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The first duty of every student, and of students of the natural sciences as well, is to seek for the truth, wherever it may lie. That the student may also be assured that the truth is always more likely to be found by one who seeks it with reverent awe; by one who, rejoicing in that which he has been permitted to unfold, remembers also that, in the words of Emerson, "Nature never became a toy to a wise spirit." The higher one's aim, the higher is likely to be his attainment; and no aim can be higher than the aim reverently to read, gratefully to obey, the teaching of the Infinite Spirit which framed the worlds.

ARTICLE IV.

SUCCOTH AND PENUEL NOT YET IDENTIFIED.

BY PROFESSOR J. A. FAINE, PH.D.

AN identification of Succoth and Penuel published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October last ought not to pass without review. An obligation, perhaps, rests upon every one specially informed on the subject, to apprise biblical students whether the opinion therein expressed can be relied upon or not. Having thoroughly explored every portion of Eastern Palestine from the Arnon to Damascus two and three years before Dr. Merrill's observations, and now having given four years of study, aided by every work of reference that could be desired, to its geography and places in a biblical point of view, I might be expected to judge intelligently respecting the merits of this proposition. Though extremely reluctant to speak adversely to any proposal he may make, I am compelled to dissent from Dr. Merrill's view for many reasons, among others the following.

General Considerations.

1. The topographical character of the valley forbids it. From the point where the Zārqa approaches the region of

the Jordan, as far up as the ford of Jārāsh called Meshra' ez-Zublfyeh, its ravine is a profound chasm, comparable only to the abyss-like cañons in the territories and mountains of our far West. On the north a mountain rises directly upward, and scarcely pauses in ascent to its summit at an elevation of fully five thousand feet. On the south a wall of rock and earth lifts up from seven to twelve hundred feet in height, whose summit, by the wear of lateral wadies, takes the form of headlands or precipitous bluffs jutting out toward the stream. The bed is for the most part a wild, rugged cleft, ascending at the rate of two hundred feet per mile, either obstructed by rocks laid bare, or half closed by great blocks rolled down from the hill-sides. Here and there a level or a little opening may happen, but such gaps are extremely few. Aside from these rare places the depths of the gorge would never be visited by man, except for the necessity of drink in summer's drouth or of crossing from one mountain to the other. Far down in this narrow channel the stream of the Zārqa flows with great swiftness, generally in rapids, often in cascades, always dashing noisily against the stones of its bed or sides, and in unceasing windings.

Now this valley was always practically uninhabitable. The bed of the stream is infested with the spiny zizyphus, thickets of oleander, now and then a dwarfed plane-tree, many reeds, and with them many wild boars, but the moment the limit of water is passed the mountain-sides afford nothing whatever beside thin, wiry broom or røetam bushes. It never could support inhabitants, or their necessary flocks. Men may have dwelt on Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb, chosing it on account of the easily defensible character of the hill-tops, and finding partial subsistence on an opening lower down stream, but they were not many in number. People could not live in the depths of the valley on account of extreme aridity, intense heat, and want of air. Even as high up stream as Meshra' ez-Zublfyeh Captain Warren found 'the heat excessive.' It strikes one with surprise to find that men did not live in cities along the fertile banks of the Jordan, or even on its

open plain, except quite close to the foot-hills on either side; far less, then, could and did men try to live in the barren, torrid, constricted gorge of the lower Zārḡā.

This valley, moreover, was practically impassable. Its sides were too steep for Jacob to cross with his live stock. On the south side the lateral ravines allow difficult ascension to the table-land running back with more or less rise to the summit *Jebel 'Ausha'*, but on the north the mountain-side is too abrupt for the passage of any beast of burden.



Sketch of The Jabbok Valley showing the olden route to the East.

