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WHERE WAS THE LAND OF GOSHEN.

It is impossible to doubt that the authors of the narrative in which the land of Goshen is mentioned were well acquainted with Egyptian matters, and treat the story of Jacob's arrival in Egypt with full knowledge of the places which are supposed to have been the scene of its events.

An argument may be found in the different names used in the Hebrew, Septuagint, Coptic and Arabic versions; in the Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem; and by individual writers, as Josephus, Jerome, Jonathan, Benjamin of Tudela, Edrisi and Abulfeda. Each of these authors used the appellation with which his readers were best acquainted. He used the geographical equivalent in the language he was employing, or added a word of explanation to the ancient and obsolete name.

In 1883 there was unanimity among Bible students so far as to assign the situation of Goshen to some part of an irregular quadrilateral, bounded on the east by Palestine and the Red Sea, on the south from Suez to Cairo, on the west by the Sebennyitic arm of the Nile and on the north by the Mediterranean. The difficulty lay in reconciling the limiting conditions so as to define the province with reasonable accuracy. The text of Brugsch, Ebers, Lepsius, Payne Smith, Poole, Rawlinson and Wiedemann might be vague. The cartographer had no such latitude. A map drawn for each of these authors shows their inconsistency. It was the same in the last century, when Jablonski said that, while many writers agreed in putting the land of Goshen in the Delta, there was no consensus of opinion as to the part which it occupied. Belbis and Heliopolis could with difficulty be excluded. They could not be included in a district with its centre at Phacusa or San el-Hagar.

The posthumous treatise of Jablonski had failed to pro-

duce any effect, and, in 1883, I was the only person who maintained that Goshen, apart from the small district about Belbis, lay to the south of Heliopolis, on the west of the Nile, extending to Assiout and including the Fayoum. This conclusion had been reached without knowledge of the *De Terra Gosen*, and was founded upon a very careful examination of the physical conditions of Egypt, and a theory or hypothesis of the changes which had taken place, not in the geological conditions, but solely in the varying use of the river and its alluvial deposits, due to the political, social and engineering capabilities of its dominant race. This view has now found some measure of popular recognition. It ought, however, to be submitted to careful critical examination. There is at least this to be urged in its favour, that it agrees with more factors in the problem than any other, while fixing the attention upon a region, which is of such intense archæological interest, so striking in its unique topography, so rich in monuments, from pyramids and temples to Arabic papyri, and with such promise for the future of the country as to enlist sympathy for any honest effort to establish further claims and link it with the vivid picture presented in the Hebrew records. Little weight can be safely attached to a single chain of evidence. The close concatenation of a coat of chain armour is a better simile of what is required.

The Padre Cesare de Cara, whose treatise¹ deals exhaustively with all that has been written on the subject of the so-called Shepherd Kings, expresses his astonishment that any one could be found bold enough to dispute the results of the excavations and researches which form the first volume of the publications of the *Egypt Exploration Fund*. It may not be possible, he thinks, to define the exact limits of the district. Some may be disposed to give a wider extension to its area. He unhesitatingly adopts the view advo-

¹ *Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto*, Roma, 1889, p. 137.

cated by Mr. Poole, and congratulates M. Naville on the felicitous discovery of a fixed point. The Wadi Tumilat appears to him to have been, without doubt or possibility of further contest, henceforth established as the resting-place of the Jews, from Jacob to Moses. He manifests great surprise that it could have been challenged by me, while giving ample credit for the labour expended.¹ The situation of Pithom-Heroonpolis was the sole aim of M. Naville. My efforts were directed to a larger object, the expansion of Egypt by the restoration of its ancient system of irrigation. The need of a flood escape and an increased supply of summer water are now officially acknowledged.²

When Joseph returned to Egypt, after the burial of Jacob, his brethren fell at his feet and besought his forgiveness. He wept in humiliation that brothers of his could thus attribute to him designs of vengeance in the presence of the benefits which had resulted from their crime. "Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as at this day, to save much people alive" (Gen. 1. 20). The skilful regulation of the Nile, and not temporary provision for a single famine, is the only satisfactory explanation of the political life of the Hebrew Premier. When a new king arose, who knew not Joseph, the agricultural and sanitary interests underwent a change, similar to that which overtook Egypt under the Persians, and again in the centuries preceding the advent of Islam.

