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and when nothing *could* or *might* be deduced from it other, or contrary to, what the reader was already supposed to know perfectly when he came to it; and when it was openly maintained that "the Pope might modify the words of God and of the Evangelists?"¹

But we shall find, as we proceed, that other circumstances beside secondhandness and dogmatic prepossession were injurious to the exegesis of Schoolmen; and that what was original in their methods and disquisitions became, in fact, a greater source of mischief than the *rudis indigestaque moles* which they heaped together from the writings of those who had passed away so many centuries before they began to produce their glosses and catenæ.

F. W. FARRAR.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

THAUMATURGISTS of all ages have sought to impress the multitude by claiming power to override the accepted laws of Nature; and many commentators on the Bible have laboured to prove that what they only seemed to accomplish, the Almighty enabled holy men of old to accomplish in fact, thus giving the world assurance of the Divine inspiration by which they spake. But the more we study the miracles recorded in Holy Writ, the more forcibly are we impressed by what has been termed their *economy*. So much, indeed, are the miracles spoken of in Scripture wrought by means of an extended use of the existing order of things, rather than by its violation, that we might almost lay down the rule, that the "mighty works," wrought on earth, either directly by, or with his aid, to whom nothing is impossible, differ mainly from those affected by mere traders in the miraculous in that, whilst the latter would have

¹ *Antoninus*, i. 17.

striven to shew that they were above Nature by setting her at defiance, the Divine Author of Nature's laws works by using rather than by defying them. This principle finds pre-eminent illustration in the miracles of our Lord; as where He feeds the multitude through the multiplication of loaves and fishes, instead of by turning stones into bread; and where He directs the servants to fill the water-pots with water that He may turn their contents into wine, instead of adding to the marvel by causing empty vessels to become full of wine at his word. Instead, however, of citing other examples of the economy of miracles furnished by the Gospel history, let us seek them in the pages of the Old Testament, with which we are now more directly concerned. Here, in like manner, we find the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil made use of as the germ from which the Lord brought forth food to supply the needs of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath and her son; the single pot of oil, belonging to the widow of one of the sons of the prophets, overflowing so as to fill the empty vessels, not a few, that Elisha bade her borrow; and the command given by the same prophet to Naaman to wash seven times in the river Jordan, instead of Elisha's striking his hand over the place and recovering the leper on the spot, as the captain of the host of the king of Syria had expected him to do. Passing over innumerable similar instances, and coming at once to the events immediately preceding the miracle which will more particularly engage our attention, no one can fail to be struck with the fact that most of the plagues of Egypt are simply the natural evils to which that land was especially subject intensified to an extraordinary degree; while the passage of the children of Israel through the midst of the sea is expressly attributed to the fact that the Lord caused the sea to go back *by a strong east wind*.

After it has been proved, therefore, as it has been proved beyond all doubt, that the east wind could never have

divided the waters of the Red Sea in such a manner as to enable the children of Israel to pass through the midst of it on dry ground, it surely behoves us not to evade the difficulty by denying the agency of the east wind, which Moses expressly declares was the means employed by God, and by saying that the more impossible it is that the east wind would cause the sea to go back, the greater the miracle; but rather to inquire diligently whether we have not ourselves fallen into error through accepting without question the locality usually assigned to the Passage of the Israelites. To the reader of the English Version it seems plain that the line of passage must have been somewhere on the Red Sea; but in the Original, the words יַם־סוּף, *Yam Suph*, do not mean the "Red Sea" at all, but "Sea of Reeds," and are therefore inapplicable to the Red Sea. The tradition which fixes the locality of the Passage of the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Suez is only of Moslem origin and carries no weight; so that we are free to seek for a new locality that shall better fulfil the requirements of the events narrated in Exodus xiv. than has hitherto been assigned to them by commentators.

