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but for the heaven of being now and always in tune with the will of God, at one with the very spirit of heaven, and for a salvation which embraces the whole nature of man and extends to every race and kindred and tribe.

ALMONI PELONI.

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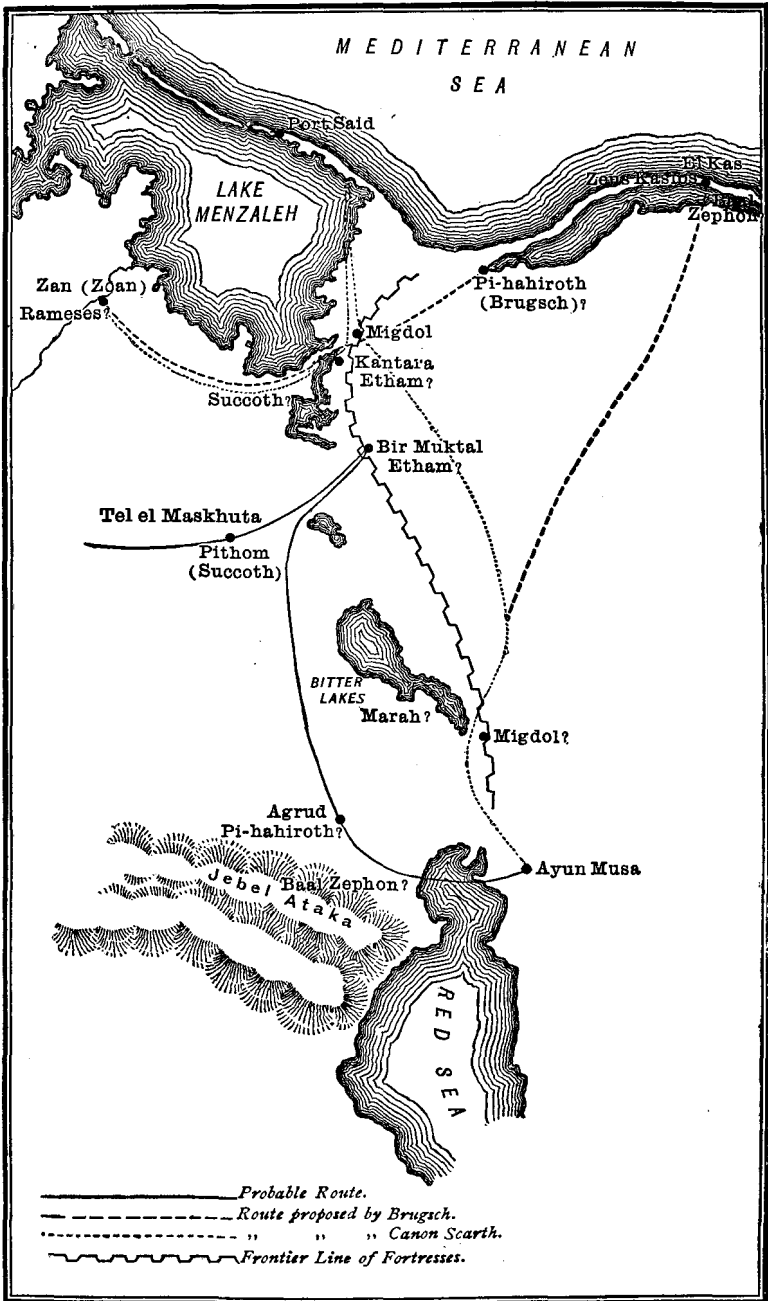
### THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

EXODUS xiii. 17-xiv. 4.

IN the papers contributed by Miss Weld to the EXPOSITOR of last September, and to the Quarterly Statement for July of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the impossible theory of Canon Scarth is abandoned for another constructed by the author herself. This, however, amounts to little more than an approximation to the famous hypothesis of Brugsch. It is even *less* possible, by reason of its violent assumption of a junction between the Menzaleh and Sirbonian lakes.

Hypotheses are manifestly necessary to the advancement of our knowledge. No science, whether of History, Language, or Physics, can make one step of progress without them. But hypotheses sometimes hinder as well as help. The theory advocated by Brugsch with so much wealth of illustration in 1874-5 has had its brief reign. It is now finally extinct. The researches recently conducted in the Wady Tumulât have their signal reward in disproving a very alluring conjecture, and in furnishing us with at least one definite clue.

