A Philological and Critical Commentary of The Amarna Correspondence from Central Palestine, Including Texts and Translations of the Letters of Lab'aya, Milkilu, Zimredda and Shipti-Ba'lu

Paul R. Gilchrist

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.upenn.edu/dropsietheses

Part of the Comparative Literature Commons, Cultural History Commons, History of Religion Commons, Jewish Studies Commons, Near Eastern Languages and Societies Commons, and the Religion Commons


This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. https://repository.upenn.edu/dropsietheses/134
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.
A Philological and Critical Commentary of The Amarna Correspondence from Central Palestine, Including Texts and Translations of the Letters of Lab'aya, Milkilu, Zimredda and Shipti-Ba'lu

Abstract
Since the publication of the celebrated work by Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, in 1915, numerous discoveries have been made of cuneiform tablets from the Near East which have shed considerable light on the languages of the second millennium BCE. These discoveries have greatly augmented our knowledge of Semitic Linguistics in general and Hebrew Philology in particular. Because of a high respect for the Bible, I have made it my life's work to be a student of the Word of God, having as my motto the admonition of the Apostle Paul to young Timothy: “Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.” (II Timothy 2:15) In the good providence of God, I have been able to concentrate on Old Testament studies. These, in turn, have caused me to investigate the cognate languages to ancient Biblical Hebrew most of which were written in cuneiform. One can readily perceive why I chose the subject of this dissertation, for Assyriology has kissed Biblical Hebrew through the Canaanite letters found at Tell El-Amarna.

Degree Type
Dissertation

Degree Name
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

First Advisor
Meir Bravmann

Subject Categories
Comparative Literature | Cultural History | History of Religion | Jewish Studies | Near Eastern Languages and Societies | Religion

Comments
A PHILOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY OF
THE AMARNA CORRESPONDENCE FROM CENTRAL PALESTINE
Including Texts and Translations of the Letters of
Lab'aya, Milkilu, Zimredda and Shipti-Ba'lu

by

Paul Rowland Gilchrist

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
Philadelphia
1967
This dissertation, entitled
A PHILOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY OF
THE AMARNA CORRESPONDENCE FROM CENTRAL PALESTINE
Including Texts and Translations of the Letters of
Lab'aya, Milkilu, Zimredda and Shipti-Ba'lu
by
Paul Rowland Gilchrist
Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
has been read and approved by

Date April 4, 1967
Since the publication of the celebrated work by Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, in 1915, numerous discoveries have been made of cuneiform tablets from the Near East which have shed considerable light on the languages of the second millennium BCE. These discoveries have greatly augmented our knowledge of Semitic Linguistics in general and Hebrew Philology in particular. Because of a high respect for the Bible, I have made it my life's work to be a student of the Word of God, having as my motto the admonition of the Apostle Paul to young Timothy: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." (II Timothy 2:15) In the good providence of God, I have been able to concentrate on Old Testament studies. These, in turn, have caused me to investigate the cognate languages to ancient Biblical Hebrew most of which were written in cuneiform. One can readily perceive why I chose the subject of this dissertation, for Assyriology has kissed Biblical Hebrew through the Canaanite letters found at Tell El-Amarna.

I owe a debt of gratitude to The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning for the privilege of studying in its halls of learning, for making it possible to get wisdom and understanding in the fields of Assyriology, Biblical
Languages and Literature, as well as in the Cognage Languages. I should especially wish to acknowledge the great influence exerted upon me by my chief mentor, Professor Moshe Held, who instilled in me an appreciation for precision and accuracy in research. Also, I wish to express my grateful thanks to Professor Meir Bravmann, who has so kindly assisted me beyond the call of duty during these last few months in the preparation of this dissertation. His helpful counsel and guidance in the classroom also proved a valuable asset in the comprehension of the relationships existing in the Semitic languages.

For the mechanical aspects of typing and retyping the manuscript, I cannot help but express my deep gratitude to Mrs. William Struwe, who has so graciously given of her time and effort to make this dissertation possible. Finally, I would be remiss not to express my appreciation to my dear wife Barbara and our four children who have patiently endured what seemed to them a long period of time without a husband and without a father. Above all, I would humbly lift my voice in praise to my Heavenly Father who has given wisdom and strength for the task at hand.

Paul Rowland Gilchrist
February, 1967
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Bibliographical Abbreviations</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Purpose of this dissertation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of contents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The general format</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of procedure</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter I</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE LETTERS OF LAB'AYA OF SHECHEM</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 252</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration and Normalization</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 253</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration and Normalization</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 254</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration and Normalization</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter II</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. THE LETTERS OF MILKILU OF GEZER .......................... 113

Introduction ................................................. 113

EA 267 ......................................................... 116

Transliteration and Normalization ......................... 116
Translation ..................................................... 117
Commentary: Critical and Philological ..................... 117

EA 268 ......................................................... 121

Transliteration and Normalization ......................... 121
Translation ..................................................... 122
Commentary: Critical and Philological ..................... 123

EA 269 ......................................................... 131

Transliteration and Normalization ......................... 131
Translation ..................................................... 131
Commentary: Critical and Philological ..................... 132

EA 270 ......................................................... 139

Transliteration and Normalization ......................... 139
Translation ..................................................... 140
Commentary: Critical and Philological ..................... 141

EA 271 ......................................................... 148

Transliteration and Normalization ......................... 148
Translation ..................................................... 150
Commentary: Critical and Philological ..................... 151

Notes to Chapter III .......................................... 158
## IV. THE LETTERS OF ZIMREDDA AND SHIPTI-BA'LU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 329 by Zimredda</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration and Normalization</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 330 by Shipti-Ba'lu</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration and Normalization</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA 331 and 332 by Shipti-Ba'lu</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration of 331</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation of 331</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration of 332</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation of 332</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary: Critical and Philological</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Chapter IV</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>_notes to chapter IV</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AASOR</td>
<td>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AoC</td>
<td>Archiv für Orientforschung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHw</td>
<td>W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANET</td>
<td>J. B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnCr</td>
<td>Analecta Orientalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagal</td>
<td>lexical series antagal = ṣaqû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOS</td>
<td>American Oriental Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APN</td>
<td>H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARI</td>
<td>W. F. Albright, Archeology and the Religion of Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARM</td>
<td>Archives royales de Mari (= TCL 22--)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Assyriological Studies (Chicago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASKT</td>
<td>P. Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte . . .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Biblical Archeologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauer</td>
<td>T. Bauer, Akkadischen Lesestücke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>C. Bezold and E. A. W. Budge, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BDB</td>
<td>F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIN</td>
<td>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMS</td>
<td>L. W. King, Babylonian Magic and Sorcery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BWL</td>
<td>W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAD</td>
<td>A. L. Oppenheim, The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAL</td>
<td>E. F. Campbell, Jr., The Chronology of the Amarna Letters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML</td>
<td>G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (= OTS 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (= VAB 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>E. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAG</td>
<td>W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (= AnOr 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHG</td>
<td>Gesenius Hebrew Grammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOA</td>
<td>I. J. Gelb, Glossary of Old Akkadian (= MAD 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goetze LE</td>
<td>A. Goetze, The Laws of Eshnunna (= AASOR 31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon UM</td>
<td>C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (= AnOr 35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gössmann Era</td>
<td>P. F. Gössmann, Das Era-Epos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPN</td>
<td>Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language (= OAS 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSS</td>
<td>Harvard Semitic Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPN</td>
<td>M. Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISBE</td>
<td>James Orr, International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCS</td>
<td>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPOS</td>
<td>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAH</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAR</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAV</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB</td>
<td>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labat</td>
<td>R. Labat, Manuel D'Épigraphie Akkadienne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAD</td>
<td>Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malku</td>
<td>synonym list malku - šarru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maqlu</td>
<td>G. Meier, Maqlû (= AfO Beiheft 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDP</td>
<td>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>S. A. B. Mercer, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRS</td>
<td>Mission de Ras Shamra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSL</td>
<td>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nbk</td>
<td>J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nbn</td>
<td>J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Nabonidus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPN</td>
<td>I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names (= OIP 57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECT</td>
<td>Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIP</td>
<td>Oriental Institute Publications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CrNS  Orientalia, New Series
PBS  Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
PEQ  Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PRU III  J. Nougayrol, Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, III: Textes accadiens et hourrites des Archives Est, Ouest et Centrales (= MRS 6)
RA  Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RB  Revue biblique
RHA  Revue hittite et assianique
RS  field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra
RTC  F. Thureau-Dangin, Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes
Schollmeyer  A. Schollmeyer, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamas
Schroeder  O. Schroeder, Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna
Smith Idrimi  S. Smith, The Statue of Idri-mi
SMN  unpublished tablets excavated at Nuzi, in the Semitic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge
Šurpu  E. Reiner, Šurpu (= AfO Beiheft 11)
TCL  Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
UCP  University of California Publications
VAB  Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAT  tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
WA  H. Winckler and L. Abel, Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna, I-III
Winckler  H. Winckler, The Tell-El-Amarna Letters
Wiseman Alalakh  D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets
YCS  Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA  Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG  Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV  Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
### OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Epic of Baal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akk.</td>
<td>Akkadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab.</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aram.</td>
<td>Aramaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ass.</td>
<td>Assyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babyl.</td>
<td>Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogh.</td>
<td>Boghazkeuil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can.</td>
<td>Canaanite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>Code of Hammurabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Epic of Dan'el (or Aqht)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DN</td>
<td>divine name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>El-Amarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En.el.</td>
<td>Enûma eliš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etym.</td>
<td>etymology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ext.</td>
<td>extispicy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. or fem.</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>genetive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilg.</td>
<td>Gilgamesh Epic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GN</td>
<td>geographical name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grk.</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebr.</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impv.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inf.</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interj.</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>int.</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K( rt)</td>
<td>Epic of King Keret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LB</td>
<td>Late Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludlul</td>
<td>Ludlul bēl nāmeqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lw.</td>
<td>loan word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>Septuagint Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Middle Assyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. or masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>Middle Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Neo-Assyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB</td>
<td>Neo-Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWSem.</td>
<td>Northwest Semitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OA</td>
<td>Old Assyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAkk.</td>
<td>Old Akkadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OB</td>
<td>Old Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part.</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phon.</td>
<td>Phoenician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres.</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pret.</td>
<td>preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RN</td>
<td>royal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Ras Shamra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Standard Babylonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sem.</td>
<td>Semitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. or sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stat.</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


----. The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose. London, 1941.


Driver, G. R. Canaanite Myths and Legends. London.


Heidel, Alex. The System of the Quadriliteral Verb in Akkadian. (AS 13).


Noth, Martin. Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der germano-semitischen Namengebung. ("Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament," 46/III,10.)


Oppenheim, A. Leo, et al. (eds.). The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago, 1956--.


Schollmeyer, A. *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamas.*


Wilson, John A. *The Culture of Ancient Egypt.* University of Chicago, 1951


______. *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna, I-III.* (Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen des königlichen Museen zu Berlin, I-III.) Berlin, 1889-90. From the original autographs of Ludwig Abel.)


B. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS


--- • "Canaanite hofši, 'free,' in the Amarna Tablets." JPOS, IV (1924), 169-70.

--- • "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography, 1500-1200 B.C." JNES, V (1946), 7-25.

--- • "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre." JEA, XXIII (1937), 190-203.

--- • "The New Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words," JEA, XII (1926), 186-90.

--- • "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C." BASOR, 94 (April, 1944), 12-27.


--- • "A Tablet of the Amarna Age from Gezer." BASOR, 92 (Dec., 1943), 28-30.

--- • "A Teacher to a Man of Shechem about 1400 B.C." BASOR, 86 (April, 1942), 28-31.

--- • "Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley." BASOR, 89 (Feb., 1943), 7-17.


"Rib-Adda of Byblos and the Affairs of Tyre (EA 89)." JCS, IV (1950), 163-68.


"The End of the El-Amarna Period." JEA, XLIII (1957-8), 30-41.


Ginsberg, H. L. "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible." BA 8 (1945), 42 ff.


Landsberger, Benno. "Der 'Ventive' des Akkadischen," ZA 35 (1923), 113-123.


Moran, W. L. "Amarna ūmāma in Main Clauses." JCS, VII (1953), 78-80.


_____ "New Evidence on Canaanite tagtulū(na)." JCS, V (1951), 33-35.


Sayce, A. H. "The Discovery of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets." AJSL, XXXIII (1917), 89 f.


_____ "Le terme šiptum dans les lettres de Mari," Orientalia, ns 12 (1943), 110-12.

Wilson, J. A. "The 'Eperu of the Egyptian Inscriptions." AJSL 49 (1933), 275 ff.
C. BOOK REVIEWS


D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL


CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to present an up-to-date critical and philological commentary on a specified number of tablets from the "Amarna Correspondence From Central Palestine."

Perhaps several reasons might be put forth to justify the value and importance of such a project. There is a rising interest in the restudy of the Amarna correspondence since the great classic work of J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. This interest is shared by the general Semitist as well as by the Biblical scholars, because since that great work was published, indeed considered as the last word on the subject in its day, other tablets of the Amarna series have been discovered.¹ But even more important, the tremendous wealth of contemporary cuneiform tablets produced by the archeological expeditions in the Near East in the course of the last half a century bears record to the fact that Knudtzon's work, together with the subsequent studies of Thureau-Dangin and Dossin, and others which are of secondary importance, was a product of his time. So much more light has been shed on the languages and literatures of the ancient Near East that it behooves us to bring these studies up to date.
There are two particular areas of interest for the Hebraist. The first is the part played by the famous Canaanite glosses. These show something of the development of the various Canaanite dialects and are quite valuable for the study of Ugaritic grammar in general, and the problematic Ugaritic phonology in particular. Relatively little has been done in recent years to understand these glosses in the light of the large corpus of Northwest Semitic material which has come to light. What can be done in this field has been demonstrated recently by Professor Held's paper entitled, "Some Canaanite Glosses in the Amarna Letters and Their Bearing on Hebrew Lexicography."²

Furthermore, the tablets themselves are worthy of interesting research, for they were not written by people for whom Akkadian was the mother tongue. Assyriologists at first had thought so. All too often, it will be necessary to read between the lines to discover the difficult nuances of the colloquialisms used by each particular scribe.

This dissertation is specifically designed to encompass the three letters of Lab'aya, prince of Shechem, i.e., EA 252, 253, and 254. The third chapter will concern itself with the five letters of Milkilu, prince of Gezer, i.e., EA 267, 268, 269, 270, and 271. The fourth chapter will encompass the letter of Zimredda, prince of Lachish, i.e., EA 329, and the three letters of Shipti-Ba'lu, also from
Lachish, i.e., EA 330, 331, and 332.

The general format of the work will be based on an original study including a transliteration of the autographs given by Winckler and Abel, Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna; Bezond and Budge, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum; and Schroeder, Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna. Included with the transliteration will be a normalization employing the Chicago system of accentuation and noting defective orthography wherever used by the scribe. The second section will be a full translation, and this will be followed by a commentary which will include pertinent grammatical and lexicographical notes. No such comprehensive work for this series of the Amarna correspondence has been undertaken as yet. In the last decade or so under the leadership of William Foxwell Albright, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, an increasing number of studies on the Amarna tablets have appeared. The eminent archeologist himself has taken up the pen and has written numerous articles appearing in BASOR, JPOS, JNES, JEA, and JCS. Two of his students, furthermore, have submitted dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, namely, Edward Fay Campbell, Jr., on "The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten," and W. L. Moran, "A Syntactical Study of the Dialect of Byblos as Reflected in
the Amarna Tablets.\textsuperscript{5} Since Moran's work, Ronald Youngblood submitted a dissertation to the faculty of The Dropsie College For Hebrew and Cognate Learning entitled, "The Correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos."\textsuperscript{6} Albright has given some excellent translations in \textit{Ancient Near Eastern Texts}, edited by Pritchard. Specifically relating to our series of letters, we should mention that two of Lab'aya's letters are therein contained, two of Milkilu's letters, and the six letters of Abdi-Heba. Except for brief notes of an historical nature in \textit{ANET}, there has not been any comprehensive work on these series of letters from the Amarna correspondence.

Finally, I wish to mention the method of procedure which I should like to follow. In my transliteration I will seek to present the best possible reading in the light of the autographs above mentioned and the epigraphic material given by René Labat,\textsuperscript{7} Theo Bauer,\textsuperscript{8} and von Soden,\textsuperscript{9} together with material from the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary and von Soden's \textit{Akkadisches Handwörtertuch}.\textsuperscript{10} In the commentary I shall seek to justify both my transcription and my translation by using comparative materials from both Akkadian and its peripheral usages, and finally seeking, if need be, to confirm these findings by the use of cognates specifically from Ugaritic, Ancient Phoenician, Old Aramaic, as well as Biblical Hebrew, since these languages in particular are
rather contemporary to the Amarna Age. Furthermore, because of my interest in the Biblical text, I shall seek to show the significance, as occasion demands, to the lexicography of early Biblical Hebrew.

It is my hope, then, that this study should be an asset to scholarship by adding greatly to the precision of understanding to the field of Semitic philology and lexicography.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


2 Presented at the American Oriental Society meeting in April, 1964.

3 E.g., "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," JEA XXIII, pp. 190-203.

4 Published in 1964.

5 Unpublished manuscript (1950).


8 Akkadische Lesestücke, Heft II, Rome, 1953.

9 Das Akkadische Syllabar ("Analecta Orientalia" 27).

10 Published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, since 1959.
The three letters of Lab'aya which are studied in this chapter are taken from the autographs by Bezold and Schroeder. They are numbered by Knudtzon as EA 252, 253, and 254. Campbell assigns 254 to the thirty-second year of the reign of Amenophis III on the basis of the dated docket on Lab'aya's letter. EA 253 belongs immediately with it, and 252 would certainly belong to this period of time. On the basis of Campbell's chronology, which assumes a non-coregency rule, the date for these letters would be c. 1374 B.C. These letters would then represent the early correspondence of the Amarna Age, which generally is dated as the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C. Albright points to the admitted obscurity of EA 252 and Knudtzon's uncertainty as shown in his translation by gaps and italics, and then focuses on the source of misunderstanding when he discusses lines 16-31:

Disregarding the particle u, "and," we count only about 20% of his words in these lines as pure Akkadian, with 40% mixed or ambiguous, and no less than 40% pure Canaanite. No wonder the letter has proved baffling!

With this brief introductory note to this segment of the Amarna correspondence, we shall proceed to the transliteration, translation, and commentary. We reserve critical
comment on the text to the commentary section of each letter.

EA 252 -- L 29844; BB 61; BU 88-10-13,74; W 162

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na LUGAL-ma (šarrīma) bē-lī-ya
2. qī-bī-ma
3. um-ma La-ab-a-ya IR-ka (waradka)
4. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarrī) bē-lī-ya am-qū-ut
5. i-nū-ma Šap-rā-ta
6. a-na ya-ā-ši KALAG.GA-me (dannūme)
7. LŪ.MEŠ (awīlūtu) ša sa-ab-tū URU (āla)
8. ki-I us-sur-rū-na LŪ.MEŠ (awīlūtu)
9. i-na nu-kūr-te sa-ab-ta-at-me URU (ālu)
10. kī et-mi ša-li-me ū kī et-me et-ta-me
11. DIŠ (išten) LŪ.GAL (awīlu rabū) it-ti-ya
12. ša-ab-ta-at-me URU (ālu)
13. ū 1-li qa-bi
14. ka₄-ar-sī-ya // śī-ir-ti
15. i-na pa-nī LUGAL-ma (šarrīma) bē-lī-ya
16. ša-nī-tam ki-I na-am-lu
17. ū-tu-um-ha-sū la-ā
18. ti-qā-(b)bi-lū ū ta-an-[šu-]kū
19. qā-ti LŪ-lī (awīli) ša yi-ma-(h)ha-aš-šī
20. ki-ī a-nā-ku i-ša-(h)ha-tu
21. ū-ma an-nū-tam ū
22. sa-ab-ta-at-me MIN(šinā) URU-ya (ālēya/ālāniya)
23. ša-nī-tam šum-ma ti-qa-(b)bū
24. ap-pu-nā-mā
25. nu-pu-ul-me
26. ta-ah-tā-mu ū
27. ti-ma-(h)ha-sū-ka
28. 1-bī ū-(q)sur-rū-na
29. Lū.MEŠ (awīlūtu) ša ša-ab-tū₄ URU (āla) ū
30. i-li šū-sū-me a-bī-ya
31. ū ū-(š)sur-rū šu-nu

B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. speak:
3. "Thus (says) Lab'aya, your servant:
4. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord, I have fallen down.
5. With reference to what you have written to me: "Are the people strong
6. who captured the city?
7. How can the men be held back?"
8. To this I reply: "The city has been seized by force,
10. although I had taken an oath of conciliation, and when I took the oath

11. an (Egyptian) officer took the oath with me.

12. Yet the city

13. and my god were captured.

14. I am slandered // blamed

15. before the king, my lord.

16. Furthermore, 'when ants

17. are smitten, they do not

18. accept (it passively), but they bite

19. the hand of the man who smites them.'

20. How can I be fearful

21. this day while

22. my two cities have been seized?

23. Furthermore, if you should say

24. moreover:

25. 'Fall

26. beneath them, and

27. let them beat you!'

28. (My answer would be:) 'My enemies would be checked,

29. the men who captured the city and

30. my god, the raiders of my father,

31. verily, they will certainly be held back!"
C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

Lines 1-4 are the stereotyped formula for the introduction of the Amarna letters. Some of these are apocopated in comparison to others, but the formula nevertheless is essentially the repeated refrain of utter submission to the authority of the Pharaoh.

Line 1. ṣarrīma -- the enclitic ma is rather unusual for Akkadian at this period but not so for Canaanite where it is very common.5 Certainly, the enclitic mem is found most prolifically in Akkadian in historical times as preserved in its literature, but its meaning ranges from the conjunctive ma which appears almost universally in other Semitic languages as w,6 to the very common mimation used not only in nouns,7 but also with the Datival forms of the personal pronouns and suffixes,8 and even with verbs, frequently in the Ventive forms.9 In Ugaritic literature the enclitic mem was first noticed by the great H. L. Ginsberg,10 "at first comparing it to the Akkadian conjunction, but soon noting its closer affinities to the South Arabic emphatic particle."11 So we may consider this enclitic here to have an emphatic emphasis, possibly bordering on "apple polishing" on the part of Lab'aya with the meaning "the king par excellence." Certainly this view need not be pressed, since
in the other two letters of Lab'aya the enclitic does not appear, but these can be explained if the present letter was the first one in which Lab'aya defends his "loyalty" to the Pharaoh after he had been "slandered" by his fellow countrymen and now directly questioned by the King. Certainly we disagree with Knudtzon in his conclusion that any irregularity in the use of enclitic mem in the Amarna correspondence should be attributed to the carelessness and ignorance of native scribes. Further examples of the use of enclitic ma or mi will be discussed under Chapter III in connection with EA 286 from Abdi-Heba. Note here the stressed syllable (rI) which arises from the appended enclitic.

Line 2. gibima -- an Impv. with enclitic ma denoting a direct quotation which follows. This Impv. gibil is addressed to the secretary of Pharaoh to speak to him on behalf of Lab'aya, rather than William S. LaSor's contention that it is addressed to the tablet itself.

Line 3. umma "thus" (from en plus ma) Although written en-ma in OAkk. in Sargonic Inscriptions, it already appears in Ur III as um-ma. In Akkadian, umma is followed by the Nominative, but in Amarna, under influence of the Canaanite, it generally governs the Genetive, e.g., EA 126.9
nakrum A-zi-ru but EA 166.2 umma A-zi-ri ahûkama, EA 333.22 Pa-a-pu but line 2 umma Pa-a-pi. It is thus semantically and syntactically equivalent to Hebr. ne'îm "thus" plus Genitive meaning "the utterance of" forming a construct chain. The Ugaritic semantic cognate is thm which also is followed by Genitive. Here umma does not go with qibîma "speak thus . . ." but properly introduces direct speech, tantamount to quotation marks.

Lab'aya -- we follow here the reading of Albright and Held as against Youngblood who would read Lab'ayu. Ebeling's glossary (p. 1564) should be corrected, since as Albright has pointed out, the reading la-ba-a-ya never appears, nor should this name be confused with the KAL-ba-ia of the Arzawa letter. Although Albright takes it to mean "Lion-man," from the Semitic words lab'u, Hebr. lâbi, and lêbi, and Arab. lab'ah "lioness," and Ugar. lbit "lioness," Held disagrees on the basis that since Arabic and Ugaritic have the feminine form "lioness," so also is lâbu (later labbu) "lioness" in contrast to nēšu "lion." In Hebrew the nouns are both masculine and feminine, except the hapax-legomena lêbiyā' in Ezekiel 19:2 (BDB 522b) which is feminine. Therefore, Held concludes that the name is non-Semitic. For the ay or aya ending, compare the Hebrew personal names Ahumai "brother of water" (I Chron. 4:2),
Ammishaddai "people/kinsman of the Almighty" (Num. 1:14), Barzillai "man of iron" (II Sam. 17:27), Chelubai (cf. Caleb) "dog man" (I Chron. 2:9), Ittai (or Ithai) "ploughman" (I Chron. 11:31), and Mordecai "man of Marduk" (Esther 2:5). 21

Lab'aya begins his apologia, protesting the slander which has been leveled against him, pretending to be faithful and loyal to the uttermost with reference to the Pharaoh. However, in reality he was considered a traitor and a rebel of the worst kind, plundering the central and southern part of Canaan, as his renegade counterpart, Abdi-Ashirta, prince of Amurru, did in the northern sector. 22 Of course, Milkilu, prince of Gezer, is his companion and ally in crime. 23 Shrewd and conniving as he is, Lab'aya takes advantage of the general anarchy that prevails over the land. Though he pretends absolute loyalty, as in 254.42-46

In case the king should write to me: 'Run a dagger of bronze into thy heart and die,' would I not, indeed, execute the command of the king?" yet this scheming guerrilla marauder would never do it. Shuwardata of the Hebron district gives us a significant epitaph concerning this scoundrel: Šanītam Lab'aya mit ša yiltequ ālāninu "furthermore, Lab'aya is dead, he who took
our cities . . ."24 Of course, Lab'aya's response to such false charges is incorporated in this letter, wherein he explains to the king that he is merely fighting back aggressors who had attacked his own town.25 A rather intriguing question arises at this point: Was Shechem the capital city of Lab'aya? Albright asserts that the enemy had attacked Lab'aya's native town which was not Shechem, "which was his capital."26 However, Greenberg dissents from this view by saying, "Albright's assertion . . . derives its strongest support from (EA 289.22 ff.) in which he is accused of having given Shechem to the H[ab/piru]. But this passage proves at most only that Shechem was under Lab'aya's control."27 Consequently Greenberg lists this source as "Labaya of Central Palestine." Mercer is only half right in saying that, "It is uncertain what city is here referred to--perhaps it is Shechem, which may have been surrendered to the Hittites (cf. 289.22 ff.)--perhaps it is Gezer (292.41 ff.)."28 With Albright we would conclude that the town referred to is his own home town because of the reference to his father's house and to the "ancestral patron deity" of Lab'aya36 which are mentioned in lines 12 f. and 29 f.29 The name of the town is not mentioned, but certainly it is not Gezer, which was controlled by his cohort Milkilu, and probably not Shechem. As for the capital city of Lab'aya,
there seems no reason to deny that very likely it was Shechem. Certainly it was under the dominion of Lab'aya. It was also the largest city in that general territory, sufficiently large enough to be considered by Abdi-Heba as a notorious example of a large territory being turned over to the Hab/piru. The whole point is that there need be no distinction made between Lab'aya and the Hab/piru. Through treachery and anarchy he gave the territory of Shechem which was his as a vassal prince of Amenophis III to the Hab/piru of whom he was the chief outlaw and renegade. Now he could rule this territory with despotic control. The notoriety of these events would well point to the fact that Shechem was the leading city in Lab'ayan times.

(w)aradka is certainly correct for the logogram IR-ka rather than arduka. A closer study of the grammar would show that one would naturally expect the Genitive morphology to be (w)ardi-ka, by merely suffixing the pronoun to the Genitive form. However, the morphology for the Nominative/Accusative requires a "Hilfsvokal" similar to that in the stem: 31 wardu + ka > *ward + ka > *war(a)d + ka > waradka. For the semantic distribution among the cognate Semitic languages for the word "servant, slave," we might well note that Akkadian (w)ardu(m) forms an isogloss in Semitics, in contrast to: Hebr. 'ēbhēd, Ugar. 'bd, Phon. 'bd,
OArām. 'bd, Aram. 'abdāh and Syriac as well, and Arab. 'abdūn. However, it is noteworthy to mention the word abdu "slave; SB; W Sem. lw." In Antagal III 229 an equation is made with ab-du in a group with rēšu and ardu. CAD notes that W Sem. personal names with the element (h)abd are very rare in Babylonia before the OB period, but later references occur in MB, EA, RS, and NA. In view of the fact that Weber lists all of the occurrences of ardu as represented by the logogram IR, never once syllabically, although in personal names it appears once Ab-di-aš-ta-ti for Abdi-Aširta (EA 63.3), it would be an intriguing conjecture to suggest that the scribe really had the Canaanite word in mind rather than the Akkadian. From the Akkadian Tablets of Ras Shamra where there are clear cross-references to the personal names as orthographically reproduced in Ugaritic, there can be no question as to the use of Abdi- as the reading of the IR sign in transliterating all of the West Semitic personal names.

