs in the Old Testament. Gossellin thinks (Bredow's Researches, Part II. p. 124,) that the Arabian Gulf received the name of the Red Sea from the circumstance of the mountains around it being partly of porphyry and red granite; a conjecture which has little probability.

[114] יַם-סוּף.

[115] See *Jablonsky's* Opuscula, edited by Te Water, Tom I. p. 266. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis* Supplem. p. 1726. The Greeks called this sea-plant Φῦκος. Diodorus Siculus and Agatharcides say that it grew in the Red Sea in such quantities, that the water received from it a greenish hue, and the waves threw it ashore in large heaps. See *Bochart's* Geogr. Sac. Part I. Lib. IV. Cap. 29. p. 320.

[116] Travels, p. 447 of the original English.

[117] Travels, p. 445.

forbear taking them, as Pliny[118] had done before us, for a forest under water. The branched madrepores, particularly, contributed very much to authorize the comparison; for we passed over several of them that were eight or ten feet high, growing sometimes pyramidical like the cypress; at other times they had their branches more open and diffused like the oak; not to speak of others which, like the creeping plants, spread themselves over the bottom of the sea." The water of this sea excels in clearness that of all others. The north-west arm, or Gulf of Suez, being narrow and rocky, the navigation is dangerous.

The peninsula which is formed by these two arms of the Arabian Gulf,[119] is traversed in various direc-

[118] Hist. Nat. XIII. 25.

[119] According to *Volney*, (Travels, Vol. II. p. 347, of the English Transl.), it is seventy leagues long and thirty broad. [The following is his account of it:—" This desert, which is the boundary of Syria to the south, extends itself in the form of a peninsula between the two gulphs of the Red Sea, that of Suez to the west and that of El-Akaba to the east. Its breadth is ordinarily thirty leagues, and its length seventy. This great space is almost entirely filled by barren mountains, which join those of Syria on the north, and, like them, consist almost wholly of calcareous stone; but, as we advance to the southward, they become granitous, and Sinai and Horeb are only enormous masses of that stone. Hence it was, the ancients called this country Arabia Petrea. The soil, in general, is a dry gravel, producing nothing but strong acacias, tamarisks, firs, and a few scattered shrubs. Springs are very rare, and the few we meet with are sometimes sulphureous and thermal, as at Hammam Faraoun, at others brackish and disagreeable, as at El Naba, opposite Suez. This saline quality prevails throughout the country, and there are mines of fossil salt in

tions by chains of mountains, which consist, for the most part, of rocks of granite, porphyry, and greenstone, and are separated by rugged and narrow valleys, or sandy plains. Towards the north this peninsula is bounded by the double mountain range of El-Tyh,[120] running from west to east to the Gulf of Akaba, and so called from the desert of that name, which extends from the foot of these mountains northward to Palestine. These mountain chains, the northernmost of which still bears the name of *El-Dhelel*,[121] are the most regular in the peninsula, being almost all of nearly equal height, without any projecting peaks, and running eastward in an unbroken line. They are now inhabited by the tribes of Terabein and Tyaha, the latter of whom are richer in camels and flocks than the other Towara tribes, (*i.e.* the Bedouins of Tor and Mount Sinai). The valleys of these mountains furnish rich pasture, and have excellent wells, though not in great number. The Terabein chiefly visit Cairo and Suez, but the Tyaha have more intercourse with Gaza and Hebron; the latter are a

the northern parts. In some of the valleys, however, the soil becoming better, as it is formed of the earth washed from the rocks, is cultivable after the winter rains, and may almost be styled fertile."]

[120] التيه. The name Tyh signifies *wandering*, and then a *desert* in which men wander. With the prefixed article, or more fully, تيه بنى اسرايل "the wandering-desert of the children of Israel," the word denotes the wilderness through which the Israelites had to travel ere they reached Palestine. See *Edrisi's* Geogr. Cl. III. Sect. 5. p. 1.

[121] الضلل. "The wandering."

bold independent race, and are often at war with their neighbours.[122]

Towards the south, the mountains increase in height; the loftiest summits are Sinai and Mount St. Catherine. It is in speaking of the latter mount that Burckhardt says,[123] "From this elevated peak a very extensive view opened before us, and the direction of the different surrounding chains of mountains could be distinctly traced. The upper nucleus of Sinai, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains in the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep and shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view. It is upon this highest region of the peninsula that the fertile valleys are found which produce fruit trees; they are principally to the west and south-west of the convent, at three or four hours distant. Water, too, is always found in plenty in this district, on which account it is the place of refuge of all the Bedouins when the low country is parched up. I think it very probable that this upper country, or wilderness, is, exclusively, the desert of Sinai, so often mentioned in the account of the wanderings of the Israelites, (Exod. xix. 1. Num. i. 1). Mount St. Catherine appears to stand nearly in the centre of it. To the northwards of this central region, and divided from it by the broad valley called Wady El-Sheikh, and

[122] *Burckdardt*, p. 560.

[123] *Burckhardt*, p. 573, 575, 589.

by seveal minor wadys, begins a lower range of the mountains called Zebeir, which extends eastwards, having at one extremity the two peaks called El-Djoze, above the plantations of Wady Feiran, and losing itself to the east in the more open country towards Wady Sal. Beyond the Zebeir, northwards, are sandy plains and valleys, which I crossed towards the west, at Raml el Moral, and towards the east, about Hadhra. This part is the most barren and destitute of water of the whole country. From Sal, east and north-east, the chains intersect each other in many irregular masses of inferior height, till they reach the Gulf of Akaba, which I clearly distinguished when the sun was just rising over the mountains of the Arabian coast. Excepting the short extent from Noweyba to Dahab the mountains bordering on the gulf are all of secondary height; but they rise to a considerable elevation between those two points. The country between Sherm, Nabk, and the convent is occupied also by mountains of minor size, and the valleys, generally, are so narrow, that few of them can be distinguished from the point where I stood; the whole country, in that direction, appearing an uninterrupted wilderness of barren mountains." He informs us that the same is the aspect of the region to the south-west, round the mountain of Om-Shomar. "The country is the wildest I had yet seen in these mountains; the devastations of torrents are every where visible; the sides of the mountains being rent by them in numberless directions;—the surface of the sharp rocks is blackened by the sun;—all vege-

tation is dry and withered, and the whole scene presents nothing but utter desolation and hopeless barrenness." It was, therefore, with strict truth, that this was called a *great* and *terrible wilderness*, Deut. i. 18; viii. 15; a "land of deserts and of pits; a land of drought and of the shadow of death, a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt." Jer. ii. 6. It is farther termed a "land that was not sown," Jer. ii. 2; a land where there was "no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither was their any water to drink," Num. xx. 5.

The soil of this peninsula is, in general, very barren, and produces nothing but thorny acacias, tamarisks, and a few dwarfish shrubs. The tamarisk abounds more in juices than any other tree of the desert, for it retains its vigour when every vegetable production around it is withered, and never loses its verdure till it dies. It is this tree which yields the manna. In the month of June it drops from the thorns of the tamarisk upon the fallen twigs, leaves, and thorns, which always cover the ground beneath that tree in the natural state; the manna is collected before sunrise, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it,[124] (Exod. xvi. 13, 14, 21, 31). The coloquintida abounds throughout, and is used by the Arabs medicinally. That the soil may be cultivated with success, where there is a supply of water, is shewn by the gardens of the Greek monks at Mount Sinai, and

[124] *Burckhardt*, p. 600, 601, [But comp. Rosenmüller's Bibl. Botany, in the Bib. Cab., Vol. XXVII, p. 320.]

also by the flourishing plantations in the Wady Feiran.[125] That valley is a continuation of Wady El Sheikh, and is considered the finest valley in the whole peninsula. From the upper extremity, an uninterrupted row of gardens and date plantations extends downwards for four miles. In almost every garden is a well, by means of which the grounds are irrigated the whole year round, exactly in the same manner as those in the Hedjaz. Among the date trees are small huts, where reside the Tebna Arabs, a branch of Djebalye, who serve as gardeners to the Towara Bedouins, especially to the Szowaleha, who are the owners of the ground. They take one-third of the fruit for their labour. Another romantic valley is the Wady Kyd,[126] with groves of date trees and luxurious vegetation. The rocks which overhang it, on both sides, almost meet, and give to the whole the appearance of a grotto, most delightful to the traveller after passing through the dreary valleys that surround it. The contrast of its deep verdure, with the glaring rocks by which it is closely hemmed

[125] وادى فيران, *Burckhardt*, p. 602. Niebuhr (Travels, Part I.) calls this valley *Wady Faran*, and takes it for the plain or desert of Paran, (פָּארָן), mentioned in Gen. xiv. 6; xxi. 21. Num. x. 12. 1 Kings xi. 18. But it had been before observed by the Arabian historian Makrizi, (who wrote in the fifteenth century,) that these two places are quite different; for the Paran of Scripture lay in the road from Sinai to Canaan, on the borders of Edom, whereas the Wady Feiran is not far from the Sinai mountains. See the passage in Burckhardt, p. 617.

[126] *Burckhardt*, p. 535.

in, is very striking. Springs are comparatively rare, and their water is sometimes hot and sulphureous, and sometimes salt and nauseous to the taste. This scarcity of good springs partly proceeds from the infrequency of rain. Burckhardt mentions that, during the winter of 1814–15, it rained a great deal to the north of the Djebal Tyh, but very little to the south, and, in the eastern districts, scarcely any. This peninsula is not exempt from the visitations of the poisonous wind called the Samūm.* When Burckhardt was travelling towards Sinai, in the month of May 1816, it blew with violence during a whole day, and even through the night. That traveller was informed, by several Bedouins, that a thundering noise, like repeated discharges of heavy artillery, is heard, at times, among the Sinai mountains; and they all affirmed that it came from Om-Shomar, a lofty, precipitous mountain, nine hours south of the convent.[127] The monks corroborated the story; and, as Burckhardt thought the noises might be occasioned by volcanic eruptions, he visited Om-Shomar and the neighbouring mountains, but could perceive no signs of a volcano, nor any volcanic productions. The only* ignigenous rocks he saw in the whole peninsula were

* See above at p. 125. [127] *Burckhardt*, p. 586.

* "He must, of course, be understood to speak in the popular sense, of the more easily recognisable, and, (if we are right in so using the word,) *secondary* volcanic action. For it appears clearly, from his own descriptions, that the peninsula in general, and the upper Sinai in particular, exhibit marked traces of *primary* volcanic commotion." Kitto's Physical History of Palestine, p. lxxxiii.—*Tr.*

near Sherm, on the west side of the Gulf of Akaba. There "for a distance of about two miles, the hills presented perpendicular cliffs, formed in half circles, none of them being more than sixty to eighty feet in height; in other places there was an appearance of volcanic craters."

Among the animals found in this peninsula may be noticed the mountain-goat, called, by the Arabs, *beden*,[128] the *steinbock* of the Swiss and Tyrolese Alps. They feed among the rocks in herds of forty and fifty. In giving an account of his ascent to Mount St. Catherine, Burckhardt[129] says, "As we approached the summit of the mountain, we saw, at a distance, a small flock of mountain goats. One of our Arabs left us, and, by a widely circuitous road, endeavoured to get to leeward of them, and near enough to fire at them. He had nearly reached a favourable spot behind a rock, when the goats suddenly took to flight. They could not have seen the Arab, but the wind changed, and thus they smelt him. The chase of the beden, as the wild goat is called, resembles that of the chamois of the Alps, and requires as much enterprise and patience. The Arabs make long circuits to surprise them, and endeavour to come upon them early in the morning when they feed. The goats have a leader who keeps watch, and, on any suspicious smell, sound, or object, make a noise, which is a signal to the flock to make their escape. They have much decreased of late, if we may believe

[128] بدن.

[129] *Burckhardt*, p. 571.

the Arabs, who say that, fifty years ago, if a stranger came to a tent, and, if the owner of it had no sheep to kill, he took his gun and went in search of a beden. They are, however, even now more common than in the Alps, or in the mountains to the east of the Red Sea. I had three or four of them brought to me at the convent, which I bought at three-fourths of a dollar each. The flesh is excellent, and has nearly the same flavour as that of the deer. The Bedouins make water bags of their skins, and rings of their horns, which they wear on their thumbs. When the beden is met with in the plains, the dogs of the hunters easily catch him; but they cannot come up with him among the rocks, where he can make leaps of twenty feet."

Besides these wild goats, gazelles are often met with; hares and wolves less frequently. The Bedouins occasionally kill leopards. Burckhardt received a large leopard's skin at the convent of Mount Sinai. Here is also found a kind of marmot, called by the Arabs *wober*,[130] something like a large weazel, with a very short tail; it lives on vegetables.[131] Burckhardt heard, at Sinai, of another voracious animal called *sheeb*,[132] said to be a breed between the leopard and

[130] وبر.

[131] *Burckhardt*, p. 534. Comp. *Gesenius*' note at p. 1076 of the Ger. Transl.

[132] شيب, p. 534. The Arabs in Syria, likewise distinguish this animal from the wolf, ذيب, *Dseeb*, though it resembles it so closely in appearance that it is difficult to perceive the distinction. See *Rosenmüller's* Notes in his Edit. of Bo-

the wolf. Of birds he saw red-legged partridges in great numbers, pigeons, the *katta*, (a species of quail,)[133] but not in such large flocks as in Syria, and the *rakham*, a kind of gier-eagle. The Bedouins also mentioned an eagle whose outspread wings measure six feet across, and which carries off lambs. On the coast and in the lower valleys, a kind of large lizard is seen, called *dhob*,[134] which has a scaly skin of a yellow colour; the largest are about eighteen inches in length, of which the tail measures about one half. The dhob is very common in the Arabian deserts, where the Arabs form tobacco purses of its skin. It lives in holes in the sand, which have generally two openings; it runs fast, but a dog easily catches it. On the east side of the peninsula, along the Gulf of Akaba, Burckhardt[135] found every where the trace of serpents, whose bodies were not less than two inches in diameter. He heard from his guides, that serpents abounded in the district, and that the fishermen are so afraid of them, that they carefully put out their

chart's Hierozoic. Tom. II. p. 151. *Russell's* Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, Vol. II. p. 185. It is reckoned, however, a more savage animal; its bite is deadly, and brings on raving madness, so that it is, perhaps, the wolf run mad. [Col. Hamilton Smith thinks the sheeb may be the *thous acmon*, or wild wolf dog of Natolia.—*Tr.*]

[133] Probably the same kind of quail that served as food to the Israelites when they journeyed there. The Heb. name is שְׂלָו, in the plural שְׂלָוִים.

[134] ضَبّ, in Heb. צָב.

[135] At p. 814 of the Germ. Transl.

fires at night, from the idea that the reptiles were attracted by the light. Nor are serpents of rare occurrence on the other side of the peninsula, where the Israelites "journeyed from Mount Hor by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom," for there "the Lord sent fiery serpents[136] to bite them," Num. xxi. 4, 6. And, in the description of the wilderness which they passed through (in Deut. viii. 15), it is said, "Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents and scorpions."

This peninsula is at present occupied by Bedouin Arabs. In the south-west there are five principal tribes, who are comprised under the appellation of *Towara*, or Bedouins of Tor,[137] and form a single body, whenever any foreign tribe of the northern Bedouins attacks any one of them. They are among the poorest of the Bedouin tribes, which is to be attributed principally to the scarcity of rain and the consequent want of pasturage. Their herds are scanty, and they have few camels; most tents have no more than two; it often happens that two or three persons are partners in one camel, and great numbers are without any. There are no horses even among the Sheikhs, who constantly ride on camels; but asses are common. Their means of subsistence are derived from their pastures, the transport trade

[136] The Arabic translator *Saadias* renders the phrase by حيات محرقة لسعتهم "serpents whose bite was fiery."

[137] *Burckhardt*, p. 558. Comp. Volney, Vol. II. p. 259.

between Suez and Cairo, the sale at the latter place of the charcoal which they burn in their mountains, of the gum arabic which they collect, and of their dates and other fruits. To the Bedouin tribes are to be added the *Djebalye* or mountaineers.[138] When Justinian built the convent of Mount Sinai, he sent a party of slaves, originally from the shores of the Black Sea, as menial servants to the priests. These people came here with their wives, and were settled by the convent as guardians of the orchards and date plantations throughout the peninsula. Subsequently, when the Bedouins deprived the convent of many of its possessions, these slaves turned Moslems,[139] and adopted the habits of Bedouins. Their descendants are the present Djebalye, who unanimously confess their descent from the Christian slaves, whence they are often called by the other Bedouins, "the children of Christians." They are not to be distinguished, however, in features or manners from other Bedouins, and they are now considered a branch of the Towara, although the latter still maintain the distinction, never giving their daughters in marriage to the Djebalye, nor taking any of theirs. Thus the Djebalye intermarry only among themselves, and form a separate community of about a hundred and

[138] جبالية. *Burckhardt*, p. 562.

[139] The monks told Burckhardt that, in the last century, there still remained several families of Christian Bedouins, who had not embraced Islamism, and that the last individual of this description, an old woman, died in 1750, and was buried in the garden of the convent.—*Tr.*

twenty men. They are a very robust and healthy race, and their girls have the reputation of superior beauty, over all others of the peninsula, a circumstance which often gives rise to unhappy attachments and romantic love tales, when their lovers happen to belong to other tribes. The Djebalye still remain the servants of the convent; parties of three attend it by turns, and are the only Bedouins who are permitted to enter within the walls; but they are never allowed to stop in the house, and pass the night in the garden. * * * The population of the whole peninsula, between a line drawn from Akabah to Suez, and the Cape of Ras Mohammed, does not, according to Burckhardt, exceed 4000 souls, and, in years of drought, even these find it difficult to find pasture for their cattle.

The mountain which became so famous for the giving of the law to Moses, is in the second, third, and fourth books of the Pentateuch called *Sinai*,[140] but,

[140] סִינַי. The Arabs call the mountain سينا, and so also the Greek translator Σινά. The etymology proposed by Hiller and Simonis (Onomasticon, p. 559,) viz. "Thornbush of Jehovah," (*i. e.* the thornbush in which Jehovah appeared to Moses,) as if it were סְנֵי, composed of סְנֶה יְהוָה, is very unsatisfactory. The Apostle Paul says, (Gal. iv. 24,) that Mount Sinai was also called Hagar. That is the Arabic حجر a rock. Harant, an old translator, quoted by *Busching*, (Geography of Asia, p. 603,) says, that in his day, the Arabs still used that name for Mount Sinai; but it is not known to be so employed now.

in the fifth book, as also in Malachi iv. 4, it bears the name of *Hhoreb*.[141] Comp. Exod. xix. 20; xxiv. 16; xxxi. 18; xxxiv. 2, 29. Levit. vii. 38; xxvi. 46. Num. iii. 1, with Deut. i. 6; iv. 10, 15; v. 2; xviii. 16; xxxi. 1.

The latter is the designation of a single mountain; the entire range bears the name of Sinai, or in Arabic *Djebel Mousa*,[142] *i. e.* "the Mountain of Moses." At its foot lies the convent of Mount Sinai, in a valley so narrow that one part of the building stands on the side of the western mountain, while a space of twenty paces only is left between its walls and the eastern mountain. Immediately behind the walls of the convent the road to the Djebel Mousa begins to ascend. Regular steps were formerly cut all the way up, but they are now either entirely

[141] חֹרֶב *Drought.*

[142] جبل موسى. The older travellers use the names Sinai, Horeb, and Mount St. Catherine without distinction; see respecting that confusion of names Büsching's Geogr. of Asia, p. 600. We follow chiefly *Niebuhr*, (Travels, Part I. p. 247,) and *Burckhardt*, p. 565. Comp. Carne's "Letters from the East," which first appeared in the New Monthly Magazine for 1824—25, and were translated into German by Von Lindau. Dresden, 1826. In *Justi's* Annual, "Die Vorzeit" for 1826 and 1827, there appeared "The Pilgrimage of Albert, Count Löwestein, from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai, in the year 1561," said to be edited from a MS.; but the worthy Editor does not seem to have been aware that it had formerly appeared in the collection of *Sigm. Feyerabend*, entitled "Raysbuch des Heil. Landes."

destroyed, or so much damaged by the winter torrents as to be of very little use. "After ascending for twenty-five minutes," says Burckhardt, "we breathed a short time under a large impending rock, close by which is a small well of water as cold as ice; at the end of three quarters of an hour's steep ascent, we came to a small plain, the entrance to which from below is through a stone gateway, which in former times was probably closed. A little beneath it stands a small church dedicated to the Virgin. On the plain is a larger building of rude construction, which bears the name of the convent of St. Elias; it was lately inhabited, but is now abandoned, the monks repairing here only at certain times of the year to read mass. Pilgrims usually halt on this spot, where a tall cypress tree grows by the side of a stone tank, which receives the winter rains. On a large rock in the plain are several Arabic inscriptions engraved by pilgrims three or four hundred years ago. According to the Koran and the Moslem traditions, it was in this part of the mountain, called Djebel Oreb or Horeb, that Moses communicated with the Lord. From hence a still steeper ascent of half an hour (the steps of which are also in ruins), leads to the summit of Djebel Mousa, where stands the church, which forms the principal object of the pilgrimage; it is built on the very peak of the mountain, the plane of which is at most sixty paces in circumference. The church, though strongly built of granite, is now greatly dilapidated by the unremitted attempts of the Arabs to destroy it; the door, roof,

and walls, are greatly injured. About thirty paces from the church, on a somewhat lower peak, stands a poor Mosque, without any ornaments, held in great veneration by the Moslems, and the place of their pilgrimage. It is frequently visited by the Bedouins, who slaughter sheep in honour of Moses, and who make vows to him, and entreat his intercession in heaven in their favour. There is a feast day, on which the Bedouins come hither in a mass and offer their sacrifices. The Arabs believe, that the tables of the commandments are buried beneath the pavement of the church in Djebel Mousa, and they have made excavations on every side in hopes of finding them. They more particularly revere this spot, from a belief that the rains which fall in the peninsula are under the immediate control of Moses; and they are persuaded that the priests in the convent are in possession of the *Taourat*, a book sent down to Moses from heaven, upon the opening and shutting of which depend the rains of the peninsula." * * * "We returned," continues Burckhardt, "to the convent of St. Elias, and then descended on the eastern side of the mountain for half an hour, by another decayed flight of steps, into a valley, where is a small convent called *El-Erbayn*, or the forty; it is in good repair, and is at present inhabited by a family of Djebalye, who take care of the garden annexed to it, which affords a pleasing place of rest to those who descend from the barren mountains above. In its neighbourhood are extensive olive plantations."

Opposite to the Djebel Mousa, which forms the western cliff of this narrow valley, rises *Mount St.*

Catharine,[143] almost in the centre of the Sinai ridge. "After proceeding about an hour (from St. Elias), we stopped near a small well, where we found several huts of Djebalye, and cleared a place among the rocks, where our party encamped for the night. The wall is called Bir Shonnar, from the circumstance of a monk, who was wandering in these mountains, and nearly dying of thirst, having miraculously discovered it by seeing the bird *Shonnar* fly up from the spot; it is closely surrounded by rocks, and is not more than a foot in diameter, and as much in depth. The Bedouins say that it never dries up, and that its water, even when exposed to the sun, is as cold as ice. Several trees grow near it, amongst others the Zarour. While in the lower country, and particularly on the sea shore, I found the thermometer often at 102°—105°, and even at 110°; in the convent it never stood higher than 75°. The simoom wind never reaches these upper regions. In winter the whole of the upper Sinai is covered with snow, which chokes up many of the passes, and renders

143 *Busching*, (in the work before cited, p. 602, 606), takes Mount St. Catharine for the mountain of Sinai, which Moses ascended, and this chiefly on the ground, that Josephus (Antiqq. III. 5. 1), calls Sinai the highest mountain in the country, (τὸ Σιναῖον, ὑφηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὀρῶν), and this applies to Mount St. Catharine. When Josephus adds that Mount Sinai is inaccessible, and that its summit is not visible to mortal eye, these are to be classed among the fanciful exaggerations in which he sometimes indulges. [Some recent writers bring forward very plausible arguments for Mount Serbal being the Sinai of the Bible. See especially *Kitto*, in the Pict. Bible and Pict. History of Palestine.—*Tr.*]

the mountains of Moses and St. Catharine inaccessible. The climate is so different from that of Egypt, that fruits are nearly two months later in ripening here than in Cairo; apricots, which begin to be in season there in the last days of April, are not fit to eat in Sinai till the middle of June. We left our resting place before sunrise, and climbed up a steep ascent, where there had formerly been steps which are now entirely destroyed. This side of Djebel Katerin, or Mount St. Catharine, is noted for its excellent pasturage; herbs sprout up every where between the rocks, and, as many of them are odoriferous, the scent, early in the morning, when the dew falls, is delicious. After a very slow ascent we reached Mount St. Catharine, which, like the Mountain of Moses, terminates in a sharp point; its highest part consists of a single immense block of granite, whose surface is so smooth that it is very difficult to ascend it. Luxuriant vegetation reaches up to this rock; and the side of the mountain presented a verdure which, had it been of turf instead of shrubs and herbs, would have completed the resemblance between this mountain and some of the Alpine summits. There is nothing on the summit of the rock to attract attention, except a small church or chapel, hardly high enough within to allow a person to stand upright, and badly built of loose uncemented stones; the floor is the bare rock, in which (solid as it is) the body of St. Catharine is believed to have been miraculously buried by angels after her martyrdom at Alexandria. Mr. Seetzen, however, has fallen into a mistake in calling the convent by the name of St.

