

The North Sinai Road in the Graeco-Roman Period

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Some 240 km of desert sea-coast, with shifting sand-dunes and salted marshes, separate the fertile regions of the Nile delta on the west from the southern Palestinian coast on the east, at the meeting-point of the African and Asian continents. This region constitutes the northernmost part of the Sinai peninsula. Despite harsh natural conditions, the most salient being the almost total lack of drinking water, the area is known to have had an important role, both in the historical past and in recent political developments. Archaeological surveys¹ agree with the ancient written sources to the effect that the region in question, including its western part around Lake Serbonis or Bardawil, was quite densely settled during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Yet the two facts, namely the historico-political importance of the region and its density of settlement, cannot be considered as necessarily deriving from each other. While the first is obviously a consequence of the area being the geographic and political border between Egypt and Syria, the second may be explained by the change of course of the old Egyptian highway that for more than a thousand years had served traffic in the region from one end to the other. This Pharaonic road is occasionally mentioned in the Bible as the Way of the Sea, which may in part be identified with the famous “Via Maris” of later sources (Meshel 1973).²

- 1 The first survey of the region was conducted by the French archaeologist J. Clédat in the years 1909–1924; see *Bibliography* below. Other surveys have been conducted by Israeli archaeologists since 1967, see E. Oren, ‘Survey of North Sinai,’ in Z. Meshel and I. Finkelstein (eds.), *Sinai in Antiquity* (Tel Aviv 1980) 129–146 (Hebrew), and *Bibliography* below.
- 2 A schematic map accompanying the present article is meant to illustrate the course of the ancient roads in the area and the relative location of sites and settlements along them; see p. 65.

My purpose here is to present certain considerations suggested by the written sources to account for the change in the course of that main road at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period. These are reasons of a practical nature, such as the combined use of sea and land forces by the Greek armies. In order to make the problem and the proposed solution more easily accessible, I will first describe the course of the ancient Pharaonic military road, then the sequence of Hellenistic and Roman settlements along the new coastal road, and finally the Greek military tactics that favoured the use of the new route and its subsequent development.

1. *The Course of the Ancient Pharaonic Road*

Despite the fact that a caravan route linking Egypt with Asia had been in use since time immemorial, a formal road connecting both continents does not seem to have existed in the region before the Twelfth Dynasty. This road, which the Egyptians called Har-Horu, the Way of Horus, because it ran towards the rising sun, identified with Horus, is attested by three documents, each of a very different tenor: the oldest one is the *Story of Sinuhe* (20th cent. BCE; Pritchard 1950, 18-22), the second is *P Anastasi I* (13th cent. BCE; *ibid.* 478), and the third is the pictorial description of Seti I's march against Canaan (1309–1291 BCE), carved on a wall of Amun's temple at Karnak. This third document is by far the most explicit of the three, as it includes the line of fortresses with which the Egyptians had planned to protect the road along its entire length. The fortresses represented were numbered and studied some seventy years ago by Gardiner, who naturally tried to identify them on the map (Gardiner 1920).

The road left Egypt near a fortified city on the eastern side of the Delta, linked to the waters of the Nile by a navigable canal which the Egyptians called the Waters of Horus. The city was named Tjaru, later Sele or Sile, and today it is identified with Tel Abu-Seife (Oren 1982, 8-9). Tjaru, a fortified city which was the real gate to Egypt, played a vital commercial and strategic role for centuries up to the Persian period. It declined in face of the growing importance of the Greek emporium of Pelusium, near the ancient fortress of Sin or San, on the Mediterranean coast, some 25 km to the north. Pelusium, today represented by the ruins of Tel Farama (*ibid.* 14-16), was connected to the interior of Egypt by the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. To connect it with Asia, a new section of road had to be built, linking the new capital of the eastern Delta to the ancient Pharaonic road, the Way of Horus. Thus Pelusium, and not Tjaru, now became the starting point of the main road leading to Asia.

