THE

TELL AMARNA

TABLETS.
GIFT OF
HORACE W. CARPENTIER

EX LIBRIS
THE

TELL AMARNA TABLETS
After two years' study of the published texts of the tablets found at Tell Amarna, Major Conder has completed a translation of them, which the Committee of the Fund have undertaken to publish. In this, as in all their publications, the Committee beg it to be understood that the author alone is responsible for the opinions put forward.

JAMES GLAISHER,
Chairman Executive Committee.

January, 1893.
THE

TELL AMARNA TABLETS.

Translated

by

C. R. CONDER, MAJOR R.E.,
D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

SECOND EDITION,
WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

PUBLISHED FOR THE
COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
BY
A. P. WATT & SON, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND.
1894.
[All rights reserved]
Существенно
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTORY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE HITTITE INVASION OF DAMASCUS</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE AMORITE TREACHERY</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE WAR IN PHŒNICIA</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. NORTHERN PALESTINE</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. SOUTHERN PALESTINE</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. ROYAL LETTERS</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ILLUSTRATION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL MAP</td>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF NORTHERN PALESTINE, HITTITE WAR</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF SYRIA, AMORITE WAR</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP OF SOUTHERN PALESTINE</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLET OF CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION FROM TELL EL HESY</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE.

The Tell Amarna Tablets were discovered in 1887 by a peasant woman of Egypt, amid the ruins of the palace of Amenophis IV., midway between Thebes and Memphis, at the site of the ancient Antinoe, about 180 miles by river south of Cairo. Those tablets under present consideration date about 1480 B.C., and are written to the King of Egypt and to certain of his officials by Amorites, Phœnicians, Philistines and others.

The names of Japhia, King of Gezer; of Jabin, King of Hazor; and, probably, of Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem—contemporaries of Joshua—occur among those of the writers. The events recorded include the conquest of Damascus by the Hittites, that of Phœnia by the Amorites, and that of Judea by the Hebrews. The present translations, from the cuneiform characters, are based on the copies published by Dr. H. Winckler at Berlin, and Dr. C. Bezold of the British Museum, which include the whole of the letters now in Cairo, Berlin, and London.

In dealing with inscriptions the interpretation of which is acknowledged by scholars to present many difficulties, I do not presume to suppose that my translations are beyond criticism, or always final; but I believe that such criticism, which will no doubt lead to improvements, must be confined to details,
and will not affect the general result, or the historical value of these most important texts. I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother-tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years. In dialectic pronunciation, in idiom, and in the peculiar meaning of many expressions the common speech of the Palestine peasantry is perhaps one of the best possible guides to an understanding of the writings of their Canaanite ancestors.

The study of monumental inscriptions is often called a 'by-path' of Biblical knowledge. But in an age of destructive criticism it seems to me to present the most important weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who desire, without seeking to support any particular theory, to arrive at truth concerning the ancient history of Palestine and of the Hebrew people. In the present case we have become possessed of a mass of political correspondence dating about the time when, according to the Bible, the Hebrew invasion under Joshua took place, and which in bulk represents a literature equal to about half the length of the entire Pentateuch. That the Hebrews should be mentioned in such letters as conquering the south of Palestine, and driving out the Amorite kings, will appear natural to those who believe the narrative of the Book of Joshua to represent the history of the Hebrew conquest; and that the date so determined does not agree with the now fashionable theory, which would place the conquest much later, in the time of Seti II., need not in any way disturb our minds. The date which is conjectured by some Egyptologists does not rest on any monumental evidence at all, for the simple reason that the Hebrews are not mentioned.
in any Egyptian record as yet discovered, and appear for the first time in monumental history in the Tell Amarna letters. The speculation which would make their conquest so much later, while it ignores the Biblical data, is founded only on the libels of Manetho, who wrote at least twelve hundred years later, and who makes Amenophis succeed Rameses. I have never been able to understand on what grounds the date given in the Bible is so set aside, or to agree with the dictum of Dr. Brugsch, for which no evidence is brought forward from monuments, that 'beyond all doubt' Minephtah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We should rather, I think, agree with Josephus, the critic who exposed the ignorance of Manetho, in dismissing such opinions as 'incredible fables.'

C. R. C.

Southampton,
Oct. 17, 1892.
and will not affect the general result, or the historical value of these most important texts. I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother-tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years. In dialectic pronunciation, in idiom, and in the peculiar meaning of many expressions the common speech of the Palestine peasantry is perhaps one of the best possible guides to an understanding of the writings of their Canaanite ancestors.

The study of monumental inscriptions is often called a 'by-path' of Biblical knowledge. But in an age of destructive criticism it seems to me to present the most important weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who desire, without seeking to support any particular theory, to arrive at truth concerning the ancient history of Palestine and of the Hebrew people. In the present case we have become possessed of a mass of political correspondence dating about the time when, according to the Bible, the Hebrew invasion under Joshua took place, and which in bulk represents a literature equal to about half the length of the entire Pentateuch. That the Hebrews should be mentioned in such letters as conquering the south of Palestine, and driving out the Amorite kings, will appear natural to those who believe the narrative of the Book of Joshua to represent the history of the Hebrew conquest; and that the date so determined does not agree with the now fashionable theory, which would place the conquest much later, in the time of Seti II., need not in any way disturb our minds. The date which is conjectured by some Egyptologists does not rest on any monumental evidence at all, for the simple reason that the Hebrews are not mentioned
in any Egyptian record as yet discovered, and appear
for the first time in monumental history in the Tell
Amarna letters. The speculation which would make
their conquest so much later, while it ignores the
Biblical data, is founded only on the libels of Manetho,
who wrote at least twelve hundred years later, and
who makes Amenophis succeed Rameses. I have
never been able to understand on what grounds the
date given in the Bible is so set aside, or to agree
with the dictum of Dr. Brugsch, for which no evi-
dence is brought forward from monuments, that
‘beyond all doubt’ Minephtah was the Pharaoh
of the Exodus. We should rather, I think, agree
with Josephus, the critic who exposed the ignorance
of Manetho, in dismissing such opinions as ‘in-
credible fables.’

C. R. C.

Southampton,
Oct. 17, 1892.
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

The interest taken in the Tell Amarna letters leads to the preparation of a Second Edition of this work within the year of publication. I have carefully revised the whole, and have now added translations of the royal letters which, though not written in Palestine, still cast light on the history of the great rebellion. The total of two hundred and twenty letters represents all that the collection contains, the rest being broken fragments from which no consecutive readings are possible.

In almost every letter occur passages of great difficulty; and concerning these the various translators—Delattre, Zimmern, Sayce, Bezold, Halévy, and others—who have published selections out of the correspondence, are much at variance. In the present work, which continues to be the only one yet published treating of the letters as a whole, care has been taken to warn the reader of these doubtful passages, by means of queries and notes. It will not, however, be found that, as a rule, these passages have great historic importance. They are generally found in argumentative or supplicating sentences, or in personal explanations.

The difficulties in translation are due to gaps in the text and to crabbed writing; to unusual em-
blems and peculiarities of style in writing, which mark the work of the less careful scribes; to occasional doubts as to the division of words, and as to the proper sounds; and, finally, to doubts as to the meaning of words.

On the other hand great care has usually been taken by the scribes to make the meaning clear. The signs preceding the names of persons, cities, countries, etc., are of great value; and the very complete grammar renders it easy to distinguish the syntax. The noun has two genders and three cases; the plural is always marked; the verb (masculine and feminine) has all the voices and tenses of the Assyrian, which are more numerous than in Hebrew. The letters, as a rule, were read over and corrected, words being added between the lines and mistakes blurred out on the clay before it was baked. From these circumstances certainty is obtained as to the general meaning, the persons and the places noticed; and the historical passages become clearly intelligible.

In revising the former translations, by the light of further study, I have taken advantage of the recent translations of the Rev. J. A. Delattre, S.J., in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" for 1893, especially as regards the letters from Aziru and from Tyre. In some cases, however, I find difficulty in accepting his conclusions. As regards the Abiri, or Hebrews, I have learned that this identification has been proposed by Dr. H. Zimmern in Germany; and this corroboration will be regarded as important. I have not had the advantage of seeing any of his papers dating from
1890 to 1891. My suggestion was first published (in the ‘Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement’) under date June, 1891, and it appears that the identification is likely to be generally accepted.

Many statements have been put forward respecting these letters, to which no reference is here made, because they appear to have no foundation in the texts. The view that the letters were written by Egyptian officials seems, for instance, to be invalid, because in that case they would probably have been written in the Egyptian language and characters used by the scribes who wrote dockets in ink on the tablets in Egypt. Many proposed translations also rest on the Hebrew value of words instead of the Aramaic. The language is not Hebrew, but much closer to Assyrian; and the Aramaic is therefore the safer guide. Thus the word ṭsurūkh, which means in Hebrew ‘to rise,’ has puzzled translators, who overlook the fact that in Aramaic it means ‘to prepare.’ The dates given for Egyptian kings are based on an astronomical calculation which agrees with the results obtained by Dr. Brugsch, and no notice has been taken of the apparently impossible dates of Mahler. The geography of the book has not been studied in detail by any of the scholars who have treated selected letters, and appears to me to be of primary importance to the subject.

The royal letters are of great importance for the general history of Western Asia, showing the wide influence of peaceful relations between Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, Assyria, and Babylonia; and
the interruption of these relations by the revolts in Palestine. Incidentally a favourite theory, which represents Amenophis IV. as a 'heretic king,' and Queen Thi as the founder of a new religion in Egypt, is overthrown by the letters from Dusratta. We now know that the kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty married Asiatic wives long before Queen Thi wedded Amenophis III.; and that her son, like his father, was a worshipper of Amen. Tell Amarna—the central capital placed between Memphis and Thebes—seems probably to have been the seat of government before the time of Amenophis IV., and continued to be occupied by his successor Horus. The mythological tablets show us that the religion of Chaldea was well known in Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., but there is no monumental notice of any later religious revolution, like that which is recorded to have occurred under the Hyksos King Apepi, who adored Set, the Hittite sun god.

As regards the name Tell Amarna, to which many scholars object as less correct than Tel el Amarna, I have only to add that Tel is an impossible spelling for a word coming from the root Talal, and that Amarna is not a word of Arabic form, so that it appears very doubtful whether the Arabic article el should be prefixed.

C. R. Conder.

Dec. 1, 1893.
THE

TELL AMARNA TABLETS

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The following translations will show the great importance of the letters found in 1887 in Upper Egypt for the right understanding of the history and geography of Palestine. They result from two years' study of the texts as published,¹ and in the majority of cases the letters have, I believe, not been previously translated by anyone. The language is Aramaic, resembling Assyrian. The writers are Phœnicians, Amorites and Philistines, but in no instance Hittites, though Hittites are mentioned. Hence the Hittite language is not used in those letters under consideration, though it is in others of

¹ 'Thontafelfund von el Amarna,' H. Winckler, 1890 (referred to as B.); and 'The Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum,' 1892 (cited as B. M.). These contain the transcripts of all the letters, amounting to 320.
the collection.¹ The date is about 1480 B.C., and the course of events, though they lasted over at least five years, is at most confined to about ten or twenty, with exception, perhaps, of some letters from the South.²

The general result confirms what I have already published as to the area of Egyptian conquests in Palestine and Syria. Thothmes III. (about 1600 B.C.) conquered the shore plains and Lower Galilee, overran Bashan to Damascus, which he took, and marched up to the Taurus. Rameses II. (about 1330 B.C.) held the maritime plains and Lower Galilee and Syria: the conquests of the former had, as we now see, been lost by his descendants, and Rameses II. had to recapture Ascalon, which is under the Egyptians in the present correspondence. Seti I. fought in the Beersheba plains. Rameses III. (who was attacked by the people of Asia Minor in Egypt itself) went as far east, on the south, as

¹ Dusratta's great letter of 512 lines of syllabic writing in the Hittite language I have translated and published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1892. There is a short letter (10 B.) by the Hittite Prince of Rezeph in a dialect of the same language. This is much more difficult to read in some passages. It refers to a number of presents sent to Egypt (see Appendix). These letters appear to me to place the question of the character of the Hittite language beyond dispute. The proper names of Hittites in the letters here given are also, like the above, Mongolic.

² The southern letters begin in the time of Labaya, and go on to the time of his sons. Probably Dr. Bezold's view is the right one, that the war began in the time of Amenophis III., and continued to that of Amenophis IV., which would mean some ten or twelve years.
Beersheba; but none of these kings entered the mountains of Judah or Samaria, or ever mention taking cities in Moab or Gilead. The reason, as I have before suggested, was a very simple one: the chariots, which formed the basis of Egyptian power, were not capable of being driven over the mountains. We have an instance ('Travels of an Egyptian') of a chariot being broken in crossing even the low hills south of Mount Carmel. The Egyptians held the main road along the sea-coast, as far as the Eleutherus, where it turned inland and went along the Orontes to Aleppo. They had also cross lines to Damascus by Hermon on the north, and through Bashan on the south.¹

The language of the letters is very like the Aramaic of the Talmud (see Buxtorff's great lexicon), and is like Arabic in many particulars rather than like Hebrew. It is the same language in an archaic condition which is now spoken by the peasantry of Palestine. The recovery of some 130 towns mentioned in the letters, not only makes the topography clear, but enables us to fix approximately the historical order of the letters. It settles the sites of several important places, such as Gath, Makkedah, Baal Gad, Enam, Lachish, etc.; and it illustrates very fully the Bible geography. The personal names are very interesting, being Semitic, except in the case of Hittite names, which are Mongolic. Egyptian words occur wherever

¹ See Judges i. 19, when at a later period the Canaanites still held the lowlands, 'because they had chariots of iron.'
reference is made to Egyptian officials (which has not, I believe, been previously recognised), and Akkadian terms also occur in the north. The names of the gods are those found in the Bible, including Baal, Baalath, Rimmon, Shamash, Nebo, Dagon and Addu, who, as Gesenius has shown, was Adonis. The word Elohim occurs frequently. The civilization of the times is abundantly shown, and various kinds of cities are specified, such as 'capital cities,' 'provincial cities,' 'fortresses,' 'towns' and 'villages,' with 'camps,' and Hazors (or enclosures); while irrigation of gardens is also noticed, and the papyrus grown at Gebal; as well as copper, tin, gold, silver, agate, money (not, of course, coins) and precious objects of many kinds; mulberries, olives, corn, ships and chariots.

But the most interesting letters are from the south, and these refer with great clearness to the conquest of the country between Mount Seir on the east, Ajalon, Lachish, Ascalon and Gezer on the west, and Shiloh and Rimmon on the north. The name of one of the kings killed by Joshua (Japhia, Josh. x. 3) is found in the south, and in all probability that of Adonizedek of Jerusalem also; and in the north the name of the King of Hazor is probably to be read as Jabin, which was the name of the King of Hazor whom Joshua attacked (Josh. xi. 1). The Hebrews ('Abiri) are said to have come from the desert, and from Mount Seir.

The date of the letters is exactly that which is to be derived from the Bible (1 Kings vi. 1) for the
Hebrew invasion, according to the Hebrew and Vulgate text (the Septuagint makes it forty years later), and it agrees with the fact that the Egyptian conquests made by the 18th dynasty (1700 to 1600 B.C.) had been lost when the 19th dynasty acceded. The letters state that the Egyptian troops had been withdrawn in the year in which the Hebrews came from the desert. In the north the Kings of Armenia, Niï (on Euphrates) and Shinar, with the Hittites of Merash and Kadesh, leagued against Egypt, and Damascus fell. They were joined by the Amorites, who conquered all Phœnicia and besieged Tyre. But there is no evidence of further advance; while, on the other hand, the Abiri are never mentioned in letters written in Syria or Northern Palestine, and are distinctly said to come from Edom. The date, which some Egyptologists suggest for the Exodus¹ (a century later than the time of these letters) is purely speculative, because no reference to the Hebrews has been found in any Egyptian texts. The Egyptians never held the mountains of Judah and Ephraim (though they had a garrison in Jerusalem, which was withdrawn before Joshua came), and therefore they did not come in contact with the Hebrews, who only raided into the lowlands, which the Amorites and Philistines held till Solomon's time (see especially Judges i.). The date proposed by Brugsch for the Exodus ignores entirely the chronology of the Book of Kings, and rests on no

¹ See Appendix as to the date of the Exodus.
monumental basis at all. The oppression of Israel in Galilee by Jabin II., King of Hazor, corresponds with the time when Rameses II. reconquered this region, after taking Ascalon,\(^1\) which in these letters is found to have submitted to the Hebrews. But none of the Egyptian records speak of the Egyptians as entering the mountains of Judah either in the times of the 18th or of the 19th dynasties: nor were their chariots ever seen in Gilead, Moab, or Mount Seir.

It will be clear, therefore, that these letters are the most important historical records ever found in connection with the Bible, and that they most fully confirm the historical statements of the Book of Joshua, and prove the antiquity of civilization in Syria and in Palestine.

The letters, as is well known, are on brick tablets,\(^2\) and written in an ancient form of the cuneiform script. The translations are from the original characters in all cases.

The condition of the country before the wars is well shown in the credentials of a Babylonian envoy to Egypt, sealed with a Babylonian seal, and reading as follows:

\(^1\) The name of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host, may very probably be Egyptian, \textit{Ses-Ra}, or 'servant of Ra.'

\(^2\) The clay from different parts of the country differs, and gives various colours and surfaces to the tablets, so that it has been found possible by the clay alone to decide with some certainty the derivation of a few of the tablets when the name of the writer is lost. This has an interesting bearing on the question of the date of the various letters from the King of Jerusalem.
B. M. 58.—'To the kings of the land of Canaan, servants of my brother, thus says the great King. Now Akiya is my messenger to the presence of the King of Egypt, my brother. I send him to be respected by all. Let none delay his march at all; despatch him carefully to the Land of Egypt; and as for him, he conducts natives of the land of Egypt. With a speedy message they proceed to go forth; and do ye nothing against him.'

The following letter appears also to be of early date:

B. 144.—'To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) Muduzukhi thy servant, the dust of thy feet, who crawls to the protection of the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. The King my Lord has sent by Khai, to speak of the roads of the land of Khani Rabbe. This our explanation we have despatched. Who am I that I should explain our roads to the King my Lord . . . . to the land of Khani Rabbe, and to the land of Karadunias. Let the King command our road. I will convey on it, as far as it goes.' At this time an embassy was probably about to be sent to Dusratta, the King of the Minyans, by his friend Amenophis III.

1 The land of Khani Rabbe was Southern Armenia, west of Lake Van; otherwise called Mitani, and the 'land of the Minyan race.' The title seems to mean 'land of the great Khan,' from the Mongol word for a 'prince,' still in use. The population (see B. 27) was mainly Mongolic, and akin to the Hittites.
The road became familiar later to Egyptian envoys. 

Another letter from Tunip\(^1\) refers to the commencement of the war, and is valuable as giving the approximate date:

B. M. 41.—'To the King of Egypt our Lord thus (say) the sons of the city Tunip, and the chief your servant: Peace be before thee, and I bow at the feet of my Lord. My Lord, thus the city Tunip causes the chief to say. Who was it saved the city Tunip formerly? Was it not Manakhbiria\(^2\) who saved the abode of this people? His Gods and his rule our region chose; exalting the Gods of the King of the land of Egypt our Lord, they dwelt in the city of Tunip; and let our Lord ask the ancients of the region of this people; and lo! we have kept the peace of our Lord the King of Egypt. And behold for twenty years our messengers have been sent to the King our Lord. With the King our Lord they have dwelt, and now behold our Lord adores (Rimmon?):\(^3\) to the King our Lord He has given rest from the foe; and may he establish our Lord.

\(^1\) Tunip, now Teinin, was close to Arpad, north-west of Aleppo. It was identified by Noldeke.

\(^2\) Manakhbiiria, as Dr. Bezold points out, stands for Men-Kheperu-ra, the title of Thothmes IV. As Amenophis III. succeeded him about 1500 B.C., the date cannot be later than about 1480 B.C., in the latter part of the reign of the latter king.

\(^3\) The god's name might also be rendered Adonis (Addu). The sign means 'God of the air,' and is equivalent to the Egyptian Shu, God of air, wind and sky.
And our Lord adoring (Rimmon?) He hath established as King of Egypt; and why should our Lord the King turn from his former way? And lo! Aziru is thy servant: to thy governors he listens attentively; and because of the land of the Hittites, which is arrayed, he hath come to them. And behold his soldiers and his chariots followed. And as for us, to Aziru they have done as they did to the city Ni. Thus as for us we have not avenged; but the King of Egypt will avenge this, because of these messages as to what they are doing. Let Aziru rule who is powerful with our Lord. And behold Aziru will strive with the city Zumura to make them subject to him in the power of the King our Lord; and because of messages that they have gone out he avenges this. And now the city of Tunip is thy city; it laments, and they are afraid that they will burn, and warring for him their power has been brought to nought; as for us for twenty years we sent (messages) to the King our Lord, the King of Egypt; and not one message of our Lord to us have we put to shame.¹

¹ Son of Abdasherah, chief of the Amorites, as appears later.
² Ni, often mentioned in Egyptian texts and in these letters, is supposed to be Ninus Vetus, on the Euphrates, east of Tunip. Its chief was afterwards allied with the Hittites.
³ Zumura is the Zemar of the Bible (Gen. x. 18), the later Simyra of Strabo, now Sumrah, on the north side of the Eleutherus river, commanding the pass from Tripoli to the inland plains of Kadesh and Hamath on the way to the north.
⁴ In this connection B. M. 2 is important. It is from
This letter explains the relations which led to the whole of the war between the Amorites and Phoenicians, as further detailed in the letters of Aziru and Ribadda.

Burnaburias of Babylon to Amenophis IV. shortly after his accession, and would therefore be about 1460 B.C. He here speaks of the Canaanite revolt as occurring in the time of his father—that is, in the reign of Amenophis III. (see Appendix).
II.

THE HITTITE INVASION OF DAMASCUS.

36 B. M.—' To King Annumuria\(^1\) (Amenophis III.) Son of the Sun my Lord thus (says) this thy servant Akizzi.\(^2\) Seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. My Lord in these my lands I am afraid. Mayst thou protect one who is thy servant under the yoke of my Lord. From the yoke of my Lord I do not rebel. Lo! there is fear of my foes. The people of this thy servant are under thy yoke: this country is among thy lands: the city Katna\(^3\) is thy city: I am on the side of my Lord’s rule (yoke). Lo! the soldiers and the chariots of my Lord’s government have received corn and drink, oxen and beasts (oil and honey?), meeting the soldiers and the chariots of my Lord’s dominion (coming?) to me. And now

\(^1\) This name, frequently found in the letters is the Egyptian Neb-mat-ra, or Amenophis III. It agrees with the date already deduced from the preceding letter.

\(^2\) As the Amorite z or s’ seems sometimes to represent the Hebrew sh, this name might be compared with the Philistine Achish.

\(^3\) Katna is the present Katannah, on the south of Hermon, west of Damascus.
let my Lord ask the great men of his dominion. My Lord, all lands tremble before thy soldiers and thy chariots. If these lands are under the dominion of my Lord's land, and they are seizing them, let him order his soldiers and his chariots this year, and let him take the land of Marhasse, the whole of it, to the yoke of my Lord, when—my Lord—the soldiers of the slaves are For six days ago he went out into the land of Hu(ba), and truly Aziru is sending them, and if in this year my Lord does not send out the soldiers and the chariots of his government to meet Aziru (and) make him flee all will rebel My Lord, know him. My Lord (know) the men who are his foes. And lo! now the King of the land of the Hittites with pride rebels against his gods. And men who are destroyers serve the King of the land of the Hittites: he sends them forth. My Lord, my servants, the men of the city of Katna, Aziru expels, and all that is theirs, out of the land of the dominion of my Lord; and behold (he takes?) the northern lands of the dominion of my Lord. Let (my Lord) save the of the men of the city Katna. My Lord truly they made he steals their gold my Lord; as has been said there

1 Others read Nuhasse. It was a Hittite country, and appears to be that of Mer'ash, under the Taurus, where a number of important Hittite remains are found (see especially B. 31, 32).

2 Throughout the letters the enemy is always called a 'slave,' a 'slave dog,' or 'son of a dog,' as also in Egyptian texts.

3 Where breaks occur they are due to fractures of the tablet.
is fear, and truly they give gold. My Lord—Sun God, my fathers' god\textsuperscript{1}—the men have made themselves your foes, and they have wasted from over against the abode of their camp (or fortress); and now behold—O Sun God of my fathers—the King of the \textit{Hittites} makes them march. And know of them, my Lord—may the gods make slack their hand. As has been said there is fear. And lo! perchance the Sun God of my fathers will turn his heart towards me. My Lord's word is sure, and let the (increase or tithe of gold?) be given him, as we have purposed for the Sun God of my fathers. As has been said they have done to me; and they have destroyed the . . . . . . of my Lord. For this corner—the dwelling of their fortress (or camp)—is out of sight of the Sun God.'

37 B. M.—'To King \textit{Annumuria} Son of the Sun my Lord, thus (says) \textit{Akizzi} thy servant: seven times . . . . at the feet of my Lord I bow. My Lord now there is flight and no breathing of the . . . . of the King my Lord. And behold now the . . . . of this dominion of my Lord, in these lands . . . . and behold now . . . . the King of the land of the \textit{Hittites} . . . . . . . sends forth . . . . . and the heart of . . . . . smites him. And now behold the King my Lord sends to me, and is complaining. . . . . with me as to the rule of the King of the land of the \textit{Hittites}. And as for me

\textsuperscript{1} This appears, as throughout the letters, to apply to the King of Egypt. All the Egyptian kings were regarded as descendants of Gods, and are so addressed in Egyptian records.
the King of the Land of the Hittites. As for me I am with the King my Lord, and with the Land of Egypt. I sent and . . . . . as to the rule of the King of the land of the Hittites.'

'This text is much damaged; it goes on to speak of Aidugama,¹ the Hittite king, in the country of the King of Egypt, who has taken various things—enumerated, but not intelligible—including, perhaps, ships or boats, and dwellings; and it mentions Neboyažīza. It then continues:

'My Lord: Teuiatti of the city Lašana,² and Arzuia of the city Ruhizzi,³ minister before Aidugama; but this land is the land of the dominion of my Lord. He is burning it with fire. My Lord, as said, I am on the side of the King my Lord. I am afraid also because of the King of the land of Marhasse, and the King of the Land of Ni, and the King of the Land of Žinzaar,⁴ and the King of the Land of Canaan. And all of these are Kings under the dominion (or, of the rule) of my Lord—chiefs who are servants. As said let the King my Lord live and become mighty, and so O King my Lord wilt not thou go forth? and let the King my

¹ Aidugama does not appear to be a Semitic name, but, as we should expect in Hittite, it is Mongol, and compares with Akkadian, as meaning 'the victorious lord.' He is called Edagama by the King of Tyre (B. M. 30), who mentions his fighting with Neboyažīza, and Aziru's also.
² Probably Lapana is Lybo, now Lebweh, north of Baalbek.
³ Probably Rāiṭī or Rais, on the east side of the Buka'ah plain, east of Zahleh, on the way from the Hittite country.
⁴ Perhaps should read Žinzaar for Šenaar, the Shinar of the Bible. Merash and Ni have been noted above.
Lord despatch the *bitati*¹ soldiers, let them expel (them) from this land. As said my Lord these kings have . . . . . . the chief of my Lord’s government, and let him say what they are to do, and let them be confirmed. Because my Lord this land ministers heartily to the King my Lord. And let him speed soldiers, and let them march; and let the messengers of the dominion of the King my Lord arrive. For my Lord *Arzuia* of the city *Ruhizzi*, and *Tewiatti* of the city *Lapana*, dwelt in the land of *Huba*,² and *Dasru* dwelt in the land *Amma*,³ and truly my Lord has known them. Behold the land of *Hobah* was at peace my Lord in the days of this government. They will be subject to *Aidugama*. Because we ask, march thou here and mayest . . . . all the land of *Hobah*. My Lord as said the city *Timasgi*,⁴ in the land of *Hobah*, is without sin at thy feet; and aid

¹ This word *bitati* always applies (and it is used very often) to Egyptian soldiers. It seems to be an Egyptian word. Compare *pet*, ‘foot,’ and *petet*, ‘to invade or march,’ in Egyptian.

² Huba is identified by Dr. Bezold with the land of Hobah (Gen. xiv. 15), which was at the ‘entering in’ north of Damascus. The ‘entering in’ here and at Hamath means a pass between hills leading to the city. It has been objected that Hobah would be *Ubatu* in Assyrian; but this fails in view of the detailed topography, which shows that Dr. Bezold was right. The Hebrew *heh* is often replaced by *aleph* or *vau* in Aramaic.

³ The land *Am* or *Amma*, several times mentioned, appears to be the Old Testament land of Ham, in Northern Bashan, near Damascus (Gen. xiv. 5). The Hebrew is spelt with the soft aspirate, not the hard guttural. It may perhaps be connected with the name of the *Amu* of Egyptian records.

⁴ Damascus according to Dr. Bezold.
thou the city Katna which is without sin at thy feet. It has been feeble. And my Lord in presence of my messenger the master shall ordain (our) fate. As has been said, have not I served in the presence of the bitati soldiers of my Lord? Behold, as said, my Lord has promised soldiers to this my land, and they shall . . . . in the city Katna.'

96 B., a letter mainly complimentary, from Nebo-
yapiza to the King of Egypt, ends as follows:

‘Behold I myself, with my soldiers and my chariots, with my brethren and with (men of blood ?) and with my people the men of my kindred go to meet the Egyptian soldiers, as far as the ground which the King my Lord will name.’

142 B.—‘To the King my Lord thus saith this thy servant. At the feet of my Lord my Sun seven times on my face, seven times I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and they will devour me—Neboya-
piza: we abide before thy face, my Lord, and lo! they will devour me in your sight. Behold every fortress of my fathers is taken, by the people out of the city Gidisi. And my fortresses (say) “Speed us avengers.” I make ready, and (because that ?) the Pakas of the King my Lord, and the chiefs of his

1 This name can be read Namyapiza or Zimyapiza, but probably means 'Nebo is holy,' Nebo being a well-known deity.

2 Gidisi or Cidisi is apparently Kadesh of the Hittites—now Kades on the Orontes—north of the city of Nebo yapiza. It is called Cidsi by the King of Tyre (B. M. 30), and Ciidsa in the proclamation (92 B.).

3 Paka is one of the words used to designate Egyptian residents or generals. It seems to be Egyptian, and simply means Pa-ka, 'chief man.'
land have known my faithfulness, behold I complain to the ruler being one approved; let the ruler consider that (Neboyapiza) has given proof . . . . for now they have cast thee out. As for me, I have (gathered?) all my brethren, and we have made the place strong for the King my Lord. I have caused them to march with my soldiers and with my chariots, and with all my people. And behold Neboyapiza has sped to all the fortresses of the King my Lord. Part of the men of blood are from the land Ammusi,¹ and (part) from the land of Hubi, and it is won (or reached). But march fast, thou who art a God² and a Sun in my sight, and restore the strongholds to the King my Lord from the men of blood. For they have cast him out; and the men of blood have rebelled, and are invaders of the King my Lord. We were obedient to thy yoke, and they have cast out the King my Lord, and all my brethren.'

It appears, from other letters, that the city of this chief was the important town Cumidi, now Kamid, in the Southern Lebanon, at the south end of the Baalbek plain, west of Baal Gad. In Abu el Feda's time this town was the capital of the surrounding district.

189 B. is much broken. It is from Arzana, chief

¹ Ammusi might be the ancient name of Emesa, now Homs, immediately north of Kadesh. (See Note.)
² Elohim is in the plural, as several scholars have remarked. It often applies to the King of Egypt.
of the city Khazi. He speaks of an attack on Tusulti, by bloody soldiers fighting against the place, and perhaps of the city Bel Gidda (Baal Gad), and mentions a Paka, or Egyptian official, called Aman Khatbi, named after the Egyptian god Amen. The foes are spoiling the Valley (of Baalbek) in sight of the Egyptian general, and are attacking Khazi, his city. They had already taken Maguzi, and are spoiling Baal Gad. It seems that he asks the King not to blame his general, and speaks finally of friendly and faithful men.

43 B.-M., broken at the top, reads thus:

'... his horses and his chariots ... to men of blood and not. ... As for me, I declare myself for the King my Lord, and a servant to preserve these to the King entirely. Biridasia perceives this, and has betrayed it, and he has secretly passed beyond my city Maramma; and the great pass is

1 Khazi is evidently Ghazzeh, near the south end of the Baalbek plain, south of the Damascus road.

2 This is doubtful, as the text is broken, and only gives Belgi ... Baal Gad was, as I have attempted recently to show, probably near 'Ain Judeideh, on the north of Hermon, and close to the great pass.

3 Maguzi, or Mukhzi, is probably Mekseh, on the Damascus road, west of Stora.

4 May be read Yanuamma. It seems to be M'araba, north of Damascus, which agrees with the context. The great pass mentioned here in connection with Damascus was apparently that by which the main road from the west came down the Barada at Abila. This is the 'entering in' to Damascus, which (Gen. xiv. 15) was in the land of Hobah. This agrees with the position of Neboyapiza's town Kamid, west of Baal Gad, and to
open behind me. And he is marching chariots from the city Astarti, and commands them for the men of blood, and does not command them for the King my Lord. Friendly to him is the King of the city Buzruna; and the King of the city of Khalavunni has made promises to him: both have fought with Biridasia against me. Wickedly they vex us. I have marched our kinsmen—the people of Neboya-piza—but his success never fails . . . . and he rebels. As for me from . . . . and he sends out from . . . . . . the city Dimasca (Damascus) behold . . . . . . . . . they complain . . . . . . . . . they afflict. I am complaining to the King of Egypt as a servant; and Arzaiaia is marching to the city Gizza, and Azi{ru) takes soldiers. . . . The Lord of the city Saddu declares for the men of blood, and

the west of the pass. The scribe here wrote 'east of me,' and corrected to 'behind me.'

1 Probably not Ashtoreth Carnaim, which is mentioned in another letter, but rather Stora, in the Baalbek plain, north-west of Baal Gad. Arzaya's town seems to have been Mekseh, west of Stora (125 B. M.).

2 Buzruna is probably Batruna, on the mountain west of the west end of the pass, and immediately east of Baal Gad (perhaps mentioned again in the fragment 205 B.).

3 Khalavunni, or Halabunni, is the Helbon of the Bible (Ezek. xxvii. 18), now Helbon, north of Damascus, and five miles north of the middle of the pass. It must have been an important city because of the term 'king.' It was noted for wine, not only in Ezekiel's time, but, as Strabo mentions, the Kings of Persia brought wine from Chalybon.

4 Gizza is perhaps the important town Jezzin, in the Lebanon, south-west of Kamid, unless it be Jizeh, in Bashan, between Edrei and Bozrah.

5 Saddu is perhaps Nebi Shit, south of Baalbek: or possibly,
her chief does not declare for the King my Lord; and as far as this tribe marches it has afflicted the land of Gizza. Arzaiaia with Biridasia afflicts the land (which is wretched? or Abitu), and the King witnesses the division of his land. Let not men who have been hired disturb her. Lo! my brethren have fought for me. As for me, I will guard the town of Cumidi (Kamid) the city of the King my Lord. But truly the King forgets his servant . . . . his servant, O King . . . . have arrayed Kings . . . . the men of the wretched land' (or of the land Abitu).

152 B.— ' . . . . thus Ara (ga ?) chief of the city Cumidi1 (Kamid) . . . . at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. Behold as to me I am thy faithful servant: let the King my Lord ask of his Pakas (chiefs) as to me, a faithful servant of the King my Lord, one whom they have ruined. Truly I am a faithful servant of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord excuse this dog, and let him (bear me in remembrance?). But never a horse and never a chariot is mine, and let this be considered in sight of the King my Lord; and closely allied2 is his servant; and to explain this I am despatching my son to the land of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord deign to hear me.'

though less probably, Sh'ait, south of Kamid, on the south-west slope of Hermon.

1 Cumidi, or Kamid, was important as a central station between Damascus and the coast cities of Sidon and Beirut.

2 Or, perhaps, 'hard-pressed.'
46 B. M.—'At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven (times) I bow. Behold what this our saying tells, as to the land Am (Ham) the fortresses of the King my Lord. A man named Eda .. has arisen, a chief of the land Cinza east of the land or the Hittites, to take the fortresses of the King my Lord .. . . and we made the fortresses for the King my Lord my God my Sun, and we have lived in the fortresses of the King my Lord.'

125 B.—'To the King my Lord thus Arzaiaia, chief of the city Mikhiza. At the feet of my Lord I bow. King my Lord, I have heard as to going to meet the Egyptian (bitati) soldiers of the King my Lord who are with us, to meet the general (Paka) with (all the infantry?) .. . .. all who have marched to overthrow the King my Lord. Truly a (great strength to the people?) are the Egyptian (bitati) soldiers of the King my Lord, and his commander (Paka). As for me, do I not order all to .. . . after them? Behold they have been speedy, O King my Lord, and his foes are delayed by them by the hand of the King my Lord.'

126 B.—The same writer, in a broken letter, calls himself a faithful servant of the King. This was perhaps at an earlier period of the war, before the events recorded by Neboyapiza (189 B., 43 B. M.).

75 B. M.—A short letter from Dasru to say he has heard the King's message. He lived in the land of Ham (37 B. M.).

1 Mikhiza, perhaps the same as Maguzi, written by another scribe—the modern Mekseh, as given above. Maguzi might be otherwise transliterated as Mukhzi.
127 B. M.—The same writer says that all that the King does for his land is of good omen.

171 B.—"A message and information from the servant of the King my Lord my God. . . . And behold what the chief of Simyra has done to my brethren of the city of Tubakhi;¹ and he marches to waste the fortresses of the King my Lord my God my Sun . . . . the land of the Amorites. He has wearied out our chiefs. The fortresses of the King my Lord my God . . . are for men of blood. And now strong is the god of the King my Lord my God my Sun; and the city of Tubakhi goes forth to war, and I have stirred up my brethren, and I guard the city of Tubakhi for the King my Lord my God my Sun. And behold this city of Tubakhi is the city of the plains of my fathers."

132 B.—"To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) Artabania chief of the city Ziribasani² thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times, on my face, seven times I bow. Behold a

¹ Tubakhi is the Tubakhai of the 'Travels of an Egyptian' in the reign of Rameses II. (Chabas, p. 313), mentioned with Kadesh on Orontes; and is the Tibhath of the Bible (1 Chron. xviii. 8), otherwise Berothai. It may perhaps be the present Kefr Dubbeh, west of Baalbek, and south of Kadesh, while Berothai is thought to be the present Britheii (see 2 Sam. viii. 8), a few miles south of Baalbek. The letter shows Aziru in league with the Hittites. David conquered these cities from the King of Damascus.

² Dr. Sayce calls this 'the fields of Bashan'; probably, when taken with the next letters, we may place the site at Zora, in Bashan, now Ezra. De Rougé and Mariette showed that Thothmes III. conquered Bashan.
message to me to speed to meet the Egyptian (bitati) soldiers. And who am I but a dog only, and shall I not march? Behold me, with my soldiers and my chariots meeting the Egyptian soldiers at the place of which the King my Lord speaks.'

78 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord thus the chief of the city Gubbu\(^1\) thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord my Sun (permit?) that seven times on my face seven times I bow. Thou hast sent as to going to meet the Egyptian soldiers, and now I with my soldiers and my chariots meet the soldiers of the King my Lord, at the place you march to.'

64 B. M.—‘To Yankhamu\(^2\) my Lord by letter thus Muutaddu thy servant. I bow at my Lord’s feet as this says, announcing that the enemy is hastening speedily as—my Lord—was announced to the King of the city Bikhisi\(^3\) from friends\(^4\) of his

\(^1\) Gubbu is perhaps Jubbata, on the south side of Hermon, near the places mentioned in the next letter.

\(^2\) Yankhamu, an Egyptian commander, appears in these letters in all parts of the country, from the extreme south to the north, and in Phœnicia as well as in Bashan. His name does not seem to be Semitic.

\(^3\) This letter does not say who the enemies were or in which direction they advanced. Perhaps Bikhisi may be regarded as the present 'Abbaseh (by inversion of the guttural), which is fifteen miles south-west of Damascus, near the main road to the town of Jabesh, whence the letter comes.

\(^4\) The word rabizi, which is here made equivalent to sukini, gives great difficulty. In Hebrew the root means ‘to rest,’ and the word is still applied in Palestine to resting of flocks. Zukinni appears, as Dr. Bezold points out, to be the same as the Phœnician word Soken (which has exactly the required letters);
Lord. Let the King my Lord speed: let the King my Lord fly: for the foe is wasting in the city Bikhis! this two months, there is none . . . . On account of (Bibelu?) having told me this one has asked then . . . . until by the arrival of Ana-
marut (Amenophis IV.)¹ the city of Ashtoreth is occupied.² Behold they have destroyed all the
fortresses of neighbouring lands: the city Udumu,³ the city Aduri,⁴ the city Araru,⁵ the city Meis(pa?),⁶ the city Macdalim,⁷ the city Khini.⁸ I announced that they had taken the city Zaar.⁹ They are fighting this city, the city Yabisi.¹⁰ Moreover, fearing the force against me, I am watching it till you arrive.

but the meaning of this also is doubtful. Renan translates it either 'inhabitant' or 'senator.' The word occurs in the Bible (1 Kings i. 2, 4; Ezek. xxviii. 14), with the meaning also doubtful, but the root means 'to cherish.' Perhaps 'friends' suits best the various recurrences.

¹ This word seems to mean 'glory of the sun,' the Egyptian Khu-en-Aten. The explanation throws light on a difficult passage in a letter from Elishah (B. M. 5; see Appendix). If Khu-en-Aten (Amenophis IV.) is intended, he may have been commander while still only a prince, since the events seem to belong to the reign of Amenophis III.

² Astartí seems here to be Ashtoreth Carnaim, the present Tell Ashterah.

³ Udumu, now Dameh, the Dametha of Maccabean times.
⁴ Aduri—Edrei in Bashan, now Edhr'a.
⁵ Araru—'Ar'ar, nine miles south-east of Ashtoreth.
⁶ Meispa—Ramath-Mizpah of Bashan, now Remtheh.
⁷ Macdalim, probably Mejdel Shems, east of Banias.
⁸ Khini—Hineh, south of Hermon, near the last.
⁹ Zaar—Zora of Bashan, now Ezra.
¹⁰ Yabisi—Yabis, a few miles north-west of the last.
One has come from your way to the city Bikhisi, and he has made us hear the news.'

134 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus Abdmelec the chief of this city Saskhi thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord . . . . on my face seven times I bow. Thou hast sent as to going to meet the Egyptian soldiers, accordingly I with my soldiers and my chariots (am) meeting the soldiers of the King my Lord, at the place to which you will march.'

143 B.—'To the King our Lord thus (says) Addubaya and thus also Betili. At the feet of our Lord we bow. Peace indeed to the face of our Lord. And (as is fit?) from the lands of our Lord, much they salute. O our Lord, will not you settle everything in your heart? Will not you harden your heart as to this combat O our Lord? But their intention is clear—to make war on the stations, as in our country they do not follow after thee. Lupackhallu has removed the soldiers of the Hittites; they will go against the cities of the land of Ham (Am) and from Atadumi they will (take?) them. And let our Lord know, since we hear that Zitana the Phoenician (Kharu) has deserted, who

1 The Egyptians would cross the Jordan near Megiddo, and come from the south-west to oppose an enemy on the north and east, and reach Abbâseh, on the north, later than Yabis.
2 Saskhi is probably S'as'ar, east of Banias, and north-west of Yabis.
3 Lupackhallu, a non-Semitic Hittite name. As a Mongol word, 'the very swift.'
4 Zitana was King of Accho—a somewhat similar name; but probably the King of Arvad is meant, as appears later.
will march. And nine chiefs of the soldiers of the government are with us who march, and the message is unfavourable: a gathering in the land they have made; and they will arrive from the land of Marhasse (Mer'ash). But I cause Betili to send against this (foe). Thus we wage war against them. And my trusty messenger I cause to be sent to your presence, as said; for you to return an order whether we shall do so or whether not. To Raban and Abdbaar, to Rabana and Rabziddu thus: behold to all of you be peace indeed, and will not you harden your hearts, and will not you settle all in your hearts, and do what is fitting from your places? Much peace; and to (the people?) peace be increased.'

91 B.—'To the King my Lord thus (says) the city Gebal\(^1\) (and) thus Rabikhar ("the Lord of Phœnicia") thy servant. At the feet of my Lord the Sun seven seven I bow. Do not be angry, O King my Lord, with the city of Gebal (Gubla) thy handmaid—a city of the King from of old, obeying what the King commands as to Aziru, and it did as he wished. Behold Aziru slew Adunu, lord of the land of Ammia,\(^2\) and the King of the land of Ardata,\(^3\) and has slain the great men, and has taken their cities for himself. The city Simyra is his. Of the

1 This letter belongs to a late period in the war, since Ullaza has been taken. It is given here as referring to the land of Ham. It may very well have been written after Ribadda, the King of Gebal, left the city (see 71 B.).

