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Editorial

Professor Jim Hoffmeier visited Australia in 2008 as a guest of the Australian Institute of Archaeology. He presented a number of lectures and has provided the first paper in this issue, which covers some of the material from those lectures.

James K. Hoffmeier is Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at Trinity International University, Divinity School (Deerfield, IL). He was born in Egypt, where he lived until age 16, and has been engaged in fieldwork and research there on a regular basis since 1975. Since 1994 he has directed the North Sinai Archaeological Project that is devoted to researching and studying Egypt's frontier during the New Kingdom and how this area may relate to the Israelite exodus from Egypt.

Investigations at Tell el-Borg began in 1999, and seven seasons of excavations have taken place. The geomorphology undertaken as part of this project has provided an essential background to the understanding of the Ways of Horus in the late second millennium BC. Prof Hoffmeier's paper on the possible locations of Migdol applies some of this data. As readers will note, the coast of the Nile delta has changed dramatically over recent time and those who try to understand ancient texts referring to the region, including the biblical story of the Exodus, have no chance of success if they look at the current landscape.

The second paper by Dr Geoffrey Treloar discusses the nature and significance of the expeditions of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley in Sinai and Palestine. Stanley's activity in this context may not be well recognized, but he and his family are certainly renowned.

As Dr Treloar tells us Stanley later became Dean of Westminster. When I recently visited Westminster Abbey soon after closing time I asked the Security Marshall about Stanley's tomb. 'Dean Stanley was my favourite' he said whereupon he took me into the Abbey and showed me his tomb while regaling me with stories about Stanley such as his excavations in the Abbey which led to the discovery of the grave of James I.

After he left me another security guard pointed out the coat of arms on the tomb which he believed was used by Thomas and William Stanley at the battle of Bosworth. After this battle, in which Richard III was defeated and killed, Thomas Stanley, the third husband of Lady Margaret Beaufort, crowned his stepson King Henry VII. Thomas in turn was made the 1st Earl of Derby. His descendent, the 14th Earl of Derby, was Prime Minister three times between 1850 and 1870 and the towns of Stanley in Tasmania and the Falkland Islands are named after him. Arthur's family descended from a younger brother of Thomas and William. Arthur Stanley was much loved by people of all stations in life; it is said that he was known by every cabby in London and his portrait hangs in Queen Victoria's bedroom at Osborne House, Isle of Wight.

Arthur's older brother, Owen, was naval officer and served in Australian waters. As captain of *HMS Britomart* he established the settlement of Port Essington in 1838 and from 1846 to 1849 he charted northern Australia and New Guinea in *HMS Rattlesnake.* Owen Stanley died in Sydney Harbour on 13 March 1850. The security staff at the Abbey had not heard of him or the Owen Stanley Ranges. Charles, Arthur's younger brother, died in Hobart, Tasmania in August 1849 where he was the Governor's private secretary and his father, the Bishop of Norwich, died in September 1849; Arthur was left the only male in his family after these tragic few months. With such adventurous siblings, it is no wonder that he was disposed to undertake some adventure abroad.

Dr Geoffrey Treloar is Head of Basser College and Vice Principal (Academic) of the Kensington Colleges, University of New South Wales. He is also a visiting Fellow, School of History and Philosophy, University of New South Wales and a sessional Lecturer in Church History, Southern Cross College, Chester Hill, NSW.

The brief communication by Rosanne Livingstone, Tom Chandler and Derrick Martin concludes a series of three papers in recent issues of *Buried History* dealing with the visualisation of Kellis. Rosanne is a PhD candidate in the Centre for Archaeology and Ancient History, School of Historical Studies, Monash University where she has been involved in fieldwork in the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt.

Tom Chandler and Derrick Martin lecture in Animation and Interactive Environments at the Monash University Faculty of Information Technology. Their research interests include animation studies, virtual landscapes and archaeological visualization, computer game narrative, special effects echnology and virtual online 3D collaborative environments. We have appreciated their contribution to the journal.

Scott Charlesworth's review of Craig A. Evans' *Fabricating Jesus* is most welcome. Scott has recently completed his doctoral studies and is fully engaged preparing coursework as a newly appointed lecturer at the Pacific Adventist University.

We acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of our referees and production assistants.

Christopher J. Davey

The Search for Migdol of the New Kingdom and Exodus 14:2: An Update

James K. Hoffmeier

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Abstract: The place name Migdol occurs as an Egyptian eastern border site in the books of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and it is found again in the exodus itinerary. This study will review recent archaeological data from north Sinai that bear on the identification of this topponym. As it turns out, over the 1500 years for which the name of the site is attested in Christian, Roman, Greek, Assyrian, Hebrew and Egyptian sources, the location moved more than once, making locating the various "Migdols" an ongoing challenge. However, recent finds have allowed us to narrow the window for the location of Migdol of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Nearly 25 years have passed since Eliezer Oren published a preliminary report on his excavations at Tell Qedua (T-21) in NW Sinai entitled "Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta" (Oren 1984: 7-44). He concluded that this site was the Migdol of the Hebrew prophets, but since no evidence for the 2nd millennium B.C. was uncovered, he proposed that the Migdol of the New Kingdom sources and the exodus itinerary (Exod. 14:2) must be located elsewhere. The purpose of this study is to investigate an intriguing biblical problem, the location of the earlier Migdol in the light of the archaeological investigations of the past quarter century in North Sinai.

Let us begin by reviewing the biblical data, and then we will turn to the efforts to locate Migdol. Migdol (מִגְדֹּל) only occurs six times in the Old Testament, viz., in Ezekiel (29:10 & 30:6), Jeremiah (44:1 & 46:14) and in the exodus itinerary (Exod. 14:2; Num 33:7).[1] Migdol is a word of Semitic origin, meaning tower or fort (KB 543-544; Burke 2007: 30-34); consequently, it has long been thought that its presence in Exodus 14:2 indicates that it had a military function -- perhaps as a border fort (Spence 1882: 314; Cassuto 1967: 160). There have been some recent studies of the architectural features of the migdol-fort (Cavillier 2004: 57-79; Morris 2005: 415-420)

The references in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel both date to 586 B.C. or shortly thereafter. Ezekiel's citations are especially helpful as he couples Migdol with Syene (Aswan) מִמִּגְדֹּל סְוֵנֵה וְעַד־גְּבוּל כּוּשׁ "from Migdol to Syene as far as the border of Kush." The sequence represents a geographical progression from north to south. Because Syene, i.e. Aswan built on and around Elephantine Island, marked Egypt's southern frontier town, it appears that Migdol is its northern counterpart. Both had a military function and guarded an Egyptian frontier. "Migdol to Syene" would be Egypt's counterpart to Israel's from "Dan to Beer-Sheba."

According to Jeremiah 43 the prophet himself travelled to Egypt after the assassination of the governor Gedeliah, but before Nebuchanezzar's fourth campaign to Judah in 582 B.C. (Jer. 52:30). We lack information in the book of Jeremiah about the prophet's stay in Egypt. Nevertheless he does display remarkable knowledge of the geography, politics and religion of Egypt as I have argued elsewhere (Hoffmeier 1982: 165-170). In Jeremiah 44:1 the prophet's oracle refers to Jews living "in Egypt, at Migdol, at Tahpanhes, and Memphis, and in the land of Pathros." This sequence, like that of Ezekiel, represents a north to south progression. Tahpanhes is identified with the NE delta site of Tell Defeneh, located 12 km west of the Suez Canal at Qantara (Petrie 1888; Jones & Fiema 1992: 308-309). Pathros is the Hebrew writing for the Egyptian expression *p3 t3 rsy*, the southland or Upper Egypt (KB 991). The references in Jeremiah suggest, as do those in Ezekiel, that Migdol is located E or NE of Tahpanhes, almost certainly in NW Sinai. Seventh Century Assyrian sources likewise locate "Magdali" on the east frontier in north Sinai (Verrath 19 :235-238)

The importance of north Sinai to the economic and military history of Egypt and for its relationship to western Asia has long been recognized, but as Oren, who conducted extensive surveys and excavations in that region in the 1970s and early 1980s, has observed, it has been "until very recently, *terra incognita* to archaeological scholarship" (Oren 1984: 76). Over the last 25 years archaeological investigations in north Sinai have increased and, as a result, the picture has changed dramatically.

Recent Paleo-environmental Developments

Before delving into the relevant archaeological sites and discoveries in north Sinai concerning the location of Old Testament Migdol, mention must be made of the recent results of geo-morphological and paleo-environmental study of the eastern delta and north Sinai in as much as they directly impact the search for archaeological sites related to Egyptian history and the biblical narratives.

The present day map of the NE Delta and Sinai, the starting point of most historical geographers, is woefully inadequate, as this region has changed significantly in the last three thousand years. Thanks to the work of geologists like David Neev (Neev, Bakler, & Emery 1987),

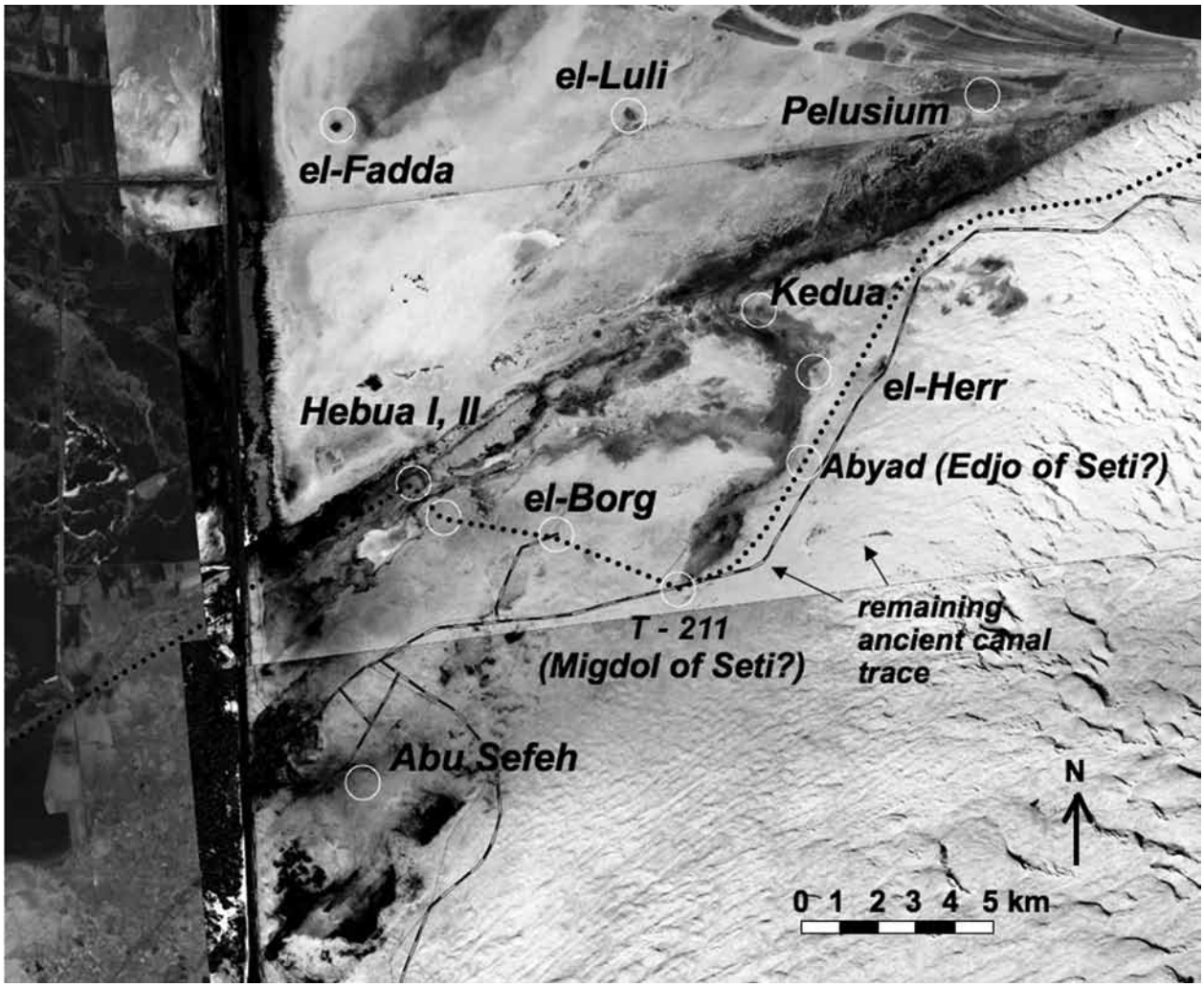

Figure 1: *1968 Corona Satellite Image of NW Sinai (Public Domain).*

Tuvia Weissbrod and Amihai Sneh (1973 & 1975) of the Geological Survey of Israel, Jean-Daniel Stanley of the Smithsonian and his associates (Stanley & Goodfriend 1999; Stanley & Abu-Zeid 1990; Stanley & Coutellier 1987), Bruno Marcolongo (1992) who worked with the Institut Française d' archéologie Orientale, and Stephen Moshier (Hoffmeier & Moshier 2006; Moshier & Kalani 2008) who has worked with East Frontier Archaeological Project, which I have directed since 1995, the paleo-environmental picture of this area is becoming clearer. These studies reveal that the Mediterranean coastline during the 2nd millennium (and earlier) was determined by a tectonic feature known as the Pelusiac Line that remains visible on satellite images (Figure 1). Moshier, in collaboration with several members of the Geological Survey of Egypt,[2] has investigated the coastal ridge that makes up this line. C^{14} dating of shells embedded in the ridge date to around 6000 years BP (Moshier & Kalani 2008). Between the Suez Canal and Pelusium (Tell Farama) was a lagoon that at its widest (E-W) was around 8 kms. as was its length (N-S). From the west there flowed a distributary of the Pelusiac Nile, which ran parallel to the coastal ridge and past the important site of Hebua, debouching into the eastern lagoon (Figure 2). In our excavations at Tell el-Borg in 2001 (more on this below), we uncovered evidence that another Nile distributary (or drainage channel from the el-Ballah Lakes) ran parallel to the northern branch, about 2.5 kms. away (Moshier & Kalani 2008). The lagoon or lake apparently still contained water during the 7th to 6th century B.C. This new map of NW Sinai must be born in mind when one considers the ancient geography of the region and the location of ancient sites.

Migdol of the Prophets

Efforts to locate Migdol go back more than a century. Sir Alan Gardiner's influential study, now approaching its 90th anniversary, has made a lasting impact on Egyptological and biblical scholarship (Gardiner 1920: 107-110). He brought together Egyptian, biblical, classical and church historical sources in an effort to locate Migdol. Migdol of the Hebrew prophets, Gardiner concluded, was almost certainly Magdalo of the Antonine Itinerary that should be found east of the Suez Canal in Sinai (see also Davies, 1979). This itinerary places Magdala as the mid-way point between Pelusium and Sile. Pelusium has long been identified with Tell Farama. It is located near the present

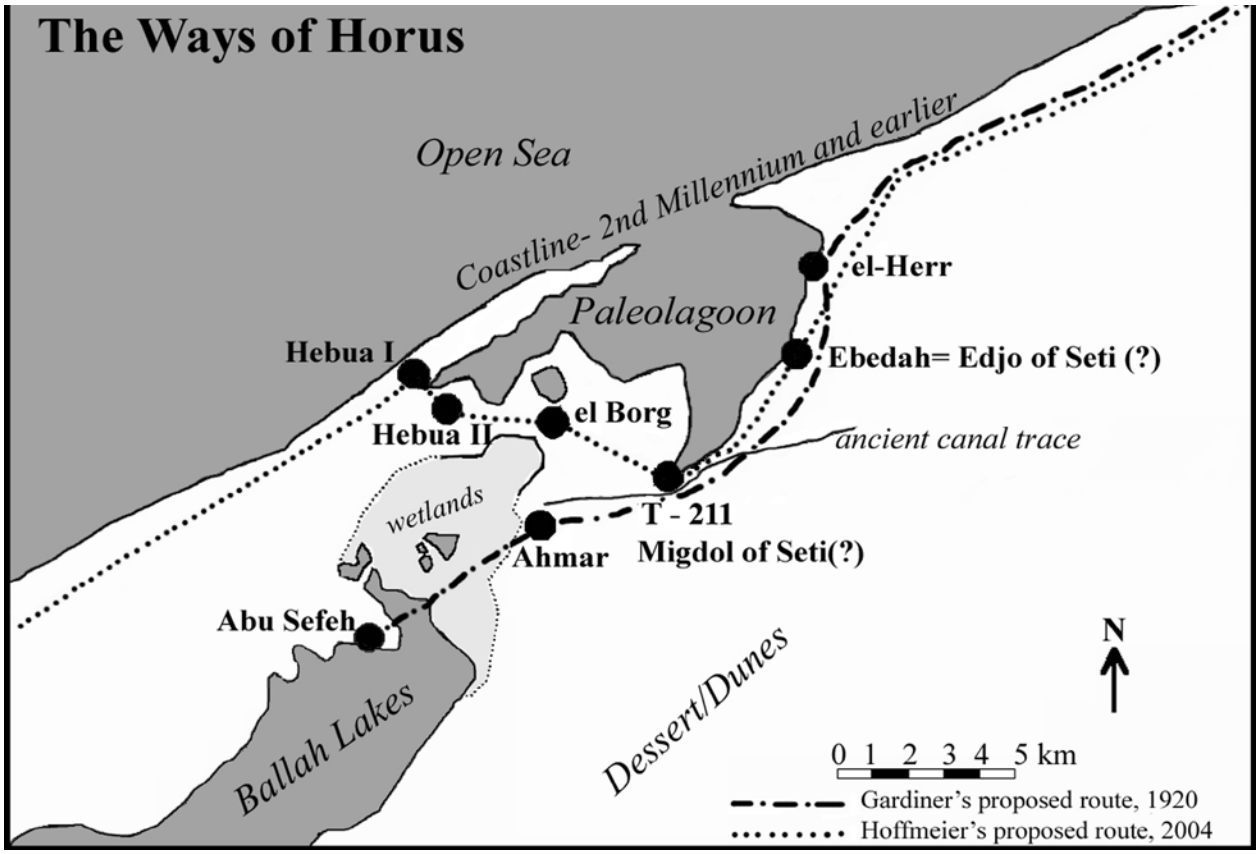

Figure 2: *Map of NW Sinai based on geo-morphological of Stephen Moshier. Electronic reproduction by Jessica Hoffmeier Lim (2005)*

day town of Baluza that preserves its ancient name (Carrez-Maratray 1999; Figueras 2000), while Tjaru/Sile was equated with Tell Abu Sefêh, located just 2 km east of Qantara East (Gardiner 1920: 99).[3]

F. Ll. Griffiths was the first to explore this tell in the 1880s (Petrie 1888: 97-108), then more recently Oren investigated it in 1972 and also dug a few sondages (Oren 1987: 113, n.3). Finally in the mid-1990s full-scale excavations were begun by archaeologists with the Supreme Council for Antiquities. The Egyptian team uncovered Greco-Roman Period forts, leading to the view that Tell Abu Sefêh is Sile of that period (Abd el Maksoud 1998: 61-65; Abd el Maksoud, Ibrahim, Mohamed & Grossman 1997: 221-226). No remains earlier than the late Persian period were uncovered by Griffiths, Oren or the Egyptian teams, indicating that this site could not be Tjaru/Sile of New Kingdom times.

Because the identifications of Pelusium and Sile were thought to be resolved, and since the Antonine Itinerary placed Magdala mid-way between these locations, the most obvious site between them is Tell el-Herr. It is located on the eastern coast of the aforementioned lagoon (Figure 2). So Gardiner, following the lead of Greville Chester and Griffiths who actually visited this site (something Gardiner never did!), determined that Tell el-Herr was Migdol (Gardiner 1920: 107-108). Because the Antonine Itinerary located Magdala 12 Roman miles from both Pelusium and Sile, whereas Tell el-Herr is actually only 7 Roman miles south of Pelusium, Gardiner acknowledged this deviation as the only possible objection for the identification (109). But due to the absence of any other plausible site 4-5 Roman miles south Tell el-Herr, its equation with Migdol has continued.

Investigations at Tell el-Herr began with Griffiths in the late 1880s (Petrie 1888: 101) and Jean Clèdat in 1905. Some of Clèdat's notes have only recently been published, but prove not to be detailed or helpful (Valbelle & Le Saout 1999: 71-77). After the Camp David accords were implemented, Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud of the SCA began to excavate Tell el-Herr, but in 1985 he turned the site over to Dominique Valbelle, who has directed the work ever since. A strong case for equating Tell el-Herr with Magdala was recently made by Joffrey Seguin (2007).

After more than twenty seasons of excavations at Tell el-Herr, two forts have been uncovered, from the Persian and Greco-Roman period respectively. To date, no remains earlier than the 5th century B.C. have been documented (Abd el-Maksoud 1986: 15-16; Valbelle et. al., 1992: 11-31; Valbelle 2001: 12-14; Valbelle & Louis 1988: 23-55; Gratien 1996: 51-105; Valbelle & Nogara 2000: 53-66). Naturally this Persian through Greco-Roman Period site is too late to be Migdol of Ezekiel and Jeremiah (6th century B.C.), but it is likely nearby, somewhere on the east side of the ancient lagoon.

