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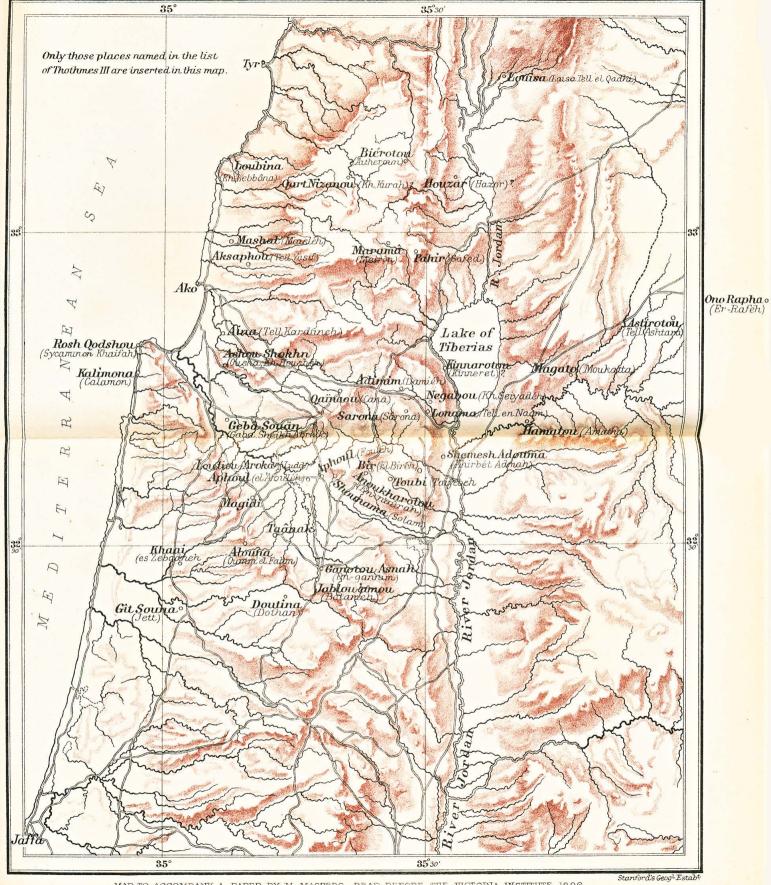
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1887.

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ORDINARY MEETING, MAY 3, 1886.

REV. W. WRIGHT, D.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, after which the following paper was read by Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, F.R.Hist.Soc., the author being unavoidably absent in Egypt on an exploring expedition.

Mr. Boscawen said: Those who have not studied the subject will desire to know where the names to which the paper relates were found. In 1872, M. Mariette was excavating in the Temple of Karnak, endeavouring to clear it out as thoroughly as possible in order to obtain the plan, which he was so successful in getting, and with which he has illustrated his great work on Karnak. In clearing the great gateway of the Temple, which was known to have been built by Thothmes III., he excavated to the depth of several feet, and found a list of names extended right down to the foot of the pylon. The inscriptions, which were published by him in a separate part of his work on Karnak, consisted of several hundreds of geographical names of cities in Syria, Palestine, and Nubia. Since that time M. Maspero, who has succeeded M. Mariette as director of the explorations in Egypt, has gone over these names very carefully. Of course, in no study more than that of Egyptology is the old proverb that "two heads are better than one" better exemplified, especially in connexion with the work of copying inscriptions. There are very few inscriptions of which we do not obtain a better copy when a second person has gone over them. The result is, therefore, that in M. Maspero's copy we have an improvement on that of M. Mariette, and I think that the long study M. Maspero has given to the work makes his paper very important.

SUR LES NOMS GEOGRAPHIQUES DE LA LISTE DE THOUTMOS III. QU'ON PEUT RAPPORTER À LA GALILÉE. By G. Maspero.

TE n'ai rien à dire des deux premiers numéros de la liste; sinon que Qodshou est pour moi la Qodshou de l'Oronte, non pas la Kadesh de Nephtali,* et que, malgré l'autorité de Conder,† je place Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine, il faut descendre jusqu'au No. 9: A Mâgidi, à Lejjun, au pied du Carmel. Pour trouver ensuite un nom dont l'identification soit certaine de la Genèse (xxxxvii. 17)

^{*} Mariette, Les Listes géographiques des Pylones de Karnak, pp. 12-13. + Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881, pp. 86-88, 232-234, 319-322.

donne une forme 177 plus rapprochée de l'orthographe hiéroglyphique. Selon les analogies du reste de la liste, c'est donc entre Lejjûn et Tell Dôthân qu'il convient de chercher la position des six localités intermédiaires, mais doit-on diriger le regard vers les cantons placés au nord du Carmel, ou vers les cantons placés au sud? Les localités situées au nord sont énumérées dans la liste vers le No. 42, autour de Taânak; il est donc probable que les Nos. 3-8 étaient situés, au moins en partie, sur le versant méridional.

Le premier de ces bourgs (No. 3) répond très exactement au mot no vicus. Je ne trouve qu'une seule localité dont le nom puisse à la rigueur se rapprocher de Khaaï; c'est celui de Deir el Haoua, mais je ne connais pas de cas où le son dur T n soit rendu en arabe par s, et cela suffirait seul à me faire rejeter l'identification. Il ne faut pas non plus, malgré la ressemblance, vouloir y reconnaître les Hivites de la Bible: les Hivites sont un peuple et Khaaï est une ville. Le numéro suivant Gît-Souna nous permettra peut-être d'indiquer d'une manière générale le point du compas vers lequel on doit chercher Gît-Souna, transcrit סון ou בת־שון, est un des noms assez nombreux commençant par l'élément 🔼; si la seconde partie est tombée, comme c'est parfois le cas dans composés, Gît-Souna sera l'un des nombreux Djett qu'on rencontre sur la carte de Palestine. Le Djett, qui conviendrait assez bien ici, est celui qui est près de l'Ouady Abou-Nâr, non loin de la grande route qui mène de Kakôn à Lejjun.* Si l'on admet cette identification, Khaai aura dû être placée quelque part dans l'Ouady Arah, peut-être vers Khan ez-Zébadnéh, à l'endroit où la route bifurque.

^{*} Cette identification a été proposée par Conder, Palestine Expl. F., 1876, p. 93.

עמק שהה, voù les rabbins préféraient pour שהה, le sens tomber d'accord.* Quelque soit l'intérêt de ces étymologies, An-Shaouï devait être située comme Djett et Tell Dothân, à droite ou à gauche de l'Ouady Abou-Nâr (Ouady Selhab), et c'est dans la même direction qu'on peut s'attendre à rencontrer של Dibkhou, של Boumâi, et

Dothain est séparé de 🛜 🚾 Mâromâ, qui de l'avis général est Mérom, par deux noms (No. 11)

Roubina ou Loubina, et (No. 12)

Kart-Nizanaou, la ville des fleurs. + La première de ces deux villes a été identifié par De Rougé et par Mariette avec לְבָנָת Lebnah de Juda, ou avec לבוֹנָה Lebonah de Samarie; par Conder avec la לְבְנֵתְ Λαβανάθ de Galilée. Tout compte fait, il me paraît préférable de rattacher Loubina, et par suite Qart-Nizanaou, au groupe auquel appartient Mérom. Loubina trouvera alors son équivalent dans Kharbét Loubban, Kharbét Lobbouna, qui est situé à quelque distance du Ras en-Nakourah, presque en vue de la mer. † L'emplacement de Qart-Nizanaou בְרְתִוּנְצָן, est encore moins facile à soupçonner que celui de Loubina. Je ne serai pas éloigné cependant de conjecturer que le קרתה de Zabulon (Josué xxi. 34) est identique à notre ville: si l'on a pu supposer que Gath est une forme écourtée du nom plein Gath-Rimmon, on peut admettre que Qarta est l'abréviation de Qart-Nizanaou. Malheureusement, la situation de Qarta n'est rien moins que certaine, non plus que celle de מֵרוֹם Mérom, bien que la transcription grecque Μερράν, Μερρών, semble donner raison aux savants qui proposent de voir dans cette dernière ville le village actuel de Meirôn. Il n'est pas impossible pourtant que

^{*} Reland, Palæstina, t. i., pp. 356-357; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, pp. 50-51.

+ La lecture Kiriath-Sannah de De Rougé et de Mariette admet une transcription impossible de w par , un renversement des deux éléments, mm et du mot nizna. Cf. Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 122, et 1885, p. 6.

‡ Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 171-172,

le Koura, Kharbet el Kourah de Guérin* et de la carte anglaise, ait conservé le nom de Qartha, le s final de l'arabe pouvant répondre au הלכת Kharbet el Kourah tiendrait assez bien sa place entre Loubban et Méirôn, mais serait peutêtre situé un peu haut pour la Qarta de Zabulon.

