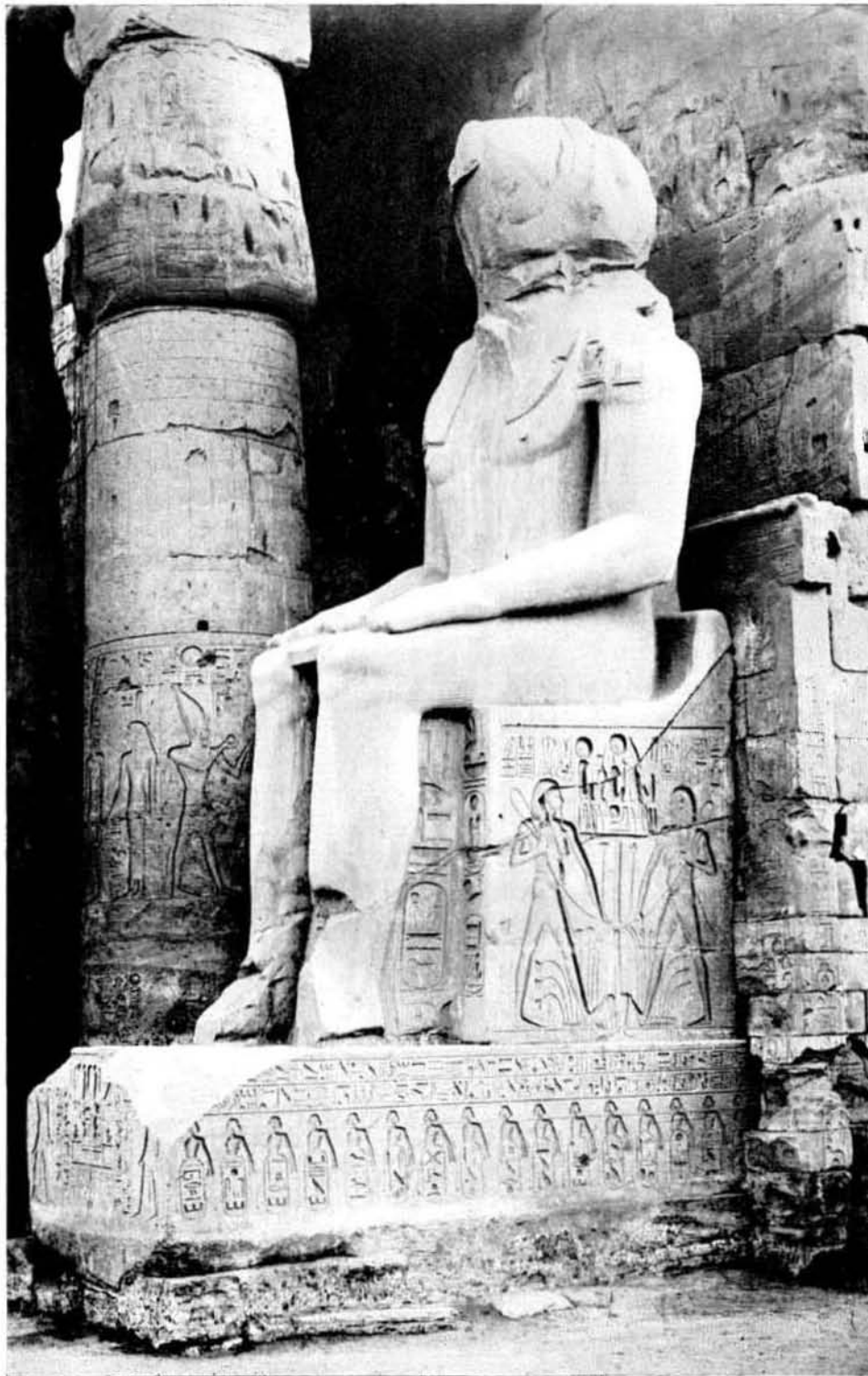


*John H. Johnson*

HANDBOOK FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN  
TOPOGRAPHICAL LISTS RELATING TO WESTERN ASIA



COLOSSAL STATUE OF RAMSES II WITH TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST ON BASE (LUXOR)

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HANDBOOK  
FOR THE STUDY OF  
EGYPTIAN TOPOGRAPHICAL LISTS  
RELATING TO WESTERN ASIA

BY

DR. J. SIMONS S.J.

WITH FRONTISPIECE, 6 FIGURES, 23 PLANS, AND 36 DIAGRAMS



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1937

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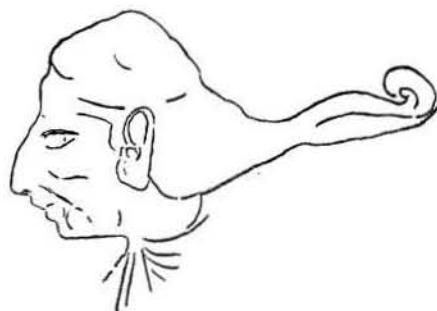
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# Conspectus of Lists, Plans and Diagrams


DYN.	PHARAOH	LIST	PLAN	DIAGRAM	PLACE
XVIII	Thutmes III	I, a	I	I	Karnak, Great Temple of Amon
"	"	I, b	II	II	" " " " "
"	"	I, c	II	III	" " " " "
"	"	II	III	IV	" " " " "
"	"	III	IV	V	" " " " "
"	"	IV	IV	VI	" " " " "
"	"	V	V	VII	" " " " "
"	Amenhotep II	VI	VI	VIII	" " " " "
"	"	VII	VI	IX	" " " " "
"	Thutmes IV	VIII	---	X	Valley of Kings, tomb 43; now Cairo Museum
"	Amenhotep III	IX	VII	XI	Soleb, Temple of Amon
"	"	X	---	---	Karnak, Great Temple of Amon
XIX	Haremheb	XI	VIII	XII	" " " " "
"	"	XII	VIII	XIII	" " " " "
"	Seti I	XIII	IX	XIV	" " " " "
"	"	XIV	IX	XV	" " " " "
"	"	XV	X	XVI	El Qurneh, Temple of Seti I
"	"	XVI	XI	XVII	Abydos, Temple of Seti I
"	"	XVII	XII	XVIII	Rock-Temple of Wadi Abbâd
"	"	XVIII	XIII	XIX	Sesebi, Temple of Amenhotep IV, usurped by Seti I
"	Ramses II	XIX	XIV	XX	Thebes, Ramesseum
"	"	XX	XV	XXI	Luxor
"	"	XXI	XV	XXII	"
"	"	XXII	XV	XXIII	"
"	"	XXIII	XVI	XXIV	Karnak, Great Temple of Amon
"	"	XXIV	XVI	XXV	" " " " "
"	"	XXV	XVII	XXVI	Abydos, Temple of Ramses II
"	"	XXVI	---	XXVII	Bubastis; now British and Cairo Museum.
XX	Ramses III	XXVII	XVIII	XXVIII	Medinet Habu, Great Temple
"	"	XXVIII	XVIII	XXIX	" " " "
"	"	XXIX	XVIII	XXX	" " " "
"	"	XXX	XVIII	XXXI	" " " "
"	"	XXXI	XIX	XXXII	Medinet Habu, Pavilion
"	"	XXXII	XX	XXXIII	Karnak, Ramses III's Temple of Amon
"	"	XXXIII	XX	XXXIV	" " " " "
XXII	Shoshenq I	XXXIV	XXI	XXXV	Karnak, Great Temple of Amon
"	"	XXXV	XXII	---	El Hibeh, Temple of Amon; now lost
XXV	Taharqa	XXXVI	---	XXXVI	Karnak, Temple of Mut; now Cairo Museum

PLAN XXIII (Appendix II: p. 189): Karnak, Great Temple of Amon.





## PREFACE

 *Whatever may have been the amount of work and patience involved in the composition of this book its aim is a modest one. It is merely intended to be a practical Handbook in which those engaged in the study of the topography of ancient Western Asia will find all Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to this part of the ancient world, together with a general description of these lists and the necessary bibliographical information.*

*All scholars are well aware of the importance of the Egyptian Topographical Lists from Thutmes III onwards for the study of Oriental topography. The present interest of these fairly numerous documents is greatly augmented by their direct bearing on so important a branch of modern learning as Biblical topography.*

*More than once, however, scholars have complained that so far no handy and uniform edition of all such lists has been undertaken. This may explain why most historians, not a few Egyptologists among them, usually ignore all but the most important of these documents. There exists, moreover, a discouraging amount of vagueness and confusion in the quoting of these lists, due to slightly or entirely different systems of numbering and to the imperfect state of preservation which has been the fate of nearly all topographical reliefs and inscriptions. Lastly, the bibliographical information necessary for an easy use of all such lists has never been collected and few libraries possess all the volumes through which reproductions, descriptions, and other studies on these documents are scattered.*

*The present Handbook may perhaps be of some use to overcome these practical difficulties which hitherto have prevented many students of Biblical and Oriental topography from making full use of all Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia.*

*The arrangement of the book, the sources from which its chapters and sections have been drawn, and the way in which it is intended to be used, are sufficiently explained, I believe, in the book*

*itself. It only remains, therefore, to fulfil the pleasant duty of acknowledging the help and encouragement I have received from many friends, some of whom deserve to be mentioned by name.*

*I offer my sincere thanks to Miss A. M. Calverley for her unpublished photographs of a list of Seti I in the temple of Abydos and for allowing me to copy from her great work the plan of this temple; to Mrs. F. Ll. Griffith of Boar's Hill, Oxford, for the hospitality I enjoyed during a great part of my work in her magnificent library without which the publication of this book could only have been achieved at a considerably later date; to Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss for much kind advice, for the permission she gave me to use a number of plans from her Topographical Bibliography, and also for allowing me to consult the manuscript of the unpublished volumes V and VI of that admirable work; to Dr. H. W. Müller and other members of the staff of the Ägyptische Abteilung der staatlichen Museen at Berlin for the use of their library and especially for allowing me to examine their valuable collection of unpublished photographs; to Harold H. Nelson and the staff of the Chicago House at Luxor for a number of photographs kindly taken at my request; to all others from whose works with their generous permission I have borrowed plans and illustrations and whose names I have taken care to mention on the respective pages of this book; and also to those of my friends who most charitably undertook to correct my English text.*

*I may be allowed to thank in a special way Mr. Th. Folkers, Director of the firm of Oriental Publishers v. E. J. Brill at Leyden, for taking up the publication of this book in spite of the financial difficulties with which scholars all over the world are pressed in present times. The excellent production of the book highly testifies to the skill of his staff. Last but not least I have to thank the Board of the Oriental Society of the Netherlands for a generous contribution towards the cost of publication.*

*Campion Hall, Oxford  
March 12th 1937*

J. SIMONS

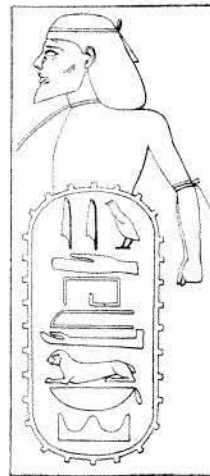
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<sup>1</sup> See also: *Prelim. Remark*, J. (pp. 21 ff.).

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## Abbreviations

Bibl. Eg.	=	Bibliothèque Egyptologique.
Bull. IFAO	=	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale au Caire.
C. R. Acad. Inscr. et B-L	=	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Fremdv. Exp.	=	Ed. Meyer, Bericht über eine Expedition, etc.
Qu. Stat. PEF	=	Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
Rec. de trav.	=	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
Rev. Arch., N.S.	=	Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série.
Trans. Vict. Inst.	=	Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.
Z. äg. Spr.	=	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
AJSL	=	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AR	=	Ancient Records of Egypt (Breasted).
ASAE	=	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
DNG	=	Dictionnaire des noms géographiques (Gauthier).
FHG	=	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (Müller).
JAOS	=	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JEA	=	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JPOS	=	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
KB	=	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Leipzig 1889 ff.)
Kn.	=	J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, etc. 2 Teile (Leipzig 1915).
LD	=	Lepsius, Denkmäler, etc.
LD, Text	=	Lepsius-Naville, Denkmäler, etc. Text.
Mél. Masp.	=	Mélanges Maspero, I (Paris 1934).
MVAG	=	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
OIC	=	Oriental Institute Communications (Chicago).
OIP	=	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago).
OLZ	=	Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
P-M	=	Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, etc.
ZDPV	=	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZDMG	=	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
det.	=	determinative.
coll.	=	collato.
cp.	=	compare.
Prel. Rem.	=	Preliminary Remarks.
reg. nr.	=	registration-number.
Var.	=	variant reading.

N.B. In the following pages Roman figures indicate the numbers of the Topographical Lists according to their sequence in this book. Arabic figures are used for the individual names within these lists (e.g., I/7 = n. 7 of list I).

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS





## A. DESCRIPTION AND DELIMITATION OF THE SUBJECT

The topographical materials of ancient Western Asia embodied and preserved in Egyptian literature<sup>1</sup> may conveniently be divided into two categories:

I. The first category, which as regards quantity of topographical names is easily the more important one, comprises the so-called Topographical Lists. These are mainly in the form of relief-inscriptions on the walls of the temples (Luxor, Karnak, Medinet Habu, Abydos, etc.), while a smaller number of relatively less important lists are engraved on the bases of statues and colossi or on the lower parts of column-shafts. Somewhat different from both these groups and unique in its exterior form, although topographically of small account, are the short lists of names on the body of Thutmes IV's triumphal chariot (see p. 46 f.)<sup>2</sup>.

II. The second category, covering all other texts, may be subdivided into two groups of epigraphically different character:

a) Group A are all monumental texts, other than the Topographical Lists, containing topographical materials. To this group belong such texts as the annals of Thutmes III at Karnak, the reliefs representing Syro-Palestinian fortresses or various phases and incidents of Egyptian campaigns in the North, a number of historical texts and hymns of victory engraved either on the temple-walls or on stelae, and finally a small number of decorative texts on the walls of tombs. The ostraca-texts of the XIth dynasty published by K. Sethe<sup>3</sup> and containing the oldest topographical material of Western Asia which has so far come to light, may in some sense be regarded as an intermediate form between such monumental texts and the literary texts of Group B.

b) Group B are the literary texts written on papyri in so far as they contain any topographical materials (Sinuhe, Wenamon, pap. Anastasi, etc.). Although the amount of topographical information conveyed by the texts of this group cannot be compared to that from the monumental texts, they derive

a special importance for the subject from the greater facility with which topographical names mentioned in a literary context can be identified.

My ultimate intention is to collect the entire mass of topographical names contained in both categories of texts just described, in so far as they relate to the countries situated north of Egypt, the principal territory of Egyptian travel, commercial influence and colonial expansion. Although the original purpose of the present work was only to collect materials for Biblical or Palestinian topography, various considerations have induced me to expand it beyond such narrow limits and to present the entire quantity of northern topographical names preserved in Egyptian literature.

The main reason for this change is to be found in the fact that the texts themselves seemed to call for such a widening of my purpose. Many texts indeed, above all the Topographical Lists, preserve promiscuously the names of places, towns and regions of all northern countries, not excluding the more important islands of the "Great Sea". Any collection of documents relating to Palestinian topography would therefore practically involve the same amount of research and require the same amount of space as does the seemingly more ambitious scheme which covers the whole of Western Asia known to ancient Egyptians. Much the same is true of all publications and studies dealing with these documents and enumerated in the respective paragraphs of the descriptive part of this book.

Another consideration seemed even to exclude the practical feasibility of my original limited plan. It is well known that the greater part of the topographical material contained in Egyptian texts of all kinds, especially again that which is being preserved in the Topographical Lists, has so far resisted all attempts at definite localization or identification. For many names not even a plausible suggestion can be made. Any attempt to distinguish throughout these docu-

<sup>1</sup> The term is used here and in the following pages in its widest sense of relief-inscriptions, papyri-texts, ostraca.

<sup>2</sup> For further description of these various "types" of Topographical Lists, see Prel. Rem., B: pp. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Ächtung der feindlichen Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin 1926 (*Abh. Preuss. Akad.*, Ph.-H. Kl., 1926, n. 5).

ments the part belonging to Palestinian topography from what belongs to more northern countries seems therefore from the beginning unpractical, not to say impossible.

The present volume contains only one part of the literature specified above, viz. the Topographical Lists. This is undoubtedly the richest source for our knowledge of ancient Asiatic topography, although apart from the most important lists it is also the lesser known. It is the author's hope to be able in course of time to follow up the present volume with another one dealing on similar lines with the remainder of the materials <sup>1</sup>.

The historical delimitation of the documents described and reproduced in the present volume creates no great problems.

No one acquainted with the history of Ancient Egypt will be surprised by the fact that the earliest Topographical Lists relating to northern countries date only from the XVIIIth dynasty, the high tide of Egyptian expansion into Western Asia and the beginning of the Egyptian empire. It is significant that the long series of thirty-six lists is headed by Thutmes III's famous documents in the temple of Karnak, both historically and topographically easily the most valuable of all similar lists.

Some difficulty might exist in finding a convenient *terminus ad quem*. Many scholars seem to attach importance only to the great lists of Thutmes III just mentioned, considering the others as deprived of all originality and consequently of all value for topographical information. All or most of them look especially upon the long list in which Shoshenq I

celebrates the conquests of his Palestinian campaign (see pp. 89 ff.) as upon a document not worthy of serious consideration. *As far as topography is concerned*, I have, however, no doubt about the soundness of a somewhat different opinion. Many of the Topographical Lists of the XIXth and XXth dynasty Pharaohs (Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III) must not be left aside and even the most despised list of the founder of the Libyan dynasty cannot be neglected without great loss of valuable information. A glance at the *Index of Names* at the end of this book will suffice to show how many topographical names have been preserved only in these later lists. Some of them actually owe their survival to what at first sight seems to be the most futile class of decorative lists, such as those engraved on the bases of the great statues which Ramses II erected in and around the temple of Luxor (see pp. 70 f.). Even those lists, which clearly stand in some genealogical relation to one or more of their predecessors, always prove on close and detailed examination to contain some material of their own <sup>2</sup>. Nor is their lack of originality in other sections always without value to us, since more than once later copies allow the recovery of lost or badly damaged portions of older lists <sup>3</sup>.

Of no importance, however, for our knowledge of ancient Asiatic topography are the lists of Ptolemaic and Roman times, partly on account of their late date, partly also because of their merely decorative nature without even the possibility of a historical background. For this reason I have chosen the end of the Dynastic Period as the *terminus ad quem* of the present collection of Topographical Lists <sup>4</sup>.

Within the limits thus described I have endeavoured

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of convenience and uniformity I may be allowed to suggest that in quoting the present volume it should be referred to under the initials E.T.L. (= Egyptian Topographical Lists), while the initials E.T.T. (= Egyptian Topographical Texts) are being reserved for the future volume.

<sup>2</sup> As a striking example of the current opinion on the value of Topographical Lists later than those of Thutmes III, I may quote a statement by a German scholar qualifying all such documents as "*aus altem Material wahllos zusammengestellten Listen*" (*Klio* 17 1921 p. 233). Close comparison and detailed inspection of the lists of Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III, and Shoshenq I show that this greatly overstates the second-hand character of these lists.

<sup>3</sup> A conspicuous example of this fact is provided by the great Asiatic list of Ramses III on the front of the temple at Medinet Habu, the first part of which is original (about 70 names), while the latter part allows the filling up of the gaps in a very poorly preserved Karnak-list of Ramses II (see pp. 73 and 80). Several other and less known cases of this kind are recorded in this book.

<sup>4</sup> The last list described and reproduced in this book actually is from the reign of Taharqa but this is not more than a rough copy of a list of Haremheb (see p. 103).

to present the material as completely as possible, including therefore also those lists, of which only fragments have survived and which are rarely considered or quoted by any student of Oriental topography<sup>1</sup>. Only fragments or short lists which are entirely made up of ethnological names, have been

left aside as not falling under the scope of the present work. Wherever such names occur among ordinary topographical names, I have regularly included them in my autographed reproduction of the respective list for their own interest as well as to present the full contents of the lists<sup>2</sup>.

## B. VARIOUS TYPES OF TOPOGRAPHICAL LISTS

As documents of an essentially decorative nature the Egyptian Topographical Lists may be divided into five types or models. The first of these, however, is more often represented than all others together, besides being more important as a source of topographical information.

I. This most common type of topographical list (see fig. 1)<sup>3</sup> is engraved on the walls of temples, usually on the front of the great pylons but not infrequently also on the exterior of the outside walls<sup>4</sup>. This topographical list forms part of a relief, the main or central scene of which represents the king slaying his captured enemies before his patron-god (Amon, Ptah, Horus) after the return of his army from a successful campaign in foreign countries. The king is seen holding with one hand a batch of enemy chiefs or princes by the hair, while the other hand swinging the axe or mace is held up ready to fall down upon

the heads of the prisoners who vainly with outstretched arms implore his mercy. At the same

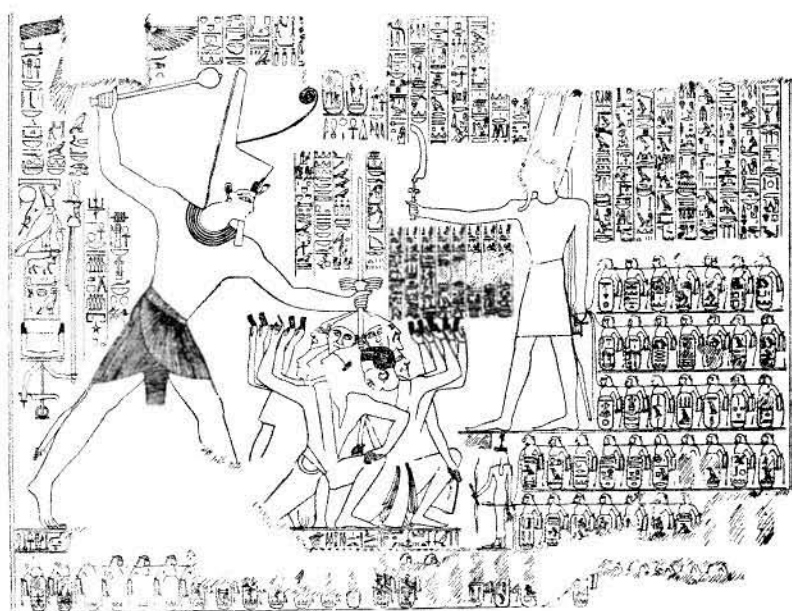


Fig. 1.

time the god standing opposite the king presents to the latter the Khopesh-sword.

<sup>1</sup> I have actually described a relief-scene and list (XXXV) of Shoshenq I once existing in his temple of El Hibeh but now entirely destroyed. References to other entirely destroyed lists the Asiatic character of which is sometimes less certain, will be found in the *Introductory Notes* at the beginning of each chapter. See further "*Addendum*" (pp. 190 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> An exception has been made for the names of the "peoples of the Nine Bows", which in the period of the New Kingdom are not more than worn-out relics of a long-past age, and, however frequently repeated in the Topographical Lists, are of no interest for the purpose of detailed historical topography.

No distinction has been made in this book between topographical and geographical names (towns or places and regions or countries), which in practically every list are recorded promiscuously. In many cases names apparently geographical are in reality the names of city-states.

<sup>3</sup> The example is a list of Seti I at Karnak (list XIII), reproduced from Wreszinski's drawing (*Atlas*, II pl. 53, a).

<sup>4</sup> The only case I know in which this type of relief and topographical list is found on the *interior* of an outside temple-wall, is at Abydos (list XXV).



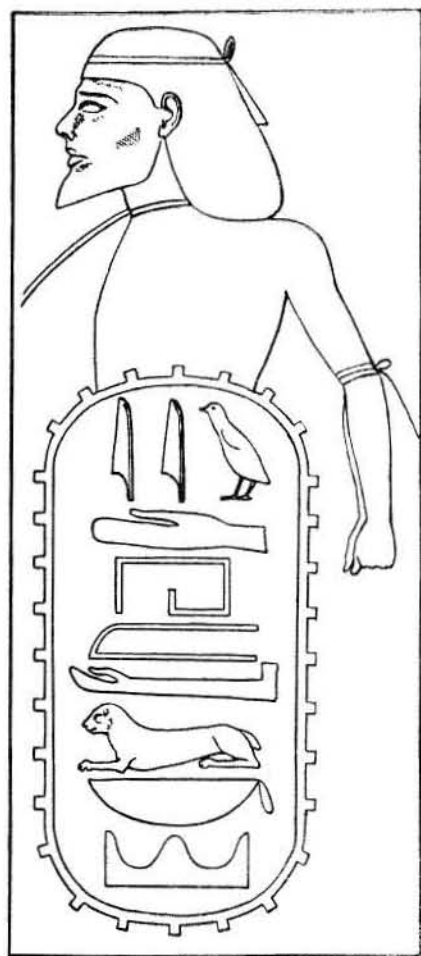


Fig. 2.

This scene is usually accompanied by a small number of vertical lines of text celebrating the might and glory of the king, all-powerful over his enemies through the assistance of his god. The text sometimes takes the form of an address by the god to the king <sup>1</sup>.

The enumeration of conquered towns and places symbolized by the group of bound chiefs who are about to be slain by the victorious Pharaoh, occupies the remainder of the relief, especially the part of the wall below the scene just described, but in greater lists it also fills the space behind the god's figure. Invariably the list is given in the form of a series of oval rings symbolizing the city-walls of the conquered places, the names of which they contain. Above the oval name-rings we see the stereotyped figures (head and shoulders with arms bound behind) of the foreign chief or prince whose city is mentioned <sup>2</sup>. These captive figures always face the direction opposite to that of the hieroglyphic writing. The example reproduced in fig. 2, which is representative of the whole series, is taken <sup>3</sup> from the great list of Shoshenq I at Karnak (XXXIV/29) and shows what is probably the most famous name and figure on these reliefs (cp. pp. 95 f.).

This very often repeated type of relief-scene with topographical list occurs in all periods in which lists of conquered towns have been

<sup>1</sup> A translation of some good examples of this kind of text, which for the purpose of topographical research is without any interest, may be seen in Edgerton-Wilson's edition of the Medinet Habu inscriptions: *Historical Records of Ramses III. The Texts in Medinet Habu: Volumes I and II* (Chicago 1936), pp. 106 and 111. Both lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu have two additional horizontal lines of text in large characters under the topographical lists. They contain a number of titles of the king and celebrate his high qualities.

For the horizontal line of text which separates relief-scenes of this kind from the topographical list proper, see pp. 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> As is well known, it is possible to distinguish a good many different types of foreigners thus represented on the topographical reliefs (cp. e. g., Flinders Petrie *Racial Photographs from the Ancient Egyptian Pictures and Sculptures* (British Association 1887). Usually only one or two of them are to be seen on the same relief. For the purpose of the identification of the place-names inscribed in their respective name-rings, however, the distinction between these various types of foreigners is utterly useless. Even where more than one racial type is represented on the same relief, their distribution over the topographical list appears to be entirely meaningless, as for instance in the great lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu where Semitic and Hittite figures follow one another in strict alternation. One of these lists (XXVIII) is moreover mainly African, although precisely in this list not a single African figure is to be seen. On the other hand, it is remarkable that on the extreme left of the corresponding Asiatic list (XXVII) where six African names have been added to fill the remaining space, care has been taken to represent their chiefs or princes as entirely different and evidently Negro types.

Apart from the Ramses-lists at Medinet Habu the distinction between Asiatic (either Semitic or Hittite) and African types has generally been maintained, but beyond this hardly anything can be said. An exception must be made for the types represented in list XXXI (see pp. 85 f.), which are all distinctly different. In reality this list is perhaps more ethnological than topographical or geographical, but as it contains some names also mentioned in the ordinary lists and as the determinative of the foreign countries (𓂏) is always added after the names, it has been included in this book.

<sup>3</sup> From Rosellini *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 148.

engraved on the Egyptian temple-walls for the glory of the Pharaoh. Nearly every one of the great Pharaohs, whose reign falls between the beginning of the New Kingdom and the end of the Dynastic Period, is represented in the present collection by one or more specimens.

Frequently these reliefs occur in pairs symmetrically placed either on the front of both towers of a great pylon or on each side of a doorway leading into the interior of some part, hypostyle or court, of the temple-buildings, or again, as in Ramses II's temple at Abydos, on opposite but symmetrical walls in the interior of the temple itself. The earliest specimens of double pylon-reliefs with topographical lists are those of Thutmes III on the four faces of the VIIth pylon at Karnak (two Asiatic and two African lists), but the relief-scenes of Ramses III on the front of the great pylon at Medinet Habu are more complete and better preserved examples. The lists of Seti I and Ramses II on the outside walls of the great Karnak-hypostyle may be quoted as examples of symmetrically placed lists on the left and right of a side-entrance. It may be observed that in the case of lists on both towers of a pylon it has been the general practice to devote one to the Asiatic and one to the African conquests of the Pharaoh<sup>1</sup>.

In spite of the general similarity of all reliefs of this kind every one of them presents some peculiarities in minor details. Of these the most noteworthy is the addition of a second divine figure, usually a goddess, behind or below the larger figure of the

main god (see p. 5, fig. 1). In the great reliefs of Ramses III at Medinet Habu alone this secondary figure has been relegated to the topographical lists, where it fills the space normally occupied by the first name-rings (cp. p. 82, 1<sup>o</sup>).

Although the earliest examples of this type of

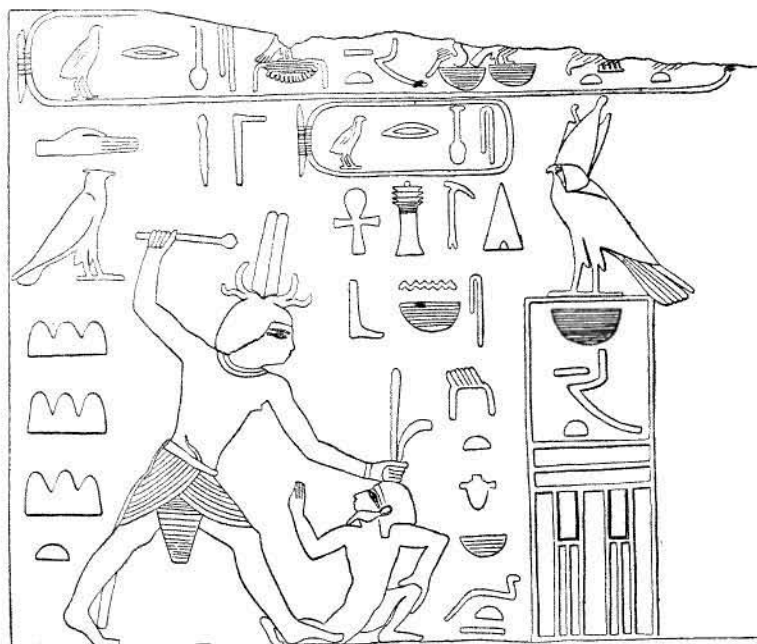


Fig. 3.

relief recorded in the present work date only from the 15th century B.C., it can in no way be considered as an invention of the great Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty. Such reliefs with lists of foreign conquests<sup>2</sup> are undoubtedly a development of a much older and simpler scene which merely represents the slaying of a small group or of a single enemy by the Pharaoh. This motif of decoration occurs as early as the Ist dynasty on the *verso* of the slate palette of Narmer<sup>3</sup>. As a *mural relief*, its

<sup>1</sup> More than once the relief-scenes, which naturally occupy the higher part of the walls, have entirely or almost entirely disappeared, while some part of the topographical list remains; but in no case do any of the longer lists on the pylon-fronts seem to have been originally without the ordinary relief-scene (cp. below: p. 29 n. 3; p. 31 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> The first detailed enumeration of conquered towns and places in the ordinary form of a series of name-rings is, as far as I can gather, that of Sesostri I (XIIth dynasty), but the relief surmounting this list has in reality more affinity with that of Type III (see further: p. 9, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> This palette has often been reproduced. See for instance G. Steindorff *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig 1928), p. 192. It is also commonly used for illustrating one of the earliest stages of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. See A. Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford 1927), p. 7 and K. Sethe *Das hieroglyphische Schriftsystem* (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, Heft 3, 1935), p. 11.

earliest examples seem to be the equally well-known reliefs from Sinai, e.g., those of king Snefru (IIIrd dynasty) at least one of which is now preserved in the museum at Cairo (fig. 3) <sup>1</sup>.

On these primitive relief-scenes the detailed enumeration of the Pharaoh's conquests which in later times tends to occupy rather the greater half of the wall-space, is still lacking and his victories over foreign enemies are merely indicated by a vague and general formula, as on the Snefru-relief at Cairo by the king's title "*Smiter of the foreign countries*".

It would exceed the scope of this handbook of Topographical Lists to enter into a more detailed investigation of the various stages through which the simple representation of the Narmer-palette and the Sinai-reliefs may have developed into the sometimes very extensive reliefs accompanied by long lists of conquered towns and places, which begin to appear so abundantly from the foundation of the Egyptian empire. The subject, I believe, has never been studied with great detail, but some further materials for comparison may be gathered from L. Borchardt's description in his work *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig 1907), p. 87 and from J. Lamme's dissertation *Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk zu Karnak* (Bonn 1907), pp. 19-20. More fundamental, however, is the discussion on the subject by W. Wreszinski in his *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, II pl. 184, a <sup>2</sup>.

It may be added that a plain form of this type of relief-scene approaching the simplicity of the primitive examples continues to exist side by side with the more elaborate reliefs which from the time of Thutmes III onwards enjoyed such a great popularity. Two such reliefs have been left by Amenhotep II on the south face of the VIIIth pylon at Karnak <sup>3</sup>. Still simpler forms, in which no divine figure appears but only the king with one or a small number of captives, exist from the time of Ramses II in the temple of Bet el Wali <sup>4</sup> and in the temple of Ed-Derr <sup>5</sup>. Examples of Ramses III have been preserved at Medinet Habu <sup>6</sup> and of Shoshenq in his temple at El Hibehe <sup>7</sup>.

These later reliefs of a simpler form usually have no topographical list but merely some general praise of the Pharaoh as conqueror of his enemies. A few exceptions, however, exist in which a short enumeration in one single row of name-rings has been added below the relief-scene. The only case in which this list is Asiatic, appears to be one of the Abydos-reliefs of Ramses II (list XXV) <sup>8</sup>.

II. A type of topographical list which is only slightly different from the one described above, is seen on both sides of the front of the "Pavilion" at Medinet Habu. Here the list on the right (east) of the doorway contains the names of northern lands and peoples, while the list on the other side enumer-

<sup>1</sup> From Gardiner-Peet *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London 1917), pl. I. For some description and details about these reliefs see e.g., R. Weill *Recueil des Inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinai* (Paris 1924). The example reproduced in fig. 3 is described by Weill on p. 103 without reproduction; a second one is described and reproduced on pp. 104-105.

<sup>2</sup> The last mentioned author tries to establish a distinction between two original types of similar triumphal reliefs, one of which was intended to represent the Pharaoh's combat with his chief enemy ("*Zweikampf*") according to the primitive custom of warfare, while the other and slightly later type depicts the ritual slaughter of the enemies ("*Siegesfeier*") which afterwards developed into the elaborate relief-scene with a detailed list of conquests. The former category is first represented by the ivory tablet of king Usaphais of the I<sup>st</sup> dynasty, the latter by the scene on the *verso* of the Narmer-palette. Another example of the "*Zweikampf*", not mentioned by Wreszinski but also from the I<sup>st</sup> dynasty, would be the relief of king Semerkhet (see R. Weill *o.c.*, p. 96).

<sup>3</sup> That on the western tower is reproduced in LD, III Bl. 61.

<sup>4</sup> See Wreszinski *Bericht*, etc. p. [71] = 89, with two reproductions on pl. 57.

<sup>5</sup> See A. M. Blackman *The temple of Derr* (Cairo 1913), pl. VI. VII, 1. IX. X.

<sup>6</sup> See "The Epigraphic Survey" *Medinet Habu*, II pls. 120. 121. 122.

<sup>7</sup> See H. Ranke *Koptische Friedhöfe*, etc. p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> The destroyed reliefs of lists III and IV may have been of the same kind. — The smaller relief-scenes of Ramses III between the great topographical lists on the front of the main pylon at Medinet Habu, preserve all the essential features of the larger ones (figure of god, and name-rings below the relief-scene as well as behind the god's figure).

ates enemies from southern countries. The relief-scenes above these lists are entirely identical with those of Type I, but the lists themselves, instead of taking the usual form of oval name-rings, are engraved in vertical columns containing the names of enemies whose kneeling and fettered figures are represented in full size between the name-columns. An example of one bound enemy with his name ("The wretched Great One of Amor") written in front of him is reproduced in fig. 4<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 4.

III. Less similar to those of Type I are the reliefs of Type III. In contrast to Type II, the list of foreign conquests here takes the ordinary form of oval name-rings identical with that of Type I (and also with that of the following Type IV), while the relief-scene above it represents not the slaying of the enemies but the scene normally preceding that concluding incident of the Pharaoh's war and victory, namely the king leading and presenting his prisoners to the god or, as at Medinet Habu, to the Theban Triad (fig. 5)<sup>2</sup>.

In most cases this often repeated scene is given without a detailed enumeration of the conquered enemies. Asiatic topographical lists have been added

below this relief-scene only in two examples<sup>3</sup>, one of which is the aforementioned list of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (list XXX), while the other is, apart from a very small fragment (list VII), the

only preserved topographical list of Amenhotep II (list VI)<sup>4</sup>.

IV. A much simpler form of topographical list which is almost as frequently found as that

<sup>1</sup> From A. M. Blackman *Das hundert-torige Theben* (Leipzig 1926), p. 83 Abb. 25. The example is n. 2 of list XXXI at Medinet Habu. — Similar series of kneeling and fettered captives have been preserved in other places, e.g., on the bases of the great colossi at Abu Simbel, but without any names (see the reproduction of the Abu Simbel reliefs in *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, by A. E. P. Weigall (Oxford 1907), pl. 73, 1). The captive figure itself is well-known in hieroglyphic writing where it often has the function of a determinative (A, 13 in Gardiner's Sign-list).

On the horizontal line of text between the relief-scene and the topographical list see pp. 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> From "The Epigraphic Survey" *Medinet Habu*, I pl. 43. — The origin and development of this scene have been studied by R. Anthes in *Z. äg. Spr.*, 65 1930 pp. 26—35. — Very similar to this scene is that of the Sesostri-relief already mentioned (p. 7 n. 2). Here, however, it is the god ("Mentu, lord of Thebes") who leads and presents the captives to the king. Another difference is that the captives are represented only by the figures surmounting their name-rings. It is also not a mural relief but engraved on a sandstone stele. For a reproduction of the Sesostri-relief see Rosellini *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 25, 4; for description and text: W. Berend *Principaux monuments du Musée Egyptien de Florence* (Paris 1882), pp. 51. 52. The list is African.

<sup>3</sup> See, however, below: p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> On the horizontal line of text between the scene of the presentation of the enemies and their list of names see pp. 11 f.



of Type I, occurs on the bases of colossi and statues placed along the walls of the temple-courts<sup>1</sup>. The best known examples of such lists are those of

oval name-rings with figures of captive chiefs (see Frontispiece).

To the same group belong the lists which have in a few cases been engraved on the lower part of column-shafts, but of these only some fragments have been preserved (lists IX and XVIII). Entirely identical with this type of list is that of Seti I at Abydos on the door-thicknesses of the entrance to the last of the seven chapels (list XVI). Finally, the longest list of this category is that of the same Pharaoh on the base of a sphinx in his mortuary temple at El Qurneh (list XV) which contains not less than 43 name-rings, remarkably well preserved in spite of the fact that only the base of the sphinx remains and even the pylon against which it was originally placed, has disappeared.

With the exception of the list at Qurneh this type of list, though very frequent, is topographically of minor importance, the name-rings being usually inscribed with extracts from the longer lists on mural reliefs. Some of them, however, preserve a few names not found in any of these more important lists<sup>2</sup>.

V. This last type of topographical list is entirely different from all others and represented in this book by only one example (list XIX). It is in the form of a large

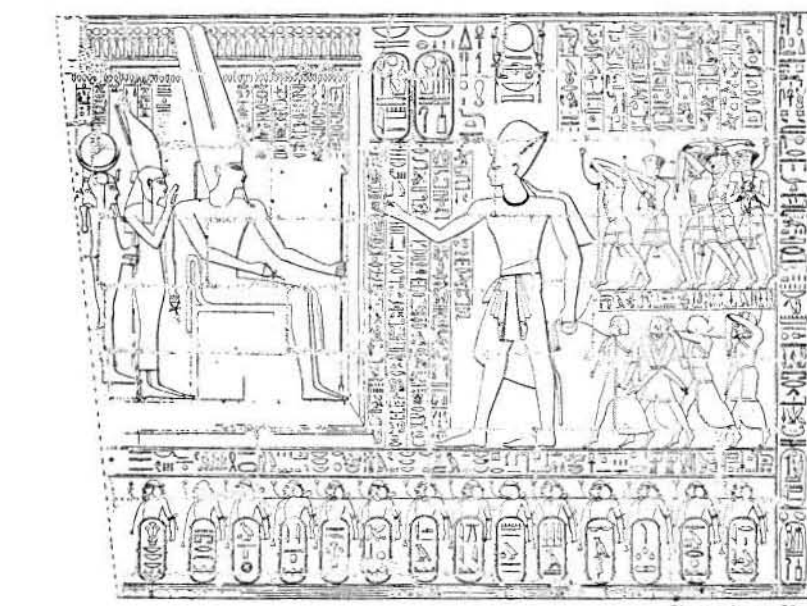


Fig. 5.

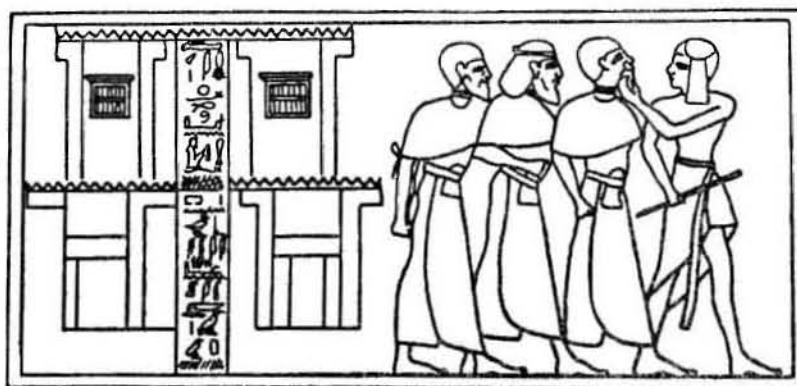


Fig. 6.

Ramses II in the temple of Luxor (list XXII). Lists of this type are never accompanied by a relief-scene and merely consist of a number of the ordinary relief in the Ramesseum at Thebes. Originally it may have consisted of eighteen scenes distributed over six horizontal registers. Fifteen scenes which apart

<sup>1</sup> Essentially of the same type is the list of Taharqa engraved on the base of a small statue, originally circa 50 cm high (see p. 103).

<sup>2</sup> On the horizontal line or lines of text usually engraved above the series of name-rings, see below: pp. 11 f.



from small and irrelevant details are identical, have been preserved, all of them intact except two on the highest part of the wall. Each scene (see fig. 6)<sup>1</sup> represents a Palestinian fortress from which the inhabitants or some of its chiefs are being marched out by the victorious army of the Pharaoh symbolized by an Egyptian prince. The name of the captured town is uniformly engraved on the fortress itself and described as "*captured by His Majesty in the year 8*"<sup>2</sup>.

— — — —

In the preceding description of the various types of Topographical Lists mention has been made of texts accompanying the mural reliefs, but only to say that their contents stand in no very close relation to the lists themselves.

The case is somewhat different for another category of hieroglyphic texts which are found not only on the great mural reliefs but which accompany all Topographical Lists of every type described<sup>3</sup>. These texts consist of one or rarely (list XV) of two horizontal lines placed above the entire length of the lists of Types II, III and IV (see Frontispiece and fig. 5) but only over the lower section of the lists of Type I (see fig. 1). In the singular case of the Ramesseum-list of Type V this text above the name-list has been replaced by a horizontal band of text separating the lower from the higher registers.

In contrast to the texts engraved above and near

the figures of the relief-scenes, the horizontal line or lines over the place-names themselves are to be considered as integral parts of the relief as a topographical document, since they contain the superscription of the list. In view of the possibility that some useful information about the nature or geographical area of the individual lists might be gathered from these superscriptions, I have tried to collect photographic reproductions or hand-written copies of as many of these texts as possible. Apart from a number of cases in which these superscriptions have disappeared or become illegible, I have indeed succeeded in making this collection almost complete for the lists on statues and colossi as well as for those on the temple-walls, and it had been my intention to insert hieroglyphic copies and translations of these texts among the descriptions of the various lists in the first part of this book. Study and comparison of the texts, however, have convinced me that the opinion expressed previously by more than one Egyptologist as to the stereotyped, thoughtless and consequently worthless character of these superscriptions is only too well justified. Hence it would repay neither the space necessary nor the work involved in their reproduction to give effect to this detail of my proposed plan. In fact, it would be difficult to discover, even among Egyptian decorative texts, anything more colourless and more vague than this monotonous repetition of superlative praise of the Pharaoh as the "*conqueror of southern and northern lands*", of "*all plains and hill-countries*"

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from J. Garstang *Joshua and Judges* (London 1931), fig. 5 p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> For the horizontal line of text dividing the three lower from the higher registers, see below: p. 12 n. 2, and the translation on p. 65.

Representations of single foreign fortresses, attacked or captured by the Pharaoh, and with their names inscribed or mentioned in the same or in a similar way, are often seen on the walls of the great temples. These, however, cannot be considered as topographical lists. Somewhat more similar to the Ramesseum-relief, although presented with considerably more variation, are the series of war-scenes and fortresses on the exterior of the outer walls of the great hypostyle at Karnak. Those which represent the various incidents of Seti I's northern campaigns (north wall) might with some reason be considered as forming a topographical list and therefore added to the present collection. As, however, these scenes are given in some chronologically arranged order, rather than in the form of a mere enumeration of place-names, I have decided to classify them with the monumental topographical texts reserved for the future volume (cp. p. 4). With more reason, I could have added to my collection of Topographical Lists the series of war-scenes engraved by Ramses II on the south wall of the Karnak-hypostyle. But since the Seti-scenes could not conveniently be considered as topographical lists, it also seemed preferable to reserve for the same volume the Ramses-scenes, with all other reliefs of fortresses and similar war-scenes (Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu) containing topographical names of Western Asia.

<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions are the lists of Thutmes IV on his triumphal chariot (see p. 46), Seti I's short list at Abydos (see p. 60), and Taharqa's copy of a list of Haremheb (see p. 103).

who "*makes a great slaughter among them of unknown number*", etc. <sup>1</sup>.

For this reason I have in describing the various lists contented myself with inserting a reference to published copies or reproductions of these superscriptions as far as they exist, adding occasionally a few words of their translation. I have, however, made one important exception for the great Karnak-

lists of Thutmes III, because their superscriptions expressly refer to this Pharaoh's Asiatic campaigns, in harmony with the sounder historical character of these first and most important of all Topographical Lists. Nevertheless, the examination even of these superscriptions will show that their guiding value for the study of the great lists is somewhat problematic (see pp. 34 ff.) <sup>2</sup>.

### C. ORDER OF LISTS

As regards the order of the Topographical Lists to be described and reproduced in the following pages, there are, of course, two possibilities: the topographical and the chronological method.

In the former, all lists would be arranged according to the places and the monuments where their originals are to be found, so that lists existing in the same temple are grouped together. This method of arrangement might present a certain advantage to students of the subject wishing to examine on the spot the entire mass of the original inscriptions. Nevertheless, I have preferred to follow the chronological order, grouping together in Chapters and Sections the lists belonging to identical periods (Pharaohs and Dynasties). The reason, why this order has been preferred is the greater facility the chronological method affords in comparing the contents of the succeeding lists and in establishing their genealogical relations. At the same time the chronological order facilitates the examination of every change, development or degeneration in the form of names recorded in more than one list, which in itself as well as for the difficult problem of syllabic orthography is of some value and interest.

In nearly all cases it has proved possible to extract from the lists themselves, from the relief-scenes accompanying them or from the group of reliefs to which a topographical list belongs, the identity of

the Pharaoh who was responsible for its execution. Sufficient information with regard to this point is lacking only for one small fragment described below among the lists of Ramses II (see p. 77) and some doubt may exist about Ramses II's authorship of a list at Karnak (see p. 73 n. 6).

No attempt has been made to present a more detailed chronological distribution of the lists by distinguishing their respective dates within the reign of the individual Pharaohs. In most cases indeed it is quite impossible to attribute documents of this kind to any narrowly circumscribed date and we must be satisfied with establishing the earliest and latest limits of their execution, coinciding with the times of accession and death of the respective Pharaoh. Only in the case of the Ramesseum-list (XIX) the accompanying text mentions the exact date of the campaign to which the list refers (see p. 66), while in a few other cases as the "Palestine-list" of Thutmes III (list I, nn. 1—119), the Karnak-lists of Seti I (lists XIII and XIV) and the great list (XXXIV) of Shoshenq I, sufficient data are available whence to compute with approximate exactitude the year of their execution. The four lists on the great pylon at Medinet Habu date from the second part of Ramses III's reign. The texts below the short lists actually refer to the years 11 and 12 of this Pharaoh's reign.

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the symmetrically placed great Asiatic and (mainly) African lists of Ramses III on both towers of the great pylon at Medinet Habu there is not even a clear reference to the geographically distinct character of these lists.

Both short lists on the same pylon-towers have no superscription but are followed by long texts. In the case of the Asiatic list (XXIX) this is the text of the so-called "Blessing of Ptah", dated from the year 12 of Ramses III. Its contents are of no importance for the study of the topographical list, which is, moreover, only an extract from the longer Asiatic list (XXVII) on the same tower.

<sup>2</sup> Of a different and less stereotyped character is the horizontal band of text on the Ramesseum-relief, a translation of which I have inserted in the description of this list (see p. 65).

The desirability of also having a topographical conspectus of all lists has been met by a special map at the end of the book (Appendix I). Finally, on account of the great number of lists preserved in the

temple of Amon at Karnak which may easily cause confusion, I have also added a comprehensive sketch-plan of this temple (Appendix II).

#### D. DESCRIPTIONS OF LISTS (PART I) AND HIEROGLYPHIC TEXTS (PART II)

In order to present a practical instrument for the study of the Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia I have decided to divide this book into two parts.

The first part contains descriptions of the lists and fragments of lists which the author has been able to collect, amounting to thirty-six in all. The exact position of these inscriptions on the buildings in which they are preserved, is described and shown on a *Plan*, unless, of course, the inscription no longer exists *in situ* but has been transferred to a museum<sup>1</sup>. In this way the descriptive part of the book is intended to provide a time-saving and, it is hoped, reliable guide for those who will in future visit the monuments with the purpose of studying at first hand one or more of the original reliefs and inscriptions. This series of *Plans* may also somewhat reduce the perplexity often experienced in distinguishing between the many reliefs of Type I which are nearly always very similar in form and often partly identical in their contents. For the special purpose of guiding the student through the labyrinth of Topographical Lists which adorn Amon's great temple at Karnak (Asiatic and African lists together number about thirty here) the general plan of the Karnak-temple at the end of the book, already mentioned above, may also be of some assistance.

Following this topographical introduction, the descriptive paragraphs further deal with such questions as the original extent and present form of each list, with its relation (if any) to other lists, and with existing or newly proposed systems of numbering according to which the names of these lists are usually quoted. Problems or aspects which are pecu-

liar to individual lists are usually dealt with in the concluding paragraphs.

An important part of the description of each list is the enumeration of their existing editions and reproductions and of those monographs which deal with their contents or at least with a considerable part of them. A short remark has usually been added as regards their value for the study of the list in question. These bibliographical paragraphs are practically complete; only the least important or most unreliable publications have been left out.

As a rule, merely photographic reproductions are not considered as editions of the Topographical Lists, because with rare exceptions no study of the place-names can be safely based on them. However, on account of their special value for obtaining a general idea of the document and of its internal arrangement, one or more photographic reproductions from the ordinary publications (Wreszinski's *Atlas*, Jéquier's *Arch. et décor.*, "The Epigraphic Survey", etc.) have been mentioned whenever they happen to exist. Photographs of special value, which are as yet unpublished and generally deposited in the archives of well-known museums or institutes, have sometimes also been recorded. In a number of cases in which no published or unpublished but universally accessible photographic reproductions could be traced, mention has been made of those which are in the author's private collection<sup>2</sup>.

The second part of the work presents autographed hieroglyphic copies of all the lists and fragments of lists thus enumerated and described. My copies are based on what in each case may be considered as the most reliable reproduction of the place-names hitherto

<sup>1</sup> This is the case with the list of Thutmes IV on his triumphal chariot (list VIII), both fragments of list XXVI and with the list of Taharqa (XXXVI), the last of the series described in this book. No plan either is given in the description of a small fragment of a list of Amenhotep III (list X) found among the debris in the temple of Karnak (see p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> The value of the present work would, no doubt, have been considerably increased, if it had been possible to include photographic reproductions of at least the less universally known Topographical Lists. Economy as well as consideration of space unfortunately forbade this.



published. Each list is preceded by a *Diagram* and followed by a list of *Transliterations* and critical *Notes*. The method of transliterating the Egyptian forms of the Asiatic place-names has been determined according to the author's standpoint in the problem

of syllabic orthography (see below: Prel. Rem., G). The purpose of the *Diagrams* and of the critical *Notes* as well as some other details regarding this part of the book will be further explained in the introductory pages to Part II.

### E. THE LISTS CONSIDERED AS HISTORICAL AND AS TOPOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS

Several circumstances have contributed to the effect that the Topographical Lists, though constituting a not unimportant category among the monumental inscriptions on Egyptian temple-walls and statues, have up to the present been studied quite inadequately. No doubt, the relatively recent development of topographical research in the countries of Western Asia, especially Palestine, is to be considered as one of its main causes. Another cause may be found in the delapidated condition in which many Topographical Lists have been preserved, a fact which makes the deciphering of such texts in several cases exceedingly difficult, incomplete and provisional. Not a small number of lists have in course of time been reduced to little more than insignificant fragments. Lastly, a serious and forbidding obstacle to the study of the Topographical Lists has always existed and continues to exist in the enigmatical peculiarities of syllabic orthography in which nearly all foreign place-names have been recorded.

The main reason, however, why the Topographical Lists have hitherto attracted a much smaller number of Egyptologists than other temple-reliefs, must be sought for in the unfavourable reputation which these lists possess as *historical* documents. If Thutmes III's famous Karnak-lists have long since enjoyed a great popularity, this very exception is to be explained by the fact that in contrast to all other and later lists, they alone are universally considered as being directly based on actual campaigns in Western Asia and, on the whole, as historically reliable documents.

It can indeed hardly be denied that by far the greater number of Egyptian Topographical Lists deserve little consideration as historical documents. This is true not only for such short lists of a purely decorative nature as those engraved on the socles of statues and on the lower parts of column-shafts but

also for the lists which accompany the relief-scenes on the walls of the great temples. To cite only one very well-known example to illustrate the correctness of this statement, I may point once more to the lists of Ramses III covering the front of the great pylon at Medinet Habu. These boasting lists of conquests are, at least partly, made up of sections and extracts of the Karnak-lists (Asiatic and African) of Thutmes III and Ramses II. Similar relations to earlier lists can be traced in some lists of Seti I, Ramses II and Taharqa (lists XIII, XIV, XXIV, XXXVI). Especially notorious in this respect is the discussion among Biblical scholars concerning the historical value or worthlessness of the long list (XXXIV) of Palestinian towns and places on the south wall of the Karnak-temple, which Shoshenq I claims to have fallen a prey to his invading army (cp. pp. 95 f.). Historical considerations positively tend to discredit Haremheb's list (XI) of northern countries, as the supposed Asiatic expedition of this Pharaoh cannot easily be accounted for in the troubled circumstances of his reign. But even where one or more historically certain Asiatic expeditions might possibly have provided some real basis for a triumphal inscription, it is often open to doubt whether the long lists of conquered places can be considered as a trustworthy account of events.

If, therefore, in the following pages the description of the lists of each Pharaoh is preceded by an *Introductory Note* referring to the annals of Asiatic campaigns or to other documents of similar contents illustrating the career of the respective Pharaoh, it is not my intention to raise his Topographical Lists to the dignity of historically reliable documents, whereby the importance and extent of the Pharaoh's military expeditions may be judged. Such historical notes intend to serve no other purpose than that of providing those students of Biblical and Oriental

topography who may not be quite familiar with Egyptian history, with a general orientation as regards the real, possible or pretended background of the lists.

In reality, the value and reliability of the Topographical Lists as documents of historical events is outside the scope of the present work which considers them only under the aspect of *topographical* information. No doubt, historical trustworthiness and topographical value of these documents cannot be entirely separated from one another, in so far as strict historical reliability would immensely increase their importance and usefulness as sources of topographical knowledge. The mention of any place-name in any of the lists would then guarantee its existence in the respective period and to some extent also the form of the name with which it was designated at the time. Such a use, however, of the Topographical Lists would amount to exaggerating their real value and importance beyond all reasonable limits.

Nevertheless, even without the established or demonstrably possible character of historicity the lists of conquered towns and places retain some very real value as sources of ancient topographical materials. Any topographical name mentioned in these lists, whether the Pharaoh who placed it on his triumphal relief, actually visited and conquered the place or not, adds something to our knowledge of the ancient world, as the place or town it designates must have existed *in some period or another*. There is no reason to suggest that in order to lengthen the lists names have been fabricated by

sheer effort of imagination. This seems even positively improbable in view of the fact that the scribe or sculptor who wished to enhance the glory of his royal master, could always borrow larger quantities of more valuable names from the already existing lists of the XVIIIth dynasty, the riches of which later lists have never exhausted.

It is true, of course, that the mere mention of a name in one or more of the Egyptian Topographical Lists by itself rarely permits the rediscovery of its historical site and hidden ruins. This, however, only shows, that we still have a long way to go in the building up of the map of the ancient world. This must be done by carefully collecting all the material from the different sources. If only sufficient material be at hand, we may still hope that by a detailed and mutual comparison of Egyptian, Accadian, Hittite, Hebrew and other documents with topographical contents many gaps on that map will in course of time be filled. Surface-exploration in "Bible-Lands" is as yet far from complete. Archaeological expeditions continue to discover an ever growing number of new documents, each of which increases the volume of the material to be studied and compared as well as the number of problems to be solved. It is then of the highest importance that at any time all the material so far unearthed should be close at hand and easy to consult for comparison and mutual elucidation. The purpose of the present work is to provide an instrument which may facilitate this kind of research for only one, though important group of texts <sup>1</sup>.

## F. PLANS AND DIAGRAMS

Prescinding from the figures illustrating the various types of Topographical Lists (Prel. Rem., B), the drawings in this book are of two kinds. Those occurring in the descriptive part are a series of

partial or complete *Plans* of the temples. Their purpose has been sufficiently explained above (see p. 13). It has not been thought necessary to bring out on these *Plans* all such details of the complicated

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps superfluous to remind the reader that topographical knowledge is not the only gain to be obtained from these documents. They also may one day be of great assistance in tracing the ethnological elements which have combined to build up the population of the countries concerned, leaving as tangible proofs of their arrival and movements numbers of place-names which by their linguistic forms and peculiarities reflect the racial affinities of their inventors. Rightly A. Alt draws attention to this aspect of all topographical documents in his recent study on *Völker und Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum* (*Der Alte Orient*, 34/4 1936, p. 10). As regards the Topographical Lists I believe that only the smaller part of the place-names they mention, are of Semitic origin. As to whether the majority of the non-Semitic names only belong to early periods, as W. Borée seems to conclude from his investigations (*Ortsnamen*, pp. 123 ff.), I am not prepared to decide.

structures as are not essential for that purpose. The originals from which my *Plans* have been copied or adapted, are mentioned in the *List of Plans* on pp. VII—VIII. Wherever no particular source is mentioned, I have based my drawings on the excellent plans of the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* which Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss has been kind enough to allow me to use.

The second group of drawings are the *Diagrams* preceding the hieroglyphic text of the Topographical Lists reproduced in the second part of this book. The use which can be made of these *Diagrams* will be explained in the introductory pages to Part II. These drawings are mainly based on photographic reproductions, either published or as yet unpublished, of the original reliefs (cp. below, p. 22). Although

rarely allowing a full and reliable reading of the hieroglyphic texts, such photographs always provide a clear idea of the general form of these inscriptions and of their composition. Only in cases where no photographic reproductions could be found and no photograph could be secured, I was obliged to base my drawings on Champollion's, Lepsius', Rosellini's, and Mariette's plates, but in such cases it has proved possible to restore by indirect means certain details of the original reliefs and inscriptions overlooked or neglected by the early Egyptologists and especially to improve the defective or incomplete systems of numbering employed in or derived from their reproductions.

See further Prel. Rem., J, and for the question of numbering the topographical names in the various lists, the introduction to Part II.

## G. SYLLABIC ORTHOGRAPHY. TRANSLITERATIONS

Apart from some exceptions (see below: p. 20 n. 3) I have used throughout this book purely consonantal transliterations of the Egyptian forms of the Asiatic place-names in spite of the fact that nearly all of these are recorded in the Topographical Lists in the so-called "syllabic orthography"<sup>1</sup>. It seems therefore necessary to explain the position taken up by the author in the question as to how far this form of script can be regarded as a system of a vocalized rendering of foreign names and loan-words. This point is also naturally of the highest importance for the purpose of topographical identification.

It is well known that with regard to the origin and the meaning of syllabic orthography (both are intimately connected) there exists no unanimous opinion. For the history of the problem I may refer the reader to the opening pages of the most recent study on the subject by W. F. Albright: *The Vocali-*

*zation of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven 1934), where it has been aptly summarized with the necessary bibliographical information. In the present stage of the controversy the views of various scholars can be divided into two categories:

I. Syllabic orthography is entirely a result of the "Entwertung" of the so-called weak consonants. This script is in no way intended to be a vocalized rendering of foreign words and names (Sethe; Burchardt; and also Erman in his *Ägyptische Grammatik*)<sup>2</sup>.

II. Syllabic orthography is an attempt at a vocalized rendering of foreign words and names. The way in which this was done, is explained by two different theories:

a. The system of syllabic orthography is an imitation of Accadian writing, especially of the Accadian "syllabic" signs, the weak consonants being used to represent the vowels. (Müller; see especially his monograph on the subject: *Die Spuren der baby-*

<sup>1</sup> I use the conventional term "syllabic" orthography and "syllabic" script introduced by W. M. Müller, although the English expression of "group-writing" is less ambiguous. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that a "syllable" is here understood as a combination (group) of one consonant with a vowel. The proper syllables of words and names often contain, of course, more than two elements.

Purely consonantal forms of place-names occur even in texts and lists of the New Kingdom but are few in number compared to those in syllabic script. Names in half-syllabic script are more frequent, especially in the earlier lists.

















<sup>2</sup> In his publication of the *Ächtungstexte*, however, Sethe has finally adopted a somewhat mitigated opinion (see below: p. 20).







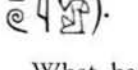
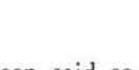



Such groups, indeed, show very little of the *fixed* vocal value of the Egyptian "syllables" in the transliteration of foreign words and names. On the contrary, some of them stand for Asiatic groups of every colour within the scale of vowels. The results of the induction thus seem to point to the vocally indifferent character of at least a number of the Egyptian "syllables" <sup>1</sup>.

More important, however, than the problem of the origin of syllabic orthography, and logically preceding this, is the question whether syllabic orthography can at all be regarded as a vocalized rendering of the Asiatic originals, as is implied in Müller's as well as in Albright's theory but denied by the eminent scholars of the Berlin school. Although the character of the Egyptian syllabic orthography as a form of vocalized script is now more generally upheld, I do not think that this view can be maintained *without any restriction*.

One of the main results, though hardly intended, of Albright's monograph on the subject is that it shows from a large amount of examples, that numerous syllabic groups can eventually correspond to Asiatic groups of the most different colour (see above). If, however, the same group, e.g. , may represent a Hittite "syllable" with a-vowel (, , , , ,  : Albright, *o.c.*, VII, B, 2: p. 42), an Accadian "syllable" with i-vowel (, , , , ,  : *ibid.*, VII, B, 4: p. 42) and also a Canaanite "syllable" with u-vowel (, ,  : *ibid.*, VII, B, 6: p. 42), the natural conclusion seems to be, that such a group in itself does not contain any

indication as to its actual pronunciation and rather than calling it "polyphonus" (Albright, *passim*) we should describe it as *aphonic*.

Another indication as to the "Entwertung" of the so-called weak consonants or semi-vowels in Egyptian syllabic groups seems to be suggested by the curious phenomenon of the phonetic complement, i.e. the addition to the already complete "syllable" (consonant + "semi-vowel") of yet another "semi-vowel" of a different colour <sup>2</sup>. Comparison with the Asiatic originals, as far as they are known, shows that in such cases the first of both "semi-vowels" is irrelevant to the pronunciation or vocal value of the "syllable", while the second appears, if not always, at least frequently to correspond to the vowel of the Asiatic equivalent (e.g., in the groups , , , ; perhaps also , , .

What has been said so far, cannot, however, be taken to prove that Egyptian syllabic orthography must be regarded as a purely consonantal form of writing. There are several facts which contradict such an opinion.

In the first place, precisely the three-element-groups, if rightly explained above, clearly point to a stage in which the weak consonants were normally employed as vowel-symbols, as is proved by the frequent correspondence of the phonetic complement with the original Asiatic vowel. But even as regards the shorter groups of only two elements, it would be rash to conclude from the foregoing considerations to the absolute "Entwertung" of their weak conso-

<sup>1</sup> As the value of these and other groups was established by comparison between the Egyptian forms and their Asiatic originals, it must also be kept in mind that in many cases the latter are merely hypothetical as regards vocalization. A great number are nothing else than Albright's re-translations of Egyptian words or names into one or another of the ancient languages of Western Asia, which are then used by the author to establish the pronunciation of the Egyptian forms. It should be stated, however, that only such names as actually have been transmitted in their original Asiatic forms, provide a solid basis for comparison with the Egyptian reproductions. In all other cases the argument comes very near to a vicious circle. Another weak point of all such comparisons is that the Asiatic forms, as far as they actually exist, are chosen at random from any piece of ancient literature, whether Canaanite, Hebrew, Amorite, Hittite or Hurrian. The Egyptian text or list, however, must generally be supposed to imitate the vocalization of a name as pronounced in a particular one of these languages, which may differ considerably from that in another.

<sup>2</sup> I here follow Albright's use of the term "phonetic complement" as being convenient, although it is somewhat misleading, since in grammatical terminology its meaning is a different one (cp. Gardiner *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 38 § 32).



nants and consequently to maintain in all cases the purely consonantal value of these groups.

There are many words and names, in which the supposed vocal value of the Egyptian "syllables" agrees too markedly with the vocalization of the Asiatic originals to be considered fortuitous. These cases are so numerous that it seems superfluous to illustrate that statement by examples; and Müller was fully justified in saying that this fact remained entirely unexplained by the theory of the Berlin school (*Die Spuren*, etc., p. 36).

Further, although Albright's inductions have revealed more than ever the "polyphonous" or, as he calls it elsewhere, "ambiguous" vocal value of many groups, it must, nevertheless, be admitted, that in a number of cases where the Asiatic equivalent is known and comparison therefore possible, the weak consonants of Egyptian groups regularly correspond to the vowels of the Asiatic forms they are said to symbolize.

In view of these facts it is just as difficult to maintain the theory of absolute "*Entwertung*" as an adequate appreciation of Egyptian syllabic orthography, as it is impossible to see in this script a reliable and thorough system of a vocalized rendering of foreign names and loan-words.

Evidently, no theory on syllabic orthography can be regarded as satisfactory unless it accounts for the conflicting conclusions arrived at in the preceding considerations. A possible suggestion for such a theory would be to describe Egyptian syllabic orthography as an attempt to vocalize the reproductions of foreign words and names with the aid of the weak consonants as vowel-symbols, which attempt, however, would in course of time have been deranged by the progress of the "*Entwertung*" of the same weak consonants. Such a theory, if justified by facts, would reconcile the principles underlying these two contrary opinions on the meaning of syllabic orthography. On the one

hand, it would account for the "ambiguity" of many so-called "polyphonous" groups and explain how it has been possible that in a large number of Egyptian "syllables" the vowel suggested by its weak consonant does not in any way correspond to the vowel of the original Asiatic "syllable". In such cases the Egyptian weak consonants would through the process of "*Entwertung*" have lost all value as vowel-symbols and would be mere pleonastic arbitrarily used additions, with the exception perhaps of certain well-known names, where the Egyptian orthographies were more or less fixed by tradition. On the other hand, the same theory would explain the fact that in spite of the "*Entwertung*" of the weak consonants there is still a considerable measure of correspondence between them and the vowels of the original Asiatic names, and that a small number of groups were continually used to render the same Asiatic "syllables". Such correspondences might be taken as relics of an earlier stage of syllabic orthography preceding the disturbance caused by the "*Entwertung*" of the weak consonants.

It is, however, difficult to say how far such a hypothesis can be substantiated by facts. It postulates a certain development or rather degeneration in the system of syllabic orthography, so that its possibility depends upon the existence or non-existence of such a process. Thus the solution can only be found by a comparative study of syllabic orthography throughout various periods. But such a study of the material may well be said to exceed the present limits of our knowledge. The far greater part of the material available precisely consists of topographical names, the orthographic development of which it has never been possible adequately to study from chronologically arranged texts. As far as the Topographical Lists are concerned, the present *Handbook* may facilitate this kind of research.

I do not think that a careful study and comparison of the Topographical Lists would fail to reveal traces of such a development<sup>1</sup>, but even if observations of

<sup>1</sup> Albright especially has pointed out that some development in the system of syllabic orthography can be traced through the succeeding periods even of the New Kingdom. A somewhat more comprehensive study of the topographical lists and texts from the XVIIIth to the XXVth dynasty is needed to test his conclusions. At one place Albright states that syllabic orthography "reached its culmination toward the end the Eighteenth Dynasty" (*o.c.*, p. 3 § 5), but elsewhere he considers the period of Ramses II as the zenith of its development (*o.c.*, pp. 12-13 § 22). The latter opinion is based on "the greatly increased use of phonetic complements in connection with syllabic groups of ambiguous vocalization" which "makes the transcriptions from this reign so exact that they are hardly

this kind remain too scarce to show anything like a complete process of degeneration, it must be borne in mind that the Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia start only with the XVIIIth dynasty and that this period cannot reasonably be used as the *terminus a quo* for a comparative study of syllabic orthography through the various stages of its use by Egyptian scribes. It has repeatedly been shown, most recently by Albright (*o.c.*, pp. 6—12), that the early stages of the syllabic script precede by ages its wider application during the New Kingdom. Unfortunately, abundant material from periods earlier than the XVIIIth dynasty is not available, and the most regrettable of all is that from the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Egyptian colonial empire with its consequent larger use of the syllabic script very few documents have been preserved. It seems, however, quite possible that the texts and lists of the XVIIIth dynasty which are the first to provide us with a great number of names in syllabic script, already exhibit this in an advanced stage of degeneration. It is certainly remarkable that Sethe was sufficiently impressed by some early examples of syllabic script in the newly discovered "*Ächtungstexte*" of the XIth dynasty, to partly abandon his theory of absolute "*Entwertung*" and purely consonantal value of the Egyptian "syllabic" groups<sup>1</sup>. It does not seem impossible, that the scribes of the New Kingdom confronted with the task of compiling in Egyptian long lists of foreign conquests, had recourse

to a form of writing used long before for the rendering of foreign names and loan-words, although at their time this script had already lost much of its practical value through the "*Entwertung*" of the weak consonants<sup>2</sup>.

— — — —

Whatever may have been the original meaning of Egyptian syllabic orthography, it is clear that in the Topographical Lists it cannot throughout be considered as a reliable reproduction of the vocalization of the Asiatic names. Even if in principle it were given this value, we could not make use of it for the transliteration of the vast majority of names, since the intended vowels of most groups can as yet not be established with certainty owing to the lack of a sufficient number of solid equations between Egyptian and Asiatic forms. The problem is complicated by the uncertainty as to the nature of the sources from which in each case the lists were compiled, whether Semitic or Hittite, Accadian or Canaanite, etc.

In these circumstances I have been compelled to confine my transliterations of the Egyptian topographical names to what in each case seems to be its consonantal root, connecting its radicals by hyphens instead of by vowels<sup>3</sup>. This form of transliteration follows the method introduced by the Berlin school and still adopted for names in syllabic script by Borée (*Ortsnamen*, etc.) and Czermak (*Die Laute*, etc.). For many Egyptian forms such transliterations are admittedly incomplete without, however, being incorrect.

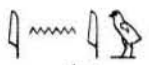

inferior in vocalization to cuneiform" (*ibid.*). But surely, "syllabic groups of *ambiguous* vocalization" can only be regarded as a phenomenon of degeneration, if, as Albright says, the system was originally based on the selection of short Egyptian words with *fixed* pronunciation. It is precisely the "ambiguity" of many groups caused by the "*Entwertung*" of the weak consonants, which called for phonetic complements as an attempt to correct the degeneration of the syllabic script in order to make it serve once more its original purpose of a vocalized reproduction of foreign names and loan-words. There is little doubt that the syllabic script of the XVIIIth dynasty was decidedly superior to that of later periods. From the XIXth dynasty on we see an ever increasing multiplication of meaningless weak consonants in marked contrast with the soberness of the syllabic script in the lists and texts of Thutmes III.

<sup>1</sup> "Wenn in der grossen Mehrzahl der Fälle in der Tat von einer Vokalandeutung bei diesen "syllabischen" Schreibungen nicht wohl die Rede sein kann, gibt es einige, bei denen die Annahme einer Vokalandeutung doch so verführerisch ist, dass man sich nur ungern entschliessen wird, nicht daran zu glauben" (*Die Ächtung*, etc. p. 29).

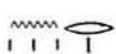
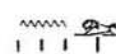

<sup>2</sup> Practically the same opinion was expressed as early as 1907 by Erman in his first study on the subject: *Z. äg. Spr.* 44 1907 pp. 105—107. Erman later surrendered his position under the influence of Burchardt. (*Fremdw. u. Eigenn.*) and adopted Sethe's theory of absolute "*Entwertung*". But in his turn, Sethe finally adopted a less negative view after his study of the "*Ächtungstexte*" (see above). Such fluctuations prove that the truth can only be found in some form of compromise between the rigidly opposed theories.


<sup>3</sup> I have, however, made a number of exceptions by indicating some vowels between < >. See the list of *Symbols* (p. 106), where the reason for this is given.

Any attempt at a vocalized transliteration must in the present state of our knowledge necessarily introduce a subjective and hypothetical element and destroy the uniformity which for a *Handbook of Topographical Lists* is indispensable. It goes without saying that no study of the lists can be based only on these consonantal transliterations.

I transliterate the four-sign group  by 'nw', thus indicating its value as one complete group or "syllable" and distinguishing it e.g. from the frequently occurring  = 'n'. There is hardly

any doubt now about the phonetic value of this group (nu or no). See Albright's examples in *The Vocalization*, IX, C. Burchardt (I § 73) transliterates: ñ.

The group  or  (  ) never occurs in the Topographical Lists of Western Asia) I transliterate by 'nr', thus indicating the composite nature of the sign and its single phonetic value (l or ll; see Burch., I § 81 and Müller *Die Spuren*, etc. p. 26).

For the group  which is added to many names of list XXXIV, see p. 100 n. 2.

