

THE FIRST TRAVELLER IN PALESTINE.

1. Hieratic Papyrus. Facsimile folio, 1842, pl. 35—61. British Museum.
2. Translation by C. W. Goodwin, "Cambridge Essays," 1853, p. 267—269.
3. "Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie en Phénicie en Palestine," &c. F. Chabas. Paris, 1866.
4. "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 107—116. London, 1875.

THE history of the interesting document, which it is proposed to examine as far as regards the topography connected with Palestine, may be briefly given as follows. It formed part of a collection made by M. Anastasi, Swedish Consul in Egypt. It was examined by Lepsius in 1838, and bought by the British Museum, and published by them in facsimile in 1842. It consists of twenty-eight pages of fine hieratic writing, and by the character of the letters Egyptologists refer it to the 19th or 20th dynasty. By other arguments it is more exactly limited as to date, and assigned the 14th century B.C., and dates therefore, according to the ordinary chronology, about the time of the oppression of Israel under Jabin, king of Canaan. Its great interest consists in the enumeration of no fewer than 56 places, of which 18 are north of Tyre, and the remaining 38 are in Palestine proper. This gives us a topography which it is important to compare with the history of contemporary events to be found in the Book of Judges, as well as with the lists of the Book of Joshua referring to the same part of Palestine.

The Papyrus gives an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer called a Mohar, a man evidently of importance, journeying in a chariot drawn by horses, and accompanied by a servant. It is not clear what his official duty may have been, but his journey commences near Aleppo, and he visits a certain town, which, as will appear later, must have been on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and which formed a rendezvous with other Mohars. Thence he returns to Egypt *viâ* Joppa.

There is much in the Papyrus that is very interesting and amusing, but quite unconnected with the topography. Those who wish to see how unchanged the character of a journey in Syria is since the time of this, the earliest visitor to the country of whom we have any record, and how much life and even humour is to be found in a papyrus 2500 years old, should read the text for themselves in the "Records of the Past." The present paper will be confined to the question of the topography referring to Palestine proper and to a comparison with that of the Old Testament.

I.

The first and second sections contain eighteen names, of which eight are identified by M. Chabas as follows:—

1. Kheta, a tribal name = the northern Hittites (Josh. i. 4).
2. Khaleb = Aleppo, the modern Haleb.
3. Kodesh = Kedesh on the Orontes.

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| 4. Kabaon | = | Gebal, the modern Jebeil. |
| 5. Berytus | = | Beirut. |
| 6. Sidon | = | Saida. |
| 7. Sarepta | = | Sarafend. |
| 8. Tyre | = | Sur. |

It is sufficiently evident from these identifications that the whole list refers probably to towns near the coast of Syria, and between Aleppo and Tyre; we need, therefore, devote no more space to this group, as the unknown towns all apparently lie north of Beirut. It is important, however, to observe that the order of occurrence shows a systematic progress southward by the coast road, where a chariot could be driven with safety.

II.

The third section of the Papyrus is of sufficient importance to be quoted:—

PAGE LINE

- 21 . 3 The entrance of Djaraou, and the order thou hast given to set this city in flames. A Mohar's office is a very painful one.
- 21 . 4 Come, set off to return to Pakaikna. Where is the road of Aksaph?
- 21 . 5 In the environs of the city; come then to the mountain of Ousor: its top,
- 21 . 6 how is it? Where is the mountain of Ikama? Who can master it? What way has the Mohar
- 21 . 7 gone to Hazor? How about its ford? let me go to Hamath,
- 21 . 8 to Takar, to Takar-Aar, the all-assembling place of the Mohars; come
- 22 . 1 then, on the road that leads there. Make me to see Jah. How has one got to Matamim?

This curious description seems to refer to a journey from Tyre to Tarkaal, including a notice of ten places, of which M. Chabas only identifies two with any degree of certainty. It will be best to notice each site in the order of occurrence.

1. *Djaraou*. An alternative reading is *Tsaraou*.—This town seems to have been somewhat out of the line of the traveller's march, since we find him *returning* from it to the next. It seems to be near Tyre, and if we accept M. Chabas' identification of the next site, *Tsaraou* should be near the town of Kana. This would lead us to suppose an identity with the ruin of El Mezra'ah, a spot which will be found marked on Murray's new map, about three miles east of Kanah. The change is a very simple one, in accordance with the ordinary laws of the survival in Arabic of ancient names. *Zera'a*, or *Tseraah*, would mean "sowing," and the servile letter *mim* may be supposed to have been added, making *Me-Zera'a*, or "place of sowing." The road from Tyre to El Mezra'ah passes through Kana,

and thus the Mohar if intending, as seems most probable, to follow the coast, would naturally "return to Pakaikna."

