# COMMENTARY, LETTER BY LETTER

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# AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT, TO KADASHMAN-ENLIL, THE KING OF BABYLON

TEXT: BM 29784. COPY: BB, 1. COLLATION: 23.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Rainey (1989–1990:56–75; 1995–1996:109–121); Cochavi-Rainey (1993:75–84).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:1–3); Liverani (1999:344–347 [LA 275]).

COMPOSITION: Esna marl (Paleocene) known in Upper Egypt, especially in the Esna-Edfu region. Though it is not present near No-Amon or Akhitaton it was the clay of choice for letters. It is not common for Egyptian pottery. Thus the scribes seem to have discovered this clay and adopted it as the material for epistolary texts. It is typical of all the certain letters by Egyptian scribes (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004:24–30; in the following, this work will be referred to by the name of the first author, Goren).

In spite of the diagonal break midway, this is a most impressive tablet. Obviously, it was never sent, but the reason is probably that near the end the scribe ran out of space and crammed some words or signs into the margin (cf. comments below). A new copy was evidently made and sent to Babylon. The unusual dialogue in this letter, the king of Egypt quoting previous statements by the king of Babylon, has attracted the attention of scholars interested in the rhetorical style (Cochavi-Rainey 1993). This seems to be the only London tablet that was collated by Edmund Gordon. Moran (1992:3–5) has copious notes. This is one of the most difficult texts in the entire corpus. Although the scribe was trying to write a passable MB, there are many passages that do not seem to run smoothly.

**Line obv.** 1—Gordon and Moran had already seen that  $TA = d\hat{a}$  (Moran 1992:32). Gordon's *Ka-ra-an-du-n*[*i*]-š*e*! is confirmed by collation. The š*e* 

can be seen in the photograph



- **Line obv. 5**—LÚ.MEŠ GAL.GAL.MEŠ = *rabûti*, senior officials, the highest officers in the realm.
- Line obv. 10—Note Assyrian *aš-te-me* instead of Babylonian *eš-te-me*.
- Lines obv. 15, 33—LÚ-*ka* DUGUD "your dignitary," first noted by Pintore (1972a:37–38).
- Line obv. 17—The precative *ù li-id-bu-ub* apparently stands in a purpose or result clause.
- Line obv. 22–23—Rainey restores [*iq-ta*]-*bi* (*contra* Knudtzon's [*li*-]qa-bi) š*i-i*/ [*la-a*] <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>-*ha-at-k*[*a i-ia-nu*]*lib-bi-š*[*i-na ša i-de*<sub>4</sub>]-*a-ši*.
- Line obv. 24—Note TI for *balața* instead of verbal prefix (Moran 1992:3 n. 8).
- Line obv. 25—At the beginning of the line Rainey completes [mi-ma].
- Lines obv. 30, 41, 56, 91—The reading *ki-ka* with an adverbial particle (*CAD* K:351a) is superior to *itti*(KI)-*ka* (Moran 1992:4 n. 10).
- Line obv. 35—The 3rd f.sg. genitive suffix is written -še.
- Line rev. 61—Various interpretations have been offered for this line. The most prominent ones are *a-na ra-ši liq*(UR)-*ta* "to acquire a gift" (collation by Artzi; *CAD* L:206b; supported by Moran 1992:4 n. 21); *a-na ra-ši tàb*(LU)-*ta* "to acquire goods" (Gordon; supported by Knudtzon's draw-

ing, 1915:1001, No. 6). Close examination of the sign in question,

Artzi's UR, Knudtzon and Gordon's LU, reveals that it is actually TUG = subatu "garment" It does resemble Knudtzon's drawing except that he has two horizontals at the bottom. The second of these is apparently just a crumbling of the clay from the first wedge. The sign with the value TUG sometimes has the shape of KU; note examples in Malbran-Labat No. 536. Reading *subata* "garment" makes the sarcasm even more severe; "You sell your daughters for a garment?" The *-ta* assures that the substantive in question is in the accusative after the infinitive *ra-ši* instead of being in the genitive case. In OB the object of the infinitive would precede it.

Line rev. 64—Knudtzon read: *i-na bi-ri-nu* "between us," which entails the West Semitic 1st person plural suffix, *-nu*, instead of the standard Akkadian suffix, *-ni*. The supposed NU sign is at the end of the line; in fact, it is on the edge of the tablet. Careful perusal of the sign revealed that it is somewhat effaced because it is written over the NI sign at the end of line 32 on the obverse, *am-mi-ni*. Traces of tiny vertical wedges on the horizontal wedge in line 64 confirm that we should read <sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>1</sup> and not NU. So the scribe really did write *i-na bi-ri-ni*! with the proper Akkadian suffix and can no longer be accused of a West Semitism.

- Lines rev. 69, 85—The vocable *ši-na* is not a feminine plural suffix or independent pronoun used by mistake; it is the numeral "two", as first noted by Rainey (1995–1996:110–111). The usual custom was to send diplomatic messengers two by two. Of the various missions sent to Egypt from Babylon, a certain pair of diplomats had aroused the anger of Pharaoh.
- Line rev. 70—[*ù la*]; following Moran (1992:5 n. 23).
- **Line rev. 72**—The remnant of the sign after the break looks like the latter part of *ta* rather than *šap*, which is also too long for the space. The resulting transcription, [*iš*-*t*]*a*-*pár*-*šu*, makes the clause past tense, "to the one who [se]nt him."
- Line rev. 76—What Gordon, cited by Moran (1992:5 n. 28), thought were mere scratches after -šu-nu are really 'sà'; the beginning of ru is preserved before the crack and the [t]i is represented by traces on the other side of the crack. There are traces of 'i' and also of the 'dáb', contra Knudtzon. Thus line 76 matches line 74.
- Line rev. 79—*a-na be-l*[*i-ku-ni*] to reflect the dual.
- Line rev. 80—The verb *id-du-ni* "he/they gave to me" may be plural, but it may also be subjunctive after the construct substantive *sú-ha-ar-ti*.
- Line rev. 82— $\hbar u$ -r[a-d]i—the ka from line 14 on the obverse intrudes here. The final sign looks more like TI and could be read [d]i, thus giving a more grammatical form.
- Line rev. 83—The form *ud-du-ni* is 3rd m.pl. impersonal subject to express the passive.
- Line 91—Note MB vowel harmony: *tu-țe*<sub>4</sub>-*pí-il*<sub>5</sub>.*šu-nu* "You have humiliated them" (Moran 1992:5 n. 36).
- **Lines rev. 95-up. ed. 96**—Near the end of this tablet, which became the office draft copy, the scribe neglected to add the pronominal suffix *-ia* in line 96, and so he inserted it with a Glossenkeil at the end of line 95. This led Knudtzon to assume that the suffix belonged on the end of line 94 in accordance with the usual custom; note the displacement of *-ni* at the end of line 97. The resulting  $g\dot{a}b$ -ba ANŠE.KUR.RA-ia/GISGIGIR.MEŠ, with only a suffix on the first member, would be awkward and unusual. The suffix was meant for  $rqa^{-}ti-ia(!)$  line 96. The mysterious  $ri-rq\dot{a}^{-}$  is simply the Amarna by-form, riqqa, from standard Akkadian ruqqu "vessel" (*AHw*:995a; add *EA* 1:96 to *CAD* R:416).

There are traces of the following signs: 'ŠEŠ' (obv. 2); '*lu*' (obv. 4); 'LÚ' (obv. 18); '*i*' (obv. 22); '*a*' (obv. 25); '*a*' (obv. 26); '*ka*' (obv. 43); '*i*', '*a*š', '*pu*', '*ra*', '*ma*' (rev. 52); '*ú*' (rev. 58); '*ta*' (rev. 60); '*din*' (rev. 61); '*ni*' (rev. 64); '*ša*', '*nu*',

<sup>r</sup>*um*<sup>'</sup>(rev. 65); <sup>r</sup>*a*-*na*-*ku*<sup>'</sup> and <sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>'</sup>(rev. 66); <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>'</sup>, <sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>'</sup>(rev. 67); <sup>r</sup>*nu*<sup>'</sup>(rev. 68); <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>'</sup>(rev. 72); <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>'</sup> *contra* Knudtzon's [*a*] (rev. 73); <sup>r</sup>*šu*<sup>'</sup>(rev. 83); <sup>r</sup>KIN<sup>'</sup>(rev. 86); <sup>r</sup>GIGIR<sup>'</sup>, <sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>'</sup>(rev. 89); <sup>r</sup>*a*-*na*<sup>'</sup>(up. ed. 96).

#### EA 2

# KADASHMAN-ENLIL, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 148 + 2706. COPIES: WA 2 + WA 5; VS 11, 1. COLLATION: 03.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:6); Liverani (1999: 347 [LA 276]). COMPOSITION: Carefully refined Euphrates clay (Goren 34).

This fragmentary tablet is evidently a reply to one of Pharaoh's letters about the proposed royal marriage.

- **Lines obv. 1, 8**—There are traces of the signs  $Mi^{\uparrow}$ ,  $is^{\uparrow}$  (line 1); 'DUMU', 'MUNUS' and '*ba*' (line 8).
- Line obv. 1—The first sign of the Pharaoh's personal name is *ni* as seen by Knudtzon; for some reason, Moran (1992:6) had erroneously read the name Mimmuwareya.
- Lines obv. 6–7—The proposed restorations are by Kühne (1973:55 n. 263).
- Lines obv. 9–11—These highly conjectural restorations are by Moran (1992:6 n. 3). They are based on comparison with other letters and on a good feel for the probable intent of the letter. Nothing more can be said.

**Lines obv. 12–13**—These readings were proposed by Ungnad (1916:181). **Line rev. 4**—I ŠU GÍN as read by Gordon.

### EA 3

# KADASHMAN-ENLIL, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4743 (12210). COPY: WA 1. COLLATION: 17.01.1980 and 08.02.1981 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:7); Liverani (1999: 347–348 [LA 277]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Line obv. 3—Knudtzon was correct to read d]a-aš. Gordon has seen this too.

- Line obv. 5—Read [DUMU.MEŠ-*k*]*a* instead of Knudtzon's [gab-]pa. This correction was proposed by von Soden (1952:427). Gordon also saw this, as did Moran and Rainey.
- Line obv. 7—DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI-*ia* "my daughter." Interpretation by Ungnad (1916:181) and later by von Soden (*loc. cit.*), Kühne (1973:54 n. 250) and Moran (1992:7 n. 2), who compares *EA* 287:26 and notes that including a personal suffix in the ideogram was not unusual in OB.
- Line obv. 15—The rendering follows *AHw*: 227 and *CAD* E:196a, also Moran (1992:8 n. 6).
- **Line obv. 19**—Gordon has seen [a-ku-ul] ' $\dot{u}$  ši'-ti.
- Line obv. 20—Kühne (1973:54 n. 252) noted that *šulnānī* must mean "*my* greeting gift," thus avoiding a grammatical error. Read *tu*[*-še-bi-la*] with von Soden (1952:437), *contra* Knudtzon.

**Line obv. 21**—There are traces of the sign a[n].

Line obv. 23—[É *eš-š*]*a* with Moran (1992:8 n. 11) who compares *EA* 5:13, 19.

Lines lo. ed. 26–28—With Moran (1992:8 nn. 12, 13).

Lines rev. 29–34—The rendering here seems straightforward and matches the typical formulate for such passages. Notice that currently there are traces of <sup>r</sup>ul<sup>¬</sup>.

#### EA 4

# KADASHMAN-ENLIL, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1657. COPIES: WA 3; VS 11, 2. COLLATION: 08.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:8–9); Liverani (1999: 349–350 [LA 278]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 2 (Goren 34–35).

This is a fat, beautifully written tablet. It is unfortunate that it is broken in important places. The signs are sunk deep in the clay. Several restorations and readings by von Soden (1952:428) have been adopted by Moran (1992:9–

and are included here. The introductory lines are completely missing, but this is certainly one of the Kadashman-Enlil letters regarding the marriage of a princess to Pharaoh (*contra* Kühne 1973:56). The text is important since it documents the Egyptian policy of never giving a royal princess in a political marriage to a foreign power. Kadashman-Enlil is incensed by that refusal, but he evidently needs the recompense he may enjoy if he gives one of his own daughters to Pharaoh.

- **Line obv. 3**—It is likely that Kadashman-Enlil referred in this paragraph to previous relations with Thutmose IV. So the verb in this line may be rendered as past continuous.
- Line obv. 4—Moran (1992:9 n. 2) remarks that *anumma* (Knudtzon's restoration) is not used in Middle Babylonian. Moran's [*ap-pu-na-m*]*a* is appropriate. Read *la na-d*[*a-ni-im-ma*] with Knudtzon, Aro (1955:135) and Moran (1992:10 n. 4), *contra* von Soden (1952:428). Notice that now there are traces of <sup>r</sup>*ki*<sup>¬</sup>.
- Line obv. 5—Ungnad (1916:181) had noted that one must read *áš* instead of Knudtzon's *tàš*; von Soden agreed on the grounds that the calque *tà* is only OAkk or peripheral (von Soden and Röllig 1991: No. 192). The verb is thus first person, not second. The sentence as a whole is quite complex with a temporal clause inserted into a main clause (Moran 1992:9 n. 3).
- **Line obv. 11**—At the end of the line, GAL.M[EŠ] (Moran 1992:10 n. 6) is confirmed by Rainey's collation and by the photograph, *contra* Schröder's facsimile.
- **Line obv. 12**—With Moran (1992:10 n. 7);  $\check{s}i$ <sup>-</sup>*i*  $\check{s}u$ -*bi*-*la* is on the reverse.
- Line obv. 18—Because the verb *ašpurakku* is preterite, not normally used in indicative main clauses, this must be phrased as a question (Aro 1955:81; Moran 1992:10 n. 8).
- Lines obv. 21–22—The verbal restorations follow von Soden (1952:428).
- Line rev. 34—The restoration of the final verb follows von Soden (1952:428). Kadashman-Enlil is stating that the offspring of this princess need not be reckoned as children in line for the throne.
- **Line rev. 36**—The final sign is k[a], not b[a].
- Line rev. 37—Read '*i*'-[*la-kam*] as apparently surmised by Moran's translation. The beginning of the first wedge of '*i*' is clearly visible in the photograph.
- Line rev. 41—Borger (2003:287 No. 165) reads  $BURU_{14}$  instead of  $BURU_{15}$  in Labat and Malbran-Labat (1976: No. 54 p. 59).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ta^{}, {}^{r}i^{}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}si^{}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{r}u^{}$  (obv. 24);  ${}^{r}ki^{}$  (obv. 25);  ${}^{r}ni^{}$  (rev. 32);  ${}^{r}se^{}$  (rev. 33);  ${}^{r}pu^{}$  (rev. 40);  ${}^{r}ra^{}$  (rev. 50).

## $EA_5$

# AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT, TO KADASHMAN-ENLIL, THE KING OF BABYLON

TEXT: BM 29787 + C 4744 (12195).

COPIES: BB 4 + WA 17.

COLLATION: 22.01.1980 (Cairo fragment) and 05.02.2000 (London tablet). PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:10–11); Liverani (1999:350–351 [LA 279]). COMPOSITION: Not specifically discussed by Goren.

This London tablet is badly broken at the top and there is a fragment of the lower left corner (of the obverse) in the Cairo Museum. The photographs by WSR of the London text were easily joined to the Myrsnove fragment from Cairo.

- Lines obv. 1–12—Though they are badly broken, these lines can be easily restored since their content conforms to the usual protocol for the opening of a royal letter.
- **Line obv. 1**—Gordon saw the right side of the sign [r]e as well as the first part of i[a], which had been noted by Bezold and Kundtzon.
- Line obv. 3—The photograph suggests that there was room for LUGAL GAL in this line in spite of Moran's doubts.
- **Lines obv. 8, 9**—There are traces of  ${}^{r}mu^{\gamma}$  (line 8) and  ${}^{r}a$ - $na^{\gamma}$  (line 9).
- Line obv. 13—The adverb *anumma* has been restored since it is used frequently in this letter. Note the Assyrian form *ašme*. Knudtzon was correct to change Bezold's *id* to *da*, which stands in Egyptian texts for *tá*. This is also clear from the photograph.
- **Line obv. 14**—Bezold's questionable  $\acute{u}$  was accepted by Knudtzon, but the alleged  $\check{s}e$  has a final vertical; it is  $\ulcornerte\urcorner$  and the preceding sign is  $\ulcorneru\check{s}\urcorner$ , not  $\acute{u}$ . The resultant form is  $u\check{s}tebilakku$ , a t-preterite as used in the Egyptian letters when referring to sensing inanimate objects, as also in line 18 (cf. also *EA* 367:3; 369:3; 370:3). Contrary to general practice, there is no need to render these past tense forms as a sort of "epistolary present." The tablet is arriving with the objects.

Line obv. 16-



Read ma-a-ad; a possibility suggested by Knudt-

zon, in spite of Gordon's denial. The sign in question is *ad*. The expression *mimma ma'ad*, with the adjective in *status absolutus*, is not unusual.

- Line obv. 17—Note *šumma* "when," as in Hittite texts (Moran 1992:11 n. 6). The continuation of this line is on the reverse of the tablet. The *bi* sign has to be read *bé* to represent the present/future. The final attachment of the dative suffix is restored after the other examples in this letter.
- Line obv. 20—For ZU<sub>9</sub> (KA x UD), cf. Borger (2003:538), who notes that this combination is standard for "tooth" and "ivory" in the Hittite syllabary (Rüster and Neu 1989:159 No. 143). So this forms another link between the Egyptian writing tradition and that of the Hittites.
- **Line obv. 26**—For SU.SU = *šiql* (plural), cf. *CAD* Š/3:96b. Because GÍN resembles SU in some areas, Borger (2003:434 No. 836) suggests to read GÍN ("SU"). The reduplicated form in this text indicates the plural.

There are traces of the following signs: `a', `nu', `um', `ma', `ma', `uš', `te'(obv. 14); `ú' (obv. 15); `ša' (obv.19); `N'Á (obv. 21); `KÙ' (obv. 27).

# ea 6

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 149. COPIES: WA 4; VS 11, 3. COLLATION: 09.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:12); Liverani (1999: 351–352 [LA 280]). COMPOSITION: Carefully refined Euphrates clay (like *EA* 2; Goren 35).

Line obv. 1—The reading seems to match the traces of this very broken line (cf. also Kühne 1973:129 n. 642).

Line obv. 9—Knudtzon's  $[\dot{u}]$  must be deleted (von Soden 1952:428).

- Line obv. 10—Note *anāku u kâša*, instead of nominative *atta*. At the end restore [*lu ṭa-ba-nu*] with von Soden (1952:428). This precative stative is required by the context, but as Moran observed, it may have been written on the reverse.
- **Line obv. 12**—The result is a prohibition ( $l\bar{a}$  + present future). Collation confirms Schroeder's *iq* (1917:105) at the end of the line, thus leading to von Soden's (1952:428) restoration *iq*[-*qa*-*ab*-*bi*], N stem present future of *qabû*.

- **Line obv. 16**—The dative suffix is restored by von Soden (1952:428). With the dative, the form is considered ventive. The verb  $leq\hat{u}$  with the ventive means "to bring (hither)."
- Line rev. 18—The traces of the first sign are apparently of <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>, i.e. first person singular. The value *qi* for *gi* is not regular but makes sense; it was accepted by Moran.

## $EA_7$

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 150 COPIES: WA 7; VS 11, 4.

TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:113–115); Moran (1992:12–14); Liverani (1999: 352–354 [LA 281]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This tablet was destroyed in a Berlin fire in 1945. The last witness to the text is Schroeder's facsimile. That is unfortunate because this was one of the longest and most well preserved epistles of the Babylonian correspondence. Its dialogue is also one of the most interesting. In the concluding lines, the king of Babylon complains that important officials in the Egyptian administration in Canaan have robbed Babylonian caravans. He demands justice and recompense. There are extensive notes by von Soden (1952:428–430) and Moran (1992:14–16) that will be a major contribution to the ensuing discussion.

- Line obv. 1—The arguments for the recipient being Amenhptep IV were summarized by Kühne (1973:60 n. 292). The letter speaks of previous diplomatic exchanges between their fathers and it mentions that a Babylonian envoy was detained in Egypt for two years. That points to the son of Amenhotep III as the recipient. The traces of the royal name are also commensurate with Amenhotep IV.
- Line obv. 2—[ŠEŠ-*ia*] at the beginning of the line matches *EA* 6:2 (Moran 1992:14 n. 2).
- Line obv. 8—Moran (1992:14 n. 3) rightly suggests that *ik*-[*šu-da*], without Knudtzon's dative pronoun, would fit the space better. The ventive ending could still carry the force of "to me."
- Line obv. 9—von Soden's (1952:428) *a-yi-i*[-*ka-am-ma*] is grammatically correct as opposed to the form restored by Knudtzon. One would expect an

expression such as "any time" for Moran's "occasion." Perhaps the idea is that the Babylonian king has not been well enough to go to one of his reception or banquet halls.

- **Line obv. 11**—The restoration here assumes the conjunction *inu* "when" often written *i-nu-ú* in Old Babylonian (*CAD* I/J:152b), even though this word seems otherwise unattested in Middle Babylonian. Its restoration here gives very good sense. The name of the envoy was restored here by von Soden (1952:428), viz. ['*Ha-a*]-*ú* on the basis of '*Ha-a-a* in rev. line 13.
- Line obv. 13—Restoration *a-di-na* in line with usual orthography in Middle Babylonian.
- Line obv. 14—Moran (1992:14 n. 8) observed that the *-ma* at the end of the first clause means that the second is coordinate, so the verb must be subjunctive, *iššû*.
- Line obv. 15—Moran (1992:14–15 n. 9) also observed that the restored verb at the end of the line should be a t-form in accordance with Middle Babylonian practice for main clauses.
- **Lines obv. 29, 32**—Ungnad (1916:182) realized that *iš-mu-ú-ma* was subjunctive governed by  $k\bar{\iota}$ , but he did not fully understand *ru-qá-tu-ma* which is 3rd f.sg. stative plus the subjunctive marker. But von Soden (1952:429) did recognize it because in line 32 he saw that *gerru* is not a plural. The verb there, *ru-qá-a-tu*<sub>4</sub>, is not a feminine plural but also the stative 3rd f.sg. with a subjunctive marker. This is typical of Middle Babylonian. The restoration *as-s*[*a-k*]*u*-[*ut*] was proposed by Gordon; it is the t-form of *sakātu* "to be silent." The preterite *amla* is used in this main clause because of the negative *ul* (Moran 1992:15 n. 9).
- Line obv. 38—The restoration of [*ra*] (ventive; Moran 1992:15 n. 13) is to be preferred over von Soden's [*ru*]; there is certainly no need for a subjunctive marker here.
- Line rev. 49—The reading and restoration was proposed by von Soden (1952:429) and accepted by Moran (1992:15 nn. 14–15).
- Line rev. 52—The restoration *li-i*[*l-li-ka*] by von Soden (1952:429) was accepted by Moran (1992:15 n. 16).
- Line rev. 53—The enclitic *-ma* on *iq-bu-ni-im-ma* is most likely coordinate since the verb forms in line 54 are subjunctive. Thus read *da-an-n*[*a-tu*] as well, stative with subjunctive marker.
- Line rev. 54—The predicative forms here are statives, one is 3rd m.pl. and the second is 3rd m.sg. with subjunctive marker (restored).
- Line rev. 62—The singular house is in the hands of the indefinite plural subjects of the 3rd m.pl. precative in the previous line (Moran 1992:15 n. 19).

- Line rev. 63—The preterite *ašpura* suggests that the two clauses in this line are circumstantial, i.e., "(Inasmuch as) I have undertaken a project and I have written to my brother",
- Line rev. 72—Moran (1992:15 n. 21) defends Knudtzon's [š]*a-ar-ru-um-ma* against von Soden's [*b*]*a-ar-ru-ma* (1952:430). Today *šarruma/šurrumma* is much better known (*CAD* Š 3:361–362), although its precise meaning is still elusive.
- Lines rev. 74, 77, 78, 79, 81—The restorations in these lines by von Soden (1952:430) all make good sense, and they have all been accepted by Moran (1992:15–16 nn. 22, 25–29).
- Line rev. 75—Note the Middle Babylonian orthography (with m) of the name of the commissioner Biryawaza. He was in charge of the Damascus area and took advantage of his position to rob a Babylonian caravan. The same was true of another official who robbed a second caravan.
- Line rev. 76—<sup>1</sup>*Pa-ma-hu* here is hardly just a title. It must be a personal name.
- Line rev. 77—The spelling *ma-at* strongly suggests that the ideogram KUR defining geographical names should be treated as a word and not as a determinative. The land of Kișri is otherwise unknown. Evidently, it was within Egyptian jurisdiction.

## ea 8

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 152.

COPIES: WA 8; VS 11, 5.

COLLATION: 03.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR

- TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:371–372); Moran (1992:16–17); Liverani (1999: 354–355 [LA 382]).
- COMPOSITION: Highly refined Euphrates clay, probably unfired (Goren 35).

This letter reports a serious crime committed in the land of Canaan, viz. in lower Galilee. A Babylonian caravan had been plundered, some of the merchants slain and the commodities being transported carried away. Was this a sign of weakening Egyptian control on the local level or was it a commonplace for city rulers to rob foreign caravans? The action takes place later in the reign of Amenhotep IV because one of the actors is the son of the former ruler of Acco. The text is one of the best examples of the Middle Babylonian dialect.

The obverse of the tablet is flat while the reverse is curved.

- Lines obv. 1–7—The introductory paragraph is one of the best preserved in the Babylonian corpus.
- **Line obv. 5**—Traces of the beginning of k[a] are on the right edge of the tablet.
- **Line obv. 6, 9**—There are traces of 'GAL' (line 6) and '*ta*' (line 9).
- Line obv. 11—The line is completed on the reverse with *ta-a-bu* as noted earlier (Schröder 1915b:175; von Soden 1952:430). Winckler and Knudtzon had missed it.
- **Line obv. 14**—von Soden (1952:430) takes the stative of the verb of motion,  $teb\hat{u}$ , to mean "(they) were on their way." The rendering "had set out" still preserves the stative nuance.
- **Line obv. 15**—The N stem t-form, *ittaklû*, indicates that they were detained. The phrase *ana šīmāti* indicates that the merchants were taking this occasion to replenish some of their own supplies by trading with the local population of Hinnatuna.
- Line obv. 16—Aḥu-ṭābu went on ahead, i.e., he continued through the pass to reach Acco where he must have intended to go to Egypt or, more likely, to arrange transport by sea for his caravan that was assumed to be following shortly. As commander of the caravan, he must have enjoyed diplomatic status; to injure him would be a serious offense.
- Line obv. 17—*Hinnatuna* = *Hinnatōna* (Hebrew Hannātôn). This town appears at the end of the boundary description of the biblical tribe of Zebulun (Josh. 19:14). Since that border makes a circuit from west to east to north and back to the west, it was logical to seek it in the valley known in post-biblical sources as the Valley of Beit Netofa. The most prominent antiquity site in that area is Tell Bedeiwîyeh (modern Tel Hannaton; Alt 1926:62–64). Surveys of the site have revealed evidence of settlements in the Chalcolithic period, the EB, MB, and LB, the Iron Age I, and in the 10th–8th centuries BCE. Traces of several fortification lines are visible on the site (Gal 1992:24–26). Earlier in the local history, it had played a key role in the Lab'ayu affair (cf. *EA* 245:32). The form of the name is unusual; it is evidently a feminine singular noun from the root HNN (*\*hinnat-*) plus the suffix often used to denote place names, viz. *-ôn ( -ân.* Somewhere

between the cuneiform orthographies and the Massoretic vocalization the vowel of the first syllable has been altered, possibly because of ignorance on the part of the Tiberian scholars since the town had long since disappeared.

- KUR *Ki-na-á*<sup> $^{-}</sup>$ *i*<sub>4</sub> has the final*nun*assimilated to the final*'ayin*. That is common practice in orthographies not from Canaan. There are five instances (e.g.*EA*148:46) where the*nun*is expressed.</sup>
- Line obv. 18—Shum-Hadda was ruler of Shamʿôna, a town in the northern Jezreel Valley (cf. *EA* 225:4). He must have observed the Babylonian caravan as it passed through the low saddle separating the Jezreel Valley from the Beit Netofa Valley and then sent a messenger to the ruler of Acco to plan their evil deed.
- **Line obv. 19**—The spellings of the two rulers of Acco, father and son, are corrupt forms. The scribe, or his informant, transposed the vowels of the first syllable in each name (Moran 1992:17 n. 3). This must also be the case in the use of *š*-signs initially.
- Line obv. 22—*ki-i* [*ka-al-le-e*] (Moran 1992:17 n. 5 *contra* von Soden 1952:430; cf. also *EA* 10:38 and *EA* 11:rev. 18).
- Line rev. 26—*su-ni-iq*[-*šu-nu-ti*] von Soden (*loc. cit.*) corrected the accusative suffix.
- **Line rev.**  $28-i[-du-\dot{u}-]^rku^\gamma$ ; there are space for and traces of two signs in the broken area. The form has to be preterite; theme vowel written long for emphasis. Knudtzon's reconstructed form would be present-future.
- Line rev. 34—Cf. CAD N/1:165b; Ungnad (1916:182); von Soden (loc. cit.).
- Line rev. 36—GÌR.MEŠ-*šu ki-i ú-na-ak-ki-su*; he had blocked the feet (path); *CAD* N/1:179b; cf. the remarks of Moran (1992:17 n. 9). It could hardly mean that he cut off his feet. Note the previous reference to cutting off lines of communication.
- Lines rev. 39–40—Placing the man at his head, i.e., forcing him into service. Maybe the merchant agreed rather than face the threat of death.
- Line rev. 42—*k*[*i-i mi-*]*tu*; following Moran (1992:17 n. 11).
- Lines rev. 44-45—Following Moran (1992:17 n. 12).

There are traces of the following signs: [in], [na], [tu] (obv. 17); [nu] (obv. 20);  $[\check{S}u]$  (rev. 38); [mu], [it], [ta] (rev. 47).

#### EA 9

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO TUT'ANHAMEN, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29785. COPY: BB, 2. COLLATION: 19.09.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:115–116); Moran (1992:18); Liverani (1999: 355–356 [LA 283]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This letter describes an otherwise unknown historical event. The Canaanites wanted to relinquish their allegiance to Egypt and join to the king of Babylon, but he refused. Moreover, the king of Babylon is bothered by the business contact between Egypt and his Assyrian vassals, which may reflect a diplomatic relationship.

- Line obv. 1—KUR *M*[*i-iş-ri-i* ŠEŠ-*i*]*a*, Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/2:1585) suggested the possibility of complementing the broken line with *aḥi-ia* "my brother." However, Rainey saw a vertical wedge on the end of that line and transliterated it [*i*]*a*.
- Line obv. 6—LÚ. 'GAL'. MEŠ-*ka* "your senior 'official's." Knudtzon transliterated  $amelur[a]b\overline{u}tika$ .
- Line obv. 12—*i-na-an-na* (šum)-ma KÙ.GI ma-a-ad "Now (i)f gold is plentiful" (Moran 1992:18 n. 3).
- Line obv. 14—The verb has the theme vowel of the present, so perhaps we should render it: *am-mi-ni 2 ma-na* KÙ.GI *ma-a-ad tu-še-bé-e-la* "why do you send only two minas of gold?" (Rainey 1995–1996:110).
- Line obv. 18—*li-il*<sub>5</sub>-*qu-ni-ik-ku*, Rainey's collation confirms the sign *qu*.
- Line obv. 19—*i*-*na* + PN = in (the time of) PN, cf. Aro (1955:92).
- **Line rev. 25**—In line 23–24 <sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>¬</sup>*-ni-ta il*<sub>5</sub>*-ta-ap-ra-šu-nu-ti / um-ma-a* "My father wrote this to them, saying," but the next verb form is *atta* imperative: *muššer ittiya ana naškûni* "Leave being allied with me!"
- Line rev. 26—*ta-at-*<sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup>*-ak-ra-ma*; Bezold (BB 1892:no. 2; pl. 24 [photo]) had added *na* after <sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup>.
- Line rev. 37—LAL only appears in Amarna as an ideogram for either *simittu* or in the combination KI.LÁ = *šuqultu* in many lists of gifts or commodities (e.g. *EA* 5:26, 27; especially *EA* 14, *EA* 22 and *EA* 25 *passim* and various other texts that include lists; Rainey 2003:201\*).

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29786. COPY: BB, 3. COLLATION: 08.02.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:19–20); Liverani (1999: 356–358 [LA 284]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The king of Babylon reports to the king of Egypt about the Egyptian delivery to him after the gold had been put into the kiln. Therewith, he asked Amenhotep to send him carpenters.

- Line obv. 11—Note *anāku u kâša*, instead of nominative *atta*, and see also in *EA* 6:10.
- Lines obv. 16–17—*mimma ul aqra...mimma ul aqarku* "something is rare/ scarce/lack for someone." This understanding in *AHw*:1460b has been accepted by Moran (1992:20 n. 3) and Rainey.
- Line obv. 21—[KUG.GI], at the beginning of the line, is possible.
- Line obv. 22—[*im-ma-*]<sup>r</sup>*ti*<sup>¬</sup>*-ma-a u*<sup>^</sup>*-e-du-*[*ú*]*-š*[*i*] "[wh]en did they ever verify it?" There is space for the sign [Ú] and traces for the sign Š[I] in the broken area.
- Line rev. 30—[ša ú-s]í-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>¬</sup>-mu-šu-nu-ti "[that they have] reddened them." The form is D of sâmu (Rainey's collation).
- DUMU *ši-ip-ri-*<sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>¬</sup>*ki-i il-l*[*a*]-*k*[*a*] "when your envoy comes." The restoration follows Gordon.
- Line rev. 32—NAGAR.MEŠ; following Landsberger in Gordon, see also *CAD* N/1:114a and Moran (1992:20 n. 8).
- Line rev. 35—*lū epuš*, may be precative stative.
- Line rev. 38—*li-iš-ša-am-ma* "let him appropriate." This precative form seems to be N of *šâmu*.
- Line rev. 44—Read <sup>MUNUS</sup>*Ma-i-ia-ti*; with von Soden (1952:432), *contra* Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 49—Gordon's restoration, cited by Moran (1992:20 n. 12), is completed by Rainey's new reading (also by photographs) that shows *-ma-*<sup>*i*</sup>*na-ši*<sup>-</sup>. There are still traces of <sup>*i*</sup>*ba*<sup>-</sup>.

## EA 11

# BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 151+1878. COPIES: WA 6 + WA 218, 225; VS 11, 6. PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. COLLATION: 09–10.09.2003 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:21–22); Liverani (1999: 358–359 [LA 285]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 2 (Goren 35–36).

Burraburiash asks Amenhotep IV to arrange a royal escort for the Babylonian betrothed princess, and to send him plenty of gold for preparing a generous and beautiful greeting gift for him.

**Line obv.** 1—'*Na-ap-hu-ru-r*[*e-a*], Now the area of r[e-a] is chipped off.

- **Line obv. 5**—[*ul-tu aš-ša-at a*]-*bi-ka* <sup>r</sup>*qu-ub*<sup>n</sup>-*ba-tu*<sub>4</sub>; There are traces of <sup>r</sup>*qu-ub*<sup>n</sup>. The form <sup>r</sup>*qu-ub*<sup>n</sup>-*ba-tu*<sub>4</sub> is stative subjunctive of *qubbû*, "to (be)wail"; for Moran's translation and references, see Moran (1992:22 n. 1).
- Lines obv. 6–7—Read *al-ta-ap-ra*[*-ak-ku*] and [*a-ka-an-na al-t*]*a-ap-ra* with Moran (1992:22 n. 2).
- Line obv. 8—[*a-na a-bi-ka il-*]*qu-ni* <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>¬</sup>*-ni-ta-am-ma li-*[*il-qu-ni-ku*], following Moran (1992:22 n. 3), but contrary to Knudtzon and Moran read [*il-*]*qu-ni*, not [*il-*]*qu-ú-ni*. Notice the traces of ŠA in <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>¬</sup>*-ni-ta-am-ma*, which Rainey observed.

Lines obv. 9-10—[ $\dot{u}$  at-...]; today the signs [ $\dot{s}i$ ] and [na] are no longer visible. Line obv. 9—[ $\dot{u}$  at-ta...]; following Moran (1992:22 n. 4).

Lines obv. 11–12—The restorations [*um-ma-a aš-ša-at a-bi-*]*ia* (line 11) and [*aš-*]<sup>r</sup>*ša*<sup>3</sup>-*tu*<sub>4</sub> (*contra* Knudtzon's [*a-*]*ms-tum*) are based on Moran's translation (1992:21).

**Line obv. 15**—[a-ka-an-na], at the beginning of the line, is offered by Rainey. Moran's  $\delta a^{-r}a^{-1}[-\delta i \ li-il-qu-ni-ku]$  (1992:21 n. 6) was also acceptable to Rainey.

- Lines obv. 17–18—[DUMU.MUNUS-*ti ki-i*] *ú-ka-li-mu-šu-*<sup>r</sup>*nu-ti*<sup>¬</sup>*a-na qa-qa-*<sup>r</sup>*ad*<sup>¬</sup> / DU[MU].MU[NUS-*ti-ia*] / <sup>r</sup>Ì<sup>¬</sup>.[GIŠ *it-t*]*a-du-ú*; with Landsberger (in Ankum et al. 1968:79–80 n. 4), cited by Moran (1992:22 n. 7). For this first act of betrothal, see references in Moran (1992:21).
- **Line obv. 19**—Read *le-q*[u- $\dot{u}$ - $\dot{s}i$ ] with Rainey, *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:22 n. 8). The form *le-q*[u- $\dot{u}$ - $\dot{s}i$ ] is a participle and transitive suffix form.

Line obv. 21—[*i-na* É-*i*]*a*; following Moran (1992:21 n. 9).

- **Line obv. 23**— $[u_4$ -*um a-bu-ú-a-a* DUMU.MUNUS-*šu il-*]*qu*; Rainey completes Moran's restoration by the verb [il-]qu.
- Lines obv. 24–25—[LÚ.DUMU *ši-ip-ri-*]*ka* (line 24) and [*it-ta-al-ka*...] *'lu'-ul-l'i*' (line 25) are reconstructed by Rainey. Only the vertical wedge of *li* is missing.
- Line rev. 5—[*ša a-na*....M]EŠ *ba-al-tú-t*[*i ma-aš-lu*....]; Landsberger in Gordon, cited by Moran (1992:23 n. 11).
- Line rev. 6—Read  $h[a-mu-t]a \, \check{s}u-bi-i-la$  with Ungnad (1916: col. 183; Moran 1992:23 n. 12) *contra* Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 12—*li-il-pu-tu*<sub>4</sub>, from *lapātu* "to fashion an object" (*CAD* L:87b).
- Line rev. 14—Read [*li-il-q*]*a-ak-ku* with Moran (1992:23 n. 14), *contra* Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 16—At the beginning of the line Rainey restored [*na-du*-]<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>'</sup>, stative form of G, *contra* Landsberger's reconstruction (1968:79–80 n. 4) and Moran (1992:23 n. 15; 2003:305), who adopted the rendering [*id-du*-]ú as preterite form. Moran had seen that it must be used after the precative [*li-il-q*]*a-ak-ku* in line 14, *ha-mu-ut-t*[*a li-il-q*]*u-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>'</sup>*[*-ni-ši*], and he translated: "Send them so [*they can take her*] immediate[ly]."
- Lines rev. 18–19—The restorations in these lines by von Soden (1952:432) were accepted by Moran (1992:23 nn. 16–17).
- **Lines rev. 20–21**—The restoration and the rendering Moran (1992:22, 23 nn. 18–19) proposes make sense. In line 20, the reading [*šu-ul-ma-na*] follows his questionable [*gift*], and the reading of the verb [*i*]*n-da-ți* follows von Soden (1952:432).
- Lines rev. 21–22—Read [*i-na / bi-ri*]. There is not enough room for von Soden's [*bi-ri-it*] (1952:432), cf. Moran (1992:23 n. 19).
- Line rev. 23—[*šu-ú-ma*]; with Moran (1992:23 n. 20).
- Line rev. 26—<sup>MUNUS</sup>*Ma-ia-tu-ma*; *-ma* stresses the logical predicate ("it was Mayatu who did nothing for me"). On *šu-u*[*l-lu-ma-ku*], see Moran (1992:23 n. 23).
- Line rev. 27—*ki-i du-lu-u*[*i-iš*]; following Kühne (1973:145) and Moran (1992:23 n. 24).
- Line rev. 28—Here, the enclitic *-ma* emphasizes the possessive pronoun *attûkāma* in contrast to Mayatu, Amenḥotep IV's daughter. So also Moran (1992:23 n. 25).
- Line up. ed. 30—Rainey added [ŠEŠ-ú-a-a].
- Lines left ed. 33–34—[......]*ki-i lu-še-bi-la-ak-[ku* KUG.GI *ma-a'-da šu-bi-]la-am-ma / [a-na-ku šu-ul-m]a-na ma-a-da a-na k[a-a-ša lu-še-bi-la-ak-ku*]; following Moran (1992:23 n. 26).

There are traces of the following signs: `a` contra Knudtzon's [a] (obv. 4); `um` (obv. 7); `ša` (obv. 12, at the end of the line); `mi` (obv. 13); `ra`, `mi`, `a` contra Knudtzon's [a] (obv. 15); `bu` (obv. 16); `nu`, `ti` (obv. 17); `5` (obv. 20); `ak`, `ku` (obv. 21); `KUR` (obv. 22); `a`, `i` contra Knudtzon's [i] (obv. 23); `li`(rev. 5); `a` (rev. 7); `ša` (rev. 10).

### EA 12

## A BABYLONIAN PRINCESS TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1605.

COPIES: WA 188; VS 11, 7 (tablet now in two pieces).

COLLATION: 18.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Pintore (1978:61); Moran (1992:24); Liverani (1999: 360 [LA 286]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 2 (Goren 36).

This is a love letter.

Line obv. 1—As in Lab'ayu letters, here the sign *bi* for *bé* in the word '*bé-lí-ia* "my lord."

**Line obv. 5**—With regard to the sign in question  $[\dot{u}]$  (Knudtzon 1915:100 n. a), Rainey saw traces of the latter sign.

Line rev. 24—*i-ša-ak-ni*, N stem; Pintore's "has decided" without comment is unacceptable (so also Moran 1992:24 n. 4). However, this usage of this root is known "to come together with someone" (*CDA* 2000:348). Perhaps "(Your servant, Kidin-Adad,) is located with me(?)."

Lines rev. 25–26—*ana dinā / bēliya lullik*, "May I be a substitute for my lord" = "I would lay down my life for my lord": This is a general Babylonian idiom. For a variant, see the Jerusalem letters (first noted by Finkelstein 1969:33–34).

#### BURRABURIASH'S GIFTS TO AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS.

TEXT: VAT 1717. COPIES: WA 216; VS 12, 197. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:24–26). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 2 but unfired or very lightly fired (Goren 36–37).

The beginnings of the lines are completely broken. Most of the restorations are by Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:100–104) and Gordon (see also Moran's notes 1992:26–27; 2003:301, 305).

- **Line obv. 1**—*uhhinu* "fresh dates"; <sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>GUG = *sāmtu* "carnelian"; *zimizzu / ziminzu* "bead of some shape" (cf. Moran 1992:26 n. 2).
- **Line obv.** 3—<sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>BABBAR.DILI (<sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>BAR<sub>6</sub> BAR<sub>6</sub>.DILI) = pappar(dil)daliu,  $pappar(dil)dal\hat{u}$ -stone; DILI = AŠ; KUR =  $šad\hat{u}$  = of the mountain = genuine, not paste.
- Line obv. 4—MUŠ.GÍR = muššarru precious stones of onyx(?).
- Line obv. 5—sikkatu a flask or flask-shaped ornament.
- Lines obv. 8, 10, 15, 18—*tarambānu* "making glass" (*AHw*:1324b).
- Line obv. 9—*tudittu* = dress pin; GÚ.TUR = *kakkû, kakktu* "lentil," (see also *EA* 14:I, 13; Moran 1992:26 n. 9).
- **Line obv. 11**—Perhaps <sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>MUŠ.GÍR.TAB (von Soden 1952:433) is a variety of *muššar*(*r*)*u*-stone (Moran 1992:26 n. 10). *AHw* (685a) reads *muššārum* "an engraved gem," and see also <sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>MUŠ.GÍR= *muššaru* (*CAD* M/2:280a). Rainey assumed the possibility of the meaning "onyx(?)."
- Line obv. 14—[...KÙ.GI]x tù-tù-ur-ru. The remnant of the sign after the break, which appears to be one vertical wedge, is not from KÙ.GI. Possibly tù-tù-ur-ru = "leaf" (see Moran 1992:26 n. 11).

Lines obv. 22-23-tamlû "inlay."

Line obv. 27—napādu "clasp."

- **Line obv.** 31—pa-[ru]-ti; contrary to Moran (1992:27 n. 13), who confirms Knudtzon's reading,  $\lceil pa \rceil$  seemed clear to Rainey.
- Lines rev. 1–6—The restoration of these lines is by Moran (1992:27 n. 14; 2003:301).
- Lines rev. 8–9, 24—GÚ.ZI = *kāsu* "cap."
- Lines rev. 9–10—NÍG.ŠU.LUH.HA = *namsû* (*nemsû* pl. *namsītu*) "washbasin." The restoration NÍG is based on lines 24–25 below, and cf. *EA* 22 II, 51, IV, 22; 25 II, 53, IV, 60 (Moran 1992:27 n. 16).

- Line rev. 11—[...*mu-s*]*a-li-ḥa-tu* (*AHw*:1013b; *CAD* M/2:231b–232a; Moran 1992:27 n. 17).
- Line rev. 15—[...*hu-lu-pa-a*]*q-qú*; with Gordon and Moran (1992:27 n. 18).
- Line rev. 16—[...*al-ta-]pí-pu i-na* IZI.GAR-*šu-nu*; Compare *EA* 22 III, 22 (Moran 1992:27 n. 19).
- Line rev. 20—The restoration [ ... <sup>(urudu)</sup>Š]EN = *ruqqu* "kettle" is by Gordon; and see Durand, cited by Moran (1992:27 n. 21).
- Line rev. 28—Read [..*mu-š*]*a-lu*<sub>4</sub> with Landsberger in Gordon. For the meaning of *mušālu*, see references to literature in Moran (1992:27 n. 22); *dušû* "agate" (banded chalcedony), following P. Steinkeller, cited by Moran (*loc. cit*.).

# BRIDE PRICE FROM AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT, TO BURRABURIASH, THE KING OF BABYLON

TEXT: VAT 1651 + 2711 (+) Ash. 1891.1–41 (415, not collated).

COPIES: WA 28 + WA 209; *VS* 12, 198; (+) Sayce (1894 no. 8).

COLLATION: 22.04.2004

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (1999:8–23; 2011: 229–242).

TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:27-34).

COMPOSITION: Esna marl (Paleocene) known in Upper Egypt, especially in the Esna-Edfu region, as *EA* 1 (Goren 25).

The text is an amazing list of items sent from Egypt. It is obviously a vast caravan of gifts sent to Babylon for a princess who was pledged to the Egyptian harem (Cochavi-Rainey 2011:4). This tablet is broken especially at the beginning of the lines, less in the middle or at the end of them. The introductory lines, which are completely missing, were restored by Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:106, see also *VAB* 2/2:1586) and Kühne (1973:70 n. 342, 71 n. 347). There are extensive notes by Lambdin (1953a:362–369), Edel (1974:116–125, 138–146, 295), Moran (1992:27–37) and others that will be a major contribution to the ensuing discussion. For all the Egyptian terms which appear below, see also an extensive description in Cochavi-Rainey (2011:247–260).

**COL. I, 11**—[...<sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>*eḥ*-*l*]*i*-*pa*-*ak*-*ki*; a kind of glass (Oppenheim 1973:259 ff.) or perhaps "[a r]aw glass," following Cochavi-Rainey (1999:8, 9).

**COL. I, 13**—GÚ.TUR, see *EA* 13 obv. 9 (Moran 1992:26 n. 9).

- **COL. I, 14, 16**—[...*ša ti-ik*]-*ki*; with Moran (1992:34 n. 6), who compares. II, 2, and with Edel's translation, "necklace" (Edel 1974:142).
- **COL. I, 16**—For the reading *súm-mu-hu*, here and *passim*, see *AHw*:1017a; *CAD* S:109a; Moran (1992:34 n. 7).
- COL. I, 22–31—broken.
- **COL. I, 32**—With Moran (1992:35 n. 8). On *namša* see below II, 50. Read the *na* sign with Schröder's facsimile, *contra* Knudtzon's [*na*].
- **COL. I,** 33—*ku-ú-bu, ku-ú-bu,* also III, 41, 42; IV, 13, 23. The *kuba* vessel is often associated with Middle and Late Egyptian *qby* (*WB* V, 25), but Late Egyptian *k* for Middle Egyptian *q* is rare. Moreover, the Egyptian *qbw* "jars" (Lesko 1989:8) shows that the vessel's name survives in Late Egyptian with *q*.
- **COL. I, 36**—*anaḥu* is the name of an object the description of which is broken: [...] KÙ.GI *tam-lu-u a*!-*na-ḥu-u*. Knudtzon (1915:107 n. *g*) had favored the reading *2 na-ḥu-u*, but Moran (1992:28) accepts the defectively written *a* as the first sign. Du Mesnil du Buisson (1935:108) cites this passage with regard to an ancient Egyptian vessel shaped like an *nh* sign and Lambdin (1953a:363–364) concurs. The cuneiform spelling might represent the plural *'nhyw*.
- **COL. I, 42**—The restoration [...*tú-dì-n*]*é-tù* (*tudinētu*) follows IV, 10 (Moran 1992:35 n. 11, and see there for references on *tudittu*).
- **COL. I, 43**—*našši* (cf. II, 80; III, 48) is an Egyptian word (Lambdin 1953a:367). Du Mesnil du Buisson (1935:160) identified it with *nšw* (Erman and Grapow 1961: II, 338, and see also Cochavi-Rainey 2011:253).
- **COL. I, 46**—Ranke had suggested *rhdt* as an Egyptian etymology of *ra-aḥ-dá* "a metal kettle" (Erman and Grapow 1961: II, 441).
- **COL. I**, **48**—Ranke (1910:26) identified *da*-[*š*]*i* with Egyptian *ds*(*y*), a jar used for beer (cf. also Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935:18–19). Lambdin (1953a:364) suggests a vocalization \**dáśe*(*y*). If this is correct, it would be another example of cuneiform ŠI for *sí*.
- **COL. I,** 57—The reading is 1  $q\hat{i}\cdot\hat{s}\cdot\hat{s}u\cdot\hat{u}^{\dagger}$  [ $\hat{s}a \in \hat{I}$ ] according to Gordon's collation, and cf. III, 38, IV, 5 (Moran 1992:35 n. 14).
- **COL. I, 62**—1 *tù-ra-*h[u i-n]a q[á]-ab-la-t[ù-u]š-šu; cf. II, 9 (Moran 1992:35 n. 15).
- **COL. I, 64**—In *EA* GAL = *kāsu* "cup, goblet," cf. II, 9; *EA* 19:80 (and Moran 1992:35 n. 16).
- **COL. I, 68**—*miḥhuṣ / muḥhuṣ =* "to be studded" (*CAD* M/1:83b; Moran 1992:35 n. 17). *sí-mi-u*; this term is equivalent of Akkadian *lamassu* "statue" (Lambdin 1953a:369). Lesko (1987:47) noted that there is Late Egyptian *śm3w* "statue."

- COL. I, 71—Read 'KÙ.GI' with Schröder's facsimile, *contra* Knudtzon's hurâși (KÙ.GI).
- COL. I, 74, 77–78—HAR = *semeru* "bracelet." ŠU-*ti* = *qāti* "hand." *bu-a-ti* (*pu-a-ti*) (*EA* 14: I,74, and also II, 27, 28) is an Egyptian word which is the equivalent of *semer qāti* "hand bracelet." For suggestions and interpretations of this Egyptian word, see *CAD* S:220a; Lambdin (1953a:364); Lesko (1982:134, 1936); Edel (1987); Cochavi-Rainey (2011:249).
- **COL. II, 1**—The West Semitic word, *sí-il-la-aḥ-tá* "plate, bowl" = Akkadian *saḥḥaru*. Also II, 54; III, 70 (Sivan 1984:269; Lambdin 1953a:369).
- COL. II, 3—qanû; with Moran (1992:35 n. 23).
- **COL. II, 6**—É *mé-qí-ti*; the sign É repeated by error. Cf. II, 3; see É in previous line (Moran 1992:35 n. 24).
- COL. II, 7—*quppû* "chest" rather than *quppu*, with Moran (1992:35 n. 25) and *AHw* (928b), *contra CAD* Q:307b.
- **COL. II, 9**—Possibly the object  $nak\hat{u}/naq\hat{u}$  is the name of some animal inside a cage-like vessel (*CAD* M/2:158a), *contra* Moran (1992:29), who had translated  $na-ku-\hat{u}$  "stopper." Lambdin (1953a:367) referred to *zabnakû* (*sabnakû*) with a question mark. It does not seem likely that the scribe intended to write (*sà-ab-*)*na-ku-ú* as in III, 54. See discussion below.
- COL. II, 10—*nalpattu*; with *CAD* K:316a that reads "spatula," *contra* Moran (1992:35 n. 26) and *CAD* N/1:202a.
- COL. II, 11—With Moran (1992:35 n. 27).
- **COL. II**, 12—*šu-pá-al* GÌR.MEŠ-*šu* preferred "its feet" to "its pedestal" (Moran 1992:35 n. 28) or "footstools" (*CAD* Š/2:299b).
- **COL. II, 17–18**—GIŠ.MÁ = *eleppu* "ship, boat." GIŠ EREN = *erēnu* "cedar." For the translation, cf. *AHw*:199b, 994a; Edel (1978:127 n. 1); Moran (1992:35 n. 30).
- **COL. II, 49**—*dì-ni-tá-* Moran (1992:30) had translated "1 oblong pot," but CAD A/1:258b renders the adjective *ariktu* by "tall," citing this passage. Moran apparently had inadvertently skipped the Egyptian name which is probably to be equated with the *dpnt* vessel that is cited by Lesko (1989:136) as "bowl or vase" (Cochavi-Rainey 1999:224).
- **COL. II, 50**—Erman (1896:166; cf. Ranke 1910:13) was the first who compared *namša* to the Egyptian etymology *nmśt* "jar," as a vessel used for ritual purposes was suggested by Du Mesnil du Buisson (1935:131 ff.). This term appears also in I, 32, 67, and see *CAD* N 1:246b–247a.
- **COL. II, 52**—The entry *hannu šāhû* "upright chest" was recognized by Albright (cited by Lambdin 1953a:364) as *hnu* or *hnn śh*. *CAD* H:83a suggested "one h-rhyton(?) (in the form of) pig." *CAD* Š/1:106b suggested *šāhû* "upright(?)."

- **COL. II, 55**—On the uncertain identification of the logogram GIŠ.-TAŠKARIN as "boxwood", see Moran (1992:36 n. 36).
- **COL. II,** 65–66—1 na-[ma]-a[r pa-ni ša KÙ.BABBAR N]A4.(HI.A) 'súm'-<math>m[u-]hu / 1 na-[m]a-a[r pa-ni ša] KÙ.BABBAR GU[ŠKI]N; the signs that Knudtzon transcribed are no longer visible (Moran 1992:36 n. 38). [N]A4. With Gordon (ibid.).
- **COL. II, 67**—KAxU (also III, 3) =  $p\hat{u}$ . There are attestations of this same logogram in the texts from Boghazköy, Ugarit and Emar (Moran 1992:36 n. 39).
- **COL. II, 68**—<sup>r</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>r</sup>; with Moran (ibid.), who prefers the reading of *VS* "12" to Knudtzon, who saw "14".
- COL. II, 82—Read <sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>¬</sup> with Schröder's facsimile, *contra* Knudtzon's [*ni*].
- **COL. II, 83**—*q*[*á*-x]-x-*tù*, with copy *VS* 12 and Moran (1992:36 n. 40).
- **COL. III, 11–21**—The expression *lubulti šarri* is translation of *sšr nswt* "linen of the king," "royal line," which is the designation of byssus (Edel 1974:117–118; Faulkner 1962:248). GAD *lubāru* "linen cloths" (also III, 26, 33; Moran 1992:32). *adaļa*; on the possibility of the cuneiform orthography *a-tá-Į*a, see Cochavi-Rainey (2011:342).
- COL. III, 23—The logogram 'GADA'.ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.DÙ.A (*šakattâ*) is equivalent to Akkadian *nēbeḥu* (see *Emar* 6/4, 556:56'; *CAD* Š/1: 159a; Moran 1992:36 n. 42).
- **COL. III, 24**—Rainey reads '21', not '20', *contra* Schröder's facsimile, Knudtzon, Moran (1992:36 n. 43) and others. For *tunzu*, see references in Moran (1992:36 n. 43).
- **COL. III, 26**—*ša pa-ni* SU GAR *ták*(!)-*mu-us-sé-e*; Moran (1992:36 n. 44), Cochavi-Rainey (1999:26) and Rainey follow Edel (1974:125).
- **COL. III, 29**—*amê şabi* meaning "red colored" is equivalent of the Egyptian term *im3w* (*WB* I, 80; Lambdin 1953a:363). The adjective *şabi* = "colored" was interpreted by Edel (1974:124–125).
- **COL. III, 32**—The Egyptian word of *pa-qa* is probably p3qt, p(3)qt (Lambdin 1953a:367) "a fine linen" (Erman and Grapow 1961: I, 499; Lesko 1982:170).
- **COL. III, 34**—*azida*; Lambdin (1953a:364) corrects the view of Du Mesnil du Buisson (1935:160), who accepted Spiegelberg's derivation of the vessel *jw* from an alleged \**dd*, assumed to be  $\langle \underline{d}3\underline{d}3w$  "a drinking vessel." Lambdin himself proposes a development from  $\underline{d}3\underline{d}3w$  by which \*(*e*) $\underline{d}3\underline{d}3ew$  $\rangle$  \*(*e*) $\underline{d}ide(w)$ , which latter form is thought to stand behind the syllabic Akkadian transcription on III, 34, viz. *a-zi-da*. The entire process is speculative.

- **COL. III, 40**—For *ma-*<sup>r</sup>*și*<sup>1</sup>*-iq-tá* "pouring vessel," see Sivan and Cochavi-Rainey (1992:18).
- **COL. III, 44**—The name *ašša* is applied to some stone vessels called *kirrētu* (*CAD* K:409a *contra CAD* A/2:46ob), as follows [*x*] [NA<sub>4</sub> *k*]*i-ir-re-tù* Ì.DÙG.GA *ma-li aš-ša šum-šu* "[*x*] jars full of scented oil, called *ašša*." Lambdin (1953a:364) compared the Egyptian 'š and suggested that the cuneiform spelling indicated approximately the form \*'áš(š)*e*. The Egyptian term is only attested in Late Egyptian (Lesko 1982:90).
- **COL. III, 54**—The Egyptian word *sà-ab-na-ku* is equivalent of  $\underline{t}(3)b$ -*n-k3w* =  $*\underline{t}\dot{a}(3)b$ -*na-k* $\dot{u}(3)$  (Lambdin 1953a:369).  $\underline{t}(tj)$  represents Semitic *samekh* (Rainey 1978a:88). As a "vessel for foodstuff," see Erman and Grapow (1961: V, 354).
- **COL. III, 61**—*šu'ibta*; a vessel for drawing water = WS \*šô'ibta (Rainey 1978a:95, et al.).
- **COL. III, 62**—2 GAL *ra-bu-ú*; a mistake in gender (cf. Moran 1992:36 n. 34).
- COL. III, 66, 71—On the Egyptian term *wa-ad-ḥa, wa-ad-ḥa-a*, see Lambdin (1953a:368); Erman and Grapow (1961: I, 393); Lesko (1989:143); Du Mesnil du Buisson (1953:106).
- **COL.** III, 77—Here and in IV, 8 the two signs of *za-a* are much smaller than the others (with Moran 1992:37 n. 53). The Akkadian transcription must be *sá-a*, since it is equivalent of Egyptian  $\underline{t}3y$  (Osing 1976:714 and Edel 1978:126 n. 1), "container (made of precious wood)" (Erman and Grapow 1961:349; Lesko 1989:102), and Egyptian  $\underline{t}(\underline{t}j)$  represents Semitic *samekh*.
- COL. IV, 6—(GIŠ). HAŠHUR = hashuru "apple (tree)." For references, see Moran (1992:37 n. 55).
- COL. IV, 9—GIŠ.GA.RÍG = *muštu/ mulțu* "comb." On the reading *ga-ríg* for *ga*-ZUM, see Civil (1967:210–211); cf. Moran (ibid.).
- **COL. IV, 11**—On the Egyptian word *up-ța*, see Lambdin (1953a:368); Edel (1974:128 n. 1); Lesko (1982:75).
- **COL. IV, 15**—Compare *tù-ra*!(ŠA)-*hu* "ibexes" to I, 62, IV, 62 (and see *CAD* T:484b; Moran 1992:37 n. 57).
- **COL. IV, 20**—Lambdin (1953a:366) noted that the entry *ma-ha-an* has to do with an object made of ebony: [x] [*tup-ni-na-tù ša* <sup>GIŠ</sup>]ESI *ma-ha-an*, so it is logical to equate it with *mhn* (*ma-ha-ni*) "wooden chest" (Lesko 1982:230). Ranke (1910:23) wanted to equate the Akkadian word with a rare name of a vessel, but he had ignored the reference here to [<sup>GIŠ</sup>]ESI =  $u\check{s}\hat{u}$  "ebony."

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# AŠŠUR-UBALLIŢ, THE KING OF ASSHUR, TO AMENḤOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.2.11.

COPIES: Scheil (1902:114); Spar, ed. (1988: pls. 112-113).

COLLATION: 24.11.1999

- PHOTOGRAPHS: Bull (1926:170, fig. 1; obverse); Hayes (1959:296, fig. 182; obverse).
- TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Artzi (1978:27–28); Moran (in Spar 1988:149–150, pls. 112–113).
- TRANSLATIONS: Grayson (1972:47–48); Moran (1992:37–38); Liverani (1999: 362–363 [LA 287]).
- COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Upon the conquest of Mittani by Suppiluliuma, Assyria, which was subjugated to Mittani, gained its independence during the mid-fourteenth century BCE. Aššur-uballit, the founder of the new Assyrian dynasty, sent greeting gifts to Amenhotep IV to establish diplomatic relations with Egypt. This letter is linguistically influenced by the peripheral Akkadian dialect of Mittani.

**Line obv.** 1 - M[i - is - (sa) - ri]: This rare spelling is following *EA* 16:2.

Line obv. 4—[KU]R; with Artzi (1978:27) and Moran (1992:38 n. 3), *contra* Knudtzon's questionable [ašsati] (1915:125 n. i).

Line obv. 9—*adi anniša* with Moran (1984:298; 1992:38 n. 5), *contra* von Soden (1952:433, *AHw*:14a), who proposed to read *a-di-an-ni ša*, and *contra* the proposal of *CAD* A/1:119b: *a-di-an-ni ša*. *ab-ba-ú-ia*, with von Soden (1952:433).

Line obv. 15—There are traces of <sup>r</sup>*ku*<sup>¬</sup>.

Line rev. 18—[*l*]  $a tu_4$ -ka-as-su; following *CAD* K:295b, Artzi (1978:27 n. 3) and Grayson (1972:48). Spar's copy (see headnote above) confirms this reading (Moran 1992:38 n. 9). In the latter verb, Rainey's transliteration notes the traces of  $ras^3$ .

### EA 16

# AŠŠUR-UBALLIŢ, THE KING OF ASSHUR, TO AMENḤOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4746 (12209). COPY: WA 9. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Grayson (1972:48–49); Moran (1992:38–39); Liverani (1999: 363–364 [LA 288]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

From this letter it seems as if the Assyrian messengers did not enjoy a respectful welcome in Egypt. The Egyptians probably received them hesitantly, since they kept away from any conflicts between Babylonia and Egypt. Actually, in his letter (EA 9), Pharaoh Tut'anhAmen protested about the diplomatic tie between Egypt and Assyria that was politically governed by Babylonia. EA 16 is the only one of the Amarna letters that is written in the pure Assyrian dialect.

- Line obv. 1—<sup>r1</sup><sup>Na-ap-hu-ri</sup><sup>-i-ia</sup>!(TU?); Rainey did not accept Gordon's reading. He noted the traces of the sign 'HI' and added the sign 'IA' to Knudtzon's restoration of the Pharaoh's personal name.
- Line obv. 9—Rainey observes traces of *ma*, *contra* Knudtzon's *ma*.
- **Line obv. 11**—<sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>KISIB = *kunukku* "seal," ZA.GÌN KUR = *uqnī šadi* "genuine lapis lazuli."
- Line obv. 15—*i-is-si-pu-uš* from *esēpu*; following von Soden (1952:434).
- Line rev. 26—[*a-na-ku*] is Moran's suggestion; however, Rainey preferred Knudtzon's [*a-nu-ma*] (1992:40 n. 11).
- Line rev. 27—The rendering of stative form 1st c. [*me-eh-re-*]*ku* follows Friedrich (in Kühne 1973:78 n. 389) and von Soden (1952:434), who also proposed [*ša-ni-na-*]*ku*?, a virtual synonym.
- **Line rev. 38**—The *Sutû* (Suteans) are nomads known throughout the area from the Euphrates to the land of Canaan, see also line 40; *EA* 122:34; 123:14; 169:25; 195:29; 246 rev. 7; 297:16; 318:13, and see also Rainey (2006: 103). The name *Sutû* is sometimes used as a term for nomads in general or for nomadic mercenaries.
- **Line rev. 40**—Kupper's questionable  $r\bar{a}d\hat{u}$  "guide" (Kupper 1957:100) was accepted by Rainey; see also Moran (1992:40 n. 15).
- Line rev. 41—von Soden's <sup>r</sup>*ak*<sup>1</sup>-[*t*]*a-la-šu-nu* (ibid.) is supported by Moran (1992:40 n. 15) and by Rainey, *contra* Grayson's [*a-ka*]*l-la-šu-nu* (1972:48–49).

Line rev. 52—ni-[il-[ta-na-ap-pa-ru]; following Moran (1992:41 n. 1) Line rev. 53—Rainey saw traces of [u 2]-su [DUMU].MEŠ si-ip[-r]i. Line rev. 54—Moran read u-[bal]-[l]a-tu-u (contra von Soden's u-ad-du-u (1952:434)) and noted that this form is indefinite third plural (1992:41 n. 18).

## EA 17

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29792.

COPY: BB, 9.

COLLATION: 02.02.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:122-125).

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:41–42); Giles (1997:381); Liverani (1999:366–367 [LA 289]).
- COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay did not yield conclusive evidence of its specific origin (Goren 39–40).

The central theme in the Mittani's letters (EA 17–30) is the proposed royal marriage with a daughter of Tushratt, Tadukheba. In EA 17 Tushratta offered Amenhotep III a renewed alliance.

Line obv. 12—On the unclear implications of *se-eh-re-ku* "young," see Moran (1992:42 n. 1). For *Pir-hi*, cf. Kühne (1973:19 n. 84).

Line obv. 15—š*a i-ra-`a-ma-an-ni-ni*; the ending *-ni* is an Assyrian subjunctive.

Line obv. 18—ul em-te-ki; from mekû (CAD M/2:8b).

**Line obv. 23**—Gordon noted  $k\bar{l}m\bar{e}$  = "so that."

Line obv. 25—*a-bu-ia* ("As for my father") is nominative in extraposition.

**Line obv. 28**—[*it*]*-ta-na-*<sup>r</sup>*ak*<sup>¬</sup>*-ku* (*\*itnadnakku*)*ittadnakku/ittannakku*).

Read  $\delta a$ -n[u-u'] with Knudtzon and Moran (1992:42 n. 4), *contra* Adler.

- Line obv. 29—[*ša k*]*i-i ka-a-ša*; following Kühne (1973:18 n. 78; Moran 1992:42 n. 4).
- Line lo. ed. 30—[*i*-*n*]*a* TI-*ma* (for MU.TI, *balāțma*); with Moran (1992:42 n. 5), *contra* Adler's [nu-kùr]-*ti-ma*.
- Line lo. ed. 31—Perhaps  $[k]i^{-r}i^{\gamma}$  (or  $ri-nu-ma^{\gamma}$ ) *it-tù-ú-ra*?- $ran^{\gamma}$ ? "when it returned."

Line rev. 43—*ma-áš-hu*-ring; with Moran (ibid. n. 9), *contra* Adler (1976: 302), who notes the assuming *ma-áš-hu* as a Kassite loanword, *ilu* "god." Line rev. 44—*taptu/tapatu* "oil container" (*AHw*:1323a).

Line rev. 48—For the sign  $\check{ser}$ , see Borger (2003:308 No. 271).

Line rev. 54—*i-li-ik-ku-ni-im-ma*; Knudtzon and others derive the verb from *leqû*.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \delta u l \rceil$  (obv. 4);  $\lceil mu \rceil$  (obv. 20);  $\lceil ki \rceil$  (obv. 27);  $\lceil ak \rceil$ ,  $\lceil an \rceil$  (obv. 28);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (rev. 35);  $\lceil pu \rceil$  (rev. 52).

## EA 18

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1880 (+) VAT 1879.

COPIES: *VS* 11, 8 (cf. WA 217 [+] 230 = 226).

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:126-127).

COMPOSITION: According to its chemical composition and to its petrographic analysis, this tablet can be related to the Mittani correspondence, *contra* Doble, Asaro, and Michel (1977:375 ff.); as with *EA* 17, the provenance is unknown (Goren 40).

**Lines rev. 1–2**—MÚR =  $qabl\hat{u}$  "midst." **Line rev. 6**—On the sign *šèr*, see *EA* 17:obv. 19; rev. 72. **Line rev. 7**—There are traces of the sign  ${}^{r}ub{}^{1}$ .

### EA 19

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29791. COPY: BB, 8. COLLATION: 26.01.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1967:128–135). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:43–45); Liverani (1999:367–370 [LA 290]).

COMPOSITION: The materials of this tablet and *EA* 17 are almost the same; as with the latter, the specific origin of the clay is unknown (Goren 40).

Tushratta asked the King of Egypt for much gold for two purposes: building a mausoleum and as a dowry.

- Lines obv. 1–4—Pronounced love between the kings of Egypt and Mittani is typical formula for Mittani's letters at the beginning of the letters; cf. *EA* 20:1–4; 21:1–7; 23:1–5; 24:1–4; 27:1–3; 28:1–5; 29:1–3. At some other passages love is expressed in different ways (*EA* 17:24–27; 26:7–10). On *umma* (line 3) as a substantive with the meaning "word, message, saying" instead of its conventional translation "thus," see Moran (1992:xxii) and *CAT* (3:177–178).
- Line obv. 20—With regard to the fact that Mittani and other Hurro-Akkadian texts often use PA for *bá*, Rainey reads *i-na bá-na-tim-ma* "with pleasure!," *contra* Knudtzon's *i-na pa-na-tim-ma*, Moran (1992:45 n. 6) and Adler (1976:128).
- Line obv. 23—Rainey follows Gordon's [*r*]*u* in *lu-ú*-[*r*]*u-ši* (precative of warû; so also Moran 1992:46 n. 7), *contra* Knudtzon and Winckler (1896a: 34) who suggest [*b*]*a* or BB's *da* or Adler's *is* (*lu-ú is-lim*).
- Line obv. 25—Read *it-ta-b*[*i*]*l* instead of Moran's *it-ta-*š[e-m]a (1992:46 n. 9), Knudtzon's *it-ta-*š[ar] and Adler's *it-ta-*š[e] (1976:130). The sign *bíl* is as in line 35.
- Line obv. 37—NAM.HA.RA; with Adler (1976:130, 308), *contra* Knudtzon's *nam-ha-ra* sg. acc.; GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> for kirru "a large jar" (Landsberger in *AHw*: 484b). for kirru "a large jar" Rainey saw that MEŠ is written as *me+eš*. See this *me-eš* combination in *li-me-eš-š-ru-šu-nu-ti-ma* (line 14).
- Line rev. 46—The correction *a-an*!(AŠ)-*ni* by Kühne (1973:24 n. 111) has been accepted by Moran (1992:46 n. 14) and Rainey, *contra* Pintore (1978:148 n. 45) and Adler (1976:132) who considered *a-aš-ni* from *šanû*, "to do a second time."
- Line rev. 73—The particle *kīmê* must add a temporal nuance such as "as soon as," *contra* Moran's "and" (1992:45).
- **Line rev.** 83—*sú-uh-sí* <sup>d</sup>INANNA is equivalent to *arzallu* (*AHw*:1054b; *CAD* A/2:324b). *CAD* remarks that *arzallu* as a piece of jewelry appears only in the Neo-Babylonian Age, and apparently it was also made of gold (*CAD* A/2:325a; Moran 1992:46 n. 21).
- Line rev. 85—For the meaning of SAL.NITA.MEŠ as "women (and) men," see discussion in Moran (1992:46 n. 23).

There are traces of the following signs: [na] (obv. 15); [a] (obv. 34); [še] (rev. 47); [ha] (rev. 72); [am] (rev. 78).

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 191 (not collated). COPIES: WA 22; VS 11, 9. COLLATION: 11.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:136–143). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:47–48); Liverani (1999: 370–372 [LA 291]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 17 (Goren 40).

Some places in this tablet are badly broken, and the signs are not visible or, in some cases, it is difficult to restore the traces (as in lines 38–45). In some other places, the signs can be easily restored by comparing words and sequences to other letters of Tushratta or by logical sense.

In this letter, Tushratta promised the king of Egypt that he would carry out all of his requests.

- Line obv. 8—Rainey's collation confirms the reading *it-ta-[a]l-ka* instead of *it-ta-[l]a-ka* (Adler 1976:136).
- Line obv. 17—The broken line as completed by Adler (1976:136 n. 1) seems to match the context.
- Line obv. 18—*i*[*k*-*ka*-*la*-*a*]; following Moran (1992:49 n. 4).
- Line obv. 19—The reading *la aq-ti-ip*!-*šu-nu* follows *AHw*:918b. Rainey suggested to translate the verb *qiāpu* "to encumber, impose a task," *contra* Moran (1992:49 n. 5) and Adler (1976:129).
- Line obv. 21—[*e-pé-eš*]; following Moran (1992:49 n. 6).
- Lines obv. 25–26—*be-el-ti be-le-[et* KUR.KUR *ù* / ŠEŠ-*i*]*a*; for interpretations, see Moran (1992:49 n. 7).
- **Line obv. 28**—The broken line was completed *ki-*<sup>*i*</sup> [*ú-kál-la-mu-ši*] by Moran. He compared the sequence *kullumu amāru* to *EA* 19:21–22 (Moran 1992:49 n. 8).
- Line obv. 29—The rendering [*ù i-im-*]*ma-ar-šu* follows Moran (1992:49), *contra* Knudtzon.
- Lines obv. 30–32—[*ap-pu-na-ma*], [*i-im-ma-ar*], [*ra-ba*]; free restorations by Moran (1992:49 n. 8) at the end of these three broken lines.

Line obv. 35—[*ù a-nu-um-ma*]; following Adler's restoration (1976:38).

Lines obv. 38-45-broken lines.

Lines rev. 46–48—[ $\dot{u}$  aš-šum KÙ.GI] (46); [ $\dot{u}$ -ba-ru-t] $u_4$ -ia (47); [ša  $\dot{u}$ -še-

*bi-lu*] (48); these conjectural readings and restorations are by Moran (1992:49 n. 9).

is-sal-[tu], at the end of line 48, i is restored by Kühne (1973:28 n. 126).

- Line rev. 50—[*li-ib-ba-ta im-ta*]*-lu-ú-me* "[They became f]ull [of anger]." For the idiom *malē libbāti*, cf. *CAD* L:164b.
- Line rev. 54—Moran's questionable *a-na ša*!(ÁS)-*šu* (1992:49 n. 12) was accepted by Rainey, *contra* Adler (1976:140).
- Line rev. 56—As interrogative pronoun *mannu*, with Adler (1976:141, 299), *CAD* M/1:214b, *contra* Moran (1992:49 n. 13) who interpreted it as the indefinite pronoun used at Nuzi.
- Line rev. 61—precative stative *lu-ú pa-aš-ra* "may he be mollified" with Knudtzon's and Adler's translation (1976:141), *contra* Moran (1992:49 n. 14) whose interpretation is *napšuru*, "to forgive." *CAD* P:239b questions his translation. Note that the form is stative 3rd f.pl. instead of 3rd m.sg.

Lines rev. 64–65—Cf. CAD K:5b.

- Line rev. 74—The reading *ú-bar-ra-ha-an-ni* as a mistake for *ú-šar*!(*BAR*)-*ra-ha-an-ni* (from *šurruhu*) is with von Soden (*Or n.s.* 27, pp. 254–255, cited in *CAD* B:101b) and Finkelstein (1970:253 n. 48, cited by Moran 1992:49–50 n. 16), *contra* Adler (1976:142, 266) and Driver (1967:106, in Moran, ibid.).
- Line rev. 80—GIŠ.ÉŠ.SAG.KUL = *ebel sikkūri* "a rope lock," with Adler (1976: 348) who corrects *CAD* K:56b, so also Moran (1992:50 n. 17).

#### EA 21

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 190. COPIES: WA 21; VS 11, 10. COLLATION: 10.09.2003–11.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:144–147). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:50); Liverani (1999:373 [LA 292]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 19 (Goren 41).

As a greeting-gift Tushratta sent the king of Egypt a necklace for 100,000 years.

Line lo. ed. 21—The restoration *l*[*ik-ru-bu-šu*] was proposed by Moran (1992: 50 n. 21)

- Line lo. ed. 22—Read *bal-ț*[*á-ta*] with Moran (1992:50 n. 22), *contra* Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 26—*ur-te-e*[*b-bi-ma*]; following Knudtzon's restoration.
- **Line rev. 28**—The pronoun suffix is *-šunu*, against *-šuni*, which *CAD* B:93a transcribed for a dual marker.
- Line rev. 30—*a-mi-lu-ú-ta* "men." The accepted diptotic plural form in oblique case is *amīlūti* as in standard Akkadian.
- Line rev. 33—Ebelin (1915:1479) read *na-ah-ra*, against Knudtzon. Edel (1948:24) preferred 1 *nahrnu* (made of) *mašši* to the personal name <sup>1</sup>*Nahramašši*, which was Knudtzon's reading that was accepted by Moran (1992:50 n. 2). Rainey noted the traces of <sup>r</sup>*aš* <sup>1</sup> instead of <sup>r</sup>*ši* <sup>1</sup>, and following *AHw*:630a which compares the word *maššu* = "polished" to *EA* 14 II, 6, he translates 1 *na-ah-ra ma-*<sup>r</sup>*aš* <sup>1</sup>-*ši* as "one polished *nahra*."
- Line rev. 34—Perhaps *ša ta-am-ra-*(ta). *ša-tāmarti* = "mirror," with *CDA* 396b, *contra* Kühne (1973:31 n. 143) and Moran (1992:50 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}mu^{}(obv. 1)$ ;  ${}^{r}MEŠ^{}(obv. 9)$ ;  ${}^{r}ta^{}, {}^{r}su^{}(obv. 14)$ ;  ${}^{r}u^{}(obv. 17)$ ;  ${}^{r}li^{}(obv. 18)$ ;  ${}^{r}i^{}(lo. ed. 20)$ ;  ${}^{r}te^{}(rev. 28)$ ;  ${}^{r}nu^{}(rev. 29)$ .

#### EA 22

## THE GIFTS OF TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 395.

COPIES: WA 26; VS 12, 199.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Adler (1976:48–69); Cochavi-Rainey, in Cochavi-Rainey (1999:54–59).

TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:51-57).

COMPOSITION: As EA 17 (Goren 41).

This tablet is a list of luxury items. The notes are by Moran (1992:57–61), except two corrections based on Rainey's collation.

COL. I, 2—*si-ih-pí-šu* as "its covering"; following *CAD* S:239a.

COL. I, 12—There are traces of 'NÍR'.

**COL. I, 15**—1 ŠU KUŠ.KA.TAB ANŠE.KU[NGI] "1 set of bridles for mules(?)"; followed by *CAD* K:303a and Adler (1976:148). Moran's suggestion (1992:57 n. 2) is 1 ŠU KUŠ.KA.TAB.ANŠE *nap*-'la-sà'-[a]-*ti-šu-nu*, and he translated: "1 set of bridles; their *bl[ink]ers*."

- COL. I, 16—*pu-uq-dá-a-ti-šu-nu* (*AHw*:880a; Moran 1992:57 n. 3).
- **COL. I**, **21**—*na-at-tul-la-a-tu*<sub>4</sub>; perhaps related to the *na-tu-la-te* in a letter found at Kumidu. See Moran with references (1992:57 n. 4).
- **COL. I, 25**—The meaning of *tašlu* is unknown (*CAD* T:293a). For a possible etymology of *tašlu* (*ti-sa-la*), see Civil (cited by Moran 1992:57 n. 5.)
- COL. I, 33—[g]u-mu-ú-ri-šu "guard"; Salonen (cited by Moran 1992:58 n. 8).
- KIN = šakru with Knudtzon, and see discussion in Moran (1992:58 n. 9).
- **COL. I, 36**—Read BAN "*qaštu.*" *CAD* A/2:170b referred to BAN with a question mark, since "*qaštu*" is otherwise written GIŠ.BAN in *EA*, cf. Moran (1992:58 n. 10).
- COL. I, 37—Here and in I, 25 Moran had inadvertently translated "silver" instead of "gold."
- COL. I, 38—In *EA* 22 and 25, AN.BAR is perhaps to be read *habalkinnu*, not *parzillu* (Moran 1992:57 n. 7).
- **COL. I, 44**—*AHw*:1001b identifies *sà-di-nu* as "shirt(?)" with the West-Semitic *sādīn* (in Hebrew) and *sədīnā* (in Aramaic).
- **COL. I, 46**—*p/bitinikak* "glove," following *AHw*:869b, was accepted by Moran (1992:58 n. 13) and Cochavi-Rainey (1999:59). According to *CAD* P:436b, the meaning of this foreign word is uncertain.
- SÍG.GAN.ME.TA = nabāsu / tabarru "a red wool." On the logogram, see Goetze (1956:34 n. 19), Landsberger (1967:168) and CAD N/1:22a. Moran (1992:58 n. 13) followed CAD, which preferred the reading SÍG. HÉ.ME.DA = tabarru.
- **COL. I, 48**—Moran (1992:58 n. 14) assumes NA<sub>4</sub>.GÍR.ZÚ = NA<sub>4</sub>.GÍR.ZÚ.GAL = *surru* and compared to NA<sub>4</sub>. ZU = *surru*? (*EA* 13 obv.17).
- **COL. I, 61**—The reading [*ma-aš*]-*ha-lu* / [*maš*]-*ha-lu* is uncertain (*AHw*: 625b; *CAD* M/1:365a; Moran 1992:58 n. 15).
- COL. I, 64—See references to NA<sub>4</sub>.ŠI.TIR = NA<sub>4</sub>.ŠE.TIR in Moran (1992:58 n. 16).
- COL. II, 22—Moran (1992:53) had missed part of this line.
- COL. II, 26, 32, 34–35—<sup>TÚG</sup>ka-pal-lu š [a i-li]; <sup>TÚG</sup>ka-pa-lu ša i-[li] (II,32); <sup>TÚG</sup>kapa-lu ša-i-li (II 34). According to Rainey, there are traces of the sign KA in <sup>TÚGr</sup>ka-pal-lu ša<sup>¬</sup> i-li (II, 35). Durand, cited by Moran (1992:58 n. 17), interprets kaballu as a special fabric for sandals or leggings. *i'lu* = TÚG.SIG<sub>4</sub>.ZA in Col. IV, 12, and cf. *CAD* I/J:90b.
- **COL. II, 29**—k[i-iz]-zi-šu-nu, with Knudtzon. Moran (1992:58 n. 18) refers to the restoration and translation k[i-in]-si-šu-nu "their leggings" by *CAD* K:375a.
- COL. II, 36–37—TÚG.GÚ [*hur*]-*ri ša* URU (in lines II, 36, 39, 41; III, 24; *EA* 27:110) and TÚG.GÚ URU (in lines II, 37, 40, 41; III, 24; *EA* 27:110).

Note the abbreviated TÚG.GÚ.È(.A), nahlaptu (cf. *EA* 14 III, 15, 18, 22). On the Hurrian-style nahlaptu and on TÚG.GÚ URU ( $nahlapti \bar{a}li$ ), see the interpretations, proposals and references to literature cited by Moran (1992:58 n. 19–20).

