

of the setting sun," by the route through Carchemish, the plain of North Syria, and the valleys of the Afrin and Orontes. In the reign of Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860-824), we shall find them in Eastern Palestine, Aram Zobah, and the regions of Bashan, Moab, and the Hauran.

It has been necessary to sketch thus, in as brief a manner as possible, the connection between the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Assyrians, in order the better to understand the connection which these tribes had with those of the lands of Moab and Ammon. This above *résumé* of the growth of the Syrian tribes enables us very clearly to see the nature of the kingdom of Solomon, King of Israel, the Alexander of the Arameans and Syrians, which reached from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines.

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(To be continued.)

EGYPTIAN VIEW OF THE EXODUS

From the "Sixth Anastasi Papyrus."

WITHIN the last two or three years the history of the Exodus has aroused a much larger amount of interest than usual. Witness, among other signs, the publication of Brugsch—that of the anonymous author of the "Hebrew Migration from Egypt,"—and last, not least, the trans-Jordan expedition. As there is a great deal to say on the subject from Egyptian sources I will begin the collation of it at once.

The sixth Anastasi Papyrus was written by a very famous man, named Enna, who stood in close relation as a correspondent to another famous man, the scribe of the Treasury or Finance, named Kek-Kebu. The "Papyrus" contains six large pages, of which I notice at present only two and a half.

The first page is filled up by a splendid superscription in large letters, which may be condensed into the words "Under the reign of Seti II," viz., "Set-Emenephtah." I omit the usual long titles, but note that Seti is called a Ra-Horus, and son of a Ra-Horus, viz., not a mere Regent as his brother Bai-n-Ra Menephtah was, but a reigning king and son of a reigning king. His coffin is in the British Museum, with the word "Set" chipped out. Manetho would thus naturally read him as Emenophis, and his grandson Rameses III shows us in the great Harris papyrus how this Seti was unable to hold the Delta. In fact, after the deaths of his father Rameses II and his Brother Bai-n-Ra, he executed a strategic movement towards Ethiopia. This papyrus is, however, sufficient to show us that his civil and military officers were not obliged to leave their posts in the Delta, and in mitigation of the charge of cowardice, it is stated that when Seti ascended the throne he was upwards of 60 years old, infirm, blind, and helpless. Here follows the first letter:—

"The scribe Enna, for the satisfaction of his lord, viz., for the scribe of

the treasury Kek-Kebu in the palace. This comes to give an account to my lord. Whenever I am to give a full reckoning, to leave to those that shall come after me, perfectly safe will be the goods and chattels. I shall have caused no deficiency to my lord since I have come to his property."

This is the ordinary common opening between the official at home and the scribe on an expedition. Going on with the letter, he says, "I brought up the fleet, which gave me its protection. This it gave to me as far as up to the men of the magazine, in the fortress of Tabnet, which fortress the military scribe, the commissary of cattle, had dug, who was posted at the fortress of Tabnet. The work was completed in 23 days, but its watch fell off, and the head astrologer took every step that was wrong. He forced my three serving men whom he took before the General Huee, with whom was the scribe Ptah-m-heb."

Here we see the political position coming already into view. A strong hostility is evident between our well known Enna the scribe *par excellence* of Seti II, and directed against the representative of the astrological party. In other words, between the civil and military officers who remained in the Delta when deserted by Seti II. The programme of the military was the digging of fortifications to protect every little village in the Delta. This points to the state of things explained in the great Harris Papyrus, when Emenophis had retired leaving the Delta open to Siptah Thuoris and the strong Mediterranean maritime Powers.

All through this Papyrus the party which opposed the military party in the Delta was specially the Finance or Treasury department. I cannot at present lay my hand upon the evidence, but I stated 25 years ago in my "Exodus Papyri," that the head of the Treasury was Phinehas, second son of the Great Regent Bai-n-Ra Menepthah Hotep-hi-ma. Bai-p-Ra, who saved his country for a time at the great battle of Prosopis, was a loyal friend of the Hebrews; and the very name of his second son Phinehas shows his close relations with the Semites. The letter proceeds, "Now it came to pass that while I numbered the Sem people on the list, he" (the head astrologer) "carried off the Sem people in the fortress. Then it came to pass that he made me number them on the list in the Temple of Rameses. When the people forced him in the fortress, he could not stand against the collected leaders. He made me carry the Sem people to the Temple of Nebt-hotep. He brought also two women to me, who said, 'Let the head of the Treasury end the matter.'"

If must be remembered that the papyrus from which I take this is not in a very good condition, but I cannot doubt that I am substantially right in my translations hitherto. It results, then, on Egyptian evidence, that a certain Sem^e people, supported by the civil authorities, managed to get together to the Temple of Nebt-hotep; notwithstanding the opposition of the military party. There is now a gap of half a line, after which we read:—

"I pacified (?) the Sem people, who brought up people by my side to say, let the slaves of the Sem people go with it, for there is favour for the slaves of the Sem people before the Head of Finance. So they were

allowed to perform the Service in the month Paoni their beginning of months."