The stations, or fortresses, along the ancient road continued to perform their protective function. They made up the "Wall," sometimes mentioned in the Egyptian sources. The first fortress after Tjaru was most likely Migdol, often referred to in the Bible, and once the seat of an important Jewish colony.³ An enormous fortress dating from the Persian period was discovered by an Israeli team surveying Tel el Heir, 8 km south-east of Tel Farama; this fortress probably represents a later stage of the ancient Egyptian fortress at Migdol (*ibid.* 14–18).

The next fortress and station on the road may possibly be located at the present Beduin oasis-settlement of Qatia, some 20 km south-east of Tel Farama and 2 km south of the present main road. It has an abundant source of water, and we know from various sources that a fixed settlement existed here during the Middle Ages (*ibid.* 46).

The location of the remaining fortresses and road-stations between Qatia and today's El-'Arish, which represents the ancient city of Rhinocorura (*ibid.* 26), must be sought along a track of about 100 km adjacent to other water resources. This section of the road passed very near the southern limit of the Sirbonis, today the Bardawil lagoon. Jean Clédat, the first archaeologist to explore the region, recorded three wells along the road. In his view, these represent ancient water resources. They are Bir en-Nuss, Bir el-'Abed and Bir el-Mazar (Clédat 1910, 210). As for the first, though not mentioned in any other account, it was recorded by the British survey some 12 km west of Qatia. Important remains from the Egyptian period were excavated at Bir el-'Abed by the Israeli survey team (Oren 1982, 10-11). This spot may actually represent the location of an Egyptian fortress. Bir el-Mazar, situated 40 km from Bir el-'Abed and the same distance from El-'Arish, has yielded Roman and Byzantine pottery, but no evidence of any ancient Egyptian presence. (*ibid.* 26).

El-'Arish lies on the coast, and it certainly represents not only Hellenistic and Roman Rhinocorura, but also one of the fortresses on the ancient Egyptian military road (Gardiner 1920, 115).

The next fortress was at Raphia, the oldest settlement in the region, apart from Gaza; it is mentioned in Egyptian sources (Pritchard 1950, 234;254;478). Its importance in the history of the later Egyptian-Syrian border is well known. On the coast-line between Raphia and Gaza many ancient military and commercial installations, as well as actual settlements, have been reported by archaeologists (Abel 1939-40; Oren 1982, 28).

3 Exod. 14:2; Num. 33:7; Jer. 43:28; 44:1; 46:14; Ezech. 29:10; 30:6. Cf. Hdt. 2.30 and 152.

The ancient Egyptian military road was still in existence during the Persian period, and it partly served the Persian invaders in the sixth century BCE. First of all, however, Cambyses II had to rely on the consent and help of a non-Egyptian element in the region, namely the Arabs, who controlled the whole part of the coast from near Gaza to the Serbonian marshes (Hdt. 3. 5–9). We do not know for sure whether the road itself was in their hands. What is certain is that when, in 332, Alexander the Great marched into Egypt it took him only six days to get from Gaza to the gates of Pelusium (Curt. 7. 2-3). More than a thousand years earlier, Thothmes III and his forces had traversed the same region, from Tjaru to Gaza, in ten days, most probably passing through all the ten road-stations or fortresses which were later depicted at Karnak by Sethi I. However, only half of the route followed by Thothmes, and by other military leaders and their armies coming from both directions, was taken by Alexander in 332 BCE. Instead, on arriving at Rhinocorura, he did not continue along the ancient military road, but proceeded by way of the Mediterranean coast. The ancient road passed *south* of the Bardawil lagoon. Alexander's route passed *north* of the lagoon, that is, along the narrow sandbank that constitutes its northern limit. From now on this would be the normal route followed by armies, traders and simple travelers of all kinds, and new and prosperous settlements would flourish along its path.

