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A table of contents for *Bibliotheca Sacra* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bib-sacra_01.php

For all that appears, then, there may have existed in the ages before Christ such an ignorance of the precise features of the plan of salvation through an atonement as to make it proper for the scriptures to represent that plan as a mystery hidden from men ; while, at the same time, a sufficient disclosure was made to render possible a faith that should save on the ground of expiatory sacrifice.

What has now been written will, it is thought, afford an adequate view of the controversy on the question, whether or not sacrifice be of divine institution ; so far at least as the practice of expiatory sacrifice in the patriarchal period may be thought to have any bearing on the question. A doubt may still be entertained whether the alleged absence of formal command would prove that this kind of sacrifice was not in full agreement with the will of God, and was not accepted by him. At this point, however, we dismiss the subject.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF THE "IDENTIFICATION OF MOUNT PISGAH."

BY REV. THOMAS LAURIE, D.D., PROVIDENCE, R.I.

In the midst of Centennial celebrations of the Revolution, it is pleasant to note the bands of love that now unite the two nations then at war. It is not less pleasant to note that some of these relate to our common inheritance—the English Bible. One of them is our united revision of that time-honored translation, and another our united exploration of the land of the Bible. England has invited us to join in this more thorough exposition of "The Land and the Book," and America has accepted the invitation, with a cordial devotion to the work, and no less cordial reciprocation of the kind feelings that prompted the offer.

Nothing will do more to correct the false impressions of the word of God that scepticism circulates so industriously, and at the same time promote its intelligent study, than the

knowledge of Palestine resulting from its thorough exploration.

The work of the English "Palestine Exploration Fund" west of the Jordan is a monument of conscientious thoroughness. It introduces a new era into biblical knowledge. The variety and wide range of its beneficent results are only beginning to be understood. It is an honor to be associated with such men in such a work, and we mean to show our trans-Atlantic kindred that we are not unworthy of it. We have not yet come up to our own standard of excellence; but the sight of their well-tilled field, that we must needs pass through to reach our own, inspires the purpose to fall behind in nothing possible to be achieved. We have confidence that American Christians will take hold of the work eagerly as soon as they understand its nature and results.

It is the design of this Article to promote that end by a review of "The Identification of Pisgah" that has just appeared in the third Statement of the Palestine Exploration Society. This was written by Prof. John A. Paine, Archaeologist of the Expedition in 1873, and formerly Professor in Robert College, Constantinople, and is an able and thorough discussion of the whole subject.

To appreciate it fairly we need to note what had been previously known of the locality. Josephus calls Abarim "a lofty height, lying over against Jericho, affording a view of the best and greatest part of the land of Canaan."¹ Eusebius says, "It is said also to be Mt. Nabau, and is the land of Moab opposite Jericho, beyond the Jordan, on the top of Phasgo, and it is pointed out in going up from Libias (Livias) toward Heshbon, called by the same names, hard by Mt. Phogor (Peor), also bearing this name still. Thence also the region is still called Phasgo."² Jerome says almost the same words in Latin. The two last authors differ, however, in the location of Mt. Nebo. Eusebius says, "It is shown even now as the sixth mile-mark from Heshbon toward the

¹ Dr. W. L. Alexander's *Kitto*, Vol. iii. p. 298 (Edinburgh, 1870).

² *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. ii. p. 879, and *Identification of Pisgah*, p. 75.

west"; and Jerome writes, instead of "toward the west," "over against the eastern quarter." Both Eusebius and Jerome speak of Mt. Peor as "seven mile-stones from Heshbon."¹

Dr. Robinson, the Corypheus of biblical geography, says: "Though we saw the mountains over against Jericho from every quarter, yet there seems to be none so standing out from the rest as to be recognized as the Nebo of the scriptures. There is no peak perceptibly higher than the rest; all is apparently one level line of summit. The highest point is Jebel el-Jil'ad, or es-Salt, near the city of that name, about 3000 feet above the Ghôr; but this is much too far north. Possibly one in these mountains might find some isolated summit answering to the position and character of Nebo. Indeed, Seetzen, Burckhardt, and also Irby and Mangles, have all identified it with Jebel Attarûs, south of the Zûrka Ma'în. This, however, is 'far from opposite Jericho,' and would be almost as distant from the plains of Moab as Jebel es-Salt."² Dr. Robinson then concluded that it could neither be Jebel'Osha nor Attarûs; but he did not venture to locate Nebo or Pisgah, either on his map of 1838 or 1856.

In the map of Palestine in Alexander's edition of Kitto (1870) Nebo is put down correctly as to its distance from Heshbon; but both are too far south in relation to the Dead Sea; and Nebo is placed further south than Baal Meon.

In William Smith's Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography (1873) Mt. Nebo or Pisgah (Jebel Nibbeh or Nebâ) is put down nearly where the map of the American Exploration Society locates it, but further south, nearer the Dead Sea, and marked 2670 feet. Ayûn Mûsa (springs of Moses) are located as on the American map, but not quite so much to the west, and marked 1600 feet. Heshbon itself is marked 2880 feet, which makes it higher than the top of Nebo.

Mr. George Grove, of Sydenham,³ says, "There is nothing

¹ Alexander's Kitto, Vol. iii. p. 298, and Identification of Pisgah, pp. 78, 79.

² Biblical Researches, Vol. ii. p. 306 (abridged).

³ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (1860), *sub voce* Abarim.

to prove this a range of any length," and places it on the east of the Jordan, in the land of Moab, facing Jericho. "Its most elevated spot was the Mt. Nebo head of the Pisgah, whence Moses viewed the promised land before his death." Smith's Historical Atlas, 1873, makes the mountains of Abarim extend up to Wady Hadar, the upper part of Wady Keferein.

Dr. W. L. Alexander¹ says: "It presents many distinct masses and elevations, commanding extensive views west of the Jordan. . . . From the manner in which the names Abarim, Nebo, and Pisgah are connected (Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1), it would seem that Nebo was a mountain of the Abarim chain, and that Pisgah² was the highest and most commanding peak of the mountain. . . . The precise appropriation of the three names, however, remains yet to be determined; the locality has not been sufficiently explored."

Mr. Grove says, further,³ "It is so minutely described, it would be impossible not to recognize it,—in the land of Moab, facing Jericho,—the summit of a mountain called the Pisgah, which, again, formed a part of the general range Abarim." Its position is further denoted by "the ravine in the land of Moab, facing Beth-Peor" (Deut. xxxiv. 6), in which Moses was buried. Then, after rejecting 'Osha and

¹ Kitto's Encyclopaedia (1870), *sub voce*, Abarim.

² Dr. Porter maintains this opinion in his latest writings. In the London Athenaeum of May 1, 1875, he speaks of leaving Hesbân, April 15, 1874, for Mount Nebo, and at the distance of five miles he found ruins several acres in extent, which the Arabs called Khirbet Siâghah (ruins of Siâghah); and he at once thought of Pisgah, as the Arabs do not have P in their alphabet, except as it is sounded F. He describes the summit as rich in soil and partially cultivated. A mile due west is a rounded peak, connected with the northwest side of Siâghah by a narrow neck. Here are ruins of an ancient town, with the remains of a Roman castle on the highest point; outside of that the ruins are more ancient. The Arabs call this Nebâ or Nebbeh. It has Wady Ayûn Mûsa on the north, and Wady Judaid on the south (an error of the press makes this last Judeih). It is four hundred feet lower than Siâghah, but has a more full view of the valley of the Jordan, Dead Sea, and Plain of Jericho; he identifies the ruins with the town of Nebo, which Eusebius places six miles from Heshbon towards Jericho. From hence he went down in half an hour to Ayûn Mûsa, and, looking back from thence, saw the peaks of both Nebâ and Siâghah.

³ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *sub voce*, Mount Nebo.

Attarus, because one was fifteen miles too far north, and the other as much too far south, he adds, "Another requisite is a view from the summit corresponding to that which Moses is said to have had from here over the whole land."

He also says: "This must have been a mountain range, the same as, or a part of, Abarim. The field of Zophim was on it, and its highest point or head was the Mt. Nebo. In the late Targums of Jerusalem and the Pseudo-Jonathan, Pisgah is invariably rendered by *ramatha*, "hill." Neither do the Seventy treat it as a proper name; but Eusebius and Jerome report the name as existing in their day in its ancient locality."¹

Dr. J. L. Porter² says: "Deut. xxxii. 49 establishes three points,—(a) Nebo was a peak of the range Abarim; (b) it was in the land of Moab, east of the Jordan, and (c) opposite and in sight of Jericho." He, too, questions whether Pisgah is a proper name or a common noun; and if the former, thinks it an equivalent for Abarim. After quoting Eusebius and Jerome, he goes on: "Therefore, according to them, Mt. Nebo must be some peak on the brow of the mountain range near where Wady Hesbân breaks down from the lofty plateau of Moab; and this agrees with the scriptures."

On the south bank of Wady Hesbân, and about seven miles west of the ruins of the town, Dr. Porter noticed some projecting points of the range, not higher than others, but shooting out farther west, so as to command the Jordan valley and western Palestine, and suggested that one of these might be Nebo; though he adds, it is now impossible to identify the exact spot. He thought, also, that the idea that Nebo must be the highest mountain in the region had misled those who sought it in Jebel Attarûs and Jebel Jil'ad. He infers from Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1, that Abarim was a range, Nebo one of its peaks, and Pisgah either a common noun meaning "an isolated hill," or more likely equivalent to Abarim.³

Dean Stanley presents nothing new, but reiterates the

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *sub voce*, Pisgah.

² Alexander's Kitto, *sub voce*, Mount Nebo. ³ *Ibid.*, *sub voce*, Pisgah, p. 548.

hopes and desires of other writers, when he says: "Nothing but a fuller description than has ever yet been given of these regions can determine the spot where the great lawgiver and leader of his people looked down upon their embattled ranks, and over the 'land which he was to see with his eyes, but was not to go in thither.' But the general account leaves no doubt that the place intended is some elevation immediately above the last stage of the Jordan."¹

Professor Paine tells us that in November, 1863, Mons. de Sauley was riding from Heshbon to Baal Meon, and asked his Arab guide the name of the mountain on his right hand. "Jebel Nebâ" (Mt. Nebo), was the reply. The Frenchman was in ecstasies; for, to use his own words, "I have had the good fortune to recover the famous Mt. Nebo, so vainly sought for many years, and I am proud of it."

The following April, a French nobleman, the Duc de Luynes, crossed this mountain, and laid it down correctly in his map as Jebel Mousa (Mountain of Moses), though elsewhere he calls it Mt. Nebo.

A few days after him, Dr. Tristram, an English clergyman, stood on the summit of the range, and gives an animated description of the view from thence.

