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The New Amarna Tablets

CYRUS H. GORDON - Philadelphia

Dedicated to Professor James A. Montgomery on his eightieth birthday 13 June 1946

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In 1915 J. A. Knudtzon completed his corpus (⁴) of 358 Amarna tablets. The same year saw the material augmented by O. Schroeder's publication of a fragment of the Šar Tamhari ("King of Battle") epic (²). Then six Amarna letters (*362-*367), that had been found in the original discovery of 1887, were brought out by the late

(¹) Referred to as "K" in the following list of abbreviations: AG: K. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, Studia Orientalia VII, Helsingfors, 1938. – BA: B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien II, Heidelberg, 1925. – CT: Cuneiform Texts... in the British Museum. – DNT: C. H. Gordon, "The Dialect of the Nuzu Tablets", Orientalia VII, 1938, pp. 32-63, 215-232. – GdA: E. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums II, 3rd ed., Stuttgart & Berlin, 1928. – JEA: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. – K: Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Ta/eln, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig, 1907-15. – PB: A. Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, Rome, 1914. – RA: Revue d'Assyriologie. – ŠL: Deimel, Šumerisches Lexikon. 2nd ed., Rome, 1927-37. – ZA: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

(2) Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler XII, text 193, pp. 2-4. In keeping with the chronological order of subsequent publications, we call this text * 359 in continuation of Knudtzon's numbering. This agrees with S. A. B. Mercer, Tell el-Amarna Tablets, Toronto, 1939, We also keep Mercer's numbering of the very fragmentary texts * 360 (Schroeder, Die el-Amarna Tafeln, Leipzig, 1915, text 179) and * 361 (Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1917, pp. 105-6). Regarding the remaining texts, we diverge from Mercer in order to set up a chronological sequence that may be continued without difficulty in case more Amarna tablets are published.

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F. Thureau-Dangin in 1922 (⁴). Three years later Sidney Smith and C. J. Gadd edited "A Cuneiform Vocabulary of Egyptian Words" (*368) from Amarna (JEA XI, 1925, pp. 230-40). In 1934 G. Dossin published the letter of Milki-Ili, King of Gezer, under the title "Une nouvelle lettre d'El-Amarna" (*369) in RA XXXI, 1934, pp. 125-136. Meanwhile, during the first half of the 1933-4 campaign at Amarna, the late Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury, whose untimely death in Crete during the war was a great loss to scholarship, unearthed the eight new fragments. A brief notice of these texts was published in JEA XX, 1934, pp. 137-8 (²). They were not included in Mercer's edition. It is with the kind permission of The Egypt Exploration Society that I now publish these documents in *Orientalia*. I dedicate this study to my illustrious teacher, Professor James A. Montgomery, on the occasion of his eightieth anniversary.

The Amarna tablets are second to no other corpus of inscriptions in enduring importance and sustained interest. In spite of decades of intensive study by numerous scholars, these documents have not been relegated to a secondary position in contemporary orientology. This is partly due to the fact that despite the work of many Assyriologists, the problems of the Amarna tablets have not yet been completely solved. Nor is this surprising when one considerers the complexity of the situation. Thus, on the linguistic side, we may recall that the peripheral Accadian dialects of the Amarna tablets are replete with Canaanite, Hurrian, Egyptian, Hittite and other influences. The native language of each scribe tends to peer through his affected Accadian idiom. The discovery of the Semitic alphabetic texts at Ugarit has given a fresh impetus to the investigation of the Syro-Palestinian dialects, for which the Amarna tablets remain a leading source. Nuzu (³), Boğazköy and Ugarit have supplied so much material for the study of Hurrian that Tušratta's Mitanni letter is becoming better understood, while more Hurrian lexical elements scattered through many other Amarna documents are placed in clearer

(2) They are there referred to by the letters "A" to "H". Here, however, they are called *370 to *377 respectively.

(³) Generally called "Nuzi".

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⁽⁴⁾ RA XIX, pp. 91-108, including the facsimile of the text Thureau-Dangin published under the title "Une lettre d'Amenophis (III ou IV)", *Recueil d'Études Égyptologiques dédiées à ... Champollion*, Paris, 1922.

light (⁴). Furthermore, progress in Accadian, Hittite and Egyptian has, now an immediate, now an ultimate, bearing on Amarna studies. Thus, scholars who control two or more of the fields involved are in a position to make combinatory contributions. For example, W. F. Albright has showed that the letters of Abi-Milki, Prince of Tyre, contain Egyptianisms that point to the Egyptian origin of the scribe (JEA XXIII, 1937, pp. 190-203). (For another combinatory contribution, see J. Friedrich, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 109-118.) Then again, in dealing with many moot historical questions, such as the dates of the Exodus and Israelite Conquest, one must also reckon with the evidence from Amarna as well as with the steady stream of other epigraphical and archeological discoveries.