2 Ammia, mentioned again, appears to be Amyun, south of Simyra.

3 Ardata is Ardi, near the last.
cities of the King only the city Gebal escapes for the King. Behold the city Simyra is subjected. He has smitten the city Ullaza. The captains of both have gone into exile. Behold this sin Aziru wrought. Sinful are his strivings against her . . . . he has smitten all the lands of Ham (Am), lands of the King; and now he has despatched his men to destroy all the lands of Ham; and the King of the land of the Hittites, and the King of the land of Nereb (Nariba) (have made?) the land conquered land."

From these letters we learn clearly that the Mongol kings near the Euphrates (and as appears later in Armenia) were leagued with the Hittites of Mer'ash in the extreme North of Syria, and of Kadesh on the Orontes; and were supported by the Amorites of the Northern Lebanon, and by some of the Phœnicians: that the enemy marched south, a distance of 300 miles, taking all the towns in the Baalbek valley, reaching Damascus by the gorge of the Barada River, and advancing into the land of Ham—in Bashan—where all the chief towns fell. This serves to make clear the treachery of Aziru's letters which follow. The Amorite advance on the Phœnician coast was contemporary, and extended to Tyre. It appears, however, that the Amorites were a Semitic people, while the names of the Hittites are Mongolic.

1 Kefr Khullis, north of Gebal, agrees with the required position for Ullaza, which is mentioned often.

2 Nariba is Nereb, on the Euphrates, in the Hittite country.
III.

THE AMORITE TREACHERY.

No. 35 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun Aziru thy servant; and seven times at the feet of my Lord my God my Sun I bow.' The letter is much broken, but promises he will never rebel, and says he is sincere. He desires land of the king (at Simyra), and says the men of the government are friendly, but that the city of Simyra is to be made promptly to fulfil its engagements (see the letter placed second in the present collection).

35 B. M.—'To the Great King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this thy servant Aziru. Seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord my God my Sun I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and (from my youth?) in the presence of the King my Lord, and I fulfil all my orders to the sight of my Lord. And what they who are my (agents?) shall say to my Lord as to the chiefs who are faithful, in the sight of the King my Lord, will not you hear me speak, I who am thy servant sincere as long as I
live? But when the King my Lord sent Khani,¹ I was resting in the city of Tunip (Tennib) and there was no knowledge behold of his arriving. Whereupon he gave notice, and coming after him also, have I not reached him? And let Khani speak to testify with what humility, and let the King my Lord ask him how my brethren have prepared to tend (him), and Betilu will send to his presence, oxen and beasts and fowls: his food and his drink will be provided. I shall give horses and beasts for his journey; and may the King my Lord hear my messages, with my assurances in the presence of the King my Lord. Khani will march much cared for in my sight, he accompanies me as my comrade, like my father; and lo! my Lord says, "You turn away from the appearance of Khani." Thus thy Gods and the Sun God truly had known if I did not stay in the city of Tunip. Moreover because of the intention to set in order the city of Simyra, the King my Lord has sent word (and) the Kings of the land of Marhasse (Mer'asha) have been foes to me. They have marched on my cities: they have observed the desire of Khatib,² and has not he promised them? lo! hastily he has promised them. And truly my Lord has known that half of the possessions that the King my Lord has given Khatib takes:

¹ An Egyptian name; perhaps to be compared with han, 'kind,' in Egyptian. An envoy of this name was sent to Dusratta, King of Armenia, by Amenophis III., as an 'interpreter' (21 B.).

² Perhaps the Hittite King of Kadesh, or some other city.
the tribute, and the gold and the silver that the King my Lord has given me; and Khatib takes all the tribute; and truly my Lord has known. Moreover as against my Lord the King’s having said “Why dost thou yield service to the messenger of the King of the land of the Hittites, and dost not yield service to my messenger?”—this region is the land of my Lord, he establishes me in it, with men of government. Let a messenger of my Lord come, and all that I speak of in the sight of my Lord let me give. Tin and ships, men\(^1\) and weapons, and trees let me give.’

40 B.—‘To Dudu\(^2\) my Lord my father thus (says) Aziru your son your servant: at the feet of my father I bow. Lo! let Dudu send the wishes of my Lord . . . . . and I . . . . . Moreover behold thou shalt not reject (me) my father, and whatever are the wishes of Dudu my father, send, and will not I . . . . Behold thou art my father and my Lord: I am thy son: the land of the Amorites is your land; and my house is your house.\(^3\) Say what you wish and I will truly perform your wishes.’ The latter part is broken, but states that he will not rebel against the wishes of the king or those of Dudu.

38 B.—‘To Dudu my lord my father thus Aziru

\(^1\) Or perhaps ‘oil.’

\(^2\) Dodo in the Bible (1 Chron. xi. 12), from the same root as ‘David.’ He was not really Aziru’s father, but apparently a friend in Egypt.

\(^3\) Beitl beitac is still a polite phrase of welcome in Palestine.
thy servant. At my Lord's feet I bow. *Khatib* will march, and has carefully followed the messages (or orders) of the King my Lord before (he goes); and what is good increases; and I have been gladdened very much; and my brethren, men serving the King my Lord, and men who are servants of *Dudu* my Lord. They had feared exceedingly. Behold he will march, to command for the King my Lord with me. From the orders of my Lord my God and my Sun, and from the orders of *Dudu* my Lord, I will never depart. My Lord now *Khatib* goes forth with me, and also he will march to strengthen me. My Lord, the King of the land of the *Hittites* will march from the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*), and has he not boasted to meet me? and the King of the *Hittites* will rebel, and behold I and *Khatib* will march. Let the King my Lord hear my messages. I have feared without the countenance of the King my Lord, and without the countenance of *Dudu*; and now (my Gods and my messenger¹) And truly these are my brethren—*Dudu* and the great men of the King my Lord; and truly I will march; and since O *Dudu* both the King my Lord and the chiefs thus are ready, everything against *Aziru* is forgiven which has been unfavourable for my God,² and for us. And now I and *Khatib* have appeared servants of the King. Truly thou knowest *Dudu*, behold I go forth mightily.'

¹ The text is clear, but the epigram is not. He appears to mean the King of Egypt when speaking of his Gods, as also a few lines lower.

² Meaning the King of Egypt.
MAP OF SYRIA.

AMORITE WAR.
31 B.—'To Khai\(^1\) my brother thus (says) this thy brother Aziru. With thee (be) peace indeed, and from the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord there is much safety. Whoever (is) against it the promise remains, in sight of the King my Lord; being formerly promised it remains. I and my sons and my brethren are all servants of the King: it is good for me. Now I and Khatib will both march behold with speed. O Khai, as amongst you truly it is known, lo! I have been troubled. From the orders of my Lord there is no rebellion, nor from your orders. I am a servant of my Lord. The King of the land of the Hittites dwells in the land of Marhasse (Mer'ash) and I have feared his appearance. They who are in the West lands\(^2\) have armed. He gathers; and while the city of Tunip is unoccupied, he dwells two swift marches from the city. And I have been afraid of his appearance; and contrary to messages of promise he goes forth to his rebellions. But now we shall both march, I and Khatib, with speed.'

32 B. repeats the preceding—perhaps to another correspondent: it mentions Dudu, and says: 'I have been afraid of this rebel son of a dog, and I

---

\(^1\) Khai is also an Egyptian name, meaning 'distinguished' in that language. He is perhaps the Khaia of another letter by Ribadda (57 B.). It would seem that his embassy to Aziru had occurred between the first and second visits of the envoy Khanni.

\(^2\) Mer'ash was in the west of the Hittite country, 75 miles north-west of Tunep. The distance fits well, since 37½ miles may be considered a forced march.
have been troubled. Now he has sent a message from the Western land—the land of my Lord: they will both march together, and I have been afraid for my Lord's land.'

33 B., much broken at the top, refers to the existing promise or treaty, and continues: 'I cause the land of my Lord to be guarded, and my countenance is towards the men who are servants of the King my Lord in peace. My Lord now I and Khatib are made friends,\(^1\) and let my Lord know behold I have . . . . . in haste. The King of the land of the Hittites dwells . . . . . . and I have been afraid . . . . have armed . . . . of the land . . . . . . . . . . . . . . my Lord I remain quietly . . . . in the West land . . . . King my Lord to defend his land . . . and now behold in the land of Marhasse he dwells—two swift marches from the city of Tunip; and I fear his wastings. Let the city of Tunip be defended: my Lord is a shield to men who serve him; mayst thou hear what is said and my sons will . . . . for ever.'

39 B.—Broken at the top. 'I have strengthened this . . . . . . I have strengthened this wall in front of the mouth of the great pass,\(^2\) and my Lord's fortress. And let my Lord hear as to the servants of his servant—thy servant Aziru: they

---

\(^1\) We cannot rely on Aziru's protestations. If Khatib was a Hittite King, it is certain that both were intriguing against Egypt.

\(^2\) Probably the pass in the valley of the 'Afrîn River, near Kyrrhus, twenty miles north of Tunip, is meant, being on the direct road to Mer'ash.
will keep watch: strife surrounds us: I trust there will be an expedition; and let us watch the lands of the King our Lord. Moreover to Dudu my Lord. Hear the messages of the King of the Land of Marhasse to me. They said: "Your father\(^1\) what gold has this King of Egypt given him, and what has his Lord promised him out of the Land of Egypt; and all the lands, and all the soldier slaves they have fought against?" (thus) they said. . . . . to Aziru . . . . out of the Land of Egypt, and behold the slaves come round from the Land of . . . \(\text{N}\)\(^2\): they have rebelled; and I repeat that thirty chiefs push on against me . . . . land of Egypt he remains . . . . my Lord to Aziru . . . . soldiers . . . . Marhasse.'

34 B.—"To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this Aziru thy servant: seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. Now what you wish is desirable. Sun God my Lord I am thy servant for ever; and my sons serve thee. . . . Now two men . . . . I have commanded as envoys . . . . what he says . . . and let him rule . . . . in the land of the Amorites.'

34a B.—The salutation of the usual type is here injured. The letter continues: 'My Lord my God my Sun, I am thy servant and my sons and my brethren, to serve the King my Lord for ever. Now

---

\(^1\) Abuca, 'your father,' might be understood in the sense in which it is used every day in the East, where abūc means, 'God curse your father!'

\(^2\) \(\text{N}\) was to the east of Aziru's country near Tunip.
all my Lord's wishes, and what he causes to be despatched, duly . . . . . the King my Lord having despatched. Now eight chiefs who are great, and many (decrees?) we . . . . . all of which . . . . from . . . the King my Lord . . . And the Kings of the Land of Marhasse will follow with . . . . and are these not promised (or leagued) to the city Simyra this thirty years? I turn me to the city Simyra. My Lord I am thy servant for ever, and a King of men who are friends; will not my (agents?) . . . my Lord (wilt not thou hear?) And the King is my Lord my God and my Sun: let him send his messenger with my messenger, and let them go up who serve the King. . . . . . . . . .'  

36 B.—'To the King . . . . thus Aziru: seven times and seven times at . . . . of my God and Sun. Behold truly thou hast known this, O King my Lord; behold I am thy servant for ever; from my Lord's commands I never rebel: my Lord from of old (it has been) thus. I am kind to the men who are servants of my King; but the chiefs of the city Simyra have not kept faith righteously with us; and behold neither one nor all is with us: my Lord the King did not you cause to be asked? The King my Lord has known that the chiefs are sinful; and why ask, "What does he contend for?" I say nay. . . . . . . . .'  

From these letters by Aziru, we must conclude either that he was a great liar, or that he was induced to change sides later. The other correspondents seem to have believed that he had long
deceived the King of Egypt; but, in the end, his invasion of Phœnicia—perhaps cloaked by pretences of hostility to the Hittite league—caused him, as we shall see, to be proclaimed a rebel. The quarrel with Simyra may have been due to his being pushed south, out of his dominions, but is here said to be due to a Phœnician league with his foes. It does not appear who Khatib was. Perhaps the name was Hittite,¹ and he may have been the prince of Hamath or of Emesa. The following letter from Aziru's father, Abdasherah, belongs to a later period of the war, when Ullaza and all the cities north of Gebal had been conquered by the Amorites. It is couched in the same insidious language; and the letters of Ribadda, which follow, show that Amenophis was not open to conviction for a long time, though warned by his true friends. The proclamation is still later, after the attack on Sidon, and may fitly conclude the Amorite correspondence.

97 B.—'To the King my Sun my Lord thus Abdasratu² thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold I am the King's servant, and

¹ *Khat-*ib may mean 'Hittite hero.' The name of the Hittites means probably 'the confederates'; and the sign used on Hittite monuments for the nation seems to be that which represents two allies facing each other.

² Abdasherah, as Dr. Sayce points out, means the servant of the goddess Asherah ('the grove' of the Bible), and this is rendered certain by the sign for deity prefixed in one instance. It has no connection with the name of Ashtoreth.
a dog who is his neighbour (or his "friend")?); and all the land of the Amorites is his. I often said to Pakhanati¹ my Paka (Egyptian resident), "Let him gather soldiers to defend the people of this King." Now all (cursed?) as King, the King of the Phœnician (Kharri) soldiers . . . . . . . . . . Kharri: the King shall ask if I do not guard the city of Simyra (and) the city Ullaza. Lo! my Paka is in her: I proclaim the Sun-King; and I have (given orders?) to obey. The city Simyra is a neighbour;² and all the lands are the King's—my Sun, my Lord; I watch for him: and I know that the King my Lord is very glorious; and Pakhanati my Paka is established to judge therein.'

Copy of a Proclamation against Aziru, sent to Egypt by Khanni, when sent again to Syria.

92 B.—'To the Chief of the Amorite city by letter thus (says) your Lord. A chief of the city of Gebal has said thus in his petition: "Send him away from my gate (he says) he is robbing me and disputes with me in my chief city."³ And I have heard this and much besides which they have said to me as I now speak to say.

¹ An Egyptian name, Pa-Khemt or Pa-Khent, meaning 'very strong' (see B. M. 24, Pakhamnata). It appears from Ribadda's letter that the station of this Paka was Simyra, and apparently the Amorites killed him later on.

² The word Gur is used in these letters as in the Bible, and, like the Arab Jâr, to mean a man of one tribe or race protected by a powerful tribe or person of another country.

³ In each case 'gate' might be rendered 'port,' as both of the cities had famous ports.
'Thou hast sent to the King thy Lord (saying thus), "I am thy servant as all former guardians who have been in this his city." And you do well to say thus. (But) I hear so to say a ruler of ours whose petition (is), "Send him away from my gate (he is) out of his city." And in the city Zituna (Sidon) he abides, and has subjected himself among chiefs who are governors; and, though certainly knowing what is said, thou dost not confess the persecution of these chiefs. If thou art, as is assured, a servant of the King, how is his cutting off lawful in the sight of the King your Lord? Thus this ruler beseeches me, "Let a supplicant be protected, for he is disputing my chief city with me." And if you do as is asserted, and not according to all the messages that I send against these things, you are hindering the King traitorously. So will be understood all that has been said.

'And now a certain Chief hears of a gathering with the Chief of the city of Ciidsa (Kadesh on Orontes, the capital of the southern Hittites); devising hostilities, ready to fight, you have made alliance. And if so, why dost thou so? Why should a chief foregather with a chief save that he is on his side? But if you cause what is assured to be done, and you respect the orders to yourself and to him, I say nothing more as to the

1 The word Khazanu, commonly used in these letters for a ruling class, apparently native, and in communication with the Paka, or 'head man,' who was Egyptian, appears to come from a root which means 'to treasure.' The word Khazanutu appears to mean 'a government.'
messages you formerly made (and) as to what was pretended by you in them. But thou art not on the side of the King thy Lord.'

'Lo! this is the message, that their fortress burns in flames through (your burning?) and thou ragest against everything grievously. But if thou dost service to the King thy Lord, what is it that I will not do interceding with the King? If then thou ragest against everything, I make God my witness; and if you persist, God is my witness, that messages of war (will be) in your midst, and by the might of the King thou diest, and as many as are with thee.

'But do service to the King thy Lord and live. And thou thyself knowest that the King does not deem needful a subjection of the land of Canaan.\(^1\) So he is wroth. And as I sent, truly was commanded me of the King my Lord this year and not . . . . . in another year. My son (this) contumacy in the sight of the King thy Lord is vain.

'And now the King thy Lord is anxious as to thee this year. If it is difficult for thee to come, then send thy son. And thou beholdest a King at whose commands many lands tremble: and dost not thou (fear?): thus truly is ordered this year concerning us; failing to go to the presence of the King thy Lord, send thy son to the King thy Lord as a hostage, and let him not delay at all.

\(^1\) Canaan in these letters, as on the Phœnician coins and in the Bible, is used in its strict sense as a geographical term for the 'lowlands' of Phœncicia and Philistia.
And now the King thy Lord hears, for I send to the King. Thus truly has the King commanded me—Khanni—a second time a messenger of the King. Truly it is to fetch to his hands men who are the foes of his house. Behold now I have been sent, as they are troublous; and moreover thou shalt bind them, and shalt not leave one among them. Now I am desired by the King thy Lord to name the men who are foes of the King in the letter from Khanni the King's messenger; and once more I am obeying the King thy Lord; and thou shalt not leave one among them. A chain of bronze exceeding heavy shall shackle their feet. Behold the men thou shalt fetch to the King thy Lord. Sarru with all his sons; Tuia; Lieia with all his sons: Pisyari with all his sons: the son in law of Mania with all his sons, with his wives, the women of his household: the chief of Pabaha, whose wickedness is abhorred, who made the trumpet to be blown: Dasarti: Paluma: Numah—a fugitive in the land of the Amorites.

And knowest thou not that the glory of the King is as the Sun in heaven; his soldiers and his chariots are many. From the shore lands to the land of

1 Pisyari appears to be a Hittite name, like the Pisiris of an Assyrian inscription (Schrader), being the Mongol bisir, 'rich,' with the indefinite nominative in ֵ, which marks the Hittite as a non-Semitic tongue. The other names are also apparently non-Semitic, and may refer to Hittites.

2 Pabahaa is perhaps the Papaa, conquered by Thothmes III. (Karnak List, No. 296), which was somewhere in North Syria, not far from Tunip. The wickedness of this chief is said to have caused the war.
Gutium,¹ from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, there is much salutation.'

The attack on Sidon was thus apparently the fact which opened the eyes of Amenophis. It appears to have preceded the final success, when the wealthy city of Gebal was taken by Aziru.

¹ Gutium, mentioned in Assyrian texts, was a country on the north-east, near the Caucasus. It has been compared with the word Goim, for 'Gentiles,' in Hebrew. Perhaps Jebel Judi (Ararat) is intended, being Dusratta's country allied to Egypt.
THE WAR IN PHŒNICIA.

Letters from Cities near Gebal.

42 B. M.—‘This letter is the letter of the city Irkata¹ to the King. O our Lord, thus (says) the city of Irkata, and her men her (flock? or lords?). At the feet of the King our Lord seven times seven times they bow. To the King our Lord thus (saith) the city of Irkata. Knowing the heart of the King our Lord we have guarded the city of Irkata for him. . . . . Behold the King our Lord orders Abbikha . . . he speaks to us thus, O King . . . . to guard it. The city of Irkata answers . . . the man ruling for the King. . . . “It is well. Let us save . . . the city of Irkata. It is well to save (a city?) faithful to the King.” . . . . . . Behold many fight . . . the people . . . are frightened. . . . Thirty horses and chariots enter the city of Irkata. Lo! has arrived . . . a letter of the King as to arriving

¹ Probably 'Arkah, a well-known Phœnician city north of Tripoli, but south of Simyra (Gen. x. 17). Aziru killed its king (91 B.).
thy land they reach. The men of the city (belonging) to the King have made to fight with us for the King our Lord. You send your chief to us that he may be our protector. Let the King our Lord hear the message of these his servants, and appoint us provision for his servant, and thou shalt exult over our foes and thou shalt prevail. The message of command of the King thou shalt not deny us. Our destroyer was troubled at the coming of the King's order to us. Mightily he has fought against us, exceeding much.'

128 B.—'To Yankhamu by letter thus (says) Yapaddu. Why is it spoken? Lo! from the city of Simyra a destruction by Aziru of all the lands, in length from the city of Gebal to the city Ugariti; and the destruction of this the city Sigata, and of the city Ambi. Behold ... the slave has (broken?) the ships ... in the city Ambi and in the city Sigata, and in all which dispute for the lands with the city of Simyra: and shall we not arise

1 Yapaddu ('Adonis is beautiful') is often mentioned again. He (see 61 B.) fell into the hands of Aziru, and seems to have been a king of one of the cities near Simyra, apparently Sigata. This letter was probably written about the time of the siege of Tyre, at a late period in the war.

2 Ugariti is mentioned in a letter from Tyre (B. M. 30) in a connection which shows that it was the present Akrith, between Tyre and Accho.

3 Sigata appears to be Shakkah, north of the great pass of Shakkah (Theouprosopon), where the King of Gebal was defeated by Aziru.

4 Ambi is now 'Aba, immediately east of Shakkah.
to enter the city Simyra, or what shall we ourselves do? But send this news to your great city (or palace). It is regretted that the ... is unfortunate.

44 B. M.—This letter seems to be an appeal by the cities of Phoenicia on behalf of Ribadda, the brave King of Gebal, during the time of his resistance to Aziru, which failed because no help was given to him from Egypt, where Aziru was still thought faithful. The spokesman Khaia is perhaps the same Egyptian mentioned in Aziru's letters.

'Thus (saith) our confederacy to the King and the men of Sidon and the men of Beruta (Beirút). Whose are these cities—are not they the King's? Place a chief one chief in the midst of the city, and shall not he judge the ships of the land of the Amorites? and to slay Abdasherah the King shall set him up against them. Does not the King mourn for three cities and the ships of the men of Misi? and you march not to the land of the Amorites, and Abdasherah has gone forth to war; and judge for thine own self, and hear the message of thy faithful servant. Moreover who has fought as a son for the King—is it not Khaia? Will you gather us ships of the men of Misi for the land of the Amorites

1 Simyra was on the low hills above the sea plains, by the river Eleutherus.
2 The last words explain how the letter got to Egypt.
3 These ships of the men of Misi are mentioned by Ribadda as failing in an attempt to assist him. We may perhaps understand Egyptian ships, and compare the Egyptian name Mesti applied to part of the Delta.
and to slay Abdasherah? Lo! there is no message as to them and no memorial: they have shut the road— they have closed the way. In order to give passage to the land of Mitana\(^1\) he has left the fleet which he has built. Was not this a plot against me of the men of Arāda?\(^2\) But if behold they are with you, seize the ships of the men of the city of Arāda which they have made in the land of Egypt. Again behold Khaiya laments... for you do not... and as for us we... by the land of the Amorites.

45 B. M.—A broken letter with passages of interest as follows:

Moreover now this city of Gula\(^3\) is afflicted. The region behold of the city of Gula is for the King my Lord. Cannot you do what we desire? But he has done as his heart (desired) with all the lands of the King. Behold this sin which Aziru... with the King; (he has slain) the King of the Land of Ammiya\(^4\) and (the King of Ar)dada: and the King of the Land of Ni... (has slain?) a Paka

\(^1\) From Dusratta's great Hittite letter (27 B.) it appears that the King of the Minyans, whose country was called Mitani, west of Lake Van, in Armenia, claimed to be King of all the Hittites; and this is what appears to be here intended. In other letters he is mentioned among the invaders.

\(^2\) Arāda, a city mentioned again as assisting Aziru with ships, appears to be Aradus, the Arvad of the Bible, now Er Rūad, the island town north of Simyra.

\(^3\) Gula is perhaps the town of Jāneh, north of Beirūt, on the way to Gebal.

\(^4\) Ammiya is Amyun, north of Gebal, and Ardata is Ardi near the preceding.
the King my Lord . . . . . . . . . and the King knows his faithful servant, and he has despatched a garrison from his city, thirty men and fifty chariots, to the city of Gebal. I have been right. He had turned, O King, his heart from everything that Aziru orders him. For everything that he orders, the messages are unanswered. But every governor of the King he has ordered to be slain. I am forgotten. Behold Aziru has cursed the King my Lord.'

158 B.—The greater part of this letter is too broken to read, but refers to Abdasherah, and appears to be written to Yankhamu. The city of Simyra is mentioned, and the city Arpad,\(^1\) and the palace or fortress of the former, with certain men therein. The soldiers of a city Sekhlali are also noticed, but it is not clear where this place is to be sought.

**Ribadda’s Letters from Gebal.**

47 B.—‘Ribadda\(^2\) of the city of Gebal\(^3\) (Gubla) to his Lord, the King of many lands, the prosperous

\(^1\) Arpad is the city close to Tennib, which is mentioned in the Bible in several passages (2 Kings xvii. 34; xix. 13; Isa. x. 9; Jer. xliv. 23, etc.), now Tell Erfind. It is remarkable that Aleppo is not mentioned in this correspondence, for it is referred to in Egyptian texts.

\(^2\) Ribadda (as the name is spelt in some of the letters in syllables) may mean ‘child of Adonis.’ Compare the Chaldee Ribah for ‘girl,’ in the feminine. That Adda was Adonis seems to be derivable from the name Adoram (2 Sam. xx. 20), otherwise Adoniram (1 Kings iv. 6).

\(^3\) Gebal, now Jubeil, was apparently the chief city of Phœnicia. Its goddess Baalath is mentioned in the famous
King. Baalath of Gebal she hath given power to the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord my Sun seven times seven times I bow. Behold this . . . . . . it will grieve me . . . our city . . . . . . my foes . . . . . . the chief . . . . . watches O King . . . . . . no men of garrison . . . . . were given to the King's chiefs, or preservation by the King against him, and this I (say) is not defended, and the King has not preserved me; and being angry Pakhura has gathered and has despatched men of the land Umuti\(^1\) (Hamath). They have slain a chief servant; and three chiefs (he has bound?) without appeal to the land of Egypt; and he has made gifts seducing the city against me; and woe to the place, she has become ungrateful: the city which was not base in old times is base to us. But the King shall hear the message of his servant and you shall give orders to the chiefs. Do not you . . . this sin they do? . . . . my destruction is before me, and is it not my order that chiefs in the sight of the King should . . . . my destruction. Behold now since I shall gather to . . . . and (perchance I shall repel this?).'

46 B.—The salutation, as in the preceding letter, is peculiar to Ribadda. 'Lo! the King is sending to me Irimaia\(^2\): maybe, he will arrive to gladden inscription of Yehumelec (about 800 B.C.), found in the ruins of Gebal. She is also mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312).

\(^1\) Hamath was half-way from Aziru's country to that of Ribadda.

\(^2\) A name very like Jeremiah.
us from before thee: he has not come before me. The King sends to me the most distinguished of thy great men, the chiefest of the city of the King that thou hast, who shall defend me . . . mighty before my foes . . . . . . Now they will make a government: the city they rule shall be smitten like as (is smitten?) a dog, and none that breathes shall be left behind him, for what they have done to us. I am laid waste (by foes?) by men of blood: thus on account of this slave there was no help from the King for me. (But?) my free men of the lands have fought for me. If the heart of the King is towards the guarding of his city, and of his servant, thou wilt order men to guard, and thou shalt defend the city, thou shalt guard my . . . . made prosperous. . . . .

18 B. M.—The salutation as in the first letter (47 B.). 'Again behold thy faithful city of Gebal. Abdasherah was coming out against me aforetime and I sent to thy father who ordered soldiers of the King (bitati) to speed, and I went up over all his land. No allies marched to Abdasherah. But behold this: Aziru has chosen all the men of blood and has said to them "If the city of Gebal is not . . . . he has come . . . . . . , then Yankhamu is with thee, and . . . . if I am not obedient to his wishes. Thou art deceived . . . Abdasherah has marched without stopping to . . . but he has watched the city of the King his Lord obediently. So now as to Paia . . . . and is it not heard from the messages of Kha . . . .
their father, as he desires . . . . This Khaib gave to the city Simyra. Lo! I lament that the King is not able to do this (for) the Paka (general) when behold it has been asked. And Bikhura has not marched from the city Cumidi (Kamid). I have been friends with all the men of thy Government . . . . Lo whereas I was upright to the King . . . . and he makes no sign (to me ?) Despatch soldiers: thou shalt march with every . . . . . Five thousand men and three thousand . . . . . fifty chariots, a thousand . . . . the bitati soldiers, and cause (them) to take captive . . . . the land.'

13 B. M.—The usual salutation, as given in the first letter. 'Does the King know? Behold Aziru has fought my chiefs, and has taken twelve of my chiefs, and has insisted on receiving at our expense fifty talents; and the chiefs whom I despatched to the city Simyra he has caused to be seized in the city. Both the city Beruta (Beirut) and the city Ziduna (Sidon) are sending ships to the city Simyra. All who are in the land of the Amorites have gathered themselves. I am to be attacked; and behold this: Yapaaddu has fought for me with Aziru, but afterwards behold he was entangled in the midst of the enemy when my ships were taken. And the King sees as to his city and his servant, and I need men to save the rebellion of this land if you will not come up to save from the hands of my enemies (or destroyers). Send me back a message, and know the deed that they have done. Now as they send to thee concerning the city Simyra he now marches. But (give?) me
soldiers for . . . . and these shall deliver her . . . . they have tried but . . . . . now.'

61 B.—The usual salutation precedes, here much broken. 'Does the King my Lord know? Lo! we know, that he has fought mightily. Lo! they tell of us in thy presence what the city Simyra has done to the King. Know O King boldly marching they have contrived to seize her—the sons of Abdasherah, and (there is) none who lives to carry the message to the King. But counsel now thy faithful servant. I say also the whole of the fortress they have destroyed . . . I sent to the King . . . of advice as to the city Simyra. As a bird in the midst of the net she has remained. The siege of the usurpers is exceeding strong, and the messenger who from . . . .'

The letter is much broken. It refers to Yapaaddu and to his own faithfulness to the Pakas ('chiefs') of the King. He also appears to refer to the King destroying the Amorites, and goes on:

'The ruins perchance he will assign to his servant; and he has been constant and is upright against this thing—to subdue all the King's (provinces?). He has lost all the cities which . . . . this has befallen to . . . . and from the destruction . . . . against me none who . . . . them. The two or three that have held fast are turning round. But he hears his faithful servant's message, and a servant who has been constant in all labour, and his handmaid the city of Gebal (is) the only one that holds fast for me. The evils of this deed are equally thine, but I am broken in pieces. Henceforth Aziru is the
foe of Yapaaddu. They have marched; and (there is) news that they have been cruel in their ravages against me. They rest not: they desire the evil of all that are with me. So they have waxed strong, powerful against me (a servant) faithful to the King from of old . . . . Moreover behold I am a faithful servant: this evil is wrought me: behold this message: lo! I am the dust of the King's feet. Behold thy father did not wring did not smite the lands of his rulers (Khazani) and the Gods established him—the Sun God, the God . . . . and Baalath of Gebal. But the sons of Abdasherah have destroyed from . . . . us the throne of thy father's house, and . . . . to take the King's lands for themselves. They have joined the King of the land of Mitana, and the King of the land of Cast² and the King of the land of the Hittites . . . . the King will order soldiers (pitati). Yankhamu with the . . . . of my poor land . . . . . . The Paka of the city Cumidi . . . . . . and they have marched . . . . Gebal . . . . . . . to a faithful servant.'

83 B.—A much broken fragment, referring to the taking of Simyra, appears to belong to this period.

¹ Mitana, the later Matiene. Dusratta, its king, claimed to rule the Hittites. The Amorites joined this league.

² The region called Cast in the inscription of Usurtasen I. (Brugsch, Hist., i., p. 139) was in Upper Egypt, and the Cush of the Bible is apparently intended—a very vague term for the southern deserts from the Euphrates to Nubia. There were, however, Cushites also in Babylonia. In the present case the Cassites who lived on the Euphrates, east of the Hittites, and who were Mongols, are probably intended.
43 B.—'Ribadda speaks to the King of many lands. At the feet (of my Lord) seven times and seven times I bow (a servant) for ever. Lo! the city of Gebal is his place—the Sun God revered by many lands. Lo! I am the footstool at the feet of the King my Lord, I am also his faithful servant. Now as to the city Simyra the sword of these fellows\(^1\) has risen very strong against her and against me. And so now the destruction of the city of Simyra is at her gates. She has bowed down before them and they have conquered her power.

'To what purpose have they sent here to Ribadda a letter (saying) thus "Peace to the palace from its brethren before Simyra." Me! they have fought against me for five years, and thus they have sent to my Lord. As for me not (to be forgotten is?) Yapahaddu not to be forgotten is Zimridi.\(^2\) All the fortresses they have ruined . . . . . there was no cause of strife with the city of Simyra. . . . . ' (The next passage is much damaged.) 'And as said to what purpose have they sent a letter to Ribadda? In the sight of the King my Lord they have feigned to please me, they have pretended to please me, and

---

\(^1\) Literally 'boys.' It seems often in these letters to be used as the word weled, 'a boy,' is still used in Syria to mean 'a fellow,' applied often to very old men.

\(^2\) This letter shows that the war lasted several years, over which the Gebal letters (written by three or four different scribes) extend; that the attack on Sidon preceded the taking of Gebal; and that Ribadda was not deceived by Amorite promises, knowing their co-operation with their Mongol allies of Armenia and the Hittite country.
now they proclaim peace. Truly thus behold it is with me. Let me learn the intention of my Lord, and will not he order Yankhamu with the Paka, Yankhamu joined beside the King my Lord, to lay waste? From before the chiefs of the Hittite chief men have fled and all the chiefs are afraid thereat. May it please my Lord also shall not he be (degraded?) who was thy commander of the horse with thy servant, to move the chiefs when we two went forth to the wars of the King my Lord, to occupy my cities which I name before my Lord. Know my Lord when they went forth with the ally he has left your soldiers fighting hard, and all have been slain.'

52 B.—The ordinary salutation. The letter is much damaged. It states that the land of Mitana had formerly fought against the King's enemies; that the sons of the dog Abdasherah destroy the cities and the corn, and attack the governors, and had demanded fifty talents. It appears that Yankhamu has arrived, and has known the chief whom the King had established. Apparently a written letter has been sent 'to the Amorite land for them to swallow.' He continues: 'Behold I am a faithful servant of the King, and there was none was like me a servant, before this man lied to the King of the Land of Egypt. But they have mastered the lands of our home.' They have slain Egyptians, he continues, and have done something (the verb is lost) to the temples of the Gods of Gebal; they have carried off a chief and shed his blood. He finally mentions his son Khamu.
25 B. M.—A short letter with the usual salutation. He requests soldiers to guard the lands for the rulers, which have been torn in pieces. The King sends no messages about himself to the writer or to Yankhamu. The governor's men have gathered to fight (for the Khar or Phœnicians?).

42 B.—Begins with the usual salutation given in the first letter. 'Having just heard the chiefs from the presence of the King it is fit that I send back a messenger (or message). Behold O Sun descending from heaven, the Sons of Abdasherah are wasting (shamefully?) as among them there is not one of the horses of the King or chariots, and the chiefs have devised evil—a rebellious race. And a chief is here with us of the Amorite country, with a written message from the allies which is with me. They have demanded what is shameful. Hereby is spoken a friendly message in the presence of the King—the Sun God. As for me I am thy faithful servant, and the news which is known, and which I hear, I send to the King my Lord. (What are they but dogs trembling?) in the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) of the King—the Sun God. I sent to your father and he . . . . "to my servant . . . . soldiers" . . . they have not marched . . . . Abdasherah . . . . the chiefs of this government . . . . their faces against him. So now they have joined . . . . But the Misi men (Egyptians) . . . . have brought us, with speed, corn. . . . . So now not without favour . . . . I have become a great man behold: strong and powerful in their sight we have been made.
But mighty and rebellious to the King is this power. (His land does not intend to help the land?) Behold I am despatching two men to the city of Simyra, and all the men of its chief have gathered in order to consult as to messages to the King, who will know why you hear from us your chiefs. Good is the letter they have brought us, and the letter which the messengers of the King have uttered to us.\(^1\) Through the pretensions of this dog the King's heart has been grieved with men, and . . . . has been unrighteously set up, devising in their hearts . . . . . . . and . . . . . (your chief?) I go against the men of blood from the city Simyra . . . . to keep . . . . . and whatsoever I have been commanded. And let the King . . . . the news of his servant. I have despatched ten chiefs of the Land of Nubia\(^2\) twenty chiefs of the land of Egypt as a guard to the King. Sun God and Lord thy servant is faithful to thee.'

73 B.—'To the King . . . . thus says Ribadda thy servant, the footstool of the feet of the Sun God my Lord. Seven times and seven times at his feet I bow. Grievous it is to say what, in the sight of the King, he has done—the dog Abdasherah. Behold what has befallen the lands of the King on account of him; and he cried peace to the land, and now behold what has befallen the city of Simyra—a station of my Lord, a fortress . . . . and they spoil

\(^1\) The letter in question may have been the proclamation against Aziru given above.

\(^2\) Milukha, or Meroe, in Assyrian inscriptions means, according to Dr. Brugsch, Nubia.
our fortress . . . . and the cries of the place . . . .
. . . . a violent man and a dog.'

The next passage is too broken to read, but refers to the city of Gebal. The letter continues:

'Will not the King order his Paka to pronounce judgment? and let him guard the chief city of my Lord, and order me as I (say), and let my Lord the Sun set free the lands, and truly my lord shall order the wicked men all of them to go out. I present my memorial in the sight of my Lord, but this dog has not taken any of thy Gods. Prosperity has fled which abode in Gebal, which city of Gebal was as a city very friendly to the King. It is grievous. Behold I have associated Abdabaal the prefect with Ben Khia (or Ben Tobia) a man of (war ?); but despatch thou him to thy servant. . . . . .'  

57 B.—The salutation as usual mentions Baalath of Gebal. 'Why shall the King my Lord send to me? The best indeed trembles, of those who watch for him against my foes, and of my freemen. What shall defend me if the King will not defend his servant? . . . . if the King will order for us chiefs of the Land of Egypt, and of the Land of Nubia, and horses, by the hand of this my chief as I hope, and preservation for the servants of the King my Lord. If none at all . . . to me . . . to march horses . . . . my land is miserable. By my soul's life! if the King cared at heart for the life of his servant, and of his chief city, he would have sent a garrison, and they had guarded thy city and thy servant. That the King shall know . . .
of our lands; and Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) shall be ordered; and to save all that live in his land, therefore it is spoken as a message to the king (with thy messengers?) As to the . . . . of this dispute of Khaia with the city of Simyra, that they should send us without delay 13 talents (or pieces of gold): I gave the proclamation. The men of blood are named in the letter to the city of Simyra. It avails not. Ask Khaia as to the letter of our previous dispute with the city of Simyra—to satisfy the King, and to give security to the King, they are sending again, and . . . . . . .

24 B. M.—This is broken at the top.

'And King my Lord, soldiers are moving to the city of Gebal, and behold the city Durubli has sent forth soldiers to war to the city Simyra. If the heart of the King my Lord is towards the city of Durubli my Lord will also order many soldiers, thirty chariots and an hundred chief men of your land; and you will halt at the city Durubli, my Lord's city. If the lands are to be defended, the King will order the departure of Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) to the city of Gebal, and (I doubt not?) you will march to us. And I . . . . . . to slay him, and . . . . behold the King my Lord

---

1 This perhaps refers to Khanni's proclamation already given, and to the Khai who had been sent at an earlier period to Aziru. The rebels are named in the proclamation of the later embassy, which we thus see to have had no effect. An envoy without a military force behind him usually fails.

2 Durubli is probably the city which the Greeks called Tripoli, the largest town between Simyra and Gebal. There is a village called Turbul, on the north-east of Tripoli (*Trablus*).
... faithful; and they have warred with the men Kau Paur¹ (Egyptian magnates) of the King. Lo! they have slain Biari the Paur (magnate) of the King, and he has given gifts to my ... and they are helping. And none are servants of the King. And evil in our eyes behold is this. I am spoiled, and I fear lest ... no wish of the faithful chief be granted to him. Lo! you will make my kindred to be afflicted. The King shall arm the land ... thy soldiers great and small, all of them; and Pakhamnata² did not listen to me and they do a deed that ... and thou shalt tell him this, that he shall set free the city of Simyra; and (the King) will listen to the message of his servant, and shall (send) Egyptian soldiers. Behold he will say to the King that the Egyptian soldiers have no corn or food to eat, all the enemies have cut off from the midst of the cities of the King my Lord the food and the corn ... and (I) have raised soldiers gathering (in) the city of Gebal ... there is not ... you shall send to us ... and to march to it, and I have stopped ... and not one of the lands of the Canaanites helps Yankhamu, though he is for the King.'

¹ Kau Pa-ur, Egyptian words in the plural. Kau signifies 'men,' and Pa-ur (as in the letter from Jerusalem, B. 103) means 'very important.'

² Probably the Pakhanata (97 B.) who was the Paka, or chief, of whom Abdasherah speaks in the letter about the town of Ullaza, near Gebal. He seems to have been the resident in Simyra (B. 80).
58 B.—This is a large and important tablet, but much broken; it begins with a short salutation, and then says at once, 'I am laid low.' It refers to the loss of the city Abur, and mentions the names of Aziru and Abdasherah, and says there is no garrison. The enemy are marching on to the capital. He says: 'I sent to the palace (or capital of Egypt) for soldiers and you gave me no soldiers.' 'They have burned the city Abur, and have made an end in the sight of Khamu my son.' 'The man of sin Aziru has marched... he has remained in the midst... I have despatched my son to the palace more than three months (ago) who has not appeared before the King. Thus (says) my chief of the city of Takhida—they are reaching him: of what use are the fortifications to the men left therein?' 'The chief who came out of the lands of Egypt to inform, whom you announced us on account of Aziru formerly, I shall send to the King. You will not have heard this message as to the city Abur. The dogs are wasting, as is said, do you not mark the news? If the King had thought of his servant, and had given me soldiers... The next passages are much damaged, but refer to the same general subject of complaint. The next intelligible sentence is: 'The people have been enraged expecting that

1 Abur is perhaps Beit-Abura, in the valley north of the great pass Theouprosopon, between Gebal and Tripoli. The enemy had not as yet forced the pass.

2 The second sign is doubtful, and the place does not suggest identification (see 60 B.).
the King my Lord would give me for my chief city corn for the food of the people of the strongholds.'

He then protests his good faith, and says finally: 'And my sons are servants of the King, and our expectation is from the King. . . . The city is perishing, my Lord has pronounced our death . . . . .'

77 B.—After a short salutation: 'Let the King hear the news of his faithful servant. It is ill with me: mightily fighting, the sons of Abdasherah have subdued all the land of the city of Simyra, and they have wrecked the city Irkata (Arkah) for its ruler. And now they are coming out of the city of Simyra, and it is ill for the ruler (who is) in face of the foes who come out.' The tablet is here broken, but refers to Gebal, and to the rulers Zimridi and Yapaaddu. The writer hopes for the arrival of troops. 'Egyptian soldiers; and the Sun King will protect me. Friendly men have been (shut up?) in the midst of his land. Moreover the King my Lord shall hear the message of his servant, and deliver the garrison of Simyra and of Irkata: for all the garrison have . . . . out of the city Simyra and . . . . Sun God Lord of the lands will order for me also twenty (companies?—tapal) of horse, and, as I trust, to the city of Simyra (to defend her) you will speed (a division?) instructing the garrisons to be strong and zealous, and to encourage the chiefs in the midst of the city. If also you grant us no Egyptian soldiers no city in the plains will be zealous for thee. But the chain of the Egyptian soldiers has quitted
all the lands — they have disappeared to the King.¹

14 B. M.— 'Ribadda speaks to his Lord the King of many lands the Great King. Baalath of Gebal has given power to the King my Lord: at the feet of my Lord, my Sun, seven times seven times I bow. Why wilt not thou utter for us a message to me? And (now) know the demand which my chief is despatched to make in presence of the King my Lord; and his division of horse has marched, but the man has delayed marching—its chief—as the letters to the King were not given to the hand of my chief . . . . as to what has been said . . . . of your land, is it not needful that the allies of the Paka should march to the men of blood; have not all the lands been grieved? It will be necessary for the allies, but they come not being slow. Moreover I sent for men of garrison and for horses, but you care not for us (even) to return us a message for me. And I am destroyed by Abdasherah like Yapaaddu and Zimridi—and they are fugitives. Moreover the revolt of the city of Simyra and of the city Saarti² continues against him. We remain under the hand of Yan-khamu; and he gives us corn for my eating. We two guard the King's city for him, and he collects for

¹ This agrees with the Jerusalem letters, as showing that the troops had been withdrawn to Egypt. Amenophis sent commissioners and summoned native levies, but does not appear to have been able to send Egyptian forces.

² The name Saarti perhaps survives in that of the Sha'arah district of Lebanon, immediately south of Simyra, and near Yapaaddu's town of Sigata (Shakkah).
the King, and orders my chief, appointing chiefs to assist for me, fulfilling the decree which thou hast thyself appointed. We have trusted in the King. And two chiefs of the city have been despatched to be sent, having come down bound from the camp of Yankhamu. Moreover, as to this assistance to Yankhamu, Ribadda is in your hands, and all that is done for him (is) before you: it is not for me to punish thy soldiers. My superior is over me. And I will send to him if you do not speak about this, or he gives up the city, or I depart. Moreover, if you do not utter for us a message for me, both the city will be surrendered, and I shall go away with the men who support me. And learn that our corn also is failing, and Milcuru has measured the corn—measure of Baalath\(^1\) \ldots \ldots very much \ldots .\)

89 B.—This is much broken. After the usual salutation he says that Abdasherah has fought strongly, and has seized cities belonging to Gebal; that news has reached the city as to what has befallen the city Ammia (Amyun) from the men of blood. A certain Berber\(^2\) chief is mentioned. He speaks of 'two months,' apparently as the limit of time in which he expects to be aided by the bitati, or Egyptian soldiers. Abdasherah is marching on Gebal.

