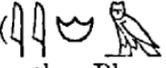
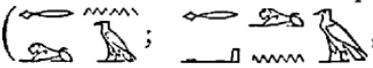


A Paper was read by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, "The Karnak Tribute-Lists of Thothmes III" (continuation of the Paper read 2nd June, 1885).

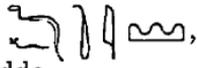
The introductory remarks on the Campaign against Megiddo are as follows:—

The line of march lay from the frontier-fortress of Tsar (or Tsal), along the ancient road discovered by the Rev. F. W. Holland through the desert, and (as it seems) by Sharukhen (שרוקן, Jos. xix, 6; , Tel es Sher'ah, XXIV, Ex, Mem. III, 392, 399)* to Gaza, an Egyptian station. Thence 28 miles march reached Iakhem (; 68 in our list; el Kheimeh). Here the Pharaoh received news that the king of Kadesh had joined the king of Megiddo in that stronghold with the Syrian allies.

Professor Maspero, in a very interesting paper contributed to the *Leemans Album*, has shown how the march of armies was forced inland, between Joppa and Carmel, by a tract of forest country stretching far eastward from the coast. For the approach to Megiddo three lines were discussed by Thothmes and his staff:—

1. A straitened and perilous mountain defile near 'Arnā (, 27).

2. A high road leading to the east of Ta'anak.

3. A high road north of Tsifta, , by which they would debouch on the north of Megiddo.

Now the second route is that ancient road from the plain of Sharon to Jordan which "ascends by the broad and open valley Wādy 'Ārah, crossing the watershed at 'Ain Ibrahim, which is about 1,200 feet above the sea; thence it descends, falling some 700 feet in 3 miles, to Lejjûn, where it bifurcates, one branch running towards Nazareth and ascending the hills near Tell Shadûd; the second continuing eastward to el 'Afûleh, and thence down the valley of Jezre'el" (Sheet IX). "This line, which appears to be ancient, is one of great importance, being one of the easiest across

* The references throughout are to the sheets of the Great Map, Memoirs, and Name Lists of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

the country, owing to the open character of Wâdy 'Ārah." *Mem. II*, 50.

This route, as M. Maspero says, passes through Jenin, and if Captain Conder is right in placing Megiddo at Khûrbet el Mûjedd'a, a great turning movement would thus have cut off the king of Kadesh from his retreat northwards.

The third route was doubtless that which crosses the hills between Zebdah and Bûrkîn, as M. Maspero says; and troops marching by it would (as the staff of Thothmes said) debouch into the valley north of Megiddo, if that were Mûjedd'a.

The first-mentioned dangerous "defile of Arouna" lay between the other routes. "The valleys throughout the district (of the Sheikh Iskander hills) are steep narrow gorges" (*Mem. II*, 38), and my conjecture is that one of these, running east and west, with Khûrbet Jerrar 1,452 feet high on the north, and hills on the south 1,278 feet in elevation, is the defile in question. Its name is Wâdy el 'Arriân, "the bare Wâdy," and this name seems to me near enough to . Is it possible that Khurbet 'Arah may have been the inhabited place that is called 'Arna in the narrative? M. Maspero, in indicating Umm el Fahm as a likely situation for 'Arna, is within a mile of Wâdy el 'Arriân.

Thothmes insisted on leading in person through this dangerous road the march in single file, "horse by horse, and man by man." On the 19th of the month we find the Pharaoh encamped at the town of 'Arnâ, and strict watch kept. The traces of ruins at 'Arah are "on a prominent mound, with a well" 2 miles west of Wâdy el 'Arriân. It should be noticed that in the thirty-seventh year of Thothmes, a battle was fought near 'Arnâ with of prince of Naharina.

A most regrettable lacuna in the text is followed by mention of a southern wing of an army at Ta'anak, and a "northern wing on the ground south of" some other place. M. Maspero has supplied the name Megiddo, as Brugsch had done, and conjectured that the army was that of the allies.

But there is no firm ground to go upon, and another long lacuna follows. Then the narrative proceeds, and M. Maspero elucidates it (*Rec. de Travaux*, II, 139). The last date had been the night of the 19th—20th. The march from 'Arnâ to the battle-field was on the 20th, beginning about the sixth hour of the morning, sunrise. The rear-guard was still near 'Arnâ while the advance debouched into the valley [of * * * *], and filled the gorges of this valley,

name of the place which he ruled within an embattled oval, just such as in Assyrian reliefs represent the ground plan of fortified places. The chiefs were restored to their dignities under the suzerainty of the Pharaoh.