Line 4. amgut from maqātu (a,u) "to fall (down), to fall prostrate." This is the normal word in Akkadian for "falling" as used in Gilgamesh XI.135 apti nappašāmma urru im-ta-gut eli dūr appiya "When I opened the vent/hatch, daylight fell upon my cheeks." The idiom ana šēpē ..maqāta "to fall down at the feet of . . ." is the precise equiva-
lent to Hebr. nāphal 'al raglaim. Three times in the OT, one finds women "falling at the feet" of someone imporing a favor: 1) I Sam. 25:24 where Abigail "fell before David on her face, and bowed herself to the ground, wattippol 'al raglaiu and fell at his feet, and said . . ." 2) II Kings 4:37 where the Shunammite woman was called to take back her revived son, "then she went in, wattippol 'al raglaiu and fell at his feet // and bowed herself to the ground (Hebr. wattishtahu arṣah) . . ." and 3) Esther 8:3 where the slightly different expression is used although essentially the same in meaning: "Esther spoke yet again before the king, wattippol lipheî raglaiu and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears to put away the mischief of Haman . . ." Ugaritic, on the other hand, has this semantic expression in the phrase 1p'n...ql,36 although in each case there is another verb between.37 Various examples might be given: 1) IV AB ii 18 1p'n nh ykr' wyl "he (Baal) knelt at her feet and fell down." 2) III AB i 8,9 1p'n el thbr wyl "she (Anat) did homage and fell down at the feet of El." And 3) II AB iv 25,26 1p'n el thbr wyl tšthw wtkbdh "She (Anat) did homage and fell down at El's feet, she bowed down and did him honour."38 Perhaps a closer idiom to the one under discussion uses npl "to fall down" with precisely this same meaning. In III*AB B 28,29
the messengers of Yam have arrived; \( lp'n el \) \( [1] \) \( tpl \) \( 1 \) \( tšthwy \)

\( phr \) \( m'd \) "they [verily] fell down at the feet of El, verily bowed down (in) the full convocation." 39 Suffice it to say that "to fall at the feet of . . ." is an expression of worship and homage to a person of high position, even to a god, as shown by the words in parallel in Hebrew and Ugaritic. 40 Although \( npl \) 41 does exist in Ugaritic, \( qll/gwl \) is the better equivalent to Hebr. \( nāphal \), as is shown by the expression in I D iii 18 wyql \( tht \) \( p'ny \) "and he shall fall beneath my feet." 42 This latter phrase is exactly reproduced in Psalm 18:39 (// II Samuel 22:39) \( yipp^ōlū \) \( tahat \) \( raglai \) "they are fallen under my feet." Only once in Amarna does the Canaanite \( npl \) appear, and that is in this very letter, line 25, where the scribe is writing almost pure Canaanite. 43

Knudtzon omits the reading LUGAL on the basis that it is quite erased or destroyed in the tablet itself. He suggests that in all probability it should be the sign bi. 44 We follow Bezold's reading in the autograph facsimile because (1) if it is a matter of probability, LUGAL would be more accurate in terms of the formula for addressing the Pharaoh, (2) bi would have no meaning whatsoever in this line, since it could not possibly be an ideogram or determinative, the latter being appended to \( ŝspē \) by Knudtzon, and (3) because if there is any space whatever for a sign, as
Bezold allows, then LUGAL could very likely fit in.45

Lines 5-15. This section forms the first part of Lab'aya's answer to charges of treason. He answers the questions of the Pharaoh directly, then immediately claims that he has been maligne ned and slandered.

Line 5. inūma is a subordinate conjunction which in Akkadian has the primary meaning of "when, after, while" and secondarily "that."46 Here the context forces us to understand "because of, with reference to, as to, since," exactly equivalent to Hebr./Canaanite kī "that, when, because, since" (BDB). Akk. kī means "that, as, like."47 As Albright remarks: "... inūma, which means 'when' in Accadian, developed an artificial function as surrogate of Canaanite kī in Canaanite Accadian."48 Two examples will suffice to show the use of inūma as having the same force and equivalence to Canaanite kī: minūm hitī inūma ul tāpalanni "what is my offense/crime that you have not paid me?"49 Also, lilmad šarru bōliya inūma Hab/piru ša yinašši našā ina mātāte "the king should know that the Hab/piru have taken up (arms) against the lands."50 One example from its use in Alalakh follows: Imūrunimma inūma mār bēlišunu anāku "They saw me, that I was the son of their overlord."51

śaprāta is morphologically an Akkadian Stative (2ms)
which normally would give a Passive meaning thus, "you were written." Here the Stative is used for the Preterite (Canaanite Perfect) completely ignoring the Akkadian usage. One would expect šaparta, as Mut-ba'lu, probably his own son, in writing to Yanhamu says, ištu šapārika ṭuppa ana muhhiya, šapartī ana šāšu "after your writing a tablet to me, I wrote to him" (EA 256.29-31). Another fine example of this Canaanite influence comes from Rib-Addi of Byblos, in northern Palestine, šapartī ana šarri bēliya "I wrote to the king, my lord . . ." (EA 126.34). Here we have a clear case of a Stative being used instead of the Preterite tašpur which we would expect if this were good Akkadian, morphologically seeking to reproduce Canaanite Perfect, although defectively written.52 Akk. šapāru (a,u) has three meanings: (1) "to send or dispatch," as in En. el. III,4 asris ilLahmu ilatLahmu kāta lušpurke "Unto the place of Lahmu and Lahamu I will send you" (2) "to write" as in this text, and (3) "to inform," as in En. el. IV, 76 Ti'āmat ša ikmilu ki'am išpurši "As for Tiamat, who raged, he informed her as follows . . .," i.e., "he dispatched (information) to her." One can easily see the semantic development of the Akkadian word. The semantic cognates for "to write" are then: Akk. šapāru,53 Hebr. kathabh, Ugar. ktb, Aram. kēthabh, Arab. kataba. However, etymologically the word appears in Ugar.
spr "scribe" "letter,"54 Aram. saphra' "scribe,"55 and Hebr. sofer which appears as early as Judges 5:14 "and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer," actually, here more of a military officer, therefore "enumerator, muster officer, secretary, scribe" (BDB). In Jeremiah 36:32 it is specifically used of Baruch's profession hassopher wayyictobh 'aleyha mippî Yirêmyahu "the scribe . . . who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book (hassispensôr) which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned." This clearly designates Jeremiah's secretary or amanuensis.56 However, "writer, scribe" in proper Akkadian is tupšarrû which appears four times in the Amarna tablets.57

Line 6. dannûme, a Stative 3mpl (with Knudtzon and Albright, contra Youngblood who takes it as Adjective dannûtu-me mpl from dannu) from danânu (1,1) "to be/become strong." The logogram must be declined as a Stative or Verbal Adjective because: (1) in Amarna the adjective always follows the noun,58 (2) where the word is syllabically expressed it is so declined, for example, anuma dannû lu Hâb/pirû muhhimu "Behold, the Hab/piru have become strong against us,"59 dannat nukûrtum dannis "The hostility(f) has become very strong."60 A classic lcs form comes from Rib-Addi, da(n)nâku à annû rihišmi awîlûtiya "I am/was strong, but behold, (now) my people are trampled/laid waste"
(EA 127.32 f.). Finally (3) it is a correct grammatical
form, for the Stative is the conjugated verbal adjective \( ^{61} \) and functions as a form expressing state without determining
the time sequence of the Present. \( ^{62} \) The \(-\text{me}\) particle (sometimes \(-\text{mi}\)) \( ^{63} \) indicated direct quotation. It may come within
the sentence of the quotation, as here and line 25 after
the first word, or at the end of the quotes, as in EA 286.4,
or in the middle of the quotation, as in EA 286.8. Some-
times it introduces the quotation by being appended to the
last word before the quotes as in EA 253.23 and 254.24. \( ^{64} \)

Line 7. \textit{aw̱ḻu}tu -- incorrectly used in Amarna as the
plural of \textit{aw̱lu} which should be \textit{aw̱ḻu}. The \(-\text{ūtu}\) forms are
used in Akkadian for abstracts, in this case "mankind,"
which is correctly used in EA 356.57 f. \( ^{65} \) \textit{am-m̱i-ṉi} \(^{11}\) \textit{E-a}
\textit{a-m̱i-ḻu-ta lā ba-ni-ta ša ša-me-ē ū er-še-ē-ti ī-ki-il-li-in-sī}
"Why has Ea permitted mankind to see (or hold firmly)
the ugly (things) of heaven and earth . . . ?" However, in
most cases it has the meaning of "men" or "people." It is
phonetically written with \(-\text{mi-}\) as the middle radical in
several instances, \( ^{66} \) but at least once \textit{a-wi-lu-tum} in a
letter of Tuṣratta (EA 20.53). Prof. Held following
Albright prefers our reading to the commonly received
\textit{ame/lu}. \(^{67}\)

\textit{ṣaḥṭū} -- Stative 3mpl of \textit{ṣabāṭu} (a,a) "to seize,
overcome, arrest, conquer, hold" and various related and idiomatic uses. Although the root ʿsbt appears in Hebrew once in the plural ʿsebatīm (Ruth 2:16) "bundles of grain," the semantic equivalent for "seizing or conquering a city" is Hebr. laqah "to take" in one of its various meanings as of the capture of the ark of the covenant by the Philistines (I Sam. 5:1), but more to the point its specific use regarding the conquest of a territory in Genesis 48:22 where Jacob turns over to Joseph some land 'ašer laqaht ʾāmīyad haʾamorī bʾḥarī ṣebqashtī "which I conquered from the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow" (cf. Deut. 3:14), also in Numbers 21:25 wayyiqqah Israʾel eth col-ḥeʾarīm haʾelleh "and Israel took/captured all these cities." This is the precise semantic parallel expressed by Lab'aya in this line and in lines 9 and 12. Although the correct Akkadian word is used, the grammar reflects Canaanite in that (1) the Stative is used for the Perfect, and (2) the order of words is reversed, where in good Akkadian one expects ʾāla ʾisbatū.

Line 8. ʾkī -- (1) preposition: "like as, like" (2) subordinate conjunction: "that" (3) interjection: "how!" and closely allied to this interjective use (4) interrogative particle: "how?" Several examples will help to establish these last two usages: (1) kal māṭiya
ki habil 1gbûni "All my people said of me, 'How he is mistreated!'" (Ludlul II.116)73 (2) ki aqbi ina puhur ili lemutta "How could I have spoken evil in the assembly of the gods!" (Gilgamesh XI.120) and (3) ki ki là tantalikma abuba taškun "How, oh how could you without reasoning bring on the deluge!" (Gilgamesh XI.179). The last two examples might well be interrogative. However, more to the point is the Amarna usage, e.g., when Rib-Addi is told to abandon the king and join Aziru, he replies: aqbi ki itipušu ana šâsu ū ezzibu šarra bêli "and I said, 'How can I (take sides) with him and abandon the king, my lord?'" (EA 138.46 f.); also Mut-Ba'lu writes to Yanhamu: ki qabîme ina panika Mut-Ba'lime innibit Ayyâb hiibê? ki ennibitu šar Pihili īstu panî râbisi // sîkini šarri bêlišu? "How can it be said before you, 'Mut-Ba'lu has fled, Ayyab has concealed (him)? How could the prince of Pella have fled from the face of the commissioner // governor of the king, his lord?" (EA 256.4-10); several times in the Lab'aya corpus as in EA 254.38-40 šanîtam ki šumma ana aššatiya šapar šarrum ki akallûši "Furthermore, even if the king should write for my wife, How could I withhold her?"; then in our present text, not only here in line 8, but also in lines 20-22 ki anâku išahhaṭu ūma annūtam ḫābtatme šinâ âlēya? "How can I be fearful this day while two of my towns have been captured?"
One further example is given by Bloch from the Cossaean letters: \textit{atta kî têrikanî} "How canst thou have become estranged from me?" \textsuperscript{74} In Hebrew philology this usage has been practically unrecognized, as BDB's Lexicon considers this word a (subordinate) conjunction meaning (1) "that" (2) "when, if, though" (3) "for, because, since," etc. The authors are careful to note that "kî is sometimes of difficult and uncertain interpretation." \textsuperscript{75} However, Professors Albright and Held have pointed out the significance for Biblical exegesis: (1) Genesis 18:20 "And the Lord said, 'The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah kî-rabbah uhatta'tham kî cabhêdhah më'odh How great! and their sin, How grievous!'" BDB follows the KJV translating it "because," \textsuperscript{76} (2) In the song of Moses, Exodus 15:1, he introduces it and says, "I will sing unto the Lord kî-ga'oh ga'ah How has He triumphed gloriously!" \textsuperscript{77} (3) Exodus 18:11 is rendered "Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods . . . ." However, kî-gadhol YHWH miccol ha'elohîm might well be translated, "how much greater is the Lord than all the gods!" (4) It is correctly translated in I Kings 21:29 where Elijah speaks: "Seest thou how (for kî) Ahab humbleth himself before me?" but in II Kings 18:34 (and its parallel in Isaiah 36:19) "Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? kî-hissîlû eth-Somêrôn
miyyadhî" is wrongly translated, "Have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand?" Rather, one expects the sarcasm implied by the question, "How have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?" BDB (p. 472) in following Ewald, Delitzsch and Dillmann "and that they have delivered Samaria out of my hand!--how much less (¹aph kî) have they, etc!" suggests that kî "alone perhaps conformed by error to v. 35; II Chron. 32:15 (Hebr. ¹aph kî) which however does not decide the sense of the orig. wêkî)." However, these examples clearly establish this usage. (5) One more classic example needing correction in our versions is Jeremiah 18:15. In the context, the Lord argues for the absurdity of God's people rejecting their resources, "Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon which cometh from the rock of the field? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken? kî-sêkhehûnî 'ammî How my people have forgotten me!" or, "How have my people forgotten me?" The latter translation as an interrogative seems correct, since it is followed by a series of answers. Other examples could be adduced (Jer. 30:7 "How great is/shall that day be!" Gen. 1:4 "How good!") but space does not permit further discussion. Suffice it to point out that Knudtzon was not sure himself judging by his italics.

ussurrûna -- we parse as a D-Static 3mpl with -na
energetic, from *esēru* (B) (1,1) meaning: "1) to shut in, to enclose, to confine . . . 4) ussuru to enclose, to take captive." There is ample lexical evidence to show that variant readings esēru and ezēru are attested. Since this word is admittedly difficult of analysis, we should like to point out the various possible cognates and then draw some conclusions. 1) Knudtzon and Ebeling take it as a II-form from *nasāru* (p. 1483 f.) "to guard, watch, keep, preserve" which is cognate to Hebr. nāṣar. The I-stem is used correctly in EA 253.35 (q.v.). However, as Albright points out, nussuru is a very rare form and indeed questioned. We rule this out because it is neither etymologically nor semantically related. 2) The homonym esēru "to draw" and ussuru "to make a drawing" would be intriguing because of its etymological similarity, but it must be ruled out because of its semantic dissimilarity. 3) The same might be said for ezēru "to curse" which is even one further step away from being etymologically cognate. 4) Likewise, azāru "to help" (?) is probably to be equated with Hebr. 'āzar and Aram. ādar. There are several words which are semantically closer to our verb. 5) asīru (masc.) and asirtu (fem.) meaning "prisoner" are clearly associated with Hebr. 'āsīr "prisoner" as well as Ugar. 'āsr from Hebr. 'āsār "to tie, bind, imprison." Obviously, the first radical here is
aleph rather than 'ayin. 6) Likewise, hasāru "enclosure for sheep, and enclosed area for the delivery of dates" is to be semantically and etymologically connected with Hebr. ḫāser "enclosure, court," Ugar. ḫzr "court" which clearly shows the first radical to be beth rather than 'ayin. Finally, in Amarna (EA 138.80,130) we find hazirī both as a word and as a gloss for ikāl (D from kālu "to hold, hold firmly") with the probable meaning "to hold back."81 If this meaning could be established without doubt, then the semantic equation could be made with our word, and the explanation for the difference in transcription could be accounted for by scribal individuality in expressing the gutteral, whereas with the sibilant, there would be no problem in explaining this, since in our particular word these seem to be interchangeable.82 Now as we examine more closely our word esēru (B) with variants esēru and ezēru, we must distinguish this from esēru (A) 1. to press for payment due, to collect, to put a person under pressure, 2. ussuru to collect tribute, to put pressure upon a person" which may well be a cognate of Hebr. ṭāṣar (vb. denom.) "to take the tenth of, tithe." esēru (B) is used with the meaning "to shut in, enclose, confine" in connection with a besieged enemy as when Sennach- erib boastfully claims ǧāšu kīma ʾissūr guppi qereb Ursalimma āl šarrūtišu e-sir-ṣu "like a bird in a cage I shut him
(Hezekiah) up in his capital, Jerusalem." In mythological literature, it appears in the Babylonian story of Creation, nīta lamū naparśudios lä leʾē, isira(š)šunūtimā kakkīšunu ušabbir "(but) they were completely surrounded, (to the extent) that they were unable to escape, when he had imprisoned them for his own benefit, he smashed their weapons," also, Mumma itassir elišu iptarka "Mummu he locked up and he cut off his resistance." This word is also used of persons being arrested, as misir ekallim ša niziqti i-śi-[ir-šu ...] "the palace will place him under arrest, which will cause him grief." Benno Landsberger confirms this usage of esēru meaning "to shut up in prison, to lock up" connecting it with mēṣiru "jail, bondage, prison." But what is more to the point is the II-form used along with the I-forms, e.g., nakrum ummānam i-zi-ir-ma and nakrum ummānam ū-(š)sū-ar "the enemy will surround the army." Cf. nakru us-sara-an-ni and also ša ... ahēja uz-zi-ru (var. ū-si-lu) "who imprisoned (var. paralyzed) my arms." In a NB letter this sentence appears: jānū ana bīt kīli ū-(š)su-ri-ši "if not, put him in prison there." That this is the usage of Hebr. ʾāsar "to restrain, retain, check, resist, arrest" is clear from II Kings 17:4 wayyaʾāsrēhū melek Aššur wayyaʾāsrēhū bēth khelē' "therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison." In I Kings 18:44
it is used of the rain which Elijah promised would come as possibly hindering Ahab's chariot from going to Jezreel: "Prepare (your chariot) and go down, that the rain may not hinder you."

In the deuteronomic warnings one reads to "take heed ... lest the Lord's wrath be fired up against you, and he should shut up the heaven, that there be no rain" (Dt. 11:17). Sarai uses the word in speaking to Abram: "behold now, the Lord has restrained me from bearing (a child) ... " (Gen. 16:2). With respect to its synonyms sabātu and kullu we should place esēru between them in descending order of power, i.e., (1) sabātu "1. to seize, overcome (a person) ... , 2. to arrest -- a) to imprison, detain, put in fetters, b) to apprehend, c) to seize ... as hostage, slave, ... e) to seize a person or animal by force, ... 3. to seize objects ... e) to conquer, take a city," etc., etc., in short, to seize or overcome by overwhelming power, whether supernatural, military or police, legal or subversive. (2) Then esēru "to shut in, enclose, confine, arrest, restrain, surround, immobilize," etc., etc., without the overwhelming force which is obvious in sabātu. (3) Finally, kullu (D-form of kālu) "to hold, to hold firmly, prevent, hinder." It is because haziri appears as
a gloss for this third word in EA 138.130 that we would consider the strong possibility that its syllabication is a scribal whim for our word es/sēru, which fits very nicely: ana āliya še'im ikāl // haziri "he holds back // restrains barley from my town." The meaning in Lab'aya's letter could be paraphrased in each case with the idea that "the men are to be arrested and imprisoned, but in any case at least they should be prevented from further plundering the city and surrounding territory." As to the morphology, the doubling of the third radical is not necessary, but it may follow by analogy the rule for media weak verbs in which the final consonant will double: 1) in G Pres. forms ending in vowels; 2) in G Pret. and Subj. forms ending in vowels, and 3) in all D, Š, and N forms ending in vowels (except N. Pret.).

We take this to be a Stative form which gives rise to the passive meaning "without determining the time sequence of the Present." We conclude this word study with the suggestion that BDB's Hebrew Lexicon be corrected in its reference to Assyrian esēru "to draw" under the Hebr. 'āsar, and furthermore, with the humble suggestion that CAD be brought up to date in listing this usage under esēru (B).

Line 9. Correct Akkadian would expect: ina nukurti ālu gabit with the me particle showing quotation which implies that this is Lab'aya's answer to the king's questions.
nukurti -- fem. noun derived from nakāru (1,1) "to be changed, altered" from which is derived nākīru and nak(a)ru "enemy, alien," a substantivized participle. Our word then has the meaning of "enmity, hostility." It is to be noted that etymologically Hebr. nākhētī means "foreign, alien" specifically in its participial form "one who is hostile," but in NHebr. it is used of "gentiles." However, the semantic equivalent to Akk. nakru or nākiru "enemy" in Hebr. is 'oyeb "enemy" from 'āyab "to be hostile to, be an enemy."97

šabtatme ālu -- the Stative is used for the Canaanite Preterite and note the fem. sg. which points to the scribal concept that ālu is fem. Actually, ālu in Akk. is masc., but Hebr. 'īr is fem. (but pl. has masc. ending 'ārīm). Ugaritic goes along with Hebrew having 'br or 'r "city" but 'rm "cities."98

Line 10. kī "although, in spite of the fact that" is amply attested in Hebrew as in Ps. 23:4 kī-'elek bēgē, salmāweth "although I walk through the valley of darkness (shadow of death)" and Jeremiah 49:16 kī-tagēth kannēser qinnēkha miśāb 'ōrīdēkha "though you should make your nest as high as the eagle, I will bring you down from there."99
etmi is completely misunderstood by Knudtzon and Mercer; this is lcs I-stem from tamû (1,1) "I to speak, 2) to swear, take an oath -- II to conjure, to confirm by oath." tamû is a secondary formation from an older awû/amû "to speak, to swear," from which the maqtal form mamîtu "oath" is derived, which is the more common word in Akkadian for "oath." There is no confusion here between first and third person, since the normal Akk. 3ms itmi would be sometimes reproduced in Amarna vitmi, and lcs atmu correctly reproduced with the zero element representing the aleph of first person in Canaanite. Indeed, better Akkadian would expect this phrase to read inûma salîma atmu [for *atmiu]. Several examples will suffice to establish this usage:

(1) ana pani ili ittama "he swears before the god." 103
(2) tamû qaggad ilûšunu laptu "they have taken the oath (after having) touched the head of their god." 104
(3) tummešîma nûs ilêni rabûti "Then conjure up the oath of the great gods against her." 105

In Hebr. the verb [šâpa'] in N. "to swear" and H. "to take an oath, cause to swear," but šâlah "oath, curse, execration," are the semantic equivalents to Akk. tamû and mamîtu. 106 The I₂-form ittame (3ms) actually is a double-t form which does not necessarily express the reflexive idea of infixed-t. As Albright points out, this alternation between the I₁ and I₂ forms is not

100a Professor Frank Zimmermann has called my attention to Aramaic 'eymâ' "I will say" used in the Talmud. This clearly is related to Akk. awû/amû as an etymological cognate, though some scholars prefer to show its relation with Hebr. 'emâr believing that the "r" drops out, so they reproduce it as follows: Aram. 'eymâ[ə].
surprising, since it is used contemporarily in a letter from Garchemish: Nana napšata ša šarri litmāmī u Nana napštiya ittame "may Nana swear by the life of the king and Nana swore by my life." 107

šalīme is incorrectly spelled with ō for Akk. salīmu "alliance" or perhaps more specifically here, with Albright, "conciliation, reconciliation, pact of conciliation." It is derived from salāmu (1,1) "to be reconciled, become allies, to be at peace with." In contrast, Akk. šalāmu (1,1) means "to be complete, to be whole or well, to be uninjured, intact, safe" and II "to make well, make good (a loss), restore, perform (a duty)." 108 Ebeling recognized the nominal forms salīmu and salummu 109 meaning "ally, confederate, or alliance," as in EA 11 rev. 22 "...šarrāni ahbutum țabutum sa-li-mu ț amatum [banitum]" (Zwischen) kings there is brotherhood, friendship, alliance, and (friendly) relationship." The verb is used in other peripheral Akkadian, e.g., DINGIR MEŠ ša āliša lisallim "let her (the daughter of the king of Qatna) reconcile the gods of her city and I will give her ever so many presents and honor her when she meets me" (ARM 2 51.19). As Albright observes, this word is well established from the Boğazköy texts, that although incorrectly spelled, it is the word meant here. Several examples might be adduced to show the use of ō for s: (1) EA 102.23
šal-mū (for salmū) itti mārē 1 Abdi-ašrata "(Thou knowest that the chief and the lords of the city are) in alliance with the sons of Abdi-ašrata." (2) EA 162.22-24  às anūme šarrī(!) ıṣmī ummā šalmāta (for salmāta) itti awīl alkidēa akālē shikara itti ahamsi dappala ū kīna ammēni teppus kinanna ammini šalmāta (for salmāta) itti awīl ... "And, behold, the king has heard that you have made an alliance/treaty/pact with the man of Kidēa, that you take care of each other for food (and) beer. If it is true, why did you do it? Why did you make a treaty with a man" (with whom the king has disagreed?). (3) EA 287.12 gabbī mātāti /š/ālīmu (for salīmu) ana yāši nukurtu (Let the king know that) "all the lands are at peace/reconciled (but that) there is war against me." 110

The thorny question of cognates is now before us. First, Akkadian has a synonym which appears poetically in the Hymnal Epic Dialect, rēṣu "helper, ally," which is derived from rēṣu (a,1) "to help." 111 However, Hebrew and Ugaritic do not make a clear distinction between šalāmu and salāmu. This could well be attributed to the fact that Hebr. SIN and SHIN are not distinguished in early Hebrew. 112 The particular idiom in question is Hebr. 'āšāh šālôm "to make peace." It is used several times in Joshua 9 through 11 in connection with the league made between Joshua and the Gib-
eonites. The classic verse would be Joshua 9:15 wayya'as lāhēm Yêhôšua' šālôm wayyikroth lāhēm bērith 1ēhayyôthām wayyissabbē ū lāhēm nēṣī'î hā'edāh "And Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them to let them live: and the princes of the congregation sware unto them." Our phrase is found here in parallel with two very important expressions, viz. (1) kārath bērith "to make a covenant, to make a league, alliance" and (2) 1ē plus Niphal of šābha' "to sware an oath or pact."113 The concept "to make a league, covenant" with another human party is used in Josh. 9 some five times and precisely in the same way in Gen. 14:13; Ex. 23:32; 34:12, 15; Deut. 7:2; and Judg. 2:2, as well as many other times. "To sware an oath or pact" is used four times in connection with the Gibeonites, as well as in Gen. 24:9; and Josh. 6:22; 2:12; 23:7. Our conclusion then would be that Hebr. šālôm in the sense of "making peace, reconciliation, etc." is semantically equivalent to Akk. salīmu/salāmu et. al. if not etymologically cognate and not distinguished by the Hebrew script. The confusion even of the Amarna scribes in the use of these two clearly distinct Akkadian words would point to the similarity in the phonetic value of these letters. Finally, neither Phoenician nor Ugaritic makes a clear distinction for the same general reasons. A future Hebrew lexicon should therefore
make a distinction between ṣălôm I "to be safe, whole, uninjured" and ṣălôm II "to make peace, to be reconciled, etc."

Line 11. DIŠ LÛGAL was very likely read išten rabû with the idea of "first officer" in charge of affairs rather than merely as "one" or the indefinite article "an." It has been suggested that this logogram might be equivalent to Egyptian "wr" which is an Egyptian official; however, this is not generally accepted.

Lines 12-13. The syntax and morphology of this phrase are clear reflection of Canaanite influence. Akkadian would expect ʾalî u īlî sabtû. Albright's translation and ours carefully reflect the fact that "the city" does not have the personal pronoun as might well be expected. Does Lab'aya refer to Shechem, or to his own home town, or perhaps to another town under his domain? As mentioned previously, the second possibility seems to be the most likely, since gods of his fathers are mentioned as his gods. 114

Line 14. The idiom karsî qabû "to slander, to be slandered, to calumniate, to denounce" is strictly Amarna and Canaanite. The normal Akk. idiom is karsî akalu, as Prof. M. Held has pointed out:

Beginning with the Kassite period karsî akalûm the norm in Akka., replacing OB kurruşum or nuggurum
This same idiom appears in Aramaic, both biblical as well as extra-biblical. It is significant that the variant Aram. expression 'mr krsy is preserved in the inscriptions krsy 'yš l' 'mrt tmh "you have not denounced anyone there." Albright considers karsī gabū in our line to be incorrectly reproduced by the scribe on the basis that it is correctly given in EA 286.6. Further weight to the argument might be adduced by the fact that in EA 254.16 as well as in EA 286.20,21 the more correct form of the idiom karsēya aklū "my pieces have been eaten" (lit.) appears. However, in the light of the above NW Semitic Aramaic expression, we must conclude that the scribe was using a perfectly proper Canaanite idiom.

In Arabic 'akala lahmatu is the idiom semantically equivalent to Akk. karsī akālū and Aram. 'kl qrsy, this in turn to the Hebr. idiom 'āklū lēhēm in Ps. 14:4

"who eat up my people
they denounce/destroy
they call not on the Lord."

We note that KJV translates the second phrase "who eat up my people as bread."
More commonly Hebrew expresses the concept of "to denounce" by [ššn] in the Po'el and Hiph'il. Similarly from the available evidence, Ugar. ššn is used in the same way.

Akk. karāšu "to pinch off (clay)" is the cognate of Hebr. qrs "to nip, pinch," Ugar. qrs "to pinch, shape (clay)." Aram. has qrs alongside krs. *qarāšu would be the original Semitic spelling, since the Akkadian language
does not tolerate two emphatics, e.g., *kasāsu* and *gss*. Therefore we prefer to read the qa sign as *ka₄*, thereby reflecting the intention of the scribe to use as good Akkadian as he could. In the light of the Canaanite gloss *šīrti* which follows, it is tempting to reevaluate the Hebr. idiom *grs*ןְּּ in Prov. 16:30. The Authorized Version translates "moving his lips," and BDB renders it "pinching his lips (i.e., compressing, as NH or biting, gnawing)." Since this is read as a Qal Part. with the parallel, describing a "forward man, a whisperer, a violent man" (Prov. 16:28,29), it seems best to translate this verse:

(a) "[He is one] who shuts his eyes in order to devise perverse things, (b) a slanderer (one who slanders) in order to accomplish evil." This would seem to fit well as an idiom equivalent to the Akkadian idiom under discussion and synonymous with Hebr. *lēn* in Prov. 30:10.

*šīrti* as a Canaanite gloss, Qal Passive (perhaps should be accented on the final) very likely seeking to reproduce the Stative 1 sg. from *sāru* "to slander, calumniate" and to be equated with Hebr. *šūr* "to watch stealthily, lie in wait, to trick or betray." This in turn becomes a noun *sôrer* "one who lurks, lies in wait," or as BDB "(insidious) watcher." It is found in parallel to *qâmîm* "those who arise (in hostility)" and also *ôyebh* "ene-
Hebrew has a synonymous expression qrs b'yynyn "to look with an evil eye, to look with an evil intent" (lit. "to pinch the eye"). This in turn is semantically equivalent to Akk. nekelmu "to look with an evil eye." In the Abdi-heba corpus, this verb appears again in a gloss as usārū for *ussāwarū (EA 286.6,7).

Line 16. šanītam introduces a new thought or paragraph. It could be translated here very appropriately according to its etymology as "secondly." However, since it is used quite extensively throughout these tablets, it obviously has the broader meaning of "furthermore, again, another (matter)." This now introduces us to the second main segment of this letter which is almost entirely Canaanite, including the only "wisdom literature" of the Canaanites that is extant. We note here that šanītam holds the mimiation in this adverbial expression as does Hebr. ḫōmnām and ḫinnām.

namlu "ants" collective (like Arab. namlūn) whereas a single "ant" would be namlatu. The verbs which follow are f.pl. whereas the pron. suffix -ši- (l. 19) is f.sg. The normal Akk. word is kulbābu or its synonym lamattu (< lamantu < *namaltu). This word stumped Knudtzon who left the translation blank, and Ebeling who questions the possibility of "alliance," but ignorantly followed by Mercer
"agreement (?)." The cognates in Hebrew and Arabic are precisely the same, nəmalah and namlat for "ant" as in Prov. 6:6, although the Hebr. pl. is nənalîm (Prov. 30:25).

