

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection  
of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem

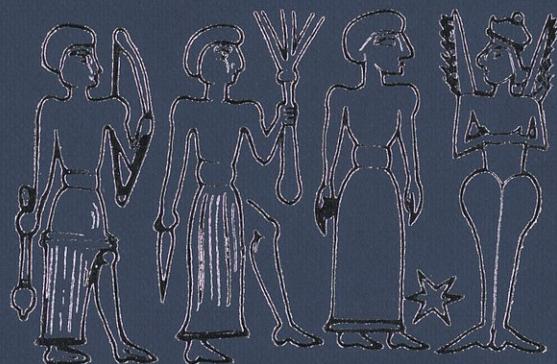
The Emar Tablets

by

Joan Goodnick Westenholz

In collaboration with

Jean Ikeda  
Shlomo Izre'el  
Marcel Sigrist  
Itamar Singer  
Masamichi Yamada



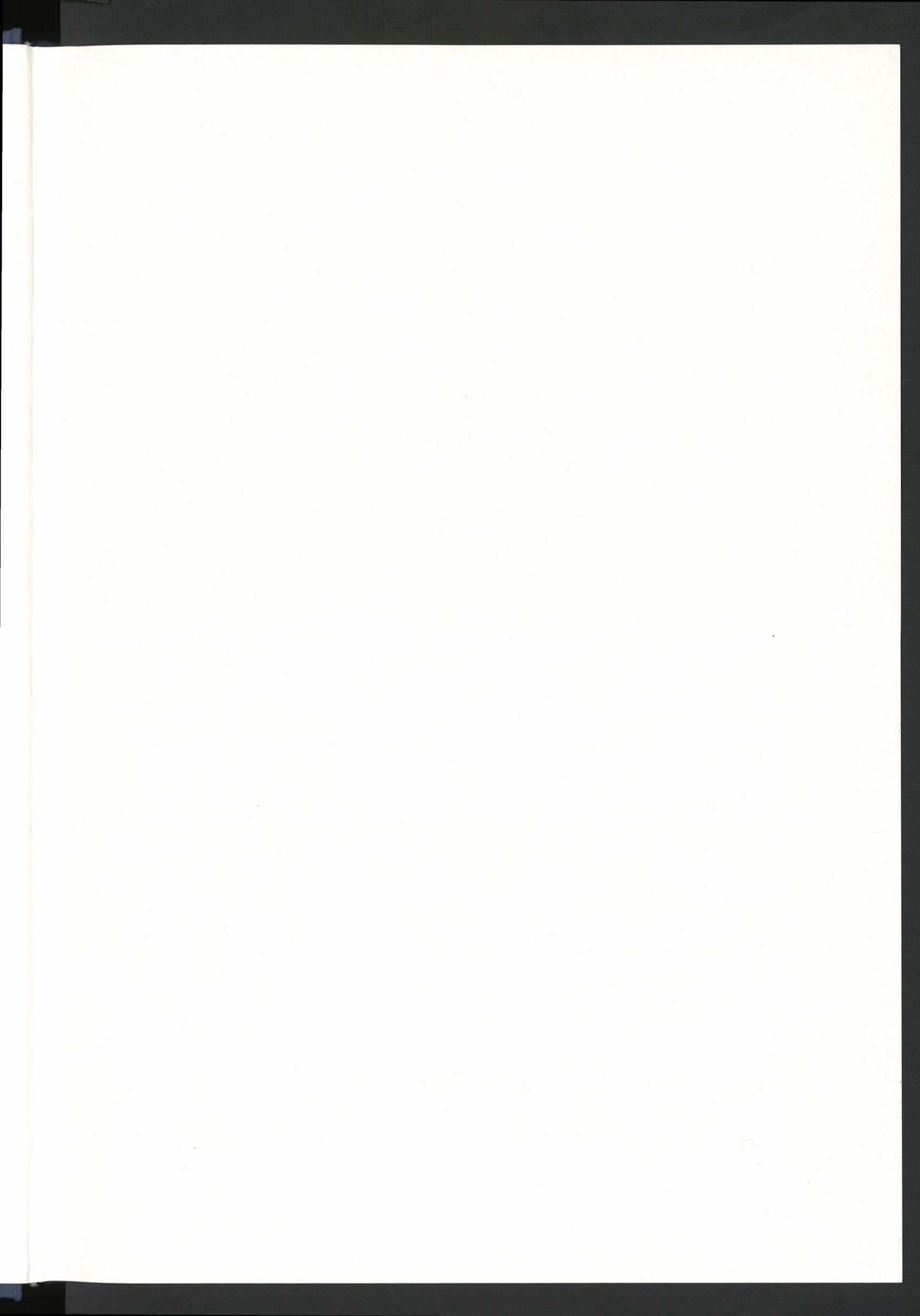
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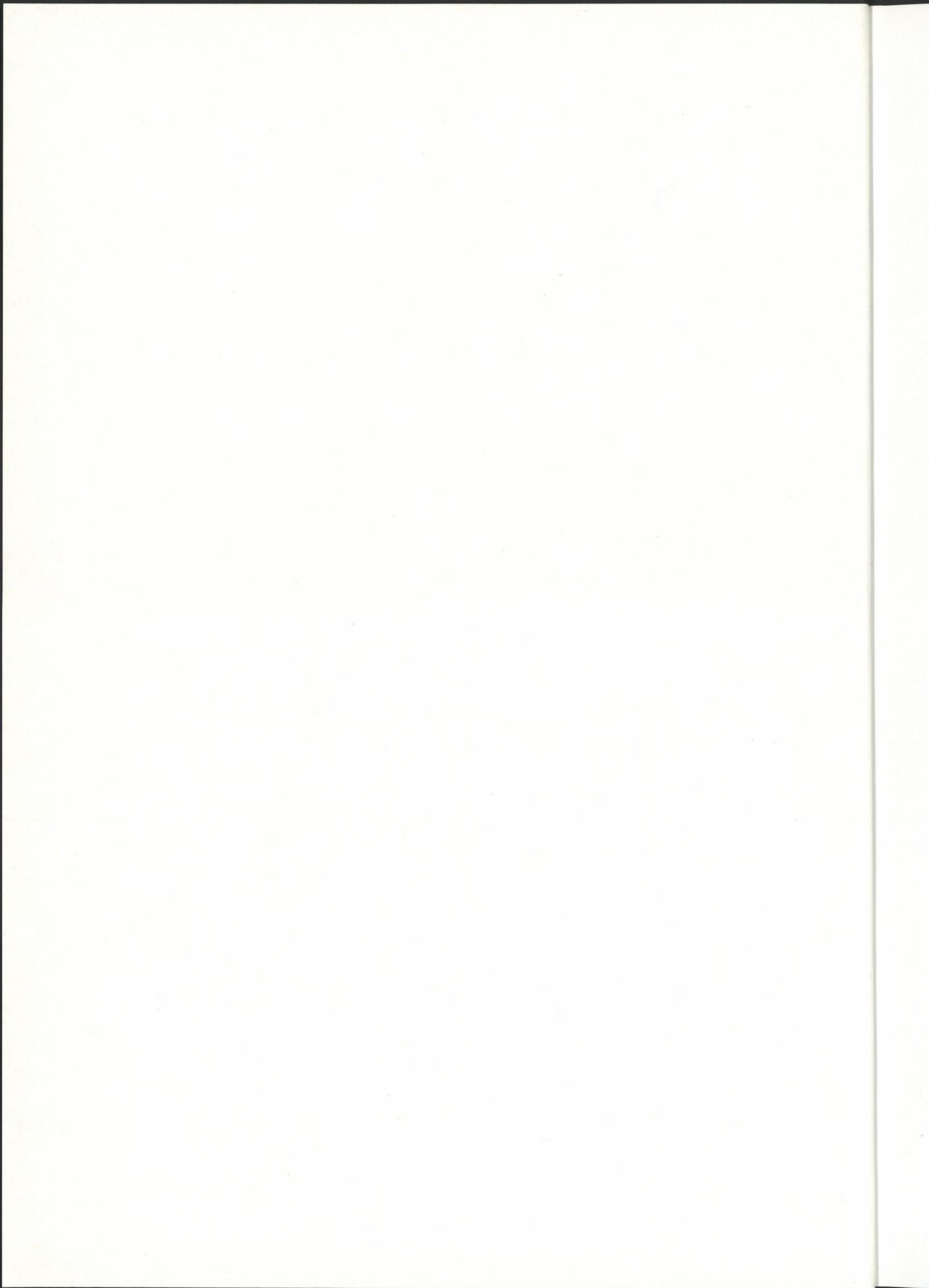
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**CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COLLECTION  
OF THE BIBLE LANDS MUSEUM JERUSALEM**

## CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 13

Edited by

T. Abusch, M. J. Geller, Th. P. J. van den Hout  
S. M. Maul and F. A. M. Wiggermann



**STYX**  
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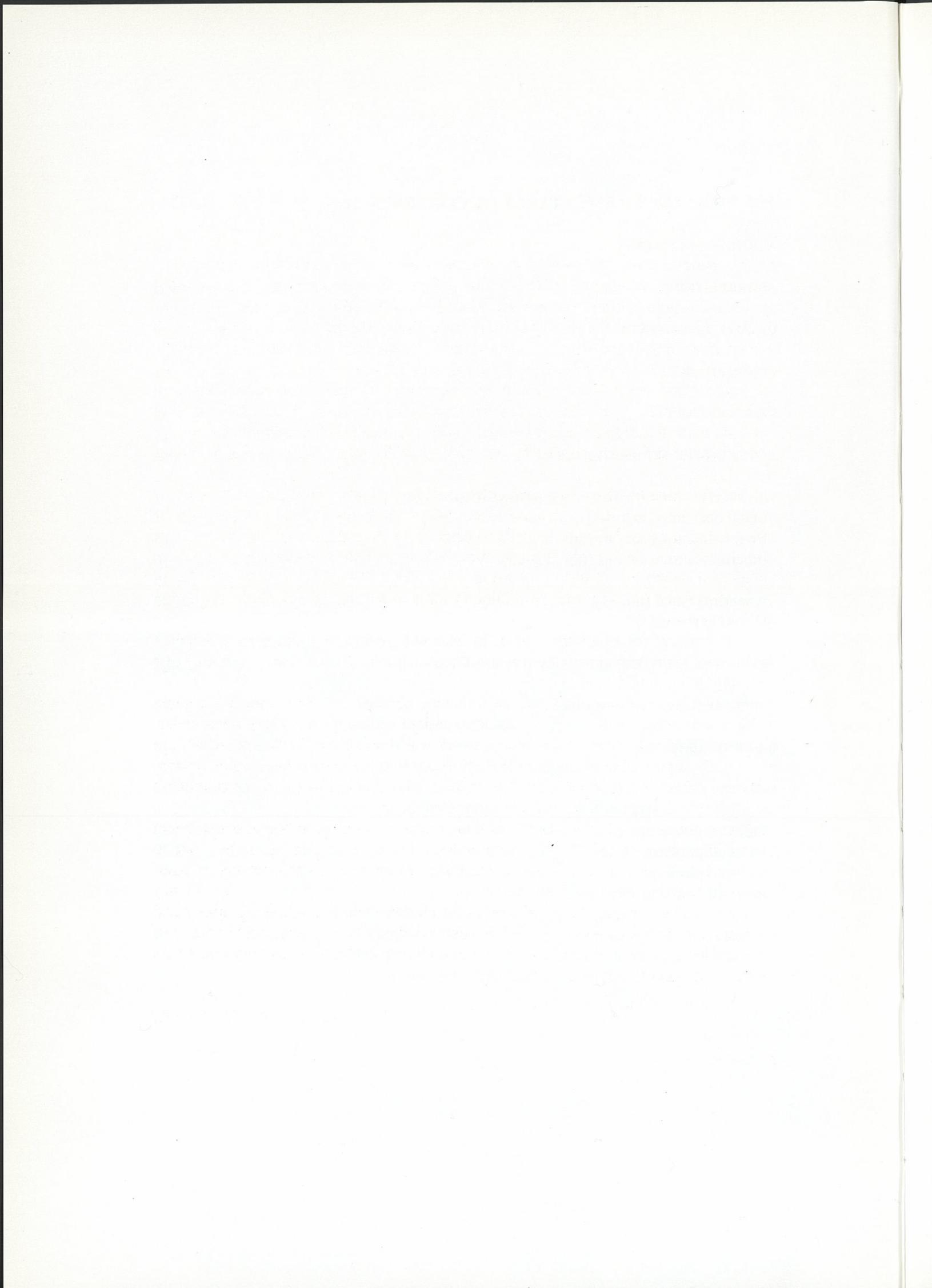
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
CATALOGUE OF TEXTS	ix
CONCORDANCES	x
INTRODUCTION	xi
NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION	xvii
TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES	
Legal decisions (nos. 1–3)	1
Real Estate transactions (nos. 4–12)	13
Inheritance transactions (nos. 13–15)	36
Lists (nos. 16–30)	45
Anatolian ritual (no. 31)	76
Hittite letter (no. 32)	78
APPENDIX I: HITTITE SEALINGS by Itamar Singer	81
APPENDIX II: SYRIAN SEALINGS	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99
INDICES	
Index of divine names	109
Index of personal names	109
Index of place names	115
Index of words discussed	117
PLATES	119



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The cooperative project of an investigative study of the Emar texts in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem began in 1990, with the participants meeting under the auspices of the Ecole Biblique during the academic years 1990–1992. We wish to offer our thanks to the authorities of the Monastery of St. Etienne for their hospitality during that period. After the opening of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem in May 1992, the meetings ending in June 1994 took place in the new museum building.

This volume aims to provide a complete annotated edition of the Emar tablets from the Elie Borowski collection housed in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. No attempt has been made to present a definitive study of the political, social, cultural or religious life depicted in these texts since they are only a small sample of the hundreds of tablets from this area.

Gary Beckman assisted this project by providing advice, comments and copies of the Rosen texts before his publication of them and I am deeply grateful to him. Especial thanks are due to Aage Westenholz, who came from Copenhagen in October 1993 to treat the tablets, cleaning off the “restorations” of the antiquities dealers and baking the tablets so that their legibility was improved. I would also like to express my appreciation of the help that I received from Dominique Collon in writing the appendix concerning the Syrian sealings.

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I would like to thank my collaborators for all their help in reading the tablets and for preparing the basic manuscript. While acknowledging my immense debt to them for their assistance, I must of course point out that all responsibility for the interpretations offered in this book and for any errors rests with me alone.

Joan Goodnick Westenholz

Jerusalem 1997

## ABBREVIATIONS

Imp.	= Impression
Le.E.	= Left Edge
Lo.E.	= Lower Edge
Ri.E.	= Right Edge
Up.E.	= Upper Edge

### Bibliographic Abbreviations

All abbreviations are those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-) and *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1984-), with the following exceptions and additions:

BCILL	= <i>Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut Linguistique de Louvain</i>
BLMJ	= Sigla of objects in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem
CHD	= <i>The Chicago Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980-)
CRAIBL	= <i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
OBO	= <i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>

## CATALOGUE OF TEXTS

Text No. Tablet No. Accession No. Contents

1	C22	BLMJ 1131	Legal decision before the “son of the king” of Carchemish
2	HC12	BLMJ 1986	Legal decision before the Overseer of the Land
3	C23	BLMJ 802	Legal decision before the king of Emar
4	C15	BLMJ 1124	Legal document: real estate sale
5	C16	BLMJ 1125	Legal document: real estate sale
6	C17	BLMJ 1126	Legal document: real estate sale
7	C18	BLMJ 1127	Legal document: real estate sale
8	C20	BLMJ 1129	Legal document: real estate sale
9	C21	BLMJ 1130	Legal document: real estate sale
10	HC19	BLMJ 607	Legal document: real estate sale
11	HC13	BLMJ 1987	Legal document: real estate sale
12	C19	BLMJ 1128	Legal document: redemption of a house
13	HC17	BLMJ 605	Division of property
14	C24	BLMJ 1132	Bequest to wife
15	C25	BLMJ 1133	Inheritance share inventory
16	HC16	BLMJ 604	Property list
17	C27	BLMJ 1134	Payment list
18	HC9	BLMJ 1983	Payment list
19	C28	BLMJ 1135	Offering list
20	HC7	BLMJ 1981	Inventory
21	HC10	BLMJ 1984	Inventory
22	HC8	BLMJ 1982	Inventory
23	HC11	BLMJ 1985	Inventory
24	C29	BLMJ 1136	Dedication
25	C31	BLMJ 1138	Cult inventory
26	C32	BLMJ 1139	Cult inventory
27	C33	BLMJ 1140	Cult inventory
28	C34	BLMJ 1141	Cult inventory
29	C35	BLMJ 809	Cult inventory
30	C36	BLMJ 1142	Cult inventory
31	C30	BLMJ 1137	Anatolian ritual
32	C37	BLMJ 1143	Hittite letter from the king of Carchemish

### Concordance of Museum Numbers

Tablet	Accession no.	Text no.	Accession no.	Tablet	Text no.
C 15	BLMJ 1124	4	BLMJ 604	HC 16	16
C 16	BLMJ 1125	5	BLMJ 605	HC 17	13
C 17	BLMJ 1126	6	BLMJ 607	HC 19	10
C 18	BLMJ 1127	7	BLMJ 802	C 23	3
C 19	BLMJ 1128	12	BLMJ 809	C 35	29
C 20	BLMJ 1129	8	BLMJ 1124	C 15	4
C 21	BLMJ 1130	9	BLMJ 1125	C 16	5
C 22	BLMJ 1131	1	BLMJ 1126	C 17	6
C 23	BLMJ 802	3	BLMJ 1127	C 18	7
C 24	BLMJ 1132	14	BLMJ 1128	C 19	12
C 25	BLMJ 1133	15	BLMJ 1129	C 20	8
C 27	BLMJ 1134	17	BLMJ 1130	C 21	9
C 28	BLMJ 1135	19	BLMJ 1131	C 22	1
C 29	BLMJ 1136	24	BLMJ 1132	C 24	14
C 30	BLMJ 1137	31	BLMJ 1133	C 25	15
C 31	BLMJ 1138	25	BLMJ 1134	C 27	17
C 32	BLMJ 1139	26	BLMJ 1135	C 28	19
C 33	BLMJ 1140	27	BLMJ 1136	C 29	24
C 34	BLMJ 1141	28	BLMJ 1137	C 30	31
C 35	BLMJ 809	29	BLMJ 1138	C 31	25
C 36	BLMJ 1142	30	BLMJ 1139	C 32	26
C 37	BLMJ 1143	32	BLMJ 1140	C 33	27
HC 7	BLMJ 1981	20	BLMJ 1141	C 34	28
HC 8	BLMJ 1982	22	BLMJ 1142	C 36	30
HC 9	BLMJ 1983	18	BLMJ 1143	C 37	32
HC 10	BLMJ 1984	21	BLMJ 1981	HC 7	20
HC 11	BLMJ 1985	23	BLMJ 1982	HC 8	22
HC 12	BLMJ 1986	2	BLMJ 1983	HC 9	18
HC 13	BLMJ 1987	11	BLMJ 1984	HC 10	21
HC 16	BLMJ 604	16	BLMJ 1985	HC 11	23
HC 17	BLMJ 605	13	BLMJ 1986	HC 12	2
HC 19	BLMJ 607	10	BLMJ 1987	HC 13	11

## INTRODUCTION

The cuneiform tablets published here were bought in two lots in 1976/7 and in 1983/4. Most of them are closely associated by prosopography, seal impressions and types of text with those excavated at Meskene, ancient Emar. In fact, two tablets of this group specifically mention the name of the city Emar: LÚ.MEŠ URU.*E-mar* “the men of the city of Emar” (no. 1:10) and NA<sub>4</sub> URU.*E-mar.KI* “the (standard) weight of the city of Emar” (no. 4:8). Further, there are two possible references to Emar in a more unusual spelling: (cult inventory of vessels belonging to) DINGIR *I-ma-ri* (no. 27:9) and (one sheep offered to) DINGIR *Ha-ma-ri* (no. 19:1).

From 1972 to 1976, the French Mission Archéologique de Meskéné-Emar undertook a salvage operation, revealing a Late Bronze Age city (see J.-Cl. Margueron, “Meskene [Imar\*/Emar] B Archäologisch”, *RIA* 8 [1993] 84–93). Around 800 cuneiform tablets were unearthed in its midst (see J. Huehnergard, “Meskene [Imar\*/Emar] A. Philologisch”, *RIA* 8 [1993] 83). After the construction of the Tabqa dam on the Euphrates River 147 km. east of Aleppo, the rising ground water brought more tablets to the surface, which were collected by local inhabitants and sold in the market. Hundreds more tablets surfaced in this manner and were acquired by private and public collectors.

The Late Bronze city of Emar was located at the modern site of Meskene on the middle Euphrates. It was one of the most important cities of the land of Aštata. The city lay on the frontier of the Hittite province of Syria, facing Babylonia to the south-east and Assyria to the north-east. The international use of the cuneiform script is demonstrated in the seal impressions, which bear “Hittite” hieroglyphic inscriptions but are accompanied by Akkadian labels.

The archives recovered from the city cover a very short period, extending over four generations. Most of the texts from Emar were written in the late thirteenth and very early twelfth centuries B.C.E. The city was destroyed in the twelfth century (1187, see Beckman 1996b: 5). Five generations of the royal family in a direct line have been established (Beckman 1996a: x). Generations III and IV are documented in text no. 5 and generations IV and V in text nos. 6, 7 and 11. Although the BLMJ tablets do not mention any new members of the direct line of the royal family, they do provide additional information on the collateral branches. Text no. 7 records the purchase of a house, another structure, a piazza near a gate and a vineyard by an otherwise unknown first cousin of generation IV. His genealogy is given in detail, covering three full generations back to the royal ancestor: <sup>1d</sup>IM-*ma-lik* DUMU *Is-sur*-<sup>4</sup>KUR DUMU <sup>4</sup>IM-GAL LUGAL-*ri*. The document is witnessed by his nephew (the contemporary king Elli) and other members of the royal family including Elli’s son. In text no. 5, the members of the royal family are selling off a house, a vineyard and another building including a sizeable plot of land measuring some 30 hectares. The buyer Puašata, the son of Šadī-Dagan, is also a new addition to the collateral branch of the royal family.

The documents from this city in various languages (western peripheral Akkadian, Sumerian, Hurrian and Hittite) provide insights into the political, economic, social, cultural and religious life of the period. The Bible Lands Museum tablets are a representative group which relates to all these aspects. The political history of the region

is documented, as in text no. 9:19, which mentions the period of hardship at the time of the siege. The first three legal texts demonstrate the judicial hierarchy of the Hittite province of Syria: the three levels of jurisdiction under the “king’s sons”, the Overseer of the Land, and the local king of the city of Emar. The court of last appeal was always the Sun of the Hittite empire, the Hittite king, to whom Zū-Ba’la the diviner appealed his case, cf. no. 32. In text no. 17, the provincial governor, the Overseer of the Land, has freed certain individuals from prison. The reasons behind this action are not given. Could this be an example of the heavy hand of the Hittite administration interfering with internal Emar affairs?

The legal and economic documents illustrate various aspects of a society in the process of passing from a nomadic state to an urban way of life. Note the appearance of an expression for nomads ZI.MEŠ ša ZA.LAM.GAR “persons of the tent” (no. 20:7). Like the majority of Emar tablets, the BLMJ tablets reflect the private legal and economic activities of the cosmopolitan native population of a commercial emporium. The texts list large amounts of gold and silver as payments in cash, indicating the wealth of the city (see nos. 17 and 18). One text seems to be the inventory of a partnership agreement in a commercial enterprise (no. 21).

These legal and economic texts depict a multi-ethnic population. The local population was composed mainly of speakers of Northwest Semitic. They adopted certain customs of the Hittite ruling elite: one was the use of the Anatolian hieroglyphic writing system for inscriptions on their seals, and another was the observance of Anatolian rituals. Text no. 32 is a second Hittite letter written by the king of Carchemish on behalf of the Great King, concerning difficulties between an officer of the Hittite garrison and the head of the divination priests. Hittite females are also mentioned among other ethnic groups in the lower classes. Also listed in the inventories are Assyrian and Subarian women (nos. 20 and 21). A certain Pahuru who bears an Egyptian name meaning “the Syrian” (no. 30:24) may have been born in Egypt and then returned home to Syria. An example of an Indo-Aryan name is Marianni (no. 8:27).

The texts with religious contents include cult inventories, descriptive rituals and dedications of votive offerings (see below).

### Description of the Tablets

In consonance with the accepted designations developed by Arnaud and Beyer, the BLMJ tablets will be accorded the designations “Syrian” and “Syro-Hittite”. Accordingly, there are two scribal schools, a Syrian and a Syro-Hittite, with separate writing traditions. In the former, the writing runs parallel to the short side of the tablet and the seal impressions cover the edges and the margins. On tablets of the second school, the writing runs parallel to the long side of the tablet and the sealings appear on the obverse and reverse of the tablets. Further multiple and superimposed impressions are common on the latter. For a discussion on the sealings, see the appendices. These two schools have recently been more clearly defined on the basis of palaeography, legal phraseology and grammar; see Wilcke 1992.

Lines are used to divide the text into sections, in particular before the list of witnesses.

## Palaeography, Orthography and Language

The script of the individual scribes of the local Syrian school is not consistent. Extra wedges appear (NÍG with an extra vertical [no. 3]), or expected ones are missing (GI with one vertical [no. 25 *passim*]). Note the use of *-gu<sub>5</sub>-* in no. 3:15, though the following line uses *-gu-*. The idiosyncrasies of the scribal hand of Iš-Dagan appear in text nos. 5–7. First, there is a lack of consistency between the more common forms of the signs and his own peculiar forms, which alternate freely. His most peculiar are the TAR (see no. 5:5) and the QA signs (see nos. 5:38, 6:17, 26, 7:9), which are almost identical in form. In addition, he has a tendency to add verticals at the ends of signs such as ZU.

The writing of homo-organic stops in these texts is similar to that found in other western peripheral areas. There is free alternation in the orthography: TE renders /di/, KA renders /ka/ and /ga/, KU renders /ku/ and /gu/, GU renders /gu/. Similarly, the use of the -š- series of signs to render /s/ is common, e.g. *išniqu* instead of the expected *isniqu* (no. 1:3, no. 3:4) and *ka-ši-ip* for *kasip* (no. 4:11). For a more detailed discussion of the phonological system of the Emar texts, see Huehnergard 1983: 36–38, Arnaud 1991b: 26–30 and Ikedu 1995.

In regard to morphology, there is confusion in gender, case and number. In particular, the pronominal suffixes are confused. In text no. 3, the third feminine singular and plural suffixes on nouns are replaced by the masculine. The accusative *-ši* appears in place of the genitive *-ša*.

Verbal morphology exhibits a few peculiarities: the prefix of the third feminine singular is an initial *t-*. As frequently happens in other western peripheral texts, the subjunctive marker *-u* is usually omitted (e.g. no. 16:1). West Semitic formation *pa’il* as passive participle replaces both the Akkadian stative and verbal adjective (no. 4).

Assyrianisms appear occasionally (text nos. 1, 2, 3): the accusative verbal suffix appears as the Assyrian *-šunu* rather than the Babylonian *-šunuti* (no. 3:2).

There may be certain stylistic characteristics. A unique text contains a dedication in the first person to <sup>4</sup>NIN.URTA, the city god of Emar (no. 24). The use of the first person in such a dedication is unknown in Emar but is found in other Northwest Semitic inscriptions.

## Chronometry and Metrology

In regards to the measurement of time, the calendar is peculiar to Emar, while the system of reckoning years follows a year-dating system (MU) generally designated by personal names rather than by events which seems to reflect a local variant of the *līmu*-system of Assyria. Although the majority of Emar texts are not dated, a few of our specimens are, including no. 4 and perhaps no. 10.

The unit of measurement for distances in Emar is the *ikū* “dike”, which is usually a unit of surface area in other cities. There seems to be more than one interrelated system of length measurements. One system is based on the length of the side of a square *ikū*, i.e., 1 *ašlu* rope = 20 GI/qanū reeds = 120 *ammatu* cubits (cf. M. Powell, “Masse und Gewichte”, *RIA* 7 [1989–1990] 472, 477). Houses are usually measured in cubits, while plots of land including vineyards etc. are measured in reeds and ropes. Text no. 8:2

mentions a measurement of 15 reeds as the length of one side of a vineyard. References to the reed also occur in the *ikū*-based system; see Tsukimoto (1992b: 313) and text no. 8.

There is also a hierarchy of units: the *ašlu* rope, composed of *ikū*, composed of *šiddu*, composed of *purišu*. Apparently, this *ašlu* rope unit can be of varied length; Arnaud 1991: 107, no. 62:2–3 gives examples of *ašlu* units consisting of 7 *ikū* and of 6 *ikū*. This undermines the suggested equivalency of *ikū* and *ašlu*. References to *šiddu* occur in the *ikū*-system, see Tsukimoto (1992b: 313). Tsukimoto suggests that *šiddu* would be the equivalent of 1/6 of an *ikū* = *kumānu* in Alalakh and Assyria (cf. also Powell 1989–1990: 477) and that *ḠR* (= *purišu*, Powell 1989–1990: 476) would be a “stride”, a subdivision of the *šiddu*, possibly 1/6.

The unit of weight in Emar was standardized locally (no. 4). This is consistent with traditional Syrian autonomy in economic relations; see Archi 1987: 51. Apparently, the mina of 470 gm. was based on two different subdivisions in Emar – of 60 and 50 shekels; see Arnaud 1991: 13, n. 2. Evidence from Ebla from the third and the second millennia shows a system based on a mina of 470 gm. divided by 60 shekels, resulting in a shekel unit of 7.8 gm. for trade within its territory and for all of northern Syria as far as Mari (Archi 1987: 51). However, Ugarit apparently had a ratio of 50 shekels (9.4 gm.) to the mina (470 gm.; see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, “Der Vertrag zwischen Šuppiluliuma und Niqmandu”, *WO* 3 [1964/66] 219–223, although this has been questioned). The word *mn* is not found in the alphabetic Ugaritic texts. In Emar, there is no evidence of the Hittite mina of 40 heavy shekels (11.75 gm.); see Th. P. J. van den Huot, “Masse und Gewichte”, *RIA* 7 (1989–1990) 526, H. Otten, “Zum hethitischen Gewichtssystem”, *AfO* 17 (1954–56) 128–131. The system of weights in Late Bronze Emar may parallel the third millennium Ebla evidence, which seems to record three different systems for trade with Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Levant to Egypt; see Archi 1987: 47–89.

The unit of capacity measurement used most often in Emar is the *parīsu* (commonly abbreviated *GIŠ.pa*, e.g., no. 15:21 and *passim*). This unit is found in Syrian sources beginning in third millennium Ebla (*ba-rí-zu*, see L. Milano, “Food Rations at Ebla”, *MARI* 5 [1987] 528f.) through second millennium Mari, Carchemish, Alalakh and Emar (Durand 1990b: 43, Lafont 1991: 278–279) as well as in Hittite sources. Although an apparent Akkadian word, it has been suggested that *parīsu* was probably of Syrian origin and meant something such as “half-measure” of an uncertain “whole” (M. Powell, “Wine and the Vine in Ancient Mesopotamia”, in: P. McGovern, S.J. Stuart and S.H. Katz (eds.), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, Philadelphia, 1996: 117). Evidence found at Mari suggest that the western Syrian *parīsu* was reckoned at 50 sila while that in Mari region was that of 60 sila the equivalent of a half gur (Lafont 1991: 278 n. 19, 279 n. 23). At Emar, the “whole” would be reckoned at 100 sila, the equivalent of a *homer*, the “assload”. The *parīsu* appears in the Old Hittite sources as well as in the Hittite Laws (see Th. P. J. van den Huot, “Masse und Gewichte”, *RIA* 7 (1989–1990) 525). In the Hittite laws, the size of a *parīsu* has been reckoned as 30 litres according to its definition as a Babylonian jar (dug).

## Social Structure and Kinship System

The tablets bear witness to a patriarchal social structure with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence pattern. The basis of the system is the extended patriarchal family. One tablet (no. 3) records the adoption of stepdaughters as sons so that the property continues in the family. The tablets demonstrate that the ownership of land continues in the patrilineage and is unalienable. Land is bought, sold and witnessed by “brothers”, members of the same patrilineage (cf. no. 3). On certain occasions, it is necessary for each of them to receive a token gift of one shekel to ensure the legality of the transaction. For the “eldest brother”, cf. no. 8:16. Further evidence of the clan structure may be seen in the authority of the elders of the city alongside the royal house. The extent of the responsibility for and representation of this community vis-à-vis the king is not clear. These elders were the co-proprietors of the common land together with the god <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA. The elders originally enjoyed complete political and economic powers, but this control was slowly eroded over time. We find a number of real estate transactions that concern the sale by the elders of the property of the god <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA to private individuals, especially those of the royal house. These transactions indicate the dislocation of the previous system of communal property and its takeover by the royal power.

Other texts also testify to the fact that the social structure in Emar was undergoing a transformation, and that immovable property which had originally belonged to the family/tribe was sold to outsiders in times of hardship. Like the Pentateuch, these texts make a legal distinction between transactions within the kinship group and those with “strangers” outside it (cf. “like a stranger”, no. 12:4).

## The Gods of the Emar Region and Their Worship

The tablets provide an insight into Syrian gods similar and dissimilar to those known from other Syrian towns, such as Ugarit. In addition to the gods worshipped in Emar, deities worshipped in the cities of Wakat, Uri and Ešši are listed.

The name of the city god of Emar itself is unknown. It is written <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and he appears to represent the religious communal identity of the city. He appears in many of the legal texts in this volume. However, there is also a god written DINGIR *I-ma-ri* (text no. 27:9) and one written DINGIR *Ha-ma-ri* (text no. 19:1, possibly the same, see above), literally “the Emariote god”, who may or may not be identical to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA. Išhara of the city of Emar also appears in no. 19:3. She is usually paired with <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA as in their mutual *kissu*-rite (Arnaud 1986: 385, no. 387). The god(s) (Šaššabitti), a set of unidentified divine beings who belong to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA’s temple, appear in the dedication to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA (no. 24:18).

The next pair of Emariote gods are Dagan and Ninkurra. However, in this volume, Dagan, considered the revered head of the Emar pantheon, appears after ‘Aštarte-of-Battle in text no. 30 and may belong to the city of Uri (see below). On the other hand, there is a cult inventory of the goddess Ninkurra (no. 26). The Storm-god who ranks after Dagan appears in one offering list (no. 19:4), where a sheep sacrifice is offered to his statue. Emar’s storm-god may have been called Ba‘al but the evidence is ambiguous (Fleming 1993a: 89–94). Two gods listed in another cult inventory are

## Introduction

Šaggar and ‘Aštar(t)-haši, the latter an unknown manifestation of ‘Aštarte (no. 25). Other gods mentioned in the inventories and the dedication are We’da and Adammatera who appear together with <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA in the dedication to him. This is the only mention of the god We’da in Emar (no. 24:16). The character of Adammatera (nos. 24:17) is not well known, though she seems to have possible associations with the underworld and/or the storehouse.

Nergal apparently appears in two of his manifestations, as “lord of the horns” (no. 19:7) and as “lord of Šagma” (no. 29:14). The first manifestation is known from the various hierarchical offering lists from Emar. The lord of Šagma is a title mentioned alone (Arnaud 1986: 354, no. 373:128; 476, no. 490:3), as an epithet of Nergal (only here) and as an epithet of Erra (Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 289:6). Its meaning is obscure, and it is uncertain whether it relates to a topographical feature or is an appellative of some sort. There is also an Inanna of Šagma (Arnaud 1986: 353, no. 373:85').

Text no. 28 gives us a cult inventory for certain gods in the town of Ešši Newtown. The gods mentioned here are Erra and Adammatera.

Text no. 30 is also a cult inventory, but is exceptional in that it seems to be a list of the treasuries of all the gods of one city, Uri. The gods listed are ‘Aštarte-of-Battle, Dagan, Erra, Ninkurra and all the gods of Uri. Similar references to the collective gods of Emar are known, but this seems to be the first reference to the pantheon of Uri. ‘Aštarte-of-Battle is known from the offering lists of Emar itself. Ninkurra of the city of Uri is already known from Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287:5 (also a cult inventory).

The reference to all the gods of Wakati comes in the middle of an offering list which appears to be dedicated to the gods of Emar (no. 19).

Evidence for the cultic calendar of the city of Emar is very meagre in the texts in this volume. There is one reference to the New Year's festival at Emar (no. 19:3).

In the religious hierarchy, the LÚ. HAL is the most commonly mentioned position, but whether he was the administrative or the sacerdotal head of any temple is uncertain. The next in the hierarchy is probably the SANGA. The title SANGA *ma-hi-ri-i* appears in one text (no. 28:10) and should be compared to the title NIN.DINGIR *ma-hi-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>* “la prêtre-entu précédente” (e.g. Arnaud 1986: 328, no. 369:55). The relationship between the diviner and the *šangû* in the temple hierarchy is not clear. Judging from a diviner's letter discussing the appointment of a *šangû* (Arnaud 1986: 264f., no. 268), it could be supposed that the diviner had the higher position. From other texts it can be seen that the diviner had both responsibility as a temple administrator and a cultic role to perform. It may be surmised from the sources that the diviner could or did serve all the gods of Emar, while the *šangû* served only one god; see Fleming 1992a: 91. Not only is it usual to append the name of the single god which he serves to his title, but he also seems to hold a rather undistinguished position, since Ereškigal (at least) is recorded as having more than one *šangû* in her service (Tsukimoto 1988: 160f., Text C 5', 9').

## NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION

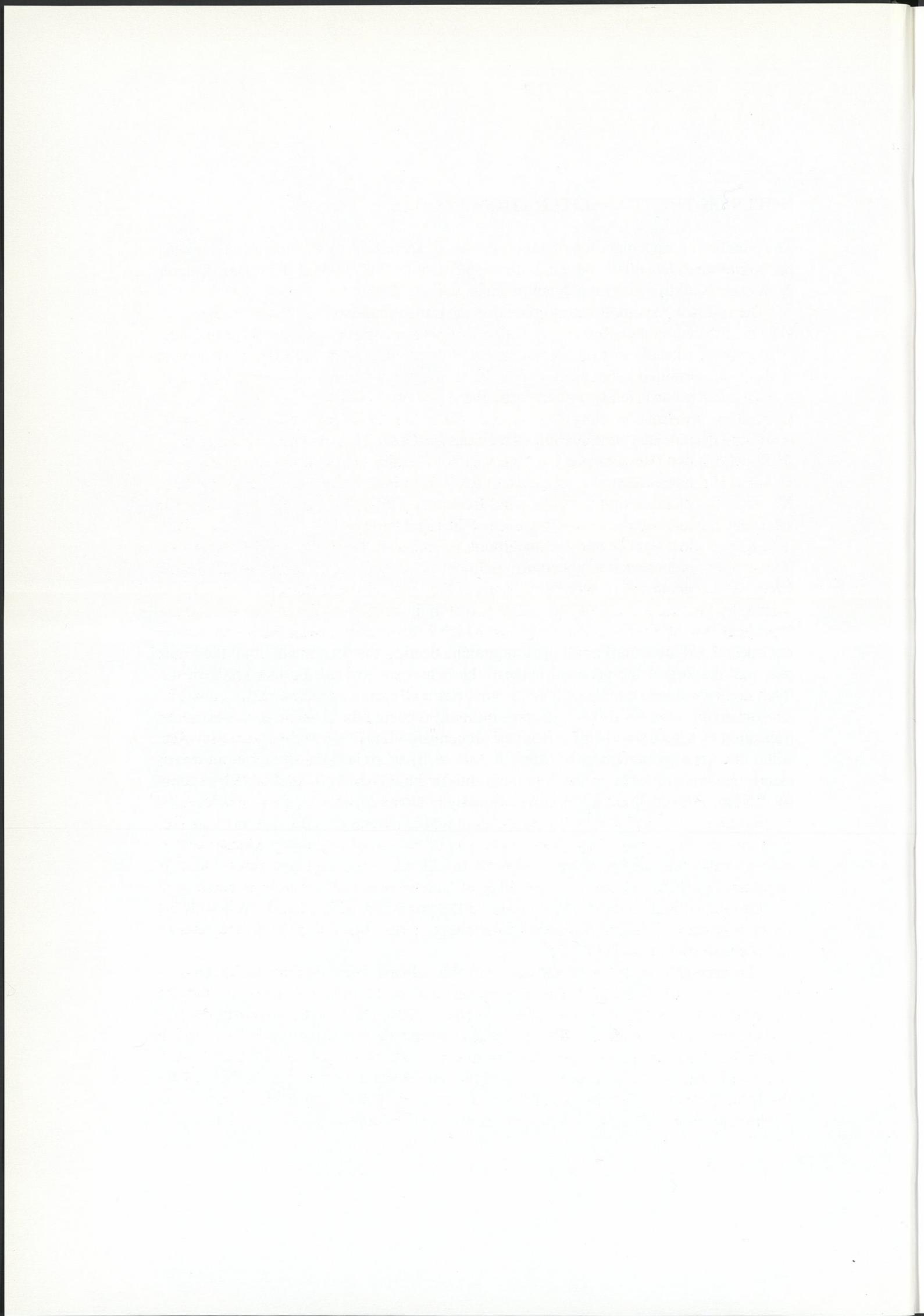
The numbering and marking of homophones is according to R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, 4th ed. with supplement [AOAT 33/33a], Kevelaer: Butzon & Becker/ Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988.

The following symbols are employed in the transliteration:

[ ]	completely lost
Γ	partially lost
< >	omitted by scribe
« »	pleonastically written by scribe
/	alternate reading
//	indented continuation of previous line
:	two Glossenkeile
!	emended sign
X	illegible sign
x	lost sign
...	lost sign(s), number uncertain
[( )]	reconstruction uncertain
/ /	phonemic transcription

Comments on the readings of personal names and the identity of individuals should be regarded as tentative until a full prosopographical study has been made of all the Emar material; reading of the personal names largely follows Arnaud. Further study of the main archives should enable texts to be attributed to a specific generation.

The divine names <sup>d</sup>IM or <sup>d</sup>U are conventionally rendered Ba 'al although there is some indication of its actual realization from the phonetic spellings such as Ba-ah-*lu*. However, when there is a written phonetic Auslaut such as <sup>d</sup>U-up or <sup>d</sup>IM-da, these divinities are clearly Teššup and Adda. In the Anatolian rituals, the logogram <sup>d</sup>U undoubtedly stands for Teššup. The logogram EN is conventionally rendered *bēlu*.



## LEGAL DECISIONS

### Introduction

The legal cases presented below represent disputes adjudicated by three different authorities: the DUMU.LUGAL, the LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA and Pilsu-Dagan, king of Emar. The questions that arise concern the relative competence of the three types of courts, and the place of these authorities within the Hittite judicial or administrative hierarchy.

The first question relates to the bearer of the title DUMU.LUGAL. Previous discussions centred on whether the DUMU.LUGAL was really the literal son of the king, usually assuming that the king in question was the reigning Great King of Hatti. Imparati (1987: 199), who stated that the DUMU.LUGAL was not literally the offspring of the king but rather a Hittite emissary who appears in texts from both Emar and Ugarit, has been followed by Bunnens (1989: 26–27) and Beckman (1992: 47). On the other hand, the title may indicate that the bearer is a scion of the royal family (Beal 1992: 413 no. 1550). The former view may be mixing social rank (member of the Hittite royal family) with social function (performing particular political or administrative tasks for the Hittite king, see Beckman 1992: 47). These “sons of the king” of the Hittite empire were also known by the title DUMU.LUGAL *ša KUR ḪATTI* in the texts from Emar. The individuals who bear this title form a distinct group which is also known from Hittite sources in the capital. On the other hand, certain persons bearing the title DUMU.LUGAL without the qualifier *ša KUR ḪATTI* are known to be actual sons of the king of Carchemish. The suggestion that the DUMU.LUGAL was not really the son of the king cannot be refuted in all cases, but three of the five DUMU.LUGAL for whom we have names can be identified as actual sons of the king of Carchemish, viz. Hišmi-Teššup (Arnaud 1986: 29ff., nos. 18–19, Tsukimoto 1990: 183 ff, text no. 3), who can be identified as the son of Šahurunuwa and brother of Ini-Teššup; Kunti-Teššup (Tsukimoto 1992a: 295, text no. 46, where the hieroglyphs of the seal only read KU-TI-TEŠSUB, but the pedigree is revealed by the cuneiform seal label), who can be identified as the son of Talmi-Teššup; and Tili-Šarruma (cf. Tsukimoto 1984), who appears to be the son of Ini-Teššup. Consequently, it is probable that the bearer of the title DUMU.LUGAL in text no.1 and similar texts is a member of the royal family of the king of Carchemish, and has little or nothing to do with the emissaries of the royal court to the provinces. This accords well with the many instances of the employment of the simple term LUGAL to refer to the ruler of Carchemish (Beckman 1995: 27).

The second title, LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA, has always been literally understood as the “Overseer of the Land”. The suggestion that the LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA and the DUMU.LUGAL could be the same official (Arnaud 1984: 182) can be disproved by two texts in which both of these officials appear as witnesses in the same court case, and in which they have different names (Tsukimoto 1992: 295, no. 46, where the DUMU.LUGAL is Kunti-Teššup and the LÚ.UGULA is Nahiya; and Arnaud 1986: 194, no. 181, where the DUMU.LUGAL is Tuwata-ziti and the LÚ.UGULA is Puhi-ŠEŠ, who also appears in Tsukimoto 1988: 157–158, text B with a certain Hišmi-Šarruma). For a discussion of

the function of this Hittite imperial travelling officer as responsible for the entire south-eastern region including the land of Aštata, see Bunnens 1989: 25–26; Beckman 1992: 47–48; 1995: 28–29. Evidence of his interference in internal Emar affairs is found in text no. 17 where he has freed certain individuals from prison. The reasons behind this action are not given.

This hierarchy is consonant with what we know about the administrative and political structure of the Hittite empire, which consisted of a central area of the homeland of Hatti, surrounded by states which were immediate tributaries. These latter states included appanage state of Carchemish, which was the vice-regal seat over all other tributary states of Syria. Unlike these latter states, the kingdom of Aštata (and hence Emar) was not recognized as a separate kingdom, but was rather viewed as a secondary province belonging to the dominion of Carchemish by the Hittite central government (Laroche 1980: 239).

The fact that Aštata was considered to be a province rather than a kingdom may be the reason why the term “king” rarely appears in connection with the king of Emar in legal documents, where he is usually only mentioned with his patronymic. The provincial status of Aštata also casts light on the hierarchy of the judges in the various cases: the highest authority would, after the Great King of course, be the king of Carchemish (cf. Arnaud 1986: 29, no. 18; 44, no. 31; 190, no. 177; 210ff., no. 201; and 213–214, no. 202), but the next highest authority was the DUMU.LUGAL, who (at least occasionally, and perhaps always) belonged to the royal family of Carchemish; next in authority would be the “Overseer of the Land”, i.e. the LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA (cf. text no. 17 of this volume), who was also appointed by the authorities in Carchemish (if not by the central Hittite government, although he is listed *after* the DUMU.LUGAL in the two cases where both appear, suggesting a lower status than that of the DUMU.LUGAL); and finally, the royal family of Emar as the lowest of these levels of authority. The only enigma is the reason behind the linkage between the LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA and the city elders rather than between the king of Emar and the city elders. The city elders were representatives of the community of free citizens and were the older civil authority, the descendants of the local government of the Old Babylonian period.

A survey of the types of cases overseen by these three types of courts reveals that the overwhelming majority of cases for which we have records were overseen by the royal family of Emar. These cases, however, are mostly real estate transactions, although there are at least two adoptions (Arnaud 1986: 251, no. 256 and text no. 3 in this volume) and two wills (Arnaud 1986: 193, no. 180; 196, no. 183).

