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At the end of this article I want to lay stress upon the fact that I do not bring forward in these pages some hypothesis or theory that is based on certain suppositions or combinations. We have only read the narratives of Genesis. In these narratives there is not a single text in favour of the theory that a period of nomad life preceded the settled life in Canaan. The importance of this conclusion for the higher criticism is obvious. We see at once that laws dealing with agriculture, mentioning the house and the fields, are not necessarily merely by this fact of a later origin. In the history of Israel this simple remark also opens out a different perspective. Merenptah devastated in his fifth year the fields of Israel. It is generally received either that this Israel must be a part of the tribes that never went to Egypt, or that the Exodus took place at a much earlier date than the reign of Merenptah. Now we see that it is quite probable that Israel had not yet been in Egypt, as its fields were devastated by the Egyptian army.

B. D. EERDMANS.

HERR ALOIS MUSIL ON THE LAND OF MOAB.

II. SOUTHERN MOAB.

THE previous article, in last month's *EXPOSITOR*, covered the two northern districts of Moab : el-Belka and el-Jebâl.

The boundary between el-Jebâl and the next district to the south, el-Kûra, is a valley, which, though it does not issue into the Dead Sea, but is only the chief tributary of the Môjeb, yet, from its length and depth, ranks as one of the great dividing lines of the country. Known on its lowest reaches as the Seyl-Heydân and the Seyl el-Ĥammâm, in its middle stretch (which is crossed by the Roman and the present trunk-roads) as Wâdy el-Wâleh, and on its upper

stretches as Wâdy er-Rmeyl and Wâdy eth-Thamad; it drains by a northern tributary all the north-east of Moab (Musil has clearly determined this little-known fact), but finds its more direct sources in the desert hills east of the Hajj road. Herr Musil has visited, and describes, practically the whole of its course and all its tributaries.

The lowest stretch, Seyl-Hejdân, is in part a deep impassable gorge, excelling in grandeur the hollow of the Môleb,¹ but in part, also, a wide, fertile plain, "considerably wider than the Môleb," through which the stream flows between prominent rocks of lava. This plain is cultivated to-day by the Hamâydeh Arabs, while on the plateau to the north of it are scattered remains of ancient gardens and fields (95 f., 135). On the next stretch, Seyl el-Ĥammâm, Musil reports a fort, Kul'ammet aba-l-Ĥsein, part of which "vividly recalls to him similar structures of the Crusaders." Farther up, where the valley bears the name el-Wâleh, and is crossed by the Roman road with remains of a bridge, the natural features and ruins are well known. But Musil reports traces of another bridge a little higher up, on a line of passage, north and south, preferred by the Bedouin to the Roman road. From here the stream fails in summer till, past Rmeyl, the stretch of it known as W. eth-Thamad is reached. This forms a constant watering-place for a wide region; and therefore the junction of several main roads, as well as the site of considerable ruins now called el-Mdeyne. Here Musil makes one of his most interesting Biblical suggestions and identifications. In the shingle and gravel of the wâdy, which is almost bare of vegetation, the Bedouin dig out with their hands pits, from 0·3 to 1 metre deep, in which water gathers from 0·2 to 0·3 metre deep. "Such water-pits are called Bîr, Biyâr. Since they are regularly filled up by the

¹ P. 128: "die mächtige, zerklüftete Schlucht des sejl Hejdân ubertreibt an Grossartigkeit die bekannte Senkung des Môleb."

winter-rains, they have to be freshly dug every spring. Each tent possesses its own bîr; those of the heads of families and clans are restored with special care, and although the chiefs themselves only seldom work with their own hands, yet it is always said: 'This well dug (hafar) Sheikh N.' (298). The fact naturally suggests to Herr Musil the account of the Israelites at Be'er (Num. xxi. 16; cf. Be'er Elim of Isa. xv. 8), and therefore he identifies Be'er with this "Mdeyneh on eth-Thamad" ¹ (318). "It is the only place north of the Arnon where the water comes to the surface in the manner described in Numbers xxi. 16-18. Eth-Thamad specializes the meaning of the Hebrew Be'er [Freytag explains Thamad or Thamd as *aqua pauca origine carens, unde plus emanare possit*], while the terebinths growing here justify the epithet Elim." It is, of course, hard to believe that such methods of procuring water are not applicable in the beds of other wâdies, and terebinths are frequently found in Moab. But if Herr Musil be correct, that this is the one spot where such methods are practised north of the Arnon, he has given us a fixed point in Israel's itinerary through the land of Moab. In that case it may be tempting to some to note the similarity of sound between Mdeyneh and the Matthânah of Numbers xxi. 18 f. If, however, Matthânah be meant as a place-name ² (the text is uncertain), it is the next stage north or north-west from Be'er in the itinerary. And if we take the well-supported Septuagint form of it, Manthanen or Manthanaein, we find a possible modification of this (considering the frequent substitution of *l* for *n*) in Nitil, the name of an important site (noted but hardly described by Musil) 8 kilometres north-west of Wâdy eth-Thamad towards Israel's goal in the Jordan valley under

¹ There is another Mdeyneh on W. es-Sa'ïde, the upper stretch of the Môjeb, which is not distinguished from this in Musil's Index. See below.

