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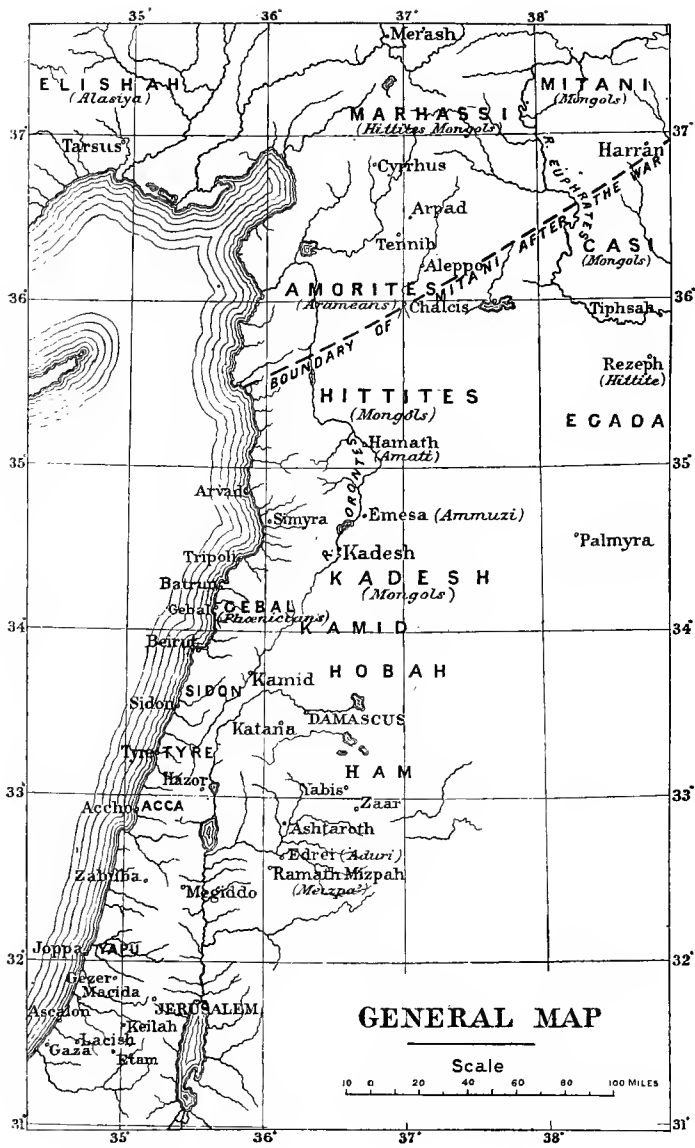
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THE
TELL AMARNA TABLETS

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

JAMES GLAISHER,
Chairman Executive Committee.

January, 1893.



ELISHAH
(Alasiya)

MARHASSI
(Hittites Mongols)

MITANI
(Mongols)

Tarsus

Cyrrhus

Harran

Arpad

Tennib

Aleppo

AMORITES
(Arameans)

CASI
(Mongols)

Tiphsh

Rezeph
(Hittite)

EGADA

HITTITES
(Mongols)

Hamath
(Amati)

Arvad

Smyra

Emesa (Ammuzi)

Palmyra

Kadesh

KADESH
(Mongols)

Tripoli

Batrun

Gebal

CEBAL
(Phoenicians)

Beirut

KAMID

Sidon

Kamid

HOBAB

DAMASCUS

Katania

HAM

Tyre

Hazor

Abis

Zaar

Accho

ACCA

Asharoth

Edrei (Aduri)

Ramah Mizpah
(Merzapa)

Zabiba

Mezido

Joppa

TAU

Gezer

Macida

Ascalon

Lacish

Gaza

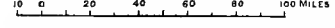
Jerusalem

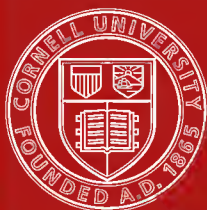
Keilah

Etam

GENERAL MAP

Scale





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THE
TELL AMARNA TABLETS.

Translated

BY

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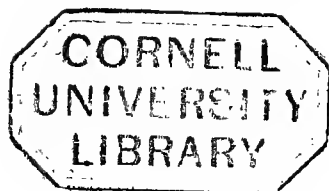
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
I. INTRODUCTORY	i
II. THE HITTITE INVASION OF DAMASCUS	11
III. THE AMORITE TREACHERY	29
IV. THE WAR IN PHENICIA	44
V. NORTHERN PALESTINE	97
VI. SOUTHERN PALESTINE	115
APPENDIX	164
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX	209

P R E F A C E .

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

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

In dealing with inscriptions the interpretation of which is acknowledged by scholars to present many difficulties, I do not presume to suppose that my translations are beyond criticism, or always final ; but I believe that such criticism, which will no doubt lead to improvements, must be confined to details,

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

The study of monumental inscriptions is often called a 'by-path' of Biblical knowledge. But in an age of destructive criticism it seems to me to present the most important weapon that can be placed in the hands of those who desire, without seeking to support any particular theory, to arrive at truth concerning the ancient history of Palestine and of the Hebrew people. In the present case we have become possessed of a mass of political correspondence dating about the time when, according to the Bible, the Hebrew invasion under Joshua took place, and which in bulk represents a literature equal to about half the length of the entire Pentateuch. That the Hebrews should be mentioned in such letters as conquering the south of Palestine, and driving out the Amorite kings, will appear natural to those who believe the narrative of the Book of Joshua to represent the history of the Hebrew conquest; and that the date so determined does not agree with the now fashionable theory, which would place the conquest much later, in the time of Seti II., need not in any way disturb our minds. The date which is conjectured by some Egyptologists does not rest on any monumental evidence at all, for the simple reason that the Hebrews are not mentioned

in any Egyptian record as yet discovered, and appear for the first time in monumental history in the Tell Amarna letters. The speculation which would make their conquest so much later, while it ignores the Biblical data, is founded only on the libels of Manetho, who wrote at least twelve hundred years later, and who makes Amenophis succeed Rameses. I have never been able to understand on what grounds the date given in the Bible is so set aside, or to agree with the dictum of Dr. Brugsch, for which no evidence is brought forward from monuments, that 'beyond all doubt' Minephtah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We should rather, I think, agree with Josephus, the critic who exposed the ignorance of Manetho, in dismissing such opinions as 'incredible fables.'

C. R. C.

SOUTHAMPTON,
Oct. 17, 1892.

THE
TELL AMARNA TABLETS



I.

INTRODUCTORY.

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

¹ 'Thontafelfund von el Amarna,' H. Winckler, 1890 (referred to as B.); and 'The Tell el Amarna Tablets in the British Museum,' 1892 (cited as B. M.). These contain the transcripts of all the letters, amounting to 320.

the collection.¹ The date is about 1480 B.C., and the course of events, though they lasted over at least five years, is at most confined to about ten or twenty, with exception, perhaps, of some letters from the South.²

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

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

² The southern letters begin in the time of Labaya, and go on to the time of his sons. Probably Dr. Bezold's view is the right one, that the war began in the time of Amenophis III., and continued to that of Amenophis IV., which would mean some ten or twelve years.

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Beersheba; but none of these kings entered the mountains of Judah or Samaria, or ever mention taking cities in Moab or Gilead. The reason, as I have before suggested, was a very simple one: the chariots, which formed the basis of Egyptian power, were not capable of being driven over the mountains. We have an instance ('Travels of an Egyptian') of a chariot being broken in crossing even the low hills south of Mount Carmel. The Egyptians held the main road along the sea-coast, as far as the Eleutherus, where it turned inland and went along the Orontes to Aleppo. They had also cross lines to Damascus by Hermon on the north, and through Bashan on the south.¹⁾

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

¹ See Judges i. 19, when at a later period the Canaanites still held the lowlands, 'because they had chariots of iron.'

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

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

The date of the letters is exactly that which is to be derived from the Bible (1 Kings vi. 1) for the

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

¹ See Appendix as to the date of the Exodus.

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

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

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

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

¹ The name of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host, may very probably be Egyptian, *Ses-Ra*, or 'servant of Ra.'

² The clay from different parts of the country differs, and gives various colours and surfaces to the tablets, so that it has been found possible by the clay alone to decide with some certainty the derivation of a few of the tablets when the name of the writer is lost. This has an interesting bearing on the question of the date of the various letters from the King of Jerusalem.

B. M. 58.—‘To the kings of the land of Canaan, servants of my brother, thus says the great King. Now *Akiya* is my messenger to the presence of the King of Egypt, my brother. Speak respectfully to the chief, and assist his people in every way. Have not they gone forth from my brother? Guard him as he proceeds to him; and he conducts on their return natives of the land of Egypt. With a speedy message they proceed to go forth; and do ye nothing against him.’

The following letter appears also to be of early date:

B. 144.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) *Muduzukhi* thy servant, the dust of thy feet, who crawls to the protection of the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. The King my Lord has sent by *Khai*, to speak of the roads of the land of *Khani Rabbe*.¹ This our explanation we have despatched. Who am I that I should explain our roads to the King my Lord . . . to the land of *Khani Rabbe*. Let the King command our road. I have pointed it out: the length is set forth.’ At this time an embassy was probably about to be sent to Dusratta, the King of the Minyans, by his

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

friend Amenophis III. The road became familiar later to Egyptian envoys.

Another letter from Tunip¹ refers to the commencement of the war, and is valuable as giving the approximate date:

B. M. 41.—‘ To the King of Egypt our Lord thus (say) the sons of the city *Tunip*, and the chief your servant: in presence of the governor truly we have assembled, and I bow at the feet of my Lord. My Lord, thus (says) the city *Tunip*: the chief is sorry (to say) the city *Tunip* (says) thus. In former days rich, we were made rich by *Manakhbiiria*² (Thothmes IV.). The land of this people has turned to his Gods; and the horn was exalted. The land was made fat, adoring the God of the land of Egypt our Lord. In the city of *Tunip* they have abode, and let them ask our Lord not to consume (or divide) the dwelling of this people; and lo! we have kept the peace of our Lord the King of Egypt. And behold for *twenty years* our messengers have been sent to the King our Lord. With the King our Lord we have dwelt, and now behold our Lord adores (Rimmon?)³ by the King our Lord He has

¹ Tunip, now *Tennib*, was close to Arpad, north-west of Aleppo. It was identified by Noldeke.

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

³ The god's name might also be rendered Adonis (*Addu*). The sign means ‘God of the air,’ and is equivalent to the Egyptian *Shu*, God of air, wind and sky.

been much adored. He gave rest; and may he establish our Lord. And our Lord adoring (Rimmon?) He hath established as King of Egypt; and why should our Lord the King turn from his former way? And lo! *Aziru*¹ is thy servant: to thy governors he listens attentively; and because the land of the *Hittites* has decreed destruction he hath come to them. And behold his soldiers and his chariots followed. And we have been afflicted; to *Aziru* they have done as to the city *Ni*.² When we have been oppressed we have not avenged; but the King of Egypt will avenge this, because of these messages as to what they are doing. Let *Aziru* rule who is peaceful before us. And behold *Aziru* will strive with the city *Zumura*³ to make them subject to him in the power of the King our Lord; and because of messages that they have gone out he avenges this. And now the city of *Tunip* is thy city. (The place has sworn payment, and its oaths are unfulfilled?), and they force him to bring their power to nought. We have been oppressed thereby. For *twenty prosperous years* we sent (messages) to the King our Lord, the King of Egypt; and not one message of our Lord to us have we put to shame.⁴

¹ Son of Abdasherah, chief of the Amorites, as appears later.

² *Ni*, often mentioned in Egyptian texts and in these letters, is supposed to be *Ninus Vetus*, on the Euphrates, east of Tunip. Its chief was afterwards allied with the Hittites.

³ *Zumura* is the *Zemar* of the Bible (Gen. x. 18), the later *Simyra* of Strabo, now *Sunrah*, on the north side of the Eleutherus river, commanding the pass from Tripoli to the inland plains of Kadesh and Hamath on the way to the north.

⁴ In this connection B. M. 2 is important. It is from

THE TELL AMARNA TABLETS

This letter explains the relations which led to the whole of the war between the Amorites and Phœnicians, as further detailed in the letters of Aziru and Ribadda.

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

II.

THE HITTITE INVASION OF DAMASCUS.

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

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

² As the Amorite *z* or *s'* seems sometimes to represent the Hebrew *sh*, this name might be compared with the Philistine Achish.

³ *Katna* is the present *Katanah*, on the south of Hermon, west of Damascus.

let my Lord ask the great men of his dominion. My Lord all lands tremble before thy soldiers and thy chariots. If these lands are under the dominion of my Lord's land, and they are seizing them, let him order his soldiers and his chariots this year, and let him take the land of *Marhasse*,¹ as it is called, to the yoke of my Lord, when—my Lord—the soldiers of the slaves² are³ For the vexer of the people comes thence into the land of *Hu (ba)*, and truly he takes those that I guard. But while his soldiers and his chariots make these groan, the government of my Lord comes not forth, and does not to meet *Aziru* (and) make him flee all is rebelling My Lord, know him. My Lord (know) the men who are his foes And lo! now the King of the land of the *Hittites* (with sacrifices pleads with his gods?). And men who are destroyers serve the King of the land of the *Hittites*, he takes tribute of them. My Lord, my servants, the men of the city of *Katna*, *Aziru* seizes, and crowds them out of the land of the dominion of my Lord; and behold (he takes?) the northern lands of the dominion of my Lord. Let (my Lord) save the of the men of the city *Katna*. My Lord truly they made he steals their gold my Lord; as has been said there

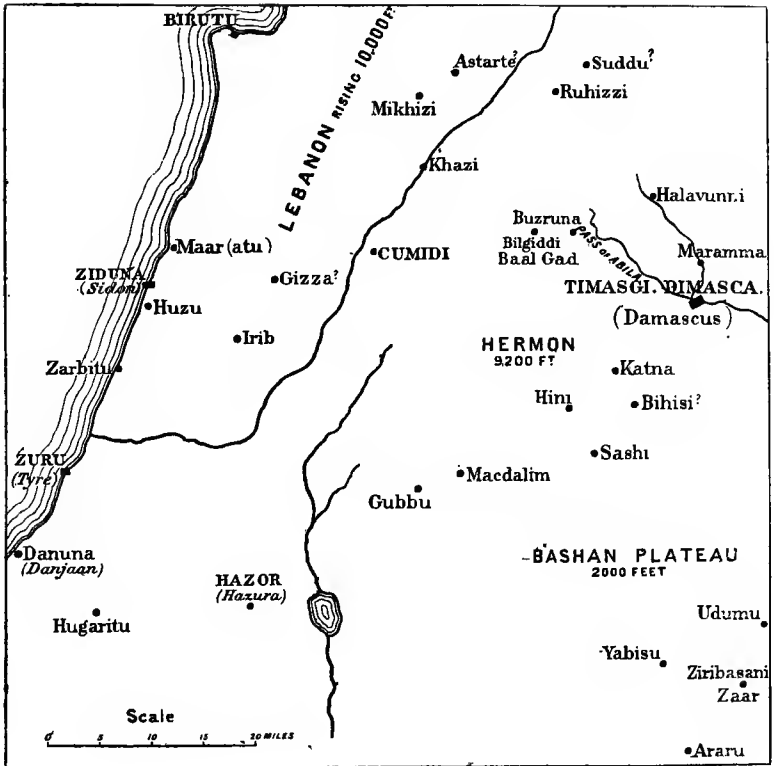
¹ Others read *Nuhasse*. It was a Hittite country, and appears to be that of *Mer'ash*, under the Taurus, where a number of important Hittite remains are found (see especially B. 31, 32).

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

³ Where breaks occur they are due to fractures of the tablet.

MAP OF SYRIA.

HITTITE WAR.



is fear, and truly they give gold. My Lord—Sun God, my fathers' god¹—the men have made themselves your foes, and they have wasted from over against the abode of their camp (or fortress); and now behold—O Sun God of my fathers—the King of the *Hittites* makes them march. And know of them, my Lord—may the gods make slack their hand. As has been said there is fear. And lo! perchance the Sun God of my fathers will turn his heart towards me. My Lord's word is sure, and let the (increase or tithe of gold?) be given him, as we have purposed for the Sun God of my fathers. As has been said they have done to me; and they have destroyed the of my Lord. For this corner—the dwelling of their fortress (or camp)—is out of sight of the Sun God.'

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

¹ This appears, as throughout the letters, to apply to the King of Egypt. All the Egyptian kings were regarded as descendants of Gods, and are so addressed in Egyptian records.

. the King of the Land of the *Hittites*. As for me I am with the King my Lord, and with the Land of Egypt. I sent and as to the rule of the King of the land of the *Hittites*.'

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

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

¹ *Aidugama* does not appear to be a Semitic name, but, as we should expect in Hittite, it is Mongol, and compares with Akkadian, as meaning 'the victorious lord.' He is called *Edagama* by the King of Tyre (B. M. 30), who mentions his fighting with *Neboyapiza*, and *Aziru's* also.

² Probably *Lapana* is *Lybo*, now *Lebweh*, north of Baalbek.

³ Probably *R'aith* (or *R'ais*), on the east side of the Buka'ah plain, east of Zahleh, on the way from the Hittite country.

⁴ Perhaps should read *Zinaar* for *Senaar*, the Shinar of the Bible. *Merash* and *Ni* have been noted above.

Lord despatch the *bitati*¹ soldiers, let them expel (them) from this land. As said my Lord these kings have the great men of the dominion of my Lord. And who can tell what they will do? Let (the King) mar them and let them be judged. Because my Lord this land ministers heartily to the King my Lord. And let him speed soldiers, and let them march; and the men of the (?) of the dominion of the King my Lord they shall reach. For my Lord *Arzuia* of the city *Ruhizzi*, and *Tewiatti* of the city *Lapana*, dwelt in the land of *Huba*,² and *Dasru* dwelt in the land *Amma*,³ and truly my Lord has known them. Behold the land of *Hobah* is at peace my Lord with the men of *Amma*. They will be subject to *Aidugama*; because we ask march thou here and mayest all the land of *Hobah*. My Lord as said the city *Timasgi*,⁴ in the land of *Hobah*, is without sin at thy feet; and aid

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

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

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

⁴ Damascus according to Dr. Bezold.

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

96 B., a letter mainly complimentary, from *Nebo-yapiza*¹ to the King of Egypt, ends as follows:

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

142 B.—'To the King my Lord thus saith this thy servant. At the feet of my Lord my Sun seven times on my face, seven times I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and they will devour me—*Neboya-piza*: we abide before thy face, my Lord, and lo! they will devour me in your sight. Behold every fortress of my fathers is taken, by the people out of the city *Gidisi*.² And my fortresses (say) "Speed us avengers." I make ready, and (because that?) the *Pakas*³ of the King my Lord, and the chiefs of his

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

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

³ *Paka* is one of the words used to designate Egyptian residents or generals. It seems to be Egyptian, and simply means *Pa-ka*, 'chief man.'

land have known my faithfulness, behold I complain to the King my Lord being one approved; let the great King think that *Neboyapiza* has given proof; for now they have cast thee out. As for me, I have (gathered?) all my brethren, and we have made the place strong for the King my Lord. I have caused them to march with my soldiers and with my chariots, and with all my people. And behold *Neboyapiza* has sped to all the fortresses of the King my Lord. Part of the men of blood are from the land *Ammusi*,¹ and (part) from the land of *Hubi*, and it is won (or reached). But march fast, thou who art a God² and a Sun in my sight, and restore the strongholds to the King my Lord from the men of blood. For they are burning his place; and the men of blood have rebelled, and are invaders of the King my Lord. We were obedient to thy yoke, and they have cast out the King my Lord, and all my brethren.'

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

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

¹ *Ammusi* might be the ancient name of Emesa, now *Homs*, immediately north of Kadesh.

² *Elohim* is in the plural, as several scholars have remarked. It often applies to the King of Egypt.

of the city *Khazi*.¹ He speaks of an attack on *Tusulti*, by bloody soldiers fighting against the place, and perhaps of the city *Bel Gidda* (Baal Gad),² and mentions a *Paka*, or Egyptian official, called *Aman Khatbi*, named after the Egyptian god Amen. The foes are spoiling the Valley (of Baalbek) in sight of the Egyptian general, and are attacking *Khazi*, his city. They had already taken *Maguzi*,³ and are spoiling Baal Gad. It seems that he asks the King not to blame his general, and speaks finally of friendly and faithful men.

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

' . . . his horses and his chariots . . . to men of blood and not. . . As for me, I declare myself for the King my Lord, and a servant to preserve these to the King entirely. *Biridasia* perceives this, and has betrayed it, and he has secretly passed beyond my city *Maramma* ;⁴ and the great pass is

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

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

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

⁴ May be read *Yanuamma*. It seems to be *M'araba*, north of Damascus, which agrees with the context. The great pass mentioned here in connection with Damascus was apparently that by which the main road from the west came down the Barada at Abila. This is the 'entering in' to Damascus, which (Gen. xiv. 15) was in the land of Hobah. This agrees with the position of Neboyapiza's town *Kamid*, west of Baal Gad, and to

open behind me. And he is marching chariots from the city *Astarti*,¹ and commands them for the men of blood, and does not command them for the King my Lord. Friendly to him is the King of the city *Buzruna*;² and the King of the city of *Khalavunni*³ has made promises to him: both have fought with *Biridasia* against me. Wickedly they vex us. I have marched our kinsmen—the people of *Neboya-piza*—but his success never fails and he rebels. As for me from and he sends out from the city *Dimasca* (Damascus) behold they complain they afflict. I am complaining to the King of Egypt as a servant; and *Arzaiaia* is marching to the city *Gizza*,⁴ and *Azi(ru)* takes soldiers. . . . The Lord of the city *Saddu*⁵ declares for the men of blood, and

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

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

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

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

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

⁵ Saddu is perhaps *Nebi Shît*, south of Baalbek: or possibly,

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

152 B.— '. thus *Ara* (*ga* ?) chief of the city *Cumidi*¹ (Kamid) at the feet of the King my Lord seven times seven times I bow. Behold as to me I am thy faithful servant : let the King my Lord ask of his *Pakas* (chiefs) as to me, a faithful servant of the King my Lord, one whom they have ruined. Truly I am a faithful servant of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord excuse this dog, and let him (bear me in remembrance?). But never a horse and never a chariot is mine, and let this be considered in sight of the King my Lord ; and closely allied² is his servant ; and to explain this I am despatching my son to the land of the King my Lord, and let the King my Lord deign to hear me.'

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

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

² Or, perhaps, 'hard-pressed.'

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

125 B.—‘To the King my Lord thus *Arzaiaia*, chief of the city *Mikhiza*.¹ At the feet of my Lord I bow. King my Lord, I have heard as to going to meet the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers of the King my Lord who are with us, to meet the general (*Paka*) with (all the infantry?) all who have marched to overthrow the King my Lord. Truly a (great strength to the people?) are the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers of the King my Lord, and his commander (*Paka*). As for me, do I not order all to after them? Behold they have been speedy, O King my Lord, and his foes are delayed by them by the hand of the King my Lord.’

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

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

¹ *Mikhiza*, perhaps the same as *Maguzi*, written by another scribe—the modern *Mekseh*, as given above. *Maguzi* might be otherwise transliterated as *Mukhzi*.

127 B. M.—The same writer says that all that the King does for his land is of good omen.

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

132 B.—‘To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) *Artabania* chief of the city *Ziribasani*² thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times, on my face, seven times I bow. Behold a

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

² Dr. Sayce calls this ‘the fields of Bashan’; probably, when taken with the next letters, we may place the site at Zora, in Bashan, now *Ezra*. De Rougé and Mariette showed that Thohtmes III. conquered Bashan.

message to me to speed to meet the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers. And who am I but a dog only, and shall I not march? Behold me, with my soldiers and my chariots meeting the Egyptian soldiers at the place of which the King my Lord speaks.'

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

64 B. M.—'To *Yankhamu*² my Lord by letter thus *Muutaddu* thy servant. I bow at my Lord's feet as this says, announcing that the enemy is hastening speedily as—my Lord—was announced to the King of the city *Bikhisi*³ from friends⁴ of his

¹ Gubbu is perhaps *Jubbata*, on the south side of Hermon, near the places mentioned in the next letter.

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

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

⁴ The word *rabizi*, which is here made equivalent to *zukini*, gives great difficulty. In Hebrew the root means 'to rest,' and the word is still applied in Palestine to resting of flocks. *Zukini* appears, as Dr. Bezold points out, to be the same as the Phœnician word *Soken* (which has exactly the required letters);

Lord. Let the King my Lord speed: let the King my Lord fly: for the foe is wasting in the city *Bikhisi* this two months, there is none On account of (*Bibelu*?) having told me this one has asked then until by the arrival of *Anamarut* (Amenophis IV.)¹ the city of *Ashtoreth* is occupied.² Behold they have destroyed all the fortresses of neighbouring lands: the city *Udumu*,³ the city *Aduri*,⁴ the city *Araru*,⁵ the city *Meis(pa?)*,⁶ the city *Macdalim*,⁷ the city *Khini*.⁸ I announced that they had taken the city *Zaar*.⁹ They are fighting this city, the city *Yabisi*.¹⁰ Moreover, fearing the force against me, I am watching it till you arrive.

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

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

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

³ Udumu, now *Dameh*, the Dametha of Maccabean times.

⁴ Aduri—Edrei in Bashan, now *Edhra*.

⁵ Araru—*Arar*, nine miles south-east of Ashtoreth.

⁶ Meispa—Ramath-Mizpah of Bashan, now *Remtheh*.

⁷ Macdalim, probably *Mejdel Shems*, east of Banias.

⁸ Khini—*Hineh*, south of Hermon, near the last.

⁹ Zaar—Zora of Bashan, now *Ezra*.

¹⁰ Yabisi—*Yabis*, a few miles north-west of the last.

This also is on your way to reach the city *Bikhisi*,¹ and you shall listen to our message.'

134 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus *Abdmelec* the chief of this city *Saskhi*² thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord . . . on my face seven times I bow. Thou hast sent as to going to meet the Egyptian soldiers, accordingly I with my soldiers and my chariots (am) meeting the soldiers of the King my Lord, at the place to which you will march.'