- COL. II, 37—TÚG.Í[B].LÁ = *nēbeņu* "s[as]hes."
- **COL. II, 40**—TÚG.BAR.DUL = *kusītu* "robe," cf. also II, 42; III, 25; *EA* 25 IV, 48.
- COL. II, 41—Read *ha-sú-ra*, not *ha-zu-ra*, and see also *EA* 25 IV, 40.
- **COL. II, 43**—*š*[*a z*]*ubbī kuššudi* "fly-whisk" (*AHw*:461a; *CAD* Z:156a), *contra* Knudtzon and Adler (1976:157) who translated this object as an instrument for catching flies. The difference between this kind of whisk (see also in *EA* 25 III, 52) and *ša zubbī šūli* (I, 58) is unknown (Moran 1992:59 n. 23).
- **COL. II**, **48**—*ša per*<sub>6</sub>-*a*-*zi* (cf. *EA* **25** I, **27**; *AHw*:**8**55a). Durand, cited by Moran (1992:59 n. 24), interprets the parallel *ša pí*-(*ih*)-*ha*-*zi*(-*im*) in Mari as "having a mouse" (*piazu, pur'asu*), i.e., a part for gnawing, tearing.
- COL. II, 52—Rainey has seen 60 + 20; that is, 80 and not 70 as Knudtzon and others read.
- **COL. II**, **59**—*makkasu* "an axe." With *AHw*:589b, Adler (1976:159) and Moran (1992:59 n. 26), *contra CAD* M 1:132a who interprets this as a bowl.
- **COL. II, 69; III, 2**— $gi_5$ -il-tu- $[šu?] / gi_5$ -il-tu-šu-nu "its/their rungs," see *CAD* K:357a and Moran (1992:59 n. 28).
- **COL. III,** 3—*iš-tu* as "on, around," not "from" as interpreted by Illingworth, cited by Moran (1992:59 n. 29).
- COL. III, 3—ALAM, "winged disk" (also III, 22 and see Moran 1992:59 n. 30).
- **COL. III, 11**—*pa-aš-(šu)-ru*. The correction by Adler (1976:160) has been accepted by Moran (1992:59 n. 31) and Rainey, since *pašru* "pole" is never found in a gift list.
- **COL. III, 12**—On the logograms GIŠ.BUGIN.TUR (*buginnu ṣeḥru? sussullu*), which were used for liquids, and on GIŠ.BÚGIN.TUR (IV,34), which was used for kneading, see Moran (1992:59 n. 32 and n. 52).
- **COL. III, 27**—ŠU.ZU.UB = *šusuppu*. Here it is a kind of undergarment worn around the hips, not the original meaning, a cloth for wiping (Deller and Watanabe, and also Mallul, cited by Moran 1992:59 n. 33).
- **COL. III, 30**—ZI.'KÍL' / SÍ.'KÍL'. As Knudtzon and contrary to Adler (1976: 162), Rainey saw traces of 'KÍL'. Moran (1992:59 n. 34) notes that SÍ(IK). KÍL (*EA* 25 IV, 52) is possibly a phonetic writing of Ì.SIKIL, *ellul, ullu,* "sesame(?) oil."
- COL. III, 33—ŠIM.BÚL = *ballukku* "styrax," *contra CAD* B:64 who reads ŠIM.BAL (with Moran 1992:59 n. 35; 2003:304).

- **COL. III**, <u>39</u>—*zarku / sarku*. Singer (1983:8–9 n. 11) notes that *zarku* is attested here and in a fragmentary Boğazköy letter from Egypt (*KUB* 3:51 rev. 6; see Edel 1994: II, 34; Cochavi-Rainey 2011:76). An equation has been suggested with Hittite LU<sup>MES</sup> *šarikuwa*-, apparently an inferior class of soldiers (*HW* 185 and 2., Erg., 22). Perhaps *zarku* is related to *zarīku*, a functionary of rather low status in the Assyrian court (*CAD* Z:68b–69a; *AHw*:1029b).
- **COL. III, 41**—GUR.SI.IB = *gursipu* "helmet." See references in Moran (1992:59 n. 37).
- **COL. III, 51**—Moran (1992:59 n. 38) comments on lacking enough room for <sup>GI</sup>[*ia-ka*]-*a-tu*<sub>4</sub> (*CAD* H:264a, followed by Adler 1976:164).
- **COL. III, 52**—Moran (1992:57 n. 3) reads *pu-uq*[-*da-tu*<sub>4</sub>], following I, 16.
- **COL. III, 53**—<sup>r</sup>*šu*<sup>1</sup>-*ku*-*ú*-[*du*]; reading by Gordon's collation (Moran 1992:60 n. 40; 2003:306).
- COL. IV, 13—TÚG = ṣabātu; GÍD.DA = *arku*, *contra* Adler's *ariktu* (Moran 1992:60 n. 44; 2003:305).
- **COL. IV,** 14—*sūnu* (*sú-nu-šu* "hem, trim") is related to Ugaritic *si*'*n* (Moran 2003:306). On the form and the meaning, see also Landsberger and Dalley, cited by Moran (1992:60 n. 45). GÙN.A = *burrumu* "(with) variegated trim." See the same sign also in II, 18, 33, 35; III, 27 (*VAB* 2/1:162 n. h).
- **COL. IV, 16**—Read *ša* GIŠ; with Knudtzon and Moran (1992:57 n. 46; 2003: 305).
- COL. IV, 24—10 'ŠEN'; following Gordon (Moran 1992:57 n. 49; 2003:305).
- COL. IV, 34—BÚGIN; see above III, 12 and also in *EA* 25 IV, 63. GIŠ.TÚG = *taskarinnu / taškarinnu* "boxwood(?)."
- COL. IV, 35—GIŠ.DÍLIM = *itquru* "spoon," also in *EA* 25 IV, 64.
- **COL. IV, 37**—NÍG.GÍD.DA GIGIR = mašaddu "chariot-poles(?)" (*AHw*:622b; *CAD* M/1:351a; Moran 1992:60 n. 53). Read 10 <sup>NíG</sup>bu-bu-[t] $u_4$  GIGIR with Moran (1992:60 n. 53), *contra* Knudtzon; *CAD* B:302; Adler (1976:168). <sup>NíG</sup>bu-bu-[t] $u_4$  GIGIR; Civil, cited by Moran, explains that *bubūtu* is the main beam on either side of the chariot, not the axle (Moran 1992:60 n. 53).
- **COL. IV, 38**—KI.KAL.GIGIR = *sassu* (*AHw*:1032b; *CAD* S:195a; Moran 1992:61 n. 55).
- **COL. IV, 43**—On the uncertain reading of NÍG.BA.MEŠ MUNUS.UŠ.MEŠ KI.KAL.GIGIR as *terhatu* "dowry," see Moran (1992:61 n. 56).

#### EA 23

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29793. COPY: BB, 10. COLLATION: 20.01.2000 and 07.07.2006 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:170–173). TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:372–373); Moran (1992:61–62); Liverani (1999:373–374 [LA 293]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 17 (Goren 41).

Tushrata sent the statue of the Ninevite goddess Ištar/Šawuška to Egypt as an aid to restoring the Pharaoh's health. The nature of that illness is unknown; the statue might have been sent to assure that Kelu-Kheba would be found pleasing to the Pharaoh. The tablet ends with three lines of Egyptian, written in black ink and the hieratic script.

- Line obv. 15—*lu-ul-lik-ma-mì*; Gordon says this may well be *-ma*, see also Adler (1976:170) and Moran (1992: 62 n. 1).
- **Line obv. 19**—Rainey reads <sup>rd</sup>?"INANNA'? BAD-*tu*<sub>4</sub> as in Line rev. 26 <sup>d</sup>INANNA NIN. Photo supports Knudtzon's *be-tu*<sub>4</sub> (*VAB* 2/1:180 n. a), *contra* Adler (1976:170).
- Line rev. 23—Rainey follows Gordon's *pa-na-a-nu* (with Moran 1992:62 n. 4, *contra* Knudtzon and Adler 1976:170). GI/GE = *ké* in Labat (no. 85), but GI/GE = *ké* in Deimel and von Soden (cited by Borger 2003:495).
- **Line rev. 28**—The reading NIN- $ni_5$  was proposed by Adler (1976:170) and accepted by Moran (1992:62 n. 5).
- Lines rev. 30–31—The translation as a question seems to be required by the context (Moran 1962:62 n. 6), rather than a positive question (Knudtzon; Weber 1915:1050; Adler 1976:173 n. 1).
- The Egytian lines that seem clear: [h3.]*t-sp* 36 4 3*bd* [...]1 *iw.tw m* p3 <sup>r</sup>*b*<sup>3</sup>*hn rsy pr-h*<sup>c</sup> "Years 36, 4th month of winter, day 1. One (the king) was in the southern villa (of) the house of enjoyment" (Černý 1969:37–38).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil a \rceil$  (obv. 18);  $\lceil i \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil si \rceil$ ,  $\lceil si \rceil$  (rev. 22);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil li \rceil$  (rev. 23);  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil si \rceil$  (rev. 29).

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 422.
COPIES: WA 27; VS 12, 200.
TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Friedrich (1932:8–32); improved readings by Otten in Farber (1971:65–66); Wilhelm.
TRANSLATION: Wilhem in Moran (1992:63–71).
COMPOSITION: See *EA* 17 (Goren 41).

This letter is the only one in all *EA* texts which is written in the Hurrian language. For references to literature, see Moran (1992:71 n. 1).

#### EA 25

## TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 340 (+) fragments 2191 a-c, no. 2.

COPIES: WA 25 (without fragments); VS 12, 201.

COLLATION: 10.06.2004

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Adler (1976:174–205); Cochavi-Rainey (1999:100–137).

TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:72–81).

COMPOSITION: As EA 17 (Goren 42).

This tablet is a list of luxury items. The first five lines are completely broken. By comparing the following broken lines (6-15) to lines 16-20 we can assume that the objects are probably earrings.

**COL. I, 20**—Read *ša-sà-tu*<sub>4</sub> with Landsberger in Gordon, who tentatively compared *šamšāti* "disks" (cited by Moran 1992:81 n. 2).

COL. I, 43—See *EA* 13 line obv. 14.

COL. I, 47—NA<sub>4</sub>.SAG. KAL = *sankallu* = precious stone; "foremost" Sum. lw. (*CAD* S:25a).

**COL. I, 52**—<sup>NA</sup><sub>4</sub>*mar-ha-li* (= *marhallu* "carnelian beads" and cf. *EA* 22 I, 67; *CAD* M/1:279. Moran [1992:81 n. 5]) prefers *mar-ha-ši* to *marhallu* because of the absence of the doubling *l*, as it is usually written in *EA* 22 I, 67 (twice), in  $E\!A$  25 II, 49 and elsewhere. He also follows the note in  $C\!AD$  M/1:281b and translates  $Marha\check{s}i$ -stones.

COL. I, 54— $^{NA}_{4}$  ZÚ(KA) = *surru* "obsidian."

- **COL. I, 61**—*kamāru* (*kawāru*); design of gold (*CDA*:144b). At Mari it is a decoration on jewelry (Moran 1992:81 n. 6).
- **COL. I, 65**—NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GUG = *sāmtu* "carnelian(?) beads," also other red stones? (*CDA*:315b).
- COL. I, 72—guhassu / guhaššu "wire" (CDA:95b).
- COL. II, 1—[a]*škirušḫu* (Hurr.) = utensil used in pairs (in Alalaḫ and *EA*, see *CDA*:28b).
- COL. II, 4—Bezold (Glossar:103a) read *dūltu* (also in II, 5, 6, 39); see *tūltu* "worm" (*CAD* T:466a); *lu-u-ri-me-ti* NU.ÚR.<sup>r</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>.A = *nurmû* "pomegranate" (*CDA*:258b).
- COL. II, 5—*hé-ri-iz-zi* (Hurr.) = a valuable stone (*CDA*:114a).
- **COL. II,** 7—U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR =  $u \dot{s} k / q \ddot{a} r u / u s k / q \ddot{a} r u$  "new moon crescents" (*CDA*: 428a).
- **COL. II, 8**—In this text only here [uh-hu]-uz. instead of GAR. Adler (1976: 182) adopts Knudtzon's restoration; Moran rejects it.
- COL. II, 12—*hi-in-t*[*e-n*]*a* (*hiddu, hindu-* Am. pl. *hintuna, hintena*) "bead" (*CDA*:115b).
- **COL. II, 13**—Moran (1992:75) reads the Hurrian word *agarhu* (a piece of jewelry), not *aqarhu* as in *AHw* (*CDA*:21b and also in *CAD* A/2:205).
- COL. II, 16—NA<sub>4</sub>.NÍR.MUŠ.GÍR = *muššaru* "serpentine"; MB ideographic writing? (*CDA*:223a) *ullūru* (an object) unknown. (*CDA*:421a).

COL. II, 17—*b*/*pikru* = a bead? (*CDA*:44a)/

COL. II, 18—š*a* ŠU (*qāti*) "for the hand," means "loose, unattached" (Landsberger in Gordon, cited by Moran 1992:81 n. 8).

COL. II, 20—*timbu'u* (*\ tubbuttu, tubbūtu, tūbātu, tubbātu*); Adler (1976:335) reads *timbu'u* and not *timbu'u*, contrary to Knudtzon, Ebeling (1915:1531), *CAD* T:417a and *CDA*:405b. For the meaning "crickets," see *CAD* T:417a and Moran (1992:75).

- **COL. II, 21–23**—ŠU(!).GUR *unqu* "finger ring" (Adler 1976:184 n. 1, 185; Moran 1992:75).
- **COL. II, 22**— $^{NA}_4išmekki = malachite ($ *CDA*83a).
- COL. II, 24—HAR = *semeru* "hand-bracelet" (*CAD* S:220a).
- COL. II, 25—SU is graphic variant of GÍR = *šiqlu*.
- **COL. II, 26**—The transliteration is  $ti_7$ -*i*s-*bu*-*tù*-*tù ša me-sú*-*k*í <sup>MEŠ</sup>. Perhaps *mesukku* means "falcon, a bird of prey" (*AHw*:648a).
- COL. II, 29—guhassu "torque."
- COL. II, 35—ZÚ.SÚN = šinni rīmti "ivory," tooth of wild cow? See CDA:305a.

- **COL. II, 36**—Gordon saw [*i*]*š-hu-un-na-tu*<sub>4</sub>, *contra* Knudtzon, and see Moran (1992:81 n. 10; 2003:304).
- COL. II, 37—*huzūnu* = an animal?
- **COL. II, 40**— $\check{s}u$ -ur- $k[u_s$ -si] (Landsberger in Gordon, cited by Moran 1992:81 n. 11).
- COL. II, 41—šuḥuppatu (suḥuppatu) "boots?"; gu-dup-pí-a-na is unknown. See *CAD* K:494b and Moran (1992:81 n. 12).
- **COL. II, 42**—Rainey confirmed the sign BU/PU that Gordon had seen, but he read *bu'-ti-in-na-šu-nu* instead of *pu'* (cf. *EA* 22 II, 24, 30).
- COL. II, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51—*piššatu* = "ointment spoon," following Adler (1976:187).
- **COL. II**, **53**—'NÍG'.'ŠU'.[LUḤ].'ḪA' = *na/emsû* "washbasin" is related to the verb *mesû* II "to wash, clean(se), purify" (*CDA*:249b).
- **COL. II**, 54–55—*uhūlu* (an alkali-rich plant) "potash" (*CDA*:419a). Since it was used for bathing, a dipper is mentioned with it (Moran 1992:82 n. 19).
- COL. II, 59-tumunsallu "quarter-shekel" (Hurr. CDA:410a).
- COL. II, 62—GA.ZUM = *muš<u>t</u>u* "comb" (*CDA*:224a).
- COL. III, 15—*angurbinnu* = *angurinnu*, a metal object (*CDA*:17b).
- COL. III, 16—*mušālu* "metal mirror," cf. *EA* 13:28 and see Moran's note (1992:27 n. 22).
- COL. III, 17—šukkuku "strung." The D form here is an adjective.
- COL. III, 33—1 ŠU following VS 12, *contra VAB* 2/1, "2 sets" (see Moran 1992:82 n. 24).
- **COL. III**, **35**—On SI (= *qarnu* "horn-rhyton") as distinguished from *bibru*, a simple rhyton, see Moran (1992:82 n. 25).
- COL. III, 42—AM = *rīmu* "aurochs" (also lines 43, 44, 45, 51).
- COL. III, 44—*i-ša-as-*[*sú*...] as an Assyrianism (Moran 1992:82 n. 26).
- COL. III, 52—NIM = *kuššudu, contra* Knudtzon's NUM = *zumbu* (*VAB* 2/1:210 n. d). KIN = *šakru* "haft, handle" (*CDA*:349b).
- **COL. III, 58**—EME.DA = *tārītu* "lady-in-waiting" (see discussion in Moran 1992:82 n. 28).
- COL. III, 61—*pu-un-nu-gu* "overlaid," D adjective of *panāg/ku*.
- **COL. III, 70–72**—BAL.MEŠ = *maqqû* "libation bowls" (*CAD* M/1:254a), not *pilaqqū* "spindles" (Adler 1976:196; Moran 1992:79).
- COL. IV, 14—With Gordon and Moran who read 'DÀRA'.MAŠ.MEŠ = *ayalī* "deer" (Moran 1992:83 n. 34; 2003:304).
- **COL. IV, 32–33**—[...*gu*<sub>5</sub>-*ha*]-*a*ș-ș*i*-*i*; Moran's restoration (1992:83 n. 36). [ ...*ku-ur*]-*si-i-n-ni* "ankles" (Gordon, cited by Moran).
- COL. IV, 40—Read [h]a-[s]ú-[r]a as in EA 22 II, 41, cf. Moran's reading

[h]a-[z]u-[r]a (1992:83 n. 36). 2 TÚG.MEŠ [ša ka-p]í-iz-zu-uh-hu; following Landsberger in Gordon, cited by Moran (1992:83 n. 36).

- COL. IV, 44—11 *me* 10 PA *šal-ši ur-ra-a-še-na*; Adler (1976:200) referred to 10 PA *šal-ši* with a question mark. Moran (1992:83 n. 36) suggested 10 *pé-pa-[wa-ši]* 11 x [*p*]*é-pa-[wa-ši] ur-ra-a-še-na*.
- COL. IV, 45—'TÚG'.'GÚ'.MEŠ-*t*[*u*<sub>4</sub>]; Rainey saw traces of GÚ.GÙN.A = *burrumu* "multicolored" (also in lines 46, 47, 48, 49, 50).
- **COL. IV, 48**—AN.TA = *eliš* "above"; KI.TA = *ša eliš* "below."; *țe₄-mu-tu₄* = *țamû*, *țemû* "spun" or "plaited."
- COL. IV, 50—TÚG.SIG<sub>4</sub>.ZA = OB TÚG.GUZ.ZA? = *i'lu* "blanket."
- **COL. IV, 51**—Gordon and Moran read ŠIM.GIG = *kanaktu, kanatku* = an incense-bearing tree (Moran 1992:83 n. 41, and 59 n. 35; 2003:304; see also *CDA*:145a).
- COL. IV, 52—ZI.KÍL = *sikillu* = a plant (*CDA*:322a). Perhaps a Hurrian word (*CAD* S:254b).
- **COL. IV, 60**—10 NÍG.ŠU.L[UH.HA ZABAR] = 10 *namsû siparru*; the apparent third horizontal may be only a scratch (with Moran 1992:83 n. 42; 2003:305).
- Read ŠIM.GIG = *kanaktu, kanatku* (Moran 1992:59 n. 35; 2003:304).
- **COL. IV, 62**—[1 *ša me-e šu-l*]*i*; with Moran (1992:83 n. 43).
- **COL. IV, 64**—[X GI]Š.DÍLIM.MEŠ =  $itqur\bar{u}$  "spoons," *EA* 25 IV, 64. Contrary to Knudtzon's autograph (*VAB* 2/1, 1001, No. 43) which is confirmed by *VS* 12, Moran (2003:304) notes that there are traces of only one horizontal followed by only one vertical, therefore [GI]Š.
- COL. IV, 65—*mu-lu-gi*<sup>MEŠ</sup>; for this interpretation, see Moran (1992:83 n. 47).
- **COL. IV,** 67—*ša id*-[*di-nu*...] (Knudtzon, Adler) or *ša* [ $\acute{u}$ -d] $e_4$ - $e^{MEŠ}$ ] (Kühne 1973:35 n. 164 and also Moran 1992:83 n. 47).

# EA 26

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO TEYE, THE MISTRESS OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29794 (+) A 9356 (Oriental Institute).

COPIES: BB, 11 (+) Luckenbill (1916:7–8). Earlier copies of A 9356: Abel (1892:118); Scheil (1892:310).

COLLATION: 14.02.2000 and 06.04.2001

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:206-211).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:84–85); Liverani (1999:373–374 [LA 295]). COMPOSITION: Identical to *EA* 17 (Goren 42).

With the death of Amenhotep III, Tushratta acted to assure continuity of the close political and economic relationships between Egypt and his country. He wrote to Teye, the wife of Amenhotep III, to confirm the stability of these relationships. This tablet is very fragmented.

- Line obv. 3—In the Amarna letters *kâša*, masc., appears only once, and then with fem. referent, see also Moran (2003:280–281).
- **Line obv. 10**—Knudtzon's questionable [*a-na-ku*] is more acceptable than Adler's *a-ma-te*<sup>MEŠ</sup>.
- Line obv. 15—*i*-*de*<sub>4</sub>, 3rd m.sg. for pl.
- Line obv. 22—*it-ta-ṣa-ar-k*[*a*]. With Knudtzon and Moran (1992:85 n. 2).
- **Line obv. 23**—*im-š*[*e*?]; Knudtzon's questionable *š*[*e*] was accepted by Moran (1992:85 n. 3) and Rainey, *contra* Adler's -[*ši*].
- Line obv. 24—Rainey and Moran (1992:85 n. 4) confirm Knudtzon's *ip-r*[*u-us*], *contra* Adler's -[*ru-us*].
- Line obv. 26—[*r*]*i*-*ï*-*mu*-*ut*-*ka*; with Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:224 n. c) who had seen *ru* or *ri*, contrary to Gordon and Moran who suggested that the small oblique wedge that Knudtzon noted is perhaps just a scratch.
- Line obv. 28—Moran (1992:85–86 n. 6) rejects Artzi's assumption that *harra*'-*na sa*' [*i*-*na*?] *hi*-*du*-*ti* "journey of joy" (literally) refer to the royal procession conducting a bridge to Egypt. Moran's claim is based on the fact that in a context where there is no reference to marriage, this is most unlikely. However, Rainey's translation is "the caravan which you joyfully(?) have been sen[ding]..."
- Line obv. 29—Rainey observed that there were still traces for the sign [AR] in *ta-pa-*[]<sup>r</sup>*ar*<sup>¬</sup>*-ra-as* and noted the room for one more restored sign between *-pa* and *-*<sup>r</sup>*ar*<sup>¬</sup>. Neither Knudtzon's *ta-pa-ar-ra-as*-[*si*] nor Kühne's *ta-pa-ar-ra-as*[*-(ma-a-?)me*] (1973:39 n. 190) nor Moran's *ta-pa-ar-ra-as*[*si-(me*)] (1992:86 n. 7) were acceptable to him. Moran rejected Adler's *taparras* because there is enough space for at least one more sign.
- Line obv. 30—*ra-'a-mu-ut-t*[*a la*]; Moran's assumption (1992:86 n. 8) is acceptable to Rainey. Here we should add *la* for a negative statement, or assume a rhetorical question.
- Line obv. 31—*a-*<sup>r</sup>*ma-aš-ši*<sup>¬</sup>; with Moran, *contra* Knudtzon and Adler (1976: 208).
- Line obv. 35—Kühne (1973:39 n. 190) is absolutely sure *šūlmānī* ("my gift") consists of more than one piece, as *mitḫāriš* shows in *EA* 27:41–42 (see also Moran 1992:86 n. 11).

- Lines lo. ed. 38–39—Read *e-te-ri*(TI)!-*iš* (see also Knudtzon [*VAB* 2/1:224 n. g, and Moran 1992:86 n. 12]); *a-n*[*a ia-ši li-še-bi-la-ma*]; following Moran's free restoration.
- Line rev. 40—Rainey completes [*uš-te-bi-il*] to Knudtzon's restoration.

Lines rev. 42–43—*i-na* Š[À-š*u*] š*a* DUMU-*ka im-tar-*<sup>r</sup>*șú*<sup>1</sup>-*ma*; with Moran (1992:86 n. 14). Rainey noticed the traces of -*şú*. *an-ni-t*[*a-ma*]; contrary to Gordon's *an-ni-*<sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*ma* at the end of line 43, Moran followed Adler's *an-ni-t*[*a*]. Rainey saw room to add -*ma* enclitic.

- **Line rev.** 44—*a-na* <sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup></sup>-[*š*]*i* <sup>*a*</sup>-*na na-dá-a-ni i-te*[-*pu-uš*]; this proposed restoration is by Rainey.
- **Line rev. 52**— $\dot{u}$   $\dot{u}$  m[a-an-nu]; Knudtzon's conjectural restoration is more acceptable than Moran's guess  $\dot{u}$  t[a-sa-ku-ti] (1992:86 n. 16).
- **Line rev. 59**—At the end of the line Rainey saw traces of NÍG and restored NÍ[G.BA] ( $q\bar{i}štu$  "gift"), *contra* Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:227 n. f) who had suggested  $i\dot{a} = 5$ . According to Gordon in Moran: 3 or 5. However, Moran was not sure at all about the number (1992:86 n. 17).
- Line rev. 60, 63—*li-i*[*l-li-ku*] and [*li*]-*il-*<sup>r</sup>*li-ku*<sup>¬</sup>; these forms are confirmed by context and the local succession of syllables as well as the fact that the broken syllable in each form is not the same syllable.

Line rev. 64—Perhaps [ú-še-bi-la] (Knudtzon) or [uš-te-bi-la].

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}nis$ ,  ${}^{r}nis$ ,  ${}^{r}u'$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{r}e'$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{r}e'$ ,  ${}^{r}sa'$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{f}li'$  (obv. 19);  ${}^{r}e'$  (obv. 27);  ${}^{r}ar'$  (obv. 29); i[a] (obv. 32);  ${}^{r}am'$ ,  ${}^{r}a'$  (obv. 33);  ${}^{r}bu'$  (lo. ed. 37);  ${}^{r}mi'$  (rev. 47);  ${}^{r}bi'$  (rev. 50);  ${}^{r}ku'$  (rev. 63).

## EA 27

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 233 (+) 2197, no. 1; 2193.

COPIES: WA 23 (only VAT 233); VS 11, 11.

COLLATION: 02.03.2004 and 03.03.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Adler (1976:212–225); Pintore (1972:21).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:86–89); Liverani (1999:393–396 [LA 296]).

COMPOSITION: Similar to other Mittanian letters; the specific origin of the clay is unknown (Goren 42).

In response to a letter with gifts from Amenhotep IV, Tushratta replied by sending gifts. The hieratic colophon at the edge of the letter states that by the second year of Amenhotep IV, his father was already dead (Fritz 1991:pl. 7; *contra* Giles 2001:31–32). Note that this letter is undoubtedly a letter from Mittani (Goren 42); it is not a copy of an Egyptian back-up copy (*contra* Moran 1992:90 n. 20).

- Line obv. 1—Following Knudtzon and Moran (1992:89 n. 1), *contra* Adler's restoration LUGAL.GAL (1973:212), but notice the traces of *-ri* and ŠEŠ that Rainey saw.
- Line obv. 7—[*it-tal-ka* ù]; with Kühne (1973:39 n. 191) and Moran (1992:89 n. 2).
- Line obv. 10—*ri-ta-*'*a*-[*ma-an-ni*] <sup>*rul*</sup>'*-tu*<sub>4</sub>; not *-*[*am-me*] as Knudtzon thought. Perhaps *-*[*ma-an-ni*] (13mm.), even though there is just barely space (14mm) between the signs *-*'*a* and <sup>*rul*</sup>'. ŠEŠ-<sup>*ria*</sup>;
- Line obv. 14—Notice the unique drawing of the sign TIR/TER in the tablet.
- Line obv. 19—Note the manner of writing the sign ALAN (= *salmu* "statue") in the tablet.
- Line obv. 42—There are no longer traces of the sign *bu*.
- Lines obv. 50–51—[...*i*-*na* ŠÀ-*šu š*]*a* ŠEŠ[-*ia* ALAM.MEŠ] *im*-*tar*-*șa*-*a*-*ma*; following Moran's restoration (1992:90 n. 11). Rainey completes the rest of line 51 hesitantly: [*id*-*dì*-*na ki*-*i ša iq*-*bu*-*ú* <sup>1</sup>*Mi*-*im*-*mu*-*re*-*ia a*-*bu*-*k*]*a*-*ma a*-*na i*[*a*-*ši*], because there may not be enough room for it all.
- Lines obv. 55-58—See Kühne (1973:31 n. 145); Moran. (1992:90 n. 12).
- Line rev. 61—Rainey restores ma-aš-k[a] at the end of the line, *contra* Adler's [...]-ma aš-b[i?] (1976:218), and notes that the sign in question is quite squeezed.
- Line rev. 63—The sign *na* is no longer visible.
- Line rev. 65—*ta-a-mu-*]*ur-t*[*u*....]; the sign in question *tu* is just as likely as Knudtzon's *te. tāmurtu* = *tāmartu*, "view(ing); audience gift" (*CDA*:396b).
- Lines rev. 69–73—Moran (1992:90 n. 14) compares these lines with *EA* 26:7–18; 22–27.
- **Line rev.** 76—l[i]-[i]š-[t]*a-'a*-[al-*ši*....]; with Adler (1976:220). Moran's correction l[u]- $(\acute{u})$  [i- $\check{s}]$ *a -'a*-[al- $(\check{s}i)$  is wrong according to Rainey's collation.
- Line rev. 80—*a*-š<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>-*ar*; following Schröder's facsimile.
- Line rev. 92—lu-uš-]me-e-ma [lu-u]- $^{r}u$ h'-[du]; Moran (1992:90 n. 17) corrected Adler's [...eš-em]-me-e-ma a?-h[a-ad-du]. Rainey read [lu-u]- $^{r}u$ h'-[du] instead of Moran's 'lu'-[uh-du].
- Line rev. 93—For the value PI/WA = pi in the Amarna archive, see also

Moran (2003:260). Read i-na ÉRIN-i[a] at the end of the line, not Knudtzon's p[a]r-s[i--].

Line rev. 95—a-<sup>r</sup>di ša<sup>¬</sup>-a.

- Line rev. 103—Knudtzon (VAB 2/1: 238 n. c) is wrong. Perhaps  $[\dot{u} \, li it ]ta l[a ku_8 \acute{u}]$ .
- **Line rev. 104**—<sup>r</sup>*i*-*si* $<sup><math>\gamma$ </sup>-*ni gi*<sub>5</sub>-*im*-<sup>r</sup>*ri*<sup> $\gamma$ </sup> "feast of completion." *isinni kimiri/ gimiri* = hag ha'āsīp? (in Hebrew).</sup>
- **Lines rev. 112, 113**— $t\bar{a}patu$  = container for oil, a stone vessel for oil (*CDA*: 398b). At the end of line 112 -*ba* is no longer visible. At the end of line 113 the last sign is -*ba*.
- left ed.—A hieratic docket: h3t sp 2 3bd 1 prt, [sw 9](?) iw.tw m nwt rsyt m p3 bhn n h<sup>c</sup>-m-3hwt mitt n š't na-ha-[r]i-n[a] in.n wpwty Pi-ri-ši wp[wty Trbr] "[Ye]ar 2, first month of winter, day [9?], when one (Pharaoh) was in the southern city, in the castle of H<sup>c</sup>-m-3ht ('Rejoicing in the Horizon'); copy of the Naharina letter that the envoy Pirissi and the envoy [Tulubri] brought." See also Moran (1992 p. xxxviii; 90 n. 20).
- On the "2," not "12," note that Giles (1997:2 and passim) advocated the reading originally proposed by Erman (1889) by which the year notation "12" is supplied at the beginning of the line (the right hand side). Erman was followed by Hayes (1951:180) and especially Aldred (1959:32; 1991:193). Redford (1967:144-146) and others had preferred the reading "2" and deduced that by the second year of Amenhotep IV, his father was dead. After Redford's work, Kühne and Wenig (Kühne 1973:43 n. 205) took another look at the colophon and claimed to see traces of the Egyptian cipher for "10." This is the evidence upon which Giles depends. He does happen to mention that there is a good photograph of the colophon in an article by Walter Fritz (1991:PI. 7). What Giles fails to admit is that the aforementioned photograph and Fritz's discussion make it perfectly clear that there is no cipher for "10." Instead, the traces at the right hand side of the text pertain to the standard h3t sp(zp) entry. Subsequently, Giles made a desperate attempt to find a cipher for "10" in the two heads of the strokes for "2" (Rainey 2002:53). For discussion and more references, see also Rainey (2006:79c) and Cordani (2011:111-112).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil ri \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ŠEŠ \rceil$  (obv. 1);  $\lceil ši \rceil$  (obv. 3);  $\lceil hu \rceil$ ,  $\lceil u \rceil$  (obv. 14);  $\lceil an \rceil$  (obv. 15);  $\lceil nim \rceil$  (obv. 18);  $\lceil ša \rceil$ , contra Adler's [ $\check{s}a$ ] (obv. 23); [n]a (obv. 25);  $\lceil \check{s}u \rceil$  (obv. 26);  $\lceil \check{s}a \rceil$  (obv. 33);  $\lceil me \rceil$ , contra Adler's [me] (obv. 38);  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 39);  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ALAM \rceil$  (obv. 41);  $\lceil i\check{s} \rceil$ ,  $\lceil e^{2} \rceil$  (obv. 42);  $\lceil ri \rceil$  (obv. 43);  $\lceil u \rceil$ , contra Knudtzon's [ $\dot{u}$ ] (obv. 49);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (rev. 61);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ka \rceil$ ,  $\lceil an \rceil$ .

<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (rev. 63); <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (rev. 65); <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> (rev. 72); <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> (rev. 73); <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (rev. 74); <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> (rev. 75); <sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup> (rev. 79); <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> (rev. 83); <sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> (rev. 92); <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> (rev. 101) <sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> (rev. 104); <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> (rev. 105); <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup> (rev. 106); <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> (rev. 108); <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> (rev. 108); <sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup> (rev. 111); <sup>r</sup>NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> (rev. 112).

#### EA 28

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 37645. COPY: Scheil (1892:302). TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:226–229). COLLATION: 03.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:90–92); Liverani (1999:397–398 [LA 297]). COMPOSITION: Identical to *EA* 17 (Goren 43).

Tushratta asked Amenhotep IV to release his messengers. He protested about their delay in Egypt.

- **Line obv. 14**—Gordon (in Moran 1992:91 n. 3) observed the traces of *TI* at the end of the dative suffix  $(-\check{s}u-nu-t[i])$ .
- Line obv. 15—*mīṣūtamma* "a very small escort"; with Knudtzon, Adler (1976: 226–227) and Moran (1992:91 n. 5). *altaparšunū*; the accusative suffix is *-šu-nu*. With Knudtzon and Adler (1976:226), *contra* Moran's doubt (1992:91 n. 4).
- Line obv. 20—*ana gamrātimma* "absolutely"; the proposed translation is by Kühne (1973:45 n. 210). Artzi (1975:3) translates "finally, after all."
- Lines obv. 24–25—Here the expression *libbašu ikkalšu* (lit. "he eats his heart out") is figurative, see also Moran (1992:91 n. 7).
- Line obv. 26—Kühne (1973:45 n. 210) restores [*ne-šu*]*-ru*. Following the next word *in-né-eš-šèr*, and the usage of the sign *ni* for *né* in this corpus, Rainey prefers [*né-šu*]*-ru*.
- **Line obv. 28**— $u_4$ -mi-ša[m-ma]; the proposed restoration is by Gordon (in Moran 1992:92 n. 9).
- Line rev. 37—[<sup>1</sup>*Ma-né-e l*]*u-meš-šèr-šu*; with Knudtzon and Moran (1992:92 n. 10), *contra* Adler's *a-ra-am-šu* (1976:228).
- Lines rev. 37–41—[<sup>1</sup>*Ma-né-e* l]*u-meš-šèr-šu*; with Knudtzon.

There are traces of the following signs: [a], [na] (obv. 7);  $[\check{s}ul]$  (obv. 11); [nu] (obv. 21);  $[\check{S}E\check{S}]$  (obv. 24); [mu], [me] (obv. 29); [me] (obv. 30).

## EA 29

# TUSHRATTA, THE KING OF MITTANI, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 271 + fragments: 1600, 1618–1620, 2195–2196 nos. 3–4, 2197 nos. 3–5, and two unnumbered.

COPIES: WA 24 (without the fragments); VS 11, 12.

COLLATION: 22.03.2004–25.03.2004; 07.04.2004–09.04.2004; 14.04.2004; 15. 04.2004; 07.06.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:230-251).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:92–98); Liverani (1999:398–405 [LA 298]).

COMPOSITION: Identical to *EA* 17 (Goren 43).

Tushratta urged the new Pharaoh, Amenhotep IV, to ask his mother if he needed to be briefed on the Mittani-Egypt ties.

Line obv. 2—On *umma*, see also *EA* 19:3.

Line obv. 3—Moran (1992:92) has skipped DAM-ka "your wife."

Line obv. 6—[*iš-tu re-eš šà*]*r-ru-ti-ia*; following Kühne (1973:46 n. 212) and Moran (1973:46 n. 2).

Line obv. 7—*mi-im-ma ša-n*[*u-ú*]; with Kühne (1973:46) and Moran (1973:46 n. 3).

Line obv. 8—*il-ta-nap-*(*pa*)-*ru*; with Adler (1976:230) and Moran (1973:46 n. 4).

Line obv. 10—[*ša il-ta-nap-pa-ru*]; following Moran's restoration (1973:46 n. 5).

Line obv. 11—[*ra-'a-mu-ti ša it-ti* ŠEŠ-]*ia*; following Moran's restoration (1973:46 n. 5).

**Line obv. 12**—id- $^{r}d\dot{a}^{\gamma}$ -[na]b-bu-bu  $\dot{s}u$ - $\dot{u}$ ; the form is obviously Gtn stem to express the continuing action.

Line obv. 14—[*i-te-pu-uš*]; this conjectural restoration by Moran (1992:98 n. 7) is based on the context of lines 12–15 and on the comparison with *EA* 17:13; 29:30.

Line obv. 16—*e*-*nu*[-*ma* <sup>1</sup>(*Mn*-*hprw*-*r*<sup>c</sup>)] *a*-*bu*-šu ša <sup>r11</sup>[*Ni*-*i*]*m*-*mu*-*u*-*re*-*ia*; Moran's uncertain restoration (1973:46 n. 8 with references to literature) was accepted by Rainey.

- **Lines obv. 21–22**—<sup>*r*</sup> $\acute{u}^{1}$ [*-ul-la*] / [*la-a*] <sup>*r*</sup>*aq*<sup>*i*</sup>*-bi*; following Moran (1973:46 n. 10), but notice the traces of <sup>*r*</sup> $\acute{u}^{1}$  and <sup>*r*</sup>*aq*<sup>*i*</sup> that Rainey had seen. For other proposals of this reading, cf. Moran (1973:46).
- The reading at the end of this line is *i-na* 'ša'!-*nu-ut-t*[*im*]-*m*[*a*], certainly not Knudtzon's *bi-nu-ut-t*[*i-im-ma*] (retained by Adler 1976:232). According to Rainey's collation, the sign is for sure *ša*, not *bi* as in Schröder's facsimile, and see also Landsberger in Moran (1973:46 n. 11).
- Line obv. 23—Read *it-tab-*<sup>r</sup>*ku*<sup>¬</sup>; following Landsberger in Moran (1973:46 n. 12; 2003:306), *contra* Knudtzon's *it-tab!-l*[*u*] (supported by Adler 1976: 232). *at-ta-di*[*n*-š*i*]; with Knudtzon, *VAB* 2/2:1588, *contra* VAB 2/1:246.
- Lines obv. 24–25—The sign [<sup>1</sup>] is no longer visible. At the beginning of line 25 Rainey restores [*ul-la*]. The sign in question [NIM]GIR (*VAB* 2/1:246; Moran 1973:46 n. 14) is not a logical and suitable reading. Read [LÚ.DUMU. KIN-*r*]*i* (collation by Rainey).
- Line obv. 26—K[UŠ.MEŠ] =  $mašk\bar{u}$ ; the proposed restoration is by Kühne (1973:31 n. 145). Moran (1973:46 n. 15) translates "sacks," cf. lines 35 and 38.
- Line obv. 27—[*muš-š*]*èr*; cf. line 52 (Moran 1973:46. n. 16). *šukuttu* "jewelry" (*CDA*:382b).
- Line obv. 28—[*ub*]-*la-aš-ši* "I sent her"; Moran translates "she was brought" and notes that the grammar is unclear (see Moran 1992:93, 98 n. 17).
- Line obv. 29—[*mi-im-ma*  $\dot{u}$ -u]l; with Moran (1992:98 n. 18). *i-na*  $ku_8$ - $\dot{u}$ -ul ŠÀ- $\check{s}$ [u]; this idiom is specifically discussed by Moran (1992:98 n. 19).
- **Lines obv.** 31–32—At the beginning of the line there is enough space (3.5 cm) for [ $\dot{u}$  *a-bu-ka ki-*]*me-e* (collation by Rainey). For the rest reading of these lines, see Kühne (1973:46 n. 212), retained by Moran (1992:99 n. 20).
- Line obv. 34—SU = *šiqlu*; graphic variant of GÍR.
- Line obv. 35—[x KUŠ.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ma*-]*lu-ú*; this restoration by Moran is based on comparison with lines 26 and 38 (1992:99 n. 22).
- Line obv. 38—The photograph suggests that there is room for [*it-ti* <sup>1</sup>Ké-li-ia LÚ.DUMU.KIN]. Rainey proposes <sup>r</sup>*it-*<sup>1</sup>r*ta*<sup>1</sup>-[*din-šu- nu a-la-ka a-n*]*a*, *contra* Moran's *it-t*[*a-bal-šu-nu a-n*]*a*.
- Line obv. 39—The rendering and marking of the traces follow Rainey's transliteration. At the end of the line read *a-ka-an-na* (with Adler 1976:23). Moran (1992:99 n. 26) rightly observes that only two heads of verticals are visible.
- Line obv. 40—Read ['*Ni-im-mu-u-re-ia ki-ma* AB.]'BA'.A.MEŠ-[*šu*], following Rainey's collation, *contra* Knudtzon (which was supported by Moran's translation 1992:93).

- Line obv. 41— $[it-ta-aṣ-ṣú it-ta-la-ku a-n]a muš-ršu^-[r]i-ršu^-n[u]$ ; the verbal restorations at the beginning of the line follow the collation by Rainey, and *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:99 n. 26). Compare the two verbs *it-ta-aṣ-ṣú* and *it-ta-la-ku* that are Gtn preterites or Gt presents to lines 85 and 86.  $muš-ršu^-[r]i-ršu^-n[u]$ ; Rainey suggests that  $muš-ršu^-[r]i$ , with  $-rsu^-n[u]$ , is an accusative masculine plural suffix, not -[su], singular suffix, as Moran translated.
- Line obv. 43— 'ALAM'. MEŠ; following Moran's translation.
- Line obv. 44—*i*-*na* <sup>r</sup>*mi*-*im*<sup>1</sup>[-*m*]*a a*-*ma*[-*ti a*-*di* 1]-*en pa*-*ți*; "in an[y] matt[er, not even to the slight]est extent." *CAD* P:310a translates 1]-*en pa*-*ți* as "even one(?)."
- Line obv. 45—*ma-am-[ma ša-na-]*<sup>r</sup>*am*<sup>3</sup>-*ma*; following Ungnad (1916, col. 184), see also Moran (1992:99 n. 28).
- Line obv. 48—*a-ha-*<sup>*r*</sup>*miš*<sup>*i*</sup>; with Adler (1976:234), supported by Moran. [*ra-a-ma ú-ul*] <sup>*r*</sup>*ú*<sup>*i*</sup>-*né-ep-pí-iš*; following Moran (1992:99 n. 30).
- Line obv. 50—*muššurūtu*; Meaning unknown. Moran (1992:94) translates "chased" gold.
- Line obv. 51—There is enough room for [*a-bi-i-*]*ka*, so Rainey, *contra* Knudtzon's [*a-bi*]-*ka* (retained by Adler 1976:236).
- Line obv. 56—<sup>r</sup>la<sup>¬</sup> [*ma-ma-an*] "n[o one]," *contra* Berger cited by Kühne (1973:40 n. 194), and see Moran (1992:99 n. 33). *ruqqi* as "pot" (so Moran 1992:94) is much better than "kettle" (Adler 1976:237).
- Line obv. 58—For the numeral *lu-ú mi-i-it* [10,000] "sixty thousand," see Kühne (1973:40 n. 194) and Moran (1992: 99 n. 32).
- Line obv. 60—*lu-ú nu-ú-ur-ri-ik* "we could make it last."; it is more likely the Mitannian 1st c.pl. precative than Moran's rendering (1992:94).
- Lines obv. 61–62—[ù un-du iq-ta-bu-(uš) um-ma-a 'Na]p-[ħu-u-ri-i]a-mì... [ra-bi-ti i-na ma-aš-ka-ni-šu šàr]-ru-ta (as apparently surmised by Moran's translation); if measured in centimeters, it fits (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 64—*la* ú-<sup>r</sup>š*e*-*en*<sup>¬</sup>-*nu*-ú; with Adler (1976:236), supported by Moran (1992: 99 n. 34).
- Line obv. 66—[*am-mi-tu*<sub>4</sub>] of Knudtzon is conjectural.
- Lines obv. 66–72—Piece broken off from left side. Signs in Schröder are not on tablet.
- **Line obv. 74**— $[\acute{u}$ - $se-e\acute{h}$ - $\acute{h}\acute{e}$ -er-m]a; following Moran's translation.
- Line obv. 77—Read *a-bi-ka*!, *contra* Knudtzon's *a*]*-bi-šu-ma* (supported by Adler 1976: 238).
- Schröder's *meš* is not visible. The restoration of *"ul-te-em"-ri-is* (Adler 1976: 238) is to be preferred over Moran's *amtaras*.

- Lines obv. 80–82—The restorations at the beginning of the lines are suggested by Rainey.
- Lines obv. 83—Following Knudtzon and Adler (1976:238).
- Line obv. 89—[*ú*]-*bá*-*r*[*u*]-*ti*; cf. Moran (1992:99 n. 37), and reference to Kühne (1973:46 n. 212).
- **Line rev. 108**—At the right side Moran probably saw [i]q-[ta]- $^{r}bu^{1}$ .
- Line rev. 109—me-re-se[-ti-ia]; the sign is re, not rer! (collation by Rainey).
- Line rev. 110—The reading is based on Knudtzon's transliteration and Moran's translation.
- Line rev. 113—4 MU.MEŠ-ti <sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>[-ak-ta-la-šu-nu]; cf. EA 28:21.
- Line rev. 123—The tablet may have been chipped at the end of the line after Schröder examined it.
- Line rev. 124—[i]-n[a]-an-din-ka; read din not di, contra Knudtzon and Adler (1976:242).
- $[^{MUNUS}Te-]^ri^-e^rAMA^-ka \ l[u-ú \ te-še-]^rem^-me \ sum-[ma] MUNUS^rTe-i^-e^ri^-n[a]-an-din-ka \ it-ti-ia$  "to Te]ye, your mother ve[rily you should] listen [and] Teye will give you, with me [...]." The verb follows the Babylonian pattern by which the 3rd f.s. is identical to the 3rd m.s. The verb form resulting from the new reading is *inandinka* "she/he will give you...." The pronominal suffix without a connecting ventive may not be usual, but it is thoroughly permissible. Unfortunately, the following context is broken.
- Line rev. 125—Some signs have disappeared from fragments 1618 and 2195 since Knudtzon's and Schröder's day.
- **Line rev. 126**—Read lu-<sup>i</sup>u'<sup>i</sup>[l]i- $^{<math>i}$ it-te<sup>i</sup>-er (cf.  $l\bar{u}$  lineppi[ $\check{s}u$ ] in *EA* 19:15–16), *contra lu*-[ $\acute{u}$  *l*]a *it*-te-ir (so Knudtzon, retained by Adler 1976:242).
- Line rev. 130—<sup>*i*</sup>*lu-ú i*<sup>-</sup>[*pu-uš*]; Rainey saw tops of the signs (collation).
- Line rev. 135—Read *muḥ-ḥi-ni*; according to Rainey's collation, the last sign is *-ni*! *contra* Knudtzon's *muḥ-ḥi-k*[*a*]. Adler (1976:244) read *muḥ-ḥi-x*.
- **Line rev.** 139—At the end of the line *i*-na lib-bi-<sup>r</sup>ka<sup>¬</sup> mar-ṣa ù <sup>r</sup>la<sup>¬</sup> t[a-aš-al] <sup>r</sup>šum-ma<sup>¬</sup>, contra Knudtzon's *i*-na libbi-k[a] la-a mar-[s]a ú la i[š-ʾa-al] šum-ma. Notice the prefix of the verb t[a] (Rainey's collation) instead of i[š], in the traces of the signs visible today.
- *lu-*<sup>*i*</sup>*ú*<sup>*i*</sup>[*l*]*i-*<sup>*i*</sup>*it-te-lu-ú i*<sup>*i*</sup>-[*pu-uš*]; Rainey saw tops of the signs.
- Line rev. 148—[*ù aq-ta-bi um-ma-a*]; cf. Kühne (1973:41 n. 199), and see Moran (1992:99 n. 41).
- Line rev. 149—Read *kum* in *-ak-kum-ma-a-ku* (collation by Rainey), *contra* Knudtzon's *-ak-qu-ma-a-ku* and Adler's *-ak-qu-ma-a-ku* (1976:246).

- **Line rev. 150**— $[\acute{u}$ -ta- $\dot{h}i$ -is-s $\acute{u}$ -nu]...<sup>r</sup> $\acute{u}$ <sup>1</sup>-ta- $\dot{h}i$ -is-<sup>r</sup>s $\acute{u}$ <sup>1</sup>-nu; related to  $a\dot{h}\bar{a}zu$ , D  $u\dot{h}huzu$  "to hold." u[m-ma ]lu- $\acute{u}$  a-na-ku-ma; with Adler's restoration (1976:246, and see Moran 1992:99 n. 43).
- Line rev. 153—*a*-*na k*[*a*-*ar*-*ş*]*i*; with Moran (1992:99 n. 43).
- Line rev. 155—[*ù a-na-ku-ma*]; Rainey's restoratoration based on Moran's translation (Moran 1992:96).
- Line rev. 156—[ka-ar-si-si-siu]; with Moran (1992:99 n. 44). It is very hard to see the sign [k]al. Rainey read 'a'!-[k]al 'ak-kal'-ma-a-ku based on a photograph, *contra* Knudtzon and Adler. Here 'a'!-[k]al is infinitive (collation).
- Line rev. 157—The verb *ut-ta-az-za-am* is related to *nazāmu* Dt "to be angry and groan" (*CDA*:248a).
- Line rev. 158—DUMU AMA-*šu-ma* [*šu-ut*] "the son of his mother [is he]"; Rainey restores [*šu-ut*] like *ši-i-it*.
- Line rev. 159—'ú-mèš'-šèr-[š]u; read 'mèš'! (from photo), not -wa.
- Line rev. 174—At the beginning of the line Rainy reads [*ki-la-al-la*]-*šu-nu* "[the two of] them." Notice the traces of the sign [RI] in *ul-*<sup>r</sup>*te-ri*<sup>¬</sup>-*bu*, which he saw.
- Line rev. 177—<sup>[</sup>*iz*-ŠU<sup>1</sup>*izqāti*] but no MEŠ (Rainey's collation, *contra* Moran's <sup>[</sup>*iz*-ŠU<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ] *izqātī* [1992:99 n. 46]). At the end of the line Rainey had seen traces of *a*[*l*] and restored *a*[*l*-*ták*-*na*-*šu*-*nu*], *contra* Knudtzon's *aš*-[...] and Moran's *aš*-[*ta*-*ka*-*an*-*šu*-*nu*].
- Line rev. 178—As in line 174 Rainey reads [*ki-la-al-la*]-*šu-nu* "[And both of] them."
- Line rev. 179—At the end of this line read *ki-i i*[*h-ta-tù*] like line 173 (Rainey's collation).
- **Lines rev. 180–181**—*né-e-pé-el-t*[*i*] *š*[*a*] / [*ih*-*tu*]; Rainey restores traces of *š*[*a*] and a verb at the next line, contrary to Moran (1992:99 n. 47) who follows Kühne's *né-e-pé-el-t*[*i hitī-šunu*] (1973:46 n. 212). *lu-ú-pu-*<sup>*i*</sup>*us-su*<sup>*i*</sup>-[*nu*]-*t*[*i*]; the sign is *US* as Knudtzon saw, *contra* Schröder who wrote UŠ, and Adler (1976:250) who followed the latter's reading.
- Line rev. 182—GIŠ.TUKUL.SAG.NA<sub>4</sub> *huppalû/hutpalû* "mace" (Adler 1976: 250, also Moran 1992:99 n. 48).
- Line rev. 182—<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>¬</sup>-*ru*-uh-*tu*<sub>4</sub>; following *AHw*:1287b or perhaps ŠU (pair) *ru*-uh-*tu*<sub>4</sub> (Moran 1992:99 n. 49).
- **Line rev. 184**—Ehelolf (1939:70–71) read [x GI]Š.BAN.MEŠ 3 KUŠ.É.AMAR. RU K[Ù.G]I.GAR.[RA] 80+[10 G]I.MEŠ UD.KA.BAR. KUŠ.É.AMAR.RU = *išpatu* "quiver"; [G]I.MEŠ = *qanû* "[ar]rows"; UD.KA.BAR (= ZABAR) *siparru* "bronze"; *šar-m*[*u-tu*<sub>4</sub>] "trimmed, lopped?" (see *šarmu CDA*:360b, and also Ehelolf in Moran 1992:99 n. 50).

There are traces of the following signs:  $mu^{\uparrow}$  (obv. 2);  $te^{\uparrow}$ ,  $e^{\uparrow}$ ,  $e^{\uparrow}$  (obv. 3);  $[GAL^{1}(obv. 4); [ia](obv. 8); [šu], [nu](obv. 9); [ma], [it](obv. 11); [na], [mi],$ *'im*' (obv. 12); *'nu*' (obv. 13); *'am*' (obv. 15); *'ta*', *'ia*', *'iš*', *'pu*', *'ru*' (obv. 16);  $[a^{,}, [di^{,}, [i^{,}] (obv. 17); [mu^{,} (obv. 18); [i^{,}, [ta^{,}, [mu^{,}, [qi^{,}] (obv. 20); [im^{,}, [ri^{,}])]$ (obv. 21); '*na*', '*ma*' (obv. 22); '*mu*', '*te*' (obv. 24); '*ši*', '*ma*', '*aš*', '*mu*' (obv. 25);  $[lu^{1}(obv. 26); [a^{1}, [a^{1}(obv. 27); [i^{1}, [im^{1}, [mar^{1}(obv. 28); [ta^{1}(obv. 29);$ [a] (obv. 34); [ad], [ra] (obv. 36); [ša], [a], [nu], [ka] (obv. 39); [i]a (obv. 40); [a], [kál] (obv. 41); [e] (obv. 42); [mi], [im] (obv. 44); [ma] (obv. 46); [a] (obv. 46); [a]47); '*ri*', '*a*', '*šar*' (obv. 50); '*im*', '*i*'a (obv. 51); '*ep*' (obv. 52); '*er*' (obv. 53); "NINDA" (obv. 57); "na" (obv. 58); [t]i, "im" (obv. 67); "li" (obv. 69); "I", "Ma", "*né*<sup>1</sup>, "*e*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 70); "*ar*<sup>1</sup>, "*dan*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 74); "*mu*<sup>1</sup>, "*u*<sup>1</sup>, "*re*<sup>1</sup>, "*ia*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 75); "*ša*<sup>1</sup>, [*i*]*a*, <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> (obv. 76); <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup> (obv. 80); <sup>r</sup>it<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> (obv. 81); <sup>r</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> (obv. 88); <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>kál<sup>1</sup>, 'pár' (obv. 91); 'te', 'eš' (rev. 99); 'MUNUS', 'Te', 'i', 'šum', 'ma', 'am', 'mi',  $[tu_4]$  (rev. 117); [ri] (rev. 118); [i], [me] (rev. 122); [pu] (rev. 128); [ak] (rev. 129); *ha*<sup>1</sup>, *a*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 132); *ša*<sup>1</sup>, *ši*<sup>1</sup>, *ip*<sup>1</sup>, *šu*<sup>1</sup>, *ii*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 137); *a*<sup>1</sup>, *ka*<sup>1</sup>, *na*<sup>1</sup>, *Š*EŠ<sup>1</sup> (rev.  $(138); (na), (an), (na), (rev. 140); (e), (\dot{u}), (i), (na), (an), (ra), (rev. 141); (sàm), (ra), (r$ *aş*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 142); *MUNUS*<sup>1</sup>, *AMA*<sup>1</sup>, *ka*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 143); *ia*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 144); *pu*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 145); *'ur*' (rev. 148); *'ŠEŠ*' (rev. 149); *'ŠEŠ*', *'i*' (rev. 152); *'an*', *'na*' (rev. 153); *'it*', [ta], [lu] (rev. 154); [ul], [ul] (rev. 158); [na] (rev. 159); [šum], [ú] (rev. 160); [na] $(rev. 161); ka^{1}(rev. 163); iu^{1}(rev. 165); ni^{1}(rev. 166); ha^{1}(rev. 167); pur^{1}(rev. 167); a^{1}(rev. 167); a^{$ 168;  $[i^{,}, pu^{,}]$  (rev. 169);  $[ri^{,}]$  (rev. 174);  $[ta^{,}]$  (rev. 178);  $[nu^{,}]$  (rev. 179);  $[an^{,}]$  (rev. 179);  $[an^{,$ 181).

#### EA 30

## THE KING OF MITTANI TO THE KINGS OF CANAAN

TEXT: BM 29841. COPY: BB, 58. PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. COLLATION: 21.09.1999 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Adler (1976:252–253). TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:134); Moran (1992:100); Liverani (1999: 405 [LA 299]). TRANSLITERATION: Artzi (1975:3). COMPOSITION: Similar to *EA* 17 (Goren 43).

Tushratta asked Amenhotep IV to provide his messenger a passport.

Line obv. 4—This line is written over an erasure.

Line obv.8—KUR *Mi-iş*, it is hard to see that the scribe wrote two horizontals at the top and the bottom of [*MI*].

Line obv. 10—On *halzuhlu*, see Moran (1992:100 n. 3).

- **Line lo. ed. 11**—Gordon read *'id-na'-x* and said that *x* is not *šu-* maybe *ni*. However, Rainey saw a faint sign of *šu*, so it might be *'šu'* after all. At the end (around the corner) of the line there is not enough room for *qu*. So Knudtzon is probably right about  $gu = q\dot{u}$ .
- Moran (1992:100 n. 4) cites Gordon's <sup>-</sup>*li*'!-*il*-<sup>-</sup>*li*'!-<sup>-</sup>*ik*'!. Rainey noticed the traces of the first <sup>-</sup>*li*'.
- **Line rev. 12**—*kad*(*-ru*)*-sú*; following Moran (1992:100 n. 5). Perhaps  $kad\langle r\hat{u}\rangle ssu \langle *kad\langle r\hat{u}\rangle t+\check{s}u$ . Rainey noted that the sign KAD does not look like *is/iş/iz* in line 7, as it seems at the copy of BB 58 (collation).

There are traces of the following signs: 'KIN' (obv. 3); 'šàr', 'KUR', '*ia*' (obv. 4); '*ul*', '*lu*' (obv. 5).

### EA 30

# AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT, TO TARHUNDARADU, THE KING OF ARZAWA

TEXT: C 4741 (12208). COPIES: WA 10; *VBoT*, no. 1; Friedrich (1960, no. 7a). TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Rost (1956:334 ff.). TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:101). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The tablets *EA* 31 and 32 are written in Hittite. Both deal with marriage between the Egyptian and Arzawaian kingdoms. Perhaps Amenhotep III had dictated the message to a messenger of Arzawa, and the latter translated it to Hittite and left a copy of his version for the Egyptian archive. The translations and notes for *EA* 31 and 32 are by Volkert Haas *apud* Moran (1992:101–105).

Line obv. 1—'*Ni-mu-wa'-r*[*i-y*]*a*; read *wa* instead of Knudtzon's *ut* (Albright 1937:195; Edel 1974:135; *VAB* 2/1:270 n. 1).

Line obv. 5—The word *pippit* "possessions(?)" appears only here (Moran 1992:101 n. 3).

Line obv. 11—For discussion and references on the Hurrian name as a form of *Rešef / Nergal*, see Moran (1992:101 n. 4); Hess (1993:91).

- Lines obv. 15, 30—<sup>KUŠ</sup>*ha-la-li-ya*; on the reading *zuhalaliya* or *suhalaliya*, see references in Moran (1992:101 n. 6).
- Line obv. 24—On the questionable verb *aggaš* as "he died," see Kühne (1973:96–97 n. 481).
- Line obv. 27—Perhaps the meaning is "the land of Hattuša is *frozen/paralyzed*," *contra* Starke's "the land of Hattuša is at peace" (cited by Moran 1992:102 n. 8).
- Lines obv. 28–29—The paralles of these lines in the letters of Ramesses II are cited by Edel (1974:135).
- Line obv. 31—For the reading GADA.SIG 3 GADA.È.A S[IG<sup>?</sup>], see Edel (1974: 135–137); Moran (1992:102 n. 10).
- Line rev. 34—Read *putalliyašša* with Gordon (cited by Moran 1992:102 n. 11), *contra* Knudtzon's *mutalliyašša*.

# TARHUNDARADU, THE KING OF ARZAWA, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 342 (not collated). COPIES: WA 238; VS 12, 202; VBoT, no. 2. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Rost (1956:328 ff.). TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:103). COMPOSITION: There is no detailed provenance determination (Goren 45).

The longer tablet of *EA* 32 is not preserved, but the end of the reply to *EA* 31 is. It ends with the request of Arzawa's king that any delivered letter to him will be written in Hittite. For notes by Volkert Haas, see Moran (1992:103 nn. 1-2).

#### EA 33

### THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1654. COPIES: WA 15; VS 11, 13. COLLATION: 13.09.1999 and 14.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita; Hellbing (1979:100; obverse only). TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:5–9). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:104); Liverani (1999:415–416 [LA 306]). COMPOSITION: Southern coast of Cyprus (Goren 48–75).

The correspondence between Egypt and Alashia (EA 33–40) represents diplomatic relations and trade in copper or in exchange for grain and silver. The name of the Alashian king is not given, nor is the name of the Pharaoh, but based on EA 33 and 34, we may assume that the Egyptian king is Amenhotep IV (for references to literature, see Moran 1992:104 n. 1; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:1).

According to *EA* 33, the king of Alashia dispatched a gift to Pharaoh for his seating on the throne of his father. Moreover, the transportation of copper to Egypt is also mentioned here.

The peripheral Akkadian of all the Alashia texts represents three dialects. They are seen in the choice of syllabic values, in vocabulary and in the use of certain ideograms. *EA* 33, 34, 39, 40 are written in the hybrid dialect used by scribes from Canaan who wrote letters in the Amarna collection (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:2). On the two other dialects, see below. The script of *EA* 33 is nice, big and beautiful. Most of the following notes occur in Cochavi-Rainey (2003:8–9).

- **Line obv. 4**—In the Alashia corpus the formula *a-na* maħ-ri-ka lu-ú šul $\langle -mu \rangle$  is exclusively employed in this letter.
- **Line obv. 5**—The sign QA (SÌLA) is attested only once as  $-ka_4$  for 2nd m.sg. pronominal suffix; in other cases it is written -ka.
- Lines obv. 5–7—In the following lines the Sumerograms are used without a plural marker as if they were collectives: *a-na* É-*ka* DAM-*ka*<sup>4</sup> DUMU-*ka* / 'ANŠE'.KUR.RA-*ka* GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka* / 'ù' *a-na lib-bi* KUR-*ka* "With your house, your wives, your sons, your horses, your chariotry and within your country..." On the absence of the plural marker in the Alashia corpus, see Moran (1992:104 n. 2); Cochavi-Rainey (2003:61).
- Line obv. 9—[*ša*-]*ni-tam*; mimation is assumed by the sign TAM (cf. 34:11, 18, 46; 35:23, 27, 30, 43; 38:27; 40:16). *iš-te-mé a-na-ku* "I have heard"; this expression reveals that the scribe was not sure about the person marker for this verb. Maybe he added the independent pronoun to assure that the reader will know that first person singular is intended. In Canaanite texts, the verb form would stand for first person without an additional pronoun.
- Line obv. 10—The restoration of [*i*-*n*]*u*-*ma* proposed by Kühne (1973:86 n. 427) is acceptable (see Moran 1992:104 n. 3; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:6; and Rainey's collation).

- Line obv. 12—[ $\dot{u}$  u]š-te-bi-ir!(RI)-mi "[I have] transported" Š of *ebēru*, 1st c.sg. *contra* Moran (1992:104–105 n. 4). It also seems to be [ $\dot{u}$  u]š-te-pí-ir!(RI)-mi, D of šapāru, then te is MB vowel coloring. Here, the suffix -mi is a direct speech marker.
- Line obv. 13—[NÍG.BA š]*a-la-m*; following Moran's restoration (1992:104–105).
- Line obv. 16—[*ši-ip*]*ra-ta* "[sh]ipment"; it is either plural of *šipirtu* with diptotic accusative ßa or *šiprata* like by form—*napšatu* from *napištu* (Rainey's collation in Cochavi-Rainey 2003:8).
- Line obv. 15—There is not enough room for Knudtzon's restoration; read *uš-ta-bar*[*-ra-*]*ku*.
- **Lines obv. 16–17**—Contrary to Moran (1992:105 n. 6), Rainey restores  $[\dot{u}]$  at the end of line 16 and [u]*š*-*te* at the beginning of the next line because there are just about 9 mm before the *-te*, while *-uš* in line 15 is 9 mm, and with  $\dot{u}$  there are 1.5 cm (see collation).
- Line obv. 18—See Moran (1992:105 n. 6); Rainey restores [1-*en* G]Ú at the beginning of the line. GÚ.UN = *biltu* "talent" (see also *EA* 34:18).
- Lines obv. 19, lo. ed. 20–22—See Moran (1992:105 n. 7); there is more room for Moran's *ša* (line 20) at the end of line 19 (see collation).
- Line rev. 25—*ú*[-*uḫ*-*ḫar*-*šu*(?)]; with Moran (1992:105 n. 8).
- Line rev. 26— $\mu$ [-uh-har- $\delta u$ (?)]; notice the omission in [u] $\delta$ - $\delta i$ (-ir-) $\delta u$ .
- **Line rev.**  $_{27}$ —' $u^{\uparrow}$ , at the beginning of the line, appears in Schröder's facsimile as *la* (see Moran 1992:105 n. 9). MU.KAM(-*ma*) = *šattu* "year" also in line 31.
- Line rev. 28—The restoration could be [*a-na mu-ḥi-ia*]; cf. line 21, or [*a-na pa-ni-ka*]; cf. Knudtzon, or [*i-na pa-ni-ka*]; cf. line 31.
- Lines rev. 29, 32—The sign -*ki* appears instead of -*ik* in both cases: <sup>*li*</sup>-*li*-*ki*(sic!) (line 29), and *li*-*li*-*ki*(sic!)-*ma* (line 32).
- **Line rev. 30**—The *-ip* at the end of the line is not followed by anything. It is just Schröder's error for *-ma*! The wedges seen after it in Schröder are part of *-i*(*a*) of the next line. Schröder wrote *-ip* because he had just written it in *ši-ip-ri*.
- Line rev. 31—The sign *ku* is end of line obv. 15.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{1}$ ,  $i^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}ar^{1}$  (lo. ed. 22);  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{1}$  (obv. 27); [D]UMU (rev. 30).

## EA 34

# THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29789. COPY: BB, 6. COLLATION: 03.08.1999 and 04.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:10–15). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (2003:105–106); Liverani (1999:416–417 [LA 307]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 33 (Goren 48–75).

Since Amenhotep IV had just recently ascended to the throne of Egypt, the king of Alashia sent him copper as a present. In the corpus of Alashia, *EA* 34 is the letter that is most strongly influenced by the West Semitized language found elsewhere in the Amarna letters from southern Syria and further south (Moran 1992:106 n. 10 and 2003:246; supported by Cochavi-Rainey 2003), but it is doubtful that the scribe was a Canaanite (Moran 2003:176). On the particular peripheral tradition of this text, see also in the preface of *EA* 33.

- **Lines obv.** 7–8—There are traces of  ${}^{r}i{}^{n}[a]$  (L. 7) and  ${}^{r}\check{s}i{}^{n}$  (L. 8) *inūma taštapra* "in as much as you have witten to me"; following Cochavi-Rainey (2003:11). Here Moran's *inūma* reads "as to your having written me" (Moran 1992:105; 2003:193 n. 57).
- **Line obv. 10**—*ši-ip-ri-ka* in quote from an Egyptian letter. In other cases SÌLA as *ka*<sub>4</sub> occurs in the pronominal suffixes. See examples: DUMU.MEŠ-*ka*<sub>4</sub> (line 5); GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka*<sub>4</sub><sup>MES</sup> (line 6); *lib-bi-ka*<sub>4</sub> (line 13); *a-na maḥ-ri-ka*<sub>4</sub> (line 15); *ši-ip-ri-ka*<sub>4</sub> (line 19).
- **Line obv. 12**—Note the *ti* preformatives instead of *ta* (*ti-na-qú* and *la-a ti-*<sup>r</sup>*ša-kán*<sup>1</sup>). The latter is in a verbal construction that otherwise could be construed as regular Akkadian negative precative (collation by Rainey and Cochavi-Rainey 2003:14).
- Line obv. 19—The PI-sign, which is familiar in the Babylonian tradition of writing, is used for prefix *yu* in the verb *yu-ba-al* and betrays Canaanite influence (Moran 2003:176). This verb must be jussive since the king is asking for these "gifts."
- Line obv. 20—*šu-ha*!-*a*; *CAD* (Š/3:210a) already suggested *'ha*'. The sign in question is certainly not Bezuld's *hi*, nor Knudtzon's *u* (*VAB* 2/1: 281 n. d).

Line obv. 21— $\check{suhtu}$  (fem. of  $\check{suhu}$ ) "(a type) of chariot" is a Hurrian word,

perhaps a type of wagon or part of the associated equipment (Mayer 1976:209–214, especially 212; *CAD* Š/3:218b).

- Lines obv. 23–25—GÚ.GADA =  $ki\bar{s}\bar{a}du$  "scarf worn around the neck" (*AHw*: 490a "Halstuch"; *CAD* K:449b; Moran 1992:106 n. 6). 14 GIŠ.ESI.MEŠ "14 (beams of) ebony" (line 24); see Moran (1992:106 n. 7). Ì DÙG.GA =  $\bar{s}amnu$   $t\bar{a}bu$  "good oil" (cf. *EA* 14 III, 34–45).
- Line obv. 25—2 DUG *ku-ku-bu*; Sg. form instead of dual; the pl. is *kukkubātu*. GADA LUGAL = *kitû šarri* "byssos" (See *EA* 14 III, 11).
- Line obv. 27—KUŠ = *mašku* "hide." Notice the Assyrian form *i-ma-ru* "don-key" instead of Babylonian *imēru*.
- Line lo. ed. 32—Rainey's collation is confirmed Gordon's ŠE.MEŠ which is cited by Moran (1992:106 n. 9).
- Lines rev. 36–39—Rainey's restoration.
- Lines rev. 39–40—GA as *kà* is written only in the word *tamkāru* "merchant."
- Lines rev. 45–46—The PI-sign is used for prefix *yi* twice in the verb *yilliku*. Contrary to Moran (1992:106), who translates "messengers," the verb *yilliku* is 3rd m.sg. with the WS imperfect suffix -*u* (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:14). There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*li*<sup>1</sup>.
- Line rev. 48—Rainey (1995–966:111) suggested TÚG[-*t*]*e* "garme[nt]s," *contra* Knudtzon's *a-na-ku*-[*t*]*e*, and others (see Moran 1992:106 n. 10).
- Line rev. 52—The Alashian scribe uses a WS suffix in the verb *ušširtī* "I have sent." *tu-ša-ab ana kussī*; cf. *EA* 116:66.
- Lines rev. 52–53—This letter is quite similar to *EA* 33 (particularly cf. lines 9–11); both were apparently sent to the same king (*contra* Moran 1992:107 n. 11).

#### EA 35

# THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29788. COPY: BB, 5. COLLATION: 03.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:16–22). TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:122–123); Moran (1992:107–108); Liverani (1999:417–418 [LA 308]). COMPOSITION: Not examined. This text mentions a plague that had struck Alashia and to which even the king's young wife had succumbed. According to Helbing (1979:14–16), the plague ("the hand of Nergal" [= Resheph]) mentioned here may indicate that the letter was sent at the very end of Akhenaten's reign. The language of this letter and of *EA* 38 shows strong influence from the peripheral Hurro-Akkadian used by scribes in North Syria, Mittani, and the Hittite kingdom.

- Line obv. 10—*enūma* as *anumma* "now" (cf. *EA* 38:10; 40:12) is widely attested in peripheral Akkadian (*CAD* I/J:158b–159a; Huehnergard 1989:196–197).
- Line obv. 12—N-preterite (*lā iššakin* "may it not be taken") is used as prohibitive (*GAG* 81h; Moran 1992:109 n. 11).
- Line obv. 13—Here and in line 37, *šumma* is treated as a subordinating conjunction in causal clauses by Rainey (cf. Cochavi-Rainey 2003:99), *contra* Moran who translates *šumma* as "behold." For discussion, cf. Moran (1992:108 n. 3; 2003:176).
- Line obv. 20—Š-perfect (*ultēbilanni*) and G-preterite *iddinanni* are used as precative (cf. Moran 1992:109 n. 11; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:21).
- Line obv. 23—*te-ri-iš-šu* instead of *e-ri-iš-šu* (2nd m.sg. instead of 3rd m.sg.), see also Moran (1992:109 n. 5). Perhaps it is an analogy to the correct forms in lines 16 and 22 (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:90).
- Line obv. 25—Traces of the 'a' sign are visible *contra* Knudtzon's [a].
- Line obv. 26—Á.MUŠEN = *erû* "augury" or "eagle-augury" (Moran 1992:109 n. 6).
- Lines obv. 29-rev. 30—ŠÀM.MEŠ = *šīmāti* "payment due." Rainey reads *ši-[mi i-din], contra* Knudtzon's *ù i-din-an-ni*]. In line 30 there are traces of the <sup>r</sup>a<sup>¬</sup> sign, *contra* Knudtzon's [A].
- **Line rev. 33**—MÁŠKIM =  $rab\bar{a}$ ;u "to keep possession of" (*CAD* R:12a). Moran (1992:109 n. 8) confirms the endig of the line with MAŠK[IM], but has no suggestion for the meaning. Rainey notes that  $\dot{u}$ -nu- $tu_4$  is nominative so the verb should be stative (see collation).
- Line rev. 36—LÚ.DUMU.KIN-*ka…aš-bu* "your messenger has stayed…"; the form of *ašābu* might be 3rd m.pl. with a collective subject, or it could be a singular stative adjective (*CAD* A/2:426a; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:21).

Line rev. 38—TUR = *sihirtu* "young."

- Line rev. 39—*mīt* as stative, 3rd m.sg. instead of *mītat* 3rd f.sg. (with Moran 1992:109 n. 9). The reason is probably that in Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian the prefix verbs do not distinguish between 3rd m.sg. and 3rd f.sg. (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:21).
- **Line rev. 53**—Perhaps  $\acute{u}$ -*te-er-ru* is an error for  $\acute{u}$ -*ta-ar-ru* or maybe it is an attempt to express the "promissory jective" (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:22).

**Lines rev.** 54–55—In two cases, G-preterites (*illik*) are used as precatives (cf. Moran 1992:109 n. 11). The last word is *qad-mi-i*[ $\check{s}$ ], not Knudtzon's  $\check{s}u$ -*mi*-[e- $i\check{s}$ ] (Moran 1992:109 n. 11).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil lib \rceil$  (obv. 5);  $\lceil te \rceil$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil ša \rceil$  (obv. 12);  $\lceil iš \rceil$  (obv. 14);  $\lceil ak \rceil$  (obv. 22);  $i\lceil a \rceil$  (rev. 32).

## EA 36

# THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4750 (12187). COPY: WA 19 + WA 20. COLLATION: 27.01.1980, 12.09.1998 and 23.06.2001 PHOTOGRAPH: Hellbing (1979:100). TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:23–24). TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:109–110 n. 1). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

A shipment of copper went from Alashia to Egypt, perhaps in return for shipments of grain to Alashia from Canaan (Rainey 2006:80a). Here and in *EA* 37, albeit somewhat fragmentary, it seems as if the author had been trained in a school where the Middle Babylonian scribal tradition prevailed. This can be deduced from the use of the WA sign for the value /pi/, which is rare in peripheral Akkadian, and from the use of the logogram ŠE.BAR for *uttetu* "grain" (Aro 1957:115; Rainey 1995–1996:111b; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:61). Even this assumption is uncertain; it is obvious that the scribe of *EA* 36 and 37 had acquired many aspects of the Akkadian language from a distinctive tradition closer to the motherland than the usual peripheral Akkadian (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:30).

Lines obv. -7-(-)1—Based on *EA* 37:1-7.

Line obv. 6—AŠ with the ideogram for *biltu* "talent" is a shared feature between *EA* 36 and *EA* 37 (see Moran 1992:110 n. 1).

Line obv. 15—<sup>r</sup>pi<sup>¬</sup>ha-ti ša ki-na-hi "the province of Canaan." The scribe did not append the determinative KUR = *mātu* "land of" because he had written "the [p]rovince of...." For discussion of this line, cf. Rainey (1995–1996:111b); Moran (2003:260); Cochavi-Rainey (2003:25). At the end of the line, read [*šu-bi-la*] (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:23).

Line obv. 16, rev. 18–20—These lines are restored by Rainey.

**Line rev. 19**—There are still traces of  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{1}$ .

#### EA 37

### THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29790. COPY: BB 7. COLLATION: 05.08.1999, 29.05.1999 and 29.10.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:26–27). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:110); Liverani (1999:419–420 [LA 310]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 33 (Goren 48–75).

The king of Alashia dispatched a gift of peace to Pharaoh and asked for silver. On the peripheral Akkadian of this letter, see the introduction of *EA* 36.

- **Line obv.** 2–3—<sup>r</sup>*A*<sup>¬</sup>*-la-si-ia*; *si* is witten instead of *ši*. This may be a phonetic feature or just a case of orthography. The sign *šu* is no longer visible.
- Line obv. 6—On the absence of the plural marker in the Alashia corpus, see Moran (1992:104 n. 2); Cochavi-Rainey (2003:61).
- **Line obv.** 7—*dan*- $\langle ni\check{s} \rangle$ ; with Moran (1992:110 n. 3). The sign *KAl* can be written for the adjective *dannu*, but not for the adverb *danniš*. The sign *šu* is no longer visible.
- **Lines obv.** 9–10—Rainey saw the signs MI and KU at the beginning of the broken line, as did Knudtzon, but *contra* Knudtzon's [ $\check{s}e-m$ ]i-ku he restored [NA<sub>4</sub> m] $\acute{e}-ku$  "[ra]w glass" (collation). At the beginning of line 10 there are no longer traces of [ $\check{s}$ ]u.
- Line obv. 13—Read ŠEŠ- $i^{r}a^{\gamma}$ , *contra* Cochavi-Rainey ŠEŠ $\langle -\dot{u}-a \rangle$  (2003:26); with Gordon (in Moran 1992:110 n. 5). Contrary to Knudtzon, Rainey restored 'DUMU' [ $\dot{s}i-\dot{p}-]r[\dot{i}-\dot{a}]a$  (collation); he did not see traces of  $\dot{s}i$ .
- Line obv. 14—The meaning of *šūterušu* as "to dispatch, expedite" is rare, cf. *CAD* E:359a.
- Lines obv. 15–16—The expression *šulmāna ša'ālu* is equal to *šulmu ša'ālu* (Moran 1992:110 n. 6).
- **Line obv. 16**— $ha[-\dot{a}]\dot{s}-\dot{h}[a-t]a$ ? With Gordon and Moran (1992:110 n. 7), *contra* Knudtzon's  $ha[-\dot{a}]\dot{s}-\dot{h}[a-t]\dot{u}$ .
- Line obv. 17—Notice the rare usage of the WA for /pi/ in the expression *i-na tup-pi šu-ku-un-ma* "put in a letter." Obviously the Alashian writer knew the WA sign for value /*pi/. lu-še-bi-[l]a*; Knudtzon's questionable -[*l]u* was not accepted by Rainey, nor Gordon's *lu-še-bíl-*<sup>r</sup>*ak-ku*<sup>¬</sup> which was adopted by Moran (1992:110 n. 8).

- **Line obv. 21**—Hess (1993:54–55) reads [<sup>1</sup>]?*Bá-áš-tum-me-e*. See also discussion in Cochavi-Rainey (2003:28) and Moran's reservations about the orthography of this personal name (1992:111 n. 10).
- Line rev. 24—Moran (1992:111 n. 10) hesitantly follows Gordon's 'li-iṭ-*ru*-d'am-*ma* "may the cit[y] expel." However, *ṭarādu* appears in Middle Baby-lonian just in the meaning "to expel," which is not appropriate for this context at all. Moreover, forms of *ṭarādu* are attested only twice in *EA* texts from Canaan (*EA* 62:38; 137:24) that preserve the Old Babylonian tradition (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:30).
- Line rev. 25—Knudtzon's <sup>1</sup>*Uš-bar-ra* is more likely than Gordon's KU-*uš*-par/pa-*ra* (in Moran 1992:111 n. 10).

There are traces of the following signs: [um] (obv. 2);  $[\check{s}\check{i}], [ul]$  (obv. 3); [m]u (obv. 4); [DAM], [MEŠ] (obv. 5);  $[\check{h}a], [ra]$  (obv. 12); [ra] (obv. 14);  $[\check{S}E\check{S}], [\check{u}], [a]$  (rev. 27).

## EA 38

#### THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 153. COPIES: WA 11; VS 11, 14. COLLATION: 15.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:31–32). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:111); Liverani (1999:420 [LA 311]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 33 (Goren 48–75).

The historical incident that is described in *EA* 38 is the incursions of the Lukku people (later known as Lycians) in raids of plunder and destruction against towns in Alashia. The script and the vocabulary are similar to that of a Mittani scribe. On the language, see the preface to *EA* 35.

- Line obv. 4—NITLAM<sub>4</sub> = MUNUS-UŠ-DAM (Borger 2003:509) =  $h\bar{\nu}rtu$  or *marhatu* "wife, spouse"; cf. *CAD* M/1:281a. NITLAM<sub>4</sub> = distinguish from DAM (*aššatu*). Cf. Moran (1992:112 n. 1).
- **Line obv. 9**—Rainey notes (26.11.1982) that the reading *a*-WA-*ma* by *CAD* A/1:238a is most likely an error for *a*-*wa*- $\langle ta \rangle$ -*ma* or Knudtzon's *a*-*ja*-*ma* (*VAB* 2/1:292).

Line obv. 10—*e-nu-ma* "now"; see Moran (1992:108 n. 108).

Line obv. 20—*la-a e-*<sup>r</sup>*pu-uš*<sup>¬</sup> *a-ma-ta an-ni-ta* "I did not do this thing!"; *Contra* Moran (1992:111, 112 n. 3), there is no need to explain plural subject and a singular verb, since *lā ēpuš* is 1 cs.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{'}\dot{s}i^{"}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{'}mu^{"}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{'}GIGIR^{"}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{'}lu^{"}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{'}i^{"}$ ,  ${}^{'}na^{"}$ ,  ${}^{i'}a^{"}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{'}L\dot{U}^{"}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{'}l\dot{b}^{"}$  (obv. 18);  ${}^{'}pu^{"}$ ,  ${}^{'}u\check{s}^{"}$  (obv. 20);  ${}^{'}la^{"}$ ,  ${}^{'}a^{"}$  (obv. 24);  ${}^{'}e^{"}$  (obv. 25);  ${}^{'}ni^{"}$  (lo. ed. 26).

## EA 39

# THE KING OF ALASHIA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4748 (12206).

COPY: WA 12.

COLLATION: 27.01.1980 and 15.09.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: Hellbing (1979:101); catalogue of the exhibition, "Toutankhamoun et son temps," in the Petit Palais (reference from Kühne 1973:87 n. 436).

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:35–37).
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:112); Liverani (1999:421 [LA 312]).
COMPOSITION: Not examined.
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The king of Alashia asks the Egyptian customs-officers to let his merchants go safely and promptly. This letter and *EA* 40 were written by the same scribe. The same messenger could have delivered both of them at the same time (Moran 1992:113 n. 1). On the language, see the introduction to *EA* 33.

- Line obv. 6—On the absence of the plural marker in Alashia corpus, see Moran (1992:104 n. 2); Cochavi-Rainey (2003:61).
- Line obv. 10—LÚ.DUMU.KIN-*ri-ia* "my messengers," note the plural. Cf. Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:295 note \*); Moran (1992:112 n. 1); Cochavi-Rainey (2003:37).
- Lines obv. 14, 17—DAM.GÀR = *tāmkāru* "merchant." The plural suffix with *it-ti-šu-nu* in line 20 refers back to the words in extraposition: LÚ.DAM.GÀR-*ia* GIŠ.MÁ-*ia* "my merchant(s)" (line 17).

# THE COMMISSIONER OF ALASHIA TO THE COMMISSIONER OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4749 (12190). COPY: WA 13+14. COLLATION: 23.01.1980 PHOTOGRAPHS: Hellbing. (1979:101) and Mynarova. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Cochavi-Rainey (2003:38–40). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:113); Liverani (1999:421–422 [LA 313]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This tablet was sent by a commissioner of Alashia to his equal in the Egyptian court. The letter deals with gifts sent by the king of Alashia to the king of Egypt. The introductory lines and also the following six lines are mostly broken. Several restorations and readings by Gordon that have been adopted by Moran (1992:113) are included here; so are others which are based on comparisons with other letters. Probably this letter was written shortly after *EA* 39, and both of them were carried at the same time by the same messenger (Moran 1992:113 n. 1). On the language of this letter, see the introduction to *EA* 33.

