

SEVENTH MEMOIR OF  
**THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.**

(EXTRA VOLUME FOR 1888-9)

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THE  
MOUND OF THE JEW AND THE CITY OF ONIAS.

1887.

BY EDOUARD NAVILLE.

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*This extract prepared by Don Mills, January-April 2015.  
Naville's work on Belbeis, Samanood, Aabusib, and Tikh el  
Kabmus is omitted as not being relevant to the purpose.  
Griffith's work on Tellel-Yehudiyeh and the el-Arish shrine is  
published separately*



GENERAL VIEW OF TELL-EL-VAHÛDÎEH

(A Colossal Statue of Ramses II. in the foreground).

*From a Photograph by the Rev. W. MacGregor.*

## CONTENTS

EDITOR'S PREFACE .....	5
PREFACE. ....	6
TELL EL YAHOODIEH. ....	7
THE EGYPTIAN CITY .....	7
THE NECROPOLIS .....	14
THE CITY OF ONIAS. ....	18
PLATES RELEVANT TO TELL EL-YEHOUDIEH .....	23



## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The document below is part of single 150-page “extra volume” of the “Seventh Memoir” of the Egypt Exploration Fund, published in 1890, combining related works by two scholars, the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville, and the Brighton-born British Egyptologist, Francis Llewellyn Griffith, who had excavated together at a mound called “Tell el-Yahudiyeh (with various spellings) in the Nile Delta between Cairo and Ismailia.

The volume interested Velikovsky from two aspects. One was Griffith's inclusion (under the heading of “miscellaneous work”) of an account to his visit to El Arish on the Mediterranean coast of North Sinai, where he transcribed and subsequently translated the inscription on a 4<sup>th</sup>-Century BC shrine found there, now celebrated among Velikovskians as “the El Arish Shrine”<sup>1</sup>. I have extracted and re-published this part of the volume separately.

The other aspect was the apparent chronological conflict created by finds at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, which seemed to indicate dates from the Greek classical period (say, ca. 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC) in a context dating to the Egyptian 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (13<sup>th</sup> Century BC). Best-known amongst these (to the Velikovskian community) are the “Greek Letters on Tiles of Ramses III” which Velikovsky discussed in Chapter 1 of *Peoples of the Sea*; but there was also the question of the ancient cemetery a mile from the tell, in which again there seemed to be evidence of a mix of 4<sup>th</sup>-Century and 13<sup>th</sup>-Century dates.

Naville and Griffith discussed these finds separately in their respective contributions to the EEF's “extra volume”, and came to opposite conclusions. I have extracted and re-published Griffith's discussion separately. Naville's resolution for the “Greek-letter tiles”, widely accepted by Egyptologists but unmentioned by Velikovsky, was that they were made by Syrian Jews as decoration for the Jewish Temple built within the ruins of the Ramesside temple by the Jewish priest Onias IV in the 2nd Century BC, as related by Josephus.

Readers can now compare the actual comments made by these two writers against the partial quotations and summary statements in *Peoples of the Sea*, and judge for themselves how fairly Velikovsky represented their arguments. It will also be relevant to examine the arguments of T. Hayter Lewis and Emil Brugsch-Bey, which I have also republished separately, and make similar comparisons.

I have included all of Naville's text, notes, and illustrations, but have not retained either the original pagination, or the original footnote numbering. The original page numbers have been inserted prominently in the text at the points where they occur.

*Donald Keith Mills, Aspley Guise, April 2015*

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<sup>1</sup> It is generally known to Egyptologists as “the Ismailia shrine”, since it is now housed in the small museum at Ismailia in the eastern Delta. It is generally accepted that it was one of four shrines erected by Pharaoh Nectanebo I in the Soped Temple complex at Saft el-Henna (ancient Pisoped).

## PREFACE.

THE present memoir describes only those excavations which were made during the first half of the winter of 1887. This circumstance accounts for its shortness. Immediately after leaving Tukh el Karmus, we settled at Tell Basta, a site which required the two following winters for its thorough excavation, the considerable results of which will be published in a separate volume.

During the winter of 1887 I had the valuable help of Mr. Griffith, who in the present work [*reproduced separately—DM, 2015*] deals chiefly with the archaeological side of the excavations. The reader will notice that our opinions disagree as to the age to which some of the objects discovered in the necropolis of Tell el Yahoodieh should be attributed. Each of us is alone responsible for the views he states on this point which we submit to the judgment of the reader.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

# TELL EL YAHODIEH.

## THE EGYPTIAN CITY

[page 5] THE first account we have of Tell el Yahoodieh, *the mound of the Jews*, is that of Linant,<sup>2</sup> who visited the place in 1825. The French engineer describes the size of the Tell, its appearance, and the few antiquities which he saw there ; and noticing how actively the fellaheen were even then digging schakh (manure), he prophesies that the mound will some day entirely disappear. Many years afterwards it was visited by several explorers. Mr. Greville Chester, Prof. Hayter Lewis, and Brugsch-Bey have directed the attention of travellers to that locality and to its name, which indicates a tradition, the authenticity of which it would be interesting to ascertain. The excavations made there by Brugsch-Bey brought to light the remains of a chamber lined with enamelled tiles of the time of Rameses III., fragments of which are scattered through various museums of Egypt and Europe. But the discovery has been fatal to the mound. There is no place in Egypt where the fellaheen have worked such wanton destruction, or so thoroughly carried away whatever could be taken.

Near the present station of Shibeen el Kanater, the traveller sees the mound in the distance. I need not insist much on the form of the Tell, a plan of which has been published by Prof. Hayter Lewis in illustration of his interesting paper on Tell el Yahoodieh.<sup>3</sup> The mound is limited by a rectangular enclosure oriented from east to west. Its long axis is about half a mile in length, while in breadth it measures a quarter of a mile from north to south. The enclosure consists of two parallel walls, separated by a space filled in with sand. The basement of these walls is built of large limestone blocks, which are constantly being quarried out by the natives. The eastern side of the enclosure is much higher than the rest, and is formed of two artificial hills, against which the sand seems to have been heaped up intentionally. Between them there is a gap which probably was occupied by a gateway. Mr. Lewis's plan indicates that these two hills have a kind of core formed by a strong wall with projecting buttresses ; but I observed no trace of these constructions. In advance of that side, towards the desert, extend the ruins of a regularly built Roman city ; the houses line the two main streets, exactly as one would expect to find quarters built by a colony of soldiers. The *ghezireh* (sand island) on which the mound rests extends further to the north, and [page 6] is now a modern burial-place. The mound of the ancient city must have had different levels, which are now difficult to recognize ; in some parts it has been dug down to the original sand ; while in others there are remains of walls which may be fifty feet high. The eastern part seems to have been higher than the western ; and in the north-eastern corner the nature of the soil is quite different. Instead of decayed bricks interspersed with remains of pottery, it consists of enormous heaps of chips of limestone. A few monuments still remain on the spot, and will be noticed later on. The only excavations hitherto made are due to Brugsch-Bey, who gave some account of his work, and stated his opinion on the name of Tell el Yahoodieh in an interesting paper lately published under the title of " On et Onion." <sup>4</sup> When Brugsch-Bey came to Tell el Yahoodieh for the first time in 1870, his attention had been directed to the place by some very fine enamelled tiles and inlaid ornaments which he had purchased from a dealer at Shibeen el Kanater. He began by excavating a small

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<sup>2</sup> "Memoires sur les principaux travaux d'utilité publique," p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. vii., part 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne," vol. viii., p. 1.

mound in the longer axis of the city, towards the western side of the Tell. It was about twenty-four or thirty feet high, and near it the Arabs had found fragments of columns and pillars, and traces of an alabaster pavement. Having cleared as much as remained of the pavement, Brugsch there found a considerable number of enamelled and porcelain tiles ; but the building itself was so much ruined, that it was impossible to reconstruct the plan. He brought back from this mound 3600 disks of various sizes, and a great number of tiles more or less broken, bearing either flower ornaments, or birds, animals, and portraits of Asiatic or negro prisoners ; besides fragments of hieroglyphic inscriptions, giving the names and titles of Rameses III. ; also the base of an alabaster column similarly inscribed. All these fragments are now in the museum of Boolak.

Before Brugsch began his excavations, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Greville Chester had explored the Tell : the fine collection now at the British Museum, the principal monuments of which have been elaborately described by Prof. Hayter Lewis in the paper above referred to, is due to Mr. Chester's exertions. As Mr. Lewis rightly observes, this work strikingly reminds us of Persian art, both modern and antique. In Persia it seems to have been made on a larger scale than in Egypt. At present, except the chamber of Rameses III., which was not very large, a doorway in a pyramid, and a few specimens coming from tombs, Egypt has given us no large monuments made in enamelled material ; there is nothing such as the large sculptures discovered at Susa by Mons. Dieulafoy.