La section suivante du No. 13 au No. 16, nous transporte hors de Galilée. Je n'insisterai donc pas sur les noms qui la composent, ma Dimasqou, Damas, Adirou ou Adilou, Abila, Abila, Hamatou, Hamath de la Gadarêne, si ce n'est pour dire que la comparaison d'Adilou avec Edréï que j'avais acceptée après De Rougé, en 1881,† va me paraît plus être possible. d'Edréï אָרְרְעְי, renferme un אָ, qui n'est pas dans 🏻 🖔 pour en avoir l'orthographe exacte, il faudrait une transcription semblable à celle du No. 91 de la liste de Thoutmos III, [] Adirou est du reste, comme Brugsch l'a vu fort bien à propos du nom analogue de la liste de Sheshong, ‡ la contre-partie fidèle de l'hébreu אַדִּיר, amplus, prægrandis, potens, de la racine אַדָר.

Ici, comme dans plusieurs endroits des listes, une difficulté se présente: faut-il rattacher les Nos. 17 et 18 Shamanaou au groupe de Damas ou au groupe qui commence (No. 19) avec Biérotou? Ce dernier renferme assez de noms faciles à retrouver sur le terrain pour qu'on puisse en reconstituer l'ensemble avec un certain degré de vraisemblance. Le No. 19 🗟 🦝 🛭 Biérotou, n'est certainement pas, comme le veut Mariette, le Beyrouth de Phénicie. Il faut le chercher dans les environs du lac de Tibériade. La Bible ne mentionne aucune בּאֵרוּת en ces parages, mais Josèphe, parlant des guerres des Hébreux contre les rois cananéens, nomme comme site de la bataille livrée dans les èaux de Mérom, "Berotha,

^{*} Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., p. 90. L'identification proposé par Van den Velde avec el-Hartiéh, ne peut être admise, le 7 arabe ne répondant pas au hébraïque.

[†] Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 123. † Brugsch, Geogr. Inschriften, t. ii., p. 62. § Mariette, Les Listes géographiques, pp. 19-20.

ville de la Galilée supérieure, non loin de Kedesa," Kadesh de Nephtali.* Cette Berotha de Galilée doit répondre à la Bierotou de Thoutmos III., mais où la placer? Parmi les localités voisins de Kadesh, une seule offre des traces d'antiquités et un nombre de puits assez considérable pour expliquer l'origine du nom hébreu: c'est Aitharoun. village, adossé aux flancs d'une haute colline dont les pentes sont cultivées en oliviers, en vignes, et en figuiers, est habité par deux cents Métualis. Quelques citernes antiques pratiquées dans le roc leur fournissent encore une eau excellente. Quant à celle des nombreux puits qui ont été creusés au milieu d'une vast dépression circulaire du sol, située au bas du village, elle est amère, et elle sert seulement à abreuver les animaux, à laver et à arroser."+ L'indice est malheureusement bien faible, et je ne m'en sers que faute de mieux. De toute facon, le voisinage de Biérotou et de Kadesh peut jeter quelque lumière sur la position de Iagidoua et de Shamanaou. Il y a des chances pour qu'on soit autorisé à y reconnaître des localités de la Galilée supérieure, mais c'est tout ce qu'il est permis d'en dire pour le moment.

Sur les vingt noms suivants, quatorze ne prêtent pas matière à discussion. Ce sont (No. 21) אַרָּה Sarona, le אַרְּהָישׁ d'Isaïe (xxxiii. 9), le Sarôna moderne, à proximité du lac de Tibériade; (No. 22) אַרְּהָרוֹנִים, Toubi, probablement el-l'aiyebéh, sur le Ouady Ouâdou, à quelque distance au sud de Sârôna; le No. 26 אַרְּהָרִהְיִּהְרָנִים, עִשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַּרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשִּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְּׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְׁיִּרְרוֹת בַרְנִים, עַשְׁתְּרוֹת בְּרִנִים, עַשְׁתְּרוֹת בְּרִנִים, עַשְׁתְּרוֹת בְּרָנִים, עַשְׁתְּרוֹת בַּרְנִים, בּיִים אַרוֹת בּיִים בּיִים אַר אַר בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיים בּיים בּייִים בּיִּים בּיִּים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִּים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיים בּיִּים בּיים בּייִּים בּיים בּיים בּיים בּייִּים בּייִּים בּיִים בּייִּים בּייִּים בּיים בּייִים בּיים בּיִּים בּיים בּיִים בּיים בּיים בּיים בּיים בּיים בּיִים בּיִים בּיים בְּיִים בּיים בְּיִים בְּיים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִ

^{*} Josèphe, Arch. 5, 1, 18; cf. G. Boettger, Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus, pp. 55-56.

[†] Guérip, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 373-374. ‡ E. de Saulcy, Dictionnaire topographique de la Bible, p. 216.

Adimim, à l'Adami אַרָמִי de Nephtali, aujourd'hui ed-Damiéh; le No. 37, סְשִׁיוֹן; le No. 38, אַנוֹם Shanama à שׁלְנֵם; le No. 39, אַ וֹּנוֹם (ישׁרְנֵם בּיֹם אַ אַ וּנוֹם וֹיִם וֹיִים בּיֹם אַ אַ וּנוֹם וֹיִם וּיִבּים בּיִּבְּים וּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים אַ אַנְיִם בּיִּבְּים בּיִבּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיִבְּים בּיִּבְּים בּיבִּים בּיִבְּים בּיִבְּים בּיבּים בּיבִּים בּיבּים בּיבים ביבים בּיבים ביבים ביבי Mâshal, à כִּלְשְׁאָל; et le No. 40 אַנְשָׁאָל; et le No. 40 אַנְשָׁאָל.

Les six positions non déterminées sont :—
No. 20 אַ אַ אַ Mâzana (cf. אָרָן), cibus, אָרָן, pastus, pinguis) ne répond à aucun nom connu; celui de Madon בְּדְרוֹן que propose Mariette ne renferme pas le 🚶 i ou 🛂 de l'égyptien.

No. 23, Da Bizana, répond lettre pour lettre à el-Bizanéh, * et j'avais identifié les deux localités; † mais cela nous reporterait trop loin au sud, vers Naplouse. D'autre part, un rapprochement avec Becaânanîm, toutre qu'il est contraire à l'orthographe de l'Egyptien, nous raménerait trop loin vers le nord, aux environs de Kadesh de Nephtali. Le nom de Bessoum, auquel on pourrait songer, n'a que la première lettre de commune avec celui de Bizana. Tout ce qu'il est permis d'admettre c'est que Bizana s'élevait probablement dans le massif de collines qui sépare le lac de Tibériade de la plaine d'Esdraélon: c'est également la conclusion à laquelle je suis arrivé après avoir étudié le No. 24,

Amashna, et le No. 25,

Messekha, Meskha que je trouve sur la carte, sont trop éloignées de la Galilée pour pouvoir être identifiées avec notre Masakha, Maskha.

La situation du No. 27 Arouna ou Alouna a une grande importance pour le récit de la campagne de Thoutmos III. contre Magidi. Notons d'abord que les deux transcriptions Arouna et Alouna que permet l'orthographe égyptienne (באב = lou, rou) trouvent leur justification en hébreu: עַרָן est un nom propre en variante de ער, et l'on a עָלְיוֹן, superior. On peut donc défendre les deux transcriptions Arouna et Cela dit, les cartes marquent dans la plaine Alouna.

^{*} Palestine Expl. F., 1881, p. 201.

[†] Zeitschrift, 1885, p. 123. † Reland, Palæstina, t. ii., p. 663; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, pp. 224-225.

d'Esdraélon, au nord de Djenîn, un village, d'Arranéh, dont l'orthographe arabe a répond exactement à l'orthographe égyptienne Arouna: j'ai pensé un moment à identifier les deux localités, et Conder l'a fait sans hésitation,* Toutefois le récit de la campagne contre Mageddo ne se plie pas à cette hypothèse. L'armée du roi doit traverser des défilés avant d'arriver à Mageddo: dans la nuit du 19 au 20, l'armée campe à Alouna-Arouna; la marche sur Mageddo se fait dans la journée du 20; commencée au lever du soleil, elle avait porté le roi au sud de la ville à la septième heure du jour. Le texte est malheureusement mutilé; mais de ce qui en reste, on voit que, tandis que l'arrière garde égyptienne est encore à Alouna-Arouna, le gros de troupes sort vers la vallée et remplit les défilés de la vallée. L'opération était périlleuse, car tandis qu'elle s'exécute, les soldats s'exhortent à bien se soutenir au cas d'une attaque subite des gens du pays. Si on jette un coup d'œil sur la carte, on reconnaîtra que, d'Arranéh à Lejjûn, la route est toujours en plaine ou effleure les dernières ondulations de la montagne; il faut donc renoncer au site L'ensemble des documents tels que je les ai étudiés ailleurs nous oblige d'ailleurs à chercher le tracé de la route à l'ouest et non à l'est de Taanak. M. de Saulcy, que ces considérations avait frappé, mettait Arouna-Alouna dans l'Ouady Arah, au bourg d'Ararah, mais ce bourg est trop éloigné de Lejjûn pour qu'une armée puisse franchir la distance qui sépare les deux villes en sept heures. Il faut donc ramener Arouna-Alouna plus près de Lejjan, et, si nous nous rappelons que la lecture Alouna est possible, qu'elle nous ramène à un mot Elioun, qui signifie le plus haut, le plus élevé. nous sommes tentés de voir dans ce nom d'Alouna un nom significatif, emprunté à la position occupée par le village, et par suite à le chercher dans un site qui domine le pays entier. Le point qui répond le mieux à ces conditions est celui d'Oumm-el-Fahm, que Conder a si bien décrit dans ses rapports +: en partant de là, on trouve bien dans le coude subit du Ouady-Arah la vallée que remplirent les soldats de Sa Majesté, et une troupe marchant avec prudence, comme celle que nous représente le texte égyptien, peut gagner aisément en sept heures les bords du torrent auprès duquel est situé Je lirai donc Alouna (Eliouna), et je chercherai l'emplacement de cette localité à Oumm-el-Fahm même ou dans le voisinage immédiat d'Oumm-el-Fahm.