## J. BIBLIOGRAPHY

A list of the publications most often quoted in this book is given on pp. XIII—XV. A few words must be said about those which not only deal with one or a few of the Topographical Lists but in one way or another cover the entire subject.

J. H. Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, being a collection of historical documents, naturally contain many useful references to Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia, the scene of so many events in Egyptian history. A good number of early publications of these lists can be traced with the help of Breasted's "Notes", but the author's own descriptions of reliefs and name-lists, perhaps too confidently based on the reproductions by the 19th century Egyptologists, often require to be checked.

For finding and collecting the Topographical Lists we now possess a much more up-to-date instrument in the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* by Miss Bertha Porter and Miss Rosalind L. B. Moss, of which four volumes have so far appeared. The second volume especially, which deals with the Theban temples, has been of the greatest use to me during the composition of this book, as precisely the great temples of Luxor, Karnak and Medinet Habu contain the greater half of my collection of thirty-six Asiatic Topographical Lists. I consider it my duty to acknowledge the great help I have derived from these volumes, which in spite of the vastness and complexity of the material they deal with, I have nearly always found a highly reliable source of information.

Such Topographical Lists as were not traced from the two general publications just mentioned, had to be discovered by looking through the many archaeological publications in which documents of this nature might possibly be found.

For the description of the lists thus collected I had in many cases to fall back upon the publications of the pioneers of Egyptology, especially Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, Champollion's *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* with the two volumes of *Notes Descriptives*, Lepsius' *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* and Mariette's volumes on Karnak and Abydos. The earlier generation of Egyptologists have indeed given much more attention to this kind of relief and inscription than those of later times and of to-day. As many lists have since then suffered much damage, the works of these pioneers will always remain indispensable for the study of the Topographical Lists.

However great may be the merits of these indefatigable collectors of the "*spolia Egypti*", it is certainly to be deplored that not only for the form but also for the contents of the lists we still have to depend so much (in fact sometimes entirely) upon the information which their works provide. It is evident that in reproducing such a great number of reliefs with Topographical Lists the early Egyptologists, with the exception perhaps of Mariette, were considerably more interested in their artistic and historical value than in the dry enumeration of foreign place-names which they had scarcely any



means to study. From such cases as the lists of Seti I at Karnak (XIII and XIV) and more especially the lower sections, which are real palimpsests, it is clear that the reproductions by Rosellini, Champollion and Lepsius cannot be regarded as presenting generally reliable copies of the topographical names.

While, however, considerable progress has been made in recent times in improving the reading of the name-rings of many lists, modern scholars have always contented themselves with reproducing these names without presenting their decorative settings or describing in detail the structural composition of the lists. Even from the writings of W. M. Müller, who has displayed so much zeal and talent in carefully copying a great number of long Topographical Lists, no sufficient information can be gathered to form a clear idea of the way in which in many cases the various groups of name-rings have been arranged on the reliefs. Nevertheless, without such a knowledge the confusion of names and numbers is bound to increase with each generation of scholars. For the composition of my *Diagrams*, one purpose of which is to prevent such confusions, I had therefore almost entirely to rely upon photographic reproductions of the original reliefs.

In searching for such reproductions it has been somewhat disappointing to discover how little space is devoted to this kind of relief and inscription in even elaborately illustrated modern publications. The important collection of Ed. Meyer's *Fremdvölker-Expedition*, the purpose of which is so directly connected with the present subject, does not even contain one single complete picture of a topographical list relating to Western Asia. All the great and small Asiatic lists of Thutmes III together are represented in this collection by one single fragment (n. 184; see below: p. 29). Two lists are found in G. Steindorff's monograph *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, viz, those of Seti I on the outer wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak (lists XIII and XIV). That on the right-hand side of the doorway (list XIII) is

the only one reproduced in Fr. W. von Bissing's great and beautiful collection of *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*. Apart from pictures in which Topographical Lists can be seen as details of more general views of the temple-buildings, only a few more have been inserted in W. Wreszinski's *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (see e.g., below: p. 65 and p. 85). The largest collection I have been able to find in a single book is that in J. Capart's *Thèbes, la gloire d'un grand passé*, but several of these are incomplete and they rarely permit the study of any details<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, in many cases I had to have recourse to unpublished photographs deposited in the archives of Egyptian museums. The best collection I have found is that in the *Ägyptische Abteilung der staatlichen Museen* at Berlin to which, among others, I owe the only complete photograph of Shoshenq I's great triumphal relief and topographical list at Karnak (see below: p. 92). Other photographs have been sent to me by Miss A. M. Calverley, by the well-known firm of "Gaddis Photo Stores", by the Egyptian Institute at Leipzig and the Egyptian museum at Cairo. Some very valuable pictures were expressly taken at my request by the staff of the Chicago House at Luxor, to which I owe a special debt of gratitude for this kindness.

For improving the readings of the topographical names themselves the greatest credit is due, no doubt, to W. M. Müller whose work in this field ranks highest of all, in quality not less than in quantity. His *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, although not exclusively confined to topographical texts, must still be regarded as one of the best works on the subject. As a fruit of two journeys to Egypt and a personal study of the original inscriptions (1904-1906), Müller published his three volumes of *Egyptological Researches*, the first two of which are for the greater part devoted to the reproduction of Topographical Lists. With the exception of the Medinet Habu lists, which have been

<sup>1</sup> All references in this book to Capart's *Thèbes* primarily refer to the original French edition (Bruxelles 1925), but pages and numbers of illustrations are identical with those of the English translation (London 1926).

For the monuments south of the first cataract, I examined, besides the great series *Les temples immergés de la Nubie* and other archaeological publications, the beautiful collection of photographs of Breasted's *Nubian Expedition*, but Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia proved to be very rare in southern monuments (see lists IX and XVIII) and only one of them was represented in Breasted's collection (see below: p. 49).

freshly copied and splendidly published by "The Epigraphic Survey" of the Chicago Oriental Institute, Müller's plates provide the latest copies of all the greater lists of the Theban area made directly from the original inscriptions. What has been done for these lists beyond Müller's copies, is entirely based on older reproductions and photographs (e.g., Sethe's edition of the great Thutmes-lists) or on a comparative study of lists and individual names.

Unfortunately, Müller's reproductions of the Topographical Lists are confined to those on the Theban temples (Luxor, Karnak, Medinet Habu) and even there mainly to the mural inscriptions of Type I (cp. Prel. Rem., B: pp. 5 ff.). Moreover however excellent his copies may be compared with those of the 19th century Egyptologists, it would be a fatal mistake to regard them as anything like final. Not only can better readings sometimes be suggested from the comparison of lists and names, from the study of the palimpsest name-rings or occasionally also from good photographic reproductions, but a collation of Müller's copies with the original inscriptions would undoubtedly make possible the correction and improvement of many more names. The new copies of the Medinet Habu lists by "The Epigraphic Survey" clearly prove that a considerable advance is still fully possible. It may be added that the same is probably even more true for those lists which have not been copied by Müller.

Not based on a study of the original inscriptions is Max Burchardt's *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, but in contrast to Müller's *Researches* it comprises, besides much other material, the names of nearly all Topographical Lists then (1909) known. This is still, I believe, the best general work on the subject. It also provides a number of valuable directions for the purpose of topographical identifications, although Burchardt's considerations are perhaps too exclusively confined to the comparison of Egyptian and Semitic phonetics, if not actually based on the assumption of a predominantly Semitic character of the Asiatic place-names. Many paragraphs of this work must now also be completed or revised in the light of later Egypto-Semitic studies.

Of a different nature but also in the form of a more or less comprehensive collection of the topographical names is W. Borée's mainly linguistic clas-

sification *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*. This book naturally takes into account a great number of place-names from the Topographical Lists which are reproduced from Burchardt's lexicon.

Less complete but again composed for a special purpose is Albright's collection of Egypto-Asiatic words and names, including the Topographical Lists, in his study on *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, the main thesis of which I have already discussed in the preceding *Preliminary Remark*. I may be allowed to mention that it can only be deplored that both Borée and Albright (the latter in spite of "mature consideration": *o.c.*, p. V) decided to leave their interesting studies without any Index.

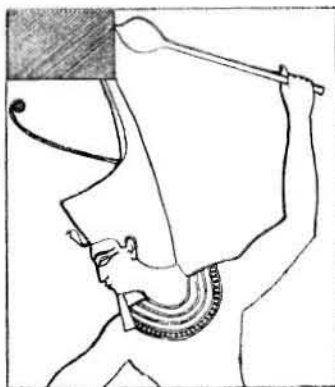
More comprehensive, at least as regards its original design, than all the publications so far enumerated, is David Paton's collection of *Early Egyptian Records of Travel*. The sub-title of this work: *Materials for a Historical Geography of Western Asia* sufficiently indicates the vastness of the author's project which was to collect all existing Egyptian texts containing topographical information relating to the Egyptian Asiatic empire. Unfortunately, Paton's death brought the progress of this really great enterprise to a standstill before it was half completed. His last-published volume (IV, a; 1922) describes and reproduces the first of the Asiatic Topographical lists (see below: p. 33). In spite of the vast amount of information of all kinds which it provides, Paton's work has attracted but little attention from Egyptological scholars. Its wide digressions and forbidding typographical appearance have practically ruined the entire work. It is small wonder that after the author's death no scholar has had the courage to take up Paton's work and that even the volumes published are absent from more than one of the best Egyptological libraries in Europe.

Still more comprehensive and now entirely completed is H. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* which naturally also includes the entire mass of topographical materials relating to Western Asia. This great work in seven volumes will, no doubt, for a long time to come remain indispensable to all students of the topography and geography of ancient Western Asia. In spite, however, of its indisputable merits, one can only regret the manner in which the author has accomplished his task. An unusual wealth of

erudition is coupled in this work with a singular lack of order and accuracy. The long lists of "*Additions et Corrections*" piled up in every succeeding volume, and a considerable number of mistakes and misprints greatly diminish its practical value as a topographical dictionary. More than one passage suggests that the author has not always allowed himself sufficient time to compare and to check his admittedly numerous but occasionally contradicting sources (see e.g., below: p. 59 n. 1; p. 83; p. 92. n. 1; p. 166; p. 173). The reader of the *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* will also find it difficult to recognize the topographical names under the disguise of the

now really antiquated forms used by the early Egyptologists and still followed in Gauthier's work. Their vocalization is nowhere more troublesome and misleading than in the rendering of proper names expressed in syllabic orthography.

It must, however, be added that a set of useful "Indices" makes up to some extent for the deficiencies of this great work. In spite of the foregoing remarks it may also be said, that Gauthier's seven volumes provide the reader with a greater mass of information than he will be able to find in any other publication.






## PART I



## SECTION A: THE XVIIIth DYNASTY

### CHAPTER I : THUTMES III

1. fter the death of Hatshepsut, Thutmes III became the sole and independent ruler of Egypt<sup>1</sup>. All who are acquainted with the history of the New Kingdom, know that this greatest of all the Pharaohs waged incessant wars for some twenty years against the many peoples and tribes inhabiting the countries north of Egypt. Not less than seventeen times did the great warrior conduct his armies either by land or by sea to Palestine and Syria, sometimes even crossing to the other side of the Euphrates. Accounts of these military expeditions and conquests, some of them with a considerable amount of detail, have been left in Thutmes III's famous *Annals*, in his *Hymn of Victory* and in other less extensive but scarcely less interesting historical and poetical texts<sup>2</sup>.

Introductory  
Note

2. Besides such narrative and poetical texts, the great temple of Amon at Karnak contains a topographical list of Thutmes III enumerating northern towns and places conquered by the great Pharaoh. This list is reproduced in several copies (*I a, b, c*). Further, a much shorter list (*II*), two fragments of destroyed lists (*III, IV*) and also an extract from the great lists, executed in Ptolemaic times (*V*), are to be found there<sup>3</sup>.

Division of  
Chapter

- <sup>1</sup> It is known that there is no unanimous opinion among scholars of Egyptian history on the exact date of Thutmes III's final accession to the throne. It may suffice here to refer for the details of this historical problem to K. Sethe's discussion in *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (Abb. Preuss. Akad., Ph.-H. Kl., n. 4, 1932) and to the latest work on the subject by W. F. Edgerton *The Thutmosid Succession* (Studies Anc. Or. Civ., n. 8, 1933). Sethe's conclusion is that Hatshepsut died in the 20th or 21st year of her reign which brings us to about the year 1480 as the date of assumption of sole power by Thutmes III.
- <sup>2</sup> The *Annals* are mainly inscribed in the *Halls of Records* behind the VIth pylon of the Karnak-temple, the *Hymn of Victory* on a stele originally put up in the same temple but now preserved in the Cairo Museum (reg. nr. 34010). A not unimportant addition to this collection of documents was recently made by G. Reisner's discovery of a stele at Napata which reveals some hitherto unknown details of Thutmes' campaigns. On this new document see G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, in *Z. äg. Spr.* 69 1933 pp. 24—39; A. Moret, in *C. R. Acad. Inscr. et B-L.* 1933 pp. 326—339; and S. Yeivin, in *JPOS* 14 1934 pp. 194—229. These and other topographically interesting documents greatly contribute towards the use and understanding of Thutmes III's topographical lists, but are not included in this book, which is confined to the *lists* only, the *topographical texts* being preserved for a future volume (see Prel. Rem., A: p. 4).
- <sup>3</sup> Other Karnak-lists of Thutmes III enumerate his African conquests. The longest of these is, like the Asiatic list, reproduced three times. Much confusion is being caused by H. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, in which these Asiatic and African lists are often quoted promiscuously as Thutmes III, A, B, C. — Similar African lists exist of most Pharaohs, whose Asiatic lists will be described and reproduced in the following pages.

I a, b, c.

Plans I. II. — Diagrams I. II. III.

Text on pp. 111—115.

"Megiddo-list"  
and  
"Naharina-list"

3. The great topographical lists of Thutmes III may be distinguished as

- A. "Megiddo-list" or "Palestine-list"
- B. "Naharina-list" or "Northern list"

A. The first list, which is considerably shorter than the second, derives its name of the "Megiddo-list" from the fact that according to the superscription of two of its copies or recensions ("text a" and "text b": see below §§ 4—5; for the superscriptions themselves see § 8) it enumerates the names of towns and places, whose chiefs or princes took refuge within the walls of Megiddo after the first encounter with Thutmes III's invading army and are said to have been brought to Thebes as "*living captives*", when the fortress had fallen. The same list is also called the "Palestine-list", since its contents are practically confined to towns and places of Palestine proper. (On the exact geographical extent of this list see § 8).

The three copies of this list contain altogether 119 different topographical names<sup>1</sup>, some of which, however, are omitted in each of the three copies (see the *Diagrams* I, II, III and cp. below: §§ 4—5).

B. The longer list is only inadequately distinguished from the "Megiddo" of "Palestine-list". In reality, it is an extension of one copy of the latter ("text c"; see §§ 4—5) by (originally) 270 names of places situated north of Palestine, some at least as far as the banks of the Euphrates (e.g. I/270: Karkemish). The term "Naharina-list" or "Northern list", though often used for the entire inscription of more than 300 place-names, properly speaking applies only to this northern extension of the "Palestine-list". In this sense the word will be used throughout this book, while "text c" is meant to indicate the entire extent of the third copy, which comprises the "Palestine-list" and its northern extension, unless the more restricted meaning (third copy of the "Palestine-list") is clear from the context.

The way in which this "Naharina-list" is combined with the third copy of the "Megiddo-list", may be seen in *Diagram* III.

The three copies.  
Photographic  
Reproductions

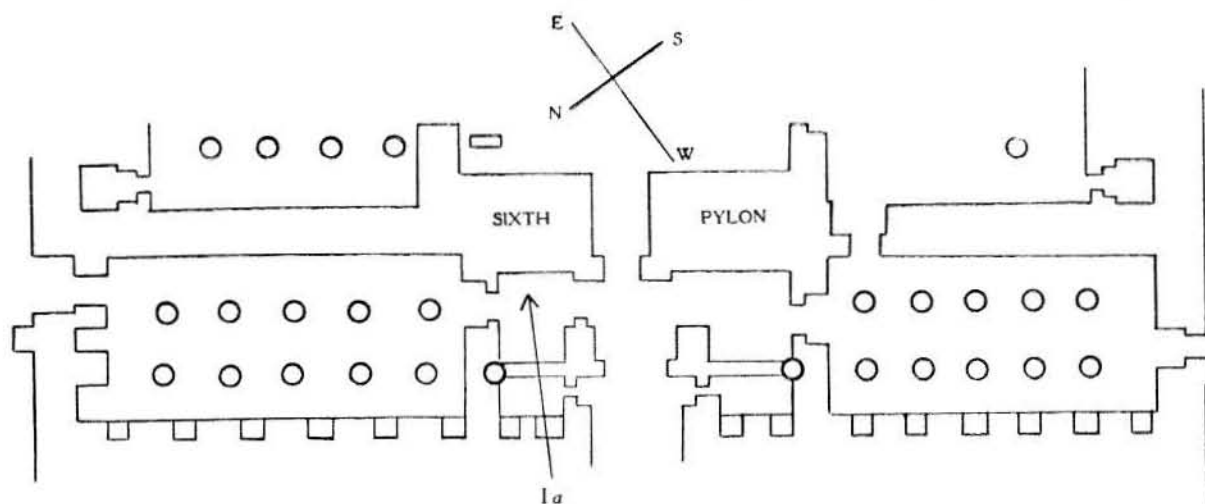
4—5. The three copies or recensions of Thutmes III's great topographical list of Asiatic towns and places in the temple of Amon at Karnak have been indicated since Mariette (see § 6, 2<sup>o</sup>) as "text a", "text b", and "text c"<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or 118, if n. 7 is only a corruption of n. 8 which to me seems at least doubtful (see *Note* on I/7 in Part II). On the other hand, it is not impossible that a few name-rings ought to be combined into compound names, the total of different topographical names being consequently slightly reduced. The necessity of such combinations is more clear in the great list (XXXIV) of Shoshenq I (see pp. 97 f.).

<sup>2</sup> I do not want to lay any stress on the technical meaning of the word *recensions* which is inserted only in order not to exclude the possibility of genealogical relations between the three copies. Already Burchardt (*Fremdw. u. Eigenn.*, I § 10) has drawn attention to the fact that the forms of several names in "text b" and "text c" agree against those of "text a" (see e.g., n. 34 in which b and c both present an identical defective form). This would seem to suggest either that more than one original document, or "*Urtext*", underlies the three copies or

*Text a*<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the western face of the northern tower of pylon VI at Karnak (see *Plan I*) and consists of five equally long horizontal rows of name-rings (see *Diagram I*), together containing  $119 - 4 = 115$  names<sup>2</sup>. Above the entire breadth of the topographical list is a horizontal band of text with the superscription of the list (see § 8). The relief-scene, which originally surmounted this text and represented the slaying of captive prisoners by the king before the god (cp. *Prel. Rem.*, B: pp. 5 ff.), has disappeared<sup>3</sup>.

Photographic reproductions of this list are more numerous than for any of the lists described and reproduced in this book. As good examples there may be quoted G. Jéquier



Plan I: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, Sixth Pylon (List I, a)

*Arch. et décor.*, I pl. 48, 3 (only part of the list); G. Steindorff *Die Blütezeit* etc., p. 32 fig. 29. A much better photographic reproduction, but only showing a small part of the list (nn. 78—83 and nn. 102—107) is n. 184 of the collection of the *Fremdv. Exp.* Other photographs may be found in many works on Palestinian and Oriental history.

*Text b*<sup>4</sup> is found on the southern face of the western tower of pylon VII at Karnak (see *Plan II*) and contains  $119 - 7 = 112$  name-rings. These are distributed (see *Diagram II*) over nine rows, the six upper rows filling the space beside the accompanying relief-scene,

that one copy is based on another. But it must be admitted that so far no genealogical pedigree has been established. The supposed relation between b and c is rather contradicted by the fact that all three copies, although their contents are identical on the whole, leave out different name-rings (see the *Diagrams*). This may perhaps point to three different original documents, unless these omissions must entirely be attributed to the negligence of the sculptors. If b and c were together opposed to a, it would also be remarkable that the superscriptions of a and c show much similarity and are considerably different from that of b (see § 8).

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 31 sub 33.

<sup>2</sup> For this manner of indicating the total of name-rings in each of the three copies and for the system of numbering, see § 7.

<sup>3</sup> That such a relief-scene originally existed, appears not only from the remaining lowest fragments (although very small and not clear) above the horizontal band of text, but also from comparison with the somewhat better preserved decoration of the southern tower of the same pylon (see e.g., the reproduction given by A. Mariette *Voyage*, etc., II pl. 45). Here the topographical list is African (= P.-M., II p. 31 sub 34).

<sup>4</sup> P.-M., II p. 55 sub 23.

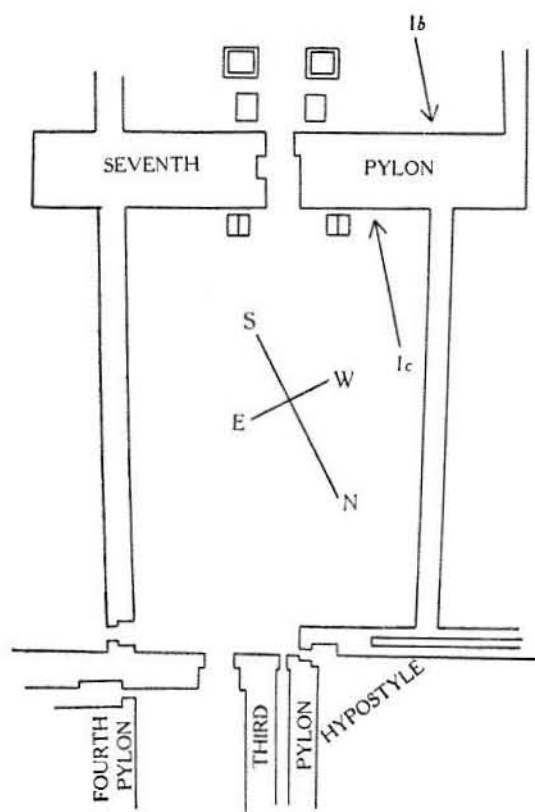


while the three lower rows are engraved below the entire breadth of the relief. The relief-scene, occupying the higher part of the wall and separated from the lower rows of the topographical list by a horizontal line of text (see § 8), represents the king slaying a batch of prisoners. Opposite the king stands the goddess Thebes leading to him the conquered chiefs whose figures surmount the name-rings of the upper rows of the topographical list. In the upper right-hand corner of the relief the god Amon is represented<sup>1</sup>.

Relief-scene and topographical list may be seen reproduced photographically in

G. Jéquier *Arch. et décor.*, I, pl. 55, 1, left<sup>2</sup>; J. Capart *Thèbes*, etc., p. 46, fig. 26; G. Steindorff *Die Blütezeit*, etc., p. 33 fig. 30.

*Text c*<sup>3</sup> is engraved on the northern face of the western tower of the same pylon (VII) at Karnak (see *Plan II*). In this text a list of 119—2 = 117 topographical names of Palestine ("Megiddo" or "Palestine-list") is joined to a much longer list of more northerly situated places ("Naharina" or "Northern list"; see above, § 3). The latter consists (see *Diagram III*) of 10 rows, each containing 27 name-rings, but from the two highest rows about half has broken off. The "Megiddo-list", standing to the right of the "Naharina-list", was originally composed of nine rows of name-rings, but of unequal length. Of the three highest rows, one of which has disappeared, each has three name-rings; of the three middle rows each has seven name-rings; and of the three lowest rows, running below the entire breadth of the relief-scene, each has 29 name-rings. The complete list of "text c", therefore, originally numbered  $270 + 117 = 387$  name-rings (see also *Note on I/133* in Part II).



Plan II: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon,  
Seventh Pylon (Lists Ib and Ic)

Of the relief-scene, surmounting the "Megiddo-list" and separated from it by a horizontal band of text (see § 8), only the lowest part remains (batch of bound prisoners and legs of king). The higher portion of the tower has disappeared, carrying away almost the

<sup>1</sup> This figure is not reproduced on Mariette's pl. 18.—The entire relief-scene is substantially the same as that of all other lists of Type I except for the main divine figure. This stands on a much higher level than that of the king and is considerably smaller, while in other reliefs of this type both king and god are more or less equal in size and represented as facing one another. The upper half of Amon's figure is damaged and it cannot be seen whether he is holding the Khopesh-sword.

<sup>2</sup> The right half of the same plate reproduces the relief with the African list on the eastern half of the same pylon (= P.M., II p. 55 sub 20).

<sup>3</sup> P.M., II p. 54 sub 14—15.

entire relief-scene with one row (three name-rings) of the "Megiddo-list" and the half of the two highest rows (30 name-rings) of the "Naharina-list" <sup>1</sup>.

This text has rarely been photographed and probably never in its entirety. The list is partly visible on the reproduction of the statues standing before this pylon in J. Capart *Thèbes*, etc., p. 233 fig. 151. This also shows the lower part of the king's figure in the act of slaying captive prisoners, which leaves no doubt as to the existence and character of the relief-scene. An unpublished photograph exists in the collection of the Egyptian museum at Berlin (reg. nr. 141/5455) which, however, only shows the "Megiddo-list" with the remaining part of the relief-scene and, to the left, the first name-rings of the "Naharina-list". This photograph is excellent, even for reading the hieroglyphic text, and deserves publication <sup>2</sup>.

6. Although the text of the great lists of Thutmes III has been reproduced, with Editions of Text or without commentary, in a fairly great number of publications, relatively few are still of any value for the study of their topographical contents. Those which may yet claim attention are in order of chronology as follows <sup>3</sup>:

1° Emm. de Rougé *Etude sur divers monuments du règne de Toutmès III, découverts à Thèbes par M. Mariette*, in *Rev. Arch.*, N.S., 2e année, vol. IV 1861 pp. 196—197 and pp. 344—372.

Reproduced in *Bibl. Eg.*, 24 1911 pp. 117—119 and pp. 147—178, to which the following lines refer. This publication deals only with the "Palestine-list". After some introductory remarks (pp. 117—119) and a digression on the African list (pp. 147—149), the author studies the superscription of the "Palestine-list" in the light of the *Annals* of Thutmes III (pp. 149—155) and the phonetic relations between Egyptian and Hebrew (pp. 155—159). Finally he presents a hieroglyphic copy of 108 topographical names, the identifications of which he discusses (pp. 159—178).

2° a). A. Mariette *Karnak. Etude topographique et archéologique etc.* and *Karnak. Atlas* (both Leipzig 1875).

In the first volume, Mariette, to whom we owe the discovery of these lists, gives a general description of the "Planches" in his *Atlas*, in which many topographical lists are reproduced according to Mariette's own copies. The Thutmes-lists are to be seen on pl. 17 (text a), pl. 18 (text b) and pls. 19—21 (text c).

b) idem *Les listes géographiques des Pylônes de Karnak comprenant la Palestine, l'Ethiopie, le Pays de Somâl* and *Atlas* (both Leipzig 1875).

In the first volume of this publication, which is confined to the "Palestine-list", the author mentions the three copies of the list he discovered (pp. 2—3). He goes on to explain the Egyptian trans-

<sup>1</sup> The relief-scene is not mentioned in P.-M., but it is at least partly still there, as may be seen from photographs. Sethe (*Urk.*, IV p. 787) admits the possibility of more than ten rows for the "Naharina-list", which together with the superscription of this list should have been entirely destroyed. It is, however, improbable that one single topographical list (the "Megiddo-list" and the "Naharina-list" must certainly from the point of decoration be considered as *one* list) should have had two superscriptions. The possibility of more than ten rows for the "Naharina-list" depends upon the original height of the pylon-tower.

<sup>2</sup> The description on the back of this photograph erroneously assigns it to the "östliche Hälfte" of pylon VII instead of to the "westliche Hälfte". The list on the east tower is African (= P.-M., II p. 54 sub 12—13).

<sup>3</sup> For a more complete list of older bibliography see D. Paton *Early Egyptian Records*, IV pp. 39 and 48.

literation of the Hebrew alphabet according to the evidence from these lists (pp. 4—11) and discusses all (119) topographical names comparing the readings of the three copies (pp. 12—44). This discussion is followed by general remarks on the nature and geographical area of the list. In the *Atlas* the first plate presents a hieroglyphic copy of the same topographical names with transliteration. A map is added showing such places as are supposed to have been identified.

Mariette's publications (a and b may be considered as complementary to one another) have been the basis for all later copies and reproductions of the great Thutmes-lists. His *system of numbering* is the one now more generally used (for details of this system see § 7).

3° Important additions and corrections to Mariette's copy of the lists were first made by W. Golénischeff and G. Maspero:

a) W. Golénischeff, in *Z. äg. Spr.*, 20 1882. After an "*Offener Brief an Herrn Professor H. Brugsch*" (pp. 145—158), a great number of corrections are proposed on plates V and VI (for the "Naharina-list" as well as for the "Palestine-list"), based on the author's collation of Mariette's copy with the text of the original reliefs.

b) G. Maspero, in *Rec. de trav.*, 7 1886 pp. 94—101. Under the title *Révisions des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III*, the author suggests a number of corrections based on a collation of Mariette's copy with the original inscriptions (both "Naharina-list" and "Palestine-list")<sup>1</sup>.

4°. K. Sethe, in *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig 1907; = G. Steindorff's *Urkunden des äg. Altertums*, Abt. IV), pp. 779—794.

This edition of the Thutmes-lists is probably the best existing, although the author himself admits that it is still capable of improvement (p. 779, n. a). Sethe's reproduction is based on Mariette's original copy (*Karnak. Atlas*, pls. 17—21), but takes into account Golénischeff's and Maspero's corrections. Moreover the author has personally examined the original texts of the three superscriptions and compared Mariette's copy of the topographical names with photographs (a and c entirely, of b only nn. 1—8). The edition reproduces the hieroglyphic forms of the names ("Megiddo" and "Naharina-list") according to the three copies without any commentary or discussion. — Sethe's *system of numbering* is on the whole identical with that of Mariette (see below: § 7).

5° a). W. M. Müller *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III*, MVAG 1907, 1.

This edition of the "Palestine-list" is the one most used and quoted on account of its handy form as well as for its many original suggestions on topographical identifications. Müller's text is practically that of Mariette as corrected especially by Maspero but the three copies have been combined into one ("*eine aus allen drei Kopien anspruchlos zurechtgemachter Text mit den wichtigsten Varianten*": p. 3). The topographical names are first given in transliterated and vocalized forms (according to Müller's theory on syllabic orthography; see Prel. Rem., G.) together with linguistic and topographical

<sup>1</sup> Mention may also be made of Maspero's discussion on the names of the "Palestine-list" in *Z. äg. Spr.*, 19 1881 pp. 119—131 (coll. 17 1879 pp. 54—55 and 20 1882 p. 123) and of the same author's essays *Sur les noms géographiques de la liste de Thoutmos III qu'on peut rapporter à la Galilée* (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 20 1887 pp. 297—308) and *Sur les noms..... à la Judée* (*ibid.*, 22 1889 pp. 53—75). Both essays are followed by an English translation. The original texts have been reprinted in *Bibl. Eg.*, 27 1911 (= *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, V), pp. 121—135 and pp. 59—85.

discussions. These are followed by some general remarks on the historical value and meaning of the list. A hieroglyphic copy of the names is added on three plates at the end of the book.

In view of the frequent use which is made of this handy edition, it must be noted that it is not "critical" in the strict sense of the word, since identical readings in two copies have simply and systematically been preferred to a different one in the third (*"eine etwas primitive Art der Textherstellung"*, as the author wisely admits: p. 7).

b) idem, in *Egyptological Researches*, I (Washington 1906), pls. 44—53 (cp. pp. 39—40).

These plates represent the only really critical reproduction of the "Naharina-list", based on a collation of Mariette's copy as corrected by Golénischeff and Maspero with the original inscriptions. Müller's reproduction of the names, although drawing more directly upon the original, differs only slightly from that of Sethe. For Müller's special system of numbering, see § 7<sup>1</sup>.

6° D. Paton *Early Egyptian Records of Travel (Materials for a Historical Geography of Western Asia)*, IV (Princeton 1922), pp. 32—115.

For a general appreciation of this series see Prel. Rem., J: p. 23. — Vol. IV (originally announced as "IV,a" but actually the last published) is almost entirely devoted to Thutmes III's great Asiatic lists. It presents, besides a hieroglyphic copy, transliterations, vocalized forms and identifications (according to the systems and theories of various authors: Brugsch, Tomkins-Sayce, Maspero, Petrie and Müller), synoptic tables of the topographical names with those from the Amarna-tablets and other Accadian texts, Eusebius' Onomasticon, the works of Flavius Josephus, Strabonis Geographica, Cl. Ptolemaei Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις, Plinii Secundi Historia Naturalis and the Talmud. The work is concluded by a set of special *Indices*.

7. The system of numbering most commonly used for texts a, b, and c is that of Numbers Mariette. For the "Megiddo-list" this is based on the total of 119 different topographical names (cp. §§ 4—5). As each of the three copies omits different names, the individual texts all contain a slightly smaller number of name-rings than is indicated by their highest number. Details of this system, which I have followed in the reproduction of the list in Part II, may be seen on *Diagrams* I, II, III<sup>2</sup>.

Mariette's numbers of the name-rings in text c run from 1 to 359. Of these nn. 1—119 refer to the "Megiddo-list" (which in text c really contains only 117 names, nn. 8 and 95 having been omitted), while the remaining 240 numbers are those of the "Naharina-list". The total of 240 names for this list was reached by Mariette, on the one hand by incorporating into his system a block of names which have been entirely erased or destroyed (lower left corner; see *Diagram* III), and on the other hand by leaving out the 30 names which have disappeared from the two highest rows.

Müller uses in his edition of the "Naharina-list" a special system of numbering which entirely separates this list from the "Megiddo-list". It also incorporates the lost block of 30 names from the highest rows. His numbers for the "Naharina-list", therefore, run from 1 to 270. Apart from the difference thus resulting between the numbers of Mariette (and Sethe)

<sup>1</sup> Müller's detailed discussion of the contents of the "Naharina-list", announced in *Eg. Res.*, I p. 40, has to my knowledge never appeared. — Mention may also be made of the same author's discussion on many names of this list in his previous work *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (*passim* but especially pp. 157—164 and pp. 288—291) and in *OLZ* 2 1899 col. 137—139; 5 1902 col. 136—138 and 160.

<sup>2</sup> These *Diagrams* have with small alterations been adapted from Mariette's plates (*Karnak. Atlas* pls. 17—21). On *Diagram* III the division between the "Megiddo-list" and the "Naharina-list" has been marked by a broad line. The numbers of the names omitted in each of the three copies have also been indicated on these *Diagrams*.



and those of Müller, there are some other minor discrepancies which I have recorded in the *Notes* following the reproduction of this list in Part II. There I have added Müller's numbers in brackets after those of Mariette and Sethe.

Superscriptions.  
Geographical  
Area

8. Since the historical basis of the great Thutmes-lists is generally regarded as somewhat more solid than that of all other lists (cp. Prel. Rem., E: p. 14), a few words may be added here on their general significance and intended purpose as well as on their mutual relationship. In this respect the superscriptions of the three copies claim consideration.

Those of a and c are essentially identical and differ considerably from that of b. For the hieroglyphic text of these superscriptions see Sethe's reproduction (*Urk.*, IV pp. 780—781), based, as has been said, on a collation of Mariette's text with the original reliefs. A partial translation is given by Breasted AR, II § 402, a complete one by Paton *Early Egyptian Records*, IV p. 41, from which the following translation only slightly differs:

*Text a: "List of the countries of Upper-Retenu (i.e. of the princes of the countries, etc.), shut up by His Majesty in the city of the wretched M-k-t (Megiddo). His Majesty brought their children as living prisoners to the city of ... šwhn m ipt-š.wt (i.e. Castle in Thebes; cp. Breasted AR, II p. 170 n. b) on his first victorious campaign, according to the command of his Father Amon who led him to fortunate paths."*

*Text c: "List of ..... to the city of Thebes (w3š.t) in order to fill the storehouse of his Father Amon in ipt-š.wt on his victorious campaign", etc.*

*Text b: "All inaccessible lands of the marshes of š.t (Asia) (i.e. the princes of all, etc.) whom His Majesty brought as living captives. He made great slaughter among them. They (i.e. the lands) had never been trodden before by any of the kings of Lower Egypt apart from His Majesty. The renown of his Might in [his doing so] shall not be destroyed in this land [for ever]."*

The real difference between the formulas of text a and c on the one hand and that of text b on the other, is that both a and c introduce a list of towns and places of "Upper-Retenu", while b seems to point to a much larger geographical area, namely the entire territory of š.t.<sup>1</sup> From the *Annals* of Thutmes III, however, we learn that in the first Asiatic campaign the Pharaoh's army did not advance beyond the foot of the Lebanon. On the other hand, the superscription of text b alone fails to connect explicitly the appended topographical list with that first campaign and the capture of the foreign princes at Megiddo. At first sight, therefore, we might feel inclined to conclude that the topographical list of text b intends to enumerate the conquests, not only of Thutmes' first Asiatic campaign, but of subsequent military expeditions as well. But this is difficult to understand in view of the fact that the list of b is practically identical with that of a and that the list of c alone, although its superscription is essentially identical with that of a, includes the whole of Syria.

A possible or even plausible explanation of these rather contradictory relations between the lists and their superscriptions might be that the superscription in its original form was only intended for a list of Thutmes' conquests during his first Asiatic campaign (text a).

<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the exact meaning of "r-t-n ḥ-r-t" in the present text (see below), it certainly indicates only a small part of "š.t" or Western Asia.



The use of the term *št.t* (b) instead of *r-t-n ḥ-r-t* (a) may well be due to the exaggerated style of the scribe or sculptor of list b<sup>1</sup>. When, however, after several other successful campaigns the Pharaoh's conquests extended far beyond "Upper-Retenu" and a new triumphal list (text c) had to be drawn up for the glory of the Pharaoh, the scribe or sculptor simply started by reproducing once more the entire earlier "Palestine-list", including its superscription, to which he then added a new list of northern conquests. Not aiming at anything like a historical and conscientiously executed document he did not think it necessary to devise a new superscription more in harmony with the larger geographical area of his new list.

Thus, according to the intention of the scribe who compiled the "Palestine" or "Megiddo-list", this was intended as an enumeration of towns and places situated in "Upper-Retenu". How far this list of 119 place-names is *in fact* confined to the territory designated under that name, it is not possible to establish from the meaning of the word itself, as it is known that "Upper-Retenu" is not always used in Egyptian texts in the same, and perhaps never in a clear, sense<sup>2</sup>.

To find out what in the present case was intended by "Upper-Retenu" we have to proceed from the opposite way i.e. from the topographical names which are listed under this general title. Although the greater part of the 119 names of this list so far resist all attempts at topographical identification, such identifications as have been established with certainty or sufficient probability suggest that "Upper-Retenu" here comprises the northern part of present-day Palestine, including the northern districts of Transjordan, approximately from Bashan to Damascus. That no towns of Southern Palestine are included in the list (n. 104, if identical with Gezer, is the most southerly situated place we can discover), may be explained by the reasonable supposition that this region was already in the hands of the Egyptians or at least had offered no resistance to the invading army<sup>3</sup>. As Thutmes' first Asiatic campaign clearly concentrated on the siege and capture of Megiddo, it appears that the Pharaoh's aim was the subjection of the northern part of Palestine<sup>4</sup>.

According to Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 145 n. 3) the first name of the "Palestine-list" (*q-d-š*) does not fall within the general range of this list and has been added later. Whether this suspicion is correct or not, depends upon the question which town is intended here by that name. This point has been under discussion from the time when the lists were first discovered. Mariette (*Les listes géographiques*, etc. pp. 12—13) pronounced himself in favour of the North Palestinian town of Qadesh Nephtali, which is certainly situated in what the Egyptians called "Upper-Retenu", while Maspero (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 20 1887 p. 297) saw in this name the city of Qadesh on the Orontes. In Müller's opinion (MVAG 1907, 1 p. 8) the name, as recorded in the Egyptian document from

<sup>1</sup> To attribute the change of "Upper-Retenu" into "Western Asia" to the fancy of the scribe or sculptor of text b is in harmony with the general tenor of his formula which seems to be wholly independent from that of text a.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. A. Alt, in ZDPV 47 1924 pp. 169—185 and W. M. Müller *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 143—146.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Müller *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 157 ff., and also Breasted-Capart *Histoire de l'Égypte* (Bruxelles 1923), pp. 293—294.

<sup>4</sup> Some authors (e.g. Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 145) have advanced the opinion that the superscriptions of these topographical lists are not by the same hand as the lists themselves and that consequently no correspondence exists between them. Such a supposition seems to be rather gratuitous and anyway has not been proved. Moreover, even if it were true, it does not exclude all correspondence between the lists and their superscriptions.

which the list was compiled, was intended for the Galilean city, but as the sculptor supposed it to be the more famous Qadesh on the Orontes, he gave this name the first place in the list according to its predominant importance, thus inserting in the enumeration of conquests of the first Asiatic campaign the name of a town which fell into the hands of the Egyptians only several years later. Müller's construction is based on the assumption that no other reason can be thought of why the name *q-d-š* precedes all other names on the list.

It seems to me that this argument is hardly convincing. First of all, because the Egyptian scribe is not likely to have falsified the historical perspective to such an extent as to assign the greatest importance among all the Pharaoh's conquests of his first campaign to a city which had as yet not even been reached by his army, and was actually taken by Thutmes only in his sixth campaign. Secondly, unless all correspondence between the superscriptions of the shorter lists and these lists themselves is denied, the original "Palestine-list" must have been drawn up by the annalists of the Pharaoh (not necessarily for immediate use on the pylons) shortly after the first campaign and with the intention of enumerating the results obtained only by the first military expedition. At that time there was still no reason why such a prominence should be given to Qadesh on the Orontes.

On the other hand, nothing prevents one from supposing that the Galilean Qadesh may together with Megiddo have played a leading part in the coalition opposing the Egyptian invaders and would therefore rightly have been considered as one of the Pharaoh's principal conquests. We also know that at the time of Seti I's expedition to Palestine this fortress was of great strength and importance. For this reason its capture was made the subject of one of Seti's reliefs on the hypostyle-wall at Karnak (= P-M., II p. 21 sub 62) <sup>1</sup>. In later times Qadesh Nephtali under Barak headed the Israelite army which defeated the bands of Sisera in the plain of Esdremon (Jos. 4 and 5).

Limited  
historical value

9. It needs no special proof that the topographical lists of Thutmes III were compiled from annals made by scribes in the train of the Egyptian army and deposited in the archives at Thebes. It is sufficiently well known with how much zeal the Egyptian officials used to record all events illustrating the reigns of the succeeding Pharaohs. In the case of Thutmes' military expeditions into Western Asia we have, moreover, the explicit testimony of this fact in the *Annals* and in the *Hymn of Victory* <sup>2</sup>.

It is a different question whether all towns and places mentioned in these lists were actually conquered by the Pharaoh. In view of the univocal tendency of Egyptian triumphal inscriptions towards the greatest possible glorification of the king's deeds and exploits, such a literal interpretation of the long lists seems *a priori* improbable, as it is also hardly to be believed that not less than 119 local chiefs should at one time have united against the Egyptian invaders and afterwards all fled into Megiddo.

It seems more likely that the lists of conquests were lengthened by adding many names of places, whose chiefs before or after the fall of Megiddo (and for the "Naharina-list" after the fall of Qadesh on the Orontes) decided to offer tribute to the Pharaoh or came in some other way into contact with his army <sup>3</sup>. A number of names may even have been added without any such historical basis for the sole purpose of still more lengthening the lists. The historical value of the Thutmes-lists, although certainly greater than that of any other of the longer Topographical Lists, should not be overestimated.

<sup>1</sup> It is at least highly probable that on this relief-scene the Galilean Qadesh was intended. See e.g., Breasted AR, III p. 71 n. a. But against this: Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 217 and Fr. Bilabel *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16—11. Jahrh.* (Heidelberg 1927), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> See Breasted AR, II § 433, at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the inscription on the siege of Megiddo: Breasted AR, II § 440.

10. Much has been said on the question as to whether there exists in the Thutmes-lists any systematical order or division into geographically coherent groups of place-names. It is, however, still open to doubt, whether any such disposition, naturally of considerable value for the purpose of topographical identification, may be discovered in these lists, even if the question be restricted to the shorter "Palestine-list". As the "Naharina-list" allows identifications of only a relatively small number of names, the question can hardly be discussed there.

Division of list  
and Groups of  
place-names

Entirely a product of the imagination is the opinion of some early students of the "Palestine-list", who believed these places and towns to have been enumerated in the order in which they were taken by the Pharaoh<sup>1</sup>. Nor is it possible to endorse Maspero's division of the "Palestine-list" into two large sections, one (nn. 1—59) enumerating Galilean places, the other (nn. 60 ff.) those of Judea (see p. 32 n. 1). With the probable exception of Gezer (n. 104) not a single place-name of this list can be attributed with certainty to Southern Palestine (cp. also § 8, p. 35).

On the other hand, it is no wonder that here and there a few names of neighbouring places are mentioned together<sup>2</sup>. Thus far Maspero seems to have been right in holding that, roughly speaking, the whole first part of the "Megiddo-list" deals more especially with North Palestinian places<sup>3</sup>. One single system or geographical order, which is constantly followed, does not seem to underlie the arrangement of the list, or at least cannot be discovered. Which of these two formulas is more exact, can only be decided as soon as more place-names have been identified<sup>4</sup>.

11. *List I a, b, c*: pp. 109 ff. — The three copies have been arranged synoptically to allow easy comparison of different readings. — Müller's and Sethe's copies of this list (see above: Hieroglyphic Text and Notes

<sup>1</sup> This opinion does not even take into account the direct reference of the superscriptions of the lists to the siege of Megiddo and the simultaneous capture of a great number of local chiefs. As an example of the phantastic constructions such opinions lead to, I may draw attention to the map made by Eug. de Passykin, ex-captain of the Imperial Russian Army. This map presents a detailed itinerary of Thutmes' army in Palestine. See *Rec. de trav.*, 26 1904 pp. 169—175. Müller must have had such theories in mind when he referred to "*die wunderbarsten Labyrinthwanderungen*" (MVAG 1907, 1 p. 4 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> A good example of this has been noted by B. Maisler. See JPOS 9 1929 pp. 85—86.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller MVAG 1907, 1 p. 33 and, Ed. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums* II, 1 p. 89 n. 2, where it is also made clear that such a general statement is in details subject to many doubts and exceptions.

<sup>4</sup> The contribution of the great lists of Thutmes III to our concrete knowledge of ancient Palestinian and Oriental topography is, therefore, small in proportion to the great number of place-names they contain. This, however, does not diminish the importance of these documents in themselves, but most entirely be ascribed to our insufficient understanding which may be remedied by more study of the documents and by the discovery of more material for comparison. In this respect, it is important to remember that the topographical names of the Thutmes-lists, and, at least partly, those of many later lists, have been transmitted by these inscriptions in the forms which the Egyptian scribes must have received from the native population. Some authors (e.g. Müller, MVAG 1907, 1 p. 4) have expressed the opinion that the lists of Thutmes III were compiled from Accadian documents. This seems to be an unnecessary assumption, as the use of cuneiform Babylonian writing by Egyptian officials was practically confined to diplomatic and other state correspondence. Although some of the place-names may be better understood on the assumption of Accadian originals, others rather contradict it (see e.g., W. Borée *Ortsnamen*, etc. p. 12 n. 3). We may perhaps suppose that a number of place-names were already known to the Egyptian scribes from Accadian letters and documents, while a greater number were directly picked up by them during the Asiatic campaigns. As far as Palestine is concerned, there is no reason to suggest that such names came to their notice in other than the native i.e. Canaanite forms. Consequently Accadian is not rightly considered as the only guide in the study of the Thutmes-lists, apart from the fact, hitherto too much neglected, that many place-names are plainly not of Semitic origin.

§ 6) are almost identical. Although Müller's reproduction is more directly based on the original inscriptions, I have preferred to reproduce Sethe's text, because this alone gives the three readings of the "Palestine-list" and also because Sethe follows Mariette's single system of numbering for the entire list ("Palestine" and "Naharina-list": cp. above: § 7). Variants from Müller's copy are given in the *Notes*.

## II

## Plan III—Diagram IV

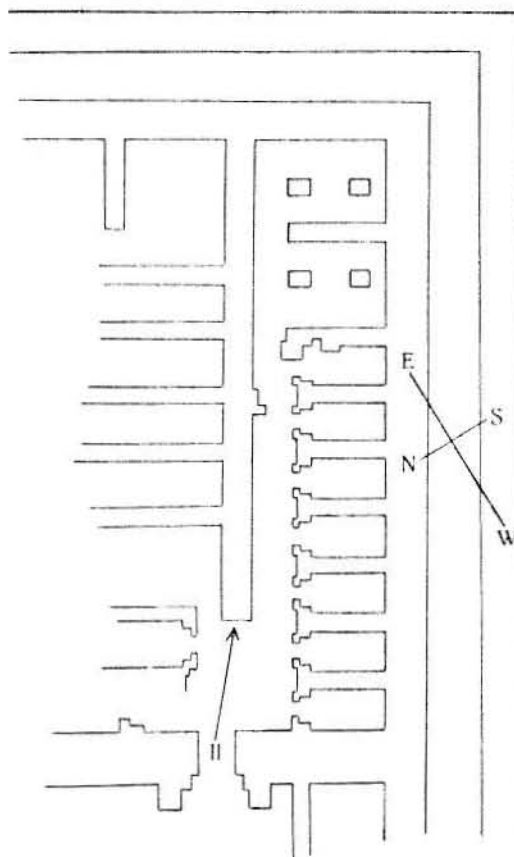
Text on p. 123.

**Short Karnak-list**

12. Besides the great lists described above, there exists in the temple of Amon at Karnak a short topographical list of Thutmes III which was discovered by G. Legrain but published by W. M. Müller (see below, § 13)<sup>1</sup>. Its place (see *Plan III*) is in the south-western part of the "Festival Hall of Thutmes III". The list is in the form of name-rings surmounted by bearded figures of captives and must originally have been of considerable length, but only part of it has been preserved. From this it appears that the list consisted of two sections separated by a blank space. The lower section contained three rows of nine name-rings each, as may be concluded from the bottom row where the entire breadth of the wall-surface has been preserved. Of the higher section nothing remains but three name-rings of the lowest row. Altogether 21 names still exist, nearly all of which are mentioned in the great "Palestine-list" of Thutmes III<sup>2</sup>.

**Photographic Reproductions. Edition of Text. Numbers**

13. There exists no published photographic reproduction of this list, but I received a good photograph taken at my request from the Chicago House at Luxor, on which my description of this list and *Diagram IV* are based. The only copy of the list was published by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 81 fig. 14 (cp. pp. 80—82). Comparison of my photograph with Müller's copy



Plan III: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, South Corner of "Festival Hall of Thutmes III" (List II)

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 42 sub 8—9.

<sup>2</sup> This, together with the place where the list was engraved, sufficiently proves that it must be attributed to Thutmes III, although the superscription and all other texts which may have accompanied the list, have disappeared. The list is quoted in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire* as "*extrait de la liste de Thoutmôsis III à Karnak*". Such a direct relation of the present list to the great Karnak-lists, although it may seem probable *a priori*, is not confirmed by close comparison. Certainly nn. 32 and 33 and probably also nn. 6 and 17 are not mentioned in any of the three copies of the "Palestine-list" and in the names common to both lists there are remarkable orthographic differences (cp. e.g., II/24 with I/30; II/27 with I/32; II/15 with I/61).



shows that this does not suggest a very good idea of its original form and extent<sup>1</sup>.

No numbers have so far been used in quoting the names of this list. Those inscribed in *Diagram IV*, according to which the names have been reproduced in Part II, start from the lowest row, the only one to be preserved complete, and are based on the assumption of 9 name-rings in each of the three lower rows and 6 name-rings in those of the higher section.

14. *List II*: p. 123. — The corresponding numbers of the "Palestine-list" have been added after the names. For doubtful cases see the *Notes* in Part II. The specification a, b, c does not intend to suggest any special relation to one of the three copies but only shows which reading is more similar to that in the present list.

### III


#### *Plan IV—Diagram V*

*Text on p. 125.*

15. The number of topographical lists with which Thutmes III has endeavoured to perpetuate his Asiatic conquests, must have been considerable. The same temple of Amon at Karnak preserves two fragments of such lists, one of which<sup>2</sup> was engraved on the upper register of the wall built by Thutmes III round the left (northern) obelisk of Hatshepsut<sup>3</sup>. Its remains may be seen on the western face of that wall opposite the back of pylon IV (see *Plan IV*). This list consists of a single horizontal row of name-rings surmounted by bearded Semitic figures. Above these, part of a horizontal line of text<sup>4</sup> is preserved with a fragment of a relief-scene, apparently of the usual type (slaying of prisoner or prisoners; only the king's left leg has survived).

16. The list of names is badly damaged. What remains of it, was first copied by A. Mariette: *Karnak. Atlas*, Tf. 27, a; then by U. Bouriant, in *Rec. de trav.*, 11 1889 pp. 154—155, and finally by W. M. Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 112 fig. 37 (cp. pp. 111, 4<sup>o</sup>—112). From these copies it appears that not a single name has been preserved intact. In fact, the list is so much damaged that from the evidence of the names alone we cannot ascertain whether it is Asiatic or African (cp. Müller *o.c.*, p. 112). Its Asiatic character is, however, extremely probable in view of the fact that the wall round the southern obelisk has a list of African names (= P-M., II p. 29 sub 14; copied by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 139, fig. 47).

<sup>1</sup> It seems fairly probable that the higher part of the list contained more than one row of name-rings and was more or less equal in size to the lower part. The three rows of this section must have been of equal length each containing 9 name-rings. In the higher section the individual names occupy more space so that each row cannot have contained more than 6 name-rings. Müller erroneously estimates the number of names in the lowest row of the higher section as at least 9.

On my photograph a loose stone-block is seen lying on its side on top of the wall, bearing a ring with the name  and also a small unrecognizable fragment of a relief-scene. The original place of this block cannot be ascertained. It may be noted that this name is not mentioned in the great "Palestine-list" (cp. preceding foot-note).

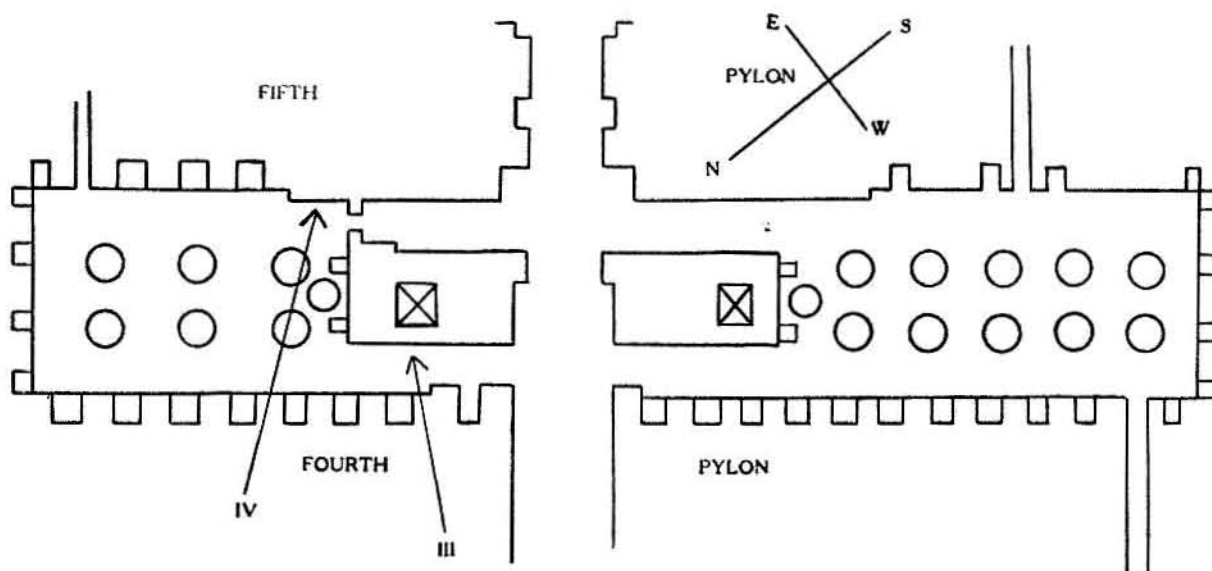
<sup>2</sup> P-M., II p. 29 sub 12.

<sup>3</sup> For details about these walls round Hatshepsut's obelisks see L. Borchardt *Zur Baugeschichte des Amons-tempels von Karnak* (*Untersuchungen z. Gesch. u. Alt. Ägyptens*, hrsg. von K. Sethe, V, 1; Leipzig 1905). pp. 24—25.


<sup>4</sup> Copied by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 112 fig. 37.



**Numbers** The *system of numbers* reproduced in *Diagram V* follows the direction of writing. According to Bouriant (*o.c.*, p. 154) this list originally contained 17 names, (the same number being seen in the African list on the wall round the southern obelisk), the first six of which have disappeared. Following the direction of writing, the numbers should thus begin with n. 7, although n. 9 is the first name-ring which has preserved a legible fragment. After Bouriant's last name (n. 17 in *Diagram V*) Müller's copy adds a fragment of one



Plan IV: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, Fourth and Fifth Pylon (Lists III and IV)

more name (det.  and trace of sign above). If this is exact, the list originally contained 18, not 17, names; or only 5 names (instead of 6, as stated by Bouriant) have been destroyed in the first part. Mariette's copy is too incomplete to allow a decision. For this reason I have kept the number of 17 names as the total number of name-rings, adding Müller's last fragment as "17bis" <sup>1</sup>.

**Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes**

17. *List III*: p. 125.

#### IV

*Plan IV—Diagram VI*

*Text on p. 126.*

**Second Fragment** 18. The second fragment of an Asiatic list of Thutmes III <sup>2</sup> is preserved on the western face of the left (north) tower of pylon V (see *Plan IV*). The position of this fragment, close to an inscription of names and titles of Thutmes III (= P-M., II p. 30 sub 15), justifies its attribution to the same Pharaoh.

<sup>1</sup> The original total of 18 names, suggested by Müller's copy, seems more probably exact. Bouriant's copy of the list on the wall round the southern obelisk (*Rec. de trav.*, 11 1889 p. 154) contains 17 names (as does his copy of the Asiatic list), but here also Müller's copy adds a fragment of one more name (extreme right).

<sup>2</sup> P-M., II p. 30 sub 16.

An excellent photographic reproduction of the remaining fragment (the original extent of the list is unknown) is given by J. Dümichen *Photographische Resultate einer archäologischen Expedition nach Ägypten*, Teil II (Berlin 1871), Bild XXIV, described in the accompanying text as "*Bruchstücke einer Liste von Namen fremder Völker, die unter der Thutmosis Herrschaft Ägypten unterthänig waren*". In the upper right-hand corner of the block part of the horizontal line of text above the name-rings ("*List of the northern countries*", etc.) has been preserved with a fragment of a relief-scene representing the king slaying a prisoner. Some of the names may be African (e.g., nn. 1, 3, 6).

19. The nine names still legible were first copied by A. Mariette: *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 27, Editions of Text c; then by U. Bouriant: *Rec. de trav.*, 11 1889 p. 156<sup>1</sup>.

Diagram VI is based on Dümichen's photograph and the numbers inscribed follow the direction of writing.

20. List IV: p. 126.

# V

## Plan V—Diagram VII

Text on p. 127.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

21. In addition to the three great lists, a short list and two fragments, the temple of Amon at Karnak preserves a list executed in Ptolemaic times but reproducing names from the great Thutmes-lists. For this reason it may be inserted at the end of this chapter.

This Ptolemaic copy<sup>2</sup> is engraved on the western face of a block of stone at the foot of the most northern column of the "colonnade of Taharqa" in the great forecourt of the temple (see Plan V). It seems to have been discovered by professor A. H. Sayce but first notice of it was published by W. M. Müller in *OLZ* 3 1900 col. 270—271. Its position can be seen on the general view of the forecourt in Jequier *Arch. et décor.*, II pl. 1, 1 (behind the standing figure). The inscription consists of two horizontal rows, each of 16 name-rings, all copied from the "Palestine-list" (see below, § 23). The higher part of the wall has broken off carrying away part of the figures surmounting the higher row of name-rings and probably also some accompanying relief-scene and text<sup>3</sup>.

22. The only copy of this list was made by W. M. Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 66 fig. 10 (cp. pp. 66—69), from which the names have been reproduced in Paton's *Early Egyptian Records*, IV p. 40, Diagram n. 83. In Paton's synoptic tables (pp. 41 ff.) they are listed as "text d". On his corresponding numbers of the "Palestine-list" which are those of Müller, see below: § 24.

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is not mentioned by Müller and most of the names are not recorded in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire*.


<sup>2</sup> P.-M., II p. 13 sub 1.

<sup>3</sup> The position of the list and its present condition are better visible on a photograph for which I am indebted to Mr. Harold H. Nelson. — The list, first mentioned by Müller *loc. cit.*, is referred to by Gauthier (DNG, V p. 130 s.v. "chouchken") as distinct from this Ptolemaic copy ("*4e copie de la liste des villes palestino-syriennes gravée à Karnak sous Thoutmôsis III*"). The same name is more correctly quoted as n. 9 of the Ptolemaic copy in I p. 107 s.v. "âchouchken".



one which is now lost. His main argument is taken from the supposed correspondence of n. 19 of the Ptolemaic copy with n. 98 of the "Palestine-list" (a and b). Starting from the identification of I/98 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑

probable that only one of them was used as a model whence to extract the 32 names for the Ptolemaic list, as there was no need to collect them from three practically identical copies. It is true that various names of the Ptolemaic copy are occasionally more similar to a particular one of the three readings of the corresponding names of the "Palestine-list", but in several of these cases only one or two readings of this list have been preserved and in others the difference is really small, if not negligible. Little or nothing can therefore be concluded from this kind of comparison.

Something more may perhaps be reached in another way. If, as has been said above, V/19 reproduces I/6, text b of the "Palestine-list" must be excluded as a possible source of the Ptolemaic copy, since this name was omitted from b. For V/28 we have two readings in the "Palestine-list" (n. 81), but only c shows the peculiar and certainly erroneous group  which is also seen in V/28. The probability then is that text c of the "Palestine-list" was used for the Ptolemaic extract. The orthographic differences between some names of text c and of the Ptolemaic copy (cp. V/14 with I/63; V/24 with I/77; V/30 with I/83 and V/32 with I/85) may reasonably be attributed to the personal style or fancy of the Ptolemaic copyist.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

24. *List V*: pp. 127 f. — The corresponding numbers of the "Palestine-list" have been added after the names. These are not always the same as those suggested by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 68) and reproduced by Paton ("Diagram 83"). See the preceding § and also the *Notes* following the hieroglyphic text in Part II. The specifications a, b, c, generally added to the numbers of the "Palestine-list", only intend to point out to which of the three readings the Ptolemaic name bears more similarity (cp. the discussion in the preceding §).

## CHAPTER II: AMENHOTEP II

Introductory  
Note and Division of Chapter

1. Succeeding to the throne of Egypt after the death of his father Thutmes III (*circa* 1450), Amenhotep II became the ruler of an empire extending from beyond the Euphrates in the North to the third cataract in the South. As soon, however, as the tidings of Thutmes' death had reached the remoter parts of the empire, local chiefs and princes in the North conspired to shake off the yoke of Egypt, but the rebellion was quelled at its very outset by the Pharaoh's army<sup>1</sup>. With equal success the new Pharaoh led his armies against the enemies in the South, extending the frontier of his empire to the fourth cataract.

Back in his capital Amenhotep II adorned it by erecting new buildings and by enlarging the existing ones, but only ruins remain to testify of his activity in this field. Most of his relief-scenes on the walls of the Karnak-buildings have also been reduced to fragments, among which are remnants of two Asiatic topographical lists (VI—VII)<sup>2</sup>.

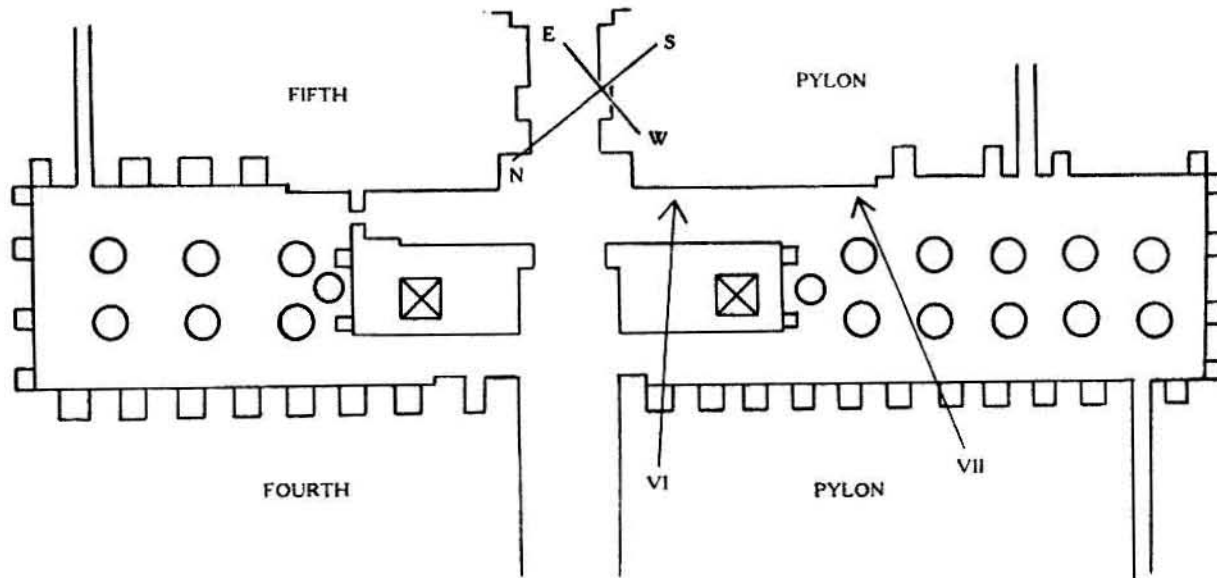
<sup>1</sup> Details of this Asiatic campaign are known from a granite stele at Karnak. See Breasted AR, II §§ 781 ff. It is also alluded to in the text of a dedication tablet at Amada. See *ibid.*, § 797.

<sup>2</sup> There is a double relief, representing Amenhotep II slaying his prisoners before the god, on the south face of pylon VIII but neither of them has a topographical list. See the reproduction of the western relief in LD, III Bl. 61. Of the relief on the east tower a photograph exists in the collection of the Egyptian museum at Berlin (reg. nr. 141/5408).



VI  
*Plan VI—Diagram VIII*  
*Text on p. 129.*

2. In the great temple of Amon at Karnak the remains are to be seen of a small chapel **First Fragment** built by Amenhotep II against the west face of the southern tower of pylon V (see *Plan VI*). On the outside wall of this chapel a relief-scene<sup>1</sup> represents the king presenting to Amon



Plan VI: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, Fourth and Fifth Pylon (Lists VI and VII)

captives from "Retenu" (cp. Prel. Rem., B, Type III: p. 9). Below this scene and separated from it by a horizontal line of text<sup>2</sup> there is an Asiatic topographical list consisting of two rows, each of 12 name-rings, the greater number of which are destroyed. From the six or seven names that can sufficiently be deciphered, it would seem that the list refers only to northern Palestine and part of Syria<sup>3</sup>.

3. The remaining names and fragments were first copied by G. Legrain and reproduced **Editions of Text** in his *Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 Oct. 1902 au 15 Mai 1903*: ASAE 5

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 30 sub 17.

<sup>2</sup> Copied by Legrain, in ASAE 5 1904 p. 34; translation in Breasted AR, II § 798A and Müller *Eg. Res.*, I p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> This geographical limitation and the relatively small number of place-names may well be regarded as some guarantee for a historical basis of the enumeration of conquests. The revolt at Amenhotep's accession was localized in these northern regions, as appears clearly from the Karnak-stele mentioned above (p. 44 n. 1).

1905 p. 35. A more complete copy was published by W. M. Müller: *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 54, with a photographic reproduction on pl. 55.

Diagram VIII is based on Müller's photograph.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

4. *List VI*: p. 129.

### VII

*Plan VI—Diagram IX*

*Text* on p. 130.

Second Fragment

5. The second fragment of an Asiatic topographical list of Amenhotep II is very small<sup>1</sup>. It was discovered by Mariette (see *Karnak. Etude* etc., p. 54) and stands to the right of the first fragment (see *Plan VI*). Only three names have been preserved (Upper and Lower

Editions of Text

Retenu and *h-r-b* = Aleppo). They were first published by A. Mariette: *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 27, b. Müller copied the same names together with a small fragment of an inscription and a relief-scene: *Eg. Res.*, II p. 109 fig. 34.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

6. *List VII*: p. 130.

## CHAPTER III: THUTMES IV

### VIII

*Diagram X—Text* on p. 131.

List on body  
of chariot

1. Not a single mural relief with topographical list is known of Thutmes IV (circa 1420—1411) but short lists of topographical names, one Asiatic and one African, were cut on the interior of a chariot-body of gilded wood found in 1903 by Howard Carter and T. M. Davies in this Pharaoh's tomb at Thebes (n. 43)<sup>2</sup> and now preserved in the Cairo Museum (reg. nr. 46097). The complete decoration on the interior and exterior of this chariot has been described by Howard Carter and Percy E. Newberry *The Tomb of Thutmôsis IV* (Westminster 1904), pp. 24—38.

The two topographical lists consist of six name-rings each, surmounted by captive figures of different type and head-dress (reproduced by Carter-Newberry, *o.c.*, pp. 32—33 figs. 9—14 and 15—20). Both lists are placed under a relief representing the king as a human-headed lion trampling upon a group of three enemies. The list on the left panel of the chariot is African, that on the right is Asiatic. A short text under the body of the lion describes the scene as "*Trampling upon all the barbarians of the dark North*".

Photographic  
Reproductions  
and Editions  
of Text

2. The relief-scene with the list of northern enemies is reproduced on photographs 24 and 25 of the *Fremdv. Exp.* and in Wreszinski's *Atlas*, II pl. 3, left (phot. and drawing). The topographical names are also given by Carter-Newberry *o.c.*, p. 32.

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 30 sub 18.

<sup>2</sup> P.-M., I p. 30.

This list is not mentioned by Burchardt and the names are not recorded in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire*. The numbers inscribed in *Diagram X* (based on the photographs of the *Fremdv. Exp.*) are those of Carter-Newberry, *loc. cit.*

3. *List VIII*: p. 131 (from the photographs of the *Fremdv. Exp.*).

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

#### CHAPTER IV: AMENHOTEP III

1. Under Amenhotep III (circa 1411—1375), son and successor of Thutmes IV, the Egyptian empire was at the zenith of its power and glory. Especially in the countries of Western Asia the Egyptian domination was firmly established and the new Pharaoh did not even think it necessary to go in person at the head of his army to suppress the already appearing symptoms of rebellion<sup>1</sup>. Amenhotep's interest was absorbed in the display of wealth and magnificence the colonial empire had procured him. It may perhaps to some extent be attributed to this fact that on the walls of the buildings erected during this period of unparalleled prosperity little room was made for the glorification of the Pharaoh as a warrior and a conqueror. The only topographical lists relating to Western Asia are those in the temple of Soleb in Upper Nubia built by the Pharaoh in honour of himself<sup>2</sup> and in which were placed the famous red-granite lions now preserved in the British Museum. Although these lists mainly enumerate African places<sup>3</sup>, some of them refer to northern countries (*IX*). Apart from these, only an insignificant fragment of another Asiatic list dating from this Pharaoh's time has been found on a stone-block at Karnak (*X*)<sup>4</sup>.

Introductory  
Note and Division  
of Chapter

#### *IX* *Plan VII—Diagram XI* *Text on p. 132.*

2. The topographical inscriptions found in the temple of Soleb<sup>5</sup> are spread over a number of short series, each of one row of name-rings. They are engraved on the lower part of

Soleb-lists

<sup>1</sup> This we may conclude from Rib-addi's letter to Amenhotep IV: "Your father has never come forth and he never came to see his countries and his vassal" (Kn. 116, 61.62). It is, however, certain that the Pharaoh did at least once send an Egyptian army to assist his Asiatic vassals against the common enemies (see Kn. 117, 25—27 and 108, 28—32). An inscription of "Amenhotep, son of Hapi", one of the army-commanders under Amenhotep III, contains even a vague allusion to a personal campaign of the Pharaoh in Western Asia (see Breasted AR, II §§ 916.918).

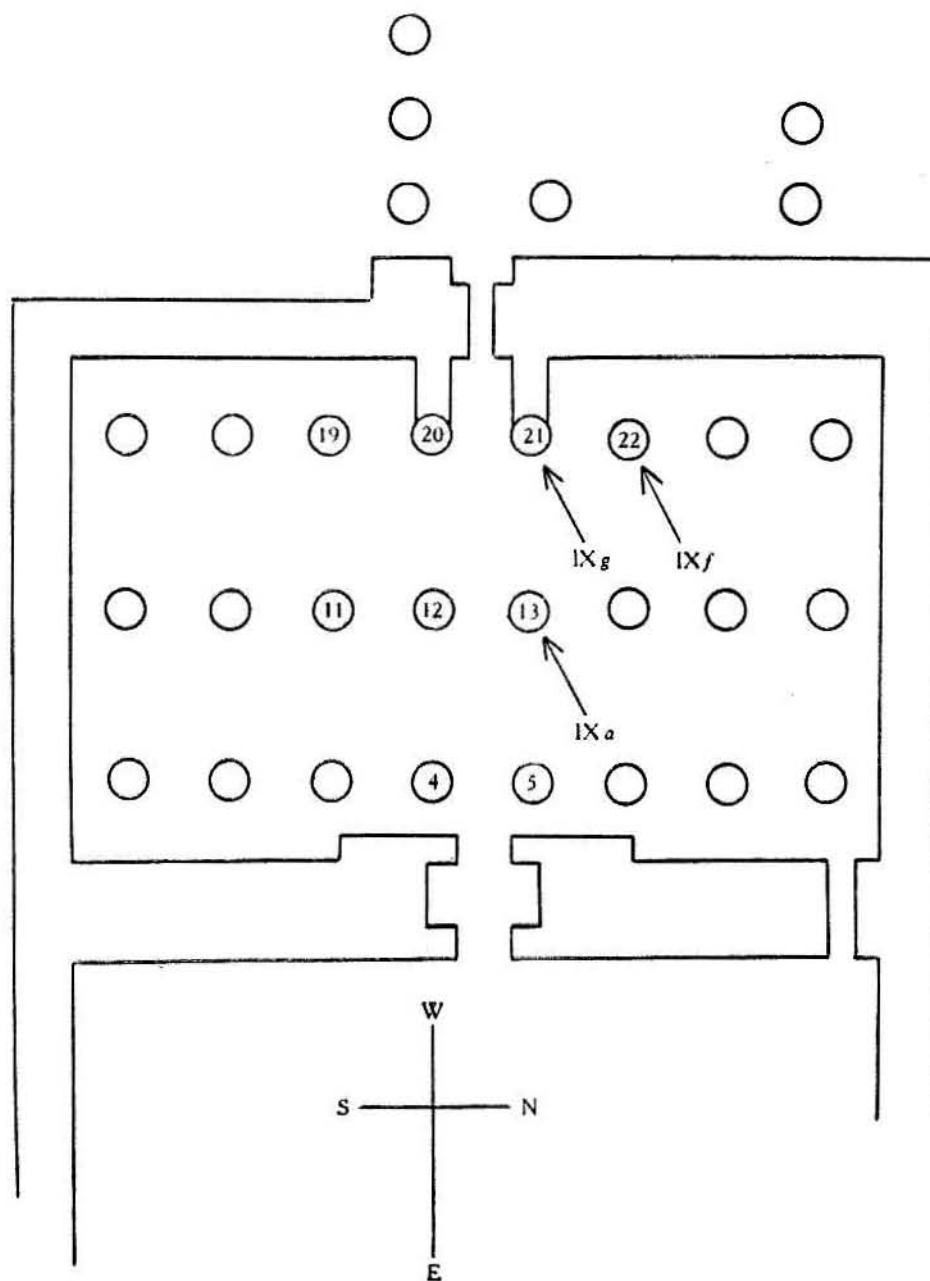
<sup>2</sup> See LD, *Text V* p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that Amenhotep's only military campaign conducted on a big scale was to the South. See Breasted AR, II §§ 842—855.