- Line obv. 1—For discussion about MÁŠKIM = *rābişu* "a commissioner, governor," see Moran (1992:113 n. 1).
- Line obv. 4—*a*-*na* <sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup>(!)-[*ši*]; following Rainey's collation.
- Line obv. 5—*a-na* [UGU-*ka*] with Moran (1992:113 n. 2) who compares this to *EA* 39:5.
- Line obv. 6—[<sup>1</sup>Š*u*-*m*]*i*-*it*-*ti*; for restoration cf. *EA* 57; Moran (1992:113 n. 3). Perhaps this PN is Indo-European or Hurrian etymology (cf. Hess 1993:146–147; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:40).
- Line obv. 8—The usage of the determinative GIŠ before MÁ is not consistent. It appears in lines 8, 15, 17 but not in line 18.
- Line obv. 9—The independent 3rd m.sg. pronoun is apparently *š*[*u*-*ut*], which is quite normal in the Canaano-Akkadian tradition (Rainey, *CAT* 1:62–65; Cochavi-Rainey 2003:41). *i*-*din*-*n*[*a*]; Moran (1992:113 n. 4) follows Gordon. See also Cochavi-Rainey (2003:41).
- **Line obv. 10**—At the end of the line read  $\check{s}i$ -in- $n[u \check{s}a] \lceil p\acute{u}-ri \rceil$ , cf. line 14 (Cochavi-Rainey 2003:38, 40).
- Line obv. 11—*t*[*a*]-*aš*-*pu*-*ra*-*am*-*ma*; following Gordon (Moran 1992:113 n. 5), *contra* the imperative form that was suggested by Knudtzon.

Line obv. 12—*inūma* "now"; Gordon suggested *e-nu-ma* on the basis of *EA* 35:12 (Moran 1992:108 n. 2).

On the reverse of the tablet, there is a hieratic script written in black ink:  $\dot{s}$ -'-t n wr ( $\dot{s}$ r) i $\dot{s}$ -r $\ddot{s}$ -' Letter of the great one of Alashia."

#### EA 41

# SUPPILULIUMA, THE KING OF HATTI, TO HURIYA, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4747 (122–127). COPY: WA 18. COLLATION: Feb. 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:114); Liverani (1999:410–411 [LA 302]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

All four Hittite letters found in Amarna were sent to Egypt towards the end of the Amarna period. During this time, Suppiluliuma had resumed the battle on the Northern Syrian front. We learn of his political and military successes from documents discovered in Hattusas, capital of the Hittite Kingdom. After the death of Tushratta, King of Mittani, he eventually led his forces to victory, conquering Mittani and Northern Syria.

Concerning the addressee, Huriya might be either Amenhotep IV, Tutankhamun, or Smenkhkare (for discussion and references, see Moran 1992: XXXV n. 1, XXXIX n. 138).

- Line obv. 1—[*um-ma* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*]; on the restoration and the form of the Hittite introduction, see Moran (1992:114 n. 1).
- Line obv. 8—Read *bé-*<sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup>*-r*[*i-*]*ni* (cf. *bé-ri-e-ni* in line 22), *contra* Knudtzon's *bi-r*[*i-*]*ni*.
- Lines obv. 9, 11—Read *at-te-ru-tam-*<sup>r</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup> (Gordon; supported by Moran 1992:115 n. 3 and by Rainey). The readings 'LUGAL'(?I.AŠ) at the end of line 9 and LUGAL(?I.AŠ) at the beginning of line 11 is uncertain. Moran (1992:115 n. 3) and Rainey follow Kühne (1973: n. 500).
- **Line obv. 11**—Moran (1992:115 n. 3) notes that Gordon's *mi-ir-iš-ta-ia* x-y is utterly uncertain. Rainey transliterates *mé-re-eš*<sub>15</sub>-*ta-*<sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>¬</sup>.

Line obv. 21—a- $^{r}na^{1}$ -[k]u; Gordon was correct to read  $^{r}ku^{1}$ , cf. Moran (1992: 115 n. 4). Rainey saw also traces of *na*.

Line obv. 22—[*a-qa-bi a-h]u-uz-za-ta*; Moran's [*a-qa-bi*] was accepted by

Rainey. The latter confirms Gordon's *a-hu*]*-uz-za-ta*, *contra* Knudtzon's uṣ-ṣa-ta or Moran's *us-sà-ta* (1992:115 n. 5).

- Line obv. 28—Rainey prefers [*li-še-bi-la*] to Moran's [*šu-bi-la*] (Moran 1992: 115 n. 6).
- Lines rev. 30-41—See Ehelolf (1939:71-72).
- Line rev. 32—*li-id-dì-in-šu-nu-*[*ti*]; Rainey did not see the sign *-ti* that Gordon and Moran had reconstructed (Moran 1992:115 n. 7), nor traces of *-ti* as Knudtzon had read.

Line rev. 33—Rainey proposes -šu-nu[-ma], contra Knudtzon's -šu-nu[-ti].

- Line rev. 34—[*la*-]<sup>*r</sup></sup><i>a ha*<sup>*r*</sup>-*šeh*; Rainey confirms Moran's restoration (Moran 1992:115 n. 8).</sup>
- Line rev. 35—Knudtzon's reading is confirmed by Rainey, *contra* Gordon (in Moran 1992:115 n. 9).

Line rev. 40—UDU.(A).LUM = *immeru* "(rhyton) a ram."

Line rev. 41—UDU.SIR4 "(rhyton) a breed ram"; Gordon confirms Knudtzon's drawing (1915:1003, No. 60). Hoffner thinks that it is just a variant for ŠIR (in Rainey's collation).

Lines rev. 42—The last sign in this line is most likely the enclitic -ma.

There are traces of the following signs: '*na*' (obv. 8); '*e*' (obv. 14); '*u*', '*up*', '*am*' (rev. 37).

#### EA 42

#### THE KING OF HATTI TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1655.

COPIES: WA 16; VS 11, 16.

COLLATION: 05.04.2001, 14.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:115–116); Giles (1997:381–382); Liverani (1999: 411 [LA 303]).
- COMPOSITION: No conclusions regarding the origin of the clay could be drawn from the analysis (Goren 31–32).

This tablet is badly broken. For a discussion of the geographical names and the addressee of this letter, see Moran (1992:116 nn. 1-3).

**Line obv. 11**—There are still traces of *'iš* '. **Lines obv. 15–16**—The restoration follows Moran's translation (1992:115). 1388

Lines obv. 19–25—See Moran (1992:115 n. 5).

Line obv. 19—[*i-na bé-ri-ni*]; following Moran's questionable "*between us*" (1992:115).

Line obv. 20—[*ki-na-an-na-ma šum-ka*], *contra* Moran (1992:116 n. 5).

Line obv. 22—Perhaps [*n*]*a-pu-ul-tì* as a "corpse" is related to the Hebrew word *nblh*.

Line obv. 28—Rainey restores [*ki-a*]-*ma*, *contra* Moran's suggestion (1992:116 n. 6).

# EA 43

# SUPPILULIUMA I, THE KING OF HATTI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Ash 1207.

COPY: Sayce (1894, pl. XXXI; obverse only).

COLLATION: 05.04.2001

PHOTOGRAPH: Moorey (1969:43; obverse only; erroneously identified as a letter from Byblos).

COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Although this tablet is quite fragmentary and it is impossible to decipher the substances of the letter, there are some words such as *i-du-ku-šu* "they slew him" (obv. 6) or *a-na-aṣ-ṣa-ar-'šu'-nu-ma* "I will protect them" (line 11) that imply death and evil.

**Line obv. 10**—Rainey read *it-*<sup>r</sup>ta-al<sup>-la-ak</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon's *it-ta-*[*l*]*a*. **Line rev. 29**—The <sup>r</sup>*ša*<sup>r</sup> sign is no longer visible.</sup>

There are traces of the following signs:  $[ip^{\uparrow}, [ab^{\uparrow}, bu^{\uparrow}]$  (obv. 9);  $[ta^{\uparrow}]$  (obv. 10);  $[\check{s}u^{\uparrow}]$  (obv. 11);  $[\check{s}u^{\uparrow}, [\dot{u}^{\uparrow}]$  (obv. 18);  $[a^{\uparrow}]$  (rev. 23).  $[an^{\uparrow}]$  (rev. 26).

# EA 44

# ZIDAN, THE PRINCE OF HATTI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1656. COPIES: WA 29; VS 11, 16. COLLATION: 05.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:117); Liverani (1999:412–413 [LA 305]). COMPOSITION: Similar to *EA* 42 (Goren 31–32).

Zidan, who is apparently Suppiluliuma's brother, sends a gift of sixteen men to Egypt and requests that in return Pharaoh will send him gold. The title "father" hints that the addressee might be Amenhotep III (Kühne 1973:102 n. 508).

Four lines in the middle of the tablet (lines 14-17) are broken.

Line obv. 3—Rainey reads <sup>1</sup>*Zi*-<sup>*i*</sup>*i*-*dan*<sup>1</sup>, not *Zita*.

Line rev. 19—[*iš*-*tu*]; following Kühne (1973:103 n. 512).

Line rev. 20—The restoration [*ú*-*ka*-*ši*-*is*-]*sú*-*nu*-*ti* is related to the D stem, *kuššudu*. It could also be based on the Š stem, *šukšud*. Kühne (1973:103) reads [*aț*-*ru*-*us*-]*sú*-*nu*-*ti*.

There are traces of the following sign:  $\[ha]\]$  (rev. 25).

## EA 45

# 'AMMI<u>T</u>TAMRU I, THE KING OF UGARIT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1692 (smaller of two fragments not collated).

COPIES: WA (177); VS 11, 17.

COLLATION: 20.01.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:117–118); Liverani (1998:285 [LA 255]).

COMPOSITION: Sent from Ugarit (Ras Shamra). The origin should be sought in the area stretching from the Syrian coast north of Lataqia to the Iskenderun Bay (Goren 88–91).

Only five Akkadian letters written in the city of Ugarit were found in the Amarna collection. All of them are broken; this makes any reconstruction of the texts uncertain. In Ugarit itself hundreds of Akkadian tablets were discovered, but unfortunately only one of them reflects the Ugarit-Egypt diplomatic ties during the Amarna age. However, from the letter of 'Ammittamru I (EA 45) we note that he enjoyed a strong diplomatic relationship with Egypt.

Lines obv. 1–7—Missing, fragmentary. On the restorations, see Moran (1992: 118 nn. 2–3), and see *EA* 49 and the Mittani letters.

Line obv. 1—Amenhotep III is probably the king addressed here (see discussion and references in Moran 1992:118 n. 1).

Line obv. 14—Traces of the *nu* sign are no longer visible.

**Line obv. 28**—*tu-še-bá*[*-al-šu-nu*]; following Huehnergard (1989:254 n. 199). **Line rev. 29**—Traces of the UTU sign are no longer visible.

- Line rev. 30—*as-sú-ri-im-[ma* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši* EN-*ia]*; the final *-ma* was restored by Huehnergard (1989:195). The rest of the restoration is based on Moran's translation (1992:118), *contra* Knudtzon and also Huehnergard (1989:195).
- Line rev. 34—Rainey read  $\dot{} \dot{u}$  at the beginning of the line, instead of Knudtzon's *lu-ú*.

## EA 46

## THE KING OF UGARIT TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1694. COPIES: WA 179; VS 11, 18. COLLATION: 15.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. COMPOSITION: Similar to EA 45 (Goren 89–91).

This tablet is too broken to permit analysis (Huehnergard 1989:7-8).

Lines obv. 1, 9, rev. 23—LÚ.AB.BA-*e-ia*; see Moran (1992:119 n. 1). Line obv. 3—*la tu-b*[*a*] "you did not se[ek]," *contra* Knudtzon's *la tu-m*[*a*].

There are traces of the following signs:  $\[a\],\[a\],\[a\],\[a\])$ .

## EA 47

# THE KING OF UGARIT TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1693. COPIES: WA 176; VS 11, 19. COLLATION: 15.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:119); Liverani (1998:286 [LA 257]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 46 (Goren 90-91).

A question of loyalty is the topic of this letter.

- **Lines obv.** 1-6—There are traces of  $ni^{\uparrow}$  at the of line 6, but the rest of the opening passage in lines 1-6 is missing.
- Line obv. 11—The enclitic *-ma* on ÌR.MEŠ*-ma* is most likely a conjunction "also, and," rather than a marker of the predicate (with Moran 1992:119 n. 2, *contra* Huehnergard 1989:219).
- Line 13—At the beginning of the line, [*al-ta-*]<sup>r</sup>*pár*<sup>1</sup> (Huehnergard 1989:218 n. 31; Moran 1992:10 n. 6) is confirmed by Rainey's collation. There is no room for Knudtzon's [*lū aštapp*]*ar*.
- Line obv. 15—[*ta-n*]*a-an-din*; with Moran (1992:10 n. 6), *contra* Knudtzon's [*lū tan*]*andin*.
- Line lo. ed. 17—Rainey restores [*ta-ša-*] and notes that if the sign *šap* is written as Knudtzon reconstructed, it will be too tight against the two signs around it.
- Line rev. 20—There is no [-*i*]*a* as it appears on Schröder's facsimile. Rainey saw [-*š*]*u* and read [*it-ti-š*]*u* "[with h]im," contrary to Moran (1992:119 n. 5), who suggests that it should be reconstructed as *ittīšunu* "with them."
- **Line rev. 21**—At the beginning of the line, Rainey restores  $[\acute{u}-ul ki]$ -ma. For the possible reading of *kit* as the short form of *kitti*, see Huehnergard (1989:150).
- **Line rev. 23**—Rainey restores [*a-na a-w*]*a-*<sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>MEŠ1</sup> and notes that there is no room for *gabba* as suggested by Huehnergard (1989:219).
- Line rev. 24—Rainey reads '*ša-a*' *al-li-i*', *contra* Knudtzon's reading and Moran's *ša-al le-'a* (Moran 1992:119 n. 8)

There are traces of the following signs:  $[EN](rev. 25); [an](rev. 26); [\dot{u}], [\dot{s}um], [ma](rev. 27).$ 

## EA 48

## HEBA, QUEEN OF UGARIT, TO THE QUEEN OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1690. COPIES: WA 181; VS 11, 20. COLLATION: 14.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:120); Liverani (1998:286 [LA 258]).

1392

COMPOSITION: As EA 45 (Goren 90-91).

This broken tablet was apparently written by the queen of Ugarit to the queen of Egypt. Liverani (in Moran 1992:120 n. 1) suggested that the letter belongs in the time of Niqmadda II.

**Lines obv. 4, 5**—There are traces of  ${}^{r}i^{n}a$  and [t]a.

Line obv. 6—Traces of the *nu* sign are no longer visible.

**Line obv. 8**—For the form of the gloss *şú-ur-wa* and on the meaning "balsam," see Moran (1992:120 n. 2).

# EA 49

# NIQMADDU, THE KING OF UGARIT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4783 (12238). COPY: WA 204+180. COLLATION: Feb. 1982 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:120); Liverani (1998:285–286 [LA 256]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

In addition to palace attendants from Cush, Niqmaddu, the successor of 'Ammittamru I (*EA* 45), asks the king of Egypt to send him a physician. In return the king of Ugarit sends him a greeting gift.

Line obv. 2—<sup>1</sup>Níq-ma-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR; following Albright, in Moran (1992:120 n. 1). Perhaps the addressee is Amenhotep IV (Klengel, in Moran 1992:120 n. 1).

Line obv. 4—On the usage of NITLAM4.MEŠ, see above, a note in *EA* 38:4.

- **Lines rev. 22, 24**—LÚ.A.ZU =  $as\hat{u}$  "physician." Egyptian medicine was wellknown in the Ancient Near Eastern world. See Edel (1976). Homer, cited by Moran (1992:121 n. 5), marks Egypt as so rich in medicine that everyone was a physician and wise above all others.
- Line rev. 25—Read [<sup>1</sup>*Ha*]*-ra-ma-s* with Moran (1992:121 n. 6). On this personal name, see Hess (1993:73–74).
- **Line rev. 26**—Contrary to Knudtzon's *sa-al-m*[*i-iš*], Gordon (in Moran 1992:121 n. 6) had seen erasures following *sa-al*. There are traces of  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{n}$  and then erasures.

There are traces of the following signs: `a', `na' (obv. 5); `a' contra Knudtzon's [A] (rev. 18); `ša' (rev. 20).

# 1393

#### EA 50

#### MAIDSERVANT TO THE QUEEN OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1594. COPIES: WA 191; VS 11, 21. COLLATION: 09.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:121). COMPOSITION: Sent from Byblos (Goren 159).

This tablet is fragmentary.

Line obv. 1—MUNUST[a-ha-mu-un-šu(?)]; for this possible reading, see Moran (1992:121 n. 1).

Line obv. 7—There are no longer traces of the *am* sign.

Line rev. 11—Rainey restores <sup>r</sup>*zu-ka*<sup>¬</sup>*-ti*. Cf. *zukkatu, zukkutu* "infirmity, ill-ness(?)," cf. *CDA*:449b.

#### EA 51

### ADDU-NIRARI, THE LOCAL RULER OF NUGASSE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 559. COPIES: WA 30; VS 11, 22. COLLATION: 19.09.2003 and 26.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:122); Liverani (1998:298–299 [LA 272]). COMPOSITION: The clay was collected between Aleppo and Ḥama (Goren 91–92).

Suppiluliuma, the king of Hatti, takes the opportunity to subdue the major kingdoms of North Syria and the rest of the small city-kingdoms that are located near Syria. The Hittite threat is reflected directly or indirectly in some of the vassals' correspondence. *EA* 51 is one of these letters. In its opening passage Addu-nirari, the ruler of Nugasse, declares his loyalty to his lord, the king of Egypt, as did his ancestor years ago. In the first two lines of the following passage there are only eight signs and two traces; however, Addu-nirari's situation is indicated on the backside of the tablet.

Even though the lines are also broken there, the message is clear. Addunirari, a vassal of Pharaoh, asks for help. He wishes that the king himself would come forth, or at least send one of his advisors together with military force.

- **Line obv. 4**—The term *abi abīya* does not pertain to any particular king of Egypt. It must have a more general meaning that is influenced by the Hurrian *ammati* "grandfather, ancestor" (Laroche, in Moran 1992:122 n. 1).
- **Lines obv. 4–6**—In this passage an apparent Akkadian present form deals with a past event. It seems like the scribe really was using it to express intention and not just erroneously using it for a past event (Rainey 1995–1996:112a).
- **Line obv.** 6—Read *i-ip-p*[*u-š*]*a-aš-šu* "(Manaḫpiya) would make," literally: "would appoint" (see collation).
- **Lines rev. 3**–**5**—Rainey reads  $t[up-pa-te^{MES} ù ri-ik-sa-te...]$ . It is most logical to equate this reading with Moran's ri-ik-[sa-te...] in line 5 (1992:122 n. 2). On the possibility that Suppiluliuma might not have sent the tablets, see Altman (mentioned in Moran 1992:122 n. 2).
- Line rev. 6—Rainey assumes [ÌR *ki-it-ti a-na-ku...*], cf. Moran's free restoration (1992:122).
- Line rev. 7—On the shift of the first singular *be-lí-ia* to the first plural *be-li-ni*, see Moran (1992:122 n. 3). Rainey's reading was based on Moran's translation (1992:122).
- Lines rev. 8–9—Rainey reads 'lu'[-ú ni-iṣ-bat KUR.MEŠ] /ù 'lu'[-ú nu-tar] a-na be-li-ni "[we will] in[deed seize the lands] and indeed [we will return them] to our lord."
- Line rev. 10—Rainey reads <sup>r</sup>*li*<sup>¬</sup>-*iz*-*zi*[-*za*] "may (our lord) take a stand," *contra* Moran's suggestion (1992:122 n. 4). Note that at the beginning of the line, he restores [*ù be*]-*lí*-*ia*, contrary to Knudtzon. On the otiose assumption MEŠ, see Moran (1992:122 n. 5).
- **Line rev. 14**—For the possibility that "advisor" (*milku*) refers to one of the commissioners ( $r\bar{a}bizu$ ), see Moran (1992:122 n. 6).

There are traces of the following signs:  $ri^{1}$  (obv. 2);  $a^{1}$ , with Schröder's facsimile, *contra* Knudtzon's [a] (obv. 5);  $i^{1}$  *contra* Knudtzon's [i] (obv. 13);  $li^{1}$  (rev. 10);  $ki^{1}$  (rev. 11).

1394

## AKIZZI, THE RULER OF QAŢNA, TO AMENḤOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4759 (12197, with join to former VAT 1596). COPY: WA 196 (before join; no published copy of join). COLLATION: 26.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:123); Liverani (1998:291–292 [LA 264]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Akizzi, the ruler of Qaṭna, expresses his loyalty to the king of Egypt. Parts of this tablet are totally broken. Gordon, Moran and Rainey contribute to Knudtzon's reading.

Line obv. 4—For the reading <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-*ia*, cf. Moran (1992:123 n. 2).

- Line obv. 5—[*li-im-mu*]*r*; following Moran's questionable ["He/you will find"] (Moran 1992:123 n. 2).
- Line obv. 6—On *u* as "resumptive" after direct object, see Wilhelm (1970: 54 ff.) in Moran (1992:123 n. 4). The plural marker in É. 'HI.A' might be unnecessary, and "house" means the ruling dynasty (Moran, 1992:123 n. 4). Note that Rainey saw traces of 'HI.A'.

**Line obv. 12**—Traces of [li] are no longer visible.

- Line rev. 36—Knudtzon's [*a*-*n*]*a*-*kam* 3 MU (1915:322 notes b and c), at the beginning of the line, is restored [*an*-*n*]*a*-*kam* 3 MU by Rainey, *contra* Moran's (1992:123 n. 6) suggestion of [š]*a* KAM.3.MU.
- Line rev. 37—Rainey restores  $[\acute{u}][-u]t$ -ta-nam- $[ma-a\check{s}]$  "I have been trying to dispatch." The form is D of *namāšu*. For other suggetions, see Moran (1992:123 n. 7).
- Lines rev. 43–44—pu-ru-[x-x-]-nu la-aš-ti-na-an; cf. Moran (1992:123). In line 44, Rainey completes "KA" =  $p\hat{u}$  "mouth; command."
- **Line rev. 46**—Gordon's [*lu*]-<sup>*r*</sup>ú' *la-a i-páṭ-ṭa* is supported by Moran (1992:123 n. 8) and by Rainey's readings.

There are traces of the following signs:  $a^{(0)}(obv. 1)$ ;  $i^{(0)}(obv. 1)$ ;  $(i^{(0)}(obv. 15))$ .

#### EA 53

## AKIZZI, THE RULER OF QAŢNA, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29820. COPY: BB 37. COLLATION: 11.02.2000 and 12.04.2001 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:125–126); Giles (1997:382–383); Liverani (1998: 292–293 [LA 265]). COMPOSITION: Around Tell el-Mishrife (Goren 95).

Akizzi accuses Aitukama, the ruler of Qidši (Qedesh), and his allies, Teuwatti of Lapana and Arsawuya of Ruḥiṣṣu (Rôģiṣṣu), of sending the land of Ôpe (Upe; in the Damascus region) up in flames. In contrast to the rebels, Akizzi reports about the vassals, who are loyal to the king, and then he asks Pharaoh to send archers to his country, if he himself cannot come.

**Line obv.** 1—<sup>r</sup>*a-na*<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>*N*[*am*]-<sup>r</sup>*hur-ia*<sup>1</sup>; faint traces only (Rainey's collation).

- Line obv. 4—Read 「be-lí LÚ<sup>1</sup>.'ÌR-ka<sup>¬</sup> be-lí<sup>1</sup> (Rainey). At the end of the line Moran (1992:126 n. 1) assumes la a-páṭ-[ṭar-me] as la a-páṭ-tar-mì in EA 55:6. However, he remarks the possibility of Knudtzon's "not dead," but suggests la-a UG<sub>6</sub> [(:) mi-it]. Rainey prefers la-a ÚŠ [: mi-it]. Knudtzon reads la-a MIT (= UG<sub>6</sub> or ÚŠ).
- Line obv. 5—For the restorations, see Moran (1992:126 n. 2).
- Lines obv. 6–7—Rainey reads *i-na* <sup>r</sup>aš-*ri* an-ni-*im*<sup>1</sup>/[ù] <sup>r</sup>*i-na*<sup>1</sup>-an-na <sup>r</sup>*i-na*<sup>1</sup> aš-*ri* <sup>r</sup>an-ni<sup>?</sup>-[*im*] <sup>r</sup>LÚ ÌR<sup>1</sup>-*ka-ma*.
- **Line obv. 9**—Read <sup>'</sup> $u^{-}us!(IS)-si$  "Aiţukama is going forth," *contra* Knudtzon's y[i]-is!-si or Moran's (u)-s[e]-es-si (1992:126 n. 3).
- Line obv. 14—*ki-i a-*<sup>r</sup>*na-ku*<sup>¬</sup> *a*[*l-la-ak a-na*]<sup>r</sup>*ša* LUGAL<sup>¬</sup>; cf. Moran's restoration (1992:126 n. 4).

Line obv. 15—a- $^{r}na ša be^{1}$ -[li-ia].

Line obv. 24—*be-lí* <sup>rinrdnr</sup>IŠKUR-*ni-ra-ri*<sup>1</sup> [*šàr* KUR *Nu-ha-aš-še*], which fits the traces much better than Knudtzon's restoration (Rainey's collation).

**Lines obv. 25–34**—Rainey's reading and rendering. For *nam* as  $bir_5$  in <sup>11</sup> $Bir_5$ -(*ya*)-*wa-za* (line 34), see Thureau-Dangin (1940:171); Rainey (1978a:101).

Line obv. 36, rev. 56—On the GN Ru-hi-<sup>r</sup>is<sup>¬</sup>-si, see Rainey (1979).

**Line rev. 44**—Read ÌR.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup> $\gamma$ </sup> in spite of Knudtzon's remark (1915:326 n. e).

- **Line rev. 46**—<sup>'</sup>ù šum'-ma-a; at the beginning of the line, there are traces of  $'\dot{u}$ '. Knudtzon reads *um*, but the size and traces match *šum* in lines 52 and 56 (Rainey's collation).</sup>
- Line rev. 49—At the end of the line 'LÚ ÌR'.MEŠ-šu. Cf. size in line 44.
- **Lines rev. 64–65**— $ka_4$ -ti- $hu | ka_4$ -ti-hu-li-iš "your feet"; for Hurrian glosses, see literature in Moran (1992:126 n. 5).
- Line rev. 66—[*ki-i-m*]*e-e*; Moran's [*mi-nu-m*]*e-e* (1992:126 n. 7) is not supported by Rainey.

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{1}, [na^{1}](obv. 5); [a^{3}], [ri^{1}](obv. 6);$   $[sa^{1}, [a^{1}](obv. 8); [u^{1}]contra Knudtzon's [u^{1}](obv. 10); [a^{1}, [na^{1}](obv. 13); [u^{1}], [a^{1}],$  $[na^{1}, [sa^{1}], [at^{1}](obv. 16); [u^{1}](obv. 18); [u^{1}], [lu^{1}](obv. 21); [e^{1}](obv. 22); [ah^{1}], [u^{1}](obv. 23); [nu^{1}]contra Knudtzon's [nu] (obv. 35); [is], [si^{1}]contra Knudtzon's [si] (obv. 36); [KUR^{1}](obv. 38); [be^{1}], [lu^{1}], [ia^{1}](rev. 46); [u^{1}]contra Knudtzon's [u^{1}], [be^{1}], [lu^{1}], [ia^{1}], [e^{1}](rev. 47); [u^{1}]contra Knudtzon's [u^{1}](rev. 48); [me^{1}](rev. 49); [ap^{1}](rev. 60); [be^{1}](rev. 63); [a^{1}], [UZU^{1}](rev. 64); [a^{1}], [na^{1}](rev. 65); [a^{1}](rev. 66).$ 

#### EA 54

## AKIZZI, THE RULER OF QAȚNA, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1868 + 1869 + 1721. COPIES: WA 229 + 232 + 233; VS 11, 23. COLLATION: 11.-12.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Giles (1997:383); Liverani (1998:294 [LA 266]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 53, 55 (Goren 95–96).

Moran (1992:126 n. 1) notes that Akizzi's accusation in *EA* 53 may be repeated in this broken letter.

**Line obv. 24**—There are traces of  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}$ , *contra* Knudtzon's  $[\dot{u}]$ .

- Lines obv. 25–26—Rainey reads  $[i-k]\dot{a}-a\dot{s}[-\dot{s}a-ad.....ma-mi-ta(?)] / [id](?)- [di](?)-nu-[ni][Ar-s\dot{a}-\dot{u}-ia LU \dot{s}a U]RU Ru-hi-si.$
- **Line rev. 41**—If there is " $\dot{u}$ " at the beginning of the line, it is a poor one (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 43—Indentations in clay confirm Knudtzon's restoration (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 46—Rainey had seen 'a-na' [a-sí] la e-le-é'-e "to [come forth] I am not able "

Line rev. 51—Perhaps Knudtzon's restoration [URU *aar*-]*aa-mi-i* is related to Carchemish (with Moran 1992:126 n. 1).

Line rev. 55—Rainey restores [*i-ka-ša-*]*dú-ni*<sup>\*</sup> "[they will] come."

There are traces of the following signs: [i]a (obv. 15); [da], [an], [na] (obv. 20); *<sup>r</sup>hi*<sup>¬</sup> (obv. 21).

## EA 55

# AKIZZI, THE RULER OF QATNA, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

Text: BM 29819. COPY: BB, 36. COLLATION: 09.-10.02.2000 and August 2006 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:127-128); Giles (1997:384); Liverani (1998:295-296 [LA 268]). COMPOSITION: As EA 53 (Goren 94–96).

Since the men of Qatna were led away out of their country by 'Aziru, Akizzi promised Pharaoh to pay as much as he demanded for their ransom.

Line obv. 1—For references to the identification of Namhur(e)ya with Naphurriya (Amenhotep IV), see Hess (1993:116).

**Lines obv.** 5–6—SILA =  $s\bar{u}qu$  "road, street." Gordon says that the sign is not SILA but perhaps MUG (Rainey's collation). *ur-hu* is written over an erasure (see note in BB's copy). In lines 6 and 28 read tar, not Knudtzon's tár.

Line obv. 7—Read šūtma (CAD A/1:72b), contra Knudtzon's šu-tú-ma.

Line obv. 8—The sign *ti* does not appear in BB's copy.

Line obv. 12—ÙZ (= *enzu* "goat") has been recognized independently by Gordon and Na'aman (1975:54\* n. 47). In the EA texts it is always attested with a collective or plural markers, e.g. here ÙZ.HÀ or ÙZ.MEŠ (EA 113:15); for this reason, it perhaps corresponds to the generic use of the plural, enzātu (CAD E:182a–183a). Moran (1992:128 n. 2) notes that ÙZ takes the place of the more common UDU = sēnu "small cattle," cf. CAT 1:34. LÀL = dišpu "honey." For LÀL, note wedge at bottom (Rainey's collation).

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- Line obv. 17—*i-pal-la-ah*; Gordon suggests *hé* at the end of the line (thus also Moran 1992:128 n. 3), but Rainey (collation) reads *-ah*, cf. line obv. 27.
- Line obv. 23—The preposition *aššum* seems to be used here in a unique manner (*CAD* A/2:470b–471a). Rainey, following *CAD*'s *ina* GN, reads KUR MAR.<sup>r</sup>TU<sup>¬</sup>(?) (= *Amurru*). Knudtzon had provided an autograph (No. 65) of what he saw at the ends of lines 23 and 24.
- Line obv. 24—The construction of *lū ilteqēšunu 'Aziru*" they will take 'Aziru" is under Hurrian influence, see Kilmer in Moran (1992:128 n. 4). Moran also noted there that the 3rd m.pl. subject was written as an accusative suffix, while the real 3rd m.sg. object was expressed by the 3rd m.sg. verbal form.
- Line obv. 26—*ik*-[*ta-aš-da*] at the end of the line is restored by Rainey's collation. Moran (1992:128 n. 5) suggests *ik*-[*te-ri-ib*].
- Line obv. 27—Rainey (collation) saw traces of 'KUR' at the beginning of the line and a[h] at the end of the line.
- Line rev. 45—Rainey (collation) reads *ip-qid*<sub>4</sub>-*šu-nu* "('Aziru) has transferred them away," *contra* Knudtzon's *ip-p*[*a*]-*šu-nu* and Moran (1992:128 n. 7).
- Line rev. 48—There seems to be room for *'li'?-'im'?-'lik'*? (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 50—Knudtzon's questionable *țur* (1915:335 n. g) is confirmed by Rainey's collation.
- Line rev. 51—" $lik^{\gamma}$ -[ $\check{s}u$ ?-du]-" $ni_7^{\gamma}$ ; the first sign, at the beginning of the line, has to be ur,  $ta\check{s}$ , lik. The restoration [ $\check{s}u$ ?-du] is crowded, not sure enough space. -" $ni_7^{\gamma}$  looks certain (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 52—<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>¬</sup>-ú-ut, contra Knudtzon's šu-ú-tú.
- Line rev. 54—At the end of the line there is erased space by the scribe, who probably intended to write *iš-tu* (BB's copy and see also Knudtzon 1915:335 n. 1).
- Lines rev. 54–58—*i-te-ep-pu-uš-šu-nu* (line 54), *i-ša-kán-šu-nu* (line 55), *il-te-qè-šu-nu* (line 57), *i-de*<sub>4</sub>-*šu-nu* (line 57), *ip-še-et-šu-nu* (line 57); these verbs are understood as passive. The subject <sup>d</sup>UTU DINGIR *a-bi-ia* with the suffix *-šu-nu* is expressive of ergative.
- Line rev. 61—Perhaps Knudtzon's questionable b[a] is [in].
- Line rev. 62—*ki-i ma-aṣ-ṣí-im-ma*; with Knudtzon and Moran, *contra* von Soden (in Moran 1992:128 n. 11).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a_1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}\check{s}u^{1}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}KUR^{1}$  (obv. 18);  ${}^{r}be^{1}$  (obv. 20);  ${}^{r}ki^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}i^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}\check{s}u^{1}$  (rev. 52);  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (rev. 56).

## EA 56 + EA 361

# AKIZZI(?), THE RULER OF QAȚNA, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1714.

COPY: WA 173; VS 11, 24 (corrections in Schröder, *OLZ*, 1917, col. 105). COLLATION: 30.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:128–129); Liverani (1998:294 [LA 267]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The introduction does not supply any textual clue for the ruler or its provenance. Izre'el (1997:158) argues that *EA* 56 joins *EA* 361, which is badly broken. Moran (1992:129) and Rainey's collation contribute some new readings to Knudtzon's restorations of *EA* 56 and his translation (1915:336–338). In this letter, Akizzi(?) claims to be a loyal vassal of Pharaoh.

Line obv. 1—For the identity of the sender, see Moran (1992:129 n. 1).

- **Line obv. 4**—Instead of Knudtzon's *i-r*[*ib*]*-an-ni* and Moran's *an-ni*-[*ta*<sub>5</sub>] (1992:129 n. 2), Rainey proposes *i-l*[*a*]*-an-ni* "([the en]emy) has attacked (lit. come up against) me," *G*-form of the verb *elû*, 3rd m.pl.
- Line obv. 5—[*ù aš-pu*]*r*; with Knudtzon, *contra* Moran (1992:129 n. 3). Note the traces of -<sup>*r*</sup>*l*<sup>*i*</sup> that Rainey observed (see his transliteration).
- **Lines obv.** 6–8—Contrary to Moran (1992:129 n. 3), Rainey's collation confirms that the traces of -m[i], which were visible to Knudtzon at the end of line 6, are still impressed on edges.
- Line obv. 13—Traces of the *ta* sign, visible to Knudtzon, have disappeared.
- Line obv. 16—For '*Ta-aš-šu*, cf. *EA* 53:58, see Moran (1992:129 n. 4).
- **Line obv. 17**—Knudtzon was correct to read il(!)-[la-am(?)], a G-form of  $el\hat{u}$ , 3rd m.sg., according to Rainey's collation, and cf. line 4 above.
- **Line obv. 18**—The reading and rendering  $\lceil \hat{u} \rceil$ - $\check{e}$ -ir- $\check{s}u$  "I dispatched him" is suggested by Rainey.
- **Line obv. 22**—Rainey suggests [*tu*-]<sup>*r*</sup>*u*ș<sup>*n*</sup>-*șa*-*a*[*n*-*ni*...] "you] will come forth t[o me]."
- Lines obv. 23–24—Rainey reads [*a-mur-mi* <sup>1</sup>*A-tak*]-*ka*₄-*ma* ṣab-t[u gáb-bi ] / [URU.MEŠ-*nu* ù ]<sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>¬</sup>*i-nu* ÌR.[MEŠ.....].
- Line obv. 26—Rainey (collation) confirms Moran's reading URU.<sup>r</sup>KI<sup>¬</sup>*Ru-hiși* (1992:129 n. 4).
- **Line obv. 28**—According to Rainey's collation, the red fragment (*EA* 56) looks strange, but if it is correct, i[m]-ta-na- $^{r}ah$   $^{n}$ -ha-su- $n[i_{7} ...]$  (or i[m]-ta-na- $^{r}ah$   $^{n}$ -ha-su- $n[i_{7} ...]$ ) is followed by a marker of a PN.

There are still traces of the following signs:  $ra^{1}$  (obv. 19); a[n],  $ra^{2}$  contra Knudtzon's [a] (rev. 39).

#### EA 57

## AKIZZI, THE RULER OF QAŢNA, TO AMENHOTEP IV, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1714.

COPY: WA 173; *VS* 11, 24 (corrections in Schröder, *OLZ*, 1917, col. 105).

COLLATION: 13.02.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

COMPOSITION: From the neighbouring area to the North or South of Qaṭna (Goren 96).

The tablet is badly fragmented. It includes references to Akizzi, the king of Qaṭna (obv.? 2), the king of Barga (obv.? 3), Puḥuru (obv.? 10), Šumitta (obv.? 13), and the city Tunip (obv.? 12; rev. 1). See Klengel, in Moran (1992:129 n. 1).

Line obv. 4—Perhaps *it-ta-ta-lak*(?); see Rainey's collation.

Line obv. 9—Cf. Knudtzon (1915:340 n. d), but probably no real line (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following sign: <sup>[1]</sup> *contra* Knudtzon's <sup>[1</sup>] (obv. 6).

## EA 58

## TEHU-TESHUPA, A RULER IN NORTH CANAAN(?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1716. COPIES: WA 214; VS 11, 26. COLLATION: 30.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:129); Giles (1997:384); Liverani (1998:300 [LA 274]). COMPOSITION: From the area of Tripoli or east of it (Goren 122–123).

This tablet is fragmentary. Only part of the obverse and the reverse are preserved.

- Line obv. 1—Knudtzon (1915:340, 341 n. h) admits that it could be [*a-na* LÚ GA]L, but [*a-na* LUGAL GA]L is more likely (see also Moran 1992:130 n. 1).
- **Line obv. 2**—For the personal name  $[^1]Te_9$ -hu- $te_9$ -su-ba, cf. Hess (1993:183).
- Line obv. 4—[*šá*-]*ni-tam*; Knudtzon (1915:342) is probably right, there is only room for [*šá*].
- Line obv. 6—KAL.KASKAL+[?.BAD] = *karašu* "camp, expeditionary force." See Moran (1992:180 n. 10).
- **Lines obv.** 7–8—Moran's "water" is forfeited. Rainey suggests *mimmê* [*šumšu*] *ula* "not[hing] at all." Line 8 starts with  ${}^{\prime}u'$ -*la-a*, not with Knudtzon's p[a]-*la-ku* (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 9—<sup>r</sup>GIŠ *mu*<sup>¬</sup>*-ta-aš-šu* \\*na-ap-ri-il-la-an*; the Hurrian gloss and the word glossed are uncertain. The meaning "statue(?)" is Rainey's intuitive conjecture.
- Line rev. 2—[*tu*-]*ša-am-ru-ri* is error for [*tu*-]*ša-am-ri-ru* "[....they] drove out(sic!)" (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 3—Perhaps  $[il_5] te_9[-q\acute{u}-\check{s}u(?)]$ .
- Line rev. 5—Rainey restores [*ni-ìl-q*]*é-ši a-na ma-ḥar*.
- Line rev. 6—[šá-ni-ta]m Ha-ia-ra (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 9—Rainey reads [UR]U-ni<sup>MEŠ</sup>.

### THE CITY TUNIP TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29824. COPY: BB, 41. COLLATION: 09.02.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:130–131); Giles (1997:384–385); Liverani (1998: 299–300 [LA 273]). COMPOSITION: Tel 'Asharneh (Goren 118–121).

With the background of 'Aziru becoming the vassal of Suppiluliuma, the king of the Hittites, and his activities against the city kingdoms of Egypt, the citizens of Tunip wrote to Pharaoh about the 'Aziru threat against their city. They also claim that the king has not replied to their messages for a long time (see also Altman 2001:1–5). For the framing of their complaint, see Moran (1992:131 n. 8).

Line obv. 4—be-li(-ni)? ni-am-qut; contrary to Moran's "my lord," Rainey

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notes the omission of the possesive suffix *-ni* by the scribe, and based on the verb *ni-am-qut*, he translates "our lord."

- **Line obv. 5**, 7—The signs *-ta-bi* are on the back side, so also the last sign  $\hat{u}$  in line 7.
- Line obv. 9—There are traces of <sup>r</sup>GIŠ *mu*<sup>¬</sup>-*ta-aš-šu* (see Rainey's transliteration).
- Line obv. 13—"20 years" (also in line rev. 44); on the round numbers that only mean "a long/considerable time," see references in Moran (1992:131 n. 5).
- Line obv. 22—NU.GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> = nukarippu "gardener."
- Line obv. 24—NAM = *šimtu* "fate." NAM *sar-ra-tu*<sub>4</sub> "a criminal fate." Also see Moran (1992:131 n. 7).
- Line rev. 28—*i-ip-pu-uš-šu-nu* is written on the corner.
- Line rev. 31—*an-ni-tu*<sub>4</sub>; I confirmed Knudtzon's reading by photo and corrected Rainey's *an-nu-tu*<sub>4</sub>.
- Line rev. 37—a-wa- $te^{MEŠ}$  is written on the edge.
- Line rev. 38—Probably  $an \langle ni \rangle$ -tu, as in line 31, not Rainey's  $an \langle nu \rangle$ -tu<sub>4</sub>.

Line rev. 42—*ia-nu-um* is written on the edge.

There are traces of the following signs: n[i] (obv. 1);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}^{\prime}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{\prime}iq^{\prime}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{\prime}i'$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{\prime}mu^{\prime}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{\prime}na^{\prime}$  (obv. 13).

### ea 60

## 'ABDI-ASHIRTA, AN AMURRU LEADER, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 343.

COPIES: WA 93; VS 11, 27; BB, 41.

COLLATION: 19.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 7–9).

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:131–132); Giles (1997:385–386); Liverani (1998: 267–268 [LA 235]).
- COMPOSITION: From the mountainous areas east of Tripoli (Goren 103–105).

In his letter 'Abdi-Ashirta asserts that he guards the lands of the king of Egypt, while the Hurrian forces are threatening to wrest them from his hands. By virtue of his activities on behalf of the Egyptian government,

'Abdi-Ashirta is applying for recognition by Pharaoh. This culmination may represent his ambitions to found a new territorial state (Amurru) and to have himself recognized as its legitimate ruler under Egyptian suzerainty.

Lines obv. 1, rev. 21, 25, 28—In this letter = UTU.

Line obv. 7—UR.GI<sub>7</sub> = kalbu "dog."

**Line obv. 11**— $leq\hat{a} = leq\hat{u} + ventive = "bring."$ 

Line obv. 15—HI has disappeared.

- Line obv. 16—<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>*na ha-ba-lì* "to plunder"; Izre'el (1991:II, 9) relates this verb to the BH word *hābal* in *Ezekiel* 18:16. The restoration of <sup>r</sup>*lib*<sup>¬</sup>-[*b*]*i* at the end of the line that Moran proposed (1992:132 n. 5) is not accepted by Rainey, who confirms Schröder's facsimile. Cf. Izre'el (1991:II, 9), who follows the latter.
- Line obv. 17—[Š]U-<sup>-</sup>*i*<sup>*i*</sup>*a*; contrary to Moran (1992:132 n. 5), Rainey confirms Knudtzon's reading at the beginning of the line. He also notes the traces of <sup>-</sup>*i*<sup>*i*</sup>*a* today (collation). At the end of the line read [LÚ.MÁŠKIM] "commissioner," *contra* Izre'el's (1991: I, 7) <sup>-</sup>*ha*?<sup>-</sup>[*-za-nu-te.MEŠ*(?)] (see collation).
- Line lo. ed. 19—Moran (1992:132 n. 6) supports Rainey's rendering [*a*-*n*]*asa*-<sup>*r*</sup>*a*<sup>*r*</sup>-*š*[*u*-*nu a*-*mur*]. Izre'el (1991:II, 7) suggests the adverb [*a*?-*nu*?-*ma*?] instead of the presentation particle [*a*-*mur*].
- **Line rev. 20**—Rainey completes *i*[*t-ti-ka*], *contra* Moran (1992:132) and Izre'el (1991:II, 7) who accepted Knudtzon's <sup>amé[lu]</sup>r[abişi-ia].
- **Line rev. 26**—ŠE.KIN(GUR<sub>10</sub>).KU<sub>5</sub> =  $e \bar{s} \bar{e} du$  "to harvest" (*CDA*:81a). This logogram of verb is read as noun (infinitive)  $e \bar{s} \bar{e} d$  by *CAD* E:340a and Rainey (1975:411); see also Moran (1992:132 n. 7).
- **Line rev. 30**—On  $id\hat{u}$  as "to recognize" here and in similar passages, see Moran (1992:132 n. 8).
- Line rev. 31—*yi-ip-*<sup>r</sup>*qí*<sup>¬</sup>*-id-ni* "may he assign me." This acceptable rendering of the precative was offered by Campbell (1976:50), but his assumption that the meaning is "place me under the protection…" was rejected by Moran (1992:132), Izre'el (1991:II, 9), and Rainey.

There are traces of the following signs: [ar] (lo. ed. 19); [yi], [iš] (rev. 21); [sa] (rev. 23).

## 'ABDI-ASHIRTA, AN AMURRU LEADER, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Ash 1893.1–41:410. COPY: Sayce (1894, no. 3). COLLATION: 05.04.2001 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 9–10). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:133); Liverani (1998:270 [LA 238]). COMPOSITION: From the area east of Tripoli, probably from Tell Arde, the city of Ardata (Goren 105–106).

The tablet is too broken. The opening passage, however, supplies the title of Pharaoh ("the sun") as it appears in *EA* 60 and the name of 'Abdi-Ashirta, the addresser.

Line rev. 3—Knudtzon's questionable  ${}^{a[lu}u]l \cdot l[a] \cdot a[\check{s} - \check{s}]e^{ki}$  (so also Izre'el 1991:II, 9) is not accepted at all by Rainey, who reads [URU ]' $Ul \cdot la^{\gamma} \cdot si^{\kappa i}$ ; cf. Moran's [URU  $u]l \cdot [la \cdot zi^{\gamma \kappa i}]$  (1992:133 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>T</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*ir*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 2); <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>, U[R] (obv. 3); <sup>r</sup>Su<sup>1</sup> (rev. 4); <sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 8).

### EA 62

## 'ABDI-ASHIRTA, AN AMURRU LEADER, TO PAḤANATE, THE COMMISSIONER OF ṢUMUR

TEXT: BM 29817. COPIES: WA 158; VS 11, 28. COLLATION: 12.02.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 10–14). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:133–134); Giles (1997:386–387); Liverani (1998: 269–270 [LA 237]). COMPOSITION: As EA 61 (Goren 106).

This letter reports on 'Abdi-Ashirta's protest against being called the enemy of Egypt and being accused of having committed crime against the cities of Egypt. Regarding his situation, 'Abdi-Ashirta justifies his seizing Sumur by the possibility of sending Ṣumur and its palace up in flames by the troops of Sheḥlali. For his defense, he also emphasizes that he had rushed from neighboring 'Irqat to rescue the Egyptian base at Ṣumur from an attack by "troops of the city of Sheḥlali."

- **Line obv. 4**—Rainey's restoration is *'be-lí' 'a'*!-*'na'*! *'muḥ-ḥi-i'*[*a*]. So in the photo by Juan Pablo Vita.
- Line obv. 5—At the end of the line Rainey saw traces of *ki-ia*, *contra* Knudtzon's [*ki-ia*].
- Lines obv. 6–10—For the restoration, see Moran (1992:134 nn. 1–2).
- **Lines obv. 11, 16**—This *Šehlali* has been compared to *t3 š3św* Śá-*c-ra-r* from the Amarna temple of Ramesses II, cf. Astor in Rainey (2006:80b).
- Line obv. 12—[*iş-ba-tu*] at the beginning of the line is more likely than Moran's [*pal-ha-at*] (1992:134 n. 3) or Izre'el's questionable [*i-nu-ma*] (1991:II, 11).
- Line obv. 14—At the begining of the line Rainey had seen traces of ' $\dot{u}$  *ak-šu*' and read ' $\dot{u}$  *ak-šu*'-[*ud*]-*ma* (cf. line 22), *contra* Moran (1992:134 n. 4), who follows Knudtzon's reading the sign BAN/PAN and offers [*i/a-pan-ni-m*]*a*, and *contra* Izre'el's [*aş-bá-a*]*t* (1991:II, 14).
- **Line obv. 15**—Restore  $\[ \dot{u} \]$  *u*!-*uš*[-*te*-*și*-]*ka*. The vertical wedge is tightly squeezed (collation by Rainey).
- Line rev. 33—*ú-wi-i-mi* "lives"; Moran (1992:134 n. 7) and Rainey follow Izre'el's interpretation (Izre'el 1991:II, 11).
- Lines rev. 34–35—Rainey proposes *lib*!-*bi* / [*be*-*lí*-*ia ù uš*-*ši*-]*ra* ÉRIN.MEŠ.
- Line rev. 37—Rainey restores  $[\dot{u} \, \check{s}a a]l \check{s}u nu^{\gamma}$ .
- Line rev. 38—Rainey reads [*šu-nu in-na-*]<sup>*r*</sup>*ab*<sup>*r*</sup>*-tu*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>*r*</sup>*ma*<sup>*r*</sup>, cf. Moran's suggestion (1992:134 n. 8).
- Lines rev. 42, 45—[ $\dot{u}$ <sup>1</sup>]<sup>r</sup>*I-a-ma-a*<sup>¬</sup>*-ia* (42), <sup>*I*</sup>*Ia-ma-a-ia* (45); Albright's reading [*Y*]*amaya* (1946:13 n. 15) was also accepted by Moran (1992:134 n. 10), contra Knudtzon's TUR. Izre'el (1991:II, 15) changed his mind about his proposal <sup>*I*</sup>*DUMU-a-ma-a-ia*, see his transliteration of *EA* letters on the internet. On <sup>*I*</sup>*Yamaya*, see also Hess (1993:81).
- Line rev. 43—[*a*-*na*] <sup>*rmu*h-*hi*-*ka*<sup>*r*</sup>; following Izre'el (1991:II, 12).</sup>
- Line rev. 46—Rainey reads [i]t-ti 'ÉRIN'.MEŠ, contra Knudtzon (VAB 2/1:352, n. b) who reads 'i]t-ti-šu MEŠ, or Izre'el (1991:II, 12) who adds  $\langle$ ÉRIN $\rangle$ .
- Line up. ed. 51—-*ku-un*; the stylus of *aš*, at the beginning of the line, slipped and made two wedges, cf. Izre'el (1991:II, 12).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}A^{}, {}^{r}\check{s}i^{}, {}^{r}ir^{}, {}^{r}te^{}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}ME\check{S}^{}$  (obv. 8);  ${}^{r}ME\check{S}^{}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{r}ir^{}, {}^{r}a^{}, {}^{r}na^{}, {}^{r}URU^{}, {}^{r}Ir^{}$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{r}\check{s}u^{}, {}^{r}ud^{}$  (obv. 22);  ${}^{r}ha^{}$ 

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(rev. 40);  ${}^{r}e\check{s}^{"}$ ,  ${}^{r}te^{"}$  (rev. 41);  ${}^{r}a^{"}$ ,  ${}^{r}ma^{"}$ ,  ${}^{r}a^{"}$ ,  ${}^{r}i^{"}$  (rev. 42);  ${}^{r}e\check{s}^{"}$  (rev. 44);  ${}^{r}ri^{"}$  (rev. 48);  ${}^{r}su^{"}$  (up. ed. 51).

### EA 63

# 'ABDI-ASHTARTI, A RULER IN SOUTHERN CANAAN (GATH?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29817. COPY: BB 34. COLLATION: 16.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:134–135); Liverani (1998:86 [LA32]). COMPOSITION: From Tell es-safi in the Shephelah (Goren 283–284).

'Abdi-Ashtarti declares his loyalty to Pharaoh and reports to him on the hostility that he faces. There are several traces of signs in most of the lines. On the back of the tablet the signs are very faint.

**Line obv.** 1 - [n]a is no longer visible.

Line obv. 3—For discussions and references, see Moran (1992:135 n. 1).

Line obv. 5—GÌR.MEŠ 'š*àr-ri-*'*ia*'; with Knudtzon. Rainey does not confirm Moran's '*ša*' before MEŠ nor EN. As Knudtzon, he also saw traces of the logogram 'EN'.

Line obv. 6—Moran's  $\lceil \check{s}a \rceil$  (1992:135 n. 2) is confirmed by Rainey.

**Line rev. 16**—It is hard to decide whether the last sign is  $ri^{"}$  (Knudtzon) or  $ru^{"}$  (Rainey).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{\text{ren}}(\text{obv. 1}); ^{\text{r}}ia^{1}(\text{obv. 5}); ^{\text{r}}ti^{1}, ^{\text{r}}a^{1}, ^{\text{r}}na^{1}(\text{obv. 6}); ^{\text{r}}ri^{1}(\text{obv. 7}); ^{\text{r}}mu^{1}(\text{obv. 8}); ^{\text{r}}i\overset{\overset{}}{s}^{1}(\text{obv. 11}).$ 

### EA 64

## 'ABDI-ASHTARTI, A RULER IN SOUTHERN CANAAN (GATH?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29816. COPY: BB, 33. COLLATION: 16.08.1999 and 07.09.2006 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

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TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:135); Liverani (1998:86–87 [LA 33]).
COMPOSITION: From Qiltu (upper Shephela), in the eastern flank of the Gath territory (Goren 284–285).

'Abdi-Ashtarti asks the king of Egypt to send a magnate to protect him. In addition to this request, he reports that he obeys the kings' orders. This tablet is red and complete.

Line obv. 7—șú! is on the right edge of obv.

Line rev. 18—There are traces of *'ia*'.

Lines rev. 22–23—The diagonal wedges are to show that the line continues the preceding line (Rainey's collation). The word *mekkītu* (line 22) is an adjective form (*mé-ki-tu= mekku* + nisbe + fem.) "(ten women) viz. of glass." On the WS verb *ia-pa-aq-ti* "have I produced," see discussions and references in Loretz and Mayer (1974:493–494) and Moran (1992:135–136 n. 2).

# ea 65

# 'ABDI-ASHTARTI, A RULER IN SOUTHERN CANAAN (GATH?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1685. COPIES: WA 175; VS 11, 29. COLLATION: 15.01.2005 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:136); Liverani (1998:87 [LA 34]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 63 (Goren 285).

*EA* 65 is one of some seventy out of the 349 letters that are replies to an order from Pharaoh to be prepared for the planned Egyptian campaign. For discussions and references to the question whether this campaign was actually carried out, or whether it was merely routine activities at various times, see Rainey (2006:86c). The first three lines are very poorly preserved. In line 14 there are some traces, but the remaining lines are broken. The reverse is the continuation of the lines from obverse.

Line obv. 3—<sup>r11</sup> *Ab-di*<sup>1</sup>- <sup>d</sup>INNIN; for this reading of the name, see Moran (1992:136 n. 1); Hess (1993:10–12).

Line obv. 8—The sign *-tu* in *iš-tu-mu* is an error for *te*, as in *EA* 64:17, 19 *iš-te-mu*.

Line obv. 11— $\langle i \rangle$ -šu-ši-ru; following Moran (1992:136 n. 2), contra VAB 2/2:1383.

Lines obv. 12–13—On the background of the order to have things ready before the arrival of the king of Egypt, see Moran (1992:xxxi n. 100, 117–118).

There are traces of the following signs: [a] (obv. 8); [na] (obv. 12).

### ea 66

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO HAYA, THE VIZIER OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1702. COPY: VS 11, 30. COLLATION: 29.01.2005 PHOTOGRAPH: Vita. COMPOSITION: From southern Canaan (Goren 309–310).

The tablet is badly broken. Rainey adds signs of traces, also new readings and restorations. The reverse is completely destroyed.

Line obv. 3—Rainey reads [*iš*-]<sup>*r</sup></sup><i>ta-pa*<sup>*r*</sup>*a*[*r*].
Lines obv. 7–10—Rainey's new rendering is 'KUR-*ia da-na-at* KÚR-*ti*<sup>*r*</sup>/<sup>*r*</sup>UGU-*ia*<sup>*r*</sup>*ti*-'*di-in-ni*<sup>*r*</sup>/ '*i-na qa-ti-šu ù ti*<sup>*r*</sup>-[*din-šu*] / [*a*-]<sup>*r*</sup>*na* LÚ<sup>*r*</sup>.'MÁŠ-KIM<sup>*r*</sup>[...].
Line obv. 10—Rainey restores the verb *uš*-[*ši-ir*].</sup>

## ea 67

## AN UNKNOWN RULER IN THE NORTH OF CANAAN TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1591. COPIES: WA 186; VS 11, 31. COLLATION: 17.10.2003 and 02.10.2006 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:137); Giles (1997:387); Liverani (1998:185–186 [LA 147]). COMPOSITION: The seat of the writer is in the former Mittanian territories, north or northeast of Sumur (Goren 92-93).

Since the opening passage is almost completely missing, we cannot deternine the identity of the sender. On the basis of some other letters, Aziru of Amurru might be the one that the writer warns the Egyptian king of his becoming friendly with local cities and with the fortress commanders of Egypt. Perhaps the mentioned ruler of Byblos is the faithless brother of Rib-Hadda (cf. Moran 1992:137 n. 2). Some text is preserved on the obverse of this broken tablet. The reverse is almost completely destroyed, just a few signs and traces are preserved at the beginnings of eight lines. Moran (1992:137 n. 2) notes that the language and writing point to a northern orgin. According to Rainey (collation), the letter must have been written after Rib-Hadda had left Byblos.

Line obv. 6—Rainey restores [*a-nu-um- ma i-na-an-na <sup>1</sup>A-zi-ru*] *a-ši-ib i-n*[*a*].

Line obv. 8—Moran's transliteration [*li-iš*]-*a*[*l*-]*mi* at the end of the line is a considerable reconstruction. For the rest of the line, Rainey suggestes [*ù* LUGAL <sup>*d*</sup>UTU-ši be-lí li-iš]-*a*[*l*-]*mi*. Cf. Moran's different rendering (1992:137 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\ \dot{u}$  (rev. 15);  $\ \dot{t}$  (obv. 16).

## ea 68

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1239.

COPIES: WA 80; VS 11, 32.

COLLATION: 13.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:1ff.).

TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling, in ANET, p. 373; Moran (1992:137–138); Giles (1997: 387–388); Liverani (1998:168–169 [LA 132]).

COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81. The clay indicates a recent coastal origin, a provenance at Sidon, Beirut or Byblos (Goren 134–137).

To avoid the danger that the Pharaoh's vassals together with their cities join the '*apîru*, Rib-Hadda asks the king of Egypt to be involved in the

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situation of Ṣumur. Being under the *`apîru* threat, he expresses the hostility directed against Gubla, his city. He also asserts that thanks to Paḥamanata, the commissioner of Pharaoh, Gubla is saved.

- Line obv. 1—[<sup>1</sup>*Ri*]*-ib-ha-ad-*<sup>r</sup>*da*<sup>1</sup>(?); the sign in question might be *du*, but certainly not *di*, cf. Moran (1992:138 n. 1).
- Line obv. 5—*du-na*; Knudtzon and Schröder suggest that this is written over something else. Maybe the scribe wanted to write GA.[KAL], but then thought better of it (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 12—The -*tum* on the right edge is squashed.
- **Line obv. 14**— $\langle i \rangle a$ - $q \acute{u} l$ -m i; the scribe started to write *ia* but squashed it up (Rainey's collation), and see Moran (1992:138 n. 2) who speculates an erased *i* before the *a* that makes the form jussive.
- Line rev. 25—*ma-gal*!(NA-AŠ); following the previous reading of Moran (1950a:146; 2003:100), NA-AŠ is for GAL, but see his different reading *ma-na*-AŠ(?), which does not make any sense (1992:138 n. 3). The gloss sign MA. GAL(!) puts it on the previous line.

There are traces of the following signs: da' (obv. 1); i' (rev. 24);  $tu_4'$  (rev. 29).

### EA 69

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: BM 29856. COPY: BB, 73. COLLATION: 24.01.2000 and 28.07.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:41 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:138); Giles (1997:388); Liverani (1998:169–170 [LA 133]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 134–137).

Since Rib-Hadda feels unsafe because of the strong hostility against him, he asks the Egyptian official to apply for hastening of the regular troops to Canaan.

**Line obv. 9**—Perhaps ' $\dot{u}$ ' *bi-ta-*'*ka* É'?. **Line obv. 10**—The  $\dot{l}$ -*te*<sub>9</sub>- $q\dot{u}$ -*mi* (3rd m.pl.) is a t- form of a weak verb, and the

absence of a consonantal prefix is probably because, in the mind of the scribe, it stood as a calque for his own native suffix conjugation (cf. Izre'el 1978b:53–54).

Line obv. 12—Knudtzon's šá is no longer visible.

- Lines obv. 13–14—The spelling of the verb <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>¬</sup>*na-mu-šu* is typical of 1st c.sg. according to the Amarna Canaanite texts (cf. *EA* 292:15; 296:20). *namāšu* "to depart (from)" (*CAD* A/1:221–222) is often construed with *ištu* (e.g. *EA* 67:23). In our text it is construed with *ina* (line 14), but it is not an error for *ana*. Youngblood (1961:50, 392) has taken *ina* as a reflex of Canaanite *b*-, "with," which requires a most atypical construction for <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>¬</sup>*na-mu-šu*. Rainey prefers the meaning "because of."
- Line obv. 15—The signs of *'ša-ni-tam'* are badly effaced. At the end of the line, the signs from line 25 run in here.
- **Lines obv.** 17–18—[ $\dot{u}$ ] ' $\dot{u}$ -ul i'-le- $\langle i \rangle i$ - $p\acute{e}$ - $\dot{e}$ š / [SIG<sub>5</sub>]-'qa' "I am unable to con[cilia]te the[m]." A variety of infinitives from transitive action verbs can be governed by a finite form of le' $\hat{u}$ , normally with the object dependent upon the infinitive (Rainey *CAT* 2:395). *i*- $p\acute{e}$ - $\dot{e}$ š / [SIG<sub>5</sub>]-'qa' "to con[cilia]te," cf. Moran's *i*-pi-iš [SIG<sub>5</sub>]- q[a] (1992:139 n. 4).

Line rev. 21—Read Ma!-aṣ-pat<sup>KI</sup>, not Ku-aṣ-pat<sup>KI</sup>.

- Line rev. 27—Read *ti-la*!-*qé* "(the bronze) was taken," G stem. 3rd f.sg. passive, but it would have to be *tulqa* (Rainey's collation). See also Moran (1992:139 n. 5; 2003:101).
- **Lines rev. 31–32**—Contrary to Moran (1992:138, 139 n. 7), who compares with *EA* 129:40–42, Rainey (collation) restores a-*na* LUGAL *be-l[i-ka ù yu-ha-mi-it] / a-*<sup>r</sup>*și*<sup>1</sup> É[RIN.MEŠ *pí-țá-ti*] "entreat the king, [your] lo[rd that he *hasten*] coming forth of the re[gular troops.....]." Here *ași* is acc. inf. in construct.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}^{\prime}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{\prime}i^{\prime}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}UGU^{\prime}$  (rev. 11);  ${}^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  (obv. 14, 17);  ${}^{\prime}da^{\prime}$  (rev. 20);  ${}^{\prime}nu^{\prime}$  (rev. 22).

#### EA 70

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: PM I, 25, 1575 (Pushkin Museum). COPY: WA 67. COLLATION: 24.07.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: Museum of Moscow. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:61 ff.).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:139); Giles (1997:388); Liverani (1998:170 [LA134]).

COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The text is badly broken. Only very fragmentary signs are preserved in lines 1–16 and 31. From the restoration of lines 17–31 it is clear that Rib-Hadda requests Nubian troops to protect him until the coming forth of the the regular troops. The tablet has been donated to the Pushkin Museum of Moscow.

Lines obv. 8–9, 12–15—Rainey's restoration.

Line obv. 9—With regard to Knudtzon's *Magdalu*(?), Rainey reconstructs [*nu-kúr*]-*tu-nu* URU *Ma-*<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>[*g*?-*da-lì*].

Line obv. 16—*be-ri-ku-n*[*i*]; with Moran (1992:139 n. 1).

Lo. ed. 19—On "*Meluhha*" (= Nubia, and Nubians and Nubian troops) in the Amarna letters, see discussion and references in Moran (1992:139 n. 2).

Lines rev. 20–21—Cf. Moran (1992:140 n. 3).

- **Line rev. 22**—Rainey restores ti-n[a]-sa- $\langle ru \rangle$ - $^{r}ni^{r}$ , *contra* Knudtzon's ti-n[a-s]a-r[u]m.
- **Line rev. 26**—Read *tu-ba-*( $\dot{u}$ -*na*). Rainey (1974:302) adds the indicative inergic suffix - $\hat{u}na$  to his old restoration *tu-ba-*( $\dot{u}$ ).

## EA 71

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO HAYA, THE VIZIER OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1632.

COPIES: WA 72; VS 11, 33.

COLLATION: 27.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:78 ff.).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:140); Giles (1997:388–389); Liverani (1998: 186–187 [LA 149]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 134-137).

Rib-Hadda complains that Haya, the Egyptian wise vizier, takes no notice of his message to Pharaoh and explains to him that 'Abdi-Ashirta is supported by the lawless *'apîru* men.

Line obv. 1—For the reading *pa-sí-t*[*e*], see Moran (1992:140 n. 1).

- Line obv. 5—On the plural form of *tiddinū*, see references in Moran (1992:140 n. 2).
- **Line obv.** 8—*em*- $\langle q \dot{u} \rangle$ -*ti-ka*; with Albright (1946:12 n. 8) and Moran (1992:140 n. 3).
- Line obv. 24—For more examples of the expression ÉRIN.MEŠ GÌR.MEŠ, see Moran (1992:140 n. 5).
- Lines up. ed. 33–35—Rainey ends the last line with *a-na mu-hi-*[šu]. The suffix -šu is related to *a-šar* "place" and his rendering is "Then what can I [do since] there is no place to which I can enter?" *contra* Moran (1992:140, 141 n. 7) and Giles (1997:389).

There are traces of the following signs:  $yi^{(1)}$  (rev. 30);  $\dot{u}^{(1)}$  (rev. 31).

## EA 72

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1712.

COPY: *VS* 11, 34.

COLLATION: 27.01.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

- TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:100 ff.).
- COMPOSITION: This tablet could be from Sidon, Beirut or Byblos (Goren 136).

The text is too broken. Maybe the request of *EA* 71 to Pharaoh is repeated here (Pintore in Moran 1992:141 n. 1).

Line obv. 2—[*i-nu-ma*]; Rainey's suggestion.

- Line obv. 3—At the end of the line UGU-*ia*, and on the edge *la-a* (Rainey's collation).
- **Lines obv. 4**–**5**—The readings in question, *Ir-q*[*a*-]<sup>*r*</sup>*ta*<sup>*r*</sup> and *Ar-*[*da*]-*<sup><i>r*</sup>*ta*<sup>*r*</sup>, are confirmed by Rainey's collation.

**Lines obv. 14, rev. 28**—Rainey completes ti-iš[-me] (14) and [URU  $\Su$ -mu-] $ra^{\kappa_1}$  (28).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil i \rceil$ ,  $\lceil de^{\rceil}$  (obv. 1);  $\lceil \dot{u} \rceil$  (obv. 7); [a]m (obv. 8); [q]a (obv. 9);  $\lceil na^{\rceil}$  (rev. 10);  $\lceil \check{s}i \rceil$  (rev. 26).

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: BM 29798. COPY: BB, 15. COLLATION: 22.-23.09.1999 and 18.06.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:106 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:141–142); Liverani (1998:187–188 [LA 150]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

During the time that 'Abdi-Ashirta seeks to take control of Amurru, Rib-Hadda explains to Amanappa, his own immediate supervisor in the Egyptian foreign office, how 'Abdi-Ashirta is undermining the local rulers of Amurru (Rainey 2006:80c) and warns Egypt that all these local rulers and their cities will join the '*apîru* men if Pharaoh does not rush to avoid this situation by an auxiliary force.

- Line lo. ed. 20—Youngblood's conjecture *tu-*<sup>r</sup>*ba*<sup>¬</sup>*-ú-na* was confirmed by Rainey (1974:302), *contra* Knudtzon's reading (*VAB* 2/1:370–371, n. b). Moran (1992:142 n. 2) says that traces of only one horizontal are visible, but Rainey (collation) sees the right end of a bottom horizontal.
- **Line rev. 20**—At the beginning of the line Rainey saw traces of  $\dot{u}$ .
- **Lines rev.** 22–23—Rainey reads [i]- $te_9$ -pu-uš / [a]-na ša-a- $ši_x$ (ŠE) and translates "and I will join it (the coming forth)," *contra* Knudtzon's *ni-ti-pu*-uš (1915:370) and Moran's translation (1992:141), "(they say), 'let us join them!". The supposed *ni* can be *i*! Contrast *ni* in lines 28 and 34. See *i* at the head of line 25.
- **Line rev. 25**—*ipēš annûtu*, infinitive as object of *tuba"ûna* ("seek to do this thing"), is a bound form with genitive object *annûtu*. <sup>I</sup>ÌR-*A-ši-ir-ta*; the last parts of -*ši* and -*ir* are on the right edge of the tablet. The sign -*ta* is on the back.
- Line rev. 29—*ti-iq-bu-*<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>¬</sup>; the sign *-bu* and part of *-na* are on the right edge of the tablet. The last part of *-na* is on the back.
- Line rev. 32—The sign MEŠ is on the back of the tablet.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a}, {}^{n}a^{}, {}^{A}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{m}a^{}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{a}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{\dot{u}}$  (obv. 17);  ${}^{n}u^{}$  (obv. 19);  ${}^{\dot{u}}$  contra Knudtzon's [ $\dot{u}$ ] (lo. ed. 20 and also rev. 21);  ${}^{r}pi^{}, {}^{i}i^{}$  (rev. 22);  ${}^{a}i^{}$  (rev. 23);  ${}^{i}i^{}$  (rev. 26);  ${}^{r}su^{}$  (rev. 28);  ${}^{r}na^{}, {}^{r}na^{}$ 

(rev. 29);  ${}^{r}za^{1}$  (rev. 30);  ${}^{r}pa^{1}$  (rev. 34);  ${}^{r}i^{1}$  (rev. 40);  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (up. ed. 41);  ${}^{r}qi^{1}$  (left ed. 43);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (left ed. 45).

### EA 74

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29795.

COPY: BB, 12.

COLLATION: 11.-12.08.1999 and 12.09.2006

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:122 ff.).
- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:142–143); Giles (1997:389–390); Liverani (1998:171–173 [LA 135]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 134–138).

According to Rib-Hadda's report, 'Abdi-Ashirta plans to take control of Byblos after he had already taken Šigata for himself, and the people of Ammiya killed their ruler by his urging.

- Line obv. 13—*šum-ma* (also in line 32) is best rendered "because, since" rather than Moran's "Behold" (1992:155 n. 4).
- Line obv. 16—Contrary to Moran (1992:144 n. 5) and Giles (1997:389) who adopted Knudtzon's *qa-du-nu*, the suggestion of Youngblood (1961:122, 133), GIŠ.É-*nu* "the wood (furnishings) of our houses," was accepted by Rainey. This latter reading would conform to the identical passages in other letters (*EA* 75:12, 81:39, 85:12, 90:37).
- Lines obv. 17–18—For references to other parallels of the proverb, "My field is like a wife with no husband," see Moran (1992:144 n. 6).
- Line obv. 26—<sup>r</sup>*eț*<sup>¬</sup>*la-ku-nu* "your 'lad'"; Rainey (collation) notes that the wedge that can be observed on the upper right hand side favors <sup>r</sup>*eț*<sup>¬</sup>, not EN. For the discussion of <sup>r</sup>*eț*<sup>¬</sup>*la-ku-nu*, see Moran (1992:144 n. 7).
- Lines lo. ed. 29–31, rev. 32–41—For reading and rendering, see Mendenhall (1947a:123–124) and Moran (2003:173 n. 4).
- Line lo. ed. 31—AŠ É NIN.IB "at the temple of Ninurta." On this place, see Moran (1992:144 n. 10).
- Line rev. 32—*ni-ma-qú-ut*!(WA?); the sign *ut*!(WA?) is faint. See also Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:375, n. h). *šum-ma*; see above, line 13.
- Line rev. 36—<sup>r</sup>ù *ki*<sup>-</sup>*tu ti-in*(*-né-pu-uš*)*-ma*; following Albright in Mendenhall (1947a:123–124).

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- Line rev. 56—*a-di* as "(along) with" appears elsewhere in *EA* just in the Jerusalem letters (Moran 1992:145 n. 14).
- Line rev. 57—Knudtzon's reading (*VAB* 2/1:376, n. d) at the end of the line is wrong. Youngblood's *yi-da-*<sup>r</sup>*gal*<sup>¬</sup> [LUGAL] (1961:124) is correct (see also Moran 1992:145 n. 15). Rainey's collation confirms that there is space for LUGAL, and he mentions that this scribe crowds signs on the side of the tablet at the end of lines. *a*[*-na ka-ta*<sub>5</sub>] was restored by Rainey (1975:414).
- Line up. ed. 59—šu-<sup>r</sup>up<sup>1</sup>[-ši-iħ URU-š]u-ma; the verb is not imperative, as Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:376) and Moran (1992:143) render, but stative after jussive to show result. URU-š]u-ma; the pronominal suffix in question is not [-k]a as Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:376, n. f) and Moran (see the latter translation in 1992:143) read, but [-š]u (Rainey's collation).
- Line left ed. 61—The verb *izuzzu* (*yi-zi-iz*) appears in the Canaanite secondary jussive, not as a stative, the usual Akkadian usage.

Line left ed. 64—The *a* sign in ki-[a]- $^{r}ma$ <sup> $\gamma$ </sup> is no longer visible.

There are traces of the following signs: i[a] (obv. 4);  $\lceil ma^{,}$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil L\dot{U}\rceil$ .  $\lceil ME\check{S}\rceil$  (rev. 34);  $\lceil \dot{u}\rceil$  (rev. 36);  $\lceil \dot{u}\rceil$  (rev. 37);  $\lceil pu\rceil$  (rev. 39);  $\lceil i\rceil$ ,  $\lceil na\rceil$  (rev. 46);  $\lceil \check{s}a\rceil$ (rev. 47);  $\lceil URU\rceil$ ,  $\lceil am\rceil$  (rev. 48);  $\lceil \dot{u}\rceil$ ,  $\lceil ul\rceil$  (rev. 50);  $\lceil al\rceil$  (rev. 51);  $\lceil ba\rceil$  (rev. 55);  $\lceil \dot{u}\rceil$  (rev. 57);  $\lceil im\rceil$  contra Knudtzon's [im] (up. ed. 58);  $\lceil i\rceil$ ,  $\lceil na\rceil$  (up. ed. 60);  $\lceil \check{s}u\rceil$ (x2, left ed. 61);  $\lceil a\rceil$ ,  $\lceil ti\rceil$ ,  $\lceil ka\rceil$  (left ed. 62);  $\lceil ma\rceil$  (left ed. 64).

#### EA 75

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4757 (12191). COPY: WA 79. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:155 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:145); Giles (1997:390); Liverani (1998:173–174 [LA 136]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

According to the political catastrophe described by Rib-Hadda, the main threats in the North are the Hittite conquest of the city states which were vassals of the king of Mittani, and the consequences of 'Abdi-Ashirta's political affairs. Line obv. 4—There are traces of 'GA'.

- **Line obv.** 6—*am-qú-*<sup>r</sup>*ut*<sup> $^{1}$ </sup> [*lu-ú*]; following Youngblood (1961:160). See also Rainey (1973:241 n. 41).
- Lines obv. 19–20—The word [*ia-nu*] was restored by Moran (1992:146 n. 3).
- Lines rev. 26–27—Rainey reads [LÚ] URU *Ir-qa-*<sup>-</sup>*ta*<sup>¬</sup>*i-du-ku-*<sup>-</sup>*šu*<sup>¬</sup> / [ÉRIN.] MEŠ GAZ.<sup>-</sup>MEŠ<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:380), Youngblood (1961:156) and Moran (1992:146 n. 4).
- Line rev. 28— $\langle ia \rangle$ -aq-bi; with Moran (1992:146 n. 5).
- **Line rev. 29**—ti·il- $q[\acute{u}]$ ; Rainey's reconstruction does not support Moran's ti-il- $q[\acute{u}$ -n]a (1992:146 n. 6). At the end of the line, Rainey did not see traces of the supposed [-n]a.
- Line rev. 37—KUR.KUR KU.TI.TI (= GÙ.[UN].DI<sub>6</sub>.DI<sub>6</sub>?); the reading and rendering were made hesitantly by Moran (1992:146 n. 7).
- Line rev. 38—Read *Mi-it-ta-ni-ma, contra* Knudtzon's *Mi-it-ta šum(!)-ma* (*VAB* 2/1:378).
- Line rev. 42—The restoration is based on Moran's uncertain translation.

# $\operatorname{EA}76$

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 324

COPIES: WA 74; VS 11, 35

COLLATION: 15.09.2003 and 06.10.2006

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:168 ff.).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:146–147); Liverani (1998:188–189 [LA 151]).

COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 134–138).

Rib-Hadda is complaining about the silence of the Egyptain king, even though 'Abdi-Ashirta continues fulfilling his ambitions by using the *'apîru* men.

**Line obv.** 11—[*a-na ša-a-šu*]; Rainey confirms Youngblood's (1961:11) and Moran's (1992:147 n. 1) reading, contrary to Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:381 n. h) and Schröder's facsimile who saw traces of signs.

Line obv. 16—The *yu* sign at the beginning of the line is no longer visible.

Lines obv. 19–21—This passage, at the bottom of the obverse, is especially broken on the lower left corner. At the edge of the break in line 21, there

are two oblique wedges: Knudtzon assumed that those two wedges were the latter half of a BI sign and supplied a first person imperfect form of  $qab\hat{u}$  "to speak."

Knudtzon reconstructed as follows:

- 19) .....ù la-ka!-ma
- 20)  $[\check{s}]u-t\check{u} \ 2 \ \bar{a}la \ an-ni-[t]a \ \check{u}$
- 21) [a-q]a-[b]i ia-nu a-šar ir-ru-bu
- 19) .....und genommen hat
- 20) [e]r diese 2 Städte, und
- 21) [ich sp]r[e]che: "Es ist kein Ort, wo hineinkommen kann…"
- Moran (1992:146) followed suit: "...and [h]e himself has taken these two cities. [*I s*]*aid*, 'There is no place where [*me*]*n* can enter....'" But their translations did not run smoothly. In seeking an alternative, Rainey noted that the two wedges could easily be the latter part of GA. The signs KAL.GA in line eight would fit exactly in the broken space in line 21. At the edge of the break in line 22, there is the sign  $tu_4$  and the signs URU *Ir-qa-* would just fit the space from the original edge of the tablet (the signs that we have supplied below were copied from the same tablet). These restorations produce a sensible text (see Rainey's collation): "If [h]e takes these two towns, then [he will be stro]ng. There is nowhere that I can enter into. [The city of Irga]tu belongs to him." From the photograph (see WSR), Jeanette Fincke challenged the reading of the first sign in line 20. A crack in the text does make the reading obscure. But there really is only a lone vertical, the final wedge of *šu*. The resulting text begins with a type of conditional sentence unique to the Amarna texts from Canaan. The verb in the protasis is the absolute infinitive with an independent pronoun as subject, while the verb in the apodosis is a stative. For the same construction, cf. EA 362:25-27 (cf. Moran 1950b:170; 2003:54, 70; Rainey 1996:2, 386-388). The verb errubu is obviously 1st c.sg. The reference to 'Irqatu serves to underline the fact hat Rib-Haddi will have no place to which he can flee.
- Line obv. 23—[HUR.S]AG; following Moran's restoration (1992:147 n. 3). At the end of the line Rainey saw the sign PAR (smaller wedges and crack) and read *yi-par-sà* (*yipparsa*, N stem) "cut off," *contra* Moran's readings *y*[*i-za*(*!*)]-*az* (1950a:149; 2003:102) or PI-x-Za: x= BAR (1992:147 n. 3) and *contra* Youngblood (1961:168).
- Lines rev. 27–29—Moran's reading and rendering (1992:147 n. 4) are paralleled in several letters of Rib-Hadda; see also Youngblood (1961:169). Con-

trary to Moran,  $ki^{}(\text{line 27})$  and  $\dot{u}^{}(\text{line 28})$  were not clear to Rainey. In line 28 Rainey saw no traces of the logogram É, as opposed to Moran.

Lines rev. 30–31—The restorations were suggested by Youngblood (1961: 169).

Lines rev. 39–40—On the translation and the writer shifting between second and third person in addressing the king, see Moran (1992:147 n. 6).

There are still traces of the following signs: 'KUR' (obv. 11); 'a', 'ia' (obv. 10); 'qa' (obv. 13); 'i' (obv. 17); 'li' (obv. 18); m<sup>r</sup>e' (obv. 24); 'ù' (rev. 37); 'pu' (rev. 39); 'i', 'na' (rev. 46); 'ša' (rev. 47); 'URU', 'am' (rev. 48); 'ù', 'ul' (rev. 50); 'al' (rev. 51); 'ba' (rev. 55); 'ù' (rev. 57); 'im' contra Knudtzon's [im] (up. ed. 58); 'i', 'na' (up. ed. 60); 'šu' (x2, left ed. 61); 'a', 'ti', 'ka' (left ed. 62); 'ma' (left ed. 64).

## EA 77

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: VAT 1635 + 1700. COPIES: WA 81 (only 1635); VS 11, 36. COLLATION: 27.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:178 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:147–148); Giles (1997:391); Liverani (1998:269– 270 [LA 137]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 134–139).

Rib-Hadda is forced to use Milkayu's supply of ivory as payment for food supplies from the king of Tyre. He is also distressed because he is afraid to be killed by his yeoman farmers. He wishes that *'apîru* men will be driven off from the city rulers by the regular troops headed by Amanappa. Since this text is broken, it is replete with problems.

Lines obv. 3–5—Cf. Moran (1992:148 n. 1). In the restoration of line 3, Rainey did not see enough room for *ša*. TÉŠ = *baštu* "honor."

**Lines obv. 6–11**—This is a complex sentence with an *inūma* clause in first position.

**Line obv.** 8—The sign SI for ši is not common but not unknown in *EA*, cf. the spelling with š[i] in line 10. Moran (1992:148 n. 2) objects to the

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reference to ivory since that commodity is so abundant in Egypt. However, there were elephants in the Orontes Valley, and, as Rainey suggests in his restoration (line 10) and rendering (as in line 12), it was crafted ivory that was being requested by Pharaoh. Read *ší-in*<sub>4</sub>-*ni-m*[*i ti-*]<sup>*r*</sup>*i*<sup>-</sup>*de* <sup>d</sup>NIN. Contrary to Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:385 n. d) and Moran's LID, the sign in question that Schröder's facsimile shows is a *mi*, and is indeed *-mi*. Compare *mi* in line 18; see also Youngblood (1961:178).

- **Line obv. 9**— $\bar{\iota}\check{s}u$ ; this could be the Akkadian transitive  $\bar{\iota}\check{s}u$  being used intransitively (after all, the preterite functioned as a stative in Akkadian and the Canaanite scribes knew about statives) like the existential particle  $y\bar{e}\check{s}$  in Hebrew (Rainey 1995–1996:112–113).
- Line obv. 10—Rainey completes, at the end of the line, [*pí-r*]*i* "[elepha]nt," *contra* Knudtzon's (*VAB* 2/1:384) and Moran's [*e*]*rî* "copper."
- **Line obv. 11**—Rainey's reading and rendering are *a-na ia-ši* ' $\dot{u}$ '[URU].KI-'li'-*ši*<sub>x</sub>(ŠE) "either to me or to her [cit]y!" (collation).
- **Line obv.** 12—<sup> $r_1$ </sup>*Mil-ka-yu*, a reading discerned by Moran (1992:148 n. 5). Rainey (1995–1996:113) notes that the 'NÁ' (*eršu* = "bed") sign fits the traces and would be appropriate with the verb *maḥāşu* "to overlay" (*CAD* M/1:79a; cf. *EA* 26:43; 27:51) as seen by Moran. He preferred this reading to his old suggestion '*ul*' (Rainey 1973:243). Moran (1992:148 n. 3) objected that the negative particle is always written *ú-ul*, but on this same tablet in line 37 (albeit on the left side) there is another example of the simple *ul* (there does not seem to be enough space for the [*ú*] before the *ul* sign).
- Lines obv. 13–15—Rainey notes that Rib-Hadda was forced to use Milkayu's supply of ivory as payment for food supplies from the king of Tyre (Rainey 1995–1996:113).
- Line lo. ed. 16—Youngblood (1961:178) completes  $[\acute{u}-ul]$ , *contra* Knudtzon's  $[lu-\acute{u}]$ . The restoration  $[pu-u\check{s}-]qa-i$  was suggested by Moran (1992:148 n. 6). Rainey renders  $[\acute{u}-ul]$  ti-i-de $[pu-u\check{s}-]qa-ia$  as a rhetorical question with  $[\acute{u}-ul]$ . It seems to him more appropriate than an asseveration with  $[lu-\acute{u}]$  that Moran (1992:147) suggested. See also Rainey (1995–1996:113).
- Line rev. 19—Rainey (collation) reads *ub-ri* U[R.GI<sub>7</sub>] and adds a note that the "UR" is difficult but not impossible for Byblos.
- Lines lo. ed. 17-rev. 20—Rainey proposes a hypothetical reconstruction that suits the traces and makes perfect sense.
- Line rev. 21—*ta-aq*[-*bu*]; with Moran's correction (1992:148 n. 7), *contra* Knudtzon's *ta-aq*[-*bi*].
- Lines rev. 21–25—Contrary to Moran (1992:147–148), Rainey suggests a question, "[W]on't you spea[k t]o your lord...?" The use of the negative *ul* in

the first clause and the energic on the verb in the second clause both point to the interrogative nature of the syntagma. The two verbs in the second and third clauses are indicative imperfect, which means that the same mode and tense should be assumed in the first clause, thus ta-aq[-bu] (Rainey 1995–1996:113).