The eight new texts are of varied contents; for, in addition to royal letters, they include a vocabulary, a list of gods and what appear to be literary fragments and writing exercises.

The letters (fragments *370-*372) are written on more finely made and somewhat thinner tablets than the others (*373-*377), which served as texts and exercises in the Egyptian school for cuneiform scribes. Not requiring the delicacy of texture becoming a king's correspondence, these school texts are coarsely fashioned and rather thicker than the rest (²). Yet, perhaps because school texts need to be sturdy to withstand class-room wear, they are baked no less than the letters exchanged between Egypt and Western Asia.

(1) To mention only a couple of points bearing on Hurrian words that occur in Accadian texts of the Amarna Age: (1) The Canaanite gloss ka-[z]i-ra(= Heb. تكاب) "harvest" shows that ka-si-ga (baqanu) in K 244: 14 means "(to cut) crops". Amarna ka-si-ga = Nuzu ka-as-ka (var. qa-sa-qa etc.: see DNT, § 4.17, no. 88), the Hurrian word for "crops". --- (2) It is now well known that "Canaan" corresponds to Amarna ki-na-ah-ni(K 137: 76), var. ki-na-ah-na (K 151: 50). That "Canaan" is of Hurrian derivation squares with the fact that the Egyptians called Canaan "Hurruland"; e. g., Pap. Anast. "Canaanite slaves from Hurru-land" (GdA, p. 89). (²) The dimensions are summarized in the following table:

• •		0		
	Fragment	length	width	thickness
letters	(* 370	4.0 cm.	4.5	1.5
	<pre> * 371 </pre>	6.8	6.0	3.2
	* 372	4.0	2.8	1.6
school texts	* 373	9.2	8.5	3.2
	* 374	7.0	10.0	4.0
	* 375	6.0	5.0	2.0
	* 376	6.0	7.4	3.2
	* 377	4.0	2.0	2.5

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With one exception, the tablets come from the Records Office, in which the original find was made. Fragment *371, however, was discovered in a clerk's house to the south of the Records Office.

Fragment *370

This tablet is the Records Office copy of the sixth known letter from the Pharaoh to a dependent chieftain (⁴). It is addressed to Itiya, the "man" (= "governor") of Ascalon, on the occasion of the appointment of a new Egyptian commissioner to that city.

Itiya (²) is to be identified with Witiya (³), the governor of Ascalon, seven of whose letters to the Pharaoh are already known (K 320-326).

Like most Egyptian officials in Asia, Iriyama[], commissioner to Ascalon, has an Egyptian name (⁴). In (W)itiya's other letters, only Rianapa ($= r^{\epsilon} - nfr$?) is specifically named as commissioner of the Pharaoh (K 326:17). However, it now appears that at least two Egyptian commissioners were stationed, at different times, at Ascalon during the governorship of (W)itiya (⁵). In K 321:15 ff., (W)itiya assures the Pharaoh of obedience to his commissioner. Pending further evidence, the identity of the latter with Iriyama[] (now named for the first time in the extant Amarna correspondence) is as possible as his identity with Rianapa.

Fragment *370 largely parallels *367. In fact, to judge from the surviving portions of *370 the letters differ seriously only as regards personal and place names. Now *367 is a command from the Pharaoh to a governor (1) to guard his post for Egypt, (2) to obey

(4) The others are K 99, 162, 163, *367 and *369. Only the last two are complete.

(²) Itia possibly contains the hypochoristic suffix -ia and may consequently be the equivalent of איתיאל (Proverbs 30:1). Compare furthermore *mili-it-ti-ia* "God-is-with-me" in the Nuzu tablets (E. Chiera, *Publications* of the Baghdad School I, Paris, 1927, text 43:2).

(3) Written mwi(PI)-it-ia, which K normalizes as Widia. The same sign indicates either *it* or *id*, but our text shows that here the former value is preferable. For the loss of the *w* in *Itia*, see the note on *370:7.

(4) Albright (on p. 14 of his "Cuneiform Material for Egyptian Prosopography", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* V, 1946, pp. 7-25) reads the name as "Iriyamašša" reflecting Egyptian ry-ms(w) "a companion is born". Albright sees the same name in *I-ri-ma-ia-aš-ša* (K 130:11).

(5) See GdA, pp. 364 f., n. 2, for a list of the Egyptian commissioners mentioned in the Amarna letters.

a newly appointed commissioner and (3) to supply royal troops with food and drink (cf. GdA, p. 359). (W)itiya assures compliance with the first of these orders in K 320:16f., 321:24ff., 322:15f.,323:10, 325:10f. and 326:9. In addition to the passages cited in the preceding paragraph, he guarantees obedience to the royal commissioner (the second of the orders) in K 322:18ff. and 326:13f.Although the third of these orders is not preserved in Fragment *370, we know that (W)itiya must have received it at some time or other, for in K 324:12ff. (cf. 325:15ff.) he states that he has provided the king's soldiers with supplies. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may tentatively suppose that the missing section in *370 was quite similar to lines 8-21 of *367.