Cases overseen by the DUMU.LUGAL alone are rare, but include a real estate transaction involving another city (Tsukimoto 1990: 183ff., no. 3), a will (Arnaud 1986: 195, no. 182) and a case of theft between cities (text no. 1). Cases overseen by the LÚ.UGULA alone include a real estate transaction (Arnaud 1986: 99ff., no. 90), a marriage contract (Tsukimoto 1992a: 292f., no. 44), debts (Arnaud 1986: 215ff., no. 205; 248f., no. 252; and Tsukimoto 1991: 300ff., text no. 36), and a dispute over *ilku*-service (text no. 2). He is also mentioned in an inventory (Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 289). The two cases where the LÚ.UGULA and the DUMU.LUGAL both occur (noted above) are wills.

**1. Legal Decision before Ku(wa)lana-ziti, the “Son of the King”**  
 C22 (74 × 99 × 32 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

**General Observations**

The clay of the tablet is reddish-brown and baked. When first seen, the lower right third of obverse was “repaired” with chocolate-brown, hard material that does not soften in water. This material appears to have widened the cracks in the original tablet slightly. Photos of the tablet before baking were published (Poetto 1982: Pls. 1–2).

**Summary**

In this case, the “son of the king” acts as judge. Tūra-Dagan claims that Ma’lau has misappropriated his sheep. The former is able to furnish witnesses of the men of Emar to substantiate his claim that he sent off the sheep, while the latter, unable to provide witnesses on his own behalf, agrees to pay for some of the sheep and to go into debt-slavery to work off the remainder. One might speculate on the basis of the text that Tūra-Dagan of the city of Emar consigned a flock of sheep into the care of Ma’lau, a semi-nomad, to be delivered to someone in the city of Uta who never received the sheep. Thus, there are three parties involved in the lawsuit.

**Text**

Obv. 1. *a-na pa-ni<sup>1</sup>Ku-la-na-LÚ DUMU.LUGAL*  
 2. *'Tu-ra-<sup>d</sup>KUR ù<sup>1</sup>Ma-<sup>2</sup>-la-ú DUMU Ka-bu-li ša ÉRIN.MEŠ NAM DINGIR-lì*  
 3. *a-na di-ni iš-ni-qu<sup>1</sup>GUR-<sup>d</sup>KUR a-kán-na iq-bi*  
 4. *ma-a<sup>1</sup>Ma-<sup>2</sup>-la-ú ša PA<sub>5</sub> a-hi ŠU.HA<sup>1</sup> ū<sup>1</sup> [ša?]<sup>1</sup> ÉRIN.MEŠ NAM DINGIR-lì*  
 5. *UDU.HI.A-ia i-ta-kal-mi<sup>1</sup> ū<sup>1</sup> Ma-[<sup>2</sup>-la-ú i]-ta-kir*  
 6. *ma-a UDU.HI.A-šu ú-ul a-[ta-kal-mi ...]*  
 7. *um-ma DUMU.LUGAL-ma ma-a L[Ú<sup>1</sup>.ši-bi LÚ.URU.E-mar ù URU.U-ta-a ú-bi-il]*  
 8. *ù<sup>1</sup>GUR-<sup>d</sup>KUR LÚ.ši-[bi ...]*  
 9. *ù DUMU.LUGAL a-kán-n[a iq-bi ma-a ...]*  
 10. *LÚ.MEŠ URU.E-mar a-na LÚ [URU.U-ta-a ...]*  
 11. *ma-a LÚ URU.U-ta-a [...]*  
 12. *ù<sup>1</sup>GUR-<sup>d</sup>KUR LÚ.ši-[bi ...]*  
 13. *ša (x?) + 30 UDU.HI.A ul-te-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[il ...]*  
 14. *LÚ URU.U-da-a ša-a-šú [...]*  
 Lo.E. 15. *ma-a LÚ.ši-bu-ú at-ta-mi x[...]*  
 16. *ma-a LÚ.ši-bu-ma<sup>2</sup> x 40 [UDU.HI.A .. a]-na-ku-mi [?]*  
 Rev. 17. *ù DUMU.LUGAL DI-šu-nu a-kán-n[a .. x-]x-ru*  
 18. *ma-a<sup>1</sup>(er.)<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> Ma-<sup>2</sup>-la-ú [DUMU Ka-bu-li]*  
 19. *ša ÉRIN.MEŠ NAM DINGIR-lì qa-du ÉRIN.MEŠ NA[M DINGIR-lì]*  
 20. *tu-um-mi-šu-nu-ti-mi ù<sup>1</sup>[...]*  
 21. *iš-tu NAM.ÉRIM it-t[a-mu-ú ...DI]-šu-nu*  
 22. *im-ta-hu-ru<sup>1</sup>Ma-<sup>2</sup>-la-ú [...]*

23. *a-kán-na iq-bi ma-a ú-ul [...]*
24. *ma-a 30 UDU.HI.A ú-šal-lam [...]*
25. *ù<sup>1</sup>Ma-[<sup>2</sup>-la]-ú ša ÉRIN.MEŠ [NAM DINGIR-lì ...]*
26. *ki-i-m[u-ú x x x] EGIR.X[...]*
27. *ki-<sup>2</sup>i<sup>3</sup>-[mu-ú x x x] <sup>4</sup>ù<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>U[...] i x*
28. *<sup>7</sup>ù<sup>8</sup> [...] <sup>9</sup>x<sup>10</sup> [...]*

Sealing: 3 identical impressions of an oval signet ring with a Hittite hieroglyphic legend:  
EXERCITUS-ZITI<sup>ZI</sup> INFANS+REX (see Appendix I)

### Translation

1. In the presence of Ku(wa)lana-ziti, the king's son,
- 2.-3. Tūra-Dagan and Ma'lau the son of Kabuli of the "people of the district of the god" came for judgement.
- 3.-5. Tūra-Dagan said thus: "Ma'lau of the canal 'Fisherman's Wharf' and [of?] the 'people of the district of the god' has misappropriated (lit. eaten) my sheep";
- 5.-6. and Ma[']lau denied (it declaring) as follows: "I did not [misappropriate] his sheep..."
7. The king's son declared: "[Let the men of Emar and the man of Uta bring witnesses/be brought!]"
8. and Tūra-Dagan [brought] the witnesses.
9. The king's son thu[s] stated "Let me hear your case".]
10. The men of the city of Emar [spoke] to the man of the ci[ty of Uta]
11. thus: "The man of the city of Uta [said that he did not receive any sheep??]
12. and Tūra-Dagan [brought] witness[es ...]
13. that he sent 40(+) head of sheep [...] of... I sent.
14. That man of the city of Uta [spoke to Tūra-Dagan]
15. thus: "You are a witness [that you sent the sheep]."
16. thus: "I am a witness [that I did not receive any] 40(+) [sheep...]."
17. and consequently the king's son [pronounced] their judgement,
18. thus: "Ma'lau [the son of Kabuli]
19. of the 'people of the district of the god' together with the people of the distric[t of ...]
20. Make them swear and [agree to their judgement!] "
21. When they had s[worn] the oath [and ...to] their [judgement]
22. they agreed. Ma'lau [will be responsible for the penalty of the judgement;]
23. he said thus: "[I can] not [pay the penalty in full],
24. thus: I will repay thirty head of sheep [...]
25. and M[a'lau] of the "people [of the district of the god"]..."
26. in lieu of [the remaining sheep as] ... [of ... he shall work].
27. and in place of [...] and Teššup(?) [...]
28. and [...]

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. The name Kuwalana-ziti appears in the text in cuneiform with the reading *'ku-la-na-LÚ*, and in the seal in Hittite hieroglyphic with the reading EXERCITUS-ZITI<sup>ZI</sup>. It was discussed by M. Poetto (1982). Beal (1992: 18, n. 65) notes that *kuwalana* seems to be the correct Luwian reading of the Sumerogram KARAŠ and thus it presumably must be also that of the hieroglyph EXERCITUS. Another reference to Ku(wa)lana-ziti occurs in Arnaud 1986: 222, no. 211:1; copy 1985: 81, where another legal deposition is made in the presence of [k]u!-la-na-[LÚ] the king's son, originally read Zulanna and identified with others of that name. For further information on this Hittite prince, see Appendix I.
2. The name Tūra-Dagan is written in two ways in this text. It is a very common Emariote name; one of his namesakes is mentioned in connection with sheep in Arnaud 1986: 307, no. 331.
3. The change of [s] to [š] in some lexemes, including *sanāqu*, is common in northern Peripheral Akkadian dialects (Izre'el and Singer 1990: 87–100). For other Emar examples, see Tsukimoto 1992a: 293, note to line 4 and discussion in Ikeda 1995: 40–41, 153.
4. Cf. PA<sub>5</sub> in Arnaud 1986: 220–221, no. 209:4, 5, 12–18: PN DUMU PN<sub>2</sub> (ša PA<sub>5</sub> PN<sub>3</sub>, translated: “fosse d’irrigation”. See also Sigrist 1982: 246 (republished in Beckman 1996a as RE 95).
10. The toponym Ut/da is not found in the Emar corpus. It does occur in Alalakh, see Wiseman 1953: no. 301:5, 6.
14. šāšu is used as a demonstrative accusative in Emar texts, cf. Arnaud 1987b: 224:9, 13.
17. The sign DI does not appear in the Emar corpus as a solitary logogram; it appears in (LÚ).DI.KU<sub>5</sub> “judge” and EN.DI.(KU<sub>5</sub>) “opponent at law”, see Beckman 1996a: xiii. However, it does appear in Ugarit, see Huehnergard 1989: 73. On the other hand, it can be taken as a syllabic writing of *dīn* + pronominal š, which shows the assimilation of the final *n* to the pronominal š.
- 20f. For oath-taking in the legal process, cf. Arnaud 1986: 37, no. 28:4–6; see also Durand 1989a: 179f.
22. The form *im-ta-ḥu-ru* appears to be an example of Assyrian vowel harmony.

### 2. Legal Decision Before the Overseer of the Land and the Collegium of Elders of the City of Emar HC 12 (54 × 64 × 31 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

The clay of the tablet is dark grey and underfired. The tablet was originally assembled from two fragments, using an adhesive substance of unknown composition which is of the same colour and covers part of the text. It has now been cleaned off.

## Summary

In this text, Mādī-Dagan was redeemed and adopted by Sīhu (4–7a). However, due to his new status as the son of Sīhu, Mādī-Dagan was required to perform the *ilku*-service (7b–8). He then filed suit with Ahī-malik, the Overseer of the Land (1–3). Ahī-malik cancelled the document of the adoption and made new documents for Sīhu (9–11a). As a result, Mādī-Dagan does not have to perform the *ilku*-service but must remain a servant of Sīhu, so that anyone can purchase him from Sīhu for double the amount Sīhu paid (11b–14).

This text raises various questions: Why does Mādī-Dagan want to avoid the *ilku*-service? Is it too arduous or dangerous? Is he only liable to such service as a freeman, the adopted son of the owner of the land? Did Sīhu buy Mādī-Dagan only for the purpose of having him perform the service in place of himself? What would make it preferable for Mādī-Dagan to revert to being a slave in order to avoid the service, when as an adopted son he would be in line for some inheritance? Beckman suggests that the change in status was not sought by Mādī-Dagan but was a punishment meted out by the Overseer of the Land to a troublemaker.

In the Old Babylonian period, the *ilku*-service consisted primarily in working the land held in tenure from a higher authority (CAD I 80) but in the peripheral areas the service seems to be incumbent on the person and not the land (Kienast, *RIA* 5 [1976] 58f.). A full study of the *ilku*-service is needed but see for present, M. Stol, “Old Babylonian Corvée (*tupšikkum*)”, in: T.P.J. van den Hout and J. de Roos (eds.), *Studio Historiae Ardens, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Amsterdam, 1995: 293–308.

Nevertheless, Beckman points out that RE 90 (probably from Tall Mubāqa) does indicate a connection with land tenure in at least some cases in Syria (personal communication). Furthermore, in the Hittite laws, it definitely involves land tenure, which is assigned by the palace to an *ILKU*-man who is then liable to prestations of *šahhan* (§ 40–41, see Imparati 1982: 226–231, 244–246, see also Diakonoff 1967: 324–326). However, it does seem to be a designation of an administrative grouping having similar bundles of right and duties (private communication, Richard Beal). Similarly, the *ilku*-duty is just one of various service obligations known in Emar. Military service can be found in Arnaud 1986: 26–30, nos. 17–18, see discussion by Durand 1989b: 36–37 sub no. 56 and Beckman 1997: 107 and note 87. It apparently was incumbent only on freemen (Yamada 1995: 306). The Hittite terms *šahhan* and *luzzi-* are found in text no. 32 (see discussion there). The term *ilku* appears sporadically in the Emar texts, so it is difficult to make any assumptions (Arnaud 1981: 1–2, note 2; Durand 1989a; Leemans 1988: 214, 221; Durand 1989a: 168; Zaccagnini 1992: 34). Two references concerning *ilku*-service in the Syrian area associate it with vineyards (Arnaud 1986: 7, no. 1 which Durand 1989a says is based on a misreading; Beckman 1996a: RE 90).

## Orthography and Language

The personal name Sīhu exhibits the peculiarity of being declined in this text.

**Text**

Obv. 1. *a-na pa-ni* LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA ù 「LÚ」.MEŠ.ŠU.GI  
 2. <sup>1</sup>*Ma-di-*<sup>d</sup>KUR DUMU <sup>MÍ</sup>*Al-um-me*  
 3. *it-ti*<sup>1</sup>*Si-i-hi* iš-「ni」-qu  
 4. <sup>1</sup>*Ma-di-*<sup>d</sup>KUR *a-kán-na iq-bi*  
 5. *ma-a* <sup>1</sup>*Si-i-hu* *a-na* 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ  
 6. *ip-ta-at-ra-ni-mi* *a-na* DUMU-ut-ti-šu  
 7. *i-tap-ša-ni-me* *ma-a i-na-an-na*  
 8. *a-na il-ki* iš-ša-ab-tu-nin-ni-mi  
 9. ù LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA *tup-pa* ša-na-ti  
 10. ša <sup>1</sup>*Ma-di-*<sup>d</sup>KUR *a-na* <sup>1</sup>*Si-i-hi* *i-pu-uš tup-pa* ša DUMU-ti-šu  
 11. *ih-ta-pí šum-ma* *i-na* EGIR *u₄-mi*  
 12. *ma-am-ma i-pa-qa-ar-šú*  
 Lo.E. 13. 60 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ *a-na* <sup>1</sup>*Si-i-hi*  
 14. ॥LÁ-ma *l[i]l-qè-šú*

Rev. 15. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*A-hi-ma-lik*  
 Signet ring impression 1 (twice) - Hittite hieroglyphic legend: *la-hí*  
 (see Appendix I)  
 16. LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA  
 17. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1d</sup>*30-a-bi*  
 Signet ring impression 2 (twice) - Hittite hieroglyphic legend: *sà-ka+ra-pu*  
 VIR (see Appendix I)  
 18. DUMU <sup>d</sup>KUR-*ta-ri*-「」  
 19. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*EN-ma-lik*  
 Signet ring impression 3 - Hittite hieroglyphic legend: *pa-á-li-ma-li*,  
 3 × BONUS VIR (see Appendix I)  
 20. DUMU <sup>1</sup>[*Sa-al]-mi*  
 Up.E. 21. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*A-bi-lal-li*  
 Signet ring impression 4 - Hittite hieroglyphic legend: *à-pi-la-lu*  
 (see Appendix I)  
 22. DUMU *Ka-pí*

**Translation**

<sup>1-3</sup>Mādī-Dagan, son of Al-umme, came with Sīhu into the presence of the Overseer of the Land and the elders. <sup>4</sup>Mādī-Dagan said as follows: <sup>5-7a</sup>“Sīhu redeemed me for thirty shekels of silver (and) adopted me as his son. <sup>7b-8</sup>(But) now they have seized me for the *ilku*-service”.

<sup>9-11a</sup>Then the Overseer of the Land made out other tablets concerning Mādī-Dagan [for] Sīhu. He has broken the tablet of his adoption. <sup>11b-13</sup>If someone in the future shall lay claim to him, let him pay sixty shekels of silver to Sīhu, and let him [t]ake him [i.e. Mādī-Dagan].

15. Seal of Ahī-mali[k],  
 16. the Overseer of the Land;

17. Seal of Šaggar-abī,
18. son of Dagan-tāri ‘;
19. Seal of Bēlu-mali[k],
20. son of [Şal]mi;
21. Seal of Abī-lalī,
22. son of Kāpī.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For the collegium of city elders, probably the equivalent of the *tahtamum* of the Old Babylonian period, see Durand 1990a: 56–57; also known in the Hittite homeland, see Klengel 1965 and Diakonoff 1967: 359 (references from G. Beckman).
2. On the use of matronymics in place of patronymics, see Arnaud 1980: 257.
5. Thirty shekels is approximately the normal price of a slave in the Middle Bronze period, see Powell 1990: 94. Emar prices have the following range: 45 shekels for a woman’s grandson (Arnaud 1986: 14, no. 7), 35 for a slavegirl sold by her owner (Arnaud 1986: 227, no. 214), 42 shekels for a woman and her daughter (Arnaud 1986: 125, no. 118), 120 shekels for a man, his wife and five children (Arnaud 1986: 222, no. 211). It may be that these references are to debt slavery when parents sell children to work off debt and thus are not sale prices. Another redemption for 30 shekels as in our text occurs in Arnaud 1986: 234, no. 221. Apparently, 30 shekels of silver represent the standard amount of Late Bronze Age Syrian ransoms, see Zaccagnini 1996: 92, note 12. See also the discussion in Arnaud 1981: 3ff., who states that the price for a free person is also 30 shekels (*wergeld*?).
6. The doubling of the “t” in DUMU-*ut-ti-šu* is an Assyrianism.
8. For the use of 3 masc. pl. for the passive, see Izre’el 1991: § 3.8.1, Ikeda 1995: 126–127.
9. The form of *tup-pa* is masc. sg. accusative formally (although it can be fem. or masc.) while *ša-na-ti* is fem. pl. oblique. According to Ikeda 1995: 93, singular forms in core Akkadian occur in plural contexts in the Emar corpus.
13. The use of “sixty shekels” instead of “one mina” is noteworthy. For a discussion of the metrology at Emar, see Introduction, p. xiv. The term “mina” does not always appear where it might be expected in other Emar texts: e.g., 100 shekels in Arnaud 1986: 228, no. 215:3. The sum of 120 shekels for a man, his wife and five children (Arnaud 1986: 222, no. 211) is written just as 120 KÙ.BABBAR without any indication of denomination. Monetary sums occur up to one thousand shekels. For sixty shekels as a penalty fee for breaking an adoption, see Beckman 1996a: RE 87. Penalties were also double the amount of the normative values (Arnaud 1981: 4). This seems to reflect the legal system of double indemnity.
15. Ahī-malik uses Laheya’s seal, as can be seen from the Hittite hieroglyphic legend on the seal, although he is known as a son of Ea-damiq and has his own seal (see Tsukimoto 1991: 300ff., no. 36). This suggests that Ahī-malik succeeded to the position of Laheya (son of Mutri-Teššup) and that text no. 2 belongs to the early days of his career, see discussion in Singer 1995.
17. The reading of the PN as Šaggar-abī is supported by the hieroglyphic legend of seal impression 2: *sà-ka+ra-á-pu*. The same person also appears with his seal in Arnaud 1991: 53, no. 21:15 (seal 21e, reading on p. 214).

19. For the reading of the third seal impression see Arnaud 1991: 67, no. 33:29 (with Ahī-malik LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA in l. 23f.) and 53, no. 21:16 (with <sup>d</sup>30-a-bi DUMU <sup>d</sup>KUR-tāri in l. 15). The seal of no. 21, line 16 is on p. 11\* (21d) and its reading is on p. 212 of that work.

**3. Legal Decision before Pilsu-Dagan, King of Emar**  
C23 (83 × 54 × 27 mm., Syrian type)

**General Observations**

The clay of the tablet is blackish on the obverse, whereas the reverse and edges are buff. It has been well baked.

**Summary**

Pilsu-Dagan was king of Emar in the mid-thirteenth century, a contemporary of Ini-Teššup of Carchemish and Tudhaliya IV of Hatti.

The case concerns a woman and her four daughters whose second husband took his stepson to court after he had misappropriated the girls' dowries or has refused to give them the portion of the bridewealth ("indirect dowry") which was customarily bestowed upon the bride by the head of her household (see Beckman 1996b: 68–70). Since no husband of these girls are mentioned, the case most probably concerns their dowries. The new husband then proceeds to adopt his stepdaughters as his "sons" so that they can become his "male" heirs, and gives them the responsibility of caring for his family gods and dead ancestors so that the real property continues in the "patrilineage". This is one of six texts from Emar designating a female heir and exhorting her to invoke the gods and the dead of the testator.

This legal case was not only tried before the king of Emar, but also witnessed by members of the royal family. There is no obvious reason why this case was so important. This tablet and the next one bear impressions of the dynastic seal of Emar depicting the city gods.

**Orthography and Language**

The palaeography shows a few unusual features. There is an extra vertical after certain signs, such as NÍG l. 9.

This text displays certain morphological peculiarities. Regarding the pronouns, the third feminine singular genitive suffix on nouns is replaced by the third masculine -šu (l. 29) and on a preposition is rendered -ši (l. 31). Throughout this text (i.e. lines 9, 10, 22, 24 and 26) the masculine plural -šunu is used as the feminine plural pronominal suffix, whether accusative (l. 22) or genitive (lines 9, 10, 24 and 26). This phenomenon also occurs in a text published by Huehnergard (1983: 20, no. 3:6). As expected, the prefix of the third feminine singular verb has the *t*-prefix.

This text exhibits Assyrianisms: the accusative verbal suffix appears in the Assyrian rather than the Babylonian form.

## Text

Obv. 1. *a-na pa-ni<sup>1</sup> Píl-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-GAL  
 2. <sup>1</sup>*La-ah-te-ia* DUMU *Ia-ah-sí-<sup>d</sup>KUR*  
 3. *ù<sup>1</sup>Šad-de<sub>4</sub>* DUMU *Hu-la-ú*  
 4. *i-na di-ni<sub>7</sub> iš-ni-qú-ma*  
 5. *ù tup-pa ša la ra-ga<sub>14</sub>-mi*  
 6. *i-na bi-ri-šu-nu iš-tur*  
 7. *a-nu-um-ma* 4 DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-ši  
 8. *ša* <sup>MÍd</sup>IM-da-na-ah-mi  
 9. *ù KÙ.BABBAR-pa x NÌ.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ.MEŠ-šu-nu*  
 10. <sup>1</sup>*Šad-de<sub>4</sub>* ŠEŠ-šu-nu *i-ku-ul*  
 11. *ur-ra-am še-ra-am*  
 12. <sup>1</sup>*Šad-de<sub>4</sub>* DUMU *Hu-la-ú*  
 13. *aš-šum* 4 NIN.NI.A.MEŠ-šu  
 14. UGU *La-ah-te-ia*  
 15. *ú-ul i-ra-gu<sub>5</sub>-um*  
 16. *ša i-ra-gu-um*  
 Lo.E. 17. 2 *me-at* KÙ.BABBAR *šár-pu*  
 18. *a-na* É.GAL  
 19. Ì.LÁ.E.MEŠ  
 Rev. 20. <sup>1</sup>*La-ah-te-ia*  
 21. 4 DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-šu  
 22. *i-na MÍ-ti u NITA aš-ku-un-šu-nu*  
 23. DINGIR.MEŠ *u me-te ša<sup>1</sup>La-*<ah>*-te-ia*  
 24. *a-bi-šu-nu lu-na-ab-bu*  
 25. *a-nu-um-ma* 4 DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-ia  
 26. <sup>1</sup>*La-ah-te-ia a-ba-šu-nu*  
 27. *ù* <sup>IMÍd</sup>IM-na-ah-mi  
 28. AMA-šu-nu *li-it-ta-na-bal*  
 29. *ša a-ba-šu u AMA-šu*  
 30. *ú-ul it-ta-na-bal*  
 31. MÍ(wr. over er.).SAG.GÉME *ma-li-ši lu-ú ti-din<sup>1</sup>*  
 32. *ù LÚ.MEŠ.AH.HI.A*  
 33. *ša* DUMU.MEŠ *Al-a-hi*  
 34. UGU É-ti-ia *mi-im-mu-ia*  
 35. *ú-ul i-ša-ni-qú*  
 36. IGI *Píl-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*  
 37. DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-GAL  
 38. IGI *A-hi-ma-lik* ŠEŠ-šu  
 Le.E. 39. IGI Ú-ka-li DUMU *Tu-ra-<sup>d</sup>KUR*  
 40. IGI *Ni-qa-la* DUMU *Aš-da-a-hi*  
 41. IGI *Ri-bi-ia* DUMU *Ki'(DI)-ri-<sup>d</sup>KUR*  
 42. IGI *EN-ma-lik* LÚ.DUB.SAR  
 Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression of the anepigraphic dynastic seal of Emar.

## Translation

<sup>1-6</sup> Lahteya, son of Yahsi-Dagan, and Šadde, son of Hulā'u, came for judgement into the presence of Pilsu-Dagan son of Ba‘al-kabar, and he has written a tablet of no claim between them. <sup>7-10</sup> Now, concerning the four daughters of Adda-na‘mī and the money of their dowry, Šadde, their brother, has squandered it. <sup>11-15</sup> In the future, Šadde son of Hulā'u may not file claim against Lahteya in regard to his four sisters. <sup>16-19</sup> Whoever shall contest the decision shall pay 200 (shekels) of refined silver to the palace. <sup>20-22</sup> Lahteya gave the status of a female and a male to his four daughters. <sup>23-24</sup> May they invoke the gods and dead (ancestor)s of Lahteya, their father. <sup>25-28</sup> Now, as for my four daughters, let them support Lahteya, their father, and Adda-na‘mī, their mother. <sup>29-31</sup> She who shall not support her father and her mother must give a maid in her stead. <sup>32-35</sup> And the “brothers” of the sons of Al-ahī may not institute proceedings against my house (and) my property.

- 36. Witness: Pilsu-Dagan,
- 37. son of Ba‘al-kabar;
- 38. Witness: Ahī-malik, his brother;
- 39. Witness: Ukāli, son of Tūra-Dagan;
- 40. Witness: Niqala son of Ašda-ahī;
- 41. Witness: Rībiya son of Kirri-Dagan;
- 42. Witness: Bēlu-malik, the scribe.

## Philological and Textual Notes

- 2. For a discussion of the palaeography of the sign AH, see Wilcke 1992. There is one sign with different variants used by the local Emariote scribes whereas the Hittite or Carchemish scribes distinguish AH and ՚, as can be seen in the Syro-Hittite style tablets. Because of the system of patronymics in which the child is named after the grandfather, there is a good possibility that this person is the same as that of Arnaud 1986: 100, no. 90:23, written *Ia-ah-šu-<sup>d</sup>KUR DUMU<sup>1</sup>La-ad-<sup>d</sup>KUR*.
- 4. The form *išniqu* is discussed above (text no. 1:3).
- 5. The use of *-ga<sub>14</sub>-* (KA) here is an unusual feature.
- 7. In this line, as well as in line 31, the suffix used is the (normally accusative) *-ši* instead of the expected genitive *-ša*.
- 9. Since the logogram NÌ.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ (*terhatu*) is employed to express both “bride-wealth” and “dowry” (Beckman 1996b: 69), it is uncertain as to which meaning is appropriate in the present context. Further references can be found in nos. 13:5, 14 and 16:3. The expected reading of the unknown sign designated x should be *ša* since the form *kaspa* is not in the construct state but rather the declined accusative case, and *terhatu* does not occur in apposition in Emari texts but in genitive constructions as *nomen rectum* after *ša*.
- 13. The Sumerian logogram NIN.NI.A stands for NIN.A.NI.
- 15. Note the use of *-gu<sub>5</sub>-* in this line, while the following line uses *-gu-* in the very same word.
- 20-24. Similar phrases occur in Huehnergard 1983: 13ff., no. 1:6-8 and no. 2:11-12;

Beckman 1996a: RE 23:16–17, and Arnaud 1986: 197, no. 185:2–3. For a revision of the reading of the last reference, see Durand 1989b: 86; Fleming 1993b: 177. For an interpretation of the term *mētū* in connection with the verb *nabū*, see also Fleming 1993b: 177–178. He suggests that the *mētū* were either the spirits of the dead or personal protective spirits. On the other hand, van der Toorn (1994: 47) suggests that the expression “the gods and the dead” should be taken as a hendiadys construction and that “the gods” of the Emar inheritance texts refer in fact to the ancestors. See recent discussions by Pitard 1996 and Schmidt 1996. For a discussion of daughters adopted as sons at Nuzi and Emar, cf. Grosz 1987: 81ff. and Beckman 1996b: 60. The “daughters” here, however, must actually be stepdaughters if Šadde is their full brother; this is confirmed by the fact that it is Šadde rather than Lahteya who controls their dowries.

- 24. For the verb *nubbū* “to invoke,” see the discussions by Durand 1989b: 88, Fleming 1993b: 177–178, van der Toorn 1994: 46, Pitard 1996: 128, n. 16 and Schmidt 1996: 152.
- 22, 25, 34. This tablet was apparently dictated by Lahteya. This is probably the cause of the switch to the first person in these three lines. Cf. Durand (1990a: 55 with n. 108).
- 31. For this formula, cf. Arnaud 1986: 216, no. 205:20–23 (2 ZI.MEŠ *ma-la* PN), 232, no. 217:7–8 (10 ZI.MEŠ *ma-lu-uš-šu-nu*) and also 188, no. 176:20–21 (SAG.GEME *pu-ha-ša*).
- 32. For “brothers” as a social institution, see Arnaud 1981: 7 with n. 4; Bunnens 1989: 30–32; Tsukimoto 1990: 178, text no 1:22; Wilcke 1992, and Bellotto 1995. The term “brothers” is treated in the texts both syllabically and as a pseudo-logogram for “brother”, cf. Ikeda 1995: 45, 49, 56.
- 36–39. For the witnesses of this tablet, cf. Beckman 1996a: RE 21:21–25.

## REAL ESTATE TRANSACTIONS

### Introduction

The following texts record transfers of real property among private citizens, both within and without the extended family. For a discussion of real estate transactions at Emar, see Beckman, 1997. For an assessment of chronometry and metrology at Emar, see the introduction to this volume.

#### 4. Purchase of a House

C 15 (77 × 45 × 25 mm., classical Old Babylonian type)

### General Observations

The clay of this well-baked tablet is orange.

### Summary

This house sale was accompanied not only by a legal contract but also by ritual actions of breaking bread and anointing a table. These ritual actions were a local example of the ceremonial feast concluding legal transactions known from third and second millennia texts: in the earliest real estate monuments (Gelb *et al.* 1991: 243–244), once in Ur III (Steinkeller 1989: 143–144), the *šakkanakku* period and Old Babylonian Mari (Durand 1984: 79–89, J.G. Westenholz 1984: 310), the late second millennium texts from Tall Münbāqa / Ekalte (Mayer 1990: 54–57, T21; Mayer 1992) and from Emar itself (see Arnaud 1986: 31f., no. 20; 114–117, nos. 109, 110, 111; 139f., no. 130; 184f., no. 171; 1987b: 217f., no. 4; see Zaccagnini 1992 and Beckman 1996a: 35 note to lines 19–21) as well as from biblical sources (J.G. Westenholz 1984: 310). In Emar, these ritual actions are related to the institution of the fraternal clan, whose theoretical collective ownership of the land is associated with the receipt of the token shekel (Arnaud 1981). The consanguines are differentiated from the ‘stranger’ (*nikāru* l. 28').

This text is unusual in that it contains a date, rare in the Emar texts. This tablet is dated in the month of Ba‘al of Aleppo in the year of the eponym Ḥinna-Ba‘al. Six out of seven contracts with concluding rituals are dated (Zaccagnini 1992: 37). Further, it is explicitly noted that the silver is weighed according to the standard of Emar. Apparently, each city had its own weight standards, cf. Tall Münbāqa (Mayer 1990: 51–54).

### Orthography and Language

This text shows West Semiticisms in lines 10 and 14, where *mahir* is a *pa‘il* passive. Other irregularities are the form *paššuš* in line 12 where *pašiš* would be expected, and the form *nadinu* in line 13, where one would expect the plural form, *nadnu*.

## Text

Obv. 1. ˘É ˘ma-la m[a-sú-ú]  
 2. ša Mu-uh-*ra* ib<sup>1?</sup>-*n*[u?]  
 3. KI Ir-am-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ˘ù[Ir-i-bu]  
 4. DUMU.MEŠ Ad-da DUMU Mu-˘uh-˘ra[...]  
 5. // be-lí É-ti  
 6. <sup>1</sup>l-lí-ia-mu-ut DUMU [L]i<sup>?</sup>-im-Da  
     Seal impressions 7-8  
 7. a-na 2/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šár-pu  
 8. // NA<sub>4</sub> URU.E-mar.KI  
 9. a-na ši-im ga-me-er i-ša-am  
 10. KÙ.BABBAR ma-hi-ir ŠA-ba-šu-nu t̄a-ab  
 11. NINDA.hu-ug-gu-um ˘ka-˘sí-ip  
 12. GIŠ.BANŠUR ˘.GIŠ pa-aš-˘šu?<sup>7</sup>-uš  
 13. ku-ub-bu-ru ša É-ti na-di-˘nu<sup>7</sup>  
 14. 1 GÍN <KÙ>.BABBAR.MEŠ ah-hu ma-hi-ir  
 15. ša ur-ra-am še-ra-am  
 16. ša É-ta<sub>5</sub> i-ba-qa-ru  
 17. 1 li-im KÙ.BABBAR a-na <sup>d</sup>NIN.˘URTA<sup>7</sup>  
 Lo.E. 18. ˘ 1 li-im KÙ.BABBAR [?]  
 19. a-na É.GAL ˘LÁ.E

Cylinder seal impression 1 (anepigraphic)

20. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>7</sup> Ad-[da x x]  
 Rev. 21. IGI Ik-ki-di DUMU Ba-as<sup>7</sup>-ši  
 22. IGI Aš-da-˘a[-hi DUMU Pi˘]-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da  
 23. IGI Hu-˘un-˘n[a DUMU]U ˘A-˘hi-<sup>d</sup>Da-g[an]  
 24. IGI Zu-ba-[x x x]-be ˘DUMU<sup>7</sup>[...]  
 25. IGI Ha-ma-d[i DUMU Z]u-ri  
 26. IGI [...] x  
     (gap of ca. 3 lines)  
 27'. IG[I ...]  
 28'. IG[I ...] ˘ta<sup>7</sup>? [...]  
 29'. [IGI x x] da<sup>7</sup> [x DUMU Z]i-im-ri  
 30'. ˘NA<sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup>.˘LÚ<sup>7</sup> x x x [...] ni-ka-ri  
 31'. // [ ] x-x-zi

Cylinder seal impression 2 (largely destroyed)

32'. ITI <sup>d</sup>Ba-<sup>7</sup>-lu<sub>4</sub>-ha-˘l[a-ab]  
 33'. MU Hi-in-˘na-<sup>d</sup>IM<sup>7</sup> [?]

Up.E. 34'. [N]A<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>A-la-a[l-a-bu...]

Cylinder seal impression 3 (anepigraphic)

Le.E. Fringe impression  
 35'. TÚG.SÍG  
 36'. Ir-am-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
 37'. ˘ Ir-i-bu  
 38'. DUMU.MEŠ Ad-da

Cylinder seal impression 4 (anepigraphic)

39'. [N]A<sub>4</sub> *Ik-ki*

40'. // -*di*

Seal impression 5 (largely destroyed)

41'. NA<sub>4</sub> *Zu-an-na*

42'. DUMU *A-ḥu-*

43'. // -*ṭa-ab*

Cylinder seal impression 6 (anepigraphic)

### Translation

<sup>1-9</sup>The house which Muḥra built(?), as far as it extends, Ilī-yamūt, son of Lim-Da, bought for 2/3 mina of refined silver by Emar weight, the full price, from Ir'ām-Dagan and Ir'ibū, the sons of Adda, son of Muḥra [...], the owner of the house. <sup>10-14</sup>The silver has been received, they are satisfied; the *ḥuggu*-bread has been broken; the table has been anointed with oil; the extra payment of the house has been paid; 1 shekel of silver has been received by each of the brothers. <sup>15-19</sup>Whoever in the future shall lay claim on the house, will pay 1000 (shekels of) silver to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and 1000 (shekels of) silver to the palace.

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- 20. Seal of Ad[da...];
- 21. Witness: Ikkidi, son of Baṣṣi;
- 22. Witness: Ašda[-ahī, son of Pil]su-Da(gan);
- 23. Witness: Ḫunna son of Ahī-Dag[an];
- 24. Witness: Zū-Ba-[..]be, son of [...];
- 25. Witness: Ḫamadi, son of Zuri ;
- 26. Witness: [...].:;
- (gap)
- 27'. Witn[ess: ...].:;
- 28'. Witn[ess: ...].:;
- 29'. Witness: [...]Da-[gan(?), son of Zi]mri;
- 30'. Witness: [...] stranger;
- 31'. [...].
- 32'. Month of Ba'āl of Aleppo,
- 33'. Year of Ḫinna-Ba'āl.
- 34'. Seal of Ala[1-abu];
- 35'. Fringe (impression) of
- 36'. Ir'ām-Dagan
- 37'. and Ir'ibū,
- 38'. sons of Add[a];
- 39'.-40'. Seal of Ikkidi;
- 41'. Seal of Zū-Anna,
- 42'.-43'. son of Ahū-ṭāb.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For *mala mašû*, see Beckman 1988: 65, n. 10.
2. The reading of this line was suggested by G. Beckman.
3. For the restoration *Ir-i-bu*, cf. 1. 35'.
11. For an etymology and interpretation of the term written *huggu/hungu/hukku*, see Mayer 1992: 270.
12. *paššuš*, which occurs here rather oddly instead of the common *pa-ši-iš*, may be the Assyrian D stative. For other Assyrian D forms in Emar texts, see *qaddušu* (Arnaud 1986: 326–327, no. 369:6, 22, NIN.DINGIR installation, and other rituals) and *gallubu* (Arnaud 1986: 326–327, no. 369:7, 39 NIN.DINGIR installation) and *malluku* (Arnaud 1986: 327, no. 369:22, 29, NIN.DINGIR installation; 338–339, no. 370:20, 41, *maš'artu* installation), references courtesy of D. Fleming. Note, however, other consonantal doublings in similar environments in this document.
13. For this interpretation of *ku-ub-bu-ru*, see Scurlock 1993.
20. This line, which interrupts the text and the list of witnesses, was apparently added after the text was completed, since seal impressions were usually appended after the list of witnesses was written.
21. For *Ikki-di* the son of *Başşı*, see Arnaud 1991: 41, no. 14:3–4.
22. For *aš-da-* transliterate, perhaps, with Arnaud, *às-da-* (cf. Arnaud 1986: 14, no. 7:1 and *passim*). Cf., however, Durand 1989a: 171. This onomastic element appears in other personal names in these texts, see Index s.v.
- 30'. On the position of strangers, see Tsukimoto 1990: 200, Arnaud 1991: 16, Zaccagnini 1992: 36, Fleming 1996: 104–105, Beckman 1996b: 60. See also text no. 12:4.
- 32'. Cf. ITI *Ba<sup>2</sup>-ah-lu<sup>2</sup>? Ha-la-ab<sup>1</sup>* (Arnaud 1991: 43, no. 15:20) as well as Arnaud 1986: 427, no. 448:20–21, 1991: 143, no. 87:36, Beckman 1996a: RE 71:35, refs. courtesy of D. Fleming; see also Fleming 1996: 108, note 85. For a comprehensive overview of the calendrical system, see D. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, forthcoming.
- 33'. For other local year eponyms, see e.g., Beckman 1996a: RE 89:27, RE 91: 36, cf. Tsukimoto 1990: 183, note to lines 16' and 17'.
- 35'. On the use of the hem of a garment for sealing, see Renger 1977: 77. For a discussion of the seal, see Appendix II.

### 5. Purchase of a House

C16 (88 × 63 × 36 mm., Syrian type)

#### General Observations

The obverse of the tablet was black with additional black incrustations before treatment. The reverse and the edges are buff.

#### Summary

In the following text members of the royal family are selling off a house, a vineyard and another building, as well as a sizeable plot of land measuring some 30 hectares. The

buyer Puašata, the son of Šadī-Dagan, is a new addition to the collateral branch of the royal family; he is the first cousin of Elli, the last ruling king of Emar.

Two separate transactions are described in this document and it is sealed with the dynastic seal.

### Orthography and Language

The idiosyncrasies of the scribal hand of Iš-Dagan are evident in this text and the following tablets. First, there is a lack of consistency between the more common forms of the signs and his own peculiar forms, which alternate freely. The most outstanding of these are the TAR (see text no. 5:5) and the QA signs (see text nos. 5:38, 6:17, 7:9,) which are almost identical in form. In addition, he has a tendency to add verticals at the ends of signs such as ZU and URTA.

### Text

Obv. 1. É-tu<sub>4</sub> ma-la ma-sú-[ú]  
 2. 24 i-na am-ma-ti GÍD.[DA-šu]  
 3. 12 i-na am-ma-ti ru-up-šu  
 4. ZAG-šu <sup>1</sup>I-zi-zi-li  
 5. GÙB-šu SILA<sup>1</sup>.DAGAL.LA  
 6. EGIR-šu <sup>1</sup>I-ku-na-ni?  
 7. pa-nu-šu SILA.DAGAL.LA  
 8. GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN i-na ra-qa-ti ša DUMU Ia-ah-hi-DINGIR  
 9. 1 IKU GÍD.DA-ši  
 10. 1 IKU ru-up-šu  
 11. ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA DUMU.MEŠ Na-ar-pa-a  
 12. ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA [ x x ] -x  
 13. SAG.KI 1.KAM.MA <sup>1</sup>[x x x]-a  
 14. SAG.KI 2<sup>1</sup>(1).KAM.MA <sup>1</sup>[x x x]-ud  
 15. É-ti GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠ[TIN]  
 16. ša <sup>1</sup>Pił-sú-<sup>d</sup>D[a-gan DUMU] <sup>d</sup>IM.GAL  
 17. KI <sup>1</sup>Pił-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
 Lo.E. 18. be-lu-ú É-ti  
 19. ù GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN  
 20. <sup>1</sup>Pu-a-ša-ta  
 Rev. 21. DUMU Ša-dì-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
 22. a-na 70 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 23. ŠÁM.TIL.LA  
 24. É tu-gu<sub>5</sub>-rù i-na KÁ TÚL-<sup>i</sup> [?]  
 25. 5 (BÙR) A.ŠÀ.HI.A  
 26. i-di URU.Bi-in-a-ti  
 27. ša <sup>1</sup>I-túr-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
 28. DUMU Aṣ-síl-la  
 29. KI <sup>1</sup>I-túr-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan DUMU Aṣ-síl-la  
 30. be-lu-ú É tu-gu<sub>5</sub>-ri

31. *ù A.ŠÀ.HI.A*
32. *<sup>1</sup>Pu-a-ša-ta DUMU Ša-dì-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*
33. *a-na 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR sár-pí*
34. *id-din-ši*
35. *ša ur-ra-am še-ra-am*
36. *É-tì GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN*
37. *É tu-gu<sub>5</sub>-rù A.ŠÀ.HI.A*
38. *i-ba-qa-rù*
39. *2 li-im KÙ.BABBAR a-na [É].[GAL Ì.LÁ].E.ME[Š]*
- Le.E. 40. *IGI Píl-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-GAL*
41. *IGI El-li DUMU-šu*
42. *IGI Iš-šur-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ŠEŠ-šu*
43. *IGI Ša-dì-<sup>d</sup>KUR ŠEŠ-šu*
44. *IGI Iš-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan LÚ.DUB.SAR*
45. *šum-ma tup-pu i-la ù he-pí*

Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression of the anepigraphic dynastic seal of Emar.

### Translation

<sup>1-14</sup>The house (property), as far as it extends, its length is 24 cubits, its width is 12 cubits, its right (border) is (the property of) Izizili, its left (border) is Broad Street, its rear (border) is (the property of) Ikūnanni, its front (border) is Broad Street; (and) the vineyard on the low-lying meadow belonging to Yahhi-ilu, its length is one iku, its width is one iku, its upper border is (the property of) the sons of Narpa, its lower border is ..., its first edge is (the property of) ...., its second edge is ...

<sup>15-23</sup>Puašata, the son of Šadī-Dagan, <bought> the house property and the vineyard belonging to Pilsu-Dagan the son of Ba‘al-kabar, for 70 shekels of silver as the full price from Pilsu-Dagan, <the son of Ba‘al-kabar>, the owner of the house property and the vineyard.

<sup>24-34</sup>Puašata, the son of Šadī-Dagan, sold it from Itūr-Dagan, the son of Aṣṣilla, a *tugguru*-building in the Gate of the Well (and) five bur of field plot (located) beside the city of Bin‘ati belonging to Itūr-Dagan, the son of Aṣṣilla, for 30 shekels of refined silver.

<sup>35-39</sup>Whoever in the future shall lay claim on the house property, the vineyard, the *tugguru*-building or the field plots, shall pay (a fine of) 2000 (shekels of) silver to the palace.

40. Witness: Pilsu-Dagan, the son of Ba‘al-kabar;
41. Witness: Elli, his son;
42. Witness: Issur-Dagan, his brother;
43. Witness: Šadī-Dagan, his brother;
44. Witness: Iš-Dagan, the scribe.

<sup>45</sup> If (in the future) another tablet will be presented, then break it!

## Philological and Textual Notes

8. For the term *raqqatu* “low-lying meadow”, see Arnaud 1986: 158, no. 146:1 “laisses”; Durand 1990a: 62 “prairie fluviale”; Mayer 1992: 269 ad l. 11 “Uferwiese, -streifen” and Beckman 1996a: 3, note to line 4 “rupestrian meadow”. It is likely that the same *raqqatu* is mentioned as belonging to the son of Yahhi-ilu in Arnaud 1986: 158, no. 146:1 and Arnaud 1992: 199, no. 3:2.

24. For the term in this line written É *tu-gu<sub>5</sub>-rù*, note the following variant writings by the same scribe: É-*tu<sub>4</sub>* *tu-ug-gu-rù* (no. 7:8); É *tu-ug-gu-ri* (no. 7:13); É-*tu<sub>4</sub>* [t]u-*<ug-gu-ri/u>* (no. 7:18); È *tu-ku-rù* (no. 7:25). Arnaud (1991: 12) suggests a root of \**wgr* for the word *tu-(ug)-gu-ru* and translates it as “maison à étage”. Another suggestion for this lexeme was offered by Lipiński (1992: 42), who suggests that the writing might be understood as a sandhi writing for *bītu ukurru* / *agurru* “maison de brique (cuite)”. For parallels, cf. Arnaud 1986: 91, no. 82:1, 8 (É *tu-gu-ra*); 120–121, no. 115:1, 11 (É *tu-gu-ru/a*); 147, no. 138:26, 37 (É *tu<sub>4</sub>-gu?-ra?*); 156–157, no. 144:1, 8, 13, 15, 23 (É *tu-ug-gu<sub>8</sub>-rù*); 204, no. 192:6' (É *tu-gu-r[ù]*); 237, no. 225:14 ([É-*ta t]u-gu-ri*) and 250, no. 253:29 ([É *t]u-ug-gu<sub>8</sub>-rù*]). Note the following:

1. Quite often *t*-houses are sold together with fields or vineyards (Arnaud 1986: nos. 82, 115, 138 and 225, see above).
2. In Arnaud 1986: 120, no. 115 a *t*-house is sold with its well, and in 156–157, no. 144 with its foundation.
- 3) Only once is the size specified: 28 *i-na am-ma-ti ru-up-šu* / 20 *i-na am-ma-ti* / *a-na ZAG-šu* / 25 *i-na am-ma-ti GÙB-šu* / 20 *i-na am-ma-ti ru-up-šu* (Arnaud 1986: 147, no. 138:27–31).
4. The prices range from 10 to 500 (Arnaud 1986: 91, no. 82 = 10; 120–121, no. 115 = 20; 147, no. 138 = 20; 156–157, no. 144 = 500; 237, no. 225 = [1]15). Note that the price with the foundation is supposed to be higher. If the price in no. 225 is just 15 instead of 115, the *t*-house would range from 10–20, which is very inexpensive in comparison to normal “houses”.

