THE LISTS OF THE PLACES IN NORTHERN SYRIA AND PALESTINE CONQUERED BY THOTHMES III.

BY THE REV. H. G. TOMKINS

The following are the lists of the places in Northern Syria and Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, and engraved on the walls of his temple at Karnak, as given in Mariette's *Karnak* (plates 20, 21, 25, 26) and in his *Listes Geographiques*, etc. (1875), and described in his *Itineraire de la Haute Égypte*. The identifications proposed for the names contained in them embody the results of many years' study and consultation with Prof. Sayce, Prof. Maspero, and other scholars. Some of the identifications go back to Mariette, others are due to Maspero, Brugsch, Lenormant, Conder, and Nöldeke. Since Mariette and Brugsch first worked at them our knowledge of the equivalences between the sounds of the ancient Egyptian language and of the Semitic dialects has become more exact. The first copies of the names, moreover, have been corrected and recorrected. A considerable proportion of the identifications proposed
in the following pages may therefore be regarded as definitively acquired by science.

The copies of the names originally made for Mariette by Vassalli have been since revised by Mr. Golénischeff in the Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache, 1882, pp. 145 sq., and by Prof. Maspero in the Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, vii. 2, 3, 1886, pp. 94 et seq. Last winter the Palestine list was further collated with the original by Mr. Wilbour and Prof. Sayce, who have found, among other things, that the third name ought to be Kh(a)zai, and not "Khaai," as was previously read.

In examining the North Syrian list I have derived great assistance from Rey's Mémoire sur le Nord de la Syrie (1873), and Carte de la Montagne des Ansariés, Burton and Drake's Unexplored Syria (1872), Neubauer's Géographie du Talmud (1868), Sachau's Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien (1883), and the Carte du Liban of the French War Office (1862). For the Palestine list reference should be made to Prof. Maspero's "Names of the List of Thothmes III. which may be assigned to Judæa," in the Transactions of the Victoria Institute for 1888 (vol. xxii.), and his List of Galilee, Trans. of Victoria Institute for 1886 (vol. xx.)

The names amount in all to 355, the last five of which are destroyed. The first 119 are described as belonging to "the Upper Rutennu," which, an analysis of them shows, must denote Palestine. But
a careful study of them also shows that in order to increase the number of the Pharaoh's conquests and fill the surface of the wall, the same name or names have been sometimes repeated, while at other times such descriptive terms as "the country," "the meadow," "the tilled land," or "the spring," have been reckoned as separate geographical titles. The lists seem to have been compiled from the memoranda made by the scribes who accompanied the king on his military expeditions; this will account for the repetition of the same name under slightly different forms.

The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets has informed us that in the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty the Babylonian language and system of writing were known and used throughout Western Asia. This raises the presumption that some at least of the names in the lists were originally written in cuneiform, a presumption which is confirmed by an analysis of No. 284 in the North Syrian list.¹ There is no need of drawing attention to the light shed by the names not only upon the early geography of Syria and Palestine, but also upon the history and languages of the Hittites and the Canaanites.

The lists are engraved in more than one place. They occupy the wall of the southern pylon built by Thothmes III. at Karnak, and also the northern wall at the western end of the temple.

In transliterating the names the vowels have been

¹ [No. 110 in the Palestine list seems conclusively to point to the same fact.—Ed.]
represented only where they occur in the hieroglyphic original, the outstretched arm being denoted by $\ddot{a}$. Variant spellings are given in many cases, and it must be remembered that $r$ and $l$ in ancient Egyptian are expressed by the same characters. The determinative of "country" is denoted by the double obelus (†), and the single upright line which signifies "one" in the hieroglyphics, as well as the sign of the plural, is represented by a dash (—). Lost characters are represented by brackets [ ].

Sachau's *Reise* are referred to as "Sachau," Porter's *Syria and Palestine* (1875) as "Porter," and the geographical references in the Palestine list are to the great map of the Palestine Exploration Fund.¹

It will be understood that I give the suggested identifications with different degrees of reserve. Many are ascertained with certainty. It would be impossible within our limits to define the shades of probability in others. And of course I am only giving my contribution as the result of many years of study, but with no assumption of authority.

