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## Pithom.

(With two plates.)

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BY REV. C. R. GILLETT.

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POSITIVE knowledge as to this city is of recent date. In 1857 Brugsch published his "Geographische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmäler, I," in which he identified a city T'ar (T'al), whose name was found on several inscriptions and in several papyri, with the Heroöpolis of the Greeks and the Heroum-oppidum (Hero) of the Romans. On the basis of the secondary name of Horus, *T'am*, meaning "strong," "mighty," he asserted that the transition through the Coptic to the Greek Hero(opolis) would be easy. Further, the substitution of Pithom in the Coptic version for the Heroöpolis of the LXX, led him to identify these two places. For geographical and other reasons the places thus brought together were located in the eastern end of the Wadi Tumilat. The facts have wonderfully confirmed a part of his theory and completely upset the rest. Heroöpolis and Pithom have proved to be where he located them, but T'ar is Tanis, according to the same authority in his more recent works, though the correctness of the identification is extremely doubtful. Another difficulty with the theories that identify T'ar and Heroöpolis, is that the former belongs to the XIV nomos, while the latter proves to have been in the VIII. Besides, the god of T'ar was Horus, while that of Pithom was Tum. Brugsch did not, however, remain constant in his advocacy of this view. In 1881 the second English edition of his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs" was published. It contained a map of the Delta region, intended to accompany the author's presentation of his theory of the route of the Exodus. On this map Pithom was placed about midway between San-Tanis-Zoan and Pelusium, in the district of Θευ (Succoth), near the Mediterranean Sea. In 1882 Johannes Dümichen published the pages 193-320 of his "Geschichte des alten Aegyptens" (now counted as "Einleitung" to Eduard Meyer's "Geschichte des alten Aegyptens"), in which he treated of the νόμοι of the Delta. He finds grounds on which to disagree with

I



Fig. 1.

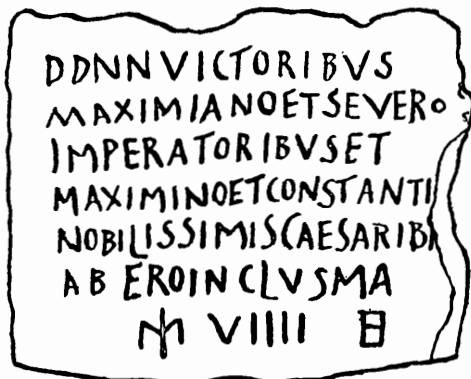

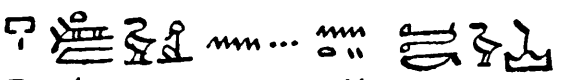
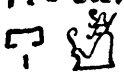
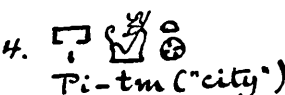

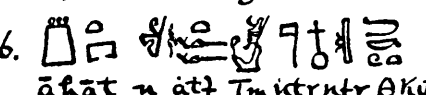
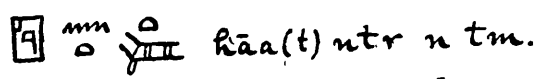

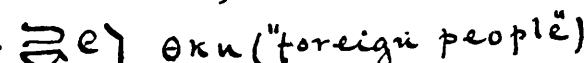

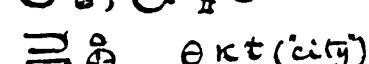
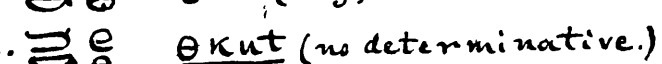
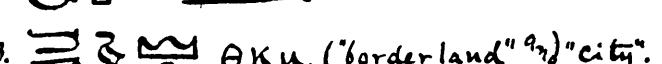
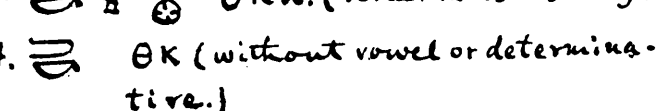


Fig. 2.

II.