² Budde proposes to translate *From the desert a gift!* and to take this as the fifth line of the Song of the Well.

Nebo.¹ Again, if Be'er be the W. eth-Thamad, Nahali'el, which Musil identifies (under a query) with W. el-Wâleh, would (unless Israel struck due west from Be'er down the Wâdy) rather be the W. Zerka Mâ'in, as Conder suggested. Nahali'el or God's Wâdy is not an unsuitable epithet for the latter, in which there are so many hot and healing springs.²

3. EL-KÛRA. Of this third division of the tableland of Moab lying between W. el-Wâleh and W. el-Môjeb, Herr Musil gives a more favourable account than other travellers have done. He rode round the most of it and crossed it in several directions, marking signs of its fertility and numerous ruins. A glance at his map, however, proves the truth of Burckhardt's observation that it is less fertile than other parts of Moab. There is a striking want of place-names in the centre of el-Kûra, though they increase on its borders among the tributaries of the Wâleh and Môjeb, and are also somewhat frequent on the line of the main Roman road, and again some 14 kilometres to the east on the line of Umm er-Rasâs and other, presumably Roman, fortifications against the desert.

West of the Roman road there is little to note. Musil calls the soil "pretty fruitful" (128), and in June 1897 found "fine wheatfields" being reaped by the Ḥamâydeh Arabs. The plateau is here known as Ammu Jamâl. There are four noteworthy sites: Tell el-Byâdeh; the village esh-Shkêk³ above the Heydân gorge; Barza, "of which the numerous and still preserved vaults of hewn stone, courts and cisterns let us see that this place was once of great import-

¹ This is at least more probable than the identification of Matthanah which Musil (296, 318) suggests with Khreybet es-Siker through Jerome's "Matthane, quæ nunc dicitur Masechana. Sita est autem in Arnone, duodecimo miliario contra orientalem plagam Medabus."

² *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 561 f.

³ The name means "fissure" or "cleft," and is found also south of the Môjeb: cf. Musil's map and my article *P.E.F.Q.* 1895, p. 46.

ance”¹ (128); Dhāfra on the henu Zebeyd, with remains of vineyards and gardens (129 f.); and edh-Dheheybeh,² a clump of ruins. To the south-east of this group of sites and on the Roman road itself lies Dhibân (which I heard by Arabs on the spot pronounced Zibân), the extensive ruins of the ancient Dibôn, in which the inscription of Mēsha, king of Moab, was found. Herr Musil gives a detailed description of the site and ruins, with a plan which clearly marks the double city, but does not include within it the third knoll to the south which is marked No. II. on my rough sketch (in the *P.E.F.Q.* 1905, p. 42), and round which I found traces of a wall. The southern town appears to him “to be much older, and had a surrounding wall.” This agrees with my own observation of some “older looking walls” (older, that is, than the apparently Byzantine ruins which prevail on the site), which appear in my photograph. “In Dhibân one finds almost nowhere roofs of stone slabs upon a substructure of arches, but only massive barrel-vaults, which often consist of finely hewed cubes” (377). In the S.E. corner of the south town are the remains of a fortress (probably, as I remarked, the citadel), with a gate protected by two towers; in the N.W. corner there is a tower, and by it a gate, on the level of the 15 metre deep trench which separates the two towns. The north town also was surrounded by a wall (nearly 5 feet thick), and contained besides towers a “palace” the remains of which crown its highest point. The chief entrance is on the north-east, beside a reservoir, and a paved way leads to the main road. The importance of the town is shown by the four or five roads, which in addition to

¹ Musil’s guide told him that a great human statue, shakhs, and a bull’s head were discovered here, but broken up out of fear of evil spirits.

² The consonants of this name, the root of an Arabic word for gold (Heb. זָהָב), occur in various forms in at least 4 place-names on Musil’s map. Three of them are lumped together in the index: the above one is omitted. Compare [זִרְהָב] זִרְהָב, the LXX reading of זָהָב in Num. xxi. 14; and זִרְהָב in Deut. i. 1.

the main road converge upon it. Eusebius says that it was still a *κώμη παμμεγέθης* in his day.