As mentioned above, Oren's excavations at Tell Qedua led him so conclude that it was the site of Migdol of the Hebrew

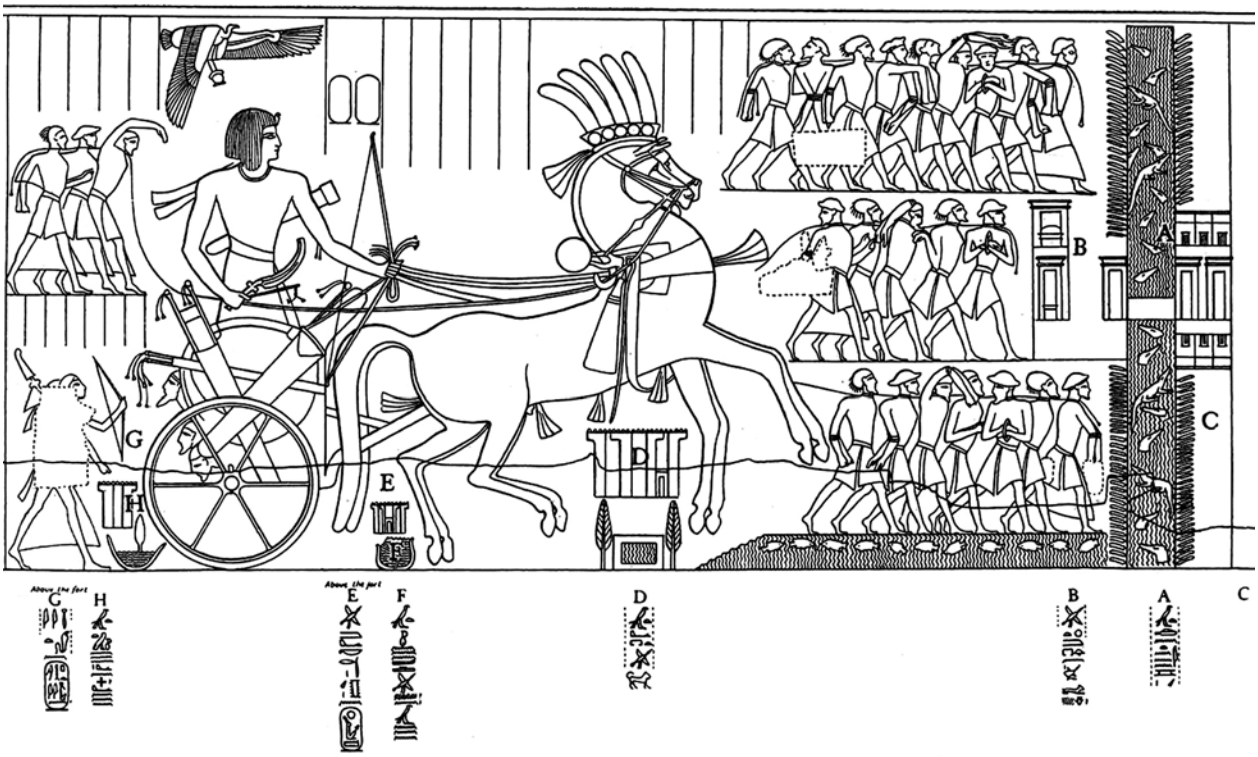

Figure 3: *Seti I Karnak relief from Gardiner (1920)*

prophets. He uncovered the remains of a mud-brick fort that occupied 40,000 square meters. The walls measured between 15-20 meters thick (Oren 1984: 10-11). Based on the data Oren amassed, he determined that the fort was occupied during the 7th and 6th centuries, i.e. the Saite and early Persian periods, meaning that it functioned during the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel's period of activity. In 1993 and 1997, Donald Redford conducted excavations at Tell Qedua, and his results reaffirmed Oren's earlier work, declaring that "the time represented by the occupation of Tell Qedwa was not long and was confined to a single period," the "last third of the 7th century B.C.," and "appears not to have survived into the 5th century B.C." (Redford 1984: 31 & 35).

The occupational horizon of Tell Qedua, then, nicely fits into the period of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Its location on the edge of the ancient lagoon, or lake, by the 7th and 6th century, on the eastern edge of Egypt's frontier with Sinai makes it an ideal candidate for Migdol of the Saite period. The fact that its occupation ended just before the beginning of the 5th century, about the time that the first fort was being built at Tell el-Herr, led Oren to propose that Migdol of the Hebrew prophets was transferred to Tell el-Herr, which is just over a kilometer south of Qedua (Oren 1984: 31 & 35).

In the intervening 25 years, no new evidence has emerged to challenge his theory, despite continued excavations there and at nearby Tell el-Herr. Thus we clearly have two sites that were both likely called Magdala or Migdol during the first millennium B.C. Evidently the site moved from the Saite site to Tell el-Herr, slightly over a kilometer to the south, due to environmental change in the region, most likely the desiccation of the lagoon. But what about Migdol of the exodus itinerary?

Migdol of the Exodus Itinerary

Gardiner's conclusions about geography of the Delta and north Sinai towered over the debates about the exodus geography for decades. Similarly the recent studies by the eminent Egyptologist, Donald Redford, on the dating biblical toponyms have cast a shadow on discussions of the past twenty years (Redford 1963: 408-418; 1987: 137-161). He believes that the geographical names in Exodus and Numbers 33 reflect realities of the Saite period (late 7th –6th centuries), and not those of Ramesside times as is generally believed. Redford's conclusions have, unfortunately, been uncritically followed in recent scholarly publications that have ignored Redford's critics. Here I speak of Wolfgang Helck's rejoinder (Helck 1963: 408-418). Redford thought that the absence of the element Pi in the toponym Rameses reflected on the lateness of exodus narratives. But Helck showed that there are New Kingdom writings that used the abbreviated form of the name, and thus the Hebrew writing in the Torah was an acceptable late 2nd millennium B.C. variant. Redford renewed his position concerning the dating of Egyptian toponyms in the Torah in the 1980s (1987: 137-161). Participating in the same symposium as Redford was Manfred Bietak. He demurred with Redford's con-

clusions, declaring: "I do not necessarily share Professor Redford's pessimism" (Bietak 1987: 163). Additionally, Kenneth Kitchen, after reviewing all relevant Ramesside era texts, concurs with Bietak, maintaining that the exodus toponyms (e.g. Rameses, Succoth and Pithom) do reflect the Ramesside era (Kitchen 1998: 65-131).

These considerations notwithstanding, John Van Seters recently announced that "the geography of the sojourn and exodus, as it is presented in Exodus 1-15 does not provide us with any evidence of historicity of the events of the time of the Ramessides," rather it "corresponds with the sixth century BCE" (Van Seters 2001: 275). Redford's late dating of the exodus geography has also left its mark on Israel. Finkelstein and Neil Silberman's (2001: 65) treatment of the geography and dating of the exodus narratives in their popular book, *Bible Unearthed*.

Assuming that Oren is correct in believing that Migdol of the prophets is Tell Qedua and that nearby Tell el-Herr replaced it in the late Persian through Roman era, and because neither site has yielded evidence for the New Kingdom, one might be inclined to think that the references to Migdol in Exodus and Numbers would likewise fall into this late period as Redford, Van Seters and Finkelstein believe. The problem with this conclusion is that Migdol is a well-attested toponym from the Ramesside Period texts, which is why Oren and Kitchen rightly argued that the location of New Kingdom Migdol must be found elsewhere. Commenting on the conflict between the present archaeological remains from Tell el-Herr and Qedua and the Egyptian texts mentioning Migdol, Kitchen reckons that "New Kingdom 'Migdol' of Sethos I is identical with neither of these sites, but remains to be discovered somewhere in the vicinity" (Kitchen 1993: 14).

In a recent issue of *BASOR* (no. 346), Aaron Burke offered an exhaustive review of ancient and modern sites in the Levant and Egypt that bear the name Migdol and its derivations. Concerning the references to Migdol in NW Sinai from Egyptian, Northwest Semitic and Greek texts, which he equates with Migdôl of the Hebrew Bible, he concludes, "The references to this site demonstrate that variant spellings of the same place name occurred in a variety of languages over a period of more than one thousand years" (Burke 2007: 30).

Egyptian Texts and the Location of Migdol

Egyptian New Kingdom sources mentioning Migdol were assembled by Gardiner (1920: 106-109), and no new references can be added to his corpus. Possibly the earliest mention of Migdol is a somewhat obscure occurrence in Amarna Letter no. 234. It states: "Akka (i.e. Acco) is like Magdalu in Egypt," which William Moran maintained is "probably Migdol of the Exodus" (1992: 390). If he is correct, then this is the earliest reference to this frontier fort found in Egypt. The text, however offers no hint where this site is located nor how it and Acco are similar.

The foundation of Gardiner's study of the military road between Egypt and Canaan is the relief of Seti I carved on the outside northern wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak Temple (Epigraphic Survey, plates 1-6) (Figure 3), which is supplemented by the satirical letter in Pap. Anastasi I (Fischer-Elfert 1983 & 1986). The scene depicts a sequence of named forts that begins with Egypt's frontier town at Fort Tjaru/Sile and ends with Gaza, the entry point of Canaan (Epigraphic Survey 1986: plates 2-8; Gardiner 1920: 99-116).[4] The first three forts are: 1) the Fortress (*ḫtm*) of Tjaru, 2) the Dwelling (*ʿt*) of the Lion and 3) the Migdol (*mktr*) of Menmaatre (the pre-nomen of Seti I), all of which are depicted and labelled by their name (Figure 3).

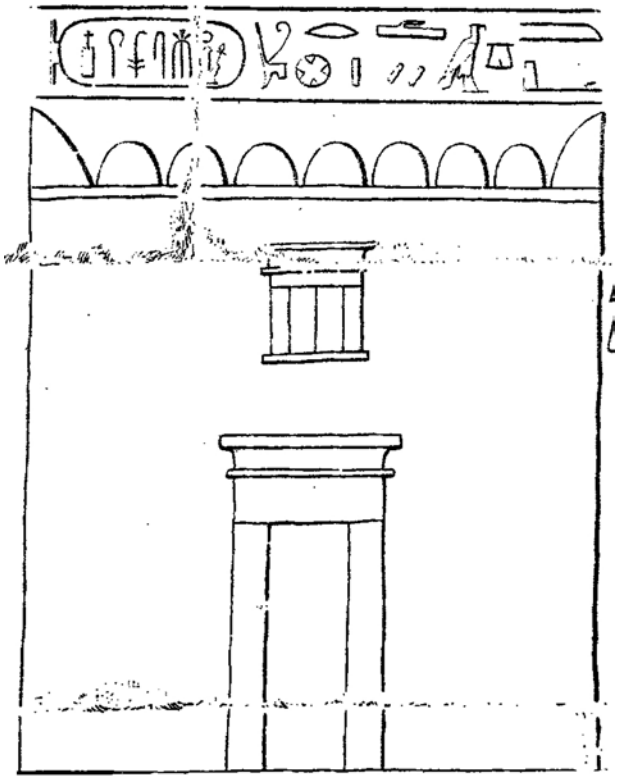

Figure 4: *Fortress Migdol of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Nelson, 1930)*

Another reference to Migdol occurs in Pap. Anasatasi V (20, 2) where it its called *t3 inbt mḥty n mtkr sti mr-n-ptḥ* "the northern wall of Migdol Seti-Merneptah" (Gardiner 1937: 67). It is unclear if the king's name refers to Seti I or II. Regardless, in this text, the troop commander Kakemwer is travelling from Pi-Ramesses to the Tjeku (Heb. Succoth), i.e. the Wadi Tumilat area. It is here that the statement is made about the northern wall of Migdol. This suggests that this particular fort is not located in the Wadi Tumilat, but to the north, in the Ways of Horus area, Egypt's northern corridor across north Sinai.

A final New Kingdom reference to Migdol is from the reign of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Nelson 1930: pl. 42). After repulsing the Sea Peoples invasion, the king celebrates his victories at the nearby fort identified as "Migdol of Ramesses Ruler of Heliopolis." The name is actually written over the depiction the fort (Figure 4).

Thus we have three clear Egyptian references to a frontier site name Migdol, and possibly a fourth in EA 234. In her recent exhaustive and masterful study of all the textual and archaeological data regarding Egypt's east frontier, Ellen Morris observed that forts incorporating Migdol in their name are limited in the New Kingdom and that they are found in Sinai. "One or possibly two *mkdr*-forts were situated along the Ways of Horus"(Morris 2005: 717-718). There appears to be only one site named Migdol in the NE Delta and frontier area in New Kingdom times, but where was it?

Recent Archaeological Work in North Sinai

Gardiner made the first serious attempt to locate the Ways of Horus sites, but the archaeology of north Sinai was just in its infancy. His provisional sequence for the first three sites was Tjaru/Sile = Tell Abu Sefêh, the Dwelling of the Lion/Ramesses = Tell Ahmar (or Hebwa)[5] and Migdol of Menmaatre (i.e. Seti I) = Tell el-Herr. Furthermore, he saw no reason for distinguishing Migdol of the Hebrew prophets with the one named in Exodus 14:2 and Numbers 33:7 (Gardiner 1920: 108). The problem with Gardiner's proposal is that recent excavations discussed above at Abu Sefêh and Herr could not be Sile and Migdol respectively because neither have New Kingdom remains. Concerning the third site, he thought that it was both Migdol of the prophets and the exodus itinerary (Gardiner 1920: 107-09).

From the sequence on the Seti I relief, it is evident that Migdol was located near Egypt's border town and fort Tjaru/Sile. Since Oren's surveys and excavations in north Sinai, there has been a surge of archaeological work in the region that has shed light on the east frontier defence system and the forts across Sinai. The above-mentioned excavations at Tell Abu Sefêh have eliminated it from consideration as New Kingdom Tjaru/Sile, but it likely to be Sile of Greco-Roman texts. However, starting in 1981, Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud began to investigate Tell Hebua, a site located around 8 km NNE of Tell Abu Sefêh and situated on the coastal ridge that demarcated the land from the Mediterranean during the 2nd millennium B.C. and earlier. Hebua is made up of four different zones. Excavations at Hebua I have revealed an enormous fort (800 X 400 m.) that dates to the early 19th Dynasty and is thought to be Seti I's construction according to the excavator (Abd el-Maksoud 1998, 128-144). Initially Abd el-Maksoud (1986: 13-16) considered Hebua to be the second New Kingdom fort, the Dwelling of the Lion because he, like everyone else in the 1980s, still thought that Abu Sefêh was Tjaru/Sile. But as his work progressed, and the excavations at Abu Sefêh proved to have no New Kingdom levels, Abd el-Maksoud began to shift his thinking towards equating Hebua with Tjaru/Sile. I too came to this position after visiting Abu Sefêh and Hebua in 1994.[6]

In May 1999, while visiting with Dr. Abd el-Maksoud in East Qantara (N. Sinai), a statue was discovered at Hebua I with a text on it. I was able to examine it with my colleague that very day. This important find was recently published. The figure is that of a kneeling man who holds a stela on which there is an inscription. It identifies him as a military officer, *snnỉ n ḥm.f*, "a chariot warrior of his majesty," and *imy-r mšs* "overseer of the army" or general. Most significantly the offering formula reads *ḥtp dỉ ḥr nb ṯḫrw* – "An offering which Horus lord of Tjaru gives" (Abd el-Maksoud & Valbelle 2005: 6-8). In 2005, a second statue was discovered with an occurrence of Tjaru on it, this time dating to the early 2nd Intermediate Period and containing the name of the ruler Nehsy of the 14th Dynasty (Abd el-Maksoud & Valbelle 2005: 6-8). This votive statue was discovered in the temple precinct that is within the enclosure wall of the site, thus safeguarding its original context. These two texts confirm the earlier beliefs that Hebua is the site of Egypt's east frontier town and fort.

Fixing Egypt's east frontier town and fort allows us to begin anew to search for the location of Midgol of New Kingdom times. To move towards the Levant from Hebua/Tjaru, one has to travel SE as the lagoon to the east precludes ground travel across it (Figure 2). Based on my study in 1998 of Corona images, which had only recently become declassified, and realizing that the lagoon formed an impassable barrier, and knowing that the northern extent of the Ballah Lakes were just kilometres to the south, I reasoned that there had to be some sort of fort between Hebua and the top of the lake. It is precisely here, just three kilometers SE of Hebua II, which is opposite Hebua I and separated by a body of water (the Pelusiac and adjacent wetlands) that Tell el-Borg is situated (Figures 1 & 2).

Tell el-Borg was identified by Oren's survey as T-108 and 109 (Oren 1987: 79). Our excavations between 2000 and 2007 revealed the meagre remains of two forts dating to the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1440/20-1330/25 B.C.) and the second from the Late 18th Dynasty or early 19th Dynasty and into the 20th Dynasty (ca. 1330/25-1180 B.C.) (Hoffmeier & Abd el-Maksoud 2003, Hoffmeier 2004 & 2006). Based on its proximity to Hebua (Tjaru/Sile), I have proposed that Tell el-Borg is the Dwelling of the Lion/Ramesses, the second fort in the sequence on the Seti I sequence (Hoffmeier & Abd el-Maksoud 2003: 195-197). Two other researchers have actually proposed that Tell el-Borg is Migdol, the first was Giacomo Cavillier (2001) and the other is Benjamin Scolnic, a member of the team at Tell el-Borg (Scolnic 2004: 113-120). In their favour is the meaning of Borg, the Arabic for tower, a possible translation for Migdol. Against this identification is the proximity of Tell el-Borg to Hebua I (ca. 5 km) and Hebua II (ca. 3.5 km), which together I believe make up the border town of Tjaru with its various military installations.

Brief excavations in 1999 by the SCA at Hebua II were directed by Abd el-Rahman Al-Ayedi. He reports that he has uncovered a fortress that is 100 m^2 with walls that are 4 m. thick and storage facilities within it (Al-Ayedi 2006: 35-44). His report, however conflicts with the recent

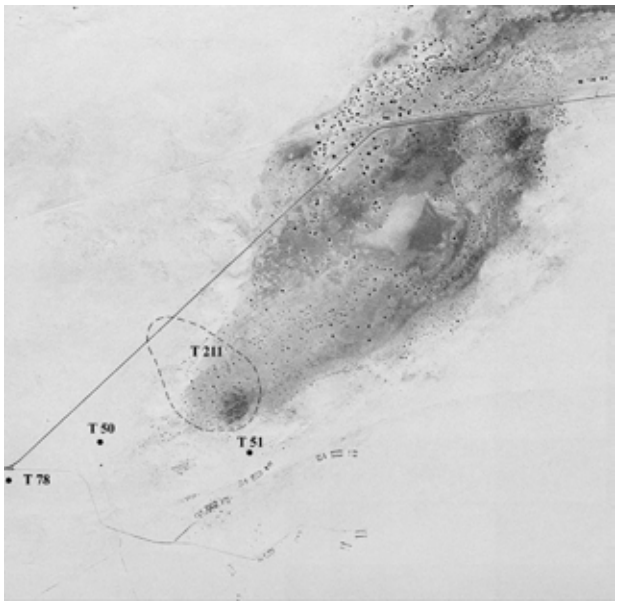

Figure 5: *1968 Corona Satellite Image of NW Sinai (Public Domain). The marking of the area of T-211 is by Eliezer Oren.*

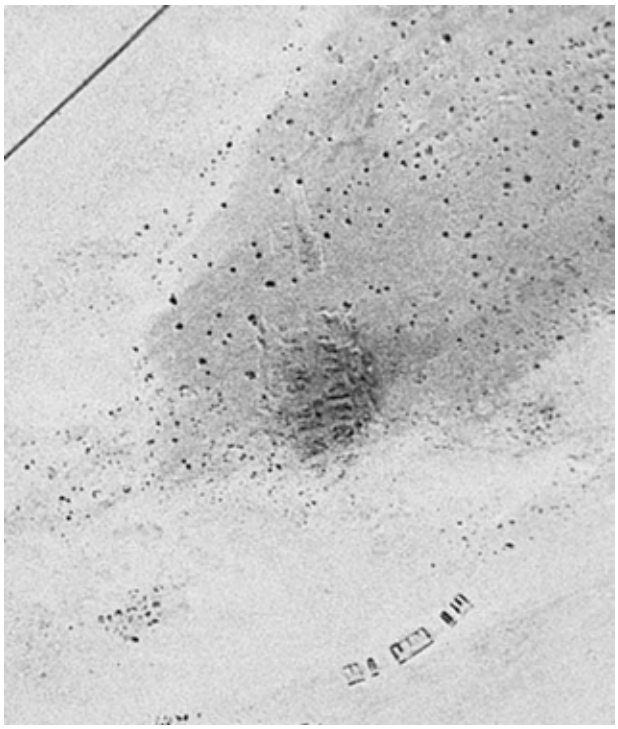

Figure 6: *Close up of part of Figure 5.*

discoveries that were made at Hebua II. During the Spring-Summer 2007 Abd el-Maksoud's team uncovered a much larger fort in the very area where Al-Ayedi claimed to have discovered a smaller one.[7] Abd el-Maksoud showed me pictures of his stunning discoveries in July 2007 and then in May 2008 I was able to visit the excavations while in progress.[8] The fortress he is uncovering has mud-brick walls that are 13 m. thick and corner towers that measure 20 m. long. The sheer size of this structure suggests that the Hebua II fort was the entry point of Tjaru. It must be recalled that the Seti I Karnak relief shows Tjaru divided by a body of water (*t3 dnit*), and that the label *ḫtm n ṯ3rw*, "the fortress of Tjaru" is associated with the buildings on the east side of the water channel (Fig. 3). This placement leaves no doubt that Hebua II is part of the Tjaru complex. This interpretation of the data leaves Tell el-Borg – just 3 km SE of Hebua II -- as the best candidate for the Dwelling of the Lion, the second fort in the Seti I sequence.