143 B.—'To the King our Lord thus (says) *Addubaya* and thus also *Betili*. At the feet of our Lord we bow. Peace indeed to the face of our Lord. And ill at ease, out of the lands of our Lord, much they salute. O our Lord, whatsoever people is in your midst dost thou not rule? May it please thee, dost not thou command, O King our Lord, as is said? May a man live to say so. But their intention is clear—the host of those who are hastened into our land. As has been said, because it perceives that thou art weak, *Lupackhallu*³ has removed the soldiers of the *Hittites*; they will go against the cities of the land of Ham (*Am*) and from *Atadumi* they will (take?) them. And let our Lord know, since we hear that *Zitana*⁴ the Phœnician (*Kharu*) has deserted, who

¹ The Egyptians would cross the Jordan near Megiddo, and come from the south-west to oppose an enemy on the north and east, and reach '*Abbâseh*', on the north, later than *Yabis*.

² *Saskhi* is probably *S'as'a*, east of Banias, and north-west of *Yabis*.

³ *Lupackhallu*, a non-Semitic Hittite name. As a Mongol word, 'the very swift.'

⁴ *Zitatna* was King of *Accho*—a somewhat similar name; but probably the King of *Arvad* is meant, as appears later.

will march. And nine chiefs of the soldiers of the government are with us who march, and the message is unfavourable: a gathering in the land they have made; and they will arrive from the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*). But *Betili* has promised to send against this (foe), and to swear an oath against them to wage war. And my trusty messenger I cause to be sent to your presence, as said; for you to return an order whether we shall do so or whether not. To *Raban* and *Abdbaal*, to *Rabana* and *Rabziddu* thus: behold to all of you be peace indeed. May it please you all: is not safety (to be) protected, and do you not arrange all among you; and assign what is good beyond your (borders?). Much peace; and to (the people?) peace be increased.'

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

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

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

³ Ardata is *Ardi*, near the last.

cities of the King only the city *Gebal* escapes for the King. Behold the city *Simyra* is subjected. He has smitten the city *Ullaza*.¹ The captains of both have gone into exile. Behold this sin *Aziru* wrought. Sinful are his strivings against her . . . he has smitten all the lands of *Ham* (*Am*), lands of the King; and now he has despatched his men to destroy all the lands of *Ham*; and the King of the land of the *Hittites*, and the King of the land of *Nereb* (*Nariba*)² (have made?) the land conquered land.'

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

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

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

III.

THE AMORITE TREACHERY.

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

35 B. M.—‘To the Great King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this thy servant *Aziru*. Seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord my God my Sun I bow. My Lord I am thy servant, and (from my youth?) in the presence of the King my Lord, and I fulfil all my orders to the sight of my Lord. And what they who are my (agents?) shall say to my Lord as to the chiefs who are faithful, in the sight of the King my Lord, will not you hear me speak, I who am thy servant sincere as long as I

live? But when the King my Lord sent *Khani*,¹ I was resting in the city of *Tunip* (*Tennib*) and there was no knowledge behold of his arriving. Whereupon hearing that he stayed in my region, and coming down to the place after him also, have I not reached him? And let *Khani* speak to testify with what humility, and let the King my Lord ask him as said. My brethren have prepared to tend (him), and the master of the household appoints in his presence, oxen and beasts and fowls, which will be ready to his hands. I shall give horses and beasts for his journey; and may the King my Lord hear my messages, with my assurances in the presence of the King my Lord. *Khani* will march much cared for in my sight, he accompanies me as my comrade, like my father; and behold he delivers the wishes of my Lord, by that which *Khani* makes clear, whose life may thy Gods make strong; and truly we shall thank the Sun God that I stayed not in the city of *Tunip*. Moreover because of the intention to set in order the city of *Simyra*, the King my Lord has sent word (and) the Kings of the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer'ash*) have been wroth with me. They have decided on a march according to the desire of *Khatib*,² and has not he promised them? lo! hastily he has promised them. And truly my Lord has known their race, which is under

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

² Perhaps the Hittite King of Kadesh, or some other city.

Princes who are oppressors. O King my Lord *Khatib* takes the tribute, and the (herds and flocks?) of the King my Lord: they oppress all; and *Khatib* takes tribute; and truly my Lord has known. Moreover as against my Lord the King's having said "Why dost thou yield service to the messenger of the King of the land of the *Hittites*, and dost not yield service to my messenger?"—this region is the land of my Lord, he establishes me in it, with men of government. Let a messenger of my Lord come, and all that is desirable in the sight of my Lord truly he shall order. Tin and ships, men¹ and weapons, and trees let him require.'

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

38 B.—'To *Dudu* my lord my father thus *Aziru*

¹ Or perhaps 'oil.'

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

³ *Beiti beita* is still a polite phrase of welcome in Palestine.

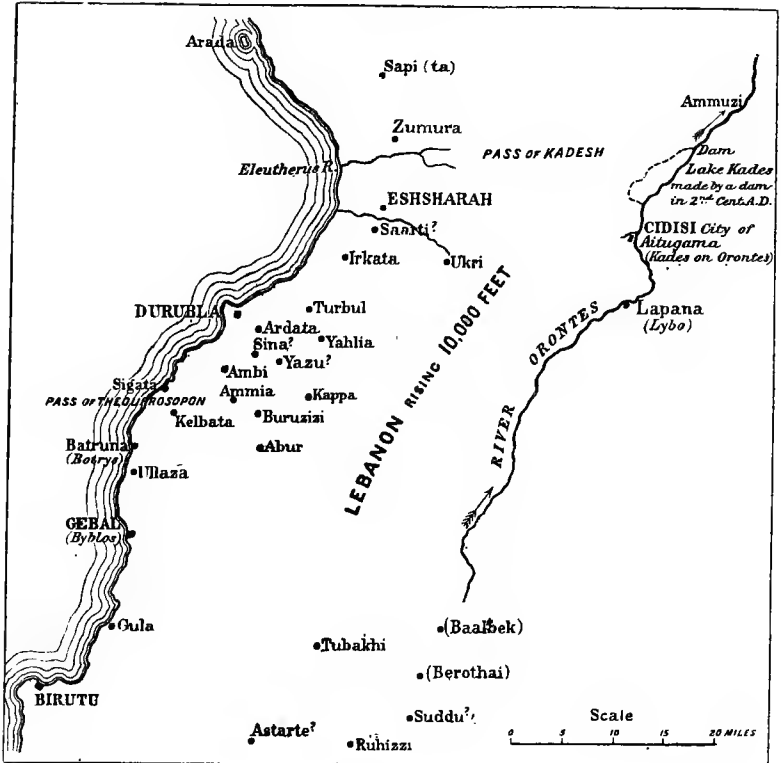
thy servant. At my Lord's feet I bow. *Khatib* will march, and has carefully followed the messages (or orders) of the King my Lord before (he goes); and what is good increases; and I have been gladdened very much; and my brethren, men serving the King my Lord, and men who are servants of *Dudu* my Lord.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

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

² Meaning the King of Egypt.

NORTHERN PALESTINE.

AMORITE WAR.



31 B.—‘To *Khai*¹ my brother thus (says) this thy brother *Aziru*. With thee (be) peace indeed, and from the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord there is much safety. Whoever (is) against it the promise remains, in sight of the King my Lord; being formerly promised it remains. I and my sons and my brethren are all servants of the King: it is good for me. Now I and *Khatib* will both march behold with speed. O *Khai*, as amongst you truly it is known, lo! I have been troubled. From the orders of my Lord there is no rebellion, nor from your orders. I am a servant of my Lord. The King of the land of the *Hittites* dwells in the land of *Marhasse* (*Mer’ash*) and I have feared his appearance. They who are in the West lands² have armed. He gathers; and while the city of *Tunip* is unoccupied, he dwells two swift marches from the city. And I have been afraid of his appearance; and contrary to messages of promise he goes forth to his rebellions. But now we shall both march, I and *Khatib*, with speed.’

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

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

² *Mer’ash* was in the west of the Hittite country, 75 miles north-west of *Tunep*. The distance fits well, since 37½ miles may be considered a forced march.

have been troubled. Now he has sent a message from the Western land—the land of my Lord: they will both march together, and I have been afraid for my Lord's land.'

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

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

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

² Probably the pass in the valley of the 'Afrin River, near *Kyrrhus*, twenty miles north of *Tunip*, is meant, being on the direct road to *Merash*.

will keep watch: strife awaits us: I trust there will be an expedition; and let us watch the lands of the King our Lord. Moreover to *Dudu* my Lord. Hear the messages of the King of the Land of *Marhasse* to me. They said: "Your father¹ what gold has this King of Egypt given him, and what has his Lord promised him out of the Land of Egypt; and all the lands, and all the soldier slaves they have fought against?" (thus) they said. to *Aziru* out of the Land of Egypt, and behold the slaves come round from the Land of . . . *Ni*²: they have rebelled; and I repeat that thirty chiefs push on against me land of Egypt he remains . . . my Lord to *Aziru* soldiers *Marhasse*.'

34 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) this *Aziru* thy servant: seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord I bow. Now what you wish is desirable. Sun God my Lord I am thy servant for ever; and my sons serve thee. . . . Thou art the Lord of the people; and let it please him to speak, and let him rule in the land of the Amorites.'

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

¹ *Abuca*, 'your father,' might be understood in the sense in which it is used every day in the East, where *abûc* means, 'God curse your father!'

² *Ni* was to the east of *Aziru*'s country near Tunip.

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

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

From these letters by *Aziru*, we must conclude either that he was a great liar, or that he was induced to change sides later. The other correspondents seem to have believed that he had long

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

97 B.—'To the King my Sun my Lord thus *Abdasratu*² thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold I am the King's servant, and

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

² Abdasherah, as Dr. Sayce points out, means the servant of the goddess Asherah ('the grove' of the Bible), and this is rendered certain by the sign for deity prefixed in one instance. It has no connection with the name of Ashtoreth.

a dog who is his neighbour (or his "friend" ?) ; and all the land of the Amorites is his. I often said to *Pakhanati*¹ my *Paka* (Egyptian resident), " Let him gather soldiers to defend the people of this King." Now all (cursed ?) as King, the King of the Phœnician (*Kharri*) soldiers *Kharri* : the King shall ask if I do not guard the city of *Simyra* (and) the city *Ullaza*. Lo! my *Paka* is in her : I proclaim the Sun-King ; and I have (given orders ?) to obey. The city *Simyra* is a neighbour,² and all the lands are the King's—my Sun, my Lord ; I watch for him : and I know that the King my Lord is very glorious ; and *Pakhanati* my *Paka* is established to judge therein.'

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

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

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

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

³ In each case 'gate' might be rendered 'port,' as both of the cities had famous ports.

‘Thou hast sent to the King thy Lord (saying thus), “I am thy servant as all former guardians¹ who have been in this his city.” And you do well to say thus. (But) I hear so to say a ruler of ours whose petition (is), “Send him away from my gate (he is) out of his city.” And in the city *Zituna* (Sidon) he abides, and has subjected himself among chiefs who are governors; and, though certainly knowing what is said, thou dost not confess the persecution of these chiefs. If thou art, as is assured, a servant of the King, how is his cutting off lawful in the sight of the King your Lord? Thus this ruler beseeches me, “Let a supplicant be protected, for he is disputing my chief city with me.” And if you do as is asserted, and not according to all the messages that I send against these things, you are hindering the King traitorously. So will be understood all that has been said.

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

¹ The word *Khazanu*, commonly used in these letters for a ruling class, apparently native, and in communication with the *Paka*, or ‘head man,’ who was Egyptian, appears to come from a root which means ‘to treasure.’ The word *Khazanutu* appears to mean ‘a government.’

messages you formerly made (and) as to what I have been vexed about in them. But thou art not on the side of the King thy Lord.'

'Lo! these (chiefs?) of the people have ruled them with upright hearts, who have spoken as to your keeping your fealty.¹ But thou ragest against everything grievously. But if thou dost service to the King thy Lord, what is it that I will not do interceding with the King? If then thou ragest against everything, I make God my witness; and if you persist, God is my witness, that messages of war (will be) in your midst, and by the might of the King thou diest, and as many as are with thee.

'But do service to the King thy Lord and live. As he commands, stay thy foot from the Land of Canaan:² thou mayest not your sins in the sight of the King your Lord he forgets. My son, contumacy is vain.

'And now the King thy Lord has known that I have been anxious to blot out contentions, for they are troublous. And thou beholdest a King at whose commands many lands tremble: he (it is) who hath established my cause. Hath not he commanded this—to still the tumults against us? To be troublous in the sight of the King thy Lord is vain. Send thy son to the King thy Lord as a hostage, and let him not delay at all.

¹ Explained by a letter from Tyre (28 B. M.), as to Zimridi having given the King's order to Aziru.

² Canaan in these letters, as on the Phœnician coins and in the Bible, is used in its strict sense as a geographical term for the 'lowlands' of Phœnicia and Philistia.

‘And now the King thy Lord hears, for I send to the King. Thus truly has the King commanded me—Khanni—a second time a messenger of the King. Truly it is to fetch to his hands men who are the foes of his house. Behold now I have been sent, as they are troublous; and moreover thou shalt bind them, and shalt not leave one among them. Now I am desired by the King thy Lord to name the men who are foes of the King in the letter from Khanni the King’s messenger; and once more I am obeying the King thy Lord; and thou shalt not leave one among them. A chain of bronze exceeding heavy shall shackle their feet. Behold the men thou shalt fetch to the King thy Lord. *Sarru* with all his sons; *Tuia*; *Licia* with all his sons: *Pisyari*¹ with all his sons: the son in law of *Mania* with all his sons, with his wives, the women of his household: the chief of *Pabaha*,² whose wickedness is abhorred, who made the trumpet to be blown: *Dasarti*: *Paluma*: *Numahe*—a fugitive in the land of the Amorites.

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

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

² *Pabaha* is perhaps the *Papaa*, conquered by Thothmes III. (Karnak List, No. 296), which was somewhere in North Syria, not far from Tunip. The wickedness of this chief is said to have caused the war.

Gutium,¹ from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same, there is much salutation.'

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

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

IV.

THE WAR IN PHŒNICIA.

Letters from Cities near Gebal.

42 B. M.—‘This letter is the letter of the city *Irkata*¹ to the King. O our Lord, thus (says) the city of *Irkata*, and her men her (flock? or lords?). At the feet of the King our Lord seven times seven times they bow. To the King our Lord thus (saith) the city of *Irkata*. Knowing the heart of the King our Lord we have guarded the city of *Irkata* for him. . . . Behold the King our Lord orders *Abbikha* . . . he speaks to us thus, O King . . . to guard it. The city of *Irkata* answers . . . the man ruling for the King. . . . “It is well. Let us save . . . the city of *Irkata*. It is well to save (a city?) faithful to the King.” . . . Behold many fight . . . the people . . . are frightened. . . . Thirty horses and chariots enter the city of *Irkata*. Lo! has arrived . . . a letter of the King as to arriving

¹ Probably 'Arkah, a well-known Phœnician city north of Tripoli, but south of Simyra (Gen. x. 17). Aziru killed its king (91 B.).

. . . . thy land they reach. The men of the city (belonging) to the King have made to fight with us for the King our Lord. You send your chief to us, and submissively we have watched. Let the King our Lord hear the message of these his servants, and appoint us provision for his servant, and thou shalt exult over our foes and thou shalt prevail. The message of command of the King thou shalt not deny us. Our destroyer was troubled at the coming of the King's order to us. Mightily he has fought against us, exceeding much.'

128 B.—'To *Yankhamu* by letter thus (says) *Yapaaddu*.¹ Why is it spoken? Lo! from the city of *Simyra* a destruction by *Aziru* of all the lands, in length from the city of *Gebal* to the city *Ugariti*;² and the destruction of this the city *Sigata*,³ and of the city *Ambi*.⁴ Behold . . the slave has (broken?) the ships in the city *Ambi* and in the city *Sigata*, and in all which dispute for the lands with the city of *Simyra*: the folk dwelling below,

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

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

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

⁴ *Ambi* is now '*Aba*, immediately east of *Shakkah*.

west of the city *Simyra*,¹ and whosoever we have made friends have been oppressed. But send this news to your great city (or palace) which has been uttered.'²

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

' Thus (saith) our confederacy to the King and the men of *Sidon* and the men of *Beruta* (*Beirût*) whose are these cities—a people neighbours of the King. Place a chief one chief in the midst of the city, and shall not he judge the ships of the land of the *Amorites*; and to slay *Abdasherah* the King shall set him up against them. Does not the King mourn for three cities and the ships of the men of *Misi*;³ and you march not to the land of the *Amorites*, and *Abdasherah* has gone forth to war, and the King hereby knows, and has heard the message of thy faithful servant. Moreover who has fought as a son for the King—is it not *Khaia*? Will you gather us ships of the men of *Misi* for the land of the *Amorites*

¹ *Simyra* was on the low hills above the sea plains, by the river Eleutherus.

² The last words explain how the letter got to Egypt.

³ These ships of the men of *Misi* are mentioned by Ribadda as failing in an attempt to assist him. We may perhaps understand Egyptian ships, and compare the Egyptian name *Mesti* applied to part of the Delta.

and to slay *Abdasherah*? Lo! there is no message as to them and no favourable letter; they returned on the road—they lost the way, and we are equally subject to the land of *Mitana*.¹ The fleet which was with me is lost. Was not this a plot against me of the men of *Arāda*?² And their weakness behold is with you—to seize the ships of the men of the city of *Arāda* which they have made in the land of Egypt. Again behold *Khaiya* laments . . . for you do not . . . and they are oppressed by the land of the *Amorites*.³

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

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

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

² *Arāda*, a city mentioned again as assisting *Aziru* with ships, appears to be Aradus, the Arvad of the Bible, now *Er Rûad*, the island town north of Simyra.

³ *Gula* is perhaps the town of *Jûneh*, north of Beirût, on the way to Gebal.

⁴ *Ammiya* is *Amyun*, north of Gebal, and *Ardatta* is *Ardi* near the preceding.

(‘chief’) of the King my Lord and the King knows his faithful servant, and he has despatched a garrison from his city, thirty men and fifty chariots, to the city of *Gebal*. I have been right. He had turned, O King, his heart from everything that *Aziru* orders him. For everything that he orders, the messages are unanswered. But every governor of the King he has ordered to be slain. I am forgotten. Behold *Aziru* has cursed the King my Lord.’

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

Ribadda's Letters from Gebal.

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

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

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

³ *Gebal*, now *Jubeil*, was apparently the chief city of Phœnicia. Its goddess *Baalath* is mentioned in the famous

King. Baalath of Gebal she hath given power to the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord my Sun seven times seven times I bow. Behold this it will grieve me . . . our city my foes the chief watches O King no men of garrison was given to the King's chiefs, and the Kings against him, and this I (say) is not defended, and the King has not feared for me; and desiring to gather spoil *Pakhura* has despatched men of the land *Umuti*¹ (Hamath). They have slain a chief servant and three chiefs (he has bound?) without appeal to the land of Egypt; and he has made allies: the city rejects me; and woe to the place, she shall mourn for his demand: the city which was not base in old times is base to us. But the King wearies of the message of his servant and you give no orders to the chiefs. His people have made us my destruction is before me, and you forbid not that chiefs in the sight of the King should my destruction. Behold now since I shall gather to and (perchance I shall repel this?)'

46 B.—The salutation, as in the preceding letter, is peculiar to Ribadda. 'Lo! the King is sending to me *Irimaia*²: maybe, he will arrive to gladden

inscription of Yehumelec (about 800 B.C.), found in the ruins of Gebal. She is also mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312).

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

² A name very like Jeremiah.

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

18 B. M.—The salutation as in the first letter (47 B.). ‘Again behold thy faithful city of *Gebal*. *Abdasherah* was coming out against me aforetime and I sent to thy father who ordered soldiers of the King (*bitati*) to speed, and I went up over all his land. No allies marched to *Abdasherah*. But behold this: *Aziru* has chosen all the men of blood and has said to them “If the city of *Gebal* is not he has come, then *Yankhamu* is with thee, and if I am not obedient to his wishes. Thou art deceived *Abdasherah* has marched without stopping to but he has watched the city of the King his Lord obediently. So now as to *Paia* and is it not heard from the messages of *Kha*

their father, as he desires This *Khaib* gave to the city *Simyra*. Lo! I lament that the King is not able to do this (for) the *Paka* (general) when behold it has been asked. And *Bikhura* has not marched from the city *Cumidi* (Kamid). I have been friends with all the men of thy Government Lo whereas I was upright to the King and he makes no sign (to me ?) Despatch soldiers : thou shalt march with every Five thousand men and three thousand fifty chariots, a thousand the *bitati* soldiers, and cause (them) to take captive . . . the land.'

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

soldiers for and these shall deliver her they have tried but now.'

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

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

'The ruins perchance he will assign to his servant; and he has been constant and is upright against this thing—to subdue all the King's (provinces?). He has lost all the cities which this has befallen to and from the destruction against me none who them. The two or three that have held fast are turning round. But he hears his faithful servant's message, and a servant who has been constant in all labour, and his handmaid the city of *Gebal* (is) the only one that holds fast for me. The evils of this deed are equally thine, but I am broken in pieces. Henceforth *Aziru* is the

foe of *Yapaaddu*. They have marched; and (there is) news that they have been cruel in their ravages against me. They rest not: they desire the evil of all that are with me. So they have waxed strong, powerful against me (a servant) faithful to the King from of old Moreover behold I am a faithful servant: this evil is wrought me: behold this message: lo! I am the dust of the King's feet. Behold thy father did not wring did not smite the lands of his rulers (*Khazani*) and the Gods established him—the Sun God, the God and Baalath of Gebal. But the sons of *Abdasherah* have destroyed from us the throne of thy father's house, and to take the King's lands for themselves. They have joined the King of the land of *Mitana*¹ and the King of the land of *Casi*² and the King of the land of the *Hittites* the King will order soldiers (*pitati*). *Yankhamu* with the of my poor land The *Paka* of the city *Cumidi* and they have marched *Gebal* to a faithful servant.'

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

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

² The region called *Casi* in the inscription of *Usurtasen I.* (*Brugsch*, *Hist.*, i., p. 139) was in Upper Egypt, and the *Cush* of the Bible is apparently intended—a very vague term for the southern deserts from the *Euphrates* to *Nubia*. There were, however, *Cushites* also in *Babylonia*. In the present case the *Cassites* who lived on the *Euphrates*, east of the *Hittites*, and who were *Mongols*, are probably intended.

43 B.—‘*Ribadda* speaks to the King of many lands. At the feet (of my Lord) seven times and seven times I bow (a servant) for ever. Lo! the city of *Gebal* is his place—the Sun God revered by many lands. Lo! I am the footstool at the feet of the King my Lord, I am also his faithful servant. Now as to the city *Simyra* the sword of these fellows¹ has risen very strong against her and against me. And so now the destruction of the city of *Simyra* is at her gates. She has bowed down before them and they have conquered her power.

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

¹ Literally ‘boys.’ It seems often in these letters to be used as the word *weled*, ‘a boy,’ is still used in Syria to mean ‘a fellow,’ applied often to very old men.

² This letter shows that the war lasted several years, over which the *Gebal* letters (written by three or four different scribes) extend; that the attack on *Sidon* preceded the taking of *Gebal*; and that *Ribadda* was not deceived by Amorite promises, knowing their co-operation with their Mongol allies of *Armenia* and the *Hittite* country.

now they proclaim peace. Truly thus behold it is with me. Let me learn the intention of my Lord, and will not he order *Yankhamu* with the *Paka*, *Yankhamu* joined beside the King my Lord, to lay waste? From before the chiefs of the *Hittite* chief men have fled and all the chiefs are afraid thereat. May it please my Lord also shall not he be (degraded?) who was thy commander of the horse with thy servant, to move the chiefs when we two went forth to the wars of the King my Lord, to occupy my cities which I name before my Lord. Know my Lord when they went forth with the ally he has left your soldiers fighting hard, and all have been slain.'

52 B.—The ordinary salutation. The letter is much damaged. It states that the land of *Mitana* had formerly fought against the King's enemies; that the sons of the dog *Abdasherah* destroy the cities and the corn, and attack the governors, and had demanded fifty talents. It appears that *Yankhamu* has arrived, and has known the chief whom the King had established. Apparently a written letter has been sent 'to the Amorite land for them to swallow.' He continues: 'Behold I am a faithful servant of the King, and there was none was like me a servant, before this man lied to the King of the Land of Egypt. But they have mastered the lands of our home.' They have slain Egyptians, he continues, and have done something (the verb is lost) to the temples of the Gods of *Gebal*; they have carried off a chief and shed his blood. He finally mentions his son *Khamu*.

25 B. M.—A short letter with the usual salutation. He requests soldiers to guard the lands for the rulers, which have been torn in pieces. The King sends no messages about himself to the writer or to *Yankhamu*. The governor's men have gathered to fight (for the *Khar* or Phœnicians?).

42 B.—Begins with the usual salutation given in the first letter. 'Having just heard the chiefs from the presence of the King it is fit that I send back a messenger (or message). Behold O Sun descending from heaven, the Sons of *Abdasherah* are wasting (shamefully?) as among them there is not one of the horses of the King or chariots, and the chiefs have devised evil—a rebellious race. And a chief is here with us of the Amorite country, with a written message from the allies which is with me. They have demanded what is shameful. Hereby is spoken a friendly message in the presence of the King—the Sun God. As for me I am thy faithful servant, and the news which is known, and which I hear, I send to the King my Lord. (What are they but dogs trembling?) in the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King—the Sun God. I sent to your father and he "to my servant soldiers" . . . they have not marched *Abdasherah* the chiefs of this government their faces against him. So now they have joined But the *Misi* men (Egyptians) . . . have brought us, with speed, corn. . . . So now not without favour I have become a great man behold: strong and powerful in their sight we have been made.

But mighty and rebellious to the King is this power. (His land does not intend to help the land?) Behold I am despatching two men to the city of *Simyra*, and all the men of its chief have gathered in order to consult as to messages to the King, who will know why you hear from us your chiefs. Good is the letter they have brought us, and the letter which the messengers of the King have uttered to us.¹ Through the pretensions of this dog the King's heart has been grieved with men, and has been unrighteously set up, devising in their hearts and (your chief?) I go against the men of blood from the city *Simyra* . . . to keep and whatsoever I have been commanded. And let the King the news of his servant. I have despatched ten chiefs of the Land of *Nubia*² twenty chiefs of the land of Egypt as a guard to the King. Sun God and Lord thy servant is faithful to thee.'

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

¹ The letter in question may have been the proclamation against Aziru given above.