<sup>4</sup> A recent publication by Alex. Varille: *Nouvelles Listes géographiques d'Amenophis III à Karnak* (ASAE 36 1936 pp. 202—214) describes six stone-blocks found in the great temple of Amon to the east of the avenue of sphinxes leading from pylon X to the temple of Mut. Several of these blocks have short lists of presumably 7 names each, all rather badly damaged. Judging from the figures surmounting the name-rings and from the inscriptions above, two of these lists may have enumerated names of northern towns or countries but apart from some names of "peoples of the Nine Bows" all name-rings have become illegible or are entirely destroyed. —Some other fragments of lists from the time of Amenhotep IV have recently come to light. See "Addendum" (pp. 191—192).

<sup>5</sup> For a description of this less famous temple see especially LD, *Text V* pp. 221—243; Budge *The Egyptian Sudan*, I (London 1907), pp. 608—615; and Breasted, in *AJSL* 1908 pp. 83—96.

column-shafts. The columns which preserve such lists, are indicated on *Plan VII* (following the numbering of LD, *Text V* p. 232 from which the plan has been adapted) by nn. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, but only the lists on nn. 13, 21 and 22 have Asiatic names (for



Plan VII: Soleb, Temple of Amon, Hall C (List IX)

some names of the lists on columns 5 and 20 see the *Notes* in Part II). The figures surmounting the name-rings are of a different type for each series and sometimes also more than one type is represented in the same list (e.g. Semites and Hittites on column 13). Of the horizontal band of text above the name-rings only very small fragments remain.

Some of these columns may be seen on photographs 912 and 922 of Breasted's *Nubian Expedition*; individual names are reproduced on photographs 984. 985. 986. 982 (African: "Punt"). 988. Photographic Reproductions

3. The best copy of these lists, Asiatic as well as African, was published by Lepsius: Editions of Text LD, III Bl. 87 d and 88 a—h, where nine series of names are reproduced in varying degrees of completeness. Originally these nine series may have contained about 60 topographical and geographical names. The columns on which they were engraved, are the following:

col. 4: LD, III Bl. 88 e	
5	88 b
11	88 d
12	87 d
13	88 a
19	88 c
20	88 h
21	88 g
22	88 f

There exists no more recent copy <sup>1</sup> of these lists, although the correctness of Lepsius' reproduction is sometimes open to doubt (see the *Notes* on this list in Part II).

The numbers in Diagram XI follow the direction of writing.

5. *List IX*: pp. 132 f. — I have reproduced only the Asiatic series (a, f, g). Even in these Hieroglyphic Text and Notes the Asiatic character of some names may be doubted. All other series are African or of "peoples of the Nine Bows". See, however, the *Notes* on b and h in Part II (p. 133).

## X

*Text on p. 133.*

6. A very small fragment of a topographical list of Amenhotep III <sup>2</sup> has been found Karnak-fragment among the debris in the temple of Karnak and is mentioned in LD, *Text* III p. 9: "*Granitblock mit dem Vornamen* (in horizontal line of text) *Amenophis' III und Gefangenen-namen*". It was not found *in situ* but "*auf dem Ruinenberge nördlich vom Pylon (I) des grossen Tempels*" (*ibid.*, where sketch-plan is added). Its present position is unknown.

This fragment preserves only three names of northern countries which I have numbered according to the direction of writing.

7. *List X*: p. 133.

Hieroglyphic Text and Notes

<sup>1</sup> An older but not very helpful copy is that published by J. G. Wilkinson *Materia Hieroglyphica* (Malta 1828), in Part I, face to p. 124 "Supplement to Plate VIII", which reproduces 43 names. It has been reproduced in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, vol. II (London 1834), last plate at the end of the volume. — As a rule I have omitted to give references to Wilkinson's copies of topographical lists on account of their small value. For the same reason I have neglected to mention his variants in the *Notes* on the present list in Part II.

<sup>2</sup> P.-M., II p. 63: Granite block, etc.



## SECTION B: THE XIXth DYNASTY

### CHAPTER V: HAREMHEB

Introductory  
Note and Division of Chapter

1. The Asiatic topographical lists of the XVIIIth dynasty described in the preceding section owe their origin to the establishment of Egyptian suzerainty over large territories in Western Asia. The power of Egypt, however, rapidly declined during the reign of Amenhotep IV (Ichnaton). While this Pharaoh was occupying himself in his new Amarna-residence with theological speculation and with the creation of a new art, the Habiru overran the northern provinces and local princes re-established their independence. The menace of the Hittites was already looming on the horizon. After Ichnaton's death and a quick succession of several insignificant Pharaoh's (Sakere, Tutankhamon, Eye), it was the strong Haremheb (*circa* 1350—1315) who restored order in Egypt. If we may believe the evidence from his relief with its Asiatic topographical list (XI) on the Xth pylon<sup>1</sup> at Karnak, he also made the first effort to reconquer the lost Asiatic dominions. To the same Pharaoh we must attribute the topographical lists on both colossi erected in front (north) of the same pylon but later usurped by Ramses II (XII).

#### XI

#### Plan VIII—Diagram XII

Text on p. 134.

List on pylon X  
at Karnak

2. A relief-scene on the front of the eastern tower of pylon X at Karnak (see Plan VIII) represents the slaying of captives by Haremheb before the god Amon<sup>2</sup>. The relief is too much damaged to allow of any very reliable description of details<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is pylon X of Mariette, IX of Lepsius (and XI according to Breasted's numbering: AR, III § 34). It was built by Haremheb as was the next pylon to the north (IX of Mariette, VIII of Lepsius).

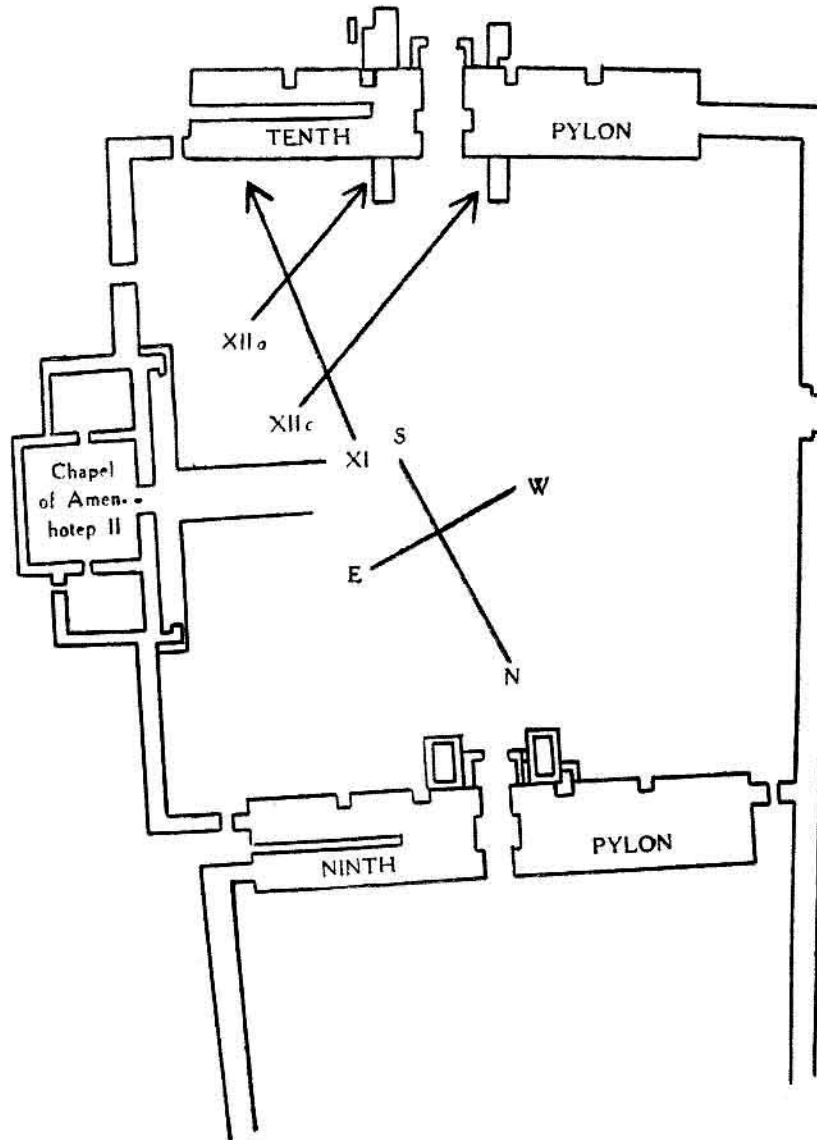
Very little is known about Haremheb's foreign expeditions (see Breasted AR, III §§ 33 ff.). In view of the tremendous task of this Pharaoh to restore order in Egypt itself, such expeditions can hardly have been of very great importance. This is confirmed by the fact that Seti I, who after the very short reign of Ramses I succeeded to the throne, was immediately compelled to undertake a campaign for the recovery of at least some portion of the Asiatic dominions.

<sup>2</sup> P.-M., II p. 62 sub 63.

<sup>3</sup> In the collection of the Egyptian museum at Berlin I found an unpublished photograph of this relief. By an unfortunate combination of circumstances my notes on this photograph later became disturbed and it has not been possible to retrace its registration-number. I do not think, however, that I saw anything like the king "leading prisoners to god" (P.-M., *loc. cit.*). The scene, though much damaged, rather seems to represent the slaying of prisoners. Behind the figure of the god which is unusually small and stands on a higher level than that of the king (perhaps as in the relief-scene of I b; see above: p. 30 n. 1), and behind the king himself are big gaps in the wall probably caused by the burning of the flag-staffs. There were no topographical names behind the god's figure and the list was confined to a single row of name-rings below the relief-scene.

On the western (right) tower of the same pylon is a relief-scene representing the slaying of prisoners with a list of southern topographical names, only three of which have been preserved (= P.-M., II p. 62 sub 64). Erroneously this fragment of three names is also described as Asiatic by Breasted AR, III § 34: "remains of eleven names" (adding together the names of both reliefs). Breasted refers (*ibid.*, note a) to Champollion *Not. Descr.*, II p. 178 where the three African names are reproduced, although their position is described as on "*massif de gauche du côté de la cour*".

3. The topographical list, already very short in itself, has only partly been preserved <sup>1</sup>. **Editions of Text**  
 The first copy was made by U. Bouriant but originally published by Müller: *As. u. Eur.*, p. 292 "Nachschrift zu S. 280"; then by Bouriant himself in *Lettre à M. Max Müller sur le*



Plan VIII: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, Tenth Pylon (Lists XI and XII)

*mur d'Haremhebi à Karnak, Rec. de trav.*, 17 1895 pp. 41—42 <sup>2</sup>. Cp. also Müller's discussion of the names on the basis of Bouriant's copy in MVAG 1897 pp. 276—278 (= n. 3 pp. 29—31). The best copy, which differs considerably from that of Bouriant, was made by Müller himself: *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 56, lowest row (cp. pp. 41—42). This copy gives the names as written from right to left according to the original inscription, while Bouriant's copy runs

<sup>1</sup> Judging from the Berlin photograph it cannot have been *much* larger than the eight names copied by Bouriant and by Müller.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously quoted by Breasted (AR, III p. 20 n. a) as *Rec. de trav.*, 16.

from left to right. *Diagram XII* with the numbers of names according to the direction of writing is based on Müller's copy.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

4. *List XI*: p. 134.

## XII

### *Plan VIII—Diagram XIII*

*Text* on p. 135.

Lists on socles  
of colossi

5. In front (north) of the doorway in pylon X (cp. p. 50 n. 1) are two colossi (see *Plan VIII*) with inscriptions which mention the name of Ramses II, although their style and execution are rather different from those of the period of Ramses II<sup>1</sup>. It seems at least very probable that they were erected by Haremheb, together with the pylon itself, and first inscribed by the same king. On the socles of both colossi topographical lists have been carved in the form of name-rings with figures of foreign captives (cp. *Prel. Rem.*, B. Type IV: pp. 9—10). A horizontal band of text above these name-rings celebrates the victories of the Pharaoh, whose name has everywhere been cut out and replaced by that of Ramses II<sup>2</sup>.

Editions of Text

6. The first but incomplete copy of these lists was published by A. Mariette: *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 38, f (cp. *Karnak. Etude*, etc. p. 60 n. 5), where 15 names from the east face of the western socle are reproduced in inverted order. A more complete copy was made by G. Legrain and published in *Description des deux colosses érigés devant la face Nord du Xe pylône de Karnak*, ASAE 14 1914 pp. 40—44. This copy presents four series of names which I indicate as series a, b, c, d:

- series a: east colossus, east face of socle: 15 names.
- series b: east colossus, west face of socle: 15 names.
- series c: west colossus, east face of socle: 15 names.
- series d: west colossus, west face of socle: 16 names.

Only series a and c are Asiatic, though not entirely. Both have a number of identical names, sometimes with orthographic differences.

*Diagram XIII* is based on Legrain's copy and reproduces his system of numbering.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

17. *List XII* (a and c): pp. 135 f.<sup>3</sup>.

## CHAPTER VI: SETI I

Introductory  
Note and Division  
of chapter

1. With Seti I (*circa* 1314—1292), who succeeded to the throne after the very brief reign of his father, Ramses I, Egypt once more possessed a ruler who also had the character of a warrior and a conqueror and restored, though on a more modest scale, the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 62 sub 61 and 62.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Legrain, in ASAE 14 1914 pp. 40—44 where all these texts are reproduced. The text on the east face of the western socle is almost entirely destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> Series c has been copied by Taharqa on a small statue now in the Cairo Museum. This is described below as list XXXVI. — Gauthier's *Dictionnaire* ascribes the names of these lists to Ramses II.

domination in Western Asia. Ample proof of his presence in these countries is provided by various stelae found in recent years at Beisan (Palestine), Tell esh-Shihab (Transjordan) and Tell Nebi Mend (Syria) <sup>1</sup>. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the number of Seti's Asiatic topographical lists in Egyptian temples is considerable. Although containing a fair amount of valuable material, they are, however, far from equalizing in this respect the great lists of Thutmes III. The principal lists of Seti I, engraved on the exterior of the northern outside wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak, now provide, through the deciphering of the palimpsest name-rings (see below, § 5), a number of interesting names (XIII—XIV) <sup>2</sup>. Another topographical list is preserved on the socle of a sphinx in Seti's mortuary temple at El Qurneh (XV), while shorter lists are found in his temples at Abydos (XVI) and in Wadi Abbâd (XVII). A fragment of a list has also been found in Amenhotep IV's temple at Sesebi (XVIII) <sup>3</sup>.

### XIII—XIV

#### Plan IX

Diagram XIV (list XIII)

Diagram XV (list XIV)

Texts on p. 137 and p. 141.

2. Both topographical lists <sup>4</sup> of Seti I on the exterior of the northern (north-eastern) outside wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak (see *Plan IX*) form part of a double series of war-scenes (cp. above, p. 11 n. 2) distributed over three registers. Of the highest register only a fragment on the extreme right against pylon II has been preserved. Both series converge towards the doorway into the hypostyle, the final scenes next to the entrance being the reliefs with topographical lists. These occupy the height of two registers, but the highest part of both reliefs has broken off <sup>5</sup>. They represent the usual scene of the slaying of prisoners by the king before Amon and the topographical lists have the ordinary form of rows of name-rings behind the figure of the god with a single row below and along the entire breadth of the register (see *Diagrams XIV* and *XV*). This row is separated from the relief-scene by a horizontal band of text which on the left-hand side (list XIV) is almost entirely destroyed. The

Lists on Karnak  
hypostyle-wall

<sup>1</sup> For the number and chronology of Seti's military expeditions to South and North see especially Breasted's discussion in AR, III pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Seti's other relief-scenes on this wall representing various stages and incidents of his campaigns and containing interesting topographical material have not been included in this volume for reasons already explained above (see Prel. Rem., B.: p. 11, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Many authors (e.g. Breasted AR, III p. 56 n. b and p. 162 n. b) attribute to Seti I yet another list in the temple at Karnak, namely that on the relief reproduced in LD, III Bl. 144. But Seti's authorship of this relief is based on Lepsius' erroneous subscription of this plate: "*Karnak. Grosser Tempel, Nördliche Aussenwand*". In reality, this relief is engraved on the south wall of the great hypostyle and dates, with all other reliefs on this side, from the reign of Ramses II. Cp. LD, Text III p. 19: "*In der Publikation fälschlich als 'Nördliche Aussenwand' bezeichnet*". See also P.-M., II p. 24 sub 70: "South wall..... called north wall in error". This list is therefore described with those of Ramses II in the next chapter (list XXIII).

<sup>4</sup> P.-M., II p. 21 sub 59 and p. 23 sub 65.

<sup>5</sup> A useful sketch showing the order and disposition of all these reliefs may be seen in Breasted AR, III p. 39 fig. 1. Nn. 11 and 20 are the reliefs with topographical lists. In the middle of this diagram two reliefs on the door-jambs should be added. A similar diagram is given by Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pl. 34.

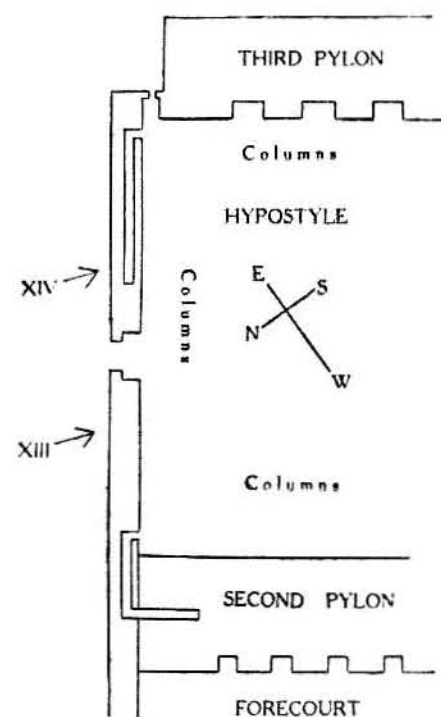
text on the relief of list XIII is also much damaged now but has been preserved by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 129: "*List of the northern and southern countries*", etc. On the relief of list XIV a short text in front of the king's crown refers to the slaying of captives from northern countries only (see Breasted AR, III § 118), but a similar reference to southern captives is not found on the relief of list XIII. In reality, the contents of both lists are to a very great extent identical (see below, § 6) and both enumerate Asiatic as well as African places. In spite of this mixed character of the topographical lists all figures surmounting the name-rings are bearded Semites with the exception of the highest rows of list XIII where the original, bearded Semites have clearly been changed into African types (cp. below: § 5, on the palimpsest character of the lower sections, and also § 6: p. 57 n. 2).

#### Photographic Reproductions

3. Photographic reproductions of both lists are numerous but none of them allows a safe reading of the topographical lists. The reliefs and the general disposition of the lists may be seen in G. Steindorff *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig 1928), p. 137 (both reliefs and lists); Fr. W. v. Bissing *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur* (München 1914), Tf. 87 (right of doorway only, list XIII). The entire series of the Seti-reliefs has been reproduced on photographs 189—232 and 319—327 of the *Fremdv. Exp.* with the unhappy exception of both reliefs which have topographical lists. The same series is given by Wreszinski: *Atlas*, II Tf. 34 ff., to which later have been added the reliefs with the topographical lists: Tf. 53, a (both reliefs in photographic reproduction and drawings) <sup>1</sup>. For the study of these lists I also used two unpublished photographs in the Egyptian museum at Berlin (reg. nrs. 137/5325—5326), a photograph from the Egyptian Institute at Leipzig (right of doorway, list XIII) and another from the collection of "Gaddis Photo Stores", which gives a full view of both reliefs separated by the doorway into the hypostyle. These photographs have been of great help in completing and correcting the rather poor reproductions of Rosellini, Champollion and Lepsius (cp. the following §).

#### Editions of Text

4. There are no recent copies of these lists except for the lower (palimpsest) sections which have been copied and studied by Müller (see below, § 5). For the greater part of these lists, and, in fact, to some extent also for the deciphering of the palimpsest name-rings we have therefore mainly to rely upon the reproductions published by the 19th century Egyptologists. They are enumerated here in order of chronology:



Plan IX: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, North Wall of Hypostyle (Lists XIII and XIV)

<sup>1</sup> One of these drawings has been reproduced in Prel. Rem., B, fig. 1 (p. 5).



A. List XIII (right or west of doorway):

1° Lepsius LD, III Bl. 129: the entire relief with complete topographical list containing 65 names.

2° Champollion *Not. Descr.*, II pp. 106—111: a copy of the text on the relief-scene with 65 names<sup>1</sup>.

3° idem *Monuments*, etc. pl. 289: this plate presents a numbered series of 90 names from both lists; nn. 1—65 are those of list XIII<sup>2</sup>.

B. List XIV: (left or east of doorway):

1° I. Rosellini *Monumenti Storici*, pls. 60 and 61: the entire relief-scene and 67 + 3 name-rings, but many of them without inscription<sup>3</sup>.

2° Champollion *Not. Descr.*, II pp. 111—112: only the names from the right-hand section of the lowest row (nn. 37—50 in *Diagram XV*).

3° idem *Monuments*, etc., pl. 289 nn. 66—99: these names in Champollion's mind are those not mentioned in list XIII<sup>4</sup>.

4° idem *Monuments*, etc., pls. 294 and 294A: the entire relief with 67 name-rings, the last group of which (nn. 60—67) are without captive figures or inscriptions.

5. The last sections of name-rings in both lists (nn. 49—65 of list XIII and nn. 51—67 of list XIV) have been inscribed twice, originally with Asiatic, later with African names. The fact had, at least for some of these names, already been noticed by the earlier Egyptologists, as may be seen e.g. from Champollion: *Monuments*, etc. pl. 294A, but they seem to have made no effort to separate the second-hand names from the first-hand ones. Consequently, the names in these sections as reproduced by Rosellini, Champollion and Lepsius

Palimpsest  
Name-rings

<sup>1</sup> Champollion's highest number is 64 but n. 23 occurs twice.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of many orthographic differences the correspondence of these names to those on LD, III Bl. 129 is evident except for nn. 41—46 where some very similar names have caused confusion. — The subscription of this plate in Champollion is: "Palais de Ménéphthah Premier".

<sup>3</sup> The list originally contained 70 name-rings three of which, indicated in *Diagram XV* as 6bis, 12bis, 18bis (for reasons exposed below: § 7), have been reproduced by Rosellini and Champollion without captive figures and without inscriptions. They have not been incorporated in Champollion's total of 90 names (pl. 289). The photographs, however, especially n. 137/5325 in the Berlin collection, not only prove that these name-rings have been inscribed but also allow some reading of the names. 6bis (incorrectly given as the 6th name-ring on Champollion's pl. 294; cp. p. 57 n. 4) corresponds to n. 7 of the great African list of Thutmes III, 12bis to n. 14 of that list (see Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 796 and 797) and 18bis is one of the "peoples of the Nine Bows" (n. 20 of list XIII). List XIV, therefore, originally contained 5 names more than list XIII but all are in the higher part of the list behind the god's figure, the lowest rows of both lists containing an identical number of names (see *Diagrams XIV and XV*).

<sup>4</sup> Champollion has not been very successful in distinguishing the names which are common to both lists from those only mentioned in one of them. This has been a source of numerous and extremely complicated problems (see also below: § 7, on the system of numbering). In reality, several names reproduced in *Not. Descr.*, II pp. 111—112 and in nn. 66—90 of pl. 289 occur also in list XIII. Such names tend to become more numerous, according as through a close study of Champollion's often very defective reproductions of these lists the original and real names are being recognized. It must also be noted that to the list on pl. 289 closing with n. 90 four name-rings ought to be added (after pl. 289 n. 83 Champollion gives only seven name-rings, but, as the photographs show, pl. 294A more correctly adds eleven more name-rings). Finally, there are for both lists a number of important differences between Champollion's reproductions of the names in *Not. Descr.* and on the plates in *Monuments*.

are mostly phantastic mixtures of African and Asiatic elements. Many of these have been worked out by W. M. Müller. See already his *As. u. Eur.* p. 193 n. 2, but more especially *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 57 (list XIII) and pl. 58 (list XIV.). Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 43—45. It has proved possible still further to complete the deciphering of these palimpsest inscriptions so that, as may be seen from the reproduction of these lists in Part II and the *Notes* on these names, very few Asiatic or first-hand names remain to be discovered. A great help in this study has been the fact, apparently unnoticed by Müller, that the African names of the second hand have been borrowed in groups from the great African list of Thutmes III at Karnak reproduced by Sethe in *Urk.*, IV pp. 796 ff. The discovery of the African name in many cases permitted to establish a sufficient number of signs to reveal the original Asiatic name. Another clue was found by comparing these remnants of Asiatic names with a section of a list of Ramses II on the opposite wall of the Karnak-hypostyle (list XXIV). The identical order in which the names of this section are given in both lists of Seti I and in that of Ramses II shows that the latter had been copied from those of Seti I. Finally, as all clearly recognized names of the palimpsest sections follow one another in the same order, even such complete gaps as nn. 55. 62—65 of list XIV could confidently be restored by the corresponding names in list XIII, as far as here preserved.

The following table shows the correspondence of the original Asiatic names of these sections with those of list XXIV of Ramses II, the correspondence between the two sections themselves and also the numbers of the second-hand (African) names according as they were borrowed from the great list of Thutmes III. For all details and discussions of these identifications the *Notes* on XIII/49 ff. and XIV/51 ff. should be consulted.

list XIII African (2 <sup>nd</sup> hand) name = Th. III. n°:	list XIII Asiatic (1 <sup>st</sup> hand) name; n°:	ASIATIC NAME		list XIV Asiatic (1 <sup>st</sup> hand) name; n°:	list XIV African (2 <sup>nd</sup> hand) name = Th. III. n°:
			= list XXIV Rams. II, n°:		
51	49	p-ḥ-r	26	51	62
50	50	ḥ-m-t	27	52	63
62	51	b-t š-r	28	53	64
63	52	y-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m	29	54	65
64	53	q-m-h-m	30	(55)	?
66	54	<sup>c</sup> -k-ḏ	31	56	67
65	55	q-m-d	—	57	?
78	56	i-n-r-t	40	58	?
69	57	d-w-r	—	59	70
67	58	i-t-w	—	60	71
68	59	b-t <sup>c</sup> -n-t	—	61?	?
77 (c)	60	. . . . r	—	(62)	?
76	61	q-(r?)?-m	—	(63)	?
74	62	q-d-<w>-r?	—	(64)	?
73	63	q-r-t <sup>c</sup> -n-b	41	(65)	?
75	64	ḥ-d-<w>-r	—	66	?
?	65	r-p-ḥ	—	67	?

6. It has already been noticed by Schiaparelli (*Geogr.*, p. 148) that the Karnak-lists of Seti I are composed of several shorter lists<sup>1</sup>. Some of these groups are Asiatic, others African, the latter mainly copied from the great African list of Thutmes III<sup>2</sup>. The following is a conspectus of the groups or short lists into which both lists may be divided<sup>3</sup>. It also shows how far the contents of these lists are identical (for the numbers used in this conspectus see below, § 7).

Groups of names  
and Comparison  
of both lists

*A. List XIII (right or west of doorway):*

*1st group:* nn. 1—13 a) n. 1.  i.e. all foreign countries in the South.

b) nn. 2—13 African names corresponding in same order to Thutmes III nn. 1—14 with omission of n. 4 (Sethe's reproduction of the African Thutmes-list has no n. 6: see *Urk.*, IV p. 796, n. c).

*2nd group:* nn. 14—21 "Peoples of the Nine Bows".

*3rd group:* nn. 22—36 Names of Asiatic towns and countries. This group must have been taken *en bloc* from some other Asiatic list (as group 1 from an African list), which, however, I have not been able to trace.

*4th group:* nn. 37—48 African names copied from the list of Thutmes III but in different order (namely: nn. 55, 56, 52, 53, 54,?, 48, 49,?, 58, 60, 61).

*5th group:* nn. 49—65 Palimpsest name-rings with originally Asiatic, later African names. The latter have been borrowed from the list of Thutmes III (from n. 50; see the synoptic table on p. 56). The original source, if any, of the 17 Asiatic names has not been traced. It is possible that its discovery would still further complete the reading of this section. A number of these names are copied in list XXIV of Ramses, as said above (cp. the synoptic table on p. 56).

*B. List XIV (left or east of doorway):*

*1st group:* nn. 1—6bis + 7—12bis = n. 1 of 1st group of list XIII + African list of Thutmes III nn. 1—5. 7—14 (= list XIII nn. 2—13 with insertion of Thutmes III n. 4)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to Schiaparelli, *loc. cit.*, these groups are "brevi liste di popoli che, in molte tombe della 18a dinastia, si vedono rappresentate sulla falda del trono su cui sta seduto il Faraone". But several groups in the Seti-lists are certainly less commonplace than such tomb-lists.

<sup>2</sup> The defective nature of the existing reproductions does not allow a decision as to whether *all* African names have been taken from the Thutmes-list. In the existing reproductions such names as were certainly borrowed from that list, show orthographic differences. Moreover, Champollion's reproductions of many names in *Monuments* pl. 289 do not agree with those on pls. 294 and 294A. There is a possibility that not only the lower sections of these lists but also certain groups in the higher rows have been recarved (cp. what has been said above on the figures of the captives in list XIII). This would explain why even here the copies of the early Egyptologists are so unsatisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> My division of these lists into groups of names differs considerably from that of Schiaparelli who for the list left of the doorway (XIV) had only Rosellini's copy (he also neglected the group following n. 50 of this list) and for the list right of the doorway (XIII) that of LD, III Bl. 129. — Schiaparelli's numbers of the names of both lists are highly confusing, as many name-rings which are illegible in Rosellini's copy, have not been incorporated. The palimpsest character of the lower sections was also overlooked by Schiaparelli so that his comparison of these groups is not based on a solid foundation.

<sup>4</sup> That n. 4 of the African list of Thutmes III was inserted in the highest row of this Seti-list, can clearly be seen from the photographs (cp. also Wreszinski's drawing: *Atlas*, II pl. 53, a). Champollion pl. 294 leaves out this name and changes the position of the following names accordingly.

*2nd group:* nn. 13—18bis and 19 = 2nd group of list XIII (nn. 14—21) in same order.

*3rd group:* nn. 20—34. 35. 36 = list XIII nn. 22—36 (3rd group) in same order; XIV/35. 36 are not mentioned in list XIII.

*4th group:* nn. 37. 38. 39—50 = list XIII nn. 37 ff. but in different order (namely: nn. 44, 45, 50, 49, 39, 40, 41, 37, 38, ?, 46(?), ?, 47, 48) which is identical with the original order of these names in the list of Thutmes III (nn. 48—61).

*5th group:* nn. 51—67 Palimpsest name-rings with originally Asiatic, later African names. Both series are nearly identical with those of the corresponding group of list XIII (see above and cp. the synoptic table on p. 56).

#### Numbers

7. The *system of numbers* already used in the preceding pages and according to which these lists have been reproduced in Part II (see also *Diagrams* XIV and XV) differs considerably from all existing systems. This deviation from the principle generally followed in this book (cp. the introduction to Part II: p. 108) is explained by the fact that Champollion's system of a single set of numbers (nn. 1—90: *Monuments*, pl. 289) has proved to be an impossibility as well as a source of confusion, if maintained without important changes. No difficulty exists for the numbers of the names of list XIII. Nor would it seem impossible to preserve Champollion's system for that part of list XIV, the names of which are almost identical with those in the corresponding part of list XIII (the first three groups of both lists), but in groups 4 and 5 of list XIV Champollion's system is so confused and beset with doubts and difficulties that it cannot reasonably be maintained. The main sources of confusion are: 1° the repetition between n. 66 and n. 90 of names which are supposed by Champollion to occur only in list XIV but in reality are also mentioned in the first part (nn. 1—65) of pl. 289;; 2° the uncertain readings of many of Champollion's names in groups 4 and 5 of both lists, especially in the palimpsest groups; 3° the differences between Champollion's reproduction of names on pl. 289 nn. 66—90 and that on pls. 294—294A.

As Burchardt often quotes the names of these lists without giving them any numbers and as Gauthier's references are rather confused (see below: p. 59, n. 1), there is practically already very little left of Champollion's original system of numbering. For these reasons I have preferred to devise separate systems of numbering for both lists (list XIII: nn. 1—65; list XIV: nn. 1—67), in harmony with the general praxis for all other symmetrically placed lists. But in order to save as much as possible of Champollion's original numbers for those names which are common to both lists (the first three groups) and which can easily be identified in Champollion's nn. 1—36, I have not incorporated in my numbering of list XIV the three name-rings he neglected (see above, p. 55 n. 3) which I indicate as 6bis, 12bis and 18bis.

For the palimpsest name-rings of both lists I have maintained the numbers of the African names so that with the help of *Diagrams* XIV and XV each of these names can easily be located on the original reliefs or on photographs, but in the reproduction of these groups in Part II as well as in the *Notes* I have added in brackets Müller's special numbers for the Asiatic names of these groups (list XIII: nn. 1—16; list XIV: n. 1—17).



*Diagrams XIV and XV* which are based on the photograph from "Gaddis Photo Stores" present an easy conspectus of these systems of numberings. The Asiatic groups of both lists have been marked by a double line <sup>1</sup>.

8. *List XIII* (right or west of doorway): pp. 137 ff.

*List XIV* (left or east of doorway): pp. 141 ff.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

I have reproduced only the Asiatic groups (3 and 5) of these lists. For group 3 of list XIII my reproduction is mainly based on LD, III Bl. 129 with additions and corrections from Champollion *Monuments*, etc. pl. 289. For the names of group 5 of list XIII, I give Müller's text *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 57. For group 3 of list XIV, I mainly reproduce the names from Champollion: *Monuments*, etc. pls. 294—294A with additions and corrections from pl. 289. For the names of group 5, I give Müller's text: *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 58. Some Asiatic names of both palimpsest groups not given by Müller will, however, be found in the *Notes*.

## XV

### Plan X—Diagram XVI

Text on p. 144.

9. A much simpler topographical list <sup>2</sup> than those at Karnak has been left by Seti I in his temple at El Qurneh, the most eastern of the Theban mortuary temples. It is engraved on the socle of the north-eastern of the two sphinxes originally placed against the back of the first pylon (see *Plan X*). The sphinxes themselves have disappeared as has the pylon. The second pylon and both courts have also been destroyed.

List on socle  
of sphinx at  
El Qurneh

The topographical list on the socle of the north-east sphinx <sup>3</sup> is in the form of a single row of 43 name-rings with Semitic figures. Above these is a horizontal band of text in two lines, reproduced by Lepsius with the list itself (see below, § 10). All names are written from left to right (reproduced as from right to left by Lepsius) and cover the entire straight northern side and the semi-circular western face of the socle (see *Diagram XVI* which is based on my photograph).

10. The only copy of this list was published by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 131, a <sup>4</sup>.

Edition of Text

The list begins (nn. 1—9) with the traditional enumeration of "peoples of the Nine Bows". Some authors divide the rest of the names into two groups: a coherent group of North Palestinian and Syrian towns (nn. 10—24) which is based on a historical

Independent  
character of list

<sup>1</sup> Gauthier's numbers for the names of these Seti-lists are not always correct or clear. Some names of list XIV are quoted as from LD, III Bl. 129 which in reality reproduces only list XIII. Besides other minor irregularities it is moreover often difficult to decide from which of the two Karnak-lists a name in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire* is quoted, as such specification as "*liste Sethôsis Ier*", "*1re liste*", "*2e liste*", "*autre côté de la même liste*", "*la liste palimpseste*", etc. have no clear meaning. References of this kind suppose a classification of the various lists of Seti I and some indications as regards the place they occupy on the walls of the monuments.

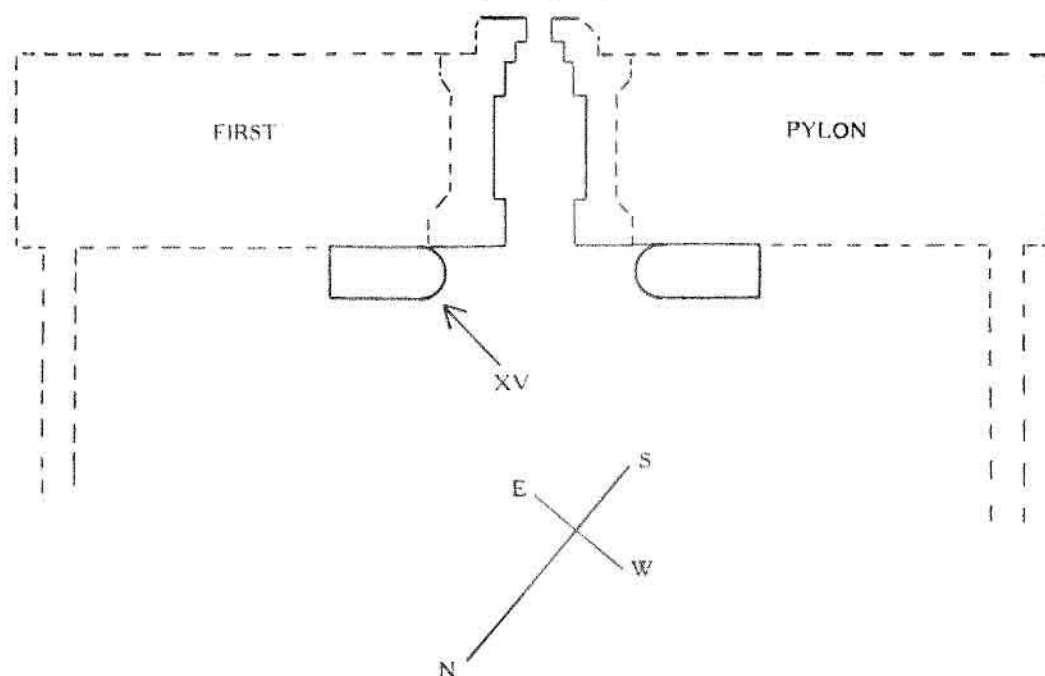
<sup>2</sup> P.M., II p. 141: North-east sphinx.

<sup>3</sup> For the description of this list I used a photograph kindly taken at my request by the staff of the Chicago House at Luxor. No photographic reproduction has been published.

<sup>4</sup> A number of names have been reproduced from this copy in Müller *As u. Eur.*, pp. 191—195; transliterations are given by Breasted AR, III § 114.



document of Seti's campaigns, and a group of worthless names (nn. 25—43) added to fill the remaining space. This latter group which mentions several names twice, is in Müller's opinion (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 191 n. 1) composed of names from "*zwei anderen verwandten Denkmälern*". If this refers to Seti's Karnak-lists, the statement seems improbable. Several names in this part of the Qurneh-list (nn. 33. 37. 38. 43) are not mentioned in the Karnak-lists of this Pharaoh. On the other hand some frequently repeated names which occur in the Karnak-



Plan X: El Qurneh, Temple of Seti I, First Pylon (List XV)

lists, are not seen in this list at Qurneh (XIII/26.30. XIV/35.36). Direct borrowing from the Karnak-lists would also leave unexplained why a number of names are mentioned twice (n. 11 = n. 30; n. 32 = n. 38; n. 34 = n. 40; n. 27 = n. 41), as there were sufficient names at Karnak to fill the whole of the Qurneh-list. Finally, in the names mentioned at Karnak as well as at El Qurneh no common order can be traced, not even for groups of names. My impression therefore is that some document, not identical with the Karnak-lists and relating to Seti's Asiatic campaigns, underlies the *entire* Qurneh-list, but that from n. 30 on the sculptor became aware that the number of his topographical names was insufficient for the remaining name-rings. He remedied this shortage by simply repeating a number of names from the first part of the list.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

11. *List XV*: pp. 144 f.

XVI

*Plan XI—Diagram XVII*

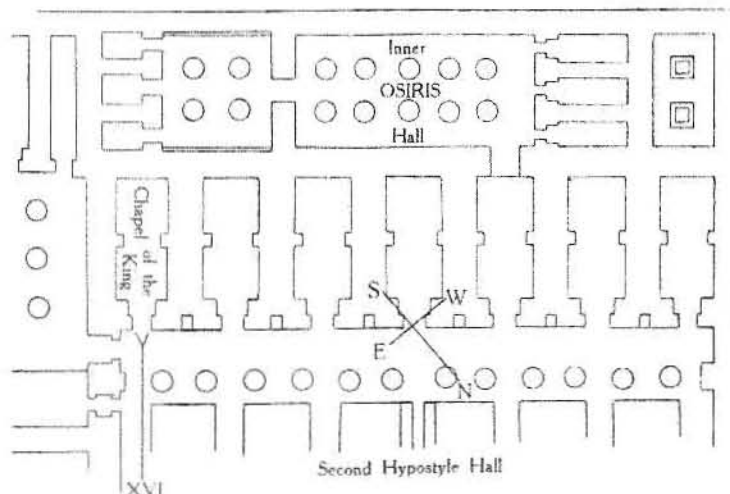
*Text on p. 146.*

Short list at  
Abydos

12. A short topographical list of Seti I exists in his temple at Abydos (see *Plan XI*). It is composed of two sections and engraved on the base of sphinxes representing the Pharaoh,

which adorn both sides of the door-thickness to the "Chapel of the King" ("Salle K" of Mariette *Abydos*, I p. 21), the most eastern of the seven chapels with the famous wall-paintings<sup>1</sup>. The list has the ordinary form of name-rings with captive figures but no superscription.

13. Both lists originally contained six names each, but several have now been destroyed. Editions of Text The remaining names were copied by A. Mariette *Abydos*, etc. I Tf. 28, f (cp. p. 21 n. 70), and also reproduced in the same author's *Fouilles exécutées en Egypte*, etc., II p. 71, LXXIV (two names of the list on the north side, four names of the list on the south side of the chapel-entrance). A later copy is that of G. Daressy *Les temples d'Abydos. Supplément à la publication de Mariette*, in *Rec. de trav.*, 21 1899 p. 2 which mentions the original number of names<sup>2</sup>.



In *Diagram XII*, based on Plan XI: Abydos, Temple of Seti I, Seven Chapels (List XVI) Miss Calverley's photographs, and in the reproduction of the hieroglyphic text, series a is the list on the north side, series b that on the south side of the entrance.

14. List XVI: p. 146.

XVII  
Plan XII—Diagram XVIII  
Text on p. 147.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

15. The temple of Wadi Abbâd or Wadi Miya<sup>3</sup> partly hewn in the rock (see *Plan XII*) preserves relief-scenes on the interior of the walls of its forecourt representing the slaying of prisoners by the king. On the east wall the prisoners are Africans, on the west wall

List in temple  
of Wadi Abbâd

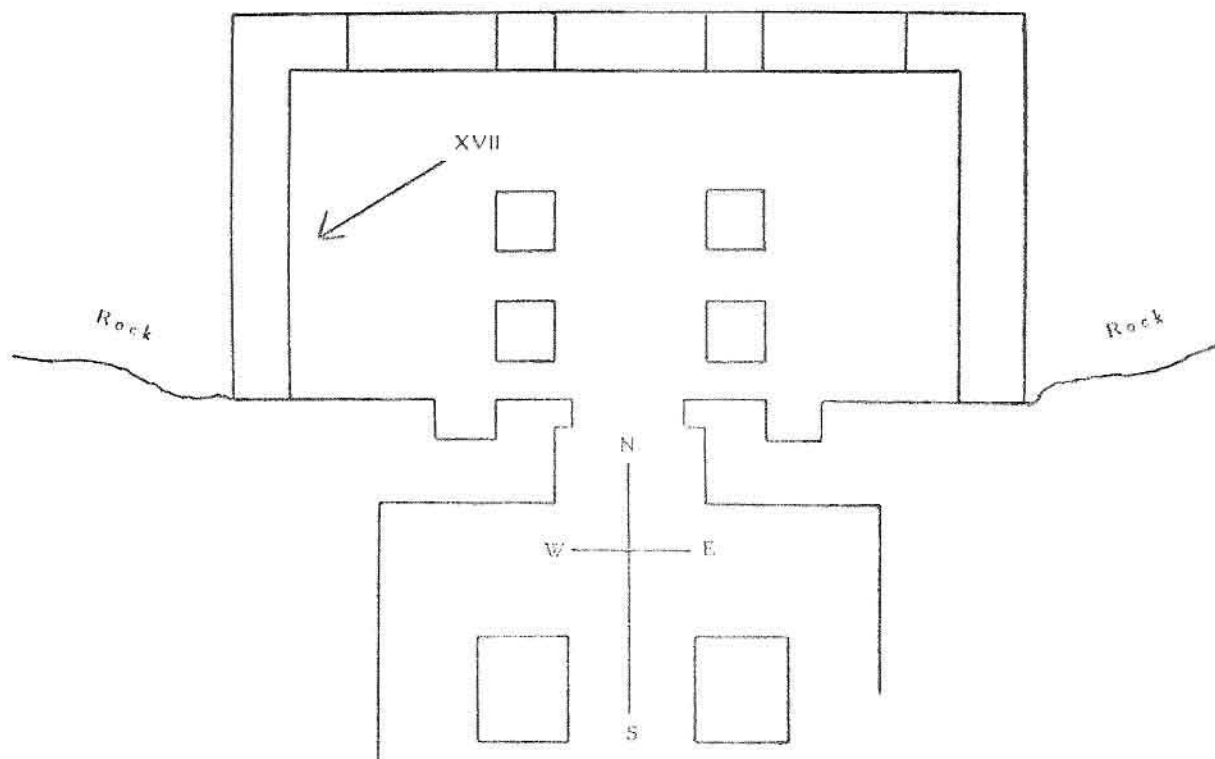
<sup>1</sup> None of the existing Abydos-monographs (Mariette, Caulfield, Capart, Zippert) contains a reproduction of these sphinxes. Miss A. M. Calverley's work *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* (2 vols. published; London-Chicago 1933, 1935) reproduces the decorations in the interior of the seven chapels but not those on the door-thicknesses. I received two unpublished photographs of them for which I have to thank Miss A. M. Calverley. They will be published in one of the forthcoming volumes of her great work.

<sup>2</sup> The names are discussed and compared with those of other topographical texts of Seti I, especially the Beisan-inscription (see A. Rowe *The topography and history of Beth-shan*, etc., Philadelphia 1930 pp. 26 ff.), by A. Moret in *Rev. de l'Egypte Ancienne* I 1927 pp. 18—30.

<sup>3</sup> Usually called the temple of Redesiye, since from this village, 5 miles south of Edfu but on the eastern bank of the Nile, Lepsius visited this temple. In reality it lies about 37 miles east of the modern Redesiye along the route to the gold-mines of Jebel Zebâra and is best known for the interesting inscriptions concerning a well which was dug here at the command of Seti I. See Breasted AR, III §§ 169 ff.; B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA* 4 1917 pp. 244—245. For a detailed description of the temple itself see H. Gauthier *Le temple de l'Ouâdi Miya (El Knaïs)* = *Bull. IFAO* 17 1920.

Asiatics. The slaying of the African captives (*"chiefs of the wretched Kush"*, as the text under the left arm of the king says) takes place before Amon, the slaying of the Asiatics before Horus of Edfu<sup>1</sup>. The topographical lists of both reliefs are in the form of name-rings surmounted by figures of captives. Contrary to the lists of similar reliefs, the name-rings are arranged only in two vertical rows besides the scene. The African list on the east wall has 10 name-rings, the Asiatic list on the west wall 8 name-rings<sup>2</sup>.

**Editions of Text** 18. There does not seem to exist a published photographic reproduction of the relief with the Asiatic topographical list. Photograph 121 of the collection of the *Fremdv. Exp.* shows only the central part of the relief (batch of bound captives with part of king and



Plan XII: Wadi Abbâd, Rock-temple of Seti I, Forecourt (List XVII)

god)<sup>3</sup>. Relief-scene and topographical list have been reproduced by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 140,a (Bl. 139,a represents the relief on the east wall with African list). A description of the relief with a slightly different copy of the topographical names is given in LD, *Text* IV p. 77. A smaller reproduction of the relief-scene and list may also be seen in L. Reinisch *Ägyptische Chresthomathie* (Wien 1873) Tf. 9, a.

<sup>1</sup> The text on this relief contains no direct proof that the captives are Asiatics. The text corresponding to the *"chiefs of the wretched Kush"* on the opposite relief merely speaks of *"the great ones of all countries"*, but the captives are bearded Semites as also the figures surmounting the name-rings of this list.

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously reduced to 6 by Breasted AR, III p. 79 n. c: *"the god leads only six contries"*. — My description of the list is mainly based on Lepsius' reproduction (see § 18). The possibility exists that this is incomplete.

<sup>3</sup> The same in Fréd. Caillaud's *Voyage à l'oasis de Thèbes, etc.* (Paris 1821), pl. III.

The numbers in *Diagram XVIII*, which is based on LD, III Bl. 140,a, are those of Numbers LD, *Text IV* p. 77.

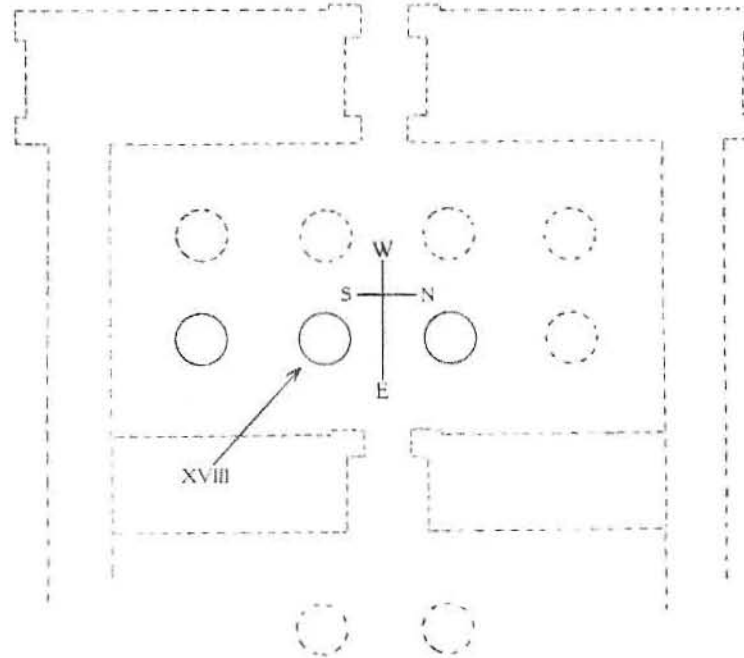
19. *List XVII*: p. 147.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

XVIII  
*Plan XIII—Diagram XIX*  
*Text on p. 147.*

20. Sesebi on the western bank of the Nile, somewhat more to the South than Soleb, *List at Sesebi* preserves the ruins of a temple built by Amenhotep IV<sup>1</sup> but later usurped by Seti I. Of the entire building (see *Plan XIII*) little more now remains than a mass of ruins and three columns of the first hall<sup>2</sup>. There is no trace of a forecourt such as usually precedes the hypostyle. The original reliefs and inscriptions in this temple are the work of Amenhotep IV, but many of them have in the time of Seti I been replaced by new ones.

On the lower part of some column-shafts short topographical lists were then engraved, two of which have partly been preserved. They are in the ordinary form of name-rings with figures of captives, who are Africans in the list on the south-east column, Asiatics in the list on the following column (to the North).



Plan XIII: Sesebi, Temple of Amenhotep IV (usurped by Seti I),  
First Hypostyle (*List XVIII*)

21. The only copy of this Asiatic list has been published by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 141, l, but it contains not more than one complete name with fragments of 5 others<sup>3</sup>.

Edition of Text

22. *List XVIII*: p. 147.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

<sup>1</sup> Since Breasted's description of the ruins of this temple (AJSL 1908—1909 pp. 51 ff.) the place has usually been identified with the Nubian "Gem-Aten" but recent finds at Kawa by the "Oxford Excavations in Nubia" (now called "The Oxford University Excavations in Nubia") seem to have established the identity of this place with the Nubian Aten-city. The texts on which this new identification is based have not yet been published. See provisionally F. Ll. Griffith's preliminary report in *Antiquity*, Suppl. 1931 p. 367. The new identification, of course, does not change the fact established by Breasted's analysis of the reliefs and paintings from the temple at Sesebi, that this was built by Amenhotep IV and later usurped by Seti I who recarved a number of the inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Four columns were still standing when Lepsius visited the place; see his *Briefe aus Ägypten, Äthiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (Berlin 1852), p. 256; and LD, I Bl. 118 (cp. LD, *Text V* p. 243). Maspero's picture in *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: Les Premières Mêlées* (Paris 1897), p. 377 already shows only three columns standing, as also Breasted's photographs in AJSL 1908—1909 pp. 58.59 figs. 33.34.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted's photographs *a.c.*, fig. 36—40 show only the higher parts of these columns.

## CHAPTER VII: RAMSES II

Introductory  
Note and Division of Chapter

1. After Thutmes III, the founder of the Egyptian colonial empire, no Pharaoh has displayed more zeal and energy for its restoration and consolidation in Western Asia than Ramses II, son and successor of Seti I. The first part of his long reign (circa 1292—1225) was almost entirely taken up with his Asiatic campaigns, especially directed against the Hittites. The famous peace-treaty (circa 1280 B.C.) between Ramses II and Chattusil marked the end of this period and opened an era of peace during which the Pharaoh built and extended or usurped a great number of Egyptian monuments which he adorned with records and reliefs of his "victories". The main theme of these triumphal decorations was the often repeated scene of the battle of Qadesh. Other reliefs celebrate the capture of less famous Syro-Palestinian fortresses<sup>1</sup>, while a great number of topographical lists enumerate the multitude of the Pharaoh's conquests. The lists relating to towns and countries of Western Asia are the following: a series of Palestinian fortresses in the Ramesseum at Thebes (XIX); two reliefs of Type I on the western outside wall of the "Court of Ramses II" in the temple of Luxor (XX—XXI); several short lists on the socles of statues and colossi in front of and in the same court (XXII); two reliefs of Type I on the wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak, opposite and similar to those of Seti I (XXIII—XXIV); a short list in Ramses II's temple at Abydos (XXV) and two small fragments of lists found at Tell Basta (XXVI)<sup>2</sup>.

## XIX

## Plan XIV—Diagram XX

Text on p. 149.

## Ramesseum-relief

2. In Ramses II's mortuary temple on the western bank of the Nile, usually called the "Ramesseum", a large relief on the back of the eastern (north-eastern) tower of pylon I (see Plan XIV) represents a series of Syro-Palestinian fortresses<sup>3</sup> from which Egyptian princes lead away the captured chiefs. Originally the relief probably contained 18 small scenes distri-

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the Ramesseum-relief (list XIX) the topographical contents of these war-scenes are not included in this volume. Cp. Prel. Rem., B: p. 11 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The list of six names on the stele of Ramses II in the front hall of the great temple at Abu Simbel above the inscription usually called "Blessing of Ptah" is entirely African, although five out of the six captives seem to represent Semites (see LD, III Bl. 194 and photograph 187 in the collection of Breasted's *Nubian Expedition*). The relief-scene representing the slaying of prisoners by the king on both sides of the entrance to the same temple have no topographical lists (see Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pls. 184 and 184, a) as is also the case with several other similar reliefs of Ramses II (cp. Prel. Rem., B, Type I: p. 8).

The lists on the socles of Haremheb's colossi before the Xth pylon at Karnak, now bearing inscriptions with the names of Ramses II, have been described above as lists of Haremheb (p. 52).

A stele of Ramses II placed against the back (south) of pylon IX at Karnak may have contained an Asiatic topographical list. The only existing copy shows a row of African names with one name (Hanebu) of another probably Asiatic (lost?) part of the list (see LD, Text III p. 49).

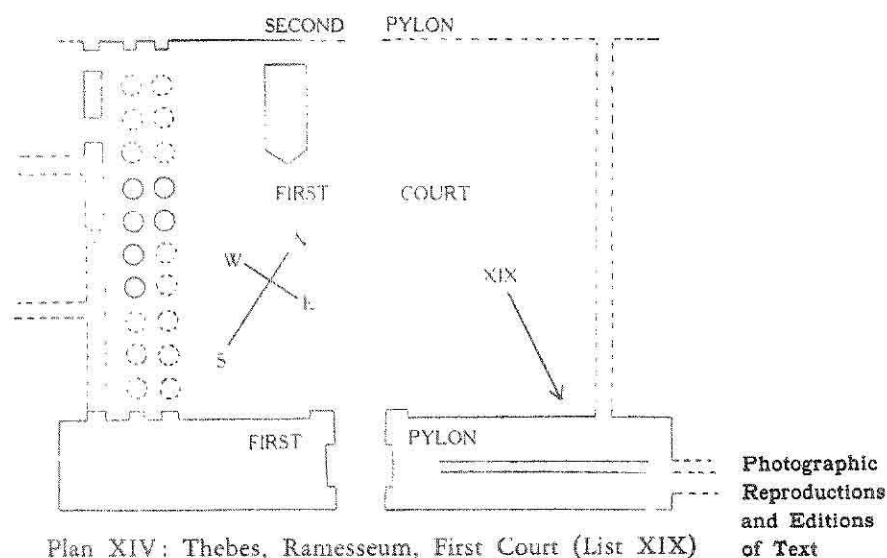
<sup>3</sup> P.M., II p. 151 sub 8.



buted over 6 registers, but of the two highest registers only part has been preserved<sup>1</sup>. One of these scenes which are all identical except for the name of the fortress and the figures of the captive chiefs, has been reproduced in fig. 6 (p. 10). As this example shows, the names of the captured cities which in this case constitute the topographical list (the only list of Type V: see Prel. Rem., B, p. 10), are engraved on the fortresses in a vertical column of text describing them as cities "*which His Majesty has taken (in the year 8)*"<sup>2</sup>. With a few exceptions all captive chiefs are bearded Semites. A horizontal band of text separating the three higher from the three lower registers celebrates Ramses as the conqueror of the rebellious cities and as the peacemaker in the countries: "*...His strength is like that of Month, the King,  $\text{wsr-m}\ddot{\text{z}}\text{.t-r}^{\text{e}}$ ,  $\text{stp-n-r}^{\text{e}}$  (Ramses II), Horus,... who sets his boundaries where he wills and suffers no repulse; who sets his rebellious subjects at naught, and brings peace to every land*"<sup>3</sup>.

3. A photographic reproduction in two parts of the entire relief with a drawing of all the scenes is given by Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pls. 90—91<sup>4</sup>. The relief is also reproduced on photographs 506—510 of the *Fremdv. Exp.*

A reproduction of the relief without the names of the fortresses may be seen in Champollion *Monuments*, etc. pls. 325—326<sup>5</sup>. A complete reproduction is given by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 156 but the reproduction of the names in the fortresses is rather unsatisfactory. Only



Plan XIV: Thebes, Ramesseum, First Court (List XIX)

<sup>1</sup> Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 220) and Breasted (AR, III p. 159 n. a) estimate the original number of scenes as 24. This is apparently based on the supposition that a portion of the wall on the right-hand side (cp. *Diagram XX*) which is only half preserved and reproduced by Lepsius (LD, III Bl. 156) as uncarved, originally contained 6 similar scenes. From Wreszinski's photographic reproduction (*Atlas*, II pl. 90) it would seem that the blank portion of the wall is separated from the existing relief-scenes by a vertical row of protruding stones and was therefore no part of this relief. — In *Eg. Rev.*, II p. 103 Müller gives the original total number of scenes as 18 or 19, numbering four scenes (instead of three) in the lowest register (cp. the table below: p. 66); but it is more probable that all six registers contained the same number of scenes (see below, p. 66 n. 3). — Breasted (AR, III p. 159 n. a) mentions "another series of cities on the outside of the south wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak, (*which*) evidently bore inscriptions of the same form". This remark is based on LD, *Text* III p. 20 and Champollion *Not. Deser.*, II p. 120; but the Karnak-scenes are of a different nature and not so much in the form of a topographical list as the Ramesseum-relief. I have already mentioned these scenes in Prel. Rem., B, Type V (p. 11 n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> "The year 8" is omitted when the name of the fortress occupied the greater part of the column.

<sup>3</sup> Hieroglyphic text in LD, *Text* III p. 128 and in Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pl. 90.

<sup>4</sup> The text on pl. 91 reproduces the names of the fortresses in transliteration with some suggestions for topographical identifications.

<sup>5</sup> The relief is erroneously assigned by Champollion to the temple of Luxor.

the topographical names are copied in LD, *Text* III p. 127<sup>1</sup> with many differences but still very defective<sup>2</sup>. The only satisfactory copy of the names is that published by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 100—103 with figs. 29 and 30 reproducing 15 names some of which are not more than fragments. This copy is based on Müller's personal examination of the relief (1904 and 1906).

Limited geo-  
graphical Area

4. In spite of the number of topographical names on this relief being small, the list derives a special importance from the fact that it seems to be confined to a relatively small geographical area which, as far as the better preserved names show, is the western part of Galilee. This geographical limitation distinctly points to some historical event on which the list is based, as also does the text in the horizontal band between the registers and the mention of "the year 8".

Numbers

5. In Lepsius' reproduction the series of fortresses and topographical names are given without numbers. Müller's system of numbering is according to individual registers. Only Wreszinski's discussion of the topographical names follows a single set of numbers (1—15) for the whole series. This is reproduced in *Diagram XX* and the same order of names has been followed in the reproduction of the list in Part II. In contrast to Müller's system, these numbers run from the lowest register to the higher. The following table shows the correspondence between Wreszinski's and Müller's numbers:

Wreszinski ( <i>Atlas</i> , II pls. 90—91)	Müller ( <i>Eg. Res.</i> , II figs. 29—30)	Wreszinski ( <i>Atlas</i> , II pls. 90—91)	Müller ( <i>Eg. Res.</i> , II figs. 29—30)
15 . . . . .	I, 1	7 . . . . .	IV, 1
14 . . . . .	II, 2	6 . . . . .	V, 3
13 . . . . .	II, 1	5 . . . . .	V, 2
12 . . . . .	III, 3	4 . . . . .	V, 1
11 . . . . .	III, 2	3 . . . . .	VI, 4
10 . . . . .	III, 1	2 . . . . .	VI, 3
9 . . . . .	IV, 3	— . . . . .	VI, 2 <sup>3</sup>
8 . . . . .	IV, 2	1 . . . . .	VI, 1

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

6. *List XIX*: pp. 148 f.

<sup>1</sup> Not "129" as quoted by Müller.

<sup>2</sup> Only the topographical names are reproduced also in J. Burton *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* (Cairo 1828), pl. XVI and H. Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II Tf. 21—22 (nn. 173—188) but neither of them deserves much consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously Müller numbers four scenes in the lowest register, the second of which (VI, 2) should have been entirely destroyed. Wreszinski's reproduction as well as the photographs of the *Fremdv. Exp.* clearly show that this register contained only three scenes, as do all others. The wall is larger at its base than at the top, but since the individual scenes in the lower registers are also larger than the higher ones, the number of scenes is equal throughout.

## XX—XXI

## Plan XV

Diagram XXI (list XX)

Diagram XXII (list XXI)

Texts on p. 150 and p. 152.

7. The "Court of Ramses II" in the temple of Luxor preserves Asiatic topographical lists in the form of mural reliefs (Type I) as well as on the socles of statues and colossi. The former category is represented by reliefs<sup>1</sup> on either side of the doorway in the western (north-western) outside wall (see *Plan XV*) where they form the final scenes of a series of war-reliefs similar to those of Seti I (see lists XIII—XIV) and of Ramses II himself (see below, lists XXIII—XXIV) on the hypostyle-wall at Karnak. The Luxor-reliefs with topographical lists in the usual form of name-rings with captive figures occupy only the lower register of the wall. The scenes of the upper register have disappeared with the higher part of the wall. Of the relief-scene on the right-hand side of the doorway (list XX) nothing has been left, while on the left-hand side (list XXI) only the lowest fragments still exist. The destruction of the upper half of the wall has also caused the topographical lists themselves to be only partly preserved (see the following §).

Lists on wall  
of Luxor-temple

8. No published photographic reproductions seem to exist of either of these topographical lists nor have I been able to trace any detailed description of their general form and disposition. Both Daressy and Müller who copied the remains of the lists (see § 9), give no more than vague indications as regards the length of the original inscriptions. The following description with *Diagrams XXI* (list XX) and *XXII* (list XXI) is based on two unpublished photographs which at my request were taken by the staff of the Chicago House at Luxor.

Original lists  
and parts pre-  
served. Photo-  
graphic Repro-  
ductions

*List XXI*: According to these photographs there still exist of the list<sup>2</sup> left of the doorway (cp. *Diagram XXII*):

Left of doorway  
(XXI)

a) the lowest row of name-rings extending along the entire breadth of the original relief and containing 16 names in right-to-left writing and 11 names in left-to-right writing<sup>3</sup>. Above the former of these groups still exists a horizontal band of text with the superscription of the list: "*List of the countries of North and South smitten by His Majesty*", etc.<sup>4</sup>.

b) on the right above the lowest row of name-rings the figure of the god Sopdu,

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 109 sub 120 and 121.

<sup>2</sup> This list is relatively better preserved and consequently more helpful for reconstructing the original inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> The group of 11 name-rings is only partly visible on my photograph but the number of names could be ascertained with the help of Müller's indications (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 98 fig. 27; cp. below: § 9).

<sup>4</sup> These opening words of the text are reproduced by Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 98 fig. 27. My photograph does not permit a complete reading of the superscription.

"ruler of the foreign countries", leading to the king two rows of 8 captives, but of the higher row only 3 names and figures have been preserved<sup>1</sup>.

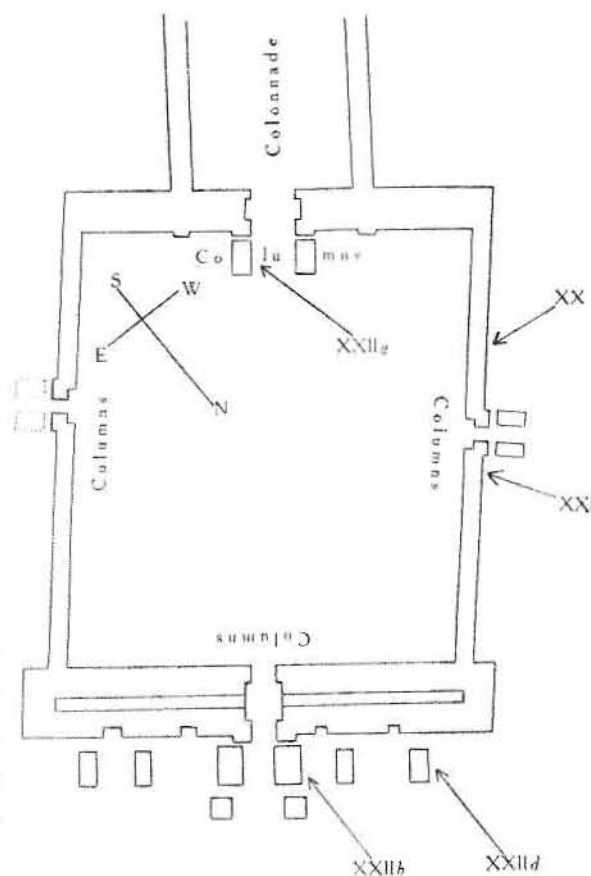
Of the relief-scene above the horizontal band of text evidently representing the slaying of prisoners by the king only the lowest margin (feet of king and bound prisoners) has been left. The figure of the god opposite the king has disappeared entirely<sup>2</sup>.

From comparison with other reliefs of this type it is certain that above the rows of captives led by Sopdu there were originally two or three more smaller rows. The original list must, therefore, have contained  $2 \text{ (or } 3) \times x + 2 \times 8 + 16 + 11$  name-rings<sup>3</sup>.

Not only the captives led by Sopdu (Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 97 fig. 26) but all figures surmounting the name-rings of this list are Asiatic.

Right of  
doorway (XX)

List XX: The entire relief-scene on the right-hand side of the doorway (cp. Diagram XXI) has disappeared with all higher rows of name-rings, only the lowest row which runs along the entire breadth of the relief being left. This row contains 9 names in right-to-left writing and 14 names in left-to-right writing. On the extreme right of the latter group some name-rings (probably 4, the total original number of name-rings thus being 27 as in the



Plan XV: Luxor, Court of Ramses II  
(Lists XX, XXI, XXII)

<sup>1</sup> Only 4 names of the lower row are visible on my photograph, the others being hidden by the statue standing before the doorway (left). The photograph also shows that the upper half of the fourth name-ring (n. 31 in Diagram XXII) and probably also the other name-rings of this row are now broken off. The original number of 8 name-rings in these rows is based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 97 fig. 26 which reproduces 8 names of the lower row.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to explain Daressy's description of this relief-scene: "...captifs conduits à Amon par le roi et Thèbes" (*Rec. de trav.*, 16 1894 p. 50) and also the description given in P-M, *loc. cit.*: "King striking captives before Amūn". In fact, only the figure of the god Sopdu has been preserved which, moreover, from its small size and low position does not seem to be the main divine figure of the relief (cp. all reliefs of Type I with two divine figures).


<sup>3</sup> Daressy (*Rec. de trav.*, 16 1894 p. 50) speaks of "trois rangs au moins de captifs".

corresponding row of list XXI) are missing. The names of this row are mostly identical with those of the corresponding row in the relief on the left-hand side <sup>1</sup>.

9. The remains of the lists described in the preceding §§ were first copied by Editions of Text Daressy: *Rec. de trav.*, 16 1894 p. 50. The entire left-hand group of the lowest row of list XXI, numbering 16 names, was not copied by Daressy, and other parts of both lists are incomplete. A better and more complete copy is that by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 97—98 figs. 26, 27 (list XXI, left of doorway) and pp. 95—96 fig. 25 (list XX, right of doorway). Müller's copy is based on a collation of Daressy's text with the original inscriptions <sup>2</sup>. According to Müller (*o.c.*, p. 97) most names of list XXI are African, although with Asiatic figures. In reality Asiatic names are largely predominant.

As many names occur in both lists, it is possible to complete some fragments in each of them by mutual comparison (cp. the *Notes* following the hieroglyphic text in Part II).

10. The very incomplete state of preservation of the lists creates a special problem Numbers as regards the way the names should be numbered. The original extent of both lists being unknown through the loss of the higher rows of name-rings, the numbers cannot proceed, as is usual with lists of this type, from above to below. For the remaining lowest row of list XX, Müller (*o.c.*, fig. 25: "List A") adopted a system of numbers disregarding the lost parts of the inscription as well as the names (probably 4) lost from this row itself (nn. 1—9 and nn. 10-23). I have used these numbers in reproducing the hieroglyphic text and in *Diagram XXI*. The same has been done by Müller for the names of the left-hand group of the lowest row of list XXI (nn. 1—16: *o.c.*, fig. 27: "List C"), all names preserved in the higher part of the relief being given without any numbers at all (*o.c.*, fig. 26: "List B"). As this makes it impossible to quote the names, it seems preferable to devise one single system of numbering for the whole of list XXI, starting, however, from the lowest row (the highest

<sup>1</sup> The division of the lowest row in groups of 9 and 14 (originally probably 18) name-rings is being kept here mainly to avoid reproducing and numbering them in a different order from that of Daressy and Müller. Although Daressy (*Rec. de trav.* 16 1894 p. 50) and Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 96 fig. 25) limit the group on the left-hand side to 9 name-rings, leaving 14 (18) name-rings for the group on the right-hand side, this division seems inexact. Müller's copy (*loc. cit.*) reproduces the only preserved sign of his n. 10 as  (visible thus also on my photograph). This name must therefore be added to the group in right-to-left writing. The same sign occurs in n. 11, but from my photograph one cannot decide whether it points to the left or to the right and to which group this name consequently belongs. As the figures of captives, who always face the direction opposite to that of the writing, are broken off with the name-rings themselves, there remains no possibility for establishing the division between the groups. But Daressy's and Müller's division being at least wrong as regards n. 10, the greater probability is that n. 11 also belongs to the group on the left-hand side, both groups thus being identical in length with the corresponding groups of the lowest row in the list left of the doorway.

It may be added that the relief right of the doorway was already in the same delapidated state when Daressy made his copy, as appears from his remark in *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Cairo 1893), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Müller indicates his copy of these lists, spread over three figures, as "List A", "List B", "List C", but B and C are really parts of the same list (XXI). Some confusion may also arise from two mistakes in his discussion of the names, namely p. 98, line 12: "fig. 28" instead of "fig. 27", and p. 98, line 13: "fig. 28" instead of "fig. 25".



rows being lost and of unknown length) and from its left-hand group, thus preserving for the 16 names of this group the same numbers as used by Müller.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

11. *List XX* (right or west of doorway): pp. 150 f.  
*List XXI* (left or east of doorway): pp. 152 ff.

XXII

*Plan XV—Diagram XXIII*

*Text* on p. 155.

Lists on socles of  
statues and co-  
lossi at Luxor

12. Among the numerous statues and colossi erected by Ramses II in front and in the forecourt of the temple of Luxor, four have topographical lists engraved on the socles in the form of series of name-rings with captive figures<sup>1</sup>. The only remaining standing statue before the northern pylon (see *Plan XV*), namely that on the extreme right when facing the pylon-front, has topographical lists on both sides of its socle. Of the standing statue next to the left only the socle remains, but it has no topographical list<sup>2</sup>. The sitting colossus on the right-hand side of the pylon-doorway has a list on the front of the socle and on both sides. The two black-granite sitting statues in the forecourt itself on each side of the entrance to the processional colonnade have topographical lists on both sides of the socles. Above most (or all?) of these lists there is a horizontal band of text with the usual superscription (see the following §).

The lists are partly African, partly Asiatic; some contain only or mainly names of "peoples of the Nine Bows". Their combined value, no doubt, is small but it is all the more remarkable that such an interesting name as that of "Moab" should have been preserved only in these lists (n. 10 on the western face of the standing statue before the northern pylon).

Editions of Text

13. All lists were copied by Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 16 1894 pp. 49—51; those on both statues in front of the pylon also by G. Kyle in *Some geographical and ethnic lists of Ramses II at the temple of Luxor*, *Rec. de trav.*, 30 1908 pp. 219—223.

The following is a conspectus of the contents of the lists and of Daressy's and Kyle's copies:

1. *Seated colossus* before first pylon, right (west of doorway):

**Series a** *east side*: Only the foremost part of this side seems to have been inscribed (cp. Kyle *o.c.*, p. 220). It contains six names of "peoples of the Nine Bows". The captive figures are Semites except the first who wears a turban. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50; Kyle, *o.c.*, p. 220.

**Series b** *west side*: Originally 18 names some of which are now destroyed. The figures are alternately Negroes and Semites, the names African and Asiatic. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 49—50 and Kyle *o.c.*, pp. 221—222 with three not very clear photographs<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 100 sub 4 and 5; p. 102 sub 35 and 36.

<sup>2</sup> First excavated by G. Kyle in 1908; see *Rec. de trav.*, 30 1908 p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> A short text along the base of the chair celebrates Ramses as ruler over "*both countries of Retenu*". Text reproduced by Kyle, *o.c.*, p. 220.

