

CONTENTS

Introduction: An Unexpected Discovery	1
PART I. THE PLAYERS	7
1 Dealers and Destructions	9
2 Budge	16
3 Sayce	23
4 The Young Berliners	32
PART II. THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE KINGS	39
5 <i>Šarru Rabû</i>	41
6 An Arzawan Alliance?	47
7 All's Fair in Love and War (and Diplomacy)	52
8 The Hand of Nergal	58
PART III. THE RULES AND THE RACE	65
9 No No Necho	67
10 Lost in Translation	73
11 Flights of Fancy	79
12 Winckler and Abel	87

viii CONTENTS

PART IV. LAB'AYU AND SONS, INC.	93
13 The Lab'ayu Affair	95
14 The Sons of Lab'ayu	102
PART V. THE GAME: WINNERS AND LOSERS	107
15 Jerusalem, O Jerusalem	109
16 Publish or Perish	116
17 Bezold and Budge, Finally	121
18 Facts and Alternative Facts	128
PART VI. AMURRU, BYBLOS, AND JERUSALEM	139
19 The Dog of His House	141
20 Triple-A Roster	149
21 Gaslighting the Pharaoh	156
22 If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem	165
PART VII. THE SOCIAL NETWORKS AND GLOBALIZED WORLD OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE	175
23 It's a Small World After All	177
24 Three Degrees of Separation	190
Epilogue: After Amarna	200
<i>Dramatis Personae</i>	205
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	211
<i>Notes</i>	213
<i>Works Cited</i>	235
<i>Index</i>	245

Introduction

AN UNEXPECTED DISCOVERY

Speak to the king, my lord and my Sun god, a message from Biridiya, the loyal servant of the king. I fall at the two feet of the king, my lord and my Sun god, seven times and seven times. The king, my lord, should know that after the regular troops entered Egypt, Lab'ayu waged war against me so that we were unable to harvest. We were unable (even) to go out of the city gate on account of Lab'ayu. Since he learned that the regular troops were not campaigning this year, he now intends to capture Megiddo. So the king should rescue his city. Do not let Lab'ayu seize it! . . . Lab'ayu has no other intention. He desires to seize Megiddo.

—AMARNA LETTER EA 244¹

THIS PLAINTIVE LETTER from Biridiya, the ruler of Canaanite Megiddo, who was at odds with a neighboring and quarrelsome king named Lab'ayu, was part of an archive of royal correspondence that dates to the fourteenth century BCE, more than three thousand years ago. Written on nearly four hundred clay tablets in all, the letters in this archive were unexpectedly discovered at the site of Tell el-Amarna in Egypt in 1887.

The usual story told about the discovery is that a peasant woman uncovered the archive while digging for fertilizer in the ruins of an ancient city.² The peasant woman could never be located afterward, however. An alternate hypothesis favored by some scholars is that the tablets were actually uncovered by a notorious Egyptian antiquities dealer named Farag Ismain (also referred to as Farag Ismail) who would have been digging at the site, likely illicitly, perhaps as early as the spring of 1887. While it is certainly possible that Ismain began

his excavations *because* of the initial discovery by the local woman, the thinking is that he concocted and then spread the false story to cover his own activities. Whatever the origin of their find, the first tablets were offered for sale to museums and collectors by September or October of that year at the latest (and possibly a few months earlier).³

In antiquity, the city in which the letters were found had been called Akhetaten (meaning “the horizon of the Aten”); it was planned and built as a new capital city by the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaoh Akhenaten. He was a figure famous in Egyptian history as the first pharaoh to worship a single deity, Aten, and was father to the most famous Egyptian of all, King Tutankhamun.

The hundreds of inscribed clay tablets unearthed at the site were part of a royal archive belonging to Akhenaten and his father Amenhotep III. They include approximately fifty letters exchanged with the other “Great Kings” (a literal translation from the Akkadian *šarru rabû*), ranging from the Hittites in ancient Anatolia to the Assyrians and Babylonians in Mesopotamia and others in Cyprus, Mittani, and elsewhere. There are also close to three hundred additional letters that were sent by both vassal and more autonomous rulers in Canaan—the region of what is now modern Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Territories, over whom Egypt ruled during the fourteenth century BCE.

The letters cover a brief period of time, just under three decades long at most (ca. 1360–1334 BCE), from about the thirtieth regnal year of Amenhotep III through the third regnal year of Tutankhamun. The vast majority were apparently found in a single building at Amarna, known today as Building 19 but originally called something like “The House of the Letters of the Pharaoh—Life, Prosperity, Health” (Fig. 1). The building served as both a records office, which explains the presence of this royal archive, and perhaps also as a scriptorium, or scribal school, for there were also school texts found here.⁴

Each of the letters was long ago (by 1915) given an “EA” number, standing for “El Amarna.”⁵ As Alice Mandell, a professor at Johns Hopkins University, has described it, the royal letters “are arranged counter clockwise geographically as follows: Babylon (EA 1–14), Assyria (EA 15–16), Mittani (EA 17–30), Arzawa (EA 31–32), Alashiya (EA 33–40), and the Hittite court (EA 41–44).” The additional letters, sent to and from the vassal and semiautonomous Canaanite rulers, then follow and are numbered consecutively from EA 45 onward; there are currently 349 letters amongst the 382 tablets known from Amarna (the non-letter tablets consist of scribal exercises, literary texts, and so on).⁶