East of Dhibân the back of el-Kûra appears for some distance destitute of ruins and place-names,¹ but these abound, as already said, over and within the wâdies to the north and south. On the south edge of the plateau, about 1,000 yards east of where the Roman road drops into the Môjeb, lie the ruins of 'Akraba, "scorpion," a name applied in the east to many spots near such zig-zag descents as that by which the road is carried down to the bed of the cañon. About two kilometres further east, and also on the edge of the plateau, just where another ancient road, now called es-Sinîneh,² descends to cross the Môjeb, are the ruins 'Arâ'er, with traces of a tower, a wall and a gate: the ancient 'Arô'er, *which is on the lip of the wâdy,*³ and on a high road—*upon the way take thy stand and look forth, inhabitress of 'Arô'er.*⁴ This is one of the names about which there can be no doubt. It seems never to have shifted. Eusebius speaks of it in his day as above the Arnon "on the eyebrow of the hill." The northern limit of Sihon's kingdom according to the book of Joshua, it was also that of David's: *and they began from 'Arô'er and the city that is in the midst of the wâdy towards Gad and on unto Ya'zer.*⁵ "I built," says Mêsha', "or fortified 'Arô'er, and made the highway by the Arnon."⁶ Herr Musil gives an instructive plan of 'Arâ'er with the cliffs below it, and the zigzag road down them and across the Môjeb (Arnon), "by the remains of an old well with the name Khreybet Ajam"⁷ (130). I visited this ruin in 1904, but

¹ And even of cisterns, see p. 131.

² Sanin = land stripped bare of herbage: sanan or sunan = a road.

³ Josh. xii. 2.

⁴ Jer. xviii. 19.

⁵ So we ought to read 2 Samuel xxiv. 5: see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 286. Compare Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48; Josh. xiii. 9, 16; 2 Kings x. 33; and even Jud. xi. 26 and 1 Chron. v. 8.

⁶ "Moabite Stone," l. 27.

⁷ One thinks of the Hebrew again (but with initial aleph, not ayin), "swamp" or "ditch."

sought in vain along the stream for remains which might represent *the city which was in the midst of the wâdy*, and which some of the passages above cited so closely associate with 'Arô'er in marking the southern boundary of Moab and of Israel. The question is obvious, whether this city may have occupied the site of the extensive Roman ruins above the south bank of the river described by me in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, 375 ff. But it must be answered in the negative. We have here to do with a line of road on which nothing is identifiable as older than the Roman period; and we must rather seek for the *city in the midst of the wâdy* on the older line of road which passes 'Arâ'er, if we suppose that its association with the latter by so many texts implies that the two lay close together. This assumption, however, is unnecessary, and we shall immediately see grounds for holding that *the city* in question lay on the same border indeed as 'Arô'er, but farther up the Wâdy to the east. Thither we now proceed, noting first some sites which intervene.

About 4 kilometres east of 'Arâ'er lie the ruins el-Lehûn or el-Yehûn. "As in 'Arâ'er, so here, there stands on the edge of the plateau (on the right bank of the W. el-Lehûn) a fortress. It seems of much older origin than that of 'Arâ'er.¹ The enclosing walls are put together with rough stones without mortar, and the dwellings . . . show the same construction. Only in the wâdy-bed and on its east side are remains of later buildings of hewn stone" (131); also "a well-preserved Roman tower" (330). Farther east are el-Mshakkar (or esh-Shkêra), Kaşr Siken, "a strong tower" (330), er-Râmma, "an ancient place on a height visible from far" (111); and then we come to the upper stretch of the Môleb, known as W. Sa'ideh, on the north side of

¹ South of this on the Wâdy is a site marked on the map as Umm er-Rummâneh.

which are numerous ancient remains. On a projection of the plateau southwards, entrenched to the depth of 170 metres and more by the Wâdies Sa'ïdeh and Sâliyeh, are the formidable ruins of a fortified town now known as Mdeyyne (247 with photograph, 328 ff. with plan). Its walls were nearly four feet thick, and there were two towers, at least one very large building and a number of caves. Herr Musil suggests that this may be *the city of Moab* (עִיר מוֹאָב) *which was on the border of Arnon at the end of the border*, whither Balak came to meet Balaam,¹ and also *the city* (דְּעִיר) *which is in the midst of the wâdy*. (And he cites Jerome to the effect that in his day the ruins were shown of a city Madian "juxta Arnonem et Areopolim.") The identification in both cases is very probable. The phrase *in the midst of the wâdy* not unsuitably describes Mdeyyneh, and the association of *the city in the midst of the wâdy* with Arô'er above alluded to would be natural: both of them on the edge of the Arnon, the southern border of Moab, and respectively towards the opposite ends of this. We may even go a little further and on two grounds identify also 'Ar with the same site. For 'Ar or 'Ar-Moab (in those texts in which the latter seems to be a city and not, as it does in others, a district)² is probably the same as 'Ir-Moab; and Deuteronomy ii. 18 especially calls it *the border of Moab*. With this agrees the reference in the old song Numbers xxi. 15: *the cliff of the valleys* (i.e. of Arnon) *which stretches to the seat of 'Ar and leans on the border of Moab*. The phrases *stretches to 'Ar* (if understood of an eastward direction), and *on the border*, closely agree with that cited above, *on the border of Arnon at the end of the border*. On the whole, then, the triple identification of Mdeyyneh with 'Ir-Moab, *the 'Ir in the midst of the*

¹ Num. xxii. 36.