Transliteration	Translation		
a-na ^m i-li-ia amêl âli aš-qá-	To Itiya, the "man" of the city		
lu-n[a ^k] ⁱ	of Ascalo[n],		
qí-bí-ma um-ma šarru-ma	speak! Thus saith the king:		
a-nu-m[a]	No[w]		
tup-pa an-na-a uš-le-bi-la-ku	this tablet I send thee,		
qá-bi-e a-na ka-a-ša ù	saying unto thee: So be on thy		
u[ş]-şur	g[u]ard!		
5) lu-ú na-şa-ra-ta aš-ru	Mayest thou guard the place		
šarri	of the king		
ša it-ti-ka	which with thee (is entrusted).		
a–nu–ma šarru um–le–(m)eš–	Now the king hath sen[t		
š[i–ra–ku]	thee]		
^m i-ri-ia-ma-[] ^a [^{mél}]r[âbiṣ]a š[a šarri] (about 13 lin	Iriyama[] (As) co[mmissi]oner o[f the king]		
rev.) $\hat{u} lu-\hat{u} [ti-i-d\hat{i} i-nu-ma]$	And verily [mayest thou know that]		
ša–lim šarru k[i–ma ^d šamaš ^{aš}]	the king is hale a[s the sun]		
25) i–na ^d sa–me–e [ummân ^{meš} –šu]	in heaven. [His soldiers (and)]		
^{iş} narkabâti ^{meš} –š[u] ma–a–d[u]	hi[s] chariots [are] many.		
i-na mâti elîti ^{i(m)} a-d[i mâti	From the Upper Land unt[o		
šaplîli ^{ti(m)}]	the Lower Land,]		
şi-it ^a šamaš ^{aš} a-di e-ri-i[b]	(from) the rising of the sun		
si=it sumas a=at e=ri=i[v] ^d [ša]maš ^{aš} ma-gal šul=mu	unto the settin[g] of the [s]un, (there is) much peace.		

Notes

1. The URU-sign with names of cities is probably to be read in many instances in these texts. It does not always seem to be a silent determinative. This URU may itself have the postdeterminative KI; e. g., dt^{ki} \dot{u} -ga-ri-te (K 126:6, cf. 37, 60 and 129:18).

4. The direct discourse is introduced by the conjunction \hat{u} .

5. Cf. the subjunctive function of $l\hat{u}$ + permansive; see A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., 1926, p. 41.

7. MEŠ has the value $e\bar{s}$ here. Professor Goetze informs me that MEŠ = $e\bar{s}$ is well attested in the Boğazköy tablets. This correspondence may have a phonetic explanation. There is a sound that may be described as a voiced bilabial spirant that is varyingly represented in the orthography as b, m, w or even zero. Thus $mu\bar{s}elm\hat{u}$ "surveyor(s)" is written in the following ways at Nuzu: $mu-\bar{s}e-el-bu-\hat{u}$, $mu-\bar{s}e-el-mu$, $mu-\bar{s}e-el-wu$ and $mu-\bar{s}el-\hat{u}$ ⁽⁴⁾ (DNT, § 1. 14). In the last example, u (< mu) exactly parallels $e\bar{s}$ ($< me\bar{s}$).

23 ff.: duplicated in K 162:78-81 and the fragmentary 163: reverse. Lines 27, 28 are omitted in the closing sections of K 99 and *367. Cf. *369:24-32.

27. *ina* "from" (rather than "in" here) calls to mind Egyptian *m*, which means "from" as well as "in" (see, for example, A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, p. 29); for Ugaritic, Hebrew and Aramaic *b* "from", see *Orientalia* X, 1941, p. 358.

29. MA-GAL is rendered as *danniš* by Knudtzon and others. However, *magal* may well be an Accadian word to judge from the spelling *ma-ga-al* (see A. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 329).

Fragment *371

Although the opening and concluding sections are missing and no single line is complete, it is clear that this letter was sent by a Syrian chieftain to the Pharaoh. The Syrian locality of the sender is fixed by the mention of the city of Šehlal in line 19, while

(4) Written $mu-\check{S}AL-\check{u}$. Signs with values consisting of "consonant plus *a* plus consonant" often stand for "consonant plus i/e plus consonant" (see DNT, § 1.5). Thus $\check{S}AP = \check{s}ip$ in K 137:21 and $\check{S}AR = \check{s}ir$ in K 126:7 etc. In the latter example $u\check{s}-\check{S}AR = II_1$ inf. $u\check{s}\check{s}ir$ (quttil for quttul as in $u\check{s}-\check{s}ir$, K 264:9, and pu-hi-ir, K 264:6).

the royalty of the addressee is evident from the titles in lines 13 and 30.