2. *Hellenistic and Roman Settlements Along the Coastal Road*

1. *Pelusium* was not an ancient Pharaonic settlement. It probably came into existence as a colony of Greek mercenaries, particularly Ionians and Carians, established by Psammetichus at the site called "The Camps, opposite each other on either side of the Nile;" these places, Herodotus wrote, were "near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called Pelusian" (Hdt. 2. 154). The natural defenses of the city were the marshes and pits surrounding it, as attested by many ancient writers, among them Eratosthenes, who called them by the generic name *Barathra*, "marshes" (Str. 16.1.12).⁴ Pelusium's importance was more strategic than commercial, and its conquest was of vital interest to any potential conqueror of Egypt. It fell to Alexander without resistance, and from then on it served the political and military purposes of all subsequent

4 See also Strabo 1.3.4; 16.2.33; D.S. 19.93.3; 20.73.3.

Greek and Roman rulers of Egypt, though enduring sieges and conquests right up to the invasion of Egypt by the Moslems in 639.⁵

2. Starting at Pelusium, the first village met with on the road to Syria in Hellenistic and Roman times was *Gerrha* (or *Gerrhon*; from the 4th cent. CE it was also called *Geros* or, mostly, *Geras*).⁶ The distance between the two localities has been recorded variously as 10 miles (*PRyl.* 627-630), 8 miles (Peutinger) or 50 stadia (Sozomen 8.19). Between the two, Strabo places “the pits near Pelusium” and the “palisade of Chabrias” (Str.16.2.3). Probably mentioned already in a 3rd cent. BCE papyrus,⁷ *Gerrha* was called “a small town” by Sozomen in the 5th cent. CE, although he reported it as having a bishop (Sozomen 8.9). Its relative importance derived from its location on the outskirts of Pelusium, determining that town’s border-line with the Casiotic region, as Ptolemy’s expression “the border station (or “fort”) *Gerrhon*” (Ptol.4.5.5; see n. 6) leads us to understand. It had a harbour, which not only served the local fishermen, but was also the starting point of the important road to Arsinoë traversing the entire isthmus (Plin. 6.33.167). The commercial importance of the spot may have played a part in *Gerrha*’s foundation, but certainly not before the conquest of Alexander. *Gerrha* has been identified by archaeologists with the site today called El-Mehmediyeh.⁸

3. The next settlement along the road passing north of the Serbonis was a place called *Pentaschoenum* (Pentaschoinon), which, according to the most reliable source (*PRyl.* 627-630), was situated 20 miles to the west of *Gerrha* and 16 to the east of Casium. Its name suggests that it was primarily a road-station, about five walking hours (the length of the unit called *schoinos* varies in the sources from 60 to 30 stadia) from a better known spot, which might have been Mount Casius. That it was also a settlement, possibly with a

5 One of these sieges was carried out by Mithridates of Pergamum and his ally Antipater the Idumaeen. The latter succeeded in entering the city by opening a breach in its wall (J. BJ 4.189–190).

6 For a comprehensive survey of the references to this hamlet in the sources and the various forms of its name see D. Feissel, ‘Notes d’Épigraphie Chrétienne (7),’ *BCH* 108 (1984) on pp. 559–63 and 579.

7 *PAlex.* 1.3; for details see n. 6 above. Two references to the *Gerrhaeans* in 3rd cent. BCE documents related to our area (*PCair.Zen.* 59536 and 2 Mac. 13:24.) refer to the people from *Gerrha* on the western coast of the Persian gulf.

8 Clédat, 1912, 157; 1913, 79–85; Abel, 1940, 234–236; Oren, 1982, 24–25 and fig. 43.

Jewish community, may be inferred from some Jewish sources that speak of the “people of Pentaschoenum”.⁹ The ruins of this town have not been identified with certainty. While Clédat wrongly proposed connecting the names of both Pentaschoenum and Gerrha with the ruins of Mehmediyeh, Abel thought that Pentaschoenum might be located at the “disused buoy” indicated in that area by the British Survey.¹⁰ Oren proposes to identify the spot with the ruins called El-Uqsor (i.e. “the castles”) by the local Arabs, on the littoral between Mehmediyeh (Gerrha) and El-Gels (Mount Casius).¹¹ Sixth century sources place Pentaschoenum between Casium and Aphnaeum.¹²