1.  Pi-átm m ro-áb-tt.
2.  Pi-tum n ... nti Oku.
3.  Pi-tm.
4.  Pi-tm ("city")
5.  Pi-tm.
6.  āhāt n āt, Tm ntr ntr Okut
7.  kaa(t) ntr n tm.
8. 
9.  Oku ("foreign people")
10.  Oku ("city")
11.  Okut ("city")
12.  Okut (no determinative.)
13.  Oku. ("borderland" or "city".)
14.  Ok (without vowel or determinative.)

Brugsch as to the location of the *nómos* Sethroïtes, the VIII *nomos* of lower Egypt, of which Pa-Tum (Pithom, the Πάτουμος of Herodotus) was the capital or chief city. He seems to have been misled in his location of the nome, by the statement of Herodotus as usually understood, and so placed it at the west end of Wādī Tumilat, a valley about fifty miles northeast of Cairo, running east and west, from the Nile to the Red Sea. Herodotus was understood to say that a canal ran through this valley, which received its water from the Nile, "a little above Bubastis, at Patoumos, the Arabian town." This interpretation of the text has not obtained in all quarters. The very reading which Mons. Naville adopts was given by Wilkinson in the first edition of his work on Egypt, and also by Brugsch in his "Geographische Inschriften" already cited. This view was combated by Lepsius in his "Chronologie," in favor of his theory, which put Raamses at Mugfar or Abu-Kascheid (Tell-el-mas-khutah) and Pithom on the Nile.

Prof. Georg Ebers in his "Durch Gosen zum Sinai" (2d ed. Leipzig, 1881), says that the name occurs in some hieroglyphic texts and in a hieratic papyrus (Anastasia VI. Pl. 4, end), where its location is placed in the eastern part of the Delta. The great Osiris text at Dendera speaks of a *Pi-âtm m ro-âb-(tt)*, "Pithom in the opening (mouth) of the East" (East entrance to Egypt). (Pl. II. 1.) He consequently gave up the old identification with Πάτουμος, which he located upon the Nile on the supposed authority of Herodotus. The passage from the Anastasi papyrus reads, *na barkabuθa n Pi-tum n Mernephtah nti @ku*, "the pools of Pithom of King Menephtah, which is Theku" (Pl. II. 2). These pools he regarded as the salt lakes of the isthmus, and accordingly he placed Pithom on the southwest shore of Lake Balah, or of Lake Menzale, remarking that this shows how far to the east the land of Goshen extended.

Early in 1883 excavations were begun by Mons. Édouard Naville under the commission of the Egypt Exploration Fund, at Tell-el-Maskhutah in the Wadi Tumilat, near the eastern end, at a point that Lepsius had supposed to mark the site of Raamses. This supposition proved ill-grounded. Not Raamses, but Pithom was there buried. The number of inscribed stones found was not large, but numbers fail to measure their importance. Of hieroglyphic inscriptions ten, of Græco-Latin one, and Latin two, were found, which were published last year by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the memoir on "The Shore-City of Pithom, and the Route of the Exodus," by Mons. Édouard Naville. Various descriptions of the

work and its results have been printed from time to time in various periodicals. What now concerns us are the results derived from the finds, which are important as additions to our knowledge in several particulars. These are the following: The names that have applied to the site; the location of the city; the relative position as regards the sea; the result consequent upon this as to the place of crossing the Red Sea by the Israelites at the time of the Exodus; the region in which Pithom was situated; the geographical determinations.