26. The town of Bin’ati is also mentioned in Beckman 1996a RE 86:24.

34. Note the verb *nadānu* “to sell” seems out of place in this context, where the verb *šāmu* “to buy” would be expected. There is no clear antecedent of the pronominal direct object suffix on the verb, since there is more than one item in the transaction.

42.–43. Šadī-Dagan is actually the brother of Pilsu-Dagan, so probably the Iṣṣur-Dagan mentioned here is also the brother of Pilsu-Dagan rather than being the brother of Elli of the same name (see family tree in Beckman 1996a: xii).

**6. Purchase of a House**  
C17 (93.5 × 64 × 27.5 mm., Syrian type)

**Summary**

This text deals with the privatization of temple and communal land. This text is later than no. 5; it dates from the reign of Elli, son of Pilsu-Dagan. It is witnessed by Elli, his son, his brothers and two first cousins.

**Text**

Obv. 1. É-*tu*<sub>4</sub> *ma-la ma-šú-ú ša* DUMU.MEŠ DINGIR-*lì-ka-aš-ri*  
 2. 26 *i-na am-ma-ti* GÍD.DA-*šu*  
 3. 13 *i-na am-[m]a-ti ru-up-šu*  
 4. ZAG-*šu* <sup>1</sup>[*Ri*]-*bi-ia* DUMU <sup>1</sup>*Hu?*-*ra?*-*ši*  
 5. GÙB-*šu* <sup>1</sup>[*A*]*b?*-*du*<sup>2</sup>*D[a-gan]* x x (x)-*šu*  
 6. EGIR-*šu* <sup>1</sup>*A-hi-ha-mi-*<sup>1</sup>*iš* [DUMU] *Ka-aš-[ka]*  
 7. *pa-nu-šu* DAGAL.SILA.LA  
 8. É-*tu*<sub>4</sub> *š[a]* <sup>2</sup>N[I]N.URTA<sup>1</sup>  
 9. ù LÚ.MEŠ.š[i-bu-ut] URU.E-mar.KI]  
 10. KI <sup>2</sup>NIN.URTA ù LÚ.š[*i-bu-ut* URU.E-mar.KI]  
 11. *be-lu-ú* É-*tì* <sup>1</sup>*Ib-...*  
 12. *a-na* 1 *me-at* KÙ.BABBAR *sár-pu*  
 13. ŠÁM.TILLA  
 14. É-*tì* *i-ša-am*  
 15. KÙ.BABBAR *maḥ-rù* ŠÀ-*bu-šu* *tà-a-ab*  
 Lo.E. 16. *ša ur-ra-am* *še-ra-am*  
 17. É-*tì* *i-<ba>-qa!*-*rù*  
 18. 1 *li-im* KÙ.BABBAR  
 Rev. 19. *a-na* <sup>2</sup>NIN.URTA  
 20. 1 *li-im* KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* URU.KI  
 21. Ì.LÁ.E.MEŠ  
 22. *šum!*-*ma* <sup>1</sup>*ṭup*-*pu* *ša-nu-ma*  
 23. *i-l[a(-a)]* ù *hi*]-*pi*  
 24. IGI *E[l-li* DUMU *Pil-sú-*<sup>2</sup>*KUR*]  
 25. IGI [<sup>2</sup>IM-GAL DUMU]-*šu*  
 26. IGI *I[a-sí-*<sup>2</sup>*KUR* ŠEŠ]-*šu* (over er.)  
 27. IGI *Zu-[zu]* <sup>1</sup>*ŠEŠ*-[*šu*]-*ma*  
 28. IGI *Zu-*<sup>1</sup>*e*-*ia*  
 29. DUMU *A-hi-ma-lik*  
 30. IGI *Ib-ni-*<sup>2</sup>*KUR*  
 31. // : ŠEŠ-*šu*  
 32. IGI *Iš-*<sup>2</sup>*KUR* LÚ.DUB.SAR

Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression 1 of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA seal with cuneiform legend (see Appendix II):

*ra-ap-ša [da-di]  
DUMU <sup>d</sup>Da-gan  
LUGAL da-ad[-mu]  
[ka]-ši-id za-wa-ni*

Le.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression 2 of the anepigraphic dynastic seal of Emar.

### Translation

<sup>1-7</sup> The house of Ilī-kašrī's sons as far as it extends: its length is 26 cubits; its width is 13 cubits; its right (border) is (the property of) Rībiya son of Ḫurāšu; its left (border) is (the property of) [A]bdu-Dagan, his ...; its rear (border) is (the property of) Ahī-ḥamis son of Kaška; its front (border) is Broad Street. <sup>8-9</sup> The house was [the property of <sup>d</sup>NI]N.URTA and the [elders of Emar.] <sup>10-14</sup> From <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and the[ elders of Emar,] the owners of the house, Ib[..., son of ...], has bought the house for 100 (shekels) of refin[ed] silver, the complete price. <sup>15</sup> The silver was received (and) he was satisfied. <sup>16-21</sup> Whoever claims the house in the future shall pay 1000 (shekels) of silver to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, 1000 (shekels) of silver to the city.

<sup>22-23</sup> If another tablet sho[ws up, then brea]k (it).

- 24. Witness: El[li, son of Pilsu-Dagan];
- 25. Witness: [Ba 'al-kabar], his [son];
- 26. Witness: Ya[si-Dagan], his [brother];
- 27. Witness: Zū[zu, his] <sup>1</sup>brother<sup>2</sup> also;
- 28. Witness: Zū-E[ya],
- 29. son of Ahī-malik;
- 30.-31. Witness: Ibni-Dagan, his brother;
- 32. Witness: Iš-Dagan, the scribe.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For the opening formula, cf. Arnaud 1986: 153, no. 141:1. For the name Ilī-kašru, cf. Arnaud 1986: 163, no. 148:10.
4. For Rībiya son of Ḫurāšu, see Beckman 1996a: RE 9:6. Note the name Ḫurāšu is spelled Hu-ra-si in text no. 12:12.
7. DAGAL.SILA.LA is an incorrect version of SILA.DAGAL.LA.
- 24-26. For the restoration of the list of witnesses, cf. Arnaud 1986: 110, no. 97:18-25'; 153, no. 141:25-34; 155, no. 142:20-28; Arnaud 1991: 37-38, no. 11:29-39; 39, no. 12:19-26; 104, no. 59:21-33; 107, no. 62:27-36; 135, no. 82:26-33; and text nos. 7 and 11 of the current volume.
- 28-31. For references to these two brothers, cf. Beckman 1996a: 15 note to lls. 48f.
31. The indented continuation of the previous line is indicated on the tablet by two Winkelhaken.

**7. Purchase of a House**  
C18 (96.5 × 66.5 × 31.5 mm., Syrian type)

**General Observations**

Orange tablet with black stains on obverse; well-baked tablet.

**Summary**

This tablet records the purchase of a house, another structure, a piazza near a gate and a vineyard by an otherwise unknown member of the extended royal family of Emar. His genealogy is given in detail – the full three generations are listed: <sup>1d</sup>IM-ma-lik DUMU *Is-sur*-<sup>d</sup>KUR DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-GAL LUGAL-ri. The document is witnessed by his cousin (the present king Elli) and other members of the royal family including Elli's son. Thus, the four generations represented in the Emar archives appear in this text. Further, it must be one of the latest texts from Emar because it contains the name of the son of Elli. As might be anticipated, it is sealed with the royal seal depicting the gods of Emar.

**Text**

Obv.	1. É- <i>tu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>ma-la ma-sú-ú</i> 2. 24 <i>i-na am-ma-ti</i> GÍD.DA- <i>šu</i> 3. 16 <i>i-na am-ma-<i>&lt;ti</i></i> <i>ru-up-šu</i> 4. ZAG- <i>šu</i> DUMU.MEŠ <i>Ha-na-nu</i> 5. GÙB- <i>šu</i> DUMU.MEŠ <i>Ha-an-na-nu-ma</i> 6. EGIR- <i>šu</i> <sup>d</sup> EN-li- <i>mì</i> DUMU <i>At-tu-wa</i> 7. <i>pa-nu-šu hu-hi-in-nu</i> 8. É- <i>tu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>tu-ug-gu-rù</i> 9. <i>qa</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>du</i> <sup>1!</sup> ? KI.KÁ ù A.ŠÀ.MEŠ 10. <i>i-na KÁ-bi</i> URU. <i>Ia-aš-šu-ni</i> 11. <i>ša</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Ka-pí</i> DUMU <i>Le-e-da</i> 12. KI <sup>1</sup> <i>Ka-pí</i> DUMU <i>Le-e-da</i> 13. <i>be-lu-ú</i> É- <i>tì</i> ù É <i>tu-ug-gu-ri</i> 14. ù KI.KÁ ù A.ŠÀ.MEŠ 15. <sup>1d</sup> IM-ma-lik DUMU <i>Is-sur</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR DUMU <sup>d</sup> IM-GAL LUGAL-ri
Lo.E.	16. <i>a-na</i> 2 <i>me-at</i> KÙ.BABBAR <i>sár-pa</i> 17. ŠÁM.TILL.A 18. É- <i>tì</i> ù É- <i>tu</i> <sub>4</sub> <i>tu</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>&lt;-ug-gu-rù</i>
Rev.	19. ù KI.KÁ ù A.ŠÀ.MEŠ 20. <i>i-ša-am</i> 21. KÙ.BABBAR <i>mah-rù</i> 22. ŠÀ- <i>bu-šu-nu</i> DU <sub>10</sub> .GA 23. <i>ša ur-ra-am</i> 24. <i>še</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>ra-am</i> É- <i>tì</i> 25. ù É <i>tu-gu</i> <sub>5</sub> - <i>rù</i> ù KI.KÁ 26. A.ŠÀ.MEŠ <i>i-ba-qa</i> <sup>1</sup> - <i>rù</i>

27. 2 *li-im* KÙ.BABBAR  
 28. *a-na* É.GAL  
 29. Ì.LÁ.E.MEŠ  
 30. IGI<sup>1</sup>*El-li* DUMU *Píl-sú*<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 31. IGI<sup>1d</sup>IM-GAL DUMU-ŠU  
 32. IGI<sup>1</sup>*Ia-si*(wr. IA)-<sup>d</sup>KUR ŠEŠ-ŠU  
 33. IGI *Zu-zu* ŠEŠ-ŠU-MA  
 Le.E. 34. IGI *Iš*<sup>d</sup>KUR LÚ.DUB.SAR  
 Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression of the anepigraphic dynastic seal of Emar.

### Translation

<sup>1-3d</sup>A house (property) as far as it extends, its length (being) 24 cubits, its width (being) 16 cubits. <sup>4-7</sup>Its right (border) is (the property of) the children of Hannanu; its left (border) is (the property of) the children of Hannanu, as well; its rear (border) is (the property of) Bēlu-līmī, son of Attuwa; (and) its front (border) is the *huhinnu*; <sup>8-11</sup>(and also) the *tugguru*-building with its gate-place and fields inside the gate of the city of Yaššuni are (the property) of Kāpi, son of Leeda. <sup>12-14</sup>From Kāpi, son of Leeda, owner of the house, and the *tugguru*-building with its gate-place and fields, <sup>15-20</sup>Ba ‘al-malik, son of Issur-Dagan, son of Ba ‘al-kabar, the king, bought the house and the *tugguru*-building with its gate-place and fields for 200 shekels of refined silver, its full price. <sup>21-22</sup>They received the silver (and) they were satisfied. <sup>23-29</sup>Whoever shall lay claim to the house, the *tugguru*-building, gate-place and the fields in the future shall pay 2000 shekels of silver to the palace.

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30. Witness: Elli son of Pilsu-Dagan;  
 31. Witness: Ba ‘al-kabar, his son;  
 32. Witness: Yasi-Dagan his brother;  
 33. Witness: Zūzu his brother;  
 34. Witness: Iš-Dagan, scribe.

### Philological and Textual Notes

6. The PN written EN-*li-mi* can be interpreted as either Bēl(u)-līmī or Bēlī-mi. For the PN *Bēl-līmī*, cf. <sup>1</sup>EN-*li-mi* DUMU *Daq-qa* (Arnaud 1986: 15, no. 8:21; 17, no. 9:20), <sup>1</sup>EN-*li-mi* DUMU *Abdu-Da* (Beckman 1996a: RE 20:10, 11), <sup>1</sup>EN-*li-mi* DUMU SIMUG.X (Beckman 1996a: RE 80:3'), <sup>1</sup>EN-*li-mi* (Huehnergard 1983: 13, no. 1:11) and <sup>1</sup>EN-*li-ME* / DUMU É-*lī-a* (Meyer and Wilhelm 1983: 249, lls. 24–25). Meyer and Wilhelm suggest an interpretation of “the lord is my family”, cf. *līmu* C “family, clan” (CAD L 198a). Another etymology was offered by Arnaud (1991b: 35): “\*l’m «[être] nombreux» du sémitique commun, à l’exclusion de l’akkadien”. The second reading yields an interpretation of the name as Bēlī-mi, parallel to the name Idrī-mi in which the -mi is used as an emphatic suffix in place of the normal Akkadian -ma. For the PN Attuwa, cf. [Ú]S.SA.DU KI.TA DUMU.MEŠ *At-tu-wa* (Arnaud 1986: 8, no. 2:14).
7. For *huhinnu* translated by Arnaud as “paved ramp”, see discussions by Tsukimoto 1990: 188, note 22 and Beckman 1996a: 6 note to line 8.

8. For *tugguru*, see discussion sub text no. 5, line 24.
9. KI.KÁ, see Beckman 1988: 65, no. 2:10.
15. The scribe wrote first DUMU *ṣur* and then erased *ṣur* and wrote *iṣ-ṣur* – the initial Winkelhaken of *ṣur* is still visible on the tablet. The royal scion Ba‘al-malik is probably identical to the Ba‘al-malik son of Isšur-Dagan in Arnaud 1992: 198, no. 2:27.
29. The separation line before the witnesses appears above this line rather than on midline.
32. Comparing the witnesses of this tablet with those found in Arnaud 1986: 155, no. 142:20–22 (IGI *El-li* DUMU *Pīl-su<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* / IGI *Ia-ṣi<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* ŠEŠ-šu / IGI *Zu-zu* ŠEŠ-šu), there is no doubt that *Ia-ia<sup>d</sup>KUR* is a scribal error for *Ia-ṣi<sup>d</sup>KUR*.

### 8. Purchase of a Sown(?) Garden

C20 (67.5 × 87.5 × 28 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

This tablet is orange-coloured and well-baked, with patches of white accretions.

#### Summary

This text records the purchase of a field by the son of the diviner Zū-Ba‘la, and is sealed by other cultic functionaries. For a discussion of the position of the diviner in Emar, see text no. 32. The clergy may have functioned as a semi-autonomous body within the city. All six seal impressions have Akkadian labels; four of them are provided with “Hittite” hieroglyphic inscriptions and one has both a Hittite cuneiform legend and a “Hittite” hieroglyphic legend.

#### Text

Obv. 1. GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN *i-na pa-ni* KÁ.GAL <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA  
 2. 15 GI.MEŠ *ša* IKU GÍD.DA-*ši*  
 3. 14 GI.MEŠ *ša* IKU *ru-up-ši*  
 4. ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA <sup>1</sup>*Zu-e-ia* DUMU *A-hi-ma-lik*  
 5. ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA KASKAL-*nu* *ša* <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.<sup>1</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>  
 6. SAG 1.KAM *ha-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>* *ša pa-ni* KÁ <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA  
 7. SAG 2.KAM <sup>1</sup>*Iṣ-ṣur<sup>d</sup>KUR* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN  
 8. *an-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>* *ša* <sup>1</sup>*Iz-ri-ia* *ù* <sup>1</sup>*Aš-da-hi* DUMU.MEŠ *Ni-qa-la*  
 9. *iš-tu le-et* <sup>1</sup>*Iz-ri-*<ia** *ù* <sup>1</sup>*Aš-da-hi*  
 10. <sup>1d</sup>IM-UR.SAG DUMU *Zu-ba-la* DUMU HAL  
 11. *a-na* 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ŠÀM.TIL.LA  
 12. *iš-am ur-ra-am še-ra-am*  
 13. *ma-an-nu-me-e* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN *ša-a-ši*  
 Lo.E. 14. *i-pa-qar* 1 *li-im* KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ  
 15. *li-din-ma* *lil-qè-ši*

Transliterations and Translations

Rev. 16.	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> <i>Ia-šur</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> <i>Ha-an-na</i> ŠEŠ.GAL //: ŠEŠ.MEŠ
	Cylinder seal impression 1 (anepigraphic)	Cylinder seal impression 2 (anepigraphic)
17.	DUMU <i>Mil-ki</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR	DUMU <i>Ta-i</i> DUMU <i>Ga-a</i>
18.	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> <i>A-bi-ka-pi</i>	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> EN-GAL <i>za-bi-ju</i> // <i>ša</i> <sup>d</sup> IM
	Seal impression 3 (anepigraphic)	Seal impression 4 hieroglyphic legend (see Appendix I)
19.	DUMU DINGIR- <i>lì-a-bi</i> DUMU <i>Mil-ki</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR	
20.	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> <i>Zu-ba-la</i> Cylinder seal impression 5 cuneiform legend: <sup>1</sup> <i>Zu-b[al-a]</i>	NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>1</sup> GUR- <sup>d</sup> KUR Cylinder seal impression 6 hieroglyphic legend: (see Appendix I)
	hieroglyphic legend: (See Appendix I)	
21.	DUMU <i>Ka-a-zi</i>	「DUMU」 <i>Ia-ad-da</i>
Up.E. 22.	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>Na-a-ni</i> DUMU <i>Ad-di-ia</i>	
	23. IGI <sup>1</sup> EN-GAL DUMU <i>Ha-ia</i>	
	24. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>Da-a-du</i> DUMU <i>Ra-šap-DINGIR-lì</i>	
	25. IGI <sup>1</sup> IR-DINGIR- <i>lì</i> DUMU <i>Ha-an-na</i>	
Le.E. 26.	IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>Hi-ma-ši</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR DUMU <sup>d</sup> KUR-NIR	
	27. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>El-li</i> DUMU <i>Mar-ia-ni</i>	
	28. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>A-bi-ia</i> ŠEŠ-ŠÚ	
	29. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>Am-za-hi</i> DUMU <i>Ra-šap-DINGIR-lì</i>	
	30. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>Ip-hur</i> - <sup>d</sup> KUR DUMU <i>Pa-du-ti</i>	
	31. IGI <sup>1</sup> <i>El-li</i> DUMU GUR- <sup>d</sup> KUR	

**Translation**

<sup>1</sup>A sown(?) garden in front of the great gate of Ninkurra. <sup>2-3</sup>Its length is 15 reeds of *ikū*-system; its width is 14 reeds of *ikū*-system. <sup>4-7a</sup>The upper border is (the property of) Zū-Eya, son of Ahī-malik; the lower border is Ninkurr[a] street; the first border is the (drainage) canal which is (situated) in front of the gate of Ninkurra; the second border is (the property of) Issur-Dagan.

<sup>7b-8d</sup>This sown(?) garden was (the property) of Izrīya and Ašda-ahī, sons of Niqala. <sup>9-12a</sup>Ba ‘al-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba ‘la, son of the diviner, bought (it) from Izrīy<a> and Ašda-ahī for 30 shekels of silver, the full price. <sup>12b-15</sup>Whoever lays claim in the future to this sown(?) garden will pay 1000 (shekels of) silver, so that he may take it.

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16f. Seal: Yašur-Dagan, son of Milki-Dagan. Seal: Ḥanna, eldest of the brothers, son of Tai, son of Ga(y)a;  
18f. Seal: Abī-kāpī, son of Ilī-abī, son of Milki-Dagan. Seal: Bēlu-kabar, the ritual slaughterer of the weather god;  
20f. Seal: Zū-Ba ‘la, son of Kāzi; Seal: Tūra-Dagan, son of Yadda;

22. Witness: Nāni, son of Addiya;
23. Witness: Bēlu-kabar, son of Ḥaya;
24. Witness: Dādu, son of Rašap-ilī;
25. Witness: Abdi-ilī, son of Ḥanna;
26. Witness: Ḥimāši-Dagan, son of Dagan-matkalī;
27. Witness: Elli, son of Marianni;
28. Witness: Abiya, his brother;
29. Witness: Amzahi, son of Rašap-ilī;
30. Witness: Iphur-Dagan, son of Padūti;
31. Witness: Elli, son of Tūra-Dagan.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. Though well attested in the Emar texts (e.g., *passim* in Arnaud 1986: 143, no. 137:[1], 6, 8, 10, 12, 19; 151, no. 140:1, 10, 12, 14, 17; 167, no. 151:1', 5', 9', 12'; 181, no. 168:4', 7', 8', 13'; 210, no. 201:17; 218, no. 206:[1], 9, 12, 17), the exact meaning of GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN (lit. “garden (of) seed”), which Arnaud renders simply as “verger”, is not clear. This may be understood as “vegetable garden” as opposed to “vineyard” GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN (see CAD Z 93 [s.v. *zēru* mng. 2b, esp. 1'] for A.ŠĀ.NUMUN, “arable land”, in Elam). Cf. also A.ŠĀ *ze-ri* in Arnaud 1986: 91, no. 82: 3, 9.
- 1, 5, 6. For the goddess Ninkurra, see Fleming 1992a: 73f., 252f. He suggests that she is an old earth goddess associated with the chief god of the pantheon found in north Syria along the Euphrates river, Dagan /<sup>d</sup>KUR. This street is mentioned in Beckman 1996a: RE 68:7.
2. For a discussion of the reed in the *ikū*-system, see the Introduction to this volume, pp. xiii–xiv.
6. *harītu* (attested once in YOS 7, 162: 7 [NB]) must be a variant of *hirītu*, “ditch, canal, moat” (e.g., Arnaud 1986: 115, no. 110:10); see CAD H 104a (s.v. *harītu*), 198–199a (s.v. *hirītu* A); AHW: 348a (s.v. *hirītu(m)* I).
- 7b–15. These phrases are different from the normal formulae in the Emar texts: e.g., Arnaud 1986: 151, no. 140:10–19 (on GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN). As for ll. 7b–12a, parallel formulae are found in Arnaud 1986: 219, no. 207:9–13, 22–27, as well as 218, no. 206:9–14a (*leqū* instead of *šāmu*); in both of which the same “Ba ‘lu-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba ‘la, diviner” (206:12f., 207:12, 25f.), buys real estate. Note further that a seal of Ini-Teššup is impressed on Arnaud 1986: 220, no. 207. Does this suggest that these atypical formulae originated in Carchemish?
18. The West Semitic profession of *zābiḥu* derives from the root *zbḥ* and therefore appears to refer to a priest who performs the ritual slaughter of animals, cf. Tsukimoto 1992b: 311, l.13. The Akkadian term is *tābiḥu*.
20. The reading of the PN as Tūra-Dagan is supported by the hieroglyphic legend of seal impression 6: *Tu+ra-tā-ga*. Cf. also the PN in l. 31.

**9. Purchase of a Vineyard**  
C21 (71 x 49 x 28 mm., Syrian type)

**General Observations**

This tablet is orange-coloured and well-baked with greyish, grainy accretions.

**Summary**

This document records a forced sale during the period of hostilities in which Rašap-abu buys a vineyard from Iphur-Dagan in the outskirts of Rabbān. These identical persons are to be found in Arnaud 1991: 22–24, nos. 1, 2 and 37–38, no. 11. In these texts, Iphur-Dagan purchases real estate properties from <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and the elders of the city of Emar in the area of Rabbān. The city of Rabbān was closely connected to the royal family of Emar and is said to be their ancestral home (Fleming 1992b: 64). Rašap-abu was a witness to the other transactions but here he appears as the buyer of the vineyard.

**Orthography and Language**

Line 22 contains grammatical peculiarities of both singular and plural verb forms for the same subject.

**Text**

Obv. 1. GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *qa-du ši-ik-re-ši.HI.A*  
2. *i-na URU.Ra-ab-bá-a-an.KI*  
3. *ḪA.LA-šu qa-du ma'-la pu-r[a]-ia*  
4. *ša Ip-hur-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-EN*  
5. *ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA Ab-da*  
6. *// DUMU Še-i-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*  
7. *ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA*  
8. *<sup>1</sup>Na-ah-mi-ša-la-mu ŠEŠ-šu*  
9. *SAG.KI 1.KAM <sup>d</sup>GIŘ-a-bu*  
10. *// LÚ? MÁ.LAH<sub>4</sub>*  
11. *SAG.KI 2.KAM Ab-ša (sic)*  
12. *DUMU <sup>d</sup>A-la-al-a-bu*  
13. *GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN*  
14. *ša Ip-hur-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*  
Lo.E. 15. *DUMU <sup>d</sup>IM-EN*  
16. *KI Ip-hur-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*  
Rev. 17. *be-lu-ú GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN*  
18. *<sup>1d</sup>GIŘ-a-bu DUMU A-bi-ka-pí*  
19. *a-na 1 me-at KÙ.BABBAR-pu a-na dan-nu-ti*  
20. *ŠÁM.TIL.LA*  
21. *GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN i-ša-am*  
22. *KÙ.BABBAR-pa mah-rì ŠÀ-šu ḫà-a-ab*

23. *ša ur-ra-*<am>* še-ra-am*  
 24. *GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN i-ba-qa-rù*  
 25. *2 li-im KÙ.BABBAR a-na URU.KI*  
 26. *Ì.LÁ.E*  
 27. *IGI A-hi-ma-lik DUMU Na-ah-mi-ša-la-mu*  
 28. *IGI A-hi-ba-šar DUMU I-sí-qa-tar*  
 29. *IGI Im-lik-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*  
 30. *DUMU Id-di-id-<sup>d</sup>UTU*  
 31. *IGI Ma-qa-ra*  
 Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression 1 (anepigraphic)  
 Le.E. 32. *PÚ ša ŠEŠ.HI.A ti-ba-áš-*<ši>*(???)*  
 33. *KÚR.KÚR EN ma-am-ma-an a-na ŠÀ-bi*  
 34. *GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub><.GEŠTIN> ú-ul i-ra-aš-ší*  
 Sealing: Cylinder seal impression 2 (anepigraphic)

### Translation

<sup>1-4</sup> A vineyard with its sluice-gates in the city of Rabbān is a share of Iphur-Dagan, son of Ba‘al-bēlu, together with whatever (falls to) my(?) lot. <sup>5-12</sup> On the upper border is (property of) Abda, son of Šeš-i-Dagan; on the lower border is (property of) Na‘mī-šalamu, his brother; on the first side is (property of) Rašap-abu, a sailor; the second side is (property of) Abša, son of Alal-abu. <sup>13-15</sup> The vineyard was (the property) of Iphur-Dagan, son of Ba‘al-bēlu. <sup>16-21</sup> Rašap-abu, son of Abī-kāpī, bought the vineyard from Iphur-Dagan, son of Ba‘al-bēlu, for 100 (shekels) of silver, under (conditions of) hardship, for the complete price. <sup>22</sup> They have received the silver. They are satisfied. <sup>23-26</sup> Whoever lays claim to the vineyard in the future will pay 2000 (shekels) of silver to the city.

27. Witness: Ahī-malik, son of Na‘mī-šalamu;  
 28. Witness: Ahī-Bašar, son of Iši-qatar(?);  
 29. Witness: Imlik-Dagan,  
 30. son of Iddid-Šamaš;  
 31. Witness: Maqara.  
<sup>32-34</sup> The well belongs(??) to the brothers. No stranger or other owner has rights in the vineyard.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. The writing of *šikru* instead of *sikru* demonstrates a sibilant shift already encountered above with *šanāqu/sanāqu* (e.g. text no. 1:3 and no. 2:3).
2. For the city Rabbān, see Tsukimoto 1990: 210, 1992b: 311, 1.2; Arnaud 1991: 23, no. 2:1; 37, no. 11:[8]; 92, no. 51:2; 136, no. 83: 12, 16; Beckman 1996a: RE 2:1. For its location and connection with the kings of Emar, see Fleming 1992b: 64.
- 3-4. -šu on line 3 anticipates *ša Ip-hur-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* on the next line. This text apparently has a unique formulation. The usual formula is: *HA.LA-šu ša PN ŠEŠ-šu itti ŠEŠ-šu*

...*ikaššassu*, variant Arnaud 1986: 193, no. 180:4–7: ḪA.LA.ḪI.A-šu ša URU u ša A.ŠA.ḪI.A-šu *mala itti* LÚ.MEŠ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ia *ikaššadu ana* PN DUMU-ia *addinaššu*. For the *qadu*-phrase, cf. *kīmē mala pūra išu* Sigrist 1982: 243, line 11. For *pūru* “lot” in reference to real estate plots in MA, see for instance: (PN gave to PN<sub>2</sub> a field) *ina ugār* GN *ina pūri ša* PN<sub>3</sub> KAJ 154:5f.

16. This is the same Iphur-Dagan who appears in Arnaud 1991: 22–24, nos. 1 and 2.

19. Forced property sales during the period of hostilities and hardship can be found in Arnaud 1986: 31, no. 20:14 ([*ana* M]U-tu<sub>4</sub> KALA *nu-kúr-ti*); 147, no. 138:24 (*ana* MU.KALA.GA); 174, no. 158:14 (MU.KALA.GA); Arnaud 1987b: 221, no. 6:15 (*ana* *dan-na-ti* *nu-kúr-ti*); Arnaud 1991: 102, no. 57:18 and 103, no. 58:15 (*ana* *dan-na-ti*); Beckman 1996a: RE 31:21 (*ina* *nu-ku-ur-ti* *ina* MU.KAM KALA.GA); RE 35:13 (*ina* MU.ḪI.A *nu-kur-ti* KALA.GA); Tsukimoto 1990: 208, no. 16:14 (*ina* *dan-na-ti* *nu-kúr-ti*). Under these circumstances, people were also forced to sell off family members, see Arnaud 1987b: 231, no. 12:3 and see discussion by C. Zaccagnini, “War and Famine at Emar”, *Or.* 64 (1995) 92–109. On the other hand, many loans were contracted during this period, see Arnaud 1986: 127, no. 120:1. The writing of the abstract *dannatu* singular is the common form; the *dannūti* in our text is paralleled by Arnaud 1986: 92, no. 83:3 ([*ana* N]AM.KALA-*ut-ti*) in which a slave is sold. Another possibility is to read KALA KÚR-*ti*. For the confusion of the prepositions *ana* and *ina* at Emar, see Moran 1988.

32ff. For postscripts appearing in tablets written during the wars, see Arnaud 1986: 116, no. 111.

32. For wells mentioned in connection with vineyards, see GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN ... *qa-du* PÚ ša *la pitē* Tsukimoto 1990: 208, no. 16:1–3; cf. É-*tu-gu-ru* *qa-du* PÚ-ši x x x Arnaud 1986: 120, no. 115:1. The phonetic value of Áš is said not to be attested in Emar. Nevertheless it is attested in text no. 21:17 in the word áš-šu-*ra-ia-tu*, in which áš replaces aš in the parallel text no. 20:7: *aš-šu-ra-ia-tu*.

34. The value ší is attested in Emar (e.g. *pa-ší-iš* Arnaud 1986: 184, no. 171:16).

## 10. Purchase of a Plot of Land

HC19 (fragment 55 × 47 × 19 mm., Syrian type)

### General Observations

Fragment of a tablet with two recognizable edges preserved – the upper edge and the left edge.

### Orthography and Language

The pronominal referents to KI.*er-setu* occur in both masculine and feminine, cf. Arnaud 1986: 82, no. 76:1.

### Text

Obv. 1. KI.*er-se-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ma-[la...]*  
2. 26 *i-na am-ma-ti* G[ÍD.DA-ši...]

3. 15 *i-na am-ma-ti ru[-up-ši...]*
4. *ḪAG<sup>1</sup>-šu É-tu<sub>4</sub> ša <sup>d</sup>Za-[...DUMU]*
5. *// It-ti-ni [...]*
6. *[GÙB-šu] KI.er-še-tu<sub>4</sub> [...]*
7. *// Da-gán-zi DAM [...]*
8. *[EGIR-šu] Ir-am-mu [...]*
9. *[pa-nu-šu] hu-hi-nu [...]*
10. *[ ] É-tu<sub>4</sub> [...]*

Lo.E. 11. *[ ]x DUMU Ha-lu-ú [*

12. *[ ]x <sup>d</sup>N[IN.URTA...]*

Rev. 1'. [...Da]-gan  
[...] nu(?)

Le.E. 3'. ITI.Š[a/D[a ...]

Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression of the <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA seal (see Appendix II)

### Translation

Obv. 1. A plot of land as [far as it extends...]  
 2. 26 cubits are its length,  
 3. 15 cubits are its width,  
 4. Its right (boundary) is the house of Za[..., son of]  
 5. Ittini  
 6. [Its left (boundary)] is the plot of groun[d (belonging to)...]  
 7. [...] Dagan-zi, wife of [...]  
 8. [Its rear (boundary)] is that of Ir'ammu [...]  
 9. [Its front right (boundary)] is the paved ramp [...]  
 10. [Its front left (boundary)] is the building [...]  
 11. [...] son of Halû [...]  
 12. [The lot belongs to] <sup>d</sup>NIN.[URTA].

Rev. 1'. [...Da]-gan  
2'. [...] nu(?)

Le.E. 3'. Month of ...

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. There are two interpretations of the writing KI-ER-ŠE-TU: KI.*eršetu*, “a plot of land”, and *kiršitu*, “a type of building”. For the most recent discussion and references to previous treatments, see Beckman 1996a: 6, note to line 1 and add references: Seminara 1995 (reference courtesy of G. Beckman) and Lipiński 1992: 42 where he suggests “maison en pisé” from *karāšu* “to pinch off (clay)”. The reading of the signs can be definitively made on the basis of the non-administrative texts. In the *Sagesse syrienne*, the same writing KI-ER-ŠE-TU occurs for *eršetu* “netherworld”, indicating

a scribal use of the KI as a determinative in this word. Another possibility is that neither interpretation is correct and that the term relates to the type of ownership rather than the type of property. It may be significant that one third of this type of property is said to belong to the god <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA. Thus, it might refer to common land that has been confiscated at some time by the palace (cf. e.g., Arnaud 1986: 15, no. 8; Tsukimoto 1990: 183, text no. 3) and then parcelled off to retainers and members of the royal family.

5. For Ittini as a personal name, see Arnaud 1991: 83, no. 44:20.
9. For the term *huhinnu*, see discussion of text no. 7:7.
- 3'. The first sign seems to be definitely an ITI but there is no known Emar month name beginning with ša- or da-, see M.E. Cohen 1993: 343–346 and Fleming, *Time at Emar*, forthcoming.

## 11. Purchase of a Property

HC13 (72 × 63 × 33 mm., Syrian type)

### General Observations

Crumbling, greyish tablet, almost unbaked. The scribe has spaced out his writing poorly; the lines from the obverse continue around the reverse and thus make it difficult to read the reverse.

### Summary

This is a sale of property involving the royal family but under the seal of the city god <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA. This text comes from the last generation of the city of Emar. The witness list includes the last king Elli and his son, and two sets of his first cousins, cf. nos. 6 and 7.

### Text

Obv. 1. [A.ŠÀ...]<sup>1</sup> *i-na<sup>1</sup> ia-ar-da-ni*  
 2. [x IKU GÍD].DA-šu a-na *m[a-x]-ti* AN.TA  
 3. [(x x+)<sup>1</sup>] *a-ší<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* DUMU [*P*]íl-sú-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 4. [x IKU GÍD].DA-šu a-na *ma-[x]-ti* KI.TA  
 5. [x IKU] [ru-u]p-šu *i-di a-[x (x)]*  
 6. [x] <sup>1</sup>IKU<sup>1</sup> [ru-up]-šu *i-di di-(x)-x-i*  
 7. [ÚS].SA.DU [AN].TA <sup>1</sup>*Ia-ší<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* DUMU *Píl-sú-<sup>d</sup>KUR*  
 8. [x (x)] KÁ-bi [URU].Šu-zu.KI  
 9. [ÚS].SA.DU KI.TA <sup>1</sup>[x (x)] DUMU EN-ma-lik  
 10. [SAG].KI 1.KAM.<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 (break)  
 Rev. (break)  
 11'. [x x (x)] x x.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>2</sup>-[  
 12'. [x x (x)] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>2</sup>-še-lu LUGAL x [  
 13'. [IGI El-*l*]i DUMU *Píl-sú-<sup>d</sup>Da-g[an]*

- 14'. [IGI <sup>d</sup>IM]-GAL DUMU-*šu*
- 15'. [IGI *I*]a-sí-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ŠEŠ-*šu*
- 16'. [IGI *Z*]u-ba-ah-la DUMU EN-ma-lik
- 17'. [IGI] [A]-<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-a-bi ŠEŠ-*šu*
- 18'. [IGI] Zu-e-ia DUMU A-*hi-ma-lik*
- 19'. [IGI *I*]b-ni-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ŠEŠ-*šu*
- 20'. [IGI] *I*š-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan
- 21'. [L]Ú.DUB.SAR

Up.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA seal (see Appendix II)

### Translation

Obv. 1. [a field ...] along the canal  
 2. [x iku its length up to the upper water reservoir (?)  
 3. [(the property of) Y]aši-Dagan son of Pilsu-Dagan  
 4. [x iku its length up to the lower water reservoir (?)  
 5. [x ik]u [the width] beside [...]  
 6. [x] <sup>l</sup>iku<sup>l</sup> the width beside [...]  
 7. its upper border is (the property of) Yaši-Dagan son of Pilsu-Dagan  
 8. [x (x)] the gate of the city of Šuzu(?),  
 9. its lower border is (the property of) [...] son of Bēlu-malik  
 10. its first edge is [...]  
 (break)

Rev. (break)

- 11'. [(if any of the ...)]s will rai[se a claim]
- 12'. [this tablet] they shall present, the king [...]
- 13'. [Witness: Ell]i, son of Pilsu-Dag[an];
- 14'. [Witness: Ba'āl]-kabar, his son;
- 15'. [Witness: Y]aši-Dagan, his brother;
- 16'. [Witness: Z]ū-Ba'la, son of Bēlu-malik;
- 17'. [Witness: Ah]ī-abī, his brother;
- 18'. [Witness:] Zū-Eya, brother of Ahī-malik;
- 19'. [Witness:] I]bni-Dagan, his brother;
- 20'. [Witness:] Iš-Dagan,
- 21'. the scribe.

### Philological and Textual Notes

Obv. 1. For the term *yardānu*, cf. A.ŠÀ *i-na* KÁ *ia-[ar-d]á-ni* KI.TA “un champ, tout près des cours d'eau inférieurs” (Arnaud 1991: 102, no. 58:1); cf. also A.ŠÀ *mi-ri-šu* *i-na* ÍD-dá-an *i-na* *qa₄-al-ba-ti* (Arnaud 1991: 99, no. 55:1). According to Arnaud, -ān is a (m.?) plural ending and *yardān* means “watercourse”, i.e., “canals” (Arnaud 1991: 13). Cf. A.ŠÀ *ma-la* *ma-ṣú-ú* *i-na* *ia-ra-ta-a-ni* KI.TA (Sigrist 1993: 172, no. 4:1). The sign preceding

*yardānu* is difficult; it looks like NA<sub>4</sub> which makes no sense in the context so a badly written *i-na* or KÁ would be preferable.

2, 4. For the word *ma-li-ti* cf. Arnaud 1986: 143ff., nos. 137:22, 25, 26, 138:1 which he leaves untranslated there; however in Arnaud 1991: 11, he suggests the root of this word is 'ly, "high" and has the sense of "plateau", probably "highland". Thus, he translates no. 3:9 KASKAL ša UGU *ma-li-ti* "chemin sur la hauteur". On the basis of West Semitic parallels, Zadok (1991b: 117) ventures "pool" or "place for drawing water, well". Durand (1989a: 60) reads this word *ba\*-li-ti* "méandre mort" on the basis of Mari texts (CAD B 63a *balittu* "water reservoir"). In an oral presentation at the Rencontre in Venice in 1997, Durand defined the term *bālitum* further as "anciens méandres (certains pouvaient faire office de retenues d'eau)" Tsukimoto 1988: 169, Text F:1 prefers the water reservoir to a dry river bed: "Wasserteich". Tsukimoto 1992a: 289ff., no. 43:4, 11 also translates "water reservoir". Our example has both a high and low seated *ma-x-ti*.

8. One may expect some preposition (e.g. *ina*, *ištū*, *adi*) in the lacuna.

9. Although one would like to read the personal name as Zū-Ba'la, son of Bēlu-malik in accordance with l. 16', there does not seem to be enough room for [Zu-ba-ah-la].

Rev. 13' ff. All the witnesses but two (ll. 16'f.) are known in other documents of Iš-Dagan. Those two appear, however, in other documents. For Zū-Ba'la, son of Bēlu-malik, see Arnaud 1991: 72, no. 37:11 (dossier of Marianni) and for Ahī-abī, his brother, see Beckman 1996a: 14, RE 8:50, and 101, RE 79:30. Needless to say, -šu (ll. 14' f.) refers to Elli. Ba'al-kabar is his son and Yaşı-Dagan (l. 15') is his brother (cf. obv. ll. 3, 7).

## 12. Redemption of a House

C19 (72.5 × 99 × 33.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

The tablet is composed of orange clay, with a considerable amount of white debris and salt.

### Summary

Dagan-kabar redeems his brother's house in this tablet, but does so for ten shekels less than the debt. This suggests a legal convention whereby the person holding the pledge is able to sell it for less than the amount of the original loan if the person (or family) who borrowed the money cannot redeem it. In other words, the person or persons who took out the loan and placed the property in pledge are the parties who are most interested in regaining clear title to the property and therefore are the parties who may be expected to pay the full amount. However, if they are unable to redeem it, then the pledge-holder is free to sell it to a "stranger", and since the latter may not be interested in paying the full amount of the original loan, the pledge-holder may sell it for less than that

amount without any fear of subsequent legal action by the original debtor. In this case, it appears that Dagan-kabar may not have had enough money to redeem the house in the usual fashion (i.e. pay full price), so he offered the pledge-holder the amount that the latter might reasonably expect to get from a stranger. The pledge-holder, evidently thinking that he could expect no better deal, accepted the offer. In order to prevent the pledge-holder from later claiming that the family still owed him ten shekels, the phrase "like a stranger" is included in the document to show that Dagan-kabar was paying the full and final price for the property, i.e. the price of a stranger, and not the usual redemption price of the debtor. This legal fiction allowed the possibility that a member of the kinship group might redeem an alienated property and that the transaction was not subject to later revision according to family law.

### Text

Obv. 1. É-*tu*<sub>4</sub> ša <sup>1</sup>IR-DINGIR-*lì* DUMU *Ku-um-ri*  
 2. <sup>1d</sup>É-*a*-SIG<sub>5</sub> DUMU *Zi-ik-ri-ia ki-i* 30 KÙ.BABBAR.MÉŠ  
 3. ú-*ka-al-šú i-na-an-na* <sup>1d</sup>KUR-GAL DUMU *Ku-um-ri*  
 4. *a-na* 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ *ki-i LÚ.ni-ka-ri*  
 5. *iš-tu le-et* <sup>1d</sup>É-*a*-SIG<sub>5</sub> *ip-ta-ṭar-šú*  
 6. *šum-ma i-na EGIR u*<sub>4</sub>-*mi LÚ.EN DI.KU*<sub>5</sub>-*šú*  
 7. *ša* <sup>1d</sup>KUR-GAL *il-la-a* <sup>1d</sup>KUR-GAL *za-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup>*  
 8. <sup>1d</sup>É-*a*-SIG<sub>5</sub> *i-ta-na-pal-šu*

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9. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1<<1>></sup>*A-bi-Ra-šap*<sup>1</sup> NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*Ka-aš-ka*  
 Cylinder seal impression 1: Cylinder seal impression 2  
 imitation Hittite hieroglyphics? (anepigraphic)  
 (see Appendix I)

10. DUMU DINGIR-*lì-a* DUMU *A-ni-ni*  
 Lo.E. 11. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB EN-GAL  
 Cylinder seal impression 3: Hittite  
 hieroglyphic legend: *Pa-lu-k[a-pa]*;  
 BONUS VIR (see Appendix I)

12. DUMU *Hu-ra-si*

Rev. 13. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*Ab-ba-nu* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1d</sup>KUR-*ta-li-*<sup>2</sup>  
 Cylinder seal impression 4: Cylinder seal impression 5  
 Hittite hieroglyphic legend: (anepigraphic)  
*À-pa-nú*; BONUS VIR (see Appendix I)

14. DUMU *Ka-a-zi*

15. DUMU *Ka-a-pí*

16. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*Ka-pí-<sup>d</sup>KUR LÚ.ḤAL*  
 Stamp seal impression 6: Hittite  
 hieroglyphic legend: *Ka-pi-tà-k[a]*  
 SCRIBA SACERDOS (see Appendix I)

### Translation

<sup>1-5</sup> Ea-damiq son of Zikriya retained/placed a lien/restraint on the house of Abdi-ilī son of Kumri (as a pledge) for 30 (shekels) of silver. Now Dagan-kabar son of Kumri has redeemed it fr[ō]m Ea-damiq for 20 (shekels) of silver like a stranger. <sup>6-7</sup> If an accuser of Dagan-kabar appears in the future, Dagan-kabar will be free (of any claim). <sup>8</sup> Ea-damiq is responsible (for meeting any future claims).

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- 9.–10. Seal: Abī-Rašap, son of Iliya; Seal: Kaška, son of Anini;
- 11.–12. Seal: Bēlu-kabar, son of Ḥurāsi;
- 13.–15. Seal: Abbanu, son of Kāpī; Seal: Dagan-tāli<sup>c</sup>, son of Kāzi;
- 16. Seal: Kāpī-Dagan, the diviner.

### Philological and Textual Notes

- 3. *ú-ka-al-šu<sup>2</sup>?* may also be *ú-ka-al-ši<sup>2</sup>?* In view of the third masculine singular gender, one might expect the former. Note, however, that *šu* is used for the third masculine singular accusative suffix twice in this text (ll. 5 and 8), while *šú* is used for the third masculine singular genitive suffix (l. 6).
- 4. See Introduction p. xv and note to text no. 4:30'.

## INHERITANCE TRANSACTIONS

### 13. Division of Property HC 17 (72 × 60 × 27 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

The fragment is from the lower right hand corner. Two edges are extant: the right side and the lower edge. A little less than half the tablet has been preserved.

#### Summary

This fragmentary division of property, probably of inheritance portions, includes a miscellaneous list of items including two assignments of bridewealth or provisions of dowry. It is followed by a section describing the honour or service that is incumbent upon the heir which, in this case, seems to refer to the service the heir is to give the surviving wife (Ezata?). Having carried out this service, the heir instead of inheriting is manumitted.

