

has been proved, as many of the most learned explorers believe it to be, those who share this belief appear to hold the key of the whole problem, and can tell with quite sufficient accuracy where the real burial place of Christ must necessarily have been. (John xix, 41.) If the new theory of Calvary be a myth, it must with reason be admitted that they are probably right who think that the burial place of Christ, like that of Moses, is little likely to be ever discovered.

---

---

### THE LOCALITIES OF THE EXODUS : AND A NEW EGYPTIAN PAPYRUS.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

THE narrative of the Exodus contains a number of place-names which have given rise to a great deal of discussion, but have not yet been identified with any degree of certainty. Therefore a peculiar interest attaches to a demotic papyrus that has recently been published by Prof. Spiegelberg at Cairo, for it is neither more nor less than a gazetteer of the Delta, and gives a list of the localities of Lower Egypt. Unfortunately, the document is in a very bad state of preservation. The beginning of the roll has disappeared, as usual; and the top and bottom are torn away. The surface is stained with age, and the material has been worn into holes; so that, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of deciphering a demotic manuscript, there is often grave uncertainty as to what characters are to be read upon it. Such as it is, however, the new papyrus is of the greatest importance for a study of the geography of Ancient Egypt; the more so, perhaps, because it seems to give the popular or vulgar forms of the names of the places, rather than the ritual or sacred titles which are commonly found upon the monuments. Many of these names have a modern and familiar ring about them, as though the present Arabic designations were merely the corruptions, or translations, of the ancient appellations as they passed down through the Coptic into later times. We might reasonably expect this from the late date of the document; for it need hardly

be said that it belongs to the Ptolemaic period, and is probably to be assigned to the third century B.C.

The papyrus has been subjected to an illuminating and critical study by Monsieur G. Daressy, whose knowledge and skill in these matters and access to the papyrus make him a safe and trustworthy guide.<sup>1</sup>

The Pentateuch presupposes in the reader an acquaintance with localities mentioned in the narrative of the Exodus; and it is to be presumed that the inhabitants of Palestine possessed a more or less accurate knowledge of the geography of the eastern Delta. But it does not by any means follow that the Egyptians and Palestinians gave identically the same names to the same places. Most of the names in Exodus have a distinctly Semitic appearance, as though they were either Semitic words, or else Semitised variants of the Egyptian. This, of course, complicates the problem.

The scene of the Exodus commences in Goshen. There was a Goshen in Judaea (Josh. x, 41), but Dr. Naville has demonstrated that the original of the Pentateuchal territory is to be sought in the Egyptian  *kesem*, or *Gesem*, which is often mentioned upon the monuments, and includes the district embracing the modern *Wādy et-Tumilat*, running between the River Nile and the Suez Canal.

In this valley Dr. Naville in 1883 explored a group of ruins styled *Tell el-Mashkhāta*, and found they covered the site of an Egyptian town bearing the name of *Pe-Atum*, "the Abode of Atum," i.e., the Pithom of Exodus. The same place, or the surrounding district, also bore the name of *Thuku*, or *Thukut*, of frequent occurrence upon the monuments, and etymologically to be connected with the Hebrew Succoth.

Pithom is only mentioned once in the Old Testament. In other passages we have Etham, which looks very like a derivative of *Atum*; and פתם and תתם have a strong resemblance in Hebrew. In fact, the Septuagint would tend to show that they were once identical; for although in Ex. xiii, 20, the Greek has Ἰθῶμ (Etham) in Num. xxxiii, 6, 7, the Septuagint has Βουθῶν (Pithom).