To the present hour natives, as, for example, those of es-Sūlt going to *Jebel 'Ajlūn* or those of *Jebel 'Ajlūn* travelling southward, do not attempt to cross with loaded animals this rapid torrent plunging at the bottom of its defile. Everything laden is invariably sent round by the way of the eastern *Meshra' ez-Zubliyah*, above the beginning of this yawning gulf. In our expeditions our own muleteers always avoided

this part of the Zārqa, and took the circuitous route rather than force its passage. There are several meshra's between that of es-Zublîyeh, or the ford of Jārāsh, and the region of Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb, but they are watering rather than fording places, and both Arabs and inhabitants of Jebel 'Ajlūn assured me that they never ventured to cross them except in low water at the end of summer, and that even then it was a matter of extreme peril on account of the depth and swiftness of water. At the best ford of all, called Meshra' en-Nāsrānîyeh, below Burmā, on the path leading over to Jebel 'Ausha' and on to es-Sālt, the current was indeed so swift in the month of July that my horse was swept off his legs, and recovered them only after a great struggle. This was the only path and crossing Jacob could take. He was laden with all goods acquired in the land of Laban, and was encumbered with flocks of every kind. His wives and sons were set upon camels; but camels could by no means make their way down the northern mountain-side. Judging from my own experience—I was obliged to dismount and lead my horse down the greater part of the way, particularly the last, it was so abrupt and rocky, a regular break-neck descent; and harem-bearing camels, it will be seen, could not then make their way where lightly loaded horses or mules cannot go now. His present to Esau indicates an untold number of other camels with their young. Laban followed like-mounted in haste; much less would he have passed over this impracticable chasm. Besides, Jacob brought with him large droves of kine and bulls, asses and foals, goats, rams, and ewes so near the time of parturition that the slightest hardship would have caused the whole flock to die. All these flocks could not be forded across the lower Zārqa at such a spot as Meshra' en-Nāsrānîyeh, the only place where nature affords approach by a precarious foot-path. Add to this the fact that it was "that same night" that Jacob, lodged on the north side of the Jabbok, by night sent the present over before him, while he remained with the company until he rose up later in the night and sent his

family over the ford, remaining himself on the north side till the dawn of day. Now there is no space whatever for encampment beside the stream Zārqa at the above-named ford, the only one open to his choice, so that Jacob must have had his camp high on the mountain-side. This necessitates the sending of his entire flocks, herds of cattle, family-laden camels, etc., down that precipitous, dangerous, mountain-side in the depths and black obscurity of night. Such a thing was an utter impossibility. Jacob's crossing was made at no great distance from Penuel; and if it could not be done at the best fording-place of all, how much less at another! Farther down stream, near Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb, there is no descent to a passage, and were there any it would be a much worse one.

Not to be alone in this report of the Zārqa's topography, let me call attention to facts reported by R. Doergens. From near Burmā onward he reports: "Here we found ourselves on the high northern brink of the very considerable Wadi Zerka. Early the next morning we set out to pass this wadi; at first our path was not very steep, but the deeper we went down so much more considerable was the sinking, and so much more rocky was the ground. . . . The place where we crossed the river I found lying one hundred feet below the Mediterranean Sea, while Burma from which we set out lay eighteen hundred feet above the same level, so that thus we had descended from Burma to the depth of nineteen hundred feet. In order to do it we had taken an hour and a half. When now we rode up out of the Wadi Zerka to the southern wall of the valley, we were engaged in considerable and prolonged climbing."¹ His place of crossing, below Burmā, was Meshra' en-Nasrānfyeh. All altitudes or depressions observed by Doergens were taken not with aneroids, but by a barometer, which at the end of his circuit was found to be unharmed and unchanged.