It is important here to note that the Mohar is travelling in a chariot. In the Bible we find contemporary record of "chariots of iron," but it seems clear that these chariots were used only in the plains. In our Papyrus it will be found that the Mohar's chariot is broken as soon as he attempts to pass down a difficult ravine (p. 23, line 3); previously we have no account of any great difficulties, excepting in the case of two mountains mentioned in the present section. It is, therefore, *primâ facie*, most probable that the route should be traced across open country, avoiding as much as possible the rugged hills and deep ravines.

2. *Pakaikna*, or, taking the alternative reading, *Pakanana*.—This, as M. Chabas suggests, may be identified with Kanah the Great, "an ancient town whose ruins may be seen two hours and a half south-east of Tyre. It was here that M. Renan found the finest of the Tyrian sepulchres. Near Kana is the Egyptian bas-relief of Wady 'Ashûr. This is, however, only hypothetical" (Chabas' Memoir, p. 179). The position, it will be seen above, fits well with the general topography, as a road leads through Kana to El Mezra'ah, and again from Kana to the main line along the coast.

3. *Aksaph*.—The Hieratic Aksapou M. Chabas supposes to be the Achshaph of Joshua (xii. and xix.), a town occurring in the list of Asher. Dr. Robinson has proposed to identify it with the present *El Kesaf*, but the objection to this position is very strong. The territory of Asher is defined by Josephus as "that part which was called *the valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named Actippus" (Achzib), *Ant.* v. 1. 22.

It is pretty evident in this case that *El Kesaf*, situate in the hills above the sources of the Jordan, and thus within the limits of the tribe of Naphtali, cannot represent a town of Asher, which must be sought in the *valley* or *Shephelah*, the low country bordering the maritime plain, and probably not far south of Achzib, the modern *El Zib*. The list of the towns of Asher in this part includes the names of the following towns (Josh. xix. 25), which may be identified as below.

1. Helkath = Yerkush—Schwartz.
2. Hali = 'Alia—Vandevelde.
3. Beten = Bethbeten—Onomasticon.
4. Achshaph = Yasif—C.R.C.

The towns thus enumerated occur in regular order, in accordance with the proposed canon of identification published in the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1875. It is unnecessary to go into the question of the south boundary of Asher, because these places are well within the limits of the tribe. El Yasif is a town on the very edge of the plain, south-east of *El Zib*, and the name corresponds exactly to the LXX. translation Αῤϕ.

The towns of Asher appear to be enumerated in order; those on the east first, going southwards, and afterwards those on the west going north. If, therefore, the Egyptian be supposed to visit the Achshaph of the Old Testament—a place of importance and a royal city—he will be found to have followed the coast road from Tyre almost to Akka, which is very practicable for a chariot, whilst the line from Tyre to El Kesaf is intersected by several very considerable water-courses, and runs over very hilly country.

4, 5. *Mount Ousor and Mount Ikama*.—It is not clear whether the phrase “in the environs of the city” is an answer to the question, “Where is the road?” or whether it defines the position of the two names following it. Achshaph is much nearer to the next place, Hazor, than to Tyre or Kanah, hence we should expect names to occur along the road, just as subsequently (p. 22, line 1) we find places mentioned out of order. M. Chabas compares Ousor with Asher, the tribe in whose territory the traveller is journeying. As noticed above, a Wady Ashúr exists close to Kana, and another Wady ‘Azziyeh is to be found close to the great promontory of Ras el Abiad.

It is worthy of remark that in the journey from Tyre to Achshaph the traveller passes over two promontories, the only places where any difficulty occurs in the road, one being the *Ras el ‘Abiad*, the second the *Ras el Nakura*, or Ladder of Tyre. The word translated “top,” referring to Mount Ousor, is compared by M. Chabas with the form *רַס* (*Ras*), being identical with the Arabic *Ras* or *promontory*, as above. It is, therefore, quite possible that the document here describes the difficulties experienced by the traveller in passing round these two important headlands.

6. *Hazor*.—The name Hazor, meaning in Hebrew “an enclosure,” is of very common occurrence throughout Palestine. Two Hazors at least are mentioned as occurring in Galilee in the time of Joshua, and three Hazors are to be found in this district to the present day.

