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JOURNAL OF  
THE TRANSACTIONS  
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EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY,  
CAPTAIN F. W. H. PETRIE, F.R.S.L. &c.

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## ORDINARY MEETING, MAY 3, 1880.

H. CADMAN JONES, ESQ., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the following election was announced :—

ASSOCIATE :—Rev. R. Gascoyne, M.A., Bath.

Also the presentation of the following Work for the Library :—

“Fossil Men.” By Principal J. W. Dawson, F.R.S. *From the Author.*

The following paper was then read by the Author :—

*THE LIFE OF JOSEPH, ILLUSTRATED FROM SOURCES  
EXTERNAL TO HOLY SCRIPTURE.* By THE REV.  
HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

**T**WO or three years ago the members of the Victoria Institute received with kind attention a paper on “the Life of Abraham, illustrated by recent researches.”\*

In a work since published † I have submitted to the public the studies which were roughly sketched in that paper, and I have there anticipated much inquiry relating to the Hyksôs and the early Shemitic influence in Lower Egypt which bears directly on my present topic.

*N.B.*—In the following references, *T.S.B.A.* denotes “Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology :” *Zeitschr.* “Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.” The French edition of Brugsch is distinguished as *Histoire*, the English translation as *Hist. Records* refers to “Records of the Past” (Bagster).

\* *Trans. of the Vict. Inst.* Vol. XII. pp. 110 *et seqq.*

† *Studies on the Times of Abraham.* (Bagster & Sons.)

It is my pleasant task this evening briefly to treat in the same manner the story of Joseph given to us in the first book of the Holy Scriptures, and I entreat your "favourable censure" whilst endeavouring to put in small compass some results of those laborious and delicate researches which Egyptologists have given to the student of sacred history.

You will find the chief sources of information indicated in foot-notes. But I must signalise the great value of Dr. Birch's recent edition of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* and of Brugsch-Bey's *History of Egypt*\* (now made available to the English reader).†

I must also call attention to a very able and valuable work by the Abbé Vigouroux,‡ whose writings have only become known to me (I am sorry to say) within a year past, since the publication of my book before mentioned.

It is not my intention to enter largely on critical argument. The old impeachments of the history as incongruous with the details of Egyptian life have been answered by Ebers and others. Still it is no less a profitable study to lay the story as it has reached us side by side with the monumental records and pictures, and thus to become familiar with the substantive evidence. Afterwards those who wish to inquire into the divergent theories of analytical critics will find themselves in a fair position to begin that task.

The subject before us now is not only more frequented than "the Times of Abraham," but far less complex and difficult. There is not that interweaving of the races and destinies of Elam, Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt. The story soon drifts down into the Delta, and it is to Egyptian sources almost alone that we look.

But we must never forget that it is underlaid by all that has gone before.§ The expeditions of Una, the adventures of Saneha, the tide of Chaldean migration, the stream of Phœnician commerce, shocks of Elamite conquest, filtering of Shemitic traffic, and at length the mastery of Hyksôs invaders and overlords of Mizraïm, all have to be taken into account by those who would discern in the twilight of history that background into which the figures of Joseph and Potiphar, of the priest-prince of On and his daughter Asenath, of the Amu immigrants Jacob and his house, so naturally fall, and

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\* *Hist. d'Egypte.* Leipzig, 1875.

† Murray, 1879. 2 vols.

‡ *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes.* Paris, 1877.

§ See in addition, on forerunners of the Hyksôs, *Zeitschr.* 1879, 34, &c.

in whose contemplation it seems to me that the thoughtful student finds a delight and clear satisfaction as great as did ever the little child over his mother's picture-Bible.

You will let me refer to my former paper for preliminary matter of the kind just mentioned, and allow me to touch hastily two or three points which lie in our way before arriving in Egypt.

The life of Joseph has been so fully and minutely treated by the Abbé Vigouroux, and an extended examination would so far overreach our allotted time, that I will keep myself to some points of the story least familiar to the student, and trust that, detached though they be, they will fall into their due places in the minds of those learned members of the Institute whom I have the pleasure to address.

#### *The Favourite Son and his Garment.*

Rachel was the true destined bride whom Jacob loved and won, and accordingly we find him emphatically calling her "my wife"\* in speaking of her sons to their brethren: so also is Rachel alone named in the pedigree in the xlviith chapter of Genesis, "Jacob's wife." It was not a fantastic and arbitrary choice which fixed on her first-born as (if so be) the heir. The father had that right of choice and chose righteously and well. Still in Syria the garb bears witness to the choice.† Such a garment of a favoured son which I have seen exhibited was ornamented with bright perpendicular stripes of different colours.

But whether the Hebrew פָּסִים (*passim*) refers to length, or form, or fringes, or to pieces (as of patchwork) and so to colour ‡ (as pieces of the same would hardly be put together in any pattern) seems hitherto unsettled. The gay clothing of the Amu at Beni-hassan has been thought to exemplify the kind of garment. But many of them wear the same kind of garments. The chief, however, is certainly distinguished, not by colours, but by the shape of his robe, and by its being fringed all down the front, as well as at the bottom. Perhaps some day this great problem may be solved.

#### *Joseph's Dreams.*

In the boy's dreams we notice the pastoral work now mixed with agriculture. Not so was it with Abraham and Lot.

\* Gen. xlv. 27.

† Roberts, quoted by Thornley Smith, *Life of Joseph*. 5th ed., 12.

‡ Buxtorf.

Sheaves are represented in Egyptian harvest-scenes, very neatly bound and laid on their sides. This illustrates the words, "my sheaf *arose*, and also *stood upright*; and lo, your sheaves *stood*," &c.

In the other dream, "the eleven stars," making with himself twelve, cannot refer to the signs of the zodiac, but we are reminded of the two sets of twelve stars each which Diodorus describes as north and south of the zodiac: Professor Sayce\* suggests that east and west would be more correct. "The twelve stars of Martu, or the West," whose names he gives, would be the twelve of Joseph's dream.

### *Shekhem and Dothan.*

Joseph was sent by his father to Shekhem, and thence he was directed into Dothan.

It is worth while to inquire whether the real origin of the name Shekhem or Sekhem, שֶׁכֶם, is to be sought in its ancient sanctuary, for Sekhem in Egypt meant the holiest inner chamber of the Temple;† and, as Ebers has mentioned in this connection, Pa-sekhem was the name of a city in Lower Egypt.

Dothan (or Dothain) is identified by Dr. Haigh‡ with a place mentioned in the Karnak lists of Thotmes III. It is true that Mariette-Bey§ gives Yutah (Jos. xv. 55) but Dothain seems nearer to the Egyptian *Tuthina*, of which the final letter must be dropped, and the T may be equivalent to D. These most important geographical lists bear date not much more than a century later than Joseph, if we are right in placing him towards the end of the Hyksôs period.

Dothan still keeps its ancient name, Tell Dothan, and lies|| on the ancient route from Damascus into Egypt.

Describing the old empty cisterns, contracted towards the top, Dr. Thomson writes: "When peering into these dark demijohn cisterns I have often thought of poor Joseph, for it was doubtless a forsaken cistern (*beer* is the word both in Hebrew and Arabic) into which he was thrown by his barbarous brethren. The *beer* was empty—there was no water in it—

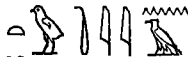
\* T.S.B.A. III. 176.

† Brugsch., *Hist.* I. 377, 380, 386. Pierret, *Vocab.* 531. Ebers, *Æg. u. die B.M.* 231.

‡ *Zeitschr.*, 1875, 101.







§ *Listes*, p. 15, No. 9.

|| Tristram *L. of Israel*, 132.



and just such are now found about the site of old Dothan. It is remarkable that, though dug in hard rock, and apparently sound, they are nearly all dry even in winter.”\*

### *The Spicery from Gilead.*

Of the three aromatics which the merchants were taking down to Egypt Dr. Ebers † thinks that he has identified two—nek’oth, נֶכְאוֹת, and tsori, צֹרִי—with the *nekpāt* and *tara* which he finds among the constituents of the celebrated incense called κῦφι in the inscriptions of the laboratory at Edfu given by Dümichen. Nek’oth must be the resin of the *As-tragalus tragacantha*, still called naka’at by the Arabs. † Dr. Ebers has also given § from the papyrus Ebers a formula for making Kyphi, in which *nebat*,    from Tahi (north Syria) occurs as an ingredient. This must surely be the same original word as the    *nekpāth* of Dümichen’s Edfu text.

The tsori seems to be the “balm of Gilead,” and the third aromatic, lôt, לוֹט, is supposed to be the ladanum of the *Cistus ladaniferus*, which was introduced into Egypt for cultivation in Ptolemaic times, and before that imported from the East. ||

Spices of Canaan and of Syria are mentioned in general terms in Egyptian papyri, and were largely consumed, both for incense and for embalming, from very early ages.

### *The Egypt of Joseph.*

There seems no sufficient reason to give up the old tradition that Joseph entered and ruled Egypt during the domination of the Hyksôs kings. The latest historians of Egypt, as Birch, ¶ Brugsch, \*\* Maspero, †† agree in this opinion. Eusebius (c. A.D. 300) †† gives this tradition, and George the Syncellus (c. A.D. 800) specifies Aphôphis as the Pharaoh of Joseph. This name appears in Manetho’s lists, and is supported by the monuments. For it is inscribed on the right shoulder of a statue of Ra-smenkh-ka Mermesha of the XIIIth dynasty

\* *The Land and the Book*, 287.

† Vigouroux, *La Bible*, 13.

|| Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* II. 404.

\*\* *Hist. d’Eg.* 1875, 175. Eng. ed. I. 260.

†† Bunsen, *Egypt’s Place*, I. 628.

† *Eg. &c.* 290.

§ *Zeitschr.*, 1874, 108.

¶ *Hist. Eg.* 76.

‡‡ *Hist. Anc.* 174.

found at San; and on a sphinx in the Louvre (afterwards dedicated by Menepthah of the XIXth dynasty); and it has been read by Mariette on the magnificent sphinxes of San, unearthed by that great explorer, which bear the features of the Hyksôs king himself.