Line 17. tumhasû a Canaanite Qal Passive construed as f.pl. with Held¹²⁷ similar to Hebrew where:

Singular nouns which include in themselves a collective idea or which occasionally have a collective sense may readily, in accordance with their meaning, be construed with the plural of the predicate, whether it precedes or follows. This is also the case, when the collective is itself a feminine but represents, exclusively or at least generally, masculine persons.¹²⁸

Two strikingly similar examples of this are to be found in I Kings 8:5 where the collectives "sheep and oxen" are construed with the plural in the following relative clause, and in Job 1:14 where "cattle were ploughing" is a clear case of a collective construed with the plural. However, we do note Albright's observation that in South Canaanite, as in Ugaritic and Arabic, collective singualrs or plurals are regularly construed with a feminine singular.¹²⁹ But to explain that "the supposed plural ending is probably merely energetic" is rather weak in the light of the close affinities given us from the Hebrew usage.

We note here the prefix-t normally used for 3fpl, but here for 3mpl, as also in EA 138.43 ul tudanū sābū yāšī "soldiers have not been given me."¹³⁰ In Ugaritic, a classic example would be II AB.4-5:104 wtb lmsp r ktlkm ("tul'akānî")
"return to the account of the sending of the lads." 

In Biblical Hebrew preformative-t (as in 3fpl) is used sometimes instead of preformative-y which is normally expected in 3mpl. E.g., Job 19:15 "They that dwell in mine house, and my maids, 1εζάρ tahšèbhûnî count me for a stranger" (instead of yahšèbhûnî). Hebrew grammarians are not aware of this 3mpl inflexion (cf. GHG p. 126, d). However, from the evidence of the Amarna and Ugaritic materials (UM p. 60), it may be seen that it does appear in Hebrew, although rarely.

This Qal Passive from mahāsu (a,a) "to smite, beat up" might be analyzed in Hebrew as Hophal, Pu'al, or even Niphal. For the use of the Perf. Qal Passive we would call attention to šīrtî above, and EA 127.34 zirtî.

Line 18. tigabbilû Can. Piel form (cf. Hebr. yeqabbēlû) "to receive, take, accept" precisely equivalent to Akkadian mahāru (a,u). The preformative ti rather than ta seems to be a dialectical variant corresponding to Hebrew. Ugaritic, on the other hand, seems to prefer ta as shown by imha / amha. The Hebr. cognate gabbēl is used with the same meaning in Prov. 19:20 (to accept reproof without grumbling) and Job 2:10 (to receive the judgment of God without murmuring). As Albright remarks: "It is rather amusing to note that the word is regularly given as an illustration of the late Aramaicisms in Hebrew vocabulary" (ibid., n.16). We
would pursue this further and say that it is rather amusing to see so much of the results of higher critical scholarship succumb to conservative views through the great archeological discoveries within this past century.

*taṃṣukū* certainly is correct, although Knudtzon reads
ta-an-[n]a without being sure of the last syllable. Our copy from Bezold's autograph reads as we have it, but, as Albright points out, the photograph of plate 21 does not show the last (-ku) syllable because these last two are written on the edge of the tablet. Mercer's ta-an-[n]a-tu is another case of poor copying and faulty technique. The word used here is našāku (a,u) "to bite" which appears in Descent of Ištar, line 101, tamhas šuna taššuka ubanja "she smote her lap, she bit her finger." As shown in this example, prima-nun words have the "n" assimilated, but in Amarna, because of the Amorite influence, the tendency is not to permit assimilation as in EA 96.7-10 iāmi an-ti-in-nu erēb awīlūti ... ana āliya "I will not permit the entrance of the men into my city."133 Semantic cognates are found in Hebr. nāshak, Ugar. ntk, and Aram. nēkat (with metathesis), but Arab. uses ʾādda.

Line 19. qāti awīli seems rather strange here in this Canaanite proverb; one would rather expect something like yadi adami for "the hand of the man."

The relative pronoun ša is equivalent to Hebr. ʾašer, occurring in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5) as well as several times in the story of Gideon with the Masoretic vocalization še. Although it is properly used as Akkadian,
it may well be Canaanite here.

*yimhasshi* undoubtedly is a hybrid conflate reading of Akk. *imahhassu* (from *imahhas* plus *ši*) and Can. *yimhasšuha*. In Akkadian one would expect the Subj. *imahasšuši*, since it is governed by *ša* relative. The pronominal suffix *-ši* "her" refers back to the collective *namlu* "ants" and so translated "them." Knudtzon reads the *-ku* sign at the end of this line instead of in the previous line, with the result that he could not read the last word.

Line 20. The next three lines have been misunderstood in the past because of the word *iša(h)atu/iša(h)hatu*. This is clearly to be understood as a I1 Present los rather than IV as Ebeling (p. 1508). The final "u" is a typical West Semitic ending. Following the Hebrew vocalization we reconstruct the Canaanite Present as *eššhhat(u)* whereas good Akkadian would be *ašahhat*. With this word we confront a philological hurdle, both as to the spelling as well as to the semantics. Albright reads šahatu but Held Șahatū. Both of them agree that it means "to be timid, fearful, hesitate, be modest." Both would distinguish this from the two homonyms šahatu (a,u) "to strip off, undress" and šahatu (i,i) "to jump, leap, attack." In order to clarify the correct spelling of the word before us, a fresh study of these hom-
onyms brings us to the following conclusion: There are four words to be distinguished. First, šahātu A (a,u) transitive "to strip off, undress." Second, šahātu B (1,1) transitive "to jump, spring on, rear up." Third, šahātu A (a,u) intransitive "to be timid, afraid, bashful, modest." Fourth, šahātu B (1,1) transitive "to attack, destroy." Granted that the available evidence is scanty, i.e., until CAD.Š volume comes out, nevertheless there are some things quite clear.

I. šahātu A (a,u) trans. "to strip off, take off, undress" (the Hebrew semantic cognate is pāšāt) is amply attested in Akkadian literature. (1) En.EL I.67 iptur riksišu istsahatu agasu "he disarmed him, (and) stripped off his crown." (2) Gilg. I.111.22,43 Šilišušu lubušīšama lipta kusubša "she shall pull off her clothing, laying bare her ripeness." (3) Borger Esarh. 102.ii.3 lubulti šarrūtišu iššutma bašašu subāt bel arni ēdiqa zumurušu "he stripped himself of his royal robe and clothed his body in sackcloth, the garment of the penitent." (4) JNES 15 138:101 "may all evil in the body of FN itti mé ša zumrišu u musāti ša gātišu liššātma be stripped off together with the water (in which) his body (was washed) and the washwater from his hands."136 These examples are sufficient to establish this meaning.137

II. šahātu B (1,1) trans. "to jump, leap, spring on."
The following examples should suffice to establish this meaning: (1) En.el. I.139 zumuršu lištaḫkitamma "so that their bodies reared up . . . and none was able to turn them back."138 (2) Desc. of Ištar rev. 86,87 "Ever since Ištar descended to the Land-of-no-Return, ana būrti GUD(alpu) ul ʾisahhit ANŠE(imēru) EMR(sinnišatāni) ul ušarre the bull does not spring on the heifer, the ass does not impregnate the jenny." (3) In Old Akkadian there is an interesting example found in Kish 1930, 143.17 ašiḫt kiris dEN.ZU "I jumped to the garden of Enzu."139

III. šahātu A (a,u) intrans. "to be timid, bashful, modest." Held reads this with a "t" while Albright and Ungnad as above. CAD would agree with Held, judging from the following example: (1) VAB 4.224.11.53 (Nbn) akkud ašuṭ nakutti aršēma dulluhū panūa "I became anxious, I am fearful, anxiety overcame me, and my face was haggard."140 However, two examples from Gilgamesh Epic would favor Albright's reading: (2) Gilg. I.iv.10 "Bare thy bosom that he may possess thy ripeness! e taš-hu-ti liqē nāpissu Be not bashful! Welcome his ardor!" (3) Gilg. I.iv.17 ul išhut ilteqi nāpissu "she was not bashful . . ." In line 10 we have the "ti" sign, otherwise read "šēti" which would be required if the root were šht. In examples (1) and (3), the words end in "-ut/t/a" making the reading inconclusive. But, if "t" were required in line 10 of example (2), why
would the scribe have used the sign for "ti/ti" when he could have used the "ti" sign? Certainly one cannot attribute this to the whim of the scribe or to his ignorance, for in line 11 he deliberately used the "ti" sign in i-ti-ih-ha-a. Our conclusion at this point is that sahātu (a,u) "to be timid" etc. is to be distinguished from sahātu (a,u) "to strip off" both in meaning as well as spelling. We therefore agree with Albright and Held that in EA 252.20 ʾiša(h)batu has the third meaning. This is clear from the thematic vowel "a" used for the Present, which distinguishes it from sahātu B (i,i), and from the context, where to "strip off, take off" would prove meaningless.

However, our study leads us to another conclusion. We would posit sahātu B (i,i) transitive "to attack, ruin, destroy" as a Canaanite word found in the Amarna corpus. Two lines of reasoning are followed: semantics and cognates. First, "to jump, leap, rear up, spring on" cannot possibly be semantically related to "attack, ruin, destroy." The concept "to attack" is demanded by the context in various Amarna passages, as has been observed by Albright and Held, which introduces us to the second argument. The cognates in Hebrew and Phoenician are ʾaḥath and ʾHT respectively.
tively. In Klmw Inscription 15,16 one reads wmy yšht ḫspr z yšht r's b'l smd 'š lgbr wyšht r's b'l hmn 'š lbmh wrkb 'l b'l bt "He who smashes (destroys) this inscription, may his head be smashed (destroyed) by Ba'1-Samad who belongs to Gabbar, and may his head be smashed (destroyed) by Ba'1-Hammon who belongs to BMH, and by Rakabel, the lord of the dynasty (temple)." Several examples from Hebrew may be given. (1) Gen. 13:10 "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, liphney šahet YHWH 'eth-Šdom we'eth-Gh'morah before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah." (2) Joshua 22:33 "... and the children of Israel blessed God, wo'lo' 'am'rû la'aloth 'aleyhēm lassābā' lēšaheth 'eth-ha'ares and did not intend to go up against them in battle, to destroy (or attack) the land wherein the children of Reuben and Gad dwelt. (3) Judges 6:4 wayyahamû aleyhēm wayyašīthū 'eth-yēbūl ha'ares "and they encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, ... and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep, nor oxen, nor ass." (4) Judges 6:15 wayyabô ba'ares lēšahathah "and they entered into the land to destroy it." (5) Judges 20:21 "And the children of Benjamin came forth out of Gibeah, wayyašīthū bēIsra'el and attacked and killed (KJV "destroyed down to the ground) of the Israelites that day twenty
and two thousand. It is clear from the Phoenician and Hebrew that the root ŠHT has the essential meaning of "to destroy, ruin, attack."

The next question is: "What is the meaning in each case of the twelve occurrences of this homonym in the Amarna corpus?" We have already concluded that in 252.20 the third word is used, based on the evidence from the thematic vowel and from the context, where by process of elimination šahātu A (a,u) could not possibly be meaningful. In the same manner, through thematic vowel and context, we may safely conclude that in 186.62 išhitu, 185.43 išhitumi, 166.26 išhitma, and in 94.73 vištahit are definitely (1,1) verbs, therefore either šahātu B or šahātu B. From the context, we determine that at least the first three must mean "attack, destroy" or the like, more so than the mere concept of "jumping, leaping, springing on." One example will suffice:

166.25-27 u šumma al Dunip išhitma 2 1tim harrānu nu ina ašar ašib u palhāku ištu panišu "If he (the king of Hatti) should attack Dunip, a (town) two days journey from where he lives, and since I am afraid of him regarding this, I shall stand by until he departs." The only question regarding 94.73 is that the context is not completely clear, although the thematic vowel is clear.

There are two occurrences of Infinitives, 106.12
šahātši, and 165.40 šahātīšu. Since the scribe does not supply us with a clearly discernible thematic vowel, we are cast upon the context for interpretation. However, this is not so difficult as at first may seem. In 165.40 Aziri writes that the king of Hatti is approaching the land of Amurri which belongs to the pharaoh. Then he continues:

"And now he dwells in Nuhašše, a two days journey from the town of Tummip (Tunip?), u palhaku istu šahātīšu al'Tum-ni-ip and I am afraid that he will attack/destroy Tunip." Since the context is essentially the same as 166.26 quoted above, we would conclude this under šahātu B (1,1). The passage in Judges 6:5 quoted above also bears on this as being parallel to the thoughts involved here, that the enemy was able to penetrate and attack or destroy the land. At this juncture it would be well to discuss 106.10 which is found in this immediate context. Obviously, šihtat is a defectively written Stative. Certainly it must read *šahtat. It may be explained on the analogy of *zikar + at > zikrat. However, the meaning is clear from the context, for Rib-Addi writes:

u anūma inanna šihtat(!) alŠumur adi abul(l)iši "And now, behold, Sumur is now being attacked right up to her gates."

Then, as above, "They have been able to attack (or destroy, ruin) her, but they have not been able to conquer (or seize) her."
Four more Amarna passages use this homonym. We shall now turn our attention to these. In 148.39 Abimilki of Tyrus writes: "There is no infantry here. ša ʾisḥat (Winckler writes ʾishata) ṭat šarri šar al Ziduna. He who has attacked (or destroyed) the land of the king is the king of Zidon." First, it is amply clear that insofar as good Akkadian is concerned, the word is defectively written, for we would expect either ʾishut/t or ʾishit/t. By process of elimination, meanings one and three would be incongruous. Furthermore, "to jump upon" would be far too weak a concept for what the context requires. We conclude, then, that our translation is the most adequate, and, consequently, our reading is the best. In 220.21 the word is clearly a Stative form, the context clearly gives the impression as elsewhere in Amarna that the land or city is under attack. Nukurtuwa of Zunu claims that he is doing all he can to protect the city from being taken over by the enemy. In this letter he is advising the king of the conditions presently prevailing: inūma šahtar alu ša šarri bēliya u mihisme abīya "that the city of the king, my lord, is being attacked, and that my father has taken a beating." Two other passages use the I2 Preterite forms. 125.20 is very illuminating, for at the outset we recognize that it is defectively written ʾištahatni for *ištaha/itanni. Certainly the thematic vowel as given
would lead us to meanings one or three. Certainly the context precludes šahātu A (a,u) "to strip off, undress." Certainly, also, the word required is transitive rather than intransitive, so that the third meaning "to be timid, bashful" does not fit either. If the word is defectively written at the end, are we justified in considering the possibility that it is defectively written with respect to the thematic vowel? We have observed that in 148.39 the word is defectively written precisely at this point. Thus, being justified on these grounds to consider the possibility, we find that our word šahātu B fits better than šahātu B, for Rib-Addi says: "Since the king, my lord, says: 'Protect thyself, and guard the city of the king that is in thy care!'

... But, behold, now īstahatni 1Aziru Aziru has attacked me. I have no oxen, nor have I ... ." At this point we introduce Judges 6:4 again to show that this attack or destruction consisted of plundering the food resources of Israel in the one case, and of Rib-Addi in the other. Our argument, then, would be summarized by saying that the Hebrew passage gives us the clue to the proper spelling of the word in 125.20, as well as pointing to the meaning of the word, which must be šahātu B (1,1) "to attack, destroy," etc. Generally speaking, the argument could be applied to 105.43, but since the tablet is broken, we have slim evidence for
solid conclusions in this one case. 143

Line 21. #"ma annâ "this day, now" would be better as Adverbial Accusative and correct Akkadian. However, the scribe may have become confused as he thought of the Canaanite idiom hayôm hazēh (Hebr.) "now, these days," and sought to write either ūmî annûti or ūmē annûtam for "these days." I would defend my reading annu-tam against Knudtzon and Mercer's -tû and Albright's -tam. Certainly the Accusative is required here rather than the Nominative ending, but on what grounds can we raise the "m" as a determinative, is beyond my comprehension. I don't see how one could appeal to defective writing in this case. Certainly it is defectively or imperfectly written. I take the ä "while, since" as introducing a circumstantial clause. (Cf. Judges 13:9 and Gen. 18:1.)

Line 22. It is clear from these three lines that Lab'aya is explaining his aggressive actions as self-defense, that he could not allow himself the luxury of sitting by timidly while the enemy captures two of his towns. Who the enemy is Lab'aya fails to identify them. Perhaps this is a case where silence is yellow rather than golden.

Lines 23-31. This last section of the letter shows that Lab'aya's loyalty to the pharaoh extends so far and no
farther. The king’s sovereignty is not absolute, for Lab’aya declares that no matter what the order from the king would be he would still fight back and avenge himself over the loss of his towns and his patron gods.

Line 24. *appunāma* is an adverb of asserveration commonly found in the Middle Akkadian texts from Boğazköy. A good Northwest Semitic cognate is to be found in Ugaritic "also" and the further expression *apnk ... apnh "thereupon ... forthwith" (cf. II D 11 27, 28).

Line 25. *nupulme* an Impv. representing Can. *nōphal* with anatyptic vowel rendering *n(u)pul*. There is no Akkadian root *[napālu], but the Akkadian word meaning "to fall" is *magātu* (a,u) as in line 4 above. This therefore seems to be the earliest case of *npl "to fall,"* clearly a Canaanism.

Line 26. In the same vein, we come upon another Canaanism in the use of *tahtāmu* which represents Hebr. *taḥtāmō*, and which appears in Azitawadda *tht p‘my* and elsewhere in Phoenician as *thtkm*. The -*mu* ending is an old suffixial *3mpl. -u* or -*ō* ending for the later -*himu* or -*hem* ending. Again, the rather foolish argument of the Developmental Theory of the Old Testament as expressed by Gesenius, who states that the -*mō* ending is late Hebrew, must give way to
this clear usage in Amarna. Such passages as Exodus 15, Psalm 45:6, 18:39, 21:11, 17:10, 58:7, 89:18, Deuteronomy 32:27, 32, 37, 38, Isaiah 44:15, and Job 20:23 cannot be adjudged to be late, but may well represent an older period of Biblical Hebrew.

Line 27. *timān(h)hasūka* I have translated as a cohortative 3cp1m. The *ti*-preformative is interchangeable with *vi*- and is quite common in Canaanite. It may well be analyzed as a Present or Hebrew Imperfect used as a future: "and they shall smite you."

Line 28. *ibī* "my enemy, my foe" is clearly the collective *ibu* "enemies" and to be associated with Ugaritic *'ib* (// *srt*) as well as with Hebr. *'śebb*. However, normally in Akkadian it is written *a'ābu* or *ayābu*, *ā'ibu* being a secondary transitive participle, whereas *ibu* is an intransitive participle. The semantically, older classic Akkadian uses *nakru* "enemy" (cf. CH.103).

*u(g)šurrūna* is here taken as a II-stem or IV-stem Present from *esāru* "to hold back, restrain." The doubling of the "r" is not necessary here, unless it is used to compensate for the weak first radical. The energetic particle *-na* is suffixed to the verbal form, similar to the Arabic *energicum* *-mna* and the Ugaritic *-n(a).* Professor Held sug-
gests that the Hebrew expression *shāma' nā' should be emended to read together as *shāma'enna.*

Line 29. *sa-ab-tum* is definitely wrong; so we have read the last syllable as *tu₄*. This type of syllabication clearly shows the inadequate knowledge of the *lingua franca* on the part of the Canaanite scribes. One would wish that the scribes had been better schooled in the precise distinctions which are possible (although terribly burdensome) through the use of the Akkadian syllabary, so as to distinguish, for example, the dentals and the sibilants in the Canaanite and Akkadian of the Amarna Age.

Line 30. *šūsū-me* is to be analyzed as a Canaanite participle from Canaanite *šāsān* (as in Hebrew), with the meaning of "plunderer, raider, despoiler, brigand." The enclitic -*me* within a construct chain is common both in Hebrew and Ugaritic. The origin of the word comes from Egyptian *šasu* "nomads, marauders" which was derived from a very ancient Egyptian word *šiš*, "to transverse." Lambdin has made a further study of this word in *JAOS 73* (1953), page 155. Since this is an Egyptian loan word in Akkadian, one normally would find *šūzu* more often than *šūsū*. Actually, this we find here, although our choice -*ši* for the reading of the middle syllable is based on the strong Canaanite in-
fluence in this tablet. In Akkadian, foreign loan words with "s" are reproduced by "z" as is the case of Hurrian "abusu" or "abussu" which is transcribed into Akkadian as "abuzu" meaning "granary, storehouse." Yet this very word in Hebr. 'ebûs keeps the original phoneme. Albright offers the suggestion that Hebr. samek used to be pronounced as an affricative, and is always transcribed "z" in Akkadian at this period.

Line 31. The separate pronoun šunu is here used for emphasis and stress, as it commonly is used in Hebrew, e.g., Num. 14:32.
**EA 253 -- VAT 1589; WA 155; W 177; Schr 144**

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. [a-na LUGAL]̣ (šarri) [EN-ya (bēliya)] ā

2. [dUTU]-ya (dšamšiya) um-ma [La]-ab-a-ya

3. [IR]-ka (waradka) ā e*[p-ru]

4. [šä] ka-bä-š[u-e-ka]

5. [a-n]a GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LU[GALr]1 (šarri) [E]N-ya (bēliya)

6. [IM]INšu IMINTa-ā-an (šibitšu šibitan) am-qut

7. [i]š-te-me a-wā-te MEŠ

8. [š]ā LUGALru (šarru) EN-ya (bēliya)

9. [i]-na ŠAG[b1] (libbi) DUB[1] (tuppi)

10. [i]š-tap-ra-an-n[1]

11. [a-mur a-n]ā-[k]u IR (warad) LUGALr1 (šarri)

12. [kI]-ma a-bi-ya ā

13. a-[bi] a-bi-ya IR[du] (wardu)

14. šå L[U]GALr1 (šarri) iš-tu

15. [p]ā-nā-[n]u-um ā

16. [la-ā] ar-nā-ku

17. [tà] la-ā ha-ţā-ku

18. an-nū-ū ar-nū-ya

19. ā an-nū-ū

20. hī-țū-ya i-nū-ma

21. ir-ru-bā-ti i-na
22. URU (āl) Gaz-ri̇ki
23. um-ma a-n[ā-k]u-mi
24. yi-en-ni-nu-nu-mi
25. LUGALru (šarru) à a-nu-(m)ma
26. e-na-an-na yā-nu
27. pa-nī šá-nû-tú is-tu
28. ur-ru-ud LUGALrī (šarri)
29. à mi-im-ma šá
30. yi-īq-ta-bū
31. [LU]GALru (šarru) iš-te-mū
32. [l]i-ip-qī-id-ni-me
33. [LUG]ALru (šarru) i-na
34. [Š]U (qāt) LÜ.MAŠKIM-ya (rābisīya)
35. [a-na] na-šā-ri UR[U] (āl1) [LUGALrī (šarri)]

B. Translation:

1. [To the kīnģ, [my lord] and
2. my [Sun-god:] "Thus (says) [La]b'aya,
3. your [servant,] and the d[ust]
4. [[on which you] tread:
5. ['A]t the two feet of the kīnģ, my lo]rd,
6. [sev]en times sevenfold I fall.
7. [I] have heard the words
8. [wh]ich the king, my lord,
9. and 10. wrote to me on a tablet.
11. [Behold, I] am a servant of the king
12. [like m]y father and
13. my grandfather, servants
14. who (stood before) the king
15. in former times. Indeed,
16. I have [not] committed crimes
17. [n]or have I been negligent.
18. This is my crime
19. and this is
20. my sin that
21. I invaded into
22. the town of Gezer.'"
23. Thus I (say):
24. The king has mercy on us,
25. and now,
26. at present I have
27. no other purpose than
28. to serve the king.
29. Indeed, all which
30. the king has spoken
31. I have hearkened/obeyed.
32. Let the king oversee me
33. through
34. [the ha]nd of my rābisu (commissioner)
35. [to] guard the city of [the king.]

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

Lines 1 to 10 are reconstructed from the traces of syllables as reproduced by Schroeder and from the obvious parallel stereotyped phraseology found in the more well preserved EA 254.153 Our differences with Knudtzon are to be found in the omission of the DIŠ sign before šarri and Lab'aya in lines 1 and 2 respectively. Also we differ in the reading of the PA sign in line 4, where we read it -bā- for philological reasons. In the same line, we concur that the evidence of the autographs leads us to read -šē- instead of the expected -ši-.154 Again, in lines 17 and 20, we read ha-tā-ku and hi-tū-ya rather than the first reading of the signs TA and TU on philological and cognate evidence.

Line 2. ɗSamšiya: "my Sun-god" is a most appropriate appellation referring to the pharaoh of Egypt. John A. Wilson, the renowned Egyptologist, describes for us the rise of the relationship between the Sun-god Re and the pharaoh:

Prior to the Fifth Dynasty, a minority of pharaohs had names which incorporated the name of the sun-god Re; we see such names as Udī-mu, Nefer-kā-Sokar, Djoser, Snefru, and Khufu. Early in the Fourth Dynasty, Re came into greater prominence in the names of the pharaohs, and, from the Fifth Dynasty on, it was the regular practice that the king's royal name related him to Re --
Khaf-Re, Sahu-Re, Ne-user-Re, and so on. Further, the Fifth Dynasty first affirmed the pharaoh's filial relation to the sun-god in a formal title, "the Son of Re," which took over the king's personal name, given him at birth, and stated clearly and emphatically that the pharaoh had been born as the physical son of Re, thus giving him legitimate title to rule over Egypt.155

Furthermore, the myriads of Egyptian hymns to the Sun-god Re, or to the sun disk Aton in the Amarna Age, attest to the close relation between god and pharaoh in the popular thinking of the people.156

It is no wonder that the Amarna correspondence has countless references to ḫašaš, maar ḫašaš, ana šarri ḫašaš, etc., in which the pharaoh is equated with the sun-god. Suffice it to quote Abimilki of Tyre: bēl ḫašaš ša ittazi ina muhhi KUR maṭati ina ūmi u ūmima kīma šimāt ḫašaš abušu damqu "My lord is the sun-god who rises over the lands day after day as ordained by the Sun-god, his good father" (EA 147.5-8).

The title of "sun-god" is further attested in the Ugaritic texts, where the Hittite king Suppiluliumas is referred to as špē mlk rb "the Sun, the Great King."157 This diplomatic text (118) enumerates the tribute that Niqmadu, king of Ugarit, sent to the court of "his master, the Great King, Shuppiluliuma, ... also referred to honorifically as the Sun (god), or specifically as the Sun of Arinna, the chief god of the Hittite Empire."158
Line 3. *epru* "dry earth, dust, dirt," an apocopated form from *eperu*.\(^{159}\) Twice in Amarna does it appear with a gloss, *aparu* (141:4) and *haparu* (143:11), both written by Hamun1ri of Beirut, contemporary of Rib-Addi. Clearly, this reflects Hebr. *'aphar* "dust." It is used in the regular and literal sense in the letters of Tušratta, but more often in idiomatic phrases as our present text. For example, Rib-Addi says: *u tidaggalu ayābunu u tīkalu epra* "let our enemies see (this) and eat dust" (i.e., "be defeated").\(^{160}\) In our text, as so often in Amarna, the idiom expresses the concept of abject humility and prostration before a person of higher rank. Several examples will serve to show this:

1) EA 248.5 *warad kitti šarri u epru šrupāl šēpē šarri* "the loyal servant of the king, and the dust of the feet of the king."

2) EA 149.4 *anaku epru ištu šupāl šēpē šēni šarri* "I am the dust from beneath the sandals of the feet of the king."

3) EA 220.4 *waradka epru ša šēpē šarri bēliya dŠamšiya u IM.MEŠ (tīdu) ša kabāšika* "your servant, the dust under the feet of the king, my lord, my Sun-god, and the earth upon which you step."\(^{161}\) That this is an ancient expression is borne out by the fact that an old Babylonian letter (TCL 18 85:15) states: *ša annam appalu dŠamaš ana dinān epiri ša takbusu liddin* "should I say yes, Šamaš would treat me as if I were the dust upon which you have
stepped." The logogram is SAHAR (from the syllable iš)\(^1\) contrary to Knudtzon and Ebeling under 195:5 where ḫ̄-ri appears as the Canaanite gloss for SAHAR. MES. Mercer blindly follows and misreads the sign Is.Mes (sic!).

Line 4. kabāšika "thy treading," clearly an infinitive from kabāsu (a,u) "to tread." From Ebeling's glossary one readily sees that all three radicals in this word are spelled differently. For example, in 198:7 we read qa-pa-sa-ga, the last qa clearly indicating that this is a scribal whim for spelling the ka syllable. Then for the labial, EA 231.8, 232.5, and 234.6 read ka-ba-ši-šu. The latter two are written by a scribe from Acco, the same scribe who also writes 233, apparently, where in line 8 he reads ka-pa-ši-šu, showing clearly that the labial was not clearly established in their own thinking. Therefore, with Ebeling we prefer to take ka-ba-šu. Consequently, our reading in every case will be bā. As for the sibilant, it is clear that Akkadian reads kabāsu (a,u) as above, "to trample down," as, for example, in En. el. IV, 129 ikbusma bēlum ša Tiāmatum īšida. "As for Tiamat, when the lord had trampled on her legs (lower extremities) . . . ."\(^{163}\) Derived from this word is the Akkadian kibsu "a footprint, a going, a conduct." Among the cognates there is a Hebr. root kbs used primarily in the Piel meaning "to wash," i.e., "to wash
by treading." However, it is used in the Qal as a participle only in the expression מֶסיללָת הָעֵשֶׁב פַּעַם וּלְדוּת "highway of fuller's field" (i.e., treader's, washer's field), Isaiah 7:3, 36:2, which is parallel to II Kings 18:17. It is used of washing garments and, in a poetic and figurative sense, of washing persons. There is another Hebr. word קָבָשׁ meaning "subdue, bring into bondage, dominate, tread down." In most cases it is to be found in late Biblical Hebrew, but it is found in Genesis 1:28 "to subdue the earth," and then in the Niph. it is used in the passive sense in Numbers 32:22, 29, Joshua 18:1, of the conquest of the land, which literally was treaded down by the feet of the conquering Israelites. There is one other word, Hebr. קַפְּחָשׁ meaning "make bent, press, or bend together," but it is a hapax legomena found only in Lamentations 3:16. BDB adds the note, "Tel Am. קַפְּחָשׁ 'soul of foot'," and after giving reference it has parenthetically "doubtfully" and continues "but infinitive from קָבָשׁ according to Winckler Tell Amarna Letters, Vocabulary." Our conclusion then is that the cognate reflected in Amarna is קָבָשׁ "to subdue, bring into bondage, tread down." The precise semantic idea of this letter and others in Amarna is that of "a treading place, a stepping place for the foot to tread on," as that which appears in the construct only in Deuteronomy 2:5, 11:24, and
Joshua 1:3 midrak kaph ragēl.