The first of these is a Hazor close to *Tell el Kadi* the modern representative of Dan, at the main source of Jordan. This seems at first a likely identification, as a ford of Jordan exists near. It would agree with the position given by Robinson for El Kesaf if identified with Aksapou; but to this there is the objection that the Mohar visits the west and not the east coast of the Sea of Galilee, and that it would have been extremely difficult to proceed from Tyre to El Kesaf, or thence to Tiberias.

The second Hazor is the En Hazor of Josh. xix. 37, a site identified with Hazzur or Hazzireh, close to Wady el Ayyun, and occurring in the lists in its proper order between towns in the same district also identified. There can scarcely, however, be any connection between this and the Hazor of the Egyptian.

Of the position of the Royal Hazor, the seat of King Jabin in the time of Joshua, and of another Jabin, king of Canaan, at the very time of this Egyptian journey, we have no definite indication in the Bible.

It is said by Josephus to have stood above the waters of Merom, and is therefore generally identified with the present *Tell Hurrawiyeh*, east of Kadesh.

It seems probable that the Hazor of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36) mentioned in connection with Ramah (*Er Rameh*) and Kedesh (Kedes) is the same place, for otherwise the royal city would not appear at all in the lists; but in spite of the word used by Josephus there seems some ground for supposing that this royal city is the present '*Ain Hazzur*, a spring, and a ruin of importance existing near *Er Rameh*, the supposed site of Ramah of Naphtali; for not only does the name occur next in the list to that of Ramah, but Jabin is called King of Canaan, or the "low lands," which seems a title scarcely applicable to the country near Kedesh. On the other hand, Sisera, captain of Jabin's army, is found flying to the immediate neighbourhood of Kedesh after his defeat by Barak.

Whichever be the site of the Royal Hazor, there can be but little doubt that '*Ain Hazzur* represents the Hazor of the Egyptian Mohar, for if the position of Achshaph and its identity with Aksapou be admitted, this place lies on the road which he would naturally have followed in going from the maritime plain to the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

An important valley starts near this spring, and the main road from Akka, down the plain of Ramah, passes north of it. Thus, without crossing any mountain ridge, the Mohar is able to drive from the western plain to Hazor, but here he is obliged to cross the watercourse of the main Wady, as we may understand him to mean when speaking of the "ford" of Hazor.

7. *Hamath*.—M. Chabas himself is inclined to identify this with the fenced city Hammath of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35) which we learn from the Talmudists was near Tiberias. The fact that the next places are to be found in the Jordan valley would seem almost decisive on the question.

8, 9. *Jah . . . and Matamim*.—The Papyrus is here defective. North of the valley by which the Mohar would seem to have descended to Hammath is the present Yakúk, the representative of the Biblical Hukkok, the *Κωκ* of the LXX. It is possible that this may represent the fragmentary word *Ia*, a place evidently between Hazor and Hamath. *Metamim* is a word which would seem to refer to water—compare the Hebrew מים (*Mím*) "waters." It may refer to the springs of the plain of Genesareth or to the waters of the lake itself.

10. The phrase "to Takar (or Tarka) to Takar Aar (or Tarkaal)" may be supposed to refer to one place, as the *al* is probably the Hebrew *el*, "God," so often attached to the names of places, as *Jabneel*, *Eshtaol*, &c. M. Chabas identifies it with the Tarichæa of Josephus, a place thirty stadia south of Tiberias (*Vita*, § 32) which is identified by Major Wilson, R.E., with the ruin of Kerak, at the point where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. This agrees well with the subsequent narrative.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE constantly recurring attacks of fever under which Lieutenant Conder has suffered during the winter have necessitated a postponement of the return of the Survey Expedition till the autumn. In order, however, that time may not be lost, an office has been taken at the Royal Albert Hall, where the party are at present engaged in preparing the map for publication. It is hoped to be able to place in the hands of the engraver before the end of the year at least two-thirds of the great map of Western Palestine (West of the Jordan). The part remaining to be finished consists of the greater part of Galilee and a small piece in the south.

The Survey party consists of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, Sergeant Armstrong, and Corporals Maule, Wilson, Brophy, and Malings, all of the Royal Engineers. The four last have been specially granted by the War Office for this purpose.

Full particulars of the mode, time, and place of the publication of the great map will be given in an early number of the *Quarterly Statement*. At present we can only state, in addition to the above facts, that a Survey Publication Committee has been appointed; and that the map will be accompanied by special memoirs which will contain all the facts collected by the officers of the Survey.

