



J a n a M y n á ř o v á

Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy

Perspectives on the Amarna Letters

J a n a M y n á ř o v á

**Language of Amarna –
Language of Diplomacy**

Perspectives on the Amarna Letters

**Czech Institute of Egyptology
Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague**

Prague 2007

Reviewed by Petr Charvát and Břetislav Vachala

The book was published from the financial means allocated for the research project of the Ministry of Education, Grant No. MSM 0021620826 ('The Exploration of the Civilization of Ancient Egypt').

© Jana Mynářová, 2007
Photography © Marion Wenzel
Illustrations © Petra Maříková Vlčková
Layout AGAMA poly-grafický ateliér

ISBN 978-80-7308-191-1

PREFACE

This study grew out of my Ph.D. dissertation devoted to the analysis of Greetings Formulae in Peripheral Akkadian (*Zdravící formule v periferní akkadštině*, Prague 2004). When I started work on my dissertation I did not anticipate the number of colleagues and friends to whom I would be indebted for their unselfish help and advice in moments of crisis. However, this already large number of people increased even more once I had decided to revise my work and prepare it for publication. The present study would never have seen the light of day without the help of many friends and colleagues from various universities, museums and other institutions all over the world. I am especially grateful to my teachers, Nea Nováková and Jiří Prosecký, under whose guidance I took my first steps in Akkadian, and to Petr Zemánek, my tutor for both my M.A. and Ph.D. studies. I am most grateful to my friends and colleagues at the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague for the discussions that have always been an important source of inspiration (Filip Coppens, Renata Landgráfová, and Hana Navrátilová) and to Petra Maříková Vlčková (Institute of Archaeology, Masaryk University, Brno). My sincere thanks go to Wilfred G. E. Watson (Newcastle), who always provided me with immense help and encouragement. For stimulating conversations we had over the past years I would like to express my sincere thanks to José-Manuel Galán (CSIC, Madrid). To Ignacio Márquez Rowe and Barbara Böck (CSIC, Madrid) for their help, assistance and inspirations first in Barcelona and later in Madrid, I offer my thanks. My work would not have been possible without the support of colleagues in various museums – from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Wafaa el-Sadiq, May Trad and Wafaa Habib, from the British museum thanks go to Jonathan Taylor, Christopher Walker, Stephanie Clark and Patricia Ussick; in the Ashmolean Museum to Helen Whitehouse; and in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin to Joachim Marzahn. I am also very much indebted to Marilyn J. Lundberg of the Inscriptifact project. Over the past couple of years I have had an opportunity to consult on the topic with many colleagues. In particular I would like to mention Gregorio del Olmo Lete (IPOA, Barcelona), Itamar Singer (The Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University), John Huehnergard (Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University), Thomas Richter (Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Abtlg. Vorderasiatische und Klassische Archäologie, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main), and Anson F. Rainey (Emeritus Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures and Semitic Linguistics, Tel Aviv University), colleagues who always responded to my questions with patience and erudition. For assistance and friendly support I would like to express my sincere thanks to Margarita Conde and Harold Hays, Carolien van Zoest, Tasha Vorderstrasse and Brian P. Muhs, Dita Grubnerová and Ema Hirschová, and last but not least my thanks goes to my family and to my husband Jan. For correcting my English I am indebted to Steven Patten and Kateřina Honskusová.

The institutions that supported my research are the following – a research project of the Ministry of Education, Grant No. MSM 0021620826 ('The Exploration of the Civilization of Ancient Egypt'), Czech Science Foundation by means of a grant no. 404/06/P058 (project: 'Amarna – the Crossroad of the Ancient World') and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation through the project of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers, East-Central European Research Fellows, carried out in 2006 in the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filología, Madrid.

CONTENTS

Preface	3
Contents	4
List of Figures	8
List of Tables	9
Chapter 1	11
The City and Tablets	11
An Introduction	11
The Discovery and the Early Explorations	13
The Excavators and the Dealers – William M. Flinders Petrie, the DOG and the EES	33
Chapter 2	40
The Region and the Language	40
The Region	40
The Language	42
Amarna Peripheral Akkadian	45
Chapter 3	53
The Letter Format	53
A Diplomatic Letter	53
The Structure	54
The Opening Passages and the Amarna Corpus	58
Chapter 4	67
Epistolary Peripheral Akkadian	67
Alalah (Tell Atchana)	67
Middle Euphrates Valley	68
Azu (Tell Hadidi)	69
Ekalte (Munbaqa)	69
Emar (Meskene)	70
Taanach (Tel Ta'anek)	72
Kumidi (Kāmid el-Lōz)	74
Qatna (Tell Mishrife)	77
Ugarit (Ras Shamra)	80
Aphek (Tell Rosh ha-ʿAin)	88
Hazor	89

Gezer	90
Tel el-Hesi	90
Beth Shean	90

Chapter 5	92
------------------------	----

Amarna Letter Format – An Analysis of the Structure	92
---	----

The Scribes of Amarna	92
Structure of the Opening Passages	99
Type 1	100
Type 2	100
Types 3A and 3B	101
Type 4	101
Type 5	102
Type 6	102
Type 7	103
Type 8	103
Type 9	104
Type 10	104
Type 11	105
Type 12A	105
Type 12B	106
Type 12C	107
Type 13	107
Type 14	108
Type 15	108
Type 17	108
Type 16	109
Type 18	111
Structure and Geography – A Conclusion	112

Chapter 6	115
------------------------	-----

The Heading	115
-------------------	-----

Type 1	116
Type 2	117
Type 3	119
Type 4	119
Type 5	120
Type 6	120
Type 7	121
Type 8	121
The Heading – Conclusions	122

Chapter 7	125
------------------------	-----

The Sender and the Addressee	125
------------------------------------	-----

‘Brothers’ – The Sender and the Addressee in the ‘Royal’ Correspondence	125
The ‘Royal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Addressee	128
The ‘Royal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Sender	129

Master and His Subject – the ‘Vassal’ Correspondence	131
The ‘Vassal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Addressee	132
The ‘Vassal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Sender	136
Chapter 8	147
Salutations	147
Greetings and Reports on Sender’s Well-being (2. i, 2. ii, 2. iii, 2. iv)	147
The Prostration Formula (2. v)	152
Type 1	153
Type 2	153
Type 3	154
Type 4	154
Type 5	155
Type 6	155
Type 7	156
Type 8	156
Type 9	157
Type 10	157
Type 11	158
Type 12	158
Type 13	158
Type 14	159
Type 15	159
Type 16	160
Type 17	160
Type 18	161
Type 19	161
Type 20	161
Type 21	162
Type 22	162
Divine Blessings (2. vi)	164
Chapter 9	165
Notes on the Language of Amarna	165
Orthography and Phonology	165
Determinatives	165
<i>General determinatives</i>	165
<i>Plural determinatives</i>	166
Glossenkeil	167
Syllabic and logographic writings	167
<i>Nouns</i>	167
<i>Multiplicative numbers</i>	169
Mimation	170
The š > l shift	170
Primaes w and w > m shift	170
Consonant doubling and plene writing	170
Morphology	170

Pronouns	170
<i>Independent personal pronouns</i>	171
<i>Suffixed personal pronouns</i>	171
<i>Demonstrative pronouns</i>	172
<i>Indefinite pronouns</i>	172
<i>Relative pronouns</i>	172
Numbers	172
<i>Cardinal numbers</i>	172
<i>Multiplicative numbers</i>	172
Nouns	173
<i>Gender and number</i>	173
<i>Case system</i>	173
<i>Stative</i>	174
Verbs	174
<i>Forms of the verbal root</i>	174
Finite forms – markers of person	174
Imperative	174
Preterite, Perfect, Durative, Jussive	174
Precative	176
Non-finite forms	176
Infinitive	176
<i>Ventive</i>	177
<i>Stem patterning</i>	177
Particles, Conjunctions, Adverbs	177
<i>Particles</i>	177
Suffixed particles	177
Presentation particles	177
Modal particles	178
Asseverative particles	178
<i>Prepositions</i>	178
<i>Conjunctions</i>	179
Notes on the morpho-syntax and syntax	179
The use of verbal forms	179
Syntax	179

Chapter 10	180
Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy. The Conclusions	180
Appendix	186
List of Abbreviations	260
Bibliography	263

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1 Boundary stelae and the site of Tell el-Amarna (after PETRIE 1894: pl. XXXIV).
 Fig. 2 'Oil(?) *ḡd* from the domain of the true king's son, Amenhotep'
 (after HAYES 1951c: fig. 27, KK).
 Fig. 3 The Central City and the Main City of Tell el-Amarna (after KEMP – GARFI 1993: 60, fig. 12).
 Fig. 4 Block No. 19 (Q42.21) (after PETRIE 1894: pl. XLII).
 Fig. 5 The map of the ancient Near East.
 Fig. 6 Syro-Palestine of the Amarna letters.

LIST OF TABLES

- Tab. 1 The Amarna tablets purchased by E. A. Wallis Budge for the British Museum.
 Tab. 2 The Amarna Tablets acquired by the Bulaq Museum from the initial find.
 Tab. 3 Berlin Amarna collection.
 Tab. 4 The Amarna Tablets from Petrie's excavations kept in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).
 Tab. 5 Post-Knudtzon's Amarna tablets (EA 359 – EA 382).
 Tab. 6 An overview of analyzed tablets.
 Tab. 7 An overview of Alalaḥ letters, with the preserved opening passages.
 Tab. 8 Structures of the heading, preserved in the Ekalte letters.
 Tab. 9 Structures of the opening passages employed in the Taanach letters.
 Tab. 10 Structures of the opening passages employed in the Kumidi letters.
 Tab. 11 Structures of the opening passages employed in the Qaṭna letters.
 Tab. 12 An overview of Akkadian letters from Ugarit.
 Tab. 13 Titles of 'royal scribe' and 'royal secretary' attested for the Amarna officials.
 Tab. 14 An overview of the structures employed in the opening passages of the Amarna letters.
 Tab. 15 An overview of the structures employed in the headings of the Amarna letters.

THE CITY AND THE TABLETS

An Introduction

The accidental nature of the discovery of a group of tablets by local natives at the very end of the 1880's in the vicinity of the modern village of Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt, coupled with unclear accounts of how they reached their final resting places, has contributed to widespread speculation and theorizing over the years. Even today, 100 years later, the debate continues in both scholarly and popular literature. Without a doubt, the story itself is partly enveloped in a mist of equivocation and inaccuracy but despite that – or maybe because of that – it still remains as one of the most frequently retold and discussed topics of both Near Eastern studies and Egyptology. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the discovery of the tablets were in fact, at that time, far from being exceptional or unusual and very shortly after the discovery was announced, the new tablets brought about immense interest on the part of scholars from many different branches of Near Eastern Studies and Egyptology. They set their eyes upon a small village in Middle Egypt, nowadays referred to as Tell el-Amarna, and identified as the place of the original discovery.

The modern village of Tell el-Amarna – the ancient Akhetaten ('The Horizon of the Sun-disc' or 'The Horizon of Aten,' Eg. *ʾḫ.t-jtn*) is situated in Middle Egypt, slightly more than 300 km south of Cairo, in the province el-Minia. The remains of the ancient capital city stretch for more than 12 km from north to south on the east bank of the river Nile; however the actual city's ruins can be located to a narrow strip with a width of between 1.0 and 1.5 km. (E–W) and 9 to 10 km. from north to south.¹ It was probably during the 4th year of his reign, or early in his 5th year at the latest, that Amenhotep IV–Akhenaten (ca. 1353–1336 B.C.E.) made the compelling and final decision to lay down the foundations of a new capital city, planned to be the place of his new residence, as well as a centre of his religious ideas. Soon after, during the first months of the fifth year of his reign, his commitment, intent and aim was demonstrated through the erection of the first group of boundary stelae, positioned on the northern and southern territorial limits of the intended city's location (fig. 1). Plans for many important construction works were outlined (in the so-called 'Earlier Proclamation,'² stela X in the north and stela M in the south. Serious damage of stela M soon led to the early construction of a new southern stela, stela K). At present, there is a total of fifteen known boundary stelae – twelve on the east bank (referred to as J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, U, V and X) with the remaining three to be found on the west bank of the river (stelae A, B and F).³ The king, who had already changed his name from Amenhotep ('He–Who–Makes–Amen–Satisfied') to Akhenaten ('He–Who–is–Beneficial–to–Aten'), his family⁴ and the royal court had already moved to the newly established city during the 6th year of his reign, i.e. at the time when many of the building projects were still very far from being completed. It is a very well known fact that the existence of the city – in the form intended by Akhenaten – was rather short-lived. We generally calculate that the city's existence

¹ UPHILL (1999: 766).

² See MURNANE – VAN SICLEN (1993:1).

³ For the set of boundary stelae see DAVIES (1908: 28–34, pls. xxv–xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii–xlili); SANDMAN (1938: 103–131); *Urk.* IV 1965–1990 and MURNANE – VAN SICLEN (1993); for translations see especially HELCK (1961: 338–347); LICHTHEIM (1976: 48–51) (for later boundary stelae); and MURNANE (1995: 73–86).

⁴ The eldest daughter of the royal couple named Meritaten is likely to have been born between the 4th and 5th year of Akhenaten's reign.

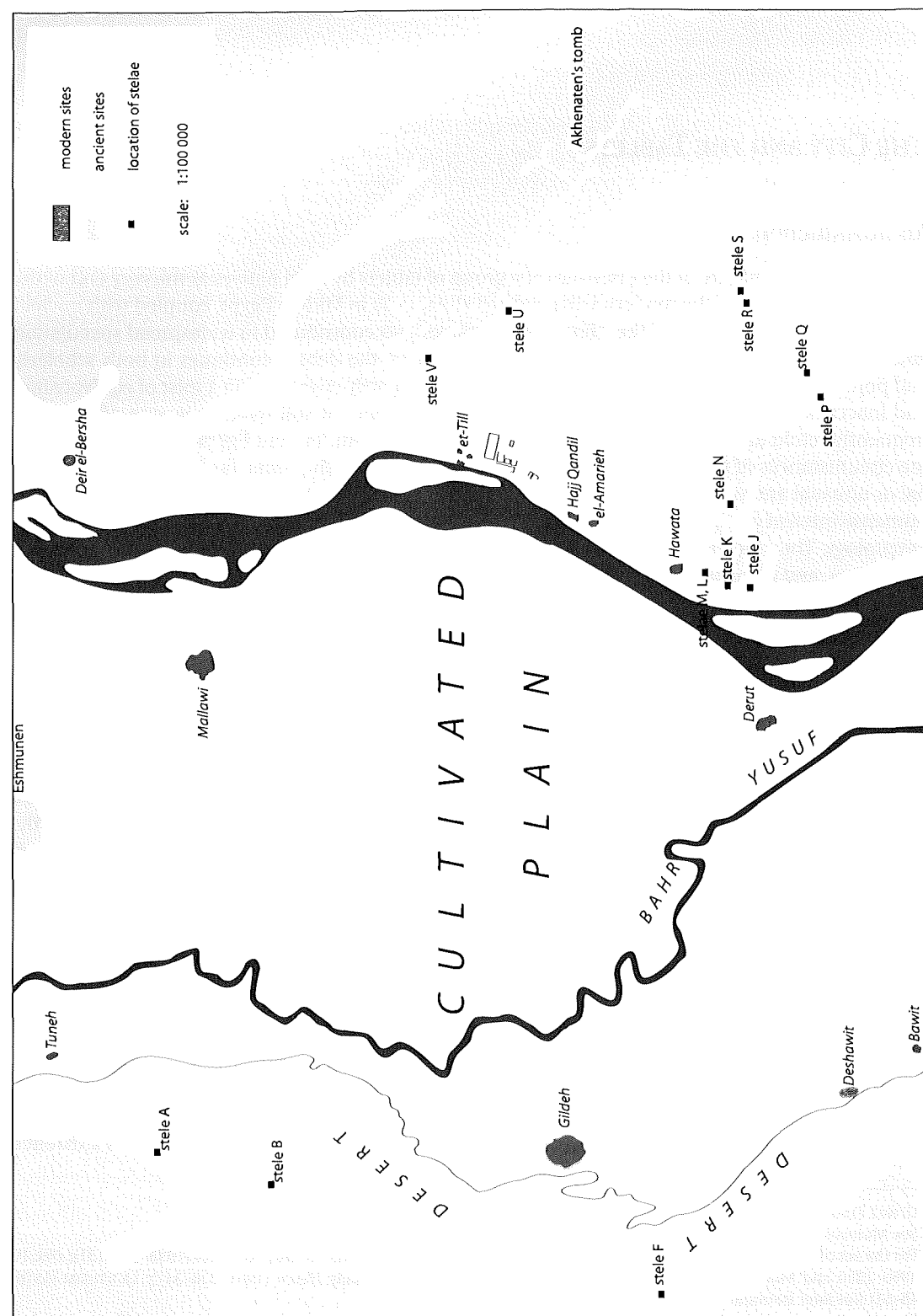


Figure 1 Boundary stelae and the site of Tell el-Amarna (after PETRIE 1894: pl. XXXIV).

extended for approximately twenty years. Nevertheless, the population reached between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants during that period.⁵

The inner layout and organization of Akhenaten's city were strongly influenced by the royal palace-city of Malkata in Western Thebes where, in the environs of the royal palace of his father Amenhotep III, the king had spent several years of his childhood and adolescence. This fact is attested by means of a seal-impression on a jar-stopper, discovered during the excavations carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1910 and 1920⁶ which mentions 'Oil(?) (Eg. *dd*) from the domain of the true king's son Amenhotep' (fig. 2).⁷

A large number of official and administrative buildings were constructed in the Central City of Akhetaten. These included: the King's House and the Great Palace, as well as a large administrative quarter (see especially zones Q.42 and Q.43), which originally consisted of up to 150 houses,⁸ nearby military barracks, granaries and other non-residential complexes, as well as important religious structures of the Great ('House of the Sun-disc,' Eg. *pr-jtn*) and the Small Aten Temples ('Mansion of the Sun-disc,' Eg. *hwt p3 jtn*).

Figure 2 'Oil(?) *dd* from the domain of the true king's son, Amenhotep' (after HAYES 1951c: fig. 27, KK).

The Discovery and the Early Explorations

Almost certainly, it was here – in the building later identified by stamped bricks as 'The Place of the Correspondence of Pharaoh, l. p. h.' (Q42.21; in Petrie's report Block No. 19, see pp. 33–36.)⁹ – in the area of the administrative quarter that the Amarna tablets were discovered during the year 1887 (fig. 3). The actual chronological timeline of the discovery is itself rather uncertain. However, it is still possible to refer back to some data available in the resources of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, especially in the *Journal d'entrée*. It was probably not a complete accident that the tablets were discovered by the end of 1887. Even from as early as May 1887 we can easily observe a growing number of objects registered in the Cairo Museum and originating from the area of Middle Egypt, the sites of Akhmim and Amarna being mentioned.¹⁰

⁵ KEMP (1972); *idem* (1977); *idem* (1979); *idem* (1981: 93–97); *idem* (1989: 269); JANSSEN (1983: 282–288); LACOVARA (1999: 61); THIETZE (1985); *idem* (1986); *idem* (1996); SHAW (1992).

⁶ For the inscribed material from Malkata see HAYES (1951a); *idem* (1951b); *idem* (1951c); *idem* (1951d).

⁷ HAYES (1951c: 159; fig. 27, KK).

⁸ East of the King's House; KEMP (1972: 668).

⁹ Cf. PETRIE (1894: pl. XLII); PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 113–130).

¹⁰ For the objects registered already in December 1887, i.e. prior to the registration of the various groups of tablets, see *Journal d'entrée* IV: 330f., cf. especially J.28028–J.28030, J.28035–J.28037 being objects clearly identifiable with the reign of Akhenaten, including bas-reliefs, fragments of statues or a vase. The man in charge of the sale of some of them is identified as Farag [= Ismain], an antiquities dealer, see below.

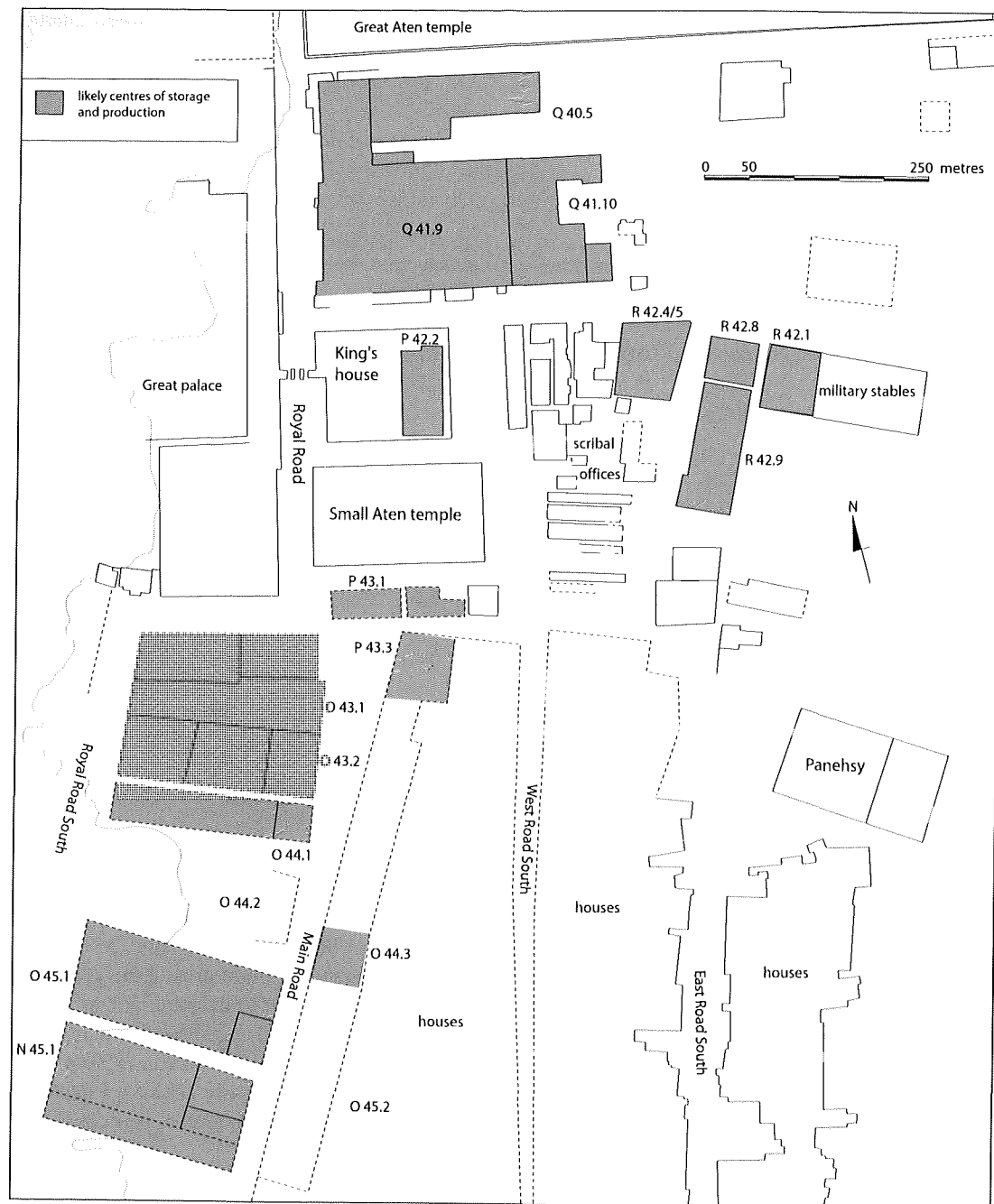


Figure 3 The Central City and the Main City of Tell el-Amarna (after KEMP – GARFI 1993: 60, fig. 12).

In one of his earlier reports, Ernest A. Wallis Budge mentions, in relation to the discovery of the tablets, that 'toward the end of the summer 1887 it became known that a collection of clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform had been discovered in Egypt.'¹¹ Although his report is at variance with later accounts, Budge was, without a doubt, one of the first Europeans to actually hold the tablets

in his hands.¹² Another scholar closely associated with the earliest history of the Amarna tablets, also states autumn, or more precisely October 1887, as the date of the find. Archibald H. Sayce makes mention of this date when describing accounts of the discovery.¹³ Nevertheless, it was E. A. Wallis Budge, fourteen years after his above-quoted report and in his extensive work entitled *History of Egypt* (1902), who changed the date of the discovery and attached himself to the traditionally stated and widely accepted opinion that 'The Tell el-Amarna Tablets were found about the end of the year 1887 in a chamber which was situated in the small building that lies to the east of the palace built by Amen-hotep IV. in the city of Khut-Aten, the ruins of which have been called by the Arabs "Tell el-Amarna".'¹⁴ Actually, several other reports, which were written shortly after the tablets were found and the discovery was announced in the media, identify the winter of 1887–1888 as the period of the Amarna tablets' discovery. However, many of these accounts were clearly based on the few 'original' reports which emanated directly from Egypt.¹⁵

There are, indeed, several well-known stories pertaining to the detail of the discovery itself, including the one of an enigmatic Egyptian peasant woman, who – according to one version – was searching for merchantable antiquities. Yet another story relates how the woman was 'digging out dust from among the ruins to lay upon her land for "top-dressing," and who handed over her interest in the find to one of her friends for the sum of two shillings (10 piastres).'¹⁶ Nevertheless, the find drew considerable attention from both scholars and interested members of the general public. Information about the dubious context of the discovery, as well as numerous entirely groundless speculations as to the number of tablets found during this initial stage, were very soon reported. Certain obscurities and inaccuracies were soon corrected, including the number of tablets found – about three hundred pieces – though the actual account of the discovery and the subsequent immediate destiny of the tablets remained largely in the realm of guesswork and deduction. Despite the fact that many older, as well as more recent, publications provide us with a more or less extensive set of narratives in relation to the early history of the Amarna tablets, it is true that very

¹¹ Published on June 5, 1888; BUDGE (1888: 540).

¹² Between 1883 and 1892, Ernest A. Wallis Budge was an Assistant Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities and on January 27, 1892 he became an Acting Keeper. Finally in 1894 he reached a position of a Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, which he kept until his retirement in 1924; see BIERBRIER (1995: 71–72) with references. For an overview of the intricate scholarly career of E. A. W. Budge consult also HARRIS (1957) who, on the occasion of the centenary of Budge's birth, describes him as 'perhaps the most colourful representative of a type of omnivorous scholar, common enough at the end of the last century, but now a thing of the past. A latter-day survival of the medieval polymath, an orientalist of vast scope and insatiable curiosity, Budge cast his net wide, and ranged over the whole field of near eastern studies, both linguistic and archaeological, without any of that disproportionate specialization which is the lot of the scholar today. In the years between the academic atmosphere has changed, and the emergence of higher standards of scholarship, together with the increase in the fund of knowledge to be assimilated, compels the student to confine his attentions primarily to one branch of the study.' HARRIS (1957: 230). See also CAMPBELL THOMPSON (1935).

¹³ SAYCE (1917: 89).

¹⁴ BUDGE (1902: IV, 185).

¹⁵ See for example in July 1888 BROWN (1888) who mentions that 'clay tablets discovered last winter at "Tel-el-Amarna" or later CONDER (1891: 294) that 'In the winter of 1887–8, however, it became known that some three hundred inscribed bricks had been found by peasant explorers, and were being offered for sale in Cairo.' See also NIEBUHR (1903: 10): 'In the beginning of 1888 some fellahin digging for marl not far from the ruins came upon a number of crumbling wooden chests, filled with clay tablets closely covered on both sides with writing. The dusky fellows must have been not a little delighted at finding themselves owners of hundreds of these marketable antiquities, for which a European purchaser would doubtless give plenty of good gold coins. To multiply their gains they broke up the largest tablets into three or four separate pieces, often to the grievous hindrance of the future decipherer. But very soon the matter bruited abroad; the Government at once intervened, almost all the find was in due time secured, and a stop was put to any further dispersal of separate tablets and of fragments.' And HARRISON (1893: 269): 'They were found in the year 1887 by an Egyptian peasant woman amid the ruins of the palace of Amenophis IV., or Khu-en-Aten, at a place now known as Tell el-Amarna, midway between Minieh and Assiout, on the eastern bank of the Nile, about 180 miles by river south of Cairo. The tablets number 320.'

¹⁶ BUDGE (1902: IV, 185).

few of them actually shed more light onto this fascinating subject than the masterly work of Jørgen A. Knudtzon.¹⁷

The circumstances surrounding the tablets become slightly more clear and explicit only when the individual tablets, which in the meantime had reached the antiquities market,¹⁸ were purchased by several institutions, as well as some private individuals.

In one of his earliest articles dealing with the subject of the Amarna tablets, Ernest A. Wallis Budge mentions that by about the middle of December 1887 he was already able to view and examine 'a considerable number' of these tablets.¹⁹ This information can be further confirmed by one of a series of letters sent by Budge to the Trustees of the British Museum and dated at the close of 1887.²⁰

According to Budge's later accounts and his correspondence, he started his second mission to Egypt and Mesopotamia on December 7, 1887, leaving London and heading for Marseilles, where he embarked on a steamship called *Niémen*, headed for Alexandria. After some problems caused by bad weather, he reached Alexandria eight days later on Friday, December 16 and his late arrival prevented him from embarking from Asyut the day after, at noon. Soon after his arrival he wrote a letter describing his journey and plans for the following days, as well as some proposals for his onward journey to Baghdad. Accompanied by General de Montmorency, Budge arrived in Cairo on December 19, where he met some antiquities dealers, as well as with the newly appointed Director of the Antiquities Service, Eugène Grébaut. The same evening he boarded the train and, accompanied by a certain Frenchman and a Maltese gentleman, he set forth for Asyut. The Frenchman is said to have left the train earlier, probably during the night or very early in the morning, at Deir Mawas, which was the train station for Hajj Qandil. In Budge's words this was in order – 'to set out to try to buy some of the tablets said to have been found at Tell 'al-'Amârnah'.²¹ In Asyut, both Budge and the Maltese gentleman embarked on a steamer and when the boat harboured for the night, at Akhmim and Qena,²² Budge was able to make a visit to several antiquities dealers, including an unnamed Frenchman, who was, according to Budge,²³ the owner of a flour-mill in Cairo. This person can very probably be identified as Mr. Frénay, who – according to a later account on the discovery of the tablets given by A. H. Sayce – was a superintendent²⁴ of the French flourmills in Akhmim. This information can be further confirmed by Sayce's remark that the man also acted as an agent for the Louvre. According to Budge's narrative, included in his autobiography, it was during the conversation that he held with 'the Frenchman' at Akhmim that he let slip that he was, indeed, the person who had previously sold to Gaston Maspero – who was at that time a Director of the Antiquities Service – an extensive collection of papyri, items that had been acquired by the Louvre!

According to his original plan Budge did not have any intention of stopping over in Luxor but, on the contrary, intended to proceed directly to Aswan – and, indeed, on December 27 he sent a letter

¹⁷ KNUDTZON (1907–1915; 1964).

¹⁸ For the role of individual antiquities dealers, especially of Ali Abd el-Hajj, Farag Ismail and Marius Panayiotis Tano, see KNUDTZON (1964: 6–7).

¹⁹ BUDGE (1888: 540).

²⁰ Cf. Budge's letters written in Alexandria on December 16, 1887, Abu Tih [probably identical with the site of Abu Tig, at that time the second train station to the south of Asyut, cf. 'Abou tîg' in BÉDEKER (1913: Map II) and 'Abûtiḡ (Abutis)' in HALL (1907: 299; 344; and Map Sect. 3)] on December 21, 1887 and finally in Daraw in Upper Egypt on December 27, 1887. The correspondence is kept in the Central Archives of the British Museum. For a more detailed description of the course of his second mission to Egypt and Mesopotamia in 1887–1888, see Budge's extensive autobiography, cf. BUDGE (1920: I, 123–338).

²¹ BUDGE (1920: I, 134–135). Still in 1907 the train was the preferred mode of transportation in order to visit the remains of Tell el-Amarna, see 'Donkeys bad. The steamers do not allow sufficient time to see the tombs: the railway traveller, however, is bound by no such restrictions, and can spend here as much time as he pleases.' HALL (1907: 331).

²² In Akhmim probably the night of December 20–21, and in Qena on December 21–22, 1887.

²³ BUDGE (1920: I, 135).

²⁴ SAYCE (1917: 89); *idem* (1923: 251).

from the Upper Egyptian site of Daraw. However, it was probably on December 22 or 23, when the steamer made a stop for 'several hours' in Luxor, that Budge met some dealers, as well as an American missionary, the Revd. Chauncey Murch. Murch was also an important collector of Egyptian Antiquities and served as an intermediary in many of the financial dealings of the British Museum in Egypt.²⁵ Through both these contacts Budge received information pertaining to the recent discoveries and finds in the neighbouring areas. On the journey back to Cairo, however, Budge stopped once again in Luxor, where – according to his autobiography – he took possession of several valuable objects, including the famous papyrus of Ani. The morning after his excursion to the West bank of the river, he visited the house of Al-Hajj Muhammad Muhassib, later Bey, and during breakfast the representatives of the police and armed forces arrived. They had come with orders from E. Grébaut, who had been delayed on his route to Luxor and who had been held up in Naqqada, 'to take possession of every house containing antiquities in Luxor, and to arrest their owners and myself [i.e. E. A. W. Budge], if found holding communication with them'.²⁶ After engaging in negotiations with the chief of the police in Luxor, Budge and his fellows were allowed to do whatever they pleased. On the same day, several other houses belonging to antiquities dealers were locked and sealed and police guards were established.²⁷ According to Budge's own description of the ensuing situation in his autobiography, it was later during the day that a man came from Hajj Qandil. He had in his hands 'some half-dozen tablets which had been found accidentally by a woman at Tall al-'Amârnah, and he asked me to look at them, and to tell him if they were *ḳadim*, i.e. "old" or *jadîd*, i.e., "new" – that is to say, whether they were genuine or fake'.²⁸ At the request of the man, Budge examined the tablets and, during his examination, the material he had at his disposal was considerably enlarged by means of another consignment of tablets, seventy-six in total, which arrived once again by means of an unknown native from Hajj Qandil. Finally, Budge came to the conclusion that the tablets were indeed genuine. However, before he communicated his conclusions to the two men of Hajj Qandil, he was able to reach an agreement pertaining to these cuneiform tablets. The men were not prepared to pay Budge for his examination, but he was 'allowed to take possession of the eighty-two tablets forthwith'.²⁹ and thus the conditions of the purchase were settled. The chronological scheme given by Budge in his autobiography differs in many instances significantly from that in his letters from Egypt. According to the narrative version of Budge's autobiography he 'secured' the tablets on his way back to Cairo when he made a stop at Luxor. However, the same event of examining the tablets overnight and securing them for the British Museum appears already in his letter sent from Daraw on December 27. Though we do not know whether the letter was sent still during his journey to Aswan or when he was coming back to Luxor – it does not explain the data discrepancy. Since the content of the letter is devoted entirely to his Luxor 'business matters' – cf. 'When I arrived at Luxor and began to find out what antiquities were found during the summer'³⁰ – and not a single object from Aswan is mentioned I would suggest that he wrote his letter on the way to Aswan. It flows from the communication that at least the majority of the purchases was done during his first stop in Luxor, declared to be only for 'several hours' and not on the occasion of his return to Cairo. His first stay in Luxor obviously took more time than stated in his autobiography – 'I went a days journey into the desert to a place where there were many papyri ... and after spending the next day and night in bargaining and coaxing and persuading ...'.³¹

²⁵ See below; BIERBRIER (1995: 302). Chauncey Murch also played an important role in the formation of a collection of Greek papyri from Egypt housed in the British Library. During 1893–1907 his name appears in connection with the acquisition of more than 2300 papyri; see the 'Gazetteer of Papyri in British Collections,' <http://gpbc.csad.ox.ac.uk/>.

²⁶ BUDGE (1920: I, 138).

²⁷ For an account on the Grébaut – Budge Luxor 'affair' see also REID (2002: 181f.).

²⁸ BUDGE (1920: I, 140).

²⁹ BUDGE (1920: I, 141); for the true number of tablets acquired by Budge, see below.

³⁰ A letter from Daraw, December 27, 1887, kept in the Central Archives of the British Museum.

³¹ See the previous note.

There is also a very clear and tangible reference to these tablets in the Minutes of the Trustees of the British Museum, dating from a committee held on January 14, 1888 and referring to Budge's letters from Egypt, including a letter sent on December 27, 1887 from Daraw in Upper Egypt mentioning that Budge 'has secured 41 cuneiform Tablets in a remarkable script.'³² However, this information pertaining to the number of cuneiform tablets differs significantly from what is, in fact, written in Budge's letter and dated December 27, 1887. Therefore, we shall quote the relevant passages of the private letter *in extenso* – 'A certain man had 71 cuneiform tablets written in a remarkable script, and when I had spent a night examining them I decided to bring them with me to make sure of securing them. They were found at a place whose name I will give in the future. Four of them were stolen by a Copt and the Paris authorities bought them for £40 and sent out a man on purpose to buy the remainder. The Copt did not know to whom they were going and so the Frenchman was baulked.'³³

Obviously of some interest to us must be an additional item of Budge's correspondence that was discussed at the committee on February 11, 1888. The letter, sent from Cairo on January 8, 1888, refers to the activities of the representatives of the Cairo museum in relation to antiquities and describes 'actions taken by Boulak [i.e. Bulaq] authorities to intercept papyri and tablets, fortunately in Mr. Budge's own possession.'³⁴ In order to make the acquired objects safe while still in Luxor, Budge made the following arrangements: 'The box of tablets and papyri I shall not attempt to pay for, but they are in the house of a man I can trust at worst they will go to the house of Gen. de Montmorency when I come down the river.'³⁵ Based on his later account,³⁶ it is clear that as well as other valuable things Budge brought 'the box containing the eighty-two tablets from Ḥajjī Kāndīl' with him on board a steamer that arrived from Aswan and was supposed to leave early in the morning on the following day. From Asyut, Budge boarded the train for Cairo and with the invaluable help of some British officers he was able to transport all his belongings to the town.³⁷ His original plans to travel to Baghdad via Alexandretta and Aleppo, in the company of General de Montmorency had to be changed at the eleventh hour and Budge, with the box of Amarna tablets, – at least according to his autobiography –, took the road to Suez where he embarked on the steamer 'Navarino' on January 12, 1888. His journey took him via Aden, Karachi and Basra and, finally, after some delays *en route* he reached Baghdad on February 13, 1888.³⁸ According to his letter to the Trustees, sent from Aden on January 17, 1888, Budge was able to arrange for the shipment of a large quantity of Egyptian objects to London, including: eight boxes of antiquities, one box of Coptic letters and fragments, four boxes of papyri, two boxes containing models of a boat and a granary and many other things.³⁹ According to his sometimes slightly over elaborate autobiography, however,⁴⁰ he states that he took the valuable box containing the Amarna tablets with him to Baghdad.

³² Cf. the copy of the Minutes, Department of Oriental (Egyptian & Assyrian) Antiquities, January 14, 1888, p. 2195. In his letters of December 16, 21, and 27, 1887 Budge describes several groups of objects available for sale as well as the general situation in the antiquities market. Of special interest are those collections found during the summer, of which Budge was informed when he arrived in Luxor. He also gives a very detailed description of the unpleasant atmosphere among the natives caused by the activities of the French director of the Bulaq museum. In addition, he indicates his plans for his forthcoming journey to Baghdad (via Alexandretta and Aleppo, see letter of December 21, 1887). He schedules his return from Upper Egypt to Cairo for about January 5, 1888 in order to be able to leave for Alexandretta either on January 13 or 14 and to arrive in Baghdad approximately eleven days later. He actually only reached Baghdad on February 13, 1888 as he immediately reported in his letter of February 18, 1888, addressed to the Trustees.

³³ The Central Archives of the British Museum.

³⁴ Cf. the copy of the Minutes of the Trustees of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities of February 11, 1888, p. 2204; see the section below on the Cairo Amarna tablets.

³⁵ Budge's letter of December 21, 1887; the Central Archives of the British Museum.

³⁶ BUDGE (1920: I, 146).

³⁷ See BUDGE (1920: I, 146).

³⁸ Cf. the copy of the Minutes of the Trustees of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities of April 14, 1888, p. 2234; see also BUDGE (1920: I, 151–182).

³⁹ Cf. the copy of the Minutes of the Trustees of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities, committee of February 11, 1888, p. 2205.

⁴⁰ BUDGE (1920: I, 182).

Due to the responsibilities he held on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum in Mesopotamia, it was impossible for Budge to immediately make use of the notes he had already made on the tablets while in Egypt. He left Baghdad and via Bombay and Suez reached Cairo on April 2, 1888. On April 24 he finally arrived in London.⁴¹ Among the most important collections that he was able to obtain during his 1887–1888 journey to the Near East, and which are enumerated in the conclusion of the chapter devoted to this mission, one can also find 'Eighty-two tablets from Tall al-'Amārnah.'⁴²

However, in the meantime – on February 18, 1888 – Archibald H. Sayce announced by means of his 'Letter from Egypt,' published in the *Academy*, the existence of about two hundred cuneiform tablets said to originate from an Upper Egyptian site of Tell el-Amarna.⁴³ Sayce supplied his readers with the information that some of the tablets had been bought by the Bulaq Museum but a larger group had been purchased by Daninos Pasha. However, he further admitted that he himself did not see any of them and thus could not give more details. Nevertheless, even on March 24, 1888, another series of Sayce's contributions from Egypt was again published in the *Academy* and there the readers were offered more detailed information.⁴⁴ First of all, Sayce provided information that he had already made a copy of one of the tablets belonging to Urbain Bouriant, who was at that time the director of the French *Mission Archéologique*, and that the tablets were written in a 'neo-Babylonian form of cuneiform ... belonging to the period extending from the age of Assur-bani-pal to that of Darius.' He also reported a rather unpleasant situation that had prevented him from studying the tablets housed in the Bulaq Museum. According to A. H. Sayce, these tablets were 'locked up in the director's house; and, like several other objects of interest, are inaccessible both to the *employés* of the museum and to foreign scholars who visit Cairo during the winter, when M. Grébaut is up the river.' Nevertheless, this peculiar situation was soon to be corrected. Eugène Grébaut, a director of the Bulaq Museum at that time, soon provided the audience with his explanation and clarification of the situation.⁴⁵ Grébaut's letter, addressed to Sayce alongside a short explanation by A. H. Sayce of April 30, was published in the *Academy*. In his letter, sent from Bulaq and dated April 22, 1888, i.e. less than a month after the letter of Sayce addressed to the *Academy*, Eugène Grébaut strictly denied the possibility that the 'Assyrian tablets' had ever left 'the offices of the building, where they were in the hands of the curator' when Sayce arrived in Cairo and were 'all safely deposited in an accessible part of the building, and not locked up in the private house of the director.' In his explanation he also added a rather striking statement that 'Not being able to read Assyrian, but thinking you would come to Egypt this winter, before I departed to Upper Egypt, I had requested that the existence of the tablets should be made known to you, and that you should be asked to leave at the Museum some notes which would assist us in compiling our catalogue.' E. Grébaut further stated that the information pertaining to the discovery and given to Sayce 'is not less erroneous than that regarding the sequestration of the Assyrian tablets.' Despite the very short length of Grébaut's letter, we are able to glean some very interesting information to the date on which the tablets actually reached the Bulaq Museum. According to him, the tablets were 'collected with some difficulty, at the Boulak [i.e. Bulaq] Museum towards the end of last year,' i.e. by the end of 1887, which means at the time of Budge's visit to Egypt. Unfortunately, Grébaut's intention to publish 'the real facts' on the pages of the

⁴¹ BUDGE (1920: I, 333–334).

⁴² BUDGE (1920: I, 338).

⁴³ A document which was sent from Cairo and dated on February 3, 1888, see SAYCE (1888a: 123); Sayce's interesting information on the discovery was immediately assumed by other media as well – see for example in the *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* of March 1888 quoting Sayce literally 'Since my arrival in Cairo I have learned that about 200 cuneiform tablets have been offered for sale here, which are said to have come from Tel-el-Amarna. Some have been bought by Daninos Pasha. I have not seen a specimen of them, and I cannot, therefore, say to what age or class of cuneiform writing they belong. If they really have been discovered in Upper Egypt, their interest will be great.' FROTHINGHAM (1888a: 75) or in an abbreviated form, SMITH (1888: 91) in the *Classical Review*, mentioning only the number and origin of the newly found tablets.

⁴⁴ SAYCE (1888b: 211).

⁴⁵ SAYCE – GRÉBAUT (1888: 315).

Academy never materialized and thus our knowledge of the discovery largely rests upon several, apparently not completely reliable, sources. A. H. Sayce expressed his apologies for the misinformation given by him to the readers and continued 'If I am again in Cairo I hope I shall not be so unfortunate as to miss him again, or to lose the chance of copying inscriptions which throw light on Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Egypt, and possibly also on his campaign against Judah.'

These brief notes, however, were soon followed by further and more elaborate information, sent by Sayce on March 30, 1888 from Brindisi and published in the very same journal on April 7, 1888.⁴⁶ Based on his personal observation of Urbain Bouriant's tablets, Sayce interpreted the Amarna tablets as being 'copies of dispatches sent to the Babylonian king by his officers in Upper Egypt.' According to this report, these particular tablets were supposed to mention the names of two kings – 'Amasis' [i.e. Ahmose II] and 'Apries' [i.e. Haibre], who was identified by Sayce as the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. Consequently, he had interpreted these tablets as being a confirmation of a Babylonian conquest of Egypt.⁴⁷ However, the largest part of his report was devoted to Turkish law pertaining to antiquities.

Nevertheless, Sayce's opinions regarding the date of the Amarna tablets were soon shown to be mistaken by means of Adolf Erman's study 'Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna,' published in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, and he himself soon accepted the new dating of the tablets to the reign of the 18th Dynasty.⁴⁸

In the meantime, on April 26, 1888, E. A. Wallis Budge returned 'from his mission to Egypt and Baghdad.'⁴⁹ In his article published in the *Proceedings of the Society of the Biblical Archaeology* of June 5, 1888, Budge quoted several passages from Sayce's earlier reports, especially those pertaining to their dating. In his appraisal of Sayce's results he confined himself only to a more general statement that 'the brief examination of the tablets which I had been able to make in Egypt did not lead me to the conclusion arrived at by my good friend Prof. Sayce, but as, owing to various circumstances, I was unable to verify or disprove his statements I said nothing about the matter publicly.'⁵⁰ He simply made some corrections to Sayce's report, relating to the number and ownership of known tablets to 'about three hundred of pieces of inscribed clay ... sold this year in Egypt.'⁵¹

In relation to the ownership and location of the tablets, Budge stated that there were about a dozen tablets in the possession of Urbain Bouriant, a few were held by the Bulaq Museum,⁵² six or

⁴⁶ SAYCE (1888c).

⁴⁷ Sayce's report for the *Academy* of April 7, 1888 was also quoted by others, cf. 'Most of the tablets contain copies of dispatches sent to the Babylonian King by his officers in Upper Egypt; and, as one of them speaks of "the conquest of Amasis" (*kasad Amasi*), while another seems to mention the name of Apries, the King in question must have been Nebuchadnezzar. The conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, so long doubted, is now become a fact of history.' FROTHINGHAM (1888b: 191).

⁴⁸ Cf. ERMAN – SCHRADER (1888); SAYCE (1888d: 488–489); *idem* (1888e: 299–301); see also FROTHINGHAM (1888c: 333). Strong support for A. H. Sayce was expressed, among others, by Col. Conder 'Dr. Sayce was one of the first in the field to decipher and comment on these brick epistles, and in 1888–9 he translated, with some approach to a final result, all those which were not already sent to Europe. In his haste he fell into several errors, of which his rivals have made the most, and which have been corrected by scholars, who set to work in a deliberate manner. ... Yet notwithstanding these errors, the value of Dr. Sayce's work on the subject must be duly recognized, and has received its proper recognition from the German scholars who are now devoting themselves to this interesting study.' CONDER (1891: 294–295). As reported by Frothingham, the tablets were to be published in Germany by Hugo Winckler, who, according to the *Academy* of September 8, 1888 – at the time when the report was being done – was 'in Egypt, examining the tablets from Tel el-Amarna in the Bulaq Museum.' FROTHINGHAM (1888c: 334). For the collations of the Cairo tablets, see also PEISER (1898a); *idem* (1898b); *idem* (1898c); *idem* (1898d).

⁴⁹ As reported by Peter le Page Renouf on May 9, see the copy of the Minutes of the Trustees, Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities, dated May 12, 1888, p. 2256.

⁵⁰ BUDGE (1888: 541).

⁵¹ BUDGE (1888: 542). However, in the very same volume a detailed study on the Amarna tablets was also published by A. H. Sayce, cf. SAYCE (1888d: 488), still stating that the original number of discovered tablets was 'about 200.'

⁵² He could not be more precise in relation to the exact number of tablets housed in the Bulaq Museum because during his visit to the museum the director (i.e. E. Grébaut) was absent, see BUDGE (1888: 541).

eight small tablets were owned by an unnamed friend of Budge in Cairo, 'a considerable number' were possessed by Albert (Abraham) Daninos Pasha, a large group of approximately one hundred and sixty tablets was bought by an Austrian antiquities dealer, Theodor Graf, and via him, this group of tablets reached the collection of the Berlin Royal Museums in 1888.⁵³ Budge further added that there was also 'a small collection of 58 pieces, of which about 45 were mere fragments and of little importance ... owned by a private person in Egypt,' and finally that eighty-one tablets were acquired by the British Museum.⁵⁴ Thereafter, Budge listed all eighty-one Amarna documents that had been acquired,⁵⁵ giving a short and descriptive overview of every single tablet, usually including the names of both correspondents, supplemented by a description of the present state of these tablets, followed by a discussion on palaeographic and content issues.

As we have already mentioned, Budge's article of June 1888 declared that he had been able to view and examine 'a considerable number' of the tablets. This information is further confirmed by the Minutes of the Trustees⁵⁶ from a committee meeting that took place on January 14, 1888, reporting, among other things, on three letters that had been received from E. A. Wallis Budge and dated December 16, 21 and 27, 1887. These had been sent from three distinct places in Egypt, the Amarna tablets being specifically mentioned in the last one.⁵⁷ However, the tablets appear once again in the Minutes of the Trustees of October 13, 1888.⁵⁸ During the committee meeting, a report of Peter le Page Renouf, dated three days earlier, on October 10, 1888, was discussed, recommending the purchase of a group of tablets from Messrs. Bywater, Tanqueray & Co., 'Shipping Merchants and Agents.'⁵⁹ Since the information is crucial in relation to the collection of the Amarna tablets housed in the British Museum, we quote it here in full: 'A very valuable collection of 81 cuneiform tablets found near Tell-el-Amarna, in Upper Egypt (*selected by Mr. Budge during recent missions to Egypt), being a series of letters and dispatches from Kings of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phoenicia, to Amenophis [i.e. Amenhotep] III and his son Amenophis [i.e. Amenhotep] IV, B.C. 1530–1450. The tablets illustrate the relations in which the correspondents stood to the Egyptian monarchs, either as relatives, allies, or vassals. One of them proves the correctness of the tradition that the wife of Amenophis III was a foreign lady, the King of Mitanni, North East of Palestine, addressing him as his "son-in-law". In further illustration of the historical interest of the collection, Mr. Renouf quotes the substance of three of the tablets. The character of the writing is unique, and several new words occur. The price of the collection is £512, payable on the passing of the Museum vote for the current year.' According to the Minutes, this recommendation was indeed sanctioned and on the very same day, i.e. on October 13, 1888, those eighty-one Amarna tablets were registered in the British Museum, despite the fact that it is not obvious when exactly the sum was actually paid (see below).

Unfortunately, there is only very limited information available as to the origins of Budge's collection. As is very clear from the above-mentioned letters, by the end of 1887 Budge was already in possession of seventy-one tablets (and not forty one, see above) that he had acquired in Luxor.

⁵³ It was probably the Austrian origin of Theodor Graf that led Sayce to a wrong assertion in his earlier reports, that the tablets were obtained for the Museum of Vienna, cf. for example SAYCE (1888f) and the mistaken information appeared as well in his *PSBA* article of June 5, cf. SAYCE (1888d: 488) first enumerating the tablets in different collections '... 160 by the Museum of Vienna, ...,' and later referring to Erman's comment on the hieratic note, 'According to Prof. Erman a hieratic note attached to one of the tablets now in Vienna states that the collection had been transferred from Thebes to the new capital of Khu-n-aten.' Unfortunately, this mistake by Sayce was also repeated by other media, such as in the *Athenaeum* of June 9, 1888, the *American Journal of Archaeology and the History of the Fine Arts* of September 1888, cf. FROTHINGHAM (1888c: 333).

⁵⁴ BUDGE (1888: 541–542).

⁵⁵ In his own words 'secured,' cf. BUDGE (1888: 542).

⁵⁶ Cf. the copy of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities of 1888, p. 2195.

⁵⁷ See above.

⁵⁸ See the copy of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities of 1888, p. 2359–2360.

⁵⁹ See a letter of Bywater, Tanqueray & Co., 79 Queen Victoria St., London, from December 12, 1888 addressed to the Keeper of the Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities; Correspondence of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of 1888.

As to the origin of the remaining ten tablets, we are totally ignorant. A very short reference to the cuneiform tablets from Tell el-Amarna that were, together with tablets from Hellah, obtained by Budge for the collections of the British Museum can also be found in Budge's letter addressed to Henry Sidgwick, sent on June 14, 1888.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, again, there are no relevant details concerning their origin. A clue to this mystery could be contained in a letter kept in the archives of the Department of Oriental Antiquities and sent from Luxor by the American Revd. Chauncey Murch to Peter le Page Renouf, dated November 23, 1888. The letter contains, among other things, information predominantly concerning financial matters pertaining to unpaid purchases that Budge had arranged in Egypt during 1887, cf. '...Reference to my correspondence with Mr. Budge concerning some of the purchases he made here last year will show that since about the 1st of August I have had to urge very energetically that payment be speedily made. Though the full expectation here was that the money would be paid June 1st, I managed to satisfy those concerned here they should be patient as long as the delay was unavoidable. According to Mr. Budge's account £650 were paid to Messrs. Bywater, Tanqueray & Co. on Sept. 15th. Though this payment was made, there have been various delays which it is unnecessary to explain at length, and to the present time only £100 have been received by us. On Oct. 8th, I wrote a most explicit letter to Messrs. Bywater, Tanqueray & Co. I insisted most urgently that the whole £650 be sent out immediately. I followed this letter by one to Mr. Budge three days later. It is a great pity that Mr. Budge did not see the Bywaters, as they have obeyed my instructions only so far as to send is a cheque for £100. Your creditor has been forced to borrow money from Greek usurers at the rate of 7 per cent per month. I have just returned after an absence of twenty days at Assouan, and I went to see him last night. I find that he is now in the state of mind which I have been fearing, and which I have more than once suggested in my correspondence about the matter, viz., he is afraid I am deceiving him about the money, and he is afraid he will never get it.'⁶¹ However, the following passage is clearly of immense interest, since the Amarna tablets are mentioned directly – 'As high as £20 have been offered here for the Clay Cuneiform tablets. He feels that the first lot was taken from him at too low a rate. On the whole I found him in a very bad humor last night.' It is clear that the Revd. Chauncey Murch must have played a specific role in obtaining some of the tablets – nevertheless, it is impossible to judge whether 'the first lot' mentioned by Ch. Murch refers to any of the purchases already reported by Budge in December 1887, or whether it relates to the remaining tablets. Budge himself, however, was undoubtedly engaged in intense contact with other antiquities dealers,⁶² such as a Cypriot Marius Panayiotis Tano.⁶³ However, the mention of the tablets in Murch's letter is important as it represents clear proof of the fact that during the autumn of 1888 there were still tablets available for sale.

The complete collection of Amarna documents then kept in the British museum was published by Carl Bezold and E. A. Wallis Budge under the title 'The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with Autotype Facsimiles' (1892).⁶⁴ Even in the very first paragraphs of the *Introduction* to the volume,⁶⁵ one can read that 'the British Museum possesses eighty-two [tablets], which were purcha-

⁶⁰ Cf. the document Trinity/Add.Ms.c/93/65.

⁶¹ It should be noted that Murch's 'complaint' was, in the end, successful as, according to the letter of Bywater, Tanqueray & Co. of December 12, 1888, the 'whole' (underlined in the original) amount for the Revd. Chauncey Murch was received from the Museum on December 11, 1888 and was forwarded to him, with an explanation as to the reason why, in the first instance, they had sent only £100.

⁶² The Revd. Ch. Murch refers to an unnamed dealer – again in a context of the unresolved financial matters: 'The man with whom Mr. Budge dealt had partners among those who dig for antiquities, and he is also having a hard time in putting them off about their money. It is certainly a great mistake that this money has not been remitted sooner, and if the matter drags on much longer, I very much fear that you will lose the assistance of the dealer who is much better able than any other, to secure for you the best things that are found in Egypt.'

⁶³ Who knew Budge for certain and who was even in written communication with him during 1888, as a letter by him, written in Cairo on March 16, 1888 and referring to Budge's letter to him, proves; kept in the correspondence of the Department of 1888, for Tano see also BIERBRIER (1995: 410).

ses for the Trustees by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge in 1888 ...'. Though in his later reports Budge states that he was able to secure altogether eighty-two Amarna tablets during his second mission to the East, in the earlier accounts he speaks only of eighty-one tablets. However, in the publication of 1892 reference is made to eighty-two tablets. It follows from this volume that there was indeed an 'additional' tablet with a distinct origin, in Bezold's and Budge's edition numbered as No. 46 (present BME 29829)⁶⁶ and registered in the collection only on May 9, 1891, i.e. almost three years later than the rest of the Amarna tablets. However, more light is shed on the problem of the origin of the tablet No. 46 by a report signed by Peter le Page Renouf and written by E. A. Wallis Budge on May 4, 1891. This report was considered by the committee five days later.⁶⁷ It is here that mention is made of the item, among 'a valuable collection of antiquities in twenty-two boxes' and 'among the Egyptian antiquities, [where] the following are the most interesting' obtained by Budge during his fourth mission to Egypt and Mesopotamia (i.e. 1890–1891) as sequence number 10 'One Tell el-Amarna tablet.'

British Museum No.	BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892)	Registered	EA	Notes
BME 29784	BB 1	Oct 13, 1888	EA 1	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29785	BB 2	Oct 13, 1888	EA 9	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29786	BB 3	Oct 13, 1888	EA 10	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29787	BB 4	Oct 13, 1888	EA 5	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29788	BB 5	Oct 13, 1888	EA 35	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29789	BB 6	Oct 13, 1888	EA 34	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29790	BB 7	Oct 13, 1888	EA 37	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29791	BB 8	Oct 13, 1888	EA 19	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29792	BB 9	Oct 13, 1888	EA 17	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29793	BB 10	Oct 13, 1888	EA 23	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29794	BB 11	Oct 13, 1888	EA 26	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29795	BB 12	Oct 13, 1888	EA 74	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29796	BB 13	Oct 13, 1888	EA 114	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29797	BB 14	Oct 13, 1888	EA 83	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29798	BB 15	Oct 13, 1888	EA 73	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29799	BB 16	Oct 13, 1888	EA 136	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29800	BB 17	Oct 13, 1888	EA 88	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29801	BB 18	Oct 13, 1888	EA 132	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29802	BB 19	Oct 13, 1888	EA 125	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)

⁶⁴ The publication of the tablets was recommended by Peter le Page Renouf on March 8, 1889; it was discussed at the committee the following day. According to the copy of the Minutes of the Trustees, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, dated March 9, 1889, p. 2398, this initiative was approved. Renouf's original plan consisted of a proposal to publish 'transcripts of the texts, to be illustrated with 25 auto gravure plates in which the best specimens, 38 in number, would be represented,' the related costs for 500 copies were determined as: printing £80, plates £235, in total £315. It was further approved that the publication was, 'to be accompanied with translation.' The publication of the Amarna tablets, however, became the subject of discussion once again at a committee meeting of July 12, 1890, see the Department's copy of the Minutes of the Trustees, July 12, 1890, pp. 2538–2539, mentioning a report of Renouf of July 9 that due to the 'pressure of the general work in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, the progress of editing and printing the cuneiform tablets from Tell el-Amarna has been delayed.' It was Budge's task to revise the work but this would interfere with his mission to the Near East. The reason for the urgency regarding publication of the London collection is also stated – 'It is important that the tablets should, if possible, be published in the winter of this year when the issue of the publication of the Berlin tablets will be completed.' And thus it was Carl Bezold who was entrusted with the task of revising the publication and who was to be paid for any work done by him.

⁶⁵ BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: ix).

⁶⁶ BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 95).

⁶⁷ See the Central Archives' copy of the report dated on May 5, 1891, p. 1700–1701/22–24.

British Museum No.	BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892)	Registered	EA	Notes
BME 29803	BB 20	Oct 13, 1888	EA 123	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29804	BB 21	Oct 13, 1888	EA 87	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29805	BB 22	Oct 13, 1888	EA 86	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29806	BB 23	Oct 13, 1888	EA 102	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29807	BB 24	Oct 13, 1888	EA 131	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29808	BB 25	Oct 13, 1888	EA 118	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29809	BB 26	Oct 13, 1888	EA 141	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29810	BB 27	Oct 13, 1888	EA 142	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29811	BB 28	Oct 13, 1888	EA 149	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29812	BB 29	Oct 13, 1888	EA 147	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29813	BB 30	Oct 13, 1888	EA 151	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29814	BB 31	Oct 13, 1888	EA 155	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29815	BB 32	Oct 13, 1888	EA 235	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29816	BB 33	Oct 13, 1888	EA 64	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29817	BB 34	Oct 13, 1888	EA 63	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29818	BB 35	Oct 13, 1888	EA 161	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29819	BB 36	Oct 13, 1888	EA 55	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29820	BB 37	Oct 13, 1888	EA 53	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29821	BB 38	Oct 13, 1888	EA 303	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29822	BB 39	Oct 13, 1888	EA 304	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29823	BB 40	Oct 13, 1888	EA 306	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29824	BB 41	Oct 13, 1888	EA 59	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29825	BB 42	Oct 13, 1888	EA 100	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29826	BB 43	Oct 13, 1888	EA 197	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29827	BB 44	Oct 13, 1888	EA 101	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29828	BB 45	Oct 13, 1888	EA 139	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29829	BB 46	May 9, 1891	EA 176	Budge's fourth mission (1890–1891)
BME 29830	BB 47	Oct 13, 1888	EA 227	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29831	BB 48	Oct 13, 1888	EA 228	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29832	BB 49	Oct 13, 1888	EA 299	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29833	BB 50	Oct 13, 1888	EA 298	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29834	BB 51	Oct 13, 1888	EA 297	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29835	BB 52	Oct 13, 1888	EA 325	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29836	BB 53	Oct 13, 1888	EA 323	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29837	BB 54	Oct 13, 1888	EA 324	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29838	BB 55	Oct 13, 1888	EA 316	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29839	BB 56	Oct 13, 1888	EA 315	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29840	BB 57	Oct 13, 1888	EA 296	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29841	BB 58	Oct 13, 1888	EA 30	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29842	BB 59	Oct 13, 1888	EA 248	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29843	BB 60	Oct 13, 1888	EA 215	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29844	BB 61	Oct 13, 1888	EA 252	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29845	BB 62	Oct 13, 1888	EA 270	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29846	BB 63	Oct 13, 1888	EA 269	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29847	BB 64	Oct 13, 1888	EA 256	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29848	BB 65	Oct 13, 1888	EA 330	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29849	BB 66	Oct 13, 1888	EA 224	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29850	BB 67	Oct 13, 1888	EA 284	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29851	BB 68	Oct 13, 1888	EA 282	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)

British Museum No.	BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892)	Registered	EA	Notes
BME 29852	BB 69	Oct 13, 1888	EA 278	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29853	BB 70	Oct 13, 1888	EA 264	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29854	BB 71	Oct 13, 1888	EA 294	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29855	BB 72	Oct 13, 1888	EA 245	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29856	BB 73	Oct 13, 1888	EA 69	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29857	BB 74	Oct 13, 1888	EA 318	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29858	BB 75	Oct 13, 1888	EA 261	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29859	BB 76	Oct 13, 1888	EA 213	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29860	BB 77	Oct 13, 1888	EA 187	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29861	BB 78	Oct 13, 1888	EA 205	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29862	BB 79	Oct 13, 1888	EA 251	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29863	BB 80	Oct 13, 1888	EA 272	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29864	BB 81	Oct 13, 1888	EA 277	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)
BME 29865	BB 82	Oct 13, 1888	EA 357	Budge's second mission (1887–1888)

Table 1 The Amarna tablets purchased by E. A. Wallis Budge for the British Museum.

As we have already mentioned, in the very same volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of the Biblical Archaeology* of June 1888, in which Budge's study was published, the readers were also offered the more extensive study by Archibald H. Sayce, devoted to the Amarna tablets belonging to Urbain Bouriant's collection.⁶⁸ In this study Sayce was able to present a total of thirteen texts, including short commentaries. Later, in 1917, when he published his account of the discovery of the Amarna Tablets, A. H. Sayce linked the Bouriant collection with the earliest history of the discovery of the tablets.⁶⁹ He refers, once again, to Mr. Frénay of Akhmim, to whom the antiquities dealer, Elias, sold a collection of thirteen Amarna tablets. One of these was sent to Jules Oppert in the Louvre to assess the genuine nature of the collection. Only when Frénay received Oppert's negative evaluation of the tablet did he lose interest in the case and the remainder of the tablets was sent to Muhammad Muhassib in Luxor (see above). The other tablets were sent to U. Bouriant, in Cairo. However, a more likely scenario is presented by J. A. Knudtzon,⁷⁰ who states, that there were in fact a total of fourteen tablets originally belonging to U. Bouriant. Thirteen of these were published by A. H. Sayce⁷¹ but the last one, 'eine kleine Tafel,' was sent by Bouriant, and not by Frénay, to Jules Oppert in Paris. This was accompanied by a short note, stating that the complete collection could be purchased by the Louvre. The final destiny of this tablet remains unclear.⁷²

Nevertheless, Sayce's work on the Amarna tablets continued in December 1888 when he received permission from the officials of the Bulaq Museum to study the tablets in their collection.⁷³ The results of his study of some of the Bulaq tablets, together with some of the tablets in the private collections of Alexandros Rostovitz Bey, Vladimir Semionovitch Golénischeff and the Revd. Chauncey Murch,⁷⁴ were introduced by means of his article of June 4, 1889.⁷⁵ Based on his recent and more

⁶⁸ SAYCE (1888d).

⁶⁹ SAYCE (1917); see also an account in his autobiography, SAYCE (1923: 251–252).

⁷⁰ KNUDTZON (1964: 8).

⁷¹ SAYCE (1888d).

⁷² The tablet is traditionally labeled as EA 260; OPPERT (1888).

⁷³ Sayce especially mentions the names of the Museum's directors, Eugène Grébaut and (Heinrich Karl) Brugsch Bey, cf. SAYCE (1889: 326).

⁷⁴ Altogether thirty-three tablets, including one which had been already published in 1888 under No. VII, see Sayce 1889: 336–340; but at the time of the later publication was already in the possession of V. S. Golénischeff.

⁷⁵ SAYCE (1889).

detailed study of the tablets, Sayce was able to correct some of his previous statements, presented in his article of 1888 and devoted to the texts from U. Bouriant's collection. However, he emphasized the fact that without a complete publication of all relevant documents, or at least by making them accessible, some of texts' passages could not be entirely clarified. One of the added complications in relation to his work was the inaccessibility of the collection of Amarna tablets housed in the British Museum. Sayce declared that 'had I had access to the collections of the British Museum, these corrections would not have been required.'⁷⁶ Without going into concrete details or the precise circumstances, Sayce stated that he was not able to study all of the Bulaq Amarna texts.

When we talk about the original collection of the Amarna tablets housed in the Bulaq Museum, we have in our mind those tablets that arrived at the Museum, and were registered there, during the early months of 1888.⁷⁷ There are the following entries in the Cairo *Journal d'entrée* – J.28151 (CG 4765 and CG 4777), J.28160 (CG 4753, CG 4761 and CG 4770⁷⁸), J.28179 (CG 4743, CG 4744, CG 4746, CG 4747, CG 4749, CG 4752, CG 4754, CG 4755 – two pieces, CG 4756–4760, CG 4762, CG 4764, CG 4767, CG 4771, CG 4774, CG 4775, CG 4779, CG 4781–4785, CG 4788, CG 4789, CG 4795 – 2 pieces,⁷⁹ CG 4796⁸⁰) and finally J.28185 (CG 4741, CG 4742, CG 4748, CG 4751, CG 4763, CG 4766, CG 4768, CG 4769, CG 4772, CG 4773, CG 4776, CG 4778, CG 4780, CG 4786 and CG 4787). There are also four tablets or fragments that were not registered in the *Journal d'entrée*, cf. CG 4750 (SR 4/12187/0), CG 4791 (SR 4/12235/0), CG 4792 (SR 4/12236/0) and CG 4793 (SR 4/12237/0). It is obvious that CG 4750 and CG 4791 were both transferred to Cairo from the Royal Museums in Berlin since there are still clearly visible registration numbers, in both cases written in black ink, on them: – 1653 on tablet CG 4750 and 1882 on CG 4791. The tablets were thus presented in exchange for those tablets that went the opposite way, i.e. from Cairo to Berlin (CG 4770; CG 4790; CG 4795 and CG 4796). A certain omission was made in the case of CG 4790, which was not included in any of the above-mentioned Cairo groups, although the tablet was obviously sent to Berlin, where it was registered as VAT 2707.⁸¹

The very first entry in the *Journal d'entrée* – J.28151 – records two tablets bought in January 1888 from a man called 'Philip.' No provenance is stated and the description is very short – '2 briques portant des inscriptions cunéiformes.'⁸² However, it could be of interest to note that the entry J.28151 is actually the first purchase of the Museum from the otherwise only rarely acknowledged Mr. Philip. On the other hand, we should clearly state, that it was only after late December 1884 that the names of people selling objects to the Museum were more regularly included. Thus, we cannot rule out the possibility that there were more purchases from him but that his name was not recor-

⁷⁶ SAYCE (1889: 326).

⁷⁷ An absolute majority of the Cairo tablets originate in the initial set discovered by local inhabitants of Tell el-Amarna but two texts come from the excavations of the German Oriental Society (DOG) in 1913 (see the following part). There are in fact four different numbering systems in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo – *Catalogue Général* (abbreviated CG), *Journal d'entrée* (J; registration started in 1858), *Special Register* (SR) and *Journal temporal/Temporary Register* (TR; i.e. 'Yard-book. Objects now in the Museum Yard but not inscribed in the *Journal d'entrée* and bones & large objects as they came in before they are inscribed'). With the exception of the two tablets from the DOG excavations, all remaining tablets have the CG number; all of them are registered in the *Special Register*; four tablets are not registered in the *Journal d'entrée* and no tablets were found to be listed in the *Temporary Register*. There are, altogether, four entries for the Amarna tablets in the *Journal* despite the fact that the *Special Register* also records J.28178 with EA 134 (CG 4754, SR 4/12189/0). Nevertheless, this is a mistake in the SR since, according to *Journal d'entrée*, the tablet was registered together with some other tablets under the number J.28179.

⁷⁸ According to the *Journal d'entrée* IV: 342–343 CG 4770 was given to Berlin, see VAT 2709.

⁷⁹ According to the *Journal d'entrée* IV: 344–345 CG 4795 was given to Berlin, cf. VAT 2710. A confirmation of this identification is further provided by IZRE'EL (1997: 51) mentioning that VAT 2710 consists of two fragments.

⁸⁰ Being also declared to be a part of the Berlin collection, see the *Journal d'entrée* IV, 344–345; cf. VAT 2708.

⁸¹ The situation of the remaining not-registered tablets CG 4792 and CG 4793; as well as the 'omitted' numbers CG 4745 and CG 4794 has not yet been resolved. The exchange of six tablets between Cairo and Berlin is also referred to in KNUDTZON (1964: 12). According to him, this action took place in 1898.

⁸² *Journal d'entrée* IV: 342–343.

ded in the official records. It was not until January 15, 1888, that the Museum bought from the same man '4 barils avec inscriptions cunéiformes'⁸³ and there are no more entries under the name 'Philip' recorded in the *Journal* at least until the end of 1891.

The second group, J.28160, consisting of three tablets, is registered as originating from Akhmim with a description 'tablettes portant des inscriptions cunéiformes, 2 entières et une moitié.'⁸⁴

The third group, J.28179, is the largest, and according to the *Journal* consists of 'tablettes couvertes d'inscriptions cunéiformes, 17 entières et 14 fragments'⁸⁵ that had been seized in Giza. Despite the fact that the retrievable information from the written documents in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo is rather limited, J. A. Knudtzon, during his study of the tablets, was able to obtain more details from the Museum authorities.⁸⁶ He states that this group of tablets was in the hands of an, antiquities dealer, Farag Ismain, someone who was required to hand them over to the Bulaq Museum. The dealer was also forced to identify the place of their origin.⁸⁷

It is thus only with the last group of documents, J.28185, registered in the Bulaq Museum in February 1888 that the site of Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt⁸⁸ is stated as the place of origin of '15 tablettes avec inscriptions cunéiformes; 1 tablette continent une inscription hiératique ajouté au texte cunéiforme.'⁸⁹

Catalogue Général	Journal d'entrée	Special Register	EA No.
CG 4741	J.28185	4/12208/0	EA 31
CG 4742	J.28185	4/12196/0	EA 99
CG 4743	J.28179	4/12210/0	EA 3
CG 4744	J.28179	4/12195/0	EA 5
CG 4746	J.28179	4/12209/0	EA 16
CG 4747	J.28179	4/12207/0	EA 41
CG 4748	J.28185	4/12206/0	EA 39
CG 4749	J.28179	4/12190/0	EA 40
CG 4750	not registered	4/12187/0	EA 36
CG 4751	J.28185	4/12211/0	EA 104
CG 4752	J.28179	4/12199/0	EA 116
CG 4753	J.28160	4/12212/0	EA 113
CG 4754	J.28179	4/12189/0	EA 134
CG 4755	J.28179	4/12188/0	EA 124
CG 4756	J.28179	4/12225/0	EA 94
CG 4757	J.28179	4/12191/0	EA 75
CG 4758	J.28179	4/12205/0	EA 158
CG 4759	J.28179	4/12197/0	EA 52
CG 4760	J.28179	4/12192/0	EA 191
CG 4761	J.28160	4/12230/0	EA 195
CG 4762	J.28179	4/12229/0	EA 206
CG 4763	J.28185	4/12194/0	EA 198

⁸³ J.28177; cf. *Journal d'entrée* IV: 344–345.

⁸⁴ *Journal d'entrée* IV: 342–343.

⁸⁵ *Journal d'entrée* IV: 344–345.

⁸⁶ KNUDTZON (1964: 7, n. 1).

⁸⁷ Unfortunately, there is no mention of Farag's name in the relevant section of the *Journal d'entrée*. In any case, this episode very probably happened during February 1888, as the J.28181–J.28186 were registered at that time with Tell el-Amarna as the stated provenance of the objects, cf. *Journal d'entrée* IV: 344–347; already on January 8, 1888 Budge reported 'actions taken by Boulak [i.e. Bulaq] authorities to intercept papyrus and tablets,' see copy of the Minutes of the Trustees of the Department of Oriental (E. & A.) Antiquities of February 11, 1888, p. 2204 and above.

⁸⁸ KNUDTZON (1964: 7) stated only that the tablets were bought 'von wem, weiß ich nicht.'

⁸⁹ *Journal d'entrée* IV: 344–345.

Catalogue Général	Journal d'entrée	Special Register	EA No.
CG 4764	J.28179	4/12198/0	EA 143
CG 4765	J.28151	4/12227/0	EA 148
CG 4766	J.28185	4/12203/0	EA 150
CG 4767	J.28179	4/12201/0	EA 233
CG 4768	J.28185	4/12200/0	EA 244
CG 4769	J.28185	4/12204/0	EA 250
CG 4771	J.28179	4/12232/0	EA 267
CG 4772	J.28185	4/12213/0	EA 280
CG 4773	J.28185	4/12216/0	EA 274
CG 4774	J.28179	4/12231/0	EA 293
CG 4775	J.28179	4/12193/0	EA 328
CG 4776	J.28185	4/12217/0	EA 322
CG 4777	J.28151	4/12218/0	EA 320
CG 4778	J.28185	4/12219/0	EA 314
CG 4779	J.28179	4/12221/0	EA 331
CG 4780	J.28185	4/12215/0	EA 305
CG 4781	J.28179	4/12214/0	EA 301
CG 4782	J.28179	4/12228/0	EA 313
CG 4783	J.28179	4/12238/0	EA 49
CG 4784	J.28179	4/12202/0	EA 216
CG 4785	J.28179	4/12226/0	EA 220
CG 4786	J.28185	4/12220/0	EA 262
CG 4787	J.28185	4/12222/0	EA 225
CG 4788	J.28179	4/12233/0	EA 180
CG 4789	J.28179	4/12234/0	EA 199
CG 4791	not registered	4/12235/0	EA 235+327
CG 4792	not registered	4/12236/0	EA 247
CG 4793	not registered	4/12237/0	EA 188

Table 2 The Amarna Tablets acquired by the Bulaq Museum from the initial find.

The fate of by far the largest group of Amarna documents – the approximately one hundred and sixty tablets that were bought by an Austrian antiquities dealer, Theodor Graf of Vienna – is well-documented. In 1888 the tablets became a part of the collection of the Royal Museums in Berlin – ‘Der grösste Theil des Fundes ist durch uneigennützigem Bemühen des Herrn Theodor Graf in Wien für die Königlichen Museen zu Berlin erworben hatte. Ermöglicht wurde die Erwerbung insbesondere durch die seltene Freigebigkeit des Herrn Kommerzienrathes J. Simon in Berlin, welcher den grösseren Theil der durch Herrn Graf nach Berlin gekommenen Sammlungen den Königlichen Museen zum Geschenk machte.’⁹⁰ According to Knudtzon,⁹¹ an important role in this action was performed by an antiquities dealer named Ali Abd el-Hajj, a man who had originally shown a large group of tablets to an official of the Bulaq Museum ‘von ihm aber den Bescheid erhalten, daß sie falsch seien.’ The Berlin set was enlarged, shortly afterwards, by other ‘corpora’ of Amarna tablets, including a group of twelve tablets from the original collection of Urbain Bouriant.⁹²

⁹⁰ WINCKLER in WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890; not numbered), see also FROTHINGHAM (1889; 200); for the publication of the tablets see especially WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890); WINCKLER (1888); *idem* (1889a); *idem* (1889b); *idem* (1890); *idem* (1891); *idem* (1896); ERMAN (1889); *idem* (1890) and SCHROEDER (1915a). For James Simon cf. WORMIT (1963); MATTHES (2000); SCHUSTER (ed.) (2001).

⁹¹ KNUDTZON (1964: 6–7).

⁹² The autographs of the Berlin collection were published by SCHROEDER (1915a), description of two omitted fragments, i.e. VAT 3780 (EA 361) and VAT 3781 (EA 381) followed in SCHROEDER (1917), cf. tab. 3, p. 23.

VAT No.	SCHROEDER (1915a)	EA No.
VAT 148 + VAT 2706	No. 1	EA 2
VAT 149	No. 3	EA 6
VAT 150 ⁹³	No. 4	EA 7
VAT 151 + VAT 1878	No. 6	EA 11
VAT 152	No. 5	EA 8
VAT 153	No. 14	EA 38
VAT 190	No. 10	EA 21
VAT 191	No. 9	EA 20
VAT 233 + VAT 2197, no. 1 + VAT 2193	No. 11	EA 27
VAT 249	No. 88	EA 164
VAT 250	No. 90	EA 166
VAT 271 + VAT 1600 + VAT 1618 + VAT 1619 + VAT 1620 + VAT 2192 + VAT 2194 + VAT 2195 + VAT 2196, nos. 3–6 + 2197, nos. 3–5 + 3 unnumbered fragments	No. 12	EA 29
VAT 323	No. 76	EA 144
VAT 324	No. 35	EA 76
VAT 325	No. 89	EA 165
VAT 326	No. 91	EA 167
VAT 327	No. 94	EA 170
VAT 328	No. 117	EA 204
VAT 329	No. 148	EA 258
VAT 330	No. 116	EA 203
VAT 331	No. 115	EA 202
VAT 332	No. 172	EA 302
VAT 333	No. 146	EA 255
VAT 334	No. 137	EA 239
VAT 335	No. 145	EA 254
VAT 336	No. 108	EA 189
VAT 337	No. 83	EA 156
VAT 338	No. 114	EA 201
VAT 339	No. 160	EA 283
VAT 340 + VAT 2191a-c, no. 2	No. 201	EA 25
VAT 341	No. 127	EA 221
VAT 342	No. 202	EA 32
VAT 343	No. 27	EA 60
VAT 344	No. 54	EA 106
VAT 345	No. 56	EA 108
VAT 346	No. 55	EA 107
VAT 347	No. 86	EA 162
VAT 348	No. 194	EA 356
VAT 349	No. 64	EA 119
VAT 350	No. 62	EA 117
VAT 351	No. 73	EA 138
VAT 395	No. 199	EA 22
VAT 422	No. 200	EA 24
VAT 559	No. 22	EA 51

⁹³ Unfortunately, this tablet was a casualty of World War II; it was given to the Berlin Museum in 1928, on permanent loan, but it was not found after 1945; *personal communication* J. Marzahn.

VAT No.	SCHROEDER (1915a)	EA No.
VAT 624	No. 84	EA 157
VAT 868	No. 46	EA 92
VAT 931	No. 45	EA 91
VAT 1183	No. 68	EA 126
VAT 1208	No. 52	EA 103
VAT 1238	No. 49	EA 96
VAT 1239	No. 32	EA 68
VAT 1282	No. 37	EA 78
VAT 1318	No. 40	EA 81
VAT 1531	No. 154	EA 271
VAT 1532	No. 153	EA 268
VAT 1582	No. 149	EA 259
VAT 1583	No. 191	EA 340
VAT 1584	No. 79	EA 143
VAT 1585	No. 98	EA 174
VAT 1586	No. 170	EA 307
VAT 1587	No. 122	EA 212
VAT 1588	No. 99	EA 175
VAT 1589	No. 144	EA 253
VAT 1590	No. 152	EA 266
VAT 1591	No. 31	EA 67
VAT 1592 + VAT 1710	No. 111	EA 196
VAT 1593	No. 118	EA 207
VAT 1594	No. 21	EA 50
VAT 1595	No. 105	EA 183
VAT 1597	No. 175	EA 311
VAT 1598	No. 50	EA 97
VAT 1599	No. 132	EA 231
VAT 1601	No. 161	EA 285
VAT 1602	No. 173	EA 308
VAT 1603	No. 143	EA 249
VAT 1604	No. 124	EA 217
VAT 1605	No. 7	EA 12
VAT 1606	No. 171	EA 300
VAT 1607	No. 123	EA 214
VAT 1608	No. 110	EA 193
VAT 1609	No. 185	EA 334
VAT 1610	No. 130	EA 226
VAT 1611 + VAT 1613 + VAT 1614 + VAT 2710	No. 195	EA 357
VAT 1612 + VAT 1617 + VAT 2708	No. 196	EA 358
VAT 1615	No. 104	EA 182
VAT 1616 + VAT 1708	No. 186	EA 335
VAT 1622	No. 113	EA 200
VAT 1623	No. 102	EA 181
VAT 1624	No. 72	EA 130
VAT 1625	No. 67	EA 122
VAT 1626	No. 42	EA 85
VAT 1627	No. 43	EA 89
VAT 1628	No. 53	EA 105
VAT 1629	No. 57	EA 109

VAT No.	SCHROEDER (1915a)	EA No.
VAT 1630	No. 60	EA 115
VAT 1631	No. 59	EA 111
VAT 1632	No. 33	EA 71
VAT 1633	No. 41	EA 84
VAT 1634	No. 38	EA 79
VAT 1635 + VAT 1700	No. 36	EA 77
VAT 1636	No. 65	EA 120
VAT 1637 + VAT 1638	No. 70	EA 129
VAT 1639	No. 75	EA 140
VAT 1640	No. 133	EA 232
VAT 1641	No. 134	EA 234
VAT 1642	No. 162	EA 286
VAT 1643	No. 164	EA 288
VAT 1644	No. 163	EA 287
VAT 1645 + VAT 2709	No. 165	EA 289
VAT 1646	No. 166	EA 290
VAT 1647	No. 158	EA 279
VAT 1648	No. 121	EA 211
VAT 1649	No. 142	EA 246
VAT 1650	No. 168	EA 295
VAT 1651 + VAT 2711	No. 198	EA 14
VAT 1654	No. 13	EA 33
VAT 1655	No. 15	EA 42
VAT 1656	No. 16	EA 44
VAT 1657	No. 2	EA 4
VAT 1658	No. 85	EA 159
VAT 1659	No. 92	EA 168
VAT 1660	No. 93	EA 169
VAT 1661	No. 44	EA 90
VAT 1662	No. 63	EA 118
VAT 1663	No. 47	EA 93
VAT 1664	No. 61	EA 112
VAT 1665	No. 66	EA 121
VAT 1666	No. 58	EA 110
VAT 1667	No. 74	EA 133
VAT 1668	No. 48	EA 95
VAT 1669	No. 141	EA 243
VAT 1670	No. 140	EA 242
VAT 1671	No. 182	EA 321
VAT 1672	No. 183	EA 326
VAT 1673	No. 181	EA 329
VAT 1674	No. 109	EA 192
VAT 1675	No. 51	EA 98
VAT 1676	No. 177	EA 317
VAT 1677	No. 100	EA 178
VAT 1678	No. 139	EA 241
VAT 1679	No. 187	EA 337
VAT 1680	No. 28	EA 62
VAT 1681	No. 159	EA 281
VAT 1682	No. 156	EA 275

VAT No.	SCHROEDER (1915a)	EA No.
VAT 1683	No. 128	EA 222
VAT 1684	No. 101	EA 177
VAT 1685	No. 29	EA 65
VAT 1686	No. 155	EA 273
VAT 1687	No. 69	EA 127
VAT 1688	No. 150	EA 263
VAT 1689	No. 131	EA 229
VAT 1690	No. 20	EA 48
VAT 1692	No. 17	EA 45
VAT 1693	No. 19	EA 47
VAT 1694	No. 18	EA 46
VAT 1695	No. 77	EA 145
VAT 1696	No. 125	EA 218
VAT 1697	No. 151	EA 265
VAT 1698	No. 169	EA 310
VAT 1699	No. 119	EA 208
VAT 1701	No. 135	EA 237
VAT 1702	No. 30	EA 66
VAT 1703	No. 103	EA 179
VAT 1704	No. 192	EA 341
VAT 1705	No. 112	EA 194
VAT 1706	No. 157	EA 276
VAT 1707	No. 188	EA 336
VAT 1709A + VAT 1886	No. 176	EA 312
VAT 1709B	No. 179	EA 360
VAT 1711	No. 39	EA 80
VAT 1712	No. 34	EA 72
VAT 1713	No. 167	EA 291
VAT 1714	No. 24	EA 56
VAT 1715	No. 147	EA 257
VAT 1716	No. 26	EA 58
VAT 1717	No. 197	EA 13
VAT 1718	No. 81	EA 154
VAT 1719	No. 80	EA 152
VAT 1720	No. 126	EA 219
VAT 1722	No. 178	EA 319
VAT 1723	No. 95	EA 171
VAT 1724	No. 107	EA 186
VAT 1725	No. 106	EA 185
VAT 1738	No. 25	EA 57
VAT 1867	No. 136	EA 238
VAT 1868 + VAT 1869 + VAT 1721	No. 23	EA 54
VAT 1870	No. 129	EA 223
VAT 1871	No. 78	EA 146
VAT 1872	No. 82	EA 155
VAT 1873 ⁹⁴	No. 71	EA 128
VAT 1874	No. 174	EA 309
VAT 1875	No. 97	EA 173

⁹⁴ Missing since 1963; see <http://www3.amarna.lelop.csic.es/>.

VAT No.	SCHROEDER (1915a)	EA No.
VAT 1876	No. 120	EA 210
VAT 1877	No. 96	EA 172
VAT 1880 + VAT 1879	No. 8	EA 18
VAT 1883	No. 184	EA 332
VAT 1884	No. 189	EA 338
VAT 1885	No. 87	EA 163
VAT 1887	No. 180	EA 339
VAT 2198 + VAT 2707	No. 138	EA 240
VAT 3780	SCHROEDER (1917)	EA 361
VAT 3781	SCHROEDER (1917)	EA 381
VAT 8525	collective number	EA 382

Table 3 Berlin Amarna collection.

Although Jules Oppert considered a cuneiform tablet found in Egypt and sent to him by Urbain Bouriant to be a counterfeit, it was later lost. Therefore, it was not until 1890 that the first Amarna tablet was registered in the Louvre collections. The tablet – today known as EA 209 (AO 2036) – had to belong to the original set of tablets discovered by the fellahin during the period of autumn 1887 and winter 1888. It was given to the collection by Gaston Maspero.⁹⁵ This was only shortly before the first excavations to be conducted in a scholarly way began in the Tell el-Amarna area.

The Excavators and the Dealers – William M. Flinders Petrie, the DOG and the EES

Without a shadow of a doubt, it would have been impossible for the abundant flow of information pertaining to the discovery of the cuneiform tablets in the area of Tell el-Amarna to have escaped the attention of Sir William M. Flinders Petrie. At that time – in 1891 – he was finishing the excavation work that he had started only the previous year in the pyramid field of Meidum.⁹⁶ After surmounting several difficulties, predominantly of a political and an administrative nature,⁹⁷ Petrie was able to start his excavations at Tell el-Amarna in November 1881. As had been the practice since 1887, two enthusiastic and dedicated benefactors, Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard, sponsored his work. During his single excavation season (1891–1892),⁹⁸ Petrie focused his efforts on the area of

⁹⁵ SCHIEHL (1890: 73f.), WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: No. 149 n); THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 101).

⁹⁶ PETRIE (1892a); *idem* (1892b: 138–147).

⁹⁷ PETRIE (1940: 134–136), cf. Petrie's account 'Again to Moncrieff's and had an hour with Grébaut. First M. [i.e. Moncrieff] took the question of place. I let out to him just before that I was not solely needing Saqqareh, but that it was G.'s [i.e. Grébaut's] weakest point – about Farag digging there – and so I could work best on him with that. M. took up my line excellently, and pressed and cross-questioned G. most diligently about it for a long time. At last, as G. stuck to its being reserved for the Museum and its agents, M. returned and asked me if there was any other place I could take. G. had already barred Abydos – like Saqqareh – so I alluded to that, to let him negative it again, and then named Tell el Amarna. He said that they were working there and had been excavating the tombs for some time. I pressed for the town, and to that he acceded, and Moncrieff nailed him clearly to it.' PETRIE (1940: 134–135). The gloomy situation at Tell el-Amarna at the time of Petrie's arrival is eloquently described by him as follows: 'The Egyptians carried away the buildings in whole blocks down to the lowest foundations, completely smashed the sculptures, and left nothing in the houses; and the Museum authorities, and a notorious Arab dealer, have cleared away without any record what had escaped the other plunderers of this century. I have now endeavoured to recover what little remained of the art and history of this peculiar site, by careful searching in the town. From the tombs I am debarred, although the authorities are doing nothing whatever there themselves, and the tomb of Khuenaten remains uncleared, with pieces of the sarcophagus and vessels thrown indiscriminately in the rubbish outside.' PETRIE (1892c: 356).

⁹⁸ PETRIE (1894: 23–24, 34–37, pls. XXXI–XXXIII, XLII); see also PETRIE (1892c). An account on Petrie's work at Tell el-Amarna can be also found in STEVENSON (1892).

the Central City. After a while, having regard for the cuneiform tablets, he targeted a place indicated to him by a local man. According to Petrie's own description of the developing situation, he ignored, at first, the offer by local natives to provide information on the location of the tablets' discovery in exchange for employment opportunities on the excavations. It was later that he selected the excavation area and designated it as a block of chambers No. 19 (fig. 4).⁹⁹ He expected to locate the tablets in the southwestern room of the medium-sized structure (approximately 19 by 22 meters). This was the place that had been identified during the previous year¹⁰⁰ in the presence of A. H. Sayce as the place of the original discovery. In this particular area Petrie was able to locate only 'one piece of a tablet in a chamber and two rubbish-pits, which had been filled up before the walls were built and which contained other fragments'¹⁰¹. With a desire to find more pieces of cuneiform tablets, the excavations continued deeper and deeper until the workmen reached the natural sand level. However, the above-mentioned rubbish-pits were discovered only at a depth of less than 2.5 m.! Petrie thus drew the conclusion that the two rubbish-pits had to precede the existence of this block of chambers and that the scribes 'lived close by this spot, before the chambers were built, to receive the archives'¹⁰². Nevertheless, since the very beginning of his excavations, Petrie had been well aware of the fact that the nature of the tablets was different from the tablets discovered earlier in the area of Tell el-Amarna. Among the newly discovered documents, scholarly texts – dictionaries and 'working materials' – prevailed. In accordance with this information, he continued searching for more tablets at a considerable distance from the site of block No. 19 (more than 60 meters), inc-

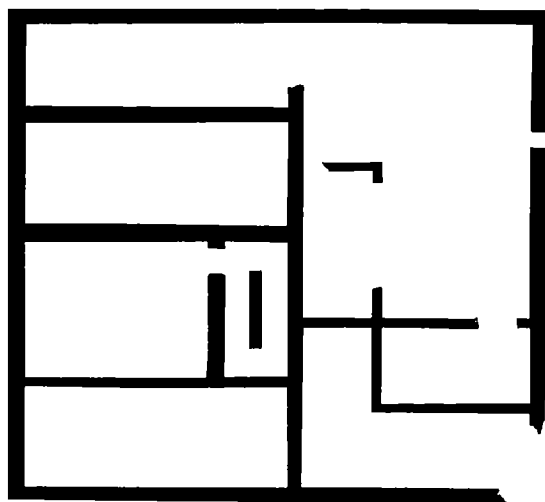


Figure 4 Block No. 19 (Q42.21) (after PETRIE 1894: pl. XLII).

⁹⁹ PETRIE (1894: 23); see Q.42.21.

¹⁰⁰ I.e. in 1890, as confirmed in a chapter written by Sayce; see SAYCE (1894: 34); in the account by Sayce in 1923, however, the story of the identification of the place of the original discovery is already established as the winter of 1888, cf. 'On our way up the river we had spent a day or two at my old hunting-ground, Tel el-Amarna, and I was taken to see the house in which the cuneiform tablets had been found. It was already nearly demolished by the *sebbakhin* or diggers for nitrogenous soil. I found that it had been built of large bricks each stamped with the legend: "The house of records of Khu-t-Aten" (or Tel el-Amarna); ... I carried away some of the best-preserved of the bricks, two of which I presented to Grant Bey, while the rest I handed over to the Bulak Museum.' SAYCE (1923: 262). This date is further supported by Sayce's reference to his visit to Petrie, at that time excavating at Fayum and Hawara. Petrie was excavating in the town of Medinet el-Fayum, as well in the pyramid field of Hawara, during his excavation season of 1888–1889, cf. PETRIE (1889), *Idem* (1890).

¹⁰¹ PETRIE (1894: 23).

¹⁰² PETRIE (1894: 24). See also PETRIE (1892c: 356): 'The cuneiform tablets discovered here were all in store rooms outside the palace; they were placed by the house of the Babylonian scribe, which was localised by our finding the waste pieces of his spoilt tablets in rubbish holes.'

cluding a near-by structure, chamber No. 18. His search went as far as the road running to the east, which separated the first group of buildings from a second (No. 21). Beyond this, other houses were located, and it was here that one more tablet was found. The situation was even less promising for him in the area to the west and to the south of block No. 19. Here, the layers of dust were very thin and, after removing all the debris, he found nothing new. Eventually, Petrie reached the conclusion that it would be impossible to find any additional tablets in the immediate vicinity.

In fact, only one fragment of a tablet was found in the complex of the 'Egyptian Foreign Office' and it was a text labeled EA 354, a small fragment of tablet 2 of *diri*. All remaining tablets originated from the two rubbish-pits. The discovered tablets, as well as one inscribed clay cylinder, were studied and most of them were drawn by Archibald H. Sayce and published in Petrie's account on the excavations of the city in 1894¹⁰³ and are now kept in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.¹⁰⁴

Ashmolean Museum no.	SAYCE (1894)	EA no.
Ash. 1893.1–41 (408)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXI/I)	EA 43
Ash. 1893.1–41 (409)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXI/II)	EA 135
Ash. 1893.1–41 (410)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXI/III)	EA 61
Ash. 1893.1–41 (411)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXI/IV)	EA 190
Ash. 1893.1–41 (412)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/V)	EA 351
Ash. 1893.1–41 (413) + (421)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/VI + XXXIII/ XIV)	EA 352+353
Ash. 1893.1–41 (414)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/VII)	EA 342
Ash. 1893.1–41 (415)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/VII)	EA 14
Ash. 1893.1–41 (416)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/IX)	EA 355
Ash. 1893.1–41 (417)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/X)	EA 344
Ash. 1893.1–41 (418)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXII/XI)	EA 354
Ash. 1893.1–41 (419)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XII)	EA 348
Ash. 1893.1–41 (420)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XIII)	EA 346
Ash. 1893.1–41 (422)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XV)	EA 347
Ash. 1893.1–41 (423)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XVI)	EA 236
Ash. 1893.1–41 (424)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XVII)	EA 345
Ash. 1893.1–41 (425)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XVIII)	EA 350
Ash. 1893.1–41 (426)	SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XVIII bis.)	EA 184

¹⁰³ SAYCE (1894: 34–37, pls. XXXI–XXXIII); there were altogether six letters – EA 43, EA 61, EA 135, EA 184, EA 190, and EA 236; one inventory of Egyptian gifts – EA 14; four fragments of tablet 2 of *diri* – EA 351, EA 352+353, EA 354; an exercise probably in letter writing – EA 342; a clay cylinder – EA 355; three exercises – EA 344, reverse of EA 346 only, and EA 345; a fragment of a signlist S^a – EA 348; probably a lexical list – EA 347 and a fragment containing an exercise *tu-ta-ti* (obverse) and *Silbenalphabet A* (reverse) – EA 350. The texts not included in Sayce's autographs are an exercise EA 343 and a fragment of a syllabary EA 349. There was also an uninscribed tablet, discovered during Petrie's excavations. For the scholarly texts, cf. IZRE'EL (1997).

¹⁰⁴ In fact, none of the tablets from Petrie's excavations remained in Egypt and there are only five entries in the *Journal d'entrée V*: 134–221 for the period of 1891–1893 that can be reliably linked with the site of Tell el-Amarna. During that particular period, there were only two missions working there simultaneously – that one led by William M. Flinders Petrie and a mission led by an Italian, Alessandro Barsanti, who was excavating the royal tomb on behalf of the Bulak Museum. There was also a short visit made by Howard Carter, who joined Petrie early in 1891 'in order to do some excavating for Mr. Thyssen Amherst,' cf. PETRIE (1940: 142), and who visited the royal tomb in 1892 in order to copy several scenes there. There is an entry J.29819, consisting of several shabti's made of various materials that can be identified with the excavations of Barsanti (without being clearly mentioned) dated to 1892, cf. *Journal d'entrée V*: 158–159. At least two fragmentary shabti's from the Royal Tomb were also bought by Petrie and today are housed in the collection of the Petrie Museum, i.e. UC 007 and UC 2236; cf. PETRIE (1940: 141). The only entry in the *Journal* which is connected with Petrie's excavations is J.30175 from May 1892, cf. *Journal d'entrée V*: 188–189, of a fragment of cornice with cartouches of the sun-disc and Akhenaten; for an overall account on the circumstances and conditions of Petrie's excavations in Tell el-Amarna see PETRIE (1940: 134–145).

Ashmolean Museum no.	SAYCE (1894)	EA no.
Ash. 1893.1–41 (427)	None	EA 343
Ash. 1893.1–41 (428)	None	EA 349
Ash. 1893.1–41 (429)	None	uninscribed

Table 4 The Amarna Tablets from Petrie's excavations kept in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).

While the archaeological exploration of Tell el-Amarna continued, the antiquities market was not standing still in relation to the Amarna tablets. The tablets that were, at that time, still available for sale originated, with utmost certainty, from the time of the early illicit excavations by villagers; this fact was still valid at the close of the 19th and the onset of the 20th century. One of the Amarna tablets, originally in the possession of the Revd. Chauncey Murch, had obviously been acquired by him in Luxor, probably very shortly after its discovery. However, as is evident from the records of the Art Institute of Chicago, the so-called 'Murch fragment' had already been registered in the local collection in 1894.¹⁰⁵ In 1915 it arrived at the Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago, obtained by the Oriental Institute in Chicago (a join to EA 26; A 9356).

In 1902, the newly appointed director of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo, (*Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, IFAO) Émile Chassinat, was presented with the opportunity of studying two more Amarna tablets. With regard to the two new tablets, Jean-Vincent Scheil, the author of their first publication, noted only that 'des circonstances fâcheuses ont empêché autrefois l'acquisition à bon marché, pour nos musées nationaux, d'un des collection les plus précieuses du monde ... M. Chassinat, le zélé successeur de M. Bouriant à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, vient de mettre la main, le plus heureusement du monde, sur deux nouvelles pièces de ces archives.'¹⁰⁶ Although we are uncertain as to the immediate destiny of the two tablets, they appeared at the antiquities market in Cairo in 1924, where they were purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹⁰⁷

Only shortly afterwards, on May 11, 1903, were four more Amarna tablets registered in the collection of the British Museum. However, in Egypt the four tablets, i.e. BME 37645 (EA 28); BME 37646 (EA 230); BME 37647 (EA 292), BME 37648 (EA 82), remained at that time in the collection of Alexandros Rostovitz Bey.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that the tablets could have arrived in London in the previous year. However, it is clear that the man in charge of this concern was a well-known Cairo dealer in antiquities, Panayotis Kyticas. The new London tablets apparently originated from the first lot of Amarna documents, the same source as the tablets studied by Chassinat.

A different fate was encountered by a further small group of three tablets, whose original owner was the Russian Egyptologist Vladimir Semionovitch Golenischeff. The later history of this set of tablets was only recently clarified by Shlomo Izre'el.¹⁰⁹ It was in 1911 that the relatively small corpus of Amarna tablets was ceded to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow and, subsequently, its location became obscure. Only in 1973 did Cord Kühne¹¹⁰ suggest that there was a possibility that the tablets from V. S. Golenischeff's collection might be housed in the Moscow museum. This assumption was confirmed by Pinhas Artzi in 1985.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ See LUCKENBILL – ALLEN (1916) and MORAN (1992: xiv, n. 6); cf. also ABEL (1892); SCHEIL (1892: 310).

¹⁰⁶ SCHEIL (1902: 113). Consult also PEISER (1903).

¹⁰⁷ BULL (1926: 170), MORAN (1988); see MMA 24.2.11 (EA 15), MMA 24.2.12 (EA 153).

¹⁰⁸ For Rostovitz Bey cf. most recently CHRYSIKOPOULOS (2007); texts published by SCHEIL (1892).

¹⁰⁹ For the publication and relevant details cf. IZRE'EL (1995a); cf. PM I,25, 1575 (EA 70); PM I,25, 1567 (EA 137); PM I,25, 1574 (EA 160).

¹¹⁰ KÜHNE (1973: 2, n. 8).

¹¹¹ ARTZI (1988) quoted by IZRE'EL (1995a: 125).

It was in January 1918 that a small collection of six tablets was acquired by the Louvre, i.e. AO 7093 (EA 362); AO 7094 (EA 364); AO 7095 (EA 367); EA 7096 (EA 366); AO 7097 (EA 363); AO 7098 (EA 365), thus enlarging the Amarna set there to a total of seven objects. The purchase was achieved by G. Bénédict who, during his visit to Egypt, obtained these tablets from an unnamed private individual.¹¹²

If we are to follow up on only those archaeological missions that contributed to the development of the Amarna corpus, we should next devote our attention to the efforts of an expedition conducted by the German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, DOG) under the direction of Ludwig Borchard. Following some very short-term trial work, conducted throughout the area of Tell el-Amarna in 1907, excavation work was again carried out in 1911; it then continued until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The German mission concentrated its efforts on the area of private houses located in the North and South Suburbs. In 1913 – in houses O.47.2 and N.47.3 respectively – two more fragments of cuneiform tablets were discovered.¹¹³ These fragments were registered in the *Journal d'entrée* of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1914 as J.48396 (4/12223/0; EA 359; found in O.47.2) and J.48397 (4/12224/0; EA 379; found in N.47.3).¹¹⁴

However, in 1921 the exploration of Tell el-Amarna continued by means of a mission from the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). The first stage of the EES project at Akhenaten's city lasted from 1921 to 1924 and it was during the first excavation season in 1921, directed by Thomas Eric Peet, that the known corpus of cuneiform Amarna documents was enlarged by one additional tablet.¹¹⁵ The tablet was discovered in rubbish filling Room 8,¹¹⁶ in a house referred to as O.49.23. In a published report by T. E. Peet and C. Leonard Woolley¹¹⁷ the actual place of discovery is stated in more detail as being a corridor located south of the Central Hall of the house O.49.23.¹¹⁸

Early in the 1933–1934 excavation season, when the EES mission was led by John D. S. Pendlebury, eight inscribed tablets were discovered, cf. BM 134863–BM 134866; BM 134868; BM 134870–BM 134872, and two more which were not inscribed – cf. BM 134867 and BM 134869.¹¹⁹ During this particular season, Pendlebury paid more attention once again to the area already addressed by William M. F. Petrie more than forty years earlier. It was here, in the zone of administrative structures – Q.42.1, 7, 5, and above all Q.42.21¹²⁰ that several stamped bricks with the inscription 'The place of the letters of the Pharaoh, may he live, be prosperous and healthy' were discovered.¹²¹ With the exception of a single tablet, which was found in the area of the house referred to as 'Clerk's house no. 43' (Q.43.43), the remaining corpus of fragmentary tablets was found in the premises of the royal bureau, or in Pendlebury's words the 'Records Office.' Despite the very poor preservation of the building, a total of ten tablets or fragments of tablets were found in the largest room of Q.42.21.¹²²

¹¹² These documents were later published by François Thureau-Dangin; 'Le hasard a voulu que quelques-unes des tablettes mises au jour, il y a environ trente-cinq ans, par les fellahs à El-Amarna, restassent jusqu'ici inédites: trouvées par M. Bénédict dans une collection privée d'antiquités égyptiennes, ces tablettes, au nombre de six, ont été acquises en 1918 par le Musée du Louvre. ... Ces tablettes font partie de la correspondance du roi d'Égypte avec les petits princes syro-palestiniens ses vassaux.' THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 91).

¹¹³ BORCHARDT (1914: 34–36); SCHROEDER (1914); OLZ (1914/8).

¹¹⁴ Cf. tab. 5, p. 28.

¹¹⁵ Cf. SMITH – GADD (1925); GORDON (1947).

¹¹⁶ Cf. 'It is written in Assyrian and gives a list of rare woods with articles made from them.' PEET (1921: 175).

¹¹⁷ PEET – WOOLLEY (1923: 17).

¹¹⁸ At present EA 368 is kept in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Ash. 1921.1154).

¹¹⁹ The tablets were registered in the British Museum, only in 1966. See also GORDON (1964).

¹²⁰ Cf. PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 113); during the season of 1933–1934 the excavations concentrated upon the houses in the Central City that were identified as 'residences of under-clerks employed in the Foreign Office,' see KEMP (1981); KEMP – GARFI (1993).

¹²¹ See also PETRIE (1894: pl. XLII); PETRIE (1898: I) and PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 114, 150; II, pl. LXXXIII, V); Q41.21.

¹²² PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 114–115). In the same building, several other objects were discovered, i.e. a small foot made of faience, a fragment of limestone, a limestone figurine of a monkey playing a harp, a pottery head of a foreigner, a LH IIIA shard, a limestone figurine of a monkey, faience rings of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen, see PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 120).

Only recently has the actual detail of the discovery of the tablets from the EES excavations by John D. S. Pendlebury, as well as those by William M. F. Petrie, been widely and openly discussed. This has come about as a consequence of Shlomo Izre'el's study devoted to the scholarly tablets from Tell el-Amarna.¹²³ First, he provides us with a thorough overview of discussions surrounding the actual context of the excavation, including a comparison between Petrie's own statements and those of Pendlebury and other scholars.¹²⁴ He then concentrates on questionable and uncertain matters, demonstrating that Petrie's claim that the two rubbish-pits containing tablets that 'had been filled up before the walls were built,'¹²⁵ might not be completely reliable. In addition, he points to the fact that the plans of Petrie and Pendlebury are dissimilar.

However, in the meantime a number of additional tablets had continued to make their, sometimes opaque, journey to enrich several collections in different museums all over the world. It was probably in 1925 that another Amarna tablet, EA 378 (BME 50745) was acquired by the British Museum from the antiquities dealer, Panayotis Kyticas¹²⁶ and it was soon followed by another – this time the tablet, EA 380 (BME 58364)¹²⁷ – which became part of the collection as a result of it being gifted by Percy E. Newberry in 1926. Fifty years later C. B. F. Walker was able to offer a very plausible reconstruction of its preceding history, tracing it back through P. E. Newberry, Howard Carter and Lord Amherst to Petrie's excavations of Tell el-Amarna in 1891–1892.

In 1933, due to the considerable efforts of Jean Capart, one Amarna tablet became part of the collection of the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels.¹²⁸

In addition, the Amarna corpus incorporates a further tablet, dated to the same period as the remainder and discovered at the southern Palestinian site of Tell el-Hesi by an expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund, led by F. J. Bliss in 1891.¹²⁹

EA no.	Museum no.	Origin	Publication
EA 359	J.48396 (SR 4/12223/0)	the DOG excavations in 1913; O.47.2	SCHROEDER (1915: No. 193)
EA 360	VAT 1709B	probably the initial find	SCHROEDER (1915: No. 179)
EA 361	VAT 3780	probably the initial find	SCHROEDER (1917: 105–106)
EA 362	AO 7093	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 363	AO 7097	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 364	AO 7094	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 365	AO 7098	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 366	AO 7096	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 367	AO 7095	acquired in 1918 by the Louvre	THUREAU-DANGIN (1922)
EA 368	Ash. 1921.1154	the EES excavations in 1920–1921; O.49.23	SMITH – GADD (1925)
EA 369	E.6753	probably the initial find	DOSSIN (1934)
EA 370	BM 134870	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 371	BM 134868	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.43.43	GORDON (1947)
EA 372	BM 134872	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)

¹²³ IZRE'EL (1997: 2–9).

¹²⁴ Mainly ALDRED (1988); KÖHNE (1973); and MORAN (1992).

¹²⁵ PETRIE (1894: 23).

¹²⁶ The tablet was registered on May 8, 1926; for publication see MILLARD (1965).

¹²⁷ For its publication see WALKER (1979).

¹²⁸ See EA 369 (E.6753); DOSSIN (1934: 125–126).

¹²⁹ BLISS (1898); PEISER (1899); EA 333 (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Fi. 11).

EA no.	Museum no.	Origin	Publication
EA 373	BM 134864	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 374	BM 134863	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 375	BM 134866	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 376	BM 134865	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 377	BM 134871	the EES excavations, 1933–1934; Q.42.21	GORDON (1947)
EA 378	BM 50745	probably the initial find	MILLARD (1965)
EA 379	J.48397 (4/12224/0)	the DOG excavations in 1913, N.47.3	SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 190)
EA 380	BME 58364	probably from Petrie's excavations, 1891–1892	WALKER (1979)
EA 381	VAT 3781	probably the initial find	SCHROEDER (1917); IZRE'EL (1997)
EA 382	VAT 8525	collective number	review of RAINEY (1970) by KLENGEL (1974: 262)

Table 5 Post Knudtzon's Amarna tablets (EA 359 – EA 382).

To sum up, the Amarna tablets and respective fragments are, at present, kept in the following collections. The most extensive group is housed in the *Vorderasiatische Museum* in Berlin, consisting altogether of 202/203 tablets and relevant fragments.¹³⁰ This group is followed by the British Museum collection in London, with 96 tablets. A slightly smaller collection is kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, where 52 objects are registered and on display. The collection in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford contains a total of 23 registration numbers, originating from the excavations of Petrie in 1891–1892 and the Egypt Exploration Society in 1921, while 7 tablets are to be found in the Louvre in Paris. The location of 3 pieces, originally belonging to Vladimir S. Golenischeff, was very uncertain for a long period of time, being bought, along with other pieces from the large Golenischeff collection, by the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. Only in 1985 was P. Artzi officially to confirm their existence in the collections of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. Since 1924, two more tablets have appeared in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, being those first studied by É. Chassinat. There is also one piece, originally in the possession of the Revd. Chauncey Murch. He acquired it in Luxor, and via the Art Institute of Chicago and Haskell Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago, it was, finally, obtained by the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Unfortunately EA 260, the tablet sent by Urbain Bouriant from Egypt to Julius Oppert, has been lost. Finally, the corpus of the Amarna documents was enlarged in 1896 when, as the result of linguistic and contextual similarities, Hugo Winckler included a tablet, found in Tell el-Hesi and now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, in his study.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Including VAT 1873 (EA 128) already registered as being missing by 1963, see <http://amarna.ieiop.csic.es/indexg.html>.

¹³¹ WINCKLER (1896).

THE REGION AND THE LANGUAGE

The Region

The Amarna corpus embraces, geographically, a considerable extent of the ancient Near East (fig. 5). Apart from the correspondence of rulers of the Great Powers (i.e. Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria and Babylonia) and some 'independent' polities (such as Alašiya and Arzawa), most of the texts originate from numerous city-states or, to be more precise, the 'city-kingdoms' of the Syro-Palestinian region.¹³²

The Syro-Palestinian region of the Amarna letters is, geographically, a relatively well-defined territory, delineated in the south by the Gaza area, with Ugarit and Nuḥašše representing the northernmost regions. A large number and range of items emerges from many of the areas covered by the Amarna corpus. In many cases they directly or indirectly relate to the power politics of the individual political centres.

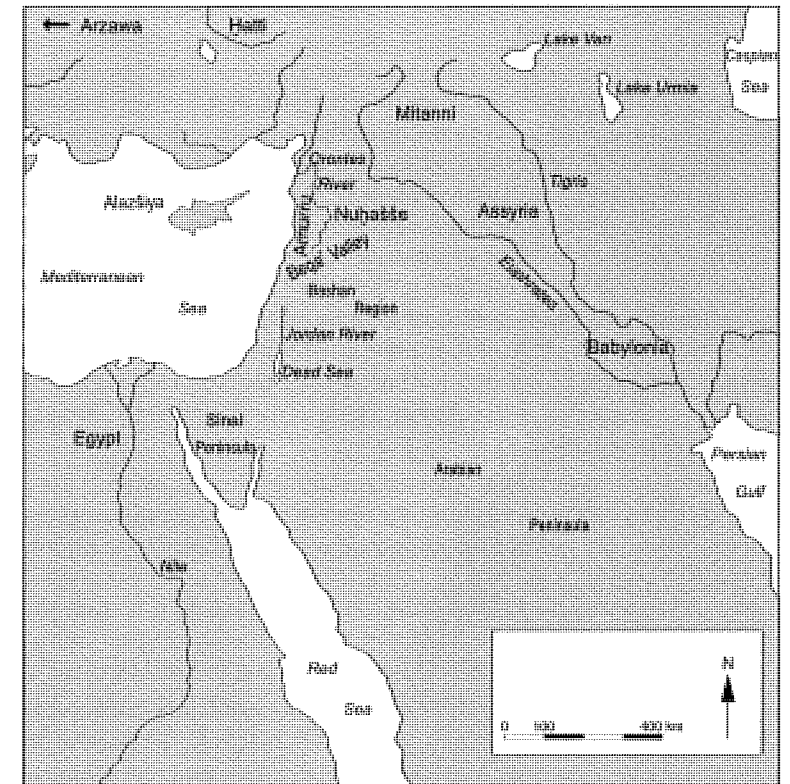
The terrain of the area is relatively varied and it is easily possible to identify several north-south strips or parallel chains spreading over the whole region.¹³³ The extreme south is covered by the northern edges of the Negev Desert, delineated to the east by the very arid zone of Wadi Araba. On the west, along the Mediterranean, stretches a fertile plain, which, reaches a maximum width of approximately 40 km. in the south and, to the north, gradually decreases to a very narrow strip at the Carmel mountain range. At this point, the littoral zone opens up again at Haifa Bay and continues north as far as Rosh ha-Niqra, where it is interrupted once again by a mountainous region, which reduces its width to only 4–5 km. The narrowness of the coastal plain, at only several kilometers wide, is also clearly visible in relation to the territories of Lebanon and Syria, continuing as far as the Turkish border.

In the south, the hilly country of Shephela gradually develops in the hinterland and, further to the east, the mountainous region of Judea and the Samarian Hills emerges. As we continue northwards, we arrive at Lower and Upper Galilee, interrupted by several valleys including the Jezreel Valley. The contrast of a flat coastal plain and a hilly inland region is more evident and striking further to the north, in Lebanon, where at only a distance of several kilometers from the narrow littoral, a belt of mountains rise, i.e. Lebanon or the Lebanon Mountains. These run from north to south and reach an altitude of between 2000–3000 m. above sea level. To the north, the Lebanon Mountains fall away to the valley of the Nahr el-Kebir river, separating it from the Jebel Ansariya Mountains in Syria. However, this range does not reach the high altitudes we find in Lebanon. Further to the north, separated from Jebel Ansariya by the important fertile zone of the Amuq plain, within the territory of Turkey, the mountainous Ammanus region is located, close to the Mediterranean littoral.

¹³² For the division of the corpus, consult, primarily, KNUDTZON (1964: 19f.); his division has been widely accepted throughout the Amarna studies, cf. recently 'international' *versus* 'vassal' correspondence, in: MORAN (1992: xxii–xxxvi); 'le lettere dei "Grandi Re"' *versus* 'le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"', in: LIVERANI (1998–1999); for a discussion on the terminology of 'international' *versus* 'imperial' documents consult COHEN – WESTBROOK (2000: 1–2). For the imperfect nature of such a strict dyadic division based on the 'social rank' of a sender and an addressee, cf. MYNÁROVÁ (2006a).

¹³³ For the geography of the Syro-Palestinian region consult, in particular, AHARONI (1977); ORNI – EFRAT (1980); AHARONI – AVI-YONAH (2002); RAINEY – NOTLEY (2007) (with further literature on the subject); for the natural environment of the southern regions, see DANIN (2003) supplemented by GOLDBERG (2003). For the northern region consult AKKERMANS – SCHWARTZ (2003: 2–7) and WIRTH (1971) with further literature. Further reading: EVENARI – SHANAN – TADMOR (1982); ZOHARY (1973); DANIN (1988).

Figure 5 The map of the ancient Near East.



The most distinct geological and topographical phenomenon in the southern part of Syro-Palestine is the Jordan Rift Valley, a part of the Great Rift Valley, which comprises (from south to north) Wadi Araba, the Dead Sea, the Jordan Valley, the Sea of Galilee and the Hula Valley. Further to the north, in the eastern foothills of the Lebanon Mountains, the fertile highland of Beqa' opens up, extending to the foothills of Anti-Lebanon in the east, a parallel chain of mountains – a range that joins up in the south with the Golan Heights and reaches an altitude of almost 3000 m. above sea level. In the Beqa' area two of the important watercourses of the Syro-Palestinian region emerge – the Litani River, running to the south and the Orontes, flowing to the north. Further inland, east of the Anti-Lebanon range, we can observe the relatively monotonous desert relief of the Eastern plateau, with the Hawran plateau stretching to the south to the Yarmuk river. The Eastern plateau is affected only by a small number of hill ranges, before reaching the Euphrates Valley. North of the two chains of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, we find the Homs gap. While Lebanon runs parallel in the north with Jebel Ansariya, Jebel Zawiya runs in a contra direction. Between them extends the Ghab depression and the Orontes river. A part of the Syro-Palestinian region not referred to in the Amarna correspondence is the area representing a transition between the Mesopotamian 'centre' and the Syro-Palestinian 'periphery,' namely Jazira. Jazira is a fertile and triangular shaped region, located in the territories of modern-day Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Its location is determined by the Tigris and the Euphrates, as well as the latter's tributaries, the Khabur river and the Balikh river.

Several sites mentioned in the Amarna letters are also located in the territory of Jordan, where – to the east of the Great Jordan Rift, with the Yarmuk and the ez-Zerqa rivers being the main tributaries – the terrain rises sharply to an altitude of between 500–1000 m. above sea level. The majority of the territory is covered by an extremely arid desert plateau, the Syrian Desert; however, there are also several mountainous regions (such as the Jordanian Highlands), distinctive wadis and extensive depressions.

The Language

As early as the Early Bronze Age there was a geographic diversity within the Syro-Palestinian region (fig. 6), especially in its northern areas, and this was accompanied by an obvious cultural and linguistic diversity. This combined the Hurrian element, predominantly in the area of the Khabur triangle, and the Semitic peoples, a characteristic feature of this region which extended into the Late Bronze Age as well.¹³⁴ Even in the Middle Bronze Age the northern areas maintained strong cultural and political ties with Mesopotamian centres and their cuneiform tradition. However, the coming of the Late Bronze Age saw a significant change in these ‘centre – periphery’ interactions. These changes resulted in the Syro-Palestinian political centres elaborating a new system of contacts, based on ties with its neighbouring partners. The first half of the second millennium B.C.E. saw the formation of the kingdom of Mitanni in northern and central Syria, originally established in the area of the upper Khabur river but soon spreading to the east, as far as the area of Nuzi in the foothills of the Zagros Mountains. To the west, the kingdom reached the vicinity of Aleppo.¹³⁵

While the northern parts were formed under the influence of the Hurrians and the Indo-European Hittites, who spread out from the area of central Anatolia and gradually infiltrated the northern parts of Syria, the southern region traditionally attracted the attention of the Egyptians. However, the scale and the nature of the Egyptian influence upon the southern parts differed considerably over the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. It is thus obvious that the Syro-Palestinian area represents several culturally and geographically distinct units, whose development has been determined by different linguistic, social and geopolitical factors.