This essay is intended to be supplementary to the remarks contained in my brief article of last June. I propose to examine carefully the text of Exodus xiii. 17-xiv. 4, and also to cite evidence which must render Brugsch's hypothesis of a Northern Route altogether untenable. The



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sooner that hypothesis, and all its varied modifications, are finally consigned to the limbo of exploded theories, the better for our progress in true Biblical knowledge.

I. The opening verses of the *Parashah* commencing at Exodus xiii. 17, we would render as follows: "Now when Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them by the way of the land of the Philistines, though that was near; for God said, Lest the people repent when they see war, and turn back to Egypt. So God led the people in a circuit by the way leading to the wilderness, to the Yam Sûph."<sup>1</sup>

After a reference to the preservation of the bones of Israel's great national hero, which were carried away by the departing hosts of the great caravan, we pass to an enumeration of the opening stages of Israel's journey.

If however the reader consults the sketch-map, he will find that the host was moving in precisely the direction in which, according to the previous verses, it was God's intention that Israel should *not* go.

But when we reach Chapter xiv. 2, the true purport of the above verses becomes perfectly clear. The purpose of Jehovah only became known to Moses after the temporary check sustained at Etham (Khetam). Israel then reversed the direction of his march, and took an entirely different route.

Now the curious phenomena of the narrative can only be properly understood when we realize the composite character of the Pentateuch. The laborious critical investigations which have been pursued in Germany for about a century, have at length reduced both the Pentateuch, and the Book of Joshua, to their definite constituent elements. The mode in which these elements are combined we shall proceed to illustrate.

Verses 17-19 are of entirely different authorship from

<sup>1</sup> Of this geographical term I have spoken in my former paper. The construction is here according to Ewald, *Hebrew Syntax*, § 281 d.

those which follow. They were written by the Second Elohist,<sup>1</sup> who belonged to the Northern Israelite kingdom. His writings were characterized by a prophetic spirit, and by an elevation and breadth of view, standing in marked contrast with the more systematic and matter-of-fact style of narration that belongs to the writer of the "Book of Origins" (or "Priestly Annals" as the Graf-Wellhausen School designate it).<sup>2</sup> These traits are visible in the brief extract that lies before us. In the first place, the whole series of events are looked at purely from the Divine standpoint. Elohim is the supreme power that guides the earthly destiny of his people. Instead of leading them by the nearest route to Canaan, He chooses a circuitous path. In the second place, we have a touch of tribal enthusiasm in the special allusion to the bones of the great father of Ephraim, and his solemn injunction to his people.

But in Verse 20 we pass into the lower region of circumstantial narrative. It will be observed that it almost exactly fits on to Chapter xii. 37, and is also nearly identical in words with Numbers xxxiii. 6. The verse was evidently placed here by the Redactor of the Pentateuch. Nöldeke holds that the list of stages in Numbers xxxiii. was the compilation of the Author of the "Grundschrift" (Book of Origins).<sup>3</sup> While admitting that it exhibits certain numerical details which point in this direction, there is no reasonable ground for doubting that its *ultimate* origin

<sup>1</sup> This writer is variously named. Ewald calls him the "Third Narrator," Schrader "the Theocratic Narrator," Hupfeld "the Second Elohist." It was the distinguishing merit of the last-mentioned scholar that he was the first to exhibit the distinct individuality of this author as contrasted with that of the "Grundschrift" or "Book of Origins" (Ewald). Nöldeke, building on the foundations which had been so ably laid by Hupfeld, endeavoured to shew that the passages of the Second Elohist contained in the Pentateuch were those which were adopted by the Jehovist, or Fourth Narrator (Ewald), into his historical work.

<sup>2</sup> The reader should compare the graphic words of Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.*, pp. 45, 92, 110.

was the hand of Moses himself, who wrote a brief record of the Desert stages, and probably recounted the main events which signalized the various spots at which Israel encamped.

The closing verses of Chapter xiii. belong to the Jehovistic (Jahvistic) narrator. Here again, as in the case of the Second Elohist, we perceive a deeply religious element entering into the history. Jehovah moves before the host in the pillar of cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night.

The opening verses of the fourteenth Chapter are in the words of the Priestly Annalist (*Grundschrift*). It is not necessary to suppose that, in the original work of this Author, these verses immediately succeeded the words contained in Chapter xiii. 20. The various writings which enter into the Pentateuch were evidently freely employed by the Redactor, and omissions of considerable extracts in the documents were made to prevent repetition or want of harmony in the narrative.