Intelligence has been received that the Court at Damascus, to which appeal was made in the Safed affair, have confirmed the judgment of the Acre Court. The ringleaders are in prison; a fine of £150 has been levied upon the place, and is waiting for the English Consul-General of Syria at Acre. This is much less than was asked, and it is not yet certain that the English Government will consent to receive this amount as compensation. The moral effect of the judgment, the arrest of the prisoners, and the actual enforcement of the fine, is reported to be excellent, and the determined attitude of Mr. Consul Moore in the affair will doubtless bear good fruit in the behaviour of the natives for some time to come.

xv. 10), now *Tibneh*; 2nd, Timnath, the town selected by Joshua (Josh. xix. 50), now *Tibneh*, in Mount Ephraim. The present Timnath is, however, more probably one mentioned in the Talmud as existing in Galilee, and from its connection with Maron and Kedesh it may be identified with *Tibnin*, the Crusading Toron, about ten miles north-west of Kedesh.

13. *Qodesh* is apparently Kadesh of Naphtali, a place often mentioned in the Bible. M. Chabas hesitates between this and several other Biblical towns of the same name; all, however, very far from the previous scene of the Mohar's wanderings.

14. *Dapour*, *Dapul*, or *Dubl*.—The L and R being indistinguishable. This name does not appear to represent any Scriptural place. There is, however, in the district visited by the Mohar, a site of some importance called in modern Arabic *Dibl*, which may possibly represent the place in question.

15. *Adjai* or *Atai*.—Not far from the site just noticed are ruins and a spring, to which the name of 'Ata is now given; these two identifications seem to agree well together. *Ata* is about four miles west of Kedesh, and *Dibl* six miles farther west.

16. *Harnemata*.—This, if a Hebrew word, would mean "Mountain of Nemmata," a place apparently not mentioned in the Bible. If, however, the next identification of Beth Anath with Keriath Anab be accepted, it must be noticed that a town called Horem precedes Beth Anath in the list of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38), just as Harnemata precedes Kariath Anab in the Mohar's list. Possibly, then, Harnemata may be a lengthened form of Horem (the modern *Hurah*, as identified by Vandevelde).

17. *Keriath Anab*.—The three names on the list now following Keriath Anab, Odulam or Aduram, and Beith Tuphal or B. Tuphar, naturally suggest the three towns in Judah—Kirjath Jearim, Adullam, and Beth Tappuah; but it is remarkable that these names all recur in the north of Palestine, as does that of Bethlehem, and possibly that of Hebron. M. Chabas proposes to identify Keriath Anab with the modern Kariet el 'Anab, often called Abu Ghosh. This is, however, probably a modern name. The real title, as we have often remarked, of Abu Ghosh, is simply *Kariet*, and it seems to represent the Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28). In the north of Palestine we find a *Beth Anath*, mentioned in the list of the towns of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38) as follows:—

Migdal el	=	Mujeidel, Robinson.
Horem	=	Hurah, Vandevelde.
Bethanath	=	Hānin, C. R. C.

Beth Anath is the Beth Ana of the Talmud, and the last mentioned but one of the towns of Naphtali in a list beginning apparently in the south, and going northwards to the district of Kadesh.

Keriath Anab is defined as being near Beith Tuphal. It is curious to remark that *Hanin* is close to the Dibl, which it is proposed to identify with the Dupul of the Mohar; whether Beith Tuphal be the same place

recurring is of course doubtful, but if so, it would give a reason for the definition, and serve to identify the Kariath Anab of the Egyptian with the Beth Anath of Joshua.

18. *Odulam* or *Aduram*, M. Chabas proposes to be either Adullam or Adoraim, in the tribe of Judah. There is another Adullam in the north, the present 'Adlún, the site of the Greek town of Ornithon. If, however, the land of Takhis be circumscribed to the hill district of Kedesh, Aduram may very well be supposed identical with the Edrei (אדרעי) of Naphtali, the Εδραι of the LXX. This site occurring between Kedesh and En Hazor (Hazzur), may possibly be placed at the modern 'Aitherún, some three miles west of Kadesh Naphtali. Thus the whole number of sites in this list is brought into a district of about 150 square miles.

19. *Tsidphoth*.—Supposing the former identifications to correctly represent the district visited by the Mohar, this town falls into place as the Tsephath of the Talmud and Seph of Josephus, the modern important town of Safed. This identification is hinted by M. Chabas, though he discards it in consequence of identifying the three preceding places with towns in the south of Palestine.

