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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

THE STORE-CITY OF PITHOM

AND

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

WITH THIRTEEN PLATES AND TWO MAPS.

FOURTH EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

LONDON

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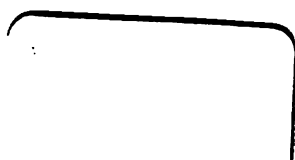
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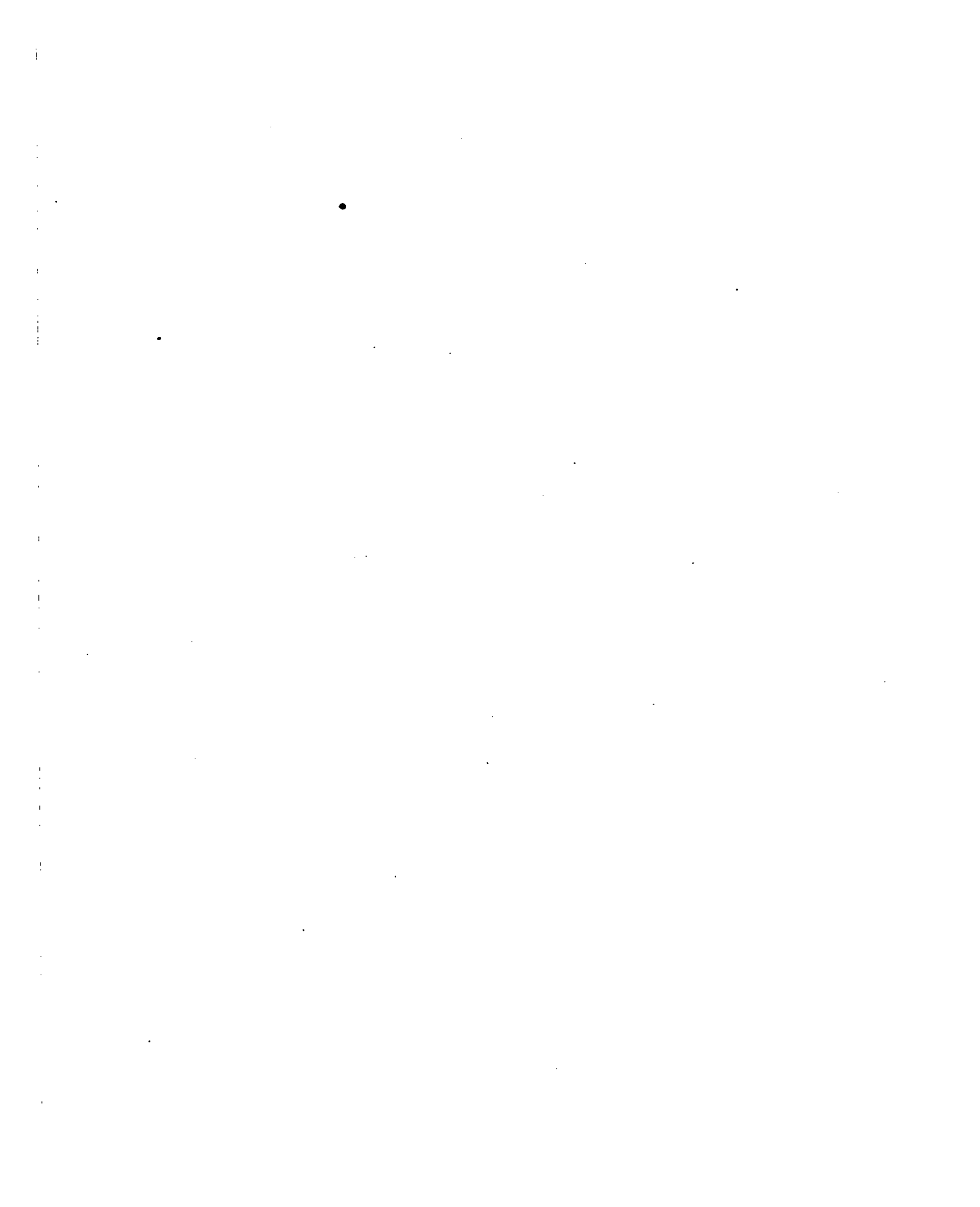
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LONDON:
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STATUETTE OF ANKH SHER NEFER

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To the Rebered Memory

OF

THE GENEROUS PRESIDENT OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND,

SIR ERASMUS WILSON, LL.D., F.R.S.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS; VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY; ETC., ETC, ETC.



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P R E F A C E.

THE Memoir which I herewith have the honour of submitting to the public represents the first-fruits of the first excavations carried out by THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, under the gracious authorization of His Highness the Khedive, during the spring-time of the year 1883.

I shall readily be believed when I assert that the life of the Egyptologist knows no keener delight than that of searching out the manifold secrets which yet lie hidden beneath the sands and mounds of Egypt. Of all pursuits which the hunting-grounds of his science have to offer him, this is not only the most attractive and the most exciting, but it is that which makes the largest demand upon our patience, and which frequently rewards us in the most unexpected manner. In publishing, therefore, the results of this first expedition, I hasten to seize the opportunity of paying a just tribute of gratitude to those founders and promoters of THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND to whom I am indebted for my initiatory experience as an explorer in the Eastern Delta of the Nile. The first name which presents itself to my pen—the name of SIR ERASMUS WILSON, the enlightened patron of Egyptology in England, and first President of the EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND—recalls the heavy bereavement which the Society has recently sustained in the loss of that eminent man, whose commanding intellect ranged over the widest domains of knowledge, and whose nobleness of character and inexhaustible liberality have graven an ineffaceable record upon the age in which he lived. I also tender my acknowledgements to the members of the Committee, and especially to the two Honorary Secretaries, Miss Amelia B. Edwards and Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, to whose indefatigable zeal the foundation and popularization of the Society are due, and to both of whom I am much indebted for their constant support,

and also for their valuable assistance in the revision of this Memoir for the press. To my illustrious friend M. Maspero, Director-General of the Museums of Egypt, I offer my warm thanks for the cordiality with which he welcomed me as a fellow-worker on Egyptian soil, and for the invaluable way in which he furthered the objects of my mission by instructions to the local authorities. Nor must I omit the names of either M. Jaillon, the distinguished French engineer, or of my learned compatriot, Professor Paul Chaix ; the first of whom not only furnished me with the necessary labourers, but himself shared in the daily toils and anxieties of the work, while the second has kindly taken upon himself to prepare the Map by which this Memoir is illustrated.

In the deductions which I have drawn from the inscriptions discovered at Pithom, I well know how much is conjectural ; but I venture nevertheless to hope that this brief essay may at all events incline the public to appreciate the important ends to be attained by the exploration of Lower Egypt. Not mere antiquities for exhibition in the galleries of museums, not even works of art, no matter how great their artistic value, are the main objects of our quest ; but rather the solution of important historical and geographical problems, and the discovery of names, of facts, and, if possible, of dates.

My reward will be great should the perusal of these pages awaken a more general interest in Egyptology, which, as a field of study, embraces a period of more than forty centuries, and as a field of exploration is of vast extent, of unexampled wealth, and in many parts comparatively unknown.

The plates and maps have been executed by the Typographic Etching Company.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY, NEAR GENEVA.

August, 1884.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

THE fourth edition of this Memoir, describing the first excavations made by the EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, nearly twenty years ago, does not differ much from the third. As a preparation to its publication, I re-visited last winter the part of the country of which I speak, especially I went again through the region where I consider that the passage of the Red Sea took place. Standing on the hill of the so-called Serapeum among the fragments of a large stele of Darius, on the spot which I believe to be the site of Migdol, and looking around me, I could not help being struck how well the nature of the land was in accordance with the event described in Exodus. On this point, I have not changed anything in my views.

In the third edition a good deal was added to the translation of the great stele of Pithom. Subsequently M. Brugsch attempted to give a correct text and a translation of this important document, in which he took a special interest. But even in the work, published after his death, of this master in the interpretation of Egyptian texts, there is a large amount of conjecture, and his translation is far from being complete.

Therefore I set myself again to the hard and disappointing task of deciphering this text from various sets of paper casts. The result of this new revision is now published. I differ in many points from Brugsch, as regards both text and translation. All I can hope is that I have carried this work a step further; for in the understanding of this document we can only advance by degrees; it is even doubtful whether we shall arrive at anything like finality in the interpretation if we do not find a duplicate, as for the stone of Canopus. This might come out of one of various places in the Wadi Tumilât or near the Suez Canal, which have not yet been excavated.

I reprint without alteration Appendix I., not so much for the sake of the discussions with Profs. Dillmann and Mommsen, as because it contains the description of certain sites in the Wadi Tumilât which are little known.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY, NEAR GENEVA.

July, 1902.

THE STORE-CITY OF PITHOM

AND

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

TELL EL MASKHUTAH.

ON the south side of the sweet water canal which runs from Cairo to Suez through the Wadi Tumulât, about twelve miles from Ismailiah, are the ruins of European houses now abandoned, but where a few years ago was a flourishing village. This was one of the chief settlements of the engineers and workmen who dug the Ismailiah canal, and there was at that time a railway station at this point. The Arabic name of the place is *Tell el Maskhutah*, "the mound of the statue." The French have called it *Ramsès*.

None of these names are ancient. The Arabic *Tell el Maskhutah* is derived from a monolithic group in red granite, representing a king sitting between two gods. This monolith has been described by the French engineers who surveyed Egypt at the end of the last century. The place was then called *Abou Kachab* or *Abou Keycheyd*. We know, from the valuable memoir of the engineer Le Père, that "these ruins bore all the characteristics of an Egyptian city," among them being a very remarkable monument, of which he speaks as follows:¹ "It consists of a monolith of granite, cut in the form of an arm-chair, on which are seated three Egyptian

figures, apparently belonging to the priestly order, as one may judge from their costume and the caps they wear. The monument is still standing upright, and the figures are turned towards the east. They were buried up to the waist; but having dug down to the feet, we have been able to see the whole of them and to measure them. The back of the arm-chair is entirely covered with hieroglyphics, which have the appearance of a regular and complete picture. Among the ruins are many blocks of sandstone and granite inscribed with hieroglyphics, and all such remains as mark the sites of destroyed cities in Lower Egypt."

Since the above description was written the aspect of the place has changed, the numerous blocks of which the Frenchman speaks have been removed, or covered by the sand; and till a few years ago, the site of the old city was indicated only by a hardly discernible mound, or rather an undulation of the ground, on the top of which stood the monolith, the size and execution of which showed that it must have belonged to a temple of some importance.

The inscriptions have been published² and deciphered. They show that the three figures represent *Rameses II.* between two solar gods, *Ra*

¹ "Description de l'Égypte," Ed. Panckoucke, vol. xi. p. 295.

² Wilkinson, "Materia Hieroglyphica," App. 4. Prisse, Mon. de l'Égypte, Pl. XIX.

and *Thm.* The circumstance that the king has placed himself among the divinities led Lepsius¹ to consider him as the local god to whom the city was consecrated, and therefore to identify Tell el Maskhutah with the city of "Raamses" built by the Israelites during the Oppression. When, therefore, a party of French engineers settled there in 1860, and gathered a great number of workmen around them, the name of Ramses was adopted for the locality, and has remained in use up to the present time. For several years Ramses was a place of some importance—a European and Arab village, distinguished by the elegant villa of M. Paponot. But since the canal was finished, all the inhabitants have left the place, which is once again a desert, the ruins of houses and of a mosque and the wasted gardens being the only evidence of its former prosperity.

The mound or *kóm* of Maskhutah is situated on the southern side of the present canal, the high banks of which are crowned by the earthworks thrown up by Arabi's soldiers. Before the making of the Ismailiah canal this place was watered by an older work, called *the canal of the Wadi*, which is now only a marsh full of reeds. Moreover, it is still possible to trace the bed and part of the banks of a much older channel, the canal of the Pharaohs, re-established by Ptolemy Philadelphos and again by the Emperor Trajan. It skirted the south-eastern side of the city.

Standing on the bank of the canal, and looking from Arabi's redoubt towards the desert,² we first note two sides of a very thick wall meeting at right angles, and constructed of very large bricks. The northern side rises above the sand to a height of some two or three yards. On the western side it used to be entirely covered by sand; but it was laid bare a few years ago, and its great width (eight yards) gives it the appearance of a causeway. The angle of the southern side is still discernible; but that part is

entirely covered by the villa Paponot. It is easy to trace the direction of the eastern side, and to reconstruct the plan of the whole enclosure; but on that side, owing to the vicinity of the old canal, the wall has very likely been destroyed to make way for the houses of the inhabitants. At the time when the villa was constructed, nothing except the monolith and the northern side of the enclosure could be seen above the sand. One day, however, in digging for the garden, the workmen came across another monolith of the same size as the first, the pair having once stood symmetrically at the entrance of some edifice. Concluding that these monuments flanked each side of an avenue, M. Paponot continued the excavations in the same direction. The result was the discovery of two sphinxes in black granite, placed also on each side of the avenue or dromos; then, farther on, a shrine or *naos* in red sandstone, very well executed, and a large stele in red granite which was lying flat, and had been used as the foundation of a Roman wall of baked bricks.

The discovery of these monuments, which all belong to the reign of Rameses II., seemed to offer additional evidence in favour of Lepsius's theory that this was the site of Raamses. M. Maspero, who published some of them,³ came also to the conclusion that it was a city of Raamses, perhaps that of the Israelites, the starting point of the nation going to conquer the land of Canaan. This, however, was not yet a well established fact. The geography of the eastern part of the Delta is not nearly so well known as that of Upper Egypt. We are acquainted only by name with a great number of its cities, canals, and lakes. Not only in the hieroglyphical lists of nomes which are inscribed in several temples, but in the writings of the Greeks and Romans, we have a great deal of information regarding the Delta, which was visited by several invading armies and by a considerable number of traders

¹ Lepsius "Chronologie," p. 348; "Zeitschr. für Äg. Sprache," 1866, p. 32.

² Cf. Plate I.

³ "Revue Archéologique," Nouv. Série, vol. xxxiv., p. 320.

and travellers. But most of the sites have not yet been identified; and except a few famous places like Heliopolis, Tanis, Mendes, and Bubastis, the reconstruction of the geography is still a matter of guess-work, in which conjecture occupies a large place. The only means of bringing some light to bear on these obscure questions is to make excavations. At the present time fresh and decisive information is to be expected not so much from the study of written texts, as from the pick and spade.¹

Owing to the uncertainty in the determination of localities, two very different theories have been started as to the route of the Exodus and the sea which the Israelites had to cross. The old theory makes them start from Wadi Tumilat and cross the sea somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suez. The new theory originated by Dr. Schlegel and Brugsch supposes them to have departed from the country round Tanis, and maintains that the crossing of the sea must be understood as meaning that the Israelites followed a narrow causeway between the Mediterranean and the Serbonian bog. That dangerous track still exists at present, and is subject to be wholly washed over when there is a heavy sea.

This last theory, which has been advocated with a great deal of learning and supported by very ingenious arguments, has occasioned much discussion, not only among Egyptologists, but also among those who take interest in biblical geography. On which side lay the truth? Would it ever be possible to arrive at any certain conclusion, or at least to find


¹ Since this was written various sites such as Naucratis, Terenuthis, Hermopolis, Onias, Phacusa, Leontopolis, have been identified owing to the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

one or two definite points of that famous route?

The desire to come nearer if possible to the solution of the Exodus problem, induced the Society to choose Maskhutah from among the various localities where the kindness and the liberality of M. Maspero allowed excavations to be made. And thus the great task of the exploration of the Eastern Delta was begun.

Before attempting to excavate it was necessary to study the monuments formerly discovered near M. Paponot's villa by the French engineer M. Jaillon, and now deposited in one of the squares of Ismailiah. They consist, as has been said before, of a monolith of red granite; a great tablet of the same stone; two sphinxes in black granite; and a broken naos of red sandstone of the same style and material as those which may be seen at Sân. The naos is also a monolith, but the inner part is not empty. It contains a recumbent sphinx with a human head, not detached, rising from the floor.

One sees at first sight that all these monuments have been dedicated to the god *Tum*, of whom the other form is *Horemhku*, *Harmachis*, the same who was worshipped at Heliopolis. It is he who is represented on both sides of the tablet, once as *Tum*, with a human head bearing the double diadem, and once as *Harmachis*, with a hawk's head surmounted by a solar disk. Another emblem of *Harmachis* is the sphinx with a human head, of which a gigantic example is seen in the sphinx near the Great Pyramid. Each time Rameses II. is mentioned he is spoken of as the friend of *Tum* or *Harmachis*. It is clear therefore that *Tum* was the god of the city. It is true that the name of *Pi Tum*, the abode of *Tum*, is not to be found on the monuments of Ismailiah; but it may have been carved on the

top of the tablet, or in some of the lines which are now obliterated; besides, I subsequently found one of the lost fragments of the naos, containing not only the cartouche of Ramses II., but also the name of the region in which Pi Tum was constructed, *Thuku*,  e), also known to us from other monuments discovered, as well as from the lists of nomes, and the papyri of the British Museum.

The result of this preliminary study was therefore to show that according to all probability the city which would be discovered at Maskhutah was not Raamses, but *Pithom*, the city or the abode of *Tum*. This conjecture has been entirely borne out by the results of the excavations.

I began working on the 5th of February, with the most obliging and effective help of M. Jaillon, who brought with him a gang of about one hundred workmen; a considerable facility in a place absolutely desert, and where it was necessary to remove a great quantity of sand; for, as the monuments were neither very numerous nor very large, it is likely that nothing at all would have been found, had we only set a few labourers to dig here and there.

We excavated first the south-eastern angle of the enclosure,¹ not far from the place where the former monuments had been discovered, between the monolith and the enclosure. There the *kóm* or mound rose to its greatest height; and there also it seemed likely that we should find the remains of the old temple. We also worked much nearer the bank of the canal, on a large undulating space separated from the enclosure by a sort of valley. Not far from there some rude stone coffins had been found while the canal was being made, and it might have been thought that it was a necropolis. But this proved not to be the case. Although we went to a great depth under several of the mounds, we found nothing but crude brick, of small size, clearly

¹ Cf. Plate I.

belonging to the Roman period. These were the house-walls of the ancient inhabitants. No monument of any importance was found there; but only copper coins, fragments of hard stone which had been used as mortars, and a great quantity of broken pottery of the coarsest description, cups, jugs, and large amphoræ, some of which were perfect, and are now in the Museum at Cairo.

