THE FINDING OF DAPHNÆ[1].

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Though the name of Daphnæ—the Pelusiac Daphnæ, as Herodotos calls it, to distinguish it from the Syrian Daphnæ—had long been connected with Tahpanhes of Jeremiah, and that again with Tell Defenneh, yet this connection was dependent on similarity of names alone, and had no monumental confirmation. No examination of Tell Defenneh had been made until this spring, beyond a passing view by travellers. I went, therefore, at the end of last March to a perfectly new ground for excavation; and if the result do not include all the points that deserve examination, it must be remembered that I only spent two months there altogether.

The principal conclusions arrived at are that Tahpanhes, the refuge of the Jewish fugitives, Daphnæ, the frontier fort of Egypt, the stratopeda, or camp of the Karian and Ionian mercenaries—which were the earliest settlements of the Greeks in Egypt—and Tell Defenneh are all identical. The site is about twelve miles west of Kantara, on the Suez canal, in the middle of the Desert between the canal and the delta.

I have before remarked on the importance, archæologically, of working in places whose history does not extend over a long period; a second-rate site, which had an abrupt beginning or end that is exactly known, is preferable to a place which has a less defined history, while another requisite for excavating is that there should not be a great mass of late and worthless accumulation above what is sought for. From the scientific-archæological point of view then, Tell Defenneh is a site of the highest class. Its history, so far as remains go, begins in a single

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year, about 665 B.C., when Psametichos I. settled here the army of Greek mercenaries by whom he had fought his way to the throne; building a large fort in the midst of a walled camp. Around this rapidly sprung up a Greek town of traders, which covered the plain for a mile across. Then the end of the Greek period falls as rapidly as its rise, when Amasis removed all the Greek troops from here in about 565 B.C., and absolutely crushed the Greek trade, granting exclusive privileges to the city of Naukratis. Thus the whole Greek period is entirely comprised here in just one century, and that a time before the age of which we are accustomed to obtain any trace in Greek sites. Daphnæ was desolated two generations before the Persian wars in Greece, and before Crœsus, or Cyrus, ruled; it flourished in the days of Draco and the Alcmæonidæ, and Solon saw its fall.

Besides the shortness and definiteness of its history, the site has another great recommendation, it is over nearly the whole of its surface entirely free from later remains. As one walks across the plain each potsherd beneath the feet is of the sixth century B.C.; and it is only in one small corner of the site that anything of subsequent times can be found. It is therefore a pattern site for research.

To touch, first of all, on the Jewish connection of Tahpanhes. We now see that this was the frontier fort on the high road between Syria and Egypt; the very first place in which a refugee from an Assyrian invader of Palestine would feel himself in safety; what took place when Jeremiah went down into Egypt with the Jewish refugees, had doubtless been going on during the excessive Babylonian invasions, the fugitives from which would reach Tahpanhes as the first place of refuge on the road, and find there a secure fortress, a high-road of commerce, and a non-Egyptian population, who would not repulse foreigners as the native Egyptians would. Such a place would inevitably be a resort of those who fled from Palestine before the great exodus there, of which Jeremiah gives the account. The connection which is shewn us by the name of the ruins of the palace at present is striking; the Arabs know it as "El Kasr el Bint el Yehudi," or "The palace of the Jew's daughter," and it is to this building that we can most certainly trace

the "king's daughters" of the Jewish royal family, according to the account recorded by Jeremiah. Yet another connection appeared when excavating the Kasr; opposite to the entrance was a great platform of brickwork, raised three or four feet above the ground; and Jeremiah records how he performed the ceremony of laying certain stones in the presence of the Jews, in "the brickwork (or pavement) which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes" (R.V.) This passage has been a stumbling-block to translators, even from the LXX downward, but now we see in the ruins of Pharaoh's house the exact explanation of the brickwork, or pavement, at the entry.

It must not be overlooked how important a part this Greek town had in the Hellenization of the Jewish race; before the fall of Jerusalem a large number of the upper classes of Jews had probably here lived side by side with Greeks, learned Greeks, and become accustomed to Greek thoughts and habits during their temporary exiles; while Josephus records, and Jeremiah intimates, that Nebuchadnezzar removed the Jewish refugees who had settled here with Jeremiah, and carried them to Babylon. Thus it is to Daphnæ and not to Alexandria, to the sixth century and not to the third century, B.C., that we must look for the introduction of Greek words and thoughts into Jewish literature.