20. *Khaouretsa*.—This town, evidently a fortress of importance, was in the land of Aup. The meaning of Aup is not exactly known. It occurs again in the first section of the Papyrus, and is supposed by M. Chabas to refer to a district near the Lebanon and the country of the Kheta. M. Chabas proposes to identify Khaouretsa with Harosheth of the Gentiles (Judges iv. 2), the home of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host. There is as yet no satisfactory identification of this place, which is not mentioned in any other passage in the Bible. It has been placed at the present village of *El Harathiyeh*, but there seems no reason for this beyond a certain similarity of name, and it is far more probable that Harosheth is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Kadesh and Safed, which would agree with the mention of Khaouretsa—if the same—in this part of the narrative.

The towns of this section are thus supposed to represent the principal places in the tribe of Naphtali, with the addition of three not mentioned in any Jewish writings.

IV.

The narrative at this point would seem to take up the continuation of the Mohar's journey from the rendezvous of Tarkaál (Tarichæa), and runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE.

- 22 . 7 Come then to the image of SINA : let me know Ro-
 22 . 8 HOB : represent to me BRITH-SHEAL as well as KERIATHAAL. The
 fords of the
 23 . 1 Jordan, how does one cross them ? let me know the passage to
 enter Mageddo, whereof it remains to speak. Thou art a Mohar,
 23 . 2 expert in courageous deeds. Is there found a Mohar like
 thee to march at the head of the soldiers, a Marina

PAGE LINE

23 . 3 superior to thee to shoot an arrow! Take care of the gulf in the ravine two thousand cubits deep; full of rocks and rolling stones.

23 . 4 Thou makest a *détour* :

The rest of the section describes the flight of the Mohar, his difficulties in a descent "full of rocks and rolling stones, no practicable passage; the road is obstructed by hollies, Indian fig, aloes, and bushes called jackal's shoes. On one side is the precipice, on the other rises the vertical wall of the mountain (p. 24, lines 2 and 3).

In this descent the horses become frightened and run away, the chariot-pole is broken; and the Mohar impeded by thorny bushes, with the enemy behind, tortured by thirst and heat, is reduced almost to despair. He reaches, however, Joppa (p. 25, line 2), where his chariot is repaired.

There is but little difficulty attending the topography of this section.

21. The *Image of Sina*.—It would seem to apply to some place in the Jordan valley.

22. *Rohob*.—From the context this is evidently the town of Rehob, near Bethshean. This is mentioned under the form Ρωβ in the Onomasticon, and placed by Jerome four miles south of Scythopolis (Beisan). This is the exact distance of the ruins called now *Sheikh el Reháb*, to which site the Mohar evidently refers.

23. *Beithsheal*.—M. Chabas himself identifies this with the town of Bethshean, one of the separate cities of Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 11), an important site, with many Roman ruins, now known as Beisan.

24. *Keriathaal*.—This name strongly suggests the Hebrew Kariathel, "City of God." It may perhaps be the representative of Izra-el, or Jesreel, "the sown of God," or "field of God." The town of Jesreel would be passed by the Mohar in going to Megiddo.

25. *The fords of the Jordan, Jelden (or Jerden)*.—M. Chabas proposes the identification of this river with the Jordan, but to this there is the objection that the Mohar's journey is directed away from the river, and that there is nothing to lead us to suppose he ever crossed it. In going from Tiberias to Beisan, or immediately after, he would, however, be obliged to cross one of the principal affluents of Jordan, now called *Wady Jalúd*, which, rising at the Well Harod (*Ain Jalúd*), brings a considerable stream down the broad valley from near Jesreel to the neighbourhood of Beisan. It is perhaps to this (the L and R being so difficult to distinguish) that the Mohar here refers.

26. *Mageddo*.—The "passage" to this town is no doubt the broad valley leading up to the plain of Esdraelon, in which Megiddo stood. The town is identified by M. Chabas himself.

The traveller is here warned of the precipitous character of the valleys, apparently those leading down to the maritime plain. He is directed to make a detour, and from this we may gather his general route. For, passing southwards to Engannim (Jenin), he would arrive on the road by which the Midianites, in the time of Joseph, descended

to Egypt, passing by Dothan (Gen. xxxvii. 17). Advancing along the plain of Rameh, he would arrive at a short but difficult defile called Wady Mussin, probably that in which his chariot is broken, and here emerging into the plain of Sharon, he would be on the main road to Joppa, and only twenty-five miles from it.