Within the area of what I regard as the sacred enclosure, the excavations were carried northward, in the line of the dromos of the temple; and then beyond that area we laid open a large space of perfectly level ground, which concealed the thick walls of the store-chambers. Shafts were also sunk in various places, which brought to light everywhere brick walls of different periods, which illustrate the history of the city of Pithom.

The chief monuments discovered,—which, according to the contract made with the Egyptian Government, through the courteous Director-General of the Museums of Egypt, M. Maspero, are the property of the Museum at Cairo, and were transported thither—are the following, according to chronological order:—

A hawk of black granite, an emblem of Harmachis, bearing the oval of Rameses II.² (Plate XII.)

A fragment of red sandstone, belonging to the naos at Ismailiah, of the same prince, and bearing the geographical name of Thuku. (Plate III. A.)

A fragment of a tablet of black granite, used as a mortar, and bearing the name of Sheshonk I. (Plate III. B.)

A statue of a squatting man, in red granite, the lieutenant of King Osorkon II., “Ankh sher nefer, the good Recorder of Pithom.”³ (Frontispiece and Plate IV.)

² Presented by H. H. the Khedive to the Egypt Exploration Fund, and by the Fund to the British Museum.

³ Presented by H. H. the Khedive to the Egypt Exploration Fund, and by the Fund to the British Museum.

A statue of a squatting man, in black granite, a priest of Succoth called Aak. (Plate V.)

A large statue in black granite, broken to pieces, of a sitting king, probably of the twenty-second dynasty, perhaps Osorkon II.

Fragment of the statue of a priest. This was the first monument on which I read the name of the city, the abode of Tum. (Plate VII. A.)

Fragments of a very fine pillar, of which a whole side was gilt, with the name of Nekhtorheb, Nectanebo I.

Base of the statue of a princess, bearing the two ovals of the queen Arsinoë II. Philadelphos. (Plate VII. c.)

The great tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphos, the largest and most important monument discovered by me at Tell el Maskhutah. (Plates VIII. to X.)

Two Roman inscriptions giving the name of Ero, or Heroöpolis. (Plate XI.)

Also several others of minor importance.

Let us now examine the principal results derived from the study of the inscriptions engraved on these monuments.

THE NAMES OF THE ANCIENT CITY.


Tell el Maskhutah was not Raamses, as Lepsius endeavoured to prove; it was *Pithom*, the *City* or the *Abode of Tum*, one of the cities of which Exodus tells that they were constructed by the Israelites by the command of the Oppressor.


Its name corresponds to the Hebrew פִּתּוֹם,¹ to the Coptic πηθωμ, to Πιθώμ and Πειθώ of the Septuagint, and to Πάτουμος of Herodotus.²


In order to make the evidence quite conclusive, I shall begin with surveying what we knew about the nome of Pithom, its capital, its

divisions, its local god, before the site had been identified.


Our chief sources are the geographical lists engraved on the walls of several temples.³ They are nearly all on the same pattern. They have the appearance of a procession in which a man bearing on his head a hieroglyphical group, which is the name of the province or nome, is considered as offering to the king the nome with its products and everything it contains; the whole is described in the legends accompanying the picture. Each nome has a separate bearer, and they follow each other in a definite order which is always the same. We learn from the texts not only the divisions of the nome, but everything connected with the local worship. The principal divisions of the nome are:—

1. The , the territory belonging to the province.

2. The , the canal or branch of the Nile which waters it.

3. The , the lowland or marshy region, which very likely was used as pasture-land.

We may add to these lists what I shall call the geographical invocations,⁴ in which, in order to show that a god, generally speaking, Osiris, is lord over the whole of Egypt, he is addressed as residing in all the nomes, which are mentioned in their order.

If we consult the lists, the most important of which are engraved on the basements of the walls of Denderah, Edfoo, and Philae, we find that the VIIIth nome of Lower Egypt is called ,⁵ a name which Brugsch reads


³ I must refer the reader to the important collection of texts published by Duemichen in his "Geographische Inschriften," a first-rate work which is so far in 4 volumes. As regards Edfoo, some supplementary inscriptions are found in Rougé, "Inscriptions et notices recueillies à Edfou," and Bergmann "Hieroglyphische Inschriften."

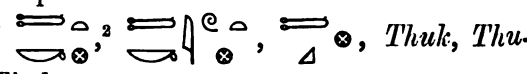
⁴ Duem., Geog. Inschr., I. pl. 96—100, II. pl. 28, 29

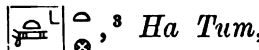
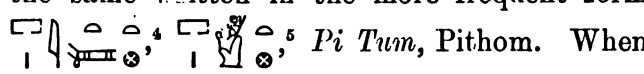
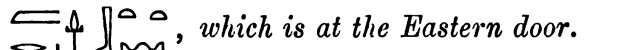
⁵ Duem. l.l. I., pl. 62, 64, etc.




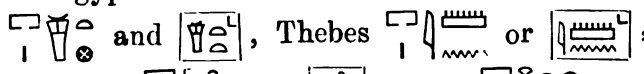
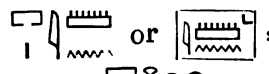
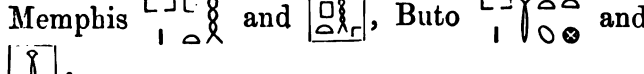
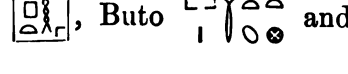

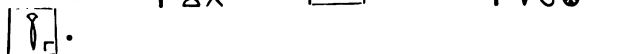
¹ Exodus i. 11.

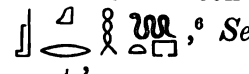
² L. ii. 158.

nefer ab or *ab nefer*. The local god was Tum Harmachis, with the distinctive epithet of ,¹ *the living*.



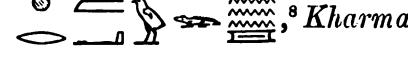
The capital of the nome bears the civil name of ,² *Thuk, Thuket, or Thukut*.

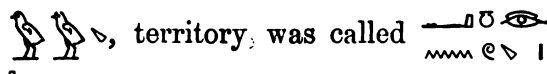
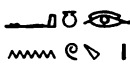
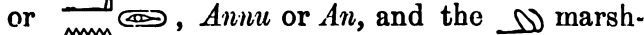
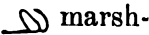
The religious name is ,³ *Ha Tum*, the abode of Tum, the god of the nome, or the same written in the more frequent form ,⁴ *Pi Tum, Pithom*. When this city is mentioned there is generally added ,⁵ *which is at the Eastern door*.


The religious name of the city considered as the residence of its god thus consisted of the name of Tum, preceded by the word  or , abode or house, and often followed by the determinative . It is the same with a great number of Egyptian cities. Thus we have Bubastis  and , Thebes , Memphis , Buto  and .

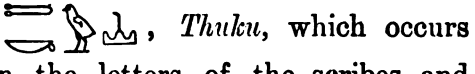

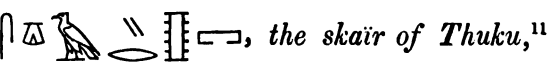
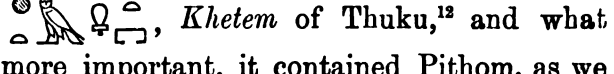
Another locality which is mentioned in connection with the nome is ,⁶ *Se Kerehet*, 'the abode of the serpent.'

The divisions of the nome are the following:

The , the canal, is called ,⁷ or according to a papyrus ,⁸ *Kharma or Khalma*.

The , territory, was called  or , *Annu or An*, and the  marsh-

land was , 'the lake of the scorpion.'

Besides the lists, and the texts of a purely geographical character, we find in the papyri several of the names belonging to the nome. The most frequent is , *Thuku*, which occurs repeatedly in the letters of the scribes and officials of the XIXth dynasty, contained in the so-called Anastasi papyri.⁹ We see there that the name of Thuku has the determinative of a borderland inhabited by foreigners. It was under the rule of a ,¹⁰ lieutenant or wakeel. It contained a fortification called ,¹¹ *the skair of Thuku*, or ,¹² *Khetem of Thuku*, and what is more important, it contained Pithom, as we see from this sentence, to which we shall refer farther, *the lakes of Pithom of Menephtes, which is of, or which belongs to, Thuku*. It is clear from those inscriptions that before becoming the civil name of the capital, Thuku was the name of a region, a district which contained Pithom, and it had that meaning under the XIXth dynasty.

Having now gathered all the information which may be derived from the geographical lists and the papyri, let us examine the names which we find on the monuments discovered at Tell el Maskhutah, and we shall see that they contain a complete description of the nome.

We must first notice what we observed both in the documents and on the stones exhibited at Ismailiah, that all the monuments are dedicated to the god Tum Harmachis, or belong to a priest attached to the worship of that god. The geographical name which we find most frequently is that of *Thuku, Thukut*; it is met with in the different forms described

¹ Rougé Edfou, pl. 145.

² Duem. Geog. Inschr. I. 62, etc.

³ Duem. l.l. III. 146, etc.

⁴ Duem. l.l. II., pl. 98.

⁵ Id. III., pl. 29.

⁶ Rougé Edfou, pl. 145.

⁷ Vide the lists quoted above.


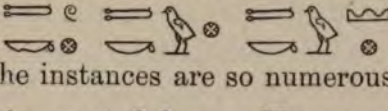



⁸ Anast. V. 11, 4. Brugsch. Zeitschr. 1876, p. 127.


⁹ Anast. V. 19, 2, 3, 8; 25, 2; 26, 1; VI. 4.

¹⁰ Anast. V. 25, 2.

¹¹ Anast. V. 19, 8.

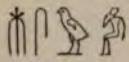
¹² Anast. VI. 4, 16.


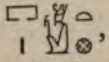

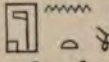
above. At the time of the XIXth dynasty, on the fragment of the shrine of Rameses II., it is a borderland  (Pl. III.). In the monuments of a later epoch it is mentioned as the civil name of the capital and of the district around it; it occurs as . The instances are so numerous that they cannot be quoted here. The name is generally connected with the god Tum; *Tum the great god of Thuku, or the great god who resides in Thukut, or the great god the living* () of *Thuku*. In the great tablet it occurs more than a dozen times; the determinatives  and  apply both to a city and to a land of some extent.

Brugsch, in his extensive researches on the Geography of Egypt, first drew the attention of Egyptologists to the Hebrew word corresponding to Thuku or Thuket. The letter = which was pronounced *th*, is often transcribed in Greek and Coptic by σ ; and in Hebrew by ד .¹ The name of $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Sebennytus, *Thebeter*  is a striking proof of the truth of this assertion, which is corroborated by the spelling of many common names. I need not dwell on this philological demonstration, which seems to me quite conclusive. The transcription of *Thukut* would be the Hebrew סוכות *Suc-coth*.² It is not at all surprising that the Hebrew word should mean *tents*. We have here an example of what is called "popular etymology," a philological accident which constantly occurs in mythology and geography. A name passing from a language to another keeps nearly the same sound and the same appearance, but it undergoes a change just sufficient to give it a sense in the language

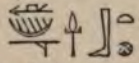
¹ Brugsch, "Aeg. Zeitschr." 1875, p. 7.

² Rev. H. G. Tomkins has pointed out that we have the Assyrian transcription of Succoth in the *Ishūt* of Esarhaddon. *Academy*, March 3, 1883.

of the people who have adopted the word. The new sense may be totally different from the original.³ It is the same with the name of Moses, in Egyptian  *mesu*, the *child* or the *boy*, which the Hebrews converted into מֹשֶׁה , *Mosheh*, "drawn out of the water," a turn of meaning which of course has nothing to do with the Egyptian word.

We have seen in the lists that the religious name of the city was *Pithom*, and a papyrus says that it belonged to *Thuku*. The same information is derived from our monuments. The name of Pithom occurs first on the statue of the lieutenant of Osorkon II., Ankh sher nefer, who was also the good recorder of Pithom, . The name is mentioned three times in this form in the texts of the statue. It occurs twice in the great tablet of Philadelphus as , with the determinative of a city: once⁴ when the rents granted to the city are spoken of, and farther⁵ when priests and statues placed *before the gods of Pithom of Thukut*  are mentioned; just as we found in the papyrus Anastasi. Just as in the lists also, the name of Pithom occurs with the variant *Ha Tum* , *the divine abode of Tum, the great god who resides in Thuku*.⁶

In order to complete the evidence derived from the agreement of the inscriptions discovered with the texts known before, I shall now review the other geographical names which belong to the nome.

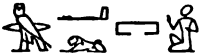

The name of the nome itself  is found in the first line of the great tablet, showing that it is to the gods of the VIIIth nome

³ Cf. the very good remarks on this point in Lenormant, "Les Origines de l'histoire," 2nd ed., ii, p. 171.

⁴ Pl. IX., l. 10.


⁵ Pl. IX., l. 13.

⁶ Pl. V. A, pl. VII. A, 2, 3.

believe that Heroöpolis may be quite differently interpreted and in a manner corresponding to the special character of the city. Among the titles of one of the priests we find the following:  *Mer ar*, "the keeper of the storehouse." *Ar* written with the initial  would be transcribed in Greek *HP*; and as the storehouse was one of the principal parts of Pithom which had been constructed as a store-city, it is quite possible that it may have given its name to the place.¹

The discovery of the site of Heroöpolis Pithom is of great importance for the reconstruction of the geography of the eastern part of the Delta. It is difficult not to admit that at the time of Rameses II. the Red Sea, or rather the Arabian Gulf, extended much farther north than at present, and comprehended not only the Bitter Lakes but also Lake Timsah. Even supposing Heroöpolis to have been the most important city near the sea before the foundation of Arsinoë, it would be strange that the Arabian Gulf should also have been called Heroöpolitan, and that Strabo should say that Heroöpolis was built at the end of the Arabian Gulf, *ἐν μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου*, if it had been about sixty Roman miles away from the sea.

We may say, with Lepsius, that the ancients considered as a gulf the two large inner basins now called the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, when they had been united by means of a wide canal, such as the work of Philadelphos; but at the time of the Exodus the natural communication must have existed. Dr. Schleiden himself, who opposes this opinion from distances taken from Herodotus and Strabo, agrees that the geological facts establish without any doubt a great extension of the Red Sea towards the

¹ I believe now a better explanation may be given of the name *Ἡρω* for Tum. The sphinx or lion, the emblem of Tum is called , the Greek transcription of which would be *HP*. Heroöpolis is therefore "the city of the sphinx or the lion," vide *Sphinx*, vol. v., p. 197.

north; but he maintains that we must go back to prehistoric times in order to find such a hydrographic state of the Delta. We shall revert to this subject when dealing with the geography of this district; but for the present we may say that, on the contrary, all the authors, even of later times, speaking of Heroöpolis, seem to point to the vicinity of the sea. Agathemerost says that the Arabian Gulf began at Heroöpolis; and Artemidoros² states that from there the ships started which went to the land of the Troglodytes: hence we may safely conclude that not only at the time of the Exodus, but even under the Romans, the physical position of that part of the Delta was very different from what it is now. This change, the consequences of which have been so considerable, may even then have begun very gradually, very slowly to take place. It is not necessary to travel very long in the Delta in order to see that there has been much movement in the soil. In some parts it must have sunk considerably; as around Tanis or in Lake Menzaleh, where important ruins are several feet under water. In other places, which were certainly under water, it has risen. Heights have been upheaved, like the banks of Chaloof; the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah have become isolated; and the Red Sea has shrunk back as far as Suez.

THE DESCRIPTION OF PITHOM.

The square area enclosed by enormous brick walls, the direction of which is visible in Plate I., contained a space of about 55,000 square yards. Before the excavations were begun, the ground was nearly flat, sloping gently towards the marshes. The traces of the former excavations were still visible. The highest part was between the enclosure and the monolith. Here only there was a kind of mound, or *kóm*. Except the walls and the monolith, no ruins appeared any-

¹ *Ἀράβιος κόλπος . . . ἄρχεται ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως*. "Geogr. graeci min. Ed. Müller," ii., p. 475.

² Strabo, xvi., p. 769.

where; not even such heaps of bricks and ruined houses as usually mark the sites of ancient Egyptian cities.

Judging from the aspect of the place, and the ordinary construction of Egyptian temples, it might have been thought that the enclosure was the *temenos*, the area belonging to the sacred building, which sometimes, as at Sán, or still more at Thebes, covered a very extensive surface. The monolith would then have been at the entrance of a long dromos leading to the temple. The result of my excavations has been to show that it was not so. The temple occupied only a small space in the south-western angle in the neighbourhood of the monolith; or rather of the monoliths, for we know there was one on each side of the entrance. The *naos* of Ismailiah was found at a distance of less than thirty-two yards from the monolith, and it certainly could not have stood at the entrance of the temple, but rather at the farther end. Near the *naos* was found the great tablet of Philadelphos, of which it is said in the inscription that the king ordered it to be erected *before his father Tum, the great god of Succoth*. The whole temple extended only a little farther than the *naos*. It had not been finished, to judge from the big stones roughly hewn which were left there. One of them was cut in the form of a tablet; another, a fine piece of black granite, had been cut in the form of a sitting statue, but was left unfinished, and abandoned, I should think as early as the time of Rameses II., the founder of the city.

The temple was enclosed on both sides by walls, or square masses of bricks. It was a rectangular space, divided from the rest of the buildings. Very likely bricks were the materials of which the greatest part of it was built. The monuments which have been preserved are either of red or black granite, or a kind of red sandstone. The inner walls were made of white limestone of Toora, which, in spite of its Egyptian name, "the good stone of An," has no durability, is broken with the greatest facility, and does not

resist the action of the air; besides, it is the best material for making lime. Everywhere in the course of our excavations pieces of that stone have turned up; sometimes a block from the foundation of a wall; sometimes a fragment with one or two hieroglyphic signs, showing that it was part of some sculpture; sometimes also I found several feet deep of white gravel entirely composed of that stone, which had crumbled to pieces, or which had been broken for lime burning. Evidently a considerable number of inscriptions have been thus destroyed, and this explains why I did not find more. It was in limestone that the buildings of the twenty-second dynasty and of the Ptolemies were made. When the Romans levelled the ground, in order to establish their camp, they destroyed without mercy an immense number of inscriptions which would have been most precious to us. Many fragments of porphyry and granite were scattered among the ruins of houses, having been used as mortars, mill-stones, or thresholds.