The city of Šehlal and its soldiers have otherwise been known to us only from K 62. The latter tablet was sent from Abdi-Aširta. the wily Amurru chieftain, to Paha(m)nata, who resided in Simyra (Sumur), filling the office of Egyptian commissioner to the Amurru. Abdi-Aširta, whose activities are limited to the reign of Amenophis III (GdA, p. 347, n. 1), narrates that he found Simvra defenseless against the soldiers of Šehlal (lines 9 ff.). He had left the city of Irgat and come to Simvra, where he rescued the commissioner's "house" (= palace) from the Šehlal invaders (13 ff.). Had he not come, the men of Šehlal would have burned Simyra and the palace there (16 ff.). He found the palace deserted except for four survivors, who begged him, and not in vain, to save them (23 ff.). However, twenty-five residents of the palace had already been slain (33 f.). The commissioner is then requested to give no credence to reports, circulated by opponents and rivals, to the effect that Abdi-Aširta is betraying the cause of Egypt $(^4)$.

Conceivably, *371 is Abdi-Aširta's letter to Amenophis III, touching upon the same incident. My tentative restorations in lines 12-18 and 25-32 (see the notes) are partly based on this assumption. If such is the authorship of *371, it appears that Abdi-Aširta claims to be defending Simyra and the interests of Egypt in general (12 ff.). He asks the Pharaoh to aid him in helping the Egyptian cause (14 ff.) and warns him that continued negligence will lay the district open to the assaults of the Šehlal host (18 f.). If Abdi-Aširta had not left Irqat and come to Simyra with his forces, the men of Šehlal would have burned Simyra and the "house" (= palace) and killed the people in the "house" and wrested the city from Abdi-Aširta, who was protecting it for Egypt (25 ff.). Then comes a reference to some inhabitants, who were (almost?) captured and sold into slavery (32 f., 35 ff.).

Hitherto, only K 60-64 and possibly 65 comprised the corpus of Abdi-Aširta's letters, and much of this is fragmentary. Writers have held that he was a two-faced villain, while his enemy, Rib-

(⁴) Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, p. 159. --- For a more recent discussion of Abdi-Aširta see J. de Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven en het Oude-Testament inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt*, Delft, 1940, pp. 129 ff. Addi of Byblos, was a faithful saint (⁴). This impression is derived from Rib-Addi's letters, which have survived in greater number (K 68 ff.). Abdi-Aširta emphatically denies the accusations made against him (K 62:39 ff.) and, while I do not intend to present an apology for Abdi-Aširta, I am not displeased to see the accused (whose enemies have thus far had most of the say) given an opportunity to tell more of his side of the story. The Asiatic kinglets, like Rib-Addi and Abdi-Aširta, should not be divided into martyrs and rascals, from the Egyptian viewpoint. They did not try to change Egyptian rule for another. Instead, they exploited, as well as they could, relations with the Egyptians and Hittites and used bedouin troops to widen their sphere, not against Egypt, but against rival kinglets (GdA, pp. 358 ff.).

Transliteration	Translation		
	[n]ot?[]		
[]i?-na? qâtê ^{meš} []a?	[i]n? the hands []?		
$\begin{bmatrix} -i \end{bmatrix} a? a-na-sa-a[r]-su-nu$	[m]y? [] I shall guar[d]		
	them		
[r]abîtu ^ı " a-di šarri	[the g]reat [] till the		
^d šamaš	king, the sun,		
[l]ik a-na ardê ^{meš} –šu	[] to his servants		
15) [] bêli-ia a-di	[] my lord, till		
$[-a]r a \check{s} - ri - \check{s}u \hat{u}$	[] his place and		
[] bêli–ia ki–iş	[] my lord flayed? is		
[] ia–nu lìb–bá ša–na–	[] there is no other		
a(m)!	heart		
[] ummân ^{meš} âli ši–ih–la–[l]i	[] troops of the city of Šeh-		
	la[l]		
20) []-di i-nu-ma la-a (era-	[] that not (era-		
sure?)	sure?)		
$[] \dot{u} ti-is-ba-tu-ni(m)$	[] and they seized		
[] ^{ki} qa–du amêlê ^{meš} ša	[] together with the men that		
lo. ed.) []la-ki a-na pa-ni-šu	[] to his presence		
[]–ru amêlê ^{meš}	[] co[mm]iss-		
r[å]bi[sê] ku?[]	ion[ers] ? []		
25) [] <i>en–ni–ri–ir</i>	[] I hastened		

(4) Cf. J. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 2nd ed. New York, 1919, pp. 352 f., 382 ff. and J. Baikie, *The Amarna Age*, London, 1926, pp. 351 f.