² See G. B. Gray on Numbers xxi. 14, 15: 'Ar means city, and may have been the Moabitic equivalent of the Heb. 'ir (pl. 'arim); and the article Ar by the present writer in the *Enc. Bibl.*

wâdy and 'Ar or 'Ar-Moab is probable. It may be exhibited thus :—

'Ir-Moab	=	Ha-'Ir.	=	'Ar or 'Ar-Moab.
<i>on the border of the Arnon at the end of the border.</i>		<i>(in the midst of the Wâdy), also placed along with 'Arô'er on the border of Moab.</i>		<i>The cliff of the valleys (i.e. of Arnon) stretches to 'Ar and leans on the border of Moab.</i>

The only alternative, which suggests itself, is that *ha-'Ir* in *the midst of the Wâdy* was actually in the bed of the latter ; in that case we have as possibilities the ruins reported by Burckhardt on the fine pasture ground near the confluence of the Lejjûn and the Môjeb,¹ and above this the site marked Umm er-Rummâne on Musil's map.

To the east of Mdeyyneh are a group of ruined forts : Kâşr ed-Dîrseh commanding from the north the passage across the main wâdy (as the opposite Kâşr el-Kharazeh and Ksêr esh-Shwêmi command it from the south) ; and a little to the north the " ancient Roman fortress Kâşr eth-Thrayya " (328). On the same frontier towards the east, which these faced, and on the same main line of road north and south which they guarded, but some eleven kilometres north of eth-Thrayya, in the centre of el-Kûra, stand the well-known tower and extensive ruins of Umm er-Raşâş. The tower gives view over the country far and wide, but particularly towards the eastern desert. It commands the approach from the latter to the fertile el-Kûra, " as well as the only convenient road " across it from north to south. " All higher points, east, north-east and south-east, are furnished with small fortifications, which are so arranged that one can always see from each of them the two next " (110). The whole represents the carefulness of the Roman system of fortifica-

¹ Suggested by Grove and Wilson in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed. Confluence of Môjeb and Seyl eş-Sfey according to Musil's map.

tion towards the east. Inside this screen are two places which Herr Musil identifies with Biblical sites: Jmeyl, the Beth-Gamul of Jeremiah *xlvi*. 23,¹ and el-Meshreyk (or as he transliterates it Mešrejž), "the orient or east," for which he suggests the Kēdemoth of Deuteronomy *ii*. 26.

4. **ARD EL-KERAK.** The most southerly and largest of the four divisions of the land of Moab extends from the Arnon to the Seyl el-Kerâhi or Seyl el-Hsa. Professor Brünnow's results revolutionised our knowledge of its water systems, and especially of the southern tributaries of the Arnon, as well as of the streams which combine at Kerak, and find their way to the Dead Sea down the long valley, usually (though perhaps not rightly) known as the W. el-Kerak. It used to be supposed that the latter rose far to the east near the Hajj road. But Professor Brünnow made clear the existence of a high range immediately to the east of Kerak, and showed that the southern tributaries of the Arnon rise east of the Hajj road, and far south over the plateau, to below the latitude of Kerak. Herr Musil has confirmed and extended these results. His map shows the watershed between the Arnon basin and the Wady el-Hsa as only some five kilometres north of the latter; while the W. es-Sultâni, the greatest of the southern tributaries of the Môteb, finds its sources to the east of the Hajj road, and far to the south of even Kal'at el-Hsa (or Hesy, as we have been accustomed to call it). Quite three-fourths, therefore, of the southmost division of Moab is drained through the Môteb or Arnon, and mainly by the latter's southern tributary, the Wâdy es-Sultâni.