But almost more interesting is the fragmentary papyrus which yields the tantalizing scraps of transactions between Apapi and the patriot native governor Ra-sekenen,\* who began the war of liberation afterwards brought to a triumphant end by Aahmes, the founder of the great XVIIIth dynasty.

The name Apapi, founded on that of the great evil serpent Apap, would seem like a sheer defiance of Egyptian religion. But, strange as it may appear, Brugsch tells us that "many Egyptians living about the time of this king call themselves similarly Apopi, or Apopa."†

It is much to be desired that further evidence be found as to the state of Egypt during the times of the Hyksôs. But already the old impression that everything was overthrown and devastated by the conquerors has been very much modified.

Having treated elsewhere at some length the subject of Semitic influence in very early times in Lower Egypt, and the monumental relics of the Hyksôs Pharaohs, I will not repeat what has been said before.

The great history of Egypt from monumental evidence by Brugsch-Bey has now been given to English readers,‡ and should be carefully studied by all who would form a judgment on the questions before us. We are expecting with impatient hope his promised work, "Bibel und Denkmäler," which may give us new light.

As things now stand I cannot see anything which will not harmonize with the old opinion that the life of Joseph in Egypt fell under the rule of the latest Pharaoh of the XVIIth Hyksôs dynasty. If this be true, it appears that the stern and careworn visage which looks out of the lion's mane of the sphinxes of San must be the face so familiar to Joseph.§

The natural objection that the priest (or prince) of On would be the last person to whose daughter the Hyksôs Pharaoh would ally his favourite minister in marriage, seems to fall away before the accumulating proofs that the alien rulers had become in the main thoroughly Egyptianized. One

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\* Chabas, *Les Pasteurs*. Brugsch, *Hist.* I. 239. *T.S.B.A.* IV. 263.

† *Histoire d'Ég.* I. 159.

‡ *Egypt under the Pharaohs*. 2 vols. Murray, 1879.

§ See the profile and front face in *Studies on the Times of Abraham*.



of the statues of the Hyksôs is clad in the panther's skin which was the robe of a high order of Egyptian priesthood. Quite to the point is the curious fact adduced by Brugsch\* of the foreign Semitic names chosen by a family attached to the temple of Amon at Thebes (much more remote than On) for six generations back from the second king of the restored Egyptian monarchy (XVIIIth dynasty), Amenhotep I. In the sixth generation back he finds the Theban priest bear the name of Pet-Ba'al, "servant of Ba'al," with which we may compare the Ba'al-mohar of a later period.† By the way, this old Egyptianized name, Pet-Ba'al, is the equivalent of Hannibal, and Ba'al-mohar of Maharbal, Phœnician names both.

In fact, quite an amusing fashion had set in of aping the names and ways of the foreigners, just such as in the time of Edward the Confessor had already begun in England, the foreshadow of the Norman conquest.

The same habit sprang up again with fresh vigour in Egypt with Seti I., and flourished under the XIXth dynasty.

"We will simply put the question," writes Brugsch,‡ "if those foreign kings were in fact desecrators of the temples, devastators and destroyers of the works of bygone ages, how is it that these ancient works, although only the last remains of them, still exist, and especially in the chief seats of the Hyksôs dominion, and further, that these foreign kings allowed their names to be engraved as memorial witnesses on the works of the native Pharaohs? Instead of destroying they preserved them, and sought by appropriate measures to perpetuate themselves and their remembrance on the monuments already existing of former rulers."

"Zoan (Tanis), the capital of the Egyptian Eastern provinces, with its world of temples and statues of the times of the VIth, XIIth, and XIIIth dynasties, had so little to suffer from the Hyksôs that, on the contrary, these princes thought it incumbent upon them to increase the splendour of their vast temple-town by their own constructions, although in a Semitic style of execution."

In connection with the early intrusion of the Hyksôs leaven, it is worth notice that the name *Baba* occurs in the pedigree of a great Egyptian family of the time of the XIIIth dynasty given by Brugsch, and within the first quarter of the numerous kings of that dynasty. The same name, *Baba*, was borne by the father of Aahmes the captain, who fought against the

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\* *Hist.* I. 255.

† *Histoire*, I. 142.

‡ *Hist.* I. 255.

Hyksôs in the war of liberation, and by others of the same family attached to the native Egyptian patriot-princes. But Baba is a Typhonian name\* of as ill omen to a pure Egyptian mind as Apap, the evil serpent, or Seti, or Pet-Ba'al. We may notice that the name בבאי, Bebaï, occurs in the lists in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah among Hebrew names. Baba, or Beb, is a Typhonian evil genius in the Ritual.

While we are on these Eastern words, I will say a few words on the curious Egyptian names reported to have been borne by Joseph and by Moses.

Chæremôn, quoted by Josephus, tells us that Joseph had the Egyptian name of *Peteseeph* (Πετσήφ),† and Manetho‡ says that Osarsiph (Ὀσαρσίφ) was the original Egyptian name of Moses, and that it was derived "from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis."

Now I think these names may be well explained from Egyptian sources. The latter syllable (-seph) is common to the two names, Peteseeph and Osarsiph; it is also the latter syllable of the name Joseph. An Egyptian would not be aware of the significance of the Hebrew name Joseph, but would take notice of the sound, and might well fashion an Egyptian name accordingly. Now the Heliopolitan name Peti-pa-ra, as well as the earlier Pet-Ba'al, and the like, would suggest the obvious and easy manufacture of an Egyptian name for Joseph in the form Pet-Seph. This would be a very appropriate name in the ears of those accustomed to regard Sep or Sap as the especial god of the very region from which Joseph came; for this deity "is a form of Osiris or Horus," says Dr. Birch,§ "principally adored in the Egyptian possessions in Arabia, where he is called 'Lord of the East.' He is supposed to be the entire Osiris before his destruction by Typhon, and is called in the texts of the tablets 'the greatest of the spirits of Heliopolis.'" So that to the Heliopolitans Peti-Sep would be as appropriate a name for Joseph as Pet-pa-Ra (that is, the gift of Ra, Heliodorus in Greek) was for his father-in-law. I may add that the name of this god, Sep or Sap, was familiar in earlier times than those of the Hyksôs kings as "lord of the land of the Sati or eastern foreigners," for he is "figured on a stone tablet of the time of Osortasen II. found at the temple of Wady Gasoos in the desert near Kossayr."||

Now, to turn to the name Osarsiph borne by Moses. It is

\* Ebers, *Eg.*, &c. 249. Pierret, *Vocab.* 123. 126; id. *Dict. d'Arch.* 80.

† *Contra Apion.* I. 32.

‡ *Ibid.* I. 26, 29.

§ Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, III. 234.

|| *Ibid.* Pl. lvi. fig. 2.

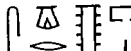
the unaltered name of Osiris in the character above-stated, (Osiris-Sapi)\* and we may as well conceive Moses honoured by such a title in Egypt as Barnabas saluted *Zeus*, or Paul *Hermes*, by the Lycaonians.

Tent-seph is an Egyptian female name, occurring in the time of Sheshank I.†

It must be noticed that the two names Potiphar and Potipherah are not (as is commonly thought) identical, for while the latter is founded on the name of the great solar god Ra, especially worshipped at On (*An*) the name Potiphar would rather signify "the gift of Horus" (Pet-pa-Har).

#### *The Prison.*

The curious term גֵּיַת הַפִּסְחֵר (Gen. xxxix. 20) has received much attention.‡ Dr. Ebers has shown§ that it may be explained as an Egyptian expression, *bita sohar*, the house of the citadel, at Memphis, where the chief of the guard, or commandant, would reside.

Pierret gives the word  *shker*, *citadelle*, in his hieroglyphic vocabulary ||; and the cognate words in Hebrew (which may be found in Gesenius) seem to show that the root סָכַר, enclose, explains it best. Pierret has referred to the same etymology the name Sokar applied by the Egyptians to Osiris when enclosed in his mummy-case.¶

#### *Potiphar's Office.*

On the office borne by Potiphar, as chief of the guard, it is well to read an article by Lieblein, on Egyptian titles of this kind, from the time of Khafra downwards.\*\*

It seems significant that Potiphar is twice noted as "an Egyptian" in Egypt, which would be very natural if the sovereign, and many of the court and citizens, were foreign conquerors.

#### *The Dreams.*

The peculiarly Egyptian character of the dreams which Joseph interpreted has been so amply shown that we need not linger here.

With regard to the pressing of the grapes into Pharaoh's

\* Ancessi, *Le Redempteur*, &c., 122.

† Pierret, *Voc. Hierog.*, 691.

‡ Malan, *Phil. or Truth*, 184.

§ *Eg.*, &c., 318.

|| 552.

¶ *Dic. d'Arch. Eg.*, 517.

\*\* *Zeitschr.*, 1874, 39; but see Harkavy, *ibid.* 1869 48.

cup, which has been difficult to explain, Sir G. Wilkinson writes:\* that "grape-juice, or wine of the vineyard (one of the most delicious beverages of a hot climate, and one which is commonly used in Spain and other countries at the present day)" was among "the most noted denominations introduced into the lists of offerings on the monuments."

The punishment of the "chief-baker" seems to have been decapitation, which was an Egyptian but not a Hebrew punishment,† followed by hanging of the body on a gibbet, as Amenhotep II. hung the bodies of some slain kings of Syria on his galley, and afterwards on the walls of a fortress.

### *Joseph and the Pharaoh.*

The exaltation of one of the Amu, or Asiatic foreigners, to be a great officer of state, might have taken place long before the Hyksôs rule, as the interesting story of Saneha testifies. But of course it would be more likely under the eastern conquerors. "The account in Holy Scripture of the elevation of Joseph under one of the Hyksôs kings, of his life at their court, of the reception of his father and brothers in Egypt with all their belongings, is in complete accordance with the manners and customs, as also with the place and time." Thus writes Brugsch,‡ than whom a more competent witness could not be called.