There is a curious fact about the disks which have been found in such a large number ; some of them are inscribed on the back with Greek letters *A, E, A, X*, while others bear Egyptian signs. The Greek letters show that strangers were at some time employed in the work. The greatest part of the building was however thoroughly Egyptian in style, as may be judged from the remains of columns still *in situ*. The enamel ornaments, though unusual, cannot be considered as a foreign import, as something similar has already been found in one of the pyramids of Sakkarah. It is not likely that later [page 7] kings, such as the Saïtes or the Ptolemies, should have taken the trouble to build for their predecessor, Rameses III., such a beautiful chamber, the walls of which were not only ornamented with representations of plants or animals, but also recorded the feats of war of Rameses, and depicted the prisoners he had brought to Egypt. I believe, therefore, that the chamber of Rameses III. was built under his reign and by his order, and that it was damaged in one of the numerous wars or invasions which swept over the Delta. One of the subsequent kings, possibly a Ptolemy, may have had it repaired in the same style by the hands of Greek workmen. The disks which adorned the friezes of the chamber were the pieces the most likely to fall off and be lost; a great number would therefore have to be renewed, and that would account for the fact that it is chiefly on the disks that we find the Greek letters.

When I arrived at Tell el Yahoodieh in the winter of 1887, the chamber of Rameses III. had entirely disappeared. There remained only a mud platform where a few of the alabaster blocks were left, and some bases of columns inscribed with the name of Rameses III. I cut through the platform to see whether it rested on more ancient constructions, but without any result. Not only the chamber, but nearly all the monuments indicated either by Brugsch or by Prof. Lewis have vanished, and I could find no traces of them. Brugsch mentions certain limestone blocks carved with the cartouche of Seti I., which evidently had been quarried out by the natives long ago, just as they are to this day quarrying the basement of the enclosure wall. I looked in



vain for fragments of statues of Bast or Sekhet, which, according to the same author, had been brought thither from the temple of Mut in Thebes. I found on the spot only one of the monuments indicated in the plan of Mr. Hayter Lewis, namely, a group of Ra and Turn. The two tanks or baths in limestone, of which Mr. Lewis gives a drawing, are also gone. The only remaining monuments, besides the bases of columns of Rameses III., are the group of Ra and Turn, a standing statue of Rameses II., several pedestals with the names of Rameses II. and Rameses III., a column of Menephtah, and a stone inscribed with the name of an unknown king. Several of these monuments were in a line, and stood on the original sand, as if they had formed an avenue leading to the chamber of Rameses III., the column being, perhaps, part of a gateway at the entrance to the avenue. In the neighbouring villages may be seen many fragments of limestone and granite, most of which bear the name of Rameses III.

An interesting monument was found at Tell el Yahoodieh, about twenty years ago, outside the western part of the enclosure. It was used as a bridge over one of the small irrigation canals. It has been described and reproduced quite independently by Brugsch in his paper, and by Commander Gorringer in his great work on Egyptian obelisks. Both authors agree that it is a representation of the temple of On. I give here the description of Commander Gorringer <sup>5</sup>:—

“ It is 44-25 inches long, 34.65 inches wide, and 9.25 inches deep. It shows the double flight of steps ascending to the level of the sanctuary. On either side these steps are, first, sockets in [page 8] which were formerly set models of the great sphinxes guarding the entrance ; higher up, on either side, are marked the positions of the statues of the king and of the two great obelisks. At the top of the steps are again, on either side, sockets for two smaller sphinxes. Beyond these are marked the positions of the two great pylons ; in front of these pylons were set tall masts or flag-staffs ; on the inner sides of the pylons are seen holes marking the place of the double gate of the sanctuary, beyond which monarchs and priests alone could pass. Farther on are shown the positions of the great walls enclosing the sanctuary, within which were preserved the morning and the evening barges of the god.

“ On three sides or edges of the model area sculptures representing the monarch presenting offerings to the deity, and inscriptions in finely-cut hieroglyphics.”

Taking into account the large dimensions of the great Temple of On, it seems evident that this monument represented only the forepart of the temple. That it does represent the temple of On (Heliopolis) is placed beyond doubt by the hieroglyphic inscriptions. As the stone is not very thick, the king, Seti I., who is seen making offerings, is depicted in a semi-prostrate attitude. The front side is decorated with two of these subjects, showing the king going from left to right and from right to left. In the middle is the name of Tum Harmakhis, the great god of On. On the sides are inscriptions recording how Seti I. raised statues to his father Tum, and describing the stones with which he adorned the sanctuary of On. The whole is therefore a model of part of the temple of Heliopolis, which was made in the form of a table of offerings, on which a hawk, or some emblem of the divinity, was probably placed, surrounded by models of the obelisks and sphinxes erected in advance of the temple.

How did this monument come to Tell el Yahoodieh ? Was it brought there from Heliopolis, or was it placed there for any other reason ? It is a fact that on all the inscriptions of Rameses III., and most of those of Rameses II., we find no other god

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<sup>5</sup> “Egyptian Obelisks,” p. 70. The monument is now at New York.

mentioned than Tum Harmakhis ; and no other qualification is given to him than the "God of On." No other geographical name appears except the name of On, and this circumstance, added to the presence of tables of offerings, has led Brugsch-Bey to the conclusion that Tell el Yahoodieh was the real On, the true Heliopolis which was seen by Herodotus; and that the old city near Matarieh, where the obelisk is still standing, had been abandoned after the Hyksos period, and remained as a sanctuary more or less ruined, the inhabitants settling farther north.

But was Tell el Yahoodieh really Heliopolis ? This important question was one of the chief motives which induced me to attempt excavations at the place. I entertained the hope, which unfortunately proved false, that I might find the hieroglyphical name of the place ; but there was another problem to be solved. How far could the tradition be trusted, which says that Tell el Yahoodieh was a Jewish settlement, built at the time when the high priest Onias fled from the persecution of the king of Syria and took refuge in Egypt ? Was Tell el Yahoodieh *Onion*, the city founded by Onias ? These two points seemed to be sufficiently important to justify an excavation ; I consequently settled there early in [page 9] February, beginning the work on the Tell itself, near the site of the chamber of Rameses III. I cut through the mud platform on which the alabaster pavement had stood, in the hope that I should reach earlier constructions, but without any result. It was the same with several attempts made in other parts of the mound ; they brought no monuments to light. Thus we have but a few monuments to describe, and these give us but little information about the city.

As to the foundation, it is possible that it may go as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty. No monument of that epoch has been seen by other explorers or by myself ; but it is a curious fact that a considerable number of the small pots dug out by the natives in different parts of the Tell are of exactly the same pattern as those which I discovered at Khataanah two years ago, and which, from the style of the scarabs found with these, may be attributed to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. They are made of black earthenware, ornamented by lines of white dots. I do not feel so confident about the age of these pots as I did at Khataanah, where there were monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty, and especially remains of a temple of that age. Nothing of the kind is now left at Tell el Yahoodieh, except, perhaps, a broken table of offerings, which is in one of the houses of the neighbouring village. <sup>6</sup> It may be that the larger monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty have been destroyed, but it is possible also that that kind of pottery may be much more recent; it may have been a local fashion, a special style much in use in the eastern part of the Delta, and which was preserved through many centuries like the so-called Cypriote pots found in the necropolis. However, it seems to me probable that the first settlers at Tell el Yahoodieh may have belonged to the Twelfth Dynasty, an age especially distinguished by its extensive building works in all the cities of the eastern Delta, from Heliopolis to Tanis.

No remains of the Hyksos period have been found here, nor any traces of the warlike Eighteenth Dynasty. The first historical name discovered is that of Seti I., as seen by Brugsch- Bey, as engraved also on a small fragment belonging to Dr. Grant, and as inscribed upon the table of offerings described above. After Seti, his son, Rameses II., would scarcely omit to decorate so important a city with monuments to his own glory. We have a standing statue of this king which was originally placed beside a gateway. In the inscription engraved upon this statue he is said to be a worshipper of Set, the son of Nut, a god to whom several cities of the Delta were

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<sup>6</sup> Pl. II. B.

dedicated under his reign.<sup>7</sup> The name of the god has been erased, but is still visible. The text contains the usual promises of an immense number of panegyrics.

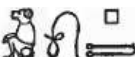
Another monument of the same king is a group nearly seven feet high, of two sitting figures.<sup>8</sup> On the right is Rameses II., with a solar disk on his head ; the head of the figure on the left is broken off, and is now built into the doorpost of the house of a fellah. It is evidently Tum Harmakhis who speaks the following words :—“ *I am thy venerable father, the lord of thy beauties. . . . King Rameses, thou art prosperous like Tum in the great hall . . . like Khepra every morning crowned on the throne of Ra in the vestibule of Tum. I am protecting thy limbs every day : thy might and the [page 10] power of thy sword is above all lands. Thy hand is never opposed in all countries, King Rameses, friend of Harmakhis, the great god.*”

The cartouche of Rameses II. is found also on several bases which must have supported either sphinxes or statues. Menephtah, perhaps, built the pylon at the entrance to the avenue leading to the chamber of Rameses III., for he left there a fluted column with a lotus-bud capital, bearing his name.<sup>9</sup>

By far the greatest number of cartouches found are those of Rameses III., who seems to have had a special connection with Heliopolis, as he put the name of that city in his cartouche. Monuments dedicated by him have already been published by Prof. Brugsch.<sup>10</sup> The inscriptions of the enamelled chamber also recorded his warlike deeds, and represented the captives whom he had brought back from his foreign campaigns. So the granite columns belonging to his reign are still to be seen on the Tell, and fragments are scattered through the villages,<sup>11</sup> but not one of these stones gives us any clue to the name of the city.