It is right to mention that I have from time to time communicated the results of these studies to the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1883, 1885, and 1887; and also at the Bath meeting of the British Association in two papers, since published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii.

¹ [In my own references "D." means Dümichen's *Historische Inschriften*, and "W." the edition of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in the Berlin Museum, published by Winckler and Abel: *Mitteilungen aus der orientalischen Sammlungen*, Paris 1-3.—Eo.]
LIST OF THE PLACES IN NORTHERN SYRIA
CONQUERED BY THOTHMES III.

120. Pilta-u (plural). Perhaps this may be the ancient
cost-town, Paltos, now Baldeh, some distance north
of Aradus.
121. Ai ‡, or A-IA ‡. Kefr Aya, south of Homs, may be
this locality, unless it refers to the coast land,
Heb. ’y.
122. Amâtu ‡. The district of Hamath. Assyrian Amâtu.
123. [ ]R-thu ‡. Artu, Brugsch, Geog. Inscr., ii. 35,
pl. xix. 104. Now, I think, Arâda, south-east of
124. Thuka. Tokat, east of Trmanîn (125).
Tr-b, No. 190.
Rugia of the Middle Ages, now Riha.
127. Tunîpa. An important place, identified by Nöldeke
with Tennib or Tinnab, south of Ezzaz. The
Dunip of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, in danger from
the Hittites. A Hittite town in the time of
Râmeses II.
128. Erased, except a at the end.
129. Erased.
130. Zar-bu ‡. Zirbe, or Zerbi, south-west of Aleppo.
131. Shipkhasha. Perhaps es-Sâfish, between Aleppo
and Riha (see Sachau, 102); with suffix-sha, as in
No. 143.
132. Niî, or Niîa ‡. An important city, described by
Thothmes III. as situated in Nahrina (Mitanni), on
or near the Euphrates. Perhaps the Ninus Vetus
of Ammianus Marcellinus. See Lenormant, Origines de l'Histoire, iii. pp. 316, etc.

133. Erased.
134. AR — Assurian Arâ, mentioned with Khasu.
Tell 'Ár near the district of el-Khâss. See Sachau, 454.

135. Z-FIZ-R. I think, after much speculation, that this name is now represented by Safirieh, south-east of Tell 'Ár (or 'Ára), and near the salt lake es-Sábbakh. The second s-sign may be an error of the sculptor or of the scribe.

136. ZK-AR —. Compare Nos. 197 and 271.

137. Z-N-RT. May be pronounced Zlt.

138. 'AÂNAM. Ghânamâ, in the Sajur valley (Sachau, i59).

139. AR-Z-KNA. This is exactly the erez Kanneh of Ezek. xxvii. 23, mentioned with Kharran and Eden. I think it was west of the Belîkh river. [Comp. the country of Kannu at Medinet Habu, D. xii. v. 7.—Ed.]

140. KHAL-KKHIL. The reading of the last syllable appears uncertain. Perhaps Khalkitis, east of Euphrates. Comp. No. 174.

141. ZUR-SU. Compare "Zarsû, a mountain of silver," mentioned in an old Babylonian geographical list. (W. A. J., ii. 51. No. 1.)

142. LI-TI. This seems to be the La'la'ti of Shalmaneser II., east of Euphrates, in the district of Bit-Adini (the Eden of Ezek. xxvii.; see above, No. 139).

143. SA-R-QA-SHA. The Assyrian Sirqi, viz. Kirkesîeh on Euphrates, now Kerkésieh. The terminal suffix sh is still retained from the classic form. Compare No. 131 above.

144. Erased.

145. UÂNAI. Perhaps el-'Awène, with a tel, north-east of Kerkésieh (No. 143), on the Khabûr river. But it may be el Aouani, south of Kala'at em Medîk.