Lines rev. 31-up. ed. 35—Moran's restorations and rendering on the basis of parallels are perfect (collation).

There are traces of the following signs: a''(obv. 7); ru''(rev. 37).

### EA 78

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1282. COPIES: WA 84; VS 11, 37. COLLATION: 13.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:191 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:148–149); Liverani (1998:175–176 [LA 138]). COMPOSITION: The tablet was made at Sidon (Goren 139).

Rib-Hadda requests garrison troops from Pharaoh because of the hostility of 'Abdi-Ashirta. This tablet is too broken. The obverse can be reconstructed by the traces and parallels in other Byblos letters; not so the broken or the missing lines on the reverse.

Line obv. 2—Knudtzon's suggestion for K[I] is based on

quite likely.

- Line rev. 30—In *EA* the word <sup>r</sup>ŠE<sup>1</sup>.ZÍZ.HI.A (= *kunāšu* "emmer") appears only here (Moran 1992:149 n. 1).
- **Line rev. 39**—Rainey confirms the reading of Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:388) and Youngblood (1961:192), *contra* Moran (1982:149 n. 2). He also notes the traces of  $rar^{1}$  today.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}hu^{1}$  (obv. 11).

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1634. COPIES: WA 75; VS 11, 38. COLLATION: 28.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:197 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:149); Liverani (1998:176–177 [LA 139]). COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 139–140).

As mentioned in the previous letters, Rib-Hadda repeats his request for garrison troops until the arrival of regular troops at his two cities, to avoid that all the Egyptian territories join the *`apîru* men.

Lines rev. 28, 32—There are traces of  $\lceil qa \rceil$  and  $\lceil \dot{u} mi-im-ma \rceil$  today. Line rev. 33—On the form *yu-da-na-ni*, see Moran (1992:150 n. 2). Line left ed. 46—Read [*yi-il*-] $q\dot{u}$ ; see Moran (1992:150 n. 3).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}\check{s}u^{\prime}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{\prime}tu^{\prime}$  (rev. 21);  ${}^{\prime}tu^{\prime}$  (rev. 21);  ${}^{\prime}na^{\prime}$  (rev. 27);  ${}^{\prime}qa^{\prime}$  (rev. 28);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}$  *mi-im-ma*<sup> $\prime$ </sup> (rev. 32);  ${}^{\prime}ka^{\prime}$  (rev. 33).

### EA 80

## RIB-HADDA (?), THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1711. COPY: VS 11, 39. COLLATION: 03.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:205 ff.). COMPOSITION: No conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 303–304).

Too fragmentary to reconstruct.

### EA 81

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1318. COPIES: WA 89; *VS* 11, 40. COLLATION: 14.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:210 ff.). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:150–151); Giles (1997:391); Liverani (1998:177– 178 [LA 140]).

COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as EA 72 (Goren 136).

With the background of 'Abdi-Ashirta's inciting assassination, Rib-Hadda reports that the men of Byblos betray him, and he killed a man who had tried to murder him. The reconstructions of this broken tablet were suggested by Knudtzon, Moran, Youngblood and Rainey. Most of them are based on parallelism of other letters by Rib-Hadda.

Line obv. 11—[URU *Gub-l*]<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>; with Moran (1992:151 n. 1).

Line obv. 14—*ar*-(*nu*); see Moran (1992:151 n. 2).

Line obv. 15—GÍR \  $^{r}pat^{-}[r]a$ ; see Moran (1992:151 n. 3).

Line obv. 17—Following Moran's reconstruction (1992:151 n. 4).

Line obv. 25—Youngblood reconstructs at the beginning of the line [*ù ki-na-an-n*]*a* (1961:211). Rainey saw enough room only for [*ki-na-n*]*a*.

Lines obv. 26, lo. ed. 27–28, rev. 29—Following Moran's free reconstruction (1992:151 n. 8).

Line rev. 33—(*a-qa-bu-na*); cf. *EA* 85:11 and Moran (1992:151 n. 10).

Line rev. 42—Youngblood (1961:211) had restored [*ki-a-m*]*a*. Rainey saw no traces of *ma*.

Line rev. 43—Rainey (collation) reads [TI.LA] = *balțu* "life."

Lines rev. 53–54—Rainey reconstructs  $[a-na ia-ši-nu]^{\Gamma} \dot{u}^{\uparrow} \dot{l}-t[e_9]^{-\Gamma}q \dot{u}^{\uparrow} / [URU Bat-ru-na a-na ša-a-šu].$ 

Lines up. ed. 58–59—Rainey reconstructs ['ÌR-A-ši-ir-ta ]il-te<sub>9</sub>-qi / [URU  $\dot{s}a$ -a it]-ti-ia.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}Bat^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}ku^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{1}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{r}\check{s}u^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}URU^{1}$  (obv. 17);  ${}^{r}Su^{1}$  (rev. 48).

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: BM 37648.

- COPY: Scheil (1892:306).
- COLLATION: 06.08.1999 and 02.08.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Albright and Moran (1948:241–242); Youngblood (1961:224–227).

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:152); Liverani (1998:178–179 [LA 141]).
- COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 140).

Rib-Hadda says that if the regular troops do not come in two months, he'll abandon his city in order to save his life.

- **Lines rev. 29–30**—*ú-ṣa-ka* KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ; probably G stem passive 3rd m.sg. collective, *qatal* + ventive (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 30—*iš-tu ša-šu*; Knudtzon (*VAB*  $_2/_{1:398}$ ) reads *ša-šu-nu*, but his *-nu* is the  $ta_5$  from line 18 (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 35–36—*ú-ul i-nu-ma / uš-ši-ir-ti* ("Is it not that I sent"); perhaps this syntactic order points out a metathesis (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 38—*am-ma-ha-aṣ-ni*(?); the sign *-ni* is highly questionable grammatically and graphically, cf. *ni* in line 40 2x (Rainey's collation).
- Line left ed. 50—ÉRIN(!) looks like

Assyrian form. ta-sa-as may be 2nd m.sg., with the negative ú-ul used in a negative jussive "do not be angry!" (Rainey's collation).

Line left ed. 51—*na-aq-ṣa-pu*; actually, the scribe drew the sign A for ṢA (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a}, {}^{n}a^{}, {}^{A}, i^{r}a^{}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{n}a^{}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{i}\dot{u}^{}$  (obv. 20);  ${}^{a}q^{}$  (obv. 21);  ${}^{i}i^{a}$  (rev. 46).

## ea 83

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29797. COPY: BB, 14. COLLATION: 07.09.1999 and 17.06.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:237–241). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:153–154); Liverani (1998:189–190 [LA 152]). COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 140–141).

Since Rib-Hadda's pleas for garrison troops and horses are not answered, he uses threats. For staying alive, he writes that he himself will make a treaty with 'Abdi-Ashirta. The tablet had been partially lined prior to writing. Traces show up between signs. The TA signs are not at all like BB (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 13—The tup sign is very faint.

- **Line obv. 20**—UD. KAM<sup>v</sup>.MEŠ(-*ka*) "(your) days"; the proposed -(*ka*) gives a logical and suitable reading (Rainey 1989–1990:59a).
- Line obv. 23—*šu-te-ra* "send" (imperative); Š forms of *târu* are found only in the Amarna letters from Canaan (*AHw*:1336a; Youngblood 1961:244; *CAT* 2:182).
- **Lines obv. 27-rev. 29**—The two subjects of *paṭrā* are two towns. Since they are two feminines in Canaanite, perhaps the subject is plural feminine, not plural masculine with *-a* suffix as Moran suggested (1950:60) (Rainey's collation).
- **Line rev. 30**—[*t*]*a-din-ni*; Rainey (collation) notes that he could see tiny marks of *ta*, which seems like *ta* in line 6, and adds that it cannot be  $ta_5$  (UD) as Moran thought (1992:154 n. 2).
- Lines rev. 38–39—At the beginning of line 38 Rainey observed 3, *contra* Knudtzon's 2. Contrary to Moran (1992:153), Rainey translates, "As for the three men of 'Ibirta, behold they are in the house of Yanḥamu."

Line rev. 38—The sign -ta is written

Line rev. 40—On  $all\hat{u}(mi)$ , the presentation particle to introduce clauses, see *CAT* 3:159 ff.

Line rev. 41—-mu is written

- **Line rev. 42**—Rainey's reading  $(in_4)$ -*né-ep-šu* (also 1973:252) was accepted by Moran (1992:154 n. 6).
- Line rev. 43—The sign in question is indeed <sup>r</sup>ši<sup>¬</sup>. Rainey rejects the other possibility of Knudtzon's *me* (*VAB* 2/1: 403 n. g).
- Line rev. 44—Moran wants to apply *a-na ša-šu* to the end of line 45, but his argument does not fit the situation (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 45—Here is a conditional clause with jussive *lā tiqbi*.

Line up. ed. 56—[*ti-ka*]<sup>r</sup>*ra*<sup>¬</sup>-*b*[*u*]; following Moran (1992:154 n. 9).

There are traces of the following signs:  $`a^{1}$  (obv. 1);  $`ru^{1}$  (obv. 7);  $`\dot{u}^{1}$  contra Knudtzon's  $[\dot{u}]$ ,  $`in_{4}^{1}$  (obv. 13);  $`yu^{1}$  (obv. 19);  $`ša^{1}$  (obv. 21);  $`tu^{1}$  (obv. 23);  $`ki^{1}$ ,  $`im^{1}$  (obv. 26);  $`URU^{1}$  (lo. ed. 29);  $`ta^{1}$  (rev. 30);  $`ra^{1}$  (rev. 34);  $`ta^{1}$  (rev. 36);  $`UGU^{1}$  (rev. 42);  $`ul^{1}$  (rev. 43);  $`sum^{1}$ ,  $`ma^{1}$  (rev. 45).

## EA 84

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1633. COPIES: WA 73; VS 11, 41. COLLATION: 28.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:252–255). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:154–155); Liverani (1998:190–191 [LA 153]). COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 141).

In this text, Rib-Hadda denies the rumor that his city was seized, but informs the king that the officials have left the city and that the situation is difficult for the lands of the king.

- Line obv. 10—KUR.KI-š*u*; Rainey confirms Schröder's facsimile, *contra* Youngblood (1961:252) and Moran (1992:155 n. 2).
- Line obv. 14—É u[r-ši BAD-]ia; this restoration was suggested by Young-blood (1961:252); see also Moran (1992:155 n. 3).

Line obv. 17—LÚ.LUL; following Moran (1992:155 n. 4).

Lines lo. ed. 20–21—Cf. Moran (1992:155 n. 5).

**Line rev. 23**—Rainey (collation) restores and renders [*ka-li* LÚ.MEŠ] *qí-ip-tu*<sub>4</sub> "[all the men,] the officials."

- Line rev. 24—[*pa-aț-ru*] is reconstructed by Moran (1992:155–156 n. 7). Youngblood's *ma-ri-iş ma-*[*gal*] (1961:253) was adopted by Moran (1992: 155–156 n. 7).
- Line rev. 27—*qa-d*[*u* ÉRIN.MEŠ]; with Youngblood (1961:253) and Moran (1992:156 n. 8).
- Line rev. 29—Rainey reads *ip-'țù-ra*' (1975:411 and collation). He also notes that -*'ra*' is written like in line 31 (collation), *contra* Moran's *ib-ni* SIG<sub>4</sub> (1981:45 n. 5; 2003:292 n. 5).
- **Line rev. 32**—The scribe uses  $\acute{u}$  for the conjunction (Knudtzon 1915:406 n. a., and see discussion and examples of this rare usage in *CAT* 3:98).
- Line rev. 33—Moran's rendering "to the king" (1992:155) is wrong. There is no LUGAL (Rainey 1995–1996:112–113).
- Line rev. 39—Notice that *amur* introduces an extraposition. The verb  $u\check{s}\check{s}irti$  is written with  $\check{s}ir_4$  (cf. Moran 1992:156 n. 13).
- Line up. ed. 40—Rainey reads and renders LÚ *kir-*<sup>r</sup>*dib*<sup>¬</sup> "the groom," *contra* Youngblood (1961:253).
- Line left ed. 44— $[\dot{u} \times DUG]$  SAR *ye-ni* "[and *x*] *šaḥarru* jar(s) of wine"; SAR = *saḥar, sakar* (Borger 2003:359 No. 541). As for DUG.SAR = *šaḥarru, CAD* (Š/1:80a) describes jars.

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>*r*</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 37); <sup>*r*</sup>*mur*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 39); <sup>*r*</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup> (left ed. 42).

## EA 85

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1626.

COP IES: WA 48; VS 11, 42.

COLLATION: 29.-30.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:264-271).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:156–157); Giles (1997:392–393); Liverani (1998: 191–193 [LA 154]).

COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as EA 72 and 81 (Goren 141).

Rib-Hadda asks Pharaoh for grain in ships, since he was attacked and his grain was robbed.

Line obv. 6—*ki-a-ma-am* is written for *ki-a-am-ma*.

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- Line obv. 7—The energic *yi-ìš-mu-na* strengthens the case for a negative clause. The *a* sign at the beginning of the line is no longer visible.
- Line obv. 26—The WS gloss *hu-țá-ri-ma* ("the branches") is also in Nuzi (*AHw*:362b).
- Line obv. 29—The reading *i*-na  $\langle \check{S}U \rangle$  is proposed by Rainey 1988:213.
- Line obv. 30—The verb '*ad*'-*di* from *nadû*.
- Lines obv. 34–37—Cf. Moran (2003:43, 215, 336 n. 28). For Yarimuta (line 35), see note in Rainey (2006:94b).
- Line obv. 38—Moran's *ti-š*[*a-i-l*]*u* (1992:157 n. 6) seems more likely than Knudtzon's *ti-m*[*a-li-k*]*u* (*VAB* 2/1:408 and *VAB* 2/2:1591).
- Line obv. 39—The forms *li-i*[*b-lu-ut*] and [*li-ib-lu-*]*ut* (line 86) of the root *balāțu* occur in one letter and similar context; they are included especially since the break occurs at the beginning of one form and at the end of the second one, hence one may restore these forms with certainty.
- Line obv. 40—Rainey (1995–1996:113) proposes that the adverb *adi* probably has its WS value (= Hebrew *'ôd*), *contra* Moran's appeal to a Mari usage (1992:158 n. 7).
- Lines lo. ed. 41–43—The reading follows Moran (1992:158 n. 8).
- Line rev. 44—[a-]<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>¬</sup>-m[a]; Rainey's reading confirms Moran's restoration [a-nu-ma] (Moran 1992:158 n. 9). <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>¬</sup> $[-ka \dot{u}]$ ; with Moran (1992:158 n. 9). But notice that contrary to the latter now there are traces of <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>¬</sup>.
- Line rev. 46—<sup>r</sup>KUR-*ia*<sup>'</sup>; Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:408 No. l) noted that it may be -*ia* and not -*ka*. Rainey (collation) notes that there is a clear -*a*.
- Line rev. 47—Contrary to Knudtzon's URU (*VAB* 2/1:408) and Moran (1992: 157), [KUR]-*ka* is more logical and fits the space (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 49—Read [y]i-[il]-qé KÙ.BABBAR.M[EŠ a-ka-]<sup>r</sup>li<sup>1</sup> (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 51–55—For discussion of these lines, see Altman (2003:345–371).
- Line rev. 56—Read *i-re-eš-ti*- $^{r}i^{r}a^{r}$  (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 57–58—Rainey (collation) completes the sign '*na*' that he saw at the end of line 57. The rest of the reconstruction of both lines follows Moran (1992:158 n. 10).
- Line rev. 65—The verb [*yu*]-*qa-bu* (built on the Akkadian present-future theme) is most likely passive 3rd m.sg., either [*yu*]-*qa-bu* Gp or [*yi*]-*qa-bu* for N (Rainey 1995–1996:113; *CAT* 2:78).
- Line rev. 66—1 *ha-za-nu*; the meaning is probably "one city ruler" (with Moran 1992:158 n. 11).
- **Lines rev. 69–73**—In this passage, the absolute form of the deictic pronoun *šu-wa-at* (line 72) is for emphasis on a time designation (Rainey 1995–1996:113).

- Line rev. 74—*mi*-[*a*]*m*-*ma*; the sign is -*am* instead of -*im* (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 79—Rainey confirms Knudtzon's UD. KAM<sup>v</sup>.MEŠ (*VAB* 2/1:411 n. h). In Schröder's facsimile, there is no KAM<sup>v</sup>.
- Lines up. ed. 82-left ed. 84—Contrary to Moran's reading that is followed here with only a minor change, this difficult syntax may be taken as a conditional sentence.
- **Line up. ed. 82**— $[pi-ta-]^rti^{"}$ ; there are traces of  $^rti^{"}$  on the edge (Rainey's collation), *contra* Moran (1992:158 n. 12).
- Line left ed. 87—Here Rib-Hadda requires the return of the lady Ummahnu; therefore, Rainey (collation) restores [*uš-ši-ra-*]*na* "[sen]d" at the beginning of the line.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\Gamma}EN^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{\Gamma}R^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{\Gamma}EN^{1}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{r}ia^{1}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}am^{1}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{\Gamma}EN^{1}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{r}da^{1}$  (obv. 21);  ${}^{\Gamma}SE^{1}$  (obv. 35);  ${}^{r}pa^{1}$  (obv. 36);  ${}^{r}it^{1}$  (obv. 38);  ${}^{r}sa^{1}$  (obv. 39);  ${}^{\Gamma}URU^{1}$  (rev. 44);  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$  (rev. 45);  ${}^{r}u^{1}$  (rev. 46);  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$  (rev. 50);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 51);  ${}^{r}na^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 55);  ${}^{r}IR^{1}$  (rev. 64);  ${}^{r}nu^{1}$  (up. ed. 83);  ${}^{r}ru^{1}$  (rev. 85).

#### EA 86

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: BM 29804.

COPY: BB, 21.

COLLATION: 06.11.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:283-286).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:158); Giles (1997:393); Liverani (1998:193–194 [LA 155]).

COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is as *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 141–142).

Rib-Hadda asks for either grain from the produce of the land of Yarmuta, or ships to go out of the city. Notice above the correct number of the text, contrary to Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:412).

**Line obv.** 5— $i[a-\check{s}i]$ ; with Youngblood (1961:287) and Moran (1992:159 n. 1). **Lines obv.** 9–10—Moran's interpretation of  $[ti-]^r\check{s}a^{1}-si_{17}$  is correct. This verb

must be 3rd f.sg. with Amurru as the subject, but contrary to him, also [*ti-i*]*q-ta-bu* (in line 10) must be related to Amurru (Rainey 1995–1996:113). Line oby. 13—*la-a ta*[-*aq-bu*]; following Moran (1992:159 n. 3).

- Line obv. 14—Read  $[\dot{u}]$  at the beginning of the line, as Knudtzon suggested. There is no room for Moran's [at-ta] (Moran 1992:159 n. 3). At the end of the line, it has to be É[RIN.MEŠ] (cf. BB), contrary to Moran's note.
- Line obv. 16—Rainey reads (I)M.ŠE.HI.A "grain." Youngblood (1961:288–289) saw the aberrant Sumerogram HI.ŠE.HI.A as an error for ŠE.-*IM*. HI.A (*contra* Moran 1992:159 n. 4).
- Line obv. 17—*šu-u*[*t*...]; Rainey (collation) says that the sign has to be *šu*, not *na* as Knudtzon suggested (*VAB* 2/1:412 n. o).
- Line rev. 27—Rainey (collation) completes *Ia-r*[*i-mu-ta*], even the determinative KUR is not written here as in lines 33 and 46.
- **Line rev. 28**—Read ' $\dot{u}$ ' in spite of Knudtzon's note (*VAB* 2/1:414 n. b). There is just barely enough space at the beginning of the line (9 mm.), compare  $\dot{u}$  at the beginning of line 32.
- Line rev. 32—There is not room for *a*-[*na URU Gub-la*], as Youngblood (1961:284) read. Rainey (collation) restores *a*-[*na* ÌR-š*u*].
- Lines rev. 36–37—*a*-*di na*[-*da*-*an*-*šu*?] / *šàr*-*ru* "until the king [has given it?]"; the last sign in line 36 is clearly *na*, not Knudtzon's *yi*. The nominative *šarru* shows that the verb has to be finite (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 40—*a-na na-da-ni a-na* A[NŠE.KUR.RA]; following Youngblood (1961:292). See also Moran (1992:159 n. 7), who compares this phrase with *EA* 107:37–38.
- Line rev. 50—Rainey (collation) reads [*nu*]-*sa* and notes that there is no need for Knudtzon's [*a*-*na*-*ku*].

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}um$ ,  ${}^{r}d$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}qu'$  (obv. 11); n[a] (obv. 19);  ${}^{r}ki$  (rev. 34);  ${}^{r}a$  (rev. 35).

# EA 87

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: BM 29805. COPY: BB, 22. COLLATION: 17.-20.11.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:294–296).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:159); Giles (1997:393); Liverani (1998:181 [LA 143]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 142).

This letter and *EA* 88 were evidently sent by the same scribe at the same time, one to Amanappa and the other to Pharaoh (Rainey 1995–1996:113).

- Line obv. 1—E[N-*ia*]; Youngblood (1961:294) reads B[E-*ia*].
- **Line obv.** 8—tu-uš- $te_9$ - $ti_7$ -iq-ni from š $\bar{u}tuqu$  (cited by CAD E:392b).
- Line obv. 12—At the end of the line, GIŠ then [GIG]IR.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>¬</sup> is written around the edge.
- Lines rev. 16–24—Moran (1992:159 n. 1) follows Rainey (1975:424 f.).
- Line rev. 16— $\dot{u}$ -wa- $\dot{s}i[r_4]\langle -\dot{s}u\rangle$ ; there is no room for Youngblood's [- $\dot{s}u$ ] (1961: 294). At the edge of the tablet there is writing from the reverse. Moran (1992:159) follows Albright's collation, which suggests - $\dot{s}ir_4$  (cf. *EA* 84:39).
- Line rev. 18—*ù i*-š*e*<sub>20</sub>-*me*-*e ú ia*-*nu*-*um* <sup>r</sup>ÉRIN<sup>¬</sup>.MEŠ; here *ú* is probably in the sense of coordinating *ù*. On this rare usage, see Knudtzon (1915:416 n. c), and for more instances, see above in *EA* 84:3 and *CAT* 3:98. Albright *apud* Moran (2003:118) read *e*-*nu*-*ú ia*-*nu*-*um*, following BB 22 (see also Rainey 1975:424 n. 249; Moran 1992:160 n. 2; 2003:110).

Line rev. 22—*i*-na <sup>r</sup>*lib*<sup>1</sup>-*bi*; line 8 comes in here.

- Line rev. 25—[*a-mu*]*r* qú*-ru-ud-mi*; contrary to Youngblood's [šá*-ni-ta*]*m* (1961:294). Like Knudtzon (*VAB* 2/1:416 n. f), Rainey saw one wedge like in *mur* before the sign qú. On qú*-ru-ud-mi*, see Moran (1992:160 n. 4).
- Line rev. 26—[*tu-sa-a*]*m*, with Youngblood (1961:294). See Rainey (1975: 424); Moran (1992:160 n. 5). At the end of the line read SIG<sub>5</sub>.
- Line rev. 27—Rainey (collation) reads  $\dot{u} \, \acute{u}$ -"se"[-er] / [ÉRIN.]MEŠ *it-ti-šu*.
- **Line up. ed. 29**—[i-]*sa-am*; the same verb appears in previous lines as u*s-sa-am* (line 17), but the first sign in line 29 cannot be u*s* as there is not enough space for it (Knudtzon 1915:417 n. k). At the end of the line there are traces of u[r] (Rainey's collation).
- **Line left ed. 31**—BA.ÚŠ-*at* is a rare ideographic spelling *amāt* (see *CAT* 2:56).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}qi^{}(obv. 2); {}^{r}u^{}(lo. ed. 14); {}^{r}lib^{}(rev. 22).$ 

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29800.

COPY: BB, 17.

COLLATION: 20.09.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:305-309).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:160–161); Giles (1997:394); Liverani (1998:179–180 [LA 142]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 142).

Rib-Hadda is distressed since his own city is now under attack.

Line obv. 2—The restoration follows Moran (1992:161 n. 1).

- Line obv. 9—The *mi-nu-<sup>r</sup>um-mi*<sup>¬</sup> is most likely used as the personal interrogative "who" (Rainey 1995–1996:113), not the impersonal "what" suggested by Moran (1992:160).
- **Line obv. 10**—On the rare usage of  $\dot{u}$  for the conjunction, see Knudtzon (1915:418 n. f), and for more instances, see above (*EA* 84:32).
- Lines obv. 13–21—On the reading and analysis of this passage, see Rainey (1975:425; 2003:194<sup>\*</sup>); Moran (1992:161 n. 2).
- Line obv. 14— $[il-]^r q e^{\gamma}$ ; following Youngblood (1961:305, 312); Moran (1992: 161); cf. line 16.
- Line obv. 18—[a-]<sup>*r*</sup>*mur*<sup>1</sup> URU.KI!; contrary to Knudtzon and Moran (1992:161 n. 3), UD is actually KI. Careful scrutiny reveals tiny traces of a slanted wedge at the lower left corner of this later sign. Cf. URU.KI in line 14. Knudtzon's lim [ga]b-bi is ŠI + x followed by BI, which must be read <sup>*r*</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>*r*</sup>  $p\acute{\iota}$ . <sup>*r*</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>1</sup> is 12 mm (Rainey 2003:194\* and collation).
- Line obv. 19—Read Knudtzon's *ma-ni*, not BB's *lu-ú*. Moran's reading *la* before the verb (1960:17 n. 2) is correct, *contra* Knudtzon's *ši* (*VAB* 2/1:418).
- **Line obv.** 21—EDIN =  $s\bar{e}ri$ ; note Moran's brilliant correction (2003:286; 1992:161 n. 4), instead of Knudtzon's am-ru<sup>meš</sup>.
- Line obv. 22—șa-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>¬</sup>-ta-am[....]; there is no  $\dot{u}$  after the sign -am, contra Knudtzon and Moran.
- Line obv. 23— $a[-na a-wa-te \tilde{1}]$ R-su; there is just barely enough room around the edge for this reconstruction (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 24—[*lu-ú*]-*ha-mu-tám*; see Moran (1992:161 n. 7).
- Line obv. 25—*ti*[-*şú-ru*]; Knudtzon's *ti*[-*șu-ru-na*] is unlikely by the rules of modal sequence (see Moran 1992:161 n. 9 and Rainey 1975:415).

- **Line obv. 26**—Rainey's collation completes [URU.KI] BAD-<sup>*r*</sup>*ia*<sup>¬</sup> and notes that contrary to Knudtzon and Moran, there is no space for LUGAL.
- Line rev. 33—*ti-né-ep-šu*; the sign *-šu* is raised above signs from the other side.
- Line rev. 35—With Moran's *a-na* ÌR!-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>¬</sup> (1992:161 n. 11), *contra* Knudtzon's reading.
- Line rev. 36—Rainey (collation) reads  $na \langle sa \rangle ri su^{-1}$ .
- **Line rev. 39**—Moran's reading  $\acute{u}$  *bal*- $\langle !\acute{a} \rangle$ -*ti* (Moran 1992:161 n. 12) is paralleled in several letters of Rib-Hadda. At the beginning of the line, the *a* sign is no longer visible.
- **Line rev. 43**—The reconstruction  $\check{s}[u-nu]$  is based on Moran's translation. It is either possessive suffix or demonstrative pronoun. There is not enough room for  $\check{s}[u-nu-ti]$  unless the scribe crowded the signs considerably (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 46—Note *šàr* URU *Ak-ka* "the king of Akkā," not LÚ URU *Ak-ka* "the ruler (man) of Akkā" as in *EA* 366:22 (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 50—"[but] they [too]k two horses [of m]y [man]." With Kühne (1973:107 n. 525) against Moran's interpretation (1992:161).
- **Line rev. 51**—Maybe Moran (1992:162 n. 14) had the right idea, but the sign has to be *'ti*', so Rainey proposes [*i-na ri-qú-*]*'ti la*' *uṣ-ṣa-am* (collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{ra'}(obv. 3)$ ;  ${}^{rut'}(obv. 4)$ ;  ${}^{rAr'}(obv. 5)$ ;  ${}^{rum'}, {}^{rmi'}(obv. 9)$ ;  ${}^{rba'}(obv. 22)$ ;  ${}^{ria'}(obv. 26)$ ;  ${}^{rka'}(lo. ed. 27)$ ;  ${}^{rna'}(rev. 39)$ .

## ea 89

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1627.

COPIES: WA 49; VS 11, 43.

COLLATION: 31.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Albright and Moran (1950:164–165 = Moran 2003:143–150; 1992:162–163); Youngblood (1961:322–327).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:162–163); Giles (1997:394); Liverani (1998:181– 183 [LA 144]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 143).

The Tyre events are exposed in this letter. For the content and the interpreation of *EA* 89, see Moran (2003:143–150, with Albright).

an (2003:143–150, with Albright).

Line obv. 16—On *na-ad-na pa-ni-nu*, cf. Moran (2003:147).

- **Line obv. 25**—Based upon the contents of line 21 and the available space in line 25, Rainey offers the reconstruction,  $qa[-du a-ha-ti-ia \dot{u} \dot{E}]$ - $\beta u$ .
- Line rev. 35—GUR *i-na ba-li-i*[*t a-hi-ia*]; the meaning is quite uncertain (Moran 1992:162). Rainey's proposal, "During the life of [my brother]," seems required by the context.

Lines rev. 58, left ed. 67—On the restorations, see Moran (1992:163 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a}{}^{\prime}$  (obv. 18);  ${}^{a}b^{\prime}$  (left ed. 64);  ${}^{a}$ ,  ${}^{n}na^{\prime}$  (left ed. 67).

#### EA 90

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1661.

COPIES: WA 53; VS 11, 44.

COLLATION: 18.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:337–342). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:163–164); Liverani (1998:195–196 [LA 157]). COMPOSITION: The clay type dominates Byblos, and it is also typical of a small group of Tell el-Yahudiyeh vessels from Byblos (Goren 143).

Rib-Hadda says that he had written to the king of Egypt from Shigata and again from Baṭruna to save his city, but his words were not taken to heart. Now, the *'apîru* have taken Pharaoh's cities. The restorations of the broken lines and traces are quite difficult. Here and there the signs remain unclear and the readings are speculative.

Line obv. 1—The *na* sign is no longer visible.

**Line obv. 3**—Schröder draws the *ma* sign correctly.  ${}^{ti}$ , according to Rainey. **Line obv. 6**—[il-qe]; with Moran (1992:164 n. 1).

- Line obv. 15—Since Rib-Hadda is speaking about Gubla, the reconstruction ti[-na-sa-ru] (Rainey's collation) seems more likely, *contra* Knudtzon's or Moran's restorations (1992:164 n. 2).
- **Line obv.** 17—Contrary to Moran (1992:164 n. 3), who says that he could not see traces corresponding to Knudtzon's [la-q]a, Rainey saw  $\[\dot{u}\][la-]\]^{r}qa\]^{r}$  written on the right edge and noted that  $laq\hat{a}$  is an infinitive absolute (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv. 19**— $[yi-\hat{u}]$ - $^{r}q\hat{u}$ <sup> $\gamma$ </sup> is 3rd m.sg., not Moran's 3rd m.pl.

**Line obv. 20**—Read  $[a-]^r na^{\gamma}$ , not Knudtzon's [i-n]a (Rainey's collation).

- **Lines obv. 24–25**—Read *i-nu-ma* /  $[yi-]^r \mathcal{U}^- te_9 q \hat{u} \hat{s} \hat{u} n \hat{u}$  "while the *`apîru* [dog] is taking them." The verb is not plural.
- Line obv. 26—[UR.GI<sub>7</sub>]; following Moran (1992:164 n. 5).
- Line obv. 27—[*pa-ni-i*]*a*; see Moran (1992:164 n. 6).

Line obv. 28—[ha-za-nu-tu]; following Youngblood (1961:338).

- Line rev. 44—<sup>r</sup>yi-iš-me<sup>¬</sup>; Moran does not accept Youngblood's yišme at the end of the line that depended on Schröder's facsimile. Rainey (collation) saw traces of <sup>r</sup>yi<sup>¬</sup> and <sup>r</sup>me<sup>¬</sup>.
- Line rev. 45—Rainey (collation) reads [LUGAL EN-*i*]*a* 'ÌR *ki-ti*'-*šu* '*ù uš*-*širu*'.

**Line rev. 49**—Read '*uš-ši*'*-ra-aš-*'*šu-nu*'? '*ù*' *i-re-ši*. Knudtzon's *la* is unlikely; there are traces of '*nu*' (Rainey's collation).

- Line rev. 54— $[g\acute{a}b]-b[u\check{s}a]$ ; with Moran (1992:164 n. 9).
- **Line rev.** 55—Rainey (collation) reads 'HAR'-*šu*. (HAR = *semeru* = "a brace-let"), against Moran, who admitted that his h[a]r-*šu*-*ut*-*ta*-[*ša/ši*-*ru*] is dubious and its context unclear (1992:164 n. 9).
- Line rev. 56—Rainey (collation) corrects Youngblood's restoration (1961: 339).
- Line rev. 57—[*a-na* ÌR-*ka*]; following Youngblood (1961:339).
- Line up. ed. 61— $[\dot{u} ti]^{-r} i l_{5}^{-} q \acute{e}$  KUR [*A-mur-ri*]; see Moran (1992:164 n. 10).
- **Lines left ed. 62–64**—The restorations are based on comparison with *EA* 91:39–41 (with Moran 1992:164; Youngblood 1961:339).

There are traces of the following signs: [a], [na], [ia] (obv. 13); [i], t[a] (obv. 23).

# EA 91

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 931. COPIES: WA 56; VS 11, 45. COLLATION: 22.-23.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:351–354). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:164–165); Liverani (1998:196–197 [LA 158]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 144). Rib-Hadda warns Pharaoh of consequences because he has done nothing to stop the *'apîru* attack.

- Lines obv. 4–6—On the singular forms of the verbs *yi-il-*<sup>r</sup>*qú*<sup>1</sup> (line 4) and *yi-il-qa* (line 6) and therefore <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>GAZ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>r</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (line 5) as also singular, see Moran (1992:165 n. 1).
- Line obv. 12—Read '*yu-dan*'-*ni-in*<sub>4</sub> (Rainey's collation), *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:165 n. 2) who adopted Greenberg's '*yi-da*'-*ni-en*. Perhaps the first *u* in *libbušu* marks an adverb, or maybe it is an error.
- **Lines obv. 14–16**—In line 14 Rainey (collation) had read '*yi-im-ma-qú*'-*ut, contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:165 n. 3). As Moran had observed (see Rainey 1995–1996:114), this latter verb is evidently influenced by the ensuing N stem forms:  $in_4$ -na-ka- $a\dot{s}$  (line 15) and am-ma-sa-a' (line 16). On these N forms, see Youngblood (1961:357). Notice that the verb  $nak\bar{a}su$  is also written with  $\dot{s}$  like  $rak\bar{a}su$ , etc.
- Line rev. 31—Following Moran's restoration (1992:165 n. 5), which is based on comparison with *EA* 133:2.

Lines rev. 33–41—Following Moran's free restoration (Moran 1992:165 n. 6).

Line rev. 45— $[\dot{u} til-la-ti \dot{u}]$  is completed by Rainey's collation.

Line rev. 46—Rainey completes [KUR A-mu-ur-ri].

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{i}a$ ,  ${}^{n}u$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{y}u$ ,  ${}^{b}a$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{n}u$  (rev. 27).

#### EA 92

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 868. COPIES: WA 50; *VS* 11, 46. COLLATION: 23.-24.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:360–365). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:166); Liverani (1998:183–184–270 [LA 145]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 144).

According to Rib-Hadda's report, since Pharaoh did not send supplies and auxiliary troops, 'Abdi-Ashirta moved up against him. Most of the lines in this tablet have traces of signs. Only two lines are entirely missing. **Line obv.** 7—Knudtzon saw  $^{r}g\acute{a}b$ - $ba^{1}$  at the end of the line, Schröder did not. **Line obv.** 11—First sign is  $^{r}nu^{1}$ , not KÚR (Rainey's collation).

- Line obv. 21—*mimmâ* is probably the noun derived from the indefinite pronoun, meaning "possessions; supplies," *contra* Moran's "nothing" (1992: 166); see Rainey (1975:421; 1995–1996:114).
- **Line obv. 23**—*i-te*<sub>9</sub>-*<sup>r</sup>el-lu*<sup> $^{1}$ </sup> (Rainey's collation) is more likely than Moran's *i-te*<sub>9</sub>-*<sup>r</sup>el-la*<sup> $^{1}$ </sup> (1992:166 n. 3).
- Lines obv. 25-up. ed. 26—At the beginning of line 25 there are traces of <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon's *a*[*n*]. Rainey (collation) reads <sup>r</sup>*iš*-*te*<sup>1</sup>-*mé* / <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*nu*-*ma* LÚ.[KIN-*ia*......].
- Lines rev. 29-30—The reading follows Rainey's restoration.
- Lines rev. 32–34—Here LUGAL is used for rulers of Beirut, Sidon and Tyre. Note that in line 33, the writing *Si*, not *Zi*, for the city Siduna is the only case in the Amarna letters.
- **Lines rev. 35–36**—[*al*]-*<sup>rlu-mi^{}* (Moran 2003:111) is better than [*u*]*m*-*<sup>rma^{}-mi* (Moran 1992:166 n. 4). The traces of the *ra^{}* sign at the beginning of line 36 are no longer visible.</sup></sup>
- Lines rev. 37–38—For the restoration, compare Rainey's reading to Moran (1992:166 n. 5–6).
- **Line rev. 39**—<sup>*i*</sup> *ù la iš-ta-pa<sup>¬</sup>-ru*; following Rainey's collation.
- Line rev. 40—*a*-*na* š*a*-<sup>*r*</sup>*al* š*ul*<sup>¬</sup>-*m*[*i*]-*nu*; Moran's completion (1992:166) based on *EA* 96:5–6; 97:3.
- Line rev. 41—*il*-[*qé*]; following Moran (1992:167 n. 9).
- Line rev. 42—*a*-[*di*]; Moran (1992:167 n. 10) cites personal communication with N. Na'aman.
- Line rev. 44—The numeral was evidently intended to be "four" (cf. Moran 1992:167 n. 11; Rainey 1995–1996:114).
- Line rev. 48—On ÉRIN.MEŠ KAL.BA[D].KASKAL MAH(?), see Moran (1992: 167 n. 13; 180 n. 10).

**Line rev. 49**—Rainey (collation) completes ip-<sup>r</sup>pu-uš<sup>1</sup> [a-na-ku nu-kur- $ta_5$ ]. **Lines rev. 52- up. ed. 55**—Following a suggestion by Moran (1992:167 n. 14).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}u\check{s}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{\prime}a$  (rev. 33);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}$  (rev. 34).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO AMANAPPA, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: VAT 1663. COPIES: WA 55; VS 11, 47. COLLATION: 19.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:372–374). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:167); Liverani (1998:184 [LA 146]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 144–145).

The style of writing in this short letter betrays considerable anger not only through the statement of rage, but also by quoting the addressee who did not fulfill his promise. Note the use of imperative forms, a negative question, a conditional clause and the repetition of the warning.

In this letter, most of the broken parts are at the two edges of the tablets.

- Line obv. 4—Youngblood's restoration (1961:375) is accepted by Moran (1992:167 n. 1) and Rainey (collation).
- **Lines obv. 12–13**— $\dot{u}$  *ni-*[*d*]*a-gal* / <sup>r</sup>URU<sup>1</sup> "we can look after the city," not Moran's "we can visit the city" (1992:167).

Line lo. ed. 15—<sup>r</sup>*ti*<sup>-</sup>*b*[*a*-*ú*-*na*]; with Moran (1992:167 n. 3).

Lines rev. 18-21—See Youngblood (1961:376).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{r}pa^{\gamma}$  (obv. 1);  $^{r}u^{\gamma}$  (rev. 19).

#### EA 94

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4756. COPY: WA 78. COLLATION: 26.01.1980 and 29.01.1980 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:377–380). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:168); Giles (1997:395–396); Liverani (1998: 198–199 [LA 160]). COMPOSITION: Not examined. The central message is betrayal. Lying men speak treacherous words to Pharaoh. The lower half (or more) of the tablet is broken away. For notes, see Moran (1992:168 n. 1-8).

- Line obv. 1—Notice that [*išt*]*a*<sup>r</sup>*par*<sup>¬</sup> is written with <sup>r</sup>*pár*<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon's and Moran's <sup>r</sup>*par*<sup>¬</sup> (1992:168 n. 1).
- Line obv. 12—*i-zi-za* is an unrecognized hybrid infinitive (Rainey 1995–1996:114); render: "Who would advise to stand up...," *contra* Moran's translation (1992:168).
- Line rev. 65—*A mé-e* (cf. *EA* 14 III, 29); the supposed appearance of the same Egyptian term here has rightly been corrected by Moran (1992:168 n. 6) to *A mé-e* "water" as befits the context (Cochavi-Rainey 2011:248).
- Line rev. 73—[*l*]*a*-<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>-*mi* <sup>r</sup>*yi*<sup>¬</sup>-*iš*-*ta*-*hi*-*iț*; Gt stem nuance in WS form. Rainey observes traces of <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>.

## EA 95

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE EGYPTIAN SENIOR OFFICIAL

TEXT: VAT 1668.

COPIES: WA 70; VS 11, 48.

COLLATION: 08.01.2004

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:388–391; 1962). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:169); Giles (1997:396–397); Liverani (1998: 194–195 [LA 156]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 145).

In addition to his repeated requests to send Pharaoh's regular troops to his lands in Canaan, Rib-Hadda asks the Egyptian senior official to bring men from Meluḫḫa. This tablet is badly broken.

Lines obv. 17–18—Rainey (collation) notes that he could see the signs that Youngblood (1961:391) needed to confirm his rendering.

- **Line obv. 20**—At the beginning of the line Rainey thought that he saw traces of *ki la.ú-še*<sub>20</sub>*-ru-bu*<sup>1</sup>*-ka*; cf. Moran (1992:169 n. 1).
- Lines rev. 25–33—Contrary to Moran (1992:169), according to Rainey's rendering, the king of Mitanni did not come to Amurru (collation).

Line rev. 25—Rainey (collation) does not confirm the traces of [m]i at the beginning of the line. Above the second sign, *-nu*, he saw a white fleck.

**Line rev. 31**—There are traces of yu' in *yu-wa-*si'-[r]a (Rainey's collation).

Lines rev. 40–42—Rainey renders "Abdi-Ashirta is [ve]ry sick and who knows if he will die (or) if he will recover and return." Youngblood (1961:391) translates "Abdi-Ashirta is [ve]ry sick; [pe]rh[a]ps he had died." Giles (1997:397) follows Moran (1992:169) who translates "Abdi-Ashirta is very *ill*. [*Wh*]o knows, when he dies, [w]hat..."

Line rev. 42—BA.ÚŠ = *imâtu* "he will die."

Line rev. 43—Read <sup>r</sup>*i-nu-ma dan-na* ù *tu-ur-ra*<sup>1</sup> (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 44—With Moran (1992:169 n. 5).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil pa \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ni \rceil$  (obv. 5);  $\lceil a \rceil$  (rev. 31);  $\lceil at \rceil$  (rev. 34);  $\lceil ki \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ma \rceil$  (rev. 35);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (rev. 38).

## EA 96

# AN ARMY COMMANDER TO RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS

TEXT: VAT 1238. COPIES: WA 82; VS 11, 49. COLLATION: 18.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Youngblood (1961:395–397; 1962: 24–27). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:170); Liverani (1998:186 [LA 148]). COMPOSITION: From the Egyptain center of Sumur (Goren 116).

The Egyptian general demands from Rib-Hadda to search for the asses of the king and to send men to protect the city. This tablet is almost unharmed. There are only few traces that were completed by Knudtzon, Youngblood and Moran.

Line obv. 6—Youngblood's (1961:395; 1962:24) and Moran's *i-*<sup>*r*</sup>*nu*<sup>¬</sup>*-ma* is confirmed by Rainey.

Line rev. 17—*ú*-*ş*[*ú*-*ur*]; with Moran (1992:170).

Line rev. 23—EN-*li* is a construct (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (obv. 4);  $\lceil i \rceil$  (obv. 11).

#### EA 97

#### YAPPAH-HADDA TO SHUMU-HADDA

TEXT: VAT 1598. COPIES: WA 183; VS 11, 50. COLLATION: 15.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:170); Liverani (1998:242 [LA 196]). COMPOSITION: Sent from Gaza (Goren 161–162).

With regard to the bad reputation of Shumu-Hadda, Yappaḫ-Hadda does not charge Shumu-Hadda with the loss of the king's land but puts the blame on 'Abdi-Ashirta. The tablet is badly broken.

Line obv. 1—Rainey (collation) assumes [qí-bí-ma] on the back.
Line lo. ed. 10—[KUR.MEŠ LUGAL]; with Moran (1992:170–171 n. 1). 'yu'-hal-li-iq; Rainey saw traces of 'yu', contra Moran's 'ú' (1992:170–171 n. 1).

#### EA 98

# YAPPAH-HADDA TO YANHAMU, THE EGYPTIAN COMMISSIONER

TEXT: VAT 1675.

COPIES: WA 128; VS 11, 15.

COLLATION: 19.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:171); Giles (1997:397); Liverani (1998:242 [LA 197]).

COMPOSITION: Most likely made in Beirut (Goren 162).

According to Yappaḫ-Hadda, all the lands of the king of Egypt, from Byblos to Ugarit, are lost. They are in the service of 'Aziru, the enemy. This short tablet is almost perfectly preserved.

Line obv. 4—The subordinating conjunction *inūma* has to be temporal "when," "while" (Rainey 1995–1996:114).

Line rev. 14—[URU] <sup>*r*</sup>*Ar*<sup>1</sup>*-wa-<sup><i>r*</sup>da<sup>1</sup>; for the restoration, see Moran (1992:171 n. 1), so also Na'aman (1975:60\* n. 7).

Line rev. 17—At the beginning of the line Rainey reads  $\dot{u}$ , not *a-na*.

**Line rev. 26**—With Knudtzon's *lum-da-ta*, as opposed to *AHw*'s (p. 532) *lum-\langle mu \rangle-da-ta* or Moran's *lum-\langle mi \rangle-da-ta* or *lam<sub>x</sub>-\langle mi \rangle-da-ta* (1992:171 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{r}Ar^{1}$  (rev. 14);  $^{r}ni^{1}$ ,  $^{r}pu^{1}$  (rev. 21).

#### EA 99

# THE KING OF EGYPT TO THE RULER OF THE CITY OF 'AMMIYA(?)

TEXT: C 4742 (12196). COPY: WA 202. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:120); Moran (1992:171); Liverani (1998: 243 [LA 198]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Pharaoh asks his vassal to send him his daughter and contributions as dowry. Unfortunately, the first two lines are broken so that we cannot be sure who the addressee is. The remaining lines are in a perfect state of preservation.

Line obv. 1—[*a-na* <sup>1</sup>X-X-*a*]*ṣ-*<sup>*r*</sup>*ma-a-nu*<sup>1</sup>; Gordon's reading (in Moran 1992:172 n. 1) is not confirmed by Rainey.

Line obv. 5—*uš*!-*te-bi*!-*la-ku*; with Thureau-Dangin (1922:100) and Moran (1992:172 n. 2).

Lines obv. 7–8—On the expression *uṣ-ṣur lu-ú na-ṣa-ra-ta* "and guard! May you be on guard!" (as in *EA* 367:4; 370:4; and 117:84), see Cochavi-Rainey (2011:101–102, 103, 182, 210, 259).

**Line obv. 11**—There are traces of  $a^{\uparrow}$ .

Line rev. 17— $\check{s}i$ -*ia*-tù b[a]-a[n-t]ù; cf. *EA* 369:21.

## EA 100

## THE CITY OF 'IRQATA TO THE KING OF EYGPT

TEXT: BM 29825. COPY: BB, 42. COLLATION: 07.08.1999 and 03.03.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:172); Giles (1997:397–398); Liverani (1998: 243–244 [LA 199]).
- COMPOSITION: As EA 169. Probably made at Tell 'Irqata (Goren 114, 122).

Here is a standard order of the king to his vassal to guard the city. In addition, the scribe assures the king that the people of 'Irqata are guarding the city until the arrival of the Egyptian army. Moreover, they continue to assert their loyalty (cf. Moran 1992:173 n. 3; *CAT* 2:411).

- **Line obv.** 4—*ši-bu*!(ŠE)-*ti-ši*; cf. Albright (1946:23) in Moran (1992:173 n. 1). **Line obv.** 12—Read  $[\dot{u}]$  at the end of the line.
- Line obv. 17—*nu*[-KÚR]; the edge is broken, cf. Moran (1992:173 n. 4).
- Line obv. 18—*tu-b*[*a-ú*]; with Moran (1992:173 n. 5), *contra* Knudtzon and *CAD* B:363b.
- Line obv. 20—[KÙ.BABBAR *a-na*]; based on Moran's translation (1992:173).
- Line rev. 25—Rainey completes *ša-š*[*i*], *contra* Moran's *ša-*[*ha-at*] (1992:173 n. 6), and LÚ.MEŠ *š*[*a-ru-tu*] *contra* Moran's LÚ.MEŠ G[AZ *iš-tu*] (1992:173 n. 6).
- Line rev. 27—Traces of  $\delta[u]$  were seen by Rainey at the end of the line, *contra* Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 29—*ti-iš-ta-*[*kán-šu*]; with Moran (1992:173 n. 4).
- **Line rev. 30**—*a*-*di ni*-*na*-*şa*-*ru*-*š*[*u*]; the adverb is an example of *adi* with the meaning of Hebrew *ôd* "still, yet, further" (Rainey 1975:408 n. 111; 1995–1996:114a+b; 2003:195<sup>\*</sup>). The final sign at the end of this line (which is damaged) is best restored *š*[*u*] (Rainey 1989–1990:59b).
- Lines rev. 29–30—A *casus pendens* is required by the sense of the text.
- Line rev. 36—On the "breath" ( $\check{saru}$ ) of the king, see Moran (1992:173 n. 9).

Line rev. 39—*a-bu-la-nu* "Our gate," *contra CAD* E:26a and Moran (1992:172). The sign *nu- is* substituted for *ni-* (*CAT* 2:47); *uddulu* is a stative adjective, D Stem.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil na \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ri \rceil$  (obv. 2);  $\lceil UTU um^{\rceil}$  (obv. 7);  $\lceil LUGAL \rceil$ ,  $\lceil nu \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ru \rceil$  (obv. 9);  $\lceil Ir \rceil$ ,  $\lceil qa \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ta \rceil$  (obv. 10);  $\lceil yu \rceil$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil LUGAL \rceil$  (obv. 14);  $\lceil ta \rceil$  (obv. 15);  $\lceil ri \rceil$  (obv. 16);  $\lceil ki \rceil$  (obv. 19);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (obv. 20).

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29827. COPY: BB, 44. COLLATION: 27.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Rainey (1989–1990:114); Moran (1992:174); Giles (1997:398– 399).

COMPOSITION: This tablet belongs to the Byblos correspondence (Goren 147).

This letter included two tablets. The first one lost. After a long period of complaints and urgings, Amenhotep III and his advisors apparently decided to act. Haya, an Egyptian wise vizier and commander, was sent with an expeditionary force of regular Egyptian seaborne troops. According to Rib-Hadda's accusation, it is remiss of Haya not to commit the fleet to killing 'Abdi-Ashirta, since the men of Amurru do not have wool and 'Abdi-Ashirta does not have textile garments to bribe help from Mittannians (see Rainey 2006:80c).

Lines rev. 1–2—With Youngblood (1961:88–89), against Moran (1992:174). The interrogative pronoun is most probably personal and not impersonal (also in Rainey 1995–1996:114b).

Lines rev. 3–6—For another interpretation, see Altman (1977:7–8).

Line rev. 7—SÍG = *šipātu* "wool."

Line rev. 10—GÚ.UN; see Moran (1975:158 = 2003:288; 1992:452 n. 5).

**Lines lo. ed. 20–21**—Rainey (collation) restores  $[a-na \ \check{s}a]r-ri \ \check{s}um-ma \ la / [a-s\acute{e}] \ "ni"-nu$ . In line 21 an independent pronoun ("ni"-nu) with an infinitive form ( $[a-s\acute{e}]$ ) serves as a finite verb which is negated by  $l\bar{a}$  (line 20). For the infinitive as a finite verb in a conditional protasis, see *CAT* 3:229–230.

Line rev. 23— $[U]RU^{,}Sur^{,-ri}$ ; following Na'aman (1975:63\* n. 33). Line rev. 35— $^{i}IR-A-(\check{s}i)-^{r}ir^{,-}[t]a$ ; with Moran (1992:174–175 n. 9).

There are traces of the following signs:  $tu_4$  (obv. 1);  $GI\check{S}^{}$  (obv. 4);  $i^{a}a$  (obv. 7);  $i^{i}$  (obv. 18);  $\check{s}u^{}$  (rev. 31);  $aq^{}$  (rev. 32);  $a^{}$  (rev. 34).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO YANḤAMU (?), THE EGYPTIAN COMMISSIONER

TEXT: BM 29806.

COPY: BB, 23.

COLLATION: 28.01.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:175); Giles (1997:399); Liverani (1998:200 [LA 161]).
- COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 147).

Rib-Hadda is angry with Yanḥami(?), the Egyptian commissioner, since he delayed coming forth. So now he will enter into an empty house.

- Line obv. 1—On the questionable identity of the addressee, see Knudtzon and Moran (1992:175 n. 1).
- Lines obv. 10–13—The analysis of two unusual forms, *tašapparta* (line 10) and *ti-ih-ta-ti* (line 13), remains problematic. For different suggestions, see Rainey (1973: 257–258; *CAT* 2:60, 338, 345–346).
- **Lines obv. 15–16**—The commissioner writes to Rib-Hadda: "Go, take up a position at Sumur / until my arrival!" Practically the instances with the expression *adi kašādi* have to do with the anticipated arrival of the army or the king at the head of the army (*CAT* 2:411).
- Line rev. 21—Rainey (08.07.1981) reads *ti-de i-\langle nu-ma \rangle*. Independently, Gianto (1990:113).

Line rev. 27—It is hard to see *'i-na-an-na'*, which Bezold and Knudtzon both saw and Moran accepts (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 35—The restoration follows Moran's translation (1992:175).

There are traces of the following signs: um (obv. 3); <sup>rd¬</sup> (obv. 5); <sup>r</sup>di<sup>¬</sup> (obv. 16); <sup>rnu<sup>¬</sup> (obv. 17); <sup>ria</sup><sup>¬</sup> (lo. ed. 18); <sup>ri¬</sub>, <sup>rna¬</sub>, <sup>rna¬</sub>, <sup>rna¬</sup> (rev. 27).</sup></sup></sup></sup>

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1208. COPIES: WA 77; VS 11, 52. COLLATION: 23.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:176); Giles (1997:399); Liverani (1998:200–201 [LA 162]). COMPOSITION: The tablet was sent from Sumur (Goren 148).

With the background of Amurru's occupation by the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta, Rib-Hadda requests from Pharaoh to send an auxiliary force to Ṣumur as quickly as possible to protect it until the arrival of the Egyptian regular troops. Besides, he asks for garrison troops to the city of Ṣumur and to the city of 'Irqata because all of the garrison troops fled from Ṣumur.

Line obv. 17—*ia*-[*nu*]; see *VAB* (2/2:1201); Moran (1992:176 n. 2).

Line obv. 20—Read - *ta'-pár* as in Schröder's facsimile, not Knudtzon's *-tap-pa*.

**Line obv. 22**—*l*[*a*-*a*] *ti-ìš-ma-na*; the fact that 3rd f.sg. forms can take a plural subject strongly suggests that this was the source of the analogical replacement of an original *y*- by the *t*- prefix in the plural forms (Moran 1951:35b in *CAT* 2:43). Perhaps -*ma* before -*na* represents dual (Rainey's collation).

- Line rev. 29—Knudtzon's *mar-şa* is correct, *contra* Rainey (1973:256). Cf. Moran (1992:176 n. 3; 189 n. 6).
- Line rev. 37—Read *in*<sub>4</sub>-*na*-*a*[*b*]-*tu*, *contra* Knudtzon. In the photo it appears to be too long for either *ba* or *be*. It has a vertical after the crack (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs: 'IŠKUR' (obv. 2); nu (obv. 10); 'da' (obv. 18); 'ar' (rev. 38); 'i', 'na' (up. ed. 51); 'ÉRIN', 'MEŠ' (up. ed. 52); 'a', 'na' (left ed. 57).

#### EA 104

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4751. COPY: WA 60. COLLATION: 23.09.2003 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:177–178); Giles (1997:400); Liverani (1998:201– 202 [LA 163]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Ullassa (a city near the northern coast of Lebanon, near Ṣumur and at modern-day Tripoli) was captured by Pu-Ba'lu, the son of 'Abdi-Ashirta (on this deed, see Rainey 2006:81a). In this letter (line 42), Arwada is one of the cities that would contribute to the confinement of Rib-Hadda within Ṣumur (cf. Moran 2003:287).

Line obv. 3—Contrary to Knudtzon, Winckler's copy is right; there is no *ma* sign at the end of the line.

Lines rev. 31–53—For rendering, analysis and references, see Rainey (1989–1990:59b–60a); Moran (2003:114, 287; 1992:177 n. 1–5).

Line rev. 52—'Ibirta (Youngblood 1961:249) was a crossing point on the Nahr el-Kebîr.

## EA 105

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1628.

COPIES: WA 77; VS 11, 53.

COLLATION: 04.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:178); Giles (1997:400-401); Liverani (1998: 202-203 [LA 164]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 148).

Sumur is surrounded by forces. The sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta come from the landward side and the Arwadians from the seaward (on this case, see Rainey 2006:80c–81a).

- Line obv. 20—On *laqi* as passive in the Rib-Hadda letters, see Rainey (1975:400 n. 56).
- Line obv. 21—*kīma kitti* "by consent" follows "truly, duly" in *CAD* K:472a.
- Line obv. 25—The *ta* sign at the end of the line is no longer visible.
- Line obv. 27—Read LÚ.MEŠ *mi-ši* (Moran 2003:230), not Knudtzon's *amêlūt mi-lim*.
- Line obv. 28—*mi-im-mi-šu-nu* most likely means "their supplies," see Rainey (1995–1996:114).
- Lines obv. 34–35—<sup>1</sup>*A*-<sup>r</sup>*ma*<sup>3</sup>-*an*-[*ma*-š]*a*; following Albright (1946:5). <sup>1</sup>DUMU-*Pí*-*ḥa*-*a*; Albright (1946:23).
- Line obv. 37—*mi*(?)-<sup>r</sup>*im-mi-ia*<sup>¬</sup> "my property"; at the end of the line the same term (*mimmû*) appears as in lines 32, 38, 81 and may be also in line 76 (Rainey 1995–1996:114 and collation). See Moran (1992:179 n. 4).
- Line lo.ed. 41—<sup>1</sup>*A*-<sup>*r*</sup>*ma*<sup>3</sup>-*an*-[*ma*-š]*a*; Rainey saw -*pár* at the end of the line, *contra* Knudtzon's -*pa*-[*ru*] or Moran's -*pa*-[*ar*].
- **Line rev. 44**—Perhaps *'ša'-šu-ni* is dual. Maybe it refers to two brothers (Rainey's collation).
- Line up. ed. 80—*i*-na [pa-ni-šu-nu]; following Moran (1992:179 n. 5).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{rd_1}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{r}n^i$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{ra_1}$ ,  ${}^{rna_1}$  (obv. 16); t[a] (obv. 19);  ${}^{r}ME\check{S}^{r}$ ,  ${}^{r}nu^{r}$  (obv. 20);  ${}^{r}a^{r}$  (obv. 23);  ${}^{r}na^{r}$  (obv. 31);  ${}^{r}it^{r}$  (obv. 39);  ${}^{r}na^{r}$  (lo. ed. 40);  ${}^{r}na^{r}$  (rev. 47);  ${}^{r}KUR^{r}$  (rev. 48).

#### EA 106

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 344. COPIES: WA 43; VS 11, 52. COLLATION: 26.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:179–180); Giles (1997:401); Liverani (1998:208– 209 [LA 169]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 72 and 81 (Goren 148).

The sons of of 'Abdi-Ashirta cannot occupy Sumur, the sieged city.

Line obv. 2—For the restoration, see Moran (1992:180 n. 1).

Line obv. 3—At the end of the line *iš-tu*] *da-ri-ti, contra* Knudtzon (1915:470 n. c).

Line obv. 15—On *ma-an-ga*, see Thureau-Dangin and Rainey, cited by Moran (1992:180 n. 3).

**Lines obv. 16–17**—For the *casus pendens* construction, see Gianto (1990:51). **Line obv. 20**—Read *pa-a*[*t-ru*], *contra* Knudtzon's *pa-t*[*a-ru*].

- Line obv. 27—The *ma* sign at the end of the line is no longer visible.
- **Line rev. 28**—The precative [li-is]-<sup>r</sup>sur<sup>3</sup>-si was restored by Moran (1992:180 n. 5), *contra* Knudtzon's [is-]sur-si. Read at the end of the line <sup>r</sup>is<sup>3</sup>[-su-ru-si], *contra* Moran's u-[su-u/na] (1992:180 n. 6).

Line rev. 29—There are traces of 'na'.

Line rev. 32—*i*-*né*-p[u-uš]; this is the verbal form that Moran (1992:180 n. 8) assumes is correct, but Knudtzon and also Rainey saw traces of the sign—p[u].

Line rev. 35—Read šá.

Line rev. 44—*aš-šum-ma a-la-ki-ia*; the infinitive of purpose is dependent on *aššumma* and may also be a component in a non-verbal clause. The addition of an enclitic *-ma* to the preposition suggests that its phrase is logical predicate. Perhaps in lines 41–44 the writer wanted to stress that it was to fulfill his military obligations to the king that he had to, or would have to, assemble so many men (Rainey 1995–1996:114).

Line rev. 48—For this reading, see Moran (1992:180 n. 10).

#### EA 107

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 346.

COPIES: WA 41; VS 11, 55.

COLLATION: 26.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:180–181); Giles (1997:401–402); Liverani (1998: 209–210 [LA 170]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 72 and 81 (Goren 148).

Rib-Hadda asks Pharaoh for the army commander to remain in Ṣumur but to recall Ḥaʿpi to Egypt to interrogate him about his affairs. Rib-Hadda is afraid to go to Ṣumur since he has warriors but no horses to march against the king's enemies.

Line obv. 14—<sup>1</sup>*iḥ-ri-pí*; Egyptian: *hry-pd*(*t*) "an army commander." Albright (1946:14), who was the first to relate this word with Egyptian, had read

*'iḫ-ri-pí-ta, contra* Knudtzon's *'aḫ-ri-bi-[t]a* (see also Moran 2003:285 n. 32; 1992:181 n. 1). Rainey saw neither the value *-ta* nor traces of it.

- Line obv. 16—<sup>1</sup>*Ha-ip*; Egyptian: *H*'*py* (cf. Ranke 1935:234:7; Albright 1946:10; Hess 1993:70).
- Line rev. 23—DUGUD; with Moran (1975:155–156/2003:285; 1992:181 n. 2). Today there is no trace of the sign *-na* at the end of the line (Rainey's reading).
- Lines up. ed. 42–43—In these lines, there is a *hapax*. In Borger (2003:308 No. 271), EZEN = ŠÌR. Moran (1992:181 n. 3) gave up his earlier suggestion (1950:166 = 2003:115–116) that the sign groups at the end of the line represent KEŠDA = ŠÌR. His own collation showed two signs, not one, which seem clearly to be NI and BA. However, that particular line was at the bottom of the tablet and *EA* scribes are known to distort signs at the margin or edge of tablet. Therefore, the comparison with the sign in *EA* 108:15 still seems cogent; the same goes for Moran's identification of the sign in question as KEŠDA = ŠÌR. *EA* 107:42–43 thus may be read 'LÚ'.MEŠ ŠÌR! / [\]<sup>r</sup>mar'-ia-nu-ma; ŠÌR is a logogram that can mean a "troop" of soldiers (Akkadian *kiṣru, CAD* K:437b–438).
- Moran's collation confirms Schröder's reading of the first sign in line 43 as *mar* (Schröder 1918), which gives a hitherto unattested logogram for *mariannu* (unrecorded in *CAD* M/1:281b). Moran's original hunch seems to be confirmed by *EA* 108:15, which has 'LÚ'.MEŠ ŠÌR: *ši-ir-ma*. Schröder had sought in vain for an Egyptian word, *\*šir*, but Moran had understood that *ši-ir* was the explanation of the Sumerian word sign (both had recognized that *-ma* was the Akkadian enclitic). The same sign was probably employed at the end of *EA* 124:51'. What has survived there could be simply *-ma*, but the context favors the view that charioteers and infantrymen were meant. With these passages in mind, one can assume that the same kind of social standing was accorded to the chariot warrior as in neighboring societies, e.g. Ugarit and Alalakh (Rainey 1965:19–21). For the above explanation, see Rainey (1989–1990:60a; 2002:57–58). There are traces of 'KEŠDA' (Rainey).

[\]; at the beginning of line 43 Rainey adds a wedge of glossenkeil. Line left ed. 48—There are traces of  $ral-ka^{\gamma}$  and  $-rmu^{\gamma}$ .

There are traces of the following signs: '*la*' (obv. 4); '*pa*' (rev. 24); '*ba*' (rev. 32); '*Su*' (rev. 34); '*la*', '*a*' (left ed. 47); '*al*', '*ka*' (left ed. 48).

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 345. COPIES: WA 42; VS 11, 56. COLLATION: 26.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:181–182); Liverani (1998:210–212 [LA 171]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 149).

Rib-Hadda rejects the false words that are being spoken to the king. He claims that 'Abdi-Ashirta's sons took horses of the king and chariots and that they gave chariot warriors and soldiers to the land of Subaru as *hostages*(?). Rib-Hadda also declares his loyalty to Pharaoh.

- Line obv. 15—LÚ.MEŠ KEŠDA \ Moran (2003:115–116) was certainly correct in reading here LÚ.MEŠ KEŠDA \ *ši-ir-ma*, against his earlier reading (1992:182 n. 2). For discussion, see above *EA* 107:42–43 (also Rainey's collation).
- Lines obv. 20–21—*yu-qa-bu a-wa-tu / ša-ru-tu* "a false message is being spoken" (see also *CAD*'s *juqabu* [Š/2:132b]). The verb is 3rd sg. passive. Moran (1992:181) reads the subject and the verb in plural. Notice that *sarru* (*sāru*/*şarru*) "false, criminal" (*CDA* 318b) is also *šārūtu* in *EA*.
- Line obv. 26—*ti-z*[*i-zu-na*]; the ending -*na* follows Moran (1992:182 n. 4).
- Line obv. 32—The form *laqi* as passive was Rainey's original suggestion (1975:400 n. 56; 2003:196<sup>\*</sup>), *contra* Moran (1992:182). Here, like Moran, Rainey understands *laqi* as active.
- Line rev. 33—Rainey's  $\delta[a-\delta u]$  (1975:400 n. 56) was hesitantly accepted by Moran (1992:182 n. 5).
- Lines rev. 34–38—*šumma* "since"; on the use of *šumma* in the Amarna letters, see Moran (2003:173; 1992:182 n. 6.)
- Line rev. 38—On the Miši people, see Lambdin (1953b:76 n. 17).
- Line rev. 42—On the Canaanite idiom "they are strong in their face," see Moran (1992:182 n. 7).
- Lines rev. 51–52—There are two options to analyze the form of the verb. First, perhaps read *ti-ìš-mu-na* as a 3rd m.pl. and the nominative adjective has to determine the subject in the following question: "Why are other men listened to?" (see also Rainey 1995–1996:114). Or, read *ti-ìš-mu-na* as a 2nd m.sg. energic in the interrogative clause and translate: "Why do you listen to other men?" (*CAT* 2:238).

Line rev. 58—On UD. KAM<sup>v</sup>.MEŠ as singular, see Moran (1992:182 n. 9).

- Line rev. 60—Read *lum-ni-[ia i-]na* (Rainey's collation), there is not enough room for Moran's [*lum-ni-ma i*]-*na* (Moran 1992:182 n. 10).
- Line rev. 61— $\dot{u} pa[-!\dot{t}a-]^r ar \dot{u}^{\uparrow} L \acute{U} an[-nu-\acute{u}]$ ; following Moran (1992:182 n. 10), but in contrast to Moran's reading, Rainey saw traces of [ar].
- Line rev. 66—Read *uš-ši-ra*, not *uš-ši-ra-ni* as in Schröder's facsimile, following Knudtzon (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 67—*Mi-iṣ-ri-*<sup>-</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>, not Knudtzon's *Mi-iṣ-ri*; Rainey observed that there are two horizontal wedges at the end of the line.

There are traces of the following signs: <sup> $r_1$ </sup>, <sup> $r_ki^{1}$ </sup> (obv. 1); <sup> $r_mi^{1}$ </sup> (obv. 8); <sup> $r_kb^{1}$ </sup> (obv. 13); <sup> $r_a$ </sup>, <sup> $r_wa^{1}$ </sup> (obv. 30); <sup> $r_A$ </sup> (rev. 33); <sup> $r_a^{1}$ </sup> (rev. 47); <sup> $r_a^{1}$ </sup> (rev. 50); <sup> $r_ka^{1}$ </sup> (rev. 52); <sup> $r_ka^{1}$ </sup> (rev. 60); <sup> $r_ka^{1}$ </sup> (left ed. 69).

## EA 109

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1629.

COPIES: WA 52; VS 11, 57.

COLLATION: 03.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:183); Giles (1997:402); Liverani (1998:212–213 [LA 172]).
- COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90. Petrographically this tablet is identical to *EA* 108 (Goren 149).

Rib-Hadda compares the old days to these days. Formerly, the king's ancestors did not desert his ancestors when the king of Mittani was hostile to Egypt. Now the king keeps silent, even though the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta seized his cities and are hostile to him.

Line obv. 7—It is *yi-na-mu-šu-*<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup> (Rainey's collation), cf. Izre'el (1987:87). Line obv. 8—*iš-tu* <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*b*[*u-ti-ia*]; with Schröder's *-ti*! *Contra* Knudtzon's *-tu* (*VAB* 2/1:480, n. g)

Line obv. 12—Restore [URU *Ir-qa-*]*ta*, not [URU *Ar-da-*]*ta*.

Line obv. 13—Rainey (collation) restores [*la-qé*] *šu-nu* and notes that the verbal form is absolute infinitive as past with pronoun subject.

Line obv. 15—[*ù* URU *Ú*-*l*]*a*-s*à*; cf. Moran (1992:184 n. 1).

Lines obv. 16–17—See Moran (1992:184 n. 2).

- **Lines obv. 20–21**—Rainey (collation) reads [aq-b]u, *contra* Moran's  $[ka-i]a_s$ *a-na-ku* (1992:184 n. 3), and completes [KAL.G]A = dannu "force" (line 21) instead of Moran's [NIG.G]A (1992:184 n. 4).
- Line obv. 23—Moran's *ka-y*[*a-nu*] (1992:184 n. 3) is accepted in Rainey's collation.
- Lines obv. 26-27-With Moran (1992:184 nn. 6-8).
- Line obv. 30—Rainey (collation) completes *iš-tu* 'É'[ <sup>d</sup>NIN *ša* URU].
- **Lines rev. 34–35**—The completion  $[\dot{u} \ qa-la]t[a] \ 'a^{-}[na \ ip-\check{s}i-] / [\check{s}u-n]u$  $ti-la-q\acute{u} \ 'URU^{\gamma} \check{S}i-g[a-ta^{\kappa_1}]$  is proposeded by Rainey's collation.
- **Line rev. 36**—Rainey (collation) measured the space at the end of the line and found that there is room for the same  $\dot{u}$  *an-nu-ú* as in line 25.
- Line rev. 37—Rainey completes [*ša uš-ši-ir*] at the end of the line, not [*uš-šir*<sub>4</sub>]; see Rainey (1995–1996:114).
- Line rev. 43—The *na* sign is no longer visible at the end of the line.
- Line rev. 48— $[ti-]da-\langle ga \rangle$ -lu-na; with *CAD* D:59b. Moran (1992:184 n. 11) rejects this reconstruction and instead opts for  $d\hat{a}lu$  "to prowl, make to prowl." But he ignores the infinitive da-ga-li-ma in line 44. Unless  $[ti-]da-\langle ga \rangle$ -lu-na is accepted, the entire contrast being expressed loses all its meaning (Rainey 1995–1996:115). At the end of this line, Moran's [ki-ma] was accepted by Rainey.
- Line rev. 49—With Moran (1992:184 nn. 11–12), against *AHw*:896b. Notice that Rainey saw traces of <sup>r</sup>*ši*<sup>¬</sup>.
- Line rev. 50—Read  $[\dot{u}]$  *iš-mu lum-* $\langle na \rangle$ , *contra* Moran (1992:184 n. 13).
- Line rev. 53—*Contra* Moran's remark (1992:184 n. 14), read 'TI'.LA *m*[*u*-*tu a*-*n*]*a*. Rainey (collation) notes that the wedge cannot be *di* as Moran thought; compare *de* in line 37.
- Line up. ed. 62—<sup>r</sup>*a*-nu<sup>¬</sup>-ma, not Knudtzon's [*i*-n]*u*-ma.
- Line up. ed. 63—[a]-si; singular verb for plural.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\circ}EN^{\circ}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{\circ}KI^{\circ}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{\circ}li^{\circ}$  (rev. 41);  ${}^{\circ}za^{\circ}$  (rev. 61).

#### EA 110

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1666. COPIES: WA 64 (a.e.b.c.); VS 11, 58. COLLATION: 23.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:185). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 149–150).

The tablet is badly broken. Rainey added a few improved readings.

Lines obv. 20–26—In the following lines Rainey reconstructs DIŠ (line 20); *ki-nu*[*a-na*] (line 23); *yu-k*]*al*-<sup>r</sup>š*u*<sup>¬</sup> (line 24); *qa-la*]-*ta* (line 26).

- Lines rev. 36–38—Rainey restores la a(?) before  $[i-r]a a mu \check{s}u n[u]$  (line 36);  $[yi-]pu \check{s}u \,\check{s}a \, aq b[i]$  (line 38).
- Line rev. 40—[*m*]*i*-na la-a yu-şú; the reading follows Moran (1992:185 n. 1).

Line rev. 42—*la-a*(?) *i-r*]*a-am-šu-*[*nu*]; as in line 36.

Line rev. 49—KUR *Ki-n*[*a-aḥ-ḥi*]; see Moran (1992:185 n. 2).

- Line rev. 51—*tu*[*-ba-lu-na*]; see Lambdin (1953b:76 n. 17) and Moran (1992: 185 n. 3).
- Line rev. 52—LÚ.MEŠ *mi-š*[*i*]; cf. Moran (1992:185 n. 4). For the *Miši* people, see Lambdin (1953b:75–77).

#### EA 111

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1631. COPIES: WA 668; VS 11, 59. COLLATION: 31.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:185). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 150).

This tablet is badly broken. The letter probably began by recalling how often Rib-Hadda wrote in vain for a garrison and then renewed the request (Moran 1992:185 n. 1).

Lines rev. 15—There are traces of the signs '*na*' and '*sa*'.

Lines rev. 17–20—See Greenberg (1955:38–39).

- Line rev. 22—[er]-bu; with Knudtzon. Moran's questionable i[r-ru]-bu (1992: 185 n. 2) was suggested by Na'aman (1973:48).
- Line rev. 23—Contrary to Moran (1992:185), Rainey restores and renders [*aš-šum*] *ba-li* <sup>r</sup>*me*<sup>¬</sup>*e*[*m*] "for lack of wa[ter.]"

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#### EA 112

#### EA 112

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1664. COPIES: WA 57 (a.e.b.c.); VS 11, 61. COLLATION: 05.-06.01.2004. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:186); Liverani (1998:213–214 [LA 173]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 150–151).

According to Rib-Hadda, his being alive depends on the king sending him men of the land of Egypt and of the land Meluḫḫa and horses in the charge of Rib-Hadda's man, with all speed. The last lines are missing. For discussion of this letter, see Moran (1992:186–187 n. 1–4) and Liverani (1998:213–214 n. 146–147).

There are traces of the following signs:  $n^a$  (obv. 2); E[N] (obv. 5);  $ta^a$  (obv. 7);  $ki^a$  (obv. 22);  $a^a$  (obv. 24).

## EA 113

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4753. COPY: WA 63. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:187); Liverani (1998:218 [LA 177]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

As *EA* 101, this is a two-tablet letter. Here, Rib-Hadda asks the king to adjudicate between him and Yapa'-Haddi, who commits crime upon crime against him.

Line obv. 5—*y*[*i-pu-šu*]; following Moran (1992:188 n. 3).

Line obv. 15—On the reading ÙZ (= *enzu* "goat"), cf. *EA* 55:12 and see Moran's note (1992:128 n. 2).

Line obv. 12—Read *yu-l*[*a-mi-nu*] (Rainey 1995–1996:115), *contra* Knudtzon's *ya*[*škunu*] and Moran (2003:246) who followed the latter.

Line obv. 18—*be-ri-ku-[n]i* "between the two of us"; *kunīs* is first person dual

pronominal suffix. Moran's correction (1992:188 n. 5, *contra* Moran 1973:52 and Rainey 1995–1996:115) was accepted by Liverani (1998:218 n. 159) and Rainey's collation.

Lines obv. 19–21—Following Moran's restorations (1992:188 n. 6).

- **Lines obv. 22-rev.23**—[LUGAL] at the end of line 22 and  $\lceil ka \rceil l[i \& sa]$  at the end of line 23 are completed by Rainey with Moran's free restoration (1992:188 n. 7).
- **Lines rev. 25–26**—n[a-din] instead of Moran's ip-[pu-šu] (1992:188 n. 8) is based on Liverani's translation (1998:218). Moran reconstructed [gáb-ba]; however, Rainey saw traces of [-b]a.
- Line rev. 33—The restoration [ÌR-*ka*] at the end of the line follows Moran's translation, which probably rightly assumes a violation of the modal congruence or eliminating one of the anomalous forms (cf. *CAT* 2:44).

#### EA 114

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29796. COPY: BB, 13. COLLATION: 22.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:188–190); Giles (1997:403); Liverani (1998:218– 220 [LA 178]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Rib-Hadda writes to Pharaoh that Yapa'-Haddi and Aziru are hostile and renews his request to send garrison troops to guard Sumur and to protect him, Pharaoh's loyal servant. He also emphasizes that he abandoned Sumur, and so did all the men of the garrison troops along with the commissioner. Moreover, his ambassador could not enter Sumur because all the roads to it have been seized by the enemies.

Line obv. 1—With Knudtzon [*ištapar*] "wrote," Liverani (1998:219) and Mynarova (2007:211); *contra* Moran's "says" (1992:188).

Line obv. 2—'šàr', faint traces, *contra* Knudtzon's [šàr].

Line obv. 8—ša-ka-an; a trace of -ka along with -an is written on the edge.

**Lines obv. 12–14**—The reading could be *Ya-aḥ-li-ia* instead of *Wa-aḥ-li-ia*. Note *ya-am-lik* in line 20. The MEŠ sign is written on the edge. In line 13 *Şí* of URU *Şí-du-na* is written on the edge, and the two remaining signs are on the back. Note the predicative function of *gabbu* (Rainey's collation).

- **Line obv. 18**—*yi-te* $_9$ -*lu*; the -*lu* is written on the edge.
- Line obv. 23—*la-qa-i*[*a*]; Rainey's collation confirms Moran's reading (2003: 119; 1992:189 n. 4) and also compares with *-ia* in the next line.
- Line obv. 27—ki- $\langle a \rangle$ -ma; with Moran (1992: 189 n. 5). iš-rap-ru; Knudtzon was probably right (*VAB* 2/1:498 n. b), but it is hard to see room for pu. Contrary to the latter, there are traces of rap (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 28—*i-ti-lik*; perhaps *ti* instead of *ta* (*attalak* in standard Akkadian) represents a possible Assyrianism (Rainey's collation) that is most unusual.
- Lines obv. 30-lo. ed. 31—*i-ti-zi-ib-ši*; it is 1 c.sg., *contra* Moran (1992:188, 189 n. 6). Perhaps *ti* instead of *ta* (in standard Akkadian) represents an Assyrian form (Rainey's collation). About half of the last value *-zi* and half of the first value *ib* are on the edge. A last part of *-ib* along with *-an* are squeezed on the back. The *ù*, which appears at the end of line 31, should go with line 30 (collation by Rainey).
- Line lo. ed. 33—Read [*ù* LÚ.MÁŠKIM *pa-aț-*]*ru* (Rainey's collation and cf. 1995–1996:115), instead of Moran's [*iš-tap*]-*ru* (1992: 189 n. 7).
- Line rev. 32—The ending -[*ia*] is right on the corner of the tablet.
- Line rev. 37—The ending *-tu* of *sa-ab-\tu* is on the edge.
- **Lines rev.** 40-42— $\check{sut}$  is the messenger. He has been waiting two months sitting with Rib-Hadda, *contra* Moran (1992:189). Cf. lines 41-42 (UGU /  $\check{sa}$  [*m*]*a-an-ni* "for what reason") to Moran (2003:20 n. 44).
- Line rev. 43—*a-ra-di-ka*; the sign *ka* is small on the edge.
- Lines rev. 47–48—LÚ.MEŠ at the end of the line appears as tiny signs on the edge. The sign '*ku*<sup>1</sup> is a small rectangular hole made by two wedges. *ayyābu šarri* and *ḥazānūtušu* are all at war with Rib-Hadda (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 52—*la-a* KUR '*A*'-*la-ši-ia* is fronted adverbial-accusative. '*A*'-*la-ši-ia* is written on the edge and corner around the edge of tablet (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 52–53—Moran (1992:190 n. 12) notes that he does not understand why Rib-Hadda sent a man to Alashia.
- Line rev. 54—Today <sup>r</sup>*pa-na-nu*<sup>¬</sup>. The two last signs are written on the edge.
- Lines rev. 61–62—See Moran's free restoration (1992:190 n. 14).
- Line up. ed. 64—Knudtzon said that there may not have been anything here.
- Line left ed. 65—*ti-da-*(*ga*)*-lu-na*; with *CAD* D:59b, and Liberani (1998:220 n. 161), *contra* Moran's *dālu* "prowl" (1992:190 n. 14).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}an^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}ip^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}gab^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ri^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{r}lu^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}u^{1}$  (obv. 18);  ${}^{r}LU^{1}$ . 'MEŠ  ${}^{1}$  (obv. 21);  ${}^{r}u^{1}$  (obv. 24);  ${}^{r}u^{1}$  (rev. 36);  ${}^{r}i^{1}$  (rev. 37);  ${}^{r}ka^{1}$  (rev. 38);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 47);  ${}^{r}ba^{1}$  (rev. 48);  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (rev. 50);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 52);  ${}^{r}ka^{1}$  (rev. 54).

#### EA 115

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1630. COPIES: WA 69; VS 11, 60. COLLATION: 28.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:190–191 n. 1). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 151).

The tablet is badly broken.

Line obv. 5—[i]-<sup>r</sup>na-și<sup>1</sup>-r[a] "[I] will protect," *contra* Moran's [i]-na ș $\acute{e}$ -r[i] "in the countryside" (1992:190–191 n. 1).

Line obv. 8—Rainey reconstructs [*i-na-şí-ru* UR]U (cf. Knudtzon's [*i-na-şa-ru* UR]U), *contra* Moran's [*ú-še-zibu* UR]U (1992:190–191).

Line obv. 9—Rainey does not complete the end of the line by [*Su-mu-ra/ri*] as Knudtzon and Moran (1992:191) did.

There are traces of the following signs: 'na', 'sí' (obv. 5); 'LUGAL' (obv. 11).

#### EA 116

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4752. COPY: WA 61. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:191–192); Liverani (1998:220–221 [LA 179]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Rib-Hadda is offering to lay claim to the disputed property on behalf of either Pharaoh himself or of his vassal, Yapa<sup>c</sup>-Hadda (Rainey 1995–1996:115, with Moran 2003:245).