While looking at the blocks which were lying here and there in the neighbourhood of the enamelled chamber, I noticed the corner of a granite fragment inscribed with hieroglyphs, which, when cleared, turned out to be a base, or pedestal, on which either a shrine or the statue of a god<sup>12</sup> had originally stood. The arrangement is the same as on the above-described table of offerings. On the front side the king is twice represented as presenting offerings of oil and the Sacred Eye. To right and left stand men with raised hands in the attitude of worship, each having one of the cartouches of the king engraved in the space under his arms. The cartouches have never been met

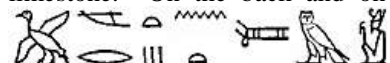


with before, and they represent a king who is not found in the lists. The qualification of *Si Bast, the son of Bast*, and the identity of the first cartouche with that of *Osorkon II.* and of *Pimai*, would induce me to put him in the twenty-second dynasty. But there seems to be no gap in the dynasty, for which we have the nine kings quoted by Manetho. He must therefore be placed elsewhere. But the name of the king indicates another connection with the twenty-second Dynasty.  *Auput* is new in this form ; and in my opinion it is only a variant

<sup>7</sup> Pl. II. D.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. II. C.

<sup>9</sup> Since this was written the fellahs have uncovered the base of the statue of a kneeling man, in limestone. On the back and on the sides are the cartouches of Seti II. with this qualification


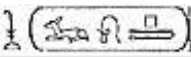




“ the beloved of Turn.” (April, 1889.)

<sup>10</sup> “Zeitschr.,” 1871, p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> Pl. II. A.

<sup>12</sup> Pl. I. The stone is now at the Boolak Museum

of the name , *Aput*, which was borne by several princes at that epoch. One of them is the *high priest of Anion, the king of the gods ; the first general, the chief Aput, who is at the head of the great soldiers of the South, all of them, the royal son of King Shishak*,<sup>13</sup> the first king of the twenty-second Dynasty. He is often seen accompanying his father when worshipping the gods of Thebes or Silsilis. He is also known to us as having had access to the hiding-place of Deir el Bahari.<sup>14</sup> He there buried one of the princes, and stamped his name on the braces of his mummy. But I do not think that it was he who took a coronation cartouche, and assumed the royal title. Probably the first Aput never came [page 11] to the throne. I believe the king of Tell el Yahoodieh is mentioned in an inscription of later date, namely the famous text known as the Stele of Piankhi. There, the Ethiopian conqueror gives the names of all the petty princes who had divided Lower Egypt between themselves, and had made a coalition against him. One of them is *King Aput*,<sup>15</sup> , who is said to have occupied the cities of  *Tentremu, the fish city*, and  *Taanto* ; and who, after having been beaten with his allies in the battle of Heracleopolis, came to the king, and submitted himself as his tributary. The two geographical names have not been identified, they are mentioned only in this Stele. I hardly think any of them can be considered as the name of Tell el Yahoodieh. In the inscription of Piankhi, the capital of each king, i.e. the most important city over which he reigns, is mentioned first ; and in this case it must be *Tentremu, the fish city*.<sup>16</sup> 2 There does not seem to be any reason why this name should apply to Tell el Yahoodieh ; it probably designates a city near the sea, or near a lake, and *Taanto* must be in the neighbourhood. *Tentremu* was either in the east near the Red Sea, or more likely towards the coast of the Mediterranean. *Aput* is mentioned by Piankhi as a king, and his name is enclosed in a cartouche, like that of *Osorkon*, the King of Bubastis, and two others, *Namrath* and *Pefaabast*. His enemy considered him as of royal blood, and it is not extraordinary that on the monuments which he himself erected he should have adopted two cartouches. We may some day find that *Namrath*, *Osorkon* and *Pefaabast* did the same; and if the inscription had been engraved for them, and by their order, instead of being a record of the victories of the Ethiopian invader, we should possibly have seen their names written with two cartouches like that of *Aput*.

Having failed to discover the hieroglyphic name inscribed on the monuments of Tell el Yahoodieh still *in situ*, we may perhaps find some indication elsewhere. I cannot agree with Brugsch-Bey's idea that Tell el Yahoodieh was the true Heliopolis, whither the inhabitants of the other city migrated, after it had been destroyed by the Hyksos. The remains of the temple which are still visible at Matarieh, the plan which Brugsch-Bey publishes from the table of offerings in New York, and which belongs to the eighteenth dynasty, do not give the idea of a building in ruins at that epoch ; it must, on the contrary, have been enlarged and restored by the great kings of the Theban Dynasties. The sacred enclosure still existing, the obelisk which is yet erect, the remains of the sphinxes at the entrance, all these bear witness to the existence of a temple of great importance, and proportionate to the rank which Heliopolis occupied

<sup>13</sup> "Leps. Denkm.," III., 253, 254.

<sup>14</sup> Maspero, "La trouvaille de Deir el Bahari." » p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> "Inscr. of Piankhi," 1. 18, 99, 114.

<sup>16</sup> *Tentremu* is perhaps a variant of *Papremis*, which would be *the house* or *the temple of the fish*.



Divinity, a Ptolemaic inscription would certainly have mentioned it in connection with the name of the place of which that Divinity was regarded as king or lord.

[page 13]

## THE NECROPOLIS

The excavations in the Tell itself were so unsatisfactory that there was no object in prolonging them ; I therefore moved out to the desert, a mile farther, in the hope of finding the necropolis. Just on the verge of the desert are two villages inhabited by Bedouins. The ground is flat, or slightly undulating, and the bed of the desert consists of a soft laminiferous stone very easy to cut. I here discovered a necropolis of late epoch. The whole ground on which the villages are built, covering a space of more than half a mile in length, and several hundred yards in breadth, is in fact undermined with tombs, which, as usual, have been rifled in ancient times. On the northern side, the rock being of a better quality, the tombs have been cut more carefully and are in a better state of preservation. They are excavated more or less on the same plan as the typical example in Mr. Griffith's plate (Pl. XVI.). There does not seem to have been any construction above ground. Three or four steps lead to a small door giving access to a central chamber, in the sides of which open horizontal niches of the size of a human body. The niches were for the most part empty ; in a few instances, however, we found the body *in situ*, without ornament and showing no mummification. Under the head, there was always a burnt brick for a pillow. Wherever the stone is good enough, stairs and doors are well cut ; but where it is too soft, there is only a slope leading down to the entrance. The door was originally closed by a limestone slab, and the tomb contained stelae of the same material, of which we found a few. All had probably been rifled for the sake of the limestone, which is invariably carried away by the fellaheen when there are no quarries in the neighbourhood. The entrances to the tombs were afterwards filled up with sand and blocks of basalt.

The plan and arrangement of these tombs resemble strongly those found outside of Egypt in Phoenicia and Palestine. They are similar to some in the necropolis of Amrith, in Phoenicia, and to certain Carthaginian tombs.<sup>18</sup> They are in fact the favourite type of the Jewish tomb in many parts of Judaea,<sup>19</sup> and are known by the French name given to them by the eminent archaeologist De Saulcy, as *fours à cercueils*. This type of burial is described in the Talmud in the book called Baba Bathra, due to the Rabbi Maimonides. The niches are called in Hebrew כוכים.<sup>20</sup> Thus I had some *a priori* reason for conjecturing that I had found a Jewish necropolis. We discovered a few tablets which yet remained in some of the tombs, and the names inscribed on these stelae confirmed me in this opinion. I removed all these relics, and they are now deposited in the Boolak Museum (Plates III. and IV.).

These tablets strikingly resemble some which were found in the necropolis of Sidon,<sup>21</sup> and are published by Mr. Renan. The architectural ornaments *in relief* are the same ; the flat surface on which the inscription is engraved having been cut out. It is not only in the general appearance of the tablets, but also in the text of the inscriptions that this likeness is observable. The deceased is addressed in the vocative, with the word *χαῖρε, farewell*. The most frequent epithet [page 14] which is

<sup>18</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, "Hist. de l'Art," vol. iii. pp. 148 and 228. [*Naville's translator did not thoroughly translate all footnotes, hence the occurrence of French "et" here and passim—DM, 2015.*]

<sup>19</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, vol. iv. p. 359, quoting the leading authorities of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

<sup>20</sup> "Nicolai de Sepulcris Ebraeorum," p. 174, et ff. "Garrucci Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei," p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Renan, "Expedition de Phenicie," pl. XLIII., et p. 380 et ff.

given to him, is *χρῆστε*, *kind*, as at Sidon ; also *ἄλυπε*, which Mr. Renan interprets<sup>22</sup> not as *painless*, but as *not having caused pain to others*, and being the equivalent of *ἀλυπως ζήσας*, found elsewhere. He is called *πᾶσι φίλε*, *loving to all*, *φιλότεκνε*, *loving his children*, and frequently by a poetical word *ἄωρε*, sometimes wrongly spelt *ἄορε*,<sup>23</sup> meaning *who dies before his time*.