At present, based on the archaeological material, it is firmly established that the period or phenomenon referred to as the Late Bronze Age began in the northernmost areas some 100–150 years earlier than in its southern neighbours, i.e. approximately around the middle of the 17th century B.C.E.¹³⁶ The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age, accompanied by the destruction of cities and other settlement areas in northern Syria, is closely associated, in this region, with the military activities of the Hittites.¹³⁷ As mentioned above, the turn of the 16th and 15th centuries B.C.E. saw the gradual expansion of the Hurrian element into southern Anatolia, central Syria and Upper Mesopotamia and this cultural-political entity was able to maintain its dominant position in the region until the mid-14th century B.C.E., when it was subdued by the Hittite king, Šuppiluliuma I.¹³⁸ Within the southern parts of Syro-Palestine, a characteristic system of city-kingdoms with generally accepted boundaries, gradually developed. In their midst, various groups of nomadic or semi nomadic peoples were able to travel without restraint. The onset of the Late Bronze Age¹³⁹ in the

¹³⁴ For the Hurrian phenomenon in southern areas during the Middle – Late Bronze Age transition, as well as during the Amarna period, see NA'AMAN (1994); DEVER (1998); HESS (1997) with further literature.

¹³⁵ It is not the aim of the chapter to give an historical and archaeological overview of the Syro-Palestinian region. For a recent comprehensive overview of these items, consult, primarily, AKKERMANS – SCHWARTZ (2003: 288–359) with further reading.

¹³⁶ For recent discussions of the Syro-Palestinian chronology, see, in particular, BIETAK (*ed.*) (2000); *idem* (2003); BIETAK – CZERNY (*eds.*) (2007); for diverse key-aspects of the chronology, see also ÅSTRÖM (*ed.*) (1987); *idem* (1989); GONEN (1987); DEVER (1990); *idem* (1991); *idem* (1997); HOFFMEIER (1990); *idem* (1991); BIETAK (1991); *idem* (1997); WEINSTEIN (1991); BECKMAN (2000); VAN SOLDT (2000); WARBURTON (2000).

¹³⁷ Cf. KBo 10, 1–2 (CTH 4). Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic to attribute the collapse of Middle Bronze Age societies to a single factor. The Hittite military activities, which took place in the northern areas during the 16th century B.C.E., as well as the Egyptian activities slightly more than 100 years later in the south, undoubtedly contributed to the breakdown of the independent political and cultural system of ‘city-states’ or ‘city-kingdoms,’ that had reached its climax during the final phases of the Middle Bronze Age.

¹³⁸ For a revised chronology of the Hittite empire and its synchronization with the neighbouring areas cf. BECKMAN (2000); for the chronology of Šuppiluliuma's reign, see recently PARKER (2002). For the chronology of Mitanni, see DE MARTINO (2004) with relevant literature.

¹³⁹ For recent discussion on the Late Bronze Age chronology, see the proceedings of the SCIEB 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference (Vienna, January 30 – February 1, 2003) published in *ÄuL* 14, cf. especially CHARAF (2004); FISCHER (2004); MARTIN (2004); NOVÁK (2004); PANITZ-COHEN (2004).

Figure 6 Syro-Palestine of the Amarna letters.



south is traditionally connected, directly or indirectly, with the activities of Egyptian kings and their military forces. According to this scheme, and based on Egyptian written sources, the decisive point for the Egyptian presence in the south is represented by the military actions of the kings of Dynasties 17 and 18, Kamose (ca. 1554–1549 B.C.E.) and Ahmose I (ca. 1550–1525 B.C.E.). After defeating the Hyksos in the Eastern Nile Delta, Ahmose continued further into the southern parts of the Syro-Palestinian region, where – after three years of siege – he succeeded in capturing the Hyksos cent-

re of Šaruhen.¹⁴⁰ However, these military actions are traditionally accepted as being only the starting point for the more extensive and intense activities undertaken by the royal successors, culminating in the achievements of Thutmose III. Within this perspective, the expulsion of Hyksos from the Egyptian Delta and the subsequent military actions place the intersection of the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods at about 1550 B.C.E. However, within the context of the chronological scheme of the southern region we can easily observe certain insufficiencies in traditional schemes since the earliest changes distinguishable in the archaeological material can already be dated to the transition of the 17th and 16th centuries B.C.E. Questions in relation to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age – its dates, origins and the development and extent of the external impact – still represent one of the essential challenges for both Near Eastern and Egyptian archaeology and history. Unfortunately, the archaeological material – above all the pottery – that traditionally serves as a relatively reliable dating criterion, does not have an essential informative value for the Middle – Late Bronze Age transition period, since the pottery traditions of the Middle Bronze Age gradually merge into the traditions of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴¹ Another crucial element in relation to an understanding of the transition process, represents the limited nature of Egyptian written sources dealing with the military activities of the rulers of early Dynasty 18. From available, but very limited, sources we can deduce that during the earliest stage of the New Kingdom the Syro-Palestinian region did not represent a primary military focus for Egyptian rulers.¹⁴² The central focus of their concern was situated further to the south, in the economically important regions of gold-bearing Nubia.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it stands to reason that the Egyptian kings undertook military actions in Syro-Palestine as well, but their direct impact on the cultural development within the region was, at this stage, rather limited. It is necessary, therefore, to look for the immediate reasons of this situation in the internal developments within the region. There is no direct evidence in the Egyptian sources that would bear witness to the fact that the politics of Egyptian rulers were based on some long-term plan. The military expeditions were only temporary and were not intended to establish any permanent Egyptian presence in the region. A change of this policy arrives only in mid-15th century B.C.E., with the reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 B.C.E.)¹⁴⁴ and his military actions, which were also directed against the interests of the king of Mitanni in the region. Consecutive interventions into the domestic matters of a large number of Syro-Palestinian city-kingdoms changed, to some extent, the character of the relationship between Egypt and these political entities, although the real extent of Egyptian authority has traditionally, almost certainly, been overestimated. On the other hand, when we consider Thutmose's military terminology and phraseology, as well as his politics and diplomacy, we can still find their echoes in later documents, including the diplomatic language of the Amarna letters.

During the Late Bronze Age period, the linguistic situation of the region, defined earlier in this chapter presents rather an intricate and widely researched subject. Scholars are usually in accordance with the presumption that during this particular period the language accepted for 'internal'

¹⁴⁰ For the textual sources, see mainly VANDERSLYEN (1971); HARACHI (1972); KLUG (2002) with previous literature; for the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana see *Urk.* IV 1:16–11:14; for Ahmose Panekhet, see *Urk.* IV, 32,6–35,1; for the discussion on the city of Šaruhen see mainly KEMPINSKI (1974); SHEA (1979); GÖRG (1991); RAINEY (1993); OREN (1997); for the military activities of Egyptian kings of the early 18th Dynasty, consult recently MORRIS (2005: 27–113) with further literature.

¹⁴¹ Cf. AMIRAN (1969: 124–190).

¹⁴² Consult REDFORD (1979); WEINSTEIN (1991); HOFFMEIER (2004). For an excellent evaluation of Egyptian military policy, see MORRIS (2005) with extensive references.

¹⁴³ For the Tombos Inscription of Thutmose I see, primarily, *Urk.* IV, 82,9–86,15; REDFORD (1979–1980); BRADBURY (1984–1985); BERG (1987).

¹⁴⁴ For the most recent studies on various aspects of the reign of Thutmose III consult especially BRYAN (2006); DER MANU-RIAN (2006); DORMAN (2006); LASKOWSKI (2006); O'CONNOR (2006); REDFORD (2006); SPALINGER (2006). For the military campaigns see REDFORD (2003) with further literature. For the stelae of Thutmose III see recently BEVILAGE (2002: I, 87–97; 99–101; 157–203; 249–261; 299–313, 329–341; 349–359; 451–479; 485–487; 506–511) with references to further literature.

or 'diplomatic' written communication between the representatives or members of the particular polities was Akkadian, or more accurately so-called Peripheral Akkadian. However, the 'language of diplomacy' attested in written sources, for which the Amarna corpus represents the most proper example, is only a tiny fragment in a mosaic of the overall language situation of Syro-Palestine during the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. Indeed, the region must have displayed a highly complex picture. In terms of genetic typology, the pertinent part of the ancient Near East covered, during this period, different language families and despite there being a parallel co-existence and mutual incidence of the individual languages, the state of linguistic union was never reached there. Within the context of close contacts there must have existed a necessity for a common type and means of communication between the individual polities and, apparently, between the individual speakers as well. As I have already pointed out, a special variant of Akkadian responded to this need in respect of diplomatic and international business matters – usually marked as 'Peripheral Akkadian,' generally recognized as the *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East at that time.¹⁴⁵ Although in the earlier stages of the Amarna studies many scholars considered the language of letters to have been 'barbarized,' nowadays this perspective has been largely abandoned.

Amarna Peripheral Akkadian

The earliest studies focusing in particular on the philological and linguistic matters relating to the Amarna corpus stemmed, without question, from Knudtzon's prominent edition of the Amarna texts. Without any exaggeration, his study established a pivotal cornerstone for future generations of scholars. The earliest generation of these scholastic waves was represented by, among others, F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl with his study devoted to the language of the Amarna letters, having a particular emphasis on the Canaanisms,¹⁴⁶ Erich Ebeling dealing with the verbal system¹⁴⁷ and Paul Dhorme on the language of Canaan.¹⁴⁸ Later, in 1932, René Labat published his volume devoted to another segment of Peripheral Akkadian, i.e. the Akkadian language from Boghazköy¹⁴⁹ and similarly, in 1938 Nuzi Akkadian was discoursed in a study by Cyrus H. Gordon.¹⁵⁰ However, a new milestone and a key element in achieving a better understanding of the system of Peripheral Akkadian is witnessed in a dissertation of a student and a follower of the great Amarna scholar, William F. Albright,¹⁵¹ William L. Moran from 1950 on the syntax of the Byblos letters.¹⁵² Just to illustrate the subsequent 'flow' of scholarly interest we should mention at least some of the names and studies which followed e.g. Anson F. Rainey and his works on the Canaanite in the Amarna texts.¹⁵³ It was in 1970 that Gernot Wilhelm published his treatise on the Nuzi Hurro-Akkadian¹⁵⁴ and in the same year George

¹⁴⁵ For a thorough evaluation and discussion on the position of Peripheral Akkadian in the Syro-Palestinian region during the Amarna age, including references to relevant literature, cf. most recently IZRIE'EL (2007). An alternative perspective of this 'truism' suggested by VON DASSOW (2004: 641, n. 1), with references to further literature, is not accepted in this volume.

¹⁴⁶ BÖHL (1909).

¹⁴⁷ EBELING (1910).

¹⁴⁸ DHORME (1913); *idem* (1914).

¹⁴⁹ LABAT (1932).

¹⁵⁰ GORDON (1938).

¹⁵¹ See above ALBRIGHT *idem* (1937); *idem* (1942a); *idem* (1942b); *idem* (1943a); *idem* (1943b); *idem* (1943c); *idem* (1944b); or ALBRIGHT – MORAN (1948); *idem* (1950).

¹⁵² MORAN (1950a/2003); For the other Amarna studies of W. L. Moran see also MORAN (1948); *idem* (1950b); *idem* (1951); *idem* (1953); *idem* (1960); *idem* (1971); *idem* (1973); *idem* (1975a); *idem* (1975b); *idem* (1984); *idem* (1985); *idem* (1987); *idem* (1988); *idem* (1992). For the collected works, see MORAN (2003).

¹⁵³ See mainly RAINEY (1996a) with *idem* (1996b); or for individual phenomena especially *idem* (1970/1978a); *idem* (1971); *idem* (1973); *idem* (1974); *idem* (1975); *idem* (1976a); *idem* (1977); *idem* (1978b); *idem* (1988); *idem* (1989–1990); *idem* (1990); *idem* (1991–1993); *idem* (1992a); *idem* (1992b); *idem* (1994); *idem* (2002); *idem* (1995–1996); *idem* (2003).

¹⁵⁴ WILHELM (1970).

Giacumakis published his dissertation on the Akkadian of Alalah.¹⁵⁵ More recently, Alalah Akkadian has also been studied by Daniel Arnaud,¹⁵⁶ whose name appears, *inter alia*, with the study of the Akkadian of Sidon.¹⁵⁷ The Akkadian of Mitanni became an object of research for Hans-Peter Adler.¹⁵⁸ Shlomo Izre'el first thoroughly studied a corpus of Amarna documents from Gezer¹⁵⁹ and later concentrated his interest on the Akkadian of Amurru.¹⁶⁰ The same tradition has been followed by Zippora Cochavi-Rainey, who focused her attention on Egyptian Akkadian¹⁶¹ and recently on the Akkadian of texts from Alashiya.¹⁶² In 1979 John Huehnergard submitted his dissertation entitled 'The Akkadian Dialects of Carchemish and Ugarit' to Harvard University. In the following years John Huehnergard,¹⁶³ as well as Wilfred van Soldt,¹⁶⁴ published their studies devoted to the Akkadian corpora of an ancient harbour-city of Ugarit. In 1998, Stefano Seminara published an account on the Akkadian of Emar. These works represent only a few examples of the studies that were produced.

A concept of 'centre (or core) – periphery' relations, though first proposed as a model of economic development in underdeveloped regions, has been recently developed and has seen a wider application in other areas, such as political sciences, sociology, social anthropology and philology. From such a broader perspective, the majority of the Amarna documents can be considered as – in the context of the Akkadian language – 'peripheral', as long as Mesopotamia itself is regarded as its 'centre.' It is recognised, however, that this represents a very simplistic definition of the situation. The real nature and position of Peripheral Akkadian within the Syro-Palestinian region still remains as one of the most intriguing and disputed questions. Moreover, it was far from being a homogenous language or even a dialect, since the particular texts are more or less influenced by scribes who were not native speakers of the Akkadian language and who injected elements of their own native languages into the form of Akkadian that they learned at 'schools'.¹⁶⁵

The individual variants of Peripheral Akkadian emerged from 'the Akkadian linguistic continuum,' which covers a period earlier than the documents of the Amarna archive.¹⁶⁶ With the exception of four texts – EA 15 written in Assyrian, EA 24 in Hurrian and the Egyptian – Arzawa correspondence EA 31–32 in the Hittite language, the majority of the remaining Amarna documents were written down in a special – 'peripheral' – form of the Akkadian language, based on Babylonian. The considerable variability of individual groups of documents allows for only a very general description.

The Amarna Akkadian reflects, in the same way as other variants of Peripheral Akkadian, many shared innovations combined with phenomena which were at that time already out of use in the repertoire of the Middle Babylonian documents emanating from Babylonia itself. To obtain a more complete picture of the form used in the Amarna letters, it is necessary to add to this combination of new and old several features not attested in Babylonian written sources. From the very onset of the Amarna studies, it became clear that a dyadic geographical division could also be recognized in relation to the linguistic situation, with the variants attested in the northern region being denoted as Hurro-Akkadian. While for the southern regions holds, that the vocabulary of the Amarna texts

¹⁵⁵ GIACUMAKIS (1970).

¹⁵⁶ ARNAUD (1998).

¹⁵⁷ ARNAUD (1999–2000).

¹⁵⁸ ADLER (1976).

¹⁵⁹ IZRE'EL (1977); *idem* (1978).

¹⁶⁰ IZRE'EL (1991).

¹⁶¹ COCHAVI-RAINEY (1989); *idem* (1990a); *idem* (1990b); *idem* (1997).

¹⁶² COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003).

¹⁶³ HUEHNERGARD (1989).

¹⁶⁴ VAN SOLDT (1991).

¹⁶⁵ For the scribal tradition and references to further literature, see pp. 92–99 in this volume.

¹⁶⁶ In his study devoted to the Amurru Akkadian Shlomo Izre'el uses the term 'dialect,' instead of 'variant' cf. IZRE'EL (1991: 355); see below.

remains largely Akkadian, the grammar, – 'whatever this might have been,'¹⁶⁷ of these regions is Canaanite. Through reference to the considerable diversity of southern variants from 'good' Middle Babylonian, some scholars have even raised a question as to whether such a language – 'extremely barbarized' should still be called Babylonian at all, even stating that 'The language can only be described as an entirely new code, only vaguely intelligible (if at all) to the West Semite because of the lexicon, and to the Babylonian because of the grammar.'¹⁶⁸

As we have already mentioned, the nature and position of the Akkadian language in the area rendered in the Amarna corpus of documents still represents a crucial element for our understanding of the specific language situation during the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. in Syro-Palestine. On several occasions, the situation has been interpreted as the bilingualism of individual Canaanite scribes – though bilingualism, as understood by Kilian Butz¹⁶⁹ in the context of the ancient Ebla, cannot be demonstrated in the Syro-Palestinian region of this period – or a diglossia, where the local Semitic language had low prestige, whereas the Peripheral Akkadian was valued as the socially more prestigious and inactive in casual everyday communication. In addition, the Peripheral Akkadian was, indeed, not even a pidgin language as demonstrated by Shlomo Izre'el in his review of Huehnergard's publication on the Akkadian of Ugarit.¹⁷⁰

In an effort to answer the question 'To what degree was the Syro-Palestinian region "Akkadized" at that time?' we still encounter several fundamental and difficult to answer issues. At all times, we should be conscious of the fact that we have at our disposal only written sources and, in the case of the Amarna corpus, sources related either to the milieu of diplomacy or to the scholarly tradition! No one disputes the fact that there was a certain level of influence of the Akkadian cuneiform tradition, yet it is very difficult to determine to what extent this affected the broader social strata, rather than just the members of a very restricted entourage of professional scribes. It is highly probable that the usage of Peripheral Akkadian was strictly limited to this social setting. Without a doubt, the individual variants of written Peripheral Akkadian echoes, more or less, certain traces of the scribes' own substrate languages. However, the extent to which these substrate languages and, above all, the formal structure of the relevant written documents, affected the resulting image of any formal adjustment of diplomatic letters remains for us a highly speculative issue.

The relatively extensive geographical range has a direct influence on not only the variability of the local language milieu, but also on the diversity of individual 'variants' of Peripheral Akkadian. It is obvious that there are considerable differences between particular regions, not only in the grammatical structure of the relevant texts but also, understandably, in their palaeographical and orthographical aspects. A relatively large number of studies have already proven that it is almost impossible to deal with the whole Amarna corpus as a compact and indivisible unit but, on the contrary, it is a prerequisite to set apart individual smaller groups, selected according to obvious and well-defined criteria (for example depending on the place of origin of the selected texts), which can be remitted to further analysis, at a later stage. However, even this type of approach may not be sufficient because

¹⁶⁷ IZRE'EL (1987: 2).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. MORAN (1992: xxi–xxii). For a detailed discussion on the linguistic nature of Amarna Akkadian, see especially IZRE'EL (1987), revised recently, cf. *idem* (2007); KOSSMANN (1994); RAINEY (1996a: II, 1–16, 31–32).

¹⁶⁹ Consult BUTZ (1984).

¹⁷⁰ IZRE'EL (1992) and further accentuated in *idem* (2007: 5–6). At present Peripheral Akkadian is most often described as a *jargon*, cf. IZRE'EL (1987: 1) or RAINEY (1996a: II, 31); a *pidgin*, cf. MORAN (1992: xxi), IKEDA (1992: 21); or an *interlanguage*, cf. GIANTO (1990: 10–11), RAINEY (1992b: 331). In 1994 Maarten Kossmann wrote: 'The Akkadian used in these countries has its peculiarities, some of which can be explained from the native language of the scribes, but none of them reveals the mixed language type attested in Amarna-Akkadian,' cf. KOSSMANN (1994: 171) and the nature of Peripheral Akkadian as the mixed language has been accepted and further supported by IZRE'EL (2007: 6–7), proposing yet another attribution suitable for the discussed situation, i.e. a *fused language*, cf. IZRE'EL (2007: 6–7). For a detailed description of the linguistic situation at Ugarit, and especially a position of Peripheral Akkadian, consult MARQUEZ ROWE (2006: 139–166). For an evaluation of Peripheral Akkadian as the language of contact, see MARQUEZ ROWE (2004).

even within a single geographically consistent corpus, diversities can occur. These can be related to the continuous development of the structure over time, as well as to the individual traits of the particular scribe, his background and the traditions of the school from which he 'graduated.'

In order to demonstrate some of the general influences of the substrate language on the representation of Akkadian, it is helpful to present some observations concerning Egyptian Akkadian. If we start from the presumption that the scribes writing the letters were native speakers of the otherwise well-known Egyptian language, and educated in the Mesopotamian tradition, then the Egyptian corpus offers us some valuable opportunities for a more detailed and reliable exposition.

'Egyptian Peripheral Akkadian' or more accurately 'Egyptian Amarna Peripheral Akkadian,' to set it apart from the later Ramesside documents, provides us with a good example of one of the many local Amarna-Age Akkadian traditions or variants.¹⁷¹ With reference to the palaeography, the graphemic system of the letters of Egyptian origin there is a strong resemblance to the northern scribal tradition, the writing system and the form of the signs clearly reminding us of a middle Hittite ducatus.¹⁷² The exceptions to the rule are represented in the letters EA 1 and EA 369, which are more akin to the texts of Syrian origin. This presents us with an intriguing question as to whether the Egyptian system could have been based on the Hittite system or whether both systems, i.e. Egyptian and Hittite, were in point of fact derivatives of yet another common source. The idea that the cuneiform system was introduced into Egypt by means of the Hittites was first proposed by Kaspar Riemschneider in 1976 in his lecture 'Who Taught Babylonian to the Egyptians?'¹⁷³ He called attention to the fact that out of a total of thirteen Amarna documents written in Egypt, eleven of them utilise shapes for signs that correspond to the respective shapes in Hittite texts. The same proposition is valid also for some other Akkadian epistolary documents belonging to the corpus of the Egyptian Akkadian of the 14th century BC, such as the Kumidi letters (Kumidi 1, Kumidi 2)¹⁷⁴ or the letter of the widowed queen to the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma I (KBo 28, 51). The conclusion that the signs in Egyptian letters are similar to the forms of signs in comparable Hittite documents was also reached by Gernot Wilhelm. However, he accentuated an, until then neglected, fact that this similarity disappears after the Amarna period. Nevertheless, based only on the matter of similarities in palaeography, it is not possible to presume that the Egyptians adapted a Hittite variant of Peripheral Akkadian, coupled with their own writing system. To come to such a conclusion it would be necessary to compare both corpora of texts and, following this analysis, to decide to what extent it is possible to talk about a Hittite influence.

In the context of orthography, if we compare the Akkadian corpus from Egypt to the similar groups of texts from Ugarit¹⁷⁵ or Amurru¹⁷⁶ we can observe a notable alternation in dental and velar sets (especially /d/ and /t/),¹⁷⁷ while there are almost no routine alternations in labial¹⁷⁸ and sibilant¹⁷⁹ sets. There is a common denominator in Egyptian and Amurru Akkadian – a confusion of the voiced and unvoiced consonants whereas a single sign can, in some specific cases, represent an emphatic and a non-emphatic realization within one single set.¹⁸⁰ The signs expressing plurality, as well as relevant determinatives, fully conform to their respective usage in the texts from the centre, i.e. Babylonia, and the individual variations can be associated with scribal errors. Sound changes inside words (assimilation, dissimilation) appear regularly.¹⁸¹ While the Egyptian Amarna Akkadian, when contrasted with the corpus of Ugaritic Akkadian, does not contain, in most cases, a semiconsonant *w* in the position of the first radical of the root (the so-called *primae w*)¹⁸² and only a few traces can be observed in words of exclusively Egyptian origin, *mediae w* irregularly alternate with *m*.

¹⁷¹ Cf. COCHAVI-RAINEY (1989); *idem* (1990a); KORÍNKOVÁ (1999).

¹⁷² SCHROEDER (1915a).

¹⁷³ See BECKMAN (1983: 112).

¹⁷⁴ For the Kumidi documents, cf. pp. 74–77 in this volume.

¹⁷⁵ HUEHNIGARD (1989: 33ff.).

¹⁷⁶ IZRE'EL (1991: II, 112–132).

However, it should not be seen as an exception to the rule when a single word appears in the very same geographical corpus, recorded both orthographic representations, i.e. the old one (with *w*) as well as the new one (with *m*). Egyptian Amarna Akkadian, in common with the contemporaneous Amorite texts, witnesses solely sporadic changes of *š* to *l* when the sound occurs before a dental¹⁸³. In common with other Amarna corpora, the evidence of mimation is very unsystematic, the examples represent relatively regularly constructed forms of verbs with ventive and pronominal suffixes.

In the field of morphology it is highly probable that while the unusually high incidence of independent pronouns results from their appearance in the substrate language of the scribes, the usage of suffix pronominal forms in Akkadian did not cause any serious problems to the scribes.¹⁸⁴ The

¹⁷⁷ Cf. DI = *ti* (EA 1: 43, *a-wa-ti-ka*); DI = *qi* (EA 369: 8, *ša-qi-tu*); DA = *td* (EA 14: I, 73, *td-at-bi-ku*; EA 5: 13, *td-[t]e-pu-uš*; EA 14: I, 78, *td-pa*; EA 14: II, 1, 54, III, 70, *šf-la-ab-tā*; EA 14: II, 3, *mē-qi-tā*; EA 14: II, 49, *ti-ni-tā*; EA 14: II, 56, *še-er-tā*; EA 99: 18, *td-ad-din-šū*; EA 162: 7, 15, 29, 32, *at-tā*; EA 162: 7, *td-ša-pa-ar*; EA 162: 12, *td-ad-da-ti-in-šū*; EA 162: 16, *td-a-ku-ū*; EA 162: 22, 24, *šal-ma-a-tā*; EA 162: 23, *td-ak-kā-la*; EA 162: 26, *td-am-mar*; EA 162: 27, *tdk-la-tā*; EA 162: 32, 35, *td-ra-am*; EA 162: 33, 39, *lr-tā*; EA 162: 36, *td-ša-ak-kā-ar*; EA 162: 38, *td-ma-at*; EA 162: 39, *bal-ta-tā*; EA 162: 43, 51, *ša-at-tā*; EA 162: 43, 51, *an-ni-tā*; EA 162: 49, *td-mar*; EA 162: 50, *td-qdb-bi*; EA 162: 75, *il-tā-na-aš*; EA 367: I, *M.in-tar-ū-tā*; EA 367: 14, *td-mē-ek-ki*; EA 367: 15, *šu-šu-ra-tā*; DU = *tū* (EA 14: I, 62, *tū-ra-[u]*; EA 14: I, 62: *q[ā]-ab-la-t[ū]-uš-šū*; EA 14: I, 72, 73, *un-qd-tū*; EA 14: I, 77, SAG-*tū-šu-nu*; EA 14: II, 7, *lu-ri-mi-tū*; EA 14: II, 8, 69, *mu-bal-li-it-tū*; EA 14: II, 9, *qd-ab->uš<-la-tū-uš-šū*; EA 14: II, 10, 53, 55, 61, III, 6, 7, *na-al-pdt-tū*; EA 14: II, 36, *na-an-sē-tū*; EA 14: II, 47, *nu-ri-im-tū*; EA 14: II, 48, *pa-gu-tū*; EA 14: II, 49, *a-ri-ik-tū*; EA 14: II, 51, *hu-bu-un-ni-tū*; EA 14: II, 60, *šf-lp-pa-ra-tū*; EA 14: II, 76, *ra-ab-bu-tū*; EA 14: II, 83, *ar-ra-kā-tū*; EA 14: II, 84, 85, *dī-qd-ra-tū*; EA 14: II, 84, *ar-kā-tū*; EA 14: III, 11–13, 15, *lu-bu-ul-tū*; EA 14: III, 34, *hu-ut-tū*; EA 14: III, 39, *ū-nu-tū*; EA 14: III, 44, 60, *ki-ir-re-tū*; EA 14: III, 62, *kt-ra-tū*; EA 14: III, 65, *iš-qi-ll-la-tū*; EA 14: III, 72, *ri-qi-tū*; EA 14: III, 74, *ma-še-el-tū*; EA 14: IV, 10, *du-dī-ni-tū*; EA 14: IV, 11, *tup-ni-na-tū*; EA 14: IV, 16, *mu-mal-li-it-tū*; EA 162: 77, *ha-bā-tū*; EA 162: 49, *i-bal-lu-ū*; DAG = *tdq* (EA 1: 88, *tdq-ba-a*; EA 162: 21, 48, 59, *tdq-bu-ū*); DAG = *tdk* (EA 162: 27, *tdk-la-tā*); TA = *dd* (EA 14: I, 46, *ra-ab-dd*; EA 14: II, 18, *i-ša-ad-dd-du*); TA = *{d}* (EA 367: 16; EA 369: 6, *pf-{d-t}*; TI = *dī* (EA 1: 82, *hu-ri-a-dī*); EA 370: I, *M.l-dī-la*); TI = *{l}* (EA 369: 12, *{l}-ba-an*); TI = *de* (EA 99: 21; EA 162: 14, 40, 78; EA 367: 22; EA 369: 24, *il-l-de*); TU = *dū* (EA 14: III, 54, *kā-an-dū-ri-šī-nu*; EA 14: III, 64, *kā-an-dū-ru*; EA 162: 12, *šf-dū-na*); TAB = *ddb* (EA 1: 16, *i-ddb-bu-ub*; EA 1: 54, 76, *i-ddb-bu-bu*; EA 1: 74, *i-ddb-bu-bu-ni-ik-ku*; EA 1: 80, *i-ddb-bu-bu-ka*); KI = *qé* (EA 1: 20, *qé-ri-ib*; EA 1: 25; EA 162: 10; EA 369: 7, *la-qé-e*); KI = *qi* (EA 162: 22, *qi-id-ša*); KAB = *qdb* (EA 1: 33, *i-qdb-ba-ku*; EA 1: 62; EA 162: 50, *ta-qdb-bi*; EA 367: 9, 12, *i-qdb-bā-ku*); KAB = *gāb* (EA 1: 94, *gāb-ba*; EA 162: 8, 20, 21, 38, 41, 49, 68, 70, 71, *gāb-bi*; EA 367: 11, *gāb-bā*; EA 367: 17, *gāb-bu*); GA = *kā* (EA 14: I, 8, *šu-uk-ku-kā-a*; EA 14: II, 83, *ar-ra-kā-tū*; EA 14: III, 54, *kā-an-dū-ri-šī-nu*; EA 14: III, 64, *kā-an-dū-ru*; EA 162: 59, *it-ta-al-kā-ak-ku*; EA 162: 23, *td-ak-kā-a-la*; EA 162: 34, *kā-a-ša*; EA 162: 36, *td-ša-ak-kā-ar*; EA 162: 54, *il-li-li-kā*; EA 162: 59, *it-ta-al-kā-ak-ku*); GA = *qd* (EA 99: 6; EA 367: 3; EA 369: 3; EA 370: 4, *qd-bē-e*; EA 162: 4, 18, *li-qd-an-ni*; EA 162: 31, *qd-lu*; EA 370: I, *aš-qd-lu-na*).

¹⁷⁸ BI = *pf* (EA 1: 86, *pf-šu-ni*; EA 14: III, 75, 76, IV, 1–5, 7–16, 18, 19, *pf-ri*; EA 162: 62, DUB-*pf*; EA 367: 16; EA 369: 6, *pf-{d-t}*); BA = *pā* (EA 14: II, 12, *šu-pā-al*); PA = *bā* (EA 14: I, 49, *ha-ra-ga-bā-aš*; EA 14: I, 75, *in-ša-bā-ti*; EA 14: III, 20, 21, 26, 29, 30, *lu-bā-ru*; EA 14: IV, 11–16, 18, 19, *bā-aš-lu*; EA 99: 16, *il-lq-bā-ku*; EA 162: 8, *bā-nu-ti*; EA 162: 10, *bā-a-bi*; EA 162: 76, *bā-a-lu-ū-ma*; EA 367: 9, 12, *i-qdb-bā-ku*; EA 367: 11, *gāb-bā*).

¹⁷⁹ ZA = *šā* (EA 1: 74, 76, *šā-ru-ti*; EA 1: 86, *šā-a-ru*; EA 1: 87, *šā-ra-ti*); ZI = *šē* (EA 1: 88, *a-šē-e*; EA 162: 25, *iš-šē-el*); ZI = *šf* (EA 162: 16, *kar-šf-l-šū*); ZU = *šū* (EA 1: 80, 97, *šū-ja-ar-ti*).

¹⁸⁰ For the examples cf. notes 177–179.

¹⁸¹ For assimilation, see *n > d* (EA 1: 12, *id-dī-na-am-ku*; EA 1: 80, *id-dī-nu-ni*; EA 99: 18, *td-ad-din-šū*; EA 162: 12, *td-ad-da-ti-in-šū*); *n > t* (EA 1: 72, *it-ta-at-la-ku*; EA 1: 74, *it-tal-ku*; EA 1: 89, *it-ta-din*; EA 162: 3, 11, *it-ta-sū-uk-šū*; EA 162: 44, 47, *ša-at-ti*; EA 162: 51, *ša-at-tā*; EA 162: 59, *it-ta-al-kā-ak-ku*; EA 369: 28, *yl-ta-din*); *m > n* (EA 1: 14, *ta-aš-pu-ra-an-ni*; EA 1: 55, *ū-še-bi-lu-ni-in-ni*; EA 1: 97, *ta-aš-pu-ra-ni*; EA 14: II, 36, *na-an-sē-tū*; EA 162: 4, 18, *il-qd-an-ni*; EA 162: 4, 18, *šu-ri-ba-an-ni*; EA 162: 17, *il-tap-ra-an-ni*; EA 162: 42, 56, *lu-ma-šir-an-ni*); *m > k* (EA 1: 12, *id-dī-na-ku*; EA 1: 33, *i-qdb-ba-ku*; EA 1: 58, *ū-še-bi-lu-ni-ku*; EA 1: 60; EA 5: 14, *ū-še-bi-la-ak-ku*; EA 1: 72, *it-ta-at-la-ku*; EA 1: 74, *i-ddb-bu-bu-ni-ik-ku*; EA 1: 87, *pal-hu-ni-ik-ku*; EA 5: 18, *uš-te-bi-la-ak-ku*; EA 5: 17, *ū-še-bi-la-[k]u*; EA 99: 16, *il-lq-bā-ku*; EA 162: 3, *il-q-ba-a-k-ku*; EA 162: 5, *lu-ut-ti-na-ak-ku*; EA 162: 34, *lp-pu-ša-ak-ku*; EA 162: 46, *i-te-ez-bā-ak-ku*; EA 162: 59, *it-ta-al-kā-ak-ku*; EA 162: 61; EA 369: 3, *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku*; EA 367: 3; EA 370: 3, *uš-te-bi-la-ku*; EA 367: 6, *um-te-eš-še-ra-ku*; EA 367: 10, 18, *i-kaš-ša-dak-ku*; EA 369: 5, *um-te-še-ra-ak-ku*; EA 369: 19, *il-lq-ba-ak-ku*; EA 370: 7, *um-te-eš-šī-[ra-ku]*); *m > š* (EA 1: 75, *a-na-an-dī-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*; EA 162: 60, *šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti*; EA 367: 12, *šī-ma-aš-šū*); for dissimilation, cf. *dd > nd* (EA 1: 61, *ta-na-an-dī-ni*; EA 1: 68, *i-na-an-dī-nu-na-šī*; EA 1: 75, *a-na-an-dī-na-aš-šu-nu-ti*; EA 1: 76, *a-na-an-din-šū-nu*; EA 14: II, 42, *na-ma-an-du*).

¹⁸² Cf. EA 162: 12 *a-šī-lb*.

¹⁸³ IZRE'EL (1991: I, 60).

¹⁸⁴ Examples of this can be found in two letters of Egyptian origin, EA 1 and EA 14.

usage of verbal forms of perfect and preterite is very unsystematic within the Egyptian corpus and it is almost impossible to trace any distinction in temporal locution – as in the Amorite texts.¹⁸⁵ However, other verbal forms are composed regularly and even here, in common with the writing of plural markers or determinatives, some sporadic aberrations can be considered as being scribal errors.¹⁸⁶

It was Franz Böhl¹⁸⁷ who divided the Egyptian Amarna letters into two individual groups, according to their syntax. While in the first group he placed letters where the subject precedes the predicate, in the other set it is the predicate that comes first within the sentence. Such a division actually corresponds to a division based on the palaeography, i.e. the group with the syntactic structure S(subject) – P(predicator) – O(object) – C(complement) corresponds to the letters written in the Hittite ductus¹⁸⁸ while in the letters written in a non-Hittite ductus the P(predicator) – S(subject) – O(object) – C(complement) structure is in evidence.¹⁸⁹ However, Böhl's proposition that the word order in the first group reflects an Egyptian word order did not meet with acceptance because the same word order can also be interpreted as an influence of Canaanite.¹⁹⁰

One example of the influence of a substrate language in the Akkadian texts of Egyptian origin is evidenced in the area of vocabulary. Though we can recognize the Egyptian origin of some standardized idioms,¹⁹¹ it is clear that the words of Egyptian origin are only rarely used in the letters belonging to the Amarna corpus,¹⁹² with a majority being terms for different kinds of materials and objects such as *adaḥa*,¹⁹³ *akūnu*,¹⁹⁴ *amē šabi*,¹⁹⁵ *anaḥū*,¹⁹⁶ *ašša*,¹⁹⁷ *azida*,¹⁹⁸ *buatī/puati*,¹⁹⁹ *daši*,²⁰⁰ *ḥa-nūnu šāḥū*,²⁰¹ *ḥatapi*,²⁰² *ḥina*,²⁰³ *ḥubunnu*,²⁰⁴ *ḥunima*,²⁰⁵ *kuiḥku*,²⁰⁶ *kukkubu*,²⁰⁷ *maḥan*,²⁰⁸ *maḥda*,²⁰⁹ *namša*,²¹⁰ *našša*,²¹¹ *paqa*,²¹² *raḥda*,²¹³ *sabnaku*,²¹⁴ *simiu*,²¹⁵ *šerda*,²¹⁶ *šuibda*,²¹⁷ *urušša*,²¹⁸ *wadḥa*,²¹⁹

¹⁸⁵ See IzRE'EL (1991: II, 220f. and n. 182).

¹⁸⁶ There are, for example, two abnormal constructions of the precativum within the Egyptian corpus, i.e. EA 162: 42, 56, instead of *li-* in the prefix of 3 ms there is *lu-*. Two unnormalized usages of a negative particle *la* in place of *ul* (in a negation of a stative) are interpreted by ZIPIRA COCHAVI-RAINEY (1989: 39–46) as a possible Canaanite influence of a West Semitic *la/lo* in declarative sentences.

¹⁸⁷ BÖHL (1909: 78).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. EA 5; EA 14; EA 99; EA 162; EA 367; EA 370 and very probably also EA 163 and EA 190.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. EA 1 and EA 369.

¹⁹⁰ For a syntactical analysis of the Egyptian corpus, see also COCHAVI-RAINEY (1993: EA 1) and GIANTO (1997: for EA 1 and EA 162).

¹⁹¹ See p. 77, n. 413 in this volume.

¹⁹² Cf. RANKE (1910); LAMBDIN (1953); COCHAVI-RAINEY (1990a); *idem* (1997); KORIŇKOVÁ (1999).

¹⁹³ A kind of a dress, EA 14 III: 21.

¹⁹⁴ A kind of a vessel, an 'amphora', EA 14 III: 36; EA 148: 12–13.

¹⁹⁵ 'Red coloured', EA 14 III: 29.

¹⁹⁶ A kind of a vessel, EA 14 I: 36.

¹⁹⁷ A kind of a large (storage) jar, EA 14 III: 44.

¹⁹⁸ A kind of a stone vessel, EA 14 III: 34.

¹⁹⁹ A bracelet, EA 14 I: 74; II: 27, 28.

²⁰⁰ A kind of a chest, EA 14 I: 48.

²⁰¹ A kind of a chest, EA 14 II: 52.

²⁰² A container, EA 14 I: 34.

²⁰³ A measure vessel, EA 14 III: 62.

²⁰⁴ An offering jar, EA 14 I: 58, 60; II: 51.

²⁰⁵ A bronze vessel, EA 14 II: 82.

²⁰⁶ A ritual vase, EA 14 III: 43, 55.

²⁰⁷ A vessel for a liquid content, EA 14 I: 33; III: 41, 42; IV: 13, 23.

²⁰⁸ A kind of vessel; there is also a possibility that it denotes an ebony chest, cf. COCHAVI-RAINEY (1997: 99); EA 14 IV: 20.

²⁰⁹ A kind of a bracelet, EA 14 I: 77.

²¹⁰ A water jar, EA 14 III: 37, 67.

²¹¹ A kind of a measuring vessel, EA 14 I: 43; II: 80; III: 48.

²¹² A labelling of high quality, EA 14 III: 32.

²¹³ A metal (bronze?) jar, EA 14 I: 46.

²¹⁴ A kind of a storage vessel, EA 14 III: 54.

wizza,²²⁰ administrative terms – *iḥripīṭa*,²²¹ *irpe*,²²² *miši*,²²³ *pamaḥā*,²²⁴ *pasiti*,²²⁵ *šabē piṭāti*,²²⁶ *šahšiḥašihu*,²²⁷ *šunūti*,²²⁸ *weru*,²²⁹ as well as personal,²³⁰ cf. Amanappa,²³¹ Amanḥatpe,²³² Amanmaša,²³³ Api,²³⁴ Appiḥa,²³⁵ Dašarti,²³⁶ Ḥaip/Ḥa'pi,²³⁷ Ḥamašši,²³⁸ Ḥan(n)i/Ḥan'i/Ḥanya,²³⁹ Ḥaramašši,²⁴⁰ Ḥa-tip,²⁴¹ Ḥaya,²⁴² Ḥurīa,²⁴³ Iamaya,²⁴⁴ Irimayašša/Iriyamašša,²⁴⁵ Le'eya,²⁴⁶ Maya,²⁴⁷ Mayati,²⁴⁸ Maireya,²⁴⁹ Manahpirya,²⁵⁰ Mane,²⁵¹ Many,²⁵² Miyare,²⁵³ Naphu'rurēya or Naphuria or Namḥuriya,²⁵⁴ Nib-

²¹⁵ A statue, EA 14 I: 68.

²¹⁶ An uncertain meaning; associated with craft works, EA 14 II: 56.

²¹⁷ A water jar, EA 14 III: 61.

²¹⁸ A headrest, EA 14 II: 20.

²¹⁹ A vessel for offerings, EA 14 II: 53; III: 66, 71.

²²⁰ A kind of a jar, EA 14 I: 15.

²²¹ An Egyptian title 'an overseer of archers,' EA 107: 14.

²²² An Egyptian title 'a hereditary prince,' EA 289: 38.

²²³ An army, cf. EA 101: 04, 33; EA 105: 27; EA 108: 38; EA 110: 48, 52; EA 111: 21; EA 126: 63.

²²⁴ A special kind of military force, EA 162: 74.

²²⁵ An Egyptian title 'a vizier,' EA 71: 1.

²²⁶ Royal archers, EA 49: 6; EA 65: 12; EA 70: 23, 26; EA 28: 71; EA 53: 47, 53, 67, 68; EA 71: 14, 27; EA 72: 9; EA 73: 10, 13, 22; EA 75: 43; EA 76: 32, 38; EA 77: 23, 27; EA 79: 17, 18, 32; EA 81: 30, 43, 46; EA 82: 19, 42, 50; EA 85: 80; EA 86: 7; EA 90: 60; EA 91: 28; EA 93: 17, 26; EA 94: 11, 13; EA 95: 16, 37; EA 102: 34; 103: 29, 52, 55; EA 105: 19; EA 107: 30; EA 108: 27, 32; EA 111: 19; EA 112: 38; EA 114: 45; EA 116: 73; EA 117: 57, 60; EA 118: 43; EA 119: 20; EA 121: 48; EA 123: 42; EA 124: 51; EA 127: 39; EA 129: 30, 34, 38, 40, 49, 78, 95; EA 131: 33, 40, 43; EA 132: 14, 59; EA 136: 38; EA 137: 40, 45, 49, 98; EA 141: 22, 30, 31, 46; EA 142: 14, 30; EA 144: 20, 28; EA 166: 04; EA 173: 05; EA 174: 21; EA 176: 16; EA 191: 06, 12; EA 195: 30; EA 196: 37; EA 201: 13, 21; EA 202: 11, 19; EA 203: 12; EA 204: 14; EA 205: 12; EA 206: 12, 17; EA 216: 09, 16; EA 244: 10, 20; EA 269: 12; 281: 12, 28; EA 282: 11; EA 283: 16, 26; EA 285: 16; EA 286: 53, 54, 57, 59; EA 287: 15, 17, 21, 23; EA 288: 50, 51, 57; EA 290: 20, 22; EA 293: 32, 40; EA 296: 34; EA 337: 11; EA 362: 08, 10, 18, 19, 41; EA 363: 18; EA 369: 06.

²²⁷ An Egyptian title 'a scribe of letters,' EA 316: 16; for a discussion and further literature cf. pp. 92–99 in this volume.

²²⁸ A granary, EA 294: 22.

²²⁹ An Egyptian title 'rulers,' EA 14 II: 88; EA 108: 16; EA 109: 22, 39; EA 129: 12; EA 150: 06; EA 152: 09, 47, 50; EA 227: 20; EA 230: 11; EA 285: 06; EA 287: 47, 69; EA 288: 10.

²³⁰ A reconstruction of Miḥuni in EA 11: 16 is doubtful.

²³¹ EA 73: 01; EA 74: 51; EA 77: 01; EA 79: 09; EA 82: 01; EA 86: 01; EA 87: 01; EA 93: 01; EA 109: 62; EA 117: 23.

²³² EA 185: 11, 20, 26, 35, 40, 47, 49, 51, 54, 55, 64, 68, 73; EA 186: 12, 17, 25, 26, 31, 33, 41, 51, 54, 57, 58.

²³³ EA 105: 34; EA 113: 36, 43; EA 114: 51.

²³⁴ EA 138: 08, 57, 107.

²³⁵ EA 58: 6'; EA 69: 25, 29; EA 100: 12; EA 105: 35.

²³⁶ EA 162: 76, according to HESS (1993: 66) either Egyptian or Indo-Aryan.

²³⁷ EA 107: 16; EA 132: 40, 42; EA 133: 09; EA 149: 37.

²³⁸ EA 11: 09; EA 27: 37, 40, 52; EA 29: 25; EA 198: 15.

²³⁹ EA 21: 25 (M.ḥa-ni-iḥ); EA 47: 23, 26; EA 301: 12; EA 316: 15; EA 369: 05 (M.ḥa-an-la); EA 161: 11, 17, 27, 31 (M.ḥa-an-ḥ); EA 162: 56, 63; EA 367: 07 (M.ḥa-an-ni) and EA 227: 16 (M.ḥa-ni).

²⁴⁰ EA 20: 33, 36; EA 21: 33; EA 49: 26.

²⁴¹ EA 161: 38, 43, 46; EA 164: 04, 18, 26, 42; EA 165: 15, 26; EA 166: 12, 32; EA 167: 14; EA 168: 08.

²⁴² EA 11: 19, 13', 14'; EA 66: 04; EA 71: 01; EA 101: 02, 19; EA 109: 62; EA 112: 42, 48; EA 117: 65; EA 166: 01, 14; EA 255: 08; EA 268: 16; EA 289: 31.

²⁴³ EA 41: 02.

²⁴⁴ EA 62: 42, 45.

²⁴⁵ EA 130: 11; EA 370: 08.

²⁴⁶ Either Egyptian or West Semitic, cf. HESS (1993: 104); EA 162: 70.

²⁴⁷ EA 62: 26; EA 216: 13; EA 217: 16, 22; EA 218: 14; EA 292: 33; EA 300: 26; EA 328: 24; EA 337: 26, 29.

²⁴⁸ EA 10: 44; EA 11: 26'; EA 155: 08, 15, 22, 26, 29, 42, 50, 60.

²⁴⁹ EA 367: 7.

²⁵⁰ EA 51: 4; EA 59: 08.

²⁵¹ EA 19: 17, 21; 20: 08, 14, 18, 19, 23, 43, 64a, 64b, 66, 69; EA 21: 24; EA 24 I: 53, 59, 71, 114; II: 7, 13, 16, 19, 57, 86, 91, 95, 100, 102, 107, 111, 116; IV: 20, 21, 26, 27, 35, 52, 54, 55, 57; EA 26: 15; EA 27: 07, 83, 97; EA 28: 17; EA 29: 70, 78, 89, 151, 167, 174.

²⁵² EA 162: 72.

²⁵³ EA 289: 31.

²⁵⁴ EA 7: 1; EA 8: 1; EA 9: 1; EA 10: 1; EA 11: 1; EA 14 I: 1; EA 16: 1; EA 26: 27, 32, 40, 46, 50, 54, 59; EA 27: 39; EA 28: 1; EA 29: 61, 63, 65, 67, 76; EA 53: 1; EA 55: 1; EA 210: 1.

mu'arêya,²⁵⁵ Nimmaḥê,²⁵⁶ Niu,²⁵⁷ Paḥa(m)nata/e,²⁵⁸ Pâpu,²⁵⁹ Peya,²⁶⁰ Pišyari,²⁶¹ Pauru/Pawura/Puwuru,²⁶² Paḥura/Piḥura/Puḥuru,²⁶³ Rianapa,²⁶⁴ Šarru,²⁶⁵ Šuta,²⁶⁶ Šutti,²⁶⁷ Taḥmaya,²⁶⁸ Taḥmašši,²⁶⁹ Teye,²⁷⁰ Tûya,²⁷¹ Tutu,²⁷² Riamanu[-x]²⁷³ and divine names²⁷⁴ – D.a-ma-nu-um,²⁷⁵ D.a-ma-nu,²⁷⁶ D.a-ma-na,²⁷⁷ D.a-ma-a-nu²⁷⁸ or D.a-ma-a-nu-ú-ti-la-an,²⁷⁹ D.a-ma-a-nu-ú-la-an,²⁸⁰ D.a-ma-a-nu-ú-ul-la-an,²⁸¹ D.a-ma-a-nu-ú-e,²⁸² D.a-ma-a-nu-ú-til-la-a-an.²⁸³

An identification of D.A in EA 164: 40 is still doubtful. The traditional explanation of this name is that D.A could be an abbreviated form of Amun's name.²⁸⁴ However, this explanation has been refuted by both Nadav Na'aman and José-Manuel Galán. While for Galán²⁸⁵ D.A could represent an Egyptian compound *nṯr-ʿ3* 'great god,' for Na'aman²⁸⁶ D.A could be an identification of Aten, which is a theory further supported by the chronological scheme of the Amarna letters.

However, the 'infiltration' of originally Egyptian words into 'a common Amarna lexicon' and their utilization in the Amarna corpora is a phenomenon which is extremely rarely attested.²⁸⁷

Based on this very short description of the 'language' of the Amarna letters of Egyptian origin we can assume that a geographical closeness need not significantly affect the form of a language. The individual variants of Peripheral Akkadian do indeed reflect certain traces of its own language substrate, though it is still questionable as to what extent these substrate languages, and a formal structure of relevant texts written in these languages, affect the formal structure of the Amarna letters.

²⁵⁵ EA 1: 2; EA 2: 1; EA 3: 1; EA 5: 1; EA 17: 1; EA 19: 1; EA 20: 1; EA 21: 1; EA 22 IV: 45, 47; EA 23: 1; EA 24 I: 84; III: 104, 106; IV: 128; EA 26: 8, 9, 11, 12, 21, 25, 30, 34; EA 27: 9, 13, 14, 20, 38; EA 29: 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25, 28, 31, 35, 36, 37, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 61, 62, 66, 68, 71, 73, 75, 104, 136; EA 31: 1.

²⁵⁶ EA 162: 77.

²⁵⁷ EA 29: 37.

²⁵⁸ EA 60: 10, 20, 32; EA 62: 1; EA 68: 22; EA 131: 35.

²⁵⁹ EA 333: 2, 22.

²⁶⁰ EA 292: 42, 51; EA 294: 16, 24, 30.

²⁶¹ EA 162: 71.

²⁶² EA 117: 47; EA 124: 44; EA 129: 95, 97; EA 131: 22; EA 132: 38; EA 263: 21; EA 287: 45; EA 289: 38; EA 362: 69.

²⁶³ EA 57: 6, 10; EA 117: 61; EA 122: 31; EA 123: 13, 34; EA 132: 47; EA 189: 17, 18; EA 190: 2; EA 207: 17; EA 208: 11.

²⁶⁴ EA 292: 36; EA 315: 13; EA 326: 17.

²⁶⁵ EA 162: 68.

²⁶⁶ EA 234: 14, 23, 33; 288: 19, 22.

²⁶⁷ EA 5: 19.

²⁶⁸ EA 265: 09, 11; EA 364: 13.

²⁶⁹ EA 303: 20.

²⁷⁰ EA 27: 112; EA 28: 7, 43, 45; EA 29: 3, 8, 9, 45, 46, 61, 63, 66, 107, 117, 124a, 124b, 143a, 143b, 187.

²⁷¹ EA 162: 69.

²⁷² EA 158: 1, 5, 12, 34; EA 164: 1, 10, 16, 30, 33, 35, 43; EA 167: 28, 31; EA 169: 16, 36.

²⁷³ EA 347: 3.

²⁷⁴ Cf. a name of an Egyptian god Amun (out of composite names; see above).

²⁷⁵ EA 1: 46; EA 19: 15, 24, 76.

²⁷⁶ EA 20: 74; EA 369: 29.

²⁷⁷ EA 71: 4; EA 77: 3; EA 86: 3, 5; EA 95: 3.

²⁷⁸ EA 20: 26; EA 27: 87.

²⁷⁹ EA 24 I: 76.

²⁸⁰ EA 24 I: 101.

²⁸¹ EA 24 II: 65.

²⁸² EA 24 II: 77.

²⁸³ EA 24 IV: 118; see HESS (1986: 150).

²⁸⁴ Cf. SCHROEDER (1915b); RAINEY (1978b: 108); HESS (1986: 150); MORAN (1992: 252).

²⁸⁵ GALÁN (1992: 289).

²⁸⁶ NA'AMAN (1991: 250–252).

²⁸⁷ See a term for military troops of Egyptian archers: *šabê plṭāti*, i.e. Eg. *pḏt.jw*, p. 51, note 224.

THE LETTER FORMAT

A Diplomatic Letter

When considering the epistolary tradition preserved in documents written down in Peripheral Akkadian,²⁸⁸ it is clear that, within this large corpus of texts, individual letters share a relatively well-standardized formal structure, i.e. a letter format. In most cases the letter format contains the following elements, an opening passage and the body of the letter.

In an effort to obtain a more representative, as well as a convenient picture of the Amarna letters as representatives of a 'diplomatic language,' it is essential to give close attention to both the letter format and to the individual elements that one can find within the 'highly standardized' opening passages.²⁸⁹ In this respect, the Amarna corpus offers a wide range of opportunities. For further analyses it is very important that all the relevant material originates from the specified context of the royal archive,²⁹⁰ it is chronologically very well determined²⁹¹ and, above all, in many of these texts the origin is directly or indirectly indicated, either in the opening passage or in the body of the letter.

Even today, the way in which a diplomatic letter is composed might represent a key-factor in modern diplomacy. It is essential to recognize the elements which characterise the structure, as well as the way in which the individual elements combine with one another. It is not too simplistic to describe the writing of diplomatic letters as a process of assembling standardized and generally accepted – as well as expected – formulae of politeness, before reaching the desired subject. However, we must keep in mind that an omission of these phrases and formulae, or an employment of some non-standard expressions²⁹² is inadmissible and easily reveals an inexperienced author-scribe of the message. Among the expected phrases belongs an expression of compliments. After both sides of the correspondence are identified, the sender – such as the Embassy, presents its compliments to the addressee, for example the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The sender never requests the desired subject directly but always 'has the honour to ...'! The politeness goes even further since the Embassy avails itself of this opportunity to renew its assurances of highest consideration to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁹³ Today, in modern society, the forms of an address and salutations are bound with a diplomatic protocol and a very formal style of letter writing is employed following strict written rules and conventions.

²⁸⁸ See the following chapter, pp. 67–91.

²⁸⁹ The significance of the opening passages as a starting point for further discussion was recognized, in the field of the Amarna studies, at an early stage by HARRISON (1893) in his discussion on the correspondence of Ribhaddi, when he bound together the chronology of Ribhaddi's letters and a preference given to certain type of 'salutations', i.e. the opening passages.

²⁹⁰ Against all the odds in relation to the location of the letters' discovery, it is apparent that all of them originate from the immediate area or immediate vicinity of the royal archive.

²⁹¹ On the subject of the chronology of the Amarna letters, consult especially CAMPBELL (1964) and KOHNE (1973).

²⁹² In this respect a diplomatic *faux pas* can be interpreted, for example in a case, such as the usage of 'the Canadian Embassy' instead of the correct and official form 'the Embassy of Canada.'

²⁹³ The standardization of these diplomatic phrases is reflected in the usage in other languages, such as in Spanish 'La Embajada de Chile en Praga saluda muy atentamente al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y tiene el honor de ...' and 'La Embajada de Chile hace propicia la ocasión para reiterar al Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores las seguridades de su más alta y distinguida consideración.' or in French 'L'ambassade de France à Prague présente ses compliments au ministère des Affaires étrangères et à l'honneur de ...' and 'L'ambassade de France remercie le ministère des Affaires étrangères et saisit cette opportunité pour lui renouveler les assurances de sa très haute considération.'

However, for any diplomatic correspondence – modern or ancient – it also stands that a successful correspondence definitely depends upon such diplomatic facilities as a declaration and logical arguments, as well as a strong and clearly recognizable emotional context for the written record. It is evident that in any diplomatic text there is a considerable need to decode the indirect instructions as well as the emotional metaphors representing the most important diplomatic codes. However, many misunderstandings – sometimes pragmatic – might appear in the communication between correspondents with different cultural backgrounds. It is thus extremely important to compare the realities of both cultural backgrounds.

The material of the Amarna letters offers a unique possibility for such a comparison. The considerable linguistic, cultural, social and religious differences without question demanded that the developing relations among particular entities should be facilitated through the use of universally accepted codes. These codes had to be comprehensible to all members of this 'international' community. It is obvious that the Amarna culture, as well as modern diplomacy, created a very specific diplomatic language, containing many ceremonial and complimentary phrases, influenced by the social environment. Through such phrases, both sides acknowledged recognition of prestige, power or dependency.

Thus, it is one of the main goals of this study to determine if the scribes of the Amarna letters – in a similar way to their contemporary counterparts – followed any rules and/or conventions when composing letters, choosing a particular style and letter format, including the type of address or salutation. If we discover certain parallels between letter writing in Peripheral Akkadian and in the native languages of the scribes as well as in the contingent geographical particulars, this could contribute to the further discussion as to the origin of some of the Amarna documents.

As has been already stated,²⁹⁴ the variability in respect of the Amarna language situation is, to a great extent, related to a relatively wide area from which the particular letters originate. It is thus obvious that among the individual regions differences can be recognized, not only in a grammatical structure of these texts but also in their palaeography and orthography. Nevertheless, can we also observe the same phenomena in the standardized formulae and expressions that, to a certain extent, were 'codified' by generally accepted conventions or even rules? In this respect it is impossible to deal with the corpus on the whole. On the contrary, it is imperative to set apart several smaller collections, based on their stated origin and to analyze them carefully. Only then will it be possible to reach more general conclusions. However, even such an approach is unlikely to be sufficient because even when focusing on one collection, consisting of a geographically consistent corpus, differences can occur. These differences are often in connection with a development of the existent structure over time or with the scribe's individuality, his background and school tradition, or rather his 'training.' Thus, we will try to determine if it is possible to recognize within the Amarna corpus any structural differences determined by the origin of the individual epistolary documents and, in cases where such differences are found, to discuss in detail their individual backgrounds.

The Structure

Immediately, it is possible to recognise that the Akkadian letters, preserved in the Amarna archive, share, in the same way as many other similar texts discovered in other places,²⁹⁵ an identical or very similar formal structure. Therefore, in many of the studies devoted to various aspects of the Peripheral Akkadian epistolary tradition we may find only brief and rather concise comments or descriptions as far as the structure or internal organization is concerned. Since the subject of the structuralization, as well as further analyses of the inner structure preserved in these letters, usually passes for general interest, it is the aim of this chapter to provide a more detailed overview, as well as a discussion on this important aspect of the epistolary tradition.

²⁹⁴ See pp. 42–45 in this volume.

²⁹⁵ See pp. 67–91.

When describing the general structure of the Akkadian letters belonging to the Amarna corpus, we can, of course, identify parallels with other epistolary groups of documents – after all, the problems of epistolography belong in the same camp as the traditional and widely researched subject in Ancient Near Eastern studies.²⁹⁶ Based on his analysis of the Hebrew and Aramaic epistolography, Lindenberger²⁹⁷ postulated a tripartite elementary structure present in these letters – an introduction (containing the address and the greeting), the body of the letter and a conclusion containing some specific concluding formulae.²⁹⁸ Among the elements that are almost always present in the opening passage are the two introductory parts, the introductory address and the greeting, containing, primarily, the identification of the sender and the addressee, often mentioning their respective titles as well.²⁹⁹ However, the introductory greeting is largely varied, starting with very simple greeting and moving towards more complex formulae.³⁰⁰ Among the Aramaic letters, Lindenberger³⁰¹ has been able to recognize two main groups. While in the first group the greetings are represented through a plea for the blessing for the addressee, in the second group the sender expresses his wishes of well-being, wealth and prosperity to the addressee. Nevertheless, both groups might be combined as well.³⁰² However, in many Hebrew letters no greetings formulae are in evidence.³⁰³

With respect to Peripheral Akkadian, a deal of great attention has been given to the Akkadian and Ugaritic epistolary documents discovered at Ugarit.³⁰⁴ In her dissertation, Sally W. Ahl speaks about three elements, or, in her own words, 'component parts,'³⁰⁵ in the structure of the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit – 'the heading,' 'the salutation' and 'the subject.'³⁰⁶ A typical letter would thus contain the heading inclusive of an identification of both correspondents, the salutation that might be composed of up to three elements – 'an obeisance of the sender to the addressee,' 'a greeting' and 'a divine blessing' – and 'the subject.'³⁰⁷

²⁹⁶ Consult especially the results of the research project of the SBL 'Ancient Epistolography Group,' cf. WHITE (1982). For the Ugaritic correspondence and letter formats, consult especially LOEWENSTAMM (1969), AHL (1973), KRISTENSEN (1977), CUNCHILLOS (1999) and see also PARDEE – WHITING (1987). A detailed discussion on the Hittite epistolography can be found in HAGENBUCHNER (1989; for the structure, consult especially 29–86). For the Akkadian epistolography, consult PFENFER (1923) and especially SALONEN (1967). For Mesopotamia in general, see OPPENHEIM (1987); MICHALOWSKI (1993). For Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian letters cf. FALES (1987). On Hebrew epistolography, see CAZELLES (1954–1957); PARDEE (1978a); *idem* (1982); for the letters from Arad cf. PARDEE (1978b). For Aramaic and Hebrew correspondence, see also, with references to further literature, LINDENBERGER (1994); *idem* (2003). For Aramaic letters, consult especially FITZMYER (1974); *idem* (1982).

²⁹⁷ LINDENBERGER (1994: 6ff.).

²⁹⁸ In addition to the concluding or summarizing formulae, references to the scribe, and in some cases also the date when the letter was composed, are mentioned. A kind of 'exterior address' may follow. However, it is obvious that some of the standard, above-mentioned, elements might be omitted by the scribe. Thus, in his study, which was also devoted to the structure of the Aramaic letters, FITZMYER (1974) discusses the following structural elements: the *praescriptio*, the initial (religious or secular) and secondary greetings, the concluding formulae, the mention of a scribe or a secretary and the final or exterior address, leaving aside the body of the letter. The terminology postulated by Fitzmyer is only slightly modified by PARDEE (1982) for the Hebrew letters, who identifies within the structure the following elements: the address, the initial and the secondary greetings, the concluding formulae and the mention of a scribe or secretary, the date and the final or exterior address.

²⁹⁹ The social rank of the correspondents is most often couched in the expressions of 'the master' for the superior and 'the servant' for the inferior. Eventually, references to family metaphors are referred to.

³⁰⁰ The is similar to some of the Akkadian letters belonging to a corpus of Egypto-Hittite correspondence, found at Boghazköy (13th century B.C.E.). In addition, some Hebrew and Aramaic letters do not contain messages other than the greetings. LINDENBERGER (1994: 7ff.).

³⁰¹ For the greeting formulae in the Aramaic letters, consult also FITZMYER (1974: 214–216).

³⁰² In the case of the following texts: Lindenberger no. 61, Lindenberger no. 64 and Lindenberger no. 66 we witness a passage, in which the sender explicitly expresses his subordinate position to the addressee, using the expression of 'I am nothing but a dog.' For a qualification of the sender as a 'dog' in the Amarna letters, consult pp. 140, 145–146.

³⁰³ Consult especially AHL (1973: esp. 72ff.); KRISTENSEN (1977); CUNCHILLOS (1989).

³⁰⁴ AHL (1973: 49).

³⁰⁵ The very same three elements can be also recognized in the epistolary documents written in Ugaritic, cf. AHL (1973: 99ff., 108ff.). A tripartite scheme of the Ugaritic letters has been recognized also by CUNCHILLOS (1999: 360) who, however, described these three elements as 'heading,' 'main message' and 'ending'. In his concept the heading comprises of the address, proskynesis, greetings and wishes. The body of the letter or the message represents the second part of Ugaritic epistolary documents, whereas the ending or closing formula contains a call for a reply (CUNCHILLOS 1999: 367).

In her view³⁰⁸ the heading³⁰⁹ – i.e. the part where an identification of the sender and the respective addressee is stated, the form reflects the original oral transmission of the message – consisting of two interrelated elements – the identification of both correspondents, whereas the identification of the sender is introduced by ‘an elliptical statement’³¹⁰ of speech and ‘an injunction to speak’³¹¹ to the addressee. The correspondents are usually identified by means of their personal names. Their respective functional and/or honorific titles are often included in the identification as well. The identification of the sender and the addressee, including their respective titles, are important items, especially in formally strict correspondence, such as in the diplomatic letters preserved in the Amarna corpus. It is not only in the case of the Amarna letters that for purposes of expression, as well as for the identification of the respective social rank of both correspondents, a terminology based on family relations is employed.

The identification of the correspondents may result in a dual form. In the first of them – used between correspondents of an equal social rank or in letters addressed by a person with a higher social rank to his inferior – the identification of the sender comes first, followed by the identification of the addressee. On the other hand, in the second – observed in the letters addressed by a person with a lesser social status to his superior – the identification of the addressee, often containing honorific elements, precedes the identification of the respective sender.³¹²

For the elliptical statement of speech the convention is that this statement notifies the reader that the following text is a communication of the sender of the letter. A component part of the elliptical statement is a particle *umma* followed by a noun in the genitive form or a noun phrase (in apposition), by which the sender is – in a more or less elaborate manner – identified.³¹³ A marker of the following direct speech, an enclitic particle *-ma*, might appear as a suffix. The other element of the heading is named by Ahl as an injunction to speak. The injunction to speak can assume two different forms – either a simple or a composite. Within the simple form of the injunction we can identify a genitive construction (preposition + name and/or title of the addressee) followed by a verbal form *qibīma* (imperative ms with suffixed enclitic particle *-ma*³¹⁴), while in the composite form the name and/or title of the addressee is further enhanced by other nouns or nominal phrases in apposition. The sequence of the elliptical statement and the injunction to speak is conditioned by the form used for the identification of the correspondents. While in the letters, where the sender's identification precedes the identification of the addressee, the elliptical statement is employed first, followed by the injunction to speak, cf. *umma* SENDER — *ana* ADDRESSEE — VERBAL FORM. Among letters, where the addressee is identified first, the sequence will be the injunction to speak followed by the elliptical statement, cf. *ana* ADDRESSEE — VERBAL FORM — *umma* SENDER.³¹⁵

The second part of the letter represents the salutation, containing up to three individual elements referred to by Ahl as ‘an obeisance of the sender to the addressee,’ ‘a greeting’ and ‘a divine blessing.’³¹⁶ All these elements eloquently reveal the nature of the relationship between the sender and the addressee.

The first of these elements – an obeisance of the sender to the addressee³¹⁷ can be more simply identified as a prostration formula representing an expression of the respect of the sender in relation

to the addressee by means of repeatedly ‘falling at’ the addressee's feet. Ahl divided this element into four individual parts.³¹⁸

- (i) ‘a directional phrase’ – one of the two essential parts – ‘to the feet’ – is represented by a preposition *ana* followed by a noun *šēpē*, further modified by the genitive pronoun, noun or noun phrase, indicating to whom the act is exercised, i.e. the addressee.
- (ii) ‘a locative phrase’ – in the corpus of the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit, represented by an expression ‘from a distance,’ understood as ‘from an appropriate distance.’ It consists of a preposition *ištu* followed by an adverb *ruqiš*, expressing where the action of prostration takes place.
- (iii) ‘an element of manner’ – it is an adverbial expression, describing how the prostration is carried out. In the corpus studied by S. Ahl it usually takes a form of ‘twice seven times,’ i.e. 2-*šu* 7-*šu*.
- (iv) ‘a verbal form’ – the final and essential part of the prostration formula, usually in preterite 1 cs ‘I fall’ or ‘I prostrate’ (i.e. *amqut*, *ušhehin*), expressing both the subject of the sender and proper act of prostration.

The second element of the salutation is the greeting, containing a wish of well-being to the addressee. Ahl postulated, based on the sequence of the elements, two main different forms of ‘the greeting,’ with subsequent sub-forms:³¹⁹

- (i) ‘a simple form’ – the first place in the element is occupied by a precative particle *lū*, followed by a stative 3 mp form *šulmū*³²⁰ and a phrase, by means of which the addressee is indicated, most often by a preposition *ana* *muḥhi* often with a suffixed pronoun of 2 s/p genitive.³²¹
- (ii) ‘an inverted form’ – the prepositional phrase, identifying the addressee, precedes the precative phrase *lū šulmū*; this form can be also used in cases when the greeting is addressed to a third party or when double greetings are employed.³²²

The third element recognized by Ahl³²³ in the salutation is the divine blessing³²⁴ – a request for a blessing of the divine world or of a particular deity. In its simplest form, it consists of three parts – a subject, an exhortation (particle *lū* + imperfect 3 s/p of *našāru* ‘to guard,’ ‘to watch over,’ ‘to protect’) and an object (pronominal *-ka* or substantive, cf. *napištaka*). However, this element can also be extended and an adverbial phrase *ana šulmāni* ‘for peace’ or ‘safely’ can be used preceding the exhortation. The divine blessing is a rather variable element and thus can be also enlarged through a vocative noun or by other blessings.

Another aspect affiliated to the preference given to a specific form of the opening passage in the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit, i.e. the social rank of the individual correspondents, is also underlined – though indirectly – by J. Huehnergard in his overview of Akkadian epistolary documents discovered at Ugarit.³²⁵ As has been already mentioned, the social ranks of the sender and the addressee have implications for the choice of heading. Perhaps, on that basis, Huehnergard illustrates the opening passages in three examples: first comes the letter sent by the king of Ugarit to his superior (RS 20.238; Ug. V, no. 24); the second is a letter exchanged between the king and queen of Ugarit, addressed to their inferior (RS 19.70; PRU IV, 294) and finally, the last example illustrate correspondence from an inferior to the king of Ugarit (RS 17.383; PRU IV, 221–223). In the relationship between the inferior and the superior rulers Huehnergard pays heed to the fact that immediately after the

³⁰⁷ A slightly different set of terminology for the individual elements preserved in the Ugaritic and Akkadian epistolary documents has been proposed by KRISTENSEN (1977), who targeted the following five elements: ‘the address,’ ‘the prostration formula,’ ‘greetings,’ ‘well-being of sender’ and ‘well-being of addressee’ in his study.

³⁰⁸ AHL (1973: 69–75); for the parallels in the corpus of Ugaritic epistles, see *idem* (1973: 108–115).

³⁰⁹ The ‘address’ in Kristensen's terminology, cf. KRISTENSEN (1977: 144–147).

³¹⁰ In the terminology of FINLEY (1979: 185–186) called ‘a marker of direct speech.’

³¹¹ FINLEY (1979: 185–186) applies for this part of the heading a term ‘the introductory statement of direct speech.’

³¹² Cf. originally NOUGAYROL (1955: 3).

³¹³ The sender can be introduced by his name and/or respective title only or, in more detail, by a noun phrase extended by other nouns or noun phrases in apposition.

³¹⁴ The enclitic *-ma* might be suffixed to the name of the addressee, in this case it is considered as an emphatic element, cf. AHL (1973: 74). For the particle in the Old Babylonian, see RAINEY (1976b); for its usage in the ‘greeting formula’ of the Old Babylonian letters, consult SLANSKI (1998).

³¹⁵ See AHL (1973: 72).

³¹⁶ AHL (1973: 75–82); the parallels to the individual parts attested in the Ugaritic letters can be found at *idem* (1973: 115–120).

³¹⁷ A ‘prostration formula’ in: KRISTENSEN (1977: 147–150).

³¹⁸ AHL (1973: 75–77).

³¹⁹ AHL (1973: 77–81).

³²⁰ Sporadically imperative ms *buluq* ‘live!’.

³²¹ For other examples, see AHL (1973: 78–79).

³²² However, the greeting can be further extended by an adverb modifying the greeting ‘very’ or ‘very, very,’ i.e. *danniš* or *danniš danniš*.

³²³ AHL (1973: 81–82).

³²⁴ KRISTENSEN (1977: 150–153) joins the parts referred to in Ahl as the greeting and the divine blessing into one category, ‘the greetings’.

heading, an obeisance expressed by the prostration formula follows an extended wish of well-being to the addressee, including his own household. The second example, where the expressed relationship is between the superior (ruler) and his inferior, illustrates the situation where, after the heading, there follows a simple or short form of the wish of well-being to the addressee and a plea for divine blessings. Finally, in the last example, reflecting the relationship between the inferior to his superior (ruler), the heading is accompanied a stereotyped declaration as to the sender's well-being and a request for information regarding the addressee's well-being.

On the grounds that there is considerable similarity between the opening passages in the Amarna letters and those preserved in the epistolary documents discovered at Ugarit, and discussed by S. Ahl in detail, the present study will utilise only a slightly modified terminology, based on Ahl's work.³²⁶ Thus, the general structure of the opening passage can be described more simply as a binominal structure, consisting of the heading and followed by the salutations. The heading is composed of four elements – an identification of the sender (introduced by an elliptical statement of speech) or the addressee and an injunction to speak. The salutations may contain the following elements – a prostration, greetings and divine blessings.

The Opening Passages and the Amarna Corpus

Despite the generally prevalent opinion that the opening passages present a simple structural and content-based phenomenon, this is contrary to the evidence. In fact, the opening passages constitute a rather specific and complex body of material, worthy of a more detailed analysis.³²⁷ We can identify here a series of components, some of them as expected but several others being conditioned by individual and/or geographical factors. For our better understanding of the 'language of diplomacy,' as represented by the corpus of the Amarna letters, it is necessary to determine what exactly the opening passages meant for both correspondents, i.e. the sender and the addressee. It is important to establish if the preference given to certain types of opening passage was only accidental or if there was, in fact, a system of generally understood codes, reflecting the social reality of the situation.

As we have already mentioned, from a historical point of view the Amarna archive covers only a relatively short period during which the documents were written. However, this chronological limitation ensures that all relevant documents were composed in accordance with one, broadly used and understood mode and style of letter writing. Thus we can presuppose that the format of the letter, as well as its individual elements, should reflect identical social components, intelligible to all interested parties.

On the basis of the social hierarchy of individual senders and addressees, as well as according to the particular place of discovery, the Amarna material can be understood at once as a corpus of diplomatic and administrative correspondence. It is exactly the character of the texts, as well as their explicit determination, that makes the Amarna documents an extremely important historical source for the ancient Near East, during the period around the middle of the 14th century B.C.E.

It was J. A. Knudtzon,³²⁸ in his fundamental study on the Amarna letters, who chose to divide the Amarna epistolary documents into two separate groups. A key factor in this decision was in relation to the social position of the correspondents. Thus, based on the social rank of the sender and the addressee, Knudtzon postulated two, numerically unequal, sets. Since then, his division has been widely accepted by other scholars.³²⁹

The smaller group of documents represents the so-called 'international' correspondence. Into this category we can place both letters and lists of objects, which might constitute component parts of these letters having been exchanged between particular representatives of the 'Great Powers'

³²⁵ HUEHNIGARD (1999: 375–377).

³²⁶ For a similar application of these criteria, see OWEN (1981: 4–6).

³²⁷ Cf. MYNÁROVA (2004); *idem* (2006a), *idem* (2006b).

and/or lesser 'independent states' of the region. Thus we can find here the following entities:³³⁰ Egypt (EA 1, EA 5, EA 14),³³¹ Babylonia (EA 2, EA 3, EA 4³³², EA 6–13³³³), Assyria (EA 15 and EA 16), Mitanni (EA 17, EA 18–29³³⁴), Hatti (EA 41–44), Alašiya (EA 33–40) and Arzawa (EA 31 and EA 32). However, the overall majority of the letters represent documents of more or less an administrative character, marked as a 'vassal' or 'imperial' correspondence. Nevertheless, such a categorical division of the texts within the corpus encompasses several weak points since distinctions are strongly influenced by our own subjective perception and impression of, for example, the 'political status' of individual correspondents, as demonstrated by the the epistolary documents from Ugarit.³³⁵

Based on the nature of the texts, the Amarna documents represent a comprehensive corpus for the study of letter structure, as well as for analyses of the opening passages. However, in order to study the opening passages we have to leave aside some unsuitable documents, which can be divided into the following groups:

- (i) scholarly documents – a diametrically different group of Amarna documents, which constitute the representatives of a cuneiform scribal tradition³³⁶ among them a part of the Akkadian version of the story of Kešši (EA 341), probably an exercise in letter writing (EA 342), exercises (EA 343, EA 344, EA 345, EA 346,³³⁷ EA 377), probably a lexical list (EA 347), fragments of a S^a signlist (EA 348, EA 379), probably a fragment of syllabary (EA 349), a fragment of *tu-ta-ti* exercise³³⁸ and *Silbenalphabet A*³³⁹ (EA 350), fragments of *diri*, tablet 2 (possibly joins; EA 351,³⁴⁰ EA 352+353, EA 354 and EA 373), a clay cylinder (EA 355), the myth of Adapa and the South Wind (EA 356), the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal (EA 357), a still undetermined narrative³⁴¹ (EA 358), fragments of the epic *šar tamḫāri* (EA 359, EA 375), a fragment of undetermined genre (EA 360), an Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary (EA 368), fragments of a literary texts (EA 372, EA 376), and a list of divine names (EA 374);
- (ii) lists of gifts or inventories – cf. the following texts: EA 13, EA 14, EA 22, EA 25, EA 120 and, very probably, also EA 172;
- (iii) epistolary documents written in other languages – i.e. a Hurrian letter EA 24 and two letters written in Hittite, EA 31 and EA 32;
- (iv) second parts of the foregoing tablets – these documents do not incorporate any opening passage, cf. EA 101, EA 113, EA 134, EA 236, EA 237, EA 245 and EA 251;
- (v) damaged or broken – there is also a group of several letters in which the opening passages were either completely lost or are too fragmentary to allow us to postulate only a very general reconstruction of their original state, cf. EA 4, EA 36, EA 43, EA 46, EA 47, EA 56+361, EA 57, EA 66, EA 67, EA 69, EA 70, EA 72, EA 80, EA 115, EA 127, EA 128,³⁴² EA 131, EA 133, EA 135, EA 163, EA 167,

³²⁸ See KNUDTZON (1964: 19ff.).

³²⁹ For a text including the two most recent volumes of translations, consult MORAN (1992: xxii–xxxiii) and LIVERANI (1998–1999).

³³⁰ According to the origin of the documents.

³³¹ The remaining group of seven documents is addressed to petty Syro-Palestinian rulers and thus has been included in the second group of documents, see EA 99, EA 162, EA 163, EA 190, EA 367, EA 369 and EA 370.

³³² See GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 34–35).

³³³ EA 12, from a Babylonian princess(?), see GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 36).

³³⁴ For EA 18 see GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 40). EA 30, a letter from the Mitannian king to the Canaanite rulers, is therefore listed among the 'vassal/imperial' correspondence.

³³⁵ Cf. MYNÁROVA (2006a: 125): 'I have tried to demonstrate here, that both the form and the contents of the letters from Ugarit speak for their "status", somewhere inbetween the so-called "International" and so-called "Vassal" correspondence. ... Our understanding of terms like "royal," "vassal," "Independence," "Imperial" etc. is probably too much influenced by our modern way of thinking, and it can be difficult for us to differentiate, describe, and above all to correctly appreciate the situation which is so different and distant from our own.'

³³⁶ For this subject, consult especially ARTZI (1986); *idem* (1992); DEMSKY (1990); IZRE'EL (1997); VAN DER TOORN (2000).

³³⁷ Only the reverse.

³³⁸ On the obverse.

³³⁹ On the reverse.

³⁴⁰ According to IZRE'EL (1997: 32) EA 351 might be a join with EA 352+353, EA 354 and EA 373.

³⁴¹ For 'The King and the Evil Portending, Ominous Sign in His House,' see ARTZI (1982).

EA 169, EA 173, EA 179–181, EA 186, EA 190, EA 197, EA 208, EA 218, EA 219, EA 240, EA 247, EA 291, EA 310, EA 313, EA 335, EA 371 and EA 381;

(vi) fragments – cf. a collective number EA 382;

Even with this elimination of items, we still have at our disposal a total of 289 opening passages³⁴³ preserved within the Amarna corpus³⁴⁴ to which we can also add the Tell el-Hesi tablet (EA 333). Altogether, these represent a relatively homogenous group of opening passages available for analysis, although their state of preservation differs considerably. Such a limitation, however, enables us to study and discuss the preserved opening passages and relevant formulae in more detail. Among these documents we can also distinguish two different groups – i.e. letters with a more or less clearly stated origin and letters without a stated origin in the opening passages. This situation must always be taken into consideration when making more general conclusions.

It is not the aim of the chapter to give a thorough overview of the types of opening passages preserved in the Amarna corpus;³⁴⁵ however, it is necessary to make some general remarks at this point. In general, we can describe the epistolary Amarna documents as having predominantly a binominal pattern, consisting of the opening passage and the respective body of the letter. Only very rarely is this binominal pattern extended by means of a postscript, following the body of the letter, that contains a message to the scribe reading the pertinent letter to the addressee, cf. EA 286–289 and EA 316.³⁴⁶ It has already been mentioned, *sub* (iv), that in some cases, no opening passages are employed and it is highly probable that in these cases the particular tablets were indeed second parts or tablets, following on from the foregoing tablets, and thus not in need of an opening passage.

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 1	lines 1–9	Amenhotep III (Egypt)
EA 2	lines 1–5	Kadašmanenlil I (Babylonia)
EA 3	lines 1–6	Kadašmanenlil I (Babylonia)
EA 5	lines 1–12	Amenhotep III (Egypt)
EA 6	lines 1–7	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 7	lines 1–7	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 8	lines 1–7	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 9	lines 1–6	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 10	lines 1–6	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 11	lines 1–4	Burnaburiyaš II (Babylonia)
EA 12	lines 1–6	Babylonian princess (Babylonia)
EA 15	lines 1–6	Aššuruballit I (Assyria)
EA 16	lines 1–5	Aššuruballit I (Assyria)
EA 17	lines 1–10	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 18	lines 1–6	Tušratta(?) (Mitanni)
EA 19	lines 1–8	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 20	lines 1–7	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 21	lines 1–12	Tušratta (Mitanni)

³⁴² Letter EA 128 might be a double letter, see MORAN (1992: xxiv, n. 58).

³⁴³ See tab. 6 'An overview of analyzed tablets'. However, in his study devoted to the scholarly texts from Amarna Sh. IZRE'EL (1997: 97–99) also recognized two more letter fragments that were omitted in the previous studies devoted to the Amarna letters. First of these is a tablet EA 361, being a join to EA 56 (today in Berlin; VAT 1714) and EA 381 (VAT 3781). Nevertheless, none of them is applicable for further analysis.

³⁴⁴ EA 170 is a double letter. The first message with the opening passage in lines 1–6 is addressed by two individuals, Ba'luya and Beti'ilu, to Aziru of Amurru. The second message (following the body of the first message), with the opening passage in lines 36–39, was sent by a certain Amurba'ia to four individuals concerning the report of well-being of their relatives. The two opening passages are thus marked as EA 170A and EA 170B respectively.

³⁴⁵ Cf. pp. 89–104 in this volume.

³⁴⁶ The postscript is also preserved in EA 32; however, this letter is written in Hittite and thus not suitable for further analysis.

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 23	lines 1–12	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 26	lines 1–6	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 27	lines 1–6	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 28	lines 1–11	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 29	lines 1–5	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 30	lines 1–2	Tušratta (Mitanni)
EA 33	lines 1–8	King of Alašiya
EA 34	lines 1–7	King of Alašiya
EA 35	lines 1–8	King of Alašiya
EA 37	lines 1–7	King of Alašiya
EA 38	lines 1–6	King of Alašiya
EA 39	lines 1–9	King of Alašiya
EA 40	lines 1–5	King of Alašiya
EA 41	lines 1–6	Šuppiluliuma I (Hatti)
EA 42	lines 1*–3*	Šuppiluliuma I (Hatti)
EA 44	lines 1–6	Zita (Hatti)
EA 45	lines 1–7	Amištamru I (Ugarit)
EA 48	lines 1–4	Queen of Ugarit [-h]lepa
EA 49	lines 1–7	Niqmaddu II (Ugarit)
EA 50	lines 1–7	Daughter of ... (unknown, sent from Byblos; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 159])
EA 51	lines 1–3	Addunirari (Nuḥašše)
EA 52	lines 1–4	Akizzi (Qaṭna)
EA 53	lines 1–3	Akizzi (Qaṭna)
EA 54	lines 1–3	Akizzi (Qaṭna)
EA 55	lines 1–3	Akizzi (Qaṭna)
EA 58	lines 1–3	Teḫuteššub (Syria)
EA 59	lines 1–4	Citizens of Tunip
EA 60	lines 1–5	Abdiširta (Amurru)
EA 61	lines 1–5	Abdiširta (Amurru)
EA 62	lines 1–3	Abdiširta (Amurru)
EA 63	lines 1–6	Abdišartl (Gath)
EA 64	lines 1–7	Abdišartl (Gath)
EA 65	lines 1–5	Abdišartl (Gath)
EA 68	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 71	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 73	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 74	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 75	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 76	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 77	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 78	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos; sent from Šumur; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 139])
EA 79	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 81	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 82	lines 1–4	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 83	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 84	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 85	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 86	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 87	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 88	lines 1–4	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 89	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 90	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 91	lines 1–2	Ribhaddi (Byblos)

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 92	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 93	lines 1–3	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 94	lines 1–3	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 95	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 96	lines 1–6	Egyptian commander (sent from Šumur; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 116])
EA 97	lines 1–3	Yapa'hadda(?) (Beirut; sent from Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 161–162])
EA 98	lines 1–2	Yapa'hadda (Beirut)
EA 99	lines 1*–9*	Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV (Egypt)
EA 100	lines 1–6	Irqata and its elders (sent from Šumur; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 122])
EA 102	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 103	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 104	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 105	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 106	lines 1–3	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 107	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 108	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 109	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 110	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 112	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 114	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 116	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 117	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 118	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 119	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 121	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 122	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 123	lines 1–9	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 124	lines 1–6	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 125	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 126	lines 1–3	Ribhaddi Byblos (sent from Šumur; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 154–155])
EA 129	lines 1–3	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 130	lines 1–8	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 132	lines 1–7	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 136	lines 1–5	Ribhaddi (Byblos; sent from Beirut; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 157])
EA 137	lines 1–4	Ribhaddi (Byblos sent from Beirut)
EA 138	lines 1–4	Ribhaddi (Byblos sent from Beirut; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 157–158])
EA 139	lines 1–4	Ilirapi' and Byblos
EA 140	lines 1–4	Ilirapi' and Byblos
EA 141	lines 1–8	Ammunira (Beirut)
EA 142	lines 1–5	Ammunira (Beirut)
EA 143	lines 1–6	Ammunira (Beirut)
EA 144	lines 1–9	Zimreddi (Sidon)
EA 145	lines 1–4	Zimreddi (Sidon)
EA 146	lines 1–6	Abimilki (Tyre; not from Tyre; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 168–169])
EA 147	lines 1–5	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 148	lines 1–3	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 149	lines 1–5	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 150	lines 1–3	Abimilki (Tyre)

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 151	lines 1–5	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 152	lines 1–5	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 153	lines 1–3	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 154	lines 1–5	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 155	lines 1–6	Abimilki (Tyre)
EA 156	lines 1–3	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 157	lines 1–5	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 158	lines 1–4	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 159	lines 1–4	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 160	lines 1–4	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 161	lines 1–3	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 162	lines 1–2	Amenhotep IV (Egypt)
EA 164	lines 1–3	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 165	lines 1–3	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 166	lines 1–5	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 168	lines 1–3	Aziru (Amurru; probably sent from Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 112–113])
EA 170A	lines 1–6	Ba'luya and Bet'ilu (Amurru)
EA 170B	lines 36–39	Amurba'lu (Amurru)
EA 171	lines 1–2	Aziru (Amurru)
EA 174	lines 1–7	Beri (H̄ašabu)
EA 175	lines 1–6	Ildaya (H̄asi)
EA 176	lines 1–6	unknown (Beqa' Valley)
EA 177	lines 1–5	Yamiyuta (Guddaššuna)
EA 178	lines 1–3	Ḫiblya (Beqa' Valley)
EA 182	lines 1–5	Šutarna (Mušilhuna)
EA 183	lines 1–9	Šutarna (Mušilhuna)
EA 184	lines 1–8	Šutarna (Mušilhuna)
EA 185	lines 1–8	Mayarzana (H̄asi)
EA 187	lines 1–8	Šatiya (Enišasi)
EA 188	lines 1–3	unknown (unknown)
EA 189	lines 1–4	Etakkama (Qadesh)
EA 191	lines 1–3	Arzawiya (Ruḫizza)
EA 192	lines 1–9	Arzawiya (Ruḫizza)
EA 193	lines 1–4	Tlwate (Labana)
EA 194	lines 1–5	Biryawaza (Damascus)
EA 195	lines 1–15	Biryawaza (Damascus)
EA 196	lines 1–4	Biryawaza (Damascus)
EA 198	lines 1–9	Arawana (Kumidi)
EA 199	lines 1–4	unknown (Bashan region)
EA 200	lines 1–6	'[Your(?)] servants' (probably from Bashan region; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 221])
EA 201	lines 1–8	Artamanya (Ziribašani)
EA 202	lines 1–6	Amayaše (probably from Bashan region; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 221])
EA 203	lines 1–8	Abdimilki (Šašhimi)
EA 204	lines 1–8	ruler of Qanu
EA 205	lines 1–8	ruler of Ṭubu
EA 206	lines 1–8	ruler of Nazib(?)a
EA 207	lines 1–3	Ipte[...] (unknown; sent from Aštartu; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 221–222])
EA 209	lines 1–6	Zišanimi (unknown; sent from Damascus; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 222])
EA 211	lines 1–7	Zitriyara (unknown; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 306–307])

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 212	lines 1–5	Zitriyara (unknown; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 307])
EA 213	lines 1–9	Zitriyara (unknown; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 307–308])
EA 215	lines 1–9	Bayawa (unknown; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 308])
EA 216	lines 1–6	Bayawa (unknown)
EA 217	lines 1–7	A[h(?)...] (unknown; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 310])
EA 220	lines 1–9	Kurtuya (Zu(?)nu)
EA 221	lines 1–7	Yiktasu (unknown; sent from Tel Yoknem(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 255])
EA 222	lines 1–7	Yiktasu (unknown; from Tel Yoknem (?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 255])
EA 223	lines 1–6	Endaruta (Akšap)
EA 224	lines 1–6	Šumhadda (unknown; sent from Beth Shean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 234–237])
EA 225	lines 1–7	Šamuhadda (Šamhuna)
EA 226	lines 1–5	Šiptur[ša] (unknown; from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 308])
EA 227	lines 1–4	ruler of Hazor
EA 228	lines 1–9	Abdiirši (Hazor)
EA 229	lines 1–7	Abdina[...] (sent from Gath; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 286])
EA 230	lines 1–3	Yama (unknown)
EA 231	lines 1–10	unknown (unknown; from Byblos(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 315])
EA 232	lines 1–11	Surata (unknown; sent from Beth Shean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 239])
EA 233	lines 1–15	Satatna (Akka)
EA 234	lines 1–9	Satatna (Akka; sent from Beth Shean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 238])
EA 235+327	lines 1–11	Satatna (Akka; sent from Beth Shean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 238–239])
EA 238	lines 1–3	Bayadi (unknown; sent from Anaharath(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 240–243])
EA 239	lines 1–7	Baduzana (unknown; sent from Anaharath(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 241–243])
EA 241	lines 1–8	Ruṣmānyā (Šaruna)
EA 242	lines 1–8	Biridiya (Megiddo)
EA 243	lines 1–7	Biridiya (Megiddo)
EA 244	lines 1–8	Biridiya (Megiddo)
EA 246	lines 1–7	Biridiya (Megiddo)
EA 248	lines 1–8	Yašdata (Megiddo)
EA 249	lines 1–4	Ba ^c lu-UR.SAG (Gintipadalla; sent from Rehob(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 249–250])
EA 250	lines 1–3	Ba ^c lu-UR.SAG (Gintipadalla)
EA 252	lines 1–4	Lab ³ ayu (Shechem)
EA 253	lines 1–6	Lab ³ ayu (Shechem)
EA 254	lines 1–6	Lab ³ ayu (Shechem)
EA 255	lines 1–7	Mutba ^c lu (Pella; sent from Beth Shean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 261])
EA 256	lines 1–4	Mutba ^c lu (Pella)
EA 257	lines 1–6	Ba ^c lumeḥīr ([...]gmate(?); sent from Tel Yoknean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 251])
EA 258	lines 1–5	Ba ^c lumeḥīr ([...]gmate(?); sent from Tel Yoknean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 251])

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 259	lines 1–5	Ba ^c lumeḥīr ([...]gmate(?); sent from Tel Yoknean(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 252–255])
EA 260	lines 1–5	Ba ^c lumir (Bit-Tenni)
EA 261	lines 1–6	Dašru (unknown; sent from Šamhuna(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 305–306])
EA 262	lines 1–6	Dašru (unknown)
EA 263	lines 1–5	unknown (Palestine; sent from Rehob(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 250])
EA 264	lines 1–4	Tagi (Gintikirmil)
EA 265	lines 1–4	Tagi (Gintikirmil)
EA 266	lines 1–8	Tagi (Gintikirmil)
EA 267	lines 1–8	Milkilu (Gezer)
EA 268	lines 1–7	Milkilu (Gezer)
EA 269	lines 1–8	Milkilu (Gezer)
EA 270	lines 1–8	Milkilu (Gezer)
EA 271	lines 1–8	Milkilu (Gezer)
EA 272	lines 1–7	Ba ^c lušipti (Gezer)
EA 273	lines 1–7	Belet-UR.MAḤ.MEŠ (Šabuma; sent from Gezer(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 276–277])
EA 274	lines 1–9	Belet-UR.MAḤ.MEŠ (Šabuma; sent from Gezer(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 276–279])
EA 275	lines 1–8	Ya ^c zibada (sent from Shepela)
EA 276	lines 1–8	Ya ^c zibada (sent from Shepela)
EA 277	lines 1–7	unknown (unknown; sent from Shephela(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 291])
EA 278	lines 1–8	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 279	lines 1–8	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 280	lines 1–8	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 281	lines 1–7	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 282	lines 1–7	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 283	lines 1–6	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 284	lines 1–5	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 285	lines 1–4	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 286	lines 1–4	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 287	lines 1–3	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 288	lines 1–4	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 289	lines 1–4	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 290	lines 1–4	Abdiḥeba (Jerusalem)
EA 292	lines 1–7	Ba ^c lušipti (Gezer)
EA 293	lines 1–7	Ba ^c lušipti (Gazer)
EA 294	lines 1–6	Š[...n].[...] (central Palestine)
EA 295	lines 1–7	Ba ^c lušipti (Tyre)
EA 296	lines 1–8	Yaḥtiru (central or southern Palestine; sent from Ashdod(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 292–293])
EA 297	lines 1–7	Yapaḥu (Gezer)
EA 298	lines 1–14	Yapaḥu (Gezer)
EA 299	lines 1–11	Yapaḥu (Gezer)
EA 300	lines 1–10	Yapaḥu (Gezer)
EA 301	lines 1–11	Šubandu (southern Palestine)
EA 302	lines 1–10	Šubandu (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 297])
EA 303	lines 1–12	Šubandu (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 297])
EA 304	lines 1–14	Šubandu (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 298])

EA no.	Opening Passage	Sender
EA 305	lines 1–14	Šubandu (southern Palestine)
EA 306	lines 1–11	Šubandu (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 298])
EA 307	lines 1*–2*	unknown (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon or Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 311])
EA 308	lines 1*–8*	unknown (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon or Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 311])
EA 309	lines 1*–5*	unknown (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon or Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 311–312])
EA 311	lines 1*–13*	unknown (central or southern Palestine; sent from Lachish(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 289])
EA 312	lines 1*–6*	unknown (southern Palestine; sent from Ashqelon or Gaza; GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 312–313])
EA 314	lines 1–10	PU-ba'la (Yurša)
EA 315	lines 1–7	PU-ba'la (Yurša)
EA 316	lines 1–9	PU-ba'la (Yurša)
EA 317	lines 1–6	Dagantakala (Syria; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 309])
EA 318	lines 1–7	Dagantakala (Syria; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 309])
EA 319	lines 1–14	Zurašar (Gintlašna; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 302–303])
EA 320	lines 1–15	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 321	lines 1–14	Yidya (Ashqelon; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 295])
EA 322	lines 1–14	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 323	lines 1–9	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 324	lines 1–9	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 325	lines 1–9	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 326	lines 1–8	Yidya (Ashqelon)
EA 328	lines 1–16	Yabni'lu (Lachish)
EA 329	lines 1–12	Zimreddi (Lachish; sent from Gaza(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 288–289])
EA 330	lines 1–8	Šiptiba'la (Lachish)
EA 331	lines 1–12	Šiptiba'la (Lachish)
EA 332	lines 1–6	Šiptiba'la (Lachish)
EA 333	lines 1–3	Papu (central or southern Palestine)
EA 334	lines 1–3	[...]dlh (Zuhra)
EA 336	lines 1–5	Ḫiziru (unknown; sent from Zukra(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 220])
EA 337	lines 1–6	Ḫiziru (unknown; from Aštartu(?); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN [2004: 219])
EA 338	lines 1–3	Z[...] (unknown)
EA 362	lines 1–4	Ribhaddi (Byblos)
EA 363	lines 1–6	Abdireša (Enišasi)
EA 364	lines 1–9	Ayyab (Aštartu)
EA 365	lines 1–7	Biridliya (Megiddo)
EA 366	lines 1–10	Šuwardata (Gath)
EA 367	lines 1–5	Amenhotep IV (Egypt)
EA 369	lines 1–4	Amenhotep III (Egypt)
EA 370	lines 1–6	Amenhotep IV (Egypt)
EA 378	lines 1–10	Yapaḫu (Gezer)

Table 6 An overview of analyzed tablets.

EPISTOLARY PERIPHERAL AKKADIAN

The Amarna corpus, or more precisely the Amarna letters, are often mentioned as primary and important representations of the peripheral epistolary tradition of the Late Bronze Age. Nevertheless, the Amarna corpus represents only a fragment of this phenomenon, as is evidenced throughout Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestine. Not all corpora, however, include the epistolary documents, or more precisely, a combination of the diplomatic and administrative letters which appear in the Amarna correspondence. It is necessary to stress that in this chapter, where the objective is to offer only a brief overview of epistolary Peripheral Akkadian as well as to provide the reader with a short description of the inner structure of particular letters, the texts are arranged according to the place of their discovery, instead of according to the place of their origin. I am fully aware that this approach is very simplistic and cannot be used as an opportunity for further analysis or as a means of reaching more general conclusions concerning a typology of the opening passages. This approach is, nevertheless, eventually abandoned in the ensuing part, devoted to analyses of the Amarna material.

Alalah (Tell Atchana)

The earliest Late Bronze Age peripheral corpora,³⁴⁷ however, originate in a region situated outside the 'borders' of Amarna Syro-Palestine, namely at the Amuq plateau, as well as in the basin of the upper stream of the Euphrates river. Without a doubt, one of the most important centres of the northern area, which is not attested through the letters of the Amarna archive, is the site of ancient Alalah (modern Tell Atchana)³⁴⁸ in the Amuq plain. The relevant stratum for the particular Late Bronze Age material is Level IV, being dated approximately to the 15th century B.C.E.³⁴⁹ Among almost 300 tablets and fragments written in Hurro-Akkadian or Hurrianized Akkadian³⁵⁰ discovered in Level IV, there was a group of approximately seventeen documents of an epistolary nature,³⁵¹ cf. the following texts: AIT 106 (AT 118); AIT 107; AIT 108 (ATT 38/251); AIT 109; AIT 110; AIT 111 (ATT 38/9); AIT 112 (*ATT 38/20); AIT 113 (ATT 38/104); AIT 114 (ATT 38/14); AIT 116 (ATT 38/8); AIT 117 (ATT 38/32); AIT 118 (ATT 49/1); AIT 123 (ATT 38/58); AIT 297 (ATT 38/21), as well as AIT 5 (AT 139) and AIT 124, both probably letters, and AIT 115 which is

³⁴⁷ For an overview of the corpora, see also PEDERSEN (1998); HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2002); *idem* (2006).

³⁴⁸ The earliest period of archaeological survey and excavation is connected with the activities of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago under the direction of C. Leonard Woolley (1936–1939; 1946–1949), cf. especially WOOLLEY (1938); *idem* (1939); *idem* (1955). The excavations of the Oriental Institute were renewed in 2000, led by K. Aslıhan Yener and since 2006 the excavations have continued with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey and the Mustafa Kemal University; see <http://www.alalakh.org>, see YENER (1998); *idem* (2001); *idem* (2005). For the reports of individual seasons since 2000, see http://www.alalakh.org/report_main.asp.

³⁴⁹ For the chronology of Alalah, in general consult especially SMITH, S. (1940); NA'AMAN (1976); *idem* (1979a); COLLON (1977); GATES (1981); *idem* (1987); OLIVA (1999–2000); ZIEB (2004).

³⁵⁰ Cf. RAINEY (1996a: II, 1), 'a development of an Akkadian strongly flavored by the Hurrian language spoken by large segments of the mid-second millennium population there.' For a detailed overview of studies pertaining the Alalah Akkadian, see chiefly ARNAUD (1998) and MÁRQUEZ ROWE (1998).

³⁵¹ For an overview of the already published Alalah texts, including references to the subsequent literature, see HESS (1988). For an extensive study of the documents from Level IV, see VON DASSOW (2005). For the publications of the tablets, consult, above all, SMITH, S. (1939); WISEMAN (1953); *idem* (1954); SPEISER (1954); HESS (1992); for the overview of the Alalah texts, see GREENSTEIN (1997). For the archives and scribes see NA'AMAN (1980) and HESS (1996).

badly broken.³⁵² The opening passage, to which we will pay greater attention in the following sections, is preserved, – in several cases only in a fragmentary state – in altogether nine letters (see the following table 7).

AIT/ATT No.	Description	Dating
AIT 107	a letter from Irteššup to the king with a seal impression of Irteššup's sealing, cf. COLLON (1975: No. 215)	probably to the reign of Niqmepa – Ilmilimma
AIT 108 (ATT 38/251)	a letter from a king to Utti; for a seal impression, cf. COLLON (1975: No. 227)	to the reign of Niqmepa
AIT 109	a letter from Biriššura to Niqmepa; with a seal impression of Biriššura's sealing, cf. COLLON (1975: No. 210)	the reign of Niqmepa
AIT 111 (ATT 38/9)	a letter of Tirisra to Niqmepa with a seal impression of Tirisra's sealing, cf. COLLON (1975: No. 228)	to the reign of Niqmepa
AIT 112 (*ATT 38/20)	a letter from Tirisra to Niqmepa with a seal impression of Tirisra's sealing, cf. COLLON (1975: No. 228)	to the reign of Niqmepa
AIT 113 (ATT 38/104)	a letter of Akimušuni to Pallanuwe	probably to the reign of Niqmepa
AIT 116 (ATT 38/8)	a letter of Ia[n]he(?) to Ša[...]	
AIT 117 (ATT 38/32)	a letter of Bala[tu(?) to Tapazi	
AIT 124	a letter of Mi[...] to Šarru[...]	

Table 7 An overview of Alalah letters, with the preserved opening passages.

Middle Euphrates Valley

Among the earliest Syro-Palestinian corpora of documents written in Peripheral Akkadian and dating to the Late Bronze Age belong, in particular, the texts that were discovered in the course of the excavations conducted at several sites located in the basin of the Upper Euphrates river³⁵³ as well as in the Jabbul plain,³⁵⁴ and even further to the north-east in the area of the Khabur triangle.³⁵⁵

³⁵² A document marked as AIT 125 is a letter written in Hittite.
³⁵³ Only recently two cuneiform documents (Bz 51/23:21 and Bz 50/23:32) have been discovered at the site of Tell Bazi, in the area of the 'Central Building' located at the Citadel. However, none of the tablets belongs to the category of epistolary documents. On the other hand, the Tell Bazi tablets are very important royal documents, being records of donations and holding seal impressions of the Mitannian dynastic sealing. For the publication of the tablets see SALLABERGER in: SALLABERGER – EINWAG – OTTO (2006: 78f.); for the archaeological reports see especially EINWAG – KOHLMEYER – OTTO (1995); EINWAG – OTTO (1996); *idem* (1999); *idem* (2001); EINWAG (2000).
³⁵⁴ A tablet designated as UEM T1 was discovered during the 1999 season at the site of Umm el-Marra and it has been dated to the earliest phase of the Late Bronze Age, attested at the site. It contains a legal text – a contract concerning the release of a slave girl, Azzu, and her children and another person of *hanigalbatu* status, providing them with real estate in the presence of the king Šuturna II. There is an impression of a dynastic seal of Šauštatar on the tablet's reverse side. For the publication relating to the tablet, see COOPER – SCHWARTZ – WESTBROOK (2005); for the archaeological reports see especially CURVERS – SCHWARTZ (1997a); *idem* (1997b); SCHWARTZ – CURVERS – STUART (2000); SCHWARTZ – CURVERS – DUNHAM – STUART (2003); SCHWARTZ *et al.* (2000); *idem* (2006).
³⁵⁵ For the Tell Brak tablets, see especially FINKEL (1985: 191–198); *idem* (1988: 83–85); ILLINGSWORTH (1988: 99–108) and EIDEM (1998) with previous literature; for a Hurrian letter from Tell Brak, consult WILHELM (1991).

Azu (modern Tell Hadidi)

One of the sites located in the valley of the Euphrates is Tell Hadidi (ancient Azu), situated on the west bank of the river. Between 1974 and 1978 the site was excavated by the expedition of the Milwaukee Public Museum, in co-operation with the University Wisconsin and the University of Michigan.³⁵⁶ Altogether, fifteen tablets were discovered during the excavations in area H (located on the High Tell) – in particular in the southernmost building referred to as the 'Tablet Building'.³⁵⁷ Chronologically, the tablets fall into the 15th century B.C.E. and presumably represent the remains of a private archive of two members of the same family, Huziru (father) and Yaya (his son). According to the reports of the excavator, the largest group of tablets, eight, was found in a globular jar with its neck broken off. Two more tablets were found with a pilgrim flask and a jug close to the door in the western room, and, respectively, with storage vessels at the north wall. In the large room of the 'Tablet Building,' a complete tablet, as well as several other fragments of cuneiform tablets were unearthed.³⁵⁸ However, there was actually only a single letter among the Tell Hadidi texts (Tell Hadidi no. 8; H-76-T7; see below).³⁵⁹ It was addressed by a man called Urhi to a certain Ariḫalpa and furnished with a seal impression on its reverse side.

Tell Hadidi No. 8 (H-76-T7), lines 1–2.³⁶⁰

01	<i>a-na M.a-ri-ḫal-pa</i>	01	To Ariḫalpa;
02	<i>um-ma M.ur-ḫi-ma</i>	02	thus (says) Urhi:

The opening passage of the Tell Hadidi text No. 8 represents the most simple type,³⁶¹ consisting solely of the heading. The addressee's identification (without any functional or honorific titles) comes first, followed by an elliptical statement of speech introduced by a particle *umma* and only at that point provides us with an identification of the sender (again in the most simple form, i.e. without any title stated) with an enclitic particle *-ma*, i.e. *ana* ADDRESSEE_{PN} — *umma* SENDER_{PN}-*ma*.

Ekalte (Munbaqa)

A much larger corpus of tablets, dating from the early Late Bronze Age and written in Peripheral Akkadian, was discovered during the nineteen seventies at nearby Ekalte (modern day Munbaqa) – a site situated on the east bank of the river Euphrates.³⁶² Due to the absence of Middle Babylonian traces in the Ekalte texts, the corpus can be dated slightly earlier than the texts from Alalah IV.³⁶³ Out of ninety-five numbered documents, originating from the excavations,³⁶⁴ as well as from the private collections,³⁶⁵ and included in the fully-fledged publication of the Ekalte texts by Walter Mayer,³⁶⁶ there are only three documents of an epistolary nature. Two of the letters (no. 64, MBQ-T 33 and no.

³⁵⁶ For the results of five excavation seasons at Tell Hadidi, see especially DORNEMANN (1978); *idem* (1979); *idem* (1981); *idem* (1985); *idem* (1988). The works were preceded by a mission led by H. Franken of Leiden University (1973–1974), who conducted a series of soundings there, see PEDERSEN (1998: 32).
³⁵⁷ DORNEMANN (1979: 144f.).
³⁵⁸ DORNEMANN (1979: 144–145); for an overview, as well as a catalogue of Tell Hadidi tablets, see WHITING in: DORNEMANN (1979: 145–149). A publication of the Hadidi tablets is available online at <http://www.helsinki.fi/~whiting/hadidcat.html>.
³⁵⁹ This tablet was found, together with seven more tablets, in the globular pottery jar.
³⁶⁰ Cf. a drawing of the tablet in DORNEMANN (1985: 57) and <http://www.helsinki.fi/~whiting/hadid08a.html>.
³⁶¹ For a structure and a relevant typology of the opening passages consult pp. 99–112.
³⁶² For the final reports, with references to relevant literature, consult CZICHON – WERNER (1998); WERNER (2004); for the Ekalte texts, see also VON SODEN (1982); MAYER (1990); *idem* (1993) and an overview in MAYER (1993–1997). For a complete publication of the Ekalte texts, consult MAYER (2001).
³⁶³ For a recent discussion on the chronology of the Ekalte and Emar texts, see PRUSZINSKY (2004).
³⁶⁴ I.e. altogether 89 texts.
³⁶⁵ Cf. Hirayama (Nos. 90 and 91) and Jonathan Rosen (Nos. 92–95) collections.
³⁶⁶ See MAYER (2001).

72, MBQ-T 42) have been discovered in Room 49 of House O, which was probably the place of residence of Zu-Anna's family,³⁶⁷ while the third one (no. 44, MBQ-T 85) originated from an Outer city, House T, Room 17.³⁶⁸

Ekalte no. 44 (MBQ-T 85), lines 1–2.³⁶⁹

01 *a-na a-ḫi-li-mu* [qḫ]-*bi*’-[ma] 01 To Aḫilimu [s]’*pea*’[k];
02 *um-ma M.a-ri-ta-mu* ‘ŠEŠ’-*ka*’-*ma*’ 02 thus (says) Aritamu, ‘your brother.’

Ekalte no. 64 (MBQ-T 33), lines 1–2.³⁷⁰

01 *a-na Ml.ḫ-lī-pa-aš-še* 01 To Ilipašše;
02 *um-ma ir-ib-D.İŠKUR*-[ma] 02 thus (says) Iribaddu[:]

Ekalte no. 72 (MBQ-T 42), lines 1–3³⁷¹

01 *a-[n]a* ‘M.’*ú-tu-ni-D.da-gan* 01 T[o] Utunidagan
02 *qḫ-bī-ma* 02 speak;
03 [*u*]m-ma *ša-an-ta-am-mi-ma* 03 [t]hus (says) the steward.³⁷²

Text	Structure of the heading
Ekalte no. 44 (MBQ-T 85), lines 1–2	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — VERBAL FORM — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN+EXT} - <i>ma</i>
Ekalte no. 64 (MBQ-T 33), lines 1–2	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} - <i>ma</i>
Ekalte no. 72 (MBQ-T 42), lines 1–3	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — VERBAL FORM — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{TIT} - <i>ma</i>

Table 8 Structures of the heading, preserved in the Ekalte letters.

In the case of tablets no. 44 and no. 64, the letters consist of an opening passage, followed by the body of the particular letter, whereas in letter no. 72 the names of witnesses are also included. Nevertheless, in all three documents the opening passage includes only a heading in which the identification of the individual addressee precedes the identification of the particular sender. The sender's identification is always introduced by the particle *umma*. In text No. 44, the latter's identification is extended by his honorific title. In text no. 72, the sender is not identified by name, as in the other examples, but by means of his title only. An verbal form, i.e. *qibīma*, is present in two of the documents – no. 44 and no. 72.

Emar (Meskene)

A very large corpus of Peripheral Akkadian documents was discovered at the site of ancient Emar (modern day Meskene). Despite the fact that, as in the case of the texts from Ekalte and other places in the river-basin of the Euphrates river³⁷³ mentioned above, the site is located outside the ‘borders’ of the ‘Amarna world,’ it is necessary to include here a short overview of

³⁶⁷ MAYER (2001: 6).
³⁶⁸ MAYER (2001: 5).
³⁶⁹ Cf. MAYER (2001: 114; fig. 21; pl. 65).
³⁷⁰ Cf. MAYER (2001: 130; fig. 32; pl. 74).
³⁷¹ Cf. MAYER (2001: 136; fig. 35; pl. 77).
³⁷² For the title, consult MAYER (2001: 128; 136).

the epistolary documents as well as to pay more attention to the structure of the opening passages of individual texts. The Emar texts are usually dated to the period starting at the very end of the 14th century B.C.E. and ending at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. The majority of the tablets were uncovered in the course of the French salvage excavations led by J.-Cl. Margueron (1972–1976).³⁷⁴ However, a large number of tablets found their way into numerous private collections through the medium of the antiquities market. The largest group of the Emar documents were written in Peripheral Akkadian, although Hurrian, Sumerian and Hittite texts have been discovered as well.³⁷⁵ As far as the epistolary documents are concerned, the most important among the Emar archives and libraries is the material originating from the so-called ‘Temple du Devin’ (M1). Out of 398 numbered texts, a total of sixteen have been discovered.³⁷⁶ Another private letter has been unearthed, together with six more tablets, in Area A V, Room 18. The corpus of the epistolary documents found at Emar constitutes in total eighteen documents, although two more letters are at present housed in the private collection of Jonathan Rosen – cf. RE 83 and RE 97.³⁷⁷ Among the letters, therefore, belong the following texts – Emar VI 25 (Msk 73280); Emar VI 258 (Msk 7454); Emar VI 259 (Msk 7445); Emar VI 260 (Msk 7442); Emar VI 261 (Msk 7452); Emar VI 262 (Msk 7437); Emar VI 263 (Msk 7497); Emar VI 264 (Msk 7441); Emar VI 265 (Msk 74102c); Emar VI 266 (Msk 7451); Emar VI 267 (Msk 7474 + Msk 7475); Emar VI 268 (Msk 7461); Emar VI 269 (Msk 7472); Emar VI 270 (Msk 7498d); Emar VI 271 (Msk 7471); Emar VI 272 (Msk 74270); Emar VI 273 (Msk 74208d); Emar VI 536 (Msk 74735); RE 83 and RE 97. It is not inconceivable that Emar VI 304 (Msk 74146c) could also be a fragment of an epistolary document. In the majority of these documents the opening passages are very well-preserved and thus are appropriate for further analyses.³⁷⁸

³⁷³ As far as a provenance is concerned a serious problem represents a letter referred to as ME 127 by ARNAUD (1992a: 195–197). This tablet, along with twenty-six more documents published in the same study, are dated to the Late Bronze Age and spring from illegal excavations in the Middle Euphrates Valley.

ME 127, lines 1–9 (Cf. ARNAUD 1992a: 195–196)

01 <i>a-na M.zu-zu M.ku-ka</i>	01 To Zuzu, Kuka,
02 <i>M.ga-ak-ka ù M.ta-nu-ti</i>	02 Gakka and Tanuti,
03 <i>EN.MEŠ-la qḫ-bī-ma</i>	03 my masters speak;
04 <i>um-ma M.ZU-ba-la ḫR-ku-nu-ma</i>	04 thus (says) Yadiba’la, your servant:
05 <i>a-na GİR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-la</i>	05 At the feet of my masters,
06 <i>iš-tu ru-qiš 2-šu 7-šu</i>	06 from afar twice, seven times,
07 <i>10-šu 12-šu am-qut at-ta-gar-ri-ir</i>	07 ten times, twelve times, I fall and roll over.
08 <i>it-ti EN.MEŠ-la mi-nu-me-e</i>	08 (Of) whatever is /well/ with my masters
09 <i>šul-ma-nu ṭe-ma li-te-ru-ni</i>	09 may news be sent back to me.

The text ME 127 is a double letter addressed by a certain Yadi-ba’la to four addressees, Zuzu, Kuka, Gakka and Tanutu. The structure of the opening passage contains the heading in which the addressees' identification is followed by a verbal from and only then comes the elliptical statement with the identification of the sender, cf. *ana* ADDRESSEE_{PN} ADDRESSEE_{PN} ADDRESSEE_{PN} ADDRESSEE_{PN+EXT(1-4)} — VERBAL FORM — *umma* SENDER_{PN+EXT}. The salutations are represented here by means of a very eloquent prostration formula followed by a requests for news concerning the addressees.

³⁷⁴ See especially MARGUERON (1975a); *idem* (1975b); *idem* (1982a); *idem* (1982b); MARGUERON (*ed.*) (1980); for the Syrian-German excavations, see especially FINKBEINER *et al.* (2001); FINKBEINER *et al.* (2002); FINKBEINER – SAKAL (2003).
³⁷⁵ The Hurrian material still remains largely unpublished. For the Emar texts, see especially HUEHNERGARD (1983); *idem* (1997); LAROCHE (1982); ARNAUD (1985a); *idem* (1985b); *idem* (1986); *idem* (1987); *idem* (1991a); *idem* (1992b); BECKMAN (1988); *idem* (1996); TSUKIMOTO (1988); *idem* (1990); *idem* (1991a); *idem* (1991b); *idem* (1992a); *idem* (1992b); *idem* (1994); *idem* (1999); DALLEY – TEISSIER (1992); SIGMIST (1993); SINGER (2000); WESTENHOLZ (2000). For the archives of Emar, consult DIETRICH (1990).
³⁷⁶ Cf. ARNAUD (1986: 255–267). For a re-evaluation of Emar VI 536 to be a LBA document, consult DURAND – MARTI (2003: 152–156).
³⁷⁷ Cf. BECKMAN (1996: 104–105; 120–121).
³⁷⁸ The opening passages are not preserved in the following texts: Emar VI 271, Emar VI 273 and Emar VI 304.

When compared with the letter formats of the epistolary documents mentioned above, the Emar corpus represents a relatively comprehensive and ample picture, particularly in relation to the subject of the opening formulae. Several types of opening passage have been documented, including the most simple form consisting only of the heading, as well as the binominal structures of the heading, followed by a prostration formula or the heading accompanied by divine blessings, or even a more elaborate tripartite structure of the heading, the prostration formula and the greetings.³⁷⁹

It is possible to state that among the epistolary documents discovered at Emar, or attributed to Emar, the heading containing the identification of the addressee followed by the verbal form and the identification of the sender is the most widely used formula, cf. Emar VI 25, Emar VI 258, Emar VI 259, Emar VI 260, Emar VI 261, Emar VI 263, Emar VI 264, Emar VI 265, Emar VI 266, Emar VI 267, Emar VI 269, Emar VI 270, Emar VI 272, Emar VI 536 and RE 97. The type of heading in which the sender's identification precedes the identification of the addressee is attested only in three cases – in Emar VI 262 (without the verbal form), Emar VI 268 (*umma* SENDER_{PN+TIT} — *ana* ADDRESSEE_{PN} — VERBAL FORM) and RE 83 (*umma* SENDER_{PN} — *ana* ADDRESSEE_{PN+EXT} — VERBAL FORM) and the preference given to this type of the heading, very probably, is due to the higher social status of the particular sender.

A very frequent element among the Emar letters is a prostration formula – a part of the salutations – by means of which the subordinate social position of the sender and his obeisance to his superior, i.e. the addressee, is expressed, though the manner of the performance of the act is variable – cf. Emar VI 258; Emar VI 260; Emar VI 261; Emar VI 263; Emar VI 264; Emar VI 265; Emar VI 266; Emar VI 267; Emar VI 269; Emar VI 270; Emar VI 272 and RE 97.

Taanach (Tel Ta'anek)

Nevertheless, if we focus on the Syro-Palestinian area geographically, as evidenced in the Amarna material, we also encounter several important corpora of Peripheral (epistolary) Akkadian – antecedent, contemporary, as well as following the Amarna period.

Among the earliest Late Bronze Age corpora discovered in this particular region belong, without doubt, the tablets that were unearthed in the Jezreel Valley at the site of Taanach (modern day Tel Ta'anek). These tablets have been dated approximately to the second half of the 15th century B.C.E. The importance of the 'Taanach corpus' rests on their number, as well as on the proportion of the preserved epistolary documents in relation to the other texts.

