

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

BY THE EDITOR

BY way of completing the geographical lists which have been published by Mr. Tomkins in the last volume of the *Records of the Past* (New Series, vol. v. pp. 25-53), I give here the similar lists which Ramses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty and Ramses III. of the Twentieth caused to be inscribed in imitation of their predecessor of the Eighteenth. In editing the lists prepared by Mr. Tomkins I added some comparisons from the list of Ramses III. published by Dümichen ; since doing so I have collated Dümichen's copies with the originals, and have found that they are not in all cases correct.

The lists of Ramses II. were engraved partly on the inside of the great pylon at Karnak, partly on the southern wall of that temple, to the left of the text of the treaty with the King of the Hittites. Another list of the same Pharaoh, shockingly mutilated, has been found during the recent excavations on the exterior of the western wall of the temple of

Luxor. Ramses III. has also left a short list of names at Karnak, but his chief list is to be found on the eastern face of the great pylon of the temple-palace which he built at Medînet Habu to commemorate his victories.

A few of the names in the latter list were published, but incorrectly, by De Rougé. Dümichen subsequently copied all that were visible, and they appeared in his *Historische Inschriften*, plates vii. xii. xiii. and xvii. Excavation has now laid nearly all of them bare, and last winter I made copies of them, with the help of Mr. Wilbour. The copies of Dümichen have to be emended in several points, but they are accurate on the whole, though the new names which have to be added to them are very numerous.

The list given by Ramses II. on the inner side of the pylon at Karnak has been copied by Champollion and Lepsius. That on the southern wall has been published by Brugsch Pasha (*Geographische Inschriften*, ii., and *History of Egypt*, English translation, 2nd edition, p. 67), but so inaccurately that the names in it are not to be recognised. The names, for instance, transcribed by him in his *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, Qa-sa-na-litha and Pa-rihi ought to be Q-a-n-sa-l-m-â and Q-a-r-h-u. The hieroglyphics, however, are much defaced, and owing to the heaping up of a bank of earth below them it is now easier to decipher them than was formerly the case. I have had Mr. Wilbour's assistance in making them out.

The Luxor list of Ramses II. was copied by myself in the winter of 1890-91, and I compared my copies with the originals last winter.

According to Dr. Mahler's astronomical calculations the reign of Ramses II. lasted from B.C. 1347 to 1281. The date of Ramses III. falls about seventy years later. The principal campaign of Ramses II. against Canaan seems to have taken place in his 8th year; it was then, according to the texts of the Ramesseum, that he conquered Shalam or Jerusalem, Marom or Merom, the Spring of Anamini, Beth-Anoth (Josh. xv. 59) and Qarbu[tu], "Dapur in the land of the Amorites," Ashkelon, Gaba . . . , Ata . . . , Qamna, Damascus, Ai, L(u)za, and Innuâmu. The Karnak list of places in Palestine may, however, belong to another campaign.

The list of Luxor bears testimony to a campaign in the north in which Ramses II. claims to have defeated the forces not only of Carchemish and Mitanni, but also of Assyria. The inscription which accompanies the list refers to "a city," which "the valiant power of the Pharaoh captured in the land of Satuna." Where this land was situated is unknown.

On the inner wall of the pylon at Karnak the list of countries named by the Pharaoh is prefaced by the statement that he had overthrown "the Anti of Menti" and the "Fenkhu." Who the latter were is pointed out by Brugsch Pasha in his *Aegyptologie*, ii. p. 466. One of the copies of the Palestine list of Thothmes III. is accompanied by a text which

refers to the "unknown peoples" included in it under the general name of Fenkhu. It is therefore possible that those scholars have been right who have derived the Greek name of the Phœnicians from this old Egyptian term.

The names in the list of Ramses III. which I have copied at Medinet Habu are important to the historian, partly because they show that the Egyptian king marched at least as far as Hamath, though he avoided the Phœnician cities in his passage along the sea coast; partly because they make it clear that he overran Southern Palestine. Among other towns of which he claims the capture is Hebron and its "Spring." Like Ramses II., he also claims the capture of "the district of Jerusalem." But his list contains no reference to the name either of Judah or of any other Israelitish tribe, and it would therefore appear that even as late as the reign of Ramses III. the Israelites were not as yet firmly established in the future territory of Judah.