Outside of the space which I consider as the temple, and excavating farther towards the north-east, we reached some very strange buildings, no indications of which appeared above the sand, but which, however, were of considerable extent. We came upon thick walls built of crude bricks, joined by thin layers of mortar. These walls are remarkably well built, and have a thickness of from two to three yards; the surface being perfectly smooth, and as well polished as possible with such a material as mere Nile mud. Everything indicates a very good epoch, when the Pharaohs built with the intention of making a lasting work. As for the nature of the bricks, I cannot do better than quote the words of a distinguished visitor, Mr. Villiers Stuart, who came to see the excavations: "I carefully examined the chamber walls, and I noticed that some of the corners of the brickwork throughout were built of bricks *without straw*. I do not remember to have met anywhere in Egypt bricks so made. In a dry

climate like Egypt it is not necessary to burn the bricks: they are made of Nile mud, and dried in the sun. Straw is mixed with them to give them coherence."¹

These are the walls of a great number of rectangular chambers of various sizes, none of which had any communication with each other. In the first we reached,² at about two yards from the surface, we found pieces of a very fine statue, in black granite, representing a sitting king, but without the uræus. It had been thrown from the top, and had been broken into quite small pieces, showing that it must have fallen from a good height. The head only and the upper part of the bust had not suffered much; and these have been removed to the Museum at Cairo. Lower still were bricks thrown without order, sand, earth, and limestone chips. It is evident that the intention had been to fill up the chamber to a certain height after the top had fallen in. About four yards from the soil the walls stand on natural sand, showing that it is the base of the building. At the height of two yards from the bottom there are regular holes at corresponding distances on each side, where timber beams had been driven in. About one yard higher there is a recess in the wall at the same level in all the chambers which I excavated to that depth. The wall above had been covered with a kind of stucco, or white plaster. I excavated to the bottom of chambers 1 and 2; but seeing that they had been intentionally filled up, it seemed useless to go on emptying them, so I confined the work to digging deep enough to trace the direction of the walls, without attempting to go to the bottom.

What was the object of those chambers? I believe them to have been built for no other purpose than that of storehouses, or granaries, into which the Pharaohs gathered the provisions necessary for armies about to cross the desert, or

even for caravans and travellers on the road to Syria. It is also very likely that the Ptolemies used them as warehouses in the trade with Africa, which took place through the Heroöpolitan Gulf. We know in fact, from the great tablet, that Pithom was one of the places to which the African vassals brought their tribute. For a border-fort, which was also a store-place, means of defence were necessary, and therefore it was surrounded by the very thick walls, part of which are yet preserved. These facts explain the slight difference which we find between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text in speaking of Raamses and Pithom. The Hebrew calls them *מִסְכָּנִים*, which, according to Gesenius, means 'store-houses,' while the Septuagint translate *πόλεις ὀχυράς*, 'fortified cities.' Both expressions are equally true. Heroöpolis at the entrance of the Gulf, the place from which fleets sailed to the Red Sea, must have been a strong place with a garrison. Such certainly was the case under the Romans, who called it the 'Camp of Ero.'

I laid bare the upper part of the walls of several of these store-chambers, which I do not doubt extended over the greater part of the space surrounded by the enclosure. In order to make an exact plan, it would be necessary to dig the whole surface to a depth of three feet. Whenever shafts were sunk, I came across brick walls more or less decayed, and belonging to different ages. It would be impossible now to reconstruct the plan of these chambers in the eastern part, where the enclosure has disappeared. This part, being nearest the canal, was evidently encroached upon at an early period by the houses of the inhabitants, and the old constructions have suffered. There the excavator finds a compact mass of bricks of all ages, in which it is hopeless to trace any kind of plan; but the part near the temple is in a much better condition.

The chambers had no communication with each other; the access to them was only from the top. It is possible that the recess which exists in the wall was employed for an awning,

¹ Villiers Stuart, "Egypt after the War," p. 81.

² No. 1 of the Map. Cf. Plate II.

or for supporting some kind of ceiling. If the chambers were filled with corn, it must have been thrown down from above and drawn up afterwards in the same way.¹

The area thus occupied was of course not a convenient ground for a camp; therefore the Romans filled up most part of the chambers; and they used for that purpose whatever came first to hand. Thus they threw down the fine black statue of the unknown king, and, what was still more precious, a beautiful pillar of Nectanebo I., which was entirely gilt on one side. This must have been a very fine monument. The fragments have been removed to Cairo. If all these cellars were excavated, it is quite possible that many other monuments, more or less broken, would be found in them, having been cast in to level the ground. If excavations are ever resumed at Pithom, the remaining store-chambers will have to be cleared out.

The civil city of *Thaku* extended all round the sacred buildings of Pithom, the abode of Tum. There are traces of habitations on all sides; and nearly all are of the time of the Romans. For a long time I entertained hopes of finding the necropolis of Pithom. At the time when the canal was being dug, the workmen came across a great number of coffins in white calcareous stone, some of which were roughly carved in the shape of mummies. In other places, at a small depth in the sand, they found mummies enclosed in large earthen pots. The shafts which I sank led to no result. During several days my labourers were engaged in excavating a singular structure near the canal. It consisted of two masses of bricks, sloping gablewise, and resting on the sand. Instead of joining together at the top, however, they are separated by a kind of gutter about a yard wide. It might have been thought that underneath them could be found one, if not several coffins. We did not find any-

¹ Since this was written Mr. Flinders Petrie discovered the storehouses of Naucratis, which are built on the same plan. (Naucratis, p. 24).

thing, except at one end a pit in which bones of men, of dogs, and even of fishes, were intermingled with a few small amulets.

THE HISTORY OF PITHOM.

The founder of the city, the king who gave to Pithom the extent and the importance we recognize, is certainly Rameses II. I did not find anything more ancient than his monuments. It is possible that before his time there may have been here a shrine consecrated to the worship of Tum, but it is he who built the enclosure and the storehouses; he is the only king whose name appears on the naos and on the monuments of Ismailiah. Nowhere is it said, as on the monolith of Abou Seyfeh,² that he restored constructions of former kings. Very likely he found it necessary for his campaigns in Asia to have storehouses for provisioning his armies; and also means of defence against invaders from the East. We find here confirmation of the evidence derived from other monuments that he is the Pharaoh of the Oppression, as he built Pithom and Raamses, the site of which last is still uncertain. Rameses II. built much in the Eastern Delta; it is clear that he attached great importance to that part of the country. There are ruins likewise at Tell Rotâb, near Kassassin, which may possibly be also attributed to his reign. If there were cities like Pithom in the Wady Tumulât, there must have been a canal to supply them with the necessary water. We know, in fact, from Strabo³ that according to tradition it was Sesostris who first attempted to dig a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.

After Rameses, Menephtah, who built much at Tanis (Sân), did not neglect Succoth. We know from the papyri that there was a fortress here bearing his name; but I did not find his oval anywhere, not even on the bricks. It is

² Prisse, "Mon. Eg.," pl. XIX.

³ L. i., p. 38.

extraordinary that among the hundreds of bricks which I examined at Pithom, I never found one bearing a royal stamp.

It does not appear that the kings of the twentieth dynasty did anything for Pithom. It is possible, however, that to the reign of one of those sovereigns we may attribute a calcareous stone with three faces,¹ on which there is represented a king worshipping Horus. This king had evidently returned from a successful campaign, for on one side he is seen bearing his mace and his bow, while, on the other, he holds by the hair a prisoner with his hands tied behind his back. The two broken cartouches, traces of which are still visible, are impossible to decipher. If he was a king of the twentieth dynasty he would not be the only one of this family who is met with in the Delta; for independently of Rameses III., who built much at Tell. el Yahoudieh, the name of Seti II. is found at Tanis.

After Rameses II., the kings who seem to have done most for Pithom are those of the twenty-second dynasty, the kings of Bubastis—Sheshonk I. (Shishak),² of whom we have a fragment in black granite, and especially Osorkon II., who very likely enlarged the temple of Tum. On several occasions I found fragments of calcareous stone, generally cornices, on which the name of Osorkon II. was painted in red, in order to be sculptured afterwards: the red colour disappeared when exposed to the sun, but I could distinctly read the name. Besides, to his time belongs one of the most attractive monuments found during the excavations, namely, the statue of the *Atennu*, the lieutenant of the king, *Ankh sher nefer*,³ who speaks of Pithom as a place where Osorkon celebrated festivals. For kings like Shishak and Osorkon, who had repeatedly to fight the nations of Asia, it was very important to hold the cities commanding the roads leading to the desert;

and therefore we find them building on the northern route at Sán and on the southern at Pithom.

I attribute also to Osorkon II. the sitting statue which had been thrown in the chamber No. 1. I should think the stone for this statue had been brought under Rameses II. It was intended to be one of a pair, for, as already noticed, there was at the end of the temple a large block of the same stone roughly carved in the form of a sitting statue of the same size, which had been left unfinished. The two portions of another statue, unfinished and very roughly hewn, were found walled in a door-post of Roman time. On the back I could decipher the name of one of the *Takeloths*.

The Pharaoh who fought the Persians, *Nekht-horheb* or *Nectanebo I.*, also built at Pithom, and, strange to say, with a richness which would not be expected in a city of that kind. At the northern end of the excavations, between the enclosure and the outer wall of the chambers, I found, together with many pieces of granite, some fragments of a pillar of calcareous stone of a bluish colour. The sculptures are of the best workmanship. They represent scenes of offerings to the god Tum; and one of the sides is entirely covered with very thin gold, remarkably well preserved. I suppose it is to the Romans that we must attribute the destruction of this beautiful monument. It was not possible to make out anything from the inscriptions, except one of the ovals of the king, and the name of Succoth.⁴

By far the most important monument discovered at Pithom is the great tablet of Philadelphia, which was near the naos. It records what was done for Pithom by the king and his queen and sister Arsinoë II. The day before it was found, the workmen laid bare the base of a statue of which the feet only were left, and on which were sculptured two royal ovals.⁵ One

¹ Plate VI. ² Plate III. B. ³ Frontispiece and Plate IV.

⁴ Plate III. c.

⁵ Plate VII. c.

contained the name of *Arsinoë*; the other was unknown. Next day, when the great tablet was discovered, I saw that *Arsinoë* had adopted two ovals, one of which is a kind of coronation name, *Khnum ab Shu mer neteru*. The tablet, which unfortunately is very hard to read, is an interesting document not only as regards the history of Pithom, but also as regards that of Ptolemy Philadelphos. We learn from it that Pithom and the neighbouring city of *Arsinoë*, which the king founded in honour of his sister, were the starting points of commercial expeditions to the Red Sea; and that from thence one of Ptolemy's generals went to the land of the Troglodytes and founded the city of Ptolemaïs $\Theta\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, for the special purpose of facilitating the capture of elephants. And it was to Heroöpolis that the ships brought those animals, which played such an important part in the warfare of the successors of Alexander. For a general of that time it was as important to have an elephant force, as in our days it is essential to have a strong body of artillery. We learn also that close to Pithom there was a city called *Pikerehet*, or *Pikeheret*, which must have been an important place, judging from the amount of taxes which the king attributes as revenue to its temple.

THE MONUMENTS DISCOVERED.

We will now study more closely the principal monuments discovered during the excavations.

PLATE III. A.—The large monuments of Rameses, now at Ismailiah, have been known for several years. Besides the name of the royal founder, which we learn from them, we see also that Tum Harmachis was the divinity of the place. To him was dedicated the naos in red sandstone, in the base of which a sphinx is sculptured. The naos is not perfect. The fore-part has been broken; but I found part of it, bearing the upper portion of the name of Rameses and

the words $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}} \overline{\text{Ⲁ}} \text{ⲉ}$, the lord of Thuku, of Succoth. It is possible that underneath there was the sign $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$ which has been broken away. This small fragment shows that the name of Succoth was already in use in the time of Rameses II., and that it was considered as a border land.

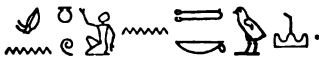
PLATE III. B.—I found only a small fragment of this tablet, which, judging from the stone of which it was made, and the style of the engraving, was certainly very fine. Two goddesses, representing Upper and Lower Egypt, promise a long and prosperous reign to a king who makes an offering to them. This king is Sheshonk I. (Shishak), whose name is still legible. The Bubastite kings, and particularly Shishak, must have used the storehouses of Pithom for provisioning their armies going to Syria.


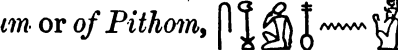


FRONTISPIECE AND PLATE IV.—One of the most elegant monuments found at Pithom belongs to the twenty-second dynasty. It is the statue of *Ankh sher nefer* $\text{Ⲁ} \text{Ⲛ} \text{ⲛ}$ now in the British Museum, and of which we here print the inscriptions. This statue is of red granite, and represents a squatting man with his hands crossed on his knees. Before him is a small naos containing a figure of Osiris. On the knees are engraved the two ovals of Osorkon II. (F), of whom he was an officer, and between the hands is the monogram of *Ankh sher nefer* (E). At each side, sculptured on the legs, are representations of gods who promise their protection to the deceased. The inscriptions concerning them are engraved on the sides of the naos (C and D). Even on both sides of the head Osiris and Sokaris are engraved.

Ankh renp nefer was $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}} \overline{\text{Ⲁ}} \overline{\text{Ⲁ}} \text{ⲛ}$, *first lieutenant of the king*. This title is very like

¹ Here, as well as in the Ptolemaic inscription, Plate VII. a. l. 2, the sign $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$ has the form $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$. It is a variant, which is found also in the Rosetta stone *passim*, $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$ and $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{Ⲁ}}$.

another belonging to the same locality; the lieutenant or wakeel of the territory of Succoth

.¹ His other titles are

, the great inspector of the palace; the good recorder of Tum or of Pithom,  or ; lastly, a title of which I do not know the meaning, , which I believe to be read *kebaa*. These titles seem to indicate some civil or judicial office.

Ankh sher nefer recites his own praises in the three lines of text engraved on the back of the statue (A):—

Line 1. The first lieutenant of the king, the first inspector of the palace, Ankh sher nefer speaks thus: "I had the right of entering the palace, I was honoured by my lord who gave me his praise, I entered before him at the head of his intimates . . ."

Line 2. I inquired for the royal will,² and I went out bearing his order, banishing misery and softening quarrelsome talk; illustrious was my mouth, bound on doing what he desired.

Line 3. . . his obedient son pleasing his father. Pithom as a reward for it gave a royal festival to the divine offspring of Ra, Osorkon, beloved of Amon, son of Bast. I found the way . . .

On the sides of the naos are the following inscriptions; on the right side (D):





Amon Ra Mut and Khonsu, grant that may last the name of the good recorder of Tum, the god of the region of An, Ankh rep nefer, the kebaa of the house of Tum (Pi Tum, Pithom), the god of An.

And on the left (C):—

Horemkhu Shu and Tefnut, grant that may last the name of the first inspector of the palace, the good recorder of the house of Tum (Pi Tum, Pithom), the god of An.

On the top of the naos is an inscription which

¹ "Pap. Anastasi," V. Brugsch, "Rev. Egyp.," i., p. 22 et seq.

² . This sentence is difficult because of the group . In the tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphos the king is called  in the dates, which seem to indicate that  means 'royal': the royal sound of words means very likely the royal will or the royal command.

repeats the title of first inspector of the palace, and adds the title of *Kebaa*, with the name of a city, which may be Bubastis, although the sign which reads Bast is different from that which occurs in the cartouches of Osorkon.


PLATE V.—To the reign of an unknown king, but probably not very distant from the preceding monument, we must refer another statue, also of a squatting man, in black granite, with inscriptions engraved on both front and back. It was made for a priest of the name of *Aak*.

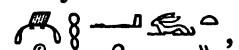


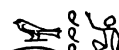
The inscription on the back reads thus:—

Let a Royal offering be made to Seb, let all the funeral offerings, geese and oxen, be given to the Prince, the head of the prophets, Aak, the justified, the beloved. Thy spirit is in heaven among the stars, thou art one of the gods, Prince Aak.


The inscription in front gives us the titles of Aak in full:—

The first Erpa (Prince) of Sopt, the lord of the East, the head of the prophets of Tum, the chief prophet of Succoth, Aak, the son of Atsheb, speaks thus: ". I am he in whom the great Sahu appears. He is not driven back, the judges have not found anything hateful. All that appears on the altar of Tum is for thy Ka, Aak; we give (?) thee every day the things"



The god , Sept or Sopt, is often designated by this title *lord of the East*, or even *lord of Asia*.³ He is also the god of the twentieth nome of Lower Egypt, the nome of Phacusa.

In the middle of the inscription, the deceased addresses the priests of the locality. The first of them has a curious name, , *Auhau unti*.⁴ This title is found again in a Saite text from Pithom (Plate VII. B), with the variant . He seems to have been a special priest chosen among the class of the , *Auhau*.⁵ This last name reminds us of the  of the nome of Sais. It is very

³ Brugsch, "Vöikertafel," p. 30.

⁴ I have adopted the new reading *a* for the sign . Cf. Brugsch, "Dict. Hier.," vol. vii., p. 500.


⁵ Cf. Plate VII. A and B.

likely that this title  occurred on a list of priests at Denderah,¹ where the texts concerning Pithom are destroyed. *Auhau* means, properly, *with long limbs*. It is one of those titles which have a symbolic sense, of which we do not understand the meaning or the origin, and it was peculiar to the locality of Succoth. A man might be an *auhau*, and at the same time an , a prophet; a usual title, found in all the temples of Egypt. The deceased addresses the priests who are entering the temple: "*Auhau unti, and all the priests who go into the sacred abode of Tum, the great god of Succoth, let them say that a royal offering be made to the Ka of the beloved of the great god . . . that the ceremonies be made to the Ka of him whose name is not destroyed² in the temple before . . .*" &c. This inscription alone would be sufficient to prove that it was the Abode of Tum, Ha Tum, or Pithom of Succoth, which lay buried under Tell el Maskhutah.