² *Milukha*, or Meroe, in Assyrian inscriptions means, according to Dr. Brugsch, Nubia.

our fortress and the cries of the place
 a violent man and a dog.'

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

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

57 B.—The salutation as usual mentions Baalath of *Gebal*. 'Wherefore shall this token be sent? is it not for judgment (or a decision): from one who has watched for him, and from my freemen who have watched beside me, when the King did not defend his servant? if the King will order for us chiefs of the Land of Egypt, and of the Land of *Nubia*, and horses, not a man will escape as I trust, and the King my Lord shall despise the runaways. If none at all . . . to me . . . to march horses my land is miserable (because I am derided?) If the King cared at heart for the life of his servant, and of his chief city, he would have sent a garrison, and they had guarded thy city and thy servant. That the King shall know . . .

of our lands; and Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) shall be ordered; and to save all that live in his land, therefore it is spoken as a message to the king (with thy messengers?). As to the . . . of this dispute of *Khaia* with the city of *Simyra*, that they should send us without delay 13 talents (or pieces of gold): I gave the proclamation. The men of blood are named in the letter to the city of *Simyra*.¹ It avails not. Ask *Khaia*, as to the letter of our previous dispute with the city of *Simyra*—to satisfy the King, and to give security to the King, they are sending again, and’

24 B. M.—This is broken at the top.

‘And King my Lord, soldiers are moving to the city of *Gebal*, and behold the city *Durubli*² has sent forth soldiers to war to the city *Simyra*. If the heart of the King my Lord is towards the city of *Durubli* my Lord will also order many soldiers, thirty chariots and a thousand chief men of your land; and you will halt at the city *Durubli*, my Lord’s city. If the lands are to be defended, the King will order the departure of Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) to the city of *Gebal*, and (I doubt not?) you will march to us. And I to slay him, and behold the King my Lord

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

² *Durubli* is probably the city which the Greeks called Tripoli, the largest town between *Simyra* and *Gebal*. There is a village called *Turbul*, on the north-east of Tripoli (*Tráblus*).

. . . . faithful; and they have warred with the men *Kau Paur*¹ (Egyptian magnates) of the King. Lo! they have slain *Biari* the *Paur* (magnate) of the King, and it is abominable to my and we are much afraid. And none are servants of the King. And evil in our eyes behold is this. I am spoiled, and I fear lest no wish of the faithful chief be granted to him. Lo! you will make my kindred to be afflicted. The King shall arm the land . . . thy soldiers great and small, all of them; and shall not delay (to send) to me *Pakhanata*,² and he shall make a conquest of . . . and thou shalt tell him this, that he shall set free the city of *Simyra*; and (the King) will listen to the message of his servant, and shall (send) Egyptian soldiers. Behold I will say to the King that the Egyptian soldiers have no corn or food to eat, all the enemies have cut off from the midst of the cities of the King my Lord the food and the corn and (I) have raised soldiers gathering (in) the city of *Gebal* they have declared the wasting of my neighbourhood and to march to it, and I have stopped and not one of the lands of the *Canaanites* helps *Yankhamu*, though he is for the King.'

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

² Probably the *Pakhanata* (97 B.) who was the *Paka*, or chief, of whom Abdasherah speaks in the letter about the town of Ullaza, near Gebal. He seems to have been the resident in *Simyra* (B. 80).

58 B.—This is a large and important tablet, but much broken; it begins with a short salutation, and then says at once, ‘I am laid low.’ It refers to the loss of the city *Abur*,¹ and mentions the names of *Aziru* and *Abdasherah*, and says there is no garrison. The enemy are marching on to the capital. He says: ‘I sent to the palace (or capital of Egypt) for soldiers and you gave me no soldiers.’ ‘They have burned the city *Abur*, and have made an end in the sight of *Khamu* my son.’ ‘The man of sin *Aziru* has marched . . . he has remained in the midst . . . I have despatched my son to the palace more than three months (ago) who has not appeared before the King. Thus (says) my chief of the city of *Takhida*²—they are reaching him: of what use are the fortifications to the men left therein?’ ‘The chief who came out of the lands of Egypt to inform, whom you announced us on account of *Aziru* formerly, I shall send to the King. You will not have heard this message as to the city *Abur*. The dogs are wasting, as is said, do you not mark the news? If the King had thought of his servant, and had given me soldiers’ The next passages are much damaged, but refer to the same general subject of complaint. The next intelligible sentence is: ‘The people have been enraged expecting that

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

² The second sign is doubtful, and the place does not suggest identification (see 60 B.).

the King my Lord would give me for my chief city corn for the food of the people of the strongholds.' He then protests his good faith, and says finally: 'And my sons are servants of the King, and our expectation is from the King. . . . The city is perishing, my Lord has pronounced our death'

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

all the lands — they have disappeared to the King.¹

14 B. M.—‘*Ribadda* speaks to his Lord the King of many lands the Great King. Baalath of Gebal has given power to the King my Lord: at the feet of my Lord, my Sun, seven times seven times I bow. Why wilt not thou utter for us a message to me? And (now) know the demand which my chief is despatched to make in presence of the King my Lord; and his division of horse has marched, but the man has delayed marching—its chief—as the letters to the King were not given to the hand of my chief as to what has been said of your land, is it not needful that the allies of the *Paka* should march to the men of blood; have not all the lands been grieved? It will be necessary for the allies, but they come not being slow. Moreover I sent for men of garrison and for horses, but you care not for us (even) to return us a message for me. And I am destroyed by *Abdasherah* like *Yapaaddu* and *Zimridi*—and they are fugitives. Moreover the revolt of the city of *Simyra* and of the city *Saarti*² continues against him. We remain under the hand of *Yankhamu*; and he gives us corn for my eating. We two guard the King’s city for him, and he collects for

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

² The name *Saarti* perhaps survives in that of the *Sha’arah* district of Lebanon, immediately south of *Simyra*, and near *Yapaaddu*’s town of *Sigata* (*Shakkah*).

the King, and orders my chief, appointing chiefs to assist for me, fulfilling the decree which thou hast thyself appointed. We have trusted in the King. And two chiefs of the city have been despatched to be sent, having come down bound from the camp of *Yankhamu*. Moreover, as to this assistance to *Yankhamu*, *Ribadda* is in your hands, and all that is done for him (is) before you: it is not for me to punish thy soldiers. My superior is over me. And I will send to him if you do not speak about this, or he gives up the city, or I depart. Moreover, if you do not utter for us a message for me, both the city will be surrendered, and I shall go away with the men who support me. And learn that our corn also is failing, and *Milcuru* has measured the corn—measure of Baalath¹ very much’

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

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

¹ In Assyria we find the ‘measure of Istar.’

² The Berbers are mentioned in Egyptian texts as inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

poor country. He sent men, and they were beaten. The city of *Irkata* (Arkah) is mentioned, and the King of the *Hittites*, who is making war on all the lands. The King of *Mitani* will be king of the weak (or false) land of the writer's people. He concludes by calling *Abdasherah* a dog.

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

72 B.—'To *Khaia*¹ the *Pa* (an Egyptian title) thus says *Ribadda*. I bow at thy feet. The God *Amen* and the God *Sa* . . .² have given you power in the presence of the King. Behold thou art a man

¹ *Khaia*, now in Egypt, had no doubt already become known to *Ribadda* as an envoy.

² A God *Sausbe* is mentioned in *Dusratta's* Hittite letter.

of good the King knows, and through your zeal the King sends you with the *Paka*. Why is it asked and you will not speak to the King? that he should order for us Egyptian soldiers to go up to the place—the city *Simyra*. Who is *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog, and shall the King's land be smitten by him? Who set him up? And he is mighty with men of blood, (shear his power?) and send reinforcements: fifty *tapal* (companies?) of horse and two thousand foot soldiers; and both shall go forth from the city *Sigata*¹ (*Shakkah*). Know his intentions. Until the (*bitati*) Egyptian soldiers are sent he will not be mastered, (nor) any of the men of blood, and the city of *Sigata* and the city of *Ambi*² are both taken, and thus.'

17 B. M.—' *Ribadda* speaks to . . . (Amenophis IV.??³) the King of many Lands: at the feet of . . . my Sun God. And I repeat as to (the expedition?) against the city of *Kappa*⁴ and against the city *Amma* . . . cities faithful to the King my Lord. It is grievous. Who is this *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog, and shall he in the midst in the lands of my Lord? . . . the King

¹ *Sigata* (*Shakkah*) was just outside the great pass between *Batrûn* and *Tripoli*.

² *Ambi* (*'Aba*) was close to the last.

³ Only . . . *rari* is left, which Dr. Bezold thinks refers to Amenophis IV.; but it is doubtful if this letter can be placed so late.

⁴ *Kappa* is *Keffa*. The plain of *Keffa* is close to *Amyun*, north of the great pass of *Thecuprosopon* (*Shakkah*). *Amyun* follows at once.

my Lord has asked as to his servant, and . . . I send my messenger. Lo . . . my cities, and with the letter . . . my messages. And now behold he is marching to the city *Batrûna*¹ and he will cut it off from my rule. They have seized the city of *Kalbi*²—the great pass of the city of *Gebal*. Truly the confederates are pushing on secretly from the great pass, and they have not made an end—mightily contumacious. For they have promised to take the city of *Gebal*. . . And let the King my Lord hear this day . . . they have hastened chariots and I trust and and the fate of the city of *Gebal* by them, and all the lands . . . as far as the land of Egypt have been filled with men of blood. My Lord has sent no news as to this decree as I hoped by letter. And we desire that the city be saved, and the villages of the city, from him, for my inhabiting. I have been hard pushed. Help speedily O King my Lord . . . soldiers and chariots, and you will strengthen the chief city of the King my Lord. Behold the city of *Gebal*: there is not, as is said, of chief cities (like) the city *Gebal* a chief city with the King my Lord from of old. The messenger of the King of the city of *Acca*³ (*Accho*) honour thou with

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

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

³ In this case the modern name *Akka* is nearer to the spelling

(my) messenger. And we have given cavalry at his pleasure . . . and a division of horse because of pleasuring him.¹’

60 B.—After salutation: ‘The King my Lord shall know: behold *Benmabenat*² son of *Abdasherah* strives for the city *Gatza*.³ They have subdued the city of *Ardata*, the city *Yahlia*, the city *Ambi*, the city *Sigata*,⁴ all the cities are theirs; and the King shall order the cutting off of the city *Simyra*, so that the King may rule his land. Who is this *Abdasherah*?—a slave, a dog. O King it is thy land, and they have joined the King of the land of *Mitani*. But come to us to the King’s land to . . . before the cities of your rulers are destroyed; and lo! this has been said . . . thy *Paka*, and not his cities to them. Now they have taken the city

of these letters than is the Hebrew. This is the case with Shiloh and other important towns, showing the Canaanite extraction of the modern peasantry in Palestine. The Hebrews hardly ever renamed towns, and the nomenclature preserves the ancient Canaanite forms found in the lists of Thothmes III. a century earlier than these letters. Many towns were named from Canaanite and Philistine Gods (*Shamash*, *Dagon*, etc.), and the forms of the names in the Karnak lists are Aramaic, and not Hebrew.

¹ *Patzil* I understand to be equivalent to the Arabic *Fadl*, meaning to do pleasure or honour to a person.

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

³ Perhaps the name survives in that of the river *Kadisha*, near Tripoli.

⁴ *Ardata* (*Ardi*), *Ambi* (*’Aba*), and *Sigata* (*Shakkah*) were north of the pass: *Yahlia*, representing *I’al*, rather farther north than the others.

of *Ullaza*¹ for it is as has been said, until you shall march to this city of *Simyra*. And they have slain for us the *Paka* and the Egyptian (*bitati*) soldiers who (were) in the city of *Simyra* . . . they have done to us, and shall not I go up to the city of *Simyra*? The cities *Ambi*, *Sigata*, *Ullaza*, (*Caphar*?) *Yazu*² have fought for me. Their destruction for us by them, will be pleaded against the city of *Simyra*, these cities and the sons of *Abdasherah*
 Alas! and the city of Gebal demands of the men of blood as to the city *Tikhedi*.³ I marched; but there befell an entering-in to spoil by the men of blood.'

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

¹ *Ullaza* (*Kefr Khullis*) was close to *Batrûn*, on the south.

² *Caphar Yazu*, or *Alu-yazu*, seems to be *Kefr Yashit*, near the others.

³ Perhaps *Takheda* of another letter (58 B.).

burned by me. You know that the chief and the principal men of this city have gathered with *Abdasherah*, and behold I did not march further. Behold you know all that has been; and on this account . . . having asked my question of my prophet¹ behold I feared accordingly. Hear me speak—favourably as I trust (as to) coming; and you know that they strive with our country, who behold are men of good will. Because . . . your favour is strong do not you urge a message to this city, and out of its midst she sends to . . .’

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

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

² 53 B. is another short letter, much injured, which mentions *Batrûn*; and in this a town called *Sîna* is apparently noticed, which, if the broken tablet can be so read, would be *Kēfr Zîna*. In 54 B. a city *Zîna* occurs, but seems to be a clerical error for *Sidon*. The land of *Mitana* is also mentioned in 53 B.

great man of the chief city of *Cumidî*¹ (*Kamid*)
to march to join to me'

41 B.—Begins with the usual salutation from *Ribadda*. 'Behold I am a faithful servant of the Sun King, and I confess that my messages have been sad for the King, as you own. The King my Lord shall hear the messages of his faithful servant, and *Buri* is sending out in the direction of the city *Simyra*, and *Hadar* has marched against you, and they have beaten us, and they have brought us low. (These foes?) are destroying in my sight, and I was ready (to go out?) with the *Paka* to keep watch in the presence of the chiefs of the governments. And my Lord shall hear the news. Now *Aziru* the son of *Abdasherah* is marching with his brethren from² the city *Gebal*: and despatch Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*), and thou shalt march against him and smite him—the land is the King's land; and since one has talked thus and you have not moved, the city of *Simyra* has been lost. The King my Lord shall hear the news of his faithful servant. There is no money to buy me horses, all is finished, we have been spoiled. Give me thirty (companies—*tapal*?) of horse with chariots men there is none of this with me not a horse'

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

² Zimridi of Sidon is mentioned as a fugitive, while Gebal still held out. *Aziru* marched from (*ina*) Gebal, no doubt, to attack the south. In later ages the shore cities often held out while invaders from the north marched on Egypt.

22 B. M.—‘To *Amanabba*¹ . . . as a letter, thus says this *Ribadda* thy servant. I bow at my Lord’s feet. The God *Amen* and *Baalath* of *Gebal* have established your power in the presence of the King my Lord. To what purpose is thy messenger with me to go to the King your Lord? And may I indeed expect horses and chariots to be ordered of thee? Will not you fortify the city? And this is heard by your message, and I am sincere, but the covenant is mocked and no soldiers are heard of with it. And they have routed the . . . The city of *Batrûna* (*Batrûn*) is his; and bloody soldiers and chariots have established themselves in the midst of the city, and I had lain in wait for them outside the great pass of the city of *Gebal*² to the King my Lord with thee the soldiers of the prefect chariots and here with’

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

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

² Probably ‘outside’ means north of the pass, and *Ribadda* made the serious military mistake of defending his pass from outside instead of inside.

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

'I have been afraid of the snare. *Azaru* (is) like Lo! I am strong through the King The sons of *Abdasherah*—the slave dog—have pretended that the cities of the governments of the King are given to them—our cities. The fortress has not opened to *Aziru* . . . O King as to their cities are they not subject to them? From the city *Simyra*, to the city *Ullaza*, the city *Sapi*² . . . chariots land of Egypt from their hands for me. So now I am despatching this chief: he has left: do I not send to the King? Now the two chiefs of the land of Egypt, they whom you sent

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

² *Sapi* is probably the famous fortress *Safita*, north-west of *Simyra*.

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

51 B.—The ordinary salutation: the letter goes on in an eloquent strain: 'The storm (or a tumult) has burst forth. Let the King behold the city of *Simyra*.

Lo! the city of *Simyra* has remained as a bird caught in the snare: so her is left to the city of *Simyra*. The sons of *Abdasherah* by their devices, and the men of the city of *Arāda* (*Arvad*) by their hostility have made her wroth, and a fleet has sped in the sight of *Yankhamu* men of the city they have seized, and Lo! the men of the city *Arvad* searched for the coming forth of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*); *Abdasherah* is with them, has he not marched? and their ships are set against the reinforcements from the Land of Egypt. So now there is no navigation. Let them make haste. Now they have seized the city *Ullaza* (*Kefr Khullis*) and all whatsoever *Abdasherah* has to the chiefs. And lo! we and the ships of the men of *Misi* (the Delta?)¹ have been broken, with whatsoever was theirs. And as for me they went not up to fight for the mastery of the city of *Simyra*. *Yapaaddu* has fought on my side, against whosoever was not faithful (or constant). They have trodden me down So now in sight of *Zabandi*² and of *Ibikhaza* also, I have (joined?) myself to *Yankhamu*; and you will know their (good opinion?) of my faithfulness: as to what he thinks of my zeal make him confess, so he will (make it known?). He has fought for me and lo! they are wasting the city *Ullaza* (to make an end thereof?).'

¹ The reinforcements were expected by sea, no doubt in the ships of the *Misi*, or Delta men, the soldiers being Nubians from near Tell Amarna, which was 180 miles south of Memphis.

² Or Zabanba. Perhaps this is the *Subandi* who writes letters from an unknown town.

The back of this long letter is unfortunately quite destroyed. The final sentences are on the edge, the tablet being of considerable thickness :

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

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

16 B. M.—‘ To the King my Lord thus says *Ribadda* thy servant, the dust of thy feet. I bow seven times and seven times at the feet of my Lord. And will not my Lord hear the message of his servant ? Men of the city of *Gebal*, and my child, and a wife whom I loved, this son of war the son of *Abdasherah* has seized ; and we have made a gathering ; we have searched ; and I cannot hear a word spoken about them. I am doing my duty to the King my Lord, and once more, despatch thou men of garrison, men of war, for thy servant ; and will you not defend the city of the King my Lord ? But news has not arrived from the King my Lord for his servant. But he will be generous ; he will remember

me; and the advice I speak comes from my heart. The region near (us) *Ammunira*¹ has traversed throughout, and I went to him, for he gave assistance. And I myself searched for my child, but he has been made to vanish from my sight; and the King my Lord shall counsel his servant. Lo! the ally is zealous; and he has decreed a gathering of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord; and the King my Lord will counsel his servant. If the people may grieve him without cause in the sight of the King my Lord, I myself am helpless. But the King has no servants. Moreover, my son and my wife have been subjected to a man who sins against the King.'²

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

¹ King of Beirût (B. M. 26, 27).

² This translation is confirmed by the independent letter of *Ribadda's* friend *Ammunira* (B. M. 26).

you are informed ; to send the Egyptian soldiers, and (that) we are made sad about it, and all the chiefs of the Government. Thou shalt point out for us (that) this was done for *Abdasherah* : lo ! he sends to the chiefs of the city of *Ammiya* (*Amyūn*) to slay him who was established as Lord, and it befell by means of men of blood. So now thou shalt say for us—the Chiefs of the Government ; so now they are doing to us, and thou shalt announce to him (that) all the lands are for men of blood, and are longing for this message, as to the countenance of the King thy Lord. Lo ! a father and a lord this thou art to me ; and as for thee my face I bend, you know, to my master : behold what is done in the city of *Simyra*, lo ! I am . . . with thee. But complain to the King thy Lord, and you will promise that they be sent as I trust.'

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

¹ *Egada* is no doubt the land of *Ikatai* mentioned in the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (Chabas, p. 312) ; it there occurs with Aleppo and the country of the Hittites. In the letter of the Hittite prince of Rezep (north of Palmyra) we hear of his country as *Egait* (B. 10). Rezep was not far south of Tiphseh on the Euphrates, and south-east of Aleppo. *Bikhuru* is, how-

three of the chiefs my memorial appeals . . . to the Land of Egypt.'

The text is broken here for several lines, but refers to the King giving orders, and then continues :

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

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

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

¹ Asnath, or Asenath (Gen. xli. 45 ; xlii. 20) is an Egyptian name. *As* means 'to invoke' in Egyptian, and *Neith* (or *Nut*) was the name of a goddess. In later times (about 300 B.C.) the gods Horus, Osiris, Bast, and other Egyptian deities, were adored in Phœnicia. The chiefs have Semitic names, but their father seems to have adored an Egyptian God.

nection with the city of *Gebal*; and refers to three years of (dearth?), and to the corn failing.

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

48 B.—This begins with the usual salutation, and then continues: ‘If perchance I send a message to the King my Lord, do not thou refuse the request of my memorial. Lo! thrice has come upon me a year of storms (or tumults), and again a year of storms begins. My wheat is nought; the wheat for us to eat: that which was for sowing for my freemen is finished; their beasts, their herbs, the trees

of their gardens, are wretched, in my unhappy land. Our corn has failed. Once more the King will hear the message of his faithful servant, and will order wheat in ships, and his servant shall live; and be thou moved and send us corn. The chiefs (will send?) horses, as commanded, to *Zu* And thou shalt defend the city (by so doing?) . . . behold *Yankhamu* says (or asks) that wheat be given to *Ribadda* to him corn (the bread of men?) and now with *Yapaaddu* . . . their money henceforth ask him, he will tell all in your presence. Mayest thou know when it is spoken in the presence of the King my Lord. And this year of storms makes the wheat scarce (in) my unhappy land . . . there was scarcity before in the city *Simyra*, and now behold in the city *Gebal*.'

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

'The King of the Land *Taratzi*² has coveted the city of *Simyra*; and they desired to march to the

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

² *Taratzi* may perhaps be *Tarsus*. *Baal Tarzi* is the legend on Phœnician coins of that city. Its king naturally would have a common border with *Abdasherah* on the north, if his fortresses (or land) were outside the northern Lebanon, which was the Amorite country, and he was therefore regarded as a possible ally.

city of *Gebal*; and none now has urged him, and he has stayed in his land. Now as he is strong he will send to the great by my wish they have returned to us.' The letter is again much broken; it refers to a ruler, saying: 'His heart is with my heart; and the further region of *Abdasherah* is outside the land of the *Amorites*, and also outside the bounds that your father set. He has snatched the city of *Sidon* from his allies; it has befallen that the lands are for the men of blood, so now there is none who is a friend (or kin) to me. Let the King regard the message of his servant. Let him give men to guard his city—a fortress taming the insolence of all the men of blood.' The latter part, referring to allies, is much broken.

54 B.—This is broken at the top, and considerably injured. It demands soldiers, and the restoration of the rulers. 'The city of (*Sidon* ?), and the city of *Beirût*, the sons of *Abdasherah* have silenced: they fought for the King, but the city of *Sidon* and the city of *Beirût* are not the King's. The man of blood had despatched: she received him: he went not out (when) you demanded her; and she has rebelled to your face: the freemen have helped his rebellions. The men of blood have seized the city.¹ I shall be the next, this is my (fate ?) city *Atsar*'

¹ Comparing the letters from *Beirût* and *Sidon* (27 B. M., 90 B.) it will be seen that the city whose freemen were on the side of *Aziru* was *Sidon*. This also explains how *Aziru* took the city from his allies (48 B.).

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

¹ If *Ukri* be the right reading, the town of *’Akkar* in Lebanon, east of Tripoli, would be probable. It gives its name to the district of *Jebel ’Akkâr*, and is at the source of the river *’Akkâr*, which agrees with the mention of the ‘waters.’

support, and asks excuse on account of the enemy's success.

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

¹ Maar(ah) is probably the Mearah of the Bible (Josh. xiii. 4), now *el Mogheiriyeh*, six miles north-east of Sidon. This conquest may have just preceded the fall of Sidon.

² Gebal and Batrûn are ten miles apart. Ribadda's kingdom had extended at least twenty miles along the coast; and if Beirût and Tripoli were not independent, his land would have reached much further—to Simyra and Sidon.

³ This letter shows very clearly that the taking of Sidon preceded the fall of Byblos (Gebal).

She is helpless before them lamenting. Once more they have shut up my it has come to pass the lands . . . *Abdasherah*, the slave dog . . . the lands of the King to himself.'

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

12 B. M.—' *Ribadda* speaks to the King of Lands, of many lands, the great King the prosperous King. The Lady (Baalath) of *Gebal* gives power to the King my Lord. I bow at my Lord's feet—the Sun God—seven times seven times. Does the King know of the consumption of the city *Gebal* his handmaid, faithful to the King, by the allies who are his foes? And I am ill at ease: behold the King lets slip from his hand the chief city that is faithful to him. Let the King smite the lands of those who rob him. Lo! is not he a faithful servant, her chief who abides in the city of *Gebal*? Do not you say so to your servant, when there is a mighty fighting against him of men of blood, and the Gods of the land are (evilly disposed?), and our sons have been worn out, and our daughters have fled, and there is weakness in my unhappy land which no . . . secured? For as many as I possess, all my cities which are in the highlands of the Phœnicians,¹ the foe has overthrown: it has come to pass (or gone well) for the bloody soldiers. The city of

¹ *Kharri*, or *Khar*, for the Phœnicians, commonly found in Egyptian texts, appears to mean 'the free' or 'nobly born people.'

Gebal, with two cities, remains to me ; and I am ill at ease because *Abdasherah* is marching. The city of *Sigata* (is) his ; and he is saying to the chiefs of the city of *Ammia* (*Amyun*), " Arise, we are marching, and ye shall do as we do, and ye shall burst forth." And you know him what his messages are ; and they have done like the men of blood, and I am ill at ease. Lo ! now *Abdasherah* sends for soldiers. I have remained alone—the prey is left to the wolf ; and there is ruin before the city of *Gebal*, if there is no great man to gain me safety from his hands. And the chiefs of the government are expelled from the midst of the lands ; and the treasure of all the lands (is) for the men of blood, squandering the wealth of all the lands ; and they have torn away sons and daughters nobly born ; and (this) while the King is pondering about it, and all the lands have fought for him. And from what they have done to us, behold now thou wilt become naked to their destructions. And so now I am exceedingly afraid. Behold now there is no great man who wins me salvation from their hands. As birds that are in the midst of the snares this place has remained. I myself, in the city of *Gebal*, am faithful. Ponder which as to thy land. Now I send (complaint ?) to the palace (or great city) and you will not hear us. Now this (is) my message. *Amanabba* is with thee, ask him : he has fled,¹ and he will show the evils that are against me. Let the

¹ From 75 B. it seems that *Amanabba* had been sent to *Gebal* (probably in consequence of the former letters from *Ribadda*), but it seems he fled again.