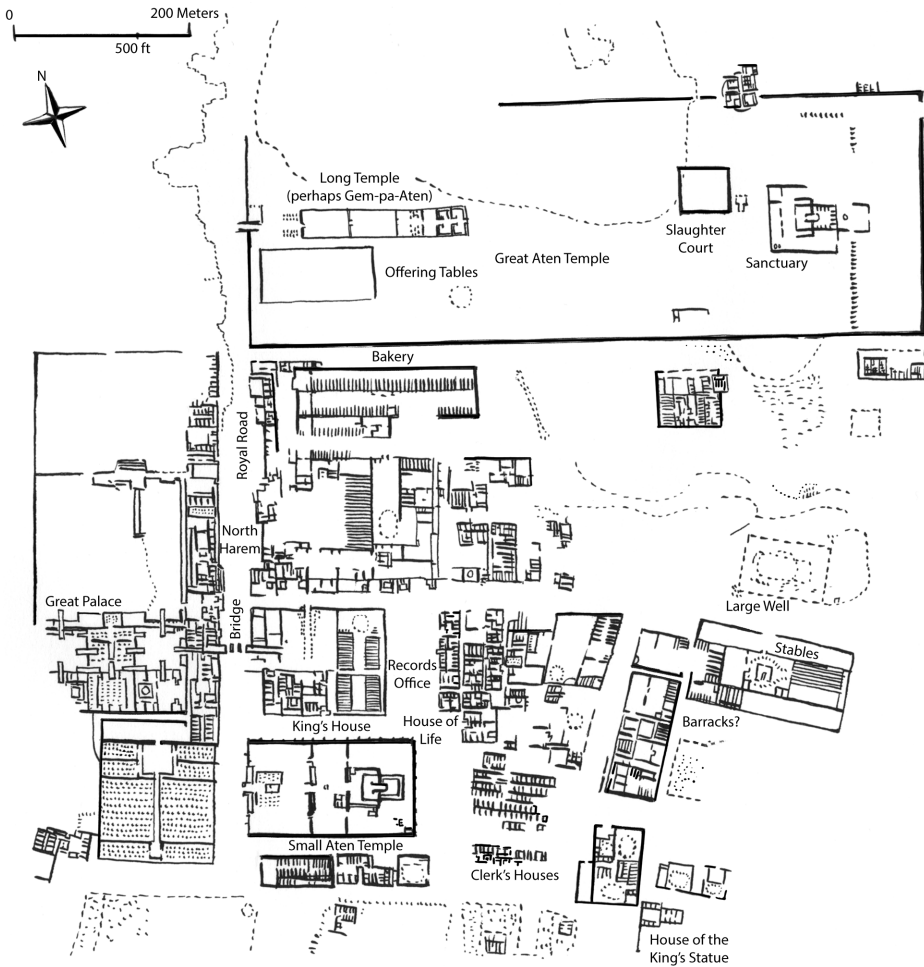


FIGURE 1. Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. Redrawn by Glynnis Fawkes.

In all of these Amarna Letters, we can hear the long-ago voices of the writers, for they were recording their problems, their concerns, their needs, and their wants, whether those of a Great King or a lowly petty ruler. But, from our point of view, they were also writing history. They are history. And we, for all intents and purposes, are forensic detectives. We are investigating their world, which has long since passed away—the ultimate cold case.

By using ancient written sources such as the Amarna Letters and piecing together the events and the people that they mention, we can begin to find out

what happened in antiquity. But just like today, we cannot always take things at face value: we need to carefully read what is written, sometimes even reading between the lines. We need to weigh the evidence, judge who can be trusted and who is gaslighting, and figure out the precise order of events and the motivations in that ancient period. It is not always straightforward, and we may not always have interpreted the facts completely correctly, but overall, we are able to decipher a sense of what happened to those people in those places, way back when.

My primary aims in this book are three-fold. First, I wish to tell the basic story of the academic and scholarly competition to translate the Amarna Letters after their initial discovery in 1887. We will follow it chronologically, month by month and year by year, especially as the scholars' publications appeared during the first decade from 1887 to 1896, which is fascinating in and of itself. It is also important to accurately document the history of scholarship in this area before it is lost, especially as many of the early articles were published in venues that are not easy for everyone now to access on their own.

Second, I want to tell the story of what was happening back then, working solely from the contents of the letters themselves, for the fourteenth century BCE was a high point in the history of the ancient Near East, situated as it was almost exactly in the middle of the Late Bronze Age, which lasted from approximately the seventeenth century until the collapse at the beginning of the twelfth century BCE.⁷ It was a high point especially in terms of international connections involving trade and diplomacy between all the major powers and rulers in the ancient Near East at the time, including Amenhotep III and Akhenaten from Egypt; Assur-uballit of Assyria; Kadashman-Enlil and Burna-Buriash II of Babylonia; Tushratta of Mittani; and Suppiluliuma of the Hittites. Those names may be unfamiliar to most readers at this point, but they will become known entities within the first few chapters and old friends by the end of the book. I have also included a list of the most relevant people, both modern and ancient, toward the back of the book.