The Hyksôs domination had lasted (it seems) more than four centuries before the time of Joseph in Egypt. The ruling race received their name in Egypt from *hak* (or *hik*) a chief, and the well-known designation of the nomad hordes of Semitic neighbours of Egypt on the north-east, namely, the Shasu, or Shaua, or Shaus.§

It may be worth notice that the Canaanite of Adullam, whose daughter, Judah, Joseph's eldest brother, had taken to wife, bore the name שׁוּא (Shua).|| LXX. Σαυά, identical with Shaua, one form of the Shasu name. Moreover, one of Judah's sons by this wife was called Onan, אֹנָן which seems the same name as one reading, Anan, of the name of one of the Hyksôs Pharaohs.

By the time of Apapi, the fusion of interests and races and customs would have been much developed in lower Egypt, and

\* *Anc. Eg.*, III. 417.

† *Hist. Eg.*, I. 264.

|| Gen. xxxviii. 2 ; 1 Chron. ii. 3.

† *Ibid.* I. 307.

§ *Ibid.* 229.

even the Egyptian Sallier Papyrus gives us to understand that he drew tribute from "all the land," the well-known expression which occurs so often in the Scripture narrative; and that Ra-sekenen, the native Egyptian lord at Thebes, was "only a hak," not a Pharaoh. Thus the difficulty of believing that Apapi could have carried out such universal measures through the hands of Joseph seems to fade away, especially when the stress of famine is borne in mind.

That the Pharaoh was not a mere despot and autocrat seems clear from the expression, "the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants,"\* and the references to "the house of Pharaoh." This agrees well with the Papyrus, where Apapi sends to Ra-sekenen "a message which his secretaries had advised him."

### *Chariots and Horses.*

One notable addition to the force and pomp of Egypt we find since the days of Abraham. The Pharaoh has chariots, and horses are mentioned as belonging, not only to the court† but to the people.‡ Now, previously to the Hyksôs there is no more evidence of horses in the monuments than in the Scriptures; but in two celebrated inscriptions of the very time now in question, in the tombs of El-kab,§ we find them mentioned:—A young officer's duty was to accompany on foot the Pharaoh Aahmes when he rode in his chariot.

This namesake of the king also captures a chariot of war and its horses in the "land of Naharina," during a campaign of Thotmes I.; and another Aahmes, also seized for the same king "a horse and a chariot of war" in the same country. Thus it appears that horses were introduced from the east into Egypt during the rule of the Hyksôs.

"The greatest honour conferred on Joseph," says Sir G. Wilkinson,|| "was permission to ride in the second chariot which he (the king) had. This was a royal chariot, no one being allowed to appear in his own in the presence of majesty, except in battle."

The Pharaoh in Genesis uses the expression,¶ "Can we find (such a one) as this (is), a man in whom the Spirit of God (is)?" רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים. Some light is thrown on such a phrase, from an Egyptian point of view, by Mr. Le Page Renouf's interesting

\* Gen. xlv. 2; xli. 37; l. 4.

† Gen. xlvii. 17.

|| III. 443, note.

‡ Gen. l. 9.

§ Brugsch, *Hist.*, I. 248, 251, 289.

¶ Gen. xli. 38.

paper on the Egyptian word  $\text{U}$ , *ka*.\* This word, as signifying *spirit*, is applied freely to the gods. In one of the chapters of the Ritual, of extreme antiquity, the *kas* of Osiris, Horus, Suti, Thoth, and other gods, are mentioned as distinct from those divinities . . . "the fourteen *ka-u* of Ra," &c. "In passages like these," says Mr. Renouf, "*ka* has a sense very similar to that of 'Spirit' in Isaiah xi. 5—the Spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him," &c.

"By the life of Pharaoh" was a well-known Egyptian oath. It is curious that  $\text{Q}$ , *ankh*, means "to swear," "oath," as well as "life."† The accused takes an oath "by the king's life" not to speak falsely. A man swears "by the name of the Pharaoh." A workman in a necropolis had sworn by the name of the Pharaoh, and was reported by an officer to the prefect of the town. It was beyond the competence of the subordinate, he said, to punish the workman for this offence.‡ Thus it would seem that great lords might swear by the Pharaoh without rebuke :

"That in the captain's but a choleric word  
Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy."

Certainly solemn and judicial use of oaths was commanded, but perjury and careless swearing were prohibited and punished, and included amongst sins in the Ritual.

It is singularly interesting to find the suspicious words, "surely ye are spies," in the Sallier Papyrus I. in the mouth of Ra-Sekenen, when Apapi's ambassador comes to him. "Who sent thee here to this city of the south? How hast thou come to spy out?"

The kindly fellowship of the Pharaoh "and his house" in Joseph's happiness has a pleasant parallel in the case of Saneha's return to the palace of Amenemha I. from his adventurous wanderings long before.§

The interpreter || serves the same office as the scribe Khiti on the introduction of the thirty-seven Amu to Khnumhotep.

An interesting point arises with regard to the ring of the Pharaoh, *tabba'ath*, טבבאת, the well-known golden signet-ring with its engraven stone. This was the symbol of authority given by the Pharaoh to Joseph. But the signet,

\* *T.S.B.A.*, VI. 505.

† Brugsch, in *Zeitschr.* 1868, 73 ; 1874, 62. *T.S.B.A.* I., 178 ; III. 345.

‡ Chabas, *Mélanges*, III<sup>me</sup> serie, tome II. 48.

§ *Records* VI. 131.

|| Gen. xlii. 23.

𐤊𐤏𐤍, given by Judah as a pledge to Tamar, with its twisted cord, must have been the seal-cylinder of Babylonia, pierced through its length and attached round the wrist in the usual way, which was used by the eastern races, and by them introduced into Egypt, although never very common there.

The religious predilections of Apapi are clearly set forth in the Sallier Papyrus: "The King Apapi chose the god Set for his divine master, and he did not serve any of the gods which were worshipped in the whole land. He built him a temple of beautiful work to last a long time [. . . and the king] Apapi (appointed) feasts (and) days to offer (sacrifices) at each time to the god Sutech."\*

This decisive action and the attempt to enforce compliance on Ra-Sekenen, who seems to have declared himself equally an exclusive worshipper of Amon-Ra, the great god of Thebes, led to the war of liberation which that prince began and Aahmes completed.

It is in full accordance with the Papyrus that on the right shoulder of each of the sphinxes which Mariette has recovered from his great temple at San Apapi has engraven his name with the title, "Beloved of Set."†

Mariette considers this XVIIth dynasty of Hyksôs of San to have been Kheta,‡ Hittites, whose especial god was Sutekh or Set.

If Joseph was highly honoured by a Pharaoh of Hittite race, we may well remember the reverence with which his great-grandfather Abraham was regarded, both by the Amorites, his allies, and the sons of Kheth, from whom he bought his "possession of a burial-place" for himself and his posterity. I do not know why we should doubt that Joseph's lineage was known to the Pharaoh.

The details of the ceremony observed when the Pharaoh delegated his authority to Joseph have been much discussed.

The expression in Gen. xli. 40: "At thy mouth shall all my people kiss," may be explained in more than one way in consonance with Egyptian customs; not indeed, as was first thought, that they should kiss his mouth.

Sir G. Wilkinson§ takes it as referring evidently to the custom of kissing a firmân. Before the Pharaoh a subject would kiss the ground.|| The ordinary attitude of submissive

\* Brugsch, *Hist.*, I. 239. *T.S.B.A.*, IV. 263. Ebers, *Æg.*, &c., 205.

† Mariette, *Aperçu*, &c., 27, 87.

‡ Ibid. 27.

§ *Anc. Eg.*, I. 294.

|| Brugsch, *Hist.*, I. 86.

attention was that of kissing the hand before the master: "Be seated, thy hand to thy mouth," as Pierret quotes from Pap. Sallier II.\*

But Chabas supposes that the phrase indicates the elevation of Joseph to the dignity mentioned in an inscription of the XVIIIth dynasty by the title which he renders as "grande Bouche Superieure dans le pays tout entier."†

It cannot well be doubted that the cry of "Abrek," translated "bow the knee," is the same word still addressed to the camel when he is to kneel.‡

The title translated "Father to Pharaoh" § represents an Egyptian rank, "Ab en Pi-rao," the head of Pharaoh's court.||

The title in Gen. xlii. 6, "the *governor* of all the land" is in Hebrew שַׁלְטָן, *shallit*, only here used in the Pentateuch (again in Ecclesiastes, and in Ezekiel and Daniel). It is the title borne by the first Hyksôs king, whose name is given by Manetho, and inscribed on a statue found by Mariette at Tell-Mokdam, near Tanis: "The good god, the *star* of both worlds, Set Sha(1)ti, beloved of Sutekh the lord of Avaris."¶

It is a true Semitic word meaning "ruler," and might well be delegated to his deputy by a Hyksôs king, who himself assumed the Pharaonic style and titles. The symbol "star," which, in the cuneiform character denoted "god" (and so "lord"), is particularly interesting,\*\* and may well remind us of Balaam's prophecy, "a star shall rise;" and of Joseph's dream, where sun and moon, and "the eleven stars" render homage to his own star.

We have seen an Egyptian name, Peteseoph, attributed to Joseph. The Bible gives us the title of honour conferred on him by the Pharaoh. We will not repeat all the explanations of this. Mariette and Lenormant have noticed that Kames, the Theban prince, whose son, the celebrated Aahmes, restored the native Egyptian monarchy, assumed the title Tsaf-en-to, exactly answering to Tsafnath in Hebrew, and which means "Nourisher of the land." ††

Brugsch †† has explained the whole title as follows:—"According to the indication of the monuments, the town of

\* *Dic. d'Arch.*, "Bouche."

† XIX. dyn. 14. Vigouroux, *La Bible*, II. 104.

‡ Chabas, *Etudes*, 412. § Gen. xlv. 8. || Brugsch, *L'Exode*, 18.

¶ Ebers, *Ägypten*, &c., 202. Meyer, *Set-Typhon*, 56.

\*\* *Studies on the Times of Abraham*.

†† Vigouroux, *La Bible*, II. ii.

‡‡ *L'Exode*, 17. For other views see Malan, *Phil. or Truth*, and Canon Cook, *Sp. Bib.*, I. 480.