The first archeological works at the site, conducted by the mission of the University of Vienna directed by Ernst Sellin between 1902 and 1904, brought to light, altogether, seven complete and five fragmentary tablets. In the middle of the nineteen sixties (1963–1968), during three excavation seasons, the work at Taanach was revived by a joint expedition of the American Schools of the Oriental Research and the Graduate School of the Concordia Seminary, led by Paul W. Lapp.³⁸⁰ Up to the present day, nine letters or letter fragments have emerged – all of them were discovered in the course of Sellin's excavations and all of them are now kept in the collections of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.³⁸¹ Leaving aside those letters in which the internal structure is impossible to reconstruct, i.e. Taanach 8 (Fi. 14, EŠ 2801³⁸²), Taanach 8a (Fi. 15, EŠ 2803), Taanach 9 (Fi. 8, EŠ 2805), Taanach 10 (Fi. 9, EŠ 2802), Taanach 11 (Fi. 10, EŠ 2804), the following four letters are very well-preserved: Taanach 1 (Fi. 1, EŠ 2788), Taanach 2 (Fi. 2, EŠ 2789), Taanach 5 (Fi. 5, EŠ 2798), and Taa-

nach 6 (Fi. 6, EŠ 2799).³⁸³ In all four cases, the epistolary documents are addressed to a certain Talwišar,³⁸⁴ probably a local ruler. In two cases, Taanach 5 and Taanach 6, the sender is identified as a person bearing an Egyptian name Amanḥatpa (Eg. *jmn-ḥtp*),³⁸⁵ while the document Taanach 1 was sent to Talwišar by a man called Eḥliteššub and Taanach 2 by a certain Aḥiyami. In his study devoted to Taanach texts, William F. Albright³⁸⁶ has proposed the possible identification of this Amanḥatpa as an Egyptian crown prince and future king, Amenhotep II, although he has been unable to support his proposal with further evidence.³⁸⁷ Despite the fact that the dating of the tablets' context to the 15th century B.C.E., or more precisely to the second half of the 15th century B.C.E., has been confirmed by the results obtained through the excavations of P. W. Lapp, and thus confirming the possibility that the tablets were written in a period that followed a series of military campaigns led by Thutmose III to Syro-Palestine, the identity of Amanḥatpa still remains unresolved. A dating of the Taanach tablets to this particular period was actually suggested in 1961 by Avraham Malamat, who associated their existence with the Thutmose political and administrative organisation of Syro-Palestine.³⁸⁸ On the other hand, Albert E. Glock³⁸⁹ considers Amanḥatpa to be an Egyptian official posted in Gaza, but probably sending this letter from Megiddo. Nevertheless, regardless of the identity of Amanḥatpa, it seems highly probable that this corpus represents the earliest evidence of a direct contact between the representative of the Egyptian royal court and some local kinglet of the Syro-Palestinian region. Such an assumption is also based on the evidence of palaeography.

Taanach 1 (Fi. 1, EŠ 2788), lines 1–7.³⁹⁰

01	<i>ʾa-na</i> M.tal-wi-šar	01	To Talwišar
02	<i>qí-bí-ma</i>	02	speak;
03	<i>um-ma</i> M.eḥ-li-D.IM	03	thus (says) Eḥliteššub:
04	<i>bu-lu-uṭ dam-qí-iš</i>	04	Live wel 'l!
05	DINGIR. MEŠ li-iš-al-lu	05	May the god 's' ask after
06	<i>šú-lum-ka šu-lum</i>	06	your 'w'ell-being, the well-being
07	<i>É-ka</i> DUMU.MEŠ-ka	07	of your 'household' (and) your sons.

Taanach 2 (Fi. 2, EŠ 2789), lines 1–3.³⁹¹

01	<i>a-na</i> M.tal-wi-šar <i>qí-bí</i>	01	To Talwišar speak;
02	<i>um-ma</i> M.ŠEŠ-ia-mi EN DINGIR.MEŠ-nu	02	thus (says) Aḥiyami: May Ba'l, the deity, ³⁹²
03	<i>ZI-ka lí-iš-šur</i>	03	guard your life.

Taanach 5 (Fi. 5, EŠ 2798), lines 1–3.³⁹³

01	<i>a-na tal-wi-šar</i>	01	To Talwišar;
----	------------------------	----	--------------

³⁸³ The tablets were first published by a member of Sellin's mission Friedrich (= Bedřich) Hrozný, cf. HROZNÝ (1904); *idem* (1905); see also ALBRIGHT (1944a); GLOCK (1971); *idem* (1983); RAINEY (1977); *idem* (1999); GÖRG (1988). For an archaeological and historical overview of the site with references to previous literature, consult GLOCK (1993).

³⁸⁴ See ALBRIGHT (1944a) for an earlier reading of the name as Rewašša.

³⁸⁵ In the case of both of these letters, none of the correspondents is identified by title.

³⁸⁶ Cf. ALBRIGHT (1944a: 16; 27, n. 101).

³⁸⁷ Unfortunately, our knowledge of the participation of members of the royal family, and especially of crown princes, in relation to the functioning of state and foreign policy during the Dynasty 18 is very scarce. However, the situation essentially improves during the Ramesside period see for example a discussion and conclusions in FISHER (2001: I, 121–136); for diplomatic reliefs of Ramesse II and his individual sons see *idem* (2001: I, 51–53 [for Amunhirkhopshef], 74 [for Ramesse], 130).

³⁸⁸ MALAMAT (1961: 218–227).

³⁸⁹ Cf. GLOCK (1993: 1431).

³⁹⁰ Based on HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 130–131; 218; 235).

³⁹¹ Based on HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 133; 218; 235).

³⁹² For an identification of the deity see RAINEY (1999: 157*–158*).

³⁹³ Based on HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 140; 237).

³⁷⁹ For a discussion on the Emar letter formats, consult MYNÁROVA (*In press a*).

³⁸⁰ Consult primarily SELLIN (1904); *idem* (1905); LAPP (1964); *idem* (1967); *idem* (1969).

³⁸¹ The remaining fragmentary texts are considered to be administrative lists of persons; for the Taanach texts, including an alphabetic cuneiform text TT 433 (Taanach 15), see the recently published work, and further bibliography, of HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 127–151; 161–162; 218–221; 235–239).

³⁸² See HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 144, n. 24).

02

um-ma a-ma-an-ḫa-at-pa

03

D.IM ZI-*ta-ka li-iš-šur*

02

thus (says) Amanḫatpa:

03

May Baʿl guard your life.

Taanach 6 (Fi. 6, EŠ 2799), lines 1–3.³⁹⁴

01

[*a-na ta*]l-wi-šar

02

[*um-ma a*]-*ma-an-ḫa-at-pa*

03

[D.IM] ZI-*ta-ka li-i[š-šur]*

01

[To Ta]lwišar;

02

[thus (says) A]manḫatpa:

03

May [Baʿl] gua[rd] your life.

Text	Structure of the opening passage
Taanach 1 (Fi. 1, EŠ 2788), lines 01–07	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — VERBAL FORM — <i>umma</i> SENDER (ii) Salutations GREETINGS — DIVINE BLESSINGS
Taanach 2 (Fi. 2, EŠ 2789), lines 01–03	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — VERBAL FORM — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} (ii) Salutations DIVINE BLESSINGS
Taanach 5 (Fi. 5, EŠ 2798), lines 01–03	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} (ii) Salutations DIVINE BLESSINGS
Taanach 6 (Fi. 6, EŠ 2799), lines 01–03	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} (ii) Salutations DIVINE BLESSINGS

Table 9 Structures of the opening passages, employed in the Taanach letters.

Based on the letter format, and especially on the structure of the opening passages, we can easily observe and distinguish two separate groups among the Taanach letters. Into the first group we can place only the letter Taanach 1, while the remaining three documents represent the second group. Nevertheless, the sequence of addressee's and sender's identification is identical in all Taanach letters – i.e. the identification of the addressees precedes the identification of the senders. Concerning the heading, the presence of a verbal form (*qibīma*) is attested only in the texts Taanach 1 (line 2) and Taanach 2 (line 1, without the enclitic particle *-ma*). What differentiates the two groups is the presence or absence of greetings in the second part of the opening passage – the greetings are present only in the text Taanach 1 (line 4). On the other hand, the divine blessings – another part of the salutations – can be encountered in all the documents, however, only in Taanach 1 are the blessings also extended to the addressee's family (lines 5–7), while in the remaining letters it is only the addressee to whom the divine blessings are destined.

Kumidi (Kāmid el-Lōz)

Contemporary with the Amarna archive are the documents from Lebanese Kāmid el-Lōz (ancient Kumidi). The excavations of the site in the southeastern sweep of the Beqac Valley, located strategically at the crossing of routes connecting the Jordan Valley with land-locked Syria, as well as with the Mediterranean coast, brought to light another significant corpus of documents, written in Peripheral Akkadian, also including some epistolary texts.³⁹⁵ Between 1963 and 1981 a total of seven texts were discovered at the site, including six letters and one school text.³⁹⁶ The first group of tab-

³⁹⁴ Based on HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 141–142; 219; 237).

lets was unearthed in 1969, cf. Kumidi 1 (KL 69: 277) and Kumidi 2 (KL 69: 279), both documents being letters from an unnamed Egyptian king addressed to a local ruler, as well as fragmentary texts Kumidi 3 (KL 69: 100) and Kumidi 4 (KL 69: 278). Despite the fragmentary nature of the two latter documents, it is still possible to recognize their epistolary nature. The excavations at the site continued from 1972 to 1981,³⁹⁷ and as a result the Kumidi corpus was enlarged by three more texts – Kumidi 5 (KL 72: 600) being the second part of a letter,³⁹⁸ Kumidi 6 (KL 74: 300) being another letter³⁹⁹ and finally, Kumidi 7 (KL 78: 200) a school text or an incantation.⁴⁰⁰ Nevertheless, there are two more epistolary documents originating, very probably, from Kumidi. The first of them⁴⁰¹ – another letter – was published by Arnaud in 1991 and since no details concerning its origin were given, the text will be further referred to as Arnaud's text (1991). Although the origin of the other cuneiform epistolary document is uncertain, it is said to come from Kāmid el-Lōz and it allows us to include it in this section. Based on the publication of John Huehnergard, the tablet will be referred to as Huehnergard (1996).⁴⁰² Thus, at present, the Kumidi corpus comprises altogether nine tablets.

Primarily on the basis of the orthography, the content as well as the formal structure of the Kumidi texts, Dietz O. Edzard made an extremely valuable comparison between the newly discovered texts and the so-called 'vassal' correspondence of the Amarna archive. As a consequence of his analysis he has suggested the approximate dating of the Kumidi tablets to the mid-14th century B.C.E.⁴⁰³ Concerning the letters' format and the structure of the opening passages, only five documents are relevant – Kumidi 1 (KL 69: 277), Kumidi 2 (KL 69: 279), Kumidi 6 (KL 74: 300), Arnaud (1991), and Huehnergard (1996).

Kumidi 1 (KL 69: 277), lines 1–4.⁴⁰⁴

01

a-na M.za-la-ia LÚ URU.ta-ma-aš-ga

02

qí-bí-ma um-ma LUGAL-ma

03

a-nu-ma ṭup-pa an-na-a

04

uš-te-bi-la-ku qá-bé-e a-na ka-a-ša

01

To Zalaya, ruler of Damascus,

02

speak; thus (says) the king:

03

I am herewith /sending/ this tablet

04

to you, saying to you.

Kumidi 2 (KL 69: 279), lines 1–5.⁴⁰⁵

01

a-na M.İR-LUGAL LÚ URU.ša-za-e-na

02

qí-bí-ma um-ma LUGAL-ma

03

a-n[u-ma ṭup-pa an-na-a

04

u[š-t]e-bi-la-ku qá-bé-e

05

[a-n]a ka-a-ša

01

To Abdimilku, ruler of Šazaena,

02

speak; thus (says) the king:

03

I am here[with] /sending/ this [t]ablet

04

to you, saying

05

[t]o you.

³⁹⁵ For an overview of the archaeological works at Kāmid el-Lōz, consult primarily HACHMANN – KUSCHKE (1966); EDZARD – HACHMANN – MANSFELD (1969); HACHMANN (ed.) (1970); *idem* (1980); *idem* (1982); *idem* (1986); HACHMANN (1989); ADLER (1994); ADLER – PENNER (2001); a thorough overview of the 1963–1981 period at Kāmid el-Lōz with references to further literature is presented in WEIPPERT (1998); for the renewed works by the mission of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg, led by Marlies Heinz, consult especially the reports available at <http://www.orient.uni-freiburg.de/archaeologie/arch/grabungn.html>.

³⁹⁶ See EDZARD (1970); see also NA'AMAN (1988).

³⁹⁷ For the consequences of the military conflict at the site see FISK (1991).

³⁹⁸ See WILHELM (1973); *idem* (1982); see also RAINEY (1976a).

³⁹⁹ Cf. EDZARD (1976).

⁴⁰⁰ EDZARD (1980); ARNAUD (1991c: 8, n. 2).

⁴⁰¹ ARNAUD (1991c), cf. also NA'AMAN (2005: 315–316).

⁴⁰² Cf. HUEHNERGARD (1996). The tablet was brought to the United States by means of an antiquities purchase. At the time of Huehnergard's publication it was held (on loan) at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, Harvard University.

⁴⁰³ Cf. EDZARD (1970: 55–62); for a different dating of the Kumidi texts, see NA'AMAN (1988).

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. EDZARD (1970: 50, fig. 10/1; 52, fig. 12; 55–56).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. EDZARD (1970: 50, fig. 10/2; 53, fig. 13/1; 56).

Kumidi 6 (KL 74: 300), lines 1–4.⁴⁰⁶

01	<i>a-na M.LÚ.GAL be-lt-ia</i>	01	To the magnate, my master,
02	<i>qí-bí-ma</i>	02	speak;
03	<i>um-ma M.e-ŠI-ra-BI</i>	03	thus (says) Eširabi(?),
04	<i>ÌR-ka₄ a-na GÌR<.MEŠ> EN-ia</i> <i>am-qú-ut</i>	04	your servant: I fall at the feet of my master.

Arnaud (1991), lines 1–4.⁴⁰⁷

01	<i>[a-na LÚ KUR.a-m]u-ri</i>	01	[To the ruler of Am]urru,
02	<i>[qí-bí-ma um-ma M.L]Ú.GAL</i>	02	[speak: thus (says) the m]agnate,
03	<i>[AD-ka D.UTU⁴⁰⁸] šu-lum-ka₄</i> <i>šu-lum MEŠ⁴⁰⁹ Ê-ka₄</i>	03	[your father: May the Sun] /ask after/ your well-being, the well-being of your household
04	<i>[ù šu-lum gáb-b)i-ka₄ li-iš-al</i>	04	[and the well-being of everything (that belongs)] to you.

Huehnergard (1996), lines 1–2.⁴⁰⁹

01	<i>a-na LÚ.GAL a-bi-ia 'um-ma'</i>
02	<i><M.>DINGIR-ra_x-pí-i⁴¹⁰ DUMU-<ka> a-na GÌR.<MEŠ>-<ka> am-qut</i>

01	To the magnate, my father; 'thus'
02	(says) Illirapi', <your> son: I fall at <your> feet.

Text	Structure of the opening passage
Kumidi 1 (KL 69: 277), lines 1–4	(i) Heading <i>ana ADDRESSEE_{PN+TIT} — VERBAL FORM — umma</i> <i>SENDER_{TIT+ma}</i> (*) Statement concerning the message
Kumidi 2 (KL 69: 279), lines 1–5	(i) Heading <i>ana ADDRESSEE_{PN+TIT} — VERBAL FORM — umma</i> <i>SENDER_{TIT+ma}</i> (*) Statement concerning the message
Kumidi 6 (KL 74: 300), lines 1–4	(i) Heading <i>ana ADDRESSEE_{TIT+EXT} — VERBAL FORM — umma</i> <i>SENDER_{PN+EXT}</i> (ii) Salutations PROSTRATION
Arnaud (1991), lines 1–4 ⁴¹⁰	(i) Heading <i>ana ADDRESSEE_{TIT} — VERBAL FORM — umma</i> <i>SENDER_{TIT+EXT}</i> (ii) Salutations DIVINE BLESSINGS
Huehnergard (1996), lines 1–2	(i) Heading <i>ana ADDRESSEE_{TIT+EXT} — umma</i> <i>SENDER_{PN+EXT}</i> (ii) Salutations PROSTRATION

Table 10 Structures of the opening passages, employed in the Kumidi letters.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. EDZARD (1976: 62–64).⁴⁰⁷ Cf. ARNAUD (1991c: 11–12; 14–15).⁴⁰⁸ ARNAUD (1991c: 11) suggests here a reconstruction DINGIR.MEŠ-mu.⁴⁰⁹ Cf. HUEHNERGARD (1996: 100–102).⁴¹⁰ Based on the reconstruction.

With regard to the standard letter format, the two letters addressed by the Egyptian king, i.e. Kumidi 1 and Kumidi 2, stand apart. While the remaining three documents utilise a standard two-fold structure, consisting of the opening passage followed by the body of the letter, in Kumidi 1 – and it is highly probably that it has been also employed in Kumidi 2⁴¹¹ – the letter's structure has been extended by a closing formula containing a report on the sender's well-being, i.e. on the well-being of the Egyptian king.⁴¹² The two texts differ from the remaining Kumidi letters also in relation to components employed within the opening passages. While the opening passages of the remaining three letters contain 'standard' components, recognised in other epistolary documents, the two 'Egyptian' letters comprise, in particular, a message or statement from the sender that the letter is addressed to the addressee. The purpose of this message is, so far, only witnessed in the Amarna archive, in particular with letters addressed by the king of Egypt to his subordinates, cf. 'I am herewith sending this tablet to you, saying to you'.⁴¹³ In spite of the differences, in all five letters the heading is composed in a way in which the identification of the addressee⁴¹⁴ precedes the identification of the sender introduced by a particle *umma*,⁴¹⁵ followed in three cases⁴¹⁶ by a verbal form (*qibīma*). Concerning the salutations, the letter Arnaud (1991) contains an expression of divine blessings (in lines 3–4) in a type that is, outside the Amarna corpus, known from the following two texts – Taanach 1 (lines 5–7) and Hazor 10 (lines 4–6). Another parallel in relation to the Amarna letters is represented in the final part of the opening passages in Kumidi 6 (line 4) and Huehnergard (1996) (line 2), i.e. a prostration formula. In both cases the act of prostration, serving as a manifestation of obeisance to the addressee, takes the most simple form.

Qaṭna (Tell Mishrife)

Only recently, has an extremely important contribution to our knowledge of epistolary Peripheral Akkadian been revealed by means of the excavations conducted by an international Syrian – Italian – German joint project at the Syrian site of the ancient Qaṭna (modern day Tell Mishrife).⁴¹⁷

⁴¹¹ The lower part of the tablet is unfortunately broken off.⁴¹² Cf. lines 12–18: 'And know that the king is hale like the Sun in the sky. For his troops, his chariots in multitude, from the Upper Land to the Lower Land, from the s[un]rise to the sunset, [all goes very well.]'⁴¹³ For its Egyptian equivalent 'This letter is sent to you, to the following effect,' literally 'this writing of speaking,' i.e. Eg. *jn.tw n=k ss pn n dd hm' dd*. For the literal translation cf. CAMINOS (1954: 4; cf. pBologna 1094, 1,4); *idem* (1954: 7; cf. pBologna 1094, 1,9); *idem* (1954: 13; cf. pBologna 1094, 3,6); *idem* (1954: 13; cf. pBologna 1094, 4,2); *idem* (1954: 83, cf. pAnastasi III, 3,9); *idem* (1954: 91–92, cf. pAnastasi III, 5,5); *idem* (1954: 95, cf. pAnastasi III, 6,2 – 6,3); *idem* (1954: 100, cf. pAnastasi III, 6,11); *idem* (1954: 260, cf. pAnastasi V, 22,1); *idem* (1954: 304, cf. pSallier I, 3,6); *idem* (1954: 305, cf. pSallier I, 4,0 – 4,1); *idem* (1954: 312, cf. pSallier I, 5,5); *idem* (1954: 315, cf. pSallier I, 6,1); *idem* (1954: 317, cf. pSallier I, 6,10); *idem* (1954: 319, cf. pSallier I, 7,9); *idem* (1954: 321, cf. pSallier I, 8,2 – 8,3); *idem* (1954: 324, cf. pSallier I, 8,7); *idem* (1954: 355, cf. pSallier IV verso, vs. 9,1); *idem* (1954: 438, cf. pKoller, 3,4 – 3,5); *idem* (1954: 469, cf. pTurlin B, vs. 2,4); *idem* (1954: 497, cf. pLeyden 348, vs. 9,7), for the texts consult GARDINER (1937); and BAKIR (1970: 41–64) with further references. Cf. EA 99, EA 367, EA 369 and EA 370.⁴¹⁴ Only in Kumidi 6 and Huehnergard (1996) an extended form of the identification is used.⁴¹⁵ The extended form of the identification is used in Kumidi 6 and Huehnergard (1996), in Arnaud (1991) it is reconstructed.⁴¹⁶ Cf. Kumidi 1; Kumidi 2 and Kumidi 6; in Arnaud (1991) the injunction to speak is reconstructed.⁴¹⁷ For the previous archaeological works of Robert du Mesnil du Buisson at the site during the nineteen twenties, consult primarily DU MESNIL DU BUISSON (1935). During the second excavation season, several cuneiform tablets were unearthed in the temple complex of NIN-É.GAL, identifying, beyond doubt, the site as the ancient Qaṭna; for the tablets see BOTTÉRO (1949); *idem* (1950a); *idem* (1950b). Since 1999, the works have been carried out by teams from the University of Udine (directed by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi), the Directorate of Antiquities of the Republic of Syria (directed by Michel al-Maqdissi), and the Altorientalisches Seminar of the University of Tübingen (directed by Peter Pfälzner), see especially AL-MAQDISSI (eds.) (2002); AL-MAQDISSI – DOHMANN-PFÄLZNER – PFÄLZNER – SULEIMAN (2003); AL-MAQDISSI (1996); *idem* (2001); *idem* (2002a); *idem* (2002b); *idem* (2003); AL-MAQDISSI – MORANDI BONACOSS (2005); BADAWI, M. – LUCIANI, M. – MORANDI BONACOSS, D. – NOVÁK, M. – PFÄLZNER, P. (2000); *idem* (2001); *idem* (2002a); *idem* (2002b); *idem* (2003); NOVÁK (2004).

In 2002, a large corpus of 67 tablets and fragments belonging to a local royal archive from the Late Bronze Age period⁴¹⁸ was discovered within the area of the royal palace. The majority of tablets was located in the southern part of the subterranean corridor (AQ1; 'Areal 8683,' altogether 65 tablets) leading from the throne room, while the remaining two tablets were discovered in its northern section, in the vicinity of the northern palace wall (AZ; 'Areal 8685'). However, before the destruction of this part of the palace by fire, the tablets had been originally stored in a common storage place on the first floor.⁴¹⁹ The corpus of tablets, known today as the 'Idadda's (Idanda's) Archive,'⁴²⁰ contained documents written in Peripheral Akkadian, though very strongly influenced by the Hurrian language, i.e. the so-called Hurro-Akkadian.⁴²¹ In addition to administrative texts (altogether 58 tablets), i.e. a category known already from the previous excavations, and juridical documents (4 tablets) there were also five letters identified among the newly discovered tablets.⁴²² These letters, labelled as MSH02G-i0193, MSH02G-i0194+284, MSH02G-i0274 (a double letter), MSH02G-i0275 and MSH02G-i0276, were addressed by three different senders to the local ruler, Idadda (Idanda).⁴²³

Another fragment of a letter was brought to light at Qatna during 'Operation H' of the Italian archaeological mission. Unfortunately, the tablet was discovered in a secondary context and only the lower part of the tablet (MSH01-H 1993.1) has been preserved, so it is impossible to reconstruct the original structure of the opening passage.⁴²⁴

MSH02G-i0193, lines 1–3.

01	<i>a-na M.id-a-an-da</i>	01	To Idanda;
02	<i>um-ma M.ḥa-an-nu-ut-ti</i>	02	thus (says) Ḥannutti:
03	<i>lu-ú šul-mu a-na UGU-ka</i>	03	May it be well with you.

MSH02G-i0194+284, lines 1–5.

01	<i>a-na M.id-a-an-da ŠEŠ-ia</i>	01	To Idanda, my brother;
02	<i>um-ma M.da-ku-wa ŠEŠ-ka</i>	02	thus (says) Takuwa, your brother:
03	<i>bu-lu-uṭ lu-ú šul-mu</i>	03	Live! May it be well
04	<i>a-na UGU-ka SUKKAL-ka</i>	04	with you. With your governor
05	<i>É.GAL lu-ú šul-mu</i>	05	(and) with the palace, may it be well.

MSH02G-i0274, lines 1–6.

01	<i>a-na M.id-a-an-da</i>	01	To Idanda
02	<i>ù a-na LÚ.URU-ia-ni-na</i>	02	and to URU-ianina;
03	<i>um-ma M.ḥa-an-nu-ut-ti</i>	03	thus (say) Ḥannutti
04	<i>ù um-ma M.da-ku-wa</i>	04	and Takuwa,

⁴¹⁸ For the Old Babylonian tablets, see RICHTER (2003a: 182–183) with further literature. For the epigraphic material from the royal palace, consult especially RICHTER (2001), *idem* (2002), *idem* (2003a), *idem* (2003b), *idem* (2004) and *idem* (2005).

⁴¹⁹ For the architecture, consult especially NOVÁK – PRÁZNÝ (2003); for the texts, see RICHTER (2003a: 136), *idem* (2005: 110).

⁴²⁰ For the inaccuracy of the label 'archive', see Richter (2005: 110–111): 'The fact that the administrative documents, on the one hand, and the letters, on the other, have many personal names in common (and thus cannot reflect an extended period of time) suggests that these texts do not constitute an "archive" but more likely "daily business" of various kinds.' For Idanda, consult RICHTER (2003b: 610–611).

⁴²¹ RICHTER (2005: 112).

⁴²² Cf. RICHTER (2003a: 171), *idem* (2005: 109).

⁴²³ Cf. Thomas Richter, *personal communication* (October 6, 2005); I would like to express my sincere thanks to Th. Richter, who provided me with the not-yet-published opening passages of the Qatna letters and allowed me to study them, as well as to include them in this chapter. See also RICHTER (2003a: 171); *idem* (2005: 109).

⁴²⁴ For the translation, see EIDEM (2003: 165); for a physical description of the tablet, see *idem* (2003: 165, n. 3). For the corpus of administrative tablets, consult EIDEM (2003: 164–167). For a discussion on the administrative tablets discovered in the Late Bronze Age palace in the Area AK, see EIDEM (2007). Altogether, 43 tablets and related fragments were discovered in the 'Lower City Palace' so far, EIDEM (2007: 298).

05	<i>ŠEŠ-ka bu-lu-uṭ</i>	05	your brother: Live!
06	<i>a-na UGU-ku-nu lu-ú šul-mu</i>	06	May it be well with you.

MSH02G-i0275, lines 1–3.

01	<i>a-na M.id-a-an-ta be-lf-ia LÚ.a-bi-ia</i>
02	<i>um-ma M.šar-ru-ta-še DUMU- 'ka-na' -ka-ma</i>
03	<i>a-na UZU.GÌR.MEŠ be-lf-ia LÚ.a-bi-ia am-qut</i>

01	To Idanda, my master (and) my father;
02	thus (says) Šarrutaše, your son:
03	At the feet of my master (and) my father, I fall.

MSH02G-i0276, lines 1–6.

01	<i>a-na M.id-a-an-da ŠEŠ-ia</i>	01	To Idanda, my brother;
02	<i>um-ma M.ta-ku-wa ŠEŠ-ka</i>	02	thus (says) Takuwa, your brother:
03	<i>bu-lu-uṭ lu-ú šul-mu</i>	03	Live! May it be well
04	<i>a-na UGU-ka SUKKAL-ka</i>	04	with you. With your /great/ governor
05	<i>GAL šal-mu-ka SIG₅-qiš</i>	05	(and) your good well-being,
06	<i>lu-ú šul-mu</i>	06	may it be well.

Text	Structure of the opening passage
MSH02G-i0193, lines 1–3	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} (ii) Salutations GREETINGS
MSH02G-i0194+284, lines 1–5	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN+EXT} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN+EXT} (ii) Salutations GREETINGS
MSH02G-i0274, lines 1–6	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN} <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN+EXT} (ii) Salutations GREETINGS
MSH02G-i0275, lines 1–3	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN+EXT} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN+EXT} <i>-ma</i> (ii) Salutations PROSTRATION
MSH02G-i0276, lines 1–6	(i) Heading <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{PN+EXT} — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{PN+EXT} (ii) Salutations GREETINGS

Table 11 Structures of the opening passages employed in the Qatna letters.

Despite the fact that the Qatna epistolary corpus is very limited with regard to the number of preserved documents, we can recognize some unifying elements in the format of the opening passages. In all the letters, the opening passage consists of two separate parts – a heading and salutations. Concerning the heading we can stress that in all cases the heading is of a very simple form. It is composed of the identification of both correspondents. First comes the identification of the addressee and it is followed by the identification of the sender introduced by a particle

umma.⁴²⁵ In none of the letters is a verbal form present. A different situation can be observed with the salutations. Whereas in four cases the salutations consist of various greetings (MSH02G-i0193, MSH02G-i0194+284, MSH02G-i0274, and MSH02G-i0276), in MSH02G-i0275 the prostration act is preserved. In the following three cases – MSH02G-i0194+284, MSH02G-i0274, MSH02G-i0276 – the greetings, next to the wishes of well-being to the addressee, extended to other subjects as well, involve also an imperative part 'Live!', preceding the wishes and attested in a slightly different form, i.e. 'Live well!' in a letter Taanach 1, line 4 (see above).

Ugarit (Ras Shamra)

However, by far the largest number of epistolary texts written in Peripheral Akkadian comes from the Syrian site of the ancient Ugarit (modern day Ras Shamra). The archaeological excavations that have been conducted at the site since 1929,⁴²⁶ brought to light several thousand tablets, many of which were written in Peripheral Akkadian⁴²⁷ and some of them can be classified as a primary medium of 'international' communication.

In 1999, J. Huehnergard, in his overview of Akkadian epistolary documents from Ugarit, mentioned a total of 354 published and unpublished letters, as well as relevant letter fragments.⁴²⁸ In 2001 the number of published epistolary texts from Ugarit was slightly increased through the volume of RSO XIV containing several letters discovered in 1986,⁴²⁹ 1988⁴³⁰ and 1992.⁴³¹

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 1.[056]	VIROLLEAUD (1929: pl. LXXVI, No. 1)	Louvre, AO 12.040
RS 1.[057]	VIROLLEAUD (1929: pl. LXXVI, No. 2)	Louvre, AO 12.041
RS 1-11. [028]	unpublished	Louvre, AO 19.952
RS 4.449	VIROLLEAUD (1936: 21–26), photo Schaeffer (1939: pl. XXVI, fig. 3)	Louvre, AO 18.888
RS 6.198	THUREAU-DANGIN (1935: 188–193, 153 fig. 8 [photo])	Louvre, AO 18.889
RS 8.333	PRU III: 7–8	Louvre, AO 19.955
RS 10.046	PRU III: 9–10, pl. II	National Museum of Aleppo, M 3412 = A 2788
RS 11.723	PRU III: 9, pl. III	Louvre, AO 19.950

⁴²⁵ Only in the letter MSH02G-i0274 are both the addressee and the sender two separate individuals, i.e. Idanda and URU-lanina (addressees) and Hannutti and Takuwa (senders).

⁴²⁶ For a general overview of the excavations at Ras Shamra, Ras Ibn Hani and Minet el-Belda, consult mainly the volumes of *Ugaritica* (see Ug I–VII) and *Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (see RSO I, III, VI, VIII–XI, XIII–XVI) and regular archaeological reports (in AAS/AAAS, CRAIBL, Syria), see also recent overviews in GALLIANO – CALVET (eds.) (2004) and YON (2006), with references to further studies. For Ras Ibn Hani, see BOUNNI – LAGARCE, E. – LAGARCE, J. (1998).

⁴²⁷ In addition to Peripheral Akkadian, the following languages are in evidence – Ugaritic, Sumerian, Hurrian, Hittite and Luwian, Egyptian, Phoenician and documents written in the Cypro-Minoan script. For the Akkadian of Ugarit, see above all HUEHNERGARD (1989) and VAN SOLDT (1991); for the publications of textual material, consult above all the following volumes *Palais Royal d'Ugarit* (see PRU II–VI); *Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (RSO II, IV, VII, XII, XIV); *Ugaritica* (Ug V); for an edition of the documents in Ugaritic, consult primarily *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (KTU: second, enlarged edition) (CAT); for the concordance see BORDREUIL – PARDEE (1989) with related bibliography in CUNCILOS (1990).

⁴²⁸ HUEHNERGARD (1999: 381–389).

⁴²⁹ Cf. RS 86.2208; RS 86.2211; RS 86.2212+86.2214A; RS 86.2216; RS 86.2221+86.2225+86.2226+86.2240; RS 86.2223; RS 86.2230; RS 86.2232; RS 86.2234 (photograph only, cf. ARNAUD 2001: 287, fig. 13); RS 86.2236; RS 86.2241; RS 86.2249.

⁴³⁰ Cf. RS 88.2009; RS 88.2011; RS 88.2013; RS 88.2158.

⁴³¹ Cf. RS 92.2006; RS 92.2007; RS 92.2017; RS 92.2021. Altogether, 212 Akkadian letters were discovered in the House of Urtenu, MALBRAN-LABAT (*pers. communication*), see also BORDREUIL – MALBRAN-LABAT (1995); MALBRAN-LABAT (1995a); *idem* (1995b); MALBRAN-LABAT – LACKENBACHER (2001); CALVET (2004); MALBRAN-LABAT (2004); LACKENBACHER – MALBRAN-LABAT (2005).

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 11.730	PRU III: 12–13, pl. III, pl. V fig. 5 [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 3372 = A 2794
RS 11.794	PRU III: 17–18, pl. V	Louvre, AO 19.960
RS 11.834	PRU III: 17, pl. VII	National Museum of Aleppo, M 3420 = A 2805
RS 12.005	PRU III: 16–17, pl. VIII, pl. V fig. 6 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3676
RS 12.033	PRU III: 14–15, pl. IX, pl. VII fig. 7 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3683
RS 13.007 B	PRU III: 6, pl. X	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3695
RS 15.011	PRU III: 19, pl. XII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3903
RS 15.014	PRU III: 5, pl. XIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3563
RS 15.018	PRU III: 11–12, pl. XIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3908
RS 15.019	PRU III: 13, pl. XIV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3909
RS 15.024 + 15.050	PRU III: 18, pl. XIV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3914
RS 15.033	PRU III: 15–16, pl. XV, pl. VIII fig. 9 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3919
RS 15.063	PRU III: 20, pl. XVII, VIII fig. 10 [photo]	Tartus Museum, 509
RS 15.077	PRU III: 6–7, pl. XVIII, pl. IX fig. 11 [photo]	Tartus Museum, 510
RS 15.108	PRU III: 20–21, pl. XXI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3980
RS 15.124	PRU III: 21, pl. XXVI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 3992
RS 15.178	PRU III: 8–9, pl. XXXVI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4031
RS 16.003	PRU III: 3–4, pl. XXXIX	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4222
RS 16.111	PRU III: 13–14, pl. XL	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4235
RS 16.112	PRU III: 4, pl. XL	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4236
RS 16.116	PRU III: 10, pl. XLI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4238
RS 17.078	PRU IV: 196–197, pl. V	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4557
RS 17.083	PRU IV: 216, pl. IX	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4562
RS 17.116	PRU IV: 132–134, pl. XI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4582
RS 17.130	PRU IV: 103–105, pl. XV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4592
RS 17.132	PRU IV: 35–37, pl. XVI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4594
RS 17.133	PRU IV: 118–119, pl. XVII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4595
RS 17.142	PRU VI: no. 4, 5–6, pl. II	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4603
RS 17.143	PRU IV: 217–218, pl. XVIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4604
RS 17.144	PRU VI: no. 6, 7–9, pl. III	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4605
RS 17.148	PRU VI: no. 7, 9–11, pl. IV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4609
RS 17.152	PRU IV: 214, pl. XXI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4613
RS 17.239	PRU VI: no. 8, 11–12, pl. IV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4631
RS 17.247	PRU IV: 191, pl. XXXII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4638
RS 17.286	PRU IV: 180, pl. XXXIV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4644
RS 17.288	PRU IV: 215, pl. XXXV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4646
RS 17.289	PRU IV: 192, pl. XXXV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4647
RS 17.292	PRU IV: 188, pl. XXVI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4649
RS 17.315	PRU IV: 111, pl. XXXIX	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4658
RS 17.383	PRU IV: 221–223, pl. LXVI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4717
RS 17.385	PRU IV: 194, pl. LXVII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4719
RS 17.390	PRU VI: no. 10, 13–14, pl. V	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4723
RS 17.391	PRU IV: 226, pl. LXVII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4724
RS 17.393	PRU IV: 226–227, pl. LXVIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4726
RS 17.394 + 17.427	PRU IV: 220, pl. LXIX	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4727
RS 17.398	PRU VI: no. 11, 14, pl. V	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4730
RS 17.422	PRU IV: 223–225, pl. LXXII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4735
RS 17.423	PRU IV: 193, pl. LXXIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4736

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 17.424		
C + 17.397 B	<i>PRU</i> IV: 219–220, pl. LXXIV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4535
RS 17.425	<i>PRU</i> IV: 218, pl. LXXV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4737
RS 17.428	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 9, 12–13, pl. V	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4739
RS 17.429	<i>PRU</i> IV: 227–228, pl. LXXV	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4740
RS 17.451	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 12, 14–15, pl. V	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 17.452	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 5, 6, pl. II	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 17.455	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 3, 5, pl. II	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 17.456	<i>PRU</i> IV: 228, pl. LXXVI	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 18.003	<i>PRU</i> IV: 103–105, pl. LXXVIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4755
RS 18.054 A	<i>PRU</i> IV: 228–229, pl. LXXXI	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 18.057	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 13, 15, pl. VI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4800
RS 18.089	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 15, 17–18, pl. VI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4817
RS 18.268	<i>PRU</i> IV: 229, pl. LXXXIV	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 18.281	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 17, 19, pl. VII	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 19.006	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 1, 2, pl. I	National Museum of Damascus, DO 4993
RS 19.050	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 14, 15–17, pl. VI	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5037
RS 19.053	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 18, 19–21, pl. VII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5040
RS 19.070	<i>PRU</i> IV: 294, pl. LXXXVIII; <i>Ug</i> IV: 64, fig. 49 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5055
RS 19.080	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 2, 2–5, pls. I–II; <i>Ug</i> IV: 64, fig. 50 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5062
RS 19.115	<i>PRU</i> VI: no. 19, 21, pl. VIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5091
RS 20.003	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 26, 91–94, 384, 709–711 figs. 35, 35A and 35B [photos]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5266
RS 20.013	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 49, 136–138, 395	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5276
RS 20.015	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 53, 143–145, 396	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5278
RS 20.016	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 38, 117–120, 391	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5279
RS 20.017	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 43, 128–129, 393	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5280
RS 20.018	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 22, 83–85, 382, 700 fig. 31 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5281
RS 20.019	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 48, 135–136, 394	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5282
RS 20.021	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 42, 126–128, 392	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5284
RS 20.022	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 27, 94–97, 385, 713–714 figs. 36 and 36A	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5285
RS 20.023	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 54, 145–147, 397	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5286
RS 20.033	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 20, 69–79, 380–381, 641 figs. 22, 22A–G	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5290
RS 20.095	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 65, 161, 400	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5291
RS 20.130	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 46, 132–133, 394	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5301
RS 20.141 A + 20.152	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 76 + no. 154, 169–170, 401	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5313 + DO 5324
RS 20.141 B	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 34, 107–108, 388, 735 fig. 45 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5314
RS 20.150	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 56, 149–150, 398	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5322
RS 20.151	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 50, 138–139, 395	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5323
RS 20.158 + 20.195 R	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 51, 139–141, 395	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5330
RS 20.159	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 74, 168, 401	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5331
RS 20.162	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 37, 115–116, 390, 691 fig. 27 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5334
RS 20.168 + 20.195 P	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 21, 80–83, 382, 694 fig. 28 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5341

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 20.172	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 39, 120–122, 390	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5343
RS 20.174 A	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 25, 90–91, 384, 704 fig. 32	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5346
RS 20.178	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 55, 147–149, 397	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5350
RS 20.182 A (+) B	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 36, 111–114, 389	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5353 + DO 5354
RS 20.182 C	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 63, 159, 400	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5355
RS 20.182 D	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 67, 162–163, 400	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5356
RS 20.184	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 28, 97–100, 386, 715 fig. 37	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5358
RS 20.189 D	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 73, 167, 401	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.191	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 75, 168–169, 401	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5363
RS 20.194	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 62, 158–159, 399	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5366
RS 20.196 D	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 77, 170, 401	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.200 A	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 78, 170–171, 402	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5370
RS 20.200 B	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 40, 122–123, 390	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.200 C	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 29, 100, 386, 716 fig. 38 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.212	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 33, 105–107, 388, 727–729 figs. 42, 42A and 42B	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5380
RS 20.214 D	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 79, 171, 402	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5383
RS 20.216	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 35, 108–110, 389, 720 fig. 39	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5385
RS 20.219	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 44, 129–131, 393	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5388
RS 20.225	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 45, 131–132, 394	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.227	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 57, 151–154, 398	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5393
RS 20.232	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 58, 154–155, 399	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5397
RS 20.237	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 31, 102–104, 387, 718 fig. 38A [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5401
RS 20.238	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 24, 87–89, 383, 698 fig. 30 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5402
RS 20.239	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 52, 141–143, 396	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5403
RS 20.242	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 72, 166–167, 401	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.243	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 32, 104–105, 387, 716 fig. 38 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5405
RS 20.244 (probably identical with RS 21.063 ⁴³²)	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 61, 157–158, 399	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5406
RS 20.246	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 68, 163–164, 400	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5408
RS 20.248	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 59, 156, 399	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5410
RS 20.255 A	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 30, 100–102, 386, 734 fig. 44 [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5414
RS 20.426,14 (Pt 1858) + 21.072	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 70 + no. 69, 164–165, 401	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 20.438] (Pt 1844)	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 47, 133–134, 394	not indicated in <i>PRU</i> VI: 274
RSL 1 (RS [Varia 16])	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 23, 85–86, 383, 696 figs. 29 and 29A	Louvre, AO 21.087
RS 21.006 C (= RS 20.214 D)	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 80, 171, 402	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 21.007 C	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 71, 165, 401	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 21.054 B	<i>Ug</i> V: no. 66, 161–162, 400	National Museum of Damascus, without no.

⁴³² KOHNE (1974).

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 21.063 F (probably identical with RS 20.244) ⁴³³	<i>UgV</i> : no. 60, 156–157, 399	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 21.064	<i>UgV</i> : no. 64, 160–161, 400	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 21.183	<i>UgV</i> : no. 41, 124–126, 392	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5569
RS 21.201	<i>PRUVI</i> : no. 20, 21–22, pl. VIII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5573
RS 22.006	<i>PRUVI</i> : no. 16, 18, pl. VII	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5778
RS 22.216	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 36)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5786
RS 22.347	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 35)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 5814
RS 23.023	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 35–36)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6098
RS 23.031	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 37), <i>PRUVI</i> : 297 fig. 38 a [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6103
RS 23.365	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 35)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6120
RS 23.368	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 37)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6122
RS 25.131	LACKENBACHER (1989: 318, 320)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6690
RS 25.138	LACKENBACHER (1989: 318–320)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6697
RS 25.430 [A]	unpublished, ARNAUD (1992b: 193)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6719
RS 25.461	LACKENBACHER (1989: 317–318, 319)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6753
RS 26.158	<i>UgV</i> : no. 171, 322–324, 446, 730 and 732 figs. 43 and 43A [photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6789
RS 28.017	unpublished, MALBRAN-LABAT (1995b: 35–36)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 6798
RS 32.204	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 19, 50–51, pl. VI	National Museum of Aleppo, M 8570
RS 34.070 ⁴³⁴	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 29, 63–64, pl. VIII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. IV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 904
RS 34.129	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 12, 38–39, pl. IV; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 856
RS 34.130	unpublished, <i>Ug V</i> : pl. XII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 857
RS 34.133	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 36, 76–78, pl. XI; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XIV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 860
RS 34.134	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 31, 68–70, pl. IX; <i>Ug VII</i> : pls. XV–XVI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 867
RS 34.135	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 17, 46–48, pls. VI and XXI [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XVII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 861
RS 34.136	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 7, 29–31, pl. III; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XVIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 862
RS 34.137	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 37, 79–80, pl. XII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XIX [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 863
RS 34.138	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 8, 31–32, pl. III; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XX [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 906
RS 34.139	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 14, 41–42, pl. V; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 864
RS 34.140	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 11, 36–37, pl. IV; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 865
RS 34.141	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 32, 70–72, pls. IX and XXII [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 866
RS 34.142	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 47, 101–104, pl. XII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXIV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 868

⁴³³ KOHNE (1974).⁴³⁴ By MALBRAN-LABAT (1991: 63) considered as a juridical text.

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 34.143	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 6, 27–29, pl. II; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXV–XXVI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 869
RS 34.145	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 9, 32–34, pls. III and XX [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXVII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 871
RS 34.146	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 15, 42–44, pl. V; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXVIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 872
RS 34.149	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 38, 80–81, pls. XII and XXIV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 874
RS 34.150	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 10, 35–36, pl. IV; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 875
RS 34.151	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 13, 40–41, pls. V and XXI [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 876
RS 34.152	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 40, 84–86; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 877
RS 34.153	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 35, 75–76, pls. X and XXIII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXIV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 878
RS 34.154	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 18, 48–50, pl. VI; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 879
RS 34.155	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 21, 53–54, pls. VII and XXII [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXVI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 880
RS 34.158	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 16, 44–46, pls. VI and XXI [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 883
RS 34.159	unpublished	National Museum of Aleppo, M 884
RS 34.160	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 24, 57, pl. VIII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XXXIX [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 885
RS 34.161	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 22, 54–55, pl. VII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XL [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 886
RS 34.163	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 39, 83–84; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XLII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 887
RS 34.164	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 34, 73–74, pl. XI; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. XLIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 888
RS 34.165	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 46, 90–100, pl. XXIV [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pls. XLIV–XLV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 889
RS 34.167 + 34.175	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 25, 57–61, pls. VIII and XXII [photo]; <i>Ug VII</i> : pls. XLVII–XLVIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 898
RS 34.170	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 23, 56–57, pl. VII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LI [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 893
RS 34.171	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 20, 52–53, pl. VII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 894
RS 34.173	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 33, 72–73, pl. X; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LIII [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 896
RS 34.174	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 41, 86–87; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LIV [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 897
RS 34.180,5 (34.180 g)	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 42, 87; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LXI (g) [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 853
RS 34.180,13 (34.180 e)	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 28, 63, pl. VIII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LX (e) [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 853
RS 34.180,17 (34.180 f)	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 26, 61–62, pl. VIII; <i>Ug VII</i> : pl. LX (f) [photo]	National Museum of Aleppo, M 853
RS 34.180,60	<i>RSO VII</i> : no. 27, 62–63, pl. VIII	National Museum of Aleppo, M 853
RS 80.387	ARNAUD (1982a: 221–222)	not indicated, cf. <i>PRUVI</i> : 354
RS 86.2208	<i>RSO XIV</i> : no. 14, 273–275, 290 [photo], fig. 12	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7751

Text	Edition	Museum No.
RS 86.2211	RSO XIV: no. 17, 277–278, fig. 14	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7753
RS 86.2212 + 86.2214 A	RSO XIV: no. 11, 264–265, fig. 9	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7754
RS 86.2216	RSO XIV: no. 5, 257–258, fig. 7	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7758
RS 86.2221 + 86.2225 + 86.2226 + 86.2240	RSO XIV: no. 13, 267–272, 290 [photo], figs. 10–11	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7761
RS 86.2223	RSO XIV: no. 19, 279–280, fig. 15	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7763
RS 86.2230	RSO XIV: no. 18, 278–279, fig. 15	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7767
RS 86.2232	RSO XIV: no. 10, 264, fig. 9	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7769
RS 86.2234	RSO XIV: no. 16, 277, 290, fig. 13 [photo only]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7770
RS 86.2236	RSO XIV: no. 6, 258–259, fig. 7	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7772
RS 86.2241	RSO XIV: no. 20, 280	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7775
RS 86.2249	RSO XIV: no. 21, 280	National Museum of Damascus, without no.
RS 88.2009	RSO XIV: no. 2, 249–250, fig. 4 [including photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7784
RS 88.2011	RSO XIV: no. 3, 250–251, fig. 5 [including photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7785
RS 88.2013	RSO XIV: no. 4, 251–252, fig. 6 [including photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7787
RS 88.2158	RSO XIV: no. 1, 239–247, fig. 3 [including photo]	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7790
RS 92.2006	RSO XIV: no. 8, 261–262, fig. 8	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7797
RS 92.2007	RSO XIV: no. 7, 260–261, fig. 8	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7798
RS 92.2017	RSO XIV: no. 9, 262–264, 290 [photo], fig. 9	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7808
RS 92.2021	RSO XIV: no. 12, 265–266, fig. 14	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7811
RS 94.2177	unpublished, see MALBRAN-LABAT (2004: 108, no. 80)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7849
RS 94.2475	unpublished, see MALBRAN-LABAT (2004: 188, no. 177)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 7981
RS [Varia 10] (RS '1957.2')	ASTOUR (1971: 23–26, 28–29, pls. III–IV [photo])	Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont (CA)
RS [Varia 25]	ARNAUD (1982b: 102–103)	National Museum of Latakia, no. 7
RS [Varia 26]	RSO VII: no. 30, 66–67	National Museum of Latakia, no. 88
RS [Varia 27]	FALES (1984: 163–166, pl. XVII [photo])	private collection
RS [Varia 35]	unpublished	Louvre, AO 29.507
RIH 77/17	ARNAUD – KENNEDY (1979: 318, pl. VIII, 1)	not indicated, cf. PRUV/1: 364
RIH 78/12	BORDREUIL – CAQUOT (1980: 359–360)	National Museum of Damascus, DO 8506
RIH 81/4	ARNAUD (1984: 19, fig. 1 [photo])	
CK 7	ARNAUD (1991b: 219–220)	private collection

Table 12 An overview of Akkadian letters discovered at Ugarit.

Although J.-Cl. Courtois makes the suggestion that a majority of the diplomatic correspondence was originally housed in the area of the Eastern Archives of the Royal Palace,⁴³⁵ this suggestion cannot be accepted unequivocally. Based on the material published up to 1991, W. van Soldt was able to

⁴³⁵ COURTOIS (1988: 389–394).

reliably prove that this type of epistolary document was originally deposited not only in the Eastern, but also in the Central Archive and that the placement of individual documents into the respective archives had been based upon chronological principles, with earlier texts from the reign of Ammiš-tamru II stored in the Central Archive,⁴³⁶ whereas the later documents – from the reign of Ibiranu – were placed in the Eastern Archive.⁴³⁷ A large group of more than 150 tablets, originally considered to be dated to the very end of the existence of Ugarit, slightly before the final destruction of the city, were actually unearthed in a burnt layer of the ‘Cour V’ of the Royal Palace.⁴³⁸ However, a relatively large number of tablets originated also from the structures outside the Royal Palace, such as in the ‘House of Yabninu,’ and in the Residential Quarter (cf. the ‘House of the Scholar,’ the ‘House of Rasha-pabu,’ the ‘House of Rapanu’), in the South Central District (especially the ‘House of Urtenu’), in the South Acropolis Trench, as well as on the Acropolis (see especially the ‘House of the High Priest’).

A geographical scope of the letters discovered in Ugarit is quite strictly limited to northern regions. Only a few sites are represented both in the Ugaritic archives and among the Amarna letters, cf. Alašiya, Amurru, Beirut, Egypt, Ḫatti, Qadesh, Sidon, Tyre and Ugarit, in all cases being either large political entities or important trade and political centres.

Consistent with the place of discovery of the tablets, as well with their nature, it is only logical that the ‘incoming’ letters predominate in the Ugaritic archives, whereas the number of ‘outgoing’ documents is rather limited. However, this is far from being a surprising discovery. A similar situation is well illustrated within the Amarna corpus,⁴³⁹ where the letters of Egyptian origin represent only a small percentage of the preserved documents. In the same way as in Amarna, the ‘outgoing’ letters discovered in Ugarit are probably drafts, copies or undeliverable and returned letters. Chiefly on the basis of palaeography and typology of the material, J. Huehnergard, in 1989, classified only 11 letters in the latter corpus,⁴⁴⁰ while in 1999 the same author speaks about up to 43 epistolary⁴⁴¹ documents written in Ugarit and preserved both in Ugarit and in other places (such as Tell el-Amarna and Tel Aphek).

Concerning the structures of the opening passages of these letters, we can say in general, that in all these documents the opening passage consists of two elements – a heading and salutations. As in other places among the documents considered to be of an Ugaritic origin, the heading contains the identification of a sender, introduced by a particle *umma*, and an addressee, followed by a verbal form. Both types of heading, i.e. a type where the identification of the sender precedes the identification of the addressee (*umma* SENDER — *ana* ADDRESSEE), as well as the type where the addressee is mentioned first (*ana* ADDRESSEE — *umma* SENDER), are in evidence.⁴⁴² More varied is the formal structure of salutations. In these letters the salutations consist of various, loosely combined, elements, as seen in other corpora, such as a manifestation of obedience in situations where the sender is someone from a lower social rank than the addressee (i.e. a ‘prostration’), a wish of well-being to the addressee (i.e. ‘greetings’) and a demand for divine protection (i.e. ‘divine blessings’). There may follow a stereotyped statement of the sender’s well-being and a courteous plea for news concerning the addressee’s well-being.

A common denominator in a large number of the letters found in, as well as originating from, Ugarit is a prostration formula. This is also found in the Amarna corpus. In Ugarit, as well as in other places, it is the prostration act that is considered to be the main criterion for the classification of the

⁴³⁶ Or more precisely in the eastern wing of the Central Archive.

⁴³⁷ Cf. VAN SOLDT (1991: 61–73).

⁴³⁸ Consult especially CALVET (1990: 39–40, n. 2), YON (1992: 119), LOMBARD (1995: 229, n. 10), MILLARD (1995: 119, n. 2).

⁴³⁹ Cf. EA 1, EA 5, EA 14, EA 99, EA 162, EA 163, EA 190, EA 367 and EA 370. According to the petrographic analyses also EA 380 [EA 382 in GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 28)] and EA 339 were both written down in Egypt, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 28–29).

⁴⁴⁰ A minimalist approach of HUEHNERGARD (1989: 11–12).

⁴⁴¹ For a revision see HUEHNERGARD (1999: 375, 385–386).

⁴⁴² For the opening formulae in general, see SALONEN (1967); for Ugarit see KRISTENSEN (1977).

particular text among the so-called ‘vassal’ letters.⁴⁴³ The most simple form of salutation employed among the letters of the Ugaritic origin consists of two elements only, greetings (a wish of well-being limited to the addressee) and a call for divine blessings. This binominal structure can be further extended by a prostration act, preceding the greetings (i.e. ‘prostration’ — ‘greetings’ — ‘divine blessings’). However, the most complex structure of the salutation involves the following elements – the greetings, followed by the prostration and followed by other greetings to the addressee. However, in contrast to the above-mentioned types of structure, the formula of the well-being wish is further extended in this case – in the same way as in ‘royal’ correspondence – also to other members of the addressee’s family and his belongings. It is important to note that the third type of opening passage is evidenced exclusively in some epistolary documents of Ugaritic origin and it is thus possible to identify or confirm the Ugaritic origin of some other documents.⁴⁴⁴ Such an example, based on the material from Ugaritic archives, proves, without dispute, that an analysis of the opening passages can, to a certain degree, inspire further discussions on the origin as well as a dating of some epistolary documents.

Aphek (Tell Rosh ha-‘Ain)

Closely associated with the material found at Ugarit are documents discovered at Aphek (modern day Tell Rosh ha-‘Ain), located close to the sources of the Yarkon river.⁴⁴⁵ There are, altogether, eight tablets and fragments of a diverse nature concerned, including two letters.⁴⁴⁶ However, only Aphek 6 (52055/1) is sufficiently predicative in relation to the composition of the opening passage. This document is particularly important by virtue of the certainty as to its origin. The well-preserved opening passage also includes a heading in which both the sender and the addressee are explicitly stated (see lines 1–6).

Aphek 6 (52055/1), lines 1–11.⁴⁴⁷

01	<i>a-na M.ḥa-‘a’-ia</i> LÚ.GAL	01	To Ḥ‘a’ya, the magnate,
02	<i>a-bi-ia</i> EN-ia	02	my father, my master,
03	<i>qí-bi-ma</i>	03	speak;
04	<i>um-ma M.ta-ku-uḥ-li-na</i>	04	thus (says) Takublina,
05	LÚ.ŠA.KI KUR URU.ú-ga-ri-it	05	the prefect of the land of Ugarit,
06	<i>‘DUMU’-ka ‘IR’-ka</i>	06	your ‘son’ (and) your ‘servant’ (:)
07	<i>a-na GÌR.MEŠ ‘EN’-ia a-bi-ia am-qut</i>	07	At the feet of my master, my father, I fall.
08	<i>a-na muḥ-ḥi a-bi-ia</i> EN-ia	08	With my father, my master,
09	<i>lu-ú šul-mu</i> DINGIR.MEŠ	09	may it be well. May the gods of
	<i>ša</i> LUGAL GAL EN-ka		the great king, your master,
10	<i>ù</i> DINGIR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> KUR URU.ú-ga-ri-it	10	and the gods of the land of Ugarit

⁴⁴³ See the discussion in МЫНÁРОВА (2006a).

⁴⁴⁴ For a discussion on the formal structure of royal letters of Ugaritic origin consult this volume p. 108.

⁴⁴⁵ For the earlier salvage excavations, consult mainly ORY (1936), *idem* (1938). For further systematic excavations, see above all KOCHAVI (1977); KOCHAVI – BECK (1976); KOCHAVI *et al.* (1978); KOCHAVI – BECK – YADIN (eds.) (2000) with references to further studies.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Aphek 1 [5837; see RAINEY (1976c)] and Aphek 3 [8151; RAINEY (1976c)] being lexical lists; Aphek 2 [5936; RAINEY (1975c)] and Aphek 8 [52060/1; OWEN (1981)] are administrative documents; in the case of Aphek 4 [8552; RAINEY (1976c)] and Aphek 5 [8436; RAINEY (1976c)] due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the tablets it is impossible to determine their original nature for certain. On the other hand, a letter Aphek 6 [52055/1; OWEN (1981); SINGER (1983); EDZARD (1985)] is very well-preserved, while another letter – Aphek 7 – is too fragmentary and unsuitable for an analysis of the opening passage [27386/1; HALLO (1981); EDZARD (1985)].

⁴⁴⁷ Based on OWEN (1981: 2–3 figs. 1–2, pls. 1–2).

11	<i>lu-uk-ru-bu-ka</i>	11	bless you (and)
12	<i>li-iš-šu-ru-ka</i>	12	guard you.

Concerning the format⁴⁴⁸ of the opening passage preserved in the Aphek 6 letter, we can say that it is composed of two standard elements – the heading and the salutations. In the heading, the identification of the addressee (consisting of his personal name, followed by his title and extension made up of his honorific titles) is followed by the verbal form and an elliptical statement of speech with the sender’s identification, again consisting of his personal name, title and extended by an expression of his subordinate position to the addressee. Salutations consist of three elements. First comes a simple form of the prostration formula, followed by the greetings and a wish of divine blessings to the addressee.

Hazor

The expansion of the cuneiform scribal tradition to the southern areas of Syropalestine is illustrated by a corpus of documents discovered at Hazor. The earliest of these documents, dated to the Middle Bronze Age, were thus written down at the time, when the site became a centre of local cuneiform scribal tradition.⁴⁴⁹ Nevertheless, leaving aside the material dated to the Middle Bronze Age⁴⁵⁰ three more texts were discovered, dated to the Late Bronze Age. Two of these texts were administrative documents, i.e. Hazor 11 and Hazor 14,⁴⁵¹ while the third one – Hazor 10 (IAA 1997-3308) – was a letter addressed by a certain Adduapdi to Puratpurta.⁴⁵²

Hazor 10 (IAA 1997-3308), lines 01–06.⁴⁵³

01	<i>a-na M.pu-ra-at-pur-ta</i>	01	To Puratpurta,
02	<i>qí-bí-ma</i>	02	speak;
03	<i>um-ma M.ad-du-ap-‘di’</i>	03	thus (says) Adduap ‘di’(:)
04	DINGIR.MEŠ ù D.UTU <i>šu-lum-ka</i>	04	May the gods and the Sun /ask after/ your well-being,
05	<i>šu-lum É-ka</i> DUMU.MEŠ-ka	05	the well-being of your household, your sons
06	KUR- <i>ti-ka</i> li-iš-a-lu	06	(and) your land.

As usual, the letter’s structure consists of two parts – an opening passage and the body of the letter. The opening passage is composed of two standard elements, a heading and salutations. In the heading, a simple form of the identification of the addressee comes first, followed by a verbal form and an elliptical statement of speech with a simple form of the identification of the sender. The salutations are composed only of one element, an extended version of the wish of divine blessings to the addressee.

⁴⁴⁸ For a structural analysis of the letter, consult OWEN (1981: 4–6).

⁴⁴⁹ For Hazor as a centre of scribal education, see DEMSKY (1990: 158). For the dating of the Hazor texts, see recently HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 65–87); for a re-evaluation of the dating see DURAND (2006).

⁴⁵⁰ For its overview, including an MBA letter, as well as a letter fragment dated to the same period, consult primarily VAN DER TOORN (2000: 98) and HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 65–80; 83–86) with references to further literature; consult also, HOROWITZ – WASSERMAN (2004) with a response by ZIEGLER – CHARPIN (2006). For a badly preserved letter fragment, referred to as Hazor 15, see HOROWITZ – OSHIMA (2007). Concerning the date, the authors of the study eliminate neither the MBA nor the LBA dating of the fragment. Rather, they move towards the MBA dating, cf. HOROWITZ – OSHIMA (2007: 35).

⁴⁵¹ For a recent publication of the two administrative texts from Hazor, i.e. Hazor 11 (IAA 1997-3308) and Hazor 14 (Hazor 2000-61027), see HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 82; 86) with a complete bibliography.

⁴⁵² For the primary publication see HOROWITZ (2000); cf. also further studies: GOREN (2000); HESS (2001); HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 80–82).

⁴⁵³ Cf. most recently HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 80–81; 212; 230).

Gezer

A letter fragment, dated probably to the Late Bronze Age,⁴⁵⁴ was discovered, unfortunately not in a stratified context, during the winter of 1908–1909, at the site of Gezer and today, it is housed in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.⁴⁵⁵ The fragment only contains approximately 14 very badly damaged lines from the body of the letter, which means it impossible to reconstruct the opening passage of the document.

Tel el-Hesi

It is a very well-known fact that even one of the Amarna tablets – EA 333 – traditionally included among the Amarna letters, was found at the Palestinian site of Tel el-Hesi, and thus, in order to preclude any inaccuracies, the text will be compared to the remaing ‘Amarna’ material only for the conclusions.⁴⁵⁶

Tel el-Hesi 1 (EA 333), lines 1–3.⁴⁵⁷

01	[a-na L]Ú.GAL qí-bí-ma	01	[To the ma]gnate, speak;
02	[um-ma M.p]a-a-pí	02	[thus (says) P]apu:
03	‘a-na’ [G]ÌR.MEŠ-ka am-‘qú’-ut	03	I f‘a’ll ‘at’ your [f]eet.

The opening passage of EA 333 represents, indeed, a very simple structure in which only two elements are employed, i.e. the heading and the salutations. The identification of the addressee (by means of his title) occupies the first place in the heading, followed by the verbal form and the elliptical statement with an identification of the sender (by his personal name). Neither the addressee’s nor the sender’s identifications take the extended form. The salutations are composed of the prostration formula, consisting of a directional phrase which is followed by a verbal form *amqut* ‘I fall.’

Beth Shean

Contemporary to the Amarna corpus is an additional, and rather rather questionable, cylindrical epistolary document, found in a secondary context at Beth Shean, i.e. Beth Shean 2 (IAA 1997-3310). Though the real nature, as well as the dating, of the cylinder is still largely debated, it is still possible to include the overview of the opening passage in this section.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ Dated to the Late Bronze Age are also the following cuneiform documents discovered at various sites: a fragment of a lexical text from Ashqelon (Ash 97-50.49.1485), see HUHNERGARD – VAN SOLDT (1999); HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 42–43); an administrative text from Jericho (IAA 35.2878), see SMITH, S. (1934); HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 96); an administrative text containing names of witnesses from Shechem (IAA 32.2891), see BOHL (1926: 321–325), for further literature consult HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 123–125). Fragments of two more cuneiform tablets were also discovered in Pella (pit F80, Area III Plot C), dated slightly earlier than the Amarna archive, probably round 1550–1450 B.C., RN70417 and RN70418, both being, probably, administrative documents (lists), see BLACK (1992: 299–301, figs. 42–43 and pls. 40:1–40:2).

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Gezer 2 (Fl. 17, EŠ 2829); DHORME – HARPER (1912: I, 29–31); see also DHORME (1909); ALBRIGHT (1943c); IZRE’EL (1977); EDZARD (1985). For a fragment of a Middle Bronze Age envelope labelled as Gezer 1, see SHAFFER (1970). For Gezer cuneiform material, including texts from the first millennium B.C., see most recently HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 51–60) with references to further literature.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 92–94); see this volume, p. 28, n. 127.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. most recently HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 93; 214).

⁴⁵⁸ For an overview of various interpretations of the cylinder, see especially HOROWITZ (1996); RAINEY (1998); GOREN – FIN-KEILSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 259). Consult also HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 48–49).

Beth Shean 2 (IAA 1997-3310), lines 1–4.⁴⁵⁹

01	a-na la-ab-a-‘ia’	01	To Laba ‘ya’,
02	be-li-ia	02	my master,
03	qí-bí-ma	03	speak;
04	‘um-ma’ ta-gi	04	thus (says) Tagi(:)

In this case, the opening passage contains only the heading. The communication is addressed to Labaya and his identification is extended by the honorific title ‘my master’. Then comes a verbal form and an elliptical statement of speech introduced by *umma*. In contrast to the addressee’s identification, the sender is identified only by means of his personal name.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. most recently HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 48; 208; 225).

AMARNA LETTER FORMAT – AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE

As has been already stated in the previous chapter, the opening passages are usually considered to be the most standardized and invariable parts of the Amarna communications. However, in order to reach a more balanced and representative set of conclusions, it is necessary to analyze the individual texts, both in terms of the structure (including the individual elements) and of the language. The material available for this analysis – even though it does not represent 100 percent of the Amarna material – allows us to discuss the particular problems in a systematic manner and, subsequently, to arrive at a more general set of conclusions. Leaving aside the documents which do not include an opening passage or are not written in Peripheral Akkadian (i.e. scholarly texts, inventories, letters in other languages, continuations of earlier tablets, tablets with opening passages broken off or badly damaged and impossible to reconstruct, individual fragments) we can make use of a total of 290 opening passages, preserved in a total of 289 letters.⁴⁶⁰ Nevertheless, before we start to discuss the individual structural elements, their combinations and the specific texts in which these combinations are employed, it is essential to make comment specifically in relation to the nature of these particular passages and phrases, as well as on those persons responsible for writing them down, i.e. the scribes of Amarna.

The Scribes of Amarna

In general we can say that although the messages contained in these letters were addressed from one ruler to another, the individual rulers were not the persons who actually wrote the messages in their own hand. The people responsible for the recording of the messages – as part of their wider range of duties – were, of course, the scribes who were trained to fulfill these tasks. Furthermore, it is evident that the individual ‘authors’ of the messages, i.e. the rulers or other representatives of power, were not in a position to simply dictate the messages. First, this would have required them to have at least a basic knowledge of the Akkadian language and although we cannot be absolutely certain as to the level of their knowledge of Akkadian, we would probably not be too far from the truth if we assumed their ignorance in this respect. Second, but of no less importance, the dictation of a letter requires – even today – at least a basic knowledge of and experience in letter writing on the part of the person who is dictating the message. Thus the rulers would have had to acquire at least some capability in composing a letter, which is rather an improbable assumption. Thus the more probable scenario is that the ruler would have delivered his message to the scribe orally, in his own native tongue, and the scribe would have noted down the main content of the message. Then, the scribe would have been responsible for the preparation of the fair copy, which was to be sent and delivered to the recipient. Following on from this discussion point, we can address the issue of the extent to which the opening passages were contained in the dictated part of the letter. In this respect we can assume that the scribe must have been aware of the recipient of the message, i.e. he

⁴⁶⁰ For a more detailed discussion, see chapter 3, pp. 59–66, and especially table 6. The following Amarna documents could not be used, for various reasons, for the analysis: EA 4, EA 13, EA 14, EA 22, EA 24, EA 25, EA 31, EA 32, EA 36, EA 43, EA 46, EA 47, EA 56+361, EA 57, EA 66, EA 67, EA 69, EA 70, EA 72, EA 82, EA 101, EA 111, EA 113, EA 115, EA 120, EA 127, EA 128, EA 131, EA 133–135, EA 163, EA 167, EA 169, EA 172, EA 173, EA 179–181, EA 186, EA 190, EA 197, EA 208, EA 210, EA 214, EA 218, EA 219, EA 236, EA 237, EA 240, EA 245, EA 247, EA 251, EA 291, EA 310, EA 313, EA 335, EA 339–360, EA 368, EA 371–377, and EA 379–381.

must have been familiar with the identity of the addressee, information that would have been delivered to him by his master. We can take this line of reasoning even further. If it could be proven that the social rank and relationship between the sender and the addressee played a certain role in determining the particular opening passage employed in the letter, the announcement of the addressee's identification would provide the scribe with enough information to compose the opening passage in the required form.

Unfortunately, we are almost completely ‘in the dark’ as far as the identity of the scribes is concerned. However, it is clear that these scribes, who received their comprehensive training in ‘Mesopotamian-oriented cuneiform literacy’,⁴⁶¹ were evidently familiar not only with letter-writing but additional skills. The curriculum they followed was richer and included the study of texts for beginners, along with literary compositions for more advanced students.⁴⁶²

Despite the not always completely convincing evidence provided by Petrie in his reports concerning the discoveries at the Central City at Tell el-Amarna, as well as the subsequent doubts as to the credibility of his interpretations of the archaeological situation at the site,⁴⁶³ there are no fundamental reasons why the local ‘school’ should not have been located in the Q42.21. This is the location where both epistolary and educational documents were discovered. The nature of the documents discovered in this structure, however, confirms that it was not ‘only’ a place where the messages were kept (i.e. a royal archive) but that the building was at the same time a centre where scribes received their training.⁴⁶⁴ However, during the 1933–1934 excavation season the mission led by J. D. S. Pendlebury⁴⁶⁵ uncovered, east of the ‘Records Office,’ i.e. Q42.21, another ‘centre of education and scribal tradition,’ the so-called ‘House of Life’⁴⁶⁶ (*pr-ḥy*; Q42.19, Q42.20, Q42.31 and Q42.30),⁴⁶⁷ which was unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation.⁴⁶⁸ The proximity of these two structures was interpreted by Arzi⁴⁶⁹ as intentional and subsequently the whole area represented for him the meeting-place of two cultures, i.e. Egyptian and ‘Mesopotamian-oriented.’ Unfortunately, without going into detail, he divided the scribes of Akhetaten into two corresponding groups, i.e. the ‘Egyptian’ (in the ‘House of Life’) and the ‘cuneiform’ (in ‘The Place of the Correspondence of Pharaoh, l. p. h.’) staff. The two groups, according to him, lived in a state of mutual co-existence and the usage of certain formulae preserved in the Amarna letters implied the co-existence of Egypto-cuneiform systems. For Artzi, the daily contacts between the two groups of scribes had resulted in a letter formula which might have ensued either from team-work or bilingualism on the part of the ‘cuneiform staff.’ However, it is not clear as to why we should automatically postulate this ‘double structure’, i.e. keeping the ‘Egyptian’ and the ‘cuneiform’ staff completely apart from each other. A more plausible explanation seems to be that some of the scribes might have been competent in

⁴⁶¹ For more information and analysis, cf. ARTZI (1990: 140). For the education of scribes at Amarna, consult especially ARTZI (1986); *idem* (1990); *idem* (1992); IZRE'EL (1997: 9–13); VAN DER TOORN (2000: 105–107); and finally, on the education of Canaanite scribes, see DEMSKY (1990) with references to further literature.

⁴⁶² Cf. ARTZI (1990: 140).

⁴⁶³ For the discussion, see IZRE'EL (1997: 4–9) with references to relevant literature.

⁴⁶⁴ For a description of the place as *edubba*, see ARTZI (1990: 140); Artzi's statement (1990: 152) that the *edubba* was transferred to Amarna from Thebes is highly probable; during the reign of Ramesse II a similar structure might also have been located at Pi-Ramesse (the modern day Qantir, in the eastern Nile Delta), where a fragment of a badly damaged letter (FZN 03/0260), belonging to the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, was discovered in 2003, unfortunately out of a clear archaeological context, cf. PUSCH – JAKOB (2003); VAN DER TOORN (2000: 105) concisely labels the structure as a ‘centre of scribal learning’.

⁴⁶⁵ For a preliminary report, see PENDLEBURY (1935: esp. 133f.); for the final report including the excavations in the Central City, see PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 113f.).

⁴⁶⁶ For the impression of the stamp, see PENDLEBURY (1951: II, pl. LXXXIII VI), see also PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 115–116).

⁴⁶⁷ For a discussion on the ‘House of Life’, its meaning and function in Egyptian society, as well as its place in the education system of Ancient Egyptian scribes and the catalogue of occurrences, see GARDINER (1938).

⁴⁶⁸ PENDLEBURY (1935: 134) himself describes the state as being ‘in a terribly ruinous condition’. At present, the neighboring area of ‘Clerks Houses’ is also described as being ‘denuded or covered by debris,’ cf. KEMP – GARFI (1993: 29).

⁴⁶⁹ ARTZI (1990: 140).

both scribal traditions. Artzi's 'team-work theory,' however, requires further discussion. Nevertheless, it is quite difficult to imagine that a single text, and in particular one of an epistolary nature, might have been composed by two or more scribes. Could it have been that one of the scribes would write the message in Akkadian onto a clay tablet while the other one would give him advice concerning the Egyptian epistolary formulae? I suggest that this is a highly improbable scenario. If such were the case, we would also have to find a meaningful answer to the question 'How would they communicate with each other – in Egyptian or in Akkadian?'. However, here we reach the second option presented by Artzi in relation to some of the formulae, i.e. the bilingualism of the scribes. Nevertheless, even though we cannot be absolutely sure about it, it is not likely that in Amarna Peripheral Akkadian was, indeed, a spoken language. For Amarna, the usage of Akkadian was very strictly limited. Akkadian was understood to be the language of international relations and diplomacy, an instrument of written communication between the king and representatives of other political centres but not at all an instrument of daily communication between individuals. Although there might have been some 'foreigners' present in the office of the Pharaoh's correspondence, individuals who might have been 'responsible' for the education of other scribes,⁴⁷⁰ we might assume that the majority of the scribes were of local origin. A further sign of the co-operation between the 'Egyptian' and 'cuneiform' staff given by Artzi is realized through a series of short hieratic notations written on the surface of some of the letters. Nevertheless, even in this case the hieratic dockets might be taken as proof of the existence of scribes who were familiar with both Egyptian and Akkadian letter-writing.

Unfortunately, none of the responsible local scribes at Amarna, who were not only ordinary members of the court staff but actually high-ranking officials,⁴⁷¹ is known to us by name. There is actually only one instance where the name of a scribe is reliably preserved in the Amarna letters. The name of Kidin-Adad⁴⁷² can be found in EA 12: 23, cf. '23>Your servant, Kidin-Adad ²⁴*i-ša-ak-ni(?)*⁴⁷³ ²⁵⁻²⁶I would give my life for you, my master'. However, the scribes working at the royal court at Akhetaten are at least sometimes identified by their title.⁴⁷⁴ Since Albright's study in 1946, it has been widely accepted that the title of a responsible Amarna scribe can be recognized in a postscript of EA 316, addressed to the king's scribe. The Egyptianism *ša-aḥ-ši-ḥa-ši-ḥa*⁴⁷⁵ was connected by Albright⁴⁷⁶ with an Egyptian title *ss šc.t*,⁴⁷⁷ 'letter-writer' or 'epistolary secretary' and created a redundant title *ss šc.t* *ss.wt* 'letter-writer of letters'. With reference to *Wb* III, 480 and *Wb* IV, 419, Albright further stated that the title *ss šc.t* was attested from this period onwards and the fact that the title was also known in the Near East was illustrated by him through the reference to the Kadesh inscription⁴⁷⁸, as well as to the later Story of Wenamun.⁴⁷⁹ Despite the fact that the earliest attestations of this title

⁴⁷⁰ For the discussion on the subject of learning Akkadian by the Egyptians, consult especially BECKMAN (1983); WILHELM (1984); for the scribes of 'foreign' origin, see EDZARD (1985: 254–255) and a response by ARTZI (1985: esp. 270); *idem* (1992: 3–4); LÉVY¹ (1995b: 109–118); *idem* (1997: 10 n. 7); *idem* (2003: 73).

⁴⁷¹ Thus VAN DER TOORN (2000: 105) describes these scribes as 'secretaries' and their duties contained the following elements: (1) 'booking the messages'; (2) 'first screenings'; and (3) 'translations'.

⁴⁷² Written *M.ki-din-D.I.M*; for the name consult HESS (1993: 100).

⁴⁷³ For problems with the interpretation of the passage, see MORAN (1992: 24 n. 4).

⁴⁷⁴ Another mention of a scribe including his name can be found in EA 42: 27, however, the passage is too damaged to understand it correctly, cf. [...] LÜ.DUB.SAR M.ra-....

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. 'court archivist,' in: SCHULMAN (1964: 60 n. 73); 'Briefschreiber,' in: HELCK (1962: 478 n. 6); 'epistolary secretary,' in: COHAVI-RAINEY (1997: 104–105); 'letter writer, secretary,' in: VAN DER TOORN (2000: 101.) In EA 316: 16–17 cf. ¹⁶[a-n]a M.ša-aḥ-ši-ḥa-ši-ḥa [EN-ia] ¹⁷[u]m-ma M.pu-D.IŠKUR a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ-ka am-[qū-ut].

⁴⁷⁶ ALBRIGHT (1946: 20–21, no. 53).

⁴⁷⁷ However, the Egyptian term for the 'message' or 'letter,' i.e. *šc.t*, is also contained in the original name of the building, where the documents were kept, i.e. 'The Place of the Correspondence of Pharaoh, l. p. h.' (*ḥt s.t nṯ šc.wt pr-ḥt s. w. s.*), preserved on a series of mud-bricks, cf. PETRIE (1894: pl. XLII); PENDLEBURY (1951: I, 113–130). For the usage of the term *šc.t*, consult especially BAKIR (1970: 14–15).

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. KUENTZ (1928: 376); *KRI* II, 101, 11; KITCHEN (1996: 14).

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. GOLÉNICHEFF (1899: 2, 64).

from the time of the New Kingdom can be found in the tomb of the 'Mayor of the Southern City,' Sennefer (TT 96), at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and dating to the time of Amenhotep II,⁴⁸⁰ until now we do not have any reference to a holder of this title from Amarna itself.⁴⁸¹ Nevertheless, the usage of the title by the end of the 18th Dynasty is documented by means of an inscription that might have originated from a tomb of the 'overseer of the treasury,' Maya⁴⁸². On one of the loose-blocks discovered by J. E. Quibell at Saqqara, in the southernmost part of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, the 'letter-writer' Ptahmose is mentioned, depicted in the upper register. A group of foreigners, including men, women and children, is also registered.⁴⁸³

Nevertheless, the Egyptianism *ša-aḥ-ši-ḥa-ši-ḥa* in EA 316: 16 is not the only designation of scribes functioning at the Amarna royal court. In the postscripts of four letters from the ruler of Jerusalem, i.e. in EA 286: 61, EA 287: 64, EA 288: 62, and EA 289: 47, the scribe is identified as the 'king's/royal scribe' (*tupšar šarri*). On the one hand we can understand this identification as purely functional, describing the role of the official in charge of the correspondence, i.e. the 'scribe,' as well as his social position at the court, i.e. the 'king's' or 'royal' servant. However, on the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that the Akkadian expression might represent a translation of a certain Egyptian administrative title. Nevertheless, in both cases we can be sure that the way in which the 'scribe' was identified in these postscripts was fully functional. From the given context we can suppose that an honorific designation would not have been suitable. Regarding the second possibility, i.e. that there might be an existing Egyptian title hidden behind the Akkadian expression *tupšar šarri*, certain possibilities are provided by means of prosopographical material from Amarna. The Amarna age was no different to preceding periods in that the 'scribal titles' were well-spread among the individual officials and these might have expressed certain social or official positions of the holder within society. However, only two titles of the abundant Amarna repertoire appear to be of relevance to this discussion, i.e. 'royal scribe' (*ss nswt*) and 'true royal scribe' or 'royal secretary' (*ss nswt mšc.t*)⁴⁸⁴. According to the prosopography of the Amarna officials produced by Hari,⁴⁸⁵ there are altogether fifteen or fourteen⁴⁸⁶ holders of the title 'royal scribe,' while for the title 'royal secretary' has been attested to only eight holders so far. This figure, however, only illustrates that the title 'royal secretary' was less widely used, though it might also imply that its holders were of higher social rank than the 'royal scribes,' However, a more detailed study of the prosopographical material, summarized in table 13, reveals that it is impossible to draw more general conclusions in this respect, since no clear and explicit distribution of the titles can be recognized within this corpus. In some of the cases, however, it is obvious that both 'royal scribe' and 'royal secretary' might, in fact, simply be

⁴⁸⁰ PM I²: 197–203; the following three 'letter-writers,' inferiors of Sennefer, are attested: 'letter-writer of the mayor of the Southern City, his especial confidant, scribe ...' (*ss šc.t n ḥt.y-ḥt n njw.t nswt(slc) mḥ-jb m s.t=f ss [...]*; *Urk.* IV, 1434, 12; 'letter-writer of the mayor of the Southern City Sennefer, Baki' (*ss šc.t n ḥt.y-ḥt n njw.t rs.t sn-nfr ḥtkj*; *Urk.* IV, 1434, 14; 'letter-writer of the mayor of the Southern City Sennefer, Chaem[...] ' (*ss šc.t n ḥt.y-ḥt n njw.t rs.t sn-nfr ḥc-m-[-...]*; *Urk.* IV, 1434, 15. In the tomb of Amenhotep Sise (TT 75) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, from the reign of Thutmose IV, a holder of the title, cf. 'letter-writer, steward of the second prophet of [Amun], Djoserkareseneb', (*ss šc.t jm.y-r-ḥt pr n ḥm-nfr snw [n jmn] ḡsr-k-ḥt snb*; *Urk.* IV, 1215, 13, is attested. However, in the tomb the same official is also mentioned as 'scribe, steward of the second prophet of Amun, Djoserkareseneb', (*ss jm.y-r-ḥt pr n ḥm-nfr snw n jmn ḡsr-k-ḥt snb*; *Urk.* IV, 1213, 12. For the tomb of Djoserkareseneb (TT 38) at el-Khokha, with further references, see KAMPP (1996: 228–230).

⁴⁸¹ For scribal titles attested so far from Tell el-Amarna consult HARI (1976). The majority of references given in *Wb* are actually dated to the Ramesside period and later.

⁴⁸² For Maya cf. PM III²: 661–663.

⁴⁸³ For the blocks cf. QUIBELL (1912: 143; pls. LXVI; LXVI A, 2); the New Kingdom blocks are depicted in QUIBELL (1912: LXV–LXXXII).

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. table 13. Data in the table has been excerpted from HARI (1976). For the translations of the Egyptian titles, consult especially HELCK (1954); WARD (1982); FISCHER, H. (1985); GRAJETZKI (2000); JONES (2000). For the administration of the New Kingdom, see above all HELCK (1958); for the royal court, see the recent GUNDLACH (2006) with further literature.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. HARI (1976).

⁴⁸⁶ Actually, Ipy (II), cf. HARI (1976: no. 31), and Ipy (VI), cf. HARI (1976: no. 35), might be the same person.

honorary titles used among 'carrier officials,' while in other cases the usage of the respective title might refer to a real 'job description' of the particular 'scribe.' Nevertheless, it cannot be precluded that some of the holders of these titles might be identical to those scribes indicated in the Amarna letters as the 'royal scribes.'

Reference in HARI (1976)	Name	Title	Other titles
HARI (1976: no. 4)	Any (II)	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'scribe of the offering tables of the Lord of the Two Lands' (sš h3.wt n nb t3.wy); 'scribe of the offering tables of the Aten' (sš h3.wt n jtn); 'steward of the house of Aakheperure (= Amenhotep II)' (jm.y-r3 pr n pr ʿ3-hpr.w-rʿ)
HARI (1976: no. 13)	Ay (II)	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'god's father' (jt nfr); 'fan bearer on the right of the King' (t3w-hw hr wnmj nswt); 'overseer of all horses of His Majesty' (jm.y-r3 ssm.wt nb(.wt) n hm=f); 'troop commander' (hr.y pdty(.w))
HARI (1976: no. 19)	Ahmose	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'fan bearer on the right of the King' (t3w-hw hr wnmj nswt); 'steward of the house of Akhenaten' (jm.y-r3 pr m pr 3h-n-jtn); 'overseer of the house of justice' (jm.y-r3 rwy.t)
HARI (1976: no. 25)	Iuny	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'mayor of Nefrusy' (h3t.y-ʿ n nfrswy)
HARI (1976: no. 48)	Amenhotep (II)	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'hereditary prince (and) count' (jry-pꜥ.t h3t.y-ʿ); 'overseer of pr wr of the King' (jm.y-r3 pr wr n nswt); 'overseer of pr wr of the King at Inebuhedj (= Memphis)' (jm.y-r3 pr wr (n) nswt m jnb.w-hd); 'overseer of all royal craftsmen' (jm.y-r3 hm.wt nb.t n.t nswt); 'overseer of the house of silver (and) the house of gold' (jm.y-r3 pr-hd pr-nbw); 'leader of the festival of all gods of Inebuhedj (= Memphis)' (ssm hb n nfr.w m jnb.w-hd); 'great companion of the Lord of the Two Lands' (smr ʿ3 n nb t3.wy)
HARI (1976: no. 50)	Amenhotep (IV) Huy	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'royal son (= viceroy) of Kush' (s3 nswt n kš); 'overseer of the southern lands' (jm.y-r3 h3s.wt rs.wt); 'fan bearer on the right of the King' (t3w-hw hr wnmj nswt); 'hereditary prince (and) count' (jry-pꜥ.t h3t.y-ʿ); 'great companion' (smr ʿ3); 'royal envoy to all lands' (wp.ty nswt r h3s.t nb(.t))
HARI (1976: no. 218)	Ramose (IV)	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'steward of the temple of the Aten' (jm.y-r3 pr n t3 hwt.p3 jtn); 'hereditary prince (and) count' (jry-pꜥ.t h3t.y-ʿ); 'fan bearer on the right of the King' (t3w-hw hr wnmj nswt); 'overseer of the double granary of the South and North' (jm.y-r3 3n.wty n.w rsw mhw)

Reference in HARI (1976)	Name	Title	Other titles
HARI (1976: no. 312)	Tutu	'royal secretary' (sš nswt mšꜥ.t)	'chamberlain' (jm.y hnt); 'chief servant of Nefekheprure Waenre in the house of the Aten in Akhetaten' (b3k tp.y n nfr-hpr.w-rʿ wʿ-n-rʿ m pr jtn m 3h.t-jtn); 'chief servant of Neferkheperure Waenre in the barque' (b3k tp.y n nfr-hpr.w-rʿ wʿ-n-rʿ m wj3); 'overseer of all craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands' (jm.y-r3 hm.wt nb.t n nb t3.wy); 'overseer of all works of His Majesty' (jm.y-r3 k3.wt nb.t n hm=f); 'overseer of silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands' (jm.y-r3 h3d nbw n nb t3.wy); 'overseer of the treasury of the Aten in the house of the Aten in Akhetaten' (jm.y-r3 pr-hd n p3 jtn m pr jtn m 3h.t-jtn); 'principal mouth in the entire land' (r3 hr.y n t3 r-dr=f); 'steward of Kheperkheperure (= Ay)' (jm.y-r3 pr hpr-hpr.w-rʿ)
HARI (1976: no. 3)	Any (I)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'chief vnter' (hr.y k3m.w); 'chief vnter' (hr.y bʿh)
HARI (1976: no. 5)	Anymen	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'servitor' (sdm-ʿ3)
HARI (1976: no. 12)	Ay (I)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'second prophet of Amun' (hm-nfr snw n jmn); 'first prophet of Mut' (hm-nfr tp.y n mwt); 'steward in the house of Tiye in the house of Amun' (jm.y-r3 pr m pr tij m pr jmn)
HARI (1976: no. 20)	Iuaa	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	—
HARI (1976: no. 31)	Ipy (II)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'steward' (jm.y-r3 pr); 'overseer of the inner apartments of the Great House' (jm.y-r3 p3 jpt ʿ3 n pr ʿ3); 'steward of Mennefer (= Memphis)' (jm.y-r3 pr n mn-nfr)
HARI (1976: no. 35)	Ipy (VI)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'steward' (hm.y-r3 pr)
HARI (1976: no. 43)	Amenemipet (III)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'overseer of the fields' (jm.y-r3 sh.tywy)
HARI (1976: no. 54)	Inyy (III)	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	—
HARI (1976: no. 83)	Paatonemheb	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'general of the Lord of the Two Lands' (jm.y-r3 mšꜥ n nb t3.wy); 'overseer of works at Akhetaten' (jm.y-r3 k3.wt m 3h.t-jtn); 'steward' (jm.y-r3 pr)
HARI (1976: no. 115)	Pentchu	'royal scribe' (sš nswt)	'chamberlain of the King' (hr.y-tp nswt); 'chief servant of the Aten in the temple of Aten at Akhetaten' (b3k tp.y n jtn m t3 hwt.p3 jtn m 3h.t-jtn); 'chief physclan' (wr swm.w); 'seal bearer of the King' (sd3.wty bjty); 'sole companion' (smr wʿ.ty); 'the two feet of the Lord of the Two Lands' (rd.wy n nb t3.wy);

Reference in HARI (1976)	Name	Title	Other titles
			'chamberlain' (<i>jm.y hnt</i>); 'one, who approaches the King's body' (<i>lkn m h^cw nswt</i>); 'greatest of the great' (<i>wr wr.w</i>); 'first noble of the sole companions' (<i>sr tp.y n smr(.w) w^c(.tyw)</i>)
HARI (1976: no. 132)	May (IV)	'royal scribe' (<i>ss nswt</i>)	'hereditary prince (and) count' (<i>jry-p^c.t hst.y-^c</i>); 'seal bearer of the King' (<i>sd3.wty bjty</i>); 'sole companion' (<i>smr w^c.ty</i>); 'general of the Lord of the Two Lands' (<i>jm.y-r3 mš^c n nb t3.wy</i>); 'steward of Sehotep-Aten' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr n shtp-jtn</i>); 'steward of Waenre at Iunu (= Heliopolis)' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr n w^c-n-r^c m jwnw</i>); 'overseer of all works of the King' (<i>jm.y-r3 k3.wt nb.t n nswt</i>); 'scribe of recruits' (<i>ss nfr.w</i>); 'overseer of the cattle of the house of Re at Iunu (= Heliopolis)' (<i>jm.y-r3 jh.w n pr r^c m jwnw</i>) ⁴⁸⁷
HARI (1976: no. 154)	Meryre (II)	'royal scribe' (<i>ss nswt</i>)	'steward' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr</i>); 'overseer of the treasury' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr-hd</i>); 'overseer of the royal inner apartments of the Great Royal Wife' (<i>jm.y-r3 jpt nswt n hm.t nswt wr.t</i>); 'director of the <i>mnš</i> -barque' (<i>hr.y mnš</i>)
HARI (1976: no. 217)	Ramesse [<i>r^c-ms(.sw)</i>] ⁴⁸⁸	'royal scribe' (<i>ss nswt</i>)	'steward of Nebmaatre (= Amenhotep III)' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr n nb-mš^c.t-r^c</i>); 'scribe of recruits' (<i>ss nfr.w</i>); 'general of the Lord of the Two Lands' (<i>jm.y-r3 mš^c n nb t3.wy</i>)
HARI (1976: no. 222)	Ramesse [<i>r^c-ms.sw</i>] ⁴⁸⁹	'royal scribe' (<i>ss nswt</i>)	—
HARI (1976: no. 266)	Kheruef	'royal scribe' (<i>ss nswt</i>)	'steward of the Great Royal Wife Tiye' (<i>jm.y-r3 pr n hm.t nswt wr.t tjy</i>); 'hereditary prince (and) count' (<i>jry-p^c.t hst.y-^c</i>); 'great companion' (<i>smr ^c3</i>); 'sole companion' (<i>smr w^c.ty</i>); 'director of the 'h-palace' (<i>hrp 'h</i>); 'chief herald' (<i>whmw tp.y</i>); 'great in front of the <i>rhyt</i> ' (<i>wr m-hst rhyt</i>); 'unique of the staff of the <i>rhyt</i> ' (<i>w^c m mdw n rhyt</i>); 'seal bearer of the King' (<i>sd3.wty bjty</i>); 'overseer of sealings' (<i>jm.y-r3 sd3.wt</i>); 'judge in the King's house in front of the court' (<i>sth n pr-nswt m-hst sn.wt</i>); 'noblest companion' (<i>s^ch smr.w</i>); 'greatest of the great' (<i>wr wr.w</i>)

Table 13 Titles of 'royal scribe' and 'royal secretary' attested for the Amarna officials.

⁴⁸⁷ Plus various honorific titles, cf. HARI (1976: 132).⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Râmes (III) in HARI (1976: No. 217).⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Ramesou (III) in HARI (1976: No. 222).

Unfortunately, the identity of the scribes at Amarna, into whose hands the correspondence was directed, cannot be further elucidated either by contemporary or later documents. In fact, the very opposite is the case. Subsequent events made information from the royal court at Akhetaten even more inaccessible. After the city was abandoned, which probably happened during the second year of Tutankhamun's reign, the king, accompanied by many of his officials, went north to the traditional administrative centre at Memphis,⁴⁹⁰ with some officials possibly returning to Thebes. Memphis, therefore, probably became both the kings' residence and the new capital of Egypt.⁴⁹¹ Although our knowledge of the role played by Memphis during the Amarna period is rather limited, we can be sure that its infrastructure remained intact and that it actually began to be exploited by the 'new Akhenaten's regime' – in the area of Memphis the archaeologically still unidentified new temple, dedicated to Aten, was erected and some of its priests and high officials were buried in the near-by Saqqara necropolis.⁴⁹²

The necropolis performed the role of main burial site for Memphis approximately until the reign of Ramesse II, when the capital was moved to the newly founded Pi-Ramesse in the eastern Nile Delta. This was just at the end of the 18th Dynasty, during the reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemheb, when both the necropolae of Memphis and the city itself reached the summit of their importance and prosperity.

However, it is well evidenced, that after the site of Akhetaten had been abandoned by the king, the 'Amarna intermezzo' and its traditions quickly became unwelcome elements in Egyptian society. Among many other things, the officials, who were actively working in the realm of the 'Amarna regime' simply 'left out' this episode from their lives when producing their autobiographical inscriptions. The Amarna age and all its concerns were to be forgotten forever. Thus, we have at our disposal only the limited number of documents originating directly from Amarna, which allows us to reconstruct only a partial picture of life and procedures at the royal court.

Structure of the Opening Passages

It is highly probable that the concrete formulae of the opening passages were not delivered to the scribe at all and it was up to the scribe – making use of his experience and skills – to add the desired and expected formulae. In this respect, several observations can be made since a total of eighteen main types⁴⁹³ are attested among the 290 opening passages preserved in a total of 289 Amarna documents.⁴⁹⁴ However, could these variations be in some way conditioned by local traditions or

⁴⁹⁰ Already by the time of the kings of the early 18th Dynasty, Memphis was understood to be a traditional political and, above all, religious centre. Ahmose I, the founder of a new ruling dynasty, was very probably crowned by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt after his victory over the Hyksos ruler at Memphis.⁴⁹¹ MALEK (1985); VAN DIJK – EATON-KRAUSS (1986); VAN DIJK (1988); MYNÁROVÁ (2006c).⁴⁹² For the burial site at Bubasteion, located in the limestone cliffs southeast of the pyramid complex of Teti, consult especially ZIVIE (1979a); *Idem* (1979b); *Idem* (1990); *Idem* (2000); *Idem* (2003). The site was abandoned shortly after the Amarna period, when the capacity was exhausted. We can date a tomb of Aper-El (or Aperlya) and his family, as well as a tomb of Hatlya, scribe of the treasury of Aten's temple at Memphis, and a tomb belonging to a royal nurse Maya to the reign of Akhenaten. Another group of tombs, the so-called 'temple-tombs', dating from the Amarna period can be found close to the causeway of the Unas pyramid complex. The first of the 'Amarna' tombs in this part of the Saqqara necropolis was discovered here in 2001 by the Dutch mission of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO) and the Department of Archaeology of Leiden University. The tomb owner was identified as Meryneith, who was 'high priest of Aten,' 'steward of the temple of Aten' and 'scribe of the temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and) in Memphis,' as well as 'high priest of the Temple of Neith.' Another 'Amarna' tomb was discovered only recently, in 2007, belonging to a high official Ptahemwia, 'royal butler' and 'clean of hands.' For the excavations, see RAVEN (2002a); RAVEN (2002b) RAVEN *et al.* (2003a); RAVEN *et al.* (2003b); RAVEN – VAN WALSEM *et al.* (2003–2004); VAN WALSEM (2003); cf. also <http://www.saqqara.nl> for the overview of the Dutch archaeological mission. For a general overview, consult MARTIN (1992).⁴⁹³ Cf. type 3 with subtypes 3A and 3B, and type 12 with subtypes 12A, 12B, and 12C.⁴⁹⁴ See chapter 3, pp. 59–66.

the individuality of the scribe himself? Furthermore, is it possible to recognize any rules governing the preference given to a certain type of address in relation to the social rank of the two correspondents? Answers to these questions might be found in the following discussion, devoted to the individual types of structure in relation to the opening passages preserved in the Amarna letters.

Type 1

Structure:

(1) heading

Attestations:

EA 30, EA 98, EA 162, EA 334(?)

Commentary:

The simplest form of the opening passage consists solely of the heading and can be found in four texts. EA 30 represents a letter from the king Mitanni Tušratta to the kings of Canaan;⁴⁹⁵ EA 98 was sent by Yapa'hadda of Beirut to an official, Yanḥamu; EA 162 is a letter of Egyptian origin, addressed by the king, Amenhotep IV, to Aziru, ruler of Amurru and a relatively damaged opening passage of this type might also be identified in a letter from an unknown ruler of Zuḥra. As far as the geographical distribution of this type of opening passage is concerned,⁴⁹⁶ there is no common denominator among these texts and the same conclusion can be reached in relation to the social status of the respective correspondents. Among these four letters we can identify documents addressed by the representatives of superior powers to their subjects (i.e. EA 30, and EA 162), a letter from a local ruler to the responsible official (EA 98), as well as from a subordinate ruler to his Egyptian overlord (EA 334(?)).

Type 2

Structure:

(1) heading

(2) salutations

(2. i) report on the sender's well-being

(2. ii) extended report on the sender's well-being

(2. iii) greetings (inverted)

(2. iv) extended greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 35

Commentary:

This relatively elaborate opening passage can be identified solely in letter EA 35, addressed by the king of Alašiya⁴⁹⁷ to his Egyptian counterpart. By means of the employment of reports on the well-being of the sender, his entourage and belongings, as well as of the extended greetings to his partner, the king of Alašiya clearly demonstrates his affiliation with the 'Great Powers Club.'

⁴⁹⁵ The so-called 'passport,' cf. MORAN (1992: 100).

⁴⁹⁶ The origin of all four tablets has been confirmed by means of recent petrographic analyses, cf. EA 30 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 43–44); EA 98 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 162); EA 162 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 25–26); and EA 334 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 219–220).

Types 3A and 3B

Structure:

(1) heading

(2) salutations

(2. i + 2. ii) report on the sender's well-being + extended report on sender's well-being [type 3A]

(2. i) report on the sender's well-being

(2. ii) extended report on sender's well-being [type 3B]

(2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 2, EA 7 (both type 3A), EA 34 (type 3B)

Commentary:

In all three letters the common structure of the opening passage, consisting of the heading and the salutations containing the report on the sender's well-being, an extended report on the sender's well-being and the ensuing inverted form of the greetings joined with the extended greetings, can be recognized. The actual differences between subtypes 3A and 3B can thus be identified as relating to the grammatical forms used in these opening passages and an interpretation of elements 2.i and 2. ii as one in subtype 3A. As far as the origin of these documents is concerned, this type of opening passage is used in letters of different origin – cf. EA 2 and EA 7 are letters of Babylonian kings,⁴⁹⁸ while EA 34 was sent by the king of Alašiya.⁴⁹⁹ However, in all three cases this type of opening passage is employed in correspondence between two socially equal partners.

Type 4

Structure:

(1) heading

(2) salutations

(2. i) report on the sender's well-being

(2. iii) greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 40

Commentary:

Type 4 is represented within the Amarna corpus only by means of letter EA 40. Since the text is addressed by one official, i.e. a commissioner of Alašiya⁵⁰⁰ to his equivalent partner in Egypt, the salutations are limited to these two individuals, without reference to other elements. However, as far as the social status of the correspondents is concerned, both within society as well as in relation to each other, EA 40 represents a unique document among the Amarna letters and thus it is impossible to draw more general conclusions.

⁴⁹⁷ A petrographic analysis of this tablet has not been carried out. For the results of recent petrographical examination of four of the Alašiyian tablets, i.e. EA 33, EA 34, EA 37, and EA 38, and further implications, cf. GOREN – BUNIMOVITZ – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2003); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 49–51); for Alašiya, consult also HOLMES (1971); MUHLI (1972); ARTZY – PERLMAN – ASARO (1976); KNAPP (1985); MERRILLEES (1987).]

⁴⁹⁸ EA 2 is sent by Kadašmanenlil I, whereas the sender of EA 7 can be identified as Burnaburiyaš II. Only EA 2 has been petrographically analyzed, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 34).

⁴⁹⁹ For the Cypriot origin of the tablet consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 50–51).

⁵⁰⁰ The tablet has not been petrologically investigated.

Type 5

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. i) report on the sender's well-being
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)
 - (2. iv) extended greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 17, EA 18(?), EA 19, EA 20, EA 21, EA 23, EA 26, EA 27, EA 28, EA 29(?), EA 33, EA 37, EA 38, EA 39, EA 41, EA 42(?)

Commentary

This type of opening passage can be found among the 'royal' letters⁵⁰¹ from Mitanni, Alašiya, and Ḫatti.⁵⁰² While it is true that the correspondence of the king of Alašiya employs type 5 as one of a total of three types of opening passage in his letters, the correspondence of the king of Mitanni and the king of Ḫatti, when addressed to their Egyptian partner, utilises only one type.⁵⁰³ For the attestations listed above we can suppose that this particular type of opening passage was widely used among royal correspondents, regardless of their origin, although it definitely belongs to the royal tradition of Mitanni⁵⁰⁴ and Ḫatti.

Type 6

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. i) report on the sender's well-being
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)
 - (2. iv) extended greetings (inverted)
 - (2. i) report on the sender's well-being
 - (2. ii) extended report on the sender's well-being

⁵⁰¹ I.e. letters exchanged between the rulers of 'independent' political entities, whose authority is completely recognized by their partners. Among the elements which clearly reveal this recognition, we can mention the systematic and regular employment of the title 'king' in the identification of the addressee.

⁵⁰² With the exception of EA 41 from the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I, and EA 33 and EA 39 sent by the king of Alašiya, all other documents have been petrographically analyzed, cf. EA 17 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 39–40; 44); EA 18 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40); EA 19 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40); EA 20 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40); EA 21 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 41); EA 23 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 41); EA 26 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 42); EA 27 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 42); EA 28 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 43); EA 29 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 40; 43); EA 33 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 50); EA 37 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 49–50); EA 38 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 51); for further discussion on the provenance of the Alašiya tablets, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 57–75); EA 42 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 31).

⁵⁰³ The employment of type 1 in EA 30 thus represents a different case because the social status of the addressees is clearly distinct from that of the king of Egypt. The social difference of both correspondents might also have a bearing on the employment of type 8 in EA 44, i.e. a letter of the Hittite prince Zita, addressed to the pharaoh.

⁵⁰⁴ The very same type of opening passage, however, is also employed in a letter sent by Tušratta, king of Mitanni to the queen-mother, Teye. This might provide us with evidence that the gender of the addressee played no important role in the choice of type.

Attestations:

EA 1, EA 5

Commentary:

EA 1 and EA 5 both represent correspondence of the Egyptian king⁵⁰⁵ with his royal partner in Babylonia.⁵⁰⁶ The corpus of letters of Egyptian origin is very limited in number and the two letters discussed here are actually the only preserved examples of documents addressed by the king of Egypt to his equivalent partner within the archive. Despite the fact, that the sub corpus of 'royal' letters of Egyptian origin is extremely small, it is possible that this type of structure in the opening passage, (consisting of the heading and the salutations, including the report on the sender's well-being, followed by the greetings, the extended greetings, and the reiterated report on the sender's well-being, this time extended also to his entourage and belongings), might have been typical of these 'royal' letters.

Type 7

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. i) report on the sender's well-being
 - (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 3, EA 6, EA 8, EA 9, EA 10, EA 11

Commentary:

This type of structure can be identified exclusively among the letters of Babylonian origin, irrespective of the identity of the sender.⁵⁰⁷ However, the structure of the opening passage identified as type 7 is closely related to another 'royal' type, i.e. type 5. The only difference between these two types is in relation to the absence of the inverted form of the greetings as a separate element in type 7. Greetings addressed to the royal addressee are thus implied in the extended greetings, enlisted together with the greetings to the royal entourage and the king's belongings. Since this type of opening passage does not occur in letters of other origin and it is attested in the wider context, it is possible to conclude that this particular structure might have belonged to the Babylonian royal letter-writing tradition.

Type 8

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)

⁵⁰⁵ The sender can be identified in both cases as Amenhotep III; for the results of the petrographical analysis of EA 1 consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 24–25).

⁵⁰⁶ I.e. Kadašmanenlil I, cf. EA 1: 1; EA 5: 2.

⁵⁰⁷ While EA 3 was sent by Kadašmanenlil I (cf. EA 3: 3), the remaining letters were delivered to the Egyptian king from Burnaburiyaš II (cf. EA 6: 3; EA 8: 3; EA 9: 3; EA 10: 2; EA 11: 2). For the results of the petrographical analysis, cf. EA 6 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 34; 35); EA 8 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 34; 35); and EA 11 (GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN 2004: 34; 35–36).

Attestations:

EA 44, EA 170A, EA 170B

Commentary:

This type of structure can be recognized in two letters: EA 44, addressed by the brother of Šuppiliuma I, Zita to the king of Egypt, and EA 170, a letter containing two messages sent to addressees in Egypt. The first part of EA 170, i.e. EA 170A, contains a message of Ba'luya and Bet'ilu to Aziru, and EA 170B is concerned with a communication between Amurba'la and four other individuals, who were probably accompanying Aziru on a visit to Egypt. As far as the origin of EA 170 is concerned, it has been suggested⁵⁰⁸ that the tablet was probably written by the same scribe as EA 169 and the petrographic analysis carried out at both tablets has not challenged this belief.⁵⁰⁹ However, the same study clearly confirmed the Hittite origin of EA 44.⁵¹⁰ Thus, it is obvious that the usage of this type of opening passage is not related to any specific geographical location.

Type 9

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)
 - (2. iv) extended greetings

Attestations:

EA 166

Commentary:

The combination of the inverted form of the greetings followed by the extended greetings in the salutations is attested throughout the analyzed Amarna material only in the case of EA 166, i.e. a letter sent by Aziru of Amurru to the Egyptian official Haya. The petrographical analysis of the tablet, however, has revealed that the tablet was delivered to Haya from Šumur.⁵¹¹ However, since for this type of structure in the opening passage applies to only a single letter that we have at our disposal, we cannot draw any conclusions concerning a possible link between the type of structure and the geographical distribution of the respective text.

Type 10

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)
 - (2. v) prostration

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. KLENGEL (1964: 76f.); MORAN (1992: 257, n. 1); for the historical context, consult especially SINGER (1991: 151–152).

⁵⁰⁹ See GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 114–115). Together with EA 161, EA 164, EA 169, and EA 171, EA 170 was probably written in Tell 'Arqa.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 31–32).

⁵¹¹ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 110–111); for the earlier interpretation of the origin of the tablet as being from Tunip, see SINGER (1991: 152).

Attestations:

EA 59

Commentary:

The problems caused by the limited number of relevant documents, also applies to type 10. There is only one text, EA 59, from the citizens of Tunip⁵¹² to the king of Egypt preserved in the analyzed Amarna material. Thus, it is difficult to draw any conclusions pertaining to the linkage between the origin of the text and the preference given to this particular structure of the opening passage.

Type 11

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 12, EA 15, EA 16

Commentary:

In the case of type 11 three Amarna documents are at our disposal – EA 12, the widely discussed letter of a Babylonian princess to her 'master',⁵¹³ and two letters of Assyrian origin (EA 15, EA 16) from Aššurballiṭ⁵¹⁴ addressed to the Egyptian king. This type of opening passage, as far as its structure is concerned, features a very simple form of salutation, containing only the greetings joined with the extended greetings. However, not even in this case does the preference given to the particular type of structure of the opening passage appear to have any connection with the origin of the document. Furthermore, the reason for its usage might relate to some other criterion.

Type 12A

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration

Attestations:

EA 50, EA 51, EA 52, EA 53, EA 54, EA 55, EA 58, EA 60, EA 61(?), EA 62, EA 64, EA 65, EA 82, EA 84, EA 88, EA 90, EA 91, EA 93, EA 94, EA 103, EA 104, EA 106, EA 126, EA 129, EA 136, EA 137, EA 138, EA 139, EA 140, EA 141, EA 142, EA 143, EA 144, EA 145, EA 146, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150, EA 151, EA 152, EA 153, EA 154, EA 155, EA 156, EA 157, EA 159, EA 160, EA 161, EA 164, EA 165,

⁵¹² Since the location of Tunip has remained uncertain, the petrographic analysis of EA 59 has been of immense importance; with respect to the results of the analysis and in the context of textual and archaeological accounts, the most likely candidate for the site of Tunip has been identified as Tell 'Asharneh, in the Ghab valley, ca. 35 km north-west of Hama, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 118–121).

⁵¹³ For EA 12, cf. especially KNUDTZON (1914: 483–486); WEBER in KNUDTZON (1915: 1031–1033); KÖHNE (1973: 50–51, n. 231–232); MORAN (1992: 24, n. 1); cf. also LIVERANI (1999: 360). The Babylonian origin of the tablet, however, has been confirmed by the results of the petrographical analysis. Consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 36).

⁵¹⁴ Cf. EA 15: 3; EA 16: 3.

EA 168, EA 171, EA 174, EA 175, EA 176, EA 177, EA 178, EA 182, EA 183(?), EA 185, EA 187, EA 188(?), EA 189, EA 191, EA 192, EA 193, EA 194, EA 195, EA 196, EA 198, EA 199, EA 200, EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 207, EA 211, EA 212, EA 213, EA 215, EA 216, EA 217, EA 220, EA 221, EA 222, EA 223, EA 224, EA 225, EA 226, EA 227, EA 228, EA 229(?), EA 230, EA 231(?), EA 232, EA 233, EA 234, EA 235+327, EA 238, EA 239, EA 241, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 249, EA 250, EA 252, EA 253, EA 254, EA 255, EA 256, EA 257, EA 258, EA 259, EA 260, EA 261, EA 262, EA 263(?), EA 264, EA 265, EA 266, EA 267, EA 268, EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 272, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 277, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 281, EA 282, EA 284, EA 285, EA 286, EA 287, EA 288, EA 289, EA 290, EA 292, EA 293, EA 294, EA 295, EA 296, EA 297, EA 298, EA 299, EA 300, EA 301, EA 302, EA 303, EA 304, EA 305, EA 306, EA 307(?), EA 308(?), EA 309(?), EA 311(?), EA 312(?), EA 314, EA 315, EA 316, EA 317, EA 318, EA 319, EA 320, EA 321, EA 322, EA 323, EA 324, EA 325, EA 326, EA 328, EA 329, EA 330, EA 331, EA 332(?), EA 336, EA 337, EA 338(?), EA 362, EA 363, EA 364, EA 365, EA 366, EA 378 and EA 333

Commentary:

This particular type the structure is employed in the opening passages in almost 70 percent of the tablets. This statistical element alone allows us to postulate that the usage of this type of opening passage has no association with the origin of the respective texts, i.e. its employment is not conditioned by any local tradition. The reasons for its usage must, therefore, be associated with criteria other than those linked to geographical distribution.

Type 12B

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration
 - (2. v) prostration

Attestations:

EA 63, EA 184, EA 209, EA 283

Commentary:

The hallmark of this type of opening passage is the double prostration formula. However, this type of structure is attested within the archive relatively rarely, i.e. in only four texts. The first of these texts is EA 63, from the ruler of Gath, Abdiaštarti, and the same origin can be recognized in EA 283, the sender in this case being Šuwardata, Abdiaštarti's predecessor.⁵¹⁵ As far as the origin of the letter sent by Zišamimi is concerned, the petrographical analysis revealed that the letter EA 209 was probably written in Damascus.⁵¹⁶ Nevertheless, in the case of the last of the four tablets, the petrographical analysis was unable to provide us with a secure identification of Mušihuna, the seat of Šutarna, as the sender of EA 184.⁵¹⁷ Despite the uncertainties relating to the origin of these texts, it is possible to suggest that there is no obvious connection between the employment of this type of structure and the regional distribution of the four documents.

⁵¹⁵ For the origin of EA 63, cf. NA'AMAN (1979b: 676–684), confirmed recently by the petrographical analysis, see GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 283–284).

⁵¹⁶ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 222).

⁵¹⁷ Consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 173).

Type 12C

Structure:

- report on tablet's origin
- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration
- (1) heading

Attestations:

EA 100

Commentary:

With regard to the structure of the opening passage, EA 100, i.e. a letter addressed by the city of Irqata and its representatives ('elders,' LÚ.MEŠ.š*i*-b<u>-ti-š*i* in line 4)⁵¹⁸ to the Egyptian king, provides us with an absolutely unique structure within the studied corpus. The heading, which is not omitted in any of the other analyzed Amarna documents, occupies only the second position in this case, being preceded by a report concerning the origin of the tablet, cf. 'DUB-*pl*an-nu-ú DUB-*pl*URU.ir-qa-ta' 'This tablet is a tablet of Irqata.' What follows is a standard prostration formula, however, leading to another 'non-standard' element. In this case, the heading is repeated once more, this time mentioning the city of Irqata only (lines 7–8). However, due to the fact, that this particular structure of the opening passage appears in only this single case, it is impossible to reach any definite conclusions concerning the relationship between the type and its geographical distribution.

Type 13

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration
 - (2. iii) greetings (inverted)

Attestations:

EA 48, EA 158

Commentary:

The opening passage, consisting of the heading and salutations and containing first the prostration formula, followed by the inverted forms of greetings to the addressee, appears within the Amarna corpus very rarely. In both recorded cases the documents belong among the less common texts, as far as the addressee is concerned. In the first case, the letter belongs to the category of 'female correspondence,' being sent from the queen of Ugarit to the queen of Egypt,⁵¹⁹ while in the case of EA 158, we have a letter from Aziru of Amurru to an official, Tutu. It is obvious that in both cases the senders are of a socially lower rank than the respective addressees. Nevertheless, the presence of the greetings might indicate a different relationship than between a humble servant and his all powerful master. It is, thus, possible to conclude that in the case of type 13 any preference given in relation to the chosen structure of the opening passage might correspond to other criteria, such as the social position of the correspondents and the respective relationship between them, rather than to the origin of the texts.

⁵¹⁸ The origin of the text has been confirmed by petrological analysis, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 114; 122).

⁵¹⁹ Identified in the text as 'my mistress,' cf. line 1; for the confirmation of the Ugaritic origin of the tablet, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 90).

Type 14

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration
 - (2. iii) greetings (simple)
 - (2. iv) extended greetings

Attestations:

EA 45(?), EA 49(?)

Commentary:

Despite the fact that this particular structure and its implications have been already discussed elsewhere,⁵²⁰ it is necessary to highlight some specific aspects. First, as far as the origin of both documents is concerned, and with an awareness of the limited nature of the preserved examples, we may state that this particular type of opening passage is attested only in some of the letters addressed by two kings of Ugarit – Ammištamru I (EA 45) and Niqmaddu II (EA 49) – to the pharaoh.⁵²¹ Second, the combination of elements contained in the salutations, i.e. the prostration formula followed by the greetings and extended greetings, is also unique in terms of ‘vassal’ and ‘royal’ terminology, thus representing a transitional stage between these two types of correspondence. It is possible to state that based on an analysis of the published material, and also with respect to the Ugaritic long-term epistolary tradition, this particular structure appears exclusively within the letters of the Ugaritic kings. Thus, it is clear that the preference given to this opening passage is closely associated with both the geographical distribution of the texts and with the social status of the correspondents.

Type 15

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. v) prostration
 - (2. vi) divine blessings

Attestations:

EA 71, EA 73, EA 77, EA 85, EA 86, EA 87, EA 92, EA 95, EA 102, EA 118, EA 125

Type 17

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. vi) divine blessings
 - (2. v) prostration

⁵²⁰ Cf. MYNAROVA (2006a: 121–125), *idem* (in press b).

⁵²¹ The petrographical analysis confirmed the fact that EA 45 was dispatched from Ugarit, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 88–89).

Attestations:

EA 68, EA 74, EA 75, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81, EA 83, EA 89, EA 105, EA 107, EA 108, EA 109, EA 110(?), EA 112, EA 114, EA 116, EA 117, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123, EA 124, EA 130, EA 132

Commentary:

Since the only difference between type 15 and type 17 is represented in the sequence of elements contained in the salutations, it is appropriate to discuss both types in one commentary. Moreover, all texts in which these two types of structure of the opening passage appear, originate in Byblos. However, this does not mean that all letters of Byblite origin can be classified within these two types! In his introduction to the Amarna letters, W. L. Moran states, that ‘The prostration formula, which in the Byblos letters always precedes the salutation of an official, but always follows the salutation of the king, is omitted ...’.⁵²² Thus, according to Moran, type 15 should be reserved for letters to the officials, whereas type 17 would be used in letters addressed to the Egyptian king. However, this statement is only partially valid. On the one hand it is clear that all the documents in which the sequence of the divine blessings preceding the prostration formula occurs, are addressed to the king of Egypt (i.e. type 17). Nevertheless, for type 15 – with the prostration formula preceding the divine blessings – it holds true that among the attested texts there exist both letters sent to the respective officials and letters addressed to the pharaoh, i.e. EA 85, EA 92, EA 118, and EA 125.⁵²³ The recent petrological analysis revealed that although two different deposits of clay were used for these (and other) letters, all of them were sent from Byblos⁵²⁴ and thus we cannot associate this ‘irregularity’ with the different geographical origin of the texts. The employment of one or the other types of the structure, however, is not conditioned by the social position of the addressee, as suggested by Moran. On the other hand, we can accept that the usage of either type 15 or type 17 is clear proof of the Byblite origin of the respective texts.

Type 16

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (2) salutations
 - (2. vi) divine blessings

Attestations:

EA 96, EA 97

Commentary:

Type 16 is attested throughout the analyzed Amarna material in only two cases – EA 96, being a letter sent by an unnamed Egyptian commander to Ribhaddi of Byblos, and in EA 97, in which, probably, Yapa’hadda, a ruler of Beirut, writes to an otherwise unknown ruler, Šumuhaddi, who was staying, at the time of the delivery of the message in Egypt. As is usual in the Amarna corpus, the opening passage of these two letters is binominal, consisting of the standard combination of the heading and the salutations, whereas the salutations contain a single element, i.e. a special type of divine blessing.

⁵²² MORAN (1992: xxix).

⁵²³ Although in GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 145) EA 95 is also considered to be another letter dispatched from Ribhaddi of Byblos to the king of Egypt, we follow here the original Knudtzon transcription of line 1, identifying the addressee as an unnamed official; cf. also MORAN (1992: 169).

⁵²⁴ For EA 85, made of one type of clay, attested throughout Sidon, Beirut and Byblos, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 136; 141); the other deposit was in use for EA 92, see GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 143–144); EA 118, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 143; 151–152); and for EA 125, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 143; 154).

However, it is interesting to observe that a parallel expression to the divine blessings in EA 96 and EA 97, cf. 'DINGIR.ME[Š]-nu⁵²⁵ šu-lum-ka šu-l[u]m É-ka⁵²⁶ li-ša-al 'May the gods ask after your well-being (and) the well-being of your household' (EA 96: 4–6) and 'DINGIR.M)EŠ šu-lum-ka li-[i]š-a)l 'May the gods ask after your well-being' (EA 97: 3), can actually be found in some other letters written in Peripheral Akkadian. The first example comes from a fragmentary letter, contemporary with the Amarna material and published in 1991 by D. Arnaud.⁵²⁵ The particular passage can be reconstructed as follows: '3[... D.UTU/DINGIR.MEŠ-nu⁵²⁶ šu-lum-ka₄ šu-lum MEŠ' É-ka₄ '4[šu-lum gáb-b]i-ka₄ li-iš-al'⁵²⁷ '3[... May the Sun/gods] /ask after/ your well-being, the well-being of your household '4[and the well-being of everything (that belongs)] to you.' (Arnaud 1991c: 3–4). However, another corresponding letter also exists, this time in a very well preserved state. A very similar passage can be found in a contemporary letter referred to as Hazor 10, addressed by a certain Adduapdi to Puratpurta (of Hazor?), cf. 'DINGIR.MEŠ ù D.UTU šu-lum-ka⁵²⁸ šu-lum É-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka⁵²⁹ KUR-ti₄-ka li-iš-a-lu '4[May the gods and the Sun /ask after/ your well-being, '5[the well-being of your household, your sons '6(and) your land.] (Hazor 10: 4–6). The third example is, however, slightly earlier, dated probably to the middle of the 15th century B.C.E. It comes from the site of Taanach and was sent by a man called Ehliteššub to the ruler of Taanach Talwišar, cf. 'DINGIR. 'MEŠ li-iš-al-lu⁵³⁰ 'šur⁵³¹ -lum-ka šu-lum⁵³² 'É-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka⁵³³ '5[May the god 's ask after '6your 'well-being, the well-being 'of your 'household' (and) your sons.] (Taanach 1: 5–7).