2. This identification requires a course for Jacob, in his journey, directly opposite to the true necessary one. The

¹ Reise in das Ost-Jordan-Land, s. 417.

narrative speaks of the passage of the Jabbok as one, and as a single one. Had there been more the Bible would not have spoken of one. If the Scripture account implies anything more than it expressly says, it implies that Jacob came to the Jabbok for the first time and crossed it for the last time in the one ford spoken of so particularly. We are not allowed to suppose there was a second, or a third, or an indefinite number of crossings. But this proposition fixes Succoth, the place Jacob reached next after passing Penuel, on the north side of the Zārqa or Jabbok; it thus causes Jacob to appear on the south side of the Jabbok and to cross over to the north side. Then Jacob did not meet Esau, who certainly came from Seir in the south; but Esau followed in the wake of Jacob and overtook him soon after leaving Penuel. This stands in plain conflict with the Scriptural statements, "And Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold Esau came." "And Esau ran to meet him." "So Esau returned to Seir."

8. This identification is made independently of Mahanaim, and cannot be brought to agree with any possible site for it. Whoever undertakes to say where Penuel is must first show where Mahanaim was, in order that the Scriptural requirement may be seen to be satisfied. It is scarcely possible that Dr. Merrill would say that Burmâ used to be Mahanaim; at all events it would be vain for him to do so. Jārāsh, he thinks, "can be identified beyond dispute" with Ramoth-gilead. And Mahanaim he excludes from the valley of the Zārqa by the declaration that his site seems to be indicated as Penuel by the fact that throughout the whole line of the Jabbok until Qāl'at Zārqa is reached, fifty or sixty miles from the mouth of the river, there are no ruins except fallen mills here and there. And in this statement he is quite exact, in so far as it certainly is true there is no ruined site in the line of the Zārqa that could have been Mahanaim of old. The Scripture conditions are these: Jacob lodged in Mahanaim, rose up that same night, and in the dead of night passed on to the bank of Jabbok, sent over his family, stayed

behind till dawn, then passed over or onward and reached Penuel at sunrise. Now, then, Mahanaim stood quite nearly related to the Jabbok, so near that from it the latter could be reached between midnight and sometime prior to day-break. But Dr. Merrill does not name any such spot for Mahanaim, and for the reason that near his site for Penuel he knew of no such place for Mahanaim. From earlier, careful, and exhaustive research for these places in this very region I am able to say that within the required distance from Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb there is no locality or ruin in existence corresponding to Mahanaim. The two hills of Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb, with the duality of building upon them, would in this respect much better fit Mahanaim than Penuel; and yet Mahanaim was not there.

Considerations forbidding Penuel at Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb.

1. The name Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb is not a modern one. At least, the presumption is that the name is an old one, and as ancient as any in the country, not excepting Jīl'ād or Ken'ān; and the burden of proof rests with Dr. Merrill to show that it is a new one as he alleges, before he proceeds to argue for a totally different name on the spot in biblical times. The truth is, Dhāhāb might be pronounced Zāhāb in Arabic, and whether sounded Dhāhāb or Zāhāb it is the very same word as the Hebrew Zahab, and dates without doubt from Hebrew times. Edh-Dhāhāb is precisely what the Scripture expresses by Dizahab, Where is Gold, though the places may not be identical.

It is altogether probable that in earliest times men called these hills Zahab, and that this name has clung to them ever since, unmodified in passing from one tongue to another. And what might have been the origin of the term Zahab? The occasion of the name lies simply either in the color or in the metalliferous nature of the ground, or both combined. The root zahab signifies *to shine, to glitter, to be yellow, as gold*; whence it is applied to any metal yellow or resembling gold, even to anything yellow like gold, as to olive-oil

from its golden color, and to the golden brightness of a sunset sky. Now the color of these two mounds called Tûlûl edh-Dhâhâb is yellowish, uniform and clear, thus conspicuous as far from the heights above as the configuration of the cañon permits them to be seen. Nay more than this. The sandstone rock of the region is metalliferous, abundantly bearing metallic ores, in structure resembling native metal. On weather-worn surfaces of the rock all over the northern mountain-side little sharp spurs up to irregular masses stand out like studs, which may be knocked off by a kick of the toe and brought away. These projecting specimens similar to native metal afford a yellow surface when broken or cut, and as an ore resembling that of gold in all likelihood would receive the term Zahab from primitive people. In ancient times, no doubt, the very rock of Tûlûl edh-Dhâhâb shared this metalliferous deposit, and perhaps for a more than usual amount gathered there received the name The Hills of Gold pre-eminently. Quite likely a remarkable opening on one side of one of the mounds is the mouth of an abandoned mine. Until late years, in the same sandstone rock, mines of iron and other metals, copper the people add, have been worked near Burmâ, above on the mountain-side.

