

with the idolatry going on there, and the prophecy delivered by Jeremiah?

Colonel Warren says: "the Arabic accounts speak of the Kedron as the Wâdy Gehinnom." ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 239.) This is true. But the name is against the theory. The Kedron is a true ravine, and the Arabs call it the Wâdy Kedron; when speaking of it east of the Temple Area, and independent of its relation to the valley south of the Temple Hill. But *Wâdy Ge-Hinnom* means ravine of the Valley Hinnom, which is technically correct, for Kedron is the ravine or wâdy which runs through the valley in front of the Ophel Hill, and of the Pool Siloam. If the word *wâdy* was equivalent to *valley*, they would say Wâdy Hinnom, but never Wâdy Gehinnom, which is what they do say. They never apply the word *gai* to the ravine, and say Ge-Kedron, as they say Ge-Hinnom; yet they say Wâdy Kedron, but never Wâdy Hinnom. These objections might be multiplied a hundredfold; but I refrain, that my note may not be too long.

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NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE EXODUS.

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Archæological Institute).

THE importance and interest of this subject will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient excuse for my making a few observations upon Lieutenant Conder's paper in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1880.

In his first section Mr. Conder sums up his arguments based upon the extension of land due to the annual deposit of mud upon the Mediterranean coast, by stating that "in all probability neither the bar nor the lagoon (of Serbonis) existed at all in the early historic period of the Exodus. The old Serbonian Bog has no doubt (!) long since become dry, as the present lagoon appears also likely in time to become, and the fact pointed out by Mr. Greville Chester that the Gelseh (*i.e.*, Mount Casius) is merely a great sand-dune is of considerable importance in confirmation of this view." p. 232.

Now in respect to this statement I have to remark that while I totally disbelieve that the Serbonian Bog is the *Jam Sûph*, for reasons given in my report of my journey to the place in question, and while I consider Dr. Brugsch's theory of the route of the Israelites as far as Mount Casius, probably Baal-zephon, as *in its main features* a highly probable one (how the Israelites got away from that point is another and different question to be dealt with hereafter), I am disposed to consider Mr. Conder's remarks already quoted as destitute of any solid foundation in fact whatsoever. While fully admitting the advance of land into the sea by the

processes of deposit and silting up on the coast to the *West* of Gelse Hemdeyeh (the presumed Pi-hariroth), I am convinced by personal observation that such operations or processes are not in progress at the present time to the East of that point, and I am strongly disposed to doubt whether they *ever* were. In fact, whether from a reflux from the Eastward set of the tides from the mouths of the Nile or from some other natural cause, the tendency of the Mediterranean from Gelse Hemdeyeh to El Gelse, and thence to the Eastern end of Serbonis is not to *deposit* but to *encroach*. The low Gelse of Hemdeyeh has been shorn of its ancient proportions by the set of the marine currents, and some of the ancient fortifications which crown its low elevation have been undermined by the waves and have fallen upon the beach. I have no sort of doubt that the Ras once extended further seawards than it does at present. This is indicated by the existence of an ancient well-shaft in the face of the present cliff; and the existing stone walls of fortification which are adapted to a sea frontage were in all probability built as a kind of breakwater when a portion of the formerly existing town had been swept away. It is worthy of remark that the sea itself even for some miles West of Gelse Hemdeyeh has ceased to be muddy as it breaks on the shore, and all along the strip, from one end to the other of the Serbonian Lake, the water of the Mediterranean is as bright and clear as it ever is when the bottom is formed of sand. But further, the highest portion of the sand-dune of el Gelse (Baal-zephon) itself has apparently been bisected by the waves, and even when the sea is perfectly calm, as it was on the day of my visit, it is all one can do to pass between the sea and the headland. Driven by a north wind, the waves would doubtless impinge upon the cliff. And here again there is not deposition but encroachment. In short I am convinced that if the Serbonian Bog had any existence at all in ancient times it must have existed upon its present site, and upon none other. It could not, as Lieutenant Conder fondly imagines, have been situated to the *South* of its present area, and since have disappeared, because the hills of the Gebel, which, in places, are of considerable elevation, dip right down into the Lake. In other words there is no room for the Serbonian Lake between the Mediterranean and the Gebel in any other position than that which it occupies at present.