April 21st, 1871, Rev. A. E. Northey, another English clergyman, climbed Mt. Nebo.² Descending Wady Hesbân southwest for half an hour, he turned southeast into Wady Suderah, and through this and other wadies climbed steadily for three hours, till he stood on the summit of Jebel Nebâ, with Wady Ayûn Mûsa to the north, and Wady el-Gedid (Jedaïd) to the south. He found the view much the same as from Jebel Jabud (Zebbud?). Higher ground to the south intercepted his view, and cut off a part of the Dead Sea. Judging from Prof. Paine's account, he must have stood on Jebel Nebâ; for his view of the Dead Sea corresponds with what Prof. Paine says is seen from there; and he could hardly have gone so far as Jebel Sfâghah, though

¹ Sinai and Palestine, p. 294 (New York, 1865).

² Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund (English), p. 62. 1872. Vol. XXXIII. No. 129.

his three hours steady climbing, after half an hour down Wady Hesbân, exceeds Prof. Paine's five miles and a quarter; but then he may have taken a roundabout road, instead of a direct one.

Such was the extent of our knowledge of this locality before the expedition of the American Exploration Society, in 1873. It remained for that to ascertain definitely what till then had only been conjectured or inferred, and verify by actual examination what Dr. Porter so felicitously anticipated concerning "some projecting points of the range," no higher than others, but shooting out west, so as to command the Jordan valley and western Palestine, and also to show that he went too far when he pronounced it "impossible to identify the exact spot."

The paper of Prof. Paine fills nearly ninety pages of forty lines each in small type, and strikes us at once by what, for want of a better name, we may call its "impersonality." It contains no date of his visit, except that, in a note¹ written after the completion of the original document, he tells us that it was written in Hasbân, May, 1873, nor any designation of time, except the one sentence, "A month's investigation of all the district."² It makes not the least allusion to the society that sent him forth and supported him. The only reference to his associates in the work is contained in a single word in the following sentence, "An altitude of 1725 feet, according to one of *our* aneroids."³ If we were to write of him as has been written of Melchisedek, we would say that he had neither tent nor dwelling, that he neither ate nor drank, unless what he says of Ayûn Mûsa indicates the last: "To a thirsty explorer its artless song is more delightful than the sweetest notes of either Nillson or Lucca."⁴ We should not know that he had a horse, if he had not incidentally mentioned the fact in his interesting account of the discovery of the ancient "king's highway,"⁵ leading from Beth-Peor

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 11.

² p. 20.

³ p. 22.

⁴ p. 47.

⁵ Dr. Tristram mentions this ancient road in the "Land of Moab" (p. 338). "There is a very perfect ancient roadway from the eastern plain, i.e. the Belqa, to this place, and thence down to the lower terrace."

down to Watat en-Naam, and probably, though he does not mention it, to the plains of Moab below.¹

There is no allusion to any intercourse with the Arabs of the vicinity, only such incidental ones as the confirmation of "names as used by the tribes Benî Sakhr, 'Adwân, and Ghunaïmât," — the latter dwelling on Jebel Nebâ and Jebel Sîâghah,² — and the statement³ that "conversations with the Bedwân of the west revealed the fact that they were well aware of the old road which they called 'the ancient way.'"

His identification is very elaborate. Some may think his specification of the objects visible from the several peaks far too particular. It may be so for general reading; but ministers, at least, will not make this objection; for no description of Bible scenes can be minute enough to furnish all they want to use in the discussion of different truths connected with the same locality. In some parts there may be a little obscurity; but if one thoroughly masters the document, he will find it the next thing to a personal visit to the locality, which is one of the most interesting on the earth. Our author did not over-estimate it, when he commenced his Article with the words: "Among biblical problems on the east of the Jordan yet unsolved, none have enlisted deeper interest . . . than the identification of long-lost Pisgah." Mr. Grove had already pronounced the fact almost incredible that none of the travellers who believed Attarûs to be Mt. Nebo had even tried to ascend a peak which, if their conjectures were correct, must be the most interesting spot in the world.

Prof. Paine first reviews the search for Mt. Nebo up to the time of the expedition; then goes carefully over the whole range, giving descriptions of the summits and the objects visible from each; then reviews it in the light of the Bible, showing how its heights, headlands, valleys, springs, and ruins confirm and illustrate scripture; and last of all, reviews it in the light of ancient testimony. We will not follow him in his method, but present a brief *résumé* of his results.

¹ Identification of Pisgah, pp. 39-41.

² p. 20.

³ p. 41.

He understands by the mountains of Abarim the five summits of Jebel Sîâghah, of which Pisgah is the most prominent.¹

