

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

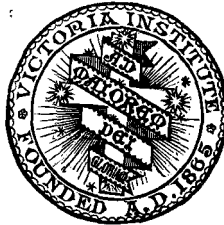
A table of contents for *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jtvi-01.php

JOURNAL OF
THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
The Victoria Institute,
OR,
Philosophical Society of Great Britain.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY,
CAPTAIN FRANCIS W. H. PETRIE, F.G.S., &c.

VOL. XXVII.



LONDON :

(Published by the Institute.)

INDIA : W. THACKER & Co. UNITED STATES : G. T. PUTNAM'S SONS, N.Y.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND : G. ROBERTSON & Co., Ltd.

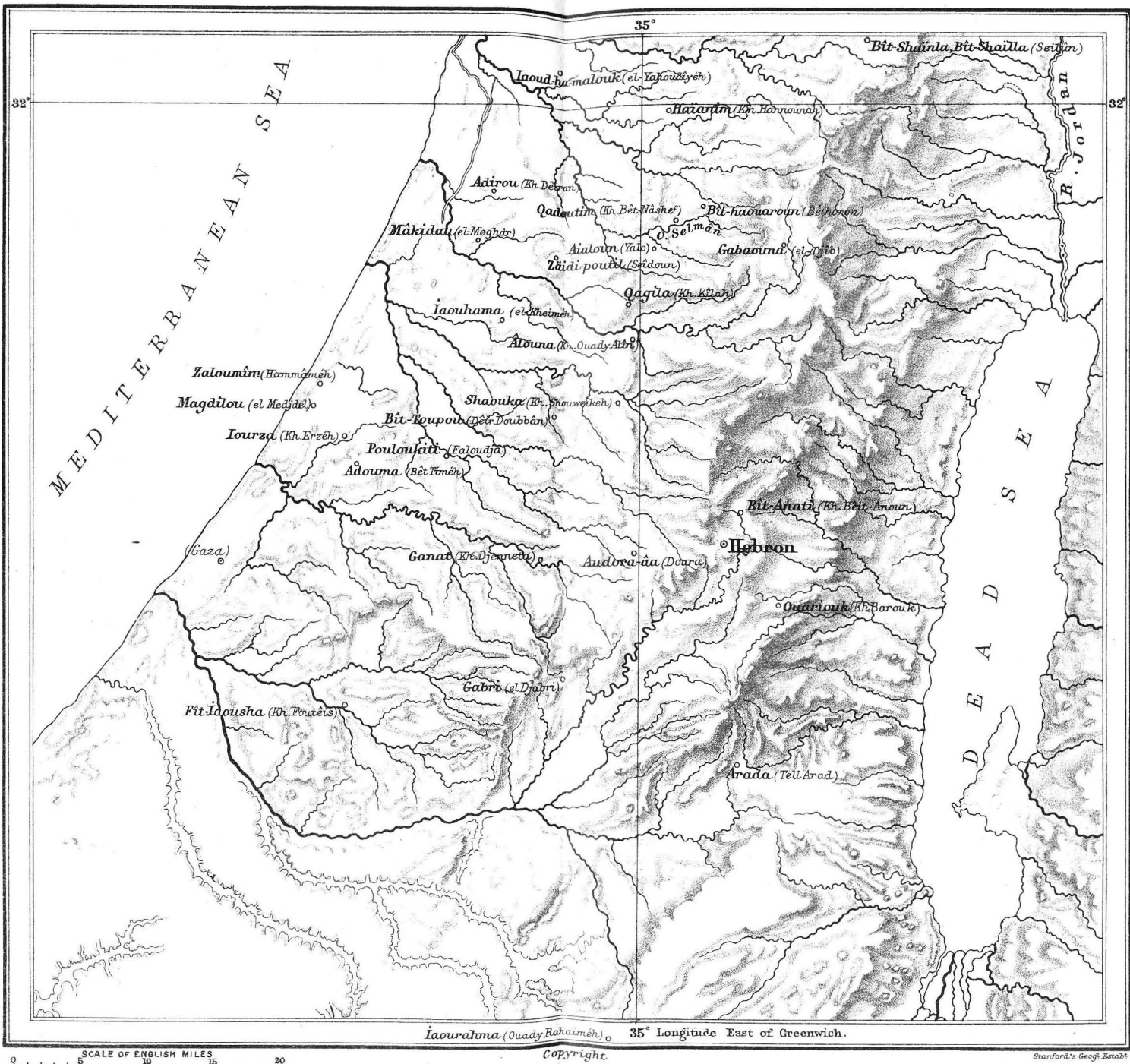
CANADA : DAWSON BROS., *Montreal*.

S. AFRICA : JUTA & Co., *Cape Town*.

PARIS : GALIGNANI.

1894.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



MAP TO ACCOMPANY A PAPER, ON THE LIST OF SHESHONQ, PREPARED BY M. MASPERO FOR THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

ORDINARY MEETING.¹

PROFESSOR E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections were announced :—

ASSOCIATES :—Rev. J. Cockin, Cornwall ; Commander Heath, R.N., London.

A translation, see p. 93, of the following paper was then read :—

LA LISTE DE SHESHONQ À KARNAK.

PAR G. MASPERO.

LA liste que Sheshonq I^{er} a fait graver des villes qu'il avait ou prétendait avoir prises, pendant sa campagne contre Roboam, a été souvent étudiée par les Égyptologues. Champollion le Jeune* et Osburn† en tirèrent tout le parti qu'il était possible à une époque où, ni le mécanisme de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, ni la géographie de la Palestine n'étaient encore bien connus. Brugsch en donna plus tard une analyse complète,‡ qui permit à Blau d'en proposer une interprétation plus sérieuse que toutes celles qu'on avait faites jusqu'alors.§ Le commentaire de Blau, modifié par

* Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 99-100, *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160, et *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114.



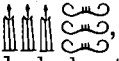



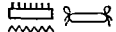
† Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 158-162.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 56-71.

§ Blau, *Sisaqs Zug gegen Juda aus dem Denkmale bei Karnak erläutert*, dans la *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, T. XV., p. 233 sqq.

¹ 10th of 28th Session.

Brugsch dans la seconde édition de son " Histoire d'Égypte,"* est resté depuis lors presque classique dans la science, et la plupart des identifications auxquelles il s'était arrêtées ont été admises sans discussion par les archéologues et par les géographes.† Un premier examen, fait en 1880, m'avait montré pourtant que Blau avait pris trop de libertés avec la forme extérieure des noms, et n'avait obtenu beaucoup de rapprochements qu'au prix d'inversions et d'altérations trop nombreuses pour être légitimes: je me suis efforcé alors de prouver que les lettres égyptiennes, transcrites rigoureusement en lettres hébraïques, donnent presque partout des formes régulières de l'hébreu, et par conséquent n'exigent ni changements ni corrections.‡ J'ai voulu, dans le présent article, rassembler, après dix ans bientôt de recherches nouvelles, les résultats partiels auxquels je suis parvenu, et les soumettre, sous bénéfice d'inventaire, à la critique de mes confrères en Égyptologie. J'ai établi le texte par la comparaison de toutes les copies publiées depuis le commencement du siècle, et par la collation de la copie de Champollion avec ce qui subsiste encore de l'original sur la muraille de Karnak.§



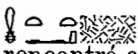
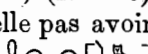
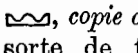












Les dix premiers cartouches étaient remplis par les formules générales qu'on rencontre au début de plusieurs listes géographiques. Bien qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux soient détruits complètement, on peut les rétablir presque à coup sûr: (No. 1)  *To-qimâiti*, le pays du midi, (No. 2) , *To-mihiti*, le pays du Nord, (No. 3) , les tribus situées entre le Nil et la Mer Rouge, de la hauteur d'Assouân à celle de Siout (No. 4) , les *Tahouou*, les tribus berbères au delà des Oasis de Thébaïde, en pendant aux *Aniou* du cartouche précédent, (No. 5) , les Bédouins, qui vivent entre le Nil et la Mer Rouge, de la hauteur de Siout aux environs de l'Ouady Toumilât, (No. 6) , les tribus Berbères qui occupent les Oasis à l'ouest du Birket Kéroun, parallèlement aux Bédouins Pittiou, (No. 7) , les *Montiou*, les Bédouins de l'Arabie Pétrée entre

* Brugsch, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 660-663.

† C'est au mémoire de Blau que Mariette a emprunté cette étrange hypothèse de corps d'armée égyptiens, manœuvrant comme feraient des corps d'armée modernes (*Les Listes des pylones de Karnak*, p. 46-48).

‡ Maspero, *Notes sur différents points de grammaire et d'histoire*, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 44-49.

§ Maspero, *Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III*, p. 100-101.


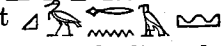
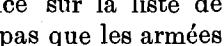
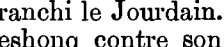
l'Égypte et la Syrie], (No. 8) les , *Paditiou*, nomades de Syrie entre les Montiou de les frontières du Naharanna,* enfin les (No. 9)  *Haïounivou* de l'Asie-Mineure et des îles de la Méditerranée. Le dernier cartouche, (No. 10)  est le seul que je ne me rappelle pas avoir rencontré ailleurs. Peut-être faut-il le restituer  , copie des *Asiatiques*, en considérant ces mots comme une sorte de titre qui s'appliquerait à l'ensemble des noms qui suivent: ce n'est toutefois qu'une simple conjecture. Les treize cartouches qui viennent ensuite ne présentent pas non plus de grandes difficultés d'interprétation. Je me bornerai à les énumérer, avec les restitutions que j'ai cru pouvoir y joindre en 1880, et auxquelles je ne vois rien à changer pour le moment. (No. 11)  *Gizatou*, Gaza, [No. 12  *Magidi*, Mageddo], (No. 13)  *Rabbati*, רבית d'Issachar, (No. 14)  *Taânaqou*, תענך, (No. 15)  *Shaunamá*, שונים d'Issachar, † (No. 16)  *Bit-Shaïnla*, *Bit-Shâilla*, où il m'a semblé reconnaître le Shiloh  *d'Ephraïm*, † (No. 17)  *Rouhaïba*, רחב, aujourd'hui Rehabş au sud de Beïsan, (No. 18)  *Hapourouma*, חפרים d'Issachar, (No. 19)  *Adoulmim*, אדלמים, que ni l'orthographe hiéroglyphique ni la position qu'elle occupe dans la liste ne permettent d'identifier avec l'Odollam  de Juda. Le numéro 20, qui est entièrement mutilé, renfermait peut-être le nom de Sichem, une des capitales d'Israël sous Jéroboam I^{er}. Le No. 21  *Shaouadi* est sans doute *Souèda*, (Kharbét es-Suweidéh de la

* Sur ces peuples voir J. de Rougé, *Textes géographiques du temple d'Edfou* (*H^{te}-Égypte*), extrait de la *Revue Archéologie*, 1865, p. 12-16.


† L'identification a été proposée pour la première fois par Osburn, *Egypt*, p. 158.

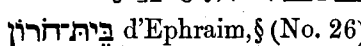
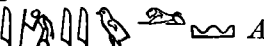
‡ Sur les noms géographiques de la liste de Thoutmés III qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée, dans les *Transactions du Victoria Institute*, T. XXII, p. 69-70.

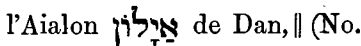
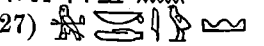
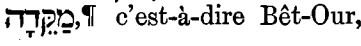
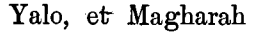

§ Cfr. Eusèbe, *Onomasticon*: καὶ ἐστὶ Ῥοῶβ κόμη ἀπὸ δ' σημείου Σκυθοπώλεως, ἣν δὲ Λεβίταις ἀφωρισμένην (edit. Parthey, p. 316).



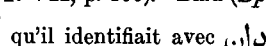
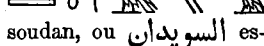
carte anglaise), à peu de distance de la rive droite du Jourdain.* Les numéros suivants représentent  Mahanaïm  au-delà du Jourdain,† et  Gabaon  de Benjamin.‡ La présence sur la liste de villes appartenant à Jéroboam, ne prouve pas que les armées égyptiennes aient pénétré en Galilée ou franchi le Jourdain. Le roi d'Israël, en implorant l'aide de Sheshonq contre son rival, avait fait par-là même acte de vasselage vis-à-vis de l'Égypte: cela suffisait pour que ses villes figurassent à Karnak parmi les cités soumises au cours de la campagne.

Pour déterminer le site des localités qui se présentent au-delà de Gabaon, j'emploierai le procédé qui m'a servi déjà à propos des listes de Thoutmos III: je diviserai la liste en sections comprises chacune entre deux villes connues, et dont la position sur le terrain aura été indiquée de façon sinon certaine, du moins vraisemblable, par les explorateurs récents. De Gabaon à la lacune du numéro 30, le scribe égyptien a suivi la ligne de places ou de postes fortifiés qui couvraient la frontière septentrionale du royaume de Juda.

(No. 24)  Bit-haouaroun est le Bethoron

 d'Ephraïm,§ (No. 26)  Aiaouloun,

l'Aialon  de Dan,|| (No. 27)  Mâkidau,   c'est-à-dire Bêt-Our, Yalo, et Magharah  el-

* Le déterminatif  est encore très visible sur l'original et complète le mot (Maspero, *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100). Blau (*Bp. l.*, p. 237) restituait  qu'il identifiait avec  Arak es-soudan, ou  es-Souéidan de Robinson (*Palestina*, III, p. 867, II, p. 657).




† Champollion, *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Rosellini, *Mon. St.*, T. IV, p. 157.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.* T. II, p. 61.

§ Champollion, *Grammaire*, p. 160, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, T. IV, p. 157.

|| Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Brugsch, *G. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62.

¶ Champollion (*Mon.*, *Texte*, T. II, p. 114, et *Grammaire*, p. 160), Rosellini (*Mon. St.*, T. IV, p. 157-158), Osburn, *Egypt, Her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 160), Brugsch (*G. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62), E. de Rougé (*Mémoire sur l'origine*, p. 53), ont voulu reconnaître ici Mageddo; Blau (*op. l.*, p. 237-238) a fait observer que Mageddo serait ici hors de sa place et a proposé Makkédah, ce que j'ai accepté (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 45).

Moghâr,* à quelque distance au S.E. d'Yebuah. Cet ensemble de positions certaines nous permet de rejeter à priori les identifications proposées pour (No. 25)  Qadoutim, par Champollion avec עִיטָם Etham de Juda,† par Brugsch et par Rougé avec קְדֵמוֹת Kedemôth de Ruben.‡ Blau pense à la ville d'Adithaïm עֲדִיתַיִם, qui devait être quelque part dans le voisinage, et j'avais cru d'abord pouvoir accepter cette identification : la transcription Δ Q du ϵ peut se justifier en effet par l'exemple de  Qazatou, Gaza, עֲזָה.§ Il faut remarquer toutefois que, dans les noms où le ϵ hébraïque tend à la prononciation du ξ arabe, les versions grecques et la Vulgate ont ordinairement un γ , g , Γάζα, Γατ, Ἀγγατ = עֵי, הָעֵי, Γαδερ = מְגַדְל־עָדָר, Βεθφοργόρ = בֵּית־פְּעוֹר, &c.; or עֲדִיתַיִם n'est jamais transcrit Γαδιθαίμ, mais Ἀδιθαίμ, ce qui semble montrer que, dans ce mot, la lettre initiale est un ϵ pur sans tendance au ξ , et me porte à rejeter l'équivalence de עֲדִיתַיִם Adithaim avec  Qadoutim. Le groupe hiéroglyphique, transcrit en lettres hébraïques, nous donne d'ailleurs une forme מְגַדְלִים de מְגַדְל, *incisio, sulcus, turma, agmen militum*, qui nous oblige à le considérer comme ayant été noté correctement par le scribe et par les sculpteurs de Karnak. L'équivalent moderne de ce nom serait, avec chute de la finale plurielle ים et substitution du ζ au γ , un mot *Djedid* ou *Djédoud*, qui se serait confondu infailliblement avec l'adjectif جديد *neuf, nouveau* : les *Djoudèidèh* qu'on rencontre en plusieurs endroits de nos cartes, sont trop éloignées d'Aïalon et de Bethoron pour qu'on ait le droit de les rapprocher de notre Qadoutim, Qadoudim. Cette localité devait se trouver entre Bêt-Our et Yalo, probablement vers le point où la route qui réunit ces deux bourgs franchit le Ouady Selmân, et

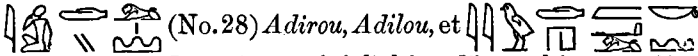
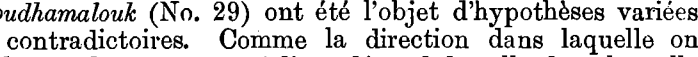
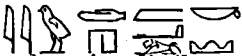

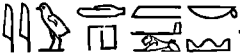
* Le site d'el-Moghâr, proposé pour Makkédah par MM. Warren (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quart. Stat.*, 1875, p. 181) et Conder (*Quart. St.*, 1875, p. 165-167), est le plus vraisemblable de tous ceux auxquels on a songé jusqu'à présent.

† Champollion, *Mon., Texte*, T. II, p. 114.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 61 ; E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine*, p. 53, 91.

§ Blau, *Sisqa Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, XV, p. 237 ; Maspero, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 45.

de façon à barrer dans la plaine le chemin de Jérusalem ; la carte anglaise porte en cet endroit un Kharbèt Bêt-Nashef *خربة بيت ناشف* qui pourrait être *Qadoutim, Qadoudim*.

 (No. 28) *Adirou, Adilou*, et  *Iaoudhamalouk* (No. 29) ont été l'objet d'hypothèses variées et contradictoires. Comme la direction dans laquelle on a chance de rencontrer Adirou dépend de celle dans laquelle on trouvera Iaoudhamalouk, je m'inquiéterai d'abord de ce dernier nom. Champollion y avait vu l'image du royaume de Juda,* Rosellini celle du roi de Juda.† E. de Rougé persista jusqu'à la fin à tenir l'opinion des premiers Égyptologues comme vraisemblable, sinon comme certaine.‡ Brugsch, au contraire, estima qu'on avait ici une simple bourgade dont l'équivalent moderne serait un Yahoudiyéh, el-Yehoudiyéh, soit celui des environs de Tibnîn, soit celui des environs de Jaffa.§ Blau se rangea à l'avis de Brugsch, et ajouta que notre localité, étant située au voisinage de Makkédah, se confondait nécessairement avec le יְהוּד *Iehoud* de Dan, c'est-à-dire avec el-Yehoudiéh voisin de Jaffa :|| Iaoudhamalouk aurait été la forme pleine, Iehoud une forme abrégée. Dans ces derniers temps M. Max Müller a entrepris de démontrer que l'Égyptien  ne contient pas le nom de Juda : on devrait, dit-il, retrouver dans l'Égyptien le premier ה de יהודה et avoir  au lieu de . Il pense que le terme initial du nom est יד *la main*, et que l'ensemble correspond à יְהוּדַמְלֶךְ *Iad-hammelek* : la ville Idhammelek

* Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 99.