I will alternate the telling of these two stories in the different sections, to keep the momentum going throughout. Then, toward the end, as my third aim, we will investigate the letters further, using some aspects of Social Network Analysis (SNA) to see if we can determine just who were the most important players among this interconnected network of rulers, both major and minor.

Overall, I hope that this volume will also demonstrate just how fascinating were the relations and history of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth century BCE, and how in some ways things are not that

different now. Even as technology and societies have changed, human nature apparently has not. In this region especially, ancient history is not always ancient nor is it always just history, for this story of people and events dating back to approximately 3,400 years ago is as intermingled with politics and fighting, diplomacy and international relations, and public posturing of one sort or another as is that same area of the world today.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers in italic type indicate figures or tables.

- Abd-el-Noor, 20
- Abdi-Ashirta: Amenhotep III and, 141, 148;
death of, 148–49, 229n25; as father of
Aziru, 83, 96, 118, 153; Rib-Hadda and,
141–48, 159; social network role of,
186–88; sons of, 150, 156–59
- Abdi-Heba: alternate forms of name of, 113,
118–19, 130; letters from, 67–68, 97, 113,
125–26, 137, 165, 169–73; Shuwardata and,
168–69, 171–73; social network role of,
186, 189; status of, 113, 165
- Abdi-Tirshi, 130
- Abel, Ludwig, 88–90, 109–10, 116, 118,
123–24, 127, 208; *Der Thontafelfund von
Tell-Amarna*, 88, 111, 113, 124–25, 129
- Abi-Milku, 68, 104–5, 148, 150, 153–55, 184, 194
- Abraham, 115
- Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, 71
- The Academy* (magazine), 24, 27, 30, 37,
67–68, 76, 79, 81, 112–13, 117
- Acco, 96
- Adad-Yashma, 202
- Addu-nirari, 150–51
- ʾAduna, 143, 160
- Ahutabu, 181
- Aitukama, 104–6, 151–52, 155, 160–61
- Akhenaten, 4; aftermath of reign of, 200–202;
Amarna Letters associated with, 2, 34–36,
38, 88; Assur-uballit I and, 45, 58–60, 75, 87,
88, 110, 223n12; Burna-Buriash II and, 34,
45–46, 70, 74–75, 87, 91, 103, 110, 178, 181;
and Nefertiti, 61; reign of, 34, 37, 43; and
rulers of Canaan, 103–4, 151–53, 165–66, 196,
203, 234n12; social network role of, 181, 182,
184, 187, 190, 193, 196, 197, 198; Suppiluliuma
I and, 60–61, 201; Tushratta and, 52, 56–57,
71, 75–76, 84, 110, 181; wives of, 57, 70, 84.
See also King of Egypt, unspecified
- Akhetaten (city), 2
- Akizzi, 149–53, 163, 182, 195–96
- Akkadian language, 10, 11, 15, 47, 52, 54, 60,
74, 79, 82, 120, 126, 127, 136
- Alashiya. *See* Cyprus / Alashiya
- Altaic language family, 110, 225n5(ch15)
- Altman, A., 229n25
- Amarna Letters: authenticity of, 13, 17–19,
25, 71; Budge and, 9–11, 16–22; cur-
rent locations of, 15; dating of, 27–28,
31, 33–38, 74, 80, 216n11; defense
of purchase and smuggling of, 22;
discovery of, 1–2, 9–12, 17, 120; extant, 15,
214n19; historiographic analysis of, 3–4;
illustrations of, 59; losses and damage
incurred by, 13, 16–17, 76, 203; naming
and numbering of, 2, 134; nature and
purpose of, 18, 28, 34–38; photographs of
tablets, 55, 63, 72, 89, 100, 121; physical
analysis of, 50–51; possible biblical refer-
ences in, 36, 67, 68, 77, 82, 111–15, 117–19,
124–26; sales/purchases of, 12–14, 17,
19–21, 24; Sayce and, 11–14, 23–31; smug-
gling of, 21–22, 215n20; Social Network
Analysis of, 4, 177–99; translation/
transliteration of, 4, 15, 27–28, 32–38,
67–78, 82, 85, 87–92, 109–11, 114, 116–19,
122–37; value of studying, 202
- Amarna Period, Egypt: aftermath of,
200–202; contemporary parallels to,
203–4; Letters dated to, 33–38; main
city-states during, *xii*; map of Anatolia
during, *x*; map of Eastern Mediterranean
during, *ix*; value of studying, 202