Nebo he finds (*a*) in Shefâ Nebâ (crest of Nebo),² four and a half miles from Heshbon, and 2725 feet above the sea (3925 feet above the Dead Sea; according to Smith's Historical Atlas [1873], 4017 feet), the highest point in the range, and yet not commanding the most extensive view. Jebel Mâslûbîyeh confines the prospect on the south; to the east the Belqa is shut off by the hill of Kûfair 'Abî Bedd. Some green hills appear beyond Hesbân on the northeast; and the furrowed breast of Jebel 'Ausha terminates the northern prospect. Then follow glimpses of Naphtali and the region around Safed, some peaks east of Tabor and Little Hermon, the mountains of Samaria, parts of the valley of the Jordan, Mt. Quarantana, Jerusalem and the Mt. of Olives, Bethlehem and the hills of the Wilderness of Judea, but none of the Dead Sea, while a peak directly in front shuts off Jericho and the adjoining plain; and (*b*) in Jebel Nebâ (Mt. Nebo),³ five and a quarter miles from Heshbon, and 2685 feet above the sea.⁴ The view here is more extensive. It takes in nearly the whole of the eastern slope of Palestine, and the most of the Jordan valley, extending farther south along the mountains of Judea. In one place he says, "It does not take in more than the northern end of the Dead Sea";⁵ and in another, "Possibly one third of the Dead Sea is visible."⁶ Half the delta of the Jordan is in sight; but the entire plain of Jericho is cut off by the double peaks of a hill in front. If we had no specification of what Moses saw from Pisgah, we should deem this grand enough to answer the purpose; but it commands neither the Negeb (south or dry country), "nor the plain of the valley of Jericho."

That double-peaked hill in front, Prof. Paine holds, is Jebel Sîâghah (Mt. Pisgah).⁷ He explains the translation

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 39. ² Ibid., pp. 22-24. ³ Ibid., pp. 25-28.

⁴ Captain Warren (London Athenaeum, May 8, 1875) says 2770 feet.

⁵ Identification of Pisgah, p. 25.

⁶ p. 26.

⁷ Sîâghah, Dr. Tristram writes it, Ziara, an Arabic word, meaning a place visited on account of its sacredness.

of Pisgah in the Septuagint (cut out) by the isolation of the hill, precipitous on three sides, and cut off from Mt. Nebo by Wady Haïsa.¹ Its southwestern peak is 2360 feet above the sea,² and one and a half miles from Jebel Nebâ³; and here Prof. Paine supposes that Moses obtained his view of the promised land before he died.⁴ Peor, the western peak, is one and a quarter miles from Jebel Nebâ,⁵ and 35,720 English feet, or six and three quarters miles, from Heshbon.⁶ The height of this is not given; but the other is said to be "scarcely lower" than this.⁷ From that lower peak the view is the best of all, as it is entirely unobstructed toward the Jordan and Jericho, takes in two thirds of the Dead Sea as far south as Musada, and gives a glimpse of the distant Neheb through an opening in the western hills.⁸ Neither the peninsula (Lesan) nor Jebel Usdum are to be seen.⁹

¹ Identification of Pisgah; see the Map.

² p. 29.

³ p. 79.

⁴ Capt. Warren (London Athenaeum, May 8, 1875), says: "The view is no doubt extensive, but not Pisgah, to my mind. I believe the true Pisgah is a hill north of Wady Ayûn Mûsa, at the northwest corner of the Belqa, 2600 feet high, which the Arabs call "Mushkar," and Mr. Paine "Mushaqqar."

⁵ Identification of Pisgah, p. 79.

⁶ p. 87.

⁷ p. 29.

⁸ p. 29.

⁹ Dr. Porter's account of these peaks (London Athenaeum, May 1, 1875), is somewhat different. He calls the peak which Prof. Paine names Peor, Mount Nebo, and says that from it the whole plain of Jericho, the valley of the Jordan, and the northern part of the Dead Sea are visible. On the north appears the range of Mount Gilead, as far as its culminating peak Jebel 'Osha, the ancient Mizpah of Gilead; all north of that is shut out from view. To the northwest, through the valley of the Jordan, appear the heights of Naphtali and Southern Lebanon. The whole outline of western Palestine extends thence in plain sight to Hebron. The Mediterranean does not appear, and the southern part of the Dead Sea is hidden by a peak half a mile off. He ascended that peak also, and found the view more extensive southward, including the Dead Sea and part of Neheb, but not the plain of Jericho. On the sides and summit of this peak are ruins of square buildings, not very ancient. The Arabs call both these peaks, and another group more to the east by the side of Jebel Stâghah, Jebel Nebâ. While Dr. Porter says the plain of Jericho is not visible from this summit, Prof. Paine says (p. 29): "There is now absolutely nothing between us and all the region around." And again (p. 36): "The great feature of the picture is the foreground, and the foreground is all the plain of the Jordan;" and lest we should think that by some point the plain of Jericho was cut out from this, a little farther, he says: "Only a single work of man appears, where, half-hidden among the trees that line one of the streams of Elisha's fountain, the square tower of Arîbâ (Jericho) watches still." Query. Was Dr. Porter here looking

There is a part of the view described here by Prof. Paine so interesting that we must quote it, with some abbreviations:¹

“The eye wanders up to Bethlehem, happily seated at the upper edge of an amphitheatre on the hill-side. These rows are garden terraces, which give a richness of green that brings pleasure to an eye wearied with sterile places. From this point of view its position is charming above all others; for it is elevated as it would not appear from any other quarter, and is set in the verdure of fields of grain, gardens, fig-trees, and olive groves. If one were to choose out a place in all this landscape most worthy to be the birth-place of our Lord, it surely would be Bethlehem.”

“With no background but the white sky, the spires of Jerusalem stand out distinctly. The Mt. of Offence cannot conceal two points on Mt. Zion, one of which must be the minaret of the mosque over the tomb of David. There is the dome of the rock El 'Aqsâ, and the southeast corner of the temple area.