At Joppa he finds workmen capable of mending his chariot. It would appear that here he enters a country subject to the Egyptians, or at least containing places named after Egyptian kings.

V.

The following list of eleven places is referred by M. Chabas to the neighbourhood of the Sinaitic peninsula. As, however, the last three on the list are identified by M. Chabas with Rehoboth, Raphia, and Gaza, it would seem more likely that the journey is here continued through Philistia from Joppa to the Egyptian frontier. The 5th Section runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE

- 27 . 2 Come let me tell all that happened to thee at the end of thy road.
I begin
- 27 . 3 for thee at the dwelling of SESTSOU (RAMSES): hast thou not forced thy way therein. Hast thou not eaten fishes of . . . ?
- 27 . 4 Hast thou not bathed therein? O come, let us describe Atsion to thee: where is its fortress?
- 27 . 5 Come to the house of OUATI; to Sestsou-em-paif-nakhtou-ousormara; to Sats . . . aal,*
- 27 . 6 also to Aksakaba? I have pictured to you Ainini. Knowest thou not its customs? Nekhai,
- 27 . 7 and Rehobroth, hast thou not seen them since thy birth, O eminent Mohar? Raphia,
- 27 . 8 how about its entrenchment? It covers the space of an *our* going towards Gaza.

The topography of this section is perhaps more doubtful than of the remainder, but it is controlled by the starting-point and destination. The Mohar would seem to follow the road branching off to the left from the main line to Egypt and passing along the foot of the Judæan hills towards Rehoboth, in the Negeb or "Dry Land." Thence by the long water-course called in Scripture the River of Egypt, he returns to Raphia on the sea-coast without passing through Gaza. Here on the borders of Egypt his adventures terminate with his return to his native country.

28. *Dwelling of Sestsou*.—Failing the Semitic name of this place it seems impossible to identify this fortress, which was probably near Joppa, with any known site.

29. The name of the river is unfortunately lost, but we have the two valuable indications of its containing sufficient water to bathe in and

* *Sestsou-em-paif-nakhtou Ousormara* is the name of a fortress built by Ramses II., in Syria or Palestina and different from Ouati. The name means: "Ramses II. in his victories."

also fish. These two points indicate pretty clearly the Nahr Rubin, the only real stream south of Jaffa—a winding, reedy river, which formed the boundary line of the tribe of Judah. Fish are caught in it near the mouth, and the road from Jaffa to Egypt crosses it. If the sequence of the narrative be taken as correct, there can be but little doubt as to this identification.

30. *Atsion*.—This name, applying apparently to a fortress, is compared by M. Chabas with the Hebrew (אֶצְיוֹן) Etsion. It is mentioned in immediate connection with a temple and with another fortress. If the temple be sought at Ashdod, as proposed below, Atsion may be identified with Tell Yasin, an important point immediately south of Ashdod.

31. *The House of Ouati*.—M. Chabas himself shows that this refers, in all probability, to a temple dedicated to a goddess. The name Ouati resembles that of the well-known Oannes, a fish divinity. We are at once reminded of Ashdod, originally the centre of worship of the fish god Dagon and the fish goddess Derceto. The latter deity was in later times worshipped at Ascalon, but the Mohar's route would hardly seem to have brought him into the neighbourhood of that city.

32. *Ousormara*.—A town of Hazor, now *Yasur*, exists immediately east of Ashdod; another similar name, Asor, is noticed in the Onomasticon as that of a place situate east of Ascalon. It would appear to be represented by the present ruin of *Erzeh*.

33. *Sats . . . aal*, or *Saj . . . ar*.—In the mutilated condition of the MS. it is impossible to identify this place with certainty. A site called anciently Saphir, and now *Suafir*, is to be found in the neighbourhood of Ashdod, on the road which the Mohar is here supposed to have taken.

34. *Aksakaba*.—We have apparently several instances of reduplication in the names given by the Mohar, as *Kanana* for *Kana*, and *Rehobroth* for Rehoboth. *Harnemata* for *Horem* I have before supposed to be a similar case, and indeed the apparent accuracy of the Semitic nomenclature as given by the Mohar is surprising. Mistakes of a far graver kind than the mere confusion of syllables would be to be expected in such a document. There is therefore, perhaps, but little objection to the identification of *Aksakaba* with the important spring of 'Ain Kasaba, which lies on the main road to Rehoboth from the neighbourhood of Ashdod.