Catharine. It is dedicated to the transfiguration, or as the Greeks called it, the metamorphosis, and not to St. Catharine, whose relics only are preserved here.[144]

"The convent is an irregular quadrangle of about one hundred and thirty paces, enclosed by high and solid walls, built with blocks of granite, and fortified by several small towers. While the French were in Egypt, a part of the east wall, which had fallen down, was completely rebuilt by order of General Kleber, who sent workmen here for that purpose. The upper part of the walls in the interior is built of a mixture of granite, sand, and gravel, cemented together by mud, which has acquired great hardness. The convent contains eight or ten small court yards, some of which are neatly laid out in beds of flowers and vegetables; a few date trees and cypresses also grow there, and great numbers of vines. The distribution of the interior is very irregular, and could not be otherwise, considering the slope upon which the building stands; but the whole is very clean and neat. There are a great number of small rooms in the lower and upper stories, most of which are at present unoccupied. The principal building in the interior is the great church, which, as well as the convent, was built by the Emperor Justinian, but it has subsequently undergone frequent repairs. The form of the church is an oblong square; the roof is supported by a double row of fine granite pillars, which have been covered with a coat of white plaster, perhaps because

[144] *Burckhardt*, p. 553.

the natural colour of the stone was not agreeable to the monks, who saw granite on every side of them. The capitals of the columns are of different designs; several of them bear a resemblance to palm branches, while others are a close but coarse imitation of the latest period of Egyptian sculpture, such as is seen at Philae and in several temples in Nubia. The dome over the altar still remains as it was constructed by Justinian, whose portrait, with that of his wife Theodora, may yet be distinguished on the dome, together with a large picture of the transfiguration, in honour of which event the convent was erected.

"An abundance of silver lamps, paintings, and portraits of saints, adorn the walls round the altar. Among the latter is a St. Christopher, with a dog's head. The floor of the church is finely paved with slabs of marble.

"Besides the great church, there are twenty-seven smaller churches or chapels dispersed over the convent, in many of which daily masses are read, and in all of them at least one every Sunday. But what is more remarkable than the existence of so many churches, is, that close by the great church stands a Mahometan mosque, spacious enough to contain two hundred people at prayers. A few poor Bedouins are the servants of the mosque, which they clean on Thursday evenings and light the lamps; one of them is called the Imam. The mosque is sometimes visited by Moslim pilgrims, but it is only on the occasion of the presence of some Mussulman of consequence that the call to prayers is made from the mi-

naret. Whenever a new Sultan ascends the throne of Constantinople, the convent is furnished with a new firmahn, which is transmitted to the Pasha of Egypt. At present, (1816,) there are only twenty-three monks in the convent. They are under the presidence of a Wakyl,[145] or prior, but the Ikonomos,[146] whom the Arabs call the Kolob,[147] is the true head of the community, and manages all its affairs. The order of Sinai Monks, dispersed over the east, is under the control of an Archbishop, called, in Arabic, the Reys.[148] He is chosen by a council of delegates from Mount Sinai, and from the affiliated convent at Cairo, and he is confirmed *pro formâ* by the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Archbishop can do nothing as to the appropriation of the funds without the unanimous vote of the council. Formerly he lived in the convent, but, since its affairs have been on the decline, it has been found more expedient that he should reside abroad, his presence here entitling the Bedouins to great fees, particularly on his entrance into the convent. The discipline of these monks, with regard to food and prayer, is very severe. They are obliged to attend mass twice in the day and twice in the night. The rule is, that they shall taste no flesh whatever all the year round; and in their great feast, they not only abstain from butter, and every kind of animal food and fish, but also from oil, and live four days in

[145] وكيل. [146] Οἰκονόμος.

[147] From قَلَبَ tractavit versando negotia. [148] رئيس.

the week on bread and boiled vegetables, of which one small dish is all their dinner. They obtain their vegetables from a pleasant garden adjoining the building, into which there is a subterraneous passage; the soil is stony, but, in this climate, wherever water is in plenty, the very rocks will produce vegetation. The fruit is of the finest quality, oranges, lemons, almonds, mulberries, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, olives, *nebek* trees, and a few cypresses, overshade the beds in which melons, beans, lettuces, onions, cucumbers, and all sorts of culinary and sweet-scented herbs are sown.

"We returned, in the evening, to the convent, by following, to the northward, the valley in which the Erbayn stands. This valley is very narrow and extremely stony, many large blocks having rolled from the mountains into it; it is called *El Ledja*, a name given to a similar rocky district in the Haouran. At twenty minutes walk from the Erbayn we passed a block of granite said to be the rock out of which the water issued when struck by the rod of Moses, (Exod. xvii. 1—7.) It lies quite insulated by the side of the path, which is about ten feet higher than the bottom of the valley. The rock is about twelve feet in height, of an irregular shape, approaching to a cube. There are some apertures upon its surface, through which the water is said to have burst out; they are about twenty in number, and lie nearly in a straight line round the three sides of the stone. They are, for the most part, ten or twelve inches long, two or three inches broad, and from one to two inches deep, but a few of them are as deep as four inches.

"Every observer[149] must be convinced, on the slightest examination, that most of these fissures are the work of art, but three or four, perhaps, are natural, and these may have first drawn the attention of the monks to the stone, and have induced them to call it the rock of the miraculous supply of water. Besides the marks of art evident in the holes themselves, the spaces between them have been chiselled so as to make it appear as if the stone had been worn in those parts by the action of the water; though it cannot be doubted that, if water had flowed from the fissures, it must, generally, have taken quite a different direction. One traveller saw, on this stone, twelve openings, answering to the twelve tribes of Israel; another describes the holes as a foot deep. They were probably told so by the monks, and believed what they heard rather than what they saw.

"About one hundred and fifty paces farther on in the valley lies another piece of rock, upon which it seems that the work of deception was first begun, there being four or five apertures cut in it similar to those on the other block, but in a less finished state. As it is somewhat smaller than the former, and lies in a less conspicuous part of the valley, removed from the public path, the Monks probably thought proper, in process of time, to assign the miracle to the other.[150] As the rock of Moses has been described by travellers of the fifteenth century, the deception

149 *Burckhardt*, p. 579.

150 For farther information regarding this rock, from Shaw, Pococke, and Mosheim, see Rosenmüller's Morgenland, Part II. No. 234, p. 44.

must have originated among the Monks of an earlier period. As to the present inhabitants of the convent and peninsula, they must be acquitted of any fraud respecting it; for they conscientiously believe that it is the very rock from which the water gushed forth. In this part of the peninsula the Israelites could not have suffered from thirst: the upper Sinai is full of wells and springs, the greater part of which are perennial; and on which ever side the pretended rock of Moses is approached, copious sources are found within a quarter of an hour of it. The rock is greatly venerated by the Bedouins, who put grass into the fissures, as offerings to the memory of Moses, in the same manner as they place grass upon the tombs of their saints; because grass is to them the most precious gift of nature, and that upon which their existence chiefly depends.

"A little farther down than the rock above described, is shewn the *seat of Moses*, where, it is said, that he often sat: it is a small, and apparently natural excavation in a granite rock, resembling a chair. Near this is the "petrified *pot* or *kettle* of Moses," a name given to a circular projecting knob in a rock, similar in size and shape to the lid of a kettle. The Arabs have in vain endeavoured to break this rock, which they suppose to contain great treasures.

"At forty minutes' walk from Erbayn, where the valley of El-Ledja opens into the broad valley which leads eastward to the convent, is a fine garden, with the ruins of a small convent, called *El Bostan:* water is conducted into it by a small channel, from a spring in the Ledja. It was full of apricot trees, and roses

in full blossom. A few Djebalye live here to take care of the garden. From hence to the convent is half an hour: in the way is shewn the golden calf (Exod. xxxii. 4,) which the Israelites worshipped, transmuted into stone. It is somewhat singular that the Monks and the Bedouins call it the cow's head (Ras el Bakar[151]), and not the calf's, confounding it, perhaps, with the "red heifer," of which the Old Testament[152] and Koran speak. It is a stone half buried in the ground, and bears some resemblance to the forehead of a cow. Some travellers have explained this stone to be the mould in which Aaron cast the calf, though it is not hollow, but projecting. The Arabs and Monks, however, gravely assured me that it was the "cow's" head itself. Beyond this object, towards the convent, a hill is pointed out to the left, called Djebel Haroun, because it is believed to be the spot where Aaron assembled the seventy elders of Israel.[153] Both this and the cow's head have evidently received these denominations from the Monks and Bedouins, in order that they may multiply the objects of veneration and curiosity within the pilgrim's tour round the convent.

"We proceeded by Wady Sebaye, the same road I had come from Sherm. In this Wady, tradition says, the Israelites gained the victory over the Amalekites, which was obtained by the holding up of the hands of Moses, Exod. xvii. 12; but this battle was fought

151 رأس البقرة.

152 Num. xix. 1. Koran. Sure II. v. 63 or 69.

153 *Burckhardt*, p. 583.

in Rephidim, where the water gushed out from the rock,—a situation which appears to have been to the westward of the convent, on the approach from the Gulf of Suez."[154]

One of the most remarkable objects in the Sinai peninsula is *Mount Serbal*, which is distant about eighty or ninety miles from Mount Sinai, and lies to the north-west, in the neighbourhood of the Wady Feiran. The first European traveller that ascended it was Burckhardt, who has left the following account:[155] "After leaving the Wady Rymm, we walked over sharp rocks without any path, till we came to the almost perpendicular side of the Upper Serbal, which we ascended in a narrow difficult cleft. The day being excessively hot, it took us four hours to climb up to the lower summit of the mountain. Here is a small plain with some trees, and the ruins of a small stone reservoir for water. On several blocks of granite are inscriptions, but most of them are illegible. After reposing a little, I ascended the eastern peak, which was to our left hand, and reached its top in three quarters of an hour, after great exertions, for the rock is so smooth and slippery, as well as steep, that even, barefooted as I was, I was obliged frequently to crawl upon my belly, to avoid being precipitated below; and had I not casually met with a few shrubs to grasp, I should probably have been obliged to abandon my attempt, or have rolled down the cliff. The summit of the eastern peak consists of one enormous mass of

154 *Burckhardt*, p. 587. 155 *Burckhardt*, p. 606.

granite, the smoothness of which is broken only by a few partial fissures, presenting an appearance not unlike the ice-covered peaks of the Alps. The sides of the peak, at a few paces below its top, are formed of large insulated blocks, twenty or thirty feet long, which appeared as if just suspended in the act of rushing down the steep. Near the top I found steps regularly formed with large loose stones, which must have been brought from below, and so judiciously arranged along the declivity, that they have resisted the devastations of time, and may still serve for ascending. I was told afterwards that these steps are the continuation of a regular path from the bottom of the mountain, which is in several parts cut through the rock with great labour. If we had had the guide, we should have ascended by this road, which turns along the southern and eastern side of the Serbal. The mountain has in all five peaks; the two highest are that to the east, which I ascended, and another immediately west of it; these are like cones, and are distinguished from a great distance, particularly on the road to Cairo.

"The eastern peak, which from below looks as sharp as a needle, has a platform on its summit of about fifty paces in circumference. Here is a heap of small loose stones about two feet high, forming a circle about twelve paces in diameter. Just below the top, I found on every granite block that presented a smooth surface, inscriptions, the far greater part of which were illegible. There are small caverns large enough to shelter a few persons, between some of the masses of stone. On the sides of these caverns are

numerous inscriptions similar to those mentioned above.

" As the eye is very apt to be deceived with regard to the relative heights of mountains, I will not give any positive opinion as to that of Mount Serbal, but it appeared to me to be higher than all the peaks, including Mount St. Catherine, and very little lower than Djebel Mousa.

" The fact of so many inscriptions being found upon the rocks, near the summit of this mountain, and also in the valley which leads from its foot to Feiran, together with the existence of the road leading up to the peak, afford strong reasons for presuming that the Serbal was an ancient place of devotion. It will be recollected that no inscriptions are found either on the mountain of Moses, or on Mount St. Catherine; and that those which are found in the Ledja valley at the foot of the Djebel Katerin, are not to be traced above the rock from which the water is said to have issued, and appear only to be the work of pilgrims who visited that rock. From these circumstances, I am persuaded that Mount Serbal was at one period the chief place of pilgrimage in the peninsula; and that it was then considered the mountain where Moses received the tables of the law, though I am equally convinced, from a perusal of the Scriptures, that the Israelites encamped in the upper Sinai, and that either Djebel Mousa or Mount St. Catherine is the real Horeb.[156]

[156] It may seem an objection to this view, that there is wanting, both at the base of Djebel Mousa, and of Mount St. Catharine, a sufficient space of level ground for the Israelites to stand upon, on the occasion of the giving of the law, Exod.

It is not at all impossible that the proximity of Serbal to Egypt, may at one period have raised that mountain to be the Horeb of the pilgrims, and that the establishment of the convent in its present situation, which was probably chosen from motives of security, may have led to the transferring of that honour to Dijebel Mousa. At present neither the monks of Mount Sinai nor those of Cairo, consider Mount Serbal as the scene of any of the events of sacred history;

xix. 17. Deut. iv. 11. *Carne* says: "What occasions no small surprise at first, is the scarcity of plains, valleys, or open places, where the children of Israel could have stood conveniently to behold the glory on the mount. From the summit of Sinai you see only innumerable ranges of rocky mountains. One generally places, in imagination, around Sinai extensive plains or sandy deserts, where the camp of the hosts was placed, where the families of Israel stood at the doors of the tents, and the line was drawn round the mountain, which no one might break through on pain of death. But it is not thus: save the valley by which we approached Sinai, about half a mile wide and a few miles in length, and a small plain we afterwards passed through, with a rocky hill in the middle, there appears to be few open places around the Mount. We did not, however, examine it on all sides. On putting the question to the superior of the convent, where he imagined the Israelites stood, "Every where," he replied,—waving his hand about,—" in the ravines, the valleys, as well as the plains." Letters from the East, Part I. Comp. *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part I. p. 248. Yet it is not necessary to suppose that *all* the people stood at the foot of the mountain, for in Exod. xix. 7, 8, it is expressly said, that Moses delivered the words of God to the elders or princes of the tribes only, and that these answered in name of the whole congregation. [Comp., however, the able note of *Kitto* in the Pictorial Bible, at Exod. xix. 2.]

nor have the Bedouins any tradition among them respecting it, but it is possible that if the Byzantine writers were thoroughly examined, some mention might be found of this mountain, which, I believe, was never before visited by any European traveller."

Journeyings of the Israelites through the Peninsula of Mount Sinai and the adjacent Region.

In the thirty-third chapter of the book of Numbers, we have a specific enumeration of the places at which the Israelites remained, for a longer or shorter period, on their way from Egypt through the Peninsula of Sinai, till they reached the Plains of Moab, opposite to Jericho, on the confines of the promised land. This list contains *forty-two* different stations, of which there are *four-and-twenty* that are not mentioned either in the previous history, or in the recapitulation given by Moses in the book of Deuteronomy, (chaps. i. and ii.) On the other hand, there are *six* stations introduced in the history, of which no notice is taken in the list in Num. xxxiii.

The following table presents a synoptical view of the stations, as mentioned in the regular history, compared with the list in the thirty-third chapter of the book of Numbers; the references in the book of Deuteronomy are adverted to in the notes below:—

Historical Account in Exodus and Numbers.	*List of Stations in Numbers, Chap.* xxxiii.
A.	B.
Departure from Rameses, Exod. xii. 37, through the desert	Departure from Rameses, Num. xxxiii. 3.

A.	B.
to the Red Sea, Exod. xiii. 17, 18.	
1. Succoth, Exod. xii. 37.	1. Succoth, ver. 5.
2. Etham, at the end of the wilderness, xiii. 20.	2. Etham, at the end of the wilderness, ver. 6.
3. Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, opposite Baal-Zephon, xiv. 2.	3 Pi-hahiroth, opposite Baal-Zephon, before Migdol, ver. 7.
4. Passage through the Red Sea, Exod. xiv. 22, and three days' march through the desert of Shur, Exod. xv. 22.	4. Passage through the sea and three days' march through the desert of Etham, ver. 7.
5. Marah, Exod. xv. 23.	5. Marah, ver. 8.
6. Elim, 12 fountains and 70 palm-trees, xv. 27.	6. Elim, 12 fountains and 70 palm-trees, ver. 9.
	7. Encampment on the (east) side of the Red Sea, ver. 10.
8. Desert of Sin, between Elim and Mount Sinai, Exod. xvi. 1.	8. Desert of Sin, ver. 11.
	9. Dophka, ver. 12.
	10. Alush, ver. 13.
11. Rephidim, (no water), Ex. xvii. 1.	11. Rephidim, (no water), ver. 14.
12. Desert of Mount Sinai, Exod. xix. 1.	12. Desert of Mount Sinai, ver. 15.
Removal from the wilderness of Sinai to the wilderness of Paran,[a] Num. x. 12. Taberah, Num. xi. 1—3.	
13. Kibroth-hattaavah, *i. e.* Graves of Lust, Num. xi. 31—34.	13. Kibroth-hattaavah, ver. 16.
14. Hazeroth, Num. xi. 35.	14. Hazeroth, ver. 17.

[a] Removal from the camp of Horeb to the Great Wilderness, on the way to the mountains of the Amorites, Deut. i. 19.

A.	B.
	15. Rithmah, ver. 18.
	16. Rimmon-perez, ver. 19.
	17. Libnah, ver. 20.
	18. Rissah, ver. 21.
	19. Kehelathah, ver. 22.
	20. Mount Shapher, ver. 23.
	21. Haradah, ver, 24.
	22. Makheloth, ver. 25.
	23. Tahath, ver. 26.
	24. Tarach, ver 27.
	25. Mithcah, ver. 28.
	26. Hashmonah, ver. 29.
	27. Moseroth, ver. 30.
	28. Bene-jaakan, ver. 31.[b]
	29. Hor-hagidgad, ver. 32.[c]
	30. Jotbathah, ver. 33.[d]
	31. Ebronah, ver. 34.
	32. Ezion-geber, ver. 35.
33. Desert of PARAN or ZIN: also KADESH, Num. xii. 16; xx. 1, 14. Spies sent out, Num. xiii. 4.[f]	33. Desert of ZIN, or KADESH, ver. 36.[e]
Defeat of Israel by the Amorites, Amalekites, and Canaanites at Hormah, Num. xiv. 40—49.[g]	

[b] The Israelites moved from the fountain of Bene-Jaakan to Mosera, where Aaron died and was buried, Deut. x. 16.

[c] From Mosera to Gudgod, Deut. x. 7.

[d] From Gudgod to Jotbathah, where there were fountains, Deut. x. 7.

[e] From Mount Horeb, through the Great Wilderness, on the road to the mountains of the Amorites, to Kadesh-Barnea, Deut. i. 19.

[f] Spies sent from Kadesh-Barnea, Deut. i. 22.

[g] Battle with the Amorites at Hormah, Deut. i. 41—44. Abode at Kadesh, ver. 46.

A.	B.
The Edomites refuse them a passage through their territory, Num. xx. 19, 20, 21.[h]	
34. Departure from Kadesh, arrival at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom, where Aaron dies, Num. xx. 22—28.	34. Departure from Kadesh, arrival at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom, where Aaron dies, Num. xxxiii. 37—39.
Defeat of Arad, king of the Canaanites at Hormah, Num. xxi. 1—3.	Arad, king of the Canaanites, hears of the approach of the Israelites, ver. 40.
The Israelites go back from Mount Hor to the "way of the wilderness of the Red Sea," that they may compass the land of Edom, Num. xxi. 4.[i]	35. From Hor to Zalmonah, ver. 41.
	36. Punon, ver. 42.
37. Oboth, Num. xxi. 10.	37. Oboth, ver. 43.
38. Ije-abarim, in the wilderness, east of Moab, Num. xxi. 11.	38. Ije-abarim, on the borders of Moab, ver. 44.
	39. Dibon-Gad, ver. 45.
	40. Almon-Diblathaim, ver. 46.
39. Nachal (or Wady) Sered, Num. xxi. 12.[k]	41. Mount Abarim opposite Nebo, ver. 47.
40. The river Arnon, on the border between the Moab-	

[h] After remaining long in Kadesh they return to the wilderness of the Red Sea, and compass Mount Seir, Deut. i. 46. ii. 1.

[i] The Israelites move northwards and pass through Edom, Deut. ii. 2, 3—8.

[k] Wady Sered. The period which elapsed between their leaving Kadesh to their arrival here was thirty-eight years, Deut. ii. 13, 14.

A.	B.
ites and Amorites, Num. xxi. 13.[l]	
41. Beer, *i. e.* the Well or Fountain, ver. 16.	
42. Mathanah. ver. 19.	
43. Nahaliel, *ibid.*	
44. Bamoth, *ibid.*	
45. Mount Pisgah. Here Sihon, king of the Amorites, refusing them a passage, they attacked and defeated him, settling in a portion of his territory, ver. 20—31.[m]	
46. Og, king of Bashan, attacks Israel, but they defeat him at Edrei, and take possession of his country, ver. 32—35.[n]	
47. Encampment on the plains of Moab, by the Jordan, opposite Jericho, Num. xxii. 1.	42. Encampment on the plains of Moab, by the Jordan, opposite Jericho, ver. 48.

* "Their departure from Sinai was on the 20th day of the second month, in the second year from the de-

[l] Passage of the Arnon, Deut iv. 24.

[m] At the encampment on the Arnon, Sihon, refusing them a passage, is defeated, and they take possession of part of his land, Deut. ii. 26—36

[n] Victory over Og, king of Bashan, and occupation of that country, Deut. iii. 1—7.

* In place of the meagre and unsatisfactory remarks of Rosenmüller, I have substituted the lucid summary of Professor Robinson, in an article "On the Exodus of the Israelites," which appeared in the American Biblical Repository for 1832, p. 783.— *Tr.*

parture out of Egypt, Numb. x. 11; *i. e.* not far from the middle of May. The stations are thus marked:—(1.) Three days march to the wilderness of Paran; to Taberah, where part of the camp was burned, Num. x. 12, 33; xi. 3.—(2.) To Kibroth-hattaavah, the Graves of Lust, xi. 34. This is a different place from Taberah, although a departure from the latter is not mentioned. Moses speaks of the two places as distinct, Deut. ix. 22.—(3.) Hazeroth, Num. xi. 35.—(4.) Desert of Paran, *i. e.* Kadesh, Num. xii. 16; xiii. 26. Here the spies returned; and hence the people were directed to turn and get them into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, xiv. 25.—(5.) We next read, Num. xx. 1, that they came into the desert of Zin in the first month, to Kadesh, where they abode, and Miriam died. Hence they sent to ask a passage through Edom, xx. 14, which was refused.—(6.) Mount Hor, where Aaron died, xx. 22. After this they journeyed by the way of the Red Sea, (Ezion-geber,) to compass the land of Edom, xxi. 4.

