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remained unbaptized for anything he says to the contrary ; just as the statement of the evangelist, that "as many as touched were made perfectly whole,"<sup>1</sup> leaves it doubtful whether all who desired to touch the hem of Christ's garment succeeded in gratifying their wish. If St. Paul had been a sacramentarian, he would have taken care to exclude the possibility of doubt.<sup>2</sup>

A. B. BRUCE.

### THE SOJOURN OF THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT.

IN the present rapidly advancing knowledge of Egyptian history derived from Egyptian monuments of various kinds, papyri, inscriptions on tombs, on rocks, and so on, it is become a matter of supreme importance, as well as of lively interest, to ascertain correctly what is the true evidence of Holy Scripture as to the events, and as to the chronology of the events, which befell the Israelites in connection with Egypt.

We are perhaps unreasonable if we expect to find a record of transactions which were of vital consequence to the Israelites, and so occupy a large space in Israelite annals, in the annals of the great Egyptian empire, and more especially when those transactions were calamitous or in any way discreditable to the Egyptian power. But at the same time if the Bible history of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is *history* and not fiction, the facts must harmonize with the condition of Egypt at the time when they are stated to have occurred. It is a matter, therefore, of considerable moment to the cause of Divine truth that we

<sup>1</sup> Matthew xiv. 36.

<sup>2</sup> A slight tinge of Bengel's dogmatism is discernible in the Revised Version, which substitutes at this point for the words of the A.V. quoted above, "All we who were baptized."

should be accurately informed as to what are really the Scriptural accounts of this epoch in the history of Israel which connects them so closely with Egyptian history.

The purpose of the following paper is to lay before the reader as distinctly as possible the evidence from the Books of Genesis and Exodus, and other parts of Scripture, as to the duration of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and some of its chronological consequences; and then to call attention to some considerations which seem to point in a different direction, in the hope that some one learned in Egyptian antiquities will be able to solve the difficulty.

Genesis xlvi. relates the descent of Jacob into Egypt "and all his seed with him" (*vv. 6 and 7*); and Genesis xlvii. 1, 11, 29 records their settlement in the Land of Goshen, or, as it is otherwise called, the land of Rameses. Exodus xii. 37-51 records their departure from Rameses, and the removal of all Israel from the land of Egypt. The question is how long was the interval between these two events.

There are, as is well known, two different opinions on this matter.

One opinion is that the Israelites were 430 years in Egypt.

The other opinion is that they were 215 years, or possibly a few more.

The grounds for these two opinions respectively, as far as the statements of Holy Scripture are concerned, are the following :—

I. For 430 years we have the express statement of Exodus xii. 40, 41. (R.V.): "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was 430 years; and it came to pass at the end of 430 years . . . that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the Land of Egypt." Nothing can be more express than this statement, and under ordinary circumstances it would be conclusive. But

it stands alone, and, as we shall see, all the other statements in the Bible are against it. We are constrained therefore to look closely at it.

Now, first of all, the LXX.—with which the Samaritan version agrees:—reads '*H δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἦν κατώκησαν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἐν γῇ χαναὰν, ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα.*' And what is still more important is that St. Paul (Gal. iv. 17) sanctions this reading, or at least the reckoning contained in it, for he reckons the 430 years as covering the whole time from the covenant with Abraham to the giving of the law. The naming 430 (not—as in Gen. xvi. 13—400) proves further that he had this passage of Exodus in his mind. But further, this accurate chronological statement of Exodus xii. 40, 41 is quite unlike anything else in the Book, and is very like the chronological statement of 1 Kings vi. 1, which has been found quite unmanageable by chronologers; suggesting that both passages are insertions by a later hand, well intended, but based on a false chronological system. Again, it is certainly singular that these three verses (Exod. xii. 40, 41, 42) seem quite out of place, as they separate *v.* 39 from *v.* 43, which is immediately connected with it. And again, *v.* 41, "Even in the self-same day it came to pass," is a mere repetition of *v.* 51, where it comes in its proper place. It seems to me, therefore, that Exodus xii. 40, 41, is discredited.

II. Now let us see what is the Scripture evidence for the shorter period of two hundred years and upwards, or rather for including the sojourn of Abraham's seed in Canaan, as well as in Egypt, in the 400 years of Genesis xv. 13.