The seekers, however, must necessarily be few; for though, like myself, many have travelled through the land of Egypt, only a small number have been able to sojourn in it long enough to carry on those diligent investigations into its physical features which could alone lead to the discovery of the true site. One of this small band of Biblical students is Canon Scarth, whose investigations have led him to fix upon a spot which completely fulfils all the requirements of the narrative of Exodus xiv. He has published a short account of his investigations in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Magazine*; but as this publication has only a very limited circulation, and as I have had the privilege of learning further details from Canon Scarth himself, both by word of mouth and by letter, I will endeavour to make known at

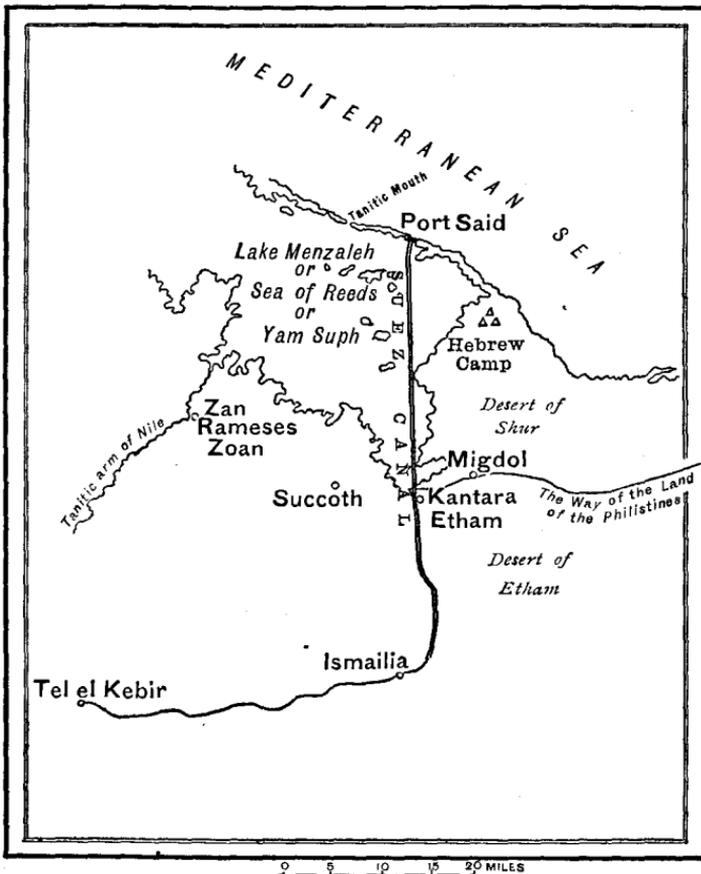
greater length, and to a wider circle of readers, the results of the Canon's observations and researches, that they may judge for themselves as to the merit of his discoveries, premising only that the philological arguments on which he relies are based upon the authority of one of the first Egyptologists of our day, as well as upon that of distinguished Hebrew and Greek scholars.

Canon Scarth agrees with Dr. Brugsch and Mr. R. S. Poole in identifying the present fishing village of Zan or San with the Zoan of Psalm lxxviii. 12 and Numbers xiii. 22, and with the Rameses of Exodus xii. 37 and Numbers xxxiii. 5. This once magnificent city was called Tanis by the Greeks, and gave its name to the arm of the Nile on which it was situated. The mud brought by this branch of the great river has formed the broad piece of land which separates Zan from Lake Menzaleh, but it is probable that in the days of Moses the town lay much nearer to that lake than the modern village does. The now bleak and sterile plain around Zan is called by the monuments the "plain" or "field of Zoan," and was in olden times a pleasant region, in the midst of which stood the fortress of Tan or Zan (also called Ta, Za, Zor and Zoru, "a fortified place"). Adjacent to this fortress Rameses II. erected a new town, with stately temples and shrines, and changed the name of the place to Pi Rameses, "the city of Rameses." Of this splendid city only its ruins now remain, but from the numerous shattered obelisks, and the fine capitals, shafts, and bases of columns lying about in grand confusion, we can form some idea of what the temples must have been in the zenith of their glory. Colossal statues of the mighty conqueror and zealous builder meet us at every turn, all inscribed with the name of Rameses II., and one of them bearing an additional inscription in which he is styled "destroyer of foreign nations,"—a fit title for one who was

at that very time seeking to destroy the Hebrew foreigners; for almost all Egyptologists concur in holding Rameses II. to be the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The name of his son and successor, Meneptah I., the Pharaoh of the Exodus, is also to be seen on many of the ruins, proving that he carried on the work of building at Pi-Rameses. The principal temple occupied the centre of the town, though not its highest part, for the houses were grouped around it on artificial mounds so high as to deserve the name of hills. These mounds, which are still in existence, overlook the whole land of Goshen; and on the night of the first Passover, that memorable "night of the Lord," "the hosts of the Lord" might have been seen, from the mounds of Zoan, moving onwards in the bright moonlight as one man towards their appointed goal.