As might be expected, the town of *Pe-Atum* duly figures on the

<sup>1</sup> "La liste géographique du papyrus no. 31169 du Caire," par G. Daressy, *Sphinx*, Vol. XIV (Upsala, 1911), p. 155; and "La Bible et l'Égypte," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, Série V, Vol. V, December, 1911.

new papyrus of Prof. Spiegelberg, Col. III, No. 9, where M. Daressy reads  *Pe-Atum Z(u)k(u)*. This he renders "Pithom-Succoth." The Pithom is correct enough, but the *Zk* is not the customary form for spelling *Thuku* or *Thukut*. M. Daressy may, however, be right in this particular; and, if so, it is confirmatory of the association of Pithom with Succoth.

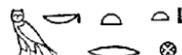
In the Book of Exodus Rameses is mentioned together with Pithom, but it does not occur upon the fragments of the papyrus that have been preserved to us. As a personal name it is, of course, familiar enough; but as a place-name it is somewhat rare upon the Egyptian monuments, although we do meet with *Pe-Rameses*, "the abode of Rameses," which appears to have been common to at least two localities in the Delta.

The next name to be considered is Pihahiroth. This looks extremely like a good Hebrew phrase, and it is usually translated "mouth of the caverns." But *khīrōth* occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament. When caverns are mentioned they are styled **הרים**. In other words **הור** "a cavern" is masculine, and takes the masculine form of the plural. Therefore, unless we totally ignore the rules of Hebrew grammar, we are bound to consider *Pi-ha-khīrōth* as a Semitised form of some Egyptian name.

The Spiegelberg papyrus proves of great assistance in this regard, for M. Daressy points out that Col. III, No. 18, is  "the lake of *Kharta*." Thus **כִּי הַחִירָה** would not be the mouth of the caverns, but "the mouth of the *Kharta*;" and in Num. xxxiii, 8, *ha-Khīrōth* would be the *Kharta*, the Egyptian lake. M. Daressy remarks that the name still survives in modern geography, for in the map published by the Egyptian Commission, the mountain to the north of lake *Timsah* is marked as *Gebel-el-Kheir* **جبل الخير** "which one may recognize as a deformation of the ancient *Khert*, or *Khīrūt*."

It is not clear what the Pentateuch means by "Mouth of the *Kharta*." The next name on the Spiegelberg list (Col. III, No. 19) is a castle called "rat fort," and M. Daressy would identify this with the **פַּה** of Exodus. This seems somewhat precarious, and we would rather leave the matter undecided. It is quite sufficient to have found a satisfactory explanation of **חִירָה** without pressing the point too far.

Following "the fort of the Rat" on the papyrus are four castellated towers, *Miktals*, or Migdols. The first is simply called

 *Miktal*, corresponding with the Migdol of Exodus ;  
but the third is  "*Miktal*  
of Baal-Zephon."

Thus the new Spiegelberg Papyrus is of the highest importance to the Biblical student, for it apparently mentions Ha-hiroth, Migdol, and Baal-Zephon in the same order as we find them in the Pentateuch.

In conclusion, I desire to thank Mr. E. J. Pilcher for his help in the preparation of this note.

## DOCUMENTS CONCERNING JERUSALEM IN THE APHRODITO PAPYRI OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ERA.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

TRANSLATIONS of some of the best preserved of the many papyri concerning the early Mohammedan rule in Egypt, published by Mr. H. I. Bell, M.A., in the fourth volume of the *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, are being printed by him in the *Journal Der Islam*, of Strassburg.

A few of these refer to imposts demanded from Egypt for assisting in the erection of Moslem edifices at Jerusalem. The payment required being either in the form of workmen or materials. The buildings specified are a Mosque and the palace of the Amir al-Mu'minin. These documents are all dated in the 9th Indiction.

Papyrus No. 1366, omitting mutilated passages, reads :—

"Two labourers and one carpenter . . . in Jerusalem for twelve  
"months in the present Indiction and having made out the demand  
"notes for them to the people of the separate places, we have sent  
"them to you. On receiving the present letter, therefore, send  
"the said labourers and skilled workman by your faithful man with  
"instructions to hand them over . . . their wages in gold ; them  
"and their wages in accordance with the powers given by our  
"demand notes."