79 B.—Also broken. With the usual salutation, speaks of a great fight with the men of blood, who made an end of men, women, and soldiers of his

---

\(^1\) In Assyria we find the 'measure of Istar.'

\(^2\) The Berbers are mentioned in Egyptian texts as inhabitants of Upper Egypt.
poor country. He sent men, and they were beaten. The city of Irkata (Arkah) is mentioned, and the King of the Hittites, who is making war on all the lands. The King of Mitani will be king of the weak (or false) land of the writer's people. He concludes by calling Abdasherah a dog.

44 B.—After the usual salutation, this letter appears perhaps to refer to the coming of Irimaia. 'Lo the King shall send the choicest of thy chiefs—a son of Memphis (Nupi) to guard the city.' The text is then much broken, referring to the palace and to cavalry, and to guarding the city for the king. He will fulfil the wishes of the Pakas, and is a faithful servant, as they would testify. The lands are to be made quiet again. 'I say as to myself, lo! my heart is not at all changed as to my intention to serve the King my lord. Now pronounce this judgment O Lord of justice. Cause all to be told that whoever crosses over from his own place the King my Lord will . . . . . My Lord shall decide that this evil shall not go on. Who shall say anything against it? Now return a letter, and all my possessions that are with Yapaddu (he will make equally safe?) in the sight of the King.'

72 B.—'To Khaia¹ the Pa . . . . (an Egyptian title) thus says Ribadda. I bow at thy feet. The God Amen and the God Sa . . .² have given you power in the presence of the King. Behold thou art a man

¹ Khaia, now in Egypt, had no doubt already become known to Ribadda as an envoy.
² A God Sausbe is mentioned in Dusratta's Hittite letter.
of good . . . . the King knows, and through your zeal the King sends you for a Paka. Why is it asked and you will not speak to the King? that he should order for us Egyptian soldiers to go up to the place—the city Simyra. Who is Abdasherah?—a slave, a dog, and shall the King's land be smitten by him? Who set him up? And mighty with men of blood is the strength of his power. But send reinforcements: fifty tapal (companies?) of horse and two hundred foot soldiers; and both shall go forth from the city Sigata¹ (Shakkah). Know his intentions. Until the (bitati) Egyptian soldiers are sent he will not be mastered, (nor) any of the men of blood, and the city of Sigata and the city of Ambi² are both taken, and thus . . . .

17 B. M.—'Ribadda speaks to . . . (Amenophis IV.??³) the King of many Lands: at the feet of . . . my Sun God. And I repeat as to . . . . (the expedition?) against the city of Kappa⁴ . . . . . and against the city Amma . . . cities faithful to the King my Lord. Who is this Abdasherah?—a slave, a dog, and shall he . . . . in the midst in the lands of my Lord? . . . the King

¹ Sigata (Shakkah) was just outside the great pass between Batrun and Tripoli.
² Ambi ('Aba) was close to the last.
³ Only . . . rari is left, which Dr. Bezold thinks refers to Amenophis IV.; but it is doubtful if this letter can be placed so late.
⁴ Kappa is Keffa. The plain of Keffa is close to Amyun, north of the great pass of Theouprosopon (Shakkah). Amyun follows at once.
my Lord has asked as to his servant, and ... I send my messenger. Lo ... my cities, and with the letter ... my messages. And now behold he is marching to the city Batruna¹ and he will cut it off from my rule. They have seized the city of Kalbi²—the great pass of the city of Gebal. Truly the confederates are pushing on secretly from the great pass, and they have not made an end—mightily contumacious. For they have promised to take the city of Gebal... And let the King my Lord hear ... this day ... they have hastened chariots and ... I trust and ... and the fate of the city of Gebal ... by them, and all the lands ... as far as the land of Egypt have been filled with men of blood. My Lord has sent no news as to this decree as I hoped by letter. And we desire that the city be saved, and the villages of the city, from him, for my inhabiting. I have been hard pushed. Help speedily O King my Lord ... soldiers and chariots, and you will strengthen the chief city of the King my Lord. Behold the city of Gebal: there is not, as is said, of chief cities (like) the city Gebal a chief city with the King my Lord from of old. The messenger of the King of the city of Acca³ (Accho) honour thou with

¹ Batruna is the well-known town Batrûn, the Botrys of classical writers, which lies south of the wild pass of Râs Shakkah, where apparently one of the battles of the war occurred (22 B. M.). When the pass was taken, Batrûn seems still to have held out with Gebal, being no doubt provisioned by sea.

² Kalbi is Kelbata, in the heart of the great pass. I visited all these places in 1881.

³ In this case the modern name Akka is nearer to the spelling
(my) messenger. And we have given cavalry at his pleasure... and a division of horse... because of pleasing him.\(^1\)...

60 B.—After salutation: 'The King my Lord shall know: behold Benmabenat\(^2\) son of Abdasherah strives for the city Gatza.\(^3\) They have subdued the city of Ardata, the city Yahlia, the city Ambi, the city Sigata,\(^4\) all the cities are theirs; and the King shall order the cutting off of the city Simyra, so that the King may rule his land. Who is this Abdasherah?—a slave, a dog. O King it is thy land, and they have joined the King of the land of Mitani. But come to us to the King's land to... before the cities of your rulers are destroyed; and lo! this has been said... thy Paka, and not... his cities to them. Now they have taken the city of these letters than is the Hebrew. This is the case with Shiloh and other important towns, showing the Canaanite extraction of the modern peasantry in Palestine. The Hebrews hardly ever renamed towns, and the nomenclature preserves the ancient Canaanite forms found in the lists of Thothmes III. a century earlier than these letters. Many towns were named from Canaanite and Philistine Gods (Shamash, Dagon, etc.), and the forms of the names in the Karnak lists are Aramaic, and not Hebrew.

\(^1\) Patzil I understand to be equivalent to the Arabic Fadl, meaning to do pleasure or honour to a person.

\(^2\) The Amorite chief had more than one son, as is clear in some cases. Benmabenat (or Bumabuat) was Aziru's brother.

\(^3\) Perhaps the name survives in that of the river Kadisha, near Tripoli.

\(^4\) Ardata (Ardi), Ambi ('Aba), and Sigata (Shakkah) were north of the pass: Yahlia, representing Pal, rather farther north than the others.
of Ullaza\textsuperscript{1} for it is as has been said, until you shall
march to this city of Simyra. And they have slain
for us the Paka and the Egyptian (bitati) soldiers
who (were) in the city of Simyra ... they have
done to us, and shall not I go up ... to the city
of Simyra? The cities Ambi, Sigata, Ullaza, (Caphar ?)
Yazu\textsuperscript{2} have fought for me. Their destruction for us
by them, will be pleaded against the city of Simyra,
these cities ... and the sons of Abdasherah ... .
.... . Alas! and the city of Gebal demands of
the men of blood as to the city Tikhedi.\textsuperscript{3} I marched; 
but there befell an entering-in to spoil by the men
of blood.'

23 B. M.—The usual salutation is absent, and it
seems to be written to an official: 'To . . . . . . .
as a letter thus Ribadda. I bow at thy feet. Baalath
of Gebal the God of the King my Lord may (she?)
strengthen thy power in the presence of the King
thy lord—the Sun of the lands. You know behold
that a (covenant ?) has been engraved. But why
was it sent? And lo! this thou shalt announce: I
am left in fear that an end will be made of all.
Thou shalt make the whole known. Behold it was
sent to me. "Do not wait to go forth to the city
Simyra till I come." Behold you know, the wars are
exceeding mighty against me, but he comes not. I
did march and lo! the city of Ambi ('Aba) has been

\textsuperscript{1} Ullaza (Kefr Khullis) was close to Batrûn, on the south.
\textsuperscript{2} Caphar Yazu, or Alu-yazu, seems to be Kefr Yashit, near
the others.
\textsuperscript{3} Perhaps Takheda of another letter (58 B.).
burned by me. You know that the chief and the principal men of this city have gathered with Abdasherah, and behold I did not march further. Behold you know all that has been; and on this account ... having asked my question of my prophet¹ behold I feared accordingly. Hear me speak—favourably as I trust (as to) coming; and you know that they strive with our country, who behold are men of good will. Because ... your favour is strong .... do not you urge .... a message to this city, and out of its midst she sends to ...'

86 B.—A much-broken letter, supposed to be from Ribadda, mentions Batruna and Ambi.² Towards the end it reads continuously: 'The King of the land of the Hittites behold is... to the sons of Abdasherah, for he hastens to despatch soldiers of the royal.... and the neighbouring places have joined: the lands of the King my Lord are made a desert, which the dogs bring to nought: they have mourned. If Neboyapiza fears the King my Lord will he not march on them, if the King my Lord will speak to the great man of the chief city—to the

¹ See letter 71 B. The sign has the meaning 'oracle,' 'prophet.' No doubt Ribadda had his diviners, like the Kings of Assyria in later times.

² 53 B. is another short letter, much injured, which mentions Batrûn; and in this a town called Sina is apparently noticed, which, if the broken tablet can be so read, would be Kefr Zina. In 54 B. a city Zina occurs, but seems to be a clerical error for Sidon. The land of Mitana is also mentioned in 53 B.
great man of the chief city of Cumidi\(^1\) (Kamid) . . . .
to march to join . . . . to me . . . . . . . .

41 B.—Begins with the usual salutation from Ribadda. ‘Behold I am a faithful servant of the Sun King, and I confess that my messages have been sad for the King, as you own. The King my Lord shall hear the messages of his faithful servant, and Buri is sending out in the direction of the city Simyra, and Hadar . . . . has marched against you, and they have beaten us, and they have brought us low. (These foes?) are destroying in my sight, and I was ready (to go out?) with the Paka to keep watch in the presence of the chiefs of the governments. And my Lord shall hear the news. Now Aziru the son of Abdasherah is marching with his brethren from\(^2\) the city Gebal: and despatch Egyptian soldiers (bitati), and thou shalt march against him and smite him—the land is the King's land; and since one has talked thus and you have not moved, the city of Simyra has been lost. The King my Lord shall hear the news of his faithful servant. There is no money to buy me horses, all is finished, we have been spoiled. Give me thirty (companies—*tapal?*) of horse with chariots . . . . . men . . . . there is none of this with me . . . . . not a horse . . . . . . . . ‘

---

\(^1\) Neboyapiza had his own difficulties, as appears from his letters (96 B., 142 B., 43 B. M.).

\(^2\) Zimridi of Sidon is mentioned as a fugitive, while Gebal still held out. Aziru marched from (*ina*) Gebal, no doubt, to attack the south. In later ages the shore cities often held out while invaders from the north marched on Egypt.
22 B. M.—'To Amanabba\(^1\) ... as a letter, thus says this Ribadda thy servant. I bow at my Lord's feet. The God Amen and Baalath of Gebal have established your power in the presence of the King my Lord. To what purpose is thy messenger with me to go to the King your Lord? And may I indeed expect horses and chariots to be ordered of thee? Will not you fortify the city? And this is heard by your message, and I am sincere, but the covenant is mocked and no soldiers are heard of with it. And they have routed the ... The city of Batruna (Batrân) is his; and bloody soldiers and chariots have established themselves in the midst of the city, and I had lain in wait for them outside the great pass of the city of Gebal\(^2\) ....... to the King my Lord ....... with thee the soldiers of the prefect ......... chariots and ....... here with .........'

45 B.—Begins with the usual salutation, and continues: 'The King my Lord will be sad. Why will

---

\(^1\) Amanabba was not really his father; it is a title of courtesy. His father was Rabzabi (81 B., 82 B.), and Amanappa is an Egyptian name. A certain captain Amenemhib has left an account of his services in North Syria, at Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh, and at \(Ni\), where he hunted elephants; but this is supposed to have been a century earlier. The site of \(Ni\) is settled by these letters and by the Karnak lists as being in Mesopotamia, and there is a picture of an elephant among the Asiatic spoils of Thothmes III. It is very curious to find elephants so far west in Asia at this period.

\(^2\) Probably 'outside' means north of the pass, and Ribadda made the serious military mistake of defending his pass from outside instead of inside.
you not send him to me? Behold I have no ruler over my fugitives. The city of Simyra they have (shut up?); all have turned on me: and two chiefs of the land of Egypt, who travelled from the palace, went not forth. No man has travelled to the King who might carry my letter to the palace. Now these two chiefs brought us letters for the King, and the two have not gone forth, as being now afraid, and (refusing?) to my face . . . . . . I send to the palace (or capital), and Azru (Aziru?) is laying snares, gathering soldiers: has not Abdasherah marched with whatever he had? As I am told they will send friendly messages to my Lord, but thou wilt say "Why do ye send friendly messages to me when you refuse my message?"¹

¹ This would seem to have been about the time of the proclamation against Aziru, or rather earlier.

² Sapi is probably the famous fortress Safita, north-west of Simyra.
us remain with me, and have not gone out, since no soldiers are (intended for?) me, and . . . the lands for the men of blood. And since the King's heart altogether has forgotten my Egyptian soldiers (bitati) I send to Yankhamu and to Biri. They have taken those that were with the governors. Lo! may the land of the Amorites become (their) conquest. The corn which they have threshed for me has been stored up, a part of the whole with my . . . and one part with me; and . . . . . . . we . . . all whatever breathes; (it is not right to shut them up?) for the King; he is not coming to him: the chief must help himself to what was ordered to be stored up for the King. The King shall order a memorial as to the innocence of his servant. And as to the produce of the city O King there is none at all with me; all is finished from being distributed for (my own subsistence?). But as to this chief, the King will order him as I trust, and will give us men of garrison for . . . to guard his faithful servant and his chief city, and the men of Nubia who are with us, as those who are your foes (exult?). Moreover behold (much to say?) . . . . . . . Thinking this, I shall send to the palace for a garrison—men of Nubia . . . The King will . . . men of garrison . . . of the land of Nubia for its guarding, you will not . . . this city to the men of blood.'

51 B.—The ordinary salutation: the letter goes on in an eloquent strain: 'The storm (or a tumult) has burst forth. Let the King behold the city of Simyra.
Lo! the city of Simyra has remained as a bird caught in the snare: so her . . . . is left to the city of Simyra. The sons of Abdasherah by their devices, and the men of the city of Arāda (Arvad) by their hostility have made her wroth, and a fleet has sped . . . . in the sight of Yankhamu . . . . men of the city . . . . they have seized, and . . . . Lo! the men of the city Arvad searched for the coming forth of the Egyptian soldiers (bitati); Abdasherah is with them, has he not marched? and their ships are set against the reinforcements from the Land of Egypt. So now there is no navigation. Let them make haste. Now they have seized the city Ullaza (Kefr Khullis) and all whatsoever Abdasherah has . . . . to the chiefs. And lo! we . . . . and the ships of the men of Misi (the Delta?)¹ have been broken, with whatsoever was theirs. And as for me they went not up to fight for the mastery of the city of Simyra. Yapaaaddu has fought on my side, against whosoever was not faithful (or constant). They have trodden me down . . . So now in sight of Zabandi² and of Ibikhaza also, I have (joined?) myself to Yankhamu; and you will know their (good opinion?) of my faithfulness: as to what he thinks of my zeal make him confess, so he will (make it known?). He has fought for me and lo! they are wasting the city Ullaza (to make an end thereof?).

¹ The reinforcements were expected by sea, no doubt in the ships of the Misi, or Delta men, the soldiers being Nubians from near Tell Amarna, which was 180 miles south of Memphis.
² Or Zabanba. Perhaps this is the Subandi who writes letters from an unknown town.
The back of this long letter is unfortunately quite destroyed. The final sentences are on the edge, the tablet being of considerable thickness:

'I have desired peace (like ?) a faithful servant of the King. The men of Egypt, expelled from this city of our neighbour, are with me; and there is no ... for them to eat. Yapaaddu has not granted my servants this ... this poor country; but we have been swift to help the city Simyra. ... they have gone up to fight the ships (of the city) of Arāda (Arvad) ... (it was grievous ?) ... Rīb ... .'

55 E.—A much-broken letter appears to refer to a message from the King being seized, and that three hundred men poured out and burned a city. It speaks of a Paka and of Egyptian soldiers, and of the city Beruti (Beirūt) and of Abdasherah's forces.

16 B. M.—'To the King my Lord thus says Ribadda thy servant, the dust of thy feet. I bow seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord. And will not my Lord hear the message of thy servant? Men of the city of Gebal, and my family; and a wife whom I loved, they have taken away after the son of Abdasherah; and we have made a gathering; we have searched; and I cannot hear a word spoken about them. I am sending to the King my Lord, and once more, despatch thou men of garrison, men of war, for thy servant; and will you not defend the city of the King my Lord? But news has not arrived from the King my Lord for his servant. But he will be generous'; he will remember
me; and the advice (I speak) comes from my heart. The region near (us) Ammumira\(^1\) has traversed throughout, and I went to him, for he gave assistance. And I myself searched for my family, but it has been made to vanish from my sight; and the King my Lord shall counsel his servant. Lo! the ally is zealous; and he has decreed a gathering of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord; and the King my Lord will counsel his servant. If there is no wish to be kind on the part of the King my Lord, I myself am helpless; and the King has no servants. Moreover, my son and my wife have been subjected to a man who sins against the King.'\(^2\)

15 B. M.—'To Amanabba my father, thus Ribadda thy son. I bow at my father's feet. Baalath of the city Gebal strengthens your favour in the sight of the King your Lord. Why has it been asked, and no complaint (is made) to the King? and you hesitate about the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*), and you are brought low before the land of the Amorites. If you had heard of us (that) the Egyptian soldiers (are) strong, and that they have deserted their towns, and gone away, you know not the land of the Amorites. Behold they have taken these places from us, and I am ill at ease. Behold now do not they support Abdasherah? behold they have deceived us about them, and you promise us, day and night to send

\(^1\) King of Beirût (B. M. 26, 27).

\(^2\) This translation is confirmed by the independent letter of Ribadda's friend Ammumira (B. M. 26).
the Egyptian soldiers, and we are made sad about it, and all the chiefs of the Government. Thou shalt promise us to do this thing to Abdasherah: lo! he sends to the chiefs of the city of Ammiya (Amyûn) to slay him who was established as Lord, and they submitted to the men of blood. So now thou shalt say for us—the Chiefs of the Government; so now they are doing to us, and thou shalt announce to him (that) all the lands are for men of blood, and speak thou this message in the presence of the King thy Lord. Lo! a father and a lord this thou art to me; and as for thee my face I bend, you know, to my master: behold what is done in the city of Simyra, lo! I am . . . with thee. But complain to the King thy Lord, and you will send . . . to me as I trust.'

29 B. M.—'Ribadda sends to his Lord the Great King, the King of many lands to the prosperous king. Baalath of Gebal has confirmed the power of the King my Lord. At the feet of my Lord the Sun seven times seven times he bows him. A petition has been made long ago, made for the city of Gebal, to despatch Bikuru (to the) chiefs of the Land of Egada\(^1\) . . . . served me, which . . . . I . . . three

\(^1\) Egada is no doubt the land of Ikatai mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312); it there occurs with Aleppo and the country of the Hittites. In the letter of the Hittite prince of Rezeph (north of Palmyra) we hear of his country as Egait (B. 10). Rezeph was not far south of Tiphsah on the Euphrates, and south-east of Aleppo. Bikuru is, how-
of the chiefs . . . . they strove . . . . the Land of Egypt . . . and . . . . then the King my Lord . . . . a sin against . . . .

'If the King my Lord supports his faithful servant; and despatch thou . . . this her chief (speedily?); and we two watch the city for the King. The King shall send the choicest of thy great men, from among those who guard him. The three chiefs whom Bikhuru strove to despatch, but who have fled, (are) Abdirama, Iddinaddu, Abdmelec, these are sons of Abdasherah;¹ and they have taken the King's land for themselves. He shall send the bitati. . . .

21 B. M.—'To Amanabba . . . (by letter) thus (says) this Ribadda thy servant. I bow (at my Lord's feet). The god Amen . . . . of thy Lord, builds up thy favour (with) the King thy Lord. Hear . . . . (they have fought) mightily, and over the Egyptian soldiers are victorious, and . . . . . to the Land of the Amorites.' The letter becomes too broken to read consecutively, but refers to the Land of Mitana, and apparently to a defeat of Yankhamu. He asks for corn, and speaks of having nothing to eat, in con-

---

ever, mentioned (18 B. M.) in connection with the town of Cumidi.

¹ I misread this name at first. The Amorite chief seems to have had five sons, including Aziru and (p. 68) Benmabinat (or Bumabula).
nection with the city of Gebal; and refers to three years of (dearth?), and to the corn failing.

19 B. M.—After the usual salutation to the King, this letter reads: 'The King my Lord will say that the choicest of thy great men, and the choicest of thy city that thou hast are among those who guard us. My great men and (those of?) the city, were formerly men of garrison with me; and the King asked of us corn for them to eat, from my poor country. But now behold Aziru is destroying me, and I repeat there (are) no oxen, nor . . . for me; Aziru has taken all. And there is no corn for my eating. And the chiefs—the Pakas—also have been nourished by the cities, exhausting the corn for their eating. Again: (being faithful), the King shall establish for me, as men of government, the men of government of their own cities, the men who at first were with their subjects. But as for me my cities are Aziru's, and they long for me, to whom destruction is made by him, who is a dog of the sons of Abdasherah, and either you shall do for us as they wish, or you shall give orders for us to the King's cities in these matters.

48 B.—This begins with the usual salutation, and then continues: 'If perchance I send a message to the King my Lord, do not thou refuse the request of my memorial. Lo! thrice has come upon me a year of storms (or tumults), and again a year of storms begins. My wheat is nought; the wheat for us to eat: that which was for sowing for my free-men is finished; their beasts, their herbs, the trees
of their gardens, are wretched, in my unhappy land. Our corn has failed. Once more the King will hear the message of his faithful servant, and will order wheat in ships, and his servant shall live; and be thou moved and send us corn. The chiefs (will send?) horses, as commanded, to Zu . . . . And thou shalt defend the city (by so doing?) . . . . behold Yankhamu says (or asks) . . . . . . that wheat be given to Ribadda . . . . to him . . . . . corn (the bread of men?) . . . . . . and now with Yapaaddu . . . . their money henceforth . . . . . . ask him, he will tell all in your presence. Mayest thou know when it is spoken in the presence of the King my Lord. And this year of storms makes the wheat scarce (in) my unhappy land . . . there was scarcity before in the city Simyra, and now behold in the city Gebal.'

The text is here too broken to be read. It seems, perhaps, to refer to the enemy having possession of the sea, and to the entreaties of Yankhamu, and to certain waters, and the general wretchedness. A paragraph then begins:1

'The King of the Land Taratzi2 has coveted the city of Simyra; and they desired to march to the

1 The paragraphs are marked off in many of the letters by the word sacunu, 'pause.'

2 Taratzi may perhaps be Tarsus. Baal Tarzi is the legend on Phoenician coins of that city. Its king naturally would have a common border with Abdasherah on the north, if his fortresses (or land) were outside the northern Lebanon, which was the Amorite country, and he was therefore regarded as a possible ally.
city of Gebal; and none now has urged him, and he has stayed in his land. Now as he is strong he will send to the great . . . . by my wish . . . . . they have returned to us.' The letter is again much broken; it refers to a ruler, saying: 'His heart is with my heart; but Abdasherah has conquered beyond the land of the Amorites, also since the time of your father the city of Sidon has submitted to the occupation by his allies: the lands are for the men of blood, so now there is none who is a friend (or kin) to me. Let the King regard the message of his servant. Let him give men to guard his city. Is not she insulted by all the men of blood?'

The latter part, referring to allies, is much broken.

54 B.—This is broken at the top, and considerably injured. It demands soldiers, and the restoration of the rulers. 'The city of (Sidon?), and the city of Beirût, the sons of Abdasherah have silenced: they fought for the King, but the city of Sidon and the city of Beirût are not the King's. We sent a Paka: he did not desert his duty to you, but she has rebelled to your face: for it was permitted by the freemen. The men of blood have seized the city.¹ Behold as for me this is my repetition . . . . . . city Atsar . . . . restraint . . . .' 

¹ Comparing the letters from Beirût and Sidon (27 B. M., 90 B.) it will be seen that the city whose freemen were on the side of Aziru was Sidon.
49 B.—This letter is much damaged; it begins with the usual salutation, and continues: 'Lo! he makes the chiefs of (Ukri?) to dwell in fear of making an end. Lo! the King asked from his rulers as to my brethren. O King, is it not right to approach them, when the King shall ask? and we have set our faces fast towards thy servants. I desire this, to strengthen my neighbour . . . the city of (Ukri?). Their ruler will go out then from my presence. They have interfered with my sister (town), and the waters of my brother's growing corn. I am despatching to the city Ukri . . . from the presence of Abdasherah . . . . . . The King . . . all the lands . . . if as to my brethren . . . the King will ask . . . a neighbour . . . I shall send to the King this . . . Blame us not for his weakness (or affliction), and in time past we have ruled over him, and if you will ask as to my brethren, and shall be grieved, this city (has) no (government that the King should ask after it?) Do not we know this day (what) he did to all? and trust me, if the King will not ask of the rulers. Lo! if he ceases oppression as an enemy I am well pleased. Behold the land of the city of Ukri: there are no lands (or towns) of rulers . . . his . . . spoiled the land for us.' The next passage about servants, governors, and the Paka is too broken to read. The letter concludes by asking

1 If Ukri be the right reading, the town of 'Akkar in Lebanon, east of Tripoli, would be probable. It gives its name to the district of Jebel 'Akkár, and is at the source of the river 'Akkár, which agrees with the mention of the 'waters.'
support, and asks excuse on account of the enemy's success.

75 B.—The usual salutation is here damaged, and the middle of the text. 'Behold since the arrival of Amanappa in my presence all the men of blood have set their faces to me; they have fulfilled the wishes of Abdasherah; and my Lord shall hear the messages of his servant; and . . . men of garrison, for the defence of the royal city. Send the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) . . . as there are no Egyptian soldiers it befalls thee, that the lands . . . to the men of blood; since the seizing of the city Maar . . . ¹ at the command of Abdasherah; and so our limits are the city of Gebal and the city of Batruna;² but so not all the lands are to the men of blood—two chief cities which are (still) to be wrecked for (us). And they have turned back³ to take from us . . . . She has remained peaceful to the King, and my Lord shall order men of garrison for his two cities, till the Egyptian soldiers march forth. But everything fails me, of the food of the land (our teeth have gnawed nothing at all ?). As the heart of a bird fails, seeing the snare, this city has remained.

¹ Maar(ah) is probably the Mearah of the Bible (Josh. xiii. 4), now el Mogheiriyeh, six miles north-east of Sidon. This conquest may have just preceded the fall of Sidon.
² Gebal and Batrun are ten miles apart. Ribadda's kingdom had extended at least twenty miles along the coast; and if Beirút and Tripoli were not independent, his land would have reached much further—to Simyra and Sidon.
³ This letter shows very clearly that the taking of Sidon preceded the fall of Byblos (Gebal).
She is helpless before them . . . lamenting. Once more . . . . they have shut up my . . . . it has come to pass . . . the lands . . . Abdasherah, the slave dog . . . the lands of the King to himself.'

84 B.—Is much broken; all the cities are taken except Gebal and Batrûna, which remain like birds in the snare. But he still ' trusts.'

12 B. M.—'Ribadda speaks to the King of Lands, of many lands, the great King the prosperous King. The Lady (Baalath) of Gebal gives power to the King my Lord. I bow at my Lord's feet—the Sun God—seven times seven times. Let the King know! behold! the city Gebal his handmaid, faithful to the King, has gathered because of the allies who are his foes. And I am ill at ease: behold the King lets slip from his hand the chief city that is faithful to him. Let the King smite the lands of those who rob him. Lo! is not he a faithful servant, her chief who abides in the city of Gebal? Do not you say so to your servant, when there is a mighty fighting against him of men of blood, and the Gods of the land are (evilly disposed?), and our sons have been worn out, and our daughters have fled, and there is weakness in my unhappy land. For our living, my fields gave sustenance, which no . . . secured. For as many as I possess, all my cities which are in flames, also the foe has overthrown: they submitted to the bloody soldiers. The city of Gebal with two cities, remains to me; and I am ill at ease because Abdasherah is
marching. The city of Sigata (is) his; and he is saying to the chiefs of the city of Ammia (Amyun), “They have slain your chief and you have done like us, and you have rebelled, and you obeyed his order, and they will punish you as men of blood.” And I am ill at ease. Lo! now Abdasherah sends for soldiers. I have remained alone—they will be rejoiced at it, and there is ruin before the city of Gebal, if there is no great man to gain me safety from his hands. And the chiefs of the government are expelled from the midst of the lands; and you relinquish all the lands to the men of blood, squandering the wealth of all the lands; and they have torn away sons and daughters nobly born; and (this) while the King is pondering about it, and all the lands have fought for him. And from what they have done to us, behold now thou wilt become naked to their destructions. And so now I am exceedingly afraid. Behold now there is no great man who wins me salvation from their hands. As birds that are in the midst of the snares this place has remained. I myself am in the city of Gebal. Why is there this overthrow of thy land? Now I send (complaint?) to the palace (or great city) and you will not hear us. Now this (is) my message. Amanabba is with thee, ask him: he has fled,¹ and he will show the evils that are against me. Let the

¹ From 75 B. it seems that Amanabba had been sent to Gebal (probably in consequence of the former letters from Ribadda), but it seems he fled again.
King hear his servant's message; and he shall establish his servant's life, and his servant shall live, and shall defend the . . . with him.'

The remainder of the letter is broken. It asks for advice and information, and for consideration of the memorial. Ribadda's letters increase in pathetic eloquence as the great catastrophe approaches.

56 B.—A much-broken letter. They are advancing to take Gebal. Money has been given to a certain chief who has turned against Ribadda.

62 B.—A mere fragment. The enemy are advancing on Gebal with the intention of taking it.

63 B.—This also is much broken. It refers to Yapaaddu, to the King's Paka receiving orders, and to the rulers, and contains the statement, 'They have cut off two of my ships, with my sons (or men) and all that was mine.'

80 B.—Begins with the usual salutation, and continues: 'Does the King my Lord know? Behold the city of Gebal has gathered, she has gathered those faithful to the King, and very mighty was the battle of the men of blood against me, and there is no rest through the city of Simyra. (Defeat has not befallen?) the men of blood, through the King's Paka (chief), whom they cast out from the city of Simyra. The chief city is troubled. Now Pakha(mnata), the King's Paka, who (was) in the city of Simyra, has sent a message—he has failed. Sixty minas (mana\(^1\))

---

1 In later times the small mina of Palestine was £8 6s. 8d., and the large was £16 13s. 4d. (see Conder's 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 81). This represents, therefore, at least £500 or
it is that they are asking the city of Gebal, from my unhappy land. The battle was waged very mightily against us, and the King is not defended by his fortress.

81 B.—'To Rabzabi... thus Ribadda thy son.' The letter is much broken. He refers to money, and asks him to complain to the King. He says he is afraid that the freemen are not (faithful?) to the King's governor, if the broken portion may be so understood.

82 B.—'To Ribadda my son thus by letter (says) King Rabzabi thy father. May our Gods prosper thee, prosper thy fortress. Let him ask to know. The sons of our Lord have spoken accordingly. They have spoken of the strife of the chiefs of the city of Simyra. (He has vanquished my fears?) of being made to perish by the city of Simyra, of our perishing by these chiefs; and lo! they have allotted decrees, they are creating a memorial. Have I not been bent upon the decrees? and decrees of the King have followed. And unless they have destroyed everything, the King makes sure to show

perhaps £1,000; but in this early age the value of money was probably higher.

1 Ribadda has said (63 B.) that his sons fell into the power of the enemy when in ships. He also sends a list of property to Egypt (85 B.). Probably when these ships were sent his father went to Egypt, whence he wrote (82 B.), and a copy was sent to the King. There is one other letter in the collection, which was written from Egypt, by Amenophis III. to the King of Babylon (B. M. 1), which seems to be a copy, unless in both cases the letters were not sent. (See Appendix.)
them their master. For the King is imposing decrees. The decrees of the King are saying: "Why do ye make a waste land to those who are servants of the King? I shall despatch men. I shall send a garrison for the chief city." I am sending the King's . . . to you . . . soldiers . . . in . . . . A gathering they are making of all.'

In spite of his father's zealous assistance in Egypt, this favourable intention came too late.

76 B.—'From Riibiddi as a letter to the King my Lord: beneath the feet of my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold my Lord's message from this (remnant?): from the lands of the despised, and from the chief city of fugitives, they have wandered. To go for us, accordingly I have ordered my ships to go out from shore (or wall). Lo! Aziru has fought with me. And all the chiefs of the government gathered, hardening their hearts. I have gathered to us their ships; and as they go to us in haste their abodes are deserted, which are subject (to) this Amorite race; and they have been suddenly destroyed. I am chosen chief of the chiefs of the government. To me accordingly they have subjected everything; and they have removed—on account of the success of the chiefs of my enemies—the silver from the palaces, and all else, on account of his destructions. But the King shall order soldiers for them, and now I shall send to my Lord for soldiers; and soldiers of garrison do not thou . . . .'
The letter is much broken here. It refers to the son of Abdasherah, and to the chief city of the Giblites, to his messenger, and to there being no news of soldiers coming. 'You will not (even) glance at us . . . . and despatch him. The lean soldiers are growling. "When (is) the King to feed this city? and he thinks evil of her." Speed your chief to . . . . her. Why is he not ordered from the palace, being said that soldiers (are to be) sent? They have destroyed us, and they ravage the lands . . . I cause to be sent repeatedly; a message is not returned us for me. They have seized all the lands of the King my Lord; and my Lord has said that they are to repent. But now behold the soldiers of the land of the Hittites have trampled down our papyrus.¹ The chief city of Gebal (has) no food. But counsel the city . . . and accordingly I will listen. O King! for the Misi (Delta) men—all of them, you ordered of me presents of the royal gold, because of the sons of Abdasherah; and when you ordered me they were subjecting the sons of Abdasherah to the King; and so now it is lawful.'

85 B.—This is a list of various articles with a broken name, apparently (Rib)adda's, at the top, including perhaps either presents, or his own property sent to Egypt. The tablet is much injured. It appears to mention precious stones and articles of gold, and includes male and female slaves. Yazimi, 'the servant of God,' with Abdaddu, is mentioned near the end.

¹ Gebal was celebrated for its papyrus. It grew in the river Adonis, close to the city. The enemy were now closing in.
HE WAR IN PHŒNICIA

71 B.—'Ribadda . . . to the King my Lord . . .
at the feet . . . seven times and seven times¹ . . .
I send and I repeat (the message), and you listen
not thereto . . The King my Lord shall hear the
message, and it explains to the Paur (magnate)
. . . to the Lords of the Palace, because in vain the
soldiers of garrison have hasted to him. And you
will remember my . . . Lo! it is not granted to
my sons to take root for me, as the prophets have
perceived of old; and the race of the foes (will)
remain. I being asked am going to those who are
free, to Khamu my son, and to my younger brother,
who have both left the city of Gebal. There was
good fortune for the sons of Abdasherah, as to the
subjugation of the capital city; behold my brother
has commanded, he went out as my envoy. It is
no use: the soldiers of the garrison failed with him;
and they have defeated me; and so the evil is done;
and they make me flee from the city: it is not de-
fended from the power of the enemy. Now I say
do not prevent a descent to the Lands of Egypt,
and a settlement. And you will help me very much.
My great men consent; and the King my Lord will
consider. Lo! the Gods of Gebal (be with him)
and you will help me very much; and "It is well"
they have said: good are my wishes to the Gods.
So now I shall not come down to the presence of
the King my Lord. But now my son, a servant of
the King my Lord, I am sending to the presence of

¹ The salutations in the last letters are very curt as compared
with the earlier ones.
the King my Lord, and the King shall hear the desire of his faithful servant, and appoint us Egyptian soldiers (bitati). And request (has been made) to the King of Babeli (Babylon,¹ an ally of Egypt); but he... no soldiers of his host..... in her midst. . . . Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord.... to come to her. Behold the entanglement of the chiefs friendly to my (throne?) in the midst of the city. A son of one of the chiefs is a friend in her midst. The Egyptian soldiers are strong; and they have heard of those who are reaching her; and the city has remained to the King my Lord; and the King my Lord knows that it is against him that they have (cried war?). Now I am going to a town (that) I defend for my Lord, determined in heart, before the King my Lord, that the chief city shall not be given to the sons of Abdasherah. So my brother has fought him: the city is stubborn against the sons of Abdasherah. He is not able to leave the town,² when there is plenty of silver and gold in her midst in the Temple of the Gods, plenty of everything if they take her. O King my Lord what is done to his servant by them is done. But appoint the town of Buruzizi³ for my

1 The King of Babylon refused to help the Canaanites in the reign of Amenophis III. (See Appendix.)
2 The younger brother was not the one left in charge.
3 Buruzizi is probably Beit Ziza, east of Batrûn, in the range which runs out to the great pass of Ras Shakkah. Batrûn was perhaps still holding out, and the town was a refuge high up in the wild mountains. Buru means 'well,' and Beit 'house' of Ziza.
dwelling. Lo! Khamu my son (sets forth?) the request in the presence. Behold! this dwelling of the chief city—the town of Buruzizi—the sons of Abdasherah have been afraid to smite. Lo! Khamu my son is going to the presence: for the sons of Abdasherah have pricked against me, and none remains to mourn, O King, for me. And I mourn to the King my Lord. Behold the city of Gebal is a city truly like our eye: there is plenty of all that is royal in her midst: the servants of the chief city were at peace, the chiefs were our well-wishers before time when the King’s voice was for all. It is the chief city of the land they have wasted for me—and is none of his. Will not this desire prevail with the King? Behold thy servant, my son, I am despatching to the presence of the King my Lord; and there shall be ordered him protection of the King by soldiers... you will come marching to us. For the King my Lord will protect me. And restore thou me to the chief city, and to my house as of old. O King my Lord... of the King my Lord in her midst; and... the city from (shame?)... as... Khamu... till... shall hear... their servant... to her midst... the soldiers (bitati) of the King my Lord; and you will strengthen the soldiers of this place speedily... the chief city, as I trust; and you will march to the city... Lo! what he is saying in the presence of the King cannot it be done? O King my Lord... the chief city of a neighbour (Gur); and which has been laid low to
the demands of those that hate the same . . . . it is not just to see what is done to the lands . . . . the soldiers of the King my Lord; and she trusts the King my Lord.'

This seems to be the last of Ribadda's fifty letters. There is no mention of any return to Gebal, or of victory over the Amorites. We do not know that he got safe to Buruzizi, but can only hope he did. It was too late when his father obtained promise of aid. So energetic a writer would probably have written again if he had been alive to do so. The Amorite letters had blinded the eyes of Amenophis so long that their position was secured. As we shall see also, there were other appeals from every part of the country.

Subandi's Letters.

If Subandi be the Zabandi of Ribadda's letter (51 B.), the following also belong to the Phoenician-Amorite war.

38 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from heaven, thus says Subandi thy servant, the captain of thy horse: at the feet of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, seven times and seven times is made to bow both the heart and also the body. I hear all the messages of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, and now I shall guard the land of the King that is with me, and . . . I hear . . . exceeding much.'
39 B. M. is an almost identical letter from the same writer.

40 B. M.—The salutation by Subandi is the same. The letter is broken. He speaks of a message from the King, and of fighting. He speaks of assisting the King's servant and the fortresses, and mentions the arrival of the King as expected, and the Kau Mas. These latter words are evidently Egyptian, Kau meaning 'men' and Masa 'infantry.'

116 B.—The same salutation. It is a short letter acknowledging the receipt of a letter, and ends by speaking of men of blood, and that the 'King knows about his cities.'

117 B.—The same salutation: 'The King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, has sent Khanni to me.' It is injured, but seems to refer to 'an hundred oxen and thirty women. For the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, has instructed.'

118 B.—A similar salutation. He will defend the King's land. '(Ask?) the great man if we have not listened to the King's Paka: now he has been listened to exceeding much—the Paka of the King my Lord, Son of the Sun from heaven.' (But see Note on this letter.)

120 B.—A short letter from Subandi, merely saying that he has received the King's message.¹

¹ As regards the final outcome of these wars in the north we obtain light from the letters of Dusratta, King of Mitani (see Part VII.). He was a younger man than Amenophis III., and his sister married the said King of Egypt. His daughter Tadukhipa married Amenophis IV., and there were friendly rela-
tions with Egypt in the latter as well as in the former reign. In his Hittite letter (27 B.) Dusratta speaks of the boundaries of a region which seems to have been conceded to him as his daughter's wedding-gift. He calls himself 'Great Chief of the Hittites,' and the border was to run to Harran, Chalcis (south of Aleppo), and the 'Phoenician West.' Thus Dusratta, who says in another letter (apparently his first) that he has conquered the Hittites, would seem to have swallowed up the Hittite King of Mer'ash and part, if not the whole, of Aziru's country; and the Mongol populations were thus to be ruled from Armenia, which was much nearer than Egypt. What became of the King of Kadesh these letters do not say; but he was independent in later times, when Seti I. went up 'to conquer the city of Kadesh in the land of the Amorites' (Brugsch, Hist., ii., p. 15), and Kadesh was taken by Rameses II., the successor of Seti I., after which a commercial treaty was made with Kheta Sar, the King of Kadesh, whose daughter Rameses II. married. There was thus, perhaps, Hittite blood in the veins of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. In the treaty papyrus (see Chabas' 'Voyage,' p. 336) it is mentioned that the same terms—of equality—had existed in the time of the writer's father and grandfather that were claimed of Rameses II., and that war had occurred later. This seems to show that Kadesh was independent shortly after the time of the rebellion detailed in the Tell Amarna letters. The relations with the Hittites were still friendly in the reign of Rameses III., when the Aryan hordes from Asia Minor overran the Hittite country, and came down even to Egypt. In David's time, the border between his kingdom and those of the Hittites and Phoenicians was drawn from Hermon to Danjaan, south of Tyre (2 Sam. xxiv. 6), and Solomon married Hittite princesses. The Hittite independence was only finally destroyed about 700 B.C. by the Assyrians.
V.

NORTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Beirût.

26 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my Sun my God, to the King my Lord by letter thus Ammunira, chief of the city of Burutu, thy servant, the dust of thy feet: at the feet of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the King my Lord—seven and seven times I bow. I hear the messages of . . . of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the ruler of my life, and they have drawn the heart of thy servant, and the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my Sun and my God—the King my Lord—exceeding much. Sufficient is the order of the King my Lord my Sun my God, for his servant and the dust of his feet. Behold the King my Lord my Sun has sent to his servant, and the dust of his feet, "Speed to the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) of the King thy Lord." I listen exceeding much, and now I have sped, with my horses, and with my chariots, and with all who march with the servant of the King my Lord, to meet the Egyptian soldiers of
the King my Lord. And art not thou confident of the event? The breast of the enemies of the King my Lord my Sun my God shall be troubled. And shall not the eyes of thy servant behold this, through the mastery of the King my Lord; and the King my Lord my Sun my God, the King my Lord, shall see. Thou increasest the favours of thy servant. Now as to the servant of the King my Lord, and the footstool of his feet, now let him fortify the city of the King my Lord my Sun—the ruler of my life, and her gardens (that is to say the mulberries\(^1\)), till the eyes behold the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord, and . . . . the servant of the King I proclaim’ (or predict).

27 B. M.—‘To the King . . . . my Lord thus says Ammunira thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven times I bow. I hear the message of the letter, and what is thereby commanded to me O King my Lord. And I hear (the precept?) of the message of the scribe of my Lord, and my heart is eager, and my eyes are enlightened exceedingly. Now I have watched much, and have caused the city of Burutu to be fortified for the King my Lord, until the coming of the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) of the King my Lord. As to the chief of the city of Gebal who is in trouble together with me, now they defend him till there shall be counsel of the King to his servant. The King my Lord is shown the grief of

\(^1\) The mulberry is still found in large gardens at Beirūt and throughout the Lebanon. Since Justinian’s time it has been the food of silkworms.
one's brother which troubles us both. From the
city of Gebal, lo! the sons of Ribaadda who is in
trouble with me, are subjected to chiefs who are
sinners to the King, who (are) from the land of the
Amorites. Now I have caused them to haste with
my horses and with my chariots and with all who
are with me, to meet the soldiers (bitati) of the King
my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven
and seven times I bow.'

Ammunira was Ribadda's friend (see 16 B. M.),
and his letter agrees with Ribadda's: clearly, there-
fore, the seizure of Ribadda's sons comes historically
before the loss of Beirút, Mearah, and Sidon (54 B.,
75 B.).

Letter from Sidon.