"Their first camping-place," says Canon Scarth, "was Succoth, '*booths*'; in that district the people dwell in booths at the present day: the next Etham, identified by the Khetham of the Egyptian papyri translated by Brugsch Bey. The royal palace at Rameses, the halting-place in Succoth, and the border 'fortress' Etham, are all mentioned in extant documents, one day's journey intervening." Etham, or Khetham, which is represented on a monument of Seti I. at Karnak, as a fortress occupying both banks of a river, its opposite parts being connected by a bridge, is believed by Canon Scarth to have been in the vicinity of the modern Kantara (the chief halting-station between Ismailia and Port Said on the Suez Canal), the name of which place signifying "bridge," perpetuates the memory of the ancient bridge uniting the double fortress. Mr. Scarth found the site of Etham marked by the ruins of a large city; and on a frieze forming part of the remains of a temple he saw the cartouche of Rameses II. carved in red granite. At Kantara there is a ferry that plies in connection with the old caravan route to Syria, which passed

close in front of Etham. This is "the way of the land of the Philistines," the desert road to Gaza that is believed to have been the track by which the Holy Family took the flight *into* Egypt: but the flight *out of* Egypt was not to be by this near route to Palestine, across the river of



Egypt; for "it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near*,¹ for God said,

¹ "Literally, because it was near, the very nearness made it objectionable, because it would have brought them very soon into the country of a warlike enemy." *Bp. Wordsworth.*

Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt." Lest, therefore, the Israelites should fear to face the well-armed and disciplined Egyptian garrisons of the line of fortresses that guarded the eastern frontier of the land of the Pharaohs, or rather perhaps lest they should be discouraged by the continued attacks of the enemies they would have encountered along the old caravan route to Palestine, the Lord caused them on reaching Etham to turn from east to north; and "God led the people about through¹ the way of the wilderness of the יַם־סוּף, *Yam Suph*, 'Sea of Reeds.'"² This is the second time the *Yam Suph* has been spoken of in the Book of Exodus; the first mention of it being in connection with the plague of locusts, these insects having, we are told, been cast by a west wind into the *Yam Suph*. From the "field of Zoan," that the locusts had been ravaging, the distance to the *Yam Suph*, the modern Lake Menzaleh, was only a few miles. Etham, however, is nearer still, for here we stand on the very edge of the Sea of Reeds, an oblong expanse of salt water a thousand square miles in extent,

¹ "Or rather, God made the people to turn toward the wilderness of the *Yam Suph*." *Bp. Wordsworth*.

² Exodus xiii. 17, 18, "Red Sea" in our English Version, a mistranslation, founded doubtless on the words *ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* adopted by the Septuagint, at a time when the Greeks (who neither knew, nor would have cared to know, what name certain Hebrews who were bond-slaves in Egypt more than a thousand years before, had given to Lake Menzaleh) were well acquainted with the Sea of Reeds, and had already named it the Red Sea; not without reason, for its waters are often tinged with reddish sand, especially at the period of the inundation of the Nile, when branches of that river flow through it charged with red soil from Ethiopia.

In the two places in which the *Yam Suph* is referred to in the New Testament the Septuagint nomenclature is followed, but it is probable that in verse 36 of the Hebrew speech of St. Stephen, of which Acts vii. gives the report in Greek, and (if we hold with Clement of Alexandria and others that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew) also in Hebrews xi. 29, the words first used were *Yam Suph*, which were afterwards altered into *ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* (Red Sea). The ancient Egyptian name for Lake Menzaleh or the *Yam Suph* bore the same meaning as the one given it by the Israelites; so does that used in the Coptic Bible.