#### Text

Obv. x+1'. [...] x [...]  
2'. [...] a-n[a...]  
3'. [...MAR.GÍD.]DA.MEŠ [...]  
4'. [...] x DI [...]  
5'. [...] x MÍ.Ú[S.SÁ...]  
6'. [...] 2 GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A [...]  
7'. [...] 5 ME KIL[Á.BI.]  
8'. [...] 1 DUG TUR [...] x  
9'. [...] ME *qa-du* x [...] *-el-li-ši*  
10'. [...] *Ik-mu-<sup>d</sup>KUR* [DUMU *Iš-bi-<sup>d</sup>*]KUR  
11'. [...] *š-tu* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.[GEŠTIN/NUMUN] 1 GIŠ.GU.ZA  
12'. [...] x TÚG.MEŠ 2 GIŠ.N[Á.MEŠ]  
13'. [...] 1 TÚG *pa-ha-tá*[-*ru*...]  
Lo.E. 14'. [...] *a-na* MÍ.Ú[S.SÁ?...]  

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15'. [...] x DUMU [...]  
16'. [...] x [...]  
Rev. (2 or 3 broken lines)  
1''. [...] *ri/ḥu*  
2''. [...] x *pa*[...]  
3''. [...] *it-ti a-ha-miš*  

---

4''. [...] *ub-la* MÍ *E-za-ta*

## Transliterations and Translations

5''. [...] *ki]-i-me-e i-pal-lah-ši*  
 6''. [...] *ub-bal-ši a-na a-ra-wa-nu*  
 7''. [...] *DUMU.]MEŠ-ia a-na muh-hi-ši la [i]-ra-gu-[mu]*  
 8''. [NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB] <sup>1d</sup>É-a-SIG<sub>5</sub> N[A<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB...]  
     Partial signet ring impression 1: cuneiform legend: [...] *m[a...]*  
 9''. [...] *A-ḥ]i-a-b[i...]*  
     Partial signet ring impression 2: cuneiform legend: [...] *x ri [...]*  
 10''. [...] *a x [...]*

### Translation

Obv. x+1'.

2'. ... to ...  
 3'. ... wagons ...  
 4'. ...  
 5'. ... bridewealth  
 6'. [...] two oxen [...]  
 7'. [...] weighing x + 500 [...]  
 8'. [...] one small jug [...]  
 9'. [...] 100... together with its ...  
 10'. [...] Ikmu-Dagan, son of [Išbi]-Dagan  
 11'. [...] fr]om the vineyard, 1(+?) chairs,  
 12'. [...] textiles, two wooden b[eds]  
 13'. [...] a *pahatta[rru]*-blanket, [...]  
 Lo.E. 14'. [...] as the bridewealth [...]

15'. [...] x child [...]  
 16'. [...]

Rev. (break)

3''. [...] (they shall divide) equally.

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4''. [...] has supported, Ezata  
 5''. [...] As he shall honour her,  
 6''. [...] after fate] will carry her off, as a free person  
 7''. [he will be?...]. My [sons?] shall not make a complaint against her.  
 8''. [...] Seal of Ea-damiq, Seal of [...]  
 9''. [...] (Seal of) Ah]ī-abī [...]  
 10''. [...]

### Philological and Textual Notes

obv. 3'. For carts in testaments and property divisions, see e.g., Arnaud 1986: 198, no. 186:5 and dupl. 201, no. 187:2; Beckman 1996a: RE 8:26, RE 69:10.

5', 14'. The writing of NÌ.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ without the first sign is unexpected. For a discussion of bridewealth versus dowry in Emar texts, see Beckman 1996b: 69.

11'. For products from both GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN and GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN in an inventory, cf. no. 23:8f.

13'. For other occurrences of the Hurrian word *pahattarru*, meaning “blanket” in Emar, see Arnaud 1986: 290, no. 302:2 and text no. 23:17. For other references, see AHw 810 s.v. *pahantaru*, and Laroche Glossaire Hourrite 192 s.v. *pahandari*.

rev. 4''. The verb *wabalu* probably refers to the support of the surviving wife enjoined upon the heir(s).

5''. The term *arawannu* is apparently a Hittite loanword from Hittite *arawanni-* and not from *aruwa-* (Friedrich/Kammenhuber, 1975-: 355ff.), which denotes a social status corresponding to “servant of the king”; see Tsukimoto 1992a: 295, no. 46:22 and p. 297, note to line 22. For discussion of this term, see Yamada 1995: 303–304. The question is who is being redeemed from slavery and raised to the status of a free person.

#### 14. Bequest to Wife

C24 (76.5 × 101.5 × 27 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Orange-brown with many black stains, well-baked and assembled from two fragments.

In this text, the A-sign is usually written as the combination of two vertical wedges (short and long).

Four seal impressions have Akkadian labels; one impression bears an Akkadian cuneiform legend, another a “Hittite” hieroglyphic legend, and two are anepigraphic.

#### Summary

This tablet records the wishes of a man named Abiyu, son of Zikriya, who wanted to ensure the continued support of his wife after his death.

#### Text

Obv. 1. <sup>1</sup>A-bi-ú DUMU Zi-ik-ri-ia a-kán-na iq-bi  
 2. ma-a a-nu-ma <sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-na <sup>MÍ</sup>Hu-di<sub>12</sub> DUMU.MÍ <sup>1</sup>Na-i-<sup>d</sup>KUR <sup>MÍd</sup>KUR-za-lu-li  
 3. GÉME-ia 10 <sup>1</sup>U<sub>8</sub><sup>2</sup>.MÉŠ 10 ÙZ.MÉŠ 1 ŠEN ZABAR 3 me-at KI.LÁ.BI  
 4. ša KASKAL-ni-i[(a<sup>2</sup>)] 1 a-sà-lu<sub>4</sub> ZABAR 3 me-at KI.LÁ.BI  
 5. 1 ka-bi-l[u] ZABAR ša šu-mi-ia i-na ŠÀ-šu ša-at-ru  
 6. 1 GAL ZABAR ša a-pa-pa-ri-hi  
 7. 1 GAL ša k[a<sup>2</sup>-a]t<sup>2</sup>-ti<sub>4</sub>-in-nu ša HUR.SAG  
 8. 1 TÚG GIBIL 1 GIŠ.NÁ GAL ša GIŠ.TÚG 1 TÚG.ma-qar-ru GIBIL  
 9. 1 TÚG.GUZ.ZA [1] a-sà-lu<sub>4</sub> ZABAR ša ŠU-ti  
 10. 1 ut-ta-al-lu ZABAR ša šar-ba-aš-ši 1 É IZI ZABAR  
 11. 1 GIŠ.BANŠUR 1 GIŠ.GU.ZA 1 GIŠ.GÌR.GUB  
 12. <sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>-[n]a É ur-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>2</sup>-ša ma-am-ma la-a ir-ru-ub  
 13. [k]u-bu-da-e an-nu-ti a-na <sup>MÍ</sup>Hu-di<sub>12</sub> DAM<sup>1</sup>-ia

Lo.E. 14. *at-ta-din ù a-nu-ma* 5 DUMU.MEŠ-ia  
 15. <sup>1d</sup>30-GAL <sup>1</sup>Ta-<sup>2</sup>-e <sup>1</sup>Ib-<sup>3</sup>ni-<sup>4</sup>KUR  
 16. <sup>1</sup>Ri-<sup>5</sup>bi-<sup>6</sup>KUR ù <sup>1</sup>Im-<sup>7</sup>lik-<sup>8</sup>KUR

Rev. 17. AMA-<sup>9</sup>šu-<sup>10</sup>nu *li-ip-la-<sup>11</sup>hu* ma-an-<sup>12</sup>nu-me-e  
 18. *i-na* ŠÀ 5 DUMU.MEŠ-ia AMA-<sup>13</sup>šu *i-pal-làh*  
 19. *ku-bu-da-e-<sup>14</sup>ši* *lil-qá* ù *šum-ma* <sup>15</sup>Hu-di<sub>12</sub>  
 20. DAM-ia EGIR LÚ.sà-ra-ri *ta-lak-[m]a*  
 21. TÚG-ši *i-na* GIŠ.ŠÚ.A *li-iš-ku-un-ma* a-šar ŠÀ-ši  
 22. *lil-lik* a-na *ku-bu-da-e-<sup>16</sup>ši* NU.TUK  
 Cylinder seal impression 1: illegible cuneiform legend (rolled out three times)

23. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>Ma-di-<sup>2</sup>KUR NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1d</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup>(ŠE)-EN  
 Cylinder seal impression 2 Stamp seal impression 3:  
 (anepigraphic, rolled out twice) Hittite hieroglyphic legend  
 (see Appendix I)

24. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>A-di-ia DUMU *A-bi-ka-pí*

Up.E. 25. IGI <sup>1</sup>Im-lik-<sup>2</sup>KUR DUMU *Ka-pí-<sup>3</sup>KUR*  
 26. IGI <sup>1d</sup>KUR-EN DUMU ŠEŠ-šu  
 27. NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>Hu-si-rù DUMU *La-la*  
 28. IGI <sup>1</sup>A-di-ia DUMU *A-bi-ka-pí*

Le.E. 29. IGI <sup>1</sup>Ma-di-<sup>2</sup>KUR  
 30. IGI <sup>1</sup>Ki-ri-<sup>2</sup>KUR DUMU *Ma-at-<sup>3</sup><ka>-li-<sup>4</sup>KUR*  
 31. [I]GI <sup>1</sup>EN-<sup>2</sup>KUR ŠEŠ-šu  
 32. «X» IGI <sup>1</sup>Iš-bi-<sup>2</sup>KUR DUMU *Im-lik-<sup>3</sup>KUR*  
 33. [(?)] IGI «<sup>1</sup>» <sup>1</sup>Ma-at-<sup>2</sup><ka>-li-<sup>3</sup>KUR

Ri.E. Sealing: Cylinder seal impression 4 (anepigraphic ?)

### Translation

<sup>1-2a</sup> Abiyu, son of Zikriya, said as follows: Now (I have given) to Hūdi, daughter of Na'i-Dagan, (as follows):

<sup>2b-3a</sup> Dagan-zaluli, my maid-servant; 10 ewes and 10 she-goats; <sup>3b-7</sup> 1 bronze kettle, 300 (shekels) in weight, of [(my?)] business venture, 1 bronze *asallu*-vat 300 (shekels) in weight, 1 bronze *kabbi*lu on which my name is written, 1 bronze cup (decorated) with *pappa*rhū-plants, and 1 cup of ... of the mountain; <sup>8-9a</sup> 1 new garment; 1 large bed (made) of boxwood; 1 new *maqarru*-garment and 1 *i'lu*-blanket/bedspread; <sup>9b-10</sup> 1 bronze *asallu*-vat with a handle, 1 bronze *uttallu*-vessel of šarbašši, and 1 bronze brazier; (11) 1 table, 1 chair and 1 footstool.

<sup>12</sup>No one shall enter i[nt]o her bedchamber. <sup>13-14a</sup>I have given these [k]ubuddā'u-gifts to Hūdi, my wife.

<sup>14b-17a</sup>A[n]d now let my five sons, Šaggar-kabar, Ta'e, Ibni-Dagan, Rībi-Dagan and Imlik-Dagan, take care of their mother. <sup>17-19a</sup>Anyone who among my five sons shall take care of his mother will take her *kubuddā'u*-gifts. <sup>19b-22a</sup>And if my wife should follow a false man, let her put her garment on the footstool, so that she may go where she likes.

<sup>22b</sup>She shall not have her *kubuddā'u*-gifts.

23. Seal: Mādī-Dagan. Seal: Dagan-bēlu;  
 24. Seal: Addiya, son of Abī-kāpi;

25. Witness: Imlik-Dagan, son of Kāpī-Dagan;
26. Witness: Dagan-bēlu, son of his brother;
27. Seal: Husiru, son of Lala;
28. Witness: Addia, son of Abī-kāpī;
29. Witness: Mādī-Dagan;
30. Witness: Kiri-Dagan, son of Matkalī-Dagan;
31. [W]itness: Bēlu-Dagan, his brother;
32. Witness: Išbi-Dagan, son of Imlik-Dagan;
33. [?] Witness: Matkalī-Dagan.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For Abiyu, son of Zikriya, and his wife Hūdi, see also Arnaud 1986: 226, no. 213 and 228f., no. 225.
4. For *asallu*, a vat or trough, see A. Salonen 1966: 266–267 and Durand 1989b: 34.
5. *kabbi lu* ZABAR is also attested in Arnaud 1986: 47, no. 33:7; 288, no. 297:4, Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:8, Beckman 1996a: RE 8:9 and text 21:6 of this volume, but its meaning is unknown. It may be related to *kablu* “stand” for *kannu* jars; see A. Salonen 1966: 377, 391.
6. Cf. 1 GAL ZABAR *ša pa-pa-ri-hi* in Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:9 and AHw 824a s.v. *papparhū*. It is a Sumerian loanword from the Sumerian *babbar-hi*, the plant “portulaca”, see S. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian* [HSS 22], Missoula, 1977: 174, no. 92. Note the lexical equation in Hh XVII Ras Shamra 210 (MSL 10 115) with a prosthetic aleph written with the AŠ sign: *babbar-hi* = *aš-ba-[ba-ar-hu]*. This type of plant decoration is used as an ornamental motif: golden *papparhītu* decorations are found in Mari (ARM 24 126:4, 25 173 rev. 1, see B. Groneberg, “Der *nūbalum* und seine Objekte”, MARI 6 [1990] 172, 178) and *papparhū’ātu* ornaments made of various precious gems are found in the inventories of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta (Köcher 1957–58: 304 II 19, 20, 22 and 311f. note to line 19).
7. The traces of the two broken signs are difficult to decipher. A word such as *patinnu* “bands”, which could refer to the decoration of the goblet, might be expected. The word *katinnu* “sickle-blade sword” appears in Emar and Amarna, see M. Heltzer, “Akkadian *katinnu* and Hebrew *kīdōn*, ‘Sword’,” JCS 41(1989) 65–68. Moran (1992: 81) reads the EA 25 ii 42 reference differently (p[u]-ti-in-na-šu-nu). Durand also suggests that it is a type of weapon (1989b). In Arnaud 1986: 60, no. 44:9–11 the term appears in apposition to personal names and thus indicates a rank or profession, “the bearer of the k.-weapon”. The context in this line does not seem to match either the meaning of a sword or a sword bearer.
8. TÚG.*maqarru* is also attested in Tsukimoto 1992a: 292, no. 44:15 (reading TÚG.*ma-qar*’(AM)-*ru*) and Arnaud 1986: 290, no. 301:10’ (restoring TÚG.*ma-qar-[ru]*), but its meaning is unknown.
9. For TÚG.GUZ.ZA = *i’lu*, a common type of textile worn as an overgarment, see Waetzoldt 1980: 20, 21f. For TÚG.GUZ.ZA in Neo-Sumerian texts, which comes in five different qualities, see Waetzoldt 1972: 6 and *passim*; also found in the Isin craft archive, see van de Mieroop 1987: 42, 153. For Hittite references, see Rüster-Neu

1989: 245 sub # 310 “tufted blanket/cover”, and for Amarna references, see EA 22 iv 12. For its use in covering furniture and upholstery, see A. Salonen 1963: 92, 164, 246. Cf. also no. 23:16. For the reading TÚG.TUNANIBA (SIG<sub>4</sub>.ZA), see Moran 1992: 60, note to 1. 43.

10. For *uttallu*, see AHW s.v. *uddalû*. It occurs only in Nuzi and Boghazköy, perhaps indicating that the word is of Hurrian origin. It appears in many other Emar texts: nos. 15:9, 21:3 and Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:9 and see Durand 1989b: 34. For *šar-pá-aš-ši*, cf. 2 *ut-ta-al-lu<sub>4</sub>* Z[ABA]R *ša šar-pá-aš-ši* (Huehnergard 1983: 23, no. 4:20). Huehnergard (1983: 25, 34) suggests Hitt. *šarpašši-*, “cushion”, and renders the entire passage as “2 b[ronz]e *uttallu*’s of cushion shape(?)”. É *IZI* is also mentioned in Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287:4 and text no. 28:4 of the current volume. Following Arnaud (1986: 284), we identify it with *ša išāti* (e.g. text no. 23:4 of this volume).

12. For the restoration of É *urši*, see Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:14 in the same context. Note also the use of -*ša* (pron. suff. 3.f.sg.gen.), cf. -*ši* in lls. 19, 21, 22. For a discussion of the *bīt urši* of NIN.DINGIR festival locations, see Fleming 1992a: 116f. He discusses the possible meanings: (1) “place of repose” related to standard Akkadian *bīt erši*; (2) *bīt urši* found at Amarna and Ugarit. As to EA 84:13f. Moran translates “bedchamber”, see Moran 1992: 155, note 3; (3) storehouse or storeroom associated with foodstuffs and kitchens related to Akkadian *huršu*.

13. For the *kubuddā’u*-gift given to the wife, see Durand and Joannès 1990.

20. For this phrase, see Tsukimoto 1991: 287; and his corrections to Huehnergard 1983: 30f., no. 2:19 and no. 3:15 on pp. 288–289. It also appears in Beckman 1996a: RE 8:41 and RE 42:3’.

### 15. Inheritance Share Inventory

C25 (85 × 117 × 33 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Large, dark grey-brown tablet, baked.

#### Summary

Rībi-Dagan has died. This tablet concerns the inheritance arrangement for Rībi-Dagan’s sons.

#### Palaeography, Orthography and Language

The ending of the MEŠ sign is written with both two and three Winkelhaken.

#### Text

Obv. 1. ḤA.LA-šú *ša*<sup>1</sup>*Ri-bi*<sup>4</sup>*KUR ma-la ša it-ti* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú

2. *ik-šu-ud-šu* É-*tu<sub>4</sub>* GIBIL *ša KÁ-bi KÁ.GAL hu-za-ri*

3. KI.er-še-tu<sub>4</sub> ša DUMU.MEŠ MÍ Ba-as-si ù É ha-ab-lu  
 4. ša it-ti É DUMU.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>Tu-ul-li ki-i-mu-ú  
 5. 36 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ sí-kíl-ti-šu ša <sup>1</sup>Ri-bi-<sup>d</sup>KUR ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu  
 6. id-di-nu-ni-iš-šu ḫA.LA-šú ša GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN ḫA.LA-šú  
 7. ša GIŠ.TIR sí-ip-hi <sup>1d</sup>KUR-za-ki ù DUMU.MÍ-šú 1 GU<sub>4</sub>  
 8. 4 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI 1 ŠEN ZABAR 8 ME KI.LÁ.BI  
 9. ut-ta-al-lu ZABAR TUR 40 KI.LÁ.<sup>7</sup>BI<sup>7</sup> gul-la-tu<sub>4</sub> ZA[B]AR 30 KI.LÁ.BI  
 10. GAL ZABAR ka-sú ZABAR ša [x x d]u-up-pu-[ru ZABAR] 15 KI.LÁ.BI  
 11. 2 pa-a-š-ta ZABAR.MEŠ 60 KI.[LÁ.BI...]  
 12. mi-ši-il 1 TÚG la-be-ri 2 [... -t]u<sub>4</sub>  
 13. 1 TÚG.zu-du la-be-ru x[... Z]Ú.AM.SI DÙ.DÙ  
 14. 3 GIŠ.GIR.GUB ša GIŠ.MEŠ [...M]EŠ  
 Lo.E. 15. 7 GIŠ.MEŠ ša-na-ta 1[...]  
 16. 16 GIŠ.MEŠ it-wa-ta GIŠ.[...]  
 17. GIŠ.SAG.PIRIG GIŠ.EREN.NA GIŠ.GU.ZA GÍD.DA [...]  
 Rev. 18. 2 GIŠ.kán<sup>an</sup>-nu.MEŠ ša GIŠ.MEŠ 4 TI.BAR 6 ÚR.MEŠ GIŠ.X  
 19. NA<sub>4</sub>.IG-tu<sub>4</sub> ša ZÀ.ḤI.LI.A.SAR 4 DU[G.M]UD<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 20. mi-ši-il GIŠ.KI.KAL.MAR.GÍD.DA  
 21. 2 ME 40 GIŠ.pa ŠE.MEŠ ú-nu-tu.MEŠ an-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 22. ḫA.LA-šu-nu ša <sup>1</sup>Ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>KUR ù <sup>1</sup>Tu-ra-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 23. 2 DUMU.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>Ri-bi-<sup>d</sup>KUR ma-la ša it-ti  
 24. ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šu-nu ik-šu-du-šu-nu-ti

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### Translation

<sup>1-6a</sup> The share of Ríbi-Dagan, as much as has reached him (together) with his brothers: A new house whose entrance is at the great *Huzari*-gate, the plot of land of the sons of Başşı and a *hablu*-house, which is adjacent to the house of the sons of Tulli in lieu of 36 (shekels of) silver his brothers gave to Ríbi-Dagan as his possession.

<sup>6b-7</sup> His share of the vineyard, his share of the *siphū*-plot; Dagan-zaki and his daughter; 1 ox;

8. 4 1/2 gold shekels; 1 bronze cauldron, weight: 800;
9. a small bronze *uttallu*-vessel, weight: 40; a bronze pitcher, weight: 30;
10. a bronze cup; a bronze goblet of [...] ... [...] weight: 15;
11. 2 bronze hatchets, weight: 60; [...]
12. half an old cloth, 2 [...]
13. 1 old *zu-du* cloth x [...] made of ivory;
14. 3 footstools of? [...] -wood? [...]
15. 7 *šanāta*-logs [...]
16. 16 *itwata*-logs, [...] -logs?; [...]
17. a lion-head of cedarwood; a bench; [...]
18. 2 wooden racks; 4 ...; 6 beams of ...-wood;
19. a “stone-door” for cress; 4 beer jugs;
20. half floorboard(?) of a wagon;
21. 240 *parīsu* of grain.

<sup>21-24</sup> These articles are the share of Ibni-Dagan and Tūra-Dagan, the two sons of Rībi-Dagan, as much as reached them (together) with their brothers.

### Philological and Textual Notes

2, 24. On *kašādu* in this type of document, see Durand 1990a: 55.

2. For a gate called KÁ *hu-za-ri*, cf. Arnaud 1986: 287, no. 296:1, where he interprets this phrase as “la porte des enclos” (cf. also *hi-za-ri* with the same interpretation, Arnaud 1991: 102, no. 57:7 and p. 11). A personal name *Hu-za-rù* is attested in Arnaud 1986: 53, no. 37:10. In Arnaud 1986: 49, no. 34:10 he renders KÁ-*bi hi-za-ra-te* “la porte Hizarate”, i.e., as a proper name. See also Durand 1990a: 82 ad Arnaud 1986: no. 296.

3. For KI.erṣetu, see text no. 10 note to line 1.  
 For other instances of a *hablu*-house, see Arnaud 1986: 49, no. 34:8; 94, no. 85:7, 9, [13]; 101, no. 91:16; 170, no. 154:3'; Arnaud 1987b: 225, no. 9:4; Tsukimoto 1990: 189–191, no. 7:18; Tsukimoto 1991: 285–287, no. 23:25; Beckman 1996a: RE 8:21. One translation suggested by Durand 1990a: 49, note 92, is that it has the same type of distribution as GIBIL and thus should be understood as “en bon éclat”. The opposite, meaning “ruin”, was offered by Lipiński 1992: 43, note 22 (reference courtesy of Gary Beckman) on the basis of comparative Semitic etymology. Tsukimoto (1990: 191) suggests “damaged” (from *habālu* “to damage”; but such a meaning is known only in the D stem, see CAD s.v. *habālu* A, 2). Another possibility is to understand *hablu* as “under mortgage” (from *habālu* “borrow”; CAD s.v. *habālu* B). A similar conclusion was reached by Fleming 1992b: 65, note 43 who translates “(debt-) encumbered (?) house”. A last possibility could be to take the example of Arnaud 1986: 49, no. 34:8, where it occurs in contrast to GAL as a descriptive term for a small house (hovel?).

7. The term *siphu* has been variously interpreted in different contexts. In Arnaud 1986: 149, no. 139:15, a house plot lies *ina [si-i]p-hi* ÍD.BURANUN.NA. Arnaud left the term untranslated but Durand 1990a: 61 explained it as “dans la proximité de l’Euphrate”, basing his interpretation on a metathesis of *sihpu* discussed in CAD S 299a, but with the meaning of *sihpu* “stretch, extent”, CAD S 238. Further, Arnaud 1986: 154, no. 142:1 A.ŠÀ *sí-ip-hu ina qasṛi*, also untranslated by Arnaud, of which Durand 1990a: 61 states: “Faut-il comprendre ici «A proximité du *qasṛu*»? De toute façon, la traduction «un champ (quel qu’il soit) dans le château», fait peu de sens”. Other examples of A.ŠÀ *sí-ip-hu* are found in Arnaud 1986: 208, no. 198:5' in broken context and in Tsukimoto 1992b: 311:1. Tsukimoto suggests that A.ŠÀ *sí-ip-hu*, in contrast to A.ŠÀ *mērištu* “cultivated field”, must mean “an uncultivated field”, deriving this meaning from *sapāhu* “scatter”. He states that it cannot refer to a place designation since *ašrišma* “there” covers the location, and also mentions his reference and the references in Arnaud 1986: 8, no. 2:10 and 13, no. 6:8, which must be understood as referring to the condition or state of the field. Zadok (1991b: 119) suggests that this term might refer to reclaimed plots. Belloto (apud Beckman 1996a: 13 note to line 6) views this term as administrative, perhaps relating to taxation.

Lastly, when it occurs at the end of the phrase, as in our text, it cannot render a prepositional phrase.

9. For *uttallu*, see note to text no. 14:10.
10. For *duppuru*, see Arnaud 1986: 47, no. 33:9 in an inventory in a lawsuit.
12. Since an old cloth (unless it is an antique) sounds peculiar in this context, perhaps this cloth should be related to *lubāru*, one of the garments of the divinities in the Neo-Babylonian period.
13. For *zu-du*, cf. perhaps Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician *sūt* “garment”. It may also be related to *šutū/sutū*, wool used for the warp (CAD Š/3 408a).
17. Compare the lion head ([x SA]G UR.MAH) listed in Arnaud 1986: 280, no. 284:1 made of silver, which Durand 1990a: 81 wants to read [1 GA]L. Another possibility is *pirikkum*, a sacred place and symbol found in Syrian temples, but this meaning does not fit the context.
18. The BAR sign is inscribed over and below the numeral 6, and seems to have been added later.
19. Cf. NA<sub>4</sub>.IG (Arnaud 1986: 427, no. 448:25'). A utensil, possibly a mortar, specified for use with cress is known from Beckman 1996a: RE 6:14: NA<sub>4</sub>.UR.HUR ša ZÀ.HI.LI.A.SAR.
20. In Arnaud 1987: 67, no. 545:59' GIŠ.KI.KAL.MAR.GÍD.DA is glossed by *sa-as-su*, usually denoting “floorboard of a chariot” and written logographically as GIŠ.(Ú.)KI.KAL.GIGIR (cf. CAD s.v.). However, half of a floorboard seems unlikely as an item of inheritance. It may therefore mean something else.
21. On the unit of measurement, *parīsu*, see Introduction p. xiv.
23. “2” inscribed to the left of the beginning of the line.

## LISTS

### 16. Property List HC 16 (38 × 79 × 20 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Unusual shape of tablet, see photograph.

#### Summary

This tablet seems to be a memorandum concerning miscellaneous pieces of property including a kettle from a bridewealth or dowry assignment.

#### Text

- 1 GU<sub>4</sub> NIGA 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ša *i-na* ZÉ.ZÉ *ha-pí*
2. 1 ŠEN 3 ME KI.(er).LÁ.BI
3. ša NÌ.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ
4. 1 ME 50 GIŠ.*pa* ŠE.MEŠ

#### Translation

1. 1 fattened ox, 4 shekels of silver which are broken into ...
2. 1 cauldron weighing 300 (shekels)
3. of the bridewealth.
4. 150 *parīsu* of grain.

#### Philological and Textual Notes

1. A word *si-si* is unknown word in the Emar corpus. It probably relates to the type of silver. Note, however, the ornament *siṣṣatu* in the Qatna inventories (Bottéro 1949: 142:41 and *passim*).
2. The erased sign is a second KI.
3. For a discussion of bridewealth versus dowry in Emar texts, see Beckman 1996b: 69.

### 17. Payment List C27 (67.5 × 93 × 24.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Orange-grey in colour. Remains of a mollusc can be seen in the core of the tablet.

## Summary

This text may represent the distribution of payments to the cultic personnel of the temple (cf. Arnaud 1986: 295, no. 310) or army payoffs. Although it begins with allotments of gold and silver to certain individuals, the conclusion of the text is unusual. The provincial governor, the Overseer of the Land, has freed certain individuals from prison. The reasons behind this action are not given. Do we see here the heavy hand of the Hittite administration interfering with internal Emar affairs?

## Text

Obv.	1. ˥5˥ GÍN KÙ.GI	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ni-qa-la</i> DUMU <sup>2</sup> - <i>a</i>
	2. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>A-wi-rù</i> DUMU <i>Pu-a-ši</i>
	3. 5 GÍN KÙ.GI	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ta-<sup>2</sup>-e</i> DUMU <i>Iš-bi-ia</i>
	4.	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ir-ha-<sup>2</sup>-e</i>
	5. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>Tu-ra-<sup>d</sup></i> KUR DUMU <i>Ša-la-aš-be</i>
	6. 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>Zu-Aš-tar-ti</i> DUMU <i>DINGIR-lì-ba-ni</i>
	7. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ma-qa-ra</i> DUMU <i>Ma-at-ka-li-<sup>d</sup>KUR</i>
	8. 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>d</sup> <i>A-hu-na-an-nu</i> DUMU <i>Pa-bi-ú</i> ˥ <i>ù</i> ˥ <i>ŠEŠ-šú</i>
	9. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1d</sup> KUR-GAL <i>ŠEŠ-šu ša</i> <sup>1</sup> [x x]- <i>bi</i>
	10. TÚG.GADA	<sup>1</sup> <i>Zu-Ba-la</i> <i>ŠEŠ-šu</i> [...]
	11. 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1d</sup> 30- <i>ut-ti</i> [...]
	12.	<sup>1</sup> <i>A-bi-<sup>d</sup>30</i> <i>ŠEŠ</i> [...]
	13.	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ad-da</i> [...]
Lo.E.	14. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ú-gi-nu</i> ˥DUMU ˥ <i>A</i> ˥- [...]
	15.	<sup>1</sup> <i>A-bi-<sup>d</sup></i> KUR DUMU <i>Uš-k[a ...]</i>
Rev.	16. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> DUMU <i>Ap-pa-ta</i> LÚ.TÚG [...]
	17.	<sup>1</sup> DUMU <i>Um-<sup>2</sup>mi-<sup>2</sup>-É-ti</i> x [...]
	18.	LÚ.NAGAR [...] <i>ka?</i> x
	19. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR	DUMU <i>ú-</i> [...]
	20.	<sup>1</sup> ˥ <i>X</i> [...]
	21. 10 GÍN [KÙ].BABBAR	<sup>1</sup> <i>A-</i> [...]
<hr/>		
	22. ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>an-na-a</i> <sup>1</sup> [...] x-ú	
	23. <i>ša a-ta-</i> [...]	
	24. [...]	
	25. [...]	
	26. [...] <i>na-a</i> [...] ˥ <i>x</i> - <i>te</i>	
Up.E.	27. [...] <i>an-nu-ú-ti</i> x [...] x x x	
	28. 4 ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>ša i-na É.ki-li ik-lu-ú</i>	
	29. ߻ LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA <i>um-te-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti</i>	
Le.E.	30. <i>i-na É.ki-li ú-ṣa-</i> [...]	
	31. 40 KÙ.BABBAR <i>a-na</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Tu-ut-</i> [...]	
	32. <i>id-di-nu-ma ú-maš-ša<sup>2</sup>-r</i> [u...]	
	33. <i>i-na É.HI.A-šu-nu i-ba-at-</i> [tu]	

**Translation**

1.	5 shekels of gold	Niqala son of 'A
2.	10 shekels of silver	Awiru son of Puaši
3.	5 shekels of gold	Ta'e son of Išbiya
4.		Irha'e
5.	10 shekels of silver	Tūra-Dagan son of Šalaš-be
6.	5 shekels of silver	Zū-Aštarti son of Ilī-bānī
7.	10 shekels of silver	Maqara son of Matkalī-Dagan
8.	30 shekels of silver	Aħu-nannu son of Pabiyu and his brother
9.	10 shekels of silver	Dagan-kabar brother of ...
10.	a linen garment	Zū-Ba'la his brother [...]
11.	5 shekels of silver	Šaggar-utti [...]
12.		Abī-Šaggar, brother of [...]
13.		Adda [...]
Lo.E.	14. 10 shekels of silver	Uginu son of A- [...]
	15.	Abī-Dagan son of Ušk[a...]
Rev.	16. 10 shekels of silver	son of Appata the fuller [...]
	17.	son of Ummī-bitti [...]
	18.	the carpenter [...]
	19. 10 shekels of silver	son of U- [...]
	20.	x- [...]
	21. 10 shekels of silver	A- [...]
	22. that group of men [...]	
	23. which I [...]	
	24. [...]	
	25. [...]	
	26. [...]	
Up.E.	27. [...] these	
	28. the four men who were incarcerated in prison	
	29. and the Overseer of the Land released them	
Le.E.	30. they left the prison [...]	
	31. 40 shekels of silver to Tut[...]	
	32. they gave, and they will release [...]	
	33. in their own homes they can stay overnight.	

**Philological and Textual Notes**

3. In the name, *Ša-la-aš-be*, Šalaš is the name of a goddess, consort of the weather god, of Hurrian origin (Laroche Glossaire Hourrite 213, Haas 1994: 166f., 169), which occurs in the Mesopotamian world both with and without the final -š (see D.O. Edzard, "Mesopotamien", in: H.W. Haussig [ed.], *Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart, 1965: 118). She appears in the Anatolian rituals in the Akkadian language found at Emar (Arnaud 1986: 473, no. 480:3'). Her position in the pantheon

is that of the consort to Dagan at Mari and to Kumarbi in Hatti. *Be* is probably an abbreviated form of *bēleti* “my lady”.

7. This individual is also found as a witness to a testament, Beckman 1996a: RE 18:22.
28. The term “prison” occurs also in Arnaud 1986: 259, no. 263:39, in a letter of Šini-ṣūrī to the Overseer of the Land and his son concerning two Ahlamean-Arameans from the land of Suhi. In an additional note, he adds that he will release a man of the messenger from prison.

### 18. Payment List

HC9 (69 × 100 × 29.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Well-baked, café-au-lait colour on obverse and brownish black on the reverse. Clearly baked in antiquity, but the lower edge is somewhat worm-eaten.

#### Text

Obv.	1. 10 ˥ GÍN KÙ ˥.BABBAR.MEŠ	<sup>1</sup> <i>Si-ti</i> DUMU <i>Kam-ma</i>
	2. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Da-di-ú</i> DUMU <i>Qu-u-qi</i>
	3. 6 MIN	<sup>d</sup> KUR-EN DUMU <i>Sa-sa-wa</i>
	4. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> LI-EN LÚ URU.Ú ˥ <i>ri</i> ˥
	5. 10 1/2 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ik-ki-</i> <sup>d</sup> KUR DUMU GAR-˥ <i>x</i> ˥-ia
	6. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> IR-DINGIR.MEŠ LÚ URU.Ēš-ši
	7. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Pí-da</i> LÚ.SIMUG
	8. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>A-ša-da</i> IR LUGAL
	9. 10 MIN	<sup>d</sup> <i>Ab-du</i> DUMU <i>Hi-in-ni</i>
	10. 10 MIN	<sup>d</sup> <i>A-hu-na-i</i> DUMU Ú-ša-ti
	11. ˥ 10 ˥ MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ab-du</i> DUMU <i>Ba-ba</i>
	12. 10 MIN	<sup>1d</sup> KUR-ta-li DUMU <i>Ma-li</i>
	13. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Hi-ma-ši-be</i> DUMU ˥ <i>Hi</i> ˥-da
	14. 30 MIN	<sup>1</sup> [Z]u-As-tar-ti DUMU <i>A-ia-</i> ˧-hi
Lo.E.	15. 20 MIN	<sup>1</sup> [x x]- <sup>d</sup> 30
	16. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> [x x]- <sup>d</sup> KUR DUMU <i>Qu-u-qi</i>
	17. 10 MIN	<sup>1</sup> LI-EN DUMU <i>Qa-ba-ri</i>
Rev.	18. [x] MIN	ša É
	19. [x] KÙ.GI	
	20. [x] <i>ka-sú</i> KÙ.BABBAR ša 1 ME GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ	
	21. 5 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Ku-ta-bi</i>
	22. 46 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>Hi-ma-ši-be</i> DUMU <i>Ia-du-EN</i>
	23. 50 MIN	<sup>1</sup> <i>La-la</i>
	24. ŠU NÍGIN 4 ME 27 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ	

## Translation

Obv.	1.	10 shekels of silver	Siti son of Kamma
	2.	10	Dādiyu son of Qūqi
	3.	6	Dagan-bēlu son of Sasawa
	4.	10	Zimri-bēlu from the city of Uri
	5.	10 1/2	Ikki-Dagan son of ...
	6.	10	Abdi-ilī, a citizen of Newtown
	7.	10	Pida the smith
	8.	10	Ašada servant of the king
	9.	10	Abdu son of Ḫinni
	10.	10	Aḥu-na‘i son of Ušati
	11.	「10」	Abdu son of Baba
	12.	10	Dagan-tāli‘ son of Mali
	13.	10	Himāši-be son of 「Hīda
	14.	30	[Z]ū-Aštarti son of Aya‘-ahī
Lo.E.	15.	20	[‘x x]-dŠaggar
	16.	10	[x] x-dGagan son of Quqi
	17.	10	Zimri-bēlu son of Qabari
Rev.	18.	[x]	of the house (temple?)
	19.	[x] gold	
	20.	[x] goblets of silver, (the equivalent) of 100 shekels of silver	
	21.	5	Kutabi
	22.	46	Himāši-be son of Yadu-bēlī
	23.	50	Lala
	24.	total 427 1/2 shekels of silver	

## Philological and Textual Notes

4. The city of Uri also appears in Arnaud 1986: 52, no. 35:3 (slave from the city of Uri sold); 88, no. 80:1 (location of a house plot); 99, no. 90:1 (location of an orchard); 100, no. 90:6 (plot owned by a person in same location); 228, no. 215:1 (deposition in the presence of the elders of the city); 284, no. 287:5 (<sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR of the city of Uri); Arnaud 1991: 73, no. 38:1 (a field sale in the surroundings of Uri); Tsukimoto 1990: 185, no. 4:1 (= Beckman 1988: 65, no. 2:1, location of a piazza). It is an outlying town apparently within the administrative circle of Emar, cf. Fleming 1992b: 69.
6. The town of Ešši “Newtown” is located in the vicinity of Emar, see Beckman 1996a: 25 note to line 1.

**19. Offering List**  
C28 (59 × 82 × 21.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

## General Observations

The tablet was composed of soft clay which had been only minimally baked.

## Summary

The following is a unique offering list in the Emar archives. The list of gods does not conform to any known order. It may be a list of gods honoured in the city of Wakat (mentioned in l. 6) rather than in the city of Emar.

## Text

Obv. 1.  $\lceil x$  UDU  $\rceil a-na$   $^dHa-ma-ri$   
 2. 1 MÍ.U<sub>8</sub> SILA<sub>4</sub>(?)  $\dot{s}a-al-mi$   
 3. 1 UDU  $a-na$   $^dI\check{š}-ha-ra$   $\dot{s}a$  URU  $i-na$   $u_4-mi$  SAG.MU  
 4. 1 UDU  $a-na$  ALAM  $^dIM$   
 5. 1 UDU  $a-na$   $^1A\text{-}hi\text{-}ma\text{-}lik$   
 6. 3 UDU  $a-na$  DINGIR.MEŠ URU.  $Wa\text{-}k[a\text{-}at]$   
 7. [x UDU]  $a-na$   $^dEN\text{-}SI\text{-}MEŠ$

## Translation

Obv. 1. x sheep for the god Ḫamari / god of Ḫamar  
 2. 1 young ewe, 1 black (ewe) (and)  
 3. 1 sheep for Išhara-of-the-City on the day of the new year  
 4. 1 sheep for the statue of  $^dIM$   
 5. 1 sheep for Ahī-malik  
 6. 3 sheep for the (or: all the other) gods of the city of Wakat  
 7. [x sheep] for the “Lord of Horns”

## Philological and Textual Notes

1. The writing *Ha-ma-ri* may be a writing of the city name Emar, see discussion in J.G. Westenholz forthcoming. Furthermore, the combination DINGIR *Ha-ma-ri* is suspiciously similar to DINGIR *I-ma-ri* in text no. 27:9, which may indicate that they represent the same god.
3. For Išhara-of-the-City, cf. Išhara GAŠAN URU.KI Arnaud 1986: 353, no. 373:95. Išhara is well known in the city of Emar and in the province of Aštata, cf. Prechel 1996: 74–90 as well as Fleming 1992a: 249–252 and Fleming 1993b: 178–179. She is probably the consort of the city god of Emar,  $^dNIN.URTA$ . The designation, “of the City”, is also found as an epithet of the goddess Aštarte, see Arnaud 1986: 59, no. 43:1.  
 The month of SAG.MU is assumed to be the first month of the year, cf. M. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda, 1993: 343. The day of the first month  $\bar{u}mi$  SAG.MU also appears in Arnaud 1986: 453, no. 467:9 in broken context. In the ritual calendar during the month of SAG.MU  $^dNIN.URTA$  visits the house of Išhara (Arnaud 1986: 420, no. 446:32), perhaps for the rites of the sacred marriage.
4. For a discussion on the addition of the explicit word ALAM, statue of the god, see M. Sigrist, *Les sattukku dans l’Ešumeša durant la période d’Isin et Larsa* [Bibliotheca

Mesopotamica 11], Malibu, 1984: 148–149. For <sup>d</sup>IM as “pantheon head” in Emar, see Fleming 1992a: 223ff.

5. This is a unique occurrence of a personal name in an offering list. The presence of Ahī-malik among the gods might indicate that he could be an ancestor of the dynasty, although no such evidence is available. There are two members of the royal family of generations III and V with this name (Fales 1991: 88, Beckman 1996a: ix) but many other individuals bearing this personal name are known from the archives. One was a LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA and another a *hazannu*. Another possibility is that he could be a deceased priest receiving offerings.
6. The city of Wa-ka-at also appears in Arnaud 1986: 312, no. 337:17 (list of persons).
7. This is a title of Nergal which appears in the various hierarchical offering lists in the *zukru*-festival, cf. <sup>d</sup>EN-SI.MEŠ (Arnaud 1986: 350, no. 373:11), <sup>d</sup>NÈ.IRI<sub>11</sub>.GA[L<sup>d</sup>EN-SI.MEŠ] (*ibid.* 1. 75'), <sup>d</sup>NÈ.IRI<sub>11</sub>.GAL <sup>d</sup>EN-SI.MEŠ (Arnaud 1986: 372, no. 378:11), see also EN *qar-né* in Arnaud 1986: 488, no. 524:7' (ordo).

## 20. Inventory

HC7 (73.5 × 107 × 35 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

This tablet was originally reddish-brown and slightly underfired. The clay was of poor quality and not smoothed before the writing.

### Summary

This text and the following contain a list of various persons and commodities. Large amounts are recorded. Lines 1–2 consist of a list of seven men, four of whom are mentioned in the next text (no. 21) and are designated ՚R “(male) slaves”. Lines 3–7 itemize nine adult females and six young females of whom four are listed in the next text (no. 21) and are designated GÉME “(female) slaves”. Among the female slaves are some whose ethnic origins are given in lieu of personal names. The ethnic labels that are used are: Hittite, Subarian and Assyrian. Although the ethnic labels Hittite and Assyrian are obvious, Subarian in the context of Emar texts is not clear. Tukulti-Ninurta I’s Subarian expeditions were directed against the region of the Tur Abdin, Upper Tigris and Euphrates (RIMA.0.78.1 iii 30-iv 23), see further Rép. géogr. 5 (1982) 232–234 sub \*Subartu. One opinion is that Subarian refers to a person from the region of Carchemish (see further sub. 1. 6). The commodities registered include textiles, vehicles, wooden utensils, furniture, livestock and large quantities of barley. Conspicuously absent are metal objects and jewellery.