Pitom, the capital of the district of Sukot, had a second name, which it owed to the presence of its god *Ankh*, *he who lives*, and which in Egyptian is pronounced *pāa-ānkh*, the habitation, the dwelling, of the god *Ankh*. Conformably to this name the district of Sukot was called otherwise *p-u-nt-pāa-ānkh*, 'the district of the dwelling of him who lives.' Add to this monumental name the Egyptian word *za*, so well known to designate the governor of a town or a district, and you have the title of *Za-p-u-nt-pāa-ānkh*, 'the governor of the district of the dwelling of him who lives,' which a Greek of Ptolemaic times would render by this translation, 'the nomarch of the Sethroitic Nome.'"

I do not presume to decide where doctors so eminent disagree. Anyhow, it is very clear that the title is Egyptian, and that it will bear without distortion to be done into hieroglyphic, and translated in a very apposite sense. If it be objected to Brugsch's rendering that a nomarch's title would be below the mark of Joseph's rank, it may be replied that he bore other and more inclusive titles besides. The matter is sure to be still further sifted.

The office of lord, *Adōn*, over all the land of Egypt,\* is a genuine Egyptian title which Brugsch has only once again found in an old Egyptian inscription, where it is given to king *Hor-em-heb* (*Horus*) of the XVIIIth dynasty, before he came to the throne.

M. Chabas has given a translation of a sepulchral tablet at Turin, commemorating *Beka*, a functionary, probably of the XIXth or XXth dynasty, who bore the titles of superintendent of the public granary, comptroller of upper and lower Egypt. The learned writer compares the offices of this high personage with those of Joseph.

The name *Asenath*, אֲסֵנַת, is doubtless Egyptian, and has been explained in the sense "throne of Neith," † or "favourite of Neith." ‡ But Brugsch says, § "The name of his [Joseph's] wife, *Asnat*, is pure Egyptian, and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name *Sant* or *Snat*."

### *Joseph and his Brethren.*

We have before spoken of the imputation that Joseph's brethren were spies, and of the employment of an interpreter at court, and of the use of oaths. There is a small detail in

\* Gen. xlv. 8.

+ *La Bible*, &c. I. 112.


‡ *Sp. Bib.*, I. 479.

§ *Hist.*, I. 265.

the narrative which is at first sight almost amusing. Joseph inquires, "Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive?" And they answered: "Thy servant, our father, is in good health; he is yet alive."

The inverted order, "Is it peace to him? Is he alive?" is very unusual; but it seems also to be purely Egyptian. Chabas\* gives us some most interesting extracts from letters written in the time of Menepthah (probably the time of Moses), by a lady in an Egyptian outpost in Syria, to friends at home in the Delta. In these familiar communications, the very phrase in question occurs more than once. She writes: "I am very well off; I am alive;" and again, about a friend: "His majesty's aide-de-camp Setemua is in good plight; he lives; don't trouble yourself about him; he is quartered with us at Tamakhirpé"—the garrison in question.

It is true that the Egyptians thought so much, and with so little fear, of death and things beyond, that to them the question, "Is it peace to such an one?" might not seem to render superfluous the further inquiry, "Is he alive?" Anyhow, this coincidence is to me very pleasing.

The cup of Joseph's divination is worthy of note. The Hebrew word כַּיִן is used only in Genesis in this passage, in Exodus xxv., xxxvii., of the "bowls" of the golden "candlestick;" and in Jeremiah xxxv. of "pots of wine" in the priests' chambers. May it not be identical with the Egyptian word , † *kebh*, applied to the vessels used for libations.

The beautifully-formed vessels of silver, as well as of gold, brought from Phœnicia during the reigns of the XVIIIth dynasty, may well illustrate the probable character of Joseph's cup of silver.

For some interesting remarks on divination by cups we may refer to a paper by Mr. Rodwell in "T.S.B.A." II. 115.

### *The Long Famine.*

Egyptian records have been keenly interrogated for any allusion to the long famine of Joseph's days. Credit is claimed for several governors, from early dates downwards, for provident supply and the saving of life.

At length Brugsch-Bey ‡ brings before us a sepulchral inscription at el-Kab (Eileithyia), which, he is persuaded, bears witness to the measures taken by a local ruler, attached to

\* *Melanges*, IIIe serie, tome II., 152; also *Etudes*, 216.

† Pierret, *Vocab.*, 617.

‡ *Hist.* I. 262. *Histoire*, 176, where the original of the chief passage is given.

the court of the patriot Egyptian governor Ra-sekenen, of whom we have spoken. "The inscription," he says, "which exists in the hall of sacrifice of this tomb, on the wall opposite to the door of entrance, contains the following simple child-like representation of his happy existence on earth, owing to his great riches in point of children: 'The chief at the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honoured my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me: I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast-day. Mild was (my) heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health, and a life full of freshness. I punished the evildoers. The children which stood opposite to me in the town during the days which I have fulfilled were, small as well as great [I think 'small' may mean grandchildren, H.G.T.], sixty: there were prepared for them as many beds, chairs (?) as many, tables (?) as many. They all consumed 120 *epha* of durra, the milk of three cows, fifty-two goats, and nine she-asses, of balsam a *hin*, and of oil two jars. My speech may appear a joke to some opponent, but I call as witness the god Month, that my speech is true. I had all this prepared in my house. In addition I gave cream in the pantry, and beer in the cellar, in a more than sufficient number of *hin* measures. I collected the harvest, a friend of the harvest-god ['loving the good god'\*], I was watchful at the time of sowing, and now when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to the city at each famine (or also, to each hungry person).'"

"There ought not," continues the distinguished historian, "to be the smallest doubt as to whether the words of the last inscription relate to an historical fact or not; to something definite or something only general. Strongly as we are inclined to recognise a general way of speaking in the narrative of Ameni (see p. 154), where years of famine are spoken of, here we are compelled, by the context of the report before us to understand the term, 'the many years of the famine which arose,' as relating to a definite historical time. For famines following one another on account of a deficiency of water in the overflowing of the Nile were of the greatest rarity, and history knows and mentions only one example of it,

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\* See the note *Histoire*, 177.

namely, the seven years' famine of the Pharaoh of Joseph. Besides, Baba (or, if the term is preferred, the Babas, for the most part the contemporaries of the XIIIth and XVIIth dynasties), about the same time as Joseph exercised his office under one of the Hyksôs kings lived and worked under the native king Ra-sekenen Taa III. in the old town of El-Kab. The only just conclusion is, that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd kings."

It is worth while to recur to the express statements of the Papyrus before quoted, that the whole land brought its productions to Apapi at Avaris, and that Ra-sekenen was under him as his suzerain. Thus the worthy Baba may well have acted under general instructions from the Delta. He says, "I issued corn to the city." Joseph "laid up the food in the cities,"\* that is, "throughout all the land of Egypt,"† "and as for the people, he removed them to cities, from (one) end of the borders of Egypt even to the (other) end thereof."‡ That is, where the food was, thither he gathered the people out of the famine-stricken open country.

An interesting remark is made by Dean Milman § on the agrarian law of the Hebrews. He says, "The outline of this plan may have been Egyptian. The king of that country, during the administration of Joseph, became proprietor of the whole land, and leased it out on a reserved rent of one-fifth, exactly the two-tenths or tithes paid by the Israelites."

Many facile but superficial objections have been urged against the likelihood of the narrative in detail. I have not time to take up these. But some of them have been so well anticipated by Dr. Thomson,|| that I must quote a little by way of example. . . . "When the crops of this country fail through drought or other causes [he is speaking of South Palestine], the people still go down to Egypt to buy corn, as they did in the time of the patriarchs. It has also frequently occurred to me, when passing a large company of donkeys on their way to buy food, that we are not to suppose that only the eleven donkeys on which the brethren of Joseph rode composed the whole caravan. One man often leads or drives half a dozen; and, besides, I apprehend that

\* Gen. xli. 48.

† Gen. xli. 46.

‡ Gen. xlvii. 21.

§ *Hist. of the Jews*, I. 231.

|| *The Land and the Book*, 595.

Jacob's sons had many servants along with them. Eleven sacks of grain, such as donkeys would carry, would not sustain a household like his for a week. It is no objection to this supposition that these servants are not mentioned.

Thus, had it not been for the capture of Lot by Chedorlaomer, we should not have known that Abraham had three hundred and eighteen full-grown men in his household; and so, also, had it not been necessary for Jacob to send company after company to guide his large presents to meet Esau, we might have been left to suppose that he and his sons alone conducted his flocks in his flight from Mesopotamia. But it is certain that he had a large retinue of servants, and so, doubtless, each of his sons had servants, and it is incredible that they should have gone down to Egypt without them. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that there was a large caravan. The fact, also, that the sons themselves took part in the work, and that each had his sack under him, is in exact correspondence with the customs of tent-dwelling shepherds at this day. The highest sheikhs dress and fare precisely as their followers do, and bear their full share in the operations of the company, whatever they may be."

We must always remember that the corn was carried in quite a different thing\* (Heb. קְלִי, *k'li*) from that† (שַׂק, *sag*) sack which contained the "provender," and in which each man's money, and the silver cup, were secretly put. The latter receptacle is also called by a third Hebrew name, viz., אֲמַתְחָת, *amtakhath*,‡ a word never again occurring in Scripture. Yet learned professors put into the hands of "young people" [in the year 1873] such objections as the following: "The whole world suffers from the famine, and is obliged to go to Egypt for corn. This is necessarily involved in the story, for why else should Jacob's sons have chosen Egypt for their second as well as their first purchase of corn? Is such a state of things credible in real life? Again, Jacob sends ten of his sons, each with his own ass, to buy corn. One cannot help asking why he did not send one son at the head of a caravan? What little provision was laid in in this way, however, cannot have gone far towards supporting the whole family, especially if, as we are told, part of it had to be used as fodder for the beasts on the way. And yet the story tells us distinctly that each of Jacob's sons took his own sack with him upon his

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\* Gen. xlii. 25.

† Gen. xlii. 27.

‡ Gen. xlii. 27, 28, &c.

own ass; else, how could it be said that the cup was hidden, and afterwards found in Benjamin's special sack?" And so on.