Assuming that Hebua I and II is the Tjaru complex, and that Tell el Borg is the Dwelling of the Lion, then for defensive and strategic reasons Migdol of Seti I should be located to the SE either at the southern end of the lagoon or somewhere on its eastern shores, that is, near the late period sites that bore the name "Migdol." When examining some Corona satellite images of this area, I noticed a dark spot at the southern tip of the lagoon. A number of other identified archaeological sites are marked in these images by a darkened area during the winter months, e.g. Tell el Luli, Tell Ghabba, Tell Qedua and Tell el-Herr (Figure 1). Based on Oren's small-scaled map of New Kingdom/LBA sites published in 1987,[9] I had tentatively proposed that T-78 was this spot and that it might be Migdol (Hoffmeier 1997: 102; Hoffmeier & Moshier 2004: 174-174) (Figure 5). But Oren advised me that this site was too small to be the location of a fort. He kindly told me of a larger site nearby, viz. T-211.[10] As it turns out, T-78 is actually less than a kilometer west of the dark spot or T-211, which in turn is situated about 4 km. SE of Tell el-Borg.

In March 2007 several members of my staff attempted to locate T-211 as a possible site to investigate. We were disappointed to discover that the site is on a privately owned fruit plantation with groves of fruit trees and open fields that had been covered by a meter or more of sand, trucked in approximately a decade ago to build up and level the ground for agriculture. We were unable to find so much as a potsherd. The best we can do now is to examine the satellite image. When enlarged, one can see that within the darkened area is a rectangular or square walled area within which smaller walls are visible (Figure 6). The complex appears to be more than 100 meters on a side. Combining this image with Oren's survey data, it is evident that T-211 was a significant site that was possible a fort. There is no other reason for a structure of this size to be located at this point east of Egypt's border with Sinai. We may never know if this site is New Kingdom Migdol, but it certainly was a significant site on the Ways of Horus.

Another site deserving of mention is Tell Abyad (white), situated beside the Bedouin village of Gilbana, the home of many of our workers at Tell el-Borg (Figure 1). In fact it was our guard who brought the site to my attention in 2002. We visited it and based on sherds collected on the surface, it is clearly a New Kingdom site. During the spring of 2007, Dominique Valbelle's team conducted a geo-physical survey and began excavating this site. Preliminary

indications are that it is small Ramesside residence of some sort (Valbelle & Leclère 2008). The external walls are only 1.05 m. thick. Clearly this is not a fort. Future excavations should clarify the nature of this site and its occupational horizon, and they may hold the clue for finally determining the location of New Kingdom (LB) Migdol.

We return now to the question of Migdol in the exodus itinerary. Egyptian textual evidence demonstrates that there was a frontier site southeast or east of Tjaru/Sile in Ramesside times, and possibly as early as the 14th century B.C. Given the developments in the archaeology of western northern Sinai in recent decades and a better understanding of the topography and paleo-evironmental conditions of north-western Sinai, it is likely that Migdol of Ramesside Egypt is located southeast or east of Hebua and Tell el-Borg. If it is T-211, then it is about 8 km south of Tell el-Herr and 9 south of Tel Qedua, whereas Tell Abyad is about 3 km south of the former and 4 km south of the latter. What is clear is that there are at least three different sites on Egypt's east frontier on the east side of the lagoon that used some form of the name Migdol at different periods. While the site moved within a limited area, the name continued. Similarly Tjaru/Sile of New Kingdom times, as we have shown, is located at Hebua, whereas Sile of Greco Roman times, or 8-9 km apart. Another example of an east frontier site that relocated but preserved its name is Pithom/Pr-Atum in the Wadi Tumilat. Originally the Wadi Tumilat's frontier fort from the 2nd Intermediate Period till the end of the 7th century B.C. was located at Tell Rebateh. Then the site moved 14 km. east, along with the name, to Tell el-Maskhutta around 610 B.C. (Hoffmeier 2005: 58-65).

Based on the textual and emerging archaeological data regarding Migdol, it must be asked, is Ramesside Migdol one and the same as Migdol of the exodus itinerary? Gardiner saw no reason for this not to be the case (Gardiner 1920, 108). Based on all the textual and archaeological evidence now available, Migdol is the name of a frontier site that flourished from as early as the 14th century B.C. through the Roman period as a strategic frontier fort.

If we follow the reasoning of Redford and Van Seters that geographical terms in the exodus itinerary reflect the period of composition, what do the occurrences of Migdol in Exodus and Numbers tell us? In fact the data could be used to support an early or later date. I suspect that here scholars will allow their assumptions about the sources behind the text to pre-determine their conclusions. However, when we consider the reference to Migdol along with the other Exodus toponyms like Rameses, Pithom, Succoth, Pi-Hahiroth and Baal-Zephon, all of which are attested in some form or derivation in New Kingdom sources,[11] an earlier date cannot be dismissed and certainly there is no basis for believing that the name is a late invention from the creative mind of the author.

Over thirty years ago Manfred Bietak (1975: 136-137; 1987: 163-171; 1996: Fig. 1) and, more recently, I have argued that the Ballah Lakes, located just south of Hebua and Tell el-Borg is *p3 ṯwfy* of Ramesside period texts, should be identified with *Yam Sûp* of Exodus (Exod. 10:19; 13:18; 15:4 & 22; Josh. 2:10; 4:23; Hoffmeier 2005: 81-89; Hoffmeier & Moshier 2006: 171-173). Furthermore, now that Sile/Tjaru has been positively identified, and that the northern limits of the Ballah Lakes have been traced to just two km. south of Hebua II (Figure 2), the reference to *p3 ṯwfy* and Tjaru in the 20th Dynasty Onomasticon of Amenemopet take on new mean (Hoffmeier 205: 87-88; Hoffmeier & Moshier 2006: 171-173). The toponym section the Onomasticon lists cities (*dmi*) from south to north, beginning with Biggeh Island (#314) located just south of Aswan, and concluding with Tjaru (# 419), Egypt's east frontier town-site. The penultimate toponym is *p3 ṯwfy* (# 418 – Gardiner 1947: 201*-202*). The juxtaposition of Tjaru and *p3 ṯwfy* helps to locate the latter immediately south of Tjaru. Exodus 14:2 shows that "the sea" (i.e. *Yam Sûp*) and Migdol were located in the same area. The collocation of the locations Tjaru, *Yam Sûp /p3 ṯwfy* and Migdol in biblical and Ramesside sources suggests that they were in the same general vicinity.

Based on the foregoing new data, it is likely that the New Kingdom fort known as the Migdol of Menmaatre (Seti I), which is believed to be one and the same Migdol of Exodus 14:2, is located somewhere between the southern tip and the eastern shores of the paleo-lagoon (Figure1), with T-211 being a possible candidate.

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Abbreviations:

KB = Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* Leiden: Brill, 2001.

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Endnotes

1 For a recent review of all the textual evidence regarding the location of Migdol, see (Scolnic 2004: 91-120)

2 Since 1999 we have been assisted by or directly worked with Dr. Bahay Essawy, Dr. Ali el-Kalani, Dr. Bahaa Gayed, and Dr. Rifaat Osman of University of Benha. The Geological Survey facilitated the study of some of our samples in their laboratories in Cairo and enabled us to get C14 samples to the USA analysis.

3 Gardiner was convinced that Tjaru/Sile, Egypt's frontier town was located at Tell Abu Sefêh, and for the next 70 years, almost no one questioned his identification.

4 For recent discussions of the sites, see (Hoffmeier 2005: 94-105) and (Scolnic 2004: 99-120).

5 Not the same site as Hebua being excavated now by Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud, but a small site E of Tell Abu Sefêh.

6 He expressed his thinking to me on this visit. I put this suggestion in print in (Hoffmeier 1997: 185).

7 Perhaps he misinterpret the walls he discovered as defensive walls of the fort when in actuality they were walls of a structure within the fort discovered by Abd el-Maksoud.

8 I am grateful to Mr. Abd el-Maksoud for showing me these pictures of his work and for allowing me to mention his preliminary results.

9 For reasons that remain unclear to me, T-211 is not included in Oren's earlier published map (Oren 1987, 79), nor in more recent versions of the map (Oren 2006: 279-292).

10 Verbal communication in May 2006 and email in February 2007.

11 For a recent treatment of these terms see (Hoffmeier 2005: 81-109).

Encountering the Biblical Landscape: Arthur Penrhyn Stanley's Sinai and Palestine and its British Reception

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Abstract: While Arthur Penrhyn Stanley and his many achievements have been documented at some length, his contribution to the historical geography of the lands of the Bible is less well known. This paper discusses Stanley's explorations and the reception of the publication of his travels by the English intellectual and religious communities. It argues that, as part of a larger progam to put British biblical interpretation on a firm historical foundation, Stanley set out to replace the received text-based metaphorical understanding of 'Holy Land' with an empirically based literal apprehension, a change with deep implications for the nature and practice of English Christianity. It therefore traces a double encounter with the biblical landscape. A learned work on the historical geography of Palestine described the world 'out there' which Stanley had gone to see. Consideration of the ideological implications drew out the significance of that world for the situation 'at home' in England. This dual approach structured the critical response. The more realistic sense of the Bible lands was welcomed; Stanley's liberal-Anglican proposals for a more truly biblical Christianity were resisted. An early example of 'Anglo-Palestinian academic orientalism', his work achieved only part of its purpose.

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881) was one of the 'eminent Victorians'.[1] From December 1856 he was Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church (though not installed until early in 1858) at Oxford. In 1864 he was made Dean of Westminster Abbey, the national cathedral, a post held until his death where he achieved both renown and notoriety by his liberality. Stanley was also a friend and confidant of the Queen, once Victoria got over her opposition to his 'unnecessary' marriage to one of her ladies in waiting, Lady Augusta Bruce. At the same time he was well connected with other members of the leadership elite, most notably William Gladstone, twice prime Minister in Stanley's life time (1868-74, 1880-5).[2] As one of the architects of the Metaphysical Society – a group formed to foster constructive debate between leading exponents of science and religion – Stanley was similarly at the centre of contemporary intellectual life. Alongside his public duties he was a prolific writer, whose many books and articles constituted a sustained commentary on the dynamics of church and culture in the early and mid-Victorian eras. More a man of letters than a theologian or a technically accomplished biblical scholar, Stanley was what today would be called a 'public intellectual'.

Figure 1: *Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster. The portrait is attributed to Angeli, 1878. Copyright:Dean and Chapter of Westminster*

Among his early works was *Sinai and Palestine in Connection With Their History* (1856), the result of the first of his two trips to the Bible lands.[3] Like his other writings, it was not only popular but proved to have considerable staying power, being reprinted many times and passing through numerous editions. The importance of *Sinai and*

Palestine in the era just prior to the commencement of systematic exploration in the Bible lands is recognized in scholarship by its frequent citation in histories of the nineteenth century western rediscovery of the Holy Land.[4] Another study includes Stanley's book among the significant contributions to the new genre of historical geographies of the Holy Land which emerged after 1840 (Ben-Arieh 1989). In these accounts *Sinai and Palestine* is assessed for what it contributed to the widening understanding of the lands of the Bible. However, unlike the similar works of Edward Robinson and George Adam Smith (Ben-Arieh 1989: 85-91; Butlin 1988; Campbell 2004: ch. 3), the text itself, and the motivations behind it, have never received detailed attention. This is something of an oversight, as *Sinai and Palestine* represents a powerful and successful bid to determine the contemporary apprehension of the biblical landscape in the English-speaking world. An analysis of its aims, structure and content, relation to the contemporary religious setting and reception by the British audience, this study attempts to assign *Sinai and Palestine* to its due place in the history both of British biblical archaeology in the period of its origins and of early Victorian religious culture.

When Stanley wrote, the lands of the Bible occupied an important place in British consciousness (Tuchman 1956, Bar-Yosef 2005). As the scene of the events described and reflected in the Bible, their primary religious text, 'the Holy Land' was an object of intense interest for the Victorians, as it had been for their forbears for hundreds of years. Yet for much of this time the interest had little to do with the actual territory of the Middle East. Cut off from the beginning of the sixteenth century by the spread of the Ottoman Empire, the notion of pilgrimage had in any case been transformed by the Reformation from a physical to a spiritual quest. Internalized and made accessible to all, the Bible lands were mediated by texts, principally the Bible (now translated into English) and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The spread of biblical culture facilitated identification of England as the Promised Land and the English as the chosen people at the very time when the acquisition of an empire required a new understanding of their place in the world. This reassignment of biblical categories to England and the English was remarkably enduring, as its Blakean expression in 'Jerusalem' testifies. But a new era in the British engagement with the Holy Land began with the opening of the Eastern Mediterranean by Napoleon in 1799. A literal apprehension based on encounter with the landscape itself gradually developed as the British joined the influx of westerners in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Yet these travellers did much to perpetuate the literary apprehension by the forms in which their experiences were presented – in Disraeli's novel, *Tancred,* for example, or Alexander Kinglake's impressionistic *Eothen*, or even Holman Hunt's paintings. By 1850 the British understanding of the Holy Land was still predominantly literary and metaphorical. This was the challenge Stanley faced.

An emerging figure in the Anglican establishment

By the time *Sinai and Palestine* appeared Stanley was an emerging figure in the Church of England. Born in 1815, he was the son of Edward Stanley, a liberal minded and reforming Bishop of Norwich (1837-1849), and Catherine Leycester.[5] After a time at a small private boarding school at Seaforth, Stanley had been educated, first at Rugby School where he was deeply influenced by the Headmaster, Thomas Arnold; and then as a scholarship winner at Balliol College, Oxford. After taking a 'first' in Classics, he was elected in 1838 to a fellowship at University College, where he became a tutor five years later. In the meantime he had taken holy orders, having been ordained as a deacon in 1839 and as a priest in 1843. A first offer of preferment came in September 1849 when Stanley was offered the Deanery of Carlisle. Dismayed by the distance from Oxford, and believing that the University was his 'natural sphere', he declined the offer (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 413-15). However, two years later he was more disposed to leave and accepted a canonry at Canterbury Cathedral. It was a decision that had a bearing on the writing of *Sinai and Palestine*. As his biographers observed: 'His Canonry gave him rest, seclusion, and the tranquil opportunity for independent research and studious leisure.' (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 429) They might also have mentioned a substantial stipend which supplemented his inherited wealth. As a member of the Anglican establishment Stanley now had the time and the means to produce such a work.

By this time Stanley was also a writer of some note. His first book, the celebrated 1844 biography of his Headmaster (Stanley 1844 & Zemka 1995), not only brought him to public attention, but also 'gave him an assured position, and made him a power' in both Oxford and the world of letters (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 324). It also associated him with the liberalism of his subject, an identification he was happy to own throughout the years to come. This impression was confirmed by his contribution to the periodical press. Over the following decade, Stanley wrote articles on a range of subjects in literary culture and on church-state relations, on which matter (like Arnold) he favoured making the national Church more comprehensive as a condition of its own survival and effectiveness.[6] Each of his undertakings was an opportunity to pursue 'the great object of his life – to show that Christianity is at once real and universal; that it does not belong to one set of persons, or to one institution, but to all; that not only religious, but secular, occupations fall within its sphere; that it ought to raise its voice, not only in the pulpit, but in education, in literature, in Parliament, in legislation, and in every question where there is a right and a wrong' (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 384-5). With this commitment to inclusiveness in social arrangements and to the moral evaluation of contemporary affairs, Stanley was a liberal – and somewhat controversial – who looked to his writings to advance his causes.

Figure 2: *Dean Stanley's tomb in Wesminster Abbey. He is buried with his wife Lady Augusta Bruce, daughter of Lord Elgin. Copyright:Dean and Chapter of Westminster*

The idea of visiting the Holy Land

The idea of visiting the Bible lands was a result of one of his literary projects. Some time in 1846 Stanley and his friend Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College decided to collaborate to produce a commentary on the entire New Testament. The decision arose out of his sermons as Select Preacher in 1846, subsequently published as *Sermons on the Apostolic Age* (Stanley 1847a). An expression of the need to apply the methods of free enquiry to the foundation documents of the faith, they were in part a reaction against the recent anaesthetizing effect of the Tractarian movement on the studies of the University and in part a response to the simultaneous advances of theology in Germany. They also made clear how much needed to be done in Britain to achieve an understanding of the New Testament up to the intellectual and academic standards of the age. For Jowett the commentary raised the whole question of the interpretation of Scripture, a matter he set himself to study systematically, a task which led to his notorious contribution to *Essays and Reviews* fifteen years later. For Stanley the commentary entailed without further reflection the task of putting the New Testament on a proper historical basis. In turn this called for the application to biblical writers of the same methods to be employed in understanding a Classical author in *Altertumswissenschaft*, the new approach to ancient world studies emanating from Germany. Much was at stake. As he had argued in the *Sermons on the Apostolic Age,* only an exegesis compatible with modern belief could save the Bible as a spiritual authority in contemporary Britain.

The importance of geography in the new historical understanding was an integral part of the Arnoldian legacy. Following the example of the German historian B.G. Niebuhr, Arnold had broken new ground in English historiography by including extensive discussion of the physical setting in his history of Rome published in 1838. Behind the discussion were visits to key sites, often with the works of ancient writers in hand.[7] The need for such analysis had been part of Arnold's teaching and example at Rugby and, as he was happy to acknowledge, Stanley had accepted it without qualification. By the time he made his commitment to the New Testament commentary, he was already a seasoned traveler. His journey through Greece and to Rome in 1840-1 in particular had confirmed the value of the physical setting for appreciating the literature and history of both (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 252-6, 264-89, esp. 269-72). Stanley expected a similar benefit to accrue from a tour to the Bible lands (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 380).

Nor should the novelty of Stanley's actually going out to the Holy Land be underrated. For one thing, historical

geography in Britain was still in its early infancy. Although the progress of exploration in many lands had supplied plentiful materials, it did not yet exist as a seriously organized body of knowledge or a separate academic discipline. Among individual practitioners, Arnold had been the pioneer, and Stanley was one of the first to take up the perspective (Baker 1963: 33-50, 72-83). As he prepared for the tour, he was also impressed by the writers who had recently applied the Niebuhr-Arnold approach to the Bible lands. The American Edward Robinson had founded historical-geographical research on the Holy Land with his *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea in 1838*, published in 1841 (Ben-Arieh 1989: 75), while between 1848 and 1855 the German Carl Ritter wrote at great length to show the interplay between the physical conditions and the historical development of Israel (Ritter 1848-55). Even before he set out, both confirmed in the particular case of Israel the general belief in the connection between history and geography which Stanley had determined to put before the British public.

Stanley intended to make the tour in the late 1840s. Two developments delayed his departure. One was the death in 1849 of his father, which required him to attend to the domestic requirements of his mother and sisters. The other was his appointment in 1850 to the Oxford University Commission (Ward 1997: 306-36). A reformer from the first, and at the centre of the 'Rugby group' which pressed for state intervention to end the limits placed by Church authority on the colleges and teaching schools, Stanley seized the opportunity to realize his ideal of teaching and learning through political reform. The frequent meetings of the Commission required his presence in London for most of the next two years. The publication in May 1852 of its report (most of which as secretary he had written) again set Stanley free for foreign travel. Shortly afterwards he set off for the Continent and ultimately the Holy Land only, as it turned out, to be recalled on Cathedral business and to attend the funeral of the Duke of Wellington (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 436-44). When he managed to get away and leave behind the intense politicking of the Commission process, the need to contend for free and open enquiry as the intellectual basis of authentic Christian faith was fresh in his mind.

Stanley's long awaited trip to the Bible lands finally came about late in 1852. Travelling to Cairo, he met up with Theodore Walrond, Thomas Fremantle and William Findlay, with whom he sailed up and down the Nile as far as the Second Cataract. Then, in the early months of 1853, they crossed the Red Sea and, riding on camels, traversed the Sinai Peninsula to Akabah. From here they passed up the Wady el Arabah which led into Palestine and Syria via Petra. Easter was spent in Jerusalem. It was followed by extensive expeditions through the countryside before returning to Jerusalem for the Greek Easter. In April they sailed from the Holy Land along the coast of Asia Minor, stopping at Patmos, Smyrna and Ephesus, before heading up the Dardanelles to Constantinople in time to be present on the 400th anniversary of the city's fall to the Turks. From here Stanley was able to visit Nicaea, a site which brought him into contact with the age of the Church Councils. Back in England in June he made the most of the comparative ease of the Canterbury Canonry in sustained literary activity over the next three years. In March 1856 he brought out *Sinai and Palestine*, a large work of over 500 pages. Together with *Memorials of Canterbury* (1855) and the two volume *St Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians* (1855), *Sinai and Palestine* was one of the three substantial works he published in this period. Written more or less simultaneously, the three books were connected by the general need to understand the historical setting of Christian life and work in all ages. More importantly, *Sinai and Palestine* took its place with the commentary on Paul in the larger enterprise of putting understanding of the Bible on a firm historical basis.