### Text

Obv. 1. ՚<sup>1d</sup>KUR-՚-ma-lik <sup>1</sup>EN-x-nu <sup>1</sup>I-túr-՚<sup>d</sup>KUR ՚<sup>1</sup>-SUM-՚<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 2. [՚]Tu-bal-՚<sup>d</sup>KUR ՚<sup>1</sup>EN-՚-GAL <sup>1</sup>A-hu-wa-՚<sup>i</sup>  
 3. ՚<sup>MÍ</sup>DUMU.MÍ-EN ՚ D[UMU.MÍ]-՚<sup>MÍd</sup>30-pa-za-zi ՚ DUMU.MÍ-՚<sup>i</sup>

4. ̄MÍ̄d NIN-̄É̄ ù [DUM]U.MÍ-ši MÍd NIN-ta-as-ki  
 5. MÍ Ka-a[l-l]i MÍ̄d NIN-̄-mil'-ki MÍ An-na-LÚ MÍ̄ha-ti-tu<sub>4</sub>  
 6. 2 DUMU.MÍ-ši ša MÍ̄um-mi-DU<sub>10</sub>.GA DU[MU].MÍ-ši ša MÍ̄šu-ba-ri-ti  
 7. MÍ̄aš-šu-ra-ia-tu<sub>4</sub> 6 ZI.MEŠ ša ZA.LAM.GAR  
 8. 2 ZA.LAM.GAR qa-du ú-de<sub>4</sub>-šú-nu 5 GUN 1 li-im 5 ME URUDU:  
*ki-da-bu-šú ša a-da-ta-wa-i*  
 9. 2 TÚG.SIG GAL 4 TÚG.za-ab-̄tu-ta  
 10. 1 TÚG ša UGU ša ZA.GÌN 6 ̄TÚḠ.GÚ.È.MEŠ  
 11. 3 TÚG ša MURUB<sub>4</sub> SÍG.ḤÉ.ME.DA ̄3̄ ša MURUB<sub>4</sub> GADA  
 12. 2 TÚG.ša-ti-na 5 TÚG.TU-MA[H] 2 TÚG.li-bu  
 13. 3 GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA.MEŠ GIŠ.GAG.LIŠ [q]a-du mu-gi-ri-ši  
 14. [G]IŠ.ni-SAR-tu 6 GIŠ.la-hu-u GIŠ? .i[t]-wa-ta?  
 15. 6 GIŠ.GU.ZA 5 GIŠ.GÌR.GUB 6 ̄GIŠ̄.BANŠUR  
 Lo.E. 16. 2 GIŠ.BANŠUR GÍD.DA 1 maš-na-lu GAL  
 17. GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ GÍD.DA 24 GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 2 ME 80 UDU.ḤI.A  
 Rev. 18. 9 ANŠE 8 ME ŠE.MEŠ ̄.DUB ša KÁ ta-bu-ḥi  
 19. 5 ME 50 ša É mi-ia-*<ti>* ha-ti-ik-ti  
 20. 1 ME 50 ša É mi-ia-ti ki-ir-bi-ti  
 21. 2 ̄.DUB i-na É mi-ia-ti GAL 1-en ša 7 ME 50 ŠE.MEŠ  
 22. ša-nu-ú ša 2 ME 50 ŠE.MEŠ 1 ME 50 ŠE.MEŠ i-na ŠÀ-ši-ma na-di  
 23. 9 ME ŠE.MEŠ i-na É ̄Ša-li 1 ME 50 ŠE.MEŠ i-na É ̄Si-kíl-tá  
 24. 80 i-na KÁ-bi Nu-ni-ia 5 ME GIŠ.pa ŠE.MEŠ  
 25. iš-tu KÁ-bi Eh-li-ia ú-še-lu-ú  
 26. ŠU.NÍGIN 4 li-im 2 ME 30 GIŠ.pa ŠE.MEŠ  
 27. 2 ME GIŠ.pa ŠE.MEŠ a-na pu-u-ḥi SU[M]

### Translation

1. Dagan-malik, EN..., Itūr-Dagan, Iddin-Dagan,
2. Tubbal-Dagan, Bēlu-kabar, Aḥu-wā‘i,
3. Binti-bēli and her daughter, Šaggar-pazazi and her daughter,
4. Ba‘alat-bitti and her daughter, Ba‘alat-tazki,
5. Kalli, Ba‘alat-milki, Anna-ziti, the Hittite woman,
6. the two daughters of Ummī-ṭābat, the daughter of the Subarian woman,
7. the Assyrian woman, six nomads (persons of the tent),
8. two tents with their utensils, five talents and 1500 shekels of copper: *ki-da-bu-šú ša a-da-ta-wa-i*
9. two large thin textiles, four ... textiles,
10. one head covering of purple-blue-dyed (wool), six cloaks,
11. three girdles of red-dyed wool, three girdles of linen,
12. two shirts(?), five premium cloths, two bags(?),
13. three wagons, a cart with its wheels,
14. a ..., six wooden *lahū*, a wooden *itwata*,
15. six chairs, five footstools, six tables,
16. two long tables, one big sleeping couch (bed?),
17. benches, 24 oxen, 280 sheep,

18. nine donkeys; 800 (*parīsu* of) grain in the granary by the Applegate(?)
19. 550 (*parīsu* of grain) of the small(??) *miyatū*-house,
20. 150 (*parīsu* of grain) of the medium(??) *miyatū*-house,
21. two storage silos in the big *miyatū*-house; the first (storage silo) of 750 (*parīsu* of grain,
22. the second (storage silo) of 250 (*parīsu* of) grain – 150 (*parīsu* of) grain having been discarded –
23. 900 (*parīsu* of) grain in the house of Šali; 150 (*parīsu* of) grain in the house of Sikilta;
24. 80 (*parīsu* of grain) in the gate of Nūniya; 500 *parīsu* of grain
25. from the gate of Ehliya they have taken up
26. Total: 4230 *parīsu* of grain
27. 200 *parīsu* of grain have been given as loan

### Philological and Textual Notes

2. For another example of the personal name <sup>1</sup>A-*hu-wa-i*, see Beckman 1996a: RE 36:2; see also Arnaud 1991b: 44 for discussion of /wā'i/.
5. LÚ is commonly used as the sign to be read “ziti-” “male” in Luwian (communication of G. Beckman). It is unexpected for a name of a female. The first half of the personal name is good Hittite: An-na “mother”.
6. For Subarian, cf. DAM-ia ša KUR *kar-ga-miš* (l. 11) = DAM-ia šu-ba-ri-ti (l. 19) Tsukimoto 1992a: 295, no. 46. On the basis of this parallel, Tsukimoto considers that *šubarītu* refers to the region of Carchemish in Emarite context. This ethnic label of a female servant also appears as part of the inheritance in a testament in Beckman 1996a: RE 8:32. Note that a Subarian standard weight is used for interregional commercial transactions in Arnaud 1986: 34, no. 23:2. Note also the writing with an s sign, Huehnergard 1983: 21, no. 4:3 as read by Tsukimoto 1991: 289, no. 27 note to line 3 (<sup>M</sup>ísu-b[a-a]r-ti) and Arnaud 1986: 61, no. 45:4 (<sup>M</sup>ísu-bar-te).
7. The term Assyrian appears as a personal name (of men, see Beckman 1996a: RE 7:2, 25) and as a designation of textiles (see Hirayama 33:7).
8. The sense of the gloss is not apparent: *ki-da-bu-šú ša a-da-ta-wa-i*. Cf. *adātu* “an ornament” made of precious stones or metal in Qatna (Bottéro 1949: 138, l. 8; 158, l. 202; 176, l. 32 var. see note).
9. For SIG = *raqqu*, as quality of textile, cf. Veenhof 1972: 214ff. The writing za-ab-TU-tu cannot be related to the garment *sapšu* (see Waetzoldt 1980: 22) or to the garment *sibtu* found in Neo-Babylonian lists of garments for the gods.
10. In TÚG ša UGU, UGU is probably an incorrect writing of SAGŠU = *kubšu* “cap”. For lapis lazuli-coloured garments, cf. Waetzoldt 1980: 20 § 5. For TÚG.GÚ.È = *nahlaptu*, see Waetzoldt 1980: 22.
11. For TÚG ša MURUB<sub>4</sub>, cf. clothing for the hips s.v. CAD Q 11 *qablu* A 5' and *subātu* ša *qabli*, see p. 12 s.v. ša *qabli*. Note the latter is found in MA texts and texts from Ugarit. Another occurrence refers to the clothes of the ladies in the palace which they must not remove from the palace without permission, according to the edict of Tukulti-Ninurta I (E. Weidner, “Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige”, *AfO* 17 [1954–56] 274: 43 and see note to text on p. 275 where he suggests either a

loincloth or some other type of clothing for the hips [=girdle?] as well as a girdled piece of clothing).

12. The word *ša-ti-na* probably comes from *šatû* “to weave” and means “woven textiles”. Cf. CAD S 17a *saddinnu*, MSL 10 129:46, as well as *sà-di-in-nu* EA 22 i 44 and EA 266:32, see Moran 1992: 315. For the suggestion of “shirt or chemise”, see Waetzoldt 1980: 22.  
 For TÚG.TU-MAH, see *AHw* 1370a *tumahhu/û* “ein Festgewand”.  
 For *li-bu*, cf. perhaps *la-ba-a-tu*, as an attribute of wool, see MSL 10 129: 76a, as well as *luppum* “bag”.

14. For *lahû* “dry wood”, see MSL 6 57:75, MAH 16502:g. A metal object *la-hu* is recorded in text no. 25:4.  
 For *itwata*, see text no. 15:16. This is either an object made of wood or a type of wood.

16. The hapax *maš-na-lu* may be derived from *nâlu* “to sleep”.

19. The term *mi-ia-tu* is not found in the Emar corpus nor in other Akkadian texts, excluding the EA interrogative “who”. It apparently refers to a type of building of which there are three types: *hatikti* – *qirbeti* – GAL(*rabîti*). In the translation, we have offered an interpretation of these terms as referring to different sizes, but they could also refer to different locations. If the *qirbeti*-house was in the interior of the town, a “town house”, then the *hatikti*-house could be a house in the outskirts of the town or a suburban mansion, perhaps based on *hatâkum* “entscheiden” *AHw* 335b.

24. The PN *Nu-ni-ia* is attested in Arnaud 1986: 114ff., nos. 109:7, 12; 110:18, 34.

25. For Ehliya as a personal name, see Arnaud 1986: 25, no. 16:38; 121, no. 115:15; 234, no. 221:13; Beckman 1996a: RE 12: 18, RE 51:10.

26. The total 4230 given by the scribe is close to the sum of 4280 produced by the addition of the quantities of grain listed, including that discarded in line 22 but not that loaned in line 27.

27. Although the more common meaning of *pûhu* is “substitute, replacement, exchange”, this meaning seems doubtful in this context in lieu of the fact the exchanged item is not mentioned. It is suggested that the idiom *pûhu* — *nadânu* “to loan” known from NA loans of silver and grain might fit the context better.

## 21. Inventory

HC10 (64 × 86 × 23 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

Before treatment, the tablet was grey to red, slightly underfired. There are two random fingernail impressions at the ends of lines 7 and 9. Their positioning is strange; they seem to belong neither to the scribe nor to a witness.

### Summary

This text resembles the previous text in many details. It begins with a separate list of bronze utensils, which is missing from the previous text. Similar and in certain

cases identical are the textiles, furniture, four female slaves, four male slaves, livestock, wagons, and storage silos. This text ends with some lines which only vaguely indicate the purpose of the list. Various suggestions for this, such as an inventory of a partnership agreement in some commercial enterprise, could be offered (cf. Sigrist 1993: 174ff., no. 5).

### Text

Obv. 1. [...] ZABAR 1 *si-ru* ZABAR  
 2. [...] TUR ZABAR 3 GÍR ZABAR  
 3. [x *a-s*]à-lu ZABAR 1 *ut-ta-lu* ZABAR  
 4. [x x]-*ha-aš-šu* ZABAR 1 ÁBXA (over er.) ZABAR  
 5. [x *a-z*]u-lu-uš-*hu* 3 *hur-ti-ia-lu* ZABAR  
 6. [x]-*me* ZABAR 1 *ka-bi-lu* ZABAR  
 7. [x]-*ut-ta ba-aṭ-tá* ZABAR  
 8. 1 *an-gu-ri-in-nu* ZABAR 1 *ha-ṣi-in-nu* ZABAR  
 9. PAP 4 *lim* 5 ME KI.LÁ.BI

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10. 2 GIŠ.PAN 10 GIŠ.GAG.Ú.TAG.GA.MEŠ  
 Lo.E. 11. 5 GIŠ.DAG<sup>!?</sup>-*ri-in-nu* 3 TÚG.MEŠ  
 12. 1 TÚG (over er.) *ša* MURUB<sub>4</sub> GADA.MEŠ 2 TÚG.GÚ.È.A.MEŠ  
 13. 1 GIŠ.GU.ZA 2 GIŠ.GÍR.»PAD«.GUB

Rev. 14. 1 GIŠ.BANŠUR 1 TÚG.*qu-ti-ib-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 15. 1 GI.maš-na-lu 4 GÉME.MEŠ  
 16. <sup>Míd</sup>NIN-mil-ki <sup>Míd</sup>DUMU.MÍ-EN <sup>Míd</sup>*ha-ti-tu*<sub>4</sub>  
 17. ù <sup>Míd</sup>áš-šu-ra-ia-tu 4 ÌR.MEŠ  
 18. <sup>1</sup>*Mu-wa-nu* <sup>1</sup>EN-GAL <sup>1</sup>KUR-»AN«-ma-lik  
 19. <sup>1</sup>*A-hu-wa-i* 2 MÍ.MEŠ(.)NA.GAD.MEŠ  
 20. 『6』 GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 1 GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA  
 21. *qa-du* TÚG.*tu-zi-ši* 1 ME UDU.HI.A  
 22. É Ì.DUB *ša* 7 ME GIŠ.*pa* ŠE.MEŠ *ša* É.NA<sub>4</sub>.HAR  
 23. *ša-nu-ú* É Ì.DUB *ša* *muḥ-hi* É *hu-ur-ši*  
 24. ú-nu-tu *an-nu-tu* ḤA.LA <sup>1</sup>Šur-ši-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 25. (er.) *ša it-ti* <sup>1</sup>*Tu-ri-ia*

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Up.E. 26. *a-na* <sup>1</sup>Hi-nu-<sup>d</sup>KUR

### Translation

1. x bronze [...], 1 bronze pot,
2. small bronze [...], three bronze daggers,
3. x bronze *asallu*-bowls, one bronze *uttallu*-container,
4. x bronze *wašhaššu*(??)-vessel, one bronze water basin,
5. [x] *azulušhu*, 3 bronze *hurtialu*,
6. [x] x bronze..., 1 bronze *kabbilu*,
7. [x] bronze platter and ...,
8. 1 bronze *angurinnu*, 1 bronze axe,
9. Total : 4500 weight (of bronze objects).

10. two bows, ten arrows,
11. five ... , three textiles,
12. two girdles of linen, two cloaks,
13. one chair, two footstools(!),
14. one table, one tablecloth(?),
15. one reed sleeping couch, four female slaves:
16. Ba‘alat-milki, Binti-Bēli, the Hittite woman,
17. and the Assyrian woman; four male slaves:
18. Muwanu, Bēlu-kabar, Dagan-malik,
19. Aħu-wā‘i; two shepherdesses,
20. six oxen, one wagon
21. with its *tuzzu*-cloth, one hundred sheep,
22. storage silo containing 700 *parīsu* of grain from the mill,
23. second storage silo which is located above the *huršu*-building,
24. these items (“utensils”) are the share of Šurši-Dagan
25. which were (invested?) with Tūriya
26. for Ḥinnu-Dagan.

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### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For *sīru* “cooking pot”, compare EA 297:12.
3. For *uttallu*, see note to no. 14:10.
4. The word ending in *-ha-aš-šu* should probably be restored according to Huehnergard 1983: 21 no. 4 (= Tsukimoto 1991: 289, no. 27), l. 19 *wa-aš-ha-aš-šu*, cf. Tsukimoto 1991: 290, note to l. 19. For the sign ÁBXA in Hittite texts, see Rüster-Neu 1989: no. 284.
5. For *azulušhu*, see also no. 22:10. It occurs together with the next item *hurtialu* in Arnaud 1986: 278, no. 283:10, an inventory of vases at the disposition of singers (Durand 1990a: 81 ad no. 283) and in Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:7 but alone in Arnaud 1986: 288, no. 297:2. The vessel *hurtialu* also appears in offering lists to the gods of Hatti (Arnaud 1986: 456, no. 471:31, 32) and is a Hittite term (Fleming 1992a: 284). On the other hand, *azulušhu* is of obvious Hurrian origin. Durand noted that the ending *ušhu* is well known in Hurrian names of vases (1989b: 34).
6. For *kabbi lu*, see text no. 14:5. A possible reconstruction of the first item in this small space might be: [x AŠ].ME = *šamšatu* “sun-disk”, but this term is not found in the Emar corpus. It is found in the Qatna inventories, see Bottéro 1949: 11.
7. The writing *ba-at-tá* could be a variant of *batū* “platter” found in OAk. and NB texts. Another possibility is *NA<sub>4</sub>.tāpatu* “Steinbüchse für Öl, Myrrhe, Parfüm”, A. Salonen 1965: 121–122.
8. The word *angurinnu* also occurs in Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:8. Also, “(a metal house-hold object)” attested in the EA period (CAD A/2 118b) in the list of the gifts of Tušratta EA 22 iv 24, 25 iii 15, v 61. It also occurs in the present volume, no. 22:8.

12. For TÚG *ša* MURUB<sub>4</sub>, see note to no. 20:11.
13. The word GIŠ.GÌR.PAD.GUB = *ešemtu* “bone”; the sign PAD must have been inserted here by mistake in the logogram GIŠ.GÌR.GUB = *kilzappu* “footstool”. The same mistake is found in Arnaud 1991: 54, no. 22:10 and our text no. 22:14.
17. The sign *ù* was added later and written outside the margin of the text.
21. The word TÚG.*tu*-*zi* known in lexical texts is probably related to the well-known cloak-like wrap *tunšu/tunzu*, which is known as a bedspread in the inventory list of the Egyptian gifts, EA 14 iii 25, see Moran 1992: 36, note 43. See also Waetzoldt 1980:23.
- 24.–26. These three persons also appear in Beckman 1996a: RE 51, a sale in which the property is the inheritance portion belonging to Šurši-Dagan and Ḥinnu-Dagan, as well as to one other brother. The single witness is a certain Tūriya son of Šaggar-kabar.

## 22. Inventory

HC8 (47 × 65.5 × 17.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

This tablet is reddish and was baked in antiquity. The writing is unusually elegant.

### Summary

The inventory contains items that are registered as indivisible but does not state to whom they belong. The only individuals named are a woman, Šaggar-*hunzi*, and a man, Iddin-Dagan, who seem to be placed in the list as movable property, so they must be a slave woman and her son.

### Text

Obv.	1. 5 É.HI.A 1 É <i>ha-ab-lu</i>
	2. 3 É <i>tu-gu-ra-tu.MEŠ</i>
	3. <sup>lMÍd</sup> 30- <i>hu-un-zi</i>
	4. <sup>l</sup> SUM- <sup>d</sup> KUR 2 GU <sub>4</sub> .MEŠ
	5. 1 ANŠE.EME <sub>5</sub> 1 ŠEN ZABAR
	6. 1 <i>lim</i> KILÁ.BI 1 <i>a-sà-lu</i> ZABAR
	7. 5 ME KILÁ.BI
	8. 1 <i>an-gu-ri-in-nu</i> ZABAR
Lo.E.	9. 2 ME KILÁ.BI
	10. 1 <i>a-zu-lu-uš-hu</i> ZABAR
Rev.	11. <i>qa-du ú-de<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú</i>
	12. 1 <i>us-su-ra-li-ú</i> ZABA[R]
	13. 1 TÚG GAL 1 TÚG SIG
	14. 1 TÚG <i>ša</i> MURUB <sub>4</sub> HÉ.ME.DÁ

15. 2 TÚG.GÚ.È.A.MEŠ
16. ú-nu-tu.MEŠ an-nu-tu
17. ša la-a zi-i-zu

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### Translation

1. 5 houses, 1 *hablu*-house,
2. 3 *tugguru*-houses;
3. Šaggar-*hunzi*,
4. Iddin-Dagan; 2 oxen,
5. 1 jenny; 1 bronze cauldron
6. weighing 1000 (shekels), 1 bronze *asallu*-bowl,
7. weighing 500 (shekels),
8. 1 bronze *angurinnu*,
9. weighing 200 (shekels),
10. 1 bronze *azulušhu*
11. with its implements,
12. and 1 bronz[e] *ussuraliu*;
13. 1 large garment, 1 thin garment,
14. 1 girdle of red-dyed wool,
15. 2 cloaks.
16. These articles are
17. (those) which are not to be divided.

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### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For other examples of *hablu*-houses, see note to no. 15:3.
2. Note that the fem. pl. form of the É *tugguru* is attested only here.
10. For *azulušhu*, see note to no. 21:5.
12. *ussuraliu* is also attested in Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:17, but its meaning is unknown.
14. For TÚG ša MURUB<sub>4</sub>, see note to no. 20:11.

### 23. Inventory

HC11 (65 × 90 × 25 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

#### General Observations

Originally, this was a greyish, slightly underfired tablet.

#### Text

Obv. 1. 1 ŠEN ZABAR 1 *li-im* KI.LÁ.BI  
2. 1 *a-*<sup>7</sup>*sà*<sup>7</sup>-*lu*<sub>4</sub> 5 ME KI.LÁ.BI  
3. 1 *aš-ša-aš-ḥu* *ra-ak-su*

4. 1 ša IZI ZABAR
5. 1 *nam-zi-tu*<sub>4</sub> ZABAR
6. 1 *an-gu-ri-in-nu* ZABAR
7. 1 ὶR 1 GÉME 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 1 ANŠE
8. 『30<sup>2</sup>』 [x x *i*]š-tu GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠ[TIN]
9. 『5<sup>2</sup>』 [x x x *z*]i-ki iš-t[u] 『GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>』<sup>2</sup>.NUMUN
10. [x x x x x Ši-ik]-『ri』-nu 『zu』-ma
11. x ME GIŠ.pa ŠE.[MEŠ] É.GAL
12. x x-*qup-pa* ZA.NA.GAL
- Rev. 13. [x GI]š.BANŠUR 1 GIŠ.GU.ZA
14. [x GIŠ.G]ὶR.«PAD».GUB 1 TÚG.Ú za-pu
15. [x x] NU TÚG.BE TÚG.Ú
16. [x TÚG<sup>2</sup>] GAL 1 TÚG.GUZ.ZA
17. [x x TÚ]G.pa-ha-tá-ru 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ

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### Translation

Obv. 1. 1 bronze cauldron weighing 1000 shekels,  
 2. 1 *asallu*-bowl weighing 500 shekels,  
 3. 1 closed *aššašhu*-container,  
 4. 1 bronze brazier,  
 5. 1 bronze beer vat,  
 6. 1 bronze *angurinnu*,  
 7. 1 slave, 1 maid, 1 ox, 1 donkey,  
 8. 30 [(baskets?)] from the vineyard,  
 9. 5<sup>2</sup> [...] fro[m] the sown garden,  
 10. [...] beer vats(??), ... ,  
 11. x hundred *parīsu* of grain of the palace,  
 12. x ..., large doll/figurine,

Rev. 13. [x] table, 1 chair,  
 14. [x] footstool(!), 1 shaggy x-cloth,  
 15. ..., 1 old/heavy(?) cloth, 1 x-cloth,  
 16. [x] large [cloth<sup>2</sup>], 1 *i’lu*-blanket/spread,  
 17. [x] *pahattarru*-blanket, 10 shekels of silver.

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### Philological and Textual Notes

3. *aššašhu* is a variant of a Hurrian word *ašhušhu* (Laroche Glossaire Hourrite 60) known from Nuzi, cf. *ašušhu* AHw: 86a (“ein Meßgefäß?”), *ašhauššuḥu* CAD A/2 428 (a container), and *aš(a)uš(šu)hu* A. Salonen 1966: 279 (“a measuring vessel”). The technical meaning of *raksu* here cannot be determined. It probably refers to closure of the vessel.
4. The term *ša IZI* = *ša išāti* “brazier”, see A. Salonen 1964: 107, 112 and note occurrences in list of gifts of Tušratta, EA 22 iii 21 (of silver), iv 16 (bronze helmet as brazier), 22 (bronze). Cf. 1 É IZI ZABAR in Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287:4, and the present volume, no. 28:4.

5. The *namzītu*-vessel is a vat with holes in its bottom that was used to make beer, see A. Salonen 1966: 183, 189–193; Ellis 1977: 33–34; Gates 1988: 66–68.
6. For *angurinnu*, see note to no. 21:11.
10. The restoration of *šikrinnu* is speculative. This beer vat appears in Arnaud 1986: 290, no. 301:9' and 393, no. 393:21–22.
11. This reference to grain belonging to the palace is unique.
12. The first sign which should contain the numerical quantity is completely broken away. It is followed by another broken sign containing the beginning of the next word X-DU-PA, which may be either a logogram or a syllabic writing (*x-qup-pa*). For Sumerian ZA.NA = *passu* “doll, figurine, gamepiece”, see *AHw* 839, Arnaud 1987a: 80, no. 545:568–9 (Hh V–VII Emar exemplar); 102, no. 548 (Hh XI Emar exemplar); 105f., no. 549:109, 169 (Annexe IX 18, Hh XII Emar exemplar) and discussion by A. Kilmer, “Games and Toys in Ancient Mesopotamia”, *Actes du IIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*, Bratislava, 1993: 360.
14. For this writing of *kilzappu*, see note to no. 21:13.  
For TÚG.Ú, a coarse weave of cloth made from the wool of grass-fed sheep, see Waetzoldt 1972: 7.
15. For old garments mentioned in inventories, see no. 15:12–13.
16. For TÚG.GUZ.ZA = *i'lu* “(a garment)”, see no. 14, note to 1. 9.
17. For the *pahattarru*-blanket, see no. 13, note to 1. 13'.

#### 24. Dedication of Votive Offerings

C29 (42 × 58.5 × 23.5 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

##### General Observations

Orange, baked tablet with slight incrustations and degrading of the surface on the lower right corner of the obverse.

##### Summary

This unique text contains a dedication in the first person by Ba‘al-malik of garments, animals and wine to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, the city god of Emar, as well as garments to the gods We‘da, Adamma and Šašabitti. The occasion seems to be the laying of a foundation of a temple(?), since filling the foundation and a foundation inscription are mentioned. A person of the same name is a member of the diviner class (cf. the archives Arnaud 1986: 234ff., nos. 221–226), a scribe of lexical texts (Arnaud 1987a: 199, no. 604: # 1) and deposited a mixed group of objects in a sacred treasury (Arnaud 1986: 281, no. 285). Other dedicatory inscriptions were found in the excavations. The temples excavated in Site E produced dedicatory inscriptions to the Storm-god of Emar and the local Aštarte (<sup>d</sup>Inanna-uru<sup>ki</sup>). The dedicatory inscriptions were copied on to a single tablet from gold cups dedicated by two members of the royal family (Arnaud 1986: 57f., no. 42).

## Orthography and Language

The use of the first person in such a dedication is unknown in Emar but common in Northwest Semitic inscriptions; see A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. per. sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im alten Testament* [“AS” 3], Chicago, 1932. It is a favoured form of royal inscriptions; the most famous example from this area is the inscription of Idrimi, the fifteenth century king of Alalakh who spent his exile in Emar.

## Text

Obv. 1. *a-na-ku* <sup>1d</sup>IM-*ma-lik*  
 2. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA EN-*ia* SISKUR.MEŠ  
 3. *ak-ta-ra-ab-me* SUḪUR ša SÍG.ti-*kil-ti*  
 4. SUḪUR ša-*ni-ta* ša SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA  
 5. GADA GAL ša EGIR DINGIR-*li* ú-*la-ba-šu*  
 6. GADA ša-*ni-ta* <sup>7</sup>ša<sup>?</sup> DINGIR-*li* [...] <sup>8</sup>  
 7. 1 GÍN KÙ.GI GAL ZABAR GA[L<sup>?</sup> x x M]EŠ  
 Lo.E. 8. 5 ÍB.LÁ SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA.MEŠ  
 9. *ki-i-ma* *še?*-*me-da*  
 Rev. 10. DUMU.MEŠ-*ia* uš-*ši* NA<sub>4</sub>.*iš*[-*me-ku*]  
 11. *ma-lu-šu-nu* *ši-ni* / IGI.DÙ  
 12. 1 GU<sub>4</sub> 7 UDU.HI.A NA<sub>4</sub>.*mu-ša-r*[*a*]  
 13. KAŠ.GEŠTIN ú-*ma-al-la-ma*  
 14. TÚG.*ku-ut-mu*  
 15. ša SÍG.HÉ.ME.DA  
 16. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>We-<sup>?</sup>-*da*!  
 Lo.E. 17. TÚG.*ku-ut-mu* *a-na* <sup>d</sup>A-dam-*ma-te-ra*  
 18. TÚG.*ku-ut-mu* *a-na* <sup>d</sup>Ša-aš-ša-É-*ti*

## Translation

<sup>1-3</sup>I, Ba ‘al-malik, dedicate offerings to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, my lord: A wig of blue purple wool; <sup>4</sup>another wig of red wool; <sup>5</sup>a large linen cloth for clothing the back of the god; <sup>6</sup>a second linen cloth <sup>7</sup>for the god [...] <sup>7</sup>1 shekel of gold; a bronze cup; a cup [...]; <sup>8</sup>5 belts of red wool. <sup>9-13</sup>When needed/ according to what has been ordained, my two sons will deposit in the fill of the foundations (of) *išmekku*-stone: 1 ox, 7 sheep, a stone inscription and *hamru*-wine.

<sup>14-16</sup>A cover-cloth of red wool for We’da; <sup>17</sup>a cover-cloth for Adammatera; <sup>18</sup>a cover-cloth for Šaššabitti.

## Philological and Textual Notes

3. *tikiltu* must be a variant of *takiltu* “blaue Purpurwolle”, *AHw*: 1306a.  
 9. For other possible interpretations of *še?*-*me-da*, cf. *šimdu* “brickwork” (*CAD* § 197a *šimdu* 3); as a surface measurement of one yoke of land or seed (Powell 1989–1990:

482) or *simittu* as an architectural term (CAD § 199b *simittu* 5); *simittu* as remnant or scrap, in particular scrap metal (Fleming 1992a: 91).

10. For the restoration NA<sub>4</sub>.iš[*-me-ku*], see Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:22, text no. 26:7 and CAD s.v. *ešmekku*. It is usually assumed to be malachite. For stone foundations of houses and even house plots, cf. Arnaud 1986: 31, no. 20:1; 156, no. 144:2 (from possession of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and elders of Emar); 177, no. 161:1; Arnaud 1991: 32, no. 8:1 (belonging to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA); Beckman 1996a: RE 4:1, RE 29:1, 7 (house and plot belonging to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, from possession of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and elders of Emar), RE 38:1 (plot belonging to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, from possession of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and elders of Emar), RE 80:1, RE 81:1 (plot belonging to <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, from possession of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA and elders of Emar).
11. In Emar, the word *malû* means “replacement”, see Arnaud 1986: 92, no. 83:[12], 232, no. 217:7. The syntactic structure of this sentence is not clear; it may contain an inverted genitive with the plural suffix referring to the foundations. The last two signs on the line can be read: *ši-ni* or *IGI.DÙ*. The first reading can be understood as either “ivory” or a form of the cardinal number “two”. The second reading, *IGI.DÙ* = *dala* = *sillû* or *šukurru*, can be understood as “pointed weapon”, which were usually made of bronze.
13. For KAŠ.GEŠTIN “wine”, glossed by the West Semitic word *hamru*, see Fleming 1992a: 143. KAŠ.GEŠTIN thus equals West Semitic *hamru* (Ugaritic *hmr*; biblical Hebrew *hemer*; Aramaic *hamrā*; classical Arabic *hamr*). Before the Emar references, KAŠ.GEŠTIN was not attested logographically in Akkadian, but was known in Hittite texts, where it probably denotes an inferior or young wine. See Singer 1983: 157 and note 25. For *mullû* referring to filling cups with wine as part of the NIN.DINGIR installation, cf. Fleming 1992a: 122ff. The verbal form is singular or possibly dual rather than plural (cf. Ikeda 1995: 72f.) which should yield a translation such as “I will allocate ...” or “I will fill in the foundations”. If *ši-ni* is to be understood as “two”, then the verbal form may be dual.
14. Following MU there is a low horizontal wedge, which was supposed to be part of an incomplete sign, probably *ša* (cf. beginning of next line).
16. The god *We’da* has not yet been found in the Emar corpus. Etymology suggests Sem. *whd* > Akk. *wēdum* AHW: 1494b. Such a god is known in Old Babylonian personal names.
17. For the Hurrian goddess Adammatera in Emar, see Fleming 1992a: 75 (who mistakes her for a male) and Tsukimoto 1992: 299 (who believes that Adamma-tera might be another name for Adamma or a designation of a goddess who is a manifestation of a male Adamma). For sacrifices offered to her in the NIN.DINGIR installation, see Arnaud 1986: 327, no. 368:33. Cf. Adamma in Ebla, Pomponio 1993. For her adoption in the Hurrian pantheon, see Wilhelm 1989: 55. She should perhaps also be related to the Hittite god Aduntarri, “the diviner”, see Archi 1990: 118, 126.
18. For the god(s), Šaššabētu (sg.), Šaššabēnātu (pl.), see the most recent discussion by M. Dietrich, “Die Parhedra im Pantheon von Emar, Miscellanea Emariana (I)”, UF 29 (1997) 115–122. For a similar writing of Šaššabitti, cf. Arnaud 1986: 372, no. 378:8.

## 25. Cult Inventory

C31 (60 × 89 × 33 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

This is an oval, clumsily-shaped tablet, well baked, obverse blackish, reverse pinkish grey. Some dark earth (ashes?) were observed in a few wedges on the obverse.

One line of text was written under the line on the reverse of the tablet and then erased.

### Summary

The same kind of inventories are also found in Arnaud 1986: 59, no. 43; 277, no. 282 and text no. 26 of this volume. Inventories of the cultic paraphernalia of divinities are known, e.g. for Nanaya of Uruk (unpublished W. 20475), Ištar of Lagaba in the Old Babylonian period (Leemans 1952), Nin-é-gal, the lady of the city of Qatna, dated to the fifteenth century B.C.E. (Bottéro 1949) and the many examples known from the Neo-Babylonian period (Matsushima 1993).

The inventories on this tablet list possessions of the god Šaggar, the moon-god of Emar who is associated with celebrations of the full moon on the 15th day of the month (Fleming 1992a: 205) and of an unknown goddess, 'Aštar(t)-haši, perhaps his consort.

The differentiated employment of the precious sheet metals, gold and silver, for overlaying cult statues was known in general in Mesopotamia and in particular, in Ebla. As in the Emar text, Ebla texts indicate that gold was applied to the extremities — face, hands and feet — whereas silver was applied to the body of the statue (A. Archi, "Données épigraphique éblaïtes et production artistique", *RA* 84 [1990] 101–105).

### Palaeography, Orthography and Grammar

The GI is written with one vertical rather than two verticals as expected.

### Text

Obv. 1. *šu-kut-ti* <sup>d</sup>30 *pa-nu-šú* KÙ.GI GAR  
 2. *iš-tu* MÁŠ.SÌLA-šú *a-di* GÌR.MEŠ-šú KÙ.BABBAR GAR  
 3. *mar-šu*<sub>14</sub> KÙ.BABBAR *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 1 ZI KÙ.GI GAL  
 4. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 1 *la-hu* NA<sub>4</sub>.me-ki KÙ.GI GAR  
 5. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú-ma 1 *la-hu* KÙ.BABBAR *i-na* ŠÀ-šú-ma  
 6. 1 ZI KÙ.BABBAR TUR (er.) *i-na* SAG-šú 1 *la-hu* KÙ.GI  
 7. *ku-pa-at-šú* KÙ.BABBAR GAR 2 GIŠ.GI GAR *la-hu* *i-na* ŠU-šú KÙ.GI

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8. *šu-kut-ti* <sup>d</sup>Aš-tar-*ha-ši* *pa-nu-ši* KÙ.GI GAR  
 9. *iš-tu* MÁŠ.SÌLA-ší *a-di* GÌR.MEŠ-ší KÙ.BABBAR GAR  
 10. *mar-šu*<sub>14</sub> KÙ.BABBAR *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 1 ZI KÙ.BABBAR GAL  
 11. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 10 NA<sub>4</sub>.me-ku  
 Lo.E. 12. *i-na* [Š]À-šú-ma NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN

Rev. 13. *i-na ŠÀ-šu-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI  
 14. 20 NA<sub>4</sub>.*ha-ra-ha-ru*  
 15. 2 NA<sub>4</sub>.*ar-za-tù* KÙ.GI GAR  
 16. 1 TÙG.*ku-ut-mu* HÉ LA BI *i-na ŠÀ-šú*  
 17. 3 *qú-pí-ia-nu* KÙ.GI  
 18. 2 GIŠ.IG KÙ.GI KÙ.BABBAR GAR

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(erased)

### Translation

<sup>1-2</sup>Ornamentation of <sup>d</sup>Šaggar: his face is overlaid with gold; (the part) from his shoulder to his feet is overlaid with silver. <sup>3-6a</sup>Silver straps: (hanging) from it 1 large neck(lace) of gold; on it 1 *lahu* of *mekku*-glass set in gold; and also on it 1 silver *lahu*; and also on it 1 small neck(lace) of silver. <sup>6b-7</sup>On his head 1 golden *lahu*; his *kuptu* is overlaid with silver; 2 “doors” are overlaid with gold; a *lahu* in his hand is gold.

<sup>8-9</sup>Ornamentation of ‘Aštar(t)-haši: her face is overlaid with gold; (the part) from her shoulder to her feet is overlaid with silver. <sup>10-17</sup>Silver straps: on it 1 large neck(lace) of gold; on it 10 (items of) *mekku*-glass; and also on it a stone of lapis lazuli; and also on it a *pappardilû*-stone, 20 *haraharu*-stones and 2 *arzatu*-stones, (all of which are) set in gold; 1 cover of ....; on it 3 golden *qupianus*. <sup>18</sup>2 “doors” are overlaid with gold and silver.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For the reading of the god <sup>d</sup>30 in Emar, see Dalley-Teissier 1992: 90f. GAR (*passim* in this text) is to be understood as a variant of GAR.RA = *uhhuzu* (see text no. 23:16, *passim*).
2. MÁŠ.SÌLA (also in 1. 9) stands for (UZU).MAŠ.SÌLA = *naglabu* (see text no. 26:1!, 2).
3. Although the exact meaning of *maršu* (also in 1. 10) is not clear (e.g., “thongs, straps” CAD M/1 296a *maršu* A; “Sänfte”? *AHw*: 614a *maršu(m)* II), the context suggests that it refers to a kind of container of ornaments (see also Arnaud 1986: 59, no. 43:1, 6, 10, 17; 277, no. 282:1, 7; text no. 26:3, 17 of this volume). For a related term, cf. *maršātum ša šētim* “Netzverhängungen”, a decoration of the Mariote *nūbalum*, see B. Groneberg, “Der *nūbalum* und seine Objekte”, *MARI* 6 (1990) 175, see also Durand 1989: 184. For a possible interpretation as straps, compare the third millennium female statuette from Hasanoğlan near Ankara (see E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, Munich, 1961: pl. VIII).
- 3, 6, 10. The term ZI = *napištu* is understood as jewelry for the neck, thus necklace, cf. *ša napišti* “pendant” in the Qatna inventory of the jewelry of Ninegal (Bottéro 1949: 138, lls. 10, 12, 16). Examples made of silver and gold are found in Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:4 and 281, no. 285:9.
4. *lahu* (also in lls. 5, 6, 7) is unknown elsewhere and designates a metal object. It occurs in the form *la-ḥa-nu* in Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:18 (also a cult

inventory). On the other hand, it can also be made of wood; see no. 20:14. A stone *laḥannu* occurs in the list of gifts of Tušratta (EA 22 ii 62).

7. The meaning of *\*kuptu* (or *kubtu*, etc.) is obscure in this context. This term may render the plural form of *quppu* A 3 (a box for silver and precious objects) *quppātu*, which is known in NB texts as a cash box at the temple gate for receiving offerings. The Old Babylonian singular form is *quppatu*; see CAD Q 307a.
8. The goddess 'Aštar(t)-haši is found in the Emar archives in the pious affiliation of the scribe who wrote *La Ballade des héros du temps jadis* (Arnaud 1987a: 362, no. 767:26). This goddess may perhaps be identified as the 'Aštar(t) of the city of Haššu/Hašuwa(n), which has been identified with various sites east of the Tigris as well as west of the Euphrates, see Rép. géogr. 6 [1978] 97–99 sub Hašuwa and Rép. géogr. 12/1 [1993] 178–179 sub Hašwan(nu). There are probably two sites with similar names; a site west of the Euphrates such as Tilmen Hüyük would be consistent with the worship of the goddess of that city in Emar. Further, there is also a Hurrian god, Haši, see Laroche Glossaire Hourrite 96 and Otten "Haši", RIA 4 (1972–1975) 133.
14. NA<sub>4</sub>.*haraharu* is also attested in text no. 26:15, but its meaning is unknown.
15. For NA<sub>4</sub>.*arzatu*, see CAD A/2 325 and note s.v. *arzazu*, indicating that *arzatu* may be a variant of *arzallu* which is a known stone and is used as a piece of jewellery in NB.
16. HÉ LA BI is unknown elsewhere in Emar. It may be related to *hé-la-pu* in the Emar bilingual version of Hh V-VII (Arnaud 1987a: 79, no. 545:516f.) which is given a local gloss of *ti-iš-tu*. Perhaps = Hh VI 223f., meaning "wooden object".
17. *qu-pí-ia-nu* is attested in Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:3, 8 and Arnaud 1991: 150, no. 97:2 (both cult inventories). In the latter reference, they are apparently part of a table. The number two is written outside the margin of the text.
18. Perhaps the doors are to a shrine in which the image was kept? (suggestion of G. Beckman).

## 26. Cult Inventory

C32 (58.5 × 74 × 24 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

### General Observations

Very well-baked, orange in colour though the shape was distorted while it was still soft. The distortion to the bottom right hand corner was obviously caused by its being held in the right hand against the thumb. The conclusion from this fact is that the scribe was left-handed, which was probably exceptional. The lower half of the obverse and the upper half of the reverse were thickly covered with a white deposit.

## Text

Obv. 1. *šu-kut-ti* <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA *iš-tu* SAG-ši *a-di na-ga-<la>-bi-ši*  
 2. KÙ.GI GAR.RA *iš-tu* *na-ga-la-bi-ši* *a-di* GÌR.MEŠ-ši  
 3. KÙ.BABBAR GAR.RA *i-na* GABA-*i-ši* *mar-šu* KÙ.BABBAR  
 4. *i-na* <ŠÀ-šú> <sup>d</sup>ALAM KÙ.GI 20 KI.LÁ.BI *i-na* ŠÀ-*ma* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA KÙ.GI 10 GÍN  
     KI.LÁ.BI  
 5. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB NA<sub>4</sub>.AN.GUG.ME KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 6. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI GAR.RA 10 NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 7. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.*iš-me* KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 8. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú<sup>1</sup> (NA<sub>4</sub> erased) UR.GI<sub>7</sub> NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 9. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB NA<sub>4</sub>.NÍG.DAN.NA KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 10. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú MUL KÙ.GI 10 GÍN.KI.LÁ.BI

Lo.E. 11. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.UŠ UB BU GAR.RA

Rev. 12. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.za-la KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 13. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.*mar-hal-lu* KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 14. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.HAR.ME KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 15. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.*ha-ra-ha-ru* KÙ.GI GAR.RA  
 16. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB ZA.GÌN GAR.RA  
 17. *mar-šu*<sub>14</sub> KÙ.BABBAR *i-na* ŠÀ-šú GABA-ú KÙ.BABBAR  
 18. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 60 *si-lu* KÙ.BABBAR  
 19. *i-na* ŠÀ-šú-*ma* 12 GABA KÙ.GI

## Translation

Obv. 1. Ornamentation of <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA: from her head to her waist  
 2. plated with gold; from her waist to her feet  
 3. plated with silver; on her breast are (a set of) silver straps;  
 4. on <it> a statuette weighing twenty shekels in gold; and also on it a protective  
     divinity weighing ten shekels in gold;  
 5. on it a seal of AN.GUG.ME-stone mounted in gold;  
 6. on it a lapis lazuli (seal?) mounted in gold (and) 10 in *pappardilu*-stone  
     (beads?) set in gold;  
 7. on it a malachite (seal?) mounted in gold;  
 8. on it a dog made of lapis lazuli mounted in gold;  
 9. on it a seal of hard-stone mounted in gold;  
 10. on it a star weighing 10 shekels in gold;

Lo.E. 11. on it a *ušubbu*-stone set (in silver);

Rev. 12. on it a ...-stone set in gold;  
 13. on it a *marhallu*-stone set in gold;  
 14. on it a ...-stone set in gold;  
 15. on it a *haraharu*-stone set in gold;  
 16. on it a seal of lapis lazuli mounted in <silver(?)>;  
 17. (another set of) silver straps: in it, one breast of silver  
 18. on it (are) 60 ribs of silver  
 19. (and) on it (are) 12 breasts of gold.

## Philological and Textual Notes

1. For the goddess Ninkurra, see discussion above no. 8, note to lines 1, 5, 6.
3. For *maršu*, see above no. 25, note to line 3.
4. On the presentation of figurines by NIN.DINGIR in her installation ceremony, see Fleming 1992a: 185f. A similar phrase appears in Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:2 according to the reconstruction in Durand 1990a: 80 [*i-na šà-šu* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA] KÙ.BABBAR *i-na šà-ši* <sup>d</sup>ALAM KÙ.GI, where he translates: “Sur lui, il y a une divinité protectrice, laquelle comporte une effigie d’or” assuming that the *lamassu*-figurine held another figurine. The two words <sup>d</sup>ALAM = *salmu* and <sup>d</sup>LAMMA = *lamassu* appear in parallel in lists of stones, cf. MSL 10 5 (Hh XVI 17f.), 7 (Hh XVI 85f. and parallels in the Ras Shamra recension and Old Babylonian monolingual Sumerian forerunners). The latter, <sup>d</sup>LAMMA, appears singly in MSL 10 10 (Hh XVI 213 and parallels in Ras Shamra recension and Old Babylonian monolingual Sumerian forerunners).
- 5ff. The word NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB “seal” is used inconsistently in these lines. Further, it is uncertain whether the word refers to actual seals or to cylindrical beads (a usage known from Mari).
5. NA<sub>4</sub>.AN.GUG.ME, a type of mineral/precious stone, is also known from the Qatna inventories (Bottéro 1949: 18). This term appears in the Emar bilingual recension of Hh XVI (Arnaud 1987a: 123, no. 553:176) = Hh XVI 344–347 MSL 10 p. 13, cf. Ras Shamra recension, MSL 10 47 lls. 281–284.
7. NA<sub>4</sub>.iš-me is an abbreviated writing for NA<sub>4</sub>.iš-me-ku, which appears in cult inventories: Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:22. It is attested in the inventories from Qatna (Bottéro 1949: 18) and el-Amarna as a stone, probably malachite; see CAD E 367a, *ešmekku* and text no. 24:10.
8. For dogs and other animals in the form of bracteates for attaching to divine clothes, see A.L. Oppenheim, “The Golden Garments of the Gods”, *JNES* 8 (1949) 177. Animals are also found in the description of the pendants in the inventories from Qatna (Bottéro 1949: 16).
9. NÍG.DAN.NA-stone could just be an adjectival formation for “hard-stone”. In stone lists, KALAG.GA = *dan-nu* appears as adjective for various types of stones. Perhaps this term refers to a conglomerate rock.
11. NA<sub>4</sub>.UŠ UB-BU also appears in Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:12.
12. NA<sub>4</sub>.za-la is unknown in Emar. This might be an abbreviated writing for ASAL = *a-sà-lu*; see Arnaud 1986: 199, no. 186:14, 279, 283:12, etc.
13. The term *marhallu* appears in Hh XVI 125 (MSL 10 8 and parallel in the Ras Shamra recension 1. 93, modifying carnelian); Hh XVI 269 (MSL 10 11 and parallel in the Ras Shamra recension 1. 216 without any antecedent); Hh XVI 281 (MSL 10 12 and parallel in the Ras Shamra recension 1. 225, describing a *pūru*-vessel); and is restored in Hh XVI 313f. (MSL 10 13, describing mortars without any parallels). It also appears in the list of gifts of Tušratta, EA 22 ii 67, 25 i 52; see Moran 1992: 81, note 5. It is also known from inventories from Qatna (Bottéro 1949: 18). Apparently, this term means “like or identical with Marhaši”; thus, it could refer to a specific type of mineral and could designate the source area from whence it came.

14. For *NA<sub>4</sub>.HAR.ME*, cf. *NA<sub>4</sub>.HAR*, which is the common writing for the lower mill-stone, though this meaning does not seem to fit the context. Another meaning of this logographic writing is *semelu* “bracelet, anklet”, which is also inappropriate in the context. One would expect the logogram to refer to some type of mineral.
15. For *haraharu*-stone, see note to text no. 25:14.
- 17, 19. The breast ornamentation appears in Arnaud 1986: 277, no. 282:10. These may be either breasts offered *ex voto* or breasts offered to a many-breasted goddess. Such items are also found in the inventories from Qatna (Bottéro 1949: 11).

**27. Cult Inventory**  
C33 (73 × 92 × 34 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

**General Observations**

Pinkish, sandy clay, well baked and extensively “repaired” on the reverse. Some acetone cement is visible on the lower edge of the reverse where some pieces have fallen out between the repair material and the original tablet. There was an attempt to imitate cuneiform writing on the repaired portion. The scribal handwriting on the tablet is poor.

**Summary**

The same kind of inventories are also found in Arnaud 1986: 278–281, nos. 283–285 and text nos. 28–30 of this volume.

**Palaeography, Orthography and Grammar**

The orthography of this text is unusual in that the scribe consistently writes the voiced consonant for the voiceless: *du* for \ tu \, *gu* for \ ku \, while using the voiceless for the emphatic: *ku* for \ qu\.

**Text**

Obv. 1. 3 GAL ZABAR  
 2. 4 *gu-la-tù* ZABAR  
 3. 2 *a-pa-nu* ZABAR  
 4. 2 *ka-an-nu* (erasure)  
 5. 1 *zu-ru*  
 6. 1 *qu-pa-hu*  
 7. 1 *tù-da-lu*  
 8. *ú-nu-tù an-nu-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 Lo.E. 9. *ša DINGIR i-ma-ri*  
 Rev. 10. 13 *sa-lu* ZABAR  
 11. 18 *za<sup>?</sup>-ab<sup>?</sup>-ru*  
 12. 7 MUL  
 13. 6 *ša-mu-ú*  
 14. 6 + x *ra?-pa-(er.)-tù*  
 15. x + 2 *uš-[...]* *ú!-nu!-tù*  
 16. [...]

## Translation

Obv. 1. 3 bronze cups;  
 2. 4 bronze pitchers;  
 3. 2 bronze *apanu*-containers;  
 4. 2 jugs;  
 5. 1 *zurru*-cup;  
 6. 1 *qupahu*-container;  
 7. 1 *tudalu*-container.  
 8. These objects

Lo.E. 9. belong to the god of Emar(?).