*The Pharaoh, Joseph, and Jacob's house.*

The knotty question of the true inferences to be drawn from the mutual behaviour of Joseph and Jacob's house on the one part, and the Pharaoh on the other, has called forth various attempts at a solution. I cannot but think that a reasonable explanation awaits the reader who looks at the matter as a part of the condition of things under the Hyksôs rule. The plain meaning of "abomination," Heb. תוֹעֵבָה, *to'ēvah*, must be kept (and we may, perhaps, notice that in Egyptian, *tui, tua*, , is "abominable," "detestable.")\*

That to the *Egyptians* every shepherd was an abomination was a consideration that would lead to the family remaining in Goshen, where they already were, "the best of the land." If "Egyptians" or "Egypt" (Mizraim) meant the native race, as distinct from the Hyksôs and mixed people of the Delta (as Potiphar was noted "an Egyptian"), then the reasoning is plain, and would prevent Joseph's kinsfolk from being sent up the country.

The Pharaoh, kindly entering into this plan, orders that any men of ability among them should be made superintendents of *his own* cattle. They were no abomination to him, as his whole demeanour towards them plainly testified; and this helps to show that he was of Asiatic race.

*Joseph and his Father.*

A very curious inquiry it is: what is the real meaning of the words which describe the solemn transaction between Jacob and Joseph at the end of chapter xlvii. of Genesis? "And he (Jacob) said: 'swear to me,' and he (Joseph) swore to him. And Israel bowed himself down to the head of the staff." For I take the sense given by the LXX. and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews,† namely, *staff*, and not *bed*. It is observable that the Hebrew says "the top of *the* staff," not "of *his* staff." And it has often been referred to Joseph's, and not to Jacob's own, staff. And this explanation has been repudiated, with good reason, if it were supposed that the bowing-down implied a religious act of worship to the head of Joseph's staff.

\* Pierret, *Vocab.*, 665.

† Heb. xi. 21.

Nevertheless, it is worth while to inquire whether there was not a solemn interchange of mutual reverence.

The son Joseph obeys his father's behest by swearing to fulfil his injunction to bury him in the Makpelah.

But in making that request Jacob had observed a ceremonial reverence as towards a lord; "If now I have found grace in thy sight," being evidently mindful of the high place of authority held by Joseph, which, indeed, was ultimately manifested by the royal pomp of the obsequies accorded to Jacob.

Whose, then, was "the staff" in question, to the head of which Jacob bowed himself down? If Joseph's, it was the symbol of the high authority of "the lord over all the land of Egypt," the deputy of the Pharaoh, "at whose mouth every one should kiss:" and Jacob might well remember his own old incredulous question—should he, indeed, come to bow down himself to Joseph?

It would be an act of homage rendered in express fulfilment of the Divine prognostic of the dream.

This explanation receives, I think, a new and striking light from the researches of the very eminent Egyptologist, Chabas, who mentions the use of the "head of the staff" (𓏏𓏏)\* in making oath, by touching that part of the symbol of authority in token of homage.

The staff of office may be seen in the British Museum, of ebony or other wood, and its head of ivory carved as a papyrus flower. This mutual solemnity of the filial oath of Joseph in the Hebrew manner, and the Divinely-ordered homage of Jacob after the Egyptian form, is moreover the only occasion on which the fulfilment of the dream on Jacob's part is recorded.

The patriarch had, indeed, blessed the Pharaoh, † who was worshipped by his own subjects as a veritable god.

But here, where no profanation could be supposed, Jacob renders homage to the Pharaoh's vicegerent in the person of his own long-lost son.

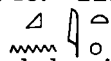
#### *Jacob's Death and Obsequies.*

The process of embalming has been often described. It is interesting that the Hebrew word used in Gen. l. occurs nowhere else in Holy Scripture except in reference to the

\* Pierret, *Vocab.*, 405.

† *Cat. of B.M.*, 39.

‡ Gen. xlvii. 7.

“putting-forth” of figs in the Song of Solomon, ii. 13. The verb is כָּהַנַּת, *khānat*. Is it an Egyptian word?  Kena-t is given by Pierret\* in his “Hieroglyphic Vocabulary,” and translated as “colour.” He adds, “we see the word always written above paintings of *yellow* colour.” Now the prevailing colour of the Theban mummies of the best style, and of their interminable bandages, is a saffron yellow. The word as applied to figs might refer to colour. And the plural כָּהַנִּי, *khintin*, wheat, in Ezra † may well signify originally *yellow*, as wheat is named from colour in many languages besides our own. This may be worth the trouble of sifting.

Doubtless by “my grave” (Heb. קֶבֶר, *qēvēr*) “which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan” ‡ Jacob intended the special recess in the “cave,” מְעָרָה, *m’ārāh*, which he had prepared for his own body, as Dr. Thomson has explained the matter.§ It was doubtless “by faith” that he was moved to make his command, and this faith not only laid hold of the covenant and promise of God with regard to the land of Canaan, and inspired the pious wish to be “gathered to his fathers” in the Makpelah, as well as in She’ol, the unseen world: but Jacob was probably moved by the desire to avoid lying in an Egyptian sepulchre (as Abraham had avoided “the choice” of the tombs of the sons of Kheth) surrounded by the “pomp and circumstance” of that religion which he repudiated. Joseph’s “servants the physicians” may be distinguished from the Egyptian priestly masters of the obsequies, and so (as the Abbé Vigouroux believes) by Joseph’s pious care the observances of the Ritual were avoided, even if Jacob could have been “subjected to the ordinary treatment of the Egyptians, and embalmed by their embalmers,” which Bishop Harold Browne|| thinks was not the case.

The mourning of “seventy days” for Jacob seems to have been the full term for the expression of the utmost honour, as Diodorus states the mourning for a king to have lasted seventy-two days.

Jacob’s express and repeated mention of Ephron, and the sons of Kheth, and the extraordinary honour rendered in the magnificent Pharaonic procession of “all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land

\* *Vocab.*, 624. † vi. 9; vii. 22. ‡ Gen. i. 5; cf. Is. xxii. 16, &c.  
§ *The Land and the Book*, 106. || *Sp. Bib.*, I. 234.



of Egypt," with "chariots and horsemen,"—"a very great host"—(מַחְנֵה, *makhaneh*), besides, "the house of Joseph," and the "grievous mourning to the Egyptians" would become more natural in our eyes if, indeed, the royal house of Egypt were themselves "sons of Kheth," as Mariette tells us the Pharaohs of this Hyksôs dynasty were; and as also in so important a sense and degree were the monarchs of the great XIXth dynasty, Seti and his line, worshippers of the Hittite god, Sutekh, as devout almost as Apapi himself.

I do not think this has been duly taken into the account; and, indeed, the greatness and historic importance of the Hittites is only dawning upon us, and their history is awaiting its *vates sacer*, in the person, I hope, of Prof. Sayce. It seems a very just observation, that "Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh," and not to the Pharaoh himself, for permission to go up to Khebron to bury his father, because the Hebrew custom of letting the hair and beard grow, and wearing sackcloth, in mourning, would exclude him from the presence of "his holiness." This is one of the very numerous and varied points which display the "Ægypticity," as Ebers says, of the narrative.

So, also, does the age of Joseph at his death. "Joseph died an hundred and ten years old," by which I understand that he had reached *at least* that desired age. Berossus gives a hundred and sixteen years as the ideal length of life.\* But among the Egyptians a hundred and ten years was for many ages the desired limit. As instances we may take one of a very early date, another of the XIXth dynasty. The venerable Ptahhotep, who lived in the ancient time of the Vth dynasty, says, "I have passed 110 years of life by the gift of the king."† And in a court poem, addressed to Seti II., the scribe assures him "thou shalt dwell 110 years on the earth."‡ "It is the number of years," writes Pierret, § "invariably adopted by the formulary of the inscriptions whenever there is asked of the gods the boon of a long and happy existence."

"And Joseph dwelt in Egypt; he and his father's house: and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years."|| We may well notice with interest the statement with regard to his great descendant, Joshua, ¶ that he, also, "died, a son of an hundred

\* *T.S.B.A.*, iii. 147.

† Chabas, *XIXth Dyn.*, 119.  
|| Gen. 1. 22.

† Birch, *Hist. Eg.*, 51.

§ *Dict. d'Arch.*, 308.

¶ Josh. xxiv. 29.

and ten years." He had reached this milestone in his pilgrimage so much desired by the sons of Mizraïm.

"And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die, and God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence. So Joseph died an hundred and ten years old; and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Doubtless this coffin was a wooden sepulchral chest (Heb. אָרוֹן), such as the Egyptians often used to enclose their mummies.

"And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him,"\* which very well accounts for the wild tradition, as it would otherwise seem, of Chæremôn,† that Joseph (Peteseeph) as well as Moses (Tisithen) led the Exodus; and for Manetho's confusion of Moses with Osarsiph, the priest of Heliopolis, if by Osarsiph Joseph was really meant.‡

And under the vast echo of the blessings and curses from the hollow sides of Gerizim and of Ebal lay the bones of Joseph in their Egyptian spicery, carried by his descendants to be buried at length in due season in the very field of his father's possession, where the brave boy had been seeking his brethren when he was sent on to his doom at Dothan.

And there, in a hidden sepulchre, perhaps Joseph still awaits in the flesh his further destiny.§

Much more of course might be added to this sketch of the life of Joseph in the light of external evidence. And I have not taken up our time in argument, but reserved it for discussion.

Remembering the command of all the resources of Egyptian skill in the recording and preserving of historic memorials, possessed both by Joseph and by Moses, on the supposition that the Scripture narrative is simply true, and in view of the never-failing "Ægypticity," ascertained by the minute research of the learned Ebers, and by the familiar mastery of Brugsch, I am quite unable to see cause why this Joseph should, at the bidding of some modern critics, be resolved into a meteorologic mythus, or into an ethnological expression invented to denote "Israel" as opposed to "Judah," in the days of the kings or later; or, in short, into any other than the old historic son of Jacob, whom Jew and Christian have seen in him throughout the ages.