I hesitate in presence of two words which I have here passed over. The fact is that, after the publication of my "Exodus Papyri" I left off Egyptology, and have only lately resumed it. The sentence, however, seems to identify the Egyptian beginning of their month Paoni with the new year's day among the Sem people at the time these events were taking place. The calculations are all made in my "Exodus Papyri," the result being that in B.C. 1291, which Miss Corboux holds as the date of the Exodus, the first new moon after the vernal equinox was visible on what we call April 6, which the Egyptians at that time call the beginning of Paoni.

The statement here made, viz., that the Sem people (probably the Semites) had themselves slaves under them, may modify our view on the miseries endured by the Hebrews. Leave, however, having at last been given to these slaves of slaves, they "took the robes which had been brought up before the Head of Finance, to give an account to my lord. The robes were brought and the Head of Finance caused them to be looked to."

" Royal Robes	87
Other Robes	64
Other Robes	27

In all 178."

This part of the papyrus is in good condition, and I apprehend there can be no dispute about the translation. It is surprizing that this spoiling of the Egyptians has been for 25 years pointed out and no notice taken of it. From the Egyptian point of view, it appears that the great Exodus consisted of many small movements, each of them being of manageable size. If every 50th person collected at the Temple of Nebt-hotep considered himself or herself entitled to a splendid robe, there would have been about 8,000 desirous of attending the national annual ceremonies.

"When the numbering was over, I disposed the people before the leaders. The leaders, said to it, 'Let the people be complete in everything that is arranged for it.' There was put down for me four days for the journey which the leaders made. The second military scribe gave it the start. He also brought aid of carriers. He brought also two women at the waters of who said, 'Let each child go.' He did not allow it. He was after the cattle of the head commissary Moses."

Thus, from the Egyptian point of view, Moses superintended herds of cattle, and this presence of a Moses makes it probable that Enna is here describing the chief among the many small movements for keeping the new year's day. A military scribe seems to have been obliged to accompany the four days' expedition, showing, however, his annoyance by refusing a request about the children. It is also very curious to observe that up to the time when the sacred robes were given out the account has

related to the Sem people, but after the slaves of the Sem people had leave to accompany the expedition, the "people" alone are named, and the name of Sem is dropped.

Thus have I done my best with one and a half pages out of five, exclusive of the title page. There is more in this papyrus of the very highest interest. Among other things, I feel called upon with great regret to say that Dr. Brugsch has done harm by circulating his account from this papyrus of the Shasu people passing from Edom into Egypt. My translation of the passage [is now 25 years old, and will be found in my "Exodus Papyri," p. 183. Dr. Brugsch begins with "we have carried into effect." There is possibly a "we," but nothing about "carrying into effect." In fact the papyrus is a confession throughout of the weakness of the Egyptians before the Shasu. Dr. Brugsch goes on "from the land of Edom." There is no word signifying "from." "Through the fortress." There is no word signifying "through." "To the city Pithom, etc., situated in the land of Thuku." Dr. Brugsch in his own book of "Foreign Geography," plate xvi, gives us his own map of Palestine showing that Thuku was in Edom. How, then, could the Shasu pass from Edom to Thuku, which is in Edom?

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MEGIDDO.

MEGIDDO has thrice to do with horses and chariots, in the case of Sisera, Ahaziah, and Josiah, but its connection with Mujedda, three miles south-west of Bethshean, is merely a mare's-nest.

This identification put forward in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 13, repeated in "Tent Work," but apparently abandoned in his "Handbook," is once more revived (1881, p. 87) by Lieutenant Conder, when, on returning from the slaughter of Abu Gheith, with the head of Beth Aphrah in his hand (my overlooking of the *li* in *Beth li Aphrah* I can only explain on the principle "humanum est errare"), he finds a Jonathan ready to embrace his theory (1880, p. 224).

It is best to repel this advance at once, and without delay fight out the topographical battle of Megiddo, before more allies come up.

We propose to show (1) that Megiddo was near Taanach (now Taanuk), and (2) that the only feature near Taanach answering to *the waters of Megiddo* are the streams near Lejjun. If these points be proved, then it is *certain* that Megiddo was situated *at or close to* Lejjun (as proposed by D. Robinson), and not at Mujedda.

(1). That Megiddo was near Taanach is somewhat probable from Joshua xii, 21; xvii, 11; 1 Kings iv, 12; 1 Chron. vii, 29; where the two names occur in juxtaposition. As however Judges i, 27, is against us, we turn for certainty to Judges v, 19-21: "The kings came and fought in (=near)