



“Now I have sent you 500 (talents) of copper”

The Amarna Letter EA 35 from the King of Alašiya to the King of Egypt

Georgia Papadopoulou

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
gepapad@arch.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

The Amarna letters are often used as an information source regarding the trade of goods and raw materials in Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age. The Amarna archive includes a number of letters, which were exchanged between the king of Egypt and the king of Alašiya (i.e. Cyprus), one of the main copper suppliers during that period. Alašiya's relationship with Egypt was not only diplomatic, but commercial as well, and in letter EA 35 the king of Alašiya apologises to the king of Egypt for the amount of copper he delivered. The traditional translation of the passage gave rise to much discussion and continuous debates. In this paper, it will be demonstrated that, based on the unique relationship existing between the two kingdoms, on other Egyptian and non-Egyptian texts, and on philology, a different weight unit was used in this letter. This translation leads to a re-examination of letter EA 35 and the whole Alašiyian-Egyptian correspondence.

The 382 Amarna tablets were discovered at the end of the 1880s near the modern village of Tell el-Amarna, the ancient city of Akhetaten, and they represent only a fragment of the original archive of Pharaoh Akhenaten.¹ Among the 44 tablets of the royal correspondence there are eight which come from Alašiya, i.e. Cyprus.² During the Amarna period (ca. 1365–1335 BC), Cyprus was a major supplier of copper for the Near East, including Egypt, and at the same time the king of Alašiya was considered by the Pharaoh as his equal.³

The contemporary Great Kings exchanged diplomatic letters that followed a specific pattern, in terms of phraseology and style.⁴ In their correspondence, they pronounced their “brotherhood” and their love for each other, exchanging valuable and luxurious gifts, which had to be recompensed with gifts of equal quality and, at least, equal quantity. This schema corresponds to the Polanyian norm of reciprocity, according to which two equal partners are involved in a reciprocal, continuous and balanced exchange of commodities, i.e. gifts and counter-gifts.⁵ This served as a demonstration of the Great Kings' self-sufficiency, wealth and power. It was a game of power and supremacy.⁶ Despite the existing norms of etiquette, however, we see the

¹ Moran 1992, xiii–xv; Mynářová 2007, 11–6; Schniedewind 2015, 3–5.

² The original division of the correspondence in “royal” and “vassal” was made by Knudtzon (1915). See also Moran 1992, xvi–xvii.

³ Kühne 1973, 13–6, 125–33; Moran 1992, xxxiv–xxxix.

⁴ Mynářová 2007, 99–132, 147–52; Kopanias 2015.

⁵ Polanyi (1944) 2001, 49–55; 1957a, 73–4, 262; 1957b, 149; 1975, 149–50; Zaccagnini 1973, 4, 100–8, 125; Liverani 1979a, 11; 1990, 19–24, 197–202; 1994, 13–8, 189–95; Machado 2011, 121 n. 3. See also Snodgrass 1991, 16; Rössler 2007, 4–5.

⁶ Liverani 1990, 22–5, 264–65. See also Ragionieri 2000, 48.

Great Kings asking the Pharaoh to send them gold⁷ and even complaining about the gift they received.⁸

The correspondence between Alašiya and Egypt, on the other hand, reveals some minor but important differentiations. The preambles of these letters follow all the norms of a royal correspondence (letter from “brother” to “brother”, asking about the well-being of the household etc. of the recipient of the letter and reporting the well-being of the household etc. of the sender of the letter),⁹ but there are also hints of commercial negotiations hidden inside them.

First, in EA 34 (lines 39–40) we read about business agents, mentioned in Akkadian as *tam-kārum*. The same word was used in the Old Assyrian trade letters from Kültepe/Kaneš (ca. 1950–1715 BC), in central Anatolia, to refer to the Assyrian merchants.¹⁰ Merchants (DAM.GÀR-ia, syllabic form of the Akkadian word *tamkāru*) are mentioned in one more letter from Alašiya (EA 39: 14–20): “These men are my merchants. My brother, send them safely (and) quick[!]y. As for my merchant(s) (and) my ship, may your customs’ inspector not draw near to them.” They are also mentioned in a letter from Babylon (EA 8: 13–5, 20–1): “Now, my merchants who had set out with Aḥu-ṭābu, were detained in the land of Canaan on business matters. ... they attacked (slew) my merchants and they carried off their silver.”¹¹ These references are indicative of the business relation existing between the two parties. In the case of the Babylonian letter, Canaan was a vassal state of Egypt and for this reason the king asked from the Pharaoh to uphold the law by paying back the silver that was taken and by killing the men that killed the king’s merchants. On the other hand, the Alašiyian letter refers purely to business matters.