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rev.) [q]a-du ^{iş} narkabâti ^{½å} -ı[a] []-ia ù ša-ar-pu[ni(m)?]	[to]gether with m[y] chariots my [] they (would have)
	my [], they (would have) burned
$\begin{bmatrix}]-\check{s}i \ \hat{u} \ ma-a\underline{h}-\underline{s}\dot{u}-ni(m) \end{bmatrix}$	its [] and smitten
[] ša i–na lìb–bi bîti ^{ti}	[] that were in the midst of the house
30) [] âl ^{ki} šarri bêli–ia iš–tu	[] the city of the king, my lord, from
[m]a-hi-is ma-hi-is ù	[is s]mitten (yea) smitten and
[]-ka? i-na kaspi ^{ba}	[] thy? [] for money.
[t]u pa-ni šarrâni ^{meš}	[] the presence of kings
[]-bi-šu-nu ?	[] of. them ?
iș–bat	he seized?
$35) \begin{bmatrix} a \end{bmatrix} l^{k_i} \hat{u} ab - lu - ?$	[ci]ty? and carried off?
[]i?[-n]a? muhhi?-ia ù	[]a[g]ainst? me and
[^m] ^{eš} -šu-nu i-na kaspi	[] their []s for money
[r]u amêlê ^{meš} vâ[bi]şu	[] commi[ssi]oners
<u>h[u?]</u>	; ;
[]AN[]?	[];[];

Notes

10. K 62:16 suggests the restoration $[šum-ma] \dot{u}-ul$ "If (I had) not (done so and so)".

11 f. Perhaps to be restored: $a[-na \ \bar{s}arri \ b\hat{e}li-i]a \ a-na-\bar{s}a-a[r]-\bar{s}u-nu$ "for the king, my lord, I shall guard them ". Cf. K 60:9, 18 f. The acc. suffix $-\bar{s}un\bar{u}$, instead of $-\bar{s}un\hat{u}t\bar{i}$, is also found in Nuzu (DNT, § 2. 21).

13. Possibly to be reconstructed, after K 147:62, $[\hat{a}lu r]abitu^{tu}$ "the great city". The "great city" is Simyra, the Egyptian garrison town (K 76:36). It is mentioned in Accadian, Egyptian, Greek and Latin sources as well as in the Bible, where its gentilic, "Nature occurs in Gen. 10:18 = I Chron. 1:16. See O. Weber in K, p. 1141, Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* VIII, 1928, pp. 236 f. and R. J. Braidwood, *Syria* XXI, 1940, pp. 218-21.

14. Many passages (e. g., K 114:20 f., 48 f.) indicate a reconstruction like [i-mal-]ik a-na ard \hat{e}^{mei} - $\check{s}u$ "he (the king) will pay attention to his servants".

15. The traces grudgingly allow the almost necessary reading [*šarr*]*i bêli-ia* "the king, my lord" (line 30, K 63:1 etc.).

16. $[a-na-sa-a]r a\check{s}-ri-\check{s}u$ "I shall guard his place" is conceivable. See *370:5 for $a\check{s}ru$ in the sense of a colonial post assigned by the Pharaoh to a local ruler.

17. The vertical wedge before $b\hat{e}li-ia$ suggests [a-n]a "to". *Ki-iş* is difficult. The combination *per se* could be the permansive I_4 of $k\hat{a}su$ "to flay, slaughter" but the broken context obscures the identity of the word.

18. K 136:41 indicates the restoration [$\delta um-ma$] ia-nu lib-ba $\delta a-na-a(m)!$ "if there is not another heart (= a better policy)". Compare the beginning of HÅ in line 32 with the end of this AM; note the scribe's treatment of this wedge cluster. The dropping of final *m* from signs whose classical value calls for the *m*, is common (DNT, § 1. 6). (It will also be recalled that starting from the Middle Babylonian period, mimation tends to be dropped.). This explains the puzzling ni-mu-UD-ri-ia (K 31:1), for UD = $\hat{u}m(u)$ with *m* dropped > \hat{u} .

19. Šehlal must have been in the vicinity of Simyra and Irqat, though its exact location is not known. Condor proposed an identification with modern Šellâla, which lies east of Baţrûn on the Nahr el-Jôze (see Weber in K, pp. 1142 f.).

20. At the beginning of the line some form of $ed\hat{u}$ "to know" is perhaps to be restored; e. g., $[li-]di \ i-nu-ma$ "may he (the king) know that".

21. Note the Canaanism ti-is-ba-tu-ni(m) "they (not ye!) seized ". This form is very common in Ugaritic (Gordon, Ugaritic Grammar, Rome, 1940, p. 52). In Hebrew it is virtually limited to the fem. הקטלנה (not ייקטלנה) "they (f.) will kill". However, note the masc. in הם הכוי "and they! are smitten at thy foot" (Deut. 33:3).

22. Quite likely $[\hat{a}/a]^{ki}$ "the city" is to be read. In normal Accadian we should not hesitate to construe the last signs as $am\hat{e}l\hat{e}^{me\hat{s}}-\check{s}a$ "its (f.) men"; i. e., the men of the city (f.). However, if the dialect is that of Abdi-Aširta's letters, the 3 f. s. suffix is not $-\check{s}a$ but $-\check{s}i$ (properly the corresponding acc. suffix); cf. K 62:12, 20, 24, 25, 28. See $[b\hat{i}ta]-\check{s}i$ in line 28 of the present text.