Rev. 10. 13 bronze buckets;  
 11. 18 ...;  
 12. 7 stars;  
 13. 6 canopies;  
 14. 6 + ...;  
 15. x + 2 ..., [these] objects  
 16. [belong to god ...].

## Philological and Textual Notes

2. For *gu-la-a-tù*, cf. Arnaud 1986: 198, no. 186:9 (*gu-ul-la-a-ta*), 199, no. 186: 15 (*gu-la-a-tu<sub>4</sub>*), 201, no. 187:9 (*gu-ul-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*), 279, no. 283:14 (*gul-la-ta*). For a discussion of this term, see A. Salonen 1966: 96–97, 217.
3. *a-pa-nu* is also attested in text no. 28:1. It may be related to *appānannu* which appears in EA 22 iv 25 (list of gifts of Tušratta), where ten *ap-pa-na-a-na-an-nu* made of bronze are listed.
4. The erased sign-complex was probably ZABAR.
5. This item might be related to the *zurru* vessel known from Mari and Alalakh, a type of cup (A. Salonen 1966: 144) or to the item of jewelry ZU-Ú-RU, which appears as an Akkadogram in Hittite (CAD S *sūru* C).
6. For *qu-pa-hu*, cf. *qu-pa-hu* Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:19, also in an inventory containing a series of containers. Both references may refer to Hurrian *ku-wa-he* “helmet”, also found in Hittite texts, see Laroche Glossaire Hourritte 157.
7. For *tù-da-lu*, cf. perhaps *tu-wa-da-lu*, also in the same series of containers in Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:16.
9. The normal expression and writing for the gods of Emar is: DINGIR.MEŠ URU.*E-mar*, see e.g. Fleming 1992a: 72–90. For the traditional Mesopotamian spelling of the city of Emar with primae i-, see s.v. “Imar” RIA 5 (1976) 65–66, Rép. géogr. 3 109, Rép. géogr. 5 137, and Durand 1989b: 34. Cf. DINGIR *Ha-ma-ri* sub no. 19, note 1.
12. The seven stars probably represent the Pleiades, see also no. 29:9. However, there seem to be eight stars listed in the inventory in Arnaud 1986: 281, no. 285:3.
13. The term *šamū* occurs in other inventories, see Durand 1989a: 81 ad Arnaud 1986: no. 285:5. For this meaning, see CAD Š/1 *šamū* A mng. 2.
14. The writing *‘a? - pa-(er.)-tù* may represent the word *appatu* “reins”, cf. Arnaud 1986: 68, no. 57:1.

**28. Cult Inventory**  
C34 (49 × 66 × 20 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

**General Observations**

This tablet was baked in antiquity.

**Summary**

This text and the next are sealed cult inventories. They refer to similar items, people and gods, and are sealed by the same person as Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287; 1991: 150, no. 97 and Tsukimoto 1992a: 297, no. 48.

The sealing is of a signet ring, containing the cuneiform legend of the personal name Kili-Šarruma. This theophoric Hittite name is composed with the Hurrian god Šarruma. The same name (probably the same person) appears in the above texts as well as Arnaud 1986: 70, no. 61:3 (*étiquette de panier*, sealed with label). In the last, his title of LÚ.DUB.SAR is given and his name follows that of the diviner, indicating that he may be the secretary for religious affairs or of the temple treasury. He has the responsibility for sealing incoming and outgoing materials for various deities in several localities. Other persons of the same name are found in Arnaud 1991: 52, no. 20:19 (real estate sale), where the name appears in a Hittite hieroglyphic seal which is identified by a label, and in Arnaud 1986: 260, no. 263:16; 263, no. 266:36 (both letters).

**Text**

Obv. 1. 1 *a-pa-nu* ZABAR  
 2. 3 GÍR *ma-kà-sà-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
 3. 3 GÍR ZABAR GAL  
 4. 3 GÍR ZABAR TUR 1 É.IZI ZABAR  
 5. 54 GI.ΓGAG.Ú.TAG.Γ.GA ZABAR  
 6. ša <sup>d</sup>Èr-ra URU.Èš-ši  
 7. 1 *ru-uš-tù* KÙ.GI Γ2/3Γ KI.LÁ  
 8. ša <sup>d</sup>A-tam-ma-te-r[a]

Lo.E. 9. LÁ ša <sup>ld</sup>30-ta-ΓliΓ

Rev. 10. LÚ SANGA *ma-ḥi-ri-i*

Sealing: Signet ring impression (impressed twice), cuneiform legend: [NA<sub>4</sub>]

<sup>1</sup>Ki-li-<sup>d</sup>LUGAL-ma (see Appendix II)

Cylinder seal impression (anepigraphic, see Appendix II)

**Translation**

1. 1 bronze *ap(p)an(n)u*,
2. 3 *makkasu*-knives,
3. 3 big bronze knives,
4. 3 small bronze knives, 1 bronze brazier,

5. 54 bronze arrows
6. belong to Erra of Newtown.

---

7. one *ruštu*-ornament made of gold weighing 2/3 shekel
8. belongs to Adammater[a]

---

9. Debit of Šaggar-tāli<sup>c</sup>,
10. the former administrative officer of the temple.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For *a-pa-nu*, see note to text no. 27:3.
2. For *makkasu* (pl. *makkasātu*), as a kind of knife/sword, see Tsukimoto 1992: 298, note to line 1. Cf. E. Salonen 1965: 49. This lexeme is known in both Mari and Amarna, see Moran 1992: 59, note 26.
4. É.IZI ZABAR is attested on Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287:4; cf. note to text no. 23:4.
6. For the god <sup>d</sup>Er-ra URU.Eš-ši, see also Tsukimoto 1992a: 298, no. 48:5. In Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 289:6 he is lord of Šagma.
7. The word *ru-uš-tù* is attested in Emar and NB: *ru-uš-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR (text no. 30:13), *ru-uš-TÙN* KÙ.GI (Tsukimoto 1992: 298, no. 48:6), *ru-uš-tù* KÙ.G[I] Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 288:2, *ru-uš-tì* Arnaud 1986: 69, no. 58:2 and CT 55 295:2. Note that the amount could also be read 1/3.
8. For the god <sup>d</sup>A-tam-ma-te-r[a], see note to text no. 24:17.
9. For the rare term LÁ, note that in account texts LÁ is mostly equated with *maṭû* “deficiency, loss, debit” rather than *piqittu* suggested by Arnaud 1986: 284, note to no. 287:7 and *śimittu* suggested by Fleming 1992a: 91. It only occurs in three other texts: Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287, 1991: 150, no. 97 and Tsukimoto 1992a: 297, no. 48.
10. SANGA *ma-hi-ri-i* should be compared to the title NIN.DINGIR *ma-hi-ri-tu*<sub>4</sub> “la prétresse-entu précédente” (e.g. Arnaud 1986: 328, no. 369:55). Note the form *mahirû* rather than *mahrû* also appears in Middle Assyrian, cf. BLMJ 765 (HC1) 1. 3 (published by W.G. Lambert, “An Unknown King in an Unknown City”, in: M. Cogan and I. Eph‘al (eds.), *Ah, Assyria..., Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography presented to Hayim Tadmor*, Jerusalem, 1991: 314–319) and LKA 62 rev. 9'. Note that Šaggar-tali has not yet reached this level in Tsukimoto 1992: 297, no. 48 where he is just LÚ.SANGA. The relationship between the diviner and the *śangû* in the temple hierarchy is not clear. The letter of a diviner discussing the appointment of a *śangû* (Arnaud 1986: 264, no. 268) shows that the diviner must have had the higher position. From other texts it can be seen that the diviner had both responsibility as a temple administrator and a cultic rôle to perform. It may be surmised from the sources that the diviner could or did serve all the gods of Emar while the *śangû* served only one god; see Fleming 1992a: 91. Not only is it usual to attach the name of the single god which he serves, but he also does not seem to hold a very distinguished position, since at least Ereškigal had more than one *śangû* in her service (Tsukimoto 1988: 160f., Text C: 5', 9'). Another case of *ma-hi-ri-i* is to be found in Emar in a different context: *ina ūmi ma-hi-ri-i*, Arnaud 1986: 456, no. 471:28.

**29. Cult Inventory**  
C35 (47 × 60 × 19 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

**General Observations**

This is a well-baked, reddish tablet, which is perfectly preserved.

**Text**

Obv. 1. 15 GÚ.ZI.MEŠ ZABAR  
2. 1 *ut-ta-lu* TUR ZABAR  
3. 16 GÍR.MEŠ  
4. 1 *ad-dú* ZABAR  
5. 1 *ma-kà-sà-tu<sub>4</sub>* ZABAR  
6. 2 GAL ZABAR  
7. 2 *kán<sup>an</sup>-nu* ZABAR  
8. 2 ZA<sup>1</sup>.HUM (er.) *ša* SISKUR  
9. 7 MUL.MEŠ  
10. 1 *ha-aš-hi-li-tu<sub>4</sub>* ZABAR  
11. 2 GIŠ.PAN  
12. 15 GAG.Ú.TAG.GA.MEŠ  
Lo.E. 13. 4 ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ  
Rev. 14. *ú-nu-te.MEŠ an-nu-tu<sub>4</sub> ša <sup>d</sup>NÈ.IRI<sub>11</sub>.GAL EN Šag-ma*

Sealing (both upside-down in relation to text):

Cylinder seal impression (anepigraphic, see Appendix II) Signet ring impression (impressed 4 times), cuneiform legend: [N]A<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>*Ki-li-<sup>d</sup>LUG[AL-ma]* (see Appendix II)

**Translation**

1. 15 bronze cups,
2. 1 small *uttallu*-vessel of bronze,
3. 16 swords,
4. 1 bronze throwstick,
5. 1 bronze *makkasu*-sword,
6. 2 bronze cups,
7. 2 bronze pot stands,
8. 2 bowls for offering,
9. 7 stars,
10. 1 bronze *hašhilitu*,
11. 2 bows,
12. 15 arrows,
13. 4 belts.
14. These items belong to Nergal, lord of Šagma.

### Philological and Textual Notes

2. For the *uttallu* vessel, see note to text no. 14:10.
4. For the *ad-dú* weapon, also known plated with gold from the list of gifts of Tušratta, see E. Salonen 1965: 142–143, and cf. *atû* B “throwstick” CAD A/2 518a.
5. For GÍR.*ma-kà-sà-tu*<sub>4</sub> ZABAR, see note to no. 28:2.
8. For ZA.HUM = *šāhu*, see CAD Š/1 105 (a drinking or cooking vessel, usually of metal) and references there to this vessel used in Mari, MA and Hittite rituals. It may be the equivalent of *halwani-* in Hittite (Friedrich 1957:30). For the use of SISKUR in relation to offering vessels in Emar, cf. Arnaud 1986: 277ff., nos. 282:15, 283:21 (also cult inventories).
10. *hašhilitu* is unknown. It might be compared to *aš-ha-lu* ZABAR (Arnaud 1986: 279, no. 283:22). The numeral one was added later outside the margin.
14. The lord of Šagma is a title mentioned alone (Arnaud 1986: 354, no. 373:128; 476, no. 490:3), as an epithet of Nergal (line 14 here is the only example) and as an epithet of Erra (Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 289:6). There is also an Inanna of Šagma (Arnaud 1986: 353, no. 373:85'). In the godlists, Nergal is usually referred to as lord of commerce (EN KILAM) or lord of horns (EN SI.MEŠ).

### 30. Cult Inventory C36 (82 × 63 × 25 mm., Syrian type)

#### General Observations

This tablet is mud-coloured and was originally unbaked.

#### Summary

This cult inventory is exceptional in that it seems to be a list of the treasures of all the gods of one city, Uri. The gods that are listed are ‘Aštarte-of-Battle, Dagan, Erra, Ninkurra and all the gods of Uri. Ninkurra of the city of Uri is already known from Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 287:5 (also a cult inventory). Similar references to the collective gods of Emar are known. Not only did Uri apparently have its own organized pantheon but it also possessed a separate judiciary from that of Emar. A record exists of a legal case tried before the elders of the city of Uri (Arnaud 1986: 228, no. 215:1). The city of Uri is also known from a slave sale of a man from Uri (Arnaud 1986: 52, no. 35:3), an adoption text (Beckman 1996a: RE 82:4) and real estate transactions (Arnaud 1986: 88, no. 80:1; 99, no. 90:1; 1991: 73, no. 38:1; Tsukimoto 1990: 185, no. 4:1).

This cult inventory is witnessed by five unknown individuals even though it is not a legal document. The contents are also unusual. The list seems to include representations of body parts in precious metals. Could they belong to the cult statues?

## Orthography

The scribe who wrote this tablet had an idiosyncratic hand, with very few signs set at an angle. He also wrote the numeral 9 in two different ways: in line 1 the numeral 9 is written with two rows of four wedges and one row of one wedge, while in line 10 the numeral 9 is written in three rows of three wedges each.

## Text

Obv. 1. 39 1/2 KÙ.BABBAR x [x x<sup>d</sup>] INANNA-ta-*ha*-*zi*

2. 3 MUL KÙ.[BABBAR x x ]<sup>l</sup>*i*<sup>l</sup>-na ŠÀ-šú 2.KAM.KAM KÙ.GI

3. 2 *ša-mu*-*ú*[?]

4. 1 MUL KÙ.BABBAR x[(x)] x KÙ.BABBAR

5. 45<sup>?</sup> KILÁ.B[I *š*]a <sup>d</sup>KUR

6. GABA-ta *i-na* ŠÀ-šú 2 GIŠ.ká[n]<sup>l</sup>*an*<sup>l</sup>-nu KÙ.GI

7. 1 ZI KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ru-uš-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR

8. 10 KÙ.BABBAR 40 KÙ.GI KILÁ.BI

9. *ša* <sup>d</sup>*Er*-[*r*]a

10. 9 TI.MEŠ KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ru-uš-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR

11. 60 KILÁ.BI

Lo.E. 12. 3 MUL KÙ.BABBAR

13. 1 *ru-uš-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR

Rev. 14. 30 KILÁ.BI

15. 1 GÍN KÙ.GI (er.)

16. *ša* <sup>d</sup>NIN.KUR.RA

17. ŠU.NÍGIN 1 ME 83 KÙ.BABBAR

18. 1 GÍN KÙ.GI KILÁ.BI

19. *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ URU.KI.*Ú*-*ri*

20. IGI <sup>l</sup>*Ab-du* DUMU <sup>d</sup>30-AD

21. IGI <sup>l</sup>*Ú-na* DUMU *Ha-ia*

22. IGI <sup>l</sup>*Še-i-EN* DUMU *Ab-la-la*

23. IGI <sup>l</sup>*Ik-ki*-<sup>d</sup>KUR DUMU LI-<sup>d</sup>*UTU*<sup>l</sup>

Le.E. 24. IGI <sup>l</sup>*Pa-hu-ru* DUMU *Ha-ad-d*[*u*]

## Translation

1. 39 <sup>l</sup>1/2<sup>l</sup> silver ..[...] 'Aštarte-of-Battle

2. 3 si[ver?] stars [...] in its midst 2 gold *kamkammatu*-rings;

3. 2 [silver?] canopies[?]

4. 1 silver star; [...] silver [...]

5. weight: 45<sup>?</sup> — [o]f Dagan.

6. A pectoral, in its midst 2 gold ...;

7. 1 silver neck(lace); 1 silver ...;

8. weight: 10 (shekels of) silver, 40 (shekels of) gold —

9. of Erra.

---

10. 9 silver “ribs”; 1 silver ...;

11. weight: 60.

12. 3 silver stars;

13. 1 silver *ruštu*-ornament;

14. weight: 30.

15. 1 gold shekel ..[...] —

16. of NIN.KUR.RA.

17–18. Total weight: 183 (shekels of) silver, 1 shekel of gold —

19. of the gods of Uri.

---

20. Witness: Abdu, son of Šaggar-abu;

21. Witness: Una, son of Ḥāya;

22. Witness: Šē’i-Bēlu, son of Ablala;

23. Witness: Ikki-Dagan, son of Zimri-Šamaš;

24. Witness: Pahuru, son of Haddu.

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. For ‘Aštarte-of-Battle, see also Arnaud 1986: 350, no. 373:12 (*zukru* festival, written U.DAR-*ta-ha-zi*); 375–377, nos. 379:1, 380:2, 381:11, 382:6 (offering lists, written INANNA-*ta-ha-zi*); 439, no. 460:1 (written INANNA.MÈ) and 478, no. 495:3' (written INANNA-*ta-ha-zi*, both ritual calendars). The cult of ‘Aštarte-of-Battle was probably the basis of the ‘Aštarte cult in Emar; her priestess seems to have been the *maš’artu*, and the principal participants in her night festival were known as “men-of-battle”; cf. Fleming 1996: 90–91.
2. KAM.KAM is probably an abbreviation of the usual spelling *kam-kam-ma-tum* (cf. Arnaud 1987: 104, no. 549:61', 115', 176' and CAD K 124a *kamkammatu*).
5. For Dagan in Emar, see Fleming 1992a: 240–248, 1993a.
7. For ZI, see note to no. 25:3. For *ruštu*, see note to no. 28:7.
9. References to Erra are rare at Emar, but cf. references to Erra of Newtown in text no. 28: 6 and to Erra of Šagma in Arnaud 1986: 284, no. 289:6.
17. The total of 183 shekels of silver does not relate to the text as a whole nor to the sums in this section alone except for the one shekel of gold. Completely discounted are the Erra sections, without which the total of all the sections together is close to that of the given total :  $39.5 + 45 + 60 + 30 = 184.5$ .
19. For the city of Uri, see note to text no. 18:4.
24. Pahuru is a good Egyptian name meaning “the Syrian”. The only other person with the same name is to be found in Arnaud 1986: 15, no. 8:28 written with final -a.

**31. Anatolian Ritual**  
C30 (57 × 83 × 27 mm., Syro-Hittite type)

**General Observations**

Pinkish, well-shaped and well-written tablet made of good clay that was slightly under-fired.

**Summary**

This text is a valuable addition to the corpus of “Anatolian rituals” from Emar, published in Arnaud 1986: 455ff., nos. 471–490, see Fleming 1992c: 55. For preliminary studies on these rituals, see E. Laroche, “Observations sur le rituel anatolien provenant de Meskéné-Emar”, in: F. Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Florence 1988: 111–117; R. Lebrun, “Divinités louvites et hourrites des rituels anatoliens en langue akkadienne provenant de Meskene”, *Hethitica* 9 (1988) 147–155. The rites for the gods of Hatti seem to be adaptations of foreign religious practice to Emar for Hittite officials stationed in Syria (Fleming 1992a: 203, 266–268, 271; 1996: 86, note 16). See also Haas 1994: 567–577 (reference courtesy I. Singer).

**Text**

Obv.	1. [...] x [...] x <i>a-kán-n[a (x)] ip-pa-šu</i> 2. [...] a <sup>1</sup> x [...] <i>l̥ar-pu la-a <sup>1</sup>i-[k]aš-šad</i> 3. [...] <sup>1</sup> x-na? <i>si-ka-na ša <sup>1</sup>U.pí-ḥa-i-mu</i> 4. x [...] <i>šu-pal GÙB-šú si-ka-na</i> 5. <i>[ša <sup>1</sup>Ma-a-d]i u <sup>1</sup>N[È.IRI<sub>11</sub>].GAL i-za-qa-pu</i> 6. <i>[.]ti-ir-r[u (x)] DINGIR-łì si-ka-na ša <sup>1</sup>Te-e-ni GAR-nu</i> 7. <i>e-em DINGIR-łì 60 NINDA Zì pa-pa-sí ša 1 SÌLA.TA.ÀM</i> 8. <i>ù NINDA.MEŠ Zì : ši-na-ḥi-li ša 1 SÌLA.TA.ÀM i-šak-kán-nu</i> 9. <i>ù 3 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA.MEŠ e-em DINGIR-łì i-šak-kán-nu</i> 10. <i>ba-ra-ri-ma MÁŠ.TUR i-šar-ra-pu [...]</i> 11. <i>[i-na] še-e-r[i 1] GU<sub>4</sub> 4 UDU.ḤI.A [?]</i> 12. <i>[a-n]a DINGIR.MEŠ i-na-aq-qu UZU.Z[AG.MEŠ]</i>
Lo.E.	13. <i>[ù] UZU.GABA.MEŠ a-na pa-ni DINGIR.MEŠ</i> 14. <i>[i-ša]-kán-nu te-re-ti ú-šab-ša-l[u]</i>
Rev.	15. <i>[a-na DINGIR].MEŠ i-šak-kán-nu DUG.GÚ.ZI</i> 16. <i>[KAŠ(?).GE]ŠTIN ú-ma-al-lu-ú a-na DINGIR.MEŠ GAR-nu</i>
	<hr/> 17. [...] 1 DUG GEŠTIN SISKUR.MEŠ 18. <i>[1 1/2(?)] BÁN Zì pa-p]a-sí 1 1/2 BÁN Zì ši-na-ḥi-li</i> 19. <i>1 BÁN Zì.DA ŠE</i>

## Translation

1. [ ] they do as follows:
2. [ if] the harvest/summer time does not arrive,
3. [ ] the *sikkānu*-stone of the Storm-god *pihaimu*
4. [ ] (at) his lower left. The *sikkānu*-stone
5. [of Madi(?)] and of N[er]gal they erect.
6. ... the ... of the god(s). The *sikkānu*-stone of Teni they install.
7. Wherever the god(s) (is/are) they place sixty breads of *pappāsu*-mash of one *qu*<sup>â</sup> each,
8. and breads of *śinahili*-flour of one *qu*<sup>â</sup> each.
9. They (also) place wherever the god (is) three “thick breads”.
10. At the time of the evening watch they burn a goat.
11. [At] morning they sacrifice [one] ox (and) four sheep
12. to the gods. The [shoulders(?)]
13. [and] the breasts before the gods
14. they place. They cook the inner organs;
15. they place (them) [ before the god]s.
16. A cup they fill with [*hamru-w*]ine
17. and they place it for the gods.

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18. [...] one jug of offering wine,
19. [1 1/2(?)] *sūtu* of *pappāsu*-mash, 1 1/2 *sūtu* of *śinahili*-flour
20. 「1」 *sūtu* of barley flour.

## Philological and Textual Notes

1. For *harpū* (*harbū*) “harvest (time)”, “summer”, see B. Landsberger, “Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen”, *JNES* 8 (1949) 287–294.
3. For *sikkānu*, “baetyl”, “stela”, see literature in Fleming 1992a: 75–79 and note no. 27ff. See further Dietrich, Loretz and Mayer 1989; Durand 1990b: 85; Lackenbacher 1991; Hutter 1993.
5. *pihaimu* is one of the three Luwian epithets of the Storm-god attested at Emar: *habaimmi*, *pihaimmi* and *pudalimmi*, all construed with the Luwian participle *-mi-*. See Lebrun 1988: 147–155 and Haas 1994: 569f. The Storm-god *pihaimmi* (here with an Akkadianized nominal ending), “the powerful/radiant Storm-god,” is also attested in the Anatolian ritual Msk. 74176 (Arnaud 1986: 458, no. 427:24).
5. Since the extant remains of the first divine name consist of one vertical wedge, almost any god could be in this position. Reviewing the comparative texts, it appears that the Sun-god always bears the epithet “of heaven”, which would seem to exclude UTU from the choice for the first divine name. The god Madi, who is linked with Nergal in Arnaud 1986: 460, no. 472:60' (<sup>d</sup>*Ma-a-dī*); 466, no. 473:13' (<sup>d</sup>*Ma-a-dī*); 474, no. 483: 4' (<sup>d</sup>*Ma-a-dī*), might fit the context best. Madi “Wisdom” (in Hurrian) is a hypostasis of Ea (Laroche Glossire Hourrite 163f., Lebrun 1988: 152, Haas 1994: 312, 570). However, the name Madi is usually written with a TI sign rather than a DI sign. The Mesopotamian deity Nergal himself was not part of the Anatolian pantheon (Laroche 1988: 116), but was introduced in the 13th century in the province of Kizzuwatna

(Lebrun 1988: 151f.). On the other hand, Nergal could be an ideographical writing for some other deity with underworld affinities (Haas 1994: 570). Apparently, the two deities Madi and Nergal share the same *sikkānu*.

6. The Hurrian god Tenu also appears in the ritual text, Arnaud 1986: 456, no. 471:24. In the Anatolian realm he is known as the vizier of Teššup and Tašmišu (Lebrun 1988: 152, Laroche 1988: 116, Haas 1994: 569).
7. For breads of *pappāsu*-mash used in rituals in Emar, see Fleming 1992a: 142, 237, 265–266. For *zì-ba-ba-(za)* = *pappāsu* in Mesopotamia, see Milano 1993: 26 and PSD B 17f. *ba-ba-za*.
8. *šinahili* is a Hurrian word marked with a double *Glossenkeil*, meaning “second”, i.e. “of secondary quality”. See Laroche, *Glossaire Hourrite* 233. For a discussion of its use in rituals in Emar, see Fleming 1992a: 264–266, 284.
9. For NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA see H.A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*, New Haven 1974: 200–201. See also Fleming 1992a: 140–142, for the various bread types attested in the Emar ritual texts.
16. For *kāsu* (GÚ.ZI), “cup”, used in the rites for Hittite gods, see refs. in Fleming 1992a: 145. It also appears at the top of the cult inventory in no. 29:1. The restoration KAŠ.GEŠTIN is supported by similar occurrences with the verb *mullū* and the double accusative with cups and beverages; see note to text no. 24:13. Note, however, that in the sum total in line 18, we have “offering-wine” (GEŠTIN SISKUR.MEŠ) and not KAŠ.GEŠTIN.
18. The quantities given in lines 19f. apparently refer to the pastries listed in lines 7ff., so the amount of *pappāsu*-mash and *šinahili*-breads is probably the same – one and a half *sūtu*, with ten *qū* to one *sūtu*; this amount should suffice for 15 pastries each.

### 32. Hittite Letter from the King of Carchemish

C37 (69 × 59 × 30 mm., Syrian type)

#### General Observations

The tablet is café-au-lait in colour and was originally baked. Most of the surface was degraded. It was composed of poor quality clay with white calcareous inclusions. Some of the modern clay could not be removed despite firing.

#### Summary

The addressee is Alziyamuwa, a Hittite official at the court of Emar. The letter concerns the confiscation of properties belonging to Zū-Ba'la, the “diviner”, and head of the semi-autonomous local religious establishment. His full title was LÚ.HAL of all the gods of Emar. This title represents a unique position in the city of Emar, head of the so-called “temple M<sub>1</sub>” with its scribal academy (Fleming 1992a: 90). This is the second letter in Hittite known from the Emar archives, see Msk. 73.1097, E. Laroche, “Documents hittites et hourrites”, in D. Beyer (ed.), *Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux 1972–1982*, Paris, 1982: 54; A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter* 2, Heidelberg, 1989: 40–44, no. 23. The same topics, i.e. the oppression of Zū-Ba'la by Alziyamuwa

through the confiscation of his estates and the levy of obligations, are discussed in both letters. The king of Carchemish relates the royal decree of the Hittite king that the diviner is entitled to his land grant but is exempted by special royal decree from service obligations (*šahhan* and *luzzi-*); see discussion by Imparati 1982: 264–267. Because of the reference to “this Zū-Ba‘la”, Harry Hoffner suggests that it is probable that Zū-Ba‘la had personally taken his case to be adjudicated and has returned with this letter.

The official Hittite interest in the diviners of Emar is striking and serves as evidence that Emar served as a centre for divination for the Hittite monarchs. The LÚ.HAL was not only a diviner of the gods of Emar, but also played a leading rôle in a wide range of Emar affairs (Fleming 1992a: 87–92). The family records of Zū-Ba‘la were found in “temple M”, which may not have been a temple despite its superficial resemblance to the temples in Area E (see Sallaberger’s review of Fleming 1992a, in ZA 86 [1996] 142 and note 6). It does seem to have been a scribal centre under the supervision of the diviner. Over 650 tablets were discovered in this building, including most of the religious and scholarly texts uncovered in Emar, in addition to a wide variety of administrative texts. It seems to have housed the central records office in which the transactions of many different families and individuals were kept. It may also have been the residence of the LÚ.HAL. For a summary of the archive and library of the diviner, see Fleming 1992b: 60f.

This preliminary edition was prepared by Itamar Singer and Masamichi Yamada with additional notes and comments from Gary Beckman and Joan Goodnick Westenholz as well as corrections by Harry Hoffner.

## Text

Obv. 1. [UM-MA] LUGAL-MA [?]  
 2.  $\Gamma$ A-NA  $\Gamma$ Al-zi-ia-m[u-u-wa Qf-BI-MA]

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3. *ka-a-ša*  $\Gamma$ ka  $\Gamma$ -a-aš  
 4.  $\Gamma$ Zu-bá- $\Gamma$ la  $\Gamma$ -a-aš LÚ.AZU  
 5. A- $\Gamma$ NA  $\Gamma$ UTU-ŠI ar  $\Gamma$ -ku-wa-i[t]  
 6. GIŠ.KI[RI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN-w]a-m[u]  $\Gamma$ A  $\Gamma$ .ŠÀ <A>.GÀR.HI.A-[ia]  
 7.  $\Gamma$ A[l]- $\Gamma$ zi-ia  $\Gamma$ -m[u-u-w]a-aš  
 8. *ar-[h]a da-a-aš*  
 9. *nu-mu*  $\Gamma$ UTU-ŠI IQ-BI  
 10. *le-e-wa-ra-an ku-iš-ki*

Lo.E. 11. [da]m-me-eš-*ha-iz*- $\Gamma$ zi  $\Gamma$   
 12. [ki-n]u-[na-aš-ši-kán]  
 13. [x]  $\Gamma$ x  $\Gamma$  É-[ir<sup>2</sup> A.ŠÀ A<sup>2</sup>.G]ÀR.HI.A

Rev. 14.  $\Gamma$ GIŠ  $\Gamma$ KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN- $\Gamma$ ia  $\Gamma$ [?]  
 15. *pa-ra-a pa-* $\Gamma$ a  $\Gamma$ -[i ku]-it-ma-an ú-wa-mi  
 16. *na-an-kán* [x x]-x-ah-*hi*

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17. *lu-uz-zi-ia* [?]  
 18. *ša-ah-*ha-an* l[e]- $\Gamma$ e  $\Gamma$  [e-eš-š]a-i*

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19. *ka-a-ša-m*[a...]

20. *A-NA DINGIR-LIM [...]*  
 21. *na-an-ši A-[NA ... pa-]a-i*

### Translation

<sup>1-2</sup>[Thu]s (says) the king: To Alziyam[uwa say]: <sup>3-5</sup>This Zū-Ba'la, the diviner, has just protested to His Majesty (lit. {My} Sun) (as follows): <sup>6-8</sup>"Alziyam[uw]a has taken aw[a]y my vine[yard and(?)] fields".

<sup>9</sup>And His Majesty (lit. {My} Sun) said to me (as follows): <sup>10-11</sup>"No one shall [en]cumber it".

<sup>12-15</sup>A[nd no]w delive[r] ... the hou[se, the fie]lds an[d] the vine[ya]rd to him, [u]ntil I come (to you)! <sup>16</sup>And I [ ... ] it.

<sup>17-18</sup>He shall n[ot per]form the *luzzi-* (and) the *šahhan*.

<sup>19-21</sup>Bu[t] behold, [ ... ] for the god and he will [gi]ve it to him, t[o ...].

### Philological and Textual Notes

1. The title "king", which is distinguished from "My Sun" for the king of Hatti (ll. 5, 9), probably indicates the king of Carchemish.
5. The use of *arkuwai-* "to plead", for the introduction of the message is quite exceptional in the Hittite epistolary texts, cf. Maşat letter no. 52:9 (= Mṣt. 75/57, see Alp 1990: 111–112, 1991: 214f.). The line in the copy that seems to be the vertical of the AN sign is just a extraneous scratch.
6. Note that there are the expected six Winkelhaken at the beginning of the SAR on the tablet rather than the four of the copy.
12. Restoration based on Msk. 73.1097:17.
13. Although the house (É-*ir*) is not mentioned above (l. 6), this reading with emendation can be supported by the reference to *a-pa-a-at* É-*ir* "that house" in Msk. 73.1097:17.
18. For the use of the verb *ešša-* (iterative of *iya-*) "to perform" with *šahhan* and *luzzi-*, see CHD L-N pp. 90f. For a discussion of this verb used in connection with the service obligations of *šahhan* and *luzzi-*, see Diakonoff 1967; Imparati 1982; Alp 1990: 112–113, 1991: 333f. It is also found in the Hittite letter Msk. 73.1097.

## APPENDIX I: The Hittite Seal Impressions

Itamar Singer

### Text 1 (C 22)

cun.: *Ku-la-na-LÚ DUMU.LUGAL* (tablet line 1)  
hier.: EXERCITUS-ZITI<sup>ZI</sup> (L 269–312–376); INFANS+REX (L 46)

This ring seal, impressed three times, upside down, at the bottom of the reverse, has already been discussed by Poetto (1982). On its evidence, he established the correct reading of the logogram ARMY, i.e., cuneiform KARAŠ and hieroglyphic EXERCITUS (L 269), following Bossert.

Prince Kuwalana-ziti, who is mentioned here deciding a legal issue, also appears on several stamp seal impressions on bullae from Boğazköy (*SBo II* 19, 21; *BoHa* 265) and Tarsus (no. 54; cf. also the biconvex seal AO 11753 at the Louvre, without the title “prince”). The name is written in the same form on all these seals. Kuwalana-ziti could be identical with the grandson of Šahurunuwa, the “chief herdsman” (GAL NA.KAD), whose estates were divided between his heirs in a decree issued by Tudhaliya IV and Puduhepa (*CTH* 225; see Imparati 1975: 48).

### Text 2 (HC 12)

Seal 1 (no correspondence between name of witness and seal):

cun.: *A-ḥi-ma-lik LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA* (seal tag)  
hier.: *La-hí* (L 175–306)

Ring seal, impressed twice, upside down. Double-headed eagles, griffins (with fillers between them) and floral symbols (L 152) flanking the hieroglyphic legend, written from top to bottom. The same seal appears (impressed twice) on a tablet published in Arabic by M. Yabrudi in *AAAS* 36–37 (1986–1987): 87–93 (upper left seal on Pl. 2, p. 91).

This is the third attested seal of the “Overseer of the Land” (LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA) Laheia, used here by his colleague Ahi-malik (on “borrowed” seals, see Singer 1995). On his cylinder seal, impressed on *Emar* nos. 217–220 (Beyer, *Diss.*: A 17), he bears the title “prince”. A round stamp seal is impressed on *ME* 30 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 72c). All three seals have the same spelling of the name.

The identity of the seal owner on all three seals is made probable by the cuneiform legends. On *Emar* 90:18 he is entitled *La-hé-ia LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA*. His patronym is given in *Emar* 217:25 f. (sealed with the cylinder seal) and in *ME* 30 (sealed with the stamp seal): *La-hé-ia DUMU Mu-ud-ri-<sup>d</sup>U*. His father, Mudri-Tešub, also a prince and an “Overseer of the Land” (refs. in Arnaud 1991: 185), owned two different ring seals (Beyer, *Diss.*: B 46, B 49) and a stamp seal (*ibid.*: C 20), all with hieroglyphic legends.

The holders of this post, which was hereditary (at least in the case of the princes Mudri-Tešub and Laheia), were responsible for the entire region of Aštata, and performed

various administrative, military and legal duties (see Beckman 1992: 48, with refs.). Most of the attested “Overseers of the Land” (or simply “overseers”, UGULA) bear Hurrian or Anatolian names and must have been appointed Hittite officials (Mudri-Tešub, Puhi-šenni, Tuwariša, Laheia). Ahi-malik, who uses Laheia’s seal here, forms an exception to the rule. He is also attested in *Emar* 289:4 (cf. also *Emar* 239:2') and in *Hirayama* 36 (Tsukimoto 1991: 300ff.) – on the latter with his patronym, Ea-damiq (<sup>d</sup>É.A-SIG<sub>5</sub>). He assumed the post after Mudri-Tešub and Laheia, and could perhaps have had familial ties with the former “overseers”. On *Hirayama* 36 he uses a ring seal with a cuneiform inscription of his name (personal communication from A. Tsukimoto). Could this indicate that our tablet was written at the beginning of Ahi-malik’s tenure of this post, when he was still using his predecessor’s seal?

The name Lahi is also attested on two stamp seal impressions from Boğazköy (*BoHa* 185, 186) and on the Karga inscription (*HHM* no. 377). It is invariably spelt with L 306, *hí*. This seems to conform with the regular cuneiform spelling of the name with the sign *hí/kan* (*HZL* 113), which in Hittite normally has the value *hé* (as in <sup>d</sup>Hé-pát). Could this remarkable correspondence between cuneiform and hieroglyphic spellings indicate an *e*-vocalism for both signs? The etymology of the name remains unknown. There seems to exist a Hittite noun *lahhi-*, with unknown meaning (*CHD* 3/1: 7); the name Lahha occurs in the late Old Kingdom (Laroche 1966: 104).

The origin of the curiously shaped sign L 306 was recently suggested by Gonnet 1995, an acrophonic value derived from *himma*, a blood substitute used in rituals, represented by three connected juglets with drinking straws stuck in them. The shape of the sign in the *Emar* examples looks considerably different and is no longer reminiscent of the original imagery.

#### Seal 2:

cun.: <sup>d</sup>30-*a-bi* (Šaggar-abi) DUMU <sup>d</sup>KUR-*ta-ri-* (Dagan-tari') (seal tag)  
hier.: *Sà-ka(+ra)-pu* (L 104–434(+383)–328); VIR (L 386)

Ring seal, impressed twice. Same seal impression on *Emar* 16:37; 93:12; 115:17 (Beyer, *Diss.*, B 25). Bull and ibex facing one another across the hieroglyphic legend, flanked by floral symbols (L 152) on both sides. The inscription starts with the ibex, with the phonetic value *sà*, followed by *ka(+ra)* and upper part of *pu* in the centre. The *r/L* 383 “thorn” protrudes very slightly from the upper left corner of *ma*. There are floral symbols (L 152) above the inscription and the ibex, a male marker (L 386) above the bull and fillers under both animals and at the centre.

Šaggar-abi, son of Dagan-tari', possessed two other ring seals: Beyer, *Diss.*, B 6 (identical seal in Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 21e), which has a similar but more elaborate design, and B 31, with a different, hardly legible design. He should probably be distinguished from Šaggar-abi, chief of the chariots (LÚ.GAL GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ), whose ring seal is impressed on *Emar* 117 and on a clay stopper found at Tell Faq’ous (Margueron 1982: 61), and also from Šaggar-abi the *tartanu*, the owner of the anepigraphic seal Beyer, *Diss.*, L 2.

For the *Emar* reading of <sup>d</sup>30 as Šaggar (rather than Sin), see Laroche 1981: 11.

Seal 3:

cun.: EN-*ma*-lik (Ba 'lu-malik) DUMU [*Sa-al*]-*mi* (seal tag)  
hier.: *Pa-á-li-ma-li* (L 334-19-278-110-278); 3 x BONUS VIR (L 370-386)

Ring seal, with clearly carved elliptic border. Same seal impression on *Emar* 16 (Beyer, *Diss.*, B 2) and on *ME* 16 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: 21d). Double-headed eagles, griffins and plant-like symbols flank the hieroglyphic legend symmetrically. The inscription begins at the top right and curves around to the left. There are three male markers (L 386) on both sides of the legend, and also between the left eagle and griffin. On the opposite side is a plant-like filler.

The hieroglyphic spelling of the name suggests that EN should be read here as Ba 'lu. Whereas the hieroglyphic renderings of names in EN use both case endings (*pa-lu*, *pa-(a)-li*), they seem to distinguish between *a* and *e* vocalism in the root. The former is rendered invariably by hieroglyphic *pa*, the latter by *pi*: cuneiform *Be-li* equals hieroglyphic *Pi-lu* (*Emar* 118, *ME* 70). I would thus suggest qualifying Laroche's remark (1983: 22) on indifference in the hieroglyphic vocalization of Semitic names. For a general discussion on the word "lord" at Emar and elsewhere in Syria, see Fleming 1993.

Seal 4:

cun.: *A-bi-lál-li* (Abi-lalū) DUMU *Ka-pi* (seal tag)  
hier.: *À-pi-la-lu* (L 450-66-175-445)

Ring seal, impressed on the lower edge of the tablet. Griffins and plant-like symbols flank the hieroglyphic legend symmetrically. The right-hand griffin is very poorly designed. There is a floral filler (L 152) on the left, and a star-shaped filler on the right. The inscription runs from left to right. Note the delicate carving of the first sign (L 450= *À*), with its feather-like right-hand curve.

The same name appears on *Emar* 23 and *ME* 54 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 96), spelt with initial *À* (L 19).

**Text 8 (C 20)**

Seal 4

cun. : EN.GAL (Ba 'l-kabar) *za-bi-hu ša* <sup>d</sup>IM (seal tag)  
hier.: anepigraphic, except (2 x) BONUS VIR (L 370-386)

Cylinder seal, with upper part effaced by the cuneiform legend. Two figures are shown facing one another. The figure on the left is wearing a long garment and holds a long stick in his right hand. Behind him is a stylised tree, a motif which frequently appears on Mitannian seals and on the seal of Šahurunuwa, king of Carchemish (see Beyer 1982: 71 ff.). The right figure is followed by another figure wearing a long garment, holding a long ear of corn (or date cluster?). In front of both there is a triangle and two wedges, which may represent the hieroglyphic combination BONUS + VIR (L 360-386). The appearance of a hieroglyphic male marker on an anepigraphic seal is quite exceptional.

The post of the *zabihu* priest, probably derived from the root *zbl*, “slaughter”, is attested in several Emar tablets (for refs. see Fleming 1992). Particularly noteworthy is *Emar* 275, which lists the *zabihu* priests of the Storm-god, Dagan and Ninurta.

#### Seal 5

- cun.: *Zu-ba-la* DUMU *Ka-a-zi* (seal tag)
- cun.: *Zu-b[ā-la]* (cuneiform legend on the seal)
- hier.: left:  $U^-$ -*zu-pa-á-la* (L 105–285–334–19–175); AURIGA? (L 289)
- right: -]x-*pi-tu* (L 370–66–89); BONUS FEMINA (L 370–79)

Cylinder seal, impressed upside down, with upper part effaced by cuneiform legend. Cuneiform register with the name of seal owner written from the bottom upwards. Guilloche border on the bottom of the field (the top is missing). Two figures face one another across hieroglyphic legend. The left-hand figure is apparently the Storm-god, striding to the right. His long curl protrudes behind his raised left hand. In his right hand he holds a poorly-preserved unidentified object. Behind him is a floral symbol resembling L 152. The right-hand figure, clad in a long garment, appears to be a suppliant person or god.

The seal bears two hieroglyphic legends belonging to a man and a woman. While this is quite common in Hittite glyptics, the practice is exceptional at Emar. The only other example known to me is the seal of prince Piha-Tarhunda and (his consort?) Wašti (*Emar* 212; Beyer, *Diss.*, A 75), but this belongs to Hittite nobility.

The man's name, written from top to bottom, is also attested on *ME* 41 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 42). On both seals the sign *U-* precedes *-zu-*, resulting in *U-zu-*, rather than the expected *Zu-u-*. A displacement of signs, probably for aesthetic purposes, is also noted in other hieroglyphic spellings, e.g., *Pa-ti-li-a* for *A-pa-ti-li* = *'Abd-ili* = *IR.DINGIR.MEŠ* (Laroche 1981: 8). To the right of the name there is an unidentified arrowhead-like sign, perhaps an exceptional form of the male marker. To the left of the name, between the hand and the foot of the Storm-god, there is a clearly carved object which very much resembles the hieroglyphic sign for “charioteer”, L 289. If correctly identified, this would be the first attestation of this sign on Emar seals. The post of charioteer, Akkadian *kartappu*, is known in the Hittite administration of Syria, for example at Ugarit (see Pecchioli Daddi 1977; Singer 1983: 9 ff.).

The woman's name on the right is only partly preserved. Above the clear signs *-pi-tu*, there are traces of an unidentified sign and the triangle (L 370), which could be either phonetical *su* or an additional BONUS sign as a filler. For the restoration of the name one can turn to the cuneiform evidence related to *Zu-Ba 'la*, which is a very common name. *Emar* 80:11 mentions a daughter of *Z[u-Ba 'la]* called *A-ha-ti-É*, i.e., *Ahatī-bītu*. (Note, however, that in line 9 an *A-ha-ti-É* is the daughter of *KUR[-]*.) This name would offer a satisfactory restoration on the seal, provided that the first element can be accommodated in the missing space of the legend. In that case the triangle on the left is simply a filler with no phonetic value. Another, less likely, option would be to take *pi-tu* as a writing for West Semitic *bittu*, as in *bittu rabīti* in Ugarit (Nougayrol 1972: 89; Singer 1991: 334). In both cases, the woman sharing *Zu-Ba 'la*'s seal would be his daughter. Usually the women on double seals are considered as the consorts of the seal owners.

## Seal 6

cun.: GUR-<sup>d</sup>KUR (Tūra-Dagan) DUMU *Ia-ad-da* (seal tag)  
 hier.: *Tu+ra-tà-ka* (L 89+383-41-434)

Cylinder seal, partly effaced by the cuneiform legend. Same seal impressed on *Emar* 217, 218, 219 (Beyer, *Diss.*, A 65). Guilloche upper border, double line lower border. Two divine figures facing one another over a hieroglyphic legend. The name of Tura-Dagan, which provides the reading of GUR-<sup>d</sup>KUR, is written with the customary omission of the final consonant (Laroche 1981: 8).

On the right is a winged Ištar-like deity with a long lock falling down to the level of her elbow. She is wearing a headdress with two pairs of horns and a long decorated garment (for which cf. Beyer 1993: 73f. and fig. 5), and holds a stick-like object. On similar representations (e.g., Beyer, *Diss.*, A 33) the object held by this deity looks more like a club, though its identification remains to be established (see Beyer 1993: 74).

On the left is a bearded male figure, wearing a headdress with three pairs of horns and a long garment, holding a large mace in his right hand and an unidentified object in his left hand. It could perhaps represent a crooked stick or a scimitar, which is the typical attribute of the god Amurru (MAR.TU). This identification of the deity is also supported by the gazelle behind him, which is often the animal associated with the god Amurru. The rosette above the beast's horns could be associated with Ištar. According to some traditions Amurru's consort was Ašratu, or the "Lady of the Desert" (*Bēlet-ṣēri*). Could this divine couple be represented on this exceptionally fine seal?

The same deities seem to be represented on the seal impressed on *Emar* 91 (Beyer, *Diss.*, A 47). On this seal they both march towards a royal figure with a winged sun-disk above his head. The Ištar-like winged figure is holding an object which is probably a bird, whereas the deity following her holds the same objects as the Amurru-like figure on our seal as noted by Beyer: a mace and a crooked stick with some sort of tassels hanging from it. The solar figure holds an object that was identified by Beyer as an unusual example of the life symbol (L 369). Although this is what one would expect in this position, I have some doubts, because the upper knob which is present in all variants of the Hittite *ankh* (or "double axe") is entirely missing here (see Beyer 1982: 75, fig. 21). I would rather suggest that this be identified as a double *Tu+ra/i(-ia)*, as the name of the seal owner. Similar symmetrical arrangements are found on Hittite seals, e.g., the seal of Marianni on *ME* 84 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 37). This would further extend the parallel with our seal, which belongs to a person with a similar name, Tura-Dagan. (Note that the space under the sign in question in A 47 is obliterated, and could possibly have had additional signs.) On *Emar* 91 the seal is employed by Zu-Aštarti son of Ninni, and by Nina. A certain Zu-Aštarti is the son of Nini, according to *Emar* 91:35 f., whereas according to *Emar* 64:12, a certain Zu-Aštarti is the father of Turiya. While this could all be merely coincidental – these are frequent names in *Emar* – it could perhaps explain why Zu-Aštarti son of Ninni was using the seal of his son Turiya. At any rate, a collation of the seal impression on *Emar* 91 could be useful.