Leaving aside the Taanach letter, which can be taken as a proof of the fact that the employment of this type of salutation was not an invention of the Amarna period – on the contrary, it proves that it had a long tradition within the region – it is necessary to pay attention to the origin of all four contemporary documents. In the case of EA 96 and EA 97 the origin has been clearly revealed by means of petrographic analysis. While the origin of EA 96, in conformity with the textual evidence, has been confirmed – the letter was indeed delivered from Šumur,⁵²⁷ in the case of EA 97 the analysis revealed that the letter was not sent from Yapa'hadda's home city of Beirut but almost certainly from Gaza, one of the most important Egyptian centres in the region. With respect to the place of discovery of Arnaud (1991) and Hazor 10, we may assume that the tablets were sent to the respective individuals located at Kumidi and Hazor. In the case of the tablet referred to here as Arnaud (1991), the addressee of the message might have been a local ruler – Arnaud's reconstruction of line 1 as [a-na LÚ KUR.a-m]u-ri⁵²⁸ suggests the ruler of Amurru. The identity of the addressee in Hazor 10 represents an even more complicated situation. The person is identified only by means of his personal name, without any functional title or epithet. Nevertheless, if we accept the identification of Talwišar in Taanach 1: 1⁵²⁹, who is identified in the same way as the addressee of Hazor 10 i.e. by means of his personal name identifying him as a local ruler, we cannot simply rule out the possibility that Puratpurta in Hazor 10: 1 might also be a local ruler.⁵³⁰ On the other hand, neither of these two letters provide us with satisfactory information in relation to the respective senders. While in the case of Arnaud (1991) the author of the message can be reconstructed as 'magnate, [your father]' ('2[...M.L]Ú.GAL '3[AD-ka ...]), in Hazor 10 the sender is clearly identified by his personal name as Adduapdi (cf. line 3). Nevertheless, in the case of Hazor 10 the petrographic analysis of the material has been carried out, analogous to that of EA 96 and EA 97. According to the results of the analysis, the tablet was not made locally at Hazor but, in keeping with Na'aman's identification of the name of the sender as Addumi, known from the Amarna letters as one of the local rulers at the Beqa', we cannot rule out the possible Lebanese origin of the tablet.⁵³¹

⁵²⁵ Cf. ARNAUD (1991c); see also pp. 74–77 in this volume.

⁵²⁶ For the reconstruction, see note 409, p. 76 in this volume.

⁵²⁷ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 116).

⁵²⁸ Cf. ARNAUD (1991c: 11).

⁵²⁹ And accordingly in Taanach 2: 1; Taanach 5: 1; and Taanach 6: 1, see pp. 72–74 in this volume.

⁵³⁰ For Puratpurta as a ruler of Hazor, cf. also HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 81).

From the short overview dedicated to these four documents, and especially based on the known origin of EA 96 and EA 97, we can reject the possibility that all these tablets might have been written in one place. However, the material presently available for analysis allows us to postulate that the employment of this type of the salutations was, in fact, conditioned by the respective social positions of the correspondents. Moreover, in none of the letters can the addressee be identified as the Egyptian king. This type of opening passage might, therefore, be found to be inappropriate and disrespectful when communicating with the supreme power; however, it was still adequate when in communication with a local ruler.

Type 18

Structure:

- (1) heading
- (3) statement concerning the tablet

Attestations:

EA 99, EA 367, EA 369, EA 370

Commentary:

All preserved examples come from the correspondence of the Egyptian king with his subjects, i.e. local kinglets of the Syropalestinian region.⁵³² Of the four analyzed tablets included in this type only two have been petrologically investigated, cf. EA 367,⁵³³ addressed by the pharaoh to Endaruta, ruler of Akšap, and EA 370,⁵³⁴ sent by the Egyptian king to Yidya of Ashqelon.⁵³⁵ The results of the analysis, however, confirmed the Egyptian origin of these tablets. Nevertheless, in all these letters we can easily observe a structure of the opening passage which is unique among the Amarna documents. The typical binominal structure, consisting of the heading followed by the salutations, is replaced here by another one containing the heading with a statement concerning the origin of the tablet.

The Egyptian origin of this element has been tentatively suggested by Moran,⁵³⁶ with his proposal based on parallels attested in a group of Late Egyptian letters,⁵³⁷ i.e. *jn.tw n=k sš pn n dd hm' dd* 'This letter is sent to you, to the following effect,' literally 'this writing of speaking.'⁵³⁸ Since this element is actually attested exclusively among the letters of Egyptian origin – both in the Amarna corpus and in Kumidi 1⁵³⁹ and Kumidi 2⁵⁴⁰ – and the position within the letter-structure corresponds clearly, as correctly stated by Moran, to the position within the letter-structure attested among a large group of the Late Egyptian letters, it is possible to accept that it as an element typical of the type of correspondence employed in pharaoh's communication towards his subjects. Thus, the employment of this type of structure of the opening passage is both geographically and socially conditioned.

⁵³¹ Cf. GOREN (2000); GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 230). However, according to a new collation of Hazor 10 published in HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 81) the problematic sign interpreted by Na'aman as UM is definitely AB, thus making it difficult to reliably clarify the identity of the sender.

⁵³² For the employment of type 1 in EA 162, see above.

⁵³³ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 24–25; 27). For the identification of the addressee, see EA 367: 1.

⁵³⁴ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 24; 27–28). Yidya is clearly identified as the addressee of the message in EA 370: 1.

⁵³⁵ EA 99 is a relatively badly damaged tablet containing a message from the Egyptian king to a ruler of Ammiya(?), cf. EA 99: 2. EA 369 belongs to the correspondence of Amenhotep III and the message is addressed to Milkilu, ruler of Gezer, cf. EA 369: 1.

⁵³⁶ Cf. MORAN (1992: xxvii–xxviii, and n. 75).

⁵³⁷ For the references, cf. n. 413, p. 77, in this volume.

⁵³⁸ For the infinitive phrase *qabê* or *ana qabê* consult COCHAVI-RAINEY (1990: 14); for EA 369, see MORAN (1992: 366, n. 1); IZRE'EL (1995b: 115).

⁵³⁹ KL 69: 277, lines 3–4.

⁵⁴⁰ KL 69: 279, lines 3–5.

Structure and Geography – A Conclusion

From the structural analysis of the Amarna letters, summarized below in table 14, it is clear that the employment of a particular structure in the opening passage is spread rather unevenly throughout the analyzed material, i.e. a total of 290 opening passages. Twenty-one types, including the subtypes, can be identified. However, a statistically significant majority of almost seventy percent of the documents can be ascribed to a single type, cf. type 12A. As far as the remaining texts are concerned, there are only three types – type 5, type 15, and type 17 – which attain more than ten documents *per* the respective type, thus providing some level of validity for further consideration.

Based on the analysis of the structure of the opening passages presented above, we can reach at least a partial answer to the question as to whether the variability of the employed structures was in some way conditioned by local traditions or the individuality of the scribe responsible for the composition of the message.⁵⁴¹ Despite the fact that the corpus of documents suitable for analysis is rather limited, which to a certain extent complicates the interpretations and further considerations, we are still in a position to answer 'yes' to this question, even though we do so with some reservations.

In a similar way, we can also reach a conclusion as to the relative influence of the social rank of the two correspondents in relation to the choice of particular types of address. It is absolutely clear from the overview that certain rules were followed when composing the opening passage of the letter, in order to comply with the 'diplomatic protocol' of the Amarna age. However, in order to obtain a clearer picture of this 'system,' it is also necessary to study the individual elements in more detail.

Type No.	Structure of the Opening Passage
Type 1	(1) heading EA 30, EA 98, EA 162, EA 334(?)
Type 2	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. ii) extended report on the sender's well-being (2. iii) greetings (inverted) (2. iv) extended greetings (inverted) EA 35
Type 3A	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i + 2. ii) report on the sender's well-being + extended report on the sender's well-being (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted) EA 2, EA 7
Type 3B	(1) heading (2) salutations: (2. i) report on sender's well-being (2. ii) extended report on sender's well-being (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted) EA 34
Type 4	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. iii) greetings (inverted) EA 40

⁵⁴¹ For the discussion, consult pp. 78, in this volume.

Type No.	Structure of the Opening Passage
Type 5	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. iii) greetings (inverted) (2. iv) extended greetings (inverted) EA 17, EA 18(?), EA 19, EA 20, EA 21, EA 23, EA 26, EA 27, EA 28, EA 29(?), EA 33, EA 37, EA 38, EA 39, EA 41, EA 42(?)
Type 6	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. iii) greetings (inverted) (2. iv) extended greetings (inverted) (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. ii) extended report on the sender's well-being EA 1, EA 5
Type 7	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. i) report on the sender's well-being (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted) EA 3, EA 6, EA 8, EA 9, EA 10, EA 11
Type 8	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. iii) greetings (inverted) EA 44, EA 170A, EA 170B
Type 9	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. iii) greetings (inverted) (2. iv) extended greetings EA 166
Type 10	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. iii) greetings (inverted) (2. v) prostration EA 59
Type 11	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. iii + 2. iv) greetings + extended greetings (inverted) EA 12, EA 15, EA 16
Type 12A	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration EA 50, EA 51, EA 52, EA 53, EA 54, EA 55, EA 58, EA 60, EA 61(?), EA 62, EA 64, EA 65, EA 82, EA 84, EA 88, EA 90, EA 91, EA 93, EA 94, EA 103, EA 104, EA 106, EA 126, EA 129, EA 136, EA 137, EA 138, EA 139, EA 140, EA 141, EA 142, EA 143, EA 144, EA 145, EA 146, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150, EA 151, EA 152, EA 153, EA 154, EA 155, EA 156, EA 157, EA 159, EA 160, EA 161, EA 164, EA 165, EA 168, EA 171, EA 174, EA 175, EA 176, EA 177, EA 178, EA 182, EA 183(?), EA 185, EA 187, EA 188(?), EA 189, EA 191, EA 192, EA 193, EA 194, EA 195, EA 196, EA 198, EA 199, EA 200, EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 207, EA 211, EA 212, EA 213, EA 215, EA 216, EA 217, EA 220, EA 221, EA 222, EA 223, EA 224, EA 225, EA 226, EA 227, EA 228, EA 229(?), EA 230, EA 231(?), EA 232, EA 233, EA 234, EA 235+327, EA 238, EA 239, EA 241, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 249, EA 250, EA 252, EA 253, EA 254, EA 255, EA 256, EA 257, EA 258, EA 259, EA 260, EA 261,

Type No.	Structure of the Opening Passage
	EA 262, EA 263(?), EA 264, EA 265, EA 266, EA 267, EA 268, EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 272, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 277, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 281, EA 282, EA 284, EA 285, EA 286, EA 287, EA 288, EA 289, EA 290, EA 292, EA 293, EA 294, EA 295, EA 296, EA 297, EA 298, EA 299, EA 300, EA 301, EA 302, EA 303, EA 304, EA 305, EA 306, EA 307(?), EA 308(?), EA 309(?), EA 311(?), EA 312(?), EA 314, EA 315, EA 316, EA 317, EA 318, EA 319, EA 320, EA 321, EA 322, EA 323, EA 324, EA 325, EA 326, EA 328, EA 329, EA 330, EA 331, EA 332(?), EA 336, EA 337, EA 338(?), EA 362, EA 363, EA 364, EA 365, EA 366, EA 378 (plus EA 333)
Type 12B	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration (2. v) prostration EA 63, EA 184, EA 209, EA 283
Type 12C	report on tablet's origin (1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration (1) heading EA 100
Type 13	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration (2. iii) greetings (inverted) EA 48, EA 158
Type 14	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration (2. iii) greetings (simple) (2. iv) extended greetings EA 45(?), EA 49(?)
Type 15	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. v) prostration (2. vi) divine blessings EA 71, EA 73, EA 77, EA 85, EA 86, EA 87, EA 92, EA 95, EA 102, EA 118, EA 125
Type 16	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. vi) divine blessings EA 96, EA 97
Type 17	(1) heading (2) salutations (2. vi) divine blessings (2. v) prostration EA 68, EA 74, EA 75, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81, EA 83, EA 89, EA 105, EA 107, EA 108, EA 109, EA 110(?), EA 112, EA 114, EA 116, EA 117, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123, EA 124, EA 130, EA 132
Type 18	(1) heading (3) statement concerning the tablet EA 99, EA 367, EA 369, EA 370

Table 14 An overview of the structures employed in the opening passages of the Amarna letters.

THE HEADING

When composing an official letter in the modern times we have quite a few instruments at our disposal to help us with the task. There are numerous ‘guidebooks’ available on writing business letters, letters of invitation, letters of congratulation and many other types of letters. Whatever the type of letter, it is understood that it should contain a return address within the header. These days the return address is often printed on the stationery, so there is no need to write it out again at the top of the letter’s first page. In any case the heading, containing an identification of both correspondents, represents an inseparable element of any written modern communication. The very same could be said about the Amarna correspondence, where the heading which in the absolute majority of the documents represents the first part of the letter,⁵⁴² remains an absolutely essential part of the letter. It also contains a clear and indisputable identification of the sender and the addressee – indisputable at least within the framework of the particular communication. Such identification must have been obvious to both correspondents at the time a letter was written, but with the passing of time it might have become less so to other readers attempting to ‘decode’ the information contained in the message. Although there was no stationery in the modern sense of the word available to the scribes of the Amarna letters, there still might have existed some ‘guidebooks’ for letter-writing. In order to compose a professional communication in a written form, we can nowadays simply open a printed book or a particular file on our computer and copy the necessary phrases. Professional written communication must in any case be clear and coherent and at the same time must be composed in the correct form and order. The very same principles apply to the Amarna epistolography and we cannot rule out the possibility that even the scribes of the Amarna age might have had some kind of ‘guidebook’ at their disposal which could nowadays be called something like ‘*How to Write a Diplomatic Letter*.’ The role of such ‘guidebook’ might have been fulfilled by other letters sent or received by the same ‘scribal office,’ meaning that the scribes did not have to rely solely upon what they have learnt at ‘school.’ This ‘guidebook,’ might also have had the form of a special tablet or tablets containing the fundamental epistolary and diplomatic phrases.

Contrary to the modern way which sees the heading in most cases placed in the middle of the page and the first line starting at the left margin, the Amarna heading starts at the very top of the tablet. Another difference between the modern and Amarna epistolography is the indispensable presence of the date in modern letters while in the Amarna correspondence – similar to other corpora – there is, unfortunately, no date stated either in the heading or in other parts of the message.

So is there any pattern or protocol that might be recognized in the Amarna letters? For the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit the first generalizing conclusions were drawn already by Jean Nougayrol in 1955⁵⁴³ and his findings were later confirmed by Sally W. Ahl.⁵⁴⁴ While certain elements are closely associated with the person of the scribe, others ‘On y constante, au contraire, une grande uniformité dans le style et, en particulier, dans les formules. On notera surtout, à ce point de vue, que la disposition de l’*adresse* paraît y être soumise à un protocole plus strict que ceux de Tell el Amarna ou de Boghazkeuï.’⁵⁴⁵ Nougayrol was not only able to classify the *adresse* according to the

⁵⁴² Cf. EA 100.
⁵⁴³ Cf. NOUGAYROL. (1955: 2–3).
⁵⁴⁴ Consult AHL. (1973: 69–74).
⁵⁴⁵ NOUGAYROL. (1955: 2).

sequence of the sender and the addressee but, with respect to the sequence, he even reached more general conclusions as far as the social status of the correspondents was concerned. The address – in our terminology ‘the heading’ – in which the identification of the addressee preceded the identification of the sender (i.e. *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT]) thus should be reserved for a communication of a person with a lower social status than the addressee, while for a communication between two socially equal partners or in letters from a superior to his subject the sequence of the identification of the sender followed by the identification of the addressee is employed (cf. *umma* SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT]).⁵⁴⁶ As has already been mentioned Nougayrol's propositions were further elaborated by S. Ahl who paid more attention to the individual components of the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit recognizing two main elements within the heading – the elliptical statement of speech of the sender (i.e. the identification of the sender) and the injunction to speak to the addressee (i.e. the identification of the addressee).⁵⁴⁷ The explicit identification of both, the sender and the addressee, is provided by means of their respective personal names and/or functional and/or honorific titles.

The corpus of the Amarna opening passages, defined in the previous part, consists of a total of 290 examples. However in some texts the state of preservation of the headings is very fragmentary and the relevant passages do not allow us to reconstruct the original structure with certainty. Nineteen documents thus had to be marked as ‘not applicable’ and could not be brought into further discussions, cf. EA 5, EA 18, EA 42, EA 45, EA 91, EA 145, EA 146, EA 171, EA 176, EA 188, EA 199, EA 231, EA 263, EA 277, EA 285, EA 307, EA 308, EA 311 and EA 312. For a discussion of the structure of the heading we thus have 271 headings as preserved in the Amarna corpus at our disposal.

It soon became clear that the basic binominal scheme of Nougayrol would not be sufficient for the Amarna material. And thus – even though with respect to the structure of the opening passage as a whole the heading is a less variable element within the passage, it was necessary to split it into eight separate types not only according to the sequence of the individual elements but also according to the presence or absence of the particular verbal forms used within the heading.

Type 1⁵⁴⁸

Structure

ana ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. ‘Ces adresses sont rédigées de deux manières – peut-être issues de traditions divergentes, ou successives ... soit, A représentant le nom ou (// et) la qualité de l'expéditeur, B celui ou (// et) celle du destinataire:

1. *ana B qibi-ma umma A*
2. *umma A ana B qibi-ma*

D'après certains de ces exemples particulièrement nets, la formule 1, qui *met en avant* le nom du destinataire, distingue, à Ras Shamra, les lettres d'un inférieur – de droit ou de fait – à un supérieur, tandis que la formule 2, qui *met en avant* le nom de l'expéditeur, y est employée entre égaux ou à l'égard d'un subalterne. Ce détail nous permet, sans doute, à l'occasion, d'éclaircir la position respective des correspondants.’ NOUGAYROL (1955: 2–3).

⁵⁴⁷ For a short overview of Ahl's thesis, cf. chapter 3.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. SALONEN (1967: 62, No. 3).

⁵⁴⁹ Attestations with the enclitic particle *-ma*: EA 30, EA 49, EA 51, EA 52, EA 53, EA 59, EA 73, EA 103, EA 152(?), EA 156, EA 159, EA 161, EA 164, EA 166, EA 282, EA 301, EA 305, EA 319, EA 369; attestations without the enclitic particle *-ma*: EA 33, EA 48, EA 60, EA 61(?), EA 71, EA 93, EA 97(?), EA 100, EA 136, EA 138, EA 140, EA 142, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 151, EA 153, EA 158, EA 170A, EA 170B, EA 177, EA 178, EA 182(?), EA 184(?), EA 189, EA 191, EA 193, EA 212, EA 215, EA 234, EA 253, EA 254, EA 258, EA 259, EA 265, EA 283, EA 298, EA 299, EA 302, EA 303, EA 304, EA 314, EA 315, EA 316, EA 320, EA 322, EA 323, EA 324, EA 325, EA 326, EA 328, EA 329, EA 331, EA 364, EA 378; the relevant passage is too damaged to reconstruct it with certainty: EA 62, EA 124, EA 125, EA 139, EA 150, EA 154, EA 155, EA 160, EA 165, EA 168, EA 194, EA 238, EA 264, EA 272, EA 284, EA 306, EA 309, EA 321, EA 332, EA 338.

Attestations

EA 30, EA 33, EA 48, EA 49, EA 51, EA 52, EA 53, EA 59, EA 60, EA 61(?), EA 62(?), EA 71, EA 73, EA 93, EA 97(?), EA 100, EA 103, EA 124(?), EA 125(?), EA 136, EA 138, EA 139(?), EA 140, EA 142, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150(?), EA 151, EA 152(?), EA 153, EA 154(?), EA 155(?), EA 156, EA 158, EA 159, EA 160(?), EA 161, EA 164, EA 165(?), EA 166, EA 168(?), EA 170A, EA 170B, EA 177, EA 178, EA 182(?), EA 184(?), EA 189, EA 191, EA 193, EA 194, EA 212, EA 215, EA 234, EA 238, EA 253, EA 254, EA 258, EA 259, EA 264, EA 265, EA 272(?), EA 282, EA 283, EA 284(?), EA 298, EA 299, EA 301, EA 302, EA 303, EA 304, EA 305, EA 306, EA 309(?), EA 314, EA 315, EA 316, EA 319, EA 320, EA 321(?), EA 322(?), EA 323, EA 324, EA 325, EA 326, EA 328, EA 329, EA 331, EA 332(?), EA 338(?), EA 364, EA 378

Commentary

In this type of heading the identification of the addressee precedes the identification of the sender. Thus, according to Nougayrol, this type of heading should be reserved for correspondence between an inferior, as a sender, and his respective superior partner, as an addressee. This proposition can be undoubtedly accepted for the majority of attestations, i.e. the so-called ‘vassal’ letters, including the letters of the Ugaritic provenance.⁵⁵⁰

However, this explanation cannot be accepted in the case of EA 30. This is a letter from Tušratta, king of Mitanni, to Canaanite rulers. On the one hand, the local kinglets are identified in the letter as the ‘kings’ (line 1), but on the other hand, the lower social status of these individuals is clearly stated by expressing their inferior position towards the king of Egypt, i.e. ‘servants of my brother’ (line 2). The usage of this particular type of heading, however, cannot be conditioned in this case by the ‘inferior – superior’ relationship between the sender (Tušratta) and the addressees (kings of Canaan) and this explanation is thus hardly acceptable.

The very same situation applies in EA 369, which is a letter from the Egyptian king Amenhotep III addressed to Milkilu, the ruler of Gezer. Neither in this letter can the preference given to this particular type of heading be identified with a superior social position of the addressee!⁵⁵¹

And once more, the very same type of heading appears also in EA 33, a letter from the king of Alasiya to his ‘brother,’ the Egyptian king. By using the term ‘brother’ when addressing the king of Egypt, the Alasiyan king clearly declares the social equality of the two correspondents. However, if we consider the tradition attested in the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit, we would expect the letter to contain the type of heading in which the identification of the sender precedes the identification of the addressee and not *vice versa*.

Type 2⁵⁵²

Structure

ana ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_{[IMPERATIVE, MS](-ma)} — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰ For the special status of some of the letters of Ugaritic origin between the ‘royal’ and ‘the vassal’ correspondence, cf. MYNÁROVÁ (2006a); *Idem* (in press b).

⁵⁵¹ Cf. EA 369: 1–2; ¹*a-na M.mil-ki-ii <LÜ> URU.gaz-ri* ²*um-ma LUGAL-ma* ‘To Milkilu, ruler of Gazri; ²thus (says) the king.’

⁵⁵² Cf. SALONEN (1967: 62, No. 1).

⁵⁵³ Attestations with the enclitic particle *-ma*: EA 1, EA 6, EA 8, EA 9, EA 12, EA 15, EA 16, EA 17, EA 19, EA 20(?), EA 21, EA 23, EA 27(?), EA 28, EA 29(?), EA 35, EA 37, EA 38, EA 39, EA 40(?), EA 55, EA 82, EA 84(?), EA 85, EA 87, EA 96, EA 99, EA 104, EA 118, EA 130, EA 132, EA 250, EA 257, EA 267, EA 281, EA 286, EA 288, EA 290, EA 297; attestations without the enclitic particle *-ma*: EA 10(?), EA 63, EA 64, EA 65, EA 95, EA 98, EA 102, EA 141, EA 143(?), EA 144, EA 174, EA 175, EA 185, EA 187, EA 192, EA 195, EA 198, EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 209, EA 211, EA 213, EA 216, EA 220, EA 221, EA 223, EA 224(?), EA 225, EA 227, EA 228, EA 229(?), EA 230 (cf. line 1: *qi-bi<-ma>*), EA 232, EA 233, EA 235+327, EA 239, EA 241, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 249, EA 252, EA 255, EA 256, EA 261, EA 262, EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 293(?), EA 294, EA 295(?), EA 296, EA 300(?), EA 330, EA 334(?), EA 337, EA 363, the enclitic particle *-ma* is neither written in EA 333; the relevant passage is too damaged to reconstruct it with certainty in the following texts: EA 2, EA 3, EA 7, EA 11, EA 26, EA 50, EA 54, EA 58, EA 77, EA 86, EA 90, EA 110, EA 157, EA 162, EA 183, EA 196, EA 200, EA 207, EA 217, EA 222, EA 226, EA 266, EA 268, EA 287, EA 289, EA 292, and EA 336.

Attestations

EA 1, EA 2(?), EA 3(?), EA 6, EA 7(?), EA 8, EA 9, EA 10(?), EA 11(?), EA 12, EA 15, EA 16, EA 17, EA 19, EA 20, EA 21, EA 23, EA 26(?), EA 27, EA 28, EA 29(?), EA 35, EA 37, EA 38, EA 39, EA 40, EA 44, EA 50(?), EA 54(?), EA 55, EA 58(?), EA 63, EA 64, EA 65, EA 77(?), EA 82, EA 84, EA 85, EA 86(?), EA 87, EA 90(?), EA 95, EA 96, EA 98, EA 99, EA 102, EA 104, EA 110(?), EA 118, EA 130, EA 132, EA 141, EA 143(?), EA 144, EA 157(?), EA 162(?), EA 174, EA 175, EA 183(?), EA 185, EA 187, EA 192, EA 195, EA 196(?), EA 198, EA 200(?), EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 207(?), EA 209, EA 211, EA 213, EA 216, EA 217(?), EA 220, EA 221, EA 222(?), EA 223, EA 224, EA 225, EA 226, EA 227, EA 228, EA 229, EA 230, EA 232, EA 233, EA 235+327, EA 239, EA 241, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 249, EA 250, EA 252, EA 255, EA 256, EA 257, EA 261, EA 262, EA 266(?), EA 267, EA 268(?), EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 281, EA 286, EA 287(?), EA 288, EA 289(?), EA 290, EA 292(?), EA 293(?), EA 294, EA 295, EA 296, EA 297, EA 300(?), EA 330, EA 334(?), EA 336(?), EA 337, EA 363 and also EA 333

Commentary

Type 2 represents the heading consisting of the injunction to speak, i.e. the identification of the addressee, and – in comparison with type 1 – inclusive of the verbal form, followed by the elliptical statement of speech, i.e. the identification of the sender. Based on the parallels known from Ugarit, and the same way as in type 1, this type of address should be reserved for letters addressed by a socially less important person to his superior. However, we can easily realize that the Ugaritic parallel would not be suitable for the material preserved in the Amarna corpus. It is even more evident than in type 1 that this particular type of heading might have been used for all types of communication, regardless of the social status of the correspondents or the place of origin of the texts. On the one hand we can find this type of address among the letters addressed by the local Syro-Palestinian kinglets to their master, i.e. the Egyptian king, however, on the other hand, the very same heading is regularly used in the 'royal' letters of the Babylonian kings (Kadašmanenlil I and Burnaburiyaš II), Tušratta of Mitanni, king of Alašiya, and even in the correspondence of the Egyptian pharaoh (Amenhotep III).⁵⁵⁴ However, the attested examples clearly show that the usage was not limited to correspondence between these 'equal' partners, and we may also find it in the letters these kings sent to their respective subjects. This can be illustrated by the correspondence of the Egyptian kings with their subjects,⁵⁵⁵ cf. EA 99: 1–4 ('*a-na ...x ma a[- ...]* ²[LÚ KU]R.*[a]m-m[ī]-ia [...]* ³*[q]t-bf-ma um-ma* ⁴LUGAL-*ma* ⁵To [...] ²[ruler of] Ammiya [...], ³[s]peak; thus (says) ⁴the king:'), EA 162: 1–2 ('*a-na M.a-zi-rī* L[Ú] URU.*a-mu-ur-ra qf-bf-ma* ²*[um-ma-(a)-m]*⁵⁵⁶ LUGAL EN-*ka* ¹[To Aziru], ruler of Amurru, speak; ²(th)u[s (says) the king, your master:'); EA 367: 1–2 ('*a-na M.in-tar-ū-tá* LÚ URU.*ak-ša-pa* ²*qf-bf-ma um-ma* LUGAL-*ma* ³To Endaruta, ruler of Akšap, ²speak; thus (says) the king:'); and EA 370: 1–2 ('*a-na M.i-dī-ia* LÚ URU.*aš-qā-lu-n[a.KI]* ²*qf-bf-ma um-ma* LUGAL-*ma* ³To Yidya, ruler of Ašqaluna, ²speak; thus (says) the king:'). These examples from the letters of Egyptian origin eloquently and aptly document that for the material preserved in the Amarna corpus we may state with certainty that the preference given to the heading of type 2, i.e. *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_{[IMPERATIVE, MS]-ma} — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}, had no connection with the social status of the respective correspondents.⁵⁵⁷ It is also absolutely clear from the preserved attestations that the preference given to this particular type of heading appears to have no connection with the origin of the document. The preference given in relation to the chosen structure of the heading thus might correspond to some other criteria beyond the social status of the correspondents or the provenance of the text.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. EA 1: 1–3 ('*a-na M.ka-dā-aš-ma-D-en-lil* LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-an-du-n[ī]-še* ²ŠEŠ-*ia qf-bf-ma um-ma* M.ni-ib-mu-a-re-*ia* LUGAL GAL ³LUGAL KUR.*mī-iš-ri-i.KI* ŠEŠ-*ka-ma* ⁴To Kadašmanenlil, king of Karaduniaš, ²my brother, speak; thus (says) Nibmuarcya, the great king, ³king of Egypt, your brother:').

⁵⁵⁵ See also type 1, above.

⁵⁵⁶ For the reconstruction, cf. MORAN (1992: 250, n. 1).

⁵⁵⁷ However, it is important to emphasize that this proposition, illustrated through the Amarna texts of Egyptian origin, stands only for the Amarna material since the epistolary material of Egyptian origin of the Ramesside period reflects a completely different tradition as far as the typology of the heading is concerned.

Type 3⁵⁵⁸

Structure

ana ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[PRETERITE, MS]

Attestations

EA 260, EA 317, EA 318

Commentary

The geographical specification of the group of tablets sharing the same heading structure, indicated here as type 3, represented – already since Knudtzon's edition – a rather debatable subject. The structure of the heading detectable in these three letters, i.e. *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[PRETERITE, 3MS], is characterized by the identification of the addressee preceding the identification of the sender followed by the verbal form. However, in contrast to the majority of other headings preserved in the Amarna corpus, the employed verbal form is not the usual imperative ms, usually with the suffixed particle *-ma*, i.e. *qibīma*, but a preterite 3 ms *iqbi*. The same verbal form appears also in some letters from Byblos,⁵⁵⁹ however, in contrast with these letters, in type 3 the verbal form occupies the final position within the heading.

The documents EA 317 and EA 318 from Dagantakala to the pharaoh were classified by Knudtzon among the texts from the southwestern part of the Palestinian region, detaching them from EA 260, addressed to the Egyptian king by a certain Ba'lumir. However, in his 1968 study P. Artzi⁵⁶⁰ ascribed the group of three letters to the Syrian region based on palaeographical, orthographical, grammatical, as well as stylistic and formal features, even though the exact location could not be stated. This idea of geographical singularity of EA 260, EA 317 and EA 318 has recently been undermined by a petrographic analysis. The results of the analysis clearly proved that both EA 317 and EA 318 had actually been written in Gaza.⁵⁶¹ The situation thus can be interpreted as follows – Dagantakala, the ruler of a territory in Syria which cannot be identified with certainty, arrived to Gaza accompanied by a scribe, who learnt to write the letters somewhere in the northern areas of the Syro-Palestinian region and according to a tradition distinct from the tradition attested so far at Gaza. When Dagantakala needed to write letters to his Egyptian master, instead of using the local scribes, he gave priority to his 'own' scribe to whom he probably could give credence. The example of Dagantakala and his scribe thus leads us to the conclusion that the place where a particular message was written played only a minor role while the scribe himself and his education were of crucial importance.

Type 4⁵⁶²

Structure

umma SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *ana* ADDRESSEE_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}

Attestations

EA 34

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. SALONEN (1967: 63, No. 6).

⁵⁵⁹ See below, type 7.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. ARTZI (1968).

⁵⁶¹ For the results of the analysis, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 309); unfortunately, EA 260 could not be analyzed.

⁵⁶² Cf. SALONEN (1967: 62, No. 4).

Commentary

Only one tablet contains the heading consisting of the identification of the sender as preceding the identification of the addressee without using the verbal form of the imperative *ms qibīma*, i.e. EA 34, addressed by the king of Alašiya to his Egyptian correspondent. This singularity⁵⁶³ makes it impossible to draw more general conclusions because in all other documents from Alašiya either type 1 or type 2 is employed. However, if we compare the heading used in EA 34 with similar but later documents discovered at Ugarit, and if we suppose that the scribe of EA 34 might have been familiar with a letter-writing tradition slightly different from the one widely used during the Amarna age, we may come to the conclusion that this particular type of heading was used here because the two correspondents were understood by the scribe to be equal partners.

Type 5⁵⁶⁴

Structure

umma SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_{[IMPERATIVE, MS]-ma}

Attestations

EA 41

Commentary

The structure of the heading, indicated here as type 5, consists of the elliptical statement of speech of the sender coming first, followed by the injunction to speak to the addressee with the verbal form of the imperative *qibīma* at the end. Together with EA 42(?) and EA 44, EA 41 belongs among letters of Hittite origin. However, only EA 41 and EA 42(?) are letters addressed by the Hittite king to his Egyptian partner and, unfortunately, the respective heading is preserved only in EA 41. The fact that we have only one letter with this particular type of heading at our disposal complicates the situation, similar to type 4. For the letters of Hittite origin, however, it stands that especially from the reign of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV there are numerous epistolary documents known and available for study.⁵⁶⁵ Among these letters, the same type of heading is widely used, but it must be noted that these texts are representatives of a later tradition, similar to the epistolary material discovered at Ugarit, and thus not quite identical to the Amarna tablets.

Type 6⁵⁶⁶

Structure

SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_{[IMPERATIVE, MS]-ma} — *ana* ADDRESSEE_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma/-mā)}

Attestations

EA 126, EA 129(?), EA 137(?), EA 362

Commentary

It has been already pointed out by Moran⁵⁶⁷ that this group of four letters addressed by Ribhaddi of Byblos to the king of Egypt shared certain features typical only for this subset of documents. Moran

⁵⁶³ For other features of this unique document, see p. 101 in the present volume.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. SALONEN (1967: 62, No. 2).

⁵⁶⁵ For the subject, consult especially HAGENBUCHNER (1989).

⁵⁶⁶ Not recognized by SALONEN (1967: 62–63).

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. MORAN (1992: 206, n. 1).

reached the conclusion that these letters had been written by the same scribe at about the same point in time. One of the features he mentioned was the fact that the 'greeting formula' of EA 126, EA 362 and probably of EA 129 was 'identical and unparalleled' within the whole corpus. The present analysis arrives at the same conclusion, although it seems probable that the same structure of heading might be identified in EA 137 as well.⁵⁶⁸

The provenance of this subset of letters is very interesting. Although the sender of all these epistolary documents is reliably identified as Ribhaddi of Byblos,⁵⁶⁹ the letters were admittedly delivered to Egypt from different sites. Only EA 129 and EA 362 were undoubtedly sent from Byblos,⁵⁷⁰ whereas EA 126 was sent from Šumur⁵⁷¹ and EA 137 from Beirut.⁵⁷² The documents included in the present study as type 6 based on the structure of their heading thus represent the same phenomenon as documents already discussed under type 3. Although the sender, in this case Ribhaddi of Byblos, sent the messages from sites different from his home-city, some of the letters were still written by the same scribe, who then had to accompany his master on his journey in order to be at his disposal. Thus the place where a letter was in fact written was of lesser concern than the tradition learnt and practised by the scribe.

Type 7⁵⁷³

Structure

SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[PRETERITE, 3 MS] — *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT]

Attestations

EA 68, EA 74, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81(?), EA 83, EA 88, EA 89, EA 92, EA 105, EA 106, EA 107⁵⁷⁴

Commentary

This type of heading is dominant among the letters from the earlier group of the Byblos letters. The typical features of this type are: the omission of the particle *umma* in the elliptical statement of speech and the verbal form of preterite 3 *ms (iqbi)*. In all the documents listed in this subset, the addressee of Ribhaddi's letters can be clearly identified as the Egyptian king. With the exception of EA 78, which was written in Sumur, all the remaining analyzed letters were actually composed in Byblos itself.⁵⁷⁵ Thus we might preliminarily consider this type of heading as belonging to some Byblite tradition; however, because all these letters were addressed to the pharaoh, we cannot draw any conclusions as to the possible connection between the social status of the sender and the addressee on the one hand and the preference given to this unique type of the heading, on the other.

Type 8⁵⁷⁶

Structure

SENDER_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[3 MS šapāru Gt stem]⁵⁷⁷ — *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT]

⁵⁶⁸ See Appendix, pp. 186–259.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. *M.ri-ib-id-di* (EA 126: 1); *[M.ri-ib]-ad-d[il]* (EA 129: 1); *M.ri-ib-b-a[d-dil]* (EA 137: 1); *[M.]ri-ib-D.IM-di* (EA 362: 1).

⁵⁷⁰ Consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 143, 153, 158–159).

⁵⁷¹ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 154–155).

⁵⁷² As follows from the content of the letter, see especially EA 137: 14–15, 65–66.

⁵⁷³ Cf. SALONEN (1967: 62–63, No. 5).

⁵⁷⁴ There might be the same type of heading employed also in EA 75 and EA 109.

⁵⁷⁵ Consult especially GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 134–148); petrographically not analyzed: EA 75 and EA 107.

⁵⁷⁷ For a discussion of the verbal form and references to further literature, see p. 176.

Attestations

EA 94, EA 108, EA 116, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123⁵⁷⁸

Commentary

The structure identified as type 8 shares certain features with type 7,⁵⁷⁹ including the omission of the introductory formula *umma* and the substitution of the standard verbal form of imperative ms of *qabû* 'to speak' with a different verbal form or forms, and in this case also by a different verb, i.e. *šapāru* 'to write'.⁵⁸⁰ Finally, the documents were also delivered to the Egyptian king from Ribhaddi, the ruler of Byblos.⁵⁸¹ Thus we may add this type of heading to some Byblite tradition as well. As in the previous cases we cannot postulate any theory concerning the connection between the type of the heading and the social status of both correspondents, because all of the letters are addressed to the pharaoh.

The Heading – Conclusions

The overview of various types of headings attested so far in the Amarna corpus results in several important observations. First, we have to note that the connection between the type of heading and the social status of the correspondents, observed and described in the Akkadian letters found at Ugarit, could not be documented reliably for the Amarna material. The sequence of elements within the heading *ana – umma* employed in the Ugaritic material for the correspondence delivered from a socially less important person to his superior, is used here in all three possible contexts – i.e. in the letters from an inferior to a superior person, from a 'master' to his subject, as well as between two socially equal partners (cf. types 1 and 2). In general we may say that these two types of heading, i.e. type 1: *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)} and type 2: *ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[IMPERATIVE, MSI-ma] — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)} can be, without exaggeration, considered to be the primary types of heading employed within this corpus, because either type 1 or type 2 heading was employed in altogether 237 letters out of 271 included in this particular analysis, i.e. slightly over 87 percent of all texts.

It is necessary to emphasize that in the Middle Babylonian letters, type 2 is widely employed in contrast to the types in which the sequence with the identification of the sender preceding the identification of the addressee, thus *umma – ana*, i.e. types 4 and 5, was attested. According to Salonen⁵⁸² there are no examples of these two types of heading attested in the Middle Babylonian letters. The Amarna headings of type 2, identical to the Middle Babylonian letters, which developed from the Old Babylonian preimage, as well as the heading of type 1, actually do not reflect any respective social positions or the relationship between the two correspondents, but may certainly be regarded as learned formulae and the preference given to the particular type thus is not functional at all! For the scribes of the Amarna period, these two types of heading clearly represented frozen expressions that were simply copied onto the tablets without paying attention to the particular structure. We may thus reach the conclusion that the sequence of the two correspondents attested in the headings of these two types neither contained any underlying information as far as the social status was concerned nor could any geographical context for the employment of both types be recognized.

The later Egypto-Hittite correspondence of the Ramesside period reveals a very interesting aspect of this phenomenon. It has already been observed that the 'international' diplomatic termi-

⁵⁷⁸ It is possible that the very same type of heading has also been used in EA 112, EA 114 and EA 117.

⁵⁷⁹ See above.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. p. 176.

⁵⁸¹ The Byblite origin of EA 108, EA 119, EA 121, EA 123, as well as EA 112 and EA 117, has been confirmed recently, cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 143–154).

⁵⁸² Consult SALONEN (1967: 57–58).

nology of the 13th century B.C.E varies significantly from the 'language of Amarna' in the 14th century B.C.E.⁵⁸³ In the Ramesside correspondence the attested situation differs essentially from the Amarna age also in relation to the type of heading. While in the letters of Egyptian origin within the Amarna corpus the sequence *ana – umma* absolutely predominates, in the correspondence from the Ramesside period there has not been a single employment either of type 1 or type 2 attested so far! Only further studies devoted to the structure and scribal traditions preserved within the Egyptian provenance material in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence may confirm whether the two corpora, i.e. the Amarna and the Ramesside, verily represent two distinct scribal traditions that developed over the course of time.

In the typology of the heading we may also find altogether four types, i.e. type 3, type 6, type 7 and type 8 which might be linked with the respective scribe or a specific scribal tradition disregarding the place where the letters were written; however, it was impossible to evidence a connection between the employment of these types and the social status of the sender and the addressee with any degree of certainty, because all of the letters were addressed to the Egyptian king.

The evidence provided by the remaining two types of heading, i.e. type 4 and type 5, is of limited value. The reason consists in the fact that each type includes a single document only and thus it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusions as regards the provenance of these letters or the social status of the correspondents.

Type No.	Structure of the Heading
Type 1	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)} EA 30, EA 33, EA 48, EA 49, EA 51, EA 52, EA 53, EA 59, EA 60, EA 61(?), EA 62(?), EA 71, EA 73, EA 93, EA 97(?), EA 100, EA 103, EA 124(?), EA 125(?), EA 136, EA 138, EA 139(?), EA 140, EA 142, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150(?), EA 151, EA 152(?), EA 153, EA 154(?), EA 155(?), EA 156, EA 158, EA 159, EA 160(?), EA 161, EA 164, EA 165(?), EA 166, EA 168(?), EA 170A, EA 170B, EA 177, EA 178, EA 182(?), EA 184(?), EA 189, EA 191, EA 193, EA 194, EA 212, EA 215, EA 234, EA 238, EA 253, EA 254, EA 258, EA 259, EA 264, EA 265, EA 272(?), EA 282, EA 283, EA 284(?), EA 298, EA 299, EA 301, EA 302, EA 303, EA 304, EA 305, EA 306, EA 309(?), EA 314, EA 315, EA 316, EA 319, EA 320, EA 321(?), EA 322(?), EA 323, EA 324, EA 325, EA 326, EA 328, EA 329, EA 331, EA 332(?), EA 338(?), EA 364, EA 378
Type 2	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _[IMPERATIVE, MSI-ma] — <i>umma</i> SENDER _{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)} EA 1, EA 2(?), EA 3(?), EA 6, EA 7(?), EA 8, EA 9, EA 10(?), EA 11(?), EA 12, EA 15, EA 16, EA 17, EA 19, EA 20, EA 21, EA 23, EA 26(?), EA 27, EA 28, EA 29(?), EA 35, EA 37, EA 38, EA 39, EA 40, EA 44, EA 50(?), EA 54(?), EA 55, EA 58(?), EA 63, EA 64, EA 65, EA 77(?), EA 82, EA 84, EA 85, EA 86(?), EA 87, EA 90(?), EA 95, EA 96, EA 98, EA 99, EA 102, EA 104, EA 110(?), EA 118, EA 130, EA 132, EA 141, EA 143(?), EA 144, EA 157(?), EA 162(?), EA 174, EA 175, EA 183(?), EA 185, EA 187, EA 192, EA 195, EA 196(?), EA 198, EA 200(?), EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 207(?), EA 209, EA 211, EA 213, EA 216, EA 217(?), EA 220, EA 221, EA 222(?), EA 223, EA 224, EA 225, EA 226, EA 227, EA 228, EA 229, EA 230, EA 232, EA 233, EA 235+327, EA 239, EA 241, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 249, EA 250, EA 252, EA 255, EA 256, EA 257, EA 261, EA 262, EA 266(?), EA 267, EA 268(?), EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 281, EA 286, EA 287(?), EA 288, EA 289(?), EA 290, EA 292(?), EA 293(?), EA 294, EA 295, EA 296, EA 297, EA 300(?), EA 330, EA 334(?), EA 336(?), EA 337, EA 363 and also EA 333
Type 3	<i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] — <i>umma</i> SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _[PRETERITE, 3 MSI] EA 260, EA 317, EA 318

⁵⁸³ МЫНДОВА (in press b).

Type No.	Structure of the Heading
Type 4	<i>umma</i> SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)} EA 34
Type 5	<i>umma</i> SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _{[IMPERATIVE, MS](-ma)} EA 41
Type 6	SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _{[IMPERATIVE, MS](-ma)} — <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma/-mi)} EA 126, EA 129(?), EA 137(?), EA 362
Type 7	SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _[PRETERITE, MS] — <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] EA 68, EA 74, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81(?), EA 83, EA 88, EA 89, EA 92, EA 105, EA 106, EA 107
Type 8	SENDER _[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM _[3 MS <i>šapāru</i> Gt stem] — <i>ana</i> ADDRESSEE _[PN/TIT/EXT] EA 94, EA 108, EA 116, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123

Table 15 An overview of the structures employed in the headings of the Amarna letters.

THE SENDER AND THE ADDRESSEE

When the 122nd emperor of Japan, the Meiji emperor – Mutsuhito by his personal name, ascended the throne on February 3, 1867, he inherited a fragmented and isolated feudal country in the midst of a power struggle.⁵⁸⁴ On January 3, 1868 the imperial palace in Kyoto was seized and a day later on January 4 the emperor formally restored his imperial rule. On February 3, 1868⁵⁸⁵ an edict to foreign diplomats was issued in his name to acquaint the diplomats with the new political situation as well as with its consequences for diplomatic protocols, giving clear instructions on how to correctly address the emperor, cf. ‘The Emperor of Japan announces to the sovereigns of all foreign countries and to their subjects that permission has been granted to the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu to return the governing power in accordance with his own request. We shall henceforward exercise supreme authority in all the internal and external affairs of the country. Consequently the title Emperor must be substituted for that of Tycoon, in which the treaties have been made. Officers are being appointed by us to the conduct of foreign affairs. It is desirable that the representatives of the treaty powers recognize this announcement.’⁵⁸⁶

Unfortunately, for the Amarna period we do not have at our disposal any such document containing rules or instructions as far as the identification and titulary of the correspondents is concerned. We may only suppose that the correct designation of the respective sender or addressee appertained to a tradition that was intelligible and comprehensible to all interested parties. The addressee, was introduced – without exception and regardless of the type of structure employed in the heading – by a prepositional phrase containing the preposition *ana*, followed by the personal name to which other functional titles or honorific epithets could be added. The elements by which the addressee is identified, contrary to the type of the heading, again provide a relatively abundant source of material. Among these we can recognize three main categories which might be more simply classified as functional, diplomatic and honorific.

‘Brothers’ – The Sender and the Addressee in the ‘Royal’ Correspondence

It has long been recognized that in correspondence of the Amarna age, a terminology based on a family metaphor was widely employed – the society or the state was understood as ‘household.’ Thus the rulers of the Great Powers, as well as of the lesser ‘independent’ kingdoms (i.e. Arzawa and Alašiya),⁵⁸⁷ whose correspondence is usually indicated as ‘international’ or ‘royal’, virtually became ‘brothers’ to one another. In other words, we may say that an epistolary document can be recognized as belonging among the ‘royal’ letters once a prostration formula is absent in the salutations. This definition makes it possible also to include in this category letters exchanged between other members of the royal court, such as EA 12 from a Babylonian princess (DUMU.MI LUGAL) and EA 41 from the Hittite prince Zita (DUMU LUGAL) to the Egyptian king, as well as letter EA 40 of Alašīyan origin addressed by a high court official (MAŠKIM) to his partner in Egypt.

⁵⁸⁴ For a detailed overview of the events, including references to further literature, see recently especially JANSEN – ROZMAN (eds.) (1986); JANSEN (ed.) (1999); KEENE (2002); GORDON (2003); NOTEHELPER (2006).
⁵⁸⁵ However, the formal coronation of the emperor took place only on September 12, 1868.
⁵⁸⁶ SATOW (1969: 324) quoted by NOTEHELPER (2006: 7).
⁵⁸⁷ For the Great Powers and the Independent states, cf. recently especially MORAN (1992: xxii–xxvi); LIVERANI (1999: 312–314); COHEN – WESTBROOK (2000: 6–8); RAGIONIERI (2000: 46).

The primary means of successful communication, i.e. of ensuring that the message will be delivered to the desired subject, is the clear identification of the addressee of the document. The second integral part of successful communication is the unequivocal identification of the sender of the message by the addressee. The primary identification of both correspondents must be purely functional, providing the respective names and the functions of the two persons.

Only when it is assured that the message will be delivered to the right person and the addressee will certainly identify the identity of the sender, the second level of identification, containing the social status of both correspondents with a special emphasis given to the interrelated nature of their relationship, can follow. However, this type of identification can be understood only as secondary. This is where the above mentioned family metaphor enters the picture. The parity between two partners as attested in this type of correspondence can be described in terms of the family metaphor as ‘brotherhood;’ however, it is necessary to emphasize that such honorific identification of the correspondents would be insufficient for the identification of the respective parties.

The general principles of identification can also be readily observed in the Amarna corpus. From the following overview, it appears that in the Amarna letters, the explicit and unmistakable identification of both partners has been provided by means of their personal names followed by the title ‘king⁵⁸⁸ of GN.’ The absence of the title of the addressee, i.e. ‘the king of GN’ in EA 6, which is a letter from the Babylonian king Burnaburiyaš II to Amenhotep III of Egypt, can be interpreted with certainty as a mistake on the part of the scribe because it is the only instance where the rules of the general identification are violated in this way. On the other hand, the systematic exclusion of the names of either partner from the heading is characteristic of the correspondence of the Alašīyan ruler. Neither the sender nor the addressee are named by their respective personal names and the identification of both correspondents is thus ensured only by the respective titles.⁵⁸⁹

In this type of correspondence the relationship between the sender and the addressee can be expressed by using a single clear expression – ‘equivalence.’ The two correspondents are equivalent to each other, they are considered equivalent partners and neither of them holds a superior position. Proof for this statement can be found in the structure of their identification, presented in table 16.⁵⁹⁰ In the majority of cases the means of identifying the sender are reflected in the identification of the addressee, although the sequence of the individual elements might be different.⁵⁹¹ In this type of correspondence, the system of ‘equivalence’ or ‘balance’ can be observed both in the letters exchanged between the kings⁵⁹² and in the letters of other members of the royal court, as well as in the letter from the Alašīyan official. Diversions from this scenario are present but not to a considerable extent.

EA (origin)	Identification of the Sender	Identification of the Addressee
EA 1 (Egypt)	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 2 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-la

⁵⁸⁸ Replaced by the title ‘queen’ in EA 26: 1, cf. ¹[a-na E-te-i-e N]IN KUR.mi-[iṣ-ri-i qf-bf-ma], ¹‘[To Teye, the mis]tress of Egypt, speak;].’

⁵⁸⁹ The very same scenario can be observed in EA 40, a letter addressed by an unnamed Alašīyan governor to his partner in Egypt. Both officials are identified exclusively by their respective titles.

⁵⁹⁰ The differences in the identifications present in the completely reconstructed passages are not highlighted.

⁵⁹¹ Cf. especially the Mitannian correspondence.

⁵⁹² Although EA 30 is addressed by the Mitannian king to the ‘kings of Canaan’ (LUGAL.MEŠ ša KUR.ki-na-a-ab-[bī], line 1), the inferior status of the addressees in comparison with that of the sender is clearly demonstrated by their secondary identification as ‘the servants of my brother’ (IR.MEŠ ŠEŠ-ia, line 2). Thus the balance of the identification cannot be observed here.

EA (origin)	Identification of the Sender	Identification of the Addressee
EA 3 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GN — [probably ŠEŠ-ia]
EA 5 (Egypt)	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GAL [?]] — [LUGAL GN [?]]	[PN [?]] — [probably LUGAL GN] — [ŠEŠ-ia [?]]
EA 6 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 7 (Babylonia)	PN — [LUGAL GAL [?]] — LUGAL GN — [probably a-ḫu-ka-ma]	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — [ŠEŠ-ia [?]]
EA 8 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 9 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GN
EA 10 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN	PN — LUGAL GN
EA 11 (Babylonia)	PN — LUGAL GN — [ŠEŠ-ka-ma [?]]	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 12	DUMU.MÍ LUGAL-ma	M.bé-lf-ia
EA 15 (Assyria)	PN — LUGAL GN	LUGAL GN
EA 16 (Assyria)	PN — LUGAL GN — LUGAL GAL — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — [LUGAL GAL [?]] — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 17 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — [LUGAL GN [?]] — ŠEŠ-ia
EA 18 (Mitanni)	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GN [?]] — [probably ŠEŠ-ka-ma]	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GN [?]]
EA 19 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GAL — e-mi-i-ka ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ú-ka — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-la — ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra- ² -am-an-ni ù ša a-ra-am-mu-uš
EA 20 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GN — e-mu-ú-ka ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ú-ka — ŠEŠ-ka	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia — ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra- ² -a-mu ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni
EA 21 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ka — e-mu-ka ù ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia — ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra-am-mu-uš ù ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni
EA 23 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GN — ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ka e-mu-ka-ma	N — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-la — ḫa-ta-ni-la p ša a-ra- ² -a-mu ù ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni
EA 26 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GN	[PN [?]] — NIN GN
EA 27 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN — [e-mu-ka ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ka [?]] — [ŠEŠ-ka-ma [?]]	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GAL [?]] — [LUGAL GN] — ŠEŠ-ia — [probably ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra-am-mu-uš ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni]
EA 28 (Mitanni)	PN — LUGAL GN — e-mu-ú-ka ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ú-ka — ŠEŠ-ka-ma	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ-ia — ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni ù ša a-ra-mu-uš
EA 29 (Mitanni)	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GAL [?]] — [LUGAL GN [?]] — ŠEŠ-ka-ma — e-mi-ka ša i-ra- ² -a-mu-ka	[PN [?]] — [LUGAL GN [?]] — [probably ŠEŠ-ia] — ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra-am-mu-ú-uš ù ša i-ra- ² -a-ma-an-ni
EA 30 (Mitanni)	LUGAL-ma	LUGAL.MEŠ GN — IR.MEŠ ŠEŠ-la

EA (origin)	Identification of the Sender	Identification of the Addressee
EA 33 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ka</i>	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>
EA 34 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia-ma</i>
EA 35 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ka-ma</i>	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>
EA 37 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ka-ma</i>	LUGAL GN — [probably ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>]
EA 38 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ka-ma</i>	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>
EA 39 (Alašiya)	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ka-ma</i>	LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>
EA 40 (Alašiya)	[probably MAŠKÍM GN] — [ŠEŠ- <i>ka-ma</i> ?]	MAŠKÍM GN — [ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i> ?]
EA 41 (Ḫatti)	[D.UTU- <i>ši</i> ?] — PN — LUGAL GAL — LUGAL GN	PN — LUGAL GN — ŠEŠ- <i>ia</i>
EA 44 (Ḫatti)	PN — DUMU LUGAL — DUMU- <i>ka</i>	<i>be-lf</i> — LUGAL GN — <i>a-bi-ia</i>

Table 16 The relationship between the sender and the addressee as reflected in the ‘royal’ correspondence.

The ‘Royal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Addressee

(A1) PERSONAL NAME (PN)

Amenhotep III M.*ni-mu-wa-ri-ia* (EA 2: 1); [M.*ni-ib-m*]u-²-*wa-ri-ia* (EA 3: 1); ¹M.¹ni¹-¹mu¹-¹wa¹-¹ri¹-¹ia¹ (EA 6: 1); M.*ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ia* (EA 17: 1); M.*ni-im-mu-ri-ia* (EA 19: 1); [M.*ni-im*]-*mu-ū-a-ri-ia* (EA 20: 1); M.*ni-im-mu-ri-ia* (EA 21: 1; EA 23: 1); **Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten** [M.*na-ap-ḫu*]-*ru-ri-ia* (EA 7: 1); *na-ap-ḫu-²-ru-¹ri¹-ia* (EA 8: 1); *ni-ip-ḫu-ur-ri-ri-ia* (EA 9: 1); [*na-ap-ḫu*]-*ra-i-i-ia* (EA 10: 1); M.*na-ap-ḫu-ru-¹ri¹-ia* (EA 11: 1); M.*n[a-a]p-ḫu-[r]i-i-ia* (EA 16: 1); M.*nap-ḫur-i-ri-ia* (EA 28: 1); **Ḫurlyā** M.*ḫu-u-ri-i-ia* (EA 41: 2); **Kadašmanenlil I** ¹M.¹ka-¹da¹-¹aš¹-¹ma¹-¹an-¹EN.LÍL¹ (EA 1: 1); [M.]*ka-[da-aš-ma-an-EN.LÍL]* (EA 5: 2);

(A2) ‘THE KING OF GN’

‘the king of Egypt’ LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i* (EA 2: 1; EA 11: 1; EA 19: 1; EA 21: 2); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i* (EA 3: 1; EA 23: 1; EA 28: 1); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-[ri-i]* (EA 7: 1); ¹LUGAL¹ KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i* (EA 8: 2); LUGAL KUR.*m[i-iš-ri-i]* (EA 9: 1; EA 10: 1); LUGAL KUR.*m[i-iš-ša-ri]* (EA 15: 1); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ša-ri* (EA 16: 2); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i* (EA 17: 1); LUGAL KUR.*[mi-iš-ri-i]* (EA 20: 1); [LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš*]-*ri-i* (EA 27: 1); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri* (EA 33: 1; EA 34: 2; EA 39: 1); [LUGAL-*ri* KUR.*mi-iš-ri* (EA 35: 1); LUGAL KUR.*[mi-iš-ri]* (EA 37: 1); LUGAL-*ri* KUR.*mi-iš-ri* (EA 38: 1); [LUGAL KUR.URU.D.*mī-iš-ri-i*.KI (EA 41: 3); LUGAL KUR. ¹URU¹.¹D¹.¹mi¹-¹iš¹-¹ri¹-[i]; **‘the king of Karadunliyaš’** LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-D.du-n[i]-še* (EA 1: 1); [LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-D.du-ni-ia-[aš]* (EA 5: 3)

(A3) ‘THE KINGS OF GN’

‘the kings of Canaan’ LUGAL.MEŠ *ša* KUR.*ki-na-a-aḫ-[ḫ]* (EA 30: 1)

(A4) ‘THE MISTRESS OF GN’

‘the mistress of Egypt’ [N]IN KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i* (EA 26: 1)

(A5) ‘THE GOVERNOR OF GN’

‘the governor of Egypt’ [M]AŠKÍM *ša* KUR.*mi-iš-ri* (EA 40: 1)

(A6) ‘SERVANTS OF MY BROTHER’

ÌR.MEŠ ŠEŠ-*ia* (EA 30: 2)

(A7) ‘THE GREAT KING’

LUGAL GAL (EA 7: 1; EA 19: 1; EA 21:1)

(A8) ‘MY BROTHER’

¹ŠEŠ¹-*ia* (EA 1: 2; EA 16: 2; EA 27: 1); ŠEŠ[-*ia*] (EA 2: 1; EA 19: 1); [ŠEŠ-*ī*]a (EA 3: 1); ŠEŠ-*ia* (EA 6: 2; EA 8: 2; EA 17: 2; EA 20: 1; EA 21: 2; EA 23: 2; EA 28: 1; EA 33: 1; EA 35: 1; EA 38: 1; EA 41: 3); ŠE[Š-*ia*] (EA 11: 1); [ŠE]Š-*ia* (EA 29: 1; EA 39: 1); ŠEŠ-*ia-ma* (EA 34: 2); [ŠEŠ]-¹ia¹ (EA 37: 1)

(A9) ‘MY FATHER’

a-bi-ia (EA 44: 2)

(A10) ‘MY MASTER’

M.*bé-lf-ia* (EA 12: 1); *be-lf* (EA 44: 1)

(A11) ‘MY SON-IN-LAW, WHO LOVES ME/WHOM I LOVE AND WHOM I LOVE/WHO LOVES ME’

‘my son-in-law, who loves me and whom I love’ *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra-²-am-an-ni ù ša a-ra-a[m-mu-uš]* (EA 19: 2); *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra-²-[a-ma-an-ni] ù ša a-ra-mu-uš* (EA 28: 2–3); **‘my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me’** *ḫa-ta-ni-ia [ša a-ra]-²-a-mu ša i-ra-¹-[a-ma-an-ni]* (EA 20: 2); *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-¹ra¹-am-mu-uš ù ša i-ra-²-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 21: 3–4); *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra-²-a-mu ù ša i-ra-²-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 23: 2–3); *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša [a-ra-am-mu-uš ša i-ra-²-a-ma-an-ni]* (EA 27: 1–2); *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša a-[ra-a]m-mu-ū-uš ù ša i-r[a-²-a-ma-an-ni]* (EA 29: 1)

The ‘Royal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Sender

(S1) PERSONAL NAME (PN)

Amenhotep III M.*ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ia* (EA 1: 2); [M.*ni-ib-mu-a-r*]i-i[*a*] (EA 5: 1); Aššuruballit I M.D.a-šur-TI.L[A] (EA 15: 3); M.D.a-šur-TI.LA (EA 16: 3); **Burnaburiyaš II** *bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš* (EA 6: 3; EA 8: 3; EA 9: 3; EA 10: 2); *bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-[aš]* (EA 7: 2); [M.*bur-*]na-bu-¹ri¹-¹ia¹-aš (EA 11: 2); **Kadašmanenlil I** M.*ka-da-aš-¹ma¹-[an-EN.LÍL]* (EA 2: 2); [M.*ka-d*]a-aš-ma-an-EN.LÍL (EA 3: 3); **Šuppiluliuma I** M.*šu-up-pf-[ḫu-li-u-ma]* (EA 41: 1); **Tušratta** M.*tu-iš-e-rat-ta* (EA 17: 3); M.*tu-uš-rat-ta* (EA 19: 3); [M.]*tū-uš-rat-ta* (EA 20: 3); M.*tū-uš-rat-ta* (EA 21: 5; EA 23: 4; EA 28: 4); [M.*tū-uš*]-*rat-ta* (EA 26: 2); [M.]*ū-uš-rat-ta* (EA 27: 2); **Zita** M.*zi-t[a]-a* (EA 44: 3)

(S2) ‘THE KING OF GN’

‘the king of Alašiya’ LUGAL KUR.*a-la-ši-ia* (EA 33: 2; EA 34: 1; EA 35: 2; EA 39: 3); [LUGAL K]UR ¹a¹-¹la-¹si-¹i[*a*] (EA 37: 2); LUGAL-*ri* KUR.*a-la-ši-¹ia¹* (EA 38: 2); **‘the king of Assyria’** [LUGAL KUR.D.a-]šur-*ma* (EA 15: 3); LUGAL KU[R].D.[a-šur] (EA 16: 3); **‘the king of Egypt’** LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i*.KI (EA 1: 3); **‘the king of Ḫatti’** [LUGAL KUR.UR]U.D.[ḫa-a-*a*]t-ti.KI (EA 41: 2); **‘the king of Karadunliyaš’** LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra[-D.du-ni-ia-aš]* (EA 2: 2); LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-D.du-n[i]-ia-aš* (EA 3: 3); LUGAL KU[R].*ka-ra-D.du-ni-ia-aš* (EA 6: 3); [LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-D.du-ni-ia-aš* (EA 7: 3); LUGAL KUR.*ka-¹ra¹[-D.du-ni-ia-aš]* (EA 8: 3); LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-d[u-n]i-ia-aš* (EA 9: 3); LUGAL KUR.*ka-ra-D.d[u-n]i-ia-aš* (EA 10: 2); **‘the king of Mitanni’** LUGAL KUR.[*mīl*]-*it-ta-a[n-ni]* (EA 17: 3); LUGAL KUR.*mi-*

i-it-ta-an-ni (EA 19: 4); LUGAL KUR.*mi-i-t[a-an-ni]* (EA 20: 3); LUGAL KUR.*mi-ta-an-ni* (EA 21: 6); LUGAL *mi-i-ta-an-ni* (EA 23: 4); LUGAL *mi-[ta-an-ni]* (EA 26: 2); LUGAL KUR.*mi-^ri-[ta-an-ni]* (EA 27: 2); LUGAL KUR.*mi-it-ta-a-an-ni* (EA 28: 4); [LUGAL KUR.*mi-it-ta-an-ni*]*i* (EA 29: 2)

(S3) 'THE KING'

LUGAL-*ma* (EA 30: 2)

(S4) 'THE KING'S SON'

DUMU LUGAL (EA 44: 3)

(S5) 'THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING'

DUMU.MÍ LUGAL-*ma* (EA 12: 3)

(S6) 'THE GOVERNOR OF GN'

'the governor of Alašiya' [MAŠKÍM š]a KUR.*a-la[-ši-ia]* (EA 40: 3)

(S7) 'THE GREAT KING'

LUGAL GAL (EA 1: 2; EA 16: 4; EA 19: 3; EA 21: 5; EA 27: 2); LU[GA]L G[AL] (EA 41: 1)

(S8) 'YOUR BROTHER'

ŠEŠ-*ka-ma* (EA 1: 3; EA 3: 3; EA 6: 4; EA 8: 4; EA 9: 4; EA 16: 4; EA 17: 4; EA 19: 4; EA 28: 5; EA 35: 2; EA 38: 2; EA 39: 3); *a-ḥ[u-ka-ma]* (EA 7: 3); [ŠEŠ]-*ka-ma* (EA 18: 2); ŠEŠ-*ka* (EA 20: 4; EA 21: 6; EA 33: 2); [ŠEŠ-*ka-m*]*a* (EA 27: 3); [Š]EŠ-*ka-ma* (EA 29: 2); [ŠE]Š-*ka-ma* (EA 37: 3); [ŠEŠ-*ka*]-*ma* (EA 40: 3)

(S9) 'YOUR SON'

DUMU-*ka* (EA 44: 4)

(S10) 'YOUR FATHER-IN-LAW, WHO LOVES YOU'

e-mi-i-[ka] ša *i-ra-²a-mu-ú-ka* (EA 19: 3–4); *e-mu-ú-ka* [ša *i-r*]*a-²a-mu-ú-ka* (EA 20: 3–4); *e-mu-ka* ù ša *i-ra-²a-mu-ka-ma* (EA 21: 6–7); ša *i-ra-²a-mu-ka e-mu-ka-ma* (EA 23: 5); *e-mu-ú-ka* ša *i-ra-²a-mu-ú-ka* (EA 28: 5); *e-mi-ka* ša *i-ra-²a-mu-ka* (EA 29: 2)

From the overview given above, it is apparent that the family metaphor, resulting from the inter-personal relations of the two partners, is a crucial part of the Amarna correspondence. The 'family' relationship, in the form of either 'brotherhood' between two equals, or the 'father – son' relation between socially superior and inferior individuals, is further emphasized when the 'ideal family situation' becomes real. This phenomenon is very well illustrated by the Mitannian correspondence which eloquently attests the real blood-relationship between two royal houses. In his letters to the king of Egypt, Tušratta, the king of Mitanni, identifies himself as 'your father-in-law, who loves you' and the other way round, the king of Egypt is titled either as 'my son-in-law, who loves me and whom I love' or 'my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me'.

The importance of the usage of this family metaphor as a key element of the Amarna diplomacy is attested especially by the Assyrian-Egyptian correspondence. Unfortunately, among the preserved Amarna letters we find only two documents of Assyrian provenance. On the other hand, the limited number of the texts is compensated for, to a great extent, by the contents. Comparing the opening passages, and especially the identifications of both correspondents, in these two texts, we can acquire two completely different pictures. In the first of the two letters, EA 15, the king of Assy-

ria identifies himself solely by his personal name followed by his title (cf. EA 15: 3; M.D.*a-šur-Ti.L*[A LUGAL KUR.D.*a-šur-ma* 'Aššurub[allit], the king of A[ssyria]', and the addressee – the king of Egypt – only by his respective title (cf. EA 15: 1; LUGAL KUR.*m[i-iš-ša-rī]* 'the king of E[gypt]'). However, in his second message, Aššuruballit becomes 'the great king'⁵⁹³ and his personal relationship towards the Egyptian king – this time clearly identified also by his personal name (cf. EA 16: 1, M.*n[a-a]p-ḥu-[r]i-i-ia* 'N[a]pḥu[r]iy[al]') – is elevated to 'brotherhood' (cf. EA 16: 2 and EA 16: 04). An interesting perspective on this phenomenon is presented in the content of EA 15. In the body of the letter, the Assyrian king clearly indicates that his message must be understood on the part of the addressee as an initial 'embassy mission' with the objective of establishing diplomatic relations between the two rulers. Aššuruballit first emphasizes the fact that he, as the king of Assyria, sends his messenger (EA 15: 7, DUMU *ši-ip-ri-ia*) to the pharaoh – none of his predecessors have ever made such contact, but he is the one who initiates their relationship (EA 15: 11, *a-na-ku al-tap-ra-ak-ku*). In order to be accepted as a partner and to confirm his intentions, he also sends to the Egyptian king, as his 'greeting-gift,' (EA 15: 14, [*a-n*]*a šul-ma-ni-ka*) a chariot with two horses and the much valued lapis lazuli. His second message, EA 16, confirms that the initial diplomatic mission has been – at least to a certain degree – successful. The Egyptian king obviously reacted positively to Aššuruballit's message as proven by the content of the new letter. In the letter the arrival of the pharaoh's messengers is mentioned. However, it is apparent from the text that the Egyptian king has not been completely satisfied with the gifts sent to him by his Assyrian partner. This time, however, the tone of Aššuruballit's message is very different from that of the initial note and the Assyrian king deals with his Egyptian partner on a parity basis. Although it is composed in a polite tone, the letter mentions, among other things, the impropriety of the pharaoh's gifts that have been delivered to him, questioning the suitability of such a present for 'the great king.' In order to get what he wants, Aššuruballit – contrary to EA 15 – emphasizes that far more valuable gifts have been sent to one of his predecessors.⁵⁹⁴ He even pressures the pharaoh by mentioning the value of the gifts delivered by Amenhotep III to the king of Mitanni and, since of late, the king of Assyria is equal to the king of Mitanni, he should obtain gifts of the same value. The two messages are thus absolutely different. On the one hand, in EA 15 we can see a subservient Aššuruballit aspiring to become 'a great king' recognized by his partners, while in EA 16 he already acts as a member of the club of the Great Powers, an equal and not duly appreciated ruler. Leaving aside the content of his messages, his promotion to this status can be easily observed in the opening passages of his two letters. The Assyrian example thus clearly shows that by means of using correct and appropriate identification, as well as other parts of the opening passage, the legal status of the individual correspondents was confirmed.

Master and His Subject – the 'Vassal' Correspondence

In the vassal correspondence, the general principles of epistolography illustrated by and observed in the corpus of the royal letters, are also valid. The principles of identification of both parties as attested in the royal Amarna letters can be easily followed through the vassal documents as well. Both the sender and the addressee are identified by means of a series of functional as well as hono-

⁵⁹³ The title of the great king appears in the Amarna royal correspondence both within the identification of the sender (in the letters of Egyptian, Mitannian and Hittite provenance, cf. EA 1: 2; EA 19: 3; EA 21: 5; EA 27: 2; EA 41: 1) and within the identification of the addressee (in the letters of Babylonian and Mitannian origin, cf. EA 7: 1; EA 19: 1; EA 21: 1). The origin of this title might be found in the Mesopotamian area, and subsequently, also the region of Hatti; for the usage of this title in the 'vassal' correspondence, cf. below. For the genesis and distribution of the title, consult a detailed study of ARTZI – MALAMAT (1993).

⁵⁹⁴ The predecessor – 'father' – in the Amarna correspondence mentioned by Aššuruballit is clearly identified by him as Aššurnadinabbe, however, this ancestral contact between Egypt and Assyria remains otherwise unattested. For a further discussion on this subject, see ZACCAGNINI (2000: 150).

rific titles and epithets, although the individual elements are, to a large extent, different from those attested in the first subset of documents discussed earlier in this chapter. The same conclusion applies to the employment of the family metaphor, although in the vassal correspondence, the usage of this phenomenon is rather limited (see below). While in the correspondence of two equal kings the concept of ‘brotherhood’ is employed, in the vassal letters it is replaced by the relationship between a ‘father’ and his ‘son’. The overview given below suggests that the most variable element in the identification of addressees and senders is represented – in this type of correspondence – by the extensive usage of honorific epithets, as well as of the related eloquent expressions of subordination.

The ‘Vassal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Addressee

(A1) PERSONAL NAME (PN)

Abdi-URAŠ M.İR-D.URAŠ (EA 170(B): 36); Amanappa M.*a-ma-an-ap-pa* (EA 73: 1); M.*[a-m]a-[an-ap-pa]* (EA 77: 1); M.*a-[ma]-an-ap-pa* (EA 82: 1); [M.]*a-ma-a[n-ap-pa]* (EA 86: 1); [M.]*a-ma-an-ap-pí* (EA 87: 1); [M.*a-m]a-an-ap-pa* (EA 93: 1); Binana M.DUMU-*a-na* (EA 170(B): 37); Bi[...] MÍ.*b[í-...]* (EA 50: 1); Haya [M.]*ha-ia* (EA 71: 1); M.*ha-a-i* (EA 166: 1); Enderuta M.*in-tar-ú-tá* (EA 367: 1); Milkilu M.*mil-ki-li* (EA 369: 1); Namhūriya M.*n[am]-h[ur-i]a* (EA 53: 1); M.*nam-hur-ia* (EA 55: 1); [P]aḥan[a]te [M.*p]a-ha-n[a]-te* (EA 62: 1); Rab’ilu M.GAL-AN (EA 170(B): 36); Rabišidqu M.GAL-*ší-id-qí* (EA 170(B): 37); Ribhaddi M.*ri-ib-D.IM* (EA 96: 1); Šumhadda M.*šu-mu-ha-d[í]* (EA 97: 1); Tutu M.*tú-ú-tú* (EA 158: 1); M.*tú-u-tú* (EA 164: 1); Yidya M.*i-dí-ia* (EA 370: 1); Yanḥamu M.*ia-an-ḥami* (EA 98: 1); [M.*ia-an-ḥa]-m[í]* (EA 102: 1); M.*ia-an-ḥame* (EA 256: 1); []*[í’] []-í’[í’]* (EA 145: 1)

(A2) ‘THE KING’

LUGAL (EA 49: 1; EA 51: 1; EA 54: 1; EA 84: 1; EA 90: 1; EA 126: 2; EA 132: 1; EA 136: 1; EA 137: 2; EA 138: 1; EA 139: 1; EA 140: 1; EA 141: 1; EA 143: 1; EA 147: 1; EA 148: 1; EA 149: 1; EA 150: 1; EA 151: 1; EA 153: 1; EA 154: 1; EA 155: 1; EA 156: 1; EA 159: 1; EA 168: 1; EA 170(A): 1; EA 174: 1; EA 175: 1; EA 177: 1; EA 183: 1; EA 189: 1; EA 192: 1; EA 207: 1; EA 212: 1; EA 227: 1; EA 258: 1; EA 262: 1; EA 279: 1; EA 298: 1; EA 362: 2; EA 363: 1; EA 364: 1); M.LUGAL (EA 60: 1; EA 201: 1; EA 202: 1; EA 203: 1; EA 204: 1; EA 205: 1; EA 206: 1; EA 213: 1; EA 229: 1; EA 230: 1; EA 250: 1; EA 261: 1; EA 266: 1; EA 267: 1; EA 269: 1; EA 270: 1; EA 271: 1; EA 273: 1; EA 274: 1; EA 278: 1; EA 286: 1; EA 292: 1; EA 294: 1; EA 297: 1; EA 299: 1; EA 302: 1; EA 314: 1; EA 320: 1; EA 321: 1; EA 323: 1; EA 325: 1; EA 326: 1; EA 328: 1; EA 329: 1); [M.LU]GAL (EA 61: 1); M.LUGAL-*ri* (EA 63: 1; EA 64: 1; EA 118: 1; EA 194: 1; EA 195: 1; EA 220: 1; EA 225: 1; EA 228: 1; EA 234: 1; EA 235(+)327: 1; EA 241: 1; EA 242: 1; EA 243: 1; EA 248: 1; EA 249: 1; EA 264: 1; EA 265: 1; EA 283: 1; EA 288: 1; EA 290: 1; EA 303: 1; EA 304: 1; EA 305: 1; EA 324: 1; EA 330: 1; EA 337: 1); [M.LUGAL-*rí*] (EA 65: 1); L[U]GAL (EA 92: 2; EA 217: 1); LUGAL-*ri* (EA 100: 2; EA 103: 1; EA 104: 1; EA 125: 1; EA 130: 1; EA 144: 1; EA 185: 1; EA 211: 1; EA 215: 1; EA 221: 1; EA 232: 1; EA 244: 1; EA 254: 1; EA 255: 1; EA 282: 1; EA 289: 1; EA 366: 1); [LUG]AL-*ri* (EA 124: 1); [LUG]AL (EA 129: 2); L[UG]A[L] (EA 152: 1); LUGAL-*rí*] (EA 157: 1); L[UGAL] (EA 165: 1; EA 259: 1); [LUGAL]-*ri* (EA 187: 1); M.LUGAL-*ma* (EA 191: 1; EA 193: 1; EA 252: 1); [LUGA]L (EA 198: 1); ^ˀLUGAL-*ri* (EA 209: 1); L[UG]AL-*ri* (EA 216: 1); LU[G]AL-*[rí]* (EA 222: 1); M.L[UGAL-*rí*] (EA 223: 1); M.LU[G]A[L] (EA 224: 1; EA 309: 1); [M.]LU[G]A[L]-*ri* (EA 226: 1); M.LUGAL-*rí*] (EA 233: 1); [M.]LUGAL-*[rí]* (EA 239: 1); [M.LUG]AL-*ri* (EA 246: 1); [M.LUG]AL-*rí*] (EA 253: 1); [M.]^ˀLUGAL (EA 268: 1); M.LUG[AL] (EA 272: 1); [M.]LUGAL (EA 280: 1); M.LUGAL-^ˀ*ri* (EA 281: 1); M.LUG[AL]-*ri* (EA 284: 1); [M.LUGAL-*rí*] (EA 285: 1); [M.LUGAL]-*ri* (EA 287: 1); M.LUGAL-*rí*] (EA 296: 1); M.[LU]GAL (EA 301: 1); [M.LUGA]L (EA 315: 1; EA 316: 1); M.L[UGAL] (EA 322: 1); M.L[UG]A[L]-*ri* (EA 331: 1); [M.LU]GAL (EA 332: 1); L[U]GAL-*ri* (EA 334: 1); [LUG]A[L]-*ri* (EA 336: 1); LU[GAL] (EA 338: 1); [LUGA]L-*ri* (EA 365: 1); ^ˀLUGAL (EA 378: 1)

(A3) ‘THE KING OF GN’

‘the king of Egypt’ LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri* (EA 51: 1); LUGAL KUR.*mi-iš-ri*.KI (EA 52: 1); LUGAL KUR-*ti.mi-iš-ri* (EA 59: 1); [LUGAL KU]R.*miš-ri* (EA 88: 2)

(A4) ‘THE RULER OF GN’

‘the ruler of Ammiya’ [LÚ KU]R.*[a]m-m[í]-ia* (EA 99: 2*); L[Ú] URU.*a-mu-ur-ra* (EA 162: 1); ‘the ruler of Akšapa’ LÚ URU.*ak-ša-pa* (EA 367: 1); ‘the ruler of Gazri’ ^ˀLÚ URU.*gaz-r[í]* (EA 369: 1); ‘the ruler of Ašqaluna’ LÚ URU.*aš-qá-lu-n[a.K]I* (EA 370: 1)

(A5) ‘THE MAGNATE’

[LÚ].GAL (EA 95: 1); [L]Ú.GAL (EA 178: 1); [M.]LÚ.GAL (EA 238: 1); L[Ú].GAL (EA 333: 1)

(A6) ‘THE VIZIER’

pa-sí-t[e] (EA 71: 1)

(A7) ‘THE MASTER’

EN-*li* (EA 107: 2); EN (EA 140: 1)

(A8) ‘MY MASTER’

EN-*ia* (EA 49: 1; EA 58: 1; EA 60: 1; EA 61: 1; EA 63: 1; EA 64: 1; EA 85: 1; EA 90: 1; EA 103: 1; EA 104: 1; EA 118: 1; EA 130: 1; EA 132: 1; EA 136: 1; EA 141: 1; EA 143: 1; EA 144: 1; EA 158: 1; EA 159: 1; EA 161: 1; EA 168: 1; EA 175: 1; EA 177: 1; EA 178: 1; EA 185: 1; EA 189: 1; EA 191: 1; EA 192: 1; EA 193: 1; EA 194: 1; EA 201: 1; EA 202: 1; EA 203: 1; EA 205: 1; EA 207: 1; EA 211: 1; EA 213: 1; EA 215: 1; EA 216: 1; EA 220: 1; EA 223: 1; EA 225: 1; EA 227: 1; EA 228: 1; EA 229: 1; EA 232: 1; EA 235(+)327: 1; EA 241: 1; EA 242: 1; EA 244: 1; EA 248: 1; EA 250: 1; EA 254: 1; EA 256: 1; EA 258: 1; EA 261: 1; EA 262: 1; EA 265: 1; EA 267: 1; EA 269: 1; EA 270: 1; EA 271: 1; EA 273: 1; EA 274: 1; EA 278: 1; EA 279: 1; EA 280: 1; EA 282: 1; EA 283: 1; EA 286: 1; EA 287: 1; EA 289: 1; EA 290: 1; EA 292: 1; EA 294: 1; EA 297: 1; EA 298: 1; EA 299: 1; EA 301: 1; EA 302: 1; EA 303: 1; EA 305: 1; EA 314: 1; EA 315: 1; EA 320: 1; EA 323: 1; EA 324: 1; EA 325: 1; EA 326: 1; EA 328: 1; EA 329: 1; EA 330: 1; EA 334: 1; EA 337: 1; EA 363: 1; EA 365: 1; EA 366: 1); *be-lí-ia* (EA 51: 1; EA 53: 1; EA 54: 1; EA 55: 1; EA 152: 1; EA 156: 1; EA 319: 1; EA 321: 1); *be-lí-ia* (EA 62: 1); E[N-*ia*] (EA 65: 1; EA 125: 1; EA 139: 1; EA 160: 1; EA 174: 1; EA 226: 1; EA 243: 1; EA 246: 1; EA 266: 1; EA 336: 1); BE-*ia* (EA 84: 1; EA 187: 1; EA 230: 1); B[E-*ia*] (EA 87: 1); [EN-*í*]a (EA 110: 1; EA 196: 1; EA 233: 1); EN-*í*[a] (EA 124: 1; EA 182: 1; EA 183: 1; EA 217: 1; EA 234: 1; EA 281: 1; EA 284: 1; EA 316: 1); *be-lí-ia* (EA 126: 2; EA 195: 2; EA 204: 2; EA 206: 2; EA 212: 1; EA 260: 1; EA 317: 1; EA 362: 2); *be-[í]i-[ia]* (EA 129: 2; EA 138: 1); *be-[í]i-ia* (EA 137: 2); [b]e-[*li-ia*] (EA 146: 1); EN-*lí-ia* (EA 147: 1; EA 148: 1; EA 149: 1; EA 153: 1; EA 154: 1); *be-[li-ia]* (EA 150: 1); [EN]-*ia* (EA 184: 1; EA 259: 1; EA 293: 1); [E]N-[*ia*] (EA 198: 1; EA 224: 1); *bé-li-í[a]* (EA 209: 1); EN-[*í*]a (EA 221: 1); EN-[*ia*] (EA 238: 1; EA 255: 1; EA 264: 1; EA 331: 1); [E]N-*ia* (EA 239: 2; EA 257: 1; EA 268: 1; EA 295: 1; EA 322: 1); *be-[í]i-ia* (EA 249: 1); *bé-lí-ia* (EA 252: 1); E[N]-*ia* (EA 296: 1); [E]N-^ˀ*ia* (EA 300: 1); *be-lí-[ia]* (EA 318: 1); EN-*<ia>* (EA 332: 1); EN-^ˀ*ia* (EA 364: 1); [EN]-^ˀ*ia* (EA 378: 1)

(A9) ‘HIS MASTER’

EN-*šu* (EA 68: 2; 109: 1; EA 119: 2; EA 121: 2; EA 122: 2; EA 123: 2); EN-*í*[*i-šu*] (EA 74: 1); EN-[*š*]u (EA 75: 2); [E]N-*šu* (EA 78: 2; EA 79: 2); EN-[*šu*] (EA 81: 1; EA 105: 2; EA 114: 1); [EN-*š*]u (EA 83: 2); EN-*š*[u] (EA 91: 1); *be-lí-šu* (EA 92: 2); M.EN-*šu* (EA 108: 2); EN-*lí-[š]u* (EA 112: 2)

(A10) ‘OUR MASTER’

be-lí-ni (EA 59: 1); EN-*nu* (EA 100: 3, 7); EN-*ni* (EA 170(A): 1)

(A11) 'MY MISTRESS'

[b]e-li-ti-^ˁia^ˁ (EA 48: 1); MÍ.NIN-ia (EA 50: 2);

(A12) 'MY FATHER'

a-bi-ia (EA 73: 1; EA 82: 1; EA 164: 1); a-bi-i[a] (EA 158: 1)

(A13) 'MY SON'

[DU]MU-ia (EA 96: 2)

(A14) 'MY BROTHER'

ŠEŠ-ia (EA 166: 1)

(A15) 'THE SUN'

[D].UTU-ši (EA 45: 1); D.UTU-ši (EA 49: 1; EA 51: 1; EA 148: 1); D.UTU_x (EA 60: 1); D.UTU (EA 61: 1; EA 85: 1; EA 100: 7; EA 118: 2; EA 241: 2; EA 248: 2); D.[UTU] (EA 155: 1); [D.]UTU (EA 192: 2)

(A16) 'MY SUN'

D.UTU-ia (EA 103: 2; EA 104: 1; EA 140: 1; EA 144: 2; EA 147: 1; EA 149: 1; EA 151: 1; EA 159: 1; EA 177: 1; EA 213: 1; EA 215: 1; EA 235(+)327: 2; EA 242: 2; EA 243: 2; EA 244: 2; EA 246: 2; EA 254: 1; EA 255: 2; EA 261: 2; EA 267: 2; EA 269: 2; EA 270: 2; EA 271: 2; EA 273: 2; EA 274: 2; EA 278: 2; EA 279: 2; EA 280: 2; EA 282: 2; EA 283: 2; EA 292: 2; EA 294: 2; EA 297: 2; EA 298: 2; EA 299: 2; EA 302: 2; EA 303: 2; EA 304: 2; EA 305: 3; EA 314: 2; EA 320: 1; EA 321: 1; EA 323: 1; EA 324: 2; EA 325: 2; EA 328: 2; EA 329: 2; EA 337: 2; EA 366: 1); D.UTU-i[a] (EA 132: 1; EA 141: 1); D.[U]TU_x-ia (EA 156: 1); D.[UTU_x-ia] (EA 161: 1); D.[UTU-ia] (EA 168: 1; EA 229: 1; EA 266: 2; EA 319: 2); [D.UTU-i]a (EA 174: 1; EA 184: 2; EA 293: 2); [D.UTU]-ia (EA 175: 1; EA 224: 1; EA 253: 2); [D.]UTU-ia (EA 182: 1; EA 183: 1; EA 268: 2; EA 295: 1); D.UTU-[i]a (EA 185: 1; EA 322: 2); [D.]^ˁUTU^ˁ-^ˁia^ˁ (EA 272: 2); D.UTU.MEŠ-<ia> (EA 281: 2); D.U[T]U-[ia] (EA 288: 1); D.[UTU.MEŠ]-ia (EA 296: 2); [D.UT]U-[i]a (EA 306: 2); D.UTU-[ia] (EA 311: 2; EA 326: 1; EA 331: 2); D.UT[U-ia] (EA 332: 1); [D.UT]I-ia (EA 365: 2)

(A17) 'THE SON OF THE SUN'

DUM[U] D.UTU (EA 53: 1); DUMU D.UTU (EA 55: 1);

(A18) 'THE GREAT KING'

[LUGAL.GA]L (EA 58: 1); LUGAL GAL (EA 68: 3; EA 74: 2; EA 83: 2; EA 105: 2; EA 107: 3; EA 108: 3; EA 121: 2; EA 260: 1; EA 317: 1; EA 318: 1); LUGAL-ri GAL (EA 76: 2); [LUGAL GA]L (EA 78: 3); LUGAL G[AL] (EA 89: 2); LUGAL [GAL] (EA 109: 2); [L]UGAL GAL (EA 112: 3); [LUG]AL GAL (EA 116: 2); [LUGAL]-ri GAL (EA 117: 2); LUGAL-ri GA[L] (EA 119: 2); LUG[AL G]A[L] (EA 122: 2); LUGAL-ri GAL (EA 123: 2); LUGAL-ri GAL-bi (EA 160: 1); LUGAL GAL-bi (EA 161: 1)

(A19) 'THE KING OF (ALL) LANDS'

[LUGAL] KUR.KI.ĦI.A (EA 68: 3); LUGAL KUR.KUR (EA 74: 2); L[UGAL] KUR.KUR (EA 75: 2); [L]UGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ (EA 76: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.ĦI.A.K[I] (EA 78: 2; EA 79: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ (EA 83: 2; EA 105: 2; EA 107: 2); LUGAL KUR.[KI.ĦI.A] (EA 88: 2); [LU]GAL KUR.MEŠ (EA 89: 2); LUGAL-ri KUR.KI.ĦI.A (EA 106: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ.KI (EA 108: 2); LUGAL KUR.MEŠ (EA 109: 2; EA 116: 2; EA 121: 2); L[UGAL] KUR.MEŠ (EA 112: 2); LUGAL KUR.KI (EA 122: 2); LUGAL-ri KUR.KUR.KI (EA 123: 3)

(A20) 'THE KING OF THE BATTLE'

LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ar (EA 74: 2; EA 122: 3); LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ra (EA 76: 3; EA 107: 3; EA 108: 3); [LUGAL ta]-am-ḫa-ra (EA 79: 3); [LU]GAL ta-am-ḫa-[ra] (EA 81: 2); LUGAL ta-am-ḫ[a-ra] (EA 105: 2); [LUGAL ḫa-am-ḫa-a[r]] (EA 114: 2); LUGAL [ta]-am-ḫa-ar (EA 116: 2–3); LUGAL [ta-am-ḫa-ra] (EA 117: 2); LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-<ra> (EA 119: 3); LUGAL-ri ta-am-ḫa-[a]r (EA 123: 3–4)

(A21) 'THE SUN OF (ALL) LANDS'

D.UTU KUR.KI.DIDLI.ĦI.A (EA 84: 1); D.UTU KU[R.KI.ĦI.A] (EA 92: 2); [L]UGAL [KU]R.[KUR.KI] (EA 94: 1); [D.]U[T]U KUR.M[EŠ] (EA 138: 1)

(A22) 'THE GOD(>S<)'

DINGIR.MEŠ-ia (EA 141: 2; EA 144: 2; EA 147: 1; EA 151: 1; EA 192: 2; EA 213: 2; EA 215: 2; EA 235(+)327: 2; EA 248: 2; EA 269: 2; EA 270: 2; EA 271: 2; EA 273: 2; EA 274: 2; EA 278: 2; EA 294: 1; EA 296: 2; EA 297: 1; EA 298: 1; EA 299: 1; EA 302: 2; EA 303: 1; EA 305: 3; EA 309: 2; EA 314: 1; EA 315: 1; EA 320: 1; EA 321: 1; EA 323: 1; EA 324: 2; EA 325: 1; EA 326: 1; EA 329: 2; EA 337: 2; EA 366: 2); DINGIR.MEŠ-[ia_g] (EA 148: 1); DINGIR.MEŠ-ia_g (EA 149: 1); DINGIR-ia (EA 151: 1; EA 156: 1; EA 159: 1; EA 177: 1; EA 185: 1; EA 363: 1); DIN[GIR.MEŠ-ia] (EA 152: 1); DIN[GI]R-ia (EA 168: 1); DINGIR-[ia] (EA 175: 1); DINGIR.MEŠ-nu-ia (EA 241: 2; EA 283: 2); D[INGIR.MEŠ-ia] (EA 243: 2); [DINGIR.]MEŠ-ia (EA 266: 2; EA 267: 2); DING[IR.MEŠ-i]a (EA 268: 1); [DINGIR].MEŠ-[ia] (EA 275: 2); [DINGIR.MEŠ-] ^ˁia^ˁ (EA 279: 2); DINGI[R.MEŠ-i]a (EA 280: 2); DINGIR.MEŠ-^ˁnu^ˁ-^ˁia^ˁ (EA 281: 2); DINGIR.MEŠ-nu-^ˁia^ˁ (EA 282: 2); DINGIR.[MEŠ-ia] (EA 292: 1; EA 300: 1); [DIN]GIR.[MEŠ-ia] (EA 293: 2); DI[NGIR.MEŠ-ia_g] (EA 295: 1); DINGIR.M[EŠ-ia] (EA 316: 1); DINGIR.ME[Š]-ia (EA 319: 1); DINGIR.ME[Š-i]a (EA 322: 1); DINGIR.MEŠ-[ia] (EA 328: 1); DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia (EA 331: 2); [DINGIR.MEŠ]-ia (EA 332: 1); DINGIR.MEŠ-i[a] (EA 378: 1)

(A23) 'MY PERSONAL GOD>S<'

DINGIR.MEŠ ša SA[G-ia] (EA 198: 2)

(A24) 'THE BREATH OF MY LIFE'

ša-ri TIL.LA-ia (EA 141: 2; EA 144: 2); [ša-ri] TIL.[L]A-ia (EA 142: 1); š[a-ri] TIL.LA-ia (EA 143: 1–2).

(A25) 'MY BREATH'

ša-^ˁri^ˁ-ia (EA 281: 3)

(A26) 'THE SUN FROM HEAVEN'

D.UTU iš-tu sa-me-m[a] (EA 221: 2); D.UTU iš-t[u] s[a]-m[e]-ma (EA 223: 1–2); D.UTU iš-tu sa-me-e (EA 232: 1); D.UTU iš-tu A[N.sa-m]e (EA 233: 2); D.UTU iš-tu AN.sa-me-e (EA 234: 2; EA 235(+)327: 3); D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.sa-mì-l (EA 298: 2–3; EA 303: 2–3; EA 304: 2–3; EA 305: 1–2; EA 328: 2–3; EA 329: 3–4); D.UTU ša i[š]-tu AN.sa-me (EA 299: 2–3); D.[UT]U [š]a ^ˁiš^ˁ-[tu] [AN.sa-me] (EA 300: 2–3); D.[UTU] ša iš-[t]u AN.sa-mì-[i] (EA 301: 1–2); D.UTU iš-tu [s]a-mì-i (EA 302: 3); D.[UTU] ša iš-tu AN.sa-mì-i (EA 306: 2); D.UTU [š]a [iš-tu AN.sa-me] (EA 309: 3); D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.sa-me (EA 314: 2–3; EA 315: 2; EA 321: 3–4; EA 323: 2–3); [D.]UTU-ia ša iš-[t]u AN.s[a-me] (EA 316: 2); D.UTU a-na ša-mé (EA 318: 2); D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.[sa-mì]-i (EA 319: 2–3); D.UTU ša [i]š-tu AN.sa-me-e (EA 320: 3–4); D.UTU ša iš-t[u] AN[s.a-me] (EA 322: 2–3); D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.sa-mi (EA 324: 2–3); D.UTU ša iš-t[u] AN.sa[-mi] (EA 325: 2); D.UTU ša iš-tu AN-ú (EA 326: 2); D.UTU ša iš-tu A[N.sa-m]i (EA 331: 3); [D.UTU] ša iš-t[u] A[N.sa-mi] (EA 332: 2); D.UTU ša iš-[tu] [AN].^ˁsa^ˁ-mì-l (EA 378: 2–3)

The ‘Vassal’ Correspondence – Identifications of the Sender

(S1) PERSONAL NAME (PN)

Abdiaširta M.ĪR-D.aš-ra-tu₄ (EA 60: 2); M.ĪR-a-ši-ir-te (EA 61: 2); M.Ī[R]-a-ši-ir-te (EA 62: 2); Abdi-aštarti M.ab-di-aš-ta<ar>-ti (EA 63: 3); M.ĪR-D.INNIN (EA 64: 3); M.ab-[d]i-D.INNIN (EA 65: 3); Abdiheba [M.Ī]R-ḫ[e-ba] (EA 285: 2); M.ĪR-ḫé-ba (EA 286: 2); [M.Ī]R-ḫe-ba (EA 287: 2); M.ĪR-ḫe-ba (EA 288: 2; EA 289: 2); [M.ĪR]-ḫe-ba (EA 290: 3); Abdimilki M.ĪR-LUGAL (EA 203: 3); Abdina[...] M.ĪR-na[...] (EA 229: 3); Abdireša ĪR-re-ša (EA 363: 3); Abditirši M.Ī[R]-tir-ši (EA 228: 3); Abimilki [a]-bi-m[il-ki] (EA 146: 2); a-bi-LUGAL (EA 147: 2; EA 148: 2); M.a-bi-LUGAL (EA 149: 2; EA 151: 2); M.a-bi-mil-ki[ḫ] (EA 150: 2); a-[b]i-[m]i[ḫ]i[ḫ]i (EA 152: 2); M.ia-bi-LUGAL (EA 153: 2); M.a-bi-mil-ki (EA 154: 2); a-bi-m[il-ki] (EA 155: 2); Addunirari D.IM-ni-ra-ri (EA 51: 2); A[ḫ...] M.a[ḫ...] (EA 217: 3); Akizzi M.a-ki-iz-zi (EA 52: 2; EA 54: 2; EA 55: 2); M.a-k[i-i]z-z[ḫ] (EA 53: 2); Amayaše M.a-ma-ia₈-še (EA 202: 3); Ammištamru [M.am-m]i-is-tam-[ri] (EA 45: 2); Ammunira am-mu-ni-ra (EA 141: 3); [am-mu-ni]-ra (EA 142: 2); am-mu-ni-r[a] (EA 143: 3); Amurba‘lu M.a-mur-D.IM (EA 170(B): 38); Arawana M.a-ra-[wa]-na (EA 198: 4); Artamanya M.ar-ta-ma-an-ia₈ (EA 201: 3); Arzawiya M.ar-za-aw-ia₈ (EA 191: 2); [M.a]r-za-wu-ia₈ (EA 192: 4); Ayyab a-ia-ab (EA 364: 2); Aziru M.a-zi-ri (EA 156: 2; EA 158: 2; EA 159: 1; EA 160: 2; EA 161: 2; EA 164: 2; EA 166: 2; EA 168: 2); M.a-z[i-ri] (EA 157: 3); Ba‘lumeḫir M.D.IM-me-ḫé-er (EA 257: 3); M.D.IM-me-ḫér (EA 258: 2); M.[D.IM-me-ḫ]é-e[r] (EA 259: 2); Ba‘lumir M.ba-lu-mé-er (EA 260: 2); Ba‘lu-UR.SAG M.D.I[IM-UR.SAG] (EA 249: 2); M.D.IM-UR.SAG (EA 250: 2); Ba‘lušipti M.‘D’.‘IM’.‘DI’.‘KUD’ (EA 272: 3); M.D.IM.DI.KUD (EA 292: 3); M.D.I[IM.DI].KUD (EA 293: 3); [M.D.IM.]DI.KUD (EA 295: 3); Ba‘luya M.D.IM-lu-ia (EA 170(A): 2); Baduzana M.ba-du-za-n[a] (EA 239: 3); Bayadi M.ba-ia₈-di (EA 238: 2); Bayawa M.ba-ia-wa (EA 215: 3); M.b[a]-ia-wa (EA 216: 3); Belet-UR.MAḤ.MEŠ MÍ.NIN-UR.MAḤ.MEŠ (EA 273: 4); MÍ.NIN-U[R].MAḤ.MEŠ (EA 274: 4); Bet‘ilu M.be-ti-AN (EA 170(A): 3); Blieri bi-e-ri (EA 174: 3); Biridiya M.bi-ri-di-ia₈ (EA 242: 3; EA 244: 3; EA 246: 3; EA 365: 3); M.bi-ri-di[-ia₈] (EA 243: 3); Biryawaza M.bir₅-ia-wa-za (EA 194: 2; EA 195: 4); [M.bir₅-i]a-w[a-z]a (EA 196: 2); Dagantakala M.D.da-ga-an-ta-ka-la (EA 317: 2); M.D.da-ga-an-ta-k[a-la] (EA 318: 3); Dašru M.da-aš-ru (EA 261: 3; EA 262: 3); Etakkama M.i₁₅-tag-ga₁₄-ma (EA 189: 2); Ḫilbiya M.ḫi-bi-ia₈ (EA 178: 2); Ḫiziru [M.ḫ]i-z[i-ri] (EA 336: 3); M.ḫi-zi-ri (EA 337: 4); Ildaya ḫ-da-a-ia₈ (EA 175: 3); Illirapi³ AN-ra-[p]t-³ḫ (EA 139: 2); M.AN-ra-p[³t-³ḫ] (EA 140: 3); Intaruta M.‘in₄’-‘tar’-ú-[t]a (EA 223: 4); Ipte[...] M.ip-te[...] (EA 207: 2); Kurtuya M.KÚR-ur-tu-ia₈ (EA 220: 3); Lab‘ayu M.la-ab-a-ia₈ (EA 252: 3; EA 254: 2); [M.la-]ab-a-ia₈ (EA 253: 2); Mayarzana ‘ma’-ia₈-ar-za-na (EA 185: 3); Milkilu M.mil-ki-li (EA 267: 4; EA 268: 3; EA 269: 4; EA 270: 4; EA 271: 4); Mutba‘lu M.mu-ut-ba-aḫ-[u₄] (EA 255: 3); M.mu-ut-D.IM (EA 256: 2); Niqmad-du M.niḫ-ma-D.IM (EA 49: 2); Papu [M.p]a-a-p[³t] (EA 333: 2); PU-ba‘la M.pu-D.IM (EA 314: 3; EA 315: 3; EA 316: 3); Ribhaddi [M.ri]-ib-ḫa-ad-d[ḫ] (EA 68: 1); M.ri-ib-D.IM (EA 71: 2; EA 82: 3; EA 90: 3; EA 95: 2; EA 102: 3; EA 103: 2; EA 104: 3; EA 106: 1; EA 108: 1; EA 118: 3; EA 123: 1; EA 124: 2; EA 130: 3; EA 132: 2; EA 136: 2); M.ri-ib-ad-da (EA 73: 2; EA 74: 1); [M.ri]i-ib-[a]d-d[ḫ]a (EA 75: 1); [M.]ri-ib-D.IM (EA 76: 1; EA 89: 1; EA 107: 1; EA 117: 1; EA 119: 1; EA 121: 1; EA 122: 1); M.ri-ib-D.IM (EA 77: 2; EA 110: 2); [M.ri-ib]-D.IM (EA 78: 1); [M.ri-ib]b-D.IM (EA 79: 1); [M.ri]i-ib-[D.IM] (EA 83: 1); ri-ib-ad-di (EA 84: 3); [M.ri-ib]b-D.IM (EA 85: 2); M.ri-ib-D.[IM] (EA 86: 2); ri-ib-D.IM (EA 87: 3); [M.ri-ib]b-[D.II]M (EA 88: 1); [M.]ri-ib-ad-di (EA 92: 1); [M.ri]i-ib-D.IM (EA 93: 2; EA 105: 1; EA 109: 1); [M.ri]i-ib-[a]d-d[ḫ]i (EA 94: 1); [M.]ri-ib-[D.IM] (EA 112: 1); [M.ri-ib-D.II]M (EA 116: 1); M.ri-ib-D.[IM] (EA 125: 2); M.ri-ib-id-di (EA 126: 1); [M.ri-ib]-ad-d[ḫ]i (EA 129: 1); M.ri-ib-ad-[dḫ]i (EA 137: 1); ri-ib[ḫ]-ad-[dḫ]i (EA 138: 2); [M.]ri-ib-D.IM-di (EA 362: 1); Rušmanya M.ru-uš-ma-an-ia (EA 241: 3); Ši[...] M.ši-[...] (EA 294: 3); Satatna M.sà-ta-at-na (EA 233: 4; EA 234: 3); M.sf-ta-at-na (EA 235(+)+327: 5); Zur-ašar M.šú-ra-šar (EA 319: 4); Surata M.sú-ra-ta (EA 232: 3); Šatliya ša-ti-ia₈ (EA 187: 3); Šamuhadda M.ša-mu-D.IM (EA 225: 3); Šiptiba‘la M.ši-ip-ṭi-D.IM (EA 330: 3); M.ši-ip-ṭi₄-[D].IM (EA 331: 4); [M.]ši-ip-ṭi₄-[D.II]M (EA 332: 3); Šipturliša M.ši-ip-ṭi-ri-š[a] (EA 226: 3); Šubandu M.šu-ba-an-[d]i (EA 301: 3; EA 302: 4); M.šu-ba-an-di (EA 303: 4; EA 304: 4); M.šu-ba-an-du (EA 305: 4); M.šu-[b]a-an-[dḫ]i (EA 306: 3); Šumhadda M.šum-ad-d[a] (EA 224: 3); Šutarna šu-tar-na (EA 182: 2; EA 183: 3);

[šū-ta]r-na (EA 184: 4); Šuwardata M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta (EA 278: 4; EA 279: 4; EA 282: 3; EA 283: 3; EA 366: 3); [M.]šu-wa-ar-da-ta (EA 280: 4); M.‘šū’-w[a-a]‘r’-[da-t]a (EA 281: 5); M.šu-wa-ar-‘da’-ta (EA 284: 2); Tagi M.ta-gi (EA 264: 2; EA 265: 2); M.ta-a-g[ḫ]i (EA 266: 4); Teḫuteššub [t]i-ḫu-ti-šu-pa (EA 58: 2) Tiwate M.ti₄-wa-te (EA 193: 2); Yabni‘lu M.ia-ab-ni-AN (EA 328: 4); Yaḫturu M.ia-a[ḫ]-ti-ri (EA 296: 4); Ya‘zibada M.ia-[a]ḫ-zi-ba-da (EA 275: 4); M.[i]a-a[ḫ]-zi-ba-da (EA 276: 4); Yama M.ia-ma (EA 230: 2); Yamiyuta M.ya-mi-ú-ta (EA 177: 2); Yapa‘hadda M.ia-ap-pa-a[ḫ]-D.IM (EA 97: 2); M.ia-pa-[a]ḫ-D.IM (EA 98: 2); Yapaḫu M.ia-pa-ḫi (EA 297: 3); M.ia-pa[-ḫ]i (EA 298: 4); M.ia-pa-[ḫi] (EA 299: 3); M.ia-[pa-ḫi] (EA 378: 3); Yašdata M.ia₈-a[š-d]a-ta (EA 248: 3); Yidya M.yi-id-ia (EA 320: 5; EA 321: 5; EA 323: 3; EA 324: 4; EA 325: 3; EA 326: 3); M.yi-i-d-ia (EA 322: 4); Yiktasu M.yi-ik-ta-sú (EA 221: 4); M.yi-ik-[ta-sú] (EA 222: 3); Z[i] M.zi[...] (EA 338: 2); Zimreddi M.zi-im-ri-id-di (EA 144: 4); [M.zi]-im-ri-d[a] (EA 145: 3); M.zi-im-ri-di (EA 329: 5); Zitriyara M.zi-[i]t-ri-ia₈-r[a] (EA 211: 3); M.zi-it-ri-ia₈-ra (EA 212: 2; EA 213: 3); [...]diḫ [M....]-d[ḫ]i-ḫ[ḫ]i (EA 334: 3); [-ḫ]epa [-ḫ]é-bá (EA 48: 2)

(S2) ‘THE RULER OF GN’

‘the ruler of Aḫtiašna’ LÚ ša URU.a[ḫ]-ti-aš-na (EA 319: 5); ‘the ruler of Akka’ LÚ URU.ak-ka (EA 232: 4); LÚ URU.ak-ka.KI (EA 233: 5; EA 234: 3); ‘the ruler of Ašqaluna’ LÚ ša URU.aš-qa-lu-na.KI (EA 320: 5–6); LÚ ša URU.aš-qa-lu-na (EA 321: 5–6); LÚ ša U[R]U.a[š-q]a-lu-na.KI (EA 322: 4–5); ‘the ruler of Beirut’ LÚ URU.PÚ.ḪI.A (EA 141: 4); ‘the ruler of Enišasi’ LÚ U[R]U.e-ni-ša-si₂₀-i (EA 187: 3); ‘LÚ’ URU.e-<ni>-ša-si (EA 363: 4); ‘the ruler of Gazri’ LÚ ša URU.ga-az-ri.KI (EA 298: 4–5; EA 299: 4); ‘a’-‘mi’-[ḫ]i [ša URU.ga]z-[r]i.‘KI’ (EA 300: 4–5); ‘LÚ’ ša URU.gaz-ri.‘KI’ (EA 378: 4); ‘the ruler of Ḫašabu’ LÚ URU.ḫa-ša-bu (EA 174: 4); ‘the ruler of Ḫasi’ L[Ú] URU.ḫa-si (EA 175: 4); LÚ URU.ḫa-si.KI (EA 185: 3); ‘the ruler of Hazor’ LÚ URU.ḫa-šú-ra (EA 228: 4); ‘the ruler of Guddašuna’ LÚ KUR.gud-da-šu-na (EA 177: 2); ‘the ruler of Kumidi’ LÚ URU.ku-mi-di.KI (EA 198: 5); ‘the ruler of Lakiša’ LÚ ša URU.la-ki-ša (EA 328: 5; EA 329: 6); [LÚ URU.ḫa-ki-ša.KI] (EA 332: 3); ‘the ruler of Megiddo’ LÚ URU.ma-gid-da.KI (EA 242: 4); ‘the ruler of Mušihuna’ L[Ú] URU.mu-ši-ḫu-na (EA 182: 2); L[Ú] \ URU.mu-ši-ḫu-n[a] (EA 183: 3–4); LÚ URU.mu-ši-ḫu-ni (EA 184: 4); ‘the ruler of Naziba’ M.LÚ URU.na-zi-ba (EA 206: 4); ‘the ruler of Qanu’ M.LÚ URU.qa-nu-ú (EA 204: 4); ‘the ruler of Ruḫiza’ LÚ URU.r[u]-ḫi-za (EA 191: 2); ‘the ruler of Ziribašani’ M.LÚ št-ri-ba-ša-ni (EA 201: 4); ‘the ruler of Šamḫuna’ LÚ-lim URU.ša-am-ḫu-na (EA 225: 3–4); ‘the ruler of Šaruna’ LÚ URU.ša-ru-na.KI (EA 241: 4); ‘the ruler of Šašlimi’ LÚ URU.ša-as-ḫi-mi (EA 203: 4); ‘the ruler of Tubu’ M.LÚ URU.ṭi-bu (EA 205: 3); ‘the ruler of Yurša’ LÚ ša URU.yu-ur-ša.KI (EA 314: 4; EA 315: 3); ‘the ruler of Zuḫra’ [LÚ U]RU.zu-uḫ-ra.KI (EA 334: 3); ‘the ruler of Zunu’ L[Ú] U[R]U.z[u]-nu (EA 220: 3)

(S3) ‘THE GOVERNOR OF GN’

‘the governor of Sidon’ LÚ.ḫa-za-nu ša URU.št-du-na.KI (EA 144: 5)

(S4) ‘THE KING’

LUGAL-ma (EA 99: 04*; EA 367: 2; EA 369: 2; EA 370: 2); LUGAL (EA 162: 2)

(S5) ‘THE KING OF GN’

‘the king of Hazor’ LUGAL URU.ḫa-šú-ri.KI (EA 227: 3)

(S6) GEOGRAPHICAL NAME (GN)

Irqata URU.ir-qa-ta (EA 100: 8); Gubla gu-[ḫ]a.KI (EA 139: 3); URU.gub-la (EA 140: 2)

(S7) ‘GN AND ITS ELDERS’

Irqata and its elders URU.ir-qa-ta ù LÚ.MEŠ.ši-<bu>-ti-ši (EA 100: 3–4)

(S8) ‘THE SONS OF GN’

‘the sons of Tunip’ DUMU.MEŠ URU.*tù-ni-ip*.KI (EA 59: 2)

(S9) ‘THE COMMANDER OF THE TROOPS’

M.LÚ.GAL ERÍN.ME[Š] (EA 96: 3)

(S10) ‘THE DAUGHTER OF YOUR MAIDSERVANT’

DUMU.MÍ MÍ.GEMÉ.*am-ti-[kī]* (EA 50: 3–4)

(S11) ‘YOUR SON’

DUMU-*ka-ma* (EA 73: 2; EA 82: 3); DUMU-*ka* (EA 158: 2)

(S12) ‘YOUR FATHER’

[A]D-*ka-ma* (EA 96: 3); *a-bi-ka* (EA 96: 4)

(S13) ‘YOUR BROTHER’

ŠEŠ-*ka-ma* (EA 166: 2)

(S14) ‘YOUR MASTER’

EN-*ka* (EA 162: 2)

(S15) ‘YOUR SERVANT’

ÌR-*ka-ma* (EA 49: 2; EA 51: 2; 52: 2; EA 55: 2; EA 85: 2; EA 87: 3; EA 103: 3; EA 104: 3; EA 118: 3; EA 130: 3; EA 156: 2; EA 164: 2; EA 250: 2; EA 267: 4; EA 281: 5; EA 286: 2; EA 288: 2; EA 301: 4; EA 302: 4; EA 305: 5; EA 319: 6); M.ÌR-*ka-ma* (EA 53: 2); ÌR-*k[a-ma]* (EA 54: 2; EA 152: 2; EA 168: 2; EA 287: 2; EA 297: 3); Ì[R-*ka-ma]* (EA 58: 2; EA 62: 2; EA 90: 3; EA 124: 2; EA 125: 2); ÌR-*ka_a* (EA 60: 3; EA 300: 5; EA 320: 7); ÌR-[*ka_a*] (EA 61: 2); Ì[R-*ka*] (EA 65: 3; EA 154: 2; EA 175: 3; EA 196: 2; EA 284: 2; EA 293: 3); ÌR-*ka-m[a]* (EA 84: 3); Ì[R-*ka-ma*] (EA 132: 3; EA 257: 4); ÌR-*ka* (EA 136: 2; EA 140: 3; EA 141: 4; EA 142: 2; EA 147: 2; EA 148: 2; EA 151: 2; EA 178: 2; EA 185: 4; EA 189: 2; EA 195: 5; EA 201: 5; EA 202: 4; EA 203: 4; EA 204: 5; EA 205: 4; EA 206: 5; EA 211: 4; EA 213: 4; EA 215: 4; EA 216: 3; EA 220: 4; EA 221: 4; EA 223: 4; EA 228: 4; EA 229: 4; EA 230: 2; EA 233: 5; EA 234: 4; EA 235(+)327: 5; EA 241: 4; EA 249: 3; EA 252: 3; EA 254: 2; EA 255: 4; EA 256: 3; EA 265: 2; EA 269: 5; EA 270: 4; EA 271: 4; EA 275: 5; EA 276: 5; EA 278: 5; EA 283: 3; EA 294: 3; EA 295: 3; EA 296: 4; EA 298: 6; EA 299: 5; EA 303: 4; EA 304: 5; EA 314: 4; EA 315: 4; EA 316: 3; EA 317: 3; EA 318: 3; EA 323: 4; EA 325: 3; EA 326: 3; EA 328: 6; EA 329: 7; EA 330: 3; EA 337: 4; EA 364: 3); Ì[R-*ka*] (EA 138: 2; EA 187: 4; EA 239: 3); ÌR-[*k)a*] (EA 149: 2; EA 280: 5; EA 324: 4); ʿÌRʿ-*ka* (EA 153: 2); ÌR-*ka-[ma]* (EA 158: 2; EA 268: 3); LÚ.ÌR-*ka-ma* (EA 159: 2; EA 161: 2); LÚ.ÌR-[*ka-ma*] (EA 160: 2); Ì[R-*k)a*] (EA 174: 3; EA 182: 2); ÌR-*k[a]* (EA 194: 2; EA 217: 4; EA 264: 2; EA 292: 3; EA 322: 6); Ì[R]-*ka* (EA 207: 2; EA 253: 3); ÌR-*di-ka* (EA 212: 3); ÌR-[*ka*] (EA 238: 2; EA 336: 3); Ì[R]-*k[a]* (EA 277: 4); Ì[Rʿ-*ka*] (EA 279: 5); ÌR-*<ka>-ma* (EA 282: 3); M.ÌR-*k[a-ma]* (EA 289: 2); M.ÌR-*ka-ma* (EA 290: 3); ÌR-*k[a_a]* (EA 321: 7); Ì[R]-*ka* (EA 331: 5); ʿÌRʿ-*ka* (EA 366: 4)

(S16) ‘YOUR SERVANTS’

LÚ.MEŠ.ÌR.MEŠ-*ka-ma* (EA 59: 2); M.ÌR.MEŠ-[*ka*] (EA 200: 4)

(S17) ‘YOUR MAIDSERVANT’

GEMÉ-*ki* (EA 48: 2); GEMÉ-*ka* (EA 140: 2; EA 273: 5; EA 274: 5)

(S18) ‘THE SERVANT OF THE KING’

ÌR M.LUGAL-*ri* (EA 63: 4; EA 64: 3); Ì[R Š[a LUGAL-*ri*] (EA 231: 6); ÌR Ša LUGAL-*ri* (EA 232: 4; EA 233: 6; EA 366: 4); ÌR M.LUGAL-*ri* (EA 234: 4)

(S19) ‘THE SERVANT OF THE KING, MY MASTER’

[L]Ú.Ì[R] LU[GAL] *be-[l]t-[ia]* (EA 94: 2); ÌR LUGAL EN-*ia* (EA 177: 3; EA 183: 5); Ì[R Š]a LUGAL EN-*ia* (EA 224: 3);

(S20) ‘THE LOYAL SERVANT’

ÌR *ki-[tī]* (EA 295: 3)

(S21) ‘THE LOYAL SERVANT OF THE KING’

ÌR [*ki-ti* LUGAL] EN-*ia* (EA 229: 4–5); ÌR *ki-ti* LUGAL-*ri* (EA 242: 5); ÌR *ki-it-ti* Š[a LUGAL-*ri*] (EA 243: 4); ÌR Ša *ki-it-ti* Ša LUGAL-*ri* (EA 244: 5); ÌR *ki-it-ti* LUGAL-*ri* (EA 248: 4); ÌR *ki-it-te* LUGAL (EA 258: 3–4); Ì[R *ki-it-te* LUGAL]-*ri* (EA 259: 3); ÌR *ki-it-te* LUGAL (EA 261: 4; EA 262: 4); ÌR *ki-it-ti* Ša LUGAL-*ri* (EA 365: 4)

(S22) ‘THE LOYAL SERVANT OF THE KING, MY MASTER’

ÌR *ki-it-ti* [Š]a LUGAL EN-*ia* (EA 192: 4–5)

(S23) ‘YOUR LOYAL SERVANT’

ÌR Ša *ki-it-ti-ka* (EA 246: 4)

(S24) ‘THE DUST AT YOUR (2) FEET’

ep-ri Ša GÌR.ĦI.A-ʿ*ka_a*ʿ (EA 60: 3); SAĦAR \ *e-pt-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 136: 3); SAĦAR-*ra* \ *a-pa-ru* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 141: 4–5); [*e-pt-ri*] *i* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 142: 3); SAĦAR-*ra* Ša GÌ[R.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 143: 4); SAĦAR.MEŠ \ *ep-ri* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 195: 5–6); *ep-ri* Ša GÌR.ʿMEŠʿ-[*ka_a*] (EA 198: 6); *ep-ri* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 213: 4; EA 267: 5; EA 269: 5; EA 270: 5; EA 271: 5; EA 274: 5–6; EA 275: 5–6; EA 278: 5–6; EA 280: 5; EA 296: 5; EA 299: 5; EA 302: 5–6; EA 329: 7–8); *ep-ri* Š[a GÌR.MEŠ-]*ka* (EA 226: 4); SAĦAR.MEŠ GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 235(+)327: 6); SAĦAR.MEŠ Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 241: 5); SAĦAR Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-[*ka*] (EA 255: 4); *ep-ri* Ša GÌ[R.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 266: 5); [*ep-ri*] Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 268: 4); [*ep-ri*] Š[a] ʿGÌR.ʿʿMEŠʿ-[*ka*] (EA 272: 4); *ep-ri* [Ša] GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 276: 5–6); [*ep-ri* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 277: 4); ʿ*ep-ri*ʿ Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 279: 5); *ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 292: 4; EA 298: 6–7; EA 315: 4; EA 324: 5); [*ep-ri* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 293: 4); *ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-[*k)a*] (EA 297: 4); [*ep-ri* Ša] 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka_a* (EA 300: 6); [*ep-ri*] Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 301: 4–5); *ep-ri* Ša 2 UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 303: 5); *ep-ri* Ša UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-[*ka*] (EA 304: 5–6); *ep-ri* Ša UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 305: 5–6; EA 319: 6–7); [*ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 306: 4); [*ep-ri* Ša] GÌR.[MEŠ]-*ka_a* (EA 308: 1*); [*ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-]*ka* (EA 311: 6–7); [*ep-ri*] Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*] (EA 312: 3–4); SAĦAR \ *ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 316: 4); *ep-ri* Ša UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka_a* (EA 320: 7–8); *ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka_a* (EA 321: 7–8); [*ep-ri*] Ša UZU.GÌ[R.MEŠ-*k)a*] (EA 322: 6–7); *ep-ri* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 323: 4; EA 325: 4; EA 326: 3–4); *ep-ri* Ša UZ[U].2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 328: 6–7); *ep-ri*] Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 331: 5); *ep-ri*] Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*k)a* (EA 332: 4); ʿ*ep-ri*ʿ Ša UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-[*ka*] (EA 378: 4)

(S25) ‘THE DUST AT HIS (2) FEET’

[*ep-ru*] Ša 2 GÌR.M[*ĦEŠ-šu*] (EA 231: 6–7); *ep-ru* Ša GÌR.MEŠ-*šu* (EA 232: 5); SAĦAR.MEŠ Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*šu* (EA 233: 7); SAĦAR.MEŠ Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*šu* (EA 234: 5); SAĦAR-*ru* Ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*šu* (EA 366: 5)

(S26) ‘THE DUST AT THE FEET OF THE KING’

ep-ri GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri* (EA 248: 5)

(S27) 'THE DUST AT THE FEET/FOOT OF THE KING, MY MASTER'

[e]p-ri GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia (EA 192: 6); ep-ri ša GÌR LUGAL-ri EN-ia (EA 330: 4–5)

(S28) 'THE DUST BENEATH THE FEET OF THE KING, MY MASTER'

ep-ri šu-pa-a[l] [GÌ]R.MEŠ-pí M.LUGAL-ri BE-ia (EA 187: 4–5)

(S29) 'THE DUST AT THE FEET OF THE KING, MY MASTER, MY SUN'

SAḪAR.MEŠ ša GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-ia D.UTU-ia (EA 220: 4–5); SAḪAR.[MEŠ ša GÌR.MEŠ]
[LUG]AL-ri EN-[ia D.UTU-ia] (EA 229: 5–6)

(S30) 'THE DUST BENEATH THE FEET OF THE KING, MY MASTER, MY GOD, MY SUN'

ep-ri šu-pa-al GÌR.MEŠ-pí [M.]LUGAL-ri EN-ia DINGIR-ia D.UTU-ì[a] (EA 185: 4–5)

(S31) 'THE DUST BENEATH THE TWO SANDALS OF THE KING, MY MASTER'

[ep-ri] šap-li 2 KUŠ.E.S[ÍR] [M.LUG]A[L-r]i EN-ia (EA 295: 4–5)

(S32) 'THE DUST FROM BENEATH THE SANDALS (AND) FEET OF MY MASTER'

[ep-ru] [iš-tu] š[u-p]a-l[ì] KUŠ.še-ni GÌR.M[EŠ be-l]t-ia (EA 152: 2–3)

(S33) 'THE DUST ON WHICH YOU TREAD'

e[p-ru] [ša] ka-bá-š[e-ka] (EA 253: 3–4); ep-ru ša ka-bá-ši-ka (EA 254: 3)

(S34) 'THE EARTH AT YOUR FEET'

ṭi-iṭ GÌR.ḪI.JA-ka₄ (EA 61: 3); ṭi₄-iṭ ša ka-bá-ši-ka (EA 213: 5)

(S35) 'THE EARTH ON WHICH YOU TREAD'

ṭi₄-ṭi ša ka-bá-ši-[k]a₄ (EA 220: 6); ṭe₄-ṭi ša ka-bá-ši-ka (EA 241: 6); ṭi-ṭù ša ka-bá-ši-ka (EA 255: 5)

(S36) 'THE GROUND ON WHICH YOU TREAD'

KI.MEŠ ša ka-bá-sí-ka (EA 195: 7); qa-qa-ri ka₄-bá-^ʿši_x-ka₄ (EA 198: 7); qa-aq-qa-ru ša ^ʿka^ʿ-ba-ši-
^ʿka^ʿ (EA 366: 6)

(S37) 'THE GROUND ON WHICH HE TREADS'

qa-q[a]-r[ì] ša k[a]-b[a]-ši-[š]u (EA 185: 6); [qa-qa-ru ša] ka-ba-ši-š[u] (EA 231: 7–8); qa-qa-ru ša ka-
ba-ši-šu (EA 232: 5); KI.MEŠ ša ka-bá-ši-šu (EA 233: 8); KI.MEŠ ša ka-ba-ši-šu (EA 234: 5–6)

(S38) 'THE FOOTSTOOL FOR YOUR FEET'

[GI]Š.GÌR.GUB GÌR.MEŠ-ka (EA 84: 4); GIŠ.GÌR.GUB \ gi-iš-tap-pí ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka (EA 195: 9–10)

(S39) 'THE FOOTSTOOL FOR THE FEET OF MY MASTER'

GIŠ.GÌR.<GUB> ša GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia (EA 241: 7)

(S40) 'THE CHAIR ON WHICH YOU SIT'

GIŠ.GU.ZA ša a-ša-bi-ka (EA 195: 8)

(S41) 'THE DOG OF THE HOUSE OF THE KING, MY MASTER'

UR[.GI₇] [š]a É LUGAL EN-ia (EA 61: 3–4)

(S42) 'THE GROOM OF YOUR HORSES'

LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KU.RA-ka (EA 298: 7–8); LÚ.ku₈-sí ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 299: 6); LÚ.
^ʿkàr^ʿ-tap-pí š[a ANŠE.]^ʿKUR^ʿ.RA.MEŠ-ka₄ (EA 300: 7); LÚ.ku-sí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA-ka (EA 303: 6);
LÚ.ku₈-sí ša [ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ-ka (EA 304: 7); LÚ.ku₈-sí ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 305: 7);
[LÚ].k[u₈-s]í ša [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka] (EA 306: 5); [LÚ.kàr-tap-p]í š[a] ANŠE.^ʿKUR.^ʿRA.^ʿMEŠ-ka₄
(EA 308: 2*); [LÚ.ku₈-s]í ANŠE.KUR.R[A.MEŠ-ka] (EA 311: 8); LÚ-l[um ša ANŠE.KUR].RA.MEŠ-k[a]
(EA 312: 4–5); [LÚ.ku₈]-sí [ša] ANŠ[E].MEŠ.KUR.RI-ka (EA 316: 5); LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄ (EA 319: 7–8); LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄ (EA 320: 8–9);
L[Ú.kà]r-[t]ap-[p]í ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄ (EA 321: 8–9); L[Ú].kà[r-tap-p]í ša ANŠE.KUR.
RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 322: 8); LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 323: 5; EA 328: 8–9); LÚ.kàr-
tap-pí ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 324: 6); LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-[k]a (EA 325:
5); [LÚ.kàr-tù-pí ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka (EA 326: 4–5); LÚ.kàr-tap<-pí> ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.
MEŠ-ka (EA 331: 6); [LÚ.kàr-tap]-pí š[a ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]-ka (EA 332: 5)

The above overview very clearly demonstrates two distinct levels of identification of both correspondents. On the one hand it is evident that both the sender and the addressee are identified by their respective functional titles sometimes preceded by their personal names (S1 and A1),⁵⁹⁵ and on the other hand the social context – either inferior (in the majority of the documents within this group of texts) or superior – is reflected by the relationship between a servant and his master and only rarely the family metaphor used (i.e. the relationship between a son and his father, or between brothers).⁵⁹⁶

The employment of the personal name for the identification of the addressee within the heading is attested only very rarely in these documents. Here we can distinguish two separate groups – the first one includes documents addressed by local rulers to the respective officials or other local rulers, while the other group comprises letters addressed to the king of Egypt himself. However, the identification of the pharaoh by means of his *prenomen* is otherwise reserved for the correspondence of other 'great kings'. Within the corpus of 'vassal' letters, this phenomenon appears only in some documents of Akizzi, ruler of Qatna.⁵⁹⁷

Although it appears to be quite difficult to explain the unique situation in Akizzi's letters, it has been already suggested that the employment of the pharaoh's name in the heading, rather than being an obscure violation of the epistolary rules, might in fact reflect an epistolary tradition followed by the scribe of these documents who might have employed the rules he had previously been familiar with, i.e. those of the royal letters, and which he had acquired at some royal court, such as the Mitannian.⁵⁹⁸

A characteristic element attested in the corpus of the vassal letters is the considerable variability in the appellation of both the sender and the addressee. In the absolute majority of these docu-

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. on the side of the sender 'the ruler/governor/king of GN' (S2, S3, S5) 'the king' (S4), 'the commander of the troops' (S9), however, also the respective geographical name and/or its representatives might be found as the sender, cf. S6, S7 ('GN and its elders') and S8 ('the sons of GN'). With respect to the person of the addressee the following functional titles have been identified within the corpus – 'the king' (A2), 'the king/ruler of GN' (A3 and A4), 'the magnate' (A5) and 'the vizier' (A6).