146. 'ÂUNFIL —. This name corresponds with Kebr Anfi, 20 miles to the north of el Aouani, and west of Ma'aret en-No'aman.
147. IATAKHAB.
148. AUNIAUQA. This appears to be the fortified place Anugas, one of the three great fortresses taken by Thothmes III. in his 34th year. The Annucas in Mesopotamia, mentioned by Procopius as rebuilt magnificently by Justinian, “beyond Kirkêsion.” This name and situation point to 'Anka, where there are ruins, on the western bank, some 60 miles (apparently) below Keresheh.
149. [ ]ZNA. Comp. No. 215.
150. SAQ-KH(?).l.
151. AUBR-RINA. Like Nahrina, an Aramaic plural. Perhaps “the meadows” (Heb. abel).
152. ZAN—RI-UNS. May be read Zalünstu.
153. SU-QA†. Comp. Nos. 204, 259.
154. PAZ-RU. The Pa is the Egyptian article, sru being the Assyrian seru, “plain,” as in Zar-basana, “the field of Bashan,” the Ziri-Basana of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The place may be er-Zôr, Dér on Euphrates. “The official name of Dér on Euphrates, with its large district, is still Zôr” (Sachau, 263).
155. SATKHÊG†. Evidently contains the name of the supreme Hittite god Sutekh. For the second part of the compound compare Suki-bki (No. 259), and the names of the Hittite towns Ma-bog and Dabigu.
156. AMÂR-SKI. Here we have the name of the Amorite, read elsewhere Amâr and Amâur. [Comp. the names of the countries Sirme-ski and Aïmar at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 2, 3, 5, 5. 4.—Ed.]
157. KHAL-LSA — (perhaps Khalâsa). The name seems identical with the present Khalessa, west of Membidj.
158. NNUR-MÂN-ZA. Notice the discernible suffix -za. Cf. the modern names Mardib and Mardib-zâ, north of Ma‘arret-en-No‘aman, in illustration.
159. SHAUUR-N—THA. Surunu is mentioned with places in the Bit-adini district by Shalmaneser II. (Records of
the Past, New Series, iv. 62), but Saûrana (almost the Egyptian name) is a place some distance to the east of Ezzaz.

160. MÀIR-RKHINASA. Comp. No. 177. Identified by Lenormant with the Urrakhinas of Tiglath-pileser I. in the land of Querkhi. [Màirrekh-nas or Murrekh-na seems to be the same as Murrûkhe, the name given by the king of Mitanni to his kingdom in his letter to the Egyptian king.—Ed.]

161. Z-GRÌ. Comp. Nos. 197, 271. In the Travels of the Mohar mention is made of the country of Degar-al, “Degar of God,” on the road to Hamath. Degar would be an Aramaic form of Zegar.

162. Erased, except det. of a town.

163. QA-N—R-TÙ (read QARETU). Perhaps Karat, west of Ezzaz.

164. TA-RIZÀ.† Perhaps Teridja, north of Ezzaz.

165. Erased.

166. AN-RIZ—. Read Ariz, apparently the Heb. erets, “country.” Comp. No. 319. Perhaps to be read with the next name.

167. AÀR-SA—. Comp. Nos. 213, 236.

168. KH-Z-L-ZAU, or KHAL-ZAU. The name occurs in the time of Ramses II, KH-LIZ. See Brugsch, Geog. Ins., ii. 74, pl. xxiii. 253.

169. AR-NIR—. Arinara on the Euphrates, above Bālis (Lenormant).

170. KHÀTÀIÀ. Cf. No. 279. Compare Khâtià in a record of Tiglath-pileser II. (Wo lag das Paradies?, 301), and Héthin, north of Aleppo. [Apparently means “Hittite.”—Ed.]

171. Erased.

172. Å[ ]UR-ZNA.

173. THNU-ZAUR—. Possibly this may now be Têzar, a ruined place east of Edlip (Sachau, 102). Maspero compares “the country of Sonzar” mentioned by Amonemheb. [Cf. “the country of Zaur” at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 6, 2; also No. 154.—Ed.]