No oval of any kind gives us the reign to which this monument belongs. It is very likely, however, that it is earlier than the Saïtes.

PLATE VI.—Before going on to the Saïte and Ptolemaic monuments, I must mention a three-sided calcareous stone, on each face of which is an engraved subject. In the middle we see a king with his hands raised, in the act of worshipping the god Horus. The lower part of his cartouche is still extant; but, despite the most careful inspection, I could not succeed in deciphering these signs, and therefore in determining the king whose name they contain. The same king appears on the two other faces; on one he holds his bow and his mace and seems about to start for a military expedition; on the other, on the contrary, he holds by the hair a prisoner with his elbows tied behind his back, which indicates that the campaign must have been successful, and that the king had been victorious.

¹ Brugsch, "Dict. Geog.," p. 1376.

² The negative  has been omitted.

This stone was found among remains of the calcareous wall at the foot of the monolith.

PLATE VII. A, B.—Following the chronological order, we now come to two monuments of which we have only small fragments, but which are both important. These fragments belonged to two statues of white limestone which had been erected in symmetrical relation to each other. I had at first attributed them to the Ptolemaic epoch; but the great similarity of style with the Saïte monuments published in Appendix II. leaves no doubt as to the date. One of them is the statue of a man of which we have about two-thirds, while the shoulder only of the statue of the woman has been preserved. The size and the style of the inscription, and all else, indicate that these monuments were erected together. The statue of the man, discovered on the 10th of February, was the first thing which confirmed the opinion I had formed at Ismailiah, that Maskhutah was the site of Pithom and not of Raamses. There are three lines of text at the back of the statue: unfortunately they are broken at the top and at the end:

Line 1.—I go into his abode with joy, and I go out with praise. My lord Tum and my lady Hathor give me food and provisions in abundance, all good things, and children in great number.

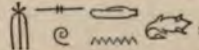
The next line gives us the titles of the priest:


Line 2.— the metal vase;³ the *Auhau*, the chief of,⁴ the head of the storehouse, the official of the temple of Tum of Succoth, the prophet of Hathor of An, the prophet Pames⁵ Isis, the son of the *Auhau*, the official the prophet

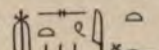
. . . . thou art pure in the presence of all; thou pleasest thy lady Hathor, who is in perpetual joy; she grants that thy name may remain with this statue,⁶ in the abode of Tum the great living god of Succoth. It will not be destroyed.

The few signs which are still extant of the

³ Brugsch, "Dict. Hier.," vol. vii. p. 1261.

⁴ , a new word, of which I do not know the sense.

⁵ On the reading *mes* of the lock of hair , cf. Bergmann, "Hier. Inschr.," p. 16.

⁶ . The papyrus Ebers contains a word

inscription of the other statue are interesting, because they give us twice the special name of the priests of Succoth.


The first line contained the names and titles of the priestess :

The beloved of her lord, the Auhau unt Men
 . . . of Hor Sam Tani in all seasons.
 . . . thy name, like thy father the Auhau of the great Isis.

PLATES VIII. to X.—We have now to study the most important monument discovered—the great inscription of Ptolemy Philadelphos ; or, as it may well be called, the **STONE OF PITHOM**. The tablet has a height of four feet three inches, and a width of three feet two inches. It is now preserved in the Museum at Cairo.

This tablet, judging from its context, was intended to be an important historical record of certain acts of the second Ptolemy. It is to be regretted that it is engraved so carelessly that the interpretation is very difficult, and that we can hardly hope to get a correct copy of it. The scenes of adoration with which it begins are sculptured very fairly, although the inscriptions are not finished. The first line of the text is quite legible; but after this the engraver becomes more and more careless. He does not seem to have even calculated the length of the signs which he had to put in; in the middle lines we see large signs badly drawn, irregular, and sometimes separated by blanks. Suddenly, at line twenty-four, the style changes, the engraver being perhaps replaced by one more skilful; and we have hieroglyphics of the Ptolemaic style, much smaller, but well engraved and easy to read.¹

The tablet reads from right to left, and begins with three scenes of adoration. In the first, the

 which Brugsch compares to the Coptic **ⲚⲉⲒⲓⲟⲩ**, which would have no sense here. I translated conjecturally *statue*. Brugsch, in a private letter, writes that in this instance it is the only meaning acceptable.

¹ After my two successive attempts, published in the former editions of this book, Brugsch alone undertook to decipher the text of the stele and to translate it from beginning to end. His interpretation was published shortly

king Ptolemy Philadelphos offers the image of *Ma* to several standing divinities. The first is *Tum, the great god of Succoth, the beloved eternally for ever, the lord of heaven, the king of the gods*. Behind him comes *Osiris, the lord of Ro Ab (the Arabian city), who resides at Pikeheret*. Behind him comes Harmachis, whose name has been forgotten, as well as that of Hathor. Lastly, the queen Arsinoë II., dressed as a goddess, with her two cartouches, *the royal wife, the royal sister, the princess queen of the two lands, Khnum ab en Shu mer neteru, Arsinoë, the mighty Isis, the great Hathor*.

This scene is accompanied by the following texts : *The offering of Ma to his father, who gives him life*. As usual, the gift is followed by a promise or a recompense on the part of the god who is thus worshipped.

Tum says : *I give thee an eternal duration, and a reign without end*.

Osiris : *I give thee the crown of Ra in heaven*.

Harmachis : *I give thee dominion and victory over all lands*.

Hathor : *I give thee the offering of all lands as to Ra*.

Arsinoë : *I give thee panegyries in great number before the gods*.

Near this scene are two other ones, but facing the opposite side, so that the two representations of Arsinoë are back to back. The divinities are

after his death by Prof. Erman. (*Zeitschr. für Aeg. Sprache*, 1894, p. 74).

In comparing Brugsch's work with mine, and seeing how many blanks he was obliged to leave in his translation, it is obvious that the illustrious Egyptologist considered the task as hopeless.

Several times did Brugsch try to get a correct copy of the text from paper casts or from collation with the original. I have a copy which he made for me after we had spent hours together at Berlin, in deciphering this difficult document. It differs in many points from that which was published by Prof. Erman.

In the plates which are here given, as well as in the translation, I embodied several of Brugsch's suggestions from either of his two copies I had at my disposal; but many of these suggestions I could not admit, and the text in this volume is the result of a new collation from various sets of paper casts.

also less numerous. First, *Tum*, the great living god of . . .—the inscription is not finished; then Hathor, and then again Arsinoë. This time the offering consists of two vases of milk.

Tum says: *I give thee the royal power of thy father with joy as to Ra.*

Hathor: *I give thee all the lands as an offering and all the countries which are under my feet.*

Arsinoë: *I give thee the life which is within thy father Tum, who gives thee panegyries.*

A third scene shows Ptolemy before a king who is certainly his father Ptolemy Soter. His son presents him with a symbolic eye, and the father answers: *I give thee all the countries and all the lands as to Ra eternally.*


I will endeavour now to give the sense of the tablet. Following Brugsch's example, I shall divide the inscription into paragraphs:—

Titles and eulogy of the king.

Line 1.—The living Horus, the victorious child, the lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, the very valiant, the golden Horus who has been crowned by his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, Userkaramer Amon, the son of Ra, the lord of diadems, Ptolemy, living like Ra eternally; who loves Tum the great living god of Succoth, the living, the first of the living on earth, like Ra eternally from whom all life is derived; and the gods and goddesses of the Heroöpolitan nome;¹ who lives eternally;

Line 2.—the living and beautiful god, the child of Tum, who unites both lands, the image of the living god, the illustrious issue of Unnofris, who lasts like Tum for ever; the living image of Tum, the great god the living of Succoth; the admirable issue of Harmachis, the divine blood of Tum the lord of the two lands of On; the glorious descendant of Khepra; he has been suckled by Hathor the lady of Ant. When he was born, the atef-crown was on his head;

Line 3.—the two snakes were on his brow, for he was first suckled to be the lord of the land; born of Tum . . . for periods . . . that he may stand on his side like a king, like a prince in his palace, like his son Hor Sam Tau the great god, the protector of Succoth. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt is the Horus who joined the thrones of the two gods. Therefore his father Tum honoured him above millions; and when he averted the enemy from this

¹  which Brugsch reads *nefer ab*, or *ab nefer*, the hieroglyphical name of the VIIIth nome. I call it after the Greek name, Heroöpolis.

land, he (*Tum*) enriched his house with weights (of silver) in hundreds of thousands, provided by Thoth.

Line 4.—He excels in fighting for Egypt, and protecting its children, the good guardian who delivers Egypt, who grazes his horses on the plains and on the mountains, and who builds his ships on the sea, he who averts the Tesheru (the nomads of the Arabian desert) by his intelligence (the two lands). The fear of him prevails on water and on the sand; his virtue is mighty among all the people of land and water; they come as followers of the steps of the King, the protector, the master of foreign lands . . .

Line 5.—He who declares war and drives away the rebels, who repels the enemy and strikes the adversary on both sides; who slaughters a great number and pulls the heart out of the bodies. . . .

From here the text is so corrupt and indistinct that we are obliged to go over to the end of the 6th line, passing over the end of the eulogy on the military virtues of the king, his horses and ships.

At the end of the 6th line begins a narrative:

Visit of the king to Pithom.

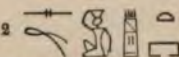
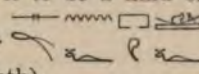
. . . . In the sixth year

Line 7.—under the reign of His Divine Majesty; when it was reported to him that the abode had been finished for his father Tum, the great god of Succoth; the third day of the month of Athyr, His Majesty went himself to Heroöpolis, the throne of his father Tum, the land was jubilant. Lower Egypt was in rejoicing four times when he awoke on the festival of his birth.

When His Majesty proceeded to the temple of Pikerehet, he dedicated² this temple to his father Tum, the great living god of Succoth, in the festival of this god the protector of the land.

Line 8.—He provided the house of . . . with necessaries, his servants carried them to his father Tum. His Majesty made this abode named the fine one, which was erected by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy, to his father Tum. There was no fine abode like this in the time of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. He who built it to his venerable father, it is the golden Horus, Userkaramer Amon, the son of Ra, the lord of thrones, Ptolemy, who lives eternally. Again His Majesty proceeded to the house of Thoth (?) in order to do the business of his father

Line 9.—Tum. His Majesty made his offerings similar to those (made to) a king living on earth, a king living eternally. The king ordered afterwards that the venerable

²  I read the first word *sark*, lit. *he finished*. I suppose it to be a kind of dedication or consecration. Cf. l. 28. , *he dedicated the temple there (at Succoth).*

Foundation of Ptolemaïs Theron.

At the first month His Majesty called for transports,

Line 22.—ships laden with all the good things of Egypt to the first general of His Majesty they sailed from Kemner the storm. He navigated towards the coast of the Red Sea; he arrived at Khemitit,

Line 23.—the end of the land of the negroes he brought provisions to the king on his return he steered towards the island in the Lake of the Scorpion. He brought all the things which are agreeable to the king and to his sister his royal wife. He built a great city to the king with the illustrious name of the king, the lord of Egypt, Ptolemy.

Line 24.—And he took possession of it with the soldiers of His Majesty and all the officials of Egypt and the land of . . . (?); he made there fields and cultivated them with ploughs and cattle; no such thing took place there from the beginning. He caught elephants in great number for the king, and he brought them as marvels to the king, on his transports on the sea. He brought them also on the Eastern Canal; no such thing had ever been done by any of the kings of the whole earth. There came ships and ships to Kemnerma there was abundance after scarcity

Line 25.—for mankind; there was music, drink, ointment, and fine clothing They know in their hearts the admirable qualities of the king. Their chiefs go down to him and bring him their tributes, for they honour the king in their hearts; they pay taxes to his storehouse. The harbour where the king has done all these things is the harbour of his father Tum, the great living god of Succoth. It is Ra who made it, in order to do all that he desired. He has done it for his son who loves him, the son of Ra, the lord of thrones, Ptolemy.

After these things, the king honoured Apis and Mnevis,

Line 26.—the motley bull, and he made the consecration of the pair of gods (the two bulls) so that they might enter again their abodes. His Majesty and his Royal Consort were with them. Never had such things been done before, by any of the foregoing kings.

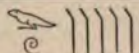
Grants to the temples of Egypt and of Pithom.

The account of all the taxes which His Majesty has given as revenues to the temples of the two divisions of Egypt as their income of each year. Instead (?) of gold, His Majesty gave 150,000 argentei.¹

The account of all the taxes which His Majesty has given as revenues to Pikerehet, taxes due by the houses of the city and taxes due by the inhabitants,

Line 27.—as income of each year 950 argentei. His Majesty has given them in the first festival to his father Tum, of whom are born all his limbs, and who gave him life, while it was provided for his needs, by the hands of Isis and Nephthys; and on the thirtieth day of the month of Athyr.

The twenty-first year, the first day of the month of

¹ Brugsch reads here  10,050,000 argentei, a colossal sum, quite out of proportion with the finances of Egypt.

Pharmuti, under the reign of His Majesty, account of all the taxes which His Majesty has given as income to the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt; taxes due by the houses of Egypt 90,000 weights of silver; taxes due by the inhabitants as taxation of each year 660,000 argentei. These revenues which have been given to his father Tum and to the gods of Egypt have been inscribed

Line 28.—on this tablet before his father Tum the great living god of Succoth, on the anniversary of the coronation of the king, when he dedicated the temple which is there, so that this day might become the day of festival of this city. The gods and men who are within the city are in joy and celebrate him because of those great deeds in all times, in order that may last the illustrious name of His Majesty in this land for ever. He shines on the throne of Horus the first of the living, for he is his son who abides on his throne; Egypt is in his power; all the lands bow down before his will, and all strange nations are united under his feet as to Ra, for ever, eternally.

PLATE XI.—Besides the hieroglyphic monuments, I found also two Latin inscriptions, of which I here give facsimiles. The first was found near the entrance, only a few feet distant from the monolith, in a calcareous wall, which very likely belonged to a gate. It is easy to see that the inscription was cut by two different hands. The first hand stopped in the middle of the P of the second line. These characters were engraved deeply and with a certain care; but then the engraver left off; or perhaps the same man, a soldier, who did it with some rough instrument, found the method slow, and wished to finish quickly. However, it seems certain that he wished to write EROPOLIS after the two letters LO, which Prof. Mommsen considers as the beginning of the word *locus*. POLIS is quite distinct, as well as the following words ERO CASTRA, as to which there is no possible doubt.

We have here therefore the ERO of the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Greek *ἩΡΩ*, *Ἡρώων πόλις*, which we know from the passage of Stephanus Byzantinus quoted before.

The other inscription is more important, because it bears a date. It must be referred to 306 or 307 A.D. It reads thus:—

“Dominis nostris victoribus, Maximiano et Severo imperatoribus, et Maximino et Constantino nobilissimis Caesaribus, ab Ero in Clusma, M. VIII. — ☉.

"Under our victorious lords, the emperors Maximianus and Severus, and the most illustrious Caesars Maximinus and Constantine, from Ero to Clusma there are nine miles.-- Nine."

As was usual in the provinces where Greek was spoken, the distance is given in both Latin and Greek. The sign which is at the end of the last line is a θ , which means *nine*.¹ Similar instances of the number being indicated in both languages, though the inscription is in Latin only, have been met with on a Roman road in Syria, and in several provinces of Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Mysia, and Galatia.² Unlike the other one, this inscription is complete; there is no gap, no unfinished character, all the letters have been engraved with the same care. It would, indeed, be extraordinary that the engraver should have made a mistake precisely in the number which gives the distance to the next station. He would thus have done just the reverse of what the stone was intended for. The stone does not seem to have had any other purpose than to mark a station for soldiers and travellers, and to indicate the length of the road to the next city or camp. We may reasonably admit that this distance was given correctly, and that it was not stated at more than fifty miles shorter than its actual length.

Here we encounter a difficulty which seems very grave at first sight. In the Itinerary of Antoninus³ we read that there are eighteen miles from Ero to Serapiu, and fifty from Serapiu to Clusma, making a sum of sixty-eight. I agree that in the first edition of this Memoir I underrated the value of this official document, and that I put it aside too hastily. But my explorations in the Delta, and especially in the region between Cairo and the isthmus, have shown me that we can put only a very

limited confidence in the distances given by the Itinerary. Taking the well-known line between two fixed points, Heliopolis and Heroöpolis, along the old canal, we see that the total distance is fairly correct; the error is only six miles, which the Itinerary adds to the real distance which is sixty-four. Between Ero and Clusma, supposing it to be the present Suez, the error is double; it is sixty-eight instead of fifty-six; but if we wish to determine the intermediate stations, Scenas Veteranorum, etc., we may take the distances with a compass and mark them on a map, but we shall find that none of those stations agree with the Roman settlements which are on this line, and which have been preserved to this day. Some of these settlements cover a considerable extent of ground; some have their enclosure; they all are easily discernible; but none of them fit into the numbers given by the Itinerary; besides, one of the most important, the large camp of Tell Rotab,⁴ nearly half way between Thou and Ero, is entirely omitted. The same happens with several other roads of Egypt, and one is compelled to conclude that when it is checked by the exploration of the localities themselves, and studied by the light derived from the Egyptian inscriptions, the Itinerary, in spite of its being an official document, loses much of its authority.

In this case the Itinerary is supported by a great mass of proofs derived both from late Greek and Arab writers. There was a Clusma near Suez, very likely at the present Tell Kolzum, the name of which is considered as the Semitic transformation of Clusma. Thus the disagreement between the stone and the Itinerary is evident, and must be explained. The most easy way is certainly to suppose, with Professors Dillmann⁵ and Mommsen,⁶ that the stone marked

¹ I am indebted for this valuable information to a kind letter from Prof. Th. Mommsen. The eminent Latin scholar says there can be no doubt as to the correctness of the inscription.

² vid. *Corpus Inscr. Latin.* III. 1, nos. 205, 309, 312, 313, 314, 315, 347, 464.

