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ART. III.—MOSES AND THE PHARAOHS.

PART II.

II. THE identification of the next Pharaoh with whom Moses had to do, THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS, is now easily made. He was, of course, as the sacred narrative implies, the successor of Rameses II., namely, his thirteenth son, Menephtah.

In the fifth year of his reign, this king had a great battle with the Libyan and other people of the Mediterranean coasts. These were chiefly of the Japhetic or Aryan race, and included the Achaioi (*i.e.*, the Achæans, or Greeks, previously termed on the monuments Hanebu or Ionians¹). They had invaded the Egyptian Delta from the Libyan borders on the west. They were driven back with great slaughter, leaving behind them many wounded and immense spoils. The record of this on the temple at Karnak has long been known, but another and very rhetorical and bombastic version of it was discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie, in the ruins of Menephtah's temple at Thebes, in 1895. The importance of this Stele of Menephtah, as it is called, is that it gives, for the first time in the monuments of the ancient Egyptians, so far as has yet been discovered, the name of the children of Israel. This occurs in the short concluding summary, which describes the condition to which all Egypt's neighbours and enemies had been reduced, thanks, of course, to Menephtah's prowess! The passage, in effect, is this: "Kheta [the country of the Hittites] is brought to peace; Canaan is captured, and all the wicked; Ascalon is led away; Gezer is taken; Jamnia is brought to nought; *Israel (the people) is eradicated and has no fruit more.*"

There may be some distant reference here to previous attempts made to destroy the male seed of Israel (Exod. i. 15, ff.), but seeing that the name of Israel alone, of all the people here mentioned, is not followed by any determinative of country (thus implying that Israel alone had no country of its own), as well as from other considerations, it is most probable that Menephtah refers to the Hebrews as having fled from his country, and now wandering, no doubt to destruction, in the wilderness. Thus we should have distinct contemporary allusion to the Exodus of Israel.

¹ Achaioi was the name of the Greeks in Homeric times, and one used for the space of not more than 140 years. Hence the Exodus of the Children of Israel and the Greek war with Troy would both fall, approximately, into the same period of time. See Dr. Birch's "History of Egypt." p. 132.

Of further interest to us, and directly bearing upon our subject, is an inscription on another monument of Menephtah's reign telling us that he was engaged in building at Paramessu (or Raamses), his father's city in the Delta, and that he condemned the brickmakers to send in a daily tale of bricks, just as we know the Hebrews had to do (Exod. v. 8) in the reign and by the command of this very tyrant. The inscription and the Bible record appear to refer to the same circumstances—the task imposed upon the Children of Israel in brick-making for the store city of Raamses. But even if they do not refer to identically the same thing, we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable confirmation of the sacred narrative, for here we have a record of a peculiar feature of the despotism of this Pharaoh, a record authorized by himself, and of a feature of his history unknown to all later times, except from the Bible, until nineteenth century discovery and decipherment revealed absolutely independent contemporary proof.

Further testimony to Menephtah being the Pharaoh of the Exodus is shown by the fact that most of his work was in the Delta, where, as we now perceive, his presence was necessary to deal with the troubles of his land which chiefly arose in that part. Alone of the kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty, his constant residence was in the Delta; sometimes, no doubt like that of his father before him at Tanis (Zoar) and other cities in the district, but more usually perhaps at Memphis. And this exactly meets the requirements of the Bible narrative, for the continual comings and goings of Moses between Goshen and Pharaoh's abode seem to necessitate the Court being near to Goshen, *i.e.*, in the Delta.

Menephtah's tomb is shown in Bâb el Malûk, near Thebes, where are so many of the sepulchres of the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. But his body has never been found or traced, and it is doubtful whether he was ever interred there. The ancient Egyptians, like the ancient Jews, were in the habit of preparing their tombs during their own lifetime. Still, as we have previously seen, the Scripture history does not tell us that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was himself drowned—it avoids doing so; while as to Psalm cxxxvi. 15, it may quite reasonably and reverently be doubted whether the words "He overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea" are to be interpreted as declaring, what the historical narrative does not declare, namely, that the Pharaoh himself then and there perished.

