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THE TRANSACTIONS  
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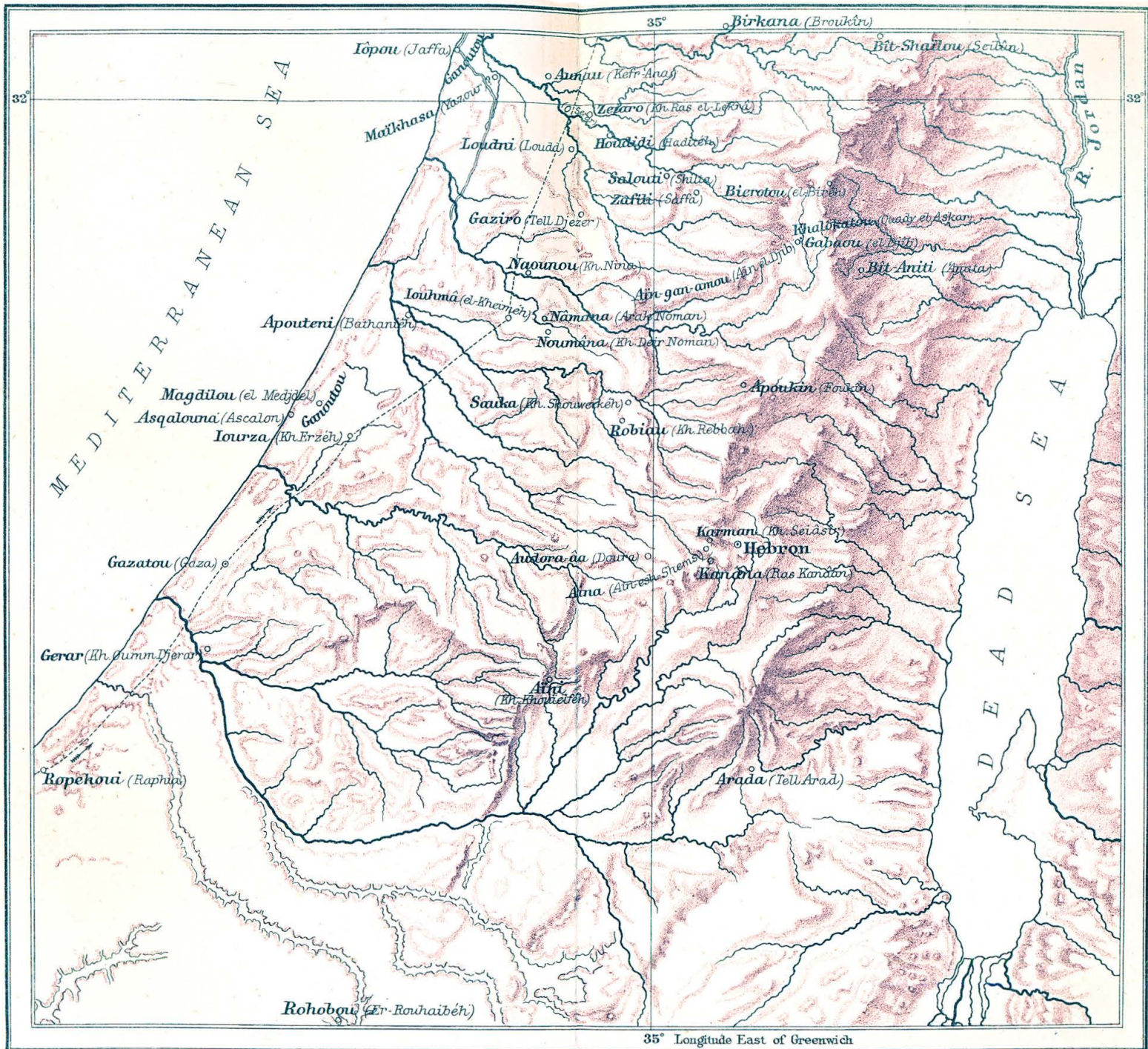
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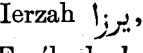
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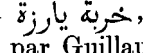
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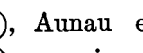



March of the Egyptian Army.

**SUR LES NOMS DE LA LISTE DE THOUTMOS III.  
QU'ON PEUT RAPPORTER À LA JUDEE.** Par  
G. MASPERO.

LES cinquante-neuf premiers noms de la liste de Thoutmos III. se rapportaient à la Galilée, au moins pour la plupart. Avec le No. 60 commence l'énumération de localités qu'on peut attribuer à la Judée. Le premier groupe, de  (No. 60), Iarza, à  (No. 68), Iouhmâ, comprend six noms qui ont été identifiés d'une manière à peu-près certaine: , Iarza avec Ierzah ,

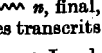


Kharbét Iarzeh  خربة يارزة, de Guérin, Kharbét Erzéh de la carte anglaise, par Guillaume Rey\* et par E. de Rougé,†



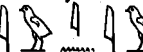
 (No. 62), Iapou, Iopou, avec Joppé,  (No. 64), Loudni, avec , Loud, Louddah, par Mariette,‡

 (No. 65), Aunau et  (No. 68), Iouhmâ, avec  Ono, aujourd'hui Kefr 'Ana, et el-Khéiméh,  الحيمة, par F. de Saulcy,§  Sauka (No. 67), avec Shokoh de Juda par Mariette, qui nia toutefois l'identité




\* *Étude topographique de la tribu de Juda*, p. 121.

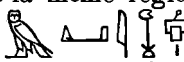
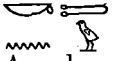




† *Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 54.

‡ *Les listes géographiques des pylones de Karnak*, p. 32. Le  n, final, qu'on trouve à la fin de ce mot et de plusieurs autres noms géographiques transcrits par les Égyptiens, me paraît être le suffixe de l'éthnique:  Loud, la ville de Loud,  Loudn[i], l'habitant de Loud, le Loudien.

§ *Lettre à M. Chabas dans les Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne*, t. i, pp. 98-99, pour la discussion de la valeur du groupe  dans  Ono-gasa, et pp. 122-123, pour Iouhmâ. Le sens d'Ono une fois reconnu par de Saulcy dans les composés, Mariette n'eut plus qu'à l'appliquer au groupe  isolé, quand il le découvrit en 1875 (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 32).










de ce nom avec celui de  Shauka qu'on trouve dans la liste de Sheshonq.\* Je crois, quant à moi, que les deux noms ne font qu'un. La présence de  s, au commencement de l'un, et de  sh, au commencement de l'autre, loin d'être un obstacle, n'est qu'une confirmation d'un fait intéressant pour l'histoire de la région. Sous Thoutmos III et sous les Ramessides, la sifflante prédomine dans les mots comme Astarté, Ascalon, Dimasqou, Sauka; si on trouve, sous Sheshonq, une shuintante à Shauka, c'est que, dans l'intervalle, les Judéens avaient envahi la contrée et avaient imposé leur prononciation grasse, *Shoko* pour *Soko*, *Ashqalon* pour *Ascalon*, *Ashtoreth* pour *Astarté*. Il y a une notion de linguistique à tirer de l'orthographe double des monuments égyptiens, non pas une différence de site géographique.

Les six noms connus nous transportent, soit sur la lisière de la plaine Philistine, soit dans cette plaine même. Je chercherai donc dans la même région les trois localités de site encore incertain:  (No. 61) Mâikhasa,  (No. 63) Ganoutou, et  (No. 66) Apouken, Apoukni. M. de Rougé† a montré que le premier est la transcription exacte de , *refugium*, de la racine , *fugit, confugit*, ce qui nous permet d'écarter sans rémission un rapprochement avec la ville de , Makkaz, proposé par Mariette.‡ La place que Mâikhasa occupe immédiatement avant Joppé semble indiquer un site voisin de cette ville, mais aucune carte, aucun récit de voyage ne me fournit un nom que j'ose rapprocher du nom antique.§ A

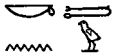
\* *Les listes géographiques*, p. 33.

† *Études sur divers monuments*, pp. 54-55.

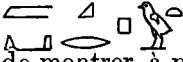
‡ *Les listes géographiques*, p. 32. M. de Rougé avait repoussé virtuellement cette identification, en n'admettant point que le bourg égyptien Mâikhasa pût être comparé au village moderne de  Makass, le  de l'Égyptien n'ayant aucun rapport avec le  de l'arabe. L'objection qu'il fait à Makass est d'autant plus valable contre Makkaz, qu'à l'impossibilité de rapprocher le  de  se joint la difficulté de retrouver le  de l'Égyptien dans le  du nom hébreu.

§ Le site de Mouhassir ou Kharbét Dêir Mahsen, que j'avais proposé (*Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 127) d'après Guérin (*Judée*, t. ii, p. 32-33), nous transporte trop loin de Joppé.

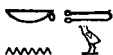

défaut d'autre renseignement, la signification de *refuge* qu'avait Mâikhasa, m'inspire une hypothèse que je donne pour ce qu'elle vaut. Joppé était le seul port de la côte. Le commerce de la Syrie Méridionale y passait en grande partie, et plusieurs routes y aboutissaient qui y conduisaient les produits des montagnes de Juda et d'Ephraïm. Ces richesses devaient être une tentation perpétuelle pour les populations nomades de ce temps-là, comme les bandes de pèlerins chrétiens l'étaient pour les Bédouins des siècles passés. Les maîtres musulmans du pays avaient jalonné le chemin qui va de Jaffa à Jérusalem de tours de garde pour la protection des marchands et des dévots. Le mot Mâikhasa מֵיִחָסָה pouvait désigner un *refuge* établi de très haute antiquité dans le voisinage de Jaffa, à l'usage des voyageurs, et autour duquel un village se serait formé. Si cette hypothèse est exacte, il faudra chercher l'emplacement aux confins de la banlieue de Joppé, sur l'une des routes qui conduisent au Nord-Est ou au Sud-Est. Comme les Egyptiens de Thouthmos III venaient de Gaza par Iarza, c'est sur la route du S.E. qu'il convient de le placer. Le site de Yazour, auprès duquel s'élève encore la première tour de garde moderne, et qui est vide, depuis que M. Clermont-Ganneau en a banni Guézer, me paraît répondre aux conditions que j'ai indiquées, et je proposerai sous toutes réserves d'y installer






Mâikhasa. Le No. 63  Ganoutou, ne me semble pas désigner nécessairement une bourgade. On rencontre le même mot deux fois encore dans notre liste, au No. 70

entre  Khabizana et  Magdilou, au No. 93 entre  Audor-âa (No. 91) et

 Mâkarpout (No. 94). J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de montrer, à propos de la liste de Sheshong, que les scribes égyptiens ont joint, aux noms propres de villes qu'ils connaissaient dans le pays situé entre la plaine Philistine et la Mer Morte, des noms communs empruntés aux idiomes indigènes et désignant des accidents de terrain.\* Dans une région aussi mal arrosée, des vergers et des prairies bien entretenues sont une singularité, une modification inattendue du paysage, qu'on remarque et qu'on n'oublie plus jamais. Je ne serais donc pas étonné si l'on venait à prouver que

\* Dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

les nom de  Ganoutou, גַּנוּת, les jardins, et de  Aubilou, אֲבִיל, la prairie, qui se présentent souvent dans le reste de notre liste, ne désignent pas toujours un bourg, mais un ensemble de jardins ou de prairies dont la ville nommée immédiatement auparavant était entourée. La chose est d'autant plus vraisemblable ici que les jardins de Jaffa, célèbres aujourd'hui dans toute la Palestine, existaient déjà au temps des Égyptiens, comme le prouve un passage du Papyrus Anastasi No. I.\* Le groupe formé par les Nos. 61-63, se composerait alors de Maïkhasa, le refuge qui commandait la route de Loud, de la ville de Joppé même et de ses jardins.†

Le No. 66,  Apouken, Apoukin, est pris entre Ono et Shoko. Mariette l'a rapproché dès le début de l'Aphékah אֲפֶקָה de Juda‡ et son hypothèse a été généralement admise.§ Il peut en être en effet d'  Apoukni, ce qui en est de  Loudni, où le  n final me paraît être l'ethnique. Ici pourtant je pense que le  n exista réellement dans le nom même de la bourgade, car on trouve sur la carte moderne un village de فوكين Foukîn,|| qui répond à Apouken, de la même manière que Fík répond à Aphek. Comme Foukîn n'est pas très éloigné de Kharbét Shouwëikéh, où l'on reconnaît Shoko, j'admets volontiers qu'il répond à Apouken.¶

\* Pl. xxv, l. 2-4. Cfr. Chabas, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 250, sqq.

† Le Talmud mentionne de même des jardins de Zoriphîn גַּנוּת הַצְּרִיפִין qui étaient peut-être situés dans le voisinage de Loud (Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 81).

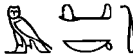
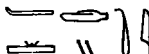
‡ *Les listes géographiques*, p. 33.

§ Cfr. Conder dans les *Q. Stat. du Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1876, p. 142.


|| Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, p. 321, qui mentionne le village et l'Ouady. La carte anglaise et Conder (*Q. St.*, 1883, p. 180) ne connaissent que l'Ouady.


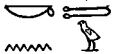
¶ Il serait assez séduisant d'identifier, comme le fait Conder (*Q. St.*, 1883, pp. 180-81), Foukîn, et par conséquent Apouken, Aphoukin, avec le Pekiin du Talmud (Reland, *Palastina*, pp. 621-622; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 81). Malheureusement, כפר פקיען Kefer Pekiin, ou בקיען Bekiin, renferme un *y* que n'a pas Aphoukin, et la position que lui assigne le Talmud est diamétralement opposée à celle de Foukîn. Il est dit en effet de deux rabbins qui vivaient à Yabnéh, qu'ils se rendaient à Lod par Pekiin. Yabnéh et par conséquent Pekiin est au Sud-Ouest de Lod, tandis que Foukîn est au Sud-Est.




Le second groupe s'étend du numéro 69 au No. 76, et contient beaucoup plus d'éléments indéterminés que n'en renfermait le premier. Sur huit noms, deux seulement, ceux

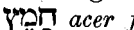
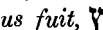
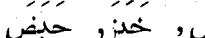
de  (No. 71), Magdilou, et de  (No. 76), Houditi sont identifiés certainement, le premier,


comme le  Magadilou de la liste de Sheshonq \* avec  Migdal Gad de la tribu de Juda,

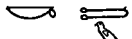
aujourd'hui El-Medjdel; † le second, Houditi, avec  Hadid de Benjamin, ‡ aujourd'hui el-Haditéh ou peut-être Kharbét Hadid de la carte anglaise, près du Deir-Eyoub, dans le voisinage d'Amwâs. Les six autres noms se divisent en deux groupes inégaux, dont le premier ne comprend que

 (No. 69), Khabizana et  (No. 70),

Ganoutou. Le rapprochement de Khabizana avec  Kézib de Juda, que Mariette a proposé, § a l'inconvénient d'exiger une interversion des éléments *b* et *za*, ainsi qu'une transcription impossible de  par  *Kha*. Le nom lui-même n'a point

d'analogie en hébreu, à moins qu'on admette qu'il vienne de  *acer fuit, acidus fuit*,  *salsus*, par une substitution du *b* à *m*, qui n'est pas sans exemple. Il a plus d'affinité avec l'arabe, où les racines comme  peuvent indifféremment donner une transcription égyptienne

 Khabiza[na]. Le nom est donc d'origine sémitique, mais je ne trouve, ni dans les environs d'El-Khéiméh, ni dans ceux d'El-Medjdel, aucun site qui lui

convienne. Pour le , Ganoutou, qui précède Magadilou, je proposerai une solution du même genre que

celle que j'ai proposée déjà pour le Ganoutou qui suit Joppé. El-Medjdel est aujourd'hui encore, comme Jaffa, une bourgade

\* Sur la lecture de ce nom dans la liste de Sheshonq, voir *Recueil*, t. vii, p. 100.

† Cfr. Guillaume Rey, *Étude historique et topographique de la tribu de Juda*, p. 120; Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 130-132.

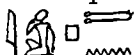
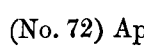
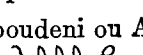
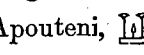
‡ L'identification des deux noms égyptiens appartient à Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, pp. 33-34.

§ *Les listes géographiques*, pp. 33-34.



renommée pour la beauté de ses jardins.\* De même que j'identifie le Ganoutou du No. 63 avec les jardins de Joppé, j'identifierai le Ganoutou du No. 70 avec les jardins d'El-Medjdel, de Hamaméh, et de Djoura,† c'est-à-dire avec la banlieue d'Ascalon. Ascalon elle-même ne paraît pas, soit que les bandes égyptiennes ne l'aient pas prise, soit plutôt qu'elle fût, comme Gaza, occupée, dès avant le commencement de la campagne, par une garnison égyptienne.

Les quatre noms compris entre Magdilou et Houdidi sont :

 (No. 72) Apoudeni ou Apouteni,  (No. 73) Shabtouina,  (No. 74) Diaïou,  (No. 75) Naounou. Reland cite un nom d'Apadno,‡

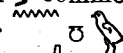
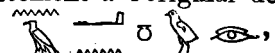
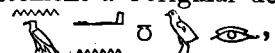

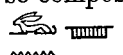
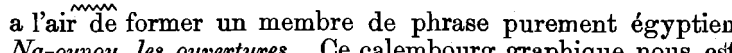
Apadanos, qui ressemble singulièrement à Apoudeni, Apouteni. C'était une localité située non loin de Jérusalem, près de Nicopolis-Emmaus, mais la forme du mot, emprunté au persan Apadâna, indique une époque plus récente que celle où nous transportent les listes de Thoutmos III. Si on admet que le voisinage des deux noms de Magadilou et d'Apouteni sur la liste indique le voisinage des deux localités, la carte anglaise nous fournira plusieurs noms convenables, un Kharbét-Fatounéh qui est un peu au Sud de Yebnah, et surtout deux Bouthanî البثاني, la Bathaniéh orientale البثانية الشرقية et la Bathaniéh occidentale البثانية الغربية, qui sont situées à peu de distance au nord d'El-Medjdel, et possèdent toutes deux quelques débris antiques.§ La Bathaniéh occidentale est plus considérable que l'autre et plus proche de la route des invasions.