90 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun
—the King my Lord¹—by letter thus Zimridi, the
Governor of the city of Sidon (Ziduna): at the feet
of the King my Lord my God my Sun—the King
my Lord—seven times and seven times I bow. Does
not the King my Lord know? Lo! the city of
Sidon has gathered. I am gathering, O King my
Lord, all who are faithful to my hands (power). And
lo! I hear the message of the King my Lord.
Behold, he causes it to be sent to his servant, and
my heart rejoices, and my head is raised, and my

¹ This repetition may perhaps be regarded as only a phonetic
explanation of the preceding ideograms; but perhaps the words
were added to show with certainty that by the terms God and
Sun he meant the King of Egypt.
eyes are enlightened; my ears hear the message of the King my Lord; and know O King I have proclaimed in presence of the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) of the King my Lord, I have proclaimed all, as the King my Lord has spoken; and know O King my Lord lo! mighty has been the battle against me: all . . . . who are faithful to the King in . . . . . . . it has come to pass, and the chiefs . . . . sons, and are faithful to the King . . . . and her chief who goes out in the presence of the King’s Egyptian soldiers (bitati). The greatest of the fortresses deserts to the enemies: which has gone well for the men of blood, and they are gaining them from my hands, and my destruction is before me. O King my Lord as said the chiefs who are my foes have done.’

From the letters of the King of Tyre which follow (99 B. and 28-31 B. M.) we see that Zimridi was a weak ruler. His own letter agrees with one from Ribadda (54 B.) as showing that Sidon fell by treachery, not by war.

Letters from Tyre.

These appear to begin early, before the appearance of Aziru, and show that the rivalry of Tyre and Sidon was of early origin. None of the letters mention Tyre except those written by her king.

99 B.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) Abimelec1 thy servant: seven and seven

1 The name Abimelech at Tyre is interesting. It occurs as the name of a Phœnician king in the time of Assurbanipal (885-860 B.C.). The chief deity of Tyre was Moloch, or
(times) at the feet of the King my Lord (I bow). The King my Lord sends (to ask) if I have finished what is doing with me. I present to the King my Lord an hundred ornaments (or 'crowns,' perhaps 'shekels'—tacilal); and let the King my Lord give his countenance to his servant, and let him give the city Huzu\(^1\) to his servant—a fountain to supply water for his drinking; let the King my Lord grant (a chief a subject?)\(^2\) to guard his town; and let me plead, and let the face of the King my Lord regard my explanation before the King my Lord. As said behold let the King my Lord confide in me to defend his city. Lo! the King of the city of Sidon is taking the people who are my subjects—a chief who is my inferior (or foe). Let the King give his countenance to his servant, and let him order his Paka (chief), and let him give the city of Huzu for waters to his servant, to take trees for our use for the dwellings. Lo! he has made war: nothing is left. In vain have they threshed corn if the King of Sidon despoils the King's land. The King of the city of Khazura (Hazor)\(^3\) is leaving his

Melkarth; and the name means 'my father is Moloch,' claiming a divine descent. The son of Gideon and certain Philistine kings are so named in the Bible.

\(^1\) Huzu is probably the modern el Ghaziye, near Sidon. It is at the foot of the hills, and there is a stream (Nahr ez Zahranáy, 'flowery river') four miles to the south, which accounts for the notice of the waters. It seems clearly to have been in the direction of Sidon.

\(^2\) Belu amil neru, literally 'a lord, a chief man of the yoke (or government).'

\(^3\) See the letters from Hazor after those from Tyre. This
city, and goes out with men of blood. Let the King show their borders to the hostile (or inferior) chiefs. The King's land is vexed by men of blood. Let the King send his Paka (chief) who is in our land.'

29 B. M.—'To the King my Lord, my God, my Sun thus (says) Abimelec thy servant: seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I (am) the dust beneath the shoes of the King my Lord my master—the Sun God who comes forth in presence of the world from day to day, as the manifestation of the Sun God his gracious father: who gives life by his good word, and gives light to what is obscure: who frees all lands from dissendions by just rule of a free country; who gives this his compassion from heaven, like the God Adonis, and. causes all lands to rest through his mercy. This is the message of a servant to his Lord. Lo! I hear the gracious messenger of the King who reaches his servant, and the good utterance which comes from the hands of the King my Lord for his servant; and the utterance it makes clear, since the arrival of the messenger of the King my Lord. Does not he make it clear?—the utterance is clear. The lands of my fathers behold it records. Lo! the utterance of the King comes to me, and I rejoice exceedingly and (my heart has risen?) from day to day because the land is not . . . . . Behold

petty monarch was an enemy to the southern possessions of the King of Tyre.
I heard the gracious messenger from my Lord, and all my land has been afraid as to my Lord's countenance. Lo! I heard the good utterance; and the gracious messenger who reaches me, behold he said, O King my Lord, that the region (is) to be established by the presence of many soldiers; and the servant says for his Lord that my plain is my land over against my highlands, over against the plain of my cities. He has borne the order of the King my Lord listening to the King his Lord, and has served him (in his integrity?), and the Sun God he has proclaimed before him; and he makes clear the good utterance from the hands of his Lord, and does he not listen to the order of his Lord? The portion of his town his Lord has divided. His word none shall overthrow in all the lands for ever. Behold (this is) the duty that he heard from his Lord. His city will rest, will rest from overthrowing his utterance for all time. Thou art the Sun God whom he has proclaimed before him; and the decision which shall set at rest is lasting for one. And because she judges that the King my Lord is just our land obeys—the land that I am given. This Abimelec says to the Sun God. My Lord I am given what appears before the King my Lord. And now the city Zarbitu\(^1\) is to be guarded by the city of Tyre (Tsuru) for the King my Lord.' (See Note for this page.)

\(^1\) The site of Zarbitu is probably the Sarepta, or Zarephah, of the Bible (1 Kings xvii. 9, etc.), which is now Sarafand, half-way between Tyre and Sidon. The decision was therefore just;
31 B. M.—' To the King the Sun . . . thus says Abimelec . . . . seven times and seven times at the feet . . . . I am the dust from . . . below . . . and the King the Sun forever . . . . The King spoke to his servant (and) to his servant my comrade: he has granted that extension be given, and as to waters for (his servant's) drinking. And they did not as the King my Lord has said; and we arrive at no fulfilment. And let the King counsel his servant my comrade. He has granted that the waters be given, because of the abundance there to drink. My Lord the King, behold, there is no one to tend my trees, no one (to tend) my waters, no one to make . . . . Let the King my Lord know.' The next lines are much broken, and the letter then continues: ' . . . . As the King has said. And let the King assign to his servant and to the city of Tyre (Tsuru) the city that my comrade has given, and what the order lays down on the side of the King for his servant, which the King made an order (less than a year ago?). The King is the eternal Sun God, and to his faithful servant the King my Lord shall . . . . for guardians of the town that my comrade has granted. My requests as to this town. . . . . Moreover my Lord . . . soldiers against me . . . to my desire . . . . King. . . . . Lo! his but though apparently satisfied, Abimelec did not get what he asked in the preceding letter—if that demand was really the earlier one. There is a fine fountain ('Ain el Kantarah, 'spring of the arch') to the north of Sarepta, and the region generally is well watered. The town was famous in the Byzantine age for wine.
heart is evil . . . . King my Lord; and he turns away from my wish; and O King my Lord (thou knowest the hearts of all those in the land?), and let the King give his countenance to his servant; and to the city of Tyre the town that my comrade has granted (is) to be given . . . . waters for (irrigation?). Moreover my Lord. . . . Let the King ask his Paka. Lo! the chief of the city of Zar(ēpta) has followed the city of Simyra (with) a ship. I am marching, and the chief of the city of Sidon marches out; and as for me he has marched with all . . . . and let the King counsel his servant. . . . '  

30 B. M.—Abimelech begins with his ordinary salutation. 'Thus far I defend the King's city which he confides to my hands very much. My intention (has been) to walk in sight of the face of the King my Lord, and not to take by force from the hands of Zimridi of the city of Sidon. Lo! I hear me that he will strive, and has made war with me. Let the King my Lord send down to me . . . chiefs for guards of the city of the King my Lord; and let me strive (or plead) for the dwellings of the King my Lord, with those who deceive his gracious countenance. I set my face to (encourage?) the region of those who are peaceful with the King my Lord; and let the King my Lord ask his Paka (chief). Lo! I set my face (or, confirm my intention) for ever, O King my Lord. Now a messenger I am despatching to . . . . of the King my Lord, and
... the King my Lord the messenger ... his letter ... and may it be the means of ... the King my Lord ... (that) he sets his face ... for ever to ... the face of the King my Lord. His servant will not let slip ... from (his) hands ... Let the King my Lord give his countenance ... and (he) shall ... waters for the drawing ... and woods for his servant. ... Know O King my Lord behold they are plucking the fruit that we left. There are no waters and no woods for us. Now Elisaru the messenger to the presence of the King my Lord has hasted, and I have made bold to present five precious things of copper, this agate, one throne of gold. The King my Lord sends to me (saying) "Send to me all you hear from the land of Canaan" (Cina'ana.) The King of Danuna¹ has been destroyed, and his brother is ruling after him, and his land has broken out, and they have seized the King of the town of Hugarit,² and mighty is the slaughter that follows him. He is strong, and none are saved from him, nor any from the chiefs of the army of the land of the Hittites. The proud Edagama³ of the city Ciidzi (Kadesh on Orontes,

¹ Danuna is probably the Danjaan of the Bible, now the ruin Dāniān, four miles north of Achzib, and on the border between Tyre and Accho (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 6).
² Hugarit is probably 'Akrith, eight miles east of Danjaan. It has been mentioned as taken by Aziru, in Yapaaddu's letter (128 B.). Perhaps the attack was from the east; and the King of Hazor seems to have joined the Hittites (see 99 B.).
³ Edagama has been mentioned as Aidugama in Akizzi's letter from Katna, which was east of Neboyapiza's city Cumidi (Kamid). See B. M. 37.
the capital of the Southern Hittites, now Kades) and Aziru have fought—they have fought with Neboyaža they have come to the regions of Zimridī. Lo! he gathers ships of soldiers against me from the fortresses of Aziru. And lo! they have grievously opposed my Lord’s subjects, and all will break out. Let the King give countenance to his servant, and let him leap forth to go out a conqueror’ (or ‘to the region’).

28 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my Sun my God thus (says) Abimelech thy servant; seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I am the dust beneath the feet. Consider me O King my Lord. The King my Lord (is) like the Sun; like the air god (or Adonis) in heaven art thou. Let the King advise his servant: the King my Lord confides in me. I watch the city of Tyre the handmaid of the King. And I send a hasty letter to the King my Lord, and no order does he return to me. I am the Paka¹ (chief) of the King my Lord, and I have diligently followed what was ordered. But as to our silence to the King my Lord let the King be assured. As a subject I guard his city. And let me plead (or strive) before the King my Lord, and let him see his face. Who shall preserve one born a subject? Lo there has gone forth no command from the hands of the King his Lord; and he may

¹ In the former letters (B. M. 31, B. 99) Abimelech has spoken of the Paka as distinct from himself. Perhaps the Egyptian residents withdrew when the troops were withdrawn.
not know when the King sends to his servant. He may never know. As for me. . . . . . . '

The letter is here too broken to read consecutively. It refers to the 'west,' and apparently to 'burning,' to Aziru, and to someone, perhaps a king's messenger, called Khabi. The letter becomes readable on the back of the tablet.

'... by Elisaru the messenger it is confirmed that the city of Simyra is Aziru's. And is not the King nourished by his city of Tyre, by his country? Lo! if I shall be destroyed the King is destroyed. But thus his fortress has been wasted, and there has been great fear, and all the lands have feared; for he has not walked after (i.e., obeyed) the King my Lord. O King know: desolation has remained with me—with the Paka in the city of Tyre. Zimiridi is gone to the city Irib. He has escaped from slavery; and there is no water or wood for us; and alas! there is none remaining to stand up for me. The chief is helpless. And let the King my Lord advise his servant by a letter he sends to me, whom you thus hear. And Zimrida of the city of Sidon has sent to the King, and Aziru is a man sinful against the King, and the chiefs of the city Arada (Arvad) destroy me, and (everything is

1 Irib is probably 'Arab Salim, fourteen miles south-east of Sidon, on the highest part of the mountains. It stands on a precipice 400 feet above the gorge of the Zahrany River (Robinson, 'Later Bib. Res.,' p. 47), and was a stronghold.

2 Aziru's allies from Arvad no doubt attacked Tyre by sea.
altered?) through their ravages; and they will gather their ships, their chariots, their foot soldiers, to seize the city of Tyre the King's handmaid. She has been very constant to the King's hand, and the city of Tyre has been crushed by them. Were they not violent in taking the city of Simyra? They took from the hands of Zimrida him who bore the King's order to Aziru; and I sent a letter to the King my Lord, and he returns me not an order for his servant. They have fought (for a long time?) against me. There are no waters\(^1\) and no trees. Let there be ordered a letter for his servant, and let me plead, and let me see his face, and the King . . . . to his servant, and to his city, and not . . . . his city and his land. Why do they . . . the King our Lord from the land, and . . . . and he has known that I honour the King's power, who . . . no . . . to my letter—a subject before the King my Sun, my Lord; and let the King answer his servant.'

*Letters from Accho.*

93 B.—Surata, chief of Acca, sends the usual formula of compliment, and continues: 'What chief

---

\(^1\) Dr. Bezold has remarked that want of water was always the weakness of Tyre. In the reign of Rameses II. the Egyptian traveller (Chabas, p. 313) speaks of water sent to the island of Tyre in boats. Tyre is called by him the city of 'two ports,' one being on the north, called the Sidonian, and one on the south, called the Egyptian.
is there who when the King his Lord sends to him will not hear? As this is sent out by desire of the Sun God from heaven, so now it is promised him.'

32 B. M.—A short letter from Zitatna, of Accho, merely says that he bows seven times and seven times at the King's feet.

94 B.—Another short letter by the same states that he listens to the King's wishes.

95 B.—'To the King my Lord my . . . . . . . the Sun from heaven thus says Zatatna chief of the city of Acca, thy servant, the King's servant, and the dust at the feet trampled under the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun God from heaven: seven times and seven times he bows both heart and body. The King my Lord shall hear the message of his servant; the woman my wife . . . . . . . . . . . . . He has left from . . . . . . Neboyapiza . . . . . . with Suta . . . . . . of the King, in the city of Acca . . . . to say anything . . . . . . him. She has urged (that) soldiers of the King my Lord shall go out with her from the city Magid . . . No word is mentioned as to him or explanation before me; and now we two are sending. My reason (is) to assure her—Ziza the woman my wife—as to Neboyapiza, and she has not slept because of him. Behold the city of Acca like the city of Makdani¹ (is) with the Land of Egypt,

¹ This letter agrees with others preceding. Neboyapiza's town Kamid, in Lebanon, was about sixty miles to the north-east of Accho, and Ziza was perhaps his sister or daughter, married to the king of an adjoining kingdom. The soldiers to be sent to Megiddo would obtain news, perhaps, of his fate, from a force on its way to Yabis, in Bashan, which his enemies reached after
and the King will not refuse . . . and will send . . . before me, and is it not that the King my Lord . . . his Paka, and let him empower him.'

Letters from Hazor.

48 B. M.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus says Iebaenu (Jabin) chief of the city Khazura (Hazor) thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord I bow, who behold am one of the faithful servants of the King my Lord; and all those who guard the city of Hazor, with her fortresses belong-

taking Damascus. Makdani is probably the Megiddo of the Bible, on the way to Bashan, at the great ruin of Mujedd'a, near Beisân. The situation agrees with that of the city of Makta, or Megiddo, mentioned by the Egyptian traveller near the Jordan fords (Chabas, p. 207). The Magid . . of the previous passage is probably another spelling of the same name. The lady seems to have intended to go there with a guard, and perhaps to obtain a detachment to go to Kamid. In the lists of Thothmes III., Megiddo (Makdi) stands second, after Kadesh of the Hittites; and it was at Megiddo that the chief victory of Thothmes was won. It was then already a fortress which stood a siege, and was the key to the road from Accho to Damascus. The form Makdani is explained by the Megiddon of Zechariah (xii. 11); and this final n is represented by the guttural 'Ain of the modern Arabic Mujedd'a. There is no reason at all for placing the site at Legio, west of the plain of Esdraelon, a site which does not agree with any monumental notice, or with the Biblical accounts (see 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine,' vol. ii.).

1 There were several Hazors in the north of Palestine. Perhaps the most likely site is the Hazor of the Egyptian traveller. It is mentioned as on a mountain (Chabas, p. 313), between Aksap (Achzib, north of Accho) and the Sea of Galilee. This might be
ing to the King my Lord; and let him expect this. Let him recall to the King my Lord all that the city Hazor—thy city, and thy servant is made to suffer.

47 B. M.—'To the King my Lord thus (says) the King of the city of Hazor: I bow at the feet of my Lord. Lo! I am guarding the fortresses belonging to the King my Lord, until the arrival of my Lord my God; and lo! I hear all these messages, and I am departing O Sun God my God... and I am being brought low: the... that they have taken is increased, and the Gods have nodded to his revolt over me, and now I am causing all to be despatched till the coming of the King my Lord. Behold this, lo! they come... your envoy... very much... my Lord... safety... the city of Hazor... when the land... and all... Lo... Moreover behold... and my place... with soldiers.'

Unfortunately King Jabin does not mention the nationality of the enemy. From the Tyre letters

the Hazor which Joshua took (Josh. xi. 1) from Jabin, which was above the Huleh. The name only remains, west of the probable site, in the Arabic Jebel Hadireh, a high mountain of Upper Galilee. The King of Hazor's name is unfortunately not quite clear in the text, but seems to be either Abdebaenu, or more probably Iebaenu (Jabin). There was another Jabin of Hazor later on in history (Judges iv. 2). It was no doubt a family name.
he seems to have been an enemy of the Phoenicians, being perhaps on the side of Aziru; but the date of the present letters is not fixed by any reference to persons mentioned in the other letters. It is quite possible that the Hebrews, and not the Hittites, were his foes, since the Hebrew conquest took place in the lifetime of Yankhamu and Suta, who are noticed in the northern letters also. If he was a friend of Aziru’s, the enemy, though enemies of Egypt, could not well have been Hittites or Amorites; and the name of the king is that of Joshua’s enemy, Jabin of Hazor. It is clear that the Egyptians, though expected, were not in Hazor at the time. The kings of Hazor ruled Lower Galilee, where they had a force of chariots a century later. In Joshua’s time (Josh. xi.) there were also many chariots in and near Hazor.

It is remarkable that none of the letters from Tell Amarna refer to Central Palestine. There is no mention of any town in Lower Galilee or in Samaria, except Zabuba and Megiddo. Taanach, Shechem, Jezreel, Dothan, Bethel, and other such places, are unnoticed, as well as Heshbon, Medeba, Rabbath-Ammon, Ramoth Gilead, and other places in Moab and Gilead. The Egyptians probably had no stations in these wild mountains, where their chariots could not pass. The Egyptian traveller mentions no town between Megiddo and Joppa in the time of Rameses II., and no towns in the regions of Samaria or Gilead or Moab occur in the list of places taken by Thothmes III.; nor were there any
stations in the Hebron mountains. On the other hand, many places in Sharon and Philistia, and in the lower hills to the east, and in the Negeb hills south of Hebron, were conquered by the last-mentioned king, and are again mentioned by the traveller of the time of Rameses II., and these occur in the present letters. We are thus at once transported to the south of the country.

The nearest places to Hebron seem to have been Nezeb, in the valley of Elah, easily reached by a broad, flat road, and on the south Kanana (Kana'an), a fortress taken by Seti I., which is only two miles south-west of Hebron. This was (if the identification be accepted) the limit of conquest (see Brugsch, Hist., vol. ii., p. 13), when Seti (about 1366 B.C.) conquered the Beersheba plains, advancing by Rehoboth and Bethlebaoth. The land of Zahi was south of Hebron, and famous for its wine and trees (Brugsch, vol. i., p. 330), Hebron still possessing fine vineyards. But the Amorites of Hebron were never apparently disturbed by the chariots, and appear in these letters as marauders of Egyptian stations. There is no mention of any advance of the Egyptians into Moab, though Seir and Edom are noticed very early, when the Sinaiic copper-mines were being worked, and before chariots came into use. In the time of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, however, the political conditions in Syria were different. The Akkadian King Gudea—a Mongol—was ruling in 2500 B.C. in North Syria, and sent for granite to Sinai. At this time also, according to the Bible, there were Hittites in Hebron, who had been driven to the north by Ahmes about 1700 B.C. So that the population in 1500 B.C. seems to have been entirely Semitic.
VI.

SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Joppa.

57 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts, by letter thus (says) Yabitiri (Abiathar?) thy servant, the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts. Seven times and seven times I bow. As thou seest I am among the faithful servants of the King my Lord. I am arraying. But if I am arraying has not he been furious? and I am arraying before the King; and he has been furious. Shall the brick (letter) hide it under deceptions? But I will not conceal under deep sayings (emiki) to the King my Lord. And the King my Lord shall ask Yankhamu his Paka. Lo! I am a warrior, and I am casting down the rebellion, O King my Lord, and I am sending out from the pass belonging to the King my Lord. And let the King my Lord ask his Paka ("head man"). Lo! I am defending the pass (or great gate) of the city of 'Azati (Gaza) and the passage of the city of Yapu (Joppa), and I myself
and the soldiers (\textit{bitati}) of the King my Lord have marched to the lands. I myself (am) with them, and now, and lo! now, I myself (am) with them. The yoke of the King my Lord (is) on my neck and I will bear it.'

71 B. M.—The usual salutation from a servant of the King, whose name is broken, but reads \textit{Mus...ni}. 'I hear the messages of the King my Lord which he sends to his servant, hearing what is spoken by thy chief (\textit{K\textalpha}), and (it is) "Strengthen thou the fortresses of the King thy Lord which are with thee." Now they have minded the message of the King.
my Lord to me, and the King my Lord learns of his servant. Now Biia the son of the woman Gulata\(^1\) was my . . . . . of my brethren whom I am despatching to go down from the city Yapu (Joppa), and to be the defenders of the messengers returning to the King my Lord; and now Biia is the son of Gulata, he took them; and the King my Lord shall learn this message of his servant. Thus since the King my Lord said to me, "Make him leave thy city, on the appearance of Biia." He also indeed is made to leave; and both go, and indeed both are sent down O King my Lord day and night till they reach the place.'

Joppa is not mentioned in the history of Joshua's wars in the south, but the 'border before (east of) Japho' is noticed in the later topographical chapter (Josh. xix. 46).

Letters from Ascalon.

129 B.—'To the Great King my Lord Dagantacala\(^2\) thy servant speaks. Seven times and seven times at the feet of the Great King my Lord I bow. And now behold Dagantacala is thy servant O Great King my Lord. He hears carefully the message of the Great King his Lord . . . . like my fathers, (and) what my fathers have not done for the Great King I have done for the Great King my Lord. And the

\(^1\) Gulata is an interesting name to find in the south, as it may have some connection with that of Goliath.

\(^2\) The sign of deity is attached to this name, showing that Dagon, the Philistine god, is intended; and it appears to mean 'Thou, Dagon, art a shield.' Compare Yamirdagan (B. 136).
Great King my Lord says to me, "Listen thou for us to the head man (Ka) thy governor." I hear this carefully as to the chief governor, and the ruler knows it.'

74 B. M.—This begins with the same salutation from Dagantacala, and continues: ‘Redeem me from the strong foes, from the hands of men of blood. The chiefs are hiding and the chiefs are flying, and redeem thou me O Great King my Lord. And the son of a dog has. . . . But thou (art) the Great King my Lord. Come down redeem me, and I shall rejoice because of the Great King my Lord.'

118 B.—From Yadaya of Ascalon, a captain of the horse of the ‘King—the Sun from Heaven.’ The usual salutation is much broken. The letter continues: ‘Now I shall defend the places of the King that are with me. The strong chiefs who are not foes of the Law (or throne) have cherished greatly the King’s Paka. Now both they and I listen to him very exceedingly—to the Paka of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun from the heavens.’

119 B.—From the same Yadaya, chief of the city of Ascalon, with the usual salutation. He is a captain of the horse and the dust of the King’s feet. He continues: ‘The trusty adherent—the chief of the King my Lord, who is sent by the King my Lord—the Sun from heaven—to me, I listen exceeding much to his messages; now I will defend the King’s land which is with me.’

1 The word Khazamu is here used of an Egyptian official, but with the qualification ‘chief Ka’ introducing the Egyptian word. This agrees with the view that Pa-ka means ‘principal man.’
121 B.—From the same writer, with the same salutations. 'Now the King's land which is with me is defended, and all that the King has sent to me they hear. The decree is very powerful. Who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not listen to the message of the King his Lord, the Son of the Sun?'

122 B.—From Yadaya, the captain of the horse, with the usual salutation; it continues: 'Now they guard my... my. May the Gods of the King my Lord grant to all his lands not to be confounded. I hear the message of the King my Lord to his Paka. Lo! without resting he has caused the land of the King my Lord to be defended; and now establish O King my Lord one who is in favour in the sight of the Paka of the King my Lord, who is mighty in the sight of the King my Lord. He will work with joy to... whatever is (proclaimed?) by desire of the King my Lord. Now he will watch the land carefully.'

54 B. M.—From the same Yadaya, captain of the horse, with the usual salutation; it continues: 'Now (they watch for a message?) of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun. And now I am sending drink, oil, sheep, oxen, beasts, to meet the soldiers of the King my Lord... with all for the soldiers of the King my Lord. Who am I—a dog, and shall such an one not hear the messages of the King my Lord the Son of the Sun.'

53 B. M.—The same salutation from Yadaya, captain of horse and 'dust of the King's feet.' 'Now they guard the land of the King my Lord, and the
King's chief city, as has asked the King my Lord—the Sun from Heaven. Behold what the King my Lord has asked to his servant—to take arms: I am now sending to the King my Lord thirty bands to carry weapons. Moreover who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not hear the message of the King my Lord the Sun from Heaven? the Sun—Son of the Sun whom you adore.'

52 B. M. is very similar to 54 B. M. Yadia watches the land and the city, and is a dog unworthy to hear the King's message; he sends drink (beer, according to one value of the sign—and the Egyptians drank beer)\(^1\) and oxen, and beasts, and (beans?), and all that the King requires for the soldiers.

It is to be remarked that Ascalon was not among the cities that Joshua took, but we learn that the region submitted to the Hebrews (B. 103) and Ascalon was lost before 1360 B.C.

*Letters from Makkedah.*

These letters appear to be early. They have been supposed to come from Megiddo, but the topography (111 B. and 72 B. M.) cannot be reconciled with the latter, and applies exactly to the former town (now El Mughâr); in addition to which Megiddo appears as Makdani in the letter from Accho (95 B.).

\(^1\) The sign meant originally 'cup.' It is remarkable that wine is not mentioned in the letters, unless the drink here noticed was wine. There was plenty of wine in Syria and in Hebron as early as 1600 B.C.
113 B.—‘To the King my Lord . . . . and my Sun by letter thus (says) Biridi a faithful servant, that I bow at the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun and my God, seven times and seven times. I have heard (literally, the servant has heard) the messages of the King my Lord and my Sun, and now they guard the city of Makidah, the chief city of the King my Lord.’ The text is broken, but seems to read probably ‘without rest, and is set right . . . . without rest they watch with chariots, and they guard with chariots of the King my Lord, from those who do injury. And now behold a battle of chiefs in (or from) the land (below Mizpah?). The King is my Lord for his land.’

114 B.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) Biridia Chief of the city Makidda a faithful servant of the King. At the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun seven times and seven times prostrated. I have been obedient then, zealous for the King . . . . thirty oxen . . . . . . they have gathered, and I (too) to fight.’

115 B.—Biridia sends the usual salutation without mentioning his city. The text is rather worn and broken, but may be read as follows: ‘Let the King my Lord know this. Lo! since the Egyptian soldiers (bitati) have gone down (or away) Labaya makes war against me and (without cause?) coming angrily and (without cause?). Thereupon the entrance

1 The text is damaged. It seems perhaps to read Citam Mizpi. If this is right, Mizpah near Jerusalem might be intended, or it may mean ‘below the heights.’
(or gate) has been closed through the appearance of Labaya. Behold learn this, and there are no men of the Egyptian soldiers with us. So now it is desired to see them sent into the city of Magiido and let the King see accordingly whether (it is to be) done. Let not Labaya seize the city. If there is no word the city will open its gates. (For two years?) he rebels; and will not the King grant this also—chiefs of his guard as defenders of his chief city. Let not Labaya take her, though those who have fled from Labaya have failed in this. Moreover those who disgraced the city Ma . . . . are slain.'

112 B.—'To the King my Lord and my Sun thus Labaya thy servant, and the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun seven times seven times I bow. I have heard the message which the King sent to me; and who am I? and the King will afflict his country before me. (I swear?) I am myself a faithful servant, and I have not sinned, and I have not murmured at my tribute, and I have not murmured at the wishes of my friends (or subjects). Lo! this province my destroyers eat up, and I have had no food. The King my Lord (says) it is my fault. Once more he makes it my fault. Lo! I strive with the city Gezer (Gazri) 1 and I complain of the young men. The King one hears will march. I restrained the band of Milcilu and my band desirous to fight. The quarrel of Milcilu against me is relinquished; as to

1 Gazri is the Gezer of the Bible, now Tell Jezar, at the foot of the Jerusalem hills.
Ben Zachariah the King has sent not to attack. Lo! Ben Zachariah with men of blood was known to us to march, and I marched, and we are conquering him. He gives up Abukasu. Once more he has made peace. The King has sent to my band (saying) "I order peace." I am desirous of peace, since the King has sent to me. Stay thy sword, ponder in thy heart, and is the peace hollow. Nay, the King's messages have been done.'

59 B. M.—'To the King my Lord and my Sun and my God thus Yasdata a faithful servant to the King, and (he is) dust of the King's feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and Sun and my God seven times and seven times I bow. Let the King my Lord know this. Lo! all whatsoever things the King my Lord judges for his servant ... him ... the chiefs of the city of Tabu have slain an hundred of my oxen, and they have wasted me. And with Biridia I have caused (men) to go forth. Let the King my Lord know this as to his servant.'

This letter shows that the writer lived near Biridia, who was attacked by Labaya, and that the Hebron hills were inhabited by marauders.

72 B. M.—'Lo! a letter as to destruction of my brethren because of what the Gods of the King our Lord have done. And the people of Labaya are

1 Tabu is probably Taiyibe, seven miles north-west of Hebron, on a hill at the head of the valley of Elah. This fits in with the rest of the topographical notices.
conquered; and so we have ordered *Khaia*\(^1\) that
this be borne by him to the King our Lord. And
a (company?) of my horse was placed, and the
people are sent out after him, and he rides with
*Yasdata* also till I come. And he is gone away
to smite him, and now *Yasdata* is thy servant, and
he strives mightily with me in battle array, and has
not he . . . . . the rule of the King my Lord, and
let there be . . . to the King my Lord . . . . and
*Zurata* is stopping the way of *Labaya* from the
city *Makidda*. And he asked me to gather ships—
my fleet, and it will go straight to inform the
King; and *Zurata* marches on him and hinders
him; from the city of *'Anana* which is his. *Zurata*
is damming the marshes. They have contrived
a stoppage of the head (waters) from his drink-
ing. Behold what thus I have done for the
King my Lord. Lo! possession is possible for
me, but it is difficult. My brethren (have become
few?), but *Zurata* delays *Labaya*, and *Zurata* hinders
*Addumemur* from them. And does not the King my
Lord know this?

This letter (confirmed by 154 B.) shows that a
town near the sea, not like Megiddo, inland, is
intended. *Labaya* had apparently taken *Makkedah*
from *Biridia*, who had been afraid of it (115 B.).
The writer of the present letter was probably *Biridia*
and he was perhaps blockading the province by sea
on the west, while *Yasdata*, who was on the east

---

\(^1\) Probably the same *Khaia* who appears in the north as an
envoy to the Amorites—an Egyptian official.
(which agrees with 59 B. M.), blocked up the stream near 'Anana. This site would be the Enam of the Bible (Josh. xv. 34), which is thus fixed at the ruin of Kefr 'Ain, by the numerous head springs which feed the river Rubin, which passes close to Makkedah on the south. The marshes here between the hills would easily be dammed, and the water supply of Makkedah (el Mughár) so cut off. Makkedah is close to the only stream of perennial water south of Joppa, and stands high on a cliff, not far from the sea. It is in the centre of the province, the boundaries of which Labaya's sons describe (154 B.).

149 B.—(To the) King my Lord thus (says) Addu(urbilu) thy servant at the feet of my Lord I bow—to the King my Lord. And know thou, behold I have raised my . . . . . . what I desire as to Milcilu. Lo! my chiefs are going against his servants. As to Takanu a chief will march out to subject his servants for me.1 And I have requited to this slave what they did to us.' The letter then becomes broken, but refers to Milcilu, who was the King of Gezer. Takanu (or Tagi) is mentioned again in connection with Givti (B. 199).

61 B. M.—'To the King (my master?) by letter thus (says) Labaya thy servant. I bow at the feet of the King my Lord. Lo! a message as to me. Strong were the chiefs who have taken the city. As when

1 Takanu (see B. 199, 70 B. M.) lived near Givti, and perhaps was the chief of that town, which may be Gibeah of Judah, near the valley of Elah, south-east of Makkedah. It is mentioned with Hareth, which was close by Gibeah.
a snake coils round one, the chiefs, by fighting, have taken the city. They hurt the innocent, and outrage the orphan. The chief man is with me. They have taken the city (and he receives sustenance?). My destroyers exult in the face of the King my Lord. He is left like the ant whose home is destroyed. You (will be displeased?), but I have extended to the hand of her chief that which is asked of him: like me he is ruined and unfortunate; and this same taking of my city had been stopped if you had spoken against it. This wickedness (or foolishness) you caused, and thou hast destroyed thy city. They have desired to throttle (or persecute) us—the chiefs who have taken the city from him. It is the city of my fathers also (that) they persecute.'

154 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) Addurbilu thy servant, at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. The King my Lord will know the hate which is desired by the son of the sinful chief who hated me—the second son of Labaya. His face is estranged. I foresee estrangement of the land of the King my Lord. He has plotted as plotted (against me?) the chief who was his father; and the King my Lord shall know it. Lo! he has built a fort ... against me. The second son of Labaya (says) "Why has a vain papyrus\(^1\) taken from us the lowlands of the Gittites? ... thy Lord, O city of those who be-

\(^1\) Referring to the King's order on papyrus. In Dusratta's Hittite letter a royal decree on papyrus is also mentioned.
Sieged the chief our father.” As I am saying speaks to us the second son of Labaya. He has made war for me with the chiefs of the Land of Gina (causing a chief our friend to be slain?). And when (there was) a battle he has not been confounded, and the fight was great, but he has made it his dwelling, bereaving me in the sight of the King my Lord: for he has made war in . . . of Gina (with?) the servants of the King my Lord. And truly alone of the chiefs exceeding strong (is) Biruyapiza.¹ (And thou shalt hear?) what is said as to him.’ The text becomes broken, but still refers to the doings of the second son of Labaya, and continues with an important passage on the back of the tablet:

‘And as I say speaks to us the second son of Labaya who is making war. “As to our possessions from the King thy Lord, lo! this is the boundary: over against the city of Sunasu and over against the city Burku and over against the city Kharabu. And behold the boundary of the dwelling of my race. So it was defined by our Lord; and it includes the city of Giti Rimuna (Gath Rimmon). And the King thy Lord is (breaking the bond of our . . .?).”’ And I answered him. It is known that he deprives me of it in sight of the King my Lord. Because of his making wars with the King my Lord —my King my Lord—I and my brethren have gone down as you heard of us by me. And did not the messenger of Milcilu speak to him before the face of the second son of Labaya? It was made

¹ Biruyapiza was probably the second son of Labaya.
THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS

complete. I foresee estrangement of the land of the King my Lord. They disturb a peaceful region, and in vain I repeat the letter about me. The guard of my Lord . . . . to go down, and the King my Lord shall hear what the message says.'

This letter settles the site of Gath Rimmon (the full name of Gath, so called as standing on a height)—now Tell es Sâfi. The land of Gina was near the present Umm Fîna—probably Engannim of Judah (Josh. xv. 34)—in the low hills about six miles to the north-east. Sunasu is Sanasin, a ruin in the hills east of the valley of Elah. Burka is Burkah, in the plain north-east of Ashdod. Kharabu is el Khurab, a village east of Jaffa, and just north of the valley of Jaffa. Gath stood over the valley of Elah, and Burka close to the same. The province extended from the hills of Hebron to the sea, and from the valley of Elah to the valley of Jaffa; and just in the middle of this province was Makkedah.

III B.—A fragment of a letter from Biridia. He is a faithful servant, and sends the usual salutation. He has heard of (peace?), and he is marching. The son of Labaya is noticed, and there is a reference to gold. Biridia has already appeared as one of the enemies of Labaya.

73 B. M.—This seems to come from the same region on account of its topography. The letter is injured at the top, and probably not addressed to the King himself. 'I say the dog is marching . . . from their ravages against me. Now behold from (being loosed?) . . . from the wastings against
Lo! consider thou thyself my chief cities. Mighty against me . . . . he has made . . . . . . to the city Macdalím.¹ And soldiers of the city Cuuzbeb have destroyed east of me. And now there is no commander to lead me forth from their hands. Moreover, Abbikha (or Abbinebo) smites my western region. They have sinned against me and all the passes he marches against . . . . Abbikha . . . .

Letters from Lachish.

124 B.—A broken letter from Yabnilu, of the city Lacís.² He is a captain of the King's horse, and sends the fullest form of the usual salutation. He listens to the messages of Maya, the Egyptian resident. The letter is remarkable for the final phrase: Ana rasi anuma ibusu gabba, 'Now all these

¹ Macdalím may be Mejdel, in the Philistine plain, which is still a place of importance, with a market.
² Cuuzbe is probably the Chezib of the Bible (Gen. xxxviii. 5), in the low hills east of Gath, now 'Ain Kesbeh. The marauders seem to issue from the mountains, destroying the commerce of the plains (compare 59 B. M.). Chezib is again mentioned (104 B.).
³ Lachish was wrongly placed by Robinson at Umm Lakis (spelt with the Koph, not the Caph). It was identified by me in 1875 (see 'Tent Work in Palestine' and 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine') at Tell el Hesy, and the letter found in the ruins has confirmed the identification, which rests on the distance from Beit Jibîn as well as on the name. The Caph and Kheth are occasionally interchanged, and Elhesy is probably a corruption of the name of Lachish. The site agrees well with the account and picture of the campaign of Sennacherib found at Nineveh.
things are on my head.' This is the common expression still used in Palestine by servants addressing a master. 'On my head' means 'I will obey,' and important documents—such as a Sultan's firman—are placed on the head of the person who receives them, in token of obedience.

Tell El Hesy Tablet.

123 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun—the Sun from the heavens—thus says Zimrida the chief of the city of Lacisa (Lachish) thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times I bow: the messenger of the King my Lord whom he sent to me—I hear his message, and am bound to obey it.'
Zimrida of Lachish is also mentioned in a letter from Jerusalem (184 B.). There is no reason to suppose that he was the same person as Zimridi of Sidon, whom we left hiding in the Lebanon.

The following letter was found, not at Tell Amarna, but by Mr. Bliss excavating the site of Lachish (Tell el Hesy) for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1892, and by aid of the preceding it serves to confirm my identification made in 1875. A copy of the tablet is attached for the consideration of cuneiform scholars. The following appears to be the transliteration:
THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS

FRONT.

1. (Ana) Amil rab AB . . .
2. abi na
3. ul ul is tab (ra?)
4. lu ti i di i nu ma
5. zu ra tu URU At im
6. û Zi im ri di
7. sepi BI ri is (mascaru?)
8. a mur di mu mi
9. am cu cut khal im URU ZUN
10. amur is ya udu-mi
11. . . . par mi cu ya A SI
12. . . . na as za ri

BACK.

1. (? ) û III san thi
2. û IIII mat ya ru di
3. i na mi LICCU
4. i na na ba u mat su-matu
5. URU Sum hi na sa ra si
6. si gi u gur (al lu?)
7. zuru
8. (? ) a di mi lic ti XIII KHAS
9. sa KUL SIS rabu
10. sa ur ra ad is lul
11. mas a sepi khu-u-bi
12. . . . as tab ra û
13. (Sar?) ra u mat KUL LIC ya;
14. (li?) ya bad mat su

The main interest in this short letter lies in the
notice of Zimridi, who (123 B.) was chief of Lachish, showing that the site where the letter was found is Lachish. My translation, depending on study of the cast of the inscription, differs considerably from that which has been published.

'Is it not sent (as a message) to the great chief of the house of our fathers? Lo! truly thou knowest that they have fortified the city of Atim. And O Zimridi to the feet of him who is established as the chieftain behold humbly I bow. Supporter of cities behold! O Saviour of the people I have rent (my garments) yea ...... entreaties ...... for defenders of (?). And three years or four the foe (or dog) has been resting who desires my country. Now behold they have entered the land to lay waste. The city of Sumhi (or Sum'a) which we inhabit he is surrounding: he has gathered in order to besiege; and as far as this are going thirteen sections of our (tribe?). Strong (is he) who has come down. He lays waste. He has gone out with secret feet\(^1\) ...... I send and they have (arrayed?) the land of the race of my foe: may his land perish.'

It will be seen from the facsimile of the tablet that the signs are irregularly written, and many of them much worn, so that the translation is difficult, and uncertain in parts of the text.

This letter comes apparently from the low hills south-east of Lachish. Atim must be the Etam of the south of Judah (1 Chron. iv. 32), which I have placed at the ruin of 'Aitūn; and Samhi (or as it

\(^1\) Marched stealthily.
may be otherwise rendered Sam'â) is the large
ruin of Sam'âh, on the higher hills, which is
five miles to the south of Etam. The letter
is of great interest. The marauders, as in other
cases, come from the Hebron hills. It also shows
us that the communication by tablets in cuneiform
script was not only usual in writing to Egypt, but in
the internal correspondence of the country. The
Phœnician alphabet had not as yet come into use,
but the ruins of Palestine, no doubt, still contain
other tablets of this age or of earlier times. The
letter, though not as important in some ways as the
Moabite stone and Siloam text, is one of the most
valuable discoveries ever made in Palestine.

Letters from Gezer.

63 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my
Sun by letter thus (says) Milcili thy servant the dust of
thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord my God
my Sun seven times seven times I bow. I hear
what the King my Lord has sent to me, and the
King my Lord despatches Egyptian soldiers (bitati)
to his servants, and the King my Lord despatches
(them) to dwell as guards. It is apportioned for
my honour.’

108 B., with the same salutation, is broken. It
appears to refer to despatching six females, five
chiefs, sons of . . . . and five trusty chiefs led to
the King.¹

¹ This letter is perhaps explained by another (104 B.), in
which the King of Jerusalem sends his wives to Egypt with the
Egyptian envoy, on account of the war with the Hebrews.
109 B.—Begins with the same salutation as the preceding, and continues: 'The message of the King my Lord my God my Sun to me being brought, now his command they have done for the King my Lord—the Sun from heaven; and truly the King my Lord my God my Sun knows, that peaceful is the land of the King my Lord which is with me.'

110 B.—Begins with the same salutation, and continues: 'The King my Lord shall know. Behold mighty is the war against me, and against Suārdatā;¹ but the King my Lord shall pluck his land from the hands of men of blood. Since there are none, the King my Lord shall despatch chariots to march to us . . . . . you will restrain our slaves for us . . . . . Yankhamu his servant . . . . .'

This may refer to the submission of Gezer to the Hebrews mentioned in a letter from Jerusalem (B. 103).

62 B. M.—Begins with the same salutation as the preceding, and continues: 'Know O King my Lord the demands made to me by Yankhamu since my going forth from before the King my Lord. Lo! he . . . . . . let him take from my hands. And they say to me (give us?) thy wife and thy sons. And does the King know this? And does the King my Lord demand despatch of chariots, and that I shall go to his presence? Nay! Let it be brought to nothing by thee.'

70 B. M., if not from Gezer, must come from near that town. It is written by Takanu, who is

¹ Chief of Keilah, whose letters follow.
mentioned in connection with Milcilu (149 B.) in a letter from near Makkedah, which was the next great town to Gezer on the south.

'To the King my Lord thus (says) Takanu thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Lo! I am the King's servant, and the guard of the whole of my roads was in the hands of my people, but they are now without refuge: they have not come up to guard my roads for the King my Lord; and ask the chiefs thy Tarkas, if they are not now without refuge for my people. Moreover behold us. My eyes are towards thee when I beseech the God of heaven: for we are cast from the land, and have been needy. We have lacked at thy hand, and behold this now, the guard that guards my roads is in the hands of a chief who hates me because of the King my Lord, and the King my Lord shall instruct; behold send down a host and it shall watch.'

Though the date is doubtful, within limits, this letter probably refers to the departure of the Egyptian soldiers mentioned in the Jerusalem letters.

155 B.—A much-damaged letter. The name of the writer is lost. He sends the usual salutation,

1 If Takanu's town was Givti, and Givti was Gibeah of Judah, he is referring to the southern route by the valley of Elah.

2 Tarka instead of Paka. In Egyptian the word tar means 'to drive' or 'compel,' preceding the sign of a man with a stick. Tarka is thus apparently an 'overseer' of the people.
and speaks of a letter: of transgression and sin; and mentions the city Gazri (Gezer). He speaks of the going down of the king (or casting down), and of the Paka. (See Note.)

50 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from the heavens, thus (says) Yapa'a the chief of the city of Gazri (Gezer) thy servant, the dust of thy feet, a chief captain of thy horse. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times bow indeed both this heart and this body; and whatever the King my Lord says to me I listen to exceeding much. I am the King's servant, the dust of thy feet. And the King my Lord shall learn. Behold the chief of my brethren; fellows foreign to me also strive for the city of Mu(ra)'azi; and the delivery of the same is the demand of men of blood; and now behold what has arisen against me, and counsel as to thy land. Let the King send to the chief who is his friend against one (who is a foe?).'

1 Yapa'a is the same name as Japhia, mentioned as the King of Lachish (Josh. x. 3), who was the enemy of Joshua. He appears here as King of Gezer, and the King of Gezer is called in the Bible Horam (x. 33). The words Gezer and Lachish would not look unlike in the writing of the earlier Hebrew (about the Christian era), but it is not impossible that the two towns may have had the same king. Indeed, the letter seems to show this, as Mer'ash is near Lachish.

2 Mu(ra)'azi seems clearly to be Mer'ash, the Hebrew Moresheth Gath (Micah i. 14). The modern name is nearer to the Amorite than to the Hebrew, having a guttural at the end; and, as in other cases, the Amorite š stands for a Hebrew s. The site is south of Gath, and not far from Lachish, close to Beit Jibrin.
49 B. M.—After the same salutation from Yapa’a, chief of Gezer, master of the horse, the letter continues: 'I hear the message of the messenger of the King my Lord exceeding much. And let the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, counsel his servant as to his land. Now strong is the chief of the men of blood against us; and send thou to destroy him O King my Lord for me; and will not the King restore from the hand of the chief of bloody ones? We are not quite made an end of by the chief of the bloody ones.'

51 B. M.—With the usual salutation from Yapa’a, the letter continues: 'Whatever the King my Lord says to me I listen to him exceedingly. It is gracious. But as I fear what shall befall, help thou my region from the power of the people of the desert lands. And now I hear that the Pauri (chiefs; see the Jerusalem letter B. 103) of the King gather a multitude; and it suffices for me. And they have enlarged my heart very much.'

From these letters we gather that there had been a withdrawal of the Egyptian troops about the time when the 'desert people' attacked Yapa’a. That these desert people were the Hebrews under Joshua, who was the contemporary of Japhia, we learn more clearly from the Jerusalem letters. That Gezer submitted to them is also shown by the same.
Letters from Jerusalem.

105 B.—‘To the King my Lord . . . . . thus (says) Adonizedek thy servant . . . at the feet of my Lord . . . seven times and seven times . . . . Behold Milcilu is not rid from the sons of Labaya, and from the sons of Arzaya, as to their desire of the King’s land for themselves. A ruling man who makes demand thereof, why has he not asked it of the King? Lo! Milcilu and Takanu have desired the doing thereof. Lo! he has marched to it. Not having desired to strive . . . . . . ’ The lower half of the front is here lost, and the rest is on the back.

‘So now, failing those who were chiefs of the garrison of the King, let me fly to the King.’ Truly

1 The name of the King of Jerusalem is rendered Abdhiba by Dr. Winckler, and Abd Tobba by Dr. Sayce. The second reading is possible in all cases but one (B. 102), when the sign used has not the syllabic value Tob, but only Khi or Hi. This would mean ‘servant of the Good One.’ Adonizedek was the name of the King of Jerusalem killed by Joshua (x. 3). It is to be remembered that many of the names in these letters are written not in syllables, but by ideograms. Ribadda’s name is hardly ever spelt syllabically, though it is rendered certain by the cases in which it is so spelt. I am inclined, therefore, to suppose that we have to deal, not with an unusual name, like Abdhiba or Abdtobba, which is unknown in history, but with the name of Joshua’s contemporary, spelt us=Adoni, ‘Lord,’ and Khi+Ba, ‘good do’=zepec, ‘justice.’ There must, however, always be some doubt as to personal names, unless checked by variant readings.

2 Adonizedek is meditating flight. His letters speak of a raid on Gezer, Ascalon, and as far as Lachish, after the taking of Ajalon by the Hebrews, but they say nothing of Makkedah.
Ben Piru (or Ben Carru) has fled his being led captive by my destroyers, he goes from the city 'Azati (Gaza): let him remind the King in his presence of a garrison to guard the land. All the King's land is rebellious. Yagu Balaam is sent, and let the King's land know from the King's scribe . . . . Thus says Adonizedek thy servant . . . . the messages.'

102 B.—'To the King my Lord is mourning thus this Adonizedek thy servant. At the feet of my Lord, of the King, seven times and seven times I bow. What shall I ask of the King my Lord? They have prevailed, they have (taken the fortress of Jericho) they who have gathered against the King of Kings, which Adonizedek has explained to the King his Lord. Behold, as to me, my father is not and my army is not. The tribe that has ground me in this

From the Book of Joshua we learn that after the battle of Ajalon the Hebrews pursued to Azekah, perhaps the ruin of Zak, east of Gaza, and to Makkedah (x. 11), and then returned to Gilgal (15). An interval of unstated duration occurred, while the five kings, Adonizedek, Japhia, Hoham, Piram, and Debir (ver. 3), fled to Makkedah, where they were found hid in a cave. It was during this interval, apparently, that these Jerusalem letters were written.

1 The sign is unusual. The words are icalu, ca-ar (Irhu) zabbatu, or perhaps icalu-ca ar(unu) zabbatu. The latter would mean, 'They prevail over thee; they have been swift to seize.'

2 'I have no father and no army.' It either means this or 'Have I no father and no friend?' It might refer to his father's death, or to the King of Egypt not being his father and friend. Dr. Sayce renders 'neither father nor mother' (sal um for rag um); but it is very unusual for Orientals to refer to their female relations or wives, though in the case of the King of Accho (95 B.) the writer speaks of his wife; but this is for a special reason (see also 104 B.).
place is very rebellious to the King, the same is struggling with me for the house of my father. Why has the tribe sinned against the King my Lord? Behold O King my Lord arise! I say to the Paka (resident) of the King my Lord, "Why should you tremble before the chief of the 'Abiri (Hebrews) and the rulers fear the end? So now they must send from the presence of the King my Lord." Behold I say that the land of the King my Lord is ruined. So now they must send to the King my Lord, and let

1 'Abiri. This is read by others Habiri, 'allies'; but the political circumstances do not agree with this explanation, and the sign is used throughout the letters for the guttural 'Ain (as, for instance, in the name of Azzah or Gaza). There is no mention in the southern letters of Aziru, Abdasherah, Aitugama, or any of the northern allies; and the sign for 'allies,' or 'helpers,' in the northern letters is quite different. On the other hand, the 'Abiri are never mentioned, except in the south, near Jerusalem. They are called people of the 'blood' or 'tribe' of the 'Abiri (B. 106), and of the 'land' of the 'Abiri (B. 199), showing that the term is derived from the 'Abarim, or mountains east of Jordan. The Abiru chiefs are mentioned in the singular (B. 102, 104), and none of these facts can be reconciled with the view that they were 'allies.' They are distinctly said to have come from Seir (Edom) in one letter (B. 104), and to have left their pastures (B. 103), and are probably the 'desert people' of the Gezer letter (51 B. M.). Their actions are those recorded of Joshua's first campaign, and the date agrees, as does also the notice in the letters of Jabin, Japhia, and Adonizedek, the contemporaries of Joshua. Another suggestion has been that they were Hebronites; but in such case the n would not be absent, and the sign for city would no doubt occur. They have also been supposed to be Babylonians, but this is in direct contradiction to the relations noticed in the letters (see Appendix and B. M. 2) between Egypt and Babylon at this time.
the King my Lord know this; behold the King my Lord has placed a garrison to stop the way . . . . . (Bel'amu or Yankhamu?) . . . . . . . . . . . . . of kings . . . . chiefs of the garrison . . . . the king as master to his land . . . . as to his land she has rebelled, the (lands) of the King my Lord—the whole of it. Ilimelec\(^1\) cuts off all the King's land. And let one warn the King as to his land. I myself speak pleading with the King my Lord and (for once?) let the King my Lord behold the entreaties. And the wars are mighty against me, and (I am not receiving any pledge?) from the King my Lord. And let an order return from the King (my Lord). Whether will he not order chiefs for garrison? And let him be kind, and let the King my Lord regard the entreaties. This tribe behold O King my Lord has risen up. Lo the Paka they have expelled. I say the lands of the King my Lord are ruined. Dost not thou hear this same of me? They have destroyed all the rulers. There is no ruler now O King my Lord. Let the King give his countenance to the chiefs; and whether shall the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (\textit{pitati}) remain at rest? They have lingered O King my Lord. The lands are failing to the King my Lord. The \textit{Hebrew} chiefs plunder all the King's lands. Since the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (\textit{pitati}) have gone away quitting the lands this year O King my Lord, and since there

\(^1\) Ilimelec is a name found in the Bible (Ruth i. 2; ii. 1) as the name of Ruth's father-in-law, a native of Bethlehem, in the time of the Judges. It is therefore a Hebrew name.
is no chief of the Egyptian soldiers (pitati) there is ruin to the lands of the King my Lord. They have . . . O King my Lord, and Adonizedek (is) dust . . . . . . messages (are asked ?) of the King my Lord, there is destruction by the foe of the lands of the King my Lord.'

This letter, like others, clearly indicates a withdrawal of the Egyptian troops shortly before the appearance of the Hebrews.

106 B.—The salutation is broken, but is the same as before—from Adonizedek. The text continues: ' . . . . . which have done for me Milcîlu, and Suardata,¹ for the land of the King my Lord. They have hired soldiers of the city of Gezer, soldiers of the city Givti² and soldiers of the city Kielti.³ They have gone out to (or seized) the city of Rubute.⁴ The King's land rebels to the chiefs of the Hebrews, and now against this capital city U-ru-sa-lîm (Jerusalem) the city called Beth Baalatû⁵ a neighbour of the city

¹ Milcîlu was the King of Gezer, and Suardata of Keilah; his letters follow. This represents the league of kings before the battle of Ajalon.

² Givti is probably one of the Gibeahs, perhaps Gibeah of Judah, now Jeb'â, south-west of Jerusalem, in the direction of Keilah (Josh. xv. 57), eight miles west of Bethlehem; unless we should read Gîmtzi, in which case it would be Gimzu (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), now Jimzu, east of Lydda, and north of Gezer. The former reading seems the better (see 199 B.).

³ Kielti is Keilah (Josh. xv. 44), now Kilah, east of the valley of Elah, in the direction of Hebron.

⁴ Rubute is Rabbah of Judah, now the ruin Rubba, in the same district, four miles east of Beit Jibrîn (Josh. xv. 60).

⁵ Beth Baalath is probably Baalath of Judah, the old name of Kirjath Jearim, now Erma, in the valley of Sorek. The word
of the King—has rebelled, to delay the chiefs of the city of Kielti. Let the King hear as to Adonizedek; and will not he order Egyptian soldiers (pitati), and shall not the King's land turn to the King? And because there are no Egyptian soldiers (pitati) the King's land has rebelled to the chiefs of the tribe of the Hebrews. They have demanded to dwell in the same with me. They have gone out against (or seized) Milcilu . . . . . and the city. . . . And let the King do justice to (or purify) his land.'

104 B.—The same salutation from Adonizedek. He continues: 'Lo! the King my Lord has established his law from the (rising?) of the Sun to the going down of the Sun. He is a flatterer who deceives as to me. Lo! am not I a ruler myself, a man allied to the King my Lord? Lo! I myself am a good chief of the King, and I have sent tribute to the King. There is no chief to join me, and my friends (or army) fail; they have been fighting for the King mightily. I remain . . . in this Beth Amilla¹ . . . . from before me thirteen. . . . I am giving ten slaves . . . . Suuta the King's Paka (resident)

_gur_ may either mean that the city was 'near' Jerusalem, or that it had been an ally of Jerusalem. It is clear that if the forces of the lowlands were marching to assist Jerusalem by the highway, past Kirjath Jearim, the revolt of that town would delay the forces from Gezer, which would naturally take that route.

¹ Beth Amilla is evidently the Beth ham Millo of the Bible (2 Sam. v. 9); 'house of the chief,' as we now know. It was the royal palace in the lower city (Akra), north of Zion. There was also a Millo in Shechem (Judges ix. 6, 20), evidently the palace of that city.
takes charge from before me of twenty-one slave women. Twenty chiefs who remain trusty to my hand *Suta* has led away to the King my Lord,¹ which the King advises to his country. The whole of the King's country, which is seized from me, is ruined. They have fought against me as far as the lands of *Seeri* (Seir)² as far as the city *Givti Kirmil* (Gibeah of Carmel?).³ They have banded together against all the chiefs of the governments, and they have fought with me. Behold I, the chief of the lords (or of the Amorites), am breaking to pieces,⁴ and the King my Lord does not regard entreaties, while they have fought against me (unceasingly?). Behold array O mighty King a fleet in the midst of the sea. Thou shalt march to our land, the land of *Nahrîma* and the land of *Cazib*, and behold these are fortresses of the King.⁵ Thou shalt

¹ When Adonizedek sent away his women he was preparing for his own flight, by the advice, it would seem, of Egypt. The Egyptian resident also retired. *Suta* has already been mentioned as an Egyptian official in the north (48 B.); he is also mentioned in a letter from Babylon (B. M. 4), and by the King of Accho, who was a contemporary of *Nebo yapîza* and of *Aziru* (95 B.), which with other indications shows that Aziru's revolt was contemporary with the Hebrew invasion—at least, within a few years.

² This shows the enemy as coming from Mount Seir or Edom.

³ This *Givti* would seem to be one of the Gibeahs, unless we should read *Gîmîtsî* as before.

⁴ Perhaps this is capable of being rendered, 'I am breaking to pieces; the chief is becoming master.'

⁵ What is meant is that the Egyptians, having come by sea to Ascalon or Gaza, are to march to Jerusalem by the valley of
march against the chieftains of the Hebrew. There is not a single ruler for the King my Lord. They have destroyed all. Lo Tuurbazu\(^1\) (is slaughtered?) . . . . in the great pass of the city of Ziluu\(^2\) they have bowed down. Behold Zimridi of the city of Lachish. The slaves have subjected him; they have done as they chose\(^3\) . . . . The region of Rimmon\(^4\) laments: slaughter (is) in the midst . . . . . the fort of Zilu is overthrown . . . . let the King take heed . . . . let the King give his countenance to . . . . . Egyptian soldiers (pitati) to the land. . . . Since there are no Egyptian soldiers (pitati) in this same year destruction has destroyed the people of

Elah, the highway by which the Philistines came up against Saul. Casib (Chezib) is in this valley, now 'Ain Kezbeh; and north of it is a valley with the unique name Naheir, 'the little river.' The road becomes difficult when the valley of Elah turns to the south, which is alluded to in the next letter (B. 103). For Chezib see also 73 B. M.

\(^1\) Tu-ur ba-zu appears to be spelt phonetically, but does not sound like a Semitic name. If it were taken as an ideogram it might be rendered Ben Zicaru.

\(^2\) Zelah has been proposed (Heb. Zel'\(a\)), but the final sign does not seem to be used to represent the 'Ain. There were two Zelahs, one being Petra, the other north of Jerusalem (now probably the ruin of Salah); it appears to me more probable that Shiloh is intended. The Amorite s or š occasionally stands for a Hebrew sh; and the modern name Seilbn has always presented the difficulty that the s is not the proper representative of the Hebrew sh. Perhaps, as in other cases, the peasant pronunciation represents the Amorite rather than the Hebrew sound. Shiloh is remarkable for the great pass it commands.

\(^3\) There was a siege of Lachish by Joshua (Josh. x. 33).

\(^4\) Rimmon is probably the Rimmon of Benjamin, not far south of Shiloh, now the village of Rummon (Judges xx. 45, etc.).
all the lands of the King my Lord. Do not they say to the face of the King my Lord, "Behold the land of the King my Lord has been ruined, and all the rulers have been slain, within this same year." Will the King not order his Paka? And let the fleet come to me as helpers, and let them take care of the port (with the King commanding?) . . . . (to) the scribe of the King my Lord. (lo!) Adonizedek is his servant, at his feet (he bows). Translate the messages now to the King. I am thy . . . . myself.'

103 B.—The salutation is much broken, but part of the name of Adonizedek is left. It then speaks of messages, and continues: "Let him know that they have fought all the lands that have been at peace with me; and let me warn the King as to his land. Lo! the land of the city of Gezer, and the land of the city of Ascalon, and the land of the city of (Lachish?) they have given (or settled) for themselves. Corn and oil (or fruit), and all things, this race has altogether gathered. And let me warn the King as to Egyptian soldiers (pitati). Will not he order Egyptian soldiers (pitati) against the chiefs who have done wrong to the King my Lord? Since within this year the Egyptian soldiers (pitati) have gone away, and quit the lands, the ruler of the King my Lord—since there were no Egyptian soldiers—(pitati) is brought to nought. Yea and the rulers of the King. . . . . Behold the land of the city of Jerusalem.¹ No man is my subject. No

¹ The name spelt in other cases U-ru-sa-lim is here spelt Uru-sa-lim, showing that the usual explanation, 'city of peace,'
people is subject to me. His tribe is arrayed (or prepared). They are not subject to me. Lo! my desire is the same as the desire of Mileilu and the desire of the sons of Labaya, that the chiefs of the Hebrews be subject to the King's land. Lo! the King my Lord will be just to me, because the chiefs are sorcerers. Let the King ask his Pakas (or let one ask of the King's Pakas). Lo he is strong, very (determined?) and (men) have feared. The sinful fort (or camp) is very arrogant. They have burst forth from their pasture (or border) and . . . . to the land of the habitation of the people (nigh?) . . . . Will not there be sent from the land (of Egypt?) . . . . (soldiers?): thou shalt come up with . . . let the servants be defended . . . . . . . . to them. The tribe is pouring out . . . . lands from the city of As(calon). Let the King ask about them. Plenty of corn, plenty of fruit (or cil), plenty. . . . . Up to the province of my Lord Pauru the King's Paka for the land of the city of Jerusalem my

is probable. It has been proposed to translate 'city of the God Salim,' a deity who is not known otherwise; but in these letters the names of Gods have the prefix an (‘deity’), which does not occur in any instance in the name of the city. The word salim for ‘peace’ has just been used in the letter, and occurs elsewhere in these letters.

1 Casipi. It has been read Casia, 'Cushites,' but the word before is in the plural, and the plural could not end in a. Any great success is still attributed to sorcery in the East. It may, however, only mean 'malicious,' according to its use in Hebrew.

2 There was an Egyptian known to history who bore the name of Paur (Brugsch, Hist., i., p. 462); he was a governor in Nubia, somewhat later than the present events. The name,
foe is rebelling. Up to the chiefs of the garrison this chief has surged up. Let the King's (foe) perish by the King . . . for me my foe . . . revolted from me. Do not desert this . . . send me a chief of garrison—a Paka of the King, despatched to this thy people. (The women?) are despatched\(^1\) to the King my Lord (with) men who have been upright. Four messengers\(^2\) . . . to go out. The chiefs of the fort (or camp) are closing the roads of the pass . . . . . . . . . . . . the tribe who have caused the destruction of the city of Ajalon.\(^3\) Let this be known to the King my Lord. Have not I shown the people despatched a road for the King, though it is not easy?\(^4\) Lo! the King my Lord has established his law in the land of the city of Jerusalem forever, and is not the desertion of the lands of the city of Jerusalem manifest? To the scribe of the King my Lord this lamentation thus (speaks) Adoni-

\(^1\) The participle is feminine.

\(^2\) There had been four previous letters, agreeing with my arrangement.

\(^3\) Ajalon (now Yālo) is at the foot of the Bethhoron pass, where the battle against the five kings occurred. The women were apparently sent away before the battle of Ajalon, after which the easiest road to the plains, by Bethhoron and Ajalon, was closed. The flight of Adonizedek took place, according to the Biblical account, after the battle of Ajalon, while Joshua was at Gilgal, where the news was brought.

\(^4\) This appears to be the meaning, and refers to the road,
zedek thy servant—the afflicted. Translate the messages well to the King my Lord. O, scribe of the King my Lord (I am) afflicted, greatly am I afflicted. And thou shalt perform the desire of our people before the chiefs of the land of Cush¹ (Casi). Truly is not there slaughter with us? Thou shalt make it . . . . clear to the chiefs of the land of Cush (Casi) . . . . midst of my land the people to take . . . . . . the King to . . . . seven times and seven times . . . . my Lord to me. . . .

199 B. appears to be from Adonizedek, and speaks of Jerusalem. Only the lower third of the tablet remains. The clay is different to that of the preceding, and it may have been written after the city was left.

'And lo now! the city of Jerusalem when these went away from the land (was) faithful to the King. Lo! the city of Gaza has remained to the King. Behold the land of Harti Cirmiel² belonging to Takanu and the men of the city Givti,³ they have bowed down, going away from the land quietly.

— mentioned in the last letter, by the valley of Elah—less easy than that by Ajalon.

¹ Casi or Cush, as in Egyptian records, appears to mean Upper Egypt. See what has been said as to this name in Ribadda's letter (61 B.).

² Harti Cirmiel is evidently Hareth Carmel, representing the Hebron country from Hareth (Kharas), on the north-west, above the valley of Elah, to Carmel of Judah on the south-east. This would agree with placing Givti at Jeb'a.

³ Apparently the southern Gibeah of Judah, mentioned before (106 B.). Dr. Sayce reads Gath, but when Gath is mentioned it is called Giti (154 B.).
And truly we do so (or but whether do we do so?). Behold Labaya! and the land Salabimi are inhabited by the Hebrew chiefs. Milcilu has sent for (tribute?) and the fellows (say) "Have we not indeed dwelt in (or spoiled?) this land?" They are adjudging all that they desire to the men of the city of Keilah. And truly we are leaving the city of Jerusalem. The chiefs of the garrison have left—without an order—through the wastings of this fellow whom I fear. These march to Addasi. He has remained in his land (or camp) in the city of Gaza . . . (women?) . . . to the land of Egypt . . .'

This letter was written apparently after the defeat of Ajalon, perhaps from Makkedah, where the kings hid in the cave. It is clear from this correspondence that when they fled, after sending away their harems, the intention was to reach Egypt. Gaza is not mentioned as taken by Joshua, and it was here that they expected to find safety.

1 Labaya may mean, according to a common form of expression, the land of Labaya.
2 Salabimi, Shaalbim (Judges i. 35; 1 Kings iv. 9) or Shaalabbin (Josh. xix 42), is probably Selbit, lying south-east of Lydda, near Ajalon.
3 In Judges i. 35 we read of the Amorites remaining in this district.
4 This name may be read various ways, as Addamaru or Abu Amar. Perhaps the name Ithamar may be compared (Exod. vi. 23; xxviii. 1). See also Yabitiri of Joppa (Abiather?).
Suyardata's Letters from (Keilah?).

69 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) Suyardata thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times and seven times I bow. The message which is sent by the King my Lord the Sun from heaven (has come?). His order shall be done for the King my Lord the Sun from heaven.’

67 B. M.—Is a broken letter. It appears to begin as follows: ‘To the King my Lord thus (says) this Suyardata thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times this soul and this body bow. An announcement to the King my Lord that I am causing one to make to bring all the soldiers of the King my Lord; and now this Ra the overseer, my prince, has caused the countries of the King my Lord to be stripped. I am sending them to the King; to (inform myself?) of the King, I am sending to the King my Lord. Let him know this. Who are we . . . . . . . . of the King my Lord to the hands . . . . . . it is ruled.

1 The only difficulty in identifying this place, Ci el-ti, with Keilah lies in the spelling with Caph instead of Koph. The name contains the required guttural found in the Hebrew; this has disappeared from the modern name Kilah. The sign for Ki does not seem to be used in these letters; and there are several other instances of confusion of the two letters, as when Ka is written for Ca, 'thee,' in a few cases.

2 Ra is apparently an Egyptian name. The order for withdrawal of the troops appears to have arrived.
At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow.'

100 B.—' . . . . . to the King my Lord . . . . . my Sun . . . letter thus (says) Suyardata thy servant, the dust of thy feet: at the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times seven times I bow. O King (the message ?) is despatched by me, as to there having been made a war. With the city of Cielti (Keilah) I am warring.¹ My chief city has gathered and has turned to me: against which has sent Adonizedek who is greedy of silver—against the chiefs of the city of Keilah. And they have marched on me behind (or to the west of) me. And know O King my Lord lo! he is marching—Adonizedek—to remove my city from my hands. Let the King ask if he is marching—this chief; and if there is one ox or a beast before him.² And Labaya has deserted his faith. The weak (or the gate) he is marching against we have succoured. But now Labaya is with Adonizedek. I march to a city of my brethren . . . . Know O King as to his servant. Order thou this my desire. And do they not gather? They have

¹ This quarrel between the King of Jerusalem, the King of Makkedah, and the King of Keilah is probably early, before the appearance of the Hebrews; for Adonizedek says that the sons of Labaya (B. 103) were his contemporaries at that time, and Suyardata becomes his ally (B. 106) in presence of the common danger. If 'behind' means to the west (the front being always the east), the attack was from the valley of Elah. Keilah has very rough mountains on the east, and is easily reached on the west.

² The meaning seems to be that Adonizedek had seized the flocks and herds.
put all to shame. The news (is true?): let there be an order of the King for his servant.'

107 B.—Begins with the same salutation from Suyardata. It is much injured, but the following words are clear: 'Know O King my Lord lo! his land has . . . . the city of Keilah . . . . against me, chiefs . . . . the . . . . our ruler . . . . and truly we . . . . against them; and truly we guide the friendly chiefs from the land of the King my Lord.'

It seems from this that the previous letter brought assistance to the writer.

68 B. M.—Perhaps earlier than the preceding; reads: 'To the King my Lord my God and my Sun thus (says) Suyardata thy servant: seven and seven times this soul and this body bow. Let the King my Lord learn. I am one (put to shame?) There shall be Egyptian soldiers (bitati) despatched of the King my Lord. I am hard pressed; and consider thou me (come out to me?) and I shall be established by the King my Lord.'

101 B.—With the usual salutation is from Suyardata, and, though broken, appears to read: 'It is my desire to approach, as taking refuge with the King my Lord. Who am I to regard (being seen?)? Let me approach the King my Lord with these things (articles) of silver—and the silver is pure. O King my Lord Yankhamu (is) thy right hand; and I am mourning for him, since, wholly having gone away, no Egyptian soldiers (bitati) will come back to me from the King my Lord. Let the King my Lord
learn how thirty temples of the gods he has put to shame—he who fights against me. I am left alone. Mightily he has fought against . . . . Give me rest O King my Lord from his hand. The King my Lord shall send Egyptian soldiers (bitati). Now Yankhamu also has returned to the house of the King my Lord. He shall come back—soldiers of the King my Lord with him. Mighty is he who has fought against Suyardata and (men) fail.'

The enemy must have been of another race to destroy the temples. The letter is valuable because it shows that Yankhamu was a contemporary of Suyardata, who was contemporary with Adonizedek, for Yankhamu was also contemporary with Aziru, who was living about twenty years after the death of Thothmes IV.

*Letters of the Lady Basmath.*

137 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) the Lady whose name is Basmatu, thy handmaid. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun, seven times seven times, I bow. Know O King my Lord behold! there has been war in the land, and the land of the King my Lord has been wearied by rebels, by men of blood.

1 Basmath, meaning 'balsam' or 'sweet,' was no doubt a common woman's name. It occurs as the name of Ishmael's daughter whom Esau married (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 13), and as that of one of Solomon's daughters (1 Kings iv. 15). She may have been the wife of Milcilu, King of Gezer, and pleads for her sons after her husband's death. He had apparently been seized by the Hebrews (B. 106).
And know O King as to his land, and know my foolishness (or disgrace). Behold the men (or chiefs) of blood have sent to the city of Ajalon, and to the city of Zar'a (Zorah),¹ and (this is) to show that there is no place of refuge for the two sons of Milcitu; and know O King my Lord this request.'

138 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) the Lady whose name is Basmatu, thy handmaid, the dust of thy feet, and at the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun seven times seven times I bow. Let the King my Lord pluck his land from the hands of the men of blood. Am not I tired marching to the town of Zabuba; and because of not resting O King my Lord?'

There is only one place in Palestine called Zabuba; it is the Sububa of the fourteenth century, the modern Ezbuba, south of Taanach, west of the plain of Esdraelon. Poor Basmath had to go some sixty miles by road to reach it from her home. This interesting little letter, which shows she was not one of the ladies sent to Egypt, though probably a person of importance, seems perhaps to indicate that the central part of the country, from which no appeals for help occur in the letters, was undisturbed. The Amorite-Hittite league came down to Bashan and to Tyre, but not apparently as far as Accho. The Hebrews, on the other hand, coming from Seir, are said to have gone as far north as Rimmon and Shiloh, but were mainly fighting southwards from

¹ Zorah, now Sur'ah (Josh. xix. 41; Judges xiii. 2, etc.), was not far south of Ajalon, and near Gezer on the south-east.
Ajalon. Between the two theatres of war lay the whole of Samaria and Lower Galilee, in which Basmath found a refuge.

Other Letters from the South of Palestine.

136 B.—‘To the King my Lord (my God?), the Sun from heaven, by letter thus (says) Yamirdagan thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. I hear the message of the King my Lord to me, and now I will guard the city of the King my Lord till the coming of a message of the King my Lord for me.’

Comparing the name with that of Dagontacala of Ascalon, it appears that this writer was probably a Philistine.

151 B.—A letter from the ‘Chief of the town Naziba’ to say he goes with his chariots and horses to meet the King’s soldiers. This place must, therefore, have been in or near the plains. It may be the Nezib of the Bible (Josh. xv. 43), now Beit Nusib, eight miles north-west of Hebron, close to Keilah. The chariots could easily reach this vicinity from the plain, by the broad flat highway of the valley of Elah.

55 B. M.—With the usual salutation, Ben Addu, captain of the King’s horse, says: ‘Now they watch the land of the King my Lord exceedingly. And who am I—a dog . . . . . . . . He will hear the messages of the King my Lord and of the Ka-qa (for Paka?) of the King my Lord. To (Sagusi Khasi?) . . . . thus (says) Ben Addu: I bow at thy
feet. All is failing. So now those who are our friends are fleeing to the King; will not he despatch . . . . the road . . . . Now they guard the road: it is cleared for thee.'

56 B. M.—The usual salutation from Ben Addu, of the city of Pitazza; continues: 'Now they guard the city, and land of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven: all that the King has said they watch—the allies. And the decree of the message of the King my Lord Bel Anapa (Baal Anubis) the Paka of the King my Lord has uttered. The King my Lord is mighty as the Sun in heaven. Who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not mind the message of the King my Lord the Sun from heaven?'

153 B.—From the same Ben Addu, of Pitazza, with the usual salutation, and to the same effect as the preceding, but too broken to read.

The only site which seems to be suggested by Pitazza is the important ruin of Futeis, south-east of Gaza. It is near the road to Egypt and in the plains. The letters probably refer to arrangements for the flight of the kings of Jerusalem and Gezer, or of their wives.

77 B. M.—A short broken letter by Satiya, who was apparently chief of the city (or chief town) of Eni-Saam(si), which is perhaps En-Shemesh, close to Zorah, in the valley of Sorek, now 'Ain Shems. It is the Ir-Shemesh of the Bible (Josh. xix. 41), otherwise Beth-Shemesh (Josh. xv. 10). Here, again, we find an Egyptian station in an open valley, on one of the main roads to Jerusalem.
133 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) the chief of Kanu thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Thou thyself hast sent to me, to muster to meet the Egyptian soldiers (bitati); and now I with my soldiers and with my chariots (am) in sight of the soldiers of the King my Lord, as far as the place you will march to.'

This town cannot well be any of the Kanahs of Palestine, since the word would then be Kanatu. It is more probably the important ruin Kanya, close to Rabbath of Judah, immediately west of the valley of Elah; chariots would be possible in this vicinity.

Letters from Uncertain Sites.

33 B. M.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) Abd Istar (?)\(^1\) the King's servant. At the feet of the King my Lord I bow, seven times at the feet of the King my Lord, and seven more, both heart and body. And this is to show the King my Lord how mightily he fights against me, and destroys the rulers from the presence of the King my Lord; and the great King shall give orders for my defenders. Moreover it sends messages to the King my Lord as to me, and I shall hear all the messages of the King my Lord: I will listen. Now ten women (concubines?) I am retaining.'

Perhaps these were some of the ladies on their way to Egypt: tumiki\(^2\) seems to come from the root

---

\(^1\) This name cannot be identified, as has been proposed, with that of Abdasherah, since Ashtoreth and Asherah are different words.
wamak, an Arabic root meaning 'to love.' The Amorite words with an initial vau are nearer to Arabic than to Hebrew or Aramaic. One of the commonest is uras, 'to desire' or 'ask,' whence one of the names of Istar, the Goddess of desire.

34 B. M.—Is a short letter broken at the end; it merely acknowledges a message, and is from Abd Astiti. There was a deity As, or Ast, apparently of Egyptian origin.

60 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my Sun my God thus Mayaya.' The important part of this short letter is broken, but it appears to say: 'Have not they devoured Yankhamu . . . . . this conquest of all the lands from men of blood, and the devouring of thy land.'

65 B. M.—(Sibtiaddu ?) writes as a servant of the King with the usual salutations, and has heard the message. 'Behold what Yankhamu (says). I am a faithful servant at the foot of the King. Let the King my Lord know it. I guard much the King's city which is with me.'

147 B.—From (Khiziri ?), the King's servant. He will meet the soldiers, and has received a message from Maya about a tax.

148 B.—Ruzbanya, of Taruna, is a servant of the King. The letter is broken. He was of old a servant of the King.

150 B.—From Nurtu . . . He listens to the Paka, and will fortify until the King comes to his tribe. He fills a good-sized tablet, without giving any information of interest.
76 B. M.—Zidriyara writes, with the usual compliments, to acknowledge a message.

141 B.—Zidriyara is faithful, as of old, and a friend of the rulers, and listens to all the King's messages.

140 B.—Zidriyara hears the message of the King, whose servant he is—'the Sun from among the Heavenly Gods who has spoken'—and he will not neglect the messages of the King his lord, or of the Paka who is established with him.

135 B.—Apparently without a name. He is only a dog, but will march with chariots and horses to meet the Egyptian soldiers (bitati).

130 B.—Sutarnamu, of his city Zicaruenu, 1 bows to the King. He asks for soldiers of garrison, as they are obstructing the district of the King's land near him. Probably the site is the present village Dhikerin, near Gath on the south, which was the Caphar Dikerin of the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Taanith iv. 8), in the region of Daroma (now Deirân), near Ekron (see Ekha ii. 2). He asks for soldiers.

131 B.—Samuaddu, of the town of Sama'una, listens to all the king's messages. Perhaps Sammûnieh, an ancient and important ruin immediately east of Kirjath Jearim ('Erna), on the way to Jerusalem, by the valley of Sorek, is the place intended.

Nos. 79, 80, 81, B. M., are short and broken letters,

1 If it is to be read simply as a syllabic name, it would be perhaps Musihuna. There is a Mes-hah, 'place of unction,' in Lower Galilee. I have here supposed huna to come from the root hana (Heb. hanah), 'to inhabit.'
which appear only to acknowledge messages received. No. 80 is from a certain Nebo . . . ; in No. 79 there appears to be no personal name, and in No. 81 it is destroyed.

The names of these villages establish a regular chain of posts from Gaza, by Lachish, to the valleys of Sorek and Elah, which seem to have been the most eastern parts of the country in which chariots were to be found. There is no mention of chariots at Jerusalem, or at any village which was not accessible by a flat valley-road. By these posts communication was kept up, it would seem, with Jerusalem; and the messengers probably travelled by this route, avoiding Ajalon. It was by this route that Adonizedek proposed that Amenophis should come up to help him. Whether any such expedition was attempted, none of the letters seem to indicate. The troops had been withdrawn, and the Egyptian policy seems to have been to call out the native levies of the Amorite charioteers. Perhaps, when the five kings had been killed at Makkedah, no further steps were taken, but the lowlands remained unconquered till the time of Samuel and David. Even in Solomon's time Gezer was only received as the dower of the daughter of the Pharaoh (i Kings ix. 16) who had burned the place and killed its Canaanite population. In Judges we read that Judah 'could not drive out the inhabitants of the Shephelah (or lowlands) because they had chariots of iron' (i. 19). The coast road was still open when Dusratta was writing to his son-in-law Amenophis IV: twenty years later; and all
Lower Galilee was, for some few years, with Philistia and Syria, reconquered by Rameses II., who, however, never entered the Judean mountains.

This concludes the sum of 176 letters from Palestine, the translation of which has occupied me for nearly two years. I have no doubt that it may be improved upon in detail; but the general results seem to be too well corroborated, by comparison of the numerous epistles, which throw light on one another, to admit of any very important changes.
VII.

ROYAL LETTERS.

Dusratta's Letters.

9 B. M.—'To Neb-mat-ra (Amenophis III.) King of Egypt my brother, by letter, thus Tuseratta¹ King of Mitani² thy brother. I am at peace. Peace be to thee; to Gilukhipa my sister be peace. To thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy Lords, thy terrible army, thy horses, thy chariots, and in thy land, be much peace. Since I have sat on my father's throne, and have conquered. But (Pirkhi?) made a lawless command in my land, and smote his Lord; and because of these things, they have striven to right me, with who so loved us well; and because my land submitted to this lawless order I was not

¹ Tuser Atta, a Mongol name, 'father of conquest.' Arta Sumara appears to mean 'destroying hero.'
² Mitani or Matiene (Herod. I. 72, 189, 202; III. 94; V. 49, 52; VII. 72) extended from the sources of the Araxes to the Halys river, and thus included all Armenia west of lake Van: other names for the region were, the 'land of Khani Rabbe' (or Khani Rabbatu), and the 'Land of the Minyans.' (See 27 B.)
afraid, but the chiefs who supported Artasumara my brother, with all that were theirs, I slew. As thou wast well with my father, and because of these things, I send this. I say to you, as my brother hears, and will rejoice; my father loved thee, and thou therefore didst love my father; and my father, as he saw this, gave thee my sister; and now . . . as thou wast with my father. When my brother saw these things, he brought all those in the land of the Hittites as foes to my land; and Rimmon my Lord gave them to my hand; and I slew him among them, so that not one returned to his land.¹ Now I have sent thee a chariot with two horses, a young man and a young woman, of the spoil of the land of the Hittites. I have sent thee, as a present to my brother, five chariots, and five yoke of horses; and as a present to Gilukhipa² my sister, I have sent her (trinkets?) of gold, a pair of gold earrings, and . . . of gold, and goodly stones, each (?). Now Gilia, a prudent man, and Tunipripi,³ I send to my brother; speedily let him reply to me; so I shall hear my brother’s salutation, and shall rejoice. Let my brother wish me well; and let my brother send envoys: so my brother’s salutation shall come to me, and I shall hear.⁴

¹ The Hittites clearly did not live in Matiene, but in the adjacent country of Northern Syria.
² Gilukhipa, a Mongol name, ‘possessing glory.’
³ Gilia and Tunipripi, Mongol names, ‘glorious’ and ‘very reliable.’
⁴ This may be dated late in the reign of Amenophis III., as Dusratta survived him.
22 B.—The salutation calls Amenophis III. his 'kinsman,' but does not name his sister.

'Mani my brother's envoy has come to honour me: to take my brother's wife the Queen of Egypt; and I received the letter that came: I learned the declaration of his (order?). My heart has been much gladdened by my brother's message, as my brother will see; and it rejoiced that day exceeding much: that day and night they made (rejoicings?).

'And, my brother, all the message that Mani came to bring has been performed. This same year behold, my brother, I will . . . . his wife, the Queen of Egypt, and I will send . . . . . . hence forth the land of Khanirabbe and the land of Egypt. And because of these things that Mani has spoken, I send back, my brother, Gilia and Mani with speed, to . . . these things; and let not my brother blame them . . . . as to delay in being despatched; for there was no delay to . . . . for my brother's wife; and lo! delay is . . . . In the sixth month I have sent Gilia my envoy, and Mani my brother's envoy: I will send my brother's wife to my brother. So may Istar the Lady of Ladies my Goddess, and Amanu my brother's God, give peace . . . . . . I have sent to my brother; and my brother as . . . increased his (love?) very much, and . . . . . as the heart of my brother was satisfied; and . . . (for our children?) my brother . . . . more than before. . . . I have despatched Khai, my brother,

1 Possibly Queen Teie or Thi.
2 Amanu, the Egyptian god Amen.
trusting his . . . and I give the letter to his hands . . . . . . and let him hear his message . . . . I have sent . . . going to my brother . . . . my brother, are not his soldiers . . . . . .

The next five lines referring to the wife are too broken to read. The back of the tablet continues: ‘. . . which my brother sent . . . . all that my brother has caused to be collected . . . . . . in presence of all of them they have been (given ?) us . . . . all these things, beyond expectation thereof, and the gold . . . which they have paid—and he has indeed lavished very much . . . them, any or all these things; was not the gold . . . . . . They say “In the land of Egypt there is plenty more gold for thee my brother, because he loves thee very much . . . . and will love (and being so ?) is not there, behold, anything needful, anything besides, from the land of Egypt in addition? So send to me, accordingly, him by whom these are given, and there shall be no lack.” Thus indeed (said) I “As to anything (further ?) do not I say to your faces—He loves me, and my land, exceeding much, does this King of Egypt?”

‘And my brother has taken me to his heart: all is as my heart desired; and is it not understood; when he sends shall not I hasten me for my brother: shall not I increase in longing towards my brother: as my brother does also? Mani, my brother’s envoy, has brought my brother’s . . . which was with Mani. I have honoured their . . . . and I, have honoured them very much. Now Mani will take
this; and my brother we direct him to . . . . .
how I have received from him very much: he will
tell my brother this, and my brother will hear what
we have done (as I have sent a list of gifts of this
and that, and he shall not refuse it?).

'And may my brother send untold gold; and may
my father's power increase with me, as my brother
has increased my favour, as my brother has cherished
me much, in the sight of my country, in the sight of
the whole of my brethren. May Rimmon and Amanu
appoint that my brother's wishes be ever fulfilled;
and for myself, my brother, that my wishes may be
fulfilled, as men whom the Sun God loves. And so
now the Gods shall indeed decree for us this prayer,
. . . . . we shall join as friends forever.

'For my brother's present I have sent to my
brother a (double-edged weapon?) . . . and (?) of
emeralds, and pure gold . . . . . . enclosed in a
box, and . . . . . . . of alabaster, and pure gold, for
a box . . . . . . .'

21 B.—'To Amenophis III. the Great King, King
of Egypt, my brother, my kinsman whom I love,
and who loves me, by letter thus Dusratta, the Great
King, King of Mitani, thy brother, thy kinsman who
also loves thee. I am at peace, etc.

'To my brother whom I love I have given his

1 The word Khatanu means any kinsman by marriage, and
emu is still used generally of any 'kinsman' or even for 'friend.'
Some have translated 'son-in-law' and 'father-in-law,' but the
latter word would be khamu, not emu. Dusratta was the father-
in-law of Amenophis IV., but brother-in-law of Amenophis III.
young wife. May the Sun God and Istar . . . . her face. As my brother desires: may . . . . . . and may my brother rejoice, in the day when . . . . . the Sun-God and the God . . . . giving joy to my noble brother, . . . . let them grant it to be . . . . and may my brother . . . . forever.

'Mani my brother's envoy, and Khani my brother's interpreter, as you cause them to be sent, plenty of (provisions?) I shall give them . . . . them much; as they performed their orders I made all the people protect them. If they do not may my Gods, and my brother's Gods, guard them. Now I have sent Nahramani who is careful in my brother's affairs, and I have sent (an ornament?) of precious stones—of precious stones and gold, as a present to my brother; and may my brother be granted to live an hundred years.'

8 B. M.—The salutation is the same as before, but the writer's name is spelt Tusratta instead of Dusratta. The letter is the best preserved in the whole collection.

'Since your forefathers were friendly with my forefathers, thou therefore wast very greatly friendly with my father. So you love me: we are zealous friends. Ten times more you increase it than to my father. The heavenly Gods shall decree that we

1 Binti, not Bintiya, 'my daughter.' The word Bint is still used generally for 'a young woman.' Perhaps Queen Teie is intended.

2 Targumani, 'interpreter;' is the modern 'dragoman.' Khani (see p. 30) was sent to Aziru, showing that the Canaanite rebellion may have occurred in the reign of Amenophis III.
shall be friends. May Rimmon my God, and Amanu, so pronounce, even forever.

‘And so my brother sent Mani his envoy. Thus indeed my brother (said) “Does not my brother’s heart desire that thy daughter (be) the wife of my young son—a princess of Egypt” and I spoke as to my intention about it; and my brother desiring that she should be made ready for Mani, and to show her, so he beheld her, and praised her much. And may they lead her in peace into the land of my brother. May Istar and Amanu make her agreeable to my brother’s heart.

‘Gilia, my envoy, set forth my brother’s message before me. So I heard and it was very good; and so I rejoiced very much. Thus truly I say “This is thus arranged between us so that we may be zealous friends.” Now with firm faith for ever let us be friends.

‘So I shall send to my brother, and I say thus myself, so let us be much more friendly; and do not you respond to us? And I say thus, that my brother has enriched me ten times more than my father.

