

Joseph of Arimathea. Although, according to the Talmud, the place of stoning, and the discoveries of the ruins of St. Stephen's Church outside the Damascus gate, may favour Captain Conder's views of his supposed Calvary on a hill just outside that gate, yet the traditional site, which dates at least back to the time of the Empress Helena, ought not to be disputed until further discoveries can be made.

We sincerely hope that the Palestine Exploration Fund Society will be able to continue their work of exploration at Jerusalem, which is the only means to lead us to a satisfactory result.

*December 10th, 1883.*

## CAPTAIN CONDER AND KADESH-BARNEA.

BY THE REV. H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

INASMUCH as Captain Conder has given special prominence, in the *Quarterly Statement*, to my volume on Kadesh-Barnea, as worthy of consideration in the settlement of a pivotal point in the lower boundary of Palestine, I venture to ask the privilege of calling attention to the main purpose of that volume—which he has not touched by his comments.

In "Kadesh-Barnea," I have subjected every Biblical mention of that ancient site to an examination, and have compared them all with each other, showing, as I believe, that many of them absolutely require its location at or near the site of 'Ayn Qadees, and that every one of them is consistent with that location; hence that there and there only its identification is properly to be looked for. If I am right as to this consensus of Biblical evidence, it follows that even if a Kadesh-Barnea be actually discovered elsewhere, it cannot, by any possibility, be the Kadesh-Barnea of the Bible-text.

This basal portion of my volume is, as I have said, left untouched by Captain Conder's criticisms; and if, indeed, he were found to be correct at every one of his more than twenty noted points of difference with my incidental suggestions of confirmatory evidence of the identification of 'Ayn Qadees, my claim that *there* is the site of Kadesh-Barnea would remain as strong as before, in spite of such errors in my confirmatory collatings.

But, lest Captain Conder's long list of apparent mistakes on my part should throw discredit on the really important portion of the volume, not dealt with by him, and so should deter from its examination those who know of it only from his criticisms, I desire to say, that after a careful re-examination of every point to which Captain Conder has taken exception, I am of the opinion that at no one of them has he shown an error in the work he criticises, while in a number of cases his own position is clearly untenable. Let me name a few illustrative instances.

1. I referred to the plain of "Es-Seer," or "Es-Sirr"—as noted by Rowlands and Wilson and Palmer—as a trace of the old name of "Seir," in the region south-eastward from Beersheba. Captain Conder says of this modern name: "Until it can be shown to contain the guttural of the Hebrew, it cannot be considered to represent Seir, especially as it should begin with *Shin*, nor with *Sin* or *Sad*." But Gesenius, Fürst, and other lexicographers, are positive that the Hebrew guttural (ע) is frequently interchanged with approximate sounds, and is sometimes dropped altogether. Captain Conder himself suggests this dropping, when he would find a trace of "Ba'al" in "Ballah." And Dr. John Wilson even cites this very word "Seir" (east of the Arabah) as an illustration of the exceptional dropping of the *'Ayn*. "Yet we have," he says, "الشراء (Esh-Sherah), for שַׁעִיר (Seir)." And in this view Wilson is sustained by Burckhardt, by Koehler in his notes on Abulfeda, and by others.

Again, the lexicographers above-named give marked illustrations of the representing of the Hebrew *Sin* by the Arabic *Sin*, instead of *Shin*. This would seem to make it possible, certainly, for the name "Es-Seer" to be a trace of the ancient "Seir," especially as the district where it is found did, as I think I have shown from the Bible-text, formerly bear that name—whether it be found there now or not.

2. I have claimed that the early Old Testament sweep of Edom clearly included the region also known as "Seir," where Esau lived before he removed to "Mount Seir." Captain Conder thinks that "the name Edom, or 'red,' must surely have been applied to the red sandstone country, and not to the white chalk plateau of the Tih." But the Bible says that the name Edom likewise came from the "red" pottage—which Esau ate on "the white chalk plateau" of his early home; "therefore was his name called Edom," and therefore was his land likely to be known as the land of Edom. I still incline to the opinion that the Bible-statement has some basis of truth in it.

3. In explaining the causes of the long-prevalent error that there were two Kadeshes, I referred to the Rabbinical evidence that there were two Reqams, one of which was Petra, and the other was Kadesh. Captain Conder says, "I fail to find anything to support the view that there were two Rekems, one at Petra, one at 'Ain Kadis;" and he courteously suggests that "the second Rekem seems only necessary to the theory of 'Ain Kadis being Kadesh-Barnea." But I cited the assertion of a well-known Talmudic scholar of more than two centuries ago, that, according to the Talmud, "there were two noteworthy places named Rekam on the limits of the land [the Holy Land]." Then I showed from the Talmud itself that one of these Reqams was in the region of Petra (probably identical with it) while the other (sometimes called "Reqam Giah") was on the westerly side of the desert, toward Askelon. The identity of 'Ain Qadees with this second Rebam I left open for other proof. Does Captain Conder really think that the Talmud was written in the special interest of those who would identify Kadesh at 'Ain Qadees?