Pithom. This is the form in which the name for the first and only time appears in the Biblical narrative (Ex. i. 11) as one of the "store-cities" built by the Hebrews for Pharaoh. The fact that the earliest remains found on the site bear the oval of Ramses II. points to him as the royal builder, the oppressor of the Israelites. In the Coptic version there appears the same name at this place, and also in Gen. xlvi. 28, 29, where it is substituted for the Ἡρώων πόλιν of the LXX, which in turn stands for the Hebrew אֶרְצָה נַשְׁן, and נַשְׁן, Goshen. The LXX also adds the phrase, εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσή. The correctness of these substitutions is vouched for by the Græco-Latin inscription found by Naville. It was on a stone in a wall, which bore the letters, Λοηρο | polis | Ero | Castra (Pl. I. 1). The meaning of Λο in the first line is unknown, but the remainder of that line, together with the second, is plain, though they show a peculiar mixture of the Greek and Latin lapidary script. The remainder of the writing is plain in its meaning, and brings us to the latest of monumental names. Here was also the Hero of the Romans. Another stone was found by Naville whose importance, if correctly read, can scarcely be overestimated. Its main value is in the fact that at a given date, about 306-307 A.D., there was a place nine miles from Hero called Clysma. Now a Clysma has been found near Suez (see Dillmann's "Ueber Pithom, Hero, Klysma nach Naville," p. 8), and if there were another near Hero, it would be the second of the same name on the isthmus. If such were the case, one must have preceded the other, though on this point we are without monumental proof. The Clysma at Suez was the Red Sea port, and bore the Arabic name Qulzum. Now, if it shall be proved that this place is of an age later than the time of the Exodus, it will be an important fact, and will strengthen the argument for an extension of the sea to the north of its present limits. Cases are on record of the change of location of a city while yet the same name was kept. Such a thing as this would be quite within the bound of reason. If the sea once came to the present Lake Timsah, and was navigable to that

point, the port (such as Clysma appears to have been) would have been situated there. When navigation was cut off by the rising of the ground, the port must have been changed to correspond. An unused city on the isthmus would very readily and rapidly lose all semblance of its former shape. In this way the same name, applying to two different places (though only one so far as the purpose of its being is concerned) could be very readily accounted for. The only question is as to the date and the possibility of reconciling the mile-stone with the Antonine Itinerary, which gives the distance from Hero to Clysma at sixty-eight miles. If both are true, there must have been two Clysmas. If they were ports, as supposed, the northern one would presumably have been the elder. At the same time we cannot assert that it must have been in existence in 306 A.D., but merely that there was *then* a Roman camp there, whose distance from Hero is given. The Clysma at Suez is the one indicated by the Antonine Itinerary. But this does not aid us in getting at its date. Even if the Itinerary was contemporary with the mile-stone, it would at most prove no more than that the name was understood by the one of a camp nine miles away, while the other gave the distance to the port. If the names were merely Latinized forms of an Egyptian name corresponding nearly to the Arabic Qulzum, it would merely be an instance of reviving the old name of a place that was again inhabited, almost an exact parallel of the case of Heroöpolis-Hero itself.

At this point a germane question may be introduced: the extent of the Red Sea in ancient times. As long ago as the first of the present century, Du Bois Aymé said that it seemed to him that at some time the land between the Bitter Lakes and the sea had been under water. (See "Description de l'Égypte" [1809], III. 187-192; IV. 715-732.) Still more lately, and within a couple of years, such authorities as Professor Dawson of Montreal, and Prof. Edward Hull of Dublin, Geologist of Ireland, etc., have made personal examination of the ground, and have given reasons for a similar belief founded on the remains of sea life found in the sand which is now above the water. Professor Hull thinks that such evidences exist to a height of 200 feet above sea-level. This appears to prove too much, but it shows that the process of elevation has been going on for a long season. Sir John Coode (see quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, April, 1885) has given evidence not open to the same objection. At a point twelve feet above present sea-level he found, not far beneath the surface of the ground, a remarkable layer

of salt, just such as would have been deposited by a shallow arm of the sea exposed to great heat. It is a fact that the sea is much saltier at Suez than at the entrance to the Arabian Gulf. The further fact that this layer of salt, which at some points was an inch in thickness, was only a few inches below the present surface, shows that in places at least the accumulation of desert sand has not been great, and that the emergence of the land from the sea was due rather to upheaval than to the process of silting up.

The testimony of the ancient geographers is of little value in determining this question. On their authority, Brugsch placed Heroöpolis near Suez. But if Heroöpolis was at Tell-el-Maskhutah, then the sea *must have extended*, in some shape or other, nearly up to it. Besides, Strabo calls the Red Sea the "gulf of Heroöpolis," and it may be urged that there would be no sense in this if the sea never came nearer to it than sixty miles. Either, then, the site of Heroöpolis is not yet known, or the sea extended much further to the north than now.