To turn now to the bearing of this site in Greek history. As I have said, everything Greek here falls between 665 and 565 B.C., according to the statements of Herodotos, which agrees with what we find on the spot. That this site was the stratopeda or camp, we gather from the notice that they were near the sea, a little way below Bubastis upon the Pelusiac branch, a description which defines pretty closely the neighbourhood of Defenneh; and as no other Greek site is known anywhere along the Pelusiac branch, which country I know tolerably well, it is to Defenneh that we must look. Psametichos I. is said, to have settled the Greeks there, and I found the deposits beneath the corners of the fort bearing his names; Amasis is said to have removed them from there, and all the flood of Greek pottery entirely ceases in his reign. The very name "the camp" shews the object of the place, and we find here a great camp inhabited by Greeks. Nothing is

wanting of the characteristics which are recorded of this settlement.

The most important group of Greek remains found here is, however, more closely dated within the century of the settlement. In two chambers outside of the palace were thousands of pieces of painted Greek vases, thrown out here when they had been accidentally broken; and these vases were accompanied by a curious kind of historical labels, for mixed with them were pieces of the plaster sealings of wine jars, and even whole jar necks sealed up and marked with the king's names. In this way we can date this limbo of broken vases to about 595 to 565 B.C. On sorting over the fragments of painted pottery (all of which I brought to England, about ten thousand in number), it was possible to put together many parts of vases, and some were nearly complete. Two of the best vases, however, were found separately thrown away in other chambers, and hence could be collected and repaired with more certainty. These vases, thus dated are of the greatest value for the history of vase painting, as probably no other find so extensive and of such well defined age, has ever been made in Greece or elsewhere. And what renders this the more satisfactory is that on comparing half-a-dozen varieties, which are identical with those found and dated by the strata at Naukratis, the collection here would be thus placed at exactly the same range, historically, as we have already stated. The data are wholly different, the sites are different, but the chronological results are the same. Generally speaking, however, the isolation between Daphnæ and Naukratis is very striking: and it may even be said that every kind of painted vase commonest at one site is very rare or unknown at the other. This isolation is far beyond what we can conceive of, if the source of the painted pottery was through Greek trade; if Naukratis and Defenneh, two settlements of Ionians, of the same age, trading in all probability to just the same places and certainly to the same coasts, shew an almost total difference in their possessions, the only inference is that the bulk of what we find was in each case made on the spot. Now we know that pottery was largely made at Naukratis; not only are their potters specially mentioned in later ages, but certain varieties are

never found elsewhere, and this year one such bowl was found by Mr. Gardner with the inscription painted on it "to Aprodite in Naukratis," while at Defenneh we find a type of vase, which is wholly unknown before in Greek vases, and is manifestly copied from the Egyptian metal *situla*; and further, on this class of vases are Egyptian subjects painted by Greeks. Thus the local evidences of manufacture exactly bear out the inference drawn from the complete isolation of all the principal types. When we consider that Greeks were certainly largely settled here for trade and manufactures, and that it was far easier to transport a ton of rough clay to Egypt than a ton of fragile and bulky vases, the probabilities of the case also confirm this conclusion.

Not only did the Greeks make vases here, but they had a large iron factory in the camp. Iron ore is found here, lumps of iron slag lie scattered all over a large area, iron scraps and arrow heads are abundant, while a considerable number of tools in good condition have been found. Chisels, knives, pokers, fish-hooks and arrows occur here, just as at Naukratis, while several objects, such as a sword with guarded handle, horses' bits, lance heads, scale armour, a plough share, and some curious rasps of sheet iron are new types. At Naukratis, whose history covers a long range, I concluded that this class of iron work was of the sixth century B.C., and now at Defenneh we find similar objects certainly fixed to the first half of that century.

Beside iron, bronze was also smelted and wrought here. Copper, slag, pieces of crucibles, and scraps of copper are abundant in the camp, while bronze arrow heads are found by the hundred. Bowls, chisels, and knives have been obtained, but bronze is distinctly not so common here as iron, and seems to have been the more valuable metal. Lead was also smelted, as some ore has been found, besides leaden net sinkers.

Jewellers appear to have abounded here; their gold they naturally took care of, but their small weights for weighing precious metals are found here by the thousand; altogether I collected in two months two thousand weights, the greater part of which are of minute sizes not exceeding one or two pennyweights,

and were evidently used for precious materials. Some evidences of the jewellery, however, remain, as gold earrings and scraps are far commoner here than in any other place I have seen, seventy earrings or pieces being found during my stay. Some pieces, moreover, shew the manufacturer's presence, such as unfinished earrings, pieces cut out with a chisel, melted drops, &c. This, therefore, appears to be the most likely source for much of the quasi-oriental Greek jewellery found in early tombs; the Greek workmen here was living in Egypt, yet on the high road to Assyria and Phœnicia, and hence all the circumstances would favour an orientalized Greek style.