## Text 12 (C 19)

## Seal 1

cun.: *A-bi-ra-šap* DUMU DINGIR-*li-a* (seal tag)  
seal with imitation of Hittite hieroglyphs?

Cylinder seal carved in low, partly effaced relief. On the right is the Sun-god with a winged sun-disk over his head, holding a rather unusual *kalmuš*. On the left is a deity holding a curved stick. In between there are several signs which bear some resemblance to Hittite hieroglyphs (note especially the male-marker), but are apparently mere imitations.

## Seal 3

cun.: EN.GAL (Ba'lu-kabar) DUMU *Hu-ra-si* (seal tag)  
hier.: *Pa-lu-k[a-pa]* ; BONUS VIR (L 370–386)

Cylinder seal on lower edge, partly impressed; finger-print on left side. Same seal impressed on *ME* 30 (Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 72e; Beyer, *Diss.*, A 25), appearing there with the cuneiform legend EN.GAL DUMU *A-bi-ka-pi*. In *Emar* 194 Hurasi is attested as the father of Abī-kapi. In other words, the identical seals prove beyond doubt that Ba'lu-kabar's "patronym" on this tablet actually refers to his grandfather. The reasons for such a notation, which was suspected though not proven in the past, are beyond the scope of this publication.

Two divine processions face one another over the hieroglyphic legend framed by decorated borders, a coiled pattern at the bottom and a "headers and stretchers" pattern at the top. The retinue on the left is headed by a divine figure wearing a kilt and a headdress with one frontal horn; a long lock and a mace on his right shoulder. His extended left hand holds a bird, turning its head towards its master. A good parallel is found on a recently published bronze cylinder seal (Beyer 1993: 71, fig. 4 and pl. 14:4; see also remarks on p. 73 and n. 17). The main god is followed by a similar figure, wearing a long garment, holding a mace on his right shoulder and a long lance with serrated shaft; there is a rosette above his head.

The retinue on the right is headed by the Storm-god, brandishing his symbol in the right hand and a thick mace (?) in his left. He wears a short kilt, is girded with a dagger and has a headdress with three pairs of horns. He is followed by a figure wearing a kilt and a one-horned headdress, holding an animal by its tail in his right hand and a mace in his left; there is a star-shaped filler behind him.

The owner's name is written from top to bottom, with the "good" and male marker on the right (L 370–386). The hieroglyphic spelling of the name favours the reading Ba'lu-kabar for EN.GAL (see remarks on Ba'lu-malik; text 2, seal 3).

## Seal 4

cun.: *Ab-ba-nu* DUMU *Ka-a-pí* (seal tag)  
hier.: *À-pa-nú* (L 450–334–395); BONUS VIR (L 370–386)

Cylinder seal, presented (before cleaning) by Beyer, *Diss.*, A 5 (*ME* 117). Between guilloche borders, the Storm-god and the Sun-god face each other over a hieroglyphic

legend. The Storm-god wears a kilt and a headdress with three frontal horns. In his left hand he holds his symbol, and in his right he hoists a bull on a leash. The Sun-god wears the traditional long robe and rounded cap with frontal horn, with the winged sun-disk over his head. In his left hand he holds the *kalmuš*, in his right the life symbol with little notches on its top (see discussion in Beyer 1982: 77, n. 25). The exact identity of this personage – Sun-god or (deified) king – has long been debated (see literature cited in Beyer 1982: 71 f.), but has been definitely defined by Güterbock (1993: 225): “The distinction between the god and the king is made by the presence or the absence of the winged sun disc”. The Sun-god is followed by an attendant wearing a long garment and a bent headdress with one frontal horn. His hands are extended forward, holding an unidentified object(s). Similar figures appear on the silver cylinder seal at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Porada 1948: pl. 137, no. 909) and on Beyer, *Diss.*, A 15. On the latter, the attendant seems to be holding a bottle-shaped object.

The inscription is meticulously inscribed running from top to bottom. Note the right arm of *à* (L 450), which contains three coils and compare the quite different feather-like *à* on Text 2, seal 4. There is a male marker with a “good” sign to the left of the legend.

#### Seal 6

cun.: *Ka-pí<sup>d</sup>KUR* (Kapi-Dagan) LÚ.HAL (seal tag)

hier.: *Ka-pi-tà-k[a]* (L 434–66–41–434) SCRIBA (L 326) SACERDOS (L 372)

Round stamp seal, impressed sidewise at the centre of the reverse. The decorated border is mostly obliterated by the cuneiform legend. The same fragmentary seal impression appears on *Emar* 211 (Beyer, *Diss.*, C 6). The scribe and diviner Kapi-Dagan also had two cylinder seals (see below).

The Storm-god, wearing a headdress with three frontal horns, and a kilt, girded with a dagger, stands on the back of a bull with raised head. In his right hand he holds a (poorly-preserved) mace, while his left hand grasps his symbol and a leash tied to the bull’s head. The name is written from top to bottom to the right of the scene, with the titles “scribe” and “priest” to its left.

Kapi-Dagan’s cylinder seals exhibit more elaborate scenes. One has the Storm-god and a winged Ištar facing one another (Beyer, *Diss.*, A 33, on *Emar* 43, 118, 122, *ME* 81 [Gonnet in Arnaud 1991: no. 70], *Hirayama* 11 [Tsukimoto 1990: 198ff.]). The other has two attendants in addition to the Storm-god and Ištar; they stand on socles behind the main deities (Beyer, *Diss.*, A 32 = *ME* 30 [Gonnet, *ibid.*: no. 72a]).

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Hittite Sealings

*ME* Moyen Euphrate, tablets of unknown provenance referred to in Beyer,  
*Diss.* and in Arnaud 1991.

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*Rosen* G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*. Padua 1996.

*SBo* H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I-II*, Berlin 1940, 1942.

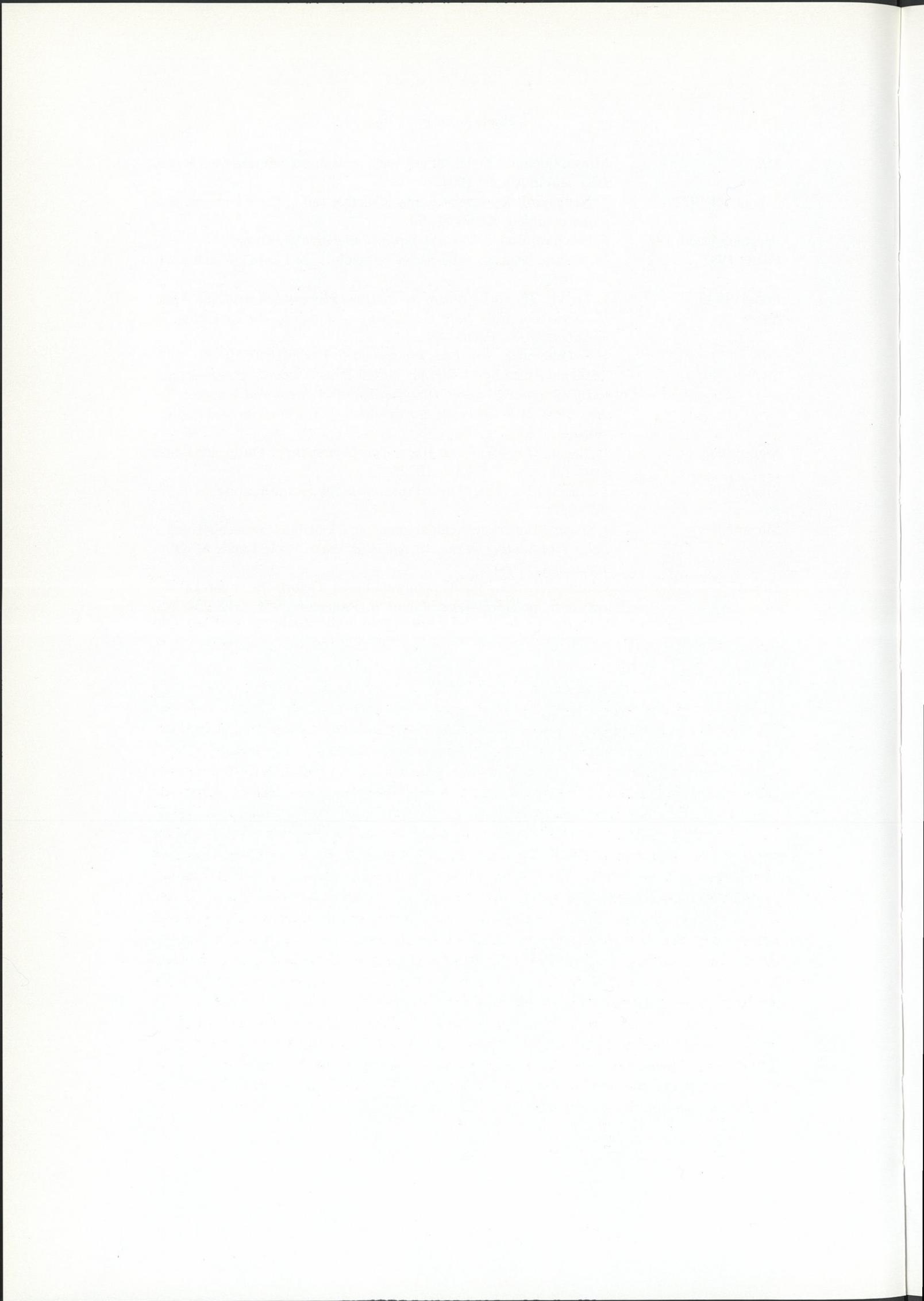
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## APPENDIX II: The Syrian sealings

Tablets from Emar present a bewildering array of habits of seal-use, types of seals used, and contrasting cultural influences. The seal impressions bear a wide repertoire of representations and are difficult to classify (see preliminary studies of Beyer 1980, 1982, 1987, 1988, 1990 and Dalley and Teissier 1992).

In the BLMJ corpus, sealings are found on legal texts and certain cultic inventories (nos. 28 and 29). This appendix will examine the iconography and inscriptions of the sealings but will not review the sealing practices of Emar, which have been dealt with by others (see e.g. Yamada 1993, 1994).

Those sealings which appear on more than one tablet in the BLMJ corpus are: (1) The seal of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, (2) the dynastic seal, (3) the sealings of Kili-Šarruma. All other seals appear only once.

### (1) The Seal of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA

The seal of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA was impressed on three texts: nos. 6, 10 and 11, dealing with the selling of city land. The seal is obviously the traditional seal of the god, regularly used to represent the city. Its orthography and iconography indicate that it is of late Old Babylonian design (Beyer 1980: 267–270, Pl. 1:1; 1990: 94; the seal is depicted on p. 95, fig. 4 and p. 96, fig. 1).

The inscription reads: *ra ab ša d[a di] DUMU <sup>d</sup>Da-[gan LU]GAL da-ad[-mi k]a-ši-id za-wa-n[i]* (reconstruction according to the inscriptions on the texts, see pls. XVI and XXVII). The one reasonable attempt at translation has been given by Dalley and Teissier: “Long-suffering(?), son of Dagan, king of populations, conqueror of enemies” (1992: 85). Others read *rab-ša-dadi*, an impossible grammatical formation with a construct before an explicit genitive (for a recent review of genitival constructions in Emar, see Huyssteen 1993). A grammatical solution would be *rab* “chief” in the construct followed by a genitive *šaddādī*, meaning boat-towers, surveyors, or something similar based on the root *šdd*. In accordance with the wide use of kennings in Emar – such as “Lord of Horns” (see text no. 19:7) – the first line should perhaps be read as a possible kenning of this god – *rapša-dādī* “all-loving” (lit. the wide-of-endearment). This formation has a clear grammatical structure: the adjective in the accusative case on which a genitive noun is dependent, cf. *rapšam irtim* “broad-of-chest, courageous”; *rapša uzni* “broad-of-ear, understanding” (Reiner 1984). Such epithets are applied to the gods, and Ninurta himself is termed *rapšu* (Tallqvist 1938: 176f.). Appellatives used as the names of gods are found among the names of the gods of Ebla (Archi 1993a: 12).

However, a St. Valentine characterization for <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA does seem inappropriate. Yamada states categorically that the legend on the seal is not the name of <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA (1994: 60). Nevertheless, the divine name Da-da is given as an equivalent of Ninurta in the double column version of the Weidner List (IV 28a, Weidner 1924: 74). In the Genouillac list, Da-da appears among the Ištar circle (AO 5376 vi 11, Genouillac 1923:

103). In the later AN = *Anum* godlist, Da-da appears in two different places: as an equivalent to the Elamite god Etalak (CT 24 24:69), and among the Adad manifestations and thus as a storm-god of the city of MAR.KI (CT 25 16:17). The deity Da-da occurs as a recipient of offerings in the Inanna Temple in Nippur in the Ur III period<sup>1</sup> and as a theophoric element in personal names.<sup>2</sup> The Ebla texts, for example, mention Da-da-il/i “Dada/ beloved is god” (ARET VII 150 v. ii 1); in Old Akkadian,<sup>3</sup> A-ba-<sup>d</sup>Da-di, Da-da-<sup>i</sup>lum (MAD 3 104, Vito 1993: 134, Ur); in OB persons such as Ur-<sup>d</sup>Da-a-da occur as well as an ancestor of the Amorite dynasty of Babylon, Dād-bānā (Finkelstein 1966: 103, 118). Similar names appear especially among the early Emarites, such as Zū-Dāda/i (Durand 1990b: 90) and the infamous Benjaminite Dādī-Ḥadūn in Emar in the Mari period (Durand 1990b: 42, 46ff.), and finally in Late Bronze Emar: Dādī-bānū.<sup>4</sup> Other evidence indicates that *dādī* could also mean “my uncle” as in the Ebla Vocabulary VE 1161 (MEE IV 324): *pa<sub>4</sub>-mu* = *da-dum*.

The second line, the “son of Dagan”, has been discussed by Fleming as an equivalent to the son of El, a title of Ba‘al in Ugarit (1993a: 88). Ba‘al is also known as the son of Dagan (Fleming 1992c: 60). Thus, Dagan would be El’s counterpart in the middle Euphrates region, inland from Ugarit. The Dagan referred to is obviously the Dagan of Tuttul, whose close relationship to Emar is shown by his visit to Emar in the Mari period (Durand 1990b: 43, 52f.). The father image of Dagan is known as early as the Old Akkadian period (PN: *A-bū-Da-gan* Aa. Westenholz OSP I 47 ii 2). Dagan is linked with Ilaba in Old Akkadian and in Hana (Podany, Beckman and Colbow, “An Adoption and Inheritance Contract from the Reign of Iggid-Lim of Hana”, *JCS* 43–45 [1991–93] 45).

In the third line, the term *dadmū* refers to the inhabited world, including both the settlements and the inhabitants, who have been placed in the custody of various gods (CAD D 19f.). As an epithet of Dagan, it is found in the Emar offering lists: <sup>d</sup>KUR EN *dadmū*.<sup>5</sup>

The fourth line *ka-ši-id za-wa-ni* “conqueror of enemies” is similar to familiar epithets such as *kāšid ajjābī* of warrior deities (Tallqvist 1938: 113), while Ninurta is once given the title *kāšid irnitti Enlil* (*ibid.*).

Thus we read the seal as: *rapša dādi DUMU <sup>d</sup>Dagan LUGAL *dadmī kāšid zāwāni** “All-loving, son of Dagan, king of the inhabited world, conqueror of enemies”.

The iconography of the deity does not lead to any definite assessment as to its identity. It is a male figure, facing right, who stands with a shield in his left hand and a scimitar (*harpe-sword*) in his right hand, in the pose of a victorious ascending god. It is the depiction of a warrior god rather than a storm-god (Beyer 1980: 268). Other gods in such a pose carry other objects in their left hands; e.g., Šamaš holds the saw or the rod and ring. Ninurta usually brandishes the lion-headed mace. It is the shield

<sup>1</sup> W. Sallaberger, *Der Kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Berlin 1993, 102, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Although Steinkeller (ASJ 7 [1985] 196) claimed that all examples of the Ur III PN Šu-Da-da represent Šu-Kab-da, there does seem to be enough testimony now of personal names with the theophoric element Da-da to refrain from emending the texts.

<sup>3</sup> “In some cases below Da-da, Da-ad, Da-di may be a DN” (MAD 3 104).

<sup>4</sup> Beckman 1996a: RE 57:29, also Arnaud 1991: 31:13; NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>1</sup>*Da-di-ba-nu*. Thus, there may be more than one interpretation of the shortened divine name written Da as the theophoric element in personal names, which has hitherto usually been identified as Dagan; see Beckman 1996a: 55–56.

<sup>5</sup> It also signifies the kingdom of Aleppo in the Old Babylonian period, see Durand 1990b: 64, note 140.

which is unusual and only a few comparative examples exist (Beyer 1980: 268). In written sources, the shield is a divine attribute of a Hittite god and one of the epithets of the planet Venus. For a comprehensive discussion of the identity of the god written <sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA, see J. Westenholz, forthcoming.

## (2) The Dynastic Seal

The impression of the dynastic seal is found on legal documents: no. 3 (legal decision before the king of Emar), and nos. 5, 6 and 7 (real estate sales). Dynastic seals are known at the court of the kings of Alalakh,<sup>6</sup> Hana,<sup>7</sup> Ugarit,<sup>8</sup> Nuzi (Collon 1987: 65) and Amurru (Beyer 1990: 94 and note 6; Collon 1987: 123–130). For a characterization of our anepigraphic seal as the dynastic seal carved in the Syro-Mitannian style, see Dalley and Teissier 1992: 85, 102. Note also that there are four variations on this seal (Beyer 1988). The seal bore four figures which are from left to right: (a) a warrior god with one leg advanced, holding a mace and bow, (b) a second warrior god in ascending posture, holding a trident and a knife (?), (c) a human figure (the king?) with his arms hanging loosely at his sides, (d) a winged female goddess, probably nude and holding her breasts; there is a star in the field of the seal at her feet. Both (a) and (b) wear the ankle-length slit garment covering the upper body and the right leg while the left leg is left uncovered and is raised. Figure (c) wears a long double-hemmed robe and faces the winged goddess who gazes back at him. No headdress distinguishes the deities from the mortal king but, as pointed out to me by Dominique Collon, the attributes that they hold, the dress worn and the attitudes affected do distinguish the figures. The first portrayal of a divinity without the characteristic horned crown dates from the time of Abi-ešuh (Beckman *et al.* 1991–93: 43). No short undergarment is visible.

The gods of the royal house mentioned in royal dedications are: the Storm-god <sup>d</sup>U, probably Ba‘al (Arnaud 1986: 57–58, no. 42), perhaps to be identified with (a). If (a) is Ba‘al, there is a good probability that the nude goddess is ‘Aštarte, his spouse. They had two temples side by side on the cultic terrace situated on the pinnacle of the tell. The other prominent god is probably the head of the Emar pantheon – Dagan (see Fleming 1993a: 89–94).

## (3) The Sealings of Kili-Šarruma

Two cult inventories (texts 28 and 29) bear the impressions of a signet ring, with the personal name Kili-Šarruma written in cuneiform script, and of an anepigraphic cylinder seal. The name Kili-Šarruma is obviously Hurrian; see similar names in Zadok 1989–90: 46. For a discussion of the Hurrian texts found in Emar in the collection of the diviner (M<sub>1</sub>), see Laroche 1980, 1982 and Fleming 1992b: 60, 1992c: 53. Although no. 28 is

<sup>6</sup> Collon 1975: nos. 11, 235.

<sup>7</sup> Beckman *et al.* 1991–93:

<sup>8</sup> Cl.F.A. Schaeffer-Forrer, *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit I*, Paris, 1983; P. Amiet, *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ougarit II: Sceau-cylindres en hématite et pierres diverses* [Ras Shamra-Ougarit IX], Paris 1992.

a cult inventory of the possessions of the gods of Newtown – Erra and Adammatera, a Hurrian goddess – and text no. 29 is a cult inventory of Nergal, lord of Šagma, there are no sealings on other cult inventories.

Other tablets bearing the same signet sealing are: Arnaud 1986: 70, no. 61:3 (*étiquette de panier bulla?* GI.PISAN of precious stones, sealed with label indicating his title as DUB-SAR scribe); 284, no. 287 (cult inventory of Ninkur of the city of Uri, sealed twice); 1991: 151, no. 97 (cult inventory of the moon-god Šaggar); Tsukimoto 1992: 298, no. 48 (cult inventory of Adammatera of Newtown). The name of the temple functionary, the SANGA, is also appended to these cult inventories. Kili-Šarruma may appear in the letter published in Arnaud 1986: 260, no. 263:16, which relates that the fate of the city of Šatappi is in his hands. Arnaud 1991: 53, no. 20:19 (real estate sale) bears a Hittite hieroglyphic sealing with a label which probably belongs to a different person with the same name. Another person of the same name appears in Arnaud 1986: 263, no. 266:36, where he is the son of Abī-kāpī.

The cylinder seal depicts a ritual scene. It shows a seated deity (indicated by the horned helmet), holding a cup. This image of the seated deity might be compared to the terracotta plaque of an enthroned deity found in the excavations in a domestic locus (Margueron 1975: Pl. VIII: 2): In front of the seated deity stands an altar and the Sun-god king (for a discussion of this image of a human figure with a winged sun-disc on his head, see Beyer 1987: 33). The Sun-god king is shown with one leg advanced and wearing a fringed garment. Flanking the king is the Storm-god bestriding his bull (for examples from Emar, cf. Beyer 1982: 65). He holds its reins in his left hand while his right hand grasps the hind legs of a hare. Three wavy lines to the right of his head represent his symbol, the forked lightning.

#### (4) Individual Sealings

##### *Text 4*

This tablet bears seven clear sealings: six impressions of anepigraphic cylinder seals and one impression of a fringe. There seem also to be traces of a seventh and an eighth sealing on the obverse of the tablet. Sealing no. 1 probably shows a presentation scene before a seated figure holding a “ringed/ball staff”(?). One standing figure leads the other by the hand into the presence of the deity(?).<sup>9</sup> The staff, which is possibly of vegetable origin, may be compared to those held by other figures in the Emar repertoire, cf. Beyer 1990: 98, and figs. 4, 5 on p. 97; Dalley and Teissier 1992: 104, fig. 6B; as well as seal no. 1 on text 9.

Sealing no. 2 is largely destroyed and only traces of a human figure are visible. Sealing no. 3 exhibits a figure with no facial features, but with ball-like objects on the sides and on top of the head. The iconography indicates that the seal is of late Old Babylonian design (cf. Beyer 1990: 95, fig. 6). A similar figure occurs on an Old Babylonian seal (Collon 1981: no. 432), and has been referred to as a “nude hero” and dated to the late eighteenth or seventeenth century (*ibid.* 171). Another example on a seal was found in Alalakh level IV, but the inscription dates it to the

<sup>9</sup> I owe this interpretation to Dominique Collon.

Old Babylonian period (Collon 1982: 47). Wiggermann proves that the generic name of the figure in Mesopotamian art usually described as a “nude bearded hero” was *lahmu*.<sup>10</sup> However, Edith Porada has convincingly showed that the “nude bearded hero” of gigantic proportions, often seen with streams of water flowing from his shoulders, may represent GU.LA (“great star”), a constellation associated with the water god Ea.<sup>11</sup> Most recently, Richard Ellis has questioned this identification.<sup>12</sup>

Sealings nos. 4–6 are shown as a continual frieze since it is uncertain where they should be divided. Proceeding from left to right, we see a bull-man holding a gatepost (?); a broken section with two fragmentary figures facing a third; two fragmentary figures facing each other; an offering bearer in front of a typical depiction of Shamash; a king in a short kilt bearing a mace; and another half figure, probably holding a *harpe*-sword.<sup>13</sup> The iconography indicate that the seals are of late Old Babylonian design (Beyer 1980: 267–270, Pl. 1:6; 1990: 94; the seal is depicted on p. 96, figs. 2–7, p. 97, figs. 2, 6. For an Old Babylonian bull man holding a gatepost, see Collon 1981: no. 144). The design is executed in the drill style. For the last sealing, made by a fringe, note the use of the hem of a garment for sealing, cf. Renger 1977: 77.

#### Text 8

This tablet bears six sealings: three impressions of anepigraphic cylinder seals and three impressions of Hittite sealings. Sealing no. 1 seems to bear two figures, one standing and the other seated. The seated figure stretches its arm out in a way which might be compared to the Ugarit seals in Amiet 1992: nos. 193, 202, 218. Sealing no. 2 seems to be Hittite (Beyer 1982: figs. 11–13).<sup>14</sup> Sealing no. 3 may portray a dancing figure between gateposts, with a scorpion to the left. If it depicts a worshipper outside a shrine, the scorpion could be a symbol of the goddess Ishara. The scorpion frequently appears as a secondary motif in Emar seals (Beyer 1980: 274). It could also be that the design is divided into vertical panels, as seen on seals from Alalakh (Collon 1982: 104–105) and other seals carved in the common style of Mitanni (Salje 1990: Pls III:53–57, V:79–84, 87–91, and *passim*). For sealings no. 4, 5 and 6, see Appendix I.

#### Text 9

This text bears two sealings of anepigraphic cylinder seals. The first depicts two figures, with possibly another on the left, grasping rods or branches, possibly the ringed staff already seen in seal no. 1 on text 4. The figure on the right, with its right arm raised, may wear a horned helmet of divinity and might depict a storm-god. There are various items in the field of the seal, including what seems to be a head in the middle. Heads are often found in Emar sealings carved in Mitannian style (Dalley and Teissier 1992: 85 and 96, fig. 2A) and in Mitannian common style seals (Salje 1990: 37–38 and Pl. III:57). This one may bear the winged sun-disc. The various drill dots in the field are characteristic of the Levantine glyptic of this period (Salje 1990: Pl. XIX). The second sealing is very similar to the known Emar sealings, depicting both animals and humans.

<sup>10</sup> F. Wiggermann, “Exit Talim: Studies in Babylonian Demonology, I”, *JEOL* 27 (1981–1982) 90–105.

<sup>11</sup> E. Porada, “On the Origins of Aquarius,” *Studies Reiner*, 279–292.

<sup>12</sup> R. Ellis, “The trouble with ‘Hairies,’ ” *Iraq* 57 (1995) 159–165.

<sup>13</sup> I owe this interpretation to Dominique Collon.

<sup>14</sup> I owe this information to Dominique Collon.

The figures from left to right are: one human figure holding an animal by the hind legs facing another holding a vase with flowing water; a third human figure holding a spade or spear; unknown image; lattice pattern; hand(?); lightning fork; animal; star. Since the imagery seems too long for one sealing, it is possible that two sealings appear here, with the first being Syrian and the second, Syro-Hittite. For animals and rosettes together in the Syro-Hittite seals, cf. Beyer 1982: 67, fig. 13. For cross-hatched lattice-patterned vertical bands, cf. seals from Alalakh (Collon 1982: 104–107). As suggested to me by Dominique Collon, the break between the two sealings should occur to the left of the lattice frame.

*Text 12*

There are six sealings: five cylinder seal impressions and one stamp seal impression. For sealings nos. 1, 3, 4 and 6, see Appendix I. The remaining two cylinder seals (nos. 2 and 5) are anepigraphic. No. 2 may show a secular drinking scene similar to that of the Mitannian seal found near Khorsabad (BM 89819; Collon 1987: no. 270; Wiseman 1959: Pl. 51). The impression shows three figures (left to right): one seated at a table, another standing holding an animal by a lead rope, and a winged nude female shown clasping her hands at her waist. The female figure may have been designed to appear to the left of the figure seated at the table. A similar female figure wearing an open skirt and displaying an oversize navel appears on the Mitannian seal mentioned above. The figures have sharp prominent noses like the figures in several seals from Alalakh (Collon 1982: nos. 85–90). The table is similar to that of Beyer 1989: E5. No. 5 shows a seated divinity holding a cup (?), flanked by various figures, one of whom is an Atlas figure kneeling on one knee and bearing the moon-crescent and the sun-disc upon his head. There is another larger figure kneeling on both knees (?) to the left of the scene with the seated divinity. Three figures with upraised arms and one half body complete the imagery. The central figure holds his arms with the forward arm across the body and the rear arm raised in a posture of devotion. This posture is said to be Babylonian and never to occur in Assyria; it is apparently an Old Babylonian derivative (Matthews 1990: 20–21). Behind the central figure, a secondary figure stands with his rear arm lowered and his forward arm raised, the reverse arm position of the central figure – another Old Babylonian derivative that passed into the Mitannian style (Matthews 1990: 23). There is a guilloche along the bottom edge, closest in style to Salje's Type 3 (Salje 1990: Pl. XV: 292) among the common style of Mitannian seals. As to the Emar sealings, this guilloche is nearest in type to that shown in Beyer 1980: 281, no. 9 and 1987: 32, fig. a.

*Text 13*

Partial sealings of two signet rings bearing cuneiform legends.

*Text 14*

There are four sealings on this tablet: three cylinder seal impressions and one stamp seal impression which has a Hittite hieroglyphic legend (see Appendix I). Cylinder seal impression 1, which was rolled out three times, seems to bear a cuneiform legend and a scene of worship. The legend is poorly executed, but TI, discernible as the second sign, suggests that it could have rendered the PN Mādī-Dagan. The accompanying scene shows a seated god wearing the white crown of Egypt and a uraeus sitting behind an

### Syrian Sealings

offering table, below a rayed sun-disc. To the left of the table stands a worshipper pouring a libation, who wears a tall hat with a projection which closely resembles the deity's headgear; if this is indeed the same crown, this could represent the pharaoh. Cylinder seal impression 2, which is rolled out twice, depicts a seated figure holding a bird, which may be symbolic of a god, may be an offering, or may relate to the practice of augury, well-known in the area of Anatolia and the Levant. The next figure to the left is holding a sacrificial animal by its hind legs. The third figure to the left wears the divine headdress, and holds his left hand aloft in the classic gesture of the Storm-god, with a spear or javelin in his right hand. In Ugaritic iconography, the divinity holding a pike (Amiet 1992: 79, nos. 146, 151; 80, no. 157) is said to be a late rendering of the Storm-god (Amiet 1992: 68). The shape of the offering table is similar to that on the cylinder seal impressions of Kili-Šarruma described above. Cylinder seal impression 3 is rolled out once, upside-down in relation to the other sealings. Cylinder seal impression 4 is barely discernible, as can be seen in the drawing on pl. XXXVIII. As pointed out to me by Dominique Collon, it is probably a Mitannian common style seal with a figure in a flounced robe, a stylised tree and two reclining horned quadrupeds back to back which look back over their shoulders at each other (see Collon 1982: nos. 56, 57, 60).



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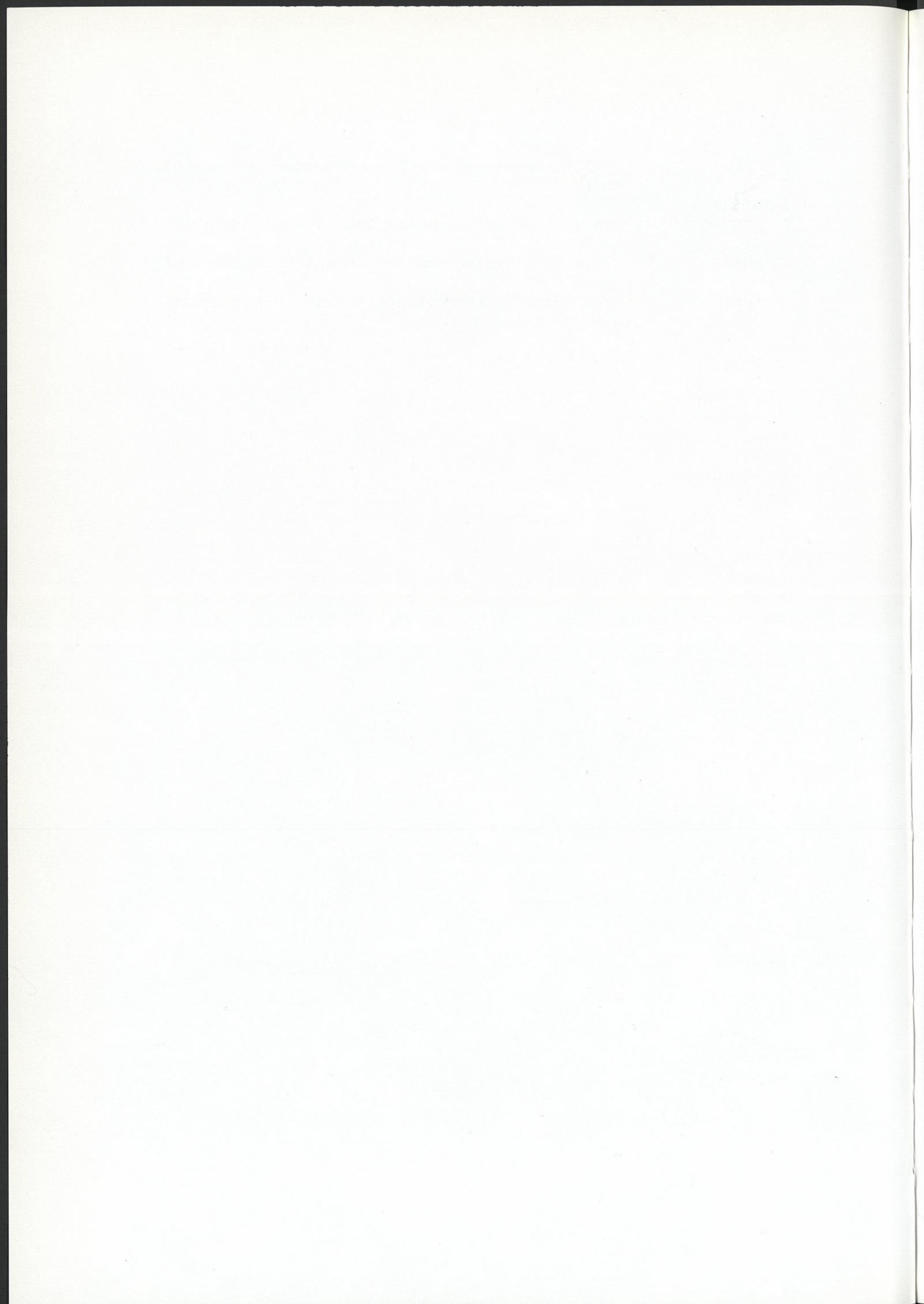
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## INDEX OF DIVINE NAMES

Adammatera  
24:17; 28:8

<sup>c</sup>Aštar-ḥaši (wr. <sup>d</sup>Aš-tar-ḥa-ši)  
25:8

<sup>c</sup>Aštar(t)-taḥāzi (wr. [<sup>d</sup>]INANNA-ta-ḥa-zī)  
30:1

Ba'āl  
19:4  
wr. <sup>d</sup>IM

Ba'āl of Aleppo  
wr. <sup>d</sup>Ba-'-lu<sub>4</sub>-ḥa-la-ab 4:32'

Dagan  
30:5  
wr. <sup>d</sup>KUR

Erra  
28:6; 30:9

Ḩamari  
19:1

Išhara  
19:3

Lord of Horns  
19:7  
wr. <sup>d</sup>EN-SI.MEŠ

Lord of Šagma  
29:14  
wr. EN Šag-ma

Madi  
31:5

Nergal  
29:14, 31:5  
wr. <sup>d</sup>NÉ.IRI<sub>11</sub>.GAL

Ninkurra  
8:1, 5, 6; 26:1; 30:16

<sup>d</sup>NIN.URTA  
6:8, 10, 19; 10:12; 24:2

Tenu  
31:6

Šaggar  
25:1  
wr. <sup>d</sup>30

Šamaš  
32:5, 9  
wr. <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši

Šašabitti  
24:18  
wr. <sup>d</sup>Ša-aš-ša-É-ti

Teššup-piḥaimu  
31:3  
wr. <sup>d</sup>U.pí-ḥa-i-mu

We'da  
24:16

## INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

The following sigla have been employed:

d. = daughter  
f. = father  
fem. = female  
gf. = grandfather  
gs. = grandson  
hu. = husband  
p. = property  
m. = mother  
s. = son  
sc. = scribe  
se. = seal  
w. = witness  
wi. = wife

### <sup>c</sup>A

f. of Niqala 17:1  
wr. <sup>c</sup>-a

Abbanu  
s. of Kāpī 12:13 (se)

Abda  
s. of Šē<sup>c</sup>-i-Dagan 9:5

Abdi-ilī  
s. of Hanna 8:25 (w)  
s. of Kumri 12:1  
18:6  
wr. īR-DINGIR-lī

Abdu  
s. of Hinni 18:9  
s. of Baba 18:11  
s. of Šaggar-abu 30:20 (w)

Abdu-Dagan  
6:5

Abī-Dagan  
s. of Ušk[a...]. 17:15  
wr. A-bi-<sup>d</sup>KUR

Abī-kāpī  
s. of Ilī-abī 8:18, 19 (se)  
gs. of Milki-Dagan 8:19

f. of Rašap-abu	9:18	21:19	
f. of Addiya	14:24	Al-ahī	
Abī-lalī		3:33	
s. of Kāpī	2:21	Alal-abu	
Abī-Rašap		4:34' (se)	
s. of Iliya	12:9 (ce)	f. of Abda	9:12
Abī-Šaggar		wr. <sup>d</sup> A-la-al-a-bu	
17:12		Al-umme	
wr. A-bi- <sup>d</sup> 30		f. of Mādī-Dagan	2:2
Abiya		Alziyamuwa	
b. of Elli	8:28 (w)	32:2, 7	
Abiyu		Amzaḥi	
s. of Zikriya	14:1	s. of Rašap-ilī	8:29 (w)
Ablala		Anna-ziti	
f. of Šē'ī-Bēlu	30:22	20:5	
Abša		wr. An-na-LÚ	
s. of Alal-abu	9:11	Anini	
Adda		f. of Kaška	12:10
s. of Muḥra	4:4	Appata	
f. of Ir'ām-Dagan and of Ir'ibū	4:4, 38'	f. of Ušk[a...]	17:16
4:20 (se) same as above?		s. of Ummī-bitti	17:16
17:13 same as above?		Aṣṣilla	
Adda-na <sup>‘</sup> mī (fem.)		f. of Itūr-Dagan	5:28
3:8, 27		Ašada	
wr. <sup>d</sup> IM-da-na-ahī-mi		īR LUGAL	18:8
Addiya		Ašda-ahī	
f. of Nāni	8:22	f. of Niqala	3:40
s. of Ab <sup>d</sup> -kāp <sup>d</sup>	14:24 (w)	s. of Pilsu-Dagan	4:22 (w)
Aḥī-abī		s. of Niqala	8:8
b. of Zū-Ba <sup>‘</sup> la	11:17 (w)	Attuwa	
13 rev. 9''		f. of Bēlu-līmī	7:6
Aḥī-Bašar		Awiru	
s. of Iṣi-qa-tar	9:28 (w)	s. of Puaši	17:2
Aḥī-Dagan		Aya <sup>‘</sup> -ahī	
f. of Hunna	4:23	f. of Zū-Aštartī	18:14
Aḥī-ḥamis		Baba	
s. of Kaška	6:6	f. of Abdu	18:11
Aḥī-malik		Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-bēlu	
LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA	2:15 (se)	f. of Iphur-Dagan	9:4, 15
b. of Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-kabar	3:38 (w)	wr. <sup>d</sup> IM-EN	
19:5		Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-kabar	
f. of Zū-E[ya]	6:29; 8:4	f. of Pilsu-Dagan	3:1, 37; 5:16, 40; 7:31
s. of Na <sup>‘</sup> mī-šalamu	9:27 (w)	s. of Elli	6:25; 7:31 (w) 11:14 (w)
Aḥu-na <sup>‘</sup> i		s. of Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-malik	7:15
s. of Ušati	18:10	wr. <sup>d</sup> IM-GAL	
Aḥu-nannu		Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-malik	
s. of Pabiyu	17:8	s. of Iṣṣur-Dagan	7:15
Aḥu-tāb		24:1	
f. of Zū-Anna	4:42'-43'	wr. <sup>d</sup> IM-ma-lik	
Aḥu-wā <sup>‘</sup> i		Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-qarrād	
20:2		s. of Zū-Ba <sup>‘</sup> la	8:10
		wr. <sup>d</sup> IM-UR.SAG	

Ba' alat-bitti	wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-NIR
20:4	
wr. <sup>d</sup> NIN-É	
Ba' alat-milki	Dagan-malik
20:5	20:1, wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-ma-lik
21:16	21:18, wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-«AN»-ma-lik
wr. <sup>d</sup> NIN-mil-ki	
Ba' alat-tazki	Dagan-zaluli
20:4	GÉME 14:2
wr. <sup>d</sup> NIN-ta-as-ki	wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-za-lu-li
Baṣṣi	Dagan-tāli <sup>c</sup>
f. of Ikkidi 4:21	s. of Kāzi 12:13 (se)
15:3	s. of Mali 18:12
Bēlu-Dagan	wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-ta-li- <sup>3</sup>
b. of Kirri-Dagan 14:31 (w)	Dagan-tāri <sup>c</sup>
wr. EN- <sup>d</sup> KUR	f. of Šaggar-abī 2:18
Bēlu-kabar	Dagan-zaki
zābiḥu ša <sup>d</sup> IM 8:18 (se)	15:7
s. of Ḥaya 8:23 (w)	wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-za-ki
s. of Ḥurāsi 12:11 (se)	Dagan-zi
20:2	w. of [...] 10:7
21:18	Ea-damiq
wr. EN-GAL	s. of Zikriya 12:2, 5, 8
Bēlu-līmī	13 r. 8 <sup>''</sup> (se)
s. of Attuwa 7:6	wr. <sup>d</sup> É-a-SIG <sub>5</sub>
Bēlu-malik	Ehliya
s. of Ṣalmi 2:19 (se)	20:25
f. of [...] 11:9	Elli
f. of Zū-Ba'la 11:16	s. of Pilsu-Dagan 5:41; 6:24 (w); 7:30
3:42 (sc)	(w); 11:13 (w)
wr. EN-ma-lik	b. of Iṣṣur-Dagan 5:42
Binti-Bēli	f. of Ba'lu-kabar 6:25; 7:31 (w)
20:3	s. of Marianni 8:27 (w)
21:16	s. of Tūra-Dagan 8:31 (w)
wr. DUMU.MÍ-EN	EN...
Dādiyu	20:1
s. of Quqi 18:2	wr. EN-x-nu
Dādu	Ezata
s. of Rašap-ilī 8:24 (w)	13 rev. 4
Dagan-bēlu	Ga(y)a
14:23 (se)	f. of Tai, gf. of Ḥanna 8:17
nephew of Imlik-Dagan 14:26 (w)	Haddu
s. of Sasawa 18:3	f. of Pahuru 30:24
wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR!(ŠE)-EN	Halū
Dagan-kabar	f. of x(?) 10:11
f. of Kumri 12:3	Hamadi
12:7	s. of Zuri 4:25 (w)
b. of [...] 17:9	Hanna
wr. <sup>d</sup> KUR-GAL	s. of Tai, gf. of Gaya 8:16 (se)
Dagan-matkalī	f. of Abdi-ilī 8:25
f. of Ḥimāši-Dagan 8:26	Haya
	f. of Bēlu-kabar 8:23
	f. of Una 30:21
	Hida
	f. of Ḥimāši-be 18:13

Himāši-be	5:6
s. of Ḫida 18:13	
s. of Yadu-bēlī 18:22	
Himāši-Dagan	
s. of Dagan-matkalī 8:26 (w)	
wr. Ḫi-ma-ši- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Hinna-Ba‘al	
wr. Ḫi-in-na- <sup>d</sup> IM 4:33'	
Hinni	
f. of Abdu 18:9	
Hinnu-Dagan	
21:26	
wr. Ḫi-nu- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Hūdi	
d. of Na‘i-Dagan 14:2	
wi. of Abiyu 14:13	
Hulā‘u	
f. of Šadde 3:3, 12	
Hunna	
s. of Ahī-Dagan 4:23 (w)	
Hannānu	
7:4, 5	
Hurāsi	
f. of Bēlu-kabar 12:12	
Hurāšu	
f. of Rībiya 6:4	
Husiru	
s. of Lala 14:27 (se)	
Ibni-Dagan	
b. of Zū-E[ya] 6:30 (w); 11:19 (w)	
s. of Abiyu 14:15	
s. of Rībi-Dagan 15:22	
wr. Ib-ni- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Iddin-Dagan	
20:1	
22:4	
wr. SUM- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Iddid-Šamaš	
f. of Imlik-Dagan 9:30	
wr. Id-di-id- <sup>d</sup> UTU	
Ikki-Dagan	
s. of [...] 18:5	
s. of Zimri-Šamaš 30:23 (w)	
wr. Ik-ki- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Ikkidi	
s. of Bassi 4:21 (w)	
4:39'-40' (se)	
Ikmu-Dagan	
s. of [Išbi]-Dagan 13:10	
wr. Ik-mu- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Ikūnanni	
Ilī-abī	
f. of Abī-kāpī 8:19	
wr. DINGIR-lī-a-bi	
Ilī-bānī	
f. of Zū-Aštarti 17:6	
wr. DINGIR-lī-ba-ni	
Ilī-kašrī	
6:1	
wr. DINGIR-lī-ka-aš-ri	
Iliya	
f. of Abī-Rašap 12:10	
wr. DINGIR-lī-a	
Ilī-yamūt	
s. of Lim-Da 4:6	
Imlik-Dagan	
s. of Iddid-Šamaš 9:29 (w)	
s. of Abiyu 14:16	
s. of Kāpī-Dagan 14:25 (w)	
f. of Išbi-Dagan 14:32	
wr. Im-lik- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Iphur-Dagan	
s. of Padūti 8:30 (w)	
s. of Ba‘al-bēlu 9:4, 14, 16	
wr. Ip-ḥur- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Ir’am-Dagan	
s. of Adda 4:3, 36'	
Ir’ammu	
10:8	
Ir’ibu	
s. of Adda 4:3, 37'	
Irha‘e	
17:4	
Iši-qa-tar	
f. of Ahī-mašar 9:28	
Iššur-Dagan	
b. of Pilsu-Dagan 5:42 (w)	
f. of Ba‘al-malik 7:15	
p. of Iššur-Dagan 8:7	
wr. Iš-ṣur- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Iš-Dagan	
5:44 (w), (sc); 6:32 (w), (sc); 7:34	
(w), (sc); 11:20 (w), (sc)	
wr. Iš- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Išbi-Dagan	
f. of Ikmu-Dagan 13:10	
s. of Imlik-Dagan 14:32 (w)	
wr. Iš-bi- <sup>d</sup> KUR	
Išbiya	
f. of Ta‘e 17:3	
Ittini	
f. of Za-...? 10:5	