It follows further, in consideration of the shortness of the marches that could have been made, at the most, by such a mixed multitude as that under the lead of Moses, that the place of the crossing of the sea must have been far to the north of Suez, and not at or below it, according to the old theories, and it is further obvious that the sea with which the Israelites had to do was the Red Sea, and not the Mediterranean. The theory of Brugsch is positively superseded.

The question now remains as to whether the name *Pithom* is that of a temple or that of a city. It has been said (Andover Rev., July, 1885, Vol. IV. p. 89) that there is no evidence that a *city* Pithom (Pi-tum) has been found, but only a temple of Tum; and (Athenæum, No. 2994, p. 350) that apparently the Pithom of the Bible is as far to seek as ever. So far as the first point is concerned, there is a mistake in it that is quite vital. The statement is incorrect. There is the best of proof that here was a *city* which bore the sacred name of Pi-Tum, and also that it is the city mentioned in the papyrus Anastasi VI., and on the Dendera geographical tablet. On a statue of the time of Osorkon II. (XXII Dyn., circa 900 B.C.), we find the name written ideographically three times, *Pi-tum* (Pl. II. 3), without any determinatives, and on the tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) it occurs twice in the shape Pi-tum ("city") (Pl. II. 4), written as before, except that it is *fully* determined. The form in which the name occurs in the papyrus is partly ideographic and partly phonetic, being in the form *Pu-tm* ("city") (Pl. II. 5).



The only difference is in the form in which the name of the deity is written, and this is not significant, as it is in accordance with the practice which is of frequent occurrence, fortunately, in the hieroglyphic writing, for it enables us to get more nearly the exact vocalization.

A glance at the dictionary of either Brugsch or Pierret, under the head *pa* ("house, dwelling") will show a large number of places whose names are compounded just as that of *Pa-tum* or *Pi-tum* is. If, then, this is not the name of a *city* those are not; a conclusion subversive of all acknowledged and received results of Egyptology.

Whether this city is the Pithom of Ex. i. 11 is a question that can only be answered by circumstantial evidence. 1. If Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, then this city, having been built by him as the monuments show, *may* have been the "store-city," and must have been such unless the existence of another in Lower Egypt can be proved. 2. The occurrence of the name as that of a city, *m ro âb-(tt)* (Pl. II. 1), "at the entrance of the East," in the papyrus Anastasi VI, so far defines its location as to give the best of reasons for its identification with the city discovered by Naville. But not only so, the name of the whole region is shown by the tablet of Ptolemy to have been this same *ro âb-tt*, "entrance to the East." 3. The reading of Herodotus, which makes the location of Πάτουμος to have been on the Nile, does not accord with any of the identifications of Egyptologists; whereas, the changed reading adopted by Naville, brings it in accord with the monuments and the probabilities of the case. 4. All the deductions that can be drawn from the nature and composition of the bricks found, are in exact accord with the narrative of Exodus, for they are of three sorts, with *straw*, with *stubble*, and *without* either. Moreover, these brick are bound with mortar, just as the narrative of the oppression would lead us to expect. 5. The location at the east end of the Wadi Tumilat is one which harmonizes exactly with the requirements of the narrative of the stations of the Exodus route up to the crossing. If the place had been situated where Lepsius placed it, we should have had the strange spectacle of Moses leading the way to Palestine by marching directly away from the Promised Land.

Another point is worthy of mention. The name *Pi-tum*, "dwelling of Tum," in the tablet of Ptolemy, is written with the "city" determinative, and in the same document we have mention of a *âhâ-t n âtf tm* (Pl. II. 6), "the palace (sanctuary) of his father Tum," and on an earlier monument there occurs the phrase: *hat ntr n tm*

(Pl. II. 7), "divine palace (sanctuary) of Tum." The former expression occurs once and the latter three times; and there is evidently good ground to suppose that the distinction made between the "dwelling" and the "sanctuary" of Tum was intentional. These readings show that there was a temple of Tum situated in *Pi-tum*, "the dwelling of Tum," Pithom.