Turning now to the Egyptian side of the antiquities, we have first the noble gold handle of a tray, which, though possibly made by the Greek jewellers, is yet purely Egyptian in style. It has been inlaid, but all the stone or glass had disappeared when it was found. It seems to have belonged to a flat tray, probably also of gold, and to have been violently wrenched off: found in this state in a camp we can hardly view it as other than soldiers' loot, and in the civil war between Apries and Amasis, we may well see the occasion when an Egyptian soldier would loot Egyptian plate. This probably was part of the royal table service of Apries, and is certainly the only large piece of Egyptian gold work which has come down to us of a domestic object, neither sepulchral nor religious. It was found with some lumps of silver, buried on the east of the palace.

Another fine object is the gold statuette of Ra, which was found in the little silver shrine, or amulet box, by which it was worn suspended from the neck. The figure is of the best work of the Saitic period, and the box is unique. It was found lying on the denuded surface of the ground by one of my workmen, who brought it up to us unopened, with just the toes of the statuette shewing beneath the lid, which was partially withdrawn.

A silver bowl and silver dipper were also found, along with several pounds weight of silver in lumps, at the S.E. corner of the camp. The bowl and dipper were kept for the Bulak Museum. The amount of silver found in scraps of all sizes, from a few grains weight up to

a pound, probably represent the hoards of people before the introduction of coined money into Egypt in the Persian period. When precious metals were always weighed out, a quantity of scraps of silver of all sizes would be the equivalent of a purse of money in later times. Such hoards then do not represent a silversmith's store, as they would in Roman times, but are rather the parallel to hoards of coins, such as I have found at Naukratis and Tell Nebesheh.

The most important find historically was that of the foundation deposits, beneath the corners of the fort built by Psametichos I. Beneath each corner, within a foot of the bottom of the brickwork, were placed the plaques of different materials all inscribed with his cartouches. On scraping away the sand carefully with the hands the various pieces came to light of gold, silver, copper, lead, carnelian, green felspar, lapis lazuli, jasper, a large plaque of green glazed ware, and a model mudbrick. At the S.E. corner was a larger deposit, and it seems to have been regarded as the more important corner. First there lay lowest of all the set of plaques as at the other corners; but with them was the libation vase of green-glazed ware, and a half disc of alabaster of unknown purport: over these lay a pair of full-sized corn grinders, models of such had been found in other foundation deposits at Naukratis and since then, but the full sized objects—such as were in domestic use—have not been found before; these show that some ceremony of grinding corn existed at the foundation of a building. Over these again were the bones of an ox, not the whole, but the legs, head, and some ribs; they were not burnt, and must have been laid here as a sacrifice, probably in the form of joints cut from the carcase. A few inches of sand had been laid over them, and the foundation brickwork placed upon the whole deposit. This shews us that there was not merely a ceremony of laying samples in the ground, but also a sacrificial rite, and this is borne out by finding under a corner of an additional building of the palace a hole in the sand filled with bird's bones and charcoal, a burnt sacrifice of pigeons probably. Some pieces of lead ore and copper ore were also found in the south-east deposit; and as both lead and copper appear to have been smelted

here, it is possible that these refer to the fort being intended partly to protect the trade in ores from Asia. The whole subject of foundation deposits has yet to be examined, but, judging from the five places in which we have found them last year and this, they will prove a very interesting subject, the more so as they are all undisturbed exactly as they were left in the days of the founders.

Many of the usual little blue amulets of the Egyptian deities were found in the palace and the camp; and though not of value in themselves, they are useful as being dated specimens with which the thousands of others in our museums may be compared. Some curious little figures of captives roughly carved in limestone were found on the east of the palace; they are represented as bound in the usual and unpleasant fashion with the ancles and elbows tied tight together. The only object that has been suggested for a number of such figures is in draughtsmen for playing a game on the sand, into which they could be stuck as pegs. Several silver rings, or bezels, were found which had belonged to various priests and religious functionaries; but which are not of historical importance. The sealings of the wine jars, which have been mentioned before, are of great value historically, as serving to date the age of different deposits or chambers in which they may be found; two whole jar necks, each with their original cap of plaster stamped with the royal cartouches, were turned up, and one of these had been broached in ancient times, and fraudulently plastered over again. These sealings bear the stamp of Psametichos I, Necho, Psametichos II and Amasis. The large quantity of unpainted pottery, which has been found here, is not the least valuable of the results of the exploration, as we now have a fairly complete series of all the forms made in the twenty-sixth dynasty; and in the absence of dated pottery in our museums, such a series is really a part of the foundations for a complete systematic treatment of the subject. Several types of pottery known before at Naukratis and elsewhere are now found complete and dated, and help to fill up our general knowledge of the types as well as confirming remarkably the conclusions arrived at from the stratified deposits of Naukratis. Thus this work at

Defenneh this year has been the complement and corroboration in many ways of the results of Naukratis the year before; while the comparison of the two places shews many points which neither could have taught us singly.