† Rosellini, après avoir adopté l'opinion de Champollion (*Mon. Stor.*, T. II, p. 79-80), fut amené par des scrupules philologiques à la modifier, et à voir dans le nom de notre localité la mention du roi de Juda (*Mon. Stor.*, T. IV, p. 158-159).





‡ E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien*, p. 53, *Leçons de M. de Rougé dans les Mélanges*, T. II, p. 274, note 9. M. de Rougé, ou M. Robiou qui a publié les *Leçons*, attribuait à Champollion la traduction de Rosellini, et revenait au sens de *royaume*, qui est précisément celui que Champollion avait proposé.





§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62-63.



|| Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238.


n'aurait plus rien de commun avec Iehoud de Dan.* Malgré la très grande estime que j'ai pour M. Max Müller (de Nüremberg), et bien que M. Le Page Renouf lui ait prêté l'appui de son autorité, je ne pense pas que l'objection qu'il élève contre la lecture de Brugsch soit insurmontable.

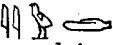

Le mot  renferme un élément gênant, l'ou  qui suit les deux plumes  et qui n'a pas de raison d'être, si on admet la lecture : aussi MM. Müller et Le Page Renouf ont-ils essayé de se tirer d'affaire en expliquant qu'il ne fallait pas en tenir compte. Je pense au contraire qu'il ne faut jamais le négliger, ni dans le cas présent, ni dans les autres cas où il se rencontre. Le signe , commençant un mot, paraît avoir eu toujours un *a* pour voyelle inhérente, et cet *a*, diphthongué avec un *ou*, qui tantôt est exprimé, tantôt est supprimé dans l'écriture, a donné dans le copte tantôt un *æ* ou un *ε*, tantôt un *o*, *ω*:  ,

, *iaoumá*, , la mer, , *B.*, , *T.M.*,


 , , *iaourou*, le fleuve, , *T.*,

, *M.*, &c. Je lis donc  *Iaoud*, non *Ioud*, et


je pense que l'hiatus de l'*a* sur l'*ou* rend l'aspirée très-faible de  entre deux voyelles, de la même manière qu'il fait

dans la transcription *Iaoudaï* des textes assyriens.  *Iaoud* formerait ainsi la transition entre la forme pleine  de l'hébreu classique et la forme réduite *Ioudás* des Grecs. Je conserverai, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, la lecture

Iaoud-ha-malouk, *Iehoud-ham-melek*, et l'identification avec

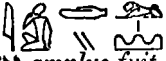
Iehoud de Dan, *el-Yâhoudiyéh*. Le No. 28 





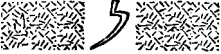
Adirou, placé entre cette localité et *Makkédah*, doit donc avoir eu sa place marquée dans la plaine entre *el-Yâhoudiyéh* et *Môghar*. *Blau* prétend y reconnaître une mauvaise inter-


prétation égyptienne de , car, dit-il, une ville de l'importance de *Lydda* ne saurait manquer à la liste de *Sheshonq*.†

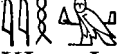
* Max Müller, *The supposed name of Judah in the list of Sheshonq*, dans les *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, T. X, p. 81-83 à la suite de ce mémoire, on trouve (p. 83-86) des *Remarks* dans lesquelles M. Le Page Renouf approuve les conclusions de M. Max Müller.

† *Blau*, *Sisqas Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 231.

Brugsch avait fait observer très justement que  rend lettre pour lettre un dérivé de la racine **אָדַר**, *amplus fuit*, sans doute **אָדַיר**, *amplus, potens*.* Ce nom *Addirou*, *Addir*, présente une consonnance si proche de celle de l'arabe **الدِير** *al-déir*, *ed-déir*, qu'il a dû se confondre avec l'un des nombreux *déir* qui figurent sur nos cartes modernes. Donné la position qu'il occupe sur la liste, je suis tenté de le reconnaître dans le **خربة ديران** *Kharbét-Déirân* que la carte anglaise signale à quelque distance au nord d'el-Môghâr.

Le cartouche No. 30 est détruit à l'exception du signe  qui ne nous apprend rien. La série qui recommence au-delà, et qui est interrompue après le No. 40 par une longue lacune, nous offre vers la fin un nom (No. 38)  *Shaouka*, qui est écrit  *Saouka* sur la liste de Thoutmos III (No. 69): c'est la *Shokoh* de la plaine judéenne, aujourd'hui *Kharbét-Shouwèikéh*.† Les noms compris entre *Iaoud-ham-melek* et *Shaouka* doivent donc s'échelonner plus ou moins régulièrement entre *el-Yahoudiyéh* et *Kharbét-Shouwèikéh*. De plus le No. 35, qui est mutilé  se laisse rétablir avec certitude en 

 *Iaouhama*, qui est le (No. 68)

 *Iouhamá*, *Iaouhmá*, des campagnes de Thoutmos

III: or, *Iaouhama* est, comme l'a montré *Saulcy*,‡ *el-Khéiméh* **الخيمة**. Cette restitution nous permet de diviser la série en deux sections, une de quatre noms de *Iaoud-ham-melek* à *Iaouhama*, une de cinq de *Iaouhama* à *Shaouka* et au-delà. Les quatre noms qui composent la première section ne sont pas malheureusement d'une identification aisée. Le No. 31

 *Haianim*, *Hianim* se présente à nous comme

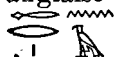
une forme plurielle **חַיִּים** d'un mot dérivé de la racine **חָפַן** *propitius fuit, favit alicui*; il est identique pour la signification au **בֵּית־חָפַן** de Dan ou Juda, et je suis disposé à le rapprocher du *Kharbét-Hannounâh* **خربة حنونة**, situé dans le

* Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62.


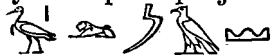
† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 64.


‡ F. de Saulcy, *Lettre à M. Chabas*, dans les *Mélanges d'Archeologie Egyptienne*, T. I, p. 122-123.


collines à l'Est d'el-Yahoudiyéh,* et auprès duquel la carte anglaise marque des ruines.† Le nom suivant (No. 32)




Alana, Alouna se transcrit en lettres hébraïques עֵלֹן, עֵרֹן, et, par conséquent, ne saurait être ni l'Elon אֵילֹן de Dan, ni Eglon עֵגְלוֹן, comme le voudraient Brugsch ‡ et Blau : § nous avons ici une localité portant le même nom

que la  de Thoutmos III, où j'ai reconnu une variante de l'hébreu עֵלְיוֹן, *superior, suprema, summus*. La nomenclature contemporaine nous donne plusieurs عَليْن Alin, dont l'ortographe s'accorde parfaitement avec celle de notre ville. La seule dont le site puisse à la rigueur nous convenir est celle que la carte anglaise appelle Kharbét Ouady Alin خربة وادي عليْن, et qui est au Nord de Shouwêikéh, près d'Ain Shems, où l'on place ordinairement la Beth-Shemesh de Juda : toutefois le saut serait trop grand entre Kharbét Hannounah et Kharbét Ouady Alin pour que j'ose rien affirmer à cet égard. Brugsch lit 

Biloma le numéro 33 et l'identifie à בִּלְעָם Bileam de Manasséh, malgré l'absence de ע dans la transcription égyptienne. || De fait Champollion, Rosellini et Lepsius donnent tous  *Biromam, Bilomam*, et c'est la leçon qu'on déchiffre encore sur la muraille. *Biroumim* ou *Biloumim*, est en effet le pluriel régulier d'un mot provenant, soit de la racine בָּלַם *constrinait, clausit*, soit de la racine בָּרַם *fremuit* :

בְּרוּמִים, qui marque le nom d'une sorte d'étoffe brodée, le reproduit lettre pour lettre. Je ne trouve malheureusement sur aucune carte, aucun nom moderne qui rappelle celui de *Biroumim* ou *Biloumim*.  (No. 34) *Zaidipoutir* ou *Zadipoudil* nous est connu au *Papyrus Anastasi* No. 1, sous

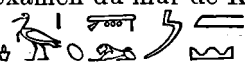








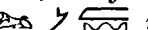



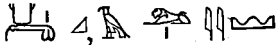


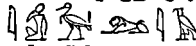

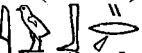
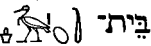
* Guérin, *Samarie*, T. II, p. 74.

† Osburn (*Egypt, her Testimony*, p. 160) a rapproché Haianim de הַיָּנִים la vallée de Hinnom. Sans parler des difficultés topographiques que présente cette identification,  ne répond jamais au הָ hébraïque.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 63.

§ Blau, *Sisags Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 235.

|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 64.














pousser les deux hypothèses.* L'examen du mur de Karnak m'a montré qu'il fallait écrire  *Bitoumim* ou *Bitou-Roumim* avec un  et non pas un . † On ne peut songer à une lecture Bit-Toloumin ou Bit-Touroumim qui nous donnerait un nom équivalent soit à la Telem  ou  *Telaïm* de Juda, soit au Tolmah  *des cartes modernes.* ‡  est ici une variante de la finale , *ti, t* de  *Bit*, et indiquent une vocalisation en *o* analogue à celle que la prononciation *Bethogabra, Betogabris*, nous révèle. La seconde partie du nom  *roumam, loumam, ou roumim, oumim*, peut-être, soit un mot singulier comme  *elatio*, soit un pluriel,  *bubalus*, ou d'un dérivé de la racine  *altus* *fuit*. *Bit-roumim* est un nom correct, mais que je ne sais où placer sur le terrain.  (No. 37) *Qaqali, Qaqari*, est pour Blau § la  *Kéilah* de Juda, qu'on identifie avec la *Kharbét Kilâ* de l'Ouady *Souwéidéh*, à l'Est de *Beit-Djibrin*. Le rapprochement de *Qaqali, Qaqali* avec *Kéilah* me paraît être légitime, car la transcription *Kegila* de la Vulgate montre que le *y* avait dans ce nom la tendance au *g*; il pouvait être rendu par Δ en Egyptien, comme le *y* de *Gaza* l'est par Δ . Si l'on trouvait que le site de *Kéilah* est trop au Sud, on pourrait songer à un autre *Kharbét Kila*, que la carte anglaise signale à l'Ouest d'*Eshouâ*, et dont l'emplacement au Nord de *Shouwéikéh* et à l'Est de *Khéiméh* est en accord suffisant avec la position de *Qaqali* entre *Iaouhamâ* et *Shaouka*. Les deux noms qui succèdent à celui de *Shaouka* (No. 39)  *Bit-tioupou, Bit-Toupou*, et (No. 40)  *Abila*, ont déjà été signalés sur la liste de *Thoutmos III* avec l'orthographe (No. 98)  *Tioupounou, Tipounou* et (No. 99)  *Aoubilou*, dans le même ordre où les a rangés le scribe de *Sheshonq*. Le retranchement ou l'addition de  *Bith*

* Maspero, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46.

† Maspero, dans le *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, T. I, p. 256.

§ Blau, *Sisacs Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238.

est un fait trop fréquent dans la nomenclature juive pour nous étonner ici, et la finale  *nou* se rencontre dans  *Loudni*, par exemple, pour *Loud*. J'ai rejeté déjà la conjecture de Brugsch, *Bit-Tipounou* = Beth-Tappouah,  בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ*. Blau ne l'avait admise qu'après que Brugsch lui eût assuré avoir retrouvé sur la pierre l'équivalent du  final.† J'ai constaté que ce  n'existait pas réellement et que le mur portait   non   ou   et l'absence de cette lettre suffit pour rendre la comparaison impossible entre les deux noms. Le rapprochement avec *Téphôn*, *Topho* du premier livre des Maccabées IX, 50, n'est admissible qu'à la condition que cette *Téphôn* inconnue ne soit pas une forme grécisée de Beth-Tappouakh, Tappouakh.‡ Si le nom de  Déir Doubbân § pouvait être considéré comme provenant d'un caprice d'étymologie populaire, qui aurait substitué le mot  à un nom ancien, *Bit-Touyou*, *Touyou* pourrait avoir occupé le site que les fellahs appellent de la sorte. L'Abila du No. 40 a disparu.

La grande lacune qu'on remarque après Abila, ne compte pas moins de douze cartouches, dont deux seulement prêtent à restitution. Brugsch avait d'abord complété (No. 46)  en  *Bit-T'abouti* בֵּית־צְבֹאוֹת;|| Blau songea ensuite à rétablir  *Bit-T'abiro* qu'il affirma être  Beth-Zour de Juda.¶ Toutefois, si l'on a parfois un  *oua* où l'hébreu met un ב, on n'a

* Maspero, *Sur les noms de la liste de Thoutmos III qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, dans les *Transactions du Victoria Institute*, T. XXII, p. 167-68.






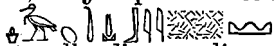
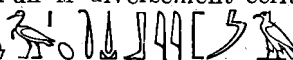



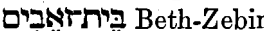

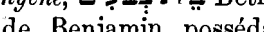
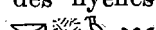
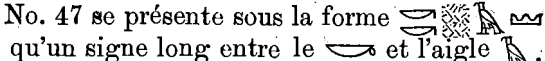







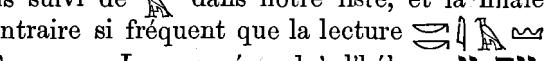
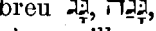
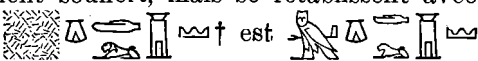
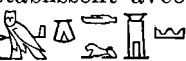
† Blau, *Sisags Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238. "Das schliessende *h'* nach Brugsch's mündlicher Mittheilung wirklich von ihm nachträglich auf dem Steine gefunden worden ist."

‡ *Macchabées* I, ix, 50. De même pour le nom de Καφαρόφα que Rufin paraît avoir lu dans Josèphe (*de Bello*, V, 4) au lieu de Καφαρόβα (Reland, *Palästina*, T. II, p. 692). Neubauer (*Géographie du Talmud*, p. 112) tend à y reconnaître Tappouakh, ce qui m'empêche de le rapprocher de notre *Bit-Touyou*.




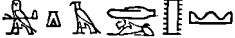
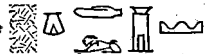
§ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, T. II, p. 2-354, 421, qui incline à reconnaître en cet endroit le site de Gath-Rimmon; cfr. Guérin *Judée*, T. II, p. 104-6.


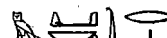




|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 65.

¶ Blau, *Sisags Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238-9. Au témoignage de Blau, Brugsch aurait adopté l'identification avec Beth-Zour.

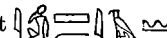

jamais un  pour un  hébreu, et  serait transcrit  non . Les copies de Champollion, de Rosellini et de Lepsius diffèrent légèrement de celle de Brugsch, et j'ai pu vérifier moi-même que le texte original porte .* La seule restauration possible est celle d'un M diversement écrit et diversement vocalisé, soit  soit  *Bit-Zabima*. Le mot  *Zabim* est un pluriel régulier, pouvant venir soit de  *loup*,  *Beth-Zebim*, *la maison des loups*, soit même de  *hyène*,  *Beth-Zeboim*, *la maison des hyènes*: la tribu de Benjamin possédait de même une vallée des hyènes . Le No. 47 se présente sous la forme  où il ne manque qu'un signe long entre le  et l'aigle . En rétablissant  on aurait l'équivalent de  *stella*, mais cette restitution si séduisante qu'elle soit est invraisemblable; le  n'est jamais suivi de  dans notre liste, et la finale  y est au contraire si fréquent que la lecture  *Koka* s'impose à nous. Le nom répond à l'hébreu  *קנה*, *tectum, superficies altaris* et s'appliquerait fort bien à un village situé en terrasse sur le sommet d'une colline. Je ne ferai aucune conjecture sur l'emplacement de ces deux localités; la lacune qui les enveloppe est trop grande pour qu'on puisse déterminer même la direction dans laquelle on doit les chercher. La liste reprend avec le No. 52 et continue, non sans mutilations, jusqu'au No. 58. Les deux derniers numéros 57 et 58 ont légèrement souffert, mais se rétablissent avec certitude: le No. 58  est 

* Maspero, dans le *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100.

† Champollion (*Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116) porte , Rosellini (*M. St.*, pl. cxlviii), , Lepsius (*Denkm.*, III, bl. 252), Brugsch (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv), . J'avais reconstitué de toutes ces copies la lecture  (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46); la muraille de Karnak porte  (Maspero, dans le *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100), qui prouve que la restitution était exacte.

Magdilou, et le No. 59  *Iarza*.* Les deux noms figuraient déjà sur les listes de Thoutmos III,  *Magdilou* (No. 71) et  (No. 60), et sont aujourd'hui el-Medjdel et Kharbét Ierzah. Il y a donc grand chance pour qu'une partie au moins des noms qui précèdent immédiatement ces deux-la aient appartenu à des localités voisins de Kharbét Ierzah et d'el-Medjdel. Le No. 56  *Adima* † a été identifié par Brugsch avec le pays d'Edom, ce à quoi Rougé ne répugne pas. ‡ Le rapprochement, irréprochable au point de vue philologique, tombe de lui-même quand on se rappelle que nos listes ne contiennent pas des noms de pays étendus, mais simplement la désignation d'accidents de terrain, de villes ou de villages.  *Adouma* doit donc indiquer ici un bourg qui s'appellent אֲדוּמָה *la rouge* ou אֲדוּמָה *le champ*, comme une des bourgades de la tribu de Naphtali, ou comme une des cinq villes maudites אֲדוּמָה. Le seul nom moderne qui puisse être mis à côté d'Adouma, est celui de Bêit-Timéh بیت طیمة, gros village situé à l'Est de Ierzah, et où Guérin signale l'existence de ruines romaines ou byzantines: § le site en conviendrait fort bien à la position relative des noms dans la liste et l'orthographe moderne peut à la rigueur se déduire de l'orthographe ancienne. Le No. 58  *Zaloumim*, est un pluriel du mot זַלְמוֹם *umbra*, mais ne peut être identique à la station זַלְמוֹנָה *Zalmonah* de l'itinéraire des Hébreux dans le désert, comme le voudrait Brugsch: || le voisinage de noms comme Migdol et Ierzah ne nous autorise pas à descendre si loin dans le sud, en cet endroit de notre liste. On ne trouve plus sur le terrain aucun nom qui rappelle celui de Zaloumim, mais le mot lui-même est expressif, et peut rappeler les ombrages des jardins qui


* La restitution Ierza, que j'avais proposée en 1880 (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46), a été confirmée par l'examen du texte original (*Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100).





† Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116) lisait  (cfr. *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46) : la muraille porte réellement *Adima*, par un , comme Brugsch le disait (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv).



‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 66-67; E. de Rougé, *Memoire sur l'origine de l'alphabet phénicien*, p. 53.

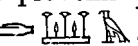

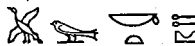
§ Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 127-128.



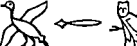
|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 67.





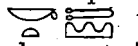
entourent el-Medjdel: un site comme celui du village de Hammâméh حممة conviendrait au peu que nous devinons de Zaloumim, Zelemim. Les trois numéros qui précèdent ne devaient pas être situé bien loin d'el-Medjdel. 

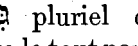

Noup-ïlou (No. 53) est composé de la finale , El, Dieu, et d'un dérivé de la racine  *agitavit*, ou  *eminentia*,  *locus, editus*.


La ville de  *Neballat*, Beit-Nebâla, dans la tribu de Benjamin, que Blau reconnaît ici, ne répond à  *Nouph-ïlou*, ni par l'orthographe ni par la position:*

je ne vois d'ailleurs, entre Shouëikéh et el-Medjdel, aucun nom qui semble provenir du nom antique et se prête à lui être assimilé.  (No. 54) *Dishati*, *Doushati*, est malgré sa tournure exotique, un nom sémitique. C'est une forme féminine, dérivée de la racine  *terere*, *conterere*, *triturare frumentum*; mais cela dit, je ne vois aucun moyen de placer la ville sur le terrain. Le numéro 55 est non-seulement difficile à localiser, mais difficile à déchiffrer. Je le lis comme Champollion .† Il renferme

l'article masculin égyptien  *pa*, dont nous avons nombre d'exemples dans  *Pa Hagala*, 











Pa âmaqou,  *pa nagabou*. Le signe suivant est bien le signe  *oirou*, le Grand, le chef, qui se rencontre presque aussi souvent sans son  final qu'avec son  dans les textes hiéroglyphiques.  transcrit en









hébreu nous donne  pluriel du mot  *torcular*. Osburn a proposé de traduire le tout par *Le prince des Gadites*,‡ et en effet aucune raison philologique ne s'oppose à ce qu'on traduise comme lui les deux premiers mots; seulement le dernier ne désigne certainement pas les gens de Gad qui n'ont rien à voir en cet endroit. Il serait très agréable de traduire le chef de Gath en toute sécurité, mais il ne me

* Blau, *Sisags Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 240. Brugsch, après avoir reconnu l'étymologie réelle (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 65), tendait à reconnaître dans Noup-ïlou un équivalent de  Pnuel, ce qui ne répond ni à l'orthographe du nom, ni la place qu'il occupe sur la liste de Sheshonq.

† Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116.

‡ Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 162.

semble pas que *Kitout* puisse être כִּתוּת. Cette interprétation ne nous tire pas, comme on voit, de nos difficultés; elle a même l'inconvénient de soulever une objection très forte. Les chefs des pays vaincus ne figurent jamais dans les listes: le cartouche No. 54 de Sheshonq serait un cas unique dans l'archéologie égyptienne, s'il fallait le prendre pour ce que Osburn a vu en lui. Mon impression est donc que nous ne devons pas ici diviser le groupe: il faut le considérer comme formant un seul mot *Pouroukit*, *Paouroukit*, que le scribe s'est amusé à écrire avec des éléments donnant en Égyptien un sens qui n'a rien de commun avec la signification originale en hébreu. Il a transcrit la première syllabe *Pour*   *paourou* le chef, au lieu de   par exemple; il a choisi pour la seconde, *kit*, le terme  qui est une variante graphique de  *kiti*, qui signifie *autre*, et le nom *Pouroukit*, s'est trouvé analysé en une phrase égyptienne plus ou moins correcte qui veut dire *l'autre chef*.     *Pouroukiti*, *Pouloukiti* est pour moi le mot פְּלֹגוֹת de פְּלֹגָה, פְּלָג rivus, en arabe فَلَاح, فَلَاح. Nous avons en effet dans le canton d'el-Medjdel un bourg de فالوجا Faloudja,* el-Faloudjy † el-faloujy ‡ qui, pour le nom et la position, me paraît convenir à notre Pouloukiti.

Une nouvelle lacune de quatre cartouches interrompt de nouveau la série. Le numéro 64   ... *papen*, a été complété par Blau † en 'Aapen עֶפְנִי Ophni, Gophnah: la restitution ne tient pas compte de la syllabe médiale *pa*, et ne se défend pas, mais je ne sais, non plus que Brugsch, § comment rétablir le groupe. Par bonheur, le numéro 65 nous fournit une indication précieuse. Brugsch a reconnu que       *Aazama* ¶ répondait soit à l'Azem עֶצְמוֹ de Juda, attribuée ensuite à Siméon, ¶ soit à עֶצְמוֹן

* Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 124.

† Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, T. II, p. 421, T. III, *App.*, p. 209.

‡ Blau, *Sisags Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XI, p. 241.

§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 67.

¶ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 68.

¶ Josué xv, 29; xix, 3.

l'Azmon, qui marque la limite méridionale du territoire juif.* Son opinion fut rejetée par Blau, qui préfère Etham עִיִּם,† mais Rougé‡ se prononça pour Azem, qui répond en effet plus exactement qu'Azmon à l'orthographe hiéroglyphique. L'identité des deux villes est certaine, mais la position d'Azem est tenue pour indéfinie par la plupart des auteurs qui se sont occupés de la Bible. La façon dont le texte de Sheshonq introduit Azama à peu de distance de Migdol-Gad (el-Medjedel) et d'Iourza (Kh. Ierzah), nous oblige à écarter les hypothèses de ceux d'entre eux qui placent Azem très loin vers le Sud, celle de Wilton, par exemple, qui ne veut reconnaître qu'une seule localité dans les noms Ijim et Azem du livre de Josué, et la met à el-Aujéh dans le territoire des Arabes Azâziméh. Il est probable que cette ville devait se trouver dans la partie la plus septentrionale de Siméon, entre le Ouady el-Hesî et le Ouadi esh-Sheriâh, plus près du premier que du second, puisque la liste égyptienne n'intercale que cinq cartouches entre Iourza et Azama. La place précise en est d'autant plus malaisée à déterminer que, pour rencontrer une ville dont l'emplacement ne prête sujet à aucun doute, nous devons descendre à plus de quarante cartouches plus bas, à l'Arad (No. 108) cananéenne. Là du moins nous nous retrouvons un moment sur un terrain solide: עֲרָד Arad est le Tell-Arad de nos cartes modernes.§ Si nous réfléchissons que notre liste consisté en plusieurs séries de noms représentant des sites peu éloignés l'un de l'autre, nous serons portés à croire que ces quarante et quelques cartouches, de valeur indéterminée pour l'instant, doivent être disséminés, de façon plus ou moins régulière, sur le pays qui s'étend des environs de Ierzah jusqu'à ceux d'Arad. La présence, dans les sections précédentes, de plusieurs localités sises assez près l'une de l'autre au Nord de l'Ouady el Hesy, me porte à penser que, les premiers au moins de ces quarante cartouches doivent être recherchés, soit sur le cours même de cet Ouady, soit dans le massif de collines qui longe sa rive méridionale. D'autre part, l'absence de noms tels que Gérar et Ber-Sheba semble prouver que l'aire géographique de la liste ne s'étend pas très loin vers le Sud. Le canton à explorer n'est donc pas aussi considérable qu'on serait tenté de le croire au premier




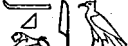
* Nombres xxxiv, 4 ; Josué xv, 4.

† Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, XV, p. 241.

‡ E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine*, pp. 77, 95.


§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 70.


abord : malheureusement il est dans une partie encore imparfaitement connue, malgré les beaux travaux du *Palestine Exploration Fund*, et les cartes y laissent subsister des espaces presque entièrement vides de noms ou d'indications topographiques. Les identifications y ont donc un caractère d'incertitude plus grand encore que celui qu'elles présentent dans les régions étudiées précédemment.




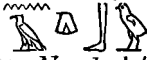


A bien considérer les choses, les quarante et quelques cartouches sont loin de représenter autant de localités indépendantes. Beaucoup d'entre eux contiennent, comme l'a vu Brugsch, des noms communs qui servent à désigner des accidents de terrain. Ces mots, précédés quelquefois d'un article masculin  *pa* ou féminin  *ta*, forment la première partie d'un nom, dont la seconde partie est inscrite dans un autre cartouche, avec ou sans intervention de la préposition égyptienne  *n*. Le plus fréquemment employé de ces mots est, avec des orthographes diverses, 

(No. 71) *Hougra*,  (No. 77) *Haqra*, 

(No. 94) *Hagri*, une fois même au pluriel ou au duel

 (No. 107) *Haqrîma*, *Haqraïma*. Brugsch

y a vu le mot arabe  *pietre*,* et j'ai adopté son interprétation.† Elle soulève une objection des plus graves :




 est arabe, et nous sommes en pays hébreu. Le seul équivalent légitime du mot égyptien serait  *הגרה*, qui se trouve dans quelques passages géographiques du Talmud, et auquel on attribue le sens *enceinte*, *mur*, de la racine  *הגרה*.‡ On pourrait entendre ce mot de ces grandes enceintes de pierre, dont beaucoup subsistent encore dans l'Arabie Pétrée, et dont on a retrouvé plus d'un vestige dans les parties du pays où la liste de Sheshonq nous conduit.§ Le second mot  *nagabou* est comparé par Brugsch soit au  *Negeb*, hébreu, soit au  *nakb*, ou passe des Arabes. La même objection qui a été
















* Brugsch, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 661-662.

† Maspero, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.









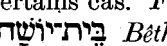












‡ H. Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Geographie Palästinas*, p. 67, sqq.

§ En voir une description très claire dans Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, T. II, p. 320 sqq.

soulevée contre  vaut également contre , et c'est réellement  qui seul peut répondre au terme égyptien.

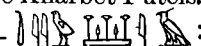
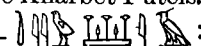
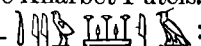
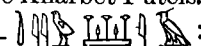
              

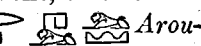
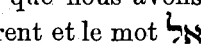
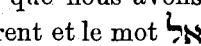
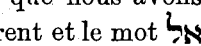
 Pa hagra-fit-iaousha.

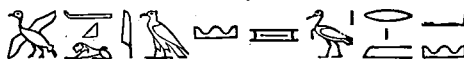
Le nom présente une particularité assez curieuse.  y est pour  par substitution du , v. f. au   b : nous verrons plus loin que le  est transcrit  oua dans plusieurs mots. Ces variantes ne sont pas dues au caprice du scribe égyptien : je pense qu'elles nous révèlent un fait de phonétique nouveau. Il semblerait, d'après elles, que, dans l'hébreu des gens de Siméon, le  était affaibli en *v, f*, au moins dans certains cas. *Fit-iaousha* est donc la transcription exacte d'un  *Bêth-Ioshah*, dont le premier élément est légèrement déformé par une prononciation *Vit, Fit*, pour *Bit*. Le terme joint à  *בֵּית־* n'est pas, comme je l'avais cru,  *feu* : la coupe  *Fiti*  *aousha** que suppose cette identification n'est pas admissible dans notre liste, où  est toujours écrit sans  final. Je coupe  *Fit*  *Iousha*, et je prends *Iaousha* pour la transcription de  *Ioshah*. Ce nom désigne, dans le premier livre des Chroniques,† un des chefs Siméonites qui, au temps d'Ezéchias, émigrèrent à l'Orient de la ville de Guédor, cherchant des pâturages pour leurs troupeaux. Quelque soit la valeur du renseignement fourni par les Chroniques, il nous montre du moins que le nom de *Iaousha* était usité dans la tribu de Siméon, et confirme la légitimité de la transcription  *Bêth-Ioshah* que j'ai adoptée pour *Fit-Iaousha*. Pour retrouver dans la nomenclature actuelle un équivalent de cette localité, il convient de ne pas oublier que le phénomène dialectal saisi par l'oreille des contemporains de Sheshonq a dû se perpétuer chez toutes les populations qui se sont succédées dans ces parages : un nom, une fois pris dans une prononciation, passe avec cette prononciation aux générations différentes qui ont à s'en servir journellement. L'équivalent arabe du  initial doit donc être quelque chose d'analogue à l'Égyptien  *vit*, *fit*, soit *فيت* ou *فت*. Je trouve en effet, un peu au sud de l'Oued esh-Sheriah, un oued et une ruine que Guérin appelle *واد فتيس* Oued Ftis et *خربة واد الفتيس* Kharbét Oued

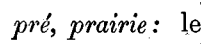
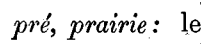
* Maspero, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

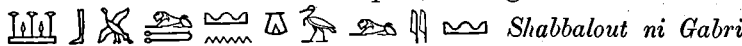


† 1 Chroniques iv, 35.

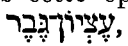
el-*Ā* *ās*,* et que la carte anglaise orthographie Kharbét Futéis.  renferme tous les éléments de  :  y est la contre partie de  = *בֵּית*, et *יס* répond à *יִשְׁרָאֵל* par cette substitution du *ס* au *ש* qui est si fréquente dans la passage à l'arabe des noms hébreux. L'identification de Fit-Iaousha avec Kharbét Foutéis, Fatéis ou Ftis confirme l'opinion que j'exprimais plus haut au sujet d'Azamah, et m'encourage de plus en plus à chercher cette ville entre l'Ouady el-Hesy et l'Oued esh-Sheriah, à peu près sur une ligne menée de Kharbét Foutéis à el-Medjdel ou à Kharbét Ierzah.

C'est également dans le voisinage de Kharbét-Foutéis qu'il conviendrait de chercher les bourgs qui suivent, si les cartes n'étaient d'une pauvreté désespérante.  *Arouhaloul*, *Alou-haloul*, est un de ces noms ou Rougé voudrait rencontrer l'article arabe *ال* ; † j'ai déjà dit plus haut, ‡ combien il était difficile d'admettre dans notre liste la présence de formes arabes et je n'insiste pas. Je pense que nous avons ici un de ces noms  *El-halal*, où entrent et le mot  *אל* dieu, et la racine  *luxit, splenduit*. Le site m'en est inconnu.

 (Nos. 71-72) *Pa hougra*

abilama contient un pluriel  de  *pré, prairie* : le tout se traduirait l'*Enceinte des près*, et désigne un site inconnu.

 *Shabbalout ni Gabri* (Nos. 73-74) signifie littéralement *le fleuve du Héros*, car  *Gabri* est la transcription exacte de  *vir, miles*.

Blau avait identifié le second cartouche à Betogabris, qui est aujourd'hui Beit-Djibrin, § et je m'étais rangé à son avis, || mais Beit-Djibrin est trop éloignée du pays où le voisinage de Kharbét Foutéis nous oblige à rester, pour qu'il soit permis de persister dans cette opinion. J'avais songé un moment à Azion-Gaber , mais cette ville est trop


* Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 287.



† E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine*, p. 90




‡ Voir plus haut, p. 18-19.



§ Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, dans la *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 23. Il lisait le nom *Ngbarij*, "wobei das n, entweder bloss lautlicher Vorschlag ist, oder graphisch richtiger am Ende der Cartouche zu stellen sein wird."

|| Maspero, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

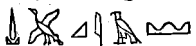
loin vers le Sud. Je chercherai plutôt, notre bougade de Gabri et son *fleuve* dans le voisinage d'el Gabra الجبرى, un peu à l'Est d'Oumm er-Roumanin. El-Djabri est en effet l'équivalent arabe de l'hébreu גַבְרִי. *Le torrent du Héros* est suivi du *Torrent des Bénédctions* (Nos. 75-76) 


 *Shabbalout - Ouarakit* où l'hébreu בְּרָכָה, בְּרִיכָה, pluriel בְּרִיכוֹת, a son ב transcrit  *Oua*, selon la prononciation dialectale que j'ai indiquée plus haut.* Cette localité est certainement différente de la Vallée de Bénédiction עַמְק בְּרָכָה des Chroniques,† mais le site en est incertain.

 *Pa haqra n - Azai* (Nos. 77-78) renferme le  *n* de liaison que nous avons déjà eu dans *Shabbalout ni-gabri*; le déterminatif de la flamme  tient au sens du mot égyptien et non à celui du mot sémitique :

 *azai*, se rattache soit à עֵז *capra*, soit à עֵז, עֵזוּ, *robur, potentia, fortitudo*. Site inconnu. 

(No. 79) *Adidima* selon la copie de Brugsch,‡ peut se rattacher à la racine עֲדָה *induit ornatum, ornavit se* : ce serait alors une forme analogue à celle de אֲדִיתַיִם *Aditaim* (duplex ornatus) qui désigne une ville de Juda. Je n'en vois pas le



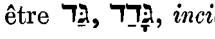
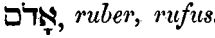

site.  *Zapaqa* (No. 80) est la transcription qu'on admet depuis que Brugsch l'a proposée, bien qu'elle ne présente aucun rapport avec aucune racine connue de l'hébreu. Peut-être serait-il permis de diviser le mot en deux : la première partie serait un dérivé de la racine צָפָה *speculatus est, prospectavit*, et la seconde rendrait גֵּינָה *vallis*, mais tout cela est trop incertain pour que je m'y arrête. Les deux noms qui suivent sont mutilés sans ressource, mais le No. 83

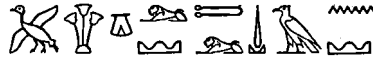
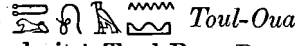



 *Ganat* nous rend un terme connu גַּנָּה *hortus*; c'est peut-être le Kharbét Jenneta خربة جنتا, qui est situé à quelque distance au Sud-Ouest d'el-Daouaïmèh. En ce cas les localités intermédiaires entre Shoubbalout ni-Gabri et Ganat devraient être cherchées, partie dans la vallée de







* Voir plus haut, p. 20.


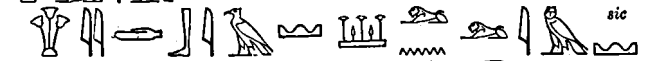
† 2 Chroniques xx, 26, *cf.* dans Joséphe, *Arch.*, ix, 1, 3.