They are all very much alike in form, as will be seen from the translation of two. Plate III. C, *Mikkos, the son of Nethaneus, loving to all, kind, dying before his time, farewell at the age of 35 years, year 19th, the 11th of Paophi*. He died at the age of thirty-five years. He is therefore called *ἄωρος*. The date of his death is the year 19, the 11th of Paophi.

Plate III. D., *Eleazar, died at the age of twenty years and five months*. I read the last line *ὥς ἔτων κ μηνων ε*.

Plate IV. E., *Barchias, the son of Barchias, who caused no pain, kind, farewell at the age of fifty. In the year 35 the first day of Choiak, farewell from thy wife and children*. . . .

Plate IV. H., The eleventh year, the 12th of Payni, died a man called *Glaucias*, who had attained the age of 102 years. It is natural that the epithet of *ἄωρε* should not be applied to him.

Plate IV. I., The inscription of *Salamis* is much defaced. It is dated year 11 (?) IA., and the eleventh of Choiak.

Plate IV. K., A man whose name is erased died at 23, year 11 (?), the third of Tybi.

Plate IV. L., The number M 40, is very likely to be applied to the age of the man who died without children.

Plate IV. G., It is the same with *Agathocles, the son of Onesimos*.

Plate IV. M., is a very small fragment giving the date of the year 27.

Plate IV. O., *θευδ(ωρ)α*, *vid.* Renan, p. 384,

I copied from a much-erased tablet the following words referring to a man called Aristobulos:

*APICTOBOYAEAO . . .*

*ΑΩΡΕΠΑΙΦΙΛΕΧΡΗ . . .*

Plate III. A., is the top of a tablet of which nothing more is preserved. It bears the Jewish ornament of the grape.

Plate IV. N. does not represent a tablet, but a wall in the tomb, covered with white stucco, on which the names of the mother, *Tryphæna*, and her daughter, *Eiras*, have been painted in red. The bones of both women were in the niches, without ornament of any kind ; they were turned towards the east, and they each had a brick under the head, as was the case with all the deceased whose bones were found in this necropolis.

The interest of these tablets lies chiefly in the names they contain. Some of them are purely Greek, and may be found in any country where Greek was spoken : *Glaucias*, *Agathocles*, *Aristoboulos*, *Onesimos*, *Tryphæna*, *Eiras*. But others are decidedly not Greek, and are either Grecized Hebrew or pure Hebrew, so reminding us of names met with in Scripture. *Mikkos* is *Micah* ; *Nethaneus* is either *Nathan* or

<sup>22</sup> Renan, I. I., p. 381.

<sup>23</sup> Renan, I. I., p. 383 et 384. The illustrious Hebrew scholar compares the word to the expression בלעתי, *before my time*, which occurs twice in the inscription of Eshmunazar. *Vide* also Néroutzos-Bey, "Rev. Arch.," 1887, ii., p. 212.

Nethaniah ; Barchias is Barak or Barachiah; Salamis is Salome. As for Eleazar, there can be no doubt about the origin of the man who bore that name. [page 15] Hence we are led to conclude that the necropolis of Tell el Yahoodieh was a cemetery of Jews, and that the adjoining city was therefore a Jewish settlement.

The Jewish character is also apparent in a broken inscription, Plate III. B., which is much longer than the others, and in which there is evidently such an attempt at writing verse as might be made by a man who had little respect for orthography and grammar. The top of the tablet is gone, and the rest is broken in two. I am indebted to my countryman, Prof. Nicole, for the following division of the inscription, which gives the best reading to be made out of it. Prof. Nicole finds in these lines elegiac verse, hexameters and pentameters, but all abounding in mistakes of rhythm and quantity.

. . . με καὶ  
 νῦν (παρ)οδεῖτα ὁ γεννήσας γὰρ μ—πενθεῖ  
 τηκόμενος ψυχῇ σὺν γένει ἡδὲ φίλοις.  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, γνῶναι δύνασαι πόσε ἡ — πίστις  
 ἡδὲ χάρις καὶ πῶς πάντες ὀδυρμὸς ἔχει·  
 δεῦρ' ἴθι καὶ ἐρώτησον Σομόηδον υἱόν  
 — ἀώρατος ποταπός.

The deceased addresses the passer-by (παρ)οδεῖτα,<sup>24</sup> and asks him to respect the grief of his father, who still mourns for him. And he adds : *but if thou wilt, thou canst know how great was his faith and grace, and how all are possessed by grief. Come here and ask his son, Somoedos.—He is invisible, where is he ?*

If this translation be correct, the deceased invites the passer-by to come where he is and to question *Somoedos*, who is dead also, about his faith and grace. The passer-by answers : *He is not visible, where is he ?* It is difficult to give a satisfactory interpretation of such bad Greek. Besides, according to this division, the two last lines would not fit into the rhythm. The last line but one, if we strain the value of the syllables, would give a kind of hexameter ; but the two last words are certainly not verse.

However, the Jewish character is visible in the words *πίστις καὶ χάρις* which are not usual in Greek epitaphs, and which may be considered as the Greek equivalent of the words *אמת ואמונה*,<sup>25</sup> which occur in Hebrew inscriptions. The proper name, *Somoedos*, has also a Semitic appearance.

Lastly, if, besides the peculiar characteristics of the inscriptions, we consider the form of the tombs described above, the custom of putting a brick under the head, the total absence of ornaments buried with the dead, and the fact that there are no signs of any process of embalmment, it may be asserted that there are positive facts at the bottom of the tradition which gave to this locality the name of *Tell el Yahoodieh* (the mound of the Jews), or *Turbed el Yahood* (tombs of the Jew), as it was reported to Niebuhr.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Froehner, "Inscr. grecques du Louvre," n°. 150.

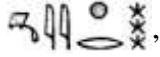
<sup>25</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Wertheimer, Rabbi of Geneva.

<sup>26</sup> Vid. "Mannert Geogr.," i. p. 484. The Jewish character of the place would have been best proved by the Hebrew inscription seen by Professor Lanzone. Unfortunately, that valuable monument fell into a canal and was never recovered.



Besides the Jewish tombs, there are others of a quite different character. About half a mile farther out in the desert, are several artificial mounds consisting of basalt blocks and sand. The basalt has been picked up on the surface of the desert, where it is found abundantly. In excavating to a small depth at this spot, we found several rows of interments all very similar. The first things discovered were generally two [page 16] urns of red earthenware (PI. XIV. 6), about a foot and a half in height. They sometimes contained ashes intermixed with some vegetable substance, and once or twice they also contained a bronze rasp. The urns were the certain precursors of a coffin, as they were nearly always placed on each side of the head, or of the feet. The interment consisted of an outer coffin of large crude bricks, laid horizontally, while two bricks leaning against each other made a kind of vaulted roof (see PI. XIV.). Inside was a mummiform terra-cotta coffin (PI. XIII. 2), made of one piece, with a large opening at the head, through which the corpse was introduced. This done, the head was covered with a facepiece (PI. XIV. 1), on which were modelled the features, the hair, and sometimes the hands. The features were very coarsely executed, in the style of the numerous coffins found in the late cemeteries of Erment or Alexandria. In most of the Tell el Yahoodieh coffins, the bones had been heaped together towards the feet. This was due to the fact that all the tombs of adults had been rifled in ancient times. They had been broken in at the head, the facepiece smashed, the contents of the coffin plundered; the hole afterwards filled in with fragments of basalt. Some few had been imperfectly rifled, for under the roof we found arrowheads, bronze saucers, and some good specimens of so-called Cypriote pilgrim-bottles, besides small pots with a double handle at the top (PI. XV. 15).

One tomb only had not been rifled; it was that of a child. With the body we found a necklace of porcelain and glass beads, and a ring set with a small scarab. Over the place of the heart was laid a small Cypriote vase, and near the left ear a shell. These graves had probably been rifled for the sake of the scarabs and the rings. On one occasion a workman to whom I had entrusted the clearing out of one of the coffins, brought me a fine carnelian scarab mounted in silver. The stone was very badly engraved with an inscription which is susceptible of more than one construction.

Most of the coffins were painted. The colours, which were sometimes very vivid, soon disappeared after having been exposed to the air. The painting was very coarse, such as we find on mummies of Greek and Roman time. It represented a mummy enclosed in cartonnage; there were hieroglyphed bands dividing pictures of gods such as Thoth or Ptah, or funerary genii with heads of crocodiles. The hieroglyphs are very faulty; in several instances they look as if they had not been intended to be read, but were merely ornamental, and designed to give an Egyptian character to the interment, perhaps in order to distinguish the deceased from the Jews who were buried close by. I have reproduced (Plate II. E.) the inscriptions of one of these coffins, the fragments of which are now at the Boolak Museum. They strike the eye at first sight as being of a very late epoch. The deceased seems to have been called *Khikhi*, and I suppose that the last words upon the vertical bands are intended to be , *beloved of the gods*.