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\* Ex. xiii. 19. † Jos. *Contra Apion*. I. 32. ‡ Canon Cook, *Sp. Bib.* I. 462.  
§ For a careful account of the spot see *T.S.B.A.*, ii. 80.

## POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing paper was sent to the printer, a friend has sent me an interesting article by M. Ed. Naville in the *Revue Chrétienne* (1878, pp. 65 *et seqq.*), on the Israelites in Egypt, which contains many observations on the history of Joseph.

There is nothing, however, which differs from the views which I have expressed. The eminent Egyptologist believes that both Abraham and Joseph were in Egypt in the time of the Hyksôs Pharaohs, and considers the assertion of the Syncellus, that Joseph was made prime minister by Apophis (one of the last Hyksôs kings), "perfectly conformable with the chronological data."

I have also since procured a paper by M. Chabas, on the use of the walking-staff among the Hebrews and in ancient Egypt, and am much pleased to observe that he has already suggested the same connection between the ceremony of touching the head of the staff in making oath, and the act of Jacob in bowing himself to the head of the staff (that is, of Joseph's staff), as a token of homage, which I have noticed. I cannot but believe that this is the true explanation of the matter. M. Chabas has not remarked that this was the fulfilment of the dream. But this point was not relevant to his inquiry, although so very interesting in ours.

In my paper I have omitted to mention the celebrated Tale of the two Brothers (Papyrus d'Orbiney), which in several points bears so curiously on the story of Joseph in his lord's house. It is carefully treated by Dr. Ebers, who sees in it a striking proof of the "Ægypticity" of the Biblical narrative. A similar view is taken by Brugsch.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have now, on behalf of the meeting, to return thanks to Mr. Tomkins for his very interesting paper. (Hear, hear.) As he has received some correspondence on the subject with which he has dealt, it would, I think, be desirable that he should be invited to read it to us before the discussion on the paper commences; it will probably form a very useful introduction to the discussion.

The Rev. H. G. TOMKINS.—I have received one or two letters which are very interesting, and I think that those present will be particularly glad to hear the letter of M. Naville, who is one of the leading Egyptologists

of the present day,—a gentleman to whom was assigned the very arduous and most honourable task, by the Congress of Egyptologists, held in London, and presided over by Dr. Birch, of editing the great book—"The Ritual of the Dead," or "Book of the Dead"—the great book which treats of the destiny of the soul in the Hades of the Egyptians. (Hear, hear.) I communicated with M. Naville and heard from him about another matter, but I have received from him the following letter, written in English, and dated from Cannes :—

"VILLA AUGUSTA, CANNES, *January 23rd.*

'MY DEAR SIR,

"Accept my best thanks for your two letters, and for your paper on the Life of Joseph, which has been sent to me from Geneva. I have read it with great interest. It is, in fact, the outline of a very learned and useful commentary on the last chapters of Genesis.





"Now, I believe it is necessary that such books should be written. Christians have so often been reproached with their fear for scientific inquiry that it is our duty to show that, on the contrary, we would gladly favour all researches bearing upon Holy Scripture, and face the results at which scholars may arrive. On the other hand, we are to be cautious, and remember that knowledge is a capital which increases every day, but which is most movable. Egyptian and Assyrian scholars are often obliged to destroy what they have built with their own hands. It is therefore most important that a book written on such a grave subject should unite, like yours, sound learning and impartial criticism.

"As you do me the honour to ask for some further information, I must say that there are a few points on which I might add, perhaps, some particulars, but for the unfortunate circumstance of my being without a single book ; I am obliged to quote from memory ; however, you will allow me two or three observations."

[Here follows a critical observation which will be embodied in some detailed remarks on the form of oath referred to in p. 103.]

"I may here say that I have been pursuing this question as to the 'top of the staff' in a very minute manner, and the result of it all is that I believe Chabas was right in thinking that the passage in the papyrus Abbott referred to touching, or bowing to, or coming into some kind of contact with, the top of the staff, which designated the authority of the superior officer who tendered the oath, and I have since seen a most interesting passage in Brugsch's *History of Egypt* quite to the same effect, where the Pharaoh in a royal proclamation, equivalent to a charter, speaks of the people belonging to the Temple 'who are on the top of my staff,' or rather 'who are on the carved flower-knob of my staff.' Of course the expression 'on the staff' is perfectly familiar to English people, and it comes to the same meaning as was the case in Egypt. 'Attached to the staff,' or 'on the staff,' of the commanding officer is a perfectly common expression, and here, in Egypt, we have the beginning of it, and when asked a question as to 'the top of the staff,' we can explain

what is meant by modern usage. 'On the staff of the general' means attached to his authority, and the symbol is the bâton carried by a field-marshal, the sign of his great authority being attached to the top of the bâton in the form of the crown worn by his sovereign. (Hear, hear.) Therefore you must see you have an expression at the present day parallel to that used at the time of Joseph, and I ask why should not the bowing down to the top of his staff refer to the homage rendered to the vice-regal authority vested in Joseph?" M. Naville goes on to say:—

"The other day I came across a picture which reminded me strongly of Joseph and his employment. It is in Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 76 and 77, and *Prisse Monuments*, pl. 39-42. It has been taken from a tomb. There you see the King Amenophis III. sitting on his throne, and before him one of his ministers, Chaemha,     who seems to have had a very high position;"—

I was looking at this in the British Museum library the other day, and it is a most interesting tableau, representing all the people present, except the one great officer, bowing down with hands on their breasts, some of them actually flat down, licking the dust, and the others according to their several ranks, in different degrees of abasement; but the one great functionary, who may be likened to Joseph, is standing upright like a man, and there is an officer—some master of the ceremonies—engaged in fastening a royal collar of gold, the gift of the king, round the great officer's neck, just as the collar was put round the neck of Joseph. M. Naville proceeds thus:—

"He is called *The chief of the granaries of the whole kingdom*. Behind him are a great number of officials of different classes, bringing the tribute of the whole land. This man seems to have had nobody above him, as he speaks to the king himself, and he had under his command all the tax-gatherers and all that concerned the granaries. Besides he has this strange title, *The eyes of the king in the towns of the south, and his ears in the provinces of the north*; which implies that he knew the land perfectly; and that, like Joseph, 'he had gone throughout all the land of Egypt,' (Gen. xli. 46). I think Brugsch mentions Chaemha in his history, but I do not remember whether he points to his resemblance with Joseph,\* which I find particularly striking, considering that Joseph seems to have been a purely civil officer, and to have had nothing to do with the military class, which, however, must have been powerful under Apophis, who had wars during his reign.

"How very Egyptian verse 49 of the same chapter, compare line 11 of the great tablet of Abu Simbel: 'I will give thee corn in abundance, to enrich Egypt in all times; the wheat is like the sand of the shore; the granaries reach the sky, and the heaps are like mountains.'

\* No. See *Hist.* i. 437.—H. G. T.

"I am glad to see that you were interested by the article I wrote in the *Revue Chrétienne*. I think that I expressed there my opinion about Joseph's marriage. I believe that the king did it on purpose to have one of his men connected with the most ancient and the most venerated college of priests. The importance of Heliopolis as a religious centre comes out in many inscriptions, and it is natural that Apophis should attempt to create a link between his Government and those priests, who most likely were of pure Egyptian origin. The priests in general must have been very powerful at that time when we see Joseph respecting all their privileges, while he taxed so heavily the rest of the country. Of course all those points require some further proofs; but they seem to me to agree pretty well with the Hebrew narrative. The Egyptian character of the whole account is certainly the best demonstration of its authenticity.

"There are a good many points on which I should like to make some more remarks; but without any book of reference it is hardly possible, specially for a man who is now entirely absorbed in the variants of the Ritual. I look forward to the publication of your book, which will deserve careful study. . . . Excuse this letter, much too long for its worth, and believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours truly,

"EDOUARD NAVILLE."

I have also received a letter from M. l'Abbé Vigouroux, who writes :—

"J'ai été heureux de constater, lors de la publication de vos *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, si intéressantes et si remarquables, que nous étions arrivés à des résultats analogues; cet accord me semble une confirmation frappante de la vérité que nous cherchons l'un et l'autre à défendre.

"Je viens de lire aussi avec beaucoup de plaisir vos excellentes observations sur l'histoire de Joseph. Tout m'y paraît juste et exact."

There are also letters from Dr. Birch and Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, to whom I am indebted for valuable notes on points of detail, of which I will avail myself in some additional observations ultimately.

Mrs. Finn has kindly sent me the following remarks :—

P. 85. In Palestine appliqué-work of coloured  $\text{פִּיִּם}$  is still used as ornamentation. Coloured "pieces," = "patches," are skilfully laid on and form very pretty ornament to garments.

P. 95.  $\text{חֶרֶם}$  in its Arabic form is still the name for the signet, whether ring or seal.

[In Egyptian, *Teb* is the finger-ring, *Khatem* is the signet or sealing-ring. Both occur.—Note by Dr. Birch.]

P. 96.  $\text{שָׁלֵט}$ , known to us in the word *Sultan*.

P. 98. "Is he well?" (Arabic *Tayyeb*,  $\text{טוֹב}$ ) is still synonymous in Palestine with "to be alive."

P. 100. You notice the  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the agricultural produce. To this day in Palestine the cultivator gives the owner of the land  $\frac{1}{3}$  if he has found not

only labour but cattle and seed. If the owner gives cattle and seed as well, the cultivator only gets  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the produce.

P. 103. It may be worth notice that a walking-staff in Palestine is often carried *head-down*.

P. 104. *חֶמְטָן*, *wheat*, is commonly found as *חֶמְטָן*, the  $\eta$  being dropped. In Palestine we use the word *Hhunta*, which is the same in Syro-Arabic.

P. 105. Joseph spake unto the "house" of Pharaoh. "The house" still is the polite phrase for "wife," in common use.

(I do not think the word is used in the sense of "wife" in the case referred to. I think it is used in the same sense as that in which we use the word "household" in England.—H. G. T.)

Lieut. C. R. Conder, R.E., writes :—"As to *צָרִי* (p. 87), it seems to me probable that the *Balanites Aegyptiaca*, or *Zakkum*, was the balm-tree; as the *Opobalsamum* does not now occur in Palestine, and I see no very good reason to suppose it ever did.