4. Concerning the "Mount Hor in the edge of the land of Edom,"—which is not, however, an essential point in the locating of Kadesh-Barnea,—I claimed that the whole tenor of the references to it in the Bible-text forbid the possibility of its fixing at the traditional site, in a mountain stronghold of the Hebrew-tabooed Mount Seir; while every requirement of the sacred text is met in the suggested location at Jebel Madurah. The evidence of the Bible-text Captain Conder does not discuss; but he is sure as to "the consensus of tradition and opinion in the matter." I spoke of the possible vestige of the Hebrew name "Moseroth" (one of the names of the lower Mount Hor) in the Arabic "Madurah," "the consonants 'D' and 'S' having a constant tendency to interchange in Eastern speech." At this Captain Conder says: "I do not think this is the case. The soft T and the soft S (*Te* and *Sin*) are convertible, and so are the soft D or Dh and Z (*Dhal*, *Dal*, *Zain*), but I do not recall any instance where D and S are convertible." I did not say that D and S were "convertible," but that they had "a constant tendency to interchange;"—if Captain Conder is not aware of *that* fact, I am surprised; for the lexicons teem with illustrations of it, and Orientalists frequently refer to the fact. For example, from Freytag and Fürst: Hebrew, חָסָה (*Khasa*); Arabic, حدا (*Hadaa*); both meaning "to flee." Hebrew, נָסַךְ (*Nasakh*); Arabic, نَضَحَ (*Nodakha*) and نَضَحَ (*Nadaha*), all three meaning "to pour out." Also in Arabic itself, such parallel forms as يَصَّصَ (*yassasa*), and يَضُّضَ (*yaddada*), "to open the eyes" (said of a young animal).

5. Incidentally I referred to the *correspondence* of the names "Zephath" and "Sebayta," and to the lack of the formerly claimed identity between "Zephath" and "Sufah." Captain Conder says: "The radical meaning of this name [Zephath] in Hebrew and Arabic is the same, 'to be clear,' 'bright,' 'conspicuous,' 'shining.' The identity of Zephath and Sufah can hardly be doubted by any who consider the root whence the two words originate. The suggestion of Sebaita or Sebâta for Zephath has always seemed to me to argue a want of scholarship on the part of Rowlands. The Arabic name seems to be from the root Sebt, 'rest,' which has not a single letter in common with the root whence Zephath originates." But it is Professor Palmer who says ("Desc. of Exod," ii, 375 f): "The name Sebaita is etymologically identical with the Zephath of the Bible, Zephath signifies a watch-tower." As to the root of the two words, it would seem that Captain Conder has mistaken, as a root, the Hebrew צָבָה (*Tsabab*), "to shine," for צָפָה (*Tsaphah*), "to look about." The idea that Professor Palmer, having examined this word on the field and afterwards in his study, should have confounded the root of "Zephath" and "Sebayta" with so common a root as that of the "Sabbath,"—"which has not a single letter in common with the root" he was considering,—presupposes "a want of scholarship" on the part of that eminent Orientalist which English readers generally will not be ready to admit without some show of proof.

6. One of the many Hazars, or Hezrons, or border-territory "enclosures," of Canaan, is mentioned in the sacred text as lying between Kadesh and Adar. I stated that I found traces of one or two enclosures between 'Ayn Qadees and 'Ayn Qadayrat, which would meet that description. Thereupon Captain Conder says: "Dr. Trumbull has omitted to notice what appears to me to be a strong argument, which, as far as I know, I was the first to suggest, in the identification of Hezron." The site of Hezron which Captain Conder suggests is "the Hadireh hill west of Wâdy el Yemen"—quite out of the Bible possibilities of the case; and he says: "It is strange that Dr. Trumbull should have been quite silent as to this suggestion, which if it be correct settles the Kadesh-Barnea question for ever;" and Captain Conder even thinks that "the omission of any notice of Hadireh (in 'Kadesh-Barnea'), and several minor errors above pointed out, seems to spoil the completeness of the work." Yet the term Hazar, Hazor or Hezron, or the plural form, in simple or in compound, is so common as a descriptive one in the Bible story (see, *e.g.*, Numb. xi, 35; xxxiv, 4, 9; Deut. ii, 23; Josh. xv, 23, 25, 27, 28; xix, 5, 36, 37; 1 Kings ix, 15; Ezek. xlvi, 16, 17), that if found by itself anywhere it would hardly be more determinative as a particular site than the term "camp." It is even shown by the Bible-text (Deut. ii, 23) that these Hazars or Hazarim were all along the southern boundary of Canaan, and four or five of them are noted, as near each other in that region, in the description of that border (Josh. xv, 23-28). The idea that the finding a trace of one of those "enclosures" "settles the Kadesh-Barnea question for ever," seems to me so utterly chimerical that I should not have felt justified in an attempt to refute it if it were not forced into fresh prominence by Captain Conder's renewed claim of its importance. I certainly accord to him all the credit of being, as far as I know, "the first to suggest" it.