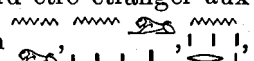
‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv, No. 79.

plus loin les Enceintes d'Arad et la ville d'Arad (Nos. 108-111). Entre ces deux endroits ou à côté d'eux on rencontrait (No. 96)  *Alagad, Alougad*, et (No. 97)  *Adimaïm*. Le premier nom renferme peut-être ; le second se rattache à . Tous ces endroits étaient assez près de Doura, car le No. 100 est  Adora le Grand, qui est identique à Adoraïm et à Dourah.*

(Nos. 101-102) , l'Enceinte de Toul-Zan; Brugsch lit  *Toul-Ouan*, qui, avec le  *oua* pour , équivaldrait à Toul-Ban, Ban étant peut-être  *filius*.† Le signe douteux a entièrement disparu aujourd'hui, comme j'ai eu l'occasion de le constater à Karnak : il n'est donc plus possible de savoir quelle était la véritable lecture.







(No. 103)  *Haideba* vient de la racine  *cecidit lignum*, qui sous la forme  signifie *cecidit, excidit lapides* : l'orthographe égyptienne suppose une variante  que l'hébreu n'a pas conservée. *Haideba*  pourrait signifier un endroit où on taille la pierre, une carrière ; comme ce mot revient plus bas (No. 105), on doit peut-être y reconnaître un nom commun comme 

nagabou,  *Hagara*, qu'il faut réunir au cartouche suivant.  *sic*

(Nos. 103-104) *Haideba Sharounram* et  (Nos. 105-106) *Haideba Diouati* seraient alors les carrières de Sharounram et de Diouati. Le premier nom Sharounram semble de prime abord être étranger aux langues sémitiques ; mais la combinaison 

* Maspero, *Sur les noms de la liste de Thoutmos III qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, dans le *Victoria Institute*, T. XII, p. 63-65.

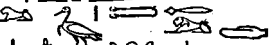
† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv, No. 102.


nr de l'Égyptien n'a, au moins dans les transcriptions de noms étrangers, d'autre valeur que celle d'une *r* ou d'une *l* prononcée fortement. *Sharounram* est donc un dérivé soit de la racine שָׁלַל *traxit, extraxit, spoliavit*, soit de la racine שָׁרַר *torsit, firmus, durus fuit, oppressit*. La terminaison  pourrait répondre à יים du pluriel; mais cette flexion est écrite presque toujours dans notre liste avec une voyelle finale  *má*, et sans . Je pense plutôt qu'il y a ici une faute de graveur et qu'on doit lire  au lieu de  on aurait alors à faire à un nom שררה, שללה.  *Diouati*, dérive de la racine דָּוָד *amavit*, d'où le nom du roi David, ou de la racine דָּוָה *languit, cœrotus fuit*. Aucune de ces localités n'a laissé de traces reconnaissables aujourd'hui.












On s'étonnera peut-être de me voir indiquer avec autant de minutie les racines hébraïques auxquelles il me semble que répondent le nom de notre liste. Ce n'est point affectation de recherche philologique: c'est, je crois, une précaution indispensable dans le genre hasardeux d'étude auquel j'ai été obligé de me livrer. On n'est que trop porté à supposer une erreur de copiste, une faute du scribe qui a compilé la liste, et à intervertir l'ordre des lettres pour obtenir un rapprochement avec un nom connu ancien ou moderne. En montrant que les lettres égyptiennes transcrites en lettres hébraïques nous donnent des formes régulières ou possibles en hébreu, je m'évite à moi-même, et j'évite peut-être aux savants qui traiteront après moi ce sujet, la tentation d'attribuer à une erreur de scribe la présence de tant de noms inconnus, et la faute de modifier ces noms par interversion ou par substitution d'une articulation à une autre articulation. Si nos transcriptions en lettres hébraïques nous donnent des mots réguliers, c'est que les scribes égyptiens ont reproduit aussi exactement que leur alphabet le leur permettait les sons qu'ils entendaient en Judée: nous n'avons donc pas le droit de rien changer à leur transcription.


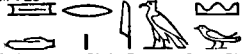





Les Nos. 108-110 nous fournissent la première identification absolument certaine que nous ayons dans cette partie



de la liste:  *Haqaraim*

Arada, les deux enceintes d'Arad et 

 *Rabbit Aradai* רַבֵּית עֵרָב. Les deux enceintes


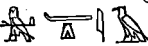
d'Arad étaient dans le voisinage de la ville d'Arad, et peut-être une exploration du pays plus complète nous en ferait-elle aujourd'hui encore découvrir les traces. J'ai à peine besoin de rappeler * que Rabbat Arad est  Arad de la Bible aujourd'hui Tell Arad . (No. 112)  *Iaourahma* me paraît être identique au  Ierahmél, de la tribu de Juda, dont le Négeb fut pillé par David.  manque à la fin du nom égyptien, mais il manque aussi à la fin du nom arabe Ouady Rahaiméh  *ואד רחיים*, qui a succédé au nom hébreu: la chute du nom divin, qui a permis aux Arabes de transcrire comme ils l'ont fait, est sans doute un fait primitif, puisqu'on trouve dans la liste de Sheshonq  *Iaourahma*. Le No. 111  *Nebatout*, placé entre Rabbat-Arad et Iaourahma, doit être cherché entre Tell Arad et l'Oued-Rahaiméh, mais aucun des noms connus aujourd'hui ne lui ressemble assez pour qu'on ait lieu de l'identifier. *Nabatout* paraît être un pluriel  d'un mot féminin  *נבטות*, qui serait dérivé de la racine  *נבט* *conspexit, vidit*.

Trois cartouches ont disparu entièrement derrière *Nabatout*. Le No. 116  *Ari m.*, est trop mutilé pour rien donner. Le No. 117  *Adorashirau*, Adora le petit, par apposition à l'Adora le Grand du No. 86 nous ramène au nord de Ierahmél et d'Arad, probablement dans la partie de la montagne de Juda qui s'étend au Sud d'Hébron, mais sans que j'aie la prétention d'en déterminer exactement le site. Le No. 118, lu par Brugsch  *Pabia*, † mais dont le premier signe est laissé indécis par Champollion, m'a paru être plutôt  *Zabia*: rien n'est plus facile en effet que de confondre un  endommagé avec un . Cette lecture est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'il n'y a plus de racine  *פב*, mais plusieurs



* Brugsch, qui a le premier reconnu Arad, en a séparé le cartouche  qu'il lit *Lebat*, et identifie à  *בֵּית לְבָאוֹת* Bêt-Lebaoth de Siméon (Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 69-70).



† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv, No. 118.

racines **צָבָה** *prodiit, processit miles in bellum*, d'où **צָבָה** *exercitus*, **צָבָה** *prodiit stella*, etc. : *Zabia* serait la transcription exacte du nom **צָבִיָּה** *dorcas femina*, donné aux femmes **צָבִיָּה**, **צָבִיָּה**, et qui serait appliquée ici à une localité. Le



No. 119 est lu par Champollion  *Rahouga*, *Lahouga*, par Brugsch  *Mâhouga*. Comme



les racines **רָחַק** *longe discessit*, **לָחַד** *linxit*, **מָחַק** *percussit*, sont là pour appuyer celle des lectures qu'on préférera, l'étude seule de la muraille permettrait de décider entre Champollion et Brugsch. Elle est tellement endommagée aujourd'hui que je n'y ai pu rien reconnaître : peut-être un autre sera-t-il plus heureux. Le No. 120 est évidemment

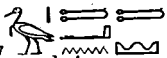
 *Ouariouk* avec  *oua* pour **ב**, comme plus haut, soit un nouveau nom dérivé de la racine **בָּרַד**, peut-être le *Kharbét Barouk* **بَارُوكْ**, de Guérin.

(No. 121)  *Fir-timda*, renferme, comme plus haut  *Fir*,* une forme dialectale *Fir* pour **בִּיאַר**, **בִּיר** *le puits* : le nom serait **בִּיאַר דִּמְעָה** *Ber-Dimeah*, le puits de la larme,  ayant souvent en Égyptien la valeur du **ד** vocalisée en *i* et  équivalant à **מֵע**. Les noms

commençant par *Bir* sont fréquents aujourd'hui dans la région déserte qui s'étend entre Hébron et la Mer Morte, mais aucun d'eux ne rappelle notre *Ber-Diméah*. (No. 122)

 *Abilou* est une **אָבִיל** inconnue, situé dans cette région du désert de Juda. (No. 123) 

Biar-Rouza, *Biar-Louza*, est **בִּיאַר לֹוזָה** *Ber-Louz*, *Ber-Louzah*, le puits de l'amandier avec l'orthographe ordinaire par **B**  et non plus par **V**, **F** . Ce *puits de l'amandier* n'a rien de commun avec les deux *Louz* de la Bible, dont l'une était le *Bethel* de Benjamin, et dont l'autre appartenait aux Hittites de la Palestine Septentrionale. Le


nom suivant est  *Bit-Anati*, que j'identifierai comme Brugsch † avec la **בֵּית עֲנֹת** *Bethanoth*



* Guérin, *Judée*, T. III, p. 164.

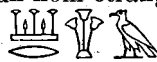



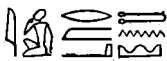
† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 70.

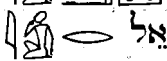
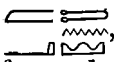
de Juda, aujourd'hui Bêt Anoun **خربة بيت عنون**. Ber-Louzah devait se trouver quelque part au S.E. de ce site, sur le versant des montagnes qui descend à la Mer Morte.

Bit-Anat est le dernier nom de la liste qu'on puisse placer sur la carte de manière certaine. Au-delà, il ne subsiste plus que deux cartouches intacts, et les débris plus ou moins lisibles d'une demi-douzaine de cartouches. (No. 125)

 *Shalhatou*, se rattache à la racine **שָׁלַח**, *misit*,

d'où vient le nom **שָׁלַח**, **שָׁלַח** de la piscine de Siloéh. Le groupe  qui termine le mot est le pluriel *toou* du mot  *to*, terre, et ne peut guères être employé ici, dans la transcription d'un nom étranger que pour rendre la syllabe *tou*, *toou* :

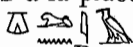
comme  *Shalaha* nous fournit déjà les trois lettres de la racine **שָׁלַח**, la finale *tou* est une flexion grammaticale et l'équivalent du    \equiv τ , qui sert à écrire la termination du pluriel féminin. **שָׁלַחֹת** *propagines*, répond exactement à *Shalahaoutou*. Le Livre de Josué nous fait connaître une ville de nom analogue **שָׁלַחִים** (*armati*) situé dans la partie méridionale de Juda.* Le site moderne de Shalhatou ne m'est pas connu. (No. 126) 

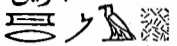
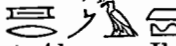

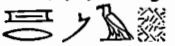
Alomâten ou *Armâten* est un nom composé de  **אל** et de , qui peut répondre à **מִדְּיָן** *Middin*, ou à tout autre forme de la racine **דָּיַן** *regere, moderari*; j'ai cité **מִדְּיָן** de préférence parce que c'est le nom d'une ville de la tribu de Juda.† Comme *Middin* était dans le voisinage de la Mer Morte, c'est-à-dire dans la région où nous savons que les derniers cartouches de notre liste sont situés, on peut se demander si elle n'est pas identique à notre *Alamaten*: *Middin* serait alors l'abréviation d'une forme plus complète *El-Middin*. On ne connaît pas d'ailleurs l'emplacement de *Middin*: seul, Sauley‡ le fixe à **قصر مردة** *Qasr Mirdéh*, le **خربة مird** *Kharbét Mird* de la carte anglaise, *Mird* **مرد** de



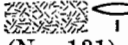
* Josué xv, 32.


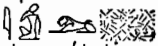
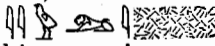

† Josué xv, 61.

‡ F. de Sauley, *Dictionnaire topographique de la Terre-Sainte*, p. 223, s.v. *Meddin*.

Robinson,* ce qui conviendrait assez à la place qu'Alamâten occupe dans notre liste. (No. 127)  Galouna, Garouna n'est certainement pas, comme Brugsch le pense † la גֹּלָן Gôlan de Manassé, qui est trop éloignée du pays où la liste nous oblige à nous maintenir. Il me semble que nous avons ici une transcription exacte du mot גֵּרְנָה, גֵּרְן, area: je ne trouve sur la carte aucun endroit nommé جرن

Djarn ou جرين Djarin, qui serait la forme arabe du nom antique.  (No. 123) Alama . . . , Arama . . . , renfermant les trois lettres d'une racine אלם, ne peut se compléter que par un suffixe, probablement celui du pluriel, soit le pluriel masculin  Alamam, soit le pluriel féminin  Amat. Il m'est impossible de dire celui qu'on doit préférer ici, car אֱלָמָה merges, manipulus, frugum, qui est le prototype de  Alama, a les deux pluriels אֱלָמִים et אֱלָמוֹת. Le nom suivant que

Brugsch donne ainsi  . . . lahat ou . . . rahat (No. 129), paraît avoir été , soit אֲרַחֲוֹת, pluriel de אֲרַחַ, via, semita: je ne sais où cette localité était située. Les numéros  . . .

la (No. 130)  Má . . . (No. 131),  El . . . (No. 132) ne sont susceptibles d'aucune interprétation. Le dernier  (No. 133) Iaoura . . . prête à une hypothèse que je me contente d'indiquer sommairement, après Blau. Si on le complétait  Iaourishalama, on aurait ici יְרוּשָׁלַם Jérusalem, qu'on s'étonne à bon droit de ne pas rencontrer parmi les villes prises par Sheshonq.

Tel est le résultat de cette étude. Les lacunes dont la liste est criblée ne me permettent pas d'affirmer d'une manière certaine que les villes importantes de Juda ou de la Philistie dont les noms n'ont pas été mentionnés, Ascalon,

* Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, T. II, p. 270.

† Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, T. II, p. 70.

Ashdod, Gath, Gézer, Hébron, Jéricho, etc., n'y figuraient pas effectivement. Les listes de Thoutmos III, qui sont intactes, présentent tant d'omissions de ce genre que je suis tout prêt à croire, pour mon compte, qu'elles manquaient réellement à celle de Sheshonq, et que les cartouches aujourd'hui détruits ne devaient contenir à l'origine pour la plupart que des noms de localités insignifiantes, aussi obscures que celles dont le souvenir nous a été conservé. Sheshonq avait une surface déterminée de muraille à couvrir, et voulait pour cela un nombre déterminé de noms : les bulletins de son armée et les rapports des prisonniers ou des alliés lui fournirent le nombre dont il avait besoin. On dirait que les scribes ont moins eu l'intention d'énumérer les principales villes de leur nouvelle conquête que d'en fixer le contour : les localités qu'ils choisirent forment autour de Jérusalem et du massif de Juda une sorte de cercle, qui semble suivre assez exactement la frontière du royaume. Beaucoup d'entre elles sont complètement inconnues, d'autres ne sont identifiées que sous toutes réserves avec des noms hébraïques ou arabes, le plus petit nombre est placé sur la carte de façon indubitable. Mon travail n'est ici que provisoire ; j'espère le reprendre plus tard, ou, si je ne puis, d'autres le reprendront et le pousseront plus avant.

The following paper was read by Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, the author being unavoidably absent.

THE LIST OF SHESHONQ AT KARNAK.

BY G. MASPERO.

Translated by Henry George Tomkins.

THE list which Sheshonq I, caused to be sculptured of the towns that he had taken, or professed to have taken, during his campaign against Rehoboam, has often been studied by Egyptologists. Champollion the younger* and Osburn† extracted all that was possible at a period when neither the structure of hieroglyphic writing nor the geography of Palestine was well known. Brugsch has since given a complete analysis‡ which has enabled Blau to propose a more serious explanation than any which had hitherto been made.§ The commentary of Blau, modified by








* Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 99-100, *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160, and *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114.

† Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 158-162.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 114.

§ Blau, *Sisags Zug gegen Juda aus dem Denkmale bei Karnak erläutert*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, T. XV, p. 233 sqq.

Brugsch in the second edition of his "History of Egypt,"* has since remained almost classic in the science, and most of the identifications which he had reached have been admitted without discussion by archæologists and geographers.† A first examination, made in 1880, shewed me, however, that Blau had taken too great liberties with the outward form of the names, and had obtained many of his approximations only at the price of inversions and alterations too numerous to be permissible: I have since endeavoured to prove that the Egyptian letters, transcribed rigorously in Hebrew letters, give almost everywhere the regular Hebrew forms, and therefore need neither changes nor corrections.‡ I desire, in the present paper, to collect, after nearly ten years of fresh research, the partial results at which I have arrived, and to submit them, with due reserve, to the criticism of my brethren in Egyptology. I have ascertained the text by comparison of all the copies published since the beginning of the century, and by collation of Champollion's copy with what still remains of the original on the wall at Karnak.§






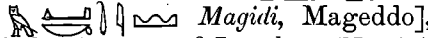
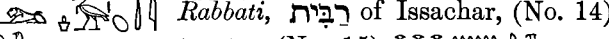
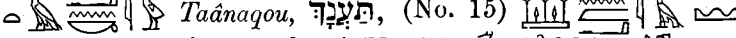
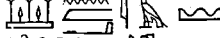
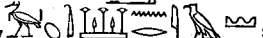


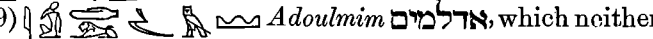
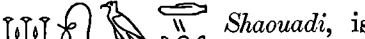
The first ten cartouches were filled by the general forms which we meet with at the starting of most geographical lists. Although a certain number of them are quite destroyed, we may restore them with certainty: (No. 1)  To-
qimâiti, the country of the south, (No. 2)  To-mihiti ,
the country of the North, (No. 3)  $\text{the tribes situated}$
between the Nile and the Red Sea, from the latitude of
Assouan to that of Siout, (No. 4)  the Tahonou,
the Berber tribes beyond the Oasis of the Thebaïd, corres-
ponding to the *Aniou* of the last cartouche, (No. 5)  the
Bédouins who live between the Nile and the Red Sea, from
the latitude of Siout to the neighbourhood of the Ouady
Toumilât, (No. 6)  $\text{the Berber tribes who occupy}$
the Oases to the west of the Birket Kéroun, parallel to the
Pittiou Bédouins, (No. 7)  the Montiou, the

* Brugsch, *Geschichte Egyptens*, p. 660-663.

† It is from Blau's Memoir that Mariette has borrowed that strange hypothesis of Egyptian army-corps manœuvring as modern army-corps do (*Les Listes des Pylones de Karnak*, p. 46-48).

‡ Maspero, *Notes sur différents Points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 44-49.

§ Maspero, *Révision des Listes géographiques de Thoutmos III*, p. 100-101.