"With this representation agrees also that in Deut. i., where there are said to be eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir, to Kadesh-Barnea, ver. 2; and where it is said that the Israelites departed from Horeb, and "went through all that great and terrible wilderness, and came to Kadesh-Barnea," ver. 19; after which they were commanded to turn and take their journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, ver. 40. They are then described as abiding many days in Kadesh, i. 46; and afterwards as turning and taking their journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, and com-

passing Mount Seir many days; and then as passing by Elath and Ezion-geber, around Edom, as before, Deut. ii. 1, 8.

"Thus far all harmonizes. But in the catalogue of stations contained in Num. xxxiii., and which accords with the preceding statements (except Taberah) as far as to Hazeroth, there are no less than *eighteen stations inserted* between Hazeroth and Kadesh: and among these is Ezion-geber, which is not mentioned elsewhere until after the Israelites had left Kadesh, and were about to compass Edom, Deut. ii. 8. How is this account to be reconciled with the other statements of the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, as above exhibited?

"Let us first examine the various references to *time*, which are to be found in these accounts. The Israelites left Sinai about the middle of May, in the second year of their departure from Egypt, as we have seen above, and came by the way of the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh, according to Num. xiii. 26; apparently after eleven days (not necessarily successive days) of marching, and *by the way of Mount Seir*, according to Deut. i. 2. From the wilderness of Paran, spies were sent out to the land of Canaan, Num. xiii. 3; who returned after forty days to Kadesh, (xiii. 25, 26,) bringing with them a sample of the grapes of the land: it being "the time of the first ripe grapes," xiii. 20. But we know that grapes ripen in Palestine in July and August.[76] We may therefore conclude, that the Israelites were at Kadesh in August of the

[76] See Calmet's Dict. Bost. 1832, p. 241, 242.

second year; there they rebelled on the report of the spies, and received the sentence from Jehovah, that their carcasses should all fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years; and there they were commanded to turn back into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea. The next movement, recorded in Num. xx. 1, is, that "the whole congregation came into the desert of Zin in the *first* month, and abode in Kadesh." Does not this necessarily indicate a *return* to Kadesh, after having once left it? Before they left Sinai in the *second* month, or May, and were in Kadesh in August; now, they arrive at Kadesh in the *first* month, or April. Here Miriam now dies; the people murmur for water; Moses and Aaron disobey God's command in regard to the mode of performing the miracle in order to procure it, and are told in consequence that they shall not enter the promised land; Moses begs a passage through Edom, which is refused; they then journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, in the edge of Edom, where Aaron dies in the *fortieth* year of the departure from Egypt, on the first day of the fifth month, Num. xx. xxxiii. 37, 38. These last events all immediately succeed each other, and directly follow this last departure from Kadesh; Aaron dies here in fulfilment of the sentence there given, and in all probability in the same year of this *return* to Kadesh. But between the time of the return of the spies to Kadesh, in August of the second year, and the death of Aaron on the first day of the fifth month (corresponding to August) of the fortieth year, there is an interval of *thirty-eight* years. Again, in Deut. ii. 14, it is said,

that "the space in which we came from Kadesh-Barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, was thirty-eight years." Must not this refer to the *first* departure from Kadesh, when they were commanded to turn back and wander in the wilderness; and not to the last departure from that place, just before the death of Aaron? If so, then the coming to Kadesh in the *first* month, Num. xx. 1, and that mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 36, are the same, and refer to the subsequent *return* of the Israelites to that station. And as it is said in Deut. i. 46, that they abode in Kadesh (the first time) many days; and as Aaron's death took place in August, just thirty-eight years after,—and as they came to the brook Zered just thirty-eight years after leaving Kadesh the first time, we may perhaps, infer, that their first residence in Kadesh continued for the same space of time, as their subsequent march from Mount Hor to the Brook Zered. This, however, is a point of little comparative importance.

"If, now, the death of Aaron occurred in the fifth month of that same year, in the first month of which the Israelites returned to Kadesh, as there is every reason to suppose, i. e. the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, then there is an interval of more than thirty-seven years, of which the history in Numbers and Deuteronomy gives no account whatever; unless it be in the catalogue of stations contained in Num. xxxiii. We have seen above that the arrival at Kadesh, mentioned in this catalogue, corresponds to the *second* sojourn at that place, as inferred above; and we may, therefore, without hesitation, assume the eighteen sta-

tions there named, between Hazeroth and Kadesh, as belonging to this interval of nearly eight and thirty years. These, of course, are not *all* the stations occupied during that period; only those probably are noted where they abode for some time. From Ezion-geber to Kadesh, for instance, Num. xxxiii. 36, could not be much less than the whole length of the great valley of the Ghor,—a distance of not less than one hundred miles, whatever might be the exact situation of Kadesh; and of course, in passing from one to the other, there must have been several intervening stations, although none are mentioned.

"To this general hypothesis, which indeed is adopted by most interpreters, as Le Clerc, Lightfoot, Michaelis, Vater, Rosenmüller, and others, there seem to be but two objections. First, that in Num. xxxiii. 18, we ought then, instead of Rithmah, to read Paran or Kadesh, as in xii. 16, xiii. 26. Secondly, that Ezion-geber, which, in Num. xxxiii. 36, is put before Kadesh, is not elsewhere mentioned until the Israelites came thither in order to compass the land of Edom, Deut. ii. 8.

"To the first of these objections it may be replied, that Kadesh was the name not only of a city, but of the tract of desert country adjacent to it. It is, therefore, to be taken as the *desert* of Kadesh, Ps. xxix. 8, in the account of the *first* coming to it; as indeed is sufficiently obvious from the language of the passage itself, Num. xiii. 26. Rithmah is then to be regarded as a place or station in this desert. Or, if we adhere strictly to the statement in Deut. i. 2, that they came to Kadesh after eleven stations, then Makheloth in Num.

xxxiii. 25, is the station corresponding to Kadesh. The solution is the same in either case.

"To obviate the force of the second objection, it is necessary to bear in mind the character and circumstances of the Israelitish people, as well as the character of the country in which they were now placed. They were essentially a *nomadic* people; their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had ever been so; they were emphatically *Bedouins*, removing with their flocks and herds from place to place, as occasion might require. In Egypt, they had ever been shepherds,—their province of Goshen was adapted to pasturage, and not to tillage; and now, when they had come out into the deserts, with their flocks and herds, they were still the nomadic race they had ever been,—a people resembling those by whom these desert plains, and valleys, and mountains, are possessed to this very day. Hence, according to the command of God, they wandered in the desert; and their wanderings would be determined, like those of the Arabs at present, by the opportunities of water and pasturage. When the scanty "pastures of the desert" failed in one place, they removed to another; and they would naturally resort to those tracts, where water, and consequently vegetation, were most abundant. In the long period of eight and thirty years, therefore, while thus removing from place to place in the vast deserts between Palestine and the peninsula of Sinai, although they might not improbably at times take up their residence in the desert El Ty, according to tradition, as above mentioned, yet it is hardly to be supposed that they would not also sometimes visit the Ghor, which even

now is a favourite resort of the Bedouins in winter. Nor can we well suppose that they would not visit the same place more than once; since, in these deserts, the wells and springs of water are places of general resort, and the pasturage, which had been devoured in one year, would be renewed in other years. If, then, they did thus visit the Ghor, it would be natural for them, in this long interval, to visit also the southern part of it, where it opens to a plain, and affords luxuriant pasturage. Indeed, the list in Num. xxxiii. seems to imply, that they did thus sojourn at times in the Ghor or El Araba, and along its eastern skirts; for, in verse 31, *Moseroth* is mentioned, to which they came *before* coming to Ezion-geber. But, in Deut. x. 6, Aaron is said to have died at *Mosera*, the same as Moseroth, which of course must have been the station adjacent to Mount Hor. But Mount Hor lies, as we know, on the east of the Ghor, nearly half way from Akaba to the Dead Sea. Hence we may infer, that this list of stations indicates in general the movements of the Israelites from *north to south*, and probably along the valley El Araba. Arriving at its southern extremity, they returned to Kadesh, advancing, probably, from station to station, in the same occasional and leisure manner; although no intervening station whatever is mentioned in the catalogue. This return was a part of their thirty-eight years of wandering; but afterwards, when they had made an unsuccessful attempt from Kadesh to pass through the territory of Edom, and found it necessary to march back to Ezion-geber, in order to pass around Mount Seir, we may suppose that their march was

more rapid, and not so much regulated merely by a regard to an abundant supply of water and pasturage.

"In this manner, we may not only remove the objection suggested above, but also another difficulty which has troubled commentators. In Num. xxxiii. 31, sq., the Israelites are said to have occupied the stations Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, and Jotbathah; while in Deut. x. 6, 7, these same stations are named in a different order,—Beeroth of the children of Jaakan, Mosera where Aaron died, Gudgodah, and Jotbath. That these names are at bottom the same, there can be no doubt. But in Numbers they are probably mentioned in reference to the *first* visit of the Hebrews, during the long wandering southwards, before their return to Kadesh the second time; while in Deuteronomy, they have reference to the *second* passage of the Israelites, when again marching south, in order to compass the land of Edom. It is easy to conceive, how Moseroth and the wells of Jaakan might lie in such a direction from each other, that a nomadic tribe, wandering in different years southward along the great valley, might at one time take the former first in its way, and at another time, the latter."

That so few of the above mentioned places can now be identified with existing localities[157] ought to

[157] "I was much disappointed," says Burkhardt, (p. 587,) "at being able to trace so very few of the ancient Hebrew names of the Old Testament in the modern names of the peninsula; but it is evident that, with the exception of Sinai, and a few others, they are all of Arabic derivation."

excite no surprise, when we consider the long period that has elapsed since the Exodus of the Israelites occurred, and how seldom, (till of late,) these countries have been visited, and how partially they have, as yet, been explored. Yet, to the researches of some intelligent travellers, and especially of Burckhardt,[158] we are indebted for various illustrations of the Scriptural geography of this interesting region of the East.

About eight or ten miles south of the point opposite Suez, on the east side of the Red Sea, the traveller comes to the *Ayoun Mousa*, or Fountains of Moses.[159] Niebuhr[160] says, "Water is found here, in different places, on digging holes a foot deep in the ground; and the so-called wells of Moses, of which I counted five, were not deeper than this. They were not stoned at all, and become immediately full of sand and dirt, so soon as one attempts to draw water from them. Very little water flows from them, which soon loses itself in the sand." According to Burckhardt, however, "the water of these wells is copious, but only one affords sweet water, and this is often rendered so muddy, by the passage of Arabs, whose camels descend into the wells, that it is seldom fit to supply a provision to the traveller, much less

[158] A summary of Burkhardt's more important discoveries has been given in the preface to his Travels in Syria, by the editor, Colonel Leake.

[159] عيون موسى.

[160] Travels, Vol. I. p. 225, [Eng. Travels, Vol. I. p. 183.] Comp. Burckhardt, p. 470.

for shipping." As these wells bear the name of Moses, the Arabs believe that it was at this point the Israelites crossed the Red Sea.

The road from Ayoun Mousa runs in a south-easterly direction, first across a barren, sandy and gravelly plain, and then over uneven hilly ground to the *Well of Howara*, round which are a few date trees. The water of the well is so bitter that men cannot drink it, and even camels, if not very thirsty, refuse to drink it. Burckhardt says:[161] "From Ayoun Mousa to the Well of Howara, we had travelled fifteen hours and a quarter. Referring to this distance, it appears probable that this is the desert of three days mentioned in the Scriptures to have been crossed by the Israelites immediately after their passing the Red Sea, and at the end of which they arrived at *Marah*.[162] In moving with a whole nation, the march may well be supposed to have occupied three days; and the bitter well at Marah, which was sweetened by Moses, corresponds exactly with that of Howara.[163] This is the usual route to Mount Sinai, and was probably, therefore, that which the Israelites took on their escape from Egypt, provided it be admitted that they crossed the sea near

[161] Loc. cit. p. 472.

[162] מָרָה. The corresponding Arabic name is المرّة *i. e.* the Bitter (Fountain). Burckhardt found a well of this name in his journey through the Nubian Desert. Travels in Nubia, 2d Edit., p. 170. [Comp. Lord Lindsay's Letters, Vol. I. p. 262.]

[163] بئر هوارة. The name signifies "Fountain of Corruption."

Suez, as Niebuhr, with good reason, conjectures.* There is no other road of three days' march on the way from Suez towards Sinai, nor is there any other well absolutely bitter on the whole of this coast, as far as Ras Mohammed. The complaints of the bitterness of the water by the children of Israel, who had been accustomed to the sweet water of the Nile, are such as may daily be heard from the Egyptian servants and peasants who travel in Arabia. Accustomed from their youth to the excellent water of the Nile, there is nothing which they so much regret in countries distant from Egypt; nor is there any eastern people who feel so keenly the want of good water as the present natives of Egypt. With respect to the means employed by Moses to render the waters of the well sweet, I have frequently inquired among the Bedouins in different parts of Arabia, whether they possessed any means of effecting such a change, by throwing wood into it, or by any other process; but I never could learn that such an art was known."[164]

* This, also, is the opinion of Professor Robinson, both in the article in the Amer. Bib. Repository, quoted at p. 261, and in one which appeared in the same periodical for April 1840, written after he had visited the locality in person. Yet the opinion that the passage was at Ayoun Mousa is defended with much ingenuity by *Kitto*, in the Pictorial Hist. of Palestine, p. 187.—*Tr.*

[164] The same is affirmed by Niebuhr (Descript. of Arabia, p. 403). Yet Burckhardt himself afterwards conjectures, (p. 474), that Moses may have employed in sweetening the water, the juicy berry of a thorny shrub which abounds there, called Garkad, the *Peganum Retusum* of Forskäl It is ex-

At the end of three hours south of Howara the traveller reaches *Wady Ghorondel*,[165] which extends to the north-east, and is almost a mile in breadth, and full of elms, tamarisks, acacias, and other trees. The Arabs told Burckhardt that it may be traced through the whole desert, and that it begins at no great distance from El-Arysh, on the Mediterranean, but he had no means of ascertaining the truth of this statement. About half an hour from the place where he halted, in a southern direction, is a copious spring, with a small rivulet, which renders the valley the principal station on this route. The water is disagreeable, and, if kept for a night in the water skins, it turns bitter and spoils. The conjecture of the older travellers,[166] that here was the *Elim* of Moses, is adopted by Burckhardt. "If we admit," says he,[167]

pressly said, however, that it was a *tree* or its *wood* (for עֵץ denotes either), that was cast into the waters. In India they use for this purpose a tree called *Nellimaram*. See Rosenmüller's Morgenland, Part II. p. 28.

[165] وادى غرندل. [Burckhardt writes it *Gharendel*, but it must not be confounded with another Wady Gharendel in the mountains of Seir, described in this volume at p. 212.]—*Tr.*

[166] *Bernard von Breidenbach*, who travelled in 1483 from Cairo to Mount Sinai, says: Porro inclinata jam die in torrentem incidimus dictum Orondem, ubi figentes tentoria propter aquas, quae illic reperiebantur, nocte mansimus illa. Sunt et palmae multae ibi, unde suspicabamur, illic esse desertum Helym. Comp. *Shaw's* Travels, p. 272. *Pococke's* Descript. of the East, Part I. p. 235. *Niebuhr's* Descript. of Arabia, p. 403. and his Travels, Part I. p. 228.

[167] Loc. cit. p. 473.

Bir Howara to be the Marah of Exodus (xv. 23), then Wady Gharendel is probably Elim, with its wells and date trees, an opinion entertained by Niebuhr, who, however, did not see the bitter well of Howara on the road to Gharendel. The non-existence at present, of twelve wells at Gharendel, must not be considered as evidence against the conjecture just stated; for Niebuhr says, that his companions 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."

In journeying from the Wady Ghorondel, in a south-eastern direction, we reach, on the third day, the great valley called the *Wady-esh-Sheikh*,[168] one of the principal valleys of the peninsula. The rocks around consist of granite, on the upper strata of which run layers of red feldspath, some of which has fallen down and covers the valley in broken fragments. The Wady-esh-Sheikh is broad, and has a very slight acclivity; it is much frequented by Bedouins for its pasturage. Whenever rain falls in the mountains a stream of water flows through this wady, and from thence through Wady Feiran into the sea. In the southern part of the valley there is a thick wood of tamarisk or tarfa; it is from this evergreen tamarisk, (which grows abundantly in no other part of the peninsula,) that the manna is collected. These circum-

168 وادى الشيخ. *Burckhardt*, p. 487.

stances, taken together, render it probable that in this quarter was the *Desert of Sin,* where the Israelites first gathered manna, Exod. xvi. 1; for in going from Wady Ghorondel to Mount Sinai, there is no other convenient road than through the Wady Taybe, the Wady Feiran, and the Wady-esh-Sheikh. The road on leaving Ghorondel runs along the sea-shore, which was also the way the Israelites took after they left Elim, Num. xxxiii. 10, 11. The upper part of the Sinaitic region is, as we have seen, (p. 230,) rich in water-springs,—has a comparatively temperate climate, and soil capable of supporting animal and vegetable life; and it seems to have been in that part of the peninsula they remained for nearly a year, and where the law was given. In their subsequent progress they came to a place which, on account of the punishment of their inordinate lust, was called *Kibroth-hataavah,*[169] *i. e.* Graves of Lust, Num. xi. 4—6, 31—34. Niebuhr met with some ancient burial grounds in the heart of the wilderness, two days journey north-west of Mount Sinai; in one of them, which lay on the side of a mountain, were a number of stones covered with hieroglyphics, whence the mountain was called *Djebel-el-Mokatteb,*[170] *i. e.* the Written Mountain. Niebuhr conjectures that

[169] קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה.

[170] جبل المكتب. See *Niebuhr's* Travels, Part I. p. 238, 239. There is another mountain of this name, or rather, as Burckhardt remarks, a *Wady* Mokatteb, where there are inscriptions on the rocks, but no traces of burial grounds. See *Büsching's* Description of Asia, p. 617.

here may have been the "Graves of Lust." The deserts of Paran and Zin (through which they subsequently passed) were parts of the desert of Kadesh,[171] and the remembrance of their long wanderings has been preserved to this day, in the name of El-Tyh, (*i. e.* The Wandering,) given to the great wilderness between Egypt, Palestine, and Sinai.[172] Moses having given up all hope of penetrating into Palestine, between Gazah and the west side of the Dead Sea, endeavoured to negotiate a passage through the territory of Edom, which comprised Mount Seir,—that chain of precipitous mountains which stretches along the east side of the Ghor, from the Dead Sea to Akaba, and is now known under the names of Djebal-Sherath and Hesma, (see at p. 182). Among the narrow valleys which traverse this chain from west to east, that of the Ghoeyr furnishes the only passage that would not be difficult to an army. This was probably "the king's way," by which Moses requested permission of the Edomites to pass, on condition of leaving the fields and vineyards untouched, and of

[171] "The history mentions a Kadesh in the desert of Paran, (Num. xiii. 3, 27,) and a Kadesh in the desert of Zin, (Num. xx. 1.) From the former the spies were sent out, and from the latter the people took their journey, when a passage was denied them through the land of Edom. But it is manifest that the same place is intended in both these passages, and that the two deserts of Zin and Paran were contiguous districts, the former on the north, and the latter on the south,—Kadesh being a resting-place in an oasis between the two." *Göthe's* Westöstl. Divan, p. 450.

[172] See the present volume, at p. 229, note 120, and Burckhardt, *passim*.

purchasing provisions and water from the inhabitants. But the Edomites refused, and "came out against him with much people and a strong hand," Num. xx. 19, 20. The situation of the Israelites was now very critical. Unable to force their way in either direction, and surrounded on three sides with enemies, the Edomites in front, and the Canaanites and Amalekites on the right and left, they had no alternative but to follow again the great valley El-Araba, southwards, towards the head of the Red Sea. At Mount Hor, which stands here, "on the borders of the land of Edom," Aaron died and was buried, (Num. xx. 25,) tradition marking out the place of his sepulture to this day. Arrived at the Red Sea, they turned to the left, and crossed the ridge of mountains to the east of Ezion-geber, where Burckhardt remarked, from the opposite coast, that the mountains were lower than elsewhere.[173] It was in this part of their route that the Israelites suffered so much from serpents, of which Burckhardt observed many traces on the opposite side of the gulf. They then emerged into the wide and elevated plains which are still traversed by the Syrian pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and appear to have followed, northward, nearly the same route which is now taken by the Syrian Hadj, along the western skirts of this great desert, near the mountains of Edom. The Edomites, who had successfully repelled the approach of Israel at their strong western frontier, were now alarmed when they threatened the weaker side of their country. But the Israelites were

[173] *Burckhardt*, p. 500.

commanded not to meddle with the children of Esau, but merely to "pass through their coasts," and to buy meat and water of them for money, (Deut. ii. 4—8,) in much the same way as the Syrian caravan of Mecca is now supplied by the people of the same mountains. After traversing the wilderness on the east of Moab, they at length entered that country, crossing the brook Zered, thirty-eight years after their first departure from Kadesh-Barnea. They then crossed the river Arnon into the land of the Amorites, and began their conquests of the promised land, by the overthrow of Sihon, king of Heshbon. Num. xxi. 21. Deut. ii. 24.

III.—ARABIA FELIX, OR YEMEN.

The southern part of Arabia, or the peninsula of that name properly so called, was, by the ancients designated "Happy Arabia."[1] The common opinion is, that the epithet was given to it on account of the many valuable productions of the soil, and especially the famous spices. But it seems to us more probable that the appellation of "Happy," is simply a translation of the Arabic name *Yemen*, which is given to the country by the natives. The root literally signifies, "to be on the right hand;" but has also (among

[1] *Pliny's* Nat. Hist. VI. 27. *Arabia Eudaemon* cognominata. *Strabo*, Book I. p. 19, of Casuabon's Edit., and p. 101 of Siebenkees' Edit. Ἀλλ' ἡ Ἀραβία προσῆν, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰνδικῆς· τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν εὐδαίμων κέκληται μόνη τῶν ἁπασῶν.

other meanings) that of "to be happy." In the former sense, Yemen is "the land lying on the right hand, *i. e.* on the south;"* in the latter sense, it is "the happy land." Yet in a restricted acceptation, *Yemen* is also the name of a particular province in the interior of the peninsula, forming the territory of a prince, who has his seat at Sanaa.

The qualities of the soil differ much in different parts of the country. The districts along the coast are for the most part flat, sandy, and barren, subject to excessive heat and frequent drought. The middle division of the country is mountainous, and though containing some bare and unfruitful tracts, has also many hills and valleys of great fertility, possesses good water and pure air, and yields valuable productions in great abundance. Among these may be mentioned corn, sugar, rice, lemons, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, figs, and excellent grapes. Arabia has always been famed for its frankincense, myrrh, and cassia. The coffee tree is chiefly reared on the west side of the mountain range which traverses Yemen Proper; it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the bean was used for the extraction of the well-known beverage.[2] Of wild animals there

* See the Bibl. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 5, 10.

[2] The proper Arabic name of this beverage is قهوة *Kahweh*, a word which signifies, "what occasions distaste for food, or a want of appetite," and hence the name was also given to *wine*, as having that tendency. The fruit of the tree is called بن Bunn. See *Silvestre de Sacy's* Chrestomatie Arabe, Tom I.

are found gazelles, foxes, and jackals in abundance; and in the forests of Yemen Niebuhr saw monkeys in hundreds. Fish are found in great plenty in the Red Sea.[3] Gold is not now met with either in mines or the sands of rivers, but when Niebuhr visited the country in 1762, iron mines continued to be wrought in the district of Saade, though the iron was very poor, and dearer than what was sent from Denmark. The lead mines in Oman are so productive, that a great quantity of the metal is exported from Muskat.

According to the geographical ideas of the ancient Hebrews, the south of Arabia was no doubt a part of *Cush*,[4] for (as was shewn in a former part of this work*), the name Cush included all the countries of the south, being used in the same extensive acceptation as was Ethiopia by the Greeks and Romans, and as is India by the modern Europeans. In several places of the Old Testament, Cush must be understood as describing, not African Ethiopia or Abyssinia, but the south of Arabia. Out of that country went Nimrod to Babylon, which he conquered, Gen. x. 8.† The Ethiopian woman, or Cushitess, whom Moses married, (Num. xii. 1), during the journey of Israel

p. 412 of the 2d Edit. Comp. Memoire concernant l'arbre et le fruit du Café, in the *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse.* Amsterdam, 1716, [and *Lane's* Notes to his new translation of the Thousand and One Nights, Vol. I. P. I. p. 216.]