We will now review shortly the other work which has fallen to us this past season in Egypt. First I went to Naukratis with Mr. Ernest Gardner who was to take up the work there as a Hellenist, and Mr. Griffiths soon after joined us. My business there was only to start the work, and then to leave for a more Egyptian site; but I had the great satisfaction of finding the temple of Aphrodite, and of getting it into full bearing, with the beds of inscribed pottery affording dozens of dedications, before I handed it over to Mr. Gardner on my leaving. This he afterwards worked out with great success, and has brought home even more dedicated pottery than we had from the temple of Apollo last year. After making enquiries I agreed with him to try a mound which I had looked at last year, and the first hour of his digging shewed us a great tomb; we had reached a part of the cemetery, and during the rest of the season he was working out this cemetery mound. Unhappily it was not very rich, probably the better cemetery lies under an Arab village, but it was still a piece of work worth doing. Mr. Gardner found in the town the site of the temple of Hera mentioned by Herodotus; but unhappily it had been nearly all grubbed during the last ten years, and scarcely anything remained. While at Naukratis I tried the approach to the Pan-Hellenion, where I found two marble rams last year; and there uncovered more pieces of similar rams, and a large red granite sphinx, headless, and broken in three pieces, but yet shewing that there had been a grand avenue of sphinxes and rams leading from the landing place on the canal up to the entrance of the Great Temenos or Pan-Hellenion. This seems like a parallel to the earlier avenue of statues which Professor Newton found bordering the Sacred Way at Branchidœ. The fragments of the temple of the Dioscuri I was also happy enough to find at Naukratis, in the temenos I discovered last year; and many pieces of the painted fresco pattern, in chequers of red, blue, and white, besides many more pieces of dedicated pottery were also obtained. The whole of these discoveries were made in

less than a month, though the working out of the temple of Aphrodita and the cemetery occupied Mr. Gardner two or three months more; and seeing that everything was in good bearing I then went over to the opposite side of the Delta with Mr. Griffith to a place I had looked at two years before, called Tell Nebesheh. Here was the back of a great monolithic shrine of granite, which originally weighed some sixty tons, still standing up in the midst of a dusty mound of earth. The first day I dug there we found another of the twelfth dynasty, the second day a piece of a statuette with the Egyptian name of the place; and in less than a month we had found the extent of the temple, the great temenos wall around it, the pylon, and two or three large blocks of sculpture. Besides this we had worked a cemetery there, and opened hundreds of tombs, ranging from about 1200 B.C. to Roman times, but mostly of about 600 B.C.; these tombs afforded many bronze spear heads, always in connection with Cypriote pottery, shewing apparently the presence of a colony of Cypriote mercenaries at this place; and it was remarkable that the bodies lay nearly always with the head to the east, and but once to the south; while in the contemporary Egyptian tombs here the bodies lay nearly always to the west and occasionally to the north, exactly the opposite directions. The Egyptian tombs were also fruitful, hundreds of blue glazed figures of the slaves who were to work for the deceased were found, often more than 200 in one tomb; four bodies bearing a complete set of amulets, fifty or sixty on each body were found untouched, and we removed all the amulets and noted their exact places; I have since mounted them on cards in their original order. The most important result of the work here was finding the name of the city, no less than eight times on different monuments; the position of the city of Am had long been in doubt, but now it is securely fixed to this site. After seeing that this place was in full bearing I then left it to Mr. Griffith, and went on a tenting tour in the Delta to visit several places which were as yet unknown to archæology. Last year, in the course of studying Ptolemy's geography—that grand work, which is one of the sturdiest strides that science ever made—I had concluded that the site of the long lost city of Buto must be close to a mound