II. Thus far we have endeavoured to exhibit the varied texture of the Exodus story. There is a dovetailing of different documents. Three among the main elements of which the Pentateuch is composed are present in the short extract which has been analysed. And the apparent inconsistency of Verses 17-19, with the statement in Verse 20 immediately disappears when we realize the fact that we have here to do with three different documents, each describing from its own particular point of view, and in its own characteristic manner, the grand events of Israel's flight from Egypt.

And, now, let us follow the events in chronological order. We shall thus find a deep significance in the opening words of the Second Elohist.

In the first place, it is evident that, in the mind of all the narrators, it is not the wilderness that is regarded as the ultimate destination of the Israelite march, but Canaan, the

land flowing with milk and honey. This is clear from the very first; compare Exodus iii. 8 with the song of triumph Exodus xv. 16, 17.

The starting-point in the journey was Ra'mses. This place, and Pithom, are named in close conjunction as store-cities (Exod. i. 11). We may assume that they were not far from one another, and were the chief centres of Hebrew population. Of the discovery of Pithom (*i.e.* the Pithom, notwithstanding Lepsius, who even still adheres to the view Miss Edwards has abandoned), I spoke in my former paper. Since then, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole has contributed to the *British Quarterly Review* (July) a very interesting description of this ancient store-city. "Within the enclosing wall," says this writer, "the whole area, about 10 acres in extent, is seen to be full of large square pits, which, on closer examination, prove to be solidly built chambers of various sizes, but all of the same general appearance." The partitions separating these chambers were of brick made *with*, and *without*, straw. The rooms seem to have been two-storied, the upper story containing the entrance, while the lower was reached by a trap-door.

But is Pithom necessarily Succoth? The evidence that can now be adduced scarcely leaves any room for doubt on this point. Brugsch had already shewn in his magnificent work, the *Dictionnaire Géographique* (pages 80, 637-46), that both Pithom and Khetam (Etham) belonged to the *Thuku* district, and that the name *Thuku*, or *Thukot*, would be applied *par excellence* to Pithom, the metropolis of that district, containing the temple where Tum or Âtum was worshipped. The same writer has also shewn the fact of an equivalence between the Hebrew  $\text{D}$  and the Egyptian sign for  $\Theta$ . Thukot is therefore without question the Hebrew סכות (Succoth)<sup>1</sup>. But we have another testi-

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch appears to have been partly led to place Pithom on the shores of lake Menzaleh by the passage occurring in the Anastasi Papyrus vi.:—"the

mony, which is decisive. At Tell el Maskhuta has been discovered a fragment, bearing two cartouches of Rameses II. and *the name of Succoth* (*Academy*, April 7).<sup>1</sup>

The site of Pithom being thus ascertained, the position of Ra'mses should probably be placed somewhat further to the west. The next stage to Succoth is Etham (Khetam). From the words of the Hebrew narrative, as we interpret them, we can only hold this to have been north-east of Succoth. For the reasons stated in the former paper, we conjecturally placed Khetam, with Ebers, at Bir Muktal. To those who hold that every station mentioned in the Bible marks a day's march, this might seem too distant from Tell el Maskhuta; but as there is no Scripture warrant for believing that every night-encampment is recorded, such an objection falls to the ground. The point, however, on which we should desire satisfactory evidence is that Bir Muktal came within the Thuku district.

Hitherto Moses had guided Israel by the most direct route to Canaan, the ultimate goal of Israel's wanderings. His intention appears to have been that the people should enter the Promised Land by the way of the Philistines, *i.e.* by the S.W. border of Palestine. It was in this direction he was now marching. But the attempt to pass the strong fortress of Khetam, garrisoned by Egyptian soldiers, presented insuperable difficulties. And the divinely taught leader and prophet at once grasped the right interpretation

lakes of the city of Pi-tum of the King Mineptah, which is of the land of Thuku." In the above-mentioned Dictionary, p. 80, Brugsch says, "It is evident that the city having this name was situated close to the vast lakes or marshes which in our day are better known by the name of Birket Menzaleh." But Ebers (*Durch Gosen*, p. 510) has shewn that the word Birkabuthâ, rendered "lakes," is one of the many Semitic words adopted into the Egyptian language, being merely equivalent to the Hebrew בְּרִיכוֹת "ponds." It does not therefore necessarily denote extensive lakes.

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was written other inscriptions bearing the name of *Thuku* and *Pi-tum* discovered at Tell el Maskhuta have been communicated by M. Naville in a letter published in the *Academy*, October 6.



of the obstacle. There came to him God's command to retreat. This Divine command is announced to us in the Hebrew text in two different forms. In the words of the Second Elohists, Israel is led by God not by the way to the land of the Philistines—not by what to human eyes seemed near, but by the circuitous route of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup> In the more prosaic language of the Priestly Annalist, God ordered Israel to return from Etham and take up a position before Pi-hahîrôth.