King hear his servant's message; and he shall establish his servant's life, and his servant shall live, and shall defend the . . . with him.'

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

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

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

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

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

¹ In later times the small *mina* of Palestine was £8 6s. 8d., and the large was £16 13s. 4d. (see Conder's 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 81). This represents, therefore, at least £500 or

it is that they are asking the city of *Gebal*, from my unhappy land. The battle was waged very mightily against us, and the King is not defended by his fortress.'

81 B.—'To *Rabzabi*¹ . . . thus *Ribadda* thy son.' The letter is much broken. He refers to money, and asks him to complain to the King. He says he is afraid that the freemen are not (faithful?) to the King's governor, if the broken portion may be so understood.

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

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

¹ *Ribadda* has said (63 B.) that his sons fell into the power of the enemy when in ships. He also sends a list of property to Egypt (85 B.). Probably when these ships were sent his father went to Egypt, whence he wrote (82 B.), and a copy was sent to the King. There is one other letter in the collection, which was written from Egypt, by Amenophis III. to the King of Babylon (B. M. 1), which seems to be a copy, unless in both cases the letters were not sent. (See Appendix.)

them their master. For the King is imposing decrees. The decrees of the King are saying: "Why do ye make a waste land to those who are servants?" The King did say: "Despatch men to my friend. I shall send a garrison for the chief city." Then the King has caused to create . . . soldiers . . . in A gathering they are making of all.'

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

76 B.—'From *Riibiddi* as a letter to the King my Lord: beneath the feet of my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Behold my Lord's message from this (remnant?): from the lands of the despised, and from the chief city of fugitives, they have wandered. To go for us accordingly with this, my ships have been brought down to our shore (or to the wall). Lo! the son of *Aziru* (or the fellow *Aziru*) has fought. With me have been at rest all the chiefs of the government. They have gathered, hardening their hearts. I have gathered their ships to us; and as they go to us in haste their abodes are deserted, which were subject (to) this Phœnician race; and they have been suddenly destroyed. I am chosen chief of the chiefs of the government. To me accordingly they have subjected everything; and they have removed—on account of the success of the chiefs of my enemies—the silver from the palaces, and all else, on account of his destructions. But the King shall order soldiers for them, and now I shall send to my Lord for soldiers; and soldiers of garrison do not thou'

The letter is much broken here. It refers to the son of *Abdasherah*, and to the chief city of the *Giblites*, to his messenger, and to there being no news of soldiers coming. 'You will not (even) glance at us and despatch him. The lean soldiers are growling. "When (is) the King to feed this city? and he thinks evil of her." Speed your chief to . . . her. Why is he not ordered from the palace, being said that soldiers (are to be) sent? They have destroyed us, and they ravage the lands . . . I cause to be sent repeatedly; a message is not returned us for me. They have seized all the lands of the King my Lord; and my Lord has said that they are to repent. But now behold the soldiers of the land of the *Hittites* have trampled down our papyrus.¹ The chief city of *Gebal* (has) no food. But counsel the city . . . and accordingly I will listen. O King! for the *Misi* (Delta) men—all of them, you ordered of me presents of the royal gold, because of the sons of *Abdasherah*; and when you ordered me they were subjecting the sons of *Abdasherah* to the King; and so now it is lawful.'

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

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

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

¹ The salutations in the last letters are very curt as compared with the earlier ones.

the King my Lord, and the King shall hear the desire of his faithful servant, and appoint us Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). And request (has been made) to the King of *Babeli* (Babylon,¹ an ally of Egypt); but he . . . no soldiers of his host in her midst. . . . Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord to come to her. Behold the entanglement of the chiefs friendly to my (throne?) in the midst of the city. A son of one of the chiefs is a friend in her midst. The Egyptian soldiers are strong; and they have heard of those who are reaching her; and the city has remained to the King my Lord; and the King my Lord knows that it is against him that they have (cried war?). Now I am going to a town (that) I defend for my Lord, determined in heart, before the King my Lord, that the chief city shall not be given to the sons of *Abdasherah*. So my brother has fought him: the city is stubborn against the sons of *Abdasherah*. He is not able to leave the town,² when there is plenty of silver and gold in her midst in the Temple of the Gods, plenty of everything if they take her. O King my Lord what is done to his servant by them is done. But appoint the town of *Buruzizi*³ for my

¹ The King of Babylon refused to help the Canaanites in the reign of Amenophis III. (See Appendix.)

² The younger brother was not the one left in charge.

³ *Buruzizi* is probably *Beit Ziza*, east of *Batrûn*, in the range which runs out to the great pass of Ras Shakkah. *Batrûn* was perhaps still holding out, and the town was a refuge high up in the wild mountains. *Buru* means 'well,' and *Beit* 'house' of *Ziza*.

dwelling. Lo! *Khamu* my son (sets forth?) the request in the presence. Behold! this dwelling of the chief city—the town of *Buruzizi*—the sons of *Abdasherah* have been afraid to smite. Lo! *Khamu* my son is going to the presence: for the sons of *Abdasherah* have pricked against me, and the King's (ruined dwellings?) are empty for me. And I mourn to the King my Lord. Behold the city of *Gebal* is a city truly like our eye: there is plenty of all that is royal in her midst: the servants of the chief city were at peace, the chiefs were our well-wishers before time when the King's voice was for all. It is the chief city of the land they have wasted for me—and is none of his. Will not this desire prevail with the King? Behold thy servant, my son, I am despatching to the presence of the King my Lord; and there shall be ordered him protection of the King by soldiers . . . you will come marching to us. For the King my Lord will protect me. And restore thou me to the chief city, and to my house as of old. O King my Lord . . . of the King my Lord in her midst; and . . . the city from (shame?) . . . as . . . *Khamu* . . . till . . . shall hear . . . their servant . . . to her midst . . . the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord; and you will strengthen the soldiers of this place speedily . . . the chief city, as I trust; and you will march to the city . . . Lo! what he is saying in the presence of the King cannot it be done? O King my Lord . . . the chief city of a neighbour (*Gur*); and which has been laid low to

the demands of those that hate the same it is not just to see what is done to the lands the soldiers of the King my Lord ; and she trusts the King my Lord.'

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

Subandi's Letters.

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

38 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from heaven, thus says *Subandi* thy servant, the captain of thy horse: at the feet of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, seven times and seven times I bow. The letter hopes for thy health and (says it is well here?). I hear all the messages of the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, and now I shall guard the land of the King that is with me, and . . . I hear . . . exceeding much.'

39 B. M. is an almost identical letter from the same writer.

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

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

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

118 B.—The same salutation. He will defend the King's land. 'We have been careful of the great man that the enemies do not . . . The King's *Paka* (chief) has now been listened to exceeding much—the *Paka* of the King my Lord, Son of the Sun from heaven.'

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

¹ As regards the final outcome of these wars in the north we obtain light from the letters of Dusratta, King of Mitani (see Appendix). He was a younger man than Amenophis III., and his sister *Thi* married the said King of Egypt. His daughter *Tadukhepa* married Amenophis IV., and there were friendly rela-

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

V.

NORTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Beirût.

26 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my Sun my God, to the King my Lord by letter thus *Ammunira*, chief of the city of *Burutu*, thy servant, the dust of thy feet: at the feet of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the King my Lord—seven and seven times I bow. I hear the messages of . . . of the King my Lord my Sun my God—the ruler of my life, and they have drawn the heart of thy servant, and the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my Sun and my God—the King my Lord—exceeding much. Sufficient is the order of the King my Lord my Sun my God, for his servant and the dust of his feet. Behold the King my Lord my Sun has sent to his servant, and the dust of his feet, “Speed to the presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King thy Lord.” I listen exceeding much, and now I have sped, with my horses, and with my chariots, and with all who march with the servant of the King my Lord, to meet the Egyptian soldiers of

the King my Lord. And is it not pleasant to pay his debt to the King my Sun my God, to punish by casting out his foes? And shall not the eyes of thy servant behold this, through the mastery of the King my Lord, and the King my Lord my Sun my God, the King my Lord, shall see. Thou increasest the favours of thy servant. Now as to the servant of the King my Lord, and the footstool of his feet, now let him fortify the city of the King my Lord my Sun—the ruler of my life, and her gardens (that is to say the mulberries¹), till the eyes behold the Egyptian soldiers of the King my Lord, and the servant of the King I proclaim' (or predict).

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

¹ The mulberry is still found in large gardens at Beirût and throughout the Lebanon. Since Justinian's time it has been the food of silkworms.

of one's brethren which troubles us both. From the city of Gebal, lo! the sons of *Ribaadda* are (taken captive?): whom he will seek with me of the chiefs who are sinners to the King who (are) from the land of the *Amorites*. Now I have caused them to haste with my horses and with my chariots and with all who seek with me, to meet the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord. At the feet of the King my Lord seven and seven times I bow.'

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

Letter from Sidon.

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

¹ This repetition may perhaps be regarded as only a phonetic explanation of the preceding ideograms; but perhaps the words were added to show with certainty that by the terms God and Sun he meant the King of Egypt.

eyes are enlightened; my ears hear the message of the King my Lord; and know O King I have proclaimed in presence of the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord, I have proclaimed all, as the King my Lord has spoken; and know O King my Lord lo! mighty has been the battle against me: all who are faithful to the King in it has come to pass, and the chiefs sons, and are faithful to the King and her chief who goes out in the presence of the King's Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). The greatest of the fortresses deserts to the enemies: which has gone well for the men of blood, and they are gaining them from my hands, and my destruction is before me. O King my Lord as said the chiefs who are my foes have done.'

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

Letters from Tyre.

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

99 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun thus (says) *Abimelec*¹ thy servant: seven and seven

¹ The name Abimelech at Tyre is interesting. It occurs as the name of a Phœnician king in the time of Assurbanipal (885-860 B.C.). The chief deity of Tyre was Moloch, or

(times) at the feet of the King my Lord (I bow). The King my Lord sends (to ask) if I have finished what is doing with me. I present to the King my Lord a thousand ornaments (or 'crowns,' perhaps 'shekels'—*tacilal*); and let the King my Lord give his countenance to his servant, and let him give the city *Huzu*¹ to his servant—a fountain to supply water for his drinking: let the King my Lord grant (a chief a subject?)² to guard his town; and let me plead, and let the face of the King my Lord regard my explanation before the King my Lord. As said behold let the King my Lord order for me to defend his city. Lo! the King of the city of *Sidon* is taking the people who are my subjects—a chief who is my inferior (or foe). Let the King give his countenance to his servant, and let him order his *Paka* (chief), and let him give the city of *Huzu* for waters to his servant, to take trees for our use for the dwellings. Lo! he has made war: nothing is left. In vain have they threshed corn if the King of Sidon despoils the King's land. The King of the city of *Khazura* (Hazor)³ is leaving his

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

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

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

³ See the letters from Hazor after those from Tyre. This

city, and goes out with men of blood. Let the King show their borders to the hostile (or inferior) chiefs. The King's land is vexed by men of blood. Let the King send his *Paka* (chief) who is in our land.'

29 B. M.—'To the King my Lord, my God, my Sun thus (says) *Abimelec* thy servant: seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I (am) the dust beneath the eyes of the King my Lord my master—the Sun God who declares in presence of the lands that are meted out for all, and just it is as the decree of the Sun God his gracious father: who fulfils the breadth of its circuit, and gives light to what is obscure: who conquers all lands, enjoying good (fortune) from the abject ones he smites; who gives this his compassion from heaven, like the God Adonis, and causes all lands to rest through his mercy. This is the message of a servant to his Lord. Lo! I hear the gracious message of the King which reaches his servant, and the breadth of the circuit which is laid down on the side of the King my Lord for his servant; and the extent it makes clear, since the arrival of the messenger of the King my Lord. Does not he make it clear?—the extent is clear. The lands of my fathers behold he has left. Lo! the extent is laid down, O King, to enlarge me, and thou makest great my boundary, and the region that they have taken away from the people—the race of this people. For

petty monarch was an enemy to the southern possessions of the King of Tyre.

my boundary increases. Well pleased behold I hear the gracious messenger from my Lord, and all my land has been afraid as to my Lord's countenance. Lo! I hear the extent of the circuit; and the gracious messenger who reaches me, behold he says, O King my Lord, that the region (is) to be established by the presence of many soldiers; and the servant says for his Lord that my plain is my land over against my gardens, over against the plain of my cities. He has followed the order of the King my Lord listening to the King his Lord, and has followed the power of his (orders?), and the Sun God he has proclaimed before him; and he makes clear the breadth of the circuit from the side of his Lord, and does he not listen to the order of his Lord? The portion of his town he has divided. His word none shall overthrow in all the lands for ever, after the deed which his Lord now hears. His city will rest, will rest from overthrowing his utterance for all time. Thou art the Sun God whom he has proclaimed before him; and the decision which shall set at rest is lasting for one. And because she judges that the King my Lord is just our land obeys—the land that I am given. This Abimelec says to the Sun God. My Lord I am given what appears before the King my Lord. And now to be taken by the city of Tyre (*Tsuru*) the city *Zarbitu*¹ I behold, because of the King my Lord.'

¹ The site of Zarbitu is probably the Sarepta, or Zarephah, of the Bible (1 Kings xvii. 9, etc.), which is now *Sarafand*, half-way between Tyre and Sidon. The decision was therefore just;

31 B. M.—‘To the King the Sun . . . thus says *Abimel(ec)* seven times and seven times at the feet I am the dust from . . . below . . . and the King the Sun forever The King spoke to his servant (and) to his servant my comrade: he has granted that extension be given, and as to waters for (his servant’s) drinking. And they did not as the King my Lord has said; and we arrive at no fulfilment. And let the King counsel his servant my comrade. He has granted that the waters be given, because of the abundance there to drink. My Lord the King, behold, there is no one to tend my trees, no one (to tend) my waters, no one to make Let the King my Lord know.’ The next lines are much broken, and the letter then continues: ‘. . . . As the King has said. And let the King assign to his servant and to the city of Tyre (*Tsurru*) the city that my comrade has given, and what the order lays down on the side of the King for his servant, which the King made an order (less than a year ago?). The King is the eternal Sun God, and to his faithful servant the King my Lord shall for guardians of the town that my comrade has granted. My requests as to this town. Moreover my Lord . . . soldiers against me . . . to my desire King. Lo! his

but though apparently satisfied, Abimelec did not get what he asked in the preceding letter—if that demand was really the earlier one. There is a fine fountain (*Ain el Kantarah*, ‘spring of the arch’) to the north of Sarepta, and the region generally is well watered. The town was famous in the Byzantine age for wine.

heart is evil King my Lord; and he turns away from my wish; and O King my Lord (thou knowest the hearts of all those in the land?), and let the King give his countenance to his servant; and to the city of *Tyre* the town that my comrade has granted (is) to be given waters for (irrigation?). Moreover my Lord. . . . Let the King ask his *Paka*. Lo! the chief of the city of *Zar(epta)* has followed the city of *Simyra* (with) a ship. I am marching, and the chief of the city of *Sidon* marches out; and as for me he has marched with all and let the King counsel his servant.'

30 B. M.—*Abimelec* begins with his ordinary salutation. 'Thus far I defend the King's city which he confides to my hands very much. My intention (has been) to go to behold the face of the King my Lord, and not to take a house from the hands of *Zimridi* of the city of *Sidon*. Lo! I hear me that he will strive, and has made war with me. Let the King my Lord send down to me . . . chiefs for guards of the city of the King my Lord; and let me strive (or plead) for the dwellings of the King my Lord, with those who 'deceive his gracious countenance. I set my face at him who overflows (or breaks in pieces) the region of those who are peaceful with the King my Lord; and let the King my Lord ask his *Paka* (chief). Lo! I set my face for ever, O King my Lord. Now a messenger I am despatching to of the King my Lord, and the King my Lord the messenger his

letter and may it be the means of the King my Lord (that) he sets his face . . . for ever to . . . the face of the King my Lord. His servant will not let slip . . . from (his) hands. . . . Let him set his face King my Lord, and (he shall waters for the drawing . . . and woods for his servant. . . Know O King my Lord behold they are plucking the fruit that we left. There are no waters and no woods for us. Now *Elisaru* the messenger to the lands of the King my Lord has hasted, and I have made bold to present five precious things of copper, this agate, one throne of gold for the King my Lord. He whom thou knowest of¹ has sent to us from the land of Canaan (*Cina'ana*) and the King of *Danuna*² has sent to me being helpless. And (there is) an array of his multitude for his slaughter of soldiers, and his region has rebelled; and he has seized the King of the town of *Hugarit*,³ and mighty is the slaughter that follows him. He is strong, and none are saved from him, nor any from the chiefs of the army of the land of the *Hittites*. The proud *Edagama*⁴ of the city *Ciidzi* (Kadesh on

¹ Aziru.

² *Danuna* is probably the Danjaan of the Bible, now the ruin *Dâniân*, four miles north of Achzib, and on the border between Tyre and Accho (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 6).

³ *Hugarit* is probably *'Akrîth*, eight miles east of Danjaan. It has been mentioned as taken by Aziru in Yapaaddu's letter (128 B.). Perhaps the attack was from the east; and the King of Hazor seems to have joined the Hittites (see 99 B.).

⁴ *Edagama* has been mentioned as *Aidugama* in Akizzi's letter from Katna, which was east of Neboyapiza's city *Cumidi* (*Kamid*). See B. M. 37.

Orontes, the capital of the Southern Hittites, now *Kades*) and *Aziru* have fought with *Neboyapiza*—a bloody fight. I come next to the regions of *Zimridi*. Lo! he lets loose—the dog—ships of soldiers against me from the fortresses of *Aziru*. And lo! they have wished to catch my Lord's ruler, and all will break out. Let the King bend down his face to his servant, and let him leap forth to go out a conqueror' (or 'to the region').

28 B. M.—'To the King my Lord my Sun my God thus (says) *Abimelec* thy servant; seven and seven (times) at the feet of the King my Lord I bow. I am the dust beneath the feet. Consider me O King my Lord. The King my Lord (is) like the Sun; like the air god (or Adonis) in heaven art thou. Let the King advise his servant: the King my Lord confides in me. I watch the city of *Tyre* the handmaid of the King. And I send a hasty letter to the King my Lord, and no order does he return to me. I am the *Paka*¹ (chief) of the King my Lord, and I have diligently followed what was ordered. But as to our silence to the King my Lord let the King be assured. As a King (or chief) I guard his city. And let me plead (or strive) before the King my Lord, and let his face behold one who is born (or created) a King (or chief). Lo is he not deserted? They have shut the gate of his land on the side² of

¹ In the former letters (B. M. 31, B. 99) *Abimelec* has spoken of the *Paka* as distinct from himself. Perhaps the Egyptian residents withdrew when the troops were withdrawn.

² *Gambi*, 'side,' is interesting as a dialectic peculiarity. In Arabic *janib* is 'side'; but the Syrian peasants always pronounce the word *jumb*, which appears to be an archaic form.

his Lord, and he may not know when the King sends to his servant. He may never know. As for me.'

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

' . . . by *Elisaru* the messenger it is confirmed that the city of *Simyra* is *Aziru's*. And is not the King nourished by his city of *Tyre*, by his country? Lo! if I shall be destroyed the King is destroyed. But thus his fortress has been wasted, and there has been great fear, and all the lands have feared; and lest he should march on us (there was) slaughter of the host of the King my Lord. O King know: desolation has remained with me—with the *Paka* in the city of *Tyre*. *Zimridi* is going to the city *Irib*;¹ and alas! there is none remaining to stand up for me. The chief is helpless. And let the King my Lord advise his servant by a letter he sends to me, whom you thus hear. And *Zimrida* of the city of *Sidon* has sent to the King, and *Aziru* is a man sinful against the King, and the chiefs of the city *Arāda* (*Arvad*) destroy me,² and (everything is

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

² *Aziru's* allies from *Arvad* no doubt attacked *Tyre* from the sea. His success was in great measure due to their fleet, both at *Gebal* and in the case of other seaports.

altered?) through their ravages; and they will launch their ships: their soldiers are (about) to go forth to war to the city of *Tyre* the King's handmaid. She has been a neighbour subject to the King's hand, and the city of *Tyre* (is) to be crushed by them. Were they not violent in taking the city of *Simyra*? and they did take it. On the part of *Zimrida* the chief caused to be pointed out the King's order to *Aziru*; and I send a letter to the King my Lord, and he returns me not an order for his servant for a year. The war is tyrannous. For my sustenance there are no waters¹ and no trees. Let there be ordered a letter for his servant.'

Letters from Accho.

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

¹ Dr. Bezold has remarked that want of water was always the weakness of Tyre. In the reign of Rameses II. the Egyptian traveller (Chabas, p. 313) speaks of water sent to the island of Tyre in boats. The later Assyrian kings cut the aqueduct from Palæ Tyrus (*Ras el'Ain*) to subdue the city. The Phœnician arches of this aqueduct still remain, mixed with Roman masonry; but there was probably no aqueduct in 1480 B.C. Tyre is called by the Egyptian traveller the city of 'two ports.' The meaning seems to have escaped notice. Tyre was peculiar among all the cities on the Syrian coast in having two ports—one on the north, called the Sidonian, and one on the south, called the Egyptian, which latter I recovered and surveyed in 1881, but which was previously thought to have disappeared. The entrance of the country on the side of the King of Egypt may be supposed to mean the Egyptian port, blockaded by the ships of Arvad. Neither of these letters nor the Egyptian traveller speaks of Palæ Tyrus. Renan's views as to that place conflict with the statements of Strabo (xvi. 2).

is there who when the King his Lord sends to him will not hear? As this is sent out by desire of the Sun God from heaven, so now it is promised him.'

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

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

95 B.—'To the King my Lord my . . . the Sun from heaven thus says *Zatatna* chief of the city of *Acca*, thy servant, the King's servant, and the dust at the feet trampled under the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun God from heaven: seven times and seven times he bows honouring and adoring. The King my Lord shall hear the message of his servant; the woman my wife He has left from *Neboyapiza* with *Suta* of the King, in the city of *Acca* to say anything him. She has urged (that) soldiers of the King my Lord shall go out with her from the city *Magid* . . . No word is mentioned as to him or explanation before me; and now we two are sending. My reason (is) to assure her—*Ziza* the woman my wife—as to *Neboyapiza*, and she has not slept because of him. Behold the city of *Acca* like the city of *Makdan*¹ (is) with the Land of Egypt,

¹ This letter agrees with others preceding. *Neboyapiza*'s town *Kamid*, in Lebanon, was about sixty miles to the north-east of Accho, and *Ziza* was perhaps his sister or daughter, married to the king of an adjoining kingdom. The soldiers to be sent to Megiddo would obtain news, perhaps, of his fate, from a force on its way to *Yabis*, in Bashan, which his enemies reached after

and the King will not refuse . . . and will send . . . before me, and is it not that the King my Lord . . . his *Paka*, and let him empower him.'

Letters from Hazor.

48 B. M.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus says *Iebaenu* (Jabin) chief of the city *Khazura* (Hazor) thy servant. At the feet of the King my Lord I bow, who behold am one of the faithful servants of the King my Lord; and all those who guard the city of *Hazor*,¹ with her fortresses belong-

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

¹ There were several Hazors in the north of Palestine. Perhaps the most likely site is the Hazor of the Egyptian traveller. It is mentioned as on a mountain (Chabas, p. 313), between Aksap (Achzib, north of Accho) and the Sea of Galilee. This might be

ing to the King my Lord; and let them assure this: (and) they have remained stopping the way, to the King my Lord, of all who might announce (the news): they who have stood still before the city of *Hazor*, and before thy servant.'

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

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

the *Hazor* which Joshua took (Josh. xi. 1) from Jabin, which was above the Hûleh. The name only remains, west of the probable site, in the Arabic *Jebel Hadireh*, a high mountain of Upper Galilee. The King of *Hazor*'s name is unfortunately not quite clear in the text, but seems to be either *Abdebaenu*, or more probably *Iebaenu* (Jabin). There was another Jabin of *Hazor* later on in history (Judges iv. 2). It was no doubt a family name.

he seems to have been an enemy of the Phœnicians, being perhaps on the side of Aziru; but the date of the present letters is not fixed by any reference to persons mentioned in the other letters. It is quite possible that the Hebrews, and not the Hittites, were his foes, since the Hebrew conquest took place in the lifetime of *Yankhamu* and *Suta*, who are noticed in the northern letters also. If he was a friend of *Aziru's*, the enemy, though enemies of Egypt, could not well have been Hittites or Amorites; and the name of the king is that of Joshua's enemy, Jabin of Hazor. It is clear that the Egyptians, though expected, were not in Hazor at the time. The kings of Hazor ruled Lower Galilee, where they had a force of chariots a century later. In Joshua's time (Josh. xi.) there were also many chariots in and near Hazor.

It is remarkable that none of the letters from Tell Amarna refer to Central Palestine. There is no mention of any town in Lower Galilee or in Samaria, except Zabuba and Megiddo. Taanach, Shechem, Jezreel, Dothan, Bethel, and other such places, are unnoticed, as well as Heshbon, Medeba, Rabbath-Ammon, Ramoth Gilead, and other places in Moab and Gilead. The Egyptians probably had no stations in these wild mountains, where their chariots could not pass. The Egyptian traveller mentions no town between Megiddo and Joppa in the time of Rameses II., and no towns in the regions of Samaria or Gilead or Moab occur in the list of places taken by Thothmes III.; nor were there any

stations in the Hebron mountains.¹ On the other hand, many places in Sharon and Philistia, and in the lower hills to the east, and in the Negeb hills south of Hebron, were conquered by the last-mentioned king, and are again mentioned by the traveller of the time of Rameses II., and these occur in the present letters. We are thus at once transported to the south of the country.