23. The first word may be a form of alåku "to go".

24. []-ru is perhaps some form of saparu "to send," referring to the sending of royal commissioners. The ideogram for "commissioner" is defectively preserved in this text (24, 38). Its

full form in the Amarna script is $\begin{array}{c} & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\ & & & & \\$

25. It is not inconceivable that the line began with *šum-ma la* "if I had not hastened" (then all the following things might have happened).

26. K 62:13, 21 point to [a-na-ku] "I" at the opening of the line.

27. The lacuna before -ia probably contained a military term parallel to "chariots". Provisionally, I suggest $[\hat{u} \ umm\hat{a}ni^{mes}]-ia$ " and my troops".

27 f. The permansive in the apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition might well reproduce the Canaanite perfect (e.g., Judges 14:18).

28. The traces grudgingly permit the restoration [bita-]^{*i*} its house "; i. e., the commissioner's residence of that city (f.). See note on line 22.

29. A likely reconstruction, following K 62:25, is $[am\hat{e}l\hat{e}^{me\hat{s}}]$ sa etc. "the men who were in the midst of the house".

32, 37. Do these lines refer to the (threatened?) sale of faithful subjects as slaves? — Since *kaspu* may refer to any medium of exchange (not necessarily "silver"), it is translated by the admittedly anachronistic word "money".

33. Read possibly $[i\check{s}-t]u pa-ni$ "[fro]m the presence".

36. If the problematic characters of this line have been read correctly, the following may be restored: $[nukurtu \ i]na \ mukkiy\bar{a}$ "(there is) hostility against me". It is interesting to note an alternative explanation of K 69:14, which Knudtzon reproduces and interprets as follows: $i-na \ nu-gur-ti^{mes}$ ša muk-ki (!) "mit Feindlichkeiten, welche gegen (mich sind)". As in Nuzu (DNT, § 6.2) ša may here be used instead of *ina*. Therefore it is permissable to translate "with hostility against me".

38. Cf. note on line 24.

Fragment * 372

This fragment of a letter is too small to be restored or interpreted.

Fragment * 373

This vocabulary is another copy of the second tablet of the series diri | DIR (= siyaku) | watru, which has been reconstructed by B. Meissner, Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie II, Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft III, 3, 1929,

p. $1-22(^{4})$. The second column contains the sign to be explained; the first, the Sumerian reading; the third, the Accadian values.

This tablet was found in two pieces. The lower piece has hieratic signs scrawled upon it and is ink-stained up to where it joins the upper fragment. The latter, however, bears no trace of ink. The hieratic characters, therefore, were probably written after the tablet had been broken. I have showed the rather badly worn hieratic to several Egyptologists but it was too far gone for any of them to read.

Sumerian	Sign	Accadian	Translation
[si-iz-kur]	SIZKUR	ni-[qú-u]	sa[crifice]
		n[a-]	?
		n[a-]	?
		i[k-ri-bu]	p[rayer]
5)		na-q[ú-ú]	off[er]
		te–iș–[li–tu]	suppli[cation]
		<i>te-iz-z</i> [<i>i</i> -]	?
		le–ni–nu	beseeching
		ki–i[t]–ı[u–bu]	p[r]a[y]
10)		ri-ša-	?
z u – u r – z u – u r	ZURZUR	ku-nu-u	treat well
		ku-ti-nu-u	handle well
		li–ik–ni–tu[m]	perfection
		șú–uh–hu	request ?
15) la-aḫ	LAĤ₄	ri-du-ú	tread
		ba-bu-l[u(m)]	brin[g]
		ša-la-lu(m)	spoil
		[ku]-un?-n $[u?]$	[tr]eat [well]?

Notes

For the hitherto known values of these ideograms, see ŠL (SIZKUR = no. 438, p. 842; ZURZUR = no. 437 49, p. 841; LAH₄ = no. 206 a, p. 430). Lines 2, 3, 7, 10 and 13 contain, in varying degress of preservation, additional Accadian equivalents.

(4) On this general type of vocabulary, sometimes called id |A| *na-a-qu*, see the introduction to, and plates 1-23 of, CT XII; Ungnad, "Das Vokabular C 2, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft LXXI, 1917, pp. 121-136; BA, p. 349.

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Fragment *374

Each side of this tablet is divided into two sections by a longitudinal line. On the right is a list of gods. Unfortunately, the writing on the left is too fragmentary to be read. Possibly the text is one of the explanatory lists of gods like those in CT XXV.

Notes

11. ${}^{d}a-nu-ni-tu(m)$. For this goddess, who has close affinities with Ištar in her rôle as goddess of battle, see BA, p. 27 and Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, p. 110, article "Annunitu".