III. There remains, however, one difficulty with respect to our identification of the Pharaohs, and it is this: Rameses III. of the Twentieth Dynasty, is known to have made a series of

incursions or raids into Palestine and adjacent regions, with the object of obtaining booty. In Northern Syria, where his expedition would appear to have been more of an invasion than a mere raid, he even built a temple to which the Rutennu brought tribute. This was quite early in his reign. A little later his incursions north of Egypt were chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of Southern Palestine: A list of the places thus visited by Rameses III., that monarch, on his return to Egypt, caused to be engraved on the pylon of a temple he built at Medinet Habou, near Thebes. A careful re-examination of that list was made by Professor Sayce in 1892, and showed the names to include Beth Anoth, Carmel of Judah, Hebron, Libnah, Aphekah, Karmel-Judah;¹ the district of Salem or Jerusalem, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and even the land of Moab.

The great Harris papyrus, which contains the annals of the reign of Rameses III., tells us also that—probably in a later year—he penetrated into Edom, attacking some of the villages of Mount Seir and carrying away some of the villagers captive into Egypt, along with cattle and other spoil. It does not tell us how this great Pharaoh came to be content with such paltry results of so far an expedition. Did he meet with more than his match in Edom, and was he glad to retreat, plundering a few poor villagers on his way home?

At all events, it is very remarkable that neither in Rameses' accounts of his invasion of Edom nor in the more detailed ones of his Palestine raids, is there any mention of the Children of Israel.

It is also remarkable, on the other hand, that all these raids of Rameses III. are unknown to the Books of Joshua and Judges, although, if Manetho's numbers could be relied on, the later raids must have been some seventy or eighty years after the Exodus, or about the time, according to Archbishop Ussher's chronology, that the Children of Israel were grievously oppressed by and "sold into the hand of Chushan-rishathaim King of Mesopotamia" (Judges iii. 8-10).

This total silence on the part of both Israel and of Rameses III. with regard to each other, at a time when they must have been well within each other's "sphere of influence," is an obvious difficulty.

The explanation of it might be that these were only raids and not settled conquests or oppressions on the part of Rameses III., as was the contemporary oppression of Chushan-rishathaim, which (Judges iii. 8) lasted eight years; moreover,

¹ The foregoing names are of places in Southern Judah, and will be found in the lists of Joshua xv.

they only affected temporarily one part of the country, and may not therefore have seemed worthy of permanent record in the sacred narrative—a narrative always extremely compressed (and never more so than at this particular period), unless the circumstances have a special religious significance.

This explanation might be sufficient in itself, but it assumes the correctness both of Archbishop Ussher's calculated dates (which are given as only "circa" or approximate in every case in the Book of Judges, in the margin of our reference Bibles), and also of Manetho's statement of the number of years or Pharaohs from the death of Menepthah to Rameses III. It behoves us, therefore, to look into Manetho's figures of this period as they have come down to us.

The names of the Pharaohs next after Menepthah are, of the same Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti II., Amenmeses Sa-Pthah; and of the twentieth Dynasty, Setnecht and Rameses III.

Seti II. is called by Josephus, Sethos-Rhameses, but by the Epitomists of Manetho, Rhameses simply, and of these, Africanus alone gives us the length of his reign, and that as 60 years. Now, as little is known of this king from the monuments, and as the latest date of his reign which they supply is of his second year, the general opinion of Egyptologists is that Manetho's number of 60 years is very greatly in error, and probably arises from confusing him with his predecessor Rameses II.

There is confusion, again, in Manetho's copyists with regard to the next King Amenmeses, Africanus giving his reign as of 5 years only, Syncellus as 26 years! None of the few references that there are to him on the monuments are dated in any year of his reign, which probably was a very short one.

The length of the reign of the last Pharaoh of the nineteenth Dynasty, Sa-Pthah, according to Manetho's list, was 7 years; this is probably not far wrong, the highest date given on any monument being of the third year of his reign.

Manetho's remains give us no particulars of the kings of the twentieth Dynasty, so that Set-necht's name even does not occur in them. The monuments give, however, a reference to the first year of his reign, and also, it is said, to the seventh year. His son Rameses III. succeeded him, and reigned apparently 32 years. On the pylon or temple he built at Medinet Habu, the latest of the raids he made into Palestine which are mentioned are those of the eleventh and twelfth years of his reign, but his last raid in that region, as recorded at Karnak, was in the sixteenth of his rule.