And now something must be said as to the way in which we should regard the names comprised in our lists. Are these names "geographic," or "ethnographic," or both, or what else?

Mr. Groff insists strongly on the ethnographic view (*Revue Ég.*, 1885, 95; and 1886, 146).

It seems to me that the chiefs of larger or smaller communities, more or less locally settled and identified, who were taken prisoners of war in Megiddo, gave the names enrolled by the scribes for tribute.

These names fluctuate in significance. As I wrote some years since: "personal and local names are vitally connected. Men of old loved to 'call their lands after their own names,' and were called after their native land, and the man gave name to his race, which is included in a vivid way in the personal name and the territorial. So it is often hard to know whether we are reading of men, or tribes, or cities and regions, for all have their pedigrees, and the fashion of recording them was often similar or the same" (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 1882; "Biblical Proper Names").

Now it is clear that in all cases of tribute some chief man was responsible, not personally but officially, whether for a city or larger district or for a nomadic tribe, and our lists contain some names very important and inclusive, and others of various degrees of subordinate limitation. The leading names are Kadesh and Megiddo, whose kings commanded these allied forces, and whose names appear at the head. Beneath these, in relative importance, are names of districts and of towns, larger or smaller, and (I think) of tribes, but these last may well have taken root in local and topographic names. I have often been tempted to add to Jacob and Joseph, Simeon, on the strength of  twice occurring, Nos. 18 and 35, שמעון: and an adventurous theorist might even pitch upon Reuben, ראובן, in No. 10, .

The two great lists of Syria seem to follow the two great divisions of the allies. The list of southern Syria would, as it were, crystallize round Megiddo, and the list of northern Syria round Kadesh on Orontes.

The whole country is treated inclusively and vaguely as that of

the Rutennu (perhaps Iltanu), Upper and Lower, Upper being nearer Egypt. But various races are included (as in scripture narratives) and dovetailed together, as Khita, Qidu, Fenkhu, Kharu, &c. The Palestine list (as it is generally called) would naturally include all south of the great dividing block of the Lebanon and Antilebanon; the northern list all beyond, and that appears to me to be the actual result of very patient inquiry into these lists. The northern list I communicated with annotations to our Society on the 2nd of June, 1885, and I have now the honour to submit the southern list.

I have left unstudied nothing within my reach that has been written on the subject by Mariette, Brugsch, de Rougé, de Sauley, Lenormant, Maspero, Conder, Sayce, or others; and I have especially to express my earnest gratitude to my friend Professor Sayce and to Professor Maspero, for most kind and courteous assistance in a laborious and complicated task, in which other gentlemen have also taken an obliging interest. I have not designedly omitted any acknowledgment, but must beg pardon for inadvertencies and errors that will arise unbidden.

In the main our scribes seem to have worked from north to south. It is in the latter direction that I trust my inquiries have added some identifications on new ground, and especially in the regions of Jerusalem and Hebron.

East of Jordan I think we may hold ourselves more free than we have been wont to do in our search for identifications. We must not forget Kedorla'omer and the vast importance of the upland route to Arabia, nor must we overlook the military value of positions commanding the great passages of Jordan near Megiddo and Jericho.

Damascus itself is included in our Southern list, and this will warrant much in the way of sound inference; and Thothmes himself teaches us to look on the confines of the outlandish tribes of the Sati.

The reduplication or multiplication of many names in various directions will account for many doubts and misgivings, and afford many alternatives of choice. Perhaps the Turkish tribute-lists of to-day may throw light on the grouping of places in administrative districts.

I cannot boast of much systematic coherency, and I have always preferred tentative guess-work which may be fruitful in other hands to any little ambition of my own.

I have constantly worked on the basis of the great map of the Palestine Survey, and made reference to the name-lists and memoirs

MAY 3]

PROCEEDINGS.

[1887.

throughout the Southern List; and I have used the corrected readings of Golenischeff and Maspero. If I have helped to bring these important data into better working order for the student, the explorer, the geographer, and historian, my labour will not have been in vain. The full lists, with a series of plates, &c., will be issued in a future part of the *Transactions*.