^{*} Palectine Expl. F., Quarterly Statement, October, 1880, p. 223. † Pal. Expl. F., 1873, pp. 10 sqq.

Pour le No. 33 deux transcriptions sont également possibles, Pahil et Pahour. La première nous donne un nom identique au nom sémitique de Pella dans la Pérée פַּחָר l'autre nous ramène au mot קַּחָל figulus, avec cette observation pourtant que la forme arabe inous donne pour le son médial une valeur qui est rendue généralement en égyptien par @ plutôt que par . J'écarte tout d'abord le site de Pella, qui est trop loin vers le sud et de l'autre côté du Jourdain. La ville de Pahour-Pahil est nommé dans une liste de Ramsès II. que voici:

Arosa,

Pahiro,

Pahiro,

Bitsharo, &c. Ici, le voisinage d'Ako nous indique pour Pahir un site Califon calvi de Bitshare un site en Samurio Pahir un site Galiléen, celui de Bitsharo un site en Samarie. Un troisième document, le Papyrus Anastasi No. iv., nomme des objets en bois provenant de Pahiro. Tout cela prouve une certaine importance; malheureusement la Bible ne nous a rien conservé qu'on puisse rapprocher de ce nom, et la nomenclature moderne n'est pas plus instructive que la Bible à cet égard. Ce n'est pas que les noms manquent où entre la racine فنما, fokhâr: on a Ràshayât el-Fokhar, Khourbét el Fakhourâ, Khourbét Fakhakhîr, &c., mais tout site antique peut recevoir des paysans un surnom formé d'une variante de iside fokhâr, pourvu qu'il soit jonché de tessons. L'examen de la carte m'a suggéré une hypothèse que je donne pour ce qu'elle vaut. Pahir est placée entre Hazor et Laïs d'une part, entre Kinnéreth, Adami, Qishion de l'autre, c'est-à-dire entre les villes du lac Sammochonites et les villes du lac de Tibériade. La ville principale de cette région est Safed : Pahiro, Phahir, serait-il le nom qui précéda celui de Safed ? La position conviendrait fort bien aux données des monuments égyptiens.

Le nom אונים ביינים Shamâna (No. 35), identique sauf la partie idéographique à celui de אונים ביינים Shamânaou que nous avons rencontré plus haut (No. 18), est, comme De Rougé l'a vu depuis longtemps, le terme שוטר, mais je ne trouve aucune Saman, Shemmân, Samnéh, dans les environs du lac de Tibériade. Enfin, la position de Misheal n'étant pas encore bien certaine, la position de son équivalent égyptien

(No. 39) entre Shounem et Aksaph ne nous permet guères de faire un choix entre les diverses localités proposées. Si Mâshal appartient au même groupe que Shounem, le village de Misiliéh, au sud de Djenîn, pourra représenter la ville antique; s'il appartient au groupe d'Aksaph, c'est la ruine de Maisléh comme le veut Conder.* Cette seconde hypothèse me paraît être plus vraisemblable que la première. Les localités sont toujours groupées dans nos listes par deux ou trois, et si nous rattachions Mâshal à Shounem, Aksaph resterait isolée. J'adopte pour Aksaph le site proposé par Conder à Tell-Yasif, non sans quelque doute: le site de el-Iksaf proposé par Robinson nous porterait en effet trop au nord.

Parmi les noms qui suivent, on peut considérer comme étant suffisamment identifiés, (No. 42) בּבִּילָבוּ Taânak; (No. 43) אוֹרָבְילָבוּ Iablouâmou; אוֹרָבְילָבוּ (No. 47) אוֹרָבְילָבוּ Rosh-Qodshou, le cap sacré ou la cime sacré, la ville de Haïpha; (No. 49) אוֹרָבּילָבוּ Kalimana, Calamon. † Toute la série comprise entre les Nos. 41 et 49 était, comme on voit, alignée le long du Carmel, et cette observation nous permet de classer presque certainement les points intermédiaires, dont l'identification n'est pas évidente du premier coup.

(No. 41) Gebâ-Souân, est une des nombreuses Gebâ, probablement ici, Γαβὰ πόλις ἱππίων de Josèphe saujourd'hui Sheikh - Abréik. || Le No. 43 Ganôtou-Asnah, ¶ les jardins d'Asnah, γ étant un nom d'homme (Esdras, ii. 50), est probablement une désignation nouvelle de En-gannim, Beth-hag-gân, Γιναία, Djenîn. Pour Routiou (Loutiou) Aroka (Aloka) j'avais proposé el-Araka, sur le versant septen-

^{*} Pal. Expl. F., 1883, p. 136 † Pal. Expl. F., 1881, pp. 49-50. ‡ Zeitschrift, 1879, p. 54-55. § Bell. Jud., 2, 18, 1; 3, 3, 1. || Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 395-397.

T La variante de Mariette (Les Listes géographiques, pp. 26-27) sest une erreur de copie ; cf. Recueil de Travaux, t. vii., p. 94 sqq.

trional du Carmel, entre Djenîn et Taânak.* Il me semble que la première partie Loutiou (Loudiou) nous permet de proposer Loudd, dans la plaine même, sur la rive méridionale du Nahr Moukatta, un peu au nord de Lejjûn. Le No. 46

Aina est entre Loudd et St. Jean d'Acre, mais sans qu'on puisse affirmer auquel des nombreux endroits dont le nom commence par Aïn il correspond; j'inclinerai pourtant en faveur du Tell-Kardanéh, au pied duquel les Oyoun el-Bass donnent naissance au Nahr-Namân.

Des derniers noms qu'on peut rattacher à la Galilée un seul a un équivalent certain dans l'onomastique de la Bible (No. 52)

Anoukharotou, אַבְּחָלָה, dans lequel tous les commentateurs récents s'accordent, peut-être à tort, à reconnaître le village d'En-naourah.

Les autres sont:—(No. 50)

Shemesh-Adouma; (Nos. 53 et 54)

Apourou - Apoulou; (No. 55)

Khashbou; (No. 56)

Nekabou; (No. 58)

Ronamâ. Avec le No. 60

Iourza, commence certainement la liste des villes méridionales.

S'il faut chercher Biar, Bir, dans le voisinage d'Anoukharotou, ainsi que son rang dans la liste le permet, la position de el-Biréh sur le Ouady Biréh conviendra comme son et comme position. Pour Shemesh-Adouma (סְּבְּעֵישׁ, si l'on admet que la première partie ait pu tomber, on sera porté à la rapprocher de l'Adamah סְבִּינִי de Nephtali (Josué xix. 36), dont la position est malheureusement incertaine. Khirbét Admah cadrerait assez bien avec le rang que Shemesh-Adouma occupe dans la liste égyptienne: Khirbét-Admah, sans être en effet dans le voisinage immédiat d'En-naourah, n'en est pas assez éloignée ce pendant pour qu'on puisse l'écarter avec assurance. Les deux

^{*} Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 126.

côté l'une de l'autre. Les deux lectures Apoulou et Apourou sont possibles: l'une représente עָּבֶּל, tumulus, clivus, l'autre pisqu'à présent la leçon Apourou, et cela les a conduit à voir dans les deux Apouro, les deux Ophrah עַבְּרָל de la Bible, ce qui a l'inconvénient de nous reporter trop au sud de la Galilée. En adoptant la lecture Apoulo et Aphoulo (Ophel), on trouve en pleine Galilée deux villages voisins l'un de l'autre, dont le nom présente une assonance très suffisante pour rappeler les deux noms identiques de la liste égyptienne, el-Afouléh et Fouléh.