12. Perhaps ^dLUGAL-E[N] is to be read. If so, the Semitic equivalent is ^dšarru-b $\hat{e}[l]$. The combination is not attested elsewhere, as far as I know.

13. dVII-VII-BI = i m i n(a) - b i = Accadian*sibilti-šunū*"The Pleiades" (see Bezol I-Goetze,*Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, p. 209). Cf. BA, pp. 6, 26, and PB, pp. 233-5 and AG, p. 442. Note the repetition of the numeral.

14. ${}^{d}MAS$ -TAB-BA = *ilân* or *ilu kılallân* (Gemini) "The Twin Godhead". Cf. BA, p. 36 and AG, p. 442. It is interesting to note that ${}^{d}VII$ -BI is followed by ${}^{d}MAS$ -TAB in another text (PB, p. 243a).

15. ^dHUL-A. Cf. (?) AG, p. 32., where HUL[-] = Ištar. 30. ^dLU[G]AL?; cf. line 12.

31. ^dTI?-TI is not otherwise known to me. On the left the signs are possibly to be read KU-[?]-NA.

32. ${}^{d}KA_{4}-KA_{4}$. Can this be a variant spelling of ${}^{d}KA-KA$? Cf. PB, no. 1642, p. 153b and ŠL, no. 15 (90), p. 57.

33. ^dBI is listed in PB, no. 393, p. 80 b and ŠL, no. 214 (50), p. 447. On the left read TI-N[A].

34. ^dAMAR? Cf. PB, no. 233, p. 64 a and ŠL, no. 437 (14), p. 840.

Fragment *375

The vertical line suggests that the obverse was intended for a vocabulary (cf. *373). On the reverse there is a horizontal line above the writing. The fragment begins with $[\hat{a}]/ag-ga-ti\ a-na[$] "[the ci]ty of Accad to []". The mention of this city, as Dr. Albright first observed, makes it probable that the passage is part of the Šar Tamhari epic, celebrating the exploits of Sargon of Accad

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in Cappadocia. In the second line are the following: URU TAR ZU Ú. The first of these may well be the ideogram for dlu "city". Perhaps the next three signs are to be read tar-su-u "direction, period, etc.". The rest is illegible. It is possible that the student-scribe had begun to erase the reverse for another writing exercise.

The chief extant fragment of this epic was, as mentioned above, also found at Amarna. However, a comparison of the scripts shows that our tablet is not the work of the same scribe. A small tablet of the Šar Tamhari, found at Assur, has been published by Schroeder in *Keilschriftlexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1920, text 138, p. 87. Cf. E. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1922. See especially the translation by Albright, "The Epic of the King of Battle", *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* VII, 1923, pp. 1-20. For a subsequent discussion see H. G. Güterbock, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLII, 1934, pp. 21 f. and particularly pp. 86-91.

Fragment *376

This poorly preserved tablet looks like a literary school text (for other examples see K, pp. 964 ff.). The language is Accadian as the form $i\check{s}-ku-un$ "he placed" shows (end of line 2).

Notes

1. The first visible characters seem to be A and I.

2. The line opens with EŠ (= XXX).

3. Note GA and Ú.

4. The last legible signs may be UD BI RI.

5. At the beginning is ${}^{d}MI-[$]. See ŠL, no. 427 (9, 20, 21, 22), pp. 827 f., for possible restorations. In the middle is I and at the end there seems to be []-ti-ia ID [].

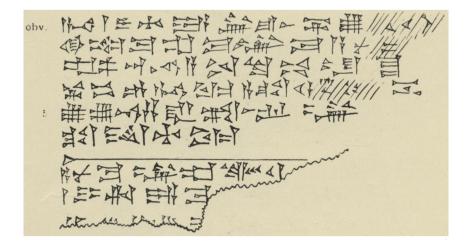
6. KU is at the end.

7. Note NI [] $nu-\dot{u}$.

Fragment *377

Nothing can be said of this tiny fragment other than that it is probably part of a school text. (Copied but not photographed).