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- Line obv. 8—*yu-qa-bu-na*; with Knudtzon, against Moran (1992:192 n. 1) who adopted Izre'el's *yú-qa-bu-na* (1987:86).
- Lines obv. 8–12—For discussion, comparisons and references, see Moran (1992:192 n. 1). In line 11, UN = *massartu* "garrison." Contrary to Moran's remark on "*our* garrison," Rainey thinks that it is clear: Rib-Hadda furnished troops there.
- Lines obv. 15–16—Cf. EA 108:23–25.
- Line obv. 28—Moran (1992:192 n. 2) rightly claims that *raksa-šu* ("he bound him") is a verb and not an adjective (*AHw*:948), but according to Rainey's reading and rendering, also the next verb should be taken as an active form, [*na*]-*ad*!-*na* "he [ga]ve away (sold?)," not Moran's passive form, [*tu*]-*ta*-*na* (Moran 1992:192 n. 3).
- Line obv. 33—The suffix *-ku-ni* could be taken either 1st m.pl. dual (cf. Moran 1992:191) or 2nd m.pl. dual, which it certainly appears to be (cf. Moran 2003:245).
- Lines obv. 34–36—*Contra* Moran's remark (1992:192 n. 5), the syntax is clear from the very next statement (Rainey 1995–1996:115).
- Line rev. 41—[*yu-la-mi-nu*], *contra* Knudtzon's questionable [*ya-aš-ku-un*] or Moran's suggestion, *yaškunu*, *yīpušu* (Moran 1992:192 n. 9).
- Line rev. 43—On the reading a-pi-i[l], see Moran (1992:192 n. 7).
- Line rev. 53— $[nu-k\dot{u}r-t]u_4$  (Rainey) or  $[K\dot{U}R-nu-t]um$  (Moran 1992:192 n. 9).
- Line rev. 58—*mur-ṣa-ma*; perhaps it is an error for *mur-ṣa-ma* or *mar-ṣa-ma*, cf. Moran (1992:192 n. 10).
- Line rev. 74—[qi-pa-]ni; following *VAB* 2/2:1593, but Rainey did not see traces of -p[a].

## EA 117

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 350.

COPIES: WA 45; VS 11, 62.

COLLATION: 30.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:193–194); Giles (1997:403); Liverani (1998:221– 223 [LA 180]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 151).

Rib-Hadda complains that no city rulers supported him, and he is also stressed since his tablet probably was not given to the king by the two men whom he sent to Egypt. He also mentions the final result of the unsuccessful expedition. In the past when Amanappa came with a small force, Rib-Hadda wrote to the palace and king to send a large army. Rib-Hadda asks Pharaoh to send a commissioner to judge between Yapa'-Hadda and Ḥa 'ip about the property. The letter ends with the request to send garrison men and men of the Meluḥḥa to protect Rib-Hadda.

- **Line obv. 15**—There are traces also of  ${}^{r}ti^{\gamma}$  (Rainey's collation).
- Lines obv. 19, 21—(*i-na*)-*an-na*; <sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>¬</sup>; with Moran (1992:194 nn. 1–2).
- Line obv. 23—Rainey (collation) prefers *yi-la-[kam<sup>v</sup>*] to Moran's *yi-la-[ka]* (1992:194 n. 3) or Knudtzon's *yi-la-[ku-na*].
- Line obv. 24—On ÉRIN.MEŠ as a masc. sg., see Moran (2003:61 n. 163).
- Line obv. 26—There are traces of 'ÉRIN'. 'MEŠ' and also '''ÌR-A-ši-ir-'ta'.
- Line obv. 28—*mi-im-mi-šu* must mean "his property" (as above in *EA* 105:37), not Moran's "everything belonging to him" (1992:193).
- **Line obv. 36**—There are traces of  $G[I_7]$  (Rainey's collation). [ $\dot{u}$  *la*]- $q\dot{u}$ ; with Moran (1992:194 n. 5).
- Lines obv. 38–39—Rainey (collation) reads, *šu-nu it-ti-ka* URU.MEŠ-*š*[*u-nu a-na*] / <sup>1</sup>*A-zi-ri* "They are with you? Th[eir] cities [belong to] Aziru!" contra Knudtzon's URU.MEŠ *d*[*a-gi-il*] or Greenberg's URU.MEŠ *i*[*t-ti*] / <sup>1</sup>*A-zi-ri* "the cities are with Aziru" (1955:39). Moran renders, "the cities are in Aziru's se[rvice]" (1992:194, 195 n. 6).
- Line obv. 41—Read URU S[*u-mu-ra a-di*] (Rainey's collation), instead of Knudtzon's URU Šal-l[u] or Kestemont's URU N[IN.URTA] (see Moran 1992:195 n. 7).
- Line obv. 42—*yu-w*[*a-ši-ru*]; with Moran (1992:195 n. 8), *contra* Knudtzon's *ya-d*[*i-nu*].
- Lines obv. 44-lo. ed. 45—Rainey proposes <sup>r</sup>uš-ša<sup>¬</sup>-ar LÚ.D[UMU ši-ip-ri] / [*a*-*d*]*i* ÉRIN.MEŠ<sup>r</sup>ù<sup>¬</sup>[GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ].
- Line lo. ed. 47—Moran (1992:195 n. 9) and so also Na'aman (1973:159) proposed the official ['*Pa*]*-wu-ra* in these broken contexts (cf. Hess 1993:126). Rainey completes *A-zi-r*[*u da-ak*] at the end of the line.
- Lines rev. 53–56—*šâri* "my breath, my wind," *contra* "treacherous, enemy," as in Moran's translation (1992:195 n. 11). For rendering and analysis, see also *CAT* 2:210.
- Line rev. 80—<sup>r</sup>lu na-ṣa<sup>¬</sup>-ra-t[a]; at the end of the line, read 'KI<sup>¬</sup>, not Knudtzon's šu.

Line rev. 84—<sup>*lu na-ṣa<sup>1</sup>-ra-t*[*a*]; cf. Moran (1992:195 n. 12).</sup>

- Lines rev. 85-up. ed. 87—Following Moran (1992:195 n. 13), but Rainey prefers *ba-lat* to Moran's *mi-im-mi*; Knudtzon read *ba-la-at*.
- Lines left ed. 91–92—Rainey suggests *ù la-a* / [*na-ad-na-*]*ta* "but you did not [give] even one strong one (one unit?)," not "but you have not wri $\langle$ tt $\rangle$ en. Only one is st[ro]ng" as in Moran's rendering (1992:194). There are traces of "É" (line 91) and "*mi-na*" (line 92).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil me^{\uparrow}(obv. 6); \lceil a^{\uparrow}(obv. 7); \lceil ti^{\uparrow}(obv. 13); \lceil tup^{\uparrow}(obv. 18); \lceil na^{\uparrow}(obv. 20); \lceil ra^{\uparrow}(obv. 25); \lceil ta^{\uparrow}(obv. 27); \lceil li^{\uparrow}(rev. 67).$ 

## EA 118

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29808 + VAT 1662. COPIES: BB, 25 + WA 54; VS 11, 54. COLLATION: 10.09.1999 and 05.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:195–196); Liverani (1998:223–224 [LA 181]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 151–152).

Rib-Hadda continues to ask for garrison troops. Furthermore, with regard to his case, he asks Pharaoh to send a commissioner to hear his words. Concerning the possibility of the yeomen farmers departing to the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta and to the '*apîru* men, Rib-Hadda is recounting that his conduct is not like the other mayors who do not write to the king about the threat on their cities.

- **Line obv. 1**—The *a* sign is no longer visible.
- Line obv. 6—SAL + KU = NIN, *bēltu* "Lady" (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 9—Read *a-'na* É'.'GAL [KA]L.[GA] (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 10—Rainey saw traces of *ma*<sup>1</sup> and reconstructs *ma*<sup>1</sup>-[gal nu]-KÚR, cf. Liverani's "[Forte] à l'ostilità" (1998:224).
- Line obv. 16—<sup>r</sup>*ki*<sup>1</sup>-*ti*-*i*<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup> "my due"; with Moran (1992:196 n. 1), *contra CAD* K:470a.
- Line obv. 19—*mi-im-mi-ia*<sup>¬</sup> "my property," not Moran's "anything of mine" (1992:196).

**Line lo. ed. 24**— ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{}$   $al - {}^{r}lu^{} - m[i] {}^{r}pa^{} - t[\dot{a}] - {}^{r}ri^{}!$  (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 34—There is an extra wedge DIŠ (cf. Moran 1992:196 n. 3). Concern-

ing the end of the line, perhaps we should read 'URU'-*lì* "my city" (Rainey 1995–1996:115).

- Line rev. 40—At the beginning of the line the *a* sign is no longer visible.
- Line rev. 45—The *a-na* is error for *a-*<sup>*r*</sup>*mur*<sup>1</sup> (Rainey 1995–1996:115 and collation), *contra* Moran's *ana* "as to, concerning" (Moran 1992:196 n. 5).
- Line up. ed. 50—Rainey (08.05.1980) reads *a-*/*na*(-<sup>*r</sup>mur*<sup>1</sup>, so also Moran (1992:196 n. 6).</sup>
- Line left ed 53—Read as Knudtzon's [tu]-<sup>*r*</sup>pa<sup>-</sup>*ri-šu*. Moran remarks that the preformative ought to be [yu] despite the MASKIM.MEŠ, as the sentence refers to a customary action in the past and it is 3rd person singular (Moran 1992:196. n. 7). However, the morophlogy leads to a plural form as we have a plural form with  $tu \dots u$  in *EA* 16:33 in an identical context. Notice that there are traces of <sup>*r*</sup>pa<sup>-</sup>.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 4);  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{1}$  (obv. 17);  ${}^{r}du^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (rev. 30).

## EA 119

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 349. COPIES: WA 44; VS 11, 64. COLLATION: 01.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:197); Liverani (1998:224–225 [LA 182]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 152).

Rib-Hadda, who is reviled in front of the king, is reminding the king of his past kindnesses towards Rib-Hadda. Concerning the disputed goods, after proclaiming his loyalty and devotion to pharaoh, he says that he has already agreed that the king will take all his property. However, he asks Pharaoh to give him the small objects.

Line obv. 13—[*i*-*na*-]<sup>r</sup>s*a*<sup>1</sup>[-*ru*]; with Moran (1992:197 n. 1).

Lines obv. 21–23—The scribe intended the precative. The asseveration or oath has the stative rather than the precative, "as the commissioners live, then I will report all their deeds" (*CAD* B:57a; Rainey 1995–1996:115; *CAT* 2:216), *contra* Moran (2003:68 n. 187; 1992:197).

Line obv. 28—Read [ta-]<sup>raq</sup> -bu, not Moran's [i]-d[a]-bu- $\langle bu \rangle$  (1992:197 n. 3).

- Line rev. 47—*mi-im-mi* "property" is surely in extraposition (cf. Rainey 1995–1996:116; 1975:400).
- Lines rev. 49–50—[*ù*] / [*ú-nu-ta*]; Rainey's restoration (1975:400 n. 54) was accepted by Moran (1992:197 n. 6).
- **Line rev. 51**—*a-na* 'ÌR'-d[IŠKUR?]; what Knudtzon saw may be signs from the other side of the tablet (Rainey's collation).
- **Line rev. 52**— $\dot{u}$  *an-nu la-a la-qí*; Rainey (1975:400 n. 56) did not take *la-qí* as an infinitive as Moran apparently thought (1992:197 n. 7). Rather, he took *la-qí* as a simple G passive of the suffix conjugation (Rainey 1995–1996:116).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 25);  ${}^{r}ti^{1}$  (rev. 37);  $[i]{}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 45);  ${}^{r}it^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}IŠKUR^{1}$  (rev. 57);  ${}^{r}pa^{1}$  (rev. 59).

#### EA 120

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1636.

COPIES: WA 85; VS 11, 65.

COLLATION: 03.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

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TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:198–199); Liverani (1998:225–226 [LA 183]). COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 153).
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This tablet presents a list of stolen goods that was caught by Yapa'-Hadda (see *EA* 119:56–57). The text is broken and not clear.

- Lines obv. 1–2—Rainey's reconstruction and rendering are based on *EA* 119:55–59, cf. Rainey (1989–1990:61a). In line 2, "10 *ašallu* bowls" or Knudtzon's "12 *šalu*."
- Line obv. 18—[G]U.<sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>'</sup>. See Moran's note (1992:199 n. 8) and notice the traces of <sup>r</sup>ZA<sup>'</sup> still visible that Rainey adds.
- Line obv. 21—"ma-ar"-[b]a-d[u]; for analysis and references, see Moran (1992:199 n. 11).
- Line obv. 24—<sup>r</sup>*yi-tu-ra-na-ši-na*<sup>1</sup>; Rainey saw the last sign on a photo of the right edge.

**Lines obv. 29-rev. 30**—There are traces of  $\[\dot{u}\]$  *ia-nu*<sup>1</sup> and  $\[\dot{s}a-a^1\]$ .

Line rev. 31—'ÌR-dIŠ[KUR]; Rainey rejected his earlier reading 'ÌR-dḥe-[ba] (1975:400 n. 55).

Line rev. 36—There are traces of 'ŠE' at the end of the line.

Lines rev. 34, 40–45—Rainey's rendering does not follow Moran (1992:199). See also Rainey (1995–1996:116).

**Line rev. 44**—Knudtzon's  $\acute{u}$ -da- $m\grave{i}$ -i[q] seems more likely than Moran's  $\acute{u}$  da- $m\grave{i}$ -i[q]. At the end of the line, reconstruct  $[\grave{u}]$ .

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \dot{u} \rceil$ ,  $\lceil \dot{s}a \rceil$  (obv. 1);  $\lceil ma \rceil$  (obv. 21);  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 23);  $\lceil yi \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ra \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 24);  $\lceil ia \rceil$  (lo. ed. 29);  $\lceil it \rceil$  (rev. 31);  $\lceil te \rceil$  (rev. 36).

#### EA 121

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1665. COPIES: WA 59; VS 11, 66. COLLATION: 07.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:200); Liverani (1998:214–215 [LA 174]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 153).

Rib-Hadda recounts his ancestors having a garrison of the king and also provisions from him, in contrast with his own present situation.

- Line obv. 1—The [*ib*] has chipped out since Schröder saw the tablet (Rainey's collation).
- Lines obv. 11–13, 14–16—Here are *casus pendens* constructions. See also Gianto (1990:51).
- Line obv. 15—Rainey (collation) reconstructs [*a-mur*] <sup>*c*</sup>*a-na-ku* <sup>*c*</sup> at the end of the line and confirms Moran's [*ú-ul*] (1992:201 n. 1). Here *anāku* is taken as extrapostion.
- **Line obv. 25**—There are traces of the  $\lceil ka \rceil$  sign, not Knudtzon's [-i]a.
- Line obv. 16—[*ba*-]<sup>*r*</sup>*la-țu*<sup>*r*</sup>; Knudtzon is correct. There are also traces of *<sup>r</sup>la*<sup>*r*</sup>, *contra* Moran (1992:201).
- Line rev. 43—[*i-na* UD. KAM<sup>v</sup>] was proposed by Moran (1992:201 n. 2).

**Line rev. 46**—Traces of *'te'* still remain.

- **Line rev. 48**—*Contra* Moran's  $\langle ti \rangle$ [*-el-qé*] (1992:201 n. 3). Rainey (collation) saw traces of  $\lceil yi \rceil$ , and he read  $\lceil yi \rceil$ [*-il-qé*].
- Line rev. 50—There are no longer traces of the -up that Knudtzon saw.
- Line rev. 51—The reading KUR.MEŠ follows Thureau-Dangin (1922:93 n. 1); also see Moran (1992:201 n. 4) and Rainey (*CAT* 1:141).

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**Lines rev. 52–53**—For the restoration of these lines, see Moran (1992:201 n. 4). At the end of line 53, Rainey saw traces of *ta*<sup>1</sup>.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}Ri^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}\delta u^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ME\check{S}^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}GA^{1}$  (obv. 4);  ${}^{r}UGU^{1}$  (obv. 19);  ${}^{r}ti^{1}$  (rev. 40);  ${}^{r}da^{1}$  (rev. 52);  ${}^{r}ta^{1}$  (rev. 53);  ${}^{r}ha^{1}$  (rev. 72).

### EA 122

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1665. COPIES: WA 47; VS 11, 67. COLLATION: 05.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:201); Liverani (1998:216–217 [LA 176]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Rib-Hadda reports an action on Paḥura's part that caused great indignation in his city of Byblos.

- Line obv. 2—Rainey's reading confirms Schröder's facsimile; at the end of the line, LU[GAL GAL]. Contrary to Knudtzon, traces of the GAL sign cannot be seen.
- Line obv. 17—Read *i*-[*na*] 'ŠU'-*ia* (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 21—The restoration follows Moran (1992:202 n. 1).

**Line obv. 22**—Rainey's collation reconstructs [*a-mu*]*r* <sup>*c*</sup>*a*<sup>*j*</sup>-[*bu-ia* URU *Gub-l*]*a*.

Line obv. 23—The reading follows Rainey's suggestion (collation).

Lines lo. ed. 24-rev. 25—Read LÚ.MEŠ *ma-ṣa-a*[*r-ti*] / 'LÚ-*ti*' šà*r-ri*. Note Moran's remark (1992:202 n. 2).

Lines rev. 31–43—Moran (1992:202 n. 3) understood the text, but not the situation: this was not a bedouin "raid," as he supposed. Pe-Ḫurra's deed was a police action carried out with auxiliary troops of the Egyptian "foreign legion." It is known that in the Damascus region there were auxiliary military units, not only of the '*apîru* outcasts, but also of Sutû pastoralists (*EA* 195:24–32). It were some of these nomadic mercenaries that Pe-Ḫurra sent to deal with some other auxiliary mercenary, a Šerdanu, and to arrest three other men, citizens of Byblos, and transport them to Egypt. Although the reason for this drastic action is not stated, it would seem that  $P^{e}$ -Hurra's deed was sanctioned by the crown, since the three prisoners were apparently in custody in Egypt with full knowledge of the government (Rainey 2003: 195<sup>\*</sup>).

- Line rev. 31—On the various ways of the written Puḥura's name, see Rainey (2003:194\*-195\*).
- **Line up. ed. 50**—The reading *ši-mé ia-* $\langle \check{s}i \rangle$  follows Moran (1992:202 n. 5). According to Rainey (collation), Moran's UGU- $\langle ia \rangle$  at the end of the line makes less sense. He prefers UGU- $\langle \check{s}u-nu \rangle$ .
- Line up. ed. 51—On *ti-im-i*, see Moran (1992:202 n. 5 and also 136 n. 2).
- Line left ed. 52—Complete [*šum-ma*]. See also Moran's translation (1992: 201).
- Line left ed. 55—Following Moran (1992:202 n. 6), whose reading is based on other EA letters.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \check{s}ar \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ru \rceil$  (obv. 9);  $\lceil ka \rceil$  (obv. 10);  $\lceil ia \rceil$  (obv. 12);  $\lceil at \rceil$  (obv. 16); [U]RU (rev. 48).

### EA 123

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29803. COPY: BB, 20. COLLATION: 23.09.1999 and 12.07.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:202); Liverani (1998:215–216 [LA 175]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 153).

Pihura, the Egyptian commissioner, sent some of his Sutû legionaries to arrest four men in Byblos. Perhaps one of them, who was a Šerdanu mercenary, resisted and thus was killed. The other three extradited men were brought to Egypt and detained there. Rib-Hadda writes to the king that if he did not return these citizens of Byblos, the city's anger would boil over into a rebellion (cf. Rainey 2003:195\*-196\*).

Line obv. 1—The sign is written on the side.

Line obv. 8—The 7 is almost effaced (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 15—Since there is no room for a MEŠ sign, it seems that only one Šerdanu was killed (Rainey 2003:195\* and his collation), not people of Šerdanu as Moran thought (1992:202).

- Line obv. 17—Here [š]*u-ri-bu* is 3rd m.pl., not the 3rd m.sg., [š]*u-ri-bu*, of *EA* 122:37 (Rainey 2003:195\*). Instead of Knudtzon's *m*[*u-hi*] (he used italics to indicate uncertainty), Rainey (2003:195\*) completes at the end of the line 'ÌR'[.MEŠ-*ia a-na*] and he notes that there is just barely enough room around the edge. Moreover, the parallel passage, *EA* 122:37, has *a-na*. Thus, the three wedges at the end of line 17 (before the break) must be intended for *a!*, suggesting a reading of *a!*[*-na*].
- Line lo. ed. 19—Knudtzon's [*šum-ma*], which the context seems to require at the end of line 18, demands *yu-wa-*[*ši-ru*], an imperfect form with the *-u* suffix as it is expected in such a conditional clause (see Rainey 2003:195<sup>\*</sup>).
- Line rev. 21—The adverb *adi* is another case of the Hebrew 'ô<u>d</u> "still, yet, further," see also Rainey (1975:408 n. 111; 1995–1996:114; 2003:195\*). Contrary to Knudtzon's *ti-pu-šu*[-*na*], read *ti-pu-šu* and supply [URU] instead of [-*na*]. With [URU] as the subject as in the parallel passage, *EA* 122:47–48, *ti-pu-šu* must be 3rd f.sg. (see Rainey 2003:195\*-196\*).
- Line rev. 26—The reading [3] LÚ.(MEŠ) is based on comparison with *EA* 122:36 (Rainey 2003:195\*-196\*).
- Line left ed. 42—On the restoration, see Moran (1992:202 n. 2).
- Line left ed. 43—Rainey (collation) offers a different reading:  $\check{s}u^{\prime}-nu^{\prime}$ [*a*-*na* EN-]<sup>*r*</sup>*l*<sup>*i*</sup>[-*ia*](?).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{Gub^{\uparrow}}(obv. 5)$ ;  $^{\check{s}ar^{\uparrow}}(obv. 6)$ ;  $^{EN^{\uparrow}}(obv. 7)$ ;  $^{FEN^{\uparrow}}(obv. 8)$ ;  $^{ri^{\uparrow}}(obv. 18)$ ;  $^{rta^{\uparrow}}(rev. 26)$ .

#### EA 124

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4755 (12188). COPY: WA 62 + WA 64d + WA 65. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:203); Liverani (1998:203–204 [LA 165]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Rib-Hadda writes to the king that Byblos alone remains to him. Aziru is assembling all cities against his city. The reconstructions and the rendering of this broken tablet are based on Moran's suggestions (1992:203–204 nn. 1–12).

Lines obv. 12–15—Contrary to Moran's assumption, this passage does not begin with a conditional sentence. There is no conditional particle, unless *a-nu-ma* is considered an error for *i-nu-ma*. The following sentence would seem to represent straight narrative reporting. But if that should prove to be the case, then the "taking" of Byblos in the first clause would be an event not easy to identify in the course of Rib-Haddi's troubled career. However, the use of *adi* "still, again" (= Hebrew 'ô*d*) in the next sentence does seem to suggest that we have here a series of events, not a hypothetical, conditional clause followed by a report (Rainey 1989–1990:60a).

#### EA 125

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29802.

COPY: BB, 19.

COLLATION: 24.09.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:130–131); Moran (1992:204–205); Liverani (1998:226–227 [LA 184]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 154).

The main themes is Rib-Hadda's pleading for the presence in the past, and the absence in the present, of garrison troops and grain for his sustenance.

Line obv. 2—A typical AN = DINGIR looks almost like the value *ni*.

- Line obv. 22—ÙZ.[MEŠ]; Rainey completes the plural MEŠ to ÙZ, which was independently read by Gordon, Moran and Na'aman (see Moran 1992:205 n. 2).
- Line rev. 31—On *yi-iš-ta-*<sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>¬</sup>*nu-ni* as a durative verb, see Moran (1992:205 n. 3). For references to Liverani's rendering "to compare," see Moran (1992:205 n. 3) and Liverani (1998:227). There are traces of <sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>¬</sup>, which is written on the edge (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 35—*hu-(up)-šu-šu-nu*; Moran (1992:205 n. 4) corrected the first sign of Knudtzon's *ri*.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\check{s}ar^{1}$  (obv. 1);  $\iota m^{1}$ ,  $\iota^{d_{1}}$  (obv. 2);  $\iota an^{1}$  (obv. 4);  $\iota^{\dot{u}}$  (obv. 13);  $\iota pa^{1}$  (obv. 14);  $\iota nu^{1}$  (obv. 16);  $\iota na^{1}$  (lo. ed. 26);  $\iota^{s}i^{1}$  (rev. 29);  $\iota ka^{1}$  (rev. 31);  $\iota ha^{1}$ ,  $\iota nu^{1}$ ,  $\iota ti^{1}$  (rev. 32);  $\iota na^{1}$  (rev. 42).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1183. COPIES: WA 76; VS 11, 68. COLLATION: 01.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:205–206); Giles (1997:405–406); Liverani (1998:227–228 [LA 185]). COMPOSITION: Not specifically discussed by Goren (154–155).

For some reason, Rib-Hadda wonders if the king rejects Byblos or him: Pharaoh sends royal supplies and rations to the city rulers, but not to Byblos; he also sent silver and troops to his fathers, but ignores Rib-Hadda's repeated requests for help.

Moran (1992:206 n. 1) rightly remarks that some distinctive features associate *EA* 126, 129, 137(?) and 362, indicating that they were written by the same scribe, at about the same time.

Lines obv. 1–3—On the greeting formula, see Moran (1992:206 n. 1).

Line obv. 4—GIŠ. 'TASKARIN'-*mi*; there is no *-ma* enclitic (Rainey's collation), against Knudtzon and Moran (1992:206 n. 2; 2003:10, 122).

Lines obv. 14–18—The scribe plays on the words *mimmâ* (line 15) "supplies" and *mimma* "anything" (line 18).

Line obv. 26—*tu*-[*ša-ru-na*]; with Moran (1992:206 n. 5).

**Line obv. 29**—Rainey's reading and rendering (collation):  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}^{\prime}(!) {}^{\prime}a^{\prime}(!) {}^{\prime}ya^{\prime}(!) a[l-la-ka]-am "{}^{\prime \prime}So^{\prime}(!) [can] I [g]o myself."$ 

Line lo. ed. 30—<sup>r</sup>a<sup>¬</sup>-na-ku i-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>¬</sup>-[ma qa-bi]-m[i], which is still visible on the lower edge.

Line lo. ed. 31—The reconstruction follows Moran's translation (1992: 205).

Line rev. 33—For the restoration, see Moran (2003:122; 1992:206 n. 6).

Line rev. 35—Contrary to Knudtzon and Moran (1992:206), Rainey did not see traces of *-ia* at the end of the line.

Line rev. 37—Rainey's collation suggests *Gu-u*[*b-la* 1-*en ir-ti-ha-at*] on the basis of *EA* 129:18 et al.

Line rev. 42—*la-a tu-ša-ṣú-na-[šu]* "they are not sending." Rainey takes *ti*-prefix for 3rd m.pl.; for discussion and references on this usage, see *CAT* 2:43–45.

- Line rev. 45—The form *i*-<sup>r</sup>*zi*<sup>1</sup>-*ba*-*ši* (*izzibaši*) must be present 1st c.sg.; with Liverani (1967:13 n. 4), against Moran (2003:195; 1992:206–207 n. 7); Rainey (1989–1990:61) and also in his collation.
- Line rev. 46—*ia-ti-ia*  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}{}^{\prime}$ ; with Moran (1992:206 n. 7). Rainey's collation confirms the traces of  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}{}^{\prime}$  at the end of the line.
- Line rev. 47—The verb <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>¬</sup>-*pa-țá-ra-ni-mi* is 1st c.sg. with an "ethical" dative suffix, not 3rd m.sg., as Moran (2003:195; 1992:206–207 n. 7) takes it (Rainey 1989–1990:61 and also collation).
- Line rev. 51—Rainey (collation) reads  $\dot{u}$ !(LA), *contra* Moran (1992:207 n. 8).
- Lines rev. 52–53—KUR.M[EŠ *a*-*n*]*a* IZI; Knudtzon (1915:542 n. b) is probably right, but *ina isāti* is standard in WS texts (Rainey's collation). The *a* sign in line 53 is no longer visible.
- Line rev. 57—*iš*!(TU)-*tu-šu-nu*; cf. Moran (1992:207 n. 9).
- **Line up. ed. 6o**—The *ba* sign would fit in *şa-*<sup>r</sup>*ba*<sup>¬</sup>*-ti, contra* Knudtzon's *şa-ba*[*t*]*-ti*.
- Line left ed. 64—*ta-di-nu-ni* is preterite (with Izre'el 1987:91 n. 37), *contra* Moran's present (1992:206). For *-ūni* as the equivalent of *-ūna*, see Moran (1992:207 n. 12).

Line left ed. 66—On *šarri danni* "strong king," see Moran (1992:207).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ha^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (lo. ed. 30);  ${}^{r}su^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}nu^{1}$  (rev. 36);  ${}^{r}is^{1}$  (up. ed. 62);  ${}^{r}ir^{1}$  (left ed. 65).

#### EA 127

#### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1687. COPIES: WA 184; VS 11, 69. COLLATION: 23.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:207–208); Liverani (1998:229 [LA 186]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 155).

Rib-Hadda asks the king for men from Egypt, Cushite warriors and chariots, to protect the land of the lord. This badly broken tablet does not allow reconstruction of a full text. Moran's notes and Rainey's readings have led to several improvements.

- **Lines obv. 1–11**—The restorations are suggested by Rainey. For the reading *ù qé-bi-ir qa-al* in line 8, cf. Moran (1992:208 n. 1).
- Lines obv. 12–13—With Moran's completion, <sup>1</sup>*Ia-ab-ni-*]<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR, in line 12 (Moran 1992:208 n. 1). At the end of line 12, read *uṣṣi*, not *tuṣṣi* and in line 13, *ilqe*, not *tilqe* since the subject is Iabni]-Ba'lu, not ÉRIN.MEŠ *piṭāti*, *contra* Moran (1992:208 n. 2).
- Line obv. 17— $[al-l]u-mila-^rqi^{\gamma}$ ; following Moran (1992:208 n. 4). Contrary to Moran, Rainey confirms traces of  $^rqi^{\gamma}$  that Knudtzon saw.
- Line obv. 20—[*ti-né-*]<sup>r</sup>*ep*<sup>¬</sup>*ša-mi*; following Moran (1992:208 n. 5).
- Line rev. 24—Rainey translates "may he ask him," *contra* Moran's "the king should inquire." On the form *i-*<sup>-</sup>*ša*<sup>¬</sup>*-al-šu* as a 3rd m.sg. jussive, he notes that it is particularly unusual in this context, in a text which often fails to supply the West Semitic y-prefix. (Rainey 1989–1990:61). The imperative is usually employed in similar instances (cf. *EA* 83:30–31; 114:51–52; 132:29–30; 208:10–12; and especially *EA* 256:15–19).
- Lines rev. 25, 27—[*a-na ka-*]*ar-sí*; with Moran (1992:208 n. 6). The *na* sign in line 27 is no longer visible.
- Line rev. 31—*kīma* "as"; see Knudtzon and also Rainey (1989–1990:61), *contra* Moran's "when" (1992:208. n. 7).
- Line rev. 33—The form *riḥşu* is a 3rd m.sg. stative of *raḥāşu* "to smite, to crush" (from *\*rģş*) with a collective subject, LÚ.MEŠ-*'ia*'. Compare *mi-ḥi-şu* from *maḥāşu* in *EA* 220:24 (Rainey 1989–1990:61b), *contra* Moran (1992:208 n. 8) who analysed *riḥşu* as a noun. There are traces of *-'ia*' at the end of the line.
- Line rev. 34—Rainey offers a different rendering, which is based on Schröder's autograph: <sup>r</sup>ù ša-ni-tam la ma<sup>¬</sup>-ṣa-ku \ si-ir-ti "and furthermore, I am not adequate (I am hard pressed)," *contra* Moran (1992:207, 208 n. 8). For the proposed translation of the gloss, see Ebeling (*VAB* 2/2:1544) and also Moran (1992:208 n. 9; 2003:27 n. 64). Both derive si-ir-ti from swr.
- Line up. ed. 42—Rainey's suggestion.

There are traces of the following signs: [i] (obv. 19);  $[\dot{u}]$ , [ia] (rev. 33).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1873. COPIES: WA 227; VS 11, 71. COLLATION: Not collated (lost since 1963) TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:208). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The tablet is too fragmentary. For a few signs preserved on the obverse and thirteen fragmentary lines on the reverse, see Moran (1992:208 n. 1).

## EA 129

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1637 + 1638.

COPIES: WA 86+ WA 87; VS 11, 70.

COLLATION: 09.01.2004 and 13.01.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:209–211); Giles (1997:406); Liverani (1998:231–232 [LA 190]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 155).

Rib-Hadda writes to the king that if no regular troops arrive within the year, then he will ask Pharaoh to please send him a ship to bring him and the deities to Egypt. This tablet was clarified considerably by Moran's and Rainey's restorations and readings. Some unusual formations are used in this letter; for further discussion, see Rainey (1995–1996:116).

**Line obv. 1**—Moran (1992:209) had followed suit with the reading: "[Rib]-Add[i; say t]o the [ki]ng [my] lord." A beautiful digital photograph by Juan Pablo Vita still did not provide sufficient detail, but in 2005 a WSR close up helped Rainey to identify the abraded signs:  $[^{1}Ri-i]b^{-r}ad^{-r}di^{-r}$ [qi-bi-mi]. Other traces in question resemble AD more than ED/ID. As much as Rainey wanted to read the abraded sign as ED/ID, the better solution is found by a parallel in line 45 of the same tablet:  $^{r_{1}}Ri-ib-ad$ di. Obviously, the scribe knew the theophoric component as Addi (= Haddi).

- Lines obv. 1–3—For the comparison with *EA* 126:1–3; 362:1–4, see Moran (1992:210 n. 1), and on the scribe of *EA* 129, see Moran (1992:206 n. 1).
- Line obv. 6—Rainey (1995–1996:116 and collation) reads <sup>r</sup>*ti-pu*<sup>-</sup>[*šu-na*], *con-tra* Moran's *ti-*<sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>-</sup>[*pu-šu-na*] (1992:210, n. 3).
- Lines obv. 7-8-With Moran (1992:210 nn. 4-5).
- **Line obv.** 9—<sup>*r*</sup>*ki*<sup>'</sup>!-<sup>*r*</sup>*am*<sup>'</sup>-*ma*  $gu_5$ -*mi*-*ru*  $g\acute{a}b$ !-b[i]; Rainey reads <sup>*r*</sup>*ki*<sup>'</sup>!-<sup>*r*</sup>*am*<sup>'</sup>-*ma* "thus" instead of [k]a-*am*-*ma* (Knudtzon, and Moran 1992:210 n. 5); he also prefers  $gu_5$ -*mi*-*ru* to *gummuru* "to finish off." Read  $g\acute{a}b$ !, not -*mi*. Here the  $g\acute{a}b$  sign is similar to Hittite characteristics of writing, cf.  $g\acute{a}b$  at the beginning of line 17 (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 10—With Moran (1992:210).
- Lines obv. 11–12—Rainey's collation suggests the following reconstructions and rendering: L[Ú]. 'MEŠ' *ha-za-ni* LUGAL '*da*'-[*ku*] 'ÉRIN'. 'MEŠ-*ka*' / '*ù*' LÚ.MEŠ *we-'ì* '*ù* LÚ'. 'MEŠ LUGAL' "They have kil[led] the city rulers of the king, your troops and your soldiers and the king's men."
- Line obv. 13—<sup>r</sup>*a*-na qa<sup>1</sup>[-at]; following Moran (1992:210 n. 6).
- Line obv. 14—No *ut* sign as Knudtzon reads. It is MEŠ + DIŠ, cf. Knudtzon (1915:548 n. d).
- Lines obv. 15–16—With Moran (1992:210 nn. 7–8).
- Line obv. 18—Moran's restoration (1992:210 n. 10) is acceptable, but only if there is enough room on the edge.
- Line obv. 19—<sup>r</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>r</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>r</sup>*i* $\dot{u}$ -*na-ši la-q*[*a-a*] "they are seeking to take it"; here the object of the infinitive appears as an accusative pronoun attached to the governing verb (Rainey 1995–1996: 116).
- Line obv. 21—Following Moran's restoration (1992:210 n. 11).
- Line obv. 26—*ti-qa-b[u-na ar-na*]; the sign is *-qa*, not *-iş*; Rainey's collation, *contra* Moran (1992:210 n. 12) who follows Knudtzon. The reconstruction [*ar-na*] was proposed by Moran (1992:210 n. 12).
- **Lines obv.** 27–28—Rainey offers a different reading and rendering than Knudtzon or Moran (1992:210 n. 13):  $\dot{u} i$ -<sup>*i*</sup>nu<sup>-</sup>[ma LUGAL] /  $l[a u \check{s}$ -]<sup>*i*</sup> $\check{s}er_9$ <sup>*i*</sup> tup-<sup>*i*</sup>pa<sup>1MEŠ</sup> "and sin[ce the king has n[ot se]nt letters..."

Line obv. 29—*i-pé-eš*<sub>15</sub> [*ar-na*]; cf. Moran (1992:210 n. 14).

Lines obv. 32–33—Moran (2003:123 and 1992:210 n. 15) restored *ni*[-*nu*] at the end of line 32. There are traces of '*u*', '*ni*', and in the next line there are traces of 'KI'.'MEŠ'. For URU.'KI'.'MEŠ', notice Moran's remark (1992:210 n. 15; 211 n. 33): In *EA* 126, 129, and 362, which were written by the same scribe, the introducion of a city appears by URU.MEŠ or URU.KI(.MEŠ) but not simply URU.

Lines obv. 34–35—Moran (1992:120 n. 16) rightly compares a[-mur-mi] to

*amur-mi* in *EA* 362:27. There are traces of [t]i at the beginning of line 34, and also *'i-nu-ma'* at the beginning of the next line.

- Lines obv. 36–38—Rainey offers a different interpretation: "then th[ey are saying thus: 'Lies! There are no regular troops."
- Line obv. 37—*ka-ma-m*[*i*] actually belongs at the end of the preceding line, as indicated by the Glossenkeil. The vocable is a byform of *kī*<sup>2</sup>*am* (Rainey 1989–1990:61 and collation). Artzi (1963:38–39) was right about the particle, *contra* Moran (1992:210–211 n. 17).
- Line obv. 40—[*a-mur-m*]*i*; following Moran (1992:211 n. 19). Rainey rejects his earlier proposal (1989–1990:61).
- Line lo. ed. 42—[*ù la-q*]*ú-mi*; with Moran (1992:211 n. 20).
- Lines lo. ed. 44–45—The reconstructions and the rendering Rainey assumed are [*ti-iq-bu-na m*]*i-na ti-pu-šu* ÉRIN.MEŠ / [*pí-țá-ti* ù <sup>1</sup>]*Ri-ib-ad-di* "[they will say, 'Wh]at can [the regular] troops do [and Rib-Hadda?'," see Moran's suggestions (1992:211 n. 21).
- Line rev. 47—*ti-n*[*a-ṣa-ru-na* UR]U.KI; in contrast to Moran (1992:211 n. 21), Rainey, like Knudtzon, did not see traces of *-na*.
- Line rev. 52—At the end of the line, read *be-lí-[ia]*, not Knudtzon's BE (=  $b\bar{e}lu$ ) + *ia* (Moran 1960:4/2003:181).
- Line rev. 53—With Moran (1992:211 n. 24; 2003:305); Hallo and Moran (1979: 94 n. 46).
- Line rev. 54—<sup> $tu^-is?-ba-t[u-na]$ </sup>; following Moran (1992:211 n. 25). The traces of  $^{tu^-}$  that Knudtzon observed at the beginning of the verb were confirmed by Rainey, *contra* Moran's *tu*.
- Lines rev. 74-76—Following Moran's uncertain reading (1992:211 n. 26).
- Line rev. 76—Most of the line is broken off. [*h*]*a-ti* and the rest of the signs are no longer preserved here (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 80—Read be-li-i[a], not Knudtzon's BE (=  $b\bar{e}lu$ ) + i[a].
- Line rev. 82—*pal-ha*  $\langle i \check{s} \rangle$ -*tu*; with Moran (1992:211 n. 28).
- Line rev. 84—The URU.KI *A*[*z*-*za*-*ti*]; following Helck (1971:249); see also Moran (1992:211 n. 29).
- Line rev. 85—Rainey reads *li*[-qú-šu-nu], against Moran's *le*[-qú-mi].
- **Lines rev.** 86–87—<sup> $rar^1[-na]$ </sup> / [*ep-šu*]; following Moran (1992:211 n. 31). The sign *ar* is clear in Schröder's facsimile, but there are only traces of <sup>r</sup>ar<sup>3</sup> and of <sup>r</sup>a<sup>3</sup> in line 87 still remaining.
- Lines left ed. 93–98—Conjectural reading and rendering following Rainey's collation.

There are traces of the following signs: 'MEŠ' (obv. 3); '*i*', '*nu*', '*ma*' (obv. 35); '*an*', '*ti*' (obv. 41); '*ta*' (rev. 48); '*ar*', '*a*' (rev. 87).

## EA 130

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1624 COPIES: WA 46; VS 11, 72. COLLATION: 10.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:211–212); Liverani (1998:229–230 [LA 187]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 156).

Rib-Hadda writes to Pharaoh that the cities are killing their own rulers. Since he does not have royal supplies, Rib-Hadda will become embroiled in dispute with his yeoman farmers.

- Lines obv. 9–14—Here the response of the king is probably an affirmation or promise (Zewi 1987:181, so also *CAT* 3:85).
- Line rev. 32—*ti-du-ku-[na-šu]-*<sup>-</sup>*nu*<sup>1</sup>(?); Moran (1992:212 n. 1) corrects Knudtzon's [*ia*]-*nu* to [*šu*]-*nu*, the independent personal pronoun, but Rainey thinks that it is perhaps an accusative suffix attached to a verb. The supposed -*nu* on the edge and the other side is quite dubious (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 33–34—According to Rainey's interpretation, "their own cities" is probably the subject, and the complement UR.GI<sub>7</sub> "dogs" is related to the verb.
- Line rev. 35—The expression *ša-a yu-ba-ú ar-ki-šu-nu* means "who will search after them"—that is, "investigate them, call them to account." See the similar usage of biblical *dāraš* (e.g. Deut. 18:19); see also Rainey (1989–1990:61b–62a).
- **Line rev. 41**—The verb in question is not *šanānu* "will become hostile" (Liverani 1998:230 and Moran 1992:212 n. 2), but lemeenu / *lamoenu*. The enigmatic verb should probably be read {*ul*}-{*ta*}-*ma*-{*nu*} ( $\langle$ I will antagonize $\rangle$ ) (For this meaning see *CAD* L 118–119), possibly reciprocal Dt Stem, ( $\langle$ I will become embroiled in dispute with. $\rangle$ ) See also Rainey (1989–1990:61b–62a). Contrary to Knudtzon and others, at the edge of the line Rainey (collation) observes traces of {*nu*} that looks like *nu* at the end of line rev. 50.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil sur \rceil$  (obv. 18);  $\lceil mur \rceil$  (obv. 21);  $\lceil a \rceil$  (rev. 30);  $\lceil ma \rceil$  (rev. 50).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29807. COPY: BB, 24. COLLATION: 29.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Rainey (2003:197\*-201\*). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:212-213); Giles (1997:406-407); Liverani (1998:204-205 [LA 166]). COMPOSITION: As E4 on (Coron 176)

COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 156).

Rib-Hadda asks the king for forces to Byblos because its troops have been killed; he also says that the king should send garrison troops to guard the commissioners, since P<sup>e</sup>wuru, the counselor of the king and commissioner, has been slain.

Moran and Rainey have made substantial progress in the interpretation of this badly broken text. All the following notes that appear in Rainey's collation have already been summarized in Rainey (2003:197\*-201\*).

- Line obv. 6—Moran's [*yu-š*]*i-*<sup>*r*</sup>*u*<sup>¬</sup> "used to send" (1992:213 n. 1) is in order. It is certainly 3rd m.sg. imperfect expressing habitual action in the past. Cf. Rainey (2003:198<sup>\*</sup>).
- Line obv. 12—Bezold had seen four verticals in a row. Knudtzon (1915:556 n. c) saw that the fourth wedge is slightly farther apart from the others and that there is a small raised horizontal wedge immediately to its right. He rightly noted that such a sign should be LAL and that another presumed LAL stands at the beginning of line 13. It was obvious to him that in both places the LAL must stand for ME, whose reading he gave in italics. The intention was clearly to indicate 3 me "three hundred" in line 12 and me "one hundred" in line 13. This reading—with which Rainey concurs—was accepted by Moran as well (1992:212). At the end of line 15, the last word is written around the edge of the tablet and was transcribed by Knudtzon as *ju-ši-ru*; he was not certain about the PI = WA sign that is at the edge of the obverse (it must be read *yu* in forms of this verb). The reason for his uncertainty is simple: the horizontal wedge concluding the PI = WA sign is written high. This means that the scribe tended to write his final horizontal wedges high, instead of at the conventional mid-level. Therefore, his ME looks like LAL. This fact is significant for the acceptable analysis of line 27 below.

- Line obv. 13—Bezold (BB 1892:50) had written "sic" under the horizontal of the first sign; he recognized that it should not be the LAL but rather the ME sign, because a numeral was required. For the same reason, Knudtzon (1915:556 n. d) read *me*.
- Line obv. 15—In spite of the rare sign value  $q\dot{e}$ , the meaning of the temporal expression ("by the time of the summer") is obvious; cf. Rainey (2003:199<sup>\*</sup>).
- Line obv. 16—Moran (1992:213 n. 3; 2003:123) was correct in his original suggestion to read  ${}^{r}pi-ta-ta_{5}{}^{"}$  instead of his later attempt to read  ${}^{r}yi-sa{}^{"}-[ba]-{}^{r}ta_{5}{}^{"}$  following Knudtzon. It seems that Rainey's suggestion, "the king does not send regular troops to Byblos," is the only one that makes sense; cf. Rainey (2003:199\*).
- Lines obv. 17–18—Here are two clauses comprising the apodosis of the conditional sentence; their verbs are imperfect 3rd m.pl., the first one reinforced by the absolute infinitive. In the second clause (line 18) the direct object, *yâti* [*aradka*], is fronted to create a contrast between the accusative suffix of the previous clause, viz. -*ši*, referring to the city of Byblos, and Rib-Hadda himself. They will take the city but they will slay its ruler. Moran's [ÌR-*ka*] is certainly acceptable (1992:213 n. 4).
- Line obv. 19—This line contains a result clause expressed by the suffix conjugation verb. The form  $gu_5$ -<sup>r</sup>mi- $ru^3$  is 3rd m.pl. of the D stem suffix conjugation, i.e. *qummir* $\bar{u}$  (following the vocalization typical of the hybrid dialect of the Canaanite scribes, CAT 2:310-311 following Izre'el 1978b:74-78). The value  $au_5$  for the KU sign is indeed unusual (cf. URU  $Gu_5$ -ub- $li^{KI}$ in the obscure EA 67:14), just as is qè for GI in line 15. Both values are typical of peripheral texts not written by Canaanite scribes. The second sign, badly abraded, begins with a winkelhaken followed by traces of horizontals, certainly an original MI sign. The  $ru^{1}$  is clear enough. Other solutions for the verb in line 19, such as Moran's kummuru "to heap up" (CAD K:114a), only introduce meaningless confusion to the context. At the end of the line, *šàr-rù* is also an unusual orthography; it occurs again in *EA* 254:39 (nominative) and EA 228:8 (as an error for the genitive). Since it is in the nominative case, it should be preceded by a verb. Rainey's suggestion is [yu-ši-r]u-na, 3rd m.sg. imperfect energic. It is suggested that this is an energic in the protasis of a conditional sentence without the conditional particle *šumma* just as in EA 251:11-15 (CAT 2:241); see further Rainey (2003:199\*).
- **Line obv.** 21—The verb  $qarb\bar{u}$  is 3rd m.pl. of the suffix conjugation introduced by the conjunction to express purpose. This can hardly be a reference to launching an attack (*contra* Moran 1992:213 n. 5). The *maššartu*

troops were for garrison duty, i.e. defense and protection, not for aggressive action. They should be sent to protect the remaining officials from being killed like P<sup>e</sup>wuru.

- **Line obv. 22**—Because of the final *-i* vowel, Moran (1961:69 n. 52 = 1965:80 n. 2) considered *di-ki* to be a participle with *hireq compaginis*. The parallel in *EA* 132:45 has the 3rd m.sg. passive suffix form, *di-ka*.
- **Line obv. 23**—Knudtzon had read [*š*]*a-ki-in* with a footnote stating that the first sign was possible but that the second could be *di* as well as *ki*. The first sign is badly abraded, but its traces also suit  $ZU = s\dot{u}$ . Thus, Rainey restored  ${}^{r}s\dot{u}{}^{r}(?)$ -*ki-in*, which makes a more likely gloss considering the preceding  ${}^{r}ma{}^{-}lik$ , both as ideograms without case endings. This scribe equated MAŠKIM, *mālik* and *sôkinu*.
- Line obv. 24—The first part of this line is such a common idiom as to preclude any margin of error. The problem arises concerning the final sign combination. The final *ri* was perfectly clear. The middle sign was read as ri by Bezold (BB 1892:50), but Knudtzon (1915:558 n. c) corrected it to *hu*. In fact, is it *hu*, but the sign is elongated, that is, short of height but extra wide. This was necessary to squeeze it on to the bottom of the tablet obverse. The first sign in this group was badly abraded. Bezold thought he saw a NA, while Knudtzon transcribed [*š*]*u*, using italics to show his uncertainty. Actually, what he saw was a small indentation at the lower right side of the abrasion, followed by two horizontal wedges and what appeared to be one vertical. The indentation on the clay at the lower right side was not the head of a third horizontal wedge beneath the other two (which would have made the alleged  $\delta u$ ). It is really the bottom, the point, of a vertical wedge that can simply be read DIŠ, that is, the marker of a personal name. The presumed right hand vertical is actually the traces of two winkelhakens, one at the end of each of the two horizontals. In other words, what we have is 'DIŠ BI'. The resulting personal name can then be read <sup>rinr</sup>*Pí*<sup>¬</sup>*-hu-ri*, which is, of course, the name of the commissioner from the Damascus area mentioned in EA 132.
- Line lo. ed. 25—Now the switch to the plural in this line makes sense. Rib-Hadda has introduced another person, and he says "and we are servants of the king."
- Line lo. ed. 26—The next sentence is also couched in the plural, beginning with *u maris ana īnīnu* "and it is painful to **our** eyes."
- Line lo. ed. 27—The circumstantial clause that concludes this sentence can now be properly interpreted by analysis of the verb at the beginning of this line. The third sign was read *lá* (LAL) by Knudtzon (1915:358 n. d) with the note that it is written over something else. Bezold (BB 1892:51)

had read NI ŠU LAL KU, and he significantly added the word "sic" under the high horizontal of the LAL, just as he had done with the LAL at the beginning of line 13 above. In other words, Bezold had recognized the need to read the LAL sign in line 13 as ME because a numeric indicator was required by the context, and he also felt that LAL here in line 27 also had to be read ME. In the light of this scribe's habit discussed above, the sign must surely be ME. It is remarkable that neither Knudtzon nor Moran made the connection with the LAL = ME signs on the obverse.

The second sign in the line was read ŠU by Bezold; he saw three horizontals followed by one vertical. Knudtzon read the sign as na(!), and Moran accepted his reading. But the sign looks much more like UD, which Knudtzon evidently rejected because he could make no sense of it. Since Bezold's three horizontals might all really be there, the sign could possibly be DI.

Knudtzon's reading is, therefore, *ni-na-lá-ku*, for which he has no translation. Moran (1992:213 n. 6) reads *ni-(nu) na-lá-qú* and makes a desperate attempt to derive it as a passive, from either *leqû* or *alāqu* = *halāqu*. Both commentators, ignoring the evidence for LAL = ME on the obverse, also ignore the fact that LAL never serves for *lá* anywhere in the Amarna corpus. Knudtzon was familiar with the *lá* value from his previous work on Assyrian texts, and like many aspects of orthography and morphology, he imposed late Assyrian values on signs and ideograms in the Amarna texts. But LAL only appears in Amarna as an ideogram for either *simittu* (*EA* 9:37) or in the combination KI.LÁ = *šuqultu* in many lists of gifts or commodities (e.g. *EA* 5:26, 27; especially *EA* 14, *EA* 22 and *EA* 25 *passim* and various other texts that include lists). Yet, there is never an instance of LAL or LÁ serving as a syllabic sign in the orthography of a Semitic word.

So what can be done with the sequence NI UD (or DI) ME KU? In view of the context where the scribe has switched from the singular to the plural (to include P<sup>e</sup>wuri), the first sign can readily be accepted as the 1st c.pl. verbal prefix. The last sign is the standard representation of  $q\dot{u}$  and the next to last sign (written as if it were LAL/LÁ) often stands for  $m\dot{i}$  in these texts. When one thinks of a verb with a second radical m and a final radical q,  $dam\bar{a}qu/dummuqu$  immediately comes to mind. Therefore, the second sign, UD or DI, can provide the first radical. My first choice was to prefer the UD reading and transcribe ni- $d\acute{am}$ -mi- $q\acute{u}$ . If the sign should be really a DI, then we would have to read ni-de-mi-qu and posit a vowel shift typical of Middle Babylonian, a shift not at all typical of verbal forms in the hybrid dialect of the Amarna texts from Canaan. Here and there, other

Middle Babylonian verbal forms do appear in these texts, often as "Akkadograms" or glosses to hybrid forms. On the other hand, the value  $d\acute{am}$ is not typical of the Amarna texts. It is attested in *EA* 29:185  $d\acute{am}$ - $q\grave{u}$ - $\acute{u}$ tum. And it appears elsewhere in peripheral areas, e.g. at Ugarit,  $\acute{u}$ - $d\acute{am}$ - $m\grave{t}$ -qa-ak-ku "he has done favors for you" (*RS* 17.132:18; Nougayrol 1956:36). Therefore, I am inclined to prefer UD =  $d\acute{am}$  in this instance. The sign looked more like UD to me, and that is undoubtedly why Knudtzon transcribed it na(!); he saw the same number of wedges that I did. Incidentally, among the wide range of examples from  $dam\bar{a}qu/dummuqu$  in the dictionaries, many have orthographies with the ME sign, which *AHw* rightly transcribes  $m\grave{l}$ .

The form *nidammiqu* is therefore 1st c.pl.; it is the Akkadian present with the West Semitic imperfect *-u* suffix. It can mean to "be/become good." This would satisfy the context, but since the hybrid dialect often uses the Akkadian G present forms as substitutes for the D stem, it is possible that this is the intention here. The D stem can express "to behave favourably" towards someone as in the following: *a-na EN-ia ú-da-mì-i*[*q ù*] */ a-na* LÚ*tap* = *pi*-ia "Towards my lord I have behaved properly [and] towards my colleague", *EA* 120:44–45 (*contra* Moran 1992:199, 200 n. 14). Therefore, the circumstantial clause may be rendered "because we are behaving properly."

- Lines rev. 28–30—LÚ Ú]Š(?) / yu-na-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>¬</sup> LÚ KI[.SÌ.GA-]pí / <sup>r</sup>ia<sup>¬</sup>-nu a-na ša-a-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>¬</sup>; Moran's reading of the signs is correct and his conjectured transcription is brilliant. He was puzzled, nevertheless, by the meaning in this context. The translation we have preferred, "a corpse cast away having no one to care for the funerary offerings," makes beautiful sense out of the context. Rib-Hadda knows that if his enemies murder him, his corpse will be cast out without proper burial and funerary rites.
- Line rev. 30—[*ù a*-]*nu-ma*; *contra* Moran (1992:213 n. 9), thus removing an anomalous form of *pānānu*.
- Line rev. 32—At the end of the line, the final horizontal of the KA sign is visible after the abrasion. So it would be preferable to transliterate as AD-bu[-ka].
- Line rev. 37—The context requires the root *halāqu* and the beginning of the form determines the prefix conjugation. 3rd person, but there may not be enough room for Na'aman's *yu-ha-[li-iq]* (Na'aman 1975:167), whereas *yu-ha-[liq]* fits.
- Line rev. 38—At the end of the line, the traces indicate *yi-iš*[*-mé*] and not *yi-iš*[*-mu*]. This obviates Moran's remarks about the modal usages in the following verbs (Moran 1992:213 n. 12).

- Line rev. 41—Read *mi-nu-ma*, not *i-nu-ma*. *mi-nu-ma* here is personal, the subject of the verb, *yi-qa-bu*, "Who is/has been saying?"; *contra* Izre'el (1987:86) who took it as impersonal and read *yu-qa-bu*. For lines 41–45, cf. *CAD* A/1:220b; 240a.
- Line rev. 57—The final t[i] is sufficiently clear, at least the first wedge, so that there is no question about the ti-la-t[i].
- Line rev. 58—The *tillatu* auxiliaries are to guard the city; they are identical to the *maṣṣartu* troops requested in line 20. Thus, the remarks by Moran (1992:214 n. 14), in which he cites Pintore (1972b:106 ff.), are irrelevant.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}be^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}ÉRIN^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}MEŠ^{}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{\prime}ri^{}$  (obv. 8);  ${}^{\prime}li^{}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{\prime}MEŠ^{}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{\prime}sum^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}ma^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}MEŠ^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}q\dot{e}^{}$  (obv. 15);  ${}^{\prime}LUGAL^{}$  (lo. ed. 25);  ${}^{\prime}i\check{s}^{}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}su^{}$  (rev. 45).

### EA 132

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29801. COPY: BB, 18. COLLATION: 30.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:214); Giles (1997:407); Liverani (1998:206 [LA 167]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 156–157).

Troubles in the Șumur district have a direct bearing on the commissioner in the Kômidi/Damascus district. Rib-Hadda reveals here an awareness of P<sup>e</sup>wuru's important role in defending Egypt's best interests in Northern Canaan and Amurru.

The content of *EA* 132 is similar to that of *EA* 131, but the script is not identical. The signs in this letter are larger and more beautifully shaped. Some of the following notes which appear in Rainey's collation are already summarized by Rainey ( $2003:196^*-197^*$ ).

Line obv. 2—<sup>rdnr</sup>IŠKUR<sup>1</sup>; it is written on the upper edge, on the corner of the tablet.

Line obv. 8—*mi-li-ik* (*a-na*); for this possibility, cf. *CAD* M/1:156b.

Lines obv. 16–18—The passage must be rendered as a rhetorical question properly introduced by *ul*. The verb, *laqi*, is passive just as in *EA* 108:32–33,

*contra* Moran (1992:214). At the end of line 18, [ša-šu] is to be supplied, as in *EA* 108:33, where Moran read š[a-šu] (Rainey 2003:196 and collation).

Line obv. 23—At the end of this line: la—a ir—t[i-ha-at]. Knudtzon read la-a ir-h[a], but Moran evidently wanted to suggest a verb in the first person plural. His note on the passage (Moran 1992:214 n. 3) is as follows: "Perhaps ni-x-[x] (line 32); the third vertical of ir (Knudtzon, BB) is not clear. 'If we do not...Gubla, then...'?" Rainey's collation confirms that the IR sign is perfectly clear. The following wedge is not a vertical as thought by Knudtzon; it is the head of a horizontal followed by the lower trace of a vertical. That sign is TI. This permits the completion of the vocable as a hybrid suffix form from a well-known verb, viz. 3rd f.sg. irtihat applied to the survival of various towns (*EA* 90:8; 91:21;124:10; 129:18). The citation of the speech by Aziru can now be read:

19)	ù an-nu-ú i-na-na	And now
20)	pu-ḥi-ir ¹A-zi-ru ka-[li]	Aziru has assembled all
21)	LÚ.MEŠ GAZ.MEŠ ù q[a-bi]	the <i>ʿapîru</i> men and sa[id]
22)	a-na ša-šu-nu šum-ma	to them, "If
23)	URU Gub-la la-a ir-t[i-ḥa-at]	the city of Byblos does not rem[ain]
24)	[š]u-ut 'yu-ṣa'[ ]	[h]e will go forth []

(3 lines missing)

The full import of Aziru's declaration cannot be completely understood. Perhaps he was saying that if Gubla/Byblos is unable to hold out against his attack, then Rib-Hadda will have to abandon it.

- Line obv. 25—Rainey reads  $\dot{u}$  ' $n\dot{u}$ '-nu ÌR.MEŠ 'LUGAL'  $\dot{u}$ , he does not see any basis for the value m[u] that was transcribed by Knudtzon (collation).
- **Line rev. 32**—The vertical wedge before the break at the end of the line, for which Moran has no explanation (Moran 1992:215 n. 4), is to be read M[E] by supplying a horizontal wedge in the break. This M[E] is to be read m[i]; it is the enclitic marking direct speech and is attached to an absolute infinitive,  $ap\bar{a}š$ , a Canaanized form of  $ep\bar{e}šu$ . The infinitive here introduces a conditional sentence (Moran 2003:55; for further details and bibliography, see *CAT* 2:387).
- Line rev. 33—The [DUMU.M]EŠ is around the edge to the other side of the tablet; Ebeling has observed that it must belong to line 33, rather than to line 32 (Ebeling 1910:77).
- **Lines rev. 34–35**—The apodosis is  $\lceil u \rceil / laq\hat{u}ka$ , indicating what the result would be (*CAT* 2:361; 2003:197<sup>\*</sup>). The scribe uses many narrative *qtl* forms

(suffix conjugation verbs), e.g.  $qab\bar{\iota}ti$  (line 31); šama (line 35); naṣar (line 36); nukkir (line 41);  $na^{r}da^{1}[an]$  (line 42);  $d\bar{\iota}ka$  (passive G, line 45), as well as resultative  $laq\hat{\iota}ka$  and conditional  $q\hat{a}l\bar{\iota}ta$  (Rainey 2003:197\*).

- Line rev. 39—Rainey (30.12.1972) had restored [*a-na ia-ši*]. Independently, Na'aman (1975:167).
- Lines rev. 40–41—<sup>1</sup>*Ha-i*[*p*]/*a-*<sup>*r*</sup>*bu*<sup>1</sup>-*šu*; *Ha*<sup>i</sup>p's father was Pahmanata (Weber and Ebeling 1915:1561).
- Lines rev. 47–48—*u* P<sup>e</sup>wuru *lā yizizza ina āl Kômîdi* may be part of the protasis, as Rainey has assumed here, or part of the apodosis, as taken by Moran. Either way, the *-a* suffix on the verb may very well be the Akkadian ventive, which adds to this verb the lexical meaning of "presenting oneself, taking up a position," etc. (like Hebrew *hiţyaššēb*). So troubles in the Ṣumur district have a direct bearing on the commissioner in the Kômidi/Damascus district. Rib-Hadda reveals here an awareness of P<sup>e</sup>wuru's important role in defending Egypt's best interests in Northern Canaan and Amurru.

Line left ed 57—On [ti-n]a-sí-r[u], see discussion in Moran (1992:215 n. 6).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}zi^{}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}am^{}$  (obv. 18);  ${}^{r}nu^{}$  (rev. 42);  ${}^{r}\dot{s}i^{}$  (rev. 44);  ${}^{r}nu^{}$  (rev. 45);  ${}^{r}na^{}$  (rev. 46);  ${}^{r}LU^{}$  (rev. 49);  ${}^{r}a^{}$  (rev. 51);  ${}^{r}ti^{}$  (up. ed. 55).

## EA 133

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1667. COPIES: WA 66; VS 11, 74. COLLATION: 04.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:215); Liverani (1998:230 [LA 188]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 90 (Goren 157).

Rib-Hadda advises the king to ask Ḫaʿip, who is with him, about the hostility of ʿAbdi-Ashirta's son. The tablet is too broken to permit analysis of the text.

**Line obv. 5**—At the end of the line Rainey offers  $i[\underline{s}-bat]$ . **Line obv. 17**—On the gloss  $Ka[-\underline{s}i]$  "Cush[ites]," see Pintore (1973:105 n. 24).

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4754 (12189). COPY: WA 83. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:215–216); Liverani (1998:230–231 [LA 189]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Rib-Hadda says that the deities of Byblos have never abandoned it, but now the gods have granted the capture of the city by Aziru's troops, and they (the gods) will not come back (cf. Moran 1992:215 and Rainey's translation). The text is broken.

- **Lines obv. 1'–2'**—Knudtzon's restoration seems more acceptable than Moran's assumption [*uš-ši-ra*]-*mi* [ÉRIN.MEŠ], which is based on comparison with other cases in the *EA* letters (Moran 1992:215–216 n. 1).
- **Lines obv. 4'–6'**—If Moran's interpretation is correct, then *ina* in line 6 must mean "from," a not unusual nuance in separative contexts (note the Gt separative of the verb of motion); concerning the verb form in line 5, Moran's own collation indicates that either *i-ti-li-y*[*u*] or *i-ti-li-'ú*<sup>¬</sup> is possible. It is a clear Assyrian form with vowel harmony and non-contraction of the theme vowel (Rainey 1989–1990:62; *CAT* 3:130).
- Line obv. 10'—[*n*]*a*-*ad*-*nu* is taken here as 3rd m.pl. ("the gods have granted"), *contra* Moran (1992:215–216 n. 3) who takes it as 1st c.pl.
- **Line obv. 13'**—[ÌR L]Ú.UR.RI; with Moran (1992:216 n. 4). At the end of the line, Rainey restores  $[\dot{u}]$ .
- Line rev. 26'—Rainey completes [ÌR.MEŠ], *contra* Moran who follows Knudtzon's [URU].

## EA 135

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Ash 1893. 1–41: 409. COPY: Sayce (1894, no. 2). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This broken tablet no longer exists, it was melted by rain water.

# EA 136

### RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29799. COPY: BB, 16. COLLATION: 01.10.1999 and 07.05.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:216–217); Liverani (1998:233–234 [LA 191]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 138 (Goren 157).

This letter was sent from Beirut. Rib-Hadda writes to Pharaoh that he refused to listen to the men of Gubla, to his own household, and to his wife who repeatedly asked him to follow the son of 'Abdi-Ashirta so they will make peace between them. However, when he was under strong pressure, he went to 'Ammunīra's house to make an alliance between them, but when he retuned to his own house, 'Ammunīra had locked him out of the house.

- **Line obv. 14**—Moran derives the form  $i_{15}$ -*ma*- $i_{15}$  from  $ma'\hat{u}$  "to push away, repel" (see *AHw*:637, 1574); his own rendering "to refuse" (1992:217 n. 2) is more likely than *maja* "who?" which is suggested by *CAD* (M/2:63a).
- Line obv. 28—On the gloss *tu-ka*, see Moran (1992:217 n. 5).
- Line obv. 32—Moran (1992:217) translates e-pu-uš as an infinitive.
- Line rev. 34—*id-du-ul*; with Moran (1992:219 n. 4), *contra CAD*'s proposal to take the form *iddul* as a passive (*CAD* E:26b).
- Line rev. 41—At the end of the line, on the right edge, <sup>r</sup>*am*<sup>¬</sup> is badly broken but discernible.

There are traces of the following signs: '*na*' (obv. 14); 'EN' (obv. 16); '*ti*' (obv. 20); '*na*' (lo. ed. 21); '*ka*' (lo. ed. 22); '*pa*', 'LUGAL' (rev. 35); '*am*' (rev. 41); 'LUGAL' (rev. 42); '2' (rev. 44).

#### EA 137

## RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: PM I, 25, 1567 (Pushkin Museum). COPY: WA 71. COLLATION: 24.07.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: Pushkin Museum in Moscow.

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TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:132 ff.); Albright (1969:483-484); Seux
  (1977:48 ff.); Moran (1992:218–219); Liverani (1998:234–236 [LA 192]).
COMPOSITION: As EA 138 (Goren 158).
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Since Rib-Hadda's messenger returned from Egypt and no garrison troops were with him, 'Ammunīra expelled him from the city. Now as an old and very sick man who will not be restored to his city, Rib-Hadda expresses his willingness to accept any decision of Pharaoh; however, he requests to be allowed to live in a place dear to him (cf. Moran 1992:220 n. 12). Moreover, Rib-Hadda sent his son to Egypt to convince Pharaoh to seize Byblos using his regular troops. The tablet has been donated to the Pushkin Museum of Moscow.

Line obv. 1—[qí-bi-mi]; following Moran's suggestion (1992:219 n. 1).

- Line obv. 6—*lā tuddanū* "they have not been given"; in this text most of the plural forms have the (t)-preformative, see *tīmrū*, line 11; *tina*"iṣū-ni, line 14; [*ti-r*]*i-bu-mi*, line 42; *tilqū*, line 80, 93; *tişbatū*, line 98 (cf. Moran 1992:220 n. 12).
- Line obv. 12—*ti-iš-la*\*hu*; Moran (1992:219 n. 2) suggested to read the verb in question *ti-iš-la-u*<sub>5</sub> from *šalā'u* (*AHw*:1147), but in view of the clear West Semitisms in this text, viz. *ti-na-i-șú-ni* "they reviled me" (line 14) and *ia-an-aṣ-ni* "he reviled me" (line 23) and *yi-ih-na-nu-ni* "(if) he shows me favor" (line 81), Rainey does not take the synonym to be *na'āsu*, but rather takes the word as a straightforward Canaanism from \*šlh "to send" (Rainey 1989–1990:62b).
- Line obv. 33—ep-(ša)-ti; with Moran (1992:219 n. 4), contra Knudtzon; Oppenheim (1967:132 ff.); AHw:86ob. He also prefers hi-i15-tí to Moran's hée-tí (Moran 1992:220 n. 8).
- **Line obv. 40**—Rainey reads  $[t]i_7$ -is-[ba-tu], instead of Moran's te-is-[ba-at] who compares this form to *timtați* (Moran 1992:220 n. 6).

Line rev. 44—*ti-i*[*m*]-<sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>¬</sup>*-ti*; with Moran (1992:220 n. 8).

- Line rev. 54— $\dot{u}!(\check{SI})$  ta-ri-is; with Albright (ANET 483).
- Line rev. 66—inūma "since, because" is more likely than Moran's questionable translaion "when" (Moran 1992:219; so also Liverani 1998:235).
- Line rev. 82—One may suggest *ki*[*-na-na*] at the end of the line.

There are traces of the following signs: 'LÚ' (obv. 20); i' (obv. 34); a' (lo. ed. 41); <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>¬</sup> (rev. 44); <sup>r</sup>*il*<sup>¬</sup> (rev. 80).

## EA 138

# RIB-HADDA, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 351.

COPIES: WA 58; VS 11, 73.

COLLATION: 02.10.2003 and 06.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:221–223); Giles (1997:407–410); Liverani (1998: 236–240 [LA 193]).
- COMPOSITION: The clay was made in Beirut, so also *EA* 136 and 137 (Goren 158).

Rib-Hadda claims that half of Byblos prefers 'Aziru, while half remains loyal to Pharaoh.

- Line obv. 7—Read ga-[am]-[r]u, cf. EA 143:37 (a letter from Beirut) ga-am-r[u], contra Moran (1992:223 n. 1) and Na'aman (1975:71\* n. 40).
- Line obv. 8—Rainey prefers the Egyptian name '*A-ya* over the other option '*A-pi*, because of the rare usage of the *PI*-sign (*wa*, *wi*, *wu*, *ya*, *yi*, *yu*). Furthermore, Ay was a well-known Egyptian name; for example, the successor of Tutankhamun's Dynasty and the last Pharaoh of Dynasty XVIII was named Ay (cf. Rainey 2006:91c). On '*A-pi*, see discussion and references in Hess (1993:35) and Moran (1992:225 n. 29; 380).

Line obv. 12—Read *ni-*<sup>-</sup>*i*<sup>-</sup>*sú* (Rainey's collation).

- **Line obv. 13**—Rainey completes [*a*]-<sup>*r*</sup>*mur* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:221).
- Line obv. 19—Read 'URU'.KI 'A'.[PÚ.MEŠ] "Be[irut]" (Rainey's collation), *contra* Knudtzon (1915:580 n. a), Schröder's facsimile and Moran (1992:223 n. 3).
- **Lines obv. 23–24**—Rainey restores  $\dot{u}$  *a-nu-ma A-zi-[ru nu-kúr-tu*<sub>4</sub>] <sup>r</sup>4<sup>?</sup> ITI- $\dot{h}i^{\text{MEŠ}} / a$ -na ia-a-ši ki-a-ma <sup>r</sup>li<sup>¬</sup>-i-[de] be-li (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 30—*i*-*de*-(*ni*)-*ia*; cf. Moran (1992:223 n. 5).

- Line obv. 34—The restoration ['ÌR-*A-ši-*]*ir-ti* of was suggested by Moran (1969:98b).
- **Line obv. 35**—[*la-qa*] or [*la-qé*]; with Moran (1992:223 n. 7), *contra* Knudtzon's *l*[*a-qú*]. Notice that the traces of *l*[*a*], which were seen by the latter, are no longer visible.
- Line obv. 37—The verb *ni-ka-ši-šu* must be N stem because of the thematic vowel (Rainey 2002:57; *CAT* 2:118; 1978a:76), and the context, dealing with

the exhaustion of funds in Byblos, suits the N stem meaning for this verb (Rainey 1989–1990:63a).

- Line obv. 38—Concerning  $\rangle na \langle$  cf. the remarks by Moran (1992:223 n. 8).
- Line obv. 44—On *i*-<sup>r</sup>*zi*<sup>1</sup>-*bu*-*šu* as imperative, see Rainey (1973:254); Moran (1992:224 n. 10).
- Line obv. 48—Rainey's <sup>r</sup>*yi-it* <sup>1</sup>-*mi* (1973:254) is accepted by Moran (1992:224 n. 11).
- Lines obv. 49–50—Rainey (1973:254) confirms Schröder's  $\dot{u}$  instead of Knudtzon's reading, u[l]-ku. This reading was accepted by Moran (1992: 222).
- **Lines obv. 62**—Rather than taking *a-ša-bu* as *aššābū* "residents" (Moran 1992:222), Rainey prefers to see *ašbū* "sitting, dwelling, located." The crack in the tablet at the beginning of this vocable probably contained a Glossenkeil to indicate that the word belonged at the end of the line above (Rainey 1989–1990:63a and Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 76—Moran offers a brilliant solution to the putative *še-ti* "hour", viz. *še-ti = uțțati* "grains" = "seconds" (of time). It may be noted in passing that *AHw*:596b translates the *maltaktu* as "Sanduhr," while *CAD* M/1:171b translates it as "water clock," and both list *dibdibbu* as a synonym (borrowed from Sumerian). Moran (1992:224 n. 17) is certainly correct in seeing here an idiom. From the Akkadian point of view, the word is treated here as dependent upon the numeral, not as a measure defining some other commodity; therefore, it is not in *status absolutus* (Rainey 1989–1990:63b).
- Line rev. 92—*a-na*  $mah/\langle ri \rangle$ -šu; assuming MAH as a logogram for series (Moran 1992:224 n. 19) is not accepted by Rainey's collation; see also *EA* 140:25.
- **Line rev. 96**—The writing UR.GI<sub>5</sub> (= KI) instead of UR.GI<sub>7</sub> shows that the logogram has been learned poorly by the scribe (*CAT* 1:35).
- Line rev. 99—Since the discussion is about previous events, Rainey (collation) reconstructs [ $\dot{u}$  *na-aṣ-ra-a*]*t* as in *EA* 127:29, *contra* Moran's [ $\dot{u}$  *ta-ra-at*]*-mi* who compares it to *EA* 137:51 (Moran 1992:224 n. 21).
- Line rev. 100— $\dot{u}$  '*yi-di*'-*in*<sub>4</sub> [LUGAL ERÍN].'MEŠ  $\dot{u}$ '; Rainey's reading confirms Moran's conjectured rendering (1992:222).
- Lines rev. 103–106—Read <sup>r</sup>*ti-bal-ki-tu*<sup>¬</sup>, cf. Moran (1992:224 n. 23); *a-*<sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>¬</sup> *na-*<sup>r</sup>*da*<sup>¬</sup>->*na*(-<sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>¬</sup> *a-na*/>*a-na*(<sup>1</sup>*A-zi-ri..*/..(NÍG).GA.MEŠ (lines 104–106), cf. Moran (1992:224 nn. 24–25).
- **Line rev. 107**—Here  ${}^{1}A$ -pi is not the same person mentioned in lines 8 and 57 (cf. Moran 1992:26).

- Line rev. 109—Traces of  $\lceil q \acute{u} \rceil$  are visible, although Knudtzon did not record the traces.
- Line rev. 114—The reconstruction and rendering Rainey proposes are *ú-ul ya-*[*qú-u*]*l*[LUGAL *be-li*] '*a-*'*na*' URU.'KI' "[not] keep silent [con]cerning his [ci[ty]" (Rainey's collation).
- **Line rev. 117**—Rainey (collation) observed the sign NA and read *yi-pu-*<sup>*i*</sup>*uš*  $ar^{\neg}$ -*na* [*an-ni-ta*<sub>5</sub>]  $\dot{}u^{?}(?)$ , *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:223).
- Lines up. ed. 131–132—Here (also in line 136 as seen by Moran), *mi-nu-um* is adverbial, "why," not accusative, "what" (Moran 1992:223); see also Rainey (1995–1996:116b). Read *yi-iq-*<sup>r</sup>*ta-bu*<sup>¬</sup> at the end of the line, contrary to Knudtzon's *ji-i*[*q-ta-b*]*u*.
- Lines left ed. 135–136—Rainey translates "whom the king, my lord, knows well," instead of Moran's "whom the king, my lord, should be concerned about?" (Moran 1992:223, see also Rainey 1995–1996:116b). The signs *-ma* at the end of line 135 and *-'li*<sup>1</sup> at line 136 are no longer visible today.
- Lines left ed. 137–138—*mi-ta-ti*! (UD); the value *tú* is not attested in Byblos and so rare in *EA*. See also Moran (1992:225 n. 29); Gianto (1990:85 n. 4). The same scribe uses both *ta-aš-pu-ru-na* (line 122) and *ti-iš-pu-ru-<sup>r</sup>na*<sup>¬</sup> (in line 137) for 3rd c.pl. (Rainey 1989–1990:63b).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{1} (obv. 1); [ka^{1} (obv. 2); [a^{1} (obv. 6); [a^{1} (obv. 8); [a^{1} (obv. 25); [a^{1} (obv. 64); [na^{1}, [ri^{1} (rev. 80); [aš^{1}, [ba^{1} (rev. 88); [ti^{1} (rev. 103); [ri^{1} (rev. 109); [di^{1} (rev. 111); [mu^{1} (rev. 132).$ 

## EA 139

# 'ILU-RAPI' AND THE CITY OF BYBLOS TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29828.

COPY: BB, 45.

COLLATION: 01.10.1999 and 25.-26.01.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:225); Liverani (1998:240-242 [LA 194]).

COMPOSITION: Since chemically it is close in elemental composition to *EA* 129 of Byblos (which is like *EA* 90), it can be attributed to the Byblos correspondence (Goren 158).

As his predecessor, 'Ilu-rapi', the new ruler, laments the loss of many cities of Pharaoh to 'Aziru.

- **Line obv.** 5—*la-a ta-qú-ul* L[UGAL *a-na*  $Gu-\langle ub \rangle$ -*la*<sup>KI</sup>] is required by the sense of the text, *contra* Knudtzon's [*i-na* Gu-*la*] and Moran's "Do not neglec[t Gu $\langle b \rangle$ la], your city" (Moran 1992:225).
- Line obv. 10—Read *A-zi*!(ME.ZU)*-ri*. The ME and BA seen by Knudtzon (and Bezold) must be an error for ZI (Rainey 1995–1996:116b), *contra* Moran (1992:226 n. 3).
- **Line obv. 11**—*yi-pu-iš*; the scribe uses *IŠ* for *UŠ*, see also *EA* 140:21. The sign *iš* is error for *uš*.
- **Line obv. 13**—Read a- ${}^{r}pa^{3}$ -as (Rainey's collation). *i-na sàr-ri* "against the king"; here and also in *EA* 140:6.8 *ina* is used for *ana* (Rainey's collation). It seems that the scribe(s) of *EA* 139 and *EA* 140 lean quite strongly to where would have been appropriate (*CAT* 3:34).
- Line obv. 15—[A]r(?)-da-ta; perhaps the sign in question is [a]r. Knudtzon (1915:588 n. c) assumed [e]l-da-ta, see also Moran (1992:226 n. 5).
- Line obv. 19— $[i-p\acute{e}-e\check{s}_{15}]$  ar- $\langle ni \rangle$ ; following Moran (1992:226 n. 6).
- Line obv. 20—['Pí-ħ]u-ru; Moran (1992:226) suggests that the commissioner P<sup>e</sup>wuru undoubtedly occurs in this broken context. For occurrences and analysis of this Egyptian PN, see Hess (1993:125–126).
- **Lines obv. 22-lo. ed. 24**—The reading and the rendering were offered by Rainey. On *yi*-<sup>r</sup>*de*<sup>¬</sup> at the end of line 23, cf. Moran (1992:226 n. 7).
- Line rev. 25—Rainey (collation) restores [URU *Gub-la a-na* LUGAL] <sup>r</sup>EN-*ia*<sup>1</sup>. Against Knudtzon and with BB 45, he reads the value *IA*-sign.
- Lines rev. 27–28—Rainey's reconstruction is a tight squeeze (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 33—*ia-aš-ku-un* 'LUGAL' ŠÀ*-šu*; after the *un*, a narrow sign can be seen (Knudtzon 1915:589 n. h). On the phrase *libba šakānu* as corresponds to Hebrew *sîm lēb*, see Moran (1992:226 n. 8).
- Line rev. 36—Read *a-wa-ti* Ş*u-mu* //*ru* "things of Şumur," *contra* Knudtzon's *a-a-ti* Ş*u-mu-* //*ru* (Knudtzon 1915:590 n. b), Rainey's *a-ia-ti* Ş*u-mu-* /*ru* (1989–1990:63b) and Moran's *a-ia*<sub>8</sub>*-ti* (Moran 1992:226 n. 9) who has seemingly ignored the following vocable, S*u-mu-* //*ru*.

### 'ILU-RAPI' AND THE CITY OF BYBLOS TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1639. COPIES: WA 91; VS 11, 75. COLLATION: 13.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

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TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:226); Liverani (1998:241–242 [LA 195]).
COMPOSITION: As EA 90 (Goren 158).
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With regard to Pharaoh selling Byblos' former ruler down the river, 'Ilu-rapi' takes a diplomatic tack. The new ruler prefaces his rather stringent protests by an obsequious allusion to the supposed concern always displayed by Pharaoh for Byblos. In this letter 'Ilu-rapi' mentions again the crimes that 'Aziru has committed (cf. Rainey 1989–1990:64a).

- **Line obv.** 5—In the majority of cases, the verb *qâlu* appears in the suffix form. The prefix conjugation can have either the present-future theme or the preterite theme. Here *yi-qú-lu* is present-future, *contra* Rainey (1989–1990:63b; *CAT* 2:59).
- Lines obv. 6–9—The scribe made use of *ina* (lines 6, 9 and 29) where proper usage calls for *ana*; it is unnecessary to posit some special idioms in these instances (cf. Moran 2003:17; Rainey 1989–1990:64a; *CAT* 3:34). The verb *iš-ši-ir* (line 8) is a variant of *uš-ši-ir* (Rainey 1989–1990:64a).
- Lines obv. 16–17—1-*en* URU *Gub-l/is-sí-la-at šàr-ri* "Only, the city of Byblos, is a (stone) vessel of the king" (cf. Liverani 1998:241 n. 210, *contra* Rainey 1989–1990:64a; 1992:336).
- Line obv. 20—The TAM sign in [š]*a-ni-tam* looks like ÉRIN (Rainey's collation). At the end of the line, read š[*a*] instead of Knudtzon's *m*[*a*] (Rainey 1989–1990:64a).
- Line obv. 21—[*yi*]-*pu-iš*; the value IŠ is an error for UŠ, see also *EA* 139:11; Rainey (1989–1990:64a).
- Line obv. 22—*ur-ru-bi-šu*; the verb is in the D stem, probably intensive by virtue of 'Aziru's extended stay at the royal court, not to express a transitive (Rainey 1989–1990:64a), *contra* Moran (1992:226).
- Line rev. 25—Rainey reads [a-na] ma $h-\langle ri \rangle$ , contra Moran (1992:227 n. 2) and Na'aman (1975:82\*).
- Lines rev. 30–31—KI = *erṣetu* "land, territory." Izre'el's analysis of *yi-pu-šu* (line 31) as singular was accepted by Moran (1992:227 n. 3) and Rainey (Izre'el 1987:82).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{G}Ub^{1}$  (obv. 2);  $^{G}IR^{1}$  (obv. 4);  $^{m}ur^{1}$  (obv. 10);  $^{r}ri^{1}$  (rev. 27).

### 'AMMUNĪRA, THE RULER OF BEIRUT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29809. COPY: BB, 26. COLLATION: 12.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:227); Liverani (1998:163–164 [LA 129]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 98 (Goren 163).

This letter is the first of some seventy texts out of the 349 letters that are replies from the city-state rulers to an order from Pharaoh. The king asks them to be prepared to march in the vanguard of the Egyptian army. On the planned Egyptian campaign, concluding the preparations for the arrival of the troops, see the review by Rainey (2006:86–87).

Line obv. 4—With Moran (1992:228 n. 1).

Line lo. ed. 24—š*u*-š*i*-*ra*-<sup>*r*</sup>*ku*<sup>1</sup> "I am ready"; with *CAD* A/2:132a, 148a, *contra* Moran (1992:228 n. 2) and Liverani (1998:163 n. 68).