¹ The nearest places to Hebron seem to have been Nezeb, in the valley of Elah, easily reached by a broad, flat road, and on the south Kanana (*Kana'an*), a fortress taken by Seti I., which is only two miles south-west of Hebron. This was (if the identification be accepted) the limit of conquest (see Brugsch, *Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 13), when Seti (about 1366 B.C.) conquered the Beersheba plains, advancing by Rehoboth and Bethlebaoth. The land of Zahi was south of Hebron, and famous for its wine and trees (Brugsch, vol. i., p. 330), Hebron still possessing fine vineyards. But the Amorites of Hebron were never apparently disturbed by the chariots, and appear in these letters as marauders of Egyptian stations. There is no mention of any advance of the Egyptians into Moab, though Seir and Edom are noticed very early, when the Sinaitic copper-mines were being worked, and before chariots came into use. In the time of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, however, the political conditions in Syria were different. The Akkadian King Gudea—a Mongol—was ruling in 2500 B.C. in North Syria, and sent for granite to Sinai. At this time also, according to the Bible, there were Hittites in Hebron, who had been driven to the north by Ahmes about 1700 B.C. So that the population in 1500 B.C. seems to have been entirely Semitic.

VI.

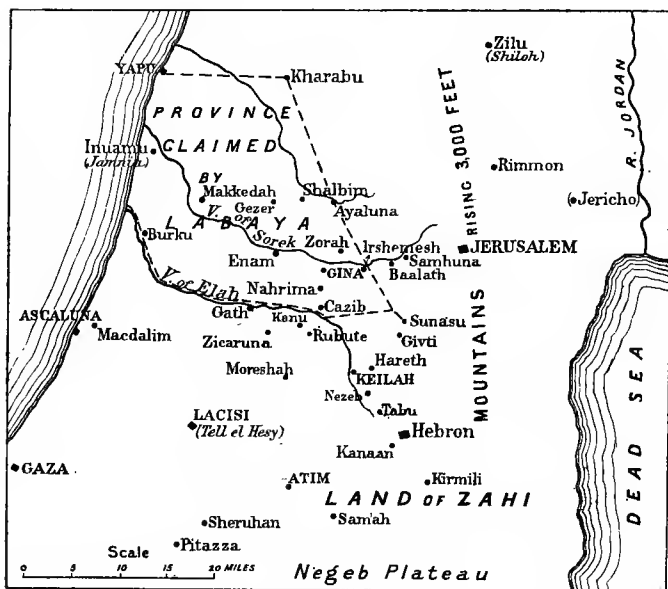
SOUTHERN PALESTINE.

Letters from Foppa.

57 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts, by letter thus (says) *Yabitiri* (Abiathar?) thy servant, the dust of the feet of the King my Lord my God my Lord of Hosts. Seven times and seven times I bow. As thou seest I am among the faithful servants of the King my Lord. I am arraying. But if I am arraying has not he rebelled? and I am arraying before the King; and he has rebelled; and you announce to him who is a friend not to tarry from pursuit striking hard. And as for me he shall not rest him, through the pursuit of the hosts of the King my Lord. And the King my Lord shall ask *Yankhamu* his *Paka*. Lo! I am a warrior, and I am casting down the rebellion, O King my Lord, and I am sending out from the pass belonging to the King my Lord. And let the King my Lord ask his *Paka* (‘head man’). Lo! I am defending the pass (or great gate) of the city of *'Azati* (Gaza) and

the passage of the city of *Yapu* (Joppa), and I myself and the soldiers (*bitati*) of the King my Lord have marched to the lands. I myself (am) with them, and now, and lo! now, I myself (am) with them. I have made the yokes (or my rule) strong by my hand, and I am very sincere to him.'

71 B. M.—The usual salutation from a servant



of the King, whose name is broken, but reads *Mus . . . ni*. 'I hear the messages of the King my Lord which he sends to his servant, hearing what is spoken by thy chief (*Ka*), and (it is) "Strengthen thou the fortresses of the King thy Lord which are with thee." Now they have minded the message of the King

my Lord to me, and the King my Lord learns of his servant. Now I am desiring *Biia* the son of the woman *Gulata*¹ my of (a thousand ?) my chief men, whom I am despatching to go down from the city *Yapu* (Joppa), and to be the defenders of the messengers returning to the King my Lord and now he takes them. *Biia* is the son of *Gulata*, and the King my Lord shall learn this message of his servant. Since thus shall be asked of the King my Lord for me, confirm thou this thy city, through the appearing of *Biia*; and truly she has stood firm, and she has been pleasing thee: but truly (there is) delay.'

This is somewhat less confident in tone than the former boasting letter. Joppa is not mentioned in the history of Joshua's wars in the south, but the 'border before (east of) Japho' is noticed in the later topographical chapter (Josh. xix. 46).

Letters from Ascalon.

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

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

² The sign of deity is attached to this name, showing that *Dagon*, the Philistine god, is intended; and it appears to mean, 'Thou, *Dagon*, art a shield.' Compare *Yamirdagan* (B. 136).

Great King my Lord says to me, "Listen thou for us to the head man (*Ka*) thy governor."¹ I hear this carefully as to the chief governor, and the ruler knows it.'

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

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

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

¹ The word *Khasanu* is here used of an Egyptian official, but with the qualification 'chief *Ka*' introducing the Egyptian word. This agrees with the view that *Pa-ka* means 'principal man.'

121 B.—From the same writer, with the same salutations. ‘Now the King’s land which is with me is defended, and all that the King has sent to me they hear. The decree is very powerful. Who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not listen to the message of the King his Lord, the Son of the Sun?’

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

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

53 B. M.—The same salutation from *Yadaya*, captain of horse and ‘dust of the King’s feet.’ ‘Now they guard the land of the King my Lord, and the

King's chief city, as has asked the King my Lord—the Sun from Heaven. Behold what the King my Lord has said to his servant—to take arms: I am now sending to the King my Lord thirty bands to carry weapons. Moreover who am I but a dog, and shall such an one not hear the message of the King my Lord the Sun from Heaven? the Sun—Son of the Sun whom you adore.'

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

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

Letters from Makkedah.

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

¹ The sign meant originally 'cup.' It is remarkable that wine is not mentioned in the letters, unless the drink here noticed was wine. There was plenty of wine in Syria and in Hebron as early as 1600 B.C.

113 B.—‘To the King my Lord and my Sun by letter thus (says) *Biridi* a faithful servant, that I bow at the feet of the King my Lord and my Sun and my God, seven times and seven times. I have heard (literally, the servant has heard) the messages of the King my Lord and my Sun, and now they guard the city of *Makidah*, the chief city of the King my Lord.’ The text is broken, but seems to read probably ‘without rest, and is set right without rest they watch with chariots, and they guard with chariots of the King my Lord, from those who do injury. And now behold a battle of chiefs in (or from) the land (below Mizpah?).¹ The King is my Lord for his land.’

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

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

¹ The text is damaged. It seems perhaps to read *Citam Mizpi*. If this is right, Mizpah near Jerusalem might be intended, or it may mean ‘below the heights.’

(or gate) has been closed through the appearance of *Labaya*. Behold learn this, and there are no men of the Egyptian soldiers with us. So now it is desired to see them sent into the city of *Magiid(da)* and let the King see accordingly whether (it is to be) done. Let not *Labaya* seize the city. If there is no word the city will open its gates. (For two years?) he rebels; and will not the King grant this also—chiefs of his guard as defenders of his chief city. Let not *Labaya* take her, though those who have fled from *Labaya* have failed in this. Moreover those who disgraced the city *Ma* are slain.'

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

¹ *Gazri* is the *Gezer* of the Bible, now *Tell Jezar*, at the foot of the Jerusalem hills.

Ben Zachariah the King has sent not to attack. Lo! *Ben Zachariah* with men of blood was known to us to march, and I marched, and we are conquering him. He gives up *Abukasu*. Once more he has made peace. The King has sent to my band (saying) "I order peace." I am desirous of peace, since the King has sent to me. Stay thy sword, ponder in thy heart, and is the peace hollow. Nay.'

59 B. M.—'To the King my Lord and my Sun and my God thus (speaks) *Yasdata* thy servant, with the King, and (he is) dust of the King's feet. At the feet of the King my Lord and Sun and my God seven times and seven times I bow. Let the King my Lord know this. Lo! all whatsoever things the King my Lord judges for his servant him the chiefs of the city of *Tabu*¹ have slain a thousand of my oxen, and they have wasted me. And with *Biridia* I have caused (men) to go forth. Let the King my Lord know this as to his servant.'

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

72 B. M.—'Lo! a letter of conquest against my foes because of what the Gods of the King our Lord have done. And the people of *Labaya* are con-

¹ *Tabu* is probably *Taiyibeh*, seven miles north-west of Hebron, on a hill at the head of the valley of Elah. This fits in with the rest of the topographical notices.

quered; and so this *Khaia*¹ is our master. They have been hastened to inform for us the King our Lord. And a (company?) of my horse was placed, and he moves it to destroy his castle (or army?), and he rides it with *Yasdata* also till I come. And he is gone away to smite him, and now *Yasdata* is thy servant, and he strives mightily with me in battle array, and has not he the rule of the King my Lord, and let be . . . to the King my Lord and *Zurata* is stopping the way of *Labaya* from the city *Makada*. And it is said as to me that I sail hence in a ship, and it will go straight to inform the King; and *Zurata* marches him and hinders him; from the city of 'Anana which is his. *Zurata* is damming the marshes. They have contrived a stoppage of the head (waters) from his drinking. Behold what thus I have done for the King my Lord. Lo! possession is possible for me, and the siege is grievous. My foes have tried to escape, but *Zurata* delays *Labaya*, and *Zurata* hinders *Addumemur* from them. And does not the King my Lord know this?

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

¹ Probably the same *Khaia* who appears in the north as an envoy to the Amorites—an Egyptian official.

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

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

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

¹ *Takanu* (see B. 199, 70 B. M.) lived near *Givti*, and perhaps was the chief of that town, which may be Gibeah of Judah, near the valley of Elah, south-east of Makkedah. It is mentioned with *Hareth*, which was close by Gibeah.

a snake coils round one, the chiefs, by fighting, have taken the city. They hurt the innocent, and outrage the orphan. The chief man is with me. They have taken the city (and he receives sustenance?). My destroyers exult in the face of the King my Lord. He is left like the ant whose home is destroyed. You (will be displeased?), but I have extended to the hand of her chief that which is asked of him: like me he is ruined and unfortunate; and this same taking of my city had been stopped if you had spoken against it. This wickedness (or foolishness) you caused, and thou hast destroyed thy city. They have desired to throttle (or persecute) us—the chiefs who have taken the city from him. It is the city of my fathers also (that) they persecute.'

154 B.—'To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) *Addurbilu* thy servant, at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. The King my Lord will know the hate which is desired by the son of the sinful chief who hated me—the second son of *Labaya*. His face is estranged. I foresee estrangement of the land of the King my Lord. He has plotted as plotted (against me?) the chief who was his father; and the King my Lord shall know it. Lo! he has built a fort . . . against me. The second son of *Labaya* (says) "Why has a vain papyrus¹ taken from us the lowlands of the *Gittites*? . . . thy Lord, O city of those who be-

¹ Referring to the King's order on papyrus. In Dusratta's Hittite letter a royal decree on papyrus is also mentioned.

sieged the chief our father." As I am saying speaks to us the second son of *Labaya*. He has made war for me with the chiefs of the Land of *Gina* which I hold—a gift to us. And when (there was) a battle he has not been confounded, and the fight was great, but he has made it his dwelling, bereaving me in the sight of the King my Lord, for he has made war in . . . of *Gina* (with?) the servants of the King my Lord. And truly a master of great men exceeding strong (is) *Biruyapiza*.¹ (And thou shalt hear?) what is said as to him.' The text becomes broken, but still refers to the doings of the second son of *Labaya*, and continues with an important passage on the back of the tablet:

'And as I say speaks to us the second son of *Labaya* who is making war. "As to our possessions from the King thy Lord, lo! this is the boundary: over against the city of *Sunasu* and over against the city *Burku* and over against the city *Kharabu*. And behold the boundary of the dwelling of my race. Ask them how (it is) of my Lords, and it includes the city of *Giti Rimuna* (Gath Rimmon). And the King thy Lord is (breaking the bond of our . . .?)." And I strive with him he deprives me of it in sight of the King my Lord. Because of his making wars with the King my Lord—my King my Lord—I and my brethren have gone down. The field is my portion. And did not the messenger of *Milcilu* proclaim the decree before the face of the second son of *Labaya*? It was made

¹ *Biruyapiza* was probably the second son of *Labaya*.

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

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

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

73 B. M.—This seems to come from the same region on account of its topography. The letter is injured at the top, and probably not addressed to the King himself. 'I say the dog is marching . . . from their ravages against me. Now behold from (being loosed?) . . . from the wastings against

. . . . Lo! consider thou thyself my chief cities. Mighty against me he has made
 to the city *Macdalim*.¹ And soldiers of the city *Cuuzbe*² have destroyed east of me. And now there is no commander to lead me forth from their hands. Moreover, *Abbikha* (or *Abbinebo*) smites my western region. They have sinned against me and all the passes he marches against
Abbikha'

Letters from Lachish.

124 B.—A broken letter from *Yabnilu*, of the city *Lacisa*.³ He is a captain of the King's horse, and sends the fullest form of the usual salutation. He listens to the messages of *Maya*, the Egyptian resident. The letter is remarkable for the final phrase: *Ana rasi anuma ibusu gabba*, 'Now all these

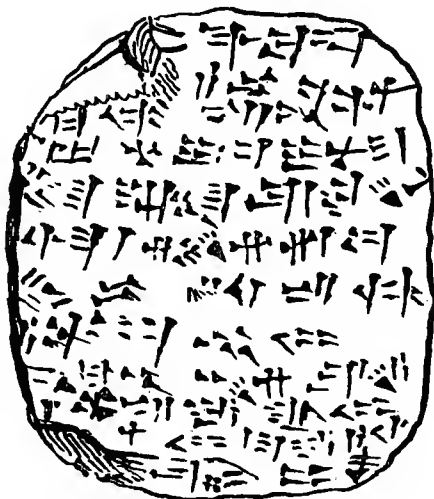
¹ *Macdalim* may be *Mejdel*, in the Philistine plain, which is still a place of importance, with a market.

² *Cuuzbe* is probably the *Chezib* of the Bible (Gen. xxxviii. 5), in the low hills east of Gath, now '*Ain Kezbeh*. The marauders seem to issue from the mountains, destroying the commerce of the plains (compare 59 B. M.). *Chezib* is again mentioned (104 B.).

³ *Lachish* was wrongly placed by Robinson at *Umm Lakis* (spelt with the *Koph*, not the *Caph*). It was identified by me in 1875 (see 'Tent Work in Palestine' and 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine') at *Tell el Hesy*, and the letter found in the ruins has confirmed the identification, which rests on the distance from Beit Jibrin as well as on the name. The *Caph* and *Kheth* are occasionally interchanged, and *Elhesy* is probably a corruption of the name of *Lachish*. The site agrees well with the account and picture of the campaign of *Senacherib* found at *Nineveh*.

things are on my head.' This is the common expression still used in Palestine by servants addressing a master. 'On my head' means 'I will obey,' and important documents—such as a Sultan's firman—are placed on the head of the person who receives them, in token of obedience.

TELL EL HESY TABLET.

*Front.*

123 B.—'To the King my Lord my God my Sun—the Sun from the heavens—thus says *Zimrida* the chief of the city of *Lacisa* (Lachish) thy servant, the dust of thy feet. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times I bow: the messenger of the King my Lord whom he sent to me—I hear his message, and am bound to obey it.'

Zimrida of Lachish is also mentioned in a letter from Jerusalem (184 B.). There is no reason to suppose that he was the same person as Zimridi of Sidon, whom we left hiding in the Lebanon.

The following letter was found, not at Tell Amarna, but by Mr. Bliss excavating the site of Lachish (*Tell*

TELL EL HESY TABLET.

*Back.*

el Hesy) for the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1892, and by aid of the preceding it serves to confirm my identification made in 1875. A copy of the tablet is attached for the consideration of cuneiform scholars. The following appears to be the transliteration:

FRONT.

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

BACK.

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

The main interest in this short letter lies in the

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

‘Is it not sent (as a message) to the great chief of the house of our fathers? Lo! truly thou knowest that they have fortified the city of *Atim*. And O Zimridi to the feet of him who is established as the chieftain behold humbly I bow. Supporter of cities behold! O Saviour of the people I have rent (my garments) yea entreaties for defenders of (?). And three years or four the foe (or dog) has been resting who desires my country. Now behold they have entered the land to lay waste. The city of *Sumhi* (or *Sum’a*) which we inhabit he is surrounding: he has gathered in order to besiege; and as far as this are going thirteen sections of our (tribe?). Strong (is he) who has come down. He lays waste. He has gone out with secret feet¹ I send and they have (arrayed?) the land of the race of my foe: may his land perish.’

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

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

¹ Marched stealthily.

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

Letters from Gezer.

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

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

¹ This letter is perhaps explained by another (104 B.), in which the King of Jerusalem sends his wives to Egypt with the Egyptian envoy, on account of the war with the Hebrews.

109 B.—Begins with the same salutation as the preceding, and continues: ‘The message of the King my Lord my God my Sun to me being brought, now his command they have done for the King my Lord—the Sun from heaven; and truly the King my Lord my God my Sun knows, that peaceful is the land of the King my Lord which is with me.’

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

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

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

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

¹ Chief of Keilah, whose letters follow.

mentioned in connection with Milcilu (149 B.) in a letter from near Makkedah, which was the next great town to Gezer on the south.

‘To the King my Lord thus (says) *Takanu*¹ thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Lo! I am the King’s servant, and the guard of the traffic of my roads is torn from my people, and there is fear, without refuge. Are they not to come up? My roads are needful for the King my Lord; and ask the chiefs thy *Tarkas*,² if there is not fear, without refuge for my people. Moreover behold (we are) persecuted to destruction. My entreaty when I beseech the God of heaven (is) this—whether we have fallen into forgetfulness and he is wroth with us. We have lacked at thy hand, and behold this now, the guard is necessary for my roads. The chief who hates me lurks. They have gone to the King my Lord, and the King my Lord shall learn; behold send down a host and it shall watch.’

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

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

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

² *Tarka* instead of *Paka*. In Egyptian the word *tar* means ‘to drive’ or ‘compel,’ preceding the sign of a man with a stick. *Tarka* is thus apparently an ‘overseer’ of the people.

and speaks of a letter : of transgression and sin ; and mentions the city *Gazri* (Gezer). He speaks of the going down of the king (or casting down), and of the *Paka*.

50 B. M.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun, the Sun from the heavens, thus (says) *Yapa'a*¹ the chief of the city of *Gazri* (Gezer) thy servant, the dust of thy feet, a chief captain of thy horse. At the feet of the King my Lord—the Sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times I bow indeed—(this is honour and this is right ?); and whatever the King my Lord says to me I listen to exceeding much. I am the King’s servant, the dust of thy feet. And the King my Lord shall learn. Behold the chief of my brethren ; fellows foreign to me also strive for the city of *Mu(ra)'azi*;² and the delivery of the same is the demand of men of blood ; and now behold what has arisen against me, and counsel as to thy land. Let the King send to the chief who is his friend against one (who is a foe ?).’

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

² *Mu(ra)'azi* seems clearly to be *Mer'ash*, the Hebrew *Moreseth Gath* (Micah i. 14). The modern name is nearer to the Amorite than to the Hebrew, having a guttural at the end ; and, as in other cases, the Amorite *z* stands for a Hebrew *s*. The site is south of Gath, and not far from Lachish, close to Beit Jibrin.

49 B. M.—After the same salutation from *Yapa'a*, chief of *Gezer*, master of the horse, the letter continues: 'I hear the message of the messenger of the King my Lord exceeding much. And let the King my Lord, the Sun from heaven, counsel his servant as to his land. Now strong is the chief of the men of blood against us; and send thou to destroy him O King my Lord for me; and will not the King restore from the hand of the chief of bloody ones? We are not quite made an end of by the chief of the bloody ones.'

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

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

Letters from Jerusalem.

105 B.—‘ To the King my Lord thus (says) *Adonizedek*¹ thy servant at the feet of my Lord seven times and seven times Behold *Milcilu* is not rid from the sons of *Labaya*, and from the sons of *Arzaya*, as to their desire of the King’s land for themselves. A ruling man who makes demand thereof, why has he not asked it of the King? Lo! *Milcilu* and *Takanu* have desired the doing thereof. Lo! he has marched to it. Not having desired to strive’ The lower half of the front is here lost, and the rest is on the back.

‘ So now, failing those who were chiefs of the garrison of the King, let me fly to the King.² Truly

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

² *Adonizedek* is meditating flight. His letters speak of a raid on Gezer, Ascalon, and as far as Lachish, after the taking of Ajalon by the Hebrews, but they say nothing of Makkedah.

Ben Piru (or *Ben Carru*) has fled his being led captive by my destroyers, he goes from the city *'Azati* (Gaza): let him remind the King in his presence of a garrison to guard the land. All the King's land is rebellious. *Yagu Balaam* is sent, and let the King's land know from the King's scribe Thus says *Adonizedek* thy servant the messages.'

102 B.—'To the King my Lord is mourning thus this *Adonizedek* thy servant. At the feet of my Lord, of the King, seven times and seven times I bow. What shall I ask of the King my Lord? They have prevailed, they have (taken the fortress of Jericho¹) they who have gathered against the King of Kings, which *Adonizedek* has explained to the King his Lord. Behold, as to me, my father is not and my army is not.² The tribe that has ground me in this

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

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

² 'I have no father and no army.' It either means this or 'Have I no father and no friend?' It might refer to his father's death, or to the King of Egypt not being his father and friend. Dr. Sayce renders 'neither father nor mother' (SAL *um* for *rag um*); but it is very unusual for Orientals to refer to their female relations or wives, though in the case of the King of Accho (95 B.) the writer speaks of his wife; but this is for a special reason (see also 104 B.).

place is very rebellious to the King, the same is gathering near me for the house of my father. Why has the tribe sinned against the King my Lord? Behold O King my Lord arise! I say to the *Paka* (resident) of the King my Lord "Why is the land in slavery to the chief of the 'Abiri¹ (Hebrews) and the rulers fear the end? So now they must send from the presence of the King my Lord." Behold I say that the land of the King my Lord is ruined. So now they must send to the King my Lord, and let

¹ 'Abiri. This is read by others *Habiri*, 'allies'; but the political circumstances do not agree with this explanation, and the sign is used throughout the letters for the guttural 'Ain (as, for instance, in the name of Azzah or Gaza). There is no mention in the southern letters of Aziru, Abdasherah, Aitugama, or any of the northern allies; and the sign for 'allies,' or 'helpers,' in the northern letters is quite different. On the other hand, the 'Abiri are never mentioned, except in the south, near Jerusalem. They are called people of the 'blood' or 'tribe' of the 'Abiri (B. 106), and of the 'land' of the 'Abiri (B. 199), showing that the term is derived from the 'Abarim, or mountains east of Jordan. The *Abiru* chiefs are mentioned in the singular (B. 102, 104), and none of these facts can be reconciled with the view that they were 'allies.' They are distinctly said to have come from Seir (Edom) in one letter (B. 104), and to have left their pastures (B. 103), and are probably the 'desert people' of the Gezer letter (51 B. M.). Their actions are those recorded of Joshua's first campaign, and the date agrees, as does also the notice in the letters of Jabin, Japhia, and Adonizedek, the contemporaries of Joshua. Another suggestion has been that they were Hebronites; but in such case the *n* would not be absent, and the sign for city would no doubt occur. They have also been supposed to be Babylonians, but this is in direct contradiction to the relations noticed in the letters (see Appendix and B. M. 2) between Egypt and Babylon at this time.

the King my Lord know this ; behold the King my Lord has placed a garrison to stop the way (*Bel'amu* or *Yankhamu* ?) of kings chiefs of the garrison the king as master to his land as to his land she has rebelled, the (lands) of the King my Lord—the whole of it. *Ilimelec*¹ cuts off all the King's land. And let one warn the King as to his land. I myself speak pleading with the King my Lord and (for once ?) let the King my Lord behold the entreaties. And the wars are mighty against me, and am not I forced to ask—to ask a letter from the King my Lord ? And let an order return from the King (my Lord). Whether will he not order chiefs for garrison ? And let him be kind, and let the King my Lord regard the entreaties. This tribe behold O King my Lord has risen up. Lo the *Paka* they have expelled. I say the lands of the King my Lord are ruined. Dost not thou hear this same of me ? They have destroyed all the rulers. There is no ruler now O King my Lord. Let the King give his countenance to the chiefs ; and whether shall the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) remain at rest ? They have lingered O King my Lord. The lands are failing to the King my Lord. The *Hebrew* chiefs plunder all the King's lands. Since the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) have gone away quitting the lands this year O King my Lord, and since there

¹ *Ilimelec* is a name found in the Bible (Ruth i. 2 ; ii. 1) as the name of Ruth's father-in-law, a native of Bethlehem, in the time of the Judges. It is therefore a Hebrew name.

is no chief of the Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) there is ruin to the lands of the King my Lord. They have . . . O King my Lord, and *Adonizedek* (is) dust messages (are asked ?) of the King my Lord, there is destruction by the foe of the lands of the King my Lord.'

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

106 B.—The salutation is broken, but is the same as before—from *Adonizedek*. The text continues: ' which have done for me *Milcilu*, and *Suardata*,¹ for the land of the King my Lord. They have hired soldiers of the city of *Gezer*, soldiers of the city *Givti*² and soldiers of the city *Kielti*.³ They have gone out to (or seized) the city of *Rubute*.⁴ The King's land rebels to the chiefs of the *Hebrews*, and now against this capital city *U-ru-sa-lim* (Jerusalem) the city called *Beth Baalatu*⁵ a neighbour of the city

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

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

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

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

⁵ *Beth Baalath* is probably *Baalath* of *Judah*, the old name of *Kirjath Jearim*, now *Erma*, in the valley of *Sorek*. The word

of the King—has rebelled, to delay the chiefs of the city of *Kielti*. Let the King hear as to *Adonizedek*; and will not he order Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*), and shall not the King's land turn to the King? And because there are no Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) the King's land has rebelled to the chiefs of the tribe of the *Hebrews*. They have demanded to dwell in the same with me. They have gone out against (or seized) *Milcilu* and the city. . . . And let the King do justice to (or purify) his land.'

104 B.—The same salutation from *Adonizedek*. He continues: 'Lo! the King my Lord has established his law from the (rising?) of the Sun to the going down of the Sun. He is a flatterer who deceives as to me. Lo! am not I a ruler myself, a man allied to the King my Lord? Lo! I myself am a good chief of the King, and I have sent tribute to the King. There is no chief to join me, and my friends (or army) fail; they have been fighting for the King mightily. I remain . . in this *Beth Amilla*¹ from before me thirteen. . . . I am giving to the chief of the servants. *Suuta* the King's *Paka*

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

¹ *Beth Amilla* is evidently the *Beth ham Millo* of the Bible (2 Sam. v. 9); 'house of the chief,' as we now know. It was the royal palace in the lower city (*Akra*), north of Zion. There was also a *Millo* in Shechem (Judges ix. 6, 20), evidently the palace of that city.