Itūr-Dagan	s. of Aṣṣilla 5:27	s. of Kabūli 1:2, 18, 22, 25
20:1		
wr. I-túr- <sup>d</sup> KUR		
Izizili		Matkalī-Dagan
5:4		f. of Kiri-Dagan 14:30
Izrīya	s. of Niqala 8:8	14:33 (w)
Kabūli		f. of Maqara 17:7
f. of Ma’lau 1:2, 18		wr. Ma-at-(ka)-li- <sup>d</sup> KUR
Kalli		Mādī-Dagan
20:5		s. of Al-umme 2:2, 4, 10
Kamma	f. of Ṣiti 18:1	14:23 (se); 14:29 (w)
Kaška	f. of Ahī-ḥamis 6:6	wr. Ma-di- <sup>d</sup> KUR
s. of Anini 12:9 (se)		
Kāzi	f. of Zū-Ba <sup>cl</sup> a 8:21	Mali
f. of Dagan-tāli <sup>c</sup> 12:14		f. of Dagan-tali 18:12
Kāpī	f. of Abī-lalī 2:22	Maqara
s. of Leeda 7:11–12		9:31 (w)
f. of Abbanu 12:15		s. of Matkalī-Dagan 17:7
Kāpī-Dagan		Marianni
LÚ.ḤAL 12:16 (se)		f. of Elli 8:27
f. of Imlik-Dagan 14:25		Milki-Dagan
wr. Ka-pí- <sup>d</sup> KUR		f. of Yašur-Dagan 8:17
Kirri-Dagan		gf. of Abī-kāpī, f. of Ilī-abī 8:19
f. of Rībiya 3:41		wr. Mil-ki- <sup>d</sup> KUR
s. of Mat<ka>lī-Dagan 14:30 (w)		Muḥra [...]
wr. Ki!(DI)-ri- <sup>d</sup> KUR		f. of Adda 4:2, 4
Kumri		Muwanu
f. of Abdi-ilī 12:1		21:18
s. of Dagan-kabar 12:3		Na <sup>c</sup> mī-ṣalamu
Kutabi		b. of Abda 9:8
18:21		f. of Ahī-malik 9:27
Kuwalana-ziti		Nāni
DUMU.LUGAL 1:1		s. of Addiya 8:22 (w)
wr. Ku-la-na-LÚ		Na <sup>c</sup> i-Dagan
Lala		f. of Ḥūdi 14:2
f. of Ḥusiru 14:27		wr. Na-i- <sup>d</sup> KUR
18:23		Narpa
Laḥteya		5:11
s. of Yahṣi-Dagan 3:2, 14, 20, 23,		Niqala
26		s. of Ašda-ahī 3:40 (w)
Leeda		f. of Izrīya 8:8
m. of Kāpī 7:11, 12		f. of Ašda-ahī 8:8
Lim-Da		s. of ’A 17:1
f. of Ilī-yamūt 4:6		Nūniya
Ma’lau		20:24
		Pabiyu
		f. of Aḥu-nannu 17:8
		Padūti
		f. of Iphur-Dagan 8:30
		Pahuru
		s. of Ḥaddu 30:24
		Pida
		18:7
		Pilsu-Dagan
		s. of Ba <sup>cl</sup> -Kabar 3:1, 36 (w); 5:16, 17,

40 (w)	Šaggar-ḥunzi
f. of Ašda-ahī 4:22	22:3
f. of Elli 6:24; 7:30	wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-ḥu-un-zi
f. of Yaši-Dagan 11:3, 7	Šaggar-kabar
b. of Iššur-Dagan 5:40	s. of Abiyu 14:15
b. of Šadī-Dagan 5:40	wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-GAL
Puašata	Šaggar-pazazi
s. of Šadī-Dagan 5:20, 32	20:3
Puaši	wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-pa-za-zi
f. of Awiru 17:2	Šaggar-tāli <sup>c</sup>
Qabari	28:9
f. of Zimri-bēlu 18:17	wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-ta-li
Quqi	Šalaš-be
f. of Dādiyu 18:2	f. of Tūra-Dagan 17:5
f. of [x x]-Dagan 18:16	Šē <sup>ī</sup> -Bēlu
Rašap-abu	s. of Ablala 30:22 (w)
9:9	wr. Še-i-EN
s. of Abī-kāpī 9:18	Šē <sup>ī</sup> -Dagan
wr. <sup>d</sup> GÍR-a-bu	f. of Abda 9:6
Rašap-ilī	Šurši-Dagan
f. of Dādu 8:24	21:24
f. of Amzahī 8:29	wr. Šur-ši- <sup>d</sup> KUR
wr. Ra-šap-DINGIR-lī	Ta <sup>e</sup>
Rībi-Dagan	s. of Abiyu 14:15
s. of Abiyu 14:16	s. of Išbiya 17:3
15:1, 5	Tai
f. of Ibni-Dagan 15:23	s. of Ga(y)a 8:17
f. of Tūra-Dagan 15:23	Tubbal-Dagan
wr. Ri-bi- <sup>d</sup> KUR	20:2
Rībiya	wr. Tu-bal- <sup>d</sup> KUR
s. of Kirri-Dagan 3:41 (w)	Tulli
s. of Ḥurāšu 6:4	15:4
Sasawa	Tūra-Dagan
f. of Dagan-bēlu 18:3	1:2, 8, 12
Sīhu 2:3, 5, 10, 13	f. of Ukāli 3:39
Šalmi	s. of Rībi-Dagan 15:22
f. of Ba <sup>‘</sup> al-malik 2:20;	s. of Šalaš-be 17:5
Šiti	wr. Tu-ra- <sup>d</sup> KUR and GUR- <sup>d</sup> KUR
s. of Kamma 18:1	Tūriya
Šadde	21:25
s. of Ḥulā <sup>‘</sup> u 3:3, 10, 12	Tut[...]
Šadī-Dagan	17:31
f. of Puašata 5:21, 32	Uginu
b. of Pilsu-Dagan 5:43	s. of A-[...] 17:14
wr. Ša-dī- <sup>d</sup> KUR	Ukāli
Šaggar-abī	s. of Tūra-Dagan 3:39 (w)
s. of Dagan-tāri <sup>c</sup> 2:17 (se)	Ummī-bitti
wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-a-bi	f. of Appata 17:17
Šaggar-abu	wr. Um-mi-É-ti
f. of Abdu 30:20	Ummī-ṭābat
wr. <sup>d</sup> 30-AD	20:6
	wr. um-mi-DU <sub>10</sub> .GA

Una  
     s. of Ḫāya 30:21 (w)  
 Ušati  
     f. of Aḥu-na<sup>i</sup> 18:10  
 Ušk[a...]  
     f. of Abī-Dagan 17:15  
     s. of Appata 17:15  
 Yadda  
     f. of Tūra-Dagan 8:21  
 Yadu-bēlī  
     f. of Ḥimāši-be 18:22  
 Yahhi-ilu  
     5:8  
     wr. Ia-ah-ḥi-DINGIR  
 Yahsi-Dagan  
     f. of Lahteya 3:2  
     wr. Ia-ah-ṣí-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 Yaṣi-Dagan  
     s. of Pilsu-Dagan 11:3, 7  
     b. of Elli 6:26 (w); 7:32 (w); 11:15 (w)  
     wr. Ia-ṣí-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 Yašur-Dagan  
     s. of Milki-Dagan 8:16 (se)  
     wr. Ia-ṣur-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 Yaššuni  
     7:10  
     wr. Ia-aš-šu-ni  
<sup>d</sup>Za-...?  
     s. of Ittini 10:4  
 Zikriya  
     f. of Ea-damiq 12:2  
     f. of Abiyu 14:1  
 Zimri  
     f. of [...] 4:29'  
 Zimri-Bēlu  
     18:4  
     s. of Qabari 18:17  
     wr. LI-EN  
 Zimri-Šamaš  
     f. of Ikki-Dagan 30:23  
     wr. LI-<sup>d</sup>UTU  
 Zū-Anna  
     s. of Aḥu-ṭāb 4:41' (se)  
 Zū-Aštarti  
     s. of Ilī-bānī 17:6  
     s. of Aya<sup>?</sup>-ahī 18:14

Zū-Ba<sup>‘</sup>la  
     f. of Ba<sup>‘</sup>al-qarrād 8:10  
     s. of Kāzi 8:20 (se)  
     s. of Būlu-malik 11:16 (w)  
     17:10  
     32:4  
 Zu-ba-..be  
     s. of [...] 4:24 (w)  
 Zū-Eya  
     s. of Ahī-malik 6:28 (w) 8:4; 11:18 (w)  
 Zuri  
     f. of Hamadi 4:25  
 Zūzu  
     b. of Elli 6:27 (w); 7:33 (w)  
 [...]  
     s. of Bēlu-malik 11:9  
 x (?)  
     s. of Ḥalū 10:11  
 [x x]-Dagan  
     s. of Quqi 18:16  
     wr. [x x]-<sup>d</sup>KUR  
 [x x]-Šaggar  
     18:15      wr. [x x]-<sup>d</sup>30

## INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Binati  
     5:26  
 Emar  
     1:7, 10; 4:8; 6:9, 10  
 Ešši  
     18:6; 28:6  
 Rabbān  
     9:2  
 Šuzu  
     11:8  
 Uri  
     18:4; 30:19  
 Uta  
     1:7, 10, 11, 14  
 Wakat  
     19:6  
 Yaššuni  
     7:10

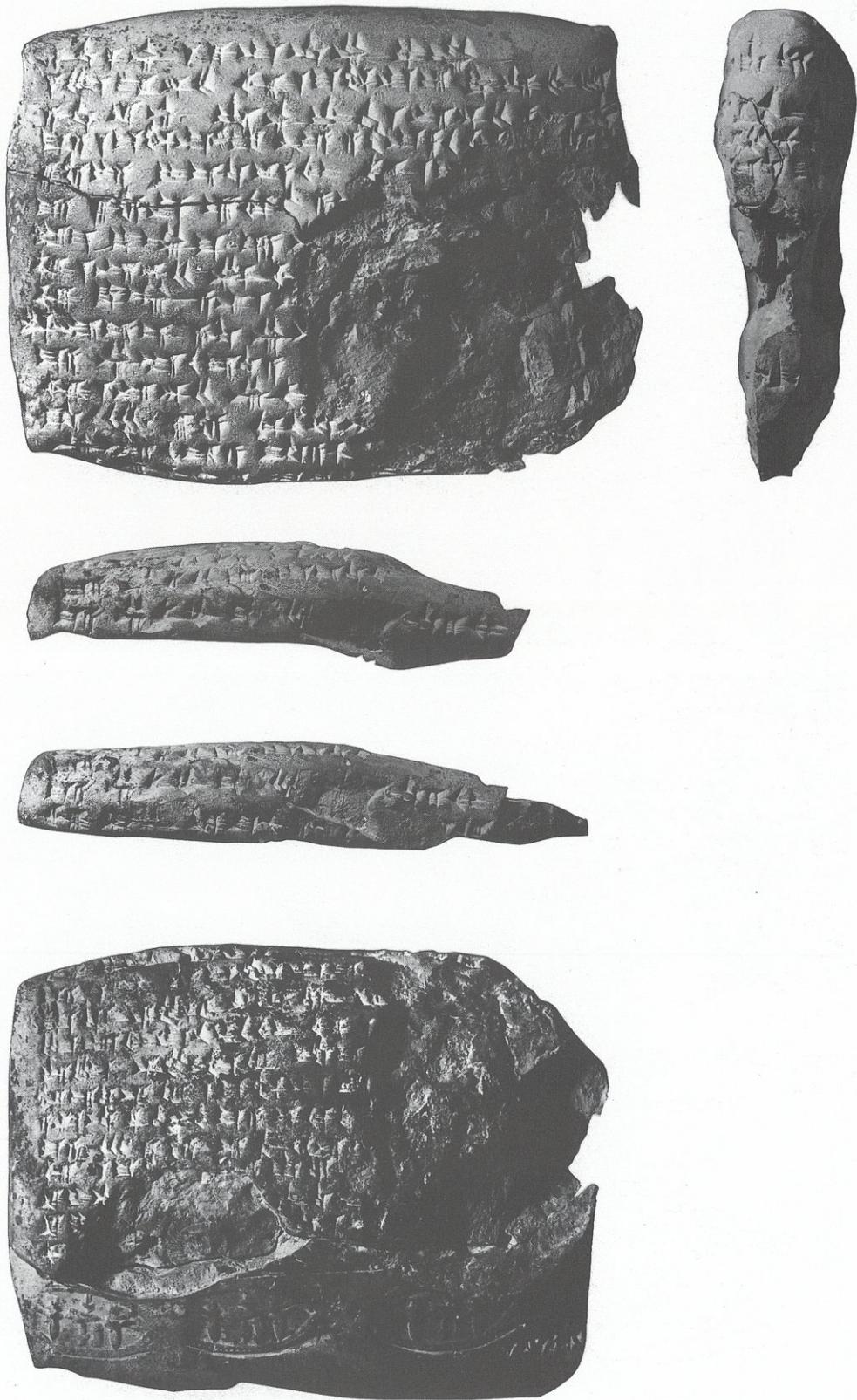


## INDEX OF WORDS DISCUSSED

A.ŠA.NUMUN p. 26  
*ad-dú* p. 73  
 ALAM pp. 50f, 67  
*angurinnu* pp. 56, 60  
*ap(p)an(n)u* pp. 69, 71  
*(a)pappar(i)hú* p. 40  
*arawannu* p. 38  
*asallu* pp. 40, 67  
*ašlu* pp. xiii-xiv  
*aššašhu* p. 59  
*azulušhu* pp. 56, 58  
*balittu* p. 33  
*batú* p. 56  
*dannatu (dannútu)* p. 29  
 DUMU.LUGAL pp. 1-2  
*duppuru* p. 44  
 É IZI pp. 59, 71  
 (KI.)*eršetu* pp. 30f., 43  
*ešmekku* pp. 62, 67  
 É *urši* p. 41  
 GAR p. 64  
 GIŠ.KI.KAL.MAR.GÍ.DA p. 44  
 GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.NUMUN pp. 26, 38  
 GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN pp. 26, 29, 38  
 GIŠ.GÍR.PAD.GUB p. 57  
*gullátu* p. 69  
*hablu* pp. 43, 58  
*Hamari* pp. xv, 50  
*hamru* p. 62  
*harpú* p. 77  
*harítu* p. 26  
*hašhilitu* p. 73  
*hatiktu* p. 54  
*hazannu* p. 51  
 HÉ LA BI p. 65  
*huggu/hungu/hukku* p. 16  
*huhinnu* pp. 23, 31  
*hurtialu* p. 56  
*hu-za-ri* p. 43  
 IGI.DÚ p. 62  
*ikú* pp. xiii-xiv, 26  
*ilku* p. 6  
*itwata* p. 54  
*kabbi lu* pp. 40, 56  
 KAM.KAM p. 75  
*kasápu* p. xiii  
*kásu* p. 78  
*kašádu* p. 43  
 KAŠ.GEŠTIN pp. 62, 78  
*katinnu* p. 40  
*ki-da-bu-šú ša a-da-ta-wa-i* p. 53  
 KI.*eršetu* pp. 30f., 43  
 KI.KÁ p. 24  
*kilzappu* pp. 57, 60  
*kiršitu* p. 30  
*kubuddá'u* p. 41  
*kubburu* p. 16  
*kumánu* p. xiv  
*kuptu* p. 65  
 LÁ p. 71  
*lahu* pp. 54, 64f.  
*lahú* p. 54  
<sup>d</sup>LAMMA p. 67  
*leqú* p. 26  
*li-bu* p. 54  
 LÚ.HAL pp. xvi, 79  
 LÚ.ÜGULA.KALAM.MA pp. 1-2, 51  
*luzzi-* pp. 6, 79f.  
*mahírú* p. 71  
*makkasu* pp. 71, 73  
*mala mašú* p. 16  
*ma-li-ti* p. 33  
*malú* p. 62  
*mullú* p. 78  
*maqarru* p. 40  
*marhallu* p. 67  
*maršu* pp. 64, 67  
*maš-na-lu* p. 54  
 MÁŠ.SÍLA p. 64  
*métú* p. 12  
*mi-ia-tu* p. 54  
*nabú (nubbú)* p. 12  
*nadānu* pp. 13, 19  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.AN.GUG.ME p. 67  
*NA<sub>4</sub>.arzatu* p. 65  
*NA<sub>4</sub>.haraháru* pp. 65, 68  
*NA<sub>4</sub>.HAR.ME* p. 68  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.IG p. 44  
*namzítu* p. 60  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.UŠ UB-BU p. 67  
*NA<sub>4</sub>.za-la* p. 67  
 NÍG.DAN.NA p. 67  
*nikáru* pp. xv, 13, 16  
 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA p. 78  
 PA<sub>5</sub> p. 5

*pahattarru* pp. 38, 60  
*papparhû* p. 40  
*pappasu* p. 78  
*par̄su* p. xiv, 44  
*pašāšu* pp. 13, 16, 29  
*patinnu* p. 40  
*pil̄aimu* p. 77  
*pirikkum* p. 44  
*pūhu* p. 54  
*pur̄du* p. xiv  
*qanû* p. xiii  
*qirbetu* p. 54  
*quppaḥu* p. 69  
*qú-pí-ia-nu* p. 65  
*raksu* p. 59  
*raqqatu* p. 19  
*ruštu* pp. 71, 75  
*sanāqu* pp. xiii, 5, 11, 28  
*SANGA* pp. xvi, 71  
*SANGA mahīrû* p. 71  
*SAG.MU* p. 50  
*SIG* p. 53  
*sikkānu* p. 77  
*sip̄hu* p. 43  
*sīru* p. 56  
*šahhan* pp. 6, 79f.  
*ša išāti* pp. 41, 59  
*šāmu* pp. 19, 26  
*šamû* p. 69  
*šamšatu* p. 56  
*šarpaššu* p. 41  
  
*šâšu* p. 5  
*šaddinnu* p. 54  
*šiddu* p. xiv  
*šikrinnu* p. 60  
*šikru* p. 28  
*šinahili* p. 78  
*šini* p. 62  
*šubarītu* p. 53  
*ter̄hatu* (wr. {NÌ}.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ) pp. 11, 37, 45  
*tikiltu* p. 61  
*tù-da-lu* p. 69  
*tugguru* pp. 19, 24, 29, 58  
*TÚG.GUZ.ZA = i<sup>2</sup>lu* pp. 40f., 60  
*TÚG ša MURUB<sub>4</sub>* pp. 53, 57, 58  
*TÚG ša UGU* p. 53  
*TÚG.TU-MAH* p. 54  
*TÚG.Ú* p. 60  
*tunšu/tunzu* p. 57  
*tuppu* p. 8  
*ussuraliu* p. 58  
*uttallu* pp. 41, 44, 56, 73  
*yardānu* p. 32  
*zābiḥu* p. 26  
*ZA.HUM* p. 73  
*ZA.LAM.GAR* p. xii  
*ZA.NA* p. 60  
*ZI* pp. 64, 75  
*ZI.MEŠ* pp. xii, 12  
*zu-du* p. 44  
*zurru* p. 69

**PLATES**

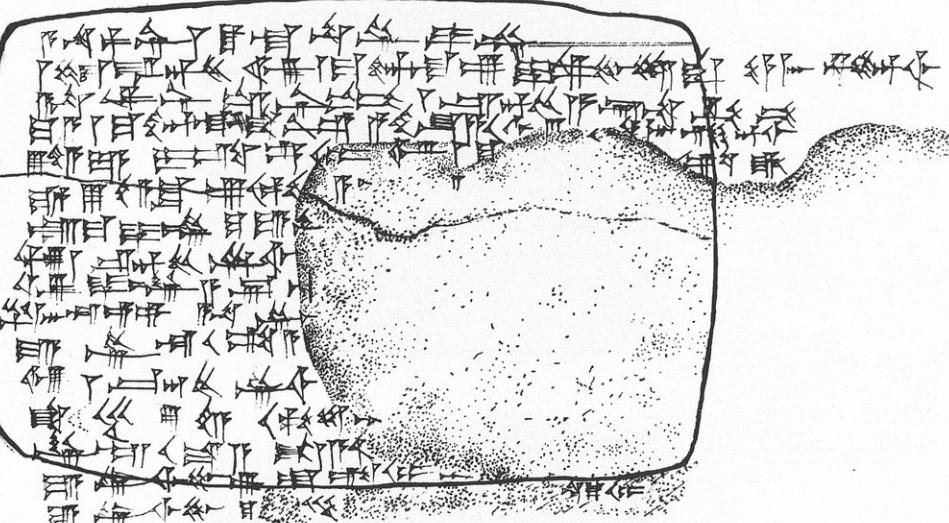


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5

10

15

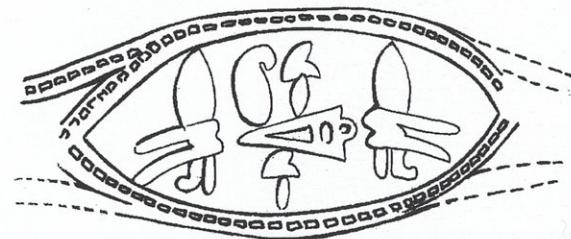
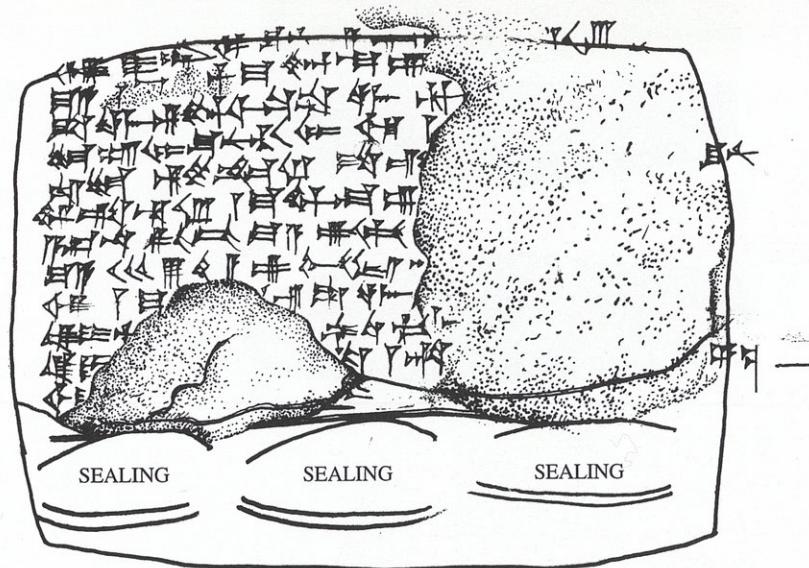


Rev.

17

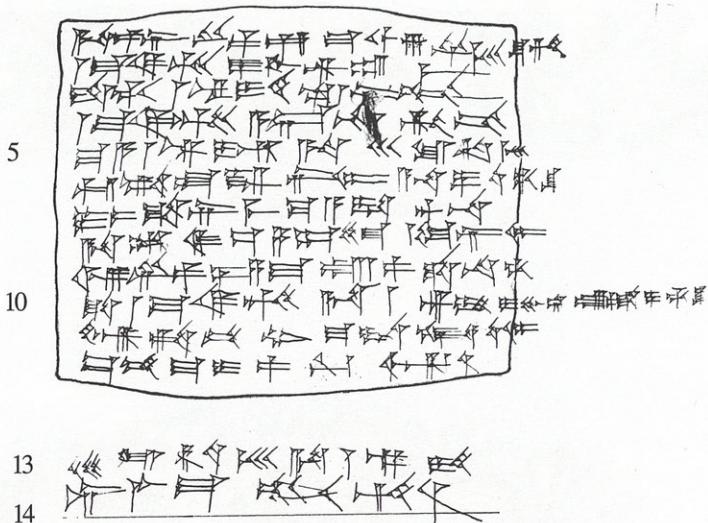
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25

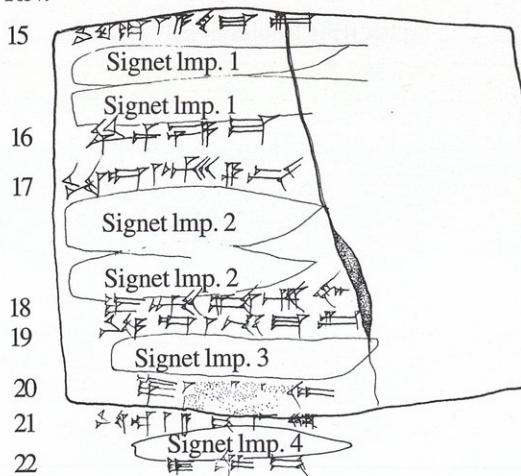


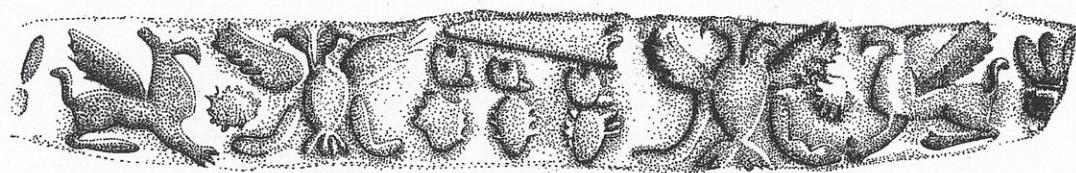


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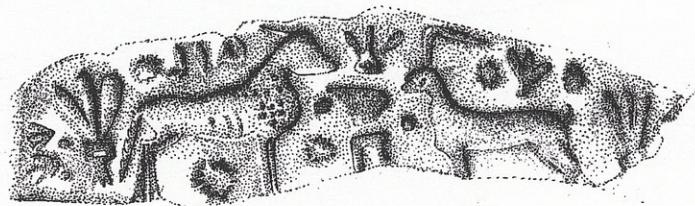


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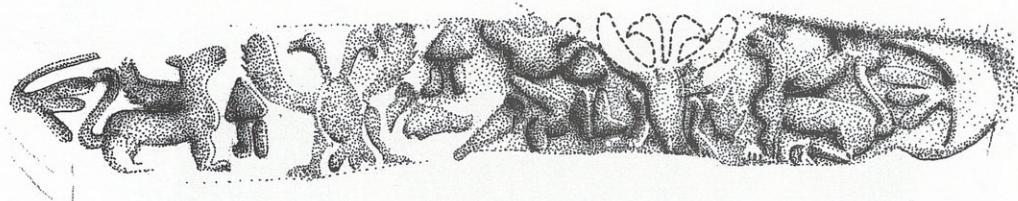




Signet Ring Impression 1



Signet Ring Impression 2



Signet Ring Impression 3

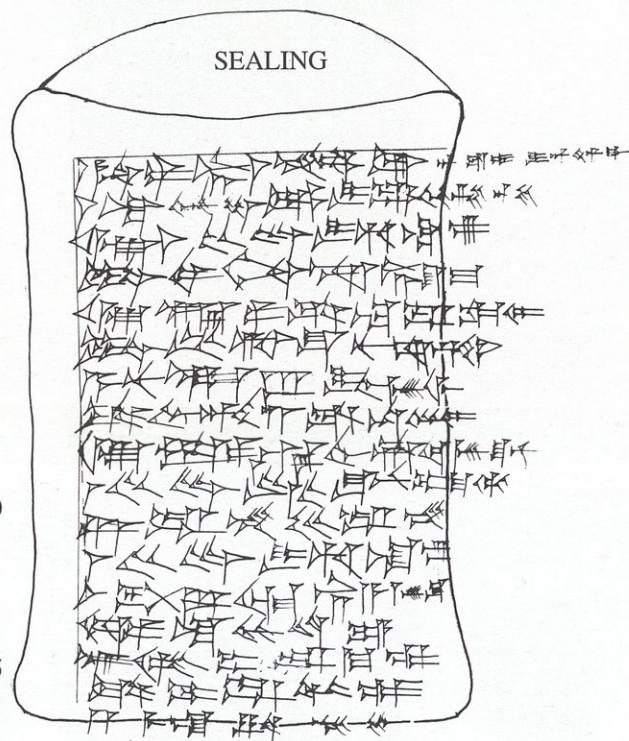


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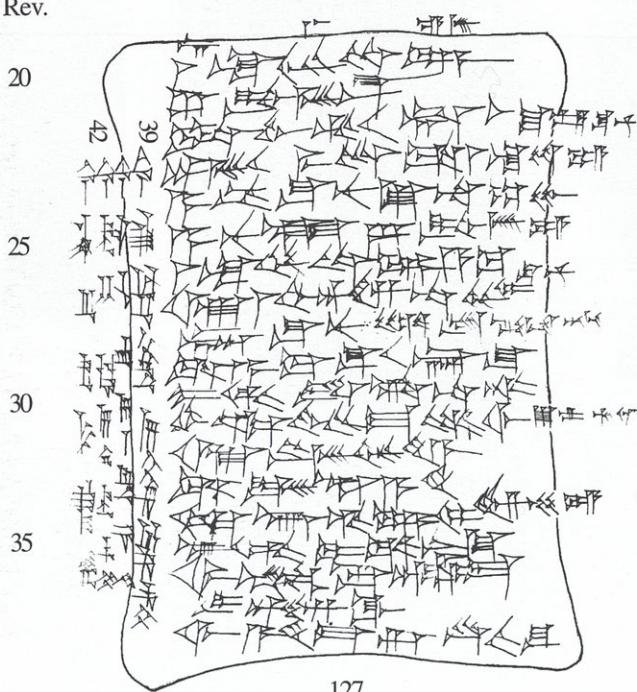




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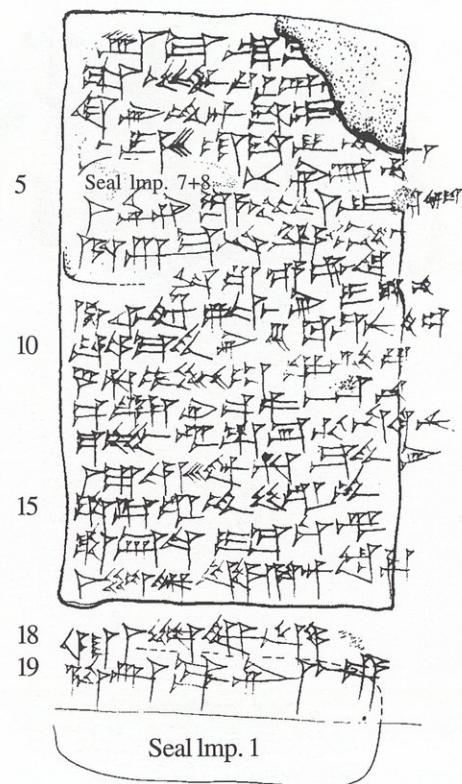


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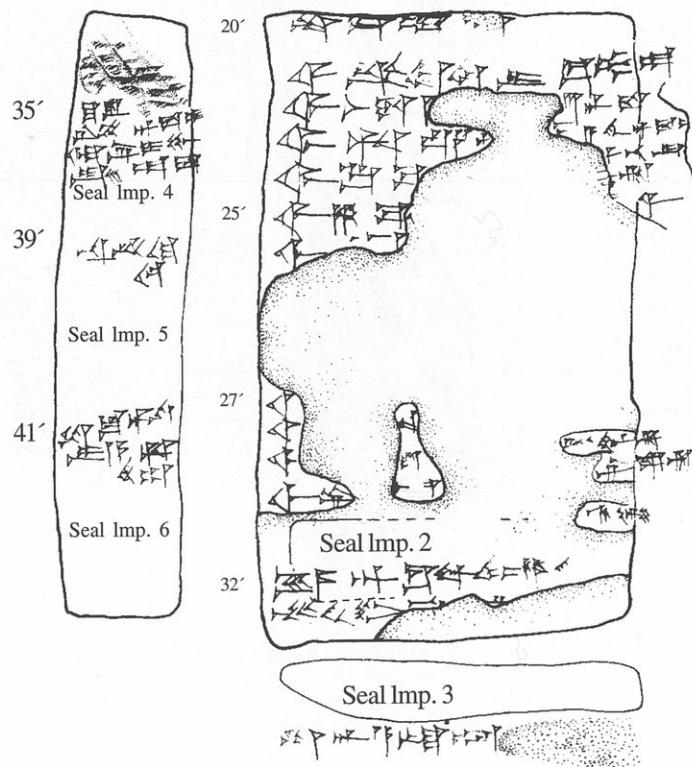




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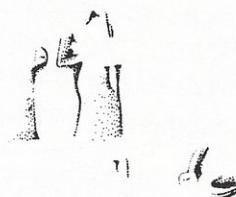


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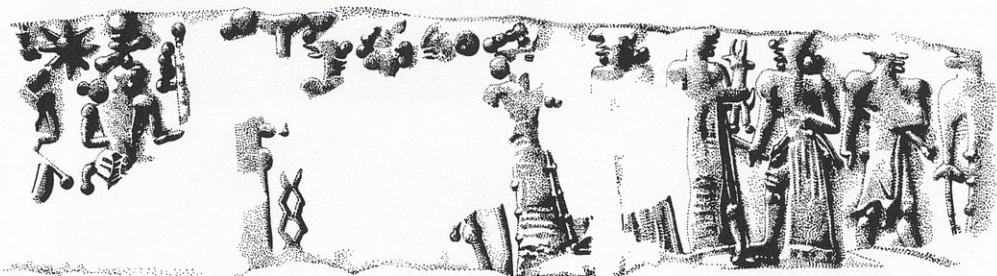
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Seal Impression 2



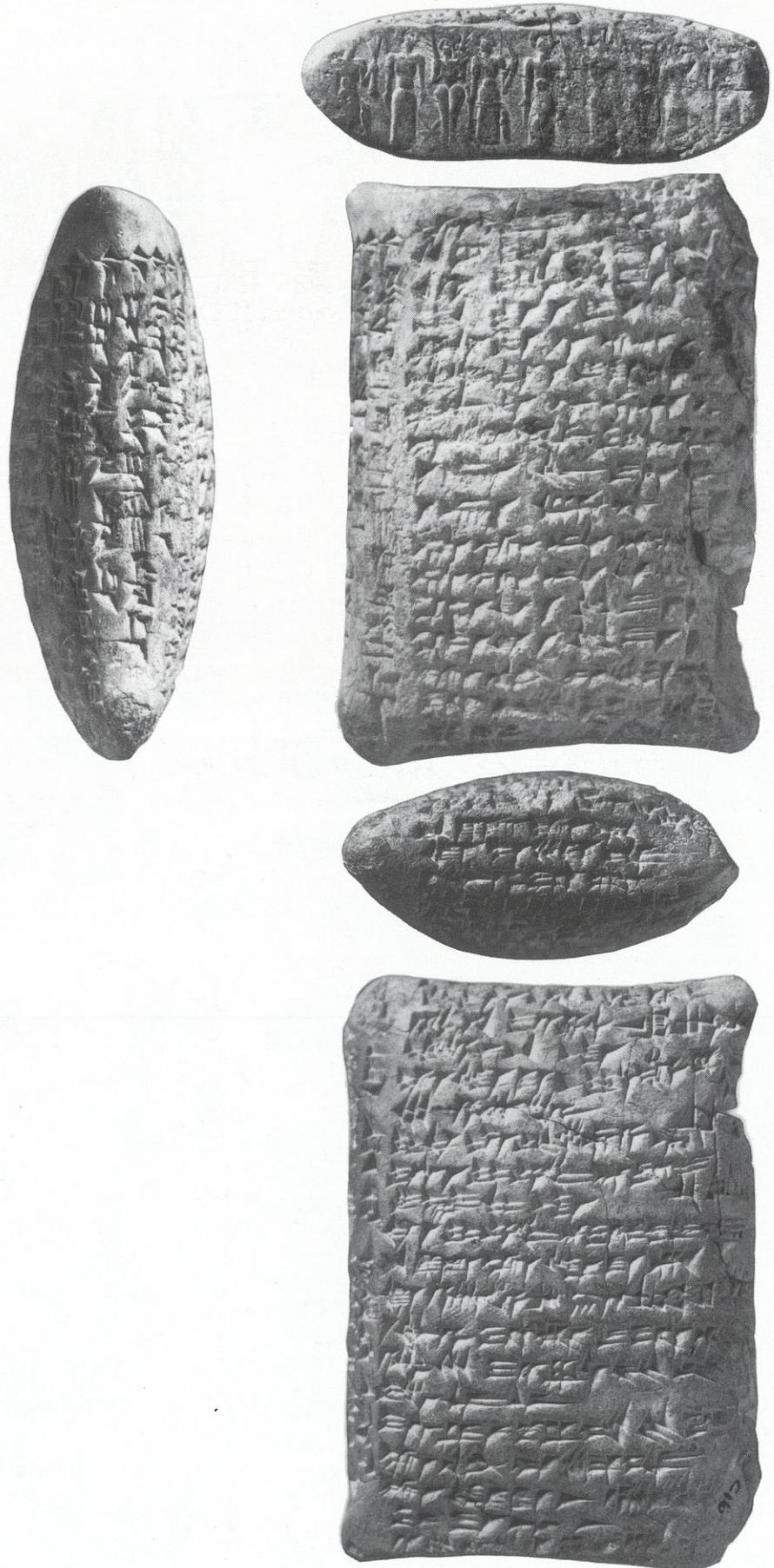
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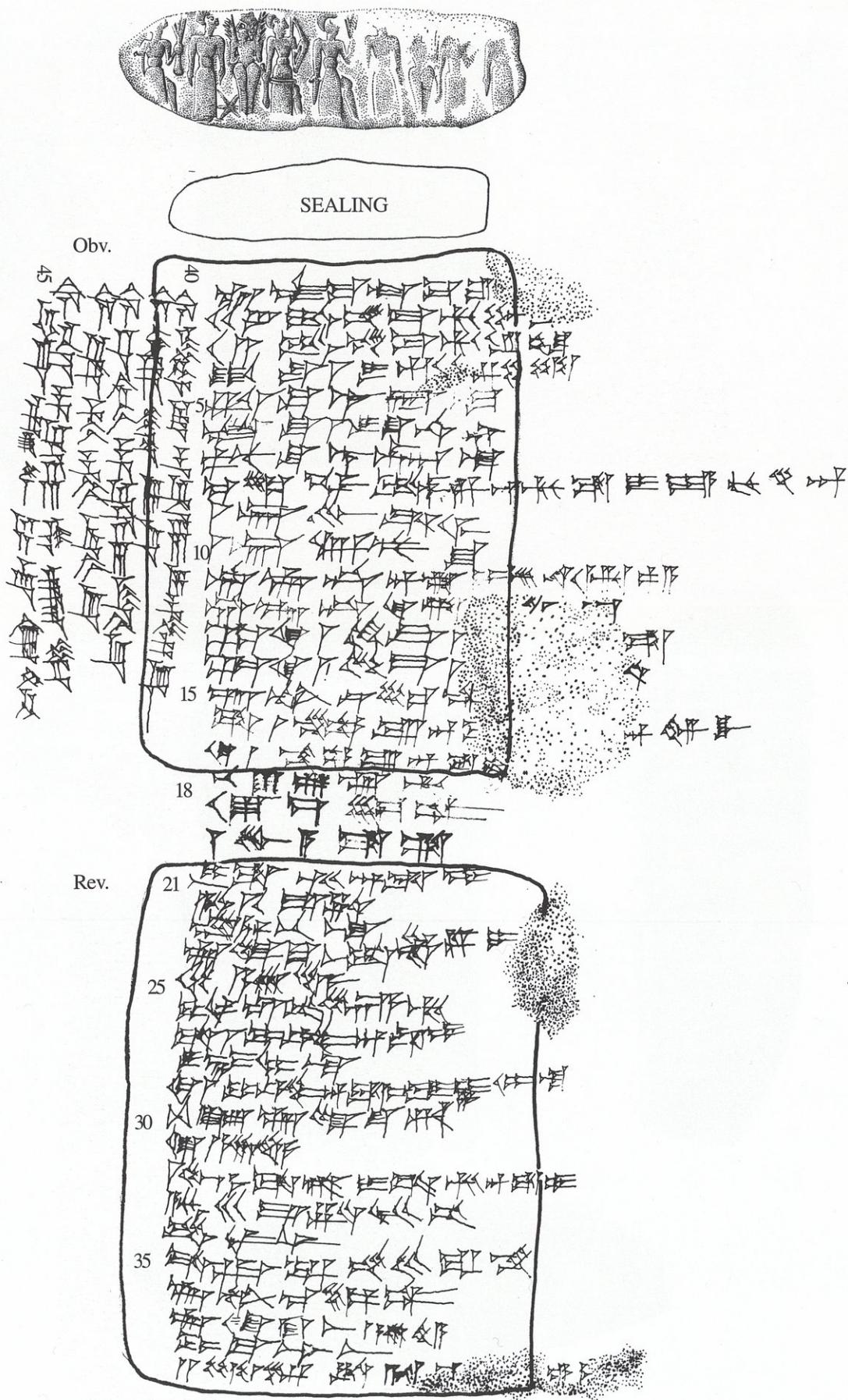


Seal Impressions 4-6



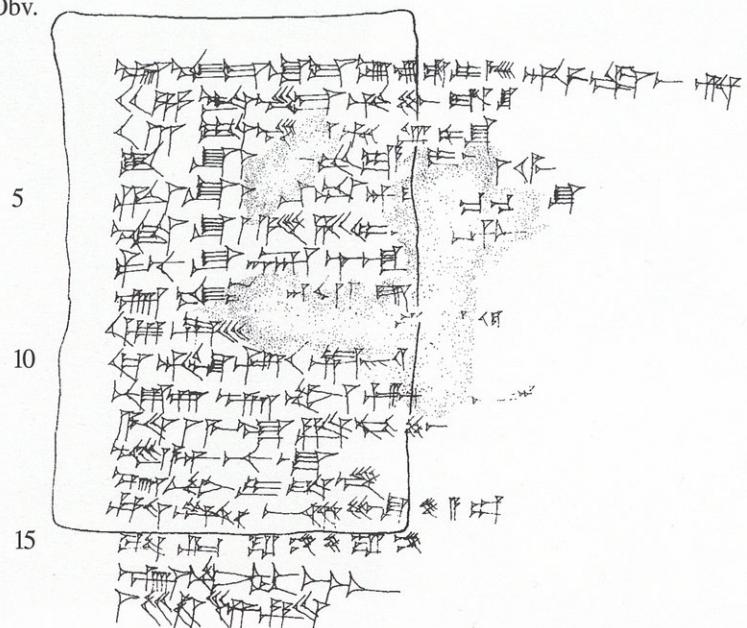
Seal Impressions 7+8



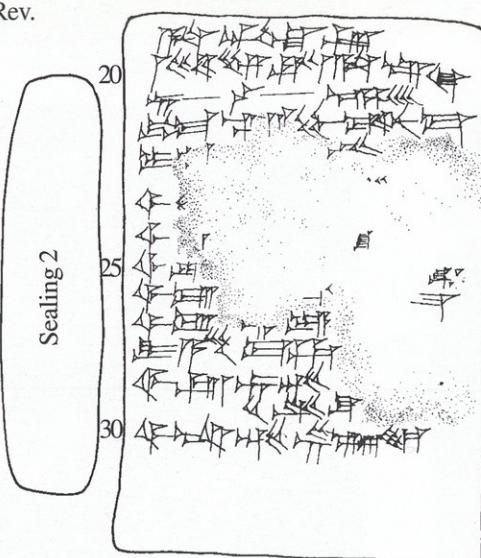
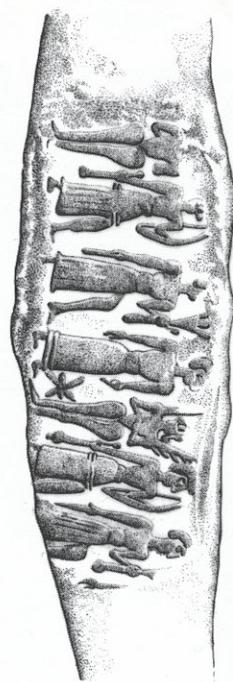




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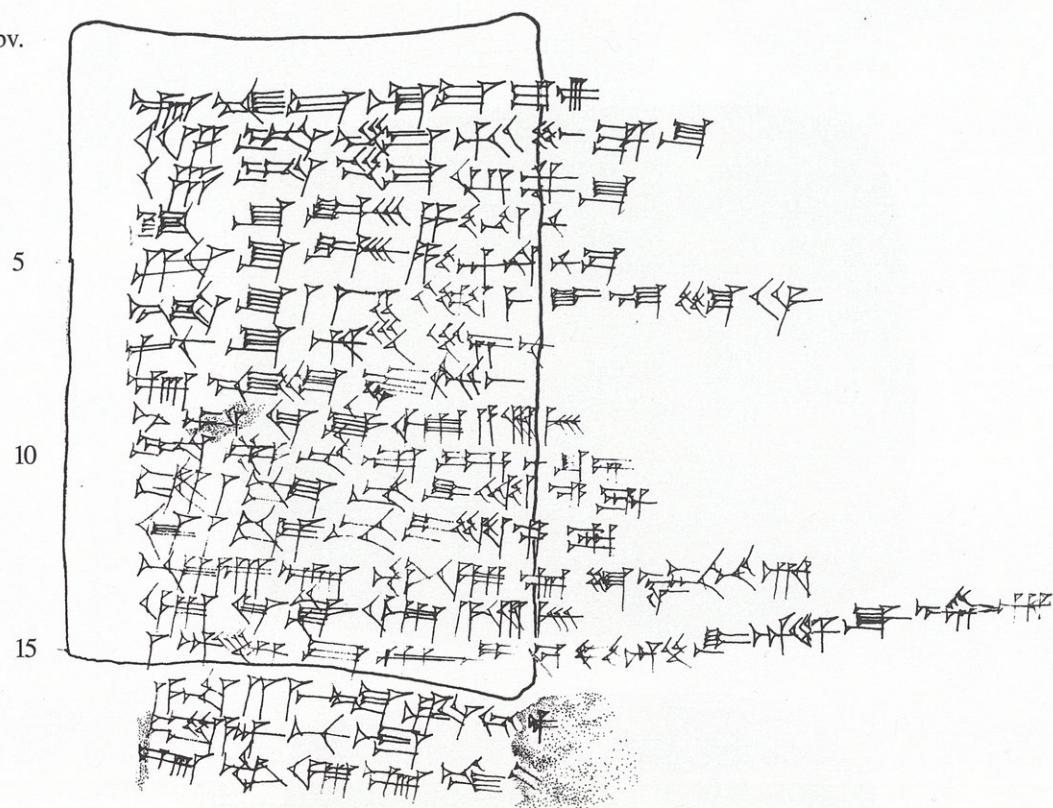


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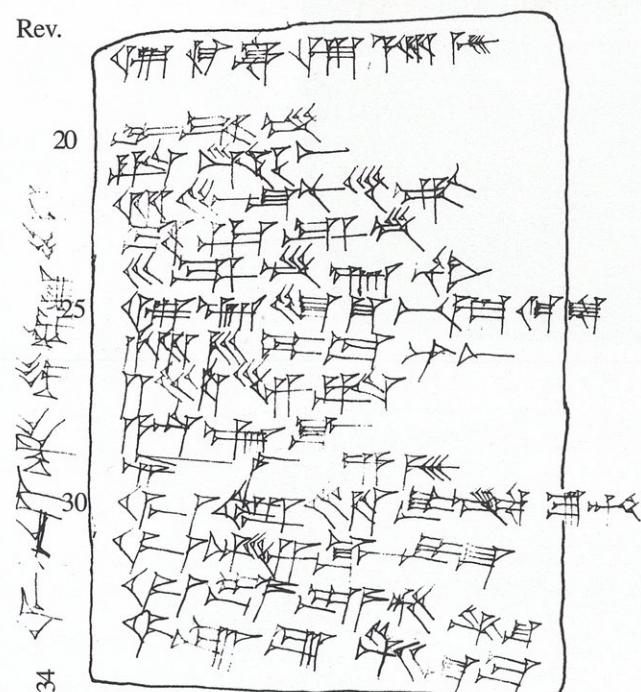




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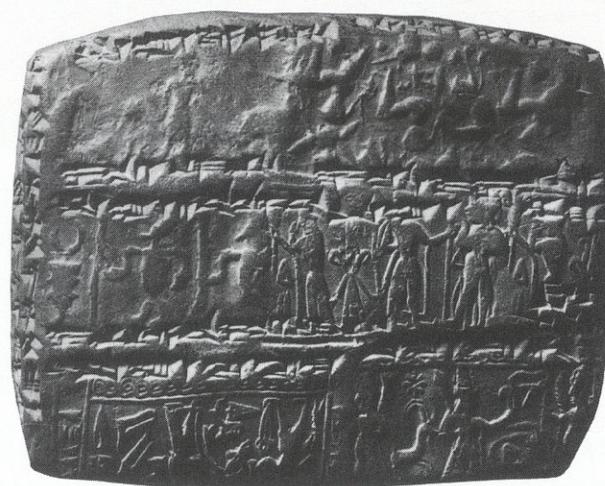