Now let us set down the probable chronology of the Egyptian kings from the death of Menepthah, the Pharaoh

of the Exodus, until the last invasion of Palestine by Rameses III. Here I am indebted to the very helpful kindness of Professor W. M. Flinders-Petrie for communicating to me his reckoning of the years in question. It is as follows :

	Years.
Seti II.—The highest date of his rule given by the monuments is of his second year. (The sixty years of the Greek writers is an error, arising from the confusion of Seti II.'s with Rameses II.'s reign.) Judging by the remains of Seti II., he reigned at the <i>outside</i> - - - - -	10
Amen-messu, in the Greek lists, reigned five years. His monuments are very rare. He reigned not more, probably, than	5
Si-pthah, only three years mentioned on the monuments; in the Greek lists - - - - -	7
Set-nekht, a monument is said to allow him - - - - -	7
Rameses III., last campaign in Palestine - - - - -	16
Therefore, from the death of Menepthah to the end of Egyptian raids into Palestine, not more than - - - - -	
	45

The foregoing is necessarily only an approximate statement but is probably very near to the truth, although I should be inclined to reduce a little the length of two or three of the reigns.

The main result, however, to our present study is this, that the ordinary Bible chronology gives us about forty years from the Exodus until the Children of Israel crossed the Jordan to take possession of the land of Canaan (Num. xiv. 33, 34; Deut. i. 3, ii. 7, 14; Josh. v. 6) and five years more (Josh. xiv. 7, 10) before Hebron and Southern Palestine generally (which was the part overrun by Rameses III.) were given to Caleb to conquer for himself and his tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 13 ff.), and these forty-five years bring us to exactly the date of the last invasion by Rameses III. of these parts.

Thus Egyptian and Scripture chronology are again in full agreement.

And the *circumstances* of the two contemporary histories are also in full accord. For the ravages of the southern part of Palestine had so weakened it that its people easily fell before the advance of Israel, and no tribe seems to have had an easier task in taking possession of the land of its inheritance (excepting the city of Jerusalem) than had Judah (see, *e.g.*, Joshua x., especially verse 40), although that southern part of Canaan had once been strong and well fortified. Secondly, the invasions of Rameses were chiefly for booty (of which his monuments give long lists), and so, as Professor Petrie has pointed out,¹ the Amorites had been despoiled before the Children of Israel came upon them with the righteous sword

¹ In a letter to the *Times* (weekly edition), September 30, 1892.

of destruction. Hence, although we read of the Hebrews taking the goods of the slain and vanquished, there is no mention of precious metals among the booty, or other articles of value, except cattle. The single case to the contrary, that of Ai, was of a city lying too far north to come within the reach of Rameses III., as doubtless were those places from which the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xxii. 8) obtained their silver and gold, etc.

It has been further suggested¹ (and the chronology *might* allow) that the Children of Israel may really have encountered in battle the army of Rameses III., while on one of these raiding expeditions, and that not in Palestine but in Edom, where, as we have seen, his marauding army penetrated.

That Israel did actually meet with opposition and deliverance in Edom we learn from Num. xxi. 14, 15, which reads as follows in the Authorized Version: "Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord, what He did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, and at the stream of the brook that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab." "In the brooks of Arnon" and the rest of the passage refers to the complete victories of Israel over Sihon, King of the Amorites, from the River Arnon (their south boundary separating them from Moab) northwards. The beginning of the passage, however, *apparently* refers to the Lord's great deliverance of Israel at the Exodus: "what He did in the Red Sea." If that were so, it is somewhat remarkable to find an allusion to those circumstances in a passage speaking of Israel's passage through North-East Edom and Moab. But the Authorized Version here gives a curious mistranslation of a curiously obscure text. As a matter of fact, there is no verb at all in the Hebrew of the sentence which consists of only two words, with a prefixed particle to each. The particle prefixed to the first word "Vâhêb" signifies that the word is in the objective case and governed by a transitive verb, though the verb itself is not given. Moses and the Children of Israel of that time of course knew quite well what verb was understood. In all probability the meaning is: "He (the Lord) gave victory," or "conquered," or "delivered." The Authorized Version is quite right therefore in inserting the words "what He did," and that was not "in the Red Sea," but in, as the margin tells us, "Vaheb in Suphah." Where "Vaheb" was has not yet been made out. The LXX., instead of Vaheb, read "Zahab," which may mean the same as Di-Zahab (*i.e.*, Zahab territory) of Deut. i. 1. But "Suphah" is probably the same, practically, as "Suph" in the first verse

¹ By Professor Sayce in the *Academy* of October 22, 1892.

of Deuteronomy, which begins thus in the Revised Version: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah¹ over against Suph." Suph, then, and therefore we assume "Vaheb in Suphah," was in the wilderness valley of Edom, and there God did great things for Israel, that is to say, probably (as the Book of the Wars of the Lord sang of it) in "Vaheb, in Suphah," in Edom, the Lord gave Israel victory from their enemies in the battle.