2. A change of name from Penuel to another entirely Semitic, and capable of being as old, is illogical and contrary to custom. There is reason for supposing that very few ancient appellations have disappeared; nearly all of them remain; sometimes, however, in forms scarcely recognizable, quite rarely in shapes distorted beyond discovery. But never has one Hebrew term taken the place of another Hebrew name and come down to our own day instead of the original one.

3. The space between the stream and the top of either one of these hills is too short for Penuel. The Zârqâ flows at their very base, in fact between them. Dr. Merrill does not claim more than two hundred and fifty feet for their height, and this would indicate only little more than four hundred feet for their slopes. The hills did not strike me as being even two hundred feet in altitude. All this falls far

too short of the requirement in the narrative. The angel of Jehovah left off wrestling with Jacob at the first breaking of day, and disappeared with the faintest light. "Let me go, for the day breaketh." Jacob then went on his way, and was passing by Penuel as the first beams of the sun fell upon him. The case is exactly parallel with that of Lot. Now the duration between early dawn and sunrise admits of exact timing any morning in Eastern Palestine, and that duration is about one hour; it may be slightly less, it may be more, if one begins with the first signs of morning in the eastern sky. Such a length of duration implies not less than two miles for the distance between the Jabbok-bank and Penuel. The requirement of this time or distance does not exist at Tûlûl edh-Dhähâb.

4. There is no highway through this part of the valley, and there never was any. Dr. Merrill speaks often and at length of this valley as a highway, but it is justifiable only in that general sense agreeably to which we look upon every valley as an avenue of travel. In this instance, however, such generalization fails. The narrow, rocky, rapidly falling chasm always has been totally unfit for a thoroughfare, and the remains of no old route exist within its limits. In my own exploration of the lower Zârqâ the chief pathway led me up and along on the southern face of the bluff, and this was so rocky and perilous at certain places that I had to dismount and walk; my horse would not take me over several points where he had hard work to keep on his feet, and, had I ridden, where we should have incurred imminent danger of being dashed down two or three hundred feet into the bottom of the Zârqâ. At Tûlûl edh-Dhähâb one might pick one's way along either shelving side of the valley. At Meshra' en-Nâsrânîyeh there was no through route on either side. And from this point as far upward as Meshra' ez-Zublîyeh no highway is possible. An Arab might get through, no doubt, by dint of exertion and difficult scratching, but no Arab wants to, and so the thing is not attempted. At Meshra' ez-Zublîyeh, the ford of Jârâsh, I saw nothing in

the line of a path leading down; a single footpath leads from this point upward. Far up this Zārqa valley, in what may well be termed the upper Zārqa, there is a thoroughfare, but it comes down from the eastern circuit only to turn off soon on the north and lead over the mountain to Damascus. No highway through the lower Zārqa has ever been wanted. Dr. Merrill seems to have missed the real thoroughfare of this region, and so I will indicate the true route taken in olden times. It is a Roman road marked throughout by excavations in the hill-sides, causeways, pavements still intact, and from time to time groups of mile-stones. From the Jordan vale it enters the valley of the Zārqa only immediately to turn out of it up one of the southern spurs, and to run along the inner side of Jebel Māslūbīyeh, passing the upper border of the large ruin called Khirbet el-Hafāyir, running on eastward over the terrace of the plateau, rounding the hills south of Khirbet Jil'ād, seeking now the hamlet styled Rumaīmfān, passing through wādī and over hill till it descends into the great Buq'ah, from whence it emerges at the south-eastern corner at the spring and ruin of Mūbis, and proceeds to make its way over the upland to 'Ammān. This well-built Roman road we may be sure followed the line of a time-honored highway from the Jordan and Bāisān, or even Shechem Nābūlūs to the regions of the east. The Midianites were not accustomed to roads in their own country, did not require a highway to take them to Western Palestine, never would have reached there had they strung themselves along in single file, and in their flight certainly did not limit themselves to any narrow thoroughfare or valley. On the contrary, they were some powerful tribe or tribes from the great south-east coming up, just as powerful Bedāwī tribes do to the present hour, for food, and the rich harvests of both Eastern and Western Palestine, foraging as they moved, taking matters leisurely, and sweeping over a broad area of country. What they wanted was to eat up the land, and gather up the grain their hands had not sowed, on every side. In approaching, the straightened Zārqa would neither