"May I also suggest that decapitation (p. 92) is mentioned in the Mishna as a legal punishment. See *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 132."

The Rev. J. Baylee, D.D., asks :—"Are you quite warranted in giving so strong a force to 'my wife' in Gen. xlv. 27 (p. 85), when the same word is applied to Bilhah and Zilpah in Gen. xxx. 4, 9?"

I think that after all I have been perfectly accurate in the meaning I have attached to the words "my wife." It occurred to Jacob's mind, when blessing his descendants, that he should call Rachel only, or Rachel emphatically, "my wife," and it is in strict conformity with this that she is so named emphatically in the pedigree. I do not at all wonder at this. Certainly Rachel was especially Jacob's wife, and it is not in the least degree marvellous to me, nor does it appear unfair, that the firstborn of the true destined wife should have the birthright given to him and should, in fact, be the preferred son. I think it was not a mere matter of dotage on the part of Jacob, although there are a great many people who would take so low a view of the patriarchs that they would altogether wash out their individual characters, and render them such ghosts of themselves that they are to be either hissed off the stage altogether, or laid down to be poor infirm people, of such weak characters that it is of no consequence who they were or what they did. But I am not of that way of thinking at all. (Hear, hear.) Dr. Baylee also says :—

"With regard to the word *מִצְנֵפֶת*, can we go so far as to make it designate unique distinction as heir apparent (if I may use the phrase), when it was the common garment of the king's daughters who were virgins?" 2 Sam. xiii. 18, 19.

This is true enough, but even at the present day a special ornamental garment is given to the favourite son, and I think it certainly did indicate that it was intended to do a particular honour to Joseph; and if it were really

to designate him as the one who was ultimately to hold the patriarchal rank of the family, that is a solution of the matter.



Dr. Baylee also notices that in the phrase translated, "the eleven stars," there is no article in the Hebrew, nor in the LXX. This is important, but it may be that the full complement of twelve would have been called "the twelve stars;" and I leave my suggestion in the text for what it is worth.


I refer to an old book of Ainsworth's, which gives an independent translation of the Hebrew, and there the word is omitted—he simply says "the sun and moon and eleven stars." I mean to say with regard to this that if it had been a certain series of twelve, then the article would have come in. It was not "the" eleven stars, for the eleven did not make up the series, but had the whole series been meant it would then have come in, so that after all it does not all melt away, this suggestion that it implies some familiar cycle of twelve stars.

Dr. Baylee, like Dr. Birch, thinks it very uncertain whether *nebat* and *nekpath* were the same original word (p. 87).

He writes:—"I agree with your observations on גֵּית הַפֶּהֶר."

I am very glad that Dr. Baylee agrees with me here.

Dr. Birch notices (p. 93) that Pierret, *Zeitschrift*, f.; *Æg. spr.* 1879, 136, gives  variant of , horse, as a proper name in the 30th year of Amenemha I. (from the Bulak stela). This is very interesting, but I do not see in it, with M. Pierret, a proof of the appearance of the horse itself in Egypt at that date, but only of a (foreign) person bearing a name derived from that of the horse. The personal name may have preceded the animal. Just as you may take the name of Oliphant, which is found as a surname in Scotland, and which means elephant—in fact, "elephant" was anciently spelt "oliphant." The existence of this name in Scotland does not prove that elephants had been brought there before the name was known, but the natural supposition is that some one had gone there with that name before the beast was ever introduced into that country. The personal name may have preceded the animal.

Dr. Birch doubts if *qebh* (p. 98) is the equivalent of the Hebrew word. On further thought, I believe , *kabu*, is the real Egyptian equivalent, applied to cups and flowers.

The Rev. P. Lilly has kindly given me several interesting suggestions. He refers to Rosenmüller on Gen. xli. 42, who notices that by the same ceremony (gift of the signet) the Sultan constitutes the Grand Vizier.

Of course, we need not go beyond our own Cabinet for an illustration of this: they receive the seals of office at the present time.

The same eminent commentator quotes, with apparent approval, a similar explanation of Gen. xlvii. 31, to that given in p. 103, viz.: that Jacob bowed



himself to the staff of his son, which Joseph held in his hand as the symbol of his vice-regal dignity, and kissed him, thus honouring him according to his dream (Gen. xxxi. 7).—Rosenm. *Scholia*.

On this curious subject I have made more minute inquiry, which will be recorded in detail. The explanation given in my paper is, I believe, quite the most probable.

I have to thank Miss Amelia B. Edwards for her kindness in sending me very interesting suggestions on this topic.

Rev. PREBENDARY ROW.—I think that the importance of this Paper largely depends upon a paragraph which I notice at the end of the last page:—“I am quite unable to see cause why this Joseph should, at the bidding of some modern critics, be resolved into a meteorologic mythus.” Now, so far as I am aware, there is no person among the large range of unbelievers, who denies that the Old Testament contains a good deal of good history. There is, however, one theory set up in opposition to this, which has been elaborated in a work I have read within the last twelvemonths. The author of the book in question endeavours to show that the whole of the Old Testament characters, and a good many besides, were simply solar myths. Having read the book with some care, I must say that I do not think much danger to revealed religion will come from it, or from kindred works, for it seems so absolute an offence against all the principles of common sense, that it will certainly not be of any great use even to controvert the writer’s views. (Hear, hear.) On the principles that critics of this kind are attempting to resolve the characters of the Old Testament into solar myths, I would undertake to make nearly every fact in existence a solar myth. (Hear, and laughter.) If their principles were conceded, it would be easy to show that every character in Shakspeare is really a myth. We all know that the sun does, at various times of the year, assume very various aspects. I need not attempt to enumerate the actual means or instrumentalities by which these solar myths are manufactured; it is sufficient to tell you that it is from the various appearances the sun presents, aided by the fancy of mankind. It seems to me that if the principles laid down by such critics as I have referred to are conceded, it would be easy to prove that Queen Victoria is a myth; that Lord Beaconsfield is a myth; that Mr. Gladstone is a myth, and that our worthy selves, here assembled, are all solar myths. (Laughter.) This is what seems to be the actual upshot of all such criticism, and I think, therefore, that it is hardly worth while, as far as this Institute is concerned, to read a Paper intended to refute the outrageous logic, and the enormous amount of assumption and fallacy involved in such principles. This being so, I do not intend occupying the time of this meeting except so far as will enable me to draw attention to what I regard as the real point of the controversy. I think the point we ought really to consider is this: What we want to maintain is, not that the Old Testament contains a great deal of good history, which I believe no one now-a-days thinks of disputing, but that the superhuman or supernatural element in it

contains good history ; and, on the other hand, it should be observed that it by no means follows that because the ordinary facts contained in the Old Testament are good history, the supernatural element is good history likewise. And here I will refer to a conversation I had last January with a gentleman who stands in a high position as a writer on the constitutional history of England. He told me that in the documents of the middle ages, those who were engaged in historical researches meet with a number of facts, just such as might be expected in ordinary life, all told in so simple and truthful a manner, that no person would think of disputing that they were good history ; but, he added, in the closest connection with these are a number of miraculous stories which no man on earth could possibly believe to be true. According, then, to my friend's observation, we have during the middle ages a very large amount of good history, containing the most ordinary facts that can well be conceived, and so told that they receive ready credence, while united with these in their immediate context, are a number of miraculous statements, which, as he says, it is impossible for any one to believe. Here we have two things—a true historical statement and an utterly fabulous, miraculous story, side by side ; and I think that this so far bears on the subject that there are numbers of persons who suppose that because we can prove that the Old Testament contains a great deal of good history, we are, therefore, proving the historical truth of its miraculous element. I say that it behoves us carefully to look at this matter, because it is of no use to attempt to put down unbelievers' objections to the historical character of the Old Testament by such arguments, which, of course, can be given in abundance ; but what we want to prove is, not the truth of the history generally, but that the superhuman and supernatural element contained in the Bible is also true. This is the real point, and the whole gist of the modern controversy respecting both the Old and the New Testament Scriptures centres in this. To this therefore we ought to address ourselves, and it seems to me that with all the proof given in this Paper of the general truth of the History of Joseph, as well as the proof that might be given of the other characters of the Old Testament, still the Paper does not deal with the great fact which we wish to maintain, namely, that not only is there a great deal of truth in Biblical history, but that the supernatural element is as true as the ordinary facts.

REV. A. R. GREGORY.—May I ask Mr. Tomkins one question upon a point which struck me very forcibly when listening to one part of the paper. During the interim which elapsed between the death of Joseph and the taking away of his bones into Palestine, where might his remains have been kept, and how would those who removed them procure them when they wanted to take the same away, especially when we consider the circumstances under which they left ?

REV. H. G. TOMKINS.—I think I can give you a tolerably good theory in answer to your question. In Egypt the destination of the mummy was to be consigned to that sepulchre to which the family had constant access, and, in the Egyptian sepulchres the family not only had constant access, but

a perpetual duty was imposed upon them, which is represented at the present day by the Roman Catholic custom of saying masses. There was, in their case, even more than the saying of masses among the Catholics, because the Egyptians not only deposited the ritual papyrus and deemed it needful to offer up prayers for the departed, that they might fulfil all the destinies in Hades, but, besides that, they offered on behalf of the dead personal offerings, while legacies and endowments of a very magnificent kind were given for the purpose of maintaining the perpetual repose of the deceased in their mummy cases. Therefore, it is highly probable that Joseph, in his injunctions and provision for the family care of his mortal remains, would have taken very good care that his body, properly embalmed, should be forthcoming in after generations. We have two historical facts, the one that Joseph was embalmed and put into a coffin, the other that his injunctions were carried out when the children of Israel went forth out of Egypt; and I think there is no historical improbability in believing in the fulfilment of Joseph's injunctions, and admitting the credibility of the latter part of the narrative. I hope I have answered the question. (Hear, hear.) The deposit of the mummy was a most sacred family trust—an object of great veneration and care.