[3] See *Niebuhr's* Descript. of Arabia, p. 161.

[4] כּוּשׁ.

* Translated in the Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 81.

† See the Bib. Cab. Vol. XVII. p. 40, and note 111.

in the desert, could not well be from the remote country of African Ethiopia, but was rather from the neighbouring region of Arabia. When the prophet Habakkuk says, (chap. iii. 7), that the report of the victories of the Israelites in Canaan would make the tents of Cushan[5] and Midian to tremble, his readers would naturally think of the south of Arabia, which bordered upon Midian, and not of a far distant country in Africa. In the second book of Chronicles (chap. xxi. 16), mention is made of certain enemies of the Hebrews, and after the Philistines come "the Arabs who were near the Cushites,"[6] where it is evident that, by the latter, we cannot understand a people separated from Arabia by an arm of the sea and extensive deserts, but a tribe in the immediate vicinity. In 2 Chr. xiv. 9, it is said that Serach, king of the Cushites, when invading Judah, came as far as Mareshah; but, had this been an Abyssinian monarch, he must, before attacking Judea, have conquered Egypt, of which, however, there is no record in history.* By writers of the fifth century, the Homerites, or the Hamyarites, (a tribe of southern Arabia,) are styled Cushæans, Ethiopians, and Indians.[7]

[5] *Cushan* כּוּשָׁן is the poetic and more high-sounding form of the common name כּוּשׁ *Cush.*

[6] הָעֲרָבִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־יַד כּוּשִׁים.

* Yet if the *Lubim*, who are said to have been with him, (2 Chr. xvi. 8,) were people of Lybia, in Africa, he was more probably an Ethiopian.—*Tr.*

[7] See the citations in *Assemann's* Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. 568.

Hence Jonathan the Chaldee Pharaphrast, at Gen. x. 6, and the Paraphrast of Chronicles at 1 Chr. i. 8, 9, explain Cush by "Arabia."[8]

According to the most ancient Bible record, the south of Arabia was peopled, partly by the posterity of Ham, and partly by that of Shem. Cush, the eldest son of Ham, had five sons, (Gen. x. 7,) viz. Seba, Chavilah, Sabtah, Rahma, or Ragma, and Sabteca, who, (as we showed in a former part of this work*) are to be considered as the progenitors of so many distinct tribes who bore their names. The descendants of the sons of Cush seem to have spread themselves chiefly through the south of Arabia, and also in that part of Africa which lies to the east of it, and is separated from it by the Red Sea. This appears to have been especially the case with the descendants of his eldest son *Seba*, as we shall in the sequel have occasion to show.

The radical elements of the name of *Chavilah*,[9] the second son of Cush, have been preserved in the name of the *Chaulatæi*, an Arabian tribe mentioned by Strabo,[10] along with the Nabatæans; and likewise

[8] Comp. *Bochart's* Geogr. Sac. Part I., or Phaleg. Lib. IV. Cap. 2. p. 237, and *J. D. Michaelis* Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Ext. Part I. p. 143. Yet the above-mentioned grounds for interpreting "Cush," in a more extended sense, have not satisfied Schulthess, for, in his work on Paradise, (p. 11, 101,) he holds that name to designate everywhere the Ethiopia lying south of Egypt, *i. e.* Abyssinia.

* See Bib. Cab. Vol. XI. p. 99, 105.

[9] חֲוִילָה [written in the English Bible *Havilah.*]

[10] Χαυλαταίοι, XVI. 4, 2.

in *Chaulan*, the name of two provinces of Arabia Felix. It is remarkable, that there is a double Chavilah also in the ethnographic table of Moses, namely a son of Joktan (Gen. x. 29,) whom the Arabs call Kachtan, besides the son of Cush now mentioned. One of the districts of Chaulan lies between Sanaa and Mecca, and the other some miles south-east of Sanaa, the capital of Yemen ;[11] in the time of Niebuhr, the latter had an independent sheikh of its own, who was of an ancient family.

The name of the third son of Cush, *Sabtah*[12] is found in Sabatha or Sabotha, a large commercial town of Arabia Felix on the Red Sea. It was the capital of the Atramitæ[13] (Hhadramaut) and had within its walls no less than sixty temples.

[11] See Niebuhr's Descript. of Arabia, p. 270, 280. *Firusabadi* says in his Dictionary called the Kamoos (Calcutta Edit. p. 1441,) "Chaulan is an Arabic tribe in Yemen and the Cochl (eye-ointment) of Chaulan is the expressed juice of the plant called Chodhodh." Sheriff *Edrisi* (Climate II. Div. 5, p. 56, 57) mentions a castle خولان adding that it was half-way between Sanaa and Mecca. And in Div. 6, p. 59, he says that "in a castle called Chand or Chund, there dwelt people from Chaulan." *Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 81, 87, 91, 106,) takes the Chavilah of Gen. x. 7, for the *Aval* and *Avalites Emporium* of the Greeks, afterwards termed by the Arabs Zavila or Zeila ; and the Chavilah of Gen. x. 29, he identifies with the province lying opposite the island of Awal, in the north part of the west coast of the Persian Gulf.

[12] סַבְתָּח Gen. x. 7, and סַבְתָּא 1 Chr. i. 9.

[13] Pliny's Nat. Hist. vi. 28, 32. Comp. xii. 13, 32, where he says: thus collectum Sabota camelis convehitur. For other

The fourth son of Cush was *Rahma* or *Ragma*,[14] (for the middle letter is a guttural,) a word we also find in Ezekiel xxvii. 22, as the name of one of the places in Arabia which traded with Tyre. The oldest Greek translation has "Regma,"[15] the name of a town in Arabia, mentioned by Ptolemy,[16] as being on the north side of the Persian Gulf. The sons of Ragma were *Sheba* and *Dedan*,[17] who are also classed together in Ezek. xxxviii. 13, and whose descendants likewise settled, as is conjectured by Bochart, in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf. Here, in the province of Oman, on the south-east coast of Arabia, in the district of Chorsâkan, there was a city and territory of Daden,[18] a name which has a mani-

less likely conjectures, see *Michaelis* Spicil. Tom. I. p. 191. *Büsching*, in his Geog. of Asia (p. 685 of the 3d edit.) finds the ancient Sabta in a market town, *Suk-el-Sept*, mentioned by Niebuhr in his Descript. of Arabia, p. 247. But that town obtained its name from the circumstance of markets being held there every Saturday, سوق السبت "market of the Sabbath or Saturday."

[14] רַעְמָה.

[15] Ῥεγμά.

[16] Geography, VI. 7. Comp. *Michaelis* Spicil. Part I. p. 293. Less probable is the supposition of *Niebuhr*, (loc. cit. p. 148, 293,) and *Büsching*, (p. 688,) that the word Ragmah has been preserved in Ramah, the name of two places in Yemen; for Ramah is written ريمة.

[17] שְׁבָא וּדְדָן.

[18] See *Bochart's* Phaleg. IV. 6. p. 248. Heeren conjectures, (Ideen, I. 2. p. 238 of the 2d Edit.,) that Dedan was either one of the Bahhrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, (separated

fest resemblance to the Dedan of Scripture. It is uncertain whether, along with Bochart, we are to seek the Sheba of this passage in the Sabæans mentioned by Pomponius Mela,[19] as being on the Persian Gulf, on the borders of Kerman, (the ancient Caramania,) or in Mount Sabo in the same country.[20]

Sabtheca, the fifth son of Cush, appears, according to Bochart's conjecture,[21] to have settled in Kerman or Caramania, where Stephen of Byzantium and Marcianus Heracleota mention a town called Samydake, (and the latter also a river of the same name,)—a name which may have been formed from Sabtheka by the substitution of the labial m for b, letters which are frequently interchanged.[22] Instead of Samydake Ptolemy[23] has, (by transposition,) Samykade, and he styles the river Samyraches, probably for Samydakos. The country of Caramania was fertile, and rich in gold and silver.

from the east coast of Arabia only by a narrow channel,) or the island of Cathema, lying a little farther north. Comp. *Assemann's* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. 560, 564, 744.

[19] de Situ mundi L. III. Cap. 8.

[20] *Bochart*, Cap. VII. p. 249. Equally unsatisfactory is Niebuhr's conjecture, (p. 257, 293,) that Sheba is found in Shibam, (شبام), a town in the independent principality of Kaukeban in Yemen Proper.

[21] Loc. cit. Cap. IV. p. 246. Comp. *Michaelis* Spicileg. Part I. p. 196.

[22] For example, *Merodach*-Baladan and *Berodach*-Baladan; *Bathnan*, (Bashan,) and *Mathnan; Meccah* and *Bekkah*.

[23] Geogr. VI. 7.

The *Shemites*, who inhabited the south of Arabia, were descended of *Joktan*, the second son of Eber, Shem's great-grandson, Gen. x. 25, 26. Joktan is called by the Arabs *Kachtan*,[24] and they also regard him as a son of Eber.[25] According to the traditions preserved among them, Kachtan, after the confusion of tongues and dispersion of the descendants of Noah, settled in Yemen, reigned there as king, and was the first who was adorned with a diadem.[26] The Katanites, mentioned among the Arab tribes, by Ptolemy, appear to have been so named from Kachtan. The Hebrew name of Joktan was preserved in the days of the Sherif Edrisi in Baishat-Jaktan,[27] a small but populous town, with good fields and fountains, a station distant from Sanaa in Yemen.

[24] قحطان. For conjectures as to the etymological connection between the Arabic name and the Hebrew יָקְטָן, see *Michaelis* Spicil. Part II. p. 150. But that both names denote the same person cannot be doubted; and hence even Saadias, though a Jew, has in his Arabic version used the word Kachtan for Joktan. Comp. *Pococke's* Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 30, of the New Edit.

[25] قحطان بن عابر بن شالح. See Abulfeda on the Kings of the Arabs before Islamism, in *Alb. Schultens'* Imperium Joctanidar, p. 2, and in *Silv. de Sacy's* Appendix to the New Edit. of Pococke's Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 423.

[26] *Abulfeda* in loc.

[27] بيشة يقطان, Klima II. Div. 5, p. 55 of the Arab. text.

It is not unlikely that this place lay in the small province of Kachtan (Joktan), which, according to Niebuhr,[28] is in a fertile country, about three days' journey north of Nedjeran, on the road to Mecca, and which had, in his day, its own independent sheikh. Joktan, we are informed, had thirteen sons, whose names[29] are given in Gen. x. 26—29, and who, it is said (ver. 30), dwelt "in the eastern mountains, from Mesha to Sephar."[30] The two boundary lines there intended are probably the east or north-east, and the west or south-west. Among the conjectures as to the places designated, the most probable that has yet been offered is that of J. D. Michaelis,[31]

[28] Description of Arabia, p. 275.

[29] The Arabs mention only *one* son of Kachtan, *Jareb*, يعرب, who succeeded his father. See *Abulfeda*, loc. cit.

[30] וַיְהִי מוֹשָׁבָם מִמֵּשָׁא בֹּאֲכָה סְפָרָה הַר הַקֶּדֶם. The two last words do not belong to סְפָרָה, (as Luther has it, "the mount toward the east," and the Eng. Vers. "a mount of the east,") but are to be connected with וַיְהִי מוֹשָׁבָם. *Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 89), being unable to reconcile the words הַר הַקֶּדֶם with his idea of the locality of Sephar, (see note 35, below), thinks they are either an ancient interpolation or a corruption of הַר הַקֶּרֶן, *q. d.* "Hornhill," from its having a conical shape. But there is no ground for adopting either supposition; the MSS. and ancient versions shew no various readings.

[31] Spicileg. Part II. p. 214. Bochart's opinion that מֵשָׁא

viz. that Mesha is the country round Basra (Bussora), which the later Syrians call *Maishon*, or the *Maishonic Euphrates*,[32] and the Greeks *Mesere*, understanding by that the district on the Euphrates and Tigris below Seleucia, down to the Persian Gulf. Abulfeda[33] mentions two towns in that quarter near Basra, with the names of Maisan and Mushan;[34] and here, therefore, seems to have been the north-east boundary of the residence of the sons of Joktan. The name of the opposite frontier-point, *Sephar*, signifies in Chaldee, a *shore* or *sea-coast*.[35] The western

was the same as Muza, a sea-port town in the south of Yemen, has been sufficiently confuted by Michaelis, p. 206. Bochart was deceived by the similarity of sound, but Muza is written موزع, and consequently would be in Hebrew מוּזָע, and not מֵשָׁא. See *Niebuhr's* Description of Arabia, p. 223.

32 ܦܪܬ ܕܡܝܫܢ ܡܝܫܢ. See *Assemanni's* Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. Part II. p. 429, 430.

33 In his description of Babylonian Irak, which has not yet been printed. [It has since appeared, edited by *Wüstenfeld*, Gottingen, 1835.] The passages here referred to have been given by Michaelis from the Paris M.S. in his Spicileg. Part II. p. 214.

34 موشان ميسان.

35 The idea of Bochart is quite inadmissible, (Geog. Sac. Part I. Lib. II. cap. 30), that סְפָר is the same as ظفار, a town in the interior of Yemen. The difference in the two names is obvious; and, besides, a place lying in the middle of a country could not be spoken of as one of its boundaries. Comp. *Michaelis*, p. 209. *Schulthess* (loc. cit. p. 87), finds Sephar in صفرا the name of a mountain, and also a city,

part of Yemen, which lies along the Red Sea, is called by the Arabs *Tehâmah*;[36] and the tract between the two boundaries is called by Moses "the eastern mountains," either as referring to Yemen in general, which is for the most part hilly,* and lies east of Palestine, or the country the Joktanites inhabited, was styled the *high lands*, in opposition to Sephar *(the coast)*, just as Djebal,[37] *i. e.* The Mountain, is now distinguished from *Tehâmah*. "That part of Yemen," says Niebuhr, "which is called *Tehâmah*, is a flat and arid district,—at Mocha a day's journey in width, at Hobeida and Loheia about two short days' journeys. The other part, *Djebal, lies to the east of Tehâmah*, and consists of a ridge of steep and very high, yet fruitful mountains."

The names of the thirteen sons of *Joktan*, mentioned in Gen. x. 26—29, designated so many tribes and provinces in the south of Arabia; but that these

two or three days' journey from the Red Sea, south-west of Medinah. Comp. *Niebuhr's* Descrip. of Arabia, p. 357. The balsam of Mecca is chiefly procured in that district. *Ptolemy* (Book VI. p. 154,) mentions a town, Σαπφὰρ, between the territory of the Homerites and Sabaeans; and *Pliny* says, (Hist. Nat. VI. 23,) *Intus (a portu Oceli) oppidum, regia ejus appellatur Saphar.*

[36] تِهامة. See *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arabiae Descript. p. 23, and *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. p. 183.

* Thus in Deut. iii. 25, Palestine is called "the goodly mountain."

[37] جِبَال.

designations should be found entirely preserved to the present day is not to be expected. Many tribes have long since disappeared, or been intermingled with others; several of the districts have received new names; and yet there are not a few of the old names which may be traced still, with greater or less certainty.

1. *Almodad*,[38] the name of the first son of Joktan, was thought by Bochart[39] to be retained in the word Allumaeotae, a people mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabiting the interior of Arabia Felix. But the real name seems to have been *Modad*, and *Al* only the Arabic article, according to a practice not altogether unknown in the Hebrew.[40] But neither in the Arabian genealogies, nor in their topographical descriptions of the country, is the name Modad found to occur, and must therefore long ago have disappeared.[41]

[38] אַלְמוֹדָד.

[39] Loc. cit. (cap. 16.)

[40] As in אַלְקוּם, Prov. xxx. 31; אֶלְגָּבִישׁ, Ezek. xiii. 11, 13; אֶלְתּוֹלָד, Jos. xv. 30.

[41] "Taking *Al* for the article," says *Schulthess*, (loc. cit. p. 82,) "then by the substitution of *r* for *d*, or *d* for *r*, Modad becomes identified with Modar, and Modar appears in Arabian writers as one of the descendants of Joktan." Thus also *Gesenius*, in his Heb. Manual, p. 46 of the 2d edit. with a reference to *Pococke's* Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 48, of the New Edit. But the name Modar there mentioned is written مضر Modhar (p. 46); and he is described as one of the posterity of Ishmael. If there has been a transposition of the letters, it is more natural to suppose that אַלְמוֹדָד has

2. *Shaleph.*[42] The elements of this name are found in the *Salapeni* of Ptolemy, who lived in the interior of Arabia Felix.[43]

3. *Hhazarmaveth,*[44] the name of the third son of Joktan, has been preserved in the name of the Arabian province of *Hhadramaut,*[45] only with a somewhat different arrangement of the vowels. The Greeks and Romans called it *Chatramotitis :*[46] Pliny[47] terms the inhabitants *Adramitæ.* According to the account of Niebuhr,[48] " Hhadramaut is bounded on the west by Yemen, on the south-east by Oman, and on the north

been changed to אַלְמוֹדָד, for *Morad* مراد does appear among the descendants of Joktan. *Pococke,* p. 42.—The opinion of *A. Th. Hartmann,* (Aufklär. über Asien, Part II. p. 70,) that Almodad was the modern *Maudjid,* a large village on the Red Sea, on the road to Mocha, (Niebuhr, p. 224,) is based on nothing but the very slight resemblance in the name.

[42] שֶׁלֶף.

[43] Comp. *Michaelis,* Spicileg. Part II. p. 154.

[44] חֲצַרְמָוֶת. St. Jerome correctly explains the name as equivalent to *atrium mortis. Arrian* says in his Periplus (IX. 7), that in the Gulf of Sachalites, which bounded Chatrammitis (Hhadramaut) on the east, the air was dense and sultry, and proved very deleterious to the convicts who were sent there to gather frankincense. See *Bochart,* Part I. Lib. II. cap. 27.

[45] حضرموت.

[46] For example, *Strabo,* XVI. 4. 4.

[47] Hist. Nat. VI. 27.

[48] Descript. of Arabia, p. 283, [or Engl. Transl. of his Travels, Vol. II. p. 104—7.]—*Tr.*

by a great desert. It comprehends a wide extent of country, especially if, with the Arabians, we include in it the district of Mahhra. Mahhra seems to be, like Tehamah, a sandy plain, extending in breadth from the shores of the ocean, backward, to where the hill country commences. These plains have probably been once covered by the sea. Hhadramaut, like Yemen, exhibits great diversities of soil and surface. Some parts of it are dry and desert; but the hills are extremely fertile, and are intersected by well watered vales. Arabia the Happy, comprehending the two provinces of Yemen and Hhadramaut, enjoyed in the remotest times a very extensive commerce. Its exports consisted not only in its own productions, but in those of India likewise, which were brought into its harbours upon the shores of the ocean, by vessels from India. As the navigation of the Arabic Gulf was always reckoned dangerous, those articles of merchandise were conveyed by land into Egypt and Syria. The caravans were a source of wealth to the whole nation: the inhabitants of the towns gained by purchases and sales, and the Bedouins by hiring out their camels. There is, therefore, the greatest truth in the accounts of the ancients, which describe so pompously the opulence of Happy Arabia, although its present state be far from flourishing. Since the Europeans have discovered a different rout to India the trade to South Arabia has necessarily declined. To Yemen the loss is made up by the exportation of such innumerable quantities of coffee—a traffic begun two centuries ago, and still increasing. But Hhadramaut, producing little coffee, has no such resource,

and is therefore not likely to recover suddenly from the disadvantages which it has suffered by the loss of its Indian trade. Yet this province still carries on some trade in its native productions; for the ships from Muskat visit its harbours upon the ocean. The little coffee which it affords, incense, gum Arabic, dragon's blood, myrrh and aloes, are the articles of this trade. The incense of Arabia is not of the very best quality; but the aloes of Socotra, an isle belonging to the princes of Hhadramaut, have been always in the very highest estimation. The inhabitants of Hhadramaut have likewise some trifling manufactures. Yemen is furnished from this province with coarse cloths, carpets, and the knives which the Arabs hang from the girdle. But the inhabitants of Hhadramaut, being averse to a maritime life, the trade from their seaports is all carried on in foreign bottoms."[49]

4. *Jarach* or *Jerach*,[50] Joktan's fourth son. The name signifies "month," from Jareach,[51] the moon. In the Arabic language there are two words for the moon, *Helal* and *Kamar*;[52] the former we find as the name of a tribe in Arabia Felix, and the latter of a district. The *Alilæi*, who are mentioned by Aga-

[49] Comp. *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 156, and *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arabiae Descriptio, p. 35.

[50] יָרַח for יֶרַח; the short vowel *segol* being changed into the long vowel *kametz*.

[51] יָרֵחַ.

[52] هِلَال, قَمَر; the former is specially used in speaking of the new moon.

tharcides, Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemy, as a people on the east coast of the Red Sea,[53] are none other than the *Banu-Helal*,[54] *i. e.* Sons of Helal, or Helalites, described by the Sheriff Edrisi as dwelling in the neighbourhood of Mecca. Their name in Hebrew would be expressed by *Bne-Jerach* or Jerachites, and Bochart conjectures, with some plausibility, that they received this appellation from the circumstance of their worshipping the moon. For, as Herodotus relates,[55] the Arabs were in early times divided into worshippers of the sun and worshippers of the moon, the latter being called Alilat. It is worthy of remark, that in the year 1762, Niebuhr found on the east coast of the Red Sea, between Abu-arish and the Hedjaz, a tribe of free Arabs, called *Beni-Halal*,[56] who were regarded by their countrymen as

[53] See the passages in *Bochart*, loc. cit. cap. 19, p. 124.

[54] بنو هلال, Klima II. Sect. 5.

[55] III. 8. Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεῦνται εἶναι . . . . οὐνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Ὀροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην, Ἀλιλάτ. Wesseling, in his note on this passage, makes various attempts to throw light upon it; but we prefer the explanation of Pococke in his Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 110. He takes Ὀροτὰλ, or, as it is in the Bodleian MS. Ὀροτύλατ, for a corruption of Ὀλοτὰλ or Ολοτάλατ, and that he supposes to be الله تعالى, Olla-taala, *i. e.* the exalted or highest God; while Ἀλιλάτ he takes for الالهة, *Alilaha, i. e.* the goddess; also الهلال or with the feminine termination الهلالة, Alhilala, *i. e.* the Moon.

[56] بنى هلال, Descript. of Arabia, p. 269.

infidels and robbers, practised a kind of circumcision peculiar to themselves, and had a dialect different from that of Yemen. The other Arabic name for the moon, *Kamar*, we find in *Gobb-el-Kamar*,[57] *i. e.* the Moon-coast, a flat lying along the sea, between the towns of Shorma and Merbat, east of Hhadramaut, and which is enclosed by a crescent-shaped eminence called *Djebel-el-Kamar*, *i. e.* Moonhill. It is uncertain whether Jarach is to be identified with this part of country, or with the above mentioned tribe of Helalites.*

5. *Hadoram*,[58] the fifth in order of Joktan's sons, Gen. x. 27. Bochart takes his descendants to have been the *Dirmati*,[59] who dwelt in Arabia, on the Persian Gulf, opposite Kerman. Ptolemy also mentions a promontory of *Korodamos* in that country. But these resemblances are too faint to be built upon.[60] There is more certainty in the identification of

[57] غبّ القمر, in *Edrisi* Klima, I. Sect. 6, towards the end. Comp. *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 161.

* [But how came Joktan to call his son *Jarach* after the moon, before that son had any posterity who were moon-worshippers? Jarach became, it is true, the name of a tribe, but was it not first that of a man?]—*Tr.*

[58] הֲדֹרָם. The most ancient Greek translators express the name by Ὀδόρρα.

[59] Hist. Nat. VI. 28.

[60] Comp. *Bochart*, loc. cit. cap. 20; and *Michaelis*, Spicileg. Part II. p. 162. *Vater* says, in his Comment. on the Pentateuch, (Vol. 1. p. 158,) that Hadoram is mentioned by Nuweiri as the son of Arphachshad. But that is a mistake, for Nuweiri,

6. *Uzal* or *Usal*,[61] Joktan's sixth son, whom the Arabs unanimously regard as the founder of the city of Sanaa[62] in Yemen, whence that place was called by the name of Usal down to, at least, the sixth century.[63] A Mahomedan from India, who had lived many years in Yemen, assured Niebuhr that Usal was the ancient name of Sanaa.[64] A large village in the neighbourhood of the town, inhabited by none but Jews, is called Osar, which has some resemblance to the Auzara of Ptolemy and the Usal of the Hebrews. "The city of Sanaa," says Niebuhr, lies "at the foot of Mount Nikkum, on which are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, which the Arabs suppose to have been built by Shem. Near this mountain stands the castle, a rivulet runs upon the other side, and near it is the Bustan-el-Metwokkel, a spacious garden which was laid out by Imam Metwokkel, and has been embellished with another fine garden by the

(Hist. Joctanidar, in Schultens, p. 48,) calls the son of Arphachshad سالخ Salaih, thus agreeing with Gen. x. 24, where he is called שֶׁלַח. The name of Hadoram does not occur in the genealogies of the Arabs.