intersected to the east by the Suez Canal that cuts through the long low bank of sand which bounds the Yam Suph on the north. At this end its waters are clear of vegetation. Canon Scarth thus describes the lake: "It is quite a sea, for from its centre its own horizon bounds it, but the broken edges of mirage-like islands tell that land is near. The hundreds of beautiful lateen sails that are its only ornament shew what a busy place it might be, were there myriads of slaves to keep up the embankments that in Egypt's golden days held back this salt water from the land of Zoan, when the Nile mingled its flood with the lagoon of this Sea of Reeds. The long narrow strip of dry ground before mentioned prevented the ready exit of the water of the Nile into the Mediterranean, and still prevents it; so when the inundations come, part of the once fertile field of Zoan becomes a brackish marsh, for the waters of the sea and river intermingle and flood the plain. On my way to Zoan I crossed this inland sea with a glorious breeze. Its inner (or southern) border next to Goshen is lined with reeds, so that at the present day the entrance to the Tanic branch of the Nile, which leads to Zoan, is invisible from the Yam Suph; but, thanks to floating buoys of reeds the channel can be traced, and the river entered." It was this southern part of the Sea of Reeds with which the Israelites had long been acquainted when they gave it that descriptive name; and the exuberant growth of reeds (*Suph*), mentioned in the above quotation as characterizing this portion of Lake Menzaleh at the present day, still testifies to the fitness of the title bestowed on it by them centuries ago.

Had the Israelites pursued their course in an easterly direction, and quitted Egypt by the way of the land of the Philistines, they would have soon lost sight of the Yam Suph. But the Lord commanded Moses to "speak unto

the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea;" and in obeying this command the Hebrews continued to keep the Sea of Reeds at no great distance on their left, as they had done ever since leaving Rameses.

When Canon Scarth was at the ruins of Etham, he enquired of several Arabs who were with him, "Where is Migdol?" wishing to ascertain whether their answer would confirm the opinion he had been previously led to form as to its northward position. They all pointed towards the Mediterranean, and said it was distant half a day's journey in that direction; just where the Migdol of the Roman itinerarium is placed in the French map of the Suez Canal, where it is called "the Migdol of the Bible." Both its Semitic name of *Migdol*, and its Egyptian name of *Samut*, signify "a tower," and the latter name is preserved in the modern Tell-es-Samût, on the outskirts of the Desert ("the wilderness of Shur" of Exod. xv. 22), which probably occupies the site of Migdol. At a spot north-east of Migdol, now called Râs-el-Kasrûn, the shrine of Zeus Casius once crowned the summit of a hill, and possibly marked the site of the place "over against" which the Israelites were directed to encamp. The word Baal-zephon occurs in a papyrus in the British Museum in the form *Baali Zepûna*, "Lord of the North," the very meaning of the words seeming to testify to the *northern* situation of Baal-zephon. Pi-hahiroth, the Bible tells us, was "by the sea," that is, by the Mediterranean, for the Hebrews had now reached its shore, and had pitched their tents on a triangular tract of land, bounded on the north, east and west by the Mediterranean and the Yam Suph (Lake Menzaleh), and on the south by the Desert of Shûr.

As the Israelites gazed across its dreary expanse they saw clouds of sand arising in the distance, and there was borne

upon their ears the sound of the tramp of a mighty army. Nearer and nearer it came, till out of the sand wreaths emerged the pomp of martial array, and the shuddering fugitives saw too clearly that Pharaoh and all his host were pursuing after them, and would overtake them in a spot where all chance of escape seemed cut off. Loud and bitter were their murmurings against the Lord and against their leader; but the faith of Moses stood firm, and he encouraged the people with the prophetic words, "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will shew you to-day, for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day¹ ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace. And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward." In what direction was it possible for them to go forward? Situated as the Israelites were when they received this command, they could only have fulfilled it by advancing a small number abreast along the low narrow strip of sand mentioned before as forming the boundary between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Reeds; a march that might well have seemed in the eyes of men only calculated to expose them to more certain destruction.

But the Ruler of the wind and sea "caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into² the midst of the sea upon the dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left." The part of the Yam Suph which lies to the eastward of the Suez Canal has lately been in a great measure reclaimed from Lake Menzaleh, and turned into land, so that we cannot now trace these

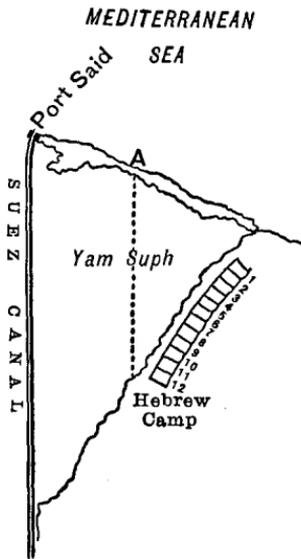
¹ Or rather "as ye have seen the Egyptians to-day" (for on the morrow the Israelites saw them dead). *Bp. Wordsworth.*