7. I gave the Arabic name of "Qadayrât" precisely as it was written for me by my guide, who gave me also its English meaning as "the power of God." Captain Conder says that "it appears to be spelt with a *Dad* [instead of a *Dal*] by mistake." Yet the dialectic change of *Dad* for *Dal* is by no means uncommon in Arabic words, as the lexicons show. I simply gave the writing and the definition as given to me by a native Arab. Captain Conder has himself emphasized "the importance of studying the local peasant dialect of Syria," because of its throwing light on the interchanging of letters—like *Sin* and *Sad*—supposed by scholars to be "never confused." Possibly another example of this is to be found in *Dad* and *Dal*.

8. Quite outside of the question of the site of Kadesh-Barnea, but considered at some length in my book, is the route of the Hebrew exodus. Captain Conder says: "It is to be regretted, however, that sufficient notice has not been taken of the facts (both geological and engineering), which leave it indisputable that the level of the Red Sea has been changing, and that the Isthmus of Suez has been growing broader within historic times." In speaking of that which is "indisputable," Captain Conder probably

means that, in his opinion, the view he holds ought not to be disputed ; —although he is aware that it is. I have yet to see any claim by a geological authority that the Isthmus *must have been* materially narrower in the days of Moses. The mere opinion of a geologist that it *might have been* so at that date, because it had been so long earlier, can weigh but little against the evidence and indications from history, sacred and profane, to which I have pointed in my book, that then it *was not* so.

9. My footnote remark, in passing, an incidental item of Egyptian history, that “the fortress of Kana’an has not been identified,” prompts Captain Conder to say : “This seems to have been written before Dr. Trumbull had seen my paper on the subject, as my suggestion of Kana’an a large ruin near Hebron, met with hearty acceptance from Mr. Tomkins.” In the English edition of my book (published by Hodder & Stoughton), I have mentioned Captain Conder’s proposed identification ; but while I recognise the exceptional value of the Rev. Henry George Tomkins’s opinion in favour of one of Captain Conder’s suggested identifications, I still venture to repeat what I have already said in my revised volume, that, in my opinion, Khurbet Kana’an “does not correspond with the pictured [Egyptian] representation of a fortress on a detached hill, with a lake near it.”

10. Captain Conder’s mention of a “rationalistic explanation of the pillar of cloud and of fire, which seems suggested on p. 397” of my book, I do not quite understand ; but I desire to relieve the text and the tone of my work from the imputation which “seems suggested” in that mention. Referring to the fact that “it was common for Eastern armies to be guided by a column of smoke moving on in their van by day, and by a streaming banner of flame before them by night,” I said that when Jehovah’s host went out from Egypt, “the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way ; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light.” And to make it clear to every mind that I looked upon the Israelites’ guiding emblem as a supernatural and a miraculous display, I quoted approvingly the words of Kurtz, that the difference between the ordinary caravan-beacon and this one was, “that the one was a merely natural arrangement, which answered its purpose but imperfectly, and was exceedingly insignificant in its character, whilst the other was a supernatural phenomenon, beyond all comparison more splendid and magnificent in its form, which was also made to answer far greater and more glorious ends.” Possibly Captain Conder’s term “rationalistic explanation” was a slip of the pen, or a misprint, for “rational explanation.”

11. While admitting that I have shown the existence of an ’Ayn Qadees at the site described, Captain Conder suggests that it may be “a monkish site ;” since “the monks were not careful as to the Biblical requirements of their sites ;” and he also says that, “generally speaking, one feels that the evidence has been rather twisted in favour of ’Ain Kadis, though Dr. Trumbull has striven to be impartial and candid.” It is quite a fresh thought to me, that the monks were in the habit of fixing, in Arabic equivalents of ancient Hebrew, geographical sites of the Old Testament story,