61 אוּזָל. 62 صنعا.

63 See *Assemanni's* Bib. Orient. Tom. I. p. 360. Comp. *Michaelis*, Spicileg. Part II. p. 165.

64 Descr. of Arabia, p. 291, [or Eng. Trans. of Travels in Arabia, Vol. II. p. 463]. For the passages in the Lexicon called the *Kamoos*, and the Geograph. Dict. of *Yakuti*, which shew the above opinion to be correct, see *Rosenmüller's* Scholia on Ezek. xxvii. 19, p. 173. of the 2d Edit. Comp. *Bochart*, cap. 21.

reigning Imam. The walls of the city, which are built of bricks, exclude this garden, which is enclosed within a wall of its own. The city, properly so called, is not very extensive: one may walk round it all in an hour. The city gates are seven. There are a number of mosques, some of which have been built by Turkish Pachas. Sanaa has the appearance of being more populous than it actually is; for gardens occupy a part of the space within the walls. In Sanaa are only twelve public baths, but many noble palaces; three of the most splendid of which have been built by the reigning Imam. The palace of the late Imam El Manzor, with some others, belong to the royal family, who are very numerous.[65] As Sanaa lies in a somewhat elevated region, the heat is not so insufferable as in the Tehâmah. There is also a pleasant river in the neighbourhood, with many agreeable orchards."

7. *Dikla*[66] signifies, in Aramaic and Arabic, a palm or date tree. Bochart[67] thence conjectures that the name denotes the territory of the Minæi in Southern Arabia, which abounded in these trees; but the fancifulness of this opinion is manifest, for to how many other districts of Arabia might we not apply the same observation? As little do we know of

8. *Obal.*[68] Here Bochart is led to think of the

[65] See *Niebuhr*, p. 230. Comp. *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arab. Descr. p. 48.

[66] דִּקְלָה.

[67] Loc. cit. cap. 22. Comp. *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 175.

[68] עוּבָל.

Avalitæ, a tribe of Troglodytes mentioned by Arrian and Ptolemy as dwelling in the east of Africa, on the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. But the only foundation for this opinion is the slight resemblance of the names.[69]

9. *Abimael*,[70] *i. e.* the father of Mael; where Bochart[71] finds the progenitor of the Malitæ or Manitæ of Ptolemy. The district which they occupied was, according to Theophrastus, one of the four provinces of Arabia most famous for incense and spices.

10. *Sheba*,[72] the tenth son of Joktan, is to be distinguished, both from the son of Rhegma, a Hamite, (Gen. x. 7,) and also from a grandson of Abraham, a son of Jokshan,* (Gen. xxv. 3.) The descendants of this Sheba were, probably the *Sabæans*, a people of Arabia Felix, who settled on the Persian Gulf, between the Minæi and Cattabanii,[73] and whose chief town was Mariaba or Mareb; and hence, according to Abulfeda, Mareb and Saba, were identical

[69] Comp. *Michaelis*, loc. cit. p. 177. The opinion of *Schulthess*, (p. 84,) is inadmissible, that עוֹבָל was the mountainous part of Idumæa, called by Josephus *Gobolitis*, by Eusebius *Gebalene*; for the name of that district was derived from جِبَال Djebal, a mountain.

[70] אֲבִימָאֵל.

[71] Loc. cit. cap. 24. Comp. *Michaelis*, p. 179.

[72] שְׁבָא. The Septuagint renders it uniformly by Σαβὰ.

* See above at p. 150.

[73] *Eratosthenes* in Strabo XVI. 3. 2 and 19. Comp. *Bochart*, cap. 26, p. 147.

names.[74] A queen of Sheba, on hearing the fame of Solomon's wisdom and greatness, paid a visit to that monarch, and presented to him valuable gifts of gold, precious stones, and fine spices, (1 Kings x. 1. 4. 10. 2 Chr. ix. 1); and it appears, from Greek writers, that the country of the Sabæans was famous for these native productions.[75] The memory of the event has also been preserved among the Arabs, who give her the name of Balkis, and say that she became Solomon's wife. The traditions regarding her have been preserved, and, perhaps embellished, in the 27th chapter of the Koran; she is also introduced in the list of the rulers of Yemen.[76] Mareb lies in the district of Djof in Yemen. The following is Niebuhr's[77] account of it: "*Mareb*, though consisting only of about three hundred mean houses, is the capital of the province. It is situate sixteen leagues north-east from Sana. It was known to the ancients as the capital of the Sabeans, by the name of Mariaba; it is not certain whether it was ever called Saba. In its neighbourhood are some ruins, which are pretended to be the remains of the palace of Queen Balkis; but there is no

[74] مارب ويقال لها سبا.

[75] *Strabo*, loc. cit.

[76] *Pococke's* Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 60. [It is to be recollected, however, that the honour of being the country of the Queen of Sheba is also claimed by *Abyssinia*. But if there was (as Bruce informs us) a Saba in Ethiopia, opposite the Saba of Arabia, and that these two coasts of the Red Sea formed at times but one kingdom, the two opinions are not irreconcileable.]—*Tr*.

[77] Travels in Arabia, Eng. Trans. Vol. II. p. 66.

inscription to confirm or refute this assertion. The Sabeans had a reservoir or basin for water which was anciently famous, and which I often heard talked of in Arabia; but nobody could give me an exact description of it except one man of rank, who had been born at Mareb, and had always lived there. He told me that the famous reservoir, called by the Arabs *Sitteh Mareb*,[78] was a narrow valley between two ranges of hills, and a day's journey in length. Six or seven small rivers meet in that valley, holding their course south and south-west, and advancing from the territories of the Imam. Some of these rivers contain fishes, and their waters flow through the whole year; others are dry except in the rainy season. The two ranges of hills which confine this valley, approach so near to each other upon the eastern end, that the intermediate space may be crossed in five or six minutes. To confine the waters in the rainy season, the entrance into the valley was here shut up by a high and thick wall, and as outlets through which the water thus collected, might be conveyed in the season of drought to water the neighbouring fields, ... three large flood-gates were formed in the wall one above another. The wall was fifty feet high, and built of large hewn stones. Its ruins are still to be seen. But the waters which it used formerly to confine, are now lost among the sands after running only a short way. * * * The

[78] Such is the orthography of Niebuhr, but he ought to have written the former word Siddeh, as the Arabic for a reservoir or dam, is سد or سدّ.

tradition that the city of Mareb was destroyed by a deluge[79] occasioned by the bursting of the wall, has entirely the air of a popular fable. It seems more probable that the wall, being neglected, fell gradually into disrepair when the kingdom of the Sabaeans declined. But the ruins of the wall proved fatal to the city in a different way; the neighbouring fields, when no longer watered from the reservoir, became waste and barren, and the city was thus left without means of subsistence. Besides, Mareb is not so situated, that it could suffer an inundation in consequence of the demolition of the wall. It stands upon a small eminence at a league's distance from it, upon the water side."[80]—The bursting of the reservoir is said to have happened in the first century of the Christian era, and is mentioned in the Koran.[81] The ancient Mariaba, the capital of the Sabæans, lay upon the coast of the Red Sea, but the modern town of Mareb is in the interior of the country.[82]

11. *Ophir*[83] is mentioned as the locality whither

[79] According to another account the dam was perforated by mountain rats. The accounts of this occurrence by Arabian writers, have been collected and examined by Reiske in a Programm with the title: De Arabum epocha vetustissima Sail ol-Arem, i. e. ruptura catarrhactae Marebensis dicta, Leipsick 1748, 4to.

[80] *Niebuhr's* Travels, Eng. Trans. Vol. II. p. 67.

[81] Sur. XXXIV. 15, 16.

[82] Abulfeda places it at the extremity of the mountains of Hhadramaut. See *Rommel*, loc. cit. p. 39.

[83] אוֹפִיר. The name signifies *full, copious, rich,* like the Arabic وافر,

Phœnician ships, in the service of Solomon, sailed from the Idumæan harbours of Elath and Eziongeber, in the Gulf of Akaba, and brought back gold, sandal-wood, and precious stones, 1 Kings ix. 28; x. 11. 2 Chron. viii. 18; ix. 10. The *gold of Ophir* is also celebrated in Job xxviii. 16. Ps. xlv. 10. Isa. xiii. 12. 1 Chron. xxix. 4; and, in Job xxii. 24, the word *Ophir* is used for "the gold of Ophir." That Ophir was a country, in the south of Arabia, is evident from its being classed by Moses, (Gen. x. 28,) along with Saba, among districts that certainly belonged to that region; and that it lay on the coast is proved by the circumstance of its having been frequented by foreign vessels. Its precise situation, however, cannot be fixed with certainty.[84] It is true that gold is not now found in Arabia, either in mines or in the sand of rivers;[85] but several Greek writers[86] attest that it was obtained in ancient times. Yet it is not necessary to suppose that what was called "gold of Ophir" was the actual produce of the country; it might be

[84] Seetzen, indeed refers (*Zach's* Monthly Correspondence for 1813. Vol. xix. p. 331,) to an Ophir on the Persian Gulf, in the province of Oman, mentioned by the Sheriff Edrisi, or the Nubian geographer. But it is rather *Ophar* or *Aphar*, عفر (p. 58, 61 of the Arabic text,) a word different in its elements from אוֹפִיר. Still less can it be the same as عوير *Awir* or *Owir*, the name of a mountain on the coast opposite the Bahhrein Islands.

[85] See *Niebuhr's* Descript. of Arabia, p. 141.

[86] See the citations in *Bochart*, Cap. 27, and *J. D. Michaelis'* Spicileg. II. p. 186.

brought hither from a distance, and especially from India, as was the case with sandal-wood,[87] and other costly merchandise sent to Palestine through Arabia. In like manner, Mocha, in Tehâma, is now the harbour whence gold, ivory, and other productions of Abyssinia are exported to other lands.[88]

[87] אַלְמֻגִּים or אַלְגּוּמִּים 2 Chron. ii. 7; ix. 10, 11. [See the Bib. Cab. Vol. XXVII. p. 242.]

[88] *Niebuhr*, loc. cit. p. 221. Thus we call the coffee of Yemen "Mocha coffee," though none is raised within many miles of that town, only it is the best known harbour whence the coffee of Arabia is exported. The opinion of *Bochart*, that there was a double Ophir, one in Arabia and one in India, and that of *Reland*, (Dissertat. Miscell. Part I. p. 171,) that Ophir was the same as Upara or Suphara, a country mentioned by the ancients, in the peninsula beyond the Ganges, have both been satisfactorily refuted by *J. D. Michaelis*. Yet the Greek translators appear to have thought of India; for, in several places, (*e. g.* Job. xxii. 24; xxvi. 16. 1 Kings ix. 28; x. 11. 1 Chr. xxix. 4,) they express the Hebrew name by Σουφεὶρ, Σωφίρα, Σωφείρα and COΦIP was the ancient Egyptian name of India. See *Michaelis*, p. 199. Comp. *Jablonsky's* Opuscula, Tom I. p. 337. The Arabic translator in the Polyglot, at 1 Kings ix. 28; x. 11. Isa. xiii. 11. renders the Greek Σουφείρ by الهند *El-Hend* i. e. India. And indeed Abulfeda, in his description of India, mentions a celebrated commercial town سوفارة *Suphara;* the Arabic text relating to it has been given by Michaelis from the Paris M.S.—*Bruce*, in his "Travels to discover the source of the Nile," endeavours to show that Ophir was Sofala, a province on the east coast of Africa, opposite Madagascar; to which opinion, however, Tychsen, in his remarks on that work (in the

12. Respecting *Chavilah*, see above at p. 282.

13. *Jobab*[89] is by Bochart[90] identified with the Jobaritæ of Ptolemy, an Arab tribe on the Salachitic

German translation) has made some well-founded objections. *Schulthess* had come to the same conclusion, independently of Bruce (Paradies p. 310,) though in an earlier part of his work, p. 86,) he had identified Ophir with the Ofra of Edrisi, mentioned above as being in Oman.—*Heeren* (Ideen. Part I. Div. 2. p. 76, of the 4th edit.) takes Ophir for the general name of the rich countries of the south, lying on the coasts of Arabia, Africa, and India. But to this *Bredow* objects (Researches, Part II. p. 259,) that in that case Ophir would not have been represented as a remote dependant of Shem, but rather as a son, or at least a grand-son of Noah, like Ham (and Cush) whose name denotes the countries of the south. Bredow himself thinks it probable that Ophir lay in Yemen, perhaps in the district where Gosselin places it, viz. where is now the town and harbour of Dhâfar (ظفار) or the considerable town of Doffir in Bellad Hadjr. See *Niebuhr's* Descript. of Arabia, p. 236. Comp. *Rommel's* Abulfedea Arabiae descript. p. 20. and *Gosselin's* work on the knowledge possessed by the ancients of the west and east coasts of Africa, &c. edited in German by Bredow, p. 140. The same opinion has been adopted by Hartmann, in his work on Asia, Part II. p. 78. The different theories regarding the situation of Ophir (some of them absurdly improbable,) have been collected by *Bellermann*, in his Manual of Bibl. Literat. Part. IV. p. 416. See also *Th. Chr. Tychsen* de Commerciis Hebraeorum, in the Commentatt. Societ. Gotting. Reg. Vol. XVI. p. 164. In the discussions on this question, some lay stress on the circumstance (1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chr. ix. 22,) that the voyage out and home occupied a space of three years; but that is not said of the voyage to Ophir, but only of that to Tarshish or Tartessus.

[89] יוֹבָב. Perhaps synonymous with the Arabic يَبَاب.

[90] Loc. cit. cap. 29, p. 163.

Gulf on the east coast of Arabia, for he thinks the name has been corrupted by a transcriber into Jobaritæ from *Jobabitæ*.[91] The capital of the district is by Ptolemy called Nagara, and a town of a similar name, Nagran, or, as the Arabs pronounce it, Nedjran,[92] still exists in Yemen; but it lies in the interior, and is, therefore, not so likely to have been the capital of a commercial people settled on the coast.

Among the Arab tribes who carried on trade with Tyre, the prophet Ezekiel mentions, (ch. xxvii. 19,) *Vedan*[93] and *Javan-Meusal*;[94] but their precise lo-

[91] In the uncial writing of the Greeks a P might easily have been substituted for a B. This partly accounts, according to Michaelis, (Spicil. II. p. 204,) for our finding in the Sept. at 1 Chr. i. 23, Ωρὰμ, instead of Jobab; the initial iota was omitted, the first B was changed to P, and the second, (as is not unusual,) was changed to M.

[92] نجران *Niebuhr*, p. 274. Comp. *Rommel*, p. 54.

[93] וְדָן. *Michaelis*, (loc. cit. p. 168, and in his Suppl. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 578, would read וָדָן, which, in Arabic, would be written وادان *i. e.* "two brooks or rivers." He thinks it might then be thought to denote Djoblah, a town in Yemen, between Sanaa and Aden; for two rivers rise near that town, Wady Zebid and Wady Meidam, and hence, according to Abulfeda, (*Rommel*, loc. cit. p. 47), it is called مدينة النهرين, The Town of the Two Rivers. But all this is very unsatisfactory.

[94] יָוָן מְאוּזָל. The second word should be read מֵאוּזָל as had been done by Aquila, who, according to Jerome, had

cality cannot now be fixed with certainty.[95] There is, indeed, a modern town in Yemen, called Javan,[96] but, besides its name, nothing is known respecting it. Vedan and Javan," says the prophet, "brought to the Tyrian markets wrought iron, cassia, and cinnamon."[97] Now, as the two latter are Indian productions, they were imported into Arabia, by sea, and, therefore, we may conclude that these tribes lived on the eastern or southern coast. When Niebuhr was in Arabia, about the year 1762, there were ironworks in operation in the province of Sahan, in Yemen;[98] and the "blades of Yemen" are celebrated by the Arab poets.[99]

"de Uzal," and so the word is still pointed in many MSS. Now, Uzal, as we saw above, is Sanaa, the modern capital of Yemen. By adding the words "of Uzal" to the name Javan at ver. 19, Ezekiel, would distinguish it from the Javan he had before mentioned at ver. 13, viz. Ionia or Greece. [The English translation at Ezek. xxvii. 19, has "Dan also and Javan going to and fro," placing in the margin "or Meusal."]

95 For *Michaelis'* conjecture as to Vedan, see note 93.

96 In the Dictionary of the *Kamoos* (Calcutta Edit. p. 1817), we find this article: "Javan, with double Fatha, a town in Yemen."

97 בַּרְזֶל עַשׂוּת קִדָּה וְקָנֶה׃

98 See *Niebuhr's* Descrip. of Arabia, p. 141, 271.

99 See *Schultens'* Excerpta ex Hamasa, in his edition of the Grammar of Erpenius, p. 428, where the expression, "the notched Yemeny," denotes a Yemen blade.

END OF ARABIA.

APPENDIX.

Dr. Edward Robinson, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, well known to biblical students as the author of several works of high reputation, has recently visited some of the countries described in the present volume, in company with the *Rev. E. Smith*, American Missionary at Beirout. The result of their investigations has been published under the title of "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa," from which we shall give a few of the more important passages that have a reference to topics discussed in the preceding pages.

Messrs. Robinson and Smith left Cairo on the 12*th March* 1838, and, taking the usual wilderness route to Mount Sinai, travelled thence to Akaba. They then struck across the western desert to Hebron, and from that to Jerusalem. After making excursions to various parts of Palestine, as also to Wady Mûsa, &c. they ended their journey at Beirout, by way of Tyre and Sidon.

The following extracts we present in the order of the above route; the Index will guide the reader to Rosenmüller's account of the same places.

Ayûn Mûsa, or Fountains of Moses.—"Here I counted seven fountains, several of them mere recent excavations in the sand, in which a little brackish water was standing. Others are older and more abundant; but the water is dark-coloured and brackish, and

deposits a hard substance as it rises; so that mounds have been formed around these larger springs, on the top of which the water flows out, and runs down for a few yards, till it is lost in the sand. We did not remark that the water was warm, as reported by Monconys and others. The Arabs call the northernmost spring sweet, but we could not perceive that it differed much from the others. One of them has a small rude drain laid with stones, a few paces long, which the French have dignified with the name of a Venetian aqueduct.[1] About twenty stunted untrimmed palm trees, or rather palm bushes, grow round about in the arid sand. A patch of barley, a few rods square, was irrigated from one or two of the more southern fountains. The barley was now in the ear; and we counted six men busy in frightening away the little birds called *Semmâneh;* thus showing the value attached to the only spot of cultivation in the vicinity of Suez, to which place they belonged. There were also a few cabbage plants. Near the fountains is a low mound of rubbish with fragments of tiles and pottery, and some foundations visible on the top, apparently marking the site of a former village.[2]"—Vol. I. p. 90.

Hawârah, the Marah of Moses.—' Fifteen minutes

[1] See Monge, in Descr. de l'Egypte, Et. Mod. I. p. 409. seq. Laborde's Map.—M. Monge speaks of this aqueduct as extending down to the sea so as to form a watering place for ships. We were not, at the time, aware of this hypothesis, and did not therefore examine the coast. But there is nothing around the springs which indicates it. See also Marmont's Voyage, tom. iv. p. 153. Brux. 1837.

[2] M. Monge regards this as the former site of a pottery where earthen vessels were manufactured on the spot, in order to carry away water. Descr. de l'Egypte, l. c.

beyond this, [the Hajr er Rukkâb, or Stone of the Riders] we came to the fountain Hawârah, lying to the left of the road on a large mound, composed of a whitish rocky substance formed apparently by the deposites of the fountain during the lapse of ages. No stream was now flowing from it; though there are traces of running water round about. The basin is six or eight feet in diameter, and the water about two feet deep. Its taste is unpleasant, saltish, and somewhat bitter; but we could not perceive that it was very much worse than that of 'Ayûn Mûsa, perhaps because we were not yet connoisseurs in bad water. The Arabs, however, pronounce it bitter, and consider it as the worst water in all these regions. Yet, when pinched, they drink of it; and our camels also drank freely. Near by the spring were two stunted palm trees; and round about it many bushes of the shrub Ghŭrkŭd, now in blossom.[3] This is a low bushy thorny shrub, producing a small fruit which ripens in June, not unlike the barberry, very juicy and slightly acidulous. The Ghŭrkŭd seems to delight in a saline soil; for we found it growing around all the brackish fountains which we afterwards fell in with, during our journies in and around Palestine. In the midst of parched deserts, as in the Ghôr south of the Dead Sea, where the heat was intense, and the fountains briny, the red berries of this plant often afforded us a grateful refreshment.

"The fountain of Hawârah is first distinctly mentioned by Burckhardt. Pococke perhaps saw it; though his language is quite indefinite. Niebuhr passed this way; but his guides did not point it out to him; probably because the Arabs make no account of it as a watering place.

[3] *Peganum retusum*, Forsk. Flora. Æg. Arab. p. lxvi. More correctly *Nitraria tridentata* of Desfontaines; Flora Atlant. i. 372. Comp. Gesenius' note on Burckhardt, p. 1082.

Since Burckhardt's day it has generally been regarded as the bitter fountain Marah, which the Israelites reached after three days march without water in the desert of Shur. The position of the spring and the nature of the country tally very exactly with this supposition. After having passed the Red Sea, the Israelites would naturally supply themselves from the fountains of Nâba' and 'Ayûn Mûsa; and from the latter to Hawârah is a distance of about sixteen and a half hours, or thirty-three geogr. miles; which, as we have seen above, was for them a good three days' journey. On the route itself there is no water; but near the sea is now the small fountain Abu Suweirah, which may then have been dry or not have existed; and in the mountains on the left is the 'Cup of Sŭdr,' several hours from the road, and probably unknown to the Israelites. I see therefore no valid objection to the above hypothesis. The fountain lies at the specified distance, and on their direct route; for there is no probability that they passed by the lower and longer road along the sea shore. We made particular inquiries to ascertain whether the name Marah still exists, as reported by Shaw and others: but neither the Tawarah Arabs, nor the inhabitants of Suez, nor the monks of the convent, so far as we could learn, had ever heard of it. Travellers have probably been led into error by the name of Wady el-'Amârah; or possibly by el-Mŭrkâh, a fountain nearly two days journey farther south, on the lower route to Mount Sinai and Tûr.

"Burckhardt suggests that the Israelites may have rendered the water of Marah palatable by mingling with it the juice of the berries of the Ghŭrkŭd. The process would be a very simple one, and doubtless effectual; and the presence of this shrub around all brackish fountains, would cause the remedy to be always at hand. But as the Israelites broke up from Egypt on the morrow of Easter,

and reached Marah apparently not more than two or three weeks later, the season for these berries would hardly have arrived. We made frequent and diligent inquiries whether any process is now known among the Bedawîn for thus sweetening bad water, either by means of the juice of berries, or the bark or leaves of any tree or plant; but we were invariably answered in the negative."—Vol. I. p. 96—98.

Wady Ghŭrŭndel, the Elim of Scripture.—" Wady Ghŭrŭndel is deeper and better supplied with bushes and shrubs than any we had yet seen; and like Sŭdr and Wardân, it bore marks of having had water running in it the present year. The Ghŭrkŭd is very frequent. Straggling trees of several kinds are found in it; the most common of which is the Tŭrfa, a species of tamarisk, *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of Ehrenberg, on which our camels browsed freely, and also mimosas or acacias, called by the Arabs Tŭlh and Seyâl. A few small palm-trees are scattered through the valley. We saw many of the wood-ticks mentioned by Burckhardt; but they did not trouble us. About half an hour below our encampment, the Arabs procured water, as they said, from fountains with a running brook. It was brackish, and of the same general character as that of all the preceding fountains, though less disagreeable than that of Hawârah. We kept it over night in our leather bottles, and it did not change its taste, though the Arabs said it would grow worse, as Burckhardt also testifies. When the rains fail for two or three years, the brook ceases to flow, but water is always to be found by digging a little below the surface.