⁵⁹⁶ The sender can identify himself or herself as 'the daughter of your maldservant' (S10), 'your son' (S11), 'your father' (S12), 'your brother' (S13), 'your master' (S14), 'your servant(s)' (S15, S16), 'your maldservant' (S17), and in several cases the servitude of the sender is clearly related to the person of the addressee – 'the servant of the king (my master)' (S18, S19); the loyalty of the servant can be also emphasized, cf. 'the loyal servant' (S20) or 'your loyal servant' (S23), 'the loyal servant of the king (my master)' (S21, S22). In this type of correspondence, the identification of the addressee as 'my master' (A8) predominates – cf. also 'the master' (A7), 'his master' (A9), 'our master' (A10), and 'my mistress' (A11). Similar to the identification of the sender the family metaphor can be observed here – cf. 'my father' (A12), 'my son' (A13) and 'my brother' (A14). The overview of the vassal documents clearly suggests that the identification of the addressee as 'my master' and 'the king' within the analyzed corpus has in fact been obligatory.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. EA 53: 1; EA 55: 1.

⁵⁹⁸ For a discussion on this subject, see ΜΥΝΑΚΟΥ (2006d: esp. 448–456).

ments, the sender is a person with a lower social status than the addressee. This fact is largely demonstrated by the usage of various honorific epithets on the part of the addressee, while for his own identification the sender employs most humble words expressing his subordinate position.

Among the titles and epithets of the addressee we may also find elements encountered already in the royal correspondence, such as 'the great king';⁵⁹⁹ however, their employment within the vassal corpus is strictly limited geographically.⁵⁹⁹

The epithet 'the king of the battle', employed solely in some of the letters of the Byblite ruler Ribhaddi, bears clear traces of a specific local tradition.⁶⁰⁰ Its origin is evidently associated with the literary tradition, i.e. the epic composition *šar tamhāri*, whose fragments have also been discovered at Tell el-Amarna. Why the usage of the epithet has been limited to Byblos, remains unknown.

A Byblite context can also be identified in the case of other royal epithet or epithets employed widely in the vassal subset of documents, i.e. 'the king of (all) lands' and 'the Sun of (all) lands.' It is very tempting to identify this epithet with the similar epithet 'the master', and possibly also with 'the hero of all lands',⁶⁰¹ attested in various texts and dated to the 13th century B.C.E.,⁶⁰² including documents of Egyptian, Hittite or Ugaritic provenance, which are very likely of Egyptian origin and belong to the later Egypto-Hittite diplomatic tradition. The Amarna tradition reflected in Ribhaddi's letters, however, differs from that of the Ramesside period. Since the epithet has been used exclusively within the heading containing the primary identification of the addressee, i.e. the Egyptian king, we may suppose that the epithet could have formed part of the official titulary of the pharaoh. The origin of this epithet outside the 'cuneiform tradition' might be further supported by a great variability in its orthography,⁶⁰³ suggesting that the epithet has been 'imported' to the 'cuneiform world' from outside.⁶⁰⁴ Contemporary Egyptian sources might make it possible to identify the origin of this epithet. The royal epithet 'the lord of all foreign lands' *nb ḥꜣꜣ.ꜣꜣ nb.ꜣ*⁶⁰⁵ was included in the royal titulary as early as in the reign of Thutmose III. It is also associated with the names of Amenhotep II,⁶⁰⁶ Thutmose IV,⁶⁰⁷ Amenhotep IV–Akhenaten⁶⁰⁸ and Tutankhamun.⁶⁰⁹

In a slightly unusual group of documents in which the addressee is identified as 'my god', a considerable number of letters are written with the plural marker, i.e. 'my god<s>' but the opening passages clearly suggest the letters are addressed to a single person. It is impossible to determine any geographical information from the comparison of both attested orthographic forms of the epithet. According to Na'aman,⁶¹⁰ the situation associated with this epithet and its interpretation is rather complex and always influenced by the individual context. The same phenomenon can also be observed in the opening passages of EA 96: 4–7 and EA 97: 3 where the orthographically plural forms DINGIR.ME[Š]-*nu* (EA 96: 4) and [DINGIR.M]EŠ (EA 97: 3) have been identified by Na'aman as singulars with respect to the following verbal forms *li-iš-al* (EA 96: 6) and *li-[iṣ-a]l* (EA 97: 3).

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. EA 160 and EA 161 (Amurru); EA 260, EA 317 and EA 318 (Bit-Tenni); EA 68, EA 74, EA 76, EA 78, EA 83, EA 89, EA 105, EA 107–109, EA 112, EA 116, EA 117, EA 119, EA 121–123 (all from Byblos); and probably EA 58 (from the Syrian region); for the northern origin of the tablet, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 122–123).

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. A20 above; EA 74, EA 76, EA 79, EA 81, EA 107, EA 105, EA 108, EA 114, EA 116, EA 117, EA 119, EA 122, and EA 123.

⁶⁰¹ See, especially, MILANO (1983: 143–144).

⁶⁰² For the references to these texts with the previous literature, cf. MYNAROVA (*in press b*).

⁶⁰³ Cf. A19; LUGAL KUR.KUR (EA 74: 2; probably EA 75: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ.KI (EA 108: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ (EA 76: 2; EA 83: 2; EA 105: 2; EA 107: 2); LUGAL KUR.KUR.ḪI.A.KI (EA 78: 2; EA 79: 2); LUGAL-*ri* KUR.KUR.KI (EA 123: 3); LUGAL KUR.MEŠ (EA 89: 2; EA 109: 2; probably 112: 2; EA 116: 2; EA 121: 2); LUGAL KUR.KI.ḪI.A (EA 68: 3; probably EA 88: 2); LUGAL-*ri* KUR.KI.ḪI.A (EA 106: 2); LUGAL KUR.KI (EA 122: 2).

⁶⁰⁴ For the titulary of the Achaemenid rulers, cf. especially SEUX (1967: 315–316); for the Hellenistic rulers, consult especially OELSNER (1964: 262–274) and BOIV (2002: 241–257).

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. *Urk.* IV 1228, 11.

⁶⁰⁶ *Urk.* IV 1310, 8; *Urk.* IV 1289, 9, 10.

⁶⁰⁷ *Urk.* IV 1566, 5; *Urk.* IV 1612, 11.

⁶⁰⁸ SANDMAN (1938: 145 l. 7).

⁶⁰⁹ *Urk.* IV 2032, 14; *Urk.* IV 2034, 9; *Urk.* IV 2054, 8, 13, *Urk.* IV 2056, 8, *Urk.* IV 2135, 16.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. NA'AMAN (1991: 255).

In the case of the king's designation as 'the Sun,' or 'my Sun,' there is no clear geographical distribution recognizable within the Amarna corpus. Nevertheless, from the very onset of the Amarna studies, the title has been traditionally identified with the person of the Egyptian king. As is the case with the majority of examples mentioned above, it is rather difficult to identify its original source with any degree of certainty. In the Mesopotamian tradition 'the Sun' (D.UTU) appears as a part of personal names,⁶¹¹ while among the Hittites the title has been traditionally translated as 'My Majesty',⁶¹² In the Amarna corpus, two distinct and clearly defined orthographic traditions can be recognized. The orthographic tradition using D.UTU-*ši* for the identification of the king as 'the Sun' appears only in a limited number of documents originating in the northern region.⁶¹³ The usage of this orthographic form in these texts thus might be connected with this area's intense exposure to the Hittite tradition.

The identification of the king as 'the Sun' appears very frequently both in the Akkadian and in the Hittite texts of Hittite provenance and some scholars have hypothesized⁶¹⁴ that this title might have been adopted to the Hittite titulary from the Egyptian milieu. Gonnet suggested⁶¹⁵ that the title appeared for the first time in the royal titulary of Ḫattušili I, who – in the course of his military actions – brought 'a strong Egyptian influence' to the region. This traditional view has been refused by Beckman,⁶¹⁶ who identifies the relevant text CTH 4 as a later copy with the earliest attestation in CTH 25 (KUB 36.108) dated to the middle of the 15th century B.C.E. He has also refused the connection of the origin of this title to the Egyptian tradition, referring to the non-existence of any important contacts between the Egyptians and the Hittites during this particular period.

In the later documents discovered at Ugarit, both the Egyptian and the Hittite kings are identified as 'the Sun.' The Hittite king is identified as 'the Sun of Arinna' (*špš arm*)⁶¹⁷ or 'the Sun, the great king' (*špš mlk rb*),⁶¹⁸ but the same identification is attested also for the king of Egypt – 'the Sun, the great king, the king of Egypt' (*špš mlk rb mlk mšrm*)⁶¹⁹ or 'the Sun, the great king, my master' (*[šp]š mlk rb b'ly*)⁶²⁰ However, in the Akkadian letters from Carchemish⁶²¹ this title is employed as part of the Hittite royal titulary, cf. 'the king of Ḫatti, my Sun,' which might be extended to 'the great king,' while the kings of Carchemish identify themselves only as 'the king' (LUGAL).

The royal epithet 'the Sun from heaven' very often appears in connection with the identification of the king as 'the Sun,' and this phenomenon is also attested outside the opening passages. In connection with the usage of these two identifications in proximity each other, it could be presumed that in the context of '... my god<s>, my Sun, the Sun from heaven' the particular passage could be read also '... my gods – my Sun (and) the Sun from heaven' identifying two separate deities, such as Aten and Akhenaten.⁶²² However, this hypothesis is negated by some of the following parts, cf. EA 325: 20–22, clearly identifying the two elements with the person of the king. All attested examples of the epithet 'the Sun from heaven' originate in the southern parts of the Syro-Palestinian region, which might have been more exposed to the Egyptian traditions than the northern areas. The usage of this epithet for a ruler is not attested either in the Mesopotamian-Hittite tradition or in Egypt

⁶¹¹ Cf. SEUX (1967: 283–284).

⁶¹² See, for example, BECKMAN (2002: 37).

⁶¹³ Consult A15; EA 45, EA 49 (both from Ugarit), EA 51 (from Nuḫašše), and EA 148 (from Tyre).

⁶¹⁴ See, for example, MEYER (1928: 512), GOETZE (1957: 89), or GONNET (1979: 19).

⁶¹⁵ GONNET (1979: 19).

⁶¹⁶ BECKMAN (2002: 37, n. 8).

⁶¹⁷ CAT 3.1: 19.

⁶¹⁸ CAT 3.1 *passim*.

⁶¹⁹ CAT 2.81: 19 and *passim*.

⁶²⁰ CAT 2.23: 7; CAT 2.76: 8; for other references cf. DEL OLMO LETE – SANMARTÍN (2003: II, 837).

⁶²¹ Cf. YAMADA (1992).

⁶²² For the king as a deity in the southern region, cf. FLEISS (1986: 163); for the 'new' Aten's titulary attested for the first time in Akhenaten's 11th regnal year, see MURNANE – VAN SICLEN (1993: 213, n. 66), 'Re-the-Horizon-Ruler-who-Rejoices-on-the-Horizon / In-his-Name-of-Re-the-Father-who-has-Returned-as-Aten.'

itself. In Egypt, however, we may find a similar epithet in connection with some of the Sun-gods, such as Aten and Re-Harakhty.⁶²³

One of the most important duties of the Egyptian king in the area foreign policy was certainly the responsibility to protect his vassals and ensure their prosperity. The employment of the Egyptian expression *šw (n nḥ)* 'the breath (of life)' conforms to the context of the Akkadian *šēhu* in the Amarna letters. [Cf. A24 and A25; EA 141, EA 142, EA 143 (all three from Beirut), EA 144 (from Sidon; 'the breath of my life'), and EA 281 (from Gath, 'my breath'); see also Albright (1937)]. In the Egyptian sources of the 18th Dynasty, the particular phrase has been widely used in the context of royal foreign affairs, especially after the reign of Hatshepsut.⁶²⁴ By using the expression 'my breath' or 'the breath of my life' the authors of these letters combined the designation of the king's function with his address.

Totally in compliance with the logic of this type of correspondence, the identification of the sender contains a rich repertoire of expressions reflecting his humble and subservient position towards his master. A comparison with other texts dated to the Late Bronze Age has revealed that the majority of functional titles and other epithets preserved in the Amarna letters had their parallels in other corpora. Similar to the identification of the addressee, with respect to the identification of the sender, we are able to distinguish a group of epithets attested solely in the Amarna corpus. This subset of documents contains, in particular, the epithets explicitly declaring a markedly lower social position, including 'the dust at the feet,' of the addressee and there are preserved in several variants (cf. S24, S25–S30). 'The dust' might be found also beneath 'the sandals' of the king (as in S31 and S32) and the addressee might tread on it (S33). The most humble position of the sender is also expressed by his identification as 'the earth at your (= addressee's) feet' (S34) or 'the earth/ground on which you/he tread(s)' (S35–S37). The sender introduces himself also as 'the footstool' for the addressee's feet (S38 and S39), while in EA 195 he is 'the chair' on which the addressee can rest. It is Abdiširta, the ruler of Amurru, who is 'the dog of the house of the king, my (= Abdiširta's) master', while the epithet 'the groom of your (= king's) horses' is relatively largely attested too.

It is extremely difficult to trace the origin of these expressions. Fortunately, some of them bear a clear geographic distribution⁶²⁵ suggesting the scribes of these letters might have belonged to the same scribal tradition. On the other hand, the identification of the sender as 'the dust' at the feet of the addressee is geographically unconditioned, which is otherwise unattested either in similar texts from the same period or from later epistolary documents from the same region and written down in other languages.⁶²⁶ It is, however, clear that these epithets do not bear any trace of a possible Egyptian origin for in the Egyptian epistolary tradition the sender is usually identified only as the

⁶²³ *Jm-n-pt* 'the Sun of heaven' in a description of Amun-Re-Horakhty (TT 378; STG 255, 1–2); more often a similar epithet appears with the god Re, cf. *r^c-m-šh.t* 'Re on the horizon' (KRI I 190, 1; from the reign of Seth I); *r^c-m-pt* 'Re in heaven' (pChester Beatty IX, vso. B 14,4; oCG25744: KRI III, 848); *r^c-hr-šh.tj-m-pt* 'Re-Horakhty in heaven' (DAVIES 1935: 9, pl. 8; or McDOWELL (1993: pl. XXIX vso., nos. 3 and 5); oGlasgow D 1925.86 = Colin Campbell 20 = KRI VII, 705, 1–2); *r^c-m-hr* 'Re in the sky' (MARIETTE 1880 I: pl. 51, no. 31; KRI I, 187, 10). In the Egyptian sources the idea of the king as a 'son of the Sun,' or the Sun-god is also attested (cf. especially Urk. IV 2003, 5–10.) – for the king as the son of Re, begotten by Horakhty see KRI VI 449, 12; for the son of Amun-Re, which is an epithet attested also by means of Egyptian objects from the Syro-Palestinian region, for the individual objects see especially, PETRIE 1932: pl. 7, 21; ROWE 1936: no. S.40; JAEGER 1982: §1221 no. 615; KREI. 1997: 178–179, no. 224.

⁶²⁴ Cf. Urk. IV 342, 3; Urk. IV 613, 13; Urk. IV 662, 10; Urk. IV 759, 15; Urk. IV 767, 12; Urk. IV 809, 11; Urk. IV 896, 17; Urk. IV 907, 9; Urk. IV 924, 3; Urk. IV 929, 14; Urk. IV 1007, 12; Urk. IV 1099, 1; Urk. IV 1100, 5; Urk. IV 1102, 1; Urk. IV 1230, 20; Urk. IV 1235, 15; Urk. IV 1254, 11; Urk. IV 1309, 18; Urk. IV 1326, 4; Urk. IV 1597, 15; Urk. IV 1656, 12; Urk. IV 1657, 5; Urk. IV 1663, 2; Urk. IV 1685, 12; Urk. IV 1970, 17; Urk. IV 2003, 10; Urk. IV 2006, 20; Urk. IV 2070, 7, 16; Urk. IV 2071, 5; Urk. IV 2128, 7; EDDEL (1966: pl. 3, fig. 1); DAVIES (1903–1908: VI, pl. 19); for the attestation from the earlier periods, see LORTON (1974: 136–144).

⁶²⁵ Cf. especially the distribution of the epithet 'the groom of your horses.'

⁶²⁶ In Hebrew letters the identification of the sender usually consists of the personal name, eventually extended by the expression 'your servant,' cf. Arad 40:04 (PARDEE 1978a: 323); see also PARDEE (1978b).

addressee's 'servant' (*bšk*). Though the origin of the sender's identification as 'the dust' remains uncertain in the epistolary tradition, its combination with 'the sandals' of the king represents a clear Egyptian parallel⁶²⁷ for in the Egyptian sources the meaning of the expression 'under the sandals' (*hr šbw.ty*) is clearly connected with the king's activities and especially with the representation of the king's dominion over the foreign rulers.⁶²⁸

An Egyptian parallel has also been suggested for the meaning of the epithet 'the dog of the house of the king'.⁶²⁹ Its usage in the opening passages of the letters is extremely limited – it is used much more in the respective bodies of several letters. In general, we may say that the mentions of 'the dog' can be grouped into several categories. The first is the correspondence of Ribhaddi of Byblos, who identifies as 'the dog' the individual representatives of Amurru – Abdiširta and his sons, including Aziru. In Ribhaddi's letters, Abdiširta and his successors are identified as 'the servant and the dog' and from the context of these letters we may suppose the negative meaning of this designation.⁶³⁰ The concerned person is commonly identified only as 'the dog.' However, Ribhaddi employs the identification 'the dog' also for himself when he is having difficulties (EA 138: 95–96). The same designation can be found in the words of Abdiširta himself (EA 60: 6–7; EA 61: 2–4). However, Ribhaddi and Abdiširta are not the only ones who are 'the dogs' in the Amarna correspondence. The same expression can be found with Yapaḥu, the ruler of Gazru (EA 378: 18), who also identifies himself as 'the dog.' Yidya of Ašqaluna asks a question concerning a disobedient servant of the king in two of his letters (EA 320: 22–25; EA 322: 17–19) and the same concern is expressed in the words of Zurašar of Gintiašna (EA 319: 19–23). The identification of someone as 'the dog' cannot be interpreted as invective in any of these examples, though – it would be difficult to imagine Abdiširta referring to himself in an abusive manner. More likely, the term could have served as a kind of definition or identification of his subservient position towards the addressee. By the identification of Abdiširta as 'the dog,' Ribhaddi does not state his disdain towards him. However, by placing 'the dog' and his acts of war launched against the interests of the Egyptian king into the same context, he indicates that although Abdiširta is 'the dog and the servant,' i.e. the loyal subject of the pharaoh, he acts against him.

There is yet another expression containing 'the dog' employed in the Amarna corpus. In three cases the phrase 'one dog' (*kalbu ištēn*) is preserved, explained by F. Pintore as a 'wolf' or 'jackal', or a dog living alone.⁶³¹ The expression can be encountered in the letters from Biridiya of Megiddo (EA 247: 14–18), Artamanya of Ziribašani (EA 201: 9–16) and Amayaše (EA 202: 12–14). In these three examples, however, it is evident that the context is entirely different from the above mentioned passages of Ribhaddi and Abdiširta. All three senders object to the fact that they might be identified as 'lonely dogs' or in other words 'lone wolves' and that they might be regarded as such by the pharaoh. While 'to be a dog' in the terminology of the Amarna letters means 'to be a loyal servant' who is expected to act up to his status, to be 'one dog,' i.e. a lone wolf is a sign of being uprooted from the society of the loyal servants of the Egyptian king. Thus the expression 'the dog' reflects two completely different aspects of behaviour of an individual towards an authority, which must be strictly distinguished by the reader. A similar spread of the term 'the dog' in various idioms can be found in many languages including English. We may describe a very important person with the highest authority as 'a top dog,' however, even if you 'work like a dog,' you may never reach this position,

⁶²⁷ For an overview of this phenomenon and the earliest references to the Egyptian foreign policy during the 11th Dynasty, cf. references in LORTON (1974: 129).

⁶²⁸ Cf. Urk. IV 86, 10; Urk. IV 138, 4; Urk. IV 332, 1; Urk. IV 612, 17; Urk. IV 776, 3; Urk. IV 809, 17; Urk. IV 908, 2; Urk. IV 1102, 17; Urk. IV 1288, 19; Urk. IV 1551, 7; Urk. IV 1685, 8; Urk. IV 1696, 13; Urk. IV 2042, 19; Urk. IV 2128, 8; GAYET (1894: pl. 51); SANDMAN (1938: 21, 13).

⁶²⁹ Cf. GALAN (1993).

⁶³⁰ Cf. especially EA 71: 16–19; EA 75: 41–42; EA 85: 63–66; EA 104: 17–19; EA 109: 9–15; EA 117: 35–37; EA 129: 76–77; for other examples, see GALAN (1993: 173–176).

⁶³¹ PINTORE (1972: 125, n. 136).

especially if you work during the 'dog days' and your work is completed by you as 'a dog's breakfast,' despite the fact that you get 'dog-tired,' now you feel 'asick as a dog' and you know that your life is going to be 'a dog's life,' because you can never understand that you should 'let sleeping dogs lie' and since the very beginning you only had 'a dog's chance' of finishing your task. The variability of the idioms might be illustrated by the example of 'a wolf.' If we describe a certain man as 'a wolf,' there are two different meanings for this idiom – on the one hand, the person in question can be a grasping fellow, while on the other hand, he can be a man who makes amorous proposals to numerous women.⁶³²

The nature of the relationship between an inferior vassal ruler and his overlord, i.e. the Egyptian king, is also reflected by his (meaning the vassal's) identification as a 'loyal servant' (S20, S23) of 'the king' (S21), the vassal's 'master' (S22) – as attested in some of Biridya's and Yašdata's letters (from Megiddo), in two letters of Ba'lumeḥir of [...]igmate, in two letters of Dašru (provenance unknown), and in one letter of Arzawiya of Ruḥḥiza, Abdina[] from Gath,⁶³³ and Ba'lušipti from Tyre. The declaration of 'loyalty' is not limited only to the opening passages. The substantive expressing 'loyalty' or 'fidelity' (*kittu*) in the vassal correspondence, however, takes on a slightly different meaning in the royal letters. While in the letters to his 'royal' partners, the Egyptian king employs the expression as 'truth' or 'truly', by the employment of the expression in the letters to his vassals he clearly refers to one of the duties he expects his inferiors to deliver on, i.e. loyalty. Thus the identification of a particular sender as 'a loyal servant' might simply be a quotation from a pharaoh's letter – a challenge to behave properly and faithfully – to be 'a loyal servant of the king.'⁶³⁴

The overview provided above clearly demonstrates that the Amarna diplomatic terminology relating to the identification of the individual correspondents employed within the opening passages represents a rather complex problem on many levels. On the one hand, both the sender and the addressee are reliably identified by means of a series of functional titles, often supplemented by their personal names; however, on the other hand, a considerable variability can be observed in a number of honorific titles and epithets, as well as in the expressions for the humble status of the vassal rulers. The sources of the individual titles and epithets employed in the 'language of Amarna' can be found in the Mesopotamian-Hittite tradition, in the Egyptian tradition, as well as in the less well known local traditions.

⁶³² For the English idioms consults especially LONG (1979); COWIE (1985); GENZEL (1991) and APPLEBEE (1992).

⁶³³ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 286).

⁶³⁴ Cf. especially EA 162: 19–20, 25–27.

SALUTATIONS

The salutations, after the heading the second almost inevitable part of any opening passage within the Amarna corpus,⁶³⁵ present a relatively variable picture. In the Amarna corpus, we are able to recognize up to six elements contained in the salutations. The elements are the following – a report on the sender's well-being (2. i), an extended report on the sender's well-being (2. ii), greetings (2. iii), extended greetings (2. iv), a prostration (2. v) and an expression of divine blessings (2. vi).⁶³⁶ Not all of these elements must necessarily be employed, while it is also possible to observe differences in the distribution of the individual elements. As follows from the overview given earlier in this volume, some of these elements appear exclusively within the 'royal' correspondence, while others are generally understood to belong to the repertoire of the 'imperial' letters. In order to discuss the particularities of the individual elements, we can discuss the three groups separately. The first group contains the greetings and reports on the sender's well-being (2. i – 2. ii – 2. iii – 2. iv), the second group consists of the expression of self-abasement of the sender, i.e. the prostration formula (2. v) and finally, the opening passages with the divine blessing (2. vi) can be placed in the third group.

Greetings and Reports on the Sender's Well-being (2. i, 2. ii, 2. iii, 2. iv)

The greetings and reports on the sender's well-being, both in simple or extended forms, represent the essential part of the salutations, but none of these elements is absolutely necessary for the employment of the structure. From the overview summarized below, it follows that the elements referred to as 2. i ('a report on the sender's well-being'), 2. ii ('an extended report on sender's well-being'), 2. iii ('greetings') and 2. iv ('extended greetings') can be recognized in altogether thirteen types and subtypes of the structure of the opening passages.⁶³⁷ However, only in three types are these elements combined with the prostration formula (2. v).⁶³⁸ In all the other cases, the elements are combined with one another, although in type 6 we may observe a doubling of the report on the sender's well-being, accompanied by the extended report in all other examples in its primary position.⁶³⁹

It is noteworthy to observe that within the 'royal' correspondence the report on the sender's well-being represents, without doubt, the key-element of the communication and with the exception of a very specific type 11, into which we may classify the letters from Assyria (EA 15 and EA 16) and the message of the Babylonian princess (EA 12), in all other examples this element is never omitted.

The presence of the report on the sender's well-being within the opening passage earmarks a specific group of documents, usually considered as 'royal' letters. The only 'non-royal' letter containing this report within the structure of its opening passage is a letter EA 40, addressed by an Alašayan official to his partner in Egypt. We suggest that the employment of the report on the sender's well-being in the structure of the document might bear relation either to the identical social status

⁶³⁵ For the two types of the structure without the salutations, i.e. type 1 and type 18, consult pp. 100, 111–112, and table 14.

⁶³⁶ The individual elements were briefly discussed in the section devoted to the structure of the particular opening passages.

⁶³⁷ Cf. type 2, type 3A and 3B, type 4, type 5, type 6, type 7, type 8, type 9, type 10, type 11, type 13, and type 14.

⁶³⁸ Consult type 10, type 13, and type 14.

⁶³⁹ For a discussion on the subject including its possible geographical connotations, see pp. 102–103.

of both correspondents – which is, actually, exactly the same motive as in the ‘royal’ letters – or it might be related to a scribal tradition existing and being practiced at the Alašīyan royal court. With the second option in mind, the reason why this element was employed as well in this ‘non-royal’ letter might be the commonly used manner of writing on the part of the Alašīyan scribe.

In all letters containing the report on the sender’s well-being within the structure – including the letter of the Alašīyan official –, we also recognize, either as an individual element (2. iii) or as a part of the extended greetings (2. iv), its logical parallel, i.e. the greetings. On the one hand, the sender reports to his partner that he is well, and on the other, he wishes the same to him. Accordingly, the desired and declared equality of the two partners is preserved, which is a valid assumption irrespective of the social position of the two correspondents.

In the case of type 2, type 4, type 5 and type 6, the greetings to the addressee represent an individual and clearly articulated element within the structure, while in all ‘royal’ letters of Babylonian provenance,⁶⁴⁰ as well as in EA 34 (type 3B), addressed by the king of Alašiya to the king of Egypt, the greetings (2. iii) to the addressee of the message are incorporated, as a first element, in the ‘following’ extended greetings (2. iv). It was also possible for the greetings to be employed without the report on the sender’s well-being.⁶⁴¹ In general, we may state that in the ‘royal’ correspondence the presence of the report on the sender’s well-being within the structure necessarily required a presence of the greetings. The proposition, however, is not valid *vice versa*. An employment of the greetings in the opening passage, in any way, did not necessitate the incorporation of the report on the sender’s well-being, and it was possible for the greeting might be used in combination with other elements as well.

A similar parallelism can also be observed, although not in such an obvious way as in the previous example, between the two remaining elements, i.e. the extended report on the sender’s well-being (2. ii) and the extended greetings (2. iv). An extended report on the sender’s well-being, i.e. a report mentioning members of the royal household and/or the king’s belongings, can be – as an individual element – clearly recognized only in the two letters of the king of Alašiya (EA 35 and EA 34), representing types 2 and 3B respectively. In the case of EA 2 and EA 7 (type 3A) of Babylonian provenance, the extended report has been combined with the report on the sender’s well-being. The same phenomenon of combining the two elements of the opening passage, namely the greetings and the extended greetings, has been described above. The same cannot be observed within the remainder of the Babylonian ‘royal’ letters (type 7). The extended report on the sender’s well-being is never employed in the royal letters from Mitanni and Ḫatti, and the same element is also left aside in the four letters of Alašīyan origin.⁶⁴² In the case of type 6, i.e. in EA 1 and EA 5 of Egyptian origin, the report is used only in the ‘extension’ to the standard sequence of the elements within the opening passage.⁶⁴³ Based on the social context of EA 40, it is to be expected that neither the extended report on the sender’s well-being nor the extended greetings would be employed. The equality of the two partners is thus clearly recognizable.

On the other hand, neither the report on the sender’s well-being nor its extension, is attested in types 8, 9, 10, 13, and 14. This ‘omission’ is not surprising since none of the letters listed in these individual groups might be identified as royal communication *par excellence*.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. type 3A (EA 2, EA 7) and type 7 (EA 3, EA 6, EA 8, EA 9, EA 10, EA 11).

⁶⁴¹ For further discussion on the greetings, see below; cf. types 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14.

⁶⁴² EA 33, EA 37, EA 38 and EA 39.

⁶⁴³ The sequence attested in these two letters: a report on the sender’s well-being (2.i.) – greetings (2.iii.) – extended greetings (2.iv.) – a report on the sender’s well-being (2.i.) – an extended report on the sender’s well-being (2.ii.).

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. type 8 (EA 44 from Zita of Ḫatti; EA 170A from Baʿluya and Betʿilu of Amurru; EA 170B, from Amurbaʿla of Amurru); type 9 (EA 166 from Aziru of Amurru); type 10 (EA 59 from the citizens of Tunip); type 13 (EA 48 from the queen of Ugarit; EA 158 from Aziru of Amurru); type 14 (EA 45(?) and EA 49(?) both from the king of Ugarit).

In the case of type 8, the structure of the opening passage consists entirely of the greetings, while in type 9 the extended greetings have been employed as well. For both types it holds true that all the letters originated in the northern areas, Ḫatti or Amurru, and all were to a certain degree different from the majority of the ‘imperial’ documents known from other regions.

Among the documents classified, according to the structure of the respective opening passage, into type 8, we recognize – with respect to the social status of the sender and the addressee – a very specific document, EA 44. In this letter, a member of the Hittite royal family, Zita, addresses his ‘father,’ the king of Egypt. Accordingly, it cannot be classified as ‘imperial’ correspondence at all. Zita was far from being the pharaoh’s vassal, forced to prostrate himself in the presence of the king! On the contrary, he was a member of a recognized and equivalent royal household, although he was not the king of Ḫatti. The employment of the greetings within the opening structure of the letter might relate to the ‘family’ relationship between the Hittite prince and his Egyptian ‘father.’

The other examples of type 8 originate in letter EA 170, which was sent from the area of Irqata⁶⁴⁵ and which contains two messages, here referred to as EA 170A and EA 170B respectively. The content of the letter differs remarkably from the rest of the ‘imperial’ correspondence. The addressee of the first message, i.e. EA 170A, can be clearly identified as Aziru, the ruler of Amurru, while the senders were Baʿluya and Betʿilu, members of his family.⁶⁴⁶ EA 170B is a letter of Amurbaʿla to some members of Aziru’s entourage to Egypt. In a similar way as EA 44, discussed above, the social situation of all correspondents in EA 170, as well as their existing personal ties, required only a basic manifestation of politeness, realized by means of the employment of the greetings.

However, in the case of type 9, the situation is slightly different. It is attested only in EA 166, which is a letter of Aziru to an Egyptian official Ḫaya, sent from Ṣumur.⁶⁴⁷ As with EA 170, the addressee of the message in letter EA 166 is the king of Egypt. The letter belongs among a subset of documents addressed to respective officials, in which the prostration formula is widely employed. This also includes another letter of Aziru, delivered to an Egyptian official named Tutu (EA 158).⁶⁴⁸ It is thus very difficult to find an answer to the question as to why the prostration formula is omitted in EA 166. It is always possible that the omission of the prostration formula from the salutations was merely a pure and simple mistake on the part of the scribe, a possibility that cannot be completely excluded. It is, however, very tempting to see a message hidden behind this breach or *faux pas* of the Amarna diplomatic language, especially in the context of historical circumstances. It has been mentioned already that the letter was delivered to the Egyptian official from Ṣumur, for a long time an important power-base and centre of Egyptian dominance over Amurru. If letter EA 166 was indeed written in and sent from this Egyptian centre, it could only have happened after the seizure of the city by Aziru and his allies. Could the position of Aziru, after the conquest of Ṣumur, be strong enough to show his self-confidence by means of an omission of a symbol of subordination, i.e. the prostration formula? If we consider the omission of the expression of Aziru’s self-abasement in the opening passage of his letter to be an intentional and purposeful act, then the letter could have been composed only at the time when his position became absolutely undisputed. Is it possible that the seizure of Ṣumur could have been that particular occasion which made him a recognized ruler, someone who was able to demonstrate his position and attitude toward the representative of Egyptian power in this manner? It is evident that Aziru became a fully recognized ruler after he was

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NAʿAMAN (2004: 114–115).

⁶⁴⁶ MORAN (1992: 381) suggests that Baʿluya and Betʿilu were Aziru’s brothers; for the discussion of the sons of Abdiaširta, see SINGER (1991: 148ff., esp. 151); Singer considers Betʿilui to be a possible son of Aziru, see also SINGER (1990: 137); followed also in GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NAʿAMAN (2004: 124). For Betʿilui as being distinct from Aziru’s sons, cf. EA 161: 20–21.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NAʿAMAN (2004: 108–111); the same provenance has also been determined in the case of EA 165 and EA 167.

⁶⁴⁸ See the discussion on type 13, below.

officially appointed to his office by his overlord, i.e. the king of Egypt, and he could well have received this appointment during his visit to Egypt, mentioned in several of the Amarna letters, including of EA 170, discussed earlier.⁶⁴⁹

According to the traditional chronological scheme of Aziru's reign – and here we are on thin ice – he tried to postpone his visit to the royal court at Akhetaten as long as possible and tolerable to the king of Egypt. In this perspective, he set off for Egypt only after he, had gained control over the city of Tunip. From the perspective of the revised chronology, however, he might have paid the visit to the Egyptian king even before he attacked Tunip. The three letters, EA 165, EA 166 and EA 167, could thus have been composed after his return from Egypt to Amurru but before the seizure of Tunip. This might help to explain the self-confidence in his communication with the Egyptian official. The weakest point of this interpretation lies in relation to the place of origin of these letters. If the texts were indeed written down in Šumur, as the recent petrographic analysis of the material suggests, it would be most probable that this happened shortly after the city was conquered by Aziru and thus *before* his visit to Egypt. The city of Šumur is mentioned quite often in Aziru's communication, mainly regarding its opposition towards him, i.e. prior to its seizure by Aziru and his troops (cf. EA 157), and with respect to its reconstruction after the city was attacked (consult EA 159, EA 160, EA 161). Accordingly, there is no hint of his presence in Šumur other than the one following his conquest of the city. With respect to the other letters of Aziru delivered from Šumur, neither the structure of the opening passages nor the salutations in any way shed more light on these events. In EA 165, which is a letter addressed to the king of Egypt, the opening passage consists solely of the heading followed by a prostration formula, while in EA 167, a letter addressed to one of the pharaoh's officials, the opening passage is completely destroyed and it is impossible to decide if any greetings or a prostration formula were employed in the text.⁶⁵⁰ The fact that EA 166 was indeed composed before his departure for Egypt might be further supported by the origin of another of Aziru's letters, EA 168, which was most probably sent from the Egyptian centre at Gaza⁶⁵¹, where he made a stop on his way to Egypt.

From the evidence presented so far, it seems that a pre-Egyptian origin of the tablet is most likely. It remains almost impossible to interpret the omission of the prostration formula and the employment of only the greetings within the opening passage of EA 166, even with the support of the historical facts known from other letters, either as intentional or unintentional.

For types 10, 13, and 14, the combination of the greetings (2. iii) and/or extended greetings (2. iv) with the prostration formula (2. v) is characteristic. In fact, the only difference between type 10, attested only in EA 59 (from the citizens of Tunip to the king of Egypt), and type 13, attested in EA 48 (from the queen of Ugarit to her 'mistress') and EA 158 (from Aziru to an Egyptian official Tutu), is the sequence of the elements comprising the opening passage. While in the first one, i.e. type 10, the greetings precede the prostration formula; in type 13 the prostration formula occupies the anterior position within the structure. To these two binominal structures we may also add type 14 (EA 45(?) and EA 49(?)), in which the sequence of the prostration formula and the greetings is further expanded by the element of the extended greetings.

It seems very probable that in the letters of Ugaritic provenance, i.e. EA 48, EA 45(?), and EA 49(?), the usage of types 13 and 14 might very well be connected with a 'local tradition' documented also in the later Egyptian-Ugaritic correspondence of the 13th century B.C.E.⁶⁵² This is especially valid for

⁶⁴⁹ For the formulation of the revised chronology of Aziru's reign, consult especially SINGER (1990: 128–144); *idem* (1991: 148–158); for the earlier studies containing the traditional interpretation of the chronology, see above all KLENGEL (1964); *idem* (1969: 264–299); *idem* (1992: 161–166).

⁶⁵⁰ For a suggested reconstruction, probably under the influence of EA 166, of the salutations consisting of the greetings followed by the extended greetings, see KNUDTZON (1915: 668–669); for the opening passage containing the heading and salutations, including the prostration formula and the greetings, see IZRE'EL (1991: II, 46–47).

⁶⁵¹ Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 112–113).

⁶⁵² Cf. MYNAROVA (*in press b*).

the two letters of the Ugaritic kings, addressed to their royal partner in Egypt. These letters might be – with respect to the combination of 'royal' elements (2. iii and 2. iv) with the 'imperial' one (2. v) – identified as transitional between the 'royal' and the 'imperial' correspondence. In these documents, the kings of Ugarit express their loyalty towards the pharaoh by means of their self-abasement, but immediately afterwards increase their social status by pronouncing a wish of well-being not only to the king himself but also to other members of the royal family and the court. In this manner they join, at least partially, the 'Amarna royal family.'

Is it possible that the same structure could be identified in the remaining two letters? For type 10 there is actually only a single document attested within the Amarna corpus, i.e. a communication sent by the citizens, i.e. the representatives, of Tunip, threatened by the military operations of Aziru, to the Egyptian king. There is no doubt that in this case the senders are, in respect of their social status, lower ranked than the addressee, and accordingly the prostration formula is employed within the opening passage of the document. The expression of their self-abasement is, remarkably, preceded by an inverted form of the greetings containing a wish of well-being to the pharaoh. Whether this would be somehow connected with a local scribal tradition or rather the individuality of the scribe cannot be decided due to the solitary nature of the text.

Letter EA 158 belongs to the subset of Aziru's documents and it was addressed to one of the pharaoh's officials, named Tutu. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, the diplomatic code, recognizable and identifiable within the Amarna correspondence, was also evidently not consistently followed in this letter. In the binominal structure of the salutations employed in the text the prostration formula precedes the inverted form of the greetings. Aziru first falls at the feet of Tutu, his 'father,' and with that he wishes him all the best. Since it is already the second message of Aziru that falls unconditionally into the 'Amarna system,' we may raise the question as to whether the 'Amarna diplomatic protocol' was recognized by Aziru's scribal office at all. In the case of a positive answer to this question we would have to consider these partial departures from the settled rules as purposeful. There is no doubt that, at least formally, the Egyptian officials were superior to Aziru. Perusing the other letters addressed by local rulers to respective Egyptian officials, Aziru is in fact the only one who includes the greetings in the opening passages of his letters (EA 158 and EA 166). Interestingly, he never does so in letters addressed to the Egyptian king, regardless of the date when the particular message was composed! Irrespective of the various opinions on the exact chronology of Aziru's advances, a majority of scholars has arrived at the conclusion that EA 158 should for certain be dated to the early years of his career, when his position on the international scene was not yet powerful and strong enough to show his superiority by means of ignorance or intentional violation of the diplomatic procedures. His actual and formal subordination is expressed by the employment of the prostration formula. Could there be any other reason for the usage of the greetings within the salutations of EA 158?

The overview of documents presented above clearly illustrates that the greetings and/or the extended greetings were, in particular, widely used within the so-called 'royal' letters, including the letters from other members of the respective royal courts, i.e. in the correspondence from Alašiya,⁶⁵³ Babylonia,⁶⁵⁴ Mitanni,⁶⁵⁵ Hatti,⁶⁵⁶ Egypt,⁶⁵⁷ and Assyria.⁶⁵⁸ In these letters, among the individual members of the 'Amarna Club' or the 'Amarna royal family,' the greetings – either the simple ones or the extended greetings – represent the key element of any communication. Within the 'royal' cor-

⁶⁵³ Attested types: type 2, type 3B, and type 5.

⁶⁵⁴ Attested types: type 3A, type 7, and type 11.

⁶⁵⁵ Attested in type 5.

⁶⁵⁶ Attested types: type 5 and type 8.

⁶⁵⁷ Attested in type 6.

⁶⁵⁸ Attested in type 11.

respondence, the absence of a report on the sender's well-being (2. i) in the opening passage still separates the correspondence of other members of respective royal courts (cf. EA 12 and EA 44) and the letters of the king of Assyria, a 'newcomer' to the Club. The greetings can also be found in letters that cannot be unconditionally identified as 'royal' ones. The greetings appear in letters addressed to Egyptian officials, but also in letters to the king of Egypt himself. Is it possible to distinguish a common denominator for these texts? Document EA 40, for instance, was written in a scribal office at the royal court at Alalāšiya and it represents a communication between two socially equivalent correspondents. The employment of the greetings in this letter is not surprising: the Alalāšian official figures in the correspondence as an equivalent partner to his Egyptian companion. In EA 170A and EA 170B the employment of the greetings might very well be understood from the point of view of the family relationship between the respective senders and addressees and, accordingly, there was no need for a prostration formula. The same does not hold true for the letters of Aziru to two Egyptian officials (EA 158 and EA 166). Aziru's correspondence with the pharaoh's representatives differs significantly from letters of other Syro-Palestinian rulers. In one of these letters (EA 166) even the prostration formula is omitted, while in the second text it is attested together with the greetings. The same structure also appears in a letter sent by the Ugaritic queen to her partner in Egypt (EA 48), which is again not a typical example of the 'imperial' correspondence! Unfortunately, we are at present unable to decide whether the exceptional structure of Aziru's letters was only a case of an unintentional mistake caused by a lack of knowledge on the side of the scribe, or whether it was a fully intentional step resulting from, in modern terms, 'a special relationship' between Aziru and pharaoh's officials. As far as the structure of the opening passage is concerned, the royal letters from Ugarit, cf. EA 45(?) and EA 49(?) and to a certain degree EA 48 as well, clearly represent a transitional element between the 'royal' and 'imperial' correspondence. This short overview clearly indicates that among the 'non-royal' letters the social position of both correspondents probably played no role in the employment of the greetings in the opening passage. The geographical distribution of the texts is however rather limited. It is interesting to observe that the greetings are never used in letters from southern regions and their distribution is limited to Ugarit, Tunip and Amurru. More general conclusions can, unfortunately, not be drawn, in particular due to the principal deficiency of other texts suitable for analysis and relevant comparison. However we must keep in mind that in the remainder of Aziru's correspondence, as well as in the correspondence of his predecessor, the greetings are never used.

The Prostration Formula (2. v)

In the Amarna corpus, the expression of self-abasement, in other words a prostration formula or *proskynesis*, represents a key element for the classification of a particular letter as an imperial document. With respect to the structure of the opening passages this element (2. v) occurs in altogether eight types and subtypes.⁶⁵⁹ As far as the structure of the opening passage is concerned, the simplest form can be identified in subtype 12A, in which the binominal structure of the opening passage consists of the heading and the salutations, containing only the prostration formula (2. v). Similar structures can also be recognized in the other two subtypes of type 12, i.e. 12B [(1) heading – (2) salutations: (2. v) prostration – (2. v) prostration] and 12C [(1) heading – (2) salutations: (2. v) – (1) heading]. In all other types the prostration formula is combined with other salutation elements, such as the greetings (2. iii, in type 10 and type 13), the greetings and extended greetings (2. iii – 2. iv, in type 14), and with the divine blessings (2. vi, in types 15 and 17).

The internal structure of the Amarna prostration formula consists of elements similar to those attested in the Akkadian and Ugaritic epistolary documents discovered at Ugarit, although the locative phrase 'from a distance' or 'from afar' (Akk. *ištu rūqiš*, Ug. *mršq(t)m*) does

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. types 10, 12A, 12B, 12C, 13, 14, 15 and 17.

not appear in the Amarna letters. The element of the manner – i.e. the way in which the proskynesis will be carried out – might be extended by a phrase 'on the belly and on the back' or *vice versa*, and/or 'here and now.' In this perspective, there is no peremptory obstacle to also applying Ahl's terminology for the individual elements to the Amarna material. The prostration formula might contain the following elements – (1) a directional phrase, by means of which the beneficiary of the act is identified, or in other words – an identification of the person for whom it is performed; (2) an element of manner, i.e. the way in which the prostration is performed; and (3) a verbal form, indicating the performance of the action. In order to recognize the internal structure of the prostration formula and the variability of the individual elements, it is necessary to divide the documents into relevant groups based on the sequence of these elements.⁶⁶⁰

Type 1

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 144

Commentary

A typical feature of type 1 represents a double directional phrase at the beginning of the prostration formula. This phenomenon, attested in EA 144 from Zimreddi of Sidon, is unique within the studied corpus of documents. The possibility that a verbal form belonging to the first directional phrase is missing cannot be ruled out. In that case a double prostration formula, found in other types, is recognizable in EA 144. Due to the limited number of occurrences of this type, a more general conclusion cannot be drawn.

Type 2

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 228

Commentary

The letter EA 228 sent by Abditirši, the ruler of Hazor, to the king of Egypt contains an elaborate pro-

⁶⁶⁰ Due to serious lacunae in the relevant passages of the tablets, the following texts are not applicable for a discussion on the structure of the prostration formula, cf. EA 61, EA 183, EA 229, EA 307, EA 309, EA 312, EA 332, EA 334, EA 338.

stration formula with two directional phrases and an element of manner, consisting of a number . The final position is occupied by a verbal form. Its structure differs significantly from the structure of EA 227,⁶⁶¹ which is another letter delivered from the ruler of Hazor. It is not possible to observe any local or individual characteristics within these texts, but it is important to stress that the subset of documents is extremely limited.

Type 3

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 225

Commentary

Only one occurrence of this type is attested in the Amarna corpus, i.e. in letter EA 225 from Šamuhadda of Šamḥuna to the king of Egypt. An element of manner, i.e. the second element within the prostration formula (following the directional phrase and preceding the verbal form), also contains, next to the number, an expression ‘here and now,’ which is not employed very frequently within the corpus.⁶⁶²

Type 4

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase

Attestations

EA 330

Commentary

Only a single occurrence of this type, i.e. EA 330, is attested among the Amarna letters and thus more general conclusions cannot be reached. Similar to type 1 and type 2 discussed above and types 7, 11, 13, 15, and 22 discussed later in this chapter, the scribe of the letter used a double directional phrase. The element of manner contains two elements – number and an expression ‘here and now.’

⁶⁶¹ Cf. type 9, containing only a directional phrase followed by a verbal form, see below.

⁶⁶² Cf. below, types 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 20.

Type 5

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 65

Commentary

In EA 65, which is a letter addressed to the Egyptian king by Abdiaštarti, the sequence of elements in the element of manner is interrupted by an inclusion of the verbal form expressing the act of prostration. Since this combination and sequence of elements occurs only in EA 65, it is impossible to reach more general conclusions.

Type 6

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 45(?), EA 50, EA 60, EA 68, EA 74, EA 75, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81, EA 83, EA 84, EA 85, EA 89, EA 90(?), EA 91(?), EA 92, EA 94, EA 100, EA 103, EA 104, EA 105, EA 106, EA 107, EA 108, EA 109, EA 110, EA 112, EA 114, EA 116, EA 117, EA 118, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123, EA 124, EA 125, EA 126, EA 129, EA 130, EA 132, EA 136, EA 137(?), EA 138, EA 139(?), EA 140, EA 141, EA 142(?), EA 143(?), EA 152(?), EA 174, EA 175, EA 176, EA 177, EA 182, EA 185, EA 184, EA 188(?), EA 189, EA 192, EA 193, EA 194, EA 195, EA 196, EA 201, EA 202, EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206, EA 216, EA 217, EA 220, EA 221, EA 222, EA 223, EA 226, EA 231(?), EA 239, EA 242, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 248, EA 250, EA 253, EA 254, EA 255, EA 257, EA 258, EA 259, EA 261, EA 262, EA 264, EA 266, EA 267, EA 268, EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 272, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 277, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280, EA 285(?), EA 286, EA 287(?), EA 288, EA 290, EA 292, EA 292, EA 293, EA 294, EA 295, EA 296, EA 297, EA 300, EA 302, EA 311, EA 321, EA 329, EA 336, EA 337, EA 362, EA 363, EA 364, EA 365

Commentary

Type 6, containing a sequence of the directional phrase followed by the element of manner (2. i, number) and the verbal form, represents by far the largest group of Amarna prostration formulae. It is important to stress that there is no obvious geographical distribution among these texts. As far as the social status of both correspondents is concerned, we may note that not a single document addressed to any of the pharaoh’s officials can be placed within this category.

Type 7

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 63, EA 235+327(?)

Commentary

The very same structure of the prostration formula can be recognized in EA 63 from Abdiaš-tarti and very probably also in EA 235+327(?) from Satatna, the ruler of Akka. As far as the addressee is concerned, both messages were delivered to the Egyptian king. While EA 63 was very probably sent from Tel Šafit,⁶⁶³ the provenance of EA 235+327(?) is uncertain. Most probably the letter was sent from Beth Shean, known to have been one of the most important Egyptian centers in the region.⁶⁶⁴ The preference given to this type of the prostration formula seems to have no evident connection with the place of origin of the text and/or the personality of the scribe.

Type 8

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 213, EA 232, EA 233, EA 234, EA 281, EA 298, EA 299, EA 301, EA 303, EA 304, EA 305, EA 306, EA 308(?), EA 316, EA 319, EA 320, EA 322, EA 324, EA 326, EA 328, EA 331, EA 366, EA 378

Commentary

The subset of documents identified here, according to the inner structure of the prostration formula employed in the opening passage of the texts as type 8, were all addressed to the king of Egypt. This implies that the social relationship between the individual senders and the respective addressee is identical in all these texts. It is important to stress that all these documents were written down in the southern parts of the region (Gaza, Beth Shean, Ashqelon, Tel Šafit, Tell Yemmeh)⁶⁶⁵ and we cannot rule out the possibility of a common tradition employed by the individual scribes.

⁶⁶³ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 283–284).

⁶⁶⁴ For the provenance of the document, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 238–239).

⁶⁶⁵ For the provenance study of individual texts, see GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004).

Type 9

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 48(?), EA 49, EA 51, EA 54, EA 58, EA 59, EA 62(?), EA 71, EA 73, EA 77, EA 82, EA 86(?), EA 87, EA 93, EA 95, EA 102, EA 145(?), EA 158, EA 164, EA 171, EA 178, EA 191, EA 199(?), EA 207, EA 227, EA 230, EA 238, EA 249, EA 252, EA 256, EA 260, EA 265, EA 333

Commentary

Type 9 is characterized by a simple binominal structure containing the directional phrase preceding the verbal form. The most important observation to be made for the documents of type 9 concerns the social status of both correspondents. This structure is encountered both in letters addressed to the Egyptian king and to his respective officials. It is important to stress that in all letters addressed to the officials and preserved in the Amarna corpus, type 9 of the prostration formula is employed, regardless of the provenance of the respective texts. In other words, in the Amarna letters sent to the officials the prostration formula contains only two key elements: the directional phrase and the verbal form. It would, however, be very premature to identify this phenomenon as exclusive to this type of the correspondence! We must keep in mind that this type of prostration formula is also employed in documents addressed to the king of Egypt.⁶⁶⁶ A geographical context for the employment of this type cannot be clearly identified.

Type 10

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number

Attestations

EA 212, EA 224, EA 263(?), EA 289

Commentary

Type 10 of the prostration formula can be recognized in altogether four Amarna documents originating in three distinct areas – the area of Jerusalem (EA 289),⁶⁶⁷ the Beth Shean valley (EA 224 and EA 263(?)),⁶⁶⁸ and probably Gaza (EA 212).⁶⁶⁹ All the letters were addressed to the king of Egypt. In a similar way as other types discussed below, the sequence of elements in type 10 consists of the directional phrase as the first element of the formula, followed by the verbal form. The final position is occupied by the element of manner in the form of a number (2. i).

⁶⁶⁶ Or the queen of Egypt in EA 48(?).

⁶⁶⁷ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 267).

⁶⁶⁸ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 234–237, 250).

⁶⁶⁹ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 306–307).

Type 11**Structure**

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 64

Commentary

Since this relatively complicated prostration formula is attested exclusively in EA 64, we suggest that it came into existence due to a scribal error. In agreement with Moran⁶⁷⁰ the second directional phrase placed in between two parts of the element of manner (2. i) is considered only as a superfluous element. The structure of the original form of this prostration formula would thus be (1) – (3) – (2: 2. i) – (2: 2. iii) – (2: 2. ii), but, in addition it has no parallel within the Amarna corpus.

Type 12**Structure**

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 314, EA 315, EA 323

Commentary

Type 12 shares certain features with the supposedly original form of type 11 (see above). The directional phrase also precedes the verbal form and only then follows the element of manner, consisting of the number and the expression of ‘on the back and on the belly’. This type can be recognized only in three Amarna letters, EA 314 and EA 315 from PU-ba’lu of Yurša,⁶⁷¹ and EA 323 from Yidya of Ashqelon.⁶⁷²

Type 13**Structure**

- (1) directional phrase

⁶⁷⁰ MORAN (1992: 135).

⁶⁷¹ For the provenance study of EA 315, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 300).

⁶⁷² Cf. GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA’AMAN (2004: 295).

- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase

Attestations

EA 283

Commentary

The prostration formula employed in EA 283 (by Šuwardata of Gath) might be understood as a double structure. The first prostration formula contains the simple binominal structure of the directional phrase followed by the respective verbal form. The other prostration formula starts only with the element of manner (2. i) – which is a phenomenon known from other types – with another verbal form and the directional phrase at the end of the construction (see also type 14).

Type 14**Structure**

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 284

Commentary

The structure of the prostration formula type 14 is very close to type 13, discussed above. As with EA 283 (type 13), EA 284 was also sent by Šuwardata of Gath to the Egyptian king. In type 14 we recognize a double prostration formula with the simple form containing the directional phrase and the verbal form as the first element, whereas the second prostration formula starts with the element of manner (2. i + 2. iii), followed by the respective verbal form and ends with another element belonging to the element of manner (2. ii). The close resemblance in the structures of EA 283 and EA 284, as well as the common origin of these two texts, could suggest that the letters were actually written by the same scribe.

Type 15**Structure**

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase

Attestations

EA 209

Commentary

The author of EA 209 is identified as Zišamimi, while the document probably originated in the Damascus area.⁶⁷³ The structure of the prostration formula reflects many features similar to type 13, 14 and 16 (see below), especially its double structure. A common geographical origin of these texts cannot be suggested.

Type 16

Structure

- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 325

Commentary

Together with types 13, 14 and 15, type 16 contains a double prostration formula with the element of manner (2. i) representing the first element of the second structure. EA 325 is a letter of southern provenance, delivered to the Egyptian royal court from Yidya of Ashqelon. It is the only document from the Ashqelon group in which this type of the prostration formula has been attested so far.

Type 17

Structure

- (2) element of manner
- (2. i) number

Attestations

EA 241

Commentary

This type of the prostration formula is attested within the Amarna corpus only once, i.e. in EA 241 from Rušmānya of Šaruna. Since both the directional phrase and the verbal form are missing, it is highly probable that the structure of this type is the result of a mistake on the side of the scribe. The reconstruction suggested by Knudtzon⁶⁷⁴ seems very plausible.

⁶⁷³ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 222).

⁶⁷⁴ KNUDTZON (1964: 787): '(Zu den) Füßen meines Herrn (fiel ich) 7mal, 7 mal (nieder).

Type 18

Structure

- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 52, EA 53, EA 55, EA 88, EA 146(?), EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150(?), EA 151, EA 153, EA 154, EA 155(?), EA 156, EA 157, EA 159, EA 160, EA 161, EA 165(?), EA 168, EA 184, EA 317, EA 318

Commentary

The geographical distribution of the texts included in this subset of documents is relatively large, but the majority of the tablets have a northern origin (cf. Qaṭna, Byblos, Tyre, Amurru, Šumur). In the case of EA 168, EA 317 and EA 318 a southern provenance in Gaza has been proposed,⁶⁷⁵ but in these three documents the senders can be identified as rulers from northern regions (Aziru and Dagantakala) and it is possible that the respective letters were written down by scribes of northern origin. On the other hand, the provenance of the letter EA 184 from Šutarna of Mušilūna cannot be clearly identified.

Type 19

Structure

- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
 - (2. ii) back & belly
- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 211

Commentary

Type 19 differs from type 18 only in the presence of (2. ii) in the element of manner, which represents the first element of the prostration formula. The document EA 211 from Zitriyara was almost certainly written down in Gaza,⁶⁷⁶ as the aforementioned letters EA 168, EA 317 and EA 318. It is important to stress that, according to the petrological analysis, every single letter of Zitriyara was written down in Gaza, but that the respective prostration formulae employed in these documents differ, cf. EA 211 (type 19), EA 212 (type 10) and EA 213 (type 8). We can ask ourselves the question as to whether these three documents were written by three different scribes or whether there was a single scribe who randomly combined the individual elements in order to compose an appropriate prostration formula? We will return to this question later.

Type 20

Structure

- (2) element of manner

⁶⁷⁵ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 112–113, 309).

⁶⁷⁶ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 306–307).

- (2. i) number
- (2. iii) here & now
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase
- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly

Attestations

EA 282

Commentary

EA 282 represents another example of Šuwardata's correspondence. It is the only document within this group in which the prostration formula starts with the element of manner (2. i + 2. iii). The other letters of Šuwardata can be classified as type 6 (EA 278, EA 279, EA 280), type 8 (EA 281) and two closely associated types 13 (EA 283) and 14 (EA 284). With the exception of EA 278, all other texts, including EA 282, were probably written down in Tel Šafit.⁶⁷⁷ It is evident that in this case the preference given to a certain type of the prostration formula does not point towards a local tradition shared by the scribes.

Type 21

Structure

- (2) element of manner
 - (2. i) number
- (3) verbal form
- (1) directional phrase

Attestations

EA 200

Commentary

In EA 200 we recognize a relatively simple form of the prostration formula consisting of three elements – the element of manner (2. i) followed by the verbal form and the directional phrase. The provenance of this document is uncertain, but it is probable that the text originated in the Bashan region. No other parallels of this type are known in the Amarna corpus.

Type 22

Structure

- (2) element of manner
 - (2. ii) back & belly
 - (2. i) number
- (1) directional phrase
- (3) verbal form

Attestations

EA 215

⁶⁷⁷ For the individual texts, consult GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 279–283).

Commentary

There are only two letters of Bayawa preserved in the Amarna corpus. While in EA 216 the type of the structure of the prostration formula can be identified as type 6 [(1) – (2: 2. i) – (3)], in EA 215, which was probably written down in Gaza,⁶⁷⁸ a different type was used. Can we relate this difference to a changing of the scribe employed by Bayawa, as suggested by Moran?⁶⁷⁹

A reflection of the contents of the prostration formulae of the Amarna letters in a contemporary Egyptian context is found⁶⁸⁰ in a relief from the Saqqara tomb of commander-in-chief, Horemheb,⁶⁸¹ representing a group of foreigners of Near Eastern (seven individuals) and Libyan (two individuals) origin. One individual is lying on his belly and stretching his hands towards the Egyptian official, while another one is lying on his back with his head thrown backwards and his shoulders lifted in front of his face with the palms turned upwards, i.e. the representation of the Amarna letters' expression 'on the back and on the belly.' Four other foreign rulers or chieftains are kneeling, while three others are standing behind them with their hands lifted up, greeting the royal couple and expressing their obeisance. It is important to stress that an interpreter is also depicted in the relief. The accompanying text is only badly preserved, but it is possible to complete it, based on parallels with other texts. The inscription contains the speech Horemheb delivered on the occasion of the royal audience:⁶⁸² '[Words spoken to His Majesty when] the chiefs of every foreign territory came to beg life from him, by the hereditary prince, sole companion, royal scribe Horemheb, true of voice. He said, making answer [to the King ... foreigners], those who do not know Egypt, are beneath your feet forever and eternally. ...'

In the Egyptian texts we usually find, especially in the context of an audience of foreign chieftains, a verbal form of *w'f* 'to bow down,'⁶⁸³ in its transitive meaning 'to humiliate, to overpower.'⁶⁸⁴ During the 18th Dynasty, the representatives of individual 'foreign countries' usually express their inferior social status by means of a gesture of 'kissing the earth' (Eg. *sn 13*).⁶⁸⁵

The overview of the prostration formula preserved in the Amarna letters and presented above clearly illustrates that the expression of *proskynesis*, is structurally, extremely variable. This variability might – to a certain degree – relate to the abilities of individual scribes, but the possibility of the existence of certain tendencies in composing a particular formula of prostration in letters from the same region cannot be completely ruled out. We may suppose that the main factor was the individuality of the scribe and the scribal tradition he belonged to. In order to get a more concrete picture of the form of the prostration formulae and their possible geographical distribution it is necessary to combine the data obtained through this classification with the results of the analyses of the language of the opening passages, especially with respect to the orthography.

⁶⁷⁸ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004: 308).

⁶⁷⁹ MORAN (1992: 284, n. 2).

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. for example PRITCHARD (1954: 2, fig. 5).

⁶⁸¹ The respective parts of the relief consist of three elements, E. Berlin 22663, Vienna 214 and Leiden H.III.QQQQ (for the royal couple and Horemheb, consult H.III.SSSS and F 1914/4.1). Originally the relief was placed to the right of the entrance into Chapel C. For the archaeological context and publication of the relief, consult especially MARTIN (1989: 94–98; pl. 114–115).

⁶⁸² Consult MARTIN (1989: 97).

⁶⁸³ Consult LORTON (1974: 83–87); cf. *Urk.* IV 20, 17; 42, 17; 196, 4; 346, 6; 587, 1; 740, 1; 1013, 13; 1229, 3; 1236, 13; 1298, 5; 1325, 15; 1343, 16; 1512, 3; 1566, 8; 1641, 13; 1693, 7, 16; 1694, 13, 17; 1756, 14; 2058, 14; 2059, 7; SANDMAN (1938: 145, 4); DAVIES (1908: pl. 2, l. 4).

⁶⁸⁴ See LORTON (1974: 84–87).

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. *Wb.* IV, 154; DOMINICUS (1994: 33–36); MYNAROVA – COPPENS (*in press*) with references to further literature.

Divine Blessings (2. vi)

An element of salutations, referred to here as divine blessings (2. vi) is used only sparsely in the Amarna corpus. We encounter this phenomenon only in three types of structure of the opening passages, i.e. in type 15, type 16 and type 17. In types 15 and 17, which differ from each other only in the sequence of the individual elements employed in the opening passages, only the letters of Byblite origin are attested. In these two types two deities are mentioned acting on behalf of the addressee, either the king of Egypt or his officials, i.e. Lady of Gubla and/or Amun ('the god of the king'). The distribution of these two deities within the opening passages indicates that the name of the Egyptian god is never attested in the letters addressed to the Egyptian king⁶⁸⁶ and we encounter a reference to the god Amen only in some of the letters addressed to the kings' officials.⁶⁸⁷ In these documents, the Egyptian god acts either alone (EA 71 and EA 86) or together with the Lady of Gubla (EA 77(?), EA 87 and EA 95). In only one of the letters sent to an official (EA 73), is the Lady of Gubla the only acting deity. The wish for divine intervention differs in accordance with the identity of the addressee, irrespective the type of structure employed in the opening passage. Thus the Lady of Gubla grants 'power' to the king, while, in the letters to the officials, the divine intervention is meant to ensure the official's 'honor' in the presence of his superior, i.e. the Egyptian king. In type 16 the divine intervention remains, on the contrary, anonymous. Unlike the two types mentioned earlier, divine blessings represent the only element of salutations in this type.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. EA 68, EA 74, EA 75, EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81(?), EA 83, EA 85, EA 89, EA 92, EA 105, EA 107, EA 108, EA 109, EA 110, EA 112, EA 114, EA 116, EA 117, EA 118, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123, EA 124, EA 125, EA 130, EA 132.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. EA 71, EA 77, EA 86, EA 87, EA 95.

⁶⁸⁸ See also pp. 99–101 in this volume.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF AMARNA

The main aim of this chapter is to give a general overview of the 'language' employed in the opening passages of the Amarna letters. In a similar way to the discussions presented in the previous chapters of the volume, it is important to find out if there are any recognizable differences in the letters from various sites and/or belonging to the various scribal traditions, or if we can associate these particular elements with individual scribes.⁶⁸⁹

Orthography and Phonology

Determinatives

With respect to the nature of the analysed corpus it is evident that the use of determinatives employed in the opening passages is very common. As far as the orthography is concerned, we may observe no significant differences between the Amarna corpus and other corpora in Peripheral Akkadian.⁶⁹⁰

General determinatives

- M** regularly used before men's names; otherwise it is attested before status and kinship terms, cf. M.LÚ.GAL ERÍN.ME[Š] 'commander of the troops' (EA 96: 3); M.LÚ 'ruler (of)' (EA 201: 4; EA 204: 4; EA 205: 3; EA 206: 4); see also M.bé-lt-ia 'my master' (EA 12: 1); M.EN-šu 'his master' (EA 108: 2); and especially M.LUGAL(-ri) 'king',⁶⁹¹
- MÍ** regularly attested before women's names; see also MÍ.NIN-ia 'my mistress' (EA 50: 2, 5); MÍ.GEMÊ.am-ti-[ki] '[your] maidservant' (EA 50: 4);
- LÚ** used before social terms or professions, cf. 'magnate' [*passim*]; 'your servants' LÚ.MEŠ.ÌR.MEŠ-ka-ma (EA 59: 2); 'your servant' LÚ.ÌR-ka-ma (EA 159: 2; EA 160: 2(?); EA 161: 2); 'elders' LÚ.MEŠ.ši-<bu>-ti-ši (EA 100: 4); 'governor' LÚ.ḫa-za-nu (EA 144: 5); 'groom' LÚ.kàr-tap-pt [*passim*], cf. also LÚ.ku-sí and LÚ.ku-sí;⁶⁹²
- D** used before names of deities; cf. also an identification of the king of Egypt as 'the Sun' [*passim*]; in EA 41: 2 ([KUR.UR]U.D.[ḫ]a-[a]t-ti.KI) and EA 44: 1 (KUR.URU.D.mi-iš-ri-[i]) in the identification of geographical names; cf. also as AN before 'heaven';
- URU** used before names of towns (*passim*), cf. also KUR.URU.D.mi-iš-ri-[i] (EA 44: 1);

⁶⁸⁹ Only completely preserved forms or with minor lacunae are taken into consideration in the following overview. Badly damaged passages are not discussed.

⁶⁹⁰ See, especially, the corpora of Akkadian letters found at Ugarit and Alalah.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. EA 60: 1; EA 63: 1, 4, 5, 6; EA 64: 1; EA 118: 1; EA 187: 5; EA 191: 1; EA 193: 1; EA 194: 1, 3; EA 195: 1, 11; EA 201: 1, 6; EA 202: 1, 5; EA 203: 1, 6; EA 204: 1, 6; EA 205: 1, 5; EA 206: 1, 6; EA 213: 1, 6; EA 220: 1; EA 223: 1; EA 224: 1; EA 225: 1, 5; EA 228: 1, 6, 8; EA 229: 1; EA 230: 1; EA 233: 1; EA 234: 1, 4; EA 235(+327): 1, 7; EA 239: 5; EA 241: 1; EA 242: 1; EA 243: 1; EA 248: 1; EA 249: 1; EA 250: 1; EA 252: 1; EA 261: 1; EA 264: 1, 3; EA 265: 1, 3; EA 266: 1; EA 267: 1; EA 269: 1; EA 270: 1; EA 271: 1; EA 272: 1; EA 273: 1; EA 274: 1; EA 278: 1; EA 281: 1; EA 282: 5; EA 283: 1, 4; EA 284: 1, 3; EA 286: 1; EA 288: 1; EA 290: 1; EA 292: 1; EA 294: 1; EA 295: 5; EA 296: 1; EA 297: 1; EA 299: 1; EA 302: 1; EA 303: 1; EA 304: 1; EA 305: 1; EA 309: 1; EA 312: 6; EA 314: 1; EA 320: 1; EA 321: 1; EA 322: 1; EA 323: 1; EA 324: 1; EA 325: 1; EA 326: 1; EA 328: 1; EA 329: 1; EA 330: 1; EA 331: 1, 7; EA 337: 1, 5.

⁶⁹² For the references, consult p. 141.

- KI** used after names of towns, cf. URU.*tù-ni-ip*.KI (EA 59: 2); URU.*šl-du-na*.KI (EA 144: 5); URU.*ha-sl*.KI (EA 185: 3); URU.*ku-mi-di*.KI (EA 198: 5); URU.*ha-šú-ri*.KI (EA 227: 3); URU.*ak-ka*.KI (EA 233: 5; EA 234: 3); URU.*ša-ru-na*.KI (EA 241: 4); URU.*ma-gíd-da*.KI (EA 242: 4); URU.*ga-az-ri*.KI (EA 298: 5; EA 299: 4); URU.*yu-ur-ša*.KI (EA 314: 4); URU.*aš-qa-lu-na*.KI (EA 320: 6); URU.*aš-qá-lu-n[a.K]*I (EA 370: 1); URU.*gaz-ri*.⁶⁹³ KI⁶⁹⁴ (EA 378: 4); after names of countries, cf. KUR.*mi-iš-ri-i*.KI (EA 1: 3); KUR.*mi-iš-ri*.KI (EA 52: 1); cf. also KUR.KI-*ka*, ‘your country’ (EA 34: 7), and also in the titles ‘king of (all) lands’ and ‘the Sun of (all) lands’;⁶⁹⁵
- KUR** used before names of countries;⁶⁹⁴
- UZU** before parts of the body, cf. UZU.GÌR.MEŠ ‘feet’ (EA 53: 3; EA 55: 3; EA 303: 7; EA 304: 8; EA 328: 10; EA 378: 5); UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* ‘your feet’ (EA 303: 5; EA 304: 6(?); EA 305: 6; EA 319: 7); UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*, (EA 320: 8, 10(?)); UZ[U].2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka* (EA 328: 7); UZU.*ša-ša-lu-ma* ‘back’ (EA 211: 5); UZU.ĤAR ‘belly’ (EA 211: 6); UZU.*ka-bat-tu-ma* ‘belly’ (EA 303: 11; EA 305: 13; EA 322: 13; EA 366: 10); UZU.[*ka-b*]at-tum-ma (EA 304: 13); UZU.*ka-bat-tum-[m]a* (EA 306: 10); UZU.*ka-bat-tum-ma* (EA 378: 9); UZU.*ši-ru-ma* ‘back’ (EA 303: 12; EA 305: 14; EA 322: 14); UZU.*š[i]-ru-ma* (EA 314: 14); UZU.*š[ú]-u[h]-r[u-ma]* (EA 306: 11); UZU.*še-ru-ma* (EA 378: 10);
- KUŠ** before objects made of leather, cf. KUŠ.*še-ni* ‘sandals’ (EA 152: 3); 2 KUŠ.E.S[ÍR] (EA 295: 4);

Plural determinatives

- MEŠ** with respect to plural markers we may observe that the predominance is given to MEŠ (*passim*);⁶⁹⁵ it can be considered a main plural determinative throughout the analysed corpus;
- ĤI.A** used after logograms, cf. É.ĤI.A-*ia* ‘your household>s<’ (EA 5: 9); GIŠ.GIGIR.ĤI.A-*ka* ‘your chariots’ (EA 10: 6); GÌR.ĤI.A-⁶⁹⁶ *ka*, ‘your feet’ (EA 60: 3); GÌR.ĤI.A ‘feet’ (EA 60: 4; EA 227: 4); 1 GÌR.ĤI.A ‘feet’ (EA 63: 5); KUR.KI.ĤI.A ‘lands’ (EA 68: 3; EA 106: 2); 1 GÌR.ĤI.A-*pl* (EA 228: 5); GÌR.ĤI.A-*pl* (EA 228: 8);
- DIDLI + ĤI.A** attested only once, cf. KUR.KI.DIDLI.ĤI.A ‘lands’ (EA 84: 1);
- DIDLI + MEŠ** attested only once, cf. KUR.DIDLI.MEŠ.KI ‘lands’ (EA 102: 8);

The plurality, however, can also be expressed by means of a reduplication of the respective logogram, cf. KUR.KUR-*ka* ‘your countries’ (EA 1: 6; EA 38: 6); KUR.K[UR]-*ka* your countries’ (EA 26: 5); ‘KUR.KUR-*ia* ‘my countries’ (EA 1: 9); LÚ.GAL.GAL-*ka* ‘your magnates’ (EA 35: 6); KUR.KUR ‘lands’ (EA 74: 2); KUR.KUR.KI ‘lands’ (EA 123: 3); and there are attestations of a reduplicated logogram with a plural marker, cf. LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-*ka* ‘your magnates’ (EA 1: 5); LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-*ia* (EA 1: 8); LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-*ia* ‘my magnates’ (EA 35: 4); KUR.KUR.MEŠ-*ka* ‘your countries’ (EA 35: 7); LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL-*ka* ‘your magnates’ (EA 38: 6); KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ ‘lands’ (EA 76: 2; EA 83: 2; EA 105: 2; EA 107: 2); KUR.KUR.MEŠ.KI ‘lands’ (EA 108: 2); KUR.KUR.ĤI.A.K[I] ‘lands’ (EA 78: 2; EA 79: 2). Depending on the context, there are several cases of unmarked logograms being used for the plural, cf. GIŠ.GIGIR-*ia* ‘my chariot<s>’ (EA 1: 8); ANŠE.KUR.RA-*ia* ‘my horse<s>’ (EA 7: 4); DAM-*ia* ‘my wife<s>’ (EA 35: 3); ANŠE.KUR.RA-*šu* ‘his horse<s>’ (EA 7: 6); ERÍN.GAL-*ka* ‘your warrior<s>’ (EA 19: 7); DAM-*ka*, ‘your wife<s>’ (EA 33: 5); DUMU-*ka* ‘your son<s>’ (EA 33: 5; EA 39: 6); ANŠE.KUR.RA-*ka* ‘your horse<s>’ (EA 33: 6); GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka* ‘your chariot<s>’ (EA 33: 6); GIŠ.G[IGIR]-*šu* ‘his chariot<s>’ (EA 37: 6); GÌR ‘feet’ (EA 52: 3); KUR.KI ‘land<s>’ (EA 122: 2); ANŠE.KUR.RA-*šu* ‘his horse<s>’ (EA 37: 6).

⁶⁹³ For the references, consult pp. 134–135.

⁶⁹⁴ See above.

⁶⁹⁵ It is never represented by MEŠ, as attested, for example, in the corpus of Emar documents, see IKEDA (1995: 44).

As far as the position of plural markers is concerned, with the exception of EA 34: 5 (‘your chariots’ – GIŠ.GIGIR-*ka*, MEŠ), in all other cases the respective plural markers are written before suffixed pronouns. Only the plural marker MEŠ can be written before or after logograms.

Glossenkeil

The usage of the *Glossenkeil* within the opening passages of the letters is rather limited and only optional.

The attested glosses:

- SAĤAR \ *e-pl-ri* ‘the dust’ (EA 136: 3);
 SAĤAR-*ra* \ *a-pa-ru* ‘the dust’ (EA 141: 4);
 SAĤAR.MEŠ \ *ep-ri* ‘the dust’ (EA 195: 5);
 [SAĤAR] \ *ep-[r]i* ‘the dust’ (EA 316: 4);
 GIŠ.GÌR.GUB \ *gi-iš-tap-pl* ‘the footstool’ (EA 195: 9);
i-na pa-an-te-e \ *ba-aṭ-nu-ma* \ *ši-ru-ma* \ *šú-ul-ru-ma* ‘on the chest and on the back’ (EA 232: 10–11);
 \ *ka-ba-tum-ma* \ *ša-ša-lu-ma* ‘on the belly and on the back’ (EA 215: 4–5) – in this case the *Glossenkeil* might be understood as a division sign for line 4; it might indicate that the expression ‘on the belly and on the back’ belongs to the prostration formula written in the following lines:
ši-ru-ma \ *u ka-lb-tù-ma* ‘on the back and on the belly’ (EA 316: 9) – the use of the *Glossenkeil* in EA 316: 9 is unclear, it might represent a kind of ‘connector’ to preceding lines containing the prostration formula;
 \ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-n[a]* (EA 183: 4) – in this case the *Glossenkeil* can be easily understood as the line connector, cf. ⁶⁹⁶ *um-ma šu-tar-na* L[Ú] \ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-n[a]* ‘thus (says) Šutarna, the ruler of Mušihun[a(:)]’

However, in EA 65: 5, the *Glossenkeil* is used with a Canaanite lexeme, cf. \ *ma-aq-ta-ti* (‘I fall’). We may suppose that in this case the use of the *Glossenkeil* simply reveals the scribe’s lack of knowledge of the correct Akkadian verbal form. In order to identify the word as ‘foreign,’ the scribe marked the Canaanite word with the *Glossenkeil*.

Syllabic and logographic writings

In the case of used in several words employed in the opening passages of the Amarna letters we may observe a considerable variation in the system their writing. The most obvious examples of syllabic – logographic writing are listed below.⁶⁹⁶

Nouns

- ‘master’ based on the analysis of the three orthographic forms used in the Amarna corpus we cannot identify any evident relationship between the geographical distribution of either syllabic or logographical writings of the particular substantive. The use of a logogram BE is strictly limited to Byblos and its immediate vicinity.⁶⁹⁷ However, the number of preserved examples does not allow us to postulate any more definite conclusions. As far as unprovenanced Amarna texts are concerned, the use of the logogram BE may only serve as an auxiliary criterion to identify the origin of the text.

⁶⁹⁶ In EA 300: 4 a fragmentary syllabic writing ‘*a*’-*mi*’-[] ruler appears, whereas in all other opening passages the logographic writing is attested, cf. LÚ.

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. EA 84: 1, 5; EA 87: 1, 7; EA 92: 3; EA 126: 3; EA 187: 1, 5, 6; EA 230: 1.

However, on the other hand, we may state that the use of a logogram EN⁶⁹⁸ occurs in all discussed area, whereas the syllabic writing of *bêlu(m)* prevails slightly more frequently in northern regions and in the Bashan area.⁶⁹⁹

'dust' the substantive appears within the opening passages predominantly in order to identify of the sender, but in some cases it is also employed within the prostration formula. Nevertheless, it is impossible to recognize any clear geographical difference between the use of the syllabic⁷⁰⁰ and the logographic⁷⁰¹ writings, although the syllabic writing is attested in higher numbers than the logographic. In a total of four cases, the logographic and the syllabic writings are connected by means of the *Glossenkeil*. A common geographical distribution, however, can be recognized only in EA 136 and EA 141, both being sent from Beirut.⁷⁰²

'ground' a similar conclusion can also be reached with another substantive used in the opening passages to identify the subordinate sender of the message, i.e. 'the ground.' Here, again, it is impossible to connect the use of the syllabic⁷⁰³ or the logographic⁷⁰⁴ writing with any exact geographical region.

⁶⁹⁸ Cf. EA 49: 1, 3, 4, 7; EA 58: 1, 3; EA 60: 1, 4; EA 61: 1, 4; EA 63: 1, 5; EA 64: 1, 4; EA 65: 1, 4; EA 68: 2, 7; EA 73: 6; EA 74: 1, 4; EA 75: 2, 5; EA 76: 6; EA 77: 4, 6; EA 78: 2, 5; EA 79: 2, 5, 6; EA 81: 1, 4; EA 83: 4, 5; EA 85: 1, 5; EA 86: 4, 5; EA 87: 4; EA 89: 5; EA 90: 1, 4; EA 91: 1; EA 92: 6; EA 95: 6; EA 100: 3, 5; EA 102: 6; EA 103: 1, 3; EA 104: 1, 4; EA 105: 1, 4[a, b]; EA 107: 2, 6[a, b]; EA 108: 2, 5, 6; EA 109: 1, 3, 4; EA 112: 2, 5[a, b]; EA 114: 1, 4, 5; EA 117: 4; EA 118: 1, 4, 8; EA 119: 2, 5, 6; EA 121: 2, 5[a, b]; EA 123: 2, 7, 8; EA 124: 1, 4, 5; EA 125: 1, 7; EA 130: 1, 6, 7; EA 132: 1, 5, 6; EA 136: 1, 4; EA 138: 3; EA 139: 1, 4; EA 140: 1, 4; EA 141: 1, 6; EA 142: 4; EA 143: 1, 5; EA 144: 1, 6, 7; EA 147: 1, 3; EA 148: 1; EA 149: 1; EA 150: 3; EA 153: 1; EA 154: 1, 3; EA 156: 1, 3; EA 158: 1; EA 159: 1, 3; EA 160: 1; EA 161: 1, 3; EA 162: 2; EA 164: 1, 3; EA 166: 5; EA 168: 1; EA 170(A): 1, 3, 4, 6; EA 174: 1, 6; EA 175: 1, 5; EA 177: 1, 4; EA 178: 1, 3; EA 182: 1, 4; EA 183: 1, 5, 8; EA 184: 5, 8; EA 185: 1, 5, 7; EA 189: 1, 3; EA 191: 1, 3; EA 192: 1, 5, 6, 7; EA 193: 1, 3; EA 194: 1; EA 195: 11; EA 198: 1, 8; EA 201: 1; EA 202: 1; EA 203: 1; EA 205: 1; 207: 1, 3; EA 211: 1, 7; EA 213: 1, 6; EA 215: 1; EA 216: 1, 4; EA 217: 1, 5; EA 220: 1, 5, 7; EA 221: 1, 6; EA 223: 1; EA 224: 1, 3, 4; EA 225: 1; 226: 1; EA 227: 1, 4; EA 228: 1, 6, 8; EA 229: 1, 5; EA 231: 9; EA 232: 1, 6; EA 233: 10; EA 234: 1, 7; EA 235+327: 1, 7; EA 238: 1, 3; EA 239: 2, 5; EA 241: 1, 7; EA 242: 1, 6; EA 243: 1, 5; EA 244: 1, 6; EA 246: 1, 5; EA 248: 1, 7; EA 249: 3; EA 250: 1, 3; EA 253: 5; EA 254: 1, 4; EA 255: 1, 6; EA 256: 1, 3; EA 257: 1, 5; EA 258: 1, 4; EA 259: 4; EA 261: 1, 5; EA 262: 1, 5; EA 264: 1, 3; 265: 1, 3; EA 266: 1, 6; EA 267: 1, 6; EA 268: 1, 5; EA 269: 1, 6; EA 270: 1, 6; EA 272: 5; EA 273: 1, 6; EA 274: 1, 7; EA 275: 7; EA 278: 1, 7; EA 279: 1, 6; EA 280: 1, 6; EA 281: 1, 6; EA 282: 1, 5; EA 283: 1, 4, 6; EA 284: 1, 3; EA 286: 1, 3; EA 287: 1, 3; EA 288: 1, 3; EA 289: 1, 3; EA 290: 1, 4; EA 292: 1, 5; EA 294: 1, 4; EA 295: 1, 5, 6; EA 296: 1, 6; EA 297: 1, 5; EA 298: 1, 5; EA 299: 1, 7; EA 300: 1, 8; EA 301: 1, 6; EA 302: 1, 7; EA 303: 1, 8; EA 304: 9; EA 305: 1; EA 306: 6; EA 308: 3; EA 314: 1, 5; EA 315: 1, 5; EA 316: 1, 6; EA 319: 9; EA 320: 1; EA 321: 1, 10; EA 322: 1, 9; EA 323: 1, 6; EA 324: 1, 7; EA 325: 1, 6; EA 326: 1, 6; EA 328: 1, 10; EA 329: 1, 9; EA 330: 1, 5, 8; EA 331: 1, 7; EA 332: 1; EA 334: 1; EA 336: 1, 4; EA 337: 1, 5; EA 339: 1; EA 363: 1, 5; EA 364: 1, 4, 7; EA 365: 1, 5; EA 366: 1, 3, 7; EA 378: 5.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. EA 44: 1, 5; EA 51: 1, 3; EA 52: 3; EA 53: 1, 3; EA 54: 1, 3; EA 55: 1, 3; EA 59: 1, 4; EA 62: 1, 3; EA 68: 6; EA 71: 6; EA 78: 5; EA 92: 2; EA 94: 2, 3; EA 102: 7; EA 126: 2; EA 134: 2; EA 138: 1; EA 148: 3; EA 149: 3, 5; EA 150: 1; EA 152: 1, 3; EA 154: 4; EA 194: 4; EA 195: 2; EA 200: 6; EA 201: 4; EA 202: 5; EA 203: 6; EA 204: 2, 6; EA 205: 5; EA 206: 2, 6; EA 209: 1, 6; EA 212: 1; EA 215: 7; EA 223: 5; EA 249: 1; EA 252: 1, 4; EA 260: 1; EA 305: 9; EA 317: 1, 5; EA 318: 1, 7; EA 319: 1; EA 320: 11; EA 362: 3.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. EA 60: 3; EA 142: 3(?); EA 174: 5; EA 175: 5; EA 176: 5; EA 177: 4; EA 182: 3; EA 183: 7; EA 185: 4; EA 187: 4; EA 192: 6; EA 198: 6; EA 213: 4; EA 226: 4; EA 232: 5; EA 248: 5; EA 253: 3(?); EA 254: 3; EA 266: 5; EA 267: 5; EA 268: 4; EA 269: 5; EA 270: 5; EA 271: 5; EA 272: 4(?); EA 274: 5; EA 275: 5; EA 276: 5; EA 278: 5; EA 279: 5; EA 280: 5; EA 292: 4; EA 293: 4; EA 296: 5; EA 297: 4; EA 298: 6; EA 299: 5; EA 301: 4; EA 302: 5; EA 303: 5; EA 304: 5; EA 305: 5; EA 306: 4; EA 312: 3(?); EA 315: 4; EA 319: 6; EA 320: 7; EA 321: 7; EA 322: 6(?); EA 323: 4; EA 324: 5; EA 325: 4; EA 326: 3; EA 328: 6; EA 329: 7–8; EA 330: 4; EA 331: 5; EA 332: 4; EA 333: 5; EA 378: 4. In the following examples, however, the correct form *epêru(m)* is replaced by *upêru(m)*: EA 174: 5; EA 175: 5; EA 176: 5; EA 177: 4; EA 182: 3; EA 183: 7; EA 363: 5.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. EA 143: 4; EA 220: 4; EA 229: 5; EA 233: 7; EA 234: 5; EA 235+327: 6; EA 241: 5; EA 255: 4; EA 366: 5.

⁷⁰² Cf. SAHAR \ *e-pl-ri* (EA 136: 3); SAHAR-*ra* \ *a-pa-ru* (EA 141: 4); SAHAR.MEŠ \ *ep-ri* (EA 195: 5); [SAHAR] \ *ep-[ri]* (EA 316: 4)(?).

⁷⁰³ Cf. EA 185: 6; EA 198: 7; EA 232: 5; EA 366: 6.

⁷⁰⁴ Cf. EA 195: 7; EA 233: 8; EA 234: 5.

Multiplicative Numbers

'seven times and seven times' as it clearly flows from the following overview, a considerable variability can also be observed in the writing of multiplicative numbers 'seven times and seven times,' attested widely in the Amarna prostration formulae.⁷⁰⁵

- (1) 7 – EA 55
- (2) *i-na* 7 – EA 52
- (3) 7 7 – EA 140
- (4) 7 *u* 7 – EA 126, EA 147, EA 148, EA 149, EA 150, EA 151, EA 153, EA 154, EA 155, EA 257
- (5) 7 *ù* 7 – EA 63, EA 64,⁷⁰⁶ EA 65, EA 94, EA 129, EA 174, EA 175, EA 176, EA 177, EA 182, EA 209, EA 225, EA 226, EA 263, EA 281, EA 282, EA 283, EA 284, EA 330, EA 363
- (6) 7 *ù* 7-*ta-an* – EA 194, EA 216, EA 220, EA 239
- (7) 7 *ù* 7-*ta-na* – EA 212
- (8) 7 *u* 7-*ta-a-an* – EA 136, EA 141, EA 142
- (9) 7 *ù* 7-*ta-a-an* – EA 228
- (10) 7 *ù* *ši-ib-i-ta-an* – EA 211
- (11) 7-*ta u* 7 – EA 362
- (12) 7-*ta-an ù* 7-*ta-an* – EA 137(?)
- (13) 7-*ta-a-an ù* 7-*ta-a-an* – EA 285(?), EA 286, EA 288, EA 289, EA 290
- (14) 7-*it ù* 7-*it-ta-na* – EA 235(+?)327
- (15) 7-*it-šu u* 7-*ta-na* – EA 323
- (16) 7-*it-šu ù* 7-*ta-na* – EA 315
- (17) 8(!)-*it-šu ù* 7-*ta-a-an* – EA 84
- (18) 7-*tam ù* 7 – EA 138
- (19) 7-*šu ù* 7-*šu* – EA 60, EA 200, EA 202
- (20) 7-*šu 7-a-an* – EA 74, EA 75(?), EA 76, EA 78, EA 79, EA 81, EA 337
- (21) 7-*šu 7-ta-an* – EA 83, EA 85, EA 100, EA 103, EA 104, EA 105, EA 106, EA 107, EA 108, EA 109, EA 110, EA 112, EA 114, EA 117, EA 118, EA 119, EA 121, EA 122, EA 123, EA 222, EA 223, EA 364
- (22) 7-*šu 7-ta-a-an* – EA 50(?), EA 68, EA 92, EA 125, EA 130, EA 132, EA 198, EA 232, EA 233, EA 234, EA 241, EA 253, EA 254, EA 255, EA 272, EA 292, EA 293, EA 294, EA 297, EA 298, EA 366
- (23) 7-*šu 7-tá-a-an* – EA 266, EA 267, EA 268, EA 269, EA 270, EA 271, EA 273, EA 274, EA 275, EA 276, EA 278, EA 279, EA 280
- (24) 7-*šu ši-bi-ta-an* – EA 221
- (25) 7-*šu u 7-ta* – EA 316
- (26) 7-*šu u 7-šu* – EA 156, EA 157, EA 168
- (27) 7-*šu ù* 7-*šu(-ma)* – EA 159, EA 160, EA 161, EA 185(?), EA 187(?), EA 188(?), EA 317, EA 318
- (28) 7-*šu ú* 7-*šu-ma* – EA 260
- (29) 7-*šu u 7-ta-na* – EA 326
- (30) 7-*šu ù* 7-*ta-na* – EA 314, EA 324, EA 325
- (31) 7-*šu ù* 7-*ta-an* – EA 213, EA 264
- (32) 7-*šu u 7-ta-a-an* – EA 242, EA 248, EA 261, EA 299, EA 300, EA 319, EA 320, EA 321, EA 322, EA 328, EA 329(?), EA 365, EA 378
- (33) 7-*šu ù* 7-*ta-a-an* – EA 144, EA 192, EA 224, EA 243, EA 244, EA 246, EA 250, EA 258, EA 259, EA 262, EA 301, EA 302, EA 303, EA 305, EA 306, EA 311(?), EA 331
- (34) 7-*šu ù* 7-*it-ta-a-an* – EA 295, EA 296

⁷⁰⁵ The following texts are not applicable – EA 45, EA 53, EA 88, EA 89, EA 90, EA 91, EA 116, EA 124, EA 139, EA 143, EA 146, EA 152, EA 165, EA 184, EA 217, EA 231, EA 277, EA 287, EA 304, EA 307, EA 308, EA 336.

⁷⁰⁶ For type 11 of the prostration formula, consult p. 158.

- (35) 7 *a-n[a pa-ni] ši-bi-t[a-a]-an* – EA 196
 (36) 7-*šu a-na pa-ni 7-an* – EA 193
 (37) 7-*šu a-na pa-ni 7-ta-an* – EA 189
 (38) 7-*šu a-na pa-ni 7-ta-ni* – EA 203, EA 204, EA 205, EA 206
 (39) 7-*šu a-na pa-ni 7-ta-an-ni* – EA 195, EA 201
 (40) *ši-ib-e-ta-an* – EA 221

In most cases, the multiple number 'seven times' is written logographically (IMIN), often with various phonetic complements. In several examples, however, the second element of the construction is written syllabically, cf. *ši-bi-t[a-a]-an* (EA 196: 4), *ši-i[b]-i-[t]a-an* (EA 211: 4); *ši-ib-e-ta-an* (EA 215: 6) and *ši-bi-ta-an* (EA 221: 6).⁷⁰⁷ Due to the enormous variability in the orthography we may consider it as a consequence of individual scribal habits rather than proof of any local tradition.

Mimation

In a majority of the Amarna opening passages, in common with to other core and peripheral texts,⁷⁰⁸ the mimation is only infrequently indicated in the final position.⁷⁰⁹ Nevertheless, it is retained when it is followed either by a consonant-initial suffix or an enclitic.⁷¹⁰ In these cases, it is assimilated to a following consonant. In the opening passages the following verbal forms with ventive suffix *-a(m)* and dative pronominal suffix 1 cs *-ni*, are preserved: **-am-ni > -an-ni: i-ra-³-am-an-ni* (EA 19: 2); *i-ra-³-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 21: 4 and EA 23: 3; all three from Mitanni) and *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3, Egypt).

The š > l shift

The Middle Akkadian phonological shift of *š > l* in a position before a dental is attested in the corpus of the Amarna opening passages only once – cf. *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3, Egypt). Nevertheless, in the same corpus of documents of Egyptian provenance, the traditional writing of *uš-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*; EA 367: 3; EA 370: 3) predominates.

Primaew and w > m shift

Similar to other Middle Akkadian texts, both from the centre and the periphery, the elision of *primaew* is attested, although the intervocalic change *w > m* cannot be recognized in the present corpus of the opening passages.

Consonant doubling and plene writing

Since the opening passages can be considered to be learned formulae, we may observe that, regardless of word class, consonant doubling is regularly recorded by the Amarna scribes. The same conclusion can be reached with conventional plene writing.

Morphology

Pronouns

With respect to pronouns, the independent personal, suffixed personal, demonstrative, indefinite and relative pronouns are attested in the opening passages.

⁷⁰⁷ For the original West Semitic form, cf. RAINEY (1996a: I, 186) **šib'itān*; for an adverbial suffix, see GAG 118, §71b.

⁷⁰⁸ For the isolated examples from the final phases of Old Babylonian, cf. JACQUOIS (1963: 260).

⁷⁰⁹ Only rarely mimation might get retained in word-final position, cf. *a-ni-³am³* (EA 369: 2, Egypt).

⁷¹⁰ The majority of preserved examples can be considered as fixed Akkadian phrases. Their occurrence, however, is limited to respective bodies of the letters and thus stands outside the discussed corpus.

Independent personal pronouns

The following independent personal pronouns are used within the corpus of the Amarna opening passages. In all attested examples, the scribes used forms identical with standard contemporary core Akkadian forms.

1cs, dat.

yāši 'with me' – *a-na ia-ši* (EA 2: 3; EA 6: 4; EA 7: 4; EA 17: 4; EA 19: 5; EA 20: 4; EA 21: 8; EA 27: 3; EA 28: 6; EA 29: 2; EA 33: 3; EA 37: 3; EA 38: 3; EA 39: 4; EA 40: 4); *a-na ia-a-ši* (EA 1: 7; EA 8: 4; EA 9: 4; EA 10: 3);

2ms, dat.

kāša 'with you (m.)' – *a-na ka-ša* (EA 6: 5; EA 8: 5; EA 12: 4; EA 15: 4; EA 38: 3; *ka-a-ša*: EA 2: 4; EA 3: 4; EA 9: 5; EA 10: 4; EA 11: 3; EA 16: 5; EA 17: 5; EA 19: 5; EA 20: 4; EA 23: 6; EA 27: 3; EA 28: 6; EA 99: 6*; EA 367: 4; EA 369: 4; EA 370: 4);⁷¹¹

2fs, dat.

kāši 'with you (f.)' – *a-na ka-a-ši* (EA 26: 3);

Suffixed personal pronouns

The following forms are attested in the present corpus:

1cs, gen.

-la 'my' (*passim*): normative 1cs genitive pronominal suffix within the corpus;⁷¹²

-ī 'my': 'my master' – *be-lī* (EA 44: 1, 5);⁷¹³

1cs, acc.

-ni 'who loves me' – *ša i-ra-³-am-an-ni* (EA 19: 2); *ša i-ra-³-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 21: 4; EA 23: 3);

2ms, gen.

-ka 'your' (*passim*): normative 2ms genitive pronominal suffix within the corpus.⁷¹⁴ In EA 26: 5, i.e. a letter addressed to Teye, the queen of Egypt, the suffixed 2ms genitive form is incorrectly used for the feminine. In the present corpus, the dependent pronoun of 2ms is often suffixed to infinitive verbal forms;⁷¹⁵

2ms, acc.

-ka 'who loves you' – *ša i-ra-³-a-mu-ū-ka* (EA 19: 4; EA 20: 4; EA 28: 5); *ša i-ra-³-a-mu-ka-ma* (EA 21: 7); *ša i-ra-³-a-mu-ka* (EA 23: 5; EA 29: 2);

2ms, dat.

-ku 'I have sent to you' – *uš-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*; EA 367: 3; EA 370: 3); *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3);

⁷¹¹ In the letters from Canaan and outside the corpus of the opening passages, the form *kāta* is preferred, cf. RAINEY (1996a: I, 59–60).

⁷¹² Cf. GAG 104, 106, §65 a, i. In EA 149: 1 and EA 151: 3 the pronoun is written as *WA* (*la*_a). This phenomenon, however, is more often attested with the personal names.

⁷¹³ Translated as 'the lord' by MORAN (1992: 117), but 'mio ignore' by LIVERANI (1999: 412). Can it be considered here as a vocative?

⁷¹⁴ Two orthographic forms are attested in the opening passages, i.e. *-ka* and *-ka_a* (QA = ŠILA). For the latter variant, see EA 33: 5; EA 34: 5–7; EA 60: 3; EA 198: 7; EA 320: 7–9; EA 321: 7(?)–9.

⁷¹⁵ EA 195: 7 (*ka-bā-sī-ka*), 8 (*a-ša-bi-ka*); EA 198: 7 (*ka_a-bā-³šī_a-ka_a*); EA 213: 5 (*ka-bā-šī-ka*); EA 220: 6 (*ka-bā-šī-[k]a*); EA 241: 6 (*ka-bā-šī-ka*); EA 254: 3 (*ka-bā-šī-ka*); EA 255: 5 (*ka-bā-šī-ka*); EA 366: 6 (*³ka³-ba-šī-³ka³*).

3ms

-*šu* 'his' (*passim*): normative 3ms pronominal suffix within the corpus; much like in the case of 2ms genitive, it might be suffixed to an infinitive;⁷¹⁶

3fs, gen.

-*ši* lit. 'her': 'its el<de>rs' – LÚ.MEŠ.*ši*-<*bu*>-*ti-ši* (EA 100: 4);

1cp, gen.

-*ni* 'our master' – *be-lf-ni* (EA 59: 1); EN-*ni* (EA 170(A): 1, 3);

-*nu* 'our master' – EN-*nu* (EA 100: 3, 5, 7);

Demonstrative pronouns

The following demonstrative pronouns are attested: *annû*; *annîm* 'this'

ms, nom.: 'this tablet' – *ṭup-pí an-nu-ú* (EA 100: 1);

ms, acc.: 'this tablet' – *ṭup-pa an-na-a* (EA 99: 5*; EA 367: 3; EA 370: 3); *ṭup-pa a-ni-am* (EA 369: 2);

Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are employed very rarely.

mimmû 'all, everything': *mim-mu-ka* (EA 19: 8; 20: 7; EA 21: 12; EA 23: 12; EA 26: 6; EA 28: 11; EA 29: 5);

gabbu 'all, every': *ma-ti-ka ga-ab-bi-ša* – 'entire country' (EA 2: 5); 'every' – *gab-ba* (EA 44: 6);

Relative pronouns

ša the relative pronoun *ša* is widely attested in the corpus and its use is not different from the standard grammar.⁷¹⁷

Numbers

Cardinal numbers

In the opening passages of the Amarna letters, only two cardinal numbers are attested – '1' (DÍŠ) and '2' (MIN) – both written logographically. The cardinal number 'two' usually refers to paired body parts, similar to standard core Akkadian,⁷¹⁸ represented in the opening passages by means of a substantive 'feet,' cf. '(your/his) >two< feet': 2 GÌR.MEŠ(-*ka/-ka/-šu*).⁷¹⁹ In the same textual context, however, only rarely does the cardinal number 'one' appear, cf. '>one< feet': 1 GÌR.(H)A-*pél*.MEŠ).⁷²⁰ In the Amarna corpus the cardinal numbers always stand before the noun.

Multiplicative numbers

As compared with the Akkadian letters discovered at Ugarit,⁷²¹ the repertoire of Amarna multiplicative numbers is rather meagre. The only attested multiplicative number within the Amarna prostration formulae is 'seven times'. In the majority of cases, it is written logographically (IMIN). The use of phonetic complements is not regular.⁷²²

⁷¹⁶ Cf. *ka-ba-ši-šu* (EA 232: 5; EA 234: 6); *ka-ba-ši-š[u]* (EA 231: 8); *ka-bā-ši-šu* (EA 233: 8); *k[a]-b[ā]-ši-š[u]* (EA 185: 6).

⁷¹⁷ In altogether five cases, the relative pronoun is written as *ša-a*, cf. EA 110: 3; EA 124: 3; EA 125: 5; EA 130: 4; EA 132: 3.

⁷¹⁸ In EA 324: 6; EA 325: 5; EA 326: 5 there is an expression 'your >2< horses', i.e. 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ka* attested. It may be recognized as a scribal error.

⁷¹⁹ EA 50: 5; EA 136: 3; EA 142: 3; EA 231: 7; EA 233: 7; EA 234: 5, 6; EA 244: 5; EA 255: 4; EA 256: 3; EA 260: 4; EA 285: 3; EA 286: 3; EA 288: 3; EA 289: 3; EA 290: 3; EA 292: 4; EA 297: 4; EA 298: 7, 9; EA 299: 7; EA 300: 6, 8; EA 301: 5a, 5b; EA 306: 4, 6; EA 314: 5; EA 315: 4, 5; EA 316: 4, 6; EA 317: 5; EA 318: 6; EA 319: 9; EA 321: 8, 10; EA 323: 4, 6; EA 324: 5, 7; EA 325: 4, 6; EA 326: 4, 5; EA 328: 7; EA 331: 5, 7; EA 366: 5.

⁷²⁰ Cf. EA 63: 5; EA 64: 4; EA 65: 4; EA 212: 3; EA 228: 5, 8.

⁷²¹ For 'three times, nine times,' consult WATSON (1993).

⁷²² For the variability of spellings, see above.

Nouns

Gender and number

In the corpus of Amarna opening passages, the distinction between masculine and feminine nouns is regular and any sporadic departures from the rule can be considered as scribal mistakes, cf. for example EA 34: 4 *ša-lim* KUR-*ia*, where – according to the stative form 3ms – the substantive *mātu(m)* [KUR] 'country' was considered by the scribe to be a masculine noun. It has been observed already by W. F. Albright⁷²³ that a completely different picture can be identified in case of the substantive *ālu(m)* 'city,' which has been considered as a masculine in Akkadian but a feminine in Canaanite. The same conclusion has also been reached by W. L. Moran⁷²⁴ stating that 'In Canaanite Amarna *ālu* is regularly constructed as a feminine ... This reflects the gender of Can. 'îr. In Acc. *ālu* is masc.'⁷²⁵

In general, we may say that the expressions of plurality are constructed in accordance with contemporary Akkadian standards and the individual morphemes can be easily identified in the writing. Standard plural logograms are employed, while reduplication of particular substantives is relatively rare and their use is very probably limited to fixed royal epithets. In the case of the m p morpheme, the length can be expressed though a reduplication of the respective vowel. A dual is used exclusively for paired body parts, or for objects closely associated with them.⁷²⁶ Dual forms are usually expressed by means of the logogram MIN ('two'). There is also a relatively limited number of documents in which the correct Akkadian form *šēpē* appears.⁷²⁷

Case system

Case endings are employed in the same way as in contemporary Middle Babylonian texts. The closeness of the Akkadian and Canaanite case systems might contribute to the correct use of case endings. Böhl's conclusion⁷²⁸ that in the Amarna corpus the accusative⁷²⁹ is often used instead of the genitive, is not evident in the opening passages.

A clear departure from the rules of the Akkadian case system is seen in relation to the genitive, which in the texts from the Syro-Palestinian region⁷³⁰ follows the particle *umma*. It might be possible to explain this phenomenon as a genitive construction of two substantives, with *umma* in the primary position considered as a substantive with the meaning of 'message.' Thus the ensuing substantive must be in the genitive. The genitive is also used in multiple conjunctions. Here, the genitive form is not exclusively limited to the substantive that follows immediately after a preposition, but it is also valid for the following nominal elements. Genitive constructions are employed by scribes without any serious problems and in accordance with standard rules, i.e. either by means of substantives standing in apposition or by means of indirect association through particle the *ša*.

Only one example of the Canaanite adverbial accusative -*a(m)* can be recognized in the opening passages.⁷³¹

⁷²³ ALBRIGHT (1943a: 17, n. 60), demonstrated in EA 274: 10–15.

⁷²⁴ MORAN (1958/2003: 58, n. 149).

⁷²⁵ RAINEY (1996a: 1, 126) suggests that the determinative URU in the identification of towns should be read syllabically.

⁷²⁶ Cf. 2 KUŠ.E.S[IR] (EA 295: 4); collectives are not attested in the corpus of the opening passages, cf. RAINEY (1996a: 1, 126–135).

⁷²⁷ Cf. EA 174: 6; EA 175: 5; EA 176: 5; EA 177: 4; EA 178: 3; EA 182: 3; EA 184: 7, 8; EA 185: 4; EA 187: 5, 6; EA 188: 1*; EA 252: 4; EA 363: 5. See also 1 GÌR.H)A-*pél* in EA 228: 8.

⁷²⁸ Cf. BÖHL (1909: 33).

⁷²⁹ See LUGAL *ta-am-ḫa-ra* in (EA 76: 3; EA 107: 3; EA 108: 3); [LUGAL *ta*]-*am-ḫa-ra* (EA 79: 3); [LU]GAL *ta-am-ḫa-[ra]* (EA 81: 2).

⁷³⁰ As well as in EA 38: 2 from Alašiya.

⁷³¹ Cf. EA 195: 13.

Stative

1cs

Within the analyzed corpus, the usage of the stative 1cs is rather limited. The only 'purely Akkadian' form is attested in a letter from Alašiya (EA 34) and the person suffix reflects the Akkadian morpheme *-āku*. In nine cases, however, the Canaanite person morpheme *-ti* can be identified, cf.

-āku *šal-ma-ku* 'I am well' (EA 34: 3);

-ti *ma-aq-ta-ti* 'I fall' (EA 63: 5; EA 65: 5; EA 283: 6); *ma-aq-^cta⁻-ti* (EA 282: 4); *[m]a-aq-t[a-ti]* (EA 336: 5(?)); *m[a]a-aq-ta-ti₇* (EA 138: 4); *ma-aq-ti-ti* (EA 64: 5; EA 284: 4); *[ma]^caq⁻-ti-ti* (EA 284: 5)⁷³²

3ms

-0 *ša-lim* 'is well' (EA 34: 4);

The stative is, the used in the opening passages. In the letter from Alašiya very rarely correct Akkadian forms are used. In a limited number of documents, predominantly of southern origin, the Canaanite morpheme *-ti* is employed.

Verbs

Forms of the verbal root

Finite forms – markers of person

Imperative

All forms are constructed in agreement with Middle Babylonian morphology and standard vocalic patterns are attested:

ms: *qabû* 'to say, to speak, to order' – cf. 'speak': attested spellings are *qf-bf-ma*,⁷³³ *qf-bi-ma*,⁷³⁴ and *qf-bi-mi*⁷³⁵

ms: *lamādu* 'to know, to understand, to become aware' – cf. 'know': *li-ma-ad* (EA 34: 3)

Preterite, Perfect, Durative, Jussive

1cs

The attested forms are derived from four verbal roots – cf. *ram'āmu* 'to love', *maqātu* 'to fall down', *√*šhḥn* 'to prostrate'⁷³⁶ and *(w)abālu* 'to send.' A variation of personal morphemes *a-* and *i-*, otherwise unattested in core dialects, can be observed. With the verbal root *√*šhḥn*, a personal morpheme *u-* is attested in the G stem.

⁷³² For the connective vowel *-ā-*, see RAINY (1996a: II, 285).

⁷³³ Attested in the following texts: EA 1: 2; EA 3: 2; EA 6: 2; EA 8: 2; EA 9: 2; EA 12: 2; EA 17: 2; EA 18: 1; EA 19: 2; EA 21: 4; EA 23: 3; EA 28: 3; EA 37: 2; EA 38: 1; EA 40: 2; EA 41: 3; EA 44: 2; EA 55: 1; EA 58: 1; EA 63: 2; EA 64: 2; EA 65: 2; EA 82: 2; EA 84: 2; EA 87: 2; EA 90: 2; EA 95: 1; EA 96: 2; EA 98: 2; EA 102: 2; EA 104: 2; EA 118: 2; EA 126: 1; EA 130: 2; EA 132: 2; EA 141: 3; EA 144: 3; EA 162: 1; EA 174: 2; EA 175: 2; EA 183: 2; EA 185: 2; EA 192: 3; EA 193: 4; EA 195: 3; EA 198: 3; EA 201: 2; EA 202: 2; EA 203: 2; EA 204: 3; EA 205: 2; EA 206: 3; EA 209: 2; EA 210: 2; EA 211: 2; EA 213: 2; EA 216: 2; EA 217: 2; EA 220: 2; EA 221: 3; EA 222: 2; EA 223: 3; EA 224: 2; EA 225: 2; EA 226: 2; EA 227: 2; EA 229: 2; EA 230: 1; EA 232: 2; EA 233: 3; EA 235(+327: 4; EA 239: 2; EA 242: 2; EA 243: 2; EA 244: 2; EA 246: 2; EA 248: 3; EA 249: 2; EA 250: 1; EA 252: 2; EA 255: 2; EA 256: 2; EA 257: 2; EA 261: 2; EA 262: 2; EA 266: 3; EA 267: 3; EA 268: 2; EA 269: 3; EA 270: 3; EA 271: 3; EA 273: 3; EA 274: 3; EA 275: 3; EA 278: 3; EA 279: 3; EA 280: 3; EA 281: 4; EA 292: 2; EA 294: 2; EA 295: 2; EA 296: 3; EA 297: 2; EA 330: 2; EA 337: 3; EA 339: 3; EA 363: 2; EA 365: 2; EA 367: 2; EA 366: 2; EA 370: 2.

⁷³⁴ Attested in EA 15: 6; EA 16: 2; EA 200: 3; EA 207: 2; EA 286: 1; EA 290: 2.

⁷³⁵ Cf. EA 362: 1.

⁷³⁶ According to RAINY (1996a: II, 43, 109–110), this quadriradical verb originates in Hurrian influenced areas from an Akkadian verb *šukēnu* 'to prostate oneself, to fall down,' cf. GAG 198, §109m; for attestations, see *AHW* 1263; CAD Š III 214.

G stem:

ram'āmu 'to love' – cf. *a-ra-a[m-mu-uš]* (EA 19: 2); *a-[r]a-am-mu-uš* (EA 21: 3); *a-ra-mu-uš* (EA 28: 3); *a-[ra-a]m-mu-ū-uš* (EA 29: 1); *[a-ra]⁻-a-mu* (EA 20: 2); *a-ra⁻-a-mu* (EA 23: 2);

maqātu 'to fall down' – cf. *am-qut*,⁷³⁷ *am-qut-mi* (EA 239: 7; EA 286: 4; EA 288: 4); *am-qū-ut*,⁷³⁸ *am-qū-ut-mi* (EA 228: 9); *am-qū-ut-me* (EA 224: 5; EA 244: 8); *am-qū-qut* (EA 330: 8); *am-qut-ut* (EA 126: 3; EA 362: 4); *am-qa-ut* (EA 212: 4); *am-qut-ma* (EA 299: 10) and *im-qū-ut* (EA 260: 5; EA 317: 6; EA 318: 7);

*√*šhḥn* 'to prostrate' – cf. *uš-ḫe-ḫi-in* (EA 221: 7; EA 232: 9); *[u]š-ḫe-ḫi-in* (EA 234: 9); *uš-ḫé-ḫi-in* (EA 233: 13); *uš-ḫé-ḫi-i[n]* (EA 366: 9); *uš-ḫe-ḫi-en* (EA 222: 7; EA 223: 6; EA 242: 8); *<uš>ḫe-ḫi-e[n]* (EA 235(+327: 9);

Gt stem:

*√*šhḥn* 'to prostrate' – cf. *iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in*,⁷³⁹ *iš-ti-ḫa-ḫi-in*,⁷⁴⁰ *iš-ti-ḫi-ḫi-in* (EA 302: 10); *iš-tu-ḫu-ḫi-in* (EA 325: 8); *i[š-t]u-ḫa-[ḫi]i-in* (EA 331: 10–11);

Š stem:

(w)abālu 'to send' – cf. *u^cš-t^ce-bi-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*); *uš-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 367: 3); *u^cš⁻-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 370: 3); *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3);

2ms

There is only one attestation of the personal morpheme of the 2ms. *ta-* in the analyzed corpus: *ram'āmu* 'to love' – cf. *ta-ra⁻-a-mu* (EA 23: 8)

3ms

None of the attested forms of the 3 ms represent any violation of contemporary Akkadian grammar, i.e. prefix *i-*:

G stem:

qabû 'to speak' – cf. *iq-bī^m*

ram'āmu 'to love' – cf. *i-ra⁻-am-an-ni* (EA 19: 2); *i-ra⁻-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 20: 2 (*i-ra⁻-a-m[a-an-ni]*); 21: 4; EA 23: 3); 'who loves you': *i-ra⁻-a-mu-ka* (EA 23: 5; EA 29: 2); *i-ra⁻-a-mu-ka-ma* (EA 21: 7); *i-ra⁻-a-mu-ū-ka* (EA 19: 4; EA 20: 4 (*[i-r]a⁻-a-mu-ū-ka*); EA 28: 5);

⁷³⁷ Cf. EA 48: 3; EA 49: 3; EA 50: 7 (*[a]m-quḥ*); EA 51: 3; EA 52: 4; EA 53: 3; EA 55: 3; EA 60: 5; EA 68: 8; EA 94: 3 (*[a]m-quḥ*); EA 140: 4; EA 147: 3; EA 148: 3; EA 149: 3; EA 151: 3; EA 153: 3; EA 154: 3; EA 156: 3; EA 158: 3; EA 161: 3; EA 164: 3; EA 168: 3; EA 171: 2; EA 189: 4; EA 191: 3; EA 192: 9; EA 195: 15; EA 196: 4 (*am-quḥ*); EA 198: 9; EA 199: 4 (*[a]m-quḥ*); EA 201: 8; EA 202: 6; EA 203: 8; EA 204: 8; EA 205: 8; EA 206: 8; EA 211: 7; EA 216: 6 (*[a]m-quḥ*); EA 217: 7; EA 220: 9; EA 225: 7; EA 226: 5; EA 230: 3; EA 246: 7; EA 248: 8; EA 250: 3; EA 253: 6; EA 255: 7; EA 256: 4; EA 258: 5; EA 259: 5 (*am-quḥ*); EA 261: 6 (*am-quḥ*); EA 262: 6; EA 264: 4; EA 265: 4; EA 269: 8; EA 270: 8; EA 271: 8; EA 274: 9; EA 275: 8; EA 276: 8; EA 278: 8; EA 283: 4; EA 290: 4; EA 337: 6; EA 364: 6; EA 365: 7.