Le groupe suivant Khashbou, Tisouroti, Nekabou, Ashou-Shokhn a été généralement placé au-delà du Jourdain, dans des régions où les Pharaons n'ont jamais pénétré: l'unique raison que j'en trouve c'est le rapprochement établià tort entre la Khashbou des Egyptiens et Kheshbôn אָלְשׁבּוֹן des Ammonites. La place qu'elle occupe sur la liste de Thoutmos III. entre Anoukharotoet Iourza nous obligerait pourtant à faire des recherches soit en Galilée, soit en Judée, nullement dans la Pérée. Le rapprochement très vraisemblable de Nekabou avec la Nekeb de Nephtali (Josué xix. 33) me décide pour la Galilée, et les autres noms ne contredisent pas cette hypothèse. Nekeb est Khirbet Séiyâdèh, ainsi que cela résulte de la glose Talmudique qui rend Hannekeb par Ziadatha ציידתא: * le nom de Lonamâ (cf. לנים de כלון) se retrouve probablement dans les ruines voisines de Tell-en-naâm, où le procédé de transformation moderne est analogue à celui qui a changé Odullam en Aid-el-ma. La localité Ashou-Shokhn donne lieu à une conjecture bien séduisante. Son nom se transcrit naturellement אָשׁרֹשׁה, et la première partie en correspond au nom de la ville de Ousha אושא, célèbre chez les Juifs de l'époque chrétienne: Ashou-Shokhn serait-il la forme pleine du nom talmudique? Pour Tisouroti et pour Khashbou, je n'ai rien à proposer.

Telles sont les observations que m'a suggérées une longue étude des listes. J'ai donné ailleurs la justification de mes transcriptions:† j'ai essayé d'apporter à mes identifications la même prudence que j'ai mise à nos transcriptions. Les noms énumérés se classent presque tous dans les régions qui entourent Mageddo; Qodshou, Damas et deux ou trois autres

^{*} Reland, Palæstina, t. ii., p. 717; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, p. 225; Palest. Expl. F., 1881, p. 54, article de Conder. † Zeitschrift, 1881, pp. 119-131.

villes à peine appartiennent à des contrées relativement lointaines. Ce résultat, auquel m'a conduit l'étude indépendante des listes, ressort clairement de l'histoire de la campagne telle que nous la fait connaître l'inscription de Karnak. En l'an xxiii., Thoutmos III. parti de Gaza, franchit le Carmel, battit les confédérés, y compris le prince de Qodshou, sous les murs de Mageddo, assiègea la ville et la prit, puis retourna en Égypte sans pousser plus loin vers le nord. Le chute de Mageddo était décisive, car, ainsi que Thoutmos III. le fait observer lui-même, "Tout chef de tout pays [est enfermé] en elle, si bien que c'est prendre mille villes que la prise de Magidi": la guerre terminée, il "réinstalla les chefs en leur dignité," à condition qu'ils payassent le tribut. Le fort de la campagne avait donc porté sur la plaine d'Esdraélon: les troupes égyptiennes y avaient séjourné longuement, et en avait pillé tout le pourtour, non sans pousser quelques pointes à distance. Au retour, quand Thoutmos III. construisit le pylone de Karnak, du butin de cette campagne, il inscrivit sur la muraille le nom des villes qu'il avait saccagées et qui avaient contribué involontairement à l'achèvement de l'édifice. Le mur était large, et il fallait le couvrir en entier, on prit pêle-mêle tous les noms de Galilée et de la Syrie méridionale qu'on connaissait, sans s'inquiéter de l'importance de la ville elle-même: un nom en valait un autre pour la circonstance.

ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OF THE LIST OF THOTHMES III., WHICH MAY BE REFERRED TO GALILEE. By G. MASPERO. (Translated from the French by Henry George Tomkins.)

HAVE nothing to say of the first two numbers of the list, except that Qodshu, is to me the Qodshu on the Orontes, not the Kadesh of Naphtali;* and that, despite the authority of Conder,† I place Mâgidi, at Lejjun, at the foot of Carmel. To find the next name whose identification is certain, we must go down to No. 9:

^{*} Mariette, Les Listes géographiques des Pylones de Karnak, pp. 12-13. + Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881, pp. 86-88, 232-234, 319-322.

form 177 nearer to the hieroglyphic spelling. According to the analogies of the rest of the list, it is then between Lejjun and Tell Dôthân that we should seek the position of the six intermediate places, but should we look to the districts north of Carmel, or south? The places situated on the north are enumerated in the list about No. 42, around Taânak; it is likely then that Nos. 3-8 were situated, at least some of them, on the southern side.

The first of these towns (No. 3) Khaaï, answers very exactly to the word T, a village. I only know one place whose name precisely resembles Khaaï—it is Deir el Haua; but I do not know a case where the hard sound of T is rendered in Arabic by s, and that alone is enough to make me reject the identification. Neither should we recognise here, despite the resemblance, the Hivites of the Bible: the Hivites are a people, and Khaaï is a town.

The next number Gît-Suna, perhaps will permit us in a general way to indicate the point of the compass towards which we should seek Khaaï. Gît-Suna, transcribed Nord or Nord, is one of the many names beginning with the element Da; if the second part has fallen away, as is sometimes the case in composites, Gît-Suna will be one of the many Djetts that we meet with on the map of Palestine. The Djett which will fit well enough here is that which is near the Wady Abu-Nâr, not far from the chief route which leads from Kakôn to Lejjun.* If we admit this identification, Khaaï should be placed somewhere in the Wady Arah, perhaps towards Khan ez-Zébadnéh, at the point where the roads separate.

The numbers that follow are equally uncertain.

I have assimilated the second element of An-Shauï to THU, NIW, to make a noise, to crash, or to TIW, Chald. NIW, to be even, level, so that An-Shauï might well mean the noisy fountain, or the fountain of the plain.

There was in the territory of Judah a valley of similar name עמק שוה, where the Rabbins prefer for שוה, the

^{*} This identification has been proposed by Conder, Pal. Expl. F., 1876, p. 63.

sense to agree.* Whatever these etymologies may import, An-Shau must be situated like Djett and Tell Dothan, to the right or left of Wady Abu-Nar (Wady Selhab), and it is in the same direction that we may expect to meet with Dibkhu, J Bumâï, and U D

Dothain is parted from T Maroma, which by general consent is Merom, by two names Rubina or Lubina, and Kart-Nizanau, the town of flowers. The former of these two towns has been identified by De Rougé and by Mariette with לבנה Lebnah of Judah, or with לְבוֹנְה Lebonah of Samaria; by Conder with the לְבוֹנְה Λαβανάθ of Galilee. Taking all into account, it seems to me preferable to attach Lubina, and consequently Qart-Nizanau, to the group to which Mercm belongs. Lubina will then find its equivalent in Kharbet Lûbbân, Kharbet Lobbûna, which is situated at some distance from Ras en-Nakûrah, nearly in sight of the sea. The site of Qart-Nizanau כְּרַתְּלָצָּוֹ, is still less easy to guess than that of Lubina.

I should not be indisposed, however, to conjecture that the of Zabulon (Jos. xxi. 34) is identical with our town: if we may suppose that Gath is a shortened form of the full name Gath-Rimmon, we may admit that Qarta is the abbreviation of Qart-Nizanau. Unhappily the situation of Qarta is anything but certain, and so is that of שֵׁרוֹם Merom, although the Greek transcription, Μερράν, Μερρών, seems to give warrant to the scholars who propose to see in this

last town the existing village of Meirôn.

^{*} Reland, Palæstina, t. i., pp. 356-357; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, pp. 50-51. † The reading Kiriath-Sannah of De Rougé and Mariette admits an impossible transcription of w by , a transposition of the two elements and of the word nizna. Cf. Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 122, and 1885, p. 6. † Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 171-172.

It is not impossible however that the Kura, Kharbet el Kourah of Guérin and of the English map, has preserved the name of Qartha, the s final of the Arabic answering perhaps to ת of בַּרָת.

Kharbet el Kourah will hold its place well enough between Lubbân and Meirôn, but it will be situated perhaps a little

too high for Qarta of Zabulon.

The following section, No. 13 to No. 16, takes us out of I will not then dwell on the names which compose it Masqu, Damascus, All Adiru or Abila, Hamatu, Hamath of Gadarene, except to say that the comparison of Adilu with Edreï which I accepted after De Rougé in 1881,* no longer seems possible to me. The name of Edrei אָרָרעי orthography we need a transcription like that of No. 91 in the list of Thothmes III. Adiru, is moreover, as Brugsch has very well perceived in connexion with the analogous name in the list of Sheshong, + the true counterpart of the Hebrew לקדיר, large, very great, mighty, from the root 77%.

Here, as in many places in the lists, a difficulty occurs: must we attach Nos. 17 and 18 Iaqidua. Shamânau to the group of Damascus or to the group which begins (No. 19) with Bierotu? last includes many names easy to find in the district where we may recover the whole group with a certain degree of likelihood.

No. 19 Bierotu is certainly not, as Mariette would have it, Beyrût in Phœnicia. 1 We must seek it in the neighbourhood of the lake of Tiberias. The Bible does not mention any בֹּאַרוֹת in these parts, but Josephus, speaking of the wars of the Hebrews against the Canaanites, names as

^{*} Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 123. † Brugsch, Geogr. Inschriften, t. ii., p. 62. 1 Mariette, Les Listes géographiques, pp. 19-20.

the scene of the battle fought at the waters of Merom, "Berotha, a town of Upper Galilee, not far from Kedesa," Kadesh of Naphtali.* This Berotha of Galilee should answer to the Bierotu of Thothmes III., but where are we to place it? Among the localities near Kadesh one only offers traces of antiquity and a number of wells considerable enough to explain the origin of the Hebrew name: it is Aitharûn. "This village, leaning against the sides of a high hill whose slopes are cultivated for olives, vines, and fig-trees, is inhabited by two hundred Metawalis. Some ancient cisterns wrought in the rock furnish them still with excellent water. As for that of many wells that are dug in the midst of a vast circular depression of the ground, situated at the bottom of the village, it is bitter, and serves only to water the animals, for washing, and for irrigation."+ The traces are unhappily very faint, and I only notice them for want of better. At any rate, the neighbourhood of Bierotu and of Kadesh may throw some light on the position of Iaqidua and of Shamanau. We are warranted by some probabilities in recognising here localities in Upper Galilee, but this is all that we are are permitted to say at present.