The Arabic traditions which connect the name of Joseph with the two great engineering works still existing, the Bahr Jūsuf, and the conversion of the immense depression of the Fayoum into a fertile province, have been frequently noticed, as, for instance, by d'Herbelot. Their antiquity and historical value were universally denied. In 1882 there was not the slightest doubt, felt or expressed, that the canal

¹ Citing *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, March 3, Nov. 3, Dec. 1, 1885.

² "Egypt," No. 3, 1893. *Parliamentary Report*.

of Joseph owed its name to Saladin. Yet this magnificent watercourse, with a breadth and volume of discharge exceeding the Thames at Henley, partly artificial and partly the natural drainage course of the water running northward under the foot of the Libyan Hills, must have been under scientific control before the time of Moses. It was ascribed to Joseph, son of Jacob, by Masūdi, from a tradition then venerable in its antiquity, widely current, and surviving to this day in the University of Cairo, and among the peasants on the banks of the life-giving stream. Saladin built the citadel of Cairo in A.D. 1166; Masūdi died, in Cairo, in A.D. 956. These traditions were collected by me, and plainly indicated Middle Egypt as the theatre of the engineering works, which were the earthly manifestations of that Divine guidance to which Joseph attributed his usefulness to the government and inhabitants of Egypt.¹

It was natural to assume that Joseph settled his brethren along the line of this canal and in the Fayoum. From the collection of papyri, purchased by the Archduke Rainer, as well as those deciphered with so much skill and patience by Prof. Mahaffy, it is now generally admitted that something similar took place in the second reclamation of the Fayoum from that lake, which, as I had shown in 1882, filled almost the entire basin when Herodotus saw it in the fifth century, B.C.²

When Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) had attained secure peace, a large number of veterans were settled in the Fayoum as landholders. There is no evidence of any

¹ Le Bahr Youssouf, d'après les traditions Musulmanes, Institut Egyptien, 1887. *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1887. See also the Fayoum and Lake Moeris, Major Brown, R.E., 1892, p. 22. *The Saturday Review*, Sept. 21, 1892.

² Compare the maps of Middle Egypt prior to 1882 with those subsequently drawn by me, or embodying my researches: *Athenæum*, July 22, 1882; *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1882 *et seq.*; *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, 1885 *et seq.*; *Engineering*, Sept. 11, 1885; Sept. 2, 1887; Sept. 11, 1889; War Office Map, revised 1888; Public Works Ministry, Cairo, 1888, 1893.

existing population being dispossessed. These "hundred-acre men," therefore, received allotments outside of that small area, inclosed by a rampart, which, in 1882, was, by a strange inversion of fact, supposed to have been Lake Moeris. Although this opinion has never been expressed by any one else, it seems to me that the Nome was not called Arsinoïte after his Queen, but that she acquired the title with the estate. In that event the derivation of Goshen, or Gessen, from Ha-Sen, brings the word into close philological connection with Arsinoe, and with Asenath, the Heliopolitan wife of the Prince of the Fayoum, Joseph el-Aziz, before whom men cried Abrëk. There is added probability because it is as a dowry for a daughter of his king, Raiyan ibn el-Walid, that the traditions of those Abrahamids, who have held Egypt for twelve hundred years, ascribe the first reclamation. Herodotus says that the fisheries were farmed in the interest of the Persian Queen. If this derivation be allowed, the question of the situation of Goshen receives an immediate and conclusive answer.