³ "Itinerarium Antonini," p. 170, ed. Wesseling.

⁴ See my memoir on Goshen and the Shrine of Saft et Henneh, p. 24, and the plan of the fortress, pl. ii.

⁵ *Über Pithom, Hero, Klusma nach Naville*, Berliner Akademie, 30 Juli, 1885, p. 9.

⁶ *Über einen neuen aufgefundenen Reisebericht nach dem gelobten Lande*. Berl. Akad. 28 April, 1887, p. 7 et 8.

the ninth mile from Ero towards Clusma, and was originally erected at that distance from the city to which it was brought afterwards. This is often the case in other countries, like Italy, where milestones are often found very far from their original place. A very good instance of this may be seen in the vicinity of Geneva, where the porch of a Roman Catholic church is supported by two Roman milestones, which stood at first a long way off, near the lake. One understands that a stone may have been removed when it was useful for building purposes, which is not at all the case with this small and thin slab.

Nor would it have been brought to Ero for lime-burning. Limestone was not wanting in Ero; it was found there in abundance, as the temple was originally built with this material, like nearly all the temples of the Delta since the XIIth dynasty. The abundance of limestone-gravel which has been used for filling up the store-chambers bears witness to the quantity of this stone which existed on the spot. This circumstance has been the cause of the wholesale destruction of the temples of Lower Egypt. From the rule of the Romans, and especially in places where they had garrisons, the temples have been used as quarries for limestone burning, and getting building material. Take such places as Khataaneh, Tuh el Karmus, with beautifully preserved enclosures; on one of the sides of the enclosed area the nature of the soil is quite different: instead of being decayed bricks, it consists of heaps of limestone-gravel, where fragments with a few hieroglyphs show that it comes from inscribed walls, but where one hardly ever meets with an intact monument unless it be of granite. The quarrying in the temples not only for public buildings, but for common houses, for making thresholds, stairs, millstones, mortars, oil-presses, has been very active since the Romans, and is still going on. It has taken place at Heroöpolis; the Romans had plenty of stone for building their camp walls; it was not

necessary to bring any from a distance; they did not even use all they had at hand; they sometimes merely broke the monuments, like the pillar of Nekhthorheb. Certainly, if the slab was brought it was not for building, and if it had been for lime-burning it would very likely not have been preserved. The instances are innumerable of stones taken out of temples and removed sometimes to a long distance for building or for agricultural purposes, but the contrary does not occur in later time. In fact the supposition of the two illustrious German scholars is just the reverse of what is seen all over Egypt in Roman times. It would be very like bringing a stone to a quarry.

The inscription of Ero Castra I took out of a wall at the entrance immediately behind the monoliths, which was the side of a doorway. Judging from the place where the milestone was dug out it must have been inserted in a side wall which ran at right angles to the other one, at a distance of a few yards. Professor Mommsen observes¹ that the inscription differs from the ordinary milestones by the fact that it indicates not only the starting point but also the terminus of the journey. This is a very important circumstance, which, added to the fact that the stone was found at the starting point Ero, shows that it is not an ordinary milestone marking the length of the road covered by the traveller, but an indication for the soldiers occupying the camp of Ero of the distance to the neighbouring shore or beach, with the watching of which they were very likely entrusted. There was a road going north from Heroöpolis towards Syria; there was also another going south towards the sea; the stone was at the entrance of the southern road, and may best be compared in our countries not to the stones which indicate every mile or kilometre on the way, but to the signposts which are erected at cross-roads or at the entrance of a road, and which mention not only the name of the next

¹ Mommsen, l. l. p. 8, note.

locality but also the distance at which it is situate. I cannot pass lightly over the fact that the stone was found at Ero, or explain it away by an hypothesis which is not in accordance with the local circumstances; therefore I believe that the most obvious, and the most correct interpretation of the inscription is that which I gave above, and which Professor Mommsen himself advocated at first:¹ viz., that from Ero to Clusma there are nine miles.

The question remains to be answered: what is this Clusma which is nine miles distant from Ero? Here I have not the slightest difficulty in adopting the former view of Mommsen, which has been advocated by Lieblein,² Lefébure,³ Flinders Petrie,⁴ Poole and others. Clusma is a common name, which means a place beaten by the waves or the surf, the shore, the edge of the waves or of the tide; it might also mean the opening of the canal into the Heroöpolitan Gulf. It implies the vicinity of the coast of the Arabian Gulf to which we shall revert later in more detail; for the present it will be sufficient to turn to a document which is only a century and a half older than the milestone, I mean the work of the geographer Ptolemy, who gives twice the latitude of the head of the Heroöpolitan Gulf (τοῦ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν μυχῶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου.) as only one-sixth of a degree south of the city.⁵ Thus there was a κλύσμα, a sea-coast, near Heroöpolis, and that does not in any way go against the existence of a fort of Clusma, κλύσμα φρούριον, near the present site of Suez, at Tell Kolzum. This fort is known also through Ptolemy, who mentions it not at all at the head of the Arabian Gulf, but at

¹ Mommsen, Auctarium additamentorum ad Corpus, vol. III., p. 570

² Lieblein, Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere, p. 123 et 4.

³ Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Tome XI. (1885), p. 323.

⁴ Naucratis, I. p. 92.

⁵ Vid. the map of the oldest manuscript of Ptolemy. Langlois, Géographie de Ptolémée, p. lxxxvii.

a distance of one degree latitude south, and only as the second locality on the way south.

GEOGRAPHICAL REMARKS.

We have now again to consider the inscriptions which have been translated, and to draw from them some information regarding the geography of the Eastern region of the Delta; and particularly what is now called the Wadi Tumilât. It will chiefly be the tablet of Philadelphos on which our argument will be based. The tablet, as we have seen,⁶ begins with three scenes of offering, which differ in the names and number of the gods to whom the sacred gifts are brought. We see first Tum of *Succoth*, Osiris of *Pikeheret*, Harmachis, Hathor, and Arsinoë. The next scene shows us Tum, Hathor, and Arsinoë, who are turned to the left; this circumstance indicating that the second scene does not refer to the same historical fact as the first. We have seen in the inscription, at first, a narrative of what Philadelphos has done at *Pikerehet* or *Pikeheret*, the city of Osiris, in which, nevertheless, there was also an abode of Tum.

Pikerehet plays an important part in the tablet of Philadelphos, the last lines of which give the amount of taxes which were granted as income to the temple of the city. According to the different lists of nomes, we see that the chief sanctuary of the eighth nome of Lower Egypt is either Pi Tum or *Pikerehet*, sometimes written *Se Kerehet*;⁷ but, whichever name is mentioned, it is always added that it belongs to the region of Succoth. I believe therefore that the region of Succoth contained two sanctuaries very near to each other, Pi Tum and *Pikerehet*; the last one being nearer the sea than Pi Tum, which travellers coming from Heliopolis first reached.

⁶ Plate VIII.

⁷ Vid. p. 8.

In attempting to fix the site of Pikerehet we have to remember the fact which we derive from the tablet and from one of the lists of nomes, that it was a sanctuary of Osiris; therefore the Greeks would have called it a Serapeum. A Serapeum is a common name which means nothing but temple of Osiris, and which may apply to very different places. On the map of Peutinger there are not less than three Serapeums, and four Iseums or Iseopolis in the Delta. As we know in the neighbourhood of Heroöpolis only one temple of Osiris, Pikerehet, it is obvious that this city is the Serapeum or the Serapiu which the Itinerary indicates as being eighteen miles distant from Ero. Let us therefore take the indication given by the latter document, and, as before, control it by the localities themselves and the sites of ruins which are still extant.

Standing on the pier of Ismailiah, and looking over the lake Timsah, the horizon is limited on the south by a flat ridge, a kind of table-mountain called Gebel Mariam. Just at the foot of the mountain on the south, and on the very bank of the canal, is an important Roman settlement partly covered by the lagoons, but the ruins of which, above the water, cover an area of 500 yards square. That I believe to be Serapiu. The distance from Ero would be fourteen Roman miles, but that agrees very well with the rate of error found in the Itinerary. Several geographers, and among them Lepsius, before he went there, have placed Serapiu five miles more south, near the entrance of the present Bitter Lakes, on a hill called by the engineers *the Serapeum*. But it is evident to any one who has been on the spot that it cannot be Serapiu. It never was a settlement.¹ The hill on which are seen fragments of

¹ This statement is confirmed by Linant, ("Mémoire sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Egypte," p. 171), who saw the place many years before me, and by Lepsius, *Berichte der Berl. Akademie*, 1866, p. 287.

a granite bilingual tablet of Darius, most wantonly destroyed, shows only some structures which may have been a watch-tower, but there are no traces of houses or inhabitants. It cannot have been the city of Serapiu. Not very considerable perhaps, but with a temple and a military post, Pikerehet Serapiu must be looked for at the foot of Gebel Mariam in the Roman settlement where one sees heaps of pottery and glass, and also remains of a stone aqueduct.

The authors who speak of Heroöpolis are unanimous in declaring that the city was near the sea, at the head of the Arabian Gulf, which was also called Heroöpolitan. Strabo and Pliny declare it in the most distinct way. The geographer Ptolemy places Heroöpolis only at one-sixth of a degree distance from the head of the Arabian Gulf. The consequence of this agreement in the testimony of the Greeks and the Romans is that, as we said before, we must admit that formerly, under the dominion of the Romans, the Red Sea extended much further north than it does now; but that then the retreat of the sea, and the changes in the surface of the soil had already begun to be felt.

Not only were the Bitter Lakes under water, but I believe we are compelled to admit with Linant Bey,² who derives his arguments from geology, that Lake Timsah, and the valleys of Saba Biar and Abu Balah were, under the Pharaohs of the XIXth dynasty, part of the sea. Some traces of this may be seen on the map of the French engineers drawn at the end of last century. Contiguous to Lake Timsah there is a narrow extension towards the west which has the appearance of the head of a gulf. Thus the sea would have extended as far as the place now called *Magfar*, only three miles from Heroöpolis. There the canal ended which, before the time of Neko, watered the

² "Mémoire sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique exécutés en Egypte," p. 195.

land of Goshen and the cities like Pithom, which were built in the Wadi Tumulât. It is possible that the canal was traced and dug in an imperfect way: at the end there may have been those marshes and pastures in which the *Bedawees of Atuma* asked the Pharaoh Menephtah to allow them to pasture their cattle.

It must have been at the head of the gulf near Heroöpolis that the upheaval of the soil and the retreat of the sea were first felt. Gradually the water sank, the communication with the gulf was partly cut off, and there remained salt marshes such as are seen at present in several parts of the Delta, and which were called by Strabo and Pliny *the Bitter Lakes*. Linant Bey¹ very justly observes that the Bitter Lakes of the ancients cannot be identical with those of to-day, the extent of which is so considerable that it is quite impossible that they should have become sweet after the water of the Nile had been admitted into them, as we learn from Strabo. At the time of the Pharaohs there were some Bitter Lakes at the head of the gulf near Heroöpolis. Linant Bey's statement is confirmed by Pliny,² who says that the length of the canal is thirty-seven miles as far as the Bitter Lakes. Taking the beginning of the canal near Bubastis, as we know from Herodotus, thirty-seven miles would carry us only a little further than Pithom. It was through those lakes, or rather through those marshes, that Philadelphos cut his canal, on the banks of which he built Arsinoë, the city which according to the hieroglyphic text was situate near the lake of *Kemuer*.

And this name reminds me of one of the oldest papyri which have come down to us, the papyrus of Berlin, N^o. I., which relates the travels and the adventurous life of an Egyptian called Saneha.³

¹ Id., p. 173.

² Du Bois Aymé, "Mémoire sur les anciennes limites de la mer Rouge," ed. Panckouke, p. 380.

³ Cf. Maspero, "Mélanges d'archéologie," 209 et seq.; "les premières lignes des Mémoires de Sinouhit," p. 22; Goodwin, "Records of the Past," vol. vi.

This fugitive relates that in his vagrant journey he arrived *at the lake of Kemuer* which evidently was a salt lake. *Thirst*, says he, *overtook me in my journey, my throat was parched; I said this is the taste of death.* Fortunately for him, he saw a Bedawee, a Sati, who brought him some water; and he escaped thus from dying of thirst. It is interesting to know that at that time, long before Rameses II., that part of the country was inhabited by Sati, Asiatic Bedawees, against whom the Pharaohs had to fight; for before arriving at Kemuer, Saneha had passed a fortress which the king had made to keep off the Sati. It was for the same purpose that Rameses and his son Menephtah built the fortresses of the Wadi Tumulât.

I believe the lake of Kemuer to be the present lake Timsah, but very probably to have had a different form from what it has now; I think also that the gulf which Pliny calls *Charandra* must be understood as meaning the lake Timsah. There Philadelphos built the city of *Arsinoë*, which he dedicated to his second wife, his sister, the princess to whom he granted divine honours. This city does not seem to have lasted very long. Ptolemy built it in order to facilitate the trade with the Red Sea.⁴ In proportion as the sea retreated it became necessary to carry the canal farther; Pithom Heroöpolis was too far back. Agatharchides says that it was from Arsinoë that the ships sailed to the Red Sea; and Pliny mentions this city as the place where the three roads met which led from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea.

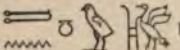
At the beginning of the fourth century, and perhaps earlier, when Constantine was not yet emperor, Arsinoë was no more, and had been superseded by the *camp* or *fort* of *Clusma*,⁵ not the Clusma—the beach—which is mentioned on the milestone, but that which stood near the pre-

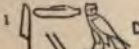

⁴ Linant, l.l., p. 166.

⁵ Linant, l.l., p. 158.

sent site of Suez. St. Epiphanius says that Clusma was at the head of one of the gulfs of the Red Sea. Lucian speaks of a young man who sailed from Clusma to India. Philostorgos also says that one of the gulfs ends at the Egyptian city of Clusma, from which its name is derived. This shows that the city of Arsinoë no longer existed and had been forgotten.

According to Strabo Arsinoë was near Heroöpolis, and close to the end of the canal which went through the Bitter Lakes. Pliny says that Philadelphos stopped at the Bitter Lakes, fearing lest the country might be overflowed if he carried his canal farther. He calls the canal *Ptolemaeus amnis*, the Ptolemean river, and he says that it flows past Arsinoë (præfluit Arsinoen). On the other hand, Ptolemy places Arsinoë one-third of a degree south of the head of the Arabian Gulf. It is difficult to come to a definite opinion among such conflicting information; however, I believe that the most satisfactory idea is that of Linant Bey's, which has been advocated by other authors, and which makes Arsinoë the same city as Serapiu. Thus the city would have three names: the Egyptian Pikerehet, the Ptolemaic Arsinoë, which lasted only for a time, and was superseded under the Romans by the common name Serapeum or Serapiu.

Pliny, speaking of the canal, says that it unites the harbour of *Daneon* with the Nile. The name of *Daneon* has not been identified; it looks like a genitive plural, and seems to indicate a tribe. I believe this name exists in a hieroglyphic text, in the papyrus of Saneha before quoted. After he has been rescued by the Sati near the lake of Kemuer, Saneha goes with him to the region of *Atima*,¹ which is under the dominion of the prince of *Tennu* . This seems to be

¹  "Pap. de Berl.," i., l. 29. 
 id., l. 182. Cf. Chabas, "Pap. de Berlin," pp. 40 and 75, Maspero, "Mél. d'archéologie," No. 9, p. 155.

the word which Pliny has transcribed *Daneon*. It would thus refer to some nomad tribe living near Lake Timsah.

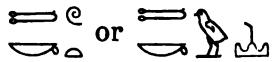
THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

Among the historical events upon which the discovery of Pithom contributes to throw light, one of the most important is certainly the Exodus, and the route which the Israelites followed in going out of Egypt. On this point, although many conclusions are still conjectural, we have at all events gained some fixed data which must now be brought forward.




The Israelites were settled in the land of Goshen, in a region which perhaps extended further northward, but which certainly comprehended the western part of the Wadi Tumulât; and the land of Rameses, wherein was situated the city of Pithom, where, according to the Septuagint, Jacob and Joseph met when the Patriarch came to Egypt. Bound for Palestine, two different routes lay before them. The northern route had been followed by the great conquerors. It went from Tanis to the Syrian coast; it was the shortest way, but it went through several fortresses, particularly the great stronghold of *Zar*. Besides, the first part of it crossed a well-cultivated and irrigated land occupied by an agricultural population, which was not a land of pasture necessary for a people of shepherds. This northern route is called in the Bible *the way of the land of the Philistines*; and, from the first, before any other indication as to the direction they followed, it is said that the Israelites did not take that road. The other was the southern route, which their ancestor Jacob had taken before them, and which, according to Linant Bey,² was still followed by the Bedaweas of our days before the opening of the Canal. They went straight from El Arish to the valley of Saba Biar; while the traders, travelling through








² Linant, l.l., p. 159.

Kantarah, Salihieh and Korein followed very nearly the old northern route. The Israelites had only to go along the canal as far as its opening into the Arabian Gulf at a short distance from Succoth; then, pushing straight forward, they would skirt the northern shore of the gulf, and reach the desert and the Palestine way without having any sea to cross.

"The children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth." It is useless now to discuss the site of the city of Rameses,¹ which will only be ascertained by farther excavations. It is quite possible that we must understand the name as referring to the *land* of Rameses, rather than to the *city*; the land must have been either west or north of Pithom. The first station is *Succoth, Thukut, or Thuku* . Here it is important to observe that the name of the place where the Israelites first encamped is not the name of a city, but the name of a district,² of the region of Thukut, in which, at the time of the Exodus, there existed not only Pithom, but the fortifications which Rameses II. and his successor had erected to keep off the invading Asiatics. It is quite natural that the camping ground of such a large multitude must have had a great extent. It was not at Pithom that the Israelites halted; the gates of the fortified city were not opened to them, nor were the store-houses. Besides, the area of the enclosure would have been quite insufficient to contain such a vast crowd. They pitched their tents in the land of Succoth where Pithom was built, very likely near those lakes and those good pastures where the nomads of Atuma asked to be admitted with their cattle.