(resident) takes charge from before me of twenty-three princesses. Twenty chiefs who remain trusty I am detaching. *Suuta* has led (them) away to the King my Lord,¹ which the King advises to his country. The whole of the King's country, which is seized from me, is ruined. They have fought against me as far as the lands of *Seeri* (Seir)² as far as the city *Givti* (which they have wasted).³ They have banded together against all the chiefs of the governments, and they have fought with me. Behold I, the chief of the lords (or of the Amorites), am breaking to pieces,⁴ and the King my Lord does not regard entreaties, while they have fought against me (unceasingly?). Behold array O mighty King a fleet in the midst of the sea. Thou shalt march to our land, the land of *Nahrîma* and the land of *Cazib*, and behold these are fortresses of the King.⁵ Thou shalt

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

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

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

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

⁵ What is meant is that the Egyptians, having come by sea to Ascalon or Gaza, are to march to Jerusalem by the valley of

march against the chieftains of the *Hebrew*. There is not a single ruler for the King my Lord. They have destroyed all. Lo *Tuurbazu*¹ (is slaughtered? . . .): in the great pass of the city of *Ziluu*² they have bowed down. Behold *Zimridi* of the city of *Lachish*. The slaves have subjected him; they have demanded³ The region of *Rimmon*⁴ laments: slaughter (is) in the midst his confounding has broken in pieces. . . . let the King take heed let the King give his countenance to Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) to the land. . . . Since there are no Egyptian soldiers (*pitati*) in this same year destruction has destroyed the people of

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

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

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

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

⁴ Rimmon is probably the Rimmon of Benjamin, not far south of Shiloh, now the village of *Rummon* (Judges xx. 45, etc.).

all the lands of the King my Lord. Did not they say to the face of the King my Lord, "Behold the land of the King my Lord has been ruined, and all the rulers have been slain, within this same year." Will the King not order his *Paka*? And let the fleet give support to me as far as the harbours (or rests), and the port that we have built (during the King's reign?) . . . (to) the scribe of the King my Lord. (lo!) *Adonizedek* is his servant, at his feet (he bows). Translate the messages now to the King. I am thy . . . myself.'

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

¹ The name spelt in other cases *U-ru-sa-lim* is here spelt *Uru-sa-lim*, showing that the usual explanation, 'city of peace,'

will attack me to besiege. His tribe is not at all subject to me. The tribes are armed (or arrayed). They are not subject to me. Lo! my desire is the same as the desire of *Milcilu* and the desire of the sons of *Labaya*, that the chiefs of the *Hebrews* be subject to the King's land. Lo! the King my Lord will be just to me, because the chiefs are sorcerers.¹ Let the King ask his *Pakas* (or let one ask of the King's *Pakas*). Lo he is strong, very (determined?) and (men) have feared. The sinful fort (or camp) is very arrogant. They have burst forth from their pasture (or border) and to the land of the habitation of the people (nigh?) Will not there be sent from the land (of Egypt?) (soldiers?): thou shalt come up with . . . let the servants be defended to them. The tribe is pouring out lands from the city of *As(calon)*. Let the King ask about them. Plenty of corn, plenty of fruit (or oil), plenty. Up to the house of my Lord *Pauru*² the King's *Paka* for

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

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

² There was an Egyptian known to history who bore the name of *Paur* (Brugsch, Hist., i., p. 462); he was a governor in Nubia, somewhat later than the present events. The name,

the land of the city of *Jerusalem* my foe is rebelling
 Up to the chiefs of the garrison this chief has surged
 up to me is my foe, who rebels against me.
 There is no end of his desires (or demands).
 this, despatched to me a chief, a *Paka* of the King,
 despatched to this thy people. (The women?) are
 despatched¹ to the King my Lord (with) men who
 have been upright. Four messengers² . . . to go out.
 The chiefs of the fort (or camp) are closing the roads
 of the pass . . . there is no possibility from
 the tribe who have caused the destruction of the
 city of *Ajalon*.³ Let this be known to the King my
 Lord. Have not they taken word—the people de-
 spatched. (There is) a road for the King, though it
 is not easy.⁴ Lo! the King my Lord has established
 his law in the land of the city of *Jerusalem* forever,
 and shall not they take word of the desertion of the
 lands of the city of *Jerusalem*? To the scribe of the
 King my Lord this lamentation thus (speaks) *Adoni-*

however, must have been common, since *Paur* stands for *Paka* in some cases. It has been already explained as an Egyptian word.

¹ The participle is feminine.

² There had been four previous letters, agreeing with my arrangement.

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

⁴ This appears to be the meaning, and refers to the road,

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

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

'And lo now! the city of *Jerusalem* when these went away from the land (was) faithful to the King. Lo! the city of *Gaza* has remained to the King. Behold the land of *Harti Cirmiel*² belonging to *Takanu* and the men of the city *Givti*,³ they have bowed down, going away from the land quietly.

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

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

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

³ Apparently the southern Gibeah of Judah, mentioned before (106 B.). Dr. Sayce reads Gath, but when Gath is mentioned it is called *Giti* (154 B.).

And truly we do so (or but whether do we do so?). Behold *Labaya*!¹ and the land *Salabimi*² are inhabited by the *Hebrew* chiefs. *Milcilu* has sent for (tribute?)³ and the fellows (say) "Have we not indeed dwelt in (or spoiled?) this land?" They are adjudging all that they desire to the men of the city of *Keilah*. And truly we are leaving the city of *Ferusalem*. The chiefs of the garrison have left—without an order—through the wastings of this fellow whom I fear. These march to *Addasi*.⁴ He has remained in his land (or camp) in the city of *Gaza* (women?) . . . to the land of *Egypt*'

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

¹ *Labaya* may mean, according to a common form of expression, the land of *Labaya*.

² *Salabimi*, *Shaalbim* (Judges i. 35; 1 Kings iv. 9) or *Shaalabbin* (Josh. xix. 42), is probably *Selbît*, lying south-east of Lydda, near Ajalon.

³ In Judges i. 35 we read of the Amorites remaining in this district.

⁴ This name may be read various ways, as *Addamaru* or *Abu Amaru*. Perhaps the name *Ithamar* may be compared (Exod. vi. 23; xxviii. 1). See also *Yabitiri* of *Joppa* (*Abiather*?).

*Suyardata's Letters from (Keilah ?).*¹

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

67 B. M.—Is a broken letter. It appears to begin as follows: ‘To the King my Lord thus (says) this *Suyardata* thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord I bow: seven times and seven times I bow (and this is honour and humility ?). An announcement to the King my Lord that I am causing one to make to bring all the soldiers of the King my Lord; and now this *Ra*² the overseer, my prince, has caused the countries of the King my Lord to be stripped. I am sending them to the King; to (inform myself ?) of the King, I am sending to the King my Lord. Let him know this. Who are we of the King my Lord to the hands it is ruled.

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

² *Ra* is apparently an Egyptian name. The order for withdrawal of the troops appears to have arrived.

At the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow.'

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

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

² The meaning seems to be that Adonizedek had seized the flocks and herds.

put all to shame. The news (is true?): let there be an order of the King for his servant.'

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

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

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

101 B.—With the usual salutation is from *Suyardata*, and, though broken, appears to read: 'It is my desire to approach, as taking refuge with the King my Lord. Who am I to regard (being seen?)? Let me approach the King my Lord with these things (articles) of silver—and the silver is pure. O King my Lord *Yankhamu* (is) thy right hand; and I am mourning for him, since, wholly having gone away, no Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*) will come back to me from the King my Lord. Let the King my Lord

learn how thirty temples of the gods he has put to shame—he who fights against me. I am left alone. Mightily he has fought against . . . Give me rest O King my Lord from his hand. The King my Lord shall send Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*). Now *Yankhamu* also has returned to the house of the King my Lord. He shall come back—soldiers of the King my Lord with him. Mighty is he who has fought against *Suyardata* and (men) fail.’

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

Letters of the Lady Basmath.

137 B.—‘To the King my Lord my God my Sun by letter thus (says) the Lady whose name is *Basmatu*,¹ thy handmaid. At the feet of the King my Lord my God my Sun, seven times seven times, I bow. Know O King my Lord behold! there has been war in the land, and the land of the King my Lord has been wearied by rebels, by men of blood.

¹ *Basmath*, meaning ‘balsam’ or ‘sweet,’ was no doubt a common woman’s name. It occurs as the name of Ishmael’s daughter whom Esau married (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 13), and as that of one of Solomon’s daughters (1 Kings iv. 15). She may have been the wife of Milcilu, King of Gezer, and pleads for her sons after her husband’s death. He had apparently been seized by the Hebrews (B. 106).

And know O King as to his land, and know my foolishness (or disgrace). Behold the men (or chiefs) of blood have sent to the city of *Ajalon*, and to the city of *Zar'a* (*Zorah*),¹ and (this is) to show that there is no place of refuge for the two sons of *Milcilu*; and know O King my Lord this request.'

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

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

¹ *Zorah*, now *Sur'ah* (*Josh.* xix. 41; *Judges* xiii. 2, etc.), was not far south of *Ajalon*, and near *Gezer* on the south-east.

Ajalon. Between the two theatres of war lay the whole of Samaria and Lower Galilee, in which Basmath found a refuge.

Other Letters from the South of Palestine.

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

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

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

55 B. M.—With the usual salutation, *Ben Addu*, captain of the King’s horse, says: ‘Now they watch the land of the King my Lord exceedingly. And who am I—a dog He will hear the messages of the King my Lord and of the *Ka-pa* (for *Paka*?) of the King my Lord. To (*Sagusi Khasi*?) thus (says) *Ben Addu*: I bow at thy

feet. All is failing. So now those who are our friends are fleeing to the King; will not he despatch the road Now they guard the road: it is cleared for thee.'

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

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

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

77 B. M.—A short broken letter by *Satiya*, who was apparently chief of the city (or chief town) of *Eni-Saam(si)*, which is perhaps En-Shemesh, close to Zorah, in the valley of Sorek, now 'Ain Shems. It is the Ir-Shemesh of the Bible (Josh. xix. 41), otherwise Beth-Shemesh (Josh. xv. 10). Here, again, we find an Egyptian station in an open valley, on one of the main roads to Jerusalem.

133 B.—‘To the King my Lord by letter thus (says) the chief of *Kanu* thy servant: at the feet of the King my Lord seven times and seven times I bow. Thou thyself hast sent to me, to muster to meet the Egyptian soldiers (*bitati*); and now I with my soldiers and with my chariots (am) in sight of the soldiers of the King my Lord, as far as the place you will march to.’

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

Letters from Uncertain Sites.

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

Perhaps these were some of the ladies on their way to Egypt: *tumiki* seems to come from the root

¹ This name cannot be identified, as has been proposed, with that of Abdasherah, since Ashtoreth and Asherah are different words.

wamak, an Arabic root meaning 'to love.' The Amorite words with an initial *van* are nearer to Arabic than to Hebrew or Aramaic. One of the commonest is *uras*, 'to desire' or 'ask,' whence one of the names of Istar, the Goddess of desire.

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

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

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

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

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

150 B.—From *Nurtu* . . . He listens to the *Paka*, and will fortify until the King comes to his tribe. He fills a good-sized tablet, without giving any information of interest.

76 B. M.—*Zidriyara* writes, with the usual compliments, to acknowledge a message.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ If it is to be read simply as a syllabic name, it would be perhaps *Musihuna*. There is a *Mes-hah*, 'place of unction,' in Lower Galilee. I have here supposed *huna* to come from the root *hana* (Heb. *hanah*), 'to inhabit.'

which appear only to acknowledge messages received. No. 80 is from a certain *Nebo* . . .; in No. 79 there appears to be no personal name, and in No. 81 it is destroyed.

(The names of these villages establish a regular chain of posts from Gaza, by Lachish, to the valleys of Sorek and Elah, which seem to have been the most eastern parts of the country in which chariots were to be found. There is no mention of chariots at Jerusalem, or at any village which was not accessible by a flat valley-road. By these posts communication was kept up, it would seem, with Jerusalem; and the messengers probably travelled by this route, avoiding Ajalon. It was by this route that Adonizedek proposed that Amenophis should come up to help him.)¹ Whether any such expedition was attempted, none of the letters seem to indicate. The troops had been withdrawn, and the Egyptian policy seems to have been to call out the native levies of the Amorite charioteers. Perhaps, when the five kings had been killed at Makkedah, no further steps were taken, but the lowlands remained unconquered till the time of Samuel and David. Even in Solomon's time Gezer was only received as the dower of the daughter of the Pharaoh (1 Kings ix. 16) who had burned the place and killed its Canaanite population. In Judges we read that Judah 'could not drive out the inhabitants of the Shephelah (or lowlands) because they had chariots of iron' (i. 19). The coast road was still open when Dusratta was writing to his son-in-law Amenophis IV. twenty years later; and all

Lower Galilee was, for some few years, with Philistia and Syria, reconquered by Rameses II., who, however, never entered the Judean mountains.)

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

APPENDIX.

The Letter of Tarkhundara.

THE existence of two letters in the Tell Amarna collection, written in quite a different language to that of the remainder, is undisputed. The longest of them, by Dusratta, the Minyan king (27 B.), consists of 518 lines, and is by far the longest in the whole collection. I have translated it elsewhere (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1892). It is written in a Mongol dialect, akin to the Akkadian of Mesopotamia, and to the so-called Proto-Medic of the Behistun texts, the nearest living representative being the pure Turkic speech of Central Asia. The other letter, from Tarkhundara, the Hittite prince of Rezep, in the land of Ikatai, north of Palmyra, is apparently in the same language, which was no doubt Hittite; and this agrees with the fact that Dusratta calls himself the Hittite suzerain. The transcript given by Dr. Winckler differs from that previously published, in important particulars which affect the sense; but it had already been clearly perceived that the precative form of the verb

is the same as in Akkadian. This discovery indicates that the syntax of an agglutinative language must be expected; and neither prepositions, nor a verb preposed to its subject can be admitted. I have been unable to trace any resemblance to the Vannic language—with which it has been proposed to compare the Hittite—in this letter. The Vannic, as I have attempted to show by comparison with ancient Persian, was, both in syntax and by vocabulary, an Aryan language, and appears to have been very like the Lycian of a few centuries later (see my paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1891, pp. 640-643, as to Vannic and Lycian). The following is the letter of Tarkhundara, whose name alone is enough to show that he was a Hittite; it consists of thirty-eight lines, of which I omit the last seven, which enumerate the presents sent:

1. (*Mama?*) *Ninutriya Sar-gal Sar kur Mizzari*
2. (*ci*) *na Tarkhundara du Sar Arzapi ci tima*
3. (*Kakti?*) *Mi Kuru in Ezun mi Nin na mi*
Tur na mi
4. *Gum na Galgalas bir na Paz Kurra zun mi*
5. *Bi ibbi id mi kurkurzun mi gananta*
6. *Khuuman Kuruin*
7. *Dukka (Kakta?) Khuuman Kuruin*
8. *Ezunti Ninnati Turnati gumnati galgalas*
9. *Birnati Paz Kurra zun ti bi ibbi id ti*
10. *Kurzunti Khuuman Kuruin Siestu.*
11. *Kalatta ui e nu un Irsappa*

12. *Gum Khalugari attanmi ina ú mani Tur-
rak ti*
13. *ANUT mi kuin Dam anni ú pidaan zi*
14. *mu us silil khupi ini—an—sag dusi*
15. *Kalata uppa Sal Khuun I zukha lalia.
kin*
16. *Kuru anta*
17. *A ni yatta la mu kue das khat raa :*
18. *ubbi pirat mu gidda uppa Nin DHI*
19. *Arad as : ta guru Khalugari atattin ammelat*
20. *Gum Khalugari atan egir babaraa khudak*
21. *Na inat ú pi andu*
22. *Arad ta ú pi anzi ci da anzi kukta
turrak ti*
23. *Gum Khalugari as mi is Gum Khalugari
atta*
24. *Kuwiltu ele id na saggas*
25. *Nu mu antu sal subu guru gaas kurias ubbis tus
la un*
26. *Zinnuk Khuumanda*
27. *Nu Khattu sassa Kur Egaid*
28. *na at. kala bi ibbi es sar uppa talun lanuiz*
29. *cissa talissa Irsappa Khalugari*
30. *En sukha atlia kin ci lal bi*
31. *xx mana kin, etc.*

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

more is known of the language. The meaning appears to me to be somewhat as follows :

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

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

‘The friendly Hittite prince of the land of Egaid,

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

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

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

The Letters from Elishah.

The letters from the King of Elishah to the King of Egypt throw some light on the position of that country, and are interesting with regard to trade. The mention of the Ligyees, of the Hittites, and of Shinar, appears to agree with suggestions which I have before published (*P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, January, 1892, p. 44), that *Alasiya* is the Elishah of the Bible (Gen. x. 4; Ezek. xxvii. 7)—a maritime region on the south shores of Asia Minor, roughly answering, it would seem, to the later Cilicia. The following are the five letters from that region, not including fragments of three others:

11 B.—‘To my brother the King of Egypt by letter thus (says) this King of the land of *A-la-si-ya* (Elishah) thy brother. I am at peace, and is there not peace to thee? To thy house, thy (women?), thy sons, thy cavalry, thy lands, thy great men: is there not exceeding peace? Why my brother do you cause this message to be spoken to me? My brother (one knows nothing at all (*api*) which one has not done?). As for me, behold! the chiefs of the Ligyees (*Lukki*) whom you confounded in my land we remember gladly.¹ My brother you cause the

¹ A tribe called *Laki* are supposed to have lived in the Taurus, immediately north of Syria, and thus east of Elishah. They are apparently the Ligyees of Herodotus (vii. 72), in the same vicinity, mentioned with the Matianians, or people of Mitani. The *Leku* are also mentioned in Egyptian records (see Brugsch, ii., 44, 54, 116, 124) with the people of North Syria, and with the Shakalisha, a northern people. Probably

chiefs of your land to speak to me: with them I act; and I myself brother do not delay so acting with them, as (too) the chiefs of my land are doing; and thou hast sent to me, and I (speak) as my heart does. Do not thou mock the chiefs of my land. Do not so, when the chiefs of my land have performed this message, and (do) thou according to thy heart. Behold my brother how (says) my messenger, is not this letter sent which the King's brother has made to be sent? The chief thy messenger (having been made to speak to me?). Moreover the people of my abode have brought the people from an abode near us; by my command they have done so—this people. And now behold my brother, art not thou at rest in thy heart?’

12 B.—The same salutation from the King of Elishah to the King of Egypt, without giving the names of either. ‘My brother my envoy speedily we despatch. Thus thou commandest these, and one hears. Peace be to thee. This chief my (agent¹) my brother we despatch thus in haste.

the territory of Alasiya marched with that of the Minyan monarch Dusratta, called Mitani. The account given by Herodotus places Mitani in a mountainous region west of Armenia, and its western border was at the river Halys (i. 72); but the extent eastwards was considerable, since the Araxes rose in the Matianian mountains (i. 202). Mitani was, therefore, the region west of Ararat, adjoining that of the Minyans, and extending apparently north of Elishah. It was perhaps from the *Lukki* or *Leka* that Lycia took its name further west. Armenia took its name probably from the Minni, the word *ar* in Mongol languages signifying ‘land’ (Turkish *er*).

¹ The Rev. J. A. Delattre, S.J., who has done much for the translation of the Elishah and other royal letters (‘Proc. S. B.

- You command these. My agent, my ships (being launched ?) for thee, does he not sail with them ?

5 B. M.—‘To the King of Egypt my brother by letter thus (says) this King of the Land of Elishah thy brother. I am at peace. Is there not much peace to my abodes, my wife, my sons, my great chiefs, my horses, my chariots, and in the midst of my lands? And to thee my brother, is there not peace? is there not exceeding peace to thy abodes, to thy ladies, to thy sons, to thy great chiefs, to thy horses, to thy chariots, and in the midst of thy lands? My brother now my messenger, with thy messenger, I send to the land of Egypt. Lo! I have sent to thy presence five hundred drachms of copper (or bronze), a present to my brother I have sent; my brother; as traffic of bronze is not common in thy midst, since one has uttered the command of *An-amar-ut*¹ (Khuenaten ?) in my land, the great men

Archæology, June, 1891, p. 546) reads ‘my merchant’ (*tamkar*); perhaps we should take the word ideographically as NIN-GAR, ‘prince’s doer.’ The term ‘merchant’ seems hardly to suit the context.

¹ *An-amar-ut* (ideographically written ANBARBAR) I have supposed to be the equivalent of Khuenaten. The former name means ‘God of the glory of the sun,’ and Khuenaten in Egyptian means ‘glory of the sun’s disk.’ Amenophis IV. is always supposed to have established a new cultus (see Brugsch, *Hist.*, i., p. 141) under the influence of his Armenian mother, Queen *Thi*, sister of Dusratta. An Amarut (the Nirgal of the Assyrians) was an Akkadian deity, no doubt adored in Armenia; and Queen *Thi* is represented adoring the Sun in Egypt. In this letter from Elishah, and in another from Bashan (64 B. M.), the sudden introduction of a deity into the narrative

of my land have wrought bronze, and none (else) has made bronze, and my brother it is not common in thy midst. Thy messenger with my messenger I trust to speed, and all the bronze which you will desire, I myself also have caused to be brought. Brother thou hast caused exceeding much gold to be brought to me. My brother the Gods have given gold to me also : and to my brother's presence whatever he will desire I have caused to be brought. Moreover my brother (is a friend?) in that thou wilt desire my messenger, and though his having given me the chiefs of my brother's bosom.¹ Two precious stones my brother has sent to me ; and one of the chiefs who is born of (princes?)² he has sent to me. Moreover my brother the chiefs of my land are very quiet with me ; my letters³ for the King of the Land of Egypt they take for me, and brother they are obedient, and Moreover since a chief of the Land of Elishah has died in the land of Egypt, and his property is in the land of Egypt, and his wife and his son are with me, and my brother has the property of the chiefs of Elishah, my brother give it also to the hands of my Envoy. And in thy midst it has remained, as thy messenger dwelt three years in my land, because he did the command

is very difficult to understand ; but the reading is simplified by supposing Khuenaten to be intended.

¹ Perhaps 'bosom friends.' In Hebrew we find the 'bosom' of a chariot and of the altar spoken of.

² *Sa iliid* KHUMES. The sign *Khu* means usually a 'bird,' but also *saru*, 'a prince.'

³ GIZ, 'a document,' and also 'a tree' (*itz*).

of *An-amar-ut* (Khuenaten?) in my land. And one has made the wife to dwell in my house, who behold now has died my brother. Thy messenger with my messenger, whom we haste, thus I hope to despatch, and I have caused a present for my brother to be brought. Moreover the gold which I have desired, my brother has caused to be brought—plenty of gold my brother—and the property which I have asked for send thou my brother, and whatever is said—the messages my brother utters, one has caused to be done. And whatever thou sayest, the messages that thou hast uttered to me, I also have caused to be done. With the King of the *Hittites* and with the King of *Sanhar* (Shinar) with these one has not been familiar. As for me, whatever has been said (as to a present which they have caused to be brought to me, I myself also did stretch forth both hands towards thee. Thy Envoy goes to me as a minister, and my Envoy goes to thee as a minister.’

6 B. M.—The salutation is again the same without any names. ‘Lo thou shalt send to me. Wherefore dost not thou despatch thy messenger to my land again? And behold one hears not, and you afflict me indeed, and I know not what is in thy midst, and one wonders at this. And now I have sent my messenger to thy land, and I will send thee hereafter, in the hands of my messenger, an hundred talents of bronze. Moreover thy messenger is loaded with gifts.’ The list of presents follows, but is unfortunately much broken; it appears to include gold and thrones, etc., which the Envoy is despatched to take.

On the back of the tablet, the upper part, referring to Elishah and to the agent (or merchant), is much broken. The lower part of the tablet continues :

‘The messenger will go to thy land, and thy messenger shall go to my land again. Why wilt not thou send me men and friends (or possibly oil and oxen) this for me, and whatever thou desirest also I will give, and zealously hereafter fulfilling the promise as to thy I am sending. Lo! thy kingdom shall remain forever.’

7 B. M.—The salutation is remarkable only because instead of ‘sons’ it speaks of ‘the son of thy house.’ The letter is much injured. It reads thus.

‘A present for my brother I have five talents of gold (*khiruzā*) five altogether they have measured. A horse as a present for my brother. My brother’s messenger I have speedily sent, and my brother has said to me “Let my messenger be speedily sent.” A present adding up in the letter whatever they have brought. To send molten silver brother one has not refused. Let me send (those) who are caused to be named *Cuni Ea*, *Ibil Una*, *Sirumma*, *Usbara*, *Tisiram*, my brother . . . them who with’

(From the above it seems that Alasiya was a maritime region, abounding with copper, and having also some silver, not far from the Hittite region and Shinar, and also not far from the Ligyes. The identification with Elishah, therefore, appears suitable. The king speaks as an equal to the King of Egypt, and appears, like the kings of Babylon,

Assyria, and Armenia, to have been an ally. Asia Minor was remarkable for its silver-mines and other mineral products. Thothmes III. in 1600 B.C. had already advanced to Cilicia, and Rameses II. in 1330 B.C. went much further west, to the vicinity of Ephesus.

Letter from an unknown Syrian Prince.

29 B.—‘To my Lord (*Aduni*) the King of Egypt my father, by letter thus (says) *Zida* . . . a King’s son—thy son.’

Possibly *Zitana* the Phœnician (143 B.), who was apparently the King of Arvad, north of Simyra, is the writer. The letter continues :

‘(Serving my Lord my father obediently one says is there not peace?) In former times running the road thy messengers have gone to the land of the city of the *Hittites*, and they show what is said before thee ; and I myself to thee who art my father sent a present, and have caused a message to be brought thy messengers Now thy messengers are (returning) from the land of the city of the *Hittites*, and I am sending my messengers to thee my father, with thy messengers, and a message. Sixteen young men I have caused to bring thy present. And as for me gold is needful, and my father has brought gold. And whatever my Lord (*aduni*) and father has said to be needful I am pledged to send it.’