² α should here be rendered "through," as in Exod. xiv. 16.

remarkable effects of the east wind on that side of the Sea of Reeds, as we can still do to the west of the Canal where, as Canon Scarth says, "the waters of the Yam Suph can be seen, *when there is a strong east wind*, going back so rapidly that shoals of fish are left dead on the shore, the sea is changed into dry land, the waves flow back, and a way is opened through the midst of the sea, a practicable roadway for a host. The waves of the Yam Suph thus recede at Port Said, and there is a stretch of water between the Arab town and the French town that becomes dry by this process, and people walk over it as a short cut when it is so dried. What happens at Port Said under the lee of the houses and of the Canal bank, would have happened with intensity on the far eastern shore where there was nothing but the sand. At that end of the Sea of Reeds, the east wind, blowing its waters back, made a way for the children of Israel to the dry ground along which they deployed, with the sea as a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left."

I have drawn a dotted line upon the sketch map on the next page, shewing the extreme limit to which Canon Scarth believes the Yam Suph to have flowed back under the influence of the east wind, a distance which, be it observed, would have enabled the Israelites to move forward in accordance with the Targum tradition, that each of the twelve tribes walked on the line expressly made for it right into the midst of the sea. Not all abreast, however, but in rotation; Canon Scarth's view being that the twelve tribes were encamped side by side in a line along the east shore of Lake Menzaleh; and that as its waters began to recede, the tribe occupying the North flank, and marked 1 on the sketch map, first entered the Yam Suph straight in front, and proceeded till it reached the strip of sand dividing the Sea of Reeds from the Mediterranean. As the waters continued to flow back, a way was opened for tribe 2 to do

the same; but both because it would have to traverse a greater expanse of the dried-up bed of the Yam Suph, and because the first tribe had got the start of it, it would find on reaching the strip of sand, that tribe 1 was already marching ahead of it along that narrow bank. This would be the case with each succeeding tribe, so that by the time tribe 12 got to *A*, tribe 1 would have reached the spot now occupied by Port Said, and the whole host would be on the dry land, with sea on either hand.



A marks the spot where the Mediterranean broke through. The dotted line shows the extreme limit to which the Yam Suph receded.

At *A* the Mediterranean breaks right through to the Yam Suph whenever a strong west wind is blowing; and when this actually took place after the Israelites had passed, the very sight of the waves dashing grandly over would deepen the sense of security enjoyed by God's chosen people, as they gazed from their halting-place at Port Said

on the dividing wall of water which parted them from the foes they had so greatly dreaded.¹

The Egyptians, tempted by seeing the way through the midst of the sea still open, thought it would be as easy for them to traverse as it had been for the fugitive Hebrews, and dashed heedlessly forward along it. But "it came to pass that in the morning watch the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians, and troubled the host of the Egyptians; and took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily, so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel; for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." Here, again, we find the God of nature using its forces as his ministers; for, true to the signification of its name, even to the present day is Pi-hahiroth "the place of abysses or quicksands." Canon Scarth relates how when walking along the strip of sand parting the two seas, when the waters had gone back, he found the sand near this very Pi-hahiroth so dry it scarcely took the impression of a camel's foot; but that this was merely the deceptive and treacherous surface-covering of a quicksand was proved by his pressing the tip of his walking-stick into the ground which suddenly swallowed it up nearly to the hilt. The wheels of the Egyptian war-chariots (which we learn from the monuments were frequently of metal) had just the same effect as the ferule-end of the walking-stick in piercing through to the quicksand that lay beneath the hardened crust, which had proved strong enough to support the feet of the children of Israel, as it still does those of the modern traveller. The wheels of Pharaoh's chariots either got detached from their axles,

¹ The following calculations have been furnished by an authority in military matters: "1,000 British soldiers camp on 350 yards by 150. The encampment of the Israelites on the shore of Lake Menzaleh was 6 miles long. Taking the march at 2 miles an hour for all—the first division leaving at midnight would be at Port Said by dawn; and tribe 12 leaving at four would be at A by seven. The Egyptians entering the sea at five would be in the centre by six."