- Lines rev. 27–30—Rainey offers a different interpretation to Moran (1992: 227); besides, notice that the renderings of *mimmîya* "my possessions" (line 27) and *ana pāni* (lines 29–30) as "in anticipation, for the coming" are typical usages in these texts from Canaan (Rainey 1995–1996:117a). There remain traces of *im*<sup>1</sup> in line 27.
- Line rev. 31—Moran (1992:228 n. 3) refers the verb *ti-ra-ha-as* to the rare Akkadian *râsu* (*AHw*:959), but this is unnecessary. It has already been noted above that Rainey takes *ri-hi-is-mi* in *EA* 127:23 as a stative from another rahāsu "to smash," from which we have URU Ru-hi-sí (EA 53:56, also EA 53:36; 191:2), written in hieroglyphs Rú-gi-si (Thutmose III's List, No. 79) and *Rú-gi-sí* (BN 2; Edel 1966:15), indicating a G active participle, \*Rôģișu related by Sivan (1978:337) to the root \*rás that became rss in Hebrew and \*r<sup>"</sup> in Aramaic. There are two attestations of this same verb in the texts from Ugarit. One letter has an imprecation, dIŠKUR *li-ra-hi-i*s-šu "May Baal smash him" (RS 16.144:9; Nougayrol 1955:76), and dIŠKUR EN HUR.SAG Ha-zi / li-ra-hi-iş-šu "May Baal, the lord of Mt. Hazi, smash him" (lines 12–13), while another expresses the cohortative wish:  $\dot{u}$ *lu-ú ni-ra-ah-hi-is* <sup>UZU</sup>DUR-*šu* "and may we smash his belly" (*RS* 20.33:31'; Nougayrol 1968:74, 76), a context strikingly similar to EA 141:31-33. This latter spelling, with emphasis on the gemination, is a fair argument in favor of a strong guttural as the second radical. The Egyptian transcrip-

tions of the participial GN also point to  $[\acute{g}]$ . Therefore, it seems more reasonable to relate all these six attestations to one WS verb,  $*r\acute{gs} \rangle$   $*r\acute{ss}/*r``$  (Rainey 1989:90:64b).

Lines rev. 36–38—*a!-mur* (ÉRIN.ḪI.A *pí-țá-at*). */.../tu-ti-ru* <sup>r</sup>*gi*<sup>¬</sup>*-mi-li* ÌR-š; in this case *a!-mur* can be read and a subject agreeing with the verb *tu-ti-ru* (line 38) is to be supplied. This passage was clarified considerably by Rainey also in 1989–1990:64b, cf. Moran (1992:228 n. 6).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}te^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}EN^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}ku^{1}$  (lo. ed. 41);  ${}^{r}mi^{1}$  (rev. 27).

## EA 142

# 'AMMUNĪRA, THE RULER OF BEIRUT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29810. COPY: BB, 27. COLLATION: 13.08.1999 and 27.05.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:228–229); Liverani (1998:165 [LA 131]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 141 (Goren 163).

The ruler of Gubla is guarded by 'Ammunīra until Pharaoh takes counsel concerning the first. In addition, the sons of Rib-Hadda have been handed over to the rebels against the king in Amurru by his brother, who is in Gubla.

- **Lines obv.** 6-7—*uštebil*(*l*)*anni*; at the end of line 6 read *uš-te*<sub>9</sub>-*<sup>r</sup>bil*'!-*<sup>r</sup>la*'- and at the beginning of line 7 complete [*an-n*]*i*. This restoration is based on the formula of *EA* 145:11 (Rainey 1989–1990:64d–65a and collation), *contra* Moran's suggestion (1992:229 n. 2).
- Line lo. ed. 22—Read *i*<sub>15</sub>-*ba*-*aš*-*šu i*t-*ti*-*<sup>r</sup>šu*<sup>¬</sup>! (Rainey's collation, *contra* Knudtzon and Moran 1992:228). At the end of the line read *it*-*ti*-*<sup>r</sup>šu*<sup>¬</sup>! as can be seen in the photograph. The final damaged sign gave the impression of being *ia* because the vertical on the right side is broken up by abrasions that distort the shape of the wedge. Comparison with a *šu* from elsewhere on the tablet shows that *šu* would fit exactly in the damaged space. Furthermore, this now makes perfect sense of the context.

Line lo. ed. 23—Traces of -<sup>r</sup>*ti*<sup>¬</sup> are still visible (cf. Knudtzon 1915:596 n. e).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}bil{}^{1}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{r}a{}^{1}$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{r}a{}^{1}$  (obv. 23);  ${}^{r}\check{s}\check{a}{}^{1}$  (rev. 25);  ${}^{r}qa{}^{1}$  (rev. 27).

#### 'AMMUNĪRA, THE RULER OF BEIRUT, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1584 (+) C 4764. COPIES: WA 211; VS 11, 79 (see VS 12, p. 95) (+) WA 203. COLLATION: 21.01.80 and 08.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:229); Liverani (1998:164 [LA 130]). COMPOSITION: Probably as *EA* 141 (Goren 163).

This broken tablet does not make a full text. Nevertheless, it is still evident that Egyptian ships were anchored at Beirut.

Line rev. 20'—sí-ki-pu; following ARMT 3:115; CAD S/2:73b.

Line rev. 21'—Similar to the *uš-ši-ru-na-ši* 1st c.sg.

- energic imperfect in line 16 (cf. Moran 1992:229), and the meaning of *uš-ši-ru-*<sup>*r*</sup>*na*<sup>¬</sup> is "I will send," *contra* Moran's "I relea[se] (them)" (Moran 1992:229). The meaning "to release" for *wuššuru* is employed in the Amurru letters, but in the texts from Canaan (and also Egypt) it has the special western meaning "to send" (*CAT* 2:158–159; 1989–1990:65a).
- **Line rev. 22'**—"the handmaiden" is the title of Beirut. It was out of place; *uš-ši-ru-*"*na*" comes afterwards (Rainey's collaion).
- Line rev. 27'—*ta-a*[*s-r*]*a-* "wormer"; following *AHw*:1337; see also Moran (1992:230 n. 5).

Line rev. 37'—There are still traces of  $ri^{-1}$ .

#### EA 144

## ZIMREDDA, THE RULER OF SIDON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 323. COPIES: WA 90; VS 11, 76. COLLATION: 08.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:126–127); Moran (1992:230); Liverani (1998:161 [LA 127]). COMPOSITION: The clay is from the Lebanon coast (Goren 165).

Zimredda wants to account the cities that have gone over to the *'apîru* men, and he also wants those cities to return to his charge with the help of Pharaoh.

- Line obv. 5—The NU-sign looks more like the NI-sign, but not NI as in line 25. This NU-sign does not look as in Schröder's facsimile or as in line 10, but does look like in line 13 (Rainey's collation).
- **Line obv.** 16—*yi-*<sup>-</sup>*ša*<sup>¬</sup>-*qí*; this form from *šaqû* is recognize by *AHw*:1181a as a unique instance of N stem, but it is not in *CAD* Š/2:24b. The clause in question, *yi-*<sup>-</sup>*ša*<sup>¬</sup>-*qí* SAG-*ia* "my head was lifted up / elevated", deals with a series of past actions. Therefore, this form cannot be Akkadian G present-future (*CAT* 2:132 and Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 28—*ina pāni* instead of *ana pāni* (cf. e.g., *EA* 147:37).

Line rev. 29— $\check{s}\hat{a}lu$  "to call to account," cf. *CAD* Š/1:280a.

Line rev. 31—Read *tú-*<sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>¬</sup>*-ar*!(RI)*-ši-na*, cf. Rainey (1995–1996:117b and collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}na^{}$ ,  $i^{r}a^{}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}ni^{}$  (rev. 28);  ${}^{r}i^{}$ ,  ${}^{r}le^{}$  (rev. 32).

# EA 145

# ZIMREDDI, THE RULER OF SIDON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1695. COPIES: WA 182; VS 11, 77. COLLATION: 22.01.2004 and 05.06.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:231); Liverani (1998:162 [LA 128]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 144 (Goren 165).

There is no other case where a vassal reports in the opening passage as in this letter. The tablet is badly broken. Rainey's reading offers several improvements.

Line obv. 1—Read [*a-na* <sup>i</sup>Š*u-mi-*]<sup>r</sup>*it-ti*<sup>¬</sup> (Rainey's collation 05.06.2007).

Line obv. 3—<sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>¬</sup> at the end of the line is on the edge of the tablet (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv. 4**—It looks like there could be traces of  $-rka^{\gamma}$  before *amqut* (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 5—[*lu*-]<sup>r</sup>*ú ti-i-de*<sup>¬</sup>; cf. Moran (1992:231 n. 2).

- Line obv. 9—UZU.[K]A '\pi-ka'; Moran (1992:231 n. 3) assumes error for  $p\bar{l}su$ .
- Line obv. 10—The form of the verb *tú-ti-ra-an-*<sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>¬</sup> is jussive, *contra* Moran (1992:231); cf. Rainey (1995–1996:117a).
- Line obv. 12—Rainey's collation offers 'ša a-na' qa-at ''A-pí'.
- Line obv. 13—<sup>r</sup>*ti-iš*<sup>¬</sup>*tap-ra-an-*<sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>¬</sup>; read -<sup>r</sup>*iš*<sup>¬</sup>, not -<sup>r</sup>*il*<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon (1915:603 n. h) (Rainey's collation).

Lines Lo.e. 15–16—Following Rainey's collation.

- Line rev. 27—<sup>*iš*</sup> *te-mé*; Knudtzon (1915:604) read a [*yi*] preformative but still translated the verb as a 1st person singular, whereas Moran (1992:231) translated the verb as a 3rd person singular. Rainey thought that there was no need for a *yi* preformative and that the verb read better as a 1st person singular.
- Lines rev. 29–37—Rainey saw traces of the following signs:  $\lceil 2 \rceil$ ,  $\lceil MEŠ \rceil$  (line 29); n[a] (line 31);  $\lceil qu^{\gamma}$  (line 32);  $\lceil 2 \rceil$  (line 36);  $\lceil a \rceil$  (line 37).
- Line rev. 30—Read [*a-nu-um-ma iš-t*]*u* KUR.HI.A *a-lik*(?)-*mi*!(IGI). Modern ink 1695 obscures the text (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \delta a l \rceil$ ,  $\lceil a t \rceil$  (obv. 6);  $\lceil \delta u l \rceil$ ,  $\lceil t u \rceil$  (obv. 7);  $\lceil i \delta \rceil$ ,  $\lceil m e \rceil$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil n a \rceil$  (obv. 14);  $\lceil n u \rceil$  (rev. 18);  $\lceil \delta u \rceil$  (rev. 19);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil n a \rceil$  (rev. 20);  $\lceil h a r \rceil$  (rev. 21);  $\lceil i \rceil$  (rev. 23);  $\lceil t i \rceil$ ,  $\lceil i \delta \rceil$  (rev. 25);  $\lceil i a \rceil$  (rev. 26);  $\lceil u n \rceil$  (rev. 28).

## EA 146

### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1871.

COPIES: WA 231; *VS* 11, 78.

COLLATION: 13.02.2004 and 23.02.2007

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:232); Liverani (1998:152-153 [LA 120]).

COMPOSITION: There are no specific conclusions. The clay is undoubtedly not from the Tyre area, and it could be a letter from an Egyptian administrative centre (Goren 168–169).

The tablet is badly broken; more than 30 lines are missing. Moran's notes and reading have led to several improvements.

- **Lines obv.** 7, 9—The reconstruction Rainey proposed is  $[i\check{s}-me^{-1}]^{M}\check{s}e-hu$ DÙG.GA [ $\check{s}a\,i-ta-\check{s}i$ ] "I have heard] the good breath [that has come forth]" (Rainey's collation). In line 9, there are still traces of  $\lceil ka \rceil$ .
- Line obv. 11— $[\acute{u}-qa-am]$ -ma; with Moran (1992:232 n. 1).  $\check{s}a$ - ${}^{r}a$  $^{n}$ -ri; Knudtzon (1915:666–667 n. d) denies the sign *a*, but Winkler had recorded it (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 15—*i*[-*na*-*ki*-*ir*]; with the translation by Moran (1992:232).
- Lines obv. 16–17—The restorations can be compared to *EA* 148:24; 154:13 ff. as suggested by Moran (1992:232 n. 2).
- Line obv. 18—[*a-ša-a*]*s-sí*; following Moran (1992:232 n. 3).
- Lines obv. 20–21—<sup>r</sup>*mi-ma*<sup>1</sup> [*ia-nu*] /[ *a-na ša-t*]*i-šu-nu*; following Moran (1992:232 n. 4).

### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29812.

COPY: BB, pl. 11.

COLLATION: 10.04.2001

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:123 ff.); Albright (1955:483–484); Moran (1992:233–234); Liverani (1998:149–151 [LA 117]).
- COMPOSITION: A letter made on local sediments from Tyre. Similar to *EA* 151 (Goren 167).

Abimilki had received an order to "be in the vanguard" of the Egyptian army that Pharaoh was evidently about to send forth. In this letter there are some Egyptianisms (for references, see Moran 1992:234, especially in nn. 1, 5, 6, 12). Another characteristic of this text is that the scribe speaks of himself in both the first and the third person (Moran 1992:234 n. 10).

- Line obv. 10—*i*-*sà*-*hur*; the sign *i* has a vertical wedge like the logogram DUMU. On the etymology of the Northwest Semitic word *sa*-*pa*-*ni*-*šu*, see Grave (1980a:221–229).
- **Lines obv. 11–12**—The verb *it-ta-ṣa-ab* is probably not transitive, *contra* Moran's "who establishes" (1992:233). The clause seems to be a translation of an Egyptian passive relative form (Rainey 1995–1996:117a; 1989–1990:65a). On *ḥapšu* as the designation of a part of the body, see references in Moran (1992:234 n. 3).

- Line obv. 14—<sup>r</sup>*tar*<sup>¬</sup>-*gu*<sub>5</sub>-*ub*; following de Moor (cited by Moran 1992:234 n. 4). Moran compares this word to the personal name *yrgbb*<sup>°</sup>*l* in Ugar. 7, p. 6, RS 24.246:16.
- Lines obv. 23-24—i-sà-kir / KA.MEŠ ap-pí-ia; cf. Moran (1992:234 n. 5).
- Line obv. 29—The verb *ti*-<sup>r</sup>*ši-ir*<sup>¬</sup> is from *ešēru* "to go straight, to attack" (*CAD* E:353–354), *contra* Moran (1992:234 n. 7) (Rainey's collation).
- **Lines rev. 36, 38**—These lines use the Glossenkeil to indicate direct speech. The imperative *ku-na* in line 36 just might be an example of the true Akkadian plural, i.e.  $k\bar{u}n\bar{a}$  (cf. *CAD* K:171b). The normal 2nd m.pl. ending in the Canaanized texts is  $-\bar{u}$  (Rainey 1989–1990:65a). No injunctive glosses of purely Canaanite verbs are known with the volitive *-a* suffix, except for the apparent Canaanite imperative *ku-na* (*CAT* 2:255, 270); see also Moran (1992:234 n. 8).
- **Line rev. 43**—*it*- $\langle ta \rangle$ -*sí*; this form has to be translated as other forms of this root in this group of letters; however, there is possibly a missing sign in the middle, and even Knudtzon (1915:610) shows his uncertainty by adding an ! in its place; the actual cuneiform does not allow enough space for a ta sign as expected.

Line left ed. 68—Read [L]Ú, against Knudtzon's [ $\check{s}$ ] $\dot{a}r(!)$  (1915:612).

Line left ed. 69—At the end of the line read *ri*, against Knudtzon's *rum* (1915:612 n. a).

There are traces of the following signs: [ia], [dUTU] (obv. 1); [iš] (obv. 15); [li] (obv. 22); [na], [na] (obv. 24); [li], [ia] (rev. 31); [li] (rev. 45); [at], [šu] (rev. 46); [na], [da] (rev. 51); [it] (rev. 52).

## EA 148

### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4765. COPY: WA 99. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:235); Liverani (1998:153–154 [LA 122]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Abimilki writes to Pharaoh about the need of Tyre, and he also complains that the king of Hazor has joined the *'apîru* and has raided the land of the king.

- Line obv. 5—The  $^{NA}$  me-ku is in the nominative through the influence of *i-bá-aš-ši*, of which it is the subject (Rainey 1995–1996:117a).
- Line obv. 9—The form of *li-it-ta-din* is precative with *iptaras*, unless Gtn stem is meant (Rainev's collation).
- Lines obv. 4–13—The clauses are divided differently by Rainey and Moran (Rainey 1995–1996:117a, b).
- Line obv. 14—The LÚ.GÌR is surely the equivalent of ÉRIN.MEŠ GÌR(.MEŠ) of EA 149:62, contra Moran's remarks (1992:235 n. 1). The issue was always the furnishing of soldiers (Rainey 1995–1996:117b).
- Line left ed. 43-44—The anaphoric accusative plural of sarru "false, criminal" (CAD S:182) is employed only once in this Tyrian letter (CAT 1:98, 158), contra Moran (1992:235). In line 44 ša!-nu-ta<sub>5</sub>, contra Knudtzon (1915:614, 615 n. d).

## ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29811.

COPY: BB, pl. 28.

COLLATION: 03.02.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: BB, pl. 14. and WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:236-237); Giles (1997:411); Liverani (1998:154-156 [LA 123]).
- COMPOSITION: A letter made of local sediments from Tyre. The same as EA 151 (Goren 167).

Abimilki reports to the king that Zimredda, the ruler of Sidon, has taken the town of Usû from him and the people of Tyre have no water, no wood, and no place to bury the dead. Moreover, Zimredda, Aziru and the men of Arvad plan to capture his city with their ships, their chariots and their infantry. The signs on the reverse are smaller than on the obverse.

**Line obv. 11**—Moran's translation assumes that we have erroneously  $\hat{u}$  for ha (hamutta) or hu (hummutu), cf. Rainey (1989–1990:65a).

Line obv. 16—annāma "likewise," cf. CAD A/2:130a (Rainey's collation).

Lines obv. 28-31, 33-lo. ed. 35-With Moran (1992:237 n. 2), CAD A/2:130a (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 32—Read [GIŠ.MÁ-*ia iš-t*]*u*.

Line lo. ed. 38—LÚ. MEŠ KÚR'-[*i*]*a*; Rainey's collation corrects Knudtzon's reading.

- **Line rev. 41**—Knudtzon's  $\delta u$ - $^ra$ -tim<sup>¬</sup> at the end of the line is doubtful. Perhaps the reading should be URU- $\delta u \hat{u}(?)$  (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 43—With reference to *-ni*, Knudtzon (1915:617 n. i) noted that what stands there looks like *ir* with four instead of three parallel vertical wedges (compare photograph), but there are too many wedges for *ir* (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 47—<sup> $re-nu^{1}-ma$ </sup> "because," *contra* Knudtzon's u[m]-*ma*, and Moran's "whether" in 1992:236 (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 50—Moran has improved on Knudtzon by recognizing that *i-ta-zi-ib-šu* can only be 1st c.sg. transitive as indicated by the accusative suffix. The form is apparently Assyrianized Gtn preterite, *itazzib*, cf. Hecker (1968:150, § 90a), Rainey (1989–1990:65a).
- **Line rev. 60**—Grave's *iš-ta-*(nu)-ni (1980b:207 n. 16) is accepted by Moran (1992:237 n. 3), Liverani (1998:156), and Rainey. Here the form is the singular, although the context reflects a plural.
- Line rev. 62—ÉRIN.MEŠ GÌR.MEŠ-*šu-nu* "their infantry"; for this expression, see Moran (1992:140 n. 5).

**Line up. ed. 74**—The last sign  $tu_4$  is incomplete (Knudtzon 1915:619 n. f).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{1} (obv. 1); [am^{1} (obv. 3); [u^{1} (obv. 24); [n]a (obv. 25); [da^{1} (obv. 26); [ni^{1} (lo. ed. 37); [i^{1} (rev. 41); [ha^{1} (rev. 45); [na^{1} (rev. 46); [e^{1} (rev. 47); [im^{1} (rev. 49); [LUGAL^{1} (rev. 53); [im^{1} (rev. 54); [Ar^{1}, [wa^{1} (rev. 59); [nu^{1} (rev. 65); [a^{1} (rev. 73); [LUGAL^{1}, [de_{4}^{1} (rev. 81)]]$ 

#### EA 150

#### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4766. COPY: WA 98. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:237); Liverani (1998:156–157 [LA 124]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Unfortunately, the text is broken in important places. However, it seems that Abimilki writes to Pharaoh that he is guarding the city as the trooper, and he asks him for support. For another interpretation, see Moran (1992:238 n. 1).

#### EA 151

### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29813. COPY: BB, 30. COLLATION: 04.02.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:238–239); Giles (1997:411); Liverani (1998:157– 158 [LA 125]).

COMPOSITION: A letter made of local sediments from Tyre (Goren 166).

Abimilki responds to a request for information from Canaan by reporting events that took place in cities and states that were not themselves in Canaan, viz. Danuna, Ugarit, Kedesh (on the Orontes) and Amurru (cf. *CAT* 3:36).

**Line obv.** 1—The <sup>*r*</sup>*a*<sup>*r*</sup> sign can no longer be seen on the tablet.

**Line obv. 20**—*ra*<sup>-</sup>*narmi*<sup>-</sup>*ru-ti* \\*ú-pu-ti*; *ana mirûti* "for viewing, to see" (the king), parhaps it is the Canaanite word *mar*<sup>2</sup>*ê* (*AHw*:658b). The interpretation of the questionable gloss was first made hesitantly by Ranke (1910:26) and later accepted by Albright (1937:196 nn. 4–5), who had compared *ú-pu-ti* with the Egyptian *wpwt* "mission". On the other hand, Moran (1992:239 n. 1) and Liverani (1998:157 n. 42) are with Grave (1982:166 n. 30), who takes the gloss as reflecting West Semitic *'bd* "service(?)". However, Rainey suggests that perhaps the gloss of a Canaanite word is equivalent to Hebrew  $yop\bar{p}\bar{i}$  "beauty," but in *EA* 152:56 he follows Ranke and Albright (see below).

- Line lo. ed. 31—*ma*-[*gal ma-gal*]; following Moran (1992:239 n. 2).
- Line rev. 32—The obscure sign is evidently <sup>r</sup>ŠÀ<sup>¬</sup>, not *ši* as suggested by Knudtzon (1915:624 n. d). Thus read *i*-<sup>*r*</sup>*na* ŠÀ<sup>¬ d</sup>AB.BA "in the <sup>r</sup>midst<sup>¬</sup> of the sea" (Rainey 1989–1990:65a).
- **Line rev. 41**—Smudged  $de_4$  might be  ${}^{r}de^{1}$ , but it is not typical of this letter (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 47–48—GÚ.UN = GUN;  $^{GIŠ}ma-\langle qi \rangle$ -bu-ma follows Moran (1992:239 n. 3). For  $^{GIŠ}$ ÙŠAN in question, see *AHw*:922a; *CAD* Q:256b.
- **Lines rev. 50–51**—The object clause in these lines modifies the same clause from a Taanach letter:  $\dot{u} \ a$ -wa- $ta_5 \ mi$ -im- $ma^3 \ sa \ ti$ -iš- $me \ i$ ' iš- $tu \ a$ ' ra $nu-um \ su-up!$ -ra- $am \ it-\langle ti \rangle$ -i[a] "and whatever word that you have heard from there, send (in writing) to me" (TT 1:15–18; Rainey 1977:41, 43–44; 1995–1996:117b; *CAT* 1:102).

*ištu Kina'na*; the force of *ištu* in Pharaoh's request is thus to be understood as referring to Abimilki's location in Tyre, that is, to a major city of Canaan (*contra* Moran 1992:238). Tyre is viewed as a center to which political and military intelligence was expected to be sent. Abimilki certainly did not interpret *ištu* to mean that Pharaoh specifically wanted information concerning places within Canaan (Rainey 1996 III:36–37 and also 1995–1996:117b–118a).

Line left ed. 68—Read i- $^{r}kal^{\gamma}$ -l[i] at the end of the line (Rainey's collation).

Line left ed. 70—It seems to be  $ra-na ia^{3}-\check{s}[i]$  at the end of the line (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs: '*ia*', 'MEŠ' (obv. 1); '*li*', '*ia*' (obv. 9); '*e*' (obv. 12); 'EN', '*lí*', '*ia*' (obv. 15); '*ri*' (obv. 16); '*li*', '*ia*', *l*[*i*] (obv. 18); '*šu*', 'SIG<sub>5</sub>' (obv. 19); '*ni*', '*ia*', '*a*' (obv. 20); 'EN', '*lí*', '*ia*' (obv. 21); '*be*', '*li*' (obv. 22); '*ia*' (obv. 23); '*a*', '*na*', '*mab*', '*ri*', '*ti*' (obv. 24); '*a*' (obv. 25); '*u*' (obv. 27); '*u*', '*le*', '*ru*', '*ub*' (lo. ed. 30); '*li*' (rev. 37); '*li*' (rev. 38); 'MEŠ' (rev. 39); '*u*', 'GIŠ', 'MEŠ' (rev. 40); 'LUGAL' (rev. 41); '*na*' (rev. 42); '*nu*' (rev. 43); '*a*' (left ed. 68); '*li*' (left ed. 69); '*a*', '*li*'

#### EA 152

### ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1719. COPY: VS 11, 80. COLLATION: 29.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:239); Liverani (1998:152 [LA 119]). COMPOSITION: A letter made of local sediments from Tyre (Goren 166).

Abimilki claims that Zimredda, the ruler of Ṣidon, becomes his enemy, and since the hostility is strong against him, he asks the king for troops. In this broken text most of the signs, especially on the obverse, are obscure.

Line obv. 5—Read šàr-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>¬</sup>; [*be-lí-ia*] is no longer visible at the end of the line.

Line obv. 22—There seem to be traces of 'GÉME', as at the end of line 6.

**Lines rev. 44–45**—There are still traces of *be* and *ia*. At the end of line 45 Rainey completes [*-ni*].

Line rev. 48—*ti-e-ti*; see Moran (1992:239 n. 1).

- Line rev. 51—Rainey reads <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*wa-sú* (cf. Knudtzon's reading 1915:628 n. c), *contra* Moran (1992:240 n. 2).
- Line rev. 52—The traces of signs that Knudtzon saw are now no longer visible.
- **Lines rev.** 53–55—The verb *i*- $d_4$  is more likely stative rather than jussive (Rainey 1995–1996:118a), *contra* Moran (1992:239). At the end of line 54 Rainey completes [*ki-ti*], and in line 55 he reads  $\dot{u}$  '*A-bu*-LUGAL [..] $\dot{u}$  *id*-[*din* LUGAL]. For his earlier interpretation of these lines, see *CAT* 1:102.
- Line rev. 56—[*pa-ni-*]*šu a-na* \\*ú-pu-ut* L[UGAL *be-li-ia*]; in this case Rainey recognized the gloss *ú-pu-ut* as an Egyptian term, *wpwt*, "mission." For the latter interpretation, which was offered by Ranke and Albright, cf. above, *EA* 151:20. It is difficult to accept two different renderings of *ú-pu-ut*, meaning "beauty" in *EA* 151:20 or "mission" here, or maybe "so gi[ve, oh king, ]his[ face (of Abimilki) to the beauty of the k[ing, my lord ...]" (Cochavi-Rainey).

There are traces of the following signs: [*n*]*a*, '*be*', '*ll*', '*ia*' (obv. 1); 'LUGAL', '*be*' (obv. 9); '*tu*' (obv. 20); '*be*' (rev. 44); '*nu*' (rev. 49); '*i*' (rev. 50); '*ia*' (rev. 57).

### EA 153

## ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.2.12.
COPIES: Scheil (1902:116); Spar (pls. 114–115).
COLLATION: 29.01.2004
PHOTOGRAPH: Bull (1926:170, fig. 2, obverse); Pritchard (1954:76, no. 245, obverse).
TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Moran (1988:150–151).
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:239); Liverani (1998:151–152 [LA 118]).
COMPOSITION: Not examined.

In this short letter Abimilki writes to the king that he has manned his ships in view of the coming of the troops of the king.

Line obv. 2—'Ia-bi-LUGAL; the spelling of the PN is unusual. Moran's suggestion (1992:240 n. 1) perhaps reflects a glide between the *a*-vowels (*umma a-bi ⟩ yabī*). There are still traces of 'ÎR' at the end of line 2.

Line lo. ed. 17—Rainey completes [*a-na??*] at the end of the line because of *mu-hi* at the beginning of the next line.

**Line lo. ed. 18**—At the end of the line Rainey restores li-[ $de_4$  LUGAL].

### EA 154

## ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1718. COPIES: WA 162; VS 11, 81. COLLATION: 28.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:240–241); Liverani (1998:153 [LA 121]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 151 (Goren 168).

Acording to Abimilki's letter, since the departure of the King's troops, Zimredda, the ruler of Sidon, does not allow him or his men to go down the land to take wood supplies or to take water.

Line obv. 3—Read be-'l('-[i]'a', not Knudtzon's EN.
Line obv. 7—'ia'-ku-(un); Rainey (collation) observed traces of 'ia', cf. Moran (1992:241 n. 1).
Lines obv. 21, lo. ed. 22–23, rev. 24—See Rainey's reading and rendering.

Lines rev. 27–29—With Moran (1992:241 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a\check{s}](obv. 5); [la](obv. 13)$ .

### EA 155

## ABIMILKI, THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29814 (+) VAT 1872. COPIES: BB, 31 (+) WA 228; VS 11, 82. COLLATION: 07.02.2000 and 09.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:241–242); Liverani (1998:158–160 [LA 126]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 151 (Goren 168).

Abimilki asks the king to furnish sustenance for him, the servant of Mayati.

- **Line obv. 9**—Perhaps [n]a- $^{r}da$ - $ni^{1}$  at the end of the line, from between lines of reverse, see photo. Moran (1987b:390) suggested (donnée).
- Line obv. 11—*i*-*pu*-*uš*-*šu*-*ni*<sub>7</sub>; maybe the ending -*šu*-*ni*<sub>7</sub> is for dual suffix.
- Line obv. 19—*CAD* T:384a reads IN.NU, but with regard to IN *ti-ib-nu* in *EA* 148:33, read IN<sub>4</sub>.NU= *tibnu* "straw" (cf. Knudtzon 1915:634 n. c).
- Line obv. 20—ša-mu "plants," contra Moran (1992:242 n. 1).
- Line obv. 21—*a-na ba*[-*la-ți*]-*ma*; Schröder's facsimile 82 makes more sense (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 23—*a-na ša-šu*; Knudtzon's "*nu*" (1915:634–635 n. e) is the *ti* of *Ma-ya-ti* in line 42 (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 29—BAD-*ti*-[*i*]*a*; with Na'aman (1979:675).
- Line rev. 42—<sup>LMUNUS</sup>*Ma-ya-ti*; the sign *ti* is from line 23, see above.
- **Lines rev.** 43–45—*ša it-ta-și*; Gt stem, present. *amāta* is accusative of the verb *ippuš* (in line 45); it is cramped because of the addition of the anticipation clause (Rainey's collation). *-nu* is from line obv. 18.
- Line rev. 46—Rainey reads '*ù a*-*n*a' LUGAL *di*!-*ni*-*mu* [*i*-]*la*-'*ak*' "and for the king, he would die!", *contra* Knudtzon, Albright (1937:197 n. 2) and others who accepted this reading (e.g. Moran 1992:242 n. 3; Liverani 1998:160 n. 53).
- Line rev. 49—<sup>r</sup>*ip*-q*i*<sup>-</sup>*i*[*d*-n*i*]; there are only traces, but Knudtzon's reading (1915:636 n. d) is quite plausible (Rainey's collation). At the beginning of the line there are now traces of <sup>r</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.
- Line rev. 51—The signs are poorly perserved. After careful observation of the line, Rainey (collation) read *'a-nu-um-ma a'-[na]-'an'-sur!-r[u], contra* Na'aman (1979:675 n. 14).
- Line left ed. 70—*gáb-bi* 'URU'-*ia*; Gordon recognized that this *Glossenkeil* should be placed at the end of line 70, see Moran (1992:242 n. 5).

There are traces of the following signs: [a] (obv. 1); [na] (obv. 9); [ya] (obv. 15); [a] (obv. 25); [pu] (rev. 45); [a], [nu] (rev. 51); [hi] (rev. 53); [a], [na] (rev. 63).

## EA 156

### 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 337. COPIES: WA 34; VS 11, 83. COLLATION: 07.02.2000 and 09.02.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 15–16). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:242); Liverani (1998:273 [LA 242]). COMPOSITION: Most likely as *EA* 61 and *EA* 62 (Goren 107).

'Aziru sends his two sons to Pharaoh and requests to stay in Amurru. On the historical background of the 'Aziru letters, see Izre'el and Singer (1990); Rainey (2006:80–82).

Line obv. 9—T[UR.MEŠ]; with Knudtzon and Moran (1992:242 n. 1), and cf. Borger (2003:304 No. 255), *contra* Izre'el's LÚ Ì[R?.MEŠ?] (1991:II, 16 note). Line obv. 11—ù *li-ip-pu-š* [*u gáb-ba*]; the restoration follows Moran's translation (Moran 1992:242).

### EA 157

### AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 624. COPIES: WA 36; VS 11, 84. COLLATION: 22.09.2003. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 17–20). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:243); Liverani (1998:271–272 [LA 239]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 60 (Goren 107).

Line obv. 10—On LÚ.ÌR.MEŠ = *ardūtu* "service, to (be of) service", see Moran (1984:298–299; 1992:243 n. 1); Izre'el (1991:II, 20 note).

Line obv. 11—For "the senior officials" as Egyptian high officials staying at Sumur or in charge of it, see Moran (1992:243 n. 3).

Line obv. 13—On the reading *hi-it-tám*, see Izre'el (1991:II, 17 and note on 20).

**Line rev. 30**—ÉRIN.'MEŠ *şa*'-*b*[*i pí-țá-te*]; the restoration of these final words follows *EA* 166:4 (Rainey's collation). There are still traces of 'MEŠ'.

Line rev. 36—<sup> $r\dot{u}$ </sup> lu- $\dot{u}$ <sup> $\dagger$ </sup>  $l_{5}(?)$ - $^{r}k\dot{a}$ <sup> $\dagger$ </sup>[-am]; following Rainey's collation.

# AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU TO TUTU, THE VIZIER OF THE KING

TEXT: C 4758 (12205). COPY: WA 40. COLLATION: 28.01.1980 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 20–23). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:244); Liverani (1998:272–273 [LA 241]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

'Aziru promises the chief minister, Tutu, that he will supply his every request.

Line obv. 1—ÌR-*ka*[-*ma*]; with Moran (1992:245 n. 1); so also Izre'el (1991:II, 20).

Line obv. 5—[*a*]*t*-[*t*]*a*-*din*; with Moran (1992:245 n. 2).

Line obv. 13—*ad*!(*'id*'?)-*din*; Rainey's collation confirms the reading of Knudtzon (1915:642 n. b), but it should be *'ad*'-*din, contra* Moran (1992: 245 n. 3).

Line obv. 19—[*gáb-b*]*á*; with Moran (1992:245 n. 4) and Izre'el (1991:II, 21).

Line obv. 22— $[as-su]r_x([AMA]R)-ri [gáb-b]á;$  with Moran (1992:245 n. 5) and Izre'el (1991:II, 21).

Line obv. 23—[a-wa-t]a; at the beginning of the line Rainey saw traces of [t]a, cf. Izre'el (1991:II, 24 note).

Line rev. 28—[*ki-i-m*]*a a-ia-ši*; Rainey, as Knudtzon, did not see traces of [*ki-i-m*]*a, contra* Landsberger in Gordon (cited in Moran 1992:245 n. 8).

Line rev. 29—Perhaps the sign in question is *ba*, not *bá* as Gordon, cited in Moran (1992:245 n. 7), had suggested.

## EA 159

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1658. COPIES: WA 35; VS 11, 85. COLLATION: 10.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 24–27).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:244); Giles (1997:412–413); Liverani (1998:275– 276 [LA 245]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 61 (Goren 107).

Line obv. 1—ÉRIN instead of UTU, so also here in line 4 and 8 and in other places in the Amurru letters, see also Izre'el (1991:II, 124–125).

**Line obv.** 7—[EN-*ia*]; following Izre'el (1991:II, 24). There are still traces of *ta*<sup>1</sup>.

Lines obv. 9–10—Following Moran (1992: 245 n. 1).

Line obv. 17—[*a-na-ku*]; see Liverani's translation (1998:276).

### EA 160

### 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: PM I, 25, 1574 (Pushkin Museum).

COPY: WA 34a.

COLLATION: 24.07.2007

PHOTOGRAPH: Pushkin Museum of Moscow.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 28-31).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:244); Liverani (1998:275 [LA 244]).

COMPOSITION: Not examined.

'Aziru expresses his and his sons' loyalty to Pharaoh and promises to prepare all of the king's requests. The tablet has been donated to the Pushkin Museum of Moscow.

Line lo. ed. 20—With Moran's restoration (1992:247 n. 1).

- **Lines rev. 21–23**—Rainey offers a different interpretation than Moran (1992: 247): [ša ]*i*-qá-ab[-bi a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia] /[ma-ti t]a-bá-an-n<sup>c</sup>i<sup>°</sup> [URU mu-ša  $\dot{u}$ ] / [ú-r]a-am ša E[N-ia i-qá-ab-bi e-še-em-me].
- **Line rev. 26**—Rainey confirms the possibility of traces of  $b\dot{a}$  which Izre'el suggests (1991:II, 25 and 27 note), *contra* Moran's  $\dot{u}$ -*nu-ta* (1992:245 n. 2).

Line rev. 34—The restoration follows Moran (1992:245–247 n. 2).

Line rev. 36—SÚN = rimtu "wild cow."

Lines rev. 41–42—Rainey rejects the reading [*la-a*] at the end of line 41 and completes [*li-mu-u*]*r-šu-nu* at the beginning of line 42 (collation), *contra* Moran (1992:246 n. 3).

There are traces of the following signs:  $^r7^{"}$  (obv. 3);  $^rEN^{"}$  (obv. 13);  $^r8^{"}$  (obv. 14).

### EA 161

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29818.

COPY: BB, 35.

COLLATION: 01.02.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 31-35).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:247–248); Giles (1997:413–414); Liverani (1998:273–275 [LA 243]).

COMPOSITION: It may be similar to EA 169 (Goren 108).

'Aziru asks the king not to listen to the treacherous men who are slandering him.

Line obv. 1—The ana is very cramped (Rainey's collation).

- **Lines obv. 2**–**4**—<sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup>¬</sup> is compressed by cloth imprint. <sup>r</sup>DINGIR<sup>¬</sup>-[*i*]<sup>*r*</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup> (line 3) is on the side of the tablet and <sup>d</sup>UTU!(ÉRIN)-*ia am-qut* are all on the side of the tablet (collation).
- Line obv. 5—For interpretation of the form *ù aq-ta-bi*, see Izre'el (1991:II, 35 note).
- Line obv. 9—*te-še-em-me-e*; on the side and on the back of the tablet (collation).
- **Lines obv. 19–20**— $\acute{u}$ -ta- $^{r}na$ <sup>¬</sup>-bal- $\check{s}u$ ;  $^{r}na$ <sup>¬</sup>-bal is on the side,  $\check{s}u$  is on the back; the signs za-zu-ni<sub>7</sub> are written on the side of the tablet (collation).

Line lo. ed. 25—There are still traces of *'a-ma-te'* and *'li'*.

Lines rev. 35–38—*Şu-mur* is on the side of the tablet; KUR *Nu-ha* is on the side of the tablet and *aš-še* is on the back (line 36); the second part of the sign *H*I and the following *-ia* are on the side of the tablet (line 37); *'Ha* is on the side of the tablet and *-ti-ip* are on the back (collation).

Line rev. 44—KÙ.BABBAR; following Izre'el (1991:II, 32 and 35 note).

Line rev. 48—*bal* is on the side of the tablet between lines 4 and 5 of the obverse.

Line left ed. 56—"TIN!".ZI.MEŠ; Labat (no. 465 p. 209) corrects *CAD* B:52a. The subject of *li-*"*din*" is *mār šipri* (Izre'el 1991:II, 36 note).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[i^{n}(obv. 14); [na^{n}(obv. 19); [na^{n}(obv. 24); [a^{n}, [ma^{n}, [te^{n}, [li^{n}(lo. ed. 25); [na^{n}(lo. ed. 26); [ak^{n}, [a^{n}, [na^{n}(rev. 27); [eq^{n}(rev. 38); [eq^{n}(rev. 43); [u^{n}(rev. 50); r[u](rev. 51); [an^{n}(rev. 52).$ 

### EA 162

### THE KING OF EGYPT TO 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU

TEXT: VAT 347.

COPIES: WA 92; *VS* 11, 86.

COLLATION: 23.-26.02.2004

- PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:248–250); Giles (1997:414–416); Liverani (1998:279–281 [LA 251]).
- COMPOSITION: A royal Egyptian letter. No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 25–26).

Since the king suspects the intentions of 'Aziru to join his enemies, he urges him to return to Egypt or to send his son. This letter indicates that Pharaoh was contemplating a personal trip to Canaan (Rainey 2006:86c).

Line obv. 2—With Moran (1992:250 n. 1).

- Line obv. 4—[*um-ma-a l*]*i-qá-an-ni ù šu-ri-ba-an-ni i-na* URU.KI-*ia*; Rainey observed traces of [*l*]*i*, *contra* Knudtzon. [*l*]*i-qá-an-ni* is included as it comes before another quoted imperative of šu-ri-ba-an-ni linked with the conjugation particle *ú*; therefore, the reading of the first syllable as *li* is confirmed also by the successions of imperatives.
- Lines obv. 5–6—[*ma-ad* KÙ.BABBA]R; following Moran (1992:250 n. 2); for the restoration [ $\dot{u}$  *i*-]<sup>*r*</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>*a-nu* (line 6), cf. Moran (1992:250 n. 2).
- Line obv. 16—*tá-a-ku-ul kar-sí-i-šu*; read KAR, not TE A (with McCarter 1973:17, so also Moran 1992:250 n. 4).
- Line obv. 20—*šurrumma*; cf. the passage quoted in *CAD* Š/3:362a.
- Line obv. 23—KAŠ.M(EŠ); there is a vertical wedge that is the beginning of MEŠ (Rainey's collation).
- **Line obv. 28**—The questionable  $rpu^{\gamma}$  is confirmed by Rainey's collation.
- Lines obv. 30–32—For the rendering, cf. Cochavi-Rainey (1988:\*25) and also Rainey (1989–1990:65a).
- Line obv. 32-mi-im-ma "property," not Moran's "everything."
- Line obv. 35—Read *an-mu-ut-ti* (also in line 36) with Knudtzon and Winckler (Knudtzon 1915:656 n. c); *CAD* S:185a in Moran (1992:250 n. 9). Borger

does not recognize  $le_4$ , *contra* the Syllabar of von Soden and Röllig (1976:3 no. 12). Rainey translates, "If because of riches, you prefer these deeds" instead of Moran's "If for any reason whatsoever you prefer to do evil."

- **Line obv. 39**— $\dot{u}e$ -pu-uš ÌR-táa-na LUGAL EN-ka ' $\dot{u}$ ' bal-ta-tá; this sentence follows a thoroughly West Semitic pattern. It begins with an imperative and continues with the conjunction u followed by a stative (Cochavi-Rainey 2011:175).
- Lines obv. 40–41, 43—The rendering follows Cochavi-Rainey (1988:\*26; 2011:147); see also Na'aman (1990:405), Moran (1992:250–251 nn. 10–11). Read -*l*[*i*-*k*à] at the end of line 43.
- Lines obv. 45-rev. 46—*a*-[*na* LUGAL *li-il-li-k*] $\dot{a}$ (?); Rainey's conjecture (28.09.1981), cf. Moran (1992:250–251 n. 11). On the reverse there is a very small sign, cf. Knudtzon (1915:656–657 n. f; 1005 no. 115). At the end of line 46 Rainey completes [*i-na*].
- Line rev. 53—ki-i-mu- $^{r}u$ <sup>-</sup>ka; Knudtzon (1915: 657 n. h) reads u but notes that it can be something else. According to Rainey's collation, it looks like the scribe started to write  $\acute{u}$  and changed his mind.
- Line rev. 66—In Borger (2003:308 No. 271) ŠÈR-ŠÈR= *šeršerra/etu*, "chain." In Labat (no. 152, p. 105) ŠÌR- ŠÌR = *šeršerrātu*, "chain." NUNUZ; perhaps "ankles."
- Line rev. 71—<sup>1</sup>*Pi-iš-ia-ri*; in Egyptian *P3śirw* "the prince." The scribe uses the PI(WA)-sign for the value *pi*. For references, see Cochavi-Rainey (2011:191).
- Line rev. 73—DAM.MEŠ-*ti-šu aš-ša-te-e-šu*; Hittite-Egyptian ductus of DAM, *contra* Ries (*RLA* 6:183b) who wanted to read NIN (Moran 1992:251 n. 12).
- Line rev. 74—*pamahâ* "warrior, soldier"; an Egyptian-West Semitic (*p*?*mhr*) hybrid word (Cochavi-Rainey 2011:258–259).

Line rev. 75—ša-šu (ša); following Moran (1992:251 n. 13).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[A^{,} ma^{,} (obv. 1); [ud^{,} (obv. 5); [ha^{,} za^{,} (obv. 8); [a^{,} (obv. 10); [ta^{,} (obv. 12); [LUGAL^{,} (obv. 16); [u^{,} (obv. 26); [u^{,} , [u^{,} (obv. 27); [LUGAL^{,} (obv. 29); [ka^{,} (obv. 30); [sum^{,} ma^{,} (obv. 35); [si^{,} (obv. 37); [sa^{,} [k]i (obv. 35); [ta^{,} (rev. 55); [su^{,} nu^{,} (rev. 64); [lib^{,} (rev. 65); [su^{,} (rev. 72).$ 

### THE KING OF EGYPT TO A CANAANITE RULER(?)

TEXT: VAT 1885. COPY: VS 11, 87. COLLATION: 09.02.2004 TRANSLATION: Liverani (1998:282 [LA 252]). COMPOSITION: The clay of this Egyptian letter (as *EA* 382) was made of Nile silt (Goren 26–27).

The reverse of this fragment of the tablet was read by Knudtzon as parellel to *EA* 162:78–81.

### EA 164

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO TUTU, THE VIZIER OF THE KING

TEXT: VAT 249.

COPIES: WA 38; VS 11, 88.

COLLATION: 08.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 36–39).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:251–252); Giles (1997:416); Liverani (1998:277 [LA 247]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 169 (Goren 108).

'Aziru promises Tutu to come to Egypt when the king of Ḥatti leaves the land of Nugasse. The script of this tablet is beautiful.

**Line rev. 32**—<sup> $r</sup>ta_5^{}$  is tenuous, cf. Schröder's facsimile.  $^{r}mi^{}$ , the last sign, is on the other side of the tablet, cf. Izre'el (1991:II, 37).</sup>

Line rev. 37—Read *ni-iš-ku-un*!(UK?) (Rainey 1978a:92 and collation). For other interpretations, see Winckler (1896a:109); Moran (1992:252 n. 2); *AHw*:1179 and Izre'el (1991:II, 38–39).

Line rev. 40—<sup>d</sup>A = Aten.

**Line rev. 42**—*bá-nu* is stative 3rd plural. *banû* "good" = "guiltless" (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil ia^{\uparrow}(obv. 1); \lceil a^{\uparrow}, \lceil te^{\uparrow}(obv. 16); \lceil la^{\uparrow}(obv. 17); \lceil ha^{\uparrow}, \lceil še^{\uparrow}(lo. ed. 22); \lceil la^{\uparrow}(rev. 34).$ 

## EA 165

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 325.

COPIES: WA 33; VS 11, 89.

COLLATION: 16.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 40-43).
- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:252–253); Giles (1997:416–417); Liverani (1998: 276–277 [LA 247]).

COMPOSITION: 'Aziru probably sent this letter from Sumur (Goren 108–111). No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay.

'Aziru asks Pharaoh to permit him to guard the land of the king before his arrival in Egypt, since the king of Hatti is coming to the land of Amurru and he will attack Tunip. 'Aziru also requests that the king will not pay attention to the traitorous men.

- Line obv. 11—LÚ.ÌR.MEŠ = *ardūtu* "service, to (be of) service"; see above, *EA* 157:10.
- **Line obv. 20**—*as-sur*<sub>x</sub>(SUR)-*r*[*i-m*]*i*; cf. *EA* 166:23; 167:25. *CAD* S:411a cites these passages with *assurri*. There is no document for *sur* = *sur*.

**Line obv. 21**—Read [*i*]-*na* instead of Knudtzon's  $\lceil \dot{u} \rceil$ .

Line lo. ed. 22—a-ma-[ti an-ni-ti].

**Line lo. ed. 23**—There are still traces of iz-*za*-*az*; the restoration l[i-*ip*- $tu_4$ -*ur*] follows Moran (1992:253 n. 3).

There are traces of the following signs: [iz], [za], [az] (lo. ed. 23); [i] (rev. 36); [tam] (rev. 42); [te] (rev. 43).

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 250. COPIES: WA 31; VS 11, 90. COLLATION: 19.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 43–45). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:254); Liverani (1998:278 [LA 249]). COMPOSITION: See *EA* 165 (Goren 111).

The content of this letter is similar to EA 165.

Line obv. 4—*ištu* as equivalent of *itti* is well known.

Line obv. 15—-kunu; this plural suffix occurs for the singular, cf. Izre'el (1991:I, 101).

Line obv. 16—*kà-aš-dá-ku* "I am coming" (Rainey's collation).

Line lo. ed. 19—Here *-kunu* occurs for the plural suffix, *contra* Izre'el (1991:I, 101).

Line rev. 23—For  $sur = sur_x$ , see above, *EA* 165:20.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil a \rceil$  (obv. 1);  $\lceil la \rceil$  (lo. ed. 18);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$  (rev. 20).

# EA 167

# 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 326. COPIES: WA 32; *VS* 11, 91. COLLATION: 17.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 46–49). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:254–255); Liverani (1998:277–278 [LA 248]). COMPOSITION: See *EA* 165 (Goren 111).

Lines obv. 1–10—With Izre'el's translation (1991:II, 47–48), but at the end of line 9 restore [*a-ma-ra*] "to see" (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 13—Rainey reads 'ù' *a-nu-um-ma* '*i-na*'-[*an-na-ma*] "and then [verily(?)]."

Line rev. 30—<sup>*r*</sup>*am-ma*<sup>1</sup>-*la*; cf. Moran (1992:255 n. 2); Izre'el (1991:II, 49 note). Line rev. 31—[*ik-ta-*]*aš-<sup><i>r*</sup>du it-ti<sup>1</sup>Tù-u-tù; Moran (1992:255 n. 3) reads [*a-kà*]-*aš-(ša)-d*[*u i*]*t-ti*<sup>1</sup>Tù-u-t; Izre'el (1991:II, 47, 49 note) assumes [*kà*]-*aš-du it-ti*<sup>1</sup>Tù-u-tù.

Line rev. 33—[*i-nu-ma*]; following Izre'el (1991:II, 47).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[\check{s}]i$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{i}\check{s}{}^{\neg}$  (rev. 27);  ${}^{a}{}^{\neg}$ ,  ${}^{n}a{}^{\neg}$  (rev. 28);  ${}^{r}te{}^{\neg}$  (rev. 29).

# EA 168

# AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1659.

COPIES: WA 37; VS 11, 92.

COLLATION: 11.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 49–51).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:255–256); Liverani (1998:279 [LA 250]).

COMPOSITION: The clay was made at a coastal environment between Raphia and Ashkelon. It seems that the tablet was sent by 'Aziru from Gaza, the main Egyptian administrative center in southern Canaan (Goren 113).

Line up. ed. 13—Perhaps there are traces of *'li*' at the beginning of the line, *contra* Schröder's facsimile and Izre'el (1991:II, 50), who read *i* (Rainey's collation).

Line up. ed. 14—Read di not ti (= di), contra Knudtzon and Izre'el (1991:II, 50).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ku^{\gamma}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}ep^{\gamma}$  (rev. 2).

# DU-TESHUP OR BETI-'ILI(?), 'AZIRU'S SON, TO AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: VAT 1660. COPIES: WA 39; VS 11, 93. COLLATION: 16.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 51–54). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:256); Liverani (1998:283–284 [LA 254]). COMPOSITION: The clay was probably made at Tell 'Arqa, so also *EA* 161, 164, 170 and 171 (Goren 114).

The son of 'Aziru had paid ransom gold to get his father released. The gold was given to the king of Egypt. The rulers of Nugʻasse were anxious to know the fate of 'Aziru in Egypt. He was obviously involved deeply in the intrigues of central Syria, playing off the Egyptians against the Hittites. The author of *EA* 169, a son of 'Aziru (cf. Moran 1992:256 n. 1 for references), had told his neighbors to the north in Nugʻasse that 'Aziru should be expected home soon since the necessary payment had been made. This interpretation also casts a different light on 'Aziru's stay in Egypt. For a time, he may have been considered a hostage there. The payment of the gold was meant to convince the authorities that Amurru and its ruler (and his sons) were determined to remain loyal to Egypt. History was to show that such was not the case (Rainey 1989–1990:65b–66a).

- Line obv. 6—Rainey confirms Izre'el's reconstructed [*n*]*i* and restores [*a-na* pa-ni LUGAL n]*i*-dag-gal "[It is to the king that w]e look," contra Knudtzon who has a yi preformative in the space because he thought there was a trace of a sign before the dag; however, the trace is a horizontal line that may be the right hand side of the sign PI or NI, where the PI is taken by Knudtzon as yv.
- Lines obv. 12–15—Note the extraposition in these lines (Rainey 1995–1996: 118a).
- Line obv. 17— $Nu-ha-a\check{s}-\check{s}e =$  Nugasse. The spelling is established by Ugaritic  $(n\check{gt})$  and Egyptian  $(n-g-\check{s})$  transcriptions (cf. Rainey 1995–1996:65b–66a).
- Line lo. ed. 20—<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>¬</sup>-ap-šu<sup>-</sup>šu "You ransomed him," *AHw*:842b cites several other intances of *pašāru* with this specific meaning in contemporary texts (from Alalakh and Ugarit), *contra* Moran (1992:256) and Izre'el (1991:II, 53) who rendered "you sold" (cf. Rainey 1989–1990:65b).

**Line rev. 30**—<sup>*r*</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*pa*-<sup>*r*</sup>*tá*<sup>1</sup>-*ru*-<sup>*r*</sup>*ni*<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>; the reading of the third sign follows *AHw*: 850b; cf. Moran (1992:257 n. 4); Izre'el (1991:II, 52). **Line rev. 37**—[*uš-š*]*e-ra-am* "[re]lease."

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 9);  $\lceil a \rceil$  (lo. ed. 19);  $\lceil ta \rceil$  (lo. ed. 20);  $\lceil du \rceil$  (rev. 31);  $\lceil ka \rceil$  (rev. 34).

### EA 170

## BA'LUYA AND BETI-'ILI TO THE KING

TEXT: VAT 327.

COPIES: WA 143; VS 11, 94.

COLLATION: 17.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Dietrich and Loretz (1969: 16 ff.); Izre'el (1991:II, 55–58).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:257); Giles (1997:417–418); Liverani (1998:282– 283 [LA 253]).

COMPOSITION: Its geological interpretation is similar in most details to *EA* 169 (Goren 115). On the suggestion that the same scribe wrote both *EA* 169 and *EA* 170, see references in Moran (1992:257 n. 1).

Ba'luya and Beti-'ili sent this letter to 'Aziru, their brother (?), while he was staying in Egypt (Moran 1992:257). This is a beautifully written tablet; the signs are sunk deep in the clay.

Line obv. 1—The title LUGAL refers to 'Aziru.

Line obv. 11—*zu-zi-la-ma-an* as a Hurrian gloss is uncertain (Moran 1992:258 n. 3).

**Line obv. 16**—Rainey claims that the signs URU.HÁ on the right side of this line are an error; the sense of the context does not require *alāni*(!).

## 'AZIRU, THE RULER OF AMURRU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1723. COPIES: WA 185; VS 11, 95. COLLATION: 04.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Izre'el (1991:II, 59–61). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:258); Liverani (1998:272 [LA 240]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 169 (Goren 115).

'Aziru expresses his eagerness to serve the king, but Yanḥamu has not allowed him; he detained his envoys who were on the road to the king. This tablet is related to *EA* 157, but the author has his peculiarities (cf. Moran 1992:258 n. 1).

Line obv. 2—[um-ma <sup>1</sup>A-zi-ri ÌR]-<sup>r</sup>ka-ma<sup>1</sup>; Schröder's HI.A matches <sup>r</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>.

- Line obv. 3—[*iš-tu pa-na-nu-um-ma*]; with Na'aman (1975:60\* n. 9); Moran (1992:258 n. 2).
- Line obv. 7—[*ù ik-ta-la-šu-n*]*u*; with Moran (1992:259 n. 4).
- Lines obv. 8–9—[*la it-ta-aṣ-ṣú-nim*]; with Moran (1992:259 n. 5); at the beginning of line 9 read  $[\dot{u}]$  (with Izre'el 1991:II, 59), against Moran's [*lu-ú*].
- Lines obv. 14–15—<sup>*ik*<sup>1</sup></sup>-[*š*]*u*-*ud*-*ni* / <sup>*i*</sup>*Pu*<sup>1</sup>-*ú*-*wu*-*ru* [LÚ *ih*-*r*]*i*-*pí*-[*t*á LUGAL *be-lí-ia*; with Moran (1992:259 n. 6).

Lines obv. 17–25—Rainey restores *li-i*[*l-li-ká-am* ù].

Line rev. 35—LÚ.ÌR-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>¬</sup>; with Knudtzon, *contra* Moran's free restoration (1992:259 n. 7).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil an \rceil$  (obv. 5);  $\lceil ŠU^{\rceil}$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ku^{\rceil}$  (obv. 12);  $\lceil hi^{\rceil}$ ,  $\lceil ir^{\rceil}$  (obv. 20).

## EA 172

## A RULER OF AMURRU TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1887. COPIES: WA 224; VS 11, 96. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. COMPOSITION: No examined. It is a small fragment, the reverse completely destroyed.

## EA 173

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1875.

COPIES: WA 22; VS 11, 97.

COLLATION: 06.02.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:259); Giles (1997:418); Liverani (1998:266 [LA 234]).

COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay did not yield conclusive evidence of its specific origin (Goren 130–131).

The tablet is badly broken; some of the lines were restored by Knudtzon.

Line obv. 3—Read a-[sí-ri] instead of Knudtzon's a-[ši-ri], cf. Moran (1992: 259 n. 1).

Line rev. 15—At the end of the line Rainey (collation) saw traces of '*na*', not *ba*!; cf. *na* in line above.

## EA 174

# BI'RI, THE RULER OF HASHABU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1585.

COPIES: WA 160; VS 11, 98.

COLLATION: 09.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Weippert (1970:268-269).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:260); Giles (1997:418); Liverani (1998:259 [LA 224]).

COMPOSITION: The clay was probably made in the environs of Tell Hashbe (Goren 129–130).

Bi'ri reports to Pharaoh that Itakama, the ruler of Qinsa (Qidši), came at the head of the troops of Hatti and set the cities of the king on fire. The same message is repeated in *EA* 175–176 and 363.

Lines obv. 10–14—The locution *ana pāni* has more than one nuance. Rainey's rendering for the usage in these lines, viz "at the head of, in the forefront of", is supported by a statement by Etakkama, the same ruler of Kedesh being accused in this text. Etakkama justified his own success in a recent military action by claiming to Pharaoh that *il*<sub>5</sub>-*la*-*ak* /DINGIR.MEŠ-*nu*-*ka ù* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ka* / *a*-*na pa*-*ni*-*ia* (*EA* 189: rev. 13–15; Greenberg 1955:43; *CAD* A/1:318b). This same Etakkama is accused by neighboring rulers of actually working for the enemy (*EA* 174:11–14; 175:9–11; 176:9–11; also 363:9–11). There is no reason why the vassal should not offer to lead the Egyptain army (Rainey 1995–1996:118).

#### EA 175

### ILU-DAYYĀNI, THE RULER OF HASI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1588.

COPIES: WA 163; VS 11, 99.

COLLATION: 09.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:260–261); Liverani (1998:259–260 [LA 225])). COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay did not yield conclusive evidence of its specific origin (Goren 130).

Line obv. 3—The name of the ruler is Ilu-Dayyān[i], not Ilu-Dayyā (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 9—<sup>r</sup>a<sup>¬</sup>-*li*-uk for alik (Hebrew: hālak), so also EA 174:11; 176:9.

#### EA 176

#### THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29829. COPY: BB, 46. COLLATION: 19.10.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:261); Liverani (1998:260 [LA 226]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

It seems that the tablet was shaved with sharp knife.

Line obv. 8—The scribe uses ana for ina.

## EA 177

# YAMI'UTA, THE RULER OF GUDDASHUNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1684. COPIES: WA 163; VS 11, 99. COLLATION: 14.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:261); Liverani (1998:264–265 [LA 230]). COMPOSITION: No specific provenance determination (Goren 129).

The message of this letter is broken.

Line obv. 6—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>de<sup>¬</sup>.

# EA 178

# HIBIYA TO AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL (= KING?)

TEXT: VAT 1677. COPIES: WA 146; VS 11, 100. COLLATION: 05.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:262); Liverani (1998:265 [LA 231]). COMPOSITION: As EA 179; no specific provenance determination (Goren 131).

The king commanded Hibiya to assemble grain until the arrival of the senior official (= king?).

**Line obv. 1**—Perhaps LÚ GAL (so also in line 11) is error for LUGAL GAL, cf. *EA* 317:1, 7, 11, but note the short obeisance formula of only three lines (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 5—Read '*ù*'*yi-ta-lí*, not *Yatanu* (*contra* Knudtzon; Moran 1992:262; Liverani 1998:265). Knudtzon (1915:688 n. e) was most unsure about the

first sign of this line; his putative town there is probably a ghost. According to Rainey (1989–1990:66a), it seems hardly coincidental that the series *-ta*-NI should appear twice, one time after another, unless they belong to the same verb. Reading *ni-i*<sub>15</sub>*-ta-lí* in line 4 thus suggests 'u' *yi-ta-lí* in line 5. This would leave us with one unsolved problem, the subject of the verb in line 5. Assuming that it was someone known to the recipient who was expected to come to the sender, Rainey suggests the translation in lines 4–8.

Line obv. 8—<sup>1</sup>*Hi-bi-ya*; Knudtzon did not assume the PN determinative (<sup>1</sup>).

Line rev. 26—There are faint traces of '\' before EN-*ia*. The line under EN is just for alignment as in line 9 above (Rainey's collation).

#### EA 179

### THE DEPOSED RULER OFTÔBIHI TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1677.

COPIES: WA 146; VS 11, 100.

COLLATION: 27.01.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:262); Liverani (1998:265 [LA 232]).

COMPOSITION: No specific provenance determination (Goren 132).

The text is lacking its introductory lines and the beginning of the request.

- Line obv. 12—Rainey completes [*a*-*na*] at the end of the line, *contra* Moran (1992:262 n. 1).
- **Lines obv. 13–14**—There are still traces of 'LUGAL EN' and -'*ia*' and '*ù a-mur-mi*' (line 14).
- **Line obv. 16**—Perhaps the pejorative term  $s\dot{u}$ - $\dot{u}$ -ru is related to *surru* "treachery" (*CAD* S:413a) and also *sarru* / *sāru* / *šāru* (*CAD* S:182b–183a; Š:132b–133a), *contra CAD* S:415b (Rainey 1995–1996:118b and collation). There are still traces of  $^{\dagger}\dot{u}^{\dagger}$ .

Line obv. 17—[*a*]-*na e-pé-šu* instead of *ana epēši* (error in grammar).

**Line lo. ed. 19**—Rainey reads and renders [U]RU KUR.MEŠ '*A*'-*mur-ri*, [a c]ity of the lands of Amurru, *contra* Moran (1992:262).

Line rev. 20—Read [yu]-ga-mi-ir.

**Line rev. 22**—The scribe wrote *a-na-an-na* by mistake. Rainey (1975:413) suggested  $i_{15}!(A)$ -*na-an-na*. At the beginning of the line there are traces of  $\lceil a \rceil$  today.

Line rev. 23—The form  $i_{15}$ -din is an imperative used as a jussive like *uššira* in many texts (Rainey's collation).

**Lines rev. 24–25**—There are still traces of  $T t \dot{u}$  and  $\tilde{S} \tilde{E} \tilde{S}$  (line 25).

Line rev. 28—The sign of *bi* is no longer visible.

## EA 180

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4788 (12233). COPY: WA 198. COLLATION: 07.02.1981 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:263); Liverani (1998:249 [LA 209]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Gordon suggested that this is a continuation of *EA* 183. For notes, see *EA* 183+180.

### EA 181

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1623. COPY: VS 11, 102. COLLATION: 08.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:263). COMPOSITION: No specific provenance determination (Goren 131).

Line rev. 25—Read *lu-*<sup>r</sup>*wa*<sup>¬</sup>*-a*[*š-ši-ir*]; Knudtzon's *-š*[*a-ar*] is unlikely (Rainey's collation).

## SHUTARNA, THE RULER OF MUSHIHUNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1615.
COPIES: WA 130; VS 11, 104.
COLLATION: 15.10.2003
PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:264); Liverani (1998:249 [LA 208]).
COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay did not yield conclusive evidence of its specific origin (Goren 172).

Line obv. 2—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*um*<sup>1</sup> and <sup>r</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup>. Line obv. 11—Read *ù ni-lik* <sup>r</sup>*a-na*<sup>1</sup> (Rainey's collation), *contra* Moran (1992: 264 n. 1).

## $\mathrm{EA}\,183+\mathrm{EA}\,180$

## SHUTARNA, THE RULER OF MUSHIHUNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1595. COPIES: WA 130; VS 11, 105. COLLATION: 15.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:262). COMPOSITION: *EA* 183 as *EA* 182 (Goren 172).

Line rev. 19'—Read ši-ir!(NI)- $ti_7$  (cf. Moran 1992:264 n. 1) instead of *lem-né-ti*<sub>7</sub> (*CAD* L:123b).

# SHUTARNA, THE RULER OF MUSHIHUNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Ash 1893. 1–41; 426. COPIES: Sayce (1894, no. 18 bis). COLLATION: 05.04.2001 COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 127).

The tablet is broken.

**Line obv. 3**—Rainey (collation) thinks that there is room for [qi-bi-ma u]m-ma.

**Line obv. 8**—There are still traces of  ${}^{r}pi^{\gamma}$ .

## EA 185

### MAYARZANA, THE RULER OF HASI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1725. COPIES: WA 189; VS 11, 106. COLLATION: 10.03.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:265–266); Liverani (1998:261–263 [LA 228]). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 173).

Mayarzana is against Amanḥatpe. It seems that a band of '*apîru* raiders were attacking and plundering cities in the Beqa' Vally and then taking refuge with Amanḥatpe (*EA* 185:16–20) and here Mayarzana repeats the same refrain about several other towns: Gilôni, Magdali and Ushte (Rainey 2006:82b+c). The following notes are based on Rainey's collation.

Line obv. 9—With Moran (1992:266 n. 1), but instead of  $de_4$ , TI (Labat no. 73) =  $de_9$ .

Line obv. 13—Rainey saw traces of '*nu*' (not [*na*]) and 'ÉRIN'. '*i-pu-šu-mi*'; cf. Moran (1992:266 n. 2).

Line obv. 15—Traces of the line are on the tablet, only in spots.

Line obv. 20—No traces of a line under the text.

- **Line obv.** 26—*i*- $\langle ri \rangle$ -*bu-mi*; Knudtzon does not mention  $\langle ri \rangle$ ; however, he comments on this verb as being written over something else (Knudtzon 1915:699 n. a).
- Line lo. ed. 30—UTU as ÉRIN represents an archaic form.
- Line rev. 36—No traces of a line across the tablet.
- Line rev. 46—Rainey reads  $[i_{15}] [ri-bu-m]i$ , not Knudtzon's i[l] or Greenberg's i (1955:42).
- Line rev. 48—<sup>'</sup> $\dot{u}$ <sup>'</sup>[*i*-*n*]*a* URU *pa-a* $\dot{p}$ -(*ru*)-*mi*; with Moran (1992:266 n. 4).
- Line rev. 49—With Moran (1992:266 n. 5).
- **Line rev. 50**— $e = i_{15}$  as prefix.
- Line rev. 52—*t*[*i*-*na*-*am*]-*mi*-*šu*; following Landsberger in Bottéro 1954:98. GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ta*; diptotic fem. pl.
- Line rev. 58—<sup>r</sup>ša *i*<sup>1</sup>[-*ri*]-*bu-mi*; with Moran (1992:266 n. 7), *contra* Knudtzon; the same form is also to be supplied in *EA* 186:32, 40 (Rainey 1996:520).
- Line rev. 60— $[i^-, s[a-]r[a], pu^-, ni-na;$  the last sign is confusion or error for *-ma*.

Line rev. 62—The last wedge of this line is for *mi*(!).

**Line rev. 69**—At the end of the line read eb(!) not b[u].

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 19);  ${}^{r}ru^{1}$  (lo. ed. 31);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}^{1}$  (rev. 35);  ${}^{\prime}ha^{1}$  (rev. 59).

#### EA 186

#### MAYARZANA, THE RULER OF HASI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1724. COPIES: WA 193; VS 11, 107. COLLATION: 12.03.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:267–268); Liverani (1998:263–264 [LA 229]). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 128).

As in *EA* 185, also in *EA* 186 Mayarzana reports to the king on the Egyptian traitor. All the following notes are based on Rainey's collation.

Line obv. 4—Rainey's restoration is a bit crowded.

**Line obv. 10**—The first sign is  $\lceil \dot{u} \rceil$ , not  $[ \check{s} u ] m$ , *contra* Knudtzon and Moran (1992:268 n. 1). The restoration [ ni-mu-ut ] follows Moran.

- Line obv. 28—UR[U *Ma-ag-d*]*a-li*; following Moran (1992:268 n. 2), but Rainey saw traces of UR[U] and he also reads *-li*, not Moran's *-l*[*i*]. Schröder followed Knudtzon.
- Line rev. 43—Rainey's restoration is based on Moran's translation (1992: 267).
- Line rev. 56—'DUMU'-[*ia*] "sons"; there is not enough space for MEŠ.
- Line rev. 57—Rainey suggests *ti*-[*li-ku*] instead of Knudtzon's *ti*-[*ri-bu*].
- Line rev. 65—At the beginning of the line Rainey restores [ $\dot{u}$ ] ' $\dot{l}$ - $q\dot{e}$ ', *contra* Moran's [a-la]-qa-at (1992:268 n. 8).
- Lines rev. 76–77—[*qa-at-šu*] / *ia-ri-im*; in Hebrew: *hērīm yādō* "he rise up his hand."

There are traces of the following signs: *'i'*, *'bu'* (rev. 50); *'ba'*, *'tu'* (rev. 61).

### EA 187

# ŠADÊYA, RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29860.

COPY: BB, 77.

COLLATION: 25.01.2000 and 08.09.2007

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:268–269); Liverani (1998:266 [LA 233]).

COMPOSITION: Perhaps the origin of the clay is from the edges of the Beqa' Valley (Goren 127).

Šadêya sends his daughter to the king. All the following notes are based on Rainey's collation.

Line obv. 7—UTU as ÉRIN represents an archaic form (so also in line 25). 7-[*šu*]; Knudtzon's assessment, "hardly room for *ta-an* or *ta-a-an* (BB and W)" (1915:708 n. e), is correct, cf. *EA* 188:3 et al.

**Line obv. 10**—'UTU' is visible on the right edge (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv. 12**—Rainey reads E-ni-ša- $si_{20}$ [<sup>KI</sup>], contra Moran (1992:269 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}pi' (obv. 5); {}^{r}am', {}^{r}mu' (obv. 9); {}^{r}ia' (obv. 13); {}^{r}a', {}^{r}nu', {}^{r}ma', {}^{r}sa', {}^{r}ru' (obv. 14); {}^{r}ir', t[i] (rev. 22); {}^{r}a' (rev. 23).$ 

### THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4793 (12237). COPY: WA 208. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:269). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

**Line obv.** 4'—There are still traces of  $ra^{\gamma}$  and  $rnu^{\gamma}$ .

**Line obv.** 6'—š $\dot{a}$ [*r*-*ri*] E[N-*ia*] DI[NGER-*ia*], *contra* all the other restorations. **Line obv.** 8'—With Gordon (in Moran 1992:269 n. 2). The preserved traces of the sign at the beginning of the line do not indicate *a*, since it begins with two horizontals, *contra* Knudtzon's *a*.

### EA 189

## ETAKKAMA, THE RULER OF QIDŠU, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 336. COPIES: WA 142; VS 11, 108. COLLATION: 18.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:269–270); Giles (1997:419); Liverani (1998: 289–290 [LA 189]). COMPOSITION: The origin of the clay is from the vicinity of Tell Nebi Mend

(Goren 97–98).

Line obv. 9— $in\bar{u}ma$ ; Moran (1992:269) reads "then" in italics. Line left ed. 25— $p[a-nu-\check{s}u]$ ; cf. Moran (1992:269 n. 4).

# THE KING OF EGYPT TO ETAKKAMA, THE RULER OF QIDŠU

TEXT: Ash 1893. 1–41: 411.

COPY: Sayce (1894, no. 4).

COLLATION: 05.04.2001

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:270); Giles (1997:419–420); Liverani (1998:290 [LA 263]).

COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 27).

On the basis of the sign forms and formulaic expressions, *EA* 190 is attributed to the Egyptian origin letters, which were sent by Pharaoh or by a high Egyptian commissioner; cf. Moran (1992:270 n. 1) who confirms the determination of Knudtzon, Campbell (1964:126) and others that this tablet was sent from Egypt.

Lines obv. 2'-4'—At the beginning of line 2' complete [ $\dot{u}$  uṣ-ṣur] and in line 3', read uṣ-ṣ[ur] instead of Knudtzon's uṣ-ṣ[ur-mi] (Rainey 1974:306; accepted by Moran 1992:270 n. 1). For the restoration [lu na-a]ṣ-ra-ta, cf. Na'aman (1975:73\* n. 63).

Line obv. 5'—[URU *Ku-mì-*] $di^{KI}$ ; with Na'aman (1975:73\* n. 63). Line obv. 6'–12'—Rainey's reading and rendering.

## EA 191

# ARZAWUYA, THE RULER OF RŌĠIṢI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4760 (12192). COPY: WA 125. COLLATION: 27.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:271); Liverani (1998:287–288 [LA 259]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Line obv. 2—On the GN <sup>r</sup>Ru<sup>¬</sup>-*hi*-*sa*, see Rainey (1979).

Line obv. 9—The verb *i-ma-la-ku* is 1st c.sg. imperfect in a rhetorical question, see Moran (1992:271); Rainey (1989–1990:66a), *contra CAD* B: 71b.

Line obv. 11-The precative lu-uk-šu-da-am-mì presents 3rd pl, contra

Moran's 1st c.sg. (1992:271 n. 2). Here—*u*—instead of -*i*- as prefix vowel (*CAT* 2:212).

### EA 192

## ARZAWUYA, THE RULER OF RŌŚIṢI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1674.

COPIES: WA 126; VS 11, 109.

COLLATION: 02.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:271); Liverani (1998:288 [LA 260]).

COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay does not supply evidence of its specific origin (Goren 100).

**Line obv. 2**—UTU as ÉRIN represents an archaic writing, so also in line 8 (Rainey's collation). The sribe uses u as a conjunction. There are still traces of  $rna^3$ .

Lines obv. 12–13, lo. ed. 14—Rainey's restoration.

## EA 193

# TIWATI, THE RULER OF LABANA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1608. COPIES: WA 161; VS 11, 110. COLLATION: 10.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:272); Liverani (1998:288–289 [LA 261]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 179; no specific provenance determination (Goren 99).

Line obv. 3—The sign *A* is written with two wedges in this letter.



Line rev. 15—it- $ti_7$ - $\check{s}i^{(?)}$ ; with Knudtzon, *contra* Moran (1992:272 n. 2).

Lines rev. 17–18—Moran's parentheses (1992:272) are unnecessary, since here we have a construct noun governing a clause. CAD A/2:235b trans-

lated correctly but should have normalized *amēl lā yurradu*, with the first word in its bound form (Rainey 1989–1990:66).

#### EA 194

# BIRYAWAZA, THE RULER OF DAMASCUS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1705. COPY: VS 11, 112. COLLATION: 28.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:272); Liverani (1998:251–252 [LA 211]). COMPOSITION: The clay is of northern Canaanite provenance (Goren 170– 171).

The text deals with protecting the cities and caravans that are sent to the land of Nahrîm. The tablet is badly broken.

Lines obv. 8–10—See Moran (1992:272 n. 1); Na'aman (1975:74\*; 1988:180). Line rev. 22—KASKAL-<sup>r</sup>*ra*<sup>1</sup>-*na*; read -<sup>r</sup>*ra*<sup>1</sup>-*na*, neither Knudtzon's *m*[*eš*]*na* (1915:720) nor Moran's KASKAL-*na* (1992:272 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs: '*tar*' (obv. 9); '*a*', '*na*' (left ed. 31).

### EA 195

## BIRYAWAZA, THE RULER OF DAMASCUS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4761 (12230). COPY: WA 96. COLLATION: 31.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:273); Liverani (1998:251 [LA 210]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Seven letters, *EA* 195 and 201–206, were probably written by the same scribe at about the same time and perhaps in the same places; this conclusion is based on the common characteristics of these seven texts (Moran 1992:273 n. 1; 278 n. 1). With regard to the content, Biryawaza had hired mercenaries,

who surely were outcasts from the urban city-state society, alongside a unit of nomadic warriors, the *Sutû*. Incidentally, this shows that nomadic mercenaries were never confused with urbanized *'apîru* men (Rainey 2006:89b, *contra* Na'aman 1980).

- **Lines obv. 12–13**—KIN appears as an abbreviation of KIN.(NIM) = *šēru* "morning star, dawn," see Rainey in Moran (1992:273 n. 2). Against Knudtzon, Gordon showed probably a Glossenkeil at the beginning of line 13. The gloss is *li-mì-ma* "nations," the WS plural formation *lim* + *īma* for *li(`)mu* (Moran 1992:273 n. 2) or *le-lá-ma* "evening," the WS noun in pure adverbial accusative (*CAT* 1:167; 3:1). This is Canaanite *lēl* ((\**layl-*) plus the accusative like Hebrew *laylā*<sup>*h*</sup> (Sivan 1984:131).
- Lines lo. ed.-rev. 14–15, 24–25—On the unique style of the presence of 7-*šu a-na pa-ni / 7-ta-an-ni am-qut* (here and in *EA* 201–206), and on the special appearance (only here and in *EA* 201, 203–206) of *a-nu-ma a-na-ku qa-du /* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ia* ù GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ia*, see Moran (1992:273 n. 1).

### EA 196

## BIRYAWAZA, THE RULER OF DAMASCUS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1592+1710.

- COPIES: WA 159 (+) 143; VS 11, 111.
- COLLATION: 16.10.2003 and 28.04.2006
- PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:273–274); Giles (1997:420); Liverani (1998:253 [LA 213]).
- COMPOSITION: As EA 194 (Goren 171).

Line obv. 6—[*n*]*a*-*a*[*s*]-*r*[*a*-*k*]*u*; following Moran (1992:274 n. 1).

Line obv. 8—*i*-*n*[*a aš*-*r*]*i an-ni*; following Moran (1992:274 n. 2).

Line obv. 9—[*ar-hi-iš* ÉRIN GA]L; following Moran (1992:274 n. 3).

Lines obv. 10–11—Following Moran (1992:274 nn. 5–6), but see a quite different reading by Rainey. Na'aman's restoration (1988:187 n. 33) does not match the continuation (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv. 12**—There are still traces of *'na*'.

**Line obv. 13**—Rainey (collation) reads 'LUGAL ša  $ir^{-}ti_{7}$ -ha- $ti_{7}$ 'a'- $n[a \, sa$ -su].

- Lines obv. 16–17—Moran's remark (1992:274 n. 6) is forced. Rainey (collation) reads TUM.UT/ TUM+ÉRIN for EGIR! At the beginning of line 17 he completes [LUGAL], so also Liverani's translation (1998:253).
- Line obv. 19—<sup>r</sup>uṣ<sup>¬</sup>-ṣ[*u-ni*]; following Maynard (1925:130), accepted by Moran (1992:274 n. 9).

Line rev. 29—*su-ni-*[*šu*]; with Moran (1992:274 n. 11).

- Line rev. 30—Read [š]*a-ni-tam* (Rainey's collation), *contra* Moran (1992:274 n. 12).
- **Line rev. 35**—At the beginning of the line could be either '1' or '2'. At the end of the line  $\hat{I}[R-ka \ \dot{u}]$  seems likely (Rainey's collation). There are still traces of '*na*' and '*ri*'

Line rev. 37—Traces of  $i^{n}$  are visible.

**Line rev. 42**—Traces of [n]u are no longer visible.

Lines rev. 42–43—Cf. *CAD* N/1:222a.

### EA 197

## BIRYAWAZA, THE RULER OF DAMASCUS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29826. COPY: BB, 43. COLLATION: 18.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:274–275); Giles (1997:420–421); Liverani (1998:252–253 [LA 210]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 194 (Goren 171).

The tablet is broken, both at the top and at the bottom of the reverse. The contents deal with interesting historical affairs and the language, though sometimes using certain stereotyped expressions, contains some illuminating syntax as well as morphology. There are several places where restoration of a broken portion is virtually impossible. Some conjectures and other preferences may possibly help to improve the translation. According to this letter, Biryawaza's enemies do not want him to be able to communicate with the district to the north of his own district ('Epi/'Upi). By reaching Damascus, Biryawaza thwarted their plans because from there he could communicate well with Takhsi to the north (Rainey 1989–1990:66b–67a).

Lines obv. 2–4—URUA-[*ra-ri*?]; an enemy of the king, possibly Arzawuya of Rōģişi, is quoted as speaking to a ruler of some city, perhaps Araru. With regard to the following lines, Biryawaza's horses and chariot were evidently in the town of A[raru(?)] or A[duru]; however, Na'aman's suggestion (1988:183; accepted by Moran 1992:275 n. 1) that cuneiform <sup>URU</sup>A-*du-ri* = hieroglyphic '*a-du-ru-'a*/'*u-ta-ra-'a*/Heb. '*edrə'î* is patently absurd (Rainey 1989–1990:66b). Liverani (1998:252 n. 29) follows Knudtzon's A[*bi*].

[a-na] / ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu ù GIŠ.GIGIR-šu  $[i-di-in_4-šu-ni]$  / a-na LÚ.MEŠ SA.GAZ ù la-a  $ta[-di-in_4-šu-ni]$ ; in line 4 there is evidently a negative jussive, or ventitive; the parallel verb in line 3 would most likely be an imperative; the speaker did not want the horses and the chariot to be returned to their owner (Rainey 1989–1990:66b).

- Lines obv. 6–7—The rendering is based on the emphasizing function of the enclitic *-mi* attached to the preposition phrase *ina anami šarri*. That phrase is juxtaposed to *ana yâšiya*. The point is that all that belongs to Biryawaza belongs in fact to the king. The use of *ana* to express "belonging to" is almost unique to *EA* letters from Canaan and can hardly be anything but a calque on the WS preposition *l* (Rainey 1989–1990:66b).
- Line obv. 8—*yi*-(MAŠ)-*na-mu-uš*; *CAD* (N/1:221b) accepted this correction of Rainey (1974:306) but wrongly takes the town as the subject of the verb. Here the translation follows Moran (1992:275 n. 3, citing Kühne 1973:7 n. 34) who treats the verb *yinammuš* as 3rd m.sg., while a city in Canaan is treated as 3rd f.sg.; the subject is Biridashwa and Yanu'am is the object. However, this requires a transitive meaning for the verb, G stem being used here apparently for D. Such usages are not unknown in the *EA* letters (*EA* 88:24, 40; 198:20, 26, 30). Yanu'am is evidently Biridashwa's own city; that he caused it to defect from its loyalty to the local Egyptian commissioner (Biridashwa) suggests that he was doing the same for Ashtaroth from which he recruited chariot forces (Rainey 1989–1990:67a).
- **Lines obv. 13–14**—*yi-mur-ma*; note the 3rd m.sg. verb preceding  $ti_7$ -*pa-šu*, a plural (actually dual) subject;  $ti_7$ -*pa-šu* is properly in the 3rd m.pl. preterite, the *-a* theme is probably an Assyrianism, frequent in the peripheral dialects with the Akkadian present of epēšu, viz. tippašū not tippašūna (Rainey 1989–1990:67a).
- Line obv. 16—The verb *tiqbūna* is 3rd m.pl. preterite.
- **Line obv.** 17—*al-ka-am-mi nu-du-uk*  ${}^{1}Bir_{5}$ -*ia-wa-za* / "Come on! Let's kill Biryawaza and not let him get away to [the land of Ta]ḫsi"; a volitive chain, a singular imperative (with lexical ventive) as exhortatory particle followed by 1st c.pl. jussive (note *nudūk* and *nidūk*).

- Line obv. 18—*la-a ni-wa-aš-ši-ru-šu*; an indicative imperfect after injunctives. It is present/future tense because of the WS -*u* suffix and in spite of the Akkadian preterite -*i*- theme vowel. Here the verb *waššuru* has its normal meaning "to release, set free," not its specialized western usage, "to send" (Rainey 1989–1990:67b).
- **Line obv. 19**—[*Ta*]h- $ši_x$ (ŠE); the preserved traces suit that name better than any other (with Knudtzon, *contra* Moran 1992:275 n. 5, see also Rainey 1989–1990:67b).
- Line rev. 23—For thr restoration, cf. Moran (1992:275 n. 7).
- Line rev. 39—*lu-ú yu*!(UD)-*ša-lim*; Moran has correctly seen that the UD sign in the verb form must be an error for the PI sign. Rainey suggests to read *yu*!(UD)-*ša-lim = yušallim* (3rd m.sg. D jussive), because the D stem is typical of a deity's behavior towards a subject in Ugaritic (Rainey 1989–1990:67b).