2. *Standing statue* before first pylon, extreme right (north-west):

*east side*: 12 African names and figures of three different types; six names can still be read. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50 and Kyle, *o.c.*, p. 222 <sup>1</sup>. Series c

*west side*: Asiatic names and figures (without beard) except the first who is a Negro with turban; his name has been destroyed by repairs. Twelve names, six of which are still legible. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50 and Kyle, *o.c.*, p. 223 <sup>2</sup>. Series d

*front*: Originally six names, three of which ("Nine Bows") have been preserved. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50 and Kyle, *o.c.*, p. 222. Series e

3. *Statue in court* before second pylon, *left* of entrance to colonnade:

*east side*: African names and figures. Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50 gives 15 names but the original total number may have been 16 (as on west side). Series f

*west side*: 16 name-rings with Semitic (bearded) figures. Copied by Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 50 <sup>3</sup>. Series g

4. *Statue in court* before second pylon, *right* of entrance to colonnade:

*east side*: African names and figures. Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 51 gives 12 names <sup>4</sup>. Series h

*west side*: Asiatic figures. Daressy, *o.c.*, p. 51 gives six name-rings. The first three names are destroyed, the remaining three are names of "peoples of the Nine Bows". Series i

14. *List XXII*: pp. 155 f. — Only the Asiatic names have been reproduced, viz. series b (even numbers), series d, series g. Hieroglyphic Text and Notes

## XXIII—XXIV

## Plan XVI

*Diagram XXIV* (list XXIII)

*Diagram XXV* (list XXIV)

*Texts* on p. 157 and p. 160.

15. The whole of the exterior of the southern (south-western) outside wall of the great hypostyle at Karnak was covered by Ramses II with a double series of relief-scenes and inscriptions containing important topographical material <sup>5</sup>. On both sides of the entrance to the hypostyle (see *Plan XVI*) are reliefs with topographical lists <sup>6</sup>. Lists on wall of Karnak-hypostyle

16. The relief on the left (west) of the entrance has the usual scene of the slaying of prisoners by the king before Amon-re<sup>c</sup>. The topographical list (XXIII) consists Left of doorway (XXIII)

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying text has become illegible except for the names of Ramses II.

<sup>2</sup> The accompanying text has become illegible.

<sup>3</sup> A photograph of this list with Ramses II's colossal statue has been chosen as the frontispiece of this book. — The text above the name-rings (reproduced by Daressy, *o. c.*, pp. 50—51) speaks in general terms of the southern countries as far as the very remotest limits.

<sup>4</sup> Daressy mentions no accompanying text, although probably there is one, as on the socle of the left statue.

<sup>5</sup> These reliefs are the counterpart of Seti I's war-scenes on the opposite (north) wall of the same hypostyle, the middle scenes of which have topographical lists described in the preceding chapter (lists XIII and XIV). Of the Ramses-reliefs similarly the middle ones only have topographical lists.

<sup>6</sup> P.-M., II p. 24 sub 70 and 72.

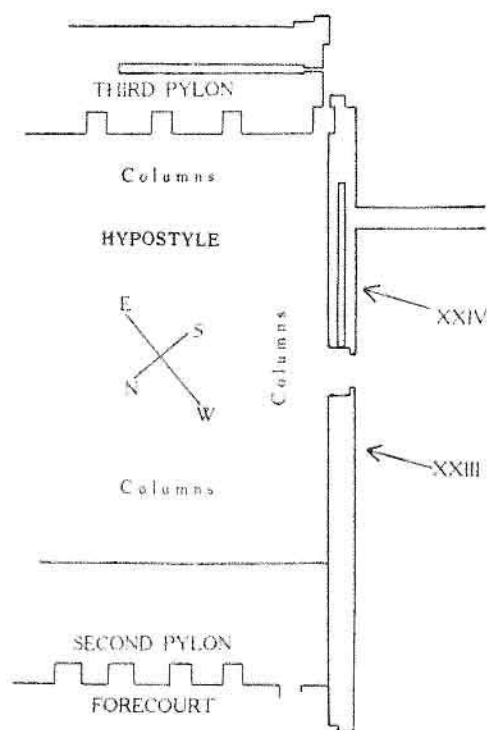
(cp. *Diagram XXIV*) of seven rows of name-rings surmounted by bearded Semitic figures. The four upper rows, each containing three name-rings, are led to the king by Amon, the fourth and fifth row, each containing six name-rings, by Sopdu. The seventh row runs below and along the entire breadth of the relief and has 25 name-rings, 8 with left-to-right writing and 17 with right-to-left writing. Above this row is a horizontal band of text with the superscription of the list <sup>1</sup>. All texts in the higher part of the relief near the figures of the god and the king are badly damaged (fragments in Lepsius' reproduction; see below, § 18) as are many sections of the topographical list, especially in the lowest (7th) row <sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the deciphering of nearly all names in this list is complicated by the fact that it has been engraved on a wall already used for another relief-scene. Remains of the earlier relief, one of the numerous scenes representing the battle of Qadesh, are still visible <sup>3</sup>.

Palimpsest  
Relief

Photographic  
Reproductions

17. No published photographic reproduction of this relief and list has been found but the collection in the Egyptian museum at Berlin contains two photographs, one of which (reg. nr. 136/5519) shows the entire relief, the other (reg. nr. 136/5405) only the part on the left-hand side.

From these photographs on which my description of this list is based, it appears that the original total number of 50 name-rings calculated by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I pl. 60—63) must be reduced to 49, the group on the right-hand side of the 7th row having only 8 (not 9) name-rings. The name-ring indicated by Müller as n. 25 (without inscription) has never existed <sup>4</sup>.



Plan XVI: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, South Wall of Hypostyle (Lists XXIII and XXIV)

<sup>1</sup> Not reproduced by Lepsius nor by Müller but visible on my Berlin photograph (cp. below, § 17), although too small to be read. This text, however, is better reproduced by Breasted *The Battle of Kadesh*, pl. VII (cp. below: n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The lowest parts of all topographical lists on the temple-walls have naturally suffered much damage by the accumulation of debris and also because once uncovered they are within easy reach of the public. This explains the bad state of the names in the 7th row of the present list, in the remaining part of Ramses II's lists at Luxor and in the lowest row of the famous list of Shoshenq I at Karnak.

<sup>3</sup> See J. H. Breasted *The Battle of Kadesh* (Chicago 1903), pl. VII, and Chr. Kuentz *La bataille de Qadesh*, in *Mémoires publiés par l'Inst. fr. d'arch. au Caire*, tome 55 (Le Caire 1928), pl. 26. Breasted's plate VII shows remains of the earlier and of the later relief.

<sup>4</sup> Müller's mistake may have been caused by a small open space between both groups of the 7th row, which he took for an erased name-ring. The Berlin photograph, however, clearly shows this open space to be the lower part of a vertical column of text which reaches from here to the upper edge of the horizontal superscription of the list and perhaps even higher than this.

18. The earlier reproductions of this list have little value, partly because they contain only a selection of the topographical names, partly also because their authors failed to take into account sufficiently the palimpsest character of the relief. Champollion *Not. Descr.*, II pp. 120—121 gives a selection of 15 names from the six upper rows. LD, III Bl. 144<sup>1</sup> reproduces the entire relief as far as visible at the time, namely the relief-scene with 6 rows of name-rings and 6 empty name-rings of the lowest row (group on the right). H. Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II Tf. 23 (nn. 250—272) presents a copy of 23 names from the 6 upper rows based on a collation of Lepsius' text with the original, but it is unsatisfactory<sup>2</sup>. A complete copy of the whole list is given by Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 60—63 (cp. pp. 46—47) which for the first time includes the remains of all the names of the 7<sup>th</sup> row still covered by debris at the time of Champollion and Lepsius<sup>3</sup>.

Many partly destroyed names of this list can be restored by comparison with a list (XXVII) of Ramses III at Medinet Habu which incorporates the greater part of this Karnak-list (see Chapter VIII, § 4: p. 80).

The numbers in *Diagram XXIV*, which is based on the Berlin photographs, are those of Müller. His n. 25, which represents no name-ring (see above: § 17), naturally finds no place in this *Diagram* but it is incorporated in the set of numbers in order to avoid the necessity of reducing by one all numbers of names after n. 25, which could only cause confusion in quoting them<sup>4</sup>.

19. The relief on the right (east) of the entrance to the hypostyle (see *Plan XVI*) occupies only the lower register of the wall<sup>5</sup>. It represents the king slaying prisoners before Amon. The topographical list (XXIV) consists (cp. *Diagram XXV*) of six rows of name-rings with captive figures (according to Lepsius' reproduction — see § 22 — all bearded). The three upper rows, containing respectively 3, 3 and 2 figures, are led to the king by Amon, the two following rows of 5 figures each, by the goddess Wast. The sixth row runs below and along the entire breadth of the relief and contains 23 name-rings of which there are 7 with right-to-left writing and 16 with left-to-right writing. Above this row is a horizontal band of text with the superscription of the list: "*List of the Southern and Northern countries*", etc. The entire list, therefore, contains 41 names<sup>6</sup>.

The relief is again a palimpsest. Clear traces remain of the earlier scene representing

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly assigned to the *north* wall of the hypostyle. Cp. the introduction to the lists of Seti I (p. 53 n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74—75 the same names in transliteration. Brugsch's copy is not mentioned by P.-M.

<sup>3</sup> According to Müller (*o.c.*, p. 47) the topographical list is confined to a small area in central Palestine; but too few names of this list have been identified topographically to justify such a statement.

<sup>4</sup> Champollion's numbers (*Not. Descr.*, II pp. 120—121) differ considerably from Müller's.

<sup>5</sup> The upper register contains an unpublished scene representing the capture of a fortress by the king (= P.-M., II p. 24 sub 72, Upper Register).

<sup>6</sup> Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 45) admits the possibility of this being a list of Ramses II on account of its great similarity with both Seti-lists (XIII and XIV) on the north wall of the hypostyle. Against this supposition is the fact that all reliefs on the south wall are of Ramses II. The similarity between this Ramses-list and those of Seti I could be explained by plagiarism (for a detailed comparison of these lists see § 24). It must, however, be admitted that besides the similarity between the contents of these lists there are other points of resemblance which create doubts as to Ramses' authorship of the present list. See the following footnote and also § 20.



the battle of Qadesh. Moreover, a number of name-rings have also been inscribed twice, viz. in the right group of the lowest row, between n. 26 and n. 41<sup>1</sup>.

**Groups of names** 20. Like the lists of Seti I on the opposite wall of the hypostyle (see chapter VI, § 6: pp. 57 f.), this list of Ramses II is unmistakably composed of several coherent groups or short lists copied from earlier documents. The list opens with two short rows of African names (nn. 1—6 in my system of numbering; cp. below, § 23). These are followed by two rows of respectively 2 and 5 name-rings (nn. 7—13), only 5 of which ("peoples of the Nine Bows") have been preserved<sup>2</sup>. The fifth row (nn. 14—18) contains Asiatic topographical and geographical names, some of which are often repeated in the lists. The left-hand group of the sixth row (nn. 19—25) begins with two African names (nn. 50 and 51 of the great African list of Thutmes III at Karnak: Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798), followed by names of "peoples of the Nine Bows" and of Asiatic cities. Of these, two are lost. The right-hand group of the same row (nn. 26—41) mainly contains Asiatic names with some African names from the Thutmes-list (see the synoptic table in § 24). In the palimpsest name-rings of this group there is not always, in contrast with the corresponding groups of the Seti-lists, a mixture of earlier Asiatic and later African names. The clearest of these palimpsest name-rings (n. 39) contains fragments of two different Asiatic names. Müller's copy of this group (see below, § 22) on which my reproduction of the list in Part II is based, gives for some name-rings only an African name. It is probable that these are not by the same hand as the Asiatic names, so that Müller's copy of this group in reality is a mixture of an Asiatic and an African list.

**Photographic Reproductions** 21. Of this list also there are no published photographic reproductions. The preceding description of the list and *Diagram XXV* are based not only on Müller's indications and Lepsius' incomplete reproduction, but also on an unpublished photograph from the Egyptian museum at Berlin (reg. nr. 141/5496) which, however, does not show the right-hand part of the relief with the group of palimpsest name-rings.

**Editions of Text** 22. Early copies and reproductions show only the higher part of the topographical list, omitting the lowest and most important row of names. Champollion *Not. Descr.*, II p. 122 has only 7 names. LD, III Bl. 145, a is a reproduction of the left half of the relief-scene with the 5 higher rows of name-rings (nn. 1—18). The best copy of the Asiatic names of this list is again that of Müller: *Eg. Res.*, I p. 46 (fifth row and left-hand group of the sixth row) and pl. 59 (right-hand group of the sixth row).

**Numbers** 23. For this list no complete system of numbering has so far been used. Müller's pl. 59 gives special numbers for the names of the right-hand group of the sixth row (1—16). In *Diagram XXV* I have devised a single system of numbers for all the names of the list, but Müller's numbers 1—16 corresponding to my nn. 26—41 have been added in brackets in the reproduction of the list as well as in the *Notes*.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that the corresponding group of name-rings in both lists of Seti I on the north wall is also palimpsest (cp. the preceding footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly in Müller's copy these precede the African names indicated as "7—13".



24. The main value of this list lies in its similarity with the Karnak-lists of Seti I which it helps to restore. Although the order of the names is different, there is a correspondence of groups. A detailed comparison of the present list with those of Seti I on the opposite wall and also with the great African list of Thutmes III, therefore, enables one to restore some destroyed or half-erased names in the Ramses-list as well as in the lists of Seti I (cp. also Chapter VI, § 5: p. 56). The result of this comparison is shown in the following synoptic table. For identifications which are not evident at first sight, the *Notes* following the reproduction of the names of the Seti-lists and of the present list of Ramses II should be consulted. The names of the African list of Thutmes III are numbered according to Sethe's reproduction (*Urk.* IV, pp. 796 ff.)<sup>1</sup>.

Comparison  
with lists of  
Seti I and  
Thutmes III

Ramses II (list XXIV)	(Seti I) (list XIII)	(Seti I) (list XIV)	Thutmes III (African list at Karnak)	Ramses II (list XXIV)	Seti I (list XIII)	Seti I (list XIV)	Thutmes III (African list at Karnak)
1	1	1	+	22	31	29	+
2	2	2	1	23 (lost)			+
3	3	3	2	24	23	21	+
4	4	4	3	25 (see p. 72)			
5	+	5	4	26	49	51	+
6	10	10	11	27	50	52	+
7	19	18	+	28	51	53	+
8	20	19	+	29	52	54	+
9	14	13	+	30	53	(55)	+
10 (lost)				31	54	56	+
11 (lost)				32	44	37	48
12	17	16	+	33	43?	36	+
13	18	17	+	34	42? (lost)	35	+
14	25	23	+	35	39?	41?	52? 49?
15	26	24	+	36	41	43	54
16	27	lost	+	37	37?	44	55
17	32	30	+	38	40	42	53
18	33	31	+	39	59	61?	+
19	50	39	50	40	56	58	+
20	49	40	51	41	63	65	+
21	21	20	+				

25. *List XXIII* (left or west of doorway): pp. 157 ff.

*List XXIV* (right or east of doorway): pp. 160 f.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

Only the Asiatic names of both lists have been reproduced. The Asiatic name-rings of list XXIV are indicated on *Diagram XXV* by a double line.

XXV  
*Plan XVII—Diagram XXVI*  
Text on p. 162.

26. In the portico of Ramses II's temple at Abydos (the southern part of "*Hof A*" of List at Abydos

<sup>1</sup> + = not mentioned.

? = perhaps mentioned among lost names.

Mariette) are two coloured reliefs engraved on the lower part of the outside walls, both of which have a short topographical list<sup>1</sup>. Of the relief-scenes only the lower part remains. That on the west wall (see *Plan XVII*) which has an Asiatic list (the list on the east wall is African), is visible in G. Jéquier *Arch. et décor.*, etc. II pl. 27, 1, right. I saw an unpublished photograph of this relief in the collection of the Egyptian museum at Berlin (*Mappe* 126; no number but described as "Abydos, Hof A, N-W. Wand, W-ende, links des Eingangs nach Raum H"). On these photographs it may be seen that the relief-scene represents the slaying of a single prisoner by the king (cp. *Prel. Rem.*, B. Type I: p. 8).

The Asiatic topographical list consists of a single row of 9 name-rings with bearded Semitic figures and is separated from the relief-scene by a horizontal band of text<sup>2</sup>.

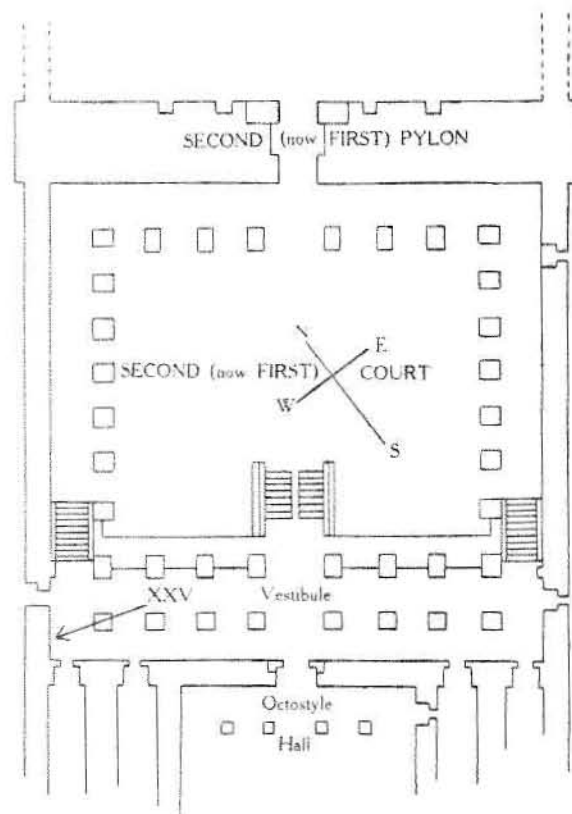
**Editions of Text** 27. The list was copied by Mariette *Abydos*, etc. II pl. 2, a (cp. pp. 12—13, § 143)<sup>3</sup> and also reproduced in the same author's *Fouilles exécutées en Egypte*, etc. II (Paris 1867) p. 103 (centre). An excellent reproduction of the topographical names from which my copy in Part II is made, is given on photographs 286—288 of the *Fremdv. Exp.*

The value of the list is small. Besides some names of "peoples of the Nine Bows", only the most common names of Asiatic countries are enumerated.

The numbers in *Diagram XXVI* follow the direction of writing.

**Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes**

28. *List XXV*: p. 162.



Plan XVII: Abydos, Temple of Ramses II, Second (now First) Court and Vestibule (List XXV)

<sup>1</sup> Mariette (*Abydos*, etc. II p. 8 § 130) and Wreszinski (*Bericht*, etc. p. [47] = 65) mention reliefs with topographical lists on what is now the first pylon (originally second pylon) of this temple. Wreszinski's reference (sub "17") to Mariette *Abydos* II 2/3 is only partly correct, as Mariette's pl. 2 reproduces the lists in the portico. His pl. 3 is a copy of an African list on the south tower of the pylon. Nowhere have I been able to find a reproduction or description of the list on the north tower which, if still existing, is probably Asiatic.

<sup>2</sup> Copied by Mariette and also well visible on the photographs of the names in the collection of the *Fremdv. Exp.* Cp. below: § 27.

<sup>3</sup> The subscription of pl. 2 erroneously assigns the list to the "Premier Pylône". This probably explains Wreszinski's mistake.

## XXVI

*Diagram XXVII—Text on p. 163.*

29. On two red-granite fragments found at Tell Basta (Bubastis) and belonging to an unknown monument a small part has been preserved of a topographical list (or lists?) in the form of name-rings with captive figures (bearded Semites). The larger of these fragments also shows part of a horizontal band of text above the name-rings with the names of Ramses II. A photographic reproduction of this fragment, which is now in the British Museum (reg. nr. 1104; see *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries, Sculpture* 1909 n. 586 p. 162), is given in E. Naville *Bubastis* (London 1891), pl. XVII. The smaller fragment is at Cairo (reg. nr. 28572). A drawing of both fragments may be seen on pl. XXXVI, B and D of Naville's work.

Two Fragments  
from Bubastis

The first fragment still has four name-rings (right-to-left writing), three of which (nn. 1—3 in *Diagram XXVII*) are African. On the smaller fragment (left-to-right writing) the first two names (nn. 5—6) are Asiatic; n. 7 cannot be recognized sufficiently.

30. *List XXVI* (b and d): p. 163.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

## SECTION C: THE XXth DYNASTY

## CHAPTER VIII: RAMSES III

1. The death of Merneptah (*circa* 1215 B. C. or perhaps about 10 years later) was followed in Egypt by a period of confusion and general disturbance during which several Pharaohs rapidly succeeded one another. Of this period lasting about twenty years very few monuments and documents have been left. Order was restored first by Sethnakht, then more successfully by his son who had assumed the name of Ramses III. During the first decade of his reign (*circa* 1198—1167) this Pharaoh was obliged to defend the very existence of his kingdom against foreign enemies. Especially prominent among these were the so-called "peoples of the sea" who by migrations from more northern regions had been forced to abandon their native countries and in search of a new home infested the shores of Egypt, until they were finally repulsed both by land and by sea. At the same time Ramses III defeated in two battles the North African tribes which from the adjacent regions had already penetrated into Egypt.

Introductory  
Note. Division  
of Chapter

Of these conditions the Pharaoh availed himself in order to try and extend his dominion over Western Asia. Although his efforts had no durable results, they do not seem to have been entirely unsuccessful.

The enemies in and outside Egypt having been defeated, Ramses III applied his energy and wealth to works of peace and art. One of his greatest creations is the temple which he built in honour of Amon on the western bank of the Nile at a place now called Medinet Habu. The reliefs on the walls of this temple contain the principal topographical lists of this period, namely two long lists (XXVII—XXVIII) and a short one (XIX) on the front

of the great pylon, together with a fourth of a different type on the exterior of the outside wall (XXX). There is also a short list, perhaps ethnological as much as topographical, on the front of the "Pavilion" ("*Hobes Tor*") erected before the great temple (XXXI). Besides the Medinet Habu buildings Ramses III erected a special temple of his own in honour of Amon at Karnak, now partly enclosed within the great forecourt of the main temple. The front of the pylon of Ramses' small temple has two reliefs with topographical lists, one of which may be considered as Asiatic, although it is now almost entirely destroyed (XXXII). Other short lists were engraved on the socles of both sitting statues before the pylon-entrance (XXXIII).

## XXVII—XXVIII

*Plan XVIII**Diagram XXVIII* (list XXVII)*Diagram XXIX* (list XXVIII)*Texts* on p. 165 and p. 170.Great Lists at  
Medinet Habu

2. The front of the great pylon at Medinet Habu (see *Plan XVIII*) bears on both towers reliefs representing the slaying of prisoners before the god Amon with long lists of name-rings surmounted by captive figures<sup>1</sup>. Both relief-scenes and all texts have recently been reproduced by "The Epigraphic Survey" of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, from whose publications (see § 6) much of the information contained in the following pages has been extracted.

Left of entrance  
(XXVII)

3. The topographical list (XXVII) on the left (south or south-western) tower of the pylon which numbers 125 name-rings, consists (cp. *Diagram XXVIII*) of 10 rows of name-rings. Eight short rows are behind the figure of the god, each having 5 name-rings except the highest row which has only four. The first name-ring of this row has been replaced by a small figure of a goddess (cp. below, § 7). Two long rows running below and along the entire breadth of the relief, contain 43 name-rings each. Above these the usual horizontal band of text refers to the "*chiefs of all countries*". Round the figures of the relief-scene a number of texts celebrate the Pharaoh's power. This is continued in two horizontal lines of text in large characters below the topographical list<sup>2</sup>.

The topographical names of this list are of northern towns and places except 6 at the extreme left of the lowest rows which have Negro figures and are evidently African (nn. 95—97 and 123—125 in *Diagram XXVIII*). A number of names of this list are repeated in that on the right (north) tower. The following table gives a conspectus of the names common to both lists (for the numbers used see below: § 7):

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., II p. 179 sub 1 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> Translations of all the texts reproduced in the volumes I and II of the Medinet Habu publication of "The Epigraphic Survey" (see below, § 6), may be seen in W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson *Historical Records of Ramses III*, etc. (Chicago 1936). Those engraved on the front of the left tower of the main pylon are given on pp. 105 ff.

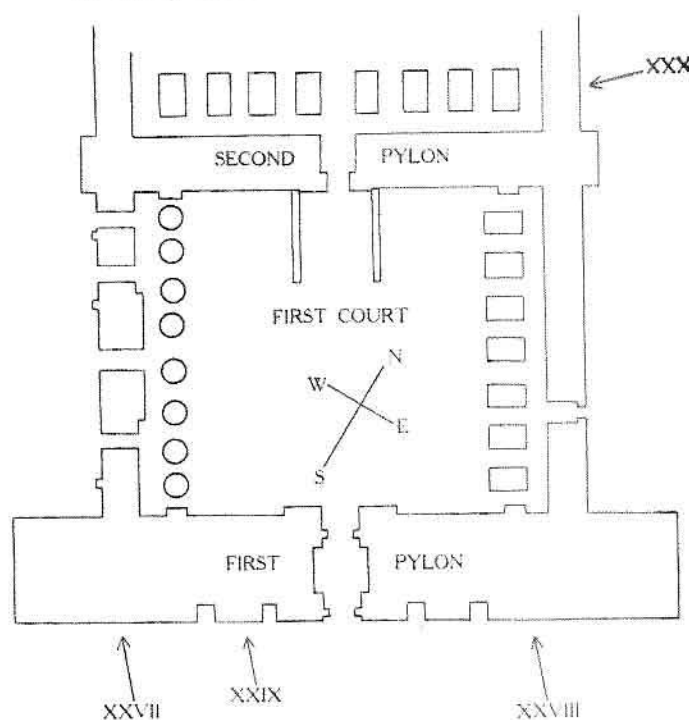
South Tower (list XXVII)	North Tower (list XXVIII)	South Tower (list XXVII)	North Tower (list XXVIII)
25?	28	52	104
26	33	58	114
28	38	62	118
45	3	63?	119
46	2	64	120
47	99	65	121?
48?	100	66	122
49	101	67	123
50	102	68	124
51?	103	69?	103

In many cases names mentioned in both lists show orthographic differences (see the

*Notes* on these names in Part II).

There are also a few names which occur twice in list XXVII, although it is not certain that the same places were intended.

In the relief on the right (north Right of  
entrance  
(XXVIII) or north-eastern) tower of the pylon the text above the figure of the god refers to Ramses' victories over his southern enemies (*"chiefs of the southern countries"*) but the superscription of the list (XXVIII) in the horizontal band of text above the lowest rows of name-rings describes the list as of *"northern and southern countries"* alike. As on the corresponding relief on the south tower, the texts near the figures of the king and the god and the two extra lines below the topographical list contain the usual praise of the Pharaoh<sup>1</sup>.



Plan XVIII: Medinet Habu, Great Temple, First and Second Pylon (Lists XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX and XXX)

The topographical list (see *Diagram XXIX*) has the same form and the same number of rows as that on the south tower, but the total number of name-rings is one less (124), both highest rows only containing 4 name-rings each (see below, § 7). Nn. 1—72 are mostly African, borrowed from the great African list of Thutmes III at Karnak. Only a few names in this first half of the list may be supposed to be Asiatic, as they occur also in the list on the south tower. The remaining names, nn. 73—124, have no parallels in the African Thutmes-list and a good number of them were copied from the list on the south tower

<sup>1</sup> Translations in Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, pp. 111 ff.



(see the table above). Although some African names may have slipped in, this part of the list must be considered as mainly Asiatic<sup>1</sup>.

In both lists the captive figures surmounting the name-rings are alternately Hittites and bearded Semites with the exception already mentioned of 6 Negro figures on the south tower<sup>2</sup>. It is noteworthy that in the list on the north tower which is mainly African, there is not a single African figure<sup>3</sup>. This and the meaningless alternation of Hittites and Semites in both lists sufficiently prove their artificial character with little or no historical background (cp. the following §).

Value of  
the lists

4. As historical documents the value of the Medinet Habu lists is certainly small in proportion to their great length. Topographically also they display no great originality, as a considerable number of names have been copied from earlier lists. In the same way as the list on the north tower (XXVIII) draws largely upon the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak, so the Asiatic list on the south tower (XXVII) reproduces a great number of names from one of the Karnak-lists of Ramses II (XXIII). The main value of the Medinet Habu lists consists in the fact that they allow the restoration of a number of names of that much damaged list of Ramses II, although the orthography of the original and that of Ramses III's copy must have differed considerably, as appears from some names preserved intact in both lists<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Müller is not quite correct when he says (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 48) that Asiatic names are found only in the lower part of the list. Some names in the higher rows also were copied from the Asiatic list on the south tower. Nor can it be said (as Breasted does: AR, IV § 138) that only the names copied from the list on the south tower are Asiatic. See e.g., the group nn. 105—110, all of which look like genuine Asiatic names, but are not mentioned in the other list.

Incorrectly Breasted numbers 126 names in the list on the south tower (AR, IV § 130) and 124 in the list on the north tower (*ibid.*, § 138), evidently overlooking the fact that on both reliefs the goddess which usually stands below the god, has been relegated to the topographical lists, occupying the space of two name-rings in the list on the north tower and of one name-ring in the list on the south tower (cp. below, § 7).

<sup>2</sup> Incorrectly Breasted (AR, IV, p. 77 n. c) speaks of 8 Negro figures.

<sup>3</sup> Müller thought he saw Negroes in the entire higher part of this list (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 48).

<sup>4</sup> The names of list XXIII occur in the list of Ramses III on the south tower (XXVII) between n. 76 and n. 110 with the exception of nn. 94—97 (Müller *Eg. Res.*, I p. 49 less correctly: "70—120, exc. 95—97"). Some names of the last section of list XXVII (nn. 111 ff.) may also have been copied from the list of Ramses II, but this is too fragmentary here to allow the comparison of individual names. In the reproduction of list XXVII in Part II, I have added the corresponding numbers of list XXIII after the names (see also the *Notes*).

Müller (*loc. cit.*) states that the first two groups of list XXVII (nn. 1—39 and 40—69) were copied from the great Asiatic list of Thutmes III (list I). A number of names of the first group certainly occur in the Thutmes-list but this is not sufficient evidence for a direct relation between the two lists. Many names of this group are not mentioned in the Thutmes-list. Very few names of the second group seem to be mentioned in any other Egyptian document besides the present list.

Thus it appears that the lack of originality of even the lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu should not be exaggerated. We may, of course, suspect that besides the list of Ramses II other sources have been used for other sections of the Asiatic list at Medinet Habu, but as long as these sources remain unknown to us, this list has a value of its own. It is also noteworthy that list XXVII does not mention some very well-known Asiatic names such as Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo and others. This provides some basis for the supposition (see e.g. L. Desnoyers *Histoire du peuple hébreu*, I Paris 1930, p. 43 n. 1) that the list is *not entirely* without historical background.

5. There are many photographic reproductions of the great pylon at Medinet Habu in works on Egyptian art and history. A good example is a photograph of the entire front of this pylon in vol. I of the Medinet Habu publication of "The Epigraphic Survey" (see below, § 6), pl. 6. The same is given in smaller dimensions by J. Capart *Thèbes*, etc. p. 130 fig. 73 and G. Jéquier *Arch. et décor.*, II pl. 48. Only the relief on the left (south) tower is shown in J. Capart *Thèbes*, etc. p. 51 fig. 29<sup>1</sup>.

Photographic  
Reproductions

6. As list XXVII is almost entirely Asiatic and list XXVIII also contains many Asiatic names, reproductions and copies of both are enumerated in this §. Most publications mentioned deal simultaneously with both lists.

Editions of Text

The first five items of the following chronologically arranged bibliography possess little value for the study of the topographical names, since more recent and more reliable copies of both lists now exist.

1° Champollion *Not. Descr.*, I pp. 725—726 (cp. p. 345): only 28 name-rings from the list on the north tower; several names illegible.

2° Sayce, in *Bull. de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* 1892 p. 661<sup>2</sup>.

3° Lepsius LD, III Bl. 210, a: a reproduction of the relief-scene on the north tower with only 14 names from the right half of the list. Other names of this section and both long rows below the relief-scene are not reproduced.

4° Dümichen *Hist. Inschr.*, I (Leipzig 1867). Pls. 11—12 reproduce the right half of the relief on the south tower with 39 names; pls. 16—17 reproduce the left half of the relief on the north tower with 43 names<sup>3</sup>.

5° Golénischeff, in *Z. äg. Spr.* 20 1882 Tf. VI (cp. p. 147): a copy of 38 names from the list on the north tower; the numbers of (presumably) corresponding names of the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak have been added.

More important are the three following:

6° G. Daressy *Listes géographiques de Médinet-Habou*, in *Rec. de trav.*, 20 1898 pp. 113—119: a copy of all names of both lists as far as Daressy was able to read them, with numbers of corresponding names of the Karnak-lists of Ramses II and Thutmes III. See also for a section of list XXVII: *Rec. de trav.*, 21 1899 pp. 30—39.

<sup>1</sup> A coloured reconstruction of the entire facade of the great pylon with all inscriptions and relief-scenes is found in U. Hölscher *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, I (OIP, 21; Chicago 1934), pl. 23. It may be noted that originally coloured topographical lists have become considerably less distinct through the disappearance of the coloured inlaid plaster forms, as the engraved hieroglyphs of such inscriptions were often only roughly finished. Cp. The Epigraphic Survey *Medinet Habu*, I p. 7 and for the combined process of relief and painting in general N. M. Davies *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, III: *Descriptive Text* (Chicago 1934), pp. XLI—XLIII. Traces of colour were also found by Müller in some names of the "Naharina-list" of Thutmes III at Karnak (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest numbers of this series I have not been able to consult. According to Breasted (*AR*, IV p. 77 n. h) this publication deals with the names of list XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> Müller's discussion of some Asiatic names in *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 227 ff. is based on Dümichen's copy only.

The *systems of numbering* (nn. 1—124 and nn. 1—125) introduced by Daressy are those used now (see, however, § 7).

7° W. M. Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 64—71 (list on south tower) and pls. 72—74 (only the Asiatic names from the lower part of the list on the north tower). Müller's copy is based on a collation of Daressy's text with the original inscriptions (cp. *ibid.*, pp. 48—50).

8° "The Epigraphic Survey" (Harold H. Nelson) *Medinet Habu*, II: *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP, 9; Chicago 1932), pl. 101 (a complete reproduction of the relief-scene and list on the south tower) and pl. 102 (the same for north tower)<sup>1</sup>. These reproductions show that nearly all names of the list on the south tower are still well preserved, while the lower rows of the list on the north tower have large gaps. A comparison with Daressy's and Müller's copies proves that in spite of the great number of earlier reproductions of these lists considerable progress has been made by the application of modern methods of reproduction<sup>2</sup>.

**Numbers** 7. In spite of the simple and almost identical form of both lists (see *Diagrams XXVIII* and *XXIX*) there exists considerable confusion as regards the numbers with which the names of these lists are quoted. The following remarks may help to avoid a number of mistakes. It must be stated in advance that this will more easily be done by keeping as much as possible to the numbers originally introduced by Daressy<sup>3</sup>.

1° Daressy's numbers for the names of list XXVII (south tower) start from n. 2, n. 1 being given as an illegible name. The space normally occupied by the first name-ring in reality contains the figure of a goddess leading to the king the four captive figures of the highest row. As Müller has not incorporated this non-existing name-ring in his system of numbering, his numbers are from the start one lower than those of Daressy.

In the same manner the figure of a goddess fills the space of two name-rings in list XXVIII, namely the first of the two highest rows, but in contrast to the list on the south tower, these name-rings are not included in Daressy's (nor in Müller's) numbers.

2° After the second name of the list on the south tower (Daressy n. 3), Daressy omits one name-ring which is included in Müller's copy as n. 3. The first part of this name has been read by "The Epigraphic Survey" as "i-n-.....". To avoid a change of all following

<sup>1</sup> Transliterations of the topographical names with short notes in Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, pp. 108—109 and 114—115.

<sup>2</sup> Similar results may be expected for probably all other topographical lists when modern methods of examination and reproduction have been applied. On the scientific process employed by "The Epigraphic Survey" it is worth while reading Breasted's account in *The Oriental Institute* (Chicago 1934), pp. 198—215. See also: Harold H. Nelson *The Epigraphic Survey of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu (Seasons 1924—25 to 1927—28)*, in: OIC, 5 (Chicago 1929), pp. 1—36; *id.*, *Medinet Habu Reports I. The Epigraphic Survey 1928—1931 (Third Preliminary Report)*, in: OIC, 10 (Chicago 1931), pp. 1—48; Harold H. Nelson and U. Hölscher *Work in Western Thebes 1931—33*, in: OIC, 18 (Chicago 1934), pp. 1—90.

<sup>3</sup> In describing and reproducing these lists Edgerton-Wilson (*o.c.*) number the names without paying any regard to already existing systems of numbering, strictly following the copies of "The Epigraphic Survey". This may be more logical in itself but is likely to add to the confusion.

numbers of Daressy's system it seems advisable to indicate this name as "3bis" which sufficiently shows its position between Daressy n. 3 and Müller n. 4. It corresponds to Müller n. 3. After this Daressy's and Müller's numbers coincide. Gauthier (DNG) uses Daressy's numbers for the first rows of name-rings of both lists. The following table shows the correspondence between Daressy, Müller and Gauthier for the first row of list XXVII and also the real position of the names as now clearly established by "The Epigraphic Survey":

Daressy	Müller	Gauthier	The Epigr. Survey
1	empty space	not mentioned	goddess
2	1	2 (DNG, III p. 1)	1st name of 1st row
3	2	3 (DNG, II p. 47)	2nd name of 1st row
omitted	3 <sup>1)</sup>	not mentioned	3rd name of 1st row
4	4	4 (DNG, VI p. 70)	4th name of 1st row

3<sup>o</sup> Daressy's n. 42 of list XXVII has been omitted by Müller whose numbers for the following names are consequently one lower than those of Daressy. From Daressy's n. 49, also omitted by Müller, the difference is increased to two, but as Müller's n. 55 immediately follows his n. 52, the numbers of both systems from n. 55 on are once more identical. Gauthier's *Dictionnaire* records the names of this section promiscuously with the numbers of Daressy and Müller. The following table shows the correspondence between Daressy, Müller and Gauthier:

Daressy	Müller	Gauthier
42	omitted	name without number (DNG, VI p. 43)
43	42	43 (DNG, VI p. 71)
44	43	43 (again; DNG, I p. 60)
45	44	name without number (DNG, III p. 95)
46	45	45 (DNG, VI p. 41)
47	46	47 (DNG, III, p. 16)
48	47	48 (DNG, VI p. 44)
49	omitted	49 (DNG, I p. 78)
50	48	50 (DNG, III p. 122)
51	49	51 (DNG, V p. 195)
52	50	50 (again; DNG, VI p. 69)
53	51	51 (again; DNG, VI p. 79; but same as n. 53 in VI p. 68)
54	52	52 (DNG, III p. 13)
55	55	55 (DNG, III p. 13)

8. *List XXVII* (left or south of entrance): pp. 164 ff. — The corresponding numbers of list XXIII are added after the names. Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

*List XXVIII* (right or north of entrance): pp. 170 ff. — The corresponding numbers of list XXVII are added after the names. The Asiatic groups of list XXVIII have been indicated in *Diagram XXIX* by a double line.

<sup>1</sup> "3bis" in my reproduction of the list in Part II and in *Diagram XXVIII*.



## XXIX

## Plan XVIII—Diagram XXX

Text on p. 174.

Short list on  
pylon at  
Medinet Habu

9. Between the great lists of Medinet Habu are two smaller reliefs with topographical lists engraved on the same pylon-front (see *Plan XVIII*). On the south tower the relief-scene represents the king slaying prisoners before the god Ptah who in the similar scene on the north tower is replaced by Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>. Both topographical lists which have the ordinary form of name-rings with captive figures, are short and entirely composed of names extracted from the great lists on their respective towers. The list on the north tower is African, that on the south tower Asiatic<sup>1</sup>. Neither list has the usual horizontal band of text with superscription. In the relief on the south tower this is replaced by the text of the "Blessing of Ptah"<sup>2</sup>. The Asiatic list itself consists of 13 names (cp. *Diagram XXX*). Three are engraved behind the figure of Ptah leading these captives to the king, while a single row of 10 name-rings runs below and along the entire breadth of the relief-scene.

Reproductions  
and Editions of  
Text

10. The topographical names were copied and compared with those of the great list (XXVII) by G. Daressy: *Rec. de trav.*, 20 1898 pp. 119—120. Relief-scene and list are reproduced in LD, III Bl. 209, c<sup>3</sup> and in "The Epigraphic Survey" *Medinet Habu*, etc. II pl. 104 (photographic) and pl. 105 (drawing).

The numbers in *Diagram XXX* (based on "The Epigraphic Survey") are those of Daressy.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

11. *List XXIX*: p. 174. — The numbers after the names are those of the corresponding names of the great list (XXVII). The orthography is sometimes different (see the *Notes* in Part II).

## XXX

## Plan XVIII—Diagram XXXI

Text on p. 175.

List on outside  
wall of great  
Temple at  
Medinet Habu

12. Besides the lists on the front of the main pylon there is only one more relief with an Asiatic topographical list among the numerous reliefs and inscriptions adorning the great temple at Medinet Habu<sup>4</sup>, namely, that on the exterior of the eastern outside wall, immediately after the protruding part of the second pylon (see *Plan XVIII*). The relief-scene is of Type III (cp. *Prel. Rem.*, B: p. 9), similar to that of Amenhotep II at Karnak (see list VI). The king is seen leading and presenting two rows of captives to the Theban Triad. The upper row are representatives of "peoples of the sea" (cp. § 1 of this Chapter: p. 77), the lower row are Libyans<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P-M, II p 179 sub 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bl. 209, d represents the relief on the north tower with African list.

<sup>4</sup> P-M., II p. 190 sub 113.

<sup>5</sup> Above the upper row a text in vertical columns gives the words of "the great fallen ones of t-k-k-r" (Zakkaru or Zakkalu): see Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, p. 45, 18°—26°. The horizontal band of text above the lower row contains the words of "the fallen ones of Libya": see *ibid.*, p. 46, 27°.



This relief is one of a double series of reliefs representing various episodes from Ramses III's campaigns against Libyans, "peoples of the sea" and Hittites. Both series converging towards the centre are separated from one another by the protruding part of the second pylon and concluded by the presentation of captive enemies to the gods<sup>1</sup>.

The topographical list (see *Diagram XXXI*) consists of a single row of name-rings with captive figures, separated from the relief-scene by a horizontal superscription<sup>2</sup>.

13. The relief-scene is reproduced by Champollion *Monuments*, etc. pl. 226 and Rosellini *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 134. The topographical names alone were copied by Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 19 1897 p. 18, 13<sup>o</sup>. A reproduction of both relief and list is given by Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pl. 118 (photographic) and pl. 119 (drawing). The latest reproduction is that by "The Epigraphic Survey" *Medinet Habu*, etc. I pl. 43<sup>3</sup>. An excellent photographic reproduction exists in the collection of "Gaddis Photo Stores" clearly showing the relief-scene and all the topographical names except n. 1.

Reproductions  
and Editions  
of Text

The list is not exclusively but mainly Asiatic. In *Diagram XXXI* the names are numbered according to the direction of writing.

14. *List XXX*: p. 175.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

XXXI  
*Plan XIX—Diagram XXXII*  
Text on p. 176.

15. The facade of the "Pavilion" ("*Hobes Tor*") before the great temple at Medinet Habu (see *Plan XIX*) bears on both sides of the doorway a relief-scene representing the slaying of prisoners by the king, on the left (west) of the entrance before Amon-re<sup>c</sup>, on the right (east) before Amon-Harakhte. Below both scenes and separated from them by a horizontal band of text ("*Words of the northern (southern) enemies*", etc.) are short lists of names. These are not in the ordinary form of name-rings with captive figures but inscribed in vertical columns between the fettered kneeling figures of the enemies whose names are mentioned (cp. *Prel. Rem.*, B, Type II: pp. 8 f.). All figures are of a different type. The lists themselves contain 7 names each<sup>4</sup>. On the left of the entrance these enumerate southern lands and peoples; the names on the right are of northern regions<sup>5</sup>.

Short list on  
facade of  
Pavilion at  
Medinet Habu

<sup>1</sup> The final relief of the series between the first and the second pylon (= P-M., II p. 190 sub 119) is in two registers. In the upper register the captives are presented to Amon and Khons, in the lower to Amon and Mut. Neither scene has a topographical list (see "The Epigraphic Survey" *Medinet Habu*, etc. II pl. 93 and pl. 78, respectively).

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced above (p. 10 fig. 5). — See also Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, p. 46, 28°.

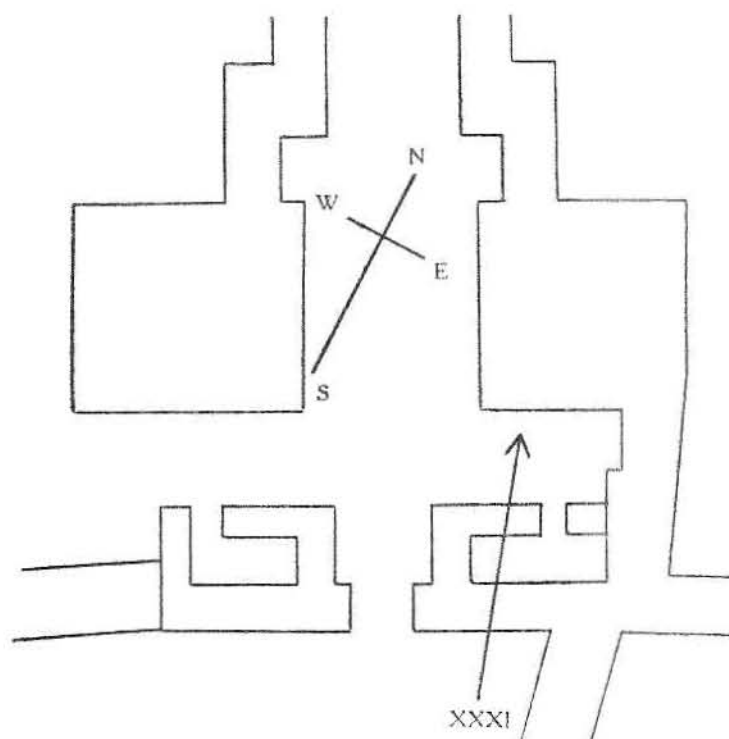
<sup>3</sup> See also Edgerton-Wilson *o.c.*, pp. 44—46.

<sup>4</sup> The last captive figure of the list on the right tower is hidden behind a wall built against the facade of the "Pavilion" (see *Plan XIX*).

<sup>5</sup> P-M., II p. 173 sub 6. — Both lists are ethnological as well as geographical. All names of the northern list except nn. 1 and 2 are of *peoples* but the determinative of foreign *countries* (𓏏𓏏) is always added. The names are preceded by some abusive qualifications. See the *Notes* following the reproduction of the list in Part II.

Photographic  
Reproductions  
and Editions  
of Text

16. The captive figures of this list, either with or without their names, have often been reproduced and photographed. Photographs showing the facade of the "Pavilion" and the position of the relief-scenes with the lists may be seen in G. Jequier *Arch. et décor.*, II pl. 45; J. Capart *Thèbes*, etc. p. 55 fig. 33; G. Steindorff *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, p. 148. A photograph of the topographical names of the list on the right is given by A. Mariette *Voyage*, etc. II pl. 51 and by Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pl. 160, a (lower row; cp. drawing on pl. 160, b, higher row). The names are also well legible on some of the photographs of the *Fremdv. Exp.*: 498 (nn. 1—3), 499 (nn. 3—5), 500 (nn. 5—7).



Plan XIX: Medinet Habu, Pavilion, Ground Plan, South Part  
(List XXXI)

A reproduction of both relief and list is given by Champollion *Monuments*, pl. 203 and Rossellini *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 143<sup>1</sup> but more satisfactory is LD, III Bl. 209, b, as shown by comparison with the photographs of the *Fremdv. Exp.*

The numbers in *Diagram XXXII* follow the direction of writing.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

17. *List XXXI*: p. 176.

XXXII

*Plan XX—Diagram XXXIII*

*Text on p. 176.*

List on pylon  
of small Amon-  
temple at  
Karnak

18. On the facade of the pylon of the small Amon-temple built by Ramses III at Karnak<sup>2</sup>, the front part of which is now enclosed in the great forecourt between pylons I and II (see *Plan XX*), the scanty remains may be seen of two reliefs, one on each side of the entrance representing the slaying of captives by the king before Amon-Re<sup>3</sup>. Of the topographical lists only the higher parts have been preserved. That on the right tower<sup>3</sup> still has two Asiatic names. The lists were in the ordinary form of name-rings with captive

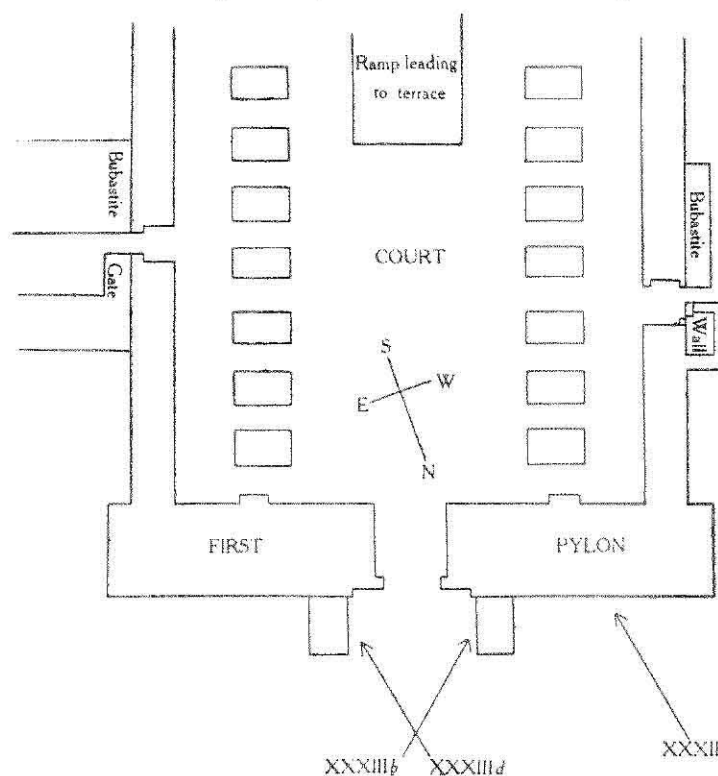
<sup>1</sup> Only heads of prisoners in Champollion *Not. Descr.*, I pp. 720—721 (cp. p. 339 where, however, the list is incorrectly described as a "série de chefs prisonniers alternés l'un du Midi et l'autre du Nord"). Other reproductions of captive figures in Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II pl. 3 and Petrie *Racial Photographs* etc., nn. 156—161; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Described by H. Chévrier *Le temple reposoir de Ramsès III à Karnak* (Le Caire 1933).

<sup>3</sup> PM., II p. 11 sub 6.

figures. Their original extent cannot be established with certainty on account of the much damaged condition of the entire pylon-facade<sup>1</sup>. The list on the right tower which on the evidence of the remaining names may be considered as at least partially relating to Western Asia, probably had four almost equal horizontal rows containing respectively

5, 5, 4, 4 name-rings (cp. *Diagram XXXIII*). On the left tower there were at least three rows of 5 name-rings each and probably a fourth one of 4 name-rings which has entirely disappeared<sup>2</sup>.



Plan XX: Karnak, Ramses III's Temple of Amon, First Pylon and First Court (Lists XXXII and XXXIII)

19. A photographic reproduction of the facade of this temple is found in G. Jéquier *Arch. et décor.*, II pl. 63, 1, and in the first Karnak-volume of "The Epigraphic Survey": *Ramses III's temple within the great Inclosure of Amon*, Part I pl. 2 (OIP, 25; Chicago 1936; *Reliefs and Paintings at Karnak*, vol. 1). The topographical names alone have been copied by Lepsius: LD, III Bl. 207, e<sup>3</sup>. What still remains of both relief and list has again been copied by "The Epigraphic Survey" *o.c.*, pl. 4<sup>4</sup>.

Photographic Reproductions and Editions of Text

From these reproductions it appears that the higher parts (three rows of name-rings) of both lists were almost identical with the higher parts of the Seti-lists at Karnak (XIII and XIV) enumerating "peoples of the Nine Bows" and Africans. Only the list on the right tower still has two Asiatic names (nn. 17 and 18 in *Diagram XXXIII*) in the fourth row.

<sup>1</sup> The extent of the damage is best shown on Chévrier's plate III.

<sup>2</sup> Photographs do not allow one to ascertain the original form and extent of these much damaged lists. On the reproduction by "The Epigraphic Survey" (see § 19) it may be seen that both lowest rows of the list on the right tower had only 4 name-rings, the space of two name-rings before these rows being occupied by the figure of a goddess, a few lines of which remain. On the left tower the goddess stands lower and occupies the space of only one name-ring. There certainly was a row of name-rings behind this goddess, so that Breasted (*AR*, IV p. 81 n. b) incorrectly reduces the original total number of names to fifteen.

It is probable that there was one more long row of name-rings on both towers below the relief-scene, as is usual with all lists of this type; but the lower part of the wall is so much damaged that no traces of them can be seen. If such a row of name-rings existed on the right tower, this probably contained the most important part of the Asiatic list (cp. e.g., both lists of Seti I and list XXIV of Ramses II at Karnak).

<sup>3</sup> The relief-scene and list on the left tower are reproduced in LD, III, Bl. 207, d.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. 5 reproduces the relief on the left tower.

*Diagram XXXIII* of the list on the right tower is based on the reproduction by "The Epigraphic Survey" and numbers have been inscribed according to the system used for all lists of similar type.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

20. *List XXXIII*: p. 176.

### XXXIII

*Plan XX—Diagram XXXIV*

*Text* on p. 177.

Lists on socles  
of colossi before  
the same temple

21. On both sides of the entrance to Ramses III's Amon-temple at Karnak (see *Plan XX*) are two colossal statues<sup>1</sup> on the socles of which topographical lists have been engraved in the form of name-rings with captive figures<sup>2</sup>. The names on the right side of the right (western) colossus are African, those on the left side of the same colossus are Asiatic, but there are only fragments of three names left. The names on the left side of the left (eastern) colossus are again African, those on the right side Asiatic with three names left. Only fragments are left of the captive figures.

Photographic  
Reproductions  
and Editions of  
Text

22. Such topographical names as still remain, have suffered much damage. See the photographic reproduction in "The Epigraphic Survey" *Karnak*, I (cp. above: § 19), pl. 6, D—H. These photographs do not allow one to read the names but they show that each list originally had 6 names. The only copy of the remaining names was published by Müller: *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 56, namely:

series a: right side of right colossus: 4 African names.

series b: left side of right colossus: fragments of 3 Asiatic names.

series c: left side of left colossus: 5 African names.

series d: right side of left colossus: 3 Asiatic names.

The order of the Asiatic names in b and d can be established by comparing the photographic reproductions of "The Epigraphic Survey" with Müller's copies of the lists. See *Diagram XXXIV*.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

22. *List XXXIII*: p. 177.

<sup>1</sup> Described by G. Legrain *Les temples de Karnak* (Bruxelles 1929), pp. 88—89. — It is not quite certain who first erected these statues. The original royal names on the front of the socles have been recarved (see the reproduction of the text on the front of the right statue in Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 56 "front of right statue"); but the fact that they were placed before the entrance to this temple, makes it more than probable that they were at least usurped by Ramses III.


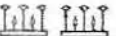
<sup>2</sup> P.-M., II p. 11 sub 1—4.

## SECTION D: THE XXII<sup>nd</sup> DYNASTY

### CHAPTER IX: SHOSHENQ I

1. The Pharaoh Shoshenq I<sup>1</sup> was the founder of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> or Libyan Dynasty, also called the dynasty of the Bubastides, after Bubastis, the place of their residence in the Delta. The exact date of Shoshenq's accession to the throne cannot be ascertained, but the event must have taken place shortly before 945 B. C. Shoshenq's invasion of Palestine, on which his great list at Karnak is based, took place in the fifth year of Rehoboam, the first king of Judah after the partition (see further below: § 6) i. e., the year 928 or 927 or 926 B. C., and therefore by the end of Shoshenq's reign (*circa* 925 B. C.). This is confirmed by the same Pharaoh's inscription at Silsileh (between Edfu and Assuan) concerning the extraction of stones to be employed for his extension of the Karnak-temple on which the great relief and the Palestinian town-list were to be engraved. This inscription (see e. g., Breasted AR, IV §§ 701—708) is dated from the 21<sup>st</sup> year of Shoshenq which, starting from shortly before 945 as the year of his accession, must necessarily have been by the end of his reign. From the fact that the king's figure on the Karnak-relief was never finished (see the following §) one might even conclude that Shoshenq's reign had come to a close before the completion of this triumphal relief.

Besides the great list on the Karnak-relief (XXXIV) which celebrates Shoshenq's invasion of Palestine, only one topographical list of this Pharaoh has been found, namely in his temple at el Hibeh, but of this not more than an insignificant fragment remained and it has now totally perished (XXXV).

<sup>1</sup> I use this vocalization of the Egyptian name as being more probable. The Egyptian form is  (e.g., in the text accompanying the topographical list to be described in this chapter) or  (see H. Ranke *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* Heidelberg 1932 ff., p. 330). In the annals of Assurbanipal (*Die Annaleninschrift des Rassam Cylinders* I, 100 = KB., II p. 162; Luckenbill *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II Chicago 1929, § 770) a nomarch of Busiris is called su-si-in-qu (for Assy. s = Egypt. š, see e.g., Brockelmann *Grundriss der vergleich. Grammatik*, etc., I Berlin 1908, p. 136). This vocalization is better reproduced by "Shoshenq" than by the more usual "Sheshonq" or "Scheschonk" which is based on the Greek forms of the name used by Manetho: Σέσωνχις, Σέσουχις and Σέσσυχις (see C. Müller FHG, II p. 590) and perhaps to be explained by metathesis. Both Biblical forms of the Pharaoh's name (שִׁשְׁק and שִׁשְׁקָה) resemble the shorter of the two Egyptian forms, while the former also imitates their probable vocalization.



## XXXIV

## Plan XXI—Diagram XXXV

Text on pp. 178 and 180.

Great list at  
Karnak

2. The great relief-scene with topographical list celebrating Shoshenq's Palestinian campaign<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the exterior of the south (south-west) wall of the Amon-temple at Karnak<sup>2</sup>. The place of the relief is usually indicated as the "portico of the Bubastides", an extension of the Karnak-temple started by Shoshenq I. In reality, it is to be seen a little to the east of this portico on the first part of the continuation of the south wall of the great hypostyle (see *Plan XXI*). Starting from the back of pylon II, this wall has been continued by Shoshenq to the west thus covering the last section of Ramses II's war-scenes on the flank of the second pylon and providing a suitable wall-space for the new triumphal relief. Immediately to the west of this stands the portico of the Bubastides<sup>3</sup>.

Shoshenq's relief-scene represents in the ordinary way the slaying of prisoners before Amon. The figure of the king is unfinished. On the uncarved space on the right of the wall the outlines of his crown are still visible. It had only been sketched but never hewn in relief<sup>4</sup>. Below the relief-scene was the usual horizontal band of text with the superscription of the list, but apart from small fragments at both ends it is entirely destroyed<sup>5</sup>. All other texts of the relief-scene, merely celebrating in general terms the Pharaoh's might, are without bearing on the topographical list. The only distinct name of a conquered enemy is Mitanni, which suffices to show the un-historical and stereotyped character of these texts<sup>6</sup>.

The topographical list itself consists of 10 rows of name-rings (see *Diagram XXXV*) with captive figures. Those of the highest rows (1—5), each containing 13 name-rings, are led to the king by Amon; those of the 6<sup>th</sup>—9<sup>th</sup> row which each have 17 name-rings, are led by the goddess Wast.

The lowest (10<sup>th</sup>) row of name-rings running below and along the entire breadth of the relief was uncovered only in the beginning of this century and first studied by W. M. Müller in 1904 (see below, § 4). Originally it contained little less than

<sup>1</sup> P.M., II p. 14 sub 11—12.

<sup>2</sup> There are two more references to this campaign in Egyptian texts. See Breasted AR, IV p. 348 n. b.

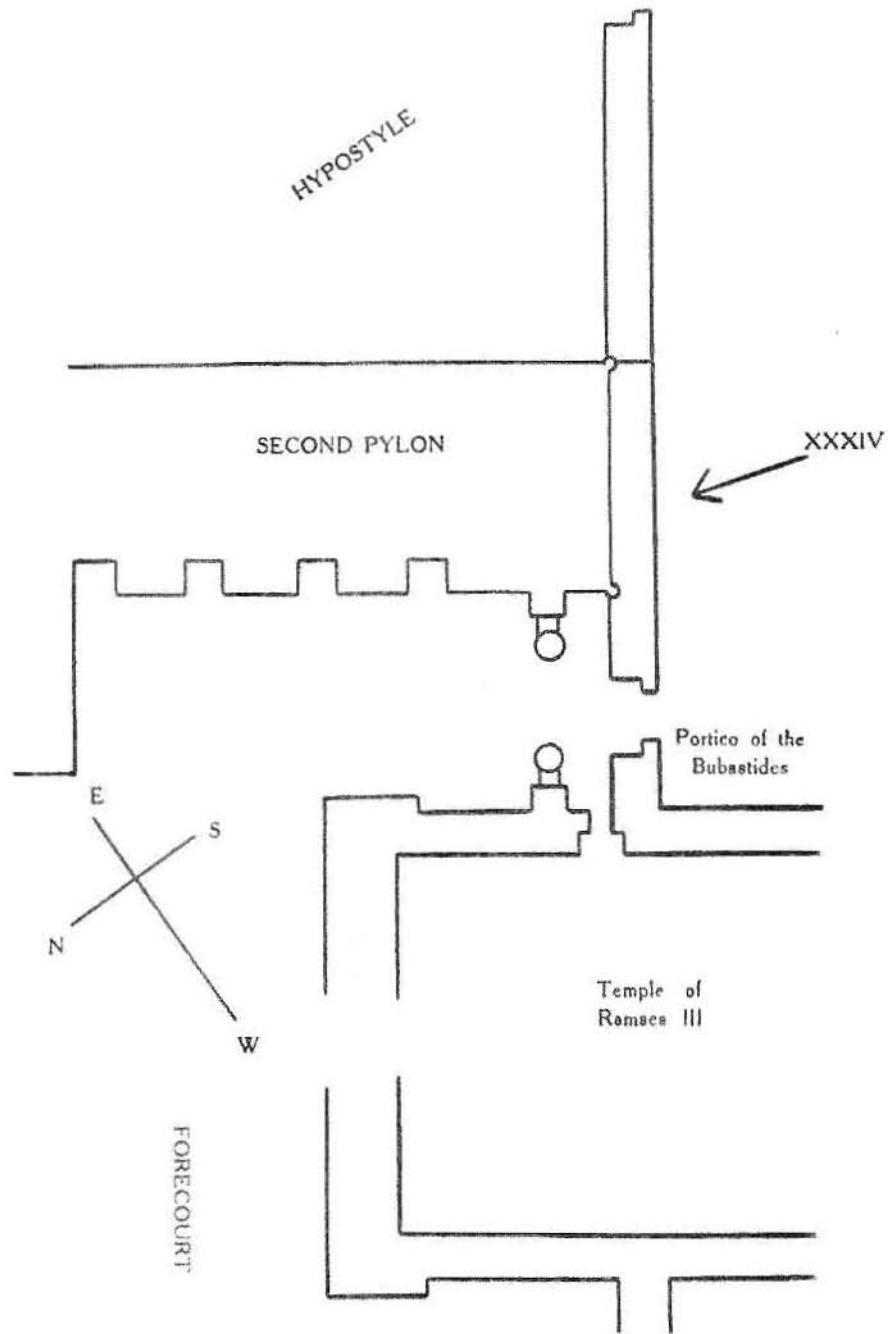
<sup>3</sup> On Shoshenq's total contribution to the great forecourt and the unfinished first pylon there is no unanimous opinion. See e.g., G. Legrain *Les temples de Karnak*, p. 929, pp. 47 ff. (against Mariette). Cp. also L. Borchardt *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (Sethe *Untersuchungen*, etc. V, 1), pp. 36—37; and H. Chévrier *Le temple reposoir de Ramses III à Karnak*, (Text) p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> A photograph which I found in the Egyptian museum at Berlin (see below, § 3) shows very clear traces and also the uncarved surface of this part of the wall. Porter-Moss, *loc. cit.*, incorrectly describe the king's figure as "destroyed".

<sup>5</sup> For these fragments see Müller *Eg. Res.*, II, p. 113 fig. 38.

<sup>6</sup> All these texts have been published by J. Lammeyer in a dissertation on *Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I zu Karnak* Bonn 1907, II. Abschnitt. Translations may be seen in Breasted AR, IV §§ 719—722.

50 name-rings divided into two groups. The group on the left (17 names in right-to-left writing) is much damaged, especially at the beginning, while of the right group (about 30 names; cp. below: p. 94 n. 2) only the last five names are known. This fragment, which has now also disappeared, was first noticed by Müller on his second journey (1906) and recognized as the end of the topographical list<sup>1</sup>. The original total number of names of this great list, therefore, must have been about 180. The number of names, however, which have actually been preserved, is much less. Not only in the lowest (10<sup>th</sup>) row but also in the higher parts, especially the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> rows, the inscription is badly damaged. As moreover the first 9 names are of "peoples of the Nine Bows" and a considerable number of compound names occupy two name-rings (see below, § 7), some 80 different Palestinian topographical names have been transmitted to us by this list. A block of 4 name-rings (nn. 105—108; see *Diagram XXXV*) has been removed by Lepsius to Berlin and is now preserved there in the Egyptian Museum (reg.



Plan XXI: Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, Portico of the Bubastides (List XXXIV)

<sup>1</sup> The first names of the left group are destroyed so that the division of both groups can no longer be seen; but judging from similar lists with two divine figures it must have been immediately before the figure of Wast under the two vertical columns of text, the lower parts of which are broken off (see also below: p. 94 n. 2).

In Lepsius' reproduction (see below: § 4, 4<sup>o</sup>) all captive figures surmounting the name-rings of the lowest row (given without inscription) face the right but the discovery by Müller of the five names in left-to-right writing has proved this to be wrong.

nr. 2094; see *Äg. Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Zweiter Band* (G. Roeder), Leipzig 1924, p. 207<sup>1</sup>.

**Photographic Reproductions**

3. Because of its already mentioned Biblical connection (see also below, § 6), photographic reproductions of this relief are numerous, but all of them show only the higher part of the topographical list (5 or 6 rows of name-rings) and never include the lowest (10<sup>th</sup>) row. Examples are: A. Mariette *Voyage*, etc. II pl. 42 (cp. pp. 27—28); J. Capart *Thèbes* etc., p. 49 fig. 28; J. Baikie *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London 1908), pl. 28. Two photographs are also given at the end of Lammeyer's dissertation (see above: p. 90 n. 6): "Photographie Eisenlöhr" and "Photographie Pörtner". For reading the topographical names the photograph of "Gaddis Photo Stores" is relatively the best, although this also is incomplete. I received another photograph from the collection at the Egyptian Institute at Leipzig. The only one, however, which shows the entire relief and list, including the 10<sup>th</sup> row, is that by Borchardt, now preserved in the collection of the Egyptian museum at Berlin (reg. nr. 135/5404) of which I secured a copy.

A photographic reproduction of the Berlin fragment (nn. 105—108) may be seen in *Äg. und Vorderas. Alterthümer aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I (Berlin 1895), Abb. 41; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägypt. Alterthümer zu Berlin* (2. Aufl. Berlin 1899), p. 229 Abb. 47 (only nn. 106—107); and on n. 826 of the collection of the *Fremdv. Exp.*

**Editions of Text**

4. Although Shoshenq's great topographical list has since its discovery been an object of special interest to Biblical scholars, Egyptologists do not seem to have given it the attention it deserves and which, no doubt, would considerably add to its practical value. Since the earlier Egyptologists published their incomplete and only moderately reliable reproductions, W. M. Müller alone has made an effort towards their completion and correction. In view of the special importance of this list for ancient Palestinian topography, I here present a probably complete bibliography of existing copies and reproductions. As none of them may be said to be final, all can still be used with some chance of success for the study of the topographical names.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection I may draw attention to a mistake in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire*, I p. 147 s.v. "ân paroun". This name is mentioned as being read on a "fragment de la liste Chéchanq Ier à Karnak, découvert par Legrain et encore inédit". As this is followed by a reference to Breasted AR, IV § 716 where the name "c-n-p-rw-n" is preceded by "Raphia" and "L-b-a-n", Gauthier's "fragment... encore inédit" cannot be anything else than the concluding fragment of the 10th row already studied by Müller in 1906 (see above: § 2), first mentioned by him in OLZ 11 1908 coll. 186—188 and finally published in *Eg. Res.*, II (1910) pp. 113—115. That "c-n-p-rw-n" was one of these five names at the end of the list, was already suspected by Breasted (*loc. cit.*). He rightly (1906) refers to them as "not yet published". Also note that the form "ân paroun" (Gauthier) or "c-n-p-rw-n" (Breasted) is only based on a communication from professor Sayce (see Breasted *loc. cit.*). It was corrected by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, *loc. cit.*) to "c-n-g-r(w)-n".

It is typical of the *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* that only a few pages further on (I p. 150), the author once more inserts the same name, but now extracted from Müller (*loc. cit.*), as "ângroun" or "ânglou n" with remark: "dernière ligne de la liste de Chéchanq III [sic] à Karnak, retrouvée par Max Müller, *Eg., Res.*, II p. 113 and 114".

1°. J. G. Wilkinson *Materia Hieroglyphica* (Malta 1828), Part II, pl. VIII: a copy of 28 names (15 sufficiently legible).

2°. I. Rosellini *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 148: the left part of the relief (inverted) with 9 rows of 133 name-rings<sup>1</sup>.

3°. Champollion

a) *Monuments*, etc. pl. 278, 3: a reproduction of the figure of Wast with 4 × 2 name-rings and captive figures led by this goddess (nn. 67—66; 84—83; 101—100; 118—117 in *Diagram XXXV*); pls. 284—285: a copy of 120 name-rings (many empty); pl. 305, 3: a special reproduction of n. 29; pl. 309, 4: a reproduction of the batch of bound prisoners about to be slain by the king.

b) *Not. Descr.*, II pp. 112—119: a short description of the list with 120 names<sup>2</sup>.

4°. Lepsius LD, III Bl. 252: a reproduction of the left part of the relief-scene and topographical list. The name-rings of the lowest (10<sup>th</sup>) row, not uncovered in Lepsius' time, are reproduced as empty with captive figures facing the right (cp. above: p. 91 n. 1, and also below: p. 94 n. 2). The numbers of the name-rings in the highest 9 rows (nn. 1—133) are those now used (see below, § 5); pl. 253, a: the right part of the relief-scene (no topographical names).

5°. H. Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II (Leipzig 1858), pl. 24: a copy of 101 names (between n. 13 and n. 133 in *Diagram XXXV*). Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 56—71 where these names are discussed. *Brugsch's numbers are those of Lepsius*<sup>3</sup>.

6°. G. Maspero

a) in *Z. äg. Spr.*, 18 1880 pp. 44—49: a selection of names, with topographical notes. The names are based on a comparison of Champollion *Not. Descr.* with Lepsius' and Brugsch's copies. *The numbers are those of Champollion, Not. Descr.* (see above)<sup>4</sup>.

b) in *Rec. de trav.*, 7 1886 pp. 100—101: a copy of 30 names based on a collation of Champollion, *Not. Descr.* with the original list. *The numbers are those of Champollion, Not. Descr.*

c) *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 27 1894 pp. 63—92: *La liste de Shoshenq à Karnak*: a copy of 133 names (9 rows) with topographical discussions. *The numbers are those of Lepsius with a few exceptions caused by errors (e.g., nn. 58 and n. 65)*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The inset of this plate is an enlarged reproduction of n. 29. See in *Prel. Rem.*, B: p. 6 fig. 2, and cp. below: pp. 95f.

<sup>2</sup> Champollion's system of numbering in *Monuments* is no entirely the same as in *Not. Descr.* and in both differs considerably from that of Lepsius and Müller (cp. below: § 5).

<sup>3</sup> Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 51) qualifies Brugsch's copy as "specially poor". On this copy alone is based O. Blau's phantastic interpretation of the Shoshenq-list: *Sisak's Zug gegen Juda aus dem Denkmale bei Karnak erläutert* (ZDMG 15 1861 pp. 233—250). The author's analysis of the list is to the effect that Shoshenq's army invaded Palestine in three separate columns whose movements he illustrates on a map. This also shows nearly all names of the list as "identified" with places in Judah (cp. below: § 6).

<sup>4</sup> Maspero's study has been reprinted in *Bibl. Eg.* 27 1911 (= *Études etc.*, V), pp. 49—58: *Première analyse des noms de la liste de Shoshenq à Karnak*.

<sup>5</sup> The original French text is followed by an English translation (pp. 93—122) and by C. R. Conder's discussion on some names (pp. 123—130) on the basis of Maspero's copy. Maspero's study has been reprinted in *Bibl. Eg.* 27 1911 (= *Études etc.*, V), pp. 86—121.



70. W. M. Müller

a) The only recent and more critical copy is that by Müller who collated all previous reproductions with the original (1901 and 1904). Müller has been the only one to make use of Lepsius' squeezes deposited in the "*Preussische Staatsbibliothek*" at Berlin for restoring or completing names since lost or damaged. These squeezes, however, reach only to n. 113 and even so far are not complete. Müller's copy was published in *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 75—85 (cp. pp. 51—54).

b) Müller has also been the only one who copied from the original relief the remains of the group on the right-hand side of the last row (cp. above: § 2). See already OLZ 11 1908 col. 186—188 but more especially *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 113—115 with fig. 38 (p. 113)<sup>1</sup>.

*Nota Bene.* I have not mentioned among the reproductions and copies of the topographical list Lammeyer's dissertation (see above: p. 90 n. 6). This describes with some detail the relief-scene and the accompanying texts but leaves aside the topographical list. Lammeyer's more complete work (*Sisak's Zug gegen Palästina. Die grosse Scheschonk-Inschrift neu herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt*), which he announced in his dissertation, has to my knowledge never appeared.

#### Numbers

5. The system of numbering now in use is that of LD, Bl. 252 for the 9 highest rows, completed with the left part of the 10<sup>th</sup> row as reproduced by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I pl. 85). On account of the uncertain number of lost names in the right group of this row the five last names published by Müller in 1910 have been indicated in *Diagram XXXV* as 1bis, 2bis . . . . 5bis<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of earlier publications Müller had already reproduced and discussed a number of names of this list in *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 166—172.

<sup>2</sup> It has proved rather difficult to complete the 10<sup>th</sup> row in *Diagram XXXV*. As already said above, no published photographic reproduction includes the whole of the 10<sup>th</sup> row. Lepsius' reproduction of this row cannot be relied upon as it was still covered by debris when he studied the list. Müller's indications as regards the place of the last fragment (*Eg. Res.*, II pp. 113—114) are in themselves far from clear. Only Borchardt's complete photograph of the list provides the solution and shows that Müller's "new line" of which he saw 5 names, in reality is part of the same (10<sup>th</sup>) row of name-rings, the left group of which he published in *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 85 (consequently, Porter-Moss *loc. cit.*: "eleven lines", must be corrected to "ten lines"). Above the right half of this lowest row is the usual horizontal band of text of which only both extreme ends remain, published by Müller together with the 5 names of the right group. According to my calculation from Borchardt's photograph, the right group must have contained about 30 names, somewhat more according to Müller. All these names are now lost, including the five on the extreme right which have been copied by Müller but can no longer be seen on Borchardt's photograph.