Of the twenty following names fourteen present no material for discussion. These are (No. 21) אוני מוֹנים for discussion. These are (No. 22) אוני מוֹנים for discussion. These are (No. 22) for are discussion, very near the lake of Tiberias; (No. 22) for a same distance to the south of Sârôna; (No. 26) for a same distance to the south of Sârôna; (No. 26) for a same distance to the No. 28, for a same distance to the No. 29, for a same distance to the No. 2

^{*}Josephus, Arch. 5, 1, 18; cf. G. Boettger, Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Fl. Josephus, pp. 55-56.

[†] Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 373-374. ‡ E. de Saulcy, Dictionnaire topographique de la Bible, p. 216.

Huzar to לְּיָשֶׁה, מִישְׁה, and יְּדְצִּיר, No. 34, אָנָיִר אָל , and יִּבְּיר, No. 36, אַנְיִיר אָּנְיר וּיִּיר אָנְיִיר אָנְיר וּיִּר אָר אָנְיִיר וּיִּר אָר אָנִיר וּיִּר אָר אָנְיר וּיִּר אַנִּיר אָנְיִיר וּיִּר אָר אָנִיר וּיִּר אָר אָנִיר וּיִּיר אָנִיר וּיִיר אַנְייִר וּיִיר אַנִּיר וּיִיר אַנִּיר וּיִיר אַנִּיר וּיִיר אָנִיר וּיִיר אָנִיר וּיִיר אַנְייִר וּיִיר אַנְייִר וּיִיר וּיִיר אַנְייִר וּיִיר וּיִיר אַנְייִר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִייר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִייר וּיִייר וּיִייר וּיִיר וּיִייר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִייִיר וּיִיין וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיין וּיִיר וּיִּיר וּיִיין וּיִיר וּיִיר וּיִיין וּיִּין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִּין וּיִין וּיִּין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִּין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִּין וּיִּין וּיִין וְיִין וּיִין וְיִייִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִייִין וּיִין וּיִייִין וּיִין וּיִין וּיִייִין וּיִין וּיִייִין וּיִין וּייִין וּיין וּייִין וּייין וּייִיין וּייִין וּייִיין וּייִין וּייִין וּייִין וּייִין וּייִיין וְייִּיין וּייִיין וּייִייִיין וּייין וּיייין וּיייין וּיייִייין וּייִייין וּיייין וּ

The six positions not determined are:-

No. 20 אַ אַ אַ אַ Mâzana (cf. אָדְיֹן, food, קְּדִּיֹן, fed, fat) does not answer to any known name; that of אָדִין Madon, which Mariette proposes, does not contain the אַ ז or בּ of the Egyptian.

No. 23, Bizana, answers, letter to letter, to el-Bizâneh,* and I have identified the two localities,† but that brings us too far to the south, towards Nablûs. On the other hand a comparison with Beçaânanîm,‡ besides being contrary to the Egyptian orthography, brings us too far to the north, to the neighbourhood of Kadesh of Naphtali. The name of Bessûm, of which we might think, has only the first letter in common with that of Bizana. All that we may admit is that Bizana probably lay high in the mass of hills which separates the lake of Tiberias from the plain of Esdraëlon: this is also the conclusion at which I have arrived after studying No. 24, Amashna, and No. 25, Masakha. The Masakhas, Meskhas that I find in the map are too far from Galilee to be possibly identified with our Masakha, Maskha.

The situation of No. 27 Aruna or Âluna has great importance with regard to the narrative of the campaign of Thothmes III. against Megiddo. Let us first mark that the two transcriptions, Âruna or Âluna which the Egyptian

^{*} Palestine Expl. F., 1881, p. 201.

[†] Zeitschrift, 1885, p. 123. ‡ Reland, Palæstina, t. ii., p. 663; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, pp. 224, 225.

spelling permits (25 = lu, ru) find their justification in Hebrew: עָרָ as a proper name is a variant of עָר, and we have also for it עָלִיוֹן, higher. We may then defend the two transcriptions Âruna and Âluna. With this proviso we notice on the maps in the plain of Esdraëlon, north of Djenîn, a village of Arraneh, whose Arabic orthography & _ answers exactly to the Egyptian orthography Aruna: I thought for a moment to identify these two localities, and Conder has done so without hesitation.* Yet the narrative of the campaign against Mageddo will not fit this hypothesis. The king's army must pass through defiles before reaching Megiddo: in the night of the 19th, 20th, the army encamped at Aluna-Aruna; the march on Mageddo was made on the 20th day; begun at sunrise, it had brought the king to the south of the town by the seventh hour of the day. The text is unhappily mutilated; but from what remains we see that, while the Egyptian rear-guard is still at Aluna-Aruna, the main force issues into the valley and fills the defiles of the valley. The operation was dangerous, for while it was in execution the soldiers exhorted one another to stand firm in case of sudden attack from the people of the country. If we cast a glance on the map we perceive that from Arraneh to Lejjûn the route is always level or skirts the last undulations of the hill-country; we must therefore give up the site of Arranch. The whole result of the documents which I have elsewhere studied obliges us moreover to seek the track of the route to the west and not to the east of Taânak. M. de Saulcy, who had been struck by these considerations, places Aruna-Aluna in the Wady Arah, at the town of Ararah, but this town is too remote from Lejjûn for an army to clear the distance that separates the two towns in seven hours. We must therefore, bring Aruna-Aluna nearer to Lejjun, and, if we remind ourselves that the reading Aluna is possible, and that it leads us to a word Eliûn, which means the most high, the most exalted, we are tempted to see in this name of Aluna a significant name borrowed from the position occupied by the village, and consequently to seek for it in a situation which commands the whole country. The point which answers best to these conditions is that of Um-el-Fahm, which Conder has so well described in his reports. † On setting out thence

^{*} Palestine Expl. F., Quarterly Statement, October, 1880, p. 223. † Pal. Expl. F., 1873, pp. 10 et seq.

we find readily in the abrupt angle of the Wady Arah the valley which the soldiers of his Majesty filled, and one troop, marching with prudence, like that which the Egyptian text brings before us, might easily reach in seven hours the banks of the torrent near which Lejjûn is situated.

I will read then Aluna (Eliuna), and I will seek the site of this place at Um-el-Fahm itself, or in the immediate vicinity

of Um-el-Fahm.

For No. 33 two transcriptions are equally possible, Pahil and Pahur. The first gives us a name identical to the Semitic name of Pella in Peræa אובי the other brings us to the word אובי, a potter, with this observation, however, that the Arabic form בי gives us for the middle sound a value which is generally rendered in Egyptian by rather than by . I dismiss at once the site of Pella, which is too far to the south, and on the other side of Jordan. The town of Pahur-Pahil is named in a list of Ramses II., as follows:

A third document, Papyrus Anastasi No. iv., mentions articles of wood coming from Pahiro. All this proves a certain importance; unhappily the Bible has preserved for us nothing that can be compared with this name, and modern nomenclature is no more instructive in this matter than the Bible. It is not that names are lacking into which the root bible. It is not that names are lacking into which the root bible. It is not that names are lacking into which the root bible. Fakhûrâ, Khurbet el Fakhûrâ, Khurbet Fakhakhîr, &c., but any ancient site might receive from the country folk a surname formed of a variant of bible bible. It is strewn with potsherds.

An examination of the map has suggested to me a hypothesis which I give for what it is worth. Pahir is placed between Hazor and Laïs in one direction, between Kinnereth, Adami, Kishion, in the other; that is to say, between the towns of Lake Sammochonites and the towns of the Lake of Tiberias. The principal town of this region is Safed: can

Pahiro, Phahir, have been the name which preceded that of Safed? The position will agree very well with the data of the Egyptian monuments.

The name Isli Shamana (No.35), identical except the ideographic part with that of Isli Shamanau, which we have met with above (No. 18), is, as De Rougé saw long ago, the word Isl, but I cannot find any Saman, Shemman, Samneh, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Tiberias.

Lastly, the position of Misheal not being yet quite certain, the position of its Egyptian equivalent Mâshal (No. 39), between Shunem and Aksaph scarcely permits us to make choice between the different proposed localities. If Mâshal belongs to the same group as Shunem, the village of Misilieh, on the south of Djenîn, may represent the ancient town; if it belongs to the group of Aksaph, it is the ruin of Maisleh, as Conder will have it.* This second hypothesis appears to me more likely than the first. The places are always grouped in our lists by twos or threes, and if we attach Mâshal to Shunem, Aksaph will remain isolated. I adopt for Aksaph the site proposed by Conder† at Tell-Yasif, not without some doubt; the site of el-Iksaf proposed by Robinson carries us in fact too far to the north.