- Amenhotep III, 4; Abdi-Ashirta and, 141, 148; Amarna Letters associated with, 2, 34–36, 38, 47, 88; Burna-Buriash II and, 34; Kadashman-Enlil I and, 41–42, 53, 78, 83, 126, 181; reign of, 34, 37, 43; social network role of, 181, 182, 184, 187, 190, 193, 195, 198; Tarkhundaradu and, 47–51, 76–77, 82, 87, 88–89, 110, 124, 126, 223n12; Tushratta and, 34, 52–57, 71, 74–76, 92, 110, 126–27, 181; wives of, 35, 41–42, 47–50, 52–53, 71, 74, 84, 92, 181. *See also* King of Egypt, unspecified
The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 25
- Ammistamru I, 43
- Ammunira, 96, 122, 153, 157–59, 162
- Amon-appa, 142–47
- Amurru, 68, 77, 82, 88, 96–97, 104–6, 110, 118, 137, 141–43, 148–49, 156, 159, 161–63
- Anatolia (ancient Turkey): Arzawa in, 43, 47; Hittites in, 2, 23, 32, 43; map of, during Amarna Period, x
- Ankhsenamen, 61, 200
- Antiquities Service (Egypt), 14, 20, 24
- ʾapiru* (raiders), 98, 99, 102, 104–5, 125, 142–47, 154–55, 167–68, 170–72
- Artashumara, 54, 56
- Artatama, 53, 110, 181
- Art Institute of Chicago, 56, 84
- Arzawa, 2, 43, 47–51, 76–77, 82, 126, 133, 170, 203
- Arzawya, 152
- Ashkelon, 38, 88, 171, 173, 201
- Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, 61
- Assur-bani-pal, 27
- Assur-nadin-ahhe II, 59–60
- Assur-uballit I, 4; Akhenaten and, 45, 58–60, 75, 87, 88, 110, 223n12; reign of, 43; threat posed to Mittani by, 56
- Assyria: Amarna Letters concerning, 2, 43; Babylonian alliance with, 56; cuneiform in, 12, 18; Egypt and, 58–60; historical inscriptions of, 28; rulers of, 43; threat posed to Mittani by, 56
- Assyria (ship), 21
- Assyrian language, 19
- Assyriology, 11, 19, 23–24, 29, 32–33, 75, 90, 109, 117, 136–37
- astronomical sightings, 216n11
- Ayad, Mustafa Agha, 26
- Aziru: and Biryawaza, 104–6; complaints about, 152–61; father of, 83, 110, 118; and the Hittites, 68, 141, 148–52, 163–64, 201; letters from, 68, 77, 82–83, 88, 96–97, 110, 118, 149–50; pharaoh's dealings with, 160–64, 231n25; Rib-Hadda and, 141, 156–61, 163; social network role of, 184, 186–89, 193–95, 198
- Baaluya, 188
- Babylonia: Amarna Letters concerning, 2, 30–31, 34–36, 43; Assyrian alliance with, 56; cuneiform in, 12, 18; rulers of, 43. *See also* Middle Babylonia; Neo-Babylonia
- Babylonian language, 19
- Ba'lu-[UR.SAG], 102
- Ba'lu-meher, 97, 101
- Ba'luya, 162
- Battle of Qadesh, 106, 201, 204
- Beirut, 96, 122, 147, 148, 153, 156–59, 162, 202
- Bénédict, G., 209
- Benteshina, 201
- Berlin Museum: acquisition and holdings of Amarna Letters by, 14, 20, 22, 32, 61, 71, 73–76, 83, 87–91, 109, 111, 113, 116–18, 126, 132, 134; and publication of Amarna tablets, 88, 113, 118, 124, 129
- Berlin scholars. *See* Young Berliners
- Beti-ili, 162
- Bezold, Carl, 33, 34, 73, 121–23, 126, 129, 131, 208; *Oriental Diplomacy*, 122–23
- Bible, possible references in Amarna Letters to, 36, 67, 68, 77, 82, 111–15, 117–19, 124–26
- Birch, Samuel, 9
- Biridiya, 1, 83, 88, 97–99, 101–2, 186
- Biryawaza: complaints about, 103–5, 194; letters from, 105–6; social network role of, 187–88, 193–95; as subject of discussion in letters, 97, 102–5, 151–52, 155
- Bit-arha, 156
- Boissier, Alfred, 123–24, 209
- Bond, Edward A., 207
- Boscawen, William St. Chad, 114, 116, 129, 207, 227n3
- Boulos, Todrus, 209, 214n17
- Bouriant, Urbain, 24–25, 27, 34–36, 67, 85, 113, 124, 131, 208, 217n12
- Brinkman, John, 84