A double encounter with the biblical landscape

Sinai and Palestine mediated a double encounter with the biblical landscape.[8] On the one hand, it created a vivid sense of the world 'out there' which Stanley had gone to see. On his return to England his friend and successor as Tutor at University College, Goldwin Smith, had suggested that all Stanley needed to do was string together the letters written during the journey shorn of their beginnings and endings and the book would be written (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 445-6). To an extent Stanley followed the suggestion. The 'Introduction' on Egypt consisted of just such a reproduction of what he had written at the time to family and friends (xxx-lv). The journey from Cairo to Jerusalem is illustrated in the same way (64-92, 99-106). Reproducing the letters written *in situ* was one way to fulfil the obligation Stanley felt 'to leave on record, however imperfectly, and under necessary disadvantages, some at least of the impressions, whilst still fresh in the memory, which it seemed ungrateful to allow wholly to pass away' (xxv). They also serve as a reminder that *Sinai and Palestine* is fundamentally a traveller's account embodying a personal encounter with the biblical landscape.[9]

But it was also intended for the instruction of others. The device Stanley employed for this purpose in the great bulk of the book was an ostensibly disinterested survey of the region. *Sinai and Palestine* poses as a 'dissertation', a general account written in the third person of what 'the traveller' sees and experiences in the Holy Land. That Stanley is at least the principal traveller is evident from his making clear what he himself did not actually see, so that everything else by implication was based on his own direct observation and research. But by identification with the generalized traveller the reader was enabled to see the biblical landscape for himself, and thereby join with Stanley in the experience. This was the other side of the encounter. It took place vicariously and 'at home' in Britain.[10]

As Stanley wrote up the account of his journey, the historical geography of the Holy Land as a genre was in

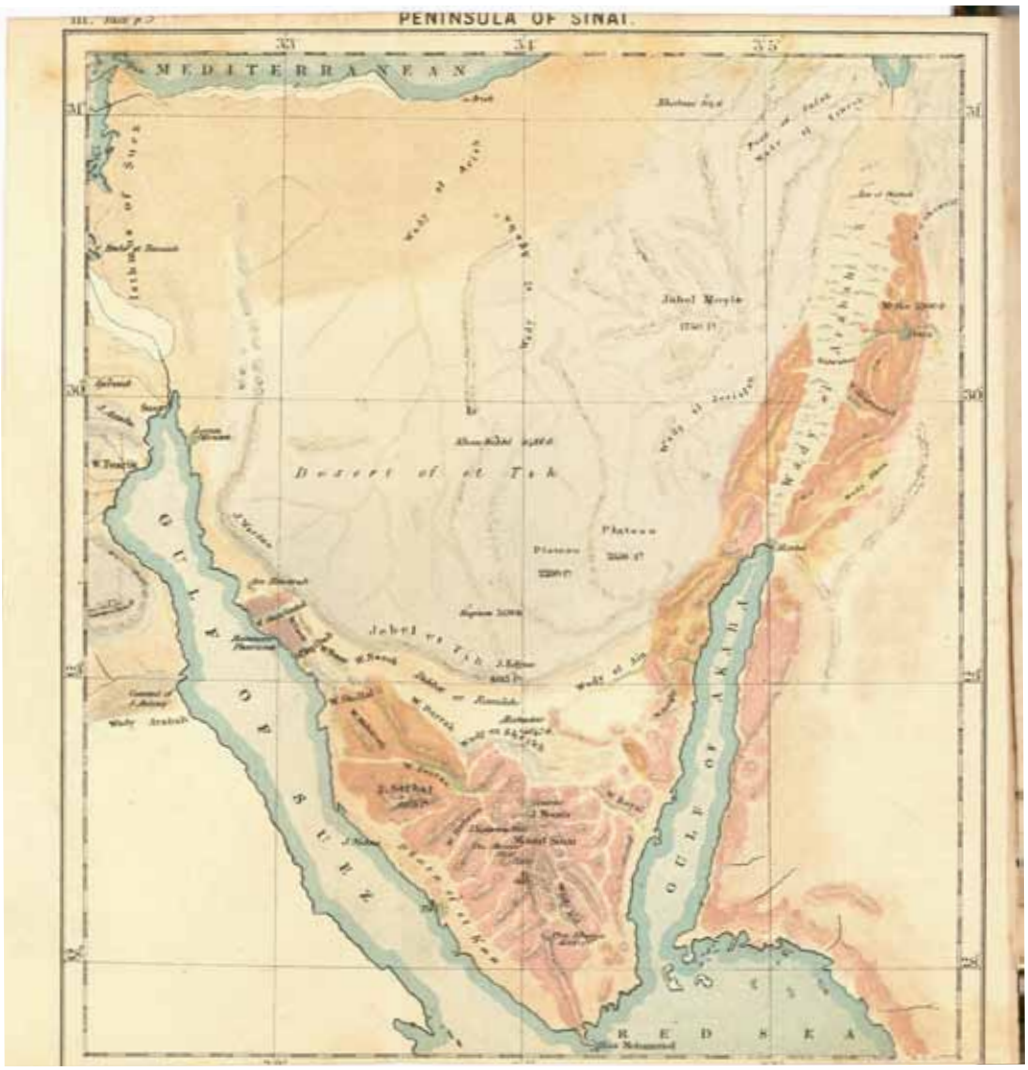

Figure 3: *Stanley's map of Sinai. (Sinai and Palestine 1856:5)*

its infancy. This meant that there was still considerable freedom to decide the scope and style of the treatment. Even the concept 'Holy Land' was undefined. It was not a distinct administrative province in the Ottoman Empire. Nor was it in any sense a political unit, while the restriction of 'Holy Land' to Palestine did not occur until the British Mandate some 65 years later. Stanley took advantage of this flexibility by allowing his biblical interest rather than some political or socio-cultural construct to delimit his travels. This accounts for the range of territory – from Cairo to Lebanon – included in his survey. Moreover, having already travelled extensively in Greece and Italy, the tour of 1852-3 completed Stanley's encounter with the lands that provided the physical backdrop to the biblical history and writings. What he had seen in Greece and Italy was used to inform and strike off the distinctive features of the Holy Land, so that it too played its part in the account. This unusually wide perspective meant that the book incorporated more than its title suggested. While the Sinai Peninsula and Palestine were in the foreground, what Stanley called 'sacred geography' encompassed almost the entire biblical world.

The coverage of the region in the foreground was similarly wide ranging. After Egypt, Stanley passed in review the Sinai Peninsula, Judaea and Jerusalem, the heights and passes of Benjamin, the mountains of Ephraim, the maritime Plain, the river Jordan and the Dead Sea, Perea and the Trans-Jordan, the Plain of Esdraelon, Galilee, the Lake of Merom and the head waters of the Jordan, and then Lebanon and Damascus. Like the tour itself, the movement is from south to north, and the account is 'book-ended' by an overview of Palestine at the beginning and a survey of the connection of its localities with 'the Gospel History' at the end. The significance of Stanley's coverage emerged as the genre evolved (Ben-Arieh 1989: 70-4). In its more definite form, the historical geography of the Holy Land evinced a clear tendency to think of western Palestine as the principal region, and to relegate the lands of eastern Palestine and the Negev to secondary status. The Sinai Peninsula in the south, the Hauron and Damascus in the north east, and Phoenicia and Lebanon in the north west were regarded as of third rate importance. Stanley included them all in what turned out to be an unusually comprehensive account.

In its historical aspect the book ranged as widely chronologically as it did geographically. Indeed part of the interest of the Bible lands was the history that not only followed but, in an important sense, arose out of the biblical era. In the Preface Stanley referred to 'a reflux of interest, another stage of history, which intermingles itself with the scenes of the older events, thus producing a tissue of local associations unrivalled in its length and complexity'. He continued:

> *Greece and Italy have geographical charms of a high order. But they have never provoked a Crusade; and, however bitter may have been the disputes of antiquarians about the Acropolis of Athens or the Forum of Rome, they have never, as at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, become matters of religious controversy – grounds for interpreting old prophecies or producing new ones – cases for missions of diplomatists or for the war of civilized nations. (x-xi)*

The allusion to 'new prophecies' may have included Mohammed and the rise of Islam. In any case, they were an undeniable part of the history and therefore took a place – albeit a relatively minor one – as part of 'the later development of the history of Palestine' alongside 'the rabbinical times of the Jewish history … [and] the monastic and crusading times of the Christian history' (xiv). A structure of antecedent event and consequence set the true dimensions of the biblical history tied to this locality. 'Sacred History', Stanley's term for the history of the Bible lands, spanned the era from the time of Abraham to the advent of the Ottoman Empire.

A learned work on the geography of Palestine

The key to Stanley's intention in *Sinai and Palestine* is the topographical tradition he identified as reaching back all the way to the Old Testament itself and including subsequently Josephus among Jewish writers, Strabo and Pliny among Classical authors, and Origen, Eusebius and Jerome among the early Church Fathers (Stanley 1854a: esp. 356-69). Keenly aware that hundreds of travellers had preceded him, in preparation for his own journey Stanley familiarized himself with what he judged to be 'the most voluminous mass of geographical literature that the world has produced'. As he analysed this 'documentary history' he identified six categories of writers:

1. The pilgrims, during the periods of the Roman Empire and the Crusades;
2. The early scientific travellers of the 15th to the early 18th centuries in whom the devotional interest is complemented by the desire for knowledge;
3. The 'discoverers' of the 18th century for whom the acquisition of knowledge was the primary object;
4. The scientific travellers of the 19th century;
5. The myriad popular travellers of the 19th century whose numerous defects were compensated in part by graphic descriptions of the land, the people and their customs; and
6. The writers of learned works on the geography of Palestine.

The most important category was the fourth, the 'discoverer travellers' whose scientific interest caused them 'for the first time, to desert the beaten track, and see for themselves, without regard to Scripture or tradition, what they conceived to be worth seeing … For strict fidelity to description and quickness of observation', moreover, they had 'never been surpassed.' (Stanley 1854a: 360-1) While entertaining this preference for the breakthrough group, Stanley interacted with the whole tradition, invoking previous writers as appropriate, and seeking to confirm, correct and add to what had already been identified and described on the basis of his own investigations. In bringing his results together in a 'dissertation' Stanley aligned himself with the sixth group, those who, 'partly from their own experience, partly from the experience of others, have composed, not travels, but learned works on the geography of Palestine' (Stanley 1854a: 368). The production of such a work was his own aspiration.

It follows that *Sinai and Palestine* set out to confront the British people with the actual Bible lands. Its novelty consisted in its basis in direct observation. In standard works, such as T.H. Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, the landscape mattered, but Horne had not been there to see for himself (Horne 1846, vol. III). Nor had the more radical Henry Hart Milman, whose sensational *History of the Jews* raised disturbing questions about what ancient Palestine and its people were really like (Mason 2000: 319-28). In contrast, *Sinai and Palestine* presented for public appropriation the real Holy Land as Stanley and others had experienced it. Such a book was calculated to challenge and perhaps even displace the received metaphorical image. However, in setting out to provide a factual account of the world 'out there' for appropriation 'at home', the condition of its effectiveness was adequately reflecting the knowledge of the age. While Stanley as an activist and reformer was not a straightforward observer, because of its scientific aspiration *Sinai and Palestine* takes its place as part of the early Victorian literature of discovery and science.[11]

The desire to add to the stock of reliable knowledge of the Bible lands was pursued first in the identification of sites. This was an issue for westerners encountering the biblical landscape because many of the ancient locations were unknown, while identifications received on the basis of ecclesiastical authority were notoriously unreliable (Vogel 1993: 190-1; Shepherd 1987: 80-5). These problems were compounded by the locals' practice of telling enquirers what they wanted to hear, the tendency of travellers to make the Israelites follow their own paths, and a lack of reliable data because the Peninsula had not yet been systematically explored. In endeavouring to locate biblical sites, Stanley

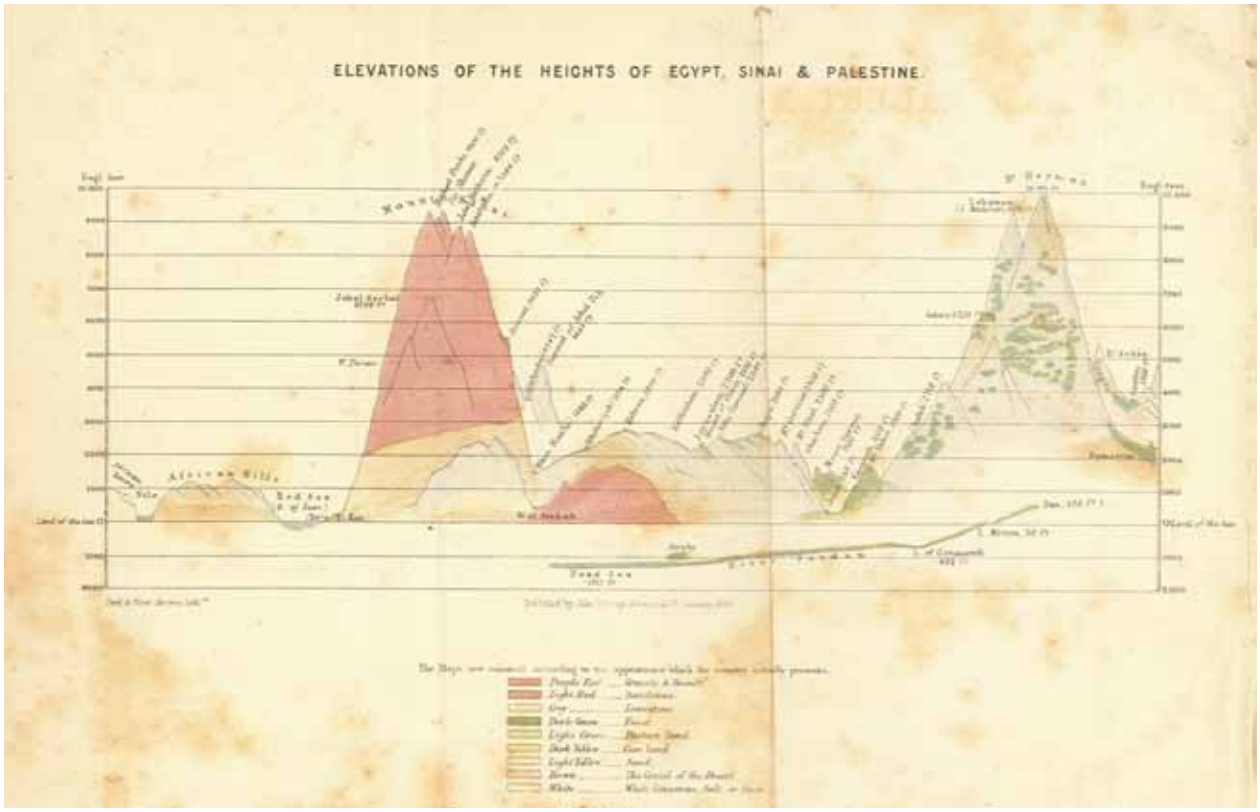

Figure 3: *Stanley's diagram of the heights of Egypt, Sinai and Palestine. (Sinai and Palestine 1856:frontispiece)*

gladly followed the example of Edward Robinson, the pioneer of biblical topography, whose judgment he occasionally qualifies or criticizes (77, 98, 197 n. 5, 200 n. 1, 228, 327). While seeking to build on Robinson's work throughout the region, Stanley's curiosity was sharpest in relation to the period of the Exodus. Accordingly he devoted a good deal of attention to determining the point at which the Red Sea was crossed, the route taken through the Sinai Peninsula, and the site of the giving of the Law (29-44, 64-78). The state of the evidence meant that it was only possible to suggest likelihoods between alternatives. Thus he argued, against the traditional point further south, that the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea near Suez, where the water was shallow enough to have been parted by the wind and the width narrow enough to have been crossed by the people in the time allowed by the biblical narrative. From the crossing point the Israelites had certainly travelled along the coastal fringe between the sea and the table land of the Tih. Where they turned inland was unclear, but Stanley chose the Wadi Shellal, the 'Valley of Cataracts', which led to Wadi Feiran, the likely point for the encampment of Israel 'before the mount'. He then upheld the traditional site of Jebel Musa – the Mount of Moses – as the Sinai on which the Law was given against the claims of nearby Mount Serbal, largely because of the existence of a plain below as a place for the encampment where the Law was received. But, on a subject where traditional piety looked for assurance, Stanley would not conceal that the facts were far from certain.

Constructing a map of Palestine necessarily involved dealing with the traditions which had accumulated since the end of the national existence of the ancient inhabitants. The need to do so furnished Stanley with an opportunity to use the new critical methods supplied by *Alterthumswissenschaft* for analyzing the recorded consciousness of early civilizations.[12] By applying these criteria, he identified three strands within the naming tradition (Stanley 1854a: 371-5). In the first, which afforded a high probability of authenticity, the ancient names of cities and towns were still associated with sites, although foreign and modern substitutes may have arisen. Less certain were those suggested by the endeavour to retain the recollection of events in a locality. While beyond verification, these identifications could be accepted when they were indigenous, early and corresponded with natural features in the landscape. Most problematic were the identifications from the ages of Constantine, the Crusaders and the Arab and Turkish conquests. Late in time and usually the products of the piety of pilgrims of different stripes, they could be accepted only when confirmed by independent investigation. Applied to the sepulchres, these principles showed that, with the few exceptions of graves known from ancient times in credible locations, the Muslim predilection for building mosques over the tombs of celebrated Old Testament figures, created so many false identifications as to throw doubt on all (147-9). Similarly, discarding Muslim and Christian traditions permitted the identification of Nebi-Samuel – for long thought to be the site of Shiloh – with

ancient Gibeon (210-13). This secured Robinson's identification of Seilun as Shiloh (227-9), and provided a striking example of how critical historiography not only exposed legend and distortion in the record, but also clarified the connection between the country and its history (345-9, 378 n. 1, 391-2 & 403-4).[13]

Natural science, which had been part of the home environment in which Stanley had been nurtured, furnished another side of the scientific aspiration of *Sinai and Palestine*. The text throughout describes at length the physical aspects of the land, generally at first in the survey chapter on Palestine, and then in close detail for each of the regions. Where necessary it goes beyond description to the explanations offered by 'the discoveries of modern science'. Of greatest interest in this respect was the history of landforms supplied by geology, something of a vogue science in early Victorian Britain (145-55). The focus of this interest was the volcanic activity and earthquakes which Stanley saw as the explanation behind a number of important biblical events and attitudes, not least the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah and the story of Lot's wife (283-4).[14] An earthquake too was most likely responsible for the oddities of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, the peculiar saltiness of which was ascribed to a deposit of fossil salt at its southern end and rapid evaporation (284-6). The other aspect of the natural landscape requiring explanation was the vegetation (137-145, 162-3). Lack of water and rocky soil meant that it was generally poor and bare, and in some places so sparse 'it might almost be said a transparent coating' (17). Apart from occasional oaks and terebinths, trees were seen to be 'humble in stature' (138), while flowers appeared only in spring. There was no corresponding interest in fauna, but, as cognate sciences, geology and botany furthered the ends of sacred geography and enabled *Sinai and Palestine* to stand alongside (although it does not rank with) other early Victorian works of travel and scientific exploration such as Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle*.

The textual descriptions of the geographical configurations are supported by various cartographical devices. Highly detailed, coloured fold-out maps – of Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula (Figure 3), the vicinity of traditional Sinai, Palestine (Figure 5), the south of Palestine (Figure 6), and the Plain of Esdraelon and Galilee were intended to show the landforms as well as the locations. A cross section illustrating the 'elevations of the heights of Egypt, Sinai and Palestine', and coloured according to the appearance which the country actually presents, was a further help to appreciating what the landscape was really like (Figure 4). Indeed by juxtaposing the Dead Sea at 1,312 feet below sea level with Mount Hermon at 10,000 feet above, the mountainous character of the country was effectively exhibited for those who could not see for themselves. The same drive for realism made it important to disclose on the map of Egypt that 'the colours … must be considered only as rough approximations to the truth, also the dark green, elsewhere used for forest, is used for the whole verdure of the Nile Valley'. Despite such limitations, cartography was an invaluable aid to the presentation of the realities of the biblical landscape.[15]

In pursuing the scientific agenda of *Sinai and Palestine* Stanley ran into two main problems. One was the inadequacy of the geographical vocabulary in the received English translation of the Bible. Stanley complained that the Authorized Version loses the 'richness and precision of the local vocabulary of the Hebrew language' by an unprincipled approach to translation which allowed a 'promiscuous use of the same English word for different Hebrew words, or of different English words for the same Hebrew word' (471). To allow the full light of geographical terms to shine, he included a long appendix on the 'Vocabulary of Topographical Words'. For no fewer than 102 words denoting landforms, the vegetation and various kinds of human habitation, he listed all the occurrences, analysed the roots, described the usage and identified the meaning. In turn this justified a uniform rendering of each word. The value of the exercise stood out in relation to the well known expression 'the valley of the shadow of death'. Its original meaning, "a narrow 'ravine' where the shade of the closing rocks is ever present," brought out its perennial quality (476). Apart from vividness, important issues could hang on clarifying distinctions between similar words, such as that between 'Hor' and 'Gibeah' in deciding whether Mt Serbal or Gebel Mousa was the Sinai of Exodus (489). By bringing a greater precision, Stanley felt that 'the geographical passages of the Bible seem to shine with new light, as the words acquire their proper force' (471). Accurate knowledge and proper appreciation of biblical terms for the landscape required best philological practice and a challenge to the hegemony of the Authorized Version.

The other problem was variation in the landscape over time. Stanley's approach also assumed a high degree of continuity from the biblical era to the present. At several points he insisted on its importance for his enterprise. For example, in relation to the general way of life of the current population as a reflection of life in biblical times, he claimed: 'it is one of the great charms of Eastern travelling, that the framework of life, of customs, of manners, even of dress and speech, is still substantially the same as it was ages ago … the Bedouin tents are still the faithful reproduction of the outward life of the patriarchs – the vineyards, the corn-fields, the houses, the wells of Syria still retain the outward imagery of the teaching of Christ and the Apostles; and thus the traveller's mere passing glances at Oriental customs … contain a mine of Scriptural illustration which it is an unworthy superstition to despise or fear (xxi-xxii; cf. 229).' This confidence faced a formidable challenge in relation to the apparent contradiction between the status of the Holy Land as the land flowing with milk and honey and the harshness of its present environment. Stanley replied that it was a matter of perspective. The comparative fertility of Palestine in antiquity made it stand out as a land of promise in comparison with the deserts to the south and east. But it could hardly be denied that

Figure 5: *Stanley's map of Palestine. (Sinai and Palestine 1856:111)*

environmental degradation and climate change had had a deep impact on the landscape (120-4). More broadly Stanley acknowledged important changes in the general aspect, climate and vegetation of the Bible lands (xxi), and even turned to some account the reality of change.[16] While he probably overestimated the extent to which the modern observer can experience the processes of the past, variation was an effect for which allowance had to be made in a scientific treatment of the landscape.