marked Tell Ferain on the map. To this Tell, therefore, I first went, and when I was yet six or eight miles from it I saw the long line of mounds rising above the level horizon; each mile nearer it looked more imposing, and the more certain was I that Buto lay before me. At last, going to the top of the mound, I found I was on but one of three great mounds; two of them were piles of houses rising sixty feet in height and stretching for about a mile, while the third was an enormous enclosure like the great temple enclosure of Tanis; the wall of this area is still over 30 feet high, and the length is 900 feet, the circuit extending over half-a-mile. Within this space are heaps of fragments of stone all from the destruction of the temple; doubtless many pieces of statues remain here, perhaps whole figures, beneath these heaps. Perhaps somewhat of the gigantic monolith shrine of granite, 60 feet in each direction, described by Herodotus might be found. Wishing to note the name of the small Arab village on our side of the mounds I enquired what it was called, and to my great surprise the answer was Ubtu; remembering how Assuan represents Syene, how Assiut stands for the ancient Siut, and Abusir in so many places for Busiris, Ubtu is the exact equivalent of Buto. Here then is a place just agreeing to what we should expect, in exactly the right position, without a rival in size nearer than Sais or Mendes, a city of the first class, and bearing the true Arab equivalent for the ancient name Buto.

After this I visited many other sites, some of them worth working in; and found a curious group of remains in the centre of the Delta which have never been noticed before. There are three large camps, the most striking of which is Tell Tambul; on approaching this one sees a long bank of earth thirty to forty feet high, and climbing up it one finds oneself on one side of a great enclosed plain, about half-a-mile in each direction. The banks appear confused in their nature at first, but on examining different parts I found that the camp had originally been made about the early Ptolemaic time, by a built wall of coarse brick, much like the great temple enclosures; and that after this fell into disrepair it had been re-formed, probably in Roman days, by heaping a bank of earth over it all round, so as to make a camp of the Roman type. This is in

rather a wild district, though it is well within the Delta; I found the people less polite than usual, and the shekh of the village where I stopped insisted on my sleeping in his house—under lock and key—while he sent off a messenger in the dark to bring up the police early next morning to inspect me, fearing I had some connection with a party of brigands. It is all very well to talk about coming to see old mounds, but you cannot expect a reasonable man to believe that tale. My host was too clever for that. So after I had a very civil greeting from the public officer, I left him to settle matters with the shekh and went on my way.

On my return from this tour I found that Mr. Griffith had been very successful; following out the buildings we had begun upon he had found a large statue of Ramessu the Great, and some other sculptures at the temple, and three great sarcophagi in the cemetery, one of them a very fine inscribed one of basalt.

He had left to examine another temple site about three miles away; and there found, among many other things, the remains of a splendid shrine of wood, inlaid with glass mosaics; the woodwork had unhappily all perished, but the beautiful glass figures were found in the sand by dozens. So soon as I returned, seeing the corners of the temple at Nebesheh left bare after the work was finished there, I thought I would try for foundation deposits. In an hour or two the men reached some pottery, and I took out a couple of dozen model vases in brown pottery from the S.W. corner of the ground on which the now destroyed temple had stood; these lay just at the water level. Groping down deeper beneath the water I brought up a green porcelain plaque in the handful of sand; rubbing it clear I read the name of Aahmes (or Amasis) and then knew the founder of the temple, about 550 B.C.; groping again I found plaques of gold, silver, copper, lead, and different stones beneath the water. Of course the other corners were at once attacked, and there, by making arrangements for rapid baling beforehand, I obtained all the deposits in their original order clearly exposed, and was able to make plans of their position before disturbing them.

I had long noticed that this temple was not in the middle of its enclosure or temenos, and suspected another temple

beneath the surface. Trying several pits I hit on a trace of the enclosing wall around a foundation, and at last we had the whole outline of the foundation of a large temple defined; this, as I expected, was the earlier temple, as Mr. Griffith found a statue with the name of Ramessu II. (about 1200 B.C.) lying on a part of the foundation. This appeared after I had left for Defenneh, and great efforts were made to reach the foundation deposits of the early temple; but the water level of the country has risen so much—probably a dozen feet since it was founded—that it proved impossible without special apparatus.

Mr. Griffith then passed by me at Defenneh, and went on to Kantara: there the mound has been so much dug up by the French engineers of the Suez Canal that but little was obtained. The most important result being rather more than half of a long inscription of Diocletian recording the first wing of the Thracian legion as being stationed here. The inscription is otherwise an exact duplicate of one at Siut, and seems to have been a standard official inscription erected at several places. Of the work which I carried on at Defenneh at the close of this season I have already rendered an account in the first part of this paper. Such has been the result of my last winter's work in Egypt, and I only regret that (for the present, at least) I shall not be undertaking another such campaign with the Egypt Exploration Fund.