and stuck fast in the quicksands, or the chariots and their occupants were together sucked down into the abyss, and, to use the words of Moses in his song of triumph (Exodus xv. 12), "the earth swallowed them." Such as escaped this fate perished by drowning, for a mighty storm (see Psalm lxxvii. 16, 17) arose from the west, and, as Joshua afterwards related to the descendants of the Hebrew fugitives, "the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen into the Sea of Reeds (Yam Suph). And when they cried unto the Lord, he put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought the sea (the Mediterranean) upon them and covered them." To quote once more the language of Canon Scarth: "Moses and his people were safe on the dry ground; they could see the utter overthrow of their enemies; they could see how the wind not only carried back the waters over the midst of the sea, but how the foaming billows stood upright as a heap. From their place of refuge, the part of the narrow bank where the sea is a defence upon the right hand and upon the left, it is grand, when there is a strong gale from the west, to see the great waves, and the surf running very high, and threatening to overwhelm the long strip of land where the Israelites found themselves so secure. Excepting on Chesil Beach, and on the south coast of Ceylon, I never saw such a glorious surf. The children of Israel's first impression of the mighty waves that appeared to threaten them, but were kept within bounds, and spent their strength upon the open beach of "the Great Sea," must have astonished them as much as when the sea went back and became a way for the ransomed to pass over. The Great Sea itself was a new wonder to these bond-slaves who had been accustomed to look out through a forest of reeds upon the placid sea which borders the plain of Zoan. The very reeds make a natural breakwater, so that there can be no surf upon the southern shore of Lake Menzaleh,"

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast than it there presents to the same Sea of Reeds at this its northern end: and we can imagine with what awe the children of Israel must have watched its waves rolling back again in their strength to their accustomed place, so that the bed of the Yam Suph, which had been a way of life for the ransomed to pass over, became a grave for their enemies, who "sank like lead in the mighty waters."

The utter destruction of Pharaoh's host having been accomplished through the agency of the west wind, this wind, having fulfilled its purpose, ceased to blow, and the Hebrews were enabled to retrace their steps along the bank of sand and to return to their own camping ground at Pi-hahiroth. In passing by the place where the Mediterranean had broken through, "Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore. And Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians, and the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord, and his servant Moses."

In Exodus xv. 22 we are told that "Moses brought Israel from the Sea of Reeds; and they went into the wilderness of Shur: and they went three days in the wilderness and found no water." This wilderness took its name from the "wall," called in Hebrew "Shur," built there some hundred and fifty years before the Exodus, as a defence against the Hyksos or Shepherd kings. From Numbers xxxiii. 8, we learn that the next three days were spent by the Israelites in wandering through the wilderness of Etham, where we do not hear of their suffering from any scarcity of water, a fact which need not surprise us if we bear in mind that the word *midbar*, translated "wilderness" in our version of the Old Testament, so far from being synonymous with "an arid desert," is actually derived from "*dabar*" "to drive cattle to pasture." Again, the children of Israel went not "the way of the land of the Philistines,"

although it was once more *near*; but, continuing in a southerly direction, they pitched their camp at Marah, which Canon Scarth agrees with Dr. Brugsch in identifying with the present Bitter Lakes intersected by the Suez Canal, for in them we recognize "the waters of Marah" of which the Israelites could not drink, "for they were *bitter*."

It is hard to refrain from tracing further the wanderings of the children of Israel, but it would be beyond the scope of the present paper to do so, as it has only been written in the belief that the minute agreement of every detail of the physical and topographical features of the places suggested as the scenes of the events of the Exodus, with the Bible narrative, tends greatly to elucidate this most important portion of God's word.

A. G. WELD.

ISAIAH: AN IDEAL BIOGRAPHY.

V. UNDER HEZEKIAH.—THE EGYPTIAN ALLIANCE.

THE ambitious foreign policy of Hezekiah received, as we have seen in the case of Merodach-Baladan, a check at the hands of Isaiah. But it would seem that the king yielded in the letter rather than in the spirit. The Shebna party, the "scornful men" who sneered at the prophet's preaching, were still dominant in the king's counsels, and Eliakim, if he opposed their designs at all, offered but an ineffectual protest. The defeat of Merodach by Sargon, his retreat from Babylon, and the capture of that city by the Assyrian king, as recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions,¹ attested the wisdom of Isaiah's counsels; and probably, during the remainder of that king's reign they contented

¹ Le Normant, *Ancient History*, vol. i. p 395.