- British-India Mail Steamer, 22
- British Museum, London: acquisition and holdings of Amarna Letters by, 9, 14, 16–19, 21–22, 55, 56, 63, 70–71, 72, 76, 83–87, 90–91, 100, 110, 118, 126, 132, 227n19; and Boscawen, 114; and publication of Amarna tablets, 90, 110, 118, 121–25, 126, 129
- Brugsch, Emil, 24–25
- Brünnow, Rudolph, 109, 207
- Budge, E.A. Wallis, 207; acquisition of Amarna tablets by, 9–10, 14, 16–22, 26, 215n20; background of, 9, 213n2 (ch1); on dating of Amarna tablets, 36–37; on other individuals involved in Amarna Letters, 25, 26, 37, 217n12; personality of, 30, 216n26; portrait drawing of, 10; reflection by, on his acquisition of Amarna tablets, 22; and Sayce, 37, 75, 85, 109–10, 118; scholarship of, 29–30, 70–71, 85; translation/transliteration of Amarna Letters and other published material by, 18–19, 22, 27, 28, 32, 35–36, 70–71, 79, 90, 91–92, 110, 121–23, 129, 131, 133
- Bulaq Museum. *See* Cairo Museum
- Burna-Buriash II, 4; Akhenaten and, 34, 45–46, 70, 74–75, 87, 91, 103, 110, 178, 181; alternate forms of name of, 110, 122, 126, 131; Amenhotep III and, 34; father of, 71; letters from, 36, 38; reign of, 37, 43; social network role of, 181, 184, 189, 193; Tutankhamun and, 198; wives of, 56
- Buwater, Tanqueray & Co, 210
- Byblos, 38, 69, 83, 87, 88, 96, 141–43, 145–47, 150, 156–63, 184, 186–87, 193–95, 202
- Bywater, Tanqueray & Co, 19
- Cairo Museum (known at the time as Bulaq Museum): accessibility of Amarna Letters at, 27, 30–31; acquisition and holdings of Amarna Letters by, 14, 22, 24–26, 59, 75–77, 80–82, 85, 87–89, 109, 113, 116–17, 126; Young Berliners and, 32, 37
- Campbell, E. F., Jr., 233n5
- Canaan: Akhenaten and, 103–4, 151–53, 165–66, 203, 234n12; Amarna Letters concerning, 2, 38, 64, 68, 82–83, 88, 95–101, 141–73; central, 102–6, 141–64; disputes among rulers in, 95–106, 141–73; Egypt and, 45–46, 61, 141–73, 201, 203, 234n12; Hittites and, 141–44, 149–52, 161–64, 195; linguistic influence of, 136; northern, 141–64, 186; sociograms of, 182–86, 183; southern, 165–73, 201; status of rulers of, 224n1; typical format of letters from, 95–96; vassal kings of, 96
- Canaano-Akkadian, 136
- Carter, Howard, 19, 86, 119–20
- Champollion, Jean-François, 10–11
- chariots, as gifts, 56, 58
- Cline, Diane Harris, 233n1 (ch23)
- Cochavi-Rainey, Zippora, 135
- Cohen, R., and Westbrook, R., *Amarna Diplomacy*, 204
- Comet* (gunboat), 21–22
- Conder, Claude R., 79–80, 81, 110, 116–17, 126–30, 207, 227n3; *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, 128
- copper, 61–62, 68
- Cordani, V., 231n25
- cuneiform: Amarna Letters composed in, 10–14, 18–19, 23–24, 27; Budge and, 18; character of, 27; Conder and, 129; defined, 10; rendering/reproduction of, 59, 74–75, 89, 110, 121, 122; translation of, 11, 68, 76, 115, 123, 136, 216n5
- Cyprus, 43
- Cyprus / Alashiya, 2, 61–64, 68–70, 75, 77, 82, 88, 89
- Damascus, 96–97, 102–3, 128, 130, 151, 156, 187, 193–94
- Daninos, Albert, 14, 24, 34, 210
- Danuna, 104
- David, Steven, 95
- Dead Sea Scrolls, 14
- Delattre, Alphonse J., 79, 80, 116–18, 124, 126, 207
- Delitzsch, Friedrich, 33, 73, 109, 124, 134
- De Magistris, Francesco, 179, 204
- Dûdu. *See* Tutu
- Ebla, 115
- Eblaite language, 115
- Egypt: Arzawan alliance with, 47–51; Assyria and, 58–60; geography of, 214n1; Hittites and, 60–61, 97, 104–6, 142, 201–2, 204; Mittanian alliance with, 52–57; rulers of, 43, 44. *See also* Amarna Period, Egypt
- Egypt Exploration Fund, 24
- Egyptology, 30, 75, 203

- Eighteenth Dynasty, Egypt, 33–35
 El-Hajj, Ali Abd, 13–14, 34, 209
 Elias (Sidrak) [dealer], 12, 13, 14, 20, 209
 Eriba-Adad I, 60
 Erman, Adolf, 31–37, 33, 71, 73, 74, 76, 79, 88, 208
 Evans, Arthur, 86

 Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, 204
 Finkelstein, Israel, 50
 First Syrian War, 57
 Frénay (agent), 12–13, 14, 20, 25, 27, 34–35, 67, 85, 131, 210, 217n12

 Gašga (Kaška) people, 48
 Gaza, 43, 95, 96, 113, 172
 Gezer, 68, 97, 99, 128, 165–66, 168, 170, 171, 173, 186, 201
 gifts: chariots as, 56, 58; exchanged by kings, 41–42, 46, 53–54, 56–64, 70, 74, 76, 166, 181–82; humans as, 56. *See also* gold; marriages: as exchanges between kings
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 9
 Glaisher, James, 128
 globalization, 202
 gold: complaints about quality/quantity of, 42, 45, 57, 59, 91; Egypt's supply of, 41, 45, 53–54, 58; as gift exchanged between kings, 41–42, 48, 53–54, 57–60, 74, 75, 91–92, 166, 181–82
 Golénischeff, V. S., 25, 83, 209
 Gomorrah, 115
 Goren, Yuval, 50
 Graf, Theodor, 14, 20, 34–35, 210
 Great Kings (*šarru rabû*), 2, 38, 41–46; contemporary parallels to, 204; gifts exchanged by, 41–42, 46, 53–54, 56–64, 70, 74, 76, 181–82; marriage exchanges between, 41–42, 45, 47–50, 52–54, 56–57, 61, 70, 74, 76, 181–82, 200, 201; sociograms of, 179–86, 180, 183, 185; timetable of, 44; typical greeting in letters between, 47, 69, 70
 Grébaud, Eugène, 16–17, 20–21, 24–27, 30–31, 208
 Griffith, Francis Llewellyn, 29, 70