According to Breasted (AR, IV § 718), rows 6—10 originally contained 91 name-rings. From the description given above it is clear that this is incorrect. Breasted's calculation was evidently based on Lepsius' reproduction which adds only 6 empty name-rings on the right-hand side of Müller's n. 134. Thus indeed the total number of 91 name-rings for rows 6—10 is reached and the total number of the entire list would be 156, as also given by Breasted (*loc. cit.*). But the lowest row contained many more names than are seen in Lepsius' reproduction, as is clearly proved by Müller's five names from the extreme right and also more in harmony with other lists of this type which always have one or two long rows of name-rings along the entire breadth of the relief. I do not think that Breasted correctly interpreted Lepsius' meaning, whose empty name-rings simply indicate the presence of a row the length of which he was unable to ascertain on account of the accumulated debris.

Lepsius' system of numbering has been reproduced and completed for the 10<sup>th</sup> row in *Diagram XXXV*. This gives n. 134 as the first name-ring of the left group (right-to-left writing) but, as already stated (see



6. Shoshenq's topographical list stands out among all other lists in more than one aspect, especially by its direct bearing on Biblical history and, consequently upon the event on which it is based, by its topographical limitation to Palestine. The Egyptian invasion of Palestine by Shoshenq I is mentioned twice in the Bible<sup>1</sup>:

a) 3 (1) Kings 14, 25 f.: "(25) *And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam (that) Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem: (26) and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made*".

b) 2 Chron. 12, 2-4: "(2) *And it came to pass, (that) in the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, (3) with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people (were) without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims, the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians. (4) And he took the fenced cities which (pertained) to Judah, and came to Jerusalem*".

Biblical scholars have much discussed the nature of this military expedition, especially whether it covered only the southern kingdom of Judah or that of Israel as well. The only name of a city expressly mentioned in the Biblical records of the campaign as taken by Shoshenq is that of Jerusalem to which the book of Chronicles adds in a general way "*the fenced cities which pertained to Judah*". From the point of Biblical history, however, it can be shown with a good measure of probability that the Bible preserves only an incomplete account of the campaign which in fact covered a larger territory than the southern kingdom<sup>2</sup>. As regards the Karnak-list it is not open to doubt that it includes a very large number of place-names belonging to Northern Palestine. Without supposing that the list is throughout historically trustworthy, the combination of northern and southern places seems to measure quite well the extent of the Egyptian invasion<sup>3</sup>.

It is a curious fact that the name Jerusalem, the only city expressly mentioned in the Biblical account of Shoshenq's invasion, does not occur in the Karnak-list, apart, of course, from the possibility that it is one of the many lost names. The absence of this name seems to have been felt by the first students of

above: p. 91 n. 1), it is much more probable that this group started before the figure of Wast. Between n. 133 and n. 134, therefore, three name-rings should logically have been inserted, but as this would entirely disturb the existing system of numbering for the names of this row, I have preferred to add these name-rings after n. 150, indicating, however, by the position of the numbers their belonging to the left group. The right group, to which Müller's five names belong, thus begins with n. 154 instead of n. 151.

<sup>1</sup> The Biblical interest of the list has already been dwelt upon by Champollion in his *Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie* (Paris 1833), p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> For these points of Biblical history I can only refer here to the ordinary commentaries on Kings and Chronicles but an especial reference may be added to A. Alt *Israel und Ägypten* (*Beiträge z. Wiss. v. A. T.*, Heft 9, Leipzig 1909), pp. 25 ff., where this question is discussed at some length.

<sup>3</sup> At Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) in Northern Palestine an Egyptian inscription has been found with the name of Shoshenq (see Cl. Fisher *The Excavation of Armageddon*, OIC, 4, Chicago 1929, p. 13). This fits in well with the suggested larger geographical extent of Shoshenq's campaign, although it can hardly be given the value of a positive proof.

the list as almost an impossibility. This accounts for the various attempts made to discover the name under some veiled or metaphorical disguise. The historical interest of the controversy may justify mentioning at least two of the hypotheses advanced by those early scholars.

a) Several Egyptologists of the 19th century interpreted n. 29 (see fig. 2 on p. 6) as the name of Judah's capital city, translating the inscription as "kingdom of Judah" (Champollion, Lepsius) or as "king of Judah" (Rosellini). Champollion-Figeac went even further and saw in the captive figure surmounting this name-ring a personification, if not a contemporary portrait, of Rehoboam, king of Judah at the time of Shoshenq's invasion (see his *Egypte Ancienne* Paris 1847, p. 151). The history and bibliography of the controversy which developed around this name-ring, has been briefly summarized by Maspero in *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 27 1894 pp. 68—69 (= *Bibl. Eg.*, 27 1911 pp. 91—94). That such an interpretation of the name is untenable, seems first to have been demonstrated by H. Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II pp. 62—63, although this author still favoured the interpretation of the first part of that name as "Judah". More decisive was Müller's criticism in *Proceedings of the Bibl. Society of Archaeology*, 10 1888 pp. 81—86 who suggested a re-translation of the Egyptian name into Hebrew: יְהוּדָה־מֶלֶךְ,

which is still the most plausible, though not quite a convincing, theory. A weak or at least somewhat curious point in Müller's interpretation is that the Hebrew article should have been simply transliterated into Egyptian instead of being translated by the Egyptian "p3". This Egyptian article occurs in many names of the Shoshenq-list (e.g., nn. 68, 71, 77, 84, 90), though always as the first part of a name and never in the middle. If Müller's theory can be accepted, "yad hammèlek" (for the single 'm' in the Egyptian name cp. *Note* on I/13 in Part II) would, no doubt, be a metaphorical name which according to Müller represents a fortress of secondary importance but otherwise unknown (see also Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 167; Burch., n. 244; Breasted AR, IV p. 351 n. d).

Even after Müller's new interpretation was published, Maspero defended the old theory of the name "Judah" in the first part of n. 29 (see *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, a.c., p. 69 = *Bibl. Eg.*, 27 1911 p. 93), interpreting the whole name as "Iaoud-ha-malouk" or "Iehoud-ham-melek" which he identified (as Brugsch, *loc cit.*) with El Yahoudiyeh in the territory of Dan. But the absence of the second radical (ד) of the Hebrew form (יהודה) in the Egyptian name shows that the whole theory has been suggested by the Greek Ἰουδα rather than by the Hebrew form.

b) Also based on the hypothesis of a metaphor is the interpretation of n. 13 (r-b-t or r-b-b-t) as the name of Jerusalem in the Shoshenq-list. This was probably first suggested by A. H. Sayce in *Academy* 1891, 28 Febr., p. 216 and afterwards favourably repeated by E. Nestle in ZDPV 27 1904 pp. 153—154. R-b-t or "Rabbath" is here supposed to indicate the "capital" of Rehoboam's kingdom and as such to be placed at the head of the list after the general enumeration of foreign peoples. But this enumeration does not seem to go beyond n. 9 (see the *Notes* on n. 10, 11, 12 in Part II). Moreover, it is more than improbable that Jerusalem should have been mentioned under the name of "Rabbath", as was convincingly demonstrated by H. Clauss in ZDPV 28 1905 pp. 147—149: *Kommt Jerusalem auf der Scheschonkliste von Karnak vor?*. It is now more generally accepted that n. 13 represents רַבְּבִית in Issachar (cp. Jos.

19, 20). The names in nn. 14—17 all point to a group of North Palestinian places at the beginning of the list. See also the *Note* on n. 12 in Part II, showing that this too may belong to the same group. This would leave hardly any doubt about n. 13 being the name of a place in Northern Palestine.

#### Groups of place-names

In spite of the fact that a great number of names of this list are lost or have become illegible and that barely 20 names of the whole series have been topographically identified, several authors propose to divide the list into geographically coherent groups of names. See e.g., Breasted AR, IV §§ 712—717 (Nine Bows, Israelite Kingdom, Judaeen Kingdom) and Müller *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 114—115 (Nine Bows, Israelite Kingdom, Judaeen Kingdom, Philistine territory). All such clear-cut divisions would seem to lack a sufficient basis of firmly identified names. It may,

however, confidently be stated that after the general enumeration of foreign peoples (nn. 1—9; see *Note* on n. 10 in Part II), the first part of the list (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and perhaps also 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> row) deals more especially, though not exclusively, with Northern Palestine, while from nn. 65—66 (a compound name) to probably nn. 149—150 (perhaps also a compound name; see below, § 7) a great many names belong to the southern part of the country, Judah and Negeb<sup>1</sup>. The fragment of five names at the end of the list seems too small to justify Müller's hypothesis of a Philistine group, the more so as n. 1bis is an unknown place and n. 5bis does not seem to be situated in that part of the country.

7. Another special feature of the Shoshenq-list is the remarkable number of <sup>Compound</sup> compound names occupying two consecutive name-rings<sup>2</sup>. They consist of a generic <sup>place-names</sup> word (עמק, חקל, נגב, שבלח, אבל) and a proper name or specification. Name-rings which must be combined, are the following<sup>3</sup>:

- nn. 54—55 (?; the reading of n. 54 is uncertain just as the possible meaning of this combination; see the *Notes* on these names in Part II).
- nn. 65—66 (65: עמק = valley; in this case the elements to be combined are not only placed in two different name-rings but in different rows as well; see, however, the *Note* on n. 65 in Part II).
- nn. 68—69 (\*חקל = field; for this word see below: p. 99).
- nn. 71—72 (71: \*חקל)
- nn. 73—74 (73: שבלח = stream)
- nn. 75—76 (75: שבלח)
- nn. 77—78 (77: \*חקל)
- nn. 84—85 (84: נגב = south, south-country)
- nn. 87—88 (87: \*חקל; n. 86 does not seem to belong to the combination. See the *Note* on this name in Part II).
- nn. 90—91 (90: נגב)

<sup>1</sup> Albright (JPOS 4 1924 p. 146) has drawn attention to a number of place-names belonging to the Negeb. — It would be too much to say that the second part of the list enumerates *only* names of these two southern regions, but it is at least true that not a single name in this part can with certainty be attributed to the North, except n. 124, if this is read "b-t 'n-t" (see *Note* on n. 124 in Part II) and identified with בית-ענת in Nephtali (cp. Jos. 19, 38); but בית-ענת in Judah (cp. Jos. 15, 59) is equally possible.

<sup>2</sup> Some few compound names occur in other lists. The most clear examples are those with בית as first element (see the *Index of Names*: pp. 203f.). There is also something to be said for Gauthier's suggestion (DNG, I p. 52) that the frequently occurring name "i-b-r" (אבל) should always or at least frequently be combined with the name in the following ring. Decisive proof of this can only be obtained through the topographical identification of the examples quoted by Gauthier from the lists of Thutmes III, Ramses II and Ramses III. Other compound names than those with בית or אבל as first element occur regularly only in the list of Shoshenq. It is certainly remarkable that the names with בית as first element never occupy two name-rings in Shoshenq's list (see e.g., nn. 16, 24, 36), in spite of the fact that the pleonastic hieroglyphic writing of the word "b-t" would itself invite the distribution of these compound names over two name-rings.

<sup>3</sup> For some doubtful cases see also the *Notes* on these names in Part II.

- nn. 92—93 (92: נגב)  
 nn. 94—95 (94: \*חקל)  
 nn. 96—97 (96: \*חקל)  
 nn. 101—102 (101: \*חקל)  
 nn. 107—108 (107: \*חקלים, a plural form of \*חקל; see below: p. 99. It is possible that n. 107 should be combined rather with a name omitted after that number; see *Note* on n. 108 in Part II. Gauthier DNG, I p. 137 combines nn. 108 and 109 but in IV p. 13 nn. 107 and 108).

Probably compound names are:

- nn. 103—104 (103: *h-y-d-b-iz*; the Semitic equivalent of this word is unknown. Maspero (*Etudes*, etc. V p. 114) translates it by “*carrière*”, from \*חרב = to cut stones).  
 nn. 105—106 (105: *h-y-d-b-iz*)  
 nn. 110—111 (110: *r-d-iz*; Semitic equivalent also unknown).  
 nn. 122—123 (122: \*אבל = meadow)<sup>1</sup>.

Finally, Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 115) suggests combining n. 150 (“Jordan”) with the lost n. 149: “. . . . . on Jordan”.

Names ending in



8. The most striking peculiarity of the Shosenq-list, however, is the frequent ending of the names in (nn. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 27(?) 40. 56. 59. 66. 68. 69. 71. 77. 79. 80. 88. 95. 96. 100. 103. 105 (damaged but probable). 108. 110. 116. 117. 118. 119. 121. 127<sup>2</sup>). This group is added not only to names mentioned exclusively in the Shoshenq-list (e.g., nn. 56. 66. 68—69. 79. 80) but also to many which in other lists and texts are written without such termination. Examples of some well-known names are nn. 14—17 (Taanach, Shunem, Beth-shan, Rehob) which clearly show that the group is not part of the consonantal roots but an additional ending.

No satisfactory explanation of this termination has so far been discovered. Müller explains it (*As. u. Eur.*, pp. 170—171) as an Aramaic “*status emphaticus*”. In spite of the seductive similarity of which in ordinary syllabic orthography may represent Semitic aleph, this ingenious hypothesis is open to serious objections. In the first place, it overlooks the fact that the termination is already found in Egyptian transliterations of Semitic words in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> and XIX<sup>th</sup> dynasties and therefore long before the rise of Aramaic as the common language of a great part of the ancient world including Palestine (cp. Burch., I § 18). There even seem to be examples of it in the geographical names of the “*Ächtungstexte*” of the XI<sup>th</sup> dynasty (see K. Sethe *Die Ächtung*, etc. p. 29).


Müller's hypothesis is further weakened by his own admission of the truly barbaric (“*recht barbarisch*”) way in which the Egyptian scribe would have used the Aramaic










<sup>1</sup> After n. 40 (אבל) only a fragment of the second element of the compound name remains.

<sup>2</sup> The list would even be longer if precisely the lower part of many name-rings were not the most damaged.




"*status emphaticus*", adding it even to names which already have the definite article "p3" (nn. 68, 71, 77, 96, 118)<sup>1</sup>.

Apart from the evident similarity of  with the Semitic termination  $\text{𐤔𐤕}$ , Müller's principal argument is the word "*b-q-l*" which renders Semitic  $\text{𐤁𐤒𐤌}$  (field). As this word occurs only in Aramaic and Syrian texts<sup>2</sup>, it is qualified by Müller as of Aramaic origin and considered as another proof of the Aramaic character of the document underlying the Shoshenq-list. But the fact that  $\text{𐤁𐤒𐤌}$  is not found in *existing* Hebrews texts, is not a decisive proof of its late origin, and the Hebrew plural form "*b-q-l-m*" in n. 107 of the Shoshenq-list rather points to the contrary<sup>3</sup>.

It must also be noted that the word חקל sometimes occurs in the Shoshenq-list without the addition of the supposed "*status emphaticus*". In n. 87 the group  is replaced by  , in n. 94 by  , while nothing is added to "*h-q-l*" in n. 101. The additional group   in n. 87 is explained by Breasted (AR, IV p. 352 n. f) as rendering the Semitic feminine termination ַ, not pronounced as a consonant but as a sign of a final a or e, similar to ى in modern Arabic. This leads Breasted to the interpretation of   as also being a feminine ending.

The first objection against this theory is the masculine plural form  $\text{קלים}^*$  in n. 107, which may not be presumed to have a feminine singular. Moreover, the starting point of Breasted's theory ( $\text{א} \triangleright = \text{'r fem.}$ ) is uncertain. In addition to n. 87 it is added to three names<sup>4</sup>, where it can hardly be the equivalent of  $\text{ק}$  and fem.  $\text{'r}$  or Arab.  $\text{z}$ . Nr. 108 has  $\text{ק}$  as well as  $\text{א} \triangleright$  ( $\text{א} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{א} \text{---} \text{ק}$ ). In n. 93 ( $\text{ק} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{ק}$ )  $\text{א} \triangleright$  is preceded by  $\text{ק}$ , which, following three radicals, may itself represent the Hebrew feminine ending  $\text{ת}$ . In n. 98 ( $\text{א} \text{---} \text{ק} \text{---} \text{א} \text{---} \text{ק}$ )  $\text{א} \triangleright$  is added after a masculine plural ending. The use of the group  $\text{א} \triangleright$  to render



<sup>1</sup> All these are compound names except n. 118 in which  may possibly be one of the radicals, not the Egyptian article.

<sup>2</sup> Aram. ܚܠܐ, Syr. ܠܠܐ; cp. also "Haceldama" (Mt. 27, 8 Vulg.) and for ܠܠܐ in other place-names: Strack-Billerbeck *Kommentar z. NT* (München 1922), p. 1029. The word survives in modern Arabic: ܠܠܐ = fertile field.

















































<sup>3</sup> It should not be doubted that the Egyptian "ḥ-q-l" renders Semitic <sup>ל</sup>חֶקֶל. Burchardt (*Fremdw. u. Eigenn.*, I § 156) objects that the first radical is three times written as  $\Delta$  (nn. 94. 96. 101) which often (see e.g., nn. 90 and 92) stands for  $\Delta$ . As this cannot represent a Hebrew  $\Delta$ , Burchardt suggests the Semitic root  $\Delta$  as the original of the Egyptian "ḥ-q-l" and compares it with Arabic  $\Delta$ . Hence "Zitadelle, Burg" (cp. also H. Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II p. 68 and Maspero in *Z. äg. Spr.* 18 1880 p. 47). Burchardt's argument is not convincing. It is, of course, certain that  $\Delta$  stands for  $\Delta$ , but the possibility that this consonant represents Hebrew  $\Delta$  should not be excluded. Besides the possible identification of I/57 (n-g-b) with  $\Delta$  (Jos. 19, 33; cp. Müller in *MVAG* 1907, 1 p. 19) we have the very probable identity of r-g-d (I/79) with r-q-d (in a list of Amenhotep III; see "Addendum", p. 192). Cp. also F. Calice *Grundlagen* etc., (Wien 1936), nn. 40 and 451. Anyhow,  $\Delta$  is the more frequent orthography of "ḥ-q-l" in the Shoshenq-list (5 times).

<sup>4</sup> See also *Note* on n. 83 in Part II.

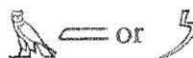





a Hebrew feminine ending would therefore be hardly less "barbaric" than that of  for the "*status emphaticus*"<sup>1</sup>. Thus the real meaning of the frequent  at the end of so many names in the Shoshenq-list remains an unsolved mystery and Burchardt's conclusion (§ 18) "*Diese Gruppe bietet für die Erklärung mit die meisten Schwierigkeiten*" seems still to be fully true<sup>2</sup>.

Names ending  
in 'm' or 'm'-  
group

9. There is another category of names which are not uniformly transliterated by various authors, viz. those ending in , , ,  or . In one case only,  certainly belongs to the root of the Semitic name (n. 15    = שֹׁנִים) and the same is probably true for n. 36 (see below)<sup>3</sup>, but in other cases one of these signs or groups seems to have been added to the already complete root of the name and at least suggests a Hebrew plural or dual ending (nn. 18. 19. 22. 25. 31. 33 (?; see below). 57. 66. 72. 98. 107. 121 (?). 128). This interpretation is evidently correct for such cases as n. 18 (    = חֲפָיִם), n. 22 (    = מַחֲנִים) and n. 107 (    = חֲקָלִים), from which the same value of these signs or groups may be inferred for other cases where no topographical identification affords a tangible proof. Nrs. 22 and 107 also confirm that the group  or  does not represent a consonant + vowel but simple 'm', the sign  being merely a substitution for , added pleonastically after 'm'<sup>4</sup>. Similarly in the groups  and , the second sign only repeats the first, and names like n. 19 (                       

\**בית-עולם* is at least probable (see Burch. n. 385, following Blau in ZDMG 15 1861 p. 238).

Still more evident becomes the meaning of the group  or  in n. 98 () which Gauthier should have transliterated with a triple 'm'. In fact, the tempting identification of this name with the Biblical *מִמְצִי* makes him prefer to write „*àtāmēm*” (DNG, I p. 114) which is moreover confirmed by I/36: .

10. It is clear from the preceding §§, that the exterior form of the topographical names of the Shoshenq-list in some aspects notably differs from that of all other lists. In spite of the commonly accepted opinion to the contrary it would seem that its contents are on the whole not less original. It has been repeated by various authors that the Shoshenq-list is nothing more than a conflation of earlier topographical lists and consequently devoid of all value, but Shoshenq's sources have never been discovered. This does not prove that no earlier sources have been used but forbids to consider plagiarism as an established fact, as is the case, for instance, with some lists of Seti I, Ramses II and Ramses III. That the Shoshenq-list is devoid of all originality, is moreover positively contradicted by about 50 names which are mentioned in this list only.

Independent  
character of  
the list

For this reason it is difficult to understand why this list should be so little appreciated as a document of ancient Palestinian topography, even if it be rightly supposed that a number of names have no official character but are merely descriptive inventions. The list is based on a well-known historical event and in spite of the boastful text on the relief-scene, the list itself cannot be proved geographically to exceed the limits of Shoshenq's Palestinian campaign. This too justifies a somewhat milder judgment <sup>2</sup>.

#### 11. List XXXIV: pp. 178 ff.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

<sup>1</sup> In the Massoretic form of this name the third radical is given as doubled but this is irrelevant to the Egyptian transliteration which as a rule neglects the doubling of consonants. Cp. Note on I/34 in Part II.

<sup>2</sup> The specially unfavourable reputation of the Shoshenq-list seems to be largely due to J. Wellhausen who wrote: „Er (Shoshenq) kann einfach eine ältere Liste eines seiner Vorgänger reproduziert haben” (*Isr. u. jüd. Geschichte*, 7. Aufl., Berlin 1914, p. 68 n. 4). A clear distinction, however, must be made between the possibility of plagiarism and the established fact. Although we fortunately know something more about Egyptian topographical lists than J. Wellhausen and his contemporaries, the supposed source of the Shoshenq-list has not yet come to light.



Albright (JPOS 4 1924 p. 145) denies that any contemporary annals of Shoshenq's campaign in Palestine may have furnished the materials for his topographical list, and quotes in support of this affirmation the enumeration of the cities in the plain of Esdrelon which tallies too closely with that of the lists of Seti I and Ramses II. Some resemblance is indeed undeniable and could hardly be avoided where the same cities of a small area are being enumerated, but the difference is at least equally great. It is enough to say that Taanach, Shunem, Rehob and other important places are mentioned in the Shoshenq-list, not in those of Seti I and Ramses II.

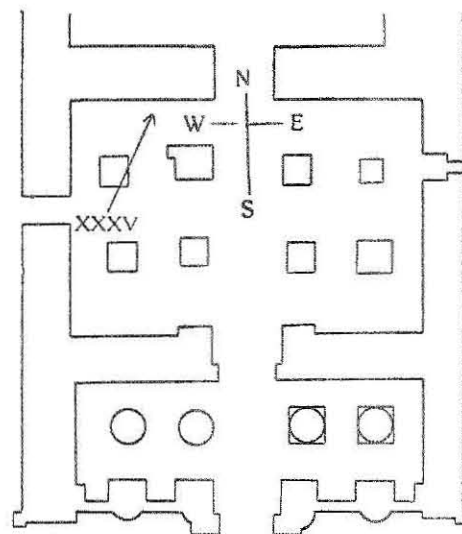
Another argument to prove the unhistorical character of the list is found by Albright (*loc. cit.*) in the mention of Yeham (Tell es-Asawir), Beth-shan and Rehob (Tell es-Sarem) which were deserted at the time of Shoshenq, as archaeological evidence has proved. The identifications of Yeham and Rehob, however, are uncertain and both proposed sites have been examined only on the surface. The relative value of surface-

## XXXV

## Plan XXII

## List of El Hibeh

12. A duplicate of or more probably an extract from the great Karnak-list of Shoshenq I once existed in the temple he built in honour of Amon at El Hibeh<sup>1</sup>. When Daressy visited this place, the essential features of the relief-scene and two names ("Nine Bows") were still visible, as appears from his description (ASAE 2 1901 pp. 155—156): „Sur le mur gauche de la seconde salle (see Plan XXII) était gravé un grand tableau où l'on voyait Chéchanq présentant à un dieu assis un groupe de captifs agenouillés. Au-dessus une ligne horizontale d'inscription . . . ; enfin formant la frise, on voyait un défilé de captifs étrangers portant sur la poitrine des cartouches crénelées renfermant des noms géographiques: deux seulement sont encore lisibles:  et <sup>2</sup>. The Heidelberg-Freiburg expedition (1913—1914) found no traces of this relief which has evidently entirely perished in recent years<sup>3</sup>.



Plan XXII: El Hibeh, Temple of Amon,  
First Pillared Hall (List XXXV)

exploration cannot be unknown to Albright himself from previous experiences on other sites. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that a place like Beth-shan was ever entirely deserted, even during its periods of devastation. It is true, however, that the "conquest" of such a settlement adds little to the military glory of the Pharaoh.

J. Lammeyer, who in his dissertation on Shoshenq's relief neglected the detailed examination of the topographical list, concludes (pp. 7—8) from the stereotyped character of the accompanying texts to a similar qualification of the list, but the exterior form as well as the contents of this clearly contradict the conclusion. A second argument to the same effect is found by Lammeyer in the absence of the name Jerusalem: as this is never mentioned in the earlier topographical lists, it could not be copied by Shoshenq so that the omission of this name indirectly proves the absence of contemporary sources or annals. The same argument, however, allows one to prove that no name can occur in the Shoshenq-list which had not been included in one of the earlier lists, which is contradicted by the facts (see above). It also should not be forgotten that many names of the Shoshenq-list are lost and that Jerusalem may be one of them.

<sup>1</sup> P.-M., IV p. 124 (no number). — Little is now left of this temple. See the description by Ahmed Bey Kamal in ASAE 2 1901 pp. 84—91: *Description générale des ruines de Hibé*, which has been completed by Daressy *ibid.*, pp. 154—156: *Le temple de Hibeh*. More can be learned about it from H. Ranke *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karāra und der Amontempel Scheschonks bei el Hihe (Bericht über die Badischen Grabungen in Ägypten in den Wintern 1913 und 1914)* Berlin-Leipzig 1926 pp. 50—52. The more recent excavations by an Italian expedition do not seem to have as yet reached the temple-ruins. See Enrico Paribeni *Rapporto preliminare su gli scavi di Hibeh*, in *Aegyptus* 1935 pp. 385—404.

<sup>2</sup> These may be n. 4 (lost) and n. 5 of the great Shoshenq-List. The relief-scene as described by Daressy would seem to be of Type III (cp. Prel. Rem., B: p. 9).

<sup>3</sup> See H. Ranke *o.c.*, p. 51: "Erste Pfeilerhalle, Von der Wanddekoration fanden wir nichts mehr erhalten; Daressy... sah noch Reste einer Darstellung", etc.

## SECTION E: THE XXVth DYNASTY

### CHAPTER X: TAHARQA

#### XXXVI

Diagram XXXVI—Text on p. 187.

1. The only topographical list relating to Western Asia and dating from the reign of Taharqa (668—663) was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak. See Mariette *Karnak. Etude* etc., p. 66<sup>1</sup>. It is engraved on the base of a small statue<sup>2</sup> the original height of which was about 50 cm. Only the base has been found and is now preserved in the Cairo museum (reg. nr. 2096; see Borchardt *Statuen und Statuetten*, etc. III, Berlin 1930, pp. 81—82 n. 770). The list is in the usual form of name-rings but without captive figures or superscription<sup>3</sup>. It runs along the four sides of the base but only the right half is Asiatic, namely 2 names on the front of the base, 9 on the right-hand side and 3 on the back (cp. *Diagram XXXVI* which is based on photographs I received from Cairo).

List on base of  
small statue

2. The Asiatic list has been copied by Mariette *Karnak. Atlas* pl. 45, a, 2, upper row; by J. de Rougé *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, etc. (Paris 1877), pl. 299; and also by Borchardt *loc. cit.*

Editions of Text

The list is nothing more than a copy of nn. 1—14 of the list of Harembab on the east side of his western colossus before pylon X at Karnak (list XII, c) but it is better preserved and allows to restore some gaps in the original, although the orthography of the names has sometimes deliberately been altered.

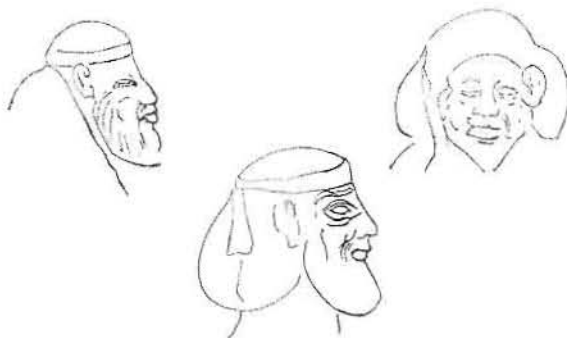
3. *List XXXVI*: p. 187. — The numbers (from de Rougé *loc. cit.*) are identical with those of list XII, c: nn. 1—14.

Hieroglyphic  
Text and Notes

<sup>1</sup> On the front (west) of the second pylon of a temple at Contra-Napata two reliefs had been engraved representing Taharqa slaying captives before the god. On the south tower of the pylon this relief-scene still exists (Type II) and has a topographical list of 12 names (African and "Nine Bows"), but of the relief on the north tower which probably had an Asiatic list, nothing remains except a fragment of one name. See F. Ll. Griffith in *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, Liverpool 9 1922 p. 105 and pl. 41, 1 which reproduces the African list.

<sup>2</sup> P.-M., II p. 93 (no number).

<sup>3</sup> The name of Taharqa is engraved on the top of the base.



## PART II



## SYMBOLS

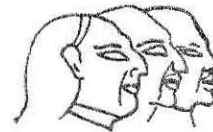
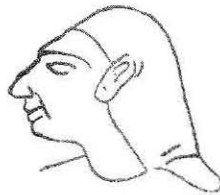
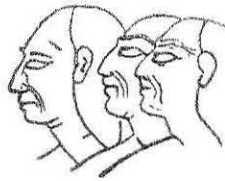
- [X]- : radical destroyed or totally illegible but restored with certainty
- [X?]- : radical destroyed or totally illegible and restored with probability
- ?- : radical lost or sign of unknown value
- [?]- : perhaps one radical missing
- ..... : unknown number of radicals lost
- (X?) : hieroglyphic sign or group not clear or otherwise uncertain
- (X)? : transliteration not certain

< > : Transliterations between < > are of different kinds. In some cases they represent signs which may or may not belong to the consonantal root of the name (e.g., II/32; XXXIV/66). In other cases they represent signs which reflect so clearly the vowels of the original Asiatic names, that a purely consonantal transliteration seems unjustified in any theory of syllabic orthography or Egyptian vocalized script. Such signs have been transliterated especially where they help to recognize some well-known names (e.g., I/62; I/189; IV/10; XV/32). Occasionally also these brackets enclose signs usually omitted in other examples of the same name (e.g., XVI/a, 3. b, 1). For the alphabetical arrangement of the *Index of Names* (pp. 194 ff.), however, all transliterations between < > have been disregarded, so as to avoid separating slightly different orthographies of substantially identical names.

{X} : radical apparently omitted by mistake

-(X) : hieroglyphic sign miscarved or probably incorrect. In the case of signs evidently misunderstood or unintentionally changed by the copying sculptor, the radical given in ○ is usually the correct one, but in some few cases it is the sign actually written (see the *Notes* on these names).

destr. = destroyed.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE



The following pages contain autographed, hieroglyphic copies of all the Topographical Lists described in the preceding part of this book, with *Transliterations* and *Notes*. For each list I have selected the most reliable copy so far published, reserving for the critical *Notes* the variants from other copies as well as all suggested corrections and completions of defective forms. Doubtful or merely possible restorations are usually mentioned only in the *Notes*, but some have been included in the *Transliterations*.

The *Notes* are limited to points of textual interest, so-called topographical identifications being outside the scope of the present work. This limitation has been imposed by the necessity of keeping the cost of production, and consequently the volume of the book, within reasonable bounds. Discussions on the topographical problems connected with hundreds of place-names and complicated by almost as many linguistic difficulties would have increased the volume of the book beyond all calculable dimensions. It is not my purpose to provide more than a *Handbook* of texts which shall be a more adequate basis for the study of the Topographical Lists than has hitherto been available. Some direct help in such a study may, however, be obtained from the *Index of Names* at the end of the book inasmuch as this will enable the reader to collect from Borée's, Burchardt's, Gauthier's and Albright's works many topographical identifications suggested in earlier publications with their respective bibliographies.

Although I have been able to collect a large number of photographic reproductions of the Topographical Lists, many as yet unpublished and some actually taken for my purpose (cp. p. 22), I have made little use of them not only for my autographed copies but also for the critical *Notes*. It is a well-known fact that even the best of photographs are not sufficiently reliable for establishing monumental inscriptions, which, for so many centuries, have suffered the ravages of the weather and the violence of man<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless it has been possible to make suggestions for improving and completing the readings of many name-rings, especially by tracing the genealogical relations between the lists of successive periods and by studying the parallelism existing between contemporary lists, especially those occupying symmetrical positions on the monuments. It is therefore necessary to warn the reader that in a great number of cases the name or form reproduced in the autographed list does not represent the most complete reading possible. The appended list of *Notes* should always be consulted.

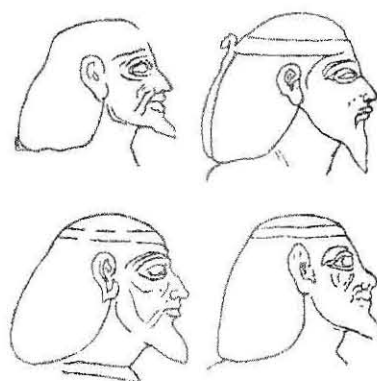
On the other hand photographic reproductions have been of the greatest use, and

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions are lists VIII, XXV and XXXVI the photographs of which are unusually clear.

were indeed indispensable, for drawing up the *Diagrams* which precede each of the hieroglyphic lists. The purpose of these *Diagrams* is above all to assist further efforts towards improving and completing the text of the various lists. With the help of the *Diagrams* it will be easy to locate any doubtful or incompletely preserved name on the original reliefs or on good photographs in order to examine the possibility of new suggestions which may be proposed. They will also be of some use for discovering, at least in the more important lists, any possible divisions into geographically coherent groups and sections. From such divisions valuable clues may sometimes be obtained for establishing or confirming topographical identifications. It will be realised that for such a study of the Topographical Lists the alphabetically arranged *Repertoria* hitherto published provide no practical basis<sup>1</sup>.

As regards the numbers of the names inscribed in the *Diagrams*, I have endeavoured wherever possible to keep to the existing systems of numbering, even where in doing so minor irregularities had to be maintained. Obvious mistakes and miscalculations I have tried to correct without disturbing the general sequence of numbers. Hence in most lists the numbers given in the *Diagrams* and used in my autographed texts agree with those already in use: otherwise confusion would have become worse confounded. New systems of numbering have been devised only for those lists for which as yet no generally accepted system exists. Such numbers always follow the direction of the hieroglyphic writing and the model already used for lists of similar type. Only in a few cases have I found the existing systems of numbering too incomplete or too confused to be maintained; but in these cases I have generally added in the reproduction of these lists the numbers hitherto in use after my own. For all details the respective paragraph in the description of each list may be consulted.

<sup>1</sup> The direction of the hieroglyphic writing is indicated in these diagrams by ———→ and by the position of the numbers. In the longer lists the change in the direction of writing often marks the beginning of a new group of names.



## LIST I a. b. c.

## THUTMES III, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 27—38*Plan:* (for I. a): I (p. 29)

(for I. b. c.): II (p. 30)

*Text:* a. b. c., nn. 1—119: Sethe *Urk.*, IV pp. 781—786*Variants:* Müller MVAG 1907, 1*Numbers:* Mariette *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 17—20*Text:* c, nn. 120—359: Sethe *Urk.*, IV pp. 788—794*Variants:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 44—53*Numbers:* Mariette *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 20—21.

(Müller's numbers in second column).

117	93	70	47	24
116	92	69	46	23
115	91	68	45	22
114	90	67	44	21
113	89	66	43	20
112	88	65	42	19
111	87	64	41	18
110	86	63	40	17
109	85	62	39	16
108	84	61	38	15
107	83	60	37	14
106	82	59	36	13
105	81	58	35	12
104	80	57	34	11
103	79	56	33	10
102	78	55	32	9
101	77	54	31	8
100	76	53	30	6
99	75	52	29	5
98	74	51	28	4
97	73	50	27	3
96	72	49	26	2
94	72	48	25	1

Diagram I (List I, a) 119—4 names (nn. 7, 95, 118, 119 omitted)

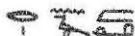

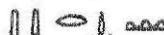
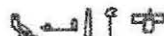

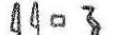
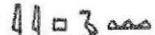







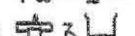




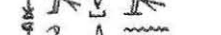
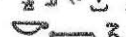

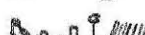

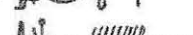

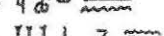

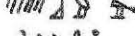
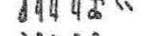
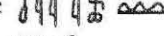
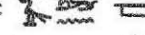

2	5	9	13	20	27	34	41	48
1	4	8	12	19	26	33	40	47
				18	25	32	39	46
				17	24	31	38	45
				16	23	30	37	44
				15	22	29	36	43
				14	21	28	35	42



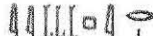




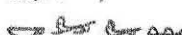




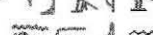
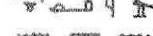
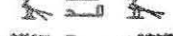


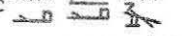
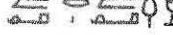




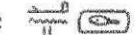



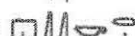

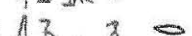



destroyed	(359)	(332)	(305)	(278)	(251)	224	197	170	143	(129)	"Naharina-list"
	(358)	(331)	(304)	(277)	(250)	223	196	169	142	128	
	(357)	(330)	(303)	(276)	249	222	195	168	141	127	
	(356)	(329)	(302)	(275)	248	221	194	167	140	126	
	(355)	(328)	(301)	(274)	247	220	193	166	139	125	
	(354)	(327)	(300)	273	246	219	192	165	138	124	
	(353)	(326)	(299)	272	245	218	191	164	137	123	
	(352)	(325)	298	271	244	217	190	163	136	122	
	(351)	(324)	297	270	243	216	189	162	135	121	
	350	323	296	269	242	215	188	161	134	120	
	349	322	295	268	241	214	187	160	133		"Megiddo-list"
	348	321	294	267	240	213	186	159	132		
	347	320	293	266	239	212	185	158	131		
	346	319	292	265	238	211	184	157	130		
	345	318	291	264	237	210	183	156			
	344	317	290	263	236	209	182	155			
	343	316	289	262	235	208	181	154			
	342	315	288	261	234	207	180	153			
	341	314	287	260	233	206	179	152			
	340	313	286	259	232	205	178	151			
	339	312	285	258	231	204	177	150			"Megiddo-list"
	338	311	284	257	230	203	176	149			
	337	310	283	256	229	202	175	148			
	336	309	282	255	228	201	174	147			
	335	308	281	254	227	200	173	146			
	334	307	280	253	226	199	172	145			
	333	306	279	252	225	198	171	144			
	52	45	38	31	24	17	10	6	(3)		
	51	44	37	30	23	16	9	5	(2)		
	50	43	36	29	22	15	7	4	(1)		
	49	42	35	28	21	14					"Megiddo-list"
	48	41	34	27	20	13					
	47	40	33	26	19	12					
	46	39	32	25	18	11					
	86	75	65								
	66	76	64								
	100	77	55								
	101	78	95								
	101	79	75								
	103	80	85								
	104	18	65								"Megiddo-list"
	105	72	60								
	901	83	19								
	107	84	79								
	108	85	63								
	109	86	64								
	110	87	65								
	111	88	66								
	112	89	67								
	113	90	68								
	114	91	69								"Megiddo-list"
	115	92	70								
	116	93	71								
	117	94	72								
	118	96	73								
	119	97	74								




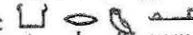


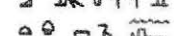

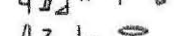
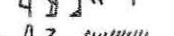
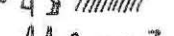





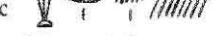



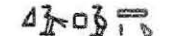

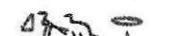


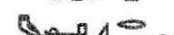
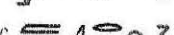

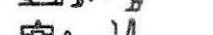

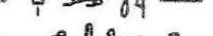
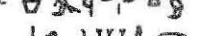

Diagram III (List I, c)  
359—2 names (nn, 8 and 95 omitted)


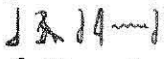







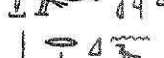

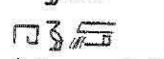

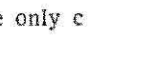
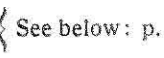


- 1 a b
- 2 a
- b
- 3 a
- 4 a
- b
- c
- 5 a
- b c
- 6 a
- 7 c
- 8 a
- b
- 9 a b c
- 10 a
- c
- 11 a
- c
- 12 a
- b c
- 13 a c
- b
- 14 a b c
- 15 a c
- b
- 16 a c
- b
- 17 a
- b
- 18 a
- b
- c
- 19 a b c
- 20 a
- b c
- 21 a c
- b
- 22 a
- b c
- 23 a
- b c
- 24 a
- b
- c
- 25 a b c
- 26 a b c
- 27 a
- c
- 28 a
- b c
- 29 a b c
- 30 a
- b
- c
- 31 a
- b
- 32 a c
- b
- 33 a c
- b
- 34 a
- b c
- 35 a
- b
- c
- 36 a b c
- 37 a b c
- 38 a
- b
- c
- 39 a
- b
- c
- 40 a
- b c
- 41 a b
- c
- 42 a b c
- 43 a b c
- 44 a b c
- 45 a
- b
- 46 a b c
- 47 a b c
- 48 a
- b c
- 49 a
- b c
- 50 a b
- c
- 51 a
- b
- c
- 52 a
- b c
- 53 a
- b
- 54 a c
- b
- 55 a b c
- 56 a b c
- 57 a
- b c
- 58 a c
- b

- 59 a b c 
- 60 a   
c 
- 61 a   
b c 
- 62 a   
b c 
- 63 a   
b   
c 
- 64 a c   
b 
- 65 a c 
- 66 a b c 
- 67 a c   
b 
- 68 a   
b 
- 69 a b   
c 
- 70 a   
b c 
- 71 b   
c 
- 72 b   
c 
- 73 a c   
b 
- 74 a   
b c 
- 75 b c 
- 76 a c   
b 



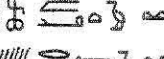
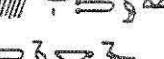
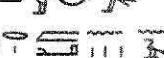



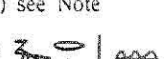


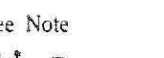

- 77 a c   
b 
- 78 a 
- 79 a c   
b 
- 80 a   
b   
c 
- 81 a   
c 
- 82 a   
c 
- 83 a   
b   
c 
- 84 a   
b c 
- 85 a   
b   
c 
- 86 a   
b   
c 
- 87 a c 
- 88 a c 
- 89 a   
c 
- 90 a   
b c 
- 91 a   
c 
- 92 a c 
- 93 a c 



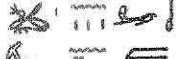







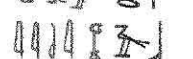
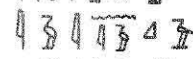







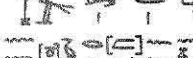











- 94 b   
c 
- 95 b   
c 
- 97 a   
c 
- 98 a b 
- 99 a   
b   
c 
- 100 a   
b   
c 
- 101 a   
b   
c 
- 102 a   
b 
- 103 a c   
b 
- 104 a c   
b 
- 105 a c   
b 
- 106 a   
b c 
- 107 a b c 
- 108 a   
b c 
- 109 a b c 
- 110 a   
b   
c 


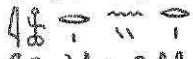
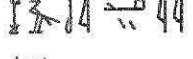













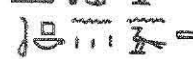
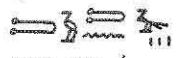

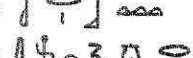
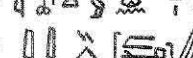





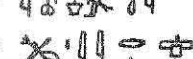
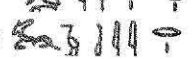


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 112 a c   
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 114 a c   
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 115 a   
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 116 a c   
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 118 b   
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 119 b c 

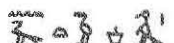
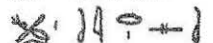






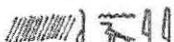


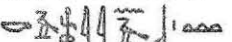
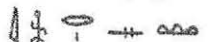
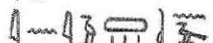
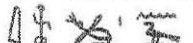
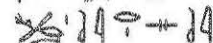
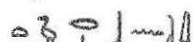
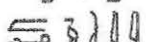
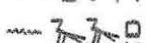
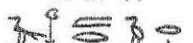
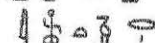

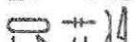
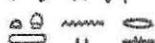
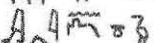

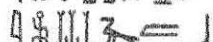


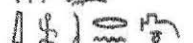

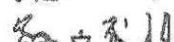
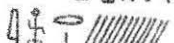
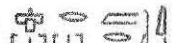

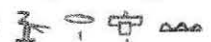






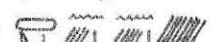


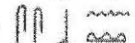





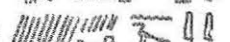
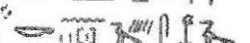


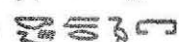

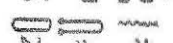
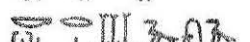

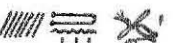



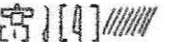
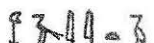
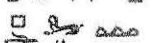
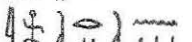

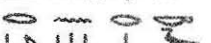
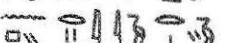

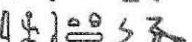
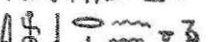
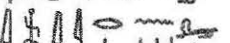
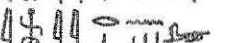
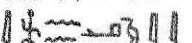



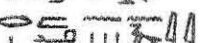

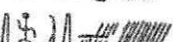
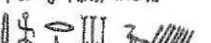



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(<sup>1-17</sup>/<sub>18</sub>) { See below: p. 119

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 121 (20)   
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 129 (28-40) see Note  
 130 (41)   
 131 (42)   
 132 (43)   
 133 (44) see Note  
 134 (45) 

- 135 (46)   
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- 239 (150) lost
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- 242 (153) lost
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- 248 (159) 
- 249 (160) 
- 250 (161) lost; see Note
- 251 (162) lost; see Note
- 252 (163) 
- 253 (164) 
- 254 (165) 
- 255 (166) 
- 256 (167) 
- 257 (168) 
- 258 (169) see Note
- 259 (170) 
- 260 (171) 
- 261 (172) 
- 262 (173) 
- 263 (174) 
- 264 (175) 
- 265 (176) 
- 266 <sup>266</sup> 
- 267 n. lost
- 268 Note lost
- 269 See lost
- 270 (181) 
- 271 (182) 
- 272 (183) 
- 273 (184) 
- 274- (185-278 189) lost; see Note
- 279 (190) 
- 280 (191) 
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- 294 (205) 
- 295 (206) lost
- 296 (207) 
- 297 (208) 
- 298 (209) 
- 299 (210) 
- 300- (211-305 216) lost; see Note
- 306 (217) 
- 307 (218) 






















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309 (220)	322 (233)	342 (253)
310 (221)	323 (234)	343 (254)
311 (222)	324 (235)	344 (255)
312 (223)	325- (236- 332 243) lost; see Note	345 (256)
313 (224)	333 (244)	346 (257)
314 (225)	334 (245)	347 (258)
315 (226)	335 (246)	348 (259)
316 (227)	336 (247)	349 (260)
317 (228)	337 (248)	350 (261)
318 (229)	338 (249)	351- (262- 359 270) lost; see Note
319 (230)	339 (250)	
320 (231)	340 (251) lost	




















## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES
















1. *q-d-š*; On this "Qadesh" see pp. 35 f. - The disposition of names in the "Palestine-list" shows that nn. 1-3 were not omitted in text c. In *Diagram III* these name-rings have therefore been indicated as originally present but now lost (after Mariette), not as "Omitted". - This name like many others in this list and some in the later lists ends in 'u' which cannot be anything else than the Canaanite case-ending (cp. Albright *The Vocalisation*, etc. § 30 pp. 18-19; for the feminine ending see below, Note on n. 16). Although it is somewhat exaggerated to say that "in the Tuthmosis III list nearly all the Canaanite place-names close with u" (Albright *loc. cit.*), this ending is certainly not a special feature of the segolate forms, as Müller seems to suggest (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 312 n. 5). 2. *m-k-t-⟨y⟩*; *m-k-t*; For c see preceding Note. - Müller, first group: . This reading does not justify the transliteration *mā-* (Gauthier DNG, III p. 20: *māk-tā*, in which ā represents ; cp. DNG, I p. VI).


































The group () is entirely identical with () both representing only 'm'. In the present case neither the Hebrew nor the Accadian forms of this name (; *ma-gid-da*, *ma-ki-da*, etc.; see Kn. 242, 4; 243, 11; 244, 24; etc.) suggest anything like ā or ē. The substitution of by is known elsewhere but occurs frequently in the great list of Thutmes III, not only in conjunction with or but also separately. See e.g., nn. 12 b; 18 c; 24 c; 35 b; 39 b; 41 c; 45 b, c (), etc., where either occurs as var. for or in other readings of the same name or simply repeats . Cp. also pp. 100 f. - It is difficult to see, why (in a) should necessarily be termed "verschrieben" (Burch. n. 526). There is another example of the same form in a Thutmes III text (Sethe *Urkt.*, IV p. 759, 4). 3. *h-t-y*; For c see Note on n. 1. - Müller, third sign: mixture of and . - Name omitted in b. 4. *k-t-š-n*. 5. *ē-n š-w*; The name



































being a compound one (עֵי), 'w' must be an integral part of the root of the second word. This is more clear in a:  (calligraphic for more usual  or ) whatever the real value of this group elsewhere may be (see n. 31 and cp. Burch. I § 38 and Albright *The Vocalization*, etc. V, B: = wi). Borée (*Ortsnamen*, etc. p. 86): „<sup>c</sup>nšw... kaum vollständig”. 6. *d-b-h*; Omitted in b. 7. *b-m-y*; Omitted in a and b. — This name is given by Müller (MVAG 1907, I p. 10) as n. 8, while Mariette's (and Sethe's) n. 7 is considered to be only a corrupt form of the following name. The supposition is apparently based on the identity of the middle groups (7: ; 8, b: ) on the omission of n. 7 in a and b, and on the supposed miscarving of final  for  (cp. n. 8). But these considerations are not decisive, unless the first group is less clear than given by Sethe ( if so written, is not very similar to ). Burchardt, while accepting the name, suggests correcting final  into  (n. 340). It may be questioned whether as a place-name the result (נְשִׁי) justifies the correction. 8. *k-m-t*; Omitted in c. 9. *t-t-y-n*; 10. *r-b-n*; Omitted in b. 11. *q-r-t n-d-b*; According to Müller, probably intended for q-r-t n-d-b (נְצִיב). — Sethe mentions b as destroyed but prob. = c. In fact, however, this name, together with n. 10, was omitted in b, where n. 12 of the list immediately follows after n. 9, a full row of name-rings being thus omitted. 12. *m-r-m*; Müller:    . — Perhaps = XIX/12. 13. *t-m-s-q*; Duplication of consonants in Semitic originals (תְּמִשָּׁק) is rarely reproduced in Egyptian transliterations. A notable exception is the name Assur (*i-s-s-<w>-r*). See also no. 34 of this list. 14. *i-t-r*; Müller: var.    ; but not seen by Sethe. 15. *i-b-r*; b, Sethe: “ ob wirklich so?” — According to Gauthier (DNG, I p. 52) nn. 15 and 16 should perhaps be combined into “Abel-ḥem out”. — In many “Abel”-names of this list the initial group is written  which therefore appears to have a quite unusual value here

and constitutes a striking exception to Albright's general result for this group (*The Vocalization*, etc. III, E). Cp. Note on n. 90. 16. *h-m-t*; For  as ending of feminine forms see Burch. I § 133 and Albright *The Vocalization*, etc. XIX, F, 8. 17. *i-q-d-<w>*; c (destroyed) prob. = b (Sethe). 18. *s-m-n*; Only by det. distinguished from n. 35. 19. *b-i-r-t*; Cp. Note on n. 16. 20. *m-d-n*; 21. *s-r-n*; 22. *t-b-y*; 23. *b-d-n*; 24. *i-m-s-n*; Petrie *Hist. of Eg.*, II p. 327, reads “A'ashna (Esh Shuni)”. But  is more likely a substitute for  = ‘m’. See Note on n. 2. 25. *m-s-h*; 26. *q-nw*; 27. *c-r-n*; b (destroyed) prob. = c (Sethe). — Cp. XXXIV/32. 28. *c-s-t-r-t*; *c-s-t-r-t*; Cp. Note on n. 16. 29. *nw-r-p-i*; 30. *m-q-t*; The three grains under  (t) are usually omitted, which sometimes makes confusion with  (iw) very easy. Cp. Notes on n. 214 and XXVII/107. 31. *r-w-s*; c (destroyed) prob. = a (Sethe). — It is hard to accept Burchardt's opinion (I § 38) as to the total “Entwertung” of the group , the more so as sometimes it occurs as initial group (see nn. 180(?) and 333). If the present name is meant to render , one could perhaps appeal to the original root of this name: . Cp. also Note on n. 5. 32. *h-d-r*; 33. *p-h-r*; 34. *k-n-n-r-t*; *k-n-r-t*; Both b and c leave out  (independently? cp. p. 28 n. 2). — Note (in a) the careful rendering of double consonant (נְנִירָה). Cp. Note on n. 13. — For feminine ending see Note on n. 16. 35. *s-m-n*; Cp. n. 18. — For  (b) instead of  (a, c), see Note on n. 2. 36. *i-t-m-m*; Prob. = XXXIV/98 (cp. Burch. I § 137, 2). 37. *q-s-n*; 38. *s-n-m*; b, Sethe: “ so Masp.; ob richtig? Mar. Gol. ”. Müller, first sign: var. ; last sign: . — Cp. XXXIV/15. 39. *m-s-i-r*; b:  instead of   (a) and  (c). Cp. Note on n. 2. 40. *i-k-s-p*; 41. *k-b-c s-m-n*; Apparently a compound name (עֵי־נְשִׁי). 42. *t-c-n-k*; 43. *y-b-r-c-m*; 44. *k-n-t i-s-n*; A compound name (נְנִירָה); but cp. Müller MVAG 1907, I n. 44).

45. *r-t-m-r-k*; For  (b, c) =  (a), see Note on n. 2. — Apparently a “Melek”-name.  
 46. *‘y-n*; Identical with n. 95. 47. *‘k-š*; In all other examples of this name () in the topographical lists  follows , which is certainly more correct. The present form is not a calligraphic transposition () but simply a mistake. — For single ‘k’ cp. Note on n. 13.  
 48. *r-š* [*q*]-*d-š*; *r-š q-d-š*; Gauthier (DNG, III p. 131) has mistaken the not infrequent det.  of the group ‘qd’ (cp. I/1, and Gardiner *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 515) for . — Cp. XXVII/108.  
 49. *k-r-y-m-n*; 50. *b-r*; c. Sethe: “ Phot. von c fehlt hier” (block lying against foot of wall). — Cp. perhaps XXVII/112. 51. *š-m-š* *l-t-m*; Mentioned among a group of probably North Palestinian places on a Karnak-stele of Amenhotep II (see Breasted AR, II § 783).  
 52. *l-n-h-r-t*; For feminine ending cp. Note on n. 16. 53. *‘p-r wr*; c (destr.) prob. = a (Sethe). — In Müller’s copy n. 53 and n. 54 are entirely identical, the bird being considered as a det. (“klein; cp.  = Junges”: MVAG, 1907, I p. 18). The repetition is explained as ditto-graphy. Sethe, however, distinguishes the birds: n. 53  = *wr*, great; n. 54  = *šr*, small. Although Gauthier (DNG, I p. 142 s.v. *âp chérâ(?)*) declares these names to be completely identical, the difference noticed by Sethe is well visible on a photograph of text a, which I obtained from the Berlin Museum. On a partial photograph of text c (also from Berlin: reg. nr. 141/1055) the bird of n. 54 clearly is  = *šr*, while the other one, although badly damaged, seems to have the tail of  = *wr*. So there can be no doubt about the distinction of these names. The difference was however neglected in the Ptolemaic copy (V/4.5), as appears from Nelson’s photograph (see p. 41 n. 3) and was expressly noticed by Müller during his second journey (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 66 fig. 10). Here in both cases the bird is  = *wr*. 54. *‘p-r šr*; See Note

on preceding name. 55. *h-š-b*; 56. *t-š-r-t*; 57. *n-g-b*; 58. *l-š-š-h-n*; Müller, twice: .  
 59. *r-n-m*; 60. *y-r-d*; b (destr.) prob. = a (Sethe). 61. *m-⟨i⟩-h-š*; 62. *y-p-⟨w⟩*; 63. *k-n-t*; *k-n-t*; Gauthier (DNG, V p. 206) reads c:   = (misprint?) — I/63, a should normally be transliterated *k-n-t*; on the contrary, I/63, b is *k-n-t*, as many examples of the group  prove (e.g., very clearly n. 70 below; cp. Burch. n. 995) and is in accordance with Burchardt’s general conclusion (I § 142). There is however one case of  = *t* being replaced by  = *t* (see Note on XXVIII/124). If the present name is meant to render  or  (cp. the first part of I/44 and II/17), *k-n-t* must be considered the more genuine form 64. *r-⟨w⟩-t-n*; 65. *l-mw*; b (destr.) prob. = a (Sethe). 66. *l-p-q-n*; 67. *š-⟨w⟩-k*; *š-⟨i⟩-k*; b, Sethe: “ so? nicht kollationiert”. If =  (as probable),  is certainly to be preferred and  would be even more normal (Cp. XXXIV/38:   and more generally Albright *The Vocalization*, etc., III, E.) 68. *y-h-m*; 69. *h-b-d-n*; The shorter reading of this name (*h-b-d*) which underlies Daressy’s “Khoubbeizeh” (*Rec. de trav.*, 21 1899 p. 33) is not supported by Sethe’s nor even by Müller’s copy, although in the text (MVAG 1907, I p. 22) the latter gives the shorter form. 70. *k-n-t*; 71. *m-⟨h⟩-t-r*; *m-k-t-r*; a erased; b, Sethe: “ so Masp.; ob richtig? nicht kollationiert”. — No doubt a “Migdol”-name. Maspero’s  is therefore out of the question. — Cp. XXIII/32, XXVII/82, XXXIV/58. 72. *l-p-t-n*; *l-p-t-n*; a, Mariette:  . Müller reads at least once:              but  not given by Sethe. — Probably not identical with *l-p-t-t-n* which is mentioned in a list (IX/f, 5) of great northern cities and principalities. I/72 belongs to a group of places in the South of Palestine (see *Mél. Masp.*, I p. 34). 73. *š-b-t-n*; [*š*]-*b-n*; b, Sethe: “ ob so? nicht kollationiert”. — Cp. perhaps XXVII/75: *š-b-d-n* (coll. Note on XXXIV/

27 for d=t), which shows the longer form to be the more genuine. 74. *t-y-i*; 75. *u-w-n*; Perhaps = XXVII/66 and XXVIII/122. 76. *h-d-<i>-t*; 77. *h-r*; 78. *y-š-p-i-r*; b and c (destr.) prob. = a (Sethe). 79. *r-g-d*; 80. *k-r-r*; [*k-r*]-*r*; 81. *h-r-i-r*; Müller:   . — b, not mentioned by Sethe, is entirely erased. —  in c is certainly a sculptor's mistake. There is perhaps place for a similar sign in text a (see Phot. 184 of the *Fremdv. Exp.* where the left half of the name appears badly damaged), but I suppose Müller's  is only conjectural. Cp. V/28. 82. *r-b-i*; (destr.) prob. = c (Sethe). 83. *n-m-<i>-n*; *n-m-n*; b, first group, Sethe: "so Masp.; ob richtig? nicht kollationiert". — Cp. following name. 84. *n-<sup>c</sup>-m-n*; Mere ditto-graphy of n. 83 is improbable in view of the difference in first group of both names. Perhaps  is also an integral part of n. 83, although omitted in b and c. In the Ptolemaic extract (list V) these names are identical (nn. 30. 31). 85. *m-r-m-i-m*; 86. *<sup>c</sup>-n-y*; 87. *r-h-b*; b (destr.) prob. = a (Sethe). 88. *i-q-r*; b (destr.) prob. = a and c (Sethe). 89. *h-y-k-r-y-m*; b (destr.) prob. = c (Sethe). — Müller admits  under  only in a. 90. *i-b-r*; According to Gauthier (DNG, I p. 52) nn. 90 and 91 are perhaps to be combined as "Abel - à o u - t r à a", but "Abel, Abila" may also be a complete name in itself. — For first group cp. Note on n. 15. Albright's argument for transliterating this name as "u-bi-ra" (*The Vocalization*, etc. VI, B, 1) seems rather artificial. 91. *i-t-r-<sup>c</sup>*; b, not mentioned by Sethe, is entirely erased. 92. *i-b-r*; b, not mentioned by Sethe, is entirely, erased. — Gauthier (DNG, I p. 52) suggests combining n. 92 and n. 93: "Abel - k n t à o u t a". — For first group cp. Note on n. 15. 93. *k-n-t-i-t*; b, not mentioned by Sethe, is entirely erased. — The third radical () cannot be transliterated t, as it is equivalent to  in another


example of this name (see Burch. n. 996). To my knowledge the combination  is found only in this name. 94. [*m-q*]-*r-p*; *m-q-r-p-t*; a, not mentioned by Sethe, is entirely erased. — c, Müller:  inst. of . Cp. Note on n. 2. — For  (c) =  cp. Note on n. 16. 95. *<sup>c</sup>-y-n*; Identical in with n. 46. — Omitted in a and c. 96. *k-r-m-n*; a (destr.) prob. = c (Sethe). — Omitted in b. — Cp. XXVII/74. 97. *b-t-<y>-[š]-[t]*; *b-t-<v>-[š]-[t]*; Omitted in b. — Sethe: "  one group". — Perhaps the end of the name is missing (see Burch. n. 382). 98. *t-p-n*; c (destr.) prob. = a and b (Sethe). — b, Müller, last sign: . 99. *i-b-r*; According to Gauthier (DNG, I p. 52) nn. 99 and 100 perhaps to be combined as "Abel-i-rout". — See Note on n. 15. 100. *y-r-t*; *y-r-[t]*; 101. *h-r-k-r*; *h-r-[k-r]*; 102. *y-<sup>c</sup>-q-b-i-r*; c (destr.) prob. = b (Sethe), where  instead of  is an evident mistake. Also cp. XXIII/9 and XXVII/104. 103. *q-p-t*; 104. *q-d-r*; b, Sethe: " so von Masp. berichtet. Mariette hatte ". 105. *r-b-t*; b, Sethe: " so?" — Müller omits  in a. — May be identical either with XXXIV/13 or with XXXIV/109 — Cp. Note on n. 16. 106. *m-q-r-t*; Müller omits  in c. — Cp. Note on n. 16. 107. *<sup>c</sup>-m-q*; 108. *š-r-t*; 109. *b-i-r-t*; Cp. n. 19 and see Note on n. 16. 110. *b-t š-i-r*; = *b-t š-r* in later lists (cp. Burch. I § 159) and *b-t š-n-r-ī* in XXXIV/16. An unusual form of the same name is XVI/b.1. 111. *b-t b-n-t* or *b-t i-n-t*; Müller (MVAG 1907, I p. 30) supposes omission of <sup>c</sup>ayin: "Beth-<sup>c</sup>Anath". If *b-t i-n-t* is to be read, the identification with בית-ענת is hardly probable. In other lists (Seti I, Ramses II, Shoshenq I) בית-ענת is invariably written with  (<sup>c</sup>ayin). 112. *h-r-q-t*; b, Müller:  instead of ; b. Sethe: "  so Masp.; Mariette hatte  ". — Cp. Note on n. 16. 113. *<sup>c</sup>-n q-u-<sup>c</sup>-m*; 114. *q-b-<sup>c</sup>*; Cp. XXI/23. 115. *d-r-r*; 116. *d-f-t*; 117. *b-r-q-n*; b, not mentioned by
















Sethe, is entirely erased. **118.** *h-⟨w⟩-m*; Omitted in a. - b is given by Sethe as a complete name, although erased already in Mariette's copy. - Perhaps = XXXIV/5bis. **119.** *l-k-t-m-s*; Omitted in a. - Burchardt (n. 165), although referring to Sethe's copy, omits  $\equiv$  (ikmš).

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For the remainder of the list ("Naharina-list"; see p. 28) Müller's numbers (see p. 33) are added in brackets after those of Mariette and Sethe. - At the beginning of this part of the list, there is a gap of 17 names (according to size of missing block), not allowed for in Mariette's numbering (see p. 33 and cp. below: n. 129). Müller includes the lost block in his system of numbering. He really starts from n. 18, where he gives only damaged  $\square$  with remark: " $\square$  Masp.; rather  $\square$ ?", and before this, mentions "17 names lost". In fact there are only 16 names lost before Müller's n. 18. As Müller n. 19 = Mariette (Sethe) n. 120 (*p-r-t*), his n. 18 would be equivalent to Mariette (Sethe) n. 119, which however is the number of the last name of the "Palestine-list" (*l-k-t-m-s*). Müller's mistake must have been caused by the insertion of the fragment of (his) n. 18, usually omitted, without reducing by one the total of lost names.

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— (18) See note above. **120**(19). *p-r-t*; **121**(20). *l-y*; **122**(21). *l-m-t*; Cp. Note on n. 16. **123**(22). *l-r-t*; Only highest signs (1 or 2) missing. **124**(23). *t-k-⟨3⟩*; **125**(24). *t-r-m-n-n*; **126**(25). *r-g-b*; **127**(26). *t-⟨w⟩-n-⟨i⟩-p*; The first vowel of this often repeated name (Tunip) is always included in the Egyptian form except in VI/16 (and IX/a,2, if correctly copied by Lepsius), but the second vowel only here. **128**(27). Erased except final . **129.** - Lost block but number of name allowed for in Mariette's (Sethe's) system. After this, there is a gap of 13 names, not allowed for in Mariette's numbering. (cp. p. 33 and note above). Müller,

after his n. 27 (= Mariette 128), gives: "12 names destroyed", which he includes in his system of numbering; then n. 40 (erased except a stroke), after which follows n. 41 = Mariette (Sethe) 130. The difference between the two systems of numbering is thus reduced by 12. **130**(41). *d-r-b*; **131**(42). *š-s-p-l-š*; Burch. n. 845: *šphš*. **132**(43). *n-⟨i⟩-y* = VI/14. **133**(44). Sethe: "unausgefüllt"; but Müller (44) gives trace of sign, as also in n. 18 which Sethe (*Urk.*, IV p. 787) equally describes as empty. If Müller is right, Sethe's conclusion about the grouping of names in nn. 120-143 is without foundation. **134**(45). *l-r*; **135**(46). *t-p-t-r*; **136**(47). *t-k-r*; Müller doubts first *t* and thinks possibly space for small sign between  and . **137**(48). *t-nr-t*. Müller, first sign:  over  $\bigcirc$  or  $\bigcirc$  over  (which would be: *r-nr-t*). **138**(49). *l-n-m*; **139**(50) *l-r-t-k-n*; **140**(51). *l-r-k-l*; Sethe: " $\bigcirc$  wie fast immer nur so  $\bullet$ ". **141**(52).  $\bigcirc$ -*r-s*; Note  $\perp$  for  $\perp$ ; Mariette:  $\perp$ ; first sign:  $\perp$ , not  $\perp$ . **142**(53). *r-r-t-y*; **143**(54). *š-r-k-š*; **144**(55). lost **145**(56). *w-n-y*; Müller, instead of second *i*: "very small  $\text{B?}$  (Gol.)". **146**(57). *l-n-f-r*; Müller's copy perhaps allows one to read:    **147**(58). *y-t-h-b*; **148**(59). *l-nw-q*; Müller, first sign: "seems to be  $\perp$  (Gol.), lower part very long (cf. Masp.  $\perp$ )". **149**(60).  $\dots$ -*t-n*; **150**(61). *š-k-l-y*; Müller: " $\bigcirc$  (Gol.); emend  $\bigcirc$ ? (cf. Masp.) or accidental?". **151**(62). *l-b-r-r-n*; **152**(63). *d-nr-w-s*; Sethe, end of name: "von einem getilgten  $\dots$  lassen die Photographien nichts erkennen." Burch. n. 1225:  inst. of . **153**(64). *š-(b?)-q*; Sethe, first group: so  . Die Stellung des  $\perp$  ist für die Hieroglyphe charakteristisch; ebenso z.B. bei 184". - Müller reads    with remarks: a " $\nabla$ ? unusually small"; b "clearly  $\perp$ , not  $\perp$ "; c "accidental (like a and b?)". **154**(65). *p-t-r*; Sethe: " $\perp$  steht unter  wie bei 168". **155**(66). *š-t-h-b-g*;





































- 156(67). *i-m-r-s-k* < > ; 157(68). *h-r-r-s* ; *i-m* . . . . .; Sethe: "[] wohl sicher, weil der Horizontalstrich etwas zu früh aufhört, wie das bei  vorkommt". - Possibly =    , *i-m-r* (XXVII/24). 193(104). *i-n-t* . . . ; 194(105). *s* . . . . .; 195(106). *s-m-b* ; 196(107). *n-s-p* ; 197(108) () *-t-k-r* ; First group miscarved for  (cp. n. 283). 198(109). *i-b-t* ; 199(110). *t-y-r-s* ; 200(111). *i-t-y-r* ; 201(112). *n-t-b* ; 202(113). *t-t-r-s-t* ; Cp. n. 216. 203(114). *i-y-t-w* ; 204(115). *s-k-w* ; 205(116). *t-i-b* ; 206(117). *i-b-r-t* ; Cp. XXVII/22<sup>2</sup>. 207(118). *s-n-r-k-y* ; 208(119). *i-r-m* ; Same name as n. 313. 209(120). *t-t-n-y* ; Müller, first group: "like  " 210(121). . . . .-t ; Müller suggests first sign  with gap (bird?) before  . 211(122). *s-nw-r-g-n-n* ; 212(123). *k-y-n-b* ; 213(124). *i-r-s* ; Cp. XV/12 and XVII/6. 214(125). *nw-t-t-n* ; Sethe, second group:  ; Müller: " sic". 215(126). *i-t-n* ; 216(127). *t-t-r-s-t* ; Cp. n. 202. 217(128) *t-r-b-n-t* ; The identity of this name with XXVII/79, suggested by Burchardt (n. 1106), is now improbable. See that name and corresponding Note. 218(129). *m-<w>-t-y* ; 219(130). *n-j-p-y* ; 220(131). *h-m-r-r* ; The usual reading *j-h-m-r-r* (e.g., Burch. n. 7) seems rather improbable. From Müller's copy it would appear that  (small and irregular) was forgotten and added after  . The disposition of the group is then analogous to the frequent group  , a calligraphic transposition for  . Gauthier (DNG, I p. 11) already suggests my reading without giving any explanation of the group: "akhmour(?) . . . La véritable lecture est peut-être Khamrou". 221(132). *i-t-r* ; 222(133). *k-r-t m-r-t* ; 223(134). *i-s-t* ; 224(135). *t-n-r-s* ; 225(136). *i-n-<w>* or *i-n-n* ; 226(137). *i-t-b-n* ; 227(138). *i-s-m-b* ; 228(139). *i-t-k-r* ; 229(140). *t-t-t* ; 230(141). *i-t-r-n* ; 231(142). *t-k-m-r-s* ; 232(143). *i-b-t* ; 233(144). *i-r* . . . ; 234(145).
- 156(67). *i-m-r-s-k* < > ; 157(68). *h-r-r-s* ; 158(69). *n-n-r-m-n-n-d* ; Müller between  and  only *i*, with remark: "⊖ (Gol., Masp.) to be expected, but looks like *i*". 159(70). *s-w-r-n-t* ; 160(71). *m-r-r-h-n-s* ; 161(72). *t-g-r-r* ; 162(73). lost except det.  . Müller suspects  before  . — This is the only example of the det.  in the whole list. 163(74). *k-nw-t* ; See Note on n. 16. 164(75). *t-r-d* ; 165(76). lost. 166(77). *i-nw-t* ; 167(78). *i-m-r-s* ;  for  , as often; cp. Note on n. 2. 168(79). *h-t-r-d* ; 169(80). *i-r-n-r* ; 170(81). *h-t-c-y* ; Or perhaps: *h-t-m-y* ? Cp. Note on I/2 and also n. 167. 171(82). lost. 172(83). *i-t-r-(i-t)-n* ; Müller suggests  instead of  , 173(84). *t-n-d-<w>-r* ; 174(85). *k-h-(m-t)* ; Sethe: "so noch jetzt erhalten". — Müller, last sign:  instead of  . 175(86) *i-r-(t)-t-[t]* ; Müller, second group:  , and after  : "space for one long group". — Not to be identified with frequent *i-r-t* (as done by Gauthier: DNG, I p. 99), unless only  missing (cp. Note on XI/3). 176(87). *h-d-t* ; Very likely = XXVII/67: *h-d-m*, but see Note on that name. 177(88). *m-r-r-h-n-s* ; Cp. n. 160. 178(89). . . . .-y ; Müller: " sic"; Sethe: " ". 179(90). *h-r* . . . ; Sethe: " wie in dieser Zeit meist so  ". — Müller reads:    = *i-r* . . . . . 180(91). *w-r-t* ; First group () damaged, but no trace of second stroke seen by Sethe. — Müller reads:    (if a complete name, cp. n. 333). 181(92). *s* . . . . .; 182. 183(93. 94). lost 184(95). *nw-b-n* ; Sethe: "so  ". 185(96). *h-t-m* ; 186(97). *m-(n-t)-g-n-s* ; Sethe: "so; ob beabsichtigt  ?" — Müller reads    = *m-g-n-s*. 187(98). *t-p-k-n-n-(t-t)* ; Müller omits  at end of name. 188(99). *t-t-n* ; Müller, twice  (with diacritical tick). 189(100). *n-<y>-r-b* ; 190(101). *t-r-b* ; cp. n. 246. 191(102). *i-t-g-n-r* ; 192(103).




























<sup>1</sup> Burchardt (n. 80): "n. 116".

<sup>2</sup> Note Burchardt's (n. 24) misprint "260" and for second example of this name (Ramses III, list XXVII) "21" instead of 22.