‘And I have asked much gold of my brother: so he has given me more than to my father. My brother indeed sent to me; and to my father you

---

1 Assat mariya elme, or perhaps Assutti elme, ‘in marriage to the youth.’ There is no statement that shows Dusratta’s daughter to have married Amenophis III. She married his son, and is called the ‘daughter-in-law’ of Queen Teie. (II B. M.)
sent much gold: much (merchandise?) of gold; and besides all the gold you sent him you have sent me bricks of gold (lavished?) like copper.

'I sent Gilia (humbly?) to my brother, and asked for gold. Thus indeed I (said) "Truly my brother has given me more than to my father, and may he send me untold gold."

'May my brother send me more than to my father; and now I say thus to my brother: the (loan?) that my grandfather made, so I may (say), as (one thinking little of wealth?) he made it for thee; and now as regards (what) I say, the gold that my brother shall send, let him send it when he likes.

'Lo my brother has sent the gold saying "It is due to you." But no. No more was due; and he had satisfied the account; and when he had satisfied the account I was glad thereof exceedingly; and whatever my brother sends I have been very glad thereof.

'Now behold I sent to my brother—and may my brother extend his kindness to me more than to my father; now I asked gold of my brother, and whatever gold I asked of my brother, he has sent the double of what was asked. One (sum) for the (loan?), and a second of good will.

'And may my brother send me untold gold; and may he send me more than to my father; and so may the Gods decree, that much more gold besides be in my brother's land, as there now is in my brother's land; and ten times more than there now
is, may it increase.¹ And let not my brother refuse the gold that I ask by my brother's wish; and, as for me, let me not refuse my brother's wish; and may my brother send me very much gold uncounted; and whatever my brother needs let him send and take. Let me return the gift that my brother desires for his household. This land is my brother's land, and this house is my brother's house.

'Now I send Gilia my envoy to my brother. Let him not refuse him. Let him speedily command him: let him send him away. So hearing my brother's salutation let me rejoice exceeding much. Let me ever hear my brother's salutation. And these messages that we send, let my God Rimmon and Amanu decree that they may arrive through their mercy. And as now it is prayed therefor, so we are friends; and as now so forever may we be friends.

'Now as to the gifts for my brother: I have sent as my brother's gifts a quantity of solid gold, and precious stones: (its value?) includes the amount of twenty precious stones, and nineteen pieces of gold. The weight of precious stones and gold remaining includes the amount of forty-two precious stones and twenty pieces of gold Zuzas of Istar: (this is) the weight of precious stones and gold remaining; and ten yoke of horses, and ten chariots, with all that belongs to them, and thirty female slaves.'

27 B.—This is the longest letter in the collection,

¹ The gold came from Nubia and Abyssinia. (See Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., pp. 287, 310.)
ROYAL LETTERS

including six lines in Aramaic, and 512 lines in Dusratta's native language (see Journal Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1892, for my translation). The important passages of the letter appear to me to read as follows, and the meaning is confirmed by statements in other letters by this writer concerning his daughter's marriage. The letter was addressed to Amenophis III., and sent by the same two envoys, Mani and Gilias, already noticed.

'Glias the envoy who takes the message is ordered to utter it, his duty being to go out, because Amenophis III. the Egyptian (ally?) rules a far off land, and I rule in the city Ikhibin the city of the God Simigis the paternal deity.

'To proceed: as Mani my brother's envoy says, it is understood that my brother is very desirous that it should be speedily completed.

'Brother, I gladly empower the envoy to take back this woman, whom Mani says my brother commanded him to bring, when he was ordered as an envoy.

'Understanding that my brother desires now to take her home, is it not necessary, understanding this decision to be preferred; as twenty-three months have gone by, is not her taking home to be hastened? My Court having decided to accept, and being satisfied

1 In Aramaic, Gilia, in the native tongue Glias, with the Mongol termination of the nominative indefinite.
2 Ikhibin, possibly Kaban Maden in Armenia.
3 Si-migi-s is apparently a Mongol title for some deity, 'the eye of night' (or 'of sunset'), either the moon or the evening star.
as well as my wife, and resolved to accept the agreement; and the girl being heartily pleased—how happy she is words cannot tell—the decision is from the Gods, brother, for me the decision is from the mighty Gods, my brother. Surely you know whether I do not desire that she should be so brilliantly exalted, the girl being so fortunately (married): surely you know that I shall be glad.

'Proclaim thou for me that whatever people of Khalci,1 west of the Minyan2 country—whatever people of Khalci I have conquered, are made subject.

'I being the great chief of the power of the land of the Hittites taking to me, my brother, all the people that are conquered. Let it extend to the city of Harran3 and let the land possessed by no king be taxed.

1 Khalci, either Chalcis near Aleppo, or the 'Land of the Khal,' or 'Phœnicians.' (Karnak list, No. 140.)

2 The Minyans (Jer. li. 27; and in Psalm xlv. 8, Targum) lived west of Lake Van. The Hyksos are called Men, or Menti in Egyptian texts. Apepi, the Hyksos King, adored Set, or Sut, who was adored also by the Hittites, and from whom Dusratta's father, Sut-tarna ('Set is his lord') was probably named. It would appear that the Hyksos, Hittites, and Armenians, were of the same race. The land of the Men is said to have been near Assyria, and east of Syria, which agrees. (See Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' vol. i., pp. 210, 233, 234, 239.) The Minyæ of Herodotus (I. 146; IV. 145-8) are noticed as mixed with Aryans in Ionia, and in Lacedemon were regarded as descendants of sailors in the Argo—perhaps from Colchis and the Caucasus. See what is said as to the similarity of the presents from Armenia (26 B.), and the art of Mycenæ and Troy, which is of Asiatic origin.

3 Harran (Gen. xi. 31, etc.) now Harrân, was on the south border of Dusratta's kingdom marching with Assyria. (Compare 24 B.)
'My son in law being married in the city of Thebes in presence of the image of the deity.'

'Is it not thus that Dusratta dwelling afar arranges the marriage of Tadukhipa—Dusratta the favoured (friend ?) from the Minyan land, consenting to the wish of Amenophis III. the Egyptian (friend) that the son of Amenophis III. be so married to her, in the presence of the image of the deity.'

As this letter is written in what is called by scholars an 'unknown language,' these renderings may be questioned. The dialect appears, however, to be closely related to the Akkadian and to other Mongol dialects of Western Asia, and to be also the same used (B. 10) by the Hittites.

10 B. M.—Written, as the Egyptian docket at the bottom of the tablet on the back states, in the thirty-sixth year of Amenophis III., which appears to have been probably the last of his reign.

'To Amenophis III. King of Egypt my brother, my kinsman whom I love, and who loves me, by letter thus Dusratta King of Mitani who loves thee, thy kinsman. I am at peace. Peace be to thee, to thy house, to the woman Tachikhipa my daughter, to the wife thou lovest be peace. To thy wives, to thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy chariots, to thy horses, to thy army, to thy land, and to all that is thine, be much, much, much peace.

'Thus (I say) Istar of Nineveh, the lady of the

1 Tadukhipa, a Mongol name, 'possessing sweetness.'

2 Probably Teie is here meant, as there is no notice of Gilukhipa. She may have died.
lands, is kind of heart to the land of Egypt. In the land that I love do not they walk after her? Do not they cry aloud to her? Now behold it has brought thee prosperity.

'Now from the time of my father they have besought Istar in her land for thy prosperity; and, as of old so now, it continues. They honour her.

'And now may my brother receive of her ten times more than before. Let my brother receive with joy: let it be hastened for him: let it endure.

'Istar is the Lady of Heaven my brother, and as for me let me be guarded by her for an hundred years; and may great joy be given. Let it be granted by her that I may not fail; and as you desire may it (befall?).

'Is not Istar my God, and has not she (prospered?) my brother (or been with my brother?).'

24 B.—The second longest of Dusratta's letters, 185 lines in all, is unfortunately very much damaged, as it is perhaps the most important, giving as it does historical information extending over three generations, during which the kings of Egypt and of Mitani were allied by marriage.

'To . . . . . ya² my kinsman, whom I love and who loves me . . . . . . the great King (King of) Mitani thy kinsman who loves thee. I am at peace

¹ 'Walk after' for 'obey,' or 'worship,' is used just as in Biblical Hebrew.

² The broken name was Nabkhuriya, or Amenophis IV., as is clear from the next paragraph. He was also the husband of Tadukhipa, as here stated. (See 11 B. M.)
to the Lady Teie ... to Tadukhipa my daughter thy wife be peace, to . . . be peace. To thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy chariots, to thy horses, to thy . . . . . and to all that is thine, be much, much, much peace ... ... of Amenophis III. thy father he sent to me; he explained ... ... of all that he sent there was no message at all that I ... ... to your father as to what he sent to me; and Teie the chief wife of Amenophis III. your mother knew all of them. All these have been seen by Teie your mother . ... the messages that your father caused to be addressed to me.

' ... ... and ten times more than with Amenophis III. your father we shall be friendly. ... Amenophis III. your father caused him to tell me whatsoever wish ... ... and whatever message I spoke, faithfully in the same day ... ... he himself did not turn away his heart from any message ... ... but faithfully in the same day he caused it to be done.

' ... ... the father of Amenophis III. sent to Sitatama1 my grandfather, and ... a daughter. He sent to my grandfather five or six times, and he was not given her, when ... ... he sent; and at length he was given her. Amenophis III. your father sent (humbly ?) to Sut (tarna) my father ... ... and so for my father's daughter, my own sister, his heart was desirous; and five (or six) times he ... ... her: when he had sent five or six times at length he was

1 Sitatama, a Mongol name, apparently 'fair-faced.' Suttarna also Mongolic, 'Sut is his Lord.'
given her. So Amenophis III. . . . . sent to me, and so desired a daughter\(^1\) and I . . . . . I said in . . . . . of his envoy "Thus I say I have (sworn ?) to give her: by our wish . . . . . to take, and the . . . . which he has known: and she is a sister so it is lawful; and I give . . . . . . Amenophis III. thy (father ?) . . . if these are not truths . . . . . . heaven and earth bear witness . . . . . to give her; and Khai\(^2\) the envoy of my brother . . . . to the (Queen ?) and to Amenophis III., I sent with her . . . . in three months with the greatest speed . . . . . and the gold . . . . . truly was not . . . . . which I sent.

'When you favoured a daughter, and so (sent for) her, and as Amenophis III. your father knew her, . . . . I rejoiced being exceeding glad, and he said "My brother, is not it thy wish thus to give the handmaid"; and he made public agreement with

\(^1\) As Gilukhipa was married during the reign of Suttarna (appearsby from Egyptian sources in the tenth year of Amenophis III., or about 1490 B.C.), it is possible that Teie is here intended; but her father's name was Iuua, or Iuua, and it is not clear what relation she was to Dusratta. From 11 B. it seems clear that they were related, and later in the present letter he mentions the 'father of Teie,' apparently as living with him after his own father's death. The syllables Ivve (perhaps for Iuua) precede the father's name, but as the text is here broken, it is not certain that these syllables represent a personal name. Perhaps Teie was Dusratta's cousin. She was certainly of royal birth, and is represented as very fair, but with dark hair. The words 'a daughter' may mean only 'a young woman.'

\(^2\) Khai was sent to Aziru (31 B.), which again shows the date of the Canaanite rebellion to have been early.
this his land, in presence of my envoy . . . . . 
sen when they beheld; and I received
from him; and Amenophis III. established us . . . .
for the future; and so receiving . . . . I was made
great; and in the cities which for Tadukhipa . . . . .
in all of them he made us dwell as conquerors,¹ and
among the envoys who went down . . . . . none
that Gilia . . . . the gold of one (limzu) was given by
weight. Truly to Amenophis III. for Tadukhipa it
was given; and Tadukhipa . . . . . was given . . and . . . . my envoys Amenophis III. with . . . .
I received; there was no one . . . . . Amenophis
III. sent Nizik his envoy . . . . . myself; and he . . . . (refusing?) to my face the . . . . of gold
. . . . the gold which . . . . . of Gilia and . . . .
he established us . . . . . my envoys . . . .
to be despatched . . . . . he did not cease to (deny?)
. . . . . and . . . . . he took her . . . . I was not
able to refuse to please him . . . . he sent this to
me . . . . . . . . . they sent was wonderful, and
then . . . . . Amenophis III. your father in every
message . . . . . the lord of the place to protect
her. Did not he order all these as I say . . . . .
do not I say that Teie² . . . . has known . . . . and
Teie is your mother, ask her if, among the messages
that I spake, there is one message which is not vind-

¹ This agrees with 27 B. as regards Dusratta's conquests in
the Hittite country.
² As Amenophis IV. was married already in the reign of
Amenophis III., his mother's marriage evidently took place
some twenty years at least before the date of this letter.
cated by her, as to these (messages) to Amenophis III. your father . . . . if to Amenophis III. your father brotherhood was made by me: if it was said by Amenophis III. your father "If at all (there is) gold that . . . . . in the land of Khani Rabbe I will despatch it; and order thou thus the . . . . do not I desire to cause it to be sent": the . . . bore what was ordered to be given of Amenophis III. your father; and Amenophis III. said to me ". . . . the treasures of gold . . . . all that my . . . . desires is sent . . . . and . . . . to do this I have sent to thee" . . . . . . . . there by Amenophis III. with a message. Never was there a message without a reply. I never refused any of the messages.

'(And when) Amenophis III. was obliged to be taken to his fate, and they told (me) . . . . I tore my cheeks, and I mourned on that same day; I sat (in the dust?); I (took) no food or water that same day; and I was grieved . . . . I said "Let me perish myself from earth, and from my . . . . . and that he loved me God knows, and he was loved" (and because of) these things we are cast down in our hearts.'

' . . . . . to me the eldest son of Amenophis III. by his wife Teie . . . . . . was made, and I said "Has not Amenophis III. died . . . . . . the eldest son of his chief wife Teie (is) in his stead . . . . shall not we be sent news . . . . from her abode as of old."

' . . . . . . . . . . . . I say thus "Amenophis IV. is my brother whom we shall love in our hearts . . . . the son of
Amenophis III. more than his father, because of Teie his mother, who was the wife . . . . . . as she desires a message to the presence of Amenophis IV. (Abkhuriya) the son of Amenophis III. her husband. I (rejoice) very exceeding much that we shall be friends.

'(As they have sent me this message?) As they have ordered it, Gilias is humbly (sent?) . . . . . . they have sent Mani (as an envoy?), and treasures of woods (or trees) my brother has sent, and gold . . . . . . without gold and without . . . . . .'

The next passage is too broken to read, but refers to the continuance of friendship since the time of the ancestors of both kings, and for the future. The back of the tablet is very much broken, the whole of one paragraph, and the greater part of the next, which refers to Teie as the mother of Amenophis IV., being destroyed. It continues:

'. . . . the message of your mother which to Gilias . . . . . He has desired a message to, be despatched and (as he desires) . . . . have not I sent my envoys, and have not I . . . . (and it is not my fault?) and the treasures . . . . . . which he asked of him I have caused to be given, not being desired . . . . . . my envoys four years since you1 . . . . . . . . . . . .

Eight lines are here almost entirely destroyed, referring to some speedy message, and to the former king, with a reference to certain persons, including

1 Apparently this was written at least four years after the death of Amenophis III., or about 1450 B.C. at earliest.
the 'father of Teie (your elders?) with me,' with professions of friendship. The end of the paragraph (lines 40, 41) contains the words, 'as thus he set us up over all her many lands . . . . all the lands are all hers in his sight.' The next paragraph continues:

'... the (treasures?) of gold (allowed to be despatched?) previously by Amenophis III. . . . . he has sent. Lo! very exceedingly my brother has desired that treasures . . . . to us; and much of his gold . . . . very exceedingly my brother . . . . . . as intending for me . . . . whatever among . . . . and your father; was not he given by me; and lo! now let my brother see that I was not at all . . . . to your father: the treasures that he desired were given, and lo! . . . . I am sending back my message: there shall be nothing done to cause the heart to turn away . . . . all the messages . . . . Teie has been a witness, and Teie your mother . . . . . plenty. Lo! I asked your father, and did not your father grant me? and . . . . let this gold be given, and let not my brother's heart . . . . let him not turn from my . . . . . . . when the (loan?) . . . . was not made, and what had . . . . . . .

'... Let Gilia know this day what my brother's heart desires. I have made Gilia travel . . . . thus I have made my brother's envoys to obey him, travelling with speed. If ever, my brother, my envoys . . . . if ever I send my envoys . . . . (the fault is not mine?) . . . . . I have sent Mani.

1 The lands given when Tadukhiba was married.
and Gilia to my brother as before. If at all by my brother my envoys to him, and if by us they shall be received, I also shall so hasten him .... ... Lo! as regards messages from my brother, which he makes about anything as to my brother's intentions ....... thence; and on the throne of his father he sits this day; and let me do my brother's will.

'I say thus, my brother, have not I sent my envoys, and much in their keeping which is for thee; and my brother let ........ which is for thee. Mazipalali¹ my envoy is the paternal uncle of Gilia and for ........ my brother I have sent him, and my brother am not I (the surer?) as Gilia is not ........ And the other envoy whom I shall send to my brother is the brother of Gilia the son of his mother² ........ I sent him. So my brother have not I despatched him speedily without stopping, and, my brother, as to my wishes that I wish (it is not my fault?) and because of these things did not I send Gilia ....... for security, and for all this am not I the surer.

'Mazipalali whom I shall send to my brother is the uncle of Gilia; and the treasures (allowed to be despatched?) ....... and plenty of untold gold of the (loan?) which I desire from my brother let my brother give ....... and let him not refuse; and with my brother gold in addition ............. ten times more may it increase to me exceedingly

¹ Mazipalali, a Mongol name, 'hero with the sword.'

² Indicating that these Mongols were not monogamists.
let these things be ordered; and Mani (with) my envoy my brother . . . . let be given of my brother; and let him send Gilia to me; and . . . . and all the news about my brother’s mother that they shall speak, and (especially ?) let me (hear ?) . . . . . that they did. And lo! as before I sent not to thee my brother, so let him . . . . me. Let not my brother . . . . and to my brother’s pleasure . . . . . and I meditate a message of consolation for my brother.

'Let both Artessupa1 and . . . . thus relate in my brother’s land this thing. I have been sent (under escort ?) . . . . . Mani (brought ?) before me all my wicked slaves, who have dwelt in Egypt, and I examined them2 as to . . . . and they said . . . . and I said before them “Why is your insolence so great?” . . . . So they put them in chains, and . . . . one of my . . . one from my city who has angered the land . . . . and another . . . . did not I slay because of these things? My brother, did not he say . . . . was not I wroth? Behold my brother they were wicked . . . and . . . . my brother it was necessary and now let me (afflict them ?).

'As to a present for my brother. My brother’s presents (are) — a (weight ?) of solid gold from the land Ris Burkhis, a weapon with a stone

1 Mongol name, Ar-Tessupas, ‘worshipper of Tessupas’ (Rimmon). Other Mongol names occur in 27 B. (in the native speech) including Asali, ‘joyful,’ and Artatan, ‘strong soldier.’ If Teie’s name was Mongolic, it would mean ‘bright.’

2 Similar extradition is noticed in the treaty between Rameses II. and Kheta Sar, the Hittite king, a century later.
head\(^1\)... of precious stone... (an ornament?) for the hands of precious stones, one part of gold: three cloths: three... three... (with fastenings?) of gold, ... of refined bronze (or copper) ... two ... .

'As a present for Teie your mother an (ornament?) for the hands of precious stones ... earrings ... two cloths.

'As a present for (Tadukhipa) my (daughter) an (ornament?) for the hands ... earrings ... two cloths.'

23 B.—The salutation is the same as in the last, being addressed to Amenophis IV., to Teie and to Tadukhipa.

'Mani my brother's envoy (has come) to (me). I have heard. I liked much the gifts that my brother ... I saw, and I rejoiced very much. My brother utters this message and (says) "As with my father Amenophis III. you were friends, now behold this day be friends with me thy brother. You will continue to be kind," and I have not delayed ... with my brother. Lo! ten times more than to your father I will be a friend.

'And your father Amenophis III. spoke this message in his letter (by your ...) Mani, "Continue thou the friendship,"\(^2\) and when my brother Amenophis

\(^1\) The signs IZCU, SAK, TAK, 'weapon, stone, head,' seem to indicate a stone axe such as the Carians used. Battle-axes of flint are noticed in the time of Thothmes III. (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., p. 342.)

\(^2\) This letter may perhaps be earlier than the preceding.
phis III. said this, lo! what I had sent was nothing at all, and my brother shall not consider it anything. And I do not send this present, which behold I have sent to thee, as desiring to cause you to send; but (humbly?) whatever my brother desires to be given to his wife, they shall be made to take away. They shall see her,¹ and I will send ten times as much.

'And the treasures of gold (allowed to be despatched?) one treasure for me, and another treasure as the treasure of Tadukhipa my daughter, lo! I asked of Amenophis III. your father. And your father said "Send for the gold that (remains to be remitted?) let the (rest?) be given, and the precious stones that are to be given thee, and the gold, because we have increased the gift, which is marvellous with treasures to be given to you." And the gold of the treasures all my envoys who were in the land of Egypt beheld with their eyes; and your father lavishly increased the treasures in presence of my envoys. He welcomed them on their way; he maintained them! and lavishly expended the . . . . on my envoys. They gazed, and so truly they beheld with their eyes his favour poured out.

'And more gold besides, which was marvellous, which he sent to me; he piled up; and he said to my envoys "Behold the treasures, and behold the gold in plenty, and the possessions which are marvellous,"² which I shall send to my brother: behold

¹ From a later letter (i B. M.) it seems that the foreign ladies were shown to envoys from their parents, to enable them to report as to their health.
² Or 'the curious things.'
them also with your eyes." And my envoys beheld with their eyes.

'But now, my brother; the treasures remitted; which your father sent, you shall not send, but the woods (or trees) have been received. You are sending the possessions that your father sent to me. You shall not send them, but shall store them up very much.

'And thinking of all that one has known, how I rejoiced because of my brother, none ever brought salutation from him at any time, my brother, but the same day return was made to him.

'And Khamassi my brother's envoy he sent (humbly ?) to my presence, and (humbly ?) he spoke my brother's message: I heard and then I said "As I was friends with Amenophis III. thy father, lo! now ten times more with Amenophis IV. (Nabkhuriya) shall I be great friends." So then I said to Khamassi your envoy.

'And lo! my brother: the treasures of gold to be remitted you shall not send; and there (shall be) respite of gifts which your father spoke of sending. It is desired that my brother shall not send them.

'Lo! my brother, the treasures of gold which I asked of your father I may say that half of them will be carried off (or stolen) . . . . . . The lands are at strife.'

1 Or perhaps, 'but letters are received.'

2 This agrees with the letters from Babylonia in showing the disturbed state of the countries between Armenia and Egypt early in the reign of Amenophis IV., due to the revolts of Hittites, Amorites, and Hebrews.
The rest of this letter, including all the back, is too much broken to be read. It appears to go on to speak of 'destruction' and to refer to a state of disturbance. It mentions the envoy Khamassi, and says 'Of what he has brought the fourth part has been robbed.' On the back Gilia is mentioned with gold, and relations between the writer and Amenophis III. He refers again to the message from Amenophis IV., and to Teie his mother; and invokes Rimmon and Amanu. The words 'unless they are conquered' seem also to occur. This letter contained altogether 113 lines of writing.

26 B.—A list of presents. On the back, at the bottom of the left hand column, is the statement, 'These are the things carried by the female slaves, all those things which Dusratta King of Mitani gave to Amenophis III. his brother, his kinsman, when he sent his daughter Tadukhipa to the land of Egypt, to Amenophis III., for marriage, he gave all these that day.'

The list is a very long and difficult one. It begins with two horses, and a chariot plated with gold and silver, and adorned with precious stones. The harness of the horses was adorned in like manner. Two camel litters appear to be next noticed, and apparently variegated garments worked with gold, and embroidered zones and shawls. These are followed by lists of precious stones, and a horse's saddle adorned with gold eagles.¹ A necklace of

¹ The two-headed eagle was a Hittite emblem; it is also found at Mycenae.
solid gold and gems, a bracelet of iron gilt,\(^1\) an anklet of solid gold, and other gold objects follow; and apparently cloths, and silver objects, and vases of copper or bronze. An object of jade or jasper (Yasp\(\nu\)), and leaves of gold, are noticed (both jade and leaves of gold have actually been found in the oldest ruins at Troy), the former being perhaps noticed as coming from Elam, by trade with central Asia, where jade was found. Five gems of 'stone of the great light' (perhaps diamonds) follow, with ornaments for the head and feet, and a number of bronze objects, and harness for chariots. Boxes of strong wood to contain treasures follow next, and apparently a collar with disks and carved lions, objects of silver and gold and strong wood, bronze ornaments for horses. The last noticed objects may be written tablets, including some on the ritual of the Gods.

25 B.—A list similar to the last, perhaps part of the same inventory, as it includes women's ornaments. The tablet is much injured. The objects noticed include an earring with gems, and others of gold, with a large number of precious stones, a necklace with one hundred and twenty-two gems set in gold, including 'green stones'; bracelets and anklets of solid gold with jewels: an umbrella adorned with gold: boxes to hold treasures, and numerous objects of silver: horns of the wild bull,

---

\(^1\) Iron from Asia is believed to have been known yet earlier. (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., pp. 342, 354). It was known in the fourteenth century B.C. by its Semitic name berzil.
and wooden objects adorned with gold: cups of gold adorned with gems: other bracelets and anklets of gold with pendants and stars of jewels: a pair of gold earrings with pendants and stars of precious stones: silver anklets for women, and earrings with gold pendants. In each case the weight of gold and the numbers of the gems are stated.

These inventories of Tadukhipa’s marriage outfit show how far advanced was the civilization of Western Asia in the fourteenth century B.C., and indicate not only the native wealth of gold, silver, copper, and bronze, from Asia Minor and the Caucasus, but also a trade which brought jade from Central Asia. The art of the age is similar to that of the objects found at Troy and Mycenæ, and represented on the Egyptian bas-reliefs, which give pictures of the tribute from Phœnicia. From other tablets in the collection we obtain similar information, including the use of ivory, as also from the records of tribute to Thothmes III. in 1600 B.C.

II B. M.—‘To . . . . . Princess of the Land of Egypt⁴ thus Dusratta King of Mitani. I am at peace: Peace be to thee . . . . Peace be to thy son; peace be to Tadukhipa thy daughter-in-law. To thy land and to all that is thine be much, much peace.

‘Thou hast known of me how I loved Amenophis III. thy husband, and Amenophis III. because he was thy husband how he loved me. As for Amenophis III.

¹ Clearly written to Teie, as Amenophis IV. is mentioned as her son.
thy husband he heard what I said; and Amenophis III., because he was thy husband, sent messages to me; and what he said to thee my ... both Mani has known, and thou ..... hast known all of these things—the messages we zealously uttered. There was nothing thus that he has not known of them.

'Now you said to Gilia, "Say to your Lord, Amenophis III. was friends with your father, and why should his favour be less than to your father? Nay indeed, what he shall send to our place shall not ..... will not you hasten to ..... your friendship with Amenophis III. ..... making it greater; and assure him ..... that you will gladly send ..... 

' ..... to your husband friendship ..... so now ..... your son, ten times more ..... and the messages ..... 

' ..... why from ..... our good faith, and ..... is given to me ..... thus I ..... Amenophis IV. (Nabkhuriya) ..... and now behold ..... to give is not ..... 

' ..... when by your desire I ..... and to the presence of Amenophis IV. ..... and you wished thus ..... do not desire, and ..... the treasures of gold to be remitted, let Amenophis IV. receive. (There is nothing indeed he may not desire ?) that is not ..... ten times more than his father let him increase in friendship towards me, and in power." 

' ..... you yourself, your envoys, with the
envoys of Amenophis IV., with ... let them be sent to Yuni my wife,¹ for what is wished; and the envoys of Yuni my wife let them be sent to (thee) as to what is wished.

'Now as to thy present ... a goodly stone, also (a coronet ?) and a ... of stones.'

It seems clear from this letter, and from 24 B., that Teie (or Thi) the queen of Egypt, was related to Dusratta, but it is not clear that she was his sister. Gilukhipa, the sister whom he names, is known from Egyptian sources to have been the daughter of Suttarna, Dusratta's father, and she came to Egypt with 317 ladies in her train.

It is also to be remarked that Dusratta invokes the Egyptian god Amen both when writing to Amenophis III. and also when writing to Amenophis IV., so that there does not appear to have been any change of religion in Egypt during the reign of the latter—at least, at the time when he wrote. The following is the parallel history of the two families:

*Circa 1550 B.C.* Sitatama. Amenophis II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suttarna. Daughter = Thothmes IV. Iva = Teva.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

*Circa 1470 B.C.* Tadukhipa = Amenophis IV.

Amenophis III. also married at least one Babylonian princess, as will appear in the letters that follow.

¹ Yuni, as a Mongol name, would mean 'true.'
Rimmon Nirari's Letter.

30 B.—'To the Sun God the King my Lord the King of Egypt, thus Rimmon-Nirari¹ thy servant. I bow at my Lord's feet. Lo! Manakhbiya (Thothmes IV.) made my father King . . . . to rule in the Land of Markhasse (or Nukhasse), and established men to dwell with him; and as the King of . . . . was disputing for the kingdom, which has been made . . . . . . which he established for him . . . . . . he gave him . . .'

About twenty lines of the letter are here destroyed; the broken lines below continue thus:

'And lo! my Lord . . . . and the King of the land of the Hittites why . . . . . my Lord the letters . . . . and fearing . . . . . and lo! the King of Egypt . . . and now my Lord against . . . . . and to the hands . . . . . to our Lord . . . . thy Lord in the years that may come . . . . Do not scorn, since the land was faithful in service to the King my Lord. And if God commands my Lord to go forth, let my Lord also send a chief, to be sent up to him with his soldiers and with his chariots.'

¹ Rimmon Nirari is an Assyrian name, but the king so called lived a good deal later. The rank of this writer is evidently inferior, but not as inferior as that of the Canaanite chiefs. He may have been an Assyrian prince, and perhaps wrote to Amenophis III. Nukhasse, Dr. Bezold supposes to be the Anaugas of the records of Thothmes III., an unknown region in Syria. I have supposed it to be Merash, reading Markhasse.
Calimmasin's Letters.

1. B.—'To Amenophis III. the King of Egypt by letter thus (Cal)limmasin1 the King of Carandunias (Babylonia) thy brother. I am at peace. To thee, to thy house, thy wives, thy land, thy chariots, thy horses, thy . . . . be much peace.

'Because of the youngest of my daughters, whom you send to wed, Irtabi whom you remember, they took this message. My father formerly sent a message. You collected many soldiers, you approved his message, and you sent making a present to my father.

'Now I send thee this envoy. In the sixth year you seek for this, and in the sixth year you send thirty manahs of gold (instead of?) silver for my present. I return the same gold. Casi your envoy has known its (value?) which he has seen. I send thy envoy well instructed as to our opinion. For I followed . . . . and the present that he is instructed to . . . . is thirty manahs of gold, which you . . . . . . a gift of alliance.'

The rest is too broken to read. It mentions five women sent, and ten wooden chariots—the latter as presents. The next letter is from Egypt. Either a copy or an original never sent.2

1. B. M.—'To Callimmasin King of Carandunias my brother, by letter thus Amenophis III. the great

1 This king, unknown before, was probably older than Amenophis III., who married his daughter, who was marriageable before the writer's father died.
2 As in the previous case (82 B.). See p. 88.
King, the King of Egypt thy brother. There is peace to my region. To thy region be peace: to thy house, to thy wives, to thy sons, to thy Lords, to thy horses, to thy chariots, and in thy lands be much peace. I am at peace. There is much peace to my house, to my wives, to my sons, to my Lords, my horses, my chariots, my army; and in my lands there is much peace.

'Now I heard the message you sent about her to me. Thus it was, "Now you ask my daughter as your wife, but my sister whom my father gave thee, being good to you, has any seen her whether she has lived or whether she has died?" This is the message that you send in your letter. But did you ever send as your envoy, one who has known your sister, and who has spoken with her, and understood her? And let one speak with her. The chiefs you send are useless, your envoy Zakara is one who is a chief (?). There is not one among them related to your father, and . . . . concerning this my envoy is with thee, and has spoken to her . . . . her heart . . . . concerning this, and she has given . . . . . . . to her mother. And lo! you send this, "You spoke to my envoys, and they gathered your wives: a lady appeared before you (saying) thus, Behold your queen who is brought out before you all. But my envoys knew her not (to be) my sister." Now satisfy yourself as to what you thus send, "My envoys knew her not," and you say, "Who was it that was recognised by her?" Why do not you send as your envoy one who shall tell you a true message as to the salu-
tation from your sister, I pray you? And you said that they disputed as to her appearance. But you can see her with the King. And lo! you send thus, "Who was the princess—a daughter of one who was a native, or was she one of the land of (my neighbours?), or was she the daughter of the Land of Khani Rabbatu, or the princess of the Land of Ugarit, that my envoys so saw, and who was it that spoke to them to satisfy that nothing wrong was done?" And does not your message say all this? But if she has died—your sister, and I am concealing, as you pretend, her . . . . in former times, which we . . . . . . . the God Amanu . . . . (I rejoice that the wife I love?) . . . . she has been made queen . . . . . . I deny that . . . . . . beyond all the wives . . . . . . that the Kings of Egypt . . . . . . in the land of Egypt. And lo! you send thus "Both my daughters . . . as wives of the Kings of the land of Carandunias." But if the . . . of my envoys is friendly, and they have said "With these things our Lord has sent us, as a present, to satisfy thee concerning thy message: the princess salutes the Kings, and all her friends your daughters." Take thou possession from him of whatever is with them, and send me a letter, and arrange with thy sister who is with me, and make sure of everything; and I have sent to thee an overseer, so to make known to your daughters, in order to perceive the evil that they teach you. And lo! you send "The messages that my father has left do not these messages of his say concerning this, that he established alliance between
us?" This is the message you send. Now you and I have fulfilled the alliance, and the portion is before your envoys as they will say in your presence. Is not all to be given by us to her who (is) to come to the land of Egypt (whom) they shall bring before me? And (choose ?) one of them. (Now) I have sent silver, gold, unguents, cloths, all whatsoever the land can give, and the overseer will say what is the value of that which he has brought—every gift to be weighed to you, that my envoy is to give. And we have been shamed by the evils that they speak. They have refuted the abominations—the evil things that they told you of us. And I was grieved when they . . . . us all these things. For is it not of their deceit that they told you thus? And I appointed them not to . . . . them about this. And lo! you send thus, you say thus to my envoys, "There are no soldiers of my Lord, and is not (a young girl?) to be given them?" This is thy message: "Thy envoys said for thee that none are going forth. It might be done safely if there were soldiers, if there be none it is impossible to arrange for us what I am asked by him. If there are soldiers I grant it you, if there are horses I grant you this." This reason your envoy made use of with us, who put me to shame—the evil man whom you sent. I pray thee if they feared to be slain, and lamented evils when she went out, lo! all was in your hands. Thus let my chariots be granted from among the chariots of the ruling chiefs: do not you regard them as a possession? You can send them wherever you please. Are not they all a
possession? Are not there, I pray you also, chariots, are not there I pray you horses with me? Demand all my horses: the chariots behold you shall send to meet you at the stations. As for me you shall send me the girl, and send out one to lead (her) to me.'

3 B. M.—This is broken at the top, but supposed to be from Calimmasin.

... my envoys ... the many ... that they send to me I ... Thou my brother without ... for thy daughter to wed, as I send ... (you say) thus, "From of old a daughter of the King of Egypt was not given for anything." Why so? Thou art a King, and doest thy will. As they spake this message to me I then sent thus, "Many of (your) daughters are grown up. So send one who is grown up as (I ask for) her." Who says thus, "There is no daughter of the King to give." Thou hast sent without enquiring as to this. Thou dost not rebuke alliance and goodwill, as you send approaching me eagerly as to a taking to wife. And I sent to you because of these things, in brotherhood and goodwill, because eagerly approaching me as to taking a wife. My brother, why not send a woman? Why am I repulsed? I myself have sent like thee, I have entrusted a woman. As there were daughters I did not refuse thee. Why associate by taking a wife as ... I have sent to thee to know this ... all your ... so ... they said your ... Lo! my daughter whom I have sent¹ ... you do not take unwillingly, consenting to

¹ Probably Irtabi (1 B.).
whatever you desire . . . . . . and as for the
gold that I send you, your envoy has agreed with me
as to the amount of the gold I . . . . Behold
speedily, within this year, whether in the month of
June (Duzu) or in the month of July (Ab)\(^1\), this mes-
sage being taken away, let her whom I have taken
be . . . . If within this year, in June or in July,
I send you the gold, you shall send . . . the daughter
whom I am given by you, and you in return shall send
the gold for your . . . . But if in June or in July
the gold is not sent, do not cause her whom I have
taken to be sent away. And in return for what will
you send to be carried away her whom I have taken.
Why indeed is it necessary to trouble about gold?
Truly sending 3000 (pounds?) of gold have not I
completed the exchange for you, and have not I
given my daughter to take to wife?'

Assurbalid's Letter.

9 B.—'To Amenophis IV. (the great King?) the
King of Egypt my brother, thus Assurbalid\(^2\) King of
Assyria the great King thy brother. Peace be to
thee, to thy house, and to thy land. I was very glad
when I saw your envoys. Let me send your envoys
again with my message. I have sent as a present

\(^1\) The month names are written in ideograms of Akkadian
origin.

\(^2\) This king's date has been placed as late as 1400 B.C., but
the dates are not accurately fixed. His daughter appears to
have married Burnaburias of Babylon before 1450 B.C. ('Trans.
Soc. Bib. Arch,' I., p. 69). His predecessor, Buzur Assur, had
settled the Assyrian boundary with Burnaburias. (Ibid., p. 68).
for you a chariot (of the royal forces?) of my . . . . and two horses swift and sure. A chariot (without harness?) and a precious stone.

'The sending of gold from your land that has formerly come across to the great King has ceased.' Why should he be repulsed from your sight? They have taken as much gold as there was; as much as I have received, which also I have needed, is caused to be sent.

'In the time of Assurnadinakhi² my ancestor they sent to the land of Egypt twenty (pounds?) of gold.

'In the time that the King of Khani-Rabbatu sent to your father, to the land of Egypt, they sent him twenty (pounds) of gold.

'... To the King of Khani Rabbatu and to me . . . . you have sent gold. I sent . . . . and you . . . . from the hands of my envoys . . . . .

'If fortunately your face is favourable send gold, and let him who executes the message take what is needed. In return let our envoys be sent to thee from us. Your envoys who have tarried with me needing men to guide them it is granted, in order that I may send this. They took from me men to

¹ This interruption (see also the letter from Chaldea, 18 B., in the later reign of Horus) was probably due to the Syrian revolt (compare 23 B., 7 B., and 8 B.), showing that the power of Egypt, broken in 1480 B.C., was still unrecognised as late as 1400 B.C., which brings us near the time when Rameses II. recognised the independence of the Hittites about 1360 B.C. (See p. 96.)

² Supposed to have reigned about 1550 B.C.: presents from Assyria were received by Thothmes III. even earlier (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., p. 328), including chariots and cedar wood.
guide them as they went down. Do not disgrace my envoys, and do not delay them for me. Why should we not in future send out envoys? In future they will carry news, in future they will be sent out to the King to carry the news. And in future let it be declared "Whosoever of us is treacherous let him be destroyed for the King." I have received (envoys) thirteen times, why should not other envoys besides from the King in future again . . . . .

Letters from Burnūburias.

2 B. M.—'To Amenophis IV. (Nikkhuarriya) King of Egypt, by letter thus Burraburias King of Caradunias¹ thy brother. I am at peace. May there be much peace to thee, to thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy land, thy Lords, thy horses, thy chariots.

'Since my fathers and thy fathers spoke good things zealously, sending eagerly to make presents,

¹ Burnūburias appears to have reigned about 1450 B.C., or a little later. As regards the dates of Egyptian kings, they rest on the statement (see Brugsch, Hist., I., p. 395) that the star Sothis rose on the 28th of Epiphi, in the reign of Thothmes III., and on the date of the new moon of various months in the same reign. The Egyptian year was a year of 365 days, and therefore vague as regarded the sidereal year. The risings of Sothis (Sirius) are recorded ('Decree of Canopus') in the later Ptolemaic times as they occurred in connection with the Egyptian year, changing one day every four solar years; and the Rosetta stone fixes the calendar. From the rising of Sothis we should obtain a date about 1598 B.C. as falling in the reign of Thothmes III.; and from the coincidences of the new moon we should obtain 1574 B.C. as the thirty-fourth, and 1585 B.C. as the twenty-third years of his reign. He would, therefore, accede 1608 B.C. Dr. Brugsch places his accession about 1600 B.C.
and making friends—and did not they speak eagerly—lo! now my brother has sent two manahs of gold as a present to me. Lo! there is much gold besides, which your father sent, and as this has increased beyond what your father gave, why should you send two manahs of gold? Lo! I have received much, even very much gold, which remains in the temple. Enough gold has been sent. Why should you send two manahs of gold? But as for thee, whatever is needed in thy land send for it, let it be taken of me for thee.

‘In the time of Curigalzu\(^1\) my father, all the Canaanites sent to him (saying) thus, “What sayest thou as to the setting up of the land. It is weak. What sayest thou?”

‘My father clave to thy (father). He sent to them thus, “It has been sent to me as to your discontent. If you are foes with the King of Egypt my brother, you must cleave to some other. Shall not I go out against you for this? Shall not I destroy you, as if you were discontented with me?” My father heard them not because of your father. Now behold Assyria has arrayed against me. Did not I send to you, as to their thoughts about your land? Why do they send against me? If you have pity on me it will never be done. They will fail to win these things. I have sent to thee, as a present for thee, three manahs of precious stones, fifteen pairs of horses for five wooden chariots.’

\(^1\) This indicates the beginning of the Syrian wars in the reign of Amenophis III.
3 B. M.—The salutation is the same as in the preceding.

'Since the time of Caraindas, since your father's envoys to my father came to me, until now there has been good will. Now I and thou are well with each other. Your envoys have come thrice to me, making also presents, whatever was sent. And I have sent to thee whatever present has been made. As for me, is it not all an honour, and as for thee have not I honoured thee in all? Your envoy whom you send, has not he paid the twenty manahs of gold that he has brought? And as for the gifts that remained, is not the amount five manahs of gold?'

Five lines of the letter are here destroyed. On the back of the tablet it continues:

'... the forces of the land (of Egypt?) ... these let him gather within the year, which thy envoy says he has sent, and he shall cause the women of the princess to be guided to you, any time that you order. Let me ask for her that the speed may be greater; and having been delayed, when he has made speed let your envoy take (them), and he shall do more than they did before. So I have told my envoy Sindisugab to say. So let them both station the chariots speedily. Let them come to me, and let them make proper arrangements; so let my envoy and your envoy come to me, speedily conveyed.

'As a present for thee I have sent thee two manahs of precious stones; and (to enrich?) your daughter
my son's wife\(^1\) he gave a \ldots and (an amulet to cause safety?) and I have sent thee as a present precious stones to the number of one thousand forty and eight; and I sent, as your envoy was sent back with Sindisugab.'

4 B. M.—With the same salutation as before, is very much broken. It contains a list of presents sent in connection with the same royal marriage of a daughter of the King of Egypt to the Babylonian prince. The envoy's name was Sutti; the presents included a throne of strong wood, ivory, and gold, and another of wood and gold, with other objects of gold and strong wood.

6 B.—The salutation is the same, but the Kings' names are spelt Nabkhururia and Burnaburias. This tablet is very much injured. It refers to a daughter and a promise. It continues:

'He takes her people with (him in) seven chariots, with seven chariots which he took from me; all that belongs to her behold \ldots let me send her people to you. The Kings who \ldots of the daughter of the great King, in five chariots \ldots to your father \ldots three overseers \ldots us he (sent ?) \ldots .'

About half the obverse of the letter is then lost,

\(^1\) Apparently a Babylonian princess was to be sent to Egypt, and an Egyptian princess to Babylon. The two royal families were already allied by the marriage of Irtabi, and yet earlier of the sister of Calimmasin (1 B. M.), even if no Egyptian princess had been granted to the latter. The writer's son was probably Carakhardas, who succeeded him.
and about a quarter of the upper part of the back. It then continues:

'If (the arrangements) are already complete . . . . . . if there are no previous arrangements let . . . . . . to send Zalmu for the Royal Princess, for Zalmu\(^1\) was your envoy whom I sent out, let him (come) . . . . let him take back the soldiers whom he has sought of me, and let him (take?) . . . of the people of the neighbourhood, who being speedily sent he may take back, and let them add as many as . . . . . .

'Khai\(^2\) your chief, whom you send, is given soldiers and a chariot of our . . . . . and send plenty of soldiers with Khai, for the King's daughter . . . and otherwise do not send the King's daughter to travel . . . . . . Do not delay; send speedily . . . in the course of this year you shall send a chariot and soldiers, so gathering . . . . . . let them unite as many as he says (are necessary?).

'Your father sent much gold to Curigalzu . . . . of Curigalzu, the quantity thereof increased in the palace . . . . . . so, because he heard the Kings (or great men) who gave advice, thus the gold . . . . . . the Kings, brotherhood, and good will, peace, and fealty . . . . . the . . . increased the silver, increased the gold, increased . . . . . .