4. The next road-station was at the famous *Mount Casius*, a 70 m. high promontory on the sandbank, today bearing various names, such as Ras Kasrun or el-Gels. A city of the same name, *Casium*, was located between the mount and the waters of the Serbonis, 55 km from Pelusium or 300 stadia according to Strabo (16.2.28).¹³ On the summit of the mount once stood the temple of Zeus Casius, sometimes identified with an ancient shrine of Baal Zaphon (Eissfeldt 1932; Cazelles 1955). Not far away, the Roman general Pompey was murdered by Ptolemy XII’s men, and later buried (App. *BC* 2.12.85-86). Following recent archaeological surveys (Oren 1982,18), there is no doubt today that Casium did not develop into a city before the Hellenistic period, and then it certainly owed its flourishing growth to the new road connecting it with east and west. An important feature of Casium for our subject was its ship-building industry. The special cargo-boats built there,

9 Targ. Jonathan to Gen. 10:3; Targ. Jerusalem (Neofiti I) to Gen. 10:14. The Massoretic text of Gen. 10:34 mentions several peoples, among them the Philistines, but has no reference to anything like *Pentaschoenum*.

10 *Sinai-Peninsula*, Sheet I: Port-Said (acc. to Abel 1940, 233).

11 Personal communication to the present writer.

12 Scholars are not agreed on the location of this town, which is mentioned in 6th cent. sources (Madaba Map 125; Hierocl. Synec. 57; Georg. Cypr. 693). In Clédat’s opinion (1920, 116) Aphnaeum would be an outside-the-walls quarter of Pentaschoenum. Abel (*ibid.*) identifies it with Qatiah. Others prefer to identify it with Daphnae (Hdt. 2.30 and 109) and biblical Tahpanhes (Jer. 43:7-9, etc.) (Noordegraaf 1938). It seems to me that Aphnaeum would better be looked for round about the present Egyptian village of Rumani, 13 km south-east of Tel el-Farama and 8 km from the coast. Remains of an ancient built-up area and cemetery with plenty of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine pottery have been found on the site.

13 The same writer also records the distance between Casium and Jamnia-Yavne as 1000 stadia.

carrying other Casiotic manufactures, such as textiles and ebony furniture, were launched on the Mediterranean through a channel linking the town with the waters of the Serbonis, in a manner similar to that still used by modern fishermen from El-Gels. However, a great deal of transport was certainly carried by way of the road “skirting Mount Casius” (Plb.5.80.2), that provided a quick route to Pelusium. According to Diodorus (D.S.20.73), Casium had no harbour on the Mediterranean. Like so many other generals before him, Titus made a halt there with his troops when marching against Judaea, in fact his first halt after Pelusium (J. BJ 4.661). During the entire Byzantine period the episcopal city of Casium, with its fine-quality products, well-equipped inns and handsome churches and monasteries, was an important point in the region for both traders and pilgrims.¹⁴

5. Still in the Serbonis region, another settlement was founded during the Hellenistic period. This was the city of *Ostrakine*, on the eastern extremity of the lagoon. According to the late Roman *Itinerarium Antonini*, it was situated 26 miles from Casium and 24 from Rhinocorura, and would have been an appropriate spot for a road-station, had it not been absolutely devoid of drinking water, which had to be brought in (J. *ibid.*). This fact suggests that there must have been good practical and strategic reasons for the creation and maintenance of such a settlement. Not mentioned in any source before the Roman period,¹⁵ Ostrakine may have originated as a large storage installation for drinking water for the benefit of local nomads and fishermen, as Herodotus possibly hinted several centuries before.¹⁶ The location mid-way between Rhinocorura and Casium, near the parting of the old and the new Syrian-Egyptian roads, would have fostered the town’s prosperous, though slow, development. While Strabo makes no mention of Ostrakine, Josephus places

14 *POxy.* 55 (283 CE); *PRyl* 627–630 (317 and 324 CE); Ephes. Counc. (431 CE); Rufus, *Pler.* 87 (5th cent. CE), etc.

15 The city called *Arabia* in *POxy.* 709 and 1380 cannot be identified with Ostrakine, as suggested by Abel (1939, 544f).