Bringing Together 'Sacred Geography' and 'Sacred History'

The aspirations and methods of scientific geography are pervasive in *Sinai and Palestine*, but they do not fully explain its purpose. It was by bringing together 'sacred geography' and 'sacred history' that Stanley believed he would make his contribution to an already large literature. "There have been comparatively few attempts,' he noted in the Advertisement, 'to illustrate the relation in which each

stands to the other … to exhibit the effect of the 'Holy Land' on the course of 'the Holy History'," so that this 'seemed to be a task not hitherto fully accomplished' (vii-viii). Apart from the novelty, the warrant for the enterprise was a virtually limitless advantage to biblical culture. Historical and theological students would feel an additional power of understanding, 'in the incidental turn of a sentence—in the appreciation of the contrast between the East and the West, of the atmosphere, and the character of the people and the country—in the new knowledge of expressions, of images, of tones, and countenances (xxiv-xxv).' The result in turn would be a sense of the historical truth of the events of the Old and New Testament that would bring out their inward spirit and thereby 'exalt the faith of which they are the vehicle' (xxv). Stanley has been represented as among those who went to Palestine for the authentication of the Bible (Shepherd 1987: 94-6). This was true, not so much in the intended sense of seeking to verify the accuracy of the Bible (which Stanley did not in fact require for it to hold its place as an inspired record) (Prothero & Bradley 1893, II: 108-9), but, rather, in the sense that connection with the biblical landscape was needed to gain full access to the religious progress of humanity, of which it was the record and in part the cause.

The technique Stanley devised to accommodate this purpose was to pass in review all the sites he could identify and marshal the historical connections of each. The various stages in the history of Shechem in central Palestine, for example, began as the first resting place of Abraham after he crossed the Jordan on his way from Chaldea to the land of promise and as the site of the first altar which the Holy Land had known (232, citing Genesis 12:6). His descendant Jacob settled in the vicinity and made 'the transition of the Patriarch from the Bedouin shepherd into the civilized and agricultural settler' (232, citing Genesis 33:19). After the conquest Shechem was the seat of the main national assemblies and the scene of coronation in the age of the kings (233-5). It had been razed to the ground in the course of the uprising of Abimelech but was then revived by Jeroboam as the capital of the northern kingdom (236, citing Judges 9). After the exile it became the seat of the Samaritans. Nearby rose Mount Gerizim, 'the sacred mountain', according to one tradition the scene of Abraham's encounter with Melchizedek and the near sacrifice of Isaac, appropriated at the outset of the conquest, and still in Stanley's day the point of worship by the Samaritans. 'Probably in no other locality,' he observed, 'has the same worship been sustained with so little change or interruption for so great a series of years as in this mountain, from Abraham to the present day.' (236) Shechem was also the traditional site of both the tomb of Joseph and of the well of his father Jacob beside which Jesus met the Samaritan woman. Few other sites evinced so many connections with the history over such a long time span, but it indicates that the technique depended for its effectiveness more on association and accumulation than critical insight. The gain was a sense of the importance of particular sites. But there was also loss. Nothing other than what was relevant to the Bible mattered. In Stanley's eyes the landscape was biblicized.

Very striking is the confidence with which Stanley addressed the task of a geographical history of the Holy Land. It stemmed from a paper written to establish the claims of sacred history and geography in the early stages of preparing the book (Stanley 1854a: esp. 375-81). He identified five principles which were calculated to disclose the nature and extent of the influence of a country's physical environment on its history:

1. The geographical features of a country elucidate the general character of a nation.
2. The geographical situation affects the forms and expressions of the nation's poetry, philosophy and worship.
3. Place can explain (without actually causing or influencing) the events that have occurred in a locality.
4. The scenery furnishes evidences to the truth of the history.
5. It is instructive and engaging to realize the setting.

In the Preface to *Sinai and Palestine* Stanley added another:

6. The scenes of the Holy Land lend themselves to poetical and proverbial use (xxii-xxiv).

The obvious corollary of these six principles is that Stanley's encounter with the biblical landscape involved much more than the simple empiricism implied by his scientific aspiration. A close reading suggests they might also be divided into two groups which correspond with the double encounter with the biblical landscape.

Principles 1 to 3 indicate that, as the domain of human activity, Stanley assigned a direct part to the physical environment in the formation of national identity and its expression in literature, world-view and spirituality. In the case of Israel 'out there', the geographical seclusion from the rest of the ancient world 'agrees with' their character as a people apart, while the smallness of the land only served to exalt the sense of divine favour and foster consciousness that their influence would extend well beyond the physical barriers (112-116). Stanley also suggested that the land shaped events. Although perhaps clearest in relation to battles (329-40), he maintained more generally that the mountainous character of Palestine is intimately connected with its history, both religious and political' (131), explaining among other things the prominence of 'the fenced cities' and 'the high places' as centres of worship (127-36). Similarly the 'bridging' function of Palestine because of its central situation in the ancient near eastern world did much to account for the part played by the Egyptian and Mesopotamian empires in the life of Israel (116-17). What was true of the whole region could also be true of the regions such as Judah and Galilee (162-3, 354-6, 423-7). These views created an impression of geographical determinism which Stanley unsuccessfully attempted to avoid. In *Sinai*

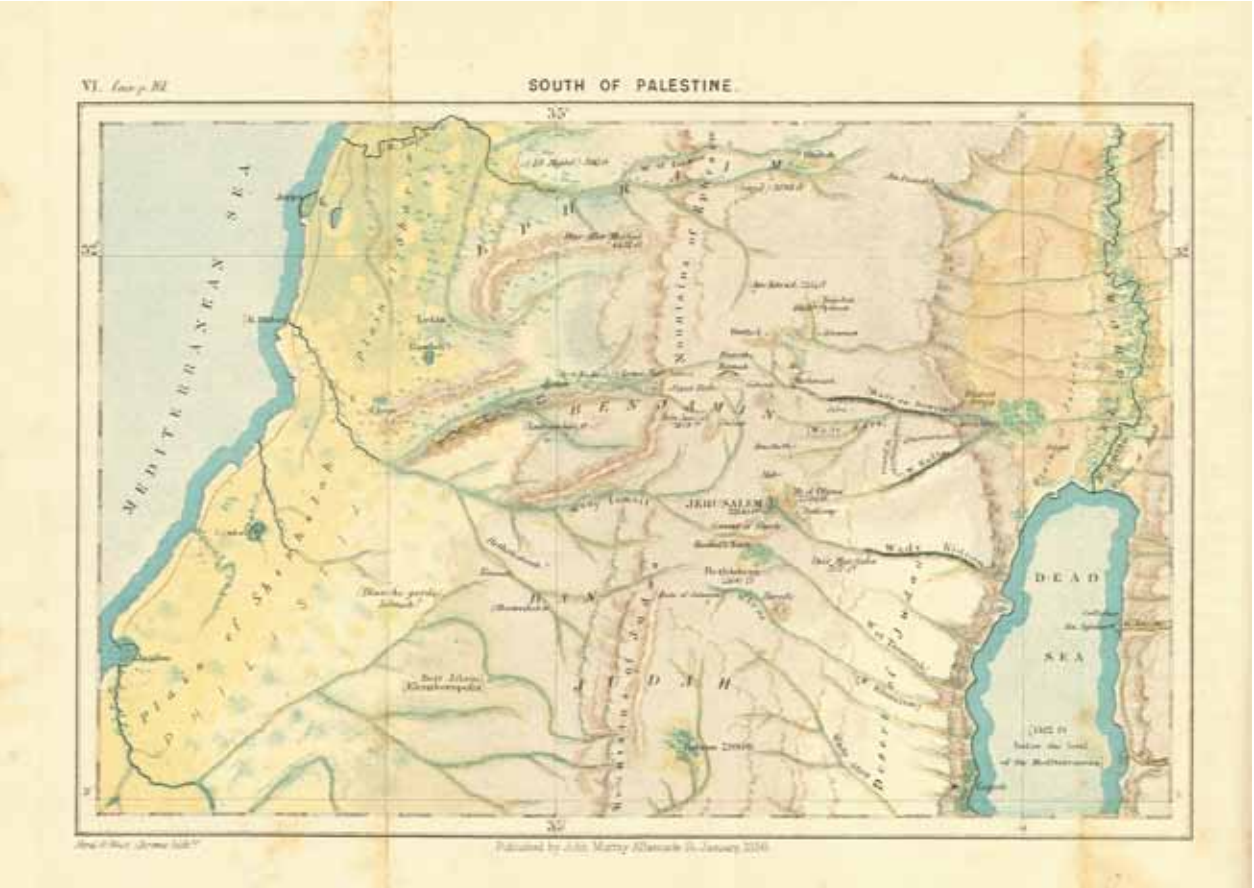

Figure 6: *Stanley's map of Southern Palestine. (Sinai and Palestine 1856:161)*

and Palestine geography was not a mere backdrop; it was a vital part of the history itself.

This relation went directly to the all-important question of the bearing of the landscape on the formation of the biblical text. Features of the physical setting such as Mount Hermon shaped the imaginative conceptions of the writers, so that an appreciation of the landscape made their language intelligible (114-16, 119, 138-40, 162, 235-6, 396). Beyond this broad influence it could be shown that the environment actually suggested some of the thought and the language. The general aspect of Jerusalem, for example, excited the admiration of Psalmists and Prophets (182). More particularly, the Temple provided the chief images for the heavenly Jerusalem, while its corner-stone suggested the relation in which Christ stood to the Church. The influence could go the other way, as in Isaiah 10 where the text constructs the importance of the scene 'to give greater force to the sudden check which was in store for' Sennacherib (202-3). This interplay between setting and text is perhaps clearest in the Gospels. Galilee as the primary scene of Jesus' ministry supplied many of the details and images of the evangelists' accounts (367-78). The parables in particular – and even some of the discourses – were at least enlivened by, and perhaps sometimes the products of, the local scenery (412-23). Stanley's inference applied well beyond the Gospels:

> *if it is clear that the form of the teaching was suggested by the objects immediately present … it is a proof, incontestable, and within small compass, that even that revelation, which was most unlike all others in its freedom from outward circumstance, was yet circumscribed, or … assisted by the objects within the actual range of the speaker's vision (423).*

Although some of Stanley's contemporaries were not ready to accept the de-supernaturalizing effect, context could not be ignored as a determinant of the composition and meaning of the biblical text.

It was in the apologetic, imaginative and literary uses envisaged in principles 4 to 6 that the link with the interests of the society 'at home' became prominent. For they showed how the land connects past and present and feeds into the future, not only in the Holy Land, but also in lands beyond. At a purely physical level the wells of the countryside were one of 'the links by which each successive age is bound to the other' (145). But they were also seen to have an abiding evidential and hortatory value. The wells of Beersheba, for example, 'are indisputable witnesses of the life of Abraham', while that of Jacob 'is a monument of the earliest and latest events of sacred history, of the caution of the prudent patriarch, no less than of the freedom of the Gospel there proclaimed by Christ'

(146-7). Being able to see what the protagonists themselves had seen remained a source of pleasure, understanding and reassurance to those who later come to the same scenes. The physical features provided a language in expressions such as 'the wilderness of life', the 'Rock of Ages' and 'the view from Pisgah' which continued to inform and shape religious life. By incorporating the interactions of people with the landscape these principles allowed for a human component in the influence of place upon history in the present as well as the past. The relationship between land and culture was especially important for the recovery of the meaning, authority and contemporary import of sacred history as the basis for the continuing religious progress of the world.

'Anglo-Palestinian Academic Orientalism'

In addressing the ideological implications of the landscape, Stanley ran into the dilemma inherent in his project. Because of the place of the Bible in British culture, at one level the landscape of the Holy land was already well known and familiar. However, in seeking to introduce the actual Bible lands Stanley believed himself to be bringing the British public into contact with an entity that was unknown, strange, even exotic. To forestall alienation from his project and to make the physical reality accessible, he employed two strategies. One was to minimize the strangeness. To this end he omitted any mention of Ottoman history. Only the Jewish and Christian experience of the region was germane. Apart from his guide, Stanley also said very little about the people presently populating the land and their activities. The historical geography of *Sinai and Palestine* was restricted to that to which the British people might be expected to relate.

The other bridge-building strategy was to compare the countryside with sites in Europe. The distinctive features of Shiloh were struck off by comparison with 'Delphi and Ladadea, and the Styx' (227); the three rivers flowing from the Esdraelon plain into the Jordan have 'the same relation to the main body of the plain as the "legs," as they are called, of Como and Lecco bear to the main body of the Lake of Como' (328); Mount Hermon was the 'Mont Blanc' of Palestine (395). More particularly, whenever possible Stanley's comparisons were with scenes in Britain. Jerusalem was the same elevation as Skiddaw (127); the landscape of southern Palestine resembled the 'tangled featureless hills of the lowlands of Scotland and North Wales' (136); the Lake of Gennesareth was 'about the same length as our own Windermere' (362); and the battlefield of Palestine resembled 'the battle-field of Scotland, the plain of Stirling' (329 n. 1). Perspective was also introduced from the British experience. A period of four hundred years was 'a period equal in length to that which elapsed between the Norman Conquest and the Wars of the Roses' (225); Eastern Palestine 'has been to the main body of the people, what Scotland and Ireland, has been to the chief course of English history' (317). In Stanley's hands the biblical landscape was Occidentalized and Anglicized.

This construction of the Holy Land to make it more accessible to the home audience links *Sinai and Palestine* with the 'Orientalism' that has characterized modern European attitudes to the East. At the time Stanley was the leading British representative of one of its principal manifestations, which Eitan Bar-Josef has called 'Anglo-Palestinian academic Orientalism' (Bar-Josef 2005: esp. ch. 2). The term refers to the concretization of the biblical landscape through textualisation on the basis of exploration and the burgeoning literature of travel and discovery. It also envisages the interplay between the world 'out there' in the East under construction by investigative and reflective processes and the intent of the vantage point 'at home' in the West. Bar-Josef's discussion of Stanley focuses on the sermons preached on his second visit in 1862 (Stanley 1863). Evincing the same movement toward the east with one eye still firmly fixed on the requirements of the home situation in the west, *Sinai and Palestine* was a more substantial and influential (if less overt) example from almost a decade earlier. In time the benefit to Britain came to be seen in strategic terms, but Stanley's 'academic orientalism' was directed to cultural appropriation rather than physical possession. His hope was for the encounter with the biblical landscape to transform British Christianity.

Stanley's first domestic task was to convince the English religious public of the legitimacy of a topographical account of the Bible lands. He was well aware that a naturalistic handling of a sacred subject offended traditionally pious sensibilities. In the Preface he offered three reasons for the undertaking (x-xii). First, the natural features of Sinai and Palestine were in themselves interesting, a theme he sustained throughout the account by pointing out as appropriate unusual landforms such as (most dramatically) the Dead Sea. Second, they were the scene of 'the most important events in the history of mankind' (x). Third, the Bible itself invited this approach. From beginning to end the text is full of local allusions. The inherent curiosity intensified in 'the Domesday Book of the conquest of Canaan' in the book of Joshua which 'almost compels a minute investigation' (xi). Further, the general history of the New Testament 'is connected with the geography of the scenes on which it was enacted, by a link arising directly from the' activity and practical energy which is part of 'the nature of the Christian religion itself'. In the text Stanley added a fourth reason. To an extent unmatched elsewhere, Palestine was a land of ruins (117-120). Their antiquity gave the land a venerable appearance. The different historical stages they represent – 'Saracenic, Crusading, Roman, Grecian, Jewish' – were the key to the history. 'This variety, this accumulation of destruction, is the natural result of the position which has made Palestine for so many ages the thoroughfare and prize of the world.' (119) It was also an indication of how the land must have looked in every age. 'What … we now see, must to a certain extent have been seen always—a country strewed with the relics of an earlier civilization; a country exhibiting even in the first dawn of history the theatre of successive conquests and destructions

… (120).' Against potential critics, the encounter with the biblical landscape was presented as a wide ranging act of piety, evincing due deference to the land, its history and to the Bible itself.

Stanley's historico-geographical hermeneutics was also a help to biblical culture in that it tended to correct the excessive supernaturalism he held responsible for the divisions in British Christianity. Its aid was solicited in two ways.

Miracles were part of the biblical story, and thus an important platform in early Victorian orthodox Christianity (eg. Horne 1846, I: II). In the Preface Stanley brought out the bearing of the landscape on the subject:

> *If ... the aspect of the ground should ... indicate that some of the great wonders in the history of the Chosen People were wrought through means which, in modern language, would be called natural, we must remember that such a discovery is, in fact, an indirect proof of the general truth of the narrative. We cannot call from the contemporary world of man any witnesses to the passage of the Red Sea, or to the overthrow of the cities of the plain, or to the passage of the Jordan. So much the more welcome are any witnesses from the world of nature, to testify on the spot to the mode in which the events are described to have occurred; witnesses the more credible, because the very existence was unknown to those by whom the occurrences in question were described. Some changes may thus be needful in our mode of conceiving the events. (xix-xx)*

Stanley applied this perspective at several points in his account. Properly located, the crossing of the Red Sea could be explained by the action of the wind on relatively shallow water. Apart from the manna and the quails and three interventions to supply water, the people of Israel might well have been supported in the desert from their own flocks and herds and the greater capacity of the environment prior to the desolation brought by natural occurrences and the wanton destruction of Bedouin tribes (24-6). Earthquakes were a sufficient cause of the withdrawal of the waters of the Jordan, the overthrow of Jericho, and a panic in the Philistine host in the near neighbourhood (279, 299-300). Stanley insisted that no loss of spiritual significance was entailed in this focus on secondary causes. 'Their moral and spiritual lessons will remain unaltered: the framework of their outward form will receive the only confirmation of which the circumstances of the case can now admit.' (xx) Both the import of the incidents and the veracity of the records gained from de-emphasizing the miraculous.

Stanley similarly turned the evidence of the landscape against the pundits of prophecy, for which there was a vogue in early Victorian England (Bebbington 1989, ch. 3). In principle he was opposed to the 'aid … sometimes sought in the supposed fulfilment of the ancient prophecies by the appearance which some of the sites of Syria or Arabian cities present to the modern traveller' (xvi). These strictures applied in particular to the Phoenician towns of Tyre and Sidon, and to Capernaum, all of which had been the object of a forecast of desolation (266-8, 376-7). All, however, had had an extended history, and Sidon and Tyre were still functioning communities. Stanley cited the latter in particular as 'a striking instance of the moral and poetical, as distinct from the literal and prosaic, accomplishments of the Prophetical scriptures'. He applied the same principle to the prophecies directed against Askalon, Damascus and Petra. Together they justified the principle foreshadowed in the Preface: "Namely, that the warnings delivered by 'holy men of old' were aimed not against sticks and stones, that then, as always, against living souls and sins, whether of men or of nations (xvi)." It was a principle that applied 'as well as to those of which the fulfilment is supposed yet to be future'. The evidence of landscape did not support those who based their view of the present and future on fulfilment of prophecy yet to occur.

Alongside this corrective use of the biblical landscape was a need to guard against its misuse. The danger was localized in 'The Holy Places', a subject demanding attention because of the special localities and sanctuaries that had become places of pilgrimage (ch. XIV). With so many that might be considered, he confined himself to three centres – Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem. In relation to the disputed site of the Annunciation in Nazareth Stanley felt obliged to mention Loretto in Italy, 'the European Nazareth', to which the house in which Mary received the Angel Gabriel was ostensibly taken by angels at the end of the thirteenth century. Since then regarded 'as an actual fragment of the Holy Land, sacred as the very spot on which the mystery of the Incarnation was announced and begun,' it had become the most frequented sanctuary in Christendom. While it was maintained that the Latin convent in Nazareth was also the scene of the Annunciation, the monks at Nazareth made some attempt to square the two traditions by pointing to the spot from which the holy house had been removed. To expose the fable Stanley pointed out that the house at Loretto would not fit the site at Nazareth, while the building materials at the two locations were incompatible with one another. He conceded that 'it may have seemed superfluous labour to have attempted any detailed refutation of the most incredible of Ecclesiastical legends'. Yet:

> *No facts are insignificant which bring to an issue the general value of local religion, or the assumption of any particular Church to direct the conscience of the world, or the amount of liberty within such a Church left on questions which concern the faith and practice of thousands of its members. (443)*

Furthermore, the evidence of the landscape suggested an apparently providential obliteration of the Holy Places of Palestine, lest they attain 'a sanctity which might endanger the real holiness of the history and religion which they served to commemorate' (396, cf 376-8). The evidence of the biblical landscape militated against the claims of Rome to be the one true church and set people free from its superstitious and unnecessarily authoritarian claims.

Sinai and Palestine had an anti-Catholic edge, the sharper in view of the recent restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England.[17]

Such strictures were part of Stanley's wider program of saving British Christianity by concentrating on its moral force and ending sectarian disputation. The concentration on miracles and prophecy as 'evidence' showed that weight was being placed on Biblical texts that they were incapable of supporting. The relation of the Gospel history to the natural setting suggested a new reading of the Bible that would no longer be the cause of the alienation of the scientifically inclined and the cause of division among Christian enthusiasts. At one level the Gospel records evinced that disregard of time and place piety might have expected. Yet a careful reading pointed to a close connection between the life of Christ and the earthly scenes of his ministry. Stanley drew three conclusions. First, the simplicity and reality of a teaching grounded in everyday sights and sounds suggested a need to keep Christian teaching straightforward and generous. 'We are apt sometimes to carry out into an infinite series of moral and theological conclusions the truths which are stated under these material forms. It might, perhaps, serve both to restrain us from precipitate inferences, and also to relieve us from some difficulties, if we bore in mind that the distinctness which necessarily belongs to physical objects cannot be transferred bodily into the moral world' (424). Excessive literalism and dogmatism were therefore deprecated. Second, the homeliness of Jesus' teaching foreshadowed the true nature of Christianity. For it was an expression of 'the same humble and matter-of-fact, yet at the same time universal spirit, which characterized the whole course of his life on earth and has formed the main outlines of His religion ever since (425-6). Third, it showed Him to be both human and divine –'so completely one of the sons of men … so universal in the fame, the effects, the spirit of his teaching and life' (427). Stanley was well aware of the differing priorities and fashions in the interpretation of Christ across the ages, between the Nativity and the Death, as opposed to the life and Works of Christ. The landscape beckoned contemporary Britain in the direction of identification with the simple, inclusive, universal life and teaching of Jesus – to incarnationalism – as the basis of religious solidarity and social cohesion.