There has been much discussion about the site of the next station, *Etham*, which has always been considered as a city, and even as a fortress,



and the name of which has been derived from the Egyptian *khetem*, , which means a stronghold. The name of Succoth, of a region, shows that we are not to look for a *city* of Etham, but for a *district*, a *region* of that name. And here we must again refer to the text of the papyrus of Saneha. He says that, leaving the Lake of Kemuer, he arrived with his companion at a place called *Atima*, which could not be very far distant. Let us now consult a document of the time of the Exodus, the papyrus Anastasi VI.³ We find there the passage which has already been alluded to several times. We follow Brugsch's translation:—"We have allowed the tribes of the Shasu of the land of Atuma to pass the stronghold of King Menephtah of the land of Succoth, towards the lakes of Pithom of King Menephtah of the land of Succoth; in order to feed themselves and to feed their cattle in the great estate of Pharaoh . . ." That is what I consider as the region of *Etham*, the land which the papyri call *Atima, Atma, Atuma*, . It was inhabited by Shasu nomads, and as it was insufficient to nourish their cattle, they were obliged to ask to share the good pastures which had been assigned to the Israelites. The determinative  indicates that it was a borderland. Both the nature of the land and its name seem to agree very well with what is said of Etham, that it was *in the edge of the wilderness*.

Rougé, Chabas, and Brugsch have transcribed the name of *Atuma* as *Edom*, considering that the Egyptian  generally transcribes the Hebrew . It is certainly rare to find a  corresponding to a ; however, these transcriptions from the Semitic languages do not follow an invariable rule.⁴  very often transcribes , for instance in the name of Pithom, and 

¹ Vid. my Memoir on Goshen.


² The Christian tradition of the 4th century called Succoth a hill: "clivus modicus in mediâ valle." Gamurrini "I Misteri i gl'inni di S. Ilario," p. 10.

³ "Pap. Anastasi," VI., p. 4. Brugsch, "Dict. Geog.," p. 642. Chabas, "Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la xix. dynastie," p. 107.

⁴   תבה, Brugsch, Dict. Hier. vol. vii., p. 1360.

the Red Sea, but the Mediterranean, which the Israelites would have before them, and we should thus have to fall in with MM. Schleiden and Brugsch's theory, that they followed the narrow track which lies between the Mediterranean and the Serbonian Bog. However ingenious are the arguments on which this system is based, I believe it must now be dismissed altogether, because we know the site of the station of Succoth. Is it possible to admit that from the shore of the Arabian Gulf, the Israelites turned to the north, and marched forty miles through the desert in order to reach the Mediterranean? The journey would have lasted several days; they would have been obliged to pass in front of the fortresses of the north; they would have fallen in the way of the land of the Philistines, which they were told not to take; and, lastly, the Egyptians, issuing from Tanis and the northern cities, would have easily intercepted them.

Besides, when the text speaks of the sea, it is natural to think that it means the sea which is close by, of which they are skirting the northern coast, and not that other sea, which is forty miles distant. All these reasons induce me to give up definitively the idea of the passage by the north, and to return to the old theory of a passage of the Red Sea, but of the Red Sea as it was at that time, extending a great deal farther northward, and not the Red Sea of to-day, which occupies a very different position.

The word *Migdol*, in Egyptian , is a common name; it means a *fort*, a *tower*. It is very likely that in a fortified region there were several places so called, distinguished from each other, either by the name of the king who built them, or by some local circumstance; just as there are in Italy a considerable number of *Torre*. I should therefore, with Ebers,¹ place *Migdol* at the present station of the *Serapeum*.

There the sea was not wide, and the water probably very shallow; there also the phenomenon which took place on such a large scale when the Israelites went through must have been well known, as it is often seen now in other parts of Egypt. As at this point the sea was liable to be driven back under the influence of the east wind, and to leave a dry way, the Pharaohs were obliged to have there a fort, a *Migdol*, so as to guard that part of the sea, and to prevent the Asiatics of the desert from using this temporary gate to enter Egypt, to steal cattle and to plunder the fertile land round Pithom. That there was one spot particularly favourable for crossing, because of this well-known effect of the wind, is indicated by the detailed description of the place where the Israelites are to camp. There is a striking difference between this description and the vague data which we find before and after. It is not only said that they are to camp near the sea, but the landmarks are given, *Pi-Hahiroth*, *Migdol*, *Baal Zephon*, so that they could not miss the spot, which perhaps was very restricted.

Let us now try to identify *Pi-Hahiroth*. At first sight I was struck by the likeness in the sound of the Hebrew word *Pi-Hahiroth* with the *Pikeheret*, or *Pikerehet*, which we have found in the tablet of Philadelphos. At present I do not know of any other Egyptian name which may so well be compared to the Hebrew. But we have not yet found the word *Pikerehet* on a monument of the time of Rameses II., and it is possible that this sanctuary of Osiris may have been built by Philadelphos. However, in general the Ptolemies did not innovate; they restored the old worships and enlarged the temples; but they adhered to the local traditions. It is therefore most probable that from a very high antiquity Osiris had a temple at *Pikerehet*. We have dwelt at some length on the site of *Pikerehet* which we consider as the Egyptian name of *Serapiu*, and which we have placed at the foot of *Gebel Mariam*; besides there is the following

¹ "Durch Gosen zum Sinai," p. 422.

Keraunos, who fled to Lysimachos, king of Thrace. When Keraunos, after having treacherously put to death Seleucus Nicator, claimed the throne of Macedonia, he was supported by Philadelphos, who in that way consolidated his own kingdom. One of the first acts of Keraunos, when he had succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, was to kill the children of his sister Arsinoë, widow of Lysimachos, who fled to Philadelphos.

The second Ptolemy, as we know from Strabo and Diodorus, had delicate health, and was very fond of novelties, and of everything which came from distant countries. We hear several times of his taste for the chase of elephants and for strange animals. He paid large sums to the travellers who brought them, and succeeded in collecting a large number of elephants which he drew from Ethiopia.

A short time after his accession to the throne, some palace intrigues, and a real or supposed plot against his life, induced him to repudiate his first wife, Arsinoë I., the daughter of Lysimachos, king of Thrace, by whom he had three children, and to exile her to Coptos. The wife who succeeded her was the king's own sister, Arsinoë II., who received the title of Philadelphos. The historian of the successors of Alexander, Dr. Droysen,¹ attributes to political motives this marriage, which was not repugnant to the Egyptians, but which must have been most offensive to the Greeks and Macedonians who surrounded the king. He thinks that Philadelphos wished to make a claim to cities like Ephesus, Heraclea, and Cassandrea, which had been given to Arsinoë. Whatever may have been his motives, his new wife was very different from the portraits which the court poets have left of her. She was about forty years of age, much older than her husband, and in her past life had committed some awful crimes. When she was wife of Lysimachos, king of Thrace,

with the help of her brother Keraunos, she put to death Agathocles, the son of another wife of Lysimachos and heir to the throne. A few years after, her associate Keraunos repaid upon her the death of Agathocles. On the day when, yielding to his entreaties, she had consented to marry him, and amid the celebration of a great festivity, Keraunos slaughtered her two younger sons on her knees. Arsinoë fled to Philadelphos, her second brother, who raised her to the throne of Egypt.

No queen ever had so many honours heaped upon her head as Arsinoë. Philadelphos put her among the gods, and was himself her priest; and the worship of Arsinoë seems to have been particularly solemn, for it lasted under the successors of Philadelphos. Official records, such as the decree of Canopus, after the name of the king and queen in whose reign the decree is made, mention the name of the priestess of Arsinoë (*Κανηφόρος*), which shows that it was a very high dignity.

Not only did Philadelphos grant divine honours to his wife, but it is very likely that he gave her an important position in the government of the country. He must have considered her as having a title to the throne, because, in opposition to what we see for all other queens consort of Egypt, he gave her the right to bear two ovals, like a king. I do not know of any other Egyptian queen who enjoyed this honour, unless, like Hatshepsu, she pretended to be the actual ruler; not even under the twenty-first dynasty. The first of these ovals, *Khnum ab Shu mer neteru*, has some likeness to the first cartouche of Amasis, except that it contains the god Shu instead of Ra.

A great many cities were named after Arsinoë, or founded in her honour. Stephanus Byzantinus mentions ten. There were two in Egypt one in the Fayoom, the other near Heroöpolis. There was one also in the Troglodytice. Ptolemy sent several expeditions to this last land; this coincided with his taste for what came from far

¹ "Geschichte des Hellenismus," ii., p. 234 et seq.

away; and it encouraged the trade by the Red Sea, of which he felt the importance for the welfare of his kingdom. It is one of the merits of the first Ptolemies, and particularly of Philadelphos, to have opened new commercial roads which were previously unknown, or at least unfrequented.

Diodorus¹ says that before Philadelphos no Greek had ever reached the extreme boundaries of Egypt or penetrated in Ethiopia, where he sent a military expedition. It is he who made known to his subjects the immense wealth that could be derived from those remote countries, which, since the Pharaohs of the great dynasties, the Egyptian armies had never seen. The ancient authors, Diodorus, Agatharchides, Strabo, and Pliny, assign as the inducement for those expeditions the fancy of the king for elephants, which was carried so far, that according to Agatharchides, he tried to persuade the Elephantophagi to give up the habit of eating the flesh of that animal. Our tablet says, in fact, that elephants² were brought to the king from the coast of Africa. But it would not be fair to attribute to a mere fancy those naval expeditions, of which Philadelphos dispatched several. He evidently recognized well the great advantages which Egypt would derive from her position between Europe and the East; and he added much to the prosperity and the wealth of his kingdom, by bringing to his harbours the products of Eastern Africa, and even of India, which was absolutely unknown to the old Pharaohs.

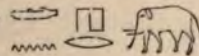
The hieroglyphic text relates that a considerable fleet of transports was gathered at Kemuer, in the present Lake Timsah, under the command of the first General of His Majesty, whose name is not given. Strabo³ mentions two Generals of Philadelphos who were ordered

to explore the Troglodytice; first Satyros, who founded the city of Philotera, then Eumedes. In skirting the coast of the Troglodytice, which our text calls the land of *Khemitit*, "Eumedes," says Strabo, "after having passed an island covered with olive trees; came upon a peninsula, where he landed quite unawares, and entrenched himself, digging a ditch and building a wall in order to keep off the natives; but he dealt with them so skilfully, that he made friends of them instead of foes. He founded the city of Ptolemaïs *θηρῶν*, 'Ptolemaïs of the chase,' specially destined for the pursuit of elephants, and as a landing-place for the travellers who went into the inner part of the country." We have seen in the lines 22 to 25 of our tablet an account of the foundation of the city, whence the elephants were brought by ships on the sea. The text seems even to allude to the skill with which Eumedes succeeded in making friends with the natives and their chiefs. It speaks of the settlement of the colony which was established there, and of the goodwill of the inhabitants, who brought at once the products of the land, and sent a tribute to Philadelphos.

The site of Ptolemaïs Theron has been much discussed. It is generally placed between Souakim and Massowah, near a promontory which Dr. Droysen calls Ras Turhoba, and others Ras el Debir. It appears that Philadelphos considered the foundation of this city as one of the important acts of his reign, for he relates it fully in the tablet of Pithom, while he only alludes to Philotera and does not mention Berenice, two cities which were also on the Red Sea.

The last line of the tablet raises some important questions as to the coinage in the time of Philadelphos. All the sums of taxes and incomes are given in silver; and this confirms what is known from Demotic and Greek documents, that under Philadelphos the standard of the coinage was silver.⁴

¹ "Bibl.," i. 37.

² ; a new word.

³ Strabo, p. 770.

⁴ Cf. the interesting researches of M. Révillout, "Revue Egyptologique," iii. année.

APPENDIX I.

I HAVE alluded before¹ to the fact that Herodotus mentions Pithom under the name of *Patumos of Arabia*, Πάτουμος ἢ Ἀραβίη. The identity of the two names is so obvious that, until quite lately, it has never been questioned by any geographer or historian. As the passage of Herodotus has been the object of a good deal of discussion I shall here explain how, after the discovery of the site of Pithom, and the vicinity of the sea, we are to read and interpret the passage which I quote in full:² Ψαμμιτίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν Θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε . . . Ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν. Ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν Θάλασσαν. "Psammitichus left a son called Nekos, who succeeded him upon the throne. This prince was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea—a work completed afterwards by Darius the Persian. . . . The water is derived from the Nile, which the canal leaves a little *above* the city of Bubastis, near Patumos the Arabian town; it runs into the Red Sea."

This is the text which is given in most of the new editions of Herodotus, and the translation generally adopted. But since the site of Pithom has been determined exactly, and it has been found that the city was at the end of the canal near the coast of the Arabian Gulf, the sentence of Herodotus can no longer be understood as before; either the text is incorrect, or

it must be translated differently. Leaving aside for the present the argument *de facto*, let us consider the sentence merely from a literary point of view. It is evident that it has been wrongly divided. What does Herodotus describe? the canal which goes to the Red Sea, τῇ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ; it is a matter of course that it runs into the Red Sea. The end of the sentence, ἐσέχει etc., is a quite unnecessary repetition. Supposing we were to describe a canal the name of which sufficiently indicates where it leads to, such as the Rhône-Rhine canal for instance, after having mentioned the place where it leaves the Rhône we should not add merely that it runs into the Rhine, unless it were to fix the spot where the junction takes place. It is exactly the same with Herodotus; he gives us the two ends of the canal, the starting point near Bubastis and the point of junction near Patumos. The text is corrupt, but it is easily mended; first by putting the stop after πόλιος, and by displacing the δέ, for which we have the authority of two manuscripts. Thus we read: Ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. Παρὰ Πάτουμον δὲ τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. "The water is derived from the Nile a little above Bubastis, and it runs into the Red Sea near Patumos, the Arabian city." The sentence is perfectly symmetrical, the description fluent, and quite parallel to the sentence of Ptolemy, who, after giving the latitude of Heroöpolis, adds: δι' ἧς καὶ Βαβυλῶνος πόλεως Τραϊανὸς ποταμὸς ῥεῖ, *through which and through Babylon flows the canal of Trajan (Amnis Trajanus)*. Babylon being the starting-point on the Nile, near Memphis, it is clear that Ptolemy gives here the two ends,

¹ Pp. 5 and 8.

² Herod. ii. 158, ed. Muller. Paris, Didot.

omitting the cities situate in the interval, as Herodotus also has done.

The first to notice that the sentence had not been well divided was, as far as I know, Wesseling, who, in his commentary on the text, published by Laurentius Valla, after quoting the information concerning Pithom, says that there is no doubt that the stop must be put after *πόλιος*, and that the canal joined the Arabian Gulf near Patumos.¹ This reading, which was a conjecture of Wesseling, was adopted by the geographer d'Anville in his researches on the geography of Egypt, and by the French translator, Larcher, who states the very important fact that the reading of Wesseling is supported by two manuscripts of the then Royal Library, and that one of them replaces the *δέ* after *ἔσχει* by *δή*.² Among the Egyptologists, Prof. Lieblein, who advocated this reading already in 1870 in a paper written in Norwegian, has found in the excavations a striking confirmation of his view,³ which has been adopted also by Brugsch.

However, this version of the passage has found several opponents, first Professors Lefebure⁴ and Dillmann,⁵ who both think that the common version may be preserved, because *παρά* does not mean that Patumos is *near* Bubastis, but refers to the water of the canal, and means that it *passes along, skirts* the city of Patumos—in Latin, *prae-fluit*. Thus

¹ Nulla mihi dubitatio est, quin Herodotea distinguenda sint ὄλιγον—πόλιος παρά Πάτουμον—πόλιν ἔσχει ἐς τὴν—. Certe ad Patumum fossa sinui Arabico jungebatur, longe ab urbe Bubasti sejunctam, ed. Amstelod. 1763, p. 181.

² Je ponctue avec M. Wesseling, etc. La conjecture de ce savant est confirmée par le manuscrit B de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Mais le manuscrit D du Roi, en admettant la ponctuation du manuscrit B, change *δέ* en *δή*. ἔσχει *δή* ἐς etc. Larcher, trad. d'Hér., vol. ii., p. 516.

³ Lieblein, "Handel und Schiffahrt auf dem Rothen Meere," p. 122. Vid. also Graetz, "Geschichte der Juden," vol. i; Thayer, "The Hebrews and the Red Sea."

⁴ Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1885, p. 324.

⁵ Die Herodotstelle besagt doch nicht nothwendig dass Πάτουμος in der Nähe von Bubastis dem Ausgangsort des Kanals, lag, sondern nur, dass der Kanal an Πάτουμος vor-

the passage of Herodotus does not contradict the identity of Patumos and Pithom, and in no way disagrees with the result of the excavations. This interpretation is that of Cellarius:⁶ "paullo supra Bubastin oppidum, praeter oppidum Arabiae Patumon, deducitur;" and of the oldest French translation, that of Pierre Saliat⁷ (16th cent.), who says: "son eau procède du Nil, un petit (un peu) au dessus de la ville de Bubastis et passant par Patume ville d'Arabie, va rencontrer la mer Rouge."

Quite lately Prof. Mommsen, in a paper on the Pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, discovered by Gamurrini,⁸ rejects the translation of Dillmann, and dismisses what he calls my correction of Herodotus in three words:⁹ it is linguistically, and materially, inadmissible. However great my admiration for the immense learning and the stupendous work of the illustrious Latinist, I cannot consider such a summary judgment as a substitute for argument, and I shall now test the two grounds of impossibility—the linguistic and the material point of view.

The opinion of M. Mommsen is part of a theory of which I can say at once that it sounds very strange to the ears of Egyptologists. The main lines of it are the following:—The *city of Arabia*¹⁰ mentioned by Hierocles and the Pilgrimage is the Thou of the Itinerary, said to be twenty-four miles distant from Ero. This Thou is very likely the Thuku of the

beiführte; . . . freilich ist es auch nicht angänglich, wenn Naville die Stelle zu . . . zu emendiren sucht . . . Über Pithom, Hero, Klyasma, nach Naville, p. 3.

⁶ Notitiae orbis antiqui, ii., p. 806.

⁷ Ed. Talbot, p. 189.

⁸ Über einem neu ausgefundenen Reisebericht nach dem gelobten Lande. Berl. Acad. 1887.