“This part of the city was the scene of our Saviour's teachings, and perhaps of his death. By night he went out to the Mt. of Olives; his abiding-place was Bethany; and both are here. The two roads are easily followed by the glass — one crossing the summit of Olivet, the other winding round its southern shoulder, and therefore the way of triumphal entry. On one of these slopes must be the spot where the Redeemer was parted from the disciples, and carried up into heaven. In the north, hills blend in blueness that lie not far from Nazareth, and look down on Gennesaret. Yonder is ‘this mountain’ on which the eye of the Saviour rested when he spoke of worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth. There is the Jordan of his baptism. Beneath us lies Perea, the Bethabara around Nimrin to which he retired just before he went up to Jerusalem to die. From

from what Prof. Paine calls the third peak of Jebel Siâghah? If not, it is easier to suppose that Dr. Porter misread his notes of one day's researches, than that Prof. Paine erred in his record of such protracted investigations.

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 80.

no other point can so many of his footsteps be traced, or so many scenes of his life be brought together."

This view, extending from Dan on the north to the far-distant Negeb, of which one gets a glimpse through an opening of the western hills near Masada, fulfils every requisite of the view which Moses beheld from Pisgah, unless it be the sight of all Judah unto the utmost sea. Concerning this, it is enough to say that no peak east of the Jordan is high enough to look over the higher ridge of western Palestine. The Lord might supernaturally show Moses the land of Judah which extended beyond the range of natural vision to the sea; but from no point south of Hermon, that looks down on the sources of the Jordan, and Kul'at er Rûbûd north of the Jabbok,¹ can the Mediterranean Sea be seen. Stanley expresses it well: ² "Immediately opposite was 'all the land of Judah,' beyond which, though unseen, lay 'the utmost sea.'"

Our author follows Balaam from his night's lodging at Kirjath Hûzoth,³ — which he translates "city of divisions," and finds in the ruin of Kûfâir 'Abî Bedd, laid out in four parts or wards, contrary to the usual custom, — first, to the peak which he calls Pisgah, at the southwestern end of the long outlying summit, marked Field of Zophim on the map, whence the prophet could see the whole camp of Israel; second, to the third summit called "the field of Zophim"⁴ and "the top of Pisgah,"⁵ towards, but not at, the southwestern end of the same summit, with part of the camp hidden by the second or Peor peak of the same; and third, and last of all, to this Peor peak,⁶ whence he uttered his final

¹ Stanley's Sinai and Palestine (N. Y. 1865), p. 315.

² Ibid. p. 295.

³ Dr. Tristram makes Kirjath Hûzoth to be Kirjathaim and its high place Jebel Attarus. — Land of Moab, p. 318.

⁴ Identification of Pisgah, p. 85.

⁵ p. 42.

⁶ Capt. C. Warren (London Athenæum, May 8, 1875), says: "The place Mr. Paine calls Baal Peor is the temple and ruin of Nebâ, which I discovered and identified "with the town of Nebo." Prof. Paine, on the contrary (p. 51), thinks that Kharâb el-Mukhaiyât "presents the best claims for the town of Nebo."

prophecy, and where Prof. Paine thinks Balak did not lead him before because of the temple of Peor which stood there.¹

This last peak is said to look toward Jeshimon, or the wilderness. David also (1 Sam. xxiii. 19), was in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the south of Jeshimon, and (vs. 24) in the wilderness of Maon, in the plain on the south of Jeshimon. Maon and Ziph are both visible from Pisgah, and most likely the hill of Hachilah also, though not yet certainly identified.² So Jeshimon is the wilderness where a line drawn to the north from Maon intersects another drawn west from Pisgah, and just there is a region every way worthy of the name.³

And here we may note a fruitful source of confusion in the valuable paper under review. The map marks the long, narrow plateau in front of Jebel Nebâ "Field of Zophim," and the southwestern end of it "Jebel Sfâghah," translated "Mt. Pisgah"; then (p. 28) Prof. Paine calls "the second summit, Jebel Sfâghah"; and (p. 37), says, "The extreme head of the range is Pisgah," suggesting that Sfâghah is the Arabic form of that name, the P being left out as unsuited to Arab vocal organs.⁴ All this looks as though he meant it to be the name of the extreme southwestern end of the Field of Zophim; but at the top of p. 39 he speaks of "summits of Sfâghah." Farther down on the same page, he says that "the summits of Pisgah, or mountains of Abarim, were these summits of Sfâghah." According to this, Pisgah is the "Field of Zophim" of the map, and includes the whole of Abarim. Then on p. 42 we are told that "the top of Pisgah finds its position in the third summit of Sfâghah"; but on p. 85 we are assured that "the third summit, *Zophim*, is a little higher than either Peor or Pisgah"; Peor being the second summit, so named from the temple of Peor that stood there, and Pisgah, as before, the last peak to the southwest. Yet on p. 87 Jerome

¹ Identification of Pisgah, pp. 41-45 and 57.

² Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund, p. 47, 1875, makes it "el Yekin" S. E. of Hebron.

³ Identification of Pisgah, p. 66.

⁴ So, also, Dr. Porter; see note p. 133.

is said to have used Peor for the whole range, instead of Pisgah.

Again, "a narrow foreland, bounded by ledges and steepes on the north and west, falling quickly down to Wâdî Ayûn Mûsâ far below, and by abrupt descents on the southeast ending in Wâdî el-Jûdaïd,"¹ is called the second summit, obliterating the first summit altogether, according to the map, or at least filling the place elsewhere assigned to it.