Further impetus to the changes Stanley envisaged for British Christianity flowed from the providential purpose he read in the landscape itself. He saw it, first, in the variety of its structure and climate (124-7). Stanley agreed that no other country contained so many and such sudden transitions, a feature which showed

> *its fitness for the history or the poetry of a nation with a universal destiny, and to indicate one at least of the methods by which that destiny was fostered—the sudden contrasts of the various aspects of life and death, sea and land, verdure and desert, storm and calm, heat and cold; which, so far as any natural means could assist, cultivated what has been well called "the variety in unity," so characteristic of the sacred books of Israel; so unlike those of India, Persia, of Egypt, of Arabia. (127)*

Stanley also saw a providential purpose in the ordinariness of the landscape. This lack of distinctiveness was already a commonplace in the literature, but he inferred that this fitted the land to be the scene of the disclosure of a universal religion:

> *If the first feeling be disappointment, yet the second may well be thankfulness. There is little in these hills and valleys on which the imagination can fasten … all this renders the Holy Land the fitting cradle of a religion which expressed itself not through the voices of rustling forests, or the clefts of mysterious precipices, but through the hearts and souls of men; which was destined to have no home on earth, least of all in its own birth-place; which has attained its full dimensions only in proportion as it has travelled further from its original source, to the daily life and homes of nations as far removed from Palestine in thought and feeling, as they are in climate and latitude; which alone of all religions, claims to be founded not on fancy or feeling, but on Fact and Truth. (154-5)*

Stanley found a parallel in the teaching of Jesus, the homeliness of which made it accessible and intelligible to all lands and peoples. Thus the topography fused with the content of revelation to help realize its purpose.

> *A groundwork of historical and geographical fact, with a wide applicability extending beyond the limits of any age or country; a religion rising in the East, yet finding its highest development and fulfillment in the West; a character and teaching, human, Hebrew, Syrian, in its outward form and colour, but in its inward spirit and characteristics universal and divine—such are the general conclusions, discernible, doubtless, from any careful study of the Gospels, but impressed with peculiar force on the observant traveller by the sight of the Holy Land. (433-4)*

Realistically conceived, the biblical landscape stood at the head of an historic progress which directed attention to the west as the locus of Christian civilization shifted. By implication this endorsed Britain and the British, and challenged them to rise to their historic destiny by bringing their religious arrangements into line with the divine intention.

The role assigned to the landscape makes it clear that *Sinai and Palestine* was informed by a conception of its importance in universal history. The framework of historical understanding Stanley brought to the task of interpreting the biblical landscape was the liberal Anglican idea of history purveyed within his circle – in addition to Arnold, by Richard Whately, H.H. Milman, Connop Thirlwall,

and Julius Hare.[18] It was liberal in that it asserted moral progress as the direction of history against the conservative view that humanity had degenerated from a divine state of grace. It was Anglican in that it was providential and held the national Church as the channel of social change as an expression of God's purpose. The fulfilment of a divine plan towards its goal, history's engine was humanity's ever more mature appreciation of God's intentions, a process which presupposed a reinterpretation of divine revelation by successive generations on the basis of increased knowledge through scientific and literary endeavour. History was thus the means of progressive revelation, a conception reflected in *Sinai and Palestine's* view of New Testament times as the organic fulfilment of the Old Testament era which had come before. 'The Gospel history,' Stanley said, 'is the completion and close, without which the earlier history would be left imperfect. (408)'[19] This teleology was illustrated by Stanley's progress through the biblical world:

> *the whole journey ... presents the course of the history in a living parable before us, to which no other journey or pilgrimage can present any parallel. In its successive scenes ... is faithfully reflected the dramatic unity and progress which so remarkably characterizes the Sacred History. The primeval world of Egypt is with us, as with the Israelites, the starting point—the contrast—of all that follows. With us, as with them, the Pyramids recede, and the Desert begins, and the wilderness melts into the hills of Palestine, and Jerusalem is the climax of the long ascent, and the consummation of the Gospel History represents itself locally, no less than historically, as the end of the Law and the Prophets. And with us, too, as the glory of Palestine fades away into the 'common day' of Asia Minor and the Bosphorus, gleams of the Eastern light still continue—first in the Apostolical labours, then, fainter and dimmer, in the beginnings of ecclesiastical history,—Ephesus, Nicaea, Chalcedon, Constantinople; and the life of European scenery and of Western Christendom completes by its contrast what Egypt and the East had begun (xxiii-xxiv).*

Like the journey itself, *Sinai and Palestine* was a demonstration that God reveals his progressive purpose in the natural world and invites humanity to participate in that progress.

The British Reception

Although provocative, challenging received perspectives and dispositions, *Sinai and Palestine* was well received 'at home' by the British public. On its appearance in 1856 it sold well, running through three editions in the first year, and making money, unlike most books published in the field (Bar-Josef 2005: 94-104). Eventually there were 23 editions, including a shortened version for use in schools. *Sinai and Palestine* also circulated far and wide. In a striking piece of evidence for the existence of an imperial theology, John Fairfax, founder of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, presented a copy of *Sinai and Palestine* to Edward Knox, founder of Colonial Sugar Refineries, in Sydney in 1857. 'It is a trifle as a gift,' he wrote, 'but its value and excellence must be measured by its historic records – proving as they do the truth of that Book, to which, alike in prosperity and adversity, we turn for hope and consolation. It may, too, prepare your mind for visiting those sacred spots – the scenes of the most simple but imposing solemnities of our early Christianity.'[20] A manifest publishing success, almost 20 years after its publication *Sinai and Palestine* was acknowledged by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund as 'the most widely known of recent books on the subject' ([Palestine Exploration Fund 1873], 11).

Clearly such a book catered for the taste of the educated public. One reason for its appeal was the way it addressed the eagerness to know more about the landscape and places encountered in the Bible arising from its central place in British culture. This interest had recently been intensified owing to the reception of the works of A.H. Layard outlining his discovery of ancient Nineveh.[21] A spate of books on Egyptology also caused excitement about the possibilities of ancient near eastern studies for understanding and perhaps confirming the Bible (Cooper 1856).[22] In view of the critical line he took in relation to contemporary theological orthodoxy, it is not unlikely that Stanley's place as a member of the Anglican establishment and his reputation as a writer added to the appeal of *Sinai and Palestine*. It also coincided with a rising interest in scientific exploration and seems to have addressed the critical realism that was beginning to take hold of British literary culture (Martineau 1858, Lewes 1858). Stanley's work was carried along by several currents in contemporary cultural life.

The precise content of the reception is evident at several levels. Privately Stanley's friends responded warmly. Mrs Arnold was evidently pleased with what Stanley had written, the more so as it stood as a memorial to the influence of her late husband.[23] While *Sinai and Palestine* fuelled concern about Stanley's latitudinarianism and soundness on biblical inspiration, at least in the eyes of the Evangelical statesman Lord Shaftesbury, A.C. Tait, his Tutor at Balliol and colleague on the University Commission and now Bishop of London, was undeterred. Shortly after the book came out he made Stanley one of his Examining Chaplains (Davidson & Benham 1891, I: 208-9). Further endorsement came late in 1856 when he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History by Prime Minister Lord Palmerston after lobbying from the new Dean of Christ Church, H.G. Liddell, and the Master of Pembroke College, Francis Jeune (Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 498; Bolitho 1930: 70). Dean Milman of St Paul's Cathedral, something of a mentor for Stanley, noted in a new edition of the *History of the Jews* that his protégé had 'the inimitable gift not only of enabling us to know, but almost to see foreign scenes which we have not had the good fortune ourselves to visit' (Milman 1883, I: xxxiv).

Others in the Oxford community were less benign. This was partly why the Tractarians, ever suspicious of the rationalism of the liberals, looked on with dismay when Stanley was appointed Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. John Keble was the most directly affected, for Stanley had paid particular attention to the geographical allusions in the celebrated *The Christian Year*, which had created some familiarity with the Holy Land in English readers. Keble wrote with thanks for 'the partial mention, and (what is better) of friendly correction'. He felt obliged also to reveal how pained he was by Stanley's failure to assert the full divinity of Christ. Keble had, of course, put his finger on the non-dogmatic tone of Stanley's writing. More broadly, he also highlighted the tensions produced for the Victorians by the Chalcedonian definition of the two natures of Christ when they wrote about his temporal life. Picking up the early church setting of Keble's criticism, Stanley replied that denying the truth in the Scriptural accounts of Jesus' growth and teaching would be 'a direct form of Eutychianism, Apollinarianism, or Patripassianism'.[24] His inferences from the topographical evidence on the eve of the Victorian vogue for 'lives' of Jesus took Stanley to the heart of one of the emerging theological controversies of the day (Pals 1982).

In public *Sinai and Palestine* provoked a reaction from individuals with a special interest in the subject. Within a month Charles Forster, rector of Stisted in Essex and an associate of Stanley's as 'one of the six preachers of Canterbury Cathedral', entered the field. In passing through Sinai, Stanley had been obliged to notice the Sinatic Inscriptions, which he dismissed as the casual work (requiring no ladders or special equipment) of Arab pilgrims in the fourth and fifth centuries (51, 59-62). Forster took this as a slight to an important subject (Forster 1856). Invoking 'the experimental system of philology' as the only reliable source of truth in such matters, he set out to show that Stanley was wrong about the elevations of the inscriptions, their provenance, number and extent, and, above all, their importance. The natural and only adequate account of the phenomena was that they were the contemporary work of Israelites during their sojourn in the desert, and thus valuable contemporary testimony 'to the exact veracity of the Mosaic history'. This was especially valuable in the face of the assaults on the Pentateuch by the speculative and sceptical theorizing of German neology with which Forster now associated Stanley. *Sinai and Palestine* was opposed by those who looked to the biblical landscape as a repository of empirical data in favour of the authenticity of the Bible.

In criticizing prophesy, Stanley had also attacked the powerful 'Christian evidences' interest. Indeed, he had singled out for particular attention one of its leading representatives, Alexander Keith (1792-1880), a Free Church of Scotland minister, who in 1823 had written *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion From the Fulfilment of Prophecy* to answer the scepticism of David Hume. So renowned did this work become that, according to Thomas Chalmers, it was 'known as a household word throughout the land', and the author acquired the sobriquet 'Prophecy Keith' (Ritchie 2004). His case had always been that the geographical facts as attested by travellers in the Holy Land and the present condition of the Jewish race were literal fulfilments of prophecy which authenticated the Bible. Like Forster, he made appeal to the known facts, and maintained in a new edition of his celebrated work that they were against Stanley's 'poetical interpretations' (Keith 1861). As travellers (including himself) had shown repeatedly, the remains of hundreds of ruined towns and cities attested the literal truth of the prophecies concerning them. Keith also alleged that Stanley's treatment of the biblical evidence minimized both the testimony to prophesy and the evidence against his own alternatives. By associating Stanley with rationalists of the order of Hume and Gibbon, *Sinai and Palestine* was aligned with a long tradition of anti-Christian works which unsuccessfully impugned the Bible as a divinely inspired revelation.

Apart from interested individuals *Sinai and Palestine* had to run the gamut of the periodical press, for the Victorians the crucible in which public opinion was made and influence achieved.[25] Predictably the church press (Altholz 1989), one of its main subdivisions directed to a particular class of readers, took a deep interest in Stanley's book. In principle the reviewers approved of what he had attempted (Anon. 1856a, b, c; Anon. 1860a). The relation of the biblical writers to the external world was an important consideration; too much light could not be thrown upon the Bible; and the scientific approach settled many difficulties. Stanley was also regarded as an admirable observer, an important attribute when there were so many books on the subject, most of which were not good. He had, in fact, enabled the reader to travel to the lands of patriarch, prophet and the Saviour himself (Anon. 1860b: 410). There was wide agreement too that *Sinai and Palestine* was a valuable tool for getting the most out of the Bible. Christian writers found much that they could endorse and use.

The mainstream press was also distinctly favourable. The heterodox *Westminster Review* led the wider response to *Sinai and Palestine* with a brief but positive notice (Froude 1856: 251-2). Thereafter in substantial articles *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Edinburgh*, *North British*, and *Quarterly Review* were enthusiastic. They commended Stanley's research and the quality of his writing. On the subject matter the *Quarterly* assigned *Sinai and Palestine* its place among the works which 'during the last half century [have] done more than all the centuries which preceded it, in furnishing an exact topographical basis for the facts of Sacred history' (Conybeare 1859: 370). *Fraser's* went much further:

> *For the first time the Holy Land is really brought near to us; for the first time we see it as it is and as it has been, and for the first time we have been made to feel that the history, the manners, and the literature of the Jews were in a wonderful degree*

the reflection of the land in which they lived ... Mr. Stanley ... may almost be said to have discovered Palestine for us (Sanders 1856: 336).

Something of the benefit was evident in the likely appeal of the region:

... even independently of their doctrinal importance, or of the polemical or antiquarian illustrations to be derived from them, there is an intrinsic charm in these scenes to which no cultivated (not to say religious) mind can be insensible. Without caring to determine the precise locality of every interesting incident, there are few imaginations, except of the very rudest, which will be dead to the influences of such a region (Russell 1856: 367).

The real basis of Stanley's success, however, was the place he assigned to the land in universal history:

What is really original in Mr. Stanley's treatment of the subject, is the bold, though thoroughly religious spirit in which he has transferred the study from the narrow field of Biblical archaeology to its true place in the general science of man; reverently gathering towards this sacred spot, as the one great centre of man's destiny, all the devious and delicate threads which converge thitherwards in the tangled web of history, and whose convergence, distinctly traceable, appears for a philosophical mind, to convert into a historical reality that simple belief still expressed in some of the mediaeval maps of the world ... which exhibit Jerusalem as the literal centre of the earth (Russell 1856: 382-3).

Dealing with a subject of high importance, *Sinai and Palestine* was the kind of writing the educated public wanted. The periodical press granted the success of Stanley's aspirations and allowed his book a place in the public literature of the day.

This appearance of public success was qualified by several criticisms. Timidity and indecisiveness, carelessness with the details and adapting facts to suit theories were among the alleged general and methodological shortcomings. Within the church press Stanley's natural turn was seen generally to undermine the reverence due to the Bible as an authority given by inspiration of God (Anon. 1856d; Anon. 1857a & b). Of the particular misgivings, the first was Stanley's sympathy with biblical criticism. His views were seen to rest on intellectual processes rather than on the inherent authority of Scripture, while his treatment of some biblical events was representative of 'the profanation of neologian criticism'. Most prevalent was concern about Stanley's treatment of the miracles of the Bible. His interest in natural causes was criticized as 'deluded', even 'contemptible', while one writer worried that attempting to find the relation between natural causation and the divine opened the way to eliminating the divine altogether. Even more disturbing to two reviewers were the Christological implications. One objected to the sense of limitation implicit in finding the influence of the setting on Christ's mind. To the suggestion that the imminence of his death 'dawned upon' him, the other exclaimed:

What low ideas of the divinity of Christ does it not betray! What a debased and carnal creed does it not evince! What awful thoughts of the very eternal God (Anon. 1857c: 133-4).

With much in *Sinai and Palestine* offensive to received perspectives in contemporary Christianity, its wider program of reform commended itself to few.

Whatever the critical response, Stanley's work boosted British topographical studies and encouraged further work on the historical geography of the biblical lands in the years to come. The connection between *Sinai and Palestine* and subsequent work is clearest in the case of George Grove, later to be knighted for his services as editor of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and as founder of the Royal College of Music, but in the 1850s still an up and coming young man looking for opportunities to prove himself (Graves 1903; Young 1980: ch. 4; Young 2003). Stanley had engaged him to verify the details and help with the Appendix. The collaboration created in Grove a vision for what might yet be done and an incipient capacity for doing it. He found his opportunity in the Bible dictionary in preparation at the time under the direction of Sir William Smith, a work intended to 'elucidate the antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history of the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha' based 'on a fresh examination of the original documents, and embodying the results of the most recent researches and discoveries' (Smith 1863, I: vii). As well as writing for the project, Grove emerged as Smith's principal assistant. The work induced him to go out to Egypt and Palestine in 1858 (and to the latter again in 1861) to see the region for himself. Among the results were substantial articles on such subjects as 'Bethlehem', 'Olives, Mount of', 'Palestine' and 'Sea, The Salt' as Grove became 'the most voluminous and industrious contributor' to the *Dictionary* (Smith 1863, I: 201-3, II: 623-9, 660-96; III: 1173-87). In 1864 Grove also agreed to play a supervisory part in the production of Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical*, while three years later he became the editor responsible for entries under 'Sacred Places, Art, and Furniture, AD 50-850' for the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Inclusion of topographical approaches through the work of men like Groves in works institutionalizing verifiable biblical knowledge was a marker of the success of Stanley's enterprise. From this establishment of 'sacred topography' in biblical studies there could be no turning back.

Sinai and Palestine was also rapidly absorbed into the genre. Its immediate impact is reflected in the reviews, some of which, essays on the Holy Land in their own right, drew on it as a source (eg. Bonar 1857). Its importance is also shown by the editor's special mention of Stanley's book with Robinson's *Biblical Researches* 'as works of constant reference in the geographical articles' in the

new Bible dictionary (Smith 1863, I: ix-x). Thereafter *Sinai and Palestine* continued as a basis for subsequent topographical surveys and the model for the thousands of books on the Holy Land published in the last third of the 19th century (Ben-Arieh 1989: 74). Almost forty years after its appearance, the method was taken to its high point of achievement by George Adam Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (Smith 1931).[26] Like *Sinai and Palestine*, it was grounded in a direct encounter with the Holy Land, Smith having visited in 1880 and 1891. But two changes in the intervening decades gave rise to the need for a new account. One was the considerable progress in exploration and discovery. The other was the impact of biblical criticism. Smith observed: 'The relation of the geographical materials at our disposal and the methods of historical reconstruction have been altered by Old Testament science, since, for instance, Dean Stanley wrote *Sinai and Palestine*.' (Smith 1931: xiv) To those who doubted its value, Smith replied 'that there is no sphere in which the helpfulness of criticism, in removing difficulties and explaining contradictions, has been more apparent than in biblical Geography' (Smith 1931: xv). Had he still been alive, Stanley would have supported Smith's bringing the approach up to the knowledge of the age, but the credit for ensuring the material evidence was considered in the British attempt to interpret the Bible in the modern world remained with Stanley.

Sinai and Palestine was likewise very enabling for the larger task of interpreting the Old Testament historically. Regarding illustrations from geography as his 'special contribution to the subject', Stanley drew extensively on his earlier work as he prepared his *Lectures on the Jewish Church* as Professor of Ecclesiastical History (Stanley 1885, I: 23). John Rogerson has noted that the *Lectures* are not particularly critical in aspiration or content (Rogerson 1984: 238-42), but in the theologically turbulent 1860s this was their great value. In the wake of *Essays and Reviews* and the controversial works of Bishop Colenso, the *Lectures* mediated an historical approach to the Old Testament that, a generation after Milman's *History of the Jews*, was still a shock to the Hebrew sensibility of the Victorians. The vividness of Stanley's depictions of the background and scenes of the history was reckoned as one of its particular strengths. To that extent they provided a measure of reassurance and contributed to acceptance of an historical standpoint. *Sinai and Palestine* had been the beginning of a reputation in an important and increasingly contested domain of cultural authority.

Sinai and Palestine also left Stanley as the recognized British authority on travel and exploration in the Holy Land through the mid-Victorian years. This status became evident at the level of the leadership elite when he was asked to accompany the Prince of Wales on a tour to the Middle East in 1862. The Prince Consort had selected Stanley as the best person for the task after reading *Sinai and Palestine*, and when he died the Queen persisted with his choice. This not only gave Stanley a second tour; it also opened doors and provided opportunities he had not had ten years previously (Bolitho 1930: ch. VI-IX). One result was a delineation of the spiritual and national implications of the region for the British in response to the Prince's need of guidance and instruction (Stanley 1863). The second tour was also the basis of a corrected and enlarged edition of *Sinai and Palestine*. Association with the royal tour was no doubt one reason for its continuing appeal.

At a more popular level Stanley emerged as something of a senior statesman in a rapidly burgeoning field of interest. As the Holy Land opened up in the 1860s he was asked to write letters of introduction for various travellers (eg. Stoughton 1894: 145). More seriously, having recognized from the first the need for further discovery and excavation, he supported efforts to finance serious exploration of the region through the foundation of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Moscrop 2000: 64-72; Graves 1903: 117-23, 275-6). Not only did he allow the use of his name, but he also made available the Jerusalem Chamber at the Abbey for meetings and subsequently served on the Executive when the Fund was set up. Once underway it sponsored archaeological excavations and extensive mapping that transformed British knowledge of the Holy Land. But the Fund was always strapped for cash. When it reported on its activities in 1871, Stanley was asked to write a commendatory 'Introduction' (Morrison 1871). A word from the author of *Sinai and Palestine* in matters relating to travel and exploration in the Holy Land was considered a great help to the cause.

