

Palestine ; in Syria the myrtle is called *rīhāne*), peppermint (*na'na'*), and similar odoriferous plants. Flowers without any odour are not appreciated. The author of Canticles points to flowers of an odoriferous character, and calls them "*thy plants*," speaking of his spouse (Cant. iv, 14). After enumerating the *nard*, the *karkōm*, the *kāneh*, and *kinnāmōn*, he says "trees of *lebhōnāh*," or odours (v. 14).

A flower on a shrub or small plant is *hanūn*, blossoms of trees are *zahr* ; but when they ornament themselves with a flower in the hair generally, it is called a *shukla*, "nosegay." The flower-pots are very often built into the low inner wall of the terrace, looking into the home courtyard, or are placed along the outer wall, on an elevation above the terrace.

The terraces and courts are open ; it might be expected that they would be very dirty. But in quiet towns, where industries are far away from habitations, no soot or dust falls, and the houses are tolerably clean. People who have been busy outside leave their shoes and slippers at the entrance, thus mud is not easily carried in ; women are more in than out of doors. A broom, *mīknasa*, or *mīkashsha*, is also kept for the cleanliness of the terrace and court, but is only used occasionally. The Hebrew broom was called *ma'atē'* (Isaiah xiv, 23). The privy, very poetically called "place of repose," *mestarāh*, is away in a corner of the terrace, as in the case of Ehud (Judges iii, 24), or near the entrance gate, below the stairs.

(To be continued.)

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS: FROM PITHOM TO MARAH.

By Lieut. VICTOR L. TRUMPER, R.N.R.

In 1864 Dean Stanley, writing on the above subject in his book *Sinai and Palestine*, says: "the localities, both on the march and before the passage (of the Red Sea), are described with a precision which indicates that at the time when the narrative was written

they were known with the utmost exactness. Unhappily, it is an exactness which to us now is only tantalising. It is for the most part only by conjecture that any places mentioned can be in any way identified." However, much has happened since then, and the labours of M. Naville in placing beyond all reasonable doubt the position of Pithom, and the work of the Sinai Survey in giving us the site of Marah, has placed us in a position to identify with tolerable exactness the route of the Exodus. In studying the subject I have been guided principally by the suggestions in Sir J. W. Dawson's *Egypt and Syria*, the various writings of Dr. Wallis Budge, and the Rev. John Urquhart's *New Biblical Guide*, Vol. III, and the points on which I differ from those authorities have been the result of a personal investigation of the locality.

Before we go any further it is best to consider the geographical features of the Isthmus of Suez as they were at the time, not as they are now, for the assumption that they are the same now as in olden times has been responsible for all the confusion that has arisen. First we will take the geological evidence, which is to the effect that the Isthmus has tilted on an axis which lies just north of Lake Timsah, the northern part of the Isthmus having been depressed and the southern part raised. We know that up to the year about A.D. 500 the district north of Lake Timsah was a flourishing and fertile country, but after that time the sea began to encroach and by about A.D. 1200 the whole district was submerged, and the place converted into the swampy salt-water lagoon now known as Lake Menzaleh. The centre of the Isthmus just north of Lake Timsah, known as el-Guisr, is about 50 or 60 feet above sea-level, and has been land according to Sir J. W. Dawson since the Pleistocene period. Now with regard to the southern part the geological evidence is very conclusive that at no very distant date the Red Sea extended up to the Bitter Lakes, and in all probability up to Lake Timsah into which an arm of the Nile emptied itself after flowing through the Wady Tumilat, or in other words the land of Goshen. Between the Bitter Lakes and Suez the ground is perfectly level except for a few flat-topped hillocks which show traces round their edges of having been sea beaches. Strewn all over the plain are modern Red Sea shells which cannot have been many centuries out of water; also all along the foothills of Jebel Geneffe are undoubted traces of old sea beaches, and in parts a sort of clayey conglomerate interspersed throughout its entire depth

with rounded water-worn stones, so much worn that I am of the opinion that they cannot have been so worn by torrents coming down the hillside but must have been worn by the action of waves on a beach. The desert between Jebel Geneffe and the Great Bitter Lake is strewn with flints, those near the hill being comparatively sharp-edged, while those nearer the water are much more rounded and blunt, indicating prolonged action by moving water.