Line 6. **IMINšu IMINTa-a-an** may be written **IMIN-šu IMIN.TA.ĂM** and must be read šibitsu šibitan. For example, the second element is syllabically rendered ši-i-b-e-ta-an in EA 215.6, and ši-bi-ta-an in 221.6. Good Akkadian phonology would require *šebsu sebétan*. The meaning of this "seven times seven times" is absolutely clear from EA 232. 8-11 where **IMINšu IMINTa-a-an** is followed by ... ušhehhin ina pante // batnuma û seruna // šuhruma "I prostrate myself seven times each on the front and on the back," literally, "on my chest // belly and on my back // back." In Amarna pante is the Canaanite spelling for Akk. bamtu, also spelled bandu, also pandu, meaning "chest, or front of the chest," clearly expressed also by the gloss batnuma for Hebr. bēṭēn, meaning "belly," with the Akk. word for "back" Šēru A, with a gloss of the West Semitic loan word šurū, also meaning "back." The fuller expression is used quite a few times, leaving us without doubt as to its meaning, as, for example, EA 281.7 "I have fallen at the feet of my lord seven times and again seven times both (on my) belly and (on my) back," in a letter of Šuwardatta. Adding to the interest in this expression we find in the Ugaritic tablets in the Gordon Text 89:6-11 1p'n adty šb'd wšb' id mṛḥatm qlt, translated, "At my lady's two feet seven times one way seven
times another way on my back and on my belly I fall." This text illustrates the use of this "seven times" expression in Ugaritic. However, a further problem is raised, for Ginsberg in BASOR 72 takes the ăd and ăd as demonstratives, but if these are demonstratives, then how can he take the Akk. ăsū and ta-an as demonstratives, for he reads in EA 201.7,8 7 ăsū 7-ta an-ni, so that he makes ăsū parallel to an-ni. However, in Akk. ŠIMINša-an should be read šibitān(1), the final -ān(i) not representing a dual, but rather the adverbial, meaning "sevenfold" or "seven times." One should compare the adverbial form tišitan in EA 82.39. The same is true in Hebrew. In Genesis 33:3 and Isaiah 30:26 šib'ātāyim is not to be considered a dual but adverbial, meaning "seven times" (cf. Gen. 4:24). From Proverbs 24:16 and 26:25 one readily sees that this "seven times" or "sevenfold" means "many, many times."

Line 14. ištu pānānum "in former times" has the adverbial ending -ān-um which is common in Akkadian as in our word pānānum and warkānum, ulla-num, etc. It is a very common ending in the Hymnal Epic Dialect (HED II 100 f.) where this kind of an ending is used as a locative adverbial ending, one of the distinctive characteristics of the Hymnal Epic Dialect. Here the formation with ištu as a preposition forms an idiomatic expression. We would note the antiquity
of the use ʾīṣtu as either a conjunction or a preposition, particularly because ʾīṣtu is used in Old Akkadian and then in Old Babylonian, but later on in Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian it is found side by side with ultu, and following this period it is commonly replaced by ultu. A very interesting example from an old Babylonian letter is ʾīṣtu pēnānum ana warkānum ša lā kāti abam u bēlam ula išu. "Neither in former times nor in the future will I have any father and master but you alone" (TCL 18.95:4). The Hebrew expresses more precisely the Canaanite expression with the word lĕphānim, meaning "formerly, or in former times." This is found frequently in the early part of the Biblical text, a key example being Joshua 11:10 ki ḫāṣār lĕphānim hī ṭōsh kal hammam lākhōth hā’ellēh "for Hazor beforetime was the capital of all those kingdoms." 166

Line 16. [lā] "not." The word is clearly demanded by the context where in line 17 hatāku is preceded by lā. Also this is clear from 254.11 where the same expression appears.

arnāku is a I Stative lcs from a verb which does not exist in Akkadian but which actually is coined by the scribe who forms a verb from the noun arnu. Here we have clear-cut examples of Canaanite influence in the Amarna tablets. It is quite common to form a verb from a noun in Canaanite (cf.
"warādu from wardu "servant"), but this is not so in Akka-
dian. Normally Akkadian uses the auxiliary verb epēšu "to
do, or commit a crime or misdeed," so that here one would ex-
pect more accurately arna epus, as in EA 286.14 amminimmi
ana epus arna ana šarri "Why should I commit a crime against
the king?" Because of this artificial verb, it is difficult
to translate lines 16 and 17. We may just as well translate
it: "I am not a criminal, nor am I an offender." Akkadian
has three words which are quite synonymous. They are ex-
pressed, for example, in the phrase arni hiti u gillati
"crime, sin, and transgression."167 These various Akkadian
synonyms with their cognates will be discussed in the order
of their heinousness.

First, hittu, hitu "a slight sin, a mistake, a sin
of ignorance" derived from the verb hatu "to make a mis-
take, to fail, neglect, miss; 2) to commit an offence, tres-
pass, sin, etc." This is the same as the Arabic khata'a,
Ugar. ht', and Hebr. ḫata' "to miss the mark, failure,
coming short," which marks the peculiar nature of sin in
contradistinction to 'āsham, which implies a breach of com-
mandment whether knowingly or unwittingly, as in Lev. 5:15
"If a soul commit a trespass (ma'āl) and sin through error
or ignorance (Hebr. wəhat'ān bishgagah) in the holy things
of the Lord, then he shall bring for his trespass (Hebr.
...unto the Lord a ram . . . for a trespass offering." In the LXX the Hebr. word 'ašham is usually rendered by Greek plēmméleia "a mistake." Girdlestone concludes that 'ašham is used "where a sin, moral or ceremonial, has been committed through error, negligence, or ignorance."168 This word is used parallel in thought to egū "to be careless, neglectful (of duty)," as in (ša) egū ahtu ešētu ugallilu "(because) I have been neglectful, have sinned, been remiss, have committed a sin . . .," (BMS 28.9), and more clearly in ēgi ana iliya // ahtī ana ištariya "I was remiss towards my personal god // I have been remiss against my personal goddess" (KAR 39, r. 19). The concept of failure to accomplish a particular piece of work is expressed in hurhurāti bēlī lisēbilamma dullī lā aḥatti "may my lord send me the hurhurāti-dye so that I shall not fail (to do) my work" (BE 17.23:32) and from Mari we have a further illustration where dāk nakrim šāti lā taḥatti "do not fail to destroy this enemy" (ARM 1.60:28). Judges 20:16 uses this word in its original etymological meaning "Among all this people there were seven hundred chosen men lefthanded; every one could sling stones at an hair breadth, and not miss (wəlō' yahəti')."

Second, arnu/annu "crime, misdeed, sin, misdemeanor, etc." From our passage, lines 16 through 20, one gathers
the impression that what Lab'aya is denying is that he has sinned either by omission or by commission. If we understand rightly what he is saying in line 16 he is not a sinner or an offender by commission, and in line 17 he denies that he is a sinner by omission. We hasten to add, as mentioned before, that in either case good Akkadian would not use this Stative form but rather the auxiliary verb epēšu. This word appears in the Code of Hammurabi quite a few times with the meaning of penalty for sin or transgression, as in CH. 13 aran dīnim šuāti itttanasši "the penalty of that law case he shall continually bear." With respect to the assimilation of the "r," arnu becoming annu, we may well compare garmu becoming gammu, or gaggaru "ground" and Hebr. gargar, also annabu "rabbit" compared to Hebr. 'arnēbēth. The semantic equivalent to our word arnu/annu "crime or misdeed" in Hebrew is the word 'awōn (sometimes 'awēn) meaning "iniquity, guilt, or punishment of iniquity." Sometimes it is translated "vanity," as in Job 15:35 "They conceive mischief, and bring forth vanity."

Third, gillatu "crime, misdeed, sin" (cf. gullulu "to commit sin," and gillatu, which also means "evildoer.") The concept of a major crime being expressed by this word is seen in a Sargon text: arki hitātešu mahrâte gullutu rabitu ... ēpušma "after his former sins he committed a major
crime (which led to the devastation of his country)” (TCL 3: 95). A text from Mari gives us a good illustration of the extremes of these words, gullultam u hiṭītam ul irṣī “he is not guilty of a crime nor of a mistake” (ARM I.18.15).

This most heinous crime perhaps is best expressed semantically in Hebrew by the word pāsha’ or rāsha’; pāsha’ signifies "to revolt or refuse subjection to rightful authority," and rāsha’ is the word most generally rendered "wicked" in the Authorized Version. In conclusion, with respect to the Hebrew philology, we might suggest that Hebr. ḥata’ means "sin" in general, however, marking the peculiar nature of sin as a "missing of the mark." Akk. ḥata’, therefore, may well be rendered by Hebr. shāgāh, ’asham, or ma’al "to err, to make a mistake by neglect or omission." Akk. arnu/annu might very well be translated by Hebr. ḥata’ or ’ābhar, meaning "to commit sin" or "to transgress, to trespass."

Finally, Akk. gillatu "crime, misdeed" may well be semantically represented by pāsha’ or rāsha’ "to rebel, to transgress, to be willfully wicked."

Lines 18-20. My translation using the singular demonstrative pronoun, the singular words for crime and sin or misdeeds are justified by the fact that annū is the singular demonstrative, whereas if this were to be plural, we would have to find annūtu (GAG 45 a-d). Furthermore, the nouns
arnu and hitu are in the singular; the only reason for the accent on the penultima of arnūya is because of the suffix ya. If these words were plural, we would expect arnutuya and hitutuya. One can hardly see justification for the gross mistake in CAD h, 211, which translates this passage, "These are my crimes, and these are my offences."

Line 21. irrubāti "I invaded" or "entered by force."
This word clearly reflects the Canaanite Perfect with -ti lcs suffix instead of the normal Akkadian which would be erbāku. The word clearly is Akk. erēbu (u,u) "to enter, to invade, to penetrate," etc. Several examples may be given of this: 1) YOS 10 24:23 ayābūza ana bullīka i(r)rubūnim "your enemies will come to annihilate you (lit. to douse or smother)." 2) Gilg. I.ii.46 ū ū būlišu bītuššu irumma "he (Enkidu) and his beasts invaded his (the trapper's) house." 3) From Amarna EA 103.9-10 mērē Abdi-Asīrta irubū ina Amurra "the sons of Abdi-Asīrta invaded Amurru."

Line 22. Āl Gazri "the town of Gezer." Most scholars starting with Knudtzon on down even to Albright have read this line with URU as a determinative rather than as a logogram for a word in the construct chain with the name of the town which it qualifies. However, Professor Held has
given us cogent reasons for taking this as a construct chain in the Amarna letters. Held argues from the West Semitic view that it is not a determinative as Old Babylonian would require but rather a construct chain. The evidence for this is as follows: 1) ARM II.79 ā-lum Ma-ri u Škallum šalim "the city of Mari and the palace are safe." Note that Ma-ri is in the Genitive rather than the Nominative case as is the word Škallum. The same might be said for the expression ā-lum Qi-at-tu-na-anši which carries the Genitive ending.

2) In the Amarna tablets the logogram URU is taken by Ebeling in his geographical names as a determinative, but glancing quickly through the glossary in practically every case we see the Genitive ending, which would seem to require the reading of URU as part of a construct chain. 3) The parallel usage of KUR/mātu also bears its weight upon the argument, for KUR can be used as a determinative, but sometimes mātu "land" is spelled out as in Idrimi: ana ma-āt ki-in-a-nimši "to the land of Canaan," ma-āt Ha-at-tešši "the land of the Hittites," ma-āt Hu-ri-ib-te "the land of the Horebites." Note that all of these are in the Genitive construct relationship. 4) In Amarna the use of mātu makes it clear that in many instances it is to be read "the land of" as part of a construct chain, as, for example, mātāt Ha-ti (126.59; 129.76), mātāti a-mur-ri (145.24) (cf.
5) In the Hebrew Bible, although normally the cities are named without the appellation of city, there are several instances to show that this was so used. Genesis 10:11 refers to "the city Rehoboth"; a clear example of this is found in Joshua 3:16, speaking of the waters being miraculously dammed up not very far "from the city Adam." Then also in II Kings 19:13 we have the expression "the king of the city of Sepharvaim," and then finally in Daniel 9:16 there is the expression of contrition where Daniel speaks about their turning away "from thy city Jerusalem."

As for the town of Gezer itself, we might simply state that at this early time in the final years of Amenophis III (1376-1368 B.C.) Milkilu was the prince of Gezer. Milkilu is the author of several letters (267-271), the majority of which were written during this period and into the beginning of the independent reign of Akhenaten. Lab'aya's letter No. 254 explains the reason why he entered Gezer, noting "the deeds which Milkilu has done against me" (254.28-29). Suffice it to point out further that in Milkilu's letters, Milkilu has a complaint against Yanhamu, the Egyptian official who seems to have been the governor of Palestine at the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten. He is then followed as prince of Gezer by Ba'lu-Shipti, and after Ba'lu-Shipti we have Yapahu as the prince of Gezer.
Line 24. yinninunumi. This word is difficult to analyze. There is no question that it comes from enēnu/henēnu which is clearly a West Semitic word found only in Amarna. Normally in Akkadian it is found in the derived stems, especially as a II/2 or a II/3 where it means "to pray, ask for mercy." Elsewhere in Akkadian it is found in the I stem only in lexical texts. We agree then with CAD in distinguishing enēnu A and enēnu D (henēnu). The relationship between the two is well expressed by CAD (p. 163 ff.):

Since the infinitive enēnu is only attested in lex. texts, we may assume that the II/2 and II/3 forms are in the same relation to enēnu D, "to show mercy," as Heb. hithannēn, "to plead for mercy" is to hānan "to show mercy," see the WSem. forms used in EA, sub enēnu D. The enēnu of the lex. texts would then represent a form reconstructed by the native lexicographers (as, e.g., *nazāzu for uzuzzu), and the unique II/1 a Neo-Assyrian dialectal form.

There are only two occurrences of this word in Amarna, the present text and in a letter of Rib-Addi, EA 137.81, where it is written yi-ih-na-nu-ni "(if the king) has mercy upon me," where it clearly reflects the Canaanite Imperfect 3ms plus the Dative lcs suffix that is in our text as well. The final syllable -mi is the enclitic particle showing direct quotation, perhaps a ditto graphy, since it is found as well in the previous line.174 The problem is the antepenul-
tima syllable nu as well as the vocalization of the word. From the prefix syllable yi it is clear that 3ms of the Imperfect tense is denoted. The double "n" may either reflect an assimilated Proto Semitic "h" which in Akkadian normally is expressed by a zero element, or as in the Rib-Addi letter with the "h." The context here requires a Dative suffix which normally is -ni for the locs as in yihnanuni above or -nāši/-nāšu for the lcpl. In either case the -nu ending appears only in Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian (GAG 42 j and k). The only other alternative is that this reflects the Hebr. lcpl suffix -nū. We have thus translated it in this fashion. However, the context in lines 25 to 28 speaks of Lab'aya's personal intention as compared to Rib-Addi's in 137.81 requiring the locs suffixal ending -ni. Finally, to round out our study, this word appears in the cognate Ugaritic as hnn (Gordon, UM, 264), as well as in some Phoenician texts (Harris, GPL, 102). We note in passing that Knudtzon and Ebeling, although deriving from the context the general import of the passage, nevertheless misunderstood the word deriving it from anānu (ʾmn₃) (p. 1375).

Lines 26-27. anu(m)ma enanna "now, at this very moment." Both of these particles are adverbs of time meaning "now, just now." Here they appear together for emphasis as reflected in my translation. The use of this double expres-
sion anu(m)ma enanna is also found in peripheral Akkadian from Boghazkoi and Ra’s Shamra. An excellent example is found in the Boghazkoi letter, thus: inanna anumma lišān namšari ušēbilakku "I am now at this point sending you a sword blade" (KBo 1 14:23). In the Mari letters, however, there is a slight distinction. anu(m)ma is used to introduce the first topic of a letter, whereas enanna is used for the second topic very often and always to introduce the last paragraph.

yanu panī šanūtu "I have no other intention" or "I have no other purpose than." The indeclinable negative particle yānu which is used often in MB, EA, and Bogh. replacing OB ul ibāssé continues down into NB almost exclusively in letters. However, in NA letters laššu is used in its place. The idiomatic expression panī šanūtu, lit. "face of another," although easy to translate, is difficult to fully analyze. šanūtu could well be a mpl adjective or a numerical adverb which is formed by the abstract affirmative -ūt- in this case meaning "second," i.e., "face of a second (person)" (cf. GAG 71 b). In its plural adjectival form it is clearly used in EA 108.51,52 ana mini tešmūna awīlū šanūtu "How did other people hear (the message)?" Our idiom, however, appears three times in the Amarna corpus, in 244.38-41 where Biridiya of Megiddo complains šummame iyānu
panîma ġanûtu ina Lab'aya... "Verily, there is no other purpose in Lab'aya. He seeks to destroy Megiddo," and in 250.57 in a letter from Ba'lu-UR.SAG from the northern coastal plain of Palestine sometime after the death of Lab'aya, where he states, "Behold, Milkilu seeks to destroy the land of the king, my lord." u iyânûm penûtu ġanûtu ana yâši "But there is no other intention with me--I serve the king, my lord..." We note here in passing that Ebeling writes ša-nu-tam in contrast to Knudtzon whom we follow (p. 1514), although clearly it is written ša-nu-tu in 108.52.

Line 31. ištêmû lcs showing preformative "aleph" by the zero element for Canaanite *yištêmû (cf. line 30 yiqtabû) which is the normal t-form from Qal Itpe'al stem with Indicative -u ending. The concept here is best expressed by the Old English "to hearken," i.e., "to hear and obey." This same expression is used in Mut-ba'lu's letter 256.32-35 "Before your arriving with your caravan, behold he will have reached Pella, ū (y)ištêm'ûna awâteka and he will hearken to your words."178

Line 32. Knudtzon italicizes the last syllable -[m]e whereas on the basis of Schroeder's autograph it is quite clearly the syllable -me enclitic.

Line 34. râbisû a participle from rabasû "to lie
down, rest," sometimes in the participial form having the meaning of "footstool" or "one who issues a summons, an inspector or commissioner." In Akkadian when rābisu is applied to a god, it refers to his power to superintend evil or good (lemutti or dumqi). When applied to a man, the Akkadian term designates an official of low rank, such as possibly a tax official. In the Amarna corpus we have sufficient evidence to show that this was an individual who served the Egyptian king as an official of low rank in the various Canaanite cities. Suffice it here to point out the examples in Amarna where a gloss is used to describe the official:

(1) EA 321.15 LU. MASKIM (rābiš) // rā-bi-is ša šarri
   "The officer // commissioner of the king."

(2) EA 116.75 MASKIM (rābis) URU (al) Kumidi
   "the commissioner of the town of Kumidu"

(3) EA 131.21 ḫaššum lu. MES. MASKIM (rābiši)
   // mā-lik MES šarri inuma dīki 1Biwari LU mā-lik šarri
   " ... the commissioner // the counsellor of the king.
   Now Biwari, the king's counsellor, is dead."

(4) EA 256.7-10 "How can the prince of Fella flee from the face of lu. MES rā-bi-ši // sū-ki-ni LUGALrī (šarri)
   bēlušu the commissioner // the governor of the king, his lord?"

From the first example it is clear that rābisu is an
officer responsible to the king of Egypt who has commissioned him. From Example 2 we may deduce the fact that this Egyptian official may be responsible for a small town in a given region. The gloss mā-lik in the third example may well describe something of his function as a commissioner, being a counsellor or adviser to the king regarding a local area. The last example gives us a gloss using the Canaanite word sūkinu appearing in its cognate forms as follows: Hebr./Phon. sōkhen,¹⁸⁰ Ugar. skn,¹⁸¹ Aram. seghan,¹⁸² and actually appearing in Akk. as šaknu,¹⁸³ but note the Arab. isogloss wakīl.

In Amarna there is a verbal form developed from the noun, namely, *sakānu meaning "provide" or "take care of." It is found only in the Abdi-Heba corpus in the oft-repeated expression u liskin šarru ana mātišu "and let the king take care of his land."¹⁸⁴

The Hebr. part. rōbes is used of "that which is in re-pose, which is stretched out," as in the case of animals, etc. However, Professor Held offers an intriguing interpretation to Gen. 4:7 where the verse begins, "If you do good, very well; but if you do evil, lappētaḥ ḥaṭṭaʾt rōbes there is a rōbes at the door of sin." Held, then, understands this to mean: (1) "watchman, policeman, guard" or (2) "demon."

The idea suggested then is that guilt is like a watchman
guarding the door of sin. We might add that this is an excellent word picture of the theological concept of guilt.

**EA 254 -- VAT 335; WA 112; W 163; Schr 145**

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na LUGAL₇ (śarri) EN-ya (bēliya) ʿ₂ dUTU-ya (dŠamšiya)
2. um-ма La-ab-ʾa₄-ya IR-ka (waradka)
3. ʿa ep-ru ša ka-bā-šī-ka
4. a-na GIR,MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL₇ (śarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
5. ʿ₂ dUTU-ya (dŠamšiya) IMINšu IMINTa-a-an (šibitsu šibitan)
6. am-qut iš-te-me a-wā-te MEŠ
7. ʿa LUGAL₄ (šarru) iš-tap-ra-an-ni
8. ʿa mi-yā-ti a-nā-ku ʿa
9. yi-ih-li-qū LUGAL₄ (šarru) KUR kiššu (mātišu)
10. UGU-ya (muhhiya) a-mur a-nā-ku IR (warad) ki-(t)ti
11. LUGAL₇ (šarri) ʿa la-ā ar-nā-ku
12. ʿa la-ā ha-tā-ku ʿa
13. la-ā a-kal-li GUNHI.A-ya (bilātiya)
14. ʿa la-ā a-kal-li
15. e-ri-iš-te ḿrā-bi-ši-ya
16. a-nu-(m)ma yi-(k)ka-lū ka-ar-ši-ya
17. ha-bā-lū-ma ʿa la-ā
18. yu-sa-an-ni-qū LUGAL₄ (šarru) EN-ya (bēliya)
19. ar-nī-ya ša-nī-tam
20. e-ba-āš-ši ar-nī-ya
21. i-nū-ma ir-ru-bā-ti
22. a-na URU (āl)Gaz-ri
23. ū aq-ta-bū
24. pu-uh-ri-iš-mi
25. yi-il-te-qū LUGALru (šarru)
26. mim-mī-ya ū mim-me
27. 1Mil-ki-lim a-(y)ya-ka-am
28. ē-di ep-šē-et-šu ša
29. 1Mil-ki-li UGU (muhhi)-ya
30. ša-nī-tam
31. a-na 1DUMMU-ya (māriya) ša-pār LUGALru (šarru)
32. ū-ul ē-di i-nū-ma
33. 1DUMMU-ya (māruya) it-ti
34. LūSA.GAZ (Habiri)
35. it-ta-na-(l)la-ku
36. ū al-lū-ū na-ad-nā-te-šu
37. i-na ŠU (qāt) 1Ad-da-[y]a
38. ša-nī-tam kī-a(sic!) šum-m[a]
39. a-na DAM-ya (aššatiya) ša-pār LUGALrum (šarrum)
40. kī-e a-kal-lū-ši kī-e
41. šum-ma a-na yā-ši
42. ša-pār LUGALru (šarru)
43. šu-ku-un GĪR (paṭar) ZABAR (siparr)
44. i-na šAG₄ᵇⁱ-ka (libbika) û
45. UŠ (mīt) kī-e lē-a
46. ep-pu-šu ši-pi-ir-ti LUGALʳ¹ (šarri)

B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord and my Sun-god:
2. "Thus (says) Lab'aya, your servant,
3. and the dust on which you tread:
4. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord
5. and my Sun-god, seven times sevenfold,
6. I have fallen. I have heard the words
7. which the king wrote to me,
8. and who am I that
9. the king should lose his land
10. because of me? Behold, I am a faithful servant
11. of the king, and I have not committed crime
12. nor am I an offender, nor
13. do I withhold my tribute
14. nor do I refuse
15. the request of my rābigu (commissioner).
16. Now, they slander me
17. severely, but
18. the king, my lord, does not investigate
19. my offence. Furthermore,
20. my crime is
21. that I entered by force (i.e., I invaded)
22. the city of Gezer
23. and I said
24. publicly;
25. "Shall the king take
26. my property, but the property of
27. Milk-ili, where is it?"
28. I am aware of the (evil) deeds of
29. Milk-ili against me.
30. Furthermore,
31. the king wrote concerning my son.
32. I did not know that
33. my son
34. has associated (himself) frequently
35. with the Habiru.
36. Indeed, have I not given him over
37. into the hand of Addaya?
38. Furthermore, even if
39. the king should write for my wife
40. how could I withhold her? Even if
41. the king should write to me;
42. "Thrust a bronze dagger
43. into your heart and
45. die!" How could I not
46. execute the command of the king?"

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

We agree with Albright that "in this letter Lab'aya protests his innocence of all charges against him and assures the king (Amenhotep III) that he is more loyal than the neighbors who complain against him." From lines 25 and following we presume that Milkilu, prince of Gezer, had accused Lab'aya of disloyalty to the Pharaoh. But from other passages it seems that both Milkilu and Lab'aya were involved with the Habiru.

In my transliteration I differ very little with Knudtzon. In line 26 Knudtzon apparently reads the mim sign as a logogram with a mi determinative. I don't see that this is required by the text. In line 28 Knudtzon fails to read the last two signs -šu ša. Schroeder's copy clearly has these two signs. A possible explanation would be an error of homoeoteleuton where Knudtzon inadvertently skipped from the last syllable of line 27, confusing that with the -et sign of line 28 (which is very similar) and continuing with line 29. It is interesting to see that Mercer does not follow him in this mistake. Finally, in lines 31 and 33 I follow Albright's view regarding the logogram DUMU that,
contrary to Knudtzon's thesis that this is a personal name, Albright considers it a logogram to be translated "son."

Finally, in line 38 following šanītam there is no question that the scribe has written ki-a! rather than ki-e. This no doubt is an accidental omission of two horizontal wedges distinguishing the e from the a. It is possible that this is Schroeder's error of transcription rather than of the scribe. Line 40 makes it very clear that the scribe knew what he was writing, for there he uses the word twice.

Line 8. mīyāti anāku This clearly is a Stative form typical of the Canaanism of the Amarna corpus. Here we have a mixture of the Canaanite mī(y), the interrogative pronoun "who?" plus the Stative ending or perhaps the Hebrew Perfect ending -āṭi. The word anāku is not necessary but redundant, although it may be used to give emphasis. This is very similar to the cognate expressions in Ugar. miy and the Hebr. idiom mī anākī *who am I*? literally meaning, *what value do I have?*186 The normal Akkadian interrogative personal pronoun is mannu(m) "who?" whereas minu(m) or minu means "which, what?" Somehow Hebrew and Ugaritic have rejected the n.187 In any case there are at least fifteen instances in the Amarna corpus of the use of mīyāmī and three other instances of our expression mīyāti anāku as in EA 220.11,12 mīyāti anāku u lā ištimu and rābis šarrī bēlī *who am I
that I should not listen to the commissioner of the king, my lord?" 188

Line 9. yihliqu. Actually one expects "yahliqu since this is a Canaanism from the Akk. halāqu "to lose, to disappear, to vanish, to become missing or lost, to perish," etc. It is specifically used in Akkadian of losing property or goods, as in CH 126:12 šumma... mimmūa halīq iqtabi "if he says: 'My property is missing'" but never used of losing a country. However, in peripheral Akkadian where there is a strong West Semitic influence, we do find this expression, as in Mari ālānu annūtum ul ihliqu "these towns were not lost" (ARM I.1.7). From Abdi-Heba's letter 288.52 and 53 ina šatti annīti halqat // abadat -- gabbī mātāti šarri bēliya "in this year, all the lands of the king, my lord, will be lost." It is clear that the scribe is using halāqu in Akkadian for Canaanite 'ābad which is here used as a gloss meaning "to perish, die; vanish; be lost" (cf. Dt. 22:3).

Line 13. akalli bilātiva "(nor do) I withhold my tribute." Akk. kalū (a,a) is a transitive verb meaning (1) "to prevent, hinder," (2) "to lock up, confine." Two excellent examples may be given for the second definition: the first, šeressu našū kalū kišukkīš "his wrath they bore;
they were retained in prison" (En. el IV.114); second, da'anan salpa mêsira tukallam "the wicked judge you lock up in prison" (Schollm. No. 16. III, line 49, Hymn to Šamaš). However, this very same tablet, line 40, gives an excellent example of our first definition: "Furthermore, even if the king should write for my wife kī akallūṣī how could I withhold her?" It has the same meaning as Hebr. kālā' "to shut up, to restrain, to withhold," often used in the Scriptures as withholding rain from heaven, etc. It is used by the Canaanites when Abraham seeks to purchase a burial site for Sarah, in Gen. 23:6 "Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead ' Ḥš mimmemnū 'eth qibrō lō' yiklēh (for yikla') mimēka none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead" (cf. Aram. kēlā'). The Akkadian word for "tribute" is biltu from (w)abālu "to carry." This is clearly a nominal form with feminine "t." The morphology is normal, the construct being formed by the anaptyctic vowel "a" inserted before the feminine "t." As to the semantics, the literal idea is "that which is carried or borne," therefore, "burden or load, tax or tribute or duty, produce or yield." A good example of withholding tribute is found in AKA 37 i 90 ša biltu u maddatta ana Aššur bēliya īklū "who held back the tribute
and gifts due my lord Assur." Here we have biltu mentioned with ma(n)dattu, which is parallel to the Biblical expression umiddah bēlō in Ezra 4:20 where undoubtedly we have the Aramaic influence. However, the semantic equivalent in Hebrew to biltu (from (w)abālu) is Hebr. massā' (from nāśā') meaning "load, burden, lifting, bearing, tribute" from the word meaning "to lift, carry or take." Specifically, it is used in II Chronicles 17:11 where the expression kōsēph massā' "silver as tribute" or "tribute silver" is used of the tribute brought by the Philistines to Jehoshaphat. Another good example comes from Taanach where we find u uššerammi sise biltaka u tāmarātī. "and send me the horses as thy tribute and special gifts (for me)."  

Line 15. erīštu standing for Canaanite ārerēšēth (n.f.) meaning "desire, request" found in Hebrew only in Psalm 21:3 "Thou hast given him his heart's desire waʻārerēšēth šēphāthāv and the request of his lips thou hast not withheld" (cf. Psalm 61:6). The Akkadian word is derived from erēšu "to request, ask" and its cognate in Hebr. ārash and Ugar. 'rs.  

The Amarna corpus is filled with examples, as rābis šarri arasū bīssunu "the royal commissioner desires their house." A classic example of this word erištu is found in the Descent of Ištar into the netherworld teterēnni erištu(m) (ša) lā ereši "you have
made a request of me that must not be made" (CT 15.47 r.22).

Line 16. For the idiom karsī akālum, see 252, line 14.