II. The hypothesis advanced by Mr. Conder at the beginning of his third section seems scarcely fairly put, for he assumes too much, and much indeed which is contrary to fact. He says, "If the distances implied by Brugsch are impossible, and the supposed route along the sand-spit was not only an unnecessary detour, but impossible, because no such spit then existed," &c., p. 233. Now "the supposed route," along the sand-spit was not, and Mr. Conder has not even attempted to show that it was, "an unnecessary detour." I believe, on the contrary, and the testimony of Sheyk Arâdeh and his Bedaween confirm my belief, that the coast-route from Egypt to Syria to the *North* is as short, and even *shorter* than that through the Desert to the *South* of Lake Serbonis, and it is only rarely used at the present day by the Arab passers-by between

Egypt and Syria, from the impossibility of calculating beforehand whether or no a passage across the inlet at the spot called El Saranit at the Eastern end of the Lake could be effected at the required time, for when the sea is rough the transit is impossible.

I cannot understand why Lieutenant Conder should assume that "no such spit then existed," if by the word "spit" he means the strip of sand along which I journeyed between the Sea and the Lake. If the strip of sand which forms the Northern shore of Serbonis did *not* exist, then Serbonis would not be a lake at all, but a portion of the open Mediterranean, and I have already given sufficient reasons for concluding that the "great Serbonian Bog" could have had no other position than that it at present occupies.

My reasons for suggesting that Tell el Hfr is the site of the Migdol of Exodus and the Magdolon of the Greeks, are that at that point I found not only the remains of a city of large extent and evidently of considerable importance in ancient times, but that at the same place I found a massive square *tower* of crude brick, the remains, evidently, of a strong and important frontier fortress. The Tel es Semût of Dr. Brugsch and several maps, I failed to find at all, and I am altogether at a loss to know why the Bedaween unanimously denied the existence of a Tel bearing any such a name. Mr. Conder jumps to the conclusion that it is an Arabic name, and translates it "Hillock of Acacias," but acacia trees do not grow in the Desert, and Dr. Brugsch claims the name as ancient Egyptian, and the place as having been in the XVIIIth dynasty the most Northern point of Egypt. He states that King Amenophis IV summoned workmen from the city of Elephantine to Samout, from one end, that is, of his empire, to the other. A similar collocation of places is mentioned in Ezek. xxix, 10, and xxx, 6, where the rendering of the A. V. "from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia," is sheer nonsense, but is corrected in the equally authoritative margin, "from Migdol to Syene." It is worthy of note that there are several places in Egypt bearing names similar to Samout, of which the large town of Samanhood is a good example. Upon what authority, for he advances none, Mr. Conder says, p. 234, "The Baal-zephon of Brugsch has been *proved an impossible identification.*" I am altogether at a loss to imagine. Who has "*proved*" it? On the contrary, such a competent scholar as Professor Sayce considers the identification to be nearly certain, and where, if not at Mount Casius, could such a name and place as Baal-zephon be looked for? It is a curious fact, and worthy of note in passing, that a more northern Baal-zephon, now Jebel el Akra in Northern Syria, had also its ancient shrine succeeded by a Temple of Zeus Kasios.

And here I would state that although I discovered by personal inspection that Dr. Brugsch's *Isthmus* from the Gelse to the mainland has no existence in fact, and proved that the Serbonian Lake, being a mere brine pit with a shifting bottom, and consequently without either a lacustrine or marine vegetation, neither is nor could have been the Jam *Sâph*, I am yet strongly inclined to believe that, omitting minor

details, Dr. Brugsch's proposed route of the Israelites from S^{án} is, in the main, the truest and most probable one yet proposed *as far as Mount Casius*. At that point, however, as I showed in my former paper, I part company with Brugsch Bey. The Israelites could not have crossed the Lake Serbonis by a non-existent Isthmus!