- s-r-m-r-t*; Müller, last group:  235(146).  
*i-n-t-q-b*; 236(147). *3-r-s*; 237(148). *i-r-t*;  
 238(149). *i-t(m?)*; Sethe: "1 : Masp. 1 ];  
 Gol. ; nach Phot. beides möglich." — Müller  
 reads:    = *i-t-m*. 239(150). lost  
 240(151) *i-n-...*; Müller: perhaps  after ;  
 241(152). *i-n-...*; Sethe: " nach Masp.;  
 erscheint mir nach Phot. recht zweifelhaft".  
 242(153). lost 243(154) *i-s-...*; 244(155).  
*i-...*; 245(156). *i-(n?)-n-[-?]*; Müller regards  
 first  as doubtful, but it is probably correct  
 and no radical missing. Cp. XXXIV/140. 246(157).  
*t-r-b*; Cp. n. 190. — Müller, first sign: ;  
 247(158). *f-r-w*; 248(159). *s-s-b-n*; 249(160).  
*k-t-s-[-?]*; 250. 251(161. 162). lost. All name-rings  
 on lower left corner (nn. 251—250; 278—274;  
 305—300; 332—325; 359—351) are entirely  
 destroyed. See *Diagram III* (p. 110). 252(163).  
*s-<w>-r*; Cp. XVIII/3. 253(164). *p-p-1*;  
 254(165). *n-t-n*; 255(166). *t-m-k*; 256(167).  
*2-(m?)-n-y*; Müller: a bird's feet before ;  
 257(168). *k-n-2-s-h*; Müller: space for small sign  
 between  and . 258(169). Erased except  
 (Müller:) traces of bird, last sign  and more  
 doubtful remains. 259(170). *s-k-b-k*; 260(171).  
*t-r-n*; Cp. XXVII/43 and XXIX/7. 261(172).  
*k-m-r-<w>*; Müller: space for small sign after  
? 262(173). *i-t-b*; 263(174). *i-t-n*; Müller:  
 instead of . 264(175). *k-r-s-w*; Müller:  
 now badly damaged. 265(176). *r-t-m*; 266(179  
 sic!). *2-t-n-t*; This is Müller's n. 179, where 1  
 omitted and remark: "exactly space for "  
 before . — Mariette's n. 266 is n. 268 in  
 Paton's *Diagram 85* (p. 49), not however in Paton's  
 list (p. 53). In Mariette's copy are given as erased:  
 nn. 267, 268, 269; in Paton's *Diagram 85*: nn.  
 266, 267, 269; in Müller's copy: nn. 177, 178.  
 180. 270(181). *k-r-k-m-s*; Müller:  instead  
 of . 271(182). *d-t-k-r*; 272(183). *m-r-m-r*;  
 Cp. XXVII/47 and XXVIII/99. 273(184). *3-t-2*;  
 274—278(185—189). lost. See Note on nn. 250.  
 251. 279(190). *h-y-t*; 280(191). *p-d-r*;  
 281(192). *i-t-r-t-n*; 282(193). *m-s-w*; 283(194).  
-*n-r-k*; First group certainly intended for   
 (cp. n. 197). 284(195). *n-p-r-y-r-w*; 285(196).  
*n-t-k-n*; 286(197). *i-t-t-m*; 287(198). *i-b-r-n-n*;  
 288(199). *i-y-r-n-r*; Almost identical with n. 289. —  
 Müller omits stroke under . 289(200). *i-y-r-n-r*;  
 See preceding Note. Dittography? 290(201).  
*i-n-n-(-?)<sup>2</sup>-y*; Not less probable is *i-n-n-m-y* (  
 for ; See Note on n. 2). 291(202). *t-k-n-<w>*;  
 Sethe, second group: "Mar., Gol.  Masp. ;  
 Phot.  — Müller, before : "O forgotten by  
 the sculptor?" 292(203). *t-r-h*; 293(204). *i-r-n*;  
 294(205). *r-m-n-n-y*; Sethe, second group: "jetzt  
 so ". Müller's copy shows entire right  
 half of name destroyed. 295(206). lost 296(207).  
*p-p-b*; 297(208). *i-t-(k-m?)*; Müller: "  a  
 (a: )" = *i-t-k-m*. 298(209). *i-r-s-2*; Müller,  
 last group: . 299(210). *m-r-...*; Müller:  
 . 300—305(211—216). lost.  
 See Note on nn. 250. 251. 306(217). *i-b-r*; This  
 is not one of the compound "Abel"-names, which in  
 this list always have  as initial group. See  
 Note on n. 15, and for the present name: Albright  
*The Vocalization*, etc. III, D, I. 307(218). *k-r-m-t*;  
 Sethe, end of the name: "so gestellt ".  
 308(219). *i-m-k*; Müller, third sign irregular, and  
 instead of . 309(220). *k-t-r*; 310(221).  
*i-m-y*; Sethe, last group: "so gestellt ". —  
 Müller:   311(222). *h-r-b*; 312(223).  
*p-i-n-r*; Sethe, first group: "so, ohne ".  
 313(224). *i-r-m*; Same name as in n. 208. 314(225).  
*s-m-l-r-w*; Sethe, first group: "Phot. hier un-  
 deutlich". 315(226). *i-k-m*; 316(227) *p-r-t*;  
 317(228). *s-r-r-s*; 318(229). *i-r-p-n-h*; 319(230).  
*2-r-t*; 320(231). *p-q-y*; 321(232). Erased  
 except final . 322(233). *t-n-n-r*; Müller:  
 instead of . 323(234). *t-r-n-s*; Sethe,

<sup>1</sup> Note Burchardt's (n. 112) misprint "289" instead of "298".

second group: " oder ?" 324(235). *n-r-n-s*; Müller, last group: . 325—332(236—243). lost. See Note on nn. 250. 251. 333(244). *w-r-m*; Cp. n. 180. 334(245). *s-n-(t?)*; Müller, after ; perhaps ; "no space for more". 335(246). *t-.....* or *t-.....*; 336(-). *i-.....*; Omitted in Müller's copy, but mentioned in note (pl. 53) as "247 (336)  (cp. Masp.)". — This is n. 337 (erased) in Paton's Diagram 85 (p. 49). Not so Mariette nor Paton's list of names (p. 55). 337(248). -*r-r-[?]*; Müller, first sign: " i.e.  intended, over "; and after second : " certain". — This is n. 336 in Paton's Diagram 85 (p. 49). Not so Mariette nor Paton's list of names (p. 55). 338(249). *t-t-p*; Müller, twice  and perhaps space for sign(s) between  and . 339(250). *i-.....*; 340(251). lost. 341(252). *t-.....*; 342(253). *t-r-h*; Müller, last bird , not . 343(254). *s-<w>-s-r-n*; Müller, first group: . 344(255). *i-d-n-nw*; 345(256). *i-b-s-t-n*; Sethe, first group: "so , das  gestellt wie oben bei Nr. 153, 184". 346(257). *i-m-(h?)-r*; Müller rejects  or : "fracture like a short  below ?"<sup>1</sup>. 347(258). *t-m-q-r*; 348(259). *r-s*; Müller, third sign irregular; but clear in Sethe. Burch. I § 110 quotes another example of this peculiar orthography. 349(260). *m-r-q*; 350(261). *i-r-.....*; 351—359(262—271). lost. See Note on nn. 250. 251. Müller gives first sign of n. 350 (261): , perhaps followed by  and possibly .

<sup>1</sup> Note Burchardt's (n. 57) misprint "364" instead of "346".

## LIST II

## THUTMES III, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 38—39*Plan:* III (p. 38)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.* II p. 81, fig. 14*Numbers:* new

(For numbers after names see p. 39)

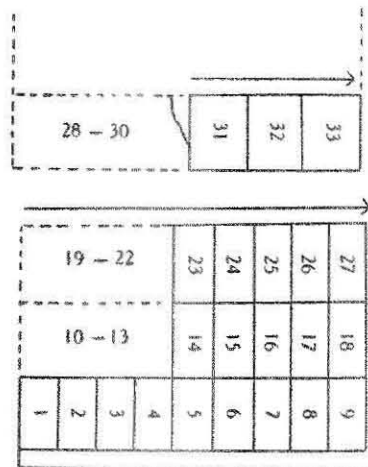
































Diagram IV





- 1 lost List I
- 2 (75 b, c)
- 3 (58 a, c)
- 4 (59)
- 5 (?)
- 6 (see Note)
- 7 (113)
- 8 (114)
- 9 (115)

- 10-13 lost List I
- 14 (60 ?)
- 15 (61 a)
- 16 (62 a)
- 17 (see Note)
- 18 (64 a, c)
- 19-22 lost
- 23 (29)
- 24 (30)

- 25 List I (118 c)
- 26 (31 a)
- 27 (32)
- 28-30 lost
- 31 (2 b)
- 32 (see Note)
- 33 (see Note)

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. lost (erased). 2. *n*....; Names of the "Palestine-list" beginning with  are n. 75 b, c (  ) and n. 83 b (  ). If one of these is copied here, it is probably n. 75, as is suggested by (doubtful)    , corresponding to  in great list. 3. *i-s-s-h-n*; 4. *r-n-[m]*; Last radical restored from corresponding name of great list (I/59). 5. Lost except twice . A short name. 6. *i-s-r-ε*; According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 81), this name is identical with I/91:    = *i-t-r-ε*. Rather doubtful. Possibly a new name as in nn. 32 and 33. 7. *ε-n q-n-ε-m*; In corresponding name of great list (I/113) first group is rather different. 8. *q-b-ε*; 9. *d-r-r*; 10–13. lost. 14. *y-[r-d?]*; Probably intended for I/60 but certainly with orthographic differences. Note the correspondence between II/15 and I/61, II/16 and I/62, II/17 and I/63(?), II/18 and I/64. 15. *m-<w>-h-s*; In corresponding name of great list (I/61), third sign  instead of . 16. *y-p-<w>*; 17. *k-n-t t-r-k*; First half (*k-n-t*) = I/63; second half (supposed, with Müller,  misread by sculptor for ) possibly = second half of I/45. The supposed mistake, however, cannot have been caused by any of the preserved texts of the great list (a: ; b and c: ; not ) Müller thinks second half of I/44 (  ) also to be part of the blending. I would rather suggest the possibility of a new name ( or ). Cp. *Mél. Masp.*, I p. 30. 18. *r-<w>-t-n*; 19–22. lost. 23. *nw-r-p-i*; In corresponding name of great list (I/29)  is added at end of name. 24. *m-q-[t]*; 't' restored from corresponding name in great list (I/30). The det.  is omitted in great list. – This name is quoted by Gauthier (*DNG*, III p. 19) as "extrait de la liste Thoutmôsis III, n. 30". 25. *h-<w>-m*; 26. *r-w-s*;

In corresponding name of great list (I/31) last group is . 27. *h-d-<w>-[r]*; Last radical restored from corresponding name of great list (I/32) where last group is given as  (Ia, c),  (Ib). Müller's copy of the present list has only traces of lost sign(s) with remark added: "not r". Gauthier (*DNG*, IV p. 24) suggests , probably after the form of this name in pap. Anast. I (quoted *loc. cit.*). My photograph shows only traces of an unrecognizable sign damaged by crack in wall. – In the first two groups of signs there is a blending of two different orthographies of this name. 28–30. lost. 31. *m-k-t*; According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 81), this name which is only n. 2 in the great "Palestine-list", would suggest "that not as many names were destroyed as the space would make us to believe". But since the other remaining names of this row (nn. 32 and 33) have certainly not been taken from the great list, this argument does not seem to carry much weight. All lost names of this row or any number of them might have been taken from another source than the "Palestine-list". It is, however, the large size of the name-rings which excludes the possibility of "at least six names" in this row being destroyed before n. 31 (see p. 39 n. 1). 32. *i-<3>-3*; Not mentioned in the great Asiatic list of Thutmes III. According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 82, following Gardiner) the name was borrowed by the sculptor from the text of Sinuhe (see A. Gardiner *Notes on the story of Sinuhe*, Paris 1916, p. 157; Breasted AR, I § 496). There is an exactly identical name in the great African list of Thutmes III at Karnak (n. 73, c; see Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). 33. *q-d-m*; As the preceding name, not mentioned in the great Asiatic list of Thutmes III and according to Müller (*ibid.*) also borrowed from the Sinuhe-text (see Gardiner *o.c.*, p. 155; Breasted AR, I § 493; Burch. n. 949).

## LIST III (Fragment)

## THUTMES III, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

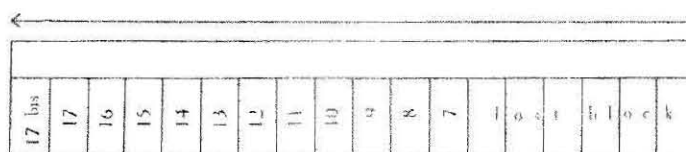
*Description:* pp. 39—40*Plan:* IV (p. 40)*Text:* Müller *Fig. Res.*, II p. 112, fig. 37*Variants:* Bouriant *Rec. de trav.*, II. 1889 pp. 154—155*Numbers:* new (see p. 40)

Diagram V

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1-9 see Notes

10

11

12

13

14

15

16 lost

17

17 bis

1-6. A block of six names (or 5? See p. 40) is broken off, part of the text above these names being preserved (see Müller's copy). 7, 8. Partly broken off, partly erased. 9. Nothing in Bouriant's copy, but Müller: trace of first sign "like ?" 10. *w-n*....; Fragment of in Müller's copy? 11. *s-l*...; 12. *k-l-n*; 13. ....*g-r*; Bouriant: 14. *l-r*....; 15. ....*n*; is given by Müller on Mariette's authority only. 16. lost 17. lost except bird's feet ( at end of name in Müller's copy. 17bis. This name-ring and fragment in Müller's copy only. See p. 40.



## LIST IV (Fragment)

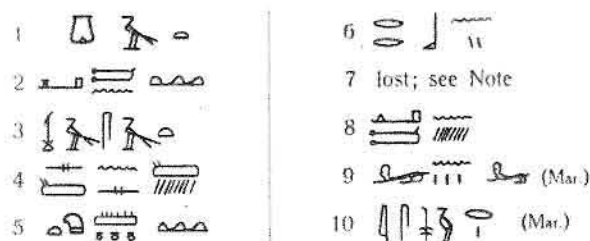
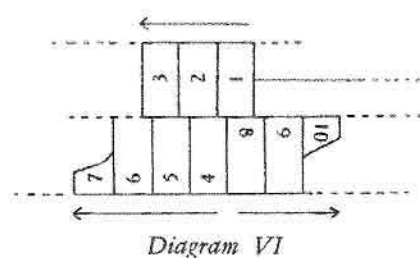
## THUTMES III, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

Description: pp. 40—41

Plan: IV (p. 40)

Text: Bouriant *Rec. de trav.*, II. 1889 p. 156Variants: Mariette *Karnak. Atlas Tf. 27, c.*

Numbers: new



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *g-t*; Mariette: instead of . From phot. Dümichen (see p. 41) seems more probable. — Asiatic? 2. *m-t-n*; Mariette: instead of . More probably is to be read (Mitanni). It is then the same name as in n. 8. 3. *h-s-t*; Bouriant, first sign: but Mariette: which is also more probable from phot. Dümichen. — Mariette and phot. Dümichen: instead of second — Asiatic? 4. *s-n-s-n*; Second not given by Mariette but sufficiently visible on Dümichen's photograph. — Asiatic? 5. *t-m-n*; Mariette, first sign: . — F. Chabas (*Voyage d'un Egyptien*, etc. Paris 1886 p. 358 n. 94) quotes this name "d'après un monument inédit communiqué par Dümichen". The document referred to is certainly Dümichen's photograph, published in 1871. Gauthier who mentions this name (apparently on Chabas' authority) still refers to the "monument inédit"

(DNG, VI p. 15). 6. *r-r-b-n*-<*y*>; No trace of final can be seen on phot. Dümichen. 7. Mariette has only ; Bouriant: . Nothing visible on Dümichen's photograph. 8. *m-t-n*; Cp. n. 2. — Mariette adds . On phot. Dümichen upper half of seems visible. 9. *r-n*[*r*]; Bouriant only: . Mariette reads: Cp. XI/5; XV/43. etc. 10. *i-s-s-s*-<*w*>-*r*; Mariette alone gives full name: , Bouriant only: . This name (Assur) is frequently mentioned in the Topographical Lists in the same form and with double 's', except IX/f, 4 (where replaces if correctly copied by Lepsius) and XV/37 (where is omitted by mistake). The constant duplication of 's' suffices to show that this name ought not to be identified with *i-s-r* (XVII/14: and XXV/8: ). See also Müller *As. u. Eur.*, pp. 236 ff. and 277 f.

## LIST V

THUTMES III, (PTOLEMAIC COPY), KARNAK,  
GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON*Description:* pp. 41—44*Plan:* V (p. 42)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 66, fig. 10*Numbers:* *ibid.*

(For numbers after names, see p. 44)










16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	ε
32	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16

Diagram VII

1		List I	12		List I	23		List I
2		(14)	13		(61 b, c)	24		(70 a, c)
3		(15 a, c)	14		(62 b, c)	25		(77 b)
4		(16 b)	15	lost	(63 b)	26		(78 a)
5		(53 a)	16		(?)	27	lost	(?)
6		(54 a, c)	17	lost	(66)	28		(81)
7		(55)	18		(?)	29		(82 c)
8		(56)	19		(23 ?)	30		(83)
9		(57 b, c)	20	lost	(6 a, c)	31		(84 b, c)
10		(58 b)	21	lost	(?)	32		(85)
11		(59)	22		(?)			
		(60)			(51)			

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *l-t-r*; 2. *l-b-r*; 3. *h-m-t*; See Note on I/16. 4. *°-p-r wr*; For the original distinction between nn. 4 and 5, see Note on I/53. 5. *°-p-r wr*; 6. *h-s-b*; Note feet of as of . 7. *t-s-r-t*; 8. *n-g-b*; 9. *l-s-s-h-n*; 10. *r-n-m*; 11. *y-r-d*; 12. *m-<i>h-s*; 13. *y-[p-<w>]*; Two signs restored after original (I/62). — Feet of as in n. 16. 14. *k-n-t*; See Note on I/63. 15. lost.

16. *i-p-q-n*; Note feet of , as of . 17. lost. 25. *y-s-p-r*; For omission of  $\aleph$  in the Ptolemaic copy cp. Burch. I § 159. 26. *t-.....*; All other signs doubtful. 27. lost. 28. *h-r-(m)-i-r*; Certainly intended for I/81 (the following name, n. 29, corresponding also to I/82). - For curious group  see Note on I/81. - In Müller's copy, trace of  before last . - The right half of this name-ring (including head of bird) is now destroyed, as my photograph shows. 29. *r-b-i*; 30. *n-m-n*; Really more like I/84, but n. 83 was more probably intended (V/29 = I/82; V/30 = I/83; V/31 = I/84; V/32 = I/85). 31. *n<sup>c</sup>-m-n*; Probably not identical with n. 30. See Note on I/84. 32. *m-r-m-i-m*; = I/85, with changes of orthography.
18. *b-d-[?]*; This name may correspond to n. 23 of great list (I), with erroneous omission of . - Although the form of the second radical () is less usual (; cp. n. 11), the name cannot be identical with I/97 (as was suggested by Müller *Eg. Res.*, II, p. 68, followed by Paton *Early Records*, etc. IV Diagram 83 p. 40). - My photograph shows that this name-ring is now (1937) almost entirely destroyed. 19. *d-b-h*; For 'h' and for corresponding name in great list (I) see discussion on p. 43. 20. lost. 21. lost. First radical, according to Müller, perhaps . 22. *s-m-s-t*; For corresponding name in great list (I) see p. 43. 23. *h-d-<i>-t*; 24. *h-r*;

## LIST VI

## AMENHOTEP II, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 45—46*Plan:* VI (p. 45)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 54*Numbers:* *ibid.*

12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13

Diagram VIII

- 1 2 3 4-11 lost; see Note
- 12 13 14 15
- 16 17 18 19 20 21
- 22-24 lost; see Note

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *r-t-n*.....; The first two names of this list certainly were and , but as the only distinctive sign is destroyed in both names, it is impossible to state which came first. 2. *r-t-n* *r-r-t*; See preceding Note. 3. *h-r*.....; Breasted (AR II §798 A): "Kharu", supposing therefore only or missing. But space for more signs, and in that name the last group is, until Ptolemaic times, more commonly written as (see Gauthier DNG, IV p. 151). 4—11. All entirely or almost entirely erased. In n. 5 det. remains. In n. 6 trace of last sign seems to be of , according to Müller's copy. In n. 7 part of remains. In n. 8 trace of last sign or , according to Müller. In n. 9 only intact. N. 10: ; according to Müller, first sign "more like than like "; last destroyed sign perhaps . N. 11 entirely erased

12. *q-d-s*; 13. *h-r-b*; 14. *n-⟨i⟩-y*; = I/132. 15. *s-d-r*; Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 40) and Breasted (AR II §798 A): Sinzar, Senzar, modern Sheizar. 16. *t-n-p*; Legrain and Breasted: *tnw*. 17. *q-d-n*; The det. or of the group 'qd' is always omitted in this name. It occurs after the same group in *q-d-s* (I/1. 48; XXXIII/d, 6) and in *q-d-m* (II/33). 18. *h-d-r*; 19. Trace of first sign, according to Müller, irregular or perhaps . 20. ....-*t*; According to Müller, first sign () doubtful, second sign perhaps or , third sign (trace remains) rather than (Legrain's) . 21. According to Müller, first group "like (cp. Legrain), but not quite certain"; and might be "short ". 22—24. Erased. Last group of n. 24 was read by Legrain as , but no longer seen by Müller.

## LIST VII (Fragment)

## AMENHOTEP II, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

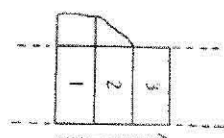
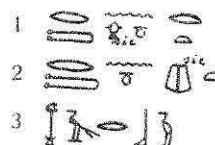
*Description:* p. 46*Plan:* VI (p. 45)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 109, fig. 34*Variants:* Mariette *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 27, b.*Numbers:* new

Diagram IX



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *r-t-n h-r-t*; Above this name, a fragment of another name is visible: according to Müller's copy, according to Mariette. Müller therefore suspects (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 109 n. 1) this name to be "Pa-bu-h". This name is mentioned several times in other lists. See Index of Names, p. 204.
2. *r-t-n h-r-t*; after lacking in Müller's as well as in Mariette's copy. — Above this name, a fragment of another name is visible: (Müller and Mariette).
3. *h-r-b*;



## LIST VIII

## THUTMES IV, CHARIOT FROM TOMB (now CAIRO MUSEUM)

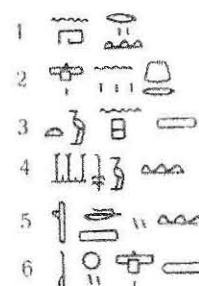
*Description:* pp. 46—47

*Text:* from Phot. 24 and 25 of the *Fremdr. Exp.*




*Numbers:* Carter-Newberry *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, p. 32










Diagram X



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *n-h-r-<y>-n*; This is the first instance of the name which is the most frequently mentioned in the Topographical Lists. Its general form is invariably the same but there appears to be some hesitation about the insertion of \ (y) between  and last  (in XV/11. 30 and in XXVI/d, 2 after , probably for calligraphic reasons only), although it is present in most undamaged examples. Very probably it renders a consonant of the Semitic original (cp. Hebrew נְהַרִים) and has nothing to do with syllabic orthography or Egyptian vocalized transcription. This is even more clearly shown by a form of this name

not occurring in the Topographical Lists:    (Burch. n. 577), in which  certainly represents a consonant (y). — XXIV/24 is the only example which adds  after last  (omitting \). XXXVI/4 has  in the same place (XII/c, 4 from which the example last mentioned was copied — see p. 103 — is damaged in last group but Mariette's copy gives same form there as in XXXVI/4). 2. *s-n-g-r*; 3. *t-<w>-n-p*; 4. *s-s-<w>*; 5. *q-d-s*; 6. *t-l-<y>-s*; But cp. XV/33 and XXII/g, 2: *t-l-s-<y>* (Tahši in Amarna-letters).

## LIST IX

## AMENHOTEP III, SOLEB, TEMPLE OF AMON (COLUMNS)

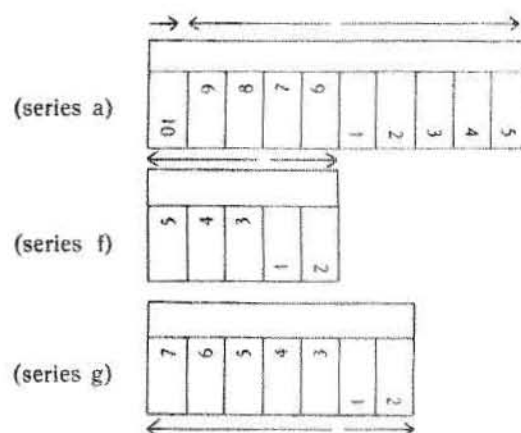
*Description:* pp. 47—49*Plan:* VII (p. 48)*Text:* LD, III Bl. 88, a, f, g*Numbers:* new




Diagram XI




a 1		10		g 1	
2				2	
3	lost	11		3	
4	lost	2		4	African („Punt“)
5		3		5	
6		4		6	
7		5		7	
8					
9	lost			b	} See Notes
				h	

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

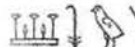

a. 1. *q-d-š*; 2. *t-n-p*; instead of usual See Note on VIII/1. 8. *h-t*; This name has been preserved 13 times in the Topographical Lists. In all examples is added to *h-t* except


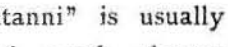
(Tunip), if correctly copied by Lepsius. 3. 4. lost. 5. *i-k-r-<i>-t*; 6. *s-n-g-r*; 7. *n-h-r-<y>-n*;


in X/2 which has , XXXI/1 which has , and XV/10, XXV/4 which have nothing. IX/a, 8 is the only example in which the first consonant is followed by , but, as for some other names of this list (a, 2; f, 4), Lepsius' copy is doubtfully correct. 9. lost. 10. *k-f-t*; As in some other examples of this name (see Gauthier DNG, V pp. 198—199) the bird is the ordinary vulture (not only in Lepsius' copy but also on the original; see phot. 985 of Breasted's *Nubian Expedition*) but it stands for the long-legged buzzard (= tyw). We may read *k-f-t* or *k-f-t-w*. Cp. XXV/5.

f. 1. *m-k-t-s*; Muller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 188 n. 2) suggests correcting this name to , which would make it a "Migdol"-name. 2. *k-p-n*; The only occurrence in the Topographical Lists of this place (Byblos), so often mentioned in other Egyptian texts. 3. *q-r-q-m-<i>-s*; 4. *i-s-<w>-r*; Probably  by mistake for  (or incorrectly copied by Lepsius?) - See Note on IV/10. 5. *i-p-t-t-n*; See Note on I/72.

g. 1. *q-d-n*; 2. *3-3-r*; 3. *p-h-[r]*;

4. African ("Punt"). 5. *s-s-....*; Probably  or  = *s-s-<w>*. 6. *t-y-t*; 7. *i-r-r-p-h*;

b. In this series occurs one name (third from the left) which is commonly supposed to be Asiatic: , although "Mitanni" is usually rendered by a different and much shorter form (see IV/8; XXI/27, etc.). Lepsius' copy of the Soleb-lists has not , as supposed by Gauthier (DNG, III p. 26) and Albright (*The Vocalization*, etc. VIII, A, 13). The identification with Mitanni is not admitted by Burchardt (see nn. 541 and 542) and must be considered as doubtful. The figures surmounting the name-rings are broken off.

h. Only two names of this series given by Lepsius. Probably both are African (as also figures suggest), although Burchardt (n. 424) thinks n. 1  might be Asiatic. This name, however, is mentioned in a purely African list on one of Haremheb's colossi at Karnak (see ASAE 14 1914 p. 43, n. 11).

## LIST X (Fragment)

### AMENHOTEP III, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* p. 49

*Text:* LD, *Text:* III p. 9

*Numbers:* new

1   
2   
3 

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *n-h-r-<y>-n*; See Note on VIII/1. 2. *h-t-<y>*; See Note on IX/a, 8. 3. *s-n-g-r*,

## LIST XI

## HAREMHEB, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

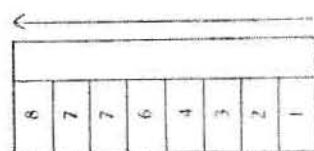
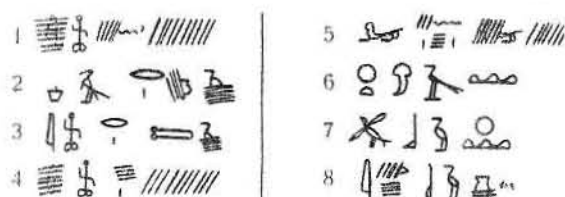
*Description:* pp. 50—52*Plan:* VIII (p. 51)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 56 below*Variants:* Bouriant *Rec. de trav.*, 17. 1895 p. 42*Numbers:* Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 292

Diagram XII



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *i-(n?)*....; Müller's copy gives traces of unrecognizable sign at end of name. 2. *b-r-(n)*; Bouriant (*Rec. de trav.*, 17 p. 42) and Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 292, Nachschrift) give  $\overline{\Delta}$  as last sign. Although there is no decisive proof for supposing a confusion between  $\overline{\Delta}$  and  $\Delta$  (through the hieratic) in n. 8 of the present list (see there and Note on XIII/36), such a confusion must of necessity be admitted in the case of *b-r-g* (XV/42; XX/8; XXI/1; XXII/g, 12) and *b-r-n* (XI/2; XIII/34; XIV/32). There exists, however, no certainty about 'g' being the more correct reading (although commonly supposed). The oldest occurrence of the name (the present one) has 'n'. 3. *i-r-t*; The bird must be  $\overline{\Delta}$  as required by the value 't' ( $\overline{\Delta}$  or  $\overline{\Delta}$ ) in all other examples of this name. 4. *i*.....; Müller's copy has a bird's tail (with question-mark) at end of name. The complete

name may very well be identical with I/298:

$\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$   $\overline{\Delta}$ . This name belongs to Northern Syria, as evidently do the names of the present list of Haremheb. 5. *r-nr*;

Bouriant (*Rec. de trav.*, 17 p. 42) and Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 292) give first sign as  $\overline{\Delta}$ , last sign as  $\overline{\Delta}$  (Müller: "Un-n-(s?)-g"). The present reading is much more plausible, as this name is mentioned several times in other lists as the name of a country (see e.g., IV/9). It was identified by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 42) as "Lullu", the double 'l' being represented, as elsewhere, by  $\overline{\Delta}$ . 6. *h-t-<?>*; This is the first instance of the usual form of this often repeated name. See Note on IX/a, 8. 7. *p-b-h*; 8. *i-r-t-(n?)*;

For last radical see Note on XIII/36. It is omitted by Bouriant and Müller (*As. u. Eur.*) where the det.  $\overline{\Delta}$  is added instead.

## LIST XII

## HAREMHEB, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON (STATUES)

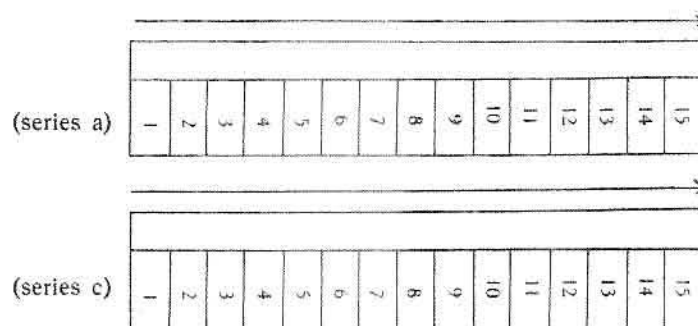
*Description:* p. 52*Plan:* VIII (p. 51)*Text:* Legrain *ASAE* 14. 1914 pp. 41 and 43.*Variants:* Mariette *Karnak. Atlas* Tf. 38, f.*Numbers:* Legrain, loc. cit.

Diagram XIII

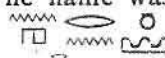

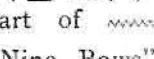

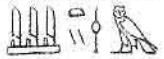
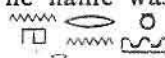






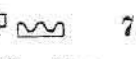

a 1		15		7	
2-8	see Notes			8	
9		c 1		9	
10		2	„Nine Bows“	10-12	African; see Note
11		3	lost („Nine Bows“; see Note)	13	
12		4		14	
13		5	„Nine Bows“ (see Note)	15	
14		6			

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

a. 1. [s-n]-g-r; = c, 1. - First two radicals restored from other examples of well-known name. See also Mariette's copy of c, 1. 2-5. „man-quent“ (Legrain) 6. If only were missing, this name would be Asiatic. Cp. I/282. But the group must cer-

tainly be added and the name is African (see Gauthier DNG, III p. 19). This is already made probable by the two following names which are African, but it is certain from Taharqa's copy (list XXXVI) of c, 10 of this list (corresponding to a, 6), where the African name has remained



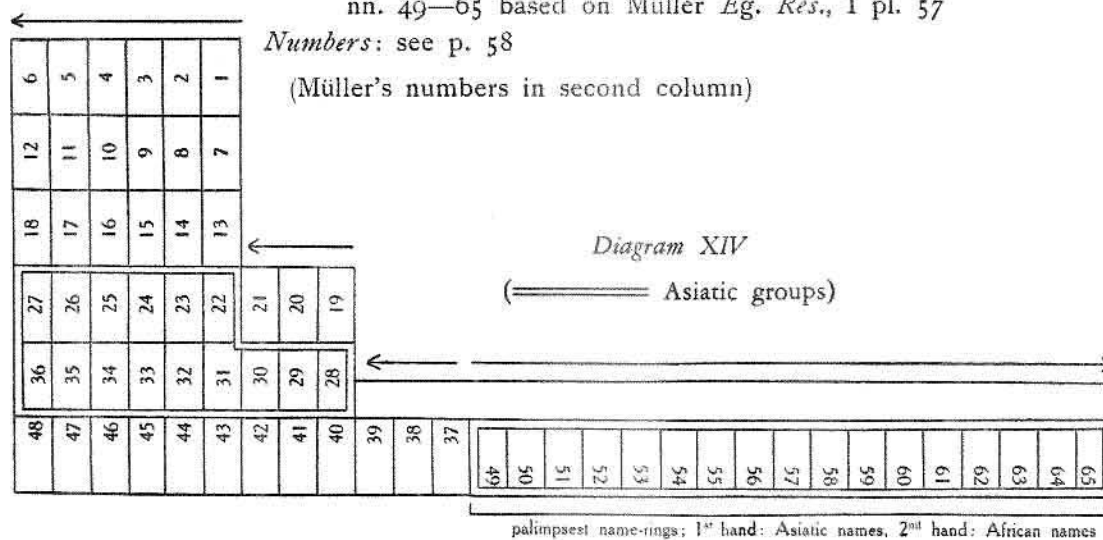
- intact. 7. 8. African. 9.  $t-<w>-n-p$ ; (XXXVI/3); "Nine Bows". 4.  $n-h-r-[u]$ ; Last radical given by Mariette only. The name was copied by Taharqa (XXXVI/4) as . 10.  $q-d-s$ ; = c, 14. 11.  $q-d-n$ ; = c, 15. 12.  $i-k-r-<i>-[t]$ ; 't' restored from other examples of well-known name (Ugarit). Cp. IX/a, 5 and Gauthier DNG, I p. 110. 13.  $p-h-r$ ; 14.  $t-n-y$ ; 15.  $i-...-s$ ; Possibly = I/167: . c. 1.  $[s-n]-g-r$ ; = a, 1. - Part of  given in Mariette's copy. 2. "Nine Bows" ( $h-n-b-w$ ). Only Mariette's copy gives full name:  and so copied by Taharqa (XXXVI/2). 3. Erased in Legrain's copy, but given by Mariette as:  and so copied by Taharqa (XXXVI/3); "Nine Bows". 4.  $n-h-r-[u]$ ; Last radical given by Mariette only. The name was copied by Taharqa (XXXVI/4) as . 5. . Complete name (  ) can be seen on Taharqa's list (XXXVI/5); "Nine Bows". 6.  $s-[s]$ ; Mariette: . Taharqa's copy (XXXVI/6) gives complete name as:  . 7.  $h-t-<3>$ ; 8.  $i-r-t$ ; 9.  $i-s-s-<w>-r$ ; See Note on IV/10. 10. African. Cp. Note on a, 6. 11. 12. African. 13.  $[t-<w>-]n-p$ ; Cp. a, 9. Complete name given on Taharqa's copy (XXXVI/13). 14.  $q-d-s$ ; = a, 10. - Mariette: . 15.  $q-d-n$ ; = a, 11.

## LIST XIII

## SETI I, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 53—59*Plan:* IX (p. 54)*Text:* nn. 22—36 based on LD, III Bl. 129 and Champ., *Monuments*, pl. 289nn. 49—65 based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 57*Numbers:* see p. 58

(Müller's numbers in second column)



22   
 23   
 24   
 25   
 26   
 27   
 28   
 29   
 30   
 31   
 32   
 33

34   
 35   
 36

49 (1) see Note



























50 (2)   
 51 (3)   
 52 (4)   
 53 (5)   
 54 (6)   
 55 (7)   
 56 (8)








For all incomplete names see Notes























57   
 58 (9)   
 59 (10)   
 60 (11)   
 61 (12)   
 62 (13)   
 63 (14)   
 64 (15)   
 65 (16)
























## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

























22. *h-t-⟨⟩*; Wresz. *Atlas*, II Tf. 53, a: in-  
 stead of . 23. *n-h-r-n*; See Note on VIII/1. which has been added only here, replaces the  
 SIMONS, Egyptian Topographical Lists



















usual stroke under . Cp. e.g., XXVII/22. 54 and also p. 100 n. 1. See moreover K. Sethe *Verbum*, I § 293 on the "Entwertung" of  added to many words in Late Egyptian. 27. *w-n-w-(m)*;  probably misread (or miscarved?) for ; cp. the following list of Seti I (east of doorway), XIV/25. 28. *q-d-s*; 29. *p-b-h*; 30. *q-d-n*; 31. *i-s-y*; 32. *m-n-n-s*: not clear in LD, III Bl. 129 but clear in Champ., pl. 289. 33. *i-q-[p-t?]*; LD, III Bl. 129:    but    clear on photographs. — Cp. XXIV/18. 34. *b-r-(n)*; See Note on XI/2. 35. *i-r-m-h*; Second half of name very uncertain. After  one sign is lost, but perhaps no radical. Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 43, n. 3) remarks on t-like shape of last preserved sign (): "t-like remnant of the kha", namely of "A-ra-m (!)-[p(e)-kha]", as Müller reads, suggesting an incorrect    (cp. IX/g, 7). A simple *i-r-m-h*, however, seems at least equally probable, although not mentioned anywhere else. — Champ., pl. 289 reads:    36. *i-r-t-(n)?*; This name, in the form as given by Champ., pl. 289 (LD omits ) occurs several times elsewhere (XI/8 prob.; XIV/34; XV/29), but it has been identified by Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 43, n. 3) with a very similar name: *i-r-t-g* (XV/39; XX/6; XXII/g, 8; XXX/14), on account of "the well-known confusion of nu and g in cursive hieratic writing (*which*) will allow us to discover here about [*sic*] the same form". Although this argument is not quite decisive, Müller's supposition finds some support in the case of another name, equally often repeated, namely *b-r-g* (XV/42; XX/8; XXI/1; XXII/g, 12) against *b-r-n* (XI/2; XIII/34; XIV/32). It is perhaps remarkable that in both names all lists of Ramses II and III read , while those of Seti I invariably have  except in XV/39 (*i-r-t-g*) and XV/42 (*b-r-g*). It is the former of these two cases which makes Müller's identification of *i-r-t-g* and *i-r-t-n* nevertheless rather doubtful, as both these forms occur in the same list: XV/29      XV/39

    . It is true that in the list (XV) of Seti I at Qurneh several names occur twice; but in such cases both examples have entirely identical orthographies, being merely copied one from the other, while there are a good many differences between XV/29 and XV/39. Moreover it should be borne in mind that Müller's identification of *i-r-t-n* and *i-r-t-g* was perhaps more prompted by the desire to find in both names the Biblical "Eltekeh" than by the supposed confusion of  and  in cursive hieratic writing. That interpretation, however, was later rejected by Müller himself (see *Eg. Res.*, II p. 95). On the whole it seems better for the present to distinguish the two names.

— — — — —  
49(1). [*p-h-r*]; LD, III Bl. 129 gives:    and Champ., pl. 289:   . The second-hand name therefore was copied from n. 51 of Thutmes III's great African list:    (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798), and so only  remains for the first-hand name. As there exists some correspondence between nn. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54 of the present list and nn. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31 of a list of Ramses II at Karnak (XXIV), we may presume the identity of the present name with XXIV/26:    a last remnant of which was the double stroke just mentioned. — The supposed correspondence of XIV/50 ff. with XXIV/27 ff., on which the restoration of this and the following names is mainly based, is borne out by the constant appearance of the scanty remains of the Asiatic, first-hand names in the better preserved names of the Ramses-list. Moreover, there is a similar parallism between the following list (XIV) of Seti I and the same list (XXIV) of Ramses II (see Note on XIV/51). 50(2). [*h-m-l*]; LD, III Bl. 129 gives:    Champ., pl. 289:   . The second-hand name was evidently copied from n. 50 of the African list of Thutmes III:   

(Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). Thus the first sign of the first-hand name must have been , the first group perhaps . According to the correspondence with list XXIV (see Note on preceding name), that name must therefore be  (= XXIV/27). 51(3). *b-tš-[r]*; Müller could read nothing of first-hand name. - LD, III Bl. 129 gives:  Champ., pl. 289: . The second-hand name must have been n. 62 of the African list of Thutmes III:  (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). The last sign of this name was taken by Müller for . The first part of the first-hand name therefore was , the second part beginning with . The whole name was probably the same as n. 53 of the following list (XIV):                

ended in . No doubt, it was , as in XIV/59. - Note the correspondence of the group nn. 56. 57. 58 of the present list (west of doorway) with 58. 59. 60 of the following list (east of doorway). Most probably also XIII/55 = XIV/57. 58(9). *i-t-<w>*; LD, III Bl. 129 gives: . Champollion's reading, pl. 298:  reveals the second-hand name:  = n. 67 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). The Asiatic name was . Cp. preceding Note. - Müller gives last bird as . 59(10). *b-t* <sup>c</sup>*-[n]-t*; LD, III Bl. 129 gives: . Champ., pl. 289: . Müller supposes the second-hand name to have been , but n. 68 of Thutmes III's African list is certainly more probable:  (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). Of the Asiatic name only  has entirely disappeared. 60(11). *....-r*; Of the first-hand name Müller reads only: . LD, III Bl. 129 gives an empty ring here. Champ., pl. 289 reads: . The second-hand name appears to have been copied from n. 77(c) of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799):  (It may be seen in Müller's copy that the third sign had not the loop of 'k'). Therefore I do not think that  belongs to the first-hand name, so that only  remains of it. 61(12). *q-(r?)* <sup>c</sup>*-m*; LD, III Bl. 129 has a blending of  and ; Champ., pl. 289 reads: . From this the second-hand name appears to have been n. 76 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799):  ( is clear on Müller's copy). Müller's  of first-hand name is very small and doubtful and the stroke, he says, is "too long". The third radical may have been  = *t*. On Müller's copy a trace can be seen of

this bird's tail and also the stroke, while in XIV/63 (probably corresponding to the present name: see Note on XIV/61) perhaps the head of the same bird is visible, with (certain) . Equally probable, however, is  (cp. Seti's list at Qurneh: XV/24). 62(13). *q-d* <sup>c</sup>*-[w]-r?*; Müller gives the second-hand name: , which is n. 74 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). The first three signs of the Asiatic name are clear: . The space available seems to allow:  mentioned elsewhere by Seti I (see Gauthier DNG, V p. 162; Burch. n. 951). - LD, III Bl. 129 reads:  (for Müller's ). Champ., pl. 289: . - Cp. also XXI/24. 63(14). *q-r-t* <sup>c</sup>*-n-(b?)*; LD, III Bl. 129 gives: . Champ., pl. 289: . This probably points to n. 73 of the African list of Thutmes III:  (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). All signs of the Asiatic name are clear except , only a trace of which (vertical stroke) remains. Müller was able to read only part of the second-hand name. His "one sign" seems to be the  of the original Asiatic name with  of the African, second-hand name. 64(15). *h-d* <sup>c</sup>*-[w]-r*; Both Lepsius and Champ. give empty name-rings here. Müller reads the second-hand name as:  Cp. n. 75 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799), where last group is . All signs of the Asiatic name are clear. 65(16). *r-p-h*; Müller gives the second-hand name as  for which no parallel can be found in the African list of Thutmes III. Champ., pl. 289 has only  (first radical); LD, III Bl. 129 gives traces of both names. All signs of the Asiatic name are clear.

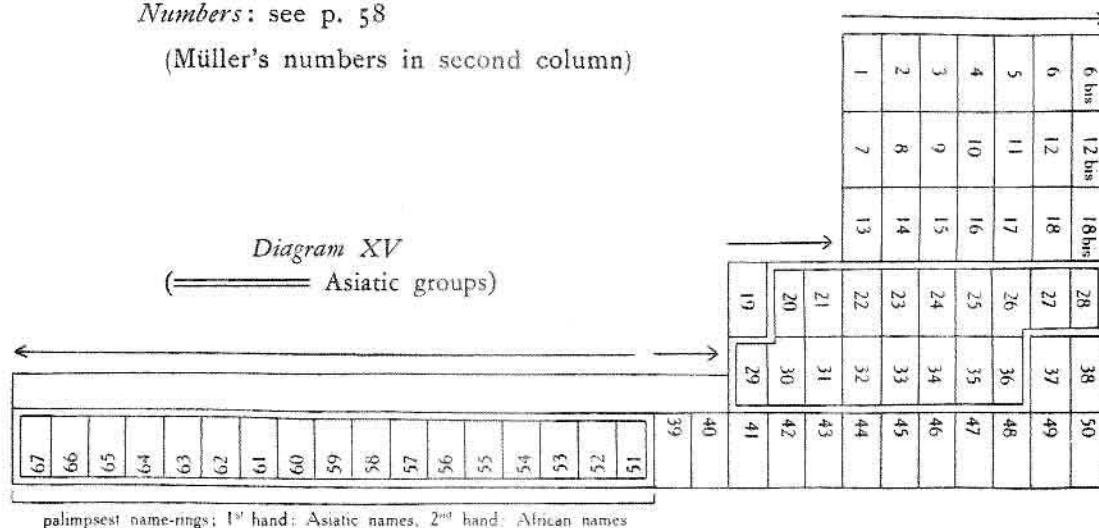




## LIST XIV


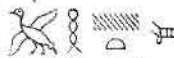


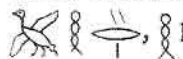
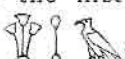


## SETI I, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON





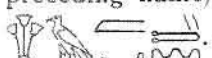


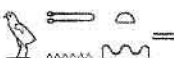



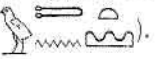





*Description:* pp. 53—59*Plan:* IX (p. 54)*Text:* nn. 20—36 based on Champ. *Monuments*, pls. 294—294 A and 289  
nn. 51—67 based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 58*Numbers:* see p. 58





























(Müller's numbers in second column)

























 27. *p-b-l*: 28. [*q-d*]-*n*;  
Completed from corresponding name, n. 30, on  
list XIII (west of doorway). 29. *l-s-y*; 30.  
*m-n-n-s*; 31. *l-[q-p-t]*; Cp. corresponding name,  
n. 33, on list XIII (west of doorway) and Note  
on that name. 32. *b-r-(n)*; See note on XI/2.  
33. *l-r-[m-l]*; Cp. XIII/35 but see Note on that  
name. 34. *l-r-[t]-(n)*? This was certainly intended  
(= XIII/36) and probably also written, but misread  
by Champ. as . - For last radical see  
Note on XIII/36. 35. *s-s-<w>*. 36. *l-r-t*;

51(1). *p-l-r*; Müller could read nothing of first-  
hand name. - Champ. 294 gives:  and on pl. 298 n. 78 (which corresponds to n. 51  
of my numbering): . These point  
to n. 62 of the great African list of Thutmes III  
at Karnak:  (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798).  
Cp. also the second-hand name of XIII/51. The  
first-hand name, which therefore began with ,  
must have been  having been re-used  
for African second-hand name. All radicals of  
the Asiatic name occur in either of Champollion's  
reproductions. This restoration is borne out con-  
vincingly by a correspondence existing (as for  
preceding list; see Note on XIII/49) between nn.  
52. 53. 54. 55. 56 of the present list with nn. 27  
(possibly), 28 (certainly), 29 (cert.), 30 (poss.), 31  
(cert.) of a list (XXIV) of Ramses II at Karnak.  
This makes it practically certain that n. 51 of the  
present list corresponds to XXIV/26. 52.  
*h[-m-t]*; Müller could read nothing of the first-  
hand name. - Champ., pl. 294 has: ,  
but on pl. 289 n. 79 (which corresponds to my  
n. 52) he reads: . In both name-rings  
there is space for at least as many more signs.  
The second-hand name must have been n. 63  
of Thutmes III's African list:  (Sethe  
*Urk.*, IV p. 798). Note the correspondence of

n. 51 of the present list (second-hand name) with  
n. 62 of the Thutmes-list (see Note on preceding  
name) and of n. 53 with n. 64 of the same list  
of Thutmes III (see Note on following name).  
The correspondence of the African name of  
n. 52 with Thutmes III n. 63, already suggested  
by the presence of , (given by Champ. 294 as )  
is therefore practically certain so that  belongs to the  
African name. The first-hand name therefore must  
have begun with , and according to the  
correspondence with XXIV/27 (see Note on  
preceding name), the whole Asiatic name was:  
. -  in Champ., pl. 289 n. 79 may  
perhaps be a remnant of  of the second-hand  
name, not part of the first-hand name. 53(3).  
*b-[t] s-r*; Müller considers the first-hand name to  
read: b-t s-n-r. It is true that this form of the well-  
known name (*בית-שן*) occurs elsewhere (XXXIV/  
16); apart however from XXXIV/16, b-t s-r is  
more usual, and, it seems, also more probable  
in this list of Seti I. My reason is to be found in  
the second-hand name of this ring:  =  
n. 64 of Thutmes III's African list (Sethe *Urk.*,  
IV p. 799), which occurs also in XIII/53. The  
 inserted by Müller may have belonged to  
this African name only (Müller gives  in short  
form; Champ., pl. 294 in full size , as would  
be expected in ).  of the Asiatic  
name has disappeared. The same sign which  
is visible, belongs to the African name, as it  
is carved over broad . - The Asiatic name  
was copied in XXIV/28 (Cp. Note on n. 51  
above). - On the omission of , see Note on XIII/51  
(end). 54(4) *y-n-<w>-m*; Champ., pl. 294 and  
pl. 289 n. 81 (which corresponds to my n. 54), reads:  
. The second-hand name therefore  
was n. 65 of the African list of Thutmes III  
(Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799): , as in XIII/55.  
The Asiatic name, as given by Müller, can be

safely completed by . It was copied in XXIV/29 (cp. Note on n. 51 above). - See also Note on XV/17. 55(5) As the preceding name (n. 54) corresponds to XXIV/29 and the following one (n. 56) to XXIV/31, we naturally expect here the name *q-m-h-m* = XXIV/30. No trace, however, can be discovered of this name. Of first-hand name Müller could read only a doubtful . Champ., pl. 294 has an empty name-ring here; pl. 289 n. 82 (which corresponds to my n. 55) gives only . 56(6) -*k*-<*3*>; Of the Asiatic first hand name, Müller could see only the det. . - Champ., pl. 294 gives:   ; pl. 289 n. 83 (corresponding to my n. 56):   . These point to the second-hand name having been copied from n. 67 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799):   , as in XIII/58. The first-hand name therefore seems to have included  and , and might have been    (= XIII/54), as also the disposition of signs in Champ., pl. 294 suggests. This name indeed we read in XXIV/31 (cp. Note on n. 51 above). Note moreover, in favour of the same restoration, the correspondence of the following Asiatic names in the present list with those after n. 54 in Seti's other Karnak-list (XIII), in same order. 57(6) *q*-[*m*]-*d*; Of first-hand Müller saw only the det. . - From here ("n. 84") Champ., pl. 289 gives only empty rings, but on pl. 294 he reads here:   . This points to the Asiatic name   , as in XIII/55, also mentioned in Seti's list at Qurneh: XV/20. 58(8) [*i-n*]-*r*-*t*; So restored by Müller, although the first part ( ) is entirely destroyed. - From this number Champ. 294 gives only empty name-rings, so that for the remainder of the list no more help can be had from either of his copies. 59(9) *d*-<*w*>-*r*;

Prob. = XIII/57 (which was omitted by Müller). - The African name seems to have been n. 70 of the list of Thutmes III:   (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799). 60(10). *i*-*t*-<*w*>; The same first-hand name occurs in XIII/58. The second-hand name was n. 71 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 799):   . The Asiatic name is clear. 61(11). *b*-*t*-<*n*-*t*>; Müller: "difficult to separate 1st and 2nd writing". But on his copy the first-hand name can clearly be seen to begin with  . Perhaps it ends in . In itself, however,    (as in XIII/59) is more probable. - Down to the preceding name (n. 60) there was a clear correspondence between this part of the present list and the last section of XIII. This correspondence is moreover continued as soon as in the present list better preserved names again appear (nn. 66. 67). It is therefore fairly certain that the illegible names of nn. 62. 63. 64. 65 are identical with XIII/60. 61. 62. 63, though the scanty remains allow no definite proof of this supposition. 62(12). Illegible, except perhaps   . Final radical is confirmed by XIII/60, if correspondence is supposed (see preceding Note). 63(13). Lower part (3/4 of name) destroyed. Müller: "certain of first writing only". Perhaps head of  is also visible. Cp. XIII/61, if correspondence with that name is supposed (see Note on n. 61 above). 64(14). Müller:    - The supposed corresponding name in XIII/62 (see Note on n. 61 above) is also rather uncertain. 65(15). [*q*-*r*-*t* <*n*-*b*>]; Nothing left except doubtful , but this fits well into the supposed corresponding name of XIII/63 (see Note on n. 61 above). 66(16). *h*-*d*-<*w*>-*r*; = XIII/64. Of the second-hand name   can be seen. 67(17). *r*-*p*-*h*; = XIII/65. Last sign of second-hand name was .

## LIST XV

## SETI I, TEMPLE OF EL QURNEH (SPHINX)

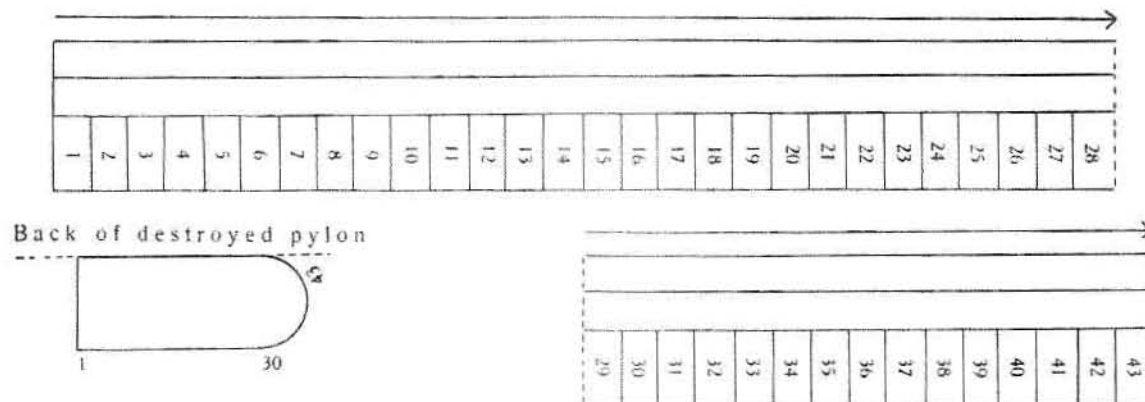
*Description:* pp. 59—60*Plan:* X (p. 60)*Text:* LD, III Bl. 131, a.*Numbers:* new

Diagram XVI

1-9 „Nine Bows”




















- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20






- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
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- 33
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- 35
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40
- 41
- 42
- 43

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1—9. „Nine Bows”. 10. *h-t*; 11. *n-h-r*- calligraphic variation. Similar changes of the  
 <y>-*n*; See Note on VIII/1. - The position position of this sign occur elsewhere (see Notes  
 of 11 is unusual but may be explained as a on n. 14 and XXIV/27). 12. *i-r-s*; Probably

identical with I/213 (*l-r-s*) and with (half-destroyed) XVII/6. 13. *°k-⟨j⟩*; 14. *q-m-t*; Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 187 n. 2) proposes to read last group as  (cp.    which is mentioned in the annals of Thutmes III: Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 689, c). But Müller's argument fails to convince, since  occurs elsewhere as a calligraphic transposition for  (see XXIV/27; cp. also Note on XV/11). Judging from my photographs of the Qurneh-list the present name really is    . If so, the calligraphic transposition of the second  is evident ().  as final group may be considered as the equivalent of the feminine ending  (cp. Note on I/16), as appears e.g. from comparison between I/16 and XXIV/27. More often this ending is written as  (cp. Burch. I § 134). 15. *p-h-r*; 16. *b-t š-r*; On the omission of  see Note on XIII/51 (end). 17. *y-n-⟨w⟩-°m*; This name (Amarna: Yanuamma) is mentioned frequently in the Topographical Lists but often badly damaged. The more usual form seems to include  or  (*°ayin*). Certainly written without this consonant only XVI/a, 1 and XXVII/78. 18. () *-m-h-m*; The first sign must have been incorrectly copied by Lepsius. Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 193) suggests

to correct it "in ein hieratisches " which besides being highly hypothetical fails to give any more light. A more probable restoration is *q-m-h-m*, already mentioned in a Karnak-list of Seti I (XIII/53; see also Note on XIV/55) and occurring several times in the lists of Ramses II (see especially XXII/b, 6). My photograph shows before  a hole the very shape of which suggests an original  rather than anything else. 19. *l-nr-t*; 20. *q-m-d*; 21. *q-r*; This shorter form of well-known name (Tyre) only here and in XVI/b, 3. 22. *l-t-⟨w⟩*; 23. *b-t °n-t*; 24. *q-r-m-m*; There seems to be no justification for calling such a name "unmöglich" (Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 195) or for correcting it to *q-r-t °n-t* or something similar. Cp. also Note on XIII/61. 25. *r-t-n h-r-t*. 26. *r-t-n h-r-t*; 27. *m-n-n-s*; 28. *l-p-t*; 29. *l-r-t(n)°*; For last radical see Note on XIII/36. 30. *n-h-r-⟨y⟩-n*; Repetition of n. 11, but  added. - Cp. Note on VIII/1. 31. *q-d-š*; 32. *t-⟨w⟩-n-p*; 33. *t-h-š-⟨y⟩*; 34. *p-b-h*; 35. *t-h-š-⟨y⟩*; Repetition of n. 33; 36. *l-s-y*; 37. *l-š-š-⟨w⟩-|r|*;  to be added (Assur.). - See Note on IV/10. 38. *t-⟨w⟩-n-p*; Repetition of n. 32. 39. *l-r-t-g*; Cp. Note on XIII/36. 40. *p-b-h*; Repetition of n. 34. 41. *m-n-n-s*; Repeated from n. 27. 42. *b-r-g*; See Note on XI/2. 43. *r-nr*;



## LIST XVI

## SETI I, ABYDOS, TEMPLE OF SETI I

Description: pp. 60—61

Plan: XI (p. 61)

Text: Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 21. 1899 p. 2

Numbers: new.

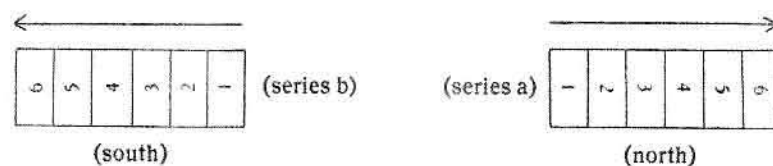


Diagram XVII

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

- a 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5-6 lost
- — —
- b 1
- 2 lost
- 3
- 4-6 lost

a. 1.  $y-n-<w>-m$ ; Here and in XXVII/78 without  $\text{ayin}$ . Cp. Note in XV/17.—Mariette: sic

2.  $p-h-r$ ; 3.  $b-<y>-t \text{ } ^c n-t$ ; Orthographically this example of the name differs from all others.

4.  $q-r-t \text{ } ^c n-b$ ; The only example where this name has been preserved intact. Cp. XIII/63; XIV/65; XXIV/41; XXXIII/b, 4(?). 5—6. lost.

b. 1.  $b-<y>-t \text{ } ^c i-r$ ; Same remark as on a, 3. Especially note the presence of (as in I/110) in this XIXth dynasty form. Cp. Note on XIII/51 (end). 2. lost. 3.  $d-r$ ; Cp. Note on XV/21. 4—6. lost.

## LIST XVII

## SETI I, ROCK-TEMPLE OF WADI ABBÂD ("REDESÎYEH")

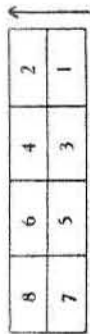


Diagram XVIII

*Description:* pp. 61—63*Plan:* XII (p. 62)*Text:* LD, III Bl. 140, a.*Variants:* LD, *Text* IV p. 77*Numbers:* *ibid.*

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8 lost

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *š-n-g-r*; instead of , as often. — LD, *Text* IV p. 77 gives: . 2. *š-š-⟨w⟩*; 3. *q-d-š*; LD, *Text* IV p. 77: "sic" instead of . 4. *l-š-r*; See Note on IV/10. 5. *m-k-t* (); The strange sign could be . The name then would be *m-k-t*, which occurs in this form in the annals of Thutmes III (see Sethe *Urkk.*, IV p. 667, 13). Burchardt (n. 526) reads the sign as , which is also possible. 6. *l-š-š*; Two radicals lost, each above a stroke. Possibly therefore: as in XV/12.

7. *h-m-t*; Although is inverted (at least in Lepsius' copy), the whole last group should probably be read from left to right, preceding the lost sign. The group can easily be completed as , which is in accordance with small space available. Cp. also final in XXIV/27 and in an example of this name on a stele of Seti I found at Beisan (see A. Rowe *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* Philadelphia 1930, p. 27 fig. 5). 8. lost.

## LIST XVIII (Fragment)

## SETI I, TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP IV (COLUMNS)

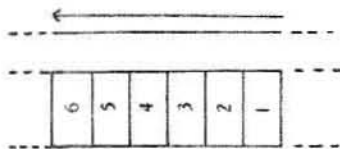


Diagram XIX

*Description:* p. 63*Plan:* XIII (p. 63)*Text:* LD, III Bl. 141, 1*Numbers:* new

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. lost 2. *š-n-m*; 3. *š-r*; Cp. XXVII/10.  
4, 5. lost 6. lost except final and .

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6

## LIST XIX

## RAMSES II, THEBES, RAMESSEUM

*Description:* pp. 64—66*Plan:* XIV (p. 65)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 100—103, fig. 29 and 30*Variants:* LD, III Bl. 156LD, *Text* III p. 127Wreszinski *Atlas*, II pls. 90—91*Numbers:* Wreszinski, loc. cit.

(For Müller's numbers see p. 66)

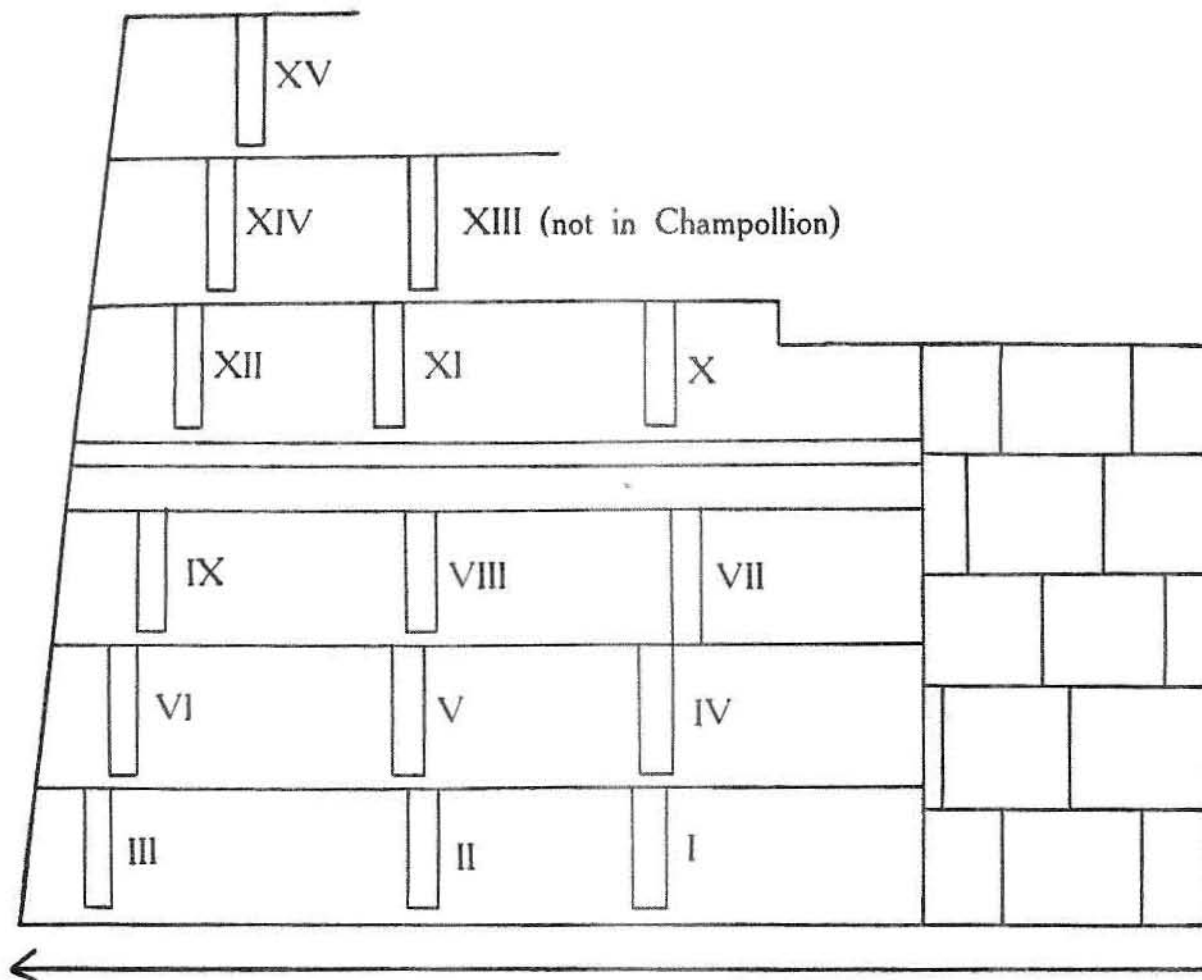
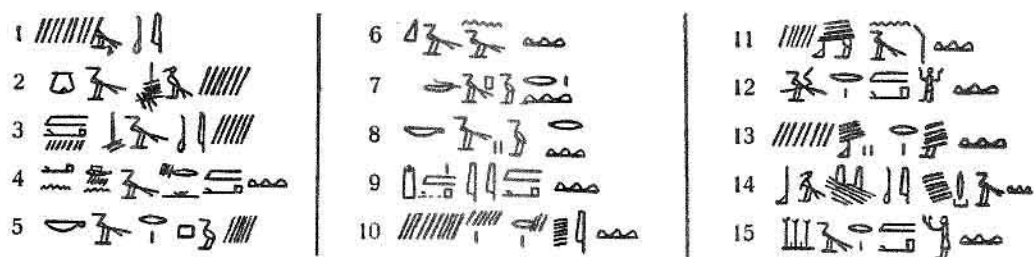


Diagram XX



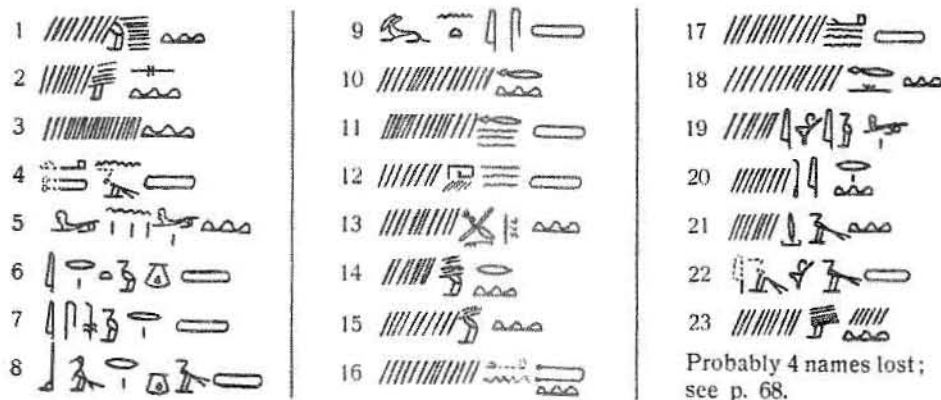
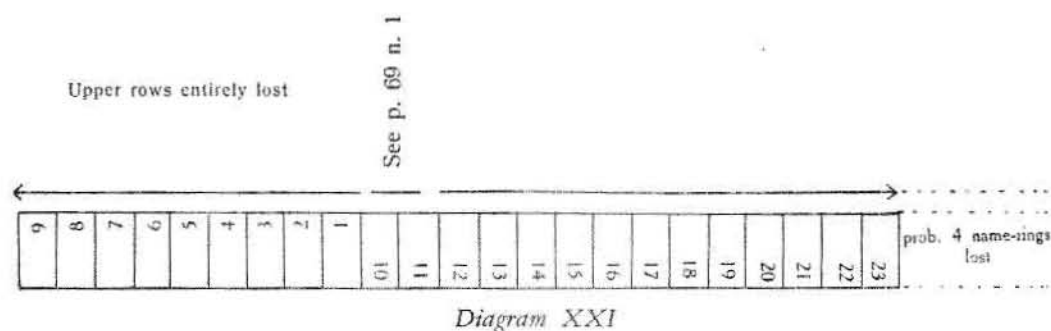
## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. ....-t; Before lower part of bird, probably remains. 2. g-b-?; Müller feels tempted to restore: (Geba) but other restorations are equally possible. Unfortunately in XXIII/44, which seems to have the same name, the end is also missing. 3. m-...-t; Müller saw "low sign like etc., most similar to low after . In second group Wresz. reads Müller considers upper part of can be seen. - His last group is ("m-k-d-t"). If correct, Wresz. suggests (for whole name) a "freilich sehr ungeschickte Schreibung von Megiddo", but this seems very unlikely. 4. <sup>c</sup>n [?]-n-?-m; Under the eye stands a very irregular and doubtful sign. Müller: . Wresz. suggests: „der untere Teil der Umrahmung des Auges" (more probable; see below). After „ein langes Zeichen" (Wresz.), according to Müller. All the better preserved signs as also the various traces mentioned could belong to <sup>c</sup>n q-n-<sup>c</sup>m (cp. I/113). The main difficulty is the absence of but the position of ( in vertical column) suggests that the sculptor really had in mind the group . The inversion of and may also be a mistake. 5. k-r-p-...; Preceded by = "on the mountain of b-t <sup>c</sup>n-t". - Wresz. adds

after where Müller suspects only trace of bird (tail) and of some other sign. His suggestion is to restore: Ka-ra-pu-(n)a. Such traces may indeed be seen on phot. 508 of the *Fremdv. Exp.* which certainly proves the absence of . 6. q-n; No doubt a „Qana". 7. d-p-r; Preceded by: = "in the land of l-m-⟨w⟩-r". 8. k-w-r; Müller, double stroke "clear, not or ". 9. l-n-m-y-m; Müller suspects an incorrect rendering of in first part of name ("יין-ים"). Not very probable. 10. ....-r-?; Müller, first radical perhaps and then "□" (!?) or (less prob., because "somewhat narrow") (so LD, *Text III* p. 127). The result (t-p-r-?) would not be less enigmatical. 11. ?-(b?)-n; Müller restores tentatively to r-b-n: "Rabuna (Libbon?)"; cp. I/10. 12. m-r-m; Müller compares I/12. 13. ....-b-r-⟨w⟩; First part of name is missing (only lower part of fortress has been preserved). The bird, according to Müller, is not (now totally destroyed. See also phot. 506 of the *Fremdv. Exp.*) 14. b-⟨y⟩-t ?-d; Müller, first part of second half: "like (??)"; then ""; but there is no visible trace of these signs on phot. 506 of the *Fremdv. Exp.*. 15. s-r-m;

## LIST XX

## RAMSES II, TEMPLE OF LUXOR




















*Description:* pp. 67—70*Plan:* XV (p. 68)*Text:* based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 96 fig. 25*Numbers:* see pp. 69—70























## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. Lost, except . Though no traces are visible between this and there is space for one sign. — The upper part of the first three names is broken off and all three names have been recarved, which makes the remains difficult to read. 2. ....-s: The bird before seems to be (not nor ). Not unlikely, therefore, the name was one of

the group of Asiatic countries which is often repeated in the Topographical Lists and apparently forms the first part of the present list. In the lists of Ramses II the name occurs only once more (XXIV/17). 3. Lost. Only is clear. (or ) above (in Müller's copy) does not seem to belong to the same name. — Daressy: 4. *m-t-u*; Clearly so, although the right (*sic*) half of all signs is lost. — Beginning from this



number most names are repeated in the other Luxor-list (XXI) of Ramses II, partly in the same order, and can sometimes be completed through this correspondence. The present name is identical with XXI/27. 5.  $r-\overline{nr}$ ; = XXI/19. 6.  $i-r-t-g$ ; See Note on XIII/36. 7.  $i-s-s-<w>-r$ ; See Note on IV/10. 8.  $b-r-g$ ; = XXI/1 where however  instead of . See Note on XI/2. 9.  $w-n-t-s$ ; = XXI/2. 10. ....<sup>c</sup>; Müller thinks trace of bird can be seen before . Perhaps:    = XXI/23. 11.  $[y-n-<w>]-^c-m$ ; Presumably to be completed thus. Cp. XXI/3. - See also Note on XV/17. 12.  $[q-m]-h-m$ ; No doubt same name as in XXI/4 (where second radical is missing). The name, though often repeated, has only once been preserved intact. See XXII/b, 6. - Gauthier (DNG, V p. 155): "qamâha", supposing  to be a det. 13.  $[h?]-?-t$ ; According to the very probable correspondence of XX/13 with XXI/5 (note: XX/11.12 = XXI/3.4 and XX/14-17 = XXI/6-9), first radical should be . 14.  $[d]-<w>-r$ ; Müller hesitates about the bird (; upper part missing), but as we may safely suppose this name to be identical with XXI/6 (see preceding Note),  is far more probable. As Müller supposes, it might be "Ša-u-r" (Tyre), not however in the shorter form (XV/21 and XVI/b, 3) but e.g. as in XIV/59 (   ).    (cp. XIV/66) is probably excluded here by reason of insufficient space. 15.  $[i-t]-<w>$ ; If, as is likely (see Note on n. 13), this name is identical with XXI/7, we may restore (with Müller):  = .