\* "À dix heures quarante minutes, nous entrons dans les belles plantations d'oliviers de Medjdel. Laisant ce bourg à notre gauche, nous prenons la route de Hamaméh (bourgade située à vingt minutes au Nord d'El-Medjdel). . . . Les jardins de Hamaméh sont de la plus grande fertilité. Séparés par des haies de gigantesques cactus, ils sont plantés d'oliviers, de figuiers, de grenadiers, de mûriers et d'abricotiers. Ça et là aussi s'élèvent de sveltes palmiers et de gros sycomores. . . . À une heures dix minutes, nous longeons, vers le Sud-sud-ouest, au sortir de Hamaméh, les dunes du rivage. Les jardins bordent la lisière de ces dunes. Au-delà de ces vergers, nous traversons de beaux champs de blé, près des plantations d'oliviers et d'autres jardins appartenant à El-Medjdel. À midi, nous faisons halte dans le bourg. . . . Les jardins d'El-Medjdel environnent ce bourg d'une ceinture verdoyante. Le sol de ces jardins est sablonneux, mais néanmoins très fertile. Ils sont remplis de figuiers, de grenadiers, d'oliviers, de mûriers et de citronniers, que dominant de distance en distance d'énormes sycomores et d'élégants palmiers."—Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 129-131.

† Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 134-135.

‡ Reland, *Palastina*, p. 571.

§ Guérin, *Judée* t. iii, pp. 80-81.



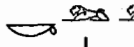

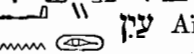

J'y placerai provisoirement Apouteni. Shabtouna est bien, comme Rougé l'a dit le premier,\* un dérivé de la racine שָׁבַת, *quievit, feriatuus est*, et s'appliquait à plusieurs localités : les textes de Ramsès II signalent une seconde Shabtouna dans la vallée de l'Oronte, à peu de distance de Qodshou. Shebtîn et Kharbét Shebtîn, près de l'Ouady-Natouf, nous ramènent assez près de Houditi pour convenir à notre Shabtouna. Pour Dijai ou Tiaï, je ne vois aucune étymologie convenable dans l'hébreu, ni aucun emplacement possible sur la carte moderne. Il n'en est pas de même de Naounou. Mariette avait proposé pour ce dernier endroit un rapprochement avec le nom hébreu שלומון *Naoumân*, qu'il avait fini par rejeter, faute de trouver dans l'Égyptien le *y* du nom sémitique.† J'avais songé de mon côté au bourg moderne de Naânéh,‡ et je vois que M. Conder met sur les trois noms de Naounou, Naâmah, et Naanéh sur la même ligne.§ Diverses raisons ne me permettent plus de soutenir cette opinion. En premier lieu, si le nom sémitique avait renfermé un *y* comme seconde radicale, les Égyptiens l'auraient rendu par  *Naânou*, qui aurait correspondu exactement à l'original de  *Nâanéh*, ou plutôt par le mot  *Naânou*, *gracieux, joli*, qui sonnait de même. L'orthographe qu'ils ont adoptée prouve au contraire qu'ils voulaient exprimer une vocalisation *Naounou* ou *Naouonou*, sans *y*. Elle se compose en effet de l'article pluriel  *Na*, et du mot  *Ounou*, *ouonou*, *ouvrir*, si bien que l'ensemble  de former un membre de phrase purement égyptien *Na-ounou*, *les ouvertures*. Ce calembourg graphique nous est un sûr garant, 1° que le nom sémitique ne renfermait point de *y*; 2° qu'il sonnait *Naounou*, *Naoun*. L'identification avec *Nâamah* et *Nâanéh*, me paraît donc manquer de fondement. Je préférerai le Kharbét-Nina de la carte anglaise, qui est situé sur le Ouady Serar au sud de *Nâanéh*, et nous ramène, comme cette dernière, dans la direction d'El-Haditéh, le Houdidi de notre liste.



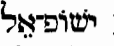

\* *Sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmès III*, p. 55.

† Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 35.

‡ *Notes sur différents points de Grammaire et d'Histoire dans la Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 128.

§ Telle est du moins son opinion dans le *Handbook to the Bible*, qu'il a publié en 1882 avec son frère, p. 248.

La section qui s'étend du No. 77  Haro, au numéro 104  Gaziro, est celle qui présente le plus de difficultés au géographe. D'espace en espace, on y relève quelques noms, dont l'identité se laisse reconnaître au premier coup d'oeil, No. 80,  Gerar, Oumm-Djerar,\* No. 82,  Robiau רבדה, Rabbah de Juda,† No. 86,  Aini, la ville lévitique du territoire de Siméon,‡ No. 104,  Gezer.§ Trois de ces localités se trouvent au Sud et au Sud-Est de Gaza, dans le désert de Juda et de Siméon; la dernière nous ramène vers le nord, sur la route de Joppé à Jérusalem. Il sera malaisé de reconnaître l'endroit précis où le scribe égyptien a changé de région.

Les trois noms qui précèdent celui de Gerar peuvent se rattacher indifféremment soit à Houdidi-el Haditéh, soit à Oumm-Djerar. L'un d'eux, celui de  (No. 78), Ioushep-ilou, rapproché par Mariette du nom de  Shaphir,|| puis transcrit plus exactement  Ieshouph-el, Ioushep-el,¶ a été l'objet d'une étude fort ingénieuse de la part de M. Groff.\*\* L'hypothèse de Mariette ne tient pas devant la critique: la terme  Shaphir, d'où dérive le nom de la ville de Shaphir, signifie *beau, joli*, et n'a rien de commun avec le nom théophore de *Ioshep-el, Ioshep-ilou*. M. Groff propose de reconnaître dans ce nom et dans un autre, qu'il rencontre plus loin au No. 102, "l'antique et vraie prononciation du nom de Joseph sous la forme Iosheph-el, aussi bien que celle du nom de Jacob sous la forme Iakob-el. . . . Nous avons donc ici sous la forme des noms de tribus de Iakob-aal et Joseph-al, c'est-à-dire des familles de Jacob et Joseph, la plus ancienne mention des personnages bibliques, sur un monument original gravé à cette époque reculée." L'idée de M. Groff a quelque chose de très séduisant: un seul fait

\* Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 36.

† E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 57.

‡ Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 38.





§ Maspero, *Notes*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 120.

|| Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 36.


¶ Maspero, *Notes* dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 128.

\*\* Groff, *Lettre à M. Révillout sur le nom de Jacob et de Joseph en Égyptien*, dans la *Revue Égyptologique*, t. iv, p. 85, sqq. (cfr. p. 146, sqq.).

m'empêche de l'adopter. Les listes de Thoutmos III ne renferment en fait de noms bien identifiés que des noms de villes, Magido, Lais, Hazor, Taanak, Ako, Joppé, et aucun nom de tribus : les noms qui échappent à cette règle, comme Ganoutou, Aubilou, sont appliqués à des cantons de peu d'étendue, et non à des populations. Les autres listes égyptiennes présentent la même particularité, et, quand les noms de peuples comme Routonou, Khiti, y figurent, c'est au commencement de chacune d'elles, comme titres du chapitre, et non pas dans le corps du chapitre lui-même. Ioushep-ïlou, Iakob-ïlou, représentent donc, d'après l'analogie, soit des villages compacts, soit des cantons de peu d'étendue formant ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui encore en Orient un *beled*, c'est-à-dire un ensemble de maisons ou de huttes, disséminées par petits groupes mais relevant d'un même chef ou des mêmes chefs. Est-ce à dire pour cela que ces noms soient entièrement étrangers aux deux patriarches hébreux ? Les écrivains qui ont recueilli l'histoire primitive de la Judée, ont trouvé les récits relatifs à Jacob et à Joseph disséminés à la surface du territoire, et ont dû souvent les localiser en se servant des assonnances que certains noms géographiques présentaient avec les noms des patriarches. La ville de Gerar et l'Ouady Gerar jouent un grand rôle dans l'histoire d'Abraham et d'Isaac ; les localités Ioshep-ïlou, Iakob-ïlou peuvent avoir été rattachées de même au nom de Jacob et à celui de Joseph, par quelque tradition aujourd'hui perdue. La proximité de Ioshep-ïlou et de Gerar dans la liste m'engage à chercher l'emplacement de Ioshep-ïlou dans ce Ouady Gerar où résidèrent Abraham et Isaac. Aucune des cartes dressées jusqu'à ce jour ne donne rien qu'on puisse faire servir à l'identification ; mais le pays a été, somme toute, peu exploré, et il est fort possible que des recherches plus minutieuses révèlent l'existence d'un tell ou d'une ruine, qui porte encore un nom dérivé du nom cananéen dont les monuments égyptiens nous ont appris l'existence.


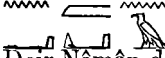
Le nom  (No. 77) Harou,  , la montagne, est trop vague pour que j'espère en retrouver aujourd'hui la trace. La seule chose qu'on puisse en dire c'est qu'il nous reporte vers le désert, c'est-à-dire vers Gerara plutôt que vers el-Haditéh.  (No. 79), Rogaza ne saurait être ni Ziklag  comme le pense Mariette, \* ni

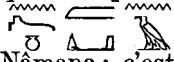
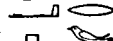
\* Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 36.

Lakish, comme le voudrait Conder: \* le nom a été exactement transcrit par le scribe, ainsi que le prouve le terme רָגוּ, *commotio*, † et nous n'avons pas le droit d'y rien changer pour obtenir une identification hasardeuse. La localité ne devait pas être bien loin de Gerar, non plus que 

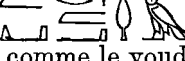

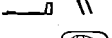
(No. 81) Har-îlou, הַרְיָלוּ, la montagne du dieu Ilou, El. Celle-ci prend un intérêt particulier, si l'on considère que les prophètes hébreux mettaient volontiers dans le désert montagneux du Sud la résidence de Dieu. La présence du nom divin Ilou, El, dans trois noms rapprochés l'un de l'autre, montre probablement que les habitants de ce canton méridional donnaient, comme les Giblites, le titre de Ilou, El, à une de leurs principales divinités.

Avec Robiau  (No. 82) nous rentrons sur un terrain moins incertain. Si Robiau, la Rabbah de Juda,

est  Kharbét Rebbah, †  (No. 84) Nâmana peut avoir donné son nom au Deir Nâman de la carte anglaise, qui n'est pas très éloigné de Kharbét Rebbah. Le No. 83,

 Noumâna forme une allitération évidente avec Nâmana: c'est presque le même fait que j'ai remarqué ailleurs à propos des deux  Apoulo, Apouro de Galilée. La

carte porte en face l'un de l'autre ' Arak-Naman et Deir Naman. Arak-Naman, n'est séparé du couvent de Namân, Deir Namân que par un ravin assez profond. Faut-il voir dans l'un de ces noms le Noumana de notre liste, dans l'autre le

Nâmana? Maromam  (No. 85), מְרוֹמִים n'est pas Mambré , comme le voudrait Mariette: § c'est tout ce que j'en puis dire. Le voisinage de  Aini

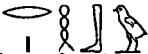
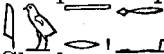

\* *Pal. Expl. F.*, 1876, p. 143.

† E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 56, qui ne propose l'identification avec Lakish que pour la repousser aussitôt.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 336-337; Conder, dans le *Pal. Expl. Fund.*, 1876, p. 161, rapproche Kharbét Rebbah de la Rebbu d'époque chrétienne (Reland, *Palästina*, p. 968).

§ Les listes géographiques, pp. 37-38. L'identification proposée par Conder (*Palestine before Joshua*, dans les *Quart. Stat.*, 1876, p. 143), avec En Rimmon de Siméon, aujourd'hui Oumm er-Roummamin, a également le tort de substituer un mot hébreu signifiant *Grenade* à un autre mot hébreu dérivé de la racine רָגַם ou d'une racine analogue.

(No. 86), qui est Aïn de Siméon, nous ramène certaine ment au Sud, mais le site de Aïn elle-même est contesté.\* Je suis porté à le placer à Kharbét Khouïelféh, خربة خويلفة. Aïn est en effet si près de Rimmon, qu'au retour de la captivité, le livre de Néhémie réunit les deux villages dans une même expression, En-Rimmon. Or, Rimmon est évidemment Oumm er-Roummamîn, خربة أم الرمامين. † Il s'agit donc de trouver, dans les environs d'Oumm er-Roummamîn, un emplacement antique voisin d'une fontaine assez abondante pour justifier le nom de Aïn. Les ruines de Khouïelféh sont à une demi-heure environ au nord d'Oumm er-Roummamîn, et "recouvrent les pentes et le sommet d'une colline. Ce sont celles d'une petite ville, dont il ne reste plus que des citernes, des silos, les vestiges de nombreuses habitations et ceux d'un édifice qui, à l'époque chrétienne, avant l'invasion de l'islamisme, était probablement une église. . . . À une faible distance, vers l'Ouest, des ruines de cette petite ville, est situé dans une vallée un puits antique dont l'eau est très abondante : il est appelé بئر الخويلفة Bîr el-Khouïelféh. . . . Un peu au nord de ce puits, j'examine les restes d'un village antique appelés خربة متاع خويلفة, Kharbét mtâa Khouïelféh. Le groupe de maisons dépendait probablement, comme son nom actuel l'indique encore, de la ville voisine, dont Kharbét Khouïelféh nous offre les débris." ‡ L'ensemble de ruines qui existent autour de cette citerne pourrait répondre à l'Aïn des textes hébreux, Aîni de la liste égyptiennes.


























 Rohobou (No. 87) est-elle Rehoboth רְהוֹבוֹת d'Isaac? Avant de rien décider à ce sujet, il faut examiner la direction que prend la liste avec les cartouches suivants, c'est-à-dire fixer sur le sol un au moins des sites énumérés. Le plus important était probablement celui de No. 91  Audor, Autor-âa, car on le retrouve sur la liste de Sheshonq avec l'orthographe  Ador-âa (No. 98).

\* On a voulu voir dans ce nom de Aïn (*Josué*, xv, 32, xix, 7, xxi, 16; 1 *Chron.*, iv, 32) une abréviation du nom de En-Rimmon (*Néhémie*, xi, 29). La liste égyptienne montre que les localités appelées simplement Aïn, la source, étaient fréquentes dans ces régions. S'il fallait corriger le texte des livres bibliques, ce ne serait donc pas le passage de Josué et des Chroniques, que je modifierais d'après Néhémie, ce serait Néhémie que je modifierais ("à Aïn, à Rimmon, à Zorah, à Iarmouth"), d'après Josué et les Chroniques.

† Van den Velde, *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land*, p. 344.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 352, 357.



Brugsch a montré que le signe  pouvait prendre, au moins à partir de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, la valeur *a*, *aa*, .\* C'est, je crois, à la suite de la confusion de deux signes,  et , dont le second a en effet la valeur , *a*, *aa*, *ai*, et qui revêtaient une forme identique en hiéroglyphique : la plupart des mots où  se présente avec cette valeur, ont en effet une variante en . Quoi qu'il en soit de cette explication, le fait est là, et l'orthographe    est, à l'époque de Sheshonq, une variante parfaitement légitime de  . Que le mot  *aa*, *grand*, soit ici une épithète égyptienne, probablement la traduction d'une épithète sémitique de même sens, on n'en saurait douter, quand on voit au numéro 117 de la liste de Sheshonq    *Adora la petite*, où l'épithète  est évidemment amenée par le  du numéro 98. L'orthographe de la liste de Thoutmos III   ne doit donc pas s'expliquer, comme j'avais cru pouvoir le faire, par un thème en *y* final, tel que , *brachium*,† mais se traduit par *Audor*, *Autor la grande*. La liste de Sheshonq ne nous donne aucun renseignement assez précis pour l'identification d'*Audor* : elle nous prouve, d'abord que les deux *Audor* étaient séparés par dix-neuf noms, parmi lesquels un seul est connu, celui d'*Arad de Juda*    (Nos. 104-108), ensuite, qu'*Audor la grande*, après avoir été importante au temps de Thoutmos III, était restée importante au temps de Sheshonq. Cette considération m'engage à proposer d'y reconnaître l'*Adoraïm*  de la Bible, comme *Mariette*.‡ L'absence de la terminaison duelle dans la transcription égyptienne m'inspire bien quelques scrupules : ils sont diminués par ce fait qu'elle manque également dans les transcriptions grecques. Les Septante ont *Ἀδωραί*, *Joséphe*,


\* Dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 143, et dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 26-29.

† Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129.

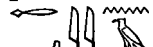
‡ Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 39.