What course, then, supposing them to have reached El Gelse, could the flying people have pursued, when ordered by Divine intimation to desist from their direct route into Phœnicia, by the way or road of the Philistines? And here a point meets us of considerable importance. It is remarkable that throughout the *direct* narrative there is no mention of a *Jam S^{áph}*, or *Sea of Reeds*, at all. The *Jam*, the *Sea* alone is spoken of. The Israelites were commanded to encamp not by the *Sea of Reeds*, but by *the Sea*, which can scarcely be understood of any other body of water than the Mediterranean, cf. Exod. xiv, 2. Again we are told that the Egyptians with all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh overtook the Israelites encamping *by the Sea*, beside Pi-hariroth, before, or over-against, Baal-zephon, Exod. xiv, 9. Moses, again, stretched forth his hand *over the Sea*, and the Lord caused *the Sea* to go back by a strong East wind, and made *the Sea* dry land and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of *the Sea*, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left, Exod. xiv, 22. And the Egyptians pursued and went in after them (upon the track made by the division of the waters) to the midst of *the Sea*. Then, when the chariots "drave heavily" and the Egyptians, convinced that the Lord fought against them, had turned to flight, the Lord said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand *over the Sea* that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, upon their horsemen." And Moses stretched forth his hand *over the Sea*, and *the Sea* returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of *the Sea*. And the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, all the host of Pharaoh that came into *the Sea* after them, there remained not so much as one of them, Exod. xiv, 23-28. Now it is surely a remarkable circumstance that in all this *direct* narrative not one word is said about any *Jam S^{áph}* or *Sea of Reeds*. The *Sea* is alone spoken of, and that in a manner suitable to the physical features of the region between the Gelse Hemdeyeh, the presumed Pi-hariroth, and El Gelse, Mount Casius, the presumed Baal-zephon. It is not until we come to the Song of Moses in the next chapter that any mention is made of a *Jam S^{áph}* at all, and this, coupled with the fact that the term *Jam S^{áph}* is unquestionably applied in other passages to the Gulf of Akábah, cf. Exod. xxiii, 31; Judges xi, 16, may surely arouse the suspicion that the term *Jam S^{áph}* (translated Red Sea in Exod. xv, 4) may have crept into the sacred text of the triumphant poem sung by Moses and the Beni-Israel without due authority. If this indeed *be* so, the way would seem comparatively clear. The Israelites advancing from Zoan Rameses, through Succoth, the booth or tent-country of the Nomad settlers, and passing Etham (possibly Tel Defneh) and Migdol (Tel el Htr), would

have encamped before Pi-hariorth (Gelse Hemdeyeh) between Migdol and the sea, with the height of Baal-zephon bounding their view in the dim distance in front. At this point, with nothing but the narrow strip of land between the "Gulfs" of Serbonis and the Mediterranean in front, and with the wild desert behind—truly "entangled in the land"—they would have been overtaken by the King of Egypt and the Egyptian host. These last, it appears, halted to rest, probably from the fatigue of the hurried pursuit, and to prepare for their attack upon the host whom they felt they had, as it were, driven into a corner, and who could not escape them. Then began the passage of the host of Israel between the waters upon the narrow strip of land, which by the action of a strong east wind all night was wider than usual; and consequently easier for the passage of the sons of Israel, who "went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground," and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand (the side of Serbonis) and on their left (the side of the Mediterranean), Exod. xiv, 22. When morning dawned the Egyptians first seem to have found that their prey was escaping them, and they too adventured in pursuit upon the sandy strip between the waters. But the Lord Jehovah fought against the Egyptians, and at the stretching forth of the arm of the Hebrew leader over the sea, the Lord "blew with His wind" and the sea returned to his strength and the waters returned and overwhelmed the chariots which already had drave heavily in the shifting sands, and overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, so that there remained not so much as one of them; and, looking back, Israel saw the corpses of the Egyptians upon the sea-shore.

Now if this be a fair comparison and adaptation of the sacred narrative to the physical features in the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean and Lake Serbonis, it will be seen how well the former is suited to the latter, and how admirably constituted the district in question must have been for the escape of the one host, and for the destruction of the other. When too there is added to these considerations the extreme improbability that the Israelites, whose object it was to get out of Egypt and out of reach of the Egyptian people as soon as possible, would have taken a Southerly course from Zoan, and passed through or skirted along Egyptian territory in the direction of Suez, and beyond that taken a route close to the Egyptian Establishments and garrison at Sarâbet el Kadîm in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, it will appear almost certain that the route advocated by Dr. Brugsch and traversed by myself is the actual one pursued by the people of Israel. It is surely far *more than a mere coincidence* that on the direct road between Zoan Rameses and Phœnicia an occasionally wave-swept track should be found with the waters on the right hand and upon the left! When, however, their pursuers had been engulfed and they saw their dead bodies strewn upon the sea-shore, what was the most probable course taken by the fugitives? Here it must be admitted that great doubts and difficulties intervene. If the Israelites had reached Mount Casius (Baal-zephon), the only place on the strip of sand which affords space for a numerous host, they could not,

when relieved of their immediate fears of pursuit, have crossed over directly to the main-land, because there is at that point no isthmus or tongue of land across the lake. Nor, in all probability, would they have continued their onward route along the strip and crossed at its Northern extremity, even if at that time there were no inlet from the sea, for that course would have been directly in the teeth of the Divine intimation that they were not to follow the way or road of the Phœnicians. They would be therefore compelled to retrace their steps along the strip again left dry by the return of the Mediterranean to its usual level by the action of a wind blowing across the Lake, as far as Pi-hariroth, or rather a little beyond it, and then, doubling round the end of Serbonis they may have turned in a South or South-easterly direction into the Desert of Shur.