Line 17. habālūma, an infinitive used as a noun meaning "violence, brutality, oppression" from the verb habālu 1) "to oppress, wrong (a person), to ravage, to take away, to undo," 2) hubbulu "to damage, to destroy" (LB only), to do wrong (to a person)," etc., etc. There is a noun habālu meaning "lawlessness, oppression, violence," according to CAD. The expression mūt habālim "(he shall die) a violent death" (KAR 395 I.9), as well as Rib Addi's comment (EA 82.33) gabbu habāliya elīka "all (this) violence (directed against) me is your fault," shows the use of the infinitive as a noun. An example from Mari shows the use of the verb with the meaning "to do injustice": mimma awīlū ūnu ul hablu "no injustice has been done to these men" (ARM 2.60:10). One further significant example may be given from EA 151.64 ātamur habāli Zimrida "I witnessed (with my eyes) the brutality of Zimrēda." 192

Line 18. yusanniqu, a D-Present < sanāqu (1,1) 1) "to draw near" (which is equivalent to tehū and garabu) 2) "to tie (up a ship)," sumnuqu "to examine, investigate, to watch closely." The Hebrew cognate is shā'al meaning
(Qal) "to ask, inquire," but in the Piel "to inquire carefully."¹⁹³ Professor Held¹⁹⁴ agrees with von Soden (ZA 49) by giving numerous passages attesting to both G and D having the meaning of "to examine, investigate." The following examples will suffice: 1) ṷ-p-sarru mārāšu isanniq "the scribe is going to examine his student" (KAR III.1).
2) aššatam šudbubu // aššatam surnuq // aššatam ša edulla TU- ma mimma mala tašallušu iqabbakka "to get a woman to talk // to press a woman (with questions) // a woman who .... and she will tell whatever you ask her" (BRM 4.20:60).
3) ina mātika humusāku, sunniqšunūma! kaspa ša itbalū šullimšu "in your country I have been robbed, investigate them! so that the money they have snatched away may be returned" (EA 8.26-27). 4) Finally, alapsu lā usanniq "(the owner of the ox) did not keep an eye on his ox."¹⁹⁵

Line 24. puhrišmi "publicly," i.e., lit. "in the assembly" with the adverbial -iš ending. The -mi particle is the quotation mark which appears here before the part being quoted rather than as usually within the sentence itself. Knudtzon wrongly translates puhrišmi as being within the quotation. It has been pointed out that the meaning of this word was completely misunderstood by former translators, but in connection with the letter from Lachish Pa'apu says, lū tidi inūma tušatuna Ṣipti-Ba'lu u Zīmrēda puhriš
"you should know that Shipti-Ba'lu and Zimreda speak disloyally in public."  

Line 27. **ayyakam** "where," the Assyrian adverb replacing Babylonian **ali**. The Hebrew cognate is 'ayyeh. This word is found sometimes in Amarna, as **ū yānu mū, yānu isū ana yāšinu ā yānu a(y)akami niškan Lū,mita** "and we have no water, nor wood, nor a place where to lay the dead" (EA 149. 51). However, more commonly the word **ayyāmi** is used in Amarna, as **ayyāmi telgu awilūta ana ašabi ana ālī?** "Where will you get people to live in the city?"  

Line 28. **ēpētsu** "his deeds." This expression has the same connotation as Hebr. ma'āšēh, implying "evil deeds." As mentioned above, Knudtzon did not read the last two syllables -su sa. It is indeed surprising that Mercer does insert them. Normally Akkadian would expect *ēpēssu* for **ēpētsu**. However, this is a peculiarity of the Amarna corpus, even as we have transliterated **IMIN** in **sibitsu** rather than with *sibissu* or *šeessu*.  

Line 30. **šanītam** introduces a new paragraph (11. 30-37) regarding his sons who reportedly had joined the mercenary Habirus. Perhaps the general accusation of desertion by **Bōlet-Nēṣi** ("Lady of the Lions") to the king (EA 273 and 274) might include Lab'aya's sons, though they are not named,
although she mentions that two sons of Milkili were nearly killed. From Shuwardata's letter\(^{198}\) and Abdi-Heba's letter (EA 286) one might surmise that the latter two, Shuwardata and Abdi-Heba, were fighting against the Habiru, who had possibly been joined by Milkilu and Lab'aya, and perhaps their sons as well.\(^{199}\)

Line 31. ṣapar This is a clear Canaanite Perfect used in place of the Akkadian Preterite ḫṣpur. Here it is a conflate reading of the Canaanite vowel of the Perfect, influencing the change of the Akkadian Stative ṣapir, which here as elsewhere is used for the Preterite (see sub 252.5).

The logogram DUMU-ya I read with Albright, who takes this as the logogram for "son." Mercer has followed Knudtzon in taking this as a personal noun (cf. also CAD i. 25) which would then account for the DIS determinative as well as for the final mu determinative which usually shows how the logogram is to be pronounced.

Line 35. ittana(l)laku "he has associated himself frequently." The -tan-form has the frequentative force which I seek to bring out in the translation. The final -u arises because it is Subjunctive, being governed by inūma, or it may reflect an old Canaanite ending. With this word, compare Hebr. hithhalak-'eth.
Line 36. allū an interrogative particle "is it not? is it not that?" However, in EA 256.15-18 allū

Ben-ilīma šāl! allū Taduwa šāl! allū Yašuya šāl! "indeed, ask Ben-ilīma! indeed, interrogate Taduwa! indeed, ask Yašuya!" It seems to have the force of an asseverative particle "indeed, behold." Therefore, an equally good translation here could be, "Indeed, I have given him over into the hand of Addaya!" There is no question about the cognates which are as follows: Hebr. hālō', 200 Aram. ʾalū or ʾarū, and Ugar. hl.

The idiomatic expression nadānu ina qāti has the meaning "to hand over, deliver to, surrender to, release in custody of." Perhaps a better translation would be: "Indeed, have I not handed him over to Addaya?" The Akk. word qātu "hand" is the figurative hand in contrast to rettum, "the physical hand." This is clearly discerned from Ugaritic where rht is used poetically for ṣd. Akkadian is the only Semitic language which does not have ṣd for "hand." This is abundantly clear from CH 35 where our idiom nadānu ina qāti is used as follows: šumma awilum sugullāti u šēnī ša šarrum ana rēdim iddīnu ina qāti rēdim ʾištām ina kaspīšu ḫellī "if a man from a soldier has bought herds and flocks which the king gave (lit., gave into the two hands) over to the soldier, he shall forfeit his money."
Line 38. *kı šumma* certainly is equivalent to Hebr. *ki 'im* "sure if, even if," as in Deut. 11:22 and Ex. 8:17. See discussion sub 252.8.

Line 39. For discussion of *šaparu* "to send, dispatch," or "to write," see under 252.5. Cf. also notes under line 31.

*aššatiya* "my wife." This section immediately brings to mind EA 270.17-21 where Milkilu accuses Yanhamu of extortion *u yiqbu ana yâši idnani aššataka ð māreka ð lû ima(h)hasa* "and he said to me: 'Give me your wife and your sons, or I will strike (you)!" From the letter of the Pharaoh to Milkilu of Gezer,201 it is clear that the Pharaoh is sending "to procure fine concubines," and Albright adds in parentheses, "i.e., weaving women," which sounds very much like a euphemism, for in line 15 the Pharaoh continues: "So send very fine concubines in whom there is no blemish." Albright adds a very interesting footnote concerning the light that this letter throws on "the role of the Canaanite princes in organizing royal commerce in Asia: Egyptian products and manufactured articles are to be exchanged for the best quality of slave girls" (ANET 487, n. 14). We might add: Was this merely the concept of slave girls, or was there also the concept of a harem for the Pharaoh? The
semantic distribution for the word "wife" in the Semitic languages would be as follows: Akk. ăššatum, Hebr. 'iššah, Phon. 'št, Ugar. 'att, and Arab. forming an isogloss zawjatuñ. However, cf. Arab. 'unthay meaning "feminine."
The root word or the proto-Semitic, therefore, would be 'nt.

Line 40. For discussion of akallūši from kalū (a,a), see line 13 in the discussion of akalli bilātiya.

Line 43. patru "dagger, knife." The logogram here is clearly GīR. Albright gives us an interesting example:
idnanimi 6(? ) GĪŠ.BAN à 3 GĪR.TUR à 3 namsarūta "give me six bows and three daggers and three swords."202 He then points out that GĪR.TUR means literally "small dagger," i.e., "dagger," in opposition to GĪR.GAL "sword."203 The Hebrew semantic cognate is hereb "dagger, sword, knife." It is used in Deut. 32:41 of "glittering sword," in Josh. 5:2 of "sharp knives," and then in Judg. 3:16,21,22 of Ehud's "dagger." (Cf. also Judg. 9:54; 1 Sam. 31:4.)

The word ZABAR, Akk. siparru "bronze." This is semantically equivalent to Hebr. naḥūš and its derivations as well as to Aram. nēnāš often translated "brass." An illuminating example of this expression is found in Rib-Addi's letter EA 82.37-39 u iqbi ana awīli u izziz paṭar siparrī muhhiya u ammahhasni tīšītan "then he (Abdi-Ashirta) com-
manded a man, and he drew a bronze dagger against me, and I was stabbed nine times."

Line 46. The expression *epēšu šipirti* means "to execute an order, specifically a written command." Note that Knudtzon and Mercer read *ši-bi-ir-ti*. This is obvious from the fact that *šipirtu* comes from the verb *šūaru*. Perhaps a more colloquial English translation would be: "How could I refuse to execute the command of the king?" The verb *epēšu* "1) to act 2) to build, construct" often is used as an auxiliary verb in various idiomatic expressions. See discussion on *šaprāta* sub 252.5.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 CAL, p. 114.

2 Ibid., p. 97.

3 Amenophis III ruled for 38 years, 1406-1368 B.C. The eminent Egyptologist J. A. Wilson gives 1398-1361 B.C. which would include an eight-year coregency (ANET, second edition).


7 Ibid., p. 80, sect. 63c.

8 Ibid., pp. 40-44.

9 Benno Landsberger, "Der 'Ventive' des Akkadischen," ZA, XXXV (1923), pp. 113-123. See also von Soden, op. cit., p. 107, sect. 82.


12 In 253, the particular portion is erased.

13 Letters written after Lab'aya's death portray Lab'aya as an enemy of Pharaoh, EA 250.5,9-14,39-42, and EA 280.30-35.

14 VAB, 2, pp. 1457-58.


16 Unless his translation in ANET, p. 486, reflects a change in his views from BASOR, 89, p. 16, note 51a.
17 In class discussion, Youngblood questioned the reading of the PI sign as ya although it certainly has the reading \textit{yu}.

18 EA 32.1,4,10.

19 Cf. Ps. 57:5 "My soul is among lions (1b'm)."

20 Cf. I*AB.I,14; and PN 'bd-lbit discussed in BASOR 134.

21 See Albright, JBL, 1935, pp. 186 f.

22 Otto Weber in EA, p. 1312, correctly analyzes the situation when he says: "Labaja ist in allem der Abdi-Asirta oder Aziru des Südens, wie Aziru wird er als ,,Frevler des Königs" bezeichnet (250,5)."

23 Cf. EA 287.29-31 where Milkilu is associated shortly after the death of Lab'aya with his two sons who continue the policy of their father in plundering and ravaging the land of the king.

24 EA 280.31-33.

25 Cf. lines 9-12, and the now famous Canaanite proverb in lines 16-19.

26 ANET, p. 486, n. 9.

27 Moshe Greenberg, The Hab/piro, AOS, 39, p. 45, n. 15.


29 BASOR 89, p. 30, n. 12.

30 Knudtzon, Mercer, and Albright all read arduka.

31 VonSoden, GAG 64.f (p. 83) and Paradigm 3.a. (p.5*).

32 Cf. BDB, p. 712.

33 CAD. a. 51.

34 VAB 2. 1378 f.

36 One should note here the root to be qll or qwl not gyl.

37 kr: "to kneel, bow down" or hbr "to fall down, bow down, do homage."

38 CML, pp. 96 f. This same expression appears in full but with different subject and object of homage in II AB vii 26-29, also in V AB F 18-20 and V AB C 6,7.


40 Cf. the Christian theological expression "to fall at the foot of the Cross," meaning "full surrender and utter subjection to the sovereign Christ." Rev. 5:8,14; 1:17; 19:10.

41 Cf. I*AB vi 8 f. l b'1 npl lars "Verily, Baal fell to the ground" and III *AB.B 7 mt tpln.

42 Also 4 other times: ll. 3; 9 f.; 23 f.; 37 f.

43 See below.

44 Cf. cit., p. 807, note c.

45 The other extant letters of Lab'aya (EA 253,254) both show clearly the use of LUGAL in the same phrase.

46 CAD I/J. 159. The secondary meaning is found mainly in peripheral Akkadian.

47 Cf. also kīma.


51 Sydney Smith, Idri-mi 25.
See similar case in EA 254.31 and 39.

satāru (a,u) "to write (a document)" is much older, appearing in OAKk. (see GOA, p. 291), and exclusively in Babylonian laws (see Driver and Miles, The Babylonian Laws, II, p. 403) whereas ṣāpārum has the concept "to send a message, to write" in OAKk., with the participial form ṣāpīrum meaning "commander" and the nominal form ṣiprum meaning "message, command, messenger" (see GOA, p. 281), whereas ṣiprum the only form attested in the Babylonian Laws has the meaning of "work," (op. cit., p. 406).

Cf. ṃqmd mlk uṯr ṣpr ṹniqmad, King of Ugarit, has written the letter," (in Virolleaud, CRAIBL, 1952, 231, n. 2, quoted in Gordon UM, p. 281) and ṣpr ṣmlk ṣbnv "the scribe is Elmelek, the elder (?)" (I AB vi 16). Also ṣpr has the meaning of "number" (I K II.37) related to the verb "to count."

Cf. Ezra 4:8 "And Shimshai, saphra' kethabhu ṹigge'rah the scribe, wrote a letter against Jerusalem . . . . ."

Cf. Jer. 36:18. Certainly one who was able to read and write, a "man of learning" as would be expected. Cf. I Chron. 27:32.

See EA 286.61; all occurrences in Amarna are found in the Abdi-heba corpus.

Cf. EA 288.34 qāṭ // zuruh ṣarri ṣannatu "the arm of the mighty/powerful king . . . ." and EA 318.6.9 ṣezibanni ṹisti nakṛūti ṣan(n)/ǔti "Rescue me from strong/powerful enemies."

EA 299.17-19 Letter of Yapahu of Gezer.

EA 145.14 Letter of Zimreda of Lachish.

See Goetze JAOS 62, 5.


Cf. EA 253.23; 254.24.

Cf. enclitic me in line 2 above.

"Adapa and The South Wind Legend."
66 Cf. EA 12.5; 20.76; 21.30; 29.31; 356.57, and possibly 289.26.

67 So Knudtzon, Ebeling, and Mercer who often blindly follows the former.

68 CAD lists 13 different meanings in 35 pages.

69 BDB p. 543, where 10 meanings are used, and the 8th is apropos here.

70 Cf. I Sam. 7:14, II Sam. 8:1, esp. Josh. 11:19 where the cities were taken by battle.

71 Theo Bauer, op. cit. 3.16 where these first 3 are listed.

72 Albright, BASOR 89. p. 11, n. 19.

73 Bauer, op. cit. 1. 75; BWL p. 46.

74 Bloch Orientalia, 1940, p. 345, quoted by Albright, BASOR 89, p. 11.

75 BDB p. 474.

76 LXX renders it as a quotation, without using "Sr, "because, that, since."

77 KJV, ASV, RSV, and other translations use "for He has triumphed gloriously."

78 X-um ik-ki-lum e-sir Nabnitu F a 15-16;
   pa-ag HU = e-se-rum ša MUŠEN Antagal B 220;
   pa-ag HU = e-se-ru S̄a Voc. D 3, also Ea II 284;
   pa-ag HU = e-ze-ru S̄a Voc. D 6;
   [...] a.x = MUŠEN e-sîr Nabnitu F a 14;
   i-zi-ir-ma YOS 10 18:67 (OB ext);
   i-is-zi-ir HSS.9 24:9 (Nuzi); ša ... ahēja wz-zi-ru (variant ū-sî-î Lu) RA 26 41:2, var. from KAR 80 r. 28.

79 BASOR 89. p. 30, n. 8. All of the II. forms listed in VAB 2, 1484, should be re-examined.

80 Cf. von Soden, AHw, p. 92.
CAD. h. 166 attests only these two examples.

See note 78 above.

OIP 2 33 iii 29.

En. el. IV 110 f.

En. el. I 70.

YOS 10 54 p. 30.

AFO X 144. Cf. Ludlul 54 and Šamas 49.

YOS 10 18:67 (OB ext.).

YOS 10 24:29 (OB ext.).

CT 20 26:16 (SB ext.).

RA 26 41:2 (SB inc.), var. from KAR 80 p. 28 from ussulu "to lame, paralyze, immobilize."

TCL 9 83:22.


Cf. Hebr. khûl. See also use in En. el. I. 72, IV 61,72, and Descent of Istar, line 27.

See von Soden, GAG. 104 m,n; 105 l.

Ibid., 77 d.

Cf. line 28 below.

Gordon UM, p. 304.

Cf. further Psa. 37:24 and correct the usage in Jer. 14:12, Micah 7:8, Prov. 6:3-5, etc., where kî is translated by the adverb of time "when."

Both combine the kî with etme to make one word, but Knudtzon translates tentatively with italics.

Parallel to nîs ilî "oath of/by the gods." Cf. Desc. Ištar, 97, and CAD i/j, p. 94.

As Albright BASOR 89, p. 30, n. 10.
From MA in KAV 6:6.

MDP 24 337:12 from Elam.

Desc. Ištar. 97.

Cf. Aram. yēma and mômêtha.

BASOR 82, p. 45, lines 21, 22.

Cf. CH. 2 šumma awīlam šāṭī nārum utebbibaššuma ıštalmam ...
"if, as for that man, the river proves him clean/pure and he saves himself . . ." and CH.149 šeriktaša ša ıštu bīt abīša ūblam uša(l)amšimma ittallak " . . . he shall restore to her her dowry which she brought from her father's house, so she may go away." Furthermore, ittiki minummê šulmānu "how are you?" is used in MRS 6 13 RS 16. 111:8. Clearly cognate with Hebr. shalām "hello, greetings," etc.

VAB 2, 1499, 1501 "bundesgenossenschaft" for EA 11 rev. 22, 29.60, and 42.19.

The relation of the name alû-ru-sa-lim to this word will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III on Addi-Heba's correspondence where this name appears exclusively in the Amarna letters.

It is used twice in En. el. IV: (1) line 69 û ilû rēṣīšu ălikū idīšu "Moreover, as for the gods, his helpers/allies, those marching beside him . . ." And (2) line 107 which is similar except for fem. pron. referring to Tiamat. Furthermore, (3) it appears in an Old Babylonian extispicy text: rēṣūa itti DINGIR-lim ana dākim tardu "my allies are driven off for a defeat with the consent of the god." (YOS 10 46 ii 42).

Cf. the old alphabetic Psalms, especially 119:161-168 where these two letters are used to represent the one character.
113 BDB 136 and 989 respectively.

114 Cf. 11. 29 f. where more detail is given. For discussion of the patron deity, see further JBL, 1935, pp. 189-191.

115 Moshe Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," JCS XV 1 (April, 1961), p. 12, after which several examples are given.

116 E.g., (1) Dan. 3:8 wa'akalu garsēhōn (2) Dan. 6:25 di'-akalu garsēhē.


118 BASOR 89, p. 30, n. 13.

119 As verb denominative Psa. 101:5 uses the Po'el (or possibly Pi'el) participle discussed in Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (2nd Ed.) Oxford, 1910, in sect. 90.3, and Prov. 30:10.

120 As in II D VI 50 tlšn.āght.ēzr "[Anat] accused the hero Aqhat."

121 Job 33:6 mehomēr qōrāṣtī "from clay I was nipped off."

122 II K V 29 nīm. rt. [usb'th].yqr. "he pinch off a good piece of clay [with his fingers]."

123 For further study of this phenomena see Frederick W. Geers, "The Treatment of Emphatics in Akkadian (JNES.IV, 1945, 65-67).


126 Albright is wrong in using zirbābu in BASOR 89, p. 31, n. 14. See further B. Landsberger Fauna [1934], p. 136.


BASOR 89, p. 31, n. 15, where he presents an array of authorities.

Cf. EMPL-t in EA 117.32; 132.50; 138.43.

Cf. also II.AB 4-5:77 tblk; I.AB.3:12 tmtrn//tlk.

Other Hophal or Pu'al forms may be found in Ugar. and Amarna: cf. SS.52 rmn lil ybl (yubalu); V.AB.E.11 ytn bt lb'l (yutan); EA 83.16 yu-ug-bg; EA 126.19 yu-ša-ru; EA 126.28 yu-da-nu; EA 137.96 yu-pa-šg; EA 138.74 yu-pa-su.


See Z. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language, pp. 40 f., where he says: "In the indicative, after forms ending in a long vowel, a final nun may be added. This form is particularly frequent in the language of Ras Shamra, and is common throughout Semitic, in Akkadian, in Aramaic and in Arabic. In Hebrew and in South Arabic the distinction in mood is not always observed, but the addition of the nun is quite frequent. Thus, in Phoenician: Jussive 'lykbd 'may they not honor,' but indicative ytlwn 'they would grovel' (both Zenjirli 9th century). Cf. also ys'n 'they shall bring' (Attica 1st century B.C.) After the loss of final short vowels Indicative and Jussive became for the most part, as in Hebrew, indistinguishable in form."

For discussion of the Ugaritic, see Gordon UM, p. 57, section 9.7.

Langdon reads istahat.

Cf. Šurpu VIII.89, Maqlu VII.81.

Ungnad also recognizes this, Grammatik des Akkadischen, p. 199. Furthermore, the same idea is expressed by hamasu as in Gilg.X.iv.10 and by the hendiadys mutassu tabalu in Desc. of Istar, l. 42, and Gilg. I.iv.12: See ANET p. 107, n. 14.

Cf. En. el. II.26, III.30,80 where lišťahhitam is used 3 times in the parallels.

GOA, p. 226.

Cf. VAB 4.220.1.36 akkud aplah.

Cf. EA 125.19-22.
109

Also in verses 25, 35, and 42. For further examples, cf. Gen. 6:12, Ex. 8:20, I Sam. 13:17, I Sam. 14:15, Prov. 18:9, Dt. 20:19,20, Mal. 3:11.

Cf. GPN, p. 43, on the phonetics of Iftaal.

Labat, L'Accadien de Boghaz-köi, p. 103, cited by Albright.

Cf. magātu in discussion on line 4.

Cf. Num. 16:31 tahṭēhem "under them." The sg. is -āmō (as in Ex. 15:5,7,9,10;12,17) and dual/pl. is -ēmō (as in Dt. 33:28,29).


See line 8 for philological analysis.

Von Soden speaks of the doubling of the final consonant in media-weak verbs (GAG 104, m,n) and in doubly-weak verbs (GAG 105, l). It may be that here we merely have a defectively written verb.

E.g., Num. 20:10, Judg. 13:4; 16:6,10,28; 18:5, Isa. 1:18; 5:3, and Amos 7:2,5, etc.

Cf. II Kings. 3:4 'eylīm gāmer "rams of wool" (where BDB notes that the construct is difficult), and Ugar. bn-m ūl "son of 'El." As Albright points out, it was H. L. Ginsberg that has pointed this out in Ugaritic and has shown a number of illustrations in Hebrew poetry. Cf. Gordon UM, p. 85, 11.7.

Albright, BASOR 89, 32, n. 27.


Cf. EA 254.3 where clearly it is ka-PA-ši-ka.

Wilson, "Culture of Ancient Egypt," p. 88.


Gordon UM, text 118:11 and 25.

Gordon, "Ugaritic Literature," pp. 120 f.
EA 16.14; 26.42; 19.16; 20.52; 29.146, 164; 27.106.

EA 100.36, cf. Winckler AF, 1, 291. One readily remembers God's judgment upon the Serpent in the Garden of Eden in Gen. 3:14, with which also cf. Descent of Ištar (CT 15.45:8) ašar SAHAR.HI.A (eperu) bēbūssunu "(in the netherworld) where their sustenance is dust (and clay their food)," and AfO 8:25, r. 1v. 14, a treaty of Aššur-nirari VI, SAHAR.MEŠ (eperū) ana akālišunu qīru ana pašēšunu šīnāt immeri aña šātišunu "dust should be their food, pitch their ointment, sheep's urine their drink."

Many other examples could be cited, as EA 185.4; 304.5; 61.2-4; 298.6, as well as 254.3.

Labat, Manuel, No. 212.

Cf. rāhišu "trampler" a study by B. Landsberger, ZA XLIII, 75, and JNES VIII.249.8 for rahasū "to trample underfoot, to lay waste."

Cf. Ex. 19:10,14; II Sam. 19:25; Lev. 6:20; 11:25, 28, etc., and in Lev. 14:8,9, etc., it is parallel to rahas "to wash a person." Cf. also Ps. 51:4,9.

GAG, 113g, 119h.

Dt. 2:10,12,20; Judg. 1:10,11,23, plus several other times, and once later in Isa. 41:26.

Schollm No. 28, p. 10.

Girdlestone, Synonymns of the Old Testament, p.83 f.


Further cf. EA 180.14; 149.19; 286.43; 295.r.9.

Cf. CAL, p. 134, and see Chapter III of this dissertation.

Albright in ANET, 486, n. 11.
Amarna Letters 292-295 and 297-300 respectively.

See GAG 121.b, 123.c.

For RS, see Syria 28 55:4.

Cf. CAD i, 144; GAG 80b, 119c, 121a.

Cf. Prov. 1:20, Judg. 5:26; and the energetic -na related to Hebr. cohortative -nā', and Ugar. energetic n.

Cf. Prov. 1:20, Judg. 5:26; and the energetic -na related to Hebr. cohortative -nā', and Ugar. energetic n.

For RS, see Syria 28 55:4.

Cf. Prov. 1:20, Judg. 5:26; and the energetic -na related to Hebr. cohortative -nā', and Ugar. energetic n.

E.g., (1) AOB l 26 r. vi 22 (Šamši Adad I) dSin il rīšiya lu rābiš lemuttišu ana dārētim "may Sin, the god (standing) at my head, forever summon him for an evil fate." (2) RA 33 52 iii 26 (Jahdunlim) "If somebody blots out my inscription ... dAnu u dEnlil lu rābiš lemuttisu ana dāriātim may Anu and Enlil be inspector of his evil forever." (3) AfO 12 365:37 (OB Malgium) lu rābiš lemuttišu sa lā nakārīm ana dāriātim.

In Isa. 22:15 the Qal Part. is translated "servitor, steward" derived from a verb meaning "be of use, service, benefit." However, in Hiram's (II) Inscription skn Qrt ḫdšt 'bd Hrm mlk Sdmn "caretaker of Carthage, servant of Hīram, king of Sidon."

Gordon cites dt.bd.skn "(fields) which (are assigned) through the headman" or "steward." UM 146.2.

In Biblical Aramaic it is translated "prefect/governor" in Dan. 2:48; 3:2,3,27; and 6:8.

Meaning "governor" and derived from šakānu "to set, place," cf. šak(k)anakku (Sumerian loan word) "minister, prefect, statthalter."

Cf. EA 285.26; 286.34,35,38; 287.13,17,40; 288.48 and 290.29.

ANET, p. 486, n. 10.
187 Cf. BDB sub mā(y), p. 566.
188 Cf. 197.5, 255.12,13, as well as 108.25,26, etc.
189 BASOR 94.23 in Taanach Letter No. 5:6-8.
190 Gordon UM, p. 243, sub 265, where he makes the same semantic equivalence.
191 EA 285.25 and cf. 82.17; 158.17 ff.; 289.27.
192 Cf. also ZA 40 256.8, ABL 571r8; CT 15 46r57; as well as EA 60.16.
193 Cf. Hebr. shōr shōrer.
194 JCS.XV, p. 17b.
196 See BASOR 87 pp. 33 f. on EA 333 from Tell-el-Hesi.
197 EA 138.41 f., cf. also 124.15-16, 131.43, etc.
198 RA xix, 106, in ANET, p. 487.
199 See Albright, ANET, p. 487, n. 15-17.
200 Cf. Job 21:29 ḫałō' shē'elthem and EA 114.51 f.
201 See RA xxxi (125-136) in ANET 487.
202 BASOR 87, quoting EA 333.12-14.
203 Ibid., n. 13. In his footnote there is an error of transcription GIR (sic!) for GIR. GIR is the logogram for šēpu "feet."
CHAPTER III

THE LETTERS OF MILKILU OF GEZER

There are five letters of Milkilu (267 to 271) which we will translate. There is a letter written to Milkilu by Amenophis III, since, as Dossin has rightly suggested, Akhenaten would not likely invoke Amün.¹ In his letters 270 and 271 he mentions Yanhamu as a contemporary who we know held a position at the end of Amenophis III's reign. Campbell's conclusions are that letter 271 is the earliest, presumably 1374 or 1373 B.C. Then c. 1370 or 1368 B.C. Milkilu must have written letters 267 through 270, therefore written at the very end of Amenophis III's reign.² Milkilu is then mentioned in EA 250 by Ba'lu-UR.SAG where he speaks of the rebellion of the two sons of Lab'aya, and then in lines 35 and following he speaks of Milkilu and Lab'aya as being dead. He is further mentioned in the Abdi-Heba letters 287, 289, and 290, and perhaps by transposition in letter 286 as "causing the loss of all the king's land." These letters of Abdi-Heba may be dated prior to 1365 B.C. and possibly not earlier than 1368 B.C., showing, therefore, that Milkilu was prince of Gezer for the first decade of the Amarna Period. He was then followed by Ba'lu-Shipti who wrote letters 292 through 295 from Gezer, apparently taking
over the government of the city-state following the death of Milkilu.

The name Milkilu is precisely comparable to Hebr. Malki-el "El is my King." This is the same name which appears in Gen. 46:17, I Chron. 7:31, and Num. 26:4. However, the name Ili-milku in 286.36 would be equivalent to the Hebr. Elimelech in Ruth 1:2, with the meaning "My El is King." Albright in his footnote, however, says that, "It is uncertain whether the Ili-milku of lines 35 ff. was an 'Apiru chieftain, was one of the sons of Lab'ayu, or was even Milkilu of Gezer (whose name might have been transposed accidentally by the scribe)." However, Campbell says, "This Ili-milki is doubtless Milkilu of Gezer: Abdu-Heba's scribe has straightened out the spelling of his name by the time he writes 289 and 290, although Milkilu still is cast in the role of villain." 

Milkilu is referred to by Ba'lu-UR.SAG in 249.8 and 9 as being related to Tagu, his father-in-law. They are mentioned together by Abdi-Heba in 289.12, as well as in 287.4, where they are excoriated for their aggression against Rubutu, an area which lay somewhere in the region southwest of Megiddo and Taanach. Apparently Tagu came from the northern coastal plain of Palestine. Apparently from the references to him in seven Amarna letters other than his own, he is to
be considered a scoundrel and a rebel against the Pharaoh. Of course, these wild charges he denies in his own letters, for he considers himself a most faithful servant of the Pharaoh. Undoubtedly, Pharaoh's letter to him, No. 369, reflects the court's attitude that as long as the prince of Gezer supplies him with the necessary goods the Pharaoh will not question the intrigues of this Milkilu renegade.

