The Date of the Exodus

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year the Emperor Commodus was murdered; hence it is possible that there was another stroke in the fourth line, and that COS II is the right reading. This stone apparently, to judge by the Greek words chiselled below, was set up by some legionary who had formerly served under Pertinax either in Syria in the suppression of the revolt of Cassius, or else in his victorious campaigns on the Rhine 172 A.D., in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, at whose death he was Governor of Syria. The inscription was cut at the glad moment when the good news of his old leader's election at Rome had reached Kerak, although perhaps the Emperor was then already lying dead.

The end of Gibbons's fourth chapter contains a sketch of Pertinax's popular career with the legions.

It would be a great thing if the Reference Library at Jerusalem would obtain a copy of the "*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*," of the Berlin Academy, compiled by Mommsen and his fellow labourers, or at any rate of those portions of the work that relate to the East.—J.N.D.]

THE DATE OF THE EXODUS.

By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L.

As two writers under the above title have referred to some statements that concern my work, I wish to give a few explanations, though I hope that I may avoid dealing with so thorny a subject as the title indicates.

P. 247. Captain Haynes remarks that "Lower Egypt appears to us as the very hotch-potch of races"; but—if I may say so—that seems to have been the case of every country where an active civilisation prevailed, and Upper Egypt was probably as mixed as Lower Egypt. The race in the IV Dynasty was compounded of three or four peoples; the New Race of the VII–X Dynasty was quite different; and in one tomb at Thebes of the XVIII Dynasty I have found skulls of the most extreme shapes, some the very opposite to those of the earlier residents there. So the mixture in Lower Egypt, though true enough, is not peculiar to that part. Regarding the period of the Judges, Captain Haynes relies entirely on a statement, which is probably of late origin, of 480 years between the Exodus and the Temple. I will not attempt to enter on so complex a question here, but only say that as there is a far shorter chronology—about 200 years—resulting from statements in the Old Testament I could not pass such an assumption as this in silence, which might imply tacit consent.

P. 248. The note about corrections in the chronology which I have adopted, is based upon the March number of the "*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*" It is unfortunate that the writer should not have apparently seen the April number before his paper appears in July, or at least have waited to

hear what had to be said. In the next number (April) appeared a memorandum from me pointing out that all the supposed corrections are based on points which have been perfectly familiar for 60 years to those who have studied the matter. It is hard that a shallow mistake such as that about these "corrections" should at once pass on as a basis for two other papers, when there is nothing to correct in that manner.

P. 251 and note 254. Here it is assumed that the Egyptian power over the Syrians rested on the command of chariots. On the contrary, the Syrians fought in chariots just as much as the Egyptians, and had their chariots far more elaborate and decorated. In the very first battle of Thothmes III he took 924 chariots from the Syrians. The home of the horse and the chariot was in Syria rather than Egypt.

P. 255. It would be more satisfactory if Colonel Conder were to avoid the use of quotation marks when he makes extensive alterations in a passage to which he refers. In the six lines of mine which he has marked as a quotation, there are nine words altered. One matter is serious in it, as he gives *Ruten* for Syria when the word is *Kharu*.

P. 256. It seems bold to state that "the Bible discountenances" the idea of any Israelites being out of Egypt before the Exodus, when Ephraim mourned for his cattle-lifting sons who were slain at Gath (1 Chron. vii, 21).

The statement that "Brugsch's dates rest on the coincidence of the vague Egyptian and Greek year, according to the Rosetta stone Mahler's dates rest on a statement by Censorinus," seems a strange confusion. Brugsch, Mahler, and every one else rest on the statements of the Rosetta stone and Censorinus (beside many other authorities) for the starting point of the relation of Egyptian and Greek years in Græco-Roman times. The real question is the dating before that, backwards from this fixed point. For this Brugsch trusts to the very vague use of generations, assumed at 33 years, and assumed equal to the reigns; such a system may give a rough approximation, but is utterly rotten in details. Mahler, on the other hand, takes exact statements of astronomical feasts which fix dates to within three or four years. He has had before him all the assumed corrections which have been proposed to be applied to his results; and, as a thoroughly trained astronomer, such considerations are the elements of his profession. It is not competent for any one to apply "corrections" without going through all his work in detail; one might as well set about correcting the "Nautical Almanac."

P. 257. The statements about the date of Burnaburias require revision. His date quoted at 1450 B.C. is only roughly correct. Sayce puts him at 1430 to 1410 B.C. as an approximation, and Amenhotep IV (by Mahler's basis of chronology, see Petrie, "History of Egypt," ii, 29) reigned 1383 to 1365 B.C. As Amenhotep IV was offered the daughter of Burnaburias in marriage, it is clear that the Egyptian was the younger. The vague objection, therefore, to Mahler's chronology as being "a century" in error here, comes down to less than 30 years, an amount that no Assyriologist would fight over.

P. 257. It is stated that I do not give the grounds for saying that Sety I had restored the name of Amen on the Israel tablet. As I had already quoted the whole inscription, "the restoration of the monuments was made by *maat. men. ra* (Sety) for his father, Amen," I do not see what more proof or grounds for this can be wanted.

It is a pity to have to spend time and print on a quantity of small corrections like these ; but the example of the paper on chronology in March, which is at once adopted by two people without waiting to see an answer in April, shows that one cannot be too quick in clearing away mistakes which may easily pass on into other work elsewhere.

SERAPIS.

By EBENEZER DAVIS, Esq.

IN the July issue of the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 258, there is a note by Colonel Conder relative to the papers written by Canon Dalton and myself on the discovery by Dr. Bliss of a votive inscription at Bab Neby Daûd, Jerusalem, first announced in *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1895.

It is now some years since I first became acquainted with Colonel Conder and his writings, during which time I, with many others, have been indebted to his researches for large accessions to our knowledge of Oriental geography and antiquities. I regard him as a very valuable writer on any subject that he may consider worthy of treatment, he being a hard student of facts rather than of opinions, earnest and keen in the quest of truth, and very successful. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to accept his criticism of my short article on the Jerusalem epigraph.

I certainly (in order to save space) omitted any reference to coins found at Jerusalem, or belonging to the Roman colony of *Ælia Capitolina*, bearing the image of Serapis. I was acquainted with one such, and have since ascertained that there are many others. The device of an old head bearing the "*modius*" and facing the right, occurs on reverses of Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Caracalla, Diadumenianus, and Elagabalus. The same device (but with the head turned to the left) occurs on a reverse of the associated Emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus. I have not been able to come across a representation of Serapis accompanied by Cerberus. In Taylor's "*Calmet*," and in Madden's "*Jewish Coins*," there are illustrations of coins of *Ælia Capitolina* having a reverse device of Bacchus with the thyrsus and leopard. This last is the only animal figure occurring on these coins ; it, however, has but one head, while the "infernial dog" to which Colonel Conder refers is said by the poets to have had at least three heads. According to Hesiod he had 50.

Colonel Conder does not think that there was any connection between