16 Herodotus (3.6) reports that these regions controlled by the Syrians receive their water supply from Egypt. The district governors bring to Memphis all the jars that had contained wine exported to Egypt by the Greeks and Phoenicians, “and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to the waterless lands of Syria... to join the stock that has already been taken there”. The very name *Ostrakine* suggests that this “heap of earthen jars” could have been the origin of the future Hellenistic and Roman city (*ten Ostrakinen*, as Josephus calls it).

the second of Titus's halts there (*ibid.*). Pliny says that "in Ostrakine Arabia terminates. Then begins Idumaea and Palestine at the point where the Serbonian lake comes into view" (Plin.5.14.68; cf. Capella 6.679). Obviously, he is here speaking more in ethnic than in political terms.¹⁷ The new settlement developed around a military fortress, from a fishing village into an industrial city. Its salt factories are alluded to in Rabbinical sources (*Tos. Menahot* 9.5; *TB Betza* 39a).

Thanks to archaeological research on the spot, Ostrakine has been identified with the ruins of Felusiyeh or El-Felusiat, at the eastern end of Bardawil. Not only do the distances from this site to El-Gels and to El-'Arish respectively correspond with those recorded for Ostrakine in the sources, but also ostraka bearing the very name of the ancient city were found on the site by Clédat (1916,27). A fortress and several churches were also discovered there by Clédat, and excavated partly by him, and partly, later, by Oren (1978; 1982, 41-44).

3. *Reasons for the Preference given to the Northern Road*

We have seen above that during the Hellenistic and Roman periods there existed an ancient military road connecting Egypt proper with Asia, starting first at Tjaru-Sile and later at Pelusium, and passing south of the Serbonis or Bardawil; yet another road was in fact preferred, following the course of the narrow sandbank around the lagoon. Along this road, at a length of about 100 km, no less than four fixed settlements were established, namely Gerrha, Pentaschoenum, Casium and Ostrakine. We may now try to establish the reasons that led armies, trading caravans and simple travellers, to abandon the old road with its several staging-posts, and start using the narrow strip of land, totally devoid of natural resources, and exposed to sea-winds and dangerous storms. With the waters of the Mediterranean on the one side and

17 One can say that part of Pliny's "little Arabia" coincides with Herodotus' "little Syria". As a matter of fact, as late as in the 3th century CE Jerome affirms that the Syrian language is spoken in Ostrakine and the other cities near Casium and Rhinocorura, though they are in Egypt, because Nebuchadnezzar (7th cent. BCE) transferred there "Syrians and Arabs" from the nearby lands (Hier. *In Isa.* <19:19> 5). Nor has Pliny's Arabia, which starts "ultra Pelusiacum", i.e. beyond the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile (Plin.6.65), any connection with that small part of the Syro-Egyptian road that in Herod's time was controlled by the Nabatean Arabs, for this lay further East, and probably included Rhinocorura (*J. BJ* 4.277).

those of the lagoon on the other, there would seem to have been little motivation for transforming this sandbank into a road if there had not been cogent practical reasons for doing so.

These reasons are not apparent at first sight. We know, for instance, that the sandbank suddenly disappeared at a certain point and the waters of the lagoon merged with those of the sea. This dangerous spot was called (in Greek) *Ecregma*, i.e. “the Breaking (of the Waters)”. We know furthermore that this particular point shifted location during the centuries. However, in the Hellenistic period the *Ecregma* was filled in, if we are to believe Strato (3rd cent. BCE) as quoted by Strabo (Str.1.3.4;16.2.32), writing in the Roman period. But the physical dangers of the road were still very real in the first century BCE. According to Plutarch they were the main obstacle faced by the joint armies of Antony, Gabinius and Ptolemy when they were trying to invade Egypt from the east: “More than the war the march to Pelusium was feared, since their route lay through deep sand, where there was no water, as far as the *Ecregma* and Serbonian marshes” (Plu.*Ant.*3.3).¹⁸