Milkilu is clearly identified in EA 369 as the prince of Gezer, having essentially the same position that Lab'aya had, presumably, in Shechem and that Abdi-Heba had as prince of Jerusalem. The Can. Gazri is to be identified with Hebr. Gezer, which was one of the most important city-states located in the northern part of the Shephalalah plain at the crossroads of the north and south. The two towns mentioned in 273, Ayalon and Zorah (Amarna A-ya-lu-na and Za-ār-ha), are both to be identified with the towns which existed within the boundaries of the tribe of Dan.6 These two towns undoubtedly were governed by Gazri, the capital city of the area. Gezer is mentioned several times in the Scriptures, and particularly it is mentioned in Josh. 10:33 and Judg. 1:29 as one of the cities that Joshua did not conquer. Furthermore, it is mentioned in the Israelite Stela of Mer-Ne-Ptah (c. 1250 B.C.).7
A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. [a]-na IUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. [DI]NGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (šamšiya)
3. qī-bī-ma
4. um-ma Mil-ki-li IR-ka-ma (waradkama)
5. ep-ri ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šēpēka)
6. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
7. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (šamšiya)
8. IMINšu IMINTá-a-an (šibitšu šibitan) am-qué-ut
9. a-wa-at ul-tē-bi-la
10. LUGAL (šarru) EN-ya (bēliya) DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya)
11. dUTU-ya (šamšiya) a[-n]a yā-ši
12. a-nu-um-ma i-šu-ši-ru-šu
13. a-na [LU]GAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
14. dUTU (šamaš) iš-tu anša-mē
15. û lu-ú yi-ĩ-di
16. LUGAL (šarru) EN-ya (bēliya) DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya)
17. dUTU-ya (šamšiya) i-nū-ma
18. ša-lím a-šar
19. LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya) ša
20. it-te-ya
B. Translation:

1. [To the king, my lord,
2. my deity, my Sun-god,
3. speak;
4. "Thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
5. the dust from (under) your two feet;
6. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
7. my deity, my Sun-god,
8. seven times sevenfold I fall.
9. As to the order which
10. the king, my lord, my deity,
11. my Sun-god, has brought to [m]e,
12. verily now, I shall prepare it
13. for the king, my lord,
14. the Sun-god from heaven.
15. And let
16. the king, my lord, my deity,
17. my Sun-god, know that
18. the place of
19. the king, my lord, which
20. is with me, is safe.'"

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

This letter is very simple. It is merely stating two
things: first, that the order which the king has placed is now being filled; and, second, that the royal city which is under Milkilu's command is safe. Undoubtedly the king had placed an order with Milkilu for slave-girls, concubines, etc. (cf. EA 369).

Line 2. The use of ilāniya "my deity" is not at all unusual, for it was first used by Naram-Sin, king of Agade or Akkad,⁹ in the Old Akkadian Period, and it is used many times in Amarna, presumably under the influence of Egyptian religious thought that the Pharaoh was God (see sub 253.2). The ideogram in this and following texts is DINGIR.MEŠ plus the lcs pronominal suffix. Although written plural, I cannot translate it as a plural as Knudtzon and Mercer. Even Albright translates it throughout as "my pantheon." I have rather tried to express the concept of the plural of "majesty," often attributed to gods, even as Hebr. elohīm. In EA 159.5 it is reproduced as DINGIR-ya as well as in EA 151.1, presumably having the same general meaning.

Line 9. ultēbila [for *uštēbila] a III/2 Pret. << (w)abālu (a,i). Our form here already shows the change that takes place and becomes common later on from OB št > it in Middle/Late Bab. and MAssyr. (see GAG 89a). For this phenomenon we can briefly compare the prepositions ištu / ultu "from" already appearing side by side in the Amarna
corpus. The final -a in our form reflects the unusual phenomena of Akkadian known as the Ventive. Von Soden says that, "with endingless verbal forms in the Indicative the Ventive ending is -am (later -a)" (GAG 82d). Originally the Ventive expressed only a motion towards "me," but very early it was used also for the corresponding motion towards others if these were viewed from the standpoint of their destination. In this case it has the force of changing the meaning, e.g., illék "he went," but illikam "he came." The word (w)abâlu means "to carry, to lead, to conduct, to guide," but with the Ventive (w)abâla(m) "to bring" (GAG 82a). Keeping this in mind the expression in line 11 ana yâši therefore is merely redundant, because the expression "to me" is already involved in the Ventive of our form. One further consideration is that our form is a t-form which in Akkadian has the force of emphasis, or of stating action just completed, or perhaps used as an assertive form, or as an expression of sequence either to introduce a new section, or if the new action is a result of the former. I understand our word to have the import of action just completed; therefore, I would translate it, "As to the order, or word, which the king . . . has caused to be brought to me," or more simply expressed as in my translation above. ¹⁰

Line 12. Instead of īṣuṣiruṣu we would naturally ex-
pect *ušesirušu which is from šūšuru "to prepare" which is one of the several meanings given to the III-form of ešēru "to straighten up, to go straight toward, to charge, to thrive, to prosper, etc." A good example from Amarna is anumma gabbī mīriste ša šarri ... ú-šē-eš-šē-er u ša ittāṣṣi ıštu pī šarri ... ú-šē-eš-šē-er "now I have prepared all the materials needed by the king, whatever has been ordered by the king, I have prepared" (EA 160.10-13). In another example the Canaanite Perfect ending is obvious: anumma šu-šē-irāti NINDA KAŠ ... ana pāni sābē šarri "I have now prepared food, beer (etc.) for the troops of the king."

The Hebrew semantic equivalent would be found in the word kūn used especially in the Hiphil. Hebr. [kūn] means "to be firm," and it is found only in the derived stems. The Hiphil apparently is more common where it means (1) "establish, set up" (2) "to fix, so as to be ready, make ready, prepare." In this last sense it refers to the preparation of a gift (Gen. 43:25), of a place (Exod. 23:20). It is used often of preparing food, as in Joshua 1:11. It is used of preparing a road, as in Deut. 19:3. It is used of preparing materials for the temple (I Chron. 22:3,14) and storerooms (II Chron. 31:11).

Line 14. The expression ıštu an samē is precisely equivalent to ıštu šame found so often through the Amarna
correspondence. It is a well-established fact that the Amarna scribes were not precise in the use of the sibilants, so that there is no reason why Ebeling should have entered a word samû "Himmel" and šamû I "Himmel,"¹³ i.e., "heaven," as two separate entries.

Line 18. šalim here is a very good Akkadian Static. It is to be associated with Can. šalmu "well-being, peace," which is equivalent to Akk. šulmu and Hebr. shalôm. The concept here is not one of peace and well-being as such, except as the semantic progression leads to the concept of "safety."¹⁴

EA 268 -- VAT 1532; WA 108; W 168; Schr 153

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. [a-na] LUG[AL] (šarri) [E]N-ya (bêliya) DING[IR.MEŠ-y]a (ilâniya)
2. [dUT]U-ya (datšâsiya) qî-bî-ma
3. [um]-ma ¹Mil-ki-li IR-ka (waradka)
4. [e]p-[r]i ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šêpêka)
5. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šêpê) LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bêliya)
6. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilâniya) dUTU-ya (datšâsiya)
7. IMINšu IMIN-tâ-a-an (šibitšu šibitan) am-qi-ut
8. yi-di L[UGAL (šarru) bê]-li i-nû-ma
9. šal-ma[ -at URU (āl)] LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
10. ša [ip-qī-id] i-n[a]
11. qā[-ti-ya iš-te-mi] a-w[a-]at
12. [LUGALr1 (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya) ša-nī-]tam
13. [. . . . . . . . t]i
14. (2 lines badly erased from use at the bottom of tablet from obverse to reverse)
15. [. . . . . . a-nu-(m)ma]
16. [uš-si-ir-t]i [i-na]
17. [qā-a]t 1 Ha-ya
18. LIMMU.AŠ (erbā šesšu) SALar-d[1 ...]
19. ā IA(hamšu) LŪ.MEŠ (awīlī) TUR.[MEŠ] (sihrūti)
20. ā IA(hamšu) LŪ.MEŠ a-šī-rū-ma
21. a-na LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)

B. Translation:

1. [To] the king, my [lo]rd, m[y de]ity,
2. my Su[n-god], speak:
3. ["Th]us (says) Milki, your servant,
4. the [du]st from (under) your two feet;
5. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
6. my deity, my Sun-god,
7. seven times sevenfold I fall.
8. The k[ing, my lo]rd, knows that
9. [the city of] the king, my lord,
10. which is under my [supervision] is safe.
11. [I have just now heard] the wo[rd]
12. [of the king, my lord. Furthe]rmore,
13. ......
14. ......
15. [... and now]
16. [I have sent a]way [by]
17. [the ha]nd of Hay[a]
18. Forty-six maid[ens]
19. and five young men
20. and five prisoners
21. to the king, my lord.''

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

In this letter Milkiliu again assures the king that the district of Gezer is safe, and he itemizes the "trade" which he is sending to the Pharaoh. The bottom of the tablet itself is badly erased, perhaps from the use that the tablet had, and from Schroeder's copy it seems as though there are two lines missing, and so I follow Schroeder's numbering of the last six lines in contrast to Knudtzon. Furthermore, I have made some suggested restorations which I shall justify as they come up in the commentary. Finally, I have tried to express in my transliteration the numbers as they probably were read by the Akkadian scribes of those
days. For the restoration of the first eight lines, there is no question whatever because of the stereotyped phrases that are involved.

Line 8. yidi I translate as a Present rather than as a Precative. The impression that I receive from this letter is that the author considers himself very much in control of the situation. He is full of pride and ambition, and here he merely whitewashes the conditions in the peripheral countries under the domination of the Pharaoh of Egypt. There is no lū Precative which would demand the Precative force of the verb.

Line 9. For the restoration practically the same sentence occurs in Shipti-Ba’lu’s letter 330.17-21 šanītam yidimi šarru bēliya inūma šul-ma-at URU₃₁ (āl) LUGAL₃₁ (šarri) ša ittiya "Furthermore, the king, my lord, knows that the city of the king which is in my care is safe."

Line 10. The restoration given follows Knudtzon and is based on 151.7 ēl šarrī ša ipqid ina qātiya "the city of the king which he has entrusted to my hand," and in a similar vein, ēlī ša ipqid rabū bēliya ina qātiya "cities which the chief, my lord, has entrusted into my hand" (EA 238.4 f.). Clearly the idea is that of having oversight or supervision of a city according to the meaning
of paqādu (1,1) "to supervise, oversee, inspect, be in charge of, or take care of." Two further examples of this idiom paqādu ina qāti are as follows: ana qāt(1) damqāti ša ilišu lippaqid "may he be entrusted into the good hand of his god" (Šurpu 5.170 f.); secondly, būl šēri nammaššē gātukka ipqid "animals of the plain always running about, he entrusted into your hands." There is one intriguing possibility, however, and that is to restore on the basis of EA 144.11,12 where we find the expression, šalmat āl Šiduna amti šarri bēliya ša 1(d)din ina qātiya "the city of Sidon is safe, the handmaid of the king, my lord, which he has given over into my hand." Essentially we have the same thought in our text, and perhaps to supply within the brackets [i-din] would be just as appropriate. The expression nadānu ina qāti is used quite frequently in the Amarna corpus. It is used of handing over a city into the hand of a regent (cf. EA 144.24,25). It is used of turning a prisoner over to responsible authorities (EA 191.20,21) as well as being used of handing over merchandise or trade to someone else (EA 288.18-21), often used in the Code of Hammurabi.

Line 11. One is tantalized to restore lines 11 and 12 as follows:

11. qa[ti-ya iš-te-mi] a-w[a]-at
12. [LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya) ša-nī]-tam
on the basis of EA 330.11-13 [i]štemi gabbi awat šarri'/
bēliya ṣanitam ... "I have well heard every word of the
king, my lord. Furthermore . . ."17

Line 16. I should like to restore lines 15 through
17 as follows:

15. [...] a-nu-(m)ma
16. [uš-ši-ir-t]i [i-na]
17. [qā-a]t 1Ha-y[ä ...]

translated," and, behold, I have sent by the hand of Haya."

Line 15 may be pure conjecture. However, it is based on
passages such as EA 187.22 where we find û a-nu-(m)ma uš-ši-
ir-ti clearly spelled out. Line 16, however, is more cer-
tain because of the oft-repeated expression ušširti ana
šarri bēliya "I have sent away to the king, my lord."18

Although I have not come across the expression ušširti ina
gāt in the Amarna collection, we have the most interesting
example of this expression from Taanach Letter No. 2, lines
11 and 12, tū išširašši ina gāt PN "send it to me by PN"
(BASOR 94.22). Our word has the Can. Ics Perfect ending
from (w)ašaru "to be humble, meek," but in the II-stem "to
leave, release, to set free," but in Amarna "to send away
(people or troops)." In this sense the Hebrew cognate seman-
tically would be shālah. The restoration of line 17 is
almost certain, since the syllabic markings according to
Schroeder are exactly the same as in the autographs of EA 289.30,31. It is significant that there the sentence reads, ša tumašir ina qāt Ḥaya mēr Miyari "which you have sent through the hand of Haya the son of Miyari." Finally, before closing this particular section, I must say that on the basis of EA 301.18 it may be possible to restore this passage û a-nu-(m)ma na-ad-na-ti "and now I have given over to the hand of Haya." However, I am not as keen on this particular restoration as I am on the one above which seems more natural (cf. EA 288.21,22).

Line 18. The restoration at the close of the line eludes me as it has other translators. There are traces of the di sign similar to the second syllable in line 8. There is no question that the scribe had some female in mind because of the SAL determinative immediately preceding. The word (w)ardu means "maiden (of marriageable age), wife" but does not mean "slave girl" even though it is the feminine of (w)ardu "slave, servant." This is clear from the synoptic analysis of males and females in Akkadian philology, as follows:

(1) IR: (w)ardu "slave" // GEME: amtu "maid servant, slave girl"
(2) TUR: šihru "boy, child" // TUR: šihirtu "little girl"
(3) GURUŠ.TUR: batūlu "lad, // SAL.GURUŠ.TUR: batūltu "adolescent" "young woman, adolescent"
(4) GURUŚ: etlu "young man, hero" // SAL.KI.SIKIL: (w)ardatu "young woman, maiden, wife"

(5) NITA: zikaru "man (male adult)" // MĪ: sinništu "woman, female"

(6) NITA.DAM: hā’iru "husband, lover" // MUNUS.NITA.DAM: hīrtu "wife (of equal status), first wife"

(7) DAM: mutu "husband" // DAM: aššatu "(plain) wife"

Three other designations may well be given with respect to the female status: First, SAL.esirtu "concubine" (in contrast to aššatu "wife") used in MA., Bogh., and Nuzi. In Nuzi it has been translated, "ladies of the royal harem." Second, DAM.TAB.BA: šerretu "concubine, second wife, or rival." Third, NITLAM: sekertu "wife of the harem."

From the last clearly discernible syllable of line 18 one might expect *ardāti, as the following example would illustrate, šībi ina takkanni tūštamin ardāti sa-har-a-ti (var. TUR. MEŠ) ina uršišina tūštamin "you have killed the old men in (their) chambers, you have killed the young maids in their beds (Gössmann Era IV iii). One is sorry that he cannot check into RA xxxi, pp. 125-136 (EA 369) where in line 8 as well as lines 12 through 14 we find three times the word "concubine." Just what Akkadian word is so translated I cannot tell.

Line 19. I have restored and translated awillī šihrūti. From the autograph there is no question that we
have LÜ.MEŠ TUR with space which apparently has been erased. The ideogram TUR is used to express the Akk. adjective šihru "small, young, second in rank, child, servant, few." In EA 298.22 we have the expression LÜ.ŠES-ya TUR.[TU]R meaning "my youngest brother." In EA 25 iii 63 we find the expression ša 10 LÜ.TUR.MEŠ "for ten children." In EA 137.16 we have ahiya TUR ištu yāti "my brother who is younger than I."22 A parallel expression helps us to fix the pattern as in the following sentence, ina LUGAL.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ "for the young kings" (ABL 870 r.2). From these examples, therefore, I have restored the MEŠ sign after TUR. Now the question is: What does this mean? The word šihru is definitely an adjective which means "young, small, little," as we have seen. It is sometimes used of an errand boy or a messenger boy. In Mari it is used in ration lists to refer to young workers receiving smaller rations.23 An interesting illustration comes from Mari as follows, aššum sablim ša halsija TUR u SAL.TUR ana dannātim kamāsim bēlī išpuram "my lord ordered me to assemble in the fortresses the corvée party of youths and girls from my district" (ARM 3 38:6). There is no question that our text refers to young men, whether they would be boys or teen-agers we cannot be sure. Perhaps from the illustrations in Mari it may well be that these young lads were being sent to Egypt for corvée work.
Line 20. Knudtzon did not understand this word asIrūma [for *asIrīma which is what is expected here]. It is used three times elsewhere in Amarna. It is found in Taanach No. 5, lines 9 through 12, ū kali L[U].MEŠ ašIrī ša ibaššu ittika "as for all the captives who are there with you, etc." It is attested several times in the Akkadian from Ugarit as L[U].a-sī-ru/ru or L[U].MEŠ.a-ši-ru/ri-ma. It is also attested in Mari (ARM 4, 53.6). The word is derived from esēru B meaning "to shut in, to enclose, to confine" and ussuru "to enclose, to take captive" (cf. 252. 8, 28, 31). The Hebrew cognate is precisely the same, 'asIr "bondman, prisoner." It is used in Gen. 39:20, 22 of Joseph being put into prison and becoming a prisoner. Furthermore, it is used in the Samson episodes of Judges 15 and 16. It is further used in Zech. 9:11 of the liberated exiles of Israel who were called "captives of hope." Furthermore, it is used in Psalm 68:7 regarding those whom the Lord has compassion upon. As everyone knows, Psalm 68 is borrowed from Ugaritic, and indeed we find the same word in Ugaritic where the passive participle asr is used of a prisoner, slave, derived from the verb 'sr "to bind."
A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (dšamsiya)
3. qī-bī-ma
4. um-ma lMil-ki-li IR-ka (waradka)
5. ep-ri ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šēpēka)
6. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
7. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (dšamsiya)
8. IMIN šu IMINTá-a-an (šibitsu šibitan) am-qut
9. iš-te-mi ša-pár
10. LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya) a-na yē-šī
11. a yu-us-ši-ra
12. LUGAL (šarru) bē-li ERĪN.MEŠ (gābī) pī-ta-ta
13. a-na IR.MEŠ-šu (wardīšu) a
14. yu-us-ši-ra
15. LUGAL (šarru) bē-li
16. IŠ.BI.ZAR.MEŠ // mu-ur-ra
17. a-na ri-pu-ú-dī

B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. my deity, my Sun-god,
3. speak;
4. "Thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
5. the dust from under your two feet,
6. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
7. my deity, my Sun-god,
8. seven times sevenfold I fall.
9. I have listened to the writing of
10. the king, my lord, to me.
11. And may it please the king, my lord, to send
12. archers
13. to his servants, and
14. may it please
15. the king, my lord, to send
16. myrrh
17. for medicine.

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

In this brief letter Milkilu advises the Pharaoh that he has heard the message which the king had sent to him and then adds a request both for archers as well as for myrrh.

Line 11. The form yuṣṣira I analyze as a 3ms III-form with the Ventive ending -a from esēru "to straighten up," etc. I understand this word to have the force of the Jussive, and thus I have translated it, "may it please the
king to send." Normally, šūšuru means "to prepare" and šutēsuru "to send, dispatch" (especially in Amarna) (cf. CAD e 358 and 359). Two examples will suffice to establish the usage of šutēsuru in Amarna meaning "to send or dispatch":

(1) [istem]e awāṭe ṭuppi ša uš-te-sir-šu ... šarri
"I have heard the words of the tablet that the king has sent" (EA 142.6 from Beirut).

(2) u eninna ahi [mār šiprija] hamutta li-iš-[e-s]i-ra-a[m-m]a šulmāna ša ahiya luš'al
"and now may my brother send me my messenger quickly so that I may learn about the health of my brother" (EA 37.14 from Cyprus). The word is used, however, without the infix ́ in EA 99.10 šu-ši-ir mārtaška ana šarri bōlika "send your daughter to the king, your lord." However, one wonders whether the scribe really made a mistake here using the III/1 form in place of the III/2 form, for in each case in which yuṣšira is used, one could well understand the scribe to express the concept "prepare," as in this case, "And may it please the king, my lord, to prepare archers for his servants, and may it please the king, my lord, to prepare myrrh" with the implication that the king will fulfill this request, since the force of the lexical Ventive would imply that these items were requested for use in Gezer. We would note in passing that the Hebrew semantic equivalent to this expression would be shālah in the Piel or shūb in the Hiphil.
Line 12. The word *pišāta [expect *petāti] is definitely an Egyptian loan word from *pät meaning "bow," and hence the "troops" (Akk. ṣābī) are specifically designated as troops that have to do with the bow, in short, "archers." Ebeling lists all of the occurrences under the word *pidadi and understandably so, for most occurrences did use the da/ta syllable, but he did not realize that Eg. ḏ > Sem. "š" as, for example, Eg. ḏb't > Hebr. ṭb't meaning "ring" and also Eg. ḏn' > Hebr. ṭn' meaning "basket." The word ṣābu is not always feminine in Babylonian as Albright has stated,28 but it is used mostly as a collective referring to "groups of soldiers, a group of people, contingent of workers, army, people, population." In peripheral Akkadian, as in Mari, Ras Shamra, and Alalakh, it is used primarily of soldiers. In Hebrew the cognate ṣāḇā' is an abstract noun referring primarily to an army of soldiers. The following are examples of the use of ṣābu in peripheral Akkadian: (1) 安全保障 aššum 4 ME ša-bi-im ša ah Purattim "on account of the contingent of 400 soldiers (stationed along) the bank of the Euphrates" (ARM 1 25.10) (2) ERIN.MES GIŠ.IGI.DU UD.KA.BAR "the men equipped with bronze lances" (Wiseman, Alalakh 55:8), and, (3) ана каша лу сулму ана битика ашсатика марека ERIN.MES-ka sīsēka [u] narkabatika ... danniš lu šulmu "much peace be with you, your family, wives, sons, soldiers, horses and
The special designation which we find in Amarna as \( \text{sābū peṭātu} \) would correspond most accurately to the special type of soldier designated by \( \text{sāb qaštī} \) "archer."

Line 16. The logogram IŠ.BI.ZAR.MEŠ is mighty hard, even to this day, to analyze. Because of the gloss \( \text{murra} \) there is no question as to its meaning, i.e., "myrrh." To analyze the logogram is sufficient to realize that the IŠ sign can be read SAHAR: \( \text{epru} \) "dust"; the BI sign meaning KAŠ: \( \text{šikaru} \) "beer"; the ZAR sign stands for Akk. \( \text{šarāru} \) which means "to pour, or to libate." Perhaps the only conclusion that we can really come to is that the substance is liquid and is perhaps used for ceremonial purposes. There is another logogram used for myrrh according to Labat:

\( \text{(GIS)ŠEM.ŠEŠ: murru} \). This helps us, for it yields the following facts: (1) GIS, it is a plant (2) ŠEM riqu, aromatic plant, and (3) ŠEŠ, a plant which has to be hoed and cultivated. But this does not help us in our present text. Suffice it to say that the word \( \text{murru} \) appears in its cognate forms in Ugaritic as \( \text{mr} \) I where it is used in the expression \( \text{šmn.mr} \) "oil of myrrh"\(^{30}\) where it may be used as an ointment either for ceremonial or medicinal purposes, in contrast to \( \text{šmn.rqū} \) meaning "perfumer's oil."\(^{31}\) Hebr. \( \text{mōr} \) and Arab. murr are again cognates to this same word. Its value is primarily in its usefulness as perfume,\(^{32}\) and biblically it
is one of the constituents of the holy incense (Ex. 30:23). It has, however, a further use as an anesthetic as exemplified in Mark 15:23 where it is offered mingled with wine as an anesthetic to the dying Jesus Christ. The New Testament, furthermore, gives us one more use of myrrh as when the apostle John records that a mixture of myrrh and aloes is brought by Nicodemus in order to embalm the sacred body (John 19:39). Masterman tells us that mör is generally identified with the myrrh of commerce, the dried gum of a species of balsam (Balsamodendron myrrha) (ISBE 111 2102). These facts may assist us in establishing the meaning of the last line of our text, but before we move on we must mention that the word murru is used only two other times in Amarna, one in a list of presents from Tusratta to Amenophis III in EA 22. III.29 DIŠ abantāpate ša murri "one stone box with myrrh."

The second example again is found in a list of presents from Tusratta but this time to Amenophis IV DIŠ abantapatum šaman murri "one stone box of the oil of myrrh" (EA 25.iv. 51).

Line 17. Both Ebeling and Knudtzon have given the tentative meaning to ana riputi as "for medication." This is a hapax legomena, and indeed it is very difficult to establish the meaning of this word. We are sorry that we do not have access to the files of the Chicago Assyrian Dic-
tionary to assist us in establishing the meaning. Nevertheless from further research it seems possible to establish this concept which was uncertain in the days of Knudtzon. There is a word *rapādu* which Theo Bauer defines as "a (laming or paralyzing) disease." Lambert, however, says that it is perhaps a fever which brings delirium. He considers the root to be *rap* which has to do with mental wandering, as in *ripitta nakla suṣraka tuṣāraṇa* "you have let your settled mind go astray." In omen texts the II-form *urappad* is used of the result of a complaint as causing a person to wander. The III-form is found in Ludlul Bēl Nemeqi III.5, 6 where in a broken text we find *mursa kabta ramani lā ... x-ruti maṣaku uṣarpaduni xx* "... the severe illness does not ... my person, I forget ... makes my mind stray" (BWL 48). Whatever the precise meaning of this word might be, it is clearly used within the context of severe sickness. The conclusion thus far seems unavoidable that we need to connect our word *ripūdi* with this word of a disease *rapādu*. Therefore the purpose which is envisioned in our text is medicinal, for how could Milkilu indeed afford this precious oil or ointment for its perfume. Much less do we envision his need of it for religious purposes, judging from the kind of obstinate man and renegade that he was, and little is told us from archeology concerning the possibilities of embalming in these Canaanite towns. One further question, then, needs
to be raised: Are there any cognates to this word? Both Hebrew and Phoenician have the root $\text{rp}^\prime$ meaning "to heal." Also, Hebr. $\text{[râphaph]}$ "to shake, tremble" is used in Job 26:11  'ammûdey šâmâyim yêrôphâphû "the pillars of heaven tremble." However, as Professor Zimmermann has pointed out, it is used in post-biblical Hebrew of mental disorder, much in keeping with Lambert's definition of $\text{rapâdu}$ (above, p. 137). Further study would be required to establish the precise relationship of this Polel form to either Hebr. $\text{rp}^\prime$ "to heal" or to a media infirmæ $\text{rwp}$. We have already established that our word has the root $\text{rpd}$ meaning "disease" or something similar. If the diconsonantal theory were an established fact, we could well say that because of the appearance of the "$r$" and "$p$" in these words that they all stem from the same root. We must conclude then that these are not etymological cognates but rather words which are semantically related. Undoubtedly our scribe was aware of the Akk. word $\text{rapâdu}$, but he also had in mind the Can. word $\text{re'ahuoth}$, a plural abstract meaning "remedies or medicine" found only three times in Biblical Hebrew (Ezek. 30:21; Jer. 30:31; and 46:11). Similarly there is the Hebr. $\text{riph'oth}$ meaning "healing" used once in Prov. 3:8 "It shall be health (or healing) to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones." Perhaps this last word gives rise to the vocalization in our present text. Though these examples in
Biblical Hebrew are found in late Hebrew, nevertheless the word as a participle is used in Gen. 50:2 of a physician, as well as in Moses's Song of Victory in Ex. 15:26. Harris, furthermore, lists several examples in which \( \text{rp}' \) "to heal" is used in Phoenician. Furthermore, he refers to the participial form as having the meaning "healer, physician."
A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na LUGAL (šarrī) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (dšamšiya)
3. qí - bi - ma
4. um-ma Mil-ki-li IR-ka (waradka)
5. ep-ri ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šēpēka)
6. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarrī) EN-ya (bēliya)
7. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) dUTU-ya (dšamšiya)
8. IMINšu IMINTá-a-an (šibitšu šibitan) am-qut
9. yē-di LUGAL (šarrī) bē-li
10. ip-ši ša yi-pu-šu-ni
11. Ya-an-ha-mu
12. iš-tu a-sī-ya
13. iš-tu mu-(h)hi LUGAL (šarrī) EN-ya (bēliya)
14. [a]-nu-(m)ma yu-ba [û]
15. MIN (šinā) li-im KU.[BABBAR] (kaspi)

Reverse:

16. iš-tu gē-ti-ya
17. ū yi-iq-bū
18. a-na yā-ši id-na-(n)[ni]
19. DAM-ka (ašsatka) ū
20. DUMU.MEŠ-ka (mārēka) ū lū-û
21. i-ma-(h)ha-sa ù lū-u
22. yī-di LUGAL (šarru)
23. ip-sa an-na-am
24. ù lū-u yu-uš-ši-ra
25. LUGAL (šarru) be-li
26. GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ (narkabāti) ù lū-u
27. yi-il-te-qē-ni
28. a-na mu-(h)hi-šu lā-a
29. ah-la-aq

B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. my deity, my Sun-god,
3. speak;
4. "Thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
5. the dust from under your two feet;
6. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
7. my deity, my Sun-god,
8. seven times sevenfold I fall.
9. The king, my lord, knows
10. the (evil) deed which
11. Yanhamu committed against me
12. after I went out
13. from the presence of the king, my lord.
14. Now he wants
15. two thousand (shekels) of silver
16. from my hand,
17. and he says
18. to me, "Give me
19. your wife and
20. your children, or I shall surely
21. smite."  Let
22. the king know
23. this deed
24. and may it please
25. the king, my lord, to send
26. chariots, and let
27. him take me
28. to himself that I not
29. perish.'"

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

In this letter Milkilu complains to the king concerning a very wicked deed which Yanhamu has committed against him. On top of that now Yanhamu is demanding through extortion the wife and children of Milkilu; so the prince of Gezer asks the Pharaoh for protection, if not evacuation.

The essential differences that I have with Knudtzon
are only minor differences in the syllabic reading, as well as noting defective writing. The tablet itself has a very clear script.