*Αδωρα*, *Ἀδώρεος*, une fois seulement *Ἀδωραῖμ*:\* les deux transcriptions égyptiennes pourraient bien prouver que la chute de  $\text{𓂏}$  était un fait très ancien de prononciation locale. Le village de Doura, à l'ouest d'El-Khalil (Hébron) répond aujourd'hui à l'Adora-Adoraïm de l'antiquité hébraïque, à l'Audora-la-grande de l'antiquité égyptienne. Il faut chercher sans doute dans le voisinage immédiat

 (No. 89) Higarim (*cf.*  $\text{הִגְרִים}$ , *fugitivi*),

 (No. 88) Agar ou Akaro. Je considère que Higarim n'a rien de commun qu'une très vague assonance avec  $\text{עֶגְלוֹן}$  Eglon† de Juda, et ne répond à aucun nom connu sur la carte; quant à Akaro ou Agaro, c'est probablement le

Tell-Akra de la carte anglaise, sur le Ouady Djézaïr, à quelque distance à l'Ouest de Doura-Audor la Grande. Si donc Rohobou est la Rehoboth d'Isaac, aujourd'hui er-Rouhaibéh, comme on l'admet généralement, il faudra admettre que, après avoir poussé une pointe vers le Sud, dans le désert, la liste revenait vers le Nord avec Akaro-Akra; ce sera dans le massif montagneux de la tribu de Juda que nous devons chercher la plupart des numéros à partir d'Adora. Remar-

quons d'abord que les Nos. 95  Aïna et 96

 Karman, ne figurent pas sur les trois

listes: deux d'entre elles ont Karman, une seule Aïna. On a le droit d'en conclure, soit que les deux noms désignaient une même localité, soit qu'ils s'appliquaient à deux localités différentes, mais si rapprochées qu'on pouvait les prendre l'une pour l'autre. Le premier mouvement est de combiner les deux termes en une seule appellation Aïna-Karman, et d'identifier le tout avec Aïn-Kerim, à l'Ouest de Jérusalem. Mais la mention d'une nouvelle Abilou (No. 99), nous ramène plus au Sud, dans une contrée analogue à celle où la liste signale les autres Abilou. De plus, le nom de Karman se rattache évidemment à  $\text{כְּרִם}$  *vigne, vignoble*, et suppose un mot  $\text{כְּרִמֹּן}$  qui serait parfaitement régulier; rapproché de Doura-Audor, il nous invite à chercher un site au milieu des vignobles

\* G. Böttger, *Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, p. 12.

† Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 28. Je n'ai jamais rencontré un mot où le  $\text{y}$  sémitique répondît authentiquement au  $\text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂏}$ , égyptien.

qui enveloppent Hébron de toute part. Les bourgs ne manquent pas dont le nom se prête à l'identification. El-Kermel répond à la Carmel de Juda **כַּרְמֵל**. Kharbet-Kerma, **خربة كرم**, ne présente aucune trace de sources et n'avait que des citernes.\* Au contraire, on trouve, à l'Ouest-Sud-Ouest d'Hébron, un ensemble de localités qui paraissent répondre aux conditions qu'indique le double nom de Aïna et Karmān. En partant du Ras Kanáan, le Kanāna de Sėti, comme l'a montré M. Conder, on parcourt une série de vallées, l'Oued el-Djouz **وادي الجوز**, l'Oued Abou-Roummān **وادي ابو رومان**, l'Oued el-Menchar, **وادي المنشار**, très fertiles et très bien cultivées. "La vigne principalement y abonde et y prospère merveilleusement. Elle s'enguirlande autour de tous les arbres et y forme de capricieux festons. Les grappes encore vertes sont très longues et chargées d'énormes grains, qui doivent grossir bien davantage en mûrissant. . . . À neuf heures vingt-cinq minutes, notre direction incline vers le nord-ouest. À neuf heures quarante-cinq minutes, une autre belle vallée appelée Oued el-Kerm **وادي الكرم**, à cause de ses superbes vignobles, étale à notre droite sa verdoyante parure de pampres gigantesques et d'arbres fruitiers. Les murs des nombreux enclos qu'elle renferme sont entretenus partout avec soin. . . . À dix heures, nous arrivons à la source dite A'm ech-Chems **عين الشمس**, que recouvre une voûte cintrée d'apparence antique. On y descend par plusieurs degrés. À une faible distance de cette source, j'observe un ancien pressoir à vin, aux trois quarts comblé, qui se composait de deux bassins taillés dans le roc. En me dirigeant de là droit vers le sud, je rencontre bientôt deux belles citernes creusées dans le roc. . . . À côté se trouve un second pressoir, analogue à celui que je viens de signaler. Plus loin, dans la même direction et au milieu de riches vignobles, un troisième pressoir antique, beaucoup plus remarquable que les deux autres, attire mon attention. . . . L'emplacement qu'ils occupent s'appelle Kharbét Sérasir **خربة سراسير**; on le désigne également sous le nom de Kharbét Daouirbān **خربة دويربان**, et il ne renferme d'autres ruines que celles de petites habitations ou tours éparses au milieu des vignes. Une haute colline très abrupte vers le sud-ouest, et peu distante, porte de même la dénomi-

\* Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 370-371.

nation de Daouïrban. Si une ville s'est élevée jadis en ce lieu, elle a été presque entièrement effacée du sol, à part quelques tombeaux creusés dans le roc et divers amas de pierres qui peuvent provenir de construction démolies.\* On a voulu y place le Débir de Juda דְּבִיר, mais cette opinion n'a pas été admise. Il me semble, quant à moi, que Kharbét-Serasir répond assez bien aux conditions spéciales de notre liste. L'Aïn-esh-Shems est le Aïna, Kharbét-Serasir le Karman dont le nom serait resté à l'Oued el-Karm. La source (aïna) et le vignoble (Karmana) sont assez rapprochés pour qu'on ait pu appeler la localité indifféremment Aïna, ou Karman, ou Aïn-Karman. L'hypothèse est si séduisante que je ne puis m'empêcher de la donner.

Cela posé, je chercherai le site des trois numéros précédents dans la même région, entre Doura et Hébron. Et d'abord, je dois faire observer que toute la série des noms est significative d'une terre bien cultivée, car on a coup sur coup, *la prairie*,

des jardins des mottes

(de ), une source

un vignoble . C'est, je crois,

une preuve que nous sommes dans un territoire très riche, et le nom d'Adora-Doura indique le canton d'Hébron, le plus fertile de toute cette région. De l'ordre dans lequel ces localités sont énumérées on peut conclure que les trois premières sont entre Doura et Kharbét Serasir : malheureusement elles n'ont laissé aucune trace sur le sol moderne. Les noms qui suivent celui de Karman ne sont pas plus faciles à

identifier. La présence d'une nouvelle Aubilou

(No. 99) me fait croire que nous ne nous éloignons pas de la région centrale de Juda, et cette conjecture est confirmée par

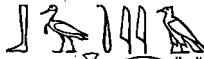
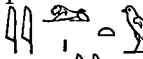


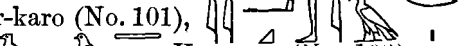
la présence de Tipounou (No. 98). Ce dernier mot correspond en effet lettre à lettre au Théphon, qui


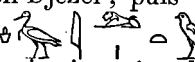


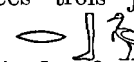



est mentionné parmi les villes fortifiées par Juda Macchabée,†

\* Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 260-261, 264.

† E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 58. L'identification que j'avais proposée avec Dimôn de Juda tombe par ce fait que, jamais à ma connaissance, un égyptien ne transcrit un hébraïque : Dimôn-Dibôn ne saurait répondre à Tipounou, Dipounou.



et, bien que nous ne puissions identifier cette ville,\* on s'accorde assez généralement à la placer dans les parages où nous nous sommes tenus jusqu'à présent. Les autres villes

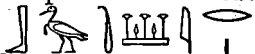
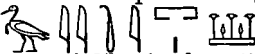
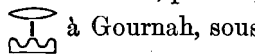
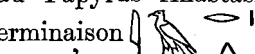
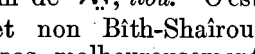
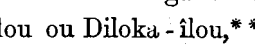
 Bitia (No. 97),  Ierdou (No. 100),  Har-karo (No. 101),  Iâkob-îlou (No. 102),  Kapouto (No. 103), ne m'inspirent aucun rapprochement sérieux, et je ne puis rien ajouter à ce que j'en ai déjà dit il y a quelques années.†

Du No. 104 au No. 119, la liste nous transporte sur les confins de la Judée et de la Samarie.  (No. 104), Gaziro est Gézer,‡ Tell-Djézer; puis viennent, à peu d'intervalle l'une de l'autre,  Bierôtou (No. 109), la Beeroth  de Benjamin, aujourd'hui el-Biréh, et  (No. 114), Gebâou, Gebâ גִּבְעָה ou Gibéah גִּבְעָה de Benjamin. La direction est suffisamment indiquée par ces trois jalons posés d'espace en espace. Rabbitou  (No. 105), Makerotou, Makelotou  (No. 106), 'Amekou (No. 107), me paraissent devoir être cherchées dans les environs de Gézer. Tous ces noms sont très réguliers de forme, רַבֵּת, מְקוֹת de מְקָרָה ou מְקָרָה si le  égyptien répond à ר sémitique, מְקָלֵשׁ s'il répond à ל, et עַמְקָ: aucun d'eux n'a subsisté.  (No. 108), Sarouti, Saroudi, Salouti, Saloudi, peut être l'original du nom de Σαλαθά, que les Septante substituent à יִתְלָה Iethlah, dans l'énumération des villes de Dan, et que M. Tyrwhitt Drake plaçait à Shilta, un

\* L'identification ordinaire de Théphon avec Tappuahk a le tort de ne pas tenir compte du ך final. C'est pour la même raison que le rapprochement de Mariette (*Listes géographiques*, p. 40) entre Tipounou et Tappouakh me paraît être inadmissible.

† Notes dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129; *cf.* E. de Rougé, *Sur divers Monuments*, pp. 58-59.

‡ La transcription du ך par le  égyptien est prouvée, entre autres, par l'orthographe  Gazatou du nom de Gaza עֵזָה, eth. עֵזָה.

peu au Nord-Ouest de Bethoron le Bas.\* Entre Bierôtou (No. 109) et Gebâou (No. 114) la liste place de nouveau quatre noms. Le premier (No. 110),  Bit-Shaïro, Bitshailou, est celui d'une ville assez importante : † on le retrouve avec l'orthographe  dans le Papyrus Anastasi No. 1, pl. xxii, l. 8, et avec l'orthographe  à Gournah, sous Seti 1<sup>er</sup>. ‡ L'identification avec בית־שאון Beth - Shean, Scythopolis, qui a été défendue surtout par Chabas, § suppose un changement de  $\text{ב}$  en  $\text{ר}$  qui n'est pas très admissible dans la transcription égyptienne. || Brugsch, d'autre part, a mis en avant une lecture בית־שאול Beth-Shéol que M. de Rougé n'a pas hésité à adopter. ¶ Les variantes du nom prouvent que c'est bien un  $\text{ל}$  et non un  $\text{ר}$  final que les Égyptiens entendaient : ils ont écrit en effet au Papyrus Anastasi  avec la même terminaison  qui sert partout ailleurs à écrire le nom de ביל, ilou. C'est donc Bit-Shaïlou qu'on doit lire et non Bith-Shaïrou. Les documents ne nous fournissent pas malheureusement de renseignements très précis sur cette ville. Le Papyrus Anastasi No. 1, la nomme avec une bourgade de  Diroka-ilou ou Diloka-ilou,\* \*

\* *Quart. Stat.*, 1873, p. 101.

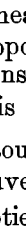
† Les passages relatifs à cette ville ont été réunis pour la première fois par Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, t. ii, pp. 40-41, 49-50.


‡ Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 131a.

§ *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 203-205.

|| E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 60.






¶ Brugsch, *G. Inc.*, pp. II, 40-41, 49-50 ; E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 60.

\* \* Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 205) proposait de renverser l'ordre des signes et de lire Kiriath-El, *Civitas Dei*. Cette inversion est d'autant moins nécessaire que  est la transcription possible de deux racines très usitées, בלל, *arsit, flagravit*, et ברר, *pedibus calcarit, iter, iter*.

Les deux racines forment des noms qui ont un sens très convenable בלל־דלוק ou בלל־דלוק־אל Derek-el, ou Dalak-el. L'orthographe  Diroka [Diloka]-ilou est donc parfaitement légitime et ne doit pas être changée.




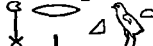
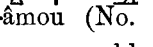
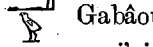
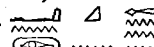
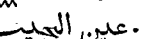
et semble établir un rapport entre ces deux localités et les gués du Jourdain; mais le paragraphe du papyrus où on lit cette mention renferme des noms du Nord et du midi, et la place qu'occupent Bit-Shailou et Direka-ilou dans l'énumération n'indique rien, si ce n'est qu'elles étaient situées entre la Judée et la Galilée. Le seul fait qui reste acquis c'est que Bit-Shailou était une ville importante. Je serai donc porté à admettre comme très vraisemblable l'opinion de Mariette, d'après laquelle ce serait שִׁילֹה Shiloh, la ville d'Ephraïm.\* Bêth-Shilo בֵּית שִׁילֹה, la maison du repos, aurait perdu son בֵּית initial, comme Ἀρβηλα de בֵּית אַרְבֵּיאל Beth-Arbel, בעל מעון Baal-Meon de בֵּית בעל מעון Beth-Baal-Meon, גִּלְגַּל Gilgal à côté de בֵּית גִּלְגַּל Beth-Gilgal, et toutes les autres villes du même genre dont le בֵּית Beth initial est tombé.




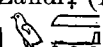

Le No. 111 se présente à nous avec deux orthographes différentes: il est écrit  Bit-Anati sur deux des listes,  Bit-Baniti sur la troisième. † Bit-Anati signifie la ville de la déesse Anati, Anata, et la transcription égyptienne du nom de la déesse Anati par un  initial est conforme à l'orthographe phénicienne, où l'on écrivait  aussi bien que . ‡ D'autre part, je ne suis pas convaincu absolument que la variante Bit-Baniti soit une faute de copie accidentelle. La déesse Anati-Anaïtis avait son cortège de prostituées sacrées, comme toutes les déesses cananéennes, et le nom de Bit-Baniti בֵּית בָּנוֹת, la Maison des filles, s'appliquerait bien à son temple ou à une ville consacrée à son culte. Les scribes égyptiens savaient les langues qu'on parlait en Syrie, et la variante de la troisième liste est probablement due à quelqu'un d'entre eux qui avait l'expérience personnelle des religions sémitiques. Les Bit-Anati ne devaient pas être rares au pays de Chanaan: la Bible n'en mentionne que deux בֵּית עֲנוֹת Beth-ânôth en

\* Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 42.

† *Recueil*, t. viii, p. 96.

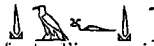
‡ *Cfr.* dans une inscription carthaginoise de la Bibliothèque Nationale  Bet-Anat, le temple d'Anat (Berger, *L'exposition de la cour Caulaincourt au Louvre*, p. 11).

Juda, בית־עַנַת Beth-ânat en Nephtali, encore sont-elles toutes deux trop éloignés pour qu'on puisse y reconnaître notre Bit-anati. La ville lévitique de עַנְתוֹת Anathoth; aujourd'hui 'Anata עַנַת, peut être une ancienne Bit-Anati. Les Juifs avaient en effet modifié, par horreur de l'idolatrie, les noms où entraît la divinité Anati, de manière à leur donnée un sens dérivé de la racine עַנָּה. Toutefois Anathoth est sur le versant du Jourdain, à quelques milles au nord de Jérusalem, dans un canton où il n'est pas certain que les Égyptiens aient jamais pénétré: je ne propose donc l'identification que sous toute réserve. Les trois numéros suivants  Khalokatou (No. 112),  Aïn-Gan-â mou (No. 113) et  Gabâou (No. 114) forment un ensemble analogue à ceux que j'ai déjà signalés autour de Jaffa et de Dourah par exemple. Gabâou est גִּבְעָה Gibéah, aujourd'hui el Djib, de préférence à גִּבְעָה, et cela me paraît résulter du voisinage même de Khalokatou. J'ai déjà appelé à ce propos l'attention des Égyptologues sur le passage de la Bible où il est dit, que les gens de Joab et d'Abner en vinrent aux mains auprès de Gibéah, à l'endroit appelé חֶלְקֶת הַצְּרִים Khelkath Ha-zurim.\* Le Khalokatou de notre liste est, à mes yeux, identique à ce Khelkath, auquel l'épisode des guerres davidiques ajouta le qualificatif *Hazurim*. M. Tyrwhitt Drake pense, avec beaucoup de raison, que le Ouady el-Askar, au nord du village d'El-Djib, représente Khelkath-Ha-zurim, et est une traduction ou une réminiscence du nom hébreu. †  En-gan-â mou est dans ce cas la source d'el Djib  عين الجيب.

Les cinq noms qui terminent la liste sont  Zeraro (No. 115),  Zafiti ou Zafidi † (No. 116),  Bir-kana (No. 117),  Houma (No. 118), et  Aktomas (No. 119).§ Un seul

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 130.

† *Pal. Expl. F., Quart. Stat.*, 1873, p. 101.

‡ Le  Zafza de Mariette (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 43) est une faute d'impression (*cf. Recueil*, vii, p. 94).