Among the names that follow, we may consider as sufficiently identified, (No. 42) Taânak;

(No. 43) Ako; (No. 48) Rosh-Qodshu,

Rosh-Qodshu,

Rifa; (No. 49) Kalimana, Calamon.;

All the series comprised between Nos. 41 and 49 was, as we see, aligned along Carmel, and this observation permits us to arrange almost certainly the intermediate points whose identification is not evident at the first glance.

(No. 41) Gebâ-Suân, is one of the

^{*} Pal. Expl. F., 1883, p. 136.

⁺ Pal. Expl. F., 1881, pp. 49-50. ‡ Zeitschrift, 1879, pp. 54-55.

many Gebâs, here probably Γαβά πόλις ἱππέων of Josephus,* the present Sheikh-Abreik. No. 43, Ganôtu-Asnah,† the gardens of Asnah, אַּסְנָה being a man's name (Esdras, ii. 50), is probably another designation of Engannim, Beth-hag-gân, Tivaía, Djenîn. For ا احالاً في م Rutiu (Lutiu), Aroka (Aloka), I have proposed el-Araka, on the northern slope of Carmel, between Djenin and Taanak. It seems to me that the first part Lutiu (Ludiu) permits us to propose Ludd, in the same plain, on the south bank of the Nahr Mukatta, a little to the north of Lejjûn. No. 46 Aina is between Ludd and St. Jean d'Acre, but without the power of establishing to which of the many sites whose name begins with Ain it corresponds, I am inclined to prefer Tell-Kardaneh, at whose foot the Oyûn-el-Bass give birth to the Nahr-Naman. Of the latter names that we may attach to Galilee one alone has a sure equivalent in the onomasticon of the Bible (No. ב אַנָּבוֹרָת, Anukharotu, אַנָבוֹרָת, in which all recent commentators agree, perhaps wrongly, to recognise the village of En-naûrah. The others are: (No. 50) Biar, Bir; (No. 51), Isla Isla Isla Shemesh-Aduma; (Nos. 53 and 54), Apuru-Apulu; (No. 55), $\left\{\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{array}\right\}$ Khashbu; (No. 56), $\left\{\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 1 \end{array}\right\}$ Tisoroti; (No. 57), \(\overline{\text{No.}} \) \(\overline{\text{Nekabu}}; \) (No. 58), Ashu-Shokhn, and perhaps (No. Ronamâ. With No. 60, Iurza, begins certainly the list of southern towns.

If we must seek seek Biar, Bir, in the vicinity of Anukharotu, as its place in the list permits, the position of el-Bireh on the Wady Bireh will suit for sound and for

^{*} Bell. Jud., 2, 18, 1; 3, 3, 1.

⁺ Guérin, Galilée, t. ii., pp. 395-397.

[†] The variant of Mariette (Les Listes géographiques, pp. 26-27)

position. For Shemesh-Aduma (שֵׁמֵשׁ־אָּדוֹם), if we admit that the former part may have fallen away, we are led to compare Adamah אַרְבָּאה of Naphtali (Jos. xix. 36), whose position is unhappily uncertain. Khirbet-Admah will fall in well enough with the place which Shemesh-Aduma occupies in the Egyptian list: Khirbet-Admah, without being in fact in the immediate vicinity of En-naûrah, is yet not so far removed that we may dismiss it with certainty. Apurus-Apulus show us two towns of the same name placed beside one another. The two readings Apuru and Apulu are possible: the one represents למֵל, a mound, a knoll, the other לפל, a fawn. Egyptologists have hitherto always adopted the reading Apuru, and that has led them to see in the two Apurus the two Ophrahs עֹפֶּרָה of the Bible, which has the inconvenience of carrying us too far to the south of Galilee. In adopting the reading Apulu and Aphulu (Ophel) we find right in Galilee two villages near one another whose name presents an assonance quite sufficient to recall the two identical names of the Egyptian list, el-Afûleh and Fûleh.

The following group, Khashbu, Tisuroti, Nekabu, Ashu-Shokhn, has been generally placed beyond Jordan, in the regions where the Pharaohs never penetrated: the only reason I can find is the mistaken comparison between the Khashbu of the Egyptians and Kheshbon מָשֶׁבּוֹן of the The place which it occupies in the list of Ammonites. Thothmes III. between Anukharotu and Iurza will oblige us however to search either in Galilee or in Judæa, not at all in Peræa. The very probable comparison of Nekabu with the Nekeb [7] of Naphtali (Jos. xix. 33) decides me for Galilee, and the other names do not contradict this hypothesis. Nekeb is Khirbet Seiyadeh, which results from the Talmudic gloss which renders Hannekeb by Ziadatha ציידרוא.* name of Lonama (cf. לֵּלְּהָן from לֶּלֶה) is recovered probably in the neighbouring ruins of Tell-en-Naâm, where the process of modern transformation is analogous to that which has changed Adullam into Aïd-el-ma. The locality Ashu-Shokhn gives rise to a very tempting conjecture. Its name is

^{*} Reland, Palæstina, t. ii., p. 717; Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud, p. 225; Palest. Expl. F., 1881, p. 54, article by Conder.

naturally transcribed אַבְשׁישׁא, and the former part corresponds with the name of the town of Usha אַנשא celebrated among the Jews of the Christiau epoch: Is Ashu-Shokhn the full form of the Talmudic name?

For Tisuroti and Khashbu I have nothing to propose.

Such are the observations which a long study of the lists has suggested to me. I have elsewhere given the justification of my transcriptions: * I have endeavoured to bring to my identifications the same prudence that I have exercised in my The names enumerated arrange themselves transcriptions. almost wholly in the districts that surround Megiddo; Qodshu, Damascus, and two or three other towns at most belong to countries comparatively remote. This result, to which the independent study of the lists has led me, arises clearly from the history of the campaign as the inscription at Karnak makes it known to us. In the year xxiii. (of his reign), Thothmes III. set out from Gaza, cleared Carmel, beat the confederates, including the prince of Qodshu, under the walls of Megiddo, besieged and took the town, then returned to Egypt without pushing farther on towards the north. The fall of Megiddo was decisive, for, as Thothmes III. has himself observed. "Every chief of the whole country [was shut up] in it, so that the capture of Megiddo was as good as the taking of a thousand towns:" when the war was finished he "reinstalled the chiefs in their dignity" on condition that they should The stress of the campaign fell thus on the pay tribute. plain of Esdraëlon: the Egyptian troops had long remained there and had pillaged all the district round, not without pushing on to some distant points. On his return, when Thothmes III. built the pylon of Karnak with the booty of this campaign, he inscribed on the wall the names of the towns that he had sacked and which had unwillingly contributed to the completion of the edifice. The wall was large, and must be entirely covered. They took indiscriminately all the names of Galilee and Southern Syria that they knew, without troubling about the importance of the town itself: one name did as well as another for that matter.

Bálaq, 20 November, 1885.

^{*} Zeitschrift, 1881, pp. 119-131.

The Chairman (the Rev. W. Wright, D.D.).—I am sure we all acknowledge the debt of gratitude due to M. Maspero for his most valuable paper, and at the same time desire to accord our thanks to the Rev. H. G. Tomkins for his able translation, and the obligation we are under to the reader. I now call upon the honorary secretary to read the communications received from those unable to be present.

Captain Francis Petrie said: Letters have been received expressing regret at being unable to be present from the Right Honourable Sir H. A. Layard, Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B.; Sir G. Grove; Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G.; Mr. E. A. W. Budge, of the British Museum; Mr. Robert Cust, and the Rev. A. Edersheim, D.D.; most of these specially refer to the great value of M. Maspero's paper.

The translator of the paper also writes :-

"Park Lodge, Weston-super-Mare, April 30, 1886.

"In translating for the Institute Professor Maspero's very valuable paper, I have adopted the more usual English manner of spelling the geographical names and terms, instead of the French equivalents.

"I am very sorry I cannot be present to join personally in the discussion. "It is by bringing the special learning of the accomplished Egyptologist and historian to bear on the results of the survey that we can slowly gain the

trustworthy knowledge we desire.

"I have not had time to study the Galilean part of the lists of Thothmes with the care that I have bestowed on the portion which gives us the names

of towns in Northern Syria.

"But it is clear that M. Maspero has set us far in advance of the identifications proposed by the lamented Mariette; and, having followed step by step his partial suggestions in the Egyptian Zeitschrift and elsewhere, I now hail with great pleasure the grouping of this more extended treatment of the Galilean district.

"Only those who have been accustomed to the intricacies and tentative progress of this kind of work can do justice to the results before us, or share the pleasure that they afford. The student who would set these lists of tributary places in the light of history should compare the paper which M. Maspero has so courteously contributed with the fourth edition (lately published) of his admirable Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient.

(Paris: Hachette & Cie. 1886.)