have held them nor suited their purpose ; in departing, it could have allowed them no avenue of escape. Dr. Merrill says : " South of the Jabbok, again, as far as the line of the Dead Sea and Hasban, there is no feasible route by which to descend from the eastern plains to the Jordan valley." There are fully a dozen such routes ; on an average, one for every two miles of latitude.

5. The site of Tūlūl edh-Dhähāb affords no ruin commensurate with the requirements of Penuel. What remains exist to our day are of a rude character, intended merely to strengthen or fortify the heights of the hills. They are not ruins of a town in any age, much less relics of such a great city as Jeroboam rebuilt.

6. The ruins on the mounds of edh-Dhähāb give no sign of ever having been provided with a tower. Gideon threatened the inhabitants of Penuel, " When I come again in peace I will break down this tower." This is not too much to expect in the proper region.

7. The site was not that of Penuel, because both inaccessible and insignificant. Its depression below the sea-level must be fully five hundred feet, perhaps more. The inhabitants of edh-Dhähāb, though placed on low hill-tops, were sunken in a pit to which there was no easy access, and from which no ready egress. Shut in by hills on every side, they enjoyed no outlook except toward heaven. No one would care to disturb them ; they would be able to trouble none but themselves. Had there been any to want their barren mounds, such could readily have looked down from the heights on them as ants of ant-hills, while they would have observed their enemies as birds in the air. Such a place was the last in Eastern Palestine Jeroboam would have selected for building up. He would not have chosen a worthless site for raising into the fort or the metropolis of his dominion beyond Jordan. Wherever his Penuel was, it was one of the most eligible sites of the country, one of the most important for a town, desirable and healthful as a place of residence, most central, of strategic power as a key to the country, and

capable of being fortified into a large, populous city. The site called Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb has none of these advantages; on the contrary, it is one of the most out-of-the-way, hidden, isolated spots in Eastern Palestine, possessing no territory, and utterly destitute of both attraction or value.

In this connection, it should be added, there is nothing strange about the conformation of these two hills, nothing whatever peculiar in their features to impress either the original oriental inhabitants, or Jacob, had he arrived at their feet, or now a modern beholder, into a persuasion that they marked the site of some special manifestation of the Deity, or resembled the face of God and lead one to name them accordingly. They are nothing but a couple of common mounds, not even imposing in size, similar to hundreds of others in the Jordan system, through the valley of the Zārqa, to and especially on the uplands of eastern Moab.

Considerations forbidding Succoth at Daïr 'Allā.