The foregoing is a summary of the geological evidence for the continuation of the Red Sea north of its present limit, but there is one piece of monumental evidence which I think is fairly conclusive. The town of Suez has been identified by some with the ancient Clysma, but I do not think on any surer foundation than that ancient writers speak of Clysma as being at the head of the Red Sea, and the modern town of Suez is also at the head of the Red Sea: and I know of no ancient remains at or near Suez which would lead to its identification with Clysma. During the excavations at Pithom a Roman milestone was discovered inscribed "from Ero to Clusmar eight miles." The place called Pithom, anciently Pa Temu, "the abode of the sun," was called Heroopolis by the Greeks and shortened into Ero by the Romans (who also had a military station there). So here we have a definite point Ero, and eight miles distant is Clysma, a town at the shore of the Red Sea: that brings the Red Sea at least six miles further north than the present limit of the Great Bitter Lake. Whether the Red Sea extended actually to Lake Timsah I am uncertain, though I think it probable, but the narrative as recorded would not make that a necessity for consistency. On referring to the accompanying sketch, the present limits of the lakes and Red Sea are shown in plain lines, and the probable shore line of the Red Sea in ancient times by dotted lines.

The city of Pithom, called by the natives Tell el-Maskuta, was excavated by M. Naville in 1884, and proved beyond a doubt that the city was called Pa Temu (Pithom in Hebrew) and that it was situated in the district of Thuku (Succoth in Hebrew). The word translated treasure city in our Bibles means store city, and was simply a military store depôt from which the armies proceeding to Syria or Sinai could be provisioned. The remains laid bare show immense numbers of chambers, most of them without entrances, the walls of which are three to five feet thick built of sun-dried bricks made of Nile mud. In some of the chambers, about five or six feet from the ground, are rows of holes in the walls with charred ends

of beams still in place, showing that the place was probably destroyed by fire. But the most interesting fact to the Biblical student is the two sorts of bricks which are clearly visible in distinct courses, one sort showing unmistakable traces of straw having been used in its manufacture, and others showing little or no traces of straw.

The town of Rameses has not been identified yet, but as it and Pithom are both called store cities, there is little doubt that it was on the eastern frontier of Egypt, possibly to the northward of Pithom, where it would serve as a *dépôt* for the armies starting for Syria *viâ* Kantarah, just as Pithom would serve as a *dépôt* for troops destined for the Sinai Peninsula. Now we have seen before that Pithom was situated in the district of Succoth, so it was probably near to Pithom that the first encampment was made, Exodus xii, 37.

There is an inscription of the date of King Menepthah relating to an enclosure or stronghold in the land of Succoth where travellers to or from Egypt were examined or permission given to pass, and no doubt Moses had to encamp here and show the written permission of Pharaoh to depart before they were allowed to pass, for we know that "red tape" is not of recent manufacture.

The next encampment was "in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness," Ex. xiii, 20, which we know was to the eastward of Lake Timsah. M. Naville connects the name Etham with the Egyptian word *Atuma* which is applied in an ancient papyrus to a district in this region; anyhow several lines of indirect reference leave us little doubt that the name Etham and the district which extended westwards as far as Lake Timsah are one and the same.

The next order was for the Israelites to retrace their steps somewhat and "turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth" The reasons given in the Biblical narrative are that God is yet to be honoured upon Pharaoh. The awful plagues, culminating in the death of the firstborn, seem to have had no real effect in breaking Pharaoh's pride, and there was to be yet one more judgment which would completely vindicate God's honour and avenge the oppression of Israel. However, there were strategical considerations which no doubt made the people willing to abandon the shortest route to the Promised Land. Going by "way of the land of the Philistines," Ex. xiii, 17, would mean a long desert journey of eight or ten days with comparatively little water, certainly not enough for such a host, and the people would be ill prepared for such an ordeal, to say

nothing of the warlike tribes they would meet on the southern borders of Palestine. The retrograde movement would have the effect of keeping them in touch with abundance of water and also in one day's march they would be in a position where at any rate both flanks would be protected.

Before we discuss the position of the next encampment, let us go on to our other fixed point, Marah, and work back from that. The modern name Ayun Mousa, "Wells of Moses," would in consequence of the well-known persistence of Eastern traditions, be very strong evidence in itself that Marah and Ayun Mousa were one and the same, but the erroneous idea that the crossing took place at Suez caused other places to be identified with Marah in an attempt to fit in the requirements of the narrative. The Sinai Survey, to which we are indebted for the fixing of Marah, has also shown us beyond a doubt the whole route as far as Sinai, and the Biblical narrative compared with their ordnance map will convince the ordinary mind that the former was written by someone who himself took part in the journey. And it must be remembered that the Survey party were not a party of Empress Helenas looking for bits of the golden calf, or Moses' rod, or marks on the rocks where the tables of the law bumped down the mountain side, but a party of military surveyors with the theodolite and measuring chain who would allow no evidence but what was in strict accord with modern scientific requirements, and which led the late Professor Palmer, who was one of the Survey party, to state that they afford "satisfactory evidence of the contemporary character of the narrative."