Second, there are no other letters in the Amarna corpus that record a pharaonic request, except from EA 35 (lines 17–18) where the king of Alašiya actually refers to such a request and writes to the king of Egypt: “whatever copper that you request, my brother, I will send it to you”.¹²

Third, during the Late Bronze Age, silver was regarded as currency for commercial transactions.¹³ In the diplomatic correspondence between the Great Kings and the Pharaoh there is no record of the value, in the sense of the price, of the gifts sent or received.¹⁴ This was a rule of the diplomatic etiquette, which the king of Alašiya seems to be “breaking”. He requested for silver to be sent to him and asked from the Pharaoh to “[pay] the sums that are due” for a delivered amount of lumber.¹⁵ Moreover, contrary to all other diplomatic letters, where only luxury goods and materials are mentioned, in EA 36 (lines 15–17) the king of Alašiya asks for grain to be sent to him, a basic commodity.

⁷ EA 9: 16; EA 16: 33; EA 27: 104; EA 4: 36–9.

⁸ EA 3: 21–2. See also Zaccagnini 1973, 108–17; Liverani 1990, 211–17, 219–22; 2003, 124; Bryce 2003, 70–8, 92–4; Peyronel 2014, 356–59; Kopanias 2015, 199.

⁹ Kopanias 2015, 200–1.

¹⁰ EA 34: 39–40: LÚ *tám-kà-ri-ia* [ù 2]0 L[Ú].MEŠ *tám-*]kà-ru-ka “my business agent [and tw]enty [busin]ess agents of yours”. DAM.GÀR = *tamkāru* “merchant” (Roth 2006, 125–26). Michel 2014, 72.

¹¹ EA 39: 14–20: LÚ *an-nu-ú* DAM.GÀR-ia ŠEŠ-ia *na-aš-ri-iš ḥa-mu-[ut-t]a uš-še-ra-šu-nu* LÚ.DAM.GÀR-ia GIŠ.MÁ-ia ‘LÚ’ *pa-qá-ri-ka ul ia-qá-ar-ri-ib it-ti-šu-nu*. EA 8: 13–5, 20–1: *i-na-an-na* DAM.GÀR.MEŠ-ú-a ša it-ti ŠEŠ-ṭa-a-bu *te-bu-ú i-na* KUR *Ki-na-aḥ-ḥi a-na ši-ma-a-ti it-ta’-ak-lu-ú* ... LÚ.MEŠ-šu-’nu’ *ki iš-pu-ru* LÚ.DAM.GÀR.MEŠ-ia *id-du-ku* ù ‘KÙ’.BABBAR-’šu-’nu *it-tab-lu*. EA 11: 8 also refers to a merchant (DAM.GÀR).

¹² EA 35: 17–8: *uš-še-er* ù *mi-nu-um-me* URUDU ša *te-ri-iš-šu ŠEŠ-ia* ù *a-na-ku ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku*.

¹³ For the silver functioning as money, see Polanyi 1968; Liverani 1979b, 30; Powell 1996, 227–30, 236–38; Veenhof 1997, 340; Peyronel 2010.

¹⁴ The reference to silver in EA 8, mentioned just above, is an exception. However, it does not refer to a gift but to a business matter. For the non-utterance of prices in a reciprocal exchange of gifts, see Polanyi 1957b, 256–57, 265, 267; 1975, 150; Zaccagnini 1973, 79–80, 120; 1983, 220–21; Liverani 1979b, 30; Peyronel 2014, 359–60; Snodgrass 1991, 18; Maucourant and Plociniczak 2013, 524; Hénaff 2014, 72, 77.

¹⁵ EA 35: 27–9, esp. l. 29): ŠĀM.MEŠ ši-[mi i-din]. ŠĀM.MEŠ = šimātu, subject meaning purchase, property acquired by purchase [Roth 1992, 2–3; Schniedewind 2015, 1380 note on lines obv. 29–rev. 30]. Asking for silver in EA 35: 19–20, 43–5 and in EA 37: 18.