Mr. G. M. TURPIN.—I should like to make one or two observations in consequence of what has fallen from the Rev. Prebendary Row. It has been my fortune to spend a great deal of time in defending the Old Testament, and my views and opinions on the point raised by Mr. Row are opposed to those which he has enunciated. The great object of the controversy carried on by sceptics has been to destroy the credibility of the Old Testament narrative, and by that means to show that there is no historical basis for its supernatural element. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me, therefore—as a common sense person, not having very much acquaintance with Egyptian hieroglyphics, although I have read very extensively what has appeared in English on the matter, as my friend Mr. Tomkins is aware—that his is the most useful way of defending the Scriptures. It shows that the Book contains nothing but what is true history, and this is proved by the discoveries we have so far made among the Egyptian hieroglyphics. When we are told that the opponents of the Bible would destroy all faith in it, it is an advantage to be able to go to Assyria and find that Biblical history is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments. (Hear, hear.) These things, I think, give us a firm basis of hard and solid fact on which to rest a belief in the supernatural element of the Bible. Another point of importance is to be found in the concessions made by modern scientists, which show that, when you have traced them through all their various wanderings, they cannot get away from God Almighty after all. (Hear, hear.) I affirm, then, that the historical facts of the Bible are admitted and proved by the modern revelations of Egyptology and Assyriology, and I assert that there is a good deal to be made of all this in our defence of the Old Testament, not only as to its truth in regard to matters of ordinary history, but also as to Supernatural Revelation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. W. DIBDIN.—It seems to me that the gentleman who has just sat down has thoroughly understood the true state of this subject, and it has also struck me that the Rev. Prebendary Row has lost sight of what constitutes the real value of Papers of this description. The argument of the infidel is, that if he can show the so-called historical facts of the Bible not to be facts at all, but mere traditions which have no basis in truth, then, *à fortiori*, the supernatural element, which is also contained in the Scriptures, must likewise be a mere delusion. I certainly thought, from my recollection of the controversies on this subject, that the strong infidel argument in former times was that the historical facts were not facts at all ; but we now hear, and are very glad to hear, that the infidel party are prepared to give up this point, that they have altogether dropped their old line of argument and now admit the Biblical facts to be true history. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps it may not be too much to hope that having thus been shaken out of one position, they may ultimately be shaken out of the inner circle of their fortifications,—that having admitted the proofs furnished by men like Mr. Tomkins, who have devoted their lives and their great abilities to the task of showing the truth of the Scriptures, as proved from external sources, they will ere long come to see that the supernatural element in Scripture is also true. (Hear, hear.)

Rev. J. SHARP.—As an old Indian missionary who has had great experience in combating infidel views imported from England, and especially those of a gentleman who is now a distinguished member of Parliament (laughter), I should like to give my testimony to the great value I set on Mr. Tomkins' paper. I once listened to a very interesting lecture, by a learned Hindu, on the New Testament, and I remember that one of his great points was that we had no authority for the life and doings of Christ except what we had obtained from his own disciples. One of the passages which he quoted in order to show this, was from a history of the Roman Empire, in which it was stated that the early Christian Emperors destroyed a great deal of the Pagan literature, and he said that if we only had that literature to appeal to, we should be able to judge as to what was true in the supposed history of Christ. Now, I think it self-evident that if we can only obtain from Egyptian philology and Egyptian monuments and papyri, or any evidence of that kind, proof altogether independent of the Old Testament, of the truth of the plain history contained in that book, then, as has just been said, we shall have a firm basis on which we may proceed to deal with the supernatural element. (Hear, hear.) We shall in that case have procured independent testimony against which no one will have a right to say it is only the evidence of persons who are interested in the case, and who are consequently prejudiced in what they say in favour of it. (Hear, hear.) From this point of view, I value Mr. Tomkins' paper very much, and I should like to say, further, with reference to it, that the results which have already been obtained from all the learning and investigation which he and others have bestowed on this subject might, with great advantage, be set forth in plain and simple language in a series of short papers to be circulated in India, in

order to counteract the infidel publications that are sent out from London in large quantities by every mail, and read very extensively by educated Hindus all over the country. (Applause.)

Rev. H. G. TOMKINS.—I will endeavour to occupy but very little time in replying to what has been said by the Rev. Prebendary Row. There is no one in this room who can possibly feel with more acuteness than I do, the immense importance of maintaining all that is contained in Holy Scripture, or that, if we are to draw distinctions, what is called the supernatural element is the cause and warrant of all the rest. But the historical basis is the support of the supernatural superstructure, and it is because if the basis should be destroyed the superstructure would fall with it that I have felt so very much the necessity of devoting what leisure God has given me to the most minute investigation of the historic evidence. (Hear, hear.) Now I have a thorough answer to what has fallen from Prebendary Row with regard to the supposed want of necessity, if I understood him rightly, for such investigations as these. It would appear that he thinks we are beating the air and slaying the slain; but we are neither doing the one nor the other. I will address myself to two points only. One is the mythological theory. If Mr. Row has happened to see the paper to which, for the sake of brevity, I have merely referred this evening, he will have noticed—and in my book also, to which I have prefixed the same remarks—that I have already had to tussle with that adversary, the mythological theory. It so chanced that just at the time I read my first paper,\* Goldziher's book, which made a stir in the literature of biblical history, came out. And I say that there was such a thing as a great body of negative opinion which had formed itself in the direction of approval of the mythological explanation, but that to some extent at least that approval has been modified. With regard to the particular character whose history I have taken up—Joseph—I have this to say: my subject being Joseph, the narrative with regard to him does not bring me across the supernatural excepting as it regards the dreams, and I suppose I really need not stop to argue that God Almighty may communicate knowledge to those who sleep as well as to those who are awake. That I have thought unnecessary, and I expressly guarded myself by stating that I did not want to enter into argument; what I desired was to give you, ladies and gentlemen, the means of arguing—the groundwork for criticism. In the fashionable books of philosophical explanation Joseph is resolved into a merely mythical character. It is assumed that he was not a human being that ever lived, but the son of the "rain-cloud," which was Rachel. Rachel was the "rain-cloud" and Joseph was nothing but the rain that was produced by the "rain-cloud"; but there was fanciful ground put forward for the mythological explanation. With regard to the other matter, as to the historic accuracy of the Scripture narrative being admitted, all I can say is

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\* "The Life of Abraham, Illustrated by Recent Researches." *Transactions*, vol. xii. p. 110.

that I wish with all my heart it were so, but it is tolerably notorious that this is not the case. If Mr. Row had looked at the book, or had asked what book was referred to, when it was stated here that certain professors, in the year 1873, had commended to young people a quantity of sophistical objections which were intended to show the impossibility of the historic narrative, he would have seen that there was a foundation for what was said; but I, prudently I think, refrained from mentioning what the book was. That was a translation. Of late, Germany not being sufficiently negative for our English sceptics, more scepticism has been imported from Holland, where three eminent Dutch Professors of Leyden allied themselves together to produce a book called "The Bible for Young People" \*—a book with which I am only too familiar. That book was expressly prepared for young people, and its object was to shake all to pieces their belief in the historic character of the early books of the Bible. There are all manner of objections; to two or three I have called attention, by way of specimens, and answered them. Such are the kind of books that are written for young people by gentlemen of literary fame and well-known attainments. They are published in the interest of some of the negative religionists—to use a term which they will not object to—they are sold largely for children to read, and they give the tribal view of Joseph. Perhaps some of my hearers do not know what I mean by the tribal view, but there are a few of our friends here who are acquainted with my meaning. They take the story of Jacob and Joseph, and the twelve sons of Jacob, and so forth, and so handle it as to favour a theory as to the position of the tribe of Ephraim. We very well know that the tribe of Ephraim was the rival of the tribe of Judah, and this is not the first time we have heard about the one envying the other—Ephraim envying Judah. There was a tribal rivalry between the two which ended in that terrible split by which the kingdom fell into two. They tell us that it is all an *ex post facto*, cooked up business—the whole story of the patriarchs got up in the interest of the kingdom of the ten tribes, to magnify the mythical forefather Joseph, who was to be made a hero. Now, does not Mr. Row know

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\* The Rev. H. G. TOMKINS calls attention to the following extracts from *The Bible for Young People*, Vol. I. :—"But although we cannot accept the accounts of the patriarchs as completely trustworthy, we might easily suppose that they had a historical foundation, that such men as Abram, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest did really live, and that the stories give us, on the whole, a correct account of their fortunes, though in an embellished and exaggerated form. But when we come to examine these stories closely, and to compare them with one another, we find that this is not the case," &c., p. 129. "No doubt the names of the sons of Jacob were simply those of the Israelite tribes, which might easily be used as the names of tribal fathers," &c., p. 133. "The names of the various tribes and districts were made into those of men, and were then brought into connection with each other," p. 135. "We shall speak of Abram, Hagar Esau, Joseph, and all the others as if they were men who really lived, and shall try to strengthen our moral life by marking their faith, and to take warning from the description of their sins," p. 139.

better than I do, that objectors see two interwoven incoherent narratives in the story of Joseph, which is a matter that I have said I would not enter into, but will leave the answer on the basis of the results of archaeological investigation? Well, these writers I have referred to tell our little children how to distinguish the one story from the other, that the one was written in the interests of the men of Judah, but that all that which we are accustomed to admire in the character of Joseph, both in behalf of our children and ourselves, has been cooked up as an *arrière pensée*, to magnify the tribe of Ephraim; that the Joseph of that lovely story was an invention, and that the only meaning of the word Joseph was the tribe; only they have projected backwards, if I may say so, and endeavoured to account for the greatness of the tribe of Ephraim by an ancestral glory which never existed. I have stated in the plainest way I can this theory of theirs, and I ask Mr. Row, or I would ask him if he were still here, whether he does not agree with me that there is sufficient warranty for my saying with David—"What have I now done?" "Is there not a cause?" (Applause.) I am very thankful to have heard what our friend from India has said. I have been greatly concerned about the condition of India, and it is not without reference to providing a handbook of historical materials and references for such controversies as these in the distant parts of the earth, that I have put together the paper I have read. I may add that I shall be only too thankful if it can be of any service, and I should be happy to help to put it into any form that may have the effect of rendering it more generally available for circulation abroad. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting was then adjourned.