No mention has yet been made of the name of the district in which Pithom was situated; the Egyptian *Ḫeku-t*, identified by Brugsch with the Hebrew Succoth. This identification was adopted by Ebers in his "Durch Gosen," etc., and repeated most emphatically in an article in the Academy (May 23, 1885). It is also accepted by Naville. The difficulty in the identification is in the substitution of a Hebrew Samekh for the Egyptian Th (= Θ). But the difficulty is more apparent than real. The same interchange is found in other words, as in the name of the Sebennyitic (Σεβέννυτος) nome whose Egyptian equivalent was *Theb-ntr*, and in the name of the papyrus, Hebrew פוף, and Egyptian *Ḫuf*, *Ḫufi* (Pl. II. 8). (Ebers Gosen. p. 532.) Ebers further says that a large number of such instances could be easily collected.

Leaving this question of phonetic interchange for specialists to settle, let us look for a moment at the forms in which the name occurs. There are in all seven different modes of writing it: 1. *Ḫku* ("foreign people"), Pl. II. 9; 2. *Ḫku* ("city"), Pl. II. 10; 3. *Ḫku* ("city"), Pl. II. 10; 4. *Ḫk(t)* ("city"), Pl. II. 11; 5. *Ḫkut* (no determinative), Pl. II. 12; 6. *Ḫku* ("foreign country" and "city"), Pl. II. 13; and 7. *Ḫk* (without the vowel and without the determinative), Pl. II. 14. The historical succession in which these names occur is noteworthy. The earliest is that of a "foreign people," on a stone bearing a part of the oval of Ramses II. The next appearance is on a stone engraved under the "last of the Pharaohs," if Naville's conjecture is correct, but later than Ramses II., where it has the "city" sign alone. Thus it is always written after this time, with three exceptions, which occur on the tablet of Ptolemy (IX. 1, middle; X. 25, middle; 28, beginning), with the sign of both "city" and "border land." Five times it lacks determinatives. From these facts the inference may be drawn that *Ḫkut* was a district on the frontier, inhabited in the time of Ramses II. by a people of foreign race, and that at a later date the name was applied to the chief city of the district. We have no evidence that at the time of the building of the city, this name applied to it, though it may have done so. This application of two names to the same place has aroused a query

with some. But there is no ground for any doubt. Many of the cities of Egypt, some go so far as to say all of the cities, had double names, the one the sacred name (here Pi-tum), and the other the civil name (here Өekt). Were it desirable, a long list of these could be brought forward, but a few will suffice. They are taken from the maps published by Dümichen in his "Geschichte des alten Aegyptens": *us*, "city of divine sceptre" *Us* = *nu*, "city" (par excellence) = *nu-åmn*, "city of Åmon" (Heb. נְאֻמְן) = Thebes = Diospolis; *pa-sebek*, "dwelling of Sebak" = *nubi*, "gold city," = Koptic Embo, Greek Ombos, and Arabic Kum Ombo; *Pi-χnum*, "house of Chnum," = *pu nti hr åb-t n ta seni*, "city on the east of land Esne," = Latin Contra Lato, near present el Hilleh; *Pa-χem*, "dwelling of Chem" (Pan) = *åpu*, = Koptic Chemmis, Greek Panopolis, Arabic Achmun.

There is, therefore, no reason that can be urged against this double nomenclature of cities, more than against the similar usage in regard to royal names, for the Pharaohs had a second name, assumed at coronation.

For the many results, some of which we have tried to point out and others of which we cannot now make mention, — for all these results which have added most substantially to our knowledge of the geography of a part of the Nile Delta, we are indebted to the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund and its enthusiastic, faithful, and scholarly agents.

NOTE. At the time that the above was written, I had not seen the following remarkable statement, which is based on the testimony of Herodotus: "Allowing for the decrease of the breadth of Lake Timseh from the sands of thirty centuries, the prediction is ventured that the remains of Patmos will yet be discovered within a radius of three or four miles from the new port, Ismailia" (Hebrews and the Red Sea, by Alex. W. Thayer, Andover, 1883, p. 71). The distance was about *ten* miles.