 Ha'ip, 154
 Haddaya, 171, 172
 Hajji Kandil (village), 14, 17–21
 Halévy, Joseph, 111, 112, 117, 124–26, 208

 Hammurabi, 216n11
 Hanya, 104, 166
 Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago, 28
 Hatshepsut, 56
 Hattusili III, 201
 Hawkins, J. David, 49–50
 Haya, 142–43, 148, 172, 193
 Hazor, 96
Hebraica (journal), 126
 Hebrews, 111, 125
 Hincks, Edward, 11
 Hittite language, 10, 28, 47, 49–50, 76, 77, 79, 82, 110, 136, 171
 Hittites: Amarna Letters concerning, 2, 43; Anatolia as home of, 23, 32, 43; archives of, 200–202; Aziru and, 68, 141, 148–52, 163–64, 201; and Canaan, 141–44, 149–52, 161–64, 195; Egypt and, 60–61, 97, 104–6, 142, 201–2, 204; threat posed to Arzawan by, 48; threat posed to Mittani by, 56, 57, 144
 Home Ordnance Survey (England), 79
 Hrozný, Bedřich, 110–11
 Hurrian language, 52, 109, 127, 136
 Husseyn (dealer), 20

 Ili-Milku, 170
 Ilu-rapi, 96, 157–61, 194
 Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, University of Chicago, 56. *See also* Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
 Intaruta, 104, 168, 232n13
 Iraq, recent looting of antiquities in, 14
 Isaac, 115
 Ismail/Ismail, Farag, 1–2, 13, 26, 210
 Israel (modern), 2

 Jacob, 115
 Jastrow, Morris, Jr., 124, 126, 207
 Jensen, Peter, 109, 208
 Jerusalem, 43, 68, 96, 112–14, 117–19, 124–26, 165, 171
 Jordan, 2
Journal asiatique, 111, 117, 124
Journal d'entrée (Cairo Museum), 25–26
Journal of Biblical Literature, 124, 126
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 29
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 29, 126

- Kadashman-Enlil I, 4; alternate forms of
name of, 122, 126, 131; Amenhotep III
and, 41–42, 53, 78, 83, 126, 181; reign of, 43
Karaduniash. *See* Babylonia
Kaška people. *See* Gašga (Kaška) people
Keilah. *See* Qilti / Keilah
Kelu-Heba, 53, 84
Kerass, Hanna, 20
King of Egypt, unspecified, 61–62, 69, 96,
98, 184, 187, 190, 194–96, 198
kings. *See* Great Kings
Knudtzon, Jørgen, 13, 26, 69, 133–35, 134,
209, 223n12
Kölnische Zeitung (newspaper), 113
Krug, Carl (pen name: Carl Niebuhr), 209;
The Tell El Amarna Letters, 133
Kurigalzu, 41, 71, 75, 181
Kyticas, Panayotis, 210, 214n17

Lab'ayu, and sons of Lab'ayu, 1, 96–103, 106,
165, 168, 171–72, 186
Lab'ayu Affair, 97–101
Langdon, Stephen, 29
lapis lazuli, 58, 61
Lauinger, Jacob, 135–36
Lebanon, 2
LeDeed, Mohmood, 20
Lehmann, Carl Friedrich, 32, 33, 36, 37–38,
73–74, 87, 116, 121, 208
Lemche, Niels Peter, 203–4
Louvre, Paris, 12, 227n19
Lupakku, 162
Lyon, David Gordon, 28–29

Mandell, Alice, 2, 136
Mariette, Auguste, 14
marriages: Akhenaten, 57, 70; Amenhotep
III, 35, 41–42, 47–50, 52–54, 56;
Burna-Buriash II, 56; as exchanges
between kings, 35, 41–42, 45, 56–57, 61,
70, 74, 76, 148, 181–82, 200, 201
Maspero, Gaston, 16, 85, 208
Megeed, Abd-el, 20
Megiddo, 1, 38, 43, 83, 88, 96–99, 101
Mercer, Samuel, 135
Merneptah, 201
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
227n19
Middle Babylonia, 28
Middle East, map of 1871, xi

Milkilu, 68, 97, 99, 165–67, 170–73, 186
Minoans, 202
Mittani: Amarna Letters concerning, 2, 43;
Assyrian threat to, 56; Egyptian alliance
with, 52–57; Hittite threat to, 56, 57, 144;
language used in, 52, 109, 127; location of,
43, 74; rulers of, 43. *See also* Hurrian
language
Mittanian language, 28
Miya, 143
Mohassib, Mohammed, 14, 17, 20–21, 209
Moran, William, 47, 48, 135, 170, 232n13
Morris, Ellen, 96
Moses, 36, 68, 111, 115
Murch, Chauncey, 83, 84, 123, 210
Mursili II, 201
Mycenaeans, 202
Mynářová, Jana, 25–26, 85, 96, 195–96,
216n9