The W. es-Sultâni, besides being the extreme eastern limit of the 'Ard el-Kerak and of the cultivated territory (319 *n.* 15), offers "across the plain on its banks a comfortable way

¹ This has been suggested before, but many prefer Umm el-Jemâl further north.

which affords to the Bedouin the most convenient connexion between North and South" (316). Herr Musil, therefore, takes it as the "natural east boundary of ancient Moab" (316), and identifies it with the brook Zared, in which Israel camped when they were already *in the wilderness east of Moab*,¹ and which they crossed in order to get into the territory of Moab, 'Ar.² This may be right, but in that case Israel would have had to bend eastward again in order to reach Be'er, if the latter be, as Herr Musil plausibly suggests, el-Mdeyne³ on the W. eth-Thamad. Musil rightly says that "Zared has nothing to do with the southern border of Moab," and therefore the old identification with the Wâdy el-Hsa (Ahsa or Hesy)⁴ is ruled out.⁵ So also is the suggestion that Zared was an upper stretch of the W. el-Kerak,⁶ now that it is clear that this Wâdy does not run far east of Kerak. The name of Israel's station previous to the Zared is 'Iyye ha-'Abârîm, and thus pointed means *heaps, or ruins, of the 'Abarîm*, the mountains or districts over Jordan, so called to distinguish it from 'Ai and 'Iyyîm in Judah.⁷ But Musil explains it as "low heaps of stones which, in the desert, flat and crossed by shallow but crumbling water-channels, mark the most convenient passages, and with some tribes bear the beautiful name of Shams-et-Ṭarîk, "Sun of the path" (319). If he be correct, we should perhaps print the name 'Iyye ha-'Oberîm.⁸ But note that there is a Khirbet 'Ayy on the plateau SSW. of Kerak on a road to the W. el-Hsa, and that Musil equates this with Aia of the Mâdaba map.

¹ Num. xxi. 11 f.

² Deut. ii. 8, 13, 18.

³ See above.

⁴ Robinson, *BR.* ii. 555 f.; Tristram, *Moab*, 50.

⁵ So already rightly G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 283.

⁶ Gray, *loc. cit.*; Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, 8.

⁷ See present writer's article "Abarim" in *Enc. Bibl.*

⁸ Before coming to the Kal'at el-Hsa, Doughty "saw many heaps of stones, which whether to mark a way, or graves, or places of cursing, or 'heaps of witness,' are common in all Semitic desert countries" (*Arabia Deserta*, i. 26).

From Irby and Mangles onward travellers have emphasized the fertility of 'Arđ el-Kerak and the numerous signs of a large ancient population. Their evidence is both confirmed and increased by Herr Musil. Most of the plateau to the west of the Roman road and much of it to the east is very fruitful. To-day there are numerous fields of wheat, barley and maize. The best wheat is grown east and north-east of Rabba, where, though the water supply is poor, the soil is fertile (157), and there is lavish evidence of a stirring life in ancient times (35). Fertility extends as far east as Moreygha and et-Tamra (42 f.), and even in parts to the W. es-Sultāni. The country, through which the road passes from el-Kerak to the W. el-Ḥsa, has always been known to be fertile—"a country of downs with verdure so close as almost to appear turf," and "covered with sites of towns on every eminence and spot convenient . . . ruined sites visible in all directions";¹ but Herr Musil adds to our knowledge a large number of fruitful glens and level spaces between this and the west edge of the plateau above the Dead Sea. Here, besides cereal crops, are fine groups of olives, figs and pomegranates, while new vineyards are being laid down (260 f., etc.). Perhaps the most fresh information is that which he gives of the coast about the Lisān; the land here is very fertile and diligently cultivated by Ghawarneh Arabs (160). To their chiefs appertain all the lumps of asphalt which come to the surface of the Dead Sea.² But since the Turkish Government settled in Kerak agriculture has rapidly increased over the whole division. Ruined sites, desolate for centuries, have been re-inhabited: some of them, like Ja'far, so recently and so suddenly as in the interval between two of Herr Musil's visits. If the Turks

¹ Irby and Mangles. ch. vii. May 14th and 15th.

² This sea, according to Musil, is called by the Terâbîn el-Baḥr el-Mayet, by the Shûr Buḥeyrat el-Melh, and by the Zullam Baḥr el-Fli.

succeed in continuing to preserve order, it is clear that it will not be long before the whole province is as populous as its crowded ruins show it to have been during the Roman and Byzantine periods and possibly also in Old Testament times.

The two most famous and populous sites in this division during ancient days were Rabba and Kerak. The name Rabba preserves that of Rabbath-Moab, which, however, is not mentioned in the Old Testament, and first (so far as I know) appears in Josephus.¹ It is remarkable that the early Semitic designation should have survived, although the town is chiefly known in history as the Areopolis² of the Greek period; and although the Moslem geographers call it Mâba. Herr Musil gives a careful account of the frequently described ruins (370 f. with plan and photographs), which are fast disappearing to furnish buildings in el-Kerak (156). He takes the place as equivalent to 'Ar-Moab, a name which he justly holds was sometimes applied to all the land between the Môjeb and the Wâdy el-Ĥsa (370-381),³ and he is reminded by the place-name (a little to the south) Marma el-'Eyr of 'Ir or 'Ar-Moab (369, 381). He records a number of the neighbouring place-names; confirming, I am interested to notice, the Muĥârakât el-Miyâl (Brünnow has el-Miyah), and the el-Misdaĥ (Baedeker and Brünnow have el-Misde) which I noted there. Brünnow's el-Jarûd (?), which Khalîl gave me as el-Yarût, Musil spells Jârûth (with the German J). He gives a full account (140) of Beit el-Karm or Kaşr Rabba. The latter name, he says, is almost never used. The ordinary name is Khirbet el-Kaşr. To the west of Rabba he finds the ancient Dîmon (Isa. xv. 9, Jer. xlvi. 2) in Dimneh and the Nahal ha-'Arâbîm of Isaiah xv. 7 in the