Conclusion

By this point the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the advent of photography and the beginning of Cook's Tours to the Holy Land changed the situation Stanley had addressed in the early 1850s (Larsen 2004). These developments both reflected and contributed to a wide acceptance of the need for a realistic apprehension of the Holy Land (Rule 1871). That *Sinai and Palestine* dated rapidly against this background of advancing knowledge and a greater general awareness of the physical reality of the biblical landscape was a sign of its success in engaging Britain with the world 'out there'. Its purpose 'at home' was more contested. Written in part to promote a non-dogmatic, inclusive, morally directed Christianity based on free and open enquiry, *Sinai and Palestine* ran into the strident conservatism of early Victorian Christianity. That the historical geographical approach was a great help to understanding the world of the Bible was admitted on all sides. But the inferences for the shaping of a truly biblical Christianity in Britain were resisted by representatives of the supernaturalistic and dogmatic popular Protestantism that found its strength partly in the metaphorical apprehension of the Holy Land. While his book did become the British authority on the region for the early Victorian generation, at the second level of encounter the biblical landscape did not carry the day for Stanley's liberal

Anglican project. Important as it was for contemporary academic discourse, *Sinai and Palestine* achieved only part of its author's purpose.

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Appendix

Periodicals Examined for the Reception of *Sinai and Palestine*

British and Foreign Evangelical Review

British Quarterly Review

Christian Observer

Christian Remembrancer

Christian Witness and Church Members Magazine

Church of England Magazine

Church of England Monthly Review

Church of England Quarterly Review

Dublin Review

Ecclesiastic and Theologian

Edinburgh Review

Evangelical Repository: A Quarterly Journal of Theological Literature

Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country

General Baptist Repository and Missionary Observer

Journal of Sacred Literature

London Quarterly Review

National Review

North British Review

Wesleyan Methodist Magazine

Westminster Review

Quarterly Review

Selected Bibliography of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley

1844 *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, London, B. Fellowes, 2 vols.

1847a *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, London, John Henry Parker.

1847b 'Bunsen on the Basilicas of Rome,' *Edinburgh Review* 85: 143-16.

1850a 'The Gorham Controversy,' *Edinburgh Review* 92: 263-92.

1850b 'Grote's *History of Greece*,' *Quarterly Review* 86: 384-415.

1850c 'Socrates,' *Quarterly Review* 88: 41-69.

1853a 'The Murder of Thomas à Becket,' *Quarterly Review* 93: 349-87.

1853b 'The Holy Places, *Quarterly Review* 93: 432-62.

1854a 'Sacred Geography,' *Quarterly Review* 94: 353-84.

1854b '*Latin Christianity*,' *Quarterly Review* 95: 38-70.

1855 'Archdeacon Hare,' *Quarterly Review* 97: 1-28.

1856 *Sinai and Palestine in Connection With Their History*, London, John Murray.

1863 *Sermons Preached Before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales During His Tour in the East in the Spring of 1862, With Notices of Some of the Localities Visited*, London, John Murray.

1880 *Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley*, 3rd ed., London, John Murray.

1885 *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, London, John Murray, 3 vols [originally published between 1863 and 1876].

1896 *Sinai and Palestine in Connection With Their History*, New Edition, London, John Murray.

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Endnotes

1 The principal biographical source is Prothero & Bradley 1893. See also Bolitho 1930; & Hammond 1987, the basis of his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, consulted on-line.

2 Stanley and Gladstone are compared in Edwards 1971, ch. 5.

3 The book was substantially revised after the second visit. I have used the 'New Edition' of 1896 for Stanley's more considered account.

4 The main accounts are Ben-Arieh 1979, Silberman 1982 & Shepherd 1987. *Sinai and Palestine* is not considered in the older accounts of Bliss 1906 & Hilprecht 1903.

5 Stanley 1880 is an act of filial piety that provides an account of the home in which Stanley was raised and the ecclesiastical ideals he made his own.

6 Stanley's articles included 1847b, 1850a, 1853a, 1854b & 1855.

7 Eg. Arnold to Chev. Bunsen, 21 September, 1835, in Stanley 1844, I: 425-6.

8 On landscape in general, I have been informed by Matthew Johnson 2007.

9 Other letters from the Holy Land are included in Prothero 1895: 183-245.

10 For an account of how the letters were written and then received at home, see Hare 1895: 49, 62-3.

11 On which see Stafford 1999 & Kennedy 2007.

12 Stanley 1850a & 1850b evince his admiration for Niebuhr and the 'scientific investigations' of George Grote.

13 See further below for Stanley's treatment of 'the Holy Places'.

14 This interest is even stronger in later editions. See 123-6 in the 'New Edition' of 1896.

15 The maps and sections become increasingly sophisticated in successive editions.
16 See below on Stanley's treatment of the biblical prophecy.
17 In this respect it is a significant development from Stanley 1853b which was written just after his return from the East.
18 Given classic expression in Forbes 1952. See also Bowler 1989 & Parker 1990.
19 In a later edition he read this same relation into the countryside: 'In the localities as in the events and in the teaching of the Sacred History, the saying is true—*Vetus Testamentum in Nove patet; Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet.*' See the 1896 edition, 416.
20 John Fairfax to Edward Knox, 11 November 1857, Knox Family Papers, 1835-1928, Mitchell Library MSS 98/142. I owe this reference to my friend Dr Stuart Johnson.
21 Timothy Larsen, 'Austen Henry Layard's Nineveh: The Bible and Archaeology in Victorian Britain,' forthcoming in the *Journal of Religious History*. I am grateful to Professor Larsen for supplying me with an advance copy of this article.
22 Cf. Smith 1859. Earlier attitudes are touched on in Gange 2006.
23 Stanley to Mrs Arnold, 20 February 1856, in Prothero 1895: 246-7. The date assigned to this letter is incorrect. *Sinai and Palestine* was published in March.
24 Keble to Stanley, 8 July 1856, and Stanley to Keble, 10 July 1856, in Prothero & Bradley 1893, I: 481-4.
25 Shattock & Wolff 1982, esp. the Introduction and the first two essays. The periodicals examined to gauge the reception of *Sinai and Palestine* are listed in the Appendix above.
26 Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* was first published in 1894.

Brief Communication

Reconstructing Ancient Kellis Part III: Clothing

R. Livingstone, T. Chandler and D. Martin

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Abstract: The third in a series which overviews the reconstruction of ancient Kellis through digital graphic and animation technologies, this report introduces the utility of 3D human figure models as visulisation aids for recent investigations into fabrics and clothing at fourth century Kellis.

Introduction

This brief report updates readers on recent developments in the ongoing digital reconstruction of the Roman period village of Ismant el-Kharab (ancient Kellis) published in previous *Buried History* Volume 41 and 42. In *Buried History* Volume 41 the authors introduced the virtual reconstruction process and overviewed ways in which digital visualisation of architecture might assist the documentation and communication of archaeological research at Kellis. The article published subsequently in *Buried History* Volume 42 was accompanied by an online website and presented a more specific, and interactive, study of Houses 1-3 and the excavated artefacts found within them. This edition again deals with a more specific study with the introduction of virtual human figure models to support recent investigations into fabrics and clothing in fourth century CE Kellis. An overview of dress in fourth century Kellis is provided by Rosanne Livingstone, Centre for Archaeology and Ancient History, Monash University, and as in previous articles, the discussion of the application of virtual technologies is provided by Thomas Chandler and Derrick Martin, Faculty of Information Technology, Monash University.

Dress in fourth century CE Kellis

Kellis was a Roman-period village located in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert. Excavation of this village has been ongoing since 1986, undertaken by a team from the Centre for Archaeology and Ancient History under the direction of Associate Professor Colin Hope. An abundance of artefacts have been recovered from the site, and included among them are numerous textiles dating mainly to the fourth century CE (Hope 1991, 42).

One of the authors[1] is studying the textiles for her doctoral thesis, which focuses on the relationship between dress and identity in fourth century Kellis. Identity in Egypt was complex during this period as a result of the population's mixed Egyptian, Greek and Roman heritage. The material culture reflects this heritage in different ways; whereas the population followed traditional Egyptian funerary practices, their dress was essentially Roman in style (Bagnall 2000, 29).

The Kellis textiles consist mainly of small fragments, but some larger pieces and a few complete garments have also been found (Bowen 2002). Three tunics, some textile fragments identified as being from tunics, and some accessories (footwear, headwear and jewellery) recovered from the site are used here to show how the people of Kellis dressed during the fourth century. Additional information on dress has been obtained from other contemporary sources. These include the numerous papyrus documents that have also been recovered from the site, tunics and textiles held in museum and gallery collections around the world, and people depicted in wall paintings, mosaics and other fourth century CE works of art.

The main form of dress was the tunic. Those worn by the more affluent (and by the less wealthy on special occasions) were decorated with *clavi*, matching bands that extended down the tunic either side of the neckline, back and front. *Clavi* could end above the waistline or extend as far as the hem, and tunics sometimes had additional decorative ornaments on the shoulders and/or at knee length. Fourth century tunics could be sleeveless, or have sleeves which were either very narrow or very wide. Sleeves were decorated with one or two matching bands near the wrist (Pritchard 2006: 47-48).

Four tunics have been recovered from Kellis, three of which are plain and sleeveless. Sleeveless tunics were commonly worn as part of everyday dress. These tunics were extraordinarily wide and they draped over the upper arms when worn (Pritchard 2006: 46). The largest of the plain sleeveless tunics was found covering a man's body in a third to fourth century burial in one of the North Tombs in Kellis (Hope 2004: 25, 27). It is an extremely coarse, heavy linen tunic, well-worn and mended with several large patches, and was probably everyday work wear. The man depicted in the virtual reconstruction (Figure 1) is wearing a tunic identical to the one from the North Tomb. The boy standing behind the donkey is wearing a plain sleeveless tunic similar to that of the man's. It represents a coarse linen tunic found buried with a child in a fourth century cemetery (Bowen 2002: 93).

Figure 1: *An assembled scene of virtual 3D posed figures and artificially fitted clothes placed near previous reconstructed Houses 1-3 at Kellis*

In contrast to the man and the boy, the baby (Figure 1) is wearing a decorated tunic. This is based on a tiny tunic found in association with a baby buried in the fourth century Christian cemetery in Kellis (Bowen 2002: 93). Unlike the other tunics, it is not wholly complete, but enough remains for it to be identified as a wide-sleeved, hooded tunic. This tunic is made from wool and is decorated with embroidery worked in wool yarns dyed purple, blue-green, yellow, orange and red. The decoration consists of embroidered *clavi* and sleevebands, as well as circular motifs (*orbiculi*) on the hood. Five multicoloured wool pompoms are attached to the top of the hood (Bowen 2002: 93, 95).

Examination of this tunic has revealed that it was re-made from an adult's tunic. This is evident from the remains of a plain purple *clavus* and a row of twining (used to reinforce the neck opening) along the top of the hood, together with a section of underarm reinforcement further down. The position of the underarm reinforcement indicates that the adult tunic had long narrow sleeves.

The tunic the woman (Figure 1) is wearing is a reconstruction based on the original adult tunic. However, instead of having plain *clavi* and sleevebands, her tunic is decorated with more ornate ones incorporating a simple pattern commonly found on the Kellis textiles. The tunic is ankle length and fastened under the breast in keeping with the fashion of the time (Pritchard 2006: 46, 49). Her hairstyle is typical of the mid-late fourth century and her head is covered with a blue-green and yellow hairnet made in the *sprang* technique (interlinked and intertwined warp threads). She is also wearing leather sandals and a glass bead necklace. Examples of all these items have been recovered from Kellis (Hope 1995: 53; Bowen 2002: 88, 91, 100, 103).

All these garments and accessories would have been made in Kellis. This is evident from the archaeology, biology and contemporary texts. Linen was grown locally, and wool fleece and spinning and weaving tools have been recovered from houses (Bowen 2002: 87-89). There is also evidence for glassmaking in the village (Hope 1995: 53).

In the virtual reconstruction the people are standing on the street outside Houses 1-3 in Kellis, as described below (Bowen *et al* 2005). Kellis was an agricultural village, and it was the practice then, as now, in Egypt for fodder to be cut in the fields and transported by donkey to where the farm animals were accommodated. In fourth century Kellis farm animals lived in mangers constructed in the courtyards of houses (Hope 1992: 41-42). Thus a man standing with his donkey in a street conversing with his neighbour would probably have been a common sight.[2]

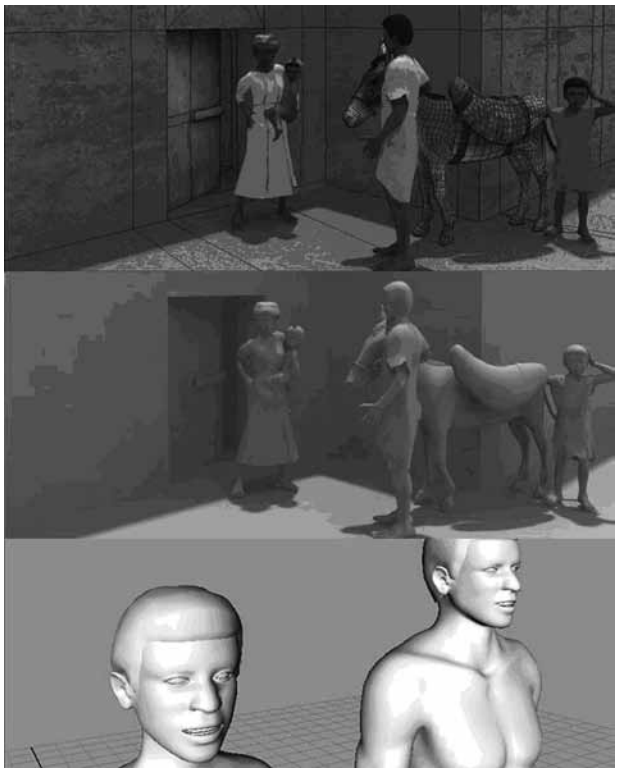

Figure 2: *The construction of the geometry of the figure models.*

Virtual People and Virtual Fabrics

The rendered image shown above is the result of several preparatory stages of digital editing. The architectural structures and the general environment, in this case a partial scene of an exterior wall of Houses 1-3 at Kellis, were already constructed, but in order to show reconstituted fabrics as they might have been worn it was first necessary to create the human figures that would wear them. In commencing the creation of 3D human figure models the reconstructive process departs from strict architectural studies and begins to move over into a new area where organic modelling techniques are drawn more from animation studies.

Once created however, the organic forms of the human figures could be used in a specialised process to instruct the automatic form and simulated placement of the clothes. Instead of being already fitted or laboriously sculpted into place, items such as the tunics were instead introduced into the 3D scene as flat, cut out planes which then wrapped around the figure models in sequential steps (Figure 3). In this case the 3D software did the thinking on its own and estimated a rough approximation of the gravity and flexible folds of the simulated fabric. The colours of the fabrics were sampled directly from photographs of fragments found at Kellis and prepared as samples in Adobe Photoshop and then applied as textures to the virtual models. In Figure 3, the interaction of the lighting and shadows of the virtual environment and the closely focused image shows the rough weave of the original fabric.

In modelling hands, eyebrows and knee joints the 3D artist must be able to sculpt and emulate entirely different forms, and imbue then with much more complexity, than the modelling of architectural structures would require. An example of the differences of detail in the 3D geometry between organic modelled figures and the walls of the building behind them can be seen in Figure 2. Here the wireframe structure of the donkey is made up of thousands of mostly imperceptible subdivisions (as is the model of the young boy in Figure 3), while the walls of the building and the ground beneath the feet of the figures seem to be constructed of large and clearly visible blocks or panels. Compared with the subtle curves of a human face (see base of Figure 2), the angular architecture of Kellis, particularly as viewed from the outside, is relatively easy to reconstruct in 3D, and, in preparing architectural models, a 3D artist does not have to account for the fact that they start to move and walk around. In an organic model, many subdivisions are necessary not only to convey smooth and flowing curves and contours, but also to enable the model to stretch and bend when it adjusts its position.

This difference in detail is an important one, because although the scene in Figure 1 portrays a static image, each of the figure models represented incorporates a system of simulated bones inside the limbs and torsos (see Figure 4) that enabled joint movements so the figures could be 'posed' and manipulated in a manner similar to a puppet. As in previous studies, each step in the reconstructive process opens up its own subsequent opportunities; with the

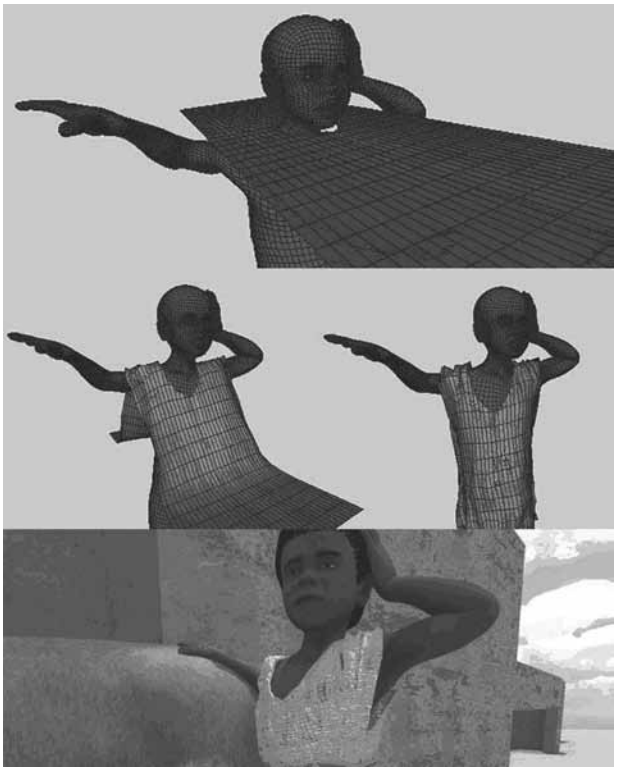

Figure 3**:** *An illustration of the 3D reconstructive process showing the simulated 'fitting' of a tunic where the fabric begins as a two dimensional board and is then gradually adapted to follow the contours of the virtual figure model.*

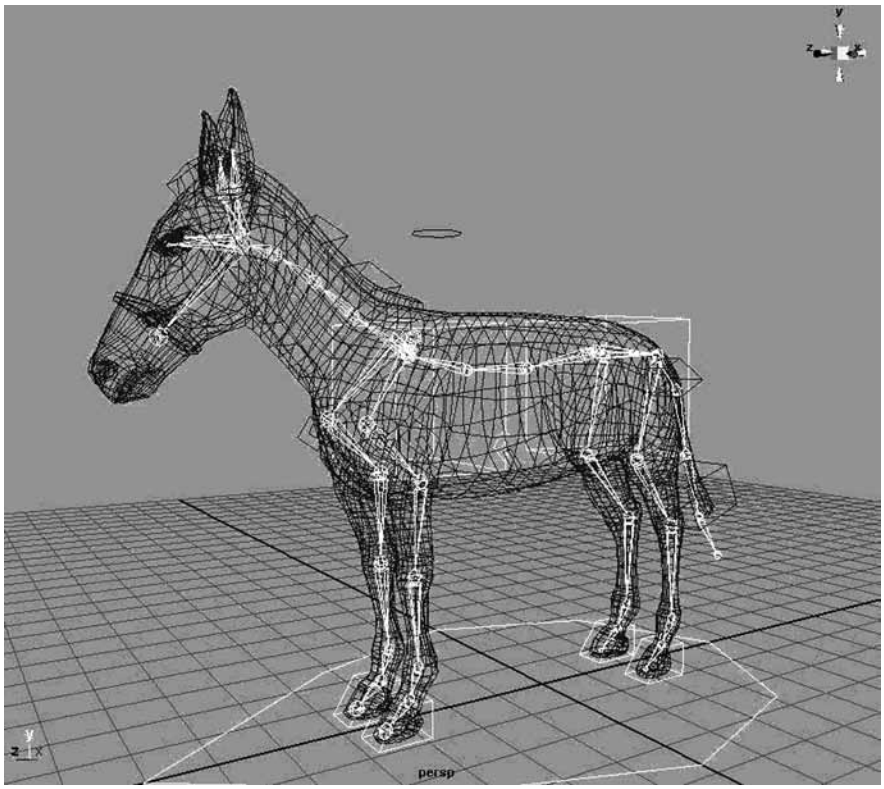

Figure 4: *The underlying virtual skeleton within a figure model which allows it not only to be positioned but also to walk and move convincingly in an animation*

introduction of human figures the possibility of animating scenes of daily life at Kellis is much closer at hand.

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Endnotes

1 Rosanne Livingstone, who studied the Kellis textiles during the 2007 and 2008 fieldwork seasons in the Dakhleh Oasis.

2 For the purposes of this paper the woman and child are dressed in tunics with *clavi*, based on the Kellis finds, even though they may not have worn such tunics for everyday wear.

Reviews:

Craig A. Evans, *Fabricating Jesus: How Modern Scholars Distort the Gospels,* Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2006.

Review by S. D. Charlesworth

Fabricating Jesus, like many similar works, is a response to increasingly sensational claims about the historical Jesus. Evans is eminently qualified to undertake such a work and in his hands careful polemic can hardly be dismissed as evangelical diatribe. Though written at a popular level, the book comes with an impressive array of scholarly endorsements. A glossary explains scholarly terms and minimal but informative endnotes are meant to facilitate further study for interested readers. Blocks of shaded text which feature throughout contain helpful explanatory and additional information.

Evans introduces the examination of specific non-canonical texts by discussing briefly four scholars who have written about their personal faith journeys (chapter 1). After differentiating between moderate or 'old school' sceptics (Robert Funk and James Robinson) and radical or 'new school' sceptics (Robert Price and Bart Ehrman), he finds a common denominator—all four have rejected the 'rigid, fundamentalist' (i.e., verbal inspiration) view of Scripture of their formative years. Yet similar expectations of Scripture underlie their rejection of much of the material in the canonical Gospels.