Na'aman, Nadav, 50
National Archaeological Museum,
Athens, 84
Navarino (ship), 21
Nebuchadnezzar, 28, 31, 36, 37
Necho, 68, 149, 153
Nefertiti, 61, 200
Neo-Babylonia, 27–28, 34, 43
Neutron Activation Analysis, 50–51
Niebuhr, Carl. *See* Krug, Carl
Niéman (ship), 9
Niemeyer, Felix von, 210
Niqmadu II, 43
NodeXL, 184
Nofret, Princess (statue), 14
Nuhašše, 152, 161–63

Oppert, Julius, 11, 13, 25, 71, 73, 208
Oriental Institute, University of Chicago,
56, 84
Ottoman Empire, 204

Pahanate, 142, 155
Palestine Exploration Fund, 79, 80, 128
Pamahu, 103
Pawura, 156
Petrie, William Matthew Flinders, 13, 86,
119–20, 208; *Syria and Egypt from the Tell
El Amarna Letters*, 133
Philip (dealer), 26, 210

- Pirhi, 54, 56
 Piwuru, 171, 172
 plague, 62
 “Plague Prayers of Mursili” (Hittite tablet), 62
 Podany, Amanda, 136, 216n5
 Princeton University, 109
Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (PSBA), 35–37, 67, 79, 80–81, 92, 117, 121, 126, 131–32
 Pu-Ba’lu, 156
- Qilti / Keilah, 68, 97, 114, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 186
Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund (magazine), 80, 110, 117
- Rahotep, Prince (statue), 14
 Rainey, Anson, 91, 103–4, 135, 163–64, 226n18(ch16), 232n13, 232n20
 Ramses II, 201
 Rawlinson, Henry, 11
 Renouf, Peter le Page, 85, 90, 208, 216n26
Revue des études juives (journal), 111
 Rib-Hadda: Abdi-Ashirta and, 141–48, 159; Aziru and, 141, 156–61, 163; exile of, 157–59, 163; letters from, 69, 83, 87, 88, 96, 110, 122, 133, 141–48, 150, 156–59; social network role of, 184, 186–87, 193–95, 198
 Robertson (British Consul), 21
 Rostovitch, Alexandros, 25, 83, 84, 210, 215n9(ch3), 217n12, 222n18
 Royal Asiatic Society, 24
- šarru rabû. *See* Great Kings
 Salmu, 181
 Satatna, 96, 97, 103–4, 168, 181, 182
 Sayce, Archibald Henry (A. H.), 113, 208; background of, 23–24; and biblical references in the Amarna Letters, 67, 68, 77, 82, 112–14, 117–19, 124–25; and Budge, 37, 75, 85, 109–10, 118; dating of Amarna tablets by, 27–28, 33–37; encounter with Amarna tablets, 11–14, 18, 23–28; as journal editor, 73; personality of, 29–30; portrait drawing of, 12; *Records of the Past*, 85, 109, 117–18, 124; reflection on significance of Amarna Letters, 13, 204; scholarship of, 28–31, 67–70, 81–82, 85, 111, 114, 124–25, 153, 216n9; as teacher, 129; translation/transliteration of Amarna Letters and other published material by, 27–28, 32–33, 35–36, 67–70, 77–78, 80–86, 109–10, 112–14, 117–18, 124, 127, 131, 133, 149, 173; and Winckler, 38, 77, 79, 81–83, 85, 90, 109–10, 116–18
 Schiaparelli, Ernesto, 35
 Schliemann, Heinrich, 86
 Schniedewind, William, 135
 Schrader, Eberhard, 19, 31–38, 71, 73, 76, 79, 88, 109, 209
 Schroeder, Otto, 134, 135, 209
The Scottish Review (journal), 117
 scribes, 47, 49, 120, 170–71, 179, 226n18(ch16)
 Seti I, 201
 Shattiwaza, 57
 Shaushgamuwa, 201
 Shechem, 96–98
 Sherratt, Susan, 202
 Shipti-Ba’lu, 172
 Shum-Hadda, 103, 148
 Shuttarna II, 43, 53, 56, 84, 110, 127
 Shuwardata, 97, 165, 167–69, 171–73, 186, 232n13
 Sidon, 111, 145, 147, 153–55, 157, 202
 Sidrak (Elias) [dealer], 12, 13, 14, 20, 209
 silver, 42, 61, 62, 64, 103, 166
 Simon, James, 34, 210
 Singer, Itamar, 104, 231n25
Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (journal), 33
 Small Worlds, 178, 188, 189, 198, 200
 Social Network Analysis (SNA), 4, 177–99; benefits of, 177–78, 198–99; Betweenness Centrality, 191–96, 192; Degree Centrality, 186–87, 187, 189, 194–95; Eigenvector Centrality, 190–91, 191, 194–95; limitations of, 178–79, 196–98; regular/structural equivalence, 194–96
 Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 24
 Society of Biblical Archaeology, 24, 129, 132
 Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 124
 sociograms, 177–89, 196–99
 Sodom, 115
 Soviet Union, 204
 Sumerian language, 10