174. KAKHA †. Comp. No. 140.
176. Khaza[ ]. This may be completed as Khazazu (Assyrian), the modern Ezzaz, a very important place in ancient history, a little north of Tunip (Tinnab) and to the north-east of Arpad (Tel-Erfad) and Aleppo.

177. Mûr-Khana †. Compare No. 160. Possibly the present Mūrkan, north-east of Ezzaz.

178. Erased, except det. †


180. ZARI[ ].

181. SAI[ ].

182. Erased.

183. Erased.


185. Khatumâ. Possibly Katma, north of Menesie. The name occurs in the Travels of the Mohar, as that of a place near Aleppo.

186. Mângnasa —. Perhaps Menesie, south-east of Ezzaz. [The name is written Maqnasa † at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 3. 3.—Ed.]


188. Thuthnau (plural). Tutun, east of Killis.

189. Nir-b †. Nirâb, south-east of Aleppo. [The name is written Nariba in a Tel el-Amarna tablet given in this volume, xviii. 31.] —Ed.

190. Tr-b †. Tereh, south-west of Aleppo. [Called Trbusa by Ramses III. at Medinet Habu, who places it between Atu (No. 191) and Thirna (No. 260).—Ed.]

191. AtUGRN —. Dukarnûn, north-east of Aleppo. [Divided into two countries, Karna and Atu, at Medinet Habu (D. vii. 1, 2; xii. 4, 6). The name is plainly compounded with that of the goddess Atha, Karna being probably geren, “horn,” as in the name of Ashtoreth-Karnaim.—Ed.]

1 [Nariba is associated with the Hittites, as Niriba is in the Vannic inscription of Argishti on the rock of Van, where Argishti states that he overran it on his way to Malatiyeh. See Records of the Past, New Series, iv. p. 134, line 13.—Ed.]

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192. Eia[ ].
193. An-T[ ].
194. Sa[ ].
195. Shamábu [det. of plant names]. The determinative implies that Shamâbu or Shambu signifies some species of plant. Comp. No. 227.
196. Nishapa, or Niashpa.
197. Āz-kr —, or "the district of Z-kr —." Comp. Nos. 136, 271.
198. Abata.
200. 'Aâutir. [Compare the country of Atar at Medinet Habu, where it precedes Maqnas (No. 186); D. xii. 3, 2.—Ed.]
201. Natub — .
203. Atu'a. This name and the next may be perhaps referred to the Itu'a and Sukkia mentioned by Sargon in his Khorsabad inscription: Itu'a, an Aramaean people, and Sukkia a town of uncertain position, but connected in the narrative with Pappa. Compare No. 253.
206. Aba-l-th. Perhaps to be read Abiloth, "meadows." [At Medinet Habu the country of Abal is named between 'Aâuri and Mitanni (see No. 208), D. xii. 6, 8.—Ed.]
207. Shairnaka. Sarnaca, on east of Euphrates, opposite to Barbalissus.
208. 'Aâur-mâ. Urna gigantos (Maspero), the present Urûm, west of Euphrates, above Birejik. Identical with No. 313. [At Medinet Habu the country of 'Aâuri is named just before that of Mathna or Mitanni; D. xii. 6, 7, vii. 2.—Ed.]
209. [ ]TNAL. Perhaps Batnæ, between Kharran and the Euphrates. Paddan; and apparently the name lingers at Tel Feddân.

210. [ ]TNATA.

211. SHAIANAUR-GN—NA.

212. KAINAB †. Cannaba, between Edessa and the Euphrates. Compare the Kinabu of Assurnazirpal.

213. AL-S †. See No. 236. The country is called Alashiya in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, placed by Maspero in the northern part of Coele-Syria (Recueil, n. p. 210).