It is equally certain that if, by the neglect of irrigation, or the deliberate sacrifice of the Fayoum and its conversion into a flood escape and reservoir, as proposed to Ismaël by his Minister of Public Works, the depression again became a lake, the Birket el-Qerûn might give its name to the province. The level of the present lake is about 140 feet (43.13 metres) below the Mediterranean. Its present surface is estimated at seventy-eight square miles. The Nile Valley is about seventy-five feet above the sea; but as there can be no cultivation in Egypt above the alluvial deposit, it follows that the entire area of land in the Fayoum is below the level of high-Nile. In two years, after the destruction of the dyke at el-Lahun, the district might justify its name of Fayoum, Phiom, the lake. It would, however, be probably known by a term derived from Qerûn. The 78 square miles would expand to over 500. In the Greek

newspapers, published in Egypt, there would re-appear that Heroonpolis, which was the Greek equivalent for Goshen in the time of the Septuagint, the very time when this province of Qerūn was being allotted to the disbanded army of Ptolemy and Arsinoe.

“The Fayoum, this is Pithom,” wrote R. Benjamin of Tudela in A.D. 1173. Pithom is also an equivalent for Goshen. As a descriptive term, it is “the West”; the most natural appellation conceivable for the district lying to the west of the Nile Valley. In the twelfth century there was a small Jewish colony. They identified existing works as constructed by the Israelites before the Exodus. This opinion was obviously entertained also by the learned and powerful members of the Jewish colony in Zoan-Mizraim, now Cairo. “The Rabbi Nathaniel is the President of the Jewish University, and one of the officers of the great king who resides in the fortress of Zoan.” Saadia ben-Jūsuf, the celebrated exegetical scholar, theologian and Talmudist, was born in the Fayoum, A.D. 892, He became Rector of the Jewish Academy at Sora, near Bagdad. In his Arabic version of the Pentateuch he converted the ancient Egyptian name into the convenient Arabic equivalent. Rameses became, in like manner, Ain-Semes. Whenever his co-religionists have had occasion to mention him in their Hebrew works, he is called Ha-Pithomi, but becomes el-Fayoumi in their Arabic writings. This use of wholly different words for the same place finds abundant illustration. Masr is Cairo. It would be Babylon in a modern speech in classical Greek. No doubt R. Benjamin considered Belbis the chief town of a district called Goshen. There was also an Arsinoe on the shores of the Gulf of Suez. The double nomenclature of Egyptian towns points, in my judgment, to the filial relation with the older southern metropolis. This is true of Tanis Parva, the lesser Zoan, which has, in modern times, been universally

confounded with the Zoan-Tanis-Memphis of Josephus, the pilgrim Antoninus and R. Benjamin.¹

As the Fayoum papyri show, two thousand years in their sight is as yesterday. From Joseph to Jeremiah there were not more than fifteen centuries; from Moses to Manetho less; and from Jacob to Solomon, not, probably, above seven hundred years. What are these insignificant periods in the life of a tablet or the records of the Memphite scribes?

If I am right in interpreting the prophecy of Jacob, in its fulfilment, as pre-Exilian, then it places the tribes with extreme exactitude. Nothing can be more certain than that this Prophecy cannot be referred to a period later than the second year of the Exodus. It is inconceivable, that the tribal severalty of Simon and Levi should have been, not simply ignored, but expressly denied, after the Levites were set apart to the priesthood? The land laws of Palestine were in full force under the Judges. Was a Simeonite entitled to a Levite's privilege? For this seer, whether Jacob or another, there is no hierarchy; there are no Levites.

Simon and Levi are brethren. They are as a single tribe, with a common daily duty of warrior or peasant. The Levite, thus classed with the Simeonite, has no priority in nobility of character, exemplary morals, heroism, or success. It is the exact opposite.

“Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not thou into their council;
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united,
For in their anger they slew a man,

¹ Num. xiii. 22 is conclusive. There could have been no ancient Zoan-Tanis in the Delta, B.C. 2,300, worthy of mention. Josephus says that Hebron was counted “a more ancient city than Memphis in Egypt” (*B. J.*, iv. 9, 7). Titus encamped at Tanis Parva, *κατὰ πολίχνην τὰ Τάνω* (*Ant.*, i. 8, 3). In the embassy to Psammetichus, the ambassadors were stopped at Zoan-Memphis, while the messengers proceeded seventy miles south, to Hanes-Heracleopolis.