The supply of gold in Syria and Asia Minor would appear from the above to have been insufficient, and

it was sent from Upper Egypt (where it was obtained from further south), in exchange for bronze and other valuables. The Phœnicians obtained gold from Thasos in later times (Herod., vi. 47), whence 200 talents yearly (£100,000) are said to have been taken. Gold was well known further east from a very early period.

Letter from Babylon as to the Canaanite Revolt.

2 B. M.—Begins with the usual royal salutation from Burraburias to Amenophis IV., and continues:

‘Good things were eagerly spoken by thy father and my father: they sent eagerly to exchange gifts; and does not one speak for the increase of what has been made? Now my brother has sent two manahs of gold, as my present. Now behold there is plenty of gold sent by thy father, and as there is enough sent which thy father sent, why should you send two manahs of gold? I have received now much and exceeding much gold, piled up in the temples of the Gods. Gold enough is sent, but thou, whatever is needed in thy land, send and let it be taken by thee.

‘In the time of my father *Kurigalzu*, all the Canaanites sent to his presence (saying) thus “What sayest thou as to the raising up of the land? It is fallen. What sayest thou?” My father remained (a friend) with thy (father?) and sent them this (saying) thus “It has been sent as to your error. If ye break from the King of Egypt my brother, ye must abide (friends) with some other. Shall not I come myself

and plunder you as if erring with me?" My father heard them not because of thy father. Now the Assyrian is arraying against me. I have sent, as their thoughts are towards your land. Why have they marched on me? And if thou art kind to me, they will not make all waste. I fear them (and) their conquest (or arrival).

'I have caused to be brought as thy present three manahs of (alabaster?) and 15 yoke of horses for 5 chariots.'

This indicates the same date before suggested for the Canaanite revolt, in the latter half of the reign of Amenophis III., and the early alliance with Babylon.

There is only one letter from a King of Assyria to Egypt in the collection (9 B.), while those from Babylon are numerous, and some apparently early. Amenophis III. also wrote to Babylon (1 B. M.) as to a marriage alliance. The Assyrian letter from *Assuruballid* is a late one (his date is usually given as 1400-1370 B.C.). It is addressed to Amenophis IV., but it refers to earlier relations with *Assurnadinakhi*, who is supposed to have lived about 1550 B.C. The subject of the letter is the usual one of the interchange of presents and messengers.

There is, however, another letter (30 B.) in the collection, written by *Rimmon-Nirari*, which may come from Assyria, though the king so named lived much later (1330-1300 B.C.). This letter is perhaps the earliest in the Tell Amarna collection, being addressed to *Manakhbiya*, King of Egypt, who was probably Thothmes IV. The letter refers to the

doings of the King of the *Hittites*, and the land of *Marhasse*, and asks that a chief be sent against him, with horses and chariots. It appears probable that this was done, for there is a notice in an Egyptian text, attributed to the time of Thothmes IV., of 'the first campaign against the Hittites' (Brugsch, 'Hist. Egt.,' i., p. 413).

It is to be noted that all the royal letters are written with great courtesy, such as would be expected in the East. It seems to me impossible to understand these letters as making demands for money, or sordid complaints against the king, when he is addressed throughout as a brother, and asked for help and protection.

There are other letters in the collection from Burnaburias (or Burraburias, as sometimes spelt) to Amenophis IV. from Caradunias (or, as sometimes spelt, Carandunias). B. M. 3 refers to his daughter and to presents. B. M. 4 is also concerned with presents. B. 6 is about his daughter and the sending of a chariot with soldiers; she was apparently to be married to the Egyptian heir. B. 7 appears also to contain no historical information; but one other letter (making six in all), B. 8, appears to be of interest in connection with the history of the revolt. *Zatatna* (here called *Sutatna*) was still on the throne of Accho (compare 94 B. and 95 B., the *Acca* letters), and appears to have been the son of *Saratu*. After the usual salutations, this letter reads:

'Hereby also my brother we speak good tidings eagerly. And we say this, speaking thus to explain

with earnestness that they have hindered us, creating contention. Behold the agents (or merchants) who have returned with riches from the land of Canaan speak (in my hearing?). Since the wealth for my brother, from the city of Hinna, (perhaps *Hineh*, near Damascus) a native of the land of Canaan, *Sumatta* son of *Mamar*, of the house of *Sutatna* son of *Saratu*, of the city of *Acca*, expects. Our . . . chiefs, as he will send: my merchants (or agents)
. . . the inhabitants of your land; and the kings in your land I have been eager to . . . the silver that they receive as presents But the chiefs who are my servants this has slain. One fears he will spoil us. And since he has caused these chiefs to be slain, he will seek this. The chief is hostile indeed. And truly he slays thy envoys, and his people will not acknowledge thee; and the chief hostile to *Sumatta* gathered to hinder his steps. He has attacked him. He restrains him. And the other chief *Sutatna* the *Acchoite*, as they were first perfidious to his city, sent against him their great men me he says thus "Behold safety: truly you know I have sent *Manaha* my speedily my envoy speedily let"

This letter shows that the country was still disturbed by enemies of the Phœnicians in the time of Amenophis IV. The name of the enemy may be compared with that of Shammah (Gen. xxxvi. 13-17).

Dusratta and the Canaanite Revolt.

The relations of Egypt with Armenia began at least as early as the reign of Thothmes IV., and the kings Sitatama and Sutarna, grandfather and father of Dusratta, were friendly with Egypt (B. 24), which makes it difficult to understand how the King of Mitani should have joined the Canaanite revolt. It must not be forgotten, however, that Dusratta was a younger man than Amenophis III. His 'sister' *Thi* was queen of the latter, and mother of Amenophis IV. (B. 24),¹ who married Tadukhepa (B. 24), whom Dusratta calls his 'daughter.' Another 'sister,' *Gilukhepa*² (B. M. 9), also married Ameno-

¹ That Queen *Thi*, the mother of Amenophis IV., was really Dusratta's sister, and not merely called so by courtesy, seems to be indicated, not only by what he says as to the raising of his sister to the throne of Egypt (B. M. 9), but by the fact that he wrote letters to herself. In one of these he speaks of her son by name (B. 11), and of Tadukhepa as her 'daughter-in-law,' and of Amenophis III. as her husband. This letter is unfortunately much broken. It mentions the name of Dusratta's wife *Iuni*, and is altogether a family epistle. The other letter (B. 22) was written earlier, on the occasion of Tadukhepa being sent for. Dusratta was much pleased to give her to Menes, the Egyptian, and Gilias his own envoy, and hopes that Rimmon Istar and 'Amanu, my brother's god,' may prosper, and Shamash love the bride.

² Dr. Bezold identifies Gilukhepa with Kilkipa, daughter of Sutarna, of Mesopotamia, who is said in an Egyptian text, on a scarab, published by Dr. Brugsch ('Æg. Zeitschrift,' 1880, p. 82), to have come to Egypt with 317 ladies. As Sutarna was Dusratta's father, Gilukhepa was clearly his sister. *Thi* was married in the tenth year of the reign of Amenophis III., and her father's name is said to have been *Iuaa* and her mother's

phis III., unless this was the original name of Queen Thi. Dusratta addresses Amenophis III. (B. M. 8 and B. M. 10) as 'my relative by marriage whom I love and who loves me,' and calls himself the king's 'kinsman' (*emi*). One of his letters, in which he sends a greeting to his 'daughter' Tadukhepa in Egypt (B. M. 10), bears, in the Egyptian docket, the date 'in the 36th year,' and was thus written in the very last year of the reign of Amenophis III. Several of his letters are to Amenophis IV., and his reign must, therefore, in all probability have begun later than the Canaanite revolt. The following letter is evidently one of his first, if not the very first he wrote, for it does not mention his being allied by his daughter's marriage; and the letters referring to the marriage of Tadukhepa (B. M. 8 and B. 22) must evidently be placed later.

B. M. 9.—'To Amenophis III. King of Egypt my brother, by letter thus says Dusratta, King of the Land of *Mitani* thy brother. I am at peace. To thee be peace, to *Gilukhepa* my sister be peace indeed, to thy house, to thy ladies, to thy great men, to thy terrible army, to thy horses, to thy chariots, and in thy land, be there exceeding peace indeed.'

Tuaa. She is represented as fair, with blue (perhaps faded black) eyes, on the monuments. The above names would tend to show that Thi was not Sutarna's daughter; but the kings in this age had apparently throne names, which differed from those they owned before being made kings. *Iuaa* has some resemblance to *Iuni*, the name of Dusratta's wife, and *Tuaa* to that of *Thi* herself. The point will probably remain uncertain till more information is obtained.

'From the throne of my father, wherein I sit; and I have been established. But a certain person made a breaking away from the former fealty of my lands, and slew his lord; and when this (happened), me, with whoso loved me well, he consented not to set up. But I, against this—for my faithful ones brought it to pass—was not afraid, and the chiefs who (supported?) *Artasumara* my brother, with all who were with them, I slew. But thou wast well with my father, and because of this, sending to thee I have exchanged (messages); as to my brother one tells these things, and one is glad (that) my father loved thee, and you on the other hand loved my father, so raising my sister to thee, whom I have . . . , and now let it be as with my father. When, against what is my brother's, a foe from within the Land of the *Hittites*, so raised the people; as he was oppressing the ruling chiefs of my land, my God Rimmon¹ gave him to my hands, and I slew him

¹ Rimmon is written ANIM, 'the Air God,' who is *Addu* in Ribadda's letters. Dusratta's letters are remarkable for the number of deities invoked, including *Ea*, the Akkadian God, *Tessub* (a name of Rimmon among the *Su*, or Mongol 'nations'), *Sa-us-be*, Istar of Nineveh, and the Sun God, with the Egyptian God *Amanum* (Amen), whom Amenophis also invokes (B. 1). A passage of religious interest occurs in one of his later letters to Amenophis III. (B. M. 10) as follows :

'Thus Istar of Nineveh, the Queen of Lands, her heart is kind to the land of Egypt. In the land that I love, have not they received her? Does not one cry aloud to her? Now, behold, has she not brought thee welfare? Now, from the time of my father they have asked of Istar in her land thy welfare. To utter this desire the people cried to her. And lo! now, my brother, may thy riches increase; may thy going forth increase

from among them, so that there will remain no discord in my land. Now a chariot, and two horses, a young chief and a young woman who were of the spoil of the land of the *Hittites*, I have sent as presents to my brother. Five chariots, five (pairs of?) horses I have sent, and as a present to *Gilukhepa* my sister a pair of gold (bracelets?), a pair of gold earrings,' etc.

From this extract we may perhaps conclude that the Canaanite rebellion coincided with the rebellion in which apparently Sutarna, the father of Dusratta, was slain, when his brother Artasumara seized the kingdom. When Dusratta succeeded in defeating this outbreak, he at once renewed the Egyptian alliance, and on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Tadukhepa to the Egyptian heir he was made suzerain of the Hittite region, where perhaps his services had been of great importance in restoring peace.

Dusratta's other letters come, therefore, in the following order after this one, which probably dates about the time of the end of the war, 1480-1470 B.C.:

(2) 27 B.—In the language of Mitani, as to the cession of Northern Syria, and arrange-

with joys ten times more than aforetime; may my brother's house be established for him—may it remain. Istar (is) Queen of Heaven, my brother, and may her Godhead strengthen me. Many good things and joy increasing is given generously. (For that it fails me not?) let one attribute this to her, and so we do as our fathers. Istar, is not she my God; and will not she establish my brother?'

- ments for Tadukhepa's marriage to the Egyptian heir.
- (3) 22 B.—To the Queen of Egypt, as to the same marriage.
 - (4) 11 B. M.—To the Queen of Egypt. Tadukhepa is here called her 'daughter-in-law.'
 - (5) 8 B. M.—To Amenophis III., addressed as his relative by marriage, and to his sister. He is apparently about to marry a daughter of Amenophis.
 - (6) 21 B.—To Amenophis III., as a relative by marriage about presents.
 - (7) 10 B. M.—To Amenophis III., in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, 1466 B.C., addressing him as a relative by marriage.
 - (8) 23 B.—To Amenophis IV., who had addressed him on his accession.
 - (9) 24 B.—To Amenophis IV., mentioning his daughter Tadukhepa as the wife of the latter.
 - (10) 25 B.—A list of presents from Dusratta.
 - (11) 26 B.—A list of presents from Dusratta.

Letter written at Tell Amarna.

In connection with the letter from Ribadda's father, written from Egypt itself (82 B), the following letter, from Amenophis III. himself, is of interest. It was either not sent or was copied before sending, as in the case of Rabzabi's letter.

B. M. 1.—This letter from *Amenophis III.* to

Calinmasin, King of *Babylon* (*Karandunias*), begins with the usual salutation as between monarchs of equal dignity, and continues :

‘ Now I hear the messages that you send me about her. Now my kinsman (says) thus “ You desire one should send my daughter as your wife ; but my sister, whom my father gave, being friendly to thee, is with thee, and none sees her whether she is alive or whether she is dead.” This is the message that you send me in your letter. But when did you send a chief of yours—one who has known her and speaks with her and understands her? Let one speak to her. The chiefs you send are useless, your envoy *Zakara* is one there is not one among them related to your father, and lo! on the other hand my messenger is with thee, and has spoken to her And lo! you send this my kinsman. “ You say this to my envoys ; and your wives they examined : a lady appears before you thus (saying) ‘ Behold your lady who appears before you ’ ; and my messengers knew her not—she my sister.” Be satisfied as to what you thus send. “ My messengers have not known her.” And who is it what you say? Why do not you send a chief of yours, one who will speak a true message? Exchanging presents (or salutations) with thy sister. And you say that he disputes as to her appearance. But you shall see her with the King. And lo! you send this my kinsman (saying) “ Was it one a daughter of a native, or if one of the land of my neighbours, or if the daughter of the land of Khani

Rabbe,¹ or who was one of the land of Ugarit, that my envoys see. And who (is it) speaks to them satisfying that there was not” And does not thy message say all this? And if thy sister is dead and there is appointed thee no the God *Amen* And lo! thou sendest thus: “My daughters wives of the King of Babylon but if the of my envoys is friendly, and they say “With these things my Lord sends me—a greeting, to satisfy thee as to thy message, that she is one whom Kings are cherishing (and that) your daughters have (many friends?).” Take from him all that is with them, and send me a letter, and arrange with thy sister who is with me. And you (are aware?) of all, and I have sent an overseer to explain the (deception?): that your daughters may see the evil that they have told you. But lo! you send this message “What my father left, did not his message speak about this? Establish thou friendships—unions with (our sons’?)” This is the message you send. Now I and you have accomplished (an alliance?), and the dowry is before your envoys, as they will say in your presence; does not one bestow it on her who (is) to come into the land of Egypt? They shall come to my presence, or take thou one from among them. (I) am sending silver and gold, unguents and stuffs, everything whatsoever the land . . . I am presenting;

¹ That is to say, one of the relatives of Dusratta, probably Gilukhepa. Amenophis seems to have had a Phœnician wife from 'Akrith, and at least four wives.

and the overseer will say what is the value thereof let one take over the property (I have collected?): I have . . . envoys, and they were wicked who have spoken falsely: they refute the abominations falsely spoken. I have been wroth and I was grieved when all these things. For is it not through their deceit that they have spoken to thee after this wise; and I appoint them not about this. And lo! now thou sendest thus, you complain . . . to my messenger thus "There are no soldiers of my Lord, and they will not make me give the young girl." This is thy message. Thy messengers say for thee "There are none to go. This might be done (safely?) if there were soldiers. What he asks us, is impossible for me. If there be soldiers I grant it you to do. If there be horses I grant it you to do." Is not this the pretext that thy envoy who displeased me—the stranger you send—made use of with us? I pray thee, if fearing that I have been wroth, and (lamenting estrangement?), when she has gone out, lo! all is in thy hands. Lo! I will give my chariots from among the chariots of the chiefs of the Provinces. Do not you regard them as a possession? You shall march them wherever it may satisfy you. Cannot you take them all? I pray thee are not there horses, are not there chariots I pray thee with me? Demand all my horses. The chariots behold that you (shall) send to meet you (are) at the camps. As for me the girl thou thyself (shalt) send, send forth to me one to lead to me.'

The general sense of this curious letter is given by

Dr. Bezold in his summary of contents of the British Museum letters from Tell Amarna; and a full translation by Rev. J. Delattre has appeared ('Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.,' November, 1892) while this page was passing through the press, which is substantially to the same effect, though my rendering in parts is different.

Probably the King of Babylon regarded Egypt as a distant country, and was afraid to send his daughter. The relations which led the King of Babylon to reject the Canaanite alliance rested apparently on family connection with Egypt. Two letters from *Calimmasin* on the same subject may here be given, in further illustration of the existing conditions in the reign of Amenophis III.:

B. I.—'To Amenophis III. King of Egypt thus says Calimmasin King of Babylon. Peace be to thee, to thy house, to thy wives, to thy land, to thy chariots, thy horses, thy . . . much peace. Because you send to take to wife a woman, the youngest of my daughters, the woman *Irtabi*, whom remembering, you are willing should be sent to thee to take to wife. My father sent beforetime an envoy, you did not deny that soldiers should be directed for him, you made him come speedily, and you sent making my father a present. Now as for me an envoy I have caused to be sent, the fifth year elapsing, and the fifth year thirty manahs of gold (£500) as my present has been sent (instead of silver?). Before him—*Casi* thy envoy—the amount of the gold is shown. Fully instructed as to what

we think thy envoy has been sent, thus
 and my gift which he is instructed thirty
 manahs of gold fifteen women
 have been sent . . . chariots, soldiers to thy
 present have been sent.'

B. 3.—' sons great . . . which
 they send me thou my brother not giving . . .
 thy daughters to take to wife. As (the message says
 thus?) "From of old a daughter of a King of Egypt
 is not given for nothing."¹ Why (thus?). Thou art
 a King thou dost as thy pleasure is, when you give
 who is it that As this is the message they
 speak to me, I myself have sent (saying thus)
 "Many of thy daughters have become women
 grown up. Send thou one who is grown up as
 . . . willing. Who says thus "There is not a
 daughter of the King willing." As for thee, without
 being sure, why has this been sent? Thou dost
 not rebuke one who speaks what is brotherly and
 good, as you send eagerly approaching me as to
 taking a wife; and so I am saying these things of

¹ *Mamma* is a word that has been variously interpreted 'no one,' or 'a nobody,' which would have been an insult from the King of Egypt to a prince who in his own letter he addresses as an equal. It seems to me that a gentle hint was sent that a large dowry would be expected for the Egyptian princess, and that in reply the King of Babylon writes to say that this is no obstacle; she is to be sent at once, and he will send, before this is done, the large sum he mentions, and that there shall be no haggling over the amount. This seems more the tone of a king's letter to his ally than would be the supposed grumbling over the trifling sum of thirty manahs. The word *mamma*, in Hebrew *mavamah*, means 'nothing.'

brotherhood and goodwill. When you are approaching me eagerly as to taking a wife, why my brother not send the woman? Say thou, when is she to be sent? I (who am) thus urging this have not refused, have I, to entrust a woman? both are thus causing daughters to be settled. Say thou when she is to be taken to wife for which information I have thus sent great you tells me Now behold you do not take my daughter, who is to be sent, unwilling: your desire is granted in that she consents, and thus I have sent the gold. Your envoy has agreed to the gold (as directed?). Lo! now speedily, within this year, either in June (*Tammuz*) or in July (*Ab*) send people to bring her whom I have taken: is it not When in this year, in June or July, the gold I have sent shall be brought to thee, send the daughter I have been given, and thou too in return . . . gold. But if in June or July the gold shall not have been brought, do not make the people bring her I have taken. And in return of what will you cause her that I have taken to be sent? Why indeed need one make arrangements for gold? Is it not that I send a thousand (talents?) of gold? Have not I fulfilled the (obligation?) and my daughter to take to wife have not I given?’

This letter has been translated also by Rev. A. J. Delattre ('Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.,' December, 1891), whose understanding of some passages is, however, different.

The remaining letters in the Tell Amarna collec-

tion are those from Burnaburias, King of Babylon, to Amenophis IV., and from Dusratta, King of the Minyans and of Mitani, to Amenophis III. and to his son-in-law, Amenophis IV., with lists of the presents sent to Egypt.¹ These also are in an Aramean dialect, and refer mainly to the royal marriages and to the interchange of embassies. From these it is clear that the Canaanite revolt did not close the route by which the Egyptians continued, down even to about 1200 B.C., or later, to communicate with the regions near Assyria.

Note on the Supposed Date of the Exodus.

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

First. That the name of the city of Rameses cannot be older than the time of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., p. 353), and that, as it is mentioned in

¹ This does not include two long and several short tablets (B. M. 82 ; B. 240, 234-239), which are mythological. The discovery of mythical stories, including the names of Istar, etc., and evidently of Mesopotamian origin, as far west as Egypt at so early a date, has a very important bearing on the question of the diffusion of the Chaldean legends, and on the appearance in Egypt in the time of the nineteenth dynasty of other legends, which also show a Semitic connection. In the ninth century B.C. also we have the name of Istar on the Moabite Stone, unchanged by the addition of the feminine termination, which converted it into Ashtoreth among the Hebrews and Phœnicians : which is another indication of very early Aramean influence in Palestine, such as the language of the stone also suggests.

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

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

The *Aper* people mentioned in Egypt as late as the time of Rameses IV. near Suez, and as slaves of Rameses II. (Brugsch, 'Hist.,' ii., pp. 88, 129), were once thought to be Hebrews, but are not so regarded by Dr. Brugsch, who makes them 'redskins.'

In the inscription of Hamamat, in the time of Rameses IV., they are called 'Aperu of the Anu.' The Anu were a well-known Nubian people. The chiefs of the *Apers* are also mentioned in the time of Rameses III., to the number of 2,083 (Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' p. 211). The name is not written as that of the Hebrews would probably be written in Egyptian.

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

LIST OF TOWNS CONQUERED BY THOTHMES III.,
FROM THE KARNAK BAS-RELIEFS.

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

are those of ancient towns, ruined or still inhabited.

Towns in Palestine.

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
1	<i>Kadesu.</i>	Kadesh on Orontes.	<i>Kades.*</i>
2	<i>Maketi.</i>	Megiddo.	<i>Mujedda'.*</i>
3	<i>Khazi.</i>	Gaza (?).	<i>Ghuzzeh (?)</i> .
4	<i>Ĵethuna.</i>	Gitta (?).	<i>Ĵett.*</i>
5	<i>'Ansu.</i>		<i>'Anzah (?)*</i>
6	<i>Tabkhu.</i>		
7	<i>Bamai.</i>		<i>Ba'ineh (?)**</i>
8	<i>Kamata.</i>	Kamid (?).	<i>Kamid.*</i>
9	<i>Tutina.</i>	Dothan.	<i>Dothân.</i>
10	<i>Rabana.</i>	Rabbith.	<i>Râba.*</i>
11	<i>Keretthenau.</i>	Kartan.	
12	<i>Marma.</i>	Merom (?).	<i>Meirûn (?)</i> .
13	<i>Tamesku.</i>	Damascus.	<i>Dimesk.</i>
14	<i>Atara.</i>	Edrei.	<i>Edh Dhr'a.*</i>
15	<i>Aubila.</i>	Abila.	<i>Abil.</i>
16	<i>Hammatu.</i>	Hammath.	<i>el Hummâm.</i>
17	<i>Akidu.</i>		
18	<i>Shemana.</i>	Simonias (?).	<i>Semânieh (?)</i> .
19	<i>Bartu.</i>		<i>Bîreh*</i> (in Galilee).
20	<i>Madna.</i>	Madon.	<i>Madîn.*</i>
21	<i>Sarna.</i>	Lasharen.	<i>Sarona*</i> (in Galilee).
22	<i>Tubi.</i>		<i>Taiyibeh*</i> (in Galilee).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
23	<i>Batzna.</i>	Bitzanaim.	<i>Bessûm.*</i>
24	<i>Amashna.</i>	Amathus (?).	<i>Amata (?)**</i>
25	<i>Masakh.</i>		<i>Mes-hah</i> (in Galilee).
26	<i>Kana.</i>		<i>Kanah (?)</i> (in Galilee).
27	<i>Arna.</i>		<i>Reineh (?)**</i> (in Galilee).
28	<i>Astaratî.</i>	Ashtoreth.	<i>Tell Ashterah.</i>
29	<i>Anaurpaa.</i>	Raphon (?)	<i>Râfa (?)</i> .
30	<i>Makata.</i>	Maachah.	<i>Abil Kumh.*</i>
31	<i>Lautza.</i>	Laish.	<i>Luweizeh* (near</i> <i>Banias).</i>
32	<i>Hatzara.</i>	Hazor.	<i>Jebel Hadireh.*</i>
33	<i>Pa-hurah.</i>	Horem (?).	<i>Hârah (?)</i> .
34	<i>Keneratu.</i>	Chinneroth.	
35	<i>Samana.</i>	Salamis (?).	<i>Sellâmech (?)**</i>
36	<i>Admam.</i>	Adami.	<i>ed Damieh</i> (Galilee).
37	<i>Kasuna.</i>	Kishion.	
38	<i>Senama.</i>	Shunem.	<i>Sulem (Galilee).</i>
39	<i>Mashala.</i>	Misheal.	<i>M'aisleh.*</i>
40	<i>Aksap.</i>	Achshaph.	<i>Yasîf.*</i>
41	<i>Kebathuan.</i>	Gabatha.	<i>Jebâta.*</i>
42	<i>Taanak.</i>	Taanach.	<i>Ta'anik.*</i>
43	<i>Ibl'annu.</i>	Ibleam.	<i>Yebla.*</i>
44	<i>Kenet Asna.</i>	Engannim (?).	<i>Jenîn (?)**</i>
45	<i>Ratau Arka.</i>		<i>Arrâkah (?)**</i>
46	<i>Aina.</i>	Anem.	<i>'Anîn.*</i>
47	<i>Aak.</i>		<i>Ajja (?)**</i>