Observe that the Divine Voice is associated with the outward event. With the untoward reverse came Jehovah's monition. The fact was interpreted as the voice of God's command.

We have an instructive example of the same principle in the opening chapter of Hosea's oracles. Hosea married Gomer, daughter of Diblaim, but afterwards discovered that his domestic happiness has been blasted by her infidelities. He reflects on his sorrows, and God teaches him to find in them a symbol of Jehovah's love outraged by Israel's unfaithfulness in social, political, and religious life. Then came the Divine interpretation of his grief. Hosea was intended by Jehovah to realize that the story of his own sorrow was a parable of the nation's treachery and sin against her Lord. This was to be the burden of his prophetic ministry. God had shaped his life—including his unhappy marriage—for this great end. (See Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 82, and Nowack's *Commentary on Hosea*).

By a similar link of connexion between the outward

<sup>1</sup> In Exodus iii. 12, God declares to Moses "Ye shall worship me in this mountain when thou leadest forth the people out of Egypt." We may therefore infer that, according to the original plan of the lawgiver, it was his intention to make a special journey to this mountain accompanied by a band of Israelite Elders. It lies far beyond our purpose to discuss here the complicated problem respecting the identification of Sinai. It must, however, be confessed that the words of the Second Elohists seem to harmonize most readily with Mr. Baker Greene's hypothesis that Mount Hor and Mount Sinai are identical.

event and the inner Divine purpose, the mystery of Israel's reverse was explained to the consciousness of Moses, and the word of the Lord came to the mighty child-heart of the Prophet. How deeply suggestive are the events of Israel's journey as we thus read them in the pages of the sacred story! God spoke to Moses as He daily speaks to us, through our difficulties and perils. Well indeed is it for us if we too have the eye of childlike faith to discern the Father's will; if we too have the ear that listens amid the confusing echoes of the moving world around us to catch the thunder of Divine command.

But, meanwhile, the backward march of Israel assumed to the understanding of Pharaoh a far different aspect. In the reports that were brought to him by his officers he could only perceive an army of the hated Amu driven back by a serious check upon its own line of march, and moving into a position of great embarrassment and danger. Exultation filled the heart of Mineptah. The sufferings of Egypt—the darkness—the devouring locust—the devastating plague—all were forgotten in the blind thirst for revenge. The captains were summoned to his presence. The horsemen and chariots that had dealt death against many a serried rank of Kheta on the Orontes, were now ordered to the furious pursuit that was to end in overwhelming ruin.

So alternate in the great theatre of Divine and human action the bright and the dark aspect of the vast drama that is ever enacting. On the one side, we have the earthly limited and human view that scarcely rises above the phenomenal; that sees no higher power in history than the human will, no controlling influence but the conventional usage of the hour, sometimes dignified by the name of morals. We see, amid the low levels, the phantoms of hosts that strive—of horses that prance and plunge—of gorgeous chariots driven heavily; all moved by national ambition, private greed or despotic will, rushing on into dark-

ness, despair, and eternal silence. But, on the other side, we behold men who walk in the clear light that streams from far. These own the will of Him who made the Seven Stars and Orion. These feel in every pulse that thrills a mighty influence transcending all that eye can see and coming from a Heart that ever loves. Every step of their journey is accompanied by the Angelic Presence that fights in their battles and causes the stream to break forth from the rock. Before them, as they traverse the dark plains and defiles of human uncertainty and sorrow, there moves the awful splendour of the fiery column that links the earth to heaven, that sheds its glory on the meanest task, and leads the pilgrim onward to God's promised land.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

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SCRIPTURE STUDIES OF THE HEAVENLY  
STATE.

VI. THE FOREMOST MEN IN THE BLESSED LIFE.

(*Revelation* vii. 14-15.)

WE have been attempting by an inductive method to determine the law of the heavenly blessedness, to discover from the teaching of Scripture what constitutes the joy of the future life. In pursuing this study, we have followed a descending scale. We began with the highest round of the ladder, and tried to find the secret of Christ's own joy; we found that its secret lay in the very cross He bore. We then passed downward to the life of intermediate intelligences, and inquired what constitutes the desire of angels; we found that their deepest desire was to look into the secret of ministration. So far there is perfect agreement; the law of Christ's joy is the law of angels' joy. One other scale of