⁷³⁸ Cf. EA 63: 6 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 71: 3 (*am-qū-ut*); EA 73: 3; EA 74: 5; EA 75: 6 (*am-qū-ut*); EA 76: 6; EA 77: 3; EA 79: 7; EA 81: 5 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 82: 4; EA 83: 6; EA 84: 6; EA 86: 3; EA 87: 4; EA 88: 4; EA 89: 6 (*am-qū-ut*); EA 90: 5; EA 91: 2 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 92: 4; EA 93: 3; EA 95: 3 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 102: 4; EA 103: 5; EA 104: 5; EA 105: 5; EA 107: 8; EA 108: 7; EA 109: 5; EA 112: 7 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 114: 6; EA 116: 6; EA 117: 5; EA 118: 5; EA 119: 7; EA 121: 7; EA 122: 8; EA 124: 6; EA 125: 4; EA 130: 8; EA 132: 7; EA 136: 5; EA 141: 8; EA 144: 9; EA 159: 4; EA 174: 7; EA 175: 6; EA 177: 5; EA 182: 5; EA 184: 7; EA 185: 8 (*am-qū-ut*); EA 187: 8 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 227: 4; EA 252: 4; EA 267: 8; EA 268: 7 (*[a]m-qū-ut*); EA 279: 8; EA 280: 8; EA 281: 6; EA 292: 7; EA 293: 7; EA 294: 6; EA 295: 7 (*am-qū-ut*); EA 296: 8; EA 297: 7; EA 316: 8; EA 325: 6; EA 363: 6.

⁷³⁹ Cf. EA 298: 12; EA 304: 12 (*[i]š-[a]-ḫa-ḫi-in*); EA 305: 12; EA 306: 9; EA 308: 7* (*iš-[a]-ḫa-ḫi-in*); EA 314: 8; EA 315: 6; EA 319: 13 (*iš-[a]-ḫa-ḫi-in*); EA 320: 13; EA 321: 14; EA 322: 12; EA 323: 7; EA 324: 8; EA 326: 7; EA 328: 14 (*iš-[a]-ḫa-ḫi-in*); EA 378: 8 (*iš-ta⁻-ḫa⁻-ḫi-in*).

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. EA 301: 10; EA 303: 10; EA 307: 2* (*[i]š-ti-ḫa-ḫi-in*); EA 329: 12.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. EA 68: 2 (*[i]q-bḥ*); EA 74: 1; EA 76: 1; EA 78: 1 (*iq-bḥ*); EA 79: 1; EA 83: 1 (*[i]q-bḥ*); EA 88: 1 (*iq-bḥ*); EA 89: 1 (*iq-bḥ*); EA 92: 1; EA 105: 1; EA 106: 1; EA 107: 1 (*[i]q-bḥ*); EA 260: 2; EA 317: 3; EA 318: 4; consult Izre'el (2007: 24–25) with references to further literature.

Gt stem⁷⁴²

šapāru 'to write' – cf. [i]š-[t]a-[pā]r (EA 94: 1); *iš-ta-pār* (EA 108: 1; EA 116: 1; EA 123: 1); *iš-tap-p[ār]* (EA 122: 1);

3fs

In the following jussive cases, the attested 3fs personal morpheme is *ti-* and suffix *-0*, cf.⁷⁴³

nadānu 'to give' – cf. *ti-id-di-in₄* (EA 68: 5); *ti-din* (EA 73: 4; EA 75: 4); *ti-di-in* (EA 74: 3) and *ti-di-in₄*,⁷⁴⁴

1cp

All forms attested in the corpus of the opening passages reflect typical Middle Babylonian morphology, cf.

maqātu 'to fall down' – cf. *ni-am-qut* (EA 59: 4; EA 170(A): 3); *ni-am-qú-ut* (EA 100: 6); *n[i-u]m-qu-ut* (EA 200: 5);

3mp

All attested forms are West Semitic jussives, formed with prefix *t-* and suffix *-ū*.

nadānu 'to give' – cf. *ti-di-nu* (EA 71: 5; EA 86: 4;⁷⁴⁵ EA 87: 6; EA 95: 5); *ti-di-<nu>-mi* (EA 77: 5);

Precative

In the opening passages, the forms of precative are only rarely preserved. The attested examples are formed by a combination of the precative particle *lū* with verbal forms of the preterite. The use of the 3ms instead of the 3mp in EA 96 and EA 97 might be interpreted as a plural form of majesty, cf.

ša'ālu 'to ask, to question, to ask after': cf. *li-iš-al* (EA 96: 6); *li-[i]š-a[l]* (EA 97: 3);

In EA 102: 6 the correct Akkadian precative 3ms for 3fs subject is attested, cf.

nadānu 'to give' – cf. *li-din* (EA 102: 6);

Non-finite forms

Infinitive

From the repertoire of non-finite forms, i.e. infinitive, participle and verbal adjective, only infinitives of the G stem are attested in the corpus. The infinitives usually follow either a preposition (*ana*) or the relative particle *ša* and in the majority of cases, there are suffixed personal pronouns, employed.

qabū 'to speak' – cf. *qá-bé-e* (EA 99: 6*; EA 367: 3; EA 370: 4); *a-na qa-bé-e* (EA 369: 3);
kabāšu 'to tread on' – cf. *ša 'ka'-ba-ši-'ka'* (EA 366: 6); *ša ka-bá-ši-ka* (EA 213: 5; EA 241: 6; EA 254: 3; EA 255: 5); *ša ka-bá-ši-[k]a₄* (EA 220: 6); [*ša*] *ka-bá-š[e-ka]* (EA 253: 4); *ka₄-bá-'ši_x'-ka₄* (EA 198: 7); *ša ka-bá-sí-ka* (EA 195: 7); *ša ka-ba-ši-šu* (EA 231: 7–8 ([*ša*] *ka-ba-ši-š[u]*); EA 232: 5; EA 234: 6); *ša ka-bá-ši-šu* (EA 185: 6 (*ša k[a]-b[d]i-š[i]-š[u]*); EA 233: 8);
(w)ašābu 'to sit down' – cf. *ša a-ša-bi-ka* (EA 195: 8)

⁷⁴² Cf. especially, discussions in RAINEY (1996a: II, 101–109) and IZRE'EL (2007: 27–28).

⁷⁴³ For the discussion on this subject, see especially RAINEY (1996a: II, 245–247).

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. EA 76: 4; EA 78: 4 ([*ti-di-in₄*); EA 79: 4; EA 81: 3 ([*ti-di-in₄*); EA 83: 3; EA 85: 4; EA 105: 3; EA 107: 5; EA 108: 4; EA 109: 3; EA 112: 4 ([*ti-di-in₄*); EA 114: 3; EA 116: 4 ([*ti-di-in₄*); EA 118: 7; EA 119: 4; EA 121: 4; EA 122: 5; EA 123: 5; EA 125: 6; EA 130: 5; EA 132: 4.

⁷⁴⁵ Used with sg. subject. Can be interpreted either as a scribal error or a plural of majesty, consult RAINEY (1996a: II, 246–247); see below.

Ventive

The allomorph of the ventive *-a(m)* is only rarely attested, cf.

ram'āmu 'to love' – cf. *i-ra-²-am-an-ni* (EA 19: 2); *i-ra-²-a-ma-an-ni* (EA 21: 4; EA 23: 3);

(w)abālu 'to send' – cf. *u²š-t²e-bi-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*); *uš-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 367: 3); *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3); *uš²-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 370: 3);

Stem patterning

In the analyzed corpus G, Gt and Š stems are attested.⁷⁴⁶ A rather dubious situation is associated with the Gt stem of *√*šh₁h₂n* 'to prostrate'. In Akkadian, the Gt stem usually has a reciprocal, separative or reflexive meaning. According to Rainey 'there may have been some feeling of reflexiveness on the part of the scribes'⁷⁴⁷ and he sees the origin of this verbal root in Hurrian speaking regions, where it developed from *šukēnu*. However, a different explanation has been offered by J. Tropper⁷⁴⁸ who refuses Rainey's theory of reconstruction of the verbal root *√*šh₁h₂n* under the influence of Hurrian. He identifies the form *iš-ta-ḫa-bi-in* as a sparsely attested ŠD or ŠDt stem of *√k²n* 'to bow down'.⁷⁴⁹

A possible Gt stem can be found with *šapāru* 'to send', cf. [i]š-[t]a-[pā]r (EA 94: 1); *iš-ta-pār* (EA 108: 1; EA 116: 1; EA 123: 1); *iš-tap-p[ār]* (EA 122: 1);⁷⁵⁰ sometimes identified as Gtn preterite,⁷⁵¹ erroneously written D or Dt stems,⁷⁵² or West Semitic *qatVI*.⁷⁵³

An Akkadian Š stem with standard causative meaning is attested only in letters of Egyptian origin – consult *(w)abālu* 'to send', *u²š-t²e-bi-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*); *uš-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 367: 3); *uš²-te-bi-la-ku* (EA 370: 3); *ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3).

Particles, Conjunctions, Adverbs

Particles

Suffixed particles

- mal-mil-me* a direct speech marker; attested throughout the Amarna opening passages; it might be employed as a conjunctive particle as well;
- um(ma)* An adverbial particle *-um(ma)* is usually employed in the prostration formula; Akkadian locative-adverbial suffix;⁷⁵⁴
- a(m)* West Semitic suffixed particle of the accusative; *le-lá-ma* (EA 195: 13);⁷⁵⁵
- iš* Akkadian terminative *-iš* is attested only as a part of *danniš*; with anelative function;

Presentation particles

- umma* 'thus', employed in the address for the identification of the respective sender; the analysis of the corpus confirms Albright's conclusions⁷⁵⁶ that in any Canaanite

⁷⁴⁶ For the overview, consult above.

⁷⁴⁷ RAINEY (1996a: 109).

⁷⁴⁸ TROPPER (1999: 91–94).

⁷⁴⁹ Attested forms of *√*šh₁h₂n*: 'I (verily) prostrate' – [i]š-[t]a-[pā]r (EA 304: 12); *iš-ti-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 301: 10; EA 303: 10; EA 329: 12); [*iš*] *ti-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 307: 2*); *iš-ti-bi-bi-in* (EA 302: 10); *lu-ú iš-ti-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 319: 13); *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 298: 12; EA 305: 12; EA 314: 7–8; EA 315: 5–6; EA 320: 12–13; EA 321: 14; EA 323: 6–7; EA 324: 8; EA 326: 7); [*lu-ú*] *iš-ta-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 306: 9; EA 322: 12); *lu-ú iš-ti-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 308: 7*); *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 328: 14); *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 378: 8); *lu-ú iš-tu-ḫu-bi-in* (EA 325: 8); [*lu*] *ú iš-ti-ḫa-bi-in* (EA 331: 10–11).

⁷⁵⁰ With reduplicated second radical.

⁷⁵¹ Cf. *AHw* 1171.

⁷⁵² See ALBRIGHT – MORAN (1950: 165ff.); RAINEY (1971: 163, n. 61) or *idem* (1996a: II, 133–135).

⁷⁵³ Consult SMITH, Sc. p. (1998: 134–135).

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. GAG 107–109, §66. According to SALONEN (1967: 69 n. 1), it represents a Canaanite element in Akkadian.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. RAINEY (1996a: IV, 1–2).

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. ALBRIGHT (1942b).

region the particle is followed by a noun in the genitive.⁷⁵⁷ According to Rainey,⁷⁵⁸ Canaanite scribes probably understood the particle in the sense of a noun with the meaning 'message' which resulted in the employment of the following genitive. The same phenomenon, however, can also be observed in a letter from Alašiya (EA 38: 2).

Modal particles

danniš/magal usually in the letters from northern areas a preference is given to the quantitative particle *danniš*, cf., especially in the letters from Alašiya,⁷⁵⁹ Hatti,⁷⁶⁰ and Mitanni.⁷⁶¹ However, in other letters from Alašiya⁷⁶² as well as in EA 166: 5 from Aziru of Amuru to Haya, and in two letters of Egyptian origin,⁷⁶³ the particle *magal* is employed.⁷⁶⁴ In order to emphasize the meaning, both particles can be reduplicated;

mila (*milanna*, *mila anna*?) 'here (and now);' this particle is only rarely used in the Amarna corpus, cf. *mi-la an-na* (EA 64: 6; EA 283: 5); *mi-la* (EA 65: 4; EA 282: 4); *mi-la* (EA 284: 4);⁷⁶⁵

Asseverative particles

lū 'verily', the asseverative particle is attested in the analyzed corpus exclusively in a prostration formula; its geographical distribution can be identified as southern Canaan, cf. 'I verily fall' *lu-ú am-qut-ma* (EA 299: 10); 'I verily prostrate' *lu-ú iš-t[a]-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 319: 13); *lu-ú iš-ta-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 305: 12; EA 314: 7–8; EA 315: 5–6; EA 320: 12–13; EA 321: 14; EA 323: 6–7; EA 324: 8; EA 326: 7; EA 298: 12); *[l]u-ú iš-ta-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 306: 9; EA 322: 12); *lu-ú iš-t[a]-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 308: 7*); *lu-ú iš-ta-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 328: 14); *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in* (EA 378: 8); *lu-ú iš-tu-ḫu-ḫi-in* (EA 325: 8); *[l]u-ú iš-t[u]-ha-ḫi-in* (EA 331: 10–11); for an injunctive expression⁷⁶⁶ *lū šulmu* consult the 'royal' correspondence;

Prepositions

A standard repertoire of prepositions is attested in the opening passages of the Amarna letters.

ana employed extensively in the opening passages to identify a direction of an action or an indirect object, i.e. 'to, towards, with, for'; it also has a locative meaning, eg. *a-na līb-bi* 'in, within' (EA 1: 6; EA 17: 9; EA 33: 7); *a-na pa-ni* 'in the presence' (EA 87: 7; EA 95: 5; EA 102: 7; EA 209: 5–6); *ana pānī* is also attested as a conjunction in some of the prostration formula, 'plus' (EA 190: 4; EA 193: 4; EA 195: 14; EA 201: 7; EA 203: 7; EA 205: 7; EA 206: 7); it can be used in collocation or with the infinitive;

ina In the analyzed corpus, it clearly has a locative meaning, eg. *i-na līb-bi* 'within' (EA 5: 11; EA 35: 4–5, 7; EA 37: 7);

ištu a usual meaning of 'from' is attested; in EA 34: 4 and EA 166: 4 with *casus pendens*, cf. *ù iš-tu* 'with, with respect to, as to';

⁷⁵⁷ Consult also MARCUS (1948); for interchangeability of *umma* and *awātu* in Hittite sources, cf. GOETZE (1948).

⁷⁵⁸ RAINY (1996a: III, 176–180).

⁷⁵⁹ EA 35: 5, 8; EA 37: 7; EA 38: 6.

⁷⁶⁰ EA 41: 6.

⁷⁶¹ EA 17: 10; EA 19: 8; EA 21: 12; EA 23: 12; EA 26: 6; EA 27: 6; EA 28: 11; EA 29: 5.

⁷⁶² EA 33: 8; EA 34: 7; EA 39: 9.

⁷⁶³ EA 1: 9; EA 5: 12.

⁷⁶⁴ In the opening passages, always in *status absolutus*.

⁷⁶⁵ Consult MORAN (1992: 135, n. 1).

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. GAG 131–133, §81; and TESTEN (1993), see also HUEHNERGARD (1983).

maḥar/maḥri 'with', eg. *a-na maḥ-ri-ia* 'with me' (EA 1: 3); *a-na maḥ-ri-ka* 'with you' (EA 1: 4; EA 33: 4; EA 41: 4);

muḥḫu 'top', usually employed in prepositional phrases, cf. *a-na UGU ŠEŠ-ia* 'with my brother' (EA 35: 5); *a-na UGU-ka* 'with you' (EA 39: 5; EA 59: 3; EA 166: 3);

šupal 'under, beneath', cf. EA 185:4; usually employed in prepositional phrases, cf. *iš-tu ša šu-p[a-lī]* literally 'from beneath' (EA 183: 6); *a-na KI.TA* (EA 126: 2; EA 137: 3; EA 138: 4; EA 362: 3); *a-na šu-pa-li* (EA 174: 5; EA 175: 4; EA 363: 4);

Conjunctions

A coordinating conjunction *ù* is realized either as *ù* or *u* in the opening passages, especially as a joining element in a series. However, it can be placed at the head of a clause. The subordinating conjunction *inūma* 'that' is attested in the Amarna corpus only once (in object clause, EA 34: 3).

Notes on the morpho-syntax and syntax

The use of verbal forms

It is important to stress that both in the learned and to a great extent fixed opening passages, the Akkadian verbal form *iprus* ('preterite'), primarily expressing the past tense, has developed into a present-future tense. This phenomenon can be easily identified especially in the Amarna prostration formulae cf. 'I fall', 'I (verily) prostrate'. Nevertheless, the same temporal meaning can also be identified in the attested examples of the Akkadian perfect tense.⁷⁶⁷ In other 'dialects' of Peripheral Akkadian⁷⁶⁸ it is attested that the function of Akkadian perfect and preterite forms is identical, although the perfect forms are preferred when using weak verbs.

In the corpus of Byblite correspondence, W. L. Moran⁷⁶⁹ identified with a high degree of certainty, the existence of other verb categories outside the standard Akkadian repertoire. With respect to the analysed corpus, it is necessary to stress the identification of the existence of the West Semitic jussive, which is exclusively used in those parts of containing a certain request or plea addressed to a deity (the Lady of Gubla; Amun) or deities.⁷⁷⁰

Syntax

In general we may state that as far as the syntax is concerned the Amarna opening passages do not reveal any significant departures from Akkadian grammar. The very same conclusion can be reached in relation to verbless clauses, where the standard Subject — Predicate word order can be identified.⁷⁷¹ Very often, the predicate is the formula *lū šulmu* 'may it be well'. However, in the indicative verbal clauses the position of the predicate is not fixed and it does not need to occupy the usual final position.⁷⁷² Contrary to morphology, where we are able to identify certain Canaanite elements, there is no obvious influence of Canaanite on the syntax.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. 'I am sending to you' – cf. *u š-i ʿe-bl-la-ku* (EA 99: 5*); *uš-te-bl-la-ku* (EA 367: 3); *uš ʿ-te-bl-la-ku* (EA 370: 3); *ul-te-bl-la-ak-ku* (EA 369: 3); according to the given context, it is obvious that it cannot be taken as a past action.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. GORDON (1938: 215–219); WILHELM (1970: 31–32); RAINY (1971a) and HUEHNERGARD (1979: 345).

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. MORAN (2003: 47 ff.).

⁷⁷⁰ Referred to here as 'divine blessings'.

⁷⁷¹ Cf. especially GAG 225, §126 b, c.

⁷⁷² Cf. GAG 227–229, §130; see, especially the prostration formulae; consult also ADLER (1976: 94), COCHAVI-RAINY (2003: 108). The object clause introduced by *inūma* comes after a main clause, cf. EA 34: 3–4.

LANGUAGE OF AMARNA – LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMACY. THE CONCLUSIONS

The discovery of the so-called 'Amarna archive' at Tell el-Amarna by local inhabitants of a nearby village can be reliably dated to 1887. The first objects originating from the area arrived at the present-day Egyptian museum in Cairo in the late spring of 1887 and by late December of that year E. A. W. Budge had obtained the first collection of these tablets for the British museum. The Amarna tablets undoubtedly represent one of the most important and most frequently studied resources for Ancient Near Eastern history of the middle of the fourteenth century B.C.E. Slightly over 380 documents, in the majority of cases written in so-called Peripheral Akkadian, were discovered. Peripheral Akkadian was the 'language' of written diplomatic communication, and the documents represent a considerable and notable source of information on diplomatic procedures and practices between two socially equal partners. In addition, they provide us with information on the relationship between a superior power and its subjects. For the Syro-Palestinian region, however, the Amarna letters reveal key elements of its political and administrative systems. All the Amarna letters studied in this volume, display a very similar structure, consisting of, in the majority of cases, the binominal scheme of the opening passages followed by the respective bodies of the letters. Especially in the case of the opening passages, despite the fact that they represent 'standardized' formulae learned by scribes in respective schools, there is considerable variability in the composition of their inner structures, the sequences of elements and the orthography. This may provide us with insights as to both individual scribal traditions and also in relation to the individual scribes. The Amarna scribes were, in the majority of cases, very well appraised of the correct and appropriate Akkadian formulae. In the opening passages, traces of the scribes' own languages can only rarely be recognized, which is in keeping with the nature of these passages. Unfortunately, the identity of the individual scribes of the Amarna letters still remains for us, in the vast majority of cases, a crucial riddle to which we cannot give a satisfactory answer. However, we can be absolutely confident that 'the scribes' of Amarna were not just mere functionaries at the court but important, trustworthy and high-ranking officials and servants of their masters. It is very likely, even indisputable, that these officials were actually responsible for the employment of concrete and prescribed formulae in the opening passages.

A detailed analysis of the opening passages of the Amarna letters, presented in the previous chapters, clearly reveals that the respective passages can be seen and interpreted as an assembly of individual structural elements. As previously mentioned, it is obvious that these individual elements share, to a certain degree, a similar structural pattern, and although the sequence of the elements is relatively solidly fixed, the individual realizations largely relate to particular scribes and through them to particular school/scribal traditions. Occasional departures from standard Akkadian forms are largely unsystematic and can be taken into consideration only as a secondary issue. However, certain geographical connotations can be recognized in the sphere of orthography.

For the majority of the Amarna letters, a clear preference is given to the employment of individual structural elements, as well as their sequence in the opening passages. This is not purely incidental and the way in which the opening passages were 'constructed,' undoubtedly represented a sophisticated system of binding codes applied by all interested parties. In this respect, the Amarna system, also employed in the opening passages, certainly shares many elements with juridical texts. Among these we may count the existence of a strictly determined system of concepts, reflecting the

social and power status of both correspondents. Some diplomatic insights gained from the Amarna letters also suggest the instruments of Egyptian political propaganda. The credibility of the data is supported by logical arguments and certain emotional overtones contribute to the desired success of this type of written communication.⁷⁷³ Writing a diplomatic letter, in ancient as well as in modern times, can thus be seen – in a somewhat simplified or simplistic way – as a kind of a puzzle, where every element, or even just a very tiny piece, has its appropriate place and any departure from the established and expected rule can be easily recognized. Just the omission of one single element can be seen and interpreted as a particular signal sent from the sender to the addressee. In order to gain the correct interpretation of such a signal, the two parties, must be able to decipher the 'message within the message' in the same way. Leaving aside the composition and structure of a diplomatic letter, we may also include here a reference to the importance of following appropriate patterns of behavior and the employment of various metaphors or appropriate honorific titles and epithets.⁷⁷⁴ In the Amarna age, no less than in modern times, diplomatic correspondence was carried out in very specific 'diplomatic' language, containing a considerable number of formal and ceremonial phrases, placed in the opening passages of the respective documents. By the employment of appropriate formulae, the two interested parties declared their recognition of prestige and power positions, or, on the contrary, an acknowledgment of the total dependence of one of the parties on the other. Even today, the correct, appropriate and convenient form of address is absolutely necessary in order to ensure a flawless and pure communication exchange between two individuals, as is equally the case between two political or social entities. The validity of this statement has been repeatedly cross-checked over the centuries and I simply cannot help myself from illustrating the phenomenon by using a passage from the well-known science fiction saga by Frank Herbert, 'Dune.' 'Piter unfolded from his chair, crossed to the door, cracked it wide enough to accept a message cylinder. He closed the door, unrolled the cylinder and scanned it. A chuckle sounded from him. Another. "Well?" the Baron demanded. "The fool answered us, Baron!" "Whenever did an Areides refuse the opportunity for a gesture?" the Baron asked. "Well, what does he say?" He's most uncouth, Baron. Addresses you as 'Harkonen' – no 'Sire et Cher Cousin,' no title, nothing." "It's a good name," the Baron growled, and his voice betrayed his impatience."⁷⁷⁵

Due to the poor state of preservation of several tablets, we have been able to discuss only a total of 290 opening passages, making reference to their inner structure and dividing the letters into twenty-one types and subtypes. The analysis, however, has revealed that the employment of individual structures is spread rather unevenly, with almost seventy percent of the documents employing type 12A. This type is characterized by the following structure: a heading, followed by salutations in the form of a prostration formula. Despite the fact that some of the types are, with respect to the number of attested documents, rather limited, we may conclude, that in some cases the variability of the employed structures, was, at least partially, conditioned by local tradition and/or the individuality of the scribe. It is quite certain that there were actually certain rules followed when composing the respective opening passages and in some ways we may call these 'rules' an 'Amarna diplomatic protocol.'

In an absolute majority of the Amarna epistolary documents, the first element employed in the opening passages represents the heading, containing an identification of the sender and the addressee, which is an utterly essential part of the letter, one that cannot be omitted. The identification of both correspondents must be, on the one hand, clear and indisputable. However, on the other hand the information must also be appropriate in relation to the given situation and social

⁷⁷³ BLEIBERG (1985–1986).

⁷⁷⁴ JONSON (2000: 193) identifies these elements as 'diplomatic signaling.'

⁷⁷⁵ HERBERT (1990: 14–15).

status of both parties.⁷⁷⁶ The desired explicitness of the identification is provided by means of the respective personal names. In some cases, actually in the majority of the Amarna letters, this is specifically achieved by the accompaniment of a series of functional and/or honorific titles and epithets. A binominal classification of the headings on the basis of the sequence of the identification of the sender and the addressee in the letters discovered at Ugarit has been presented by Nougayrol (1955: 2–3).⁷⁷⁷ In his study, he was able to reach more general conclusions as far as the social status of the respective individuals was concerned. However, for the Amarna material the scheme of Nougayrol is not sufficient and the connection between the social status of both correspondents and the type of the heading, demonstrated on the Akkadian material from Ugarit, is not as definite. For example, the heading in which the identification of the addressee precedes the identification of the sender, reserved in Ugarit for letters addressed by inferiors, i.e. socially less important persons, to their 'masters,' can also be identified in the Amarna corpus, in messages from a socially superior person to his subject. This also occurs in letters exchanged between two socially equal partners and, identical with the 'Ugaritic' practice, in letters from an inferior to a superior person. In the Amarna corpus, we find a total of eight separate types of the heading; however, only two of them, i.e. type 1 (*ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}) and type 2 (*ana* ADDRESSEE_[PN/TIT/EXT] — VERBAL FORM_[IMPERATIVE, MSI-ma] — *umma* SENDER_{[PN/TIT/EXT](-ma)}) can be considered to be 'primary Amarna types,' being employed in slightly over 87 percent of all analyzed epistolary documents. Neither of these two types actually reflects the respective social status and relationship between the two correspondents. The functionality of these two types of heading is thus very debatable and controversial. The fact that, in this respect, the material from Ugarit is different from the Amarna material, also confirms other corpora dated to the thirteenth century B.C.E., such as the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence of the Ramesside period. As far as the structure of the opening passages is concerned, including the types of heading employed in the letters, it is undoubtedly necessary to treat the material separately. However, only further studies devoted to the respective 'protocols' may reveal if there were two or even more traditions that developed in the region over the centuries. Nevertheless, in the Amarna corpus, four types of heading can be clearly linked to specific scribal traditions (cf. type 3, type 6, type 7, and type 8) and with the help of palaeography it may be possible to identify the individual scribe or scribes.

We have already mentioned that the primary goal of the heading is to clearly identify the identity of both correspondents. Leaving aside the personal names, we have at our disposal a relatively rich body of material for further study. Various functional titles and/or epithets are in evidence in both the heading and in the salutations, representing the second elements of the opening passage. With respect to the identification of the sender and the addressee, it is possible to state that the Amarna corpus can be divided into two, relatively well-defined, subsets. These subsets, without a doubt, reflect the social status of the correspondents; however, in some cases, they also reveal traces of local scribal traditions. On the one hand, there are letters between 'brothers,' 'great kings' and the rulers of Great Powers and in order to define their correspondence we may mainly make reference to the 'family metaphor.' On the other hand, we do have letters addressed by inferior and petty rulers of the Syro-Palestinian region to their Egyptian 'overlord.' These kinglets, however, stand outside the core royal 'family'; they are, indeed, still members of the royal 'household,' but not of the family itself. They were humble and loyal servants, always ready to offer their ear to the words of their master and to fulfill the duties and wishes of their superior. The king of Egypt acted as their 'master,' but not as their father. The only 'fathers' in relation to these local rulers were their immediate superiors, representatives of the king's power in the region, i.e. his respective officials. In the

⁷⁷⁶ "You may call the Duke 'my Lord' or 'Sire.' 'Noble Born' also is correct, but usually reserved for more formal occasions. The son may be addressed as 'your Master' or 'my Lord.' The Duke is a man of much leniency, but brooks little familiarity." (HERBERT 1990: 107).

⁷⁷⁷ NOUGAYROL (1955: 2–3).

majority of cases, these individuals are identified by means of their personal names, something that is a phenomenon unique to, and, even then rarely employed in, the letters addressed directly to the king of Egypt. By the employment of the personal name when identifying the addressee, the sender, to a certain degree, is already indicating his personal relationship – a relationship that would contravene the conventional and agreed rules and regulations. Compared with the repertoire of the thirteenth century B.C.E., the Amarna corpus of letters represents a relatively limited resource. Although some of the means of identification, especially the functional titles, can be recognized both in the earlier and in the later sources, some can be seen as representing a unique 'Amarna repertoire.' In some cases, however, we may go even further and connect the origin of certain epithets with absolutely concrete scribal traditions. The original sources for the 'Amarna repertoire,' however, can be identified in various traditions, including Mesopotamian-Hittite, Egyptian and some local Syro-Palestinian ones, although in many cases it is very difficult to trace the origin of the particular expressions.

The second element of the opening passage, the salutations, is, in relation to the subject of the inner structure, even more variable than the heading. In the salutations of the Amarna letters, up to six individual elements can be recognized. These include the following: a report on the sender's well-being, with a possible extension to other members of his household and his belongings, the greetings and the extended greetings, the prostration formula and the expression of divine blessings. In addition, a clear distinction can be made between the so-called 'royal' and 'vassal' or, in other words, 'imperial' correspondence. Typical elements of the 'royal' correspondence are the greetings and the reports on the well being of the sender. The greetings and the reports on the sender's well-being are used in altogether thirteen types and subtypes of the structure of the opening passages, including three types in which we may identify a rather unusual and rarely attested combination with the prostration formula, otherwise generally recognized as an element typical for the 'vassal' correspondence. With respect to the 'royal' correspondence, or rather to correspondence between two socially equal and recognized partners, we should note that a key element, typical in this type of communication, is in relation to the report on the well being of the sender. There are altogether three 'royal' letters, classified as type 3 (EA 12, EA 15, and EA 16), in which the report on the sender's well-being is missing. In all three cases, however, an explanation for this departure from the rule may relate to the social status of the respective senders, i.e. the Babylonian princess and the king of Assyria, a 'latecomer' to the 'family.' As far as the extended report on the well being of the sender is concerned, i.e. the report also involving other members of sender's household, it is never used in the correspondence from Hatti and Mitanni. The most complicated and 'multi-leveled' structure, however, is in evidence in the correspondence of Egyptian origin (type 6). Unfortunately, only two 'royal' letters of Egyptian origin are known to us at this stage. Nevertheless, in both cases, there is a unique salutation structure, consisting of the report on the sender's well-being, followed by the greetings, and the extended greetings, with a duplication of the report on the sender's well-being and its extension occupying the final positions within the structure.

The presence of the salutations in the opening passages logically necessitates a parallel application of the greetings. Thus, on the one hand, the sender expresses his best wishes towards the addressee, while on the other hand he simultaneously enunciates his own well being. By the employment of both elements, the sender openly declares their equal status; both partners are thus identified as socially equal. However, it is necessary to stress that for the Amarna correspondence it holds true that the employment of the greetings in the opening passage does not necessarily require the employment of the salutations. In altogether five types (type 8, type 9, type 10, type 13, and type 14), neither the report on the well being of the sender, nor its extended version, is used. Nevertheless, none of the messages, classified into these types, can be understood as a communication between two socially equal partners. More likely, on the contrary, the senders of all these letters were almost certainly in an inferior position in relation to the respective addressees – the Hit-

tite prince (EA 44), the kings of Ugarit (EA 45, EA 49), or the citizens of Tunip (EA 59) writing to the king of Egypt; the queen of Ugarit sending her message to her royal partner in Egypt (EA 48); Ba'lu-ya and Bet'ilu giving a report to their father, i.e. Aziru of Amurru (EA 170A) as well as in the message of Amurba'la; or Aziru of Amurru in his letters addressed to respective officials (EA 158, EA 166). The Amarna corpus also contains a kind of a 'transitional' type (type 14) between the 'royal' and the 'vassal' correspondence. In the two letters addressed to the king of Egypt by the respective kings of Ugarit, a combination of 'royal' and 'vassal' elements can be identified, i.e. the greetings and the extended greetings are preceded by the prostration formula.

Considering the number of preserved 'vassal,' or in other words, 'imperial' documents, we have to pay special attention to the prostration formula, which expresses the self-abasement of the inferior sender of the message. This element, however, represents the most variable part of the Amarna opening passages. We may encounter it in eight separate structures of the opening passage but within the context of its inner structure, especially the presence of individual elements and their sequence, it may be classified into twenty-two types, with the majority of documents classified as type 6 (i.e. the directional phrase followed by the element of manner ['number'] and the respective verbal form), a type which does not bear any geographical connotations. The great variability of the prostration formulae may suggest that the scribes were well aware of the importance of this element in the opening passage. However, in many cases they used their own 'language' to catch the meaning, without paying too much attention to its form. Nevertheless, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that there might exist certain patterns in the composition of the prostration formulae.

To a much lesser extent than in the prostration formula, we may observe the presence of a wish for divine intervention on behalf of the addressee, i.e. the divine blessings (type 15, type 16, type 17). This element is especially typical in letters of Byblite origin (type 15, type 17). As well as the Lady of Gubla, the name of the Egyptian god, Amun, is also attested. Nevertheless, it is necessary to stress that Amun's name never appears in letters addressed to the king of Egypt and it is observed solely in the correspondence addressed to officials. In addition, the 'quality' of this divine intervention is different; for the officials, 'honor' in the presence of the king is invoked, whereas the king is wished 'power.'

The variability of the structure of the opening passages, as well as of the individual elements, naturally and automatically raises a question, i.e. as to whether we can also recognize a similar variability in the 'language' of the Amarna opening passages. A certain variability can be seen in orthography, especially with some substantives, written syllabically or by means of some logograms. The individual determinatives are, in general, used correctly and in compliance with standard Akkadian practices. In a similar way as in contemporary Babylonian texts, the Amarna opening passages only rarely use mimation. With respect to the morphology of pronouns, we may conclude that, in the majority of cases, the scribes were well-aware of the correct Akkadian forms and the sporadic departures from the rule can be taken as isolated mistakes, ascribed to individual scribes and the influence of their native language. In most cases the numbers are written logographically, although in the category of multiplicative numbers, contained in the prostration formula, syllabic writing is also attested. The gender and number of substantives, supposedly, did not represent any serious problems for the scribes. Based on the character of the analyzed corpus it is apparent that the repertoire of verbal forms is limited. With some verbal forms, some variations of personal morphemes unattested in core dialects can be recognized, as well as the employment of West Semitic jussive forms. An important phenomenon, however, represents the employment of forms of the Akkadian preterite for the present-future tense in the Syro-Palestinian region.

A study of the structure of the Amarna opening passages, as well as an analysis of individual elements and their sequence within the structure provides us, undoubtedly, with another perspective

on the Amarna letters. On the first level, the epistolary documents can be classified on the basis of the structure of elements employed in the opening passages. Nevertheless, if we put together the texts with identical inner structures, i.e. the overall structure of the opening passage together with the structure of the heading and the structure of the prostration formula (if present), we can see that in several cases the inner structure corresponds with the origin of the texts and, in some cases, it also relates to the social status of both correspondents. The sequence of individual elements and their variability within the opening passages enable us to approach the Amarna letters from yet another perspective, which can not only contribute to discussions devoted to a supposed origin of particular documents, but can also help us to get a better understanding of the political and social situation, as well as diplomatic procedures used in the respective regions during the course of the fourteenth century B.C.E. As far as the provenance of the texts is concerned, a considerable achievement is represented, without question, by the provenance study presented by Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman in 2004,⁷⁷⁸ which provided those scholars working with the Amarna letters, with a new and remarkable aspect and opened a new area for further debate. With all due respect to the aforementioned volume, however, we cannot simply abandon all the earlier material written on the subject. Only by combining the data received through various methods, including the typology of the structure of the 'standardized' opening passages, can we reach a more accurate and clearer picture of the 'Amarna world.'

⁷⁷⁸ GOREN – FINKELSTEIN – NA'AMAN (2004).

APPENDIX

The transliterations presented in Appendix are primarily based on collations and photographs, as well as on the published cuneiform copies. For the recent photographs of the Berlin and London Amarna tablets, consult 'Las tablillas de El-Amarna en el Vorderasiatisches Museum de Berlín' at <http://amarna.ieiop.csic.es/index.php> and the 'Inscriptifact. An Image Database of Inscriptions and Artifacts' <http://www.inscriptifact.com/index.shtml>. The Cairo tablets were photographed in March 2007.

EA 1

BME 29784

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 1); KNUDTZON (1915: 60–67); MORAN (1992: 1–5); HESS (1993: 95 [l. 1]; 117–118 [l. 2]); ZEWI (1995: 667 [ll. 3–9]); LIVERANI (1999: 344–347 [LA 275])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a M. "ka" - "dā" - aš - "ma" - an - "EN". LÍL LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-D.du-n[ī]-še
 02 "ŠEŠ" - ia qf-bf-ma um-ma M.ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ia LUGAL GAL
 03 LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i.KI ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na maḥ-ri-ia šul-mu
 04 a-na maḥ-ri-ka lu-ū šul-mu a-na É-ka a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka
 05 a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 06 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na ḥb-bi KUR.KUR-ka da-an-ni-iš lu-ū šul-mu
 07 a-na ia-a-šl šul-mu a-na É-ia a-na DAM.MEŠ-ia a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ia
 08 a-na LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR-ia
 09 ERÍN.MEŠ ma-ad šul-mu ù ḥb-bi KUR.KUR-la ma-gal šul-mu

Translation:

01 [To] "Ka" "da"š "ma"n'enlil", the king of Karaduniyaš,
 02 my "brother", speak; thus (says) Nibmuariya, the great king,
 03 the king of Egypt, your brother: It is well with me.
 04 May it be well with you. With your household, with your wives,
 05 with your sons, with your magnates, with your horses,
 06 with your charlotes, within your countries, may it be very well.
 07 It is well with me. With my household, with my wives, with my sons,
 08 with my magnates, with my horses, with my charlotes,
 09 numerous troops it is well and within my countries it is very well.

EA 2

VAT 148 + VAT 2706

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 2 and 5); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 1); KNUDTZON (1915: 66–69); MORAN (1992: 2); HESS (1993: 95 [l. 2]; 117–118 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 347 [LA 276])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.ni-mu-wa-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ[-ia qf-bf-ma]
 02 "um" - "ma" M.ka-da-aš - "ma" - [an-EN.L] LUGAL KUR.ka-ra[-D.du-ni-ia-aš]
 03 a-na "ia" - šl ù ma-t[ī]-ia da-an-ni-iš šu-ul-mu
 04 a-na ka-a-ša a-na DA[M.MEŠ-k]a a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-n[a LÚ.MEŠ.GAL-ka]
 05 "ANŠE", "KUR".RA.MEŠ-ka "GIŠ", [GIGIR.MEŠ-ka] ù ma-ti-ka ga-a[b]-bi-ša da-an-ni-iš lu šu[-ul-mu]

Translation:

01 To Nibmuariya, the king of Egypt, [my] brother, speak;
 02 "thus" (says) [K]a[d]aš[m]a[nen]lil, the king of Kara[duniyaš(:)]
 03 It is very [well] with "me" and [my] country.
 04 With you, with [yo]ur wi[ves], with your sons, wi[th] your magnates,
 05 with your "hor"ses, [your] ch[ariots] and your ent[ire] country, may it be very well.

EA 3

CG 4743 [SR 4/12210/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 1); KNUDTZON (1915: 68–71); MORAN (1992: 7–8); HESS (1993: 95 [l. 3]; 117–118 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 347–348 [LA 277])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.ni-ib-m]u-³-wa-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-īa
 02 [qf]-bf-ma
 03 [um-ma M.ka-d]a-aš-ma-an-EN.LÍL LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-D.du-n[ī]-ia-aš ŠEŠ-ka-ma
 04 [a-na ia-šl šu]-ul-mu a-na ka-a-ša a-na É-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka
 05 [ū a-na gab-b]d KUR-ti-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 06 [LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.]GAL-ka da-an-ni-iš lu-ū šu-ul-mu

Translation:

01 [To Nibm]uwariya, the king of Egyp[t, m]y [brother,]
 02 [sp]eak;
 03 [thus (says) Kad]ašmanenlil, the king of Karadun[ī]yaš, your brother:
 04 [It is w]ell [with me.] With you, with your household, your wives,
 05 [and with] your [entir]e country, your chariots, your horses,
 06 your [mag]nates, may it be very well.

EA 5

BME 29787 + CG 4744 [SR 4/12195/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 17); BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 4); KNUDTZON (1915: 74–77); MORAN (1992: 10–11); HESS (1993: 95 [l. 2]; 117–118 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1999: 350–351 [LA 279])

Transliteration:

01 [um-ma M.ni-ib-mu-a-r]i-i-īa LUGAL GAL
 02 [LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i a-na M.]ka-[da-aš-ma-an. -EN.LÍL]
 03 [LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-D.du]-nl-ia-[aš ŠEŠ-ia]
 04 [qf-bf-ma a-na maḥ-ri-īa šul-<mu> a-[na maḥ-ri-ka]
 05 [lu-ū šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-k]a DAM.MEŠ-[ka]
 06 [DUMU.MEŠ-ka LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-k]a ERÍN.MEŠ-k[a]
 07 [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-k]a GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ]-ka ù i-[na ḥb-bi]
 08 [KUR.KUR.ī]A-ka lu-ū šul-mu
 09 [a-na ia-aš-šl šul-mu a-na É.ī]A-ia DAM.MEŠ-[ia]
 10 [DUMU.MEŠ-ia LÚ.MEŠ.G]AL.GAL-ia ERÍN.MEŠ-ia ma-[a-ad]
 11 [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]-ia GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù i-na ḥb- "bi"
 12 [KUR.KUR.ī]A-īa ma-gal ma-gal lu-ū šul-mu

Translation:

01 [Thus (says) Nibmuar]eyla, the great king.
 02 [the king of Egypt; to] Ka[dašmanenlil,]
 03 [the king of Karadu]niya[š, my brother,]
 04 [speak:] It is we<l> [with m]e. W[ith] you
 05 [may it be well. With yo]ur [household>s<], [your] wives,
 06 [your sons, yo]ur [magnates], yo[ur] troops,
 07 [yo]ur [horses], your c[hariots] and [with]i[n]
 08 [your country may it be w]ell.
 09 [It is w]ell [with me.] With my household>s<, [my] wives,
 10 [my sons,] my [ma]gnats, my numerous troops,
 11 my [horses], my chariots and within
 12 [m]y [countries], may it be very, very well.

EA 6

VAT 149

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 4); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 3); KNUDTZON (1915: 78–79); MORAN (1992: 12); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 351–352 [LA 280])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-n]a "M" . "ni" - "mu" - "wa" - "ri" - "ia"
 02 ŠEŠ-ia qf-b[*t-ma*]
 [R.ka-ra-D. du-ni-ia-aš]
 03 um-ma bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL KU
 04 ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na ia-ši šu-ul-[*mu*]
 05 a-na ka-ša É-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ[-ka]
 06 KUR-ka LÚ . GAL.MEŠ-ka
 ANŠE.KUR.RA. "MEŠ" -[*k*]a
 07 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka lu šu-ul-[*mu*]

Translation:

- 01 [T]o 'Nimuwareya',
 02 my brother, spe[ak];
 03 thus (says) Burraburiyaš, the king of [Karaduniyaš,]
 04 your brother: It is wel[l] with me.
 05 With you, your household, your wives, [your] sons,
 06 your country, your magnates, [yo]ur horses,
 07 your chariots, may it be we[l].

EA 7

VAT 150

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 7); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 4); KNUDTZON (1915: 78–85); MORAN (1992: 12–16); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 2]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 352–354 [LA 281])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-na M.na-ap-*hu*]-ru-ri-ia LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-[*ri-i*]
 02 [ŠEŠ-ia qf-b[*l-ma* um-ma bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš]
 03 [LUGAL GAL LUG]AL KUR.ka-ra-D. du-ni-ia-aš a-*h*[u-ka-ma]
 04 [a-na i]a-ši ù É-ia a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA-ia ù GI[Š.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia]
 05 [a-na r]a-ab-bu-ti-ia ù ma-ti-ia da-an-ni-[i]š šu-ul-mu
 06 a-na a-*hi*-ia ù É-šu a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA-šu ù GI[Š.GIGIR.MEŠ-šu]
 07 a-na ra-ab-bu-ti-šu ù ma-ti-šu da-an-ni-[i]š [u-ú šu-ul-mu]

Translation:

- 01 [To Nap]hurriya, the great king, the king of Egy[pt,]
 02 [my brother, speak]; thus (says) Burraburiyaš,
 03 [the great king, the k]ing of Karaduniyaš, [your] bro[ther]:
 04 [With m]e and my household, with my horse<s> and [my] c[har]iots,
 05 [with] my [m]agnates and my country, it is ver[y well].
 06 With my brother and his household, with his horse<s> and [his] c[har]iots,
 07 with his magnates and his country, m[ay it be] ver[y well].

EA 8

VAT 152

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 8); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 5); KNUDTZON (1915: 84–89); MORAN (1992: 16–17); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 3]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 354–355 [LA 282])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-n]a na-ap-*hu*-²-ru-²-[*ri*]-[*ia*]
 02 "LUGAL" KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia qf-[*bf-ma*]
 03 "um"-ma bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-[D. du-ni-ia-aš]
 04 ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu
 05 a-na ka-ša KUR-ka É-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-k[*a*]
 06 LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka
 07 da-an-ni-[i]š lu šu-ul-mu

Translation:

- 01 [T]o Nap]hru "ri"[ya]
 02 "the king" of Egypt, my brother, sp[ea]k;
 03 "thus" (says) Burraburiyaš, the king of Kara[duniyaš,]
 04 your brother: It is well with me.
 05 With you, your country, your household, your wivesm yo[ur] sons,
 06 your magnates, your horses, your chariots,
 07 may it be very well.

EA 9

BME 29785

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 2; pl. 24 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 88–91); MORAN (1992: 18–19); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 3]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 355–356 [LA 283])

Transliteration:

- 01 a-na ni-ip-*hu*-ur-ri-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.m[i-iš-ri-i]
 02 qf-bf-m[*a*]
 03 um-ma bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-d[*u-n*]i-ia-aš
 04 ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-mu
 05 a-na ka-a-ša É-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka KUR-ka
 06 LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka da-an-[*ni-i*]š lu-ú šu-ul-mu

Translation:

- 01 To Nip]hurriya, the king of E[gypt,]
 02 speak[;]
 03 thus (says) Burraburiyaš, the king of Karad[un]iyaš,
 04 your brother: It is well with me.
 05 With you, your household, your sons, your country,
 06 your magnates, your horses, your chariots, may it be ve[r]y well.

EA 10

BME 29786

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 3; pl. 10 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 90–95); MORAN (1992: 19–20); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 2]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 356–358 [LA 284])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-n]a [na-ap-*hu*]-ra-*r*[i-i]a LUGAL KUR.m[i-iš-ri-i qf-bf-ma]
 02 [u]m-ma bur-ra-bu-ri-ia-aš LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-D.d[*u-n*]i-ia-aš
 03 a-na ia-a-ši šu-ul-m[*u*]
 04 a-na ka-a-ša a-na bi-ti-ka a-na aš-ša-ti-ka a-na [
 05 a-na ra-ab-bu-ti-ka a-na ša-bi-ka
 06 a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.ġl.A-ka a-na si-si-ka ù a-na ma-ti-ka
 07 da-an-ni-[i]š lu-ú šu-ul-mu

Translation:

- 01 [T]o [Nap]hure[re]ya, the king of E[gypt, speak];
 02 [t]hus (says) Burraburiyaš, the king of Karad[un]iyaš[;]
 03 It is wel[l] with me.
 04 With you, with your household, with you wives, with [
 05 with your magnates, with your troops,
 06 with your chariots, with your horses and with your country,
 07 may it be very well.

EA 11

VAT 151 + VAT 1878

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 6, 218 and 225); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 6); KNUDTZON (1915: 94–99); MORAN (1992: 21–23); HESS (1993: 63–64 [l. 2]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 358–359 [LA 285])

Transliteration:

- 01 a-na M.na-ap-*hu*-ru-²-[*ri*]-²-[*a*] LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠE[Š-ia qf-bf-ma]
 02 um-[*ma* M.bur-*na*-bu-²-[*ri*]-²-[*ia*]-aš LUGAL KUR.ka-ra-du-ni-[*i*]-[*a*]-aš ŠEŠ-ka-ma]
 03 a-[*na* ia-ši š]u-ul-mu a-na ka-a-ša DAM.MEŠ-ka É-k[*a* DUMU.MEŠ-ka]
 04 [a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-k]a a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka da-an-ni-[i]š lu-ú š[*u*-ul-mu]

Translation:

- 01 To Nap]huru "riya", the king of Egypt, [my] broth[er, speak];
 02 th[us] (says) Bur]nabu "riyaš, the king of Karadun]iyaš, your brother:

- 03 It is [w]ell [w]ith me.) With you, your wives, yo[ur] household, [your sons]
 04 [with yo]ur [horses], your chariots, may it be very w[ell].

EA 12

VAT 1605

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 188); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 7); KNUDTZON (1915: 98–101); MORAN (1992: 1–5); LIVERANI (1999: 360 [LA 286])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na M.bé-lf-ia</i>	01 To my master,
02 <i>qf-bf-ma um-ma</i>	02 speak; thus (says)
03 DUMU.MÍ LUGAL- <i>ma</i>	03 the daughter of the king:
04 <i>a-na ka-ša GIŠ.GIGIR/ti-ka</i>	04 With you, [your] chariot[s],
05 <i>[a]ḫ-m[ā]ḫ-l[u]-i i ḫi-ka</i>	05 [p]e[o]p[l]e [and yo]ur [household,]
06 <i>lu-ú ḫuḫ-mu</i>	06 may it be [w]ell.

EA 15

MMA 24.2.11

Literature: SCHEIL (1902: 114); KNUDTZON (1915: 124–127); BULL (1926: 170, fig. 1 [obv.]); HAYES (1959: 296, fig. 182 [obv.]); MORAN (1988: 149–150, pls. 112–113); MORAN (1992: 37–38); HESS (1993: 43–44 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 362–363 [LA 287])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na LUGAL KUR.m-i-š-ša-ri</i>	01 To the king of E[gypt,]
02 <i>qf-bi-ma</i>	02 speak[;]
03 <i>um-ma M.D.a-šur-TI.LA LUGAL KUR.D.a-šur-ma</i>	03 thus (says) Aššurub[allit, the king of A]ssyria:
04 <i>a-na ka-ša É-ka a-na KUR-ka</i>	04 With you, your household, with your country,
05 <i>a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù ERÍN.MEŠ-ka</i>	05 with your chariots and your troops,
06 <i>lu-ú šul-mu</i>	06 may it be well.

EA 16

CG 4746 [SR 4/12209/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 9); KNUDTZON (1915: 126–131); MORAN (1992: 38–41); HESS (1993: 43–44 [l. 3]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 363–364 [LA 288])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na M.n[a-a]p-ḫu-[r]i-i-ia LUGAL GAL</i>	01 To N[a]pḫu[r]iy[a, the great king,]
02 <i>LUGAL KUR.m-i-š-ša-ri ḫi-ka qf-bi-ma</i>	02 the king of Egypt, my 'brother', s[peak;]
03 <i>um-ma M.D.a-šur-TI.LA LUGAL KU[R].D.[a-šur]</i>	03 thus (says) Aššuruballit, the king of [Assyria,
04 <i>LUGAL GAL ŠEŠ-ka-ma</i>	04 the great king, your brother:
05 <i>a-na k[a]-a-š[a a-na É-ka ù KUR-ti-ka lu-ú šul-mu</i>	05 With y[o]u, with your household and your country, may it be w[ell].

EA 17

BME 29792

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 9); KNUDTZON (1915: 130–135); ADLER (1976: 122–125); MORAN (1992: 41–42); HESS (1993: 99 [l. 5]; 117–118 [l. 1]; 161–162 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 366–367 [LA 289])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na M.ni-ib-mu-a-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.m-i-š-ri-i</i>	01 To Nibmuariya, the kin[g of Egypt,]
02 <i>ŠEŠ-ia qf-bf-ma</i>	02 my brother, speak;
03 <i>um-ma M.lu-iš-e-rat-ta LUGAL KUR.[m]i-š-ri-i-ta-a[n-ni]</i>	03 thus (says) Tuišeratta, the king of [Mi]ta[nni,]
04 <i>ŠEŠ-ka-ma a-na ia-šul-mu</i>	04 your brother: It is well with me.
05 <i>a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na MÍ.ké-lu-ḫé-ba</i>	05 May it be well with you. /May it be well/ with Keluḫepa,
06 <i>a-ḫa-ti-ia lu-ú šul-mu a-na É-ka</i>	06 my sister. With your household,
07 <i>a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ka</i>	07 with your wives, with your sons, with your magnates,

- 08 *a-na ERÍN.MEŠ ḫu-ra-ti-ka a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka* 08 with your warriors, with your horses,
 09 *a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù a-na ḫi-bi KUR-ka* 09 with your chariots and within your country,
 10 *dā-an-ni-iš lu-ú šul-mu* 10 may it be very well.

EA 18

VAT 1880 + VAT 1879

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 217, 230 = 226); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 8); KNUDTZON (1915: 134–137); ADLER (1976: 126–127)

Transliteration:
01 <i>[a-na M.ni-im-mu-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.m-i-š-ri-i] qf-bf-ma</i>
02 <i>[um-ma M.ti-uš-rat-ta LUGAL KUR.m-i-ta-an-ni ŠEŠ]-ka-ma</i>
03 <i>[a-na ia-šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu</i>
04 <i>[a-na LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ka</i>
05 <i>[</i>
06 <i>[</i>

Translation:

- 01 [To Nimmuriya, the king of Egypt,] speak;
 02 [thus (says) Tušratta, the king of Mitanni,] 'your' [brother]:
 03 [It well with me. May] it be well [with you,]
 04 [With] your [magnate]s,
 05 [
 06 [
 and to whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very well.

EA 19

BME 29791

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 8; pls. 18–19 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 136–145); ADLER (1976: 128–135); MORAN (1992: 43–46); HESS (1993: 117–118 [l. 1]; 161–162 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 367–370 [LA 290])

Transliteration:

- 01 *[a-na] M.ni-im-mu-ri-ia LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.m-i-š-ri-i ŠEŠ-[ia]*
 02 *ḫa-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra-³-an-an-ni ù ša a-ra-a[m-mu-uš]*
 03 *qf-bf-ma um-ma M.ti-uš-rat-ta LUGAL GAL e-mi-i-[ka]*
 04 *ša i-ra-³-a-mu-ú-ka LUGAL KUR.m-i-i-ta-an-ni ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 05 *a-na ia-šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu a-na É-ka*
 06 *a-na a-ḫa-ti-ia ù a-na re-e-ḫé-ti DAM.MEŠ-ka a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka*
 07 *a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka a-na ERÍN.GAL-ka*
 08 *a-na KUR-ka ù a-na mim-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

- 01 [To] Nimmuriya, the great king, the king of Egypt, [my] brother,
 02 my son-in-law, who loves me and whom I lo[ve,]
 03 speak; message of Tušratta, the great king, [your] father-in-law,
 04 who loves you, the king of Mitanni, your brother:
 05 It is well with me. May it be well with you. With your household,
 06 with my sister, with the rest of your wives, with your sons,
 07 with your chariots, with your horses, with your warrior[s],
 08 with your country and with whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very well.

EA 20

VAT 191

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 22); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 9); KNUDTZON (1915: 144–153); ADLER (1976: 136–143); MORAN (1992: 47–50); HESS (1993: 117–118 [l. 1]; 161–162 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 370–372 [LA 291])

Transliteration:

- 01 *[a-na M.ni-im]-mu-ú-a-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.[m-i-š-ri-i] ŠEŠ-ia ḫa-ta-ni-ia*
 02 *[ša a-ra]-³-a-mu ša i-ra-³[a-ma-an-ni] qf-bf-ma*

- 03 [um-ma M.]tù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL KUR.mi-i-ṭ[a-an-ni] e-mu-ú-ka
 04 [ša i-ṭ]a⁻²-a-mu-ú-ka ŠEŠ-ka [a-na i]a-ši šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša
 05 [lu-ú] šul-mu a-na É-ka a-na DAM.MEŠ-[ka] a-na D[UMU].MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ.GAL-ka
 06 [a-na GIŠ].GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka a-na ERÍN.GAL.MEŠ-ka
 07 [a-n]a KUR-ka ù mim-mu-ka da-an-ni-iš da-an-ni-iš lu-ú šul-mu

Translation:

- 01 [To Nim]muariya, the king of [Egypt,] my brother, my son-is-low
 02 [whom I l]ove, who love[s me,] speak;
 03 [thus (says)] Tušratta, the king of Mit[anni], your father-in-law,
 04 [who l]oves you, your brother(:) It is well [with m]e. / [May it] be well/ with you.
 05 With your household, with [your] wives, with your s[on]s, with your magnates,
 06 [with] your [c]hariots, with your horses, with your warriors,
 07 [wit]h your country and (with) whatever that belongs to you, may it be very well.

EA 21

VAT 190

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 21); SCHROEDER (1915a: 10); KNUDTZON (1915: 152–155); ADLER (1976: 144–147); MORAN (1992: 50); HESS (1993: 117–118 [l. 1]; 161–162 [l. 5]); LIVERANI (1999: 373 [LA 292])

Transliteration:

- 01 a-na M.ni-im-mu-ri-ia LUGAL GAL
 02 LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ka
 03 ḥa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra⁻²-am-mu-uš
 04 ù ša i-ra⁻²-a-ma-an-ni qf-bf-ma
 05 um-ma M.tù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL GAL
 06 LUGAL KUR.mi-ta-an-ni ŠEŠ-ka e-mu-ka
 07 ù ša i-ra⁻²-a-mu-ka-ma
 08 a-na la-ši šul-mu a-na ŠEŠ-ia ù a-na ḥa-ta-ni-ia
 09 lu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka
 10 a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ-ka a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka
 11 a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka a-na KUR-ka
 12 ù mim-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu

Translation:

- 01 To Nimmuriya, the great king,
 02 the king of Egypt, my brother,
 03 my son-in-law, whom I l[ove],
 04 and who loves me, speak;
 05 thus (says) Tušratta, the great king,
 06 the king of Mitanni, your brother, your father-in-law,
 07 and the one who loves you:
 08 It is well with me. / May it be well/ with my brother and my son-in-law.
 09 With your household, with your wives,
 10 with your sons, with your men, with your chariots,
 11 with your horses, with your country,
 12 and (with) whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very well.

EA 23

BME 29793

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 10; pl. 23 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 178–181); ADLER (1976: 170–173); MORAN (1992: 61–62); HESS (1993: 117–118 [l. 1]; 152–153 [l. 7]; 161–162 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1999: 373–374 [LA 293])

Transliteration:

- 01 a-na M.ni-im-mu-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-[i]
 02 ŠEŠ-ia ḥa-ta-ni-ia ša a-ra⁻²-a-mu
 03 ù ša i-ra⁻²-a-ma-an-ni qf-bf-ma
 04 um-ma M.tù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL mi-i-ta-an-ni

Translation:

- 01 To Nimmuriya, the king of Egypt[is],
 02 my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love
 03 and who loves me, speak;
 04 thus (says) Tušratta, the king of Mitanni,

- 05 ša i-ra⁻²-a-mu-ka e-mu-ka-ma
 06 a-na i-ši šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu
 07 a-na É-ka a-na Mf.ta-a⁻¹-du⁻⁴-ḥé⁻¹-pá DUMU.Mf-ia
 08 a-na DAM-ka ša ta-ra⁻²-a-mu lu-ú šul-mu
 09 a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ.GAL-ka
 10 a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 11 a-na ERÍN.MEŠ-ka a-na KUR-ka ù a-na
 12 mim-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu
- 05 who loves you, your father-in-law:
 06 It is well with me. May it be well with you.
 07 With my household, with Taduḥepa, my daughter,
 08 >with< your wife, whom you love, may it be well.
 09 With your wives, with your sons, with your magnates,
 10 with your chariots, with your horses,
 11 with your troops, with your country and with
 12 whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very well.

EA 26

BME 29794 + A 9356 [Oriental Institute]

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 11; pl. 9 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 222–227); MORAN (1992: 84–86); ADLER (1976: 206–211); HESS (1993: 152–153 [l. 4]; 161–162 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1999: 392–393 [LA 295])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-na Mf.te-i-e N]IN KUR.mi-[i]š-ri-i qf-bf-ma
 02 u[m-ma M.tù-uš]-rat-ta LUGAL [KUR].mi-[ta-an-ni a-na ia-ši]
 03 [šul-mu] a-na ka-a-ši lu-ú šul-mu a-na É-ka a-na
 04 [DUMU.MEŠ]-ka lu-ú šul-mu a-na Mf.ta-a-du⁻⁴-ḥé-bá [DUMU.Mf-ia]
 05 É.GI⁻⁴.A-ka lu-ú šul-mu a-na KUR.K[UR]-ka a-[na]
 06 ù mim-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ú [šul-mu]

Translation:

- 01 [To Teye, the mis]tress of Eg[yp]t, speak;
 02 [thus (says) Tuš]ratta, the kin[g of Mitanni(:) / It is well/ with me.]
 03 May it be we[ll] with you. [With your household, with]
 04 your [sons], may it be well. With Taduḥepa, [my daughter,]
 05 your daughter-in-law, may it be well. With your countr[ies], wi[th]]
 06 and (with) whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very [well.]

EA 27

VAT 233 + VAT 2197 no. 1, VAT 2193

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 23); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 11); KNUDTZON (1915: 228–241); ADLER (1976: 212–225); MORAN (1992: 86–90); HESS (1993: 152–153 [l. 4]; 161–162 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1999: 393–396 [LA 296])

Transliteration:

- 01 [a-na M.na-ap-ḥur-ri-ia LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ⁻¹-ia ḥa-ta-ni-ia ša
 [a-ra-am-mu-uš]
 02 [ša i-ra⁻²-a-ma-an-ni qf-bf-ma um-ma M.ṭù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.mi-ṭi⁻¹-[ta-an-ni]
 03 [e-mu-ka ša i-ra⁻²-a-mu-ka ŠEŠ-ka-m]a a-na la-ši šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-ú šul-mu
 04 [a-na Mf.te-i-e AMA-ka a-na] É⁻¹-ka lu-ú šul-[mu a-n]a Mf.ta-a-du⁻⁴-ḥé-bá DU[MU.Mf-ia]
 05 [a-na DUMU.MEŠ-[ka] MEŠ-ka a-na GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ]-ka⁻¹
 06 [a-na ANŠE.KUR.]RA.MEŠ-ka [a-na ERÍN.MEŠ-ka a-na KUR-ka] ṭi⁻¹ a-na [mim-mu-ka dan]-niš dan-niš lu-ú šul-mu

Translation:

- 01 [To Napḥurriya, the great king, the king of Eg]ypt, my ṭi⁻¹ brother², my son-in-law, whom [I love (and)]
 02 [who loves me, speak; thus (says) T]ušratta, the great king, the king of Mi[tanni],
 03 [your father-in-law, who loves you, your brother]: It is well with me. M[ay it be well] with you.
 04 May it be we[ll] with Teye, your mother (and) with] your household. [Wit]h Taduḥepa, [my] dau[ghter],
 05 [] with [your] sons, [with your ...], with your chariots,
 06 [with] your [hor]ses, [with your troops, with your country] and with [everything that belongs to you,] may it be [ve]ry, very well.

EA 28

BME 37645

Literature: SCHEIL (1892: 302); KNUDTZON (1915: 240–245); MORAN (1992: 90–92); ADLER (1976: 226–229); HESS (1993: 115–116 [l. 1]; 152–153 [l. 8]; 157–158 [l. 7]; 161–162 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1999: 397–398 [LA 297])

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na M.nap-hur-i-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-[i]*
 02 *ŠEŠ-ia ha-ta-ni-ia ša i-ra²[a-ma-an-ni]*
 03 *ù ša a-ra-mu-uš qf-bf-ma*
 04 *um-ma M.tù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL KUR.mi-it-ta-an-ni*
 05 *e-mu-ù-ka ša i-ra²-a-mu-ù-ka ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 06 *a-na ia-ši šul-mu a-na ka-a-ša lu-ù šul-mu*
 07 *a-na É.MEŠ-ka a-na Ml.te-i-e AMA-ka ù NIN KUR.mi-iš-[ri]-i*
 08 *a-na Ml.ta-a-du₄-hé-e-bá DUMU.Ml-ia DAM-ka*
 09 *a-na re-hu-úti DAM.MEŠ-ka a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-ka*
 10 *a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-[na] ANŠE.RA.MEŠ-ka a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka*
 11 *a-na KUR-ka ù a-na min-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ù šul-mu*

Translation:

- 01 To Napḥuriya, the king of Egypt[.t]
 02 my brother, my son-in-law, who lo[ves me],
 03 and whom I love, speak;
 04 thus (says) Tušratta, the king of Mitanni,
 05 your father-in-law, who loves you, your brother:
 06 It is well with me. May it be well with you.
 07 With your household<s>, with Teye, your mother and mistress of Egy[pt],
 08 with Taduhépa, my daughter, your wife,
 09 with the rest of your wives, with your sons, with your magnates,
 10 with your chariots, w[ith] your horses, with your troops,
 11 with your country and with whatever that belongs to you, may it be very, very well.

EA 29

VAT 271 + VAT 1600 + VAT 1618 + VAT 1619 + VAT 1620 + VAT 2192 + VAT 2194 + VAT 2195 + VAT 2196, nos. 3–6 + 2197, nos. 3–5 + 3 unnumbered fragments

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 24; pl. 2 [photo; obv.]); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 12); KNUDTZON (1915: 244–269); ADLER (1976: 230–251); MORAN (1992: 92–99); HESS (1993: 152–153 [l. 3]; 157–158 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 398–405 [LA 298])

Transliteration:

- 01 *[a-na M.na-ap-hu-ur-ri-ia LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri-i ŠEŠ-ia ha-ta-ni-ia ša a-[ra-a]m-mu-ù-uš ù ša i-ra²-a-ma-an-ni]*
 02 *[qf-bf-ma um-ma M.tù-uš-rat-ta LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.mi-it-ta-an-ni]i [ŠEŠ-ka-ma e-mi-ka ša i-ra²-a-mu-ka a-na ia-ši šul-m[ù a-na ka-a-ša]*
 03 *[lu-ù šul-mu a-na] Ml.te-i-e lu-[ù šul-mu a-]na Ml.ta-a-du₄-hé-e-bá DUMU.Ml-[i]a DAM-ka lu-ù [šul-mu]*
 04 *[a-na DAM.MEŠ-ka re-e]-hé-ti lu-ù šul-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ka a-na LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.MEŠ-ka a-na GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka a-na "ANŠE". "KUR".[RA.MEŠ-ka]*
 05 *[a-na ERIN.MEŠ-ka a-na KU]R-ka ù a-na min-mu-ka dan-niš dan-niš lu-ù [šul-mu]*

Translation:

- 01 [To Napḥurriya, the king of Egypt,] my [bro]ther, my son-in-law, whom I [l]ove and who [l]oves me,
 02 [speak; message of Tušratta, the king of Mitanni], your [br]other>:, your father-in-law, who loves you(:) It is well[l] w[ith] me. [May it be well/ with you.]
 03 Ma[y it be well[l] with] Teye. [W]ith Taduhépa, [m]y daughter, your wife, may it be [well.]
 04 [With your ot]her [wives,] may it be well. With your sons, with your magnates, with your chariots, with [your] ho[r]s[es],
 05 [with your troops, with] your [coun]try and with whatever belongs to you, may it be very, very well.]

EA 30

BME 29841

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 58; pl. 15 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 268–271); ADLER (1976: 252–253); MORAN (1992: 100); LIVERANI (1999: 405 [LA 299])

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na LUGAL.MEŠ ša KUR.ki-na-a-ab-[bi]*
 02 *IR.MEŠ ŠEŠ-ia um-ma LUGAL-ma*

Translation:

- 01 To the kings of Canaan[.n],
 02 servants of my brother; thus (says) the king:

EA 33

VAT 1654

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 15); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 13); KNUDTZON (1915: 278–281); MORAN (1992: 104–105); LIVERANI (1999: 415–416 [LA 306]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 5–9)

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri ŠEŠ-ia*
 02 *um-ma LUGAL KUR.a-la-ši-ia ŠEŠ-ka*
 03 *a-na ia-ši šul-mu*
 04 *a-na maḥ-ri-ka lu-ù šul-<mu>*

Translation:

- 01 To the king of Egypt, my brother;
 02 thus (says) the king of Alašiya, your brother(:)
 03 It is well with me.
 04 May it be we<ll> with you.

- 05 *a-na É-ka DAM-ka₄ DUMU-ka*
 06 *ANŠE.KUR.RA-ka GIŠ.GIGIR-ka*
 07 *"ù" a-na ḥb-bi KUR-ka.*
 08 *[ma]-gal lu šul-mu*

- 05 With your household, your wives<s>, your sons<s>,
 06 your horses<s>, your chariots<s>,
 07 "and" within your country,
 08 may it be [ve]ry well.

EA 34

BME 29789

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 6); KNUDTZON (1915: 280–283); MORAN (1992: 105–107); LIVERANI (1999: 416–417 [LA 307]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 10–15)

Transliteration:

- 01 *um-ma LUGAL KUR.a-la-ši-ia*
 02 *a-na LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri ŠEŠ-ia-ma*
 03 *li-ma-ad i-nu-ma šal-ma-ku ù*
 04 *ša-lim KUR-ia ù iš-tu šul-mu-ka₄*
 05 *ù šu-lum-ka₄ šu-lum É-ka₄ DUMU.MEŠ-ka₄*
 06 *DAM.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.GIGIR-ka₄.MEŠ*
 07 *KUR.KI-ka₄ ma-gal lu-ù šal-mu*

Translation:

- 01 Thus (says) the king of Alašiya;
 02 to the king of Egypt, my brother:
 03 Know, that I am well and
 04 my country is well and in respect to your well-being,
 05 so your well-being, the well-being of your household, of your sons,
 06 of <your> wives, of <your> horses, of your chariots,
 07 of your country, may it be very well.

EA 35

BME 29788

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 5; pl. 8 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 282–287); MORAN (1992: 107–109); LIVERANI (1999: 417–418 [LA 308]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 16–22)

Transliteration:

- 01 *[a-na L]UGAL-ri KUR.mi-iš-ri ŠEŠ-ia qf-[bf-ma]*
 02 *[um-ma] LUGAL KUR.a-la-ši-ia ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 03 *[a-na] UGU-ia šul-mu É.MEŠ-ia DAM-ia DUMU.MEŠ-ia*
 04 *LÚ.GAL.GAL.MEŠ-ia ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia ù i-na*
 05 *ḥb-bi KUR.MEŠ-ia dan-niš lu-ù šul-mu ù a-na UGU ŠEŠ-ia*

06 *lu-ú šul-mu a-na É.MEŠ-ka DAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka LÚ.GAL.GAL-ka*
 07 *ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-na ñb-bi KUR.KUR.MEŠ-ka*
 08 *dan-nš lu-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

01 [To the k]ing of Egypt, my brother, spea[k;]
 02 [thus (says)] the king of Alašiya, your brother:
 03 It is well [with] me. With my household>s<, my wive<s>, my sons,
 04 my magnates, my horses, my chariots, and
 05 within my country, may it be very well. With my brother

06 may it be well. With your households>s<, your wives, your sons, your magnates,
 07 your horses, your chariots, and within your countries,
 08 may it be very well.

EA 37

BME 29790

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 7); KNUDTZON (1915: 290–293); MORAN (1992: 110–111); LIVERANI (1999: 419–420 [LA 310]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 26–30)

Transliteration:

01 *[a-n]a L[UGA]L K[U]R.[mi-iš-ri ŠEŠ]-¹ia²*
 02 *[qf-bf-ma³ um⁴-ma LUGAL K]UR.⁵a⁶-la-si-l[a]*
 03 *[ŠE]Š-ka-ma a-na ia-⁷šf⁸ [šul]-ul-mu*
 04 *[a-]na ŠEŠ-ia lu-ú⁹ šu¹⁰-ul-[m]u*
 05 *a-na É-i-šu a-na¹¹ DAM¹².¹³MEŠ¹⁴-i-šu*
 06 *[a-n]a DUMU-e-šu a-na ANŠE.KUR.RA*
GIŠ.G[IGIR]-šu
 07 *¹⁵ù¹⁶ a-na ñb-bi KUR-i-šu dan-<nš> lu-ú šu-ul-mu*

Translation:

01 [T]o the k[ing] of [Egypt], ¹my² [brother,]
 02 [s]peak; ³thus (says)⁴ [the king of] ⁵A⁶lašiy[a,]
 03 your [broth]er: It is [w]i⁷th m⁸e⁹.
 04 May it be ¹⁰we¹¹l¹² [w]i¹³th my brother.
 05 With his house, with his ¹⁴wives¹⁵,
 06 [w]i¹⁶th his sons<s>, w¹⁷th <his> horses,
 07 his cha[riots<s>],
 08 and within his country, may it be ve<ry> well.

EA 38

VAT 153

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 11); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 14); KNUDTZON (1915: 292–295); MORAN (1992: 111–112); LIVERANI (1999: 420 [LA 311]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 31–34)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na LUGAL-ri KUR.mi-¹š²-ri ŠEŠ-ia qf-bf-³ma⁴*
 02 *um-ma LUGAL-ri KUR.a-la-šf-⁵ia⁶ ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 03 *a-na ia-šf šul-mu ù a-na ka-ša lu-ú šul-⁷mu⁸*
 04 *a-na É-ka NÍTLAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU.MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.⁹MEŠ¹⁰-ka*
 05 *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-na ma-a-du ERÍN.MEŠ-ka*
 06 *KUR.KUR-ka LÚ.MEŠ.GAL.GAL-ka dan-nš¹¹ ¹²lu¹³-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

01 To the king of Egypt, my brother, speak;
 02 thus (says) the king of Alašiya, your brother:
 03 It is well with me and may it be we¹l² with you.
 04 With your household, your chief wives, your sons, your horses,
 05 your chariots, and with your numerous troops,
 06 your countries, your magnates, may it be very well.

EA 39

CG 4748 [SR 4/12206/0]

Literature: KNUDTZON (1915: 294–297); MORAN (1992: 112); LIVERANI (1999: 421 [LA 312]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 35–37)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri [ŠE]Š-ia*
 02 *qf-bf-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king of Egypt, my [broth]er,
 02 speak;

03 *um-ma LUGAL KUR.a-la-šf-ia ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 04 *a-na ia-šf šul-mu*
 05 *ù a-na UGU-ka lu-ú šul-mu*
 06 *a-na É-ka NÍTLAM.MEŠ-ka DUMU-ka*
 07 *DAM.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ma-du*
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 08 *ù i-na KUR.mi-iš-ri KUR-ka*
 09 *ma-gal lu-ú šul-mu*

03 thus (says) the king of Alašiya, your brother:
 04 It is well with me
 05 and may it be well with you.
 06 With your household, your chief wives, your sons<s>,
 07 your wives, your chariots, your many horses,
 08 and in Egypt, your country,
 09 may it be very well.

EA 40

CG 4749 [SR 4/12190/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 13 and 14); KNUDTZON (1915: 296–299); MORAN (1992: 113); LIVERANI (1999: 421–422 [LA 313]); COCHAVI-RAINEY (2003: 38–42)

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na M]AŠKÍM ša KUR.mi-[iš-ri ŠEŠ-ia]*
 02 *qf-bf-[ma]*
 03 *um-m[a MAŠKÍM š]a KUR.a-la-šf-ia ŠEŠ-ka-ma*
 04 *a-na ¹ia²-[šf] šul-mu*
 05 *ù a-na [UGU-ka] lu-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

01 [To the g]overnor of Eg[yp]t, my brother,]
 02 speak[;]
 03 thu[s] (says) [the governor o]f Ala[šiya],
 04 your brother]:
 05 It is well with m[e]
 06 and may it be well [with you].

EA 41

CG 4747 [SR 4/12207/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 18); KNUDTZON (1915: 298–303); MORAN (1992: 114–115); HESS (1993: 78 [l. 2]; 147–148 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1999: 410–411 [LA 302])

Transliteration:

01 *[um-ma D.UTU-šf] M.šu-up-pf-[l]u-l[u-ma LU]GA]L G[AL]*
 02 *[LUGAL KUR.UR]U.D.[l]a-[a]t-tl.KI a-na M.[lu-u-ri-i-l[a]*
 03 *[LUGAL KUR.URU.D.m]š-lš-ri-i.KI ŠEŠ-ia qf-bf-[ma]*

04 *[a-na ia-šf šul-mu a-na maš-ri-ka lu-ú šul-m[u]*
 05 *[a-na DAM.MEŠ-k]a DU[M]U.MEŠ-ka É-ka ERÍN.MEŠ-ka GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-k[a]*
 06 *[ù i-n]a [l]b-bi KUR-ti-ka dan-nš lu-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

01 [Thus (says) the Sun,] Šuppi[l]uliuma, the gr[eat] ki[ng,]
 02 [the king of l]att[;] to l]uriy[a,]
 03 [the king of E]gypt, my brother, speak[;]
 04 [It is w]ell [with me.] May it be wel[l] with you.
 05 [With yo]ur [wives], your so[n]s, your household, your troops, yo[ur] chariots,
 06 [and w]i¹th [hi]n your country, may it be very well.

EA 42

VAT 1655

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 16); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 15); KNUDTZON (1915: 302–305); MORAN (1992: 115–116); LIVERANI (1999: 411 [LA 303])

Transliteration:

01* *lu-¹ú² ³šul⁴-m[u] a-na ER[ÍN].MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka*
 02* *LÚ.MEŠ.G[AL]L-ka a-na ER[ÍN].MEŠ-ka ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka*
 03* *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-ka ù i-n[a ñb-bi KUR-ti-ka lu-ú šul-mu]*

Translation:

01* May it be wel[l] w¹i²th [h]
 02* your mag[n]ates, with [your] tr[o]p[s, your horses,]
 03* your chariots and w¹i²th in your country, may it be well.]

EA 44	
VAT 1656	
Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 29); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 16); KNUDTZON (1915: 306–309); MORAN (1992: 117); HESS (1993: 172 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1999: 412–413 [LA 305])	
Transliteration:	Translation:
01 'a'-na be-lf LUGAL KUR.ʽURUʽ.ʽDʽ.ʽmiʽ-ʽiṣʽ-ʽriʽ-[i]	01 To the master, the king of Egypt[.i]
02 a-bi-ia qf-bf-ʽmaʽ	02 my father, speak;
03 um-ma M.zi-ṽ[a]-a DUMU LUGAL	03 thus (says) Zit[a], the king's son,
04 DUMU-ka-ma	04 your son(:)
05 a-na ma-ḥar be-ʽlfʽ a-bi-ia	05 With the master, my father,
06 ʽgabʽ-ba lu-ū ṣul-mu	06 may everything be well.

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL D].UTU-ši [EN-ia qf-bf-ma]	01 [To the king, the] Sun, [my master, speak;]
02 [um-na M.am-m]i-is-tam-[ri]R-ka]	02 [thus (says) Amm]ištam[ru, your servant(:)]
03 [a-na G]R.MEŠ]-ka 7 [ù 7 am-qu]	03 [At] your [feet,] seven (times) [and seven (times), I fall,]
04 [lu-ú šul-mu a-na] UG[U	04 [May it be well wi]th[
05 {	05 {
06 [ER]N.MEŠ pt-[á-t]i-[ka	06 [your arche]r[s
07 [lu-ú šul-mu	07 [ma]y it be well

Transliteration:		Translation:	
01	[a-na Mf. <i>b)e-li-ti-ia</i>	01	[To <i>]my [m]istress;</i>
02	[un-na Mf. <i>-b)é-bā GEMÉ-ki</i>	02	[thus (says) <i>b)lepa, your maidservant:</i>
03	[a-na GIR.MEŠ <i>be-li-ti-ia am-quit</i>	03	[At the feet of] <i>my [mistress], I fall.</i>
04	[a-na UGU <i>be-li-ti-la lu-ú šul-mu</i>	04	May it be well [with] <i>my [mistress].</i>

Transliteration:		Transliteration:	
01	<i>a-na</i> LUGAL D.UTU- <i>ši</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01	To the king, the Sun, my master;
02	<i>um-ma</i> M. <i>niq-ma</i> -D.IM IR- <i>ka-ma</i>	02	thus (says) Niqmaddu, your servant:
03	<i>a-na</i> GIR.MEŠ LUGAL D.UTU- <i>ši</i> EN- <i>ia am-qut</i>	03	At the feet of the king, the Sun, my master, I fall.
04	<i>lu-ú šul-mu a-na</i> U[G]U LUGAL D.UTU- <i>ši</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	05	May it be well w[ith] the king, the Sun, my master.
05	Ê[.MEŠ-š]u <i>a-na</i> S[AL.ÚŠ]- <i>šu a-na</i> DAM.MEŠ- <i>šu</i>	05	(With) [h]is house[hold>s<], his ch[ief wife], with his wives,
06	<i>a-na</i> ER[IN.M]EŠ p[ā]- <i>ta-ti</i>	06	with [] a[r]chers,
07	<i>a-[m]a</i> D.)UTU- <i>ši</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	07	w[ith] [] the Sun, my master.

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> MÍ.b[<i>f-</i>]	01 To B[<i>i-</i>]
02 MÍ.NIN- <i>ia</i> [<i>qf-bf-ma</i>]	02 my mistress, [speak;]
03 <i>um-ma</i> DUMU.MÍ	03 thus (says) the daughter
04 MÍ.GEMÉ. <i>am-ti-[kī]</i>	04 of [your] maidservant(:)
05 <i>a-na</i> 2 GÌR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> MÍ.NIN- <i>ia</i>	05 At the two feet of my mistress,
06 [7]- <i>šu</i> 7- <i>ta[-a-an]</i>	06 [seven] times (and) seven ti[m]es[,
07 [<i>a</i>] <i>m-qut</i>	07 [I] fall.

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a D.UTU-ši LUGAL *be-lt-ia* LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri
 02 *um-ma* D.IM-ni-ra-ri`lR-ka-ma
 03 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ *be-lt-ia am-qut*

01 (T)o the Sun, the king, my master, the king of Egypt;
02 thus (says) Addunirari, your servant:
03 At the feet of my master, I fall.

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> LUGAL KUR.mi-iš-ri.KI	01 To the klg of Egypt;
02 <i>um-ma</i> M.a-ki-iz-zi'R-ka-ma	02 thus (says) Akizzl, your servant:
03 <i>i-na</i> 7 <i>a-na</i> GÌR b[e-]l <i>i-ia</i>	03 seven (times) at the foot(!) of my m[ast]er,
04 D.IM- <i>ia am-qut</i>	04 my 'Storm-god,' I fall.

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na M.n[am]-[ur-]a DUM[U] D.UTU be-lf-la</i>	01 To N[am]b[urly]a, the so[n] of the Sun, my master;
02 <i>u[m-m]a M.a-k[il]-[z-z]i M.İR-ka-ma</i>	02 [t]hu[s] (says) Ak[il]zz[i], your servant:
03 <i>7-[š]u [7-šu a-n]a UZU.GİR.MEŠ be-lf-la am-qt</i>	03 Seven [t]imes [(and) seven times, a]t the feet of my master, I fall.

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-n]a LUGAL be-lf-ia [qf-bf-ma]	01 [To] the king, my master, [speak;]
02 um-ma M.a-ki-iz-zi'R-k[a-ma]	02 thus (says) Akizzl, yo[ur] servant[:]
03 a-na G)R.MEŠ be-lf-ia [am-qui]	03 At the feet of my master, [I fall.]

EA 55

BME 29819

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 36); KNUDTZON (1915: 332–337); MORAN (1992: 127–128); HESS (1993: 27–28 [l. 2]; 115–116 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 295–296 [LA 268])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.nam-hur-ia DUMU D.UTU be-lt-ia qf-bf-m[a]*
 02 *um-ma M.a-ki-iz-zi* } R-ka-ma
 03 *7 a-na UZU.GIR.MEŠ be-lt-ia am-qut*

Translation:

01 To Namḥuriya, the son of the Sun, my master, speak[;]
 02 thus (says) Akizzi, your servant:
 03 Seven (times,) at the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 58

VAT 1716

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 214); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 26); KNUDTZON (1915: 340–343); MORAN (1992: 129–130); HESS (1993: 183 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 300 [LA 274])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na LUGAL.GA]L EN-ia qf-[bf-ma]*
 02 *[um-ma]ti-hu-ti-šu-pa* } R-ka-ma
 03 *[a-na] GIR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qú-[ut]*

Translation:

01 [To the gre]at [king], my master, sp[ea]k;
 02 [thus (says)] Teḥuteššub, [your] serv[ant];
 03 [At] the feet of my master, I fa[ll].

EA 59

BME 29824

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 41); KNUDTZON (1915: 342–347); MORAN (1992: 130–131); LIVERANI (1998: 299–300 [LA 273])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na LUGAL KUR-tl.ml-iš-ri be-lt-ni*
 02 *um-ma DUMU.MEŠ URU.ti-ni-tp.KI LÚ.MEŠ.İR.MEŠ-ka-ma*
 03 *a-na UGU-ka lu-ú šul-mu*
 04 *ù a-na GIR.MEŠ be-lt-ni-am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king of Egypt, our master;
 02 thus (say) the sons of Tunip, your servants:
 03 May it be well with you
 04 and at the feet of <our> master, we fall.

EA 60

VAT 343

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 97); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 27); KNUDTZON (1915: 346–349); Izre'el (1991: II, 7–9); MORAN (1992: 131–133); HESS (1993: 7–9 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 267–268 [LA 235])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na] M.LUGAL D.UTU_x EN-ia*
 02 *um-ma M.İR-D.aš-ra-tu₄*
 03 *İR-ka₄ ep-ri ša GIR.İL.A-^rka₄*
 04 *a-na GIR.İL.A LUGAL EN-ia*
 05 *7-šu ù 7-šu am-qut*

Translation

01 [To] the king, the Sun, my master;
 02 thus (says) Abdiširta,
 03 your servant, the dust at 'your' feet:
 04 At the feet of the king, my master,
 05 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 61

Ash. 1893.1–41 (410)

Literature: SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXI/III [cuneiform copy]); KNUDTZON (1915: 348–349); Izre'el (1991: II, 9–10); MORAN (1992: 133); HESS (1993: 7–9 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 270 [LA 238])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na M.LUGAL D.UTU EN-ia*
 02 *[um-]ma M.İR-a-ši-ir-te* } R-[ka₄]
 03 *[i]l' ti-i-ir GIR.İL.A-ka₄ UR[.GI]*
 04 *[š]a É LUGAL EN-ia a-n[a*
 05 *[GIR.İL.A LU]G[AL EN-]i[a* [

Translation:

01 [To the ki]ng, the Sun, my master;
 02 [th]us (says) Abdiširta, [your] servant
 03 [and] the earth at your [fee]t, the d[og]
 04 [o]f the house of the king, my master: At
 05 [the feet of the ki]n[g, m]y [master

EA 62

VAT 1680

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 158); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 28); KNUDTZON (1915: 348–353); Izre'el (1991: II, 10–15); MORAN (1992: 133–134); HESS (1993: 7–9 [l. 2]; 121–122 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 269–270 [LA 237])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na M.p]a-ha-n[a]-te be-lt-^ria^r*
 02 *[um-ma] M.İR[-a-ši-ir-te] R-ka-ma*
 03 *[a-na GIR].MEŠ be-lt-ia [am-qut]*

Translation:

01 [To P]aḥan[a]te, 'my' master;
 02 [thus (says)] Ab[di]aširta, [your] ser[vant];
 03 [At the fe]et of my master, [I fall.]

EA 63

BME 29817

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 34; pl. 15 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 352–355); MORAN (1992: 134–135); HESS (1993: 10–12 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 86 [LA 32])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-n]a M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *qf-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma M.ab-dl-aš-ta-<ar>-ti*
 04 *İR M.LUGAL-ri*
 05 *a-na 1 GIR.İL.A M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 06 *7 ù 7 ma-aq-ta-ti a-na GIR.MEŠ M.LUG[AL] E[N-ia a]m-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Abdišartī,
 04 the servant of the king(:)
 05 At one feet of the king, my master,
 06 seven (times) and seven (times), I fall, at the feet of the ki[n]g, my mas[ter, I] fall.

EA 64

BME 29816

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 33; pl. 11 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 354–355); MORAN (1992: 135–136); HESS (1993: 10–12 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 86–87 [LA 33])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *qf-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma M.İR-D.INNIN İR LUGAL-ri*
 04 *a-na 1 GIR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 05 *ma-aq-ti-ti 7 GIR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 06 *ù 7 mi-la an-na*
 07 *ù ka-ba-tu-ma ù šu-uḫ-ru-ma*

Translations:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Abdišartī, the servant of the king(:)
 04 At one feet of the king, my master,
 05 I fall, seven (times), <at> feet of the king, my master
 06 and seven (times), here and now,
 07 and on the belly and on the back.

EA 65

VAT 1685

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 175); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 29); KNUDTZON (1915: 356–357); MORAN (1992: 136); HESS (1993: 10–12 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 87 [LA 34])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na LUGAL-ri]i E[N-ia]*
 02 *[qf-b]f-ma*
 03 *u[m-ma] M.ab-[d]i-D.INNIN Ì[R-ka]*
 04 *a-na 1 GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia 7 ù 7 mi-la*

05 *\ ma-aq-ta-ti ù ka-ba-tu-ma ù šù-uḫ-ru-ma*

EA 68

VAT 1239

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 80); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 32); KNUDTZON (1915: 360–363); MORAN (1992: 137–138); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); RAINEY (1996a: ll, 246 [ll. 4–6]); LIVERANI (1998: 168–169 [LA 132])

Transliteration:

01 *[M.ri]i-ib-ḫa-ad-d[ī]*
 02 *[iq]-bi a-na EN-šu*
 03 *[LUGAL] KUR.KI.ḪI.A LUGAL GAL*
 04 *[D.]NIN ša URU.gu-ub-la*
 05 *ti-id-di-in₄ du-na*
 06 *a-na LUGAL be-li-ia*
 07 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia*
 08 *7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qut*

EA 71

VAT 1632

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 72); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 33); KNUDTZON (1915: 366–369); MORAN (1992: 140–141); HESS (1993: 7–9 [l. 2]; 75–76 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 2]); RAINEY (1996a: l, 148; ll, 246 [ll. 4–6]); LIVERANI (1998: 186–187 [LA 149])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na M.]ḫa-ia pa-sf-t[e]*
 02 *[um-]ma M.ri-ib-D.IM*
 03 *[a]-na GÌR.MEŠ-ka am-qú-[ut]*
 04 *D.a-ma-na DINGIR ša LU[GAL be-li-k]a*
 05 *ti-di-nu TÉŠ-ka i-na*
 06 *pa-ni LUGAL be-li-ka*

EA 73

BME 29798

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 15); KNUDTZON (1915: 370–373); MORAN (1992: 141–142); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 2]); RAINEY (1996a: ll, 246 [ll. 4–6]); LIVERANI (1998: 187–188 [LA 150])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.a-ma-an-ap-pa a-bi-ia*
 02 *um-ma M.ri-ib-ad-da DUMU-ka-ma*
 03 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ a-bi-ia am-qú-ut*
 04 *D.NIN ša URU.gub-la ti-din*
 05 *ba-aš-ta-k[a] i-na pa-ni*
 06 *LUGAL-ri EN-ka*

EA 74

BME 29795

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 12; pl. 20 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 372–377); MORAN (1992: 142–145); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 171–173 [LA 135])

Transliteration:

01 *M.ri-ib-ad-da iq-bi a-na EN-[i-šu]*
 02 *LUGAL KUR.KUR LUGAL GAL LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ar D.[NIN]*
 03 *ša URU.gub-la ti-di-in GA.KALAG a-na [LUGAL]*

Translation:

01 [To the kin]g, [my] mas[ter],
 02 [spe]ak;
 03 t[hus (says)] Ab[d]iašarti, [your] ser[vant(:)]
 04 At one feet of my master, seven (times) and seven (times), here
 05 \ I fall, and on the belly and on the back.

Translation:

01 [Ri]bhadd[ī]
 02 [spe]aks to his master,
 03 [the king] of (all) lands, the great king:
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 05 ensure power
 06 to the king, my master.
 07 At the feet of my master, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

Translation:

01 To Ḫaya, the vizie[r];
 02 [th]us (speaks) Ribhaddi(:)
 03 [A]t your feet, I fall.
 04 (May) Amun, the god of the k[ing], yo[ur] [master]
 05 ensure your honour in
 06 the presence of the king, your master.

Translation:

01 To Amanappa, my father(:)
 02 thus (says) Ribhaddi, your son:
 03 At the feet of my father, I fall.
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla ensure
 05 your honour in the presence
 06 of the king, your master.

04 EN-ia a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-li-ia D.UTU-ia
 05 7-šu 7-a-an am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 Ribaddi speaks to [his] maste[r],
 02 the king of (all) lands, the great king, the king of the battle(:) (May) the [Lady]
 03 of Gubla ensure power to [the king],
 04 my master. At the feet of my master, my Sun,
 05 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 75

CG 4757 [SR 4/12191/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 79); KNUDTZON (1915: 376–381); MORAN (1992: 145–146); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 173–174 [LA 136])

Transliteration:

01 *[M.ri]i-ib-[a]-[d-d]a [iq-bi]*
 02 *[a]-na EN-[š]u L[UGAL KUR.KUR LUGAL GAL]*
 03 *D.NIN ša U[RU.gub-la]*
 04 *ti-din KALAG.GA a-na LUGAL EN-ia*
 05 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia D.[UTU-ia]*
 06 *[7]-š[u] 7-a-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [Ri]b[ha]dd[ī] [speaks]
 02 [t]o [hi]s master, the k[ing] of (all) lands,
 the great king(:)
 03 (May) the Lady of [Gubla]
 04 ensure power t[o the king, my master.]
 05 At the feet of my master, [my Sun,]
 06 [seven] tim(es and) seven times, I fall.

EA 76

VAT 324

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 74); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 35); KNUDTZON (1915: 380–383); MORAN (1992: 146–147); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 188–189 [LA 151])

Transliteration:

01 *[M.ri-ib-D.IM iq-bi a-n[a] <EN-šu>*
 02 *[L]UGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ LUGAL-ri GAL*
 03 *LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ra D.NIN ša*
 04 *URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄ KALAG.GA*
 05 *a-na LUGAL-ri be-li-ia a-na GÌR.MEŠ*
 06 *EN-ia D.UTU-ia 7-šu 7-a-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi speaks t[o] <his master,>
 02 [the k]ing of (all) lands, the great king,
 03 the king of the battle(:) (May) the Lady of
 04 Gubla ensure power
 05 to the king, my master. At the feet
 06 of my master, my Sun, seven times (and)
 seven times, I fall.

EA 77

VAT 1635 + VAT 1700

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 81); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 36); KNUDTZON (1915: 382–387); MORAN (1992: 147–148); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 174–175 [LA 137])

Transliteration:

01 *[a]-na M.[a-m]a-[an-ap-pa qf-bf-ma]*
 02 *um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM a-na GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 03 *am-qú-ut D.[a-ma-na DINGIR ša LUGAL]*
 04 *EN-ka ù D.[NIN ša URU.g]ub-ub-[ḫa]*
 05 *ti-di-<nu>-mi T[ÉŠ-ka] i-na*
 06 *pa-ni LUGAL EN-[ka]*

Translation:

01 [T]o [Am]a[nappa, speak;]
 02 thus (says) Ri[bhaddi(:)] At your feet,
 03 I fall. (May) [Amun, the god of the king,]
 04 your master and [the Lady of G]ub[ḫa]
 05 ensure [your] ho[nour] in the
 06 presence of the king, [your] master.

EA 78

VAT 1282

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 84); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 37); KNUDTZON (1915: 386–389); MORAN (1992: 148–149); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 175–176 [LA 138])

Transliteration:

01 *[M.ri-ib]-D.IM iq-b[ī]*
 02 *[a-na E]N-šu LUGAL KUR.KUR.ḪI.A.K[II]*

Translation:

01 [Rib]addi speaks
 02 [to] his [mas]ter, the king of (all) lands,

03 [LUGAL.GA]L D.NIN ša URU.[gub-la]
 04 [ti-di]i-in₄ GA.KALAG a-na [LUGAL]
 05 [be-ḥi-ia a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-[ia]
 06 [D.]UTU-la 7-šu 7-a-an am-[qú-ut]

EA 79

VAT 1634

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 75); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 38); KNUDTZON (1915: 388–393); MORAN (1992: 149–150); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 176–177 [LA 139])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ḥi]b-D.IM iq-bi
 02 [a-na E]N-šu LUGAL KUR.KUR.ḪI.A.K[II]
 03 [LUGAL ta]-am-ḥa-ra D.NIN
 04 [ša] URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄
 05 [KALAG.G]A a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia
 06 [a-na] GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 07 7-šu 7-a-an am-qú-ut

03 [the gre]at [king](:) (May) the Lady of [Gubla]
 04 [gi]ve power to the [king,]
 05 my [mast]er. At the feet of [my] master,
 06 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times, I fa[ll].

Translation:

01 [Ri]bhaddi speaks
 02 [to] his [inas]ter, the king of (all) lands,
 03 [the king of the b]attle(:) (May) the Lady
 04 [of] Gubla ensure
 05 [powe]r to the king, my master.
 06 [At] the feet of my master, my Sun,
 07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 81

VAT 1318

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 89); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 40); KNUDTZON (1915: 392–397); MORAN (1992: 150–151); LIVERANI (1998: 177–178 [LA 140])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ib-D.IM iq-b]i a-na EN-[šu]
 02 [LUGAL KUR.KI.MEŠ LUGAL GAL LU]GAL
 03 [D.NIN ša URU.gub-la] ti-di-in₄ KAL[AG.G]A
 04 [a-na LUGAL-ri]i [EN-ia a-na GÌR.MEŠ E]N-ia
 05 [D.UTU-]i la 7-šu 7-a-an a[m-q]ú-ut

Translation:

01 [Ribhaddi speak]s to [his] master,
 02 [the king of (all) lands, the great king, the ki]ng
 03 of the battl[e](:)
 04 [(May) the Lady of Gubla] e[n]sure pow[er]
 05 [to the kin]g, [my master. At the feet of] my [mas]ter,
 06 my [Sun], seven times (and) seven times, I fa[ll].

EA 82

BME 37648

Literature: SCHEIL (1892: 306); KNUDTZON (1915: 396–401); ALBRIGHT – MORAN (1948: 241–242); MORAN (1992: 152–153); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 178–179 [LA 141])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.a-[ma]-an-ap-pa a-bi-ia
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM DUMU-ka-ma
 04 a-na GÌR.MEŠ a-bi-ia am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 To A[ma]nappa, my father,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Ribhaddi, your son:
 04 At the feet of my father, I fall.

EA 83

BME 29797

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 14; pl. 13 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 400–403); MORAN (1992: 153–154); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 189–190 [LA 152])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ib-D.IM ḥi]q-bi a-[na]
 02 [EN-š]i LUGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ LUGAL GAL
 03 [D.N]IN ša URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄
 04 [KALAG.G]A a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia
 05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 06 7-šu 7-ta-an am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [Ri]b[haddi] speaks t[o]
 02 [hi]s [master,] the king of (all) lands, the great king(:)
 03 [(May) the L]ady of Gubla ensure
 04 [powe]r to the king, my master.
 05 At the feet of my master, my Sun,
 06 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 84

VAT 1633

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 73); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 41); KNUDTZON (1915: 402–407); MORAN (1992: 154–156); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 190–191 [LA 153])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL BE-ia D.UTU KUR.KI.DIDLI.ḪI.A
 02 [q]f-bf-ma
 03 [u]m-ma ri-ib-ad-di ḥi-ka-m[a]
 04 [GI]Š.GÌR.GUB GÌR.MEŠ-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ D.UTU
 05 BE-ia 8-it-šu ù 7-ta-a-an
 06 am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master, the Sun of (all) lands,
 02 [s]peak;
 03 [t]hus (says) Ribhaddi, your servant>:<
 04 [f]ootstool of your feet(:) At the feet of the Sun,
 05 my master, eight (!)times and seven times,
 06 I fall.

EA 85

VAT 1626

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 48); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 42); KNUDTZON (1915: 406–413); MORAN (1992: 156–158); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 191–193 [LA 154])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL-ri] EN-ia D.UTU q[ḥi-b]f-ma
 02 [um-ma M.ri-ḥi]b-D.IM ḥi-ka-ma a-na G[ÌR.MEŠ]
 03 [EN-ia] D.UTU 7-šu 7-ta-an am-[qu]
 04 [D.NIN] ša URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄
 05 [KALAG.G]A a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia

Translation:

01 [To the king,] my master, the Sun, s[p]e[ak];
 02 [thus (says) Ri]bhaddi, your servant: At the f[ee]t
 03 [of my master,] the Sun, seven times (and) seven
 04 times I fa[ll].
 04 [(May) the Lady] of Gubla ensure
 05 [powe]r to the king, my master.

EA 86

BME 29805

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 21); KNUDTZON (1915: 412–415); MORAN (1992: 158–159); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 193–194 [LA 155])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.]a-ma-a[n-ap-pa qf-bf-ma]
 02 um-ma M.ri-ib-D.[IM a-na GÌR.MEŠ-ka]
 03 am-qú-ut D.a-ma-n[a DINGIR ša LUGAL]
 04 EN-ka ti-di-nu TÊŠ-k[a a-na pa-ni]
 05 LUGAL-ri EN-ka

Translation:

01 [To] Ama[nappa, speak];
 02 thus (says) Rib[haddi:] At your feet,
 03 I fall. (May) Amu[n, the god of the king,]
 04 your master, ensure yo[ur] honour [in the presence]
 05 of the king, your master.

EA 87

BME 29804

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 22; pl. 6 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 414–417); MORAN (1992: 159–160); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 181 [LA 143])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.]a-ma-an-ap-p[af] B[E-ia]
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma ri-ib-D.IM ḥi-ka-ma
 04 a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia am-qú-ut
 05 D.a-ma-na ù D.NIN
 06 ša URU.gub-la ti-di-nu
 07 TÊŠ-ka a-na pa-ni LUGAL BE-ia

Translation:

01 [To] Amanappa, [my] mas[ter,]
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Ribhaddi, your servant:
 04 At the feet of my master, I fall.
 05 (May) Amun and the Lady
 06 of Gubla ensure
 07 your honour in the presence of the king, my master.

EA 88

BME 29800

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 17); KNUDTZON (1915: 418–421); MORAN (1992: 160–162); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 179–180 [LA 142])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ḥi]b-[D.]I[M] iq-b[i a-na BE-šu]
 02 [LUGAL KU]R.miš-ri LUGAL KUR.[KI.ḪI.A LUGAL GAL]
 03 [7]-it-<š> 7-ta-a-an a-[na GÌR.MEŠ BE-ia]
 04 D.UTU-la am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [Ri]b[ha]d[di] spe[ak]s to his master,]

- 02 [the king of] Egypt, the king of (all) l[ands, the great king(:)]
 03 [Seven] tim<es> (and) seven times, a[t the feet of my master,]
 04 my Sun, I fall.

EA 89

VAT 1627

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 49); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 43); KNUDTZON (1915: 420–425); ALBRIGHT – MORAN (1950: 164–165); MORAN (1992: 162–163); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 181–183 [LA 144])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [M. <i>ri-ib</i>]-D.IM <i>iq-bi</i> a-na	01 [Rib]haddi spea[ks to]
02 [EN- <i>šu</i> LU]GAL KUR.MEŠ LUGAL G[AL]	02 [his master, the ki]ng of (all) lands, the gre[at] king(:)
03 [D.NIN <i>ša</i> URU. <i>gub-l</i> a ti-din]	03 [(May) the Lady o]f Gubl[a ensure]
04 [KALAG.GA a-]na LUGAL-ri EN-[ia]	04 [power t]o the king, [my] master.
05 [a-na G]R.MEŠ EN-ia D.U[TU- <i>il</i> a	05 [At the fee]t of my master, [m]y S[un],
06 [7- <i>šu</i> 7-]ta-an am-q[ū]-ut	06 [seven times (and) seven] times, I fa[ll].

EA 90

VAT 1661

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 53); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 44); KNUDTZON (1915: 424–429); MORAN (1992: 163–164); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 195–196 [LA 157])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] LUGAL EN-ia D.UTU-ia	01 [To] the king, my master, [my Sun,]
02 [q]f-bf-[ma]	02 [s]peak[;]
03 um-ma M. <i>ri-ib</i> -D.IM [R-ka-ma]	03 thus (says) Ribhaddi, [your] serv[ant:]
04 a-na G]R.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-[ia 7- <i>šu</i> 7-a-an]	04 At the feet of my master, [my] Sun, [seven times (and) seven times,]
05 am-qū-ut	05 I fall.

EA 91

VAT 931

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 56); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 45); KNUDTZON (1915: 428–433); MORAN (1992: 164–165); LIVERANI (1998: 196–197 [LA 158])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [M. <i>ri-ib</i> -D.IM <i>iq-bi</i> a-na] EN- <i>ša</i> u a-na G]R.MEŠ	01 [Ribhaddi speaks to] hi[s] master(:) [At the feet]
02 [EN-ia 7- <i>šu</i> 7- <i>il</i> a-a]n a[m-q]ū-ut	02 [of my master, seven times (and) seven t]ime[s, I f[a]ll].

EA 92

VAT 868

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 50); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 46); KNUDTZON (1915: 432–437); MORAN (1992: 166–167); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 183–184 [LA 145])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [M.] <i>il</i> - <i>il</i> b-ad-di iq-bi	01 R[i]bhaddi speaks
02 a-na L[U]GAL be-l _i - <i>šu</i> D.UTU KU[R.KI.ḪI.A]	02 to the king, his master, the Sun of (all) la[nds(:)]
03 a-na G]R.MEŠ LUGAL BE-ia D.UTU-ia	03 At the [fee]t of the king, my master, my Sun,
04 7- <i>šu</i> 7-ta-a-an am-qū-ut	04 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.
05 D.NIN [ša] URU. <i>gu-ul</i> b-la <i>il</i> -d[in]	05 (May) the Lady [o]f Gu[bla e]ns[ure]
06 [G]A.KALA[G] a-na L[U]G[AL E]N- <i>il</i> a D.[UT]U- <i>il</i> a	06 [p]owe[r] to the k[i]n[g] m[y mas]ter, [m]y [Su]n.

EA 93

VAT 1663

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 55); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 47); KNUDTZON (1915: 436–437); MORAN (1992: 167); HESS (1993: 28 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 184 [LA 146])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na M. <i>a-m</i>]a-an-ap-pa	01 [To Am]anappa(:)
02 [um-ma M. <i>il</i> -ib-D.IM	02 [thus (says) R]ibhaddi(:)
03 [a-na G]R.MEŠ-ka am-qū-ut	03 [At] your [f]eet, I fall.

EA 94

CG 4756 [SR 4/12225/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 78); KNUDTZON (1915: 436–441); MORAN (1992: 168); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 198–199 [LA 160])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [M. <i>il</i> - <i>il</i> b]-a[d-d]i [ilš- <i>il</i> a-[pā]r a-na [L]UGAL [KU]R.[KUR.KI]	
02 [L]Ū.[R] LU[GAL] be- <i>il</i> f-ia a-na-ku	
03 a-[na] G]R.MEŠ be- <i>il</i> f- <i>il</i> a 7 ù 7 a[m]-qut	

Translation:
01 [R]i[b]ha[ddi] [w]r[i]t[es] to the [k]ing of (all) [l]a[nds(:)]
02 [l]a[m] the ser[vant] of the ki[ng, my] ma[s]ter.
03 A[t] the feet of [m]y mast[er], seven (times) and seven (times), I [f]all.

EA 95

VAT 1668

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 70); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 48); KNUDTZON (1915: 440–443); MORAN (1992: 169); RAINEY (1996a: II, 246 [ll. 3–6]); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 194–195 [LA 156])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LŪ].GAL qf-bf-ma	01 [To the ma]gnate, speak;
02 [u]m-ma M. <i>ri-ib</i> -D.IM a-na G]R.MEŠ-ka	02 [t]hus (says) Ribhaddi(:) At [your] f[leet,]
03 [a]m-[q]ū-ut D.a-ma-na >ù<	03 [l]a[ll]. (May) Amun >and<
04 ù D.NIN ša URU. <i>gub-la</i>	04 and the Lady of Gubla
05 ti-di-nuTÊŠ-ka a-na pa-ni	05 ensure your honour in the presence of
06 LUGAL-ri EN-li-ka-ma	06 the king, your master.

EA 96

VAT 1238

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 82); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 49); KNUDTZON (1915: 442–445); YOUNGBLOOD (1962); MORAN (1992: 170); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); RAINEY (1996a: I, 147 [ll. 5–6]; III, 178 [ll. 3–4]); LIVERANI (1998: 186 [LA 148])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a]-na M. <i>ri-ib</i> -D.IM	01 To Ribhaddi,
02 [DU]MU-ia qf-bf-ma	02 my [s]on, speak;
03 um-ma M.LŪ.GAL ER[N.MEŠ A]D-ka-ma	03 thus (says) the commander of the troop[s,] your [fa]ther:
04 >a-bi-ka< DINGIR.MEŠ]-nu	04 >your father< /May/ the gods
05 šu-lum-ka šu- <i>il</i> u]m Ê-ka	05 /ask after/ your well-being (and) the well-being of your household.
06 li-iš-al	06

EA 97

VAT 1598

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 183); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 50); KNUDTZON (1915: 444–447); MORAN (1992: 170–171); HESS (1993: 85–86 [l. 2]; 145–146 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 242 [LA 196])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a]-na M. <i>šu-mu</i> -ḫa-d[il]	01 [T]o Šumuhaddi(:)
02 [u]m-ma M. <i>ia-ap-pa-a</i> [ḫ]-D.IM	02 [t]hus (says) Yapa[ḫ]adda(:)
03 [DINGIR.M]EŠ šu-lum-ka li-[i]š-a[l	03 May the [god]s a[s]k after your well-being.

EA 98

VAT 1675

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 128); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 51); KNUDTZON (1915: 446–449); MORAN (1992: 171); HESS (1993: 82–84 [l. 1]; 85–86 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 242 [LA 197])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a M.ia-an-ḫa-mi

02 [qf]-bī-ma M um-ma M.ia-pa-[a]ḫ-D.IM

Translation:

01 [T]o Yanḫamu,

02 [sp]eak; thus (says) Yapaḫhadda(=)

EA 99

CG 4742 [SR 4/12196/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 202); KNUDTZON (1915: 448–451); MORAN (1992: 171–172); LIVERANI (1998: 243 [LA 198])

Transliteration:

01* [a-na] ma a[

02* [LÚ KU]R.[a]m-m[ī]-ia [

03* [q]f-bī-ma um-ma

04* LUGAL-ma a-nu-u[m-m]a

05* ṭup-pa an[-n]a-a uʾš-tʾe-bi-la-ku,

06* qā-bé-e [a-n]a k[a]-a-ša

Translation:

01* [To

02* [ruler of A]mm[i]ya[

03* [s]peak; thus (says)

04* the king; /I am/ herew[il]th

05* sending this tablet to you,

06* saying [t]o y[o]u.

EA 100

BME 29825

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 42; pl. 4 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 450–453); MORAN (1992: 172–173); ZEWI (1995: 674 [ll. 1–2]); LIVERANI (1998: 243–244 [LA 199])

Transliteration:

01 ṭup-pī an-nu-ú ṭup-pī

02 URU.īr-qa-ta a-na LUGAL-ri

03 EN-nu um-ma URU.īr-qa-ta

04 ù LÚ.MEŠ.šī-<bu>-tī-šī

05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-nu

06 7-šu 7-ta-an nī-am-qū-ut

07 a-na EN-nu D.UTU um-ma

08 URU.īr-qa-ta

Translation:

01 This tablet is the tablet

02 of Irqata. To the king,

03 our master(=) thus (say) Irqata

04 and its el<de>rs(=)

05 At the feet of the king, our master,

06 seven times (and) seven times, we fall.

07 To our master, the Sun; thus (says)

08 Irqata(=)

EA 102

BME 29806

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 23); KNUDTZON (1915: 454–459); MORAN (1992: 175–176); HESS (1993: 82 [l. 1]; 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 200 [LA 161])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.ia-an-ḫa]-m[i

02 [qf]-bī-ma

03 um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM

04 a-na GÌR.MEŠ-ka am-qū-ut

05 D.NIN ša URU.gub-la

06 DINGIR LUGAL EN-la li-din

07 TĒŠ.BA-ka a-na pa-ni LUGAL be-li-ku

Translation:

01 [To Yanḫa]m[u

02 [s]peak;

03 thus (says) Ribhaddi(=)

04 At your feet, I fall.

05 /May/ the Lady of Gubla,

06 the god(=) of the king, my master, ensure

07 your honour in the presence of the king, your

master,

08 the Sun of (all) lands.

EA 103

VAT 1208

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 77); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 52); KNUDTZON (1915: 458–461); MORAN (1992: 176); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 200–201 [LA 162])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a LUGAL-ri EN-ia

02 D.UTU -ia um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM

03 ÌR-ka-ma a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia

04 D.UTU -ia 7-šu 7-ta-an

05 am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master,

02 my Sun; thus (says) Ribhaddi,

03 your servant: At the feet of my master,

04 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times,

05 I fall.

EA 104

CG 4751 [SR 4/12211/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 60); KNUDTZON (1915: 460–465); MORAN (1992: 177–178); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 201–202 [LA 163])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-la D.UTU -ia

02 qī-bī-ma

03 um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM ÌR-ka-ma

04 a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU -la

05 7-šu 7-ta-an am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my Sun,

02 speak;

03 thus (says) Ribhaddi, your servant:

04 At the feet of my father, my Sun,

05 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 105

VAT 1628

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 51); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 53); KNUDTZON (1915: 464–471); MORAN (1992: 178–179); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 202–203 [LA 164])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri]i-ib-D.IM iq-bī a-na EN-[šu]

02 LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ LUGAL ta-am-ḫ[a-ra]

03 D.NIN ša URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄ K[ALAG.GA]

04 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia

05 D.UTU -ia 7-šu 7-ta-an am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 [R]ibhaddi speak to [his] master,

02 the great king, the king of (all) lands, the king of the batt[le(=)]

03 (May) the Lady of Gubla ensure p[ower]

04 to the king, my master: At the feet of my master,

05 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 106

VAT 344

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 43); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 54); KNUDTZON (1915: 470–473); MORAN (1992: 179–180); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 208–209 [LA 169])

Transliteration:

01 M.ri-ib-D.IM iq-bī a-na BE-šu]

02 LUGAL-ri KUR.KI.ḪI.A a-na GÌR.MEŠ (BE-la LUGAL-ri]

03 7-šu ù 7-ta-an am-[qū-ut]

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi speaks t[o his master,]

02 the king of (all) lands(=) At the feet [of my master, the kin]g,

03 seven times and seven times, I f[all.]

EA 107

VAT 346

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 41); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 55); KNUDTZON (1915: 472–477); MORAN (1992: 180–181); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 209–210 [LA 170])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]ri-ib-D.IM [i]q-b[i]
 02 a-na EN-li LUGAL KUR.KUR.KI.MEŠ
 03 LUGAL GAL LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ra
 04 D.NIN ša URU.gub-la
 05 ti-di-in₄ GA.KALAG a-na LUGAL
 06 EN-ia a-na ĠR.MEŠ EN-ia
 07 D.UTU-ia 7-šu 7-ta-an
 08 am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi [s]pea[ks]
 02 to the master, the king of (all) lands,
 03 the great king, the king of the battle(:)
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 05 ensure power to the king,
 06 my master. At the feet of my master,
 07 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times,
 08 I fall.

EA 108

VAT 345

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 42); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 56); KNUDTZON (1915: 476–481); MORAN (1992: 181–182); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 210–212 [LA 171])

Transliteration:

01 M.ri-ib-D.IM iš-ta-pár
 02 a-na M.EN-šu LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ.KI
 03 LUGAL GAL LUGAL ta-am-ḫa-ra
 04 D.NIN ša URU.gub-la ti-di-in₄
 05 KALAG.GA a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia
 06 a-na ĠR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 07 7-šu 7-ta-an am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi writes
 02 to his master, the king of (all) lands,
 03 the great king, king of the battle(:)
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla ensure
 05 power to the king, my master.
 06 At the feet of my master, my Sun,
 07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 109

VAT 1629

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 52); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 57); KNUDTZON (1915: 480–485); MORAN (1992: 183–184); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 212–213 [LA 172])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]i-ib-D.IM [i]q-b[i] a-na EN-šu
 02 LUGAL KUR.MEŠ LUGAL [GAL] D.NIN ša URU.gub-la
 03 ti-di-in₄ KALAG.GA a-na LUGAL EN-ia
 04 a-na ĠR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia 7-šu
 05 [7]-ta-an am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [R]ibhaddi [speaks] to his master,
 02 the king of (all) lands, the [great] king(:) (May) the Lady of Gubla
 03 ensure power to the king, my master.
 04 At the feet of my master, my Sun, seven times
 05 (and) [seven] times, I fall.

EA 110

VAT 1666

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 64 a, e, b, c); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 58); KNUDTZON (1915: 484–489); MORAN (1992: 185); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL EN-ia] D.UTU-ia
 02 [qf-bf-ma] um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM
 03 [R-ka D.NIN] ša-a URU.[gub-la]
 04 [ti-di-in₄ KALA]G.GA a-na LU[GAL EN-ia]
 05 [D.UTU-ia a]-na ĠR.MEŠ-ia
 06 [D.UTU-ia 7-]šu 7-ta-an a[m-qut]

Translation:

01 [To the king, m]y [master, my Sun,]
 02 [speak;] thus (says) R[ibhaddi,]
 03 [your servant(:) (May) the Lady] of [Gubla]
 04 [ensure po]wer to the k[ing, my master,]
 05 [my Sun. A]t my feet,
 06 [my Sun, seven] times (and) seven times, I f[all.]

EA 112

VAT 1664

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 57); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 61); KNUDTZON (1915: 490–493); MORAN (1992: 186–187); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 213–214 [LA 173])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]ri-ib-D.IM iš-ta-par
 02 [a]-na EN-li-[š]u LUGAL KUR.MEŠ
 03 [L]UGAL GAL D.NIN ša [URU.gub-la]
 04 [i]i-di-in₄ KALAG.GA a-na [LUGAL]
 05 [E]N-ia a-na ĠR.MEŠ EN-[ia]
 06 [D].UTU-ia 7-šu 7-ta-an
 07 [a]m-qú-ut

Translation:

01 Rib[haddi writes]
 02 [t]o [h]is master, the k[ing of (all) lands,]
 03 the great [k]ing(:) (May) the Lady of [Gubla]
 04 [e]nsure power to [the king,]
 05 my [mas]ter. At the feet of [my] master,
 06 m[an] Sun, seven times (and) seven times,
 07 [I] fall.

EA 114

BME 29796

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 13); KNUDTZON (1915: 496–501); MORAN (1992: 188–190); LIVERANI (1998: 218–220 [LA 178])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ib-D.IM iš-ta-par] a-na EN-[š]u
 02 [LUGAL KUR.MEŠ LUGAL GAL LUGAL i]a-am-ḫa-a[r]
 03 D.NI[N š]a [UR]U.[gub-la ti-di-in₄
 04 KALAG.GA a-na LUGAL EN-ia a-na ĠR.MEŠ
 05 EN-ia D.UTU-ia 7-šu 7-ta-an
 06 am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [Ribhaddi writes] to [his] master,
 02 [the king of (all) lands, the great king, the king of the battle(:)]
 03 (May) the Lad[y of] [Gu]bla ensure
 04 power to the king, my master. At the feet
 05 of my master, my Sun, seven times (and) seven times,
 06 I fall.

EA 116

CG 4752 [SR 4/12199/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 61); KNUDTZON (1915: 502–507); MORAN (1992: 191–193); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 220–221 [LA 179])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ib-D.]M iš-ta-pár a-n[a]
 02 [M.EN-šu LUG]AL GAL LUGAL KUR.MEŠ LUGAL
 03 [ta]-am-ḫa-ar D.NIN ša URU.gub-[la]
 04 [ti]-di-in₄ KALAG.GA a-na LUGAL-[r]i
 05 [EN]-ia a-na ĠR.MEŠ EN-[i]a D.UTU
 06 [7-š]u 7-ta-an am-qú-ut

Translation:

01 [Ribha]ddi writes t[o]
 02 [his master, the] great [ki]ng, the king of (all) lands, the king of
 03 [the battle(:) (May) the Lady of Gub]la
 04 [en]sure power to the k[ing,]
 05 my [master.] At the feet of [m]y master, the Sun,
 06 [seven times (and) seven times, I fall.]