§ Pour ces deux noms que Mariette donne incomplets (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 43), voir *Recueil*, t. vii, pp. 94, 97.

d'entre eux répond à un nom connu : Bir-kana paraît être Broukîn, dans le massif d'Ephraïm. Il semblerait, d'après cela, que nous remontons vers le nord, pour aller rejoindre la partie de la liste qui a trait à la Galilée. Cette impression est confirmée de prime abord, par la présence de



Zafiti ou Zafidi, qui pourrait être une variante



du Zafiti ou Zafidi, qui est nommé dans le récit de

la campagne. Toutefois, ce dernier Zafidi était bien certainement dans la plaine de Mageddo, et il me paraît peu vraisemblable que le rédacteur de la liste, s'il avait voulu le mentionner, ne l'eût pas enregistré parmi les nombreuses villes qu'il avait déjà énumérées au début. Je crois d'autant plus prudent d'admettre l'existence d'une seconde Zafiti, que

le mot זַפֵּת, *specula*, dont זַפֵּת et זַפֵּת are the transcription exacte, a dû être appliqué à bien des endroits

différents. Le nom de Saffa, صفا, que M. de Rougé avait déjà comparé à celui de la première Safiti,\* répond très exactement à זַפֵּת au point de vue philologique. Au point de vue géographique, il n'est pas trop éloigné de Broukîn. J'admets donc jusqu'à nouvel ordre qu'il représente



Zafiti de la liste. Cette hypothèse reçoit quelque appui du nom de זַרְרוֹ, Zeraro qui précède

immédiatement. L'hébreu זַרְרוֹ, זַרְרוֹ, qui en est le prototype, signifie, *caillou*, et a pour équivalent le mot populaire صرر dans l'arabe de Palestine.† Or, à quelque distance de Saffa, l'Ouadi qui passe au nord de Loudd, prend le nom de Ouadi Serar.‡ Peut-être le rapprochement de Zafiti permet-il de supposer que le nom de Serar que prend le Ouady vient, non pas des galets qui encombrant son lit, comme le lit de tous les torrents de Judée, mais de la ville de Zeraro, Zerour, qui se serait élevé quelque part dans le voisinage. Le seul site, qui, de ce côté paraisse avoir convenu à une ville, est celui que Guérin décrit sous le nom de Kharbét Ras el-Lekrâ خربة رأس اللقرع, “une

\* E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 38.

† *Pal. Expl. F. Q. St.*, 1877, p. 181.

‡ *Pal. Expl. F. Q. St.*, 1878, p. 116: “The vale is called Wady Sûrar (a Hebrew word, meaning *pebbles*), and is the ancient Valley of Sorek.”

colline, âpre et rocheuse, entourée de ravins de trois côtés et difficilement accessible. Elle était en outre environnée, dans sa partie supérieure, d'un mur d'enceinte dont le pourtour, d'environ huit cents mètres, n'est plus indiqué actuellement que par des tas de matériaux, la plupart de petites dimensions. Au centre, s'élève un amas énorme de matériaux semblables, restes de constructions renversées de fond en comble."\* C'est là, à la hauteur de l'endroit où le Ouady-en-Nâtouf commence à prendre le nom de Ouady Serar, que je serai disposé à placé Zeraro. Quant à Houmâ et Aktomas, je n'en puis rien dire, sinon que l'identification d'Aktomas avec Mikmash† est invraisemblable à tous les points de vue.

Les noms compris dans la seconde partie de la liste se rapportent, comme on voit, aux régions de la Syrie méridionale comprises entre la Méditerranée à l'Ouest, la crête du massif de Juda à l'Est, la vallée de Bersheba au Sud, celle du Nahr el-Audja au Nord, encore le point le plus septentrional, celui de Broukîn, est-il situé à peu près sur la même ligne que Jaffa : Rohobou seule sort de ces limites, s'il est bien prouvé que Rohobou soit la Rehoboth d'Isaac, et que Rehoboth soit Er-Rouhaïbéh. La raison pour laquelle Thoutmos III s'est enfermé dans ce canton étroit est assez simple, et me paraît ressortir de l'étude des faits même qui signalèrent sa campagne de l'an xxiii. J'ai déjà montré que le séjour assez long des Égyptiens devant Magidi expliquait pourquoi le plus grand nombre des premiers noms doivent être attribués à des villages, même peu importants, du pays environnant. J'invoquerai une raison analogue pour justifier la composition de la portion de la liste relative à la Judée. Le bulletin de la guerre débute par nous dire que l'armée égyptienne était à Gaza, établie depuis quelque temps sans doute : elle y célèbre la fête du roi, puis se met en marche assez lentement, jusqu'au moment où, arrivé à Iouhmâ, (el-Kheïméh), Thoutmos III arrête définitivement son plan d'action et se lance rapidement sur l'ennemi campé dans la plaine d'Esdraelon. Or, si nous examinons la liste, nous y rencontrons d'abord, de Iarza (No. 60) à el-Haditéh (No. 76), un groupe de villes et de villages situés au nord de Gaza, sur la côte, dans la Shéphéla et sur la lisière orientale de la Shéphéla, à droite et à gauche de la route que parcourut l'armée égyptienne de Gaza à Iouhmâ. La marche est

\* Guérin, *Samarie*, t. ii, p. 69.

† Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 14.





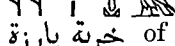



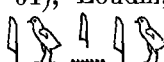
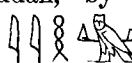

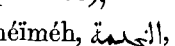

lente, l'ennemi est loin encore ; les Égyptiens envoient sur les flancs de la colonne principale des bandes d'éclaireurs ou de pillards, qui mettent à la rançon les villes et les villages, en ayant soin pourtant de ne pas s'écarter dans la vallée du Jourdain trop loin du gros de l'armée. Le second groupe, de Har (No. 77), à Gapouta (No. 103), nous mène de Gerar, par les larges Ouadis qui débouchent au Sud de Gaza, d'abord dans les environs de Bersheba et de Rehoboth, puis dans la vallée centrale de Juda, à Dora et dans le canton d'Hébron. La fertilité de ce territoire devait être une tentation perpétuelle pour les Égyptiens, et nous voyons la première campagne de Sétî I<sup>er</sup> aboutir à quelques lieues au Sud d'Hébron, à Ras el-Kanaan. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant que les troupes, concentrées à Gaza et oisives dans leurs cantonnements, aient été attirées vers ces vallées fertiles, et les vingt-six noms qui forment cette section de la liste témoignent du succès de leur entreprise. L'aspect extérieur de ces noms, comparé à l'aspect de ceux qu'on trouve sur la liste de She-shonq, nous montre que le pays ne devait pas différer beaucoup de ce qu'il est aujourd'hui : la nature du sol se répète dans la nomenclature des lieux, et les collines (Har, Harilou), les prairies (Aubilou), les jardins (Ganotou), les vignobles (Karman), les sources, y jouent un grand rôle. Dans la troisième section de la liste, de Gézer (No. 104), à Broukîn (No. 117), je retrouve la trace des dernières razzias faites pendant la halte de Iouhmâ. Les bandes égyptiennes remontent par les Ouadis jusqu'aux villes qui appartinrent plus tard aux tribus de Benjamin et d'Ephraïm. Puis, vient la marche rapide sur Mageddo, et l'armée égyptienne, réunie sous les ordres du roi, s'avance, en une seule masse, le long de la grande route, à travers les forêts et les défilés que j'ai décrits ailleurs d'après les documents égyptiens et classiques.\* Cette manière d'envisager les choses nous explique, et la composition de la liste, et les lacunes qu'elle présente. La plus grosse correspond aux marches forcées à travers la Samarie, pendant lesquelles l'armée, sans cesse sur le qui-vive, et pressée d'arriver aux défilés, avant que l'ennemi, prévenu de son approche, eût songé à les occuper, ne détachait aucune bande à droite ou à gauche, et n'avait point le temps de rançonner les populations. Les deux groupes compacts du Nord et du Midi correspondent aux séjours prolongés qu'elle fit, avant l'action, autour de Gaza, après l'action et pendant le siège, autour de Mageddo. Dans l'énumération de ce groupe

\* *Entre Joppé et Mageddo*, in-4°, 1836.

septentrional, je serai même disposé à distinguer deux sortes de villes : celles qui ont été pillées réellement, dans la plaine d'Esdraëlon et dans les cantons voisins, celles qui, situées à distance, ont fait leur soumission, et se sont rachetées avant qu'un soldat égyptien eût paru sous leurs murs. De ce nombre est certainement Qodshou et probablement Damas : leurs contingents une fois battus et leurs chefs pris dans Mageddo, elles n'attendirent pas l'arrivée du vainqueur, et se soumirent. Thoutmos III n'alla pas, cette année-là, plus loin que Mageddo, et, si les listes qu'on a dressées pour lui de ses conquêtes, portent les noms de Qodshou, d'Ashtarôth, de Damas, des villes du Haouran, c'est qu'elles surent éviter, par un tribut volontaire, la présence dangereuse du Pharaon et de ses bandes pillardes.



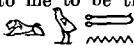





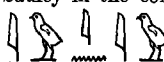
ON THE NAMES OF THE LIST OF THOTHMES III.  
WHICH MAY BE ASSIGNED TO JUDÆA. BY  
G. MASPERO. TRANSLATED BY HENRY GEORGE  
TOMKINS.




THE first fifty-nine names of the list of Thothmes III. belong to Galilee, at least for the most part. With No. 60 begins the enumeration of places that may be attributed to Judæa. The first group, from  (No. 60), Iarza, to  (No. 68), Iouhmâ, contains six names which have been almost certainly identified: , Iarza, with Ierzah , Kharbét Iarzéh  of Guérin, Kharbét Erzéh of the English map, by Guillaume Rey\* and by E. de Rougé,†  (No. 62), Iapou, Iopou, with Joppa,  (No. 64), Loudni, with , Loud, Louddah, by Mariette,‡  (No. 65), Aunau, and  (No. 68), Iouhmâ, with , Ono, now Kefr 'Ana, and el Khéiméh, , by F. de Sauley,§  Sauka (No. 67), with Shokoh of Judah

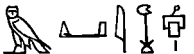
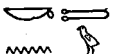




\* *Étude topographique de la tribu de Juda*, p. 121.

† *Étude sur divers monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 54.

‡ *Les listes géographiques des pylones de Karnak*, p. 32. The final  which we find at the end of this word, and of many other geographical names transcribed by the Egyptians, appears to me to be the ethnic suffix:  Loud, the town of Loud,  Loudn[i], the inhabitant of Loud, the Loudian.








§ *Lettre de M. Chabas in the Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne et Assyrienne* t. i, pp. 98-99, for the discussion of the value of the group  in  Ono-gasa, and pp. 122-123, for Iouhmâ.  The sense of Ono once recognized by de Sauley in the compounds, Mariette had only to apply it to the separate group  when he discovered it in 1875 (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 32).

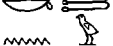


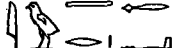

by Mariette, who yet denied the identity of this name with that of  Shanka found in the list of Sheshonq.\* I believe for my part that the two names are but one. The presence of  s, at the beginning of the one, and of  sh, at the beginning of the other, far from being a difficulty, is but a confirmation of a fact that has interest in regard to local history. Under Thothmes III., and under the Ramessids, the sibilant prevails in words such as Astarte, Ascalon, Dimasqou, Sauka; if we find under Sheshonq a *shuintante* in Shauka, it is because in the meanwhile the Judæans had invaded the country, and imposed their heavy pronunciation, *Shoko* for *Soko*, *Ashqalon* for *Ascalon*, *Ash-toreth* for *Astarte*. We have a dialectic variation to infer from the twofold spelling of the Egyptian monuments, not a difference of geographical situation.

The six known names carry us either on the border of the Philistine plain or into this plain itself. I will seek, then, in the same region, the three places of still uncertain site:  (No. 61) Mâikhasa,  (No. 63) Ganoutou, and  (No. 66) Apouken, Apoukni. M. de Rougé† has shewn that the first is the exact transcription of , *refugium*, from the root , *fugit*, *confugit*, which allows us to dismiss entirely any comparison with the town of , Makkaz, proposed by Mariette.‡ The place which Mâikhasa occupies immediately before Joppa seems to indicate a site near this town; but no map, no narrative of travel, furnishes me with a name

\* *Les listes géographiques*, p. 33.

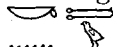

† *Études sur divers monuments*, pp. 54-55.




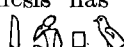



‡ *Les listes géographiques*, p. 32. M. de Rougé had virtually dismissed this identification by not admitting that the Egyptian town Mâikhasa may be compared with the modern village of  Makass, the  of the Egyptian having no correspondence with the  of the Arabic. The objection he makes to Makass is so much the more valid against Makkaz as there is added to the impossibility of comparing the  with  the difficulty of finding the  of the Egyptian in the  of the Hebrew name.

that I dare compare with the ancient name.\* In the absence of any other information the meaning *refuge* which attaches to Mâikhasa, suggests to me a hypothesis which I give for what it is worth. Joppa was the only port on the coast. The commerce of Southern Syria in great part passed through it, and several routes ended there which led thither the products of the mountains of Judah and Ephraim. These riches would be a continual temptation to the wandering tribes of the age, as the bands of Christian pilgrims were to the Bedouins of past ages. The Musulman lords of the land had guarded the way from Jaffa to Jerusalem with watch-towers for the protection of merchants and devotees. The word Mâikhasa מֵיִקְחָסָא may designate a *refuge* established from high antiquity in the neighbourhood of Jaffa for the use of travellers, and around which a village would have been formed. If this supposition is correct, we must seek the locality on the borders of the district of Joppa, on one of the routes leading north-east or south-east. As the Egyptians of [the time of] Thothmes III. came from Gaza by larza, it fits best to place it on the south-east route. The site of Yazour, near which still rises the first modern watch-tower, and which is unidentified, since M. Clermont-Ganneau has shewn it not to be Gezer, seems to me to answer to the conditions which I have pointed out, and I propose, under all reserves, to set Mâikhasa there. No. 63  Ganoutou, does not seem to me of necessity to denote a town. We meet with the same word twice besides in our list, No. 70 between  Khabizana and  Magdîlou, No. 93 between  Audor-âa (No. 91) and  Mâkar-pout (No. 94). I have already had occasion to shew, with regard to the list of Sheshonq, that the Egyptian scribes have added to the proper names of towns that they knew in the country situated between the Philistine plain and the Dead Sea some common names borrowed from native languages and denoting features of the land.† In a region

\* The site of Mouhassin or Kharbét Dêir Mahsen, which I have proposed (*Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 127), after Guérin (*Judée*, t. ii, p. 32-33), carries us too far from Joppa.

† In the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

so ill-watered, orchards and well-kept meadow-lands are a singularity, an unexpected modification of the scenery, which one notices and will never forget. I should not then be surprised if the name  Ganoutou, גַּנוּת, gardens, and  Aubilou, אָבִיל, meadow, which often occur in the rest of our list, should prove to denote not a town but a group of gardens or meadows surrounding the town next named. This is the more likely here, since the gardens of Jaffa, renowned at present through all Palestine, already existed in Egyptian times, as a passage in the Papyrus Anastasi I. proves.\* The group formed by Nos. 61—63 is composed, then, of Mâikhasa, the refuge commanding the route to Loud, the town of Joppa itself, and its gardens.†

No. 66,  Apouken, Apoukin, is placed between Ono and Shoko.  Mariette has compared it with Aphekah  of Judah‡ and his hypothesis has been generally admitted.§ The case may be with  as with  Loudni, where the  *n* final appears to me to be ethnic. Here however I think that the  *n* really exists in the very name of the town, for we find on the modern map a village of فوكين Foukîn,|| which answers to Apouken in the same way that Fîk answers to Aphek. As Foukîn is not far from Kharbét Shouwêikéh, where we recognize Shoko, I willingly admit that it answers to Apouken.¶

\* Pl. xxv, l. 2-4. Cfr. Chabas, *Le Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 250, sqq.


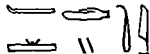
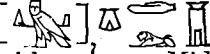
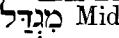



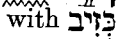


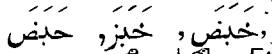


† The Talmud mentions similarly the gardens of Zeriphîn גַּנוּת הַצְּרִיפִין which were perhaps situated in the neighbourhood of Loud (Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 81).

‡ *Les listes géographiques*, p. 33.

§ Cfr. Conder in the *Q. Stat. of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1876, p. 142.

|| Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, p. 321, who mentions the village and the Wâdy. The English map and Conder (*Q. St.*, 1883, p. 180) know only the Wâdy.

¶ It is very tempting to identify, as Conder does (*Q. St.*, 1883, pp. 180-181), Foukîn, and consequently Apouken, Aphoukin, with the Pekiin of the Talmud (Reland, *Palästina*, pp. 621-622; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 81). Unhappily פקיעין Kefer Peki'in, or בקיעין Beki'in, includes an ע which Aphoukin has not, and the position which the Talmud assigns to it is diametrically opposite to that of Foukîn. It is said, in fact, that two rabbins who lived at Yabnéh reached Lod through Peki'in. Yabnéh, and consequently Peki'in, is south-west of Lod, while Foukîn is south-east.