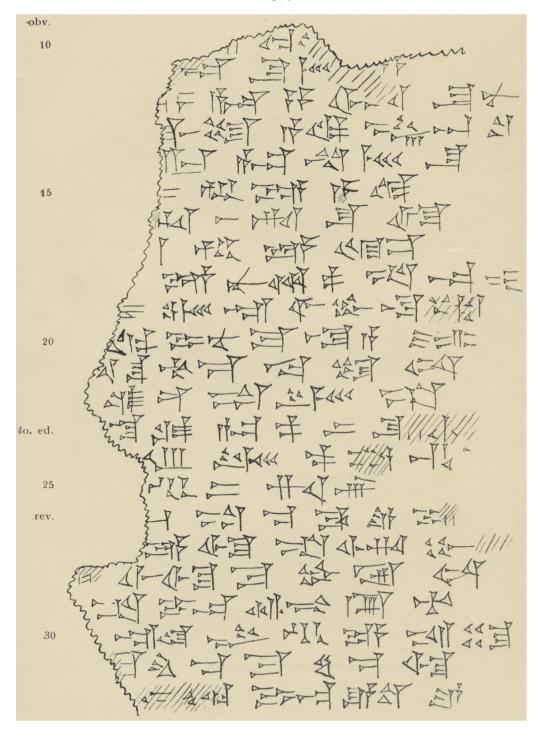
* 370 -



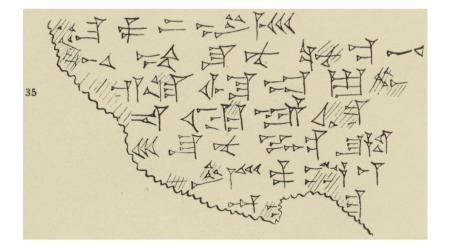
(about 13 lines missing)

rev 25 4

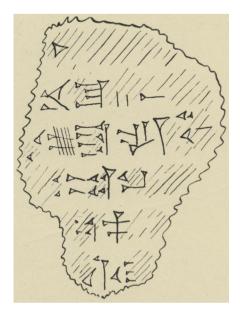




16

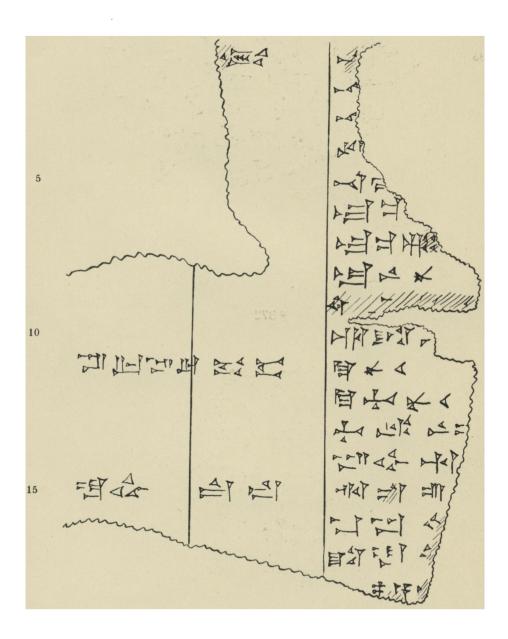


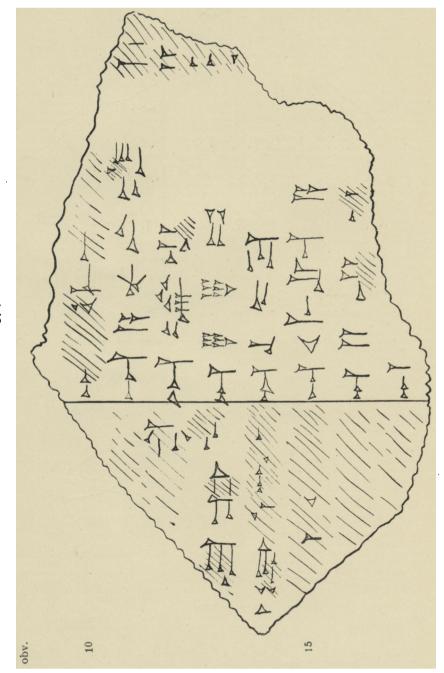
* 372



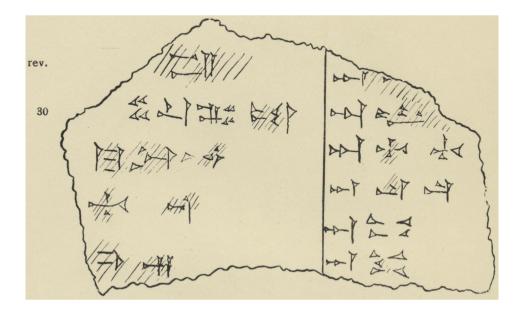
Orientalia – 2

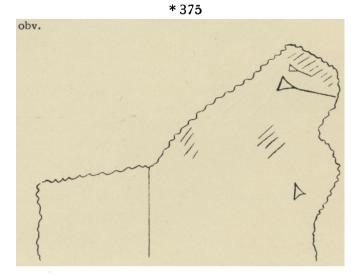






* 374

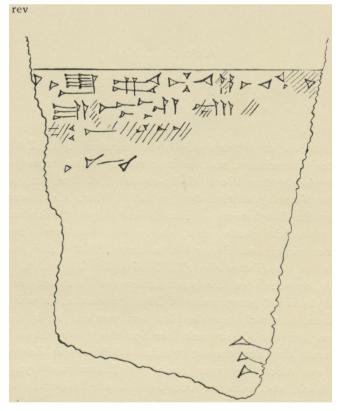




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* 376

* 377