Flawed starting points also generate incorrect conclusions. In chapter 2 Evans addresses the claims of members of the Jesus Seminar that Jesus was illiterate, had no interest in Scripture or eschatology, and did not think of himself as divine or the Messiah of Israel. The fact that Jesus was frequently called 'teacher', had disciples, and interpreted the meaning of Scripture strongly implies that he was literate. The question 'have you not read?' (see Mt. 12:3, 5; 19:4; Mk. 2:25; 12:10, 26; Lk. 10:26) would leave him open to ridicule if he himself could not read. These same verses also show that his teaching was rooted in Scripture. As for the Jewish Scriptures, Jesus cites or alludes to all of the books of the Law, most of the Prophets, and some of the Writings. Historically, there can be no radical disconnect between Jesus and his Jewish world. For Evans, speculation is unnecessary: the Jewish Scriptures explain the expression 'kingdom of God' as the rule of God. However, his assertion that Jesus did not proclaim the end of the world as part of his eschatology is questionable (see Mk. 13 and parallels). As for a messianic self-understanding, Jesus describes his activity by allusions to messianic passages in the Jewish Scriptures, and contemporary documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls contain a similar understanding of the person and role of the Messiah.

Hyper-'critical' scholars have often used extreme criteria for establishing the authenticity of Jesus traditions with the result that only a very limited number of the sayings and deeds of Jesus are accepted as 'authentic'. In contrast, Evans believes that appropriate use of criteria can demonstrate that the Gospel narratives are historically reliable. In the last part of the same chapter he concludes his introduction by outlining a number of such criteria. Two of the more self-evident are Semitisms and Palestinian background. However, the assumption of much historical Jesus research (and Evans himself), that Jesus spoke and taught only or almost exclusively in Aramaic, overlooks the implications of the Greek evidence. It is likely that some of the sayings of Jesus were spoken in Greek.

In the body of the book Evans turns his attention to non-canonical Gospels. Given the space constraints his treatment of the Gospels of Thomas (chapter 3), Peter, Mary, and the so-called Egerton Gospel (chapter 4), is fair and balanced. All of the Greek fragments, apart from the Akhmîm fragment, are to be dated to the second half of the second century and are certainly secondary or dependent on the canonical Gospels. In addition, there is no proof that the much later Akhmîm fragment is actually from *Peter*, and considerable questions surround the identification of the second-century Greek fragments with *Peter*. Rather than saving faith, in *Thomas* and *Mary* the emphasis is on secret or esoteric knowledge (*gnôsis* in Greek) available only to a select few. *Peter* and the Egerton Gospel imitate the narrative style of the canonical Gospels and introduce their own individualistic material. Since all of these writings are reacting in some way to the canonical Gospels, Evans is rightly very negative about the possibility of finding primitive, pre-synoptic tradition among or behind the secondary material.

The case for a Cynic Jesus is critiqued in chapter 5. Evans points to the lack of evidence for first-century Galilean Cynics, antipathy to Roman rule as revealed in the Jewish revolt of AD 66-70, commitment to Jewish laws and customs as demonstrated by the exclusive use of Jewish pottery by Jews in Galilee, and in particular the Jewish and non-Roman character of Sepphoris prior to 70. All of this amounts to a hometown. Nazareth was close to Sepphoris, and a region that was hardly touched by Greek culture. But Sepphoris was also a regional centre where Greek was the language of administration and administrative interaction between city and country. The influence of the Greek-speaking cities surrounding Galilee should also be considered. To be clear, there is no case for Jesus the Cynic, but Greek influences – particularly when it comes to language – should not be underestimated.

Chapter 6 deals with the propensity to extract sayings of Jesus from their contexts by attributing their narrative settings to the early church rather than to the life context of the historical Jesus. The next step for some is to differentiate between sayings of Jesus and 'sayings' of the church. As Evans counters, the evangelists did situate traditions, but not with deceptive intent. The similar content of a number of rabbinic parables demonstrates the folly of

rejecting authenticity because the actions of protagonists seem exaggerated or incredible. Using the parable of the wicked tenants as an example (Mk. 12:1-12), he surveys a number of interpretations that reject the context (see Isa. 5:1-7; Ps. 118:22-23). However, while the point is well taken that context is important, the argument that literal Israel can only be the vineyard of God overlooks the fact that Israel has always been spiritual as well (see Rom. 2:28-29; 9:6-8).

Evans appeals again to criteria – multiple attestation, dissimilarity (to contemporaneous magic and sorcery), potential for embarrassment (e.g., inability to work miracles in some places because of unbelief) – to establish the authenticity of Jesus' healings and miracles (chapter 7). To reject the miraculous is to overlook important aspects of Jesus' work. Contemporaries recognised the extraordinary nature of his powerful works (see Mt. 9:8; Mk. 1:22, 27; 9:38-40; 12:42; and parallels) in which the kingdom (or rule) of God and his Messiah was present and revealed and the kingdom of darkness overcome.

Other subjects covered are dubious uses of Josephus with respect to John the Baptist and Pilate (chapter 8), and the invention – often by projecting the second century back on to the first – of multiple, competing 'Christianities' and Gospels (chapter 9). The latter has encouraged a plethora of books – by authors such as Barbara Thiering, Michael Baigent (whose claims and methodology are faintly reminiscent of Morton Smith and the so-called 'Secret Gospel of Mark'), Dan Brown and, to some extent, James Tabor – which ignore historical evidence and exploit the ignorance and gullibility of modern society (chapter 10). Evans concludes by reviewing a number of important aspects of Jesus and the movement he founded. These include his relationship to Judaism, his self-understanding and aims (again driven by the mistaken view that Jesus wanted to restore the sovereignty of literal Israel), his death and the meaning of his resurrection for the early church, and the reliability of the 'essential core' of the Gospel accounts. Finally, two brief appendices negatively evaluate *agrapha* (isolated sayings, possibly by Jesus, from various sources) and the *Gospel of Judas*.

The value of this book lies in its willingness to meet sceptical scholars on their own ground. By fair and careful use of historical method Evans demonstrates the shortcomings of radical criticism. As D. Moody Smith said some years ago, 'I think it is not unfair to suggest that we are seeing now a willingness or propensity to credit the independence and antiquity of the apocryphal Gospels that is somewhat surprising in view of what is allowed in the case of the canonicals' ('The Problem of John and the Synoptics in Light of the Relation Between Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels', in A. Denaux (ed.), *John and the Synoptics,* BETL 101; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992, 151). This is precisely the kind of unhistorical bias that characterizes radical scholarship. Evans is right to conclude that the 'old story' is 'far more compelling than the newer, radical, minimalist, revisionist, obscurantist and faddish versions of the Jesus story that have been put forward in recent years' (235).

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Richard S. Hess, *Israelite Religions: an Archaeological and Biblical Survey,* Grand Rapids: Baker Academic and Nottingham (UK): Apollos, 2007, pp432, USD 35, ISBN 978 0 8010 2717 9.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

The study of religion in a historical context is notoriously difficult. What people believe, assent to and practise personally, filially, socially and nationally is rarely consistent, never static and may not be easily reducible to a series of propositions in any written or spoken language. This diversity is acknowledged by Hess who argues in this book that, 'while there existed a bewildering variety of religious beliefs and practices in the relatively tiny states that were Israel and Judah, this does not exclude, in terms of logic or evidence, the possibility of a single core of beliefs among some that extended back, perhaps far back, into Israel's pre-exilic past.'(15)

In particular this book is intended as an introduction to the subject; it reviews approaches to the study of religion, assesses earlier studies of Israelite religion and history, describes the context of West-Semitic religions and catalogues the evidence from the Old Testament and archaeological sources. The book is systematically presented; each chapter has topic headings at the beginning and conclusions at the end together with an extensive reference list.

Richard S Hess is the Earl S. Kalland Professor of Old Testament and Semitic Languages at Denver Seminary. He is the editor of Denver Journal, Denver Seminary's online theological review journal, and the Bulletin for Biblical Research. Dr. Hess earned a Ph.D. from Hebrew Union College, an M.Div. and a Th.M. from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, and a B.A. from Wheaton College. His research has taken him to universities in Chicago, Jerusalem, Cambridge, Sheffield, Scotland, London and Münster. He has worked on translations and has authored 8 books and commentaries.

Hess uses a working definition of religion to be 'the service and worship of the divine and supernatural through a system of attitudes, beliefs and practices.' Israelite religion is not necessarily biblical theology as the texts reveal but 'beliefs and practices that diverge from those the texts advocate.' (16) 'Israel' is roughly defined spatially as those occupying the highlands of Canaan during the Iron Age (1200-586BC).

Hess reviews some approaches to religion that are found to contribute to a framework for the study of Israelite religions. Émile Durkheim provided a social background to the practices described in the biblical text. Mircea Eliade demonstrated that religion should be studied in its own right and not in a reductionist manner, and that it was important to be aware of symbols and forms. E.E. Evans-Pritchard gave tribal religion significance by showing that the lives of its practitioners were rationally ordered according to their own systems. He showed the importance of morality and sacrifice, as well as the need to identify how religious forms relate to one another and to study culture and religion without imposing value judgments.

When considering previous studies of Israelite religion Hess turns to the Documentary Hypothesis outlining its short comings. He is comfortable dividing the Pentateuch into narrative and prophetic, priestly and cultic, and covenant and legal material, however he is not comfortable with the Hypothesis which prejudices the date, authorship and origin of the material and so he dispenses with it.

The review of recent studies of Israelite religion is interesting. Ugaritic material features regularly and the identity of gods, archaeological material and monotheism are often discussed. Hess seems to support John Day's analysis of the Ugaritic gods of El, Asherah and Baal, and the Israelite's Yahweh. He devotes considerable space to the works of Mark S. Smith and Ziony Zevit who carefully document relevant textual and archaeological evidence. These scholars discuss the pantheon of gods known to ancient Israel proposing a comparatively late date, seventh or sixth centuries BC, for the adoption by Israel of a single god, Yahweh. Hess concludes that there are now more questions than there were a generation ago and that syntheses and sweeping generalisations no longer hold; instead he sets out to look at the evidence accepting its diversity and not driven to find a comprehensive synthesis.

Evidence for second millennium BC religion in the Levant is reviewed. In addition to Ebla, Mari and Ugarit, the material from Emar displays many ritual similarities with the Levite priestly traditions. In Palestine, Hess notes areas of external influence; the Hittites and Hurrians in the north and Jordan Valley, Egyptians in the Jezreel Valley and West Semitic along the coastal plain. Temple features are mentioned but there is no analysis of their design. A structuralist analysis of temple plans undertaken by the author yielded results consistent with Hess' conclusions (Davey, C.J. Temples of the Levant and the buildings of Solomon, *Tyndale Bulletin* 31, 1980, 107-146).

This background covers about a third of the book. The next third deals with evidence from the Old Testament. The Pentateuch is divided into the narrative and legal, and the priestly and cultic. Parallels and antecedents for names, narratives, legal traditions and cultic practices and structures are discussed revealing that nearly always they have been modified to suit the theology of the writers and editors.

The discussion on early Israel and the united monarchy deals with potential cultic sites, concepts of kingship and the significance of the description of the Solomonic temple. The writings of the divided monarchy deal with the literature, names, and epigraphic evidence. There is a lengthy discussion of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud texts mentioning 'Yahweh and his Asherah'. Hess accepts the common view that in popular religion Yahweh had a consort called Asherah. He notes that the evidence reveals a range of re-

ligions from a single god, Yahweh, and a variety of beliefs associated with a pantheon.

The chapter on archaeological sources for the divided monarchy deals with cult centres, domestic cult objects, iconography and burial customs. This is the material that many readers may turn to first, however the discussion is comparatively high level and assumes a fair amount of prior archaeological analysis. There are significant discussion of pillar-based female figurines and the Taanach cult stand.

Biblical and extra-biblical data is seen by Hess to be consistent. Features such as Yahwistic dominance in personal names reveals that at some level Yahweh was the sole deity, but the overall evidence shows that polytheism was always present. Hess sees two extremes, the prophetic religion of Yahweh and the Baal cult from Tyre attested by Ugartic texts, Philo of Byblos, Phoenican-Canaanite temples and names.

In concluding, Hess sees the Iron Age II as the crucial time for studying Israelite religion. He considers that it had a certain level of continuity from earlier West Semitic religion to later Phoenician and classical belief. It also had its distinctiveness, which is difficult to identify from the archaeological record because of the aniconic nature of Yahweh, but may be detected in theophoric elements in personal names. Also characteristic are the female pillar figurines and the general absence of male images. The area occupied by the northern kingdom of Samaria shows more continuity with West Semitic religion than the south.

Hess' final suggestion is that the distinctions of Israelite religion held a schema of faith which enabled it to foster the great monotheistic religions of the Western world. This salutary thought seems a world away from the archaeological miscellanea mentioned in the previous paragraph. It does however make the point that the people who were associated with the objects and history examined in this book were an early part of a cultural milieu that we have inherited.

The final stages of the book are not as well organised as the beginning. Issues referred to in summaries and conclusions are sometimes not discussed in the relevant chapter. There are photos through out, but discussions of objects such as the Taanach cult stand would have benefitted from a drawing. Scales and dimensions are missing from images. Significant issues such as child sacrifice are passed over fairly quickly and information from Iron Age I and the Phoenician west are alluded to in quick succession.

These matters aside, this work will be a companion for most students studying the subject as it sets out the relevant material, introduces the issues in the context of the study of religion and Israelite history and provides the resources for studying the subject in greater detail.

Museum Exhibitions and their Catalogues:

Babylon: Myth and Reality, eds I.L. Finkel and M.J. Seymour, 2008, London: The British Museum Press, 238pp, £25, ISBN 9780714111704.

Babylon and Beyond: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C., eds Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans, 2008, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Yale University Press, 524pp+ xxiii, USD 50, ISBN 9781588392954.

Reviewed by Christopher J.Davey

The end of 2008 saw a number of significant Museum exhibitions in the United States and United Kingdom. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art mounted an exhibition opening on 18 November entitled *Babylon and Beyond: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, while in London The British Museum exhibition entitled *Babylon: Myth and Reality* also opened in November. Meanwhile the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was presenting the exhibition *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*. The editor was able to visit these exhibitions recently.

The Boston exhibition included many items that The British Museum has had difficulty displaying recently because of climate issues in a basement gallery. The palace reliefs on display in the ground floor galleries at The British Museum remained in London, but other reliefs and many artefacts from Layard and Mallowan's excavations were on display. One section of the exhibition was devoted to Layard and his wife who was pictured wearing refashioned Assyrian jewellery. Displays of Assyrian material are nearly always successful, as they are in this instance, because there are bold and substantial reliefs, statues and inscriptions together with the smaller detailed seals, tablets, jewellery, pottery, ivories etc. There was a substantial attendance when I visited, but as the Museum had made adequate space available and set the material out systematically, the crowd was not uncomfortable.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition, *Babylon and Beyond: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.*, is breath-taking in scope, as may be deduced from the substantial size of the catalogue. The exhibition follows the 2003 *Art of the First Cities*, which focussed on the third millennium. Forty-one museums and private collectors are listed to have contributed to the exhibition and the contributors to the catalogue are a Who's Who of Near Eastern Bronze Age scholarship.

The exhibition aims to present the global character of the Eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium BC by illustrating trading, cultural and diplomatic networks through archaeology and artefact. There are objects from the Uluburun shipwreck; in fact the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology contributed the largest number of objects to exhibition and they represent a focus of the exhibition. The artefacts including raw materials such as copper, tin and fiance, utensils and objects of art are displayed in the hold of a mock ship.

The second major focus was to be material from Syria, and in particular Ebla and the Royal Tombs of Qatna. Objects from these sites are in the catalogue, but are not on display. Instead objects from Ugarit and Mari in the care of the Louvre were present.

There is a discreet notice near the beginning of the exhibition stating that the Met thanks the Syrian government for its willingness to lend important objects to the exhibition, but expresses 'deep regret that recent legislation in the United States has made it too difficult and risky for the planned loans to proceed'. It seems that in January 2008 an amendment to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act permits private individuals claiming to be victims of state-sponsored terrorism to file liens against property belonging to that state while the property, which could include museum loans, is in the United States. It presents a sad irony that the world today may not be as 'global' as it once was.

Significant Mesopotamian items that were on display included the Old Babylonian Kneeling Worshipper (Louvre), the Nude Goddess (BM), the pyxis lid with the Mistress of Animals (Louvre), the cult pedestal of the God Nuska (Berlin). The Byblos material from Beirut was also impressive and there is a box of foreign objects from the temple of Tod near Luxor. Any one of these sites would have justified an exhibition, but to have objects from all of them in one place is unprecedented.

The lasting influence of the exhibition will be the magnificent catalogue. The images are of 'coffee table' quality and the commentary is documented and was prepared by international authorities. Around the catalogue entries are succinct contextual pieces describing the current understnading of the political and economic history, and cultural and technical development.

The fact that the book extends to over five hundred pages is an indication of the intricate knowledge that we now possess about the period. Long known sites of Babylon (Béatrice André-Salvini), Mari (Jean Claude-Margueron), Ugarit (Bassam Jamous), Byblos (Susy Hakimian) and Kultepe (Mogens Trolle Larsen) are described together with more recent investigations at Tell el-Dab'a (Manfred Bietak), Ebla (Paolo Matthiae), Qatna (Michel Al-Maqdissi and Danièle Morandi Bonaccossi) and Uluburun (Cemal Pulak). There are articles on ivory, vitreous material, jewellery, lapis lazuli, cedar, board games and so on. Metallurgy, pottery, carpentry and stone working are not covered. The main reference to raw materials is found in the discussion of the Uluburun ship-wreck. The maps are of exceptional quality and the drawings of the Qatna palace, Tell el-Dab'a and the Uluburun ship are useful and help set the scene.

The catalogue is intended for non-specialist readers however, someone without a general knowledge of the period and the geography of the Eastern Mediterranean will take time to read comfortably. All the information such as maps and timelines needed to gain such familiarity is in this catalogue.

The British Museum's *Babylon: Myth and Reality* is based on a completely different rationale. The focus is Babylon of the mid-first millennium, from Nebuchadnezzar II (602-562 BC) until the arrival of the Persian army under Cyrus II in 539 BC and the concept is interesting, drawing on archaeology, history and mythology, ancient and modern. The result is a fascinating journey through the history as we know it to the role Babylon plays in contemporary art and culture.

Twenty-six organisations and private collections are listed to have lent objects. The long history of German sponsored excavations at Babylon means that the Staaliche Museen zu Berlin is a major contributor, providing glazed brick reliefs from the Ishtar Gate, much inscribed material and the amazing onyx sceptre. Some of this material has never before been lent outside Germany.

The catalogue is well illustrated and documented. The object descriptions are not easy to read, the font used is a couple of points too small. The commentary is interesting and there are break-outs dealing with specific subjects such as the Fiery Furnace, the Neo-Babylonian kings of Babylon and the Hanging Gardens. The catalogue begins by explaining how Babylon was found and the slow realisation that the myths behind much mediaeval art may relate to a real civilisation. Robert Koldewey's excavations are described and the plan of Babylon he constructed is discussed together with the associated objects in the exhibition. Neo-Babylonian history and writings are covered before the subsequent history and legend are examined.

The Classical accounts of Babylon lead to discussions about the hanging gardens, to which archaeology can contribute little, and the walls of Babylon, also a contender as a wonder of the ancient world. Babylon at the time is reputed to have been fifteen miles square and surrounded by a moat and a series of walls, the main one having enough room on top for a four horse chariot to turn. The amount of baked brick involved was prodigious.

Also involving vast amounts of baked brick was the ziggurat. The discovery of the site of the ziggurat and the ancient descriptions of it are discussed, with Irving Finkel and Michael Seymour suggesting that the reference to baking bricks in the Genesis account of the Tower of Babel reflects a Neo-Babylonian construction technique. However the fact is that no structure with the vertical elevation of the Babylon ziggurat as it is described in the Esagil tablet could stand without baked bricks, and it maybe that the baking was done in earlier times by leaving the bricks in the sun for an appropriate length of time as opposed to kiln firing. Sun drying, after all, is a form of baking.

There are an intriguing discussions of the Jewish exile, Babylon under Nabonidus, and Belshazzar. The Stela of Nabonidus from Tiema, Saudi Arabia, is in the exhibition; this was published less than two years ago. There is an interesting discussion of Rembrandt's Belshazzar's Feast. The Cyrus Cylinder is seen as one of many possible carefully worded documents aimed at turning the inhabitants of Babylon against their tyrannical leadership. The subversive literature seems to have worked as Cyrus passed through Babylon's impregnable walls and took the city without a fight.

The Tower of Babel in art is discussed. Most portrayals draw on Roman architecture and the Colosseum in particular. The frontispiece is a 2004 digital artwork by Julee Holcombe depicting a collage of New York buildings occupying the Athenian Acropolis. This image returns to the economic vision of Babylon in the Book of Revelation where it is the merchants who weep over the city's destruction. Babylon as a city of sin is a recurring theme. The idea that when people congregate wrong-doing results has been around since the Garden of Eden and is behind many ideas of prison reform where prisoners are isolated. However the biblical stories of isolated nomads such as the Patriarchs show that this is not an Old Testament concept.

I remember one scholar arguing that Babylon was the Paris of the ancient world and kings who destroyed it, such as Sennacherib, were never forgiven; it also seems to be Rome and New York, a religious and a financial centre. The latter function does not get much space in the catalogue which sees Babylon's legacy in learning, mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

The Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, John Curtis, has visited Babylon and contributed to reports detailing of environmental and archaeological damage by the occupying armies. These reports prompted international outrage, and while there are still problems, some initiatives are being taken to reduce the threat. Recently as part of a joint Iraq – British Museum team facilitated by the British Army he visited Sumerian sites in the south of the country and was able to report that looting had ceased. Curtis says that 'It is hard to overstress the insensitivity involved in establishing a military camp in the middle of one of the most famous sites of the ancient world' (216). If the West's political leadership had an appreciation of the history and culture as it is presented in this exhibition and book, it is unlikely that they would have embarked on such a tragic adventure in Iraq.

Buried History

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