In Ex. xv, 22, 23, we find that after the passage of the Red Sea they travelled for three days in the wilderness of Shur, and found no water till they came to the waters of Marah. There is no doubt that the wilderness of Shur is that tract of land to the eastward of the Isthmus of Suez and immediately north of the Sinai Peninsula, from the several references to it in the Bible, and also the identifications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Shur means a wall, and it is worthy of note that the appearance of a slightly raised plateau to the eastward of Suez has a very wall-like appearance. Now, we find from the information given us by the Ordnance Survey of Sinai that the Israelites travelled about ten to fifteen miles a day, and allowing ten miles a day for three days northward from Marah brings us to a point opposite the south end of the Great Bitter Lake, as the site of their crossing. If they crossed the sea further

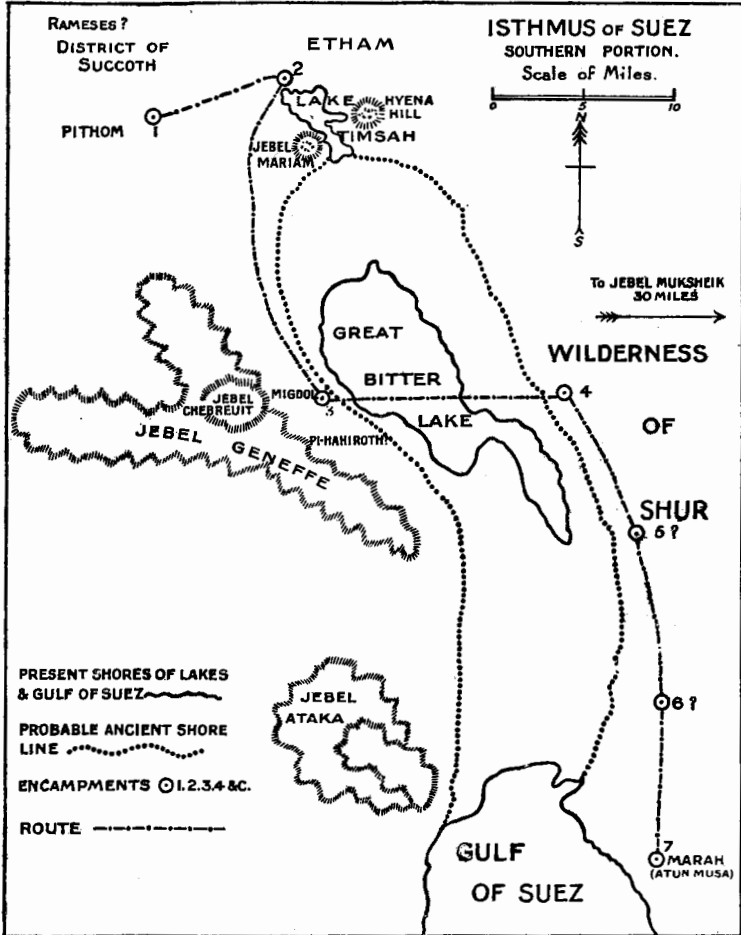
south it would mean that they were wandering aimlessly about for three days in the desert, wanting water, and yet within easy reach of Marah, the existence and position of which must have been well-known to Moses and probably many others of the host.

Having reached a point on the east side of Red Sea as the probable site of the passage across, let us go back and see whether our identifications lead to a point on the west shore corresponding with this. We have seen that after leaving the encampment in Etham the Israelites were told to "encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon," Ex. xiv, 2, and again in verse 9 we find them encamped "beside Pi-hahiroth before Baal-zephon." Now a march of fifteen miles, which they would probably do, not being obliged to carry water with them—abundant supplies being available in the neighbourhood—would bring them to some point between Jebel Geneffe and the Great Bitter Lake, and it is here that most authorities place the scene of the passage of the Red Sea. However, there is difference of opinion as to the identification of the three places named in verse 2, and the two names in verse 9. Pi-hahiroth is believed to mean "place of reeds," Migdol means "a watch tower," and Baal-zephon means "Lord of the North." Pi-hahiroth may have been a village or, at any rate, a piece of marshy ground near the sea-shore in the position indicated in the accompanying sketch. Migdol has been identified with the peak of Jebel Ghebrewet, and for Baal-zephon, Jebel Mariam, Hyena Hill, Jebel Muksheik, and Jebel Ataka have been suggested as identifications. However, I think there is grave doubt as to these identifications for both Migdol and Baal-zephon. Taking the latter first and remembering that as evidently there was no name for the actual place, it was most carefully fixed by its proximity to three other places. Jebel Mariam is a rather conspicuous flat-topped hill about 70 feet high, but as we have been led by two converging lines of reasoning to a place between Jebel Ghebrewet and the sea, it is not likely that Jebel Mariam, a place thirteen miles away, and much nearer the previous day's encampment, would be used to fix so definitely a place of such importance. The same may be said of Hyena Hill, only more so, as it is less conspicuous than Jebel Mariam, and I have reason to believe is little more than a sand dune. Jebel Muksheik is nearly thirty miles away in the desert to the eastward, and does not contain any well-defined peaks, so I think it is unlikely that that would be used