The second group extends from No. 69 to No. 76, and contains many more undetermined elements than the first. Of eight names only two,  (No. 71), Magdilou, and  (No. 76), Houditi are certainly identified, the first, as the  Magadilou of the list of Sheshonq,\* with  Midgal Gad of the tribe of Judah, now el-Medjdel;† the second, Houditi, with  Hadid of Benjamin, now el-Hâditeh, or perhaps Kharbét Hadid of the English map, near Deïr-Eyoub, in the neighbourhood of Amwâs. The six other names divide themselves into two unequal groups, of which the former only includes  (No. 69), Khabizana, and  (No. 70), Ganoutou. The comparison of Khabizana with  of Judah, which Mariette has proposed,§ has the disadvantage of requiring an inversion of the elements *b* and *za*, as well as an impossible transcription of כ by Kha. The name itself has no analogue in Hebrew, unless we admit that it comes from  *acer fruit*, *acidus fruit*,  *salsus*, by a substitution of מ *m* for *b*, which is not without example. It has more affinity with the Arabic, where such roots as  *habiza*, may indifferently give an Egyptian transcription  Khabiza[na]. The name is then of Semitic origin, but I do not find either in the neighbourhood of el-Khéméh, or in that of el-Medjdel any site which fits it. For , Ganoutou, which precedes Magadilou, I will propose a solution of the same kind as that which I have already proposed for the Ganoutou which follows Joppa. El-Medjdel is still, like Joppa, a town renowned for the beauty of its gardens.|| Just as I identify

\* On the reading of this name in the list of Sheshonq, see *Recueil*, t. vii, p. 100.

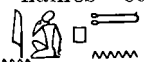


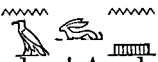
† *Cfr.* Guillaume Rey, *Étude historique et topographique de la tribu de Juda*, p. 120; Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 130-132.

‡ The identification of the two Egyptian names belongs to Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, pp. 33-34.

§ *Les listes géographiques*, pp. 33-34.

|| "At forty minutes past ten we enter the beautiful olive plantations of Medjdel. Leaving this town on our left, we take the road to Hamaméh (a

the Ganoutou of No. 63 with the gardens of Joppa, I will identify the Ganoutou No. 70 with the gardens of el-Medjdel, Hamameh, and Djoura,\* that is to say with the district of Ascalon. Ascalon itself does not appear, either because the Egyptian troops had not taken it, or rather because, like Gaza, it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison before the beginning of the campaign.

The four names comprised between Magdilou and Houdidi are  (No. 72) Apoudeni or Apouteni,  (No. 73) Shabtouna,  (No. 74) Diaïou, Dijai,  (No. 75) Naounou. Reland cites a name Apadno,† Apadanos, which singularly resembles Apoudeni, Apouteni. It was a place situated not far from Jerusalem, near Nicopolis-Emmaus, but the form of the word, borrowed from the Persian Apadâna, shews a later epoch than that to which the lists of Thothmes III. carry us. If we admit that the vicinity of the two names Magadilou and Apouteni in the list indicates the vicinity of the two places, the English map will furnish us many fit names, a Kharbét-Fatounéh which is a little to the south of Yebnah, and especially two Bouthanîs البطانى, the eastern Bathaniéh البطانية الشرقية, and the western Bathaniéh, البطانية الغربية, which are situated at a little distance to the north of el-Medjdel, and both possess some ancient remains.‡ The western Bathaniéh is more considerable than the other, and nearer the route of invasions. There I will provisionally place Apouteni.

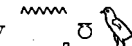
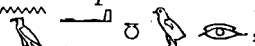
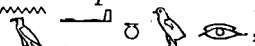
town situated twenty minutes to the north of el-Medjdel). . . . The gardens of Hamaméh are of the greatest fertility. Separated by hedges of gigantic cactus, they are planted with olives, fig trees, pomegranates, mulberries, and apricot trees. Here and there also rise slender palm trees and large sycomores. . . . At ten minutes past one we pass towards the south-south-west on leaving Hamaméh, the sand hills of the shere. Gardens fringe the border of these sand hills. Beyond these orchards we traverse fine fields of wheat, then plantations of olives and other gardens belonging to el-Medjdel. At noon we halt in the town. . . . The gardens of el-Medjdel surround this town with a verdant girde. The soil of these gardens is sandy, but, nevertheless, very fertile. They are full of fig-trees, pomegranates, olives, mulberries, and lemon trees, overtopped from place to place by enormous sycomores and elegant palms." Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 129-131.


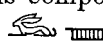
\* Guérin, *Judée*, t. ii, pp. 134-135.

† Reland, *Palæstina*, p. 571.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 80-81.



Shabtouna is probably, as Rougé was the first to say,\* derived from the root שבת, *quievit, feriatuſ est*, and applies to many localities: the texts of Ramses II. mention a second Shabtouna in the valley of the Orontes, a little way from Qodshou. Shebtîn and Kharbét Shebtîn, near Wâdy-Natouf, bring us near enough to Houditi to agree with our Shabtouna. For Dijai or Tiai, I do not see any fit etymology in Hebrew, nor any possible site in the modern map. It is not the same case with Naounou. Mariette has proposed for this last place a comparison with the Hebrew name נאֹמָן *Naomán*, which he finished by rejecting, in defect of finding in the Egyptian the *y* of the Semitic name.† For my part I have thought of the modern town Naânéh,‡ and I see that Conder classes together the three names of Naounou, Naâmah, and Naanéh.§ Different reasons hinder me from holding this opinion. In the first place, if the Semitic name had contained an *y* as its second radical, the Egyptians would have rendered it by  Na'ānou, which would have exactly corresponded with  Nāanéh, or rather by the word  Na'ānou, *graceful, pretty*, which would sound the same.



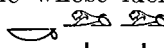
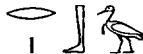

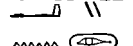

The spelling which they adopted proves on the contrary that they wished to express a vocalisation *Naounou* or *Naouonou*, without *y*. In fact it is composed of the plural article  *Na*, and the word  *Ounou*, *ouonou*, 'to open,' so perfectly, that the whole has the look of a purely Egyptian expression *Na-ouonou*, 'the openings.' This graphic pun is a sure warrant to us, 1, that the Semitic name does not include an *y*; 2, that it sounds as *Naounou*, *Naoun*. The identification with N'āamah and N'āanéh seems to me then to lack foundation. I shall prefer the Kharbét-Nina of the English map, which is situated on Wâdy Serar south of N'āaneh, and which, like the last, brings us in the direction of el-Hadîtéh, the Houdidi of our list.



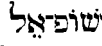

\* *Sur divers Monuments du règne de Thoutmès III.*, p. 55.

† *Les listes géographiques*, p. 35.

‡ *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 128.

§ Such at least is his opinion in the *Handbook to the Bible*, which he published in 1882 with his brother, p. 248.

The section which reaches from No. 77  Haro, to No. 104  Gaziro, in that which presents the most difficulties to the geographer. From point to point we meet some name whose identity may be recognized at first sight, No. 80, , Gerar, Oumm-Djerar,\* No. 82, , Robiau , Rabbah of Juda,† No. 86, , Aïni, the Levitical town of the territory of Simeon,‡ No. 104,  Gezer.§ Three of these places are found to the south and south-east of Gaza in the desert of Judah and of Simeon; the last brings us northward, on the way from Joppa to Jerusalem. It will be difficult to recognize the exact place where the Egyptian scribe has changed the region.

The three names which precede Gerar may attach either to Houdidi el-Haditéh, or to Oumm-Djerar. One of them,  (No. 78), Ioushep-îlou, compared by Mariette with the name  Shaphir,|| since transcribed more exactly  Ieshouph-el, Ioushep-el,¶ has been the subject of a very ingenious study on the part of M. Groff.\*\* The hypothesis of Mariette will not hold good against critical examination: the term  שפיר, whence is derived the name of the town of Shaphir, means, ‘beautiful,’ ‘pretty,’ and has nothing in common with the name of Ioshep-el, Ioshep-îlou, compounded with a divine name. M. Groff proposes to recognize in this name and in another, which he meets not far off in No. 102, “the ancient and true pronounciation of the name of Joseph under the form Iosheph-el, as well as that of the name of Jacob under the form Iakob-el.... We have then here under the form of the names of the tribes of Iakob-aal and Joseph-al, that is the families of Jacob and Joseph, the most ancient

\* *Les listes géographiques*, p. 36.

† E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 57.

‡ *Les listes géographiques*, p. 38.









§ Maspero, *Notes, Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129.

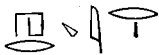
|| *Les listes géographiques*, p. 36.


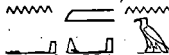
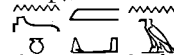
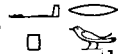
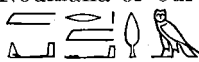
¶ Maspero, *Notes, Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 128.

\*\* Groff, *Lettre à M. Révillout sur le nom de Jacob et de Joseph en Égyptien*, in the *Revue Égyptologique*, t. iv, p. 85, sqq. (cfr. p. 146, sqq.).

mention of the biblical personages, on an original monument graven at this remote epoch.' The idea of M. Groff has something very tempting in it: one fact alone hinders my adopting it. The lists of Thothmes III. do not in fact include any well-identified names except the names of towns, Magido, Lais, Hazor, Taanak, Ako, Joppa, and no name of tribes: the names excepted from this rule, as Ganoutou, Aubilou, are applied to districts of small extent, and not to peoples. The other Egyptian lists present the same peculiarity, and, when the names of peoples as Routonou, Khiti, figure in them, it is at the beginning of each of them, as titles of a chapter, and not in the body of the chapter itself. Ioushep-ïlou, Iakob-ïlou, represent then, according to analogy, either compact villages or districts of small extent forming what we still call in the East a *beled*, that is a number of houses or huts scattered in small groups but belonging to one and the same chief or chiefs. But is this saying that the names are entirely unconnected with the two Hebrew patriarchs? The scribes who gathered the primitive history of Judæa found the narratives relating to Jacob and Joseph scattered over the territory, and must often have localized them in availing themselves of the assonances which certain geographical names presented with the names of the patriarchs. The town of Gerar and the Wâdy Gerar play a great part in the history of Abraham and of Isaac; the localities Ioshep-ïlou, Iakob-ïlou may have been attached in the same way to the name of Jacob and to that of Joseph by some tradition now lost. The proximity of Ioshep-ïlou and Gerar in the list induces me to seek the site of Ioshep-ïlou in this Wâdy Gerar where Abraham and Isaac lived. None of the maps yet drawn up give us anything that may serve for identification; but it has been at the most little explored, and it is very possible that more detailed researches may reveal the existence of a *tell* or a ruin which still bears a name derived from the Canaanite name of whose existence the Egyptian monuments have informed us.

The name    (No. 77) Harou, , 'the mountain,' is too vague for me to hope to recover any trace at present. The only thing that one can say about it is that it carries us towards the desert, that is towards Gerara rather than towards el-Haditéh.     (No. 79), Rogaza cannot

be Ziklag זִיקְלָג, as Mariette thought,\* nor Lakish, as Conder would have it:† the name has been exactly transcribed by the scribe, as the term רִנָּו, *commotio*,‡ proves, and we have no right to change anything for the sake of a hazardous identification. The place could not have been far from Gerar, no more could  (No. 81), Har-îlou, הַרְאֵל, the mountain of the god Ilou, El. This assumes a peculiar interest if we consider that the Hebrew prophets willingly assign to the mountainous deserts of the South the residence of God. The presence of the name Ilou, El, in three names near one another, shews probably that the inhabitants of this southern district gave, as did the Giblites, the title of Ilou, El, to one of their principal divinities.

With Robiau  (No. 82) we enter on a less uncertain region. If Robiau, the Rabbah of Judah, is حربة, ربا, Kharbét Rebbah,§  (No. 84) N'âmana may have given its name to Deir Nâmân of the English map, which is not far distant from Kharbét Rebbah. No. 83,  Noumâna, forms an evident alliteration with N'âmana: it is almost the same case that I have elsewhere remarked with regard to the two  Apoulos, Apouros, of Galilee. The map bears facing one another 'Arak-Naman and Deir Naman. Arak-Naman is only separated from the convent of Namân, Deir Namân, by a rather deep ravine. Should we see in one of these names the Noumana of our list, in the other the N'âmana? Maromam  (No. 85), מְרוֹמִים is not Mambre מַמְרֵה, as Mariette would have it:‖ that is

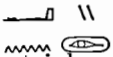
\* *Le listés géographiques*, p. 36.

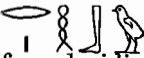
† *Pal. Expl. F.*, 1876, p. 143.

‡ E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 56, who brings forward the identification with Lakish only to reject it at once.

§ Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 336-337; Conder, in the *Pal. Expl. Fund.*, 1876, p. 151, compares Kharbét Rebbah with the Rebbbo of the Christian epoch (Reland, *Palastina*, p. 968).

‖ *Les listés géographiques*, pp. 37-38. The identification proposed by Conder (*Palestine before Joshua*, in the *Quart. Stat.*, 1876, p. 143), with En Rimmon of Simeon, now Oumm er-Rounmamîn, has also the fault of substituting a Hebrew word meaning "pomegranate" for another Hebrew word derived from the root רוּם, or an analogous root.

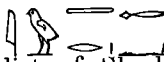
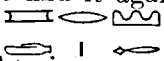







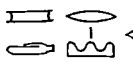
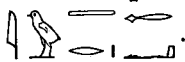




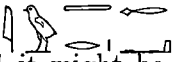

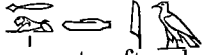

all I can say of it. The vicinity of  Aini (No. 86), which is 'Ain of Simeon, brings us certainly southward, but the site of 'Ain itself is contested.\* I am inclined to set it at Kharbét Khouiéféh, خربة خويلفة. 'Ain is in fact so near to Rimmon that at the return from the captivity, the book of Nehemiah unites the two villages in one expression, En-Rimmon. Now Rimmon is evidently Oumm er-Roummamîn, خربة ام الرمامين.† Our task is then to find in the environs of Oumm er-Roummamîn an ancient site of a fountain abundant enough to justify the name of 'Ain. The ruins of Khouiéféh are about half-an-hour to the north of Oumm er-Roummamîn, and "cover the slopes and summit of a hill. They are those of a small town of which no more remains than the cisterns, the cellars, the vestiges of numerous habitations, and those of an edifice which at the Christian epoch before the invasion of Islamism was probably a church. . . . At a little distance westward from the ruins of this little town is situated in a valley an ancient well whose water is very abundant: it is called بئر الخويلفة, Bîr el-Khouiéféh. . . . A little to the north of this well I examined the remains of an ancient village called خربة متاع خويلفة, Kharbét mtâa Khouiéféh. The group of houses depended, as its present name still shows, on the neighbouring town, of which Kharbét Khouiéféh offers us the ruins."‡ The whole of the ruins existing round this cistern may answer to the 'Ain of the Hebrew texts, Aini of the Egyptian list.

 Rohobou (No. 87) Rehoboth רְהוֹבוֹת of Isaac? Before deciding anything on this subject we must examine the direction which the list takes with the following cartouches, that is, fix on the ground one at least of the sites recorded. The most important was probably that of No. 91

\* One would willingly see in this name 'Ain (*Joshua*, xv, 32, xix, 7, xxi, 16; 1 *Chron.*, iv, 32) an abbreviation of the name En-Rimmon (*Nehemiah*, xi, 29). The Egyptian list shows that places called simply 'Ain, 'the spring,' were frequent in these regions. If we might correct the text of the biblical books, it would not be the passage in *Joshua* and *Chronicles* that I would alter after *Nehemiah*, it would be *Nehemiah* that I would modify ('to 'Ain, to Rimmon, to Zorah, to Iarmouth'), after *Joshua* and the *Chronicles*.

† Van den Velde, *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land*, p. 344.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 352, 357.

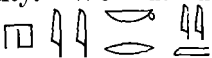
 Audor, Autor-âa, for we find it again in the list of Sheshonq with the spelling  Ador-âa (No. 98). Brugsch has shewn that the sign  may take, at least from the XIXth dynasty downwards, the value *a*, *aa*, .\* It is, I believe, in consequence of the confusion of the two signs  and , of which the second has in fact the value  *a*, *â*, *âi*, and which assume an identical form in hieratic: the greater parts of the words where  occurs with this value have in fact a variant in . Whatever this explanation may be worth, the fact is so, and the orthography  is, at the epoch of Sheshonq, a variant perfectly allowable of . That the word  *âa*, 'great,' is here an Egyptian epithet, probably the translation of a Semitic epithet of the same meaning, one cannot doubt when we see at No. 117 of the list of Sheshonq  *Adora the little*, where the epithet  is evidently reciprocal to the  of No. 98. The orthography of the list of Thothmes III.  should not then be explained, as I believed it might be, by a form in ע final, such as , *brachium*,† but is rendered by *Audor*, *Autor*, *the great*. The list of Sheshonq gives us no information precise enough for the identification of Audor: it shews us first that the two Audors were separated by nineteen names, among which only one is known, that of Arad of Juda  (Nos. 104–108), then that Audor the great, after having been important at the time of Thothmes III., still remained important at the time of Sheshonq. This consideration induces me to propose that we should recognize in it the Adoraïm  of the Bible, with Mariette.‡ The absence of the

\* *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 143, and *Supplément au Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, pp. 26–29.

† Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de Grammaire et d' Histoire*, *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129.

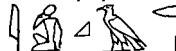
‡ Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 39.

dual termination in the Egyptian transcription suggests to me indeed some scruples; they are lessened by the fact that it is equally lacking in the Greek transcriptions. The Septuagint has Ἀδωραί, Josephus Ἀδωρα, Ἀδωραeos, only once Ἀδωραῖμ: \* the two Egyptian transcriptions may well prove that the lapse of ים was a very ancient fact in the local pronunciation. The village of Doura, to the west of El-Khalil (Hebron), answers at present to the Adora-Adoraïm of Hebrew antiquity. We must doubtless seek in the immediate vicinity



(No. 89) Higarim (*cf.*

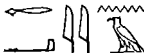
הַגִּירִים, *fugitivi*),



(No. 88) Agar or Akaro. I

consider that Higarim has nothing in common, except a very vague assonance, with עֵגְלוֹן Eglon<sup>†</sup> of Judah, and answers to no name known in the map; as to Akaro or Agaro, it is probably the Tell-Akra of the English map, on Wâdy Djézaïr, at some distance west of Doura-Audor the Great. If then Rohobou is the Rehoboth of Isaac, now Er-Rouhaibéh, as is generally admitted, it must be allowed that, after having pushed a point towards the south, in the desert, the list returns towards the north with Akaro-Akra; it will be in the mountain mass of the tribe of Judah that we should seek most of the numbers after Adora. Let us first remark

that Nos. 95



Aïna and 96



Karman, do not appear in the three lists: two of them have Karman, only one Aïna. We have the right to conclude from this either that the two names designate one locality, or that they apply to two localities different but so close that we may take the one for the other. The first impulse is to combine the two terms in one single appellation Aïna-Karman, and identify the whole with Aïn-Kerim, west of Jerusalem. But the mention of a new Abilou (No. 99) brings us farther south, in a country analogous to that where the list marks the other Abilou. Besides, the name Karman evidently belongs to פָּרִים *vine, vineyard*, and supposes a word כַּרְמֵן which would be perfectly regular; near to Doura-Audor, it invites us to seek

\* G. Böttger, *Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus*, p. 12.


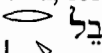
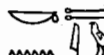
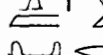

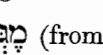
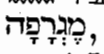

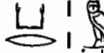
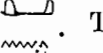
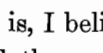
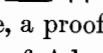
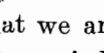

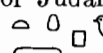
† Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 28. I have never met with a word where the Semitic ע answers in reality to □, ד, in Egyptian.

a site amidst the vineyards which surround Hebron on every side. Towns are not wanting whose names lend themselves to the identification. El-Kernel answers to Carmel of Judah **כַּרְמֶל**. Kharbet-Kerma, **خربة كرما**, presents no trace of springs and has only cisterns.\* On the other hand, we find on the west-south-west of Hebron an assortment of places which seem to answer the conditions that the double name of Aïna and Karman indicates. On leaving Ras Kanâan, the Kanâna of Seti (as Conder has shewn), we pass through a series of valleys, Oued el-Djouz **وادي الجوز**, Oued Abou-Roummân **وادي ابو رمان**, Oued el-Menshâr, **وادي المنشار**, very fertile and very well cultivated. "The vine chiefly abounds there and prospers wonderfully. It festoons itself round all the trees and forms capricious garlands. The bunches while still green are very long and laden with enormous grapes which still swell much in ripening . . . . At twenty-five minutes past nine our direction inclined towards north-west. At forty-five minutes past nine another beautiful valley called Oued el-Kerm **وادي الكرم**, on account of its superb vineyards, displayed to our sight its verdant show of gigantic vines and fruit-trees. The walls of many enclosures which it contains are carefully kept up throughout. . . . At ten we arrive at the spring called 'Aïn esh-Shems **عين الشمس**, which is covered by an arched vault of ancient look. One goes down by many steps. At a small distance from this spring I observe an ancient wine-press, three-quarters full, composed of two basins cut in the rock. Turning to the right towards the south I soon meet with two fine cisterns hewn in the rock. . . . Beside these we find a second wine-press like that which I have mentioned. Further on, in the same direction and amidst rich vineyards, a third antique wine-press, much more remarkable than the other two, drew my attention. . . . The place they occupy is called Kharbét Serásir **خربة سراسير**; they call it also by the name of Kharbét Daouïrbân **خربة داويربان**, and it includes no other ruins than those of small habitations or towers scattered amidst the vines. A high hill very abrupt towards the south-west, and at a little distance, bears also the name of Daouïrbân. If a town was built formerly in this place it has been almost entirely effaced from the ground except some tombs hewn in the rock and several masses of stones



\* Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 370-371.




which may belong to demolished structures.”\* Some have wished to place here the Debîr of Judah, דְּבִיר, but this opinion has not been admitted. It seems to me that Kharbét Sérásir answers well enough to the special conditions of our list. 'Ain esh-Shems is the Aïna, Kharbét-Sérásir the Karman whose name may remain at Oued el-Karm. The spring ('Aïna) and the vineyard (Karmana) are near enough for the locality to have been called indifferently 'Aïna or Karman or 'Ain-Karman. The hypothesis is so tempting that I cannot withhold myself from giving it.

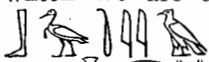
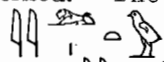
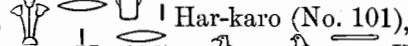

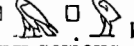
This granted, I will seek the site of the three preceding numbers in the same region, between Doura and Hebron. And first I must call attention to the whole series of names as significant of a land well cultivated, for we have one upon another 'the meadow,' , 'the gardens,' , 'the clods' , , , , (from , *gleba terræ*), a spring , a vineyard, , , , , . This is, I believe, a proof that we are in a very rich territory, and the name of Adora-Doura indicates the district of Hebron, the most fertile of all this region. From the order in which these places are enumerated, we may conclude that the first three are between Doura and Kharbét Serasir: unfortunately they have left no trace on modern ground. The names which follow Karman are not easier to identify. The presence of a new  Aubilou (No. 99) makes me believe that we are not far from the central region of Judah, and this conjecture is confirmed by the presence of  Tipounou (No. 98). This last word corresponds, in fact, letter by letter with Thephon, which is mentioned among the towns fortified by Judas Maccabæus,† and although we cannot identify this town,†


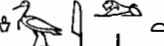
\* Guérin, *Judée*, t. iii, pp. 260-261, 264.

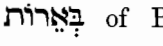



† E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 58. The identification that I have proposed with Dimôn of Judah falls by the fact that never to my knowledge a  p in Egyptian transcribes a  in Hebrew: Dimôn-Dibôn cannot answer to Tipounou, Dipounou.





‡ The ordinary identification of Thephon with Tappuakh has the fault of taking no account of the final . For the same reason the comparison of Mariette between Tipounou and Tappouakh (*Listes géographiques*, p. 40) appears to me inadmissible.





there is a general agreement to place it in the parts with which we are at present concerned. The other towns

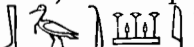
 Bitia (No. 97),  Ierdou (No. 100),  Har-karo (No. 101),  Iâkob-îlou (No. 102),  Kapouto (No. 103), do not suggest to me any serious comparison, and I can add nothing to what I have already said some years ago.\*

From No. 104 to No. 119 the list carries us over the confines of Judæa and Samaria.  (No. 104), Gaziro is Gezert, Tell-Djézer; then come, at a little interval from one another,  Bierôtou (No. 109), Beeroth




 בִּיאֲרוֹת of Benjamin, now el-Biréh,  (No. 114), Gebâou, Gebâ גִּבְעָה or Gibéah גִּבְעָה of Benjamin. The direction is sufficiently indicated by these three landmarks set from place to place. Rabbitou  (No. 105), Makerotou, Makelotou  (No. 106),

 'Amekou (No. 107), appear to me as if they should be sought in the environs of Gézer. All these names are very regular in form, רִבְת, מְקֹרוֹת from מְקָרָא or מְקָרָה if the Egyptian  answers to Semitic מְקָרָא, if it answers to מְקָרָה, and עֵמְק; none of them has survived.  (No. 108), Sarouti, Saroudi, Salouti, Saloudi, may be the original of the name Σαλαθά, which the LXX. substitute for יֶתְלָה Iethlah, in the enumeration of the towns of Dan, and which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake places at Shilta, a little north-west of Bethoron the Lower.† Between Bierôtou (No. 109) and Gebâou (No. 114) the list places four fresh names. The first (No. 110),  Bit-Shaïro, Bîtshâilou,

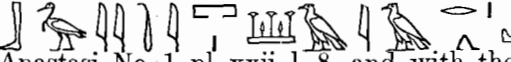











 'Amekou (No. 107), appear to me as if they should be sought in the environs of Gézer. All these names are very regular in form, רִבְת, מְקֹרוֹת from מְקָרָא or מְקָרָה if the Egyptian  answers to Semitic מְקָרָא, if it answers to מְקָרָה, and עֵמְק; none of them has survived.  (No. 108), Sarouti, Saroudi, Salouti, Saloudi, may be the original of the name Σαλαθά, which the LXX. substitute for יֶתְלָה Iethlah, in the enumeration of the towns of Dan, and which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake places at Shilta, a little north-west of Bethoron the Lower.† Between Bierôtou (No. 109) and Gebâou (No. 114) the list places four fresh names. The first (No. 110),  Bit-Shaïro, Bîtshâilou,

 Bit-Shaïro, Bîtshâilou,

\* *Notes, &c., Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 129; *cf.* E. de Rougé, *Sur divers Monuments*, pp. 58-59.

† The transcription of  by , Egyptian is proved, among others, by the spelling  of the name of Gaza עֵזְרָה, ethn. עֵזְרָה.

‡ *Quart. Stat.*, 1873, p. 101.

is that of a very important town:\* we find it again with the spelling  in the Papyrus Anastasi No. 1, pl. xxii, l. 8, and with the spelling  at Gournah, under Seti I.† The identification with , Beth-Shean, Scythopolis, which has been defended, especially by Chabas,‡ supposes a change of  into , which is not very admissible in the Egyptian transcription.§ Brugsch, on the other hand, has brought forward a reading  Beth-Sheol, which M. de Rougé has not hesitated to adopt.|| The variants of the name prove that it is really a  and not a  final that the Egyptians meant: they wrote, in fact, in the Anastasi Papyrus  with the same termination  that serves always elsewhere to write the name of , *ilou*. It is then Bit-Shailou that we ought to read, and not Bith-Shairou. The documents unfortunately furnish us no very precise information about this town. The Papyrus Anastasi No. 1 names it with a town of  Diroka-*ilou*, or Diloka-*ilou* ¶ and seems to establish a connection between these two localities and the fords of Jordan; but the paragraph of the papyrus where we read this mention contains names of north and south, and the place which Bit-Shailou and Diroka-*ilou* occupy in the enumeration indicate nothing, if it be not that they are situated between Judæa and Galilee.

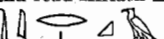


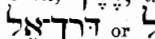
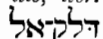
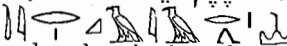
\* The passages relating to this town were first brought together by Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, t. ii, pp. 40-41, 49-50.

† Lepsius, *Denkm.* III., pl. 131a.

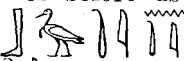
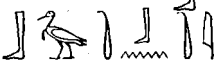



‡ *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, pp. 203-205.

§ E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 60.

|| Brugsch, *G. Inc.*, II., pp. 40-41, 49-50; E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 60.


¶ Chabas (*Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 205) proposes to reverse the order of the signs, and read Kiriath-El, *Civitas Dei*. This inversion is so much the less needful as  is the transcription possible for two much used roots, , *arsit, flagravit*, and , *pedibus calcavit, דרד, itio, iter*. The two roots form names which have a very fit sense  or  Derek-el, or Dalak-el. The orthography  Diroka [Diloka]-*ilou* is then perfectly legitimate and need not be changed.

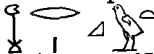
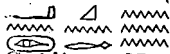
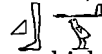

The only fact which remains to us is that Bit-Shailou was an important town. I am then induced to admit as very probable the opinion of Mariette, according to which it will be שִׁילֹה Shiloh, the town of Ephraim.\* Bêth-Shilo בֵּית־שִׁילֹה, the house of rest, will have lost its initial בֵּית like Ἀρβηλα from בֵּית־אַרְבֵּאל Beth-Arbel, בַּעַל־מֵעוֹן Ba'al-Meon from בֵּית־בַּעַל־מֵעוֹן Beth-Ba'al-Meon, גִּלְגַּל Gilgal, beside בֵּית־גִּלְגַּל, and all the other towns of the same class whose initial בֵּית has lapsed.

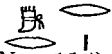




No. 111 comes before us with two different spellings: it is written  *Bit-Anati* in two of the lists,  *Bit-Baniti* in the third.† Bît - Anati signifies the town of the goddess Anati, Anata, and the Egyptian transcription of the name of the goddess Anati by an  initial is conformed to the Phœnician orthography where they wrote it  as well as .‡ On the other hand, I am not convinced absolutely that the variant Bît-Baniti is an accidental fault of the copy. The goddess Anati-Anaitis had her retinue of consecrated prostitutes, like all the Canaanite goddesses, and the name of Bît-Baniti בֵּית־בָּנוֹת, the House of the daughters, applies well to her temple, or a town consecrated to her worship. The Egyptian scribes knew the languages that they spoke in Syria, and the variant of the third list is probably due to one of them who had personal knowledge of the Semitic religions. The Bît-Anatis could not have been rare in the land of Canaan: the Bible only mentions two of them, בֵּית־עֲנוֹת Beth-ānoth in Judah, בֵּית־עֲנַת Beth-ānat in Nephtali; still they are both too remote for us to recognize our Bît-anati. The Levitical town of עֲנַתֹּת Anathoth, now 'Anata عَنَا, may be an ancient Bît-Anati. The Jews had in fact modified, through horror of idolatry, the names into which the divinity Anati

\* Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 42.

† *Recueil*, t. viii, p. 96.

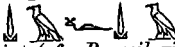
‡ *Cfr.* in a Carthaginian inscription of the Bibliothèque Nationale  Bet-Anat, the temple of Anat. (Berger, *L'exposition de la cour Caulaincourt au Louvre*, p. 11).

entered, so as to give them a sense derived from the root ענה. Yet Anathoth is on the slope towards Jordan, some miles north of Jerusalem, in a district where it is not certain that the Egyptians ever penetrated: I do not then propose the identification except with all reserve. The three following numbers  Khalokatou (No. 112),  'Ain-Gan-â mou (No. 113) and  Gab'au (No. 114) form a group analogous to those which I have already noticed round Jaffa and Dourah for example. Gab'au is גבעה, now el Djîb, in preference to Geb'â גבע, and this seems to me to result from the very nearness of Khalokatou. I have already called the attention of Egyptologists to this in the Biblical passage where it is said that the men of Joab and Abner fought near Gibeah, at the place called חֶלְקַת הַזְּרִים Khelkath Ha-Zurim.\* The Khalokatou of our list is, to my eyes, identical with this Khelkath to which the incident of David's wars added the epithet *Hazurim*. M. Tyrwhitt-Drake thought, with much reason, that Wâdy el-Askar, north of the village of el-Djîb, represents Khelkath Ha-Zurim, and is a translation or a reminiscence of the Hebrew name.†  En-gan-â mou is in this case the spring of el-Djîb عين الجيب.

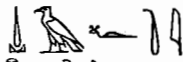

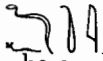
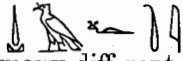
The five names which terminate the list are  Zeraro (No. 115),  Zafti or Zafidi‡ (No. 116),  (No. 117),  Houma (No. 118), and  Aktomas (No. 119).§ Only one of them answers to a known name: Bir-kana appears to be Broukîn, in the hill country of Ephraim. It seems after this that we remount towards the north, to rejoin the part of the list which has related to Galilee. This impression



\* *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 130.

† *Pal. Exp. F. Quart. Stat.*, 1873, p. 101.

‡ The  Zafza of Mariette (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 43) is a misprint (*cf. Recueil*, vii, p. 94).

§ For these two names which Mariette gives incomplete (*Les listes géographiques*, p. 43), see *Recueil*, t. vii, pp. 94, 97.

is confirmed at first sight by the presence of  Zafiti or Zafidi, which may be a variant of  Zafiti or Zafidi, which is named in the narrative of the campaign. Yet this last Zafidi is very certainly in the plain of Mageddo, and it seems to me little probable that the scribe who drew up the list, if he wished to mention it, should not have registered it among the numerous towns already enumerated at the outset. I believe it is the more prudent to admit the existence of a second Zafiti, since the word *צֶפֶת*, *specula*, of which  and  are the exact transcript, may be applied to many different places.

The name of Saffa *صفا*, which M. de Rougé has already compared with the first Safiti,\* answers very exactly to *צֶפֶת* from the philological point of view. In a geographical point of view it is not far distant from Broukîn. I admit then in the new arrangement that it represents  Zafiti in the list. This hypothesis receives some support from the name of  Zeraro which immediately precedes it. The Hebrew *צֶרֶר*, *צֶרֶר*, which is its prototype, signifies 'flint,' and has for equivalent the popular word *صر* in the Arabic of Palestine.† Now, at some distance from Saffa, the Wâdy which runs to the north of Loudd takes the name Wâdy Serar.‡ Perhaps the comparison of Zafiti allows the supposition that the name Serar, which the Wâdy takes, comes not from the pebbles that encumber its bed, like the bed of the torrents of Judæa, but from the town of Zeraro, Zerûr, which may have been built somewhere in the neighbourhood. The only site which in this part appears fit for a town is that which Guérin describes under the name Kharbet Ras el-Lekrâ *خربة راس اللقرع*, "a rough and rocky hill surrounded by ravines on three sides and accessible with difficulty. It was besides surrounded, in its higher part, with a wall of enclosure whose circuit of about eight

\* E. de Rougé, *Sur divers monuments*, p. 38.

† *Pal. Expl. F. Q. St.*, 1877, p. 181.

‡ *Pal. Expl. F. Q. St.*, 1878, p. 116: "The vale is called Wâdy Sûrar (a Hebrew word, meaning *pebbles*), and is the ancient Valley of Sorek."

hundred mètres is no longer indicated except by heaps of materials, for the most part of small size. In the middle arises an enormous mass of similar material, the remains of constructions overthrown in heaps from the foundations.”\* It is there, at the highest point of the place where the Wâdy en-Nâtouf begins to take the name of Wâdy Serar, that I should be disposed to place Zeraro. As to Houmâ and Aktomas, I can say nothing except that the identification of Aktomas with Mikmash† is improbable from all points of view.

The names comprised in the second part of the list belong, as we see, to the regions of southern Syria included between the Mediterranean on the west, the crest of the mountain-mass of Judah on the east, the valley of Beersheba on the south, that of the Nahr-el-Audja on the north; yet the most northern point, that of Broukîn, is situated nearly on the same line as Jaffa: Rohobou alone transgresses these limits, if it is indeed proved that Rohobou is the Rehoboth of Isaac, and that Rehoboth is er-Rouhaïbeh. The reason why Thothmes III. was confined within this narrow district is simple enough, and appears to me to arise from the study of the very facts which mark his campaign of the twenty-third year. I have already shown that the rather long stay of the Egyptians before Magidi explains why the greater number of the earlier names must be attributed to villages, even of little importance, belonging to the surrounding country. I will cite a similar reason to justify the composition of the portion of the list referring to Judæa. The narrative of the war opens by telling us that the army was at Gaza, doubtless quartered there for some time: it celebrated there the festival of the King, then marched rather slowly until the moment when, arrived at Iouhmâ (el-Kheiméh), Thothmes III. definitively settled his plan of action and launched himself rapidly on the enemy encamped in the plain of Esdraelon. Now if we examine the list we first meet, from Iarza (No. 60) to el-Haditéh (No. 76), a group of towns and villages situated to the north of Gaza on the coast, in the Shéphéla, and on the eastern border of the Shéphéla, on the right and left of the route which the Egyptian army followed from Gaza to Iouhmâ. The march is slow, the enemy still far off; the Egyptians send out on the flanks of their principal column detachments of scouts, or of pillagers, who exact ransom from the towns

\* Guérin, *Samarie*, t. ii, p. 69.

† Mariette, *Les listes géographiques*, p. 44.

and villages, taking care, however, not to stray into the Jordan-valley too far from the main body of the army. The second group, from Har (No. 77), to Gapouta (No. 103), brings us from Gerar by the great Wādys which open to the south of Gaza, first in the environs of Beersheba and Rehoboth, then in the central valley of Judah, to Dora and into the district of Hebron. The fertility of this territory would be a perpetual temptation to the Egyptians, and we see the first campaign of Seti I. directed to Ras el-Kan'ān, some leagues to the south of Hebron. It is nothing surprising if the troops concentrated at Gaza, and at leisure in their cantonments, should be attracted towards these fertile valleys, and the twenty-six names which form this section of the list bear witness to the success of their enterprise. The outward appearance of these names, compared with the appearance of those which we find in the list of Sheshonq, shows us that the country could not have differed much from what it now is: the nature of the soil repeats itself in the nomenclature of the places, and the hills (Har, Harilou), the meadow-lands (Aubilou), the garden (Ganotou), the vineyards (Karman), the springs, here play a great part. In the third section of the list, from Gézer (No. 104) to Broukîn (No. 117), I find the trace of the last raids made during the halt at Iouhmâ. The Egyptian troops ascend by the Wādys to the towns which at a later time belonged to the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraïm. Then comes the swift march on Mageddo, and the Egyptian army, united under the command of the king, advances in a single mass along the great route across forests and through defiles which I have elsewhere described after the Egyptian and classic documents.\* This way of looking at the matter explains to us both the composition of the list and the gaps which it presents. The greatest corresponds with the forced marches across Samaria, during which the army, always on the lookout, and forced to reach the defiles before the enemy, advised of its approach, had thought of occupying them, threw off no detachment right or left, and had no time to exact ransom from the population. The two compact groups of the north and the south correspond with the prolonged halts which it made before the action around Gaza, after the action and during the siege, around Mageddo. In the enumeration of this northern group I should be even disposed to distinguish two kinds of towns: those which were actually pillaged in

\* *Entre Joppé et Mageddo*, in 4to., 1886.



the plain of Esdraëlon and the neighbouring districts, and those which, situated at a distance, made their submission and bought themselves off before an Egyptian soldier had appeared under their walls. Of this number is certainly Qodshou, and probably Damascus: their contingents once beaten and their chiefs taken at Mageddo, they did not await the arrival of the conqueror, but submitted. Thothmes III. went no farther this year than Mageddo, and if the lists of his conquests drawn up for him bear the names of Qodshou, Ashtaroth, Damascus, and some towns of the Haûran, it is because they would avoid by a voluntary tribute the dangerous presence of the Pharaoh and his plundering troops.


The CHAIRMAN (H. CADMAN JONES, ESQ.).—The meeting will, I am sure, return its cordial thanks to M. Maspero for the second valuable paper he has contributed, and also to Mr. Tomkins for the great service he has rendered us by his excellent translation of it. If there is any one here who can throw further light upon the subject, we shall be most happy to listen.

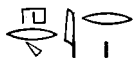
REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS:—My own study of the record of the conquests of Thothmes III. has led to many concordant results, of which I need not speak, and also to many differences and additional suggestions, and these I will bring to focal points of interest as briefly as I can.


Our starting-place in Judæa is Iarza (60), which M. Maspero (following Rey and de Rougé) takes as Khûrbet Erzeh, near Askalon, thus from Galilee going straight down to begin anew in the far south. But to me it seems that our Iarza is Khûrbet Yerzeh (as proposed in 1870 by Professor Brandes), a place on the way from the central scene of the campaign of Megiddo towards Joppa; while the next name, Makhsa (61), is (as Conder suggests) Khûrbet el Maghazûn, on the way to Joppa, which immediately follows (62). Thus, without any dislocation, our list goes right down in the route which Professor Maspero has marked out as the line of march.

My next great point is No. 77, Har (the mountain), which I take as Hâr Ephraim, "Mount Ephraim," and, accordingly, I see in the district of Tai (74) Jebel et Teyi, and in the name Nûn (75) the ancestral, and perhaps tribal, name which Joshua bore as ben-Nûn, and which haunts the neighbourhood where he is said to have been buried, north and west of the Jebel et Teyi. The family had,

perhaps, possessions here to which they returned with their great leader, a prince of Ephraim. It agrees well with this that the next name, Iashepal, appears to involve the name of Joseph, as I'aqbal (102) does that of Jacob. I will not repeat what I have said elsewhere, but I am glad to find that M. Maspero agrees in thinking that, whatever the personal or gentile value of this name, there is no reason (as M. Groff thinks) against its being locally attached in Judæa. It seems to me that it may well enough represent the place anciently called Yusepheh, and now Yasûf, some four miles east of Kefr Hâris.

Professor Maspero goes to the far south for  (80), but I cannot accompany him to the Gerar of Abraham, for I believe this place may be Dâr Jerîr, nine or ten miles S.S.E. of Yasûf, and that our list proceeds with names at no very great distance from one another.

The next place is called by the remarkable name Har-el, "Mountain of God,"  unless we read it Harar. Professor Sayce believes that we have here an ancient name of Jerusalem, and has given his reasons in the *Athenæum* of October 9, 1886, and in a letter printed in my paper on this list, to which I must refer for lack of time on the present occasion. I have thought that perhaps the place may be 'Arâra, an important site of ruins, with five sacred places, but I trust we may have more light on this very interesting name. At all events, the place must lie (I think) in the region around Jerusalem, rather than in that of Gerar, in the south.

The next name to be mentioned is Higrim (89), which I take to be a tribal name, , the descendants of Hagar, and this would agree with the expression "all the unknown peoples of the frontiers of the Sati." We should expect to find the Hagarites among these. South-west of Hebron is a spring called 'Ain el Hejeri.

The two *Abels* which occur after Higrim (90 and 92) seem, not improbably, to be Abel-Shittim in the Jordan valley and the renowned Abel-Mizraïm, identified by Jerome with Beth-hogla, now 'Ain Hajla, between the Jordan and Jericho, and accordingly the *Maqerput* (No. 94) I hold to be Wâdy Makarfet el Qattûm, crossed by the pilgrim-road on the way from the great ford of Hajla to Jerusalem. In this case, 'Aina (95) may be the great spring 'Aines-Sultân, supposed to mark the site of the first Jericho, and the vineyard-name Qalman, or Qarman (96), may be the old Calamon, near Jericho (Mem. P. E. F., III., 194).

The remarkable name *Iaqob-el* occurs at No. 102, and has occasioned much speculation since M. de Rougé suggested the question whether "this local name preserves a memorial of the establishments of Jacob in Palestine." M. Groff, in a very interesting paper, with subsequent additions, earnestly denies the local element, while as strongly upholding the ethnic significance. To my mind, de Rougé's question is open to an affirmative answer, and Professor Maspero holds this opinion. It seems to me that the locality may be fixed by the name *Iqbâla*, borne by a *Wâdy* and a ruin about six miles west of Jerusalem, near the road to *Jaffa*.

Then, I think, the name *Magretu* (106) may be *Ma'arath*, identified with *Beit Ummar*, north of *Hebron*, and *'Amequ* (107) will be the *'Emeq Hebron*, with which a group of places will agree, —viz., 108, *Sertha*, which I take to be the well of *Sirah* (2 Sam. iii. 26), which I would place at *Siret el Bellâ'a*, two and a half miles north of *Hebron*; *Beth-Shar*, the present *Beit-Shar*, six and a half miles north of *Hebron*; *Beth-antha*, perhaps *Beit-'Ainûn*; *Khelqetu*, perhaps *Khûrbet el Katt*, three miles from *Beit 'Ainûn*; *'An-qn'a*, *'Ain el Qana*, one mile north-west of *Hebron*, and formerly supplying it with water; and *Qeb'au*, *קבוע*, *Jeb'a*, ten miles north of *Hebron*, "possibly *Gibeah of Judah*."

As to *Zaftha* (116), *Mariette* identified it with *Ziph*, now *Tell ez Zif*, south of *Hebron*.

*Bar-qna* (117) may, I think, well be found at *Khûrbet Bîrein*, close to *Khûrbet Yukîn*, which has been identified with the city *Kain* (*Josh.* xv. 57), and reminds us of the *Kenites*.

I will not now touch the two remaining names, and I have only ventured (on the present occasion) slightly to sketch the additions which I have proposed of two considerable clusters of names, the one surrounding *Jerusalem*, the other enclosing *Hebron*. My treatment of this list in detail will be found in the forthcoming volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*.

It has been a labour of love to me to translate Professor Maspero's learned and highly valuable papers for the *Victoria Institute*; and, by the united efforts of many minds, it seems manifest that this celebrated list, which carries so many Biblical names farther back than the *Mosaic record*, is at last being, to an unexpected extent, explained and locally identified.

Captain FRANCIS PETRIE, F.G.S. (Hon. Sec.).—I have to state that among the letters received, the first two are from Sir George

Grove and Sir Richard Temple, both regretting their inability to be present this evening. Before I read the communications that have been sent in, I wish to state that M. Maspero's former paper, upon the first portion of the Karnak lists, will be found in the *Victoria Institute's Journal*, vol. xx., together with comments by Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., Major Conder, R.E., the Rev. H. G. Tomkins, the Rev. Dr. W. Wright, and others. As regards the second portion of these lists, we have to-night the advantage of the views of various critics of M. Maspero's paper, his final corrections to which have now been made; the Council is, therefore, able to place before the Members in a most complete form, with M. Maspero's map, the last known results of investigations upon this subject.

Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., writes:—

“ORDNANCE HOUSE, SOUTHAMPTON.

“*May 4th*, 1888.

“I regret very much that I am unable to get up to town on Monday to hear M. Maspero's paper. It is a very important contribution to the literature of the geography of the Holy Land, and I must congratulate the Institute on obtaining such a valuable addition to their Proceedings.”

The Rev. Canon Liddon, D.D., calls attention to the great value of M. Maspero's paper, saying, “while the invasion of Palestine by Thothmes III. does not traverse (it really supports) the Bible history, his list of his conquests affords various indirect confirmations of the truth of the Bible narrative. And, moreover, it is an important contribution to the great fabric of Ancient Egyptian history, to which we may look with increasing confidence for the means of showing how mistaken are certain theories which for purely or mainly subjective reasons, would place the date of the earliest books of Holy Scripture so late as to be entirely inconsistent with belief in their general trustworthiness, to say nothing of their higher claims.”

He adds, “I regret to observe that one of M. Maspero's identifications (on the third page of his paper) is obtained at the cost of deciding that Yazour is not Gezer.”

Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, writes:—

“*May 7th*, 1888.

“DEAR SIR,

“It will not be possible for me to be present this evening at the meeting to which the President and Council have honoured me by their invitation. They would probably, however, like to know

that I agree generally with M. Maspero in the interpretation of the document which forms the subject of the paper. M. Maspero differs from every other Egyptologist in transcribing as *i* a vowel which should, I think, be considered *a*, but this makes but little practical difference through the entire list of names.

"Although this list of Thothmes III. establishes the fact that what we now call 'Hebrew' was the language of Palestine for centuries before the children of Israel took possession of the country, some difficulty in identifying names arises from the difference between the consonantal systems of Hebrew and Egyptian. Each language used important sounds which the other had not. The Egyptian language had no medial consonants, nor anything corresponding to the Semitic *y* (with its two sounds  $\xi$  and  $\xi'$ ), and it made no distinction between *l* and *r*. In later times the Egyptians adopted a regular system of transcription of Semitic words, but no such system had yet come into operation at the time of Thothmes III.

"It would be satisfactory to feel assured that the syllable *ar*, which occurs at the end of certain names, is really a transcription of the Hebrew EL, signifying God. But, although this is highly probable, no true scholar would venture to assert it as absolutely certain.

"I find myself quite unable to agree with Professor Sayce when he tells us in his Hibbert Lectures that—

"Joseph was not only the father of the Israelitish tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, he was also a deity worshipped by the older inhabitants of Canaan. More than two centuries before the date assigned by Egyptologists to the Exodus, the great Egyptian conqueror Thothmes III. inscribed upon the walls of the temple of Karnak the names of the cities conquered by him in Palestine. Among them are Yaqeb-el, "Jacob the God" and Iseph-el, "Joseph the God."

"According to the same process of interpretation, Israel, Ishmael, Nathaniel, Jezreel, Bethel are evidence of the gods Isra, Ishma, Nathan, Jezre, Beth, and ever so many others!

"Even if the transcription adopted by Professor Sayce were indisputable, the first part of each word would not be a proper name but a *verb*, as in Ishma-el 'God will *hear*,' Jezre-el, 'God has *planted*.' No such names as Jacob or Joseph occur in these Karnak inscriptions, but (at the utmost) only the verbs from which the names are derived.

"As a matter of fact, *Iāqabiār* is only one of three different readings; the other copies giving *Iāqabāmre* and *Iāqabām*.

"The second name, written *Išapār* is fully preserved in only one of the copies of the list, so that there is but little check upon its orthography. M. Maspero's derivation of the word appears to me quite as doubtful as Mariette's. The Egyptians would have used another sign than  $\overline{\text{š}}\overline{\text{a}}$  to represent שׁ. I am rather inclined to look for the first element of the name in  $\text{š}$  (the unused root of  $\text{š}$ , a quiver), according to the sense ascribed to it by Simonis and Gesenius, *tegere, occultare, recondere*. But all this is only guess-work."

The Rev. Dr. Edersheim writes:—

"The list of Thothmes III. is not only of great intrinsic historical interest, but has, through recent theories, acquired the deepest importance for Biblical students. This monograph by M. Maspero will, in its elegant and excellent rendering by my learned friend, Mr. Tomkins, prove most helpful in various ways. No doubt some of these applications may be pointed out by speakers. I much regret that other engagements prevent my being present on this occasion."

Major C. R. Conder, R.E., is unable to be here this evening, but has kindly sent some comments, which I will ask Mr. Tomkins to read.

*Remarks on the Geographical Lists of Karnak, by Major Conder, R.E.*—"As regards M. Maspero's researches into the names of the celebrated Karnak list of towns in Palestine, I should not like to write off-hand on questions to which he has now for some time given so much attention. I first studied these lists in 1875-6, and came to the conclusion that the names, up to No. 119, are all to be sought in Galilee, Samaria, and the vicinity of the Philistine plain (except a section in Bashan, towards Damascus): Mariette had extended his researches over the whole of Palestine, and even sought for places east of the Dead Sea. It appeared to me more probable that the conquered towns would lie along the route taken by the army of Thothmes III.; and that it was impossible that Egyptian chariots, at least, should have scaled the mountain-walls which protect Jerusalem and Bethel, or crossed the deep Jordan valley, and passed up the yet steeper ridges of Moab and of Gilead.

"I am very glad to see that M. Maspero seeks in the same regions in which I then sought, and often accepts a site which I ventured to propose in opposition to the views of Mariette, to whom, however, we owe a most valuable monograph on the subject. I agree in

considering that the second part of the list,—beginning near Joppa,—refers to towns in the south-west; and the general definition on page 21 of the present paper thoroughly agrees with the view I have always held. My sites for Megiddo and for the Kanana of Seti (which are of great importance to Egyptian topography in Palestine) are both accepted by Rev. H. G. Tomkins, to whom I believe we owe the recovery of several very important sites in Northern Syria, mentioned in the northern list at Karnak.

“It appears that the number of sites generally agreed to is sufficient to indicate the district intended in a very definite manner; but I do not expect that there will ever be complete agreement as to all the sites in the list. I venture, however, to point out to M. Maspero that he has apparently not made use of certain sources of information which he would, I think, find useful. He never refers to the *Memoirs of the Palestine Survey*, or to the name-lists which give the Arabic spelling of the modern names. He might, by their aid, have corrected some of the mistakes made by Guerin, and would often have found fuller notes than those given by the French traveller.

“I desire to avoid any appearance of seeking to claim authority in so difficult a question, and to avoid any of that bitter controversial writing, which appears to me to be ruinous to any real study of antiquity. M. Maspero will, however, no doubt, pardon a few notes on the details which strike me in first reading his paper.

“M. Maspero's treatment of these lists is of value, because he has thoroughly examined the transliterations proposed by Mariette, and has made important notes on pronunciation. As regards geographical position, it seems to me that he has added little. He discards Mariette's proposal to include Moab Ammon and Phœnicia, and follows the proposals which, I believe, I was the first to publish in 1876, restricting our search to Galilee, Samaria, Bashan, and the west side of the Judean watershed, as far south as the plains of Simeon. In the north he has not, I think, added any acceptable identification to those which were proposed by former Egyptologists and by myself. He has accepted identifications which I proposed in 1876 and 1881, but has not, in every case, thought well to mention my prior claim to discovery (I refer to Nos. 14, 21, 22, 46, 50, 53, 54). Only in the cases of Nos. 4 and 40 has he acknowledged that the discovery is due to me.

“I have previously given reasons for not agreeing with a few new proposals in this part. Substantially we are in complete agreement as to the list in Galilee and Bashan, though I think that eleven of

my identifications might be added, some of which fix places not fixed by M. Maspero. (See Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine, volume of special papers, 1881.)\*

"M. Maspero supposes Deir N'amân and 'Arâk N'amân to be sites of ancient towns. The one is a small ruin of a Christian convent; the other is a little cliff of limestone in a shallow valley. He also at times unconsciously gives the Arabic as he gathered it from the English lettering, thus omitting important gutturals. Again, he seems to think that a village called Fukin is omitted from the Survey map, and mentioned only by Guerin. The Turkish official list gives this village under the name Wað Fukin, and as such it appears on the map and in the Memoirs. Fukin alone is the name of no village, but an error on the part of M. Guerin.

"In his southern list, M. Maspero has made several new and, I think, valuable suggestions, such as Shebtin (No. 73) and Fâtûneh (No. 72). I think that the proposal of Gezer is also not improbable. Nina for Naunu is also very possible, though it makes very little difference geographically.

"The part in which I differ most from M. Maspero is in the section from No. 110 to 119; he here returns to the hills of Benjamin and Ephraim—a district very difficult of access, and far from the line of Egyptian advance. He has not, I think, given sufficient attention to the interesting district west of Hebron, and south of Beit Jibrin, in which nearly all the places may be found which occur on the list between Bit Shailou and the final name on the list.

"The Rev. H. G. Tomkins, in preparing lists for the Biblical Archaeological Society, has made further proposals. I hope a little later to publish a further contribution to this study, based on the newest transliterations. Meanwhile, before mentioning details, I would observe that it is by no means certain that the names are always Semitic. Those which follow No. 119—the North Syrian list—include many Turanian town-names; and it is possible that some of the strange names in the southern list may also be non-Semitic. My paper in the Memoirs, giving my latest studies, is not mentioned by M. Maspero, although it very fully agrees with his views. Even this I am now able to improve by fresh additions, and, in a few cases, by modifications.

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\* Major Conder, in his communication to the Victoria Institute in 1886, kindly gave a full list of his latest identifications. See vol. xx. of the *Victoria Institute's Journal*, with M. Maspero's observations.



“As regards details, I would notice No. 60, Iarza, cannot well be Erzeh, which is too far south. It is more probably Irtah, close to Jaffa. No. 68 may be el Kheimh, but I thought possibly Emmaus Nicopolis. No. 61, Makhaisa, from position and meaning, I believe to be Khürbet el Maghazûn. No. 63, Ganutu, may very well be Kefr Jennis.

“As regards Pekin, the presence of the guttural in Talmudic dialect is not fatal, as such gutturals are sometimes inserted in one instance, and omitted in another. The passage in the Talmud is not exactly as represented by M. Maspero. No. 70 and No. 71, Ganutu and Magdilu, may, I think, perhaps be Jennata and Mejdeleh, south of Beit Jibrîn. I see no reason for supposing that the lists refer to any natural features, such as gardens, vineyards, &c. Much more probably they are all town and village names. No. 72, Apoudeni, or Fâtâneh, seems to me very possible, as perhaps is also No. 73, Shabtuna, at Shebtîn, and No. 75, Naunu, at Nina. No. 82 is rather, I think, to be regarded as Lebaoth of Judah than Rabbah. As regards the ruin *Rubba*, I do not know the date of M. Guerin's suggestion, but it is at least eight years ago that I published the proposal to place it at *Rubba*, which seems now generally accepted. No. 83 and 84 are very improbable, because the names suggested, as above mentioned, have no connexion with ancient sites. No. 91, Audor, may be Adoraim, but I think that place is rather too far north, and that Jattir ('Attîr), near Beer-sheba, is more probable. No. 89, Higarim, at Tell el Akra', seems improbable, as the Arabic ends with a strong guttural not found in the Egyptian. No. 95 and No. 96 seem to me to have been better identified by Mariette at Anem and Carmel of Judah. Khürbet Kerma is not spelt as M. Maspero supposes, but with a *Qaf*.

“As to the names (No. 101) Iakobilou and (No. 78) Iushephilou, I regard Mr. Groff's ideas as very wild. Such names certainly do not appear in any ancient author with whom I am acquainted, nor do we know of any deities worshipped in Syria with such titles. Mariette's suggestion of Saphir for the first is worth more, and Iakobilou might be Akabaru, perhaps the ruin of 'Okbâr. No. 109, Bierotu, and No. 114, Kebau, I regard as the ancient Bera in Judah and Gibeah of Judah, both of which sites I have identified. No. 105, Makelotu, might possibly be Mughullis. No. 108, Saruti, is, I think, Sarîs, not Shilta. The Egyptian letter is not that used for *Sh*. No. 110, Bet Shailo, is by no means of necessity the Bet Shal of other documents, nor is it necessary to look to the remote

and inaccessible Shiloh, for we have a *Beit Sulluh* in the required direction in the Shephelah. If Bit Baniti be the better reading for No. 111, I think the most probable site is the ruin of Beit el Bân. No. 112, Khalokatu, recalls Helkath, but may be really Kharokatu. I should suggest either Huleikât or Tell Kharakah for this site; Helkath Hazzurim was a name only given 600 years later, and applied to a valley, not to a town.

"No. 113, En Ganamou, is, I think, clearly Engannim of Judah, identified by M. Clermont Ganneau at Umm Jîna.

"No. 115, Zeraro, is, I think, either *Sîrreh*, south-west of Hebron, or *Khûrbet Surrâr* further west, neither of which are mentioned by M. Maspero.

"No. 116, Zafiti, is, I think, clearly Zephathah, which I have recovered at Safieh in the valley of Zephathah (Wâdy Safieh). In this case, No. 118, Houma, or Hum, may be Khûrbet el Kom, and not impossibly No. 119, Aktomes, might be the ruin of Makdum. The identifications of the preceding point to No. 117, Berkna, being the ruin Abrakah. This last group from Nos. 110 to 119 I have previously found difficult, and have only quite recently discovered the required names all in a group together in the Shephelah.

"I think both M. Maspero and Mr. Tomkins will agree with me in the following general rules :—

"1st. The site must be ancient, and must represent a town or village of some importance.

"2nd. The Arab name must be ancient. For this reason, any purely descriptive title is suspicious. So also is any name of a *Deir*, as the ruins so called are almost invariably monasteries of the fourth or twelfth century A.D., and not ruined towns at all.

"3rd. In many cases the sound intended is by no means certain. It is well known that  $\square$  stands for  $\varpi$ , as well as for  $\upsilon$ , and that  $\circ$  is both  $\gamma$  and  $\lambda$ . There was great difficulty in distinguishing Semitic sounds in Egyptian, especially in representing the  $\varpi$  and the strong letters  $\upsilon$ ,  $\vartheta$ , and other distinctions of the Semitic tongue.

"A reference to the Memoirs seems to me necessary, and to the name-lists of the Survey. The volume published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, giving the most recent results in identification of Old Testament towns, M. Maspero may also find useful.

"Finally, it cannot always be assumed that the name is Semitic, even in the south. It is certain that a large proportion of the

names in this list towards the north are non-Semitic, and I am now able to show very clearly that they are Turanian, representing the language of the Canaanites, akin to the tongues spoken in Chaldea and Media, and not very remote from Turkish. Even in Philistia such a name as Ascalon appears to be non-Semitic. In Turko-Tartar dialect it might mean 'The City of the Great Field'—a very appropriate term for a town in the Philistine plain. This introduces another element of uncertainty, in addition to those due to the decay of the original monument, and the uncertainties of transliteration and of comparison with modern names.

"While quite in accord with the general result of M. Maspero's and Mr. Tomkins's researches, I think it is not sufficient to look for sites on the great map of Palestine, unless the student ascertains from the Memoirs what those sites consist of, and how their names are spelt. With Mr. Tomkins's knowledge of Egyptian, and of the principles of comparing ancient and modern nomenclature, there can be no doubt that valuable results will in such case be obtained."

Rev. F. A. WALKER, D.D., F.L.S.—As the interesting paper, to which we have all listened with so much pleasure, is founded on the Karnak lists, I should like to say that these Karnak lists are now, if I recollect aright, all situated some hundred yards to the east of the Nile, on the Arabian side. I say "now" advisedly, because there are several reasons for supposing that the Nile of old did not take the same channel at that particular part as it now follows, but that it flowed to the westward. Probably to the fact that at a later date and for several centuries the Nile ran, and still runs, to the west, and not to the east, may be attributed the reason why these Karnak lists have been handed down to our time in so perfect a state of preservation, having thus been exempted from the periodical inundation of the river; for the Nile has inundated monuments situated at a still greater distance on the other side than Karnak, and still further removed from the west bank of the present channel of that river than Karnak is from the eastern. The said monuments are what are known as the two Colossi (of which the northernmost is the celebrated Vocal Memnon), and it is inconceivable to suppose that these monuments should have been originally erected in a situation in which they would have been exposed, as at present, to the yearly inundation of the Nile, which now covers them periodically to a considerable height. The Karnak lists consist of the records of three monarchs,—in the first place those of Shishak; secondly, those of Rameses II.; and lastly those of Thothmes III. The record of the first-named King is easy to

make out, because it is by itself on the outer side of the eastern wall of a large building which may be termed a vast metropolitan cathedral of Egyptian worship, thus occupying a position analogous to what we should term the exterior of the chancel, and is adjacent to a colossal figure of the warrior-monarch Shishak of Scripture (otherwise called Sheshonk I.), who is represented with upraised arm in the act of striking a group of captives at his feet. The record is not likely to be confused with those of any other monarch. But with regard to the Assyrian and Palestine names which immortalise the conflicts of Thothmes III. and Rameses II., I confess to there being a great deal of confusion and doubt. If I understood rightly, Mr. Tomkins spoke of Thothmes as the greatest of all Egyptian monarchs, and if this be so, I say there is a great deal of confusion between him and Rameses II., as the latter, that very Napoleon of ancient times, extended his conquests so far, that not only were his own famous deeds ascribed to him, but also the great and illustrious achievements of several Egyptian kings. The record of Thothmes III. was, to the best of my remembrance, attributed to Rameses II. on the interior of the northern wall of a little chapel outside the eastern end of the great building, which I have said might be likened to a metropolitan cathedral; and similarly, this little chapel, far inferior in height and much smaller in all its dimensions than the main edifice, may be compared to the cloisters or Lady-chapel of a Christian edifice. One reason why the deeds of Thothmes may have been attributed to Rameses is, that the acts of both include conquests over the Hittites; Kheta, in other words, the Hittites, being subdued, to a partial extent, by both of them,—but only partially and for a time in the days of Rameses, so that he was obliged, in inscribing his record, to pass very lightly over his successes against the Hittites, and he had to mend matters by wedding Nofretari, the daughter, as it is supposed, of the king of the Hittites, and to whom, as a favourite queen, he subsequently erected a colossal statue at Aboo Simbel. Another colossal statue on Mount Sipylus, Asia Minor, long supposed to represent the Niobe (and by Ovid, Homer, as well as others, and celebrated by those poets in verse as such), is now considered to represent this same Queen Nofretari, and to have been erected to her by the Hittites of Asia by way of national flattery on the part of the subjects of Rameses in that region.

Major T. A. FREEMAN, M.A., 70th (East Surrey) Regiment.—  
May I ask Mr. Tomkins as to the letters R and L, whether it is meant that one character was used to represent the two?

The Rev. H. G. TOMKINS.—There are two characters ; one, a well-known character, represents the lips, while the other represents the lion ; and, although it may be deemed preferable to give the sign of L to the lion, yet both actually do duty, almost equally, for R and L. The Egyptians do not seem to have discriminated between those two letters, and, therefore, we are obliged to resort to side reasons to know whether an R or an L is meant. I will just reply to the remark of Dr. Walker that there may be some confusion between the monumental records of Thothmes III. and Rameses II. at Karnak. There is, doubtless, a sort of confusion arising from this. Rameses II. adopted, without remorse, a good many of the conquests of his predecessor, Thothmes, and had them simply copied on his own list, there being strong suspicion that his father did the same thing ; but, in the document before us, it is impossible that there should be any confusion at all. If you look at the first great publications on the subject, "Mariette's Karnak," and the "Geographical Lists of Karnak," you will see that the inscription here entirely precludes all doubt as to who the conqueror was. It was Thothmes III. Every separate name in each embattled oval representing a separate place or town is precisely the same in design as the similar representation in the Assyrian sculptures, giving the ground-plan, with the tent of the general inside, together with the buildings, and so on. The idea of an embattled oval enclosure, with the names put inside, was that by which the Egyptians usually represented a captured place. It is only one part of one inscription of Thothmes III. with which we are now concerned, and there can be no doubt as to the geographical names here given being those recorded by that monarch.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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## REMARKS BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

OXFORD, *August*, 1888.

Mr. Le Page Renouf states that he is unable to agree with what I have said in my Hibbert Lectures on the local names Yaqob-el and Iseph-el. But on my side I also am unable to agree with what he writes on the subject.

1. That the last syllable in the names represents the Semitic *el* has been believed by Waldemar Schmidt, Groff, Renan, Nöldeke, Eduard Meyer, and others. Eduard Meyer has made a special study of this department of Oriental research, and I am therefore well content to be regarded along with him and the other eminent authorities I have named as "no true scholar."

2. Mr. Renouf says that on my principles of interpretation, "Israel, Ishmael, Nathaniel, Jezreel, Bethel, are evidence of the gods Isra, Ishma, Nathan, Jezre, Beth, and ever so many others."

Such a statement shows that he has himself forgotten the elementary principles of Hebrew composition. Nathaniel and Beth-el are examples of the construct genitive, and have nothing in common with the other forms he instances. The meaning of Jezreel is at present unknown, though it has been conjectured that the name contains that of an ancient Canaanitish god of sowing. Israel and Ishmael are alone in point, and they are no more examples of the third person of a verb, as Mr. Renouf supposes, than are names like Joel and that of the Hamathite king, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, Irkhulena, "the moon-god is our god." Jezreel could not mean "God has planted," and common sense would protest against the idea that a place could ever have been called "God will sow." We might as well fall back upon the old explanation of the local name Jiphthah-el (Josh. xix. 14), senseless as it is. Here, fortunately, the name of Jephthah has been preserved to show us what is the real nature of the first element in the compound; and the same is the case with the names Yaqob-el and Iseph-el, to which I would now add that of Mash-al.

Ishmael, like Ismaiah (1 Chr. xii. 4), is related to Shemaiah, Shimei, and Simeon, which Dr. Robertson Smith, following Hitzig, would trace to the Arabic *sim*, "a beast begotten by the hyena or the wolf." The analogy of the Assyrian divine names of Semu and Tasmit, however, induces me rather to connect them with the root *Shâma*, "to hear."

The etymology of the word Israel offers greater difficulties. If we disregard tradition, we could connect the first part of the compound with the names Jasher and Jeshurun. Following, however, the traditional pronunciation of the word, we must associate it with the proper name Sarai, which has recently been cleared up by Lagarde. Inscriptions show that a god Du-sarâ, Dousarês in Greek, was worshipped throughout the Nabathean region from the Hauran to Petra and the Sinaitic Peninsula, and the name Du-Sarâ simply means "he who is of Sara."

It has long been a common-place among Semitic scholars that forms like Isaac (Yitskhâq) or Jacob (Ya'aqob) represent an early mode of forming a proper name, and consequently such names as Yaqob-el and Iseph-el are parallel to compounds like Ammiel or Hadad-Rimmon. We owe the explanation of the element 'Am or 'Ammi in names like Ammi-el, Ammi-nadab, Balaam, and Jeroboam, partly to the learned researches of Dr. Neubauer, partly to the Assyrian inscriptions, which inform us that a god Ammi or Emu was worshipped not only in Ammon but also among the Shuhites on the western bank of the Euphrates.

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