16.  $[b-t]-^c-n-t$ ; Of  only left extremities remain, but the name is clearly identical with XXI/8:   . 17.  $[q-r-m?]-m$ ; XXI/9 has evidently the same name, but unfortunately the first radical ( $\Delta?$ ) is doubtful there and second radical entirely destroyed. - Müller considers this name to be identical with his n. 12 (= my n. 61) of XIII, which is certainly possible. See Note on that name and cp. XV/24. 18. ....<sup>c</sup>; Only last group preserved, as also in XXI/10, but there seems to be no correspondence between these names. See Note on XXI/10 and on n. 23 below. 19.  $?-n-w-r$ ; Only one group seems to be missing (the upper half of this and the remaining 4 names is broken off). Müller suggests  (trace of base visible). - XXI/11 more probably corresponds to n. 22 below. 20. ....<sup>c</sup>- $t-r$ ; Not impossible, as Müller suggests:                    

# LIST XXI

## RAMSES II, TEMPLE OF LUXOR

*Description:* pp. 67—70

*Plan:* XV (p. 68)

*Text:* based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, II pp. 97—98, figs. 26 and 27

*Numbers:* see pp. 69—70

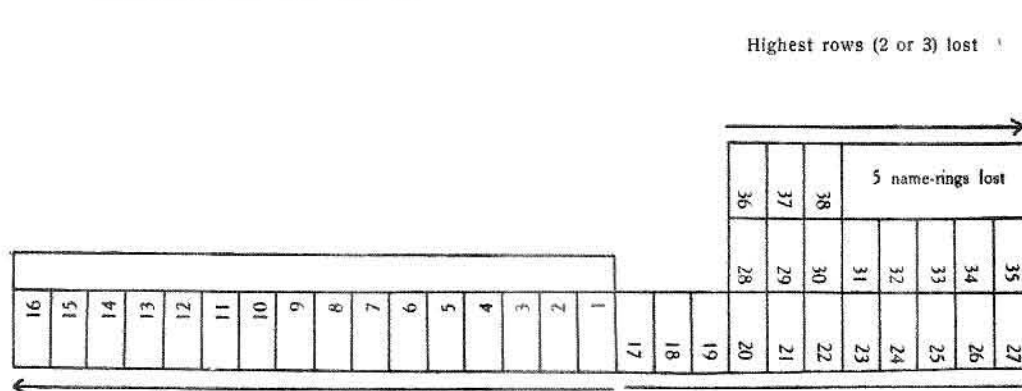
























































Diagram XXII



- |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|
| 1  | 14 | 27 |
| 2  | 15 | 28 |
| 3  | 16 | 29 |
| 4  | 17 | 30 |
| 5  | 18 | 31 |
| 6  | 19 | 32 |
| 7  | 20 | 33 |
| 8  | 21 | 34 |
| 9  | 22 | 35 |
| 10 | 23 | 36 |
| 11 | 24 | 37 |
| 12 | 25 | 38 |
| 13 | 26 |    |
- Probably African; see Notes
- Many names in higher part of list destroyed; see p. 68.




### TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *b-[r]-g*; Last bird "more" than (Müller), Nn. 1—16 (left group of fourth row; see *Diagram* although in XX/8. — See Note on XI/2. — XXII) were not seen by Daressy. — There is

some correspondence between the names of this group and nn. 8 ff. of list XX, which allows certain names to be completed. The present name is identical with XX/8 whence second radical restored. 2.  $w-n-[t]-s$ ; = XX/9 whence third radical supplied. 3.  $[y]-n-<w>-[m]$ ; Cp. XX/11. - See Note on XV/17. 4.  $q-[m]-h-m$ ; Cp. XX/12 and Note on that name. 5.  $h$ ; . . . .; Only upper part of first sign preserved, but certain. According to the correspondence with XX/13 (see Note on n. 1 above) the last radical of this name was 't' and thus only the middle radical is missing. 6.  $[d]-<w>-r$ ; Cp. XX/14 and Note on that name. - One group  certainly fills the space before  (against Müller who prefers here, as far as space is concerned, the longer name:      In XX/14 this name is even more improbable). 7.  $i-[t]-<w>$ ;  exactly fills the gap. Cp. XX/15. 8.  $h-[t]-n-t$ ; Cp. XX/16. 9.  $(q?)-[r-m?]-m$ ;  is doubtful (only top visible). - This is evidently the same name as in XX/17 (cp. Note on that name), where only last part has been preserved. From that name it would seem that not much importance should be attached to the distance between first  and the two following ones. 10. Only feet of bird, prob.  (last sign), and  left. - Cp. XX/23 (not XX/18). 11.  $[i?]-n$ ; Perhaps identical with XX/22. 12.  $(m?)$ ; . . . .; Second radical (before ) perhaps  (trace left). - Cp. Note on XX/20. 13.  $i-d$ ; Between both groups a very flat sign would be possible, but hardly probable. - Cp. XX/21. 14.  $<w>-n(?)$ ; Of  only feet left (wall damaged), but certain. After second  "space for  " (Müller). 15.  $h$ ; . . . .; Sign after  is lost (gap in wall) and lower signs seem to have been recut (twice ; perhaps also ). 16. All radicals lost. 17.  $i$ ; . . . .; Omitted by Daressy.

18.  $i-r-(t?)$ ; There is no trace of a third stroke (plural sign) under . Müller suggests as another possibility: , but this would stand too much to the right. Müller's first suggestion: "Ara[t?]u[g?]" is also very doubtful, as this name does not fill the gap after . - Omitted by Daressy. 19.  $r-ur$ ; = XX/5. 20. African. See n. 59, c of the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak;    (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). 21. There are traces of two signs before . The name was evidently copied from n. 60, c of Thutmes III's great African list:      (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798), as preceding name = n. 59 and following name = n. 61 of same African list. 22. African; = n. 61, c of Thutmes III's African list:     (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). Cp. Note on preceding name. 23.  $q-b$ ; After a group of three African names this is once more clearly Asiatic (). - Cp. I/114. 24.  $q-d-(r)-<w>-r$ ; Signs after first group rather crowded. First  is regarded as certain by Müller, but it is more than half destroyed and seems to have been inserted later. I think therefore that this name is identical with  $q-d-r$  (see XIII/62 and Note on that name). - Cp. also Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 98 n. 1 ("Gedor-el"?). 25.  $q-r-t-s$  or  $q-r-t-s$ ; Daressy omits  and stroke under . 26.  $i-h-s-[<y>]$ ;  inverted and clumsy but not  (Müller: "poor , not "). The "big space" (Müller) after  can be sufficiently filled by  or . - Daressy:    . 27.  $m-t-n$ ; 28.  $h-3-3$ ; 29.  $b-t$ ; . . . .; Before stroke possibly trace of bird's tail. - Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 97) suggests: "Ba-t-[sh]-a-[n-r]-a (Beth Sha-el)", but other restorations are equally possible. 30.  $h-p-<w>$ ; There would be space for a small sign after . 31.  $d-h-m$ ; There is a name   in the African list of Thutmes III (n. 199; see Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 804), although Sethe's copy suggests

a longer name there than *d-h-m*, n. 31 and the two following are of a type more common in African lists. Unfortunately after n. 199 of Thutmes' African list several names are missing so that no definite conclusion can be reached. As regards all three names, however, suspicion is increased by the fact that none of them is mentioned anywhere else in the Asiatic Topographical Lists. 32. *g-r*; There seems to be space for another sign before . - Daressy omits <sup>1</sup>. - Asiatic? See preceding Note. 33. *d-m*; Perhaps space for another sign before  (the upper part of the block is broken off, as also in nn. 34. 35). - Asiatic? See Note on n. 31.

34. Lost, except final  and det. . 35. . . . .-*b*; Only lower part of both signs preserved. 36. [*i*]-*q-p-t*; First group probably . Cp. XIII/33 and XXIV/18. - According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 97 n. 1): "Hat-ka-ptah" (and therefore inserted by mistake). See also his *As. u. Eur.*, p. 280 n. 4. 37. . . . .-*n*; Two groups are missing. Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 97) suggests: "[Bi-ra]-nu"; but this name we have already in n. 1 of this list. - Cp. also Note on XI/2. 38. Only small fragment of last sign left. - Omitted by Daressy.

N.B. The remaining part of this row and the entire upper rows are lost. See p. 68.

## LIST XXII

## RAMSES II, TEMPLE OF LUXOR (COLOSSI AND STATUES)

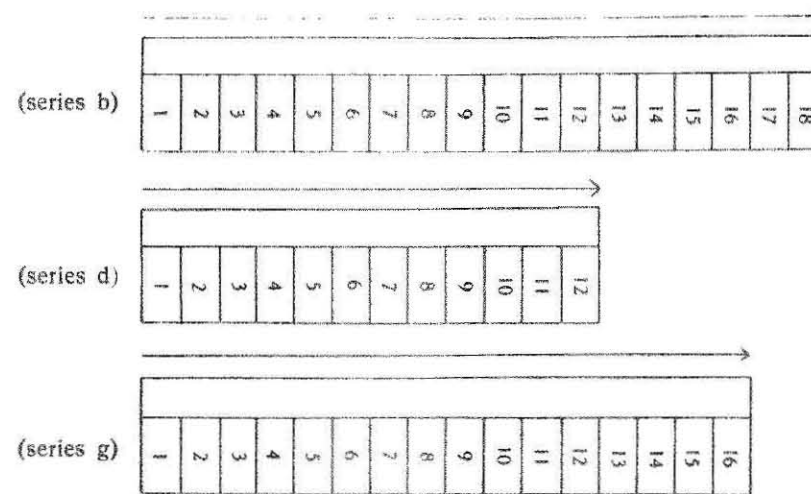


*Description:* pp. 70—71*Plan:* XV (p. 68)*Text b and d:* Kyle *Rec. de trav.*, 30. 1908 pp. 221 and 223*Numbers:* *ibid.**Text g:* Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 16. 1894 p. 50*Numbers:* *ibid.*


Diagram XXIII

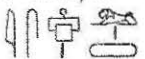
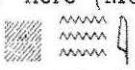
b 1	African	7		6	
2		8	lost	7	
3	African	9		8	
4-5	lost	10		9	
6		11-12	see Note	10	
7	African			11	
8		g 1		12	
9-18	see Notes	2		13	
		3		14	
d 1-5	see Notes	4		15	
6		5		16	



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

*b.* 1. African. 2.  $y-n-\langle w \rangle^c-m$ ; 3. African. 4. 5. lost. 6.  $q-m-h-m$ ; The only example of this name which has been preserved entirely intact and has no miscarved sign. Cp. XIII/53; XV/18; XX/12; XXI/4; XXIV/30. See also Note on XIV/55. 7. African. 8.  $i-\bar{n}r-t$ ; 9. African. This is the last name copied by Daressy. 10. lost. 11. Only  visible. The name was African (uneven number and apparently repeated in f, 8). 12. lost. 13. Only  remains. African (uneven number and apparently repeated in f, 11). 14—18. lost.

*d.* 1. Name destroyed; negro type with turban. All other figures of this series are Semitic. 2. Destroyed except det. . 3. lost. This name-ring was omitted by Daressy. Hence different numbers for following names. 4. 5. "Nine

Bows". 6.  $h-t-\langle 3 \rangle$ ; 7.  $n-h-r-\langle y \rangle-n$ ; See Note on VIII/1. 8. lost. 9.  $i-q-s-r$ ; Daressy: (n. 8)  (cp. XVII/4). 10.  $m-i-b$ ; Mentioned only here (Moab.) - Daressy (p. 50 n. 9) reads:  but Legrain's photograph (see p. 70), although not very clear, favours his very interesting reading. 11. 12. lost or never inscribed. Omitted by Daressy. Empty name-rings in Kyle.

*g.* 1.  $n-h-r-\langle y \rangle-n$ ; See Note on VIII/1. 2.  $t-h-s-\langle y \rangle$ ; 3.  $s-n-g-r$ ; 4.  $m-t-n$ ; 5.  $r-\bar{n}r$ ; 6.  $i-s-s-\langle w \rangle-r$ ; 7.  $p-b-h$ ; 8.  $i-r-t-g$ ; See Note on XIII/36. 9.  $s-g-r-r-h$ ; Cp. perhaps XXX/13. 10.  $s-s-\langle w \rangle$ ; 11.  $h-b-r-h$ ; 12.  $b-r-g$ ; See Note on XI/2. 13.  $i-r-t-p-h$ ; 14.  $h-w-t$ ; 15.  $i-r-t$ ; 16.  $h-t-\langle 3 \rangle$ ;

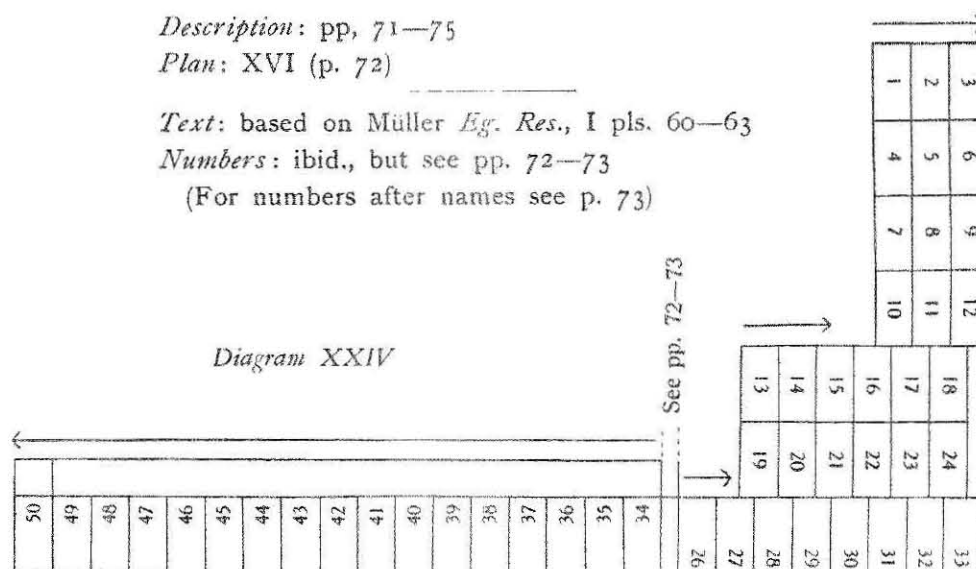
## LIST XXIII

## RAMSES II, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 71—75*Plan:* XVI (p. 72)*Text:* based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 60—63*Numbers:* *ibid.*, but see pp. 72—73

(For numbers after names see p. 73)

Diagram XXIV



- List XXVII
- |    |  |       |
|----|--|-------|
| 1  |  | (108) |
| 2  |  | (109) |
| 3  |  | (110) |
| 4  |  | (105) |
| 5  |  | (106) |
| 6  |  | (107) |
| 7  |  | (102) |
| 8  |  | (103) |
| 9  |  | (104) |
| 10 |  | (99)  |
| 11 |  | (100) |
| 12 |  | (101) |
| 13 |  | (89)  |
| 14 |  | (90)  |
| 15 |  | (91)  |
| 16 |  | (92)  |


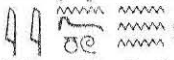





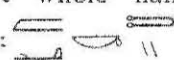

- List XXVII
- |      |               |        |
|------|---------------|--------|
| 17   |               | (93)   |
| 18   |               | (98)   |
| 19   |               |        |
| 20   |               | (84)   |
| 21   |               | (85)   |
| 22   |               | (86)   |
| 23   |               | (87)   |
| 24   |               | (88)   |
| [25] | See pp. 72-73 |        |
| 26   |               | (76)   |
| 27   | lost          | (77 ?) |
| 28   |               | (78)   |
| 29   |               | (70)   |
| 30   |               | (80)   |
| 31   |               | (81)   |
| 32   |               | (82)   |

- List XXVII
- |       |          |         |
|-------|----------|---------|
| 33    |          | (83)    |
| 34    |          |         |
| 35    | see Note |         |
| 36    |          | (115 ?) |
| 37    |          |         |
| 38    |          |         |
| 39    | lost     |         |
| 40    | lost     |         |
| 41    |          | (122 ?) |
| 42    | lost     |         |
| 43    |          |         |
| 44    |          |         |
| 45-48 | lost     |         |
| 49    |          |         |
| 50    | lost     |         |



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES











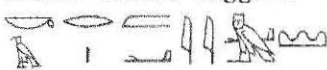
1.  $r-<i>-š$   $q-d-š$ ; Copied in XXVII/108.  
 2.  $y-[n]-d-t$ ; Copied in XXVII/109 whence second radical restored. 3.  $[^c-n-n]-g-r$ ; In first part of name several traces of first and second writing, but whole name can be restored from XXVII/110 where it was copied. 4.  $r-h-d$ ; Copied in XXVII/105. 5.  $š-i-b-t$ ; Copied in XXVII/106, where however final group ( $\text{𓂏𓂐}$ ) was omitted. 6.  $k-t-(i)?$ ; Cp. XXVII/107 and Note on that name. 7.  $q-š-r-^c$ ; Cp. XXVII/102. 8.  $q-t-i-š-r$ ; Cp. XXVII/103 which has one radical more ( $q-š-t-i-š-r$ ). - Several signs of first writing are visible throughout name-ring. 9.  $y-^c-q-b-r$ ; The bird has head of  $\text{𓂏}$ , but body of  $\text{𓂏}$ . It was copied as  $\text{𓂏}$  in XXVII/104, where  $\Delta$  is lacking. - Certainly = I/102. - On the absence of  $\text{𓂏}$ , see Burch. I § 159. 10.  $k-r-k$ ; Copied in XXVII/99. 11.  $q-(m?)-š-p-(t)$ ; From first group ( $\Delta \text{𓂏}$ ) and four last signs ( $\square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  sic; prob. mistake for  $\square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ; see below) the identity of this name with XXVII/100 is beyond doubt, but the central part differs considerably. Second bird, according to Müller: " $\text{𓂏}$  corr. from  $\text{𓂏}??$  clumsy". It is entirely omitted by Lepsius who copies:  $\Delta \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . Müller saw  $\text{𓂏}$  also in XXVII/100, where, according to Edgerton-Wilson, it is certainly absent (see Note on that name). - After that comes a group with  $\text{𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂏}$ ; Müller considers  $\square$  also possible and perhaps more probable. - The sign after  $\text{𓂏}$  may have been  $\text{𓂏}$ , as far as space is concerned; but  $\square$ , although written very narrow here, is clear in XXVII/100. - Of last two  $\text{𓂏}$ , the first is considerably larger than the other and was probably miscarved for  $\text{𓂏}$  (the sculptor of the Medinet Habu list, at any rate, thought he saw  $\text{𓂏}$ , since he rendered it by  $\text{𓂏}$ ). - This name is difficult

to read in the lists both of Ramses II and of Ramses III, but the reading  $q-m-š-p-t$  is strikingly confirmed by its survival in the Arabic form *Jinsâfut* (see *Mél. Masp.*, I p. 33). 12.  $i-t-r$ ; Stroke after  $\text{𓂏}$  cannot be seen, but the stone is damaged here. - Copied in XXVII/101. 13.  $q-š-n-r-m$ ; Copied in XXVII/89. 14.  $q-r-p-n$ ; XXVII/90 has one radical more ( $q-r-t-p-n$ ). - Some trace of  $\text{𓂏}$  after first  $\text{𓂏}$ . - Head of lion irregular or unfinished. 15.  $i-r-d-n$ ; Middle group very confused. According to Müller, there are two or even three attempts to insert  $\text{𓂏}$ . But the sign after clear  $\text{𓂏}$  may be  $\text{𓂏}$ , corrected from  $\text{𓂏}$ , which had been repeated by mistake. This is confirmed by XXVII/91 where this name was copied as:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . 16.  $h-r-t$ ; Copied in XXVII/92. 17.  $q-r-h$ ; Cp. XXVII/93:  $\Delta \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ . 18.  $i-k-t$ ; XXVII/98 where this name was copied, has  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  as last group, at any rate according to The Epigr. Survey (see Note on that name).  $\text{𓂏}$  is probably more original, because  $\text{𓂏}$  (not  $\text{𓂏}$ ) follows. - According to Müller,  $\text{𓂏}$  might be of another hand; but this would leave a big gap. And cp. XXVII/98. 19.  $i-b-r$ ; Apparently not copied in XXVII. May be one of the "Abel"-names (Burch., n. 19, e) but not certain. 20.  $q-r-m-n$ ; Cp. XXVII/84. - Müller saw traces of  $\text{𓂏}$  (cp. XXVII/84) under  $\text{𓂏}$ ; but these are more probably accidental. 21.  $q-š-r y-b-n$ ; Cp. XXVII/85 which differs considerably. - Burch. (n. 941) reads first half:  $\Delta \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ; but  $\text{𓂏}$  belongs to first group ( $\Delta \text{𓂏}$ ). See The Epigr. Survey's copy. This group is not unusual; see XXVIII/108 and cp. I/207; XXVIII/106; XXXI/4, all of which have  $\text{𓂏}$  as phonetic complement after  $\text{𓂏}$ . 22.  $š-m-š-n$ ; Copied in XXVII/86. 23.  $h-d-š-t$ ;

Copied in XXVII/87. 24. *i-t-r*; Cp. XXVII/88 where  $\backslash$  is omitted and last two radicals are inverted. 25. (See pp. 72—73). 26. *m-s* . . . . .; Only half of first two groups preserved. — The names nn. 27—33, although badly damaged, are certainly identical with XXVII/77—83, as remaining fragments prove. Most of them can therefore be restored from that list, but due allowance must be made for the usual differences in orthography between the original list and Ramses III's copy. The present name, n. 26, may correspond to XXVII/76, as both  $\text{š}$  and  $\text{ṣ}$  may represent Semitic  $\text{š}$  (cp. Burch. I § 107 and 112 and Czermak *Die Laute*, etc. II p. 221). See Note on that name. 27. lost, but preserved (see preceding Note) in XXVII/77: . 28. *y-[n-<w>-m]*; Completed from XXVII/78: . — See Note on XV/17. 29. *d-[r-b-n]*; Completed from XXVII/79: . — There is a trace of a sign preserved under , which does not look like head of  (cp. XXVII/79); it is however very small and hard to identify. 30. *i-[p-q]*: Only top of first two signs preserved but signs unmistakable. Completed from XXVII/80: . 31. *i-[b-l-y]*; Only top of first two signs preserved. Completed from XXVII/81: . 32. *m-[k-t-r]*; Of second group only doubtful traces remain, but whole name can be restored from XXVII/82: . — Cp. I/71. 33. *[q-r]-t*; Of  only lower part

is left but the sign is, of course, unmistakable. The name can be restored from XXVII/83:

. Here, as Müller says,  may have been added by mistake.

34. *g* . . . . .; Müller gives a (very doubtful) trace of  between first two signs. Probably only accidental. — All names in left half of last row (nn. 34—50; cp. *Diagram XXIV*) are badly preserved. Some of them may actually exist in XXVII/III fl., but the remains at Karnak are too fragmentary to provide a sufficient basis for individual equations with the names in the Medinet Habu list. 35. Only doubtful traces () of first sign left. 36. *y* . . . . .; Both  are so far apart that  $\backslash$  between them is probable. (Müller gives circular trace of erased sign). We may perhaps suspect XXVII/115: . 37. *c* . . . . .; First two signs seem to have been cut over original ; then traces of corrected sign (illegible); then  and again trace of older sign. 38. *i* . . . . .; 39. 40. lost. 41. *b-r-[?]*; Might be XXVII/112:  although much space then remains. 42. lost. 43. *k-r-?*; Of  only upper half remains. — Might be XXVII/122: . 44. *g-b-?*; Probably = XIX/2, where also end is missing. 45—48. lost. 49. *?-r-m-?*; First sign low and broad. Müller suggests , as in XXVII/74: . 50. lost.

## LIST XXIV

## RAMSES II, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

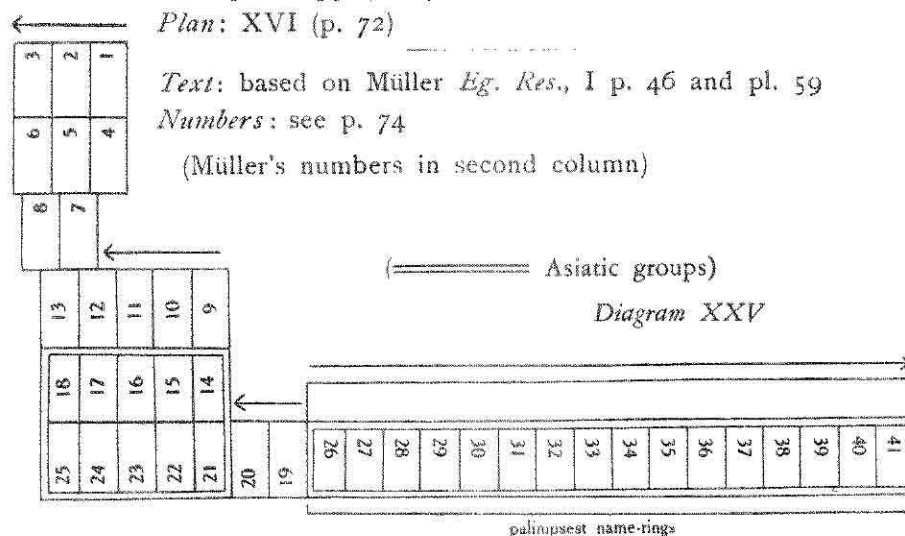
Description: pp. 71—75

Plan: XVI (p. 72)

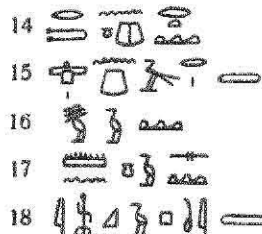
Text: based on Müller *Eg. Res.*, I p. 46 and pl. 59

Numbers: see p. 74

(Müller's numbers in second column)



1-13 African and „Nine Bows”



19-20 African; see Note

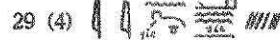
21 „Nine Bows”



23 lost



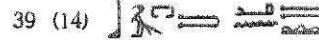
25 lost



32 (7) African; see Note




















35-10-38 13) African; see Notes
























## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1—13. African and „Nine Bows”. 14. *r-t-n* 18. *i-q-p-t*; Cp. XXI/36. 19. 20. African; = *h-r-t*; 15. *s-n-g-r*; 16. *w-[?]-w*; There is space only for a flat sign between both birds (but no trace of erasure). Müller: perhaps . Cp. XIII/27, but also XIV/25, which is probably more correct: . LD, III Bl. 145, a reads: . 17. *m-n-n-s*; 23. lost. 24. *n-h-r-n*; See Note on VIII/1. 25. lost. 26(1). *p-h-r*; 27(2). *h-m-t*; I see no reason why this could not be a „Hamath”,  $\aleph$  being due, in my opinion, to syllabic orthography and for calli-



graphic reasons () placed before  instead of after (cp. Note on XV/14). Müller says: "the i seems to point to an emendation into Ša-ma-(i)-ra (Sumur)". But of 'Ša' and 'ra' nothing can be seen. - The name is most probably already mentioned in the great list of Thutmes III as  (I/16). 28(3). *b-t š-r*; For the omission of , see Note on XIII/51 (end). - Müller says that  has been added before ; but this is more probably a trace of first writing. 29(4). *y-n-<w>-m*; Second group seems to be unfinished ( irregular and  missing). - See Note on XV/17. 30(5). *q-m-h-[m]*; Cp. especially XXII/b, 6. - According to Müller,  at the end is certain, but "hardly space for three with ". -  (inverted) has been cut over a strange, unrecognizable sign. 31(6). *ḥ-k-<3>*; 32(7). African:   . This well-known African name appears out of place among the Asiatic names. I would be inclined to consider it as a mistake for    (cp. XX/9 and XXI/2), if it were not that some other names in the remainder of the present list (as also nn. 19 and 20 above) were certainly taken from the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak (see below: nn. 35 ff.) This fact suggests that n. 32 was also taken from that list (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798, n. 48). See, however, for these African names my remark on

<sup>1</sup> Note Müller's mistake (pl. 59): "12a" instead of "14a".

p. 74. 33(8). *l-r-t*;  is half erased and not clear. But almost certainly the name was   . Cp. e. g., XXII/g, 15. 34(9). *š-š-<w>*; 35(10). Only   left. This is certainly a fragment of an African name taken from the list of Thutmes III at Karnak, either n. 49 (following immediately after "Punt"; see Note on n. 32 above) or n. 52, the orthography of which it resembles more closely (see Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). 36(11). African = n. 54 of the list of Thutmes III    (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798), with some alterations (if correctly copied by Müller). 37(12). African; = n. 55 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798). 38(13). African; = n. 53 of the African list of Thutmes III (Sethe *Urk.*, IV p. 798), with change of first sign  into . 39(14). *b-t ḥ-n-t*; Second part of name written over  . Cp. n. 28.<sup>1</sup> 40(15). *l-n-r-t*; First group:   over   (Müller) 41(16). *[q]-r-t ḥ-n-b*; Most probably  is missing (omitted by sculptor?). Cp. XIII/63; XXXIII/b, 4(?) and especially XVI/a, 4. - Stroke under , and  both uncertain; only head of  visible. This might be last sign.

## LIST XXV

## RAMSES II, ABYDOS, TEMPLE OF RAMSES II

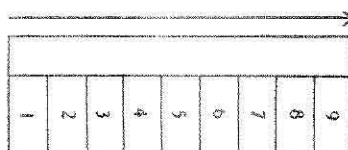
*Description:* pp. 75—76*Plan:* XVII (p. 76)*Text:* from Phot. 286—288 of the *Fremdv. Exp.**Numbers:* new

Diagram XXVI

1 „Nine Bows”

2 „Nine Bows”

3 „Nine Bows”

4 „Nine Bows”

5 „Nine Bows”

6 „Nine Bows”

7 „Nine Bows”

8 „Nine Bows”

9 „Nine Bows”

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. “Nine Bows”. 2. *n-h-r-n*; See Note on VIII/1. 3. *s-n-g-r*; 4. *h-t*; 5. *k-f-t-<w>*; Cp. IX/a, 10. 6. *l-s-y*; 7. “Nine Bows”. 8. *l-s-r*; Cp. Note on IV/10. 9. “Nine Bows”.

## LIST XXVI (Fragments)

## RAMSES II, BUBASTIS (now CAIRO AND BRITISH MUSEUM)

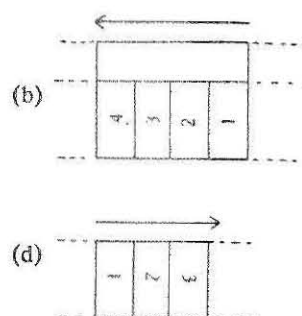
*Description:* p. 77*Text:* Naville *Bubastis*, pl. XXXVI, B and D*Numbers:* new

Diagram XXVII

b 1-3 African

4

d 1

2

3

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

b. 1—3. African. 4. (š)-n-g-r; First sign rather peculiar and actually standing below wavy. —  $\Lambda$  instead of  $\overline{\Lambda}$ , as often.

d. 1. q-d-<y>; 2. n-h-r-<y>-n; \ certainly to be read before wavy. Cp. Note on XV/11. 3. ?-š-b-?.

## LIST XXVII

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, GREAT TEMPLE

*Description*: pp. 78—83*Plan*: XVIII (p. 79)*Text*: The Epigr. Surv. *Med. Habu*, II pl. 101*Variants*: Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 20, 1898 pp. 116—119Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 64—71*Numbers*: see pp. 82—83











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








Diagram XXVIII

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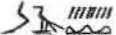




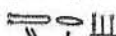




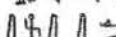
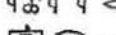
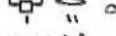
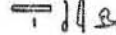
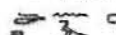

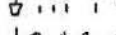

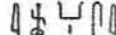
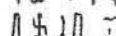
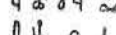
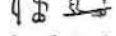
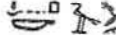

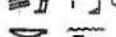

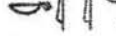
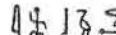
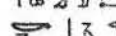
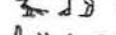
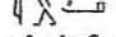

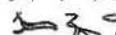

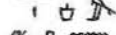
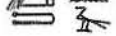
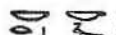

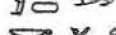
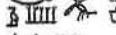
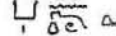
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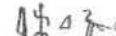
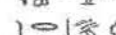
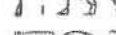


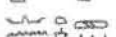

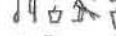
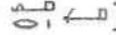


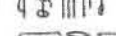


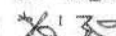
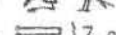
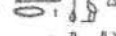






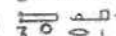

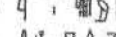
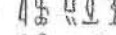
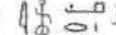
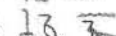






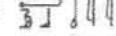
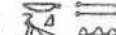
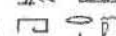

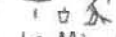
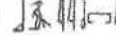
## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

(1. See p. 82, 1°). 2. *m*.....; = Müller n. 1. — Between  and  only flat sign possible (, , ), but completely destroyed. 3. *p-t-r*; = Müller n. 2. —  certain, although lower half erased. — Müller considers small sign possible between  and . Perhaps only 1? 3bis. *i-n*.....; For number, see p. 82, 2°. — Omitted by Daressy. — = Müller n. 3, where first sign is  (now improbable. See The Epigr. Survey's copy). 4. *t-t-m*; Müller's second 1 omitted by Epigr. Surv. 5. *t-r-s-h-r*; 6. *h-r-b*; 7. *s-r-m-s-k*; Final group reversed. (Müller gives loop of  on right, with question-mark). 8. *k-t-y-n*; 9. *i-y-m-r*; 10. *s-r*; Cp. XVIII/3; 11. *i-t-r*; Daressy, first

sign: ; but already doubted by Müller (n. sic? "n). — Perhaps = I/14 and V/1. 12. *d-n-s*; Daressy and Müller: d-q-n-s ( instead of ). Edgerton-Wilson note (p. 109): "The stroke under d is almost certainly a stroke only; but it is broken at the left, so that the possibility remains that it was k". 13. *t-r-s-b*; Daressy:  instead of . 14. *b-t-r*; Daressy:  without stroke. 15. *i-k-s-y*; Daressy and Müller, second radical illegible; but correctly suggested by Müller. 16. *i-t-n*; Daressy and Müller: i-m-n (  ). The new reading leaves Burchardt's African hypothesis (I § 57) without foundation. 17. *i-r-k-n*;  practically certain. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "We did not see the

[1] See p. 82, 1°

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List XXIII

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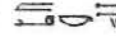

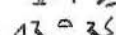
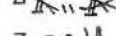
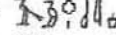
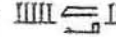


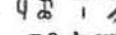
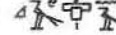
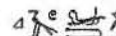
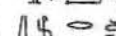

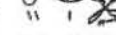

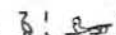

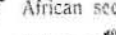
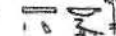
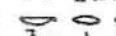
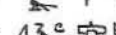

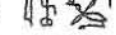

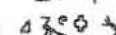
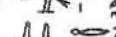
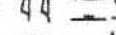
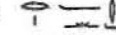
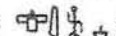
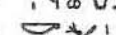

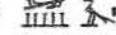
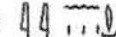
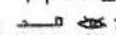

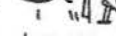


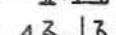
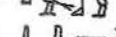
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


























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






















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



















List XXIII













- 82  (32)  
 83  (33)  
 84  (20)  
 85  (21)  
 86  (22)  
 87  (23)  
 88  (24)  
 89  (13)  
 90  (14)  
 91  (15)  
 92  (16)  
 93  (17)  
 94   
 95- African see Notes  
 97  (18)  
 98  (10)  
 99  (11)  
 100  (12)  
 101  (7)  
 102  (8)  
 103  (9)  
 104  (4)  
 105  (5)  
 106  (6)  
 107  (1)  
 108  (2)  
 109  (3)  
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 123- see Note  
 125 





loop of k". 18. *m-k-t*; Daressy:  instead of ; Müller, doubtful:  19. *l-r-b-y*; Daressy and Müller, first sign: ; now (Epigr. Surv.) completely erased, with half of . Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "There is no certain trace before the w of the partially lost initial group. Müller's  seems improbable.  or  or  would be possible". - Daressy omits . 20. *k-r-n*; Cp. n. 40 and n. 122. 21. *k-y-r-w*;  doubtful for Müller. 22. *l-b-r-t*; Cp. I/206. - Diacritical tick of  is clear. - Instead of  Müller reads , with remark: "sic added later". Daressy omits  entirely (). So does Burchardt n. 24 ("n. 21"). See Note on XIII/26. 23. *k-b-r*; 24. *l-m-r*; Daressy and Müller, first group: ; but Edgerton-Wilson expressly note (p. 109): "So the first sign". 25. *t-s-h*; Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "First signs  , but probably to be read  i. e. Tsh". This in fact is the probably more correct reading of Daressy and Müller. Same sign with very narrow loop in other names (cp. e. g., nn. 46 and 48) was certainly intended for . For examples of  in this list, see e. g., nn. 57 and 63 where quite distinguishable. XXIX/1, which most probably corresponds to XXVII/25, clearly reads first group as . See also XXVIII/28 and Note on that name. 26. *l-r-<y>*; First sign irregular. Müller suggests . But cp. very similar and probably same name in XXVIII/33 ( instead of ) where this sign clearly is the newly dropped foal. Cp. also XXIX/2 where the present name is repeated. 27. *(l)l-b-r*; Vertical stroke after  (certain according to Müller) cannot be seen in copy of Epigr. Surv. - Burchardt (n. 1083) transliterates: "tbr". Gauthier (DNG) gives this name twice: I p. 51 s. v. "à(ou)br" and VI p. 13 s. v. "tabar", in first instance as to be combined with n. 28 (Abel-




mâtn"), in second instance as probably = . There is hardly any doubt as to the value of the first group being 'i' (always very flat and almost square in this list and with stroke under the centre,  usually being omitted). The value 'i' becomes very clear from n. 111: *l-t-r* coll. I/14. It is not certain, however, that the present name is equivalent to . 28. *m-t-n*; 29. *k-r-k-m-s*; 30. *w-r-w*; Daressy reads:   , which is identical with n. 94. Müller gives first det. as "sic". 31. *k-s-p-t*; Müller, second sign:  "sic". - Daressy:  instead of . 32. *k-n*; 33. *r-k-r-s*:  and  doubtful for Müller. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "Traces show the k: its upper margin is extant, with color". 34. *l-p-h*;  omitted. - Daressy inserts  between  and  (also Burch., n. 108) but already considered doubtful by Müller. 35. *s-b-<i>*; 36. *t-l-r*; 37. *k-r-s-n-(p?)n*; Generally thus transliterated (see e. g., Burch., n. 1015 and Edgerton-Wilson s. v., with question-mark), but it seems more probable that  is a det. (cp. n. 82) and placed before  for calligraphic reasons:  38. *m-r-n-s*; 39. *s-m-<y>*; Daressy, last sign:  instead of . Perhaps this sign belongs to second group (), although placed below . 40. *k-r-n*; Cp. n. 20 and 122. - Copied in XXIX/4. 41. *l-q-[?]*; Copied in XXIX/5, where, however, Epigr. Surv. reads  (as Daressy) instead of 'q'. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "Uncut surface below suggests emendation to 'Ikr'. Cp. I/88. 42. *t-r-b-s*; Main sign of last group irregular. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "The final radical shows a heavy cross, colored red, but *ś* was intended". - Copied in XXIX/6. - Müller omits it (see *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 66). Hence different numbers for following names (cp. p. 83, 3°). 43. *t-r-n*; = Müller n. 42. - Copied in XXIX/7. - Cp. also I/260. 44.








*i-n-t-k*; = Müller n. 43. - Copied in XXIX/3.  
 45. *n-t-k-n*; = Müller n. 44. - Daressy:  instead of . - Final , doubted by Müller, is certain (Epigr. Surv.). But it was omitted in XXVIII/3, where apparently this name was copied. The longer form may be identical with I/285 and then probably more correct. - Order of last two signs (not counting det.) is certainly:  (cp. e.g., nn. 52 and 56). - Schiaparelli (*Geogr.*, p. 194 n. 49) regards the name as African.  
 46. *t-b-t*; = Müller n. 45. - African, according to Schiaparelli *Geogr.*, p. 288 n. 319. - Copied in XXVIII/2. 47. *m-r-(m)-r*; = Müller n. 46. - Daressy reads  instead of . Most probably 'm' was intended, although certainly  has been written. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "The strong arm was carved for the ml-arm". - Cp. XXVIII/99 where  instead of . - Cp. also I/272.  
 48. *t-r-h-y-s*; = Müller n. 47. - Cp. XXVIII/100: . 49. *i-m-s-t-r-k*; This name was omitted by Müller (see *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 66). Cp. p. 83, 3°. - Repeated in XXVIII/101.  
 50. *i-r-k-b-r*; = Müller n. 48. - Daressy, first group: ; already doubted by Müller. - In XXVIII/102, however, where this name was repeated, first two groups are  and 'k' has been omitted. 51. *k-g-t-y*; = Müller n. 49. - Daressy:  instead of . - Cp. XXVIII/103 which, however, is more exactly similar to n. 69 of the present list. - Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "Is the extra  an error?". 52. *t-k-n*; Müller n. 50. - Daressy omits . - Cp. XXVIII/104.  
 53. *t-r-t*; = Müller n. 51. - Daressy:  instead of . - Gauthier (DNG) gives this name twice, once in this form (VI p. 79, s.v. "trtiou", as n. 51), once with  instead of  (VI p. 68, s.v. "trbou", as n. 53). - Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "Despite the w the last group is hardly sw, since no sprouts are visible on the upright sign". Cp. Note

on n. 25 above. 54. *m-y-r*; = Müller n. 52. - Daressy:  instead of . Müller suggests "△ or broad ○". - According to Gauthier (DNG, III p. 13 s.v. "maï...r") this name should perhaps be combined with "celui qui venait immédiatement après sur la liste, mais qui a disparu". It is certainly probable that both n. 54 and n. 55 were intended as the first parts of compound names. But no name has been destroyed after n. 54, as is clear from The Epigr. Survey's copy. Nor was this intended by Müller whose empty space at the end of the second row on pl. 66 only indicates the end of a row of name-rings on the original inscription (cp. *Diagram* XXVIII). The second part of the compound name may, however, have been omitted by the sculptor. There is probably a similar case in XXXIV/86 (see also Note on XXXIV/108). - There is no real difference between n. 53 and n. 54, △ in n. 53 being merely a substitute for . Cp. Note on XIII/26. 55. *m-y-r*; Cp. preceding name and Note. - Daressy omits .  
 56. *h-t-k-n*; Daressy omits . 57. *t-s-p*; 58. *t-s-(n)*; Daressy:  instead of , and  instead of  (reading, therefore, t-s-n). Cp. XXVIII/114 where this name was certainly copied as *t-s-n*. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "Here n was miscarved as plural strokes". 59. *t-h-m-r-k*; Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "The h is certain; the k had no carved loop". 60. *i-r-p-s-n-n*; 61. *i-p-d*; 62. *i-m-r-s-k*; Cp. XXVIII/118, where however first group erased and  written instead of . Cp. I/156. 63. *s-n*; Nn. 62-68 are almost identical with nn. 118-124 of list XXVIII on North Tower. These groups occupy corresponding positions in both inscriptions (n. 69 of list XXVII - one number longer than XXVIII - has no parallel on North Tower; but see Note on that name). For XXVIII/119, however, which ought to correspond to XXVII/63, the Epigr. Surv. now suggests rather b<w> as first group, instead of s<w>, although  is doubtful. 64. *n-b-r*;



Seems identical with XXVIII/120 where first sign erased.

65. *y-r-p*; Apparently not identical with (half destroyed) name in corresponding place on North Tower, XXVIII/121, where second group includes  and two more groups (flat signs + <sup>1</sup>) follow, before .



66. *n-w-n*; Daressy, first sign: ; Müller:  over . -




Same name as XXVIII/122 (    ), where Müller also finds  more probable than . - Perhaps = I/75.

67. *h-d-m*; XXVIII has in corresponding place (n. 123): *h-d-m-n*. If the same name was intended as in I/176, the shorter form is more probably correct.

68. *t-b-t-y*; Identical with XXVIII/124 (only  instead of ) which closes this list. But see Note on that name.

69. *k-q-t*; No corresponding name at end of XXVIII, which is one number shorter. But cp. n. 51 above and also XXVIII/103.

70. *h-r-n-m*; Lower part of  erased, but both signs seem certain. Daressy omits . - Cp.



XXIX/8. 71. *r-b-n-t*; Cp. XXIX/9. 72. *b-<y>-t* *d-q-n*; 73. *q-r-b-q*; Daressy: ; Müller: , instead of second .


Edgerton-Wilson (p. 109): "All three birds are certainly *3*."

74. *k-r-m-y-m*; Cp. I/96.


75. *3-b-d-n*; Not improbably = *3-b-t-n* (I/73 a, c.) Cp. Note on XXXIV/27.


76. *m-3-k-t-(3?)-n-r*; All signs extremely crowded in this name-ring and some slightly damaged. -

First damaged group (4th radical) is  (loop of  always very narrow in this list and here exactly






on joint of stones). After this, an almost oval sign (with stroke) which Edgerton-Wilson (*o.c.*, p. 109) propose to read as : "The *hr* is certain,

although it is perhaps to be emended to *33*".

More probably  was intended by this sign.




It is the same as the cross in n. 42 but narrowed owing to lack of space and therefore resembling .

That *33* was intended, seems clear from the name sign in n. 85 copied from XXIII/21 where

 has the ordinary broad form. Cp. also n. 103. Daressy and Müller give the middle part of the name as illegible. In XXIII/26 from which the present name was copied, only the first radicals remain:   . 77. *h-b-r*;  erased but

certainly written originally. - Repeated in XXIX/10.



78. *y-n-<w>-m*; Here and in XVI/a, 1 without 'ayin. Cp. Note on XV/17.

79. *d-r-b-n*;  erased but certainly written originally. - Daressy and Müller, last group: , instead of .


Edgerton-Wilson (p. 110): "Final sign *3*, not *tw*". Consequently the identity of this name with I/217 (*t-r-b-n-t*),





suggested by Burch. (n. 1193), has become rather improbable.


80. *l-p-q*; 81. *l-b-h-y*; Daressy omits *l*.



82. *m-k-t-r*; Müller:  instead of . - A "Migdol"-name, as also suggested by det. and more clearly by det. of XXIII/32 from



which this name was copied. - Cp. I/71.





83. *q-r-t-k*; Copied from XXIII/33, but  added.


84. *q-(t)-m-n*; Daressy:  instead of ; Müller:  over ; but this was not


seen by Epigr. Surv. (cp. also Edgerton-Wilson, p. 110). XXIII/20 from which this name was copied, clearly has .

85. *[q]-3-t-b-r-(n)*; First group was probably intended for  .

Müller: trace of  before . Cp. XXIII/21 from which the name was copied. - Daressy:

 instead of  (cp. Notes on nn. 76 and 103) and  instead of .



Müller suggests here an unfinished . Edgerton-Wilson (p. 110):











"Final radical is not an 'unfinished k' but a deep-cut sign." Perhaps miscarved for ; cp. XXIII/21 (where whole name reads: *q-3-r y-b-n*).
















86. *3-m-3-n*; 87. *h-d-3-t*; 88. *l-r-t*; Daressy omits second *l*. - The name is identical with n. 101

only if metathesis may be supposed. Comparison, however, with XXIII/24, from which XXVII/88

was copied, makes this probable.

89. *q-3-n-r-m*; Daressy and Müller:  instead of .

90. *q-r-t-p-n*; XXIII/14 from which this name was copied, has one radical less (*q-r-p-n*). 91. *i-r-d-n*; 92. *h-r-t*; 93. *q-r-h*; 94. *w-r-w*; Daressy omits last *l*. - Cp. n. 30 above. 95-97. African figures and names, as also in nn. 123-125 in lowest row (cp. p. 78). Det.  is lacking in all six, except n. 123. 98. *i-k-(s)*; Daressy and Müller:  instead of . But  is clear in Epigr. Survey's copy, although XXIII/18 has  must have been intended, because  (not ) follows. 99. *k-r-k*; 100. *q-s-[b?]-p-t*; Whole name badly damaged. One sign erased before . Edgerton-Wilson read "ksbpt" and note (p. 110): "Every sign here is certain except the vertical trace preceding w; epigraphically bw is preferable to sw or tiw, while iw is impossible". Daressy could read nothing in middle part of name. Müller: "very difficult". - Cp. XXIII/11. 101. *i-t-r*; See Note on n. 88. - Repeated in XXIX/11. 102. *q-s-r-c*; Gauthier (DNG, V p. 161): "⊙ sic", instead of ⊙. Müller: "⊙ like ⊙". This sign is lacking in corresponding name of XXIII/7. Burch. (n. 942) rightly explains ⊙: "dankt der ägyptischen Volksetymologie sein Dasein", i.e. *r<sup>c</sup>* = sun. Cp. similar case in XXXIV/85. See also V/22. 103. *q-s-t-i-s-r*; Müller reads  instead of . But see Note on n. 76. The sign is entirely lacking in corresponding

name of XXIII/8. 104. *y-c-[q]-b-r*; No space for commonly supposed  $\Delta$  between  and  ("Yaqob-El"), but it is there in XXIII/9 from which the name was copied. The omission of  $\Delta$  should not be compared (as Edgerton-Wilson do) with n. 85 where  $\Delta$  is omitted from quite a different group and position. Nevertheless it cannot have been intentional; cp. also I/102. 105. *r-h-d*; Cp. XXIX/12. 106. *s-i-b*; Daressy omits second *l*. - XXIII/5, from which the name was copied, is one group longer (*s-i-b-t*). 107. *k-t-(i)?*; Daressy omits *l* after . - Edgerton-Wilson (p. 110): "The last sign is quite thick (iw rather than tj); we could not see the three grains beneath it which would have established the value tj". No help can be derived from XXIII/6 where the lower edge of this sign is damaged. 108. *r-s q-d-s*; Daressy:  instead of . 109. *y-n-d-t*; 110. *c-n-n-g-r*; Daressy:  instead of first . 111. *r-w-i-r*; Note the group   (clearly so in Epigr. Surv.), not  (Burch., Albr.). 112. *b-r*; Cp. perhaps I/50. 113. *q-m-q*; 114. *q-b-r-c*; 115. *y-h*; Cp. XXIX/13. 116. *t-<w>-r*; 117. *s-n-n-r*; 118. *m-n-d-r*; 119. *d-b-b*; 120. *i-m-t*; Daressy:  instead of . 121. *d-<w>-r*; Middle group certainly is , but more probably  should be transferred to last group: . 122. *k-r-n*; Cp. nn. 20 and 40. 123-125. See Note on nn. 95-97.

## LIST XXVIII

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, GREAT TEMPLE

*Description:* pp. 78—83*Plan:* XVIII (p. 79)*Text:* The Epigr. Surv. Med. Habu, II pl. 102*Variants:* Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 20. 1898 pp. 113—116Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 72—74*Numbers:* see pp. 82—83

(For numbers after names see p. 83)

## Diagram XXIX

(===== Asiatic or probably Asiatic groups)

# LIST XXVIII

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, GREAT TEMPLE

*Description:* pp. 78—83

*Plan:* XVIII (p. 79)

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*Variants:* Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 20. 1898 pp. 113—116

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*Numbers:* see pp. 82—83

(For numbers after names see p. 83)















### Diagram XXIX




































(== Asiatic or probably Asiatic groups)




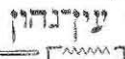
























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








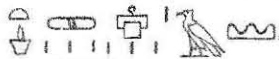




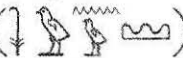










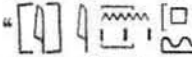








## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES





2. *t-b-t*; = XXVII/46 where <sup>l</sup> added after .  
 3. *n-t-k*; = XXVII/45 where  added before . 23. This name () is said by Gauthier (DNG, IV p. 1) to be a "Région de la Syrie Septentrionale, non identifiée". But I can see no reason why it should be an Asiatic place-name. 28. *t-s-(t)*; Very probably an Asiatic name, reproduced from XXVII/25. The principal sign of the last group (which is  in XXVII/25) is unfinished or poorly executed, as is also the case with this sign in XXIX/1 where XXVII/25 is once more repeated. In XXVIII/28 and XXIX/1 the most probable reading of the name is *t-s-t*. - That this name is Asiatic, appears not only from its repetition in list XXIX which is entirely Asiatic, but is confirmed by its position above the Asiatic group nn. 72. 55. 38. 33. (see *Diagram XXIX* and cp. Note on n. 55). The name is considered African by Daressy and Schiaparelli but the African names of the great Thutmes-list with which it has been compared (see Gauthier DNG, VI p. 47), are less similar than XXVII/25 and XXIX/1. 33. *l-r-<y>*; = XXVII/26 where, however,  instead of ; XXIX/2, copied from XXVII/26, also has . 38. *m-t-n*; = XXVII/28. - Daressy:  inst. of . 55. *k-r-k-m*; Daressy omits  (and so does Gauthier DNG, V p. 208). - This name which closes the 9th row, and the name beneath it (n. 72) at the end of the 10th row, have no parallels in the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak and may be Asiatic. They were certainly taken from some other source to fill the remaining space at the border of the inscription, but as neither of these names is mentioned anywhere else, this source remains unknown to us. Schiaparelli considers both names African (*Geogr.*, p. 276 n. 288; p.

275, n. 286). 72. *k-b-<y>*; Asiatic? See preceding Note. 73. *q-t-r*; After  follows trace of bird (prob. ). - Note det.  (owing to lack of space); Müller: , but see Epigr. Surv. - Daressy reads: . Müller: perhaps @ under lion; he gives bird clearly (though head missing) as . - Gauthier (DNG, V. p. 162) gives this name erroneously as n. 72. - From n. 73 on the names of this list have no parallels in the African list of Thutmes III at Karnak. Nn. 99—124 are mostly borrowed from XXVII, and therefore Asiatic. The Asiatic character of nn. 73—98 is not always clear. Many names in this part of the list are badly damaged or entirely destroyed. Gauthier qualifies some of them as "African, not identified", but for no evident reasons. Cp. p. 80 nn. 1. 4. 74. Almost entirely erased. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 115): "We first see what may be remains of a reed leaf , then  or m , then what resembles the shoulder of ". - Daressy gives bird (only sign he was able to read) as . Müller gives only traces: "some erased bird,  (corr?), ?". 75. *y-q-(d?)*;  is doubtful (half erased). Daressy reads: ; Müller gives both  as doubtful.  seems better preserved on his copy (only finger broken off).  seems to me impossible. Edgerton-Wilson (p. 115) compare  (Burch. n. 240). For similar interchange of  and , cp. perhaps n. 103 of the present list with XXVII/51. But see Note on n. 103. Cp. also p. 99 n. 3. 76. *m-n-t*; Seems clear in Epigr. Surv., although question-marks in Müller's copy (prob. all scratches on wall). 77. *'-n [q?]-(<h>)-(n?)*; Nothing can be seen between  and , but some small sign is certainly missing there. Ed-

gerton-Wilson (p. 115): „Before the 3 there is a small broken area which would accomodate a k”. - The group following  is partly erased, but what remains, points to . Edgerton-Wilson *loc. cit.*: “Behind the 3 the upper horizontal sign turns up slightly at its left end.  is fully possible. The name may be  = ‘Ain-Gihon. But  (cp. Burch. n. 268) is not excluded.” Space certainly admits  (cp. I/113?). - Daressy reads: . Müller doubts  and considers partly erased group as twice “—?” over . 78. *d-q-r*; 79. *y-s-n-t*; Space for one sign or small group above  but no trace left. The name is probably complete (cp. Albright *The Vocalization*, etc., IV, 8). 80. *b-k-r*; Edgerton-Wilson (p. 115): “Perhaps nothing missing except a stroke under the r”. Müller gives bird () over , with remark: “ 1st hand?” 81. ....-k-...; Müller gives  as first sign (over other sign); then “?”; nothing more. 82. ....-p-...; Edgerton-Wilson (p. 115): “The final sign is the head of an 3- or w-bird.” Müller gives  as “certain”. 83. ?-b-y-n; 84. ....-r; Müller gives traces of an entirely different name here, in which  is preceded by a bird () and perhaps another small sign. 85—98. These names are entirely destroyed except for a few fragments: n. 96 a possible ; n. 97 some unrecognizable sign and ; n. 98 last sign  or , with . 99. *m-r-m-r*; = XXVII/47 where  instead of . - Cp. I/272. 100. *t-r-(t)-y-s*; Müller omits . - This name was apparently intended for XXVII/48 which however reads: . 101. *i-m-s-t-r-k*; = XXVII/49. 102. *r-r-b-r*; Cp. XXVII/50 which however reads: .

- Müller:  over . 103. *k-q-t*; Cp. XXVII/51 which however reads: . But XXVII/69 is *exactly* identical with the present name. 104. *t-k-n*; = XXVII/52. - Daressy omits 1. 105. *p-r-b*; Daressy, first radical . 106. *b-r-b-t-(r)*; Daressy omits  and reads twice ; Müller omits second  (so also Burch. n. 353 who calls it a “n.l. Syr.”). Gauthier gives this name twice, once as “brbr . . . . peuplade africaine” (DNG, II p. 23), once as “Brbt(ou) . . . . localité de Palestine ou de Syrie, non identifiée” (DNG, II p. 24). 107. *i-q-n*; 108. *q-(s?)-k-n*; — is doubtful, but  (omitted by Daressy) seems certain (Edgerton-Wilson p. 115). Müller: “—?” over . 109. *i-t-h-s*; I cannot not see Daressy’s and Müller’s  under  (probably only stroke), nor Gauthier’s (DNG, I p. 48) . - Burch. (n. 131): *ihš* (omitting  by mistake). 110. *s-q-n*; 111—113. lost. 114. *t-s-n*; Cp. XXVII/58 which however reads . 115—117. lost. Probably = XXVII/59—61, as also tail of bird in last sign of n. 117 (only trace preserved) suggests. 118. *[i]-m-r-s-k*; First radical supplied from XXVII/62. Müller’s copy shows traces of recarving, but second sign of first group clearly as  (therefore not  as in XXVII/62). 119. *(b)-n*;  is uncertain but probable. It is however almost certainly a mistake for , as not only XXVII/63 () but also  in n. 119 itself suggests. 120. *[n]-b-r*; First radical supplied from XXVII/64. Müller: “space for ”; but this seems doubtful in copy of Epigr. Surv. Rather  above . - Daressy, second bird: ; Müller: “rather  than ”, although form is somewhat irregular. 121. *[y]-n-?*; Apparently identical with name on corresponding place of list on South Tower, XXVII/65

() . Edgerton-Wilson (p. 115) suggest:  
 “ , ynp, for ylp”. – Daressy  
 gives plural strokes under . 122. *n-w-n*; =  
 XXVII/66 where however  was omitted. Cp.  
 also I/75. – Daressy, first radical: ; Müller  
 considers  more probable than . Cp. Note on  
 XXVII/66. – Gauthier gives this name twice (with  
) once (DNG, V p. 168) as “Région de Palestine,  
 indéterminée et qui n’est connue par aucune autre  
 liste”, once (DNG, V p. 156) as identical with  
  on a list of Seti I at Karnak

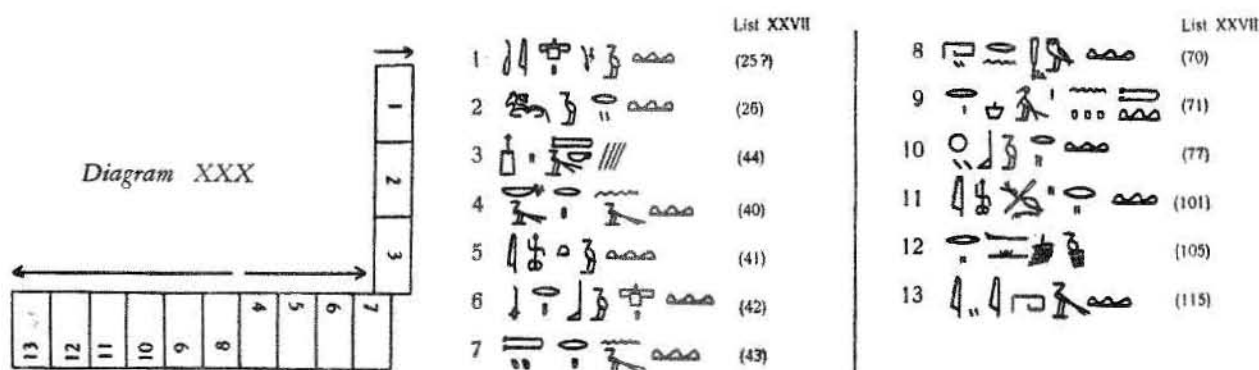
(where I have not been able to find this name)  
 and on a list of Ramses II at Thebes (XIX/6),  
 to be identified with Kanô in Phoenicia or with  
 Qana in Galilee (Jos. 19, 28). 123. *h-d-m-n*;  
 cp. XXVII/67 where however  is lacking; see  
 Note on that name. 124. *t-b-t-y*; Cp. XXVII/68.  
 It is certainly suprising that the group  of  
 XXVII/68 should have been replaced here by  
, since all examples point to the value ‘t’  
 for . Cp. Burch. I § 142, but also Note on I/63.

## LIST XXIX

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, GREAT TEMPLE

*Description:* p. 84*Plan:* XVIII (p. 79)*Text:* The Epigr. Surv. *Med. Habu*, II pl. 105*Variants:* Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 20. 1898 pp. 119—120*Numbers:* Daressy, loc. cit.

(For numbers after names see p. 84)



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *t-s-(t)*; Most probably copied from XXVII/25, where, however, first group is not clear (see Note on that name). — The third radical looks like small or , but seems damaged or poorly executed. We cannot very well read as in XXVII/25 because of following (instead of in XXVII/25). Unless this also is due to the sculptor's negligence, the best reading seems to be *t-s-t*. Daressy gives last group as . See also XXVIII/28 and Note on that name.
2. *l-r-<y>* = XXVII/26 but (as in XXVIII/33) instead of . 3. *l-n-t-k*; 4. *k-r-n*; 5. *l-(t)-[?]*; Corresponding name of XXVII, n. 41, has instead of and is perhaps incomplete. 6. *t-r-b-s*; 7. *t-r-n*; 8. *h-r-n-m*; Daressy, last group: . 9. *r-b-n-t*; Daressy omits second . 10. *h-b-r*; 11. *l-t-r*; Daressy omits first . 12. *r-h-[d]*; Top of (cp. XXVII/105) still visible. Last sign instead of in XXIII/4 and XXVII/105. 13. *y-h*.

## LIST XXX

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, GREAT TEMPLE

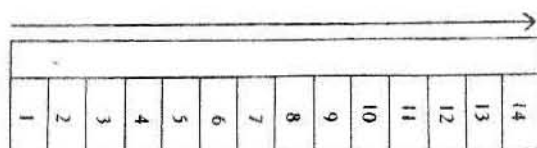
*Description:* pp. 84—85*Plan:* XVIII (p. 79)*Text:* The Epigr. Surv. Med. Habu, I pl. 43*Variants:* Daressy *Rec. de trav.*, 19. 1897 p. 18, 13°*Numbers:* new

Diagram XXXI

1 „Nine Bows”

2

3

4

5 „Nine Bows”

6

7

8

9

10 „Nine Bows”

11 „Nine Bows”

12 African

13

14

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. „Nine Bows” (*hnbw*). — Daressy gives: 6. *p-b-h*; 7. *q-d-n*; 8. *i-s-y*; 9. *m-n-n-s-(n)*; 10. *n-h-r-n*; See Note on VIII/1. Daressy gives instead of final , but this was certainly written. As the name *m-n-n-s* occurs many times in the Topographical Lists, must have been erroneously carved for . 10. 11. „Nine Bows”. 12. African. 13. *s-g-r-h*; Cp. perhaps XXII/g, 9. 14. *i-r-t-g*; See Note on XIII/36.
2. *n-h-r-n*; See Note on VIII/1. 3. *t-<w>-n-p*; 4. *t-n-p*; First group: ; apparently not „Tunip” which precedes (n. 3). But perhaps only distinguished from n. 3 as country () from city (). Even so, however, first group remains unexplained. 5. „Nine Bows”.



## LIST XXXI

## RAMSES III, MEDINET HABU, PAVILION

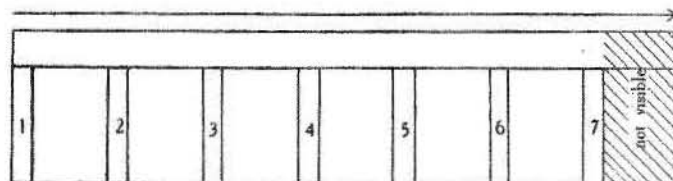
*Description:* pp. 85—86*Plan:* XIX (p. 86)*Text:* LD, III Bl. 209, b*Numbers:* new

Diagram XXXII

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *h-t*; "The wretched Great One of — as living captive". — See Note one IX/a, 8. 2. *i-m-r*; "The wretched Great One of —". 3. *t-k-r-y*; "[the] Chief of [the] foes of —". — Photographs do not allow one to decide whether the bird is '3' or 'w'. 4. *š-r-d-n*; "— of the sea". 5. *š-[k-r-š]*; "[the] Chief of [the] foes of —". — No doubt to be completed thus 6. *t-r-š*; "— of the sea". 7. *p-[r-š-t]*; "[the] Chief of [the] foes of —". — No doubt to be completed thus .

## LIST XXXII (Fragment)

## RAMSES III, KARNAK, TEMPLE OF AMON

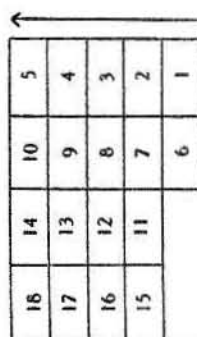
*Description:* pp. 86—88*Plan:* XX (p. 87)*Text:* The Epigr. Surv. *Karnak*, I, pl. 4*Numbers:* new

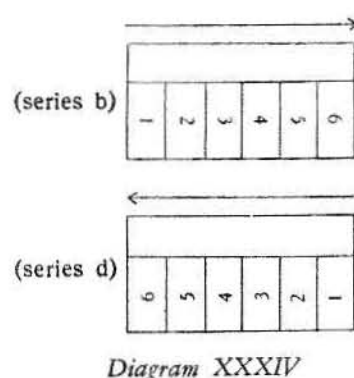
Diagram XXXIII

- 17 18

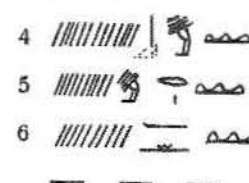
## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

17. *n-h-r-[n]*; See Note on VIII/1. 18. *r-t-n* *h-r-t*; 19. ff. lost.

## LIST XXXIII

RAMSES III, KARNAK, RAMSES III's TEMPLE OF AMON  
(Statues)*Description:* p. 88*Plan:* XX (p. 87)*Text:* Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pl. 56*Numbers:* new

b 1-3 lost



d 1-3 lost



## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

b. 1—3. lost. 4. [q-r-t c-n?-(b?); According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 41) this is the "most plausible restoration". (cp. e.g., XVI/a, 4). But even the last radical (b) is uncertain and the space available hardly suggests such a long name. 5. [h-d]-<w>-r; So restored by Müller. Cp. XIII/64 and XIV/66. 6. [r-p]-h; So restored by Müller.

d. 1—3. lost. 4. h-t-<3>; 5. l-r-t; According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, I p. 41), this is a Nubian name, "possibly mixed in by confusion with the Phoenician Araṭut i.e. Arvad". In fact, l-r-t is a frequently mentioned Asiatic name (see *Index of Names*, p. 198 and cp. Burch. n. 125; Gauthier DNG, I p. 99; Albright *The Vocalization*, etc., III, A, 13). 6. q-d-š.

## LIST XXXIV

## SHOSHENQ I, KARNAK, GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* pp. 89—101*Plan:* XXI (p. 91)*Text:* nn. 1—150: Müller *Eg. Res.*, I pls. 75—85*Numbers:* see p. 94*Text:* nn. 1 bis—5 bis: Müller *Eg. Res.*, II p. 113, fig. 38*Numbers:* see p. 94

1-9 „Nine Bows”

- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20 lost; see Note
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27

- 28
- 29
- 30 lost; see Note
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35
- 36
- 37
- 38
- 39
- 40
- 41 see Note
- 42-44 lost
- 45
- 46
- 47 lost
- 48

- 49 lost
- 50 lost
- 51
- 52 lost
- 53
- 54
- 55
- 56
- 57
- 58
- 59
- 60
- 61-63 lost
- 64
- 65
- 66
- 67
- 68
- 69

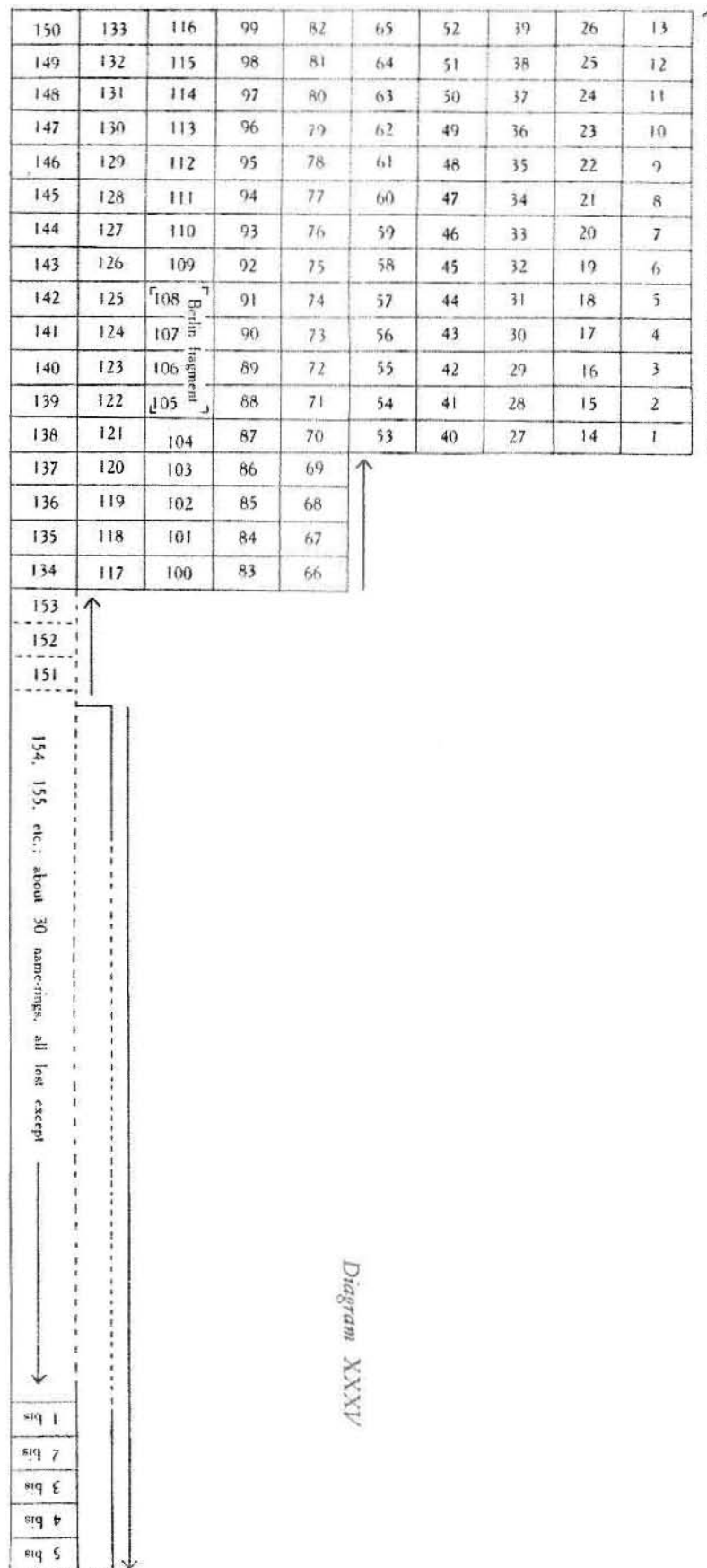


Diagram XXXV

70		98		128	
71		99		129	
72		100		130	
73		101		131	
74		102		132	
75		103		133	
76		104		134-137	lost; see Note
77		105		138	see Note
78		106		139	
79		107		140	
80		108		141	lost
81		109		142	
82		110		143	lost
83		111		144	lost
84		112		145	
85		113-115	lost	146	
86		116		147	lost
87		117		148	lost
88		118		149	see Note
89		119		150	
90		120			
91		121			
92		122			
93		123			
94		124			
95		125			
96		126			
97		127			

For  
numbers  
see p. 94  
and n. 2



















- 1 bis
- 2 bis
- 3 bis
- 4 bis
- 5 bis





















### TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES
























1—9. "Nine Bows". 10. *m-t-t* "...; certain enumeration of conquered places. 11. *g-m-?*; (Müller). — Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 88) completes destroyed part as: = "Copie des Asiatiques". This name would therefore be a comprehensive title for the following detailed













enumeration of conquered places. 11. *g-m-?*; Before "space e.g. for " (Müller). — "No space before the reading impossible, consequently" (Müller, against Maspero *Etudes*, etc. V p. 50 and 88: "Gaza"). 12. *3-3-[r?]*;



Right (*sic*) half of name destroyed. Left half shows, on Müller's copy, tails of two birds, apparently ; beneath them, a very small trace "somewhat like ?" (Müller). Maspero's  (Etudes, etc., V p. 50 and 88) seems excluded. As the two birds are fairly certain and there is space for only one flat sign between them and , ,  (= IX/g, 2) suggests itself as quite possible. The small trace which Müller describes as "somewhat like ", would be the top of the stroke, exactly in the position required by the name suggested. On Amenhotep III's list (IX),  is mentioned between a Syrian (*g-d-n*) and a Palestinian (*p-h-r*) place and might therefore quite well be North Palestinian, as are the five following names of the Shoshenq-list. 13. *r-b-t*; Cp. n. 109. — Although Maspero's identifications of nn. 11 and 12 (Gaza and Megiddo) can no longer be defended, it is quite clear that n. 13 is not the first place-name ("Rabbath" = Jerusalem) on this list, as has been suggested by Sayce (see p. 96). The general enumeration of foreign peoples ends with n. 9. As nn. 12 (prob.) 14. 15. 16. 17 are all North Palestinian, the same is probably true for n. 13. 14. *t<sup>c</sup>-n-k-i3*; Second  is somewhat irregular but certainly not  (Müller). Cp. Note on n. 27. — The det.  is uncertain (space but no traces). — For *i3* see pp. 98 ff. 15. *s-n-m-i3*; Cp. p. 100 n. 4. 16. *b-t s-n-r-i3*; Usually without ; see, however, Note on XIV/53. 17. *r-h-b-i3*; 18. *h-p-r-m-i3*; For single 'm' see pp. 100 f. 19. *i-d-r-m*; Note  inverted. — Perhaps no . — For single 'm' see pp. 100 f. 20. Almost entirely erased and illegible. Perhaps  as first radical. 21. *s-w-d*;  is uncertain. 22. *m-h-n-m*; For  see pp. 100 f. 23. *q-b<sup>c</sup>-n*; 24. *b-t h-<w>-r-n*; 25. *q-d-t-m*; 26. *i-y-r-n*; 27. *m-k-d-(i3?)*; This name-ring (with part of  in the next) has been hacked out, as is the case

with many missing fragments of this list. Müller's reading (, , ) is apparently based on Lepsius' copy, but it is perhaps preferable to read last group as , i. e. once more the frequent ending (see pp. 98 ff.) The bird's figure is somewhat irregular on Lepsius' copy (long beak as of ) but on the whole it resembles the last sign of n. 14, where the reading  is generally admitted. — *M-k-d* is no doubt identical with more usual *m-k-t* (). Cp. Burch. I § 137 and Czermak *Die Laute*, etc. II pp. 201. 204. The same difference between the short list of Shoshenq and that of Thutmes III may be observed in nn. 28, 58, 98. 28. *i-d-r*; Prob. = , , , (I/14) (cp. Müller *As. u. Eur.*, p. 167; for 'd' instead of 't', see Note on preceding name). 29. *y-d h-m-r-k*; For famous controversy on this name, see pp. 95 f. — Apparently a "Melek"-name with Hebrew article. First radical ('m') not doubled in Egyptian transliteration, (cp. Note on I/13). 30. Split (by joint of stones; see photographs) and badly damaged. Müller thinks second half of name might be:  31. *h-i-n-m*; 32. *c-r-n*; Cp. I/27. 33. *b-r-m*; For single 'm', see p. 100 f. — Note inverted position of . 34. *d-d-p-t-r*; 35. *y-h-m*; For single 'm', see pp. 100 f. — Müller, second : "rather certain"; after  "good traces" of . After  a bird's tail (like ) is visible. Müller "accid. ? too low for ". — Cp. I/68. 36. *b-t c-r-m*; For single 'm', see pp. 100 f. — Note  inverted. 37. *k-q-r-y*; 38. *s-i-k*; Cp. I/67. 39. *b-t t-p-w-[h?]*; To be completed thus according to commonly supposed identity with  (*בית*); but no trace is left of last radical (crack in stone). 40. *i-b-r-i3*; One of the "Abel"-names, probably to be combined with n. 41 (lost) into one compound name. For these names, cp. p. 97 n. 2. — Cp. first group with

I/15 and Note on that name. 41. Erased, except  and traces of lower sign. Last radical perhaps . 42. 43. 44. lost. 45. *b-t d-b-[-?]*; Müller: "signs in this name crowded". - In first part (b-t) I have written  following the orthography of the same word elsewhere in this list, although only an unrecognizable trace of it can be seen on Müller's copy. - After  there was one more sign () or group (). 46. *k-k-m-?*; Müller, last group: "part of ?".  is doubtful (Müller: "hardly body of  ??"). 47. lost. 48. *l-.....*; 49. 50. lost. 51. *ś-ś-d-?*; Trace of sign (like ; not ) left under . 52. lost. 53. [*p-?*]-*n-l-r*; There is some space for a very flat sign before . Müller (*As. u. Eur.*, p. 168) reads first group as  and identifies the name with פְּנוֹאֵל. The same reading has been adopted by Gauthier (DNG, II p. 90), but from Müller's copy it seems very doubtful, whether there was any sign at all before . Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, II p. 65) supposes  to be the first sign ("Nup-al"). - Müller: "space for " before ; but no traces of such a sign can be seen, and no sign seems necessary. - Brugsch reads the doubtful sign after  as . Müller gives an unrecognizable sign (unfinished ). - On the whole the first half of this name is extremely doubtful. 54. [*q-?*]-*d-ś-t*; There is an "old erasure" (Müller) at the top of the name-ring and then (above , in the centre) a sign which Müller thinks might possibly be " abnormal by correction". - Gauthier (DNG, V p. 181-182) combines nn. 54 and 55 ("la petite Qadech") but expresses his own doubt about the combination (cp. also o.c., VI p. 99-100 s.v. "dcha tá"). Both indeed can be complete simple names. Compound names in this list always have the proper name behind the generic word, not before it. 55. *p-? k-t-t*; I see no other possible reading than

*p-?* as article and  as det., placed before  instead of after. Unless combined with preceding name (see Note on n. 54), the name must mean: "The small (one)". - I would not hazard joining n. 55 with n. 56 into "The small —". - The reading "paourkett" (DNG, II p. 36) and the consequent identification of this name with 'Ain Berqit (*Mél. Masp.*, I p. 32) is extremely tempting but supposes  miscarved for . 56. *i-d-m-ī-?*; Sometimes (e.g., Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.*, II p. 66) understood as "Edom". But this seems very improbable in this list of towns and places, which does not even mention such often repeated names of regions as *r-t-n*, *n-h-r-n*, etc. The existence, however, of a city or settlement of the same name is possible, though entirely hypothetical. If n. 55 is 'Ain Berqit, the identification of n. 56 with Adam (Jos. 3, 16) suggested by Abel (*Mél. Masp.*, I p. 32), is doubtless more probable. 57. *d-m-r-m*; The second sign is almost certainly  (not ) as the bird's feet indicate (, not ; the upper half of the sign is erased). I think therefore that Müller correctly completes it as . This gives the reading *d-m-r-m* (for single 'm', see p. 100 f.). There is a place of that name in Benjamin (Jos. 18, 22) and a mountain called "הַר צְמַרִים" in Ephraim (2 Chron. 13, 4). Burch. (n. 1234), although referring to Müller's copy, writes , and transliterates the whole name as *d-r-m* (instead of *d-m-r*). So does Breasted (AR, IV § 714): "*d<sup>2</sup>-rw-m<sup>2</sup>m*". Cp. also Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, II p. 67): "Zalmam"; Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 102): "Zaloumim"; and Gauthier (DNG, VI p. 107): "Zarmam?". In spite of these attempts this reading has so far not received a plausible interpretation (for opinions and bibliography see Gauthier *loc. cit.*), while *d-m-r-m* is epigraphically more probable and can be satisfactorily interpreted. - Note  inverted. 58. [*m*]-*g-d-r*; Müller, first group: "space very narrow for ".