## ARAŠŠA, THE RULER OF KÔMIDI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4763 (12194). COPY: WA 205. COLLATION: 27.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:276); Liverani (1998:258 [LA 223]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Line obv. 4 - A - a - [as] - sa'; with Moran (1992:276).

Line obv. 5—'ÌR-*ka*<sub>4</sub>'; with Gordon.

Line obv. 7—Read ka-bá- $^{r}si$  -ka- $^{r}ka_{4}$  in accordance with Rainey's collation (1995–1996:118b).

Line obv. 11—Rainey's collation confirms Moran's reading (1992:276 n. 2).

**Line rev. 24**—li-it!(UT)-r[u]- $us_4$ -mi; Knudtzon (1915:730 n. c) has a comment about the ru sign of the horizontal wedge being lower and longer than the ši sign, which was also noted by Gordon (see Moran 1992:276 n. 3); Rainey (collation) reaches the same reading of possible ru instead of the ši.

There are traces of the following signs: a' (lo. ed. 16); li' (rev. 18); lu' (rev. 26); ti' (rev. 28).

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4789 (12234). COPY: WA 205. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:276); Liverani (1998:256 [LA 221]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This broken tablet was restored by Knudtzon.

Line obv. 5—Gordon restored *a-mu*[*r*]-*x*, Rainey reads *a-*<sup>*r</sup></sup><i>mur*<sup>¬</sup> [*ša-pár*], *contra* Moran's *a-*<sup>*r*</sup>*bu*<sup>¬</sup>-*mi* (1992:277 n. 1).</sup>

Line obv. 9— $[u]\check{s}-\check{s}u-ur-{}^{r}ti_{7}$ ; Moran (1992:277 n. 2) thinks the reading of the verb exhibits confusion of  $u\check{s}\check{s}uru$  "to send" and  $\check{s}\check{u}\check{s}uru$  "to prepare." At the end of the line Rainey completes  $[g\acute{a}b-bi]$ .

Line obv. 10—Rainey restores [ú-wa-ši-ra].

#### EA 200

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1622. COPIES: WA 164; VS 11, 113. COLLATION: 18.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:277); Liverani (1998:256 [LA 222]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 201 (Goren 221).

In this letter there is less archaic orthography bi, not bi, and qu, not qu (Moran 1992:277 n. 1), but the ductus looks archaic (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 5—There are shadows that could be *im*, what Knudtzon thought was [u]m is the front of the [-q]u (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 9—Ka-ra-du-ni-aš; read Ka-ra, not Ka-ár (Moran 1992:277 n. 4).

## ARTAMANYA, THE RULER OF ȘIRI-BASHANI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 338. COPIES: WA 132; VS 11, 114. COLLATION: 04.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:277); Liverani (1998:256 [LA 222]). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay. The tablet was probably sent from the southern Bashan or Yarmuk Valley (Goren 216).

See above, EA 195.

Line obv. 16—*al*<sub>x</sub>(AN)-*la-ku*; cf. Moran (1992:278 n. 3).

#### EA 202

## AMAYASHE, THE RULER OF BYBLOS(?) OR BASHAN(?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 331. COPIES: WA 135; VS 11, 115. COLLATION: 04.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:278); Liverani (1998:246 [LA 201]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 201 (Goren 221).

Lines rev. 9-16, up. ed. 19-Cf. EA 201 rev. 15-20, up. ed. 21.

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>¬</sup> (lo. ed. 8); <sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>¬</sup> (rev. 15).

# ABDI-MILKI, THE RULER OF SHASH'IMI, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 330. COPIES: WA 134; VS 11, 116. COLLATION: 15.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:278); Liverani (1998: 246–247 [LA 202]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 201 (Goren 217).

Lines rev. 13–19—This passage is more parallel to *EA* 204 rev. 14–20; 205 rev. 13–18, than *EA* 201 rev. 15–20, up. ed. 21; 206 rev. 13–17. Line rev. 14—There are still traces of 'MEŠ'.

#### EA 204

## THE RULER OF QANÛ TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 328. COPIES: WA 133; VS 11, 117. COLLATION: 04.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:279); Liverani (1998:247 [LA 203]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 201 (Goren 217).

Lines rev. 14–20—See above, *EA* 203 and cf. *EA* 201 rev. 15–20, up. ed. 21; Moran (1992:279 n. 1). Lines 19–20 are almost illegible (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs: at', ta' (lo. ed. 9); sa', ap', ra', ta' (lo. ed. 10); MEŠ' (obv. 13); pa' (rev. 17); a', di', a' (rev. 22); a' (rev. 19).

### THE RULER OFTÔBU TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29861. COPY: BB, 78. COLLATION: 31.08.1999 and 04.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:279); Liverani (1998:247 [LA 204]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 201 (Goren 218).

The signs are large and clear.

**Line lo. ed. 10**—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>. **Lines rev. 13–18**—See above, *EA* 201.

#### EA 206

### AMAYASHE, THE RULER OF NAṢĪBA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4762 (12229). COPY: WA 151. COLLATION: 04.09.2003 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:280); Liverani (1998:247–248 [LA 205]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Line obv. 6—<sup>d</sup>UTU *li-mi-ma*; see above, *EA* 195: obv. 13; Moran (1992:273 n. 2). Lines rev. 13–17—See above *EA* 201; 202–205.

There are traces of the following signs: a' (rev. 11); na' (rev. 12); a' (rev. 13); a' (rev. 13); a' (rev. 14).

#### EA 207

# IPTE, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1593. COPIES: WA 194; VS 11, 118. COLLATION: 17.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:280); Liverani (1998:255 [LA 218]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 364 (Goren 222).

Lines obv. 6–7—'ÌR' [*ki-it-ti*] / [*ša-a*]; following Moran (1992:280 n. 1).

Line obv. 8—Rainey (collation) restores [*ia-a-*]<sup>r</sup>*nu*<sup>¬</sup>.

Lines obv. 9-10-With Moran (1992:280 n. 2).

Line rev. 15—Rainey (collation) reads [LÚ *ra*-]*bi-sú* (= *rābissu*).

Line rev. 17—Read <sup>r</sup>al-lu<sup>¬</sup>-mi.

Line rev. 21—ha- $^{r}pi^{(?)}$ - $^{r}ri^{(?)}$ ; the uncertain gloss (Moran 1992:280 n. 5) is confirmed by collation and the photograph. At the beginning of the line [a-na] can be read instead of Knudtzon's [i-na] (Rainey 1995–1996:118b).

There are traces of the following signs: '*me*' (obv. 4); '*mur*' (obv. 6).

#### EA 208

#### THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1699. COPY: VS 11, 119. COLLATION: 14.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:281); Liverani (1998:255–256 [LA 219]). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay. The tablet was probably dispatched from Damascus (Goren 222).

The tablet is badly broken.

Line obv. 8—*ki-ma a*[*r-hi-iš*]; Knudtzon (1915 n. e) notes the possibility of the sign *ra*; Rainey's reading is based on the translation of Moran (1992:281).

Line obv. 9—There are still traces of 'ir'.

## ZISHAMIMI, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: AO 2036.

COPIES: WA 149a; Thureau-Dangin (1922:101).

COLLATION: 03.05.2004

PHOTOGRAPH: The Museum of the Louvre in Paris.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:281); Liverani (1998:256 [LA 220]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 208 (Goren 222).

**Line obv. 1**—There are still traces of *ri*<sup>1</sup> and *bé*<sup>1</sup>.

Line obv. 3—On the edge of rev. there are traces of m[a]. There are still traces of  $r_{zi}$ ,  $r_{mi}$  and r R<sup>1</sup>.

Line obv. 4—Written ANŠE instead of GÌR as noted by Knudtzon (1915:742 n. h) and also by Gordon (Rainey's collation); cf. Moran (1992:281 n. 1).

- Line obv. 6—Read  $be' li i a^{\gamma}$ .
- **Lines obv.** 7–12—The verb *ha-di* is 3rd m.sg. while the subject is plural, URU.MEŠ *a-la-nu-*<sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>¬</sup> (Rainey 1995–1996:118b).

**Line obv. 13**—Rainey (collation) confirms the reading of the sign in question, *šu*, cf. Knudtzon (1915:742 n. a).

**Line lo. ed. 16**—*li-mu-*<sup>*r</sup></sup><i>hu*<sup>*r*</sup>[*-sú*?]; the restoration by Rainey is based on Moran's conjectured "smash" (1992:281). There are still traces of *<sup>r</sup>qà*<sup>*r*</sup>.</sup>

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}b\acute{e}^{\gamma}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{r}a^{\gamma}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}ri^{\gamma}$  (obv. 12).

### EA 210

# ZISHAMIMI, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1876.

COPIES: WA 223; VS 11, 120.

COLLATION: 04.09.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:282).

COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay. The tablet was probably dispatched from Damascus (Goren 223).

Line obv. 1—Read [*a-na* '*Ni-í*]*b-hu-ri*[*-ia*]. Knudtzon's conjecture of Amenophis IV is accepted by Hess (1993:116) and by Rainey, *contra* Moran (1992:xxix), who doubted that this letter was addressed to the king of Egypt, and *contra* Goren, Finkelstein, Na'aman (2004:223).

#### EA 211

### ZITRIYARA, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1648.

COPIES: WA 140; *VS* 11, 121.

COLLATION: 06.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:282); Liverani (1998:254 [LA 215]).

- COMPOSITION: The clay was made in south Canaan, the area between Raphia and Ashkelon. It is possible that the scribe wrote his letters in the administrative centre at Gaza (Goren 306–307).
- Line rev. 6—UZU.UR<sub>5</sub> as "stomach" is an odd usage; UZU.UR<sub>5</sub> is usually *têrtu* "oracle". The 11 texts had WS *kabattuma*.
- **Line obv. 13**—"yi"- $i\check{s}$ -te-m\acute{e}; from the other two letters in this group it seems that this verb should be read as 1st person sg. where Knudtzon reconstructs yi- preformative. It is not understood unless the scribe shifted from 1st person to 3rd person by mistake and that is why Moran (1992:282) reads the verb as "I am a servant of the king, my lord, *he has obeyed* the order that the king, my lord sent to his servant." At the end of the line Rainey (collation) completes [IR- $\check{s}u$ ] and notes that [IR- $\check{s}u$ ] as the subject of the verb links with the previous line.
- Line up. ed. 23—There are still traces of 'UGU'.

#### EA 212

#### ZITRIYARA, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1587. COPIES: WA 141; VS 11, 122. COLLATION: 09.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

1544

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:282); Liverani (1998:254 [LA 214]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 211 (Goren 307).

Line obv. 6—There are still traces of 'iš'.

Line obv. 9—*ki (p-pu-šu; ki-(a/ia-am)* which Moran (1992:283 n. 2) posits is not necessary. The verb as 1st c.sg. follows the Moran (1992:282), *contra* Knudtzon's 3rd c.pl.

**Line obv. 11**—The sign *bé* is no longer visible, and there are still traces of  $ria^{3}$ .

# EA 213

# ZITRIYARA, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29859. COPY: BB, 76. COLLATION: 01.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:283); Liverani (1998:254–255[LA 216]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 211 (Goren 307–308).

**Line obv. 12**—There are still traces of *<sup>r</sup>a-na*<sup>¬</sup>.

## EA 214

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1607. COPY: *VS* 11, 123. COLLATION: 23.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:283); Liverani (1998:255 [LA 217]). COMPOSITION: Since this tablet is possibly similar to *EA* 64, the suggestion is that its clay is of an upper Shephelah provenance (Goren 313).

This tablet is badly broken.

**Line obv. 5**—There are still traces of 'UTU'. **Line obv. 6**—According to Rainey's collation, the first sign is more likely '*uš*' than <sup>*iš*</sup>, cf. *EA* 221:7; 223:6; 232:9; 242:8, *contra* Schröder and Knudtzon (1915:249 n. b).

Lines obv. 9–10—Rainey's collation suggests a new reading and rendering, not all can be proven.

Line obv. 11—There are still traces of *'it'*.

Lines rev. 26–30—Rainey proposes reconstructions and a rendering for this passage.

#### EA 215

# BAYAWA, A RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29843. COPY: BB, 60. COLLATION: 01.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:283–284); Liverani (1998:108 [LA 56]). COMPOSITION: The origin of the clay is probably coastal southern Canaan (Goren 308).

Line obv. 9—On *lû* as the conditional particle instead of *šumma*, see *CAT* 3:190–191 and Moran (1992:284 n. 1). Line rev. 15—Around the edge of the tablet there is a faint sign of [K]I.

#### EA 216

# BAYAWA, THE RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4784 (12202). COPY: WA 195. COLLATION: 27.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:284); Liverani (1998:108–109 [LA 57])). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

**Line obv. 2**—Rainey's collation confirms the reading of Gordon, bi'. **Line obv. 10**—Rainey confirms Gordon's reading i'. There are traces of the following signs:  $[t\dot{a}]$  (obv. 9); [a] (obv. 10); [a] in [a]-wa-ti (obv. 13).

#### EA 217

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1604. COPY: VS 11, 124. COLLATION: 21.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:284); Liverani (1998:109–110 [LA 59]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 211 (Goren 310).

Rainey suggested some improvements of this tablet, on which most of the signs are barely visible.

- Lines obv. 10–12—Rainey's reading and rendering are paralleled in *EA* 227:13–14 (collation).
- Line rev. 14—Since Knudtzon's k[u] is [U]R, Rainey restores [U]R.<sup>r</sup>GI<sub>7</sub><sup>-1</sup> [ $\dot{u}$  la-a] and he notes that the room for his reading is a tight squeeze (collation).
- Line rev. 15—Read <sup>r</sup>*yi-iš-te*<sub>9</sub><sup>¬</sup>-[*mu*], the first sign is barely seen (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 18— $[\dot{u}^{\gamma}y[u-\check{s}i-][ra^{\gamma}-m[i]]$ ; Rainey's collation.
- Line rev. 20—At the end of the line Rainey's collation offers  $ki-ma ar-hi-is^{\dagger}$ , *contra* Knudtzon's questionable [u]s-s[u]r.
- Line rev. 22—Read ti-m[u]-t[u]- $^{r}na^{\gamma}$ . There are traces of the signs t[u]- $^{r}na^{\gamma}$  on the back corner (Rainey's collation).

**Line rev. 23**—<sup> $r</sup>gáb-ba^{-}(šu)-nu$ ; following Moran's translation (1992:285).</sup>

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{r}am^{1}$  (obv. 7);  $^{r}ma^{1}$  (rev. 10).

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1696. COPY: VS 11, 125. COLLATION: 19.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:285); Liverani (1998:110 [LA 60]). COMPOSITION: As EA 211 (Goren 311).

Line obv. 7—Read <sup>r</sup>*iš*-te<sub>9</sub><sup>¬</sup>-mé; with Moran's translation (1992:285). Lines obv. 9–10—At the end of line 10 read  $i_{15}$ -š[u-š*i*-ru], cf. *i*-š*u*-š*i*-ru in EA 216:10; 226:15; 316:23 (Moran 1992:285 n. 1). Line obv. 11—k[i]-<sup>r</sup>ma qa<sup>¬</sup>-[bi]; cf. Liverani's translation (1998:110). Lines rev. 14–16—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>ya<sup>¬</sup> and <sup>r</sup>gal<sup>¬</sup>.

#### EA 219

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1720. COPY: VS 11, 126. COLLATION: 02.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:285). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay can be drawn from the analysis (Goren 314).

The text is badly broken.

# NUKURTUWA, THE RULER OF 'SUNU'(?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4785 (12226). COPY: WA 150. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:285–286); Liverani (1998:112 [LA 65]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Moran (1992:286 n. 1) notes that there is an Egyptian notation of some sort, in black ink, on line 2; similarly, *EA* 221, 225, 262, 294, 326.

#### EA 221

# YIQDASU, A RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 341. COPIES: WA 136; VS 11, 127. COLLATION: 18.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:263); Liverani (1998:145–146 [LA 221]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 259 (Goren 255).

There is an Egyptian notation at the end of the tablet, see *EA* 220 (Moran 1992:286 n. 1, see also Knudtzon 1915:760 n. a and Schröder's copy).

**Line obv. 4**—The language represented by <sup>1</sup>*Yi-iq-dá-sú* is WS. The PN reflects a 3rd m.sg. *yiqtalu* form of the root *qdś*, not *ksy* as Hess (1993:168) suggested.

## YIQDASU, A RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1623.
COPY: VS 11, 102.
COLLATION: 16.01.2004
PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:286–287); Liverani (1998:146 [LA 114]).
COMPOSITION: As EA 259 (Goren 252–255), but see Rainey's review of Goren's geological definition of the clays EA 257–259 (Rainey 2006:89c–goc).

- **Line obv. 1**—The tablet was broken on the upper left hand corner and the scribe added *a-na*<sup>1</sup> on the shoulder, so also the qi in line 2 (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 8—<sup>r</sup>a<sup>-</sup>-[*nu-ma*]; with Moran (1992:287 n. 1), *contra* Knudtzon who read *a*[*-mur*].

#### EA 223

#### INTARUTA, THE RULER OF AKSHAPA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1870.

COPIES: WA 220; *VS* 11, 129.

COLLATION: 06.02.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:287); Liverani (1998:134 [LA 96]).

COMPOSITION: As *EA* 259 (Goren 252–255), but see Rainey's review of Goren's geological definition of the clays *EA* 257–259 (Rainey 2006:89c–90c).

Line obv. 4—<sup> $r_1</sup>In_4$ -tar- $\dot{u}^{\gamma}$ -ta; following Thureau-Dangin (1922:100 n. 1).</sup>

Line obv. 7—Read *gáb-bi* <sup>r</sup>*mi-im*<sup>3</sup>-*mi* "all the goods / supplies" since these letters are replies to specific requests for the assembling of foodstuffs and other supplies and equipment; *mimmî* here stands for the noun derived from *mimma* (Rainey 1995–1996:119b).

Line obv. 9—Read *gáb-bi* <sup>r</sup>*mi-im*<sup>¬</sup>*-mi* "all the goods".

# SHUM-HADDA, THE RULER OF SHAM'ÔNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29849. COPIES: BB, 66. COLLATION: 02.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:287); Liverani (1998:139 [LA 103]). COMPOSITION: The clay was made of Beth-Shean Valley sediments (Goren 236–237).

- **Line obv. 1**—It seems that there is room for [<sup>d</sup>UTU DINGER.MEŠ] on the back of the tablet (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 8—Read duh ni (Rainey's collation), not Na'aman's du ni (1975:78\* n. 78), since the sign in question begins with horizontals, not with three heads of wedges. For the *DUH*-sign, see Labat (no. 167 p. 107).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\[ \dot{u} \] (obv. 6); \[ \dot{i}a \] (obv. 8); \[ ma \] (obv. 13); \[ ub \] (rev. 14).$ 

#### EA 225

## SHAMU-HADDI, THE RULER OF SHAM'ÔNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4787 (12222). COPY: WA 131. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:288); Liverani (1998:139 [LA 104]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

At the end of the tablet there is a hieratic sign.

**Line obv. 3**—For LÚ-*LIM* / LÚ-*lì* where the dependent case is probably intended, see *CAT* 1:32.

# SHIPTURI, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1610. COPIES: WA 157; VS 11, 130. COLLATION: 20.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:288); Liverani (1998:144 [LA 109]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 168.

Line lo. ed. 12—Moran (1992:288 n. 2) has corrected Knudtzon by reading  $[\dot{u}]$  at the end of the line.

**Line rev. 13**—Rainey (collation) reads  $[\acute{u}]$ -u;<sub>4</sub>-s; $\acute{u}$ -m[i] (note: a;= u;<sub>4</sub>) instead of Knudtzon's [ja]-a;-zu-m[i] or Moran's proposal  $[\acute{u}]$ -a;-s; $\acute{u}$ -m[i] (1992: 288 n. 2).

There are still traces of the following signs:  $\[\dot{u}\]$  (obv. 8);  $\[\dot{u}\]$ ,  $\[\dot{q}a\]$  (lo. ed. 12).

# EA 227

# THE RULER OF HASÔRA (HAZOR) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29830. COPY: BB, 47. COLLATION: 17.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:288–289); Liverani (1998:142–143 [LA 107]). COMPOSITION: The clay was made at Hazor (Goren 228).

Line obv. 4—The sign *a* is invisible today.

**Line obv. 4**—Read  $\langle H \rangle$ I.A = **EVALUATE:** Knudtzon accepts BB without ques-

tion; however, three wedges can not be seen.

Line obv. 7—Contrary to Knudtzon, who did not see *-ia* at the end of line 7, Rainey observed traces of this sign.

Line obv. 9—Moran's alternate reading, viz. *a-sé* TI "the coming forth of the life of...," is more attractive than his former suggestion to read *a-sí-ti* (Rainey 1995–1996:118b; 1975:421–422).

- *an*(*a*) -*š*[*i*]; Only *EA* 227 utilizes the spelling àna (AN = an(a)), so also in line 13 (Rainey 1975:421–422 n. 235; 1978:63; *CAT* 3:12).
- **Line obv. 10**—*yi-ša-ma-aḫ* TI *am-tal*[-*li-ik*]; with Na'aman (*NABU* 1996: No. 82 p. 73); perhaps ŠEŠ (Labat no. 331 p. 151) = *aḥ* or error for *aḥ* in *yi-ša-ma-aḥ* (\**yišamma'*) (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 11—*il*<sub>5</sub>-*la-ti-ya* "my elation," cf. *AHw*:372b.

**Line obv. 12**—TUM = *ip*, so also in line 16, cf. Knudtzon (1915:767 n. h).

Line obv. 16—Small wedges visible = DUMU. Rainey notes that

he does not see any wedges like Knudtzon (1915:767 n. i) describes.

Line obv. 17—Maybe [*u yi-iħ-d*]*u*? ŠÀ(-*ia*), cf. Moran (1992:289 n. 4); Rainey (1975:422 n. 35).

Line obv. 18— $[il_5$ -la-ti-]ia ri-iš- $ti_7$ ; cf. Moran's free restoration (1992:289 n. 9).

There are traces of the following signs: 'LUGAL' (obv. 1); 'a' (obv. 5); 'ba' (rev. 24).

## EA 228

# 'ABDI-SHULLIM, THE RULER OF ḤAṢÔRA (HAZOR), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29831. COPY: BB, 48. COLLATION: 04.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:289–290); Liverani (1998:143 [LA 108]). COMPOSITION: The clay was made at Hazor (Goren 229).

Line obv. 3—Rainey's collation proposes <sup>1</sup>ÌR-*Šul-lim*, not <sup>1</sup>ÌR-*Tir-ši* (Knudtzon 1915:768, 769 n. b; Moran 1992:289) or Weippert's <sup>1</sup>ÌR-*dir*₄-*ši* (in Moran 1992:290 n. 1). Note an OB form of *šul* in Labat (no. 467 p. 208 in comparison with the OB form of *tir* in no. 375 p. 173).

OB tir 《云刻



OB šul 以出 新



Line obv. 13—*a-nu-um-ma-mi*; with Gordon, and see also Moran (1992:290 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  $GIR^{(0)}(0, 8)$ ;  $i^{(a)}(0, 12)$ ;  $KI^{(0)}(0, 12)$ ;  $MI^{(0)}(0, 12)$ ;  $MI^{(0)}($ 

#### EA 229

# 'ABDI-NA, THE RULER OF (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1689. COPIES: WA 178; VS 11, 131. COLLATION: 13.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:290). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 64 (Goren 286).

The tablet is badly broken.

Line obv. 3—<sup>1</sup>ÌR-*na*[...]; Moran (1992:290) reads 'Abdina but we do not know if this broken line supplies the complete name.

## YAMA, A LEADER IN SYRIA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 37646. COPY: Scheil (1892:309). COLLATION: 18.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:290); Liverani (1998:110–111 [LA 61]). COMPOSITION: The origin of the clay is from Lachish (Goren 288).

Line obv. 2—For the identification and the analysis of <sup>1</sup>*Ia-ma*, see Hess (1993:80–81).

**Line obv. 9**—Moran's solution,  $\hat{I}R(ki)-ti_7-ka$  (1992:291 n. 2), seems to be more attractive than Rainey's former suggestion (1989–1990:67b).

Line rev. 17—<sup>r</sup>*ha-za*<sup>¬</sup>*-nu-te*; Moran (1992:291 n. 3) assumes that if the letter was sent by a vassal, then *hazannu*, as *EA* 237 and 317, must refer to Egyptian officials.

Line rev. 19—*na-à*s(AŠ)-*ru*; with Moran (1992:291 n. 4).

There are traces of the following signs: `mur' (obv. 4); `mur' (obv. 6); `nu' (rev. 18); `lu' (obv. 19).

### EA 231

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1599.

COPIES: WA 212; *VS* 11, 132.

COLLATION: 15.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:290); Liverani (1998:144 [LA 110]).

COMPOSITION: Most likely a fragment of a letter from Byblos. The origin of the clay is not specifically discussed by Goren (Goren 315).

**Line obv.** 3—*yi-i*[ $\check{s}$ -*pu-ur*]; Rainey confirms Moran's questionable *w*[*rote*] because there are traces of  $i\check{s}$ , not  $\check{s}[a]$  as Knudtzon read (1915:772).

**Line rev. 16**—[a-]na-sa-r[u]; with Winckler's r[u], *contra* Knudtzon's a[r], but Winckler reads [i-]na-sa-r[u].

## SURATA, THE RULER OF ACCO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1640. COPIES: WA 93; *VS* 11, 133. COLLATION: 13.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:291); Liverani (1998:135 [LA 97]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 234, this letter was sent from the Egyptian administrative center at Beth-Shean (Goren 239).

This letter is a response to some command from the king of Egypt.

Lines obv. 10–11—The gloss *ba-aṭ-nu-ma* "stomach" is an Akkadian prepositional phrase; the next gloss, *sú-uḥ-ru-ma* "back", can be taken as a genuine Canaanite adverbial form (*CAT* 3:5), maybe the locative *-um* reinforced by *-ma* (*CAT* 3:232).

Lines rev. 12–20—The message probably concerns the arrest of Lab'ayu.

## EA 233

## SURATA, THE RULER OF ACCO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4767 (12201). COPY: WA 94. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:292); Liverani (1998:135–136 [LA 98]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

**Line obv. 2**—Here there is an Egyptian hieratic notation, in black ink, *wr*, "prince", see also Moran (1992:292 n. 1).

Line rev. 19—*yi*-<sup>r</sup>*qa*<sup>¬</sup>-[*bi*]; with Moran (1992:292 n. 1).

#### EA 234

### SATATNA, THE RULER OF ACCO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1641. COPIES: WA 95; VS 11, 134. COLLATION: 06.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:292–293); Liverani (1998:136 [LA 99]). COMPOSITION: This letter was sent from the Egyptian administrative center at Beth-Shean (Goren 238).

There are only some slight changes towards the end.

**Line lo. ed. 33**—URU 'UN'; on UN = *mṣṣartu*, see Moran (1992:293 n. 1). **Line up. ed. 33**—There are still traces of '*ša*'. **Line up. ed. 34**—According to Rainey's reading there is enough space for

[*yu-uš-ši-*]*ra*, cf. Moran's [*yú-ši*]*-ra* (1992:293 n. 5).

### EA 235 + EA 327

### SITATNA, THE RULER OF ACCO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29815 (+) C 4791 + VAT 1882 (with join = C 12235). COPIES: BB, 32 (+) WA 206 (without join). COLLATION: 25.01.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992: 293); Liverani (1998:136–137 [LA 100]). COMPOSITION: As EA 234 (Goren 238–239).

The join of *EA* 327 to *EA* 235 was made by Gordon.

**Line obv. 14**—At the end of the line Rainey (collation) completes  $[\dot{u}]$ . **Line obv. 15**—On  $\dot{u}$ -*na*-ṣ $\dot{a}r$ , see Moran (1992:294 n. 2). **Line rev. 18**—With Moran (1992:294 n. 3).

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: Ash 1893 1–41: 423.

COPY: Sayce (1894, no. 16).

COLLATION: 05.04.2001

COMPOSITION: No conclusions regarding the origin of the clay can be drawn from the analysis (Goren 315).

Only six broken lines on the reverse are preserved. Moran (1992:294 n. 1) notes that maybe it is a reference to the ruler of Acco (mentioned in line 2) as an enemy.

Line rev. 4—Perhaps <sup>d</sup>EŠDAR (Ishtar). Line rev. 6—[...*a*-*n*]*a* LUGAL E[N-*ia*].

## EA 237

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1701.
COPY: VS 11, 135.
COLLATION: 26.01.2004, 06.10.2007
PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:294); Liverani (1998:144–145 [LA 111]).
COMPOSITION: The clay of *EA* 237–239 does not resemble that of any other Amarna tablets. These tablets originated from Tel Rekhesh (Tell el-Mukharkhash) in Naḥal Tavor, which is identified with the city of Anaharath, in any case, at the eastern Lower Galilee (Goren 240–243).

This letter is probably concerned with deeds of Lab'ayu in *EA* 250:42–46.

**Lines obv. 2–5**—Contrary to his previous analysis (*CAT* 2:322–323, cf. Moran 1992:294), Rainey does not assume  $[i]l_5$ - $te_9$ - $q\acute{u}$ - $\acute{u}$  (line 2) as 3rd m.pl., but 3rd m.sg. ("La[b'ayu] has taken," cf. Liverani 1998:144), so iz-za-az-zu "he is attacking" (line 3) and  $il_5$ - $te_9$ - $q\acute{u}$  "he is taking" (line 5). The two latter verbs are treated as long forms *yaqtulu* that signify present-future in *EA* Canaanite letters. With regard to  $i_{15}$ -ba- $a\check{s}$ -<code>rša-ti<sup>¬</sup></code> (line 13), a clearly Canaanite hybrid, the use of the WS prefix conjugation seems possible

even though there is no *y*-prefix for 3rd m.sg., *contra* Moran (1992:294); Na'aman (1997:616); Liverani 1998:144).

Line obv. 6—Cf. EA 238:4, which is what the sender probably intended.

Line obv. 8—*a-na na-sa-a* is absolute form or just a mistake.

- Line rev. 17—It is difficult to determine just who is meant by the term LÚ ha*za-an*  $\bar{s}a^{1}\bar{s}ar$ . If the writer is referring to someone of higher rank than himself, then we would expect LÚ MAŠKÍM =  $r\bar{a}bisu$  "commissioner," or the like. Some scribe may have simply made mistakes in naming the various officials, cf. LÚ MAŠKÍM ha-za-ni-ka in EA 317:21 (Rainey 1989-1990:67b-68a).
- Line rev. 21—Rainey notes that Knudtzon's ši (1915:781 n. e) is not at all certain, he had seen traces of DIŠ and read "[[LUGAL EN-ia] (Rainey's collation).

## EA 238

#### BAYADI TO AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL

TEXT: VAT 1867.

COPIES: WA 219; VS 11, 136. COLLATION: 06.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:295); Liverani (1998:145 [LA 112]). COMPOSITION: As EA 237 (Goren 240-243).

**Lines obv. 1**, 9—There are still traces of  ${}^{\prime}LU^{\prime}$  and  ${}^{\prime}EN^{\prime}$  (line 1); - ${}^{\prime}sa^{\prime}$  (line 9). Line rev. 23—Knudtzon's restoration  ${}^{1}Z[a]-t[a-at-na]$  is not accepted by

Rainey, since Satatna was later, cf. Campbell (1964:108).

**Lines rev. 26, 29**—There are still traces of 'UGU' (line 26); 'li- $il_5$ ' (line 29).

- Line rev. 29—It seems doubtful that the 2nd m.pl. verbs, here and in line 33, should be taken as "plurals of majesty" (Moran 1987:464 n. 2; 1992:295 n. 2). Bayadi is probably referring not just to the recipient of the letter, but to the cadre of Egyptain officials in general (Rainey 1989–1990:68a)
- Line rev. 33—The gloss *\*timītūnani ( \*tumītūnani* is evidently a WS H(?) causative, 2nd m.pl.; its prefix vowel probably represents regressive assimilation due to the long  $\bar{i}$  vowel of this middle weak root. That the suffix is from the WS repertoire is confirmed by the plural imperatives, which almost without exception have  $-\bar{u}$  or the energic  $-\bar{u}na$  (CAT 2:46).

### BADUZANA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 334. COPIES: WA 139; VS 11, 137. COLLATION: 15.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:295); Liverani (1998:146 [LA 114]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 237 (Goren 240–243).

Line obv. 10—Contrary to Moran, who has followed Knudtzon by deriving the verb from *epēšu*, the sense of the context requires *i-ba-aš-ši* ("all the things...are ready"). *i-ba-aš-ši* is the timeless prefix stative, since it is the copula for a non-verbal sentence (cf. Rainey 1989–1990:68a; *CAT* 2:100).

Line obv. 11—*adi ittaşi*; this form with infixed *-t-* may have been due to short form ("modus attraction") with the preceding verb, which itself is probably a pseudo-infinitive, cf. *adi ētelli (EA* 287:45), see *CAT* 2:100.

Line obv. 13—yilte is used in jussive.

Line obv. 27—Izre'el's suggestion (1987:84–85) to interpret the subject of the verb  $[y]\underline{i-iq}[-bu]$  as singular or plural is accepted by Moran (1992:296 n. 2) and Rainey.

#### EA 240

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 2198 + 2707. COPY: VS 11, 240. COLLATION: 18.03.2004 COMPOSITION: See EA 64 (Goren 313).

The tablet is too fragmentary. The preserved text introduces the promise of preparing everything for the Egyptian troops and chariotry by the ruler who sent this letter.

Line obv. 2—Schröder's copy shows *GA*, but the sign *BI* read by Knudtzon is over something else (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 7—Rainey saw traces of  $\dot{u}$ .

1560

#### EA 241

#### EA 241

#### RUȘMANYA, THE RULER OF SHARÔNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1678. COPIES: WA 148; VS 11, 139. COLLATION: 02.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:296); Liverani (1998:248 [LA 206]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

**Line obv. 4**—There are still traces of  ${}^{r}nu^{3}$ . **Line obv. 3**— ${}^{r}$ ÌR-*ka*<sup>3</sup>; these two signs are effaced. **Line lo. ed. 14**—Rainey restores [DINGIR]- ${}^{r}i^{3}a$ .

#### EA 242

#### BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1670.
COPIES: WA 114; VS 11, 140.
COLLATION: 16.09.1999
PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:297); Liverani (1998:129 [LA 89]).
COMPOSITION: The materials used for the production of letters of Biridiya are typically local to Megiddo (Goren 244–246).
Line obv. 3—'Bi-ri-di-yi / 'Bi-ri-di-yu; Mynarova (207:235) reads 'Bi-ri-di-ia<sub>8</sub>,

so also in *EA* 243:3; 244:3; 246:3. **Line obv.** 6—There are still traces of  $ra^{1}$  and  $ra^{1}$ .

Line obv. 6—There are still traces of "a" and "na".

Line obv. 12—Following Moran's restoration (1992:297 n. 3).

Line rev. 15—Rainey restores [*gáb-bi* URU.ME]Š.KI, *contra* Na'aman (1975:15\* n. 35).

## BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1669. COPIES: WA 113; VS 11, 141. COLLATION: 16.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:297); Liverani (1998:128–129 [LA 88]). COMPOSITION: The materials used for the production of letters of Biridiya are typically local to Megiddo (Goren 244–246).

This text seems to be Biridiya's reply to Pharaoh.

Lines obv. 10–18—Cf. Rainey (1975:404–405) and Moran (1992:297–298 nn. 1–2).

Line rev. 17—At the end of the line Rainey completes [URU.KI].

# EA 244

# BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4768 (12200). COPY: WA 244. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 484a); Campbell (1965:193); Freydank (in Jepsen 1975:101); Seux (1977:51–52); Moran (1992:298–299); Liverani (1998: 130–131 [LA 92]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

For some reason, the unit of the regular Egyptian army that had been posted at Megiddo (probably encamped outside the city) was called home. This caused Lab'ayu to take a move on Megiddo. Indeed, Biridiya reports to the king that his city is under pressure from Lab'ayu (cf. Rainey 2006:84a+b).

Lines obv. 10–18—Cf. Rainey (1975:404).

Line left ed. 42—<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>¬</sup>-ba-at-mi; Knudtzon (1915:792 n. c) reads *a-ba-at-me*, but he also suggests sa instead of *a*, which was acceptable to Gordon, Moran (1992:299 n. 6), Liverani (1998:131), Rainey and others.

1562

There are still traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}7^{1}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{r}at^{1}$  (rev. 30); DIŠ ( ${}^{r_{11}}$ ) (rev. 38).

#### EA 245

## BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29855.

COPY: BB, 72.

COLLATION: 28.08.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 485b–486a); Campbell (1965:198–199); Moran (1992:299–300); Liverani (1998:131–132 [LA 93]).

COMPOSITION: The materials used for the production of letters of Biridiya are typically local to Megiddo (Goren 245–246).

*EA* 245 is the second tablet of a letter of which the first is lost, but the clay, the script, and the contents indcate that this tablet can be attributed to Biridiya of Megido (*VAB* 2:1306 n. 1). Biridiya claims that he had insisted that Lab'ayu must be sent alive to Egypt. But he explains why he had not been successful. Lab'ayu was apprehended and Surata took him with the purported intention of sending him to Egypt by ship. However, at Hannathon, Surata accepted a bribe from Lab'ayu and turned him loose. Evidently, there was a preplanned ambush that led to Lab'ayu's death. Biridiya claimed that his horse was shot, which caused him to arrive too late to save Lab'ayu's life. He may or may not have been telling the truth (Rainey 2006:84b+c).

Several WS glosses appear in this letter; for analysis and references, see *CAT* 1:76, 77; 3:122; Sivan (1984:29, 133, 176–177, 196, 138, 247); Liverani (1998:132).

**Line obv. 19**—Rainey's collation suggests *yi-*<sup>r</sup>*na-an-di-in*<sup>¬</sup>-[*šu*](?).

**Line obv. 21**—Contrary to Moran's *li-pa-a*[ $\check{s}$ - $\check{s}i$ -ih] (1992:300 n. 5), read *li-pa-a*[*l-li-is*] from *palāsu* D. The reading *a*[*l*] is based on the sign *al* in line 15. In this case, at least 30 mm are needed (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 22—[t]a-ba; the restoration could be DA (ta) or TA (tá), either one needs 9 mm as in line 12. At the end of the line Rainey reads *i*-na <sup>r</sup>pa<sup>¬</sup>[-ni]. Lines rev. 27–28—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>a<sup>¬</sup> and <sup>r</sup>yi<sup>¬</sup>.

## BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1649. COPIES: WA 111; VS 11, 142. COLLATION: 05.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:300); Liverani (1998:132–133 [LA 94]). COMPOSITION: The materials used for the production of letters of Biridiya are typically local to Megiddo (Goren 245–246).

The reading mainly follows Knudtzon, with only minor changes.

Line rev. 3—*i-ba-aš-ša-tu-*[*nu*]; Rainey's uncertain reading (1973:250) was accepted by Moran (1992:300 n. 1).

Line obv. 4—There are still traces of '*ka*'.

- **Line rev.** 6— $ti_{7}$ -i[d-di-n]u-na; following Greenberg (1955:45). The verb that Moran's personal collation confirmed (1992:300 n. 2) is  $ti_{7}$ -id-[din]-na, and its subject is the two sons of Lab'ayu. Rainey (1995–1996:118b–119a) wonders if it is possible that the verb form is meant to be 3rd m.du.
- **Line rev.** 8—The *u*-sign at the beginning of the line is not in Schröder's copy. There are still traces of  ${}^{r}u^{}$ . The reading S[u-te] follows Na'aman (1975:40) and cf. Moran (1992:300 n. 3).
- Lines rev. 9–10—Following Moran (1992:300 n. 4) and cf. Greenberg (1955: 45).

### EA 247

## BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4792 (12236). COPY: WA 207. COLLATION: 07.02.1981 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:301); Liverani (1998:129 [LA 90]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

The script and the clay are indicators to determine Megiddo as the province of this fragment. The character of the message suggests that Biridiyu as the sender seems to be more likely than Yashdata (Moran 1992:301 n. 1).

Line rev. 16—Restore [*iš-mu*], not Knudtzon's *iš-me* (Rainey 27.10.1973). Lines rev. 20–21—One may suggest a reconstruction of the following: *šàr-r*[*i* EN-*ia gáb-bi*] / [*ša*] *q*[*a-bi* š*àr-ru*].

### EA 248

### YASHDATA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29842. COPY: BB, 59. COLLATION: 18.08.1993 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:301); Liverani (1998:138 [LA 101]). COMPOSITION: The letter was sent from Megiddo. No conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 246–247).

The identification of Yashdata's city-state is not clear. In this letter he informs Pharaoh that all of his property had been expropriated by the men of Taanach; they also slaughtered his cattle and drove him out. Perhaps the men of Taanach had joined Lab'aya at about the time when the latter had seized those towns in the Dothan and Jezreel valleys (Rainey 2006:84b).

- Line obv. 10—The locution *gáb-bi mi-im-me* is best rendered "all the possessions," cf. Rainey (1995–1996:119a).
- Line lo. ed. 14—Moran's collation of Ta-a'-[n]a- ${}^{r}ka$ <sup>1</sup> (cf. Moran 1992:301 n. 1) confirms Rainey's own collation on 26.04.1973, but notice that what is read as [n]a does not look like the common NA-sign. However, concerning Taanach, it means that this place was recognized as a settlement during the Amarna period. Recent archaeological investigations at the site have confirmed what Albright had deduced earlier from Sellin's excavations, namely that a city did not thrive there during the Amarna age. However, it is highly likely that Yashdata had his own family estate there, and the "men of Taanach" may have actually lived in some of the adjacent towns such as the Gath-Rimon of *EA* 250:46 (Rainey 1989–1990:68).

## BA'LU-MEHER(?), THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1603. COPIES: WA 149; VS 11, 143. COLLATION: 16.09.1999 and 27.10.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:302); Liverani (1998:139–140 [LA 105]).

COMPOSITION: Goren determined that the clay of EA 249 from IdIŠK [UR.UR.SAG(?)], which is presumably the same as EA 250, came from the central Jordan valley, between Beth-Shean and Wadi Zarqa, and the letter was dispatched from the center of Beth-Shean (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004:249-250). However, Goren (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004:268) confirmed that one of the Jerusalem letters was also written on the same kind of clay. The other Jerusalem texts are written on clay from the Jerusalem area. Yet, the Jerusalem corpus is a collection of six tablets that all come from the same scribe with the same ductus, same linguistic peculiarities, and the same idioms. For the one letter on different clay, the scribe had written a draft on wax in a diptych that he carried to the Egyptian military base at Beth-Shean, where it was copied onto local clay and sent via a caravan that may have gone to Acco or to the Sharon Plain. This might have been in order to avoid the possibility that 'Abdi-Kheba's enemies at Gezer might intercept the letter. In short, the provenance of the clay for that Jerusalem letter and also for EA 249 (and probably 250) means absolutely nothing with regard to the location of the town in question (Rainey 2006:90b). So, according to Rainey, Gath-padalla is in the vicinity of Jatt, situated on the eastern edge of the Sharon Plain (for discussion, see Rainey 2006:89c-90C).

In this letter, Ba'lu-meher(?) complains that Milkilu commandeered his men for(?) his servants and gave his own men to Tagi, his father-in-law. Note the uses of *ni* for *li* in *be-li*, *li-de* (*passim*).

Line obv. 2—[qi-b]i-ma not with bi. Concerning the name <sup>Id</sup>IŠK[UR.UR. SAG(?)], see below, *EA* 250.

Line obv. 5—L[Ú.MEŠ]-*ia*  $\langle a \rangle$ -*na*(UD) was first restored by Albright (in Moran 1992:302 n. 1). Rainey (collation of 27.10.2007) notes that the UD-sign is like *na* in line 6, so UD is not to be corrected to *na* as Albright

suggested or as Moran's UD (1992:302 n. 1). On  $al\bar{a}ku$  "to serve, do service", with Moran (1992:302 n. 1).

Line obv. 7—Read *yi-ha-ba-tu, contra* Knudtzon, with a slightly truncated *tu*. Schröder tries to make it look like *lu*.

Line obv. 8—The context requires UGU ÌR.MEŠ-šu "for(?) his servants?"

Line obv. 11—Rend <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*nu*!-<sup>r</sup>*ma ul*<sup>1</sup> <sup>i</sup>ÌR-<sup>r</sup>*di*<sup>1</sup>; the restoration <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup>-*nu*!-<sup>r</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup> is closest to Knudtzon's no. 141 sketch (*VAB* 2/1:1005; Rainey's collation), *contra* Moran's *maḥ*-ṣú (1992:302 n. 3).

Line obv. 14—*mu-hi-*<sup>-</sup>*ia*<sup>-</sup>; Moran (1992:302) follows Knudtzon who suggests -*ša* or -*ia*, but notes that -*ka* is more probable (Knudtzon 1915:800–801 n. d).

Lines obv. 15–20—The reconstructions that Rainey proposed are [ $\dot{u}$  ti-]tura-ni LUGAL a-wa-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>¬</sup> / [la-a yi-i]š-mé <sup>1</sup>Mil-ki-lu / [ $\dot{u}$  <sup>1</sup>La-a]b-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>¬</sup>-yu  $\dot{u}$ / [an-nu-ma i-na-a]n-na yi-<sup>r</sup>ip<sup>¬</sup>-[pu-šu] / [nu-kúr-ta<sub>5</sub> (?)  $\dot{u}$  yi-i]š-a[l] / [LUGAL be-lí-ia <sup>1</sup>Ia-an-ḫa-ma].

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}ku^{\prime}$  (obv. 11).

## EA 250

# BA'L-MEHER, THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4769 (12204). COPY: WA 154. COLLATION: 28.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 485b–486a); Campbell (1965:202–204); Moran (1992:303–304); Liverani (1998:140–142 [LA 106]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

In this letter, more of Lab'ayu's activities are mentioned by Ba'l-meher in a flashback after the sons of Lab'ayu were seeking to reactivate their father's program. The quotation of Lab'ayu's sons provides evidence that Gathpadalla had been taken by their father.

Line obv. 2—As for 'IŠKUR.UR.SAG, in the EA period there is extensive use of Sumerian logograms for writing the names of the rulers of small city-states. The proposed reading *\*Ba'lu-meher*, meaning "the storm god is a warrior" (also *EA* 249:2), is based on the reference to <sup>1d</sup>IŠKUR-*me-her* in *EA* 245:44, where that person is said to have been released along with

Lab'ayu, and because there are so many attestations to this Canaanite name in Egyptian, Phoenician and Greek sources (for discussion and references, see Rainey 2006:90b+c; 1989–1990:70a+b).

- Line obv. 10—tu- $^{r}ba$ - $^{2}u_{5}$ <sup>1</sup>-na; this proposed reading is based on Rainey's checking the Egyptian Museum's photograph of *EA* 250 (collated o8.08.2008), *contra* Moran (1992:304 n. 2).
- Lines lo. ed. 29–30—Rainey reads *a-n*[*a ia-*]š*i* [*aš-šum*] *ip-ši* / [š*a yi-pu-š*]*u* [ÌR]-*ka*.
- Line rev. 34—[šu-ul]-<sup>r</sup>ma-nu<sup>¬</sup>-um (Rainey's restoration on 16.05.1981).
- Line rev. 45—*yi-is-sú-uḥ-ši-ni* \ *'ia*<sup>1</sup>-[*a*]*n-šu-ke-en-n*[*i*]; with Knudtzon, *con-tra* Moran's *yi-is-sú-uḥ lem-ni ia*-[*a*]n-šu *ke-en-n*[*i*] (Moran 1992:304 n. 7).
- Line rev. 47— $\hat{u}$ -[ $g\hat{a}$ ]r-ri; following Moran (1992:304 n. 7).

Line rev. 49—DINGIR-*lim*; oblique (-*lim* /-*li*) instead of nominative.

Line rev. 55— $u_4$ -ma a[n]-nu-um "at this time"; for discussion, see Rainey (1995–1996:119a).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}qi^{\uparrow}(obv. 1)$ ;  ${}^{r}su^{\uparrow}(obv. 3)$ ;  ${}^{r}nu^{\uparrow}(obv. 4)$ ;  ${}^{r}ni^{\uparrow}(obv. 5)$ ;  ${}^{r}ni^{\uparrow}(obv. 7)$ ;  ${}^{r}nu^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}i^{\uparrow}a(obv. 9)$ ;  ${}^{r}pa^{\uparrow}(obv. 12)$ ;  ${}^{r}La^{\uparrow}(obv. 14)$ ;  ${}^{r}nu^{\uparrow}(obv. 19)$ ;  ${}^{r}ti^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}i^{\uparrow}(obv. 21)$ ;  ${}^{r}u^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}it^{\uparrow}(obv. 22)$ ;  ${}^{r}ia^{\uparrow}(obv. 28)$ ;  ${}^{r}Gi^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}ti^{\uparrow}(rev. 46)$ ;  ${}^{r}na^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}ia^{\uparrow}(rev. 52)$ ;  ${}^{r}u^{\uparrow}, {}^{r}la^{\uparrow}(rev. 53)$ .

#### EA 251

## THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29862.

COPY: BB, 79.

COLLATION: 21.01.2000

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:305); Liverani (1998:127 [LA 87]).

COMPOSITION: Knudtzon's suggestion that the sender is a central Canaanite ruler was rejected by Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman for several reasons; the origin of the clay is uncertain (Goren 305).

*EA* 251 is the second in a two-tablet letter. This letter hints at the tension between the Canaanite city-states.

Lines obv. 7–9, lo. ed. 10, rev. 11—Perhaps Rainey's previous rendering of these lines (*CAT* 2:231; *CAT* 3:70, 239) should be "Now, thus have you kept silent? The king, my lord, will yet understand this matter."

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There are traces of the following signs:  $\check{s}u^{}(obv. 1)$ ;  $ta^{}(obv. 8)$ ;  $ru^{}(rev. 11)$ ;  $\check{s}ar^{}(rev. 15)$ ;  $i^{}, ia^{}, isi^{}(left ed. 18)$ .

#### EA 252

#### LAB'AYU, THE RULER OF SHECHEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29844.

COPY: BB, 61.

COLLATION: 26.07.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Albright (1943b:30–31); Halpern and Huehnergard (1982:227–228).
- TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 486a); Campbell (1965:195); Moran (1992: 305–306); Liverani (1998:118 [LA 73]).
- COMPOSITION: The clay can be considered a product of the Shechem territory (Goren 262–264).

Lab'ayu is presumed to be located at Shechem on the basis of another allusion in the Jerusalem letters. The passage deals with the behavior of Milkilu and the sons of Lab'ayu after Lab'ayu's demise (*EA* 289:21–24). Lab'ayu's own texts do not reveal his venue, but they provide some details that would best suit a location at Shechem. *EA* 252 is one of the letters that deal with a local conflict about which Lab'ayu has asked counsel from the king (Rainey 2006:83a+b).

Line obv. 5—Rainey's reading *ú-ṣur-mì* was accepted by Moran (1992:306 n. 1). Note *șu* in lines 8 and 31.

Line rev. 18—Read *ti-ka-pí-lu* "to curl up". The sign BI (= pi) in this verb is definitely not the same sign in line 1 (BI = bi). Here the verb  $kap\bar{a}lu$  is an Akkadian G present, with transitive meaning (*CAD* K:174–175; Rainey 1989–1990:68b–69a; *CAT* 2:54). It is used in the proverb about the ants (Albright 1943:31), *contra CAD* Q:292b that followed an oral suggestion by A. Horowitz. Moran (1975:149 n. 1/2003:277 n. 7) also adopted Horowitz's suggestion to interpret the verb *ti-qà-bi-lu* as a putative denominative from *qablu* "battle," namely, a supposed *qubbulu* "to fight." But this simply creates a *hapax* that has no basis in real Akkadian except for a pair of extremely dubious OB references (*CAD* Q:292b). Albright's original suggestion was that the verb be derived from \**qbl* as denominative of *qubl* "front, fore part" (as in Arabic and Aramaic). The Aramaic *qubbulu* 

appears as a loan in NB (*CAD* Q:292a), and it also appears in late biblical Hebrew, evidently a loan from Aramaic. On the other hand, the orthography here (with *ka*) also permits the suggestion that the verb be derived from *kapālu* "to wind up, to coil up" (*CAD* K:174–175); although this latter is usually a transitive verb, especially in the D stem, the intransitive is also known, or we could have an N form here, *tikkappilu* (Rainey 2002:51–52).

- Line rev. 19—The form *yi-ma-ḥa-aš-ši* has the present-future theme, perhaps to represent D, so also in line 27: *ti-ma-ḥa-ṣú-ka* (cf. Rainey 1989– 1990:69a; *CAT* 2:55).
- Line rev. 20—*ki-i a-na-ku i-ša-ḥa-țú*; for discussion and references, see Rainey (1989–1990:69a; *CAT* 2:119).
- Line rev. 22—2 URU-*ia*; with Albright, who is most likely correct in rendering "two of my cities," rather than Moran's "another city of mine" (Rainey 1989–1990:69a).
- **Line rev. 28**—*i-bi* "my enemey"; following Albright's suggestion that this is WS \*' $\bar{e}b$  (written '*ib* in Ugaritic), *contra* Moran's *i-pé-(šu)* (Rainey 1989–1990:69a).

There are still traces of the following signs:  $^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 8);  $^{r}sa^{1}$  (obv. 15).

#### EA 253

### LAB'AYU, THE RULER OF SHECHEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1589.

COPIES: WA 155; VS 11, 144.

COLLATION: 30.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:306); Liverani (1998:116 [LA 71]).

COMPOSITION: The clay is from the vicinity of the Shechem territory, although petrographically it is different from *EA* 252 and *EA* 254 (Goren 264).

EA 253 and EA 254 deal with an undefined accusation against Lab'ayu.

**Lines lo. ed. 18, rev. 19**—*[an-nu-ú]* / *[an]-nu-ú;* in these two cases *annû* is most likely the presentation particle, rather than the demonstrative. This can be concluded by comparing the parallel passage in *EA* 254:19–20, where the copula *ibašši* is used.

Lines rev. 20–24—By comparison with Lab'ayu's negative declaration when he went to Gezer (*EA* 254:21–27), his statement in *EA* 253 must also have been negative in tone, *contra* Moran's translation and his note (Moran 1992:307 n. 2), cf. Rainey (1989–1990:69b). In line 20 there are traces of *nu*<sup>1</sup> today.

Line rev. 34—<sup>*r*</sup>*iš*-*te*<sup>¬</sup>-*mu*; Knudtzon (1915:810 n. a) provides another possibility of the first sign as *il*.

### EA 254

## LAB'AYU, THE RULER OF SHECHEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 335.

COPIES: WA 112; VS 11, 145.

COLLATION: 16.09.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 486a+b); Campbell (1965:196–197); Oppenheim (1967:125); Freydank (in. Jepsen 1975:254–255); Seux (1977:52–53); Moran (1992:307); Liverani (1998:116–117 [LA 72]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 252 (Goren 264).

Based on *EA* 254:6–29, it seems that Lab'ayu had been involved in some business frownded upon by the Egyptian authorities, probably overstepping his bounds with regard to royal territory, and that he had been severely fined. Milkilu of Gezer may have been an accomplice but seems to have avoided the fine. Perhaps he had turned state's evidence? This letter (lines 30-37) also sheds more light on the social conditions prevailing in Lab'ayu's home territory (Rainey 2006:83c).

Notice the Egyptian docket after the letter (see also Moran 1992:xxxvii).

**Line obv. 8**—There are still traces of  $\[ \dot{u} \]$ .

- Line obv. 9—Read 'ya'-aħ!(HÉ)-li-qú!; the second sign is not iħ but ħé. Note the HÉ-sign for aħ (Labat, no. 398 p. 182); this unusual form is not listed by Schröder (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 16—*yi-ka-lu*; the verb is 3rd m.sg.; the actor is the commissioner who accused Lab'ayu in front of the Pharaoh (Izre'el 1987:83).
- Line rev. 26—*mim-mi-ia ù mim-mì*; Rainey (1989–1990:119a) notes two examples of the noun, *mimmû* "property/possessions," *contra* Albright, Mendenhall, Moran (1955:486) and Campbell (1965:197).
- Line rev. 28—*ep-še-et-šu ša; mim-mi-ia ù mim-mì*; on the completive of the last two signs, see Moran (1992:307 n. 3).

## MUT-BA'LU, THE RULER OF PELLA (PIHILU), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 333. COPIES: WA 144; VS 11, 146. COLLATION: 16.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:308); Liverani (1998:124 [LA 81]). COMPOSITION: No specific conclusions regarding the origin of the clay (Goren 261).

EA 255 deals with the expedition of caravans to Mittani (Hanigalbat).

Line obv. 3—<sup>*i*</sup>*Mu-ut-ba-a*<sup> $\cdot$ </sup>*l*[*i*]; a Babylonian variant of *-a*<sup> $\cdot$ </sup>, not *a\dot{h}*. The heads of two wedges, relating low, ould be *l*[*i*], as in line 8 (Rainey's collation).

**Lines obv.** 9–11—According to the paraphrase, "Caravans to Hanigalbat, behold I am sending," Rainey (collation and 1989–1990:69b) suggests that *annû* (line 10) can be a presentation particle after extraposition, and the form *uwaššeruna* (line 11) is 1st c.sg. with energic imperfect.

Line obv. 16—Read [*yu-ra-d*]*u*.

Line lo. ed. 18—[ka-li KASKAL] or [gáb-bi KASKAL] are both possible.

- Line lo. ed. 19—If [*ša yu-wa-*]<sup>*r*</sup>*še*<sup>¬</sup>*-ru*, then it had to be written crowded, since there is only maximum 3.5 cm, while [*ša yu-wa-*]<sup>*r*</sup>*še*<sup>¬</sup>*-ru* should take 4.5 cm (Rainey's collation).
- **Line rev. 20**—Restore  ${}^{r}\dot{u}{}^{\gamma}$ ; at the very end of the line, there is a head of a small wedge on the corner edge (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \check{s}a \rceil$  (obv. 4);  $\lceil ri \rceil$  (obv. 6);  $\lceil la \rceil$  (obv. 12).

## EA 256

# MUT-BA'LU, THE RULER OF PELLA (PIHILU), TO YANHAMU

TEXT: BM 29847. COPY: BB, 64. COLLATION: 1.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Albright (1943a:10-15).
- TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 486b); Moran (1992:309); Liverani (1998: 124 [LA 82]).
- COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay seems to reflect Pella as the geological environment of *EA* 256 (Goren 260–261).
- Line obv. 14—Read *ia-<sup>r</sup>nu*<sup>1</sup>-[*u*]*m-<sup>r</sup>ma*<sup>1</sup>; the possibility of *ma* as the last sign was already noted by Knudtzon (1915:816 n. b). Indeed, Albright's *ia-*[*a-nu*]-*ma* (1943a:11 n. 24) was rejected by Moran, who reads *ia-a*[*r-b*]*i-iş* (1992:309 n. 2). Rainey (collation) confirmed his reading with WSR's photograph of *EA* 256 (collated 02.11.2007).
- Line obv. 19—The particle *a-di* is another example of *adi* as a calque on WS *`ôd* "again, still."
- Line rev. 20—The GÁN.BA could stand for = mahīru "emporium, market," especially since the rest of the line is in ideograms (Rainey 1989– 1990:70a). Rainey (collation) notes that Moran (1992:309–310 n. 3) misses the point; Ayyâbu is not the "robber", he is busy against Garu; his city was saved by Mut-Ba'lu (namely, Ashtartu).
- The reading <sup>1</sup>DI.<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU was confirmed by WSR's photograph of *EA* 256 (collated by Rainey on 03.11.2007), *contra* Hess (1985:163) who claims that there is no DIŠ sign preceding the DI sign.
- Line rev. 27—*șa-ab-ta-at*; unlike many other instances (in classical Akkadian as well as in *EA*), this example of the suffix conjugation from *șabātu* is really stative instead of transitive (cf. Moran 1992:309; Rainey 1989:90: 70a).

Line up. ed. 32—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*di*<sup>1</sup>.

Line left ed. 35—a-w[a-]-t[e]-k[a]; k[a] is on the side.

### EA 257

# BA'L-MEHER, THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1715. COPIES: WA 149; VS 11, 147. COLLATION: 13.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:310); Liverani (1998:122 [LA 78]). COMPOSITION: With regard to the tablets *EA* 257–259, Goren's geological definition of the clays is far from straightforward (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2002:228–229). He states that the clays of these three texts must come from the Carmel area in the vicinity of biblical Jokneam (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2002:229–230; 2004:252–255). However, he also mentions that similar clay would be available from the Umm el-Faḥm area without being specific. Now the town of Jatt is not that far from the block of hills on which Umm el-Faḥm is situated. Therefore, the possibility exists that tablets *EA* 257–259 may have been written in the vicinity of Jatt, situated on the eastern edge of the Sharon Plain (Rainey 2006:89c–90c).

Ba'l-meher, the ruler of Gath-padalla, reports to Pharaoh that he was obedient.

- Line obv. 3—Concerning the name of <sup>Id</sup>IŠKUR-*mé-he-er*, see above (*EA* 250 obv. 2).
- Line obv. 5—*a*-<sup>*r*</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup> 2!; maybe the author intended to write two vertical wedges for number 2 (cf. Knudtzon 1915:818 n. b).
- Line obv. 7—At the end of the line Knudtzon read [*ti*], but Rainey notes that it looks like there is no room for *-ti*.
- **Line obv. 10**—[*i*-*n*]*u*-*ma*; [*n*]*u* is only a spitz.
- **Line rev. 16**—Read *ú-ub*!-*ba-lu* (collated by Rainey on 05.11.2007). Rainey's collation takes into account that the low sign is missing.
- Line rev. 21—[URU-šu a]-<sup>r</sup>na' l[a]?-ma-di; Rainey's collation revealed that this line does not conform to Knudtzon's reading (accepted by Moran and Na'aman, see Moran 1992:310 n. 1). The final sign is not the TE sign. Schröder's copy truly reflects the wedges as written; they match the DI/DE sign in line 17 but they are entirely different from the real TE sign at the end of line 13. Knudtzon had a tendency to transcribe TE instead of DI as he did in *EA* 250:28 (Rainey 2006:90c).
- [URU- $\dot{s}u$ ] is probably the subject of the verb in the preceding line (line 20), see Rainey (2006:90c).

## BA'L-MEHER, THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 329. COPIES: WA 167; VS 11, 148. COLLATION: 13.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:310); Liverani (1998:122 [LA 79]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 257 (Rainey 2006:90c *contra* Goren 252–255).

Contrary to *EA* 257 or *EA* 259, the script of *EA* 258 is beautiful.

Line obv. 8—EN EN is error for EN-ia! (so also Moran 1992:311 n. 1).

#### EA 259

#### BA'L-MEHER, THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO YANHAMU

TEXT: VAT 1582. COPIES: WA 213; VS 11, 149. COLLATION: 13.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:311); Liverani (1998:123 [LA 80]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 257 (Rainey 2006:90c, *contra* Goren 252–255).

*EA* 259 looks more like the scribe of *EA* 257.

Line obv. 5—At the end of the line, there are no traces of *qut*; Schröder does not show it either, only Knudtzon reads *qu*[*t*].
Line obv. 7—[*ša iš-m*]*e*; following Moran (1992:311 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs: [ia](obv. 1); [a], [na](obv. 4); [šu], [a], [an](obv. 5).

## BA'L-MEHER, THE RULER OF GATH-PADALLA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT (?)

TEXT: Oppert. COPY: none published. TRANSLITERATION: Oppert (1888:253). TRANSLATIONS: Artzi (1968:170); Moran (1992:311); Liverani (1998:296–297 [LA 269]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Knudtzon saw this tablet, which is now lost; for this reason it was not collated.

- Line obv. 2—Read '*Ba-lu-mé-(he)-er*; the transcription '*ba-lu-mi-i-ir*, which is given by Weber *apud* Knudtzon (1915:1558–1559), is apparently an error (Rainey 1967:59 n. 25). Moran (1992:311, 381) accepted the suggestion of Artzi (1968:164–165) that the second element is the divine name *Mer/Wer*, meaning 'Balu-MIR (MER) is WS "the lord is Mir"; for discussion, see also Hess (1993:50–52).
- **Line obv. 3**—7-*šu*  $\acute{u}$  7-*šu-ma*; here the scribe uses  $\acute{u}$  for the conjunction, see Artzi (1968:170) and for some more of these rare instances, see *CAT* 3:98.
- **Lines rev. 13–14**—Read URU!.KI / *Ti-in*<sub>4</sub>-*ni*, not Bit(É)-Tenni. Knudtzon's pictures suggests URU!.KI at the end of the line 13 (Rainey's collation).

#### EA 261

# DASHRU, A RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29858. COPY: BB, 75. COLLATION: 02.09. 1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:312); Liverani (1998:127 [LA 85]). COMPOSITION: It seems that the clay was made in the environs of Shamhuna (Tel Shimron) in the northern Jezreel Valley (Goren 305–306).

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EA 261 is a nice little text. Its color is grey.

Line obv. 6—Read *am-q*[*ú*-*ut*], not Knudtzon's *am*[-*qut*].

## EA 262

# DASHRU, A RULER OF A CANAANITE CITY, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4786 (12220). COPY: WA 127. COLLATION: 28.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:312); Liverani (1998:127 [LA 86]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Dashru states that the land of the king is very good.

## EA 263

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1688.
COPIES: WA 169; VS 11, 150.
COLLATION: 13.10.2003
PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:312); Liverani (1998:121 [LA 77]).
COMPOSITION: The ruler, whose city is in the Beth-Shean area, dispatched his letter from the Egyptian center of Beth-Shean. However, Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004:250) tend to assume that the writer is the ruler of Rehob and the tablet was dispatched from there (Goren 250). Rainey (2006:84b) notes that *EA* 263 was either sent by someone who had suffered like Yashdata or else it might have also been sent by Yashdata but by means of another scribe.

The scribe claims that when he visited the king (in Egypt), his city was robbed.

Line rev. 25— $\dot{u}$  ANŠE.KUR.(RA.)MEŠ; the KUR sign does not appear in Schröder's copy (Rainey's collation).

Line left ed. 35—There are still traces of 'ya'.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil q\dot{u} \rceil$  (obv. 5);  $\lceil t\dot{i} \rceil$  (obv. 8);  $\lceil IR \rceil$  (rev. 16);  $\lceil ya \rceil$  (left ed. 35).

## EA 264

# TAGI, THE RULER OF THE COASTAL PLAIN OF THE CARMEL RIDGE (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29853. COPY: BB, 70.

COLLATION: 03.09.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:127); Moran (1992:313); Liverani (1998: 119–120 [LA 74]).
- COMPOSITION: The exact location of Ginti-kirmil, which is mentioned in 'Abdi-Heba's correspondence (EA 289:18-20) as Tagi's city, has been debated. According to Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004:258), in terms of the textual evidence and the analysis of the clay, it seems that Tagi's territory covered the entire Sharon plain and large parts of, if not the entire, coastal plain adjacent to the Carmel ridge, with Dor serving as his main port. Ginti-kirmil bordered on the territory of the Egyptian centre of Jaffa in the south, Shechem in the east, and Megiddo and Tel Yokneam and, according to Na'aman, also on Ta'anach (Goren 256-258) in the north. However, contrary to Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004:258), Gat-carmel is certainly the Getta mentioned by Pliny (in Rainey 2006:83b). It is somewhere near Mount Carmel. It need not have been Tagi's home base but only a town that belonged to him, and with regard to Rainey's personal communication to J. Balensi (1999), it could be located at Tell Abū Huwâm or Tel Nahal (Tell en-Nahl). Tagi himself may have ruled at some other significant town, such as Tel Me'ammer (Tell el-'Amr). For discussion and references, see Rainey (2006:83b, 90).

Line obv. 1—The A sign is no longer visible. Line obv. 9—Read  $i_5$  also in line 20.

There are traces of the following signs: 'EN' (obv. 3); 'mu', 'hi' (rev. 14).

## TAGI, THE RULER OF THE COASTAL PLAIN OF THE CARMEL RIDGE (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1697. COPIES: WA 165; VS 11, 151. COLLATION: 13.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:314); Liverani (1998:120 [LA 75]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 264 (Goren 258).

Tagi informs the king about the gift he sent him through Tahmaya.

**Lines obv. 1, 10**—The signs A (L. 1) and DU (L. 10) are no longer visible. **Line rev. 12**—For GAL =  $k\bar{a}su$  "cup," see Moran (1992:314: n. 2).

## EA 266

## TAGI, THE RULER OF THE COASTAL PLAIN OF THE CARMEL RIDGE (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1590. COPIES: WA 156;VS 11, 152. COLLATION: 16.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:314); Liverani (1998:120–121 [LA 76]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 264 (Goren 258).

Line obv. 2—The traces of DINGIR are no longer visible.

Line rev. 17—Read u[d], not Knudtzon's d[u]; the u[d] sign with an angled wedge before the end of the following line (cf. Knudtzon 1915:828 n. b).

Line rev. 20—Knudtzon's autogr. no. 148 (1915:1005) is a crowded "tu".

Line rev. 26—At the end of the line, the *ti* sign is no longer visible.

Lines rev. 27–32—For the restorations, see transliteration and references in Moran (1992:314 n. 1).

## MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4771 (12232). COPY: WA 109. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:315); Liverani (1998:100 [LA 43]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Perhaps *EA* 267 is the answer of Milkilu to Pharaoh's order to send him beautiful female cupbearers. In *EA* 267 Milkilu informs Pharaoh that he is preparing to fulfill his request.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 3);  $\lceil wa \rceil$  (obv. 9);  $\lceil ia \rceil$ ,  $\lceil a \rceil$  (line 11);  $\lceil um \rceil$  (obv. 12).

## EA 268

## MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1532.

COPIES: WA 108; VS 11, 153.

COLLATION: 13.10.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:315); Liverani (1998:101 [LA 44]).

COMPOSITION: *EA* 268 was most likely prepared at Tel Gezer and sent from there (Goren 271).

*EA* 268 is a further answer of Milkilu to Pharaoh's order.

Line obv. 9—There are still traces of 'EN'.

Line obv. 11—With Moran (1992:315 n. 1).

Lines obv. 12–15—For the restoration, cf. *EA* 267:9–12 (Rainey's collation). At the end of line 14 (= the end of line 13 in Knudtzon) the sign looks like *nu*, not *ti*, *contra* Knudtzon (1915:832).

**Line lo. ed. 16**—Rainey's collation confirms the *'ti*'.

**Line rev. 18**—<sup>MUNUS</sup>*ar*-d[i]; Moran (1992:315 n. 3) rejects Astour's <sup>sal</sup>*ar*-d[i-ti], for *ardāti*, "slave-girl", and reads *ar*-k[i-ta].

Line rev. 19—For TUR = *sehru* "servitor," see Na'aman (1975:76\* n. 73).

**Line rev. 20**—In terms of the textual evidence, the function of the *ašîrûma* remains unknown (Moran 1992:316 n. 5). On the full independent WS plural suffix -*ûma*, see Izre'el (1978:29, § 4.2).

## EA 269

# MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29846. COPY: BB, 63. COLLATION: 08.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:316); Liverani (1998:101 [LA 45]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 268 (Goren 271–272).

Knudtzon saw only two traces of signs ( $\check{s}a$  in line 9 and [I]Š in line 16), but there are still many more signs that are very faint.

**Line obv. 1**—Today the sign *a* is invisible. **Line obv. 16**—(= [Š]IM).ZAR.MEŠ; with *CAD* M/2:221a, *contra* Knudtzon's

note (1915:833 n. f). Notice that the Babylonian forms have **#** at the

end, and Assyrian forms have  $\checkmark$  at the end.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}DINGIR^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}MEŠ^{1}$ ,  ${}^{i}a$ ,  ${}^{rd^{1}}$ ,  ${}^{i}i^{a}a$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}t\dot{a}^{1}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{i}\dot{u}^{1}$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{r}ur^{1}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (lo. ed. 17).

# EA 270

# MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29845. COPY: BB, 62. COLLATION: 07.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:128); Moran (1992:316–317); Liverani (1998:102 [LA 47]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 268 (Goren 272).

Milkilu protests about Yanḥamu's threat to kill him if he does not comply with his demands.

Line obv. 8—Note 7-šu 7-tá-a-an as in *EA* 278:8.

- Line obv. 14—The particle is most likely [*i*]-*nu-ma*, the subordinating conjunction, rather than the presentation particle [*a*]-*nu-ma* as implied by Knudtzon's "Siehe" or Moran's "indeed" (1992:316; cf. Rainey 1995–1996:119a and collation).
- Line lo. ed. 15—Knudtzon has a comment about 2 or 3. On the lower left corner, there is a slight identification that could be the first of three vertical wedges (1-2-3).
- Line rev. 18—Izre'el's *m*[*i*] (1978b:59 n. 175; cf. Moran 1992:317 n. 1) is more likely than Knudtzon's *m*[*i*] (1915:834–835 n. c).

#### EA 271

## MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1531. COPIES: WA 110; VS 11, 154. COLLATION: 09.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Albright (ANET 486b–487a); Seux (1977:54); Moran (1992: 317); Liverani (1998:101–102 [LA 46]). COMPOSITION: As EA 268 (Goren 272).

Milkilu writes to Pharaoh about the war against him and against Shuwardata, and he asks the king for saving his land from the power of the *'apîru* men.

**Line rev. 18**—The first sign is not clear. It seems to me that it can be read either  $yu^{1}$  (Knudtzon, Moran and others) or  $\dot{u}$  as Rainey prefers.

There are traces of the following signs:  $^{\prime}$  ÌR<sup> $\prime$ </sup> (rev. 25);  $^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (rev. 26).

# BAʿLU-DĀNI (OR BAʿLU-SHIPṬI), THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29863. COPY: BB, 80. COLLATION: 21.01.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Rainey (2003:201\*-202\*). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:317); Liverani (1998:77 [LA 19]). COMPOSITION: *EA* 272 was made at Gezer (Goren 275–276).

Rainey  $(2003:201b^*)$  noticed that the opening lines of *EA* 272 are identical to those of *EA* 292.

- **Line obv.** 1–2—The restoration is based on identical opening passages as *EA* 266:obv. 1–3 and the Gezer letters.
- Line obv. 2—Rainey (collation) noted that he did not see DIŠ, *contra* Moran (1992:18 n. 1).
- **Line obv. 3**—The correct reading is  ${}^{Ird}IŠKUR.DI.KU_5^{-1} = Ba'lu-šipți (or Ba'lu$ dānu; van Soldt 2002, in Rainey 2006:86a); Rainey confirmed this nameof the ruler by comparison with*EA*292.

Line obv. 13—Rainey did not see Knudtzon's  $[b\bar{e}]/[i-ia]$  at the end of the line.

- Line lo. ed. 15—Rainey saw traces of *'li'*, *contra* Knudtzon. There are still traces of *'KUR LUGAL'*.
- Line rev. 24—ÉRIN.MEŠ pí-<sup>r</sup>tá<sup>-</sup>[ti]-šu; Moran (1992:318 n. 6) follows Rainey.
- Line rev. 25—Read <sup>r</sup>*a*-*na*<sup>1</sup>*ia*-<sup>r</sup>*ši*<sup>1</sup>; Knudtzon's <sup>r</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup> at the end of the line is very doubtful.

#### EA 273

## 'LADY OF THE LIONS' TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1686. COPIES: WA 137;VS 11, 155. COLLATION: 16.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:318); Liverani (1998:125–126 [LA 83]). COMPOSITION: The clay was probably produced at Lachish and was brought to Beth-Shemesh, near the south-east of the kingdom of Gezer (Goren 276–277).

'Lady of the Lions' reports Pharaoh that the city of Ṣapuma was seized by the '*apîru* men and that they threaten the town of Ayalon and the town of Zorah.

- Line obv. 4—<sup>MUNUS</sup>NIN.UR.MAH.MEŠ; for discussion and references, see Hess (1993:175). The MAH sign is not written like most examples; cf. Knudtzon (1915:418 n. a and autograph 83 p. 1003, also p. 839 n. e), and also in Schröder's copy (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 23—In Rainey's collation, the sign ZU, was understood as SÚ by Knudtzon.

#### EA 274

#### 'LADY OF THE LIONS' TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4773 (12216). COPY: WA 138. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:319); Liverani (1998:126 [LA 84]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

'Lady of the Lions' informs Pharaoh that the city of Ṣapuma is seized by the *'apîru* men.

- **Lines obv. 2–5, 7, 9**—There are still traces of *'ia*' and *'i'a/'qí-bí-ma' / 'um-ma*', 'NUMUŠ' and 'MAH/*'ri*'; also 'EN-*ia*' (line 7) and *'am*' (line 9).
- Line rev. 15—*la-qí-ta*; on West Semitic *lakātu* or Akkadian *laqātu*, see Rainey's discussion (1978:79) *contra* Moran (1992:319 n. 1).
- Line rev. 16—As Gordon, so also Rainey's collation confirms Knudtzon's -*ma* in *Şa-pu-ma*<sup>KI</sup>, which is located in the Shephelah area (cf. Na'aman 1979:680 n. 33), *contra* Albright (1943a:17) who accepted Winkler's -*na* (for discussion, see also Moran 1992:319 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs:  $i^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 1);  $i^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}qi^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}bi^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{r}um^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (obv. 4);  ${}^{r}ri^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}ia^{1}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{r}am^{1}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{r}ME\check{S}^{1}$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{r}\dot{u}^{1}$  (rev. 17).

#### EA 275

## YA'ZIB-HADDA, A RULER IN CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1682. COPIES: WA 166; VS 11, 156. COLLATION: 14.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:319); Liverani (1998:111 [LA 62]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 278 (Goren 290).

Yaʻzib-Hadda's place is uncertain; his capital city was located in the Shephelah, near Gath and presumably also close to Gezer (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004:291). Yaʻzib-Hadda declares that he is preparing what he was asked by the king.

Line obv. 9—Read *iq-ta*!-*bi*, not *iq-ba*!-*bi*; it looks like it needs one wedge to be a TA. Knudtzon (1915:842–843 n. b) also notes that his *ba*! could be *ta* (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 11—Rainey observed traces of 'UTU', contra Knudtzon's [šamši].

## EA 276

## YA'ZIB-HADDA, A RULER IN CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1706. COPIES: WA 187; VS 11, 157. COLLATION: 26.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:320); Liverani (1998:111 [LA 63]). COMPOSITION: *EA* 278 (Goren 290–291).

**Line obv. 3**—The sign qi is no longer visible. **Line obv. 8**—There are still traces of [am-qut]. **Line rev. 14**—The sign [d] is no longer visible.

## YA'ZIB-HADDA, A RULER IN CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29864. COPY: BB, 81. COLLATION: 24.01. 2000 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:320); Liverani (1998:111–112 [LA 64]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 278 (Goren 291).

Only the second part of the introduction preserves some text, but the similarity in material and text between *EA* 276 and this letter indicate that Ya'zib-Hadda sent *EA* 277.

Lines obv. 8–12—Clause with extraposition (cf. *EA* 275:9–14 and *EA* 276:9–15); the extraposed element, which is the topic of the sentence, appears in lines 8–10 in the accusative component.

## EA 278

## SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29852.
COPY: BB, 69.
COLLATION: 07.09.1999
PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:320); Liverani (1998:80–81 [LA 24]).
COMPOSITION: *EA* 278 was made in the inner Shephelah; it was sent from there, but not from Tel Şâfi's immediate area (Goren 291).

On the sign forms of *EA* 278–280 and the virtually identical messages of *EA* 275–278, see Moran (1992:320 n. 1).

Lines obv. 1–8—An identical opening passage as *EA* 270. On the use of the distributive 7-*tá*-*a*-*an* (line 8), see *CAT* 1:194.

Line obv. 9—[a]-wa-at ša; construct  $(aw\bar{a}t)$  before ša.

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1647.

COPIES: WA 107; VS 11, 158.

COLLATION: 05.05.1993, 06.11.2003 and 06.11.2007

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:321); Liverani (1998:82 [LA 26]).

COMPOSITION: *EA* 279 was sent from the lower Shephelah; it was probably written at Tel Şâfî (Goren 280).

**Line obv. 4**—There are still traces of *ta* at the end of line.

**Line obv. 11**—Rainey (collated 21.10.1973, also Rainey 1989–1990:71a) reads i- $^{r}na^{1}it$ - $^{r}ta$ - $si^{1}$ , since *gamrat* (obv. 10) followed by *ina* + reason (cf. *EA* 273:11; *EA* 244:30, cited by *CAD* G:25b).

Line obv. 12—Restore  $[\check{s}]a$ ; there is one clear wedge, *contra* Knudtzon's [a-n]a (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv.** 13— $\check{s}[a-ru-te]$ ; Moran's suggestion to read  $\check{s}[a-ru-ta/ti]$  has the support of line 21 (Moran 1992:321 n. 3).

Line obv. 14—Read <sup>'</sup>*ù* yu<sup>1</sup>-*uš*-*ši*-[*ra* LUGAL], cf. Knudtzon's restoration.

**Line lo. ed. 15**—[ÉRIN.MEŠ]  $pi - [t\hat{a}] - ta_5 \hat{u}$ ; Rainey's collation.

Lines lo. ed. 16-rev. 17—Cf. Moran's restoration (Moran 1992:321 n. 4).

## EA 280

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4772 (12213). COPY: WA 100. COLLATION: 07.02.1981 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:321); Liverani (1998:82–83 [LA 27]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

*EA* 280 is a marvellous illustration of how Akhenaten did not neglect his Canaanite province (contrary to popular notion). Keilah was a city under the jurisdiction of Shuwardata. 'Abdi-Heba had bribed the men of Keilah to join forces with him. Shuwardata had reported this action (cf. *EA* 279:9–13) and had received permission to use military force to retrieve his city. In other

words, the king of Egypt did not ignore the problem; on the contrary, he issued the appropriate orders to Shuwardata. *EA* 280 is Shuwardata's report that the instructions had been carried out. Note, incidentally, that after giving his report as required, he launches into a tirade against 'Abdi-Heba for having previously enticed his city to rebel. Evidently, his mandate had been limited to action against Keilah; he was not yet authorized to go further and to take action directly against 'Abdi-Heba. He was waiting for just such an order from Pharaoh (Rainey 1989–1990:71a).

- Line obv. 10—[*e*]-*pu-uš*; infinitive after *ana*, *contra* Knudtzon's [*ip*]-*pu-uš*.
- Line left ed. 39—Moran (1992:322 n. 2) gives both possibilities, Knudtzon's *yu-šu-te-ru* and Gordon's *yu-na!-ki-ru*. However, Rainey (1989–1990:71a) notes that the suggestion by Gordon would create an unknown *EA* idiom. The original reading by Knudtzon is to be preferred, viz. *yu-šu-te-ru*, even though the Š of *târu* is strictly an *EA* invention unknown in good Akkadian (*AHw*:1336a).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil a \rceil$  (rev. 18);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (rev. 22);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil nu \rceil$ ,  $\lceil ma \rceil$  (rev. 33);  $\lceil di \rceil$  (left ed. 38).

#### EA 281

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1681. COPIES: WA 190; VS 11, 159. COLLATION: 19.-20.01.2004 and 30.12.2007 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:322); Liverani (1998:83 [LA 28]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 279 (Goren 281).

Rainey suggests some corrections.

Line obv. 1—The scribe uses *šarri* for nominative probably not with 1st c.sg. suffix, *contra* Knudtzon (Rainey's collation).

**Line obv. 4**—The sign [qi] is no loger visible.

- Line obv. 7—The sign is SI = *şè*, cf. Knudtzon (1915:849 n. 1; Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 9— $[g\dot{a}]b$ -b[i] at the end of the line, on the right edge, under ri of line 8 (collated 30.12.2007), *contra* Rainey's  $[g\dot{a}b]^{r}ba^{\gamma}$  (1995–1996:119a).

**Line obv. 13**—Rainey (collation) restores '*ù tu-ul-qu*'! *ki-ma* 'KA' *ra-bu-ti*; for 'KA', cf. *ka* in line 5. On *pî* "advice", see *CAD* P:462b–463a.

There are traces of the following signs: a'(obv. 1); ta'(obv. 4); a'(obv. 6); ad'(rev. 30).

#### EA 282

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29851. COPIES: BB, 68; Millard (1981:147). COLLATION: 02.09. 1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Millard (1981:146) TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:323); Liverani (1998:84 [LA 29]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 279 (Goren 280).

Shuwardata claims that he is alone and asks the king to save him. The script is beautiful. Millard's copy in *Biblical Archaeologist* (1981) is excellent.

#### EA 283

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 339. COPIES: WA 101; VS 11, 160. COLLATION: 15.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:323); Liverani (1998:85 [LA 31]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 279 (Goren 282).

Lines obv. 8–13—*a-na* '*ia-ši ur-ru*'-*b*[*a*] '*it*'(?)[-*ti*] (line 8); there are faint traces of '*it*'(?) under *ri* of line 7 (Rainey's collation). Schröder's facsimile shows that there is room for '*it*'(?)[-*ti*]. The verbs are rendered according to *CAD* E:269a. '*šàrri bēlika*' (line 9) is meant to be dependent on a preposition, which is clear from the case ending; obviously, '*šàrri bēlika*' was meant to be read at the end of line 8, as comparison with line 11 demonstrates. These two examples of '*urruba it*'[*ti*] belong to a special

group of passages where *itti* is the equivalent of Ugaritic '*m*, meaning "to, towards," which also has parallels in Hebrew '*et* and Phoenician '*t* (Izre'el 1978a). Ebeling (1915:1430) had already hinted at this meaning for *itti* in *EA*; Albright (1944:17 n. 27) noted it in a Taanach letter. The ideographic writing KÙ+40 (line 12) is really KUG.SIG<sub>17</sub>!.MEŠ!, cf. MEŠ in line 2 (Rainey's collation and Rainey 1989–1990:71a+b), *contra* Moran (1992:324 n. 5).

Line obv. 16—The signs *-mi-ni* are on the back of the tablet.