I have copied from the cross-bands the name of another, which I give here with its faulty variants. It is evidently intended for Osiris Kur,



[page 17] Another reads thus :—



wherein we may, perhaps, recognize a Greek name ending with *συνη*. These inscriptions show clearly the late epoch of the coffins, which is confirmed by the total absence of any sign of mummification. The exact date is perhaps given on one of the urns (Pl. XIV. 8), which bears a rough hieratic inscription not yet deciphered. It is now at the British Museum. In the hieroglyphs which I collected on these tombs, there is nothing to indicate the name of the city.

A curious fact in connection with these tombs is the discovery of so-called Cypriote pottery. Mr. Petrie had already found similar specimens at Nebesheh,<sup>27</sup> in tombs which he attributes to the Saite epoch ; and I am indebted to Prof. Lanzone for the information that when he was in Egypt he saw a great number of such vases which had been found in graves at Benha. This style of pottery may probably be a foreign import; it has, in fact, been found only in the Eastern Delta, and it belongs to a time when Greek or Phoenician influence had been felt in the country. Were these vases made in Egypt, or were they brought there through the extensive trade in vases which was carried on by the Phoenicians ?<sup>28</sup> These questions are at present difficult to answer : but it seems that after these vases had been introduced into Egypt, they were commonly used in the late cemeteries where clay coffins are found ; and that, while in certain parts of Greece they are to be traced to a relatively high date, they lasted in Egypt down to a very late epoch.

The hieroglyphs written on these coffins are so carelessly painted as to make it difficult to assign a definite date to the tombs, although the Greek or Roman period is indicated by the general style. I could readily believe them to be contemporaneous with some of the Jewish burials, which, from the style of the writing on the tablets, must be attributed either to the late Ptolemies or to the early Romans. The deceased buried in coffins were perhaps Egyptian officials, who desired to be distinguished from the foreign population of the city. If we had found them intact, it is very possible that, as in other instances, we should see them wearing amulets of an older epoch. The few scarabs which were brought to us by the Arabs, and which, as they said, were found in emptying the coffins, if they really came from there and not from the neighbouring Tell, are to be attributed to the desire of giving to the burials an Egyptian character. It is often noticeable in mummies of the Greek epoch. M. Maspero discovered at Sakkarah late Greek mummies adorned with beautiful amulets, now at the Boolak Museum, the origin of which can safely be traced to the Twelfth Dynasty. In assigning a date to a coffin there is no more unsafe criterion than the amulets, especially the scarabs.

#### THE CITY OF ONIAS.

One of the inscriptions of the Jewish cemetery reads *Ὀνιονπατηρ*,<sup>29</sup> and this leads us to ask whether we may adopt the identification generally [page 18] admitted of Tell el Yahoodieh with *Onion*, the city of Onias. Our information on this head is derived from Josephus, who, in several parts of his works, relates the history of the foundation of the city and of the temple, with, however, some slight differences of detail.

<sup>27</sup> “ Tanis, » ii. p. 20 et ff.

<sup>28</sup> Perrot et Chipiez, “ Hist, de l’Art,” vol. iii. p. 667.

<sup>29</sup> Plate iv. F.

It was in the time of the bloody wars between Antiochus Eupator and Juda Macchabæus. The Syrian king had made peace with the Jews ; but when he entered the temple of Jerusalem and saw how strong it was, he caused the enclosure wall to be razed, and he took with him the high priest Onias, called Menelaus, who was put to death at Bercea, in Syria, by the advice of Lisias, first general of Antiochus. The king replaced him by Alkimos, called also Iakimos, who was not of the family of high priests. The Jewish writer seems to regard the death of Menelaus as a just punishment for his ungodliness. Menelaus had a young nephew also called Onias, son of Onias, an elder brother of Menelaus who had been high priest. When the young man saw that the dignity of high priest was transferred by the king to another family, he fled to Egypt, where he was graciously received by Ptolemy Philometor, and his wife Cleopatra. Josephus assigns his flight to different motives. Now it is because Onias despairs of his country, which is oppressed by the Macedonians, and because he wishes to become illustrious and acquire eternal glory. Elsewhere Josephus explains how Onias was jealous of the Jews who remained in Jerusalem, and how he wished to draw away as many of his countrymen as possible, and to be their high priest, considering himself destined to fulfil a certain prophecy of Isaiah.

The Jewish writer quotes in full the letter which Onias wrote to Ptolemy. Onias says that travelling with the Jews, he reached *Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan Nome*, and other parts of the country, which is remarkable for the great number of its temples, and he adds : “ Now I have found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Bubastis. This place is full of materials of several sorts, and replenished with sacred animals. I desire, therefore, that you will grant me leave to purge this holy place which belongs to no master, and is fallen down, and to build there a temple to Almighty God after the pattern of that of Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; that it may be for the benefit of thyself and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony one with another, and be subservient to thy advantages ; for the prophet Isaiah foretold that there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God, and many other things did he prophesy relating to that place.” <sup>30</sup>

The sovereigns of Egypt received the request of Onias most favourably, and gave the following answer :—

“ King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias send greeting. We have read thy petition wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis, on which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold tins long ago, we give thee leave [**page 19**] to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have offended God herein.”

These letters are given by Josephus in his work on the Antiquities of the Jews. It is impossible not to be struck by the fact that, like many of the speeches recorded by Thucydides, they reflect the thoughts of the author who quotes them rather than those of the supposed writer. We can hardly give credit to Ptolemy and his queen for their piety which Josephus admires, nor is it easy to believe in the extreme caution with which, in this letter, they cast upon Onias the responsibility of breaking the Jewish law.

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<sup>30</sup> “ Antiquities of the Jews,” xiii. 3.

In his former work, on the War of the Jews, Josephus had already related the story of the foundation of the city. There Onias pleaded before the king the true political motive for which his request was to be granted : namely, the great advantage which Ptolemy would derive in his wars against Syria by conciliating the Jews, who, having most grievously suffered from Antiochus in their liberty and in their religion, were his fiercest and most persevering enemies. That probably was the reasoning which convinced Ptolemy, rather than the prophecy of Isaiah, or the desire that the religious law of the Jews should be observed.

The temple which Onias built is expressly said not to have been similar to that of Jerusalem in its outward appearance. It consisted of a tower built of stone, sixty cubits in height. The altar and the inner furniture were modelled after the pattern of those in the temple of Jerusalem, except only the candlestick, for which Onias substituted a golden lamp hanging from a golden chain. The whole temple as surrounded by a brick enclosure with stone gateways. Although the fact of Onias having erected a temple in Egypt was the cause of a schism among the Jews, the Jewish worship continued to be celebrated there during a term of 340 years : being respected and favoured by the Ptolemies, who endowed the temple with grants of land. During the persecution of the Jews, under Vespasian, that emperor ordered it to be destroyed. The governor of Alexandria, Lupus, and after him Paulinus, plundered the treasury, expelled the Jews, and shut up the temple, after having obliterated all traces of Jewish worship.

The question now arises : are we to consider Tell el Yahoodieh as the site of the city of Onias ? I believe it may be answered in the affirmative with as much certainty as is compatible with the fact that the name was not found on the spot. The necropolis, as we have seen, points undoubtedly to a Jewish settlement ; also, the place was in the Heliopolitan nome. The difficulty lies in the details which Josephus adds to the description of the site, and which are mentioned only in the letters.<sup>31</sup> He says that [page 20] the place chosen was called *Leontopolis of the Heliopolitan nome*, or *the fort of Bubastis agria*. Brugsch-Bey thinks that the name of Leontopolis is justified at Tell el Yahoodieh by the fact that he saw there fragments of statues of Bast which had been brought from the temple of Mut at Thebes. Those fragments had disappeared when I made my excavations, and nothing which I saw indicated a sanctuary dedicated to Bast. I am inclined to think that in the letters Josephus has mixed together and applied to one settlement circumstances which refer to several Jewish establishments. North of the Heliopolitan Nome was the Nome of Bubastis, i.e. the Nome of the lioness-headed or cat-headed goddess. In that Nome were several cities dedicated to Bubastis, and in one of them, the present Belbeis, was worshipped the goddess *Sekhet*, whose name has been translated in Greek, *Bubastis agria*.<sup>32</sup> This

<sup>31</sup> The following are all the passages of Josephus relating to the city of Onias :—

... λαμβάνει τόπον ἀξιώσας ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ, Ant. siii. 9. 7.

... εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ ἔθνους, xiii. 3. 1.

ἐπιτηδειότατον τόπον εὐρὼν ἐν τῷ πρᾶσαγορευομένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι ..., id.

... ἐπιτραπῆναι σοι τὸ ἐν Λεοντοπόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, πρᾶσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως, xiii. 3. 2.

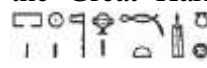
Πεισθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς λεγομένοις δίδωσιν αὐτῷ χώραν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις ἀπέχουσαν Μέμφεως. Νομὸς δ' οὗτος Ἡλιοπολίτης καλεῖται, ἐνθα φρούριον κατασκευσάμενος Ὀνίας τὸν μὲν ναὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ᾧ κοδόμησε τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, Bell. Jud. Viii. 10. 3.

οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου πρᾶσαγορευομένην χώραν κατέχοντες Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι, i. 9. 4.

<sup>32</sup> The country Bubastis, or Bubastis the huntress, Vid. lower, Belbeis.

city might very well be considered as a Leontopolis, of which there were several in Lower Egypt. Moreover, about six miles south of Belbeis there is another Tell el Yahoodieh, which bears the appearance of a ruined Roman settlement, covered by the sand. The tradition of a Jewish colony has in fact survived in various parts of that district. I might also quote the argument to which Josephus refers twice ; namely, the passage in Isaiah (xix. 18) :

“ In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts ; one shall be called, The City of Destruction. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord.”

The passage states clearly that there was more than one settlement, and it mentions that one shall be called *The City of Destruction*. The margin of the revised version gives the following note on the word destruction : *or, according to another reading, “ the sun.”* The Vulgate gives *civitas solis* ; the Septuagint a word which might be an Egyptian name, πόλις ἄσεδέκ ; the Coptic, as usual, follows the Septuagint, Ⲡⲃⲁⲕⲓⲉⲃⲉⲕ. The Hebrew is עִיר הַהֶרֶק ; while many authorities, among which the Chaldaean and Saadia, read הַהֶרֶק, *city of the sun*. If this last reading be adopted, it is interesting to notice that it would correspond to the name we found mentioned in the Great Harris papyrus, and which I have identified with Tell el Yahoodieh,  *the house of Ra, the sun, north of On*.


I believe we have the later name of Tell el Yahoodieh in two Roman official documents, namely, the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Notitia Dignitatum. I mentioned above that, in front of the eastern part of the enclosure, just in advance of the two artificial hills, which may have been part of a fortification, and which are separated by a gateway, there are remains of a Roman city, regularly built, where two main streets are distinctly traceable. It has all the appearance of a city where the houses were simultaneously built, and which might have been the abode of a military colony. It was suggested to me by Mr. Griffith that it might be the *Scenæ Veteranorum* of the Itinerary. Taking into account the positions of the other stations, I believe this identification coincides well with the data of the document, allowing always for [page 21] a margin of error which it is impossible not to recognize when the Itinerary is checked by the sight of actual ruins, and by explorations made on the spot.<sup>33</sup> *Scenæ Veteranorum* is mentioned twice : once on the road from Pelusium to Memphis,<sup>34</sup> at a distance of twenty-six miles from Thou, and twenty-four from Heliopolis ; again when<sup>35</sup> it is said to be twenty-two miles distant from Heliopolis and twenty-four from *Thou*, from which it is separated by *Vicus Judæorum*, situate midway between the two. The distance from Heliopolis is at least ten miles too long, even if the lowest number, twenty-two, is considered ; it is therefore impossible not to agree with Jomard (who also places *Scenæ Veteranorum* at Tell el Yahoodieh) in adopting for the first of the above quotations the reading 14 (miles) of several manuscripts, instead of 24 (miles). Another circumstance which induces me to think that *Scenæ Veteranorum* was the present Tell el Yahoodieh is the importance which the Romans gave to the place. The Notitia Dignitatum tells us that it was occupied by the cavalry of an Arab tribe called *Thamudeni*, and by a wing of *Rhætians*. There is no other place of the size of Tell el Yahoodieh between Heliopolis and Bubastis, and

<sup>33</sup> Vid. “ Store City of Pithom,” 3rd ed., Appendix I. and map.

<sup>34</sup> P. 163, ed. Wesseling.

<sup>35</sup> P. 169.

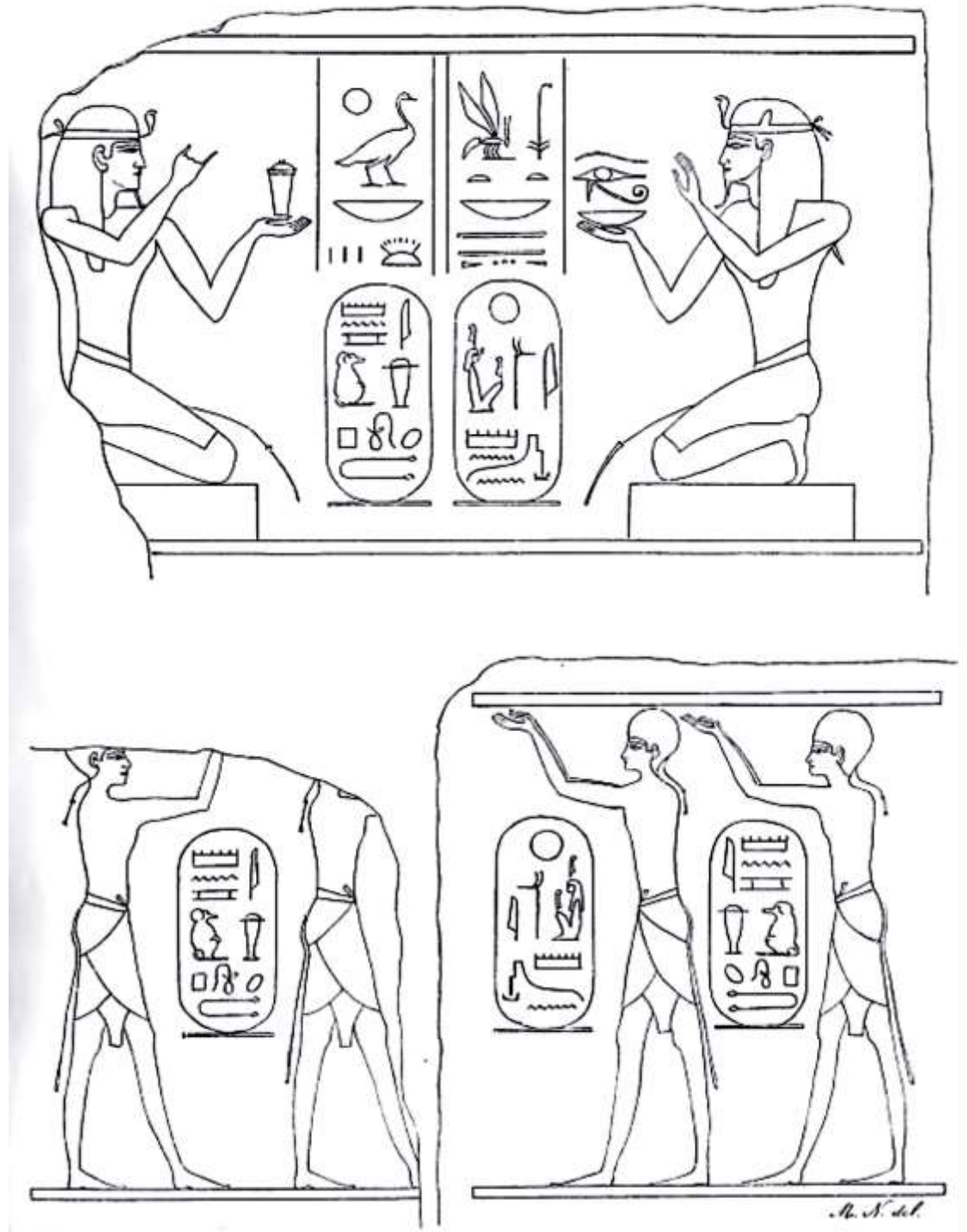
none so strongly fortified and so well adapted to receive a comparatively large garrison.

Summing up the results of this investigation, I venture to conclude that Tell el Yahoodieh was known in the time of Rameses III. as , *the house of Ra, on the north of On* ; this being the sacred name of the city. The civil name has not yet been discovered. After Ptolemy Philometor had granted to the Jews the right of settling in Egypt, and of building a temple, it became *Onion*, or the *city of Onias* ; and under the Romans it was called in the official documents *Scenæ Veteranorum*.