(1) We must look carefully at that passage itself. If we only look at the English version, we shall of course feel quite sure that Genesis xv. 13 agrees with Exodus xii. 40 in making the sojourn in Egypt 400 years, because we there read, after a semi-colon, "And they shall afflict them 400 years." But we could not make a greater mistake, as we

shall see immediately we turn to the Hebrew. There, instead of, as in the A.V. and the R.V., ". . . and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years"; according to the Hebrew stopping we read, ". . . and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them: 400 years." The stop which separates "they shall afflict them" from "400 years" is that called athnach, corresponding to our colon, and the strongest distinctive stop but one in the Hebrew language. The Hebrew, therefore, can only be rendered thus: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them: 400 years." The 400 years applies to the whole verse, not to the last member of it. The LXX. gives the same sense, except that the clause "shall serve them" is rendered δούλωσουσιν αὐτοὺς, "they shall make them servants."<sup>1</sup> indicating a slightly different reading of the Hebrew; and the Hebrew ייְהִי is rendered twice over, by *κακώσουσιν* and by *ταπεινώσουσιν*. The object of the prophetic promise was to let Abraham know how many years were to elapse before his seed took possession of the promised land. It may be added that the statement, "They shall afflict them 400 years," is positively false. For at least 70 years of Joseph's life (from the age of 39 to 110—Gen. xli. 46–l. 26),<sup>2</sup> and probably for some 20 or 30 years longer (Exod. i. 6, 7, 8), the Israelites in Egypt were most prosperous. So that the rendering of the A.V. and the R.V. cannot be right.

(2) We turn next to see if there is any other indication in Scripture of the time that elapsed between the promise to Abraham and the Exodus; and we naturally think of the genealogies. Are there any genealogies which span the

<sup>1</sup> So quoted, too, by Stephen (Acts vii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph was 30 when he stood before Pharaoh; and so about 39 (7 years of plenty + 2 years of famine) when Jacob came to Egypt. Joseph lived 110 years. Therefore 71 years elapsed between Jacob's arrival and Joseph's death.

period from Abraham to the Exodus, by which we can approximately calculate the length of it? There are certainly five such, as appears by the following table. The first is that of Moses and Aaron, which by its shortness justifies the saying in Genesis xv. 16, "In the fourth generation they shall come hither again"; *i.e.* dating from the immigration to Egypt to the Exodus. In Moses' line there are just four generations. The next is that of Nahshon, the prince of Judah. Here are six generations. In that of Bezaleel there are seven. In that of Zelophehad there are seven. In that of Joshua there are eight.

But we must say a few words about Joshua. The advocates of the 430 years as the time of the Egyptian bondage say curtly that the other genealogies are abbreviated, but that Joshua's genealogy containing *eleven* generations proves the longer time to be the true one. Now, first of all, those who thus reason must have forgotten that Joshua's grandfather, Elishama, was "captain of the sons of Ephraim" in the "second year after they were come out of the land of Egypt" (Num. i. 1, 10; ii. 18), and therefore that his, and not his grandson's, who was a mere youth, is the generation to be assigned to the Exodus. That knocks off two of the supposed eleven generations. But next, the most cursory glance at the genealogy of Joshua in 1 Chronicles vii. 10-27 shows how very corrupt the passage is. The names Telah and Shutelah, Tahath and Tahan, Eleadah and Elead and Laadan, are repeated in utter confusion. Moreover, on comparing the Ephraimite genealogy in Numbers xxvi. 35-37 we find out that there is no such person as the Laadan of 1 Chronicles vii. 26, but that לְעָנָן is a correct reading for לְעָרָן "of Eran" (Num. xxvi. 36), and that Tahan (1 Chron. vii. 25) was not the son but the brother of Shutelah or Telah. We learn too that Shutelah was the son of Ephraim. And so the genealogy comes out quite distinctly, as in the table below, and as in the

LXX. of 1 Chronicles vii. 26, where the sequence Shuthelah (Thalees), Eran (Laadan), Ammihud, Elishama, Nun, Joshua is tolerably clear.

TABLE OF GENERATIONS FROM THE PATRIARCHS TO THE EXODUS.

(1) Levi (Exod. vi. 16-25).	(1) Judah (1 Chron. ii. 3-10).	(1) Joseph (1 Ch. vii. 14, 15).	(1) Joseph (1 Ch. vii. 14-26). Nuca. xxvi. 28-37).
(2) Kohath.	(2) Pharez.	(2) Manasseh.	(2) Ephraim.
(3) Amram.	(3) Hezron.	(3) Ashriel.	(3) Shuthelah.
(4) Aaron. Moses.	(4) Ram, Caleb <small>(1 Ch. ii. 18-20).</small>	(4) Machir.	(4) Eran.
	(5) Amminadab. Hur.	(5) Gilead.	(5) Ammihud.
	(6) Nahshon. Uri.	(6) Hepher.	(6) Elishama.
	(7) Bezaleel.	(7) Zelophehad.	(7) Nun.
			(8) Joshua.

Now if we reckon forty years for a generation, and take seven as the average number of generations from the Patriarchs to the Exodus, we get  $40 \times 7 = 280$  as the number of years from the Patriarchs (inclusive) to the Exodus. And if we take 127<sup>1</sup> years as the time from the birth of Isaac (Abraham's seed) to the birth of the Patriarchs, we get  $280 + 127 = 407$  years as the total. Or if we date from the time of the promise to Abraham, as St. Paul seems to do (Gal. iii. 17), we get about 16 years more, i.e. a total of 423 years. Now though such calculations cannot pretend to accuracy, they are sufficient to show that the genealogies confirm the theory that the 400 years of Genesis xv. 13 include the sojourn in Canaan as well as that in Egypt, and so limit the sojourn in Egypt to about 215 years,<sup>2</sup> more or less.

One other way remains of testing the length of the so-

<sup>1</sup> From birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob, 60 years (Gen. xxv. 26). From birth of Jacob to his death, 147 years (Gen. xlvi. 28).  $60 + 147 = 207$ . Deduct from Jacob's age 80 years for the average birth of Patriarchs, and you get  $207 - 80 = 127$ .

<sup>2</sup> If you reckon the whole time, from the promise to Abraham to the Exodus as 423 years, and deduct  $16 + 60 + 130 = 206$  (from the promise to the birth of Isaac, 16; from birth of Isaac to birth of Jacob, 60; and from birth of Jacob to his arrival in Egypt, 130) you get  $423 - 206 = 217$  as the length of the sojourn.

journ in Egypt, viz. the rate of increase of the Israelites. We have two data upon which to found our calculation. The number of the sons of Jacob who came down to Jacob with their father as recorded in Genesis xlvi., viz. 70 souls (*v. 27*), and the number of grown-up men who came out of Egypt, viz. 600,000 (*Exod. xii. 37*).

Now 600,000 men, if they included youths of seventeen or eighteen years of age, represent a population of about  $600,000 \times 4 = 2,400,000$ . And if we take the number who came into Egypt with Jacob as 140 (*i.e.*  $70 \times 2$ , to include the wives), and take Malthus's calculation that under favourable circumstances population will double itself every twenty-five years, we shall find that in 225 years 140 persons would increase to 71,680.

But it appears also that in the back settlements of North America the actual rate of increase for several successive periods was for the population to double itself every fifteen years. And at this rate 140 persons would increase to 2,293,760, in 210 years. "Sir William Petty thought it possible for population to double itself in 10 years."<sup>1</sup> If then we take into account the fact that the increase of the Israelites in Egypt is represented as something extraordinary (*Exod. i. 7, 12*), and consider also that the numbers may have been augmented by the adhesion of proselytes like Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Heber the Kenite (*Judg. i. 16; iv. 11*) in the course of 200 years, and that many of the Patriarchs had concubines of foreign birth, like Manasseh (*1 Chr. vii. 14*), we shall see that there is nothing incredible in the rate of increase, and that it suits perfectly the estimate of about 217 years as the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

But the interest of the inquiry does not terminate when

<sup>1</sup> Rees, *Cyclopædia*, article "Population."

<sup>2</sup> Reckoning the population to double itself every twenty years, 150 persons would increase to 157,286,400 in four hundred years.

we have established the length of the Israelite sojourn. If we take the Exodus to be now definitively fixed to the reign of Menephthah, and to about the year B.C. 1300, as the consensus of Egyptologists entitles us to do, it is obvious that it must greatly affect the harmonious adjustment of Israelitish history to that of Egypt, for times preceding the Exodus, whether we go back about 200, or about 400 years. Let us see what results are attained in the way of synchronisms by going backwards 220 years from the Exodus (considered as = 6th year of Menephthah), in Israelite, and, as far as known, in Egyptian history.

ISRAELITE HISTORY.		EGYPTIAN HISTORY.	
	Years.		Years.
From Joseph's "Standing before Pharaoh" (Gen. xli. 46) till his death (110-30) Gen. i. 26 . . . . .	80	Years of the reigns of the latter kings of the 18th dynasty. . . . .	138
From death of Joseph to commencement of oppression (Exod. i. 6, 7, 8, 9) say . . . . .	30	Two first kings of 19th dynasty, at 10 years each. . . . .	20
From commencement of oppression to the birth of Moses (Exod. i. 11-14, 15-22; ii. 2) say . . . . .	30	Years of reign of Rameses ii. . . . .	67
From the birth of Moses to his return from Midian (Acts vii. 23, 30; Deut. xxxiv. 7). . . . .	80	Years of Menephthah's reign before the Exodus. . . . .	5
	<hr/> 220 <hr/>		<hr/> 220 <hr/>

From the above calculations, as far as they are correct, it appears that Joseph came to Egypt in the 18th dynasty. Brugsch assigns 300 years to this dynasty. On this supposition the 18th dynasty would have been in existence 162 years when Joseph came to Egypt. But Bunsen assigns to it only 216 years (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 577). Canon Rawlinson also gives it as his opinion that "it did not exceed 200 years," in which last case it would have been

established only about 72 years, and the memory of that hated Hyksos usurpation would still have been fresh in the minds of the native Egyptians. That it was so, the strong expression in (Gen. xlvi. 34), "that every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians" seems to prove beyond all doubt, and that text is a very strong indication, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson long ago observed,<sup>1</sup> that the invasion of the shepherds happened before the time of Joseph. Indeed it seems quite impossible that such a phrase should have been used if a Hyksos king had been actually reigning at the time.

It is true that Brugsch expresses a strong opinion that the Pharaoh of Joseph was one of the Hyksos kings. But he arrives at this conclusion mainly by reckoning the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt as 430 years. If this premise is false, the conclusion falls to the ground.

The other grounds for believing the Hyksos domination to have been still existing in the time of Joseph, are the following.

(1) Georgius Syncellus (Brugsch, p. 121; Rawlinson, in note on Exod., p. 334) says that the synchronism of Joseph with Apepi, or Apophis, the last Hyksos king, "is universally admitted."

(2) A far more important ground is the statement by Joseph (Gen. xlvi. 10), that by dwelling in the land of Goshen, Jacob and his family would be "near him," which certainly points to Avaris or Zoan as the residence of the court at that time,<sup>2</sup> and would not be true if Joseph was living at Thebes.<sup>3</sup> Avaris was taken by Aahmes the first king of the 18th dynasty (Brugsch, pp. 116, 128).

<sup>1</sup> *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 20; vol. ii. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Avaris was the residence of Apepi, the last Hyksos king (Brugsch, p. 111).

<sup>3</sup> Rameses II. made Zoan his royal residence, and fortified it, and built a temple there. It became the capital of the empire from his time (Brugsch, pp. 298, 299). Was it so anytime in the 18th dynasty?

(3) Brugsch quotes an inscription at El-Kab, the author of which, Baba, he says, "must have lived immediately previous to the 18th dynasty," which shows that Joseph's seven years' famine had happened at that time. In the inscription Baba says, "When a famine arose, LASTING MANY YEARS, I distributed corn to the city each year of the famine." Brugsch thinks this can only be the seven years, famine which occurred in the time of Joseph.

To reconcile these conflicting evidences is the difficult task which lies before Egyptologists, and perhaps awaits some further light from Egyptian monumental inscriptions. But it may not be amiss to add that the evidence which points to the reign of Menephthah, and about the year B.C. 1300, as the time of the Exodus, is exceedingly strong, both from Scriptural and Egyptian sources. The genealogies which span the time between the Exodus and the time of David: the weak reign of Menephthah, and the absolute silence of the monuments as to the closing years of his reign: the building of the "treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses" (Exod. i. 11): the length of the reign of Rameses II. exactly suiting Moses' long absence in Midian: the fear expressed in Exodus i. 10 of the Israelites joining the enemies of Egypt exactly tallying with the fear of Hittite invasion which prevailed in the reigns of Seti I. and Rameses II.—these are consecutive and striking coincidences which leave no doubt as to the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and the *terminus ad quem* of the 400 years of Genesis xv. 13.

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