**Line obv. 26**—Read *yi-ik-ki* $\langle$ -*mi*- $\rangle$ *ni*, cf. line 16.

#### EA 284

#### SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29850. COPIES: BB, 67. COLLATION: 08.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:324); Liverani (1998:84–85 [LA 30]). COMPOSITION: *EA* 279 (Goren 282).

On the reverse side, there are hardly legible signs.

- **Line obv. 6**—Knudtzon (1915:854 n. c) comments that there is no room for  ${}^{r}li^{n}$  at the beginning of the line. Rainey's collation suggests  $\check{s}i = li$  here and also at the beginning of line 12.
- Line obv. 7—*la-qí-ta* form of *leqû*; see Rainey's discussion (1978:79) and above (*EA* 274:15).

**Line obv. 9**—At the end of the line  $\lceil \delta a \rceil$ ; with Moran (1992:324 n. 2).

- Line obv. 10—Knudtzon's *gu* is actually *ga*! (GÉME), so also in lines 26 and 32 (Rainey's collation).
- **Line obv. 11**—Read '*pa-aț*'-*ra-ma* '*ia*'-*nu*, *contra* Knudtzon's *p*[*a*]-*aț*-*ra-ma i*-<sup>r</sup>*ia*'-*nu*.
- **Line obv. 12**—li at the beginning of the line, cf. line 6 (Rainey's collation).
- **Lines obv. 15–16**—Rainey speculates 'ŠEŠ'(?)-*ia na-*'*ra*'(?)-'*am*' (line 5); with reference to the next line, he notes that Knudtzon's signs are possible (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 17—Rainey reads 'DUMU'(?).'KIN'(?).MEŠ(?)-'*ri ù yi-il*<sub>5</sub>-qú-ni' (around edge).

Line obv. 18—At the end of the line, Rainey saw the start of r[u], which runs into the end of line 17, *contra* Moran (1992:324 n. 3).

Line rev. 20—For <sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup> at the end of the line, see Knudtzon (1915:856 n. b).

- Line rev. 21—Rainey reads ' $\dot{u}$ '!(ŠI) '*a-na* GÌR'; he comments that if GÌR.MEŠ, then MEŠ is completely squeezed together. 'GÌR' alone is more likely.
- Lines rev. 23–28—In line 6 read '*ad*', not Knudtzon's *du*; it is like '*ad*' in line 6 but smaller (Rainey's collation). For transliteration and translation, see Rainey's proposal.

Line rev. 29—The sign *ia* is no longer visible.

**Lines rev. 31–34, up. ed. 35**—Contrary to Knudtzon (and Na'aman 1979:679 n. 28):  ${}^{wru}T[i]$ -i[a-n]a, read 'URU'(?).'DIDLI'.KI. 'HI.A' at the beginning of line 31. 'URU' resembles UN. For transliteration and translation, see Rainey's proposal.

There are traces of the following signs: [na], [DIŠ] ([1]), [šar] (obv. 1); [um], [ma], [1] (obv. 2); [a], [GIR], i[a] (obv. 3); [ma] (obv. 4); [aq], [u], [ru] (obv. 5); [ma], [ad] (obv. 6); [isar], [ri], [EN] (obv. 8); [at], [sar], [ri] (obv. 11);  $[it_5]$ , [qd], [ri],  $[it_5]$ , [qd], [ri], [obv. 12); [sa], [ra], [ra], [ra], [sar], [ri] (obv. 13); [mi] (obv. 14); [ra], [

## EA 285

## ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1601.
COPIES: WA 174; VS 11, 161.
COLLATION: 20.10.2003
PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.
TRANSLITERATION (LINES 9–25) AND TRANSLATION: Na'aman (1975:97–98).
TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:325); Liverani (1998:88–89 [LA 36]).
COMPOSITION: The clay most likely came from the Egyptian administrative center at Beth-Shean (Goren 268).
For the Jerusalem conflict, see Rainey (2006:85a–86ab).

Line obv. 2—On the name 'Abdi-Heba, see Rainey (2006:85a+b).

Line obv. 6—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>¬</sup>.

- Line obv. 7—A transposition of DUMU LÚ.KIN (so also in line 28); the usual reading is LÚ DUMU.KIN. At the end of the line, Rainey completes '*i*'[*a*] and he comments that there is no need for Knudtzon's *k*[*i-ma ar-hi-e*]š.
- Lines obv. 10–12—Rainey puts *a-na-ku*, the end of line 12, as continuation of line 11 and he also offers a different transliteration and a different translation, *contra* Moran (1992:325 n. 4) and Na'aman (1975:97).
- Line obv. 13—[*li-iš-m*]*e*; with Moran (1992:325 n. 6), there is not enough room for Na'aman's [*la ? i-pa-ța*]*r*! since negative particles always appear with long *la-a* in the Jerusalem letters, e.g., here line 8 and *EA* 286:10; 287:58, 62; 288:30; 289:10.
- Lines obv. 14-lo. ed. 15—[*šum-ma i*]*a-a-nu-mi*; with Na'aman (1975:97) and Moran (1992:325 n. 7).
- Lines rev. 22–24—Rainey restores [*iš-tu muḥ*]-<sup>*r</sup>ħi<sup>¬</sup>-<i>ni*. For the remaining—reading, see Moran (1992:325 n. 8).</sup>
- Line rev. 25—Read *ra-šu* (*erēšu* is the verb), *contra* Moran (1992:325).
- Line rev. 30—<sup>r</sup>*e-mu-qa*<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Knudtzon's reading and Moran's speculation (1992:325 n. 9).

#### EA 286

## 'ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1642.

COPIES: WA 102; VS 11, 162.

COLLATION: 14.06.1964 and 11.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:374–375); Albright (*ANET* 487a–488b); Seux (1977:54–55); Borger (in Galling 1968:25–26); Moran (1992:326–327); Liverani (1998:94–96 [LA 40]).

COMPOSITION: The clay was produced in Jerusalem (Goren 266).

'Abdi-Heba reports that Ilimilku destroyed all the lands of the king, and the *'apîru* men have plundered them.

Line obv. 12—Cf. Moran (1992:327 n. 2).

Line obv. 16—Cf. Moran (1992:327 n. 3).

Line obv. 22—On *à-qa-bi* as unusual Canaanite verbal preformative, see Moran (2003:261 n. 37).

Lines obv. 29-rev. 31—Rainey's conjectural restoration is based on *EA* 289: 32–34; maybe Yanhamu installed the men in KUR *Yarimuta*(?) (collation).

Line rev. 32—Rainey's collation proposes [*li-de*<sub>4</sub>-*mi*] 'LUGAL EN-*ri*'.

**Line rev. 35**—Rainey (collation) reads  $[li-d]e_4-m[i]$  'LUGAL'.

Line rev. 43—Note ištu in Assyrian for itti in Babylonian.

Line rev. 47—*e-nu-ma* is one of several examples in the Jerusalem letters where *enūma* is used as the equivalent of the WS preposition  $k^2/k\hat{i}$ "as, like." This is a hypercorrection developed from the standard use of inūma/enūma in these Canaanite texts as the equivalent of the WS subordinating conjunction  $k\hat{i}$  (Rainey 1989–1990:71b).

## EA 287

# 'ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

**TEXT: VAT 1644.** 

COPIES: WA 103; VS 11, 163.

COLLATION: 13.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:375-376); Mullo Weir (in Winton Thomas 1958:39–40); Albright (ANET 488a+b); Freydank (in Jepsen 1975:102–103); Seux (1977:55-56); Moran (1992:328-329); Liverani (1998:91-93 [LA 38]). COMPOSITION: The clay was produced at Jerusalem (Goren 266).

EA 287 deals with the difficulties encountered when trying to send caravans to Egypt. 'Abdi-Heba sees his enemies as conspirators who wish to seize lands belonging to the king, that is, to form a coalition opposed to loyal city rulers like himself. Besides, the major towns on the southern coastal plain are involved, but the leaders are his direct neighbors to the west and to the north, meaning Milkilu, the ruler of Gezer and the sons of Lab'ayu (Rainey 2006:85c).

This text uses Glossenkeil for special reasons, not just glosses.

Lines obv. 4–5—Rainey's reconstruction and rendering; compare Knudtzon (1915:863-864), Moran (1992:329 n. 1), and Rainey (1995-1996:119a).

Line obv. 17—šàr-ri is a genitive form used as nominative..

Line obv. 19—*eppušū* ( $\langle eppaš\bar{u} \rangle$ ; with Assyrian vowel harmony, cf. Moran (2003:267).

Line obv. 23—Read <sup>r</sup>ia-a-nu<sup>¬</sup>, contra Knudtzon's ia-nu.

Line obv. 36—*páț-*<sup>r</sup>*u-ú*<sup>¬</sup>; Rainey's collation.

Line obv. 37—Read [*s*]*a*-<sup>r</sup>*bat*<sup>¬</sup>, *contra* Moran (1992:329 n. 9).

- Lines lo. ed. 38–39—Rainey (collation) reads <sup>r</sup>*a-mur*<sup>1</sup>, *contra* Moran's [*šumm*]*a* (1992:329 n. 9). The reading of [URU *Ha-za-ti*] at the end of line 38 seems to be more likely. If KUR [URU *Ú-ru-sa-lim*], then it must have run around the corner (Rainey's collation), *contra* Albright's "Jerusalem" (*ANET* 488a), which was accepted by Moran (1992:328) and Liverani (1998:92). 'Abdi-Heba argues that there are mercenary troops in Gaza that could be sent to him to replace the Cushites.
- Line lo. ed. 40—'ÌR'.MEŠ *li-is-'kín*' [*šàr-ri*], *contra* Moran (1992:329 n. 10). For the sign *si*, Schröder draws two spread wedges, but Knudtzon is correct that there are two horizontal wedges together here. There are still traces of 'ÌR' and '*kín*' (line 40).
- Line rev. 41—*ta-za-qa-*<sup>r</sup>*pu*<sup>¬</sup>, N present/future or G, *contra* Moran's *ta-ṣa-qa* (1992:330 n. 11).
- Lines rev. 43–44—With Moran (1992:329 n. 12).
- Line rev. 53—[KASKAL.Ḫ]I.A "[a caravan (or: caravans)]caravans," *contra* [NÍG.BA]. Ḫ]I.A (Moran 1992:329 n. 16; Liverani 1998:93).
- Line rev. 54—Contrary to Moran (1992:329 n. 16), who comments that the copy is against the restoration 5 *li-im* [KÙ.BABBAR], Rainey (collation) notes that Albright's rendering (*ANET* 488a) is right and adds that 'Abdi-Heba did not send five thousand people to the king, but five thousand shekels of silver.
- Lines rev. 69–70—The solution by Finkelstein (1969) is still the best (*contra* Moran 1992:330 n. 20), the idiom *mattī ana kâta* was a WS rendering of "I would die for you" (cf. *EA* 136:42; *EA* 137:52; *EA* 138:27), cf. Rainey (1995–1996:71b; *CAT* 2:364).
- Line up. ed. 78—[*li-is-kín*]; with Moran (1992:330 n. 22). Rainey reads '*ru*', not Knudtzon's *ri*.

#### EA 288

# ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1643. COPIES: WA 103; VS 11, 164. COLLATION: 07.11.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:376–377); Mullo Weir (in D. Winton Thomas 1958:43–44); Albright (*ANET* 488b–489a); Freydank (in Jepsen 1975:103–104); Moran (1992:330–331); Liverani (1998:96–98 [LA 41]).

COMPOSITION: The clay was produced in Jerusalem (Goren 266–267).

'Abdi-Heba expresses his loyalty to the king, and he repeatedly asks the king to send regular troops and a commissioner to take him to Egypt. 'Abdi-Heba was well aware of Near Eastern geography: from Nahrîna to Cush. Therefore, he was aware of two important figures murdered on the way to Sillû/Sillô, the chief Egyptian border fortress on the eastern Delta frontier (Rainey 2006:85c–86a).

Line obv. 17—Read  ${}^{r}A^{}-d[a-ya]$  (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 36—<sup>r</sup>*Ka*<sup>¬</sup>-*áš*!(PA)-*ší*<sup>KI</sup>; following Rainey (1978b:105), cf. Moran (1992:332 n. 8) and Liverani (1998:98 n. 132).

Line rev. 44—*ig-gi-ú-šu*; so Ebeling, followed by Moran (1992:332 n. 1).

Line rev. 47—[*am-m*]*i*-<sup>*r*</sup>*ni*<sub>7</sub><sup>-</sup>; cf. Nitzan (1973:24) and Moran (1992:331).

Lines rev. 49-50—Following Moran's restoration (1992:332 n. 11).

- Line rev. 60—Instead of *a-na ka-aš-ši*, the scribe wrote *a-na ia-a-ši*, which is another dislectic example (cf. Rainey 1978b; 1989–1990 and collation).
- Line rev. 65—Read *ba-na-ti*, not [*ša na*]-<sup>r</sup>*ad*<sup>¬</sup>*-na-ti*, *contra* Moran (1992:331 n. 12).
- Line rev. 66—At the beginning of the line Rainey restores [*e-nu-ma*] "because," cf. Gianto (1990:171).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ka^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{r}ti^{1}$  (obv. 21);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (rev. 32);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (rev. 44);  ${}^{r}I\check{S}KUR^{1}$  (rev. 45);  ${}^{r}i^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (rev. 52);  ${}^{r}i^{1}$  (rev. 58);  ${}^{r}mu^{1}$  (rev. 61).

#### EA 289

## ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1645 + 2709.

COPIES: WA 105 + WA 199; *VS* 11, 165.

COLLATION: 21.01.2008 and 10.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:377–378); Albright (*ANET* 489a+b); Campbell (1965:200–201); Moran (1992:332–333); Liverani (1998:89–91 [LA 37]).

Anson F. Rainey Z"L - 9789004281547 Downloaded from Brill.com 05/03/2024 07:03:13AM via American Research Center in Egypt

COMPOSITION: The clay was produced at Jerusalem (Goren 267).

'Abdi-Heba requests military aid from the king of Egypt because of the hostile activities of Milkilu, Tagi and because the king's official, P<sup>e</sup>wuru, had abandoned Jerusalem.

- Lines obv. 3–4—š[àr-ri] /...a[m-qut-mi]; with Moran (1992:332), *contra* Knudtzon.
- Lines obv. 11–13—A clause with extraposition (see also Rainey 1995–1996: 119a+b).
- **Line obv.** 13—Ru-bu- $t\acute{a}(!)^{\kappa_1}$  appears at the end of the line. It is very badly written around the corner, cf. the DA sign in line 32. For discussion on Rubbôta, see Rainey (2006:85b).
- Lines obv. 21–24—These lines are a key passage for the history of Lab'ayu, the infamous leader who is assumed to be the ruler of Shechem, contra Adamthwaite's suggestion (1992:8-12) that Lab'ayu was located at Pehel and that this Jerusalem passage does not place him at Shechem. First, it may be objected that KUR Ša-ak-mi does not correspond to the name Shechem (Hebrew  $\check{S}^{a}kem$ ), which is built on the *qitl* pattern, not the *gatl*. The point is worth considering, except that variations in the pattern between Semitic dialects is well known. For example, there is malk "king", but also milk and malik- (Sivan 1984:243-247). Therefore, it is not necessarily unusual to find Šakmu rather than \*tikmu. The sibilant in the Jerusalem form is what we expect for Semitic /t/ (Moran 2003:264 n. 51). That we have KUR Ša-ak-mi "the land of Shechem" and not URU Ša-ak-mi "the city of Shechem" is also understandable in this context. The idea is that Lab'ayu gave lands (estates, farms) to 'apîrû who were landless outlaws. That was his inducement to them; it was obviously his intention when he depopulated the towns in the Dothan Valley and the Valley of Jezreel (EA 250:42-47; Rainey 1968). There is no reason to expect that he would give them the city of Shechem (cf. Adamthwaite 1992:8–12). Instead, it seems more likely that Mut-Ba'lu, who calls Lab'ayu his father (EA 255:14-21), was the ruler of Pehel perhaps after Lab'ayu had acquired that town for him (Rainey 1995-1996:119b-120a).
- Line obv. 23—*i-din-nu* is 3rd m.pl. (so also Adamthwaite, 1992). Moran has evidently taken it as a m.sg. imperfect, "when he was giving." There is much in favor of this interpretation. The form *ni-pu-uš-mi* (in line 21), with enclitic *-mi*, suggests that 'Abdi-Heba is giving a citation, and in direct quotes, the Jerusalem scribe resorts to the West Semitic verbal system of moods and tenses.

Line obv. 26—*lu-ú a-mi-la-tu-nu* "Be ye men!" is a well-known idiom, recorded in OB texts and elsewhere (*CAD* A/2:54b). Read as an "*a*" (*AHw*:90b and *CAD* A/2:54b) and not 2 (Moran 1990:333 n. 3; also Knudtzon); this sign is typical in many places in Jerusalem letters and elesewhere. For more suggestions of scholars, see *CAT* 3:199. The verticals of the LU sign are just barely visible above and below the two horizontals (Rainey's collation).

Line rev. 28—On Qilti (Keilah), see Rainey (2006:85b).

- Line rev. 29—"let us desert Jerusalem"; following CAD P:297a.
- Line rev. 38—*ir-pí-šu*; following *AHw*:386a; Moran (1992:333 n. 5). In Egyptian *iry-p't*, *r p't* "hereditary noble" (Gardiner, *AEO* I, 14<sup>\*</sup> ff.).
- Line rev. 41—*li-iz-kur*; with Knudtzon and Moran (1992:333 n. 6), but could be read *li-is-kin* as was suggested by Albright and Campbell (Rainey's collation).
- **Lines left ed. 50–51**—For the idiom *mattī ana kâta*, see above *EA* 287 rev. 69–70.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil na \rceil$  (obv. 1);  $\lceil din \rceil$  (lo. ed. 23);  $\lceil nu \rceil$  (rev. 27);  $\lceil a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil na \rceil$  (rev. 47);  $\lceil a \rceil$  (left ed. 51).

#### EA 290

## ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1646.

COPIES: WA 106; VS 11, 166.

COLLATION: 10.11.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

TRANSLATIONS: Ebeling (1926:378); Albright (*ANET* 489b); Seux (1977:58–59); Moran (1992:333–334); Liverani (1998:93–94 [LA 39]).

COMPOSITION: The clay was produced in Jerusalem (Goren 267–268).

'Abdi-Heba gives a different view of the conflict between him and his enemies (cf. *EA* 280:16–40). According to him, Milkilu and Suwardata assembled troops of Gezer, troops of Gath, and troops of Keilah and they have seized the town of Rubbutu.

The signs resemble closely those of *EA* 289. The different clay gives them a slightly less sharp appearance.

- Line obv. 8—*pu*!(MU)-*hi-ru*; Greenberg (1955:49) reads *mu-hi-ru* but also suggests *pu*!-*hi-ru*, *contra* Moran's *mu-'i-ru* (1992:334 n. 2).
- Line obv. 16—For discussion on É-<sup>d</sup>NIN.IB (Bīt-NINIB), see Rainey (2006: 85b).
- Line rev. 25—The Glossenkeil is over something erased.
- Lines rev. 26–27—<sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-[*na*] <sup>r</sup>KA-*i*<sup>1</sup>.../ [*ù a*]-<sup>r</sup>*na* KA-*i*<sup>1</sup>; following Albright and Moran (1992:334 n. 4).
- Line up. ed. 28—The signs are very difficult to read. It is hard to see what Schröder claims to see; in the photograph, one can see the traces of [L]Ú! <sup>r</sup>URU *Gin*<sub>8</sub><sup>-</sup>*t*[*i*<sup>KI</sup>] (Rainey's collation 22.01.2008), cf. Moran (1992:334 n. 5).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}bi{}^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}ba{}^{1}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{r}li{}^{1}$  (rev. 19);  ${}^{r}a{}^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}na{}^{1}$  (rev. 21).

#### EA 291

## ABDI-HEBA, THE RULER OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1713.

COPY: *VS* 11, 167.

COLLATION: 27.01.2004 and 28.01.2004.

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita.

COMPOSITION: The clay is like the Gezer tablets; it seems that *EA* 291 was sent from Gezer when peaceful relations existed between the two polities, the ruler of Gezer and the ruler of Jerusalem (Goren 268–269).

This tablet is too fragmentary.

Line lo. ed. 12—Read [*l*]*i*-[*i*]*m*-'*lik* LUGAL'. Knudtzon (see 1915:878 n. a) reads [*l*]*i*-*iš*-*me*.

Line rev. 13—<sup> $'</sup> <math>\dot{u}$  ÌR.HI.A<sup> $'</sup>-[<math>\dot{s}u$ ], contra Knudtzon.</sup></sup>

Line rev. 15—The same sign for "*a*" is used in *EA* 289:26.

Line left ed. 24—[*l*]*a-ma-di*<sup>1</sup> [LUGAL], *contra* Knudtzon.

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#### EA 292

# BAʿLU-DĀNI (OR BAʿLU-SHIPṬI), THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 37647. COPY: Scheil (1892:298). COLLATION: 10.08. 1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 489b–490a); Moran (1992:335); Liverani (1998:103–104 [LA 49]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 268 (Goren 273).

Ba'lu-dāni reports a dispute with an Egyptian official over possession of a newly refurbished fort.

Line obv. 3—<sup>Id</sup>IŠKUR.DI.KUD; cf. Knudtzon (1915:879 n. h) and Moran (1992: 335 n. 1). 'ÌR-*ka*' is faint but legible (Rainey's collation).

- **Line obv.** 8—<sup> $ram^{1}$ </sup> is barely legible, but it is the best reading (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 29—<sup>r</sup>*ba-ni-ti*? is very faint (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 30—The location of Manhatu is still unknown, but it must be in a position to protect Gezer from danger in the mountains (Rainey 2006:86a).
- Line rev. 35—*ši* is small and written slightly higher, on the edge of the tablet. It is very faint (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 36—NU-*id* (= *piqid*, also in *EA* 238:4), cf. *AHw*:8252, but this is an error for *tar* (Rainey's collation).
- Line rev. 47—Rainey (1989–1990:71b–72a) rejects Moran's "the pot of a debt" in view of *hu-bu-ul-li* in *EA* 297:14 (Moran 1992:335 n. 4). The pot is used as a parable of someone who is in dire straits, viz. the city of Gaza (*EA* 292) or the sender of the letter (*EA* 297). A pot that is given as surety for a loan is hardly a suitable picture. Therefore, it seems that there could only be one possible solution, viz. that *hubullu* must mean "damaged." In spite of its resemblance to the Akkadian term, *hubullu* "debt," there is nothing to preclude its being derived from the common Semitic \**hbl* "to destroy, to damage." The form is that of an adjective depicting a defect, *qutullu*.

There are traces of the following signs: M[EŠ],  ${}^{r}ka^{1}$  (obv. 4);  ${}^{r}EN^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ia^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}ir^{1}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{r}te^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{r}ME\breve{S}^{1}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{r}i\breve{s}^{1}$  (obv. 17);  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (lo. ed. 24);  ${}^{r}\breve{s}a^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}\breve{s}a^{1}$  (rev. 25);  ${}^{r}lu^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}u^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ia^{1}$  (rev. 33);  ${}^{r}i\breve{s}^{1}$  (rev. 48).

# BAʿLU-DĀNI (OR BAʿLU-SHIPṬI), THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4774 (12231). COPY: WA 201. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:336); Liverani (1998:102–103 [LA 48]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

**Line obv. 3**—<sup>r1d</sup>IŠKUR<sup>1</sup>.DI.KUD; the identity of the sender is not doubtful, see also in *EA* 292:3 and Moran (1992:336 n. 1).

Line obv. 8—Read [*i*]*š-te-mé* with Gordon and Moran (1992:336 n. 2).

Line lo. ed. 14—*i*-*nu*-*ma*; with Gordon and Moran (1992:336 n. 3). Rainey also confirms that the first sign is completely preserved, *contra* Knudtzon.

Line rev. 15—'LÚ.KÚR'; Rainey confirms Gordon's questionable reading (Moran 1992:336 n. 4).

Line rev. 20—Contrary to Knudtzon, Rainey reads [...]*uš-ša* <sup>*it-ti-šu-nu*.</sup>

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 12).

## EA 294

## ZIMREDDA, THE RULER OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29854. COPY: BB, 71. COLLATION: 03.09.1999 and 27.07.2004. PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:336–337); Liverani (1998:104–105 [LA 50]). COMPOSITION: *EA* 294 was sent from Tel Ashdod (Goren 293–294).

Zimredda complains that Piya (Pe'ya), the king's official, commandeered some of his men whom he (Zimredda) had assigned to guard the Egyptian storehouse at Joppa.

Line obv. 3—Read '*um-ma* '*Zí-im-re-da*' ÌR-*ka* (Rainey's reading was supported by Leonhard Sassmannshausen on 27.07.2004). See photograph for the suggested reading: *um-ma* I *Zí-im-re-*<sup>r</sup>*da*' ÌR-(*ka*). Knudtzon read

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[*um-m*]*a* [*a*]*d*<sup>a</sup>[*-d*]*a*-[*da*]*-ni ardu-ka* (footnote a: "Die Spuren deuten auf ad oder și hin."); see Moran (1975:155 = 2003:284). The first sign is probably AD or ȘI, the last sign almost certainly NI, and the second and third signs are possibly DA.

Line obv. 4—Rainey observed traces of -'na GÌR.HI.A LUGAL EN'.

Line rev. 22—On *šu-nu-ti* (= Egyptian *šnwt* "granary"), see Alt (1944 = 1953:224 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs: *i*<sup>*r*</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 1); <sup>*r*</sup><sup>*d*</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>, <sup>*r*</sup>*ia*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 2); <sup>*r*</sup>*um*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 3); <sup>*r*</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>*r*</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>, <sup>*r*</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> (obv. 4); <sup>*r*</sup>*ru*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 12); <sup>*r*</sup>*qa*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 13); <sup>*r*</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 14); <sup>*r*</sup>*ši*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 18); <sup>*r*</sup>*uš*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 19); <sup>*r*</sup>*ki*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 27); <sup>*r*</sup>*ur*<sup>1</sup> (up. ed. 33); <sup>*r*</sup>*da*<sup>1</sup> (left ed. 35).

#### EA 295

# BAʿLU-DĀNI (OR BAʿLU-SHIPṬI), THE RULER OF TYRE, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1650. COPIES: WA 88; VS 11, 168. COLLATION: 16.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:337); Liverani (1998:148–149 [LA 116]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 151 (Goren 168).

This tablet was sent from Tyre. It seems that Ba'lu-dāni, the ruler of Tyre, was the predecessor of Abi-Milku, who was killed in a palace revolt (see *EA* 89; Moran 1992:338 n. 1).

Line obv. 14—[LÚ URU *Ṣi*-]*du-na*; following Na'aman (1979:673) and see Moran (1992:338 n. 3).

Line obv. 16—HUL.GÁL; cf. Borger (2003:410 No. 733) and U<sub>4</sub>. HUL.GÁL (Borger 2003:382 No. 596).

Line obv. 18—With Moran (1992:338 n. 4).

Line rev. 3—[*e-p*]*í*-<sup>*i*</sup>*iš*<sup>*i*</sup>; cf. Moran (1992:338 n. 5).

Line rev. 6—IGI.KÁR EN.[NUN]; cf. Moran (1992:338 n. 6).

Line rev. 8—Perhaps  $\acute{u}$ - $\check{s}$ [*e*-*er*-*ti*].

## YA'ȚIRI, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN (?), TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29840. COPY: BB, 57, W 214. COLLATION: 06.09.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Oppenheim (1967:125–126); Moran (1992:3338–339); Liverani (1998:66 [LA 1]). COMPOSITION: The origin of the clay is limited to the section of the coastal

plain between Ashdod in the south and the area of Caesarea in the north; it seems that it was probably sent from Ashdod (Goren 292–293).

Yaʿṭiri declares his loyalty to his lord, the king of Egypt; he mentions that he is "guarding the gate of the city of Gaza and the gate of the city of Yapô," and wherever the regular troops of the king go, he is with them.

Lines rev. 19, 21—*pal*, *bal*, in the middle two small vertical wedges. Line rev. 35—*it*-[*ti-šu-nu*] of Bezold and Budge (1892:57) and Winckler (1896 no. 214) is better than Knudtzon's restoration (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{,}, [na^{,}, [sa^{,}, [a^{,}], [a^{,}$ 

#### EA 297

## YAPA'I, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29834. COPY: BB, 51. COLLATION: 19.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 490a); Moran (1992:339); Liverani (1998: 105–106 [LA 52]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 268 (Goren 273).

Line obv. 14—For the meaning of *hubulli*, see above *EA* 268 rev. 47 and also Rainey (1989–1990:71b–72a). On the position of the gloss, cf. Moran (1992:339 n. 1).

There are traces of the following signs: <code>`a`, <code>`na`</code> (obv. 1); <code>`MEŠ`</code> (obv. 4); <code>`ba`</code> (obv. 8).</code>

## EA 298

## YAPA'I, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29834.

COPY: BB, 51.

COLLATION: 19.08.1999

PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR.

- TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 490a); Freydank (in Jepsen 1975:100); Moran (1992:340); Liverani (1998:106 [LA 53]).
- COMPOSITION: *EA* 268 was probably sent from Gaza; its clay originates from the coastal strip between Raphia and Ashkelon (Goren 273–274).

Yapa'i, the third ruler of Gezer, complains about a younger brother who had entered into the town of Mô'ḥazi. The clay of *EA* 298 is full of seashell fragments and there are still many more traces of signs.

**Line obv. 10**—Read <sup>rd</sup>UTU<sup> $\gamma$ </sup> ša iš - <sup>r</sup>tu ša<sub>10</sub><sup> $\gamma$ </sup>-mì-<sup>r</sup>i<sup> $\gamma$ </sup>.

Line rev. 26—*qa*-(*ti*)-*šu*; cf. Greenberg (1955:49) and Moran (1992:340 n. 1).

Line rev. 28—Read [i]-<sup>*i*</sup>na<sup>*i*</sup>-an-na of BB and W. Rainey (1989–1990:72a, his collation and 2006:86a) rejects the putative place name T[i]-i[a-n]a which was proposed by Na'aman (1979:679 n. 28) and accepted by Moran (1992:340 n. 2). Knudtzon's [k]i at the end of the line is just the i'i' of the end of line 10. From the reverse side the latter saw two holes, probably where seashell fragments had broken out, and the vertical is actually two wedges of the i'i'. In BA 4, 115f. he thought the sign was di (Knudtzon 1915:894 n. b).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ia^{,}(ia^{,}(obv. 1); {}^{r}sa^{,}(obv. 2); {}^{r}lR^{,}$  ${}^{r}ka^{,}(obv. 6); {}^{r}ka^{,}(obv. 7); {}^{r}ka^{,}(obv. 6); {}^{r}RA^{,}(obv. 8); {}^{r}a^{,}(obv. 9); {}^{r}tu^{,}(obv. 10); {}^{r}a^{,}(obv. 11); {}^{r}ha^{,}, {}^{r}hi^{,}(obv. 12); {}^{r}ru^{,}(obv. 14); {}^{r}i^{,}(obv. 15); {}^{r}EN^{,}, {}^{r}na^{,}(obv. 16); {}^{r}te_{9}^{,}, {}^{r}me^{,}, {}^{r}ma^{,}(obv. 17); {}^{r}LUGAL^{,}(lo. ed. 18); {}^{r}ep^{,}, G[lR] (rev. 19); {}^{r}lu^{,}(rev. 20); {}^{r}is^{,}, {}^{r}tu^{,}(rev. 23); {}^{r}zi^{,}(rev. 25); {}^{r}da^{,}(rev. 26); {}^{r}u^{,}, {}^{r}ma^{,}(rev. 28); {}^{r}tu_{4}^{,}, {}^{r}UGU^{,}(rev. 29); {}^{r}li^{,}, {}^{r}pu^{,}(rev. 31); {}^{r}ra^{,}(rev. 32); {}^{r}nu^{,}(rev. 33).$ 

## YAPA'I, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29832. COPY: BB, 49. COLLATION: 05.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:340–341); Liverani (1998:107 [LA 54]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 298 (Goren 274).

**Line obv. 19**— $u \langle yu \rangle$ - $u\check{s}$ - $\check{s}i$ -ra; following Izre'el (1977:163). 3rd m.sg. is needed because the subject is LUGAL and also because of qa-at- $\check{s}u$ , but it could be imperative with switch to 3rd m.sg.

Line lo. ed. 20—*yi-it-ra-*<sup>r</sup>*ni*<sup>?</sup>; cf. Moran (1992:341 n. 2).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{ra^{1}}, {}^{ra^{1}}, {}^{rsa^{1}}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}pa^{1}, {}^{r}hi^{1}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{r}ri^{1}, {}^{r}ki^{1}$  (obv. 4);  ${}^{rsa^{1}}, {}^{r}GIR^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{ria^{1}}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{rd}UTU^{1}$  (obv. 8);  ${}^{r}EN^{1}, {}^{r}gal^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{rd^{1}}, {}^{rsa_{10}}$  (obv. 16);  ${}^{r}a^{1}, {}^{r}ma^{1}$  (obv. 17);  ${}^{r}EN^{1}$  (lo. ed. 20); i[a] (rev. 22).

## EA 300

# YAPA'I, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1606. COPIES: WA 165; VS 11, 171. COLLATION: 16.02.2008 and 22.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:341); Liverani (1998:107 [LA 55]). COMPOSITION: Similar to *EA* 298 (Goren 274).

Yapa'i writes to the king that he will serve him, following his father's and his grandfather's tradition of service.

Line obv. 10—At the end of the line there are traces of 'LUGAL', but there is no room for [EN-*ia*] as Moran (1992:341 n. 1) suggested.
Line obv. 11—Read 'EN-*ia*' *a*-'*na* ÌR-*šu*', *contra* Moran (1992:341 n. 1).
Line obv. 15—On the edge there are traces of 'LUGAL.'
Line obv. 17—Restore '*ia*-*a*-*ti*'.

**Line lo. ed. 18**—Read *tu-šu-ra*!*-ba-ni*, 3rd collective plural present/future + ventive or with 3rd f.pl. (WS use of *t-*) in *-āni*(*m*), not Knudtzon's *tu-šu-r*[*u*]*-ba-ni*. Izre'el (1978b:44 n. 118), who is following the latter, comments on this strange form as being built on Akkadian stative *šūrub*. Na'aman's attempt (1979:679 n. 30) to read the text based on Schröder's copy is far from reality.



- **Line rev. 22**—Rainey (collation) reads A.A-*ia* u 'AB'!.'BA'-*ti*[-*ia*(?)] "by father and [my(?)] ancestors." A.A = *a*-*bu*-*um* (cf. *CAD* A/1:67b; *MSL* 2 127:16–17).
- Line rev. 23—The signs of *u ša-ni-*'*tam*' are clear; *-tam* is like ÉRIN. '*él*'-*te*<sub>3</sub>-'*né-mé*'; if '*il*', then it is a pure MB form as "Akkadianism," an archaic form (like the Jerusalem letters) with two verticals at the end.
- Line rev. 28—The sign UTU is written like ÉRIN.

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 8); <sup>r</sup>7<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>š*u*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*u*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>7<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 9); <sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup> (rev. 25).

#### EA 301

## SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4781 (12214). COPY: WA 117. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:342); Liverani (1998:74 [LA 13]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Shubandu's texts are replying to a Pharaonic message. In addition to his obedient expression, Shubandu mentions his delivery of oxen and 20 girls. The clay of all of Shubandu's tablets is like those of Yapa'i: they are grey with flecks of seashells.

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{\uparrow}(obv. 1); [\check{s}a_{10}](obv. 2); [\check{s}], [\check{s}a_{10}], [i^{\uparrow}(obv. 8); [7](obv. 9); [i\check{s}](rev. 23).$ 

#### EA 302

# SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 332. COPIES: WA 120;VS 11, 172. COLLATION: 03.09.2003 PHOTOGRAPH: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:342); Liverani (1998:74 [LA 14]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 321 (Goren 297).

Shubandu declares that he makes the preparations that Pharaoh had requested.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}i^{\prime}$  (obv. 3);  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}na^{\prime}$  (obv. 13).

#### EA 303

## SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29821. COPY: BB, 38. COLLATION: 20.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:342–343); Liverani (1998:74–75 [LA 15]). COMPOSITION: Most likely an Ashkelon-made tablet (Goren 297).

Shubandu responds to Pharaoh that he has listened carefully to his official.

There are traces of the following signs:  $[a^{,}, [na^{,}, i^{,}a^{,}]$  (obv. 1);  $[UTU^{,}]$  (obv. 8);  $[7-\check{s}u^{,}]$  (obv. 9);  $[a^{,}, [an^{,}, i\check{s}^{,}]$ ,  $[\hbar a^{,}]$  (obv. 10);  $[tu^{,}, [ma^{,}]$  (obv. 11);  $[\check{s}ar^{,}]$  (lo. ed. 17);  $[it^{,}]$  (lo. ed. 18);  $[gal^{,}]$  (rev. 21).

# SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29822. COPY: BB, 39. COLLATION: 20.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:343); Liverani (1998:75 [LA 16]). COMPOSITION: Most likely an Ashkelon-made tablet (Goren 298).

Shubandu's obedience is expressed by his guarding the place of the king.

**Line obv.** 1—Contrary to Knudtzon and others, Rainey does not restore [DINGIR(.MEŠ)-ia] at the end of the line.

There are traces of the following signs: 'UTU', 'UTU' (obv. 2); 'ba' (obv. 4); 'ep', 'ri' (obv. 5); 'ša', 'ka' (obv. 6); 'LÚ', 'ša' (obv. 7); 'na', 'MEŠ' (obv. 8); 'EN', 'i'a, 'dUTU' (obv. 9); 'AN' (obv. 10); ' $\dot{u}$ ', 'ta', 'a', 'an' (obv. 11); ' $\dot{\mu}i$ ', 'in' (obv. 12); 'ma' (obv. 14); 'iš', w'a', 'te' (obv. 15); 'ša', 'EN' (obv. 16); 'ša', 'iš' (obv. 16); 'a', 'šar' (rev. 20); 'ti' (rev. 21); 'de' (rev. 23).

#### EA 305

## SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4780 (12215). COPY: WA 116. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:343); Liverani (1998:75 [LA 17]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

In addition to his response that he is truly guarding the place of the king, Shubandu points out that the *'apîru* men are stronger than him.

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil \check{s}a \rceil$ ,  $\lceil \check{i}\check{s} \rceil$  (obv. 10);  $\lceil 7 \rceil$ ,  $\lceil \check{s}u \rceil$  (obv. 11);  $\lceil ha \rceil$ ,  $\lceil \grave{u}ma \rceil$  (lo. ed. 14);  $\lceil \check{i}\check{s} \rceil$  (rev. 15);  $\lceil it \rceil$  (rev. 20);  $\lceil \grave{u} \rceil$  (rev. 23);  $\lceil na \rceil$  (rev. 24).

## SHUBANDU, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29823. COPY: BB, 40. COLLATION: 20.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:344); Liverani (1998:75–76 [LA 18]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 321 (Goren 298).

For paying homage to Pharaoh, Shubandu sends another servant to the king. Moran has made some significant contributions to the reading and Rainey has also made minor additions.

Line obv. 6—The *a* sign at the beginning of the line is invisible today.

Line obv. 12—E[N-*ia*]; with BB, *contra* Knudtzon and Na'aman (1979:344 n. 34).

- **Lines obv. 13–14**—For the restoration, see Moran (1992:344 n. 1). Rainey observed traces of  ${}^{r}ka^{\gamma}$  (line 13) and  ${}^{r}li^{\gamma}$ , and contrary to Moran, he does not read  $[\dot{u}]$  in line 14.
- Line obv. 16—At the end of the line, Rainey (1989–1990:72a; *CAT* 3:87) suggests [UGU-*ia*].
- Line obv. 17—*yi*-<sup>r</sup>*de*<sup>¬</sup>; with Moran (1992:344 n. 3), *contra* Knudtzon and *CAD* A/2:15b.

Line rev. 24—<sup>r</sup>ša-na-am; with Knudtzon, *contra* BB's <sup>r</sup>*it-ti*<sup>-</sup>*ia*(?).

Line rev. 25—šu-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>-</sup>-ši-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>-</sup>; with Moran's <sup>r</sup>ri<sup>-</sup> (1992:344 n. 5), *contra* Knudtzon's questionable *ru*[*m*].

Line rev. 31—With Moran (1992:344 n. 6).

Line rev. 34—Rainey offers 'a'?-*na-ki-[am?], contra* the GN which Knudtzon suggests and Rainey (1989–1990:72a).

There are traces of the following signs:  $\lceil ma^{\uparrow}, \lceil \delta u^{\uparrow} (obv. 3); \lceil ri^{\uparrow}, \lceil 2^{\uparrow} (obv. 4);$   $\lceil UTU^{\uparrow}, \lceil i\delta^{\uparrow}, \lceil AN^{\uparrow}, \lceil \delta a_{10}^{\uparrow}, \lceil mi^{\uparrow} (obv. 7); \lceil 7^{\uparrow}, \lceil u^{\uparrow}, \lceil 7^{\uparrow}, \lceil an^{\uparrow} (obv. 8); \lceil ta^{\uparrow}, \lceil ha^{\uparrow}, \lceil ha^{\uparrow}, \lceil hi^{\uparrow}, \lceil ni^{\uparrow} (obv. 9); \lceil u^{\downarrow}, \lceil UZU^{\uparrow} (obv. 11); \lceil \delta a^{\uparrow} (obv. 12); \lceil da^{\uparrow} (obv. 16); \lceil a^{\uparrow} (obv. 19);$  $\lceil ma^{\uparrow} (rev. 21); \lceil gal^{\uparrow} (rev. 22); \lceil al^{\uparrow} (rev. 23); \lceil a^{\uparrow}, \lceil na^{\uparrow}, \lceil \delta u^{\downarrow} (rev. 25); \lceil um^{\uparrow}, \lceil ga^{\uparrow} (rev. 26); \lceil ti^{\uparrow} (rev. 31).$ 

## EA 307

## A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1586. COPIES: WA 215; VS 11, 170. COLLATION: 09.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:345); Liverani (1998:113 [LA 67]). COMPOSITION: A letter from Gaza or Ashkelon. As *EA* 321 (Goren 311).

*EA* 307 is part of the group of the letters which are replies to an order from Pharaoh. The ruler informs the king that he is truly guarding his place and also expresses his wish that the king knows about the strong power of the *'apîru* men against them.

Line rev. 11'—Contrary to Knudtzon's [ú], Rainey observed trails of it.
Line rev. 12'—Read KUR.K[I-šu]; with Vita's photo. Knudtzon (1915:908 n. b) saw the K[I], but contrary to him, it looks like there is not enough space for [MEŠ-šu] (Rainey's collation).

## EA 308

# A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1602. COPIES: WA 172; VS 11, 173. COLLATION: 20.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:345); Liverani (1998:113 [LA 68]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 307 (Goren 311).

Concerning the Pharaoh's request for horses, the ruler promises horses to the king's servant.

Line rev. 9—Read [iz]-ze-e[b] (Rainey's collation).

There are traces of the following signs: 'MEŠ' (obv. 2); '*in*' (obv. 7); '*a*', '*na*' (rev. 6).

# A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1874. COPIES: WA 221; VS 11, 174. COLLATION: 09.02.2004. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:345); Liverani (1998:113–114 [LA 69]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 307 (Goren 311–312).

This broken tablet deals with the delivery of servants and shekels of silver to Pharaoh by the ruler.

Line obv. 18—Rainey completes *be-l*[*i*-*ia*].

## EA 310

# A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1698. COPY: VS 11, 169. COLLATION: 16.01.2004. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:346). COMPOSITION: As EA 307 (Goren 312).

Only few words of this broken tablet are preserved.

## EA 311

# A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1698. COPY: VS 11, 169. COLLATION: 17.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:346). COMPOSITION: As EA 307 (Goren 312).

The ruler declares that he is following the orders and guarding the city of the king.

**Line obv. 14**—Rainey restores  $[i\check{s}-te-]$ <sup>r</sup> $me^{\neg}a-$ <sup>r</sup> $wa^{\neg}[-ti]$ .

## EA 312

# A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1886 + 1709. COPY: VS 11, 176. PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:346). COMPOSITION: As EA 307 (Goren 312).

This tablet is too fragmentary.

## EA 313

## A RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4782 (12228). COPY: WA 197. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:346); Liverani (1998:114 [LA 70]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Moran's suggestion that *EA* 313 was very probably sent by Shubandu is based on the clay (grayish and filled with seashell fragments) and the script (Moran 1992:347 n. 1). Here, the ruler reports to the king about his payment to the commissioner.

Line obv. 1'—Gordon's reading *ka* at the end of this line is more likely than at the end of line 2 as Knudtzon thought (Moran 1992:347 n. 2).

Line obv. 2'—With Moran (1992:347 n. 3).

Line obv. 15'—Read 'ša!-*ri*'; with Knudtzon's questionable 'ša', *contra* Moran (1992:347 n. 5).

Line obv. 19'—Rainey reads  $mi-ih-rsu-mi^{-1}$  and cf. Moran (1992:347 n. 6).

1610

There are traces of the following signs:  $ri^{1}$  (obv. 3');  $na^{1}$  (obv. 15');  $\dot{u}^{1}$  (rev. 17').

## EA 314

# PU-BA'LU, THE RULER OF YURZA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4782 (12219). COPY: WA 153. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:347); Liverani (1998:67 [LA 2]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Following the orders of the king, Pu-Ba'lu sends the king a shipment of glass.

Line obv. 14—LÚ.UR.G $[I_{12}]$ ; perhaps GÉME = G $[I_{12}]$ , see Labat (no. 558 p. 231) and Borger (2003:226 No. 890).

## EA 315

# PU-BA'LU, THE RULER OF YURZA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29839. COPY: BB, 56. COLLATION: 27.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:347–348); Liverani (1998:67–68 [LA 3]). COMPOSITION: It seems that the clay originates from the northwestern Negev. Tell Jemmeh is the best candidate to be Yurza, but another possible candidate is Tel Haror; it is located on the main road which connected Gaza with the Beersheba Vally (Goren 300–301).

Pu-Ba'lu accepts Re'-anapa, the royal commissioner, at the command of the king, who is like the Sun.

Line obv. 12—a-wa- $ta_5$  (pl. construct) for a-wa-te as in line 17.

Line obv. 15—Rainey's collation suggests [*da*]*m-qá* as in *EA* 326:18, *contra* Moran (1992:348) and Liverani (1998:68 n. 18), who accepted Knudtzon's [*da*]*nni* (1915:919 n. d).

Line obv. 16—Read UR!(UŠ).GI<sub>7</sub>!(GU).

Line obv. 17—[*yi-n*]*a-ṣa-ru*; following Rainey (1978a:84).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}na^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}hi^{1}$  (obv. 6);  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  (obv. 7);  ${}^{r}sa^{1}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{r}sa^{1}$ ,  $i^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 12).

## EA 316

## PU-BA'LU, THE RULER OF YURZA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29838.

COPY: BB, 55. COLLATION: 31.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:348); Liverani (1998:68–69 [LA 4]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 315 (Goren 301).

A message of Pu-Ba'lu to the royal scribe.

Line obv. 12—<sup>r</sup>*yi-im*<sup>1</sup>-*ta-ku*<sub>8</sub>; cf. Moran (1992:348 n. 1).

Line obv. 13—'DUG<sub>4</sub>.GAR.RA'; cf. Moran (1992:348 n. 2). There are still traces of  $nu^{1}$ .

Line obv. 15—[<sup>1</sup>*Ta*]*h*-*m*[*a*-*i*]*a*; with Moran (1992:348 n. 3).

Lines rev. 16–17—'š*a-aḥ-ši-ḥa-ši-ʿha*' represents the Egyptian word *sḥ-š*'.*t š*'.*wt* "scribe" (Albright 1946:20a; Schulman 1964:60 n. 73; Helck 1971:435 n. 6; Moran 1992:348 n. 4; Cochavi-Rainey 1997:104–105; Mynarova 2007:94 n. 475–477).

Line rev. 18—At the beginning of the line Rainey observees traces of *'i'*, *contra* Knudtzon's [i].

Line rev. 20—The sign *na* is invisible today.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{c}EN^{1}(obv. 1); {}^{r}ka^{1}(obv. 4); {}^{r}MEŠ^{1}, {}^{r}n^{1}, {}^{r}ka^{1}(obv. 5); {}^{r}2^{1}, {}^{r}ia^{1}(obv. 6); {}^{r}d^{1}(obv. 7); {}^{r}i^{1}, {}^{r}na^{1}, {}^{r}ma^{1}, {}^{r}gal^{1}, {}^{r}u^{1}, {}^{r}mi^{1}(obv. 11); {}^{r}LUGAL^{1}, {}^{r}nu^{1}(obv. 13); {}^{r}sa^{1}(obv. 15); {}^{r}dIŠKUR^{1}, {}^{r}a^{1}, {}^{r}na^{1}, {}^{r}2^{1}, {}^{r}GIR^{1}(rev. 17); {}^{r}nu^{1}, {}^{r}mi^{1}, {}^{r}ma^{1}(rev. 18); n[a](rev. 19); {}^{r}sa-su^{1}(rev. 20); {}^{r}qa^{1}(rev. 24); {}^{r}a^{1}(rev. 25).$ 

1612

## DAGANTAKALA, A RULER IN NORTHERN CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1676. COPIES: WA 129; VS 11, 177. COLLATION: 04.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Artzi (1968:170); Moran (1992:349); Liverani (1998:297 [LA 270]). COMPOSITION: As E4 an (Coron 200)

COMPOSITION: As EA 211 (Goren 309).

Concerning the king's orders, Dagantakala mentions his father's and his grandfather's tradition of obedience.

Line lo. edge 16—[*ti*]-*pu-šu*; here Rainey prefers the prefix *ti*- for plural to *i*- or *yi* (Knudtzon 1915:922 n. c).

**Line rev. 21**—LÚ 'MÁŠKIM *ha*<sup>1</sup>-*za-ni-ka* is a designation of an Egyptian official (see Moran 1992:349 n. 2).

### EA 318

## DAGANTAKALA, A RULER IN NORTHERN CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29838. COPY: BB, 55. COLLATION: 31.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:349); Liverani (1998:297–298 [LA 271]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 317 (Goren 309).

Dagantakala asks the king to deliver him from his powerful enemies.

Line obv. 9—Rainey's da-a[n]-"nu-ti-ia" was checked with photo 13.04.2008. The next sign after da is filled by white seashell fragments (collation).

**Lines rev.** 16–17—<sup>*i*</sup> $\dot{u}$  *i-na-ma-a-šu*<sup>1</sup> / *al-tap-ra*; Rainey's collation confirms the reading by Moran (1992:350 n. 3), but he notes that contrary to Moran's  $\langle tap \rangle$ , he saw the *tap* sign.

- Line rev. 20—Although the morphology of the verb is 2nd person, the context and the use of the pronoun suffix *atta* earlier on the line support Weippert's proposal (1967:76 n. 2) to ignore the 2nd person *tu* and still read the verb as an imperative.
- **Line rev. 21**—<sup>r</sup> $\dot{u}$ *i-na-ma-a-šu*<sup>r</sup> "so that I can depart"; following Rainey's collation, contra Artzi (1968:170), Moran (1992:350 n. 4) and Rainey (1995–1996: 120a).
- Line rev. 22—At the end of the line, Rainey observed traces of *'ia'*, *contra* Knudtzon's [-ia].

There are traces of the following signs: `an' (obv. 14); `LUGAL' (obv. 15); `mu' (rev. 16);  $`\dot{u}'$  (rev. 18); `be', `li', `ia' (rev. 19); `tu', `še', `ze', `ba', `an', `ni' (rev. 20);  $`\dot{u}'$  (rev. 21); `a', `na', `LUGAL' (rev. 22).

#### EA 319

## SURASHAR, THE RULER OF THE TOWN OF GINTI-ASHNA, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1722. COPIES: WA 145; VS 11, 178. COLLATION: 26.01.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR and Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:350); Liverani (1998:138–139 [LA 102]). COMPOSITION: The clay is from the area between Raphia and Ashkelon (Goren 302).

Surashar declares that he has indeed listened to the royal commissioner.

**Line obv. 5**—Read URU <sup>*r*</sup>*Gin*<sub>8</sub> <sup>*r*</sup>*-ti-aš-na*. Knudtzon—amêlu ša <sup>alu</sup>a[h]-ti-rumna "der Mann von A[h]tirumna". Naturally, Schröder 's drawing tends to confirm Knudtzon's reading. Schröder obviously made no attempt to improve the reading and thus he ignored the traces of many other wedges in the abraded area.

Schröder—



But Knudtzon had also written to Weber expressing second thoughts about his reading. In Weber (1915:1352—Z. 5): "Die Lesung des Namens der Stadt ist ganz unsicher. Das erste Zeichen kann außer *aḥ* (*iḥ*, *uḥ*), bzw. *a*' (*i*',

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u), wohl auch g(h, mu) gewesen sein und das dritte ist statt rum vielleicht eher as zu lesen. (Knudtzon, brieflich.)"

Most scholars accepted Knudtzon's later suggestion and this place name has been treated as Ginti-ašna by articles and reference books throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

The tablet was photographed for Rainey by Olaf M. Teßmer of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. A close-up of the sign in question is as follows:



There are certainly more wedges than shown in Schröder's drawing. A possible and in fact very probable reconstruction is the following:



The sign can hardly be anything else but  $KIN = Gin_8$ , which is used in the Amarna texts to write Ginti (= Biblical Hebrew Gath). However, Moran (1992:350) read the entry as follows:

"the ruler of A[h]tiašna" with an explanatory note:

- n. 1—"On A[ḫ]tirumna, A[ḫ]tiruna: following Knudtzon's reading and the arguments of Na'aman,..., against Gi[n]tiašna."
- There is certainly nothing in favor of an utterly anomalous place name, Ahtiašna. The photograph, though not conclusive, points strongly to the following reading:



LÚ ša URU Gin<sub>8</sub>-ti-aš-na

In other words: LÚ ša URU 'Gin<sub>8</sub>'-ti-aš-na the ruler of Ginti-ašna.

- The next challenge before us is to seek the whereabouts of this Gathashna in the southern Shephelah or inner coastal plain. But that must be addressed in a separate study.
- **Line obv. 14**—There are traces of  ${}^{r}u^{1}$  on the corner; following Rainey's collation.
- Line rev. 19—'LÚ *kal-bu*', *contra CAD*'s LÚ.GURUŠ (*CAD* M/1:215a). Knudtzon notes that the *bu* sign was erroneously omitted by the scribe; however, Rainey observed traces of '*bu*'.

## YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4777 (12218). COPY: WA 121. COLLATION: January 1980. TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 490a+b); Moran (1992:350); Liverani (1998: 71 [LA 8]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Yidia expresses his obedience to the king by listening carefully to the royal commissioner.

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>r</sup>*iš*<sup>¬</sup> (rev. 20); <sup>r</sup>EN<sup>¬</sup> (rev. 24).

#### EA 321

## YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1671. COPIES: WA 119; VS 11, 182. COLLATION: 02.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:351); Liverani (1998:70 [LA 6]). COMPOSITION: Yidia's tablets originated in the Gaza- Ashkelon area (Goren 295).

Yidia expresses his obedience to the king by listening carefully to the royal commissioner.

Line obv. 8—[LÚ *kàr*]; the traces of these signs are no longer visible.

## YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4776 (12217). COPY: WA 118. COLLATION: January 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:351); Liverani (1998:70 [LA 7]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Yidia expresses his obedience to the king by listening carefully to the royal commissioner.

## EA 323

# YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29836. COPY: BB, 53. COLLATION: 04.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:351–352); Liverani (1998:72 [LA 11]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 321 (Goren 295).

Yidia has obeyed the royal order for glass.

**Lines rev. 22–23**—The expression 'ša' *ti-ra-am* / <sup>dr</sup>UTU' must be a translation of mry R<sup>c</sup> "Beloved of Re<sup>c</sup>," a typical Egyptian epithet which includes the perfective passive participle. Therefore the Akkadian verb, *ti-ra-am*, is evidently preterite. Note the absence of a subjunctive suffix (Rainey 1989–1990:72a).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}EN^{1}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}\check{s}a^{1}$  (rev. 17);  ${}^{r}te^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}mu^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ta_{5}^{1}$  (rev. 19);  ${}^{r}EN^{1}$  (rev. 20);  ${}^{r}DUMU^{1}$  (rev. 22).

## YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29837. COPY: BB, 54. COLLATION: 31.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:352); Liverani (1998:71 [LA 9]). COMPOSITION: The clay was made in Ashkelon (Goren 295–296).

Concerning the king's orders, Yidia states that his preparations are completed. Maybe *EA* 324 is Yidia's response to the demands of *EA* 370 (Moran 1992:352 n. 1).

Line obv. 14—Read ÙZ (= *enzu*); independently, Gordon, Na'aman (1975:54\* n. 47) and Moran (1992:128 n. 2; 2003:298 n. 4).

Line obv. 15—<sup>r</sup>*be*<sup>?</sup>*-it-ti*; Moran's suggestion (1992:352 n. 2) *be*"*iti* for *bu*"*ītī* is most likely (Rainey's collation).

Line obv. 16—There are still traces of <sup>r</sup>*mi*<sup>¬</sup> and <sup>r</sup>UR<sup>¬</sup>.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{a}$  (obv. 1); 'DINGIR' (obv. 2); ' $\check{s}a$ ', ' $i\check{s}$ ' (obv. 3); 'ma' (obv. 10);  $t[a_5]$  (obv. 10); 'UR' (obv. 16).

#### EA 325

## YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29835. COPY: BB, 52. COLLATION: 27.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:352–353); Liverani (1998:71 [LA 10]). COMPOSITION: Most likely an Ashkelon-made tablet (Goren 296).

This letter is a restatement of *EA* 324, and as the latter, perhaps it is a response to *EA* 370 (Moran 1992:353 n. 1).

Line obv. 15—This line should be rendered: "Now I have all the commodities," *contra* Moran (1992:353). Moran has a penchant for translating *anumma* as "indeed." But it appears over and over in contexts like this passage, where it signifies what is being or has been done in compliance with a command from the king that had been delivered to the respective vassal. The emphasis is temporal, "now." The *minmî* is surely the derived noun (Rainey 1995–1996:120a).

Line obv. 16—ÙZ (= *enzu*); see above, *EA* 324 obv. 14.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{d}UTU^{1}$ ,  ${}^{s}a^{1}$  (obv. 2);  ${}^{r}KUR^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}RA^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}ka^{1}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}AN^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}sa_{10}^{1}$ ,  ${}^{r}mi^{1}$  (obv. 14);  ${}^{r}a^{1}$  (obv. 15);  ${}^{r}ia^{1}$  (obv. 18).

#### EA 326

# YIDIA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF ASHKELON, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1672. COPIES: WA 122; VS 11, 183. COLLATION: 03.12.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:353); Liverani (1998:72–73 [LA 12]). COMPOSITION: Most likely an Ashkelon-made tablet (Goren 296–297).

With regard to Re<sup>4</sup>-anapa as the new commissioner of Pharaoh, Yidia writes to the king that he takes the responsibility.

**Line obv. 2**—Read AN  $\check{s}a_{10}!(\acute{U})-\langle me \rangle$  (Rainey's collation).

- **Line obv. 12**—KUR-<sup>*te-šu*<sup>1</sup></sup> is surely for pl. *mātāte*, thus the *te* (Rainey's collation).
- Line obv. 15—WA = *yi*; the second wedge does not have a head (see photograph). Schröder has completed it, but thre is no that WA = *yi* is intended (Rainey's collation).
- Lines obv. 18–19—According to Rainey's collation, Moran (1992:353, 354 n. 2) misses the point. The sign *pá* (BA) in *'i'-pá-lu* ("I reply") is unusual but it is required by the context. *a-na* SAG.'DU'-[*ia*] is a WS phrase "on my head," lit. "On [my] responsibility!", cf. Ta'annek 2:15: UGU SAG.DU-*ia* mamman ša ittapšu ana ālāni "all done in the cities is on my head!"
- Line rev. 20—Knudtzon's questionable *a*[*ş*] at the end of the line (1915:936 n. e) is accepted by Rainey.

1619

1620

EA 327

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>r</sup>*i*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 3); <sup>r</sup>*bi*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*šu*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 12).

## EA 327

## SITATNA, THE RULER OF ACCO, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

See EA 235.

#### EA 328

## YABNI-ILU, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4775 (12193). COPY: WA 124. COLLATION: 31.01.1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:354); Liverani (1998:78–79 [LA 21]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Yabni-ilu declares his obedience to the commissioner of the king.

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{\prime}na^{\prime}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{\prime}tu^{\prime}$ ,  ${}^{\prime}AN^{\prime}$  (obv. 12);  ${}^{\prime}ta^{\prime}$  (obv. 13);  ${}^{\prime}ta^{\prime}$  (obv. 14).

#### EA 329

## ZIMREDDI, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1673.

COPY: WA 123; VS 11, 181.

COLLATION: 04.12.2003

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATIONS: Freydank (in Jepsen 1975:100); Moran (1992:354); Liverani (1998:78 [LA 20]).

COMPOSITION: The analysis of the clay did not yield conclusive evidence of its specific origin (Goren 288–289).

Zimreddi informs the king that he is preparing in accordance with his order. The script and the content of *EA* 329 are similar to that of *EA* 321; these two tablets were written by the same scribe (Campbell 1965:113) in the same place. It seems that the rulers of Lachish and Ashkelon received verbal orders from the Egyptian official in Gaza (Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004:289).

There are traces of the following signs: <sup>r</sup>*na*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 1); <sup>r</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>, <sup>r</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup> (obv. 11).

## EA 330

# SHIPȚI-BAʿLU, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 29848. COPY: BB, 65. COLLATION: 27.08.1999 PHOTOGRAPHS: Barnett (1977:14) and WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:355); Liverani (1998:79 [LA 22]). COMPOSITION: A general southwestern Shephelah origin (Goren 288).

Shipți-Ba'lu reports to the king on the loyalty of Yanḥamu, the servant of the king.

Lines obv. 5, 8—Read LUGAL, not LUGAL-*ri* (šà*r*-*ri*).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}a^{\gamma}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{r}EN^{\gamma}-i{}^{r}a^{\gamma}$  (obv. 5);  ${}^{r}am^{\gamma}$  (obv. 8);  ${}^{r}te^{\gamma}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{r}a^{\gamma}$ ,  ${}^{r}an^{\gamma}$  (obv. 11);  ${}^{r}ti^{\gamma}$  (obv. 14).

## EA 331

# SHIPȚI-BA'LU, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: C 4779 (12221). COPY: WA 200. COLLATION: 28.01. 1980 TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:355); Liverani (1998:79 [LA 23]). COMPOSITION: Not examined. 1622

EA 332

Shipți-Ba'lu has sent the king raw glass in accordance with his demand.

# EA 332

# SHIPȚI-BA'LU, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF LACHISH, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1883.

COPY: *VS* 11, 184.

COLLATION: 12.02.2004 (collated first on 17.03.1971)

PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita.

TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:357).

COMPOSITION: The letter was probably sent from Lachish (Goren 287–288).

The opening passage is too broken and the rest of the tablet is lost.

**Line obv. 2**—Contrary to Knudtzon's reading  $[i\check{s}]$ , it looks like traces of  $[i\check{s}]$ .

# EA 333

# PA'API, AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL, TO A VIZIER

TEXT: Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Tell el-Ḥesī, fig. 11. COPY: *BE* 1/2, pl. LXIV, no. 147. PHOTOGRAPHS: *BE* 1/2, pl. XXIV, nos. 66–67. COLLATION: February 1971 and September 1976 TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION: Albright (1942:33–35). TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 490b); Moran (1992:356). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Only *EA* 333 was actually found in Canaan (Tell el-Ḥesī). The assassination of Zimredda at Lachish (*EA* 288:41–46) must have been related to the sedition reported in *EA* 333 (Rainey 2006:86a). With regard to the tools and data now available, Moran and Rainey achieved some improvements of this tablet which is one of the most difficult ones to interpret.

Line obv. 2—Albright's [um-ma P]a-a-pi was accepted by Moran (1992:356 n. 2).

- **Line obv. 10**—Read <sup>*i*</sup>*a*<sup>*i*</sup>*bi*. According to Moran (1992:357 n. 4), Albright's proposed <sup>*i*</sup>LÚ<sup>*i*</sup> at the beginning of the line is impossible, and he prefers the reading [*s*]*a-bi* "the <sup>*i*</sup>for'ces" to Knudtzon's suggested <sup>*i*</sup>*a*<sup>*i*</sup>*-bi*. However, the ensuing verb in line 11, [*š*]*a-pár-mi*, and the dative suffix, [*i*]*d-na-ni-mi*, in line 12 indicate that the subject in line 10 must be singular, so Rainey (1989–1990:72a) also suggested the possibility of [*i*]*r-pí* = Eg. *iry p*<sup>*i*</sup>t "nobleman (*irpi*)" (cf. *EA* 289:38 where Moran accepts this reading, in Moran 1992:333 n. 5). URU *Ia-ra-m*; this GN is unknown. There is no justification for associating it with biblical Jarmuth (Josh. 10:3 et al.)
- Line rev. 15—The *šum-ma-mi* is surely the conditional particle, but could be rendered "since" (Rainey 1989–1990:72b).
- **Line rev. 19**—The *a-di-mi* is another instance of *adi* as a calque for WS ' $\hat{o}\underline{d}$  "still, yet, again" (Rainey 1989–1990:72b). Albright's  $\hat{u}$ -*ti*-*ru*-*m*[*i*] was accepted by Moran (1992:333 n. 9) and Rainey, *contra* Knudtzon's questionable  $\check{s}[i]$ .
- Lines rev. 20–22—The words *šu-uț mu-ul-ka* (line 20) were taken by Albright as a noun in construct, and Moran's translation (1992:356) seems to indicate that he accepts this, but the accusative ending on *mu-ul-ka* precludes such a construction. If the first word is verbal, as it seems to be, then it must be the G imperative, *šu-uț mu-ul-ka* "Commit high treason!" (cf. Rainey 1989–1990:72b).
- Line rev. 23—Read [*a*-*n*]*a*, *contra* Moran (1992:357 n. 10) who prefers Knudtzon's [*i*-*n*]*a* to Albright's [*a*-*n*]*a*.
- Line up. ed. 25—With Moran (1992:357 n. 12).
- Line left ed. 26—[*i*-na ], contra Moran (1992:357 n. 13).

#### THE RULER OF SUHRA TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1609. COPY: VS 11, 185. COLLATION: 21.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:357); Liverani (1998:113 [LA 66]). COMPOSITION: This letter was probably sent from Ṣuḥra (Goren 219–220).

**Line obv. 3**—<sup>r</sup>LÚ<sup> $\gamma$ </sup> URU *Sú-uh-ra*<sup> $\kappa$ [<sup>1</sup>]</sup>; following Moran (1992:357 n. 1). **Line obv. 4**—At the end of the line read [*a*]*r*, not Knudtzon's *ir*.

# 'ABDI-ASHTARTI, A RULER IN THE SOUTH OF CANAAN, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1616 + 1708. COPY: VS 11, 186. COLLATION: 10.10.2003 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATION: Na'aman (1979:678). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:357–358); Liverani (1998:87 [LA 35]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 321 (Goren 285–286).

'Abdi-Ashtarti asks the king to send regular troops because the traitor has taken all his loyal colleagues.

- Lines obv. o-4—For the restoration, see Schröder (1915a:294) whose reading (Sch. nr. 186) is based on *EA* 65:1–6 (= Sch. nr. 29).
- Lines obv. 5–6—Na'aman's restoration is based on several parallels from the letters of Shuwardata (Na'aman 1979:678).
- Line obv. 8—G[AZ.M]EŠ; with Na'aman, whose reading is based on an analogy to *EA* 288:41, 45 and *EA* 245:14.
- Line obv. 10—Rainey completes *ù nu*-K[ÚR], *contra* Knudtzon and Na'aman.
- Line rev. 13—ŠEŠ! SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ia* "my loyal colleagues (brothers)", *contra* Na'aman (1979:678). For the sign ŠEŠ, cf. Schröder (1915c:86) and the phrase *ahutti* SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ia* in *KBo* 1 24:11.
- Line rev. 19—The restoration of [URU U-ru-sa-l]im<sup>rKI</sup> was suggested by Moran (see Na'aman 1979:678). Notice that there are still traces of the determinative <sup>r</sup>KI<sup>r</sup>.
- Lines rev. 20–21—The restoration is based on parallels from the letters of Shuwardata, viz. *EA* 282:10–11; 283:25–26; 284:16–17 (Na'aman 1979:678).

## EA 336

## HIZZIRI (HIZĪRI) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1707. COPY: VS 11, 188. COLLATION: 02.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:358). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 334 (Goren 220).

Most of the opening passage is reconstructed and the message is lost.

Line obv. 4—The number 7 is no longer visible. Line obv. 5—One can observe traces of 7, *contra* Knudtzon's [7].

**Line obv. 6**—At the end of the line, Knudtzon (1915:950 n. c) reads [ni] or [ri].

## EA 337

## HIZZIRI (HIZĪRI) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1679. COPIES: WA 147; VS 11, 187. COLLATION: 11.12.2003 TRANSLATION: Moran (1992:358). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 334 of Ashtaroth (Goren 219).

Line obv. 6—Today the sign [7] is no longer visible.

Line obv. 9—IGI.KÁR.MEŠ "encampments" (*CAD* M/1:161a), "supplies" (Moran 1992:358 n. 1). IGI.KÁR.MEŠ is an old ideogram for "supplies" (Rainey's collation). For the gloss *ma-[at]-ni-a*, cf. Phoenician *mtn*' (Moran 1992:358).

Line obv. 10—The *na* sign is no longer visible.

**Line obv. 11**—On the questionable  ${}^{r}pi'{}^{-}[t]\dot{a}{}^{-r}ti'$  as a gloss to ÉRIN.MEŠ, see Moran (1992:359 n. 2).

**Line rev. 18**—The scribe uses  $\dot{u}$  as a conjunction; for discussion and instances, see *CAT* 3:98.

Lines rev. 20–21—See above, line 9.

# EA 338

#### THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1884. COPY: VS 11, 189. COLLATION: 13.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This tablet is too broken.

Lines obv. 5-10—The restoration was suggested by Rainey.

#### EA 339

# THE RULER OF (?) TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: VAT 1887. COPY: VS 11, 190. COLLATION: 09.02.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Vita. COMPOSITION: Not examined.

This tablet is too broken.

Line obv. 4—There are still traces of '*ma*'. Line obv. 6—The restoration was suggested by Rainey.

EA 340-361

TABLETS NOT INCLUDED.

## RIB-EDDI, THE RULER OF BYBLOS, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: AO 7093.

- COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:102-103).
- COLLATION: 05.05.2004
- PHOTOGRAPHS: Dhorme (1928, vol. 1, fig. 1) and the Louvre Museum.
- TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:91–94); Rainey (1978a:18–23).
- TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:359–360); Oppenheim (1967:131–132); Liverani (1998:207–208 [LA 168]).
- COMPOSITION: The geological interpretation is similar to *EA* 90, which dominates the Byblos tablets (Goren 158–159).

With regard to the hostile activities by the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta and the commissioner murdered, Rib-Eddi (Rib-Hadda) asks the king to hasten the regular army to the towns of Byblos lest the people perish. The following notes are based on Rainey's collation.

- Line obv. 1—Read <sup>11</sup>*Ri-ib-ed-di* as in *EA* 126:1, not <sup>1</sup>*Ri-ib-*<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR.
- Line obv. 13—*ma-an*!-*ga-mi*; *ma-a* or *ma-an*! are most likely. Rainey's collation notes the poorly written *an*. Cf. *ma-an-*<sup>r</sup>*ga*<sup>¬</sup>-*am-mi* (line 15).
- **Line lo. ed.**  $3o-\check{s}a-\check{s}u^{-}n[u]$ ; at the end of the line, there is the head of a wedge (Rainey's collation).
- Lines rev. 33–37—On the problematic rendering, see Rainey (1989–1990: 72b–73a) and Moran (2003:191). Notice that in line 34, there is a hole in the tablet that is under the 3 wedges of the sign KUR, so there are not 4 wedges as in the copy of Thureau-Dangin. In line 36, there are indeed 4 wedges.

Line rev. 42—še- $te_6$ -er; the scribe uses *TI* for /te/ and TE for  $/ti_{7/}$ .

Line rev. 50—pa-na- $\langle nu \rangle$ -um is written on the side and the back of the tablet.

Line rev. 60—The sign in question <sup>r</sup>mur<sup>¬</sup> looks clear.

- Line rev. 62—This line begins on upper edge and then runs up across the bottom of the reverse.
- Lines left ed. 66–67—For other interpretations, see Moran (1992:360, 361 n. 11).

There are traces of the following signs: 'URU', 'MEŠ', 'URU', 'KI' (rev. 32); '*bi*' (up. ed. 63); '*gáb*' (left ed. 68).

# 'ABDI-RĒŠA, THE RULER OF THE CITY OF 'Ê<br/>(NI)-ŠÂSI, TO THE KING

TEXT: AO 7097.

COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:107).

PHOTOGRAPHS: The Louvre Museum.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:94–95); Rainey (1978a:24–25).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:361–362); Liverani (1998:260–261 [LA 227]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 187 (Goren 130).

'Abdi-rēša reports to the king concerning the hostile activity by Etakama, the ruler of Qedesh, and the Hittite army.

**Line obv.** 1—<sup>d</sup>UTU-*ia*, which was omitted in the copy, is written on the reverse.

Line obv. 3—On the PN ÌR-*re-ša*, see Hess (1993:16–17).

**Line obv. 4**—URU  $E \cdot \langle ni \rangle$ -ša-si has been recognized as the equivalent of URU E-ni-ša- $si_{20}$ [<sup>KI</sup>] in EA 187:12. Weippert (1970) and Rainey (1970:91) have independently come to the conclusion that this town was to be equated with the 'a-yi-n-ša- su, No. C<sub>N</sub> 11 of the temple of Amenhotep III (Edel 1966:25) and No. 5 of the Thutmose III topographical list. It is still the most likely interpretation of the entry 'n-ša- su in Papyrus Anastasi I 19:1–2 (1989–1990:73a+b).

Line rev. 20—There are still traces of 'LUGAL'.

## EA 364

## AYYAB OF ASHTARTU TO THE KING

TEXT: AO 7094.

COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:104).

COLLATION: 04.05.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: The Louvre Museum.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:95–96); Rainey (1978a:26–27).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:362); Liverani (1998:248-249 [LA 207]).

COMPOSITION: *EA* 364 was probably dispatched from Ashtaroth (Goren 218).

Ayyāb reports to the king concerning the hostile activity by the ruler of Hazor.

Line obv. 14—*aṣ-ṣur-r*[*u*]; Rainey confirms his reading also by the photograph, *contra* Moran (1992:362 n. 1) who follows Thureau-Dangin's *aṣ-ṣur-'mi*'.

Line obv. 18—LÚ; Rainey corrects his former reading šàr.

Lines rev. 21–23—Rainey departs from his former translation; he takes <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*ma-ru* (*ammaru*) 1st c.sg. G present as imperfect and *ina šášu* as "by," and his new suggestion is: "From the day that I heard, then I have been seeing hostile activity by him."

Line rev. 24—*adīmi*; cf. *EA* 333:19.

There are traces of the following signs:  $a^{,}ia^{,}(obv. 1);a^{,}(obv. 14);LUGAL^{,}(obv. 16).$ 

## EA 365

## BIRIDIYA, THE RULER OF MEGIDDO, TO THE KING

TEXT: AO 7098.

COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:108).

COLLATION: 04.05.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: The Louvre Museum.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:97–98); Rainey (1978a:28–29).

TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 485b); Moran (1992:363); Liverani (1998: 130 [LA 91]).

COMPOSITION: The materials used for the production of letters of Biridiya are typically local to Megiddo (Goren 245–246).

Biridiya announces his compliance concerning the corvée workers.

**Line obv. 14**—There are still traces of  ${}^{r}ma^{1}$  and  ${}^{r}sa^{1}$ . **Lines rev. 24–29**—With Moran (1992:363 n. 1). **Line rev. 27**—There are still traces of  ${}^{r}yi^{1}$ .

# SHUWARDATA, THE RULER OF GATH, TO THE KING

TEXT: AO 7096.

COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:106).

COLLATION: 04.05.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: The Louvre Museum.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:98–99); Rainey (1978a:32–35).

TRANSLATIONS: Albright (*ANET* 487a+b); Moran (1992:364); Liverani (1998: 81–82 [LA 25]).

COMPOSITION: As EA 364 (Goren 282).

Shuwardata asks the king to send Yanḥamu to him, since Surata of Acco and Intaruta of Achshaph are at war with him.

**Line obv. 23**—Read  ${}^{I}In_4$ -*tár*!(AŠ+DA)- ${}^{r}ú$ -*ta* ${}^{,}$  *contra* Rainey (1978a:34).

Line rev. 24—On the gloss *na-az-a-qú*, see Finkelstein (1969:33); Sivan (1984: 173, 293); Izre'el (1996:105).

**Line rev. 34**—Rainey reads up-sí<sup> $\mu$ L(A)</sup>. For the reading up-sí-hi, see Moran (1992:364 n. 4).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (obv. 1);  ${}^{\prime}\dot{u}^{\prime}$  (obv. 9);  ${}^{\prime}IR^{\prime}$  (rev. 22);  ${}^{\prime}it^{\prime}$  (rev. 28);  ${}^{\prime}a^{\prime}$  (up. ed. 1).

# EA 367

# AMENHOTEP IV TO INTARUTA, THE RULER OF ACHSHAPH

TEXT: AO 7095.

COPY: Thureau-Dangin (1922:105).

COLLATION: 03.05.2004

PHOTOGRAPHS: The Louvre Museum.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Thureau-Dangin (1922:98–99); Rainey (1978a:36–37).

TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:365); Liverani (1998:133-134 [LA 95]).

COMPOSITION: The petrographic affinities of *EA* 367 are similar to *EA* 1 and *EA* 14 (Goren 27).

Intaruta is ordered to prepare supplies for the arrival of the Egyptian army, which probably took place after the robbing of a Babylonian caravan by Sutatna (*EA* 8:13–21).

- Line obv. 8—LÚ.PA.TÙR = *uṣ-ṣakil tarbaṣi* "the stable master," the Egyptian term: *ḥry iḥw* (Albright 1946:11; Edel 1948:13; Helck 1971:438).
- **Line obv. 14**—On the formulation: *ù uṣ-ṣur 'uṣ'-ṣur la-a tá-mé-ek-ki*, see Cochavi-Rainey (2011:261).
- Lines rev. 22–25—As in the days of Amenhotep III, also here the formula of declaration does not mention the god of Amon but the formula typical of letters from Amenhotep IV, though the letters might have been sent out by Tutankhamun or Smenkhkare (cf. Rainey 2006:86b).

Line rev. 23—There are still traces of *ma*<sup>1</sup>.

## EA 368

# TABLET NOT INCLUDED.

It is a list of Egyptian words written in syllabic cuneiform.

## EA 369

## AMENHOTEP IV TO MILKILU, THE RULER OF GEZER

TEXT: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels) E. 6753. COPY: Dossin (1934b:127). COLLATION: 10.05.2004 PHOTOGRAPHS: Eric Gubel. TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Dossin (1934b:126, 128); Rainey (1978a:40–43). TRANSLATIONS: Dossin (1934a:87–88); Albright (*ANET* 487a); Moran (1992: 366); Liverani (1998:99–100 [LA 42]). COMPOSITION: Not examined.

Line obv. 2—On *an-na-am*, see Moran (1992:366 n. 1), but the new photographic reading does not show traces of -<sup>r</sup>*na-am*<sup>¬</sup> as the reading of previous scholars.

Lines obv. 8, 14, 15—MUNUS.DÉ(.MEŠ) = *šāqītu* "women cupbearers" (*CAD* §:55b; Moran 2003:280 n. 17). Line obv. 10—GUG (ZA+GUL) = *sāmtu* "carnelian stone".

Line obv. 12—*tì-ba-an*, Eg. *dbn*. On this reading, see Edel (1975:12). Moran (2003:280 n. 3) notes that the *dbn* weighed ca. 91 grams, and therefore the shekel here is the slightly heavier Syrian one (ca. 9g).

Line obv. 14—ŠÁM = šīmu "price".

- Line lo. ed. 21—KA =  $p\hat{u}$  "mouth".
- Line lo. ed. 22—The *ši* sign is clear.
- Line lo. ed. 24—The new reading (also by photographs) shows *ti*-<sup>*r*</sup>*i*<sup>-</sup>*de*, not the former <sup>*r*</sup>*ti*-*i*-*de*<sup>¬</sup> as in Rainey (1978a:42),
- Line rev. 28—*yi-*<sup>r</sup>*ta*<sup>¬</sup>*-din*; despite the broken syllable, this verb is included as it shows the only *yi-* preformative in the letters from Egypt.
- Line rev. 31—*i-na šu-pa-al* "beneath". For example, <u>h</u>*r rdwy n<u>t</u>rw* "beneath the feet of the gods" (Edel 1949:197; 1976:110 n. 169; Cochavi-Rainey 1990a: 58; 2011:262).

There are traces of the following signs:  ${}^{r}ka^{\gamma}$  (obv. 10);  ${}^{r}tu_{4}^{\gamma}$  (lo. ed. 21);  ${}^{r}de^{\gamma}$ ,  ${}^{r}i^{\gamma}$  (rev. 24).

## EA 370

## AMENHOTEP IV TO YIDIA, RULER OF ASHKELON

TEXT: BM 134870. COPY: Gordon (1947:15). COLLATION: 31.01.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Gordon (1947:5); Rainey (1978a:44–45). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:367); Liverani (1998:69–70 [LA 5]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 1 (Goren 27).

This tablet is similar to *EA* 367, but the crucial paragraph stipulating the preparations for the coming of the troops is broken off from the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse. However, *EA* 324:10–19 which is from Yidia gives an explicit response.

Line obv. 4—The new reading (also by photograph) shows  $\dot{u}$  instead of  ${}^{\circ}\dot{u}{}^{\circ}$ . Lines obv. 8–9—On Gordon's *Irimayašša* as a commissioner, see also Moran (1992:367 n. 1) and Liverani (1998:69 n. 25).

Line rev. 28—This line goes around the edge to the obverse.

1632

# 'ABDI-ASHIRTA(?), AN AMURRU LEADER, TO AMENHOTEP III, THE KING OF EGYPT

TEXT: BM 134868. COPY: Gordon (1947:16–17). COLLATION: 29.01.2000 PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Gordon (1947:8–9); Rainey (1978a:46–47); Izre'el (1991:II, 62–64). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:367–368); Liverani (1998:268–269 [LA 236]).

COMPOSITION: Not examined.

*EA* 371 is fragmentary. It was included in the Amurru corpus by Izre'el, who comments that his collation of the text suggests a wider tablet than what is implied by Moran's restoration (Izre'el 1991:II, 64 n. \*).

Line obv. 14—[*yi-ma*]<sup>r</sup>*lik*<sup>¬</sup>; Moran (1992:368 n. 1), followed by Rainey and Izre'el.

Lines obv. 16–22, lo. ed. 23–24—Cf. Moran's restoration (1992:368 n. 3). Notice that at the end of line 23, the sign *nu* is not missing; contrary to Moran and Izre'el, Rainey saw traces of '*nu*'. At the end of line 24, his previous reading was '*ti*' (Rainey 1978a:46), but now he restores [*ia*]. Izre'el (1991:II, 62, 64) reads *ka*<sub>4</sub>!?.

Line rev. 34—[ $\dot{u}$  *i-na*]<sup>UZU</sup> $p\acute{t}$ - $\check{s}u$ -nu yi- $i\dot{s}$ -bat; cf. Rainey's reading (1978a:46) and Izre'el's restoration (1991:II, 62).

Line rev. 35—*ap-lu-uh*; with Moran's suggestion (Moran 1992:368 n. 6), followed by Rainey and Izre'el.

EA 372-377

TABLETS NOT INCLUDED.

## YAPA'U, THE RULER OF GEZER, TO THE KING

TEXT: BM 50745. COPY: Millard (1965, pl. XXV). PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. COLLATION: 29.01.2000 TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Millard (1965:140–142); Rainey (1978b:54–55). TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:368–369); Liverani (1998:105 [LA 51]). COMPOSITION: As *EA* 298, a tablet of a southern coastal origin sent from Gaza (Goren 275).

Yapa'u writes to the king that he obeys all of his orders.

**Lines obv. 6**—The *a* sign is quite clear. **Lines rev. 20–21**—<sup>*c*</sup>*u*<sup>1</sup> [*m*]*a*-<sup>*c*</sup>*an*<sup>1</sup>-*nu* <sup>*c*</sup>URU.KI<sup>1</sup>-*ia* / *u m*]*a*-*an*-*nu* <sup>*c*</sup>*gáb*-*bi*<sup>1</sup>; Rainey corrects his previous reading (in Rainey 1978a:54; *CAT* 2:116).

## EA 379

## TABLET NOT INCLUDED.

## EA 380

## [BA'L-?? TO THE KING

VAT number assigned by Klengel 1974:262. *EA* number assigned by Heintz 1996:72

## EA 382

## AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL TO (?)

TEXT: BM 58364. COPY: Walker (1979:249). PHOTOGRAPHS: WSR. COLLATION: 26.01.2000 and 04.08.2004 TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS: Moran (1992:369–370). COMPOSITION: By its petrographic affinities, the clay of this tablet is identified as Nile silt (Goren 28).

On the assignment of this fragment to the Amarna archive, see Walker (1979:249). Moran (1992:369–370 n. 1) notes that the text is a letter and the script, especially the forms of *la* and *ni*, points to a Hittite or Egyptian provenance. The same holds true for the form of address.