35. *Ainini* or *Ain Nini*.—A place called 'Ain Nini exists farther north, at the edge of the Philistine plain. The district in which the preceding and following places are probably to be found does not, according to existing maps, contain any names of similar sound. The Ordnance Survey of this part has, however, still to be completed.

36. *Nekhai*.—Considering the continually occurring interchange of N and L, there is probably little objection to the identification of this place with the important ruined site called *Lekiyeh*, which stands just on the edge of the Philistine plain, and near the main road by which the Mohar is supposed to be travelling.

37. *Rehobroth*.—This M. Chabas himself identifies with the Rehoboth

of Isaac (Gen. xxxvi. 22), a site lately identified as existing some sixteen miles south of Beersheba at the head of the great *Wady Refah*—the boundary of Egypt and Palestine from the time of Joshua to the present day. The present name of the site of Rehoboth is *Er Ruheibeh*, and it lies on the same road pursued by the Mohar if visiting 'Ain Kasaba and Lekiyeh.

Raphia.—This site, an important town forming the south boundary of Palestine, and very often mentioned by Josephus, is identified by M. Chabas with the last place mentioned by the Mohar. From Rehoboth he would have followed the course of W. Refah, probably the "River of Egypt" (Josh. xv. 4). Thus he would not have passed through Gaza, which he mentions, however, as not far off. Raphia has been long identified with the modern frontier village of *Refah*.

VI.

We have thus succeeded in tracing the Mohar on his travels throughout the entire length of Palestine on a theory which seems to have two great recommendations:—

1st. That the route lies in plains or broad valleys where a chariot could be driven (and where, according to the Bible and Josephus, chariots were used) except in the striking instance of a narrow valley specially noticed in the MS.

2nd. That the places occur in a regular order of succession, the only detour being that into the land of Takhis, when the section is headed with the suggestive passage, "I will speak to thee of towns *other than the preceding*." Although some of the identifications may be doubtful, there are, I would suggest, a sufficient number which can hardly be disputed, and which show the general scheme of the journey to be correctly understood. Thus, with the following properly fixed, namely, Tyre, Aksaph, Hamath, Takar-Aar, Rehob, Beithsheal, Mageddo, Joppa, Aksakaba, Rehobroth, and Raphia, the general course of the journey is clear. The majority of these are suggested by M. Chabas, but he only identifies five with any amount of certainty out of eleven. Again, Qodesh, Marlon, Tamena, and Tsidphoth, are sufficient to point out the position of the Land of Takhis. M. Chabas does not, however, identify any of these with decision.

VII.

It remains to compare this topography with that of the books of Joshua and Judges. The following are the places apparently identical with Scriptural sites:—

1. Sidon	Great Sidon	Josh. xi. 8.
2. Sarepta	Zarephath	1 Kings xvii. 9.
3. Tyre	Tyre	Josh. xix. 29.
4. Kanana	Kanah	Josh. xix. 28.
5. Aksaph	Achshaph (Royal city)	Josh. xix. 25.
6. Hamath	Hammath	Josh. xix. 35.
7. Maron	Maron (Royal city)	Josh. xi. 1.

8. Qodesh	Kadesh Naphtali (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 22.
9. Keriath Anab	Beth Anath	Josh. xix. 38.
10. Aduram	Edrein	Josh. xix. 37.
11. Khaouretsa	Harosheth	Judg. iv. 2.
12. Harnemata	Horem	Josh. xix. 38.
13. Beithsheal	Bethshean	Josh. xvii. 11.
14. Keriathaal	Jesreel	Josh. xix. 18.
15. Mageddo	Megiddo (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 21.
16. Joppa	Joppa	Josh. xix. 46.
17. Rehobroth	Rehoboth	Gen. xxvi. 22.
18. Gaza	Gaza (Royal city)	Josh. xv. 47.

It appears, therefore, that nearly half the places mentioned by the Mohar are places which were of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua, or to have played a part in the history of the deliverance by Barak. Megiddo, Kedesh, and Harosheth, which appear in the Biblical account of this deliverance, are also mentioned in the Papyrus, whilst Tabor, the Kishon, Meroz, and Taanach, which are not mentioned by the Mohar, are known to have lain out of his route. The omissions are thus as striking as the places noted.

A list of so many Biblical sites, noticed by a contemporary witness so entirely independent, cannot fail to be very interesting to Biblical students.

Dec. 27, 1875.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

TABLE OF PLACES.