" This Wady is now commonly regarded as the Elim of Scripture, to which the Israelites came after leaving Marah, and found twelve wells of water and seventy palm trees. There is nothing improbable in this supposition, if

we admit 'Ain Hawârah to be Marah. The fountains of Wady Ghŭrŭndel are two and a half hours, or nearly half a day's journey for the Israelites, distant from Hawârah, and are still one of the chief watering places of the Arabs." —Vol. I. p. 99.

Plain of el-Kâ'a or Desert of Sin.—" From their encampment at the mouth of Wady et-Taiyibeh, the Israelites would necessarily advance into the great plain, which, beginning near el-Mŭrkhâh, extends with a greater or less breadth almost to the extremity of the peninsula. In its broadest part, northward of Tûr, it is called el-Kâ'a. This desert plain, to which they would thus necessarily come, I take to be the desert of Sin, the next station mentioned in Scripture. From this plain they could enter the mountains at various points, either by the present nearer route through the Wadys Shellâl and Mukatteb, or perhaps by the mouth of Wady Feirân itself. Their approach to Sinai was probably along the upper part of this latter valley and Wady esh-Sheikh; but the two subsequent stations, Dophkah and Alush, are mentioned so indefinitely, that no hope remains of their ever being identified."—Vol. I. p. 106.

Approach to Sinai—Wady esh-Sheikh.—" At three quarters past eight o'clock we reached Wady esh-Sheikh, one of the largest, and most famous vallies of the peninsula. It takes its rise in the very heart of Sinai, whence it issues a broad valley, at first in an eastern direction, and then sweeping round to the north and west it passes down towards Serbâl. We found it here running from N.E. to S.W. After receiving the Akhdar, it takes the name of Feirân, and as such is well watered, has gardens of fruit and palm-trees, and, receiving many branches, runs to the northward of Serbâl quite down to the sea.

The lower and easier road from Wady et-Taiyibeh, to Sinai enters the Feirân from the head of Wady Mukatteb, and follows it up through Wady esh-Sheikh almost to the convent. From the point where we now were, this road is long and circuitous; while a shorter one strikes directly towards the convent, ascending in part by a narrow and difficult pass. We took the latter; and crossing Wady esh-Sheikh, proceeded on a course S. E. by S. up the broad Wady, or rather sloping plain, es-Seheb, thickly studded with shrubs, but without trees. Here and around Wady esh-Sheikh are only low hills, lying between the rocky mountains behind us, and the cliffs of Sinai before us; and forming as it were a lower belt around the lofty central granite region. Over these hills, the low walls of porphyry or grünstein, run in various directions, stretching off to a great distance."—Vol. I. p. 126, 127.

Wady-er-Râhah—Mount Horeb.—Describing his approach to Sinai across the *Nukb Hâwy*, or "Windy Pass," he says, "It was half past three o'clock when we reached the top, from which the convent was said to be an hour distant, but we found it two hours, as did also Burckhardt.[4] Descending a little into a small Wady which has its head here, and runs off through a cleft in the western mountains apparently to Wady Rŭdhwâh, we soon began to ascend again gradually on a course S. E. by S., passing by a small spring of good water; beyond which the valley opens by degrees, and its bottom becomes less uneven. Here the interior and loftier peaks of the great circle of Sinai began to open upon us,—black, rugged, desolate summits; and as we advanced, the dark and frowning front of Sinai itself (the present Horeb of the monks) be-

[4] Page 596. Burckhardt travelled in the other direction, from the convent down the pass.

gan to appear. We were still gradually ascending, and the valley gradually opening; but as yet all was a naked desert. Afterwards a few shrubs were sprinkled round about, and a small encampment of black tents was seen on our right, with camels and goats browsing, and a few donkies belonging to the convent. The scenery through which we had now passed reminded me strongly of the mountains around the Mer de Glace in Switzerland. I had never seen a spot more wild and desolate.

"As we advanced, the valley still opened wider and wider with a gentle ascent, and became full of shrubs and tufts of herbs, shut in on each side by lofty granite ridges, with rugged shattered peaks, a thousand feet high, while the face of Horeb rose directly before us. Both my companion and myself involuntarily exclaimed, "Here is room enough for a large encampment." Reaching the top of the ascent, or water shed, a fine broad plain lay before us, sloping down gently towards the S. S. E., enclosed by rugged and venerable mountains of dark granite, stern, naked, splintered peaks and ridges, of indescribable grandeur; and terminated at the distance of more than a mile by the bold and awful front of Horeb, rising perpendicularly in frowning majesty from twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height. It was a scene of solemn grandeur, wholly unexpected, and such as we had never seen; and the associations which at the moment rushed upon our minds were almost overwhelming. As we went on, new points of interest were continually opening to our view. On the left of Horeb, a deep and narrow valley runs up S. S. E. between lofty walls of rock, as if in continuation of the S. E. corner of the plain. In this valley, at the distance of near a mile from the plain, stands the convent, and the deep verdure of its fruit trees and cypresses is seen as the traveller approaches—an oasis of beauty amid scenes of the sternest desolation. At the S. W. corner of the plain

the cliffs also retreat, and form a recess or open place extending from the plain westward for some distance. From this recess, there runs up a similar narrow valley on the west of Horeb, called el-Leja, parallel to that in which the convent stands; and in it is the deserted convent el-Arba'în, with a garden of olive and other fruit-trees not visible from the plain. A third garden lies at the mouth of el-Leja; and a fourth further west in the recess just mentioned. The whole plain is called Wady er-Râhah, and the valley of the convent is known to the Arabs as Wady Shu'-eib, that is, the vale of Jethro; still advancing, the front of Horeb rose like a wall before us; and one can approach quite to the foot and touch the mount. Directly before its base, is the deep bed of a torrent, by which, in the rainy season, the waters of el-Leja and the mountains around the recess, pass down eastward across the plain, forming the commencement of Wady esh-Sheikh, which then issues by an opening through the cliffs of the eastern mountain,—a fine broad valley affording the only easy access to the plain and convent. As we crossed the plain, our feelings were strongly affected, at finding here so unexpectedly a spot so entirely adapted to the Scriptural account of the giving of the law. No traveller has described this plain, nor even mentioned it, except in a slight and general manner; probably because the most have reached the convent by another route without passing over it; and perhaps, too, because neither the highest point of Sinai (now called Jebel Mûsa), nor the still loftier summit of St. Catharine, is visible from any part of it."[5]—Vol. I. pp. 129—132.

[5] Monconys appears to have come by the same route in A. D. 1647: "Par un chemin très-rude, où les chameaux travaillaient beaucoup." He says the convent is seen from the top of the ascent, "dans le fond d'une grande campagne verte qui commence en cet endroit. Elle à une lieue et demi de long, et un grand quart de lieue de large." Tom. I. p. 214.

" The name of Sinai is now given by the Christians in a general way to this whole cluster of mountains; but in its strieter sense is applied only to the ridge lying between the two parallel valleys, Shu'eib and el-Leja. It is the northern end of this ridge, which rises so boldly and majestically from the southern extremity of the plain; and this northern part is now called by the Christians, Horeb; but the Bedawîn do not appear to know that name. From this front the high ridge extends back about S. E. by S. for nearly or quite three miles, where it terminates in the higher peak of Jebel Mûsa, which has commonly been regarded as the summit of Sinai, the place where the law was given.

" The Arabs of the present day have no other name for the whole cluster of mountains in the peninsula, than Jebel et-Tûr. It is possible that they may sometimes add the word Sîna (Tûr Sîna), by way of distinction; but this, certainly, is not usual.[6]

" We measured across the plain, where we stood, along the water-shed, and found the breadth to be at that point 2700 English feet, or 900 yards; though in some parts it is wider. The distance to the base of Horeb, measured, in in like manner, was 7000 feet, or 2333 yards. The northern slope of the plain, north of where we stood, we judged to be somewhat less than a mile in length, by one third of

Morison describes the plain, as being " d'une lieue de longueur, mais d'une largeur peu considérable;" Relation Historique, p. 91. These notices, although exaggerated, are the most distinct mention of the plain that I have been able to find. Of Shaw's account, I can make nothing, p. 314, 4to.

[6] The supposed Ibn Haukal about the eleventh century writes Tûr Sîna; see Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, p. 29.—Edrisi and Abulfeda have only Jebel Tûr, and et-Tûr; see Edrisi ed. Jaubert, p. 332. Abulfed. Arabia in geogr. vet. Scriptores minores ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1712. Tom III. p. 74. seq.

a mile in breadth. We may therefore fairly estimate the whole plain at two geogr. miles long, and ranging in breadth from one third to two thirds of a mile, or as equivalent to a surface of at least one square mile. This space is nearly doubled by the recess so often mentioned in the west, and by the broad and level area of Wady Sheikh on the east, which issues at right angles to the plain, and is equally in view of the front and summit of the present Horeb.

"The examination of this afternoon convinced us, that here was space enough to satisfy all the requisitions of the Scriptural narrative, so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation to receive the law. Here, too, one can see the fitness of the injunction, to set bounds around the mount, that neither man nor beast might approach too near.[7] The encampment before the mount, as has been before suggested, might not improbably include only the head quarters of Moses and the elders, and of a portion of the people; while the remainder, with their flocks, were scattered among the adjacent vallies."—Vol. I. pp. 140, 141.

Summit of Jebel Mûsa.—After an account of his ascent to the top of the mountain, which has commonly passed for the Sinai of Scripture, he says, "My first and predominant feeling while upon this summit was that of disappointment. Although, from our examination of the plain, er-Râhah below, and its correspondence to the Scriptural narrative, we had arrived at the general conviction that the people of Israel must have been collected on it to receive the law; yet we still had cherished a lingering hope or feeling, that there might, after all, be some foundation for the long series of monkish tradition, which, for at least fifteen centuries, has pointed out the summit on which we

[7] Exod. xix. 12, 13.

now stood, as the spot where the ten commandments were so awfully proclaimed. But Scriptural narrative and monkish tradition are very different things; and, while the former has a distinctness and definiteness, which, through all our journeyings, rendered the Bible our best guide-book, we found the latter not less usually, and almost regularly, to be but a baseless fabric. In the present case, there is not the slightest reason for supposing that Moses had anything to do with the summit which now bears his name. It is three miles distant from the plain on which the Israelites must have stood; and hidden from it by the intervening peaks of the modern Horeb. No part of the plain is visible from the summit; nor are the bottoms of the adjacent vallies; nor is any spot to be seen around it, where the people could have assembled. The only point in which it is not immediately surrounded by high mountains, is towards the S. E., where it sinks down precipitously to a tract of naked gravelly hills."—Vol. I. pp. 154, 155.

Summit of the Ras Es Sŭfsâfeh—The true Sinai?—After remaining on the top of Jebel Mûsa nearly two hours and a half, they determined to visit the northern brow of Horeb, which overlooks the plain *er-Râhah.* They reached by a wild and rugged path a basin among the hills, where stands a chapel of St. John the Baptist: "While the monks were here employed in lighting tapers and burning incense, we determined to scale the almost inaccessible peak of es-Sŭfsâfeh before us, in order to look out upon the plain, and judge for ourselves as to the adaptedness of this part of the mount to the circumstances of the Scriptural history. This cliff rises some five hundred feet above the basin; and the distance to the summit is more than half a mile. We first attempted to climb the side in a direct course; but found the rock so smooth and precipitous, that after some falls and more exposures, we

were obliged to give it up, and clamber upwards along a steep ravine by a more northern and circuitous course. From the head of this ravine, we were able to climb around the face of the northern precipice and reach the top, along the deep hollows worn in the granite by the weather during the lapse of ages, which give to this part, as seen from below, the appearance of architectural ornament.

"The extreme difficulty and even danger of the ascent was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain er-Râhah lay spread out beneath our feet, with the adjacent Wadys and mountains; while Wady esh-Sheikh on the right, and the recess on the left, both connected with, and opening broadly from er-Râhah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened, that here or on some one of the adjacent cliffs was the spot, where the Lord 'descended in fire' and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount that could be approached and touched, if not forbidden; and here the mountain brow, where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord 'came down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.' We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read with a feeling that will never be forgotten, the sublime account of the transaction, and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator."[9]—Vol. I. pp. 157, 158.

The pretended Rock of Rephidim.—"As to this rock, one is at a loss, whether most to admire the credulity of the monks, or the legendary and discrepant reports of tra-

[9] Exodus xix. 9—25. xx. 1—21.

vellers. It is hardly necessary to remark, that there is not the slightest ground for assuming any connection between this narrow valley and Rephidim, but, on the contrary, there is every thing against it. The rock itself is a large isolated cube of coarse red granite, which has fallen from the eastern mountain. Down its front, in an oblique line from top to bottom, runs a seam of a finer texture, from twelve to fifteen inches broad, having in it several irregular horizontal crevices, somewhat resembling the human mouth, one above another. These are said to be twelve in number; but I could make out only ten. The seam extends quite through the rock, and is visible on the opposite or back side; where also are similar crevices, though not so large. The holes did not appear to us to be artificial, as is usually reported; although we examined them particularly. They belong rather to the nature of the seam; yet it is possible that some of them may have been enlarged by artificial means. The rock is a singular one; and doubtless was selected on account of this very singularity, as the scene of the miracle."—Vol. I. pp. 166, 167.

'Ain el Hŭdhera, the Hazeroth of Scripture.—On their way from Sinai to Akabah, the travellers passed near to the fountain of Hŭdhera. "At three quarters past ten, our guides pointed out the place of the fountain 'Ain-el Hŭdhera through a pass N. N. E., with several low palm trees around it; and soon after, we came upon another series of connected Wadys, called Mawârid el-Hŭdhera, or 'paths' to this fountain. Our course led us to the right of el-Hŭdhera; but at 11^h. $10'$. we stopped in a valley at the point where our road came nearest to it; and all the camels were sent up the valley to be watered at the fountain, which was said to be more than half an hour distant towards et-Tîh. Meantime we lay down upon the sand and slept. After a while, some of the men came back with

five of the camels, saying the path was so rugged and difficult, that their camels could not reach the spring. The others however succeeded; and after a delay of nearly three hours, returned, bringing a supply of tolerably good water, though slightly brackish. It is the only perennial water in these parts."

"Burckhardt has already suggested, that this fountain el-Hŭdhera is perhaps the Hazeroth of Scripture, the third station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai, and either four or five days' march from that mountain.[10] The identity of the Arabic and Hebrew names is apparent, each containing the corresponding radical letters; and the distance of eighteen hours from Sinai accords well enough with the hypothesis. The determination of this point is perhaps of more importance in Biblical history, than would at first appear, for if this position be adopted for Hazeroth, it settles at once the question as to the whole route of the Israelites between Sinai and Kadesh. It shows, that they must have followed the route upon which we now were, to the sea, and so along the coast to 'Akabah, and thence probably through the great Wady el-'Arabah to Kadesh. Indeed such is the nature of the country, that, having once arrived at this fountain, they could not well have varied their course, so as to have kept aloof from the sea and continued along the high plateau of the western desert."—Vol. I. pp. 222—224.

The Western Desert.—This was entered by them after they had surmounted the steep ascent leading out of Akaba.—"Having thus reached the level of the great western desert, we left the Hadj road, and setting our faces towards Gaza and Hebron, on a course N. W., we launched forth into the 'great and terrible wilderness.' We entered immediately upon an immense plain, called

[10] Num. xi. 35. xxxiii. 17. Comp. x. 33.—Burckhardt, p. 495.

Kâ'a en-Nŭkb, extending far to the west, and apparently on so dead a level, that water would hardly flow along its surface. It has, however, as we found, a slight declivity towards the W. and N. W.; for on our left was the commencement of a shallow Wady called el-Khureity, running off in that direction. The plain, where we entered upon it, was covered with black pebbles of flint; then came a tract of indurated earth; and afterwards again, similar pebbles. The whole plain was utterly naked of vegetation. The desert, however, could not be said to be pathless, for the camel-tracks showed that we were on a great road. One of the first objects which here struck our view, was the *Mirage*, presenting the appearance of a beautiful lake on our left. We had not seen this phenomenon in the whole peninsula, nor since the day we left Suez; and I do not remember that we ever again had an instance of it.

"On this high plain, we now found ourselves above all the peaks and hills through which we had just before ascended. We could overlook them all, and saw beyond them the summits of the eastern mountains, which the level of the plain on which we were, seemed to strike at about two-thirds of their altitude. From this and other circumstances, we judged the elevation of this plain to be about fifteen hundred feet above the level of the gulf, and el-'Arabah.[11]

"The general character of the desert on which we had now entered, is similar to that between Cairo and Suez—vast and almost unbounded plains, a hard gravelly soil, ir-

[11] According to the barometrical measurements of Russegger, who crossed the desert from the convent to Hebron a few months after us, the elevation of the castle Nŭkhl above the sea is 1496 Paris feet. This point is probably somewhat lower than the plain in question. See Berghaus' Annalem der Erdkunde, &c. Feb. und März, 1839, p. 429.

regular ridges of limestone, hills in various directions, the *Mirage*, and especially the Wadys, or water courses. On reaching this high plateau, we were somewhat surprised to find all these Wadys running towards the N. W., and not towards the East, into the 'Arabah, as we had expected from its near vicinity. To all this desert our Arabs gave the general name of et-Tîh, 'Wandering,' and said that the mountain ridge which skirts it on the south, takes the same name from the desert."[12]—Vol. I. pp. 259—262.

Wady el-Jeib in the 'Arabah.—In their excursion to Wady Mûsa from Hebron, the travellers first descended the Ghôr, to the south of the Dead Sea, and then came upon the higher plain of the 'Arabah, their approach to which is thus described:—" At length at 2^h 50′, we reached the opening of the long expected Wady el-Jeib, through which we were to ascend. To our surprise, it turned out to be, not the mere bed of a torrent descending from the higher plain of the 'Arabah, but a deep broad Wady issuing from the south upon the Ghôr, and coming down as far as the eye could reach between high precipitous cliffs, like those along which we had passed. It is, indeed, the vast drain of all the 'Arabah, which has thus worn for itself, in the course of ages, a huge channel through the upper plain, and the offset of cliffs to the level of the Ghôr below.[13]

[12] The name et-Tîh, as applied to this desert, is found in both Edrisi and Abulfeda; who refer it to the wanderings of the children of Israel. Edrisi, par Jaubert, I. p. 360. Abulfed. Tab. Syr. ed. Köhler, p. 4; et Addenda. So too Ibn el-Wardi Ibid. p. 170.

[13] From the point where we now stood, viz. the western angle of the cliffs at the entrance of Wady el-Jeib, we took the following bearings:—'Ain el-Arûs about N. 30° W. South-west end of Usdum, N. 15° W. South eastern angle of Usdum,

"We found here the peculiarity, that the eastern bank of this great Wady el-Jeib terminates nearly an hour further south; from which point the offset, or line of cliffs, then runs north of east to the eastern mountains at the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, leaving before us a wide open tract belonging to the Ghôr. The water courses from the Wady, come down across this tract, and pass on through a space without shrubs and trees to the marshy flats nearer the sea.

"We now turned up along the western bank on a course S. S. W., and at 3¼ o'clock, were opposite the angle of the eastern bank; whence the line of cliffs runs nearly E. by N. to the foot of the mountains, about an hour distant. Here we entered the Wady itself, in this part not far from half a mile broad, shut in between perpendicular walls of the same chalky earth or marl, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet high, which exclude all view of the country, and of every object around. The banks, indeed, are so entirely perpendicular, that it would be next to impossible to ascend out of the valley on either side. The broad bed of the Wady is very level, and has to the eye but a slight ascent towards the south; yet it bears traces of an immense volume of water rushing along with violence, and covering the whole breadth of the valley. At its mouth and below, the bed is covered with tamarisks (Tŭrfa), and another shrub resembling the retem, but larger, called el-Ghŭdhâh.[14] These bushes soon become fewer, and gradually disappear.

at the corner of the sea, N. 15° E. Peak in the mountains of Moab, N. 65° E. Wady et-Tûfileh, mouth, N. 85° E. Mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel and south east corner of the Ghôr, S. 40° E.

[14] "Nomen arboris. *Kam.* Aptissimi ad ignem et prunas ligni; in arenis præcipue provenit, *Gol.*" Freytag, Lex. Arab. III. p. 281. seq.

"We travelled on along this remarkable chasm, which was now heated, both by the direct and reflected rays of the sun, to the temperature of 88° F. The direct rays were scorching, but we avoided them by keeping within the shadow of the high western bank. At 4^h 40′ the course of the valley became south; and looking up it, we could distinguish the lone peak of Mount Hor in the distance, bearing also south. At 5 o'clock, a branch Wady came in from the west, similar in its character to el-Jeib, though much smaller. The Arabs called it Wady Hasb; and said it had its head in the plain of the 'Arabah, at a place where there is a natural pool filled with sweet living water, surrounded by much verdure, and, as the Arabs said, with some traces of ruins. Beyond this point we began to find stones and blocks of porphyry scattered along the water course of the Jeib, brought down by the torrents from the mountains further south.

"Till now the cliffs on each side had been so high and unbroken, that we had seen nothing whatever of the features of the country round about; but here those on our left became occasionally lower, and we could perceive the eastern mountains, and in them the large Wady el-Ghuweir described by Burckhardt.[15] At six o'clock we halted, still in the shade of the high western bank. Here Mount Hor bore S., and the high peak we had before noted in the mountains of Moab, N. 54° E.

"The heat in the Wady was so great, and the prospect of the country so very limited, that we concluded to travel during a part of the night; stopping now to dine and rest, and intending to set off again at midnight. The evening was warm and still; we therefore did not pitch our tent, but spread our carpets on the sand and lay down, not indeed at first to sleep, but to enjoy the scene and the associa-

[15] Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, &c. pp. 409, 410.

tions which thronged upon our minds. It was truly one of the most romantic desert scenes we had yet met with; and I hardly remember another in all our wanderings of which I retain a more lively impression. Here was the deep broad valley in the midst of the 'Arabah, unknown to all the civilized world, shut in by high and singular cliffs; over against us were the mountains of Edom; in the distance rose Mount Hor in its lone majesty, the spot where the aged prophet-brothers took of each other their last farewell; while above our heads was the deep azure of an oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. Near at hand were the flashing fires of our party; the Arabs themselves in their wild attire, all nine at supper around one bowl; our Egyptian servants looking on; one after another rising and gliding through the glow of the fires; the Sheikh approaching and saluting us; the serving of coffee; and beyond all this circle, the patient camels lying at their ease and lazily chewing the cud.

"The great feature of our journey to day, was the Wady-el-Jeib. The mountain of salt, however remarkable and important, had in part been known before. But this deep Wady was wholly new to us and unknown to the world; the great water course of all the valley or plain of the 'Arabah; a Wady within a Wady.[16] Our Arabs of the Haweitât were acquainted with it throughout its whole length; and assured us that it has its commencement far

[16] M. de Bertou speaks of this deep water course only as Wady el-'Arabah; and seems not to have heard or understood the name el-Jeib. Yet all our Arabs (who also had been his guides) gave it no other name than el-Jeib; and the same appears upon Laborde's map in the proper place, though with a wrong direction for the valley.

south of Wady Mûsa; and that in the rainy season, the waters of the southern Wady Ghŭrŭndel flow off northwards through the Jeib to the Dead Sea. Further north, they said, it receives the great Wady-el-Jerâfeh from the western desert.

"Another remarkable feature of the region is the line of cliffs crossing the whole Ghôr, and constituting merely the ascent to the higher plain of the 'Arabah. From the S. W. corner of the Ghôr to the mouth of Wady-el-Jeib we travelled two hours, and from thence to the S. E. corner is an hour or more further. The cliffs thus form an irregular curve, sweeping across the Ghôr in something like a segment of a circle, the chord of which would be about six or seven geographical miles in length, extending obliquely nearly from N. W. to S. E. This remarkable line of cliffs, in the absence of any better suggestion, I am inclined to regard as the 'Ascent of Akrabbim;' to which the south-eastern border of Judah was to be drawn from the Dead Sea, 'from the bay that looketh southward,' and was thence to pass on to Zin and Kadesh Barnea.[17]—Vol. II. pp. 497—501.