in the Holy Land or the desert ; although I knew that they located the homes, or the tombs, of Moses, and Aaron, and Samuel, and Elijah, and Jonah, and other Old Testament personages, without much regard to the Biblical requirements"—as in the case of Jebel Neby Haroon (called Mount Hor), for example. Their interest was, I supposed, in Bible biography rather than in Bible geography. Indeed in a work written since my re-discovery of 'Ayn Qadees, Captain Conder has said implicitly on this point ("Heth and Moab," p. 18) : "There is, however, no better guide to identification than the discovery of an ancient name, and whatever may have been written concerning the migration of sites, we have not as yet any clearly proven case in which a Semitic indigenous title has wandered away from the original spot to which it was applied for geographical or religious reasons." Why Captain Conder would suggest an exception to his otherwise invariable rule, in this case of 'Ayn Qadees, is by no means obvious ; for I certainly would not suggest that, "generally speaking, one feels that the evidence, or the argument," "has been rather twisted" by him *against* 'Ayn Qadees ; for it must not be questioned that Captain Conder "has striven to be impartial and candid."

12. It would seem unnecessary for me to follow up in detail all the minor points touched by Captain Conder in his extended critical comments on my work ; not one of which has any more force than those to which I have already replied. But there is a single other suggestion of his which I ought to note in closing. He says : "The map requires a word of notice, for it is not clear why 'Ain Kadis is there shown much further east in longitude than is the case in Palmer's map, or Holland's map." It is even in connection with *this* point that Captain Conder suggests the appearance of my twisting the evidence I would proffer. On the face of my map I said distinctly : "This map makes no claim to accuracy in the unsurveyed region of the Negeb. Any comparison of maps based on the researches of Robinson, Rowlands, Wilson, Palmer, Holland, Bartlett, and other recent explorers, will show irreconcilable differences in the contour of that region as portrayed by them. All that this map attempts is to indicate the outline and salient points of that region in the light of present knowledge, and as explained by descriptions in the text of the volume which it accompanies." I will now add, that on my return from the East I saw Professor Palmer in London, and talked over my discovery with him. He told me that he did *not* visit 'Ayn Qadees ; hence he could not be sure of its location. We looked over his map together, and, in the light of all that I could tell him of my journeyings, he and I were agreed that 'Ayn Qadees must be farther east than he had supposed. Therefore it was that I entered it on my tentative sketch-map accordingly. As I understand it, Mr. Holland made no survey of the region, and the map which was prepared by General Sir Charles Wilson, to accompany Mr. Holland's posthumous notes of his journey, was also based on Palmer's (or Tyrwhitt Drake's) survey ; hence, again, the location of 'Ayn Qadees was there given as erroneously indicated by Professor Palmer. *The difference in the location thus indicated affects in no degree, however, the question of identification*—an identification which the



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Bible record will admit of anywhere within the sweep of a dozen or fifteen miles or so in that region, and only within that sweep. There was, therefore, no inducement for me to change the location for the sake of my argument, even if I were as liable to such swaying as Captain Conder would suppose.

Of one thing I am very sure, that the precise location of 'Ain Qadees—which is Kadesh-Barnea—can be known only through a careful survey of its region; and I earnestly hope that that survey will soon be made under the eminently competent direction of Captain Claude Regnier Conder; for whatever differences of opinion there may be as to his thousand and one identifications, with his often fanciful and his sometimes grotesque suggestions of resemblance, there is no question that he has laid the entire Bible-studying and truth-loving world under obligation to him, for his tireless, his intelligent, and his most skilful services as an explorer and a surveyor in the lands of the Bible. And of that line of his work, I sincerely hope that the end is not yet.

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## NOTES ON SOME PHŒNICIAN GEMS.

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IN the course of last winter, during visits of short duration to Smyrna and Beyrût, I obtained several antique gems and engraved stones of Phœnician and semi-Phœnician character, which seem to be of sufficient interest and importance to merit description in the *Quarterly Statement* of our Society. I should, however, mention at starting that, being altogether unlearned in ancient Oriental languages, I am indebted for the ensuing information concerning the different inscriptions to Professors A. H. Sayce of Oxford, and Robertson Smith of Cambridge, to whom my best thanks are due for the trouble they have taken, and the attention they have paid to the matter.

No. 1. Bought at Beyrût. (See plate.)—This gem is of pale blue chalcedony, approaching to the stone sometimes called "sapphirine," and is a fairly executed and beautiful specimen of semi-Phœnician work. The influence of both Egyptian and Assyrian art are here well displayed. The intaglio represents a winged sphinx treading upon a uræus. This sphinx, according to Professor Sayce, has the bearded human head of the Assyrian bull, surmounted by the plumes of the Egyptian god Bes. Each of the two wings ends in a horned head, of which one resembles that of a griffin, and the other that of some species of antelope. With regard to these heads, Professor Sayce remarks that they "suggest the origin of the