On the same page he says the "Wâdî Haïsa, falling into Wâdî el-Jûdaïd on the south, which reaches far up to this point, runs across the mountain, in a longitudinal direction, to the southern side of Jebel Nebâ. It thus cuts off, in a marked manner, Jebel Nebâ from the remainder of the promontory. No name could cross such a boundary line." Now, a glance at the map shows that any valley that runs across the mountain *south* of Jebel Nebâ, so far from cutting off that peak from the promontory of the Field of Zophim, would join them together, and a name would have no difficulty in crossing such a junction.

Then, so far is Pisgah from being represented as cut off from Jebel Nebâ by any valley, that, on p. 69, he speaks of it as the extremity of Jebel Nebâ."

Of these five summits only three are marked on the map — Peor, Sfâghah or Pisgah, and Field of Zophim, — though this last seems to cover the whole summit, and no clew is given to the location of the other two, but the reader is left to grope his way to it through confused statements, far apart and sometimes bewildering, as, e.g. "The *first*² best designated as the *fifth* in the series."

Two things would greatly add to the usefulness of this really valuable Article, — one, a map on a scale large enough to locate these five peaks distinctly, and leaving out the translations of the original names, which only mislead, as one never knows which marks the true position, the Arabic or the English; and the other, a strict adherence to one name for each; in no case using one for another, or the name of

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 28.

² p. 28.

the range for a single peak, unless with explanations that shall make the meaning plain.

An index, also, would greatly increase its value for reference; for the same subject sometimes occurs on pages far apart, and one neither knows where to find it at all, nor, having found one, is he sure that other statements about it are not overlooked.

The description of the mountains of Moab would have gained greatly in clearness and vividness of impression, had the fact that the Belqa is high table-land been made prominent, and its elevation above the sea been given, as well as the height of Shefâ Nebâ above that. Both of these measurements were doubtless made by the expedition in its survey of that region.

Prof. Paine, from his thorough acquaintance with the ground, may have good reasons for his criticism of Mons. de Saulcy;¹ but those who have only the map to guide them cannot see why the Frenchman should not have taken the height along whose base he journeyed as the "crest of Nebâ," or how his "brave youth" may not have told him the exact truth.

According to pp. 8 and 34, the name Wâdf el-Kunaiseh should be moved on the map from under Wadi el-Hiri, and placed north of Râjmet el-Odeimy, as it is the name of the lower part of the Wady from Ayûn Mûsa to the valley of the Jordan, and is so laid down in the map of the southern division of the Holy Land, in William Smith's Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography (London, 1873).

Prof. Paine's criticisms on Dr. H. B. Tristram are severe,² — indeed, too severe; for one who had not seen the book criticized, but only some of Prof. Paine's quotations from it, would see at once that they call for some mitigation of the severity.

The doctor rode at a rapid pace for several miles to the southeast (southwest?), steadily ascending the bleak plateau of the mountains of Moab, the range of Nebo; and the most elevated point, three miles southwest of Heshbon, his guide

¹ Identification of Pisgah, pp. 3-8.

² pp. 11-17.

called Nebbah. From this 'highest point on the range of Nebo,' he speaks¹ of "the shoulder of Carmel, *or some other intervening height*, just showing to the right of Gerizim, while the faint and distant bluish haze beyond it told us that there was the sea." And his critic writes as though he had said Mt. Carmel absolutely, taking no notice of the qualifying phrase, "or some other intervening height." He also says: "It would require something more than a haze to enable one to *look down* over such summits"; but Dr. Tristram does not speak of looking down over them, or of seeing the sea as that looking down implies.

The Doctor also says: "Northward again rose the distinct outline of unmistakable Tabor, aided by which we could identify Gilboa and Jebel Dûhy [Little Hermon]." The Professor replies to this: "These are all completely concealed by the high, wild mountains of northeastern Samaria"; and yet, looking himself² from Shefâ Nebâ, which he calls "the highest point of the grand ridge," just as Dr. Tristram had spoken of its "most elevated point," he says: "The summits and the region eastward of Tabor are visible, as well as the mountains to the east of Little Hermon. A portion of the range of Gilboa may form the very boundary of the horizon." To us, at this distance, it seems as though both stood on the same spot, and looked out on the same prospect, though the Englishman's riding "at a rapid pace" led him to underestimate the distance.

Again, the Doctor speaks of "Mount Gilead, behind es Salt,"³ and Prof. Paine demands: "On what authority does he call Jebel 'Ausha Mount Gilead, behind es Salt?" Now, in the paragraph quoted from Dr. Tristram, where this expression occurs, not a word is said about Jebel 'Ausha; and still the question sounds rather bold, when George Grove of Sydenham speaks of "Jebel 'Osha, or Jebel el-Jil'ad, the highest point in all the eastern mountains."⁴ Robinson's

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 14.

² p. 22.

³ Identification of Pisgah, p. 14.

⁴ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *sub voce*, "Nebo."

maps, both 1838 and 1856, make *Jebel 'Osha* a peak in *Jebel Jil'ad* or *es-Salt*; and his *Biblical Researches* (i. 349) speaks of a lofty summit, "forming the highest point of the mountains of *Gilead*, just north of *es-Salt*"; ii. 243 says, "*Mount Gilead*, near *es-Salt*"; and a note says, "I suppose it the same which *Burckhardt* calls *Jebel 'Osha*, three quarters of an hour N.N.W. of *es-Salt*, connected, apparently, with the ridge *Jil'ad*. It is also called *Jebel es-Salt*"; and p. 257, note, gives the bearings of "*Jebel es-Salt* or *Gilead*." *William Smith*¹ makes *Jebel 'Osha* and *Mount Gilead* (*Tell el-Jaludy*) two peaks side by side, with a road passing between them.