'As thy present I have sent . . . . of precious stone. To the Lady of thy house twenty (?) of precious stones: so my wife causes me to send, because very greatly . . . . and as she desires shall it not be done,

\(^1\) Zalmu was a Babylonian. See the next letter.

\(^2\) Khai was still living in the reign of Amenophis IV.
as I rejoiced being glad ......... let them take of me much gold for thy self .... let them take of me according as I ......... may it come quickly; and has not my lord ordered thus, that your envoy should bring to his brother much .... so let me send to thee .......

7 B.—The salutation from Burnaburias is the same as in the preceding letters. The letter continues:

‘On the day that my brother’s envoy arrived, and brought me this message, his envoy (came) wearied to my presence: he had eaten no food, and (had drunk) no strong drink .... the envoy you send told me the news, that he had not brought to me the caravan\(^1\) on account of (wicked men ?) from whom it was not (safe ?). So he has not brought to me the caravan. The explanation of the (head man ?) was, because of fear of being destroyed, which my brother has (known of). Thus as I desired explanation, not .... why the (chief ?) did not .... his envoy, why he had not sent it, had not .... my brother’s envoy he has caused to say this .... “Is it not that the region was at strife ?” thus .... your brother heard this. He has sent you salutation. Who is it that has told my brother thus that the land has risen? Your brother sends with speed to salute you, as wishing to hear this. Does not he send his envoy to thee? I have told him then to say to my brother, “A great multitude has arisen, and the land is at strife: the thing is true that thy envoy thus said. As thy brother heard not that the expedition has marched

\(^1\) Siiri, ‘a company of merchants,’ as in Hebrew.
on thee, he has asked. Has not he sent to salute thee?" So as I asked my envoy he said, "As the foe has arisen let him be destroyed." My brother, have not I ordered this? And so they told me all that has happened in my brother's country, and is not all this explanation necessary? And all has thus happened in my land, and as for me is it not all needful? "The lawful command that was previously in the hands of our kingdom has been opposed" he said. We have speedily sent salutation: an interchange of messages between us has been established . . . . . to your presence . . . . . ." 

Several lines are here missing at the top of the tablet on the back, and the letter then continues:

'' . . . my salutation . . . and your salutation with . . . . Thou thyself behold hast (sent ?) thy envoy, to make known this message. So I made him wait for this. I have sent my messenger with speed, when he has rested sixty-one days, and as he said to me this "I saw the foes (but not) at all was I afraid." And to-day he is . . . . I have sent to thee making many presents. I have sent to my brother's hands, as a present for thee, (eighty ?) precious stones; and I have sent to my brother five yoke of horses, which are brought this day by my envoy. I desired to send, making many presents to be sent to my brother. And whatever notification (is) needful let this notification be sent, let them

1 Or 'advised this.' The foes attacking Egypt were at some distance from Babylonia, and the news only came by the envoy from Egypt.
take it for me from their home. I have claimed delay that they may send presenting much gold. I send notice to my brother: truly on account of my delay he has remained. The gold I notify I have sent. I return explanation to your presence. Have not I despatched everything to my brother? Let him behold the notice: let him sign for whatever is sent . . . . I was anxious lest when I sent a notice my brother did not see (it) . . . thus I have returned that which my brother signed, I have sent (it) for the gold that they brought me. As for the gifts I so despatch thou shalt thus (reply ?); does not . . . .

'Zalmu my envoy whom I send to you is responsible to us if . . . . have plundered. I have made Biriyamaza responsible for . . . . (If) again they have plundered, I have made Pamakhu responsible in part for . . . . to your land complete.

'. . . . they have sworn . . . . let my envoy . . . to the presence of my brother . . . . let him be sent back to me . . . . his message: let him salute . . . .'

8 B.—The same salutation from Burnaburias to Amenophis IV. The letter continues:

'For this also my brother we speak with good will eagerly, and we cause this to be said thus with eagerness (or speed) in reply. As for us we have been troubled indeed. Lo! the merchants who have returned with a charge, from the land of Canaan, have spoken in my hearing. They were anxious on account of the charge from my brother's presence,
as Sumatta\textsuperscript{1} the son of Malumme from the city of Khinnatunu,\textsuperscript{2} in the land of Canaan, and Sutatna son of Sarratu of the city of Acca\textsuperscript{3} sent their soldiers: they perceived my merchants, and they spoiled our . . . . . . . I sent to you . . . . let him tell you.

'The Canaanites in your country, and the Kings . . . in your country have violently cut off . . . . the silver that they carried—a present . . . . . . And the men who are my servants . . . . has smitten them. He destroyed our (wealth ?); and as these chiefs he has caused to be slain, it is clear that the man is indeed my foe. And indeed they are slaying a chief of your envoys: when he was an envoy between us he was slain, and his people have been hostile to you, and the chief my foe, Sumatta, dogging his steps, caused him to be slain; he saw him and slew him. And the other chief Sutatna the Acchoite (though at first they repelled him ?) sent his chiefs against him . . . . . . he said thus. Behold this . . . . ask as to this, truly you know . . . . . I have sent thee as a present one manah of precious stones . . . my envoy speedily . . . . truly my brother has known . . . . do not (blame ?) my envoy . . . let him be speedily sent . . . . .'

\textsuperscript{1} Sumatta: compare Shammah (Gen. xxxvi. 13-17), a proper name perhaps from the same root.

\textsuperscript{2} Khinna tuni would mean 'inhabiting Khinna;' see Khini (64 B. M., p. 25), but more probably Hannathon in lower Galilee east of Accho is intended, now Kefr'Anán.

\textsuperscript{3} See Zatatna and Surata, kings of Accho (93 B., 95 B.), pp. 109, 110. This, taken with the name of Neboyapiza in the latter letter, indicates a date early in the reign of Amenophis IV.
These two last letters of Burnaburias are important as showing the disturbances in Syria, also mentioned by Dusratta (23 B.) early in the reign of Amenophis IV.

28 B.—A very broken tablet containing a long list of presents supposed to have been sent by Burnaburias, and consisting mainly of gold and gems.

*Letters from Alasiya.*

7 B. M.—"To the King of Egypt my brother by letter, thus the King of the Land of Alasiya1 thy brother. I am at peace. Peace be to my brother. May there be much peace to his house, to his wives, to his son, to his horses, his chariots, and in his land. My brother's present (is) fifty (pounds of bronze?) five yoke of horses. I have sent my brother's present (and) my brother's envoy with speed, and let my brother despatch my messenger again with speed, and let me ask a gift which ...... and ...... In his letter it is directed what to send. He has sent silver. Let him send, not refusing the explanation of my envoy ...... Cuniea, Ebiluna, Sirumma, Usbarra, Belraam,2 the explanation which

1 *Alasiya* was apparently a maritime region beyond the tributary Egyptian states, and not either in Babylonia (Shinar) nor in the Hittite country (5 B. M.); probably it is the Elishah of the Bible on the south shores of Asia Minor. (See my note 'P. E. F. Quarterly Statement,' January, 1892, p. 44.) Elishah (Gen. x. 4; Ezek. xxvii. 7) was a maritime region. The diffusion westwards of a Semitic population in Cilicia has long been suspected to have occurred early.

2 Semitic personal names, showing the worship of Ea and Baal in Elishah.
ROYAL LETTERS

these things which are with . . . .

12 B.—The salutation is the same, mentioning only one son of the King of Egypt.

‘My brother has speedily sent my envoys (under escort?), and I heard your salutation. The chief (and) my merchants my brother has despatched speedily (under escort?): has not your chief approached with my merchants and my fleet (or ship)?’

15 B.—A much broken letter from the same, referring to the sending of copper. The last words appear to be ‘let him come returning year by year.’

11 B.—The salutation is the same, including ‘thy house, thy concubines, thy sons,’ etc. This is a very difficult letter, but appears to read: ‘Why, my brother, do you utter this message to me? My brother has known nothing at all that I have not done. As for me, behold the Chiefs of the land of the Lucci whom you confounded in my land, I (was) glad should be conquered.’

‘My brother you say to me, “Lo the Chiefs of thy land are with them,” but I (say) my brother has not known this that they are with them; (or) if they are Chiefs of my land. But send thou to me and do as I wish.

1 The signs SAL US indicate ‘female servants.’
2 Lukki, perhaps the Lycians, or perhaps the Ligyes of Herodotus, on the borders of Matiene (VII., 72). They appear to be the Laka who lived in the Taurus, the Leku of Egyptian records (Brugsch, II., pp. 44, 54, 116, 124) mentioned with other tribes of North Syria, and with the Shakalisha—perhaps Cilicians.
'Do not you know the Chiefs of my land? Do not make this message (even) if they are Chiefs of my land. But do as you wish.

'Lo! my brother, as you do not send my envoy, this letter will speak for me as a brother of the King. It is brought by your envoy.

'Moreover I have perceived neither hindrance nor evil in what was done, and lo! my brother, are not you at rest in your heart?'

5 B. M.—The salutation is in the fullest form—nine lines. The letter is almost perfect, and continues:

'Lo I have sent to thy presence five hundred pieces of copper (or bronze) as a present for my brother; as brother, little copper is found (is it not so) in your midst. When the power of An-Amar-ut\(^1\) my Lord smote the whole of the men of my land, and none made bronze, also my brother it has not been found in thy midst.

'Your envoy with my envoy I hope to despatch, and whatever my brother requires of copper I also have sent thee. A Brother thou art to me. Much gold and silver he has sent to me. My brother, God (Elohim) gives me also gold. And to my brother's presence I have sent thee whatever my brother desires. Moreover, my brother, do not you

---

\(^1\) An-Amar-ut, 'sun disk,' I have supposed to be the name of Khu-en-Aten, 'glory of the Sun disk,' a title apparently of Amenophis IV. (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I., p. 441); but it may, of course, refer to the god so called (see note, p. 25). The King of Egypt is called the sun god in many of the letters in this collection.
desire my envoy? And my brother has given me also men of his bosom. My brother has sent me two (precious vases?) and has despatched to me one of the Chiefs of illustrious birth.¹

'Moreover, my brother, the Chiefs of my land say to me, that they have walked for me according to the letters of the King of Egypt; and, my brother, the decrees also, and the ....

'Moreover as a Chief of the land of Alasiya has died in the land of Egypt, and his possessions are in your land, and his son and his wife are with me; and, my brother, the possessions of the Chiefs of Alasiya are .... Give them also, my brother, into the hands of my envoy. My brother, has not he abode in your midst, as your envoy abode three years in my land, because the power of An-Amar-ut is in my land; and with my family (and) my wife, is the son of him who has died even now, my brother. I hope to despatch (under escort?) your envoy with my envoy; and I have sent a present to thee, my brother. Moreover my brother has sent the gold that I desired of thee—much gold, my brother. And let my brother send the possessions that I ask of thee. And, whatever were the messages, my brother has done all, and as for thee whatever messages you utter to me, I also have done. With the King of the Hittites, and with the

¹ The sign KHU means 'bird,' but also 'glory,' and 'prince.' *Lik KHUMES, I take to mean 'born of princes.' Others have rendered it 'who trains birds,' but it would rather mean 'who gives birth to birds,' which is impossible.
King of Shinar, with these I am not familiar. Whatever gifts they have sent to me, and I have rendered twice the amount to thee. Thy envoy has been sent to me to serve, and my envoy has been sent to thee to serve.'

6 B. M.—'Thus the King of Alasiya to the King of Egypt my brother. Let him learn: behold I have been at peace, and my land is mighty; and because of your salutation peace be to you, peace be to your house, your sons, your wives, your horses, your chariots, your land. May there be much peace for ever, my brother.

'Lo! you shall send to me. Why do not you send your envoy to my city again; and I heard not. Lo! how much you afflict me, and I am not made acquainted with all in your midst, and I wonder at this. And now I have despatched my envoy to your city, and I have also despatched to you, by the hands of my envoy for you, one hundred (pounds?) of bronze again. And your envoy carries now gifts—a couch of strong wood, enriched with gold, and chariots enriched with gold, and two horses, and forty-two (vases?), and fifty gold (vases?), and two cups, and fourteen pieces of strong wood, and seventeen large vessels of good make . . . . from the (?) ; four (vases?), and four gold (vases?) . . . . the gifts of which none . . . .'

The next thirteen lines are almost entirely destroyed. The letter continues on the back of the tablet.
ROYAL LETTERS

'*... Alasiya my merchants with thy merchants, and... with them; and truly there is good faith... and my envoy will go to your city, and your envoy shall go to my city. Moreover why will you not despatch for me (unguents and vases?) I (say), and I will order what you wish, and that which is useful (serving well?) in fulfilment of the decree, I order to be given thee. Behold you sit on the throne of your Kingdom.'

13 B.—A short fragment, too broken to read, includes the names of the countries of Egypt and of Alasiya, with salutations. It includes a reference to merchants, and apparently to presents, nine lines in all.

14 B.—The writing and the clay appear to show that this also came from Alasiya. It included twenty-two lines, but is much broken. The following may be read:

'Lo! as a present to thee I have sent five pieces of copper, three (pounds) of good copper, one (?), one (weapon?)—a ship load. Also my brother these men of this royal ship... and as for thee, the ship... speedily... is sent. Thou art my brother. You desire a salutation, and I have given it to thee. This man, the servant of the King my Lord, does not he approach before them? and thou, my brother, send him speedily (under escort?).'

16 B.—The ordinary salutation is much broken, but the writing, and the clay of the tablet, seem to show that the letter came from Alasiya. The second
paragraph mentions countries called *Umdhi* ... and *Tim* ... , possibly Hamath and Damascus. The third paragraph continues:

'And now behold why do you ... your fortress more than my fortress; and who is it that has vexed us? It is the abode of an hundred sons of violence. So now ... my brother, because of this, the city *Khumme* has meditated evil, and if ... why not gather, and ... to preserve, since it is necessary that they should be protected from what ... .'

The remainder, including a note for the King's scribe, is too broken to read.

17 B.—A mere fragment, apparently from *Alasiya*, contains a list of presents, including five wooden thrones (or chairs), objects of silver, a wooden foot-stool, and a weight of one *manah* of some other substance.

*Letters from unknown Princes.*

18 B.—'The message of *Nisba* ...?1 King of the land of *(Caldi ?)* to *Khuri* (Horus)2 King of the land of Egypt by letter. Peace be to the ... of

---

1 Perhaps *Nisba* ... is the same as *Nazibugas*, King of Babylonia about 1430 B.C., the country being that of the *Caldi*, or Chaldeans, who inhabited the country between Babylon and the Persian Gulf in the eighth century B.C. ('Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.,' I, p. 78). He was not of the family of Burnaburias, and was slain by the Assyrians.

2 Horus, the successor of Amenophis IV. (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egypt,' I, p. 462), about 1430 B.C., or later.
thy land, to thy . . . thy sons, thy house, thy soldiers, thy chariots; to all that is thine be much peace.

' My envoys I sent to your father repeatedly, and the desire that your father desired of us (was granted), truly we were very friendly. I refused nothing that your father sent for; and I did everything, and the desire of your father that your father desired I never refused: everything was granted. When your father ruled he often sent. Why has my Lord then not done the same?

' Behold, my brother, you are exalted to the throne of your father; and as your father and I thought presents necessary between us, now also I lament that this is prevented between us. I am quite distracted. And I spoke what was desired by the . . . . of your father. Let the same . . . increase with my brother. It has ceased between us . . . . which was your father's desire. . . . . you do not order to go out: (I have sent) manahs of gold, one . . . . to my Lord the King, and two treasures for the women . . . . but you are very silent; and as to . . . . . . their instructions have been many, my brother.'

The back of the tablet is broken at the top.

' . . . . and if my brother . . . . my . . . . let him decide these things . . . . for my brother to give me. Behold . . . . . so my chariots have waited to receive a message from my brother. I have explained these things; and whatever my brother needs send for it; let me send it to you.
‘Now I have sent you as your present one lump of molten silver, five manahs in weight; one lump of silver (?) three manahs by weight; and two large gum-trees.’

29 B. — *To my Lord the King of Egypt my father, by letter thus Zi(dana?)* the King’s son, thy son. May there be much peace in presence of my Lord my father. During my Lord’s reign your envoys have often travelled on the road to the land of the Hittites, and have appeared before you; and I have sent a present for thee, my father, and a message. 

. . . . your envoys . . . . . . . . . . Now your envoys are returning to you, from the land of the Hittites. I myself am sending my envoys with thy envoys, my father, and, with thy gift, I have sent you sixteen young men as bearers; and as gold is needed here, and my father has sent gold, whatever is needed by my Lord, my father, send for it. I pledge it you.’

The following appears to be the contemporary

---

1 *Nacatu*υ, the Hebrew neco*th* (Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11) is among the presents sent to Egypt by Jacob, and taken by the Ishmaelites to Egypt with Joseph. It appears to be the Arabic Nakāh, the Astragalus, from which gum tragacanth is extracted. Some commentators, however, understand the Styrax or mock orange, common in Palestine and Syria, and found in Asia Minor (Arabic, *Abhar*).

2 *Zidana* may be Zitana the Phoenician (134 B., see p. 26) who deserted, and who seems to have been possibly the chief of Arvad, who aided Aziru. The term ‘king’s son’ is probably only a profession of obedience. Arvad was on the way to the Hittite country.
history of the reigns of Egyptian and Asiatic Kings noticed in these letters or otherwise known:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximate date B.C.</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Mitani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>Amenophis II</td>
<td>Sitatama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>Thothmes IV</td>
<td>Suttarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Amenophis III</td>
<td>Artasumara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460</td>
<td>Amenophis IV</td>
<td>Dusratta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Horus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximate date B.C.</th>
<th>Assyria</th>
<th>Babylonia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>Assurnadinakhi</td>
<td>Calimmasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530</td>
<td>Assurnirari</td>
<td>Curigalzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Buzur Assur</td>
<td>Caraindas { Burnaburias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1460</td>
<td>Assurubalid</td>
<td>{ Carakhardas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Balnirari</td>
<td>Nazibugas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dates are uncertain, and placed by some writers about thirty years later; the Kings’ reigns

1 The Hittite contemporary, *circa* 1480-1450 B.C., was Aidugama, of Kadesh; he was succeeded by Saplel, whose son was Maurasar, who had two sons, Mautur and Khetasar: the latter ruling about 1360 B.C. (Chabas, ‘Voyage,’ p. 334), giving four generations in 120 years. Saplel and Maurasar were independent of Egypt. Mautur (who was murdered) fought with Seti I. of Egypt. Khetasar made a treaty with Rameses II. All these names appear to be Mongolic, as is that of Khetasar’s envoy Tartisebu, and those of other Hittite princes named in Egyptian records (Chabas, p. 329), viz.: Peis, Galbatus, Samaritas (compare Arta-Sumara, Dusratta’s brother), Totar, Tiatar, Tarkunas (compare Tarkondara, 10 B.), Gamaïs (compare Aidugama), Tarkalasas, Tzuaatsas, Rabsuna, Matzilima, and Pisiris. Many of these names are compounded with Tar, and Tarka, ‘chief,’ and others have the Mongol termination in s. All may be translated as Mongol words.
overlapped each other, and the generations were not quite contemporary, as has been shown in the table of alliances with Dusratta's family.

**Mythological Tablets.**

There are several fragments of this nature (234-237 B.) in addition to two fairly complete tablets.

240 B.—The first five lines are too broken to read; the text then continues:

'*...* "so let me have patience" thus in his prayer he said *...* impatiently he waited seven days *...* he did not give light on earth. The God of Heaven sent his messenger the winged God (saying), "He is longed for, they are afraid, he has not shone on earth since seven days." The winged messenger said to him, "Behold O Adar son of Ocean, God awaits impatiently on high a message as to these things. Explain O noble one. He speaks peace from his throne. O thou divine son of Ocean, Heaven sends down this message *...* he sends a messenger to look for you *...* your heart *...* Why do you stop? Whom do you curse? Has not this destruction wrought us ruin on earth? I (say) now, who has done it: who has wrought us ruin on earth? Tammuz and Istar have diligently enquired.' Their cry goes forth to me a message of

---

1 Or 'have been greatly alarmed.' *Tammuz* was the sun, who is called in Gudea's text 'Lord of the lifeless land below.' *Istar*, the mother goddess, sometimes the mother, sometimes the bride of Tammuz, is identified with the moon. She had many names and titles, some from attributes, some from her local
woe. To God . . . they have bowed the face, praying a prayer. They have despained: they have blamed thee for thy absence. 'We suppose he has eaten deadly food'—you do not eat. 'We suppose he has drunk deadly drink'—you do not drink. 'We suppose perchance he has eaten the fat: we suppose he drinks oil may be.' For shame. They have thus waited for a long time pining for a message. You perceive clearly all that I said, the message of God is uttered O Adar. These things he impatiently awaits. Carry yourself to my presence.'

'He came before the God of heaven: to tread the (courts) of heaven he went up to heaven above him. At the gate of heaven he rested him. Tammuz and Istar were sent out to him. They said to him, "Explain O hero Adar. O noble one why did you stop, O Adar whom did you curse? Have not I grieved. Who has done this to us that there is destruction on earth? Tammuz and Istar have zealously enquired: their cry came forth to me." When Adar went to the presence of God, God spoke as he drew nigh. "Explain this. Go too Adar, why do you cause one to await these things impatiently?" Adar answered God, "My Lord, at my Lord's wish, from the bounds of the deep I have beheld my Lord, leaving the deep and its hollows.

shrines. The name is Akkadian, and was converted into Ashtoreth by the Semitic peoples. It originally meant 'the ruler of light.' It retains its old form as Astar on the Moabite stone, and as Atthar (a male deity) in Arabic inscriptions.
My people have feared for light, the lament calls for me . . . . the prayer to my Lord sufficed us, burning my heart. 'You do not shine,' they said . . . . . . 'Let him turn his heart and the cloud will be cleared. Wherefore O Ocean do Heaven and Earth witness that mankind is unblessed. He hardened his heart to do this thing. A decree is made for us as to the food of life. Let the food of life perish, let the drink of life not be drunk, let the lees be untasted, let the oil fail, let there be confusion.' God spake to him thus, "They trust us against this. Go too Adar, why do not you fulfil the duty? there is no living for anyone." Exclaimed the Son of Ocean, "My Lord," he said, "the failing of worship is my grievance." Let them pray for his light in their lands.'

This appears to be a legend with a moral.

82 B.M.—'Lo! the Gods who dwell in space sent a messenger to their sister the bride of Hell.1 "Let us behold thee, we (say), and come thou up to us. Let the land of thy childhood receive this message." The bride of Hell sent this message, "Death (or Fate) prevents my travelling to go up to heaven . . . . . Death . . . . envoy . . . . . . them, many times they ran . . . . . his lady . . . . I have wedded . . . . the Lady . . . . .'

Some five lines are here lost, and the subject on the back of the tablet appears to refer to the Gods

1 This goddess is well known in Akkadian texts as NINKIGAL, 'Queen of the Dead Land,' or as DAMKINA, 'The Earth Wife.'
who guarded the gates of Hades, to prevent Death from coming out.

‘(In the first gate was) the God of (judgment?) in the second the God . . . . . in the third the God of thunder, in the fourth the God of destruction, in the fifth the God of protection, in the sixth the God of resistance, in the seventh the God of strength, in the eighth the God of discernment, in the ninth the God of pursuit, in the tenth the God of (slaughter?), in the eleventh the God of the bright flame, in the twelfth the God who confounds, in the thirteenth the living God, in the fourteenth gate abode the God (whose glory rests concealed in secret?). As all this conjunction prevented the going forth of Death (he said) thus, “I mock at it. They have established her among the shades. She is bound, the bride of Hell, in the burning flames.” Out of her prison she heard this, writhing, burning, fearing lest he should slay her. “Smite me not, my brother, I beseech thee for mercy.” Nergal heard her, he let fall his hands, he received the lamentation. “Thou truly art my husband, am not I thy wife: have not you indeed received power over wide lands: was not she faithful who has been oppressed by your hand? Thou truly art Lord, I truly am Lady.” Nergal heard what she said. He favoured her, he kissed

1 Nergal, the lion-headed god, seems here to be the same as Namtar, ‘death,’ or ‘fate.’ His name in Akkadian may indeed mean ‘King Death.’ The infernal deity was usually represented (as on the famous Palmyra tablet for instance, where he is associated with a goddess, also lion-headed, by the bank of the infernal river) with a lion or tiger head, and open jaws.
her, he pardoned the intent. "Whatsoever you desire of us, since you are a wife whom I delight me in, those things behold I have granted."

This legend evidently resembles that of Persephone, carried away by the infernal deity. It bears some resemblance also to the well-known legend of the descent of Istar to Hades, which is apparently a myth of the phases of the moon—Istar being stripped gradually of her glory for seven days, and gradually reglorified for another seven. The previous legend of the Sun is also remarkable for the name Adar, which was that of the 'dark' month of January, when the sun was hidden by clouds. The whole of the Babylonian legends (like those of the Aryans) may probably be explained in like manner. The proof afforded of their early dissemination is highly interesting.
APPENDIX.

The Letter of Tarkhundara.

The existence of two letters in the Tell Amarna collection, written in quite a different language to that of the remainder, is undisputed. The longest of them, by Dusratta, the Minyan king (27 B.), consists of 518 lines, and is by far the longest in the whole collection. I have translated it elsewhere (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1892). It is written in a Mongol dialect, akin to the Akkadian of Mesopotamia, and to the so-called Proto-Medic of the Behistun texts, the nearest living representative being the pure Turkic speech of Central Asia. The other letter, from Tarkhundara, the Hittite prince of Rezeph, in the land of Ikatai, north of Palmyra, is apparently in the same language, which was no doubt Hittite; and this agrees with the fact that Dusratta calls himself the Hittite suzerain. The transcript given by Dr. Winckler differs from that previously published, in important particulars which affect the sense; but it had already been clearly perceived that the precative form of the verb
is the same as in Akkadian. This discovery indicates that the syntax of an agglutinative language must be expected; and neither prepositions, nor a verb preposed to its subject can be admitted. I have been unable to trace any resemblance to the Vannic language—with which it has been proposed to compare the Hittite—in this letter. The Vannic, as I have attempted to show by comparison with ancient Persian, was, both in syntax and by vocabulary, an Aryan language, and appears to have been very like the Lycian of a few centuries later (see my paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1891, pp. 640-643, as to Vannic and Lycian). The following is the letter of Tarkhundara, whose name alone is enough to show that he was a Hittite; it consists of thirty-eight lines, of which I omit the last seven, which enumerate the presents sent:

1. (Mama?) Nimutriya Sar-gal Sar kur Mizzari
2. (ci) na Tarkhundara du Sar Arzapi ci tina
3. (Kakti ?) Mi Kuru in Ezun mi Nin na mi Tur na mi
4. Gum na Galgalas bir na Paz Kurra zun mi
5. Bi ibbi id mi kurkurzun mi gananta
6. Khuuman Kuruin
7. Dukka (Kakta ?) Khuuman Kuruin
8. Ezunti Ninnati Turnati gumnati galgalas
9. Birnati Paz Kurra zun ti bi ibbi id ti
11. Kalatta ui e nu un Irsappa
12. Gum Khalugari attanmi ina ù mani Tur-rak ti
13. ANUT mi kuin Dam anni ù pidaan zi
14. nu us silil khupi ini—an—sag dusi
15. Kalata uppa Sal Khuun I zukha lalia kin
16. Kuru anta
17. A ni yatta la mu kue das khat raa:
18. ubbi pirat mu gidda uppa nin DHI
19. Arad as: ta guru Khalugari atattin ammelat
20. Gum Khalugari atan egir babaraa khudak
21. Na inat ù pi andu
22. Arad ta ù pi anzi ci da anzi kukta turrak ti
23. Gum Khalugari as mi is Gum Khalugari atta
24. Kuviltu ele id na saggas
25. Nu mu antu sal subu guru gaas kurias ubbis tus la un
26. Zinnuk Khuumanda
27. Nu Khattu sassa Kur Egaid
28. na at kala bi ibbi es sar uppa talun lanuiz
29. cissa talissa Irsappa Khalugari
30. En sukha atlia kin ci lal bi
31. xx mana kin, etc.

Many words in this text are certain, on account of their ideographic or picture meaning. The pronouns, particles, and forms of the verb are also the same as those of the Minyan language of Dusratta's letter; but many parts must remain doubtful till
more is known of the language. The meaning appears to me to be somewhat as follows:

'This letter to Nimutriya (Amenophis III.) the great King, the King of Egypt, from Tarkhundara the King of the land of Arzapi (Rezeph) says. I am at peace. May there be peace to my abodes, to my wives, to my sons, to all my chiefs—the soldiers—to my cavalry, which are in my power, to the whole of my Lands. It desires that there may be peace. May there be peace to thy abodes, to thy wives, to thy sons, to thy chiefs all of them, to thy soldiers, to thy cavalry which are in thy power, to thy lands exceedingly.

'A (loving?) message it speaks. Irsappa my speedy messenger entrusting, I present to thee my Sun God, by him, a girl, whom I send from her mother. Of no man is she possessed, being youthful. He who takes this woman, a bagful of gold (as) a present (is) to take. She having arrived take thou this precious gift (to increase friendship?). She whom I am sending, her the lady Thi (queen of Amenophis III.) is afterwards to take to be a servant. To thee the messenger is despatched, being made ready. The messenger hasting, afterwards let a letter be made, an assurance which I shall have. The servant whom I am to send to thee—to send to thy land, being brought, the messenger shall give the girl to thee. When (this is) so, the messenger having come speedily, favour thou what he takes. Will it not be so? The woman being liked (send a reply?). This land will be grateful. Let it be so done.

'The friendly Hittite prince of the land of Egaid,
sending what is described, asks that thou shalt accept (thus) stated. Irsappa is given a bag. It is gold: by weight twenty manahs of gold (£300).

The list of presents follows, including precious stones, and a throne of strong wood, and other articles.

The following words require explanation: *Attan,* ‘speedy’; *atta,* ‘speeding’; *atattin,* ‘expedited,’ from the Turkic root *at,* ‘to impel’; *silil,* ‘possessed,’ passive from Akkadian *sila,* ‘to dominate’; *iniansag,* ‘youthful,’ ‘in condition of youth,’ from *in,* ‘young,’ in Turkic speech; *kalatta,* ‘message’; *kalata,* ‘bringer’; *kala,* ‘sending,’ from Turkic root *kel,* ‘to fetch’; *ina,* ‘entrust’; *inat,* ‘assurance,’ from Turkic root *in,* ‘to trust’; *Yatta,* from Turkic root *Yat,* ‘to reach’; *Babara,* ‘document,’ Akkadian *babar;* *kukta,* ‘brought,’ Turkic root *kok,* ‘bring’; *eleidna,* ‘what he takes,’ Turkic root *il,* ‘to take’; *saggas,* ‘favour thou,’ Akkadian *saaga,* ‘favour’; *supu,* ‘liked,’ ‘agreeable,’ Turkic *sob,* *sev,* ‘pleasant’; *tuslaun,* ‘grateful,’ Turkic *tos,* ‘to thank’; *zinnuk,* ‘accomplished,’ from *si,* ‘to make,’ with the causative -*in* and participial ending; *cissa,* ‘thus,’ *cii* ‘as,’ is ‘thus,’ in Akkadian; *talissa,* ‘stated,’ Turkic *tel,* ‘to say,’ ‘explain.’ The other words occur either in Dusratta’s letter or are familiar in Akkadian. The forms of the verb, such as the imperative ending in *s,* the active infinitive *an-* and the common *du,* ‘be,’ ‘have,’ are the same as in the Proto-Medic, which is nearer than the Akkadian, it seems, to the Hittite.
Note on the Supposed Date of the Exodus.

The arguments which have been brought forward in support of the supposed date of the Exodus as occurring in the time of Minephtah II. are two:

First. That the name of the city of Rameses cannot be older than the time of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., p. 353), and that, as it is mentioned in the account of the Exodus (Exod. xii. 37), the event must be as late as the time of Rameses II. This argument contains an evident fallacy, since the date proved would, were it proved at all, be that of the writer of the narrative, not of the event at all. But the argument also overlooks the fact that the land of Rameses is mentioned in the time of Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 11) as well. If the conclusion is to be that Jacob therefore lived in or after the time of Rameses II., the Exodus would be brought down to 250 or 400 years after his reign—that is to say, to the time of David or of Ahab. If the Biblical statements are quoted at all it is impossible to argue on one to the exclusion of others.

Second. That in a papyrus supposed to be of the time of Seti II. a scribe reports the pursuit of 'two servants' to Succoth, Etam and Migdol, which throws a striking light on the Exodus (Brugsch, ii., p. 132). I fail to see that this is the case. Two servants flying from the land, by the same route to the desert which Israel followed, might probably have been encountered in any age, and might have been of almost any race. I have been reminded of the
recent discovery of the 'store cities' mentioned in the Bible (Exod. i. 11), but the fixing of their sites has no bearing on this question of date at all.

The Aper people mentioned in Egypt as late as the time of Rameses IV. near Suez, and as slaves of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., pp. 88, 129), were once thought to be Hebrews, but are not so regarded by Dr. Brugsch, who makes them 'redskins.' In the inscription of Hamamat, in the time of Rameses IV., they are called 'Aperu of the Anu.' The Anu were a well-known Nubian people. The chiefs of the Apers are also mentioned in the time of Rameses III., to the number of 2,083 (Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 211). The name is not written as that of the Hebrews would probably be written in Egyptian.

The details of the Hebrew chronology, and the statement of the same in the New Testament (Acts xiii. 20), agree with the calculation of the Book of Kings (1 Kings vi. 1), against the views of Dr. Brugsch and of Bunsen. There is indeed much difference of opinion among writers on Egypt as to this subject, and Sir G. Wilkinson placed the Exodus as early as the reign of Thothmes III. It is on the statements of Manetho, not on any monumental basis, that the views here disputed are founded.
List of Towns conquered by Thothmes III., from the Karnak Bas-reliefs.

Since the appearance of De Rougé's memoir on these towns (Revue Archéologique, November, 1861, p. 376), the subject has been treated by Mariette, Brugsch, Maspero, Tomkins, and others, and recently ('Records of the Past,' New Series, vol. v.). Many of the new suggestions which I made in 1881 in the 'Memoirs' ('Special Papers Volume,' pp. 176-195), and earlier in the Quarterly Statement, P.E.F., have been adopted by others—though not always with due recognition—but other proposals have been added which require correction. It is not enough to look out names on the Survey maps, if the 'Memoirs' are not consulted. Various recent writers have so been led to fix upon rocks, sheepfolds, and twelfth-century monasteries where no remains of ancient cities exist, and have not read the notes on these names provided in the 'Memoirs.' Such identifications are quite untenable. In the following revised lists I have indicated by a star those names which, after reading the works of others, I believe I was the first to propose as identifications. In all cases the sites
are those of ancient towns, ruined or still inhabited.

*Towns in Palestine.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Hebrew or Classic</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Kadesu</td>
<td>Kadesh on Orontes</td>
<td>Kades.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Maketi</td>
<td>Megiddo.</td>
<td>Mujeedda.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Khazi</td>
<td>Gaza (?).</td>
<td>Ghuzzeh (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Jethuna</td>
<td>Gitta (?).</td>
<td>Jett.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 'Ansu</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Anzah (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Tabkhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Bamai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ba'ineh (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Kamata</td>
<td>Kamid (?).</td>
<td>Kamid.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Tutina</td>
<td>Dothan.</td>
<td>Dothan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Rabana</td>
<td>Rabbith.</td>
<td>Raba.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Keretthenau</td>
<td>Kartan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Marma</td>
<td>Merom (?).</td>
<td>Meirân (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Atara</td>
<td>Edrei.</td>
<td>Edh Dhr'a.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Aubila</td>
<td>Abila.</td>
<td>Abil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Hammatu</td>
<td>Hammath.</td>
<td>el Hummâm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Akidu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Shemana</td>
<td>Simonias (?).</td>
<td>Semânieh (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Bartu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bîreh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Madna</td>
<td>Madon.</td>
<td>Madin.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Sarna</td>
<td>Lasharon.</td>
<td>Sarona*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Tubi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Taiyibeh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(in Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amashna.</td>
<td>Amathus (?)</td>
<td>Amata (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kana.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanah (?) (in Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arna.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reineh (?).* (in Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaurpaa.</td>
<td>Raphon (?)</td>
<td>Râfa (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-hurah.</td>
<td>Horem (?)</td>
<td>Hárah (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keneratu.</td>
<td>Chinneroth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samana.</td>
<td>Salamis (?)</td>
<td>Sellâmeh (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admam.</td>
<td>Adami.</td>
<td>ed Damieh (Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasuna.</td>
<td>Kishion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senama.</td>
<td>Shunem.</td>
<td>Sulem (Galilee).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashala.</td>
<td>Misheal.</td>
<td>M'aisleh.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksap.</td>
<td>Achshaph.</td>
<td>Yasif.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taanak.</td>
<td>Taanach.</td>
<td>Ta'anik.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibl'amu.</td>
<td>Ibleam.</td>
<td>Yebla.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenet Asna.</td>
<td>Engannîn (?).</td>
<td>Jenîn (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratau Arka.</td>
<td>Anem.</td>
<td>Arrâkah (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aina.</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Anîn.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aak.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ajja (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Ras Kades.</td>
<td>Kadesh (Issachar).</td>
<td>Tell Kedes.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Kalimna.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jellameh.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Bar (or Bal).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Admah (?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 Shemesh Aduma.</td>
<td></td>
<td>En N'aurah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Anuhertu.</td>
<td>Anaharath.</td>
<td>Fūleh.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 Apl.</td>
<td>(i.e., Ophel.)</td>
<td>Afūleh.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Apl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 Hashbu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 Tasulat (or Tsurat).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 Ashushhen.</td>
<td>Shihin.</td>
<td>'Ayūn Sh'a'in.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 Ranama.</td>
<td>Rimmon (?).</td>
<td>Rummåneh(?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Irt(a) (or Irza).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irtah(?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 Mahza.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 Kentu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kefr Jeñnis(?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 Luden.</td>
<td>Lod.</td>
<td>Ludd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 Apukên.</td>
<td>Aphek (?).</td>
<td>Fukin(?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 Ihmani.</td>
<td></td>
<td>El Kheimeh(?) .*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 Khabizana.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 Kenetu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Makdal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 Aphten.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 Shebtuna.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 Dia (or Dial or Diar).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 Hadida.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hadīd.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 Haru (or Halu)</td>
<td>Ajalon (?)</td>
<td>Yalo (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 Isphar.</td>
<td>Saphir.</td>
<td>Suâfir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79 Rakata.</td>
<td>Rakkon.</td>
<td>Rekkeit.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 Kerara.</td>
<td>Gerar.</td>
<td>Umm Jerár.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 Harar.</td>
<td>Aroer.</td>
<td>'Araráh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82 Lebau.</td>
<td>Lebaoth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 Numana.</td>
<td>En Rimmon (?)</td>
<td>Umm er Rum-mamín (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 Namana.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 Maramam.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86 Ani.</td>
<td>Ain (near the last)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87 Rahebu.</td>
<td>Rehoboth.</td>
<td>Ruheibeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 Akara.</td>
<td>Ekron (?)</td>
<td>'Akir (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 Hiklim.</td>
<td>Eglon (?)</td>
<td>'Ajlán (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 Abalah.</td>
<td>Baalah</td>
<td>(Judah ?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 Atara.</td>
<td>Adoraim.</td>
<td>Dúra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92 Abara (or Abala).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93 Kenetu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kanya.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 Makerput.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jurfah (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97 Bedia.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 Tapuna.</td>
<td>Timnah (?)</td>
<td>Tibneh (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Judah).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 Aberu (or Aubilu).</td>
<td></td>
<td>El Birch (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Ilatu (or Irtu).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beit Aula (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 Harkara (or Hal-kala).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hakûrah (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102 Yakbara</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Aukbûr (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 Akputu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 Kuzir</td>
<td>Gezer</td>
<td>Tell Jezar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 Rubatu</td>
<td>Rabbath</td>
<td>Rubba *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106 Maklatu (or Makrati)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mughullis (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107 Amku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108 Tzartah</td>
<td>Zoreah</td>
<td>Sur'ah *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109 Bartu (or Baltu)</td>
<td>Baalath</td>
<td>'Erma *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 Bet Shara</td>
<td>Shaaraim</td>
<td>S'aïreh (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111 Bet Anata</td>
<td>Anem</td>
<td>Kefr 'Ana *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 Halkatu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Huleikat *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113 Ankenamu</td>
<td>Engannim</td>
<td>Umm Jina *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114 Kebau</td>
<td>Gibeah (of Judah)</td>
<td>'Feb'a *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115 Zerra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sirreh *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116 Tzafta</td>
<td>Zephathah</td>
<td>Safieh *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117 Berkna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burkah *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(of Ascalon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 118 Huma | | |
| 119 Akmes (or Aktomes) | | |

The proposed identifications agree exactly with the results obtained from the Tell Amarna texts. The towns all lie in Galilee, Bashan, and the plains and lower hills of Philistia.

*Places in the North—Syria, Asia Minor, etc.*

The best work on this list has been done by Rev. H. G. Tomkins (paper read to Biblical Archæological
Society, June, 1885), who has kindly supplied me with MS. emendations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EGYPTIAN</th>
<th>HEBREW OR CLASSIC</th>
<th>MODERN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Ai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Artu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Thuka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Termanna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Regaba.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Tunipa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Zarbu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Sepkasa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Ar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Zepzel (or Zepzer).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Zeker (or Zekel).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Zenret.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Anama.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Aretzkna.</td>
<td>Araziku (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>... resu (? Zarzu).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Lelti.</td>
<td>Lalati (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>Uanai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>Aunfil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>Itakhab.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>Auniauxka.</td>
<td>'Anka (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>. . . zna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Sekenni (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Aubelina (or Aubrina).</td>
<td>Oilum (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Zauriunsu (or Zaliunsu).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Suka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Pazeru.</td>
<td>Tell Bashar.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Satekhbeg.</td>
<td>Etebeg (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Amarseki.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Khalsa (or Kharsa).</td>
<td>Kharis (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>Nenurmanza.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Saiurenta.</td>
<td>Saurana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Maillekhnas (Mair-rekhnas).</td>
<td>Minnigh.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>Zagril.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Kanretu.</td>
<td>Kurat (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Tariza.</td>
<td>Tarisha (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>Anriz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Aarza.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>Khetzlasau.</td>
<td>Kiliza (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Anrir.</td>
<td>Arinara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Khataia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>A . . urna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Themuzaur . .</td>
<td>Tizar (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Kaha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Ar . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Khatza . .</td>
<td>Azzaz.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrekhna.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mar'in.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaubenu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatuma.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hethin (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makanasa.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mihsenne (?).*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepkenna.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Toipuk.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thuthnau.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tután.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nireb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nariba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tereb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tereb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atugeren.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eiai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samabu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zembus.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisapa.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nisib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azkel.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aghj kend.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abata.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zirza.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aautir (or Autil).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aghdul.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natub.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zatarset.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tsertshi.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitua.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ayash.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukau.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shagut.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuaub.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kefr Tob (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abeltet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207 Sairnakai.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarnuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208 Aurma (or Aulma).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irme.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209 . . . tnai.</td>
<td>Batnæ (?)</td>
<td>Tell Feddâni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210 . . . tnata.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211 Shainurgenna.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tsharmelék (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212 Kainab.</td>
<td>Cannaba.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213 Ares (or Alis).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tat (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214 Anautatena (or Anutna).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215 Azna.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216 Zetarseta.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217 Tulbenta (or Tur-banda).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218 Mauti.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219 Naapi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220 Akhemrur (or Ak-hemlul).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221 Atur.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatura (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222 Kartamrut.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223 Asita.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224 Taniris.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225 Iannukhu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226 Athani (or Athanti).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227 Asameb.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228 Atakar.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229 Tatzet.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tisa (?) *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230 Aternu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231 Taakmer . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232 Aabata.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Abtin (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233  Ar . . .</td>
<td>234  Sarmata.</td>
<td>Sarmeda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235  Anzakab.</td>
<td>236  Aresa (or Alta).</td>
<td>Yarimsha (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237  Alta (or Arta).</td>
<td>238  Atau (or Tatatu).</td>
<td>Arudis (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239-245 . . . .</td>
<td>246  Khalbu.</td>
<td>Tell Halab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247  Fariua.</td>
<td>248  Sesben.</td>
<td>Tell Ifår.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249  Ketesa.</td>
<td>250, 251 . . . .</td>
<td>Shebib (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252  Sur.</td>
<td>253  Papaa.</td>
<td>Membij (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254  Nuzena.</td>
<td>255  Zamauka.</td>
<td>Sur (on Eu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256  . . . anai.</td>
<td>257  Kenaskhu.</td>
<td>phrates).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258  . . . . . .</td>
<td>259  Sukibaki</td>
<td>Sumbak (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260  Tarnu.</td>
<td>261  Kamrupa.</td>
<td>Tsubanbeg (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262  Atuba.</td>
<td>263  Atini.</td>
<td>Kefr Torin (?)*.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264  Akarsaua.</td>
<td>265  Retama (or Letama).</td>
<td>Sheriff (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266 . . . teuz . . .</td>
<td>267-269 . . . .</td>
<td>Hatab (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Atin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egyptian</th>
<th>Hebrew or Classical</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>270. Karkamasha</td>
<td>Carchemish</td>
<td>Jerablus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271. Zazikar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tshakir*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272. Maurmar (or Maulmal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273. Set</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274-278</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279. Khaitu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghâdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280. Pidri</td>
<td>Pethor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>281. Atlitenu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tultan (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282. Masana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283. Anleka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284. Nepiriiriu (or Nepiliiliu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285. Natkina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286. Atetama (or Attama)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287. Abrennu</td>
<td>(River) Afrin (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>288. Airenel</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arikanli (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289. Airenel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290. Annaui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291. Teknu</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Ain Dakne*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292. Talekh</td>
<td>Doliche (?)</td>
<td>'Ain-Tab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293. Aurna</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orul (?)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294. Ramanai (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td>Babar (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296. Papa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297. Ata</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298. Arsa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299. Mari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-305</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Hebrew or Classic</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>Aibr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Karmatia</td>
<td>Karamata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Amaiku</td>
<td>(Plain) El Umk.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Kazal (or Akazal)</td>
<td>Kezil (Kaia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Aumaia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Khalbu</td>
<td>Aleppo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Piaunel (or Pianer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Aurma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Samaalna (or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samarna)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Akama</td>
<td>(Mount) Akma (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Pureth (or Pulet)</td>
<td>Burat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Saresu</td>
<td>Sarisát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>Aripenekha (or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alipeneka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Ariz</td>
<td>Oriza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>Pukiu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>Thinnur</td>
<td>Thannurium (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Zarnasa</td>
<td>Tsaurán (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td>Nurnasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325-332</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>Iurima</td>
<td>Urim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334-337</td>
<td>Defective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>Titupa</td>
<td>Tetif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339-342</td>
<td>Defective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Susarnu</td>
<td>Sisaurna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>Azanniu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Absatna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX

EGYPTIAN.    HEBREW OR CLASSIC.    MODERN.