1. The name selected is quite improperly written Der'ala, and has not even a Talmudic shadow of connection with Succoth. Properly recognized and written, the name of the place Dr. Merrill fixes upon is Daïr 'Allā; not one word, but two; and of this the title Daïr means *monastery*; so that the two words signify the *Monastery* of 'Alla, just as in Tūlūl edh-Dhāhāb the term Tūlūl means *hills*, and in Jebel 'Ajlūn the word Jebel means *mountain*. According to the method of Dr. Eli Smith this word is usually written by Dr. Edward Robinson as Deir. When speaking it Dr. Merrill pronounces this name as Deir 'Alā; and a reference to his chart of the Jordan valley, inserted with his report in the "Fourth Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Society, issued in January 1877, will reveal the name ingenuously written Tell Deir 'Alla, as three distinct words; also, the text of the Report (p. 86), rightly reads, "And Tell Deir 'Alla, which stands out in the broad plain west of Tell el Hamma." Dr. Merrill, therefore, once knew the value of his written syllable Der to be Deir or Daïr as a separate word, meaning *monas-*

tery. Is it not, then, remarkable that in October of the same year, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, attempting to identify Succoth, he should omit from Deir or Daïr *î*, the Arabic letter *y* or *ya'*, thus reducing an appellative to a syllable, and subjoin the only and true name of the place, 'Allâ, slightly abbreviated into 'ala so as to throw both words into a single proper name, Der'ala, or in his *Bibliotheca* sketch Der'ale, even more weakened? In this way a fictitious resemblance is created to a Talmudic word, noticed in Neubauer, Tar'alah, on which is hung the identification of Succoth entire! But every one would know such an appellative Daïr is no more an integral portion of the name for this place than are the common terms Tell, Jebel, Râjm, Qâsr, Khirbet, in no case to be united with proper names they precede, and then considered component parts of them; and even without knowing the process of which Der'ala is the result, an Arabic scholar would detect the disguise and significance of an initial Der. The true, only name of this place is simply 'Allâ, the *l*, *lâm*, always carrying *teshdîd*, the sign of doubling; and this, doubtless, is a derivation of the Arabic root 'alâ, signifying *it was high, elevated, or lofty*. Manifestly 'Allâ alone possesses no parallelism with the Talmudic Tar'alah. There is no such word as Der'ala or Der'ale in existence on the ground or spoken among men. Even as far back as July 1867, Lient. Warren heard, and recorded on his Reconnaissance-map of the Country between the Two Zârqâ's, this name as "T. Deir Ulla;" from which it passed into established recognition on Grove's map of Smith's Atlas as "T. Deir Ula" in three distinct terms for Tell Deir 'Ullâ or 'Allâ, settling the second as the Monastery Deir from earliest observation. Thus Dr. Merrill's Arabic name vanishes away.

The Talmudic name Tar'alah occurs only once, so far as authorities indicate, and then in the Jerusalem Talmud, in *Sheb'îth*, chapter ix.¹ It was the opinion of Dr. Zunz that this Tar'alah is beyond doubt the Tharsila, a village of Samaria

¹ Ed. Krotoszyn, p. 38, col. 2.

mentioned by Eusebius ;¹ and Dr. Zunz is high authority on such subjects. But Neubauer and Merrill allow their readers to infer that in the Talmud Succoth is generally or always defined by Tar'alah or spoken of under this name. Such is not the fact. "The Talmud states definitely that in its time Succoth was called Tar'alah," is a statement which would naturally be regarded as sweeping, and one which thus is liable to convey an erroneous impression. As the explanation making Tar'alah equivalent to Succoth is made only once in the Jerusalem Talmud, and not at all in the Babylonian Talmud,—for so I am informed by Dr. Adolph Huebsch, rabbi of the congregation Ahawath Hessed of New York, one of our most competent Jewish scholars, and familiar with the Talmuds,—the truth is really very different. A dozen places might be found, in either Talmud, speaking of Succoth under its own name alone. Neubauer himself quotes from the Jerusalem Talmud, Hag'igah I. 1, "The inhabitants of Sakûtha," etc. Though this form is singular and feminine, probably the same place as the plural Succoth is meant. This, according to Dr. Merrill's method of reasoning, would be quite sufficient for a counter-argument in the same style, 'The Talmud definitely states that in its time Succoth was called Sakûtha.' At most Tar'alah could have been no more than a vulgar name for the place among Hebrews at the time of a certain commentator on the Mishna. Buxtorf's great Chaldaic, Talmudic, and Rabbinic Lexicon knows neither Tar'alah nor any root from which it might be derived ; neither is there any Chaldaic word Tar for comparison with Der or Da'ir in form or signification. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the Talmud is the poorest authority in the whole range of biblical evidence ; any identification resting on this alone is extremely uncertain.