In an enterprise like this, where two great Christian nations, bound together by ties of blood and attachment to a common Bible, seek to elucidate that Bible by a united exploration of the land where it was written, we want to do everything to please, and nothing to offend, brethren who co-operate with us in the work.²

This work of *Prof. Paine* is difficult to read, not that it is unintelligible, but the meaning is not always apparent at the first reading; and sometimes one has to go back and re-read a sentence two or three times before its import becomes quite clear. As illustrations of this, take the following:³ "From the east the fields of wheat rise in a smooth plain which ends, at length, in a stony brow. After the descent, a brown level

¹ *Historical Atlas*, 1873.

² *Prof. Paine* says (p. 11): "Though subsequent to both *M. de Saulcy* and the *Duc de Luynes*, and though he came no nearer *Neba* than the neighborhood of *Hasbân*, yet he ventures to claim everything, the discovery, identification, description of *Nebo*, all to himself." To this *Dr. Tristram* replies, and as we think very satisfactorily (*London Athenæum*, May 22, 1875), '*Mons. de Saulcy* directed my attention to *Nebo*, telling me that he had not been able to visit it himself, but left that to me, and I did not learn of the visit of the *Duc de Luynes*, which occurred only a week before mine, till after the publication of my book.' He adds also with good reason, "*Mr. Paine* should judge a traveller by his latest, not his earliest utterances." We may here notice that though *Prof. Paine* is severe on some statements of *Dr. Tristram*, he almost adopts his identification of *Zoar*, *Dr. Tristram* placing it on *Jebel Siâghah*, and *Prof. Paine* on this side of *Jordan*, near the base of the mountains (p. 71), in opposition to its received position at the southeastern coast of the *Dead Sea*.

³ *Identification of Pisgah*, p. 19.

of ploughed ground lengthens out, toward the end of which a slight elevation behind lifts up just enough to show a line of white rocks and then ceases: a slight inclination westward conducts to a rapid, rocky slope."

Another reads thus:¹ "A thin, blue line of far country colors the horizon, almost evenly drawn save at the point of a mountain near the winding valley (previously described), and of another slowly rising to pitch suddenly off, midway toward the boundary drawn by the headland on our left."

Some of his sentences are still more obscure, as, for instance, this:² "It is remote, as well as of difficult, apparently altogether without, access from the valley of the river"; and also this:³ "Its ruins now, of the city in its latest prosperity of Roman and Christian times, would not indicate a population of 35,000." These are given, punctuation and all, just as they stand.

His use of pronouns is sometimes misleading. In one place⁴ he says: "Crossing over, we find a wide, even height. . . . Beyond rises still another mountain whose top is short and round and plainly lower. *This* height is called Shefâ Nebâ." According to the laws of grammar, "This" ought to refer to the "mountain," immediately before it; but, instead of that, it goes back, across three periods, to the "height" mentioned four lines above.

On the same page he says: "That isolated rounded summit is Jebel Nebâ"; then, five lines after, a new paragraph begins: "As *this* is the highest point," etc. The reader naturally supposes "this" refers to the last summit mentioned; but, instead of that, subsequent statements prove that it refers to another, mentioned in still another paragraph, five lines above that one.

But it is more pleasant to dwell on the many excellencies of the work than on its blemishes. Among other additions to our previous knowledge is a description of the ruins on Mount Peor.⁵ These cover a space of four hundred feet by

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 29.

⁴ p. 22.

² p. 36.

⁵ pp. 56-65.

³ p. 81.

two hundred and fifty, and are evidently the remains of a temple and its surrounding buildings. Its pronaos fronted the east. The capitals of the pillars were unique. An inner court measured eighty feet by forty-three, and an outer one, one hundred and twenty-two by a hundred and five. Below the cloisters of the temple were cisterns, one of them cut in the rock; and the larger one, built underground, was forty-five and a half feet long by nineteen and a half feet broad, and upwards of twenty-three in height. We would have liked, however, a more thorough discrimination between the more recent erections and the ancient temple of Baal, such as can be made only after a thorough excavation of the ruins. We hope the American public will give the society the means for such satisfactory work. It may be somewhat costly and difficult; but it pays.

Prof. Paine says:¹ "Until it shall be otherwise proved, we are bound to attribute these walls to the house of Baal-peor." But Dr. Tristram says:² "I hold his Baal temples to be late Christian churches, and his antique capitals late Byzantine."

Then he describes four large stone discs; the largest, at Kūfaïr 'Abî Bedd,³ ten feet in diameter and sixteen inches thick; and the smallest, on a conical hill on the border of Wütât en Na'um,⁴ four feet four inches in diameter, and nine inches thick. The others were at Khirbet el-Quwaijîyeh,⁵ and Kharâb el-Mukhaiyât.⁶ All of them seem to have stood upright on their edges, and each with its flat sides facing the north and south, and its horizontal diameter east and west. Were these high places of Baal? and these stones connected with the worship of the sun? Prof. Paine raises these questions. Captain Warren, however, thinks them mill-stones;⁷ and Dr. Tristram calls them oil-presses.⁸ But Prof. Paine shows that they were not perforated for the insertion of axes of revolution, as would be necessary on these suppositions.

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 65.

² London Athenaeum, May 22, 1875.

³ Identification of Pisgah, p. 21.

⁴ p. 68.