⁹ Die sprachlich wie sachlich unzulässige Emendation Navilles hat Dillmann mit Recht abgewiesen, aber nicht mit Recht bestritten, dass Herodot den fraglichen Ort in die Nähe von Bubastis setzt. Er sagt keineswegs, was Dillmann ihm sagen lässt, dass der Kanal an Patumos vorbeiführt, sondern dass bei Patumos das Nilwasser in den Kanal eintritt, l.l., p. 7.

¹⁰ Vid. my Memoir on Goshen.

hieroglyphical inscriptions, and certainly the Patumos of Herodotus the starting-point of the canal near Bubastis. On the other hand, Pithom Ero being twenty-four miles distant from Thou towards the Red Sea, the generally adopted assimilation of Patumos with Pithom must be given up.¹ I shall revert further to several points of this theory. For the present, I confine myself to Patumos and the passage of Herodotus.

If Patumos is Thou, where is Thou to be looked for?² Most of the authors, and Lepsius himself, at first³ placed it at the site of the present Tell el Kebir or near it; but in 1859, on the map which accompanies the great work, the "Denkmaeler," Lepsius changed his identification, and placed it three miles west, at Tell Abu Soleiman, near the Ismailiah canal. Since then Lepsius has upheld his identification, and printed in 1883 that he had found there extensive ruins.⁴ A few months afterwards, when I returned to Egypt, my first visit was to Tell Abu Soleiman, and I was very much astonished to see that the extensive ruins mentioned by my venerable master did not exist. Tell Abu Soleiman consists of a very small mound of crude bricks, such as may have been formed by the ruins of a farmhouse of not very great importance; two or three hovels of fellabeen are built at the side, and in the nature and the colour of the soil there are none of the traces of a city which are so easily distinguishable even when the walls have been destroyed. Mr. Flinders Petrie, the discoverer of Naukratis and Daphnae, who also visited the spot, writes to me that in his opinion it never could have been even a village; and on the beautiful map made by order of the English

Ordnance Survey by Col. Ardagh, R.E., a note says that it is too restricted an area to have contained a town of any consequence. Evidently, when Lepsius wrote in 1883, seventeen years after his journey, his memory played him false; and, in fact, in the narrative of his journey which he submitted in 1866 to the Academy of Berlin, he does not speak of ruins seen at Tell Abu Soleiman, but on the verge of the desert between that place and Tell el Kebir.⁵ That is the region where we are to look for Thou, and where its ruins are still extant. Leaving the village of Tell el Kebir and marching towards the south, about half a mile after having crossed the marshes, in the desert, one comes across a considerable area of little mounds all covered with pottery and fragments of hard stone. The inhabitants call it Shugafieh,⁶ which means the place of potsherds. I have been there twice, spent several hours there, and had some superficial digging made in order to ascertain the nature of the place. At a slight depth under the sand there are everywhere brick walls. On the east a square height seems to indicate a fort, of which I could trace the very thick basement on the north side. I brought from there the handles of an amphora with a Latin seal. Everything shows the site of an important Roman settlement. There are no ruins to be compared as far as Tell Rotab on the east, and south of Belbeis at Tell el Yahoo-dieh. This is the only place which could be Thou, the Thohu of the Notitia dignitatum, where a regiment of Pannonian cavalry was

¹ Mommsen, I.I., pp. 6 and 7.

² Vid. the Map.

³ Chron., p. 357.

⁴ . . . bei den von mir an Ort und Stelle constatirten ausgedehnten alten Resten von Tell Abu Solimân. Zeitschr. 1883, p. 46.

⁵ Berichte der Berl. Academie, 1866, p. 290. "Er ritt mit mir (von Tell el Kebir) nach Gauernah und Tell el Solimân die ganze sudliche Wüstenküste entlang, wo wir grosse Ruinenstätten fanden die zum Theil noch auf keiner Karte verzeichnet sind."

⁶ The only map on which I saw it indicated is the map of the Domaines. The Rev. Fathers Jullien and Gallon, who explored the district in 1884, have described Shugafieh in the paper "Les Missions catholiques," 12 Juin, 1885. They attribute to the ruins a length of two kilometres, and a breadth of one.

stationed. Tell Abu Soleiman may be definitely abandoned as a site of an ancient city. However, as it is only three miles distant from Shugafieh, even if the identification of Lepsius had been possible, it would have made no difference for the discussion of the passage of Herodotus to which we now revert.

The Greek historian says, according to Prof. Mommsen, that the canal branches off a little above Bubastis, near the city of Patumos, the Roman Thou. *Κατύπερθε* has in Herodotus no other sense than *above* where it refers to a river, or *more inland* where it refers to a country such as Africa, which he describes (ii. 42), speaking first of the coast, then of the region *above* (*κατύπερθε*), which is full of wild beasts, then of a region higher still (*κατύπερθε*) which is nothing but sand. Now the water of the canal had already flowed fifteen miles before it reached Thou, the Patumos of M. Mommsen; if then *κατύπερθε* is taken in reference to the canal, Thou is as clearly as possible *below* Bubastis. Nor is it more inland, since it is on the road from the Red Sea, and the traveller going to Egypt passed Thou long before reaching Bubastis. If, under such circumstances, Patumos is still to be called *above* Bubastis, one may as well say, speaking of German rivers, that the Main flows into the Rhine a little *above* Frankfort, near Mainz.

But let us consider also the canal itself and its course, such as it is described in this passage. It branches off above Bubastis. Here Herodotus indicates the most western point where the canal left the Nile; the spot is given on the branch of Bubastis, the Tanitic, which is not the outward branch, but only the last but one on the east; before reaching Patumos the canal met the Nile again, just as the present canal, branching off from the Muizz at Zagazig, meets the Abu Ardar and the canal of Saft. After six miles it cut through the Pelusiac branch, the present canal of Saft; there it passed an important city the ruins of

which are still extant, which has monuments of Rameses II., the Saites, and the Sebennytes of the thirtieth dynasty, and is now called Saft el Henneh. We know its hieroglyphical names, *Pa Sopt, the house of Sopt, and the house of the sycamore*. It was the capital of the nome of Sopt, the nome of Arabia, and I believe it to be Phacusa.¹ Though this city was more important than Patumos, and much nearer Bubastis, Herodotus does not mention it, nor does he mention the Pelusiac branch which he does not consider as the origin of the canal. After Phacusa, more to the east, there was no more branch, no more Nile, no water except that of the canal. Six or nine miles further down we reach the Patumos of Lepsius and Mommsen, to which we are to apply the statements of Herodotus: it is above Bubastis, but it is situate fifteen miles below; it is near this city, but besides the distance, Patumos is separated from Bubastis by a branch of the Nile and an important city: it is the place where the canal derives its water from the Nile, but there is no Nile in the neighbourhood, and the nearest branch is the Pelusiac which is not the branch of Bubastis. It is hardly necessary to insist, and I believe I can boldly assert that the linguistic and material impossibilities are not on my side. I see, therefore, no reason to change the interpretation which I gave of the passage of Herodotus, and which agrees with the results of the excavations. The Greek traveller says that the canal ran into the Red Sea near Patumos. I must add that if anybody prefers the commonly received version to the reading of the two Paris manuscripts, the only possible translation is that of Dillmann: "Passing along Patumos the canal runs into the Red Sea."

As for the theory itself of Mommsen, and the identifications which I summed up above, it is enough to say that they rest upon a series of

¹ Vid. my Memoir on Goshen

conjectures, some of which are quite at variance with the Egyptian and even the Greek texts. It certainly sounds startling to hear that the name Patumos is not the Greek form of Pithom and does not mean the house of Tum, but that it is the equivalent of Thou, which is derived from Thuku. I am still more surprised to see that my statements¹ as to the double name of the capital, the religious name Pithom and the civil name Thuku or Thukut, are interpreted as meaning that the eighth nome had two capitals, one Pithom Hero on the east, and the other Thuku, twenty-four miles distant on the west. I need not revert at the end of this memoir to the character of those two names applying to the same place, Thuku being first a border district containing Pithom, and afterwards becoming the civil name of the city dedicated to Tum. I do not think any Egyptologist will admit that this Thuku-Thou can be the civitas Arabia, the metropolis of the Arabian nome, which we know through Ptolemy to have been Phacusa; because in that case Thuku would belong to another nome. It would be shifted from the eighth to the twentieth, while it is never mentioned as belonging to any other nome than the eighth, the Heroöpolitan. The hypothesis that Thuku is Thou, twenty-four miles distant from Ero, is absolutely contradicted by the Egyptian geographical lists. I believe, therefore, that we can safely go on considering Patumos as the Greek form of Pithom, the city discovered at Tell el Maskhutah.

Before leaving Herodotus, I should like to examine an argument derived from the same author and put forward by Prof. Dillmann. The eminent Hebrew scholar says that the extent of the Red Sea as far as Lake Timsah at the time of the Exodus, as I have stated it, is an opinion which has long appeared to him

¹ "Nach Naville wird in den hieroglyphischen Namenlisten dem achten Nomos von Niederaegypten als Hauptstadt gegeben bald Pi Tum, bald Thuku oder Thuket, also entweder Pithom bei Hero oder Thou," l.l. p. 6.

most probable, but that one of the chief objections is the statement of Herodotus, followed by Strabo, who gives the distance from the Mount Casius to the Arabian Gulf as being of 1000 stadia, which is nearly twice what it ought to be if the sea went near Ero.² This objection, which seems very serious at first sight, is on the contrary one of the most interesting confirmations of the fact that at the time of Herodotus the sea extended at least as far as the northern end of the Bitter Lakes. Prof. Dillmann overlooks here a very important fact, that nothing is more discussed and uncertain than the unit of measure, the stadium of Herodotus. The point on which all agree is that the distances given by the Greek author, not in Egypt only, but also in other parts of the world, such as the length of the Caspian Sea or the journey from Athens to Pisa, contain a number of stadia twice as high as it ought to be. Two different ways have been proposed for solving the difficulty. D'Anville, Gosselin,³ and Jomard,⁴ in their elaborate researches on the subject, admit the existence in Herodotus of a so-called short stadium, which would correspond nearly with the stadium of Aristotle of $1111\frac{1}{2}$ in the degree; while Letronne, Hultsch and Lepsius believe that the distances given to Herodotus were expressed in the measure called *σχοῖνος*, which he thought to contain sixty stadia while it contains only thirty. The result of this error of reduction is that his stadium would have only $98\frac{1}{2}$ metres instead of 185.⁵ Fortunately, we are not obliged to give a verdict on this theoretical question between such high authorities, and we have a much

² Die Angabe ist wenn sie für die Entfernung von Pelusium und Hero gelten soll, falsch, *um die Hälfte zu hoch*. Dillmann, l.l., p. 7.

³ De l'évaluation et de l'emploi des mesures itinéraires Grecques et Romaines, p. 16.

⁴ Mémoire sur le système métrique des anciens Egyptiens, p. 117 et suiv.

⁵ Lepsius, Das Stadium und die Gradmessung des Eratosthenes. Aeg. Zeitschr. 1877, p. 4.

simpler and safer way of getting to the truth ; it is to compare two distances given by Herodotus, one of which we know exactly. Herodotus says (ii. 158) that from Mount Casius, which is the limit of Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf there are 1000 stadia, that is, two-thirds of the distance from Heliopolis to the sea, which he states to be 1500 stadia (ii. 7). Measuring from Heliopolis to the sea along the Tanitic branch or even the Pelusiatic, we find about 160 kilometres, the length of the present Suez Canal, the two-thirds of which would be little above 100. If now we measure from Ras el Kasrun, the old Casius mons, 100 kilometres, it will lead us exactly either to Ero, or more east to the south of Lake Timsah, near the Bitter Lakes. The agreement with Ptolemy the geographer is complete, and we can conclude that at the time of Herodotus the sea had very likely already receded, but it still reached at least to the north end of the Bitter Lakes.

APPENDIX II.

THE former proprietor of the villa at Tell el Maskhutah, Mr. Paponot, had the kindness to send me paper-casts of two small monuments which were found at the same time as those which have been brought to Ismailiah. They were lying beneath the great monolith.

Both are fragments of statuettes in black granite. One of them consists only of two lines of text on the back, of which we print one here; the second being only well known formulas.



The text reads thus: whose surname is *Nefer ab Ra neb pehti* (the most valiant *Nefer ab Ra*), the son of *Thothua*, the issue of *Sit Hap* speaks thus

This fragment is particularly interesting because it gives the name of a king which had not yet been found at Pithom.

Nefer ab Ra is the first cartouche of *Psammetik II.*, the third king of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who reigned six years between 594 and 589 B.C., and who was chiefly engaged in wars against the Ethiopians.

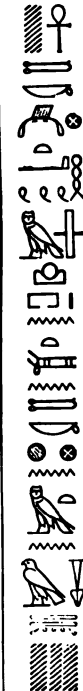
It was usual at that time for priests and officers to adopt a surname consisting of the name of the king with an adjective. Thus the son of *Thothua*, whose real name we do not know, was called the valiant *Nefer ab Ra*, an epithet of which the king himself was fond, as he once added it to his second cartouche, making it *Psemtek neb pehti*,¹

¹ Leps., Denkm., iii., 275.

the valiant *Psammetik*. We know also another man whose surname was the valiant *Nefer ab Ra*; he was called *Uza hor sunt*, and a cup dedicated by him was found at Damanhour.²

The style of this inscription is exactly that of the two fragments of Plate VII., which I had at first attributed to the early Ptolemies. It gives them a date. It shows that they belong to the twenty-sixth dynasty.

Of the second statuette of Mr. Paponot, also in black granite, two fragments remain; a line of the back and part of the inscription of the apron. We print here the line of the back. It reads thus:



. the living god of *Succoth*, the *Auhau* on the horizon of *Tum* of *Succoth*, the fosterer of *Hor Sam Tau*

We have again here the title of *Auhau* which we have found on other statues. As to the temple it is called the horizon of *Tum*, a metaphor which is very natural, as he is a solar god. The title of *Khenemt*, fosterer, or nurse when it is a feminine, is frequent with gods considered as children; thus we find it also with *Khonsu*, the child.³ From the monuments of the twenty-sixth dynasty we should say that the triad of Pithom consisted of *Tum*, *Hathor*, and *Hor Sam Tau*.

² Descr. de l'Eg., Ant. v. pl. 74.

³ Brugsch., Dict. Hier., p. 110z.



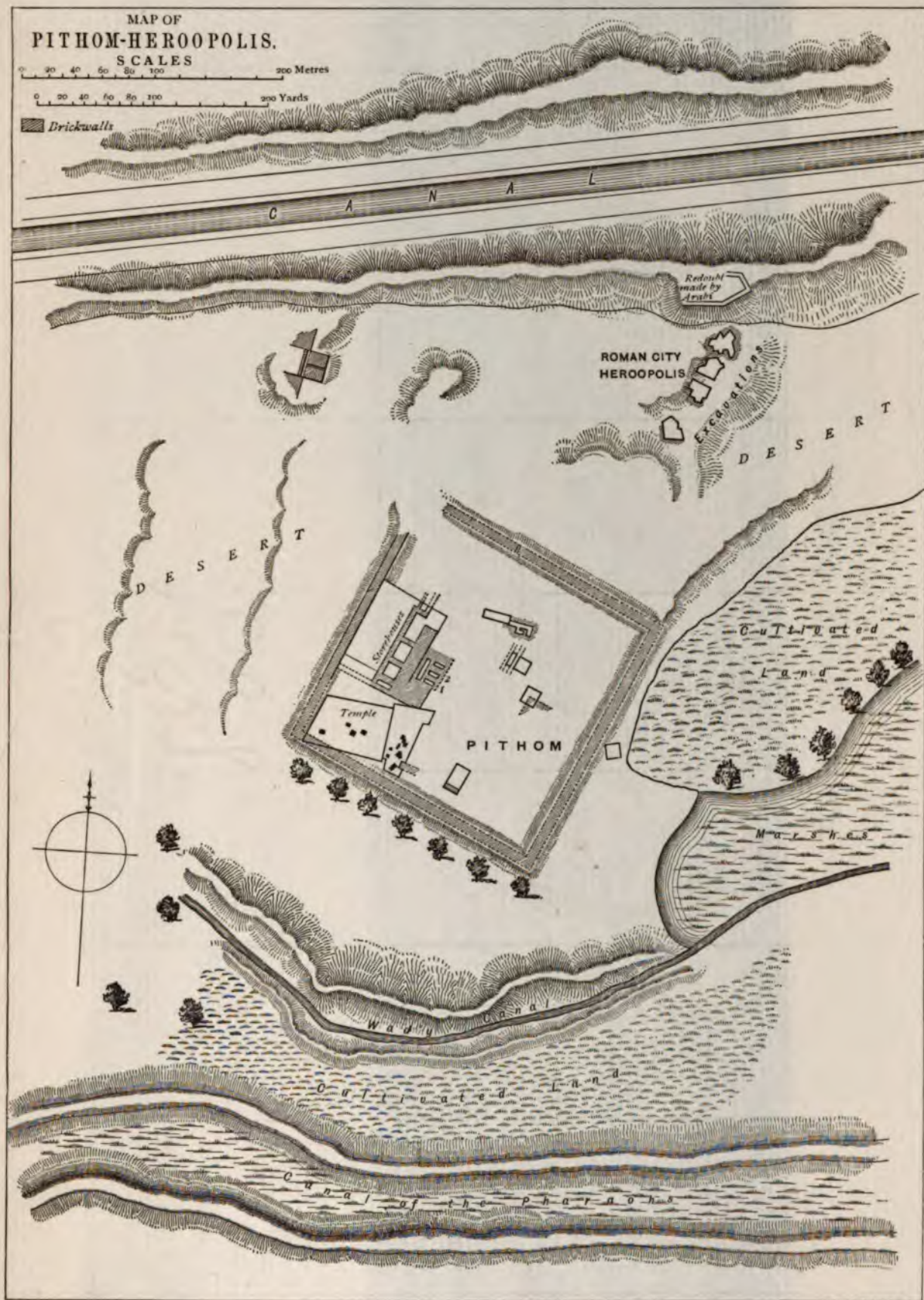
MAP OF
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SCALES

0 20 40 60 80 100 200 Metres

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Brickwalls



PL I



General View of Fort St. Maskahtah.