¹ xiv. *Ant.* i. 18; 'Arabatha, or 'Paḥaba.

² Said to have been suggested by a confusion of the site with that of 'Ar of Moab.

³ *For to the children of Lot have I given 'Ar for an inheritance* (Deut. ii. 9, 29).

Seyl el-'Arâbi (157, 170). Kh. ed-Denn on the same road a little farther north he takes as Jerome's Dannaia "at the 8th milestone from Areopolis towards Arnon" (376, 382); Jerome equates it with the ancient Dennaba. El-Jelimeh, north-east of Rabba, he identifies with the *'Αιγαλειμ* of Eusebius (57), but the datum of the Onomasticon, "to the south of Areopolis," points rather to el-Jelimeh, south-east of Kerak; and the ancient ruin, Kh. Jaljûl further south with the Eglâim, 'Agalîm, of Isaiah xv. 8 (365, 381), but Jaljûl is more probably an ancient Gilgal.

Of el-Kerak herself Herr Musil gives the fullest account yet published, but the student will do well to add to it the data of other travellers, like Burekhardt, Tristram, Doughty, Hornstein, and those of Forder, who was long resident there. This walled but un gated fortress of the Franks, on one of the finest positions ever offered by nature to the art of men, was entered by zig-zag tunnels beneath the walls. In 1904 I found recent breaches through the walls, and was told that the chapel, which I sought to see in the Frankish citadel, did not exist. Herr Musil says that it has been destroyed. Probably el-Kerak represents *Ḳir-Ḥeres*, *Ḳir-Ḥareseth* or *Ḳir-Moab* of the prophets and the Second Book of Kings.¹ The Targum on Isaiah gives *Ḳir Moab* as *Kerakka*,² which means in Hebrew a large or fortified town.³ The name *Ḥareseth* is difficult, and has been subjected to various interpretations and emendations. But Brünnow found the name *Wâdy Ḥarasha* (with a ruined *Ḳaṣr Ḥarasha*) applied to a lower stretch of the *Wâdy Kerak*.⁴ After the Targum the name *Kerak* is continued by

¹ 2 Kings iii. 25; Isaiah xv. 1, xvi. 7, 11; Jeremiah xlvi. 31, 36. This is the usual identification. (Cf. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, 2676 f., and C. H. W. Johns, *Hastings' D.B.* iii. 1, 2.

² So Johns, as in previous note.

³ The Mishnic Hebrew כרך means to enclose.

⁴ Brünnow, *Mittheil. u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1895,

Ptolemy's *Χαρακωβα*,¹ the *Μωβου Χαραξ* of Uranius,² by some coins from the reign of Caracalla,³ which spell the name as Ptolemy does, and fragmentarily on the Mosaic map of Mâdaba, where the letters *ΑΧΜΩΒΑ* are attached to a picture of a fortified town on a rocky height rather far to the east of the Dead Sea. It is well known that the Crusaders spelt the name Krak or Crac, and gave the place the ecclesiastical title of Petra Deserti, mistaking it for the real Petra.

Herr Musil gives a fuller and more accurate account of the surroundings of Kerak than we have hitherto possessed (see pp. 153 f., etc.).

Herr Musil visited the ruins el-Kerye in the peninsula el-Lisân, and identifies them with the crusading Marescalcia. Concerning the ancient ford across the Dead Sea, he says that one Hanna el-Kalanze told him: "In the year of my birth (about 1830) an earthquake took place. Then vanished the way from el-Lisân to 'Ain Gedi through the Dead Sea. This way, called el-Mkêta, was 2-4 steps broad and in places 2-5 fingers under the water, so that it had to be delimited with poles. In the Ghazu expeditions the victors returned home with their booty very gladly across el-Mkêta, because their way could not be cut off" (172). An ancient road runs up from the Lisân to Kufr-Abba. The ruins in the Ghor el-Mezra', at the mouth of Wâdy el-Kerak, just on the northern bay formed by the Lisân, he thinks may correspond to the "Beithomarsea which is also Maioumas" of the Mâdaba map, the harbour of el-Kerak (160, 170).