The question may be raised whether the list of Ramses III. is not copied from that of Ramses II., and if so, whether the conquests claimed by him were really his own. But a comparison of the two lists will set all doubts on the question at rest. The list of Ramses III. is fuller than that of his predecessor, and follows a more accurate geographical sequence. On the whole, moreover, the names are more correctly written in it than they are in the lists of Ramses II. Thus *gau* is written simply *ga* in the list

of the earlier king, while the Egyptian name of the Dead Sea, "the Lake of Rethpana," appears as "Repana." If there has been borrowing, it must have been in both cases from a common source, of which no trace exists.

The system of transliteration is that which has been adopted by Mr. Tomkins. The vowels are represented only where they occur in the hieroglyphic original, though in the case of certain characters, like the flying bird, the seated bird, and the gate, the vowel *a* has been added within brackets to their initial consonant—*p(a)*, *z(a)*, *s(a)*. The outstretched arm is denoted by *â*, the symbol for "great" by *âa*. It must be remembered that *r* and *l* in ancient Egyptian are expressed by the same characters; in order to distinguish, however, the lion from the mouth the first is represented by *l*, the second by *r*. 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 denoted by brackets [    ].

LIST OF COUNTRIES CONQUERED BY RAMSES  
 II. ENUMERATED ON THE INNER WALL  
 OF THE PYLON AT KARNAK

1. ARMA †. Identified by Mr. Tomkins with Orma, south-west of Abyssinia (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, x. 1, 2). Prof. Maspero reads Ilimmi (*Recueil*, viii. 1, 2).
2. BR-BR-TA, followed by the ideograph "twice." Barbarta occurs in the list of southern countries conquered by Thothmes III. (No. 9), and has been compared with the name of the modern Berber. This Brbrta, however, may be the North Syrian Barbartu of Ramses III. (B. *left*, ii. 8).
3. MAU †, with the determinative of walking. In the Medînet Habu list (No. B. *right*, i. 26) it follows the name of Korkha in Moab. It is doubtful whether it represents the native name of a country or is the Egyptian *mau*, "road."<sup>1</sup>
4. AAR-MU †. Aram. Probably the Aram or Syria of Damascus.
5. AAR[—] †. The name of El precedes that of Aram at Medînet Habu. Compare the name of "the country of Aar" or "El" mentioned next to Nii and shortly after Tunip in the North Syrian list of Thothmes III., No. 134. In the stele of Panammu, king of Samalla, the kingdom of Yari is referred to more than once.<sup>2</sup>
6. KSH. The land of Cush or Ethiopia.
7. TO-RIS. "The land of the South."

<sup>1</sup> It must, of course, be distinguished from the Mauâ of the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Aar is also the name of a country in the southern list of Thothmes III. (No. 179).

THE LIST OF PLACES IN PALESTINE CON-  
 QUERED BY RAMSES II. ENUMERATED ON  
 THE SOUTHERN WALL OF KARNAK

FIRST LIST

1. QANS(A)-ALMÂ †, Qa-n-Salem, "the district of Salem."  
 The position of the place in the list of Ramses III. shows that Salem or Jerusalem is meant. Shalam is one of the cities of Palestine captured by Ramses II., according to the texts of the Ramesseum. In the corresponding list of Ramses III. *qa* is written *gau*. Brugsch, in his Dictionary, gives *gai* as signifying "a plateau," from *qa*, "to be high." In the poem of Pentaur the word is written *gau(t)*, with the determinatives of locality and road, and is in parallelism with *matennu*, "roads."
2. QAL-P(A)A[NA]. The list of Ramses III. shows that we must read "the Lake of Re[th]pa[na]," the dental having been omitted by the Egyptian scribe. As the name of the lake comes in that list between Salem and the Jordan it must represent the Dead Sea. The dental should properly correspond with a Hebrew (Canaanitish) *samech*; in *thupar* "a trumpet," however, it represents a *shin* (Hebrew *shophar*), so that Rethpana may be a derivative from Resheph, the Canaanitish Sun-god, who revealed himself in flames of fire.<sup>1</sup> Compare Gen. xix. 24.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the god, when introduced into the Egyptian pantheon, was pronounced Reshpu. His consort seems to have been the goddess Kadesh.

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