All these points, reveal that Egypt maintained a commercial, as well as a diplomatic, relationship with Alašiya. EA 35 is representative of trade relations between Alašiya and Egypt but it also is a diplomatic letter which can indicate the political manoeuvres which were at work in the Near East during the Amarna period. In this light, letter EA 35 can be seen either as a purely diplomatic letter, or as a business negotiation. The crucial point of the interpretation lies in lines 10–15, where the king of Alašiya extends an apology towards the king of Egypt, because he has sent him a very small amount of copper. The passage reads as follows:¹⁶

Now I have sent to you five hundred (talents) of copper. As my brother's greeting gift have I sent it to you. My brother, that the amount of copper is small, may it not be taken to your heart, because the hand of Nergal, my lord, is in my land. He has smitten all the men of my land and there is no copper worker. So, my brother, may it not be [t]aken to your heart.¹⁷

If we follow the *communis opinio* and read in line 10 of this passage “five hundred (talents) of copper”, considering the letter a diplomatic one, then a paradox arises. An amount of five hundred talents of copper is by far the greatest amount of copper recorded, and yet this is described as a small quantity. In view of the diplomatic nature of the letter and the need to keep up appearances, such an amount could have been meant and the extended apology could have been ironical.¹⁸

The first problem appears when we consider the size of the amount of copper shipped to Egypt. In the ancient Near East, different weight systems were in use in different areas. The best known one is the Mesopotamian weight system, but in the Amarna letters the Syrian (or Western) weight system must have been used. Most Amarna letters have been sent to Egypt from Babylon, Assyria, Mitanni, Syria, Alašiya and Hatti. Babylon used the Mesopotamian weight system, Assyria and Mitanni most probably the Syrian one;¹⁹ in Cyprus, weights of all known weight systems of the ancient Near East have been found;²⁰ the Hittites probably used their own Hittite shekel.²¹ In Egypt, the most-commonly-used weight unit was the *qedet* (*qdt*), a sub-unit of the *deben* (*dbn*), weighing ca. 9.1–9.8 gr.²² As it can be seen in Table 1, the *deben* corresponds well with the weight of a Syrian shekel. Furthermore, Syria was the area with which Egypt, as well as Alašiya, traded most often, already since before the Late Bronze Age. Hence, it is logical to assume that the used weight system is the Syrian. A Syrian talent comprises of 60 minas and each Syrian mina of 50 shekels.²³ 500 talents would weigh approximately 14.1 tons, 500 minas 235 kilos and 500 shekels 4.7 kilos (Table 1).

¹⁶ All passages of the Amarna letters cited here follow the latest publication by Schniedewind (2015).

¹⁷ EA 35: 10–5): *e-nu-ma a-na UGU-ka 5 me-at URUDU ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku a-na šu-ul-ma-ni ša ŠEŠ-ia ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku a-ḫi ki-i 'še-ḫé-er URUDU i-na lib-bi-ka la-a i-šā-ki-in šum-ma i-na KUR-ia ŠU-ti 'MAŠ EN-li-ia gáb-ba LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR-ia i-du-uk ù e-pí-iš' URUDU ia-nu' ù ŠEŠ-ia i-na lib-bi-ka la-a <i>-šā-ki-in.*

¹⁸ See Georgiou (1979, 96), who suggested that an order has been placed by the king of Egypt, which could not be met by the king of Alašiya, thus creating the need to apologise.

¹⁹ Pulak 1996, 31.

²⁰ Petruso 1984; Alberti and Parise 2005, 384–85.

²¹ See Parise 1989, 339.

²² Pulak 1996, 32. See also Moran 1992, 366 n. 3. The deben is used by the king of Egypt in EA 369: 12–4.

²³ Parise 1984; 1989; Pulak 1996, 26–8.