Line 10. The expression *ipsa epesu* is an idiom which is very common in Amarna but is used as well in Ta'ananach and Ras Shamra. Indeed the noun form *ipsu* with the meaning of "act, deed" is found only in these three areas of peripheral Akkadian. The implication is that these acts that are committed are evil in nature. Several illustrations will suffice: (1) Rib-Addi complains *damiqmi ana pani šarrī ...* *ipis Ābdi-Ăśirti kalbi* "do the acts of Ābdi-Ăśirti, this dog, please the king?" (EA 84.7) (2) Ābdi-Heba also is embittered, for he says *hațiānu ša eppas ipșa annia ammînim šarrī lā ša'alšu* "why has the king not brought to account the official who does such a deed?" (EA 289.9) (3) Ābdi-Ăśirti, who is considered a foul renegade by Rib-Addi, writes to the Pharaoh *ana ipșa marsi annū ša yupașmi ana māṭāt šarrī* "the evil act which has been committed against the lands of the king" (EA 137.96). (4) The concept "evil act" in Amarna is clearly expressed in the following sentence *ipșa ša lā apiș istū darīti apiș* [for *epiș*] "an (evil) deed such as has never been done has been perpetuated."37 (5) An excellent example is given to us from Ras Shamra *u ipșa šîlîtu ina bīti epșûnî u qadu mate šîlîta*
ina berūni "they have committed belligerent acts in the house -- how long shall there be (such) struggles between us?" A related meaning but certainly not involved in our collection is "to practice witchcraft," as in _ipsa e pušuš_ "they will use witchcraft against him." However, in peripheral Akkadian it does not always have the evil connotation, as in Ta' anach No. 2.14  _piqid ana ālānika u lū tippušu ipšašunu_ "organize your cities so that they do their (corvée) work." It will be noticed that in my translation I understand  _yiddi_ in line 9 as a simple Preterite without giving it the cohortative force that previous translators have given to it. This I do because there is no _lū_ precative introducing this sentence, and because from line 14 the scribe implies that what follows is something that the king should be aware of, with the implication that he had known about previous aberrations on the part of Yanhamu.

Line 11. Yanhamu was a high Egyptian official of Canaanite origin, or possibly, as Albright suggests, of Hebrew origin (ANET 486, n. 11). From the wide geographical area where he is referred to in the Amarna collection, he seems to have been the Egyptian governor of Palestine at the beginning of the reign of Akhen-Aton. Rib-Addi, prince of Byblos in northern Palestine, refers to him quite often and
at one point describes him as the musallil of the king. Campbell suggests that "the term means, in all likelihood, the fan-bearer of the king, an honorary title referring to one who is very close to the king, presumably sharing in councils on affairs of state." He seems to have been in charge of the issuing of supplies from Yarimuta which was considered the breadbasket of Egypt. Two of his successors as governors of Palestine-Syria were so important in their office that tombs were found with their names inscribed at Tell-el-Amarna, but, unlike Maya and Tutu, Yanhamu has no tomb at Amarna among the numerous rock-cut tombs of his administrative colleagues. Yanhamu not only was prominent in the north, as has been pointed out, but he also had contacts in the central hill country of Palestine as well as in the south. From two letters of Mut-Ba'lu, son of Lab'aya and prince of Pella on the east side of the Jordan valley, he is referred to as taking advantage of his position to enrich his own coffers through his black market activities. However, from Letter 256 it is clear that he was fulfilling his responsibilities of keeping check on the affairs in Palestine and keeping track of such troublemakers as Ayyab, who is the main subject of that letter.

The name is definitely Semitic. It is a hypocoristicon where the divine name is either abbreviated or not expressed, standing therefore for *Yanham-ʼEl or the like,
meaning, "May El have mercy," or, "El will have mercy," or, "El has consoled." Herbert B. Huffmon, in his Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts recently published, suggests that there are two possible roots: first, \textit{\textasciitilde{n}m} "be pleasant, gracious, console" (Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic, Ugaritic, Old South Arabic, Arabic), or, second, \textit{\textasciitilde{nhm}} "be compassionate, have mercy" (Hebrew, Aramaic; cf. Arab. "sigh, pant"). It is to be noted, of course, that Amarna "h" may stand for Hebr. "h" or "i." The name appears in Alalakh written syllabically as \textit{Ya-an-ha-mu}. It is found in Ugaritic as \textit{Ynhm}, and it is well to note the hieratic transcription \textit{Ynhm}. Professor Held in class discussion suggested from the Ugaritic that it would be either Qal or Niphal but not Piel, and, furthermore, since in Hebrew the "n" assimilates in the Niphal nihamti, he would suggest that it could not be Hebrew or Canaanite, throwing the weight on the possibility of its being Amorite. If so, then one should read \textit{Ynham-(H)addu} "may (H)addu have mercy." Line 14. \textit{yubau} [for \textit{\textasciitilde{yu\textasciitilde{b}a}}'] is a II-form from \textit{bu\textasciitilde{b}u} "to look for, to search for, to examine, to wish, ask, intend." The meaning "to wish, ask, to intend" is found only in peripheral Akkadian of this period and only later on in New Assyrian and New Babylonian. Several examples will suffice: (1) from a letter of Rib-Addi ul tidi atta
Amurru urra múša tuba' ūna šabē peṭāti "do you not know yourself that the land of Amurra is asking for archers day and night?" (EA 82.49) (2) From Ras Shamra we find šarru ugnâ danniš uba'â "the king greatly desires lapis lazuli" (MRS 9 224 RS 17.422:23) (3) In Nuzi we read urihul ša ana l ANŠE lā uba'ami "I shall not ask compensation for the one donkey." The word is also used with this sense in Bogh. and New Assyrian and New Babylonian.

Our word bu'uū (from a Proto-Semitic root *b'w) must be distinguished from the common Semitic root *bw with the meaning "to enter, to walk along" (cf. Akk. bā'ū and Hebr. bō'). Although the normal Hebrew word meaning "ask, inquire" is shā'āl sometimes with the weakened sense "seek, desire" and the usual Akkadian word with the same meaning is ša'ālu (cf. EA 256.10), nevertheless our present word has its etymological equivalent both in Hebrew and Aramaic. BDB gives us a root [bā'ah] "to inquire, cause to swell or boil up." In parentheses he mentions the Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac cognates but fails to mention Akk. bu'uū. It is used with the sense of a rising desire "to seek, to inquire" in Isa. 21:12. In this passage it is very clearly referring to "inquiring of a prophet." The Biblical Aram. word b'ā is used in the P'al stem and found only in the book of Daniel. It is used of asking or requesting, of seeking or praying, either of God or man,
as in Dan. 6:8. The noun form bā'û is used as a cognate Accusative meaning "to ask a petition" or "to seek a petition" (Dan. 6:8,14). It is precisely this use, then, which we find so clearly expressed in the various passages in Amarna.

Line 18. Our justification for reading *idna(n)ni "give me!" is from two examples, (1) found in Amarna as follows: u awîlmar êkalli asâ id-na-an-ni "and a physician of the palace give to me!" (EA 49.22,23), and, (2) an example from Ta-anach arbâku ina Gurra u id-na-an-ni uma annâ "I was ambushed in Gurra, so give me this day (two chariot wheels and an axle . . . )" (Taanach No. 2.6,7). I analyze this form, then, as an imperative, idin! (from nadānu noting that in the imperative the first "n" is represented by the zero element) plus the Ventive ending -am- and the -ni suffix.51

Lines 24 ff. There is a very interesting parallel in Rib-Addi's Letter 129.50-52 where the same general concept of the closing request of our letter is similar in tone and uses practically the same key words uššira elippêti tilqûni gadu ilâni baltî ana bôliya "send boats, they should take me together with the gods safely to my lord." For further discussion on the use of uššira, see commentary on EA 269. 12-14, and 268.16.
Lines 28 f. Several excellent illustrations may be given to show the appropriateness of this expression, "that I not perish" lā aḥlaq. (1) From Nuzi we have this example: annūtu awilī ša unūsūnu ša ina EDIN halqu "these are (the names of) the men whose equipment was lost during the campaign" (HSS 15.3 left edge). But more to the point, (2) from an old Assyrian letter we read kīma ilam u etemmē tagamiluma lā ahalliq epuš "act in such a manner (that) you propitiate the god and the spirits of the dead and (that) I do not perish" (BIN 4 96:21), (3) from a neo-Assyrian text, arhiš ina pān šarri lū takṣuda ulā halqak "may you come quickly to the king, otherwise I am lost!" (ABL 896, r. 18), and, finally, (4) from a Mari letter we find the expression ašar halāqišu ittallak "he goes to his doom" (RA 33 172:39). In this last example we have an interesting coincidence, for both halāqu and alāku are used idiomatically. alāku is also used in the idiom ana šimti alāku "to die, perish," lit., "to go to one's fate." Similarly, in Hebrew the cognate hālak "go, come, walk" is used figuratively in Josh. 23:14 and I Kings. 2:2 where 'anokhī hölek bōtārēk kōl-hā'ārōtz is correctly translated "I am going the way of all flesh" meaning "I am dying." (cf. Gen. 15:2 and II Sam. 12:23). Again, Arab. halaka has the meaning "to perish." However, etymologically alāku should
not be confounded with halāqu even though they have similar meanings in idiomatic or figurative language, since the middle radical is the only letter common to both, and the primary meaning of both is so dissimilar. Other nuances of the word halāqu and its semantic and etymological equivalents have been discussed under 254.9, q.v. 52

EA 271 -- VAT 1531; WA 110; W 170; Schr 154

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. DINGIR.MES-ya (ilāniya) 𒀀UTU-ya (𒈹šamšiya)
3. qī-bī-ma
4. um-ma ¹Mil-ki-li IR-ka (waradka)
5. ep-ri ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šēpē-ka)
6. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
7. DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) ²UTU-ya (dšamsiya)
8. IMIN Šu IMINTá-a-an (šibitsu šibitan) am-qut
9. yi-di LUGAL (šarru) bē-li
10. i-nū-ma da-(n)na-at
11. nu-kur-tu UGU-ya (muhhiya)
12. a UGU (muhhi) ¹šu-wa-ar-da-ta
13. a yi-(k)ki-im
14. LUGAL (šarru) bē-li KUR-šu (mātašu)
15. iš-tu qā-at
16. LU.MEŠ SA.GAZ.MEŠ (Ḫabiri)
17. [šu]m-ma i-yā-nu
18. yu-uš-ši-ra
19. LUGAL (šarru) bē-li GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ (narkabāti)
20. a-na la-qī-nu [l]a-a
21. te-ma-(h)ha-šu-n[₃] IR.MEŠ-nu (wardūnu)
22. a š[a-n]I-tam
23. y[i-š]a-šš
24. LU[לי GALJ (šarru) bē-li
25. ¹Ya-an-ša-a-ša IR-šu (waradšu)
26. a-na ša yu-(p)pa-šu
27. i-na KUR-šu (mātišu)
B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. my deity, my Sun-god,
3. speak:
4. "Thus (says) Milkilu, your servant,
5. the dust from under your two feet:
6. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
7. my deity, my Sun-god,
8. seven times sevenfold I fall.
9. The king, my lord, knows
10. that there is a strong
11. hostility against me
12. and against Šuwardata.
13. So may it please
14. the king, my lord, to rescue his land
15. from the hand of
16. the habiru.
17. If not,
18. may it please
19. the king, my lord, to send chariots
20. to take us that
21. our servants may not smite us.
22. And furthermore,
23. may it please
24. the king, my lord, to ask
25. Yanhamu, his servant,
26. about what is done
27. in his land."

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

In the transliteration of this letter I do not stray far from what Knudtzon has given to us. The differences that I have with his work are primarily in precision of syllabic reading and in normalization where the scribe has written defectively.

This letter dates from about three or four years before the previous letters of Milkilu, perhaps c. 1374 or 1373. The episode of the extortion mentioned in the preceding letter is not known; contrariwise, from the closing paragraph, it seems that Milkilu and Yanhamu are on good terms. In this letter Milkilu complains about a strong aggression against him and a colleague, Suwardata, who was prince of the Hebron region in the southern hill country and frequently appears in association with Milkilu. The opening eight lines are the stereotyped formula of address to the Pharaoh.

Line 9. I have accented ël to show the 1cs pronominal suffix represented by the zero element which nor-
mally would be expressed by the syllable -ya. Here I have represented it as elsewhere by the accented ultima.

Line 10. I have shown the defective orthography in the media geminatae of the feminine adjective dannatu. Two other Amarna examples will show the usage of this expression: (1) from Rib-Addi in Byblos nukurtu dannat ana yāṣi "hostility is strong against me" (EA 118.21 f.), then (2) from Zimredda of Sidon who complains of a stronger aggression u Idi šarru bēliya inūma dannat nukurtum danniš muhhiya "may the king, my lord, know that very strong is the hostility against me" (EA 144.22 f.). Perhaps a better translation of these passages would be: "a (very) powerful aggression."

Line 12. Šuwardata has an Indo-Aryan name which is beyond my scope for further analysis. There is no question that he is from southern Palestine, for in Abdi-Heba's Letter 280 he shows that Keilah was one of the cities under his control, although not necessarily his capital. However, as mentioned above, we agree with Albright that he was prince of the Hebron region in the southern hill country. Just what the relationship was between Šuwardata of Hebron, Milkilu of Gezer, and Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem is not quite clear. In his letter (RA 19 106) he and Abdi-Heba are allied in their fight against the chief of the Habiru, but in EA
280 as well as Abdi-Heba's Letter 290 they are fighting each other. The following reconstruction has been suggested by E. Meyer: 56 "At first Šuwardata and Abdi-Heba, both loyalists, were allied against the insurgent Milkilu (104). Then Milkilu tried to bribe the townsmen of Keilah—a city of Šuwardata—to desert to him (EA 289.25 ff.). Fearing he might succeed, Abdi-Heba intervened to counter with a higher offer. Keilah thereupon left Šuwardata to join with Abdi-Heba (EA 280). Šuwardata now turned against Abdi-Heba and sealed his enmity toward him by an alliance with their former common enemy, Milkilu. This later stage is reflected in the letters of Abdi-Heba." In any case these episodes show the complete lack of control that the Pharaoh had over the buffer states of Palestine and Syria. Furthermore, it shows the utter chaos and anarchy which existed during the Amarna Age, and, besides this, it shows the frequent identification by all parties of their opponents with the Habiru, showing that all rebels were so considered depending on the writer's viewpoint.

Line 13. vi(k)kim I understand to be a Present (an excellent example of Canaanite Imperfect) from the Akkadian word ekēmu "to take away (by force), to conquer, to deprive of," but the idiom ekēmu ištu "to save or rescue from." Ebeling lists seven out of the eight occurrences as Pret-
erits, but that would not properly explain the doubled middle radical "ח" for a primae Alef verb (Prt. *יִפּוּשׁ/יתִּיָּח but Pres. *יֵפָּשׁ/יִתיָּח) (GAG 20). A most interesting passage which demands our attention is found in Šuwardata's Letter No. 282 where we have the gloss *יִיקִי-יִמְנִי // *יָא-זִי-נִי. The complete sentence is as follows: *יְועֶסִירה שָרִי בְּליָיָה *סָבֶּה פֶּטַּתי מַהְדַּה דָּנִיָּשׁ וּ*יִיק(ק)יִמְנִי // // *יָא-זִי-נִי "may it please the king, my lord, to send a large number of archers, and so rescue me." Knudtzon translates this last section "und rette mich (iazini)!", showing that he did not understand the gloss. Even in Mercer's day he could not understand the gloss. I should like to propose a solution. If we read the syllables as follows: *יָא-סִי-לִי, we can readily read this *יָא(ס)סִי-לִי in Canaanite which immediately can be parsed and recognized as the 3ms Impf. Hiphil from the Hebr. root [נָּסָל] plus the lcs pronominal suffix *-י(ו) which is represented here by the accented ultima. The word appears in the Piel meaning "to strip, plunder"; in the Niphal "to deliver oneself, be delivered"; and in the Hiphil "to snatch away, deliver." The first example is from Judges 11:26 where the context shows that Jephthah was defending the land of Israel from the children of Ammon. In verse 23 he says that the Lord God had dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel. Should the Ammonites now possess the land? Then he asks the very interesting ques-
tion, "Are you now better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them while Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns, and in Aroer and her towns, and in all the cities that be along by the coasts of Arnon, three hundred years? umaddua' lō' hissaltēm bā'eth hahī' why therefore did you not recover them within that time?" The second example comes from I Samuel 30 where David avenges the destruction of Ziklag by the Amalekites. The Amalekites had taken some women captive, including David's two wives. In verse 8 David inquires of the Lord as to whether he should pursue after this small contingent, and the Lord answered, "Pursue, for you shall surely overtake them wēhassēl tassīl and you shall surely recover (all)." Verse 18 tells us wayyassēl Dāwīd cōl ašēr lāqēhū 'Amāleq wē'eth shētṭey nashayō hīssīl Dāwīd "And David recovered all that the Amalekites had carried away: and David rescued his two wives," and again the same expression is used in verse 22. But perhaps what seems more appropriate to our passage is the clear semantic parallel where the idiom hīssīl miyyad is used of "rescuing or recovering from the hand" of someone else. Three illustrations will suffice: (1) In Gen. 32:12 Jacob prays as follows: hāssīlēnī nā' miyyad āhī miyyad 'Esau ki yare' anokī 'othō pēn yabō' wēhīccānī 'em 'al bānīm
"Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, and the mother with the children." One cannot help but recognize that this is almost a verbatim expression to what Milkilu writes in our letter. The -eni ending is actually used for emphasis, almost of desperation. It could just as well have been written without the emphatic form as *hassīlī* which is the Hebrew Imperative form. (2) A second example comes from Gen. 37:20 ff. where the brothers of Joseph are ready to slay him and to cast him into some pit and through subterfuge declare later on that some terrible beast had devoured him, all of this because of jealousy with regard to his dreams. Then verse 21 says, "And Reuben heard it, wayyassīlehū miyyādām and he rescued him out of their hands, and said, Let us not kill him. And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood, but cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him: lōma'an hassīl ʾōthō miyyādām lahāšibō ’el ’ābiyē in order that he might rescue him out of their hands, that he might return him to his father." (3) A similar usage is found in the episode of Reuel's daughters in Exodus 2:19, for they had returned home early after watering their flock. The reason they were able to do so, they said: ḳīṣ miṣrī ḥissīlānū miyyad harō’īm ʾan Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and also drew water enough for us and watered the flock."
This very expression is used then something like fifty times or more in the Bible.

It is hard to understand why the Assyrian Dictionary does not list a single one of the many references to ekēmu that are found in Amarna. The only reference that we find says, "For the EA Refs., see naqāmu," at the very end of the article of ekēmu. It would seem foolish to assume that they consider these Amarna words to come from a root naqāmu which in Hebrew means "to avenge, take vengeance." To be sure, naqāmu is a West Semitic term, for it does not appear in Akkadian proper.

Line 15. From the above discussion, one can readily see that the Akk. expression ištutāṭi is the semantic equivalent to Hebr. *min yād assimilating to miyyād.

Line 26. The word yu(p)pašu is here a normal Qal passive in Canaanite which follows the yuqtalu formation, including the Indicative "-u" ending as in Ugaritic and Arabic. This is a similar form as tumhašū in EA 252.17 (q.v.) and tudanū in EA 138.43.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Campbell, CAL, p. 98; see Dossin RA xxxi (1934), pp. 125-136, BA xxiii (1960), p. 4, n. 6; ANET, p. 487.


3 ANET, p. 487, n. 17.


5 Cf. EA 249, 250, 254, 273, 287, 289, 290.

6 See BASOR 89, p. 16.

7 See ANET, pp. 376-378.

8 Cf. RA xxxi, EA 369.

9 RTC 165 seal 13; other references are given for Old Akkadian in MAD 3 27.

10 For fuller discussion see GAG 80.

11 EA 324.12; cf. also anumma šuširaku of EA 141.24 and passim.

12 Cf. 232.7; 195.19; 264.16, etc.

13 VAB 11, pp. 1500 and 1511 respectively.

14 For further discussion see sub 252.10 šalīme.

15 See BASOR 149 for Speiser's discussion "Census in Mari and Israel."

16 BMS 27.10. Furthermore, see Šamaš Hymn (Schollmeyer 16, 11, lines 13,14).

17 Cf. also 301.15,16 which is precisely what we would want, as well as 144.13,14.

18 Cf. EA 314.20,21 and 323.15.

19 HSS 9 32:2 and SMN 3195:2 f. (unpubl.).

20 Cf. Labat 557 and CAD s 137 sub serru B.
21 Labat 554. Also cf. 329 SAL.AN.DUL and 331 SAL.SIS: sekertu "femme du harem."


23 ARM 9 24 iii 30 f., also ibid. I 47,55; ii 47, etc.

24 See EA 287.54, 288.21, and 173.13.

25 PRU 8, 24.27 and III 1.30.

26 See Gordon UM, 241, n. 199.

27 Cf. 267.12 on šušuru "to prepare."

28 Albright and Moran, JCS 2 245 ff.

29 KUB 3 72:5 from Bogh. Cf. EA 10.5 for a similar greeting.

30 Gordon UM, text 120:16, text 12:2,8,15.

31 Ibid., text 120:5.

32 Cf. Ps. 45:8; Prov. 7:17; Cant. 3:6; 4:14.

33 W. G. Lambert, BWL, p. 295, n. 6, where he refers to, e.g., ASKT, p. 83.20.

34 Theodicy 212 (quoted in ibid., pp. 82,83).

35 E.g., CT 37.40.23 "It makes him wander."

36 Harris, GPL (AOS.8), p. 147.

37 EA 123.12, cf. EA 122.43, and 196.32.

38 MRS 9 228 RS 18.54A14.


43 Cf. EA 255 and 256, cf. also Burna-buriash's complaint in EA 8.13-42.
Cf. the story of Joseph responsible for supplies of food for foreigners.

APN, p. 237.

Wiseman, Alalakh, 136 b (Al IV).

PRU II 221 b (index).

Steindorff, Ägypt. Zeits., 38, p. 15, No. 5.

For further discussion on Semitic personal names, see Martin Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung, Stuttgart, 1928 (known as IPN).

UCP 9 412:54, see AJSL 47 281 ff.

Cf. GAG 42 g,h (note 3).

See BASOR 89.17 for the expression "Let her not perish!" (lā tehlq) speaking of a city (EA 274.13).

See Campbell, CAL, p. 134.

Albright, ANET, p. 486, n. 13.


GA II/1 366 f., as quoted by Greenberg, ibid., p. 45.
CHAPTER IV

THE LETTERS OF ZIMREDDA
AND SHIPTI-BA'LU OF LACHISH

Four letters that concern us in this chapter are EA 329 written by Zimredda, prince of Lachish, and EA 330 to 332 written by Shipti-Ba'lu who succeeded him. These letters were written at the beginning of the independent reign of Akhenaton representing the earliest writings from Lachish during the Amarna Age. From the letter of Pa'âpu (EA 333), which was written during the latter part of the reign of Amenophis III or at the very beginning of the reign of Akhenaton, which mentions Zimredda and his Number Two in command, Shipti-Ba'lu, we conclude that Zimredda was prince of Lachish during the closing years of Amenophis III and into the beginning of the reign of Akhenaton. Pa'âpu bears an Egyptian name "and was evidently a minor Egyptian official then in charge of Lachish." From a letter of Abdi-Heba (288.42 f.) which was written at the beginning of the reign of Akhenaton, perhaps c. 1365 B.C., we learn that Zimredda had been assassinated, presumably leaving Shipti-Ba'lu to become the chief of the city-state, for he addresses himself to the king in letters 330 to 332 as Šipti-Ba'lu awîl Āl Lakiš, "the chief of the city of Lachish." These letters are contemporary to Yanhamu, the Egyptian high commissioner
in Palestine.At this juncture we are not concerned with a later prince of Lachish by the name of Yabni-ilu, who was contemporary to Maya, the Egyptian commissioner in southern Palestine during the middle period of the independent reign of Akhenaton.

One more thing needs to be discussed in this introductory section, and that is the suggestion that EA 145 could possibly be a letter from Zimredda of Lachish rather than from the prince of Sidon who bears the same name. Mercer and Riedel make the above possible equation. However, neither Otto Weber nor Erich Ebeling of the earlier scholars would agree, nor Albright or Campbell would agree among modern-day scholars.

**EA 329 -- B 1673; WA 123; W 217; Schr 181**

**A. Transliteration and Normalization:**

1. a-na LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. DINGER.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya) ṃUTU-ya (dšamšiya)
3. ṃUTU (dšamaš) ša iš-tu
4. an sa-mē-i
5. um-ma ꜜZi-im-re-(d)di
6. LŪ (awīli) ša URU (āl) La-ki-ša
7. IR-ka (waradka) ep-ri
8. ša GIR.MEŠ-ka (šēpēka)
9. a-na GIR.MEŠ (šēpē) LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
10. dUTU (dšamaš) i[s-t]u an[s]a-mē-i
11. IMINšu [u?] IMIN ta-a-an (šibitšu šibitan)
12. iš-ti-ha-(h)h[1]-in
13. LŪ.DUMU (mär) ši-ip-ri

Reverse:
14. ša LUGAL (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
15. ša-iš-tap-[r]a-an-n[1]
16. iš-ti-me a-wa-te
17. ma-gal ma-gal
18. ù a-nu-(m)ma
19. ú-še(s)ši-ru ME (tērta)
20. kāma ša qā-bī-šu

B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. my deity, my Sun-god,
3. the Sun-god from
4. heaven.
5. (Speak:) "Thus (says) Zimredda,
6. the chief of the town of Lachish,
7. your servant, the dust
8. from (under) your two feet.
9. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
10. the Sun-god f[ro]m he[a]ven,
11. seven times [and? seven]-fold
12. I prostrate myself.
13. As to the messenger
14. of the king, my lord,
15. who has written to me,
16. I have listened (to) the order
17. very carefully,
18. and now,
19. I shall successfully execute the order
20. according to what he has spoken.'"

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

There are several places where I read different from Knudtzon. Apart from several differences in reading of the signs and defective orthography, I differ with Knudtzon in line 6 where I read URU as al(u) "town of" rather than as a determinative. In line 11 Knudtzon supplies ā, perhaps because there is a space available and also because the scribe for Shipti-Ba'lu in the following letters uses ā. However, I am not sure that ā is necessary, but, if it is and our scribe is the same as the one who wrote EA 321, I should posit that here we would expect 뒤. Hence the question mark in my transliteration. In line 16 Knudtzon adds ME[š-su] after the word awate. However, this is not in Schroeder's autograph, not even traces. Perhaps on the basis of EA 321.
22 this may be expected, but this seems again rather unnecessary. Perhaps photographs of the tablet which might include pictures of the edges would help us to clarify this point. In line 17 I read the signs as syllables rather than as logograms. As will be pointed out in the commentary, magal is commonly used in the Amarna tablets, and there is only one exception where da-ni-iš is used in the Amarna corpus.

Line 4. The word an samẹ stands for *samē'i, the ultimae infirmae being expressed rather than coalescing to samē as in EA 267.14. The sibilants in Amarna receive poor treatment.

Line 5. The personal name Zimre(d)da appears frequently in the Amarna collection referring to two different men: (1) Zimredda LU haza(n)nu ša āl Šiduna "the mayor of the city of Sidon" who is the author of EA 144 and is referred to by Rib-Addi of Byblos and by Abimilki of Tyre. As mentioned earlier he is the probable author of EA 145 as well. (2) Zimre(d)da LU (awīli/u) ša āl Lakīša "the chief of the city of Lachish," the author of this text and referred to by Pā'āpu (EA 333) and by Abdi-Heba (EA 288.43 where his death is mentioned). The names are nevertheless the same. The morphology of this name I understand to be an Amorite hypocoristica wherein the name is shortened, one of the compound elements being abbreviated, but the other element is
fully preserved. I therefore understand the original name to be Zimri-(H)adda which drops the "h" of the Amorite god Haddu, eventually the middle vowels assimilating to form Zimrēdda or Zimrēda, the accent not usually expressed before a double consonant. The first element of the name I take from zimru (Proto-Semitic *dimr-) meaning "protection." This is an abstract noun which serves to indicate some characteristic or function of the deity. In this case the meaning would be: "(My) Protection is the god (H)addu." Huffmon cites two names that are used in Mari: Zi-im-rad-du and Zi-im-ri-QIM. Judging from the number of names that are found only in Mari apart from any others that might be found in Akkadian and NWSem. literature, the first element Zimri seems to be quite popular. In Biblical Hebrew there are four distinct individuals bearing this name Zimri: (1) a Simeonite (Num. 25:14), (2) a grandson of Judah (II Chron. 2:6; cf. Josh. 7:1), (3) a king of Israel before Omri (I Ki. 16:9, etc.), and (4) a Benjamite (I Chron. 8:36). The root ZMR (Proto-Semitic *dimr "protect") is to be compared with Hebr. zmr III, which is probably a hapax legomena in Gen. 43:11,10 and Ugar. dmr "[a class of] troops," and Arab. dmir- or dmir- "courageous man"; and perhaps as well to Old South Arabic mdmr "vigorous man."