Wady Mûsa, the ancient Petra :—"Burckhardt," says Professor Robinson, "was here but a part of a day, an object of jealous suspicion to his Arab guide; yet it struck me with astonishment to remark upon the spot the exactness and extent of his observations." As the substance of these has been embodied by Rosenmüller in the present volume, and we have subjoined to them the more important remarks of Irby and Mangles, &c., we here confine our quotations from Robinson to a few detached paragraphs.

[17] Num. xxxiv. 3, 4. Josh. xv. 2, 3.

Entrance from the East by the Sîk or Chasm :—" The valley contracts more and more, and the cliffs become higher, presenting on each side a street of tombs. The rocks are of red sandstone. After 15 minutes (at three o'clock) we came to a spot where the ravine opens out into a small area, apparently wholly shut in by rocky walls about 80 feet high, except on the side by which we entered. Here an Arab boy was watching his flock of sheep. The brook bends a little to the right, and approaching the opposite wall of rock, disappears in a narrow cleft, hardly perceptible at first to the eye of a casual observer; being concealed in part by a projection of the cliffs. Here is the opening of the terrific chasm which anciently formed the only avenue to the city on this side. This is the Sîk of Wady Mûsa.

" A few steps beyond the entrance, a noble arch is thrown across high up from one precipice to the other, with niches sculptured in the rock beneath each end, ornamented with pilasters, and probably intended for statues. It was constructed doubtless as an ornament over the entrance of this singular gallery; it may, or may not, have been an arch of triumph. Just below this spot we measured the width of the Sîk, 12 feet. This is the narrowest part; though it hardly becomes in any place more than three, or at the most four times this width. The rocks are all of reddish sandstone, perpendicular on both sides; and in some places they overhang the passage so as almost to shut out the light of the sky. In other parts they have apparently been cut away by hand. Indeed, the whole vast mass of rock seems as if originally rent asunder by some convulsion of nature, leaving behind this long, narrow, winding, magnificent chasm.

" The height of the rocks at first is eighty or a hundred feet; the bottom has a rapid descent, and the sides become higher towards the west, varying from one hundred and

fifty to two hundred, or perhaps two hundred and fifty feet. I doubt whether any part of these or the adjacent cliffs rises to the height of three hundred feet. We gave particular attention to this point, and repeated our observations the next day; because the elevation of the sides of the Sîk and of the surrounding cliffs appears to have been greatly exaggerated in the reports of travellers."[18]—Vol. II. pp. 515—517.

"The Sîk winds much; running at first west, then south-west, then north-west, and so continuing to vary between S. W. and N. W. until near the end, where its course is again west. At some of these turns, similar chasms come in from the sides: showing that the whole mass of rock is rent to the bottom by like clefts in all directions. It is the same broad sandstone ridge, the top of which we had traversed in approaching Eljy.

"The character of this wonderful spot, and the impression which it makes, are utterly indescribable; and I know of nothing which can present even a faint idea of them. I had visited the strange sandstone, lanes and streets of Adersbach, and wandered with delight through the romantic dells of the Saxon Switzerland; both of which scenes might be supposed to afford the nearest parallel; yet they exhibit few points of comparison. All here is on a grander scale of savage, yet magnificent sublimity. We lingered along this superb approach, proceeding slowly, and stopping often, forgetful of every thing else, and taking for the moment no note of time. The length is a large mile; we were forty minutes in

[18] Mr. Legh gives the height from 200 to 500 feet; May 26th. Irby and Mangles, from 400 to 700 feet; p. 414. Mr. Stephens from 500 to 1000 feet; vol. ii. p. 70. Burckhardt alone seems to have kept his right mind, and estimates the rocks at the beginning of the Sîk at about 80 feet in height; pp. 422, 423.

passing through in this desultory manner. As we drew near the western end, the sun light began to break in upon the rugged crags before us. Here the Sîk terminates, opening nearly at right angles into a similar though broader Wady or chasm, coming down from the south, and passing off north-west.

"All at once the beautiful façade of the Khŭzneh, in the western precipice, opposite the mouth of the Sîk, burst upon our view, in all the delicacy of its first chiselling, and in all the freshness and beauty of its soft colouring. I had seen various engravings of it, and read all the descriptions; but this was one of the rare instances, where the truth of the reality surpassed the ideal anticipation. It is indeed most exquisitely beautiful; and nothing I had seen of architectural effect in Rome, or Thebes, or even Athens, comes up to it in the first impression. It does not bear criticism as to its architecture, though this at least is symmetrical. The broken pediment and other ornaments are not all in a pure style; and if seen in a different land, or without the accompaniments by which it is surrounded, it would perhaps excite little admiration. But here, its position as a portion of the lofty mass of coloured rock over against the imposing avenue; its wonderful state of preservation; the glow and tint of the stone; and the wild scenery around; all are unique, and combine into a power of association and impression, which takes complete possession of the mind. One column of the portico alone is broken away; yet such is the symmetrical effect of the whole, that this deficiency does not at first strike the eye.

"I was perfectly fascinated with this splendid work of ancient art in this wild spot; and the idea of it was uppermost in my mind during the day and all the night. In the morning, I returned and beheld it again with increased admiration. There it stands, as it has stood for ages, in

beauty and loneliness; the generations which admired and rejoiced over it of old, have passed away; the wild Arab, as he wanders by, regards it with stupid indifference or scorn; and none are left, but strangers from far distant lands, to do it reverence. Its rich roseate tints, as I bade it farewell, were lighted up and gilded by the mellow beams of the morning sun; and I turned away from it at length, with an impression which will be effaced only at death "—Vol. II. pp. 517—519.

The ruins of Petra.—" These are the chief remains of particular structures which strike the eye of the wanderer upon the site occupied by the city itself; and they have been noticed and described by all travellers, as well as by the pencil of Laborde. But these writers have omitted to mention one circumstance, or at least all have not given to it that prominence which it deserves, viz. that all these are but single objects amidst a vast tract of similar ruins. Indeed, the whole area above described, was once obviously occupied by a large city of houses. Along the banks of the stream, the violence of the water has apparently swept away the traces of dwellings; but elsewhere, the whole body of the area, on both sides of the torrent, and especially on the north, is covered with the foundations and stones of an extensive town. The stones are hewn, and the houses erected with them, must have been solid and well built. On looking at the extent of these ruins, it struck us as surprising, that they should hitherto have been passed over so slightly; although this may readily be accounted for by the surpassing interest of the surrounding sepulchres. These foundations and ruins cover an area of not much less than two miles in circumference; affording room enough, in an oriental city, for the accommodation of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants."—Vol. II. pp. 524, 525.

Other approaches to Petra.—" A single glance had been sufficient to correct a false impression, which I had received from previous accounts, viz. that the site of the ancient city was shut in on *all sides* by perpendicular cliffs, and that the entrance by the Sîk was the only feasible one from any quarter. This, as has been seen, is not the case. The area of the city is bounded only on the east and west by walls of rock; that on the east being the broad sandstone ridge extending south below the southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba, while that on the west is the similar ridge which, further north, runs parallel to the same mountain, and is penetrated by the Sîk of Nemela. The brook of 'Ain Mûsa, rising above Eljy, flows down its valley and breaks through the midst of the eastern ridge, thus forming the Sîk; then crossing the open area near the middle, it passes off in like manner through the western ridge. Towards the north and south, the view is open. Towards the N. E. is seen the high southern end of the mountain of Dibdiba, resting on white sandstone at its base; and more to the left the plain Sutûh Beida, through which we had approached. From the eastern part of the area of the valley, the summit of Mount Hor is seen over the western line of cliffs, bearing about W. by S.

" On each side of the brook, the ground rises towards the N. and S. as already described; at first gradually by irregular hillocks and eminences, strewed with the scattered remains of former houses; and then, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, more rapidly. Towards the S. this latter ascent is cut up by several Wadys, and leads up through several groups of sandstone rocks to the plain Sutûh Beida. Two of these torrent beds, coming from the end of the mountain of Dibdiba, unite in the N. E. part of the area, having between them a promontory of red sandstone, in which are tombs. Further west are other small Wadys. Here, at the N. E. corner, the road from near

Dibdiba comes in, by which our servants entered; and here, or somewhere in this quarter, must be the tomb described by Irby and Mangles, as having an inscription in the unknown Sinaitic character; and also that with a Latin inscription discovered by Laborde.

"Towards the south the ascent from the area of the city is steeper, and somewhat greater, perhaps a hundred feet. It leads up to a high plain of the table-land, extending westward around the end of the western cliff (which here terminates) to Mount Hor or Jebel Neby Hârûn. This plain bears the name of Sutûh Hârûn, "Aaron's Plains," corresponding to the Sutûh Beida, "White Plains," on the north of Wady Mûsa. At the S.W. corner of the area of the city, a road passes out, ascending a long narrow Wady, lined with tombs, to this terrace. It then leads along the southern foot of Mount Hor, and dividing further on, one path descends to the 'Arabah towards the left, through Wady Abu Kusheibeh,[19] and so to 'Akabah; while the other goes more towards the right, and descends through Wady-er-Rŭbâ'y on the way to Hebron. At the foot of this latter place, according to our Arabs, there is a small spring of good water, called et Taiyibeh."—Vol. II. p.p. 527—529.

"An interesting question which occupied much of our attention on the spot, was, How far these excavations are to be regarded merely as sepulchres? and whether any of them were probably intended as abodes for the living? I had formerly received the impression, that very many of them were to be so considered; and, indeed, that a great portion of the ancient city had been composed of such

[19] This name is not quite certain. Laborde writes it strangely enough "Pabouchèbe;" although the sound of P does not exist in the Arabic language.

dwellings 'in the clefts of the rocks.'[20] But after attentive observation, we could perceive no traces of any such design. The smaller and unornamented excavations are entirely similar to the numerous sepulchres around Jerusalem; and the one have no more the appearance of having been intended as dwellings, than the other. Those with ornamental façades have in general a like character within; many of them have niches for dead bodies; and even such as have not this decisive mark, exhibit, nevertheless, no traces of having been constructed for habitations. At a later period, indeed, they may not improbably have been thus used; just as the tombs at Thebes and those in the village of Siloam, are now converted into dwellings.[21]

"The elegance of their exterior decoration, affords no ground for supposing the most of these monuments to have been other than tombs. The abodes of the dead were regarded in Egypt, and also in Palestine, with profound veneration; and were constructed with even greater pomp and splendour than the habitations of the living. Witness the tomb of Helena at Jerusalem, and the still more magnificent ones at Thebes; erected, apparently, each as the sepulchre of a single monarch.[22] Nor is there any necessity for the supposition, that these excavations were intended, in part, as dwellings for the inhabitants of the place. The wide spread ruins which are visible, attest, as we have

[20] Jer. xlix. 16.

[21] The interior of all these tombs is comparatively very small. The caverns in the country towards Damascus, which were never tombs, but always dwellings, are very capacious, affording shelter to both the inhabitants and their flocks. See Seetzen in Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. pp. 356, 418.

[22] So, too, Diodorus Siculus says, in speaking of the Egyptians, I. 51. Διόπερ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευῶν ἧττο φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι φιλοτιμίας. Comp. Gesenius, Com. zu Jesa. xiv. 18—20; xxii. 16.

seen, that a large and extensive city of houses built of stone once occupied this spot; and the sepulchres round about are comparatively less numerous than those which, in like manner, skirt the sites of ancient Thebes and Memphis. The city which stood here, was of itself built 'in the clefts of the rocks;' without the necessity of our looking for single dwellings in such a situation.

"Yet not all these structures, I think, were sepulchral; some of the larger and more splendid were more probably temples of the gods. The facility and beauty with which the ornamental façades of monuments could be sculptured in the rock, might easily suggest the idea of constructing fanes for the gods in like manner; and such excavated temples were not unknown in Egypt.[23] Hence the site of the beautiful Khŭsneh was selected, directly opposite to the grand entrance from the east, the character of its front is decidedly that of a temple. To the same class probably belong some of the larger and more conspicuous excavations in the eastern cliffs; especially the one described by Irby and Mangles, as having arched substructions built up in front, and afterwards used as a Christian church. The Deir too, has similar features, and appears also to have been transformed into a church. Nothing would be more natural, under the cirumstances, than to convert heathen temples of this kind into Christian sanctuaries; but had they been originally sepulchres, such a transition would have been less natural and probable.

"Such were the impressions with which we spent the evening beneath our tent in Wady Mûsa. Around us were the desolations of ages; the dwellings and edifices of the ancient city crumbled and strewed in the dust; the mau-

[23] E. g. The temples of Ebsambal; Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 495, seq. Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 88. Irby and Mangles, pp. 29, 37, seq.

solea of the dead in all their pristine beauty and freshness, but long since rifled, and the ashes of their tenants scattered to the winds. Well might there be the stillness of death; for it was the grave itself, a city of the dead by which we were surrounded."—Vol. II. pp. 532—534.

Mountains of Edom.—"We had thus left behind us the mountains of Edom, which we had seen in part; and we should have been glad had time and circumstances permitted us to see more. The structure of the chain, where we saw it, has already been described; at the base, low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock; then the lofty masses of porphyry constituting the body of the mountain; above these, sandstone broken up into irregular ridges and grotesque groups of cliffs; and again further back and higher than all, long elevated ridges of limestone without precipices. East of all these, stretches off indefinitely the high plateau of the great eastern desert. We estimated the height of the porphyry cliffs at about 2000 feet above the 'Arabah; the elevation of Wady Mûsa above the same is perhaps 2000 or 3000 feet; while the limestone ridges further back probably do not fall short of 3000 feet. The whole breadth of the mountainous tract between the 'Arabah and the eastern desert alone, does not exceed fifteen or twenty geographical miles.

"The character of these mountains is quite different from those on the west of the 'Arabah. The latter, which seemed to be not more than two-thirds as high, are wholly desert and sterile; while these on the east appear to enjoy a sufficiency of rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs, and occasional trees. The Wadys too are full of trees and shrubs, and flowers; while the eastern and higher parts are extensively cultivated and yield good crops. The general appearance of the soil is not unlike that around Hebron; though the face of the country is very different. It

is indeed the region of which Isaac said to his son Esau, 'Behold thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above.'

"This tract of mountains, south of the district of Kerak, (the ancient country of Moab), and separated from the latter by the Wady el-Ahsy, is at the present day spoken of as divided into two districts; though we did not learn that this arises from any regulation of the government. The northern bears the name of Jebâl, 'Mountains,' beginning at Wady el-Ahsy and terminating towards the south, according to Burckhardt, at Wady el-Ghuweir.[25] Yet the southern boundary would seem not to be very definitely assigned; for esh-Shôbek, although it lies south of that Wady, was sometimes spoken of to us, as belonging to Jebâl. The largest place in Jebâl is Tŭfîleh.

South of Wady el-Ghuweir follows the district esh-Sherah; extending, so far as we could learn, indefinitely towards 'Akabah on the south, and including properly Shôbek, Wady Musa, Ma'ân, el-Humeiyimeh, and other places."[26]—Vol. II. pp. 551, 552.

[24] Gen. xxvii. 39; Comp. ver. 27, 28.

[25] Travels p. 410.—This name corresponds to the ancient Hebrew *Gebal* (גְּבַל) and the Roman *Gebalene*, which Eusebius and Jerome describe as a part of Idumea, and sometimes put for Idumea itself. Ps. lxxxiii. 8. Onomast. arts. *Idumea, Allus, Gethaim*, &c. Reland, Palæst. pp. 82—84.

[26] The form esh-Sherah has no relation to the Hebrew Seir (שֵׂעִיר), the ancient name of this district. The Hebrew word means "Hairy," and is written with 'Ain, which never falls away; while the Arabic name signifies "a tract, region." Compare Gesenius, notes on Burckhardt, p. 1067.—Both Edrîsi and Abulfeda apply the name esh-Sherah to all the mountains south of Kerak as far as to Ailah; Edrîsi par

Ain-el-Weibeh—the ancient Kadesh?—On their way back from Wady Mûsa to Hebron, after an unsuccesful attempt to visit Mount Hor, they came, in the Wady el-Jeib, upon the fountains of el-Weibeh, one of the most important watering-places in all the great valley of the 'Arabah.—" We were much struck while at el-Weibeh, with the entire adaptedness of its position to the Scriptural account of the proceedings of the Israelites, on their second arrival at Kadesh. There was at Kadesh a fountain called also En-Mishpat;[28] this was then either partially dried up, or exhausted by the multitude, so that 'there was no water for the congregation.' By a miracle, water was brought forth abundantly out of the rock. Moses now sent messengers to the king of Edom, informing him that they were in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of his border; and asking leave to pass through his country, so as to continue their course around Moab and approach Palestine from the east. This Edom refused; and the Israelites accordingly marched to mount Hor, where Aaron died; and then along the 'Arabah to the Red Sea.[29]

" Here at el-Weibeh, all these scenes were before our eyes. Here was the fountain, even to this day the most frequented watering-place in all the 'Arabah. On the N. W. is the mountain by which the Israelites had formerly assayed to ascend to the land of Palestine, and were driven back.[30] Over against us lay the land of Edom; we were in its uttermost border; and the great Wady el-Ghuweir, affording a direct and easy passage through the mountains to the table-land above, was directly before us; while fur-

Jaubert, Vol. I. pp. 337—338. Abulfeda, Tab. Syr. ed Köhler, p. 13. Tab. Arab. ed. Hudson, p. 20.

[27] Num. xx.

[28] Gen. xiv. 7.

[29] Num. xx. 14—29.

[30] Num. xiv. 40—45. Deut. i. 41, 46.

ther in the south, Mount Hor formed a prominent and striking object at the distance of two good days' journey for such a host. The small fountain et-Taiyibeh, at the bottom of the pass er-Rŭbây, may then have been, either the wells of Bene-Jaakan, or the Moseroth, of the Israelites.[31] The stations of Gudgodah and Jotbah further south, we may perhaps find at the mouth of Wady Ghŭrŭndel, and in the marshy tract with palm-trees further towards 'Akabah, mentioned by Laborde and Schubert; where in winter at least we might look for 'a land of rivers of waters.'[32]

"In view of all these circumstances, we were disposed to regard el-Weibeh as the probable site of the ancient Kadesh, and felt that we were here treading on ground consecrated by many sacred associations."—Vol. II. pp. 582, 583.

Es-Sŭfâh—the Zephath of Scripture.—In continuing their route to Hebron they came upon the Pass of Es-Sŭfâh:—"We kept on directly towards the middle pass, es-Sŭfâh, which affords also the shortest route. Near the foot of the mountain we came at 6½ o'clock upon the ruins of a small fort or castle of hewn stones, with a few other foundations round about. It was obviously designed to guard the pass, like the similar one at ez-Zuweirah.[33]

"We reached the bottom of the pass at 6ʰ 40′, and began immediately to ascend. The way leads up for a short time

[31] Num. xxxiii. 30, 31, 37. Deut. x. 6. Eusebius and Jerome state, that the place of the Beeroth Bene-Jaakan was still shewn in their day, ten Roman miles from Petra, at the top of the mountain. Onomast. art. *Beroth. Filior. Jac.*

[32] Deut. x. 7.; comp. Num. xxxiii. 32—33. See Laborde's Map and Voyage, p. 53. (147.) Schubert's Reise, ii. p. 399.

[33] From this spot Madŭrah bore S. 50° W. Mount Hor, S. 15° E. Mountain of Moab near Khanzîreh, N. 80°.

gradually, along the edge of a precipitous ravine on the right; and then comes all at once upon the naked surface of the rock, the strata of which lie here at an oblique angle, as steep as a man can readily climb. The path, if so it can be called, continues for the rest of the ascent along this bare rock, in a very winding course. The camels made their way with difficulty, being at every moment liable to slip. The rock, indeed, is in general porous and rough; but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places, a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass. The whole mountain-side presents itself as a vast inclined plane of rock; in which, at intervals, narrow tracts of the strata run up at a steeper angle, and break out towards the upper part in low projections; while in other places, they seem to have been thrown up in fantastic shapes by some convulsion of nature.

"We clambered up the pass on foot, taking a direct course over the surface of the rock, while the camels ascended more slowly by the winding route. A parallel and still more direct path for footmen, was taken by several of our Arabs; entering the chasm on our right from below, and then climbing up by a long narrow point or ledge of the rock, which extends far down into it. Further to the right, beyond the chasm, the pass of the Sufey winds up over the rock in a similar manner.

"The name of this pass, es-Sŭfâh (a rock), is in form identical with the Hebrew Zephath, called also Hormah; which we know was the point where the Israelites attempted to ascend the mountain, so as to enter Palestine from Kadesh, but were driven back.[34] A city stood there in

[34] Judg. i. 17. Num. xiv. 45; xxi. 3. Deut. i. 44.

ancient times, one of the 'uttermost cities of Judah towards the coast of Edom southwards,' which was afterwards assiged to the tribe of Simeon.[35] There is, therefore, every reason to suppose, that in the name es-Sŭfâh, we have a reminiscence of the ancient pass which must have existed here, and bore the name of the adjacent city Zephath. Of the name Hormah we could find no vestige."—Vol. II. pp. 590—592.

The Great Valley of the 'Arabah.—"Not the least remarkable circumstance in regard to the great valley between the two seas, is the singular fact, that until the present century its existence should have remained unknown to modern geographers. But if we turn to the Hebrew Scriptures, both the knowledge and the name of the 'Arabah, are found to go back to a high antiquity. The Hebrew word *'Arabah*, signifying in general 'a desert plain, Steppe,'[35] is applied with the article (*the 'Arabah*) directly as the proper name of the great valley in question, in its whole length; and has come down to us at the present day in the same form in Arabic, el-'Arabah. We find the Hebrew 'Arabah distinctly connected with the Red Sea and Elath; the Dead Sea itself is called the Sea of the 'Arabah. It extended also towards the north to the Lake of Tiberias; and the *'Arboth* (plains) of Jericho and Moab were parts of it.[37] The 'Arabah of the Hebrews, therefore, like the Ghôr of Abulfeda, was the great

[35] Josh. xii. 14; xv. 30; xix. 4.

[36] Isa. xxxiii. 9. Jer. l. 12. li. 43.

[37] Heb. הָעֲרָבָה *ha 'Arabah*, in connexion with the Red Sea and Elath, Deut. i. 1. ii. 8. As extending to the Lake of Tiberias, Josh. xii. 3, in the Heb. vs. 1. 2 Sam. iv. 7. 2 Kings xxv. 4. "Sea of the 'Arabah, the Salt Sea," Josh. iii. 16; xii. 3. Deut. iv. 49. "Plains (עֲרָבוֹת) of Jericho," Josh.

valley in its whole extent; and in our present state of knowledge respecting it, the Scriptures thus receive an important illustration."[38]—Vol. II. pp. 599, 600.

Approach of the Israelites to Palestine.—"I have formerly endeavoured to trace the route of the Israelites to Sinai; and have pointed out also their probable course from Sinai northwards, passing by 'Ain el-Hŭdhera, corresponding to the ancient Hazeroth.[39] I have likewise already expressed my conviction, that whatever may have been the direction of their course after leaving that fountain,—whether to the shore of the eastern gulf and so along the Arabah, or whether they crossed the Tîh, and came out upon the high western desert north of that mountain,—they still could not have passed on the west of Jebel 'Arâif, and the mountainous tract further north. Such a

v. 10. 2 Kings, xxv. 5. "Plains of Moab," *i. e.* opposite Jericho, probably pastured by Moab, though not within its proper territory, Deut. xxxiv. 1. 8. Num. xxii. 1. Comp. Gesenius, Lex. Heb. art. עֲרָבָה.

[38] Besides this general illustration, the difficult passage in Deut. i. 1. admits in this way an easy explanation. The Israelites were in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho; and are described as "in the 'Arabah over against the Red Sea," *i. e.* in the part opposite the Red Sea, or towards the other end. This 'Arabah is then said to lie between Paran (Kadesh) on the one side, and Tophel (Tŭfileh) on the other. The remaining names mentioned, are all on the west, viz. Laban, the Libnah of Num. xxxiii. 20.; Hazeroth, *i. e.* 'Ain el-Hŭdhera; and Di-Zahab, probably Dahab.—I owe the suggestion of this explanation to the kind communication of Prof. Hengstenberg of Berlin.