TABLE 1

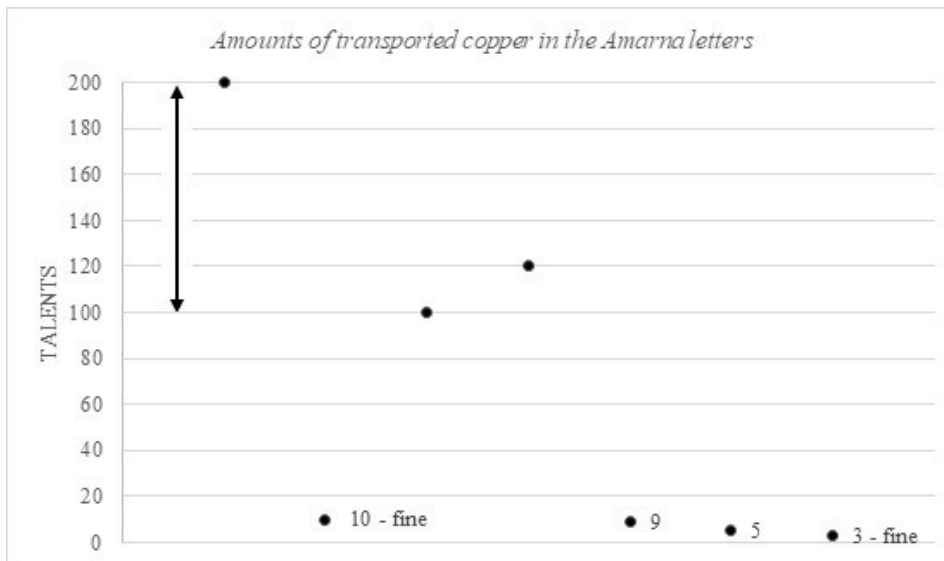
Syrian Weight System			
Talents	Minas	Shekels	Weight
1	60	3000	ca. 28.2 kilos
-	1	50	ca. 470 gr
-	-	1	ca. 9.4 gr

The favoured version of the above-mentioned phrase in line 10 of EA 35 follows Knudtzon's first translation. He reasonably restored the missing term with the most commonly cited weight unit in the Alašiya Letters of the Amarna correspondence, i.e. talents. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that talents are indeed the most commonly mentioned weight unit in those letters in relation to copper amounts exported from Alašiya to Egypt, the omission of the weight unit in letter EA 35 suggests that this amount referred to the most commonly used weight unit (in commerce), i.e. the shekel. In the Amarna correspondence, the word "talent" is never omitted from a letter, unlike the word "shekel" which is very often left out.²⁴

Furthermore, 500 talents of copper are by far the greatest amount of copper recorded in the Amarna letters and an apology for such a shipment does not make sense. The rest of the copper shipments from Alašiya to Egypt regard amounts of a) 200 talents of copper, plus 10 talents of fine copper, in EA 33, b) 100 talents of copper, in EA 34, c) at least 120 talents of copper (with 70 talents remaining to be sent), in EA 36, and d) 9 talents and 5 talents of copper, plus 3 talents of fine copper, from the governor of Alašiya to the governor of Egypt, in EA 40. These amounts have been plotted in a scatter chart (Chart 1), where a range, of typical amounts sent, between 100 and 200 talents, can be seen. A load of 500 talents would have been 2.5-times larger than the largest load recorded here. For this reason, saying that this amount is small and apologising for it, is not convincing. By assuming that the apology is ironic, we are trying to make the passage appear as something we would expect from the King of Alašiya to have said. We should rather try not to be influenced by the diplomatic context of the Amarna correspondence and of the diplomatic relationship between Egypt and Alašiya. In addition, in letter EA 36, the king of Alašiya mentions that the amount of (at least) 120 talents is small, without apologising. On the other hand, in EA 35 we read an apology accompanied by a reason too, a plague. If we are to believe the text and a plague had actually overtaken the copper workers, then it seems somewhat dubious that 14.1 tons of copper would be available. Following this, a plague would mean that what was being sent was what had remained. Hence, 500 minas, i.e. 8 1/3 talents or 235 kilos, and even more so 500 shekels, i.e. 10 minas or 4.7 kilos, would fit the text better and would not need further explanation.

²⁴ Liverani 1990, 250 n. 11. See EA 16 (lines 21 and 24–5), where the word "talents" is twice mentioned in the same tablet: 20 GÛ.UN KÛ.GI *ul-te-bi-lu-šu* "they sent to him twenty talents of gold." and 20 GÛ.UN KÛ.[GI] [*u*] *l-te-bi-la-aš-š[u]* "they sent to him twenty talents of gold". In other cases, the word "talents" is mentioned only once in the tablet, but it refers to the whole of the letter, as for example in letters EA 33 (lines 15–8) and EA 40 (lines 6–15). The omission of the word "shekels" can be found in the letters of the vassals to the Pharaoh, as for example in letters EA 91, 109, 112, 270 and 292.