This war was not apparently with the Edomites themselves (Num. xx. 14-22), nor apparently was it with the Amorites, who did not now possess this part, and from whom, when at Sinai, forty years before, the presumptuous host of Israel had fled to Mount Seir (Num. xiv. 45; Deut. i. 44). But, as we have seen, the army of Rameses III. about this time did actually invade Edom. It may quite well have been, therefore, that the enemy from whom the Lord at this time delivered His people was none other than the ravaging army of Rameses III., in which case that monarch was the third and last Pharaoh with whom Moses had to do.

On July 5, 1881, acting on information received, Herr Emil Brugsch, of the Khedivial Museum, Cairo, discovered hidden in a cavernous passage opening out of a deep pit in the rocky ravine of Dêr el Bahari, near Thebes, no fewer than thirty-nine mummies of kings, queens, princes, princesses and priests of ancient Egypt—one of them being of the seventeenth, all the rest of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twenty-first Dynasties. It was a marvellous archæological treasure-trove. There were the mummied remains of, among others, kings Aahmes, Amenhotep I., Thothmes I., II., III. (the great king), Rameses I., Seti I., Rameses II., but *not* of Menephtah, and of Rameses III.

The most interesting of these to us now is Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression of Israel, the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses was born and attained manhood.

His mummy was in a state of perfect preservation. It was wrapped in rose-coloured linen, of a texture finer than the finest Indian muslin, upon which lotus-flowers were strewn. One of the bands which pass across the shrouds to keep them in place bears a hieratic inscription stating that this, the

¹ Here a note in the margin explains the name Arabah, "that is, the deep valley running north and south of the Dead Sea." More commonly the name Arabah is restricted, as in this place, to the depression south of the Dead Sea, on the western front of Mount Seir, Edom.

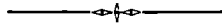
mummy of Rameses II., was concealed in a pit at a time when a foreign army entered Egypt.

All the mummies found were brought down to Cairo and placed in the Boolak Museum. It was my good fortune to see them there; and was it not indeed a strange and marvellous thing, after 3,300 years, to look upon, literally "in the flesh," the haughty, tyrannical Pharaoh whom Moses knew under such extremely different circumstances? The lotus-flowers (a flower very similar to our white water-lily) interred with him now crossed his breast, and—or was it pure fancy on my part?—still gave out their characteristic smell.

Five years after the discovery of the mummies, on June 1, 1886, in the presence of the Khedive, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and other Egyptian and foreign personages, the swathing bands of the body of Rameses II. were unrolled. His features were shown to be remarkably well preserved, and betokened a man of very advanced years. "The expression," writes M. Maspero in his official report, "is unintellectual, perhaps slightly animal." The nose was strongly curved or aquiline; the crown of the head was, of course, shaven, the hair of the sides and back of the head, however, had kept well, was very fine and soft in texture, but yellow in colour from the ingredients used in embalming. The chest is broad, the shoulders square, the arms were laid crosswise on the breast, the fingers and the nails of both hands and feet dyed red with henna or some similar dye. The mummy measured 173 centimetres in length, or about 5 feet 8 inches, and, as something must be allowed for drying and shrinking since death, in life Rameses II. must have been of above the average height.

Photographs of the mummy were taken on the same day that it was unrolled.

W. T. PILTER.



ART. IV.—"DARIUS THE MEDIAN"—WHO WAS HE?

WE are indebted to contemporary cuneiform inscriptions for the identification of the Belshazzar of Daniel, chap. v., with Bil-sar-utsur, the son of Nabonidus, the last King of the Empire of Babylon. The object of this paper is to show that from the same source a remarkable light is thrown on that much-debated, much-doubted-of personage, "Darius the Median."

The particulars stated regarding Darius in the Book of Daniel are as follows: