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ORDINARY MEETING.*

THE REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections were announced:—

MEMBER:—Rev. A. P. Parker, D.D., China.

ASSOCIATES:—G. Stanley St. Amant, Esq., B.Sc., Paris; Rev. J. Collins, M.A., Cantab., Yorks.; Rev. A. Dickens, B.A., Yorks.; Surgeon-General W. J. van Someren, M.R.C.S., London.

The following paper was then read, the Author being in America:—

NOTES ON LITERATURE IN EGYPT IN THE TIME OF MOSES. By the Rev. J. N. FRADENBURGH, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.

AT the period of the XVIIIth dynasty, the literature of Babylonia had already become extensive. Two great collections of sacred writings had been produced. The one consisted of magical formulas, by the proper use of which the priestly sorcerer could compel all spiritual beings to obey his will; the other was made up of hymns to the gods. These two collections, however, were not entirely separate. The invocations and incantations were not without elevated passages; the hymns sometimes fell away into pure magical mutterings. Perhaps the most remarkable single work in Babylonian literature is the great epic of primitive Chaldea that probably assumed its present form in the revival of

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* February 7th, 1898.

** I have not burthened this paper with references, but among those to whom I am under special obligations in its preparation I may mention Professors Maspero, Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., and Erman.

letters which seems to have been inaugurated in the reign of Khammurabi from 2356 to 2301 B.C. This work celebrates the adventures of Gilgames—the Chaldean Heracles—and consists of twelve books, the subject of each book corresponding with that sign of the zodiac which answers to its place in the numerical order. The Babylonian story of the deluge is introduced as an episode in the eleventh book, agreeing with the eleventh sign of the zodiac, or Aquarius.

A large collection might be made of the epistolary correspondence of Babylonia and Assyria; and another collection would be possible of fables, tales and rustic songs. There is one great astronomical work which consists of seventy-two tablets. Then, too, there are multitudes of commercial and legal documents, medical works, lexicographical tablets, and numerous writings representing other departments of knowledge. The discovery of the celebrated royal library of Khuenaten, at Tel-el-Amarna, is one of the most important achievements of the present century. The tablets of this collection are all written in the cuneiform characters of Babylonia, and most of them in the Babylonian language. They belong to the century preceding Moses, and consist, for the most part, of the official correspondence of distant cities, provinces, and governments with the Egyptian king. They prove that in the century immediately preceding Moses, the Babylonian language was the common medium for commercial and diplomatic correspondence throughout the civilized East.

We need not speak of the vast number of tablets which have already been secured from the old libraries of Mesopotamia. So startling have been the discoveries, in these ancient seats of civilization, that the recent announcement of the acquisition of some thirty thousand tablets from the library of the primeval city of Tel-loh occasions no surprise.

There are indications in the Bible which point to the sites of some of the old libraries in Palestine. The existence of such libraries has found its demonstration in the recent discovery of a cuneiform tablet in the mound of Lachish, a tablet which belongs to the correspondence of Tel-el-Amarna. There must have been such a library at Hebron (? Debir), since its primitive name was Kirjath-sepher, "the city of books," while the same old city is called in one place Kirjath-sannah, "the city of instruction." These old libraries of Palestine may yet yield up their secrets.

Cuneiform tablets have also been found at several sites in

Asia Minor, and some of these were written probably as early as twenty-five hundred years before the Christian era.

Another race which has a literature is now claiming recognition. Hittite inscriptions in native hieroglyphics and monuments with Hittite sculptures may be traced continuously, following the two great highways which formerly led through Asia Minor, even to the shores of the Ægean Sea. The celebrated treaty of peace between Khitasar, King of the Hittites, and Rameses the Great, though it has come down to us in the Egyptian language, was doubtless a Hittite composition inscribed on a silver tablet in the Hittite language when it was first presented to the king or at least a translation from the original Hittite document. It shows not only that its authors were acquainted with diplomacy and held some advanced ideas upon subjects connected with international law, but also that they were accustomed to literary composition.

The explorations of Dr. Edward Glaser in southern Arabia have thrown a new and unexpected light upon another seat of early literary culture.

He has recopied the inscriptions of Yemen and Hadramaut which had aready been submitted to modern scholarship, and has added more than a thousand fresh inscriptions to those already known. These inscriptions have been found to belong to two different dialects and to two separate kingdoms, the Sabæan and Minæan, of which the latter is the more ancient. The kingdom ruled by the Queen of Sheba must have bordered close upon the territory immediately south of the kingdom of Israel. Both the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms seem to have extended over the larger part of the Arabian peninsula, and the latter probably came to an end before the former was founded. Now it is known that the sovereign princes of Saba were preceded by a line of ruling priests or priest-kings ; and, furthermore, we have been made acquainted with the names of thirty-three Minæan kings. This would push back the foundation of this latter kingdom to a period much preceding the Exodus. The first Babylonian dynasty which was founded before the migration of Abraham was Arabian in origin. Professor Sayce says: "In days which, if Dr. Glaser is right, were contemporaneous with the exodus of Israel, Ma'in was a cultured and prosperous realm, the mart and centre of the spice merchants of the east, whose kings founded settlements on the frontiers of Edom, and whose people followed the art of alphabetic

writing." Professor Fritz Hommel says: "It is my conviction that Arabia itself will furnish us the direct proofs that the modern destructive criticism of the Pentateuch is absolutely erroneous. The age of the Minæan inscriptions runs parallel with that of the so-called code of the priests. If the former are as old as Glaser believes them to be and the Arabian civilization, as I have proved, already existed at the time of Abraham, then the laws of the priests of Israel are also very ancient." This new argument is worthy of our serious consideration.

Almost innumerable fragments of pottery found by Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie at Kahun and Gurob are unmistakably foreign. The pottery from Gurob in paste, in colour, and in design, is "indistinguishable from the earliest pottery found on Greek soil, at Mykenæ, at Thera, and at Mitylene." Hundreds of these potsherds have certain signs scratched upon their surfaces which are doubtless mason's marks. These characters are of exceptional interest. They may be dated from 2500 to 1300 B.C. Professor Petrie thinks that the signs under consideration represent the stage in alphabetic development which connects the hieratic with modern systems. He says: "The mixture of well-known signs, and of others which have not survived, is only what would be probable during the course of natural selection which was going on during the centuries in which the later order of things was being established. And the mixture of signs known in diverse alphabets of later times is also what we should expect to see at a time when the various alphabets were very likely unseparated, and still in one confused use. In fact, the very confusion of these marks is the best proof of their age being anterior to the clean division into the separate well-defined alphabets that we know in later ages." Miss Amelia B. Edwards says: "Dr. Petrie has brought to light the earliest Greek alphabetical signs yet discovered. . . . The potsherds carry back the history of the alphabet to a period earlier than the date of the Exodus, and six centuries earlier than any Greek inscriptions known." She speaks of some of the characters as being "unquestionably identical with certain letters of the Etruscan alphabet."

A goodly number of the characters from Kahun—reproduced on Plate XXVII of Professor Petrie's *Kahun, Gurob and Hawarā*—seem to be the originals of Greek alphabetical signs; and there is a lesser number of similar characters from Gurob reproduced on Plate XXVIII. Donot some of

these show too great a departure from hieratic forms to be considered their first derivatives? Would not the Greeks follow out the hint and provide for their own use an alphabet at a date much earlier than that of any known Greek inscriptions? May we not expect that future discoveries will confirm this view of the question?

Egypt, at the time of the Exodus, was brought into close contact with nations and peoples far advanced in alphabetic writing and literary composition, such as Babylonia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Arabia, and possibly also various Mediterranean peoples. The Egyptians had a passion for writing. This was not so clearly shown in the old Empire as during the later periods of Egyptian history. The motives urged in favour of learning were drawn from its practical utility rather than from the ennobling influence or the pleasure derived from its pursuit and acquisition. When the Egyptian sage Dauuf was sailing up the Nile with his son Pepi, whom he wished to enter as a pupil in the "Court School of books," he gave him this paternal advice: "Give thy heart to learning and love her like a mother, for there is nothing that is so precious as learning."

This was the road to independence. The sage expresses the sentiment of the time when he says:

> "Behold there is no profession which is not governed,
> It is only the learned man who rules himself."

Learning was the road to office and promotion. The ignorant man is compared to a heavily-laden donkey, which must be driven; the learned man may live above work, for his writing materials and rolls of books bring him riches and pleasures. But diligence must be practised. "If the work of books is an abomination to him, then the goddess of fortune is not with him." The wise student will remain faithful to learning, and will pray to Thoth, who will grant him assistance in his studies. This god of letters is sometimes represented under the form of a sacred animal, and is then described as the "baboon with shining hair and amiable face." He is also called the "letter-writer for the gods." The student prays to this god, saying: "Come to me and guide me, and make me act justly in thine office. Thine office is more beautiful than all offices. Let all the world tell of thy might, that all men may say, 'Great is that which Thoth hath done.' Let them come with their children to cause them to be marked as scribes."

In the earliest times the school for the education of scribes was attached to the court, but at a later period such schools were organized in connection with the several departments of the government. Boys were sent to these schools while yet quite young, and were subject to the severest discipline. Their food was scanty, but their floggings were abundant. One of the pupils writing to his teacher, says: "I was with thee since I was brought up as a child; then didst thou beat my back and instruction went into my ear." The fundamental principle of all teaching was the wholesome old maxim, "The youth has a back, he attends when it is beaten." A grateful school boy writes to his old teacher: "Thou hast made me buckle-to since the time that I was one of thy pupils. I spent my time in the lock-up; he bound my limbs. He sentenced me to three months, and I was bound in the temple." By frequent and earnest admonitions the pupil was urged to improve his time and to arouse his energies. "O scribe," the tutor would say, "O scribe, be not lazy, otherwise thou wilt have to be made obedient by correction. Do not spend thy time wishing, or thou wilt come to a bad end. Let thy mouth read the book in thy hand. Take advice from those who know more than thou dost. Be strong and active in thy daily work. Spend no day in idleness, or thou wilt be flogged. For the ears of the youth are placed on the back and he hears when he is flogged. Let thy heart attend to what I say; that will bring thee happiness." Having mastered the art of writing, the pupil is set to copying fairy tales, religious and magical books, poems, the instructions of ancient sages, and fictitious correspondence, either taken from old books in verbatim copy, or paraphrased, or less frequently, original. This practice serves to correct his caligraphy, instruct him in orthography, and perfect his literary style. The door to all Egyptian learning and all Egyptian literature is now open to the earnest student.

When we come to inquire as to the character of Egyptian learning, we are compelled to admit that in some departments at least we have met with not a little disappointment. Although it was taught that the religious books were so sacred that the gods must first purify themselves before they even so much as touched them, these same books were frequently reduced to the most utter nonsense by the commentators. They saw difficulties of interpretation where difficulties did not exist, looked for deep profundity where

there was none, and offered explanations which explained nothing. The result was, in many cases, a very chaos of mysticism and folly. We need not be surprised at this; for we often see examples of such in our own day.

The Egyptians may scarcely be said to have had a written history. A Turin papyrus on its reverse side furnishes us with a list of kings, and various monarchs have left a brief account of their achievements. Other historic events have come down to us under a form more or less legendary in its character. We may add to this the annals of Egyptian temples with tribute lists and assignments of lands. In all this we possess not history but the materials out of which history may be wrought.

The stars were regarded not indeed as divinities, as was the case among the Babylonians, but as the abodes of pious souls, or as the genii which were connected with the sun; so especially the "decan-stars" or thirty-six constellations situated on the horizon. The Egyptians, however, had made a beginning in real astronomy. They had formed charts of different portions of the heavens on a plan which must be pronounced both original and unique. Their permanent and most important work was to lay the foundation of our modern calendar. Each day of the calendar seems to have been connected with one or more good or bad mythological incidents which took place on that day and made it forever lucky or unlucky. Thus the twenty-seventh day of the month Athyr was lucky because on that day peace was concluded between the gods Horus and Set, while the fourteenth day of the month Tybi was held to be unlucky because on that day the sister goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, mourned for their brother Osiris, who had been slain by Set.

Magic was the mightiest influence in the religious and intellectual life of the Egyptians. They believed that there were certain words and actions by which they could control nature, man, every animal, and even every god. The gods themselves depended upon magic to constrain one another. The origin of magic formulas was as follows. The magician would recall some mythological incident which brought good luck to some one of the divine beings, and the special words spoken by the god in connection with this incident. He would then imagine himself transformed into this same divine being, and would utter the same words which had proved powerful in connection with the mythological incident, when they would again serve the same good purpose in any similar

case. A single illustration will suffice. A divine legend relates that once upon a time in the history of the gods a fire broke out upon a mountain, and the goddess Isis called her son Horus to extinguish the flames, using these words: "My son Horus, it burns on the mountain, no water is there, I am not there, fetch water from the bank of the river to put out the fire." Horus responded and the fire was extinguished. Now it was believed that the same words repeated by the magician over a wound would stop its burning or would drive away the raging fever. The magician might possess himself of the magical power of a divinity by using the name of that divinity as his own. If he could but learn that secret name known only to the god himself, he would possess when he uttered it all the power of that god, who, on his part, would become weak and helpless. In one magic formula the magician threatened to pronounce the secret name of the god Shu, and by so doing he would unhinge the world. This threat is found in an incantation against crocodiles. The incantation is poetic in form, which may partially explain its wonderful power; for we have met with some modern poetry which, we are persuaded, would prove too much even for a crocodile. Certain objects could be invested with permanent magical virtue by reciting over them magic formulas. If the crocodile incantation were recited over an egg, and if the pilot of a boat but held this egg in his hand, every crocodile which raised his head out of the water would immediately sink again. This explains the power of amulets and images of wax, or other substance, so widely used by the superstitious. The written magic formulas were invested with the same efficacy as the spoken, and hence the extensive use of holy texts. The use of these formulas accompanied the preparation of medicine and the application of remedies in all cases of disease. The old receipts of Egyptian medical practice, in the number and disgusting character of their ingredients, were certainly enough to raise to highest ecstasy the heart of the most heroic old school allopathic physician. What would be thought, for instance, of a medicine formed by the mixture of twenty or thirty substances of such a character that sweat from the ear of a hog, the toe of a lizard, and the oil of a toad, would change the composition into sweetmeats and delicacies? The witches' broth of Shakespeare would be ambrosia and nectar in the comparison. We must not, however, deny to the ancient Egyptians a knowledge of the healing

qualities of many remedies which still maintain an honourable place in modern medical practice.

In mathematics the Egyptians never advanced beyond the rudiments. Their methods were original and primitive. In geometry they could not grapple with serious problems; and in the most simple problems they were able to reach but approximate results. They seem never to have dreamed of investigations conducted merely for mental discipline or the acquisition of knowledge. They were not devoted to truth for its own sake. They advanced only so far in mathematical science as availed for the solution of the problems presented in every day business life, and even in these problems, accuracy was not reached.

But if in mathematics the Egyptians never emerged from their infancy, in the department of literature their achievements are witnesses to matured powers. Fairy tales and stories of travel were always peculiarly attractive to them. A distinguished courtier of King Amenemhert I, of the twelfth dynasty, has left a record of his adventures. While travelling among the Syrian Bedouin he lost his way, and was surrounded by enemies; his carriage broke down; he was reduced to starvation; thieves stole his coat while he was asleep; he met with a love episode; but all ended well at last. The story furnishes a most interesting portrayal of Palestine in these early times. Another story relates how a poor shepherd fell in love with a goddess. It is said that "he had never spoken to her, but her power pursued his body." He resorted to magic, and early one morning, while standing by the lake, she came to him with all the appearance of being drawn to him by love; but, just as we are listening to hear her words, the tale closes in a way most exasperating. The owner of the manuscript, probably a crabbed old bachelor, has rubbed off the text. One of the sons of Khufu, the builder of the great pyramid, relates this story of a celebrated magician: "He is a young man of 110 years, and eats 500 cakes of bread together with a joint of beef, and drinks 100 jugs of beer, even at the present day. He knows how to set on a head that has been cut off, and he can cause the lions of the desert to walk behind him." This "young man" with a good appetite was called to the king, who proposed to cut off the head of a prisoner and see him stick it on again. He begged to be excused from this; and suggested that a goose would do as well. "Then they brought a goose and cut off its

head; the goose was then laid in the western corner of the hall, and the head in the eastern corner, and Dada—for that was the magician's name—repeated his magic formulas. Then the goose stood up and tripped along, and the head did likewise. When now one part had come to the other, the goose stood there and cackled." And so the story goes, ending with the prophecy of the birth of three children who should inaugurate a new dynasty in Egypt—which was afterwards so.

The land of Punt signifies the coast lands of the Red Sea, Southern Arabia and the opposite Somali coast. This country was considered by the Egyptians as a semi-fairyland. There are accounts of voyages to this divine land, with relations of much which is marvellous. One traveller—he seems to have been a treasurer belonging to the royal court of Egypt—set out for the gold mines of Pharaoh in a strong ship manned by one hundred and fifty sailors, who "knew both the sky and the earth, and in whom the heart was wiser than that of a lion." A mighty storm dashed the ship in pieces and all perished save the traveller, who escaped to land on a piece of wood, at the end of three days spent in the deep. He found abundance of food and after satisfying his hunger, sacrificed to the gods. He then says in his narrative: "Suddenly I heard a noise of thunder, which I thought to be the roar of a wave; the trees trembled and the earth shook. I raised my face and saw that it was a snake approaching; he was thirty cubits in length, and his beard was more than two cubits long. His limbs were inlaid with gold, and his colour was like real lapis-lazuli. He rolled forward and opened his mouth. I threw myself down before him, and he spake: 'Who has brought thee hither? Who has brought thee hither, little one? Who hast brought thee hither? If thou dost not tell me immediately who has brought thee hither, then I will show thee who thou art!' Then he took me in his mouth, carried me to his lair, and laid me down without doing me any harm." Being questioned again the traveller relates the story of his voyage. The snake, judging that the gods must have favoured his visitor, assures him that he shall suffer no harm, and beguiles his weary hours with fascinating stories of the snake island. Formerly there had been a beautiful maiden whom misfortunes had cast upon the island, but she had been killed by lightning. The inhabitants of the island now consisted of seventy-five snakes, all of one family. Thus the

snake talks, and at the first opportunity sends the traveller back to Egypt with rich presents and best wishes for a long and happy life. The story may be compared with that of "Sinbad the Sailor," with this difference that, while the snakes of the island treated the Egyptian traveller well, the monsters which Sinbad the Sailor met were ready to swallow him with a good appetite. From these instances when read in the original, it will be seen that the Egyptian author aimed to perfect his style. One of the stories we have mentioned, the adventures of the Mohar in Syria, seems to have been written in competition for the prize of literary championship.

In the department of poetry Egypt must be given a prominent place. The hymns to the Egyptian deities recapitulate the numerous epithets of the gods in monotonous repetition, and multiply hackneyed phrases of adoration whose reading tests the interest of the enthusiast. There are, however, refreshing oases in the desert. Some of the hymns to the gods may be compared with the psalmody of the Israelites. They have their pure moral teachings, noble passages, and lofty ideals. Again there is displayed a love of nature which always calls forth the best specimens of the poet's art. In a hymn to Amon this god is described as the one

> "Who makes the herb for the cattle
> And the fruit tree for mankind,
> He gives life to the fish of the river
> And to the birds under the heaven.
> He gives breath to the being in the egg,
> And preserves the son of the worm, (?)
> He creates that whereon the fly lives,
> The worms and the fleas as many as they are,
> He creates what the mice need in their holes,
> And preserves the birds (?) on all trees."

The Egyptians especially loved trees and flowers, and gardens were the favourite trysting-place of lovers. On a day when the garden was in full bloom the sycamore, which a fair maiden had planted with her own hand, called her to come into its shade. This beautiful love song invites her with most enticing words:

> "The little sycamore
> Which she planted with her hand,
> She begins to speak
> And her (words are as) drops of honey.

She is charming, her bower is green,
Greener than (the papyrus).
She is laden with fruit,
Redder than the ruby.
The colour of her leaves is as glass,
Her stem is as the colour of the opal,
It is cool in the shadow.
She sends her letter by a little maiden,
The daughter of her chief gardener.
She makes her haste to her beloved:
Come and linger in the (garden).
The servant who belong to thee
Come with the dinner things;
They are bringing her of every (kind)
With all manner of bread,
Flowers of yesterday and of to-day,
And all kinds of refreshing fruit.
Come, spend this festive day
And to-morrow and the day after to-morrow
Sitting in my shadow.
Thy companion sits at thy right hand,
Thou dost make him drink."

A beautiful conceit is the form of the love song in which each couplet begins with the name of a flower and a play upon the word lightly connects the whole. The maiden wears a wreath and, as she adds, flower after flower, each one reminds her of her love. Replacing this word-play by one of like import in our own language, Professor Erman renders a couplet as follows, as she picks out a rose and wears it in the chaplet:

"Blush roses are in it, one blushes before thee,
I am thy first 'sister';
And thou art to me as the garden,
Which I have planted with flowers
And all sweet-smelling herbs.
I directed a canal into it,
That thou mightest dip thy hand into it,
When the north wind blows cool;
The beautiful place where we take a walk,
When thine hand rests within mine
With thoughtful mind and joyful heart,
Because we walk together.
It is intoxicating to me to hear thy voice,
And my life depends upon hearing thee.
Whenever I see thee
It is better to me than food and drink."

We present one more example of Egyptian poetry—the festal dirge of King Antuf of the eleventh dynasty:

"After all, what is prosperity?
Their fenced walls are dilapidated,
There houses are as that which never existed.
No man comes from thence
Who tells of their sayings.
Who tells of their affairs,
Who encourages our hearts.
Ye go
To the places whence they return not.
Strengthen thy heart to forget how thou hast enjoyed thyself,
Fulfil thy desire whilst thou livest.
Put oil upon thy head.
Clothe thyself with fine linen adorned with precious metals.
With the gifts of God
Multiply thy good things,
Yield to thy desire.
Fulfil thy desire with thy good things
(Whilst thou art) upon earth,
According to the delectation of thy heart.
The day will come to thee,
When one hears not thy voice,
When the one who is at rest hears not their voices.
Lamentations deliver not him who is in the tomb.
Feast in tranquility.
Seeing there is no one who carries away his goods with him,
Yea, behold, none who goes thither comes back again."

Several works on ethics, teaching good manners, practical wisdom in business and official life, court etiquette, and proverbial sayings of the ancients, have gained a wide celebrity. The only complete work of this primitive wisdom which has come down to us is that preserved in the Prisse Papyrus. It contains the books of two classic writers, one of whom lived probably under the third, and the other under the fifth dynasty. The manuscript was transcribed before the eighteenth dynasty and was a text book in the schools in the time of Moses. The latter part of the Papyrus contains the Proverbs of Ptahhotep, who was called the king's son. He displayed a profound knowledge of men and was on that account appointed to compile and edit the political and moral maxims of the sages—a work which he accomplished in his extreme old age. Says Professor Maspero: "We must not expect to find in this work great profundity of thought. Clever analyses, subtle discussions, metaphysical abstractions, were not in fashion at the time of Phtahhotpu. Actual facts were preferred to speculative fancies. Man himself was the subject of observation, his passions, his temptations, and his defects, not for the purpose of constructing a system therefrom, but in the hope of reforming the imperfections

of his nature and pointing out to him the road to fortune."

This work of Ptahhotep, notwithstanding the subtlety of some of its thoughts, the strangeness of some of its precepts, the obscurity of its style, and the nature of the subjects treated, is well worthy of the high reputation to which it has attained. Ptahhotep gives this wise advice to a prefect when he sits as a judge and listens to the explanations of the parties to a suit: "When thou art a leader of peace, listen well to the words of the petitioner. Be not abrupt with him; that would trouble him. Do not say to him 'thou hast already said this.' Indulgence will encourage him to do that for the sake of which he is come. As for being abrupt with the plaintiff, because he describes what happened when the injury was done instead of complaining of the injury itself, let it not be. The way to obtain a clear explanation is to listen with kindness."

Since the precepts seem to have been addressed only to the learned, the range of subjects is limited. They are such practical maxims as would help the officer of government, the father of a family, and the well-to-do citizen, each to fill his place with respectability and honour; while they would encourage the subordinate and dependent to continue happy in their lot and not become restive under that providence which has ordained ranks in society.

A person high in authority is warned against unprofitable flattery: it will harm but not help. When an opinion is asked in the council of a lord, it should be given frankly and without reticence. A man should deport himself with circumspection in the presence of women. Inspire men with love not with fear—"this is the will of God." Everything, indeed, should be done with reference to God. It is He who gives increase to the flocks and fields; the agriculturist gathers of His bounty and the rich man is but His "steward." Four arguments are used for the enforcement of good conduct; it pleases God, it secures a good place for the docile and laborious student, it attracts good domestics for the family, and it tends to long life. Great importance is attached to the education of children. The mind of the young should be well stored with "the sayings of former days." The family is recognised as the foundation of society, and paternal authority must be maintained. "If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. If he conforms his conduct to thy way and occupies himself with

thy affairs as is right, do to him all the good thou canst; he is thy son, a person attached to thee whom thine own self hath begotten. Separate not thy heart from him. . . . If he conducts himself ill and transgresses thy wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return." M. Virey, whose translation we follow, says: "It is probable that there is here a sort of play upon the words." He suggests as the meaning: "Strike directly against a bad direction." The merit of a son is of advantage to his father and is worth more than his father's rank. The son should be so trained that he will remain teachable; in his docility he will exhibit his wisdom and direct his conduct. Knowledge will be his support, while the ignorant will be destroyed. Twice good is the precept of a father; happy the son who obeys. "Verily a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son who does better than he has been told." He does his work with all his heart; he is blessed with a good old age. "The wise man is satisfied by knowledge; he is a great man through his own merits. His tongue is in accordance with his mind; just are his lips when he speaks, his eyes when he gazes, his ears when he hears. The advantage of his son is to do that which is just without deceiving himself."

The wife should be provided for with a liberal hand and treated with all love, respect and tenderness. The wise man makes the best use of his moments, and improves every opportunity to improve his possessions. He looks well to his own house, and loves his own wife without alloy. He clothes her, provides her daily food, caresses her, anticipates her wishes, and tries to make her more contented than any of her neighbours; and in doing this he does honour to himself. The good husband studies to know what his wife desires—"to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards."

The man of great soul maintains moderation and calmness. He avoids, on the one hand, pride and haughtiness; and, on the other hand, meanness of spirit. An inferior should avoid offensive words in the presence of a superior; and yet he should speak the exact truth, when called upon to speak at all, and that without fear or favour. A man should not be interrupted when engaged in business; his time has its value. Words should be chosen with wisdom and always carefully guarded. There is even a time to be silent. The love of work transports men to God. He is a wise man who treats

his dependents well, especially "as we do not know the events which may happen to-morrow."

"If thou hast become great after having been little, if thou hast become rich after having been poor, when thou art at the head of the city, know not how to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank. . . . Thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbour who is like unto thee; be unto him as a companion."

"If thou art one of those who bring messages of one great man to another, conform thyself exactly to that wherewith he has charged thee; perform for him the commission as he hath enjoined thee. Beware of altering in speaking the offensive words which one great person addresses to another; he who perverts the truthfulness of his way, in order to repeat only what produces pleasure in the words of every man, great or small, is a detestable person."

A wise man is a good listener. The duty of listening attentively, retaining in the memory accurately, and transmitting to others fully, clearly and exactly, is insisted upon with all emphasis. Nothing is to be added to the message and nothing subtracted from it; nor yet are the words of the message to be changed. Exact truthfulness is earnestly enjoined. The wise man will learn from the conversation of others and profit from their experience, and thereby make constant additions to his own fund of practical knowledge. Honesty in word and in deed, loyalty to authorities, obedience to superiors whose place it is to command, and affection where affection is due—these are praiseworthy.

We return to the words of the sage as best suited to introduce us to the spirit of his teaching.

"As for the man without experience who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal in this fashion. His food are evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment. That which the great know to be mortal he lives upon every day, flying from that which would be profitable to him, because of the multitude of errors which present themselves before him every day."

"If thou abasest thyself in obeying a superior, thy conduct is entirely good before God. Knowing who ought to obey and who ought to command, do not lift up thy heart against

him. As thou knowest that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Fortune comes only at her own good-will, and her caprice only is her law."

"If thou hast, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner that thy conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age of Osiris. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way to violence."

"If thou aimest at polished manners, call not him whom thou accostest. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives thee an opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy rather; proceed not to drive him into a corner. . . Answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not."

"If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, and if he is superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let thee destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that thou art incapable of keeping thyself calm, when thou art contradicted. If thou then hast to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words. The better is he who is passive, say the bye-standers, and thou art right in the opinion of the great."

"Be not of an irritable temper in regard to thy neighbours; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbours, to be no longer master of one's words."

"If thou art annoyed at a thing, if thou art tormented by some one who is acting without his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more when he has ceased to address thee."

"If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, do not despise him because thou art not of the same opinion. Be not angry against him when he is wrong; away with such a thing. He fights against himself; require him not further to flatter thy feelings."

"Do not repeat any extravagance in language; do not listen to it; it is a thing which has escaped from a hasty

mouth. If it is repeated, look, without hearing it, towards the earth; say nothing in regard to it. Cause him who speaks to thee to know what is just, even him who provokes the injustice; cause that which is just to be done, cause it to triumph. As to that which is hateful according to the law condemn it by unveiling it."

These selections from his precepts will fully vindicate the right of Ptahhotep to an honourable place among the sages of the ancient world. The wise counsels of Ani, written for the instruction of his son, belong to a much later period. For comparison we present a few of his sayings.

"Drink not beer to excess! . . . . The words that come out of thy mouth, thou canst not recall. . . . . Thou dost fall and break thy limbs, and no one reaches out a hand to thee. Thy comrades go on drinking, they stand up and say: 'Away with this fellow who is drunk.' If any one should then seek thee to ask counsel of thee, thou wouldst be found lying in the dust like a little child."

"The sanctuary of the god—clamour is an abomination to him. Pray for thyself, with a loving heart, in which the words remain hidden; that he may supply thy need, hear thy words and accept thy offering." He exhorts to industry, "for the man that is idle cometh not to honour." One should not enter the house of another uninvited; it is an honour to be bidden to enter. Be not too inquisitive when in a house of a friend, and do not relate what thou hast seen. "Speak not too much for men are deaf to the man of many words; be silent rather, then thou shalt please, therefore speak not. A man's ruin lies in his tongue."

"Beware of a woman from strange parts, whose city is not known. When she comes do not look at her nor know her. She is as the eddy in deep water, the depth of which is unknown. The woman whose husband is far off writes to thee every day. If no witness is near her she stands up and spreads her net: O! fearful crime to listen to her!"

"Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee. She bore thee and nourished thee in all manner of ways. If thou forgettest her, she might blame thee, she might 'lift up her arms to God, and He would hear her complaint.' She brought thee up, and when thou didst enter the school, and wast instructed in the writings, she came daily to thy master with bread and beer from her house."

The Egyptian confession of faith is one of the noblest which has been bequeathed to us from the ancient world.

When the soul stood before the judgment seat of Osiris, with uplifted hands he recited his profession of faith: I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! I have not made defalcations in the necropolis! I have not laid labour upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! I have not transgressed, I have not been weak, I have not defaulted, I have not committed that which is an abomination to the gods! I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, I have not assassinated any man, I have not caused any man to be treacherously assassinated, and I have not committed treason against any! I have not in aught diminished the supplies of temples! I have not spoiled the shewbread of* the gods! I have not taken away the loaves and the wrappings of the dead! I have done no carnal act within the sacred enclosure of the temple! I have not blasphemed! I have in nought curtailed the sacred revenues! I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! I have not lassoed cattle on their pastures! I have not taken with nets the birds of the gods! I have not fished in their ponds! I have not turned back the water in its season! I have not cut off a water-channel in its course! I have not put out the fire in its time! I have not defrauded the Nine Gods of the choice parts of victims! I have not ejected the oxen of the gods! I have not turned back the god at his coming forth! I am pure!" This has been called a "Negative Confession," and yet the soul repeats it in substance in a positive form. "He hath spread joy on all sides; men speak of that which he hath done, and the gods rejoice in it. He hath reconciled the gods to him by his love; he hath given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; he hath given a boat to the shipwrecked; he hath offered sacrifices to the gods." M. Maspero, whose translation we have adopted, says: "If this does not amount to the love of our neighbour as our religions preach it, at least it represents the careful solicitude due from a good lord to his vassals." This confession from the *Book of the Dead* is reinforced from other sepulchral inscriptions in which the virtues of the deceased are described. It were not a difficult task to select from the Book of Psalms a multitude

* Offerings to.

of passages parallel with those which we have presented from the writings of the old sages of Egypt. It were also suggestive of profitable reflections to read the "Negative Confession" in connection with the "Ten Commandments" of the Israelites; and the hymns to the gods contain sentiments which readily suggest the songs of Zion.

The Egyptians were the first nation in the world which held the doctrine of the immortality of the soul as the fundamental article of their religious faith. Not merely the soul but the whole man was believed to be immortal, and it was confidently taught that at the resurrection all the parts which had been separated at death—the body, soul, intelligence, genius or double, shadow, name, husk or mummy, and heart: *khat, ba, khou, ka, khaibit, ren, sahu,* and *ab*—would be reunited. This doctrine was wrought into the whole life of the Egyptians, and it furnishes an explanation for many of their mightiest works. The embalment of the bodies of the dead, the selection of sites for their cemeteries, the massive pyramids and tombs with their secret chambers and passages, the sepulchral offerings, the pictured scenes, the portrait statues of the deceased, the amulets arranged upon the body, the magic texts upon wrappings and coffins, the prayers appointed to be said, the ushabti, the preparations made for the repetition of offerings to the *Kas*—the most stupendous and complicated system of magic which the world has ever known permeating everything—all this tells of the hold this doctrine had upon Egyptian religious thought. How is the slight reference which is made to the doctrine of immortality in the Pentateuch to be explained? Is it assumed that the doctrine is too familiar to call for especial mention? Were duties to the dead absorbing the thought and energies of the Egyptians? Was there danger that duties to the living would be forgotten or neglected?

The civilization of Egypt was in harmony with this early literary activity. Professor Petrie, speaking of the age of the great pyramids, says:—

"This earliest civilization was completely master of the arts of combined labour, of masonry, of sculpture, of metal-working, of turning, of carpentry, of pottery, of weaving, of dyeing, and other elements of a highly organized social life; and in some respects their work is quite the equal of any that has been done by mankind of late ages. Though simple it is of extreme ability; and it is only in resources, and not in skill, that it has ever been surpassed. Certain

products were then scarcely, if at all, known, and it is in the application of these that the civilization of later times shows a difference. No metal was used except copper, and hence flint was largely needed. And glass was probably unknown, although glazes were in use. But in most other respects the changes of later times are rather due to economy of production, and an increased demand for cheap imitations." Concerning the tools which were employed, Professor Petrie remarks: "I found repeatedly that the hardest stones, basalt, granite, and diorite were sawn; and that the saw was not a blade, or wire, used with a hard powder, but was set with fixed cutting points, in fact, a jewelled saw. The saws must have been as much as nine feet in length, as the cuts run lengthwise of the sarcophagi. One of the most usual tools was the tubular drill, and this was also set with fixed cutting points; I have a core from inside a drill hole, broken away in the working, which shows the spiral grooves produced by the cutting points as they sunk down into the material; this is of red granite, and there has been no flinching or jumping of the tool; every crystal, quartz or feldspar has been cut through in the most equable way, with a clean irresistible cut. An engineer who knows such work with diamond drills, as well as anyone, said to me, 'I should be proud to turn out such a finely cut core now'; and truth to tell, modern drill cores cannot hold a candle to the Egyptian; by the side of the ancient work they look wretchedly scraped out and irregular. That such hard cutting points were known and used, is proved by clean cut hieroglyphics on diorite, engraved without a trace of scraping; and by the lathe work of which I found pieces of turned bowls with the tool lines on them, and positive proof that the surface had not been ground out." The work upon the lathe is "fearless and powerful," as well as "surpassingly delicate." The great pyramid of Gizeh is a standing monument of the mechanical skill of its builder. Professor Petrie says: "To merely place such stones in exact contact at the sides would be careful work; but to do so with cement in the joint seems almost impossible." Mr. Jomard says: "We are at a loss to know what force has moved, transported and raised so great a number of colossal stones, how many men were needed for the work, what amount of time was required for it, what machinery they used; and in proportion to our ability to answer these questions, we increasingly admire the power which regarded such obstacles as trifles."

We cannot attempt to touch upon all the topics which suggest themselves in connection with our subject. The field is too large. The portrait-sculptures of the Egyptians, their decorative art, the general plan of their temples, the priesthood, and the sacrifices—such topics as these are worthy of careful treatment.

The nineteenth was perhaps, taking it all in all, the most brilliant of the Egyptian dynasties. It might be called the Elizabethan period of Egyptian literature. The princes were educated and maintained at the royal court. Their tutor was called their *nurse*. Under the Old Empire special revenues were put aside for their support, and they received various government appointments—"treasurer of the god, high priest, chief judge, scribe of the divine book, governor of the palace." Under the New Empire they preferred to take service in the army and were invested with military titles. They were called "divine offspring," and could be recognised by their distinctive dress. A prince would enjoy the very best opportunities which the kingdom could afford for acquiring an education. "All the learning of Egypt" was open to him, and abundant resources were at his command.

The exodus of the Israelites was not accomplished in the dark ages of Egyptian history. The art of writing had been practised in Babylonia for probably twenty-five hundred years and libraries had been founded and supported in her principal cities. During the preceding century a brisk commercial and diplomatic correspondence had been conducted in the Babylonian language throughout Western Asia. The governmental and official archives of Khuenaten at Tel-el-Amarna contained portions of this correspondence, and one tablet of the same has been discovered in the mound of Lachish. Tablets in the Babylonian language have also been found in Asia Minor, and these latter may be dated from 500 to 1,000 years before the birth of Moses. At the time he fled into Midian, princes of the old Minean kingdom were practising alphabetic writing in Arabia. A few years preceding this event, the Hittites ratified a treaty with Rameses II. This was written on a silver tablet originally, probably in their own hieroglyphics and language. Greeks in Egypt were becoming acquainted with letters, and may have already formed their own alphabet. Egypt, his own native country, had practised the art of writing for 2,500 years, and had produced a number of works of literary merit. She had already passed through two historic periods

characterized by a highly organized civilization, and now again, in this most brilliant nineteenth century dynasty, was at the very height of her literary splendour. The Egyptians had what Professor Erman calls "a mania for writing." Scribes were at work everywhere. Learning was necessary, if high literary titles were to be secured. In this most literary of the nations of antiquity, with an honoured past, near the period of her best literary achievements, Moses appeared. Though a Hebrew in blood, he was adopted, by the daughter or perhaps the sister of Pharaoh, as her own son, became a member of the royal family, and was educated at the royal court under the best tutors which Egypt could afford.

Neither Greece nor Rome has bequeathed to the modern world so vast an amount of writing as has Egypt.

When we consider the literary treasures which have been permanently lost, we may form some estimate of what must have been available for the education of Moses. He studied the religious systems. He became familiar with the *Book of the Dead*, and perhaps listened to the chanting of hymns to the gods. He knew something of the history of Egypt and surrounding nations, and took a deep interest in the history of his own kindred.* He had studied such branches of science as were known to the ancients. He had read the mythological tales, rustic and love songs, and books of travel which were accessible in his time, and had stored his memory with the maxims of the sages. He had become experienced in the administration of affairs of government, and may have been charged with important military enterprises. He was accustomed to the receipt and despatch of written reports. Moses must have been endowed with learning equal to the composition of the Pentateuch. Is it not probable that the great leader would have caused records to be made of events so closely connected with his own life and the history of his people, and so momentous in their character? The age and country in which he lived, the literary activity of his time, his connection with the royal family, the educational opportunities of his day, and the custom of making records of all, even the most trivial affairs, are in perfect keeping with this view. To suppose that Moses did not cause such records to be made would place him out of harmony with the spirit of the times and the circumstances of the case. The contents of the Pentateuch also are consistent with the view we have

* See Stosch's *Origin of Genesis*.—Ed.

presented. The snatches of poetry in construction are like the poetry of Egypt and Babylonia,* and the priests' code is probably not more complicated than the priestly codes of these countries at the same time.