In what direction would they then in all probability have turned their steps? Mr. Philip Smith has suggested to me that in three days (if indeed this expression may not be a round rather than a certain number) the Israelites would have reached the Bitter Lakes, which he would identify with the Marah of Exodus. This view, however, seems to me to be open to two objections. Some at any rate of the Hebrew host must be supposed to have known that the lakes were bitter beforehand, and consequently the fugitives would rather have avoided them than directed their steps towards them. And, secondly, the position of the Bitter Lakes is such that the host in advancing from Pi-hariroth would have had to skirt the hostile Egyptian territory all the way, if indeed the Lakes were not in Egyptian territory itself. The so-called Scrapeum near Ismailia, where large Egyptian remains have been discovered, are no great distance from the Bitter Lakes, and the latter would have been on the direct route to Sarâbet el Kadîm and the other Egyptian stations of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula. The object of the Israelites being to *avoid* the Egyptians, they would surely have given them and their country as wide a berth as possible. It seems, therefore, far more likely that on leaving Pi-hariroth they should have taken a South-easterly, rather than a Southerly course into the desert, and it is in that rather than in any other direction, I take it, that the key to the difficult question of the route of the Israelites should be sought for and will be found.

In conclusion, I venture to add a few notes which may serve to illustrate the general question.

One of the principal French maps of Lower Egypt marks the Lake Serbonis as *Lac desséché*. Whether this was the result of an actual survey of the Lake I am very much inclined to doubt; I doubt also whether even when the inlet at El Sarânît at the Northern end was closed the Lake was ever entirely dry. The rush of water into the Lake at this point at the present time, described by me as "like a mill-race" seems to prove not only the immense amount of evaporation incident to a body of water some fifty miles in length and bordered by the burning sands of the desert, but also that the lake is at a lower level than the closely neighbouring Mediterranean. Now if this be so another fact demands consideration. The strip

of sand between the waters is so narrow and of such an easily permeated material—loose sand with here and there detached slabs of conglomerate formed of shells and sand, bound together by the decomposition of the lime in the shells by moisture—that one cannot doubt that water is supplied to the Lake by infiltration from the Mediterranean, as well as by natural inlets. Now if this be the case, the lake would never be dry, never merit the term *desséché*; although it might at times be rather a bog than a lake.

Investigators of the route taken by the Israelites after the catastrophe which overtook their pursuers, will henceforth have to take into account the arguments of the anonymous author of "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt," who endeavours, and that with considerable force, to prove that Mount Sinai is not in the "Siniatic" Peninsula at all, but in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. In this connection I may state that the range of mountains to the South of Serbonis called by the Bedaween Hâleh (?Halal) were described to me by the Suarka Sheik Arâdeh as possessing springs and abounding in fine pasturage. If then the Israelites were on the way from Pi-hariroth to Mount Hor, they might have passed through Jebel Hâleh, and would there have found sufficient pasturage for their flocks and herds, which they could scarcely have done amidst the arid and burning defiles of the tract generally received as Sinai. This point, and the exact meaning of the expression Yam Sûph in connection with the Wilderness in the later Sacred Books, deserve careful investigation.

NOTE.—The sketch map which accompanied my previous paper on my journey from Sân to El Arîsh makes no pretensions to minute accuracy, and is intended only as a rough approximation to the places indicated.

LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE.* By Rev. F. A. KLEIN.

(From the *Zeitschrift of the German Palestine Exploration Society*.)

THE present inhabitants of Palestine (that is to say the sons of the soil, may be divided into three tolerably distinct classes:

- I. The inhabitants of the large towns (*madanî*, pl. *madanije*.)
- II. The villagers (*fellâh*, pl. *fellahin*, peasants, agriculturists, from *falah*, he cultivates, tills the land).
- III. The Bedawin (*bedawi*, dwellers in the desert), who consider them-

* Herr F. A. Klein (the discoverer of the Moabite stone) no longer lives in Palestine, but he had 26 years' experience of life in the Holy Land, and in his position of pastor of the Protestant Arab community—which he held for five years in Nazareth and the rest of the time at Jerusalem—he found many opportunities of holding familiar intercourse with the Fellahin.