214. ANAU-TNA. Anadôn, north-west of Aleppo.


217. TIU-BNTA, or DUR-BNTA. Prof. Maspero proposes to identify this with Dër el-Benât, the Castrum Puellarum of Eastern Latin Chronicles, a fortified village nearly midway between Aleppo and Antioch. The real derivation is doubtless from Banit, the creating goddess. Compare Dur-ummu-banit, built in Babylonia by Khammurabi. This is a very good identification. Clearly the Dh-r-b-n-th of Geog. du Talmud, 418.

218. MÀUTI. Lenormant proposed Mut-Kinu of Shalmaneser II. But I think it may be a shortened form of the Yari-muta of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, which I believe to be Armûthia, south of Killis. Compare No. 318.

219. NAAPI.

220. AKHRUR —, or AKHMAUL. This may be Akhmûl, modern Akhmîl, east of Tennîb (Tunîpa, No. 127).

221. ATUR —. "The country of Ya'turu" (writes Lenormant), "one of the districts of Patin." This would agree with the region in question.

222. KARTAMRUT. The former element I have always taken as equivalent to Qiriath. Prof. Maspero agrees in this view, and divides the name accord-
ingly, making the latter part “Amrouti.” I find Marata, west of Tennib, in Rey’s map of North Syria, and, some distance north of Marat, or Marata, curiously enough is marked Karat. Here we seem to have both parts separate.

223. *Aṣita*, or “district of Sita.” Compare Nos. 202, 216.

224. *Tanirs.*

225. *Eianu.* “Ianu the great” was one of the important triad of fortresses taken by Thothmes III., the others being Anaugas (see No. 148) and Harankal. These were all, as I believe, commanding positions on the Euphrates. This place I take to be the modern Einyah, west of the river, south of ed-Dèr (see No. 154). The name is also written with the determinative of “water.”

226. *Aṭ-bana* or *Aṭ-banti.* This seems to involve the name of Ahā the goddess. It seems to be the ancient Dabana on the Belīkh, modern Dahabanieh. See No. 191. If the reading Aṭ-banti is right, we seem to have the name of the goddess conjoined with the title of ban(i)ti, “crescent.”

227. *Ashamb.* “Asimú of the cuneiform documents,” says *Lenormant,* “on the west bank of the Euphrates.” This is evidently the Yasimah on Euphrates which Dr. Neubauer proposes to identify with Yasinia of the Talmud (Geog. du Talmud, 293). Comp. No. 195.

228. *Atakar.* Idicara, on the west bank of the Euphrates, between Anatho (Anah) and Is (Hit). [The name of the goddess Ahā seems to be contained in it: cf. No. 191.—Ed.]

229. *Ta-at.* Perhaps Zaitha, east of Euphrates, 20 miles south of Kirkēsion (see No. 143). [The corrected copy of the Treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, made by M. Bouri, seems to show that Zaitha or Zai was the Hittite word for “country”; see Recueil, xiii. p. 160.—Ed.]