But it can hardly be anything else, as the det. clearly shows this to be a "Migdol"-name. Cp. I/71 and XXIII/32. See also Note on n. 27.

59.  $[y?]-r-d-i\bar{3}$ ; First group usually given (see e.g., Maspero *Etudes* etc., V p. 101) as  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (cp. I/60:  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ ). But Müller declares this to be improbable ("no space for  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ "). Judging, however, from Borchardt's photograph, I am inclined to consider this group possible enough. A small vertical line seen on Müller's copy above the lion's head (*sic*), may actually be the foot of a low-reaching  $\text{𓂏}$ .

60.  $i-i-m-r$ ; Two groups of flat signs erased before  $\text{𓂏}$ , the second of which in Müller's opinion might have been  $\text{𓂏}$  (not  $\text{𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂏}$ ).

61—63. lost except  $\text{𓂏}$  in nn. 62 and 63.

64.  $i-(q?) - p-n$ ; First radical a flat sign (Müller: " $\text{𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂏}$ , not  $\text{𓂏}$ "); rectangular sign before bird perhaps originally  $\text{𓂏}$ , afterwards carved away; high sign after bird "rather  $\Delta$  than  $\square$ " (Müller).

65.  $p\bar{3}^c - m-q$ ; = Hebrew:  $\text{מֶמְקָה}$ . — Usually considered (see e.g., Breasted AR IV § 715 and Gauthier DNG, I p. 138 s.v. "âaza-mâa") as one name with following number (the first of the next row); but the name of the "valley" mentioned in n. 66 is entirely unknown and " $\text{מֶמְקָה}$ " could very well be a complete name in itself although not necessarily identical with the Biblical  $\text{מֶמְקָה}$  (cp. Judg. 1, 19: coastal valley; Judg. 5, 15: valley of Jezreël) or with the modern "Emeq". — Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 55) combines several names here (*his* nn. 65—67): "la roche et la vallée de Beth Osha", but in reality these names do not even follow one another (nn. 68. 65. 69).

66.  $^c - i > - d - m - i\bar{3}$ ; If one name with n. 65 (see however preceding Note), I should feel inclined to see in them "the valley of  $\text{𓂏}$ " i.e. of the wood, the trees ( $\text{𓂏}$  being added to the radix as plural termination). But it must be admitted that the group  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  under  $\text{𓂏}$  cannot

easily be accounted for in this way. Does it represent one of the radicals or the Hebrew vowel 'ê' or is it entirely pleonastic and due to corrupted syllabic orthography? The same difficulty, however, can be urged against the more usual identification with " $\text{𓂏}$ " (e.g., Brugsch *Geogr. Inschr.* II, p. 68).

67.  $i-n-m-r$ ; According to Müller,  $\text{𓂏}$  is possible instead of  $\text{𓂏}$ . Before this, there may have been another "very small sign (like  $\text{𓂏}$ )", but epigraphically this seems hardly necessary. The radicals  $i-n-m-r$  may be considered fairly certain and complete. — Final  $\text{𓂏}$  incomplete for  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} = i\bar{3}$ ?

68.  $p\bar{3} h-[q]-r-i\bar{3}$ ;  $\Delta$  is lost in crack of wall. — For  $h-q-r = \text{𓂏}$ , see p. 99. — This number and the next constitute one compound name.

69.  $f-t-y-s-i\bar{3}$ ; or (if  $\text{𓂏}$  separated from  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ )  $f-t-i-s-i\bar{3}$ ; Certainly an odd name. I would be inclined to suppose  $\text{𓂏}$  miscarved for  $\text{𓂏}$  (genit.; cp. nn. 74. 78) but for the existence of a much similar Arabic name: Wadi and Chirbet *Fîes* (or *Ifîeis* or *Futeis*), about 14 miles south-east of Gaza. This name was already noticed by Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V pp. 109—110).











70.  $i-r-h-r-r$ ; 71.  $p\bar{3} h-q-r-i\bar{3}$ ; See Note on n. 68. — To be combined with n. 72.










72.  $i-b-r-m$ ; For single 'm', see pp. 100f. — Maspero (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 27. 1894 p. 83 = *Etudes* etc., V p. 111) translates:  $\text{𓂏}$  which is perhaps possible. But this plural form is found nowhere else. Others have translated: "the field of Abraham" (see e.g., Spiegelberg *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum alten Testament* Strassburg i. E. 1904, p. 14; Breasted AR, IV p. 353 n. a, and *The Earliest Occurrence of the name of Abram*, in *AJSL* 1904—1905 pp. 22—36; also G. Kyle *The Geographical Lists of Shoshenq I*, in *JAOS* 31. 1910—1911 p. 86—91 and 290—295). But "the field of the bulls" ( $\text{𓂏}$ ; cp. Burch. n. 20) or something similar seems to me equally possible and not less probable. The compound names of this list

frequently have the appearance of freely invented descriptions rather than official place-names. 73.  $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{b}$ - $r$ - $t$ ; = שבלת. See p. 97. - One name with n. 74. 74.  $n$  ( $\dot{h}$ )- $\dot{b}$ - $r$ - $y$ ;  $\sim\sim\sim$  is apparently the genitival conjunction. - The stroke above  $\sim\sim\sim$  is not certain. - Müller's copy gives first radical as  $\Delta$  (not  $\nabla$ , as Maspero *Etudes* etc., V p. 111), but the sculptor of this list more than once uses  $\Delta$  for  $\nabla$ . Clear examples of this can be seen in nn. 84. 90. 92. (see Notes on these names). Correct transliteration, therefore, may be:  $g$ - $\dot{b}$ - $r$ - $y$ . 75.  $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{b}$ - $r$ - $t$ ; Cp. Note on n. 73. - One name with n. 76 (cp., however, JPOS 4 1924 p. 146). 76.  $w$ - $r$ - $k$ - $y$ - $t$ ; 77.  $p\dot{3}$   $\dot{h}$ - $q$ - $r$ - $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ; See Note on n. 68. - One name with n. 78. 78.  $n$ - $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $y$ - $t$ ;  $\sim\sim\sim$  is the genitival conjunction. - The bird has the head of the vulture (' $\dot{3}$ ') but the feet of the owl (' $m$ '). 79.  $\dot{?}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $\dot{?}$ - $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ; First radical a "very low sign" and after second  $\sim$  perhaps  $\sim$  or  $\sim$  (Müller). 80.  $\dot{d}$ - $p$ - $k$ - $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ; 81.  $m$ -.....; The second group, according to Müller, might be  $\dot{h}$   $\dot{h}$  or  $\dot{h}$   $\dot{h}$ . The lower part of the name is missing (part of block broken off). 82.  $t$ -.....; Müller gives two more fragments of signs, the first of which might be an unfinished  $\square$ , the second a small  $\dot{h}$ . The lower part of the name is missing. 83. ( $\dot{h}$ )- $n$ - $\dot{?}$ ;  $\Delta$  may stand for  $\nabla$ . (Cp. Note on n. 74). - The vulture under  $\sim\sim\sim$  has the owl's feet but was certainly intended for  $\dot{3}$ . After that, Müller gives only hypothetical signs. Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 112) reads last group as:  $\dot{h}$   $\sim\sim\sim$ . - Most names in this row (nn. 83—99) have been seriously damaged during the last 50 years, but Müller could restore many of them with the aid of Lepsius' squeezes (cp. p. 94). 84.  $p\dot{3}$   $n$ -( $\dot{g}$ )- $\dot{b}$ ;  $\Delta$  clearly stands for  $\nabla$  ( $\dot{3}$ ). - Probably one name with n. 85. - It is impossible to state which, if any, of the "Negeb"-names of this list (nn. 84. 90. 92.
























94) might be identical with the one mentioned in the great lists of Thutmes III: I/57. 85.  $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $\dot{h}$ - $t$ ; For " $\dot{d}\dot{3}$ " with det.  $\dot{h}$ , see Erman-Grapow *Wörterbuch*, I p. 241. This is a case of popular etymology. Cp. similar cases in V/22 and XXVII/102. 86.  $t$ - $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $n$ - $\langle w \rangle$ ; The last bird may also have been  $\dot{h}$ , according to Müller. -  $\sim\sim\sim$  prob. stands for  $\sim\sim\sim$  =  $\dot{s}$ d. - Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V. p. 113) combines nn. 86. 87. 88 into one name: "les canaux et l'enceinte de Shanaia". The omission, however, of a proper name after n. 86 through an error of the scribe or sculptor would be more probable than Maspero's combination of three name-rings. Cp. Note on n. 108. 87.  $p\dot{3}$   $\dot{h}$ - $q$ - $r$ ; Once more  $\dot{h}$   $\dot{h}$ . See Note on n. 68. - One name with n. 88. - For last group, see pp. 99 f. 88.  $\dot{s}$ - $n$ - $y$ - $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ; Last bird has beak of  $\dot{h}$ , but body (half destroyed) of  $\dot{h}$ . Certainly the final group  $\dot{h}$  was intended. 89.  $\dot{h}$ - $q$ -( $\dot{q}$ ); Second group  $\dot{h}$  is rather uncertain. -  $\square$  might perhaps be the Hebrew article (as in n. 29), but even so the whole name remains enigmatical. Lepsius' squeeze proves that nothing is missing after second  $\dot{h}$ . 90.  $p\dot{3}$   $n$ -( $\dot{g}$ )- $\dot{b}$ ;  $\Delta$  instead of  $\nabla$ , as in n. 84. ( $\dot{3}$ ). - One name with n. 91. 91.  $w$ - $\dot{h}$ - $t$ - $w$ - $r$ - $k$ -( $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ?); Good traces of  $\dot{h}$   $\dot{h}$  at end. 92.  $p\dot{3}$   $n$ -( $\dot{g}$ )- $\dot{b}$ ;  $\Delta$  instead of  $\nabla$ , as in nn. 84 and 90. ( $\dot{3}$ ). - One name with following. 93.  $\dot{i}$ - $\dot{s}$ - $\dot{h}$ - $t$ ; For last group, see pp. 99 f. 94.  $p\dot{3}$   $\dot{h}$ -( $\dot{q}$ )- $r$ - $y$ ; See Note on n. 68. -  $\Delta$  instead of usual  $\Delta$ . Cp. p. 99 n. 3. - One name with n. 95. 95.  $\dot{h}$ - $n$ - $n$ - $\dot{i}\dot{3}$ ; Same name as in n. 99? 96.  $p\dot{3}$   $\dot{h}$ -( $\dot{q}$ )- $r$ ; See Note on n. 68. -  $\Delta$  instead of  $\Delta$ , as in n. 94. - One name with n. 97. 97.  $\dot{i}$ - $r$ - $q$ - $\dot{d}$ ;  $\Delta$  is rather uncertain, although  $\nabla$  (Champ. *Not. Descr.*, II p. 118 n. 95) is excluded according to Müller ("too narrow"). 98.  $\dot{i}$ - $\dot{d}$ - $m$ - $m$ ; The head of  $\dot{h}$  is uncertain but the owl's feet are clear. - For





















double (not triple) 'm', see p. 101. — For last group, see pp. 99 f. — See also Note on n. 27 and cp. I/36. **99.**  $h-n-n-y$ ; Cp. n. 95. **100.**  $i-d-r-i\bar{3}$ ; In this name, in n. 116 (prob.), and in n. 117 the det.  stands unusually high. In n. 100 Champ. (*Not. Descr.*, II p. 118 n. 98) adds , and Maspero (*Etudes etc.*, V p. 72):  = "(the) great". Cp. also Note on n. 117. — The lower part of n. 100 is destroyed. **101.**  $p\bar{3} h-(q)-r$ ; see Note on n. 68. —  instead of  $\Delta$ , as in n. 94 and n. 96. — One name with n. 102. **102.**  $t-r-w-n$ ; Champollion's  (*Not. Descr.*, II p. 118 n. 100) is expressly excluded by Müller whose reading of this name is mainly based on Lepsius' squeeze. **103.**  $h-y-d-b-i\bar{3}$ ; Apparently a generic word (one name with n. 104) as in nn. 105—106, but its Semitic equivalent is unknown. Maspero (*Etudes etc.*, V p. 114): "la carrière" ("חֵרֶב = חֵרֶב excidit lapides"). **104.**  $s-r-n-r-i\bar{3}$ ;  almost certainly a mistake for . **105.**  $[h]-y-d-b-i\bar{3}$ ; See Note on n. 103, according to which the signs in [ ] have been restored. One name with n. 106. — This is the first naming of the four (nn. 105—108) on the Berlin fragment (see p. 91). As can be seen on photographs (cp. p. 92), all four are badly damaged, especially n. 105. **106.**  $d-y-w-t$ ; Last group ( ) now entirely destroyed. A comparison between the Berlin fragment in its present state and Lepsius' squeeze of this name shows how much the block has suffered through the process of removal, transport etc. **107.**  $h-q-r-m$ ; Plural form of the usual  $h-q-r$ . — One name n. 108? See Note on that name. — Only the highest tops of  are now left on the original at Berlin. **108.**  $r-d-i\bar{3}$ ; As n. 107 can hardly be a complete name in itself ("fields"), nn. 107 and 108 must be combined. N. 108, however, also seems to be a generic word and should therefore be combined with n. 109, as the same word is repeated in

n. 110. The necessity of combining three name-rings can be avoided by supposing that one (proper) name has been omitted after n. 107 through a mistake of the scribe or sculptor. Cp. Note on n. 86. — For last group, see pp. 99 f. — It must be admitted that some plausible identifications can be suggested, if nn. 108, 109, 110, 111 are taken as four complete names (see *Mél. Masp.*, I p. 28), though this leaves n. 107 in the air. The repetition of  $r-d-i\bar{3}$  also points to a generic word. Its Semitic equivalent, however, is unknown. **109.**  $r-b-t$ ; According to the preceding Note, this name must probably be combined with n. 108. In n. 13, however, the same word is a complete, simple name. Cp. perhaps also I/105. **110.**  $r-d-i\bar{3}$ ; Apparently one name with n. 111. See Note on n. 108. **111.**  $n-b-(t)$ ; Probably one name with n. 110. Last group miscarved for ; cp. e.g. I/98. — If  is the genitive conjunction (cp. nn. 74 and 78), we may perhaps read nn. 110—111:  $r-d-i\bar{3} n b-p-t$ . **112.**  $y-r-h-m$ ; Cp. n. 139. **113—115.** lost. **116.**  $i-d-[r?]-i\bar{3}$ ; The right (*sic*) half of this name has disappeared (together with nn. 113—115). Only first () and last sign () are certain. The sign after  seems to be a poor . As Müller suggests, the name may be identical with n. 117, the first of the following row (dittography?). Lepsius, however, copied a double stroke in the second group of n. 116 (cp. n. 146). **117.**  $i-d-r-i\bar{3}$ ; Cp. preceding Note. — Both n. 117 and n. 118 with the greater half of n. 119 are now lost but were given by Müller who probably reproduces Lepsius' copy (Lepsius' squeezes end with n. 113). Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, II pl. 24) suggests a lacuna after . Maspero (*Etudes etc.*, V pp. 72 and 117) adds  = "la petite", in opposition to n. 100: "la grande". **118.** ( $p\bar{3}$ )?  $h-y-i\bar{3}$ ; Cp. Note on n. 117. — The name without the article has been compared (Breasted AR, IV p. 354 n. b) with  on a stela of Seti I found at Tell esh-Shihab in Transjor-

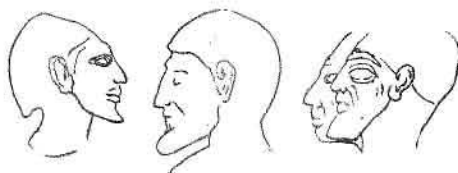


dania (see Qu. Stat. PEF 1901 p. 347). – Some sign is possible before  which stands rather much to the left. It is also possible that  does not represent the article p<sup>3</sup> but is part of the root (p-b-y-i<sup>3</sup>). 119. (m-h-h<sup>3</sup>)-i<sup>3</sup>; Every element in Müller's copy (based on Lepsius) is questionable except . 120. ?-r-y-k; Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 117) reads first sign as ; Müller hesitates between  and , but both are equally doubtful. 121. f-r-i-m-i<sup>3</sup>; 122. i-b-r; One of the "Abel"-names, according to Gauthier (DNG, I p. 52) to be combined with n. 123 into one name. 123. b-i-r-r-(d); Could not  be a mistake for ? 124. b-t<sup>c</sup>-(n)-t; That  (certain according to Müller, though slightly damaged) was at least intended as , can hardly be doubted (בֵּית-עֵנֹת or בֵּית-עֵנֹת). Cp. p. 97 n. 1. 125. s-r-h<sup>3</sup>; The meaning of the three horizontal lines above  is obscure. They may perhaps stand for  in which case the correct reading would be s-r-h-m, possibly = s-r-h-n (Burch. n. 874). 126. i-r-m-t-n; 127. (h<sup>3</sup>)-r-n-(i<sup>3</sup>);  for  or ? Or really 'h'? – Last group  . Intended for ? 128. i-d-m-m;  seems more probable than . Cp. n. 98. – See Note on n. 27. 129. ?-r-h-t; Maspero (*Etudes* etc., V p. 120) reads first group as  , but on other than epigraphical grounds (plural of אֲרָח). 130. ?-i-r; Before first  one

entire group is missing. After first  traces of a bird's feet, prob. . 131. m-r-<sup>3</sup>; Of the lion only head remains. 132. i-r-r-<sup>3</sup>; 133. y-r-(i<sup>3</sup>); Of last  only top left, but following  makes the reading   very probable. Müller suggests  as an alternative. 134–137. Entirely broken away. – Most other names of this (lowest) row are badly damaged. For numbers of names in this section, see p. 94 n. 2. 138. Only feet of  and  remain. 139. y-r-h-m; Cp. n. 112. 140. i-n-n; 141. lost. 142. Only fragments left. First radical possibly . Second sign  or . – After this perhaps . 143. 144. lost. 145. m-k-<sup>3</sup>; According to Müller, there is space left only for low sign and . M-k-t or m-k-d would fit in exactly but this name we have already in n. 27. 146. i-d-r-[?];  (only trace of hand (?) left) might also be , –  is certain according to Müller; only head remains. 147. 148. lost. 149. Only a bird's tail and part of  left. 150. y-r-d-n; According to Müller (*Eg. Res.*, II p. 115), one name with n. 149 (lost). 151. ff. lost except last five names on extreme right. For total number of lost names and for numbers of the remaining five names (1 bis–5 bis), see p. 94 n. 2.

— — — — —

1 bis. s-r-d-d; 2 bis. r-p-h; 3 bis. r-b-n;  
4 bis. c-n-g-r-n; Cp. p. 92 n. 1. 5 bis. h-<3>-m;  
Cp. I/118.



## LIST XXXV (lost)

## SHOSHENQ I, EL HIBEH, TEMPLE OF AMON

*Description:* p. 102*Plan:* XXII (p. 102)*Text:* now entirely lost (see p. 102 n. 3)

## LIST XXXVI

## TAHARQA, KARNAK, TEMPLE OF MUT (STATUE; now CAIRO MUSEUM)

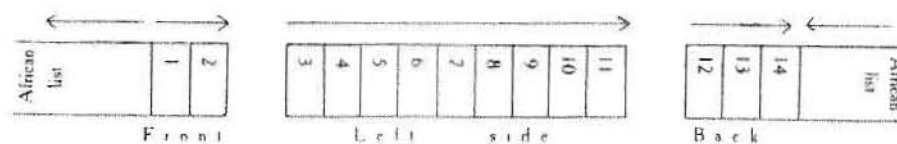
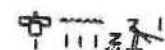

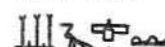
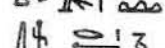
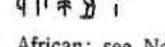
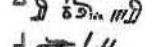


*Description:* p. 103*Text:* from Photographs (see p. 103)*Numbers:* J. de Rougé *Inscr. Hiérog.*, pl. 299

Diagram XXXVI

- 1   
 2-3 „Nine Bows”  
 4   
 5 „Nine Bows”  
 6   
 7   
 8   
 9   
 10-12 African; see Notes  
 13   
 14 

List XII, c

(1)

(4)

(6)

(7)






(8)

(9)

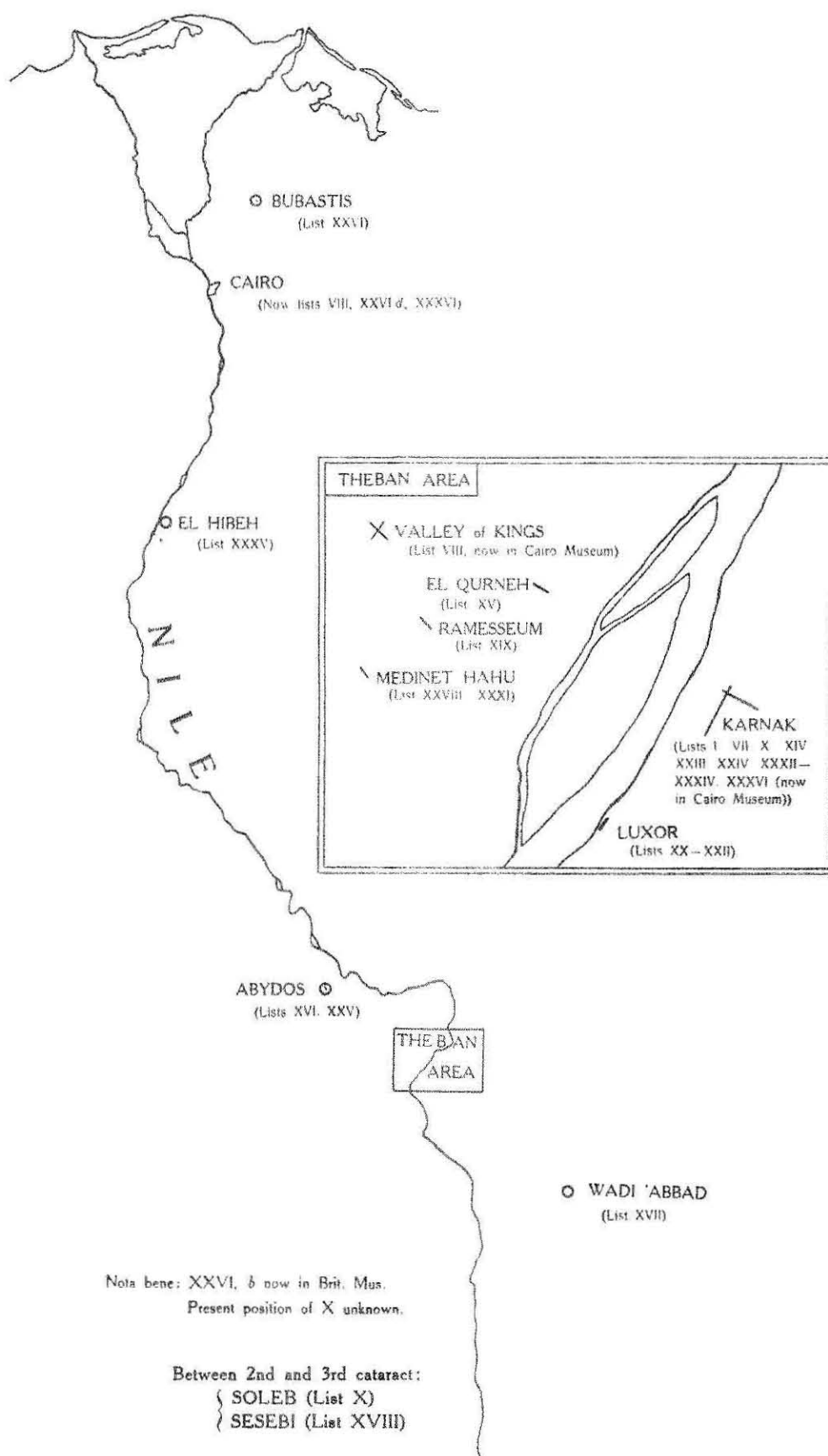
(13)

(14)

## TRANSLITERATION AND NOTES

1. *s-n-[g-r]*; Completed from original of this list: XII/c, 1. 2. 3. „Nine Bows”. 4. *n-h-r-n*; 5. „Nine Bows”. 6. *s-s*; 7. *h-t-<3>*; 8. *l-r-t*; 9. *l-s-s-<w>-r*; See Note on IV/10. 10. African. See Note on original list: XII/c, 10. 11. African; see *ibid.*, c, 11. 12. African; see *ibid.*, c, 12. 13. *t-<w>-n-(p)*; Mariette, last radical: ; now (photogr.) unrecognizable sign but certainly smaller. 14. *q-d-s*;  instead of  *s* () very flat, almost like .

# APPENDIX I: MAP





## ADDENDUM

The manuscript of this book was entirely completed, when A. Jirku's "Beiheft 38" to *Klio: Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen* came from the press (Leipzig 1937). Though on a small scale, this is the first attempt to publish a comprehensive edition of the Egyptian Topographical Lists of Western Asia. As it is intended for non-Egyptologists, the names are given only in transliteration. No effort has been made to reconstruct the original inscriptions or to give any description of their place and present state of preservation, while bibliographical information is confined to a single short note for each list. By a fortunate coincidence Jirku has made his notes on topographical identifications, which have been deliberately excluded from the present book, the substance of his study. Both publications may thus be considered as happily complementing one another.


I do not think it necessary to point out the many differences existing between Jirku's treatment of the subject and my own, but it seems to be quite in keeping with the purpose of my *Handbook* to insert here a synoptic table of the lists as they are numbered in both publications in order to assist the reader in collecting and comparing the information they contain. It will be noticed that some of Jirku's short lists are not found in my collection and that a considerable number of mine are not included in his. I must draw attention to the fact that some separate lists of Jirku are really parts of one and the same list. It is to be feared that this will add to the already existing confusion, and clearly proves the desirability of a somewhat different treatment of the subject, such as attempted in the present volume. It is also to be regretted that for the lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak Jirku has made no use of the new copies published by "The Epigraphic Survey". As he has not taken into account the original form and size of the lists, his numbers are more often than not different from those used in my reproductions and diagrams.


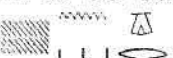
<i>E. T. L.</i>	<i>Jirku</i>
I abc (nn. 1—119)	I (only one of the three texts)
I c (nn. 120—359)	II (nn. 1—270)
II	III
III	---
IV	---
V	---
VI	IV
VII	---
VIII	---
IX	V (a selection of names from my series a and f)
X	---
---	VI (an unpublished list of Amenhotep III with 4 names preserved)
XI	VII
XII a	XX (attributed to Ramses II)
XII c	---
XIII	VIII A + X (one list of which Müller published only one section)
XIV (nn. 20—36)	VIII B
XIV (nn. 51—67)	--- (apparently considered as identical with VIII A).
XV	IX
XVI	XII



XVII	XI
XVIII	---
XIX	---
XX	XVII
XXI	XVIII + XXI
XXII b. d	---
XXII g	XVI
XXIII	XIII
XXIV (nn. 1-25)	---
XXIV (nn. 26-41)	XV
---	XIV (a list of Ramses II from Serre published in <i>Rec. de trav.</i> , etc. 19 1897 p. 73 f.)
---	XIX (a list of Ramses II from Karnak containing 8 names. This is probably the list I referred to on p. 64 n. 2, end).
XXV	---
XXVI	---
XXVII	XXII
XXVIII	---
XXIX	XXIII
XXX	XXIV A
XXXI	---
XXXII	XXIV (It is difficult to state the exact relation between Jirku's
XXXIII	XXIV and my XXXII and XXXIII which he apparently takes for one list, adding to it also some names of the African list on the left tower of Ramses III's temple of Amon at Karnak).
XXXIV	XXV
XXXV	---
---	XXVI (see p. 192).
XXXVI	XXVII
	— — — —

There is little doubt that there still exist more short lists and fragments of secondary importance than mentioned in the collections of Jirku and myself. A few fragments of lists from the time of Amenhotep III have recently been published by A. Varille *Fragments de socles colossaux provenant du temple funéraire d'Amenophis III avec représentations de peuples étrangers*, in *Bull. IFAO* 35 1935 pp. 173-179<sup>1</sup>.

Two small fragments from Kom el-Heïtan (N-W of the Colossi of Memnon) have been found in the store-room of the *Service des Antiquités* at Medinet Habu. Only one name engraved between the figures of two Asiatic captives can be read:  = p-h-r (cp. *Index of Names*, p. 205). Both fragments seem to have belonged to the same relief (probably of Type II). The name of Amenhotep III is engraved on the smaller of these fragments.

Copies of two other fragments<sup>2</sup> made by I. Rosellini and preserved in the *Biblioteca Universitaria* at Pisa are published by Varille in the same article. The smaller fragment has two names:  (= n-h-r-n) and  (= [s]-n-g-r), inscribed in the ordinary name-rings on figures of captive Asiatics. The other one, which is a fragment of a

<sup>1</sup> This publication came to my notice when the printing of this book was already in progress. Its contents could not be incorporated without causing grave inconvenience and are therefore briefly described here.

<sup>2</sup> See P.-M., II p. 161: Names of peoples from broken blocks.



## INDEX OF NAMES

It has been thought useful to present the alphabetic *Index of Names* mentioned in the Topographical Lists in the form of a synoptic conspectus with Burchardt's and Gauthier's lexicons, Albright's groups of names in syllabic script and Borée's classified lists. As it is often difficult to find the names in Gauthier's *Dictionnaire*, while Albright's *Vocalization* and Borée's *Ortsnamen* lack all Indices, this arrangement will be of some help for collecting the literature on the various names, especially as regards proposed topographical identifications. References to Borée's, Burchardt's, Gauthier's and Albright's works do not include the identity of their readings with those of my lists and much less the identity of the numbers with which the names are quoted. It is probable that the references to the *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* are not complete, Gauthier's spelling having prevented me from finding some of the names. Identical names have only been indicated as such where one name was certainly copied from another or where both go back to a common source (see for these genealogical relations between the lists the discussions in Part I) and also where well-known names are being repeated in successive lists. It goes without saying that many more names occurring in this *Index* are topographically identical and can be proved as such either by historical considerations or by applying the norms of Egypto-Semitic phonetics. In the last column of the synoptic table only the more obvious identifications have been recorded<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> — and  $\int$  have been distinguished in transliteration (s, š) but are considered identical for the alphabetic arrangement, these signs being practically interchangeable in Late Egyptian.

$\equiv$  is regularly transliterated as 't' except in the group  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  whose value is identical with  $\text{𓂏} = \text{t}$ .

Acc. = Accadian.

Am. = Armana-letters.

Ass. = Assyrian.

# INDEX OF NAMES<sup>1</sup>

NAME	List	no.	BORÉE	BUR- CHARDT no.	GAUTHIER		ALBRIGHT			Principal Identifi- cations
					vol.	page	group	section	no.	
3										
3-3-r	IX	g, 2		1	I	1				
3-3-[r?]	XXXIV	12								
3-r-š	I	236		5	I	5				
3-ḥ-m-r-r	See ḥ-m-r-r									
i										
i-<3>-3	II	32			I	15				
i-....	I	244								
i-....	I	336								
i-....	I	339								
i-....	XI	4								
i-....	XXI	17								
i-....	XXIII	38								
i-....	XXXIV	48								
i-?-(i?)-n	I	172								
i-?-?	XVII	6								
i-....-š	XII	a, 15								
i-y	I	121		10	I	39				אילון
i-y-m-r	XXVII	9		11	I	39				
i-y-r-n	XXXIV	26		13	I	15				
i-y-r-nr	I	288	§ 13 n. 1	14	I	39				
i-y-r-nr	I	289		14	I	39				
i-y-t-w	I	203		15	I	39				
i-b-r	I a, c	15	§ 1 n. 1	19, a	I	51				Many names of this group are equivalent to Hebr. אבל. Some at least are part of compound names.
i-b-r	I b	15								
i-b-r	I a, b, c	90		19, c	I	51				
i-b-r	I b, c	92		19, d	I	51	VI	B	I	
i-b-r	I a, b, c	99		19, b	I	51				
i-b-r	I	306		21	I	37	III	D	I	Ibla
i-b-r	V	2								
i-b-r	XXIII	19		19, e	I	51				
(i)?-b-r	XXVII	27		1083("tbr")	I	51				
i-b-r	XXXIV	122		19, g	I	51				
i-b-r-i3	XXXIV	40		19, f	I	51				
i-b-r-m	XXXIV	72			1	63 215				

<sup>1</sup> The names mentioned in the "Addendum" are not included in this Index.



NAME	List	no.	BORÉE	BUR- CHARDT no.	GAUTHIER		ALBRIGHT			Principal Identifi- cations
					vol.	page	group	section	no.	
i-b-r-r-n	I	151		23	I	53				
i-b-r-n-n	I	287		22	I	52				
i-b-r-t	I	206		24	I	64				
i-b-r-t	XXVII	22		24	I	64				
[i-b-h-y]	XXIII	31								
i-b-h-y	XXVII	81		25	I	63				
i-b-š-t-n	I	345		31	I	65				
i-b-t	I	198		33						
i-b-t	I	232	§ 6 n. 1	34	I	63				
i-p-h	XXVII	34		108 ("irrph")	I	95				
[i-p-q]	XXIII	30								
i-p-q	XXVII	80	§ 13 n. 6	37	I	66				
i-p-q-n	I a, b, c	66		38	I	67				
i-p-q-n	V	16			I	67				
i-p-t	XV	28	§ 6 n. 1	40	I	67				
i-p-t-n	I b, c	72	§ 23 n. 3	41	I	68				
i-p-t-t-n	IX	f, 5		41	I	68				
i-p-d	XXVII	61	§ 1 n. 2	42	I	67				
i-m-...	I	192			I	37				
i-m-y	I	310		48	I	53				
i-m-r	XXVII	24	§ 1 n. 13	53	I	37				
i-m-<w>-r	XIX	Note on n. 7		cp. n. 52			cp. III	A	3	Amurru
i-m-r	XXXI	2								
i-m-r-š	I	167		54	I	38				
i-m-r-s-k-<i>	I	156		55	I	71	XVII	B	1	
i-m-r-š-k	XXVII	62		56	I	71	XV	A	1	
[i]-m-r-š-k	XXVIII	118								
i-m-(h?)-r	I	346		57	I	71				
i-m-š-t-r-k	XXVII	49			I	78				
i-m-š-t-r-k	XXVIII	101		58	I	78				
i-m-š-n, i-[m]-š-n	I a, b, c	24	§ 13 n. 5	59	I	71				
i-m-k	I	308		60	I	72				
i-m-t	I	122			I	72				
i-m-t	XXVII	120	§ 3 n. 4	61	I	72				
i-n	XX	22								
[i]-n	XXI	11								
i-n-...	I	241								
i-(n?)-. ....	XI	1								
i-n-...	XXVII	3 bis								
i-n-<w> or i-n-n	I	225								
i-n-f-r	I	146		64	I	54				

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i-n-m	I	138		65	I	54				
i-n-m-y-m	XIX	9	§ 11 n. 3	66	I	54				
i-n-m-r	XXXIV	67	§ 17 n. 12	67	I	84				
i-n-(n)?	Sec i-n-<w>									
i-n-n	XXXIV	140	§ 1 n. 14	68	I	54				
i-(n?)-n-[?]	I	245		69	I	45				
or: i-n-n-(?)?-y	I	290		70	I	85				
i-n-n-(m)?-y	I	290		70	I	85				
i-n-h-r-t	I a, b, c	52	§ 5 n. 3	82	I	80				אֲחֵרֶת אֲחֵרֶת
i-n-t...	I	193								
i-n-t-k	XXVII	44		86	I	60				
i-n-t-k	XXIX	3								
i-n-t-q-b	I	235		87	I	60				
i-nw	I a, c	65	§ 16 n. 1	63	I	50	III	E	2	אוֹנִי
i-nw-q	I	148		84						
(i)-nr-k	I	283		78	I	45				
i-nr-t	I	166		80	I	55	X	A	1	Ullaza (Am.)
i-nr-t	XIII	56		80	I	55				
[i-n]r-t	XIV	58		80	I	55				
i-nr-t	XV	19		80	I	55				
i-nr-t	XXII	b, 8			I	55				
i-nr-t	XXIV	40			I	55				
i-r	I	134		90	I	90	III	A	4	
i-r-<y>	XXVII	26			I	61				
i-r-<y>	XXVIII	33			I	61				
i-r-<y>	XXIX	2			I	61				
i-r.....	I	233								
i-r.....	I	350								
i-r.....	III	14								
i-r?-(t?)-?	XXI	18								
i-r-p-n-h	I	318			I	91				
i-r-p-s-n-n	XXVII	60		95	I	93				
i-r-m	I	208		97	I	60				
i-r-m	I	313		97	I	60				
i-r-m-h	XIII	35								
i-r-[m-h]	XIV	33								
i-r-m-t-n	XXXIV	126	§ 13 n. 7 § 17 n. 20	100	I	94				
i-r-n	I	293		102	I	61				
i-r-n-r	I	169		104	I	95				
i-r-r[?]	XXXIV	132								
i-r-r-p-h	IX	g, 7		108	I	95	III	A	8	Arrapha (Acc.)
i-r-h-r-r	XXXIV	70		110	I	96				

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i-r-s	I	213		111	I	96				
i-r-š	XV	12		111	I	96	III	A	10	Alašiya (Am.)
i-r-š-?	I	298		112	I	97				
i-r-(q ?)-d	XXXIV	97			I	97				
i-r-k-b-r	XXVII	50			IV	13				
i-r-k-n	XXVII	17		115	III	122				
i-r-t	I	237		117	I	97				
i-r-(t ?)-[?]	I	175			I	47				
i-r-t-p-h	XXII	g, 13			I	99				
i-r-t-(n)?	XI	8			I	98				
i-r-t-(n)?	XIII	36			I	98				
i-r-t-(n)?	XIV	34								
i-r-t-(n)?	XV	29	§ 13 n. 8	120	I	98				
i-r-t-g	XV	39	§ 17 n. 9, 22	122	I	98				
i-r-t-g	XX	6			I	98				
i-r-t-g	XXII	g, 8			I	98				
i-r-t-g	XXX	14			I	98				
i-r-t	XI	3		125 ("Dyn. 19")	I	99	III	A	13	Arzawa (Hitt.)
i-r-t	XII	c, 8			I	99				
i-r-t	XIV	35			I	99				
i-r-t	XXII	g, 15								
i-r-t	XXIV	33			I	99				
i-r-t	(XXVII	88)		125	I	99				
i-r-t	XXXIII	d, 5			I	99				
i-r-t	XXXVI	8			I	99				
i-r-t-k-n	I	139		126	I	99				
i-r-d-n	XXIII	15			I	100				
i-r-d-n	XXVII	91			I	100				
i-š- . . .	I	243								
i-s-y	XIII	31			I	77				Cyprus
i-s-y	XIV	29			I	77				
i-s-y	XV	36								
i-s-y	XXIV	22			I	77				
i-s-y	XXV	6			I	77				
i-s-y	XXX	8			I	77				
i-š-r	XVII	4	§ 1 n. 23	139	I	105				אִשְׁרָ
i-š-r	XXV	8			I	105				
i-s-r <sup>c</sup>	II	6	§ 17 n. 1		I	61				

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i-š-š-<w>-r	IV	10					III	A	15	Assur, אֲשׁוּר
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i-š-š-<w>-r	XII	c, 9			I	105				
i-š-š-<w>-r	XV	37		140	I	105				
i-š-š-<w>-r	XX	7			I	105				
i-š-š-<w>-r	XXII	g, 6								
i-š-š-<w>-r	XXXVI	9								
i-s-t	I	223	§ 1 n. 63	143	I	48				
i-š-m-b	I	227		150	I	107				
i-š-h-t	XXXIV	93	§ 5 n. 5	151	I	107				
					III	70				
i-š-š-h-n	I a, b, c	58	§ 13 n. 9 § 17 n. 28	153	I	107				
i-š-š-h-n	II	3			I	107				
i-š-š-h-n	V	9		153	V	130				
i-q- ?	XXVII	41	§ 1 n. 19	156	I	109				
i-q-[p-t?]	XIII	33		108 ("irrph")						
i-[q-p-t]	XIV	31			I	109				
[i]-q-p-t?	XXI	36			I	109				
i-q-p-t	XXIV	18	§ 17 n. 15	159	I	109				
i-q-r	I a, c	88	§ 1 n. 21	161	I	109				
i-q-š-r	XXII	d, 9			I	110				Ugarit(Ras Shamra)
i-q-d-<w>	I a, b	17	§ 17 n. 13	162	I	109				
i-k-m	I	315		164	I	62				
i-k-r-<i>-t	IX	a, 5	§ 17 n. 5	167	I	110	X	B	2	
i-k-r-<i>-[t]	XII	a, 12			I	110				
i-k-(š)	XXVII	98		169 ("ikt")	I	49				
i-k-š-y	XXVII	15								
i-k-s-p	I a, b, c	40	§ 17 n. 6	168	I	112	III	A	18	
i-k-t	XXIII	18	§ 1 n. 9	169						
i-k-t-m-š	I b, c	119	§ 17 n. 14	165 ("ikmš")	I	112				
i-(t)-[?]	XXIX	5		173 ("it")						אֲרָמִים
i-t-y-r	I	200		174 ("itir")	I	62				
i-t-b	I	262		175	I	49				
i-t-b-n	I	226		176	I	113				
i-t-(m?)	I	238								
i-t-m-m	I a, b, c	36	§ 9 n. 1	178	I	114				
i-t-n	I	263		179	I	50	IX	B	1	
i-t-n	XXVII	16		50 ("imn")	I	70				
i-t-r	I a, b, c	14	§ 1 n. 5	181	I	115				

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i-t-r	I	221		180						
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i-t-r	XXVII	11		649 ("rtr")	III	129				
i-t-r- <sup>c</sup>	I a, c	91	§ 17 n. 1	182						אֲרָעִי
i-t-r-n	I	230		183	I	115				
i-t-r-t-n	I	281		184	I	115				
i-t-k-m	I	297								
i-t-k-r	I	228		185						
i-t-g-n-r	I	191		186	I	116				
i-t-t-m	I	286		188	I	115				
i-t-<w>	XIII	58			I	62	III	E	5	Uzu (Am.)
i-t-<w>	XIV	60								
i-t-<w>	XV	22		190	I	62				
[i-t]-<w>	XX	15			I	62				
i-[t]-<w>	XXI	7			I	62				
i-t-n	I	215		192	I	123				
i-t-r	XXIII	12			I	123				
i-t-r	XXIII	24	§ 1 n. 15	194	I	124				
i-t-r	XXVII	88		125 ("irt")						
i-t-r	XXIX	11			I	123				
i-t-r	XXVII	101		194	I	123				
i-t-h-š	XXVIII	109	§ 1 n. 8	131 ("ihš")	I	48				
(i)-t-k-r	I	197		195	I	49				
i-d-m-iš	XXXIV	56	§ 1 n. 4	197	I	128	cp. III	A	21	
i-d-m-m	XXXIV	98	cp. § 9 n. 1	197 ("idm")	I	114				
i-d-m-m	XXXIV	128		" "	I	128				
i-d-r	XXXIV	28		200	I	125				
i-d-r-iš	XXXIV	100			I	129				
i-d-[r?]-iš	XXXIV	116			I	128				
i-d-r-iš	XXXIV	117	§ 1 n. 5	200	I	129				
i-d-r-[?]	XXXIV	146								
i-d-r-m	XXXIV	19	§ 11 n. 2	201	I	129				
[i]-d	XX	21								
i-d	XXI	13								
i-d-n	XXVIII	107	§ 22 n. 1	207	I	131				
i-d-n-nw	I	344		208 ("idn")	I	131				
y										
y.....	XXIII	36								
y- <sup>c</sup> -q-b-i-r	I a	102	§ 27 n. 3	212	I	165	III	B	2	יַעֲקֹב־אֵל
y- <sup>c</sup> -q-b-(m)-r	I b	102		212	I	165				
y- <sup>c</sup> -q-b-r	XXIII	9		212	I	165				
y- <sup>c</sup> -q-b-r	XXVII	104		212	I	165				



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y-b-r- <sup>c</sup> -m	I a, b, c	43	\$ 28 n. 1	214	I	167	IV		1	יבֿלֿעֿם
y-p-<w>	I a, b, c	62	\$ 16 n. 5	215	I	167	IV		2	יפֿו
y-p-<w>	II	16								
y-[p-<w>]	V	13			I	167				
[y]-n-?	XXVIII	121	\$ 30 n. 9							
y-[n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m]	XIII	52					IV		4	Yanuamma (Am.)
y-n-[<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m]	XIV	54		219	I	169				
y-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m	XV	17			I	169				
y-n-<w>-m	XVI	a, 1		219	I	169				
[y-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m]	XX	11			I	169				
[y]-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -[m]	XXI	3			I	169				
y-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m	XXII	b, 2			I	169				
y-[n-<w>-m]	XXIII	28								
y-n-<w>- <sup>c</sup> -m	XXIV	29		219	I	169				
y-n-<w>-m	XXVII	78		219	I	169				
y-[n]-d-t	XXIII	2	\$ 5 n. 23 \$ 31 n. 7	226	I	170				
y-n-d-t	XXVII	109		226	I	170				
y-r-(i?)	XXXIV	133		232 ("jrd")	I	166				
y-r-p	XXVII	65	\$ 30 n. 18	227	I	170				
y-r-h-m	XXXIV	112	\$ 30 n. 17	228	I	166				
y-r-h-m	XXXIV	139		228	I	166				
y-r-t	I a, c	100	\$ 1 n. 97	229	I	170				
y-r-[t]	I b	100								
y-r-d-n	XXXIV	150		231	I	170	cp.IV		6	יִרְדֿן
y-r-d	I a, c	60		232	I	170	IV		17	
y-[r-d?]	II	14								
y-r-d	V	11	\$ 30 n. 19		I	170				
[y?]-r-d-i?	XXXIV	59		232	I	170				
y-h	XXVII	115	\$ 1 n. 95	233	I	171				
y-h	XXIX	13			I	171				
y-h-m	I a, b, c	68	\$ 30 n. 7	234	I	171	IV		7	
y-h-m	XXXIV	35		234	I	166				
y-š-n-t	XXVIII	79	\$ 5 n. 24	237	I	172	IV		8	
y-š-p-i-r	I a	78	\$ 27 n. 9	239	I	172	III	B	4	יִשׁוּבֿ-אַל
y-š-p-r	V	25			I	172				
y-q-(d?)	XXVIII	75								
y-t-h-b	I	147		242	I	172				
y-d h-m-r-k	XXXIV	29		244	I	166				See p. 96
c										
c . . . . .	XXIII	37								
c-i-d-m-i?	See c-<i>-d-m-i?									

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°y-n	I a, b, c	46	§ 11 n. 17	246	I	131	cp. VII	B	4	עִקָּק		
°y-n	I b	95		246	I	132						
[°p-r wr	I a, b	53		253	I	142						
°p-r wr	V	4			I	142						
°p-r wr	V	5					V	A	4		עִקָּק	
°p-r šr	I a, b, c	54		253	I	142						
°m-q	I a, b, c	107	§ 21 n. 30	261	I	135						
°m-q	XXXIV	65		261								
°n-<y>	I a, c	86		265 ("n")	I	146	V	A	6			עִקָּק
°n-<w>-n?	XXI	14										
[°n-n]-g-r	XXIII	3			I	147						
°n-n-g-r	XXVII	110	§ 22 n. 7	269	I	147						
°n š-w	Ia, b, c	5	§ 22 n. 15	272	I	149	V	A	7	עִקָּק		
°n š-n-š-m	XIX	4	§ 22 n. 8	268	I	148						
				(°n n h m")								
				273	I	150						
[°n q-n-°m	I a, b, c	113	§ 22 n. 12		I	150	V	A	7		עִקָּק	
			§ 28 n. 4		I	150						
°n q-n-°m	II	7										
°n [q?]-[h?]-[n?]	XXVIII	77			I	147						
°n-g-r-n	XXXIV	4 bis	§ 13 n. 55		I	150	V	A	7			עִקָּק
°r-n	I a, c	27	§ 13 n. 56	276	I	135						
°r-n	XXXIV	32		276	I	136						
					I	137						
°r-d-īš	XXXIV	108	§ 1 n. 145		IV	13	XIX	A	5	עִקָּק		
°r-d-īš	XXXIV	110		281	I	136						
[°s-t-r-t	I a	28	§ 6 n. 20	286	I	157						
°s-t-r-t	I b, c	28		286	I	157						
°k-<š>	I a, b, c	47	§ 16 n. 10	288	I	137	V	A	9		עִקָּק	
°k-<š>	XIII	54										
[°]-k-<š>	XIV	56			I	137						
°k-<š>	XV	13		288	I	137						
°k-<š>	XXIV	31			I	137	V	A	9			עִקָּק
°d-y-t	XXXIV	78			I	138						
					I	138						
°<i>-d-m-īš	XXXIV	66	§ 1 n. 143	245	I	138						
			§ 13 n. 54	(°idm")			XIX	A	5	עִקָּק		
°d-h-t	XXXIV	85	§ 5 n. 37	305	I	164						
					III	70						
w												
w-[?]-w	XXIV	16					V	A	9		עִקָּק	
w-n...	III	10										
w-n-y	I	145		308	I	196						

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w-n-t-š	XX	9			I	199				
w-n-[t]-š	XXI	2			I	199				
w-r-?	I	180								
w-r-w	XXVII	30			I	200				
w-r-w	XXVII	94			I	200				
w-r-m	I	333		311	I	166	X	B	3	
w-r-k-y-t	XXXIV	76			V	100				
					I	176				
w-h-t-w-r-k-(i?)	XXXIV	91		318	I	177				
					III	70				
<b>b</b>										
b-i-r-r-(d)	XXXIV	123		327	II	2				
b-i-r-t	I a, b, c	19	§ 6 n. 4	328	II	2	VI	B	5	Biruta, בִּירֻטָּה
b-i-r-t	I a, b, c	109		328	II	2				
b-y-i?	XXXIV	118			II	37				
b-m-y	I c	7	§ 6 n. 5	340	II	21				
(b)-n	XXVIII	119			V	17				
b-r	I a, b, c	50	§ 1 n. 34	347	II	23				
b-r	XXVII	112		347	II	23				
b-r-?	XXIII	41								
b-r-b-t-(r)	XXVIII	106	§ 5 n. 8	353	II	24				
b-r-m	XXXIV	33		354	II	24				
b-r-(n)	XI	2			II	25				
b-r-(n)	XIII	34			II	25				
-b-r-(n)	XIV	32			II	25				
b-r-q-n	I a, c	117	§ 13 n. 13	358	II	25				
b-r-g	XV	42	§ 1 n. 35	364	II	25				
b-r-g	XX	8			II	25				
b-[r]-g	XXI	1			II	25				
b-r-g	XXII	g, 12			II	25				
b-k-r	XXVIII	80								
b-t-....	XXI	29			II	9				
b-<y>-t ?-d	XIX	14			II	9				
b-t-<y>-[?]-[?]	I a	97			II	8				
b-t-<y>-[?]-[?]	I c	97	§ 1 n. 39	382 ("bti")	II	8				
b-t i-n-t	I b, c	111		386 ("btnt?")	II	8				

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b-t [ <sup>c</sup> n-t?]	XIV	61								
b-t <sup>c</sup> n-t	XV	23		384	II	8				
b-<y>-t <sup>c</sup> n-t	XVI	a, 3		329 ("bjt <sup>c</sup> nt")	II	8	VI	B	6	
b-<y>-t <sup>c</sup> n-t	XIX	Note onn.5			II	8				
[b-t] <sup>c</sup> n-t	XX	16			II	8				
b-[t] <sup>c</sup> n-t	XXI	8			II	8				
b-t <sup>c</sup> n-t	XXIV	39			II	8				
b-t <sup>c</sup> (n)-t	XXXIV	124		384	II	8				
b-t <sup>c</sup> r-m	XXXIV	36	§ 21 n. 47	385	II	8				בֵּית-עֹקֶס
b-t b-n-t	I a	111		386 ("btnt?")	II	8				
b-t h-<w>-r-n	XXXIV	24	§ 21 n. 19	387	II	9	cp. X	C	13	בֵּית-חֻוּוֹן
b-t š-i-r	I a, c	110								
b-t š-[i-r]	I b	110	§ 21 n. 42	388	II	9	VI	B	17	בֵּית-שָׁאֵן
b-t š-[r]	XIII	51		388 ("btšnr")	II	9				
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b-t š-r	XV	16		388	II	9				
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b-t d-b-[?]	XXXIV	45	§ 21 n. 48	391 ("btḏb")	II	11				
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b-d-n	I a, b, c	23	§ 13 n. 11	396	II	11				
p										
p-i-nr	I	312		399	II	53				
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m-r-(m)-r	XXVII	47		473	III	16				
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m-r-n-s	XXVII	38	§ 6 n. 16	474	III	14				
(m)-r-r-?	I	337			V	111				
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m-r-r-h-n-s	I	177		476	III	14				
m-r-q	I	349		479	III	14	X	B	4	מְחִנִּים
m-h-n-m	XXXIV	22	§ 11 n. 14	488	III	17				
(m-h-h?)-i?	XXXIV	119								
m-<i>-h-s	I a, b, c	61		445	III	12				
m-<w>-h-s	II	15								
m-<i>-h-s	V	12			III	12				
m-(h)-t-r	See m-k-t-r									
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m-s-i-r	I a, b, c	39		507	III	18				
m-s-w	I	282		508	III	18				
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[m-q]-r-p	I b	94	§ 18 n. 31		III	20				
m-q-r-p-t	I c	94		519						
m-q-r-t	I a, b, c	106	§ 18 n. 25	520	III	20				מִעֲרָת מִקְדָּה
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m-k-t	I b	2		526	III	20				
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m-<w>-t-y	I	218		539	III	14				מגדל מגדל
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m-t-n	XXI	27								
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m-t-n	XXVIII	38								
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[m-<w>?]-t-r	XX	20			III	33				
(m-t-t <sup>c</sup> ...)	XXXIV	10			III	12				
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n-<i>-y	I	132		556	III	72	IV		12	Nii (Am.), Niya (Hitt.)
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n <sup>c</sup> -m-n	V	31			III	71				
n-b-r	XXVII	64	§ 1 n. 123	566	III	68	VI	D	1	
[n]-b-r	XXVIII	120			III	68				
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n-n-r-m-n-n-d	I	158		572	III	93				
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n-(g)-b	XXXIV	90			III	70				
n-(g)-b	XXXIV	92		594	III	70				
n-t-b	I	201		596	III	70				
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n-t-k-n	XXVII	45		597 ("ntk")	III	95				
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r-t-m-r-k	I a, b, c	45		647	III	140				
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r-t-n ?-r-t	VI	2								
r-t-n h-r-t	VII	1								
r-t-n h-r-t	XIII	24			III	141				
r-t-n h-r-t	XIV	22								
r-t-n h-r-t	XV	25								
r-t-n h-r-t	XXXII	18								
r-t-n h-r-t	VII	2			III	141				"Lower Retenu"
r-t-n h-r-t	XIII	25			III	141				
r-t-n h-r-t	XIV	23			III	141				
r-t-n h-r-t	XV	26			III	141				
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h-<3>-m	XXXIV	5 bis			IV	1				
h-<w>-m	I b, c	118	§ 1 n. 60	655	IV	4	XI	C	1	
h-<w>-m	II	25			IV	4				
h-r	I a, b, c	77	§ 1 n. 61	659	IV	2	XI	A	2	
h-r	V	24			IV	2				
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h-r-(m)-i-r	I c	81		660	IV	6				
h-r-(m)-i-r	V	28			IV	6				
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h-r-n-m	XXIX	8			IV	2				
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h-m-t	XXIV	27								
h-n-n-i <sup>3</sup>	XXXIV	95			IV	14				
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h-r-k-r	I a, b	101		692	IV	12				
h-r-[k-r]	I c	101								
h-[q]-r-i <sup>3</sup>	XXXIV	68	§ 22 λ n. 5	695	IV	14				See pp. 97-99
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ś-r-m	XIX	15	§ 1 n. 197	870	V	104	cp.XV	A	9	שָׁלֵם
ś-r-n-r-i (ʔ)	XXXIV	104		872	{ IV 9 V 104					
ś-r-h-?	XXXIV	125		874 (“śrh”) 876	V	104	cp.XII	D	3	שְׁרוּחַן (?)
ś-r-d-n	XXXI	4			V	105	cp. X	D	13	
ś-r-d-d	XXXIV	I bis			V	106				

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š-š-<w>	VIII	4		878 (no examples from lists)						
š-[š-w]	IX	g, 5								
š-[š]	XII	c, 6								
š-š-<w>	XIV	35			V	106				
š-š-<w>	XVII	2								
š-š-<w>	XXII	g, 10								
š-š-<w>	XXIV	34			V	106				
š-š	XXXVI	6								
š-s-p-h-š	I	131		845 ("šphš")	V	145				
š-<w>-š-r-n	I	343		879	V	130				
š-q-n	XXVIII	110	§ 13 n. 81	882	V	109				
š-[k-r-š]	XXXI	5		888 (no examples from lists)						
<b>q</b>										
q-....	XXIII	34								
q-b <sup>c</sup>	I a, b, c	114	§ 1 n. 41	897	V	169				קבע
q-b <sup>c</sup>	II	8			V	169				
q-b <sup>c</sup>	XXI	23			V	154				
q-b <sup>c</sup> -n	XXXIV	23	§ 13 n. 14	898	V	169				קבען
q-b-r <sup>c</sup>	XXVII	114	§ 2 c n. 6	899	V	168				
q-p-t	I a, b, c	103	§ 5 n. 45 § 13 n. 15	900	V	155				
q-[m-h-m]	XIII	53								
(q)-m-h-m	XV	18	§ 1 n. 171: "km" (certainly incomplete)		V	155				
[q-m]-h-m	XX	12			V	155				
q-[m]-h-m	XXI	4			V	155				
q-m-h-m	XXII	b, 6			V	155				
q-m-h-[m]	XXIV	30		902 ("km...")	V	155				
q-(m?)-š-p-(t)	XXIII	11			V	155				
q-m-q	XXVII	113	§ 1 n. 173	903	V	155				
q-m-d	XIII	55	§ 1 n. 172	904			VIII	A	14	Kumidi (Am.)
q-[m]-d	XIV	57			V	155				
q-m-d	XV	20		904	V	155				
q-n	XIX	6	§ 3 n. 92	907	V	156	XVI	A	4	Qana (Galil.)
q-nw	I a, b, c	26	§ 5 n. 10	905	V	153	IX	C	5	Qanu (Am.)
q-(r?)-?-m	XIII	61								
q-r-b-q	XXVII	73	§ 23 n. 38	916 ("krbtq")	V	157				
q-r-p-n	XXIII	14			V	160				
q-r-m-m	XV	24	§ 11 n. 21	917	V	157				
[q-r-m?]-m	XX	17								
(q?)-[r-m?]-m	XXI	9								

See also XIII/61 and XIV/63



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q-r-m-n	XXIII	20		918	V	157				
q-r-h	XXIII	17			V	157				
q-r-h	XXVII	93	§ 1 n. 174	925	V	157				
q-r-q-m-⟨i⟩-š	XIX	f, 3		926	V	157	VIII	A	15	קרמקש
See also under 'k'										
[q-r]-t	XXIII	33			V	160				
q-r-t <sup>c</sup> n-(b?)	XIII	63	cp. § 21 n. 31	929 (no examples from lists)	V	159	X	D	16	קר(ת)ענב
[q-r-t <sup>c</sup> n-b]	XIV	65			V	159				
q-r-t <sup>c</sup> n-b	XVI	a, 4								
[q]-r-t <sup>c</sup> n-b	XXIV	41			V	159				
[q-r-t <sup>c</sup> n?)-(b?)	XXXIII	b, 4								
q-r-t-p-n	XXVII	90	§ 22 r n. 6	931	V	160				
q-r-t n-d-n	I a, c	11	§ 22 r n. 8	932	V	177				
q-r-t-s (or q-r-t-s)	XXI	25			V	159				
q-r-t-k	XXVII	83		933	V	159				
q-š-[b?]-p-t	XXVII	100			V	155				
q-š-n	I a, b, c	37	§ 13 n. 67	938	V	162	XIV	D	4	קשין
q-š-n-r-m	XXIII	13		939	V	161				
q-š-n-r-m	XXVII	89	§ 5 n. 46	940	V	161	XVI	A	19	
				("kšnrt")						
q-š-r y-b-n	XXIII	21	§ 13 n. 68	941	V	162				
q-š-r- <sup>c</sup>	XXIII	7	§ 2 c n. 7	942	V	161				
q-š-r- <sup>c</sup>	XXVII	102		942	V	161				
q-(š?)-k-n	XXVIII	108								
q-š-t-i-š-r	XXVII	103			V	161				
[q]-š-t-b-r-(n)	XXVII	85		944	V	162	XVI	A	19	
				("kštbrk")						
q-(t)-m-n	XXVII	84			V	157				
q-t-r	XXVIII	73			V	162				
q-t-i-š-r	XXIII	8		948	V	162	XVI	A	19	
q-d-⟨y⟩	XXVI	d, 1			V	179				
q-d-m	II	33	§ 1 n. 167	cp. 949	V	180				
q-d-n	VI	17		950	V	181	IX	A	9	קרם Qatna (Am.)
q-d-n	IX	g, 1		950	V	181				
q-d-n	XII	a, 11			V	181				
q-d-n	XII	c, 15			V	181				
[q-d]-n	XIII	30		950	V	181				
q-d-n	XIV	28								
q-d-n	XXX	7			V	181				
q-d-⟨w⟩-r?	XIII	62	§ 1 n. 43	951	V	162	XXI	C	3	קרור
q-d-(r)-⟨w⟩-r	XXI	24			V	162				

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q-d-š	VIII	5								
q-d-š	IX	a, 1			V	182				
q-d-š	XII	a, 10			V	182				
q-d-š	XII	c, 14			V	182				
q-d-š	XIII	28								
[q-d-š]	XIV	26								
q-d-š	XV	31								
q-d-š	XVII	3								
q-d-š	XXXIII	d, 6								
q-d-š	XXXVI	14								
[q-š]-d-š-t	XXXIV	54			V	181				
					VI	99				
q-d-t-m	XXXIV	25	§ 11 n. 20	954	V	163				עֲרִיתִים
q-d-r	I a, b, c	104	§ 1 n. 47	959	V	164	XVI	A	10	גַּזְרִי, Gazri (Am.)
<b>k</b>										
k-.....	XXI	15								
k-š-n	III	12								
k-y-n-b	I	212		965	V	184				
k-y-r-w	XXVII	21			V	196				
k-w-r	XIX	8			V	184				
k-b-<y>	XXVIII	72			V	184				
k-b-š s-m-n	I a, b, c	41	§ 22 s n. 7	969	V	197				
k-b-r	XXVII	23	§ 1 n. 100	971	V	185	VI	D	2	כְּבֹל
k-p-<w>	XXI	30			V	198				
k-p-n	IX	f, 2		975	V	197				Gubla (Am.), גִּבְלָה, Byblos
[k-f-t	IX	a, 10		977	V	198				Crete
k-f-t-<w>	XXV	5		977	V	198				
k-m-r-<w>	I	261			V	187				
k-m-t	I a, b	8	§ 1 n. 102	986	V	185	VIII	A	14	Kumidi (Am.)
k-n	XXVII	32	§ 5 n. 25	987	V	188	XVII	C	7	
k-n-n-r-t	I a	34	§ 1 n. 101	991	V	205	X	A	21	כְּנָרָה, כְּנָרוֹת
[k-n- r -t	I b, c	34		991	V	205				
k-n-š-š-h	I	257		995						
k-n-t i-š-n	I a, b, c	44	§ 17 n. 25	994	V	206				Gimtiasna (Am.)
k-n-t t-r-k	II	17	§ 22 s n. 1		V	206				

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k-n-t	I a, b, c	70		995	V	206				
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k-nr-t	I	163		992	V	188				
k-r-?	XXIII	43								
k-r-y-m-n	I a, b, c	49		1001	V	207				
k-r-p...	XIX	5	§ 1 n. 50	1004	V	189				
			§ 1 n. 107							
k-r-m-y-m	XXVII	74	§ 11 n. 13	1006	V	190	VIII	A	16	
k-r-m-n	I c	96	§ 14 a n. 2	1007	V	190				
k-r-m-t	I	307		1009						
k-r-n	XXVII	20		1011	V	207				
k-r-n	XXVII	40		1011	V	190				
k-r-n	XXVII	122		1011	V	190				
k-r-n	XXIX	4								
k-r-r	I a, c	80	§ 1 n. 51	1012	V	207				
[k-r]-r	I b	80								
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k-r-s-w	I	264		1016	V	207				
k-r-k	XXIII	10			V	191				
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k-r-k-m-s	I	270		1019	V	158	VIII	A	15	כְּרִכְמִשׁ
k-r-k-m-s	XXVII	29		1019	V	158				
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k-r-t m-r-t	I	222		1023 (bis)	V	191				
k-ḥ-(m?)	I	174			V	193				
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k-q-t	XXVII	69	§ 1 n. 105	1031	V	194	XVII	A	10	
k-q-t	XXVIII	103		1031	V	194				
k-k-m-?	XXXIV	46			V	209				
k-g-t-y	XXVII	51		1033	V	195	XVIII	A	6	
k-t-y-n	XXVII	8		1035	V	196				
k-t-s-n	I a, b, c	4	§ 13 n. 39	1037	V	210	XIV	D	5	
k-t-s-[?]	I	249		1038	V	210				
(k-t-t)?	XXXIV	55			II	36				
					V	181				
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g-b-?	XXIII	44								
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g-m-?	XXXIV	11			V	212				
g-r	XXI	32			V	212				
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t-y-i	I a, b, c	74	§ 1 n. 214	1076	VI	40				
(t-y-š-i)?	XXXIV	69		441						
t-y-t	IX	g. 6	§ 1 n. 215	1077	VI	47	XIX	A	12	
t- <sup>c</sup> -n-k	I a, b, c	42	§ 20 n. 4	1079	VI	5	V	A	15	תענך
t- <sup>c</sup> -n-k-i?	XXXIV	14		1079	VI	5				
t-b-y	I a, b, c	22	§ 1 n. 89 and n. 210	1082	VI	48				
t-b-t	XXVII	46		1084	VI	41				
t-b-t	XXVIII	2								
t-b-t-y	XXVIII	124			VI	40				
t-p-n	I a, b	98	§ 13 n. 17	1085	VI	14	XIX	D	3	דיבון
t-p-k-n-n-(t?)	I	187		1087						
t-m-n	IV	5			VI	15				
t-m-š-q	I a, b, c	13		1090	VI	42	XIX	A	14	דמשק
t-m-q-r	I	347		1091	VI	42				
t-n-y	XII	a, 14								
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t-<w>-n-<i>-p	I	127		1093	VI	49	IX	B	8	Tunip (Am.)
t-n-p	VI	16		1093	VI	49				
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t-<w>-n-p	XV	38								
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t-<w>-n-(p)	XXXVI	13								
t-n-n-r	I	322		1094	VI	71	IX	D	3	
t-n-r-s	I	224		1096						
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t-r-b-š	XXVII	42			VI	43				
t-r-b-š	XXIX	6			VI	43				
t-r-m-n-n	I	125		1108	VI	44				
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t-r-n	XXVII	43			VI	71				
t-r-n	XXIX	7			VI	71				
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t-r-š	XXXI	6		1112						
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t-r-š-h-r	XXVII	5		1114	VI	71	XIX	D	5	
t-r-t	XXVII	53		1120	VI	68 79				
t-r-(t)-y-s	XXVIII	100			VI	44				
t-r-d	I	164		1123	VI	27				
t-h-<y>-š	VIII	6		1128 (no examples from lists)			XIV	B	4	Tahši (Am.)
t-h-š-<y>	XV	33			VI	46				
t-h-š-<y>	XV	35								
t-h-š-<y>	XXI	26			VI	46				
t-h-š-<y>	XXII	g, 2			VI	81				
t-š-p	XXVII	57		1131	VI	71	XIV	D	6	
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t-š-r-t	I a, b, c	56	§ 5 n. 49	1133	VI	47	XIV	D	7	
t-š-r-t	V	7			VI	47				
t-š-h	XXVII	25			VI	46				
t-š-(t)	XXVIII	28			VI	47				
t-š-(t)	XXIX	1								
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t-k-m-r-s	I	231		1136	VI	40				
t-k-n-<w>	I	291			VI	47				
t-t-y-n	I a, b, c	9	§ 14 a n. 1	1137	VI	51	XIX	A	18	דמין
t-t-p	I	338		1139	VI	71				
t-t-t	I	229		1138 ("tt")	VI	39				
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t-m-k	I	255		1152	VI	66				
t-n-d-<w>-r	I	173		1157	VI	73	IX	E	7	Zinzar (Am.)
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t-r-h	I	342		1169	VI	68				
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t-k-n	XXVII	52	§ 13 n. 48	1169 (bis)	VI	69				
t-k-n	XXVIII	104		1169 (bis)	VI	69				
t-k-r	I	136		1170 (bis)	VI	69				
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t-g-r-r	I	161		1176 (bis)	VI	70				
t-t-n	I	188		1177	VI	73				
t-t-r-s-t	I	202		1179	VI	70				
t-t-r-s-t	I	216		1179	VI	70				
t-t-m	XXVII	4		1182	VI	70				
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d-q-r	XXVIII	78	§ 1 n. 59	1196	VI	101				
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d-b-b	XXVII	119	§ 1 n. 156	1208	VI	103				
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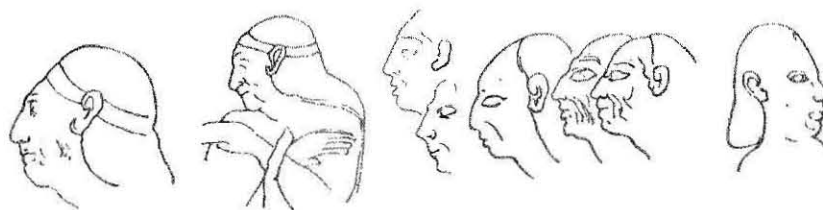
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d<w>-r	XIV	59		1227	VI	106				
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(d)-r-s	I	141		1238						
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ʔ-r-t	I	123								
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....-t	VI	20								
....-r	XIII	60								
....-(r?)	XIV	62								
....-t	XIX	1								
....-r?	XIX	10								
....-b-r<w>	XIX	13								
....-s	XX	2								
....-c	XX	10								
....-c	XX	18								
....-b	XXI	35								
....-n	XXI	37								
...-k-...	XXVIII	81								
...-p-...	XXVIII	82								
....-r	XXVIII	84								
?-?-m-r	XXXIV	60								



## ERRATA

p. 111 6 a *read* 6 a c

p. 111 45 a *read* 45 a  
b b c

p. 112 68 a *read* 68 a c  
b b