Another statement will not bear investigation. We are told in respect to Der'ala *versus* Tar'alah : "The letters correspond to those of the Hebrew word, except that *t* in the Hebrew becomes *d* in Arabic—a change of very fre-

¹ Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher), ii. 408, nota. Onomasticon, s.v.

quent occurrence." On the contrary, let any reader take a list of biblical names beginning with Taw, or look through the entire letter of *T* in any Bible Dictionary, and he will find that out of the whole number of biblical places identified in either Eastern or Western Palestine there is not a single one whose modern Arabic name, derived from ancient Hebrew, begins with *D*. Now this department of proper names is the limit of our range, and one cannot go out of it for illustration or justification. But should a Semitic scholar take the Thesaurus of Gesenius, and patiently search through all the words under Taw, he would find only two Hebrew roots whose kindred verbs in Arabic begin with Dâl, namely, ta'ar, *to go about*, vs. da'âr, *it went round*, and tafaf, *to beat*, vs. dafa'a, *he impelled*, etc., including the derivative tof, a *drum*, vs. duf, a *tambourine*. So much for the initial radical in names or roots; into medial consonants we cannot follow the matter, but the change is not likely to happen among others more often than in initial letters as above shown. From the fact, therefore, that the permutation of the Hebrew *t* into the Arabic *d* when the first letter of a name, as is the case in hand, does not exist, and takes place only twice in the whole list of verbal roots, the reader is prepared to judge how well the statement "a change of very frequent occurrence" is borne out. Here, as elsewhere, the old principle holds good, What has not been, will not be: if in the whole number of biblical names the change described never has befallen an initial *t*, it doth not also in this. This principle would be equally relevant and peremptory should it be said the change occurred within the limits of the Hebrew language or period.

2. The style and age of scanty remains at Dair 'Allâ are recent and clearly subsequent to Succoth of any period. Dair 'Allâ is a name applied both to one of the many tells scattered over this wide, luxuriant plain, and to a small circuit of rich, cultivable, and meadow land styled the 'Ard surrounding the Tell. The open, bare Tell is in every way one of ordinary character, and is as to its summit destitute of everything to indicate more than a camping ground in

modern or in ancient times. On a lower terrace, however, certain signs of habitation exist in the shape of rude, broken columns and a few clusters of building stones. These are, upon their face, of latest Christian type, and manifestly approaching nearest modern times among ruined places. Without a moment's study they class themselves with the neighboring ruins of Tell 'Ammeta, Amathus, of Fāqāris, nearly three miles further up the valley, of Kūr-kemā, just south of Wādī Yābīs, and of the well-known Tābāqūt Fahl opposite Baīsān, all in the upper Jordan valley. They are similar to the monastery ruins Daīr on the summit of Mār 'Ilyās, the mountain close above Khirbet Līstīb on Jebel 'Ajlūn. All of these belong to one age, the latest whose buildings now afford ruins, and pertain to that period when asceticism and anchoretic life raged over the western slope of Jebel 'Ajlūn, when Christians peopled the valley and built cloisters on the hill-tops, a period enduring till after the introduction and flourishing cultivation of sugar-cane. At some time in this period, when Christians prevailed, doubtless during the latter part, at most not above a thousand years ago, a pillared place of divine worship, with cloistered halls for priests and monks, rose on the elevated platform of this little hill; and perhaps the symbol of the cross shone out over the beautiful plains, calling the followers of the Master to service and prayer, on ground that had beheld him passing by. Perhaps, because perched on an isolated hill in the wide level land around, the Arabs when they became sole usurpers of the region gave it the name, the pillars of the nave and a few fallen walls bear to the present hour, Daīr 'Allā, the Monastery of the Height or the Elevated Monastery. The place has not the first characteristic of Succoth; there was nothing about it that should draw Jacob to it.