And in their self-will they houghed an ox.
Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce;
And their wrath, for it was cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel."

Believing that this oracle related to Egypt in its fulfilment, it seemed highly probable that the metaphors and similes used in regard to Joseph were taken from "the river of Joseph" and the Fayoum. The son of the fruitful Nile runs by the side of the ever-flowing stream. The daughters, his branches, cross the wall of the Libyan desert. The archers, whether the rays of the sun or the Heracleopolitans, sorely grieve him, seeking to injure the inhabitants of the Fayoum and the western edge of the provinces of Beni-Suef and Minieh by stopping their supplies of water. The perennial canal never fails, however, to nourish those Beni-Israel who are invited by the Shepherd-king to dwell in the desert-girt fortress-province of Avaris-Pithom-Heroonpolis. Here they were safe from the plagues of the Nile Valley as well as contact with the animal-worshipping natives. The Hindoos and Mohammedans in India are an apt illustration of the wisdom of such a policy of separation.

The description of the land of Goshen as the best agricultural and pastoral land in Egypt is commonly overlooked. In none of the learned treatises is adequate force attached to those emphatic words, which constitute the descriptive clause in Pharaoh's concession, firman or deed of gift. "And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying: Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest any men of activity among them, make them rulers over my cattle. And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in

the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded" (Gen. xlvii.).

There is little to show the ordinary traveller in the winter months the difference between land worth £30 an acre and that which is given free of cost and almost free of rates and taxes to its impoverished occupants.¹

In the month of May this is apparent. Desolation has spread over the entire valley from Assouan to Cairo, except where, close to the Nile or the Bahr Jūsuf, or on the considerable area watered by the modern high-level Ibrahimiyeh canal, luxuriant growths of cotton and sugar cane, and magnificent fields of clover present a striking contrast. Here may be seen long lines of tethered cattle eating their way foot by foot into the rich grass.

From the middle of August, during the inundation period, the parts which were barren in May are converted into sheets of water. The husbandmen with their cattle are confined to island-villages, until the Nile has fallen sufficiently to allow the water to drain back into its bed. It is a period of unmitigated misery for man and beast. These changes do not apply to the Fayoum. Its perennial green turns to gold where the corn is ripening, but the trees and vineyards are proof that the maleficent flood has not been allowed to reach them. Such irrigated areas are not only the best of the land, but they are the only land visible for over two months in the waste of waters. Nowhere outside of the Fayoum, for six months in the year, were there meadows in which kine, fat-fleshed and well-favoured, could feed in the days of Joseph (Gen. xli. 18).

Can there be a doubt that the descendants of Isaac would consider the continuity, abundance, and purity of the water-supply a controlling condition in the selection of their home in this strange rainless land? The wells of Esek and

¹ See *Egyptian Irrigation*, W. Willcocks (London, 1889). *England in Egypt*. A. Milner, 1892. *The Fayūm and Lake Moeris*, Maj. Brown, 1892.

Sitnah had been worth a conflict (Gen. xxvi. 17). They were fed by springs of clear, pure water. The wells of the Delta were unfit for human use before Sesostris as they are to-day. Egypt, as far south as Cairo, is only an estuary filled with alluvial deposit. Hence the wells are brackish. Everywhere in Egypt salt is being constantly added to the land from the old maritime deposits of its tertiary limestone. It was not with men like herdsmen of Gerar, but with that foe whose scythe is the deadly weapon of zymotic disease, that these nomads would have striven, had they taken allotments where, for six months in the year, they would have been subjected to an insanitary condition about as bad as at the present day.¹

If, however, it is urged that the Delta now offers some of these advantages, the reply is obvious that no such Delta, with high-level canals fed from a Barrage, and irrigated areas from which the inundation, with its attendant plagues, is excluded, existed either at the beginning of this century or in the nineteenth century B.C. The narrow strip traversed by the fresh-water canal has been contoured by Col. Ardagh on his large map of Tel el-Kebir. No material change can have taken place in the cultivable area. The traces of the ancient canal show that the physical conditions imposed by nature are unaltered.