"In the hope of soon studying with care and in detail these topographical groups as they fall into their places in the whole geography of Palestine and Syria, I will only now testify the gratitude which England owes to the generous spirit displayed by the learned Director - General of Egyptian Archæology, who welcomes the labours of authorised explorers in connexion with our English Committee, and is equally earnest in doing justice to the achievements of our great survey of Palestine.

"Ever yours, very sincerely,

"HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

"Captain Francis Petrie,
"Hon. Sec., Victoria Institute."

Captain Claude Reignier Conder, R.E., so well known for his labours in connexion with the exploration of Palestine, writes as follows:—

"2, Grafton Villas, New Brompton, Chatham, "2nd May, 1886.

"I beg to thank the Council of the Victoria Institute for their kind

invitation and recognition of my work.

"I have not got my revised paper on the Lists of Karnak with me. I have put down such suggestions as occur to me, and find that M. Maspero agrees with me as to the district in which the names lie, and, in twenty cases out of sixty, as to the exact site. He adopts those suggestions which I hazarded in 1876, 1879, and 1881, even when they do not agree with Mariette in several very important instances, and I am much pleased thus to be supported by so great an authority. I note, however, a few slips in his paper, and I think some of his new proposals will hardly meet with general acceptance. This is a small matter compared with the general accord as to the district indicated by the list.

"I am sorry my duties will not allow me to be present to-morrow night

and hope this may reach you in time.

"Yours truly,
"C. R. CONDER."

Remarks on the Geographical Lists of Karnak;—I feel highly gratified at the notice taken of my paper on the Lists of Thothmes III. by so eminent an authority as M. Maspero, and by his adoption of some of my suggestions. The subject is, of course, one of great difficulty, as a mere list only indicates position on the assumption of consecutive order. M. Maspero does not seem to have seen my amended paper on the subject, published in the Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine (volume of Special Papers), which contains, I think, considerable improvements on my original paper, and, in some cases, agrees with his remarks. This was published in 1881.

I may now proceed to add a few remarks in detail as to ideas which have since occurred to me; but, generally speaking, it appears that the area of the conquests of Thothmes III. has now been made very clear, whatever doubt may exist as to individual towns.

Kadesh may, of course, be the great objective of the campaign—the city on Orontes—since the additional list, lately studied by Mr. Tomkins, and given by Brugsch, includes the towns of Northern Syria. Megiddo may not be Mujeddá, but there is no authority whatever, save a mere conjecture of Robinson's, for placing it at Lejjûn. Dutina I regard as certainly Dothan. If I remember rightly (not having the volume before me) I have so identified it in the "Memoirs;" but, at any rate, the question is settled by M. Maspero. Khaai should appear as Haiyeh in Arabic. As to Git Suna, I do not feel certain. Anshu, I have thought, may be possibly the modern 'Anza, which is suitable for position, if the change of Shin to Zain be admitted.

As regards Dibkhu, Bumai, and Kart Nizanu, it ought not, I think, to be forgotten that Mohar, in his travels, mentions a river Nizana, which

seems to be the Kasimiyeh, near Tyre; he also speaks of Tubakhi, which, as far as sound goes, may be the same as Dibkhu or Tibkhu, and which seems to be the Tibhath of the Bible (1 Chron. xviii. 8). These places are, of course, a good deal further north, but the suggestion for Nazana agrees with M. Maspero's location of Lubina. He will, however, I think, find that Karah is spelt with a guttural at the end, and has thus nothing to do with the Hebrew word, which in Arabic appears as Kariet.

As regards the next section, I have no doubt that the names Damascus, Abila, and Hamath or Hammath, are to be recognised, though I have previously supposed the latter to be Hammath on the Sea of Galilee. The absence of the guttural in Adilu or Adiru is, no doubt, important; but, then, the Egyptians had no real guttural, and the mistake is conceivable. I am inclined to see in Birutu rather the ruin Bîreh south of the Sea of Galilee, than the Berotha of Josephus, which I take to be the present Biria in Upper Galilee. This agrees with my supposition that No. 20 is, as Mariette suggests, Madon (Madna). I cannot see any possible connexion of Aitharûn with Berotha, nor is Aitharûn the only place with many wells. No. 20 is not identified by M. Maspero, but is, I think, very important. He accepts my view as to No. 21 being Sarôna, but this agrees much better with the above-noticed identification of Nos. 18, 19 than his own. Tubi at et Taiyibeh has already commended itself to me in connexion with the other proposals, of which M. Maspero has accepted one. No. 23 as Bessum I have already proposed in my "Handbook." No. 24 seems to me (see "Handbook to Bible," p. 243) to be possibly Amathus (Amasna), No. 26 Kenath (Kana), No. 28, as M. Maspero also says, Ashtaroth (Tell Ashterah), though this will not agree with his suggestion, Cana for No. 26. Anurpha, as Raphana, seems to me a valuable suggestion. As to No. 30. we do not know the exact position of Maked, or Maged, which I am inclined to place at el Mejed, further south. Makata, I would suggest, is more probably Maachath, as being next to Laish. In this case it is probably Abel Beth Maachah, the present Abl, which is intended.

M. Maspero, I understand, accepts No. 31 as Laish, and No. 32 as the celebrated Hazor of Galilee (Hadîreh). No. 34 brings us both back to Chinnereth on the Sea of Galilee. No. 36 he recognises, as I have already proposed, as ed Dâmieh, agreeing with No. 34. In this section, therefore, M. Maspero agrees with my amended list as published in 1879 ("Handbook to the Bible," p. 243) and 1881.

In No. 39 he is again inclined to adopt my suggestion of Misheal, and in No. 40 not only my suggestion Achshaph, but also my new site for that town at el Yasif, which differs from any previously proposed.

No. 27 as 'Arrâneh cannot, of course, be accepted if Megiddo be at Lejjûn; but it becomes possible if it were at Mujeddá, and thus strengthens my case for that suggestion. Umm el Fahm does not appear to be an ancient name; it means "Mother of Charcoal," which is made in the vicinity. No. 33, Pa Hurah, I have sought in Upper Galilee at Horem

(Harah), as being near Hazor and Laish. The suggestions for Nos. 42, 43, are, of course, indisputable, and have long been fixed points in the list.

As regards No. 41, I do not think it is at all possible that Geba of Horsemen can be Sheikh Ibreik. The idea rests on a mistaken reading of Josephus by Guerin. We have, however, Jebâta not far off, which does quite well for Gebatuan, as I have previously proposed. In my original MS. I find 'Arrâka identified as proposed by M. Maspero; but I have not got the papers by me to ascertain if I published this proposal. 'Aina in this case seems clearly to be 'Anîn near 'Arrâka. M. Maspero searches for it further north, because he makes No. 47 to be Accho. It might, however, be 'Ajjeh, a large ancient village in the vicinity of 'Anîn and 'Arrâkah. If No. 48 be a Kadesh, why not Kadesh of Issachar, which was probably at Tell Abu Kadeis? No. 49 is Calimna, or Galliimna, which seems to me rather to be Jellameh than the distant and doubtful Calamon.

In Nos. 53 and 54 M. Maspero adopts two identifications which I proposed I believe for the first time, in 1876, and which have always seemed to me specially important. In this case he has omitted to refer to my article, but the important point is that I now—ten years later—find myself supported by his valuable authority. No. 57 also agrees with my views, but, if I remember rightly, is due to Mariette. No. 58 I should propose to place at Shihon, on Jebel es Sih, or at the Áyûn Sháîn, East of Nazareth. No. 59 cannot very well be Tell en Naám, as that word contains a hard guttural not found in *Ranama*, which is more probably, I think, Rimmon of Zebulon, now Rummâneh. The town Osha mentioned for No. 58 by M. Maspero is now the ruin of Hûsheh.

It thus appears that as to the general district in which the names are to be sought, I am fully supported by M. Maspero, who agrees to my views in twenty cases, including several identifications, such as the two Ophels, Tubi Sarona Adami, &c. (not to speak of Misheal and Achshaph) of which I am specially confident, even in face of the authority of Mariette. While acknowledging several additions and improvements in M. Maspero's paper, I still think, with due deference, that in a few cases my suggestions hang together better than his own, in the identifications which he rejects.