346 Amahur (or Amāḥūr).
347 Tamakur.
348 Retēp.    Rezeph (?)    Resafa.
349 Maurika.    Murik.
350 Ta . . . .

It is evident that many of these names cannot be Semitic. The list includes places between Kadesh on Orontes, Hamath, and Aleppo, and perhaps places near Antioch, and stretches away over the Euphrates to the borders of the kingdom of Mitani. The nomenclature is in a great measure Mongolic, representing the Hittite language; and to the present day the nomenclature of these regions is mainly Turkic, preserving the ancient Hittite and Minyan names. In the Amorite region there is, however, a fair proportion of Aramean town-names. The land of Ikatai, near Rezeph, appears to be included. I have added thirty-three new sites to this list, which will all be found on Humann’s excellent map of the North of Syria and Commagene (Reisen, Berlin, 1890); but our information might still probably be extended by further exploration. Some of the new proposals, such as Zamauka, Samabu, etc., show the survival of very distinctive Mongol names. The modern Turkish population has thus, like the Aramean population of the south, preserved the nomenclature of their ancestors to our own times. The towns here also appear to have lain in the
lowlands, along the Orontes valley by Hamath to Aleppo, and northwards to the great ford of the Euphrates at Carchemish; the conquests extending beyond the river, on the high-road towards Harran, but not to any great distance on the way to Assyria.
NOTES.

P. 15.—'As said let the King my Lord live and become mighty.' Perhaps more correctly, 'Thus he boasts, O King my Lord, and (is become mighty?).'

P. 17.—'And my fortresses (say) speed us avengers. I make ready.' More probably, 'And he has sped: my fortresses are burning with fire.'

P. 18.—'Part of the men of blood are from the land Ammusi, and part from the land of Hubi, and it is reached.' Perhaps, 'Because of the men of blood coming from the land of Gudsi, and from the land of Hobah.'

P. 20.—'Wickedly they vex us. I have marched our kinsmen the people of Neboyapiza.' Perhaps, 'You will say to us Go too! Why has he slain Neboyapiza?' By a different division of the syllables. The words are not divided on the tablets.

P. 25.—'Fearing the force against me.' More probably, 'As you are coming to join me.'

P. 29.—'And what my agents say . . . will not you hear me?' Perhaps, 'And what my enemies say of my (?) before the King my Lord do not thou hear.' (The last verb is not, however, in the imperative.)

P. 30.—'Let Khani speak to testify with what humility' (nemicu). Perhaps, 'May Khani come in peace' (sulmi). The verb icsuut, 'speak truly,' may be icsuud, 'arrive.'

P. 32.—'To command for the King my Lord with me.' Perhaps better, 'Behold the enemy of the King my Lord marches against me.'

P. 34.—'Whoever is against . . . remains.' Probably better rendered, 'Whatever I have formerly wished, in presence of the King my Lord I have desired' (i.e., my actions have been open).
P. 35.—‘Two swift marches’ Metim Kharrannu, ‘little distances of road.’ Perhaps me TIM should be read, viz.: ‘Two hundred cables of road.’

P. 36.—‘They will watch: strife surrounds us.’ Perhaps better, ‘In our country strife surrounds us.’ ‘The slaves come round.’ Perhaps, ‘Servants have returned.’

P. 37.—The back of B. 36 has been omitted. It is broken, but appears to read: ‘And so I . . . . to the Sun God, lo! he . . . . and he has fled . . . . For the King of the Hittites . . . for war against me; and the King my Lord has given me soldiers and chariots . . . my wish; and I make strong the land of the King my Lord. Also I have sent my envoy in haste . . . . and what rulers give let me also give to the King my Lord, my God, and my Sun; and I give it ever.’

P. 39.—‘A chief of the city of Gebal . . . . chief city.’ This passage may read, ‘A chief of the city of Gebal whom his brother has expelled from the gates says (thus) “Take me and restore me to my chief city.”’ If this be correct (as several scholars suppose) it indicates that Gebal had fallen when the proclamation was sent. The same rendering may be given on the next page referring to the fall of Sidon. ‘But it is not so for a ruler, that his brother should expel him from the gate out of his city; and in line 13 for ‘Let a supplicant,’ etc., ‘Let me be redeemed by thee and restore me in my city.’

P. 40.—Ammoni laa tacul karzisu Dr. Sayce renders, ‘why do not you accuse him’; but this term, as used in the Bible, signifies to ‘slander,’ not to accuse justly.

P. 41.—‘Making God my witness’ (ibisi AN MUUTTI) is perhaps better rendered ibisi ilimutti, ‘in doing evil.’

P. 48.—The city Sehlali is probably Beit Sheldalah, east of Batrûn. The letter (B. 158) referring to it appears to read thus in the less broken passages: ‘They had rebelled from orders; the soldiers of Sehlali also fortified her castle, and now they are helped by . . . . from the city of Arpad, and I have been . . . . by the city of Semyra, and there is not one of the chiefs who dwelt in the Castle. And now these are the Chiefs who dwelt in the Castle, Sabilu, Bisitanu, Maya . . . . and Arzaya these are the four chiefs who dwelt in the Castle, and they had said to me, “Hide us from destruction by the hands of the soldiers of the city Sehlali, and help us to escape from the hands of the
soldiers of the city of Sehlali . . . . twenty-five whom they will slay . . . . of Sehlali," and lo! the gates . . . . the coming of the soldiers . . . . the possessions . . . . from the city of Semyra. Now I did not . . . . they had hidden . . . . rulers in your presence . . . . to themselves . . . . Lo! he sent a message . . . . Yabaya . . . . the city Sehlali . . . . to the city of Semyra . . . . to guard her . . . . It is evident from this that certain chiefs sought to flee from a revolting force.

P. 50.—The word which is rendered 'allies,' on this page and in other cases, is niraru, 'a helper' in Assyrian.

P. 52.—The back of tablet 13 B. M. has been omitted, but contains little of importance. It runs as follows ' . . . I send him as an envoy, and I repeat this. The allies (nirari) have sped to us, and have not they gone up to enter the city of Semyra? They have seized all the roads to it, for fighting against me, and against the city of Semyra. These have beaten my force. Two months he abode with me, since he turns not back from this, being thy faithful servant in sight of thy servants. If thou wilt not come up to march to thy servant, yet send the Bitati soldiers. Thou shalt send to thy unlucky one. The King's foe has fought with me, and the men of our ruler, whom we bring because of them. So now it is much desired by me. Then we sent away Aman to the land of Alasiya (Elishah). Ask him, as I send him to your presence. Counsel thy faithful servant, since my land is wretched: they have destroyed for us my free men, and this will not allow Yapaddu to expect . . . . men of garrison . . . . order him . . . . and you will draw him forth . . . . a ruler who fears thee, with faithful . . . . Moreover counsel me . . . . Yapaddu with Aziru.'

P. 57.—'His land does not intend to help the land.' More probably, 'But they have not adhered to us.' In line 10, 'with men,' is perhaps more probably 'since the time.'

P. 57, line 3 from bottom.—'He cried peace.' Kaal ana mat nasu 'he cried, tempting the land,' is more probable than naammu.

P. 61.—This letter (B. 58) is the largest written by Ribadda, and may, perhaps, be further treated as follows, though it is much broken:

'Ribadda thy servant speaks thus to the King his Lord. At
the feet of the King my Lord I bow seven times and seven times. Lo! speaking before the city I was a father to my city .... Lo! thus I (sent?), and did not (go?) to the presence of A .... And now behold the Chiefs of the city of Gebal sent thus to me, "Do not you regard the prayer of the city Abur, for we .... and we plead with you ... servants who are friends ... appoint us this .... to enter .... from the inside ...." Do not I think of the city of Abur? .... and I despatch .... for royal preservation; but now Aziru .... to me .... my Lord for thy servant. Behold .... for .... King, not one of the rulers ... entreaty to the King, that they are perishing .... Lo the King's enemy has seized her—Abdasherah—and .... the city has gone out to the foe, since there were no men of garrison with her, and I sent to the King my Lord .... soldiers .... march to the city of Semyra and .... lo .... Semyra .... Aziru .... but you refuse .... How long shall the son of Abdasherah trouble her .... exhausted by wars (and you will hide from me and thrust away?). And you said "How long shall I witness your hostility?" The chiefs of the inhabitants of the city have gone out, and I sent to the palace (or fortress) for soldiers, and you did not reinforce my soldiers, and you said "Leave the city to him." It submitted to Aziru, and I said how they did about him, and they have relinquished O King my Lord. But my brother complained, and .... as to the city, and she has made disturbances. The Chiefs of the Lord of the city went out (submitting?) to the sons of Abd-Asherah, and (now) behold did not he burn the city .... in the presence of Khamu (Ribadda's son) .... the man of sin has marched .... of Aziru .... has dwelt in the midst of .... lo! they have transferred soldiers to the city, and .... to dwell, entering into .... and (you spoke?) to him but this indeed failed. This (Chief?) as soon as you spoke was set up by the hands of Ribadda. Do not I send this to the lands of Egypt; and they have made an understanding with the fellows, and you (spoke?), and the soldiers of Aziru (being) out of the .... of the city, lo! the city is pacified. They have been made subject to the sons of Abdasherah, and pacified for my Lord. But there was complaint—grief for the chief who abode in his city, and grief for me. Lo! since the people of strife arrived at .... of the city
Abur, I sent my son to the palace (or fort) three months since: he has not (or, "has he not") appeared before the King's presence. Thus says the chief of the city of Takheda, they are reaching him; what use are fortifications to the chief whom I have (despatched?) ... I said ... and ... why do you ... the lands that they have coveted for themselves ... to me: lo! ... a single city, and ... lo! I think ... no chief of the King my Lord, who ... and the city complained, but ... he dwelt in Abur altogether. The chief who came from the land of Egypt to instruct, and whom you announced to us concerning Aziru before time, I shall send to the King. Lo now! He has not heard the message as to the city Abur. They are wasting like dogs. Do not you hear the message? If the King had (thought?) of his servant and had given soldiers to me ... in sight of the city for the King, and ... and we had gathered (ships?) ... the soldiers of the sons of Abdasherah to ... but you answer so ... her chiefs, and ... the man of sin ... him ... for Aziru made a passing over ... and he has gone out ... ... to Aziru, and ... not ... King my Lord ... him and ... you said ... is failing, as ... ... to ... to Aziru ... not ... the city ... of ... to the desire of the sons of Abdasherah ... he wrought sin ... Lo! ... they have been afraid ... the city, the man(?) of the King ... you shall send to the chiefs of the city of Gebal. All the soldiers that this land has despatched for thee have both longed and been wroth (or hot) having expected from the King my Lord. Will not you give me for my city corn to eat, for the fortresses; and what Khamu (my son) shall say ... How long ... with him? and let the King send soldiers, lest you ... the sons of Abdasherah to the city, and ... the city Abur you shall take for us; and not one of the lands of ... of the King my Lord which you ... does as ... that the King my Lord has assigned to us. And what shall (we do to?) the chief who is a foe? And as for me I am destroyed, and my sons have lived as the servants of the King; and our trust is in the King: (the city fears destruction, our Lord has pronounced our destruction, this is my lament?).'

This letter was written apparently while Aziru was still in favour in Egypt, and is consequently early. Abur was immedi-
atley east of Sehlali, in the mountains north-east of Gebal. Semyra had perhaps already fallen.

P. 62.—‘You will speed . . . . midst of the city.’ Perhaps better rendered, ‘All the men of the garrison that they have crushed he has consumed, and they have cut off the chiefs in the midst of the city.’

Last line from bottom, ‘No city in the plains . . . . for thee.’ More probably, ‘They will not be made to fear us, and there is no city that I shall retain for thee.’

Pp. 63, 64.—‘And he collects . . . . appointed.’ Perhaps better rendered, ‘And the King will speak, and shall order my chief to make his men travel to me day and night. Order it thou thyself.’ The passage is difficult on account of doubts as to certain letters in the words.

P. 67, last line.—‘Honour thou with my messenger’ (Kabid is-tu). Perhaps, ‘Has taken charge from my messenger’ (for Kapid).

P. 68.—‘O King it is thy land’ (mat ca assi). Perhaps, ‘The King of the land of the Cassites’ (Mat Caassi) is to be added to ‘the King of Mitani.’

P. 72.—‘And I had lain in wait for them.’ More probably, ‘And will not they come secretly’ (à la inammusunuv).

P. 75.—‘By their hostility have made her wroth.’ The line is broken. Perhaps, ‘By hostility day and night have . . . ’ (urra musa). The proper name Zabandi is perhaps incorrectly written for A-ma-an-ab . . . who is often mentioned.

P. 77.—‘The advice . . . . from my heart.’ Perhaps better, ‘And counsel has left my heart.’

P. 88.—I have followed Dr. Winckler in regarding Rabzabi as a man’s name, but the sign of personality in these letters applies to titles as well as names, and we may perhaps read, ‘The chief of the soldiers of your father.’ The word for ‘decree,’ in this and other cases (hamiru) is compared with the Arabic root hamara, ‘to decree.’

P. 95.—The letter 118 B. is broken both in the name of the writer and of the city, but I think it is wrongly placed in the north, and that it really comes from Yadja (or Pidya) of Ascalon (as Dr. Winckler also has supposed).

P. 102.—The letters from Tyre are exceedingly difficult, and written very closely. I think the word Sekhu may be taken,
NOTES

like the Arabic Shii, and Hebrew Siih, to mean 'a warning,' or 'discourse,' or 'explanation,' and that Khii stands for Khad, 'rejoicing.'

P. 103.—The words û duuri ZiiABAR sa iscubu ana sasu, have been rendered, 'And the copper tower in which he takes refuge.' Which seems improbable, as towers of copper occur only in fairy tales. I have taken Zabbar phonetically in the meaning 'to be constant,' and diuri to be from the Aramaic dur, 'to set in order.' If the word ZiiABAR refers to copper, diuri may mean 'weight;' and the meaning would be, 'and they are weighing the money which will settle (the matter) for him.'

The writing on the edge of this tablet (29 B. M.) has been omitted. 'He declares the justice the King has judged, before me, to give water for my drinking and wood to warm me. Moreover Zimridi the chief of Sidon sent every day to the man of sin Aziru son of Abdasherah, concerning all the messages which he heard from the land of Egypt. Now he sent to my Lord and (has indeed found favour?)' This is perhaps an insinuation against his enemy after the usual Oriental manner.

P. 104.—For 'extension' perhaps 'utterance,' as in the preceding letter. Some translators take Ragmayati to be a man's name. The prefixed sign is however absent in one case, and is often used for nouns not personal names. I read Ragmaya att, 'my friend has given.'

P. 122.—Labaya's letters are extremely difficult, being very concisely worded. I take the words Zabbar ina libbica to mean 'be patient in your heart'; but if we are to read ZiiABAR (compare p. 103) as meaning 'copper,' the sentence is very difficult to understand.

P. 124. Dr. Bezold reads Khinatuna instead of Enaanna, which I took from the photograph. The former might be Anathoth, near Jerusalem. The whole letter is very difficult.

P. 126.—'He has built a fort,' more probably, 'he has made an alliance.'

P. 129.—Perhaps ana yasi is more correct than ana rasi, to be rendered, 'they have done all for me.'

P. 137.—The translation of B. 155 appears to be somewhat as follows: 'To the King my Lord thus . . . rizaya thy servant, the dust of the footsteps . . . at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. The King my Lord has caused
THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS

(me) to hear the message in a letter . . . of the King's servant . . . . I have not sinned . . . my sin. My Lord behold you have known the (enmity?) to the city of Gezer . . . . of the King, has fought, and now behold he has no other intention than the casting out of the King. And all the King shall say I will obey; for the King confides in me, with . . . . my Paka . . . to watch.'

P. 140.—A few words on the edge of B. 105 have been omitted: ' . . . very much . . . . I am thy servant.' For 'destroyers' (line 2) 'adversaries' is more correct.

P. 143.—Last line for 'called . . . a neighbour,' perhaps 'the city Beth Baalatu called a city of the King.'

NOTE ON THE MYTHOLOGY.

Few names of gods occur in these tablets, and the religious ideas are not very dogmatic. The chief deities (as among all the ancients) were Heaven, Earth, Ocean, Hell, the Sun, and the Moon. The sacred emblems were the fire, water, stones, and trees. In Heaven dwelt Anu and Anat, in Earth Baal and Baalath, in Ocean dwelt Ea, and in Hades Death and the Bride of Hell. The Sun was the son of Ocean. The Moon was female. She visited Hades at times (during the dark quarter) as did also the Sun. To these Semitic deities may be added Rimmon, the god of 'Storm'—otherwise Addu or Adonis—with Dagon in Philistia, Baalath at Gebal, Amanu in Egypt. The general term Elohim is also remarkable with a verb in the singular.

The Hittite system was similar, but yet more animistic. They adored Sun and Moon and Ocean; but in the treaty with Rameses (Chabas, 'Voyage,' p. 338) they invoke the hills, the rivers, the sea, the wind, and the clouds, as well as various local shrines of Set and of Istar. The number of the Hittite gods is here said to have been a thousand male, and a thousand female. Set, who in Egyptian mythology was god of night, in the Hittite system is stated to have been 'King of Heaven and Earth' (Chabas, p. 340).

The Hittites no doubt believed also in ghosts, winged messengers from heaven, demons, and in a Hades, as did all their neighbours.
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Places Mentioned in the Tablets.

Abiri, Hebrews (102 B., 106 B., 104 B., 103 B., 199 B.), 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151
Abur (58 B.), Beit Abura, 61
Acca (Letters from, and 17 B. M., 8 B.), Akka (Accho), 67, 109-111, 179
Aduri (64 B. M.), edh Dhr’aa (Edrei), 25
Ajalon (103 B., 137 B.), Yafî, 149, 156
Alasiya, Elishah, Letters from, 169-175
Am (Ham), Land of (37 B. M., 46 B. M., 143 B., 91 B.), 16, 22, 26, 28
Ami (60 B., 128 B., 72 B., 74 B., 86 B., 90 B.), Aba, 45, 66, 68, 69, 70
Ammia (12 B. M., 91 B., 15 B. M., 45 B. M., 89 B.), Amûn, Amma (17 B.), 27, 47, 64, 66, 78, 86
Ammusi, Land of (142 B.), Emesa, Homs, 18
Amorites, frequently noticed (chaps. i., ii., iii., iv.)
Anana (72 B. M.), 124
Arada (44 B. M., 51 B., 28 B. M.), Aradus, Er Ruad (Arvad), 47, 75, 76, 108
Araru (64 B. M.), ’Arair, 25
Ardata (91 B., 60 B., 86 B., 45 B. M.), Ardi, 27, 47, 68
Arpad (158 B.), 48
Arzapi (10 B.), Rezeph, 167
Ascaluna (Letters from, etc.), Askalân (Ascalon), 117-120, 147, 148
Astari (43 B. M.), perhaps Stora, 20
Astari (64 B. M.), Tell Ashterah (Ashtaroth Carnaim), 25
Atim (Lachish Tablet), ’Aitun, Etam, 133
Atsar (54 B.), 82
Azati, see Gaza
Babeli (71 B.), Babylon, 92
Batruna (22 B. M., 17 B. M., 75 B., 84 B., 86 B.), Botrys, Batrân, 67, 70, 72, 84, 85
Berutu (Letters from, 44 B. M., 54 B., 55 B., 13 B. M., 45 B.), Beirât 46, 51, 76, 82, 97-99
Bikhiši (64 B. M.), ’Abbaseh ? 24, 25, 26
Bilgi (iddi), (189 B. M.), Ain Judeidek (Baal Gad), 19
Bitu Amilla, Beth Ha Millo (104 B.), in Jerusalem, 144
Bitu Baalatu (106 B.), Lîmâ (Baalath of Judah), 143
Burku (154 B.), Burkah, 127
Buzruna (71 B.), Beit Ziza, 92, 93
Buzruna (43 B. M.), Batruna, 20
Canaana (58 B. M., 37 B. M., 92 B., 24 B. M., 30 B. M., 2 B. M., 8 B.), Canaan, Land of, 7, 15, 41, 60, 106, 176, 179 (Caphar? Yazu (60 B.), Kejr Yashit, 69)

Caraednias (Letters from), 178, 185

Casi, Land of, Cassites (61 B.), Casi (Cush, 103 B.), 53, 150

Casib (104 B.), Cuuzbe (103 B.), 'Ain Kesheh (Chezib), 129, 145

Cidisi (189 B.), Cidzi (30 B. M., 92 B.), Giidsi (142 B.), Kadesh, Kades, 17, 40, 106

Cinzia, Land of (46 B.), 22

Cirimli (199 B.), Kirmii (Carmel of Judah), 150

Cumidi (43 B. M., 18 B. M., 61 B., 86 B., 152 B.), Kamid, 21, 51, 53, 71

Danuna (30 B. M.), Danian (Danjaan), 10

Dimasca (43 B. M.), see Timasgi (37 B. M.), Damascus, 20

Durubli (24 B. M.), Tripoli, Trablus, 59

Egada, Land of (20 B. M.), Ikatai, Egait (10 B.), 78, 167

Egypt, Land of, frequently mentioned

Eni-Saamsi (77 B. M.), 'Ain Shems (Ir Shemesh), 158

Gatza (60 B.), perhaps Kadisha, 68

Gaza (57 B. M., 105 B., 199 B.), 115, 140, 150, 151

Gazri (Letters from, and 112 B., 163 B.), Tell Jezar (Gezer), 122, 134-138, 147

Gebal (Gubla), Byblos, Jubel (chaps. ii., iii., iv.), 48-94

Giidsi, see Cidisi

Gina (154 B.), Umm Jina (En Gannim of Judah), 127

Giti Rimuna (154 B.), Tell es Safi (Gath), 127

Givti (104 B., 106 B., 195 B.), Jeb'a (Gibeath of Judah), 143, 145, 150

Gizza (43 B. M.), Jeshe, 20, 21

Gubbu (78 B. M.), Jebbata, 24

Gula (45 B. M.), Juneh, 47

Gutium (92 B.), Jebel Judi (Ararat), 43

Harti (199 B.), Khras, Hareth, 150

Hittites, frequently noticed (chaps. ii., iii., iv., and appendix)

Hubi (36 B. M., 37 B. M., 142 B., 96 B.), Hobah, Land of, 12, 16, 18

Huzu (99 B.), Gha'ziyeh, 101

Irib (28 B. M.), Arab Salim, 108

Irka (42 B. M., 77 B., 79 B.), 'Arkah (Arkah), 44, 62, 65

Jerusalem (in the Jerusalem letters only), 143, 147, 149, 150, 151

Kalbi (17 B. M.), Kelbata, 67

Kanu (133 B.), Kanya, 159

Kappa (17 B. M.), Kessa, 66

Katna (36 B. M., 37 B. M.), Katana, 11, 12, 17

Keilah (Cietti) (Letters from, and 106 B., 199 B., Kilah), 143, 144, 151, 152-155

Khalavunni (43 B. M.), Helbon (Helbon), 20

Khani Rabbe, Land of (144 B.), Armenia, 7

Kharabu (154 B.), el Khuraib, 127

Kharu (143 B., 97 B., 76 B., 91 B.), Phoenicians, 26, 27, 39, 89

Khatti (frequently mentioned), Hittites

Khazi (189 B.), Ghaszet, 19

Khazura (Letters from, and 99 B.), Jebel Halilre (Hazor), 101, 111, 112

Khiini (64 B. M.), Hine, 25, 179

Lacisi (Letters from), Lachish (104 B., 103 B.), 129-134, 146, 147
Lapana (37 B. M.), Lybo, Lebweh, 15, 16
Lukki (11 B.), Ligyes, 169
 Maar . . . (75 B.), Mugheirtyeh (Mearah), 84
 Macdalim (64 B. M.), Mejdel Shews, 25
 Macdalim (73 B. M.), Mejdel, 129
 Maguzi or Muhzeh (189 B.), Mekseh, 19
 Makdani (95 B.), Mujadd’a (Megiddon), 110
 Makkedah (frequently), el Mughar, 120-129
 Marhassi (36 B. M., 37 B. M., 143 B., 33 B., 34 B., 148 B., 35 B. M., 38 B., 39 B., 31 B.), Mer’ash, 12, 15, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37
 Meispa (64 B. M.), Retntheh (Ramath Mizpeh), 25
 Melukha, Meroe, see Nubia
 Mikhiza (125 B.), Mekfteh, 22
 Misii (51 B., 76 B., 44 B. M., 42 B.), the Delta, 46, 56, 75, 90
 Mitana, Land of (52 B., 79 B., 44 B. M., 21 B. M., 60 B., 61 B.), Matiene, 47, 53, 55, 95, 68, 79, 181
 Mu’ra’azi (50 B. M.), Merash (Moreshah), 137
 Nahrma (104 B.), Wasty Naheir, 145
 Nabiha (91 B.), Nereb, 28
 Naziba (151 B.), Beit Nush (Nezeb), 157
 Ni, Land of (41 B. M., 37 B. M., 39 B., 45 B. M.), Ninus Vetus, 9, 15, 36, 47
 Nubia, Melukha (57 B., 45 B.), 57, 58, 74
 Nupi (44 B.), Memphis, 65
 Pabaha (92 B.), 42
 Pitazza (153 B.), Futeis, 158
 Rimmon (104 B.), Rummmôn, 146
 Rubute (106 B.), Rubba (Rabbath of Judah), 143
 Ruhizzi (37 B. M.), R’aith, 15, 16
 Saarti (14 B. M.), esh Sh’arah, 63
 Saddu (43 B. M.), Nebi Shit, 20
 Salabimi Land (199 B.), Selbît (Shaalbim), 151
 Sam’ah (Lachish Tablet), Sam’ah, 133
 Sama’un (131 B.), Sammûnîch, 161
 Sanhar (5 B. M.), Shinar, 173
 Sapi’ta (45 B.), Safita, 73
 Saskhi (134 B.), S’as’a, 26
 Seiri Land (104 B.), Mount Seir, 145
 Sekhali (158 B.), 48
 Sigata (60 B., 12 B. M., 128 B., 72 B., 74 B.), Shakka, 45, 66, 68, 69, 86
 Siina (53 B.), Kejr Ztna, 70
 Simyra (Zumura), now Sumrah (Zemar), 9, chaps. i. to v.
 Sunasu (154 B.), Sanasin, 127
 Tabu (59 B. M.), Taiyibeh, 123
 Takhida (58 B.), Tikhedi (60 B.), 61, 69
 Taratzi Land (48 B.), Tarsîs (Tarsus, Tarshish), 81
 Taruna (148 B.), 160
 Timsâgî (37 B. M.), 16
 Tunip (41 B., 31 B., 33 B., 35 B., 35 B. M.), Tennib, 8, 9, 30, 35
 Tusulti (189 B.), 19
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Tyre (Zuru), Sur (Letters from, 99 B., 28 B. M.–31 B. M.), 100-109
Udumu (64 B. M.), ed Dameh (Dametha), 25
Ugariti (30 B. M., 128 B.), 'Akrith, 45, 106
Ukri (49 B.), 'Akkar, 83
Ullaza (91 B., 97 B., 60 B., 45 B., 51 B., 90 B.), Keftu Khulis, 28, 39, 69, 73, 75
Umuti (47 B.), Hamath, 49
Yabisi (64 B. M.), Yabis, 25
Yahlia (60 B.), I'al, 68
Yapu (Letters from), Yafa (Joppa), 115-117
Zaar (64 B. M.), Zorea of Bashan, Ezra', 25
Zabuba (138 B.), Ezbulu, 156
Zar'a (137 B.), Sur'ah (Zarah), 156
Zarbitu (29 B. M., 31 B. M.), Surafend (Sarepta), 103-105
Zicaruenu? (130 B.), Dhekirtu, 161
Zilu (104 B.), Seilun (Shiloh), 146
Zinzaar or Zinaar (37 B. M.), Senaar (Shinar), 15
Ziribasani (132 B.), same as Zaar, 23
Zituna (Letters from, and 13 B. M., 92 B., 54 B., 44 B. M., 48 B., and letters from Tyre), Saida (Sidon), 40, 46, 51, 82, 99, 101, 105
Zumura, see Simyra

THE END

BILLING AND SONS, PRINTERS, GUILDFORD.
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Subscriptions are earnestly desired for carrying out the objects of the Society.

1. Those who subscribe a guinea or $5.00 a year are entitled to receive—

Post free the 'QUARTERLY STATEMENT,' which is the JOURNAL of the Society, containing Reports of work done by its Agents, and a record of discoveries made in the Holy Land; as well as much valuable information bearing on Scriptural subjects.

Post free on application the presentation works.

The Maps and Books published by the Society at greatly reduced prices.

2. Those who subscribe half a guinea or $2.50 annually receive the 'QUARTERLY STATEMENTS' free, and are entitled to the Books and Maps at the reduced price.

The reduction in price is only granted by application at the Head Office, 24, Hanover Square, W.

Cheques, Money Orders, and Postal Orders payable to the order of Mr. George Armstrong, Assistant Secretary of the Fund. Money Orders may be made payable at Charing Cross. All Cheques and Orders to be crossed Coutts and Co.

All subscriptions and donations are recorded in the 'QUARTERLY STATEMENT.'

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND,
24, Hanover Square, W.
THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

A Society for the accurate and systematic investigation of the Archaeology, the Topography, the Geology and Physical Geography, the Manners and Customs of the Holy Land, for Biblical Illustration.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE.
The Committee announce that there now remain only a few sets of this work. These sets have been advanced in price, and will be sold at TWENTY-FIVE GUINEAS each set, which include the Maps. The full set will not be reprinted, except the two volumes 'JERUSALEM' and the 'FLORA AND FAUNA.'
The last two volumes, 'FLORA AND FAUNA,' and the 'JERUSALEM' volumes with 50 plates, can be had separately. For terms apply to the Secretary, 24, Hanover Square, W., or to the Agents, A. P. Watt & Son, Hastings House, Norfolk Street, Strand.


3. TENT WORK IN PALESTINE. By Major Conder, D.C.L., R.E. In two vols. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 17s. 6d.


5. HETH AND MOAB. By Major Conder, D.C.L., R.E. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s. New and Revised Edition ready shortly.

6. ACROSS THE JORDAN; being a Record of Explorations in the Hauran. By Gottlieb Schumacher, C.E., with Map, Sections, and a hundred and fifty Illustrations. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.

7. THE SURVEY OF THE JAULÂN. By G. Schumacher, C.E. With Map, Special Plans, and a hundred and fifty Illustrations. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.

8. OUR WORK IN PALESTINE. Price 3s. 6d. (Out of print.)

9. MOUNT SEIR. By Professor E. Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.

10. SYRIAN STONE LORE. By Major Conder, D.C.L., R.E. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.


12. ALTAIC HIEROGLYPHICS AND HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS. By Major Conder, D.C.L., R.E. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 3s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.

13. THE GEOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND ARABIA PETRAEA. By Professor E. Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Uniform with 'The Survey of Western Palestine.' Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 12s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 21s.

14. NAMES AND PLACES IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS AND APOCRYPHA, with their Modern Identifications and References to Josephus. By George Armstrong. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 3s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.
PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY—continued.

15. **PELLA.** By Gottlieb Schumacher, C.E. A Survey of Kh. Fahl, the Ancient Pella, the first retreat of the Christians. With Map and Illustrations. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 1s. Non-subscribers, 2s. 6d.

16. **THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM** (R. Bentley & Son, 8, New Burlington Street). By Walter Besant and Professor E. H. Palmer. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 5s. 6d.

17. **THE BIBLE AND MODERN DISCOVERIES.** By Henry A. Harper. With Map, Illustrations, and Index. In one vol., demy 8vo. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 10s. 6d. (Out of print.)


20. **'AJLUN 'WITHIN THE DECAPOLIS.'** By Gottlieb Schumacher. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 1s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 3s. 6d.

21. **LACHISH** (Tell el Hesy). One of the five strongholds of the Amorites. An account of the excavations, with view of the Tell, Plans and Section, and upwards of 270 Drawings of the objects found. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 6s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 10s. 6d.

22. **AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SURVEY OF WESTERN PALESTINE.** Its Waterways, Plains, and Highlands, with reference to Map No. 10. By Trelawney Saunders. A few Copies left. Price to Subscribers, 3s. 6d.


24. **THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS,** including the one found at Lachish. Translated from the Cuneiform Characters by Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E. The letters, numbering 176, are from Palestine and Syria, were written about 1480 B.C. by Amorites, Phoenicians, Philistines, etc., to the King of Egypt, to Generals and other Officials, and include those from Jabin, King of Hazor, Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem and Japhia, King of Gezer, Contemporaries of Joshua, referring to the Hebrew Conquest, and naming 130 towns and countries. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 3s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 5s. New Edition, just published.

25. **ABILA** (Quarterly Statement, July, 1889), **PELLA** (16), and **'AJLUN** (21), can be had bound together in one volume. Price to Subscribers, 4s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s.

26. **A MOUND OF MANY CITIES,** or, Tell el Hesy excavated, with upwards of 250 Illustrations. By F. J. Bliss, M.A. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 3s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 6s. Just published.

27. **JUDAS MACCABÆUS, AND THE JEWISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE,** with Map. By Major Conder, D.C.L., R.E. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 3s. Non-subscribers, 4s. 6d.

28. **INDEX TO THE QUARTERLY STATEMENT, 1869-1892** inclusive. Price to Subscribers, in paper cover, 1s. 6d.; in cloth, 2s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 2s. and 3s.

29. **THE QUARTERLY STATEMENT.** A Journal of Palestine Research and Discovery. The first number was issued in 1869. Free to Subscribers to the Fund. Non-subscribers, 2s. 6d.
PHOTOGRAPHS.

A very large collection, unmounted, 1od., mounted, 1s. each.

A NEW CATALOGUE of Photographs, arranged alphabetically according to the Bible names of places, with notes and references. Subscribers, 6d. Non-subscribers, 1s.

PHOTOS of Inscriptions from Herod's Temple and Moabite Stone, with translations, also of Jar found at the foundation of the south-east corner of the wall of the Temple Area, 80 feet below the present surface, and facsimile of the Siloam Inscriptions, with translations, sent direct from the Office, 24, Hanover Square, W., to Subscribers for 7d. each post free.

LANTERN SLIDES of the Raised Map of Palestine and of the Bible places mentioned in the Catalogue of Photos can be had by Subscribers to the Fund on application to the Office. A large assortment to choose from. Price 1s. each, uncoloured.

SEAL OF 'HAGGAI, THE SON OF SHEBANIAH.' Casts in metal of this Signet, 2s. each.

INSCRIBED TABLET, found at Lachish. Casts of this Tablet, front and back, 2s. 6d. the pair.

ANCIENT HEBREW WEIGHT, from Samaria. Casts of this Weight, 2s. 6d. each.

INSCRIBED WEIGHT OR BEAD, from Palestine. Casts, 1s. each.

A complete set of the books Nos. 2 to 28 can be had by Subscribers to the Fund at a considerable reduction in price on application to the Secretary, 24, Hanover Square, W. Carriage paid to any part in United Kingdom only. Subscribers to the Fund are supplied with all Books, Maps, Photographs, Slides, etc., at the reduced prices direct from the Office, 24, Hanover Square, W.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.,

OR OF THE PUBLISHERS,

A. P. WATT & SON, HASTINGS HOUSE, NORFOLK STREET, STRAND.

MAPS

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

1. OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT MAP OF PALESTINE. In twenty sheets (see key map). Embracing both sides of the Jordan, and extending from Baalbek in the north to Kadesh Barnea in the south. Reduced from the surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund and other sources. Scale, of an inch=1 mile. In twenty sheets and a cover. Showing modern names in black and all the latest identification of the Old Testament and Apocrypha names in red. The New Testament, Josephus, and the Talmudic names in blue. The Tribal Possessions tinted in colours. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, £1 4s. Non-subscribers, £2. Postage to all foreign countries, 1s. extra. The same map can be had mounted on cloth, rollers, and varnished for hanging. Size, 8 feet by 6 feet. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, £2 5s. and £3 4s. The same map, mounted on cloth, to fold in three parts in a neat portfolio. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, £2 5s. and £3 4s. The same map can be had mounted in any form to suit Subscribers, plus the additional cost of mounting. NOTE.—A copy of 'Names and Places' (No. 14) can be had with this Map by Subscribers for 2s. 6d.
2. MODERN MAP OF PALESTINE. In twenty sheets
Embracing both sides of the Jordan, and extending from Baalbek in the north to Kadesh Barnea in the south. Reduced from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund and other sources. Scale, \( \frac{1}{2} \text{ of an inch} = 1 \text{ mile.} \) With modern names only. In twenty-one sheets and a cover. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, \( £1 \ 4s. \) Non-subscribers, \( £2. \) Postage to all foreign countries, 1s. extra.
The same map can be had mounted on cloth, to fold in three parts in a neat portfolio.
Price to Subscribers to the Fund, \( £2 \ 5s. \) and \( £3 \ 4s. \)
The same map can be had mounted in any form to suit Subscribers, plus the additional cost of mounting.

3. OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT MAP OF PALESTINE in 12 sheets. Scale, \( \frac{1}{2} \text{ of an inch} = 1 \text{ mile.} \) This 12-sheet map consists of sheets 5-7, 9-11, 13-15, 20-22 (see key map to the sheets), which include the whole of Palestine from Mount Hermon in the north to Kadesh Barnea in the south, and the districts beyond Jordan as far as they are surveyed. The modern names are in black, and all the latest identifications of the Old Testament and Apocrypha names in red; the New Testament, Josephus and the Talmudic names in blue; the tribal boundaries are printed in colours. To Subscribers to the Fund, 12s. 6d. To the public, \( £1 \ 15s. \) Postage to all foreign countries, 1s. extra.
The same map can be had, mounted on cloth, rollers, and varnished for hanging, size 4\( \frac{1}{2} \) feet by 63 feet. Price to Subscribers, 23s., to the public, \( £1 \ 11s. \ 6d. \) Mounted on cloth to fold in two parts, in a neat case, price to Subscribers, \( £1 \ 4s. \), to the public, \( £1 \ 12s. \ 6d. \); mounted on cloth to fold in two parts, in a neat portfolio, price to Subscribers, \( £1 \ 4s. \), to the public, \( £1 \ 12s. \ 6d. \); or mounted in any other form desirable (cost of mounting extra).
An edition of this map is printed with the modern names only, at the same prices.
Any single sheet of all the maps can be had separately. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 1s. 6d.; mounted on cloth to fold in the pocket, suitable for travelling, 2s.; to the public, 2s. and 2s. 6d. (See key map.)
A copy of 'Names and Places,' an Index to all the Bible and New Testament names, with full reference, can be had by Subscribers to the Fund, with the maps (not single sheets) at the reduced price of 2s. 6d.
Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday School Unions within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they are allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application to the Secretary only) at reduced price.

4. THE GREAT MAP OF WESTERN PALESTINE, on the scale of one inch to the mile, in twenty-six sheets, with a portfolio. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, \( £2 \ 2s. \) Non-subscribers, \( £3 \ 3s. \)
The same map, mounted on rollers for hanging, size 7 feet by 13 feet. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, \( £3 \ 17s. \ 6d. \) Non-subscribers, \( £5 \ 5s. \)
Any single sheet of the Great Map (see Key Map to the sheets in Quarterly Statement, page 159 [1889], can be had separately, 2s. each. The three sheets, Nos. 13, 16, and 17, containing the new Railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Price 2s. each, or 52 s. 6d. the three. Non-subscribers, 2s. 6d. or 7s.

5. THE REDUCED MAP OF WESTERN PALESTINE, showing WATER BASINS IN COLOUR, and FIVE VERTICAL SECTIONS, showing the natural profiles of the ground, according to the variations of the altitude above or below sea-level, in six sheets and a wrapper. Scale, \( \frac{1}{2} \text{ of an inch} = 1 \text{ mile.} \) Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 7s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 13s. Postage to all foreign countries, 1s. extra.
The same map, mounted on rollers for hanging. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 12s. and 17s. 6d. Non-subscribers, \( £1 \ 5s. \)
The same map, mounted on cloth in a neat case, 10\( \frac{1}{4} \) inches by 8 inches. Price to Subscribers to the Fund, 12s. 6d. Non-subscribers, 19s. 6d.

6. PLAN OF JERUSALEM (showing latest discoveries in red). Scale, 18 inches = 1 mile. Price to Subscribers to the Fund (on cloth), 2s.

7. THE SECTIONS of the Country north and south, and east and west on two sheets. Price 2s. (Western Palestine only.)

Subscribers to the Fund are supplied with all Books, Maps, Photographs, Slides, etc., direct from the Office, 24, Hanover Square, W.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 24, HANOVER SQUARE, W., OR OF THE PUBLISHERS, A. P. WATT & SON, HASTINGS HOUSE, NORFOLK ST., STRAND.
I. THE SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.
By Major C. R. Conder, D.C.L., LL.D., R.E.

This Survey, commenced by Major Conder and stopped by order of the Turkish Government, consists of 500 square miles.

The country is full of interest and abounds with ruins of places Biblical and Classical. Among these ruins are most wonderful fields of dolmens and stone circles. Many drawings of these are given, and there are also special plans of all the most important ruins in the district surveyed.

The Map of the Survey, reduced to the scale of one-third, is added to the volume.

All Major Conder's drawings and plans, numbering more than 350, are inserted. The Memoirs supplied by Major Conder were printed under his supervision. Among them are descriptions, with plans and drawings of Heshbon, Amman (Rabboth Ammon), 'Arak el Emir (the Castle of Hyrcanus), the Persian building formerly considered a Byzantine Church, and other interesting remains.

II. THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES OF M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU. (In the Press.)

More than ten years have elapsed since these drawings were placed in the hands of the Committee by M. Clermont-Ganneau. They are most exquisitely drawn by M. Lecomte, and are chiefly of architectural value. It is most desirable that they should no longer be withheld from the world. The only possible way of publishing them is by subscription in this manner.

The illustrations are about 1,000 in number, and are now ready.

The letterpress will be descriptive of the plates and not longer than is necessary.

M. Clermont-Ganneau is supervising the whole.

III. THE FAUNA AND FLORA OF SINAI, PETRA, AND THE WADY 'ARABAH.
By H. Chichester Hart, B.A., F.L.S.

Mr. Chichester Hart accompanied Professor Hull in his Geological Expedition through Sinai and Palestine in 1883 as Naturalist. This volume is the outcome of the journey. It contains:


This volume is illustrated with Maps and Plates, which are produced (without colour) in the same style and equal to those in Canon Tristram's 'Flora and Fauna of Palestine.'

The volumes are uniform in size and appearance with the work entitled the 'Survey of Western Palestine.'

The edition is limited to 500 copies.

The Subscribers to the first edition (250 copies) of the 'Survey of Western Palestine,' are entitled to receive these volumes at the reduced price of £7 7s.

The Committee pledge themselves not to dispose of any copies under the price of £7 7s. the set.

The first 250 Subscribers are entitled to the reduction in price, whether they be Subscribers to the first work or not; but the price will be £12 12s. to all subsequent Subscribers, unless they are Subscribers to the 'Survey of Western Palestine.'

The first and third volumes are ready and have been issued to Subscribers, in order of application.

The Editorial Committee of the Society, viz., Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. (chairman), Professor Hayter Lewis (late vice-president of the Institute of British Architects), and Mr. Walter Besant (hon. sec.), superintend the production of the Work.

Names may be sent to the office of the Society, 24, Hanover Square, W., or to A. P. Watt & Son, Sole Agents and Publishers, Hastings House, Norfolk Street, Strand.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov 24, 1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 30, 1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 6, 1937</td>
<td>Received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 8, 1937</td>
<td>Received 2:38 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2, 1945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1, 1968</td>
<td>Received LD Dec 2, 9:71 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 27, 1976</td>
<td>LD 21-100m-8, '34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>