[39] See at the end of Section II. and the first part of Section II. For el-Hŭdhera, see Vol. I. pp. 222—224. [or above, p. 320.]

course would have brought them directly to Beersheba, and not to Kadesh in 'the uttermost border of Edom.'[40]

"The mountainous tract north of Jebel 'Arâif and west of the 'Arabah, forming the country of the 'Azâzimeh, we had now seen on all sides. Beginning at the bluff el-Mŭkrâh and the fountain 'Ain esh-Shahibîyeh, it extends northward nearly or quite to the point where we now were, a desert limestone region full of precipitous ridges, through which no travelled road has ever passed.[41] Our conviction was therefore strengthened, that even if the Israelites came out at first upon the great western plateau, they must necessarily have followed down the Jerâfeh to its junction with the 'Arabah opposite Mount Hor; and then, in any case, have approached the border of Palestine along the latter valley. Most probably, however, they passed by way of the Red Sea and the 'Arabah; for the language of the sacred writer seems to imply, that their way led along Mount Seir.[42]

"We are led also to the same conclusion by all the scriptural notices of the site of Kadesh, to which they first came. It was 'in the uttermost border of Edom.'[43] The southern quarter of Judah too is described as being 'along by the coast of Edom;' and the line was drawn 'from the shore of the salt sea, from the bay that looked southward; and it went out to the south side to the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed along to Zin, and ascended up on the

[40] See Vol. I. p. 276.

[41] See Vol. I. p. 275. Not but that it may be, and is sometimes traversed; for the 'Azazimeh live in it; but other Arabs avoid the tracts and pass around it on their journies. M. Callier appears to have got among these mountains on his journey in this region; Journ. des Savans, Jan. 1836. Nouv. Annal. des Voyages, 1839, tom. III. p. 272.

[42] Deut i. 2.

[43] Numb. xx. 16.

south side to Kadesh-barnea.'[44] Further, from Kadesh the spies entered Palestine by ascending the mountain; and the murmuring Israelites attempting to do the same, were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and afterwards apparently by the king of Arad as far as to Hormah, then called Zephath.[45] There was also at Kadesh a fountain, mentioned long before the exodus of the Israelites; and the miraculous supply of water took place only at their second visit; which implies, that at their first approach, there was no special lack of this necessary article.[46] From Kadesh they turned back to Mount Hor, and thence proceeded to the Red Sea.

"These circumstances all combine to fix the site of Kadesh at a fountain in the northern part of the great valley; and I have already pointed out the remarkable coincidence of the position of the fountain el-Weibeh, with all these particulars. There the Israelites would have Mount Hor in the S.S.E. towering directly before them; across the 'Arabah is the Wady el-Ghuweir, affording an easy passage through the land of Edom; in the N.W. rises the mountain by which they attempted to ascend to Palestine, with the pass still called Sŭfâh (Zephath); while further north we find also Tell 'Arâd, marking the site of the ancient Arad. To all this comes then the vicinity of the southern bay of the Dead Sea; the line of cliffs or offset separating the Ghôr from the 'Arabah, answering to the ascent of Akrabbim; and the desert of Zin with the place of the same name between Akrabbim and Kadesh, not improbably at the water of Hasb in the 'Arabah.[47] In this way all becomes easy and natural; and the scriptural ac-

[44] Josh. xv. 1, 2, 3; comp. Num. xxxiv. 3, 4.

[45] Num. xiii. 17. xiv. 40—45. xxi. 1—3. Deut. i. 41—44. Comp. Judg. i. 17.

[46] Gen. xiv. 7. Num. xx. 1—11.

[47] See pp. 499, 586. Comp. Num. xx. 1.

count is entirely accordant with the character of the country.

"I have thus far assumed that the Israelites were twice at Kadesh; and this appears from a comparison of the various accounts. They broke up from Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month in the second year of their departure out of Egypt, corresponding to the early part of May;[48] they came into the desert of Paran, whence spies were sent up the mountain into Palestine, in 'the time of the first ripe grapes;' and these returned after forty days to the camp at Kadesh.[49] As grapes begin to ripen on the mountains of Judah in July, the return of the spies is to be placed in August or September. The people now murmured at the report of the spies; and received the sentence from Jehovah, that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness, and their children wander in the desert forty years. They were ordered to turn back into the desert 'by the way of the Red Sea;' although it appears that they abode 'many days' in Kadesh.[51]

"The next notice of the Israelites is, that in the first month they came into the desert of Zin and abode again at Kadesh; here Miriam dies; Moses and Aaron bring water from the rock; a passage is demanded through the land of Edom, and refused; and they then journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, where Aaron dies in the fortieth year of the departure from Egypt, in the first day of the fifth month, corresponding to a part of August and September.[52] Here, then, between August of the *second* year and August of the *fortieth* year, we have an interval of thirty-eight years of wandering in the desert. With this

[48] Num. x. 11. Comp. ix. 1.
[49] Num. xii. 16. xiii. 2, 17, 20, 25, 26.
[50] Num. xiv. 29, 32, 33.
[51] Num. xiv. 25. Deut. i. 40, 46.
[52] Num. xx. 1—29. xxxiii. 37, 38.

coincides another account. From Mount Hor they proceeded to Elath on the Red Sea, and so around the land of Edom to the brook Zered on the border of Moab; and from the time of their departure from Kadesh (meaning of course their first departure), until they thus came into the brook Zered, there is said to have been an interval of thirty-eight years.

"In this way the scriptural account of the journeyings of the Israelites becomes perfectly harmonious and intelligible. The eighteen stations mentioned only in the general list in the Book of Numbers, as preceding the arrival at Kadesh, are then apparently to be referred to this eight and thirty years of wandering, during which the people at last approached Ezion-geber, and afterwards returned northwards a second time to Kadesh, in the hope of passing directly through the land of Edom.[54] Their wanderings extended, doubtless, over the western desert; although the stations named are probably only these head-quarters where the tabernacle was pitched, and where Moses and the elders and priests encamped; while the main body of the people was scattered in various directions.

"How in these wide deserts, this host of more than two millions of souls, having no traffic nor intercourse with the surrounding hordes, could find supplies of food and water sufficient for their support, without a constant miracle, I for one am unable to divine. Yet among them we read only of occasional longings and complaints; while the tribes that now roam over the same regions, although numbering scarce as many thousands, are exposed to famine and privations of every kind; and, at the best, obtain only a meagre and precarious subsistence."—Vol. II. pp. 609—613.

[52] Num. xxi. 4. Deut. ii. 8, 13, 14, 18.

[54] See the list of all these stations, Num. xxxiii. 18—36.

PHŒNICIA.

Sepulchre of Hiram.—On their journey from Safed to Tyre, when crossing the hill country near the latter place, they came upon a remarkable monument with the above designation :—" Proceeding over the hilly tract with a gradual descent, we had a village above us on our left at 12^h 25′, the name of which escaped us.[55] Ten minutes further on, we came to one of the most remarkable monuments of antiquity yet remaining in the Holy Land. It is an immense sarcophagus of limestone, resting upon a lofty pedestal of large hewn stones; a conspicuous ancient tomb, bearing among the common people the name of Kabr Hairân, " Sepulchre of Hiram." The sarcophagus measures twelve feet long by six feet in height and breadth ; the lid is three feet thick, and remains in its original position ; but a hole has been broken through the sarcophagus at one end.[56] The pedestal consists of three layers of the like species of stone, each three feet thick, the upper layer projecting over the others ; the stones are large, and one of them measures nine feet in length. This gray weather-beaten monument stands here alone and solitary, bearing the marks of high antiquity ; but the name and the record of him by whom or for whom it was erected, have perished like his ashes for ever. It is indeed possible, that the present name may have come down by tradition; and that this sepulchre once held the dust of the friend and ally of Solomon; more probably, however, it is merely of Mu-

[55] Monro gives the name of this village as " Annowy ;" ii. p. 25. Mr. Thomson writes it Hannany (Hŭnnâneh ?) l. c. p. 43.

[56] Such tombs, composed of a single soros or sarcophagus, of immense size, are not uncommon in Asia Minor ; see Fellow's Journal in Asia Minor, Lond. 1839, pp. 48, 219, 248.

hammedan application, like so many other names of Hebrew renown, attached to their Welys and monuments in every part of Palestine. I know of no historical trace having reference to this tomb; and it had first been mentioned by a Frank traveller only five years before."[57]—Vol. III. p. 385, 386.

Present state of Tyre.—" The peninsula, on which Tyre, now Sûr, is built, was originally a long narrow island, parallel to the shore, and distant from it less than half a mile. It was perhaps at first a mere ledge of rocks: and inside of this, the island was formed by the sand washed up from the sea. The isthmus was first created by the famous causeway of Alexander; which was enlarged and rendered permanent by the action of the waters, in throwing the sand over it broadly and deeply. At present, the isthmus cannot be much less than half a mile in width, and although consisting of loose sand, yet it is covered with traces of the foundations of buildings, probably out of the middle ages. It lies between the shore and the more northern part of the island; so that the latter, as seen from the shore, seems to project further towards the south of the isthmus than towards the north, and forms here a larger bay; although the harbour, or rather road, in which vessels lie, is that on the north. The island, as such, is not far from a mile in length. The part which projects on the south beyond the isthmus, is perhaps a quarter of a mile broad, and is rocky and uneven; it is now unoccupied, except as 'a place to spread nets upon.' The southern wall of the city runs accross the island nearly on a line with the south side of the isthmus. The present city stands upon the junction of the island and

[57] By Monro in 1833, whose road had again fallen into ours; Vol. II. p. 25. The tomb is also described by Mr. Thomson in 1837; l. c. p. 435.

isthmus; and the eastern wall includes a portion of the latter. On the north and west, towards the sea, are no walls; or at least they are so far broken away and neglected as to be like none.

"The inner port or basin on the north, was formerly inclosed by a wall, running from the north end of the island in a curve towards the main land. Various pieces and fragments of this wall yet remain, sufficient to mark its course: but the port itself is continually filling up more and more with sand, and now-a-days only boats can enter it. Indeed, our host informed us, that even within his own recollection, the water covered the open place before his house, which at present is ten or twelve rods from the sea and surrounded with buildings, while older men remember, that vessels formerly anchored where the shore now is.

"The western coast of the island is wholly a ledge of ragged, picturesque rocks, in some parts fifteen or twenty feet high; upon which the waves of the Mediterranean dash in ceasless surges. The city lies only upon the eastern part of the island; between the houses and the western shore is a broad strip of open land, now given up to tillage. This shore is strewed from one end to the other, along the edge of the water and in the water, with columns of red and gray granite of various sizes, the only remaining monuments of the splendour of ancient Tyre.[58] At the N. W. point of the island forty or fifty such columns are thrown together in one heap beneath the waves. Along this coast, too, it is apparent, that the continual washing of the waves has in many places had the effect to form layers of new rock; in which stones, bones, and fragments of pottery are cemented as constituent parts.

[58] I mean here, of course, Tyre before the Christian era; or at least before it fell under the Muhammedan dominion.

"There are also occasional columns along the northern shore. I examined here very particularly the old wall of the port, at its western extremity; where its abutments are at first built up along the shore, before it strikes off into the water. It is here constructed of large hewn stones; and at first I took it to be of very ancient date. But on looking further, I perceived that the foundations rest on marble columns laid beneath; a proof that these portions of the walls, at least, if not the whole port in its present form, cannot probably be much older than the middle ages.

"The remains of the ancient cathedral church of Tyre, are quite in the south-eastern corner of the present city. It was in the Greek style, and must have been originally a large and splendid edifice; but is now in utter ruin. The eastern end is partially standing; the middle part is wholly broken away: but portions are again seen around its western extremity.—After a very careful estimate we judged its length to have been not less than two hundred and fifty feet, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. The area is now wholly filled up by the mean hovels of the city; many of which are attached, like swallows' nests, to its walls and buttresses. In the yard of one of these huts, lies an immense double column of red Syenite granite, consisting of two parallel connected shafts of great size and beauty, once doubtless a main support and ornament of the cathedral.[58] Volney relates, that Jezzâr Pasha, in the beginning of his career, attempted to remove this column to 'Akka, to ornament a mosk; but his engineers were unable to stir it from the spot.[59] Other columns of

[58] Such double columns we had before seen only at Tell Hûm; where, however, they were much smaller.

[59] Volney, Voyage tom. ii. p. 196.

gray granite are strewed in the vicinity, and are seen along the streets. The earthquake of 1837 did great injury to these noble ruins; throwing down a lofty arch and several other portions, which had been spared till then.

"There is nothing which can serve to connect these ruins directly with any known ancient church. Yet the supposition of Maundrell is not improbable, that this may have been the same edifice erected by Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, in the beginning of the fourth century, for which Eusebius wrote a consecration sermon. The circumstances related by Eusebius, show that it was a cathedral church; he describes it as the most splendid of all the temples of Phenicia.[60] The writers in the times of the crusades make no mention of the cathedral; although Tyre was then erected into a Latin archbishopric under the patriarch of Jerusalem. William of Tyre, the venerable historian of the crusades, became archbishop in A. D. 1174; and wrote here his history, extending to the commencement of A. D. 1184. It was probably in this cathedral, that the bones of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa were entombed.

"The present Sûr is nothing more than a market town, a small sea-port, hardly deserving the name of city. Its chief export is the tobacco raised upon the neighbouring hills; with some cotton, and also charcoal and wood from the more distant mountains.[61] The houses are for the most part mere hovels; very few being more than one story high, with flat roofs. The streets are narrow lanes, crooked and filthy. Yet the many scattered palm-trees throw over the place an oriental charm; and the numerous Pride of India trees interspersed among the houses and gardens, with their beautiful foliage, give it a pleasing

[60] The account of Eusebius, and his sermon as preserved by himself, are found in his Hist. Ecc. x. 4. Comp. Maundrell, March 20.

[61] See above, pp. 384, 385.

aspect.—The taxable men at this period were reckoned at four hundred Muhammedans and three hundred Christians; implying a population of less than three thousand souls. Of the Christians, very few are of the Greek rite; the great body being Greek-Catholics. The latter have a resident bishop; while the bishop of the former, who is under the patriarch of Antioch, resides at Hâsbeiya.[62] We heard here of no Jews; though in Jerusalem we were informed, that two years before, a considerable number had taken up their residence in Tyre.

"The earthquake of 1837 was felt here to a very considerable extent. A large part of the eastern wall was thrown down, and had just been rebuilt; the southern wall also had been greatly shattered, and still remained with many breaches, over which one could pass in and out at pleasure. Several houses were destroyed, and many injured; so that the inhabitants, at the time, forsook their dwellings and lodged in tents, regarding the place as ruined. Twelve persons were killed outright, and thirty wounded.[63]

"Sŭr at the present day is supplied with water, almost wholly, from two deep fountains with buildings over them, a few paces outside of the gate on the north side of the peninsula; the one nearest the gate being the largest and chiefly used. This is a singular place for fresh water to spring up; and the conjecture is not unnatural, that they stand in some unknown connection with the ancient fountains of Râs el-'Ain. Such was the belief of our host, and of others in Tyre. He related, that some two or

[62] Seetzen, in 1806, lodged at Hâsbeiya with "the learned bishop of Sûr or Saida:" Zach's Monatl. Corr. xviii. p. 341. Burckhardt also had letters to him in 1810; Travels, p. 33.

[63] See Mr. Thomson's Report so often referred to, Miss. Herald, Nov. 1837, pp. 434, 441.

three years ago, the governor of Sŭr, having been ordered to furnish a certain number of recruits as soldiers, collected all the peasantry of the district, under the pretence of clearing out the ancient aqueduct, which was supposed to have come to the city. They actually dug for a day or two along the isthmus, not far from the gate, and found traces of an aqueduct at some depth under ground, consisting of very large and thick tubes of pottery. The governor now seized his recruits; and his object being thus accomplished, the matter was dropped." —Vol. III. p. 396—401.

Sŭrafend, the ancient Zarephath, or Sarepta.— On their way from Tyre to Sidon, they came to a "Wely near the shore, with a small Khân close by, called el-Khŭdr, the Arab name of St. George. Five minutes beyond is a site of ruins on the left, broken foundations, and irregular heaps of stones, indicating, however, in themselves, little more than a mere village. Opposite to this spot, high up on the southern slope of a partially isolated hill, and hardly half an hour distant, is a large village with two or three Welys, bearing the name of Sŭrafend. In this name we here have the Zarephath of the Old Testament, and the Sarepta of the New; a place situated, according to Josephus and Pliny, between Tyre and Sidon, and belonging to the territory of the latter.[64] Here Elijah dwelt long in the house of the widow, and restored her son to life.[65] Eusebius and Jerome have the name; and the latter speaks of Paula as having visited the spot.[66]

[64] 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10. Obad. ver. 20. Luke iv. 26. Joseph. Ant. viii. 13. 2. Plin. H. N. v. 19. Cellarius, Not. Orb. ii. p. 380.

[65] 1 Kings xvii. 9—24.

[66] Onomast. art. *Sarepta.* Hieron. Epist. 86. Epitaph.

"In Latin poems of the subsequent centuries, the wine of Sarepta is highly celebrated; though at the close of the sixth century, Antoninus Martyr describes the place as only a small Christian city.[67] It is, however, nowhere mentioned as an ancient bishopric; the crusaders first made it the seat of a Latin bishop under the archbishop of Sidon, and erected near the port a small chapel over the reputed spot, where Elijah dwelt and raised the widow's son from the dead.[68] Phocas, about A. D. 1185, speaks here of a fortress on the shore of the sea. Brocardus a century later says, the place had scarcely eight houses, though many ruins indicated its ancient splendour.[69] The Christian chapel was doubtless succeeded by the mosk, of which former travellers speak as erected here over the widow's house; and at the present day, the same is probably found in the Wely el-Khŭdr.[70]—Vol. III. pp. 412, 413.

Paulæ, p. 673. ed. Mart.—In the Itiner. Hieros. the name and the distance from Sidon are lost; but the description remains: "Ibi Elias ad viduam ascendit et petiit sibi cibum;" p. 583. ed. Wess.

[67] Sidonius, Apoll. xvii. 16. Fulgent. Mythol. ii. 15. See the citations in full, Cellarius, Not. Orb. ii. p. 380. seq. Rel. Pal. p. 986.

[68] William of Tyre speaks of Sarepta as a bishopric, xix. 14. Other bishops are recorded afterwards. See Le Quien, Oriens Chr. iii. p. 1338, seq.—The chapel is mentioned by Jac. de Vitr. c. 44. Marin. San. p. 165.

[69] Phocas de Loc. Sanct. § 7. Brocardus c. i. p 171.

[70] Sandys's Travels, p. 166. Quaresmius, ii. pp. 907, 908. Nau, p. 544. Pococke, ii. p. 85.—The Christian tradition was formerly somewhat at fault about this mosk; some making it cover the spot where our Lord met the Syrophenician woman; Matt. xv. 22. Mark vii. 25, 26. See Quaresmius, ibid. D'Arvieux, Mémoires, ii. 4. Paris, 1735.

Saida, the ancient Sidon.—" Saida, the ancient Sidon, lies on the N. W. slope of a small promontory, which here juts out for a short distance obliquely into the sea, towards the south-west. The highest ground is on the south, where the citadel, a large square tower, is situated; an old structure, said by some to have been built by Louis IX. in A. D. 1253.[71] A wall encloses the city on the land-side, running across the promontory from sea to sea; it is kept in tolerable repair.* The ancient harbour was formed by a long low ridge of rocks, parallel to the shore in front of the city. Before the time of Fakhr ed-Dîn, there was here a port capable of receiving fifty gallies; but that chieftain, in order to protect himself against the Turks, caused it to be partly filled up with stones and earth; so that ever since his day only boats can enter it.[72] Larger vessels lie without the entrance, on the north of the ledge of rocks, where they are protected from the south-west winds, but exposed to those from the northern quarter. Here, on a rock in the sea, is another castle of the time of the crusades, the form of which is in part adapted to that of the rock; it is connected with the shore at the northern end of the city, by a stone causeway with nine arches, lying between the inner and outer port.[73]

" The streets of Saida are narrow, crooked, and dirty, like those of most oriental cities. The houses are, many of them, large, and well built of stone; and the town, in this respect, presents a strong contrast to modern Tyre.

[71] This seems to be the story of the French residents, and may perhaps be well founded; Nau, p. 535. Pococke, ii. p. 87. fol. Turner's Tour, ii. p. 87. Yet D'Arvieux, in 1658, makes no mention of the report; Mem. i. p. 296.

* This description applies to the appearance of Sidon, before its capture by Sir Charles Napier in September 1840.— *Tr.*

[72] D'Arvieux, Mem. i. p. 298.

[73] Niebuhr, Reisebeschreib, iii. p. 79.

Those, especially along the eastern wall, are distinguished for their size and height; they are built directly on the wall, so as to constitute a part of it, and enjoy a pure air and a pleasing prospect of the fields and country. Within the city are six Khans, called by the Arabs Wekâlehs, for the use of merchants and travellers.[74] The largest of these is the Wekâleh formerly belonging to the French factory and consulate, and still called the French Khan; a large quadrangle of about one hundred and fifty feet on a side, with a fountain and basin in the middle, and covered galleries all around. It was erected by Fakhr ed-Dîn early in the seventeenth century, and is minutely described by D'Arvieux, who resided here for several years as a merchant, soon after the middle of the same century.

"The taxable males of Saida, as we were told, amount, as registered, to seventeen hundred; which, according to the usual proportion, would indicate a population of nearly seven thousand souls. Yet Ibrahim, who certainly had the best opportunities of information, estimated the whole number of inhabitants at not over five thousand. About two-thirds of the whole are Muslims; one-eighth part, Jews; and the remainder, Greek Catholics and Maronites in about equal proportions, with a very few Arab-Greeks.

"The commerce of Saida which, five-and-twenty years ago, was still considerable, has of late years fallen off, in consequence of the prosperity of Beirŭt; the latter having become exclusively the port of Damascus. The chief exports from Saida, are silk, cotton, and nutgalls.[75] Indeed, we had now begun to enter upon the region, in which silk is extensively cultivated; as is indicated by the orchards of mulberry-trees around the villages. The earthquake of 1837 threw down several houses in Saida, and in-

[74] Turner, ib. p. 87. For the Wekâleh, see Lane's Modern Egyptians, ii. p. 8, seq. This name is falsely written Okella.

[75] Turner, ib. p. 88.

jured many others; but only a few persons were killed.[76]

"The beauty of Saida consists in its gardens and orchards of fruit-trees, which fill the plain and extend to the foot of the mountains. The city and the tract around are abundantly supplied with water, by aqueducts and channels which conduct it from the Auly and other smaller streams, as they issue from the mountains.[77] The environs exhibit everywhere a luxuriant verdure; and the fruits of Saida are reckoned among the finest of the country. Hasselquist enumerates pomegranates, apricots, figs, almonds, oranges, lemons, and plums, as growing here in such abundance as to furnish annually several ship loads for export; to which D'Arvieux adds also pears, peaches, cherries, and bananas, as at the present day.[78] At the foot of the mountains, are many ancient excavated sepulchres.[79]

"Saida was at this time the point, from which travellers were accustomed to make an excursion to the residence

[76] Mr. Thomson's Report in the Missionary Herald for Nov. 1837, p. 434.

[77] Berggren, Reisen, ii. p. 217. Hasselquist describes the ancient aqueduct which still supplies the city, as bringing the water from the mountains, a distance of two German or Swedish miles, *i. e.* some four or five hours; Reise, p. 192.

[78] D'Arvieux, Mem. i. p. 332. Hasselquist, Reise, p. 188. Besides these fruits, Hasselquist mentions also the numerous mulberry-trees, the *Cordia Sebestena*, from whose berries birdlime was made and exported, and sumac (Rhus.) He says the vine was not cultivated around Saida; yet D'Arvieux, who resided here a century earlier, describes the vine as very abundant, yielding grapes of great perfection, and a strong though delicate white wine; Mem. i. p. 328.

[79] Described by Maundreil, April 22. Hasselquist, Reise, p. 189. Pococke, ii. p. 87.

of Lady Hester Stanhope, about three hours distant in the mountains. We had letters to her; but, pressed as we were for time, in the hope of still being able to visit Ba'albek, we felt no disposition to avail ourselves of the introduction. Her career was at least an extraordinary one; and whether she acted from the promptings of a noble or a wayward spirit, death has now closed the scene, and cast his pall over her virtues and her follies."—Vol. III. pp. 417—420.

END OF APPENDIX.

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