CHART 1



The letter EA 33 mentions that a treaty is established between Egypt and Alašiya, which also regulated commercial affairs. The Alašiyān king sent a shipment of 100 talents of copper, asking in return various luxury goods from Egypt, as a confirmation for a newly-agreed upon (business) treaty.²⁵ Nevertheless, in the case of EA 35, the amount of copper which was sent to Egypt was a simple “greeting gift” *šulmānu*.²⁶ The only other letter mentioning the dispatch of a greeting gift is EA 37, in which the gift consists of various luxury goods (five talents of raw glass and five teams of horses).²⁷ There is no other greeting gift in the Amarna correspondence with an equivalent value of hundreds of talents of metal, even if that metal is copper. EA 35 is a well-crafted diplomatic letter, with which the king of Alašiya sends a gift (as he is supposed to), apologises for it being small, and asks for what is “owed” to him. He requests “a very large amount” of silver and other objects, plus the return of his since-long detained envoy, saying that upon his arrival “I will send my brother’s greeting gift”.²⁸ This is a subtle way to convey to the Pharaoh that he will receive the rest of his greeting gift, when he also gives the Alašiyān king what he has asked for.²⁹ In conclusion, the amount of copper mentioned in line 10 of EA 35 was 500 shekels, not 500 talents.

²⁵ EA 33; EA 34 (esp. l. 16-25, 32-53).

²⁶ Roth 1992, 244-45.

²⁷ EA 37: 8-10.

²⁸ EA 35: 41-2: *ù šu-ul-ma-na ša ŠEŠ-ia ul-te-bi-la-ak-ku*.

²⁹ This well-hidden and subtle commercial “trick”, befitting a business negotiation, is also seen in a much later text from Egypt, the so-called Report of Wen-Amun; Liverani (1990, 249-51) thinks that this supports the restoration of line 10 in EA 35 as “500 shekels of copper”, not talents.

WORKS CITED

- Alberti, M.E., and N. Parise. 2005. "Towards an Unification of Mass-units Between the Aegean and the Levant." In *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004*, edited by R. Laffineur, and E. Greco, 381–91. *Aegaeum* 25. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Bryce, T. 2003. *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East: The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age*. London: Routledge.
- Georgiou, H. 1979. "Relations Between Cyprus and the Near East in the Middle and Late Bronze Age." *Levant* 11: 84–100.
- Hénaff, M. 2014. "Is There Such a Thing as a Gift Economy?" In *Gift Giving and the 'Embedded' Economy in the Ancient World*, edited by F. Carlà, and M. Gori, 71–84. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Kopanias, K. 2015. "The King's Household, Royal Gifts and the International Trade in the Amarna Age." In *Kingship in Ancient Greece: From Agamemnon to Cleopatra. International Conference in Honor of Pierre Carlier. Athens, 6–8 February 2014*, edited by E. Lévy, 199–206. *KTEMA: Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques* 40. Strasbourg: Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg.
- Knudtzon, J.A., ed. 1915. *Die El-Amarna Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*. Vol. 1, *Die Texte*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung.
- Kühne, C. 1973. *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Liverani, M. 1979a. "Dono, tributo, commercio: Ideologia dello scambio nella tarda età del bronzo." *Annali. Istituto italiano di numismatica* 26: 9–28.
- _____. 1979b. "'Irrational' Elements in the Amarna Trade." In *Three Amarna Essays*, by M. Liverani, 21–33. *Sources and Monographs: Monographs on the Ancient Near East* 1(5). Malibu: Undenda.
- _____. 1990. *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* Padova: Sargon.
- _____. 1994. *Guerra e diplomazia nell'Antico Oriente 1600–1100 a.C.* Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- _____. 2003. "The Influence of Political Institutions on Trade in the Ancient Near East (Late Bronze to Early Iron Age)." In *Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico*, edited by C. Zaccagnini, 119–37. *Saggi di Storia Antica* 21. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Machado N.M.C. 2011. "Karl Polanyi and the New Economic Sociology: Notes on the Concept of (Dis)embeddedness." *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais Annual Review* 3: 119–40.
- Maucourant, J., and S. Plociniczak. 2013. "The Institution, the Economy and the Market: Karl Polanyi's Institutional Thought for Economists." *Review of Political Economy* 25(3): 512–31.
- Michel, C. 2014. "Considerations on the Assyrian Settlement at Kanesh." In *Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh: An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity*, edited by L. Atici, F. Kulakoğlu, G. Barjamovic, and A. Fairbairn, 69–84. *JCS Supplement Series. Current Research at Kültepe-Kanesh* 4. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.
- Moran, W.L., ed. and trans. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University.
- Mynářová, J. 2007. *Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy: Perspectives on the Amarna Letters*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Oppenheim, L. 1967. *Letters from Mesopotamia: Official, Business, and Private Letters on Clay Tablets from Two Millennia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Parise, N.F. 1984. "Unità ponderali e rapporti di cambio nella Siria del nord." In *Circulation of Goods in Non-Palatial Context in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Istituto per gli studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, edited by A. Archi, 125–38. Roma: Edizioni dell'ateneo.
- _____. 1989. "The Mina of Ugarit, the Mina of Karkemish, the Mina of Khatti." In *Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East*, edited by C. Zaccagnini, 333–41. Budapest: University of Budapest, Egyptological Department.
- Petruso, K.M. 1984. "Prolegomena to Late Cypriot Weight Metrology." *AJA* 88(3): 293–304.
- Peyronel, L. 2010. "Ancient Eastern Economics: The Silver Question Between Methodology and Archaeological Data." In *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, May, 5th-*