Egyptian name.		Suggested identifications.
1. Djaraou.....		El Mezraah, C.R.C.
2. Kanana.....	(i.) Kanah (Josh. xix. 28)	Khirbet Kana, Ch.
3. Aksaph.....	(ii.) Achshaph (Josh. xii. 20)*	El Yasif, C.R.C.
4. Mt. Ousor ...		
5. Mt. Ikama ...		
6. Hazor		'Ain Hazzur, C.R.C.
7. Hamath	(iii.) Hammath (Josh. xix. 35) ...	Hammam Tubariyeh, Ch.
8. Takar-Aar ...	Tarichæa (Vita, Jos. i. 32) ...	Kerak, Ch.
9. Jah	Hukok (Josh. xix. 34) ? ...	Yakúk, C.R.C.
10. Matamim.....		
11. Cofer - Marlon	(iv.) Maron (Josh. xi. 1)*	Márún, C.R.C.
12. Tamena		Tibnin, C.R.C.
13. Qodesh.....	(v.) Kedesh (Josh. xii. 22)* ...	Kedes, Ch.
14. Dapour.....		Dibl, C.R.C.
15. Adjai		'Ain Ata, C.R.C.
16. Harnemata ...	(vi.) Horem (Josh. xix. 38) ...	Hùrah, C.R.C.
17. Keriath Anab	(vii.) Beth Anath (Josh. xix. 38)	Hanín, C.R.C.
18. Aduram	(viii.) Edrei (Josh. xix. 37)	Aitherún, C.R.C.
19. Tsidphoth ...	Tscphath (Talmud)	Safed, C.R.C.
20. Khaouretsa ...	(ix.) Harosheth (Judg. iv. 2) ...	

* The star represents Royal cities.

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| 21. Image of Sina | | |
| 22. Rohob | Roob (Onom)..... | Sheikh Reháb, C.R.C. |
| 23. Beithsheal ... | (x.) Bethshean (Josh. xvii. 11) . | Beisan, Ch. |
| 24. Keriathaal ... | (xi.) Jezreel (Josh. xix. 18) | Zerin, C.R.C. |
| 25. Fords of Jordan or Jelden..... | | W. Jalud, C.R.C. |
| 26. Mageddo | (xii.) Megiddo (Josh. xii. 21)* | Lejjún, Ch. |
| 27. Joppa | (xiii.) Joppa (Josh. xix. 46) ... | Yafa, Ch. |
| 28. Dwelling of Sestsou | | |
| 29. River | | Nahr Rubin, C.R.C. |
| 30. Atsion | | Tell Yasín, C.R.C. |
| 31. Ousormara ... | | Yasur, C.R.C. |
| 32. Sats . . aal... | | |
| 33. Aksakaba ... | ‘Ain | Kasaba, C.R.C. |
| 34. ‘Ainini | | |
| 35. Nekhai | | Lekiyeh, C.R.C. |
| 36. Rehobroth ... | (xiv.) Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22) | Ruheibeh, Ch. |
| 37. Raphia | Raphia (Josephus, Ant. xiii. 15. 4) | Rafah, Ch. |
| 38. Gaza | (xv.) Gaza (Josh. xv. 47)* | Ghuzzeh, Ch. |

* The star represents Royal cities.

PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA, FROM THE RECORDS OF EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

See map. A 140 I.

A VERY important contribution to our knowledge of the topography of Palestine was made last autumn in the publication of the Geographical Lists of the Temple at Karnak by Auguste Mariette Bey.

The lists in question occur on the walls of the pylones of the temple lately excavated, and record the victories of King Thothmes III., in the countries of Upper Ruten, of Kush, and of Pun. The geographical names are inscribed in hieroglyphics on small tablets attached to the necks of figures representing captives from the various towns. The value of the list in the case of the Upper Ruten district is also greatly increased by the fact that it is thrice repeated on different parts of the building; thus Mariette Bey has been able to give variations unknown to M. Rougé in treating only of one list in his "Etude sur divers monuments du Regne de Thouthmés III.," published in the "Revue Archéologique," November, 1861, p. 346.

Other points which render these monuments of the highest value are at once apparent. In the hieroglyphic we have the original text as inscribed at that remote period by the hand probably of a contemporary historian, and unchanged by errors of the copyist or translator. By the separation of each name on a tablet hung to the captive's neck, we have a division made between each which obviates all chance of error in the cutting of one name into two, or the running of two names into one, which often causes so much confusion in the written Hebrew lists of the