How can it be seriously contended, as Michaelis insists, supported by Brugsch, that the Beni-Israel were invited into Egypt to colonize the wilderness to the east of Suez? Is it not at least unreasonable to suppose that those warrior-princes, the Hyksos, whose statues, in black basalt, as Andro-sphinxes, watched the eastern frontier, would have delegated this duty to a handful of Syrian shepherds? Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Jacob brought with him but an

¹ See the articles by Brigade-Surgeon Greene Pasha, late Director of the Egyptian Sanitary Department: "England's Duty to Egypt," *Med. Mag.*, June, 1893; "Sanit. Adm. in Eg.," *Provincial Med. Journ.*, Aug. to Dec., 1892; *Brit. Med. Journal*, *passim*; *Nat. Observer*, Sept. 9, 1893.

indifferent reputation for courage and loyalty. Would this valley, the postern gate if not the chief land entrance, have been left by an Osorkon or Ramses without a powerful garrison of trustworthy troops? What attraction would it offer to the sons of Jacob, pasturing their flocks and bringing up their daughters in the immediate presence of these soldiers? Even if the fertile land extended to the Bitter Lakes before the Rameside dynasty, there was no room for a considerable population. If the Exodus ever took place, or if the Jews under David, or even in the time of Jeremiah or the LXX., thought that they had once dwelt in a part of Egypt, the Goshen of their historical romance must have been large enough to support half a million of souls, with their friends, "the mixed multitude," in that luxury whose loss they openly lamented. What force would Pharaoh have been able to use to prevent their emigrating whenever so minded? In the Fayoum they were confined by the desert and river.

If we turn from these general considerations to examine the evidence adduced by M. Naville, it will not stand critical examination. Granted that a stone, not a milestone as it was erroneously announced, but a fragment of soft limestone, with a miliary inscription scratched upon it, bearing the words AB ERO IN CLUSMA M. VIII—Θ, was found *in situ* at Tel el-Maskhuta; that it was genuine, and had been scratched and placed there in the reign of Maximian and Severus. It can only be translated, as marking the ninth mile for the traveller proceeding from Ero to the Red Sea. It follows indisputably that Ero was nine miles distant in the direction opposite to Clysmā. If then Ero is Heroonpolis, and Heroonpolis Pithom, the "store-city" mentioned in Exodus, the underground chambers, which M. Naville supposed to be granaries, were nine miles away from the bricks, with or without straw, which the Israelites, as M. Naville thought, were required to make

for these thick walls. There is no room for further discussion until M. Naville concedes that the extreme unlikelihood of a sign-post in letters, words and measurements not understood of the people, conveying a very slender amount of information as to a singularly unimportant fact, may have found its way into his excavations at a somewhat later period than that in which Greek was the current European tongue of Northern Egypt.

His arguments from Pithom, and the inscription of Ptolemy Philadelphus are challenged by the opinion of the Jews of the twelfth century, as recorded by R. Benjamin. There were hundreds of shrines to the god of the setting sun. His "recorders" may have lived at "Thuku," but the immense breadth of inference gives a result resembling an inverted pyramid, to whose position of unstable equilibrium any number of objections can be taken with fatal effect.

COPE WHITEHOUSE.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

XI. WITHOUT AND WITHIN.

WE have now gained a tolerably definite view of St. Paul's way of conceiving the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ, that is to say, of his soteriological system of ideas. Our next task, in order, must be to make ourselves acquainted with the apologetic buttresses of that system. The Pauline apologetic, as we have already learned, relates to three topics: ethical interests, the true function of the law, and the prerogatives of Israel. We have now therefore to consider in detail what the apostle had to say on each of these topics in succession, and the value of his teaching as a defence against possible attacks in any of these directions.

The first of the three is a wide theme, and in the highest