Pl. 2



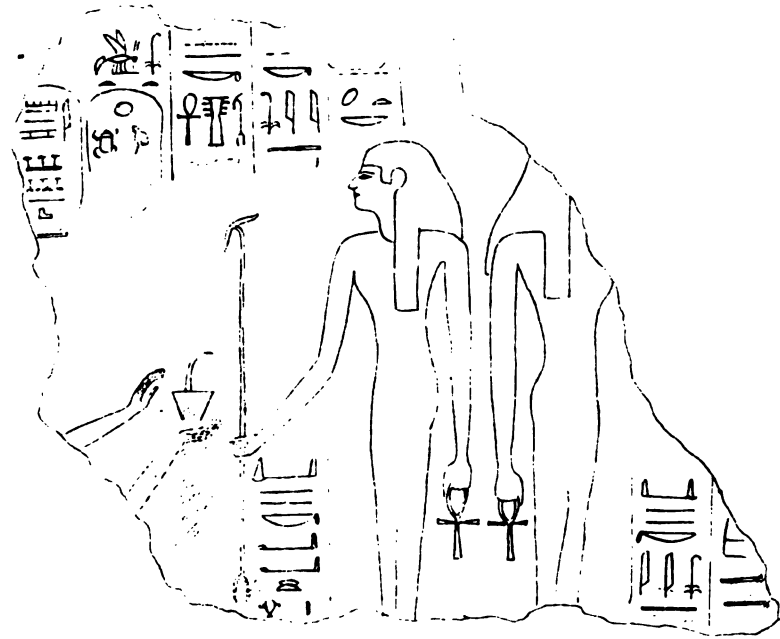
First store-chamber discovered.

7875 B. 25

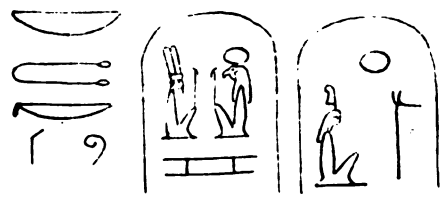


B

Pl 3.



A



C

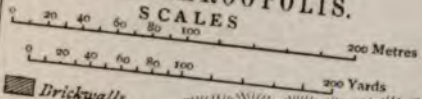


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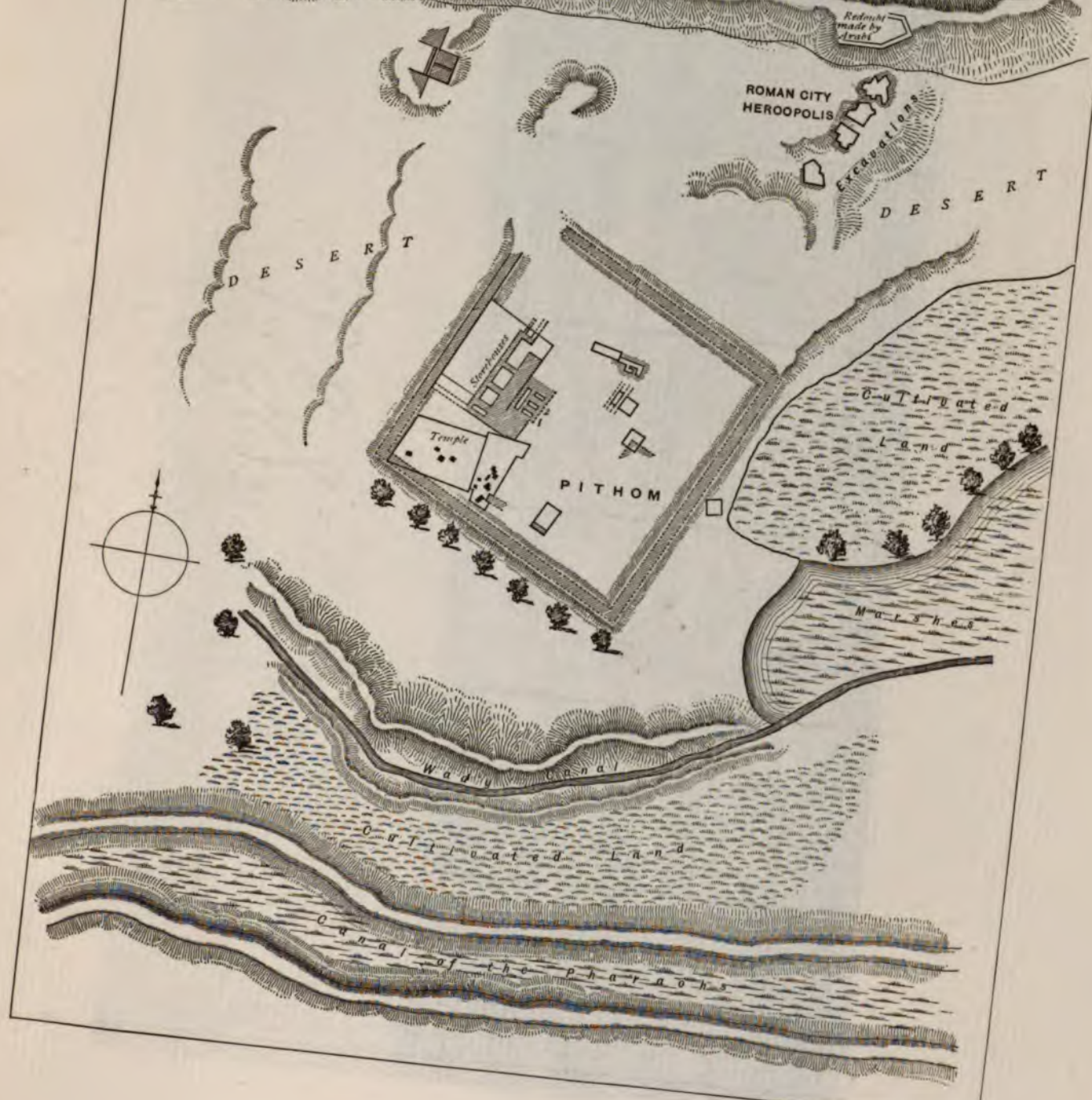




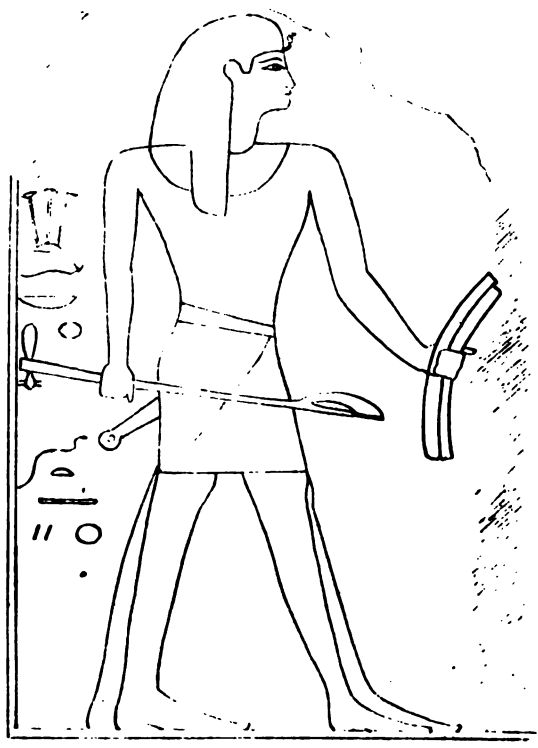
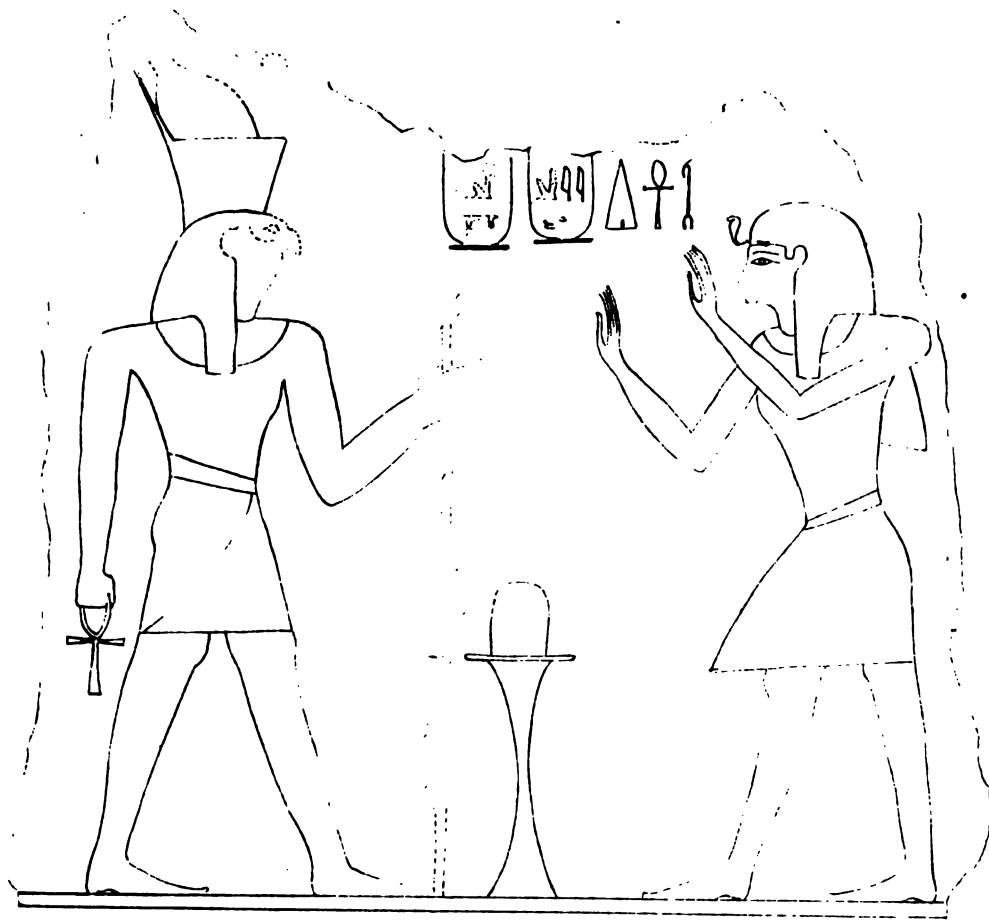
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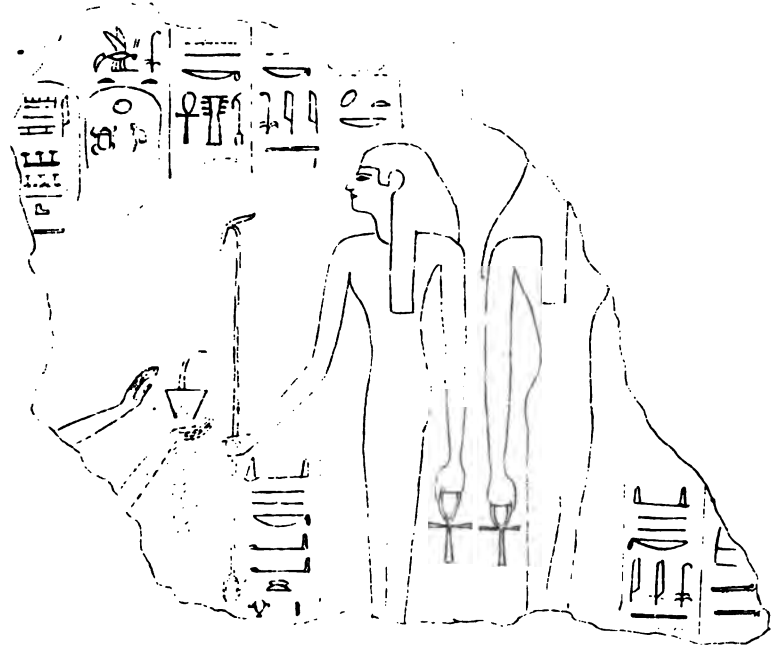
PL. 2



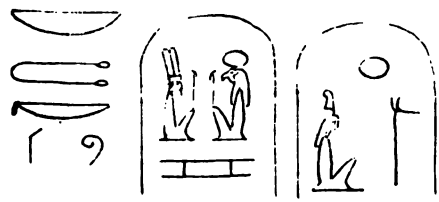
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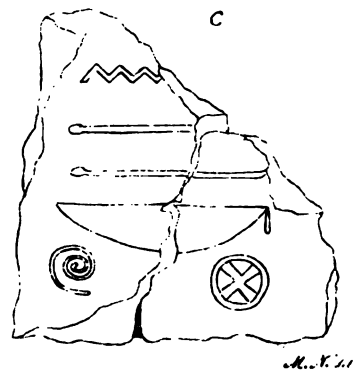
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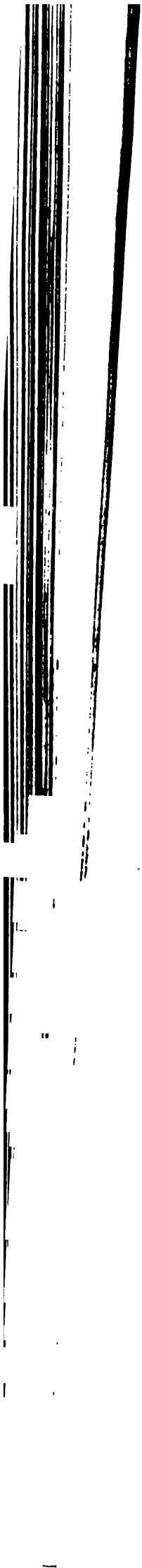


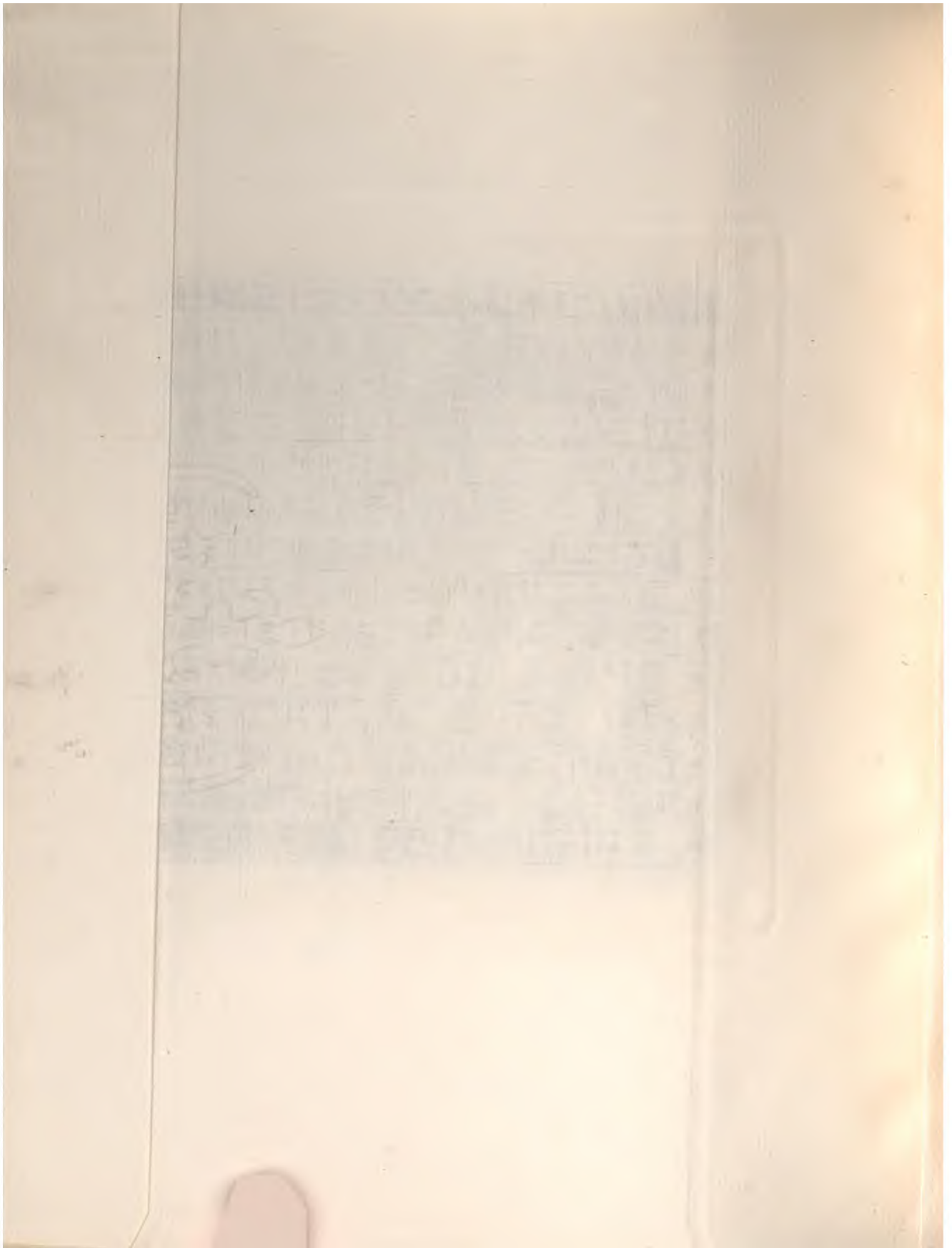
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M. V. 11





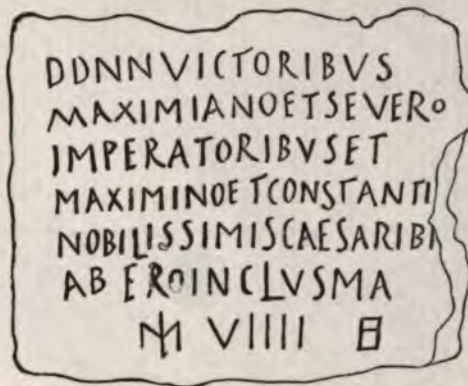


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A

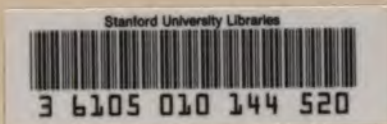


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