We will not, however, be led into an extended discussion of these points.

Our object has been attained if we have established the fact that Moses was, in all probability, well equipped, in an educational point of view, for the composition of the Pentateuch; and that he doubtless caused records to be made of the events of his time. Yet if such records were actually made, what was done with them? Were any of them used in the composition of the Mosaic history and legislation? How were they used? These, and many other questions connected with a full treatment of the subject lie outside the purpose of this paper.

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. Canon GIRDLESTONE, M.A.).—Our thanks are due to Dr. Fradenburgh for his able paper and also to Dr. Walker for so kindly reading it. (Cheers.)

The paper throws great light upon the days when Israel was in Egypt and when Moses led them out. We see that the Egyptians of those days were by no means uncivilised—quite the contrary, and it seems clear that they could do some things even better than we can.

With regard to history I think one of the most important points is that contained in the seventh page of the paper. It has always struck me as a very serious defect in the Egyptian system that they had no fixed historical era; until you have a fixed historical era it is impossible to frame anything like a sequence of events or even of the Dynasties, and the history has to be made up piecemeal by comparing the dates in a king's reign and seeing how certain things overlap one thing and another thing. Perhaps the time will come, as suggested by Dr. Fradenburgh, when the materials will be so enlarged that history may be wrought out of them.

* Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, the Assyriologist, writes :—

"As regards Hebrew and Babylonian poetical compositions, I consider that they owe their likeness to the probability of a common origin, or to the influence of the same original models. The reason for my opinion is that both nations are and were of the same race, and as some of the Psalms are pre-exilic the style could hardly have been copied from that of the Babylonians."—ED.

A discussion of a conversational character ensued, after which the meeting was adjourned.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

By Colonel C. R. CONDER, R.E., D.C.L.

With respect to the main question treated in Dr. Fradenburgh's interesting paper, there can be no doubt that civilisation and religious thought had by the time of Moses reached a high level in Egypt, and that one learned in the Egyptian knowledge would have been acquainted with such ideas. They were not, however, confined to Egypt. Some of the Akkadian psalms must be older than the age of Moses, and, in thought and language, they show remarkable resemblance to Hebrew psalms, except that they are polytheistic and not monotheistic. The civilisation of Babylonia, Syria and Palestine was as advanced as that of Egypt, and such things as inscribed gems, tents with pillars of gold and silver, altars, and arks, can be proved by existing dated examples, and by contemporary texts, to have been in general use even before Moses.

In respect to the original documents whence the Pentateuch was derived, we know that the Ten Commandments were written on both sides of a pair of stone tablets, and it is probable that the other laws and narratives may also have been so written, since tablets were still in use among the Hebrews down to the time of Jeremiah, though gradually superseded by scrolls. Careful inspection of the various episodes in Genesis, and elsewhere in the Pentateuch, seems clearly to indicate the original existence of such tablets. If they were written in some syllabic character—very probably the cuneiform which was then in use in Egypt itself and all over Western Asia—this would supply a simple explanation of apparent discrepancies in personal names and other words. Thus, for instance, it is possible to write, in cuneiform, a name which could be read either "Jethro priest of Midian" or "Reuel Prince of Midian" as two renderings of the same group of signs. And what so applies to the two names of Moses' father-in-law will be found to apply equally to many other names. The discrepancies arose in copying the original documents, and need not be regarded as evidence of distinct authorship. The average length of any episode in the earlier parts of the Pentateuch does not exceed what could have

been included in each case on a single tablet. This view I have briefly explained in a recent work "The Bible and the East."

Many of the supposed anachronisms which, according to eighteenth century criticism, marked a late date in the Pentateuch writings are, by such evidence, proved not to be anachronisms at all, but to show an intimate knowledge of contemporary civilisation on the part of the writer, and an ignorance on the part of the critic, only excusable because the external monumental evidence, now available, was then entirely unknown.

Colonel Conder has added a few incidental remarks which will be of interest to the reader.

The incidents, mentioned in the 9th page of the paper, seem to be those of the Mohar's journey in Palestine, supposed by Chabas to belong to the time of Rameses II., and are not found in the story of Saneha, who appears to be the traveller alluded to in the time of Usertesen I.

Personally, I do not believe that the alphabet existed in the time of Moses, as cuneiform seems to have been the character then in use. I think that Glaser has failed to satisfy specialists as to the antiquity of his Arab texts. The characters can hardly be as ancient judging from their forms, and the thirty-three kings of the Minæans may only carry us back to about 600 B.C.

I think also it is too positive an assertion that the Tell-el-Amarna tablets are older than Moses. Dr. Winckler and Dr. Zimmern in Germany have, I understand, pronounced in favour of their being as late as the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, which is the view I have always held, and they agree that the Hebrews are often mentioned in these letters, and that Mineptah found Israel inhabiting Palestine.

Bunsen's view as to the late date of the Exodus does not agree with Old Testament chronology and it rests on no monumental foundation, but is indeed discredited by the later monumental discoveries.

The fact of Greek letters in Egypt resembling the Etruscan is only natural since the two alphabets were nearly akin, but it does not establish any very great antiquity for these as the Etruscan letters are not the oldest known by any means.

Finally, I cannot understand how Hummurabi can be placed as early as 2356 B.C. The Babylonian statements place him (by two separate reckonings) about 2150 B.C. These, of course, are only small points not really important to the question discussed.