- Sumur, 141–42, 144, 146, 149–50, 154, 156, 159–60, 179
- Suppiluliuma I, 4; attack on Mittani by, 56, 57; and Canaan, 150–52, 163, 201; death of, 62; and Egypt, 60–61, 200–201; reign of, 45
- Surata, 96, 97, 99, 101, 103, 168, 181, 182, 186, 232n13
- Suteans, 102, 105, 163
- Syria, 2, 43, 52, 95, 203
- tablets. *See* Amarna Letters
- Tadu-Heba, 52–54, 56–57, 76, 84, 127
- Tagi, 171, 172
- Tagu, 151
- Talbot, William Fox, 11
- Tano, Marius Panayiotis, 13–14, 26, 210
- Tarkhundaradu: Amenhotep III and, 47–51, 76–77, 82, 87, 88–89, 110, 124, 126, 223n12; reign of, 43
- Tell el-Amarna: plan of, 3; tombs at, 25.
See also Amarna Letters
- Thomas Cook & Son, 25
- Thompson, Jason, 26
- Thompson, R. Campbell, 30
- three degrees of separation, 178
- Thutmose III, 43, 56, 151
- Thutmose IV, 53, 60, 181
- Tiele, Cornelius, 130–32, 208; *Western Asia, According to the Most Recent Discoveries*, 131
- Tiglath-Pileser I, 11
- Ti-i-i. *See* Tiyi
- Tiwate, 152
- Tiyi: Tushratta and, 52, 56–57, 71, 84, 122, 123, 198; as wife of Amenhotep III, 35, 43, 56, 71, 84, 122
- trade routes, as social networks, 198–99
- Tudhaliya IV, 201
- Tuppi-Teshshup, 201
- Turbazu, 172
- Tushratta, 4, 38; Akhenaten and, 52, 56–57, 71, 75–76, 84, 110, 181; alternate forms of name of/misidentifications of, 35, 90, 110, 126, 216n5; Amenhotep III and, 34, 52–57, 71, 74–76, 92, 110, 126–27, 181; assassination of, 57; logistics of dealing with letters from, 109, 133; reign of, 43; social network role of, 181, 184, 189, 193, 198; Tiyi and, 52, 56–57, 71, 84, 123, 198
- Tutankhamun: Amarna Letters associated with, 2, 198; and Ankhsenenamen, 61; discovery of tomb of, 19, 86; reign of, 43
- Tutu, 82–83, 110, 118, 131, 149–50, 161, 163
- Tyre, 68, 96, 104, 105, 122, 147–48, 150, 153–55, 157, 194, 202
- Ugarit, 43, 104, 155, 156, 200–202
- United Nations, 201
- United States, 204
- University College London, 79
- University of Berlin, 19, 32, 38
- University of Königsberg, 90
- University of Lausanne, 179
- University of Leipzig, 33, 90
- University of Marburg, 109
- University of Munich, 33
- University of Pennsylvania, 124
- Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, 34
- Westbrook, R. *See* Cohen, R.
- Wilbour, Charles Edwin, 12, 14, 20, 26–27, 35, 90, 207
- Winckler, Hugo, 209; background of, 32, 86; death of, 110–11; illustration of, 33; Lehmann and, 73, 87; Sayce and, 38, 77, 79, 81–83, 85, 90, 109–10, 116–18; scholarship of, 87–89, 110, 126–27; *Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna*, 88, 111, 113, 124–25, 129; translation of Amarna Letters and other published material by, 124; translation/transliteration of Amarna Letters and other published material by, 36, 38, 75–77, 81–83, 87–90, 116–17, 121, 132–34
- women, in social networks, 192. *See also* marriages
- Yabni-Ilu, 232n21
- Yanhamu, 150, 166–68, 170, 172, 194
- Yapah-Hadda, 96, 148, 156–57
- Yaptih-Haddu, 172
- Yashdata, 97, 101, 224n16
- Yoder, Tyler, 135–36
- Young, Thomas, 11
- Young Berliners: dating of Amarna tablets by, 33–38; translation/transliteration of Amarna Letters and other published material by, 32–38, 67, 69, 73–77, 87

- | | |
|--|---|
| Zangani, Federico, 204 | Zidan, 61 |
| Zannanza, 61, 62, 200, 204 | ‘Zidana, 162 |
| <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
(ZDPV) [magazine], 114, 117, 124 | Zimmern, Heinrich, 33, 34, 90–92, 110, 113,
114, 116–17, 121, 124–26, 133, 209 |
| <i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptisch Sprache</i>
(journal), 87 | Zimri-Haddu of Lachish, 172, 232n20,
232n21 |
| <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> (journal),
73, 87 | Zimri-Haddu of Sidon, 145–46, 153–55,
232n21 |
| <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte</i>
<i>Gebiete</i> (journal), 109, 116, 117, 121, 123 | Zirdam-yashda, 225n6 |
| | Zitriyara, 68 |