Why, then, was such a difficult road preferred to the ancient one? It is possible that by the middle of the first century BCE, when Mark Antony succeeded not only in “occupying the narrow pass”, as Plutarch calls the sandbank, but in actually conquering Pelusium with his cavalry (*ibid.*), the ancient, southern, road was no longer in good shape. It may be that only local nomads and a few traders were still using it, after some 200 years during which the preferred road had been the northern one. The reason for preferring the sandbank could not have been the difference in length, which was minimal. It seems to me that only two reasons, both of a strategic character, can be considered. First, a series of Egyptian fortresses, which had traditionally protected the southern road, were held by the Persian garrisons when Alexander’s army arrived in 332 BCE. The invading Macedonians had to avoid them if they wanted to reach Pelusium as quickly as possible, where a multitude of friendly Egyptians and Greeks were waiting for them. Alexander, as we are told by Curtius, needed only six days to move his forces from Gaza to the place from which he ordered his infantry to enter Pelusium (Curt. *Hist. Alex.*7.2–3). This obviously means that he had taken the road along the sandbank, free from military obstacles, though very difficult to traverse because of harsh natural conditions, especially the lack of drinking water. Fortunately, however, this problem was susceptible of solution, and this is the

18 This text refers to the road we are dealing with as “the road to Pelusium”, as the armies are coming from Syria, while Strabo refers to it as “the road to Syria” (above) and “the road to Phoenicia by Casium” (Str. 1.3.17).

second reason why not only Alexander's army but all other armies after him preferred the road north of the Serbonis.

Parallel to the foot-soldiers marching with Alexander along the difficult "narrow pass" of the sandbank, we are told that "his fleet was coasting with him from Phoenicia to Egypt". Arrian (*Arr. An.* 3.1.1.) is here entirely explicit about Alexander's response to the problem of how to get a fully equipped army across a waterless desert region. As long as the navy advanced parallel to the shore, the infantry did not have to carry heavy armour, war machines, etc. All this could be brought by the ships to Pelusium, where in fact, according to Arrian, Alexander "found them at anchor upon his arrival." Along the march, agreed signals could be used and provisions easily brought from the boats.

This method of infantry support might have remained an instance confined to the military history of North Sinai, had not other combined land and sea operations been explicitly reported in this region. One is the continuation of Alexander's march down to Memphis. While he marched through the desert "having the Nile on his right hand," his fleet was sailing up the river (*Arrian* 3.13). Another case was Antigonus Monophthalmus' unsuccessful expedition against Egypt in 306 BCE. As Diodorus explicitly writes, the fleet "had to follow along the coast in contact with the army as it advanced" (*D.S.* 20.73.1-3)

It does not seem to me that Cambyses' army would already have used the upper road along the sandbank in the Egyptian expedition of the year 525 BCE, as some scholars have tried to infer from the sources (Oren 1982, 14). Persian pottery has been found on Mt. Casius, but this only demonstrates that that famous promontory was inhabited before the Macedonians arrived in the region. Moreover, in Herodotus' account of the operation planned by the Arabs to aid Cambyses' army in its crossing of the region (*Hdt.* 3.9), there is not a single hint to the more northerly road. The "waterless land" where the Arabs waited for Cambyses' army with camel-skins filled with water is a generic name for the whole region "between Ienysos and the Casian Mountain and the Serbonian marsh" (*Hdt.* 3.5),¹⁹ and the use of the term does not imply exclusion of the southern road. On the contrary, the Arabs brought water to the region from places where they had a plentiful supply stored in cisterns. When Cambyses' army arrived at the "waterless land", certainly coming from Gaza along the coastal road, the Arabs were already there,

19 Ienysos may be identified, it seems to me, with the future Rhinocorura and El-'Arish.

having evidently come from the south, that is to say, from the central Negev through an inland route.

Conclusions

It seems, therefore, that at a certain point, probably around Alexander's arrival in the region, the sandbank forming the upper limit of the Serbonis began to be used as the normal land-route between Africa and Asia, in preference to the southern road that had traditionally been used by the Egyptian armies and their enemies. Greek tactics, namely the use of the fleet sailing parallel to the advancing infantry, contributed to the change. The fact that Pelusium lay at a very short distance from the sea, and not at the extremity of the ancient Egyptian military road that passed some 10 km south of the town, now the new capital of the eastern Delta, also made the use of the upper road more attractive.