68. The name Harasha is not confirmed by Musil, who applies others to the lower stretches of the Wâdy. The Targum renders Kîr-Hâreseth by Kerak Tokpehon.

¹ So Stephanus Byz., quoting Ptolemy; but the MSS. of Ptol. v. 17 give *Χαρακωμα*; and the map places it far to the due south of the Red Sea beyond Petra.

² *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. 526.

³ *Revue Numism.*, 1899, 274, quoted by Schulten, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba*.

On the south-west flank of this division Herr Musil suggests or approves the following identifications: Seyl en-Numera with Nimrin of Isaiah xv. 6 (68, 74, 238, 262); el-Fâs with the Lûhîth of Isaiah xv. 15; el-'Arâk with Hôrônaim; ¹ Zoar with some ruins in the Seyl el-Kerâhi, which are called el-Kerye, but whose possessors have for a battle-cry the words: "Be heroes; O inhabitants of Zoghar"; ² the cave of Genesis xix. 30 with a great grotto at Sarmûj (71 f., 75); the adjacent villages Khanzîreh and Hâbel (the former on the main road from the Ghor eş-Şafîyeh and Hebron to Kerak) with the Crusaders' *casalia* of Cansir and Hable, "in the land of Crac" (72, 75); and the neighbouring Tar'în with Tharais of the Mâdaba map (258, 262). Farther west near the Roman road is Môteh, the scene of the first encounter of Moslem troops with Roman (Byzantine) and their defeat.³

Again on the plateau to the east of Kerak and the Roman road the following sites are important: Ftiyân (above the W. es-Sultâni, here called el-Mkhêreş) with command of the communication between north and south, and close to it the Roman fortress el-Lejjûn (29, 142 f., etc.); on the road thence to Kerak, Khirbet Ader, with its remarkable monoliths (27); and further south among others Jâzûr, el-Moreygha, Middîn, Dât-Râs, with numerous but fast disappearing ruins on a site commanding the surrounding plain as well as the main Roman road (79 ff., 322 ff.), it is the Thorma of the "Itinerary"; and to the east of this Mhayy, "the greatest fortress I have seen in S.E. Moab," for which Ptolemy's Moka is suggested with a query.

Not the least interesting parts of Herr Musil's books are

¹ P. 75 n. 9; "the meaning of both names is identical [?] and also the situation suits" Isa. xv. 5 f. and Jer. xlvi. 5, 34.

² Pp. 70, 74 n. 4, where he adds the epithet Isa. xv. 5, צֶעַר עֹלֵל שֶׁל־שִׁיָּה, may be borrowed from the celebrated breed of cattle in the Ghôr eş-Şafîyeh.

³ Musil suggests the Mōthō of Steph. Byz. (152).

those in which he describes the southern boundary of the land, which we have been accustomed to call the Wâdy Aḥsa or Ḥesy. "The southern great rent similar to the Arnon, the Wâdi el-Ḥsa-Ḳerâḥi, receives such short tributaries from the north that it is of no importance for the drainage of Moab." For some twelve kilometres up from its mouth in the Dead Sea it bears the name Seyl el-Ḳerâḥi. Where it issues from the hills lies a ruined town, that which Musil suggests may be Zo'ar;¹ also "the still pretty well preserved Ḳaṣr et-Tûb." As drawn on the map, the valley is here of some breadth (about a kilometre) between high hills, and at 12 kilometres from its mouth, already 60 metres above sea-level. Along the banks of the stream are poplars and willows. From here it bears the name Seyl el-Ḥsa.² Six kilometres further up at Feleka, it is a gorge whose southern wall is 755 m. high. Where the Roman and the present Sultâni roads from Dât-Râs wind down to cross the stream (already 470 m. above sea-level) the depth of the gorge is about 600 m. The Sultâni road is impassable for heavily laden camels, and caravans coming up from Edom prefer the Roman road or wind to the east by Gharandel to the Hajj road: a fact to be kept in mind in determining the itinerary of Israel. Twelve kilometres east from the Sultâni road the depth of the valley is still 300 m., and the hills on both sides form "an impenetrable wall." Then they "grow gradually less till they are lost in the plain of the Hajj road" (83, 84). Below this is the 'Ain el-Bzê'iyye, said to be the only running water between el-Kerak and Ma'ân, and therefore frequented by the caravans which have avoided the gorge lower down. Close to the Hajj road the "valley bed is pretty broad, level, and in parts marshy, the edges grown with bush and shrubs, among which are found almost everywhere waterpools of a pecu-

¹ See above.