3. Succoth was a town of Gad, and Daīr 'Allā is not properly situated in the territory of that tribe. All agree that the Zārqa is the Jabbok, and that the Jabbok separated the tribe of Gad from the half-tribe Manasseh.¹ But this

¹ Dent. iii. 16.

spot lies at some distance north of the northern boundary line, north of the Jabbok, north of the Zārqa. Then the ground of Dair 'Allâ fell within the territory of half Manasseh, for the site rests under the shadow of the hills at the easterimost depth of a great bay caused by the exit of the Zārqa from the mountains and leading down to the Jordan plain. By its eastern position it belongs to the mountains rather than to the Jordan. So far as this new effort helps the matter, the site of Succoth might just as well remain on the western side of Jordan at Mezâr Dubbet es-Sâkût. I am well aware Dr. Merrill, attributing the entire surface of this grand Zārqa-opening even in its deepest borders to the Jordan plain, will fall back on the supposed extension of the territory of Gad along the Jordan to the Lake of Gennesaret. And yet, in the end, the statement will prove strictly true that none of the towns of Gad mentioned in the Bible lay north of the Jabbok or the line of the Zārqa.

In short, this attempted biblical identification is incompatible with topography, is founded on a perversion of Arabic names, and is opposed by many insurmountable objections.

Dr. Merrill is in error as to the location of Meshra' Ken'ân. While engaged in exploring this very region, more than two years before him, I was startled by the accents of this archaic name falling on my ears. Ken'ân, immemorial Canaan, as old as the Five Cities of the Plain, together with Lasha, retaining its form perfectly on the very ground where Canaanites began to dwell, perpetuating in actual, local usage our favorite expression, 'the Land of Canaan,' when all of us have been wont to think the name had wholly disappeared from Palestine, as I heard it pronounced, roused livelier emotions of surprise and pleasure of reward, than any other among ancient names recovered had done. At first the Arabs, for the sole reason they were too lazy to go as far as the real place, hoping to content me with a nearer ford, declared a higher crossing than the real one to be Meshra' Ken'ân; and it was not till I was putting into execution my business of following down the course of the Zārqa to the Jordan

itself, and they learned they had nothing to gain by falsehood, that the truth was ascertained. When the true Meshra' Ken'ân was reached, both superiority in size and greater resort demonstrated the right spot; and when the name was demanded the Bedwân of tribes living on the plains around the year through, affirmed this to be the true Meshra' Ken'ân, and confessed the other was not, giving the reason why they said so, viz. they did not want to go any further for it; "why should not one meshra' be as good as another to you?" Now this true Meshra' Ken'ân occurs a long way down the Zârqâ's course, nearer the Jordan. And when Dr. Merrill defines it to be "a ford or crossing of the Jabbok, some distance to the east of Tel Der'ala, but before the hills are reached," and on his sketch makes it the crossing of the road which leads out of the Zârqâ cañon up the Jordan plain to Bâisân, he appears to be misled by the Arabs, and to have rested with some upper minor crossing, wholly different and apart from the true one. With me the Arabs did not attempt to get it half so far up stream. So far from this, Meshra' Ken'ân is the chief place of passage across the Zârqâ in the plain where two roads meet for crossing; one the main route up and down the Jordan valley, and the other the thoroughfare from the ferry Dâmfiyeh of the river Jordan to the various towns of Jebel 'Ajlûn. It lies so near the lowest terrace of the Jordan that the foliage of trees near the river can be seen from it by one looking down the Zârqâ's course. Relatively to Tell Daïr 'Allâ, disregarding latitude, it stands some distance to the west, instead of east, — it did not occur to me to take note of distance on the spot, but my impression now would be, a mile or more.