- 10th 2008, "Sapienza" – Università di Roma. Vol. 1, *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Past, Present and Future: Heritage and Identity. Ethnoarchaeological and Interdisciplinary Approach, Results and Perspectives. Visual Expression and Craft Production in the Definition of Social Relations and Status*, edited by P. Mathiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro, and N. Marchetti, 925–48. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.
- _____. 2014. "Between Archaic Market and Gift Exchange: The Role of Silver in the Embedded Economies of the Ancient Near East during the Bronze Age." In *Gift Giving and the 'Embedded' Economies in the Ancient World*, edited by F. Carlà, and M. Gori, 355–76. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Polanyi, K. 1957a. "Aristotle Discovers the Economy." In *Polanyi et al. 1957*, 64–94.
- _____. 1957b. "The Economy as Instituted Process." In *Polanyi et al. 1957*, 243–70.
- _____. 1968. "The Semantics of Money-Uses." In *Primitive, Archaic, and Modern economies. Essays of Karl Polanyi*, edited by G. Dalton, 175–203. New York: Anchor Books.
- _____. 1975. "Traders and Trade." In *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, edited by J.A. Sabloff, and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, 133–54. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- _____. 2001. Reprint. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. Original edition, Boston: Beacon Press, 1944.
- Polanyi, K., C.M. Arensberg, and H.W. Pearson, eds. 1957. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*. New York: The Free Press.
- Powell, M.A. 1996. "Money in Mesopotamia." *JESHO* 39(3): 224–42.
- Pulak, M.K. 1996. "Analysis of the Weight Assemblages from the Late Bronze Age Shipwrecks at Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya, Turkey." Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University.
- Ragonieri, R. 2000. "The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making." In *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, edited by R. Cohen, and R. Westbrook, 42–53. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rössler. 2007. "Von der Gabe zur Abgabe: Transaktionen im politischen Kontext." In *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute. Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*, edited by H. Klinkott, S. Kubisch, and R. Müller-Wollermann, 3–27. *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 29. Leiden: Brill.
- Roth, M.T., ed. 1992. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 17, Š. Part III. Chicago, Illinois: Oriental Institute. <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/assyrian-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago-cad>.
- _____. 2006. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. 18, T. Chicago, Illinois: Oriental Institute. <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/assyrian-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago-cad>.
- Schniedewind, W.M., ed. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of all Extant Tablets*. Collated, Transcribed and Translated by A.F. Rainey. Leiden: Brill.
- Snodgrass, A.M. 1991. "Bronze Age Exchange: A Minimalist Position." In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean. Papers Presented at the Conference held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, edited by N.H. Gale, 15–20. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 90. Jonsered: Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Veenhof, K.R. 1997. "'Modern' Features in Old Assyrian Trade." *JESHO* 40(4): 336–66.
- Zaccagnini, C. 1973. *Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV–XIII*. Roma: Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del vicino oriente.
- _____. 1983. "On Gift Exchange in the Old Babylonian Period." In *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*, by O. Carruba, M. Liverani, and C. Zaccagnini, 189–253. Pavia: GJES.