C. R. CONDER.

Sir Charles Wilson, R.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S.—I am afraid I cannot say much about the paper this evening, as I had no time to look over it before coming here. I think there can be no question as to the very great interest and value of the paper. It is, however, exceedingly technical, and will have to be studied carefully with the aid of a map. I know from personal experience that M. Maspero takes the greatest interest in Palestine exploration and the identification of the names in the lists of Thothmes,

because he has spoken to me on the subject. I think that the great value of this paper is that it contains as accurate a translation as we shall probably ever have of these lists, by one of the first Egyptologists in the world, and their transcription into Hebrew characters by a scholar of M. Maspero's standing. With regard to his identification of Qodshu with Qodshu on the Orontes, I fully agree with him. I think that the campaign of Thothmes at that time was largely directed against the Hittites, the seat of whose power was at Qodshu, on the Orontes. I also agree with M. Maspero in placing Mâgidi (Megiddo) at Lejjun. Captain Conder says this is merely an opinion of Robinson's, but I do not agree with him on this point, for in the Bible Megiddo is closely connected with Taanach. There is another point with regard to Megiddo. Those who know the geography of Palestine are aware that from the great central range of hills from north to south a large spur runs out into the sea-the ridge of Carmel. The great object of the Egyptian armies was not to attack the Jews, whom they probably looked upon much as we regard the hill-tribes in India, but to get at their enemies, the Hittites in earlier days, and the Assyrians in later days, and their line of march would probably follow the best route for effecting that object. The ordinary route would be up the great plain of Philistia. and over the ridge of Carmel by the road leading to Lejjun. If we turn to a later period, and examine the campaign in which Josiah met his death, we shall see that it almost furnishes another proof that Megiddo lies in that direction. The Egyptian army was at that time on its way to attack the Assyrians. For causes of which we know nothing at the present day. Josiah determined to attack the Egyptians whilst they were on the march. With his small force of soldiers, he did not dare to attack the immense Egyptian army whilst it was in the plains of Philistia, but he marched through Judea and Samaria to this particular pass, which leads over Carmel to the plains of Megiddo, expecting to catch the Egyptians in the defile. So. in the narrative given by the inscriptions, the soldiers are said to have been afraid they would be attacked whilst passing through the defile leading to Megiddo. I also agree with M. Maspero in his identification of Bierota with the Berotha of Josephus, and I think that Berotha was probably situated at the foot of the hills, near the lake known as the Waters of Merom.

Mr. Boscawen.—As Sir Charles Wilson has said, this paper is one the great importance of which does not come out until you study it carefully with your map, and especially with the topographical information we have in the Scriptures. It is very important to remember that these lists from the Temple of Karnak, which so accurately describe the geography of Palestine, are dated over 500 years before the time when the topographical chapters in the Book of Joshua were written. If they give us testimony as to the names of places corresponding to that contained in the Book of Joshua and to the Arabic names, it is a further remarkable proof of the wonderful conservatism which always characterises Eastern nations with regard to such names. I might say that, were it not for this wonderful system of preserving names which has existed through the whole East, the

work of the Palestine Exploration Fund would have been three times as difficult as it has been. This paper, coming as it does after the recentlycompleted papers on and maps of Western Palestine, has a very much increased value in comparison with the statements published by M. Mariette. There are one or two identifications which are particularly interesting. That of Astaroth Karnaim is one which carries us back to a very early period of Jewish history, and is interesting in regard to the record of the worship of the two-horned Astoreth on the eastern side of Jordan. That worship, we know, was common throughout the East. One figure which struck me particularly amongst those I saw at Ierabis was that evidently of that Asiatic goddess with the crescent-horns upon her head. The description given of the battle of Megiddo, when applied to the site on which it was fought, appears to be extremely accurate, and furnishes another proof of the value of these records when studied in the East. The account was evidently written by a man who was either an eyewitness or who had the accounts of soldiers who took part in the fighting, and you have only to ask Assyrian scholars to read the inscriptions they have, such as that on the bronze gates of Ballawat, or the account of the battle of Karkar, which was probably fought in the narrow part of the Orontes valley, to see how accurately these scribes endeavoured to describe battles, and how their descriptions correspond with the ground itself. The value of this paper does not come out fully until you study it with the Bible and maps; but it is a very valuable one to this Society, especially as it comes from such a man as M. Maspero, who, being so very careful in his identifications not to rush to rash conclusions, and, being a scholar, knowing most of the languages with which he deals, gives to his work the imprimatur of one speaking with very great authority.

The CHAIRMAN.—I entirely agree that we are very much obliged to that great Egyptologist, M. Maspero, for his valuable paper, and must also add our thanks to Sir Charles Wilson for the contributions he has made to this subject to-night. These investigations have a practical bearing on Biblical scholarship. Recently, we, in the Bible Society, began to publish maps in our Bibles. When these maps go out to the islands of the sea, the people look at them and say, "But does Jerusalem exist at the present day? Is there such a place as Nazareth?" They have in their own lands traditional myths which refer to names and places, but nothing now exists which corresponds to those names and places. When they see our maps, they say, "Here are the names of certain places where certain events occurred"; and this gives a new and realistic value to the historical parts of the Bible. It is extremely interesting to find the old names that occur in the Bible, and some of which are identified as having the same names at the present day, in an Egyptian record dating back to the seventeenth century before Christ. What a marvellous confirmation of the Biblical narrative this is! Take the chief names here. There is no doubt whatever about them. For instance, we have Qodshu on the Orontes, and we have Megiddo. I do not think many will agree with Captain Conder that the true site of Megiddo is not

known. I have recently been bringing out maps for the Bible Society, by the assistance of Sir Charles Wilson and Captain Conder, and I have felt constrained to hold to the old identification. The reasons we have for doing so are, I think, quite sufficient. It has been the battle-field of all ages. It was from such a place of fighting and slaughter that we got the name of the "battle of Megiddo." When the Romans came they pitched their tents there, and it has been a place of battle in all ages. Then there are such names as Damascus, and Hamath, and as Ashtoreth. I do not think sufficient importance is given to the last-mentioned place. I remember spending most of a Saturday and Sunday with Dr. Thompson at the old Edreï, and we took out different sets of people, and, pointing to certain ruins, asked what they were. The answer in each case was, "That is Ashtoreth." The ruins are standing there at the present time; that country will well repay the explorer. I think that some of M. Maspero's lesser identifications are open to question. I may point out in passing that he says he is not sure that the T is ever rendered in Arabic by the s. On this point M. Maspero need not feel any doubt. The weaker ; arose of ;. These letters, even in Hebrew, are frequently interchanged, as, for instance, קלף and הָלְּדָּ. Foreigners writing the word would, in all probability, soften the latter. See the Septuagint renderings, &c. Some of M. Maspero's minor identifications are merely tentative. Take Pahur, for instance. word is connected with pottery, and at any place where pottery was made you would have that word. When the country was populous, a great deal of pottery was required, as people used it for carrying water, and for storing wheat and oil. Pottery was needed all over the country, and wherever there was a manufactory of pottery it would be called So-and-so Pahur. When the spoiler came, the place, which perhaps was very small, would be swept away. The identification here is that it may have been the ancient name of Safed. Well, it may or it may not; that is all. There are a number of minor names here which I have no doubt are happy guesses. I think they may be useful, and that each guess may be used as a working hypothesis. An hypothesis is always good as long as it remains an hypothesis. One of the great virtues of the theologian is faith, but I think a little scepticism should be a characteristic of the archæologist. I think we shall be safe in using a little scepticism in these matters. As to the large and important towns, there is no doubt about them now. I was told the other day that all the places which are mentioned in the Bible. and which are identified with certainty, could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Well, that is pure nonsense. It was the language of a man who had not studied the subject. We know the chief lines of traffic and the larger towns with a considerable amount of certainty. But where we have no certainty we do not gain anything by pressing our own guess or our own ideas.

The meeting was then adjourned.

NOTE FROM M. MASPERO.

M. Maspero writes:-

" Paris, 16 Août, 1886.

"Je vous remercie de m'avoir communiqué l'épreuve définitive de mon petit mémoire, et vous prie de présenter l'expression de ma sincère reconnaissance à toutes les personnes qui ont bien voulu y joindre leurs observations. Je n'ai rien à ajouter pour le moment : si plus tard quelque heureuse chance me permet de trouver pour les villes de Galilée quelque identification nouvelle, je m'empresserai de la communiquer au Victoria Institut.'

THE SPHINX.

The Journal des Débats has lately received from M. Maspero a letter describing what he will do with the 12,000 fr. subscribed in Paris to aid him in his excavations round the Sphinx of Ghizeh. He says:-"I am going now to work on two points, the right paw and the first steps of the stair. The stones of the right paw are covered with Greek votive inscriptions; those of the left paw bear none. This is at least an indication that the piety of the faithful was called more into play on the right, that is to say on the south, than on the left side. Perhaps there was a direct communication between the Sphinx and the granite temple which lies in that direction, and if so there is a chance of finding, on the way, a group of statues similar to that which Mariette discovered at the Serapeum. It may also be that some unknown chapel is concealed in the space which separates the Sphinx from the granite temple. In any case that is a question to be settled in a week or two. The problem connected with the first steps of the stair is, in my opinion, a very curious one. The Egyptian sculptors always represent the Sphinx of Ghizeh as placed on a cubic pedestal, ornamented with grooves and designs analogous to those observed on the different sarcophagi of the old Empire. Were they following an artistic caprice, or were they simply reproducing what they saw? In other words, is the Sphinx able to rest on a bed of rock, or has a gigantic pedestal been cut for it in the mountain from the top of which it looked down on the plain? On the latter hypothesis there would be a chance of finding on the east side, the door of a temple or tomb. It might prove to be the tomb of Menes. The pedestal may have disappeared in Roman times, and the Ptolemies may have constructed their monumental stair over the sand which covered it. As soon as I have found the first steps, it will be easy for me to see if the platform in front of the Sphinx is cut perpendicularly or if the rock advances in a gradual slope. This will be ascertained by a few plumbings judiciously made."-ED.