EA 117

VAT 350

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 45); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 62); KNUDTZON (1915: 506–513); MORAN (1992: 193–195); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 221–223 [LA 180])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]ri-ib-D.IM [iš-ta-par a-na EN-š]u
 02 [LUGAL]-ri GAL LUGAL [ta-am-ḫa-ra]

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi [writes to his master,]
 02 the great [kin]g, the king of [the battle(:)]

03 [D].NIN *ša* URU.*gub-la ti-di-in₄*
 04 [KALAG.]GA *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* [D.UTU-*i*]*a*
 05 [7]-*šu* 7-*ta-an am-qú-ut*

03 (May) the Lady of G[ubl]a en[sure]
 04 [pow]er to the king, my master, [m]y [Sun,]
 05 [seven] times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 118

BME 29808 + VAT 1662

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 25); WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 54); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 63); KNUDTZON (1915: 512–517); MORAN (1992: 195–196); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 223–224 [LA 181])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
 02 D.UTU *qí-bí-ma*
 03 *um-ma* M.*ri-ib*-D.IM *ìr-ka-ma*
 04 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ EN-*ia* D.UTU
 05 7-*šu* 7-*ta-an am-qú-ut*
 06 D.NIN *ša* URU.*gub-la*
 07 *ti-di-in₄* KALAG.GA *a-na* LUGAL
 08 EN-*ia*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 the Sun, speak;
 03 thus (says) Ribhaddi, your servant:
 04 At the feet of my master, the Sun,
 05 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.
 06 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 07 ensure power to the king,
 08 my master.

EA 119

VAT 349

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 44); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 64); KNUDTZON (1915: 516–519); MORAN (1992: 197–198); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 224–225 [LA 182])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]*ri-ib*-D.IM [*iš*-(*ta-pár*)
 02 [*a*]-*na* EN-*šu* LUGAL-*ri*.GA[L]
 03 LUGAL *ta-am-ḫa-<ra>* D.NIN *š[a]*
 04 URU.*gub-la ti-di-in₄* KALAG.[GA]
 05 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
 06 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ EN-*ia* D.UTU-*la*
 07 7-*šu* 7-*ta-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi [w]r[ites]
 02 [t]o his master, the gre[at] king,
 03 the king of the batt[le]>(:) (May) the Lady o[f]
 04 Gubla ensure pow[er]
 05 to the king, my master.
 06 At the feet of my master, my Sun,
 07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 121

VAT 1665

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 59); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 66); KNUDTZON (1915: 522–527); MORAN (1992: 200–201); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 214–215 [LA 174])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]*ri-ib*-D.IM [*iš-tap-p*]*ár a-[na]*
 02 EN-*šu* LUGAL KUR.MEŠ LUGAL GAL
 03 D.NIN *ša* URU.*gub-la*
 04 *ti-di-in₄* KALAG.GA *a-na* LUGAL-*ri*
 05 EN-*ia a-na* GÌR.MEŠ EN-*ia*
 06 D.UTU-*la* 7-*šu* 7-*ta-an*
 07 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi w[rite]s t[o]
 02 his master, the king of (all) lands, the great king(:)
 03 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 04 ensure power to the king,
 05 my master. At the fe[e]t of my master,
 06 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times,
 07 I fall.

EA 122

VAT 1625

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 47); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 67); KNUDTZON (1915: 526–529); MORAN (1992: 201–202); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 216–217 [LA 176])

Transliteration:

01 [M.]*ri-ib*-D.IM *iš-tap-p*[*ár*]
 02 [*a*]-*na* EN-*šu* LUGAL KUR.KI LUG[AL.G]A[L]
 03 LUGAL *ta-am-ḫa-ar*
 04 D.NIN *ša* URU.*gub-la*
 05 *ti-di-in₄* KALAG.GA *a-na*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi writ[es]
 02 [t]o his master, the king of (all) land>s<,
 (the g[re]at] ki[ng,]
 03 the king of the battle(:)
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 05 ensure power to

06 LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia a-na*
 07 GÌR.MEŠ EN-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 08 7-*šu* 7-*ta-an am-qú-ut*

06 the king, my master. At
 07 the feet of my master, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 123

BME 29803

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 20); KNUDTZON (1915: 528–533); MORAN (1992: 202); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 215–216 [LA 175])

Transliteration:

01 M.*ri-ib*-D.IM *iš-ta-pár*
 02 *a-na* EN-*šu* LUGAL-*ri* GAL
 03 LUGAL-*ri* KUR.KUR.KI LUGAL-*ri*
 04 *ta-am-ḫa-[a]r* D.NIN
 05 *ša* URU.*gub-la ti-di-in₄*
 06 KALAG.GA *a-na* LUGAL-*ri*
 07 EN-*ia a-na* GÌR.MEŠ
 08 EN-*ia* D.UTU 7-*šu*
 09 7-*ta-an am-<qú-ut>*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi writes
 02 to his master, the great king,
 03 the king of (all) lands, the king of
 04 the batt[le]e(:) (May) the Lady
 05 of Gubla ensure
 06 power to the king,
 07 my master. At the feet
 08 of my master, the Sun, seven times (and)
 09 seven times I f<all.>

EA 124

CG 4755 [SR 4/12188/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 62, 64 d and 65); KNUDTZON (1915: 532–537); MORAN (1992: 203–204); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 203–204 [LA 165])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LUG]AL-*ri* EN-*la* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 [*um-m*]*a* M.*ri-ib*-D.IM *ìr-ka-ma*
 03 [D.NI]N *ša-a* URU.*gu[b-la ti-di-in₄*
 04 [KALAG.]GA *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*la a-na*
 05 [GÌR].MEŠ EN-*la* D.UTU-*ia* [7-*šu*]
 06 [7]-*ta-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To the ki]ng, [m]y master, [my Sun;]
 02 [thu]s (says) Ribhaddi, [your] serv[ant]:
 03 (May) [the Lad]y of Gu[b]la ensure
 04 [pow]er to the king, [my] master. [At]
 05 [the fe]et of my master, my Sun, [seven t]imes (and)
 06 [seven] times, I fall.

EA 125

BME 29802

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 19; pl. 10 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 536–539); MORAN (1992: 204–205); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 226–227 [LA 184])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* E[N-*ia*]
 02 *um-ma* M.*ri-ib*-D.I[M] *ìr-ka-ma*
 03 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ EN-*ia* D.U[TU]-*ia*
 04 7-*šu* 7-*ta-a-an am-qú-ut*
 05 D.NIN *ša-a* URU.*gub-la*
 06 *ti-di-in₄* GA.KALAG *a-na*
 07 LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*

Translation:

01 To the king, [my] mas[ter];
 02 thus (says) Ribhad[di, your] ser[vant]:
 03 At the feet of my master, my S[un],
 04 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.
 05 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 06 ensure powere to
 07 the king, my master.

EA 126

VAT 1183

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 76); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 68); KNUDTZON (1915: 538–543); MORAN (1992: 205–207); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 227–228 [LA 185])

Transliteration:

01 M.*ri-ib*-*id-di qí-bí-[m]*
 02 *a-na* LUGAL *be-li-la a-na* KI.TA
 03 GÌR.MEŠ BE-*ia* 7 u 7 *am-qut-ut*

Translation:

01 Ribhaddi, speak[;]
 02 to the king, my master(:) Beneath
 03 the feet of my master, seven (times) and seven
 (times), I fall.

EA 129

VAT 1637 + VAT 1638

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 86 and 87); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 70); KNUDTZON (1915: 546–553); MORAN (1992: 209–211); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 231–232 [LA 190])

Transliteration:

01 [M.ri-ib]-ad-d[i qf-bf-ma/mi]
 02 [a-n]a [LUG]AL be-[li-i-ia a-na KI.TA]
 03 [G]IR.MEŠ 7 ù 7 [am-qut-ut]

Translation:

01 [Rib]haddi [speak;]
 02 [t]o [the ki]ng, [my] mas[t]er(:) [Beneath]
 03 [the f]e[e]t, seven (times and) seven (times,) [I fall.]

EA 130

VAT 1624

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 46); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 72); KNUDTZON (1915: 552–557); MORAN (1992: 211–212); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 229–230 [LA 187])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a LUGAL-ri EN-ia
 02 q[li]-bf-ma um-ma
 03 M.ri-ib-D.IM IR-ka-ma
 04 D.NIN ša-a URU.gub-la
 05 ti-di-in₄ KALAG.GA a-na
 06 LUGAL-ri EN-ia a-na
 07 GİR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 08 7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qû-ut

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master,
 02 s[p]eak; thus (says)
 03 Ribhaddi, your servant:
 04 (May) the Lady of Gubla
 05 ensure power to
 06 the king, my master. At
 07 the feet of my master, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 132

BME 29801

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 18); KNUDTZON (1915: 560–563); MORAN (1992: 214–215); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 206 [LA 167])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 02 [qf]-bf-ma um-ma M.ri-ib-D.IM
 03 [li]-ka-ma D.NIN ša-a
 04 [U]RU.gub-la ti-di-in₄ KALAG.GA
 05 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia a-na
 06 GİR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 07 7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qû-ut

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master, m[y] Sun,
 02 [s]peak; thus (says) Ribhaddi,
 03 your [serv]ant: (May) the Lady of
 04 Gubla ensure power
 05 to the king, my master. At
 06 the feet of my master, my Sun,
 07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 136

BME 29799

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 16; pl. 20 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 568–573); MORAN (1992: 216–217); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 233–234 [LA 191])

Transliteration:

01 [a]-na LUGAL EN-ia
 02 um-ma ri-ib-D.IM IR-ka
 03 SAĪJAR \ e-pl-ri ša 2 GİR.MEŠ-ka
 04 a-na GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 05 7 u 7-ta-a-an am-qû-ut

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master;
 02 thus (says) Ribaddi, your servant,
 03 the dust \ the dust at your two feet(:)
 04 At the feet of the king, my master,
 05 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 137

PM, 1,25,1567

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: No. 71); KNUDTZON (1915: 572–579); MORAN (1992: 218–221); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); Izre'el (1995a: 131–141; 155–157, pls. III–V [photo]); LIVERANI (1998: 234–236 [LA 192])

Transliteration:

01 M.ri-ib-ad-[di qf-bf-mi]
 02 a-na LUGAL be-[li-i-ia

Translation:

01 Ribhad[di speak;]
 02 to the king, [my] mast[er(:)]

03 a-na KI.TA GİR-p[é] LUGAL be-li-ia)
 04 7-ta-an ù 7-ta-[an am-qut-ut]

03 Beneath the fee[t of the king, my master,]
 04 seven times and seven ti[mes, I fall.]

EA 138

VAT 351

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 58); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 73); KNUDTZON (1915: 578–587); MORAN (1992: 221–225); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 236–239 [LA 193])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL be-[li-i-ia D.]U[T]U KUR.M[ÉŠ]
 02 um-ma ri-ib[ad]-[di] IR-ka
 03 a-na KI.TA GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-li-i[a]
 04 7-tam ù 7 m[a]-aq-ta-ti

Translation:

01 To the king, [my] mas[te]r, the S[u]n of (all) lan[ds];
 02 thus (says) Ri[b]had[di,] your [ser]vant(:)
 04 Beneath the feet of the king, m[y] master,
 04 seven times and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 139

BME 29828

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 45; pl. 4 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 586–591); MORAN (1992: 225–226); HESS (1993: 88–89 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 240–241 [LA 194])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL E[N-ta D.UTU-ia]
 02 um-ma AN-ra-[pl-?i] IR-ka
 03 um-ma gu-[li]a.K[il] GEMÉ-ka a-na
 04 GİR.MEŠ EN D.UTU 7 [7 am-qut]

Translation:

01 To the king, [my] mas[te]r, my Sun;
 02 thus (says) Ilira[pi?], your servant (and)
 03 thus (says) Gu[li]a, [your maidservant(:) At]
 04 the feet of the master, the Sun, seven (times and)
 [seven times, I fall.]

EA 140

VAT 1639

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 91); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 75); KNUDTZON (1915: 590–593); MORAN (1992: 226–227); HESS (1993: 88 – 89 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 241 [LA 195])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL EN D.UTU-ia um-ma
 02 URU.gub-la GEMÉ-ka um-ma
 03 M.AN-ra-pl-?i IR-ka a-na
 04 GİR.MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU 7 7 am-qut

Translation:

01 [To] the king, the master, my Sun; thus (says)
 02 Gubla, the maidservant (and) thus (says)
 03 Ilirapi?, your servant(:) At
 04 the feet of my master, the Sun, seven (times and)
 seven (times,) I fall.

EA 141

BME 29809

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 26; pl. 23 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 592–595); MORAN (1992: 227–228); HESS (1993: 32–33 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 179 [ll. 3–5]); LIVERANI (1998: 163–164 [LA 129])

Transliteration:

01 a-na ša LUGAL EN-ia D.UTU-ia
 02 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ša-ri TIL.LA-ia
 03 qf-bf-ma um-ma am-mu-ni-ra
 04 LÚ URU.PÚ.ĪJA IR-ka ù SAĪJAR-ra \ a-pa-ru
 05 ša GİR.MEŠ-ka

06 a-na GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia D.UTU-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 07 ša-ri TIL.LA-ia 7 u 7-ta-a-an
 08 am-qû-ut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, m[y] Sun,
 02 my god>s<, the breath of my life,
 03 speak; thus (says) Ammunra,
 04 the ruler of Beirut, your servant and the dust \ the dust
 05 at your feet(:)

06 At the feet of the king, my master, my Sun, my god>s<,
07 the breath of my life, seven (times) and seven (times),
08 I fall.

EA 142

BME 29810

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 27; pl. 2 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 594–597); MORAN (1992: 228–229); HESS (1993: 32–33 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 165 [LA 131]).

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL EN-ia ša-ri] TIL.[L]A-ia	01 [To the king, my master, the breath of] my li[f]e;
02 [um-ma am-mu-ni]-ra ÌR-ka	02 [thus (says) Ammuni]ra, your servant
03 [ù e-pí-r]i ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka	03 [and the dust]t at your two feet(:)
04 [a-na GÌR.MEŠ] LUGAL EN-ia 7 u 7-ta-a-an	04 [At the feet] of the king, my master, seven (times) and seven times,
05 [am-qú-ut]	05 [I fall.]

EA 143

VAT 1584 (+) CG 4764 [SR 4/12198/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 211 + 203); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 78); KNUDTZON (1915: 598–601); MORAN (1992: 229–230); HESS (1993: 32–33 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 164 [LA 130])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-ia š[a-ri]	01 To the king, my master, the br[ea]th
02 TIL.LA-ia [qí-bí-ma]	02 of my life, [speak;]
03 [u]m-ma am-mu-ni-r[a] ÌR-ka	03 [t]hus (says) Ammuni[r]a, your servant
04 [ù] SAĪAR-ra ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka	04 [and] the dust at [your] fe[et](:)
05 [a-na GÌR].MEŠ LUGAL E[N-la 7 ù 7-ta-a-an]	05 [At the fe]et of the king, [my] mas[ter, seven (times) and seven times,]
06 [am-qú-ut]	06 [I fall.]

EA 144

VAT 323

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 90); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 76); KNUDTZON (1915: 600–603); MORAN (1992: 230–231); HESS (1993: 169–170 [l. 4]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 177 [ll. 3–4]); LIVERANI (1998: 161 [LA 127])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-la	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ-la D.UTU-la ša-ri TIL.LA-la	02 my god>s<, my Sun, the breath of my life,
03 qí-bí-ma	03 speak;
04 um-ma M.zi-lm-ri-id-di	04 thus (says) Zimreddi,
05 LÚ.ḫa-za-nu ša URU.ší-du-na.KI	05 the governor of Sidon(:)
06 a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-la DINGIR.MEŠ D.UTU ša-ri	06 At the feet of my master, the god>s<, the Sun, the breath
07 ša TIL.LA-la a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-la	07 of my life, at the feet of my master,
08 DINGIR.MEŠ-la D.UTU-la ša-ri TIL.LA-la	08 my god>s<, my Sun, the breath of my life,
09 7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qú-ut	09 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 145

VAT 1695

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 182); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 77); KNUDTZON (1915: 602–605); MORAN (1992: 231–232); HESS (1993: 169–170 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 162 [LA 128])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na	01 [To
02 [qí-bí]f-[ma]	02 [spe]a[k;]
03 [um-ma M.zi-lm-ri-d[a]	03 [thus (says) Zi]mredd[il(:)]
04 [a-na GÌR.M]EŠ am-qú-ut	04 [At the fee]t, I fall.

EA 146

VAT 1871

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 231); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 79); KNUDTZON (1915: 604–607); MORAN (1992: 232); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 152–153 [LA 120])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL b]e-[li-ia D.UTU-ia]	01 [To the king, my m]as[ter, my Sun,]
02 [um-ma a-]bi-m[il-ki] ÌR-ka	02 [thus (says) A]bimilki, your servant(:)
03 [7 u 7 a-n]a GÌR.MEŠ [LUGAL be-li-ia am-qu]	03 [Seven (times) and seven (times), a]t the feet [of the king, my master, I fall.]

EA 147

BME 29812

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 29; pl. 11 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 608–613); MORAN (1992: 233–235); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 149–151 [LA 117])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-lf-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia	01 To the king, my master, my god>s<, my Sun;
02 um-ma a-bi-LUGAL ÌR-ka	02 thus (says) Abimilki, your servant(:)
03 7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-lf-ia am-qu	03 Seven (times) and seven (times), at the feet of the king, my master, I fall.

EA 148

CG 4765 [SR 4/12227/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 99); KNUDTZON (1915: 612–615); MORAN (1992: 235); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 153–154 [LA 122])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-lf-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-[ia] D.UTU-ši	01 To the king, my master, [my] god>s<, the Sun;
02 um-ma a-bi-LUGAL ÌR-ka	02 thus (says) Abimilki, your servant(:)
03 7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL be-lf-ia am-qu	03 seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of the king, my master, I fall.

EA 149

BME 29811

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 28; pl. 14 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 614–621); MORAN (1992: 236–237); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 154–156 [LA 123])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-lf-ia D.UTU-la DINGIR.MEŠ-la	01 To the king, my master, my Sun, my god>s<;
02 um-ma M.a-bi-LUGAL ÌR-[k]a	02 thus (says) Abimilki, [yo]ur servant(:)
03 7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL be-[lf-ī]a am-qu	03 Seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of the king, [my] mas[ter,] I fall.

EA 150

CG 4766 [SR 4/12203/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 98); KNUDTZON (1915: 620–623); MORAN (1992: 237–238); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 156–157 [LA 124])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] LUGAL be-[li-ia]	01 [To] the king, [my] ma[ster;]
02 [u]m-ma M.a-bi-mil-k[i] ÌR-ka	02 [t]hus (says) Abimilki, your servant(:)
03 7 u 7 a-na GÌR.MEŠ EN-[ia am-qu]	03 Seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of [my] master, [I fall.]

EA 151

BME 29813

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 30; pl. 13 [photo]) KNUDTZON (1915: 622–627); MORAN (1992: 238–239); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 157–158 [LA 125])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL D.UTU *-ia* DINGIR-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-bi*-LUGAL.İR-*ka*
 03 7 u 7 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*li-ia*_g *am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my Sun, my god, my god>s<;
 02 thus (says) Abimilki, your servant(:)
 03 seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of the king, my master, I fall.

EA 152

VAT 1719

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 80); KNUDTZON (1915: 626–631); MORAN (1992: 239–240); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 152 [LA 119])

Transliteration:

01 [a]-*na* L[UG]A[L] *be-li-ia* DIN[GIR].MEŠ-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 [u]m-*ma* a-[b]i-[m]i[l-k]i İR-k[a-m]a [a-na-ku ep-ru]
 03 [iš-tu] š[u-p]a-[l]i KUS.še-ni GİR.M[*EŠ be-li-ia*
 04 a-[na GİR.MEŠ] E[N-*li-ia* DINGIR.MEŠ D.UTU-*li*a
 05 [7 u 7 *am-qut*]

Translation:

01 [T]o the k[i]n[g,] my master, [m]y go[d>s<, my Sun god;]
 02 [t]hus (says) A[b]i[m]i[l]k[i], yo[ur] servant: [I am the dust]
 03 [from] b[en]ea[th] the sandals (and) fe[et of] my [mas]ter(:)
 04 A[t the feet of] my mas[ter], the god>s<, [m]y Sun,
 05 [seven (times) and seven (times), I fall.]

EA 153

MMA 24.2.12

Literature: SCHIEHL (1902: 116); KNUDTZON (1915: 630–631); BULL (1926: 170, fig. 2 [photo; obv. only]); PRITCHARD (1954: no. 245 [photo; obv. only]); MORAN (1988: 150–151; pls. 114–115); MORAN (1992: 240); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 151–152 [LA 118])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL EN-*li-ia*
 02 [u]m-*ma* M.*a-bi*-LUGAL <İR>-*ka*
 03 7 u 7 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ-*ka am-qut*

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master;
 02 [t]hus (says) Abimilki, your <servant>(:)
 03 Seven (times) and seven (times,) at your feet, I fall.

EA 154

VAT 1718

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 162); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 81); KNUDTZON (1915: 630–635); MORAN (1992: 240–241); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 153 [LA 121])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*li-ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-bi*-*mil-ki* İR-*ka*
 03 7 u 7 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ LUGAL E[N-*li*a *am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master;
 02 thus (says) Abimilki, [your] ser[vant(:)]
 03 Seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of the king, [m]y mas[ter,] I fall.

EA 155

BME 29814 + VAT 1872

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 228); BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 31); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 82); KNUDTZON (1915: 632–639); MORAN (1992: 241–242); HESS (1993: 18–19 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 158–160 [LA 126])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL D.[UTU *be-li-ia*
 02 *um-ma* a-*bi-m*[il-ki] İR-*ka*
 03 7 u 7 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ L[UGAL *be-li-ia am-qut*]

Translation:

01 To the king, [the Sun, my master;]
 02 thus (says) Abimilki, your servant(:)
 03 Seven (times) and seven (times,) at the feet of the k[ing, my master, I fall.]

EA 156

VAT 337

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 34); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 83); KNUDTZON (1915: 638–639); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 15–16); MORAN (1992: 242); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 158–161 [LA 126])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.[U]TU_x-*ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* İR-*ka-ma*
 03 7-šu u 7-šu *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god, my [S]un;
 02 thus (says) Aziru, your servant:
 03 Seven times and seven times, at the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 157

VAT 624

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 36); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 84); KNUDTZON (1915: 638–643); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 17–20); MORAN (1992: 243–244); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 271–272 [LA 239])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* ù D.UTU_x-*ia*
 02 [qf-]b[*f-ma*]
 03 *um-ma* M.*a-zi*[*i-ri*] İR-*ka-ma*
 04 7-šu ù 7-šu *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia*

Translation:

01 [To] the kin[g, my master, my god and my Sun,]
 02 [sp]e[ak;]
 03 thus (says) Az[iru, your servant;]
 04 Seven times and seven times, at [the feet of my master,]
 05 my god and my Sun, I f[all.]

EA 158

CG 4758 [SR 4/12205/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 40); KNUDTZON (1915: 642–645); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 20–24); MORAN (1992: 244–245); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]; 162–164 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 272–273 [LA 241])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.*tú-ú-tú* EN-*ia a-bi-il*a
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* DUMU-*ka* İR-*ka-ma*
 03 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ *a-bi-ia am-qut*
 04 *a-na muh-*hi* a-bi-ia lu-ú šul-mu*

Translation:

01 To TITU, my master, m[y] father;
 02 thus (says) Aziru, your son, your servant[:]
 03 At the feet of my master, I fall.
 04 May it be well with my father.

EA 159

VAT 1658

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 35); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 85); KNUDTZON (1915: 644–647); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 24–27); MORAN (1992: 245–246); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 275–276 [LA 245])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 [um-m]a M.*a-zi-ri* LÚ.İR-*ka-ma*
 03 [7-š]u ù 7-šu *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia*

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master, my god, my Sun;
 02 [thu]s (says) Aziru, your servant:
 03 [Seven (tim]es and seven times, at the feet of my master,
 04 [m]y [god] and my S[u]n, I fall.

EA 160

PM, I, 25, 1574

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 34 a); KNUDTZON (1915: 646–651); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 28–31); MORAN (1992: 246–247); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]); IZRE'EL (1995a: 145–150; 158–161, pls. VI–IX [photo]); LIVERANI (1998: 275 [LA 244])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] LUGAL-*ri* GAL-*bi* E[N-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU_x-*ia*
 02 [um-m]a M.*a-zi-ri* LÚ.İR-*ka-ma*
 03 7-šu ù 7-šu *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia*
 04 DINGIR-*ia* ù D.UTU_x-*ia am-q[ut]*

Translation:

- 01 [To] the great king, [my] mas[ter, my god (and) my Sun];
 02 [thu]s (says) Aziru, [your] servant[:]
 03 "Seven" times and seven times, at the fee[t of my master,]
 04 my god and my Sun, I fa[ll.]

EA 161

BME 29818

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 35; pl. 22 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 650–653); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 31–36); MORAN (1992: 247–248); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 273–275 [LA 243])

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na* LUGAL GAL-*bi* EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.[UTU_x-*ia*]
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* LÚ.İR-*ka-ma*
 03 7-*šu* u 7-*šu* *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia* DINGIR- ʾiaʾ D.UTU_x-*ia am-qut*

Translation:

- 01 To the great king, my master, my god, [my] S[un];
 02 thus (says) Aziru, your servant:
 03 Seven times and seven times, at the feet of my master, ʾmyʾ god, my Sun, I fall.

EA 162

VAT 347

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 92); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 86); KNUDTZON (1915: 654–659); MCCARTER (1973); MORAN (1992: 248–251); MUNTINGH (1995: 162–164); LIVERANI (1998: 279–281 [LA 251])

Transliteration:

- 01 [*a-na* M.*a-zi-ru*] L[Ú] URU.*a-mu-ur-ra qf-bf-ma*
 02 [*um-ma-(a)-m*] LUGAL EN-*ka*

Translation:

- 01 [To Aziru,] ru[ler] of Amurru, speak;
 02 [thus (says)] the king, your master(:)

EA 164

VAT 249

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 38); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 88); KNUDTZON (1915: 660–663); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 36–39); MORAN (1992: 251–252); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]; 162–164 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 277 [LA 247])

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na* M.*tú-u-tú* EN-*ia a-bi-ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* İR-*ka-ma*
 03 *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia am-qut*

Translation:

- 01 To Tútu, my master, my father;
 02 thus (says) Aziru, your servant:
 03 At the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 165

VAT 325

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 33); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 89); KNUDTZON (1915: 662–667); MORAN (1992: 252–253); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 40–43); LIVERANI (1998: 276–277 [LA 246])

Transliteration:

- 01 [*a-n*]a LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU_x-*ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.[*a-zi-ri*] İR-*ka-ma*
 03 7-*šu* u 7-*šu* *a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ia am-qut*

Translation:

- 01 [T]o the k[ing, my master, my god, my Sun];
 02 thus (says) [Aziru, your servant:]
 03 Seven times and seven [times, at the feet of my master, I fall.]

EA 166

VAT 250

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 31); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 90); KNUDTZON (1915: 666–669); IZRE'EL (1991: II, 43–46); MORAN (1992: 254); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]; 75–76 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 278 [LA 249])

Transliteration:

- 01 [*a*]-*na* M.*ḥa-a-i* ŠEŠ-*ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* ŠEŠ-*ka-ma*
 03 *a-na* UGU-*ka lu-ú* šul-*mu*
 04 *ù iš-tu* ERÍN.MEŠ *ša-bi pī-ṭá-te*
 05 *ša* LUGAL EN-*ia ma-gal lu-ú* šul-*mu*

Translation:

- 01 [T]o Ḥaya, my brother;
 02 thus (says) Aziru, your brother:
 03 May it be well with you
 04 and with the archers
 05 of the king, my master, may it be very well.

EA 168

VAT 1659

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 37); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 92); KNUDTZON (1915: 668–671); MORAN (1992: 255–256); HESS (1993: 44–47 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 279 [LA 250])

Transliteration:

- 01 [*a-n*]a LUGAL EN-*ia* DIN[GI]R-*ia* D.[UTU-*ia*]
 02 *um-ma* M.*a-zi-ri* İR-*k[a-ma]*
 03 7-*šu* u 7-*šu* *a-[n]a* GİR.ME[Š] EN-*ia* D.UTU-*ia am-qut*

Translation:

- 01 [T]o the king, my master, my g[o]d, [my Sun];
 02 thus (says) Aziru, yo[ur] servant[:]
 03 Seven times and seven times, a[t] the fee[t of my master,] my Sun, I fall.

EA 170(A)

VAT 327

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 143); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 94); KNUDTZON (1915: 676–679); IZRE'EL (1991: 55–58); MORAN (1992: 257–258); HESS (1993: 48–49 [l. 2]; 56–57 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 282–283 [LA 253])

Transliteration:

- 01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ni*
 02 *um-ma* M.D.IM-*lu-ia* u *um-ma*
 03 M.*be-ti-AN a-na* GİR.MEŠ EN-*ni ni-am-qut*

Translation:

- 01 To the king, our master;
 02 thus (says) Baʾluya and thus (says)
 03 Betʾilu(:) At the feet of our master, we fall.

EA 170(B)

VAT 327

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 143); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 94); KNUDTZON (1915: 676–679); IZRE'EL (1991: 55–58); MORAN (1992: 257–258); HESS (1993: 130–131 [l. 36]; 131–132 [l. 37]; 174–175 [l. 36]); LIVERANI (1998: 282–283 [LA 253])

Transliteration:

- 36 *a-na* M.GAL-AN u M.İR-D.URAŠ
 37 *a-na* M.DUMU-*a-na* u M.GAL-*ṣt-id-ql*
 38 *um-ma* M.*a-mur*-D.IM

Translation:

- 36 To Rabʾilu and Abdi-URAŠ,
 37 to Binana and Rabišidqu;
 38 thus (says) Amurbaʾla(:)

EA 171

VAT 1723

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 185); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 95); KNUDTZON (1915: 678–681); IZRE'EL (1991: 59–61); MORAN (1992: 258–259); LIVERANI (1998: 272 [LA 240])

Transliteration:

- 01 [*a-na* LUGAL D.UTU-*ia be-lf-ia um-ma*]
 02 [] .ḪI.A [] *a-n*[*a* GİR].ME[Š] LUGAL D.UTU [*be-lf-ia am-qut*]

Translation:

- 01 [To the king, my Sun, my master; thus (says)]
 02 [] A[t the fe]e[t] of the k[ing, the Sun, my [master,] I fall.

EA 174

VAT 1585

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 160); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 98); KNUDTZON (1915: 682–685); MORAN (1992: 260); HESS (1993: 57–58 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 259 [LA 224])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL E[N-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ī*]*a*
 02 *qí-bí-m*[*a*]
 03 *um-ma* *bi-e-ri*]R-*ka*]
 04 LÚ URU.*ḥa-sá-bu*
 05 *a-na šu-pa-li up-ri*]
 06 GÌR-*pé* LUGAL EN-*ia*
 07 7 ù 7 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the king, [my] mas[ter, my god, m]y [Sun,]
 02 speak;]
 03 thus (says) Beri, [yo]ur serv[ant,]
 04 the ruler of Ḥašabu(:)
 05 Beneath the du[s]t
 06 of the feet of the king, my master,
 07 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 175

VAT 1588

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 163); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 99); KNUDTZON (1915: 684–687); MORAN (1992: 260–261); HESS (1993: 19–21 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 259–260 [LA 225])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na*] LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 [*qí-bí-ma*
 03 [*um-m*]*a*]l-*da-a-ia*g]R-*ka*]
 04 LÚ URU.*ḥa-sá a-na šu-pa-li*
 05 *up-ri* GÌR-*pé* LUGAL EN-*ia*
 06 7 ù 7 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master, [my] god, my [Sun,]
 02 [speak;
 03 [th]us (says) ldaya, [your] serv[ant,]
 04 the rul[er] of Ḥaš[(:) Beneath
 05 the dust of the feet of the king, my master,
 06 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 176

BME 29829

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 46); KNUDTZON (1915: 686–687); MORAN (1992: 261); LIVERANI (1998: 260 [LA 176])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*]
 02 [*qí-bí-ma*]
 03 [*um-ma*]R-*ka*]
 04 LÚ URU. *a-na šu-pa-li*
 05 [*up-ri* GÌR-*pé* LUGAL EN-*ī*]*a*
 06 7 ù 7 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master, my god, my Sun,]
 02 [speak;]
 03 [thus (says) your servant,]
 04 [the ruler of Beneath]
 05 [the du]st of the feet of the king, m[y] master,
 06 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 177

VAT 1684

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 170); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 101); KNUDTZON (1915: 686–689); MORAN (1992: 261); HESS (1993: 164–165 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 264–265 [LA 230])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*ya-mi-ū-ta* LÚ KUR.*gud-da-šu-na*
 03]R LUGAL EN-*ia*
 04 *a-na up-ri* GÌR-*pé* LUGAL EN-*ia*
 05 7 ù 7 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god, my Sun;
 02 thus (says) Yamiyuta, the ruler of Guddašuna,
 03 the servant of the king, my master(:)
 04 To the dust at the feet of the king, my master,
 05 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 178

VAT 1677

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 146); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 100); KNUDTZON (1915: 688–691); MORAN (1992: 262); HESS (1993: 76–77 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 265 [LA 231])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LÚ.GAL EN-*ia*
 02 [*um-m*]*a* M.*ḥi-bi-ia*g]R-*ka*
 03 [*a-n*]*a* GÌR-*pé* EN-*ia* *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To the m]agnate, my master;
 02 [th]us (says) Ḥibiya, your servant(:)
 03 [A]t the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 182

VAT 1615

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 130); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 104); KNUDTZON (1915: 694–697); MORAN (1992: 264); HESS (1993: 149–150 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 249 [LA 208])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* M.LUGAL] EN-*ī*[*a* DINGIR-*ia* D.]UTU-*ia*
 02 *um-ma šu-tar-na*]R-*ka*] LÚ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-na*
 03 *a-na up-ri ša* GÌR-*pé*
 04 LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 05 7 ù 7 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To the king,] m[y] master, my Sun;
 02 thus (says) Šutarna, [your] serv[ant], the ru[ler] of Mušilḥuna(:)
 03 To the dust at the feet
 04 of the king, my master, my Sun,
 05 seven (times) and seven (times,) I fall.

EA 183

VAT 1595

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 192); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 105); KNUDTZON (1915: 696–697); MORAN (1992: 264); HESS (1993: 149–150 [l. 3])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ī*[*a* DINGIR-*ia* D.]UTU-*ia*
 02 *qí-bí-ma*
 03 *um-ma šu-tar-na* LÚ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-n*[*a*]
 04 \ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-n*[*a*]
 05]R LUGAL EN-*ia* [
 06 *iš-tu ša šu-p*[*a-li*]
 07 [*u*]*p-ri ša* GÌR-*pé*
 08 [L]UG[A]L EN-*ia* [DINGIR-*ia* D.:UTU-*ia*]

Translation:

01 To the king, m[y] master, [my god], my Sun,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Šutarna, the ruler
 04 \ of Mušilḥun[a(:)]
 05 the servant of the king, my master, [
 06 from ben[eath]
 07 [the d]ust at the fe[et]
 08 of the [k]i[n]g, my master, [my god, my Sun,]

EA 184

Ash. 1893.1–41 (426)

Literature: SAYCE (1894: pl. XXXIII/XVIII bis.); KNUDTZON (1915: 696–697); HESS (1993: 149–150 [l. 4])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LUGAL EN-*ī*]*a*
 02 [DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ī*]*a*
 03 [*um-ma*
 04 [*šu-ta*]*r-na* LÚ URU.*mu-ši-ḥu-ni*
 05 [*u*] LUGAL EN-*ia* *am-qú-ut*
 06 [*ī*]*a*
 07 [7 ù 7] *a-na* GÌR-*pé* LUGAL EN-*ia* *am-qú-ut*
 08 [*u*] GÌR-*pé* LU[GAL] E[N]-*ia*

Translation:

01 [To the king,] my [master,]
 02 [my god, m]y [Sun,]
 03 [t]hus (says)
 04 [Šuta]rna, the ruler of Mušilḥuna(:)
 05 [k]i[n]g, my master, I fall.
 06 [m]y
 07 [seven (times) and seven (times),] at the feet of
 08 [the king, my master, I fall.
 08 [] feet of the ki[n]g,] my mas[ter]

EA 185

VAT 1725

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 189); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 106); KNUDTZON (1915: 696–703); MORAN (1992: 265–267); HESS (1993: 111 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 261–263 [LA 228])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ī*[*a*
 02 *qí-bí-ma*
 03 *um-ma* "ma"-*ia*g-*ar-za-na* LÚ URU.*ḥa-sá*.KI
 04]R-*ka* *ep-ri šu-pa-a*] GÌR.MEŠ-*pí*
 05 [M.]L[UGAL]-*ri* EN-*ia* DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ī*[*a*
 06 *qa-q*[*a*]-*r*] *ša k*[*a*]-*b*[*a*]-*š*[*u*] *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ-*pí*
 07 [M.LUGAL-*ri*] E[N]-*ī*[*a*] DINGIR-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 08 [7-*š*u] ù 7-*š*u *am-ī*[*q*]*ú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god, [m]y Sun,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) [M]ayarzana, the ruler of Ḥašl,
 04 your servant, the dust beneath the feet
 05 of the k[ing], my master, my god, m[y] Sun,
 06 the gr[o]u[nd] on which [h]e t[r]e[a]ds (:)
 07 [of the kin]g, m[y] mas[ter,] my god, my Sun,
 08 [seven times] and seven times, I fa[l].

EA 187

BME 29860

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 77); KNUDTZON (1915: 708–711); MORAN (1992: 268–269); HESS (1993: 139–140 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 266 [LA 233])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 {a-na LUGAL-}ri BE-ia [DINGIR-ia D.UTU -ia]	01 [To the kin]g, my master, [my god, my Sun,]
02 {qf}-bf-[ma]	02 [s]pea[k;]
03 {um}-ma ša-ti-ia ₈ LÚ U[RU.e-ni-ša-si ₂₀ -i]	03 [th]us (says) Šatiya, ruler of [Enišasi,]
04 [l]R-ka ep-ri šu-pa-a[l]	04 your [serv]ant, the dust benea[th]
05 [G]R.MEŠ-pf M.LUGAL-ri BE-ia	05 [the f]eet of the king, my master(=)
06 [a]-n[a] G[R].MEŠ-pe LUGAL-ri BE-[ia]	06 [A]t the feet of the king, [my] master,
07 DINGIR-ia D.UTU-ia 7-šu ù 7-[šu]	07 my god, my Sun, seven times and seven [times,]
08 [am]-qú-ut	08 [I f]all.

EA 188

CG 4793 [SR 4/12237/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 208); KNUDTZON (1915: 710–711); MORAN (1992: 269)

Transliteration:	Translation:
01* [a-na G[R]-p]é L[UGAL-ri]	01* [At the fee]t of the k[ing,]
02* [EN-]i a D.UTU-[ia]	02* [m]y [master, my] Sun,
03* [7-š]u ù 7-š]u am-qú-ut	03* [seven ti]mes and seven ti[m]es, I fall.

EA 189

VAT 336

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 142); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 108); KNUDTZON (1915: 710–713); MORAN (1992: 269–270); LIVERANI (1998: 289–290 [LA 189])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-ia	01 To the king, my master;
02 um-ma M.l ₁₅ -tag-ga ₁₄ -ma }R-ka	02 thus (says) Etakkama, your servant(=)
03 a-na G[R].MEŠ EN-ia D.UTU-ia	03 At the feet of my masters, my Sun,
04 7-šu a-na pa-ni 7-ta-an am-qut	04 seven times plus seven times, I fall.

EA 191

CG 4760 [SR 4/12192/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 125); KNUDTZON (1915: 714–717); MORAN (1992: 271); HESS (1993: 40–42 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 287–288 [LA 259])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-n[a] M.LUGAL-ma EN-la	01 T[o] the king, my master;
02 um-ma M.ar-za-aw-ia ₈ LÚ URU.r[ti]-l ₁ -za	02 thus (says) Arzawiya, the ruler of Ruḫizza(=)
03 a-na G[R].MEŠ EN-ia am-qut	03 At the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 192

VAT 1674

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 126); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 109); KNUDTZON (1915: 716–717); MORAN (1992: 271); LIVERANI (1998: 288 [LA 260])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-n]a LUGAL EN-la	01 [T]o the king, my master
02 [u D.]UTU u DINGIR.MEŠ-ia	02 [and] the Sun and my god>s<,
03 [qf]-bf-ma um-ma	03 [sp]eak; thus (says)
04 [M.a]r-sà-wu-la ₈ }R ki-it-ti	04 [A]rzawuya, the loyal servant
05 [š]a LUGAL EN-ia	05 [o]f the king, my master,
06 [u e]p-ri G[R].MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia	06 [ad the d]ust of the feet of the king, my master(=)
07 a-na G[R].MEŠ LUGAL EN-la	07 At the feet of the king, my master

08 u D.UTU u DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
09 7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut

08 and the Sun and my god>s<,
09 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 193

VAT 1608

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 161); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 110); KNUDTZON (1915: 716–719); MORAN (1992: 272); HESS (1993: 158 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 288–289 [LA 261])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ma EN-ia	01 To the king, my master;
02 um-ma M.ti ₄ -wa-te	02 thus (says) Tiwate(=)
03 a-na G[R].MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia	03 At the feet of the king, my master,
04 7-šu a-na pa-ni 7-an am-qut	04 seven times plus seven times, I fall.

EA 194

VAT 1705

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 112); KNUDTZON (1915: 718–721); MORAN (1992: 272); HESS (1993: 60–61 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 251–252 [LA 211])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia	01 To the king, my master;
02 um-ma M.bir ₅ -ia-wa-za }R-k[a]	02 thus (says) Biryawaza, yo[ur] servant(=)
03 a-na G[R].MEŠ-pf M.LUGAL-ri	03 At the feet of the king,
04 be-li-la 7 ù 7-ta-[a]n	04 my master, seven (times) and seven tim[e]s,
05 am-[qu]	05 I fa[ll].

EA 195

CG 4761 [SR 4/12230/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 96); KNUDTZON (1915: 720–723); MORAN (1992: 273); HESS (1993: 60–61 [l. 4]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 178 [ll. 4–10]); LIVERANI (1998: 251 [LA 210])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri	01 To the king,
02 be-li-la	02 my master,
03 qf-bf-ma	03 I fall;
04 um-ma M.bir ₅ -ia-wa-za	04 thus (says) Biryawaza,
05 }R-ka SAĪAR.MEŠ \ ep-ri	05 your servant, the dust \ the dust
06 ša G[R].MEŠ-ka ù	06 at your feet and
07 KI.MEŠ ša ka-bá-sf-ka	07 the ground on which you tread,
08 GIŠ.GU.ZA ša a-ša-bi-ka	08 the chair on which you sit
09 ù GIŠ.G[R].GUB \ gi-lš-tap-pf	09 and the footstool \ the footstool
10 ša G[R].MEŠ-ka	10 of your feet(=)
11 a-na G[R].MEŠ M.LUGAL EN-ia	11 At the feet of the king, my master,
12 D.UTU KIN.<NIM> še-ri.MEŠ	12 the Sun of the morning<s>
13 u le-lá-ma	13 and of the evening,
14 7-šu a-na pa-ni	14 seven times plus
15 7-ta-an-ni am-qut	15 seven times, I fall.

EA 196

VAT 1592 + VAT 1710

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 159 and 143); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 111); KNUDTZON (1915: 722–725); MORAN (1992: 273–274); HESS (1993: 60–61 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 253 [LA 213])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-]i a qf-bf-ma	01 [To the king, m]y [master,] spe[ak;]
02 [um-ma M.bir ₅ -]i a-w[a-z]a }[R-ka]	02 [thus (says) Biry]aw[az]a, [your] serv[ant(=)]
03 [a]-na [G[R].M]EŠ [M.LUG]AL E[N]-ia 7 a-n[a pa-ni]	03 [A]t [the fe]et of [the k]ing, my mas[ter], seven (times) p[lus]
04 ša-bi-l[a-a]-an am-qu[ti]	04 seven ti[m]es, I fal[l].

EA 198

CG 4763 [SR 4/12194/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 152); KNUDTZON (1915: 728–731); MORAN (1992: 276); HESS (1993: 36–37 [l. 4]); RAINEY (1995–1996: 118 [l. 7]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 178 [ll. 4–7]); LIVERANI (1998:

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL]L [E]N-[ia]
 02 DINGIR.MEŠ ša SA[G-ia]
 03 qf-bf-m[ia]
 04 um-ma M.a-ra-[wa]-na
 05 LÚ URU.ku-mi-di.KI
 06 ep-ri ša GÌR. MEŠ´-[ka₄]
 07 qa-qa-ri ka₄-bá-šī_x-ka₄
 08 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 09 7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qut

Translation:

01 [To the kin]g, [my mas]ter,
 03 [my] perso[nal] god>s<,
 03 speak[;]
 04 thus (says) Ar[wa]na,
 05 the ruler of Kumidi,
 06 the dust at [your] fe´et´,
 07 the ground on which you tre´ad´(:)
 08 At the feet of the king, my master,
 09 seven times (and) seven times, 1 fall.

EA 199

CG 4789 [SR 4/12234/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 205); KNUDTZON (1915: 730–733); MORAN (1992: 276–277); LIVERANI (1998: 256 [LA 221])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL EN-ia D.UTU-ia]
 02 [um-ma
 03 [lR-ka-ma a-n]a GÌR.MEŠ-pé
 04 [EN-ia] a[m-]qut

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master, my Sun;]
 02 [thus (says)
 03 [your servant: A]t the feet
 04 [of my master,] 1 [f]all.

EA 200

VAT 1622

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 164); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 113); KNUDTZON (1915: 732–733); MORAN (1992: 277); LIVERANI (1998: 256 [LA 222])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL be-li-ia]
 02 [DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia]
 03 [qf-bi-ma]
 04 [um-m]a M.lR.MEŠ-[ka]
 05 7-šu ù 7-šu n[i-u]m-qu-ut
 06 [a-n]a GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL be-li-ia

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master,]
 02 [my god>s<, my Sun,]
 03 [sp]ea[k;]
 04 [thu]s (say) [your] servants(:)
 05 seven times and seven times, w[e f]all,
 06 [a]t the feet of the king, my master.

EA 201

VAT 338

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 132); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 114); KNUDTZON (1915: 732–735); MORAN (1992: 277–278); HESS (1993: 37–38 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 246 [LA 200])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.ar-ta-ma-an-la₈
 04 M.LÚ šf-ri-ba-ša-ni
 05 lR-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ
 06 M.LUGAL be-li-ia
 07 7-šu a-na pa-ni 7-
 08 -ta-an-ni am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Artamanya,
 04 the ruler of Zirišani,
 05 your servant(:) At the feet
 06 of the king, my master,
 07 seven times plus seven
 08 times, 1 fall.

EA 202

VAT 331

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 135); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 115); KNUDTZON (1915: 734–737); MORAN (1992: 278); HESS (1993: 30–31 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 246 [LA 201])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.a-ma-ia₈-še
 04 lR-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ
 05 M.LUGAL be-li-ia
 06 7-šu ù 7-šu am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Amayaše,
 04 your servant(:) At the feet
 05 of the king, my master,
 06 seven times and seven times, 1 fall.

EA 203

VAT 330

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 134); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 116); KNUDTZON (1915: 736–737); MORAN (1992: 278); HESS (1993: 13–15 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 246–247 [LA 202])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.lR-LUGAL
 04 LÚ URU.ša-as-ḫi-mi
 05 lR-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ
 06 M.LUGAL be-li-ia
 07 7-šu a-na pa-ni
 08 7-ta-ni am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) Abdimilki,
 04 the ruler of Šašimi,
 05 your servant(:) At the feet
 06 of the king, my master,
 07 seven times plus
 08 seven times, 1 fall.

EA 204

VAT 328

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 133); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 117); KNUDTZON (1915: 736–739); MORAN (1992: 279); LIVERANI (1998: 247 [LA 203])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL
 02 be-li-ia
 03 qf-bf-ma
 04 um-ma M.LÚ URU.qa-nu-ú
 05 lR-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ
 06 M.LUGAL be-li-ia
 07 7-šu a-na pa-ni
 08 7-ta-ni am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king,
 02 my master,
 03 speak;
 04 thus (says) the ruler of Qanu,
 05 your servant(:) At the feet
 06 of the king, my master,
 07 seven times plus
 08 seven times, 1 fall.

EA 205

BME 29861

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 78; pl. 7 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 738–739); MORAN (1992: 279); LIVERANI (1998: 247 [LA 204])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
 02 qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.LÚ URU.ḫi-bu
 04 lR-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ
 05 M.LUGAL be-li-ia
 06 D.UTU li-mi-ma
 07 7-šu a-na pa-ni
 08 7-ta-ni am-qu

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (says) the ruler of Ṭubu,
 04 your servant(:) At the feet
 05 of the king, my master,
 06 the Sun of (all) people,
 07 seven times plus
 08 seven times, 1 fall.

EA 206

CG 4762 [SR 4/12229/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 151); KNUDTZON (1915: 738–741); MORAN (1992: 280); LIVERANI (1998: 247–248 [LA 205])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL
 02 *be-li-ia*
 03 *qf-bf-ma*
 04 *um-ma* M.LÚ URU.*na-zi-ba*
 05 *ÌR-ka a-na* GÌR.MEŠ
 06 M.LUGAL *be-li-ia*
 07 *7-šu a-na pa-ni*
 08 *7-ta-ni am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king,
 02 my master,
 03 speak;
 04 thus (says) the ruler of Naziba,
 05 your servant(:) At the feet
 06 of the king, my master,
 07 seven times plus
 08 seven times, I fall.

EA 207

VAT 1593

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 194); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 118); KNUDTZON (1915: 740–743); MORAN (1992: 280); HESS (1993: 180 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 255 [LA 218])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-n]a* LUGAL EN-*ia* [D.UTU-*ia*]
 02 *[qf]-b[i]-ma <um-ma>* M.*ip-te*
 03 *[a-n]a* GÌR.MEŠ EN-*i[a am-qut]*

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master, [my Sun,]
 02 [sp]e[ak]; <thus (says)> Ipte[...], your [servant(:)]
 03 [A]t the feet of m[y] master, [I fall.]

EA 209

AO 2036

Literature: KNUDTZON (1915: 742–745); THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 101); MORAN (1992: 281); HESS (1993: 169–170 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 256 [LA 220])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na]* ¹LUGAL ¹-*ri bé-li-l[a]*
 02 ¹*qf¹-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma* ¹*zi¹-ša-mi-mi* ¹ÌR-¹*ka¹*
 04 *a-na* ANŠE.MEŠ-*pé-[k]a am-qú-¹ut¹*
 05 *7 ù 7 am-qú-ut¹ a¹-na*
 06 *pa-ni* LUGAL-*ri bi-li-¹ia¹*

Translation:

01 [To] ¹the king¹, m[y] master,
 02 ¹sp¹ea¹k;
 03 thus (says) ¹Zi¹šamimi, ¹your¹ servant(:)
 04 At your feet, I fal¹l,
 05 seven (times) and seven (times), I fall, ¹in¹
 06 front of the king, ¹my¹ master.

EA 211

VAT 1648

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 140); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 121); KNUDTZON (1915: 744–747); MORAN (1992: 282); HESS (1993: 173 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 254 [LA 215])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
 02 *qf-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma* M.*zi-[i]t-ri-ia₈-r[a]*
 04 *ÌR-ka 7 ù ši-i[b]-i-[i]a-an*
 05 *ù UZU.ša-ša-lu-ma ù*
 06 *UZU.ĪAR a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri*
 07 *EN-ia am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 speak;
 03 thus (speaks) Zitriyar[a,]
 04 your servant(:) Seven (times) and se[v]en ti[me]s
 05 both on the back and
 06 on the belly, at the feet of the king,
 07 my master, I fall.

EA 212

VAT 1587

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 141); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 122); KNUDTZON (1915: 746–747); MORAN (1992: 282–283); HESS (1993: 173 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 254 [LA 214])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL *be-li-ia*
 02 *um-ma* M.*zi-it-ri-ia₈-ra*
 03 *ÌR-di-ka a-na* 1 GÌR
 04 *be-li-ia am-qa-ut*
 05 *7 ù 7-ta-na*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master;
 02 thus (says) Zitriyara,
 03 your servant(:) At one foot(!)
 04 of my master, I fall,
 05 seven (times) and seven times.

EA 213

BME 29859

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 76; pl. 6 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 746–749); MORAN (1992: 283); HESS (1993: 173 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 254–255 [LA 216])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL EN-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 02 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia qf-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma* M.*zi-it-ri-ia₈-ra*
 04 *ÌR-ka ep-ri ša* GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
 05 *ù ti₄-i₇ ša ka-bá-ši-ka*
 06 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL EN-*ia*
 07 D.UTU-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia 7-šu*
 08 *ù 7-ta-an am-qú-ut*
 09 *ù ka-ba-tu-ma ù ši-ru-[m]a*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my Sun,
 02 my god>s<, speak;
 03 thus (says) Zitriyara,
 04 your servant, the dust at your feet,
 05 and the earth on which you tread(:)
 06 At the feet of the king, my master,
 07 my Sun, my god>s<(:) Seven times
 08 and seven times, I fall,
 09 both on the belly and on the back.

EA 215

BME 29843

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 60; pl. 7 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 750–751); MORAN (1992: 283–284); HESS (1993: 48 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 108 [LA 56])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
 02 D.UTU-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*
 03 *um-ma* M.*ba-ia-wa*
 04 *ÌR-ka \ ka-ba-tum-ma*
 05 *ù ša-ša-lu-ma*
 06 *ù ši-lb-e-ta-an*
 07 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri be-li-ia*
 08 D.UTU-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*
 09 *am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 my Sun, my god>s<;
 03 thus (says) Bayawa,
 04 your servant \ on the belly
 05 and on the back,
 06 and seven times
 07 at the feet of the king, my master,
 08 my Sun, my god>s<,
 09 I fall.

EA 216

CG 4784 [SR 4/12202/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 195); KNUDTZON (1915: 750–753); MORAN (1992: 284); HESS (1993: 48 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 108–109 [LA 57])

Transliteration:

01 *a-n[a]* L[UG]AL-*ri* EN-*ia*
 02 *qf-bf-ma*
 03 *um-ma* M.*b[a]-ia-wa* *ÌR-ka*
 04 *a-na* GÌR.[MEŠ] LUGAL-*ri* E[N-*ia*]
 05 D.U[T]U-*[i]a 7 ù 7-[i]a-an*
 06 *a[m]-qut*

Translation:

01 T[o] the k[l]ng, my master,
 02 s[p]ea^kk;
 03 thus (says) Bayawa, your servant(:)
 04 At the fe[et] of the king, [m]y mas[ter,]
 05 [m]y S[u]n, seven (times) and seven [ti]mes,
 06 I [f]all.

EA 217

VAT 1604

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 124); KNUDTZON (1915: 752–755); MORAN (1992: 284–285); HESS (1993: 178 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 109–110 [LA 59])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* L[U]GAL EN-*i[a]*
 02 *qf-b[i]-m[a]*
 03 *um-ma* M.*a[ib]*
 04 *ÌR-k[a]* a-[n]a GÌR.MEŠ
 05 LUGAL E[N-*ia*] D.U[TU]-*[ia]*
 06 *7 ù [7-ta]-a[n]*
 07 *am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the k[l]ng, m[y] master,
 02 s[p]e[a]k;
 03 thus (says) A[ib]
 04 yo[ur] servant(:) A[t] the feet
 05 of the king, [my] mas[ter, my S]un,
 06 seven (times) and [seven tim]e[s,]
 07 I fall.

EA 220

CG 4785 [SR 4/12226/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 150); KNUDTZON (1915: 756–759); MORAN (1992: 285–286); HESS (1993: 120–121 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 112 [LA 65])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* [D.UTU-*ia*]
02 *qf-bf-[m]a*
03 *um-ma* M.KÚR-*ur-tu-ia*₈ L[Ú U]R[U.z]*u-nu*
04 ÌR-*ka* SAĤAR.MEŠ *ša* GÌR.MEŠ
05 LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
06 ù *îi₄-îi ša ka-bá-ši-[k]a₄*
07 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*î[a]*
08 D.UTU-*ia* 7 ù 7-*ta-an*
09 *am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, [my Sun,]
02 speak;
03 thus (says) Kurtuya, the ruler of Z[unu],
04 your servant, the dust at the feet
05 of the king, my master, my Sun
06 and the earth on which [y]ou tread(:)
07 At the feet of the king, m[y] master,
08 my Sun, seven (times) and seven times,
09 I fall.

EA 221

VAT 341

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 136); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 127); KNUDTZON (1915: 760–761); MORAN (1992: 286); HESS (1993: 168 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 145–146 [LA 221])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL-*ri* EN-*î[a]*
02 D.UTU *iš-tu sa-me-m[a]*
03 *qf-bf-ma*
04 *um-ma* M.yi-ik-*ta-sú*
05 ÌR-*ka a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri*
06 EN-*ia* 7-*šu ši-bi-ta-an*
07 *uš-ḫe-ḫi-in*

Translation:

01 To the king, [m]y master,
02 the Sun from the heaven,
03 speak;
04 thus (says) Yiktasu,
05 your servant(:) At the feet of the king,
06 my master, seven times (and) seven times,
07 I prostrate.

EA 222

VAT 1683

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 128); KNUDTZON (1915: 760–761); MORAN (1992: 286–287); HESS (1993: 168 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 146 [LA 114])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LU[G]AL-*ri* EN-*ia*
02 *qf-bf-[ma]*
03 *um-ma* M.yi-ik-*ta-sú* ÌR-*ka*
04 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
05 7-*šu 7-ta-an*
06 *uš-ḫe-ḫi-en*

Translation:

01 To the k[i]n[g, my master,]
02 speak[;]
03 thus (says) Yik[_{tasu}, your servant(:)]
04 At the feet of the kin[g, my master,]
05 seven times (and) seven times,
06 I prostrate.

EA 223

VAT 1870

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 220); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 129); KNUDTZON (1915: 762–763); MORAN (1992: 287); HESS (1993: 89–90 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 134 [LA 96])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.L[UGAL-*r*] EN-*ia* D.UTU
02 *iš-t[u] s[a]-m[e]-ma*
03 *qf-b[_f-m]a*
04 *um-ma* M.^ṛ*in₄* ^ṛ*tar* ^ṛ*ú-[t]a* ÌR-*ka*
05 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*r[î]* *be-lt-ia*
06 7-*šu 7-ta-an uš-ḫe-ḫi-en*

Translation:

01 To the k[in]g, my master, the Sun
02 from the h[ie]a[v]en>;<
03 speak;
04 thus (says) ^ṛEnder ^ṛu[t]a, your servant(:)
05 At the feet of the kin[g], my master,
06 seven times (and) seven times, I prostrate.

EA 224

BME 29849

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 66; pl. 15 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 762–763); MORAN (1992: 287); LIVERANI (1998: 139 [LA 103])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LU[GA]L [E]N-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
02 *qf-bf-[ma]*
03 *um-ma* M.*šum-ad-d[a]* [R *š*]a LUGAL EN-*ia*

04 *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*ia*
05 *am-qú-ut-me*
06 7-*šu ù 7-ta-a-an*

Translation:

01 To the ki[n]g, [my mas]ter, my [Sun,]
02 speak[;]
03 thus (says) Šumhadd[a], the serv[ant o]f the king,
my master(:)
04 At the feet of the king, my master,
05 I fall, >and<
06 seven times and seven times.

EA 225

CG 4787 [SR 4/12222/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 131); KNUDTZON (1915: 762–765); MORAN (1992: 288); HESS (1993: 140–141 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 139 [LA 104])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
02 *qf-bf-ma um-ma*
03 M.*ša-mu*-D.IM LÚ-*lim*
04 URU.*ša-am-ḫu-na*
05 *a-na* GÌR M.LUGAL-*ri-ia*
06 7 ù 7 *mí-lf*
07 *am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
02 speak; thus (says)
03 Šamuhadda, the ruler
04 of Šamḫuna(:)
05 At the foot(!) of my king,
06 seven (times) and seven (times), here
07 I fall.

EA 226

VAT 1610

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 157); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 130); KNUDTZON (1915: 764–767); MORAN (1992: 288); HESS (1993: 144 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 144 [LA 109])

Transliteration:

01 *a-n[a* M.]LU[GA]L-*ri* E[N-*ia]*
02 *q[_f]f-bf-ma um-[ma]*
03 M.*ši-îp-[ú-ri-š]a* ÌR-*ka*
04 ù *ep-ri š[a* GÌR.MEŠ-*]ka*
05 *a-na* GÌR LUGAL-*ri* 7 ù 7 *am-qut*

Translation:

01 T[o th] k[in]g, [my] mas[ter,]
02 s[p]eak; th[us (says)]
03 Šip[ur]iš[a, your servant]
04 and the dust a[t] your [feet(:)]
05 At the foot(!) of the king, seven (times) and seven (times), I fall.

EA 227

BME 29830

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 47); KNUDTZON (1915: 766–769); MORAN (1992: 288–289); LIVERANI (1998: 142–143 [LA 107])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*
02 *qf-bf-ma*
03 *um-ma* LUGAL URU.*ḫa-šú-ri*.KI
04 *a-na* GÌR.ḪI.A EN-*ia am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
02 speak;
03 thus (says) the king of Hazor(:)
04 At the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 228

BME 29831

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 48; pl. 16 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 768–769); MORAN (1992: 289–290); HESS (1993: 17 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 143 [LA 108])

Transliteration:

01 [*a*]-*na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*
02 *qf-bf-ma*
03 *um-ma* M.[R] -*tir-ši*
04 LÚ URU.*ḫa-šú-ra* ÌR-*ka*
05 *a-na* 1 GÌR.ḪI.A-*pé*
06 M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia*

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master,
02 speak;
03 thus (says) Abditirši,
04 the ruler of Hazor, your servant(:)
05 At one feet
06 of the king, my master,

07	7 ù 7-ta-a-an	07	seven (times) and seven times,
08	a-na GÌR.ĦI.A-pé M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia	08	at the feet of the king, my master,
09	am-qú-ut-mi	09	I fall.

EA 229

VAT 1689

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 178); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 132); KNUDTZON (1915: 768–771); MORAN (1992: 290); HESS (1993: 178 [l. 3])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia D.[UTU-ia]	01 To the king, my master, [my Sun,]
02 qí-bí-[ma]	02 speak[;]
03 um-ma M.ÌR-na[]	03 thus (says) Abdina[]
04 ÌR-ka ÌR [ki-ti LUGAL]	04 your servant, [the loyal] servant [of the king,]
05 EN-ia SAĦAR.[MEŠ ša GÌR.MEŠ]	05 my master, the dust [at the feet]
06 [LUGAL-ri EN-[ia D.UTU-ia]	06 [of the ki]ng, [my] master, [my Sun(:)]
07 [a-na GÌR.MEŠ [LUGAL EN-ia]	07 [At the f]eet [of the king, my master]

EA 230

BME 37646

Literature: SCHEIL (1892: 309); KNUDTZON (1915: 770–773); MORAN (1992: 290–291); HESS (1993: 80 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 110–111 [LA 61])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL BE-la qí-bí<-ma>	01 To the king, my master, speak<;>
02 um-ma M.ia-ma ÌR-ka	02 thus (says) Yama, your servant(:)
03 a-na GÌR-ka am-qut	03 At your foot(!), I fall.

EA 231

VAT 1599

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 212); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 132); KNUDTZON (1915: 772–773); MORAN (1992: 291); LIVERANI (1998: 144 [LA 110])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL EN-ia]	01 [To the king, my master,]
02 [D.UTU iš-tu AN.sa-me-e]	02 [the Sun from the heaven,]
03 [qí-bí-ma]	03 [speak;]
04 [um-ma M.	04 [thus (says)
05 [LÚ URU.	05 [the ruler of
06 [ÌR ša LUGAL-ri ep-ru]	06 [the ser]vant o[f the king, the dust]
07 ša 2 GÌR.M[ES-šu qa-qa-ru ša]	07 at the two fee[t, the ground]
08 ka-ba-ši-š[u a-na GÌR.MEŠ]	08 on which h[e] treads(:) [At the feet]
09 LUGAL EN-ia D.[UTU iš-tu]	09 of the king, my master, [the Sun from]
10 AN.sa-me-e 7-[šu 7-ta-an uš-ḫe-ḫi-en]	10 the heaven, seven [times (and) seven times, I prostrate.]

EA 232

VAT 1640

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 93); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 133); KNUDTZON (1915: 772–775); MORAN (1992: 291–292); HESS (1993: 135–136 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1996a: II, 185–186 [ll. 3–11]; III, 177 [ll. 3–5]); LIVERANI (1998: 135 [LA 97])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia D.UTU iš-tu sa-me-e	01 To the king, my master, the Sun from the heaven,
02 qí-bí-ma	02 speak;
03 um-ma M.sú-ra-ta	03 thus (says) Surata,
04 LÚ URU.ak-ka ÌR ša LUGAL-ri	04 the ruler of Akka, the servant of the king,
05 ep-ru ša GÌR.MEŠ-šu ù qa-qa-ru ša ka-ba-ši-šu	05 the dust at his feet and the ground on which he treads(:)

06 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia	06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 D.UTU iš-tu ša-me-e	07 the Sun from the heaven,
08 7-šu 7-ta-a-an	08 seven times (and) seven times,
09 uš-ḫe-ḫi-in	09 I prostrate,
10 i-na pa-an-te-e \ ba-aṭ-nu-ma	10 on the chest \ chest
11 ù ši-ru-ma \ šú-uḫ-ru-ma	11 and on the back \ back.

EA 233

CG 4767 [SR 4/12201/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 94); KNUDTZON (1915: 774–775); MORAN (1992: 292); HESS (1993: 135 [l. 4]); RAINEY (1996a: I, 192 [ll. 9–15]); LIVERANI (1998: 135–136 [LA 98])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia	01 To the kin[g, m]y [master,]
02 D.UTU iš-tu A[N.sa-me]	02 the Sun from the h[heaven,]
03 qí-bí-ma	03 speak;
04 um-ma M.sà-ta-at-na	04 thus (says) Satatna,
05 LÚ URU.ak-ka.KI ÌR-ka	05 the ruler of Akka, your servant,
06 ÌR ša LUGAL-ri	06 the servant of the king
07 ù SAĦAR.MEŠ ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-šu	07 and the dust at his two feet,
08 KI.MEŠ ša ka-bá-ši-šu	08 the ground on which he treads(:)
09 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri	09 At the feet of the king,
10 EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia	10 my master, my god>s<,
11 D.UTU iš-tu AN.sa-me	11 the Sun from the heaven,
12 7-šu 7-ta-a-an	12 seven times (and) seven times,
13 uš-ḫe-ḫi-in ù	13 I prostrate, both
14 ka-ba-tu-ma	14 on the belly
15 ù še-ru-ma	15 and on the back.

EA 234

VAT 1641

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 95); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 134); KNUDTZON (1915: 776–779); MORAN (1992: 292–293); HESS (1993: 135 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 136 [LA 99])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-[a]	01 To the king, m[y] master,
02 D.UTU iš-tu AN.sa-me-e	02 the Sun from the heaven;
03 um-ma M.sà-ta-at-na LÚ URU.ak-ka.KI	03 thus (says) Satatna, the ruler of Akka,
04 ÌR-ka ÌR M.LUGAL-ri ù	04 your servant, the servant of the king and
05 SAĦAR.MEŠ ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-šu KI.MEŠ	05 the dust at his two feet, the ground
06 ša ka-ba-ši-šu a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ	06 on which he treads(:) At two feet
07 LUGAL-ri EN-ia D.UTU iš-tu	07 of the king, my master, the Sun from
08 AN.sa-me 7-šu 7-ta-a-an	08 the heaven, seven times (and) seven times,
09 [u]š-ḫe-ḫi-in ù ka-bat-tu-ma ù ší-ru-ma	09 [I] prostrate, on the belly and on the back.

EA 235 (+) 327

BME 29815 + CG 4791 [SR 4/12235/0] (+ former VAT 1882)

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 32, pl. 6); WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 206); KNUDTZON (1915: 778–779); MORAN (1992: 293–294); HESS (1993: 135 [l. 5]); LIVERANI (1998: 136–137 [LA 100])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-la	01 To the king, my master,
02 D.UTU-la DINGIR.MEŠ-la	02 my Sun, my god>s<,
03 D.UTU iš-tu AN.sa-me-e	03 the Sun from the heaven,
04 qí-bí-ma	04 speak;
05 um-ma M.sí-ta-at-na ÌR-ka	05 thus (says) Satatna, your servant,
06 SAĦAR.MEŠ GÌR.MEŠ-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ	06 the dust at your feet(:) At the feet
07 M.LUGAL-ri EN-la D.UTU-la	07 of the king, my master, my Sun,

08	DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> 7- <i>it</i> ù	08	my god>s<, seven times and
09	7- <i>it-ia-na</i> < <i>uš</i> ->[<i>he</i> - <i>hi-e</i>] <i>n</i>)	09	seven times, <I> prostra[te,]
10	<i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>[r]</i> <i>i</i> [EN- <i>ia</i>]	10	at the feet of the ki[n]g, [my master,]
11	<i>a</i> [<i>m-qut</i>	11	I [fall.

EA 238

VAT 1867

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 219); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 136); KNUDTZON (1915: 780–783); MORAN (1992: 295); HESS (1993: 55–56 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 145 [LA 112])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i> M.]LÚ.GAL EN- <i>[ia]</i>	01 [To] the magnate, [my] master;
02 [<i>um-m</i>] <i>a</i> M. <i>ba-ia₈-di</i> ÌR- <i>[ka]</i>	02 [thu]s (says) Bayadi, [your] servant(:)
03 [<i>a-m</i>] <i>a</i> GÌR.MEŠ LÚ.GAL EN- <i>ia</i> [<i>am-q</i>] <i>ut</i>	03 [T]o the feet of the magnate, my master, [I fa]ll.

EA 239

VAT 334

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 139); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 137); KNUDTZON (1915: 782–785); MORAN (1992: 295–296); HESS (1993: 47–48 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 146 [LA 115])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i> M.]LUGAL- <i>[ri]</i>	01 [To] the kin[g,]
02 [E]N- <i>ia</i> <i>qf</i> - <i>[bf-ma]</i>	02 my [mas]ter, sp[ea]k;
03 <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>ba-du-za-n</i> [<i>a</i> Ì]R- <i>ka</i>	03 thus (says) Baduzan[a,] your [ser]vant(:)
04 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>pé</i>	04 At the feet
05 M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	05 of the klng, my master,
06 7 ù 7- <i>ta-an</i>	06 seven (times) and seven times,
07 <i>am-qut-mi</i>	07 I fall.

EA 241

VAT 1678

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 148); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 139); KNUDTZON (1915: 784–787); MORAN (1992: 296); HESS (1993: 134 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 179 [ll. 3–7]); LIVERANI (1998: 248 [LA 206])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>nu-ia</i> D.UTU <i>qf-bf-ma</i>	02 my god>s<, the Sun;
03 <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>ru-uš-ma-an-ia</i>	03 thus (says) Rušmanya,
04 LÚ URU. <i>ša-ru-na</i> .KI ÌR- <i>ka</i>	04 the ruler of Šaruna, your servant,
05 SAĪJAR.MEŠ <i>ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at your feet,
06 <i>te₄-ti</i> <i>ša</i> <i>ka-bá-ši-ka</i>	06 the earth on which you tread,
07 GÌŠ.GÌR.<GUB> <i>ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ EN- <i>ia</i>	07 the footstool of the feet of my master,
08 7- <i>šu</i> 7- <i>ta-a-an</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times

EA 242

VAT 1670

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 114); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 140); KNUDTZON (1915: 786–789); MORAN (1992: 297); HESS (1993: 62–63 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 129 [LA 89])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master
02 <i>u</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i> <i>qf-bf-ma</i>	02 and my Sun, speak;
03 <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>bi-ri-di-ia₈</i>	03 thus (says) Biridya,
04 LÚ URU. <i>ma-gíd-da</i> .KI	04 the ruker of Megliddo,
05 ÌR <i>ki-ti</i> LUGAL- <i>ri</i>	05 the loyal servant of the king(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	06 At the feet of the king, my master
07 <i>u</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i> 7- <i>šu</i> <i>u</i>	07 and my Sun, seven times and
08 7- <i>ta-a-an</i> <i>uš-še</i> - <i>hi-en</i>	08 seven times, I prostrate.

EA 243

VAT 1669

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 113); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 141); KNUDTZON (1915: 788–789); MORAN (1992: 297–298); HESS (1993: 62–63 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 128–129 [LA 88])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> E[N- <i>ia</i>]	01 To the king, [my] mas[ter]
02 ù D.UTU- <i>ia</i> <i>u</i> D[INGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> <i>qf-b</i>] <i>f-ma</i>	02 and my Sun, and [my] g[od>s<, spe]ak;
03 <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>bi-ri-di</i> - <i>ia₈</i>	03 thus (says) Birid[ya,]
04 ÌR <i>ki-it-ti</i> Ì[<i>a</i> LUGAL- <i>ri</i>]	04 the loyal servant of the king(:)]
05 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>[ia]</i>	05 At the feet of the king, [my] master
06 <i>u</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i> <i>u</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i>	06 and my Sun, and my god>s<,
07 7- <i>šu</i> ù 7- <i>ta-a-an</i> <i>a</i> [<i>m-q</i>] <i>ut</i>	07 seven times and seven times, I [fa]ll.

EA 244

CG 4768 [SR 4/12200/0]

Literature: KNUDTZON (1915: 790–793); MORAN (1992: 298–299); HESS (1993: 62–63 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 130–131 [LA 92])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master
02 ù D.UTU- <i>ia</i> <i>qf-bf-ma</i>	02 and my Sun, speak;
03 <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>bi-ri-di-ia₈</i>	03 thus (says) Biridya,
04 ÌR <i>ša</i> <i>ki-it-ti</i> <i>ša</i>	04 the loyal servant of
05 LUGAL- <i>ri</i> <i>a-na</i> 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i>	05 the king(:) At the two feet of the king,
06 EN- <i>ia</i> ù D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	06 my master and my Sun,
07 7- <i>šu</i> ù 7- <i>ta-a-an</i>	07 seven times and seven times,
08 <i>am-qú-ut-me</i>	08 I fall.

EA 246

VAT 1649

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 111); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 142); KNUDTZON (1915: 794–797); MORAN (1992: 300); HESS (1993: 62–63 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 132–133 [LA 94])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i> LUG]AL- <i>ri</i> E[N- <i>ia</i>]	01 [To the k]ng, [my] mas[ter]
02 [ì] D.UTU- <i>ia</i> <i>qf-b</i> [<i>f-m</i>] <i>a</i>	02 [and] my Sun, spe[a]k;
03 [u]m- <i>ma</i> M. <i>bi-ri-di-ia₈</i>	03 [t]hus (says) Biridya,
04 ÌR <i>ša</i> <i>ki-it-ti-ka</i>	04 your loyal servant(:)
05 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>i</i> [<i>a</i>]	05 At the feet of the king, m[y] master
06 ù D.UTU- <i>ia</i> 7- <i>šu</i>	06 and my Sun, seven times
07 ù 7- <i>ta-a-an</i> <i>am-qut</i>	07 and seven times, I fall.

EA 248

BME 29842

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 59); KNUDTZON (1915: 798–799); MORAN (1992: 301–302); HESS (1993: 166 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 138 [LA 101])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i>] M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01 [To] the king, my master
02 <i>u</i> D.UTU <i>u</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i>	02 and the Sun and my god>s<,
03 <i>qf-bf-ma</i> <i>um-ma</i> M. <i>ia₈-a</i> [<i>š-d</i>] <i>a-ta</i>	03 speak; thus (says) Ya[šd]ata,
04 ÌR <i>ki-it-ti</i> LUGAL- <i>ri</i>	04 the loyal servant of the king
05 ù <i>ep-ri</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i>	05 and the dust at the feet of the king(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL- <i>ri</i>	06 At the feet of the king,
07 EN- <i>ia</i> <i>u</i> D.UTU <i>u</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i>	07 my master and the Sun and my god>s<,
08 7- <i>šu</i> <i>u</i> 7- <i>ta-a-an</i> <i>am-qut</i>	08 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 249

VAT 1603

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 149); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 143); KNUDTZON (1915: 798–801); MORAN (1992: 302); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 139–140 [LA 105])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na] M.LUGAL-ri be-l(l)-ia
02 [qf-b]f-ma um-ma M.D.[M-UR.SAG]
03 ʾR-ka a-na GĪR.MEŠ EN-i[*a*]
04 am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 [To] the king, [my] maste[r],
02 [speak]k; thus (says) Baʿlu-UR.SAG
03 your servant(:) At the feet of m[y] master,
04 I fall.

EA 250

CG 4769 [SR 4/12204/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 154); KNUDTZON (1915: 800–805); RAINEY (1989 – 1990: 68, 70 [l. 2]); MORAN (1992: 303–304); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 140–142 [LA 106])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a M.LUGAL EN-ia qf-bf-ma
02 um-ma M.D.IM-UR.SAG ʾR-ka-ma
03 a-na GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia 7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut

Translation:

01 [T]he king, my master, speak;
02 thus (says) Baʿlu-UR.SAG, your servant:
03 At the feet of the king, my master, seven times
and seven times, I fall.

EA 252

BME 29844

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 66; pl. 21 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 806–809); ALBRIGHT (1943b); HALPERN – HUEHNERGARD (1982); MORAN (1992: 305–306); HESS (1993: 102–103 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 118 [LA 73])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL-ma bé-l(l)-ia
02 qf-bf-ma
03 um-ma M.la-ab-a-la₈ ʾR-ka
04 a-na GĪR.MEŠ-pé be-l(l)-ia am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
02 speak;
03 thus (says) Labʾayu, your servant(:)
04 At the feet of my master, I fall.

EA 253

VAT 1589

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 155); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 144); KNUDTZON (1915: 808–811); MORAN (1992: 306–307); HESS (1993: 102–103 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 116 [LA 71])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia] ù
02 [D.UTU-]ia um-ma [M.la-]ab-a-la₈
03 [ʾR]-ka ù e[p-ru]
04 [ša] ka-bá-š[e-ka]
05 [a-n]a GĪR.MEŠ LU[GAL-ri] [E]N-ia
06 7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qut

Translation:

01 [To the k]n[g, my master] and
03 my [Sun]; thus (says) [La]bʾayu,
03 your [servant] and the d[ust]
04 [on which you] tread(:)
05 [A]t the feet of the k[ing], my [mas]ter,
06 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 254

VAT 335

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 112); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 145); KNUDTZON (1915: 810–813); MORAN (1992: 307–308); HESS (1993: 102–103 [l. 2]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 177 [ll. 2–3]); LIVERANI (1998: 116–117 [LA 72])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia ù D.UTU-ia
02 um-ma M.la-ab-a-la₈ ʾR-ka
03 ù ep-ru ša ka-bá-š[e-ka]
04 a-na GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-ia
05 ù D.UTU-ia 7-šu 7-ta-a-an
06 am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master and my Sun;
02 thus (says) Labʾayu, your servant
03 and the dust on which you tread(:)
04 At the feet of the king, my master
05 and my Sun, seven times (and) seven times,
06 I fall.

EA 255

VAT 333

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 144); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 146); KNUDTZON (1915: 812–815); MORAN (1992: 308); HESS (1993: 114–115 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 177 [ll. 3–5]); LIVERANI (1998: 124 [LA 81])

Transliteration:

01 [a]-na LUGAL-ri EN-[ia]
02 ù D.UTU-ia qf-bf-[ma]
03 um-ma M.mu-ut-ba-aḫ-l[u₄]
04 ʾR-ka SAḪAR ša 2 GĪR.MEŠ-[ka]
05 ʾi-ṭi ša ka-bá-š[e-ka]
06 a-na GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri EN-ia
07 7-šu 7-ta-a-an am-qut

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, [my] master
02 and my Sun, speak[;]
03 thus (says) Mutbaʿlu,
04 your servant, the dust at [your] two feet,
05 the ground on which you tread(:)
06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 256

BME 29847

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 64; pl. 5 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 814–817); ALBRIGHT (1943a: 10–15); MORAN (1992: 309–310); HESS (1993: 82–84 [l. 4]; 114–115 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 124–125 [LA 82])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.la-an-ḫa-me EN-ia
02 qf-bf-ma um-ma M.mu-ut-D.IM
03 ʾR-ka a-na 2 GĪR.MEŠ EN-ia
04 am-qut

Translation:

01 To Yanḫamu, my master,
02 speak; thus (says) Mutbaʿlu,
03 your servant(:) At the two feet of my master,
04 I fall.

EA 257

VAT 1715

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 149); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 147); KNUDTZON (1915: 816–819); RAINEY (1989–1990: 70 [l. 3]) MORAN (1992: 310); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 122 [LA 78])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL E]N-ia
02 [qf-b]f-ma
03 [um-m]a M.D.IM-me-ḫé-er
04 [ʾ]R-ka-ma
05 a-na GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
06 7 u 7 am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 [To the king,] my [mas]ter,
02 [speak];
03 [thu]s (says) Baʿlumeḫir,
04 your [serv]ant:
05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 seven (times) and seven (times), I fall.

EA 258

VAT 329

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 167); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 148); KNUDTZON (1915: 818–819); MORAN (1992: 310–311); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 122 [LA 79])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL EN-ia
02 um-ma M.D.IM-me-ḫér
03 ʾR ki-it-te
04 LUGAL a-na GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
05 7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master;
02 thus (says) Baʿlumeḫir,
03 the loyal servant
04 of the king(:) At the feet of the king, my master,
05 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 259

VAT 1582

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 213); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 149); KNUDTZON (1915: 820–821); MORAN (1992: 311); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 123 [LA 80])

Transliteration:

01 a-na LUGAL EN-ia
02 um-[m]a M.[D.IM-me-ḫ]é-e[r]

Translation:

01 To the k[ing,] my [master];
02 th[us] (says) Baʿlumeḫir,

03	l̥iR <i>ki-it-te</i> L[UGAL]- <i>ri</i>	03	the loyal [serv]ant of the k[in]g(:)
04	<i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ E[N]- <i>ia</i>	04	At the feet of my mas[ter,]
05	<i>7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qu[t]</i>	05	seven times and seven times, I fall[!].

EA 260

‘Oppert’

Literature: OPPERT (1888: 253); KNUDTZON (1915: 820–821); MORAN (1992: 311); ARTZI (1968: 170); HESS (1993: 50–52 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 296–297 [LA 269])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> LUGAL GAL <i>be-li-ia</i>	01 To the great king, my master;
02 <i>M.ba-lu-mé-er iq-bi</i>	02 (thus) Ba‘lumir says:
03 <i>7-šu ù 7-šu-ma</i>	03 Seven times and seven times,
04 <i>a-na 2 G̃R LUGAL GAL</i>	04 at the two feet of the great king,
05 <i>D.UTU a-na sa-me im-qú-ut</i>	05 the Sun in the heaven, I fall.

EA 261

BME 29858

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 75, pl. 16); KNUDTZON (1915: 820–823); MORAN (1992: 312); HESS (1993: 66–67 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 127 [LA 85])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 <i>D.UTU-ia qf-bf-ma</i>	02 my Sun, speak;
03 <i>um-ma M.da-aš-ru</i>	03 thus (says) Dašru,
04 l̥iR <i>ki-it-te</i> LUGAL	04 the loyal servant of the king(:)
05 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	05 At the feet of the king, my master
06 <i>u D.UTU <-ia> 7-šu u 7-ta-a-an am-[qu]t</i>	06 and <my> Sun, seven times and seven times, I fall[!].

EA 262

CG 4786 [SR 4/12220/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 127); KNUDTZON (1915: 822–823); MORAN (1992: 312); HESS (1993: 66–67 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 127 [LA 86])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 <i>qf-bf-ma</i>	02 speak;
03 <i>um-ma M.da-aš-ru</i>	03 thus (says) Dašru,
04 l̥iR <i>ki-it-te</i> LUGAL	04 the loyal servant of the king(:)
05 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 <i>7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qu[t]</i>	06 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 263

VAT 1688

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 169); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 150); KNUDTZON (1915: 822–825); MORAN (1992: 312–313); LIVERANI (1998: 121 [LA 77])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i> LUGAL <i>be-li-ia</i>]	01 [To the king, my master,]
02 [<i>qf-bf-ma</i>]	02 [speak;]
03 [<i>u[m-ma]</i> l̥iR- <i>ka-ma</i>]	03 [(t)hus (says) [your servant]
04 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ[	04 At the feet [
05 <i>am-qú-ut 7 ù 7 [</i>	05 I fall, seven (times) and seven [(times)

EA 264

BME 29853

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 70); KNUDTZON (1915: 824–827); MORAN (1992: 313); HESS (1993: 153–155 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 119–120 [LA 74])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>[ia]</i>	01 To the king, [my] master;
02 <i>um-ma M.ta-gi</i> l̥iR- <i>k[a]</i>	02 thus (says) Tagi, yo[ur] servant(:)
03 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	03 At the feet of the king, my master,
04 <i>7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an am-qu[t]</i>	04 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 265

VAT 1697

Literature: KNUDTZON (1915: 826–827); MORAN (1992: 314); HESS (1993: 153–155 [l. 2])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL- <i>ri</i> EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master;
02 <i>um-ma M.ta-gi</i> l̥iR- <i>ka</i>	02 thus (says) Tagi, your servant(:)
03 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	03 At the feet of the king, my master,
04 <i>am-qu[t]</i>	04 I fall.

EA 266

VAT 1590

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 156); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 152); KNUDTZON (1915: 828–831); MORAN (1992: 314–315); HESS (1993: 153–155 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 120–121 [LA 266]); VITA (2000b: Fig. II [photo; obv.])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i>] M.LUGAL E[N- <i>ia</i>]	01 [To] the king, [my] mas[ter,]
02 [DINGIR].MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.[UTU- <i>ia</i>]	02 my [god]>s<, [my Sun,]
03 [<i>qf-bf-ma</i>]	03 [s]peak[;]
04 <i>um-ma M.ta-a-gi</i> l̥iR- <i>ka</i>	04 thus (says) Tagi, your servant,]
05 <i>ep-ri ša</i> G̃R.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at [your] fe[et](:)
06 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ LUGAL E[N- <i>ia</i>]	06 At the feet of the king, [my] mas[ter,]
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07 my god>s<, my Sun,
08 <i>7-šu 7-tá-a-an [am-qu]t</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, [I fall.]

EA 267

CG 4771 [SR 4/12232/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 109); KNUDTZON (1915: 830–831); MORAN (1992: 315); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 100 [LA 43])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i>] M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 [T]o the king, my master,
02 [DINGIR].MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my [god]>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qf-bf-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma M.mil-ki-li</i> l̥iR- <i>ka-ma</i>	04 thus (says) Milkilu, your servant>:<
05 <i>ep-ri ša</i> G̃R.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at your feet(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07
08 <i>7-šu 7-tá-a-an am-qú-ut</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 268

VAT 1532

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 108); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 153); KNUDTZON (1915: 830–833); MORAN (1992: 315–316); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 101 [LA 44])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [<i>a-na</i> M.] ‘LUGAL’ E[N- <i>ia</i>] DING[IR.MEŠ- <i>li</i>]	01 [To] the ‘king,’ my [mas]ter, [m]y go[d>s<.]
02 [D.]UTU- <i>ia qf-bf-ma</i>	02 my Sun, speak;
03 [<i>um-</i>]ma M.mil-ki-li l̥iR- <i>ka[-ma]</i>	03 [th]us (says) Milkilu, your servant[>:<]
04 [<i>e]p-ri</i> ‘st’ ša G̃R.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	04 [the d]u ‘st’ at your feet(:)
05 <i>a-na</i> G̃R.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	06 my god>s<, my Sun,
07 <i>7-šu 7-tá-a-an [a]m-‘qú’-ut</i>	07 seven times (and) seven times, [I] f‘al’.

EA 269

BME 29846

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 63); KNUDTZON (1915: 832–833); MORAN (1992: 316); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 101 [LA 45])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.mil-ki-li ÌR- <i>ka</i>	04 thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
05 <i>ep-ri ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at your feet(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07 my god>s<, my Sun,
08 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 270

BME 29845

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 62; pl. 2 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 834–835); MORAN (1992: 316–317); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 102 [LA 47])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.mil-ki-li ÌR- <i>ka</i>	04 thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
05 <i>ep-ri ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at your feet(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07 my god>s<, my Sun,
08 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 271

VAT 1531

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 110); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 154); KNUDTZON (1915: 834–837); MORAN (1992: 317); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 101–102 [LA 46])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.mil-ki-li ÌR- <i>ka</i>	04 thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
05 <i>ep-ri ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	05 the dust at your feet(:)
06 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	06 At the feet of the king, my master,
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07 my god>s<, my Sun,
08 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 272

BME 29863

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 80); KNUDTZON (1915: 836–839); MORAN (1992: 317–318); LIVERANI (1998: 77 [LA 19]); RAINEY (2003: 201*–202*); VITA (2006: 440–441 [ll. 1–4])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-]na M.LUG[AL EN- <i>ia</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i>]	01 [T]o the k[ing, my master, my god(:)]
02 [D.]UTU- <i>ia</i> [qí-bí-ma]	02 [my] [Sun,] [speak;]
03 [um]-[ma] M.[D.]IM.[DI.] [KUD] [ÌR-ka]	03 [thus] [Ba'lu]šip[ti,] [your servant]
04 [ep-ri]š[ša] [GÌR.MEŠ]-[ka]	04 [the du]s[t] a[t your] [feet(:)]
05 [a-n]a G[ÌR.MEŠ] L[UGA]L EN- <i>ia</i>	05 [A]t the [foot] of the k[ing], [my] [master,]
06 [DINGIR.MEŠ]- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	06 my [god>s<,] [my] Sun,
07 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	07 [seven] [times] (and) [seven] [times,] [I] [fall.]

EA 273

VAT 1686

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 137); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 155); KNUDTZON (1915: 838–8415); MORAN (1992: 318); HESS (1993: 175 [l. 4]); VITA (2000b: Fig. II [photo; obv.]); LIVERANI (1998: 125–126 [LA 83])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.Belet-UR.MAḪ.MEŠ	04 thus (says) Belet-UR.MAḪ.MEŠ,
05 GEMĒ- <i>ka a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL	05 your maidservant(:) At the feet of the king,
06 EN- <i>ia</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	06 my master, my god>s<, my Sun,
07 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qú-ut</i>	07 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 274

CG 4773 [SR 4/12216/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 138); KNUDTZON (1915: 840–841); MORAN (1992: 319); HESS (1993: 175 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 126 [LA 84])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 <i>a-na</i> M.LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	01 To the king, my master,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 speak;
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.Belet-U[R].MAḪ.MEŠ	04 thus (says) Belet-U[R].MAḪ.MEŠ,
05 GEMĒ- <i>ka ep-ri</i>	05 your maidservant, the dust
06 <i>ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka</i>	06 at your feet(:)
07 <i>a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>	07 At the feet of the king, my master,
08 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	08 my god>s<, my Sun,
09 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	09 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 275

VAT 1682

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 166); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 156); KNUDTZON (1915: 840–843); MORAN (1992: 319); HESS (1993: 80 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 111 [LA 62])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>]	01 [To the king, my master,]
02 [DINGIR].MEŠ-[<i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>]	02 [my god]s, [my Sun,]
03 <i>qí-bí-ma</i>	03 [s]p[ea]k;]
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.[a-] [b-zi-ba-da]	04 thus (says) Ya'zibada,
05 ÌR- <i>ka ep-ri</i>	05 your servant, the dust
06 <i>ša</i> GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ	06 at your feet(:) At the feet
07 LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i> DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i>	07 of the king, my master, my god>s<,
08 D.UTU- <i>ia</i> 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	08 my Sun, seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 276

VAT 1706

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 187); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 157); KNUDTZON (1915: 842–843); MORAN (1992: 320); HESS (1993: 80 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 111 [LA 63])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>]	01 [To the king, my master,]
02 [DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>]	02 [my god>s<, my Sun,]
03 [qí-bí-ma]	03 [s]p[ea]k;]
04 <i>um-ma</i> M.[i]a-a-[b-zi-ba-da]	04 thus (says) [Y]a[ʿzibada,]
05 ÌR- <i>ka ep-ri</i> [ša]	05 your servant, the dust [at]
06 GÌR.MEŠ- <i>ka a-na</i> GÌR.M[BEŠ LUGAL EN- <i>ia</i>]	06 your feet(:) At the fee[t of the king, my master,]
07 DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>ia</i> D.UTU- <i>ia</i>	07 my god>s<, my Sun,
08 7-šu 7- <i>tá-a-an am-qut</i>	08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 277

BME 29864

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 81); KNUDTZON (1915: 842–845); MORAN (1992: 320); LIVERANI (1998: 111–112 [LA 64])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na LUGAL EN-ia]*
 02 *[DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia]*
 03 *[um-ma M.*
 04 *l]R-k[a ep-ri ša GÌR.M]EŠ-ka*
 05 *[a]-na GÌR].M[EŠ LUGAL EN-ia]*
 06 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.[UTU-ia]*
 07 *7-šu 7-t[á-a-an am-]qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master,]
 02 [my god>s<, my Sun,]
 03 [thus (says)
 04 yo[ur] serv[ant, the dust at] your [fee]t(:)
 05 [A]t the f[e]e[t of the king, my master,]
 06 my god>s<, [my Sun,]
 07 seven times (and) seven t[imes, I f]all.

EA 278

BME 29852

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 69; pl. 5 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 844–845); MORAN (1992: 320); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 4]); SMITH (1998: 147–148, 158); LIVERANI (1998: 80–81 [LA 24])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia*
 03 *qf-bf-ma*
 04 *um-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta*
 05 *lR-ka ep-ri ša*
 06 *GÌR.MEŠ-ka a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL*
 07 *EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia*
 08 *7-šu 7-tá-a-an am-qut*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 my god>s<, my Sun,
 03 speak;
 04 thus (says) Šuwardata,
 05 your servant, the dust at
 06 your feet(:) At the feet of the king,
 07 my master, my god>s<, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 279

VAT 1647

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 107); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 158); KNUDTZON (1915: 844–847); MORAN (1992: 321); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 82 [LA 26]); SMITH (1998: 148–149, 158)

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na] LUGAL EN-ia*
 02 *[DINGIR.MEŠ-]ia D.UTU-ia*
 03 *[qf-b]f-ma*
 04 *[u]m-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta*
 05 *[l]R-ka ep-ri ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 06 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia*
 07 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia*
 08 *7-šu 7-tá-a-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master,
 02 my god "s<", my Sun,
 03 [spe]ak;
 04 t[hus] (says) Šuwardata,
 05 your serv[ant], the "dust" at your feet(:)
 06 "At" the feet of the king, my master,
 07 my god>s<, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 280

CG 4772 [SR 4/12213/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 100); KNUDTZON (1915: 846–849); MORAN (1992: 321–322); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 82–83 [LA 27]); SMITH (1998: 149–150, 159)

Transliteration:

01 *a-n[a M.]LUGAL EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia*
 03 *qf-bf-ma*
 04 *um[-ma M.]šu-wa-ar-da-ta*
 05 *lR-[k]a ep-ri ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 06 *a-na [GÌR].MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia*
 07 *DINGIR.MEŠ[-ia] D.UTU-ia*
 08 *7-šu 7-tá-a-an am-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 T[o] the king, my master,
 02 [m]y go[d>s<], my Sun,
 03 s[p]eak;
 04 th[us] (says) Šuwardata,
 05 [yo]ur servant, the dust at your feet(:)
 06 At the [fe]et of the king, my master,
 07 my god>s<, my Sun,
 08 seven times (and) "seven" times I fall.

EA 281

VAT 1681

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 190); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 159); KNUDTZON (1915: 848–851); MORAN (1992: 322); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 5]); RAINEY (1996a: I, 147 [ll. 1–3]); LIVERANI (1998: 83 [LA 28]); SMITH (1998: 150–151, 159–160)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-nu-ia D.UTU.MEŠ-ia*
 03 *ša-ri-ia*
 04 *qf-bf-ma*
 05 *[u]m-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta lR-ka-ma*
 06 *[a-na GÌR.MEŠ] EN-ia 7-šú-ut*

Translation:

01 "T"o the kin[g], my master,
 02 my god ">s<", "and" the Sun>s<,
 03 and my br[ea]th,
 04 speak;
 05 [t]hus (says) "Š"uwa[r] [dat]a, your servant:
 06 [A]t the fee[t] of my master, "seven" (times) and
 seven (times) I fall,
 07 both on the b[e]l[l]y "and on the b'a[c]k.

EA 282

BME 29851

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 68; pl. 12 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 850–853); MILLARD (1982: 146–147); MORAN (1992: 323); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 84 [LA 29]); SMITH (1998: 152, 161–162)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-nu D.UTU-ia*
 03 *um-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta lR-ka-ma*
 04 *7-šú-ut ma-aq-ia-ri*
 05 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 06 *šú-ut ma-aq-ia-ri*
 07 *šú-ut-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 god>s< and my Sun(:)
 03 thus (says) Šuwardata, <your> servant:
 04 Seven (times) and seven (times), here I f[a]ll
 05 at the feet of the king, my master,
 06 both on the belly
 07 and on the "b"ack.

EA 283

VAT 339

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 101); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 160); KNUDTZON (1915: 852–855); MORAN (1992: 323–324); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 85 [LA 31]); SMITH (1998: 152–154, 163–164)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-nu-ia D.UTU-ia*
 03 *um-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta lR-ka*
 04 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia am-qut*
 05 *7-šú-ut an-na*
 06 *ma-aq-ia-ti a-na GÌR.MEŠ "LUGAL-ri EN-ia*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 my god>s< and my Sun;
 03 thus (says) Šuwardata, your servant(:)
 04 At the feet of the king, my master, I fall.
 05 Seven (times) and seven (times), here and now,
 06 I fall at the fee[t] of the "king," my master.

EA 284

BME 29850

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 67); KNUDTZON (1915: 854–857); MORAN (1992: 324–325); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 84–85 [LA 30]); SMITH (1998: 154–155, 165–166)

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUG[AL]-ri EN-ia*
 02 *um-ma M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta lR-ka*
 03 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 04 *ma-aq-ti-ti 7-šú-ut*
 05 *[ma]-aq-ti-ti ka-ba-tu-ma šú-ut-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 "T"o the kin[g,] m[y] master;
 02 thus (says) Šuwa[r]da[t]a, [your] serv[ant(:)]
 03 "A"t the "fe"et of the king, my master,
 04 I fall. Seven (times) and seven (times), he "re"
 05 [I] "fa"ll, both on the belly "and on the b'a[c]k.]

EA 285

VAT 1601

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 174); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 161); KNUDTZON (1915: 856–859); MORAN (1992: 325); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 88–89 [LA 36])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia qf-bi-ma]	01 [To the ki]n[g, my master, speak;]
02 [um-ma M.ÌR-ḫe-ba ÌR-ka-ma]	02 [thus (says) Abdi]ḫeba, your servant:]
03 [a-na] 2 GÌR.MEŠ [LUGAL-ri EN-ia]	03 [At] the two feet [of the king, my master,]
04 7-ta-a-an ù 7-ṭ(a-a-an am-qut-mi]	04 seven times and seven t[imes, I fall.]

EA 286

VAT 1642

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 102); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 162); KNUDTZON (1915: 858–863); MORAN (1992: 326–327); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 94–96 [LA 40])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a]-na M.LUGAL EN-ia qf-bi-ma	01 [T]o the king, my master, speak;
02 um-ma M.ÌR-ḫe-ba ÌR-ka-ma	02 thus (says) Abdi]ḫeba, your servant:
03 a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia LUGAL-ri	03 At the two feet of my master, the king,
04 7-ta-a-an ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut-mi	04 seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 287

VAT 1644

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 103); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 163); KNUDTZON (1915: 862–869); MORAN (1992: 327–330); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 91–93 [LA 38])

Transliteration:
01 [a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-la (qf-bi-ma]
02 [um-ma M.ÌR-ḫe-ba ÌR-k(a-ma a-na]
03 [2 GÌR.MEŠ] EN-la 7-ṭ(a-a-an ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut-mi]

Translation:

01 [To the ki]n[g, my master, [speak;]
02 [thus (says) Ab]di]ḫeba, yo[ur] servant[: At]
03 [the two feet] of my master, seven t[imes and seven times, I fall.]

EA 288

VAT 1643

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 103); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 164); KNUDTZON (1915: 868–873); MORAN (1992: 330–332); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 96–98 [LA 41])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-n]a M.LUGAL-ri EN-la D.U[T]U-[la qf-bi-ma]	01 [T]o the king, my master [my] S[u]n, [speak;]
02 um-ma M.ÌR-ḫe-ba ÌR-ka-ma	02 thus (says) Abdi]ḫeba, your servant:
03 a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-la 7-ta-a-an	03 At the two feet of the king, my master, seven times
04 ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut-mi	04 and seven times, I fall.

EA 289

VAT 1645 + VAT 2709

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: nos. 105 and 199); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 165); KNUDTZON (1915: 872–877); MORAN (1992: 332–333); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 89–91 [LA 37])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a]-na LUGAL-ri EN-la (qf-bi-ma]	01 [T]o the king, my master, [speak;]
02 um-ma M.ÌR-ḫe-ba M.ÌR-k(a-ma]	02 thus (says) Abdi]ḫeba, yo[ur] servant[:]
03 a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ EN-la a[m-qut-mi]	03 At the two feet of my master, I [fall >and<]
04 7-ta-a-an ù 7-ta-a-an	04 seven times and seven times.

EA 290

VAT 1646

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 106); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 166); KNUDTZON (1915: 876–879); MORAN (1992: 333–334); HESS (1993: 176–177 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 93–94 [LA 39])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] M.LUGAL-ri EN-la	01 [To] the king, my master,
02 [qf-bi-ma um-ma	02 [s]peak; thus (says)
03 [M.ÌR]-ḫe-ba M.ÌR-ka-ma a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ	03 [Abdi]ḫeba, your servant: At the two feet
04 [LUGAL]-ri E[N]-ia 7-ta-a-an ù 7-ta-a-an am-qut	04 [of the ki]ng, my mas[ter,] seven times and seven times, I fall.

EA 292

BME 37647

Literature: SCHEIL (1892: 298); KNUDTZON (1915: 878–883); MORAN (1992: 335–336); HESS (1993: 53–54 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 103–104 [LA 49])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-la DINGIR[.MEŠ-la]	01 To the king, my master, [my] god[>s<]
02 D.UTU-la qf-bi-m[a]	02 my Sun, speak[:]
03 um-ma M.D.IM.DI.KUD ÌR-k[a]	03 thus (says) Ba'lušip[ti, yo[ur] servant,
04 ep-ri ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka	04 the dust at your two feet(:)
05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-la	05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 DINGIR.MEŠ-la D.UTU-la 7-šu	06 my god>s<, my Sun, seven times
07 7-ta-a-an am-qú-ut	07 (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 293

CG 4774 [SR 4/12231/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 201); KNUDTZON (1915: 882–883); MORAN (1992: 336); HESS (1993: 53–54 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 102–103 [LA 48])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na LUGAL EN-]la	01 [To the king,] my [master,]
02 [DIN]GIR.[MEŠ-la D.UTU-ṭa (qf-bi-ma]	02 [my go]d[>s<, m]y [Sun, speak;]
03 [u]m-ma M.D.[IM.DI].KUD ÌR-ka]	03 [t]hus (says) [Ba'luš]ip[ti, [your] serv[ant,]
04 [e]p-ri ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka	04 [the d]ust at your feet(:)
05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-la	05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 DINGIR.MEŠ-la D.UTU-la 7-šu	06 my god>s<, my Sun, seven times
07 7-ta-a-an am-qú-ut	07 (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 294

BME 29854

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 71; pl. 1 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 884–887); MORAN (1992: 336–337); HESS (1993: 53–54 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 104–105 [LA 50])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-la DINGIR.MEŠ-la	01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
02 D.UTU-la qf-bi-ma	02 my Sun, speak;
03 u[m-m]a M.š[ti-] ÌR-ka	03 t[hu]s (says) Š[i], your servant(:)
04 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL E[N]-ṭaṭ DINGIR.ME[š]-la	04 At the feet of the king, ṭṭmyṭ mas[ter], my god[>s<]
05 D.UTU-ṭaṭ 7-[š]u 7-ta-a-an	05 ṭṭmyṭ Sun, seven [tim]es (and) seven times,
06 am-qú-ut	06 I fall.

EA 295

VAT 1650

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 88); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 168); KNUDTZON (1915: 886–889); MORAN (1992: 337–338); HESS (1993: 53–54 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 148–149 [LA 116])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL-ri E]N-ia [D].UTU-ia DI[NGIR.MEŠ-ia]
 02 [qf-b]f-ma
 03 [um-ma M.D.IM.]DI.KUD ʾR-ka ʾR ki-[r]
 04 [ep-r] šap-li 2 KUŠ.E.S[ʾR]
 05 [M.LUG]A[L-r]i EN-ia a-na GʾR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-[r]
 06 EN-ia D.UTU-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia 7-[šu]
 07 ʾi 7-it-ta-a-an am-qū-u[ʾ]

Translation:

01 [To the king,] my [mas]ter, my Sun, [my] g[od>s<,
 02 [spe]ak;
 03 [thus (says) Baʿlu]šipti, your servant, the loy[al] servant,
 04 [the dust] under the two sanda[ls]
 05 [of the ki]n[g], my master(:) At the feet of the kin[g],
 06 my master, my Sun, my god>s<, seven [times]
 07 and seven times, I fall[.]

EA 296

BME 29840

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: 57); KNUDTZON (1915: 888–891); MORAN (1992: 338–339); HESS (1993: 79–80 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 66 [LA 1])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL-ʾ[ʾ] E[N]-ia
 02 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.[UTU.MEŠ]-ia
 03 qf-bf-ma
 04 um-ma M.ia-a[ʾ] ti-ri ʾR-ka
 05 ep-ri ša GʾR.MEŠ-ka
 06 a-na GʾR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 07 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU.MEŠ-ia 7-šu
 08 ʾi 7-it-ta-a-an am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 To the kin[g], my mas[ter],
 02 my god>s<, my [Sun>s<,
 03 speak;
 04 thus (says) Yaḥtīru, your servant,
 05 the dust at your feet(:)
 06 At the feet of the king, my master,
 07 my god>s<, my Sun>s<, seven times
 08 and seven times, I fall.

EA 297

BME 29834

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 51; pl. 5); KNUDTZON (1915: 890–893); MORAN (1992: 339); HESS (1993: 84 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 105–106 [LA 52])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 02 D.UTU-ia qf-bf-ma
 03 um-ma M.ia-pa-ʾ[ʾ] ʾR-k[a-ma]
 04 ep-ri ša 2 GʾR.MEŠ-[k]a
 05 a-na GʾR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 06 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia 7-šu
 07 7-ta-a-an am-qū-ut

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, speak;
 03 thus (says) Yapaḥu, yo[ur] servant[:]
 04 the dust at [yo]ur two feet(:)
 05 At the feet of the king, my master,
 06 my god>s<, my Sun, seven times
 07 (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 298

BME 29833

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 50); KNUDTZON (1915: 892–895); MORAN (1992: 340); HESS (1993: 84 [l. 4]); RAINNEY (1996a: I, 192–193 [ll. 9–14]); LIVERANI (1998: 106 [LA 53])

Transliteration:

01 [a-n]a LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 02 D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša
 03 iš-tu AN.sa-m[ā]-i
 04 um-ma M.ia-pa[ʾ] ʾLÜ ša
 05 URU.ga-az-ri.KI
 06 ʾR-ka ep-ri ša

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun
 03 from the heaven(:)
 04 thus (says) Yapaḥu, the ruler of
 05 Gazri,
 06 your servant, the dust at

07 2 GʾR.MEŠ-ka LÜ.kàr-tap-p[í]
 08 ša ANŠE.KU.RA-ka
 09 a-na 2 GʾR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 10 D.UTU ša iš-tu s[a]-m[ā]-i
 11 7-šu 7-ta-a-an
 12 lu-ʾi iš-ta-ʾa-ʾi-in
 13 ka-bat-tum-ma u
 14 še-ru-ma

07 your two feet, the groom
 08 of your horse<s>(:)
 09 At the two feet of the king, my master,
 10 the Sun from the heaven,
 11 seven times (and) seven times,
 12 I verily prostrate,
 13 on the belly and
 14 on the back.

EA 299

BME 29832

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 49); KNUDTZON (1915: 894–897); MORAN (1992: 340–341); HESS (1993: 84 [l. 3]); RAINNEY (1996a: I, 193 [ll. 7–11]); LIVERANI (1998: 107 [LA 54])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 02 D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša i[š]-tu
 03 AN.sa-me um-ma M.ia-pa-[ʾ]i
 04 LÜ ša URU.ga-az-ri.KI
 05 ʾR-ka ep-ri ša GʾR.MEŠ-ka
 06 LÜ.ku[š]-s[ā] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
 07 a-na 2 GʾR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
 08 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia D.UTU
 09 ša iš-tu AN.sa-me 7-šu
 10 u 7-ta-a-an lu-ʾi am-qut-ma
 11 ka-bat-tum u še-ru-ma

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun f[r]om
 03 the heaven(:) thus (says) Yapaḥu,
 04 the ruler of Gazru
 05 your servant, the dust at your feet,
 06 the groom of your horses(:)
 07 At the two feet of the king, my master,
 08 my god>s<, my Sun, the Sun
 09 from the heaven, seven times
 10 and seven times I verily fall,
 11 on the belly and on the back.

EA 300

VAT 1606

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 171); KNUDTZON (1915: 896–897); MORAN (1992: 341); IZREʾEL (1978: 15, n. 15); LIVERANI (1998: 107–108 [LA 55])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na M.LUGAL E]N-ʾiaʾ DINGIR.[MEŠ-ia]
 02 [D.UTU-ia] D.[UT]U [š]a ʾišʾ-[tu]
 03 [AN.sa-me um-m]a
 04 [M.ia-pa-ʾ]i ʾaʾ-ʾmiʾ-[ʾ]i
 05 [š]a URU.ga[ʾ]z-[ʾ]i.ʾKIʾ ʾR-ka₄
 06 [ep-ri š]a 2 GʾR.MEŠ-ka₄
 07 LÜ.ʾkàrʾ-ʾtap-p[í] š[ā] ANŠE.]ʾKURʾ.RA.MEŠ-ka₄
 08 a-[n]a 2 GʾʾRʾ.M[ÉŠ]ʾ LUGALʾ EN-ia
 09 7-šu u 7-ta-a-an
 10 [am-]qut

Translation:

01 [To the king], ʾmyʾ [ma]ster, [my] god[>s<],
 02 [my Sun], the [Su]n ʾfrʾ[om]
 03 [the heaven(:) thus] (says)
 04 [Yapaḥu], the ʾrulʾ[er]
 05 [of Ga]z[er]u, your servant,
 06 [the dust at] your two feet,
 07 the ʾgrʾoom o[f] your [hor]ʾsʾes(:)
 08 A[t] the two fʾeʾe[t] of the ʾkingʾ, my master,
 09 seven times and seven times,
 10 [I f]all.

EA 301

CG 4781 [SR 4/12214/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 117); KNUDTZON (1915: 898–899); MORAN (1992: 342); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 74 [LA 13])

Transliteration:

01 a-[n]a M.[LU]GAL EN-ia D.[UTU]
 02 ša iš-[ʾ]u AN.sa-m[ā]-[ʾ]
 03 um-ma M.šu-ba-an-[d]i
 04 ʾR-ka-ma e[pl]-ʾ[ʾ]i ša
 05 2 GʾR.MEŠ-ka a-na 2 GʾR.MEŠ
 06 LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
 07 D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša
 08 iš-tu AN.sa-m[ā]-i
 09 7-šu ʾi 7-ta-a-an

Translation:

01 T[o] the [kl]ng, my master, [the Sun]
 02 fr[o]m the heave[n;]
 03 thus (says) Šuban[d]u,
 05 your servant>:, the d[u]s[t] at
 05 of your two feet(:) At the two feet
 06 of the kng, my master, my god>s<,
 07 my Sun, the Sun
 08 from the heaven,
 09 seven times and seven times,

10 *iš-ti-ḫa-ḫi-in ka-bat-tu₄-ma*
 11 *ù ši-ru-[m]a*

EA 302

VAT 332

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 120); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 172); KNUDTZON (1915: 898–901); MORAN (1992: 342); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 74 [LA 14])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL EN-*ia*
 02 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 03 D.UTU *iš-tu* [s]a-mì-*i*
 04 *um-ma* M.šu-ba-an-[d]i
 05 *ìr-ka-ma ep-ri ša*
 06 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka a-na* GÌR.MEŠ-*pí*
 07 LUGAL EN-*ia* D.UTU
 08 *iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*l*
 09 *7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an*
 10 *iš-ti-ḫi-ḫi-ln*

10 I prostrate, on the belly
 11 and on the ba[c]k.

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 my god>s<, my Sun,
 03 the Sun from the [h]eaven;
 04 thus (says) Šuban[d]u,
 05 your servant, the dust at
 06 your feet(:) At the feet
 07 of the king, my master, the Sun
 08 from the heaven,
 09 seven times and seven times,
 10 I prostrate.

EA 303

BME 29821

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 38); KNUDTZON (1915: 900–901); MORAN (1992: 342–343); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 4]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 180 [ll. 5–6]); LIVERANI (1998: 74–75 [LA 15])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*
 02 D.UTU-*ia* D.UTU *ša iš-tu*
 03 AN.sa-mì-*i um-ma*
 04 M.šu-ba-an-di *ìr-ka*
 05 *ep-ri ša* 2 UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
 06 LÚ.ku-*sí ša* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*ka*
 07 *a-na* 2 UZU.GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-*ri*
 08 EN-*ia* D.UTU *ša iš-tu*
 09 AN.sa-mì-*i 7-šu*
 10 *ù 7-ta-a-an iš-ti-ḫa-ḫi-ln*
 11 UZU.*ka-bat-tu-ma*
 12 *ù UZU.ši-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun from
 03 the heaven; thus (says)
 04 Šubandu, your servant,
 05 the dust at your two feet,
 06 the groom of your horses(:)
 07 At the two feet of the king,
 08 my master, the Sun from
 09 the heaven, seven times
 10 and seven times, I prostrate,
 11 on the belly
 12 and on the back.

EA 304

BME 29822

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 39; pl. 12 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 902–903); MORAN (1992: 343); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 75 [LA 16])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* [EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*]
 02 D.UTU-*ia* D.UTU *ša*
 03 *iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*i*
 04 *um-ma* M.šu-ba-an-di
 05 *ìr-ka ep-ri*
 06 *ša* UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-[*ka*]
 07 LÚ.ku-*sí ša* [ANŠE.KUR.RA].MEŠ-*ka*
 08 *a-na* UZU.GÌR.MEŠ [LUGAL]
 09 EN-*ia* D.UTU *ša iš-tu*
 10 AN.sa-mì-*i [7-šu]*
 11 *ù 7-ta-a-an*
 12 *[i]š-[t]a-ḫ[a]-ḫi-ln*
 13 UZU.[*ka-b*]at-tum-*ma*
 14 *ù UZU.ši-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king, [my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun
 03 from the heaven;
 04 thus (says) Šubandu,
 05 your servant, the dust
 06 at [your] feet,
 07 the groom of your [horse]s(:)
 08 At the feet [of the king,]
 09 my master, the Sun [fr]om
 10 the heaven, [seven times]
 11 and seven times,
 12 [I] p[ri]os[t]rate,
 13 on the [bel]ly
 14 and on the b[a]ck.

EA 305

CG 4780 [SR 4/12215/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 116); KNUDTZON (1915: 902–905); MORAN (1992: 343); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 75 [LA 17])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* D.UTU
 02 *ša iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*i*
 03 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* D.UTU-*ia*
 04 *um-ma* M.šu-ba-an-*du*
 05 *ìr-ka-ma ep-ri*
 06 *ša* UZU.GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
 07 LÚ.ku-*sí* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ka*
 08 *a-na* 2 UZU.GÌR.MEŠ
 09 LUGAL *be-lí-ia* D.UTU
 10 *ša iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*i*
 11 *7-šu ù 7-ta-a-an*
 12 *lu-ù iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-ln*
 13 UZU.*ka-bat-tum-ma*
 14 *ù UZU.ši-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, the Sun
 02 from the heaven,
 03 my god>s<, my Sun;
 04 thus (says) Šubandu,
 05 your servant, the dust
 06 at your feet,
 07 the groom of your horses(:)
 08 At the two feet
 09 of the king, my master, the Sun
 10 from the heaven,
 11 seven times and seven times,
 12 I verily prostrate,
 13 on the belly
 14 and on the back.

EA 306

BME 29823

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 40); KNUDTZON (1915: 904–907); MORAN (1992: 344); HESS (1993: 144–145 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 75–76 [LA 18])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* M.LUGAL-*ri* EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*]
 02 [D.UT]U-[*í*]a D.[UTU *ša iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*í*]
 03 [*um-í*]ma M.šu-[*b*]a-an-[*dí*]r-*ka*]
 04 [*e*]p-*ri ša* 2 G[ÌR.MEŠ-*ka*]
 05 [LÚ].*k[u*g-*sí*] *í ša* [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*ka*]
 06 *a-[n]*a 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL [E]N-*ia*
 07 [D].UTU *ša iš-tu* AN.sa-mì-*í*
 08 *7-šu ù 7-t[a]-a-an*
 09 [*lu*]-*ù iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-ln*
 10 UZU.*ka-bat-tum-[m]a*
 11 *ù UZU.š[í]-u[h]-r[u]-ma*

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 [m]y [Su]n, [the Sun from the heaven;]
 03 [th]us (says) Šu[b]and[du, your servant,]
 04 [the d]us at [your] two f[ee]t,
 05 the g[roo]m of [your horses(:)]
 06 A[t] the two feet of the king, my [mas]ter,
 07 the Sun from the heaven,
 08 seven t[imes] and seven t[imes],
 09 I ver[il]ly prostrate,
 10 on the bel[l]y
 11 and on the b[a]c[k].

EA 307

VAT 1586

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 215); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 170); KNUDTZON (1915: 906–909); MORAN (1992: 345); LIVERANI (1998: 113 [LA 67])

Transliteration:

01* *[7-šu ù] 7-t[a-a-an]*
 02* *[i]š-ti-ḫa-ḫi-ln*

Translation:

01* [seven times and] seven t[imes],
 02* [I] p[ro]strate.

EA 308

VAT 1602

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 172); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 173); KNUDTZON (1915: 908–909); MORAN (1992: 345); LIVERANI (1998: 113 [LA 68]); VITA (2000a: 2; 6, fig. 1 [photo; obv.])

Transliteration:

01* [*ep-ri ša*] GÌR.[MEŠ]-*ka₄*
 02* [LÚ.kàr-tap-p] *í š[a]* ANŠE.ʽKUR.ʽRA.ʽMEŠ-*ka₄*
 03* [*a-na*] ʽGÌR.ʽMEŠ ʽLUGAL ʽEN ʽ-*ia*
 04* [DINGIR.MEŠ-] *ia* (D.UTU-) *ia* D.UT[U]
 05* [*ša*] *iš-[tu* AN].sa-mì-*í*

Translation:

01* [the dust at your] f[le]et,
 02* [the groo]m o[f] your hoʽrseʽs(:)
 03* [At the ʽf[e]e[tʽ of the ʽking,ʽ my ʽmaster,ʽ
 04* my [god>s<], my Sun, the Su[n]
 05* fr[om] the heaven,

06* [7]-šu [u 7-*ḫ*a-a-an
07* *lu-ú iṣ-ḫa-ha*]-*ḫi* [i]
08* [

EA 309

VAT 1874

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 221); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 174); KNUDTZON (1915: 910–911); MORAN (1992: 345); LIVERANI (1998: 113–114 [LA 69])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LU[GA]L [EN-*ia*]
02 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* [D.UTU-*ia*]
03 D.UTU [š]a [*iṣ-tu* AN.*sa-me*]
04 *um-ma* M.[
05 [š]a [

06* [seven] times [and seven t]imes,
07* I verily prostrate
08* [

Translation:

01 To the ki[n]g, [my master,]
02 my god>s<, [my Sun,]
03 the Sun [from the heaven;]
04 thus (says) [
05 [o]f [

EA 311

VAT 1597

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 175); KNUDTZON (1915: 912–913); MORAN (1992: 346);

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*]
02 D.UTU-*ia*]
03 []
04 []
05 []
06 [*ep-ri*]
07 [š]a 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
08 [LÚ.*ku_a-s*] ANŠE.KUR.R[*A*.MEŠ-*ka*]
09 [*a-na* 2 GÌR.MEŠ] LUGAL
10 [EN-*ḫ*a D.[UTU] š]a
11 [*iṣ-ḫ*a] A[N.*sa-ḫ*]*me*
12 [7-š]u ù 7-*ta-a-an*
13 [*iṣ-ta-b*]a-*ḫi* [i]-*ḫi*]

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master,]
02 [my] Sun, []
03 []
04 []
05 []
06 [] the dust]
07 [at] your [two feet,]
08 [the groom of your] hor[ses(:)]
09 [At the two feet] of the king
10 [m]y [master, the Sun]
11 [fr]o[m the hea]ven,
12 [seven t]imes and seven times,
13 [I pro]st[r]a[te.]

EA 312

VAT 1886 + VAT 1709

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 176); KNUDTZON (1915: 912–915); MORAN (1992: 346);

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* LUGAL EN-*ia*]
02 [*um-ma* M.
03 [ÌR-*ka ep-ri*] [š]a
04 [GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*] LÚ-*ḫum*
05 [š]a ANŠE.KUR.R[*A*.MEŠ-*k*]a
06 [*a-na* GÌR.M]EŠ M.L[U]G[AL EN-*ia*]
07 [

Translation:

01 [To the king, my master;]
02 [thus (says)
03 [your servant, the du]st [at]
04 [your feet,] the ma[n]
05 [of] yo[ur hor]ses(:)
06 [At the fe]et of the ki[n]g, my master,]
07 [

EA 314

CG 4778 [SR 4/12219/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 153); KNUDTZON (1915: 916–919); MORAN (1992: 347); HESS (1993: 126–127 [I. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 67 [LA 2])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* M.LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*la*
02 D.UTU-*ia* D.UTU š]a *iṣ-tu*
03 AN.*sa-me um-ma* M.*pu-D*.IM
04 ÌR-*ka* LÚ š]a URU.*yu-ur-ša*.KI
05 *a-na* 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*la*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
02 my Sun, the Sun from
03 the heaven; thus (says) PU-ba'la,
04 your servant, the ruler of Yurša(:)
05 At the two feet of the king, my master,

06 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* D.UTU-*ia* D.UTU
07 š]a *iṣ-tu* AN.*sa-me lu-ú*
08 *iṣ-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in* 7-š]u
09 ù 7-*ta-na ši-ru-ma*
10 ù *ka-ba-tu-ma*

06 my god>s<, my Sun, the Sun
07 from the heaven, /I/ verily
08 prostrate, seven times
09 and seven times, on the back
10 and on the belly.