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
48	<i>Ras Kades.</i>	Kadesh (Issa-char).	<i>Tell Kedes.*</i>
49	<i>Kalimna.</i>		<i>Jellameh.*</i>
50	<i>Bar</i> (or <i>Bal</i>).		
51	<i>Shemesh Aduma.</i>		<i>Admah (?)**</i>
52	<i>Anuhertu.</i>	Anaharath.	<i>En N'aítrah.</i>
53	<i>Apl.</i>	(i.e., Ophel.)	<i>Fúleh.*</i>
54	<i>Apl.</i>		<i>Afúleh.*</i>
55	<i>Hashbu.</i>		
56	<i>Tasulat</i> (or <i>Tasurat</i>).		
57	<i>Nekebu.</i>	Nekeb.	<i>Seiyádeh.*</i>
58	<i>Ashushken.</i>	Shihin.	<i>'Ayún Sh'aín.*</i>
59	<i>Ranama.</i>	Rimmon (?).	<i>Rumnáneeh(?)**</i>
60	<i>Irtá</i> (or <i>Irza</i>).		<i>Irtah (?)**</i>
61	<i>Mahza.</i>		
62	<i>Ipu.</i>	Joppa.	<i>Yáfa.</i>
63	<i>Kentu.</i>		<i>Kefr Jennis (?)**</i>
64	<i>Luden.</i>	Lod.	<i>Ludd.</i>
65	<i>Aanau.</i>	Ono.	<i>Kefr 'Ana.</i>
66	<i>Apuken.</i>	Aphek (?).	<i>Fukín (?)**</i>
67	<i>Suka.</i>	Shochoh.	<i>Shuweikeh.</i>
68	<i>Ihmam.</i>		<i>El Kheimeh(?)**</i>
69	<i>Khabizana.</i>		
70	<i>Kenetu.</i>		<i>Jennata.*</i>
71	<i>Makdal.</i>		<i>Mejdeleh.*</i>
72	<i>Aphten.</i>		<i>Fattúneh.*</i>
73	<i>Shebtuna.</i>		<i>Shebtín.</i>
74	<i>Dia</i> (or <i>Dial</i> or <i>Diar</i>).		
75	<i>Naun.</i>	Naamah.	<i>Na'aneh.*</i>
76	<i>Hadida.</i>		<i>Hadíd.*</i>

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
77	<i>Haru</i> (or <i>Halu</i>).	Ajalon (?).	<i>Yalo</i> (?).*
78	<i>Isphar</i> .	Saphir.	<i>Suâfir</i> .
79	<i>Rakata</i> .	Rakkon.	<i>Rekkeit</i> .*
80	<i>Kerara</i> .	Gerar.	<i>Umm Jerâr</i> .*
81	<i>Harar</i> .	Aroer.	<i>'Arârah</i> .
82	<i>Lebau</i> .	Lebaoth.	
83	<i>Numana</i> .		
84	<i>Namana</i> .		
85	<i>Maramam</i> .	En Rimmon (?).	<i>Umm er Rum- mamîn</i> (?).*
86	<i>Ani</i> .	Ain (near the last).	
87	<i>Rahebu</i> .	Rehoboth.	<i>Ruheibeh</i> .
88	<i>Akara</i> .	Ekron (?).	<i>'Akir</i> (?).
89	<i>Hiklim</i> .	Eglon (?).	<i>'Ajlân</i> (?).
90	<i>Abalah</i> .	Baalah (Judah ?).	
91	<i>Atara</i> .	Adoraim.	<i>Dûra</i> .
92	<i>Abara</i> (or <i>Abala</i>).		
93	<i>Kenetu</i> .		<i>Kanya</i> .*
94	<i>Makerput</i> .		<i>Ûurfah</i> (?).*
95	<i>Aina</i> .	Anim.	<i>Ghuwein</i> .*
96	<i>Karaman</i> .	Carmel.	<i>Kirnil</i> .
97	<i>Bedia</i> .		
98	<i>Tapuna</i> .	Timnah (?) (Judah).	<i>Tibneh</i> (?).
99	<i>Aberu</i> (or <i>Aubilu</i>).		<i>El Bireh</i> (?).*
100	<i>Ilatu</i> (or <i>Irtu</i>).		<i>Beit Aula</i> (?).*
101	<i>Harkara</i> (or <i>Hal- kala</i>).		<i>Hakûrah</i> (?).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
102	<i>Yakbara.</i>		' <i>Aukbûr</i> (?).*
103	<i>Akputu.</i>		
104	<i>Kazir.</i>	Gezer.	<i>Tell Jezar.</i>
105	<i>Rabatu.</i>	Rabbath.	<i>Rubba.</i> *
106	<i>Maklatu</i> (or <i>Makratu</i>).		<i>Mughullis</i> (?).*
107	<i>Amku.</i>		
108	<i>Tzartah.</i>	Zoreah.	<i>Sur'ah.</i> *
109	<i>Bartu</i> (or <i>Baltu</i>).	Baalath.	' <i>Erma.</i> *
110	<i>Bet Shara.</i>	Shaaraim.	<i>S'aîreh</i> (?).*
111	<i>Bet Anata.</i>	Anem.	<i>Kefr 'Ana.</i> *
112	<i>Halkatu.</i>		<i>Huleikat.</i> *
113	<i>Ankenamu.</i>	Engannim.	<i>Umm Jina.</i> *
114	<i>Kebau.</i>	Gibeah (of Judah).	<i>Jeb'a.</i> *
115	<i>Zerra.</i>		<i>Sirreh.</i> *
116	<i>Tzafta.</i>	Zephathah.	<i>Sâfieh.</i> *
117	<i>Berkna.</i>		<i>Burkah</i> * (of Ascalon).
118	<i>Huma.</i>		
119	<i>Akmes</i> (or <i>Aktomes</i>).		

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

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

The best work on this list has been done by Rev. H. G. Tomkins (paper read to Biblical Archæological

Society, June, 1885), who has kindly supplied me with MS. emendations.

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
120	<i>Piltau.</i>	Paltos.	<i>Baldch.</i>
121	<i>Ai.</i>		<i>Kefr Aiya.</i>
122	<i>Amatu.</i>	Hamath.	<i>Hâmah.</i>
123	<i>Artu.</i>		
124	<i>Thuka.</i>		
125	<i>Termamma.</i>		<i>Termanîn.</i>
126	<i>Regaba.</i>		<i>Rehâb.</i>
127	<i>Tunîpa.</i>		<i>Tennib.</i>
128	..... a.		
129	.....	
130	<i>Zarbu.</i>		<i>Zerbi.</i>
131	<i>Sepkasa.</i>		<i>Safikh.</i>
132	<i>Nii.</i>	Ninus Vetus.	
133	.....	
134	<i>Ar</i>		
135	<i>Zepzel</i> (or <i>Zepzer</i>).		
136	<i>Zeker</i> (or <i>Zekel</i>).		
137	<i>Zenret.</i>		
138	<i>Anama.</i>		<i>Ghanama</i> (?).
139	<i>Aretzkna.</i>	Araziku (?).	
140	<i>Khalka.</i>	Chalchis.	<i>Kanasir.</i>
141	. . . <i>resu</i> (? <i>Zarzu</i>).		
142	<i>Lelti.</i>	Lalati (?).	
143	<i>Sarkasa.</i>	Circesium.	<i>Kerkesieh.</i>
144	.....	
145	<i>Uanai.</i>		' <i>Aweineh.</i>
146	<i>Anfil.</i>		<i>Kefr Anfil.</i>
147	<i>Itakhab.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
148	<i>Auniauka.</i>		' <i>Anka</i> (?).
149	. . . <i>zna.</i>		
150	<i>Sekenii</i> (?).		
151	<i>Aubelina</i> (or <i>Aubrina</i>).		<i>Oilum</i> (?).*
152	<i>Zauriunsu</i> (or <i>Zaliunsu</i>).		
153	<i>Suka.</i>		
154	<i>Pazeru.</i>		<i>Tell Bashar</i> .*
155	<i>Satekhbeg.</i>		<i>Etebeg</i> (?).*
156	<i>Amarseki.</i>		
157	<i>Khalsa</i> (or <i>Kharsa</i>).		<i>Kharis</i> (?).
158	<i>Nenurmanza.</i>		
159	<i>Saiurenta.</i>		<i>Saurana.</i>
160	<i>Maillekhmas</i> (<i>Mair- rekhmas</i>).		<i>Minnigh</i> .*
161	<i>Zagril.</i>		
162	. . . . .	
163	<i>Kanretu.</i>		<i>Kurat</i> (?).
164	<i>Tariza.</i>		<i>Tarisha</i> (?).
165	. . . . .	
166	<i>Anriz.</i>		
167	<i>Aarza.</i>		
168	<i>Khetzlasau.</i>	<i>Kiliza</i> (?).	<i>Killiz</i> (?).
169	<i>Arnir.</i>	<i>Arinara.</i>	
170	<i>Khataia.</i>		<i>Hethin</i> (?).
171	. . . . .	
172	<i>A . . . urna.</i>		
173	<i>Thenuzaur . . .</i>		<i>Tizar</i> (?).
174	<i>Kaha.</i>		
175	<i>Ar</i>		
176	<i>Khatza . . .</i>		<i>Azzaz</i> .*

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
177	<i>Murrekhna.</i>		<i>Mar'in.*</i>
178	.....	
179	<i>Dur</i>		
180	<i>Zari</i>		
181	<i>Sa</i>		
182	.....	
183	.....	
184	<i>Anaubenu.</i>		
185	<i>Khatuma.</i>		<i>Hethîn (?)**</i>
186	<i>Makanasa.</i>		<i>Mihsenne (?)**</i>
187	<i>Tepkenna.</i>		<i>Toipuk.*</i>
188	<i>Thuthnau.</i>		<i>Tutân.*</i>
189	<i>Nireb.</i>		<i>Nariba.</i>
190	<i>Tereb.</i>		<i>Tereb.</i>
191	<i>Atugeren.</i>		
192	<i>Eiai</i> . . .		
193	<i>Ant</i>		
194	<i>Sa</i>		
195	<i>Samabu.</i>		<i>Zembus.*</i>
196	<i>Nisapa.</i>		<i>Nisib.</i>
197	<i>Azkel.</i>		<i>Aghjkend.*</i>
198	<i>Abata.</i>		
199	<i>Zirza.</i>		
200	<i>Aautir</i> (or <i>Autil</i>).		<i>Aghdul.*</i>
201	<i>Natub.</i>		
202	<i>Zatarset.</i>		<i>Tsertshi.*</i>
203	<i>Aitua.</i>		<i>Ayash.*</i>
204	<i>Sukau.</i>		<i>Shagut.*</i>
205	<i>Tuaub.</i>		<i>Kefr Tob (?)</i> .
206	<i>Abeltet.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
207	<i>Sairnakai.</i>		<i>Sarnuka</i> (Euphrates).
208	<i>Aurma</i> (or <i>Aulma</i>).		<i>Irme</i> .*
209	. . . <i>tnai.</i>	Batnæ (?).	<i>Tell Feddâni.</i>
210	. . . <i>tnata.</i>		
211	<i>Shainurgenna.</i>		<i>Tsharmelek</i> (?).*
212	<i>Kainab.</i>	Cannaba.	
213	<i>Ares</i> (or <i>Alis</i>).		
214	<i>Anautatena</i> (or <i>Anutna</i>).		<i>Tat</i> (?).*
215	<i>Azna.</i>		
216	<i>Zetarseta.</i>		
217	<i>Twibenta</i> (or <i>Tur-</i> <i>banda</i>).		
218	<i>Mauti.</i>		
219	<i>Naapi.</i>		
220	<i>Akhemrur</i> (or <i>Ak-</i> <i>hemlul</i>).		
221	<i>Atur.</i>		<i>Hatura</i> (?).
222	<i>Kartamrut.</i>		
223	<i>Asita.</i>		
224	<i>Taniris.</i>		
225	<i>Ianukhu.</i>		
226	<i>Atbani</i> (or <i>Atbanti</i>).		
227	<i>Asameb.</i>		
228	<i>Atakar.</i>		
229	<i>Tatzet.</i>		<i>Tisa</i> (?).*
230	<i>Aternu.</i>		
231	<i>Taakmer</i> . . .		
232	<i>Aabata.</i>		<i>Abfin</i> (?).

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
233	<i>Ar</i>		
234	<i>Sarmata</i> .		<i>Sarmeda</i> .
235	<i>Anzakab</i> .		
236	<i>Aresa</i> (or <i>Alta</i>).		<i>Yarimsha</i> (?).*
237	<i>Alta</i> (or <i>Arta</i>).		<i>Arudis</i> (?).
238	<i>Atau</i> (or <i>Tatatu</i>).		<i>Tashatan</i> (?).*
239-245	. . . . .	
246	<i>Khalbu</i> .		<i>Tell Halab</i> .
247	<i>Fariua</i> .		<i>Tell Ifâr</i> .
248	<i>Sesben</i> .	<i>Sazabe</i> .	<i>Shebib</i> (?).*
249	<i>Ketesa</i> .	<i>Hierapolis</i> (?)	<i>Membij</i> (?).*
250, 251	. . . . .	
252	<i>Sur</i> .	<i>Sur</i> (on Eu- phrates).	<i>Suriyeh</i> .
253	<i>Papaa</i> .		
254	<i>Nuzena</i> .		
255	<i>Zamauka</i> .		<i>Samuka</i> .*
256	. . . . <i>anai</i> .		
257	<i>Kenaskhu</i> .		<i>Aghshekoi</i> (?).*
258	. . . . .	
259	<i>Sukibaki</i> (? <i>Supabaki</i>).		<i>Tsubanbeg</i> (?).*
260	<i>Tarnu</i> .		<i>Kefr Torin</i> (?).*
261	<i>Kamrupa</i> .		<i>Sherif</i> (?).*
262	<i>Atuba</i> .		<i>Hatab</i> (?).
263	<i>Atini</i> .		<i>Atin</i> .
264	<i>Akarsaua</i> .		
265	<i>Retama</i> (or <i>Letama</i>).		
266	. . . <i>teuz</i> . . .		
267-269	. . . . .	

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
270	<i>Karkamasha.</i>	Carchemish.	<i>Jerablus.</i>
271	<i>Zazikar.</i>		<i>Tshakir.*</i>
272	<i>Maurmar</i> (or <i>Maulmal).</i>		
273	<i>Set . . .</i>		
274-278	<i>.</i>		
279	<i>Khaitu.</i>		<i>Ghâdi.</i>
280	<i>Pidri.</i>	Pethor.	
281	<i>Atlitenu.</i>		<i>Tultan (?)</i> .
282	<i>Masana.</i>		
283	<i>Anleka.</i>		
284	<i>Nepiriuriu</i> (or <i>Nepiliuliu).</i>		
285	<i>Natkina.</i>		
286	<i>Atetama</i> (or <i>Attama).</i>		
287	<i>Abrennu.</i>	(River)	<i>Afrîn (?)</i> .
288	<i>Airenel.</i>		<i>Arikanli (?)</i> .*
289	<i>Airenel.</i>		
290	<i>Annaui.</i>		
291	<i>Teknu.</i>		<i>'Ain Dakne</i> .*
292	<i>Talekh.</i>	Doliche (?).	<i>'Ain-Tab.</i>
293	<i>Aurna.</i>		<i>Orul (?)</i> .*
294	<i>Ramanai (?)</i> .		
295	<i>.</i>		
296	<i>Papa . . .</i>		<i>Babar (?)</i> .
297	<i>Ata . . .</i>		
298	<i>Arsa . . .</i>		
299	<i>Mari . . .</i>		
300-305	<i>.</i>		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
306	<i>Aibr</i> . .		
307	<i>Karmatia</i> .		<i>Karamata</i> .
308	<i>Amaiku</i> .	(Plain)	<i>El Umk</i> .*
309	<i>Kazal</i> (or <i>Akazal</i>).		<i>Kezil</i> (<i>Kaia</i>).
310	<i>Aumaia</i> .		
311	<i>Khalbu</i> .	Aleppo.	<i>Haleb</i> .
312	<i>Piaunel</i> (or <i>Pianer</i>).		
313	<i>Aurma</i> .		
314	<i>Samaalna</i> (or <i>Samarna</i>).		
315	<i>Akama</i> .	(Mount)	<i>Akma</i> (?).
316	<i>Pureth</i> (or <i>Pulet</i>).		<i>Burat</i> .
317	<i>Saresu</i> .		<i>Sarisât</i> .
318	<i>Aripenekha</i> (or <i>Alipeneha</i>).		
319	<i>Ariz</i> .	Oriza.	
320	<i>Pukiu</i> .		
321	. . . . .	
322	<i>Thinnur</i> .	Thannurium (?).	
323	<i>Zarnasa</i> .		<i>Tsaurân</i> (?).
324	<i>Nurnasa</i> .		
325-332	. . . . .	
333	<i>Iurima</i> .		<i>Urim</i> .
334-337	Defective.		
338	<i>Titufa</i> .		<i>Tetif</i> .
339-342	Defective.		
343	<i>Susarnu</i> .		<i>Sisaurna</i> .
344	<i>Azanniu</i> .		
345	<i>Absatna</i> .		

	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW OR CLASSIC.	MODERN.
346	<i>Amahur</i> (or <i>Amapur</i>).		
347	<i>Tamakur</i> .		
348	<i>Retep</i> .	Rezep (<i>?</i>)	<i>Resafa</i> .
349	<i>Maurika</i> .		<i>Murik</i> .
350	<i>Ta</i>		

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

lowlands, along the Orontes valley by Hamath to Aleppo, and northwards to the great ford of the Euphrates at Carchemish; the conquests extending beyond the river, on the high-road towards Harran, but not to any great distance on the way to Assyria.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TABLETS.

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

- Canaana (58 B. M., 37 B. M., 92 B., 24 B. M., 30 B. M., 2 B. M., 8 B.),
 Canaan, Land of, 7, 15, 41, 60, 106, 176, 179
 (Caphar?) Yazu (60 B.), *Kejr Yashit*, 69
 Caradunias (Letters from), 178, 185
 Casi, Land of, Cassites (61 B.), Casi (Cush, 103 B.), 53, 150
 Casib (104 B.), Cuzbe (103 B.), 'Ain Kezbeh (Chezib), 129, 145
 Cidisi (189 B.), Cidzi (30 B. M., 92 B.), Giidsi (142 B.), Kadesh, *Kades*,
 17, 40, 106
 Cinza, Land of (46 B.), 22
 Cirmili (199 B.), *Kirmil* (Carmel of Judah), 150
 Cumidi (43 B. M., 18 B. M., 61 B., 86 B., 152 B.), *Kamid*, 21, 51,
 53, 71
 Danuna (30 B. M.), *Danian* (Danjaan), 106
 Dimasca (43 B. M.), see Timasgi (37 B. M.), Damascus, 20
 Durubli (24 B. M.), Tripoli, *Trâblus*, 59
 Egada, Land of (20 B. M.), Ikatai, Egait (10 B.), 78, 167
 Egypt, Land of, frequently mentioned
 Eni-Saamsi (77 B. M.), 'Ain Shems (1r Shemesh), 158
 Gatza (60 B.), perhaps *Kadishah*, 68
 Gaza (57 B. M., 105 B., 199 B.), 115, 140, 150, 151
 Gazri (Letters from, and 112 B., 163 B.), *Tell Jezar* (Gezer), 122, 134-
 138, 147
 Gebal (Gubla), Byblos, *Jubeil* (chaps. ii., iii., iv.), 48-94
 Giidsi, see Cidisi
 Gina (154 B.), *Umm Jina* (En Gannim of Judah), 127
 Giti Rimuna (154 B.), *Tell es Saft* (Gath), 127
 Givti (104 B., 106 B., 199 B.), *Jeb'â* (Gibeah of Judah), 143, 145, 150
 Gizza (43 B. M.), *Jezzin*, 20, 21
 Gubbu (78 B. M.), *Jubbata*, 24
 Gula (45 B. M.), *Juneh*, 47
 Gutium (92 B.), *Jebel Judi* (Ararat), 43
 Harti (199 B.), *Kharas*, Hareth, 150
 Hittites, frequently noticed (chaps. ii., iii., iv., and appendix)
 Hubi (36 B. M., 37 B. M., 142 B., 96 B.), Hobah, Land of, 12, 16, 18
 Huzu (99 B.), *Ghaziyeh*, 101
 Irib (28 B. M.), *Arab Salim*, 108
 Irkata (42 B. M., 77 B., 79 B.), 'Arkah (Arkah), 44, 62, 65
 Jerusalem (in the Jerusalem letters only), 143, 147, 149, 150, 151
 Kalbi (17 B. M.), *Kelbata*, 67
 Kanu (133 B.), *Kanya*, 159
 Kappa (17 B. M.), *Keffa*, 66
 Katna (36 B. M., 37 B. M.), *Katana*, 11, 12, 17
 Keilah (Cielti) (Letters from, and 106 B., 199 B., *Keilah*), 143, 144, 151,
 152-155
 Khalavunni (43 B. M.), *Helbôn* (Helbon), 20
 Khani Rabbe, Land of (144 B.), Armenia, 7
 Kharabu (154 B.), *el Khurab*, 127
 Kharu (143 B., 97 B., 76 B., 91 B.), Phoenicians, 26, 27, 39, 89
 Khatti (frequently mentioned), Hittites
 Khazi (189 B.), *Ghazzeh*, 19
 Khazura (Letters from, and 99 B.), *Jebel Hadtrch* (Hazor), 101, 111, 112
 Khini (64 B. M.), *Hineh*, 25, 179
 Lacisi (Letters from), Lachish (104 B., 103 B.), 129-134, 146, 147

- Lapana (37 B. M.), Lybo, *Lebweh*, 15, 16
 Lukki (11 B.), Ligyes, 169
 Maar . . . (75 B.), *Mugheir'iyeh* (Mearah), 84
 Macdalim (64 B. M.), *Mejdel Shems*, 25
 Macdalim (73 B. M.), *Mejdel*, 129
 Maguzi or Muhzeh (189 B.), *Mekseh*, 19
 Makdani (95 B.), *Mufedd'a* (Megiddon), 110
 Makkedah (frequently), *el Mughar*, 120-129
 Maramma (43 B. M.), *Maraba*, 19
 Marhassi (36 B. M., 37 B. M., 143 B., 33 B., 34a B., 148 B., 35 B. M.,
 38 B., 39 B., 31 B.), *Mer'ash*, 12, 15, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37
 Meispa (64 B. M.), *Remtheh* (Ramath Mizpeh), 25
 Melukha, Meroe, see Nubia
 Mikhiza (125 B.), *Mekseh*, 22
 Misi (51 B., 76 B., 44 B. M., 42 B.), the Delta, 46, 56, 75, 90
 Mitana, Land of (52 B., 79 B., 44 B. M., 21 B. M., 60 B., 61 B.),
 Matiene, 47, 53, 55, 65, 68, 79, 181
 Mu(r)'azi (50 B. M.), *Mer'ash* (Moresah), 137
 Nahrma (104 B.), *Wady Naheir*, 145
 Nariba (91 B.), Nereb, 28
 Naziba (151 B.), *Beit Nustb* (Nezeb), 157
 Ni, Land of (41 B. M., 37 B. M., 39 B., 45 B. M.), Ninus Vetus, 9, 15,
 36, 47
 Nubia, Melukha (57 B., 45 B.), 57, 58, 74
 Nupi (44 B.), Memphis, 65
 Pabaha (92 B.), 42
 Pitazza (153 B.), *Fuleis*, 158
 Rimmon (104 B.), *Rummon*, 146
 Rubute (106 B.), *Rubba* (Rabbath of Judah), 143
 Ruhizzi (37 B. M.), *R'aith*, 15, 16
 Saarti (14 B. M.), *esh Sh'arah*, 63
 Saddu (43 B. M.), *Nebi Shit*, 20
 Salabini Land (199 B.), *Selbit* (Shaalbim), 151
 Sam'ah (Lachish Tablet), *Sam'ah*, 133
 Sama'una (131 B.), *Sammunieh*, 161
 Sanhar (5 B. M.), Shinar, 173
 Sapi(ta) (45 B.), *Safita*, 73
 Saskhi (134 B.), *S'as'a*, 26
 Seiri Land (104 B.), Mount Seir, 145
 Sekhlali (158 B.), 48
 Sigata (60 B., 12 B. M., 128 B., 72 B., 74 B.), *Shakka*, 45, 66, 68, 69,
 86
 Siina (53 B.), *Kefr Zina*, 70
 Simyra (Zumura), now *Sunrah* (Zemar), 9, chaps. i. to v.
 Sunasu (154 B.), *Sanasin*, 127
 Tabu (59 B. M.), *Taiyibeh*, 123
 Takhida (58 B.), Tikhedi (60 B.), 61, 69
 Taratzi Land (48 B.), *Tarsuts* (Tarsus, Tarshish), 81
 Taruna (148 B.), 160
 Timasgi (37 B. M.), 16
 Tubakhi (171 B.), *Kefr Dubbeh* (Tibbah), 23
 Tunip (41 B., 31 B., 33 B., 35 B., 35 B. M.), *Tennib*, 8, 9, 30, 35
 Tnsulti (189 B.), 19

- Tyre (Zuru), *Sur* (Letters from, 99 B., 28 B. M.-31 B. M.), 100-109
 Udumu (64 B. M.), *ed Dameh* (Dametha), 25
 Ugariti (30 B. M., 128 B.), '*Akrith*', 45, 106
 Ukri (49 B.), '*Akkar*', 83
 Ullaza (91 B., 97 B., 60 B., 45 B., 51 B., 90 B.), '*Kefr Khullis*', 28, 39,
 69, 73, 75
 Umuti (47 B.), Hamath, 49
 Yabisi (64 B. M.), '*Yabis*', 25
 Yahlia (60 B.), '*I'al*', 68
 Yapu (Letters from), '*Yäfa* (Joppa), 115-117
 Zaar (64 B. M.), Zorea of Bashan, '*Esra*', 25
 Zabuba (138 B.), '*Ezbuba*', 156
 Zar'a (137 B.), '*Sur'ah* (Zorah), 156
 Zarbitu (29 B. M., 31 B. M.), '*Surafend* (Sarepta), 103-105
 Zicaruenu? (130 B.), '*Dhekirin*', 161
 Zilu (104 B.), '*Seilän* (Shiloh), 146
 Zinzaar or Zinaar (37 B. M.), '*Senaar* (Shinar), 15
 Ziribasani (132 B.), same as Zaar, 23
 Zituna (Letters from, and 13 B. M., 92 B., 54 B., 44 B. M., 48 B., and
 letters from Tyre), '*Saida* (Sidon), 40, 46, 51, 82, 99, 101, 105
 Zumura, see Simyra

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