² Once Musil gives it as Ḥsi (p. 320): Doughty (i. 26), Ḥâsy.

liarly red colour.”¹ The colour naturally reminds us of the waters which Moab saw from their border, when they went out to meet the Israelite invasion in Elisha’s day: *the water on the other side as red as blood.*² Where the caravan road crosses the marshy W. el-Hsa, there are “the remains of an old bridge” (84). Doughty says: “we came down on a causey with a little bridge made for the camels’ passage over the slippery loam, to our encampment in W. el-Hâsy, which divides the uplands of Moab and Edom: a sandy seyl-strand or torrent, shelving out of the wilderness . . . it is a wild garden of rose-laurel and rushes, but from whence they brought again only water putrefying with the staling of the nomad’s camels . . . Here were many wild boars, ravagers of the corn plots of the Kella soldiery; the brook below breaks from the oozy bed of the wâdy.” At the Kâl’at el-Hsa (767 m. above sea-level) the wâdy divides into two branches, one running up eastwards, the other south-east. On a branch of the latter is the Ghadîr el-Jinz, gatherings of rain-water on “a green over-grown plain” (316 f.), a famous watering-place of the Arabs.

There is no space to describe Herr Musil’s discoveries in the treeless desert, east of the Hajj road; his determination of the watershed between the land of Moab draining to the Dead Sea and the desert beyond draining to the Wâdy Sirhân; his descriptions of el-Kharâni, Kûseyr ‘Amra and Kaşr et-Tûba, the Ghassanide castles and palaces in whose vaulted buildings he sees an imitation of the Bedawee tent. The last-named is fully described, with its fine wall-paintings, in the large and sumptuous work cited in the preceding article.

Nor is there space for more than an enumeration of some of Herr Musil’s many contributions to ethnology and the

¹ Poisonous according to Musil’s guide (83).

² 2 Kings iii. 21 f.

history of religion. He illustrates the sick Job's *sitting in ashes*¹ from the custom in Mādaba of carrying invalids to the ash-heaps round the town to take the air (115, 123); and Elisha's making of ditches in the desert which filled with water² by the Ghudrân or water-holes made by the Arabs at the present day (308, 368, 381). The sudden and violent changes of temperature in the desert between day and night are emphasized (310, 312);³ the sudden risings of water in the dry torrent beds (85), which other travellers report; the jealous reservation and guard of cisterns by the Arabs, (132, etc.); the employment of fellahin by the Arabs in the cultivation of lands;⁴ the hospitalities and blood-feuds of the Bedouin; the choking of wells and cisterns by masses of putrefying locusts (143, 146, etc.); and the fact that the Hajj caravans are more for business than pilgrimage (40).⁵ In the Kāl'at el-H̄sa he found two boys of twelve and fifteen years of age,⁶ who "after supper, brought their Rbâba, and kept us awake long into the night by the melancholy airs of this primitive instrument, and the monotonous delivery of their songs. I wondered at their memory, for they knew by heart many poems, interesting for the history of single tribes." Of the religion of both the peasants and the nomads Herr Musil describes interesting traits and practices: the sacrifice of a goat on the roof of a new house at Rabba (372); the sacrifice of animals when the goats give bitter milk (137); invocations to Solomon the son of David to render certain waters healing; and offerings and sacrifices with feasts to that great controller of evil spirits (91).

All these details, and they might easily be multiplied, will serve to show how useful Herr Musil's volume must prove

¹ Job ii. 8.

² 2 Kings iii. 8-20.

³ Cf. Gen. xxxi. 40.

⁴ The fellahin, it is interesting to note, come from as far away as Hebron and Nablus to cultivate lands for the Shûr and other nomad tribes (106, 252, etc.).

⁵ This is also noted by Doughty.

⁶ Its only garrison!

to the student of the Bible as well as to the geographer and the ethnologist. One is glad to see that all the ethnological materials which he has collected are to be published in a separate volume.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

ETERNAL LIFE AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

THE Collect for Peace which is said daily at Morning Prayer in churches of the Anglican communion begins, "O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life." The original Latin of the latter clause, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, *quem nosse vivere . . . est*, was expanded by the English translators so as to make unmistakable the reference to the words of our Lord in St. John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God." This text was also made use of by the same divines when they were composing a new collect for St. Philip and St. James's Day, the introductory address of which is, "O Almighty God, whom truly to know is everlasting life." In the prayer originally composed for the use of Trinity College, Dublin, probably by Archbishop Laud, and now found slightly altered in the Church of Ireland Prayer Book, "To be used in Colleges and Schools," addressing our Lord Jesus Christ as "the Eternal Wisdom of the Father," we say, "We beseech thee to assist us with thy heavenly Grace, that we may be blessed in our studies this day, and above all things may attain the knowledge of thee, whom to know is life eternal." For our Lord in the passage from which I have quoted co-ordinates as elements of eternal life two items of personal knowledge: the knowledge of God the Father, and the knowledge of Him whom the Father sent, even Jesus Christ.

I have called attention to the echoes in the Anglican