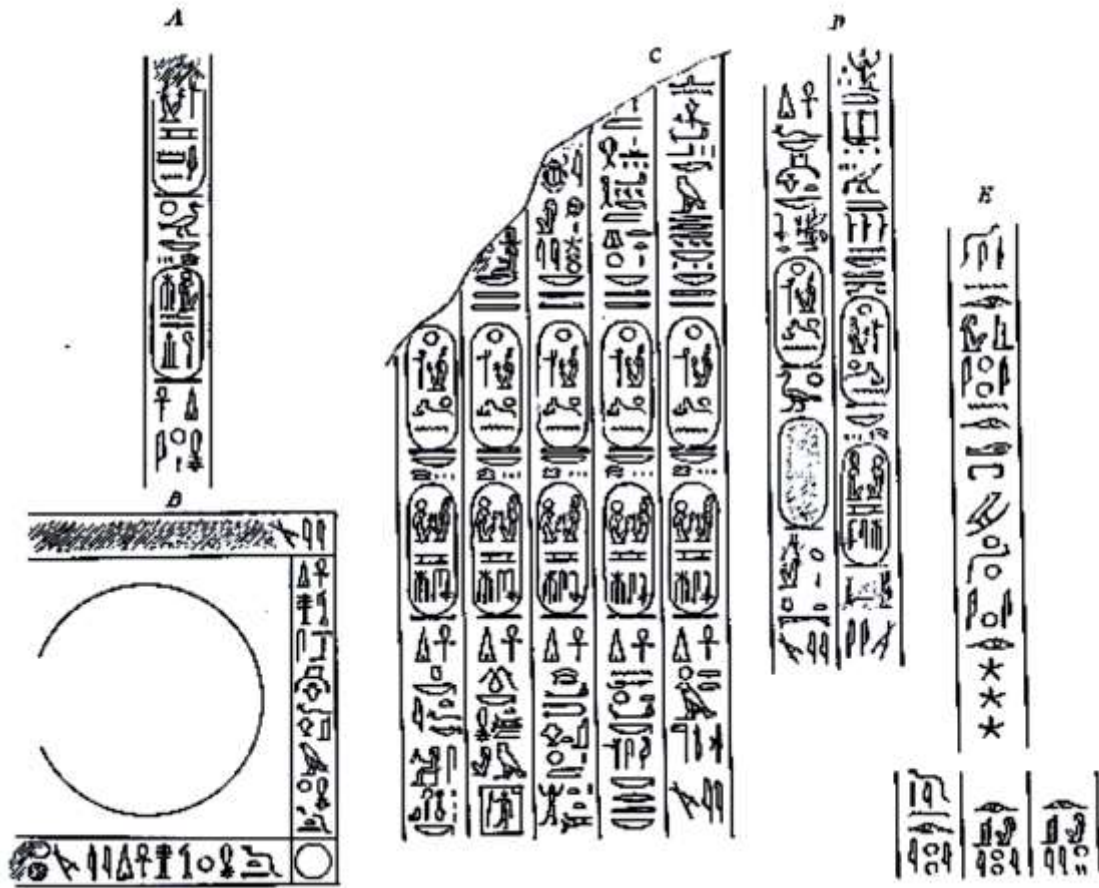
PLATES RELEVANT TO TELL EL-YEHOUDIEH

TELL EL YAHOODIEH

I





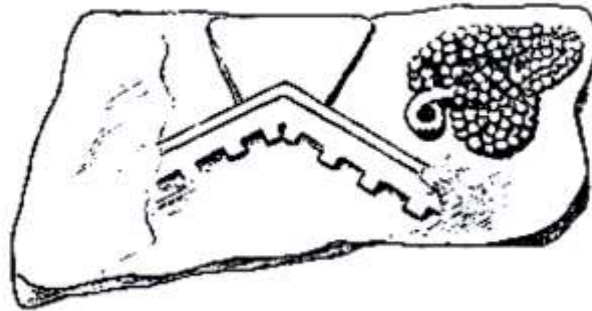


BELBEIS





A



B



C

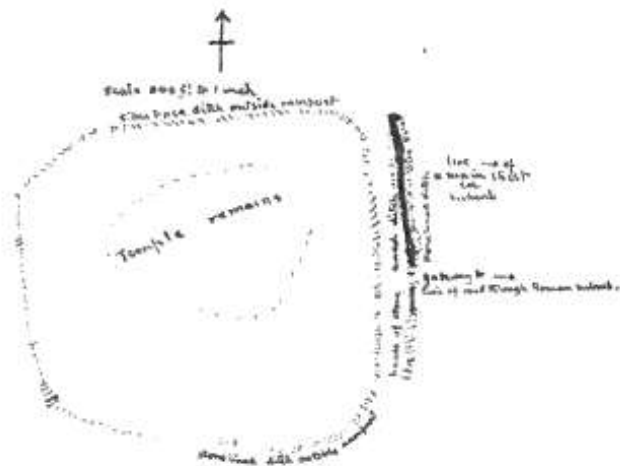


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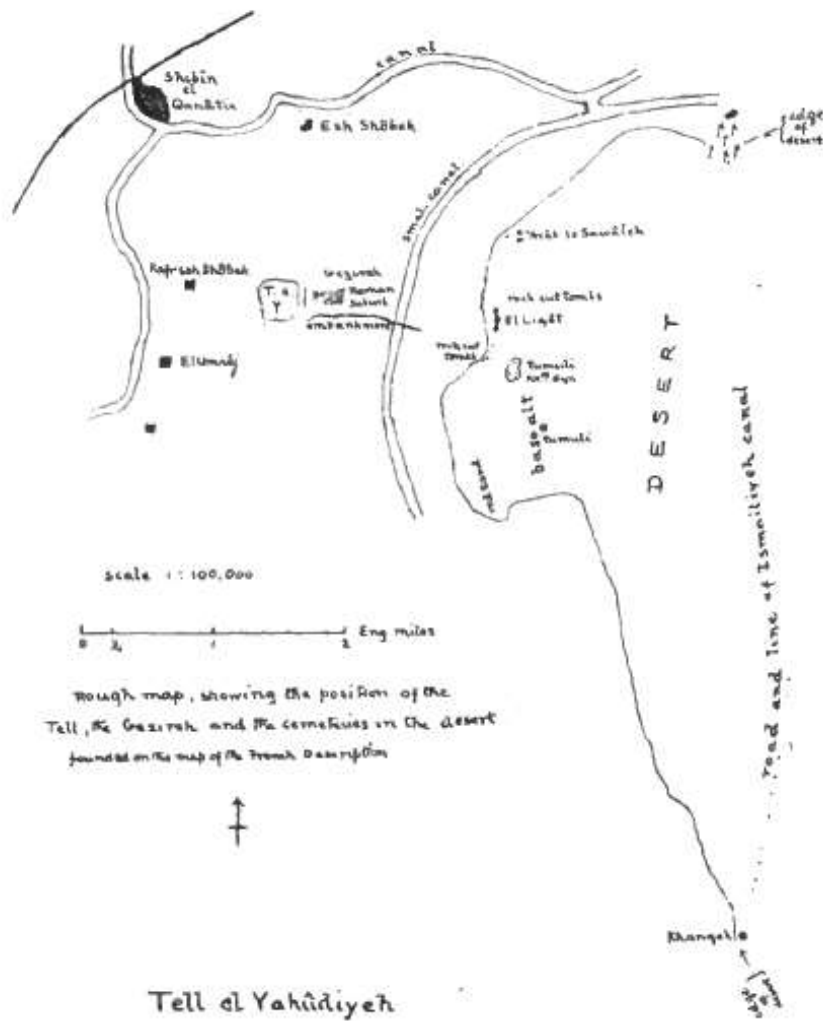