to fix their position, and the same applies to Jebel Ataka which although high (2,700 feet) contains no conspicuous peaks, and is twenty-five miles distant and much nearer Marah than any other point on the journey. I have shown, I think, the weakness of the identification of any of these places with Baal-zephon, but evidently it was more important for fixing the place than Migdol, as it is mentioned in both verses 2 and 9, while Migdol is only mentioned in the former. To make my meaning more plain I would propose a slightly different rendering of verse 2, viz.: “. . . . before Pi-hahiroth, between the Migdol that is over against Baal-zephon, and the sea.” There are ancient references to watch towers on the eastern frontier of Egypt, and it is not at all unlikely that there were a series of “block houses” running down the coast from Pithom southwards. There would probably be one opposite Jebel Ghebret, and if we assume Jebel Ghebret to be Baal-zephon and a line drawn through that and a Migdol near running down to the shore, we have a position, the possible error of which cannot exceed two or three miles, which space would easily be occupied by the host of Israel. The place is good strategically, as their eastern flank would be protected by the sea and their western flank by the foothills of Jebel Geneffe, which are very broken and would present insuperable difficulties to Pharaoh’s expeditionary force of six hundred chariots, so that they could only be attacked from the rear. The reasons which led me to identify Jebel Ghebret with Baal-zephon, are primarily, the obvious importance attached to it in the Biblical narrative and the difficulty of finding any other satisfactory place, and secondarily the name itself. One knows that ancient names generally “fitted” the place, and I think Lord of the North fits Jebel Ghebret well. It is a very sharp pointed cone—the summit is only about ten yards square, and the sides are very precipitous—it is the most conspicuous feature of the landscape for miles around, and from the top there is a most extensive bird’s-eye view of the country round, and it is the *only* peak in the whole of the Nile Delta north of Jebel Ataka; so I think it would well deserve the name “Lord of the North.” It may be objected that the Israelites would never have encamped near a Migdol if that was a fortified outpost; but I do not think that objection is so cogent as it seems on the face of it, for it is known that at the time Pharaoh had to repel an invasion of Libyan tribes on the west, and probably the eastern garrisons were depleted on that account, and

Palestine Exploration Fund.

ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE LIEUT. V. L. TRUMPER'S SUGGESTED CROSSING OF THE RED SEA.

after all, they had had the royal permission to depart and had been allowed to pass the gates at Succoth, so it is not likely that the men in this outpost would attempt to stop them, and such a host as Israel could easily prevent messages reaching them of Pharaoh's change of plans and his pursuit.

We have now reached a spot on the west side of the sea opposite the spot we were led to on the east side and, as the lake between is comparatively shallow, I think we can identify this place as the site of the most momentous event in the past history of Israel, and ponder it with care and reverence as the type of what baptism is to the believer after he has been redeemed by the slaying of the Passover Lamb.

A DAY IN A FELLAH VILLAGE.

By PROF. R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

THE following extracts from some old notes of mine, not originally intended for publication, may be of interest. They were made while the Fund was working under Dr. Bliss's direction at Tell Zakariya.

18th September, 1899.—This has been an exciting day in the annals of Zakariya, and we have had to bear our share. No less than five weddings have taken place to-day, and the whole village is keeping holiday in consequence. For the last 10 days or so, every night, there has been a *fantasia* in the village. Of the five, four were weddings of Zakariya people: the fifth was a marriage of a Zakariya boy with a girl from the village of Edh-Dhenibbeh, about six or eight miles away. Brides cost money, and the cheapest way of getting a wife is to exchange an unnecessary sister or other female relation with a friend, which is what the Zakariya youth last named has done. He has succeeded in passing off a widowed connexion on his Dhenibbeh acquaintance in exchange for a juvenile bride, aged ten.

It is usual to deck out the bride in red, heavily veiled so that none of her face can be seen. She is then put on a camel, escorted by the other women, who walk behind decked out in gaudy colours,