⁵ p. 53.

⁶ p. 50.

⁷ London Athenaeum, May 8, 1875.

⁸ Ibid., May 22, 1875.

He gives an account of the "dolmens,"¹ or rude stone huts, found in Abarim, composed of four stones each — two standing upright for the sides, one closing the end, and another covering the whole, which is always the heaviest of all, from seven to ten feet in length and breadth, and from one to three in thickness, and associates them with the "Emim" of old; but how could even giants raise such stones five or six feet from the ground, and put them in place? These were first discovered by the Duc de Luynes, and an engraving of one of them is given by Dr. Tristram, in his *Land of Moab*.²

Mount Nebo, like every other part of Palestine, furnishes its quota of confirmation to scripture history. No vineyards now are found in that vicinity. So that sceptics may demand, How could Israel send messengers to Sihon, the Amorite king of Heshbon, saying, "Let me pass through thy land; we will not turn into the fields or into the vineyards"? But in the solid rock of the slopes of Nebâ³ a wine-press, ten feet long by seven and a half in width and two in depth, remains to testify that vineyards did exist when Israel passed this way.

An enthusiastic picture of the Ayûn Mûsa (springs of Moses) Ashdoth Pisgah fills four pages⁴ of the work. Eleven hundred feet below the summit of Jebel Nebâ, in a wild wady, whose precipitous sandstone sides present every hue of red, from pink to purple, the largest of them gurgles out from under a bed of stones 1570 feet above the sea. It first fills a rocky basin almost invisibly transparent, then plunges forty feet over a cliff. At the foot of that, a rocky rapid is followed by another fall, and a second cataract ends in a third leap of about the same distance as the others. After that, the diminished stream, like a frightened nymph, hides itself among the grass and verdure far below.

There is a beautiful description of the music of these waters, which we cannot forbear quoting:⁵ "From yonder second

¹ Identification of Pisgah, p. 52.

² p. 314.

³ Identification of Pisgah, p. 27.

⁴ pp. 46-50.

⁵ p. 33.

summit, the springs are in full sight a thousand feet down ; yet the streams conceal themselves in pure distance. Still, though the eye is eluded, the ear sometimes catches the music of their cascades. When the day is silent, one hears a low voice of song, which he hearkens, not to lose — a song of rapid notes, that varies in cadences from faint melodies to wild choruses of laughter. If its source were unknown, one might fancy the ruins haunted by their old divinities, whose voices still chant out of the invisible world. Once this music must have echoed within these walls with mysterious charm. Here was the very place for superstitious adoration of the powers of nature.”

The water is full of lime ; yet the springs are the life of the whole region. Every living thing, as far east (“ westward,” on p. 49, is obviously a mistake) as the mountains of the desert, fifteen miles away, depends upon them, and has done so for four thousand years, as the ancient roads to them bear witness.

These first-fruits of our harvest beyond the Jordan only whet the appetite for more ; and when our men shall have become at home among the wild Bedawin, when, like their English co-laborers on the west, they shall be able to bring the things hidden beneath the surface out into the light, the Moabite stone may scarcely be missed from the abundant treasures that shall reward their toil.

Travellers have not intruded into this land of promise ; and its tented tribes have not needed to destroy ancient ruins to build the fragments into their rude walls, as the rough dwellers west of the Jordan have done for ages. Thirty years ago, when the writer visited ancient Tyre, Arab sailors were transporting its stones in their shakhtoors to build up Beirut ; and they do it still ; but these ruins are intact, and some of them may even furnish hospitable shelter to their explorers.

Surely a work like this, that supplants the apologetics of past ages with unanswerable confirmations of scripture narrative, and recovers precious treasures from ancient wrecks

in the lowest depths of history, will not be left to languish for lack of the paltry pittance needed to carry it on. The intelligent piety of our country will assuredly appreciate the work, and see that it wants for nothing that can make it more abundantly successful.

[NOTE. — In the citations made from different authors in the preceding Article, the orthography adopted by those authors has been designedly retained, although it differs from the orthography adopted in the main body of the Article. Hence arise the discrepancies which are seen in the method of spelling the proper names.]

ARTICLE VII.

TISCHENDORF.¹

BY CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY, LEIPZIG, GERMANY.

THE life of Tischendorf falls naturally into two parts, one of preparation, and one of work; though the former shows work enough to have made the name and filled the days of a common man. Let us take a general glance at the years, and then follow them in detail.

I. *Preparation*: Twenty-nine years + (1815–1844).

1. Fourteen years + (1815–1829): home.

2. Fourteen years + (1829–1844): student-life.

(1.) Seven years + (1829–1836): studies.

(2.) Seven years + (1836–1844): first publications; 1843, Doctor of Theology.

II. *Work*: Twenty-nine years + (1844–1873).

1. Fourteen years + (1844–1858): two eastern journeys; finds part of great Codex. Extraordinary and Ordinary Honorary Professor.

2. Fourteen years + (1859–1873): third eastern journey; finds larger part of Codex. Ordinary Professor. Applies the Codex to the text of the New Testament.

(One year + (1873–1874): fatal illness.

I. PREPARATION.

1. *Home* (1815–1829).

Certain lands which once belonged directly to the German

¹ *Constantin Tischendorf in seiner fünfundsanzigjährigen schriftstellerischen Wirksamkeit. Literar-historische Skizze von Dr. Joh. Ernst Volbeding. Leipzig. Vol. XXXIII. No. 129.*