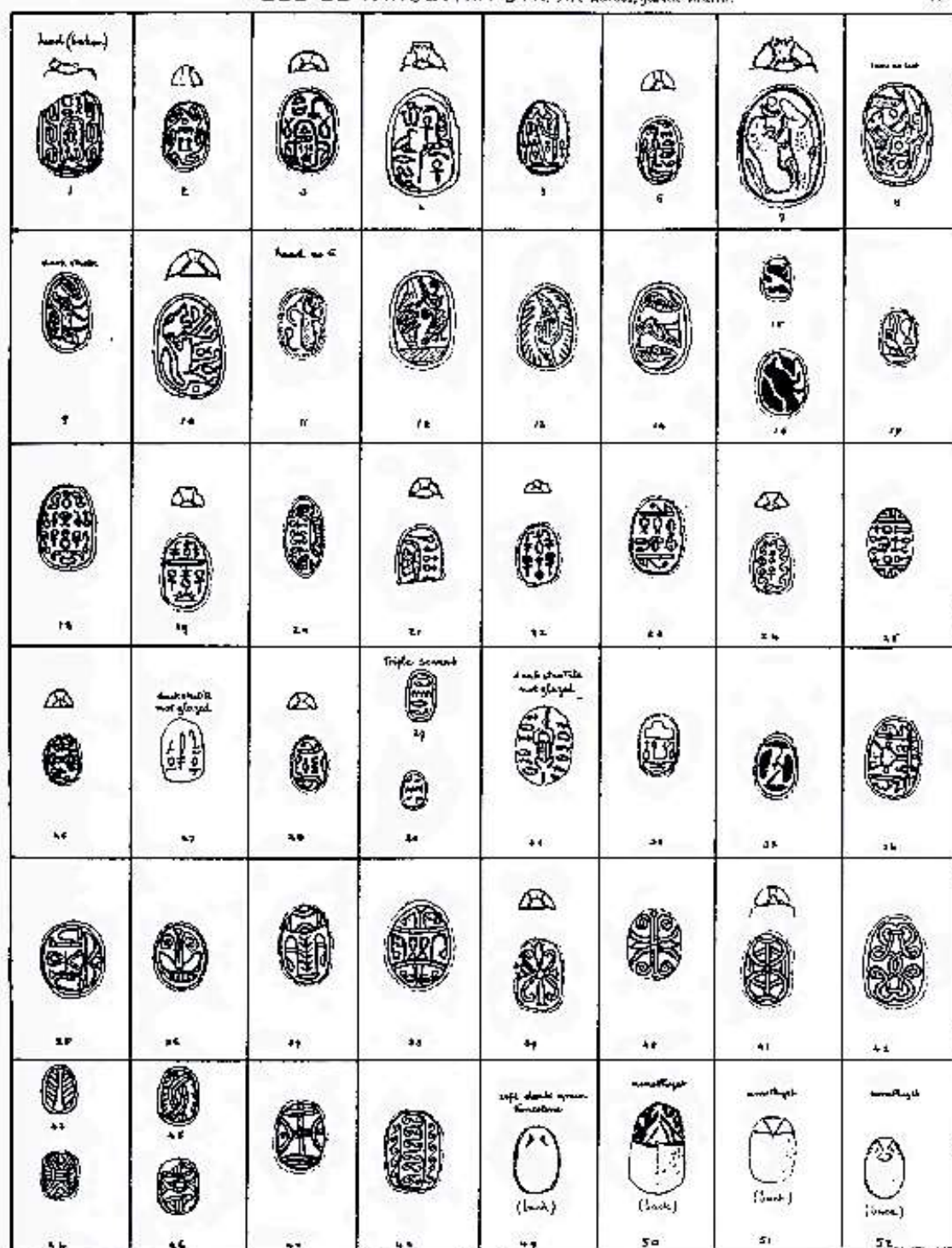
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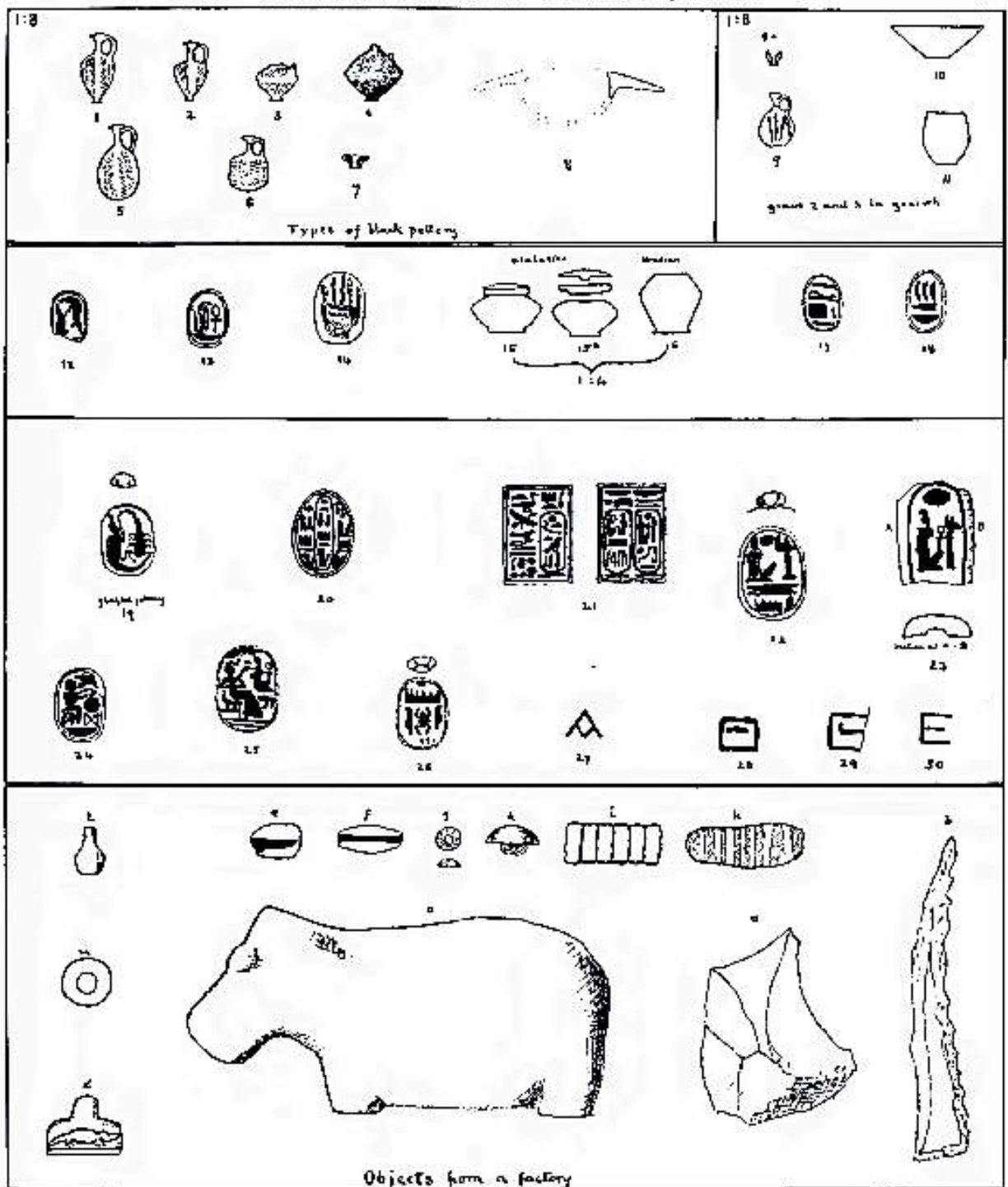


Plan of the Tellor fortified enclosure, showing the inner and outer ramparts of sand, the latter on the East crowned with crude brick walls.  
Scale 1:10,000







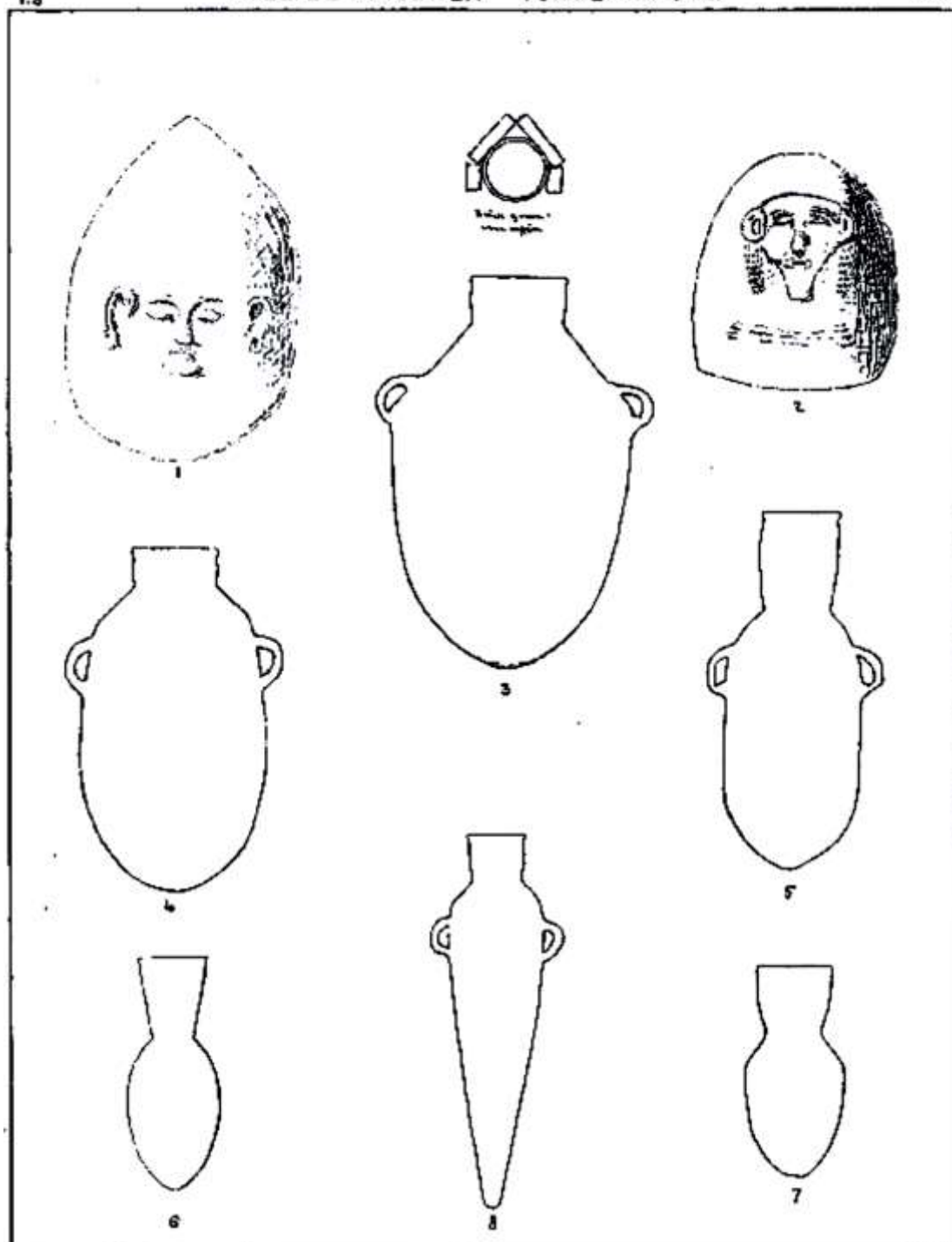




1. TUMULUS III, 10. 2. TUMULUS IV. 3. TUMULUS VIII.







From the tumuli Dyn xx

P. &amp; G. del.