233. AR-[ ]. Possibly Armenas, south-west of Sarmeda.
234. SARMÁTA. Sarmeda, west of Aleppo.
235. AN-ZQAB.
236. AL-SA ‡. Now known to be the Alashiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. See No. 213.
237. AL-TA, or the “district of Rta.” Perhaps Alatis, near Sura, on Euphrates, on the western side.
238. ATAU (plural), or the “district of Tau.” Perhaps Athis, west of Alatis.
239. Erased.
244. A[ ].
245. Erased.
246. KHAL-BU. Khelebi, on west of Euphrates, Assyrian. Bit-Khalupe. [Called the country of Khalb by Rameses III. at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 2, 2.—Ed.]
247. FARUÁ. Lenormant identified this very well with Paripa, west of Euphrates, south of the Sajûr.
248. SSBN ‡. Sazabê of the Assyrian annals: a fortified town of the kings of Karkemish.
249. KTÂSHA[ ]. A sanctuary (Kadesh). Prof. Sayce suggests Diane fanum at Zelebi, opposite to Khelebi, No. 246.
250, 251. Erased.
252. SUR—‡. Sûr, west of Euphrates, capital of the Shukhites in Bit-Khalupe. Lenormant adopts this. Modern Suriyeh. [Called the country of Siri at Medinet Habu, where it precedes Atar (No. 200); D. xii. 3, 1.—Ed.]
253. PAPAA.
254. NUZ-NA.
255. Z-MÂUKA. Es-Semmûga, south-east of Aleppo (see Sachau, 114).
256. [ ]ANAI.
257. KN—ASKHU. Perhaps Khan Shâkhûn, north of Hamah, or possibly es-Shikha, west of Hamah.
258. Erased.
260. Tarnu. Perhaps Kefr Torin, west of Hamah. [Called “the country of Thirna” at Medinet Habu by Ramses III., who places it after Trbusa (No. 190); D. vii. 4.—Ed.]
261. Kamru [det.]. Prof. Maspero suggests to me that the determinative (“house”) shows this to be a Hittite word for “house” or “fortress,” perhaps “temple.” There is a place Kammâra, south-west of Aleppo (Sachau).
262. Ātuba—, or “district of Tuba.” Comp. No. 201.
263. Āthinî. Assyrian Atini, north of Hamath. Atin is a place west-south-west of Ma’arat en-No’aman (Unexplored Syria, ii. 208).
265. L-tâ-mâ.
266. [ ] Thn-z—. Perhaps Teftanaz, south-west of Aleppo.
267 to 269. Erased.
270. Kar-Kamâsha. Carchemish, Assyrian Gargamis, now Jerablûs, on the west bank of the Euphrates, a little north of its junction with the Sajur. [At Medinet Habu the name of Karkamash follows immediately that of Mathna or Mitanni; D. xii. 6, 10.—Ed.]
272. Mâur-mâr—. Cf. Hittite personal name Mâur-sir. [Also Maul-nusa or Maur-nusa at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 6, 4.—Ed.]
273. Sata[ ].
274 to 278. Erased.
280. Pdrî. Pethor (as suggested by Brugsch), the Pitru of the Assyrian records. A Hittite name (says Shalmaneser II.) The same name as Pteria, now Boghaz-keui, a great Hittite capital in Cappadocia.
281. Atlitnu (plural). The name suggests Tullân, north-east of Aleppo. But it must be Thalati Comum, east of Euphrates, and not far from Ledjah (No. 283).
282. Māsha'ua. The "land of Shaua" is mentioned in the Mohar's Travels, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

283. An—l-ka, or perhaps An—āka. Assyrian Alligu, east of Euphrates, modern Ledjah, below Karkemish. [Comp. the country of Alkan at Medinet Habu; D. xii. 4, 3.—Ed.]

284. Np₂ri₂riₚₚu. I think this must have been a place called by Thothmes III. Neferu-rā (riya), after his favourite daughter, and transliterated from a cuneiform document. See Proc. S. Bib. Arch., xi. 78.


286. Aṭtā—ma.

287. A-br-nnu. Aboron, below Anatho. But compare the name of the Afrin river, the Assyrian Apre.


289. A-i-r-n—l. (Identical with 288.)

290. A-nnāu. If the chick ū is written by mistake for the duckling z it will be Annazi, west of the salt lake es-Sābakha.

291. Tākn—u. Perhaps Tel Tōkān, south of the marsh el-Matkh.

292. Tālkh, or Dar'khā. Perhaps Tell Abu-Derfha, near the salt lake es-Sābakha (Sachau, 113). Maspero proposes Dolkhe in Komagénē, north of Aintab. [I should read Tarkha, and compare the name of the Hittite god in the Assyrian forms, Tarkhu-lara, Tarkhu-nazi.—Ed.]

293. 'Aāür-na. I think this is Tel Aran.

294. R-mān—ai. This seems to involve the name Ram-mānu (the god Rimmon). There is a place called Bel Ramūn near Aleppo. Rimmon was the god of Aleppo.

295. Erased.


297. A-tāk[_.] [The Anthak of Medinet Habu, named after 'Aāعي (No. 208), D. vii. 3.—Ed.]
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