Yet it is obvious that normal use of the road was only possible after well-provisioned road-stations had been established along it. That such was indeed the case must be shown before we can reach any conclusions about the *de facto* existence of such a road. The fact that the settlements which flourished along that section of the coast up to the end of the Byzantine period had not begun to appear before the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, may be interpreted as proof that the exploitation of the upper road and the foundation of the settlements along it were more or less contemporary. Even if it is plausible that certain older settlements had already existed around such points as the shrine on Mt. Casius,²⁰ their development into real towns or cities cannot be imagined without the road connection.

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20 Casium (*to Kasion*) was already mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax (ed. Mullerus, p. 81), but there the name probably means only "Mount Casius" (like Hdt. 2.158), not the city. The passage, indeed, draws a parallel between Pelusium (Peleus) "extending to the Casium" and Canopus "extending to the island".

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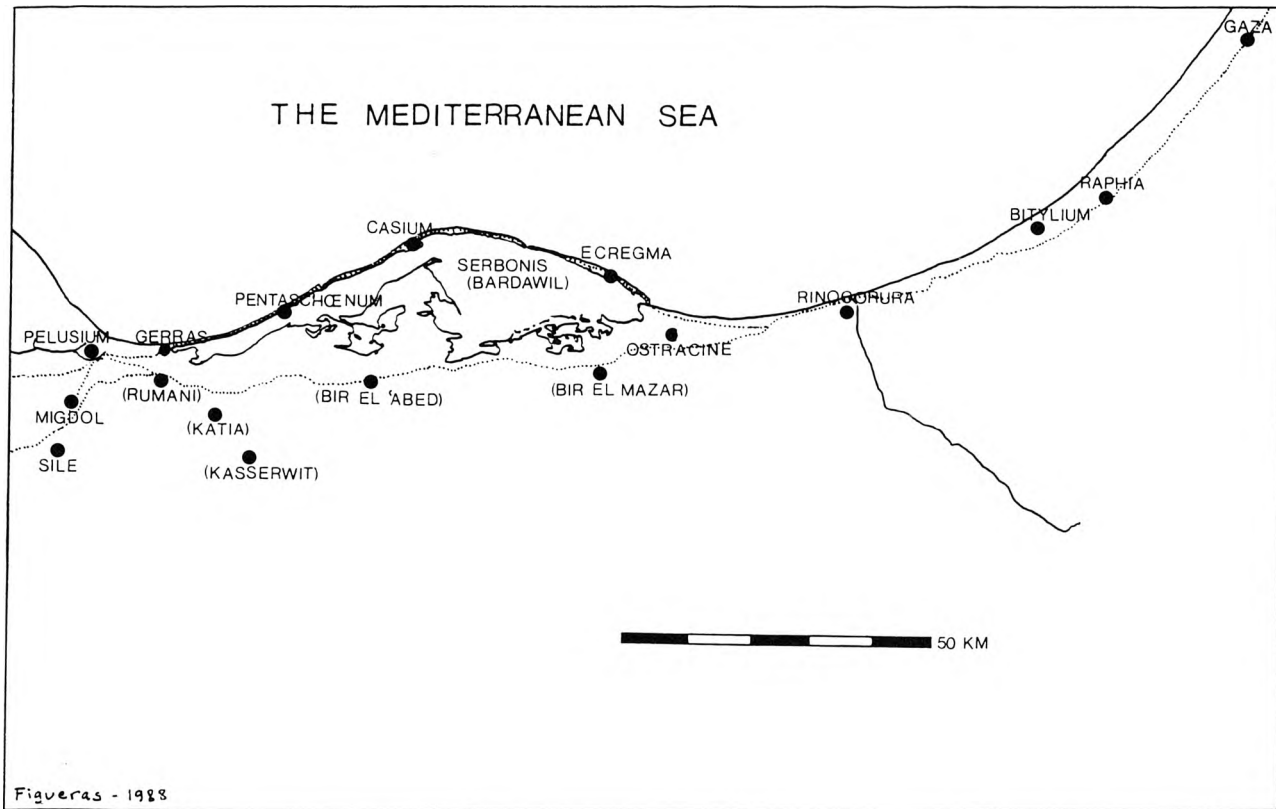
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Abbreviations (not in *Aph*):

BIFAO=Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Le Caire).



Hellenistic Settlements Along the Coastal Road of North Sinai