EA 315

BME 29839

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 56); KNUDTZON (1915: 918–919); MORAN (1992: 347–348); HESS (1993: 126–127 [I. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 67–68 [LA 3])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* M.LUGA]L EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*
02 D.UTU š]a *iṣ-tu* AN.*sa-me*
03 *um-ma* M.*pu-D*.IM LÚ š]a URU.*yu-ur-ša*
04 ÌR-*ka ep-ri* š]a 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
05 *a-na* 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*ia lu-ú*
06 *iṣ-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in* 7-*it-š*u
07 ù 7-*ta-na ši-ru-ma u ka-ba-tu-m*[a]

Translation:

01 [To the kin]g, my master, my god>s<,
02 the Sun from the heaven;
03 thus (says) PU-ba'la, the ruler of Yurša,
04 your servant, the dust at your two feet(:)
05 At the two feet of the king, my master, /I/ verily
06 prostrate, seven times
07 and seven times, on the back and on the be[ll]y.]

EA 316

BME 29838

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 55); KNUDTZON (1915: 918–921); MORAN (1992: 348); HESS (1993: 126–127 [I. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 68–69 [LA 4])

Transliteration:

01 [*a-na* M.LUGA]L EN-*ḫa*] DINGIR.M[EŠ-*ia*]
02 [D.]UTU-*ia ša iṣ-ḫ*a AN.*s*[a-*me*]
03 [*um*]-*ma* M.*pu-D*.IM ÌR-*ka*
04 [u SAḫAR] \ *ep-ri* š]a 2 GÌR.MEŠ-*ka*
05 [LÚ.*ku_a-s*] [š]a ANŠ[E].MEŠ.KUR.RI-*ka*
06 *a-n*]a 2 [GÌ]R.MEŠ LUGAL EN-*ia* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia*

07 D.UTU-*ia iṣ-tu* AN.*sa-mi*
08 7-š]u u [7]-*ta am-qú-ut*
09 *ši-ru-ma* \ u *ka-b*-*tù-ma*

Translation:

01 [To the kin]g, m[y] master, [my] god>s<,
02 my Sun fr[o]m the he[aven;]
03 [th]us (says) PU-ba'la, your servant
04 [and the dust] \ the du[s]t at your two feet,
05 [the gr]om [of] your ho[r]ses(:)
06 A[t] the two [fe]et of the king, my master, my
god>s<,
07 my Sun from the heaven,
08 seven times and [seven] times, I fall,
09 on the back \ and on the belly.

EA 317

VAT 1676

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 129); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 177); KNUDTZON (1915: 920–923); ARTZI (1968: 170); MORAN (1992: 349); HESS (1993: 64–65 [I. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 297 [LA 270])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGALGAL *be-li-ia*
02 M.D.*da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*
03 ÌR-*ka iq-bi*
04 7-š]u ù 7-š]u-*ma*
05 *a-na* 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL GAL *be-li-ia*
06 *im-qú-ut*

Translation:

01 To the great king, my master;
02 (thus) Dagantakala,
03 your servant, says(:)
04 Seven times and seven times>:<
05 at the two feet of the great king, my master,
06 I fall.

EA 318

BME 29857

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 74; pl. 1 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 922–925); MORAN (1992: 349–350); ARTZI (1968: 170); HESS (1993: 64–65 [I. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 297–298 [LA 271])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na* LUGAL GAL *be-li-ta*
02 D.UTU *a-na ša-mé*
03 M.D.*da-ga-an-ta-k*[a-*la*]

Translation:

01 To the magnate, [my] master,
02 the Sun in the heaven;
03 (thus) Dagantak[ala],

04 1R-ka iq-bi
05 7-šu ù 7-šu-ma
06 a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ LUGAL GAL
07 be-li-ia im-qú-ut

EA 319

VAT 1722

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 145); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 178); KNUDTZON (1915: 924–927); MORAN (1992: 350); HESS (1993: 138 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 138–139 [LA 102])

Transliteration:

01 [a-na LUGAL] be-li-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
02 D.[UTU-la] D.UTU ša iš-tu
03 AN.[sa-mi]-i um-ma
04 M.šú-ra-sar
05 LÚ ša URU.a[h]-ti-aš-na
06 1R-ka-ma ep-ri ša
07 UZU.GİR.MEŠ-ka LÚ.
08 kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄
09 a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
10 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia D.UTU
11 ša iš-tu AN.sa-mi-l
12 7-[š]u u 7-ta-a-an
13 lu-ú iš-t[a]-ha-ḫi-in
14 ka-bat-t[um u] šl-ru-ma

04 your servant, says(:)
05 Seven times and seven times>:<
06 at the two feet of the great king,
07 my master, I fall.

Translation:

01 [To the king,] my master, my god[>s<,
02 [my Sun,] the Sun from
03 the [heav]en; thus (says)
04 Zurašar,
05 the ruler of A[h]tiašna,
06 your servant>:<, the dust at
07 your feet, the
08 groom of your horses(:)
09 At the two feet of the king, my master,
10 my god>s<, my Sun, the Sun
11 from the heaven,
12 seven [t]imes and seven times,
13 I verily pro[s]trate,
14 on the bel[ly and] on the back.

EA 320

CG 4777 [SR 4/12218/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 121); KNUDTZON (1915: 926–929); MORAN (1992: 350–351); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 5]); RAINEY (1996a: III, 179 [ll. 4–9]); LIVERANI (1998: 71 [LA 8])

Transliteration:

01 [a]-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
02 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia
03 D.UTU ša [i]š-tu
04 AN.sa-me-e um-ma
05 M.yi-id-ia LÚ
06 ša URU.aš-qa-lu-na.KI
07 1R-ka₄ ep-ri ša
08 UZU.GİR.MEŠ-ka₄ LÚ.
09 kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄
10 a-na UZU.GİR.MEŠ<-ka₄> LUGAL
11 be-li-ia 7-šu u
12 7-ta-a-an lu-ú
13 iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in
14 ka-b[a]t-tum-ma u
15 [š]l-ru-ma

Translation:

01 [T]o the king, my master,
02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 the Sun [f]rom
04 the heaven; thus (says)
05 Yldya, the ruler
06 of Ašqaluna,
07 your servant, the dust at
08 your feet, the
09 groom of your horses(:)
10 At <your> feet of the king,
11 my master, seven times and
12 seven times, /I/ verily
13 prostrate,
14 on the bel[ly] and
15 on the [b]ack

EA 321

VAT 1671

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 119); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 182); KNUDTZON (1915: 928–929); MORAN (1992: 351); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 5]); LIVERANI (1998: 70 [LA 6]); VITA (2000a: 7, fig. 2 [photo; obv.])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia
02 DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia
03 D.UTU ša iš-tu
04 AN.sa-me [u]m-ma
05 M.yi-id-ia LÚ
06 ša URU.aš-qa-lu-na

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
02 my god>s<, my Sun,
03 the Sun from
04 the heaven; [t]hus (says)
05 Yldya, the ruler
06 of Ašqaluna,

07 1R-k[a₄] ep-ri ša
08 2 GİR.MEŠ-ka₄ L[Ú.kà]r-[t]ap-[p]l
09 ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka₄
10 a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
11 D.UTU ša iš-tu
12 AN.sa-mi-l 7-šu
13 u 7-ta-a-an
14 lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in

EA 322

CG 4776 [SR 4/12217/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 118); KNUDTZON (1915: 928–931); MORAN (1992: 351); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 70 [LA 7])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.L[UGAL E]N-ia DINGIR.[MEŠ-ā]a
02 D.UTU[-ā]a D.UTU ša
03 iš-t[u AN].sa-me
04 um-[m]a M.yi-l[ā]d-ia LÚ
05 ša U[R]U.a[š-q]a-lu-na.KI
06 1R-k[a ep-r]l ša
07 UZU.G[İR.MEŠ-k]a
08 L[Ú].kà[r-tap-p]l ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
09 a-na G[İR.MEŠ L]UGAL EN-ia
10 D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.sa-me
11 7-šu u 7-ta-a-an
12 [l]u-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in
13 UZU.ka-bat-tum-ma
14 u UZU.šl-ru-ma

07 yo[ur] servant, the dust at
08 your two feet, the [g]r[o]o[m]
09 of your horses(:)
10 Ay the two feet of the king, my master,
11 the Sun from
12 the heaven, seven times
13 and seven times,
14 I verily prostrate.

Translation:

01 To the k[ing,] my [mas]ter, [m]y god[>s<,
02 [m]y Sun, the Sun
03 fro[m the h]eaven;
04 th[u]s (says) Y[l]dya, the ruler
05 of A[šq]aluna,
06 yo[ur] servant, [the dus]t at
07 [yo]ur fe[et,]
08 the g[roo]m of your horses(:)
09 At the [f]eet of the k[ing,] my master,
10 the Sun from the heaven,
11 seven times and seven times,
12 I [ver]ily prostrate,
13 on the belly,
14 and on the back.

EA 323

BME 29836

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 53); KNUDTZON (1915: 930–933); MORAN (1992: 351–352); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 72 [LA 11])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia
02 D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša iš-tu
03 AN.sa-me um-ma M.yi-id-ia
04 1R-ka ep-ri ša 2 GİR.MEŠ-ka
05 LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
06 a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia lu-ú
07 iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in 7-l[ā]š-šu
08 u 7-ta-na šl-ru-ma
09 u ka-ba-tu-ma

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<,
02 my Sun, the Sun from
03 the heaven; thus (says) Yldya,
04 your servant, the dust at your two feet,
05 the groom of your horses(:)
06 At the two feet of the king, my master, /I/ verily
07 prostrate, seven [t]imes
08 and seven times, on the back
09 and on the belly.

EA 324

BME 29837

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 54; pl. 21 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 932–933); MORAN (1992: 352); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 71 [LA 9])

Transliteration:

01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia
02 D.UTU-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU
03 ša iš-tu AN.sa-mi
04 um-ma M.yi-id-ia 1R-[k]a
05 ep-ri ša 2 GİR.MEŠ-ka
06 LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka
07 a-na 2 GİR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia
08 lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in 7-šu ù 7-ta-na
09 šl-ru-ma ù ka-ba-tu-ma

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
02 my Sun, my god>s<, the Sun
03 from the heaven;
04 thus (says) Yldya, [yo]ur servant,
05 the dust at your two feet,
06 the groom of your two horses(:)
07 At the two feet of the king, my master,
08 I verily prostrate, seven times and seven times,
09 on the back and on the belly.

EA 325

BME 29835

Literature: Bezold – Budge (1892: no. 52; pl. 14 [photo]); KNUDTZON (1915: 934–935); MORAN (1992: 352–353); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 71–72 [LA 10])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na] M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia*
 02 *D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša iš-t[u AN.sa]-mi*
 03 *um-ma M.yi-id-ia IR-ka*
 04 *ep-ri ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 05 *LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-[k]a*
 06 *a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia am-qú-ut*
 07 *7-šu u 7-ta-na*
 08 *lu-ú iš-tu-ḫu-ḫi-in*
 09 *ši-ru-ma u ka-ba-tu-ma*

Translation:

01 [To] the king, my master, my god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun fr[om the hea]ven;
 03 thus (says) Yidya, your servant,
 04 the dust at your two feet,
 05 the groom of [yo]ur two horses(:)
 06 At the two feet of the king, my master, I fall,
 07 seven times and seven times,
 08 I verily prostrate,
 09 on the back and on the belly.

EA 326

VAT 1672

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 122); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 183); KNUDTZON (1915: 934–937); MORAN (1992: 353–354); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 72–73 [LA 12])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-[ia]*
 02 *D.UTU ša iš-tu AN-ú*
 03 *um-ma M.yi-id-ia IR-ka ep-ri*
 04 *ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka [LÚ.kàr-tù-pí*
 05 *ša 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL*
 06 *EN-ia 7-šu u 7-ta-na*
 07 *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-in ṣ[i-ru-m]a*
 08 *u ka-ba-tu-ma*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master, my god>s<, [my] Sun,
 02 the Sun from the heaven;
 03 thus (says) Yidya, your servant, the dust
 04 of your two feet, the groom
 05 of your two feet(:) At the two feet of the king,
 06 my master, seven times and seven times,
 07 I verily prostrate, on the b[ack]
 08 and on the belly.

EA 328

CG 4775 [SR 4/12193/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 124); KNUDTZON (1915: 938–941); MORAN (1992: 354); HESS (1993: 78 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 78–79 [LA 21])

Transliteration:

01 *a-[n]a M.LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR.MEŠ-[ia]*
 02 *D.UTU-ia D.UTU ša*
 03 *iš-tu AN.sa-mi-l*
 04 *um-ma M.ia-ab-ni-AN*
 05 *LÚ ša URU.la-ki-ša*
 06 *IR-ka ep-ri ša*
 07 *UZ[U].2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 08 *LÚ.kàr-tap-pí ša*
 09 *ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka*
 10 *a-na UZU.GÌR.MEŠ L[UG]AL EN-ia*
 11 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UT[U]-i[a]*
 12 *D.UTU ša iš-tu AN.sa-[m]e*
 13 *7-šu u 7-ta-a-an*
 14 *lu-ú iš-ta-ḫa-ḫi-[in]*
 15 *[U]ZU.ka-bat-tum-ma*
 16 *[u U]ZU.ši-ru-ma*

Translation:

01 T[o] the king, my master, [my] god>s<,
 02 my Sun, the Sun
 03 from the heaven;
 04 thus (says) Yabn'lu,
 05 the ruler of Lakiša,
 06 your servant, the dust at
 07 your two feet,
 08 the groom of
 09 your horses(:)
 10 At the feet of the k[in]g, my master,
 11 my god>s<, [my] Su[n],
 12 the Sun from the heav[e]n,
 13 seven times and seven times,
 14 I verily prostra[te],
 15 on the belly
 16 [and] on the back.

EA 329

VAT 1673

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 123); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 181); KNUDTZON (1915: 940–941); MORAN (1992: 354); HESS (1993: 169–170 [l. 5]); LIVERANI (1998: 78 [LA 20])

Transliteration:

01 *a-na M.LUGAL EN-ia*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ia D.UTU-ia*
 03 *D.UTU ša iš-tu*
 04 *AN.sa-mi-i*
 05 *um-ma M.zi-im-ri-di*
 06 *LÚ ša URU.la-ki-ša*
 07 *IR-ka ep-ri*
 08 *ša GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 09 *a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia*
 10 *D.UTU i[š]-t[u] AN.s[a]-mì-i*
 11 *7-šu [u 7]-ta-a-an*
 12 *iš-ti-ḫa-ḫi-in*

Translation:

01 To the king, my master,
 02 my god>s<, my Sun,
 03 the Sun from
 04 the heaven;
 05 thus (says) Zimreddi,
 06 the ruler of Lakiša,
 07 your servant, the dust
 08 at your feet(:)
 09 At the feet of the king, my master,
 10 the Sun f[r]o[m] the h[ea]ven,
 11 seven times [and seven] times,
 12 I prostrate.

EA 330

BME 29848

Literature: BEZOLD – BUDGE (1892: no. 65); KNUDTZON (1915: 940–943); MORAN (1992: 355); HESS (1993: 143–144 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 79 [LA 22])

Transliteration:

01 *a-[na] M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 02 *qí-bí-ma um-ma*
 03 *M.ši-ip-ṭi-D.IM IR-ka*
 04 *ù ep-ri ša GÌR LUGAL-ri*
 05 *EN-ia a-na GÌR LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 06 *ù DINGIR.MEŠ-nu-ia u D.UTU-la*
 07 *7 u 7 mi-l[a]-m[a]*
 08 *am-qú-qut a-na GÌR LUGAL-ri EN-ia*

Translation:

01 T[o] the king, my master,
 02 speak; thus (says)
 03 Šiptiba'la
 04 and the dust at the foot(!) of the king,
 05 my master(:) To the foot(!) of the king, my master
 06 and my god>s< and my Sun,
 07 seven (times) and seven (times), her[e] and no[w],
 08 I fall, at the feet of the king, my master.

EA 331

CG 4779 [SR 4/12221/0]

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 200); KNUDTZON (1915: 942–945); MORAN (1992: 355); HESS (1993: 143–144 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 79 [LA 23])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-n]a M.L[UG]A[L]-ri EN-[ia]*
 02 *DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia D.UTU-[ia]*
 03 *D.UTU ša iš-tu A[N.sa-m]i*
 04 *um-ma M.ši-ip-ṭi-[D].IM*
 05 *[IR]-ka ep-ri[ṭ] ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-ka*
 06 *LÚ.kàr-tap<-pí> ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ka*
 07 *a-na 2 GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-ri EN-ia*
 08 *DINGIR.MEŠ-[n]i-ia D.UTU-ia D.UTU*
 09 *[š]a iš-tu AN.sa-mi 7-š[u]*
 10 *ù 7-ta-a-an [u]-ú [š]-[u]-*
 11 *-ḫa-[ḫ]i-in ka-b[at-t]u-m[a]*
 12 *ù ṣi-r[u]-ma*

Translation:

01 [T]o the k[in]g, [my] master,
 02 my god>s<, [my] Sun,
 03 the Sun from the h[ea]ve[n];
 04 thus (says) Šiptiba'la,
 05 your serv[ant], the dus[t] at your two feet,
 06 the groo[m] of your horses(:)
 07 At the two feet of the king, my master,
 08 my go[d]>s<, my Sun, the Sun
 09 from the heaven, seven tim[es]
 10 and seven times, I v[er]ily p[ro]s-
 11 tra[te], on the be[lly]
 12 and on the ba[ck].

EA 332

VAT 1883

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 184); KNUDTZON (1915: 944–945); MORAN (1992: 356); HESS (1993: 143–144 [l. 3])

Transliteration:

01 *[a-na M.LU]GA[L] EN-<ia> D.UT[U-ia DINGIR-]ia*
 02 *[D.UTU ša iš-ṭ]u A[N.sa-mi]*
 03 *[um-ma M].ši-ip-ṭi-[D].IM LÚ URU.[a-ki-ša.KI]*
 04 *[IR-ka] ep-[ri] [ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-k]a*
 05 *[LÚ.kàr-tap]-pí ša ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ]-ka*
 06 *[] k[a]*

Translation:

01 [To the k]i[n]g, <my> master, [my] Su[n], my god,
 02 [the Sun fro]m the h[ea]ven;
 03 [thus (says)] Šip[ti]ba'la, the ruler of L[aki]ša,
 04 [your servant,] the du[s]t [at yo]ur [two feet,]
 05 [the gro]m of [f] your [horses,]
 06 [] yo[ur]

EA 333

Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Fi. 11

Literature: SCHEIL (1894); PEISER (1899); KNUDTZON (1915: 944–947); ALBRIGHT (1942b: 33–35); MORAN (1992: 356–357); HESS (1993: 122–123 [l. 1]); HOROWITZ – OSHIMA – SANDERS (2006: 93; 214)

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] L[Ú].GAL qí-bí-[ma]	01 [To] the magnate, speak[;]
02 [um-ma M.p]a-a-pl	02 [thus (says) P]apu(:)
03 [a-na] GÌR.MEŠ-ka am-qú-u[t]	03 [A]t your feet, I fal[l.]

EA 334

VAT 1609

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 185); KNUDTZON (1915: 946–949); MORAN (1992: 357); LIVERANI (1998: 113 [LA 66])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] L[U]GA[L]-ri EN-ia	01 [T]o the k[í]n[g], my master,
02 [qí-bí]a um-ma	02 [sp]e[ak]; thus (says)
03 [M.]-dí-í[h] LÚ U]RU.zu-u[h]-ra.K[í]	03 []dí[h], [the ruler] of Zu[h]ra(:)

EA 336

VAT 1707

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 188); KNUDTZON (1915: 950–951); MORAN (1992: 357–358); HESS (1993: 77 [l. 3])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] LUGA[L]-ri E[N-ia]	01 [To the k]í[n[g], [my] mas[ter,]
02 [qí-bí]-ma	02 [sp]eak;
03 [um-ma M.í]í-z[í-r]í]R-[ka]	03 [thus (says) Í]íziru, [your] servant(:)
04 [a-na G]ÌR.MEŠ EN-la 7	04 [At the f]eet of my master, seven (times)
05 [ù 7]-t[a-a]n [m]a-aq-t[a-tí]	05 [and seven] t[í]me[s], [I f]all.

EA 337

VAT 1679

Literature: WINCKLER – ABEL (1889–1890: no. 147); SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 187); KNUDTZON (1915: 950–953); MORAN (1992: 358–359); HESS (1993: 77 [l. 4]); LIVERANI (1998: 109 [LA 58])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na M.LUGAL-ri EN-la	01 To the king, my master,
02 D.UTU-la DINGIR.MEŠ-la	02 my Sun, my god>s<,
03 qí-bí-ma	03 speak;
04 u[m-m]a M.íí-zí-ri]R-ka	04 t[hu]s (says) Ííziru, your servant(:)
05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ M.LUGAL-ri EN-la	05 At the feet of the king, my master,
06 7-šu 7-a-an am-qut	06 seven times (and) seven times, I fall.

EA 338

VAT 1884

Literature: SCHROEDER (1915a: no. 189); KNUDTZON (1915: 952–953); HESS (1993: 181 [l. 2])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-n]a LU[GAL be-lí-ia]	01 [T]o the k[í]n[g], my master[;]
02 [u]m-ma M.z[í-]R-ka-ma]	02 [t]hus (says) Z[í] your servant[;]
03 a-na GÌR.MEŠ b[e-íí-ia]	03 At the f[eet, my m]as[ter,]

EA 362

AO 7093

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 91–94, 102–103); RAINEY (1970: 14–19); MORAN (1992: 359–361); HESS (1993: 132–134 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 207–208 [LA 168])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [M.]rí-íí-D.IM-dí qí-bí-mí	01 Ribhaddí, speak;

02 a-na LUGAL be-lí-ia	02 to the king, my master(:)
03 a-na KÌ.TA GÌR.MEŠ be-lí-ia	03 Beneath the feet of of my master,
04 7-ta u 7 am-qut-ut	04 seven times and seven (times), I fall.

EA 363

AO 7097

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 94–95, 107); RAINEY (1980: 20–21); MORAN (1992: 361–362); HESS (1993: 16–17 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 260–261 [LA 227])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-ia DINGIR-ia	01 To the king, my master, my god,
02 qí-bí-ma	02 speak;
03 um-ma]R-re-ša]R-ka	03 thus (says) Abdireša, your servant,
04 "LÚ" URU.e-<ní>-ša-sí a-na šu-pa-lí	04 the "ruler" of E<ní>šasi(:) Beneath
05 up-ri GÌR-pé LUGAL EN-ia	05 the dust of the feet of the king, my master,
06 7 ù 7 am-qú-ut	06 seven (times) and seven (times), I fall.

EA 364

AO 7094

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 95–96, 104); RAINEY (1980: 22–23); MORAN (1992: 362); HESS (1993: 23–25 [l. 2]); LIVERANI (1998: 248–249 [LA 207])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL EN-"ia"	01 To the king, "my" master;
02 um-ma a-ia-ab	02 thus (says) Ayyab,
03]R-ka a-na	03 your servant(:) At
04 GÌR.MEŠ EN-ia	04 the feet of my master,
05 7-šu 7-ta-an	05 seven times (and) seven times,
06 am-qut	06 I fall.

EA 365

AO 7098

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 97–98, 108); RAINEY (1980: 24–27); MORAN (1992: 363); HESS (1993: 62–63 [l. 3]); LIVERANI (1998: 130 [LA 91])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 [a-na] LUGA[L]-ri EN-la	01 [To the k]í[n]g, my master
02 u [D.UT]U-la qí-bí-ma	02 and my [Su]n, speak;
03 um-ma M.bí-íí-dí-la _g	03 thus (says) Bírídíya,
04]R kí-ít-íí ša LUGAL-ri	04 the loyal servant of the king(:)
05 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia	05 At the feet of the king, my master
06 u D.UTU-la 7-šu	06 and my Sun, seven times
07 u 7-ta-a-an am-qut	07 and seven times, I fall.

EA 366

AO 7096

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 98–99, 106); RAINEY (1980: 28–31); MORAN (1992: 364); HESS (1993: 151 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1996a: I, 147 [ll. 1–2]); SMITH (1998: 155–157, 167–170); LIVERANI (1998: 81–82 [LA 25])

Transliteration:	Translation:
01 a-na LUGAL-ri EN-la D.UTU-la	01 To the king, my master, my Sun,
02 DINGIR.MEŠ-la qí-bí-ma	02 my god>s<, speak;
03 u"m-m" a M.šu-wa-ar-da-ta	03 t"hu"s (says) Šuwardata,
04 "]R"-ka]R ša LUGAL-ri	04 your "servant", the servant of the king,
05 "íí" SAĤAR-ru ša 2 GÌR.MEŠ-šu	05 "and" the dust at his two feet,
06 qa-aq-qa-ru ša "ka" -ba-ší-"ka"	06 the ground on which "you" "tr"ead:
07 a-na GÌR.MEŠ LUGAL-ri E[N-í]a	07 At the feet of the king, m[y] mas[ter,]
08 D.UTU íš-tu AN.sa-"me" -[e 7]-šu	08 the Sun from the he"av"e[n, seven] times (and)

- 097-ta-a-an uš-ḫé-ḫi-i[n] ù

10UZU.ka-bat-tu-ma ù ʃʰe-ru-ma
- 09seven times, I prostrat[e,] both

10on the belly and on the ʿbʰack.

EA 367

AO 7095

Literature: THUREAU-DANGIN (1922: 100–101, 105); RAINEY (1980: 32–33); MORAN (1992: 365); HESS (1993: 89–90 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 133–134 [LA 95])

- Transliteration:

01a-na M.in-tar-ù-tá LÚ URU.ak-ša-pa

02qf-bt-ma um-ma LUGAL-ma

03a-nu-ma ṭup-pa an-na-a uš-te-bi-la-ku qá-bé-e

04a-na ka-a-ša
- Translation:

01To Endaruta, ruler of Akšapa,

02speak; thus (says) the king:

03Now I have sent this tablet to you to speak

04to you.

EA 369

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E.6753

Literature: DOSSIN (1934: 126–128); RAINEY (1980: 36–39); MORAN (1992: 366); HESS (1993: 112–114 [l. 4]); IZRE'EL (1995: 109–114; 113–114 [photo]); LIVERANI (1998: 99–100 [LA 42])

- Transliteration:

01a-na M.mil-ki-li ʿLÚʿ URU.gaz-r[ī]

02um-ma LUGAL-ma a-nu-um-ma ṭup-pa a-ni-ʿamʰ

03ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku a-na qa-bé-e

04a-na ka-a-ša
- Translation:

01To Milkilu, the ʿrulerʰ of Gazri;

02thus (says) the king: Now /I have sent/ this tablet

03to you to speak

04to you.

EA 370

BME 134870

Literature: GORDON (1947: 5–6); RAINEY (1980: 40–42); MORAN (1992: 367); HESS (1993: 167–168 [l. 1]); LIVERANI (1998: 69–70 [LA 5])

- Transliteration:

01a-na M.i-dī-ia LÚ URU.aš-qá-lu-n[a.K]i

02qf-bt-ma um-ma LUGAL-ma a-nu-ʿmaʰ

03ṭup-pa an-ʿnaʰ-a ʿušʰ-te-bi-la-ku

04qá-bé-e a-na ka-a-ša
- Translation:

01To Yidya, ruler of Ašqalun[a,]

02speak; thus (says) the king: No ʿwʰ

03I have sent this tablet to you

04to speak to you.

EA 378

BME 50745

Literature: MILLARD (1965: 140–142, pl. XXV); MORAN (1992: 368–369); HESS (1993: 84 [l. 3]); RAINEY (1980: 50–51); LIVERANI (1998: 105 [LA 51])

- Transliteration:

01[a-na] ʿLUGALʰ [EN]-ʿiaʰ DINGIR.MEŠ-ī[a]

02[D.UTU-ia] D.UTU ša iš-ī[ui]

03[AN]. ʿsaʰ-mī-ī [um]-ma M.ia-[pa-ḫī]

04ʿLÚʰ ša URU.gaz-ri. ʿKIʰ (īR-ka) ʿepʰ-ri ša UZU.GĪR.MEŠ-[ka]

05a-na UZU.GĪR.MEŠ LUGAL EN-ia

06DINGIR.MEŠ-ʿiaʰ D.UTU-ia D.UTU ʿišʰ[-ui]

07AN.sa-mī-ī 7-šu u 7-ta-a-an

08lu-ù iš-ta-ʿḫaʰ-ḫt-in

09UZU.ka-bat-tum-ma u

10UZU.še-ru-ma

- Translation:

01[To] the ʿkingʰ, ʿmyʰ [master,] m[y] god>s<,

02[my Sun,] the Sun fr[om]

03the ʿheʰaven; (th)us (says) Ya[paḫu,]

04the ʿrulerʰ of Gazru, [your servant,] the ʿduʰst at [your] feet(=)

- 05At the feet of the king, my master,

06ʿmyʰ god>s<, my Sun, the Sun ʿfrʰ[om]

07the heaven, seven times and seven times,

08I verily proʿstʰrate,

09on the belly and

10on the back.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AAAS	Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	VON SODEN, W. (1959–1981). <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAHA	American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AKAWD	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische Historische Klasse
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica
ASM	Archaeological Survey Memoirs
ÄuL	Ägypten und Levante
AuOr(S)	Aula Orientalis (Supplementa)
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Center for Egyptology
BaE	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'étude
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
BIAr	Biblical Archaeologist
BIOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BN	Biblische Notizen. Beiträge zur exegetischen Diskussion
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CAT	Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. – Sanmartín, J. (1995). <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)</i> . Münster: Ugarit-Verlag
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRAIBL	Compte rendus de séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CTH	LAROCHE, E. (1971). <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
CM	Cuneiform Monographs

DaM	Damaszener Mitteilungen
DAS	Documents d'archéologie syrienne
EA	Egyptian Archaeology
EI	Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies
FM	Florilegium marianum
GAG	von Soden, W. (1995). <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> . 3., ergänzte Auflage. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico (AnOr, 33)
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East Monographs
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KRI	KITCHEN, K. A. (1975–1990), <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> . Volumes I–VIII. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LSS	Leipziger Semitistische Studien
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MMAFC	Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire
MIFAO	Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus
OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PM	PORTER, B. – MOSS, R. L. B. (1927–1951; 2 nd edition 1960–). <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . 7 volumes. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
PRU III	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit III/1–2</i> ; NOUGAYROL, J. (1955). <i>Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (MRS, 7).
PRU IV	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit IV/1–2</i> ; NOUGAYROL, J. (1956). <i>Textes accadiens des archives sud (Archives internationales)</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (MRS, 9)
PRU V	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit V/1–2</i> ; VIROLLEAUD, C. (1965). <i>Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest, et du petit palais</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (MRS, XI)
PRU VI	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit VI</i> ; NOUGAYROL, J. (1970). <i>Textes en Cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (MRS, XII)
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RB	Revue biblique
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
RecTrav	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>

RSO VII	<i>Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII</i> ; BORDREUIL, P. – ARNAUD, D. – ANDRÉ-SALVINI, B. – LACKENBACHER, S. – MALBRAN-LABAT, S. – PARDEE, D. (1991). <i>Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Les textes de la 34^e campagne (1973)</i> . Paris: ÉRC
RSO XI	<i>Ras Shamra-Ougarit XI</i> ; YON, M. – SZNYCER, M. – BORDREUIL, P. (eds.) (1995). <i>Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 28 juin-1^{er} juillet 1993</i> . Paris: ÉRC
RSO XIV	<i>Ras Shamra-Ougarit XIV</i> ; YON, M. – ARNAUD, D. (eds.), <i>Études ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995</i> . Paris: ÉRC
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
SAQ	Studi Archeologici su Qatna
SBA	Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico
SKPAWB	Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
StOr	Studia Orientalia
TA	Tel Aviv
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
UgV	<i>Ugaritica V</i> ; NOUGAYROL, J. – LAROCHE, E. – VIROLLEAUD, CH. – SCHAEFFER, C. A. F. (1968). <i>Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ougaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques (première partie)</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (MRS, XVI)
UgVII XVIII)	<i>Ugaritica VII</i> ; SCHAEFFER, C. F. A. (1978). <i>Ugaritica VII</i> . Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner (MRS, XVIII)
UMM	University Museum Monograph
UMSS	University Museum Symposium Series
Urk. IV	HELCK, W. (1958). <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Inschriften der Könige von Amenophis III. bis Haremheb und ihrer Zeitgenossen</i> . Heft 22. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin
WA	World Archaeology
Wb.	ERMAN, A. – GRAPOW, W. (1982). <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag
WdO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABEL, L.
(1892). 'Stück einer Tafel aus dem Fund von El-Amarna.' *ZA* 7, 117–124.
- ADLER, H.-P.
(1976). *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni*. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker (AOAT, 201).
- ADLER, W.
(1994). *Kāmid el-Lōz 11. Das 'Schatzhaus' im Palastbereich. Die Befunde des Königsgrabes*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 47).
- ADLER, W. – PENNER, S.
(2001). *Kāmid el-Lōz 18. Die spätbronzezeitlichen Palastanlagen*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 62).
- AHARONI, Y.
(1977). *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*. 2nd edition. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- AHARONI, Y. – AVI-YONAH, M.
(2002). *The Carta Bible Atlas*. 4th corrected edition. Jerusalem: Carta.
- AHL, S. W.
(1973). *Epistolary Texts from Ugarit: Structural and Lexical Correspondence in Epistles in Akkadian and Ugaritic*. Brandeis University (unpublished PhD dissertation).
- AKKERMANS, P. M. M. G. – SCHWARTZ, G. M.
(2003). *The Archaeology of Syria. From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000–300 BC)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ALBRIGHT, W. F.
(1937). 'The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre.' *JEA* 23, 190–203.
— (1942a). 'A Teacher to a Man of Shechem about 1400 B.C.' *BASOR* 86, 28–31.
— (1942b). 'A Case of Lèse-Majesté in Pre-Israelite Lachish.' *BASOR* 87, 32–38.
— (1943a). 'Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley.' *BASOR* 89, 7–17.
— (1943b). 'An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine.' *BASOR* 89, 29–32.
— (1943c). 'A Tablet of the Amarna Age from Gezer.' *BASOR* 92, 28–30.
— (1944a). 'A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C.' *BASOR* 94, 12–27.
— (1944b). 'An Unrecognized Amarna Letter from Ugarit.' *BASOR* 95, 30–33.
— (1946). 'Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography 1500–1200 B.C.' *JNES* 5, 7–25.
- ALBRIGHT, W. F. – MORAN, W. L.
(1948). 'A Re-interpretation of an Amarna Letter from Byblos (EA 82).' *JCS* 2, 239–248.
— (1950). 'Rib-Adda of Byblos and the Affairs of Tyre (EA 89).' *JCS* 4, 163–168.
- ALDRED, C.
(1988). *Akhenaten: King of Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- AMIRAN, R.
(1969). *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land. From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. Jerusalem – Ramat Gan: Massada Press Ltd.
- APPLEBEE, J.
(1992). *Help with Idioms*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- ARNAUD, D.
(1982a). 'Les textes cunéiformes suméro-accadiens des campagnes 1979–1980 à Ras Shamra-Ougarit.' *Syria* 59, 199–222.
— (1982b). 'Une lettre du roi de Tyr au roi d'Ougarit: milieux d'affaires et de culture en Syrie à la fin de l'âge du Bronze Récent.' *Syria* 59, 101–107.

- (1984). 'La lettre Hani 81/4 et l'identification du site de Ras Ibn Hani (Syrie).' *Syria* 61, 15–23.
- (1985a). *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.2. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Planches*. Paris: ÉRC.
- (1985b). *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata VI.3. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Planches*. Paris: ÉRC.
- (1986). *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.3. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Texte*. Paris: ÉRC.
- (1987). *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.4. Textes de la bibliothèque. Transcriptions et Traductions*. Paris: ÉRC.
- (1991a). 'Contribution de l'onomastique du moyen-Euphrate à la connaissance de l'émariote.' *SEL* 8, 23–46.
- (1991b). *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent*. Barcelona, Sabadell: Editorial Ausa (AuOrS, 1).
- (1991c). 'Une lettre de Kamid el-Loz.' *Semitica* 40, 7–16.
- (1992a). 'Tablettes de genres divers du moyen-Euphrate.' *SMEA* 30, 195–245.
- (1992b). 'Les ports de la 'Phénicie' à la fin de l'âge du Bronze Récent (XIV-XIII siècles).d'après les textes cunéiformes de Syrie.' *SMEA* 30, 179–194.
- (1998). 'Le dialecte d'Alalah: un examen préliminaire.' *AuOr* 16, 143–186.
- (1999–2000). 'Une bêche-de-mer antique : la langue des marchands à Tyr la fin du XIII^e siècle.' *AuOr* 17–18, 143–166.
- (2001). 'Lettres. Annexe: Le jargon épistolaire de Sidon.' In: RSO XIV, 257–322.

ARNAUD, D. – KENNEDY, D.

- (1979). 'Les textes en cunéiformes syllabiques découverts en 1977 à Ibn Hani.' *Syria* 56, 317–324.

ASTOUR, M. C.

- (1971). 'A Letter and Two Economic Texts.' In: FISHER, L. R. (ed.), *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico (AnOr, 48), 23–29, pls. III–VI.

ARTZI, P.

- (1968). 'Some Unrecognized Syriac Amarna Letters (EA 260, EA 317, EA 318).' *JNES* 27, 163–171.
- (1982). 'The King and the Evil Portending, Ominous Sign in His House (EA 358).' In: NISSEN, H.-J. – RINGER, J. (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. XXV. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Berlin, 3. bis 7. Juli 1978*. Teil 1. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 317–320.
- (1985). 'Response to EDZARD (1985).' In: *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress of Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research, 269–273.
- (1986). 'Observations on the "Library" of the Amarna Archives.' In: VEENHOF, K. R. (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden 4–8 July 1983*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 210–212.
- (1988). 'The present state of the Amarna documents.' In: BAR-ASHER, M. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 1985*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 3–16.
- (1990). 'Studies in the Library of the Amarna Archive.' In: Klein, J. – Skalt, A. (eds.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 139–156, pl. III.
- (1992). 'Nippur Elementary Schoolbooks in the "West".' In: DE JONG ELLIS, M. (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Philadelphia 1988*. Philadelphia: The University Museum (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 14), 1–5.

ARTZI, P. – MALAMAT, A.

- (1993). 'The Great King. A Preeminent Royal Title in Cuneiform Sources and the Bible.' In: COHEN, M. E. – SNELL, D. C. – WEISBERG, D. B. (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 28–38.

ARTZI, M. – PERLMAN, I. – ASARO, F.

- (1976). 'Alašiya of the Amarna Letters.' *JNES* 35, 171–182.

ÅSTRÖM, P. (ED.)

- (1987). *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th–22nd August 1987*. 2 Volumes. Gothenburg: Åströms (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocketbook, 56–57).
- (1989). *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th–22nd August 1987*. Gothenburg: Åströms (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocketbook 80).

BADAWI, M.

- (2003). 'Rediscovering 'Le Palais': New Data From the Royal Palace of Qatna (Operation H).' *Akkadica* 124, 78–96.

BÆDEKER, K.

- (1913). *Ägypten und der Sūdān. Handbuch für Reisende*. 7. Auflage. Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker.

BAKIR, A.

- (1970). *Egyptian epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty*. Le Caire: IFAO (BdÉ, 48).

BECKMAN, G.

- (1983). 'Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattuša.' *JCS* 35, 97–114.
- (1988). 'Three Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar.' *JCS* 40, 61–68.
- (1996). *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*. Padova: Sargon (HANEM, 2).
- (2000). 'Hittite Chronology.' *Akkadica* 119–120, 19–32.
- (2002). 'My Sun-God. Reflections of Mesopotamian Conceptions of Kingship among the Hittites.' In: PANAINO, A. – PETTINATO, G. (eds.), *Ideologies as Intercultural Phenomena. Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Chicago, USA, October 27–31, 2000*. Milano: Università di Bologna & ISIAO (Melammu Symposia, III), 37–42.

BERG, D. A.

- (1987). 'Early 18th Dynasty Expansion into Nubia.' *JSSEA* 17, 1–14.

BEZOLD, C. – BUDGE, E. A. W.

- (1892). *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with Autotype Facsimiles*. London: Printed by order of the Trustees, British Museum.

BEYLAGE, P.

- (2002). *Aufbau der königliche Stelen vom Beginn der 18. Dynastie bis zur Amarnazeit*. 2 Bände. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag in Kommission (ÄAT, 54).

BIERBRIER, M. L.

- (1995). *Who Was Who in Egyptology by Warren R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill*. 3rd revised edition. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.

BIETAK, M.

- (1991). 'Egypt and Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age.' *BASOR* 281, 27–72.
- (1997). 'Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom.' In: OREN, E. D. (ed.), 87–139.

BIETAK, M. (ED.)

- (2000). *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. Proceedings of an International Symposium at Schloß Haindorf, 15th–17th November 1996*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 1).
- (2003). *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – Euroconference, Haindorf 2nd of May – 7th of May 2001*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 4).

BIETAK, M. – CZERNY, E. (EDS.)

- (2007). *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. III. Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – 2nd EuroConference, Vienna, 28th of May – 1st of June 2003*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 9).

BLACK, J. A.

- (1992). 'Two Cuneiform Tablets.' In: MACNICOLL, A. W. et al., *Pella in Jordan. Volume 2. The second interim report on the joint University of Sydney and College of Wooster excavations at Pella 1982–1985*. Sydney: Meditarch (Mediterranean Studies, 2), 299–301, pl. 40.

BLEIBERG, E.

- (1985–1986). 'Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom.' *BES* 7, 5–13.

BLISS, F. J.

- (1898). *A Mound of Many Cities, or Tell el Hesi Excavated*. 2nd revised edition. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.

BÖHL, F. M. T. DE LAGRE

- (1909). *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanäern*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs (LSS, V/2).
- (1926). 'Die bei den Ausgrabungen von Sichem gefundenen Kalkschrifttafeln.' *ZDPV* 49, 321–327.

BOY, T.

- (2002). 'Royal Titulature in Hellenistic Babylonia.' *ZA* 92, 241–257.

- BORCHARDT, L.
(1914). 'Ausgrabungen in Tell el-Amarna 1913/14. Vorläufiger Bericht.' *MDOG* 55, 3–38.
- BORDREUIL, P. – CAQUOT, A.
(1980). 'Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1978 à Ibn Hani.' *Syria* 57, 343–373.
- BORDREUIL, P. – MALBRAN-LABAT, F.
(1995). 'Les archives de la maison d'Ourtenou.' *CRAIBL* 1995, 443–451.
- BORDREUIL, P. – PARDEE, D.
(1989). *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1 Concordance*. Paris: ÉRC (RSO, V/1).
- BOTTÉRO, J.
(1949). 'Les inventaires de Qatna.' *RA* 43, 1–40; 137–215.
— (1950a). 'Autres textes de Qatna.' *RA* 44, 105–118.
— (1950b). 'Vocabulaire de Qatna.' *RA* 44, 119–122.
- BOUNNI, A. – LAGARCE, E. – LAGARCE, J.
(1998). *Ras Ibn Hani, I. Le palais nord du Bronze Récent*. Beyrouth, IFAPO.
- BRADBURY, L.
(1984–1985). 'The Tombos Inscription: A New Interpretation.' *Serapis* 8, 1–20.
- BROWN, F.
(1888). 'Babylon and Egypt, B. C. 1500.' *Presbyterian Review* 9, 476–481.
- BRYAN, B.
(2006). 'Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 69–122.
- BUDGE, E. A. W.
(1888). 'On Cuneiform Despatches from Tûshratta, King of Mitanni, Burraburiyash the Son of Kuri-Galzu, and the King of Alashiya, to Amenophis III, King of Egypt, and on the Cuneiform Tablets from Tell el-Amarna.' *PSBA* June 5, 540–569.
— (1902). *A History of Egypt from the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII, B.C. 30*. 8 Volumes. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. (Books on Egypt and Chaldaea, 9–16).
— (1920). *By Nile and Tigris, a narrative of journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on behalf of the British museum between the years 1886 and 1913*. 2 volumes. London: J. Murray.
- BULL, L. S.
(1926). 'Two Letters to Akhnaton King of Egypt.' *BMMA* 21/7, 169–176.
- BUTZ, K.
(1984). 'Bilinguismus als Katalysator.' In: CAGNI, L. (ed.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)*. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale (Series minor, Seminario di studi asiatici, 22).
- CALVET, Y.
(1990). 'Les bassins du palais royal d'Ougarit.' *Syria* 67, 31–42.
— (2004). 'Les archives et la bibliothèque de la maison d'Ourtenou.' In: GALLIANO, G. – CALVET, Y. (eds.), 94.
- CAMINOS, R. A.
(1954). *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press (Brown Egyptological Studies, 1).
- CAMPBELL, E. F., JR.
(1964). *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters. With Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- CAMPBELL THOMPSON, R.
(1935). 'Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge 1857–1934.' *JEA* 21, 68–70.
- CAZELLES, I. H.
(1954–1957). 'Formules de politesse en hébreu ancien.' *Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques, Comptes rendus* 7, 25–26.
- CHARAF, H.
(2004). 'An Assessment of the Continuity and Change in the LBI Pottery at Tell 'Arqa, Lebanon.' In: *Proceedings of the SCIEP 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference, Vienna, 30th of January – 1st of February 2003*. *ÄuL* 14, 231–248.
- CHRYSIKOPOULOS, V. I.
(2007). 'L'histoire des collections d'antiquités égyptiennes du Musée National d'Athènes: Les donateurs Ioannis Dimitriou et Alexandros Rostovitz.' In: GOYON, J.-C. – CARDIN, C. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Con-*

- gress of Egyptologists. Actes du neuvième congrès international des égyptologues, Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004*. Volume I. Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies (OLA, 150), 333–341.
- CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.)
(2000). *Thutmose III. A New Biography*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- COHAVI-RAINEY, Z.
(1989). 'Canaanite Influence in the Akkadian Texts Written by Egyptian Scribes in the 14th and 13th Centuries B.C.E.' *UF* 21, 39–46.
— (1990a). 'Egyptian Influence in the Akkadian Texts Written by Egyptian Scribes in the Fourteenth and Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.' *JNES* 49, 57–65.
— (1990b). 'Tenses and Modes in Cuneiform Texts Written by Egyptian Scribes in the Late Bronze Age.' *UF* 22, 5–23.
— (1993). 'The Style and Syntax of EA 1.' *UF* 25, 75–84.
— (1997). 'Egyptian Influence in the Amarna Texts.' *UF* 29, 95–114.
— (2003). *The Alashia Texts from the 14th and 13th Centuries B.C.E. A Textual and Linguistic Study*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag (AOAT, 289).
- COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R.
(2000). 'Introduction: The Amarna System.' In: COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.), 1–12.
- COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.)
(2000). *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginnings of International Relations*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- COLLON, D.
(1975). *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker (AOAT, 27).
— (1977). 'A New Look at the Chronology of Alalakh Level VII: A Rejoinder.' *AnSt* 27, 127–131.
- CONDER, F. R.
(1891). 'The Tell Amarna Tablets.' *The Scottish Review* 17/34, 292–318.
- COOPER, J. – SCHWARTZ, G. – WESTBROOK, R.
(2005). 'A Mittani-Era Tablet from Umm el-Marra.' In: OWEN, D. I. – WILHELM, G. (eds.), *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/1*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press (SCCNH, 15), 41–56.
- COURTOIS, J.-CL.
(1988). 'Variétés, à propos des archives royales d'Ougarit: la correspondance diplomatique était conservée dans les locaux des Archives Est du palais royal.' *Syria* 65, 389–394.
- COWIE, A. P.
(1985). *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CUNCHILLOS ILIARRI, J.-L.
(1989). *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica*. Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo (Fuentes de la ciencia bíblica, 3).
— (1990). *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 2 Bibliographie*. Paris: ÉRC (RSO, V/2).
— (1999). 'The Correspondence of Ugarit. I. The Ugaritic Letters.' In: WATSON, W. G. E. – WYATT, N. (eds.), 359–374.
- CURVERS, H. – SCHWARTZ, G.
(1997a). 'Umm el-Marra, A Bronze Age Urban Center in the Jabbul Plain, Western Syria.' *AJA* 101, 201–227.
— (1997b). 'Umm el-Marra.' In: WEISS, H. (ed.), 'Archaeology in Syria.' *AJA* 101/1, 147–148.
- CZICHON, R. M. – WERNER, P.
(1998). *Tall Munbāqa – Ekalté I. Die bronzezeitlichen Kleinfunde*. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag (WVDOG, 97).
- DALLEY, S. – TEISSIER, B.
(1992). 'Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere.' *Iraq* 54, 83–111, pls. 10–14.
- DANIN, A.
(1988). 'Flora and Vegetation of Israel.' In: YOM-TOV, Y. – TCHERNOV, E. (eds.), *The Zoogeography of Israel*. Dordrecht: Dr. Junk, 129–157.
— (2003). 'Man and the Natural Environment.' In: LEWY, T. E. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. London – New York: Continuum, 24–39.
- VON DASSOW, E.
(2004). 'Canaanite in Cuneiform.' *JAOS* 124/4, 641–674.
— (2005). 'Archives of Alalakh IV in Archaeological Context.' *BASOR* 338, 1–69.

- DAVIES, N. DE G.
(1908). *The Rock tombs of El Amarna. Smaller tombs and boundary stelae*. Volume V. *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu and Ay*. Volume VI. London: Egypt Exploration Fund (ASM, 17).
— (1935). *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- DEMSKY, A.
(1990). 'The Education of Canaanite Scribes in the Mesopotamian Cuneiform Tradition.' In: KLEIN, J. – SKAIST, A. (eds.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press (Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture), 157–170.
- DER MANUELIAN, P.
(2006). 'The End of the Reign and the Accession of Amenhotep II.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 413–429.
- DEVER, W. G.
(1990). 'Hyksos', Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age.' *Levant* 22, 75–81.
— (1991). 'Tell el-Dab'a and Levantine Middle Bronze Age Chronology: A Rejoinder to Manfred Bietak.' *BASOR* 281, 73–79.
— (1997). 'Chronology and Settlement Pattern of Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age.' In: OREN, E. D. (ed.), 285–301.
— (1998). 'Hurrian Incursions and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine: A Rejoinder to Nadav Na'aman.' In: LESKO, L. H. (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*. Providence: Department of Egyptology, Brown University, 91–110.
- DHORME, P.
(1909). 'A Note on the New Cuneiform Tablet from Gezer.' *PEQ* 41, 106.
— (1913). 'La langue de Canaan.' *RB* 10, 369–393.
— (1914). 'La langue de Canaan.' *RB* 11, 37–59, 344–372.
- DHORME, P. – HARPER, R. F.
(1911). In: MACALISTER, Robert A. S., *The Excavation of Gezer 1902–1905 and 1907–1909*. Volume I. London: Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund by J. Murray, 29–31.
- DIETRICH, M.
(1990). 'Die akkadische Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar.' *UF* 22, 25–48.
- DOMINICUS, B.
(1994). *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag (SAGA, 10).
- DORNEMANN, R. F.
(1978). 'Tell Hadidi: A Bronze Age City on the Euphrates.' *Archaeology* 31, 20–26.
— (1979). 'Tell Hadidi: A Millennium of Bronze Age City Occupation.' In: FREEDMAN, D. N. (ed.), *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project – Euphrates Valley, Syria*. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research (AASOR, 44), 113–151.
— (1981). 'The Late Bronze Age Pottery Tradition at Tell Hadidi, Syria.' *BASOR* 241, 29–47.
— (1985). 'Salvage Excavations at Tell Hadidi in the Euphrates River Valley.' *BIAr* 48/1, 49–59.
— (1988). 'Tell Hadidi: One Bronze Age Site among Many in the Tabqa Dam Salvage Area.' *BASOR* 270, 13–42.
- DORMAN, P.
(2006). 'The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 39–68.
- DOSSIN, G.
(1934). 'Une nouvelle lettre d'el-Amarna.' *RA* 31, 125–136.
- DURAND, J.-M.
(2006). 'La date des textes de Hazor.' *N.A.B.U* 2006/4, no. 86.
- DURAND, J.-M. – MARTI, L.
(2003). 'Chroniques du moyen-Euphrate 2. Relecture de documents d'Ekalte, Emar et Tuttul.' *RA* 97, 141–180.
- EBELING, E.
(1910). 'Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe.' *BA* 8, 39–79.
- EDEL, E.
(1966). *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III*. Bonn: Hanstein (Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 25).
- EDZARD, D. O.
(1970). 'Die Tontafeln von Kāmid el-Lōz.' In: EDZARD, D. O. – HACHMANN, R. – MAIBERGER, P. – MANSFELD, G. (eds.), 55–62.

- (1976). 'Ein Brief an den "Großen" von Kumidi aus Kāmid el-Lōz.' *ZA* 66, 62–67.
— (1980). 'Ein neues Tontafelfragment (Nr. 7) aus Kāmid el-Lōz.' *ZA* 70, 52–54.
— (1982). 'Ein Brief an den "Großen" von Kumidi Kāmid el-Lōz.' In: HACHMANN, R. (ed.), 131–135.
— (1985). 'Amarna und die Archive, seiner Korrespondenten zwischen Ugarit und Gaza.' In: *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress of Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research, 248–259.
- EDZARD, D. O. – HACHMANN, R. – MAIBERGER, P. – MANSFELD, G. (eds.)
(1970). *Kāmid el-Lōz – Kumidi. Schriftdokumente aus Kāmid el-Lōz*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 7).
- EDZARD, D. O. – HACHMANN, R. – MANSFELD, G.
(1969). 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles au Tell de KÇmid el-Ljz de 1966 à 1968.' *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 22, 49–91.
- EIDEM, J.
(1998). 'The Inscriptions.' In: OATES, D. – OATES, J. – McDONALD, H. et al., *Excavations at Tell Brak. Volume 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian periods*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq – McDonald Institute Monographs, 39–46.
— (2003). 'The Cuneiform Tablets.' *Akkadica* 124, 164–167.
— (2007). 'Notes on the Topography of the Late Bronze Age Qatna. New Evidence from the 'Lower City Palace' Tablets.' In: MORANDI BONACOSI, D. (ed.), *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital. Settlements and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna in Central-Western Syria. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Udine 9-11 December 2004*. Udine: Forum (SAQ, 01), 297–303.
- EINWAG, B.
(2000). 'New Discoveries at Tall Bazi, Syria.' In: MATTHIAE, P. – ENEA, A. – PEYRONEL, L. – PINNOCK, F. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. Roma: Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'antichità, 397–410.
- EINWAG, B. – KOHLMEYER, K. – OTTO, A.
(1995). 'Tall Bazi – Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen 1993.' *Dam* 8, 95–124.
- EINWAG, B. – OTTO, A.
(1996). 'Tall Bazi – Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen 1994 und 1995.' *Dam* 9, 15–45.
— (1999). 'Tall Bazi.' In: DEL OLMO LETE, G. – MONTERO FENOLLÓS, J.-L. (eds.), *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates: The Tishreen Dam Area. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Barcelona, January 28th–30th 1998*. Barcelona, Sabadell: Editorial Ausa (AuOrS, 15), 179–191.
— (2001). 'Tall Bazi 1998 und 1999 – Die letzten Untersuchungen in der Weststadt.' *Dam* 13, 65–88.
- ERMAN, A.
(1889). 'Nachtrag.' *ZÄS* 27, 62–64.
— (1890). 'Neues aus den Tafeln von el Amarna.' *ZÄS* 28, 112.
- ERMAN, A. – SCHRADER, E.
(1888). 'Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna.' *SKPAWB. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 23, 583–589.
- EVENARI, M. – SHANAN, L. – TADMOR, N. H.
(1982). *The Negev. The Challenge of a Desert*. 2nd revised edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- FALES, F. M.
(1984). 'An Akkadian Letter from Ugarit between šāknus.' *OrAnt* 23, 163–166.
— (1987). 'Aramaic Letters and Neo-Assyrian Letters: Philological and Methodological Notes.' *JAOS* 107/3, 451–469.
- FINKBEINER, U. et al. (mit Beiträgen von Hala Attoura, Betina Faist, Uta König, Ferhan Sakal und Frank Starke)
(2001). 'Emar 1999 – Bericht über die 3. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen.' *BaM* 32, 41–110.
- FINKBEINER, U. et al. (mit Beiträgen von Hala Attoura und Wendy Eixler)
(2002). 'Emar 2001 – Bericht über die 4. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen.' *BaM* 33, 109–146.
- FINKBEINER, U. – SAKAL, F. (mit Beiträgen von Hala Attoura, Wendy Eixler, David Lineberry, Frank Starke und Susanne Wilhelm)
(2003). 'Emar 2002 – Bericht über die 5. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen.' *BaM* 34, 9–100.

- FINKEL, I. L.
(1985). 'Inscriptions from Tell Brak.' *Iraq* 47, 187–214.
— (1988). 'Inscriptions from Tell Brak.' *Iraq* 50, 83–86.
- FINLEY, TH. J.
(1979). *Word Order in the Clause Structure of Syrian Akkadian*. Los Angeles: University of California (unpublished PhD dissertation).
- FISCHER, H. G.
(1985). *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- FISCHER, P. M.
(2004). 'Coast Contra Inland: Tell el-'Ajjul and Tell Abu al-Kharaz.' In: *Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference, Vienna, 30th of January–1st of February 2003*. *ÄuL* 14, 249–263.
- FISHER, M. M.
(2001). *The Sons of Ramesses II*. Volumes I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (ÄAT, 53).
- FISK, R.
(1991). 'The Biggest Supermarket in Lebanon. A Journalist Investigates the Plundering of Lebanon's Heritage.' *Berytus* 39, 243–252.
- FITZMYER, J. A.
(1974). 'Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography.' *JBL* 93, 201–225.
— (1982). 'Aramaic Epistolography.' *Semeia* 22, 25–57.
- FROTHINGHAM, A. L., JR.
(1888a). 'Archaeological News.' *AJAHFA* 4/1, 69–125.
— (1888b). 'Archaeological News.' *AJAHFA* 4/2, 191–219.
— (1888c). 'Archaeological News.' *AJAHFA* 4/3, 333–384.
— (1889). 'Archaeological News.' *AJAHFA* 5/2, 198–233.
- GALÁN, J. M.
(1992). 'EA 164 and the God Amun.' *JNES* 51/4, 287–291.
— (1993). 'What is he, the dog?.' *UF* 25, 173–180.
- GALLIANO, G. – CALVET, Y. (eds.)
(2004). *Le royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet*. Paris – Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux Arts.
- GARDINER, A. H.
(1937). *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bruxelles: Édition de la fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (BAe, VII).
— (1938). 'The house of life.' *JEA* 24, 157–179.
- GATES, M.-H.
(1981). 'Alalakh Levels VI and V: A Chronological Reassessment.' *SMS* 4/2, 1–50.
— (1987). 'Alalakh and Chronology Again.' In: ÅSTRÖM, P. (ed.), 60–86.
- GENZEL, Rh. B.
(1991). *Getting Hang of Idioms and Expressions*. New York: Maxwell Macmillan.
- GIACUMAKIS, G.
(1970). *The Akkadian of Alalakh*. The Hague: Mouton (Janua linguarum. Series practica, 59).
- GIANTO, A.
(1990). *Word Order Variation in the Akkadian of Byblos*. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico (Studia Pohl, 15).
— (1997). 'Script and Word Order in EA 162: A Case Study of Egyptian Akkadian.' *OrNS* 66, 426–433.
- GLOCK, A. E.
(1971). 'A New Ta'anek Tablet.' *BASOR* 204, 17–30.
— (1983). 'Texts and Archaeology at Tell Ta'anek.' *Berytus* 31, 57–66.
— (1993). 'Taanach.' In: STERN, E. (ed.). *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Volume 4. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society – Carta, 1428–1433.
- GOETZE, A.
(1948). In: MARCUS (1948).
— (1957). *Kleinasiens*. München: C. H. Beck (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Neubearbeitung Abteilung III, T. 1, Band 3: Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, Abschnitt 3, Lieferung 1).

- GOLDBERG, P.
(2003). 'The Changing Landscape.' In: LEVY, T. E. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. London – New York: Continuum, 40–57.
- GOLÉNICHEFF, W.
(1899). 'Papyrus hiératique de la collection W. Golénicheff, contenant la description du Voyage de l'Égyptien Ounou-Amon en Phénicie.' *RecTrav* XXI, 74–104.
- GONEN, R.
(1987). 'Megiddo in the Late Bronze Age – Another Reassessment.' *Levant* 19, 83–100.
- GONNET, H.
(1979). 'La titulaire royale hittite au II^e millénaire avant J.-C.' *Hethitica* 3, 3–108.
- GORDON, A.
(2003). *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- GORDON, C. H.
(1934). 'Eight New Cuneiform Fragments from Tell el Amarna.' *JEA* 20, 137–138.
— (1938). 'The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets.' *OrNS* 7, 32–63, 215–232.
— (1947). 'The New Amarna Tablets.' *OrNS* 16, 1–21.
- GOREN, Y.
(2000). 'Provenance Study of the Cuneiform Texts from Hazor.' *IEJ* 50, 29–42.
- GOREN, Y. – BUNIMOVITZ, SH. – FINKELSTEIN, I. – NA'AMAN, N.
(2003). 'The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit.' *AJA* 107, 233–255.
- GOREN, Y. – FINKELSTEIN, I. – NA'AMAN, N.
(2004). *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology (Monograph Series, 23).
- GÖRG, M.
(1988). 'Zum Namen der Fürsten von Taanach.' *BN* 41, 15–18.
— (1991). 'Zur Diskussion um die Lage von Scharuhen.' *BN* 58, 17–19.
- GRAJETZKI, W.
(2000). *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches. Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*. Achet Verlag Dr. Norbert Düring (Achet. Schriften zur Ägyptologie, 2).
- GREENSTEIN, E. L.
(1997). 'Alalakh Texts.' In: MEYERS, E. (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Volume 1. New York: Oxford University Press, 59–67.
- GUNDLACH, R.
(2006). 'Hof – Hofgesellschaft – Hofkultur im pharaonischen Ägypten.' In: GUNDLACH, R. – KLUG, A. (eds.), *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 27.–29. Mai 2002 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (KSG, 2).
- HABACHI, L.
(1972). *The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle Against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital*. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin (ADAIK, Ägyptologische Reihe, 8).
- HACHMANN, R.
(1989). 'Kāmid el-Lōz, 1963–1981: German Excavations in Lebanon (Part I)'. *Berytus* 37, 5–187.
- HACHMANN, R. (ED.).
(1970). *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz (Libanon) in den Jahren 1966 und 1967*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 4).
— (1980). *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz in den Jahren 1968 bis 1970*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 22).
— (1982). *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz in den Jahren 1971 bis 1974*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 32).
— (1986). *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz in den Jahren 1977 bis 1981*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 36).

- HACHMANN, R. – KUSCHKE, A.
(1966). *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kāmid el-Lōz (Libanon) in den Jahren 1963 und 1964*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag (SBA, 3).
- HAGENBUCHNER, A.
(1989). *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter. 1. Teil, Die Briefe unter ihren kulturellen, sprachlichen und thematischen Gesichtspunkten. 2. Teil, Die Briefe mit Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag (THeth, 15).
- HALL, H. R.
(1907). *Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*. 11th edition. London: Edward Stanford.
- HALLO, W. W.
(1981). 'A Letter Fragment from Tel Aphek.' *TA* 8, 18–24.
- HALPERN, B. – HUEHNERGARD, J.
(1982). 'El-Amarna Letter 252.' *OrNS* 51, 227–230.
- HARI, R.
(1976). *Repertoire onomastique amarnien*. Genève: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel – Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève (*Ægyptiaca Helvetica*, 4/1976).
- HARRIS, J.
(1957). 'Wallis Budge: Orientalist.' *The Contemporary Review* 192, 230–232.
- HARRISON, TH.
(1893). 'The Tell El-Amarna Tablets.' *Science* 21, No. 537 (May 19), 269.
- HAYES, W. C.
(1951a). 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III.' *JNES* 10/1, 35–56.
— (1951b). 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III.' *JNES* 10/2, 82–112.
— (1951c). 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III.' *JNES* 10/3, 156–183.
— (1951d). 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III.' *JNES* 10/4, 231–242.
— (1959). *The Scepter of Egypt*. Volume II. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- HELCK, W.
(1954). *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt – Hamburg – New York: J. J. Augustin (ÄF, 18).
— (1958). *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Leiden – Köln: E. J. Brill (PdÄ, 3).
— (1961). *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
— (1962). *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz (ÄA, 5).
— (1975). *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs. Register. Zum 60. Geburtstag des Verfassers zusammengestellt von den Mitarbeitern der Ägyptologischen Abteilung an der Universität Hamburg*. Leiden: E. J. Brill (PdÄ, 3A).
- HERBERT, F.
(1990). *Dune*. Ace Special 25th Anniversary Edition. New York: Ace Books.
- HESS, R. S.
(1986). 'Divine Names in the Amarna Texts.' *UF* 18, 149–168.
— (1988). 'A Preliminary List of the Published Alalakh Texts.' *UF* 20, 69–87.
— (1992). 'Observations on Some Unpublished Alalakh Texts, Probably from Level IV.' *UF* 24, 113–115.
— (1993). *Amarna Personal Names*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns (ASOR, Dissertation Series, 9).
— (1996). 'A Comparison of Ugarit, Emar, and Alalakh Archives.' In: WYATT, N. – WATSON, W. G. E. (eds.), *Ugarit, Religion and Culture. Proceedings of the Edinburgh University International Colloquium 20–23 July 1994. Essays Presented in Honor of Professor John C. L. Gibson*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag (UBL, 12), 75–83.
— (1997). 'Hurrians and Other Inhabitants of Late Bronze Age Palestine.' *Levant* 29, 153–159.
— (2001). 'Typology of a Late Bronze Age Administrative Tablet from Hazor.' *UF* 33, 237–243.
- HOFFMEIER, J. K.
(1990). 'Some Thoughts on William G. Dever's "Hyksos", Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age.' *Levant* 22, 83–89.
— (1991). 'James Weinstein's "Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition": A Rejoinder.' *Levant* 23, 117–124.

- (2004). 'Aspects of Egyptian Foreign Policy in the 18th Dynasty in Western Asia and Nubia.' In: KNOPPERS, G. – HIRSCH, A. (eds.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*. Leiden – Boston: Brill (PdÄ, 20), 121–141.
- HOLMES, Y. L.
(1971). 'The Location of Alashiya.' *JAOS* 91, 426–429.
- HOROWITZ, W.
(1996). 'An Inscribed Clay Cylinder from Amarna Age Beth Shean.' *IEJ* 46, 208–218.
— (2000). 'Two Late Bronze Age Tablets from Hazor.' *IEJ* 50, 16–28.
- HOROWITZ, W. – OSHIMA, T. – SANDERS, S.
(2002). 'A bibliographical list of cuneiform inscriptions from Canaan, Palestine/Philistia.' *JAOS* 122/4, 753–766.
— (2006). *Cuneiform in Canaan. Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society – The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- HOROWITZ, W. – OSHIMA, T.
(2007). 'Hazor 15: A Letter Fragment from Hazor.' *IEJ* 57, 34–40.
- HOROWITZ, W. – WASSERMAN, N.
(2004). 'From Hazor to Mari and Ekallātum: A Recently Discovered Old-Babylonian Letter from Hazor.' In: NICOLLE, C. (ed.), *Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Compte rendu de la XLVI^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 10-13 juillet 2000*. Paris: ÉRC (Amurru, 3), 335–344.
- HROZNÝ, F.
(1904). 'Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'anek.' In: SELLIN, E. (ed.), 15, 41–42, 113–122.
— (1905). 'Die neugefunden Keilschrifttexte von Ta'anek.' In: SELLIN, E. (ed.), 5, 7–8, 36–41.
- HUEHNERGARD, J.
(1979). *The Akkadian Dialects of Carchemish and Ugarit*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University (unpublished PhD dissertation).
— (1983). 'Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar.' *RA* 77, 11–43.
— (1989). *The Akkadian of Ugarit*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (HSS, 34).
— (1996). 'A Byblos Letter, Probably from Kāmid el-Lōz.' *ZA* 86, 97–113.
— (1997). 'Emar Texts.' In: MEYERS, E. (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Volume 2. New York: Oxford University Press, 239–240.
— (1999). 'The Correspondence of Ugarit. II. The Akkadian Letters.' In: WATSON, W. G. E. – WYATT, N. (eds.), 375–399.
- HUEHNERGARD, J. – VAN SOLDT, W.
(1999). 'A Cuneiform Lexical Text from Ashkelon with a Canaanite Column.' *IEJ* 49, 184–192.
- HUNGER, H. – PRUZINSKY, R. (eds.)
(2004). *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEEM (Vienna 8th–9th November 2002)*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 6).
- IKEDA, J.
(1992). 'Amarnaic: A Pidgin in the Second Millennium B.C.E.' *Orient* 35, 1–21 (English abstract).
— (1995). 'The Akkadian Language of Emar: Texts Related to a Diviner's Family.' *IOS* 15, 33–61.
- ILLINGSWORTH, N. J. J.
(1988). 'Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986.' *Iraq* 50, 87–108.
- IZRE'EL, SH.
(1977). 'Two Notes on the Gezer-Amarna Tablets.' *TA* 4, 159–167, pl. 18 (5).
— (1978). 'The Gezer Letters of the el-Amarna Archive – Linguistic Analysis.' *IOS* 8, 13–90.
— (1987). 'Some Methodological Requisites for the Study of the Amarna Jargon. Notes on the Essence of That Language.' At <http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/semitic/izreel1987.rtf>.
— (1990). 'A New Translation of the Amarna Letters. Review Article of William L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon*.' *BiOr* 47, 577–604.
— (1991). *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study*, with an Appendix on the History of Amurru by Itamar Singer. 2 volumes. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (HSS, 40–41).
— (1992). review of HUEHNERGARD (1989). *BiOr* 49, 168–180.
— (1995a). 'Amarna tablets in the collection of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.' *Journal for Semitics* 7/2, 125–161.

- (1995b). 'The Amarna Glosses: Who Wrote What for Whom? Some Sociolinguistic Consideration.' *IOS* 15, 101–122.
- (1997). *The Amarna Scholarly Tablets*. Groningen: Styx Publications (CM, 9).
- (2003). 'Canaanite Varieties in the Second Millennium BC: Can We Dispense with Anachronism?.' *Orient* 38, 66–104.
- (2007). 'Canaanite-Akkadian. Some Methodological Requisites for the Study of the Amarna Letters from Canaan.' At <http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/semitic/canakk2007.pdf>.

JAEGER, B.

(1982). *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê*. Freiburg – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (OBO, Series Archaeologica, 2).

JANSEN, M. B. (ed.)

(1999). *The Cambridge History of Japan Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century, Chapter 5, "The Meiji Restoration"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JANSEN, M. B. – ROZMAN, G. (eds.)

(1986). *Japan in transition from Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

JANSSEN, J. J.

(1983). 'El-Amarna as a Residential City.' *BiOr* 40, 273–288.

JONES, D.

(2000). *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*. 2 Volumes. Oxford: Archaeopress (BAR International Series, 866 [I–II]).

JÖNSSON, CH.

(2000). 'Diplomatic Signaling in the Amarna Letters.' In: COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.), 191–204.

JUCQUOIS, G.

(1963). *Phonétique comparée des dialectes moyen-babyloniens du nord et de l'ouest*, Louvain: Peeters.

KAMPP, F.

(1996). *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankes von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. 2 Teile. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern (Theben, 13).

KEEL, O.

(1997). *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel, Von den Anfänger bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band I: Von Tell Abu Faraa bis 'Atlit, Unter Mitarbeit von D. Ben-Tor, B. Jaeger, A. Jäkle, K. Jaroš, H. Keel-Leu, C. Mlinar und C. Uehlinger, with three contributions by Baruch Brandl*. Freiburg – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (OBO, Series Archeologica, 13).

KEENE, D.

(2002). *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912*. New York: Columbia University Press.

KEMP, B. J.

(1972). 'Temple and Town in Ancient Egypt.' In: UCKO, P. J. – TRINGHAM, R. – DIMBLEBY, G. W. (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*. London: Duckworth, 657–680.

— (1977). 'The City of El-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Urban Society in Ancient Egypt.' *WA* 9/2, 123–139.

— (1979). 'The City of el-Amarna as a source for the Study of Urban Society in Egypt.' In: REINEKE, W. (ed.), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 369–370.

— (1981). 'The Character of the South Suburb at El-Amarna.' *MDOG* 113, 81–97.

— (1989). *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.

KEMP, B. J. – GARFI, S.

(1993). *A Survey of the Ancient City of el-Amarna*. London: Egypt Exploration Society (Occasional Publications, 9).

KEMPINSKI, A.

(1974). 'Tell el-'Ajjûl – Beth-Aglayim or Sharuhên?.' *IEJ* 24, 145–152.

KITCHEN, K. A.

(1996). *Rameside Inscriptions. Translated & Annotated. Translations. Rameses II, Royal Inscriptions*. Volume II. Oxford: Blackwell.

KLENGEL, H.

(1964). 'Aziru von Amurru und seine Rolle in der Geschichte der Amärrazelt.' *MIO* 10, 57–83.

- (1969). *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. Teil 2 Mittel- und Südsyrien*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 70).
- (1974). review of RAINEY (1970). *OLZ* 69, 261–262.
- (1992). *Syria: 3000 to 300 B.C.; a handbook of political history*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

KLUG, A.

(2002). *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*. Turnhout: Brepols (Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 8).

KNAPP, A. B.

(1985). 'Alashiya, Caphtor/Keftiu and Eastern Mediterranean Trade: Recent Studies in Cypriote Archaeology and History.' *JFA* 12, 231–250.

KNUDTZON, J. A.

(1907–1915/1964). *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen. Anmerkungen und Register bearbeitet von Otto Weber und Erich Ebeling*. 2 Bände. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs [1964. Neudruck der Ausgabe, Aalen: Otto Zeller Verlagsbuchhandlung] (VAB, 2).

— (1914). 'Zu den El-Amarna-Tafeln.' *OLZ* 17/12, 483–494.

KOCHAVI, M.

(1977). *Aphek-Antipatris: Five Seasons of Excavation at Tel Aphek-Antipatris (1972–1976)*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology.

KOCHAVI, M. – BECK, P.

(1976). *Aphek-Antipatris 1972–1973: Preliminary Report*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology.

KOCHAVI *et al.*

(1978). *Aphek-Antipatris 1974–1977: The Inscriptions*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology.

KOCHAVI, M. – BECK, P. – YADIN, E. (eds.)

(2000). *Aphek-Antipatris I: Excavations of Areas A and B – The 1972–1976 Seasons*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology (The Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Monograph Series, 19).

KOSSMANN, M.

(1994). 'Amarna-Akkadian as a Mixed Language.' In: BAKKER, P. – MOUS, M. (eds.), *Mixed Languages: 15 Case Studies in Language Interwinning*. Amsterdam: Instituut voor Functioneel Onderzoek naar en Taalgebruik (Studies in Language and Language Use, 13), 169–173.

KOŘÍNKOVÁ, J.

(1999). *Akkadské texty egyptského původu z Tell el-Amarny*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta (unpublished M.A. thesis).

KRISTENSEN, A. L.

(1977). 'Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas: A Comparative Study of the Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas in the Context of the Contemporary Akkadian Formulas in the Letters from Ugarit and Amarna.' *UF* 9, 143–158.

KUENTZ, CH.

(1928). *La Bataille de Qadech: les textes «Poème de Pentaour» et «Bulletin de Qadech» et les bas-reliefs*. Le Caire: IFAO (MIFAO, 55).

KÜHNE, C.

(1973). *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*. Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag (AOAT, 17).

— (1974). 'Eine analytische Liste der akkadischen Ugarittexte.' *UF* 6, 129–156.

LABAT, R.

(1932). *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi. Étude sur la Langue des Lettres, Traités et Vocabulaires Akkadiens trouvés à Boghaz-köi*. Bordeaux: Librairie Delmas.

LACKENBACHER, S.

(1989). 'Trois lettres d'Ugarit.' In: BEHRENS, H. – LODING, D. – ROTH, M. T. (eds.), *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*. Philadelphia: The University Museum (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 11), 317–320.

LACKENBACHER, S. – MALBRAN-LABAT, F.

(2005). 'Ugarit et les Hittites dans les archives de la "Maison d'Urtenu".' *SMEA* 47, 227–240.

- LACOVARA, P.
(1999). 'The City of Amarna.' In: FREED, R. E. – MARKOWITZ, Y. J. – D'AURIA, S. H. (eds.), *Pharaohs of the Sun, Akhenaten – Nefertiti – Tutankamen*. London: Thames & Hudson, 61–71.
- LAMBDIN, TH. O.
(1953). 'Egyptian Words in Tell el-Amarna Letter No. 14.' *OrNS* 22, 362–369.
- LAPP, P. W.
(1964). 'The 1963 Excavation at Ta'anek.' *BASOR* 173, 4–44.
— (1967). 'The 1966 Excavations at Tell Ta'anek.' *BASOR* 185, 2–39.
— (1969). 'The 1968 Excavations at Tell Ta'anek.' *BASOR* 195, 2–49.
- LAROCHE, E.
(1982). 'Documents hittites et hourrites.' In: BEYER, D. (ed.), *Meskéné - Emar : dix ans de travaux, 1972-1982 : mission archéologique de Meskéné - Emar : à l'occasion d'une exposition*. Paris: ÉRC, 53–60.
- LASKOWSKI, P.
(2006). 'Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 183–237.
- LICHTHEIM, M.
(1976). *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Volume II: The New Kingdom*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press.
- LINDENBERGER, J. M.
(1994/2003). *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (SBL, Writings from the Ancient World, 4). [2nd edition, edited by K. H. Richards. Atlanta, GA – Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature – Brill (SBL, Writings from the Ancient World, 14)].
- LIVERANI, M.
(1998–1999). *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei «Piccoli Re». 2. Le lettere dei «Grandi Re»*. Paideia: Paideia Editrice (Testi del Vicino Oriente antico, 3.1–3.2).
- LOEWENSTAMM, S. E.
(1969). 'Ugaritic formulas of greeting.' *BASOR* 194, 52–54.
- LOMBARD, P.
(1995). 'Contexte archéologique et données épigraphiques. Quelques réflexions sur l'interprétation du glissement de 1973-1992.' In: RSO XI, 227–237.
- LONG, TH. H.
(1979). *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms*. Harlow: Longman.
- LORTON, D.
(1974). *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- LUCIANI, M.
(2003). 'The Lower City of Qatna in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: Operation K.' *Akkadica* 124, 144–163.
- LUCKENBILL, D. D. – ALLEN, T. G.
(1916). 'The Murch Fragment of an el-Amarna Letter.' *AJSL* 33/1, 1–8.
- MALAMAT, A.
(1961). 'Campaigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV to Canaan.' *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, 218–231.
- MALBRAN-LABAT, F.
(1991). 'Lettres.' In: RSO VII, 27–64.
— (1995a). 'L'épigraphie akkadienne. Rétrospective et perspective.' In: RSO XI, 33–40.
— (1995b). 'La découverte épigraphique de 1994 à Ougarit (les textes akkadiens).' *SMEA* 36, 103–111.
— (2004). 'Les Hittites et Ougarit.' In: MAZOYER, M. – CASABONNE, O. (eds.), *Studia anatolica et varia. Mélanges offerts au professeur René Lebrun*. Vol. 2. Paris: L'Harmattan (collection Kubaba), 69–104.
- MALBRAN-LABAT, F. – LACKENBACHER, S.
(2001). 'Les textes akkadiens découverts à Ougarit en 1994.' In: VAN LERBERGHE, K. – VOET, G. (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact. Proceedings of the 42th RAI*. Leuven: Peeters – Departement Oosterse Studies (OLA, 96), 237–244.

- MÁLEK, J.
(1985). 'The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-neheh at Northern Saqqara.' *SAK* 12, 43–60.
- AL-MAQDISSI, M.
(1996). 'Reprise des fouilles à Mishrifeh en 1994.' *Akkadica* 99–100, 1–14.
— (2001). 'Kurzbericht über die syrischen Ausgrabungen in Misrife-Qatna.' *MDOG* 133, 141–155.
— (2002a). 'Note sur les fouilles syriennes à Mishrifeh/Qatna (1994–2000).' In: CHARPIN, D. – DURAND, J.-M. (eds.), *Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot : journées d'études franco-syriennes sur les archives de Mari, Collège de France, 14-15 juin 2001*. Paris: SEPOA (FM 6; Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 7), 105–117.
— (2002b). 'Ergebnisse der sechsten Kampagne der syrischen Ausgrabungen in Misrife-Qatna im Jahr 2000.' *MDOG* 134, 193–206.
— (2003). 'Ergebnisse der siebten und achten syrischen Grabungskampagne 2001 und 2002 in Mishrife-Qatna.' *MDOG* 135, 219–245.
- AL-MAQDISSI, M. – DOHMANN-PFÄLZNER, H. – PFÄLZNER, P. – SULEIMAN, A.
(2003). 'Das königliche Hypogäum von Qatna. Bericht über die syrisch-deutsche Ausgrabung im November–Dezember 2002.' *MDOG* 135, 189–218.
- AL-MAQDISSI, M. – LUCIANI, M. – MORANDI BONACOSSO, D. – NOVÁK, M. – PFÄLZNER, P. (eds.)
(2002). *Excavating Qatna Volume 1 (Preliminary Report on the 1999 and 2000 Campaigns of the Joint Syrian-Italian-German Archaeological Research Project at Tell Mishrifeh)*. Damascus – Udine – Tübingen: Direction générale des antiquités et des musées de Syrie – University of Udine – University of Tübingen (DAS, IV).
- AL-MAQDISSI, M. – MORANDI BONACOSSO, D.
(2005). *The Metropolis of the Orontes. Art and Archaeology from the Ancient Kingdom of Qatna. Seven Years of Syrian-Italian Collaboration at Mishrifeh/Qatna*. Damascus: Direction générale des antiquités et des musées de Syrie.
- MARCUS, R.
(1948). 'On the Genitive after *unma* in the Amarna Tablets.' *JCS* 2, 223–224.
- MARGUERON, J.-CL.
(1975a). 'Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Emar (1972–1974), un bilan provisoire.' *Syria* 52, 53–85.
— (1975b). 'Les fouilles françaises de Meskéné-Emar (Syrie).' *CRAIBL* 1975, 201–213;
— (1982a). 'La recherche sur le terrain. Topographie. Architecture et urbanisme.' In: BEYER, D. (ed.), *Meskéné - Emar : dix ans de travaux, 1972-1982 : mission archéologique de Meskéné - Emar : à l'occasion d'une exposition*. Paris: ÉRC, 11–39.
— (1982b). 'Rapport préliminaire sur les 3^e, 4^e, 5^e et 6^e campagnes de fouille à Meskéné-Emar.' *AAAS* 32, 233–249.
- MARGUERON, J.-CL. (ed.)
(1980). *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10–12 mars 1977*. Leiden: Brill (Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, Travaux du centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique, 5);
- MARIETTE, A.
(1880). *Abydos*. I–II. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- MÁRQUEZ ROWE, I.
(1998). 'Notes on the Hurro-Akkadian of Alalah in the Mid-Second Millennium B.C.E.' In: IZRE'EL, SH. – SINGER, I. – ZADOK, R. (eds.), *Past Links: Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns (IOS, 18), 63–78.
— (2004). 'Reflexiones sobre el Acadlo como lengua de contacto en el antiguo Oriente.' In: BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA, P. – TORALLAS TOVAR, S. – LUJÁN, E. R. – ÁNGELES GALLEGO, M. (eds.), *Lenguas en contacto: el testimonio escrito*. Madrid: CSIC, 17–34.
— (2006). *The Royal Deeds of Ugarit. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomatics*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag (AOAT, 335).
- MARTIN, M. A. S.
(2004). 'Egyptian and Egyptanized Pottery in Late Bronze Age Canaan. Typology, Chronology, Ware fabrics, and Manufacture techniques. Pots and People?.' In: *Proceedings of the SCIEEM 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference, Vienna, 30th of January–1st of February 2003*. *ÄuL* 14, 265–284.
- MARTIN, G. T.
(1989). *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun*. I. The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Commentary. London: Egypt Exploration Society (Fifty-fifth Excavation Memoir).

- (1992). *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis. New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- DE MARTINO, S.
(2004). 'A Tentative Chronology of the Kingdom of Mittani from its Rise to the Reign of Tušratta.' In: HUNGER, H. – PRUZINSZKY, R. (eds.), 35–42.
- MATTHES, O.
(2000). *James Simon. Mäzen im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter*. Berlin: Bostelmann and Siebelhaar Verlag (Bürgerlichkeit, Wertewandel, Mäzenatentum, 5).
- MAYER, W.
(1990). 'Der antike Name von Tall Munbaqa, die Schreiber und die chronologische Einordnung der Tafelfunde: Die Tontafeln von Tall Munbaqa 1988.' *MDOG* 122, 45–66.
— (1993). 'Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbaqa/Ekalte 1989 und 1990.' *MDOG* 125, 103–106.
— (1993–1997). 'Munbāqa, Tall. A. Philologisch.' In: *RIA* 8, 417.
— (2001). *Tall Munbāqa-Ekalte. II. Die Texte*. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag (WVDOG, 102).
- MCCARTER, P. K.
(1973). 'Rib-Adda's Appeal to Aziru (EA 162, 1–21).' *OrAnt* 12, 15–18.
- MCDOWELL, A. G.
(1993). *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)*. Oxford: Griffith Institute – Ashmolean Museum.
- MERRILLEES, R. S.
(1987). *Alashiya Revisited*. Paris: J. Gabalda (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, 22).
- DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, R.
(1935). *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- MEYER, E.
(1928). *Geschichte des Altertums*. T. II/1. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta's Buchhandlung Nachfolger.
- MICHALOWSKI, P.
(1993). *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (Writings from the Ancient World, 3).
- MILANO, L.
(1983). 'Gli epltetì del Faraone in una lettera Ugaritica da Ras Ibn Hanl.' In: CARRUBA, O. et al., *Studi Orientalistici ricardò di Franco Pintore*. Pavia: GIES Edizioni, 141–158.
- MILLARD, A. R.
(1965). 'A Letter from the Ruler of Gezer.' *PEQ* 97, 140–143, pl. XXV.
— (1982). 'In Praise of Ancient Scribes.' *BiAr* 45/3, 143–153.
— (1995). 'The Last Tablets of Ugarit.' In: *RSO* XI, 119–124.
- MORAN, W. L.
(1948). 'An Unexplained Passage in an Amarna Letter from Byblos.' *JNES* 8, 124–125.
— (1950a/2003). *A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in the Amarna Tablets*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, PhD dissertation; published in MORAN (2003: 1–130).
— (1950b). 'The Use of the Canaanite Infinitive Absolute as a Finite Verb in the Amarna Letters from Byblos.' *JCS* 4, 169–172.
— (1951). 'New Evidence on Canaanite *taqtulū(na)*.' *JCS* 5, 33–35.
— (1953). 'Amarna *šumma* in Main Clauses.' *JCS* 7, 78–80.
— (1960). 'Early Canaanite *yaqtula*.' *OrNS* 29, 1–19.
— (1971). 'Tell el-Amarna.' In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Volume 15. Jerusalem: Keter, 933–935.
— (1973). 'The Dual Personal Pronouns in Western Peripheral Akkadian.' *BASOR* 211, 50–53.
— (1975a). 'Amarna Glosses.' *RA* 69, 147–158.
— (1975b). 'The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters.' In: GOEDICKE, H. – ROBERTS, J. J. M. (eds.), *Unity and Diversity. Essays in History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 146–168.
— (1984). 'Additions to the Amarna Lexicon.' *OrNS* 53, 297–302.
— (1985). 'Rib-Hadda: Job at Byblos?.' In: KORT, A. – MORSCHAUER, S. (eds.), *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iuvry*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 173–181.
— (1987). *Les lettres d'el-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du Pharaon, avec la collaboration de V. Haas et G. Wilhelm*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf (LAPO, 13).

- (1988). 'Amarna Texts (Nos. 102, 103).' In: SPAR, I. (ed.), *Tablets, Cones, and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B.C.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (CTMMA, 1), 149–151, pls. 112–115.
- (1992). *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- (2003). *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings*. Edited by John Huehnergard and Shlomo Izre'el. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns (HSS, 54).
- MORANDI BONACOSI, D. et al.
(2003). 'Tell Mishrifeh / Qatna 1999–2002, A Preliminary Report of the Italian Component of the Joint Syrian-Italian-German Project, Part 1.' *Akkadica* 124/1, 65–120.
- MORRIS, E. F.
(2005). *The Architecture of Imperialism. Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Leiden – Boston: Brill (PdÄ, 22).
- MUHL, J. D.
(1972). 'The Land of Alashiya: References to Alashiya in the Texts of the Second Millennium B.C. and the History of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age.' In: PAPADOPOULLOS, T. – CHRISTODOULOU, M. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Cypriot Studies*. Volume 1. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 201–219.
- MUNTINGH, L. M.
(1995). 'An Amarna letter (EA 162) from a pharaoh to Aziru of Amurru in light of recent research.' *Journal for Semitics* 7/2, 162–195.
- MURNANE, W. J.
(1995). *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (SBL. Writings from the Ancient World, 5).
- MURNANE, W. J. – VAN SICLEN, CH. C., III
(1993). *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. London – New York: Kegan Paul International.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J.
(2004). *Zdravící formule v periferní akkadštině*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta (unpublished PhD dissertation).
— (2006a). 'Ugarit: "International" or "Vassal" Correspondence?.' In: CHARVÁT, P. – LAFONT, B. – MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. – PECHA, L. (eds.), *L'État, le pouvoir, les prestations et leurs formes en Mésopotamie ancienne. Actes du Colloque assyriologique franco-tchèque. Paris, 7–8 novembre 2002*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta, 119–128.
— (2006b). 'A Comment of the Opening Passages of the Amarna Letters – Its Structure and Its Address.' *ArOr* 73, 397–406.
— (2006c). 'Abusir in the New Kingdom. Current Research by the Czech Institute for Egyptology.' In: DANN, R. J. (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2004. Proceedings from the Fifth Annual Symposium which took place at the University of Durham, January 2004*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 112–117.
— (2006d). 'Akkizi of Qatna – A Case of a Diplomatic *faux pas*?.' *UF* 37 (2005; *In memoriam Stanislav Segert*), 445–459.
— (in press a). 'A Discussion on the Emar Epistolary Formulae.' In: VACÍN, L. (ed.), *Dingir-re-e-ne gub-bu in-ga-zu: Ancient Near Eastern and Religious Studies in Memory of Blahoslav Hruška*. Dresden: ISLET-Verlag.
— (in press b). 'Tradition or Innovation? The Ugaritic-Egyptian Correspondence.' In: VAN SOLDT, W. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Symposium on Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit, Leiden, 13–14 December 2007*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. – COPPENS, F.
(in press). 'Prostration before God and Pharaoh.' In: Anniversary Volume of the Czech Institute of Egyptology. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- NA'AMAN, N.
(1976). 'A New Look at the Chronology of Alalakh Level VII.' *AnSt* 26, 129–143.
— (1979a). 'The Chronology of Alalakh Level VII Once Again.' *AnSt* 29, 103–113.
— (1979b). 'The Origin and Historical Background of Several Amarna Letters.' *UF* 11, 673–684.
— (1980). 'A Royal Scribe and His Scribal Products in the Alalakh IV Court.' *OrAnt* 19, 107–116.
— (1988). 'Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kāmid el Lōz 'Apiru Letters.' *UF* 20, 179–193.
— (1991). 'On Gods and Scribal Traditions in the Amarna Letters.' *UF* 23, 247–255.
— (1994). 'The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine.' *Levant* 26, 175–187.
— (2005). 'On Two Tablets from Kāmid el Lōz.' *ANES* 42, 312–317.
- NIEBUHR, C.
(1903). *The Tell el Amarna Period. The Relations of Egypt and Western Asia in the Fifteenth Century B.C. According to the Tell el Amarna Tablets*. London: David Nutt.

- NOTEHELPER, F. G.
(2006). 'The Meiji Restoration.' In: DE BARY, Wm. Th. – GLUCK, C. – TIEDEMANN, A. E. (eds.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume Two: 1600 to 2000, Part Two: 1868 to 2000*. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 5–29.
- NOUGAYROL, J.
(1955). *Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Librairie C. Klincksieck (PRU, III; MRS, VI).
- NOVÁK, M.
(2004). 'The Chronology of the Bronze Age Palace of Qatna.' In: *Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference, Vienna, 30th of January – 1st of February 2003*. *ÄuL* 14, 299–317.
- NOVÁK, M. – PFÄLZNER, P.
(2000). 'Ausgrabungen in Tall Misrife-Qatna 1999. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.' *MDOG* 132, 253–295.
- (2001). 'Ausgrabungen in Tall Misrife-Qatna 2000. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.' *MDOG* 133, 157–198.
- (2002a). 'Excavations in the Western Part of the Bronze Age Palace (Operation G).' In: AL-MAQDISI, M. – LUCIANI, M. – MORANDI BONACOSI, D. – NOVÁK, M. – PFÄLZNER, P. (eds.), 63–110.
- (2002b). 'Ausgrabungen in Tall Misrife-Qatna 2001. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.' *MDOG* 134, 207–246.
- (2003). 'Ausgrabungen im bronzezeitlichen Palast von Tall Mišrife – Qatna 2002. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes.' *MDOG* 135, 131–165.
- O'CONNOR, D.
(2006). 'Thutmose III: An Enigmatic Pharaoh.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 1–38.
- OELSNER, J.
(1964). 'Ein Beitrag zu kellschriftlichen Königstitulaturen in hellenistischer Zeit.' *ZA* 56, 262–274.
- OLIVA, J. M.
(1999–2000). 'Alalah VII Chronographica. Una revisión del archivo sobre la base de los textos de Yarim-Lim.' *AuOr* 17–18, 229–239.
- DEL OLMO LETE, G. – SANMARTÍN, J.
(2003). *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 2 volumes. Leiden: Brill (HdO, 67).
- OLZ
(1914/8). 'Altertums-Berichte. Aegypten.' *OLZ* X/8, 377.
- OPPENHEIM, L. A.
(1987). *Letters from Mesopotamia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- OPPERT, J.
(1888). 'Les tablettes de Tell-Amarna.' *CRAIBL* 1888, 251–254.
- OREN, E. D.
(1997). 'The "Kingdom of Sharuhen" and the Hyksos Kingdom.' In: OREN, E. D. (ed.), 253–283.
- OREN, E. D. (ed.).
(1997). *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Philadelphia: The University Museum (UMM, 96; UMSS, 8).
- ORNI, E. – EPRAT, E.
(1980). *The Geography of Israel*. 4th revised edition. Jerusalem: Keter.
- ORY, J.
(1936). 'Excavations at Räs el-'Ain.' *QDAP* 5, 111–112, pls. LXI–LXIII.
- (1938). 'Excavations at Räs el-'Ain II.' *QDAP* 6, 99–120, XXVI–XXXIV.
- OWEN, D. I.
(1981). 'An Akkadian Letter from Ugarit at Tel Aphek.' *TA* 8, 1–17.
- PANITZ-COHEN, N.
(2004). 'Change and Continuity in the Ceramic Assemblages at Late Bronze Age Tel Batash.' In: *Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 Late Bronze Age Conference, Vienna, 30th of January–1st of February 2003*. *ÄuL* 14, 319–337.
- PARDEE, D.
(1978a). 'An Overview of Ancient Hebrew Epistolography.' *JBL* 97/3, 321–346.
- (1978b). 'Letters from Tel Arad.' *UF* 10, 289–336.

- (1982). *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters: A Study Edition*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press (SBL Sources for Biblical Study, 15).
- PARDEE, D. – WHITING, R. M.
(1987). 'Aspects of Epistolary Verbal Usage in Ugaritic and Akkadian.' *BSOAS* 50/1, 1–31.
- PARKER, V.
(2002). 'Zur Chronologie des Šuppiluliumaš I.' *AoF* 29, 31–62.
- PEDERSEN, O.
(1998). *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- PEET, T. E.
(1921). 'Excavations at Tell el-Amarna: a preliminary report.' *JEA* 7, 169–185.
- PEET, T. E. – WOOLLEY, C. L.
(1923). *The City of Akhenaten, Part 1: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh*. London: Egypt Exploration Society (Thirty-Eighth Excavation Memoir).
- PEISER, F. E.
(1898a). 'Eine Kollation der in Gizeh aufbewahrten Tell El-Amarna-Tafeln.' *OLZ* 1/5, 135–138.
- (1898b). 'Eine Kollation der in Gizeh aufbewahrten Tell El-Amarna-Tafeln.' *OLZ* 1/7, 196–197.
- (1898c). 'Eine Kollation der in Glzeh aufbewahrten Tell El-Amarna-Tafeln.' *OLZ* 1/9, 274–276.
- (1898d). 'Eine Kollation der in Glzeh aufbewahrten Tell El-Amarna-Tafeln.' *OLZ* 1/10, 304–305.
- (1899). 'Die Lachiš-Tafel.' *OLZ* 2/1, 4–7.
- (1903). 'Zwei neue El-Amarna-Briefe.' *OLZ* 6/9, 379–381.
- PENDLEBURY, J. D. S.
(1935). *Tell el-Amarna*. London: Lovat Dickson & Thompson.
- (1951). *The City of Akhenaten. Part 3: The Central City and the Official Quarters: The Excavations at Tell el-Amarna During the Seasons 1926–1927 and 1931–1936*. 2 Volumes. London: Egypt Exploration Society (Forty-Fourth Excavation Memoir).
- PETRIE, W. M. F.
(1889). *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*. London: Field & Tuer.
- (1890). *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.
- (1892a). *Medum*. London: D. Nutt.
- (1892b). *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt 1881–1891*. London: The Religious Tract Society.
- (1892c). 'Excavations at Tel el-Amarna.' *The Academy* 41, No. 1040, 356–357.
- (1894). *Tell el-Amarna*. London: Methuen & Co.
- (1898). *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*. London: Methuen & Co.
- (1932). *Ancient Gaza, Tell el-Ajjul*. Volume II. London: Egypt Exploration Fund (BSAE, 54).
- (1940). *Seventy Years in Archaeology*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd.
- PFEIFFER, R. H.
(1923). 'Assyrian Epistolary Formulas.' *JAOS* 43, 26–40.
- PINTORE, F.
(1972). 'Transiti di truppe e schemi epistolari nella Siria egiziana dell'età di el-Amarna.' *OrAnt* 11, 101–131.
- PRITCHARD, J. B.
(1954). *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- PRUSZINSKY, R.
(2004). 'Evidence for the Short Chronology in Mesopotamia? The chronological relationship between the texts from Emar and Ekalte.' In: HUNGER, H. – PRUSZINSKY, R. (eds.), 43–50.
- PUSCH, E. B. – JAKOB, S.
(2003). "Der Zipfel des Diplomatischen Archivs Ramses' II." *ÄuL* 13, 143–153.
- QUIBELL, J. E.
(1912). *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*. Le Caire: IFAO.
- RAGIONIERI, R.
(2000). 'The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making.' In: COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.), 42–53.

RAINEY, A. F.

- (1970/1978a). *El-Amarna Tablets 359-379. Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Kevelaer: Butzon und Bercker. [1978a, 2nd revised edition] (AOAT, 8).
- (1971). 'Verbal Forms with Infix -t- in the West Semitic el-Amarna Letters.' *IOS* 1, 86–102.
- (1973). 'Reflections on the Suffix Conjugation in West-Semitized Amarna Tablets.' *UF* 5, 235–262.
- (1974). 'El-'Amârna Notes.' *UF* 6, 295–312.
- (1975a). 'Morphology and the Prefix Tenses of West-Semitized el-'Amarna Tablets.' *UF* 7, 395–426.
- (1975b). 'Two Cuneiform Fragments from Tel Aphek.' *TA* 2, 125–129.
- (1976a). 'KL 72:600 and the D-Passive in West Semitic.' *UF* 8, 337–341.
- (1976b). 'Enclitic -ma and the Logical Predicate in Old Babylonian.' *IOS* 6, 51–58.
- (1976c). 'A Tri-lingual Cuneiform Fragment from Tel Aphek.' *TA* 3, 137–140.
- (1977). 'Verbal Usages in the Taanach Texts.' *IOS* 7, 33–64.
- (1978). 'The Barth-Ginsberg Law in the Amarna Tablets.' *EI* 14, 8*–13*.
- (1988). 'Some Presentation Particles in the Amarna Letters from Canaan.' *UF* 20, 209–220.
- (1989–1990). 'A New Translation of the Amarna Letters – after 100 Years. A review of *Les lettres d'el-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon*.' *AfO* 36–37, 56–75.
- (1990). 'The Prefix Conjugation Patterns of Early Northwest Semitic.' In: ABUSCH, Tz. – HUEHNERGARD, J. – STEINKELLER, P. (eds.), *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (HSS, 37), 407–420.
- (1991–1993). 'Is there Really a *yaqtula* Conjugation Pattern in the Canaanite Amarna Tablets?' *JCS* 43–45, 107–118.
- (1992a). 'Inûma Clauses in the Amarna Letters from Canaan.' *IOS* 12, 177–191.
- (1992b). 'Topic and Comment in Byblos Akkadian.' *BiOr* 49, 329–357.
- (1993). 'Sharhân/Sharuhen – The Problem of Identification.' *EI* 24, 178–187.
- (1994). 'Triptotic Plurals in the Amarna Texts from Canaan.' *UF* 26, 427–434.
- (1995–1996). 'A New English Translation of the Amarna Letters. A Review of William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letter*.' *AfO* 42–43, 109–121.
- (1996a). *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan*. 4 Volumes. Leiden: Brill (HdO, 25).
- (1996b). 'CAT Tails.' *UF* 28, 513–526.
- (1998). 'Syntax, Hermeneutics and History.' *IEJ* 48, 239–251.
- (1999). 'Taanach Letters.' *EI* 26, 153*–162*.
- (2002). 'The 'Amârnah Texts a Century after Flinders Petrie.' *ANES* 39, 44–75.
- (2003). 'Some Amarna Collations.' *EI* 27, 192*–202* [= *Hayim and Miriam Tadmor Volume*].

RAINEY, A. F. – NOTLEY, R. S.

(2007). *Carta's New Century Handbook and Atlas of the Bible*. Jerusalem: Carta.

RANKE, H.

(1910). *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*. Berlin: Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei Georg Reimer.

RAVEN, M. J.

(2002a). 'The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara.' *EA* 20, 26–28.— (2002b). 'Les fouilles de Leyde dans la tombe de Meryneith a Saqqara, campagnes 2001–2002.' *BSFE* 155, 11–31.RAVEN, M. J. *et al.*(2003a). 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2001: The Tomb of Meryneith.' *JEOL* 37, 71–89.— (2003b). 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2002: The Tomb of Meryneith.' *JEOL* 37, 91–109.

RAVEN, M. J. – VAN WALSEM, R., ET AL.

(2003–2004). 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2003: The Tomb of Meryneith.' *JEOL* 38, 5–23.

REDFORD, D. B.

(1979). 'A Gate Inscription from Karnak and Egyptian Involvement in Western Asia During the Early 18th Dynasty.' *JAOS* 99, 270–287.— (1979–1980). 'Egypt & Asia in the New Kingdom: Some Historical Notes.' *JSEA* 10, 63–70.— (2003). *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*. Leiden – Boston: Brill (CHANE, 16).

— (2006). 'The Northern Wars of Thutmose III.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 325–343.

REID, D. M.

(2002). *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press.

RICHTER, TH.

(2001). 'Bericht über die 2000 in Qatna gefundenen Siegellegenden.' *MDOG* 133, 194–196.— (2002). 'Bericht über die 2001 in Qatna gemachten Inschriftfunde.' *MDOG* 134, 247–256.— (2003a). 'Das „Archiv“ des Idanda.' *MDOG* 135, 167–188.— (2003b). 'Der „Einhährige Feldzug“ Šuppiluliumas I. von Ḫatti in Syrien nach Textfunden des Jahres 2002 in Mishrife/Qaṭna.' *UF* 34 (2002), 603–618.— (2004). 'Ein Tontafelfund der Grabungskampagne 2003 in Tall Mishrife/Qaṭna.' *MDOG* 136, 217–222.— (2005). 'Qaṭna in the Late Bronze Age. Preliminary Remarks.' In: OWEN, D. I. – WILHELM, G. (eds.), *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/1*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press (SCCNH, 15), 109–126.

ROWE, A.

(1936). *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*. Cairo: IFAO.

SALLABERGER, W. – EINWAG, B. – OTTO, A.

(2006). 'Schenkungen von Mittani-Königen an die Einwohner von Bašīru. Die zwei Urkunden aus Tall Bazi am Mittleren Euphrat.' *ZA* 96, 69–104.

SALONEN, E.

(1967). *Die Gruß- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefe*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Kirjapaino Oy (StOr, 38).

SANDMAN, M.

(1938). *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (BAe, VIII).

SATOW, E.

(1969). *Diplomat in Japan*. New York: Oxford University Press.

SAYCE, A. H.

(1888a). 'Letter from Egypt.' *The Academy* 33, No. 824 (February 18), 123–124.— (1888b). 'Letter from Egypt.' *The Academy* 33, No. 829 (March 24), 211.— (1888c). 'Babylonian Tablets from Upper Egypt.' *The Academy* 33, No. 831 (April 7), 246–247.— (1888d). 'Babylonian Tablets from Tel el-Amarna, Upper Egypt.' *PSBA* June 5, 488–525.— (1888e). 'Recent Oriental Discovery.' *The Contemporary Review* 54 (July–December), 299–303.— (1888f). 'The Name of Moses in the Cuneiform Tablets of Tel el-Amarna.' *The Academy* 33, No. 840 (June 9), 397.— (1889). 'The Cuneiform Tablets of Tel el-Amarna, Now Preserved in the Boulaq Museum.' *PSBA* June 4, 326–413.

— (1894). 'The Cuneiform Tablets.' In: PETRIE (1894), 34–37, pls. XXXI–XXXIII.

— (1917). 'The Discovery of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets.' *AJSL* 33/2, 89–90.— (1923). *Reminiscences*. London: Macmillan and Co.

SAYCE, A. H. – GRÉBAUT, E.

(1888). 'The Babylonian Tablets in the Boulaq Museum.' *The Academy* 33, No. 835 (May 5), 315.

SCHEIL, J.-V.

(1890). 'Une tablette de Tel-Amarna.' *RecTrav* 13, 73–74.— (1892). 'Tablettes d'El-Amarna de la collection Rostovicz.' *MMAFC* 6/2, 297–312.— (1894). 'La tablette de Lachis.' *RB* 3, 433–436.— (1902). 'Deux nouvelles lettres d'El Amarna.' *BIFAO* 2, 113–118.

SCHROEDER, O.

(1914). 'Die beiden neuen Tontafeln.' *MDOG* 55, 39–45.— (1915a). *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*. 2 Hefte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung [reprint 1973, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller] (VS, XI–XII).— (1915b). 'iluA = iluA-ma-na.' *OLZ* 18, 326–327.— (1917). 'Zu Berliner Amarnatexten.' *OLZ* 20, 105.

SCHULMAN, A. R.

(1964). 'Some Observations on the Military Background of the Amarna Period.' *JARCE* 3, 51–69.

SCHUSTER, P.-K. (ed.).

(2001). *James Simon, Sammler und Mäzen für die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von James Simon*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

- SCHWARTZ, G. M. – CURVERS, H. H. – DUNHAM, S. S. – STUART, B.
(2003). 'A Third-Millennium B.C. Elite Tomb and Other New Evidence from Tell Umm el-Marra, Syria.' *AJA* 107/3, 325–361.
- SCHWARTZ, G. M. – CURVERS, H. H. – STUART, B.
(2000). 'A Third Millennium B.C. Elite Tomb from Tell Umm el-Marra, Syria.' *Antiquity* 74, 771–772.
- SCHWARTZ, G. M. *et al.*
(2000). 'Excavation and Survey in the Jabbul Plain, Western Syria: The Umm el-Marra Project 1996–1997.' *AJA* 104/3, 419–462.
- (2006). 'A Third-Millennium B.C. Elite Mortuary Complex at Umm el-Marra, Syria: 2002 and 2004 Excavations.' *AJA* 110/4, 603–641.
- SELLIN, E.
(1904). *Tell Taʿannek. Bericht über eine mit unterstützung der Kaiserlichen akademie der wissenschaften und des K. K. Ministeriums für kultus und unterricht unternommene ausgrabung in Palästina*. Wien: Alfred Hölder (AKAWD, 50/4).
- (1905). *Eine Nachlese auf dem Tell Taʿannek in Palästina*. Wien: Alfred Hölder (AKAWD, 52/3).
- SEUX, M. -J.
(1967). *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*. Paris: Letouzey et Ane.
- SHAFFER, A.
(1970). 'Fragment of an Inscribed Envelope.' In: DEVER, W. G. *et al.*, *Gezer I. Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School (Annual of the Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1), 111–113.
- SHAW, I.
(1992). 'Ideal Homes in Ancient Egypt: the Archaeology of Social Aspiration.' *CAJ* 2, 147–166.
- SHEA, W. H.
(1979). 'The Conquests of Sharuhēn and Megiddo Reconsidered.' *IEJ* 29, 1–5.
- SIGRIST, M.
(1993). 'Seven Emar Tablets.' In: RAINEY, A. F. (ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārātī. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University – Institute of Archaeology, 165–184, pls. I–VIII.
- SINGER, I.
(1983). 'Takuhlinu and Ḫaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek.' *TA* 10, 3–25.
- (1990). 'Aziru's Apostasy and the Historical Setting of the General's Letter.' In: IZRE'EL, SH. – SINGER, I., *The General's Letter from Ugarit. A Linguistic and Historical Reevaluation of RS 20.33 (Ugaritica V, No. 20)*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, 112–183.
- (1991). 'A Concise History of Amurru.' In: IZRE'EL, SH. *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study. With an Appendix on the History of Amurru*. Volume II. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press (HSS, 41), 135–195.
- (2000). 'A New Hittite Letter from Emar.' In: MILANO, L. – DE MARTINO, S. – FALES, S. M. – LANFRANCHI, G. B. (eds.), *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*. Vol. 2. Padova: Sargon (HANEM, 3/2), 65–72.
- SLANSKI, K. E.
(1998). 'A Note on the Coordinating Particle *-ma* in the Old Akkadian Letter Greeting Formula.' *IOS* 18, 9–17.
- SMITH, C.
(1888). 'Archaeology.' *The Classical Review* 2, No. 3 (March 1888), 90–92.
- SMITH, S.
(1934). 'Report on Tablet from Jericho.' *AAA* 21, 116–117.
- (1939). 'A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana.' *The Antiquaries Journal* 19, 38–48.
- (1940). *Alalakh and Chronology*. London: Luzac and Co.
- SMITH, S. – GADD, C. J.
(1925). 'A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words.' *JEA* 11, 230–240.
- SMITH, SC. P.
(1998). 'The Inflectional Morphology of the YVQTVL-Verb in the Šuwardata Amarna Letters (EA 278–284, 366).' *IOS* 18, 125–170.
- VON SODEN, W.
(1982). 'Eine altbabylonische Urkunde (79 MBQ 15) aus Tall Munbāqa.' *MDOG* 114, 71–77.

- SPALINGER, A. J.
(2006). 'Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt's Domination of Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III.' In: CLINE, E. H. – O'CONNOR, D. (eds.), 344–369.
- SPEISER, E. A.
(1954). 'The Alalakh Tablets.' *JAOS* 74, 18–25.
- STEVENSON, S. Y.
(1892). 'Mr. Petrie's Discoveries at Tel-el-Amarna.' *Science* 19, No. 482 (April 29), 246–247.
- THUREAU-DANGIN, F.
(1922). 'Nouvelles lettres d'El-Amarna.' *RA* 19, 91–108.
- (1935). 'Une lettre assyrienne à Ras Shamra.' *Syria* 16, 188–193.
- TIETZE, CH.
(1985). 'Amarna. Analyse des Wohnhäuser und soziale Struktur der Stadtbewohner.' *ZÄS* 112, 48–84.
- (1986). 'Amarna (Teil II). Analyse der ökonomischen Beziehungen der Stadtbewohner.' *ZÄS* 113, 55–78.
- (1996). 'Amarna, Wohn- und Lebensverhältnisse in einer ägyptischen Stadt.' In: БИЕТАК, М. (ed.), *Haus und Palast in alten Ägypten/House and Palace in Ancient Egypt. Internationales Symposium 8. bis 11. April 1992 in Kairo*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 231–237.
- TROPPER, J.
(1999). 'Zur Etymologie von akkadisch *šukēnu/šuhēḫunu*.' *WdO* 30, 91–94.
- TSUKIMOTO, A.
(1988). 'Sieben spätbronzezeitliche Urkunden aus Syrien.' *ASJ* 10, 153–189.
- (1990). 'Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (I).' *ASJ* 12, 177–259.
- (1991a). 'Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II).' *ASJ* 13, 275–333.
- (1991b). 'Six Fragments from the Middle Euphrates Region.' *ASJ* 13, 335–341.
- (1992a). 'Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (III).' *ASJ* 14, 289–310.
- (1992b). 'An Akkadian Field Sale Document Privately Held in Tokio.' *ASJ* 14, 311–315.
- (1994). 'A Testamentary Document from Emar – Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (IV).' *ASJ* 16, 231–238.
- (1999). '"By the Hand of Madi-Dagan, the Scribe and Apkallu-Priest" – A Medical Text from the Middle Euphrates Region.' In: WATANABE, K. (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East. Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo) March 22-24, 1996*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag, 187–200.
- UPHILL, E. P.
(1999). 'Tell el-Amarna, city.' In: BARD, K. A. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. London – New York: Routledge, 763–769.
- VAN DER TOORN, K.
(2000). 'Cuneiform Documents from Syria-Palestine. Texts, Scribes, and Schools.' *ZDPV* 116/2, 97–113.
- VAN DIJK, J.
(1988). 'The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the post-Amarna Period.' In: ZIVIE, J.-P. (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire. Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 37–46.
- VAN DIJK, J. – EATON-KRAUSS, M.
(1986). 'Tutankhamun at Memphis.' *MDAIK* 42, 35–41.
- VAN SOLDT, W.
(1991). *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*. Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag (AOAT, 40).
- (2000). 'Syrian Chronology in the Old and Early Middle Babylonian Periods.' *Akkadica* 119–120, 103–116.
- VAN WALSEM, R.
(2003). 'The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara. Results of the Dutch Mission 2001–2003.' *BACE* 14, 117–134.
- VANDERSLEYEN, CL.
(1971). *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie*. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (Monographies Reine Élisabeth, 1).

- VIROLLEAUD, C.
(1929). 'Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra.' *Syria* 10, 304–310, pls. LXI–LXXX.
— (1936). *La légende phénicienne de Danel*. Paris: Geuthner (MRS 1).
- VITA, J.-P.
(1999). 'Kollationen zu Berliner Amarnabriefen.' In: Böck, B. – Cancik-Kirschbaum, E. – Richter, Th. (eds.) *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für J. Renger*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag (AOAT, 267), 617–622.
— (2000a). 'La provenance de la lettre d'el-Amarna EA 308.' *Semitica* 50, 1–7.
— (2000b). 'Das Gezer-Corpus von El-Amarna: Umfang und Schreiber.' *ZA* 90, 70–77.
— (2006). 'Anmerkungen zu einigen Amarnabriefen aus Kanaan.' In: DEL OLMO LETE, G. – FELIU, L. – MILLET ALBÀ, A. (eds.) *Šapal tibnim mē illakū. Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Sabadell – Barcelona: Editorial AUSA (*AuOrS*, 22), 437–444.
- WALKER, C. B. F.
(1979). 'Another Fragment from El-Amarna (EA 380).' *JCS* 31/4, 249.
- WARBURTON, D.
(2000). 'Synchronizing the Chronology of Bronze Age Western Asia with Egypt.' *Akkadica* 119–120, 33–76.
- WARD, W. A.
(1982). *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom. With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*. Beirut: American University of Beirut.
- WATSON, W. G. E.
(1993). 'An Unusual Prostration Formula in Ugaritic Akkadian.' *WdO* 24, 39–41.
- WATSON, W. G. E. – WYATT, N. (eds.).
(1999). *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill (HdO, 39).
- WEBER, O.
(1915). 'Anmerkungen.' In: KNUDZON, J. A. (1907–1915/1964).
- WEINSTEIN, J.
(1991). 'Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine.' *Levant* 23, 105–115.
- WEIPPERT, H.
(1998). 'Kumidi. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Kāmid el-Lōz in den Jahren 1963 bis 1981.' *ZDPV* 114, 1–38.
- WERNER, P.
(2004). *Tall Mumbāqa – Ekalt III. Die Glyptik*. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag (WVDOG, 108).
- WESTENHOLZ, J. G.
(2000). *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets I*. Groningen: Styx Publications (CM, 13).
- WHITE, J. L.
(1982). 'The Ancient Epistolography Group in Retrospect.' *Semeia* 22, 1–14.
- WILHELM, G.
(1970). *Untersuchungen zum Hurro-Akkadischen von Nuzi*. Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag (AOAT, 9).
— (1973). 'Ein Brief der Amarna-Zeit aus Kāmid el-Lōz (KL 72:600).' *ZA* 63, 69–75.
— (1982). 'Die Forsetzungstafel eines Briefes aus Kāmid el-Lōz (KL 72:600).' In: HACHMANN, R. (ed.), 123–129.
— (1984). 'Zur Paläographie der in Ägypten Geschriebenen Keilschriftbriefe.' *SAK* 11, 643–653.
— (1991). 'A Hurrian Letter from Tell Brak.' *Iraq* 53, 159–168.
- WINCKLER, H.
(1888). 'Bericht über die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna im Königlichen Museum zu Berlin und im Museum von Bulaq.' *SKPAWB. Philologische-historische Klasse* 51/2, 1341–1357.
— (1889a). 'Verzeichniss der aus dem Funde von el-Amarna herrührenden Thontafeln.' *ZÄS* 27, 42–61.
— (1889b). 'Bemerkungen zu den el-Amarna-Briefen.' *ZA* 4, 404–405.
— (1890). 'Satarna, König von Naharina in den el-Amarna-Briefen.' *ZÄS* 28, 114–115.
— (1891). 'Vorarbeiten zu einer Gesamtbearbeitung der el-Amarna-Texte.' *ZA* 6, 141–148.
— (1896). *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*. Berlin: Reuter & Reichard (KB, 5).

- WINCKLER, H. – ABEL, L.
(1889–1890). *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*. 3 Hefte. Berlin: W. Spemann (Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1–3).
- WIRTH, E.
(1971). *Syrien, eine geographische Landeskunde*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- WISEMAN, D. J.
(1953). *The Alalakh Tablets*. London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2).
— (1954). 'Supplementary Copies of Alalakh Tablets.' *JCS* 8, 1–30.
- WOOLLEY, C. L.
(1938). 'Excavations at Tal Atchana, 1937.' *The Antiquaries Journal* 18, 1–28.
— (1939). 'Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1938.' *The Antiquaries Journal* 19, 1–37.
— (1955). *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 18).
- WORMIT, H.-G.
(1963). 'James Simon als Mäzen der Berliner Museen.' *Jahrbuch der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 2, 191–199.
- YAMADA, M.
(1992). 'Reconsidering the Letters from the 'King' in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?.' *UF* 24, 431–446.
- YENER, K. A.
(1998). 'A View from the Amuq in South-Central Turkey: Societies in Transformation in the Second Millennium.' In: CLINE, E. H. – HARRIS-CLINE, D. (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati 18–20 April 1997*. Liège: Université de Liège (Aegaeum, 18), 366–374.
— (2001). 'Alalakh: A Late Bronze Age Capital in the Amuq Valley, Southern Turkey.' *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 169, 1–6.
— (2005). 'Introduction, Alalakh Spatial Organization: Augmenting the Architectural Layout of Levels VII–0, Conclusions and Future Objectives.' In: YENER, K. A. (ed.). *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. Volume 1. Surveys from the Years 1995–2002*. Chicago: Oriental Institute Press.
- YON, M.
(1992). 'The End of the Kingdom of Ugarit.' In: WARD, W. – JOUKOWSKY, M. S. (eds.), *The Crisis Years: the 12th century B.C.* Dubuque, IA: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 111–122.
— (2006). *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- YOUNGBLOOD, R.
(1962). 'Amorite Influence in a Canaanite Amarna Letter (EA 96).' *BASOR* 168, 24–27.
- ZACCAGNINI, C.
(2000). 'The Interdependence of the Great Powers.' In: COHEN, R. – WESTBROOK, R. (eds.), 141–153.
- ZEEB, F.
(2004). 'The History of Alalakh as a Test Case for an Ultrashort Chronology of the Mid-Second Millennium B.C.E.' In: HUNGER, H. – PRUZINSZKY, R. (eds.), 81–94.
- ZEWI, T.
(1995). 'Subject-Predicate Word Order of Nominal Clauses in El-Amarna Letters.' *UF* 27, 657–693.
- ZIEGLER, N. – CHARPIN, D.
(2004). 'Une lettre de Samsi-Addu découverte à Hazor.' *N.A.B.U.* 2004/4, no. 84.
- ZIVIE, A.-P.
(1979a). 'Une tombe d'époque amarnienne à Saqqarah.' *BSFE* 84, 21–32.
— (1979b). 'La tombe d'un officier de la XVIII^e dynastie à Saqqara.' *RdE* 69, 135–151.
— (1990). *Découverte à Saqqarah. Le vizir oublié*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
— (2000). 'La résurrection des hypogées du Nouvel Empire à Saqqara.' In: BARTA, M. – KREJČI, J. (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 173–192.
— (2003). *Les Tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara*. Paris: Champolion – Éditions du Rocher – Jean-Paul Bertrand.
- ZOHARY, M.
(1973). *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East*. 2 volumes. Stuttgart: G. Fischer.