Line 6. I write wîli because it is in apposition to
the name Zimre(d)di which is Genitive because it is governed by umma. As pointed out earlier (252.4), Akkadian umma normally is followed by the Nominative, but here in Amarna it is influenced by Canaanite as exemplified in Ugar. thm PN meaning "message of PN" and Hebr. n^um PN "utterance of PN." The expression awilĩ ša āl GN or awil āl GN is quite commonly used in the Amarna collection, many times without the personal name of the chief in question, as in the case of awili āl Hazura (RA 19, p. 96) and awil āl Yarami translated "the chief of the town of Yaramu" (EA 333.10). This last example is Albright's correction of Knudtzon who read wrongly [a]bi alu dYa-ra-mi.¹¹

These examples referring to "the chief of a city" without explicitly stating his name provide sufficient documentation to explode the higher critical statements against the historicity of the Book of Jonah. For example, the renowned Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages at Union Theological Seminary, the late Julius A. Bewer, wrote:

"Other traits, such as the namelessness of the king, who is called 'king of Nineveh' contrary to historical usage, [italics ours] . . . all show the poetical character of the story."¹²

The geographical name Lakīša is prominent not only in the Amarna corpus but also in the Joshua account of the
conquest (chaps. 10 and 12) where five royal cities including Lachish formed a coalition against the Israelites (10:3). We are then told that Joshua won a miraculous victory against this coalition of kings; and, although a victory is recorded in a battle against Lachish, nevertheless he did not burn nor destroy the city (vss. 31, 32). Petrie wrongly identified Biblical Lachish with a Byzantine-Arab village site named Khirbet Umm el-Lags (Lagis) not far from Tell el-Hesi. However, more recent excavations at Tell ed-Duweir have demonstrated the identification of the modern mound ed-Duweir with ancient Biblical and Amarna Lachish. 13

Line 12. The analysis of ištihā(h)hin escapes me just as it has other translators. The meaning is clear from the parallel usages where, e.g., in EA 299.11 we read after the characteristic phrase "At the two feet of the king, my lord ... lu amqutma kabattu u šēruma I have fallen (on my) belly and (on my) back," and in 298.14 we have the expression lu ištahahhin kabattuma u šēruma "I have prostrated myself on my belly and on my back." In either case whether amqut is used or ištahahhin, the concept is of falling prostrate in homage or worship. Ebeling is not sure of the root word, whether šahhanu? (sic!) or šahānu? (sic!) and just as unsure as to whether it is a I/2 form or a II/1 form. Winckler suggests a root šahāhu "prostrate oneself" as a
Canaanism, since he suggests that Assyrian šahāhu means "to oppress, torment." Brown, Driver, and Briggs suggest a Hebr. root [šāhāh] "to bow, be bowed down, crouch." Although this may be the meaning in several passages in the Qal stem especially "to bow in homage before a person" in Prov. 14:19 and Isa. 60:14, it nevertheless is difficult to assume the equation of Hebr. [šāhāh] with our word in Amarna for two more reasons: First, assuming that this is Imperfect, the final "h" in this media geminatae is dropped as in Psa. 10:10 where we read yēshōah. If we assume the Perfect to express the Preterite in Akkadian, we would expect the lcs to be shāhōtī as in Psa. 38:7. Neither of these reconstructions would help us in understanding the root of our word. The second argument against this equation is that it does not take into account the final "n" which appears in all the cases exhibited in Amarna (see VAB ii 1508). One other possible reconstruction would be a Hithpo'el Impf. *yishtōhāh similar to the 3fs which appears in Psa. 42:7,15 but though the morphology is more in our favor, again we have two problems which militate against this. The first is that the meaning in this verse and others has to do with the soul being case down or in despair, which is not the concept of worship and homage expressed in our word. The second argument militating against it again is the final "n" which does not appear and cannot be explained as a mere nunation.
There is another Hebrew word which is used primarily in the Hithpa’lēl, the Hebr. [shāḥāh] meaning "to bow down."
It is used once in the Qal (Isa. 51:23) and once in the Hiphil (Prov. 12:25), but it is used quite commonly in the Hithpa’lēl. The Perfect would be *ḥishtahāwāh, and the Imperfect would be *vishtahāwēh. Indeed it is used of "bowing down, or to prostrate oneself" before a monarch or superior in homage, etc. It is used, furthermore, in worship before God, and it is also used of bowing down before angels in various theophanies. However, the same objections accrue to the equation of our word with Hebr. shāḥāh that applied to shāḥāh above, no matter how enticing this might be. The argument then from the cognates in Hebrew does not really help us, and we look in vain for an etymological cognate in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Aramaic.

One further line of reasoning may be pursued, and that would be from the analogy of the quadriliterals in Akkadian. Apart from the various forms of ištaha(h)hin / ištuhah(h)hin / ištih(h)hin, we have also nine uses of the expression ušhe(h)hin with slight variations in Amarna (223. 6 and 242.8), as in EA 232.11 "At the two feet of the king, my lord . . . uš-he-(h)hi-in ina pantē // batnuma ā šēruma // suhruma I have fallen on my belly and on my back." We therefore posit a III/II verb *šuhahu. The usual morphology of a III/II form verb is that it has the third and
fourth radical alike, much like the 'Ayin-'Ayin form in Hebrew with the third radical doubled, as, e.g., sugammumu "to be dead silent," šuharruru "to be completely stiff," šuparruru "to enmesh, stretch out," sugarruru "to unroll, uncoil." There are also weak verbs in the III/II form, i.e., having a weak third radical, as, e.g., šukēnu(m) < šk'n "to prostrate oneself, bow down," šupēlu(m) < šp'l "to change, exchange, delude." We recognize, of course, that the word which we posit with the root *šhbn does not exactly coincide with these III/II forms of Akkadian. However, we would argue that the morphology of our words is consonant with the morphology of the III/II verbs where the III/II Preterit is *ušqallil, and in the case of the weak verb *uškēn < Proto-Semitic *uška'īn. In our word ušhehhin the e-vowel would be explained by the influence of the "h." The other forms with the infixed-t would follow the pattern of a Pret. t-form which von Soden calls a Perfect *uštagallil. The initial i-vowel may be explained as a Canaanism or perhaps through a confusion with the Present form attested as *išgallal. Having now explained the morphology of the III/II quadriliterals in Akkadian, I should like to suggest that the Amarna scribes were perhaps confusing then two words: Hebr. shahah or shahah with the Akk. quadriliteral šukēnu(m) meaning "to prostrate oneself, bow down." Although the words are not etymological cognates, it is clear from their usage
and meaning that they are precisely semantic cognates. It certainly is not difficult to conceive of a Canaanite scribe thinking of the Hebrew or Canaanite word and at the same time being aware that the Akkadian semantic equivalent was a III/II form, and so he would try to coin a III/II word from *šahah with the final syllable "n" from šukēnu. We look with anticipation to the settlement of this problem to the S-volume of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. 22

Line 15. This is wrongly translated by Mercer as follows: "whom he has sent to me." The expression is ša ištapranni which is in apposition to šarri bēliya. Consequently, I have translated "the king, my lord, who has written to me." The normal expression "to send, or to dispatch" in Amarna is šutēšuru, as, e.g., išteme awāte ֶtuppi ša ušteširšu ... šarri "I have heard the words of the tablet that the king has sent" (EA 142.6) and aḥī mār šipriya hamutta lišteširamma "may my brother send me my messenger quickly" (EA 37.14).

Line 17. Knudtzon and Ebeling did not recognize the Sumerian loan word magal which is an adverb meaning "very, very much, greatly." Every time it appears in Amarna, Knudtzon reads it as a Sumerian logogram MA.GAL giving to it the Akkadian equivalent of danniš. Indeed Labat does give, "MA-GAL: danniš, magal beaucoup" (see sub sign No.
342). CAD gives various examples from Amarna where dan-niš / dan-niš / da-an-ni-is is used to express the adverb "greatly, very." After the following example from RA 19 105:10 ša iqabbakku šimaššu damqiš dan-niš la ikassadakku šarru arna "listen very carefully to what he has to say to you, so that the king may not catch you at fault," CAD (d.92) then proceeds to say: "Note awāti šarri rabī bēlija išmi da-ni-is EA 317:12, cf. (exceptionally in a let. from Palestine, all others use magal) ibid. 22, and note the writing KAL lu šulmu EA 37:7." For example, EA 9.16 states inanna dullī ina bīt ili mād u magal šabtakūma eppuš "now there is much work for me in the temple and I am very busy" (cf also EA 4.45; 7.63). The Sumerian logogram KAL, sometimes KAL-an or KAL.(GA) is used to express the Akkadian words danānu, danniš, and their various formulations. Therefore it is very important to note that the only time the logogram KAL is used in Amarna it is properly read danniš, so that wherever we find the syllables ma-gal we should not read them as a logogram but as the adverb proper.

Line 19. With caution, but not without evidence, I read this line ušeššiše ME (têrta) "I shall successfully execute the order," rather than reading the me as an enclitic. Something needs to be supplied to make sense out of lines 19 and 20. Knudtzon supplies "(alles)," and Mercer very duti-
fully translates this, "I prepare (everything)." They would then supply mentally the Akkadian word gabbu "all," as in 328.25,26 anu(m)ma e(p)pušu gabbu "now I shall do everything." If we take this as me enclitic, it cannot be explained in this phrase, but, if we take it as a logogram ME or MA₆ and read it tērtu "an oracle, order, command," then we clarify the meaning, and the ellipsis disappears. Normally tērtu is "an omen" or "an oracle from the gods." There is nothing wrong in considering the request of a king who is thought of as god as a tērtu, but, even apart from that, we have a good example of this word in Old Assyrian kīma anāku ana tērtika dannišma na’dākuni "how greatly I respect your order" (TCL 1973:12). Two excellent examples of šutēšuru tērtu "to insure the correct performance of an order" follow: (1) from En. el. VII 6 where Marduk is mentioned as mušteššir tērēti Anīm Enlil [u Ea] "he who successfully executes the orders given by the gods Ann, Enlil and Ea," and (2) in Schollm. No. 16 ḫa 17 (Šamaš Hymn) tušteššir tērīšina ša šuksura tapattar "you (Šamaš) insure the correct performance of their orders, disentangling those (orders) which have become confused." It is intriguing to offer this possibility both for this tablet as well as for 302.17,18, which is precisely parallel to this.
EA 330 -- L 29848; BB 65; W 241

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. a-na 1LUGALrį (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
2. qī-bī-ma um-ma
3. 1ši-ip-ti-đIM (dBa'lu) IR-ka (waradka)
4. ṣa GĪR (šēp) LUGALrį (šarri)
5. EN-ya (bēliya) a-na GĪR (šēp) LUGALrį (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
6. 1DINGIR,MESnu-ya (ilānuya) ḫUTU-ya (dšamšiya)
7. IMIN ḫIMIN (šībit[šu] ḫšībit[an] mi-lā-[a]
8. am-qūqut a-na GĪR (šēp) LUGALrį (šarri) EN-ya (bēliya)
9. 1yi-di-mi LUGALru (šarru)
10. EN-ya (bēliya) i-nū-ma
11. iš-te-mi gāb-bi
12. a-wa-at LUGALrį (šarri)
13. EN-ya (bēliya) ša-nī-tam a-mur-mi
14. 1Ya-an-ha-ma İR (warad) ki-(t)ti
15. LUGALrį (šarri) ḫep-rī
16. ša GĪR (šēp) LUGALrį (šarri)
17. ša-nī-tam yi-di-mi
18. LUGALru (šarru) EN-ya (bēliya)
19. i-nū-ma šul-ma-at
20. URUK1 (āl) LUGALrį (šarri)
21. ša it-ti-ya
B. Translation:

1. To the king, my lord,
2. speak: "Thus (says)
3. Shipti-Ba'lu, your servant,
4. and the dust from (under) the foot of the king,
5. my lord: 'At the foot of the king, my lord,
6. my deity and my Sun-god,
7. seven (times) and seven (times) full length
8. I fall down, at the foot of the king, my lord.
9. Indeed, the king, my lord, should know
10. that
11. I have just listened to every
12. word of the king,
13. my lord. Furthermore, Behold,
14. Yanhamu is a trustworthy servant
15. of the king and the dust
16. from (under) the foot of the king.
17. Furthermore,
18. the king, my lord, should know
19. that
20. the city of the king
21. which is in my (care) is safe.'"
C. Commentary: Critical and Philological:

This letter is written to the king on behalf of Yanhamu who apparently had fallen into disfavor with the king, perhaps because of his own black market operations or moonlighting jobs in Central and Southern Palestine. Shipti-Ba'lu then adds a note concerning the general welfare of the royal city Lachish.

Earlier, Shipti-Ba'lu, the author of our letter, had been accused of treasonable relations by Pa'apu (EA 333) who was a minor Egyptian official then in charge of Lachish. At that particular time, of course, Shipti-Ba'lu was second in command under Zimredda. Reading between the lines, it seems that Shipti-Ba'lu was then involved with Yanhamu, although Pa'apu speaks of Shipti-Ba'lu's intrigues which sought to involve Zimredda and the local chief of a little town in the higher hill country, almost certainly Biblical Jarmuth. What upsets Pa'apu more, though, is not so much this treasonable design as the impudent assertion by Shipti-Ba'lu that it was not he himself but rather the Egyptian officer Pa'apu who was disloyal to the crown.\(^{23}\)

Line 3. The name Šipti-Ba'lu is to be analyzed much like Zimredda. It is written three times as above and twice with both elements in the name given in Sumerian logograms, i.e., DI.KUD.\(\text{d}IM\) (EA 333.5,9) where Sum. DI.KUD equals
Akk. *dayyānu*, which is in turn equivalent to Can. *šāpītu* (Hebr. *shōpheṭ*). The root clearly then is *ŠPT* (Proto-Semitic *špt*) "exercise authority, judge," which is common Semitic except for Arabic. Among the Amorite names discussed by Huffmon, it appears only once as a qatala-form in the name *Ṣa-pa-tā-AN* in Mari. However, Wiseman in Alalakh, Pl. xviii 66.13 attests to the name as found in our Amarna text, *Ṣi-ip-ti-ᵈIM* which is built on the qitl-formation of names with predicates. On the second element ᵈIM, presumably it could be read ᵃ(H)addu for the Amorite god or ᵃBa’lu for the Northwest Semitic deity. In favor of taking this name as a NWSem. name rather than Amorite are: (1) the fact that Mari does not attest this name as a qitl-form, and (2) from the analogies of a similar name in Mari where, as Huffmon points out, the same person may be involved in the following three references, since all are contracts: (a) *Ṣi-it-ri-ᵈIM* (Addu) (b) *Ṣi-it-ru-ba-al* and variant (c) *Ṣi-it-ri-e-ba-al*. From additional names where ba-al is used, it is indeed likely that this represents the god Ba’(a)l rather than taking it as an appellative or theophorus element "lord, master."

Other names are common among the Amorites where the element ba-al is used; so, consequently, it may be perfectly proper for us to transliterate the author of this letter as *Ṣipti-ba'al*. The name clearly means, then, "[My] Judge is Ba'al."
Line 7. The translation of this line escapes me as it has predecessors in the field. The adverbial endings -šu and -an after the number "seven" in each case are not expressed as in other instances. In all other cases where milâ follows the numbers, the adverbial endings -šu and -an are not expressed either (cf. 65.4; 282.4; 284.4, as well as 64.6; 283.5,15, where mila is followed by an-na). In each of these examples the verb follows or precedes (under Canaanite influence), and often the verb is maqtiti or maqtati which is a clear Canaanism. Nevertheless I have supplied the adverbial endings to the numbers because the sentence requires this expression. I understand milâ as comparable to Hebr. mîlō', a masculine noun meaning "fullness, that which fills." We have observed elsewhere (EA 252.4 and 25) that the Hebr. word nāphal is often used of falling under someone's feet or of falling prostrate, often expressed with "to the ground" (cf. Job 1:20). It is used once in I Sam. 28:20 as follows, wayyippol mîlō' gōmāthō "and he fell prostrate at full length," i.e., his full length. This seems to confirm the use then of milâ with maqātu to express one's action of homage by prostrating himself full length forward and full length backwards. The Hebrew concept of height expressed by the fem. noun gōmāh would be elliptically supplied in Amarna. It would be intriguing to read the syllables AN.NA as a logogram for elû (adj.) "tall,
high, exalted, proud," which would be possible according to Labat who shows Sum. AN / AN.TA / AN.NA as possible ideographic expressions for this word. This is tempting indeed because of the cognate expression in I Sam. 28:20 above. However, we offer this with considerable caution, because CAD does not exhibit the equation AN.NA:elû. In all the examples in Amarna of the use of milâ given above, the definition "full" fits very well even in 283.15 where we read šumma milâ anna iyânu šâbê pîṭâti yikkîminî "if there is no full (complement) of archers, rescue me." I take the final -ma as an enclitic which does not add to the lexical understanding of our sentence.

EA 331 -- C 4779; WA 200; W 243.

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. [a-n]a 1LU[GAL]rî (šarri) H[N-ya] (bêliya)
2. DINGIR.MEŠni-ya (ilâniya) dUTU-[ya] (dšamšiya)
3. dUTU (dšamaš) ša iš-tu a[n]sa-m]
4. um-ma 1Ši-ip-te₄-[I]M (dBa'lu)
5. [R]-ka (waradka) ep-r[1] ša MIN(šinâ) GIR.MEŠ-ka (šêpêka)
6. LÛ(swîl) qar - dab-[bi] ša ANŠE.KUR.RA-ka (sIsêka)
7. a-na MIN(šinâ) GIR.MEŠ (šêpê) 1LUGALrî (šarri) EN-ya (bêliya)
8. DINGIR.MEŠ₃ⁿⁱ-ya (ilāniya) ṅ₃U₃TU-ya (ḏamšišya) ṅ₃U₃TU (ḏamaššaṣ)

9. [š]a iš-tu an₄sa-mî IMIN₄ktor] (šibitšu)

10. ṛ IMIN₃ta-a-an (šibitan) l[₄u-]₄uí [š₄-t]u-

11. ha[(h)hi-in ka-b[at-t]u-m[a]

12. ṛ šē-r[u-]ma a-nu-(m)ma

13. i-na-[₃s]a-ru a-ṣar LUGAL (ṣarri) EN-ya (bēliya)

14. ṛ URU₄kî (āl) LUGAL (ṣarri) a-ṣar

15. [i]-ba-(š)ša-ti u i-nū-ma

16. [qa]-ba LUGAL₃ʳ (ṣarri) [E]N-ya (bēliya)

17. NA₄ MEŠ (abnî) uh-lli₄ pa-a[k-k]ū

18. m[₄l]-i₄[₄m-ma] ša i-[₄a-](š)šî

19. [a-na y]ā-ši u al-lû-ū

20. [uš-š]i-r-ti a-na

21. [LUGAL]₃ʳ (ṣarri) EN-ya (bēliya) DINGIR.MEŠ-ya (ilāniya)

22. ṅ₄[U]TU-ya (ḏamšišya) ṅ₄U₃TU (ḏamšaš) ša iš-tu

23. an₄sa-mê

B. Translation:

1. [T]o the k[in]g, [my lo]rd, my deity, my Sun-god,

2. the Sun-god from h[eave]n. "Thus (says) Šiṣṭi-[Ba']lu,

5. your [ser]vant, the dus[t] from (under) your two feet,

6. the equerry of your horse.
7. 'At the two feet of the king, my lord,
8. my deity, my Sun-god, the Sun-god
9. [fr]om heaven, seven tim[es]
10. and sevenfold I p[ro]s-
11. trata myself on(my) be[ll[y]
12. and on (my) back. Now,
13. I shall protect the place of the king, my lord,
14. and the city of the king where
15. I am. Yet, when
16. the king, my lord, [sp]oke (concerning)
17. the precious uh(û)li-stones . . . x x
18. (and) whatever I have
19. [in my possess]ession, indeed, did I not
20. send to
21. the king, my lord, my deity,
22. my Sun-god, the Sun-god from
23. heaven . . . ?'"

EA 332 -- B 1883; Schr 184

A. Transliteration and Normalization:

1. [a-na LUGA)L (šarri) EN(bēlî) dₜU[TU]-ya (šanšiya)
   DINGIR.MEŠ]-ya ilâniya
2. [dₜU (šamaš) ša iš-]tu a[₢sa-mî]
3. [um-ma₁]Ši-ip-te₄-[IM (d'Ba'lu) LÚ (awīl) (URU) āl L]a-
   ki-ša k[1]
4. [ÌR-ka (waradka) e]p-[r[i ša GÌR.MEŠ-k]a (šēpēka)
5. [LÚ(a[wīl) qar-dab-]bi š[a ANŠE.KUR.RA-]ka (sĪsēka)
6. [ . . . ] k[a . . . ]

B. Translation:

1. [To the kin]g, my lord, [my] Š[un-god,] my [deity]
2. [the Sun-god fro]m h[еaven.]
3. ["Thus (say)s) Šipti-[B]a'lu the chief of the city of
   L]achis[h,]
4. [your servant, the d]us[ t from (under) your two fee]t,
5. [the equer]ry of your [horse.]
6. [ . . . ] x [ . . . ]

C. Commentary: Critical and Philological on EA 331

These two letters of Shipti-Ba'lu complement one
another in that each helps us to restore the other. Letter
332 is so badly damaged that only the first five lines can
be made out and at that with some caution, because Schroeder
leads us to believe that the text was written from one side
around the edge and on the reverse, so that lines 1, 3, 4,
and 5 apparently are completed on the reverse side. Natu-
really some conjecture will be involved regarding the full
restoration, but nevertheless the space allotted by the autographs would seem sufficient to express all that we have restored. Actually we differ little from Knudtzon, only in the reading of certain signs.

Shipti-Ba'lu apparently is answering a query of the king regarding the delivery of some precious stones. He claims that he has already sent them on their way to be delivered to the Pharaoh. As for the content of 332 we have absolutely nothing to go on.

Line 6. (332.5) The word *gardabu* appears very infrequently in Akkadian, only in EA and RS. In the Amarna collection it appears thirteen times and in each case in the stereotyped formula of introduction. It is used twice by Yapahi, the prince of Gezer. It is used six times by Widiya of Ashkelon, once by Yabni-ilu of Lachish, and once by Zurašar of Ahtiruma (?). Ebeling translates it "stallknecht," and Albright translates it "the groom of thy horse" in ANET. Winckler translates it "the servant of your horses," whereas Mercer, "the stableman of thy horses." It is difficult to ascertain whether the authors use this expression as a term of humiliation (as Winckler seems to understand it) or whether it is of an official position which these five individuals exercise in respect to the Pharaoh. I should like to point out that the evidence from Ras Shamra seems to
favor the second view, even though in Amarna it is used in a chain of appositions, including the expressions "your servant" and "the dust from under your feet." In support of our view, we point out first of all that the expression awil āl GN is also used in this chain of appositions and obviously as an official title rather than an expression of humiliation. Secondly, the evidence from Ras Shamra would seem to point to the concept of an official or occupational position in the court. A key example from the Akkadian tablets of Ras Shamra follows: a na mār šarr[i] akanna, ana huburta[nūr]i akanna, ana huburta[nūr]i akanna, ana tuppanūrī akanna, ana beī bīt abūsī akanna, ana Lūrab Lū.ME$_3$ gardabbi ISTEN rabitu ka[spu] "(gold and silver goblets presented as tribute to the king and queen), the same to the prince, the same to the huburtanūrī official, the same to the (second) huburtanūrī official, the same to the tuppanūrī official, the same to chief of the storehouse, one silver goblet to the equerry." (RS 11.732.4-9 in MRS 6.181). The expression rab gardabbi appears again in the same tablet (B.9), which is an economic text listing the inventory of tribute sent to the Hittite king. We note then that this is a high official listed fourth in a long list of high officers in the king's court, the huburtanūrī being a high-ranking court official, this word appearing as well in RS 16.180.3 (a letter from Carchemish) where it is used of the highest in the list of court
officials. The term LU EN É abūsi, i.e., bēl abūsi is the "overseer of the storehouse." It may be argued that the expression in this example from RS is rab gardabbi "chief of the gardabbu"; consequently, it does not warrant taking gardabbu itself as referring to a high official. However, we would point to the example from a juridical text, RS 16. 273.3 ana pani lTakhulina LŪ gardabbi ša LUGAL (šar) KI[ragamis] "(from this day) in the presence of Takhulina, the equerry of the king of Carchemish," etc., etc. Two things point to the high official status of this individual Takhulina. The first is that here a judicial case is heard in his presence. The same expression occurs many times in RS as, e.g., "in the presence of Niqmadu, king of Ugarit." In the second place, from the dossier of Takhulina we learn of his wealthy economic position. These two arguments militate strongly against understanding gardabbu as an occupation of a servant or slave status. One other example from RS is the reference to a gardabbu of the king of Parga (8. 213, 33; 15.19). We may point out that Nougayrol does not translate the word but merely transliterates it into the French. Goetze understands the word as "aurige" (RHS 54.65). Finally, it may be pointed out that gardabbu is a loan word into peripheral Akkadian, perhaps from Hittite or more than likely from Hurrian (cf. Hurrian abussu/abūsu very often transcribed as a loan word in Akk. abuzzu/abūzu both in
Line 17. This line is difficult to understand because aban uh(ū)li is a kind of precious stone, but its precise nature is not yet fully understood as is the case with so many other kinds of precious stones (cf. NA₄.TU: aban hulālu, i.e., a hulālu-stone which is used as a gem to decorate, crown, etc.). The use made of the uhūlu-stone is further shrouded in the mystery of the word b/pakku. We doubt that bakkū "weeping, crying, whimpering" would adequately describe its use, but at the present we do not have the equipment necessary to comprehend the word pakku. One thing perhaps is sufficiently clear: NA₄.MEŠ abnū (pl.) often has the meaning of precious stones, particularly in this type of a context. For example: (1) "There is mutual recognition, friendliness, good relations and [friendly] words between the kings [šumma] kabit NA₄.MEŠ (abnū) kabit kaspu kabit [hurasu] when there are plenty of precious stones, plenty of silver, and plenty of gold" (EA 11 R 23) (2) "A woman of the palace lu hurāsa lu sarpa ulu NA₄ ana (w)arad ekallim la [taddan] must not give gold, silver, or precious stones to a palace slave" (AfO 17 273:34 NA harem edicts) (3) anumma NA₄.MEŠ (abnū) ša aktanak ina kunukkiya ana muhhika attadı̄nsunu šuqultašunu kasper idin "I have just handed over to them on your account the precious stones which
I have sealed with my own seal, pay their weight in silver" (MRS 6 20 RS 15.63:21). Undoubtedly *paku* is to be understood as an adjective which describes either the appearance of this precious stone, its quality, or perhaps even its purpose.

On the basis of EA 323.13-16 we might add to line 16 the word *ana* which could well have been lost at the edge of the tablet. We are also prone to suggest that after line 23 we should add a number which is unknown to us and the phrase "[Quantity] NA₄.MEŠ (abnū) uhlu *paku* which is in keeping with the response of Shipti-Ba'lu similar to that of Widiya.

Line 19. *allû* is an interrogative particle "is it not? is it not that?" very often found in EA as a WSem. word precisely cognate to Hebr. hêlô. Knudtzon, Mercer, and Winckler translate this as a statement of fact, whereas it should be translated as a question, as, e.g., EA 34.16 "and now I am sending my envoy to you *u allû uttaššarka ina qāti mār šipriya ana kātu ME (100) GUN URUDU.MEŠ* and did I not send 100 talents of copper to you through my envoy?" Also, Rib-Addi complains (EA 89.20) *allû hazannašunu dāku* "is their mayor not killed (with my sister and her children)?"

EA 332 is so badly damaged that it has nothing to add to our philological comments.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV


2 Ibid., p. 36.

3 See Ch. III, sub EA 270, line 10.

4 See Campbell Chronology, p. 135.

5 Author of EA 144, and referred to by Rib-Addi and Abimilki.


7 VAB II 1244, 1354, and 1570.

8 See Campbell Chronology, pp. 107 f.

9 For fuller discussion and parallels see Noth IPN, 176 (n. 3); Bauer, OK, 7, 42, 81b.


11 See BASOR 87, p. 34, n. 10.

12 The Prophets Harper's Annotated Bible, edited by Julius A. Bewer, 1949. The dust cover of this book bills J. A. Bewer as one who "approached the prophets with a background of high scholarship in the field of Semitic languages and with the exact method and skill of the master philologist" [italics ours].

13 See BASOR 82, p. 21, and Zeits. Alttest. Wiss., 1929 p. 3, n. 2, as well as BASOR 87, p. 35.

14 Winckler, Tell Amarna Vocabulary.

15 Used three other times in 2 fs in vss. 6, 12, and Ps. 43:5 with naphshi as the subject.

16 Cf. Ezek. 46:2, Dt. 4:19, I Sam. 16:4.

17 Cf. II Sam. 15:32, Gen. 49:8.


21 For further study of the quadriliteral in Semitics, see GAG, 108-111; Heidel, AS 13 "The System of the Quadrilateral Verb in Akkadian"; Gordon UM 8,55-59; Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, HG, 30 p.q. 56,85 w.

22 CAD.s. page 139 needs correction where uṣeššin (sic) appears rather than ušhe(h)hin as correctly quoted on page 261.


24 For discussion see Noth IPN, 187 f.; Vincent, 416 f.; Harris Grammar, 153; and for Ugar. see Aisleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 2921. See also Thureau-Dangin, "Le terme šiptum dans les lettres de Mari," OR.,NS 12 (1943), 110-112.

25 Huffmon, APN, p. 57, n. 56.

26 Ibid., p. 100, n. 15. For discussion on Ba' al see Dahood, "Deities," 75-78; and Pope, in Wörterbuch, 253-264.

27 See Goetze RHA 54 3 and 5 f. for discussion of EN Ea-bu-uz-z1 in Hittite texts.

28 See Albright and Moran JCS 4 164.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is well now to summarize the results of my research on these letters from Central Palestine to the Egyptian court at Tell El Amarna. There are five general areas where I feel this dissertation has made a contribution to scholarship. Through the mass of cuneiform materials discovered since Knudtzon published his monumental work, much revision has to be done in the following areas:

(1) I have shown through critical notes on the text of these letters of Lab'aya, Milkilu, Zimredda, and Shipti-Ba'lu, the best possible reading of each sign. Very often, Knudtzon and older scholars give antiquated transcriptions and values to the epigraphic symbols. I have shown in my normalization both the Sumerian value of the logograms as well as the correct Akkadian reading. Where there has been defective orthography I have shown through diacritical marks how it should be correctly understood.

(2) A further contribution has been in the field of lexicography. We have come to a much better understanding of Canaanite philology through the Ugaritic tablets from Ras Shamra. Furthermore, the Akkadian tablets from Alalakh, Boghazkoi, Mari, Nuzi as well as Ras Shamra have shed abundant illumination for a better comprehension both of Amarna
as well as of Hebrew lexicography. In one instance, a Canaanite gloss hitherto unknown and merely transliterated has been cleared up. In other cases, fine points of meaning and nuances have been ascertained. Our method has been to study the words and phrases in detail in the light of scribal orthography, grammatical verbal formations, comparison with other uses in peripheral Akkadian, and finally resorting to the difficult use of comparative Semitic philology where etymological cognates may not always reflect semantic equivalence.

(3) Furthermore, in some cases I have been able to restore the text with a reasonable degree of accuracy on the basis of comparison with other texts. No emendations have been offered but those which have a sound textual and philological foundation. Some of the lacunae resulting from broken or worn clay tablets may never be recovered; consequently, we must rest satisfied that we have done the best possible under the circumstances. However, there is a ray of hope. Perhaps some day the archeologist's spade will unearth some archives in the mounts of Shechem, Gezer, and Lachish, which will recover duplicate copies, and more, of the correspondence between the princes of the royal cities and the Pharaohs of Egypt.

(4) Then, I have pointed out Canaanisms throughout this corpus of materials from Amarna, e.g., the use of the
Akk. Stative for the Can. Perf. or Pret., the typical NWSem. sufformatives and suffixes which stand out as tattletale marks, the oft used Qal Passive, as well as the distinctive philological expressions of the area in contradistinction to Akkadian vocabulary which might otherwise be expected.

(5) Finally, I have noted some important observations which affect the higher criticism in Biblical studies. A flood of destructive criticism has poured into the field of Biblical Introduction seeking to discredit the origin and development of the canon. In the providence of God the stones and clay tablets of centuries past are beginning to testify against false hypotheses. Careful philological and critical studies in the cuneiform materials should prove sufficient to still the developmental hypothesis and Wellhausenism. Already, archeological discoveries have given invaluable assistance in establishing sound scholarship in Biblical research. We trust that this dissertation has in a small way added to our wealth of knowledge.

There are some matters both critical and philological which need further elucidation. However, further light is needed from new materials yet to be published. Closer scrutiny and comparison with the Ugaritic materials still in process of publication also will dispel the lacunae in our present knowledge. We are confident that future generations
will profit from these new materials, but we hope that this present dissertation will prove a stepping-stone to a better understanding of the Amarna Letters as a whole.