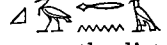
Bédouins of Arabia Petræa between Egypt and Syria], (No. 8) the , *Paditiou*, nomads of Syria between the Montiou and the frontiers of Naharanna,* lastly the (No. 9)  *Haiounivou* of Asia Minor and the Isles of the Mediterranean. The last cartouche (No. 10)  is the only one which I cannot recollect to have met with elsewhere. Perhaps it should be restored , *copy of the Asiatics*, considering these words as a sort of title applying to the whole of the following names: this is, however, a mere conjecture. The thirteen cartouches which come next present no greater difficulties of interpretation. I content myself with enumerating them with the restorations which I thought right to add in 1880, and in which I see at present nothing to change. (No. 11)  *Gazatou*, Gaza, [No. 12  *Magidi*, Mageddo], (No. 13)  *Rabbati*, רבית of Issachar, (No. 14)  *Taánaqou*, תענקה, (No. 15)  *Shaunamá*, שונים of Issachar, † (No. 16)  *Bit-Shaïlla*, *Bit-Sháilla*, where I seem to recognize the Shiloh שילה of Ephraïm, ‡ (No. 17)  *Rouhaïba* רחב, now Rehab, § to the south of Beïsan, (No. 18)  *Hapourama*, חפורים of Issachar, (No. 19)  *Adoulmim* אדלמים, which neither the hieroglyphic spelling, nor the position which it occupies in the list, permit us to identify with the Adullam אדולם of Judah. No. 20, which is entirely mutilated, perhaps contained the name of Sicheu, one of the capitals of Israel under Jeroboam I. No. 21  *Shaouadi*, is doubtless *Souéda*, (Kharbét es-Suweidéh of the English map),

* On these peoples see J. de Rougé, *Textes géographiques du Temple d'Edfou* (*H^{te}. Égypte*), taken from the *Révue Archéologique*, 1865, p. 12-16.

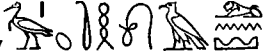

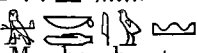
† The identification was proposed for the first time by Osburn, *Egypt*, p. 158.


‡ *Sur les Noms géographiques de la Liste de Thoutmés III qu'on peut rapporter à la Judée*, in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XXII, p. 69-70.


§ *Cfr.* Eusebius, *Onomasticon*: καὶ ἐστὶ Ῥωδὸς κώμη ἀπὸ σημείου Σκυθοπέλων, ἣν δὲ Λευίταις ἀφωρισμένη (edit. Parthey, p. 316).

a little way from the right bank of the Jordan.* The following numbers represent  Mahanaïm מְחַנַּים beyond Jordan,† and  Gibeon גִּבְעוֹן of Benjamin.‡ The presence on the list of towns belonging to Jeroboam does not prove that the Egyptian armies had penetrated into Galilee or passed the Jordan. The king of Israel, in imploring the aid of Sheshonq against his rival, had thereby made himself vassal to Egypt: this would suffice to make his towns figure at Karnak among the cities subjected in the course of the campaign.

To determine the site of the places which occur beyond Gabaon, I have used the process which has already availed me with regard to the lists of Thoutmos III: I have divided the list in sections, each comprised between two towns already known, and whose position in the land has been indicated, if not surely at least probably, by recent explorers. From Gabaon to the vacant place of No. 30, the Egyptian scribe has followed the line of places or fortified posts which covered the northern frontier of the kingdom of Judah.

(No. 24)  Bit-haouaroun is the Beth-horon בֵּית-הַחֹרוֹן of Ephraim,§ (No. 26)  Aiaouloun, the Aialon אֵיאלוֹן of Dan,|| (No. 27)  Mákidau, מִקְדָּה, ¶ that is Bêt-Our, Yalo, and Magharah, مغارة

* The determinative  is still very visible in the original, and completes the word (Maspero, *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100). Blau (*op. l.*, p. 237)

restores  which he identifies with عرق السودان,

Arak es-Soudan, or السويدان es-Souëidan of Robinson (*Palestine*, III, p. 867, II, p. 657).

† Champollion, *Grammaire Égyptienne*, p. 160, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Rosellini, *Mon. St.*, T. IV, p. 157.

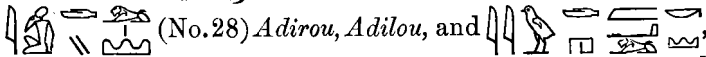
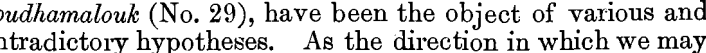
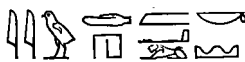
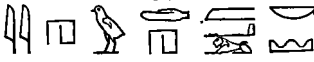
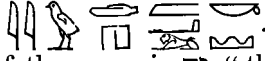
‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 61.

§ Champollion, *Grammaire*, p. 160, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, T. IV, p. 157.

|| Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 114; Brugsch, *G. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62.

¶ Champollion (*Mon.*, *Texte*, T. II, p. 114, and *Grammaire*, p. 160), Rosellini (*Mon. St.*, T. IV, p. 157-158), Osburn, *Egypt, Her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 160), Brugsch (*G. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62), E. de Rougé (*Mémoire sur l'Origine*, p. 53), have wished to recognize Mageddo here; Blau (*op. l.*, p. 237-238) has remarked that Mageddo would be here out of its place, and has proposed Makkedah, which I have accepted (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 45).

Suliemân, and about the place where it crosses the way to Jerusalem; the English map shews in this place a Kharbèt Bêt-Nashef خربة بيت ناشف, which may be *Qadoutim*, *Qadoudim*.

 (No. 28) *Adirou*, *Adilou*, and , *Iaoudhamalouk* (No. 29), have been the object of various and contradictory hypotheses. As the direction in which we may meet with *Adirou* depends on that in which we may find *Iaoudhamalouk*, I have already troubled myself about this latter name. Champollion has seen in it the symbol of the kingdom of Judah,* Rosellini that of the king of Judah.† E. de Rougé persisted to the end in holding the opinion of the first Egyptologists as probable, if not certain.‡ Brugsch, on the other hand, thought that we have here a mere village whose modern representative would be a *Yahoudiyéh*, *el-Yahoudiyéh*, either that in the neighbourhood of Tibnîn, or that in the neighbourhood of Jaffa.§ Blau held to the opinion of Brugsch, and added that our locality, being situated in the neighbourhood of *Makkédah*, must be identical with the יְהוּד *Iehoud* of Dan, that is to say with *el-Yehoudiéh* near Jaffa:¶ *Iaoudhamalouk* would be the full form; *Iehoud* an abridged form. Of late M. Max Müller has undertaken to show that the Egyptian  does not contain the name of Judah: we ought, says he, to find in the Egyptian the first ה of יהודה and to have  in place of . He thinks that the initial element of the name is יד, "the hand," and that the whole corresponds to יְהוּדָה־מֶלֶךְ *Iad-hammelek*: the town *Idhammelek*

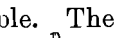










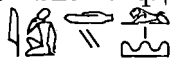
* Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, p. 90.

† Rosellini, after having adopted the opinion of Champollion (*Mon. Stor.*, T. II, p. 79-80), was induced by philological scruples to modify it, and to see in the name of our locality the mention of the king of Judah (*Mon. Stor.*, T. IV, p. 158-159).

‡ E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Origine égyptienne de l'Alphabet phénicien*, p. 53, *Leçons de M. de Rougé* in the *Mélanges*, T. II, p. 274, note 9. M. de Rougé, or M. Robiou, who has published the *Leçons*, attributes to Champollion the translation of Rosellini and returns to the sense of *kingdom*, which is precisely that which Champollion had proposed.

§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 62-63.





¶ Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238.


would have no longer anything in common with Iehoud of Dan.* In spite of the very high esteem which I have for Herr Max Müller (of Nüremberg), and although Mr. Le Page Renouf has lent him the support of his authority, I do not think the objection he has raised against the reading of Brugsch is insurmountable. The word  contains a troublesome element, the *ou*  which follows the two feathers , and which has no business there if we allow the reading : so MM. Müller and le Page Renouf have tried to get quit of it by explaining that we need not take it into account. I think on the contrary that we must never neglect it, neither in this case nor in other cases where it occurs. The sign  in the beginning of a word appears to have always an *a* for its inherent vowel, and this *a* with diphthongal *ou*, which is sometimes expressed, sometimes suppressed, in writing, has given in Coptic sometimes α or ϵ , sometimes o , ω : , , *iaoumä*, ים , the sea, יָם , *B.*, יָם , *T.M.*, , *iaourou*, the river, יָם , *T.*, יָם , *M.*, &c. I read then  *Iaoud*, not *Ioud*, and I think that the hiatus between the *a* and *ou* renders the very weak aspirate of ה between two vowels, in the same manner that it does in the transcription *Iaoudai* in Assyrian texts.  *Iaoud* will thus form the transition between the full form of the classic Hebrew יְהוּדָה and the reduced form יְהוּדָא of the Greeks. I will retain, till further intelligence, the reading *Iaoud-ha-malouk*, *Iehoud-ham-melek*, and the identification with *Iehoud* of Dan, *el-Yâhoudiyéh*. No. 28  *Adirou*, placed between this locality and *Makkédah*, ought then to have its place marked in the plain between *el-Yâhoudiyéh* and *Môghar*. *Blau* professes to recognize in it a bad Egyptian version of לָד , for, says he, a town so important as *Lydda* would not be missing in the list of *Sheshonq*.† *Brugsch* has very justly remarked that 


* Max Müller, *The supposed name of Judah in the list of Sheshonq*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. X, p. 81-83; after this memoir we find (p. 83-86) some *Remarks* in which M. Le Page Renouf approves the conclusions of M. Max Müller.


† *Blau*, *Sisaqs Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 231.


renders letter for letter a derivative of the root **אָדַר**, *amplus fuit*, doubtless **אָדִיר**, *amplus, potens*.* This name *Addirou*, *Addir*, presents so close a consonance with the Arabic **الدير** *al-déir, ed-déir*, that it may be confounded with one of the numerous *déirs* which figure on our modern maps. Having regard to the position which it holds in the list, I am tempted to recognize it in the **خربة ديران** *Kharbét-Déirân* which the English map shews at some distance north of el-Môghâr.

The cartouche No. 30 is destroyed with the exception of the sign , which tells us nothing. The series which begins beyond, and which is broken after No. 40 by a long gap, offers us towards the end a name (No. 38)  *Shaouka*, which is written  *Saouka* in the list of Thoutmos III (No. 69): it is the Shokoh of the Judæan plain, now *Kharbét-Shouwéikéh*.† The names comprised between *Iaoud-ham-melek* and *Shaouka* must then range themselves more or less regularly between *el-Yahoudiyéh* and *Kharbét-Shouwéikéh*. For the rest, No. 35, which is mutilated 

, may be restored with certainty in

 *Iaouhama*, which is the (No. 68)

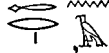




 *Iouhamâ, Iaouhmâ*, of the campaigns of Thoutmos III: now *Iaouhama* is, as *Saulcy* has shewn,‡ *el-Khéiméh, الخيمة*. This restoration permits us to divide the series into two sections, one of four names from *Iaoud-ham-melek* to *Iaouhama*, one of five from *Iaouhama* to *Shaouka* and beyond. The four names which compose the former section are unhappily not easy to identify. No. 31

 *Haianim, Hianim*, appears as a plural form **חַיִּים** of a word derived from the root **חָיַן**, *propitius fuit, favit alicui*; it is the same in meaning as **בֵּית חַיִּין** of *Dan* or *Judah*, and I am disposed to compare it with *Kharbét-Hannounâh* **خربة حنونة**, situated in the hills to the east of


* *Brugsch, Geogr. Ins., T. II, p. 62.*

† *Brugsch, Geogr. Ins., T. II, p. 64.*

‡ *F. de Saulcy, Lettre à M. Chabas, in the Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne, T. I, p. 122-123.*

el-Yahoudiyéh,* near to which the English map marks some ruins.† The name following (No. 32)  *Alana, Alouna*, would be transcribed in Hebrew letters ערן, ערן, and consequently cannot be either the l'Elon אֵילֹן of Dan, or Eglon עֵגְלוֹן, as Brugsch‡ and Blau:§ would have it: we have here a locality bearing the same name as the  of Thoutmos III, where I have recognized a variant of the Hebrew עֵלְיוֹן, *superior, suprema, summus*. The present nomenclature gives us many عليן Alîns, of which the orthography agrees perfectly with that of our town. The only one whose site can rigorously agree is that which the English map calls Kharbét Ouady Alîn خربة وادي علين, and which is to the north of Shouwèikéh, near 'Ain Shems, where the Beth-Shemesh of Judah is generally placed; yet the space will be too great between Kharbét Hannounah and Kharbét Ouady Alîn for me to venture any affirmation on it. Brugsch reads (No. 33)  *Biloma*, and identifies it with בִּלְעָם Bileam of Manasséh, in spite of the absence of *y* in the Egyptian transcription.|| In fact Champollion, Rosellini, and Lepsius all give  *Biromam*, *Bilomam*, and this is the reading which can still be deciphered on the wall. *Biroumim* or *Biloumim* is in fact the regular plural of a word derived either from the root בָּלַם *constrinxit, clausit*, or from the root בָּרַם *fremuit*: בְּרוּמִים, which denotes the name of a sort of embroidered fabric, is here reproduced letter for letter. Unhappily I cannot find on any map any modern name which recalls that of *Biroumim* or *Biloumim*.  (No. 34) *Zaidipoutir* or *Zadipoudil* is known







* Guérin, *Samarie*, T. II, p. 74.

† Osburn (*Egypt, her Testimony*, p. 160) has compared Haianim with הַיִּתְּוֹן, the valley of Hinnom. Without speaking of the topographical difficulties which this identification presents,  never answers to הָ in Hebrew.

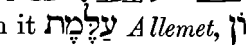
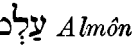
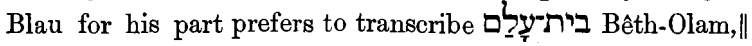
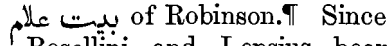

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 63.

§ Blau, *Sisags Zvg*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 235.

|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 64.

to us in *Papyrus Anastasi* No. 1, under the form   *Zidipouti* or *Zaidipouti*, with loss of  R, L, final.* The name is evidently formed of two words. The first belongs to the root צוד *venari*, and, after the vocalization of the Egyptian in \, answers more particularly to ציד *venatio*, *fera venando*, *capta*, *cibus*, *commeatus*: it is the same origin as that of the Sidon צידון of the Phœnicians. The second name may be compared with different roots, פדר, whence פדר *adepts*, פטר *fidit*, פתל *contorsit*, nevit, פתר *interpretatus est somnium*, among which I leave to the reader the task of choosing that which pleases him best. These compound names get shortened in any fashion: if we admit that the second element  *poutir* has lapsed, the first  *Zaidi*, immediately recalls the town of  *Saidoun*, *Sidoun*, which is situated a little south of Tell-Djezer, and north of Kheimèh. Guérin here notices some ruins which make him suppose in this place the existence "of an ancient village which history does not mention, and which, in contrast to the great town of Sidon, its namesake, has always remained obscure, and probably without importance."† The position of *Saidoun* fits the position which *Zaidi-poutir* occupies near *Iaouhamâ*.

Brugsch read for No. 36  *Bit-âlemt*,

and proposed to recognize in it  *Allemt*,  *Almôn* of Benjamin,‡ now 'Almît to the N.E. of Jerusalem. The reading and identification have been accepted by Rougé.§ Blau for his part prefers to transcribe  *Bêth-Olam*,|| and declares for the *Beit-alam*  of Robinson.¶ Since the copies of Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius bear  *Bi-âlamim*, I have thought fit to reject

* *Papyrus Anastasi I*, pl. xxii, l. 5; Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 199, has been the first to think of comparing the list of Sheshong with that of the *Anastasi Papyrus*. He does not propose any identification.

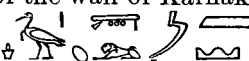




















































































































† Guérin, *La Judée*, T. II, p. 33.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 64

§ E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Origine de l'Alphabet phénicien*, p. 95.

|| Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238.




¶ Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 403; *cf.* Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 369.






the two hypotheses.* An examination of the wall of Karnak has shown me that we ought to write  *Bito-Loumim* or *Bito-Roumim* with a                                                                                                                     (No. 37)



Qaqali, Qaqari, is, in the opinion of Blau,§ the קַעִילָה Kéilah of Judah, which we identify with the Kharbét Kilá of the Ouady Souwêidéh, to the east of Beit-Djibrín.



The comparison of *Qaqali, Qaqari* with Kéilah appears to me legitimate, for the transcription *Kegila* of the Vulgate shews that the *y* has in this name the tendency towards *g*; it may be rendered by Δ in Egyptian, as the *y* of Gaza is by Δ . If we find that the site of Kéilah is too far south, we may think of another Kharbét Kíla which the English map marks to the west of Eshouá, and whose situation north of Shouwêikéh and east of Khéiméh is sufficiently in accord with the position of *Qaqali* between Iaouhamâ and Shaouka.

The two succeeding names after Shaouka (No. 39)

   *Bit-tioupou, Bit-Toupou*, and (No. 40)

   *Abila*, have been already noticed in the list of Thoutmos III with the spelling (No. 98)  

Tioupounou, Tipounou, and (No. 99)   *Acoubilou*, in the same order assigned to them by Sheshonq's scribe.

















The omission or addition of   *Bit* is a thing too



































* Maspero, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 64.

† Maspero, in the *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100.

‡ Guérin, *Judée*, T. I, p. 256.

§ Blau, *Sisacs Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 238.



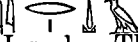
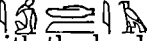








frequent in Jewish nomenclature to surprise us here, and the final  nou occurs in  Loudni, for example, for Loud. I have already rejected the conjecture of Brugsch, *Bit-Tipounou* = Beth-Tappouah, .* Blau only admitted it after Brugsch assured him that he had found the equivalent of final  on the stone.† I have ascertained that this  does not exist really, and that the wall bears   not    or    , and the absence of this letter suffices to render the comparison of the two names impossible. The parallel with *Téphón*, *Topho* of the 1st book of Maccabees IX, 50, is only admissible if this unknown *Téphón* is not a Grecized form of Beth-Tappouakh, Tappouakh.‡ If the name  *Déir Doubbân*§ may be considered as arising from a caprice of popular etymology, which has substituted the word  for an ancient name *Bit-Touyou*, *Touyounou* may have occupied the site which the fellahs call after that fashion. The Abila of No. 40 has disappeared.

The great gap which we notice after Abila accounts for no less than twelve cartouches, of which two only admit of restoration. Brugsch has already completed (No. 46)                                  

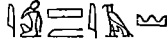

Hebrews puts a ב, we have never a] for a Hebrew ב, and בית צור would be transcribed not . The copies of Champollion, Rosellini, and Lepsius differ slightly from that of Brugsch, and I have myself been able to verify the original text as .* The only possible restoration is that of a M differently written and vocalized, either or *Bit-Zabima*. The word *Zabimā* is a regular plural which may come either from זאב, *wolf*, בית זאבים *Beth-Zebim, the house of wolves*, or even from צבוע *hyæna*, בית צבועים *Beth-Zeboim, the house of hyænas*: the tribe of Benjamin had similarly a valley of hyænas, גי הצבועים. No. 47 occurs under the form where only one long sign is wanting between and the eagle . By restoring] we should have the equivalent of כוכב, *star*, but this restitution, attractive as it may be, is unlikely; the] is never followed by in our list, and the final on the contrary is here so frequent that the reading *Koka* forces itself on us. The name answers to the Hebrew גג, גגה, *roof, surface of the altar*, and will apply very well to a village situated on the terraced top of a hill. I will not offer any conjecture as to the situation of these two places; the lacuna which contains them is too large to enable us to determine even the direction in which we ought to seek them. The list begins again with No. 52, and continues, not without mutilations, till No. 58. The last two numbers, 57 and 58, have suffered slightly, but are restored with certainty: No. 58 is *Magdilou*, and

* Maspero, in the *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100.

† Champollion (*Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116) has , Rosellini (*M. St.*, pl. cxlviii), , Lepsius (*Denkm.*, III, bl. 252), Brugsch (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv), . I have restored from all these copies the reading (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46); the wall at Karnak has (Maspero, in the *Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100), which proves that the restoration was exact.

No. 59  Iarza.* The two names have already figured in the lists of Thoutmos III,  Magdilou (No. 71) and  (No. 69), and are now el-Medjdel and Kharbét Ierzah. There is therefore great likelihood that part at least of the names which immediately precede these two belonged to places near Kharbét Ierzah and el-Medjdel. No. 56  Adima† has been identified by Brugsch with the land of Edom, which Rougé does not deny.‡ The comparison, blameless from a philological point of view, falls of itself when we remember that our lists do not contain the names of extensive countries, but only the designation of features of the land, towns, or villages.  Adouma must then here indicate a town which was called  *the red*, or  *the field*, like one of the villages of the tribe of Naphtali, or like one of the five accursed towns, . The only modern name which can be set beside Adouma is that of Bêit-Timéh  a large village situated to the east of Ierzah, where Guérin mentions the existence of Roman or Byzantine ruins:§ the site will very well suit the relative position of names in the list, and the modern orthography may strictly be deduced from the ancient. No. 58  Zaloumim, is a plural of the words  *shade*, but cannot be identical with the station  Zalmonah of the itinerary of the Hebrews in the desert, as Brugsch would have it: || the vicinity of such names as Migdol and Ierzah does not authorize us to go down so far to the south in this part of our list. We find no longer in the country any name which recalls that of Zaloumim, but the word itself is expressive, and may recall the shades of the gardens which surround el-Medjdel: a site


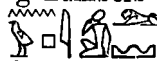
* The restoration Ierza, which I proposed in 1880 (*Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46), has been confirmed by the examination of the original text, (*Recueil*, T. VII, p. 100).





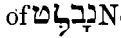
† Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116) read  (cfr. *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 46): the wall really has *Adima*, with a  as Brugsch said (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv).


‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 66-67; E. de Rougé, *Memoire sur l'Origine de l'Alphabet phénicien*, p. 53.

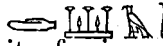

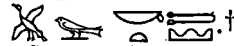
§ Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 127-128.



|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 67.

such as that of the village of Hammâméh  would closely suit what we conjecture of Zaloumim, Zelemim. The three preceding numbers ought not to be situated far from el-Medjdel.  Noup-ïlou (No. 53) is composed



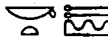
of the final , God, and a derivative of the root  *agitavit*, or  *eminentia*,  *locus*, *editus*. The town of  Neballat, Beit-Nebâla, in the tribe of Benjamin, which


Blau recognizes here, does not answer to  Noupîlou either in orthography or in position: * I do not see elsewhere, between Shouëikéh and el-Medjdel, any name which seems derived from the ancient name and fit to be assimilated to it.


 (No. 54) *Dishati*, *Doushati*, is, in spite of its foreign cast, a Semitic name. It is a feminine form derived from the root  *terere*, *conterere*, *triturare frumentum*; but when this is said, I know no way of locating the town in the land. No. 55 is not only hard to place, but hard to decipher. I read it as Champollion did, . †

It includes the Egyptian masculine article  *pa*, of which we have numerous examples in  *Pa Haqala*,

 *Pa âmaqou*,  *pa nagabou*.













The sign following is most likely  *oirou*, the Great, the Chief, which occurs almost as often without as with its final  in the hieroglyphic texts.  transcribed in










Hebrew gives us  *a press*. Osburn has proposed to translate the whole as *The prince of the Gadites*, ‡ and in fact no philological reason prevents our translating thus the first two words; only the latter certainly does not designate the people of Gad, who had nothing to do with these parts. It would be very pleasant to translate with confidence *the chief of Gath*, but it does not seem to me

* Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 240. Brugsch, after having recognized the real etymology (*Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 65), inclined to recognize in Noup-ïlou an equivalent of  Pnuel, which answers neither to the spelling of the name, nor to the place which it occupies in the list of Sheshonq.

† Champollion, *Monuments, Texte*, T. II, p. 116.

‡ Osburn, *Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 162.

that *Kitout* can be **קִיתוּת**. This interpretation does not get us out of our difficulties, as we see; it has even the inconvenience of raising a very strong objection. The chiefs of conquered lands never figure in the lists: the cartouche No. 54 of Sheshonq would be an unique case in Egyptian archæology if we ought to take it in Osburn's light. My impression then is that we ought not here to divide the group: it should be considered as forming one single word *Pouroukit*, *Paouroukit*, which the scribe amused himself by writing with elements giving in Egyptian a sense which has nothing in common with the original meaning in Hebrew. He has transcribed the first syllable *Pour*  , *paourou*, the chief, in lieu of   for example; he has chosen for the second, *kit*, the term  , a graphic variant of   *kiti*, which signifies *other*, and the name *Pouroukit* finds its analysis in an Egyptian phrase more or less correct which would mean *the other chief*.     *Pouroukiti*, *Pouloukiti*, is for me the word **פְּלֹגָת**, from **פְּלֹגָה**, **פְּלֹג**, a *stream*, in Arabic **فَلَجٌ**, **فَلَجٌ**. We have in fact in the district of el-Medjdel a town of **فالوجا** Faloudja,* **الفالوجى**† el-Faloudjy, which for name and position appears to me to agree with our Pouloukiti.

A new lacuna of four cartouches breaks the series afresh. No. 64,    ... *papen*, has been completed by Blau‡ as 'Aapen, **עֲפֹנִי** Ophni, Gophnah: the restoration has taken no account of the middle syllable *pa*, and is indefensible, but I know no more than Brugsch§ how to complete the group. Happily No. 65 furnishes us a precious indication; Brugsch has recognized that       *Aazama*|| answers either to the Azem **עֲצֵם** of Judah, afterwards reckoned to Simeon,¶ or to **עֲצֻמוֹן** Azmon, which marks the southern

* Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 124.

† Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Vol. II, p. 421, Vol. III, *App.*, p. 209.

‡ Blau, *Sisags Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XI, p. 421.

§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 67.

|| Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 68.

¶ Joshua xv, 29; xix, 3.

limit of the Jewish territory.* His opinion was rejected by Blau,† who prefers Etham עֵיטָם, but Rougé ‡ pronounces for Azem, which answers in fact more exactly than Azmôn to the hieroglyphic orthography. The identity of the two towns is certain, but the position of Azem is considered undecided by most authors who have studied the Bible. The way in which the text of Sheshonq introduces Azama, a little distance from Migdol-Gad (el-Medjdel), and Iourza (Kh. Ierzah), obliges us to dismiss the hypotheses of those among them who place Azem very far towards the south; that of Wilton, for example, who would recognize only one place in the names Ijîm and Azem in the book of Joshua, and sets it at el-Aujéh, in the territory of the Azâziméh Arabs.

It is probable that this town should be found in the most northern part of Simeon, between Ouady el-Hesî and Ouadi esh-Sheriâh, nearer the former than the latter, since the Egyptian list inserts only five cartouches between Iourza and Azama. The precise place is all the harder to determine, because to meet with a town whose situation shall be free from doubts, we must go down more than forty cartouches lower, to the Canaanite Arad (No. 108). There at least we find ourselves for a moment on solid ground. עָרָד Arad is the Tell-Arad of our modern maps.§ If we reflect that our list consists of many series of names representing sites little remote from one another, we shall be brought to believe that these forty and odd cartouches, of unsettled value for the moment, should be scattered in more or less regular fashion over the country which extends from the environs of Ierzah to those of Arad. The presence in the preceding sections of many places set pretty close to one another to the north of Ouady el-Hesî leads me to think that the earlier at least of these forty cartouches should be sought either on the very course of this Ouady, or in the mass of hills which border its southern edge. On the other hand the absence of names such as Gêrar and Ber-Sheba seems to prove that the geographical area of the list does not extend very far towards the south. The district to explore is not then so considerable as we should be tempted to believe at first




* Numbers xxxiv, 4; Joshua xv, 4.

† Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, XV, p. 241.

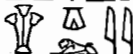
‡ E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Origine*, pp. 77, 95.


§ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 70.





start; unhappily it is in a part still imperfectly known, in spite of the fine works of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the maps leave spaces more or less entirely void of names or topographical indications. The identifications there have then a still more uncertain character than they present in the regions already studied.


On careful consideration, the forty and odd cartouches are far from representing so many independent localities. Many of them contain, as Brugsch has seen, common names which serve to designate characteristics of the ground. These words, preceded sometimes by a masculine article  *pa*, or feminine  *ta*, form the first part of a name whose second part is inscribed in another cartouche, with or without the insertion of the Egyptian preposition  *n*. The most often employed of these words is, with different spellings,




 (No. 71) *Houqra*,  (No. 77) *Haqra*,

 (No. 94) *Hagri*, once more the same in plural

or dual  (No. 107) *Haqrîma*, *Haqrâîma*.

Brugsch has seen here the Arabic word  *stone*,* and I have adopted his interpretation.† It raises an objection of the gravest:  is Arabic, and we are in Hebrew land. The only lawful equivalent of the Egyptian word would be  *חֲנִיָּה*, which is found in some geographical passages of the Talmud, and to which we attribute the sense, *inclosure*, *wall*, from the root  *cinwit*.‡ We may understand this word of

those great circles of stone, of which many exist still in Arabia Petræa, and of which more than one vestige has been discovered in the parts of the country whither the list of Sheshonq leads us.§ The second word  *nagabou*


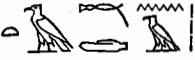
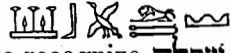

is compared by Brugsch either to  *Negeb*, Hebrew, or to  *nakb*, or 'pass' of the Arabs. The same objection which has been raised against  avails equally against

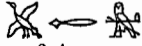

* Brugsch, *Geschichte Egyptens*, p. 661-662.






† Maspero, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.


‡ H. Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Geographie Palästinas*, p. 67, sqq.

§ See a very clear description in Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, Vol. II, p. 320, sqq.

نقب, and it is really **נֶבֶב** which alone can answer to the Egyptian term.  Δ *âmaqou* is **עֵמֶק**, the valley;  | *ta shodinaou* is an Egyptian term which seems to mean *the canals, the ditches*. As to  *Shabbalout*, where Brugsch has thought to recognize **שַׁפְּלָה**, *the plain*, which is impossible,  answering to **ב**, never to **פ**,—it is **שַׁבְּלָה**, *a stream of water, a river, a torrent*.^{*} All these words are in perfect accord with the nature of the country where the localities are placed which they serve to designate: as the names which the lists of Thoutmos III bring to our knowledge, Abilou, Karmona, Ganotou, shew us the fertility of the central territory of Judah,† so do those of the list of Sheshonq bear witness to what was the territory of Simeon.

When we have taken account of the preceding observations, the number of sites becomes perceptibly limited: from No. 65 to No. 110, from thirty to forty-five cartouches are lacking.‡ Here they are in the same order in which Sheshonq has given them to us. (Nos. 65–66)   **הָעֵמֶק עֵימָם**, the Valley of Azama, that is to say probably the valley where lay the town of Azama, and the town itself: site unknown. (No. 67)

 *Anara* or *Anala*, not *Anali* or *Anari*, for the fashion in which  is cut makes me believe that the sculptor, not having kept room enough for the  final, was content to insert  before . This name is one of those, very rare they are, of which I do not find the Semitic equivalent. Perhaps it contains a mistake, and we should read *Alouna*, which will give us a regular form **אֵלוֹן**, *an oak*.








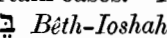















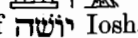
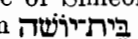




Anyhow the site remains unknown. (Nos. 68–69) 

* Maspero, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

† See some observations on this subject in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XXIII, p. 67 and 74.

‡ Henceforth I shall rarely cite Blau, since he takes each cartouche for a complete name, the perpetual repetition of words of which I speak has led him into almost as many errors as there are cartouches remaining to the end of our list.

 Pa hagra-fit-iaousha.

The name presents a rather curious peculiarity.  is here for  by substitution of , v. f. for : we shall see further on that the  is transcribed  *oua* in several words. These variants are not due to the caprice of the Egyptian scribe. I think they reveal to us a new fact in phonetics. It should seem, according to them, that in the Hebrew of the race of Simeon the  was weakened to v, f, at least in certain cases. *Fit-iaousha* is then the transcription of a  *Bêth-Ioshah*, of which the former element is slightly disfigured by a pronunciation *Vit, Fit*, for *Bit*. The term joined with  is not, as I have believed,  *fire*: The division   *Fiti*,     *aousha*,* which supposes this identification, is not admissible in our list, where  is always written without  final. I divide  *Fit*     *Iousha*, and take *Iaousha* for the transcription of  *Ioshah*. This name designates, in the first book of Chronicles† one of the Simeonite chiefs who, in the time of Hezekiah, emigrated to the East from the town of Gedor in search of pasturage for his herds. Whatever may be the value of the information furnished by the Chronicles, it shows us at least that the name *Iaousha* was used in the tribe of Simeon, and confirms the legitimacy of the transcription  *Bêth-Ioshah* which I have adopted for *Fit-Iaousha*. To recover in the present nomenclature an equivalent of this locality, we must not forget that the dialectic phenomenon caught by the ear of the men of Sheshonq's time, must have perpetuated itself among all the populations who have succeeded in these parts. A name once adopted in one pronunciation passes with this pronunciation to different generations who have used it daily. The Arabic equivalent of  initial ought then to be something analogous to the Egyptian  *vit, fit*, either  or . I find, in fact, a little to the south of the Oued esh-Sheriah, a *oued* and a ruin which

* Maspero, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

† 1 Chronicles iv, 35.

Guérin calls *واد فتيس*, Oued Ftis and *خربة واد التتيس* Kharbét Oued el-Ftís,* and which the English map spells Kharbét Futéis. فتيس contains all the elements of : فت is here the counterpart of בית = and יתס answers to יתסר by that substitution of ס for ש which is so frequent in the transition of Hebrew names to Arabic. The identification of Fít-Iaousha with Kharbét Foutéis, Fatéis or Ftís confirms the opinion which I have above expressed on the subject of Azamah, and encourages me more and more to seek this town between Ouady el-Hesy and Oued esh-Sheriah, rather near a line drawn from Kharbét Foutéis to el-Medjdel, or to Kharbét Terzah.

It is equally in the neighbourhood of Kharbét-Foutéis that it would be worth while to seek the towns which follow, if the maps were not so desperately poor. Arou-haloul, Alou-haloul, is one of those names in which Rougé would recognize the Arabic article ال; † I have already said above † how difficult it is to allow in our list the presence of Arabic forms, and I will not repeat it. I think that we have here one of those names אל־הלל El-halal, in which are present both the word אל God, and the root הלל luxit, splenduit. The site is unknown to me. (Nos. 71-72) Pa hougra abilama contains a plural אבילים from אביל meadow, field: the whole is translated the enclosure of meadows, and designates an unknown site. Shabbalout ni Gabri (Nos. 73-74) literally signifies the river of the Hero, for אביל Gabri is the exact transcription of גבר man, soldier. Blau has identified the second cartouche with Betogabris, which is now Beit-Djibrín, § and I adhered to his opinion, || but

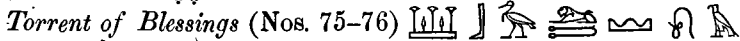

* Guérin, *Judée*, T. II, p. 287.






† E. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Origine*, p. 90.

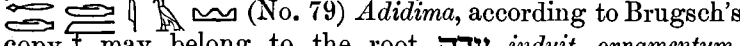
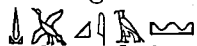
‡ See above, p. 18-19.


§ Blau, *Sisaks Zug*, in the *Z.d.d.M.*, T. XV, p. 23. He read the name *Ngbarij*, "wobei das N, entweder bloss lautlicher Vorschlag ist, oder graphisch richtiger am Ende der Cartouche zu stellen sein wird."

|| Maspero, in the *Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 47.

Beit-Djibrîn is too distant from the country where the vicinity of Kharbét Foutéis obliges us to remain, for allowable persistence in this opinion. I thought for a moment of Azion-Gaber, עֲצִיּוֹן גַּבֵּר, but this town is too far toward the south. I will rather seek our village of Gabri and its stream in the vicinity of el-Gabra الجبْرِى, a little to the east of Oumm er-Roumanin. El-Djabri is in fact the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew גַּבֵּר. *The torrent of the Hero* is followed by the *Torrent of Blessings* (Nos. 75-76)  *Shabbalout-Ouarakit*, where the Hebrew בְּרַכַּת, בְּרָכָה, plural בְּרָכוֹת, has its ב transcribed  *Oua*, according to the dialectic pronunciation which I have indicated above.* This locality is certainly different from the Valley of Blessing, עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה of Chronicles,† but the site is uncertain.

 *Pa haqra n-Azai* (Nos. 77-78) includes the  *n* of connexion which we have already had in *Shabbalout ni-gabri*; the determinative of the flame  belongs to the sense of the Egyptian and not to that of the Semitic word:   *ázai* belongs either to עֵז *goat*, or to עֵז, עוֹז, *strength, power, fortitude*. Site unknown.

 (No. 79) *Adidima*, according to Brugsch's copy,‡ may belong to the root עֲדָה *induit ornamentum, ornavit se*: this will then be a form analogous to that of עֲדִיתִים *Adithaim* (double adornment) which designates a town of Judah. I am not aware of the site. 

Zapaga (No. 80) is the transcription which is admitted since Brugsch proposed it, although indeed it shows no connexion with any root known in Hebrew. Perhaps it may be permitted to divide the word in two, the former part will be a derivative from the root צָפָה *speculatus est, prospectavit*, and the latter גַּיַת *valley*, but all this is too uncertain to dwell upon. The two names that follow are helplessly mutilated, but No. 83  *Ganat* gives us a well-known term גַּנָּה *garden*; it is perhaps the Kharbét Jenneta حَرَبَةُ جَنْتَا, which is situated at some distance to the south-west of

* See above, p. 20.

† 2 Chron. xx, 26, *cf.* in Josephus, *Arch.*, ix, 1, 3.

‡ Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv, No. 79.

el-Daouaïméh. In this case the localities intermediate between Shoubbalout ni-Gabri and Ganat should be sought, partly in the valley of Oued en-Nâs, partly in that of Oued el-Djezair, from south to north.

(Nos. 84-85) *pa nagabou âzahout* furnishes us a new example of a name which the scribe has disfigured by giving it an orthography that resembles an Egyptian word: he has decomposed *Azahout* into two terms, of which the former became for him the verb

to spoil, to rob. As there is no such root as or , I am tempted to see here one more compound whose first member will be *strength, fortitude*.

The names which follow it no more lend themselves to a reasonable identification than this, and it will suffice for me to enumerate them.

(Nos. 86-88) *ta shodinaou pa hagali Shanaïa*, which ought to be translated, *the canals and the enclosure of Shanaïa*: *Shanaïa* is probably a derivative of the root *quievit*.

(No. 89) *Haqa* belongs to *murmuravit, susurravit*.

(Nos. 90-91) *Pa nagabou ouaha-ouarouk*, the land of *Ouahaouarouk*. *Ouarouk* is here a dialectic form of *Barouk*; as we have seen above: the preceding may be the article , but I do not see to what *oua* can answer.

(Nos. 92-93) the land of *Ashakati*. *Ashakati*, with the determinatives is a derivative of *a pit*.

(Nos. 94-95) The enclosure of *Haninia*, is certainly not the *Beit-Hanîna* of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem;* it is a locality of Simeon or of the southern districts of Judah. *Haninia* is derived from a form of and appears to answer to

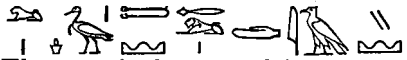
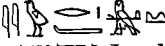

* Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 69.


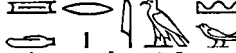
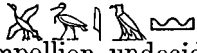
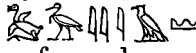


of Diouati. The former name Sharounram seems at first to be foreign to the Semitic languages; but the combination *nr* in Egyptian has not, at least in the transcriptions of foreign names, any other value than that of *r* or *l* strongly pronounced. *Sharounram* is then a derivative either of the root *travit, extravit, spoliavit*, or of the root *torsit, firmus, durus fuit, oppressit*. The termination may answer to *ים* of the plural; but this inflexion is almost always written in our list with a final vowel *mâ*, and without . I think rather that there is here a mistake of the cutter, and that we should read instead of : we should then have to do with a name *שררה, שללה*. *Diouati*, derived from the root *amavit*, whence the name of king David, or from the root *languit, aegrotus fuit*. Neither of these localities has left any still recognizable traces.


Some may perhaps be astonished to see me indicate so minutely the Hebrew roots to which this and that name of our list seems to me to answer. This is not affectation of philological research: it is, I believe, an indispensable precaution in the hazardous sort of study to which I have been bound to devote myself. One is only too prone to suppose an error of the copyist, a mistake of the scribe who has compiled the list, and to invert the order of the letters to obtain a comparison with an ancient or modern name already known. In shewing that the Egyptian letters transcribed in Hebrew letters yield regular or possible Hebrew forms, I avoid for myself, and perhaps for scholars who will treat this subject after me, the temptation to attribute to an error of the scribe the presence of so many unknown names, and the fault of modifying these names by inversion or by substitution of one articulation for another. If our transcriptions in Hebrew letters give us regular words, it is because the Egyptian scribes reproduced as exactly as their alphabet allowed them the sounds that they heard in Judæa: we have not then the right to make any change in their transliteration.

Nos. 108–110 furnish us with the first absolutely certain identification which we have in this part of the list:

Haqaraim Arada, the

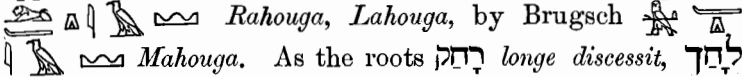

two inclosures of Arad, and  *Rabbit Aradai*, רַבֵּית אֶרָד. The two inclosures of Arad were in the vicinity of the town of Arad, and perhaps a more complete exploration of the country will help us in our time to discover the traces. I scarcely need recall* that Rabbat Arad is אֶרָד of the Bible, now Tell Arad, تل عراد. (No. 112)  *Iaourahma*, appears to me to be identical with יִרְחֵמְיָהוּ Ierahméel, of the tribe of Judah, the *Négeb* of which was pillaged by David. אֶל is wanting at the end of the Egyptian name, but it is also wanting at the end of the Arabic name Ouady Rahaiméh, وادي رحيمه, which has succeeded to the Hebrew name: the omission of the divine name, which has permitted the Arabs to transcribe as they have done, is doubtless a primitive occurrence, since we find יִרְחֵמְיָהוּ *Iaourahma*. No. 111  *Nebatout*, placed between Rabbat-Arad and Iaourahma, should be sought between Tell Arad and Oued-Rahaiméh, but none of the names known hitherto enough resemble it to give room for identification. *Nabatout* appears to be a plural נְבָטוֹת of a feminine word נְבָטָה, which would be derived from the root נָבַט *conspexit, vidit*.

Three cartouches have entirely disappeared after *Nebatout*. No. 116  *Ari... m...*, is too mutilated to yield anything. No. 117  *Adora-shirau*, Adora the little, by antithesis to the Adora the Great of No. 100, brings us back to the north of Ierahméel and Arad, probably in the part of the mountain land of Judah which stretches south of Hebron, but I cannot pretend exactly to determine the site. No. 118, read by Brugsch  *Pabia*,† but whose first sign is left by Champollion undecided, has appeared to me to be rather  *Zabia*: nothing is in fact more easy than to confuse a damaged  with a .



* Brugsch, who was the first to recognize Arad, has separated from it the cartouche  which he reads *Lebat*, and identifies with לְבָאוֹת בֵּית לְבָאוֹת Bêt-Lebaoth of Simeon (Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 69-70).

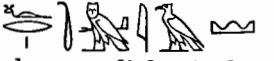

† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, pl. xxiv, No. 118.




This reading is so much the more likely that there is no root פב, but many roots such as צבא, *prodiit, processit miles in bellum*, whence צבא *army*, צבא *prodiit stella*, &c.: Zabia would be the exact transcription of צבא a doe, a name given to women, צבא, צבא, and which may be here applied to a locality. No. 119 is read by Champollion


 *Rahouga, Lahouga*, by Brugsch  *Mahouga*. As the roots רחק *longe discessit*, לחך




linxit, לחך *percussit*, are there to support whichever reading we may prefer, only the study of the wall will permit a decision between Champollion and Brugsch. It is now so damaged that I am not able to recognize anything in it; perhaps someone else may be more happy. No. 120 is evidently

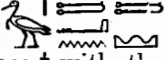
 *Ouariouk* with  *oua* for ב above, either a new name derived from the root ברך, perhaps the Kharbét Barouk, خربة باروك, of Guérin. (No. 121)

 *Fir-timá*, includes, as  *Fir*,* above, a dialectic form *Fir* for באר, ביר *the well*: the name

will be באר דמעה *Ber-Dimeah*, the well of the tear,  having often in Egyptian the value of ד vocalized with *i*, and  equivalent to מע. Names beginning with *Bir* are frequent at present in the desert region which extends between Hebron and the Dead Sea, but none of them recalls our Ber-Diméah. (No. 122)  *Abilou* is an unknown

 *Abilou*, situated in this region of the desert of Judah. (No. 123)

 *Biar-Rouza, Biar-Louza*, is באר לו *Ber-Louza, Ber-Louzah*, the well of the almond tree, with the ordinary orthography in B  and no more in V, F .


This *well of the almond tree* has nothing in common with the two places of the Bible called Louza, one of which was the Bethel of Benjamin, and the other belonged to the Hittites of northern Palestine. The following name is 



Bit-Anati, which I will identify, as Brugsch does,† with the


* Guérin, *Judée*, T. III, p. 164.


† Brugsch, *Geogr. Ins.*, T. II, p. 70.


בֵּית עֲנוֹת Bethanoth of Judah, now Bêt Anoun, خربة
 بيت عنون. Ber-Louzah ought to be found some way S.E.
 of this site, on the slope of the mountains which descends
 to the Dead Sea.


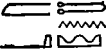
Bit-Anat is the last name of the list which we can set on the
 map with certainty. Besides, no more exists than two cartouches
 intact, and the remains, more or less legible, of half a dozen
 cartouches. (No. 125)  *Shalhatou*, belongs

to the root שָׁלַח, *misit*, whence comes the name שָׁלַח, שְׁלַח
 of the pool of Siloéh. The group  which ends the word
 is the plural *toou* of the word  *to*, land, and could scarcely
 be employed here, in the transcription of a foreign word,

except to render the syllable *tou*, *toou*: as 

Shalaha furnishes us already with the three letters of the
 root שָׁלַח, the final *tou* is a grammatical inflexion, and the
 equivalent of  T, which serves to write the
 termination of the feminine plural. שְׁלַחוֹת, *sprouts*, answers
 exactly to *Shalahatou*. The book of Joshua makes known to
 us a town of analogous name, שְׁלַחִים (*armed men*), situated
 in the southern part of Judah.* The modern site of

Shalahatou is not known to me. (No. 126) 

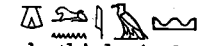
Alomâten or *Armâten* is a name composed of 
 and , which may answer to מִדִּין *Middin*, or to any

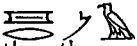
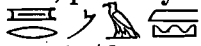
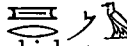
other form of the root מִדִּין *reperere, moderari*; I have cited מִדִּין
 in preference, because it is the name of a town of the tribe of
 Judah.† As Middin was in the vicinity of the Dead Sea,
 that is to say in the region where we know that the last
 cartouches of our list are situated, we may ask ourselves
 whether it is not identical with our Alamaten; Middin would
 then be an abbreviation of a more complete form el-Middin.
 We do not know from any other source the situation of
 Middin: Saulcy‡ alone fixes it at قصر مردة Qasr Mirdéh, the

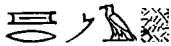
* Joshua xv, 32.

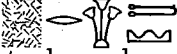
† Joshua xv, 61.

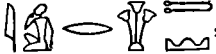
‡ F. de Sauley, *Dictionnaire topographique de la Terre-Sainte*, p. 223
 s.v. *Meddin*.

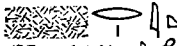
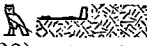
حرية مرد Kharbét Mird of the English map, Mird مرد of Robinson,* which will sufficiently agree with the place which Alamâten occupies in our list. (No. 127)  Galouna, Garouna, is certainly not, as Brugsch thinks,† the גולן Gólan of Manasseh, which is too remote from the country to which the list obliges us to keep. It seems to me that we have here an exact transcription of the word גרנה, גרן, threshing-floor: I do not find on the map any place named

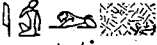

جرن Djarin or جرین Djarín, which would be the Arabic form of the ancient name.  (No. 123) Alama . . . , Arama . . . , including the three letters of a root אלם, cannot be completed except by a suffix, probably that of the plural, either the masculine plural  Alamam, or the feminine plural  Amat. It is impossible for me to say which we should prefer here, for אלמה a sheaf, a bundle of corn, which is the prototype of

 Alama, has both plurals אלמים and אלמות.

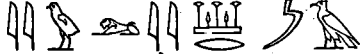
The following name, which Brugsch gives thus  . . . lahat or . . . rahat (No. 129), appears to have been

, either ארהות, plural of ארה, way, path: I do not know where this locality was situated. Nos.

 . . . la (No. 130)  Má . . .

(No. 131),  El . . . (No. 132) are not susceptible of any interpretation. The last  (No. 133)

Iaoura . . . affords an hypothesis which I will content myself with indicating summarily, after Blau. If we complete it

 Iaourishalama, we should have here ירושלם Jerusalem, which with good right we should be astonished to miss among the towns taken by Sheshonq.

Such is the result of this study. The gaps with which the list is riddled do not permit me to affirm with certainty

* Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 270.

† Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, T. II, p. 70.

that the important towns of Judah or of Philistia whose names have not been mentioned, Ascalon, Ashdod, Gath, Gezer, Hebron, Jericho, &c., did not figure there in fact. The lists of Thoutmos III, which are intact, present so many omissions of this kind, that I should be quite ready to believe, for my part, that they were lacking really in that of Sheshonq, and that the cartouches now destroyed may not originally have contained, for the most part, any names but those of insignificant localities as obscure as those whose memorial has been preserved to us. Sheshonq had a definite surface of wall to cover, and wanted for that purpose a determinate number of names. The despatches of his army and the reports of prisoners or of allies furnished him the number of which he had need. We will say that the scribes had less the intention to enumerate the principal towns of their new conquest than to mark its outline: the places which they chose form round Jerusalem and the block of the country of Judah a sort of circle which seems to follow pretty exactly the frontier of the kingdom. Many of them are quite unknown, others are only identified under all reserve with some Hebrew or Arabic names; the smaller number are placed on the map in an indubitable manner. My work is here but provisional; I hope to resume it hereafter, or, if I am unable, others will take it up and carry it further.

The CHAIRMAN (Professor E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.).—Our thanks are due in the first place to M. Maspero, the author of this paper, which is one, as you can judge for yourselves, of considerable difficulty and research; in the next place to Mr. Pinches, who has read it so ably; and, I have also to ask you to return your thanks to the member who has been kind enough to translate it from the original French, viz., the Rev. H. G. Tomkins, of whose translation of M. Maspero's former papers on the names on the *List of Thothmes III* (see vols. xx and xxii) the author said, "il etait aussi fidèle et aussi élégante que possible." (Applause.) I will now ask that the communications received in regard to this paper may be read.

The following communication was then read:—

Notes on Professor Maspero's Paper on the List of Shishak.

From Major C. R. CONDER, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D., &c.:—

Professor Maspero's valuable paper throws light on a list which was previously very obscure. I began to study the list of Shishak's conquest of Palestine in 1879, and I thought the whole, as published that year in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, very difficult, so that I only ventured to publish a few identifications, some of which did not agree with his. In two cases M. Maspero supports my view. He began to study the question next year as appears from his paper. His amended copies of some of the names explain many difficulties. Generally speaking it seems clear that the list begins with the country between Gaza and Megiddo, and goes south, along the Philistine plains and low hills to the east. It then enumerates places in the Beersheba deserts, and it returns north by the Hebron hills, perhaps to Jerusalem.

One or two general remarks may be of use, before considering the towns in detail, when I think I may be able to reinforce M. Maspero's general view, by some new proposed identifications which he does not notice. Though we are in a Hebrew country it does not follow that the names of the towns are strictly speaking Hebrew. The Canaanites, as shown by the Tell Amarna letters, spoke, from 1500 B.C. downwards, an Aramaic dialect. The old town nomenclature was unchanged in most cases by the Hebrews, and in the present list, as in that of Thothmes III, there are indications that the Egyptian scribes followed the Aramaic rather than the Hebrew forms of the words. This is specially marked in the terminations in *u* which was the nominative in Canaanite, as in Assyrian, but not in Hebrew.

The order is no doubt roughly consecutive, and M. Maspero has very properly rejected names which have been suggested in distant regions, for others which are near each other; but it is not always very certain what the order is in detail; and an identification may be missed by not looking widely enough on the map. In 1880 the Survey Memoirs were not published, and M. Maspero has not referred to them. This has led him into one or two minor errors; and I am sure he would not have brought the charge which he makes against my Survey, if he had personally visited the region, or had read the memoirs. On page 110 he says, "the

maps leave spaces more or less entirely void of names, or topographical indications"; but the district to which he refers is an open pastoral desert, with a few arable tracts, in which there are neither ruins nor springs, and in which—as in the desert of Judah and in Moab—names are few, and no traces of ancient settled population occur. This region was quite as carefully surveyed as others, and cannot be said to be "imperfectly known." Want of acquaintance with the country has led M. Maspero to make a statement which I am obliged to notice, because he has unintentionally brought a charge against the Surveyors, which I am certain he would not have made if he had read the account of the country in the Survey Memoirs; and which if unnoticed might mislead others. The hills, valleys, and natural features in this district are given with the same amount of detail as in the thickly populated parts of my Survey.

To proceed to the details of the list, which (as concerns Palestine) begins with No. 11 Gaza and No. 12 Megiddo, the towns are as follows:—

- No. 13. *Rabbati*, Rabbith, follows Brugsch. The site I have placed at the modern *Raba*.
- No. 14. *Taanaku*, Taanach, follows Brugsch. The termination in *u* here denotes the Canaanite form.
- No. 15. *Shaunama*, Shunem (Brugsch) is now *Sålem*.
- No. 16. *Bit Shanla*. It seems to me that Shiloh is too far away, and Brugsch's Beth Shean more probable.
- No. 17. *Ruhaiba*, *Tel Rehab*. M. Maspero adopts the identification which I proposed in 1879 with the Roob of the Onomasticon, and discards Brugsch's suggestion of Rehob, which is far away to the north.
- No. 18. *Hapurama*, Haphraim, as Brugsch proposed in 1879, I believe to be the modern *El Farriyeh* west of the plain of Esdraelon.
- No. 19. *Adulmim* could certainly, as M. Maspero says, not be Adullam. Perhaps it might be Idalah of Zebulon, the later Hirii (Talmud of Jerusalem, *Megillah* 1) which appears to be the modern *Huwarah*.
- No. 21. *Shawadi* might be *Suweidiyeh*, as M. Maspero proposes, since the ruin seems to be ancient, but the Arabic *s* does not usually represent the Aramaic or Hebrew *sh*. I am inclined to think the real site was Shadid (Sarid in the A. V.) which is the modern *Tell Shadid*.

- No. 22. It seems to me doubtful if Shishak went over Jordan, and as no other towns are noticed beyond Jordan, I think we should not place *Mahanema* at Mahanaim—which I have identified north-east of es Salt, but more probably in the *Mukhnah* plain, near Shechem, which would agree with M. Maspero's view that No. 20 is Shechem itself—only No. 20 is unfortunately erased.
- No. 23. *Kebeana* is no doubt Gibeon as Brugsch proposed in 1879.
- No. 24. *Bit Huarun*. No doubt Beth Horon (Brugsch).
- No. 25. *Kadutim*, according to M. Maspero, is *Kademoth*, according to Brugsch. I am inclined to think that *Katanneh* is the modern site, being near the places with which this name occurs (قطنه). The Egyptian lettering does not forbid such a proposal.
- No. 26. *Aiaulun*. Ajalon, according to Brugsch, is mentioned also in the Tell Amarna texts.
- No. 27. *Makidau*. Makkedah. M. Maspero confirms the suggestion which I published in 1879, as against Brugsch's suggestion of Megiddo. The site is noticed in the Tell Amarna tablets, with topographical details which fully confirm Sir C. Warren's proposed identification with *El Mughâr*, "the caves."
- No. 28. *Adiru* or *Adilu* may, I think, perhaps be (Ataroth) Adar, which I discovered at the modern *Ed Darieh* close to Beth Horon.
- No. 29. *Yudah muluk* seems to me correctly fixed by M. Maspero. When in 1879 I proposed the site of Jehud (*El Yehûdiyeh*) I was not aware that Dr. Brugsch held such a view, as he gives no identification in his list in 1879. This opinion seems to me much more probable than the old suggestion "King of Judah," which is contrary to Semitic syntax. The name bears the sign for "country," not for "person."
- No. 31. *Haianim* (or *Haanma* according to Brugsch). I think the ruin *Hannûnah* is too insignificant to be the site of an ancient town—a few traces of ruins only remain with fig gardens—and that *Beit 'Andn* is more probable. The interchange of *Ain* and *Cheth*, which is not uncommon in the modern peasant dialect of Palestine, seems clearly to have been also an Amorite peculiarity, according to the Tell Amarna tablets, and was also a Samaritan vulgarism.

- No. 32. *Aluna* might perhaps be softened into *Elon* in Hebrew. The site I think is the modern *Beit Ello*, which comes in the proper position.
- No. 33. *Bilumam* or, according to Brugsch, *Bilema*, I should propose to place at *B'alín* west of *Tell es Sáfi*.
- No. 34. *Zaidi Putir*: perhaps the first word is the Aramaic *Sadeh*, "mountain." The names of the ancient sites often remain at springs, and I would suggest *'Ain Fatír*, a spring in the hills east of the last. The little village of *Sidún* is marked on my survey.
- No. 36. *Bit 'Alemat*. The site at *Alemeth* seems to me rather far east for the places which precede and follow, and, though the question may be one of opinion, I think *Beit 'Alam* fits better for locality.
- No. 37. *Kegali* might in this case be the ancient *Keilah* mentioned on the *Tell Amarna* tablets, as well as in the Bible: now *Kilah*. The interchange of *g* and *ain* seems, from the tablets, to have occurred in Amorite speech, which confirms M. Maspero's view as to the word, though not as to the site.
- No. 38. *Shocoh* as proposed by Brugsch in 1879 fits with the preceding.
- No. 39. *Bit Tupu*. There appears to have been a town called *Tabu* not far from *Hebron*, noticed in the *Tell Amarna* tablets, and to be placed I think at the ruin *Taiyibeh*, north-west of *Hebron*. This would fit for No. 39. The places which, like *Deir Dubban* (more correctly *Deir edh Dhibbán*) are called after a *Deir*, or "monastery," generally took the name I think in Christian ages. The caves at this site have Cufic inscriptions, and like those at *Beit Jibrín*, seem to have been excavated in the middle ages. The word *Dhibbán* could hardly represent *Tupu*, since the *Dh* is the proper equivalent of the Hebrew *Zain*.
- No. 40. *Abirau* might I think be the ruin *El Bireh* further west, which I believe to be No. 99 of the list of *Thothmes III*.
- No. 53. *Nupilu*. If this come from the root *Nup*, "to be high," I think it must be the present *Nuba*, rather further east than the preceding sites, which I identify with the second *Nob* of *Nehemiah* (vii. 33).
- No. 54. *Dushati* I should be inclined to place at the ruin of *Tauwús* south of *Núba*.

No. 55. *Pauru Kitut*. It is to be noted that the word *Pauru* for a "chief," is used in the Tell Amarna tablets, and Gath is fixed by their statements at *Tell es Sâfi*, and called *Giti*. The Gittites are mentioned in these tablets; and I would therefore advocate the view which M. Maspero mentions, and render this name "chief of the Gittite regions." The plural in *utu* for masculine and for feminine occurs in Assyrian and in Amorite, recalling the curious Hebrew form *Aboth*, "fathers."

No. 56. *Adima* (or *Adoma*, Brugsch) I think must be *Ed Duweimeh*, a village south of the preceding.

No. 58. *Magdilu* is no doubt rightly placed by M. Maspero, and the same as No. 71 of the list of Thothmes III.

No. 59. *Iarza* is also no doubt right. The name of the ruin near *Mejdel* was collected by my scribe as *Erzeh* not *Yerzeh*.

The latter part of the list, with its cartouches defining districts followed by names of places in each, is much elucidated by M. Maspero's new work. I think however a few sites may be added to those which he proposes.

Nos. 65-66. "Azmon in the Valley" carries us south of Beersheba.

No. 67. *Anari* might perhaps be corrupted into 'Omri, the name of a ruin north of Beersheba, which would fit with the next.

No. 68. *Pi Hakarau Pitiausha*. I believe M. Maspero fixes an important point in suggesting *Futeis*, which is a large ruin. I have proposed to identify it with the Pitazza of the Tell Amarna tablets. I would suggest that *Hakarau* may be for 'Akarau (the 'Ain and *Cheth* being undistinguished), and that it means the "barren" or "unproductive" district. All the places so defined lie in the deserts near Beersheba.

No. 70. Brugsch suggests Aroer, which seems not impossible. It is not the maps that are "poor" in this district, but the country which is desert, with very few habitable sites.

Nos. 71-72. *Pi Hakarau Abilama* (or *Abiroma* according to Brugsch), another desert site. I cannot understand how *ma* can be regarded as a plural in any Semitic language.

Nos. 73-74. *Shabbalut ni Gabri*. I think M. Maspero identifies this in a most probable manner at *el Jâbri*. The site is now a ruin with caves, for there is not a single inhabited village in this region. The Amorite plural, like the Assyrian, end

- in *i*, even when not in the construct case. The word would therefore seem to mean "stream of giants." North of Beersheba.
- Nos. 75-76. If we are to read *Shabbalut Barakit* "stream of the tank," the reference might be to the stream at Beersheba, close to the last.
- Nos. 77-78. *Pi Hakarau-n-'Azai* should be sought further south.
- No. 79. *Addima* I should suppose to be *Adadah*, which preserves its name south-east of Beersheba. The *ma* seems to be a definite pronoun added in this and other cases, as in Assyrian and Amorite.
- No. 80. *Zapaka* suggests the word *Tubk*, common in the Syrian dialect for a "plateau."
- No. 83. *Ganat* is no doubt *Jennata* as proposed by M. Maspero. I think it is No. 70 of the list of Thothmes III.
- Nos. 84-85. *Pi Nagabu Azamut* (according to Brugsch), if correct might be connected with *Azmon*, which was in the Negeb or "dry" land.
- Nos. 86-87-88. "The canals and deserts of *Shanaia*" suggest a possible change of *n* for the Hebrew *m*, and in such case with *Shema*, or not impossibly the important ruin *Samah*, north-east of Beersheba.
- No. 89 is perhaps beyond the Survey limits on the south.
- Nos. 90-91. *Owaruk* if to be read *Bârûk* is I think the ruin so called south-east of Hebron, which, as collected for me in 1875, is spelt with the *Koph* (باروق). It is within the Negeb, which included the desert hills in this part.
- Nos. 92-93. *Ashakati* is *Ashahathat* according to Brugsch. If this be, as M. Maspero holds, from a root *Shukhah*, it seems probable that the village *Esh Shiûkh*, north-east of Hebron, is the site, which would fit with the preceding.
- Nos. 94-95. *Pi Hakarau Hamina*. I think that the ruin of *Ghanaim*, close to Bârûk, is worth consideration. The two gutturals are sometimes interchanged.
- Nos. 96-97. *Pi Hakarau Alagad* or *Arukad*. There is a ruin *Rakah* close to the preceding (رقة) which has the required *koph*.
- No. 98. *Adamaim* (or *Adomam*, Brugsch) might be the large ruin *Domeh*, some miles further west.
- No. 99. *Hanini*, perhaps the Biblical Anim, now *Ghuwein*, south-east of the preceding.

- No. 100. *Adorau* would come naturally at *Dûra*, the Bible Adoraim, where M. Maspero places it.
- Nos. 101-102. *Pi Hakar Tulban* would probably be the ruin of *Dilbeh*, near the next.
- Nos. 103-104. *Haidobaa Sharun ram*. The important ruin of *Hadab* ("the hump") would fit well; it is close to Dura, about two miles to the south. The term *Sharun Ram* seems to mean "the high plateau," which fits with the position of the site.
- Nos. 105-106. *Haidoba Diuati*, perhaps is connected with the name of *Yuttah*, an important village to the east (Bible Juttah).
- Nos. 107-108. *Hakarima 'Arada*, "the desert of 'Arad."
- Nos. 109-110. *Rabbit 'Aradai*, "the capital of 'Arad," as given by M. Maspero, carries us further south, into the Beersheba desert.
- No. 111. *Nebatut* might be *Inbeh*, north of Arad.
- No. 112. *Iaurahma* or *Ibrahma*. Whether or no Jerahmeel be Wâdy Raheimah—which may be only named from the Rahâmeh Arabs—I am inclined to think that the list goes back, at this point, to the region north of *Dûra*, and would suggest the ruin of *Baârneh* as a corruption of this name; in this case the defaced portion may refer to a suburb of *Dûra*; as M. Maspero proposes for No. 117, "little Adora."
- No. 118. *Zabia* is perhaps the important village of *Sâfa*, north of Hebron (صافا).
- No. 120. If this be restored *Baruk* I think it must be the Berechah of the Bible, now *Breikût*, which is east of the last, written with *caph*.
- No. 121. *Fretima*. There is an important spring called *'Ain Fâris*, north-west of the last. The *t* is sometimes softened into *s* by the Palestine peasants.
- No. 122. *Abil*. Perhaps *Habeileh*—the name of a ruin near the last—is a corruption of this name.
- No. 123. *Bar Loza*. There is a valley called *Lôzeh* in this vicinity further east, which would support M. Maspero's views as to this word.
- No. 124. *Bit Anati* (Brugsch) is now *Beit 'Ainûn* rather further south than the preceding.
- No. 125. *Sharhatau*, perhaps *Siâir*, near the last, or *Beit Shaâr*,

further north. The inversion of the guttural does occasionally occur.

- No. 126. *Armaten*, "the two Armahs." There are two ruins called *Er Rámeh* west of Beth Anoth, which would agree well.
- No. 127. *Galuna* or *Galena* (Brugsch) might be the ruin *Jála* further north than any of the preceding.
- No. 128. *Aroma* or *Alama* perhaps '*Alín*, north-west of the preceding.

These suggestions would lead us naturally towards Jerusalem, which M. Maspero considers to have been last on the list, the four defaced names being in the vicinity of Bethlehem.

No. 129. . . . *lhath* might be restored *Malhah*.

No. 130. . . . *raa* perhaps Ephrath (Bethlehem).

No. 131. *Ma* . . . Perhaps Maarath now *Beit Ummâr*.

No. 132. *Ari* . . . Perhaps Kirjath Arim now '*Erma*.

No. 133. *Iura* . . . Jerusalem according to M. Maspero.

I think the learned Author is to be congratulated on having made this valuable list far more intelligible than it was, and in having set aside several misleading proposals. I would venture to add that he would find more names on the one-inch Survey than on the smaller map published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. As regards the distribution of names, many sheets of the Ordnance Survey, in the Highlands of Scotland, contain fewer than are shown on my Survey in parts of Palestine which are desert."

A communication was then read from Mr. Trelawney Saunders (who has added to that debt which English geographers are under to him by laying out the water basins, &c., on the well-known map of Palestine published by the Palestine Exploration Fund). After referring to "Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole's article in Dr. W. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (3 vols., 1863), in which the then known identifications are carefully considered, and the bearing of Shishak's reign on Egyptian and Biblical Chronology is carefully elucidated," he added, "it may be worth attention that No. 58 Zaloumim is No. 57 in Poole's table, and the tabular arrangements of the latter seems to suggest its probable accuracy. Dr. Maspero's suggestion of Gath in reference to No. 55 is quite exciting, and is an instance of the prizes that the investigation of Sheshonq's list still has in store for inquirers."

Captain F. PETRIE, F.G.S.—I cannot help alluding to the debt

Bible students owe to Professor Maspero for his labours. His especial endeavour in this paper has been, to "rigorously transcribe" the Egyptian letters into their Hebrew equivalents, and thus avoid, as far as possible, all errors and chance of hasty assumptions, so as to obtain the exact names of the places to be identified. The success attending his efforts is acknowledged, and one instance of their value was recently pointed out by that well-known member of this Institute, the late Canon Liddon, who considered that M. Maspero's investigations as regards the list of Thothmes III (see Transactions, vols. xx and xxii) afforded not only "indirect confirmations of the truth of the Bible narrative," but were "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 dates of the earliest books of Holy Scripture so late as to be inconsistent with belief in their general trustworthiness, to say nothing of their higher claims."

The CHAIRMAN.—We have a visitor here this evening, Mr. Frederick Bliss, who, in connection with Professor Flinders Petrie, has been carrying on the explorations at Tell-el-Hesy, on the borders of Philistia.

Mr. F. J. BLISS, M.A.—I cannot help noticing the omission of Lachish from the list given by M. Maspero. It would have been satisfactory if something final and definite (I mean after the work at Tell-el-Hesy) had been added with regard to identification; of course unless you find an absolute inscription on a building, that is known to be of ancient date, and which can clearly give the name of the place, you have not arrived at a perfect and complete identification. Major Conder suggests that Tell-el-Hesy is probably Lachish, and Dr. Petrie, by his work, has made it seem more sure, and my discovery of the tablet at Tell-el-Hesy has been thought to help it on rather more still—though I am not quite sure, the only mention on the tablet being of Lachish (which has been connected with Tell-el-Hesy); and of course the finding of an inscription a thousand years hence in some town mentioning the Lord Mayor of London, would not prove that place to be London. Yet I feel pretty sure that Tell-el-Hesy is Lachish; but between the highest probability and certainty there is always a loop-hole.

The Rev. W. BAILEY, M.A.—I feel a deep interest in all that has been read this evening, for it so happens that during twenty years' residence in Jerusalem I know almost all the places mentioned, and it is only now, after many years' absence, that I have again returned from Palestine, where I lived in the midst of the places mentioned in the paper. I was with Captain (now Sir Charles) Warren, round about the Jordan, and, since then, with the discoverer of the Moabite stone, and I could not help thinking how in the present day so much is found to make us feel and realise the truth of the word of God. I have felt when a man has travelled in Jerusalem he will either go away a worse man or a better—he will have his faith confirmed, or he will go away with his mind set against God. You cannot go a step in Palestine without seeing that the word of God is true.

Mr. W. St. BOSCAWEN (F.R.Hist.Soc.).—I think Professor Maspero has done great service to Biblical geography in bringing together the monuments and the evidence of those monuments, and saying "see how these two fit."

The CHAIRMAN.—The hour being now late I will only mention, as regards the names in the paper, that finding but few references to their places in the Old Testament, and thinking that it might be of advantage to many to have the references given to those that Major Conder and others considered to be important,—I have drawn out a list, which may save trouble in future; I may mention that there are at least eighteen—perhaps more—places named in the Old Testament, particularly in the book of Joshua, the identification of which are already beyond doubt.

Old Testament References to the Names.

No.

11. Gaza. Judg. 16; Jer. 47; Amos 1, 6; Zeph. 2, 4; Zech. 9, 5.
12. Mageddo. Josh. 12, 21; 17, 11; Judg. 1, 27; 5, 19.
13. Rabbati (Rabbiti). Josh. 19, 20.
14. Taânaqou (Taanach). Josh. 12, 21.
15. Shaunama (Shunem). Josh. 19, 18; 1 Sam. 28, 4; 2 Kings 4, 8.
16. Bit-Shainla (Beth Shean?). Josh. 17, 11; 1 Sam. 13, 10.
17. Rouhaïba. (Rehab of the *Onomasticon*.)
18. Hapourama (Haphraïm). Josh. 19, 19.

19. Adoulmim. Bible ref. doubtful.
 21. Shaonadi (Shadid, or Sarid ?). Josh. 19, 10.
 22. Mahanema (Mahanaim ?). Gen. 32, 2 ; 2 Sam. 2, 8 ; 17, 24.
 24. Bit-haouaroun (Beth-Horon). Josh. 10, 10 ; 16, 3.
 25. Qadoutim. Bible ref. doubtful.
 26. Aiaouloun (Aijalon). Josh. 19, 42 ; 21, 24.
 27. Makidau (Makkedah). Josh. 10, 10 ; 10, 16.
 28. Adirou or Adilou (Ataroth). Num. 32, 3.
 29. Iaoudhamalonk (Jehud). Josh. 19, 45.
 37. Qaqali (Kêilah). Josh. 15, 44.
 38. Shaouka (Shocho). 2 Chron. 11, 7 ; 28, 18.
 65. Aazama (Azem). Josh. 15, 29 ; 19, 3 ; (or Azmon) Num.
 34, 4.
 69. Fit-iaousha (Joshah). 1 Chron. 4, 34.
 79. Adidima (Adadah ?). Josh. 15, 22.
 99. Hananii (Anim ?). Josh. 15, 50.
 100. Adorau (Adoraim). 2 Chron. 11, 9.
 106. Dionati (Juttah). Josh. 15, 55.
 108-110. Arada (Arad).
 120. Baruk (Berachah). 1 Chron. 12, 3.
 125. Shalhatou (Shalatin). Josh. 15, 32.
 133. Iaourishalama (Jerusalem).

The meeting then adjourned.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE AUTHOR.

M. Maspero writes:—

“ Paris, Avril 2, 1894.

“ L'identification de Tell-Hesy avec une ville égyptienne dépend avant tout de son identification avec une cité hébraïque. Si le site moderne répond bien à Lakhish je ne trouve rien dans la liste de Sheshonq qui puisse être comparé à Lakhish et par suite à Tell-Hesy ; s'il répond à quelque autre ville de Juda peut-être le nom de cette autre ville se recontera-t-il sur la muraille de Karnak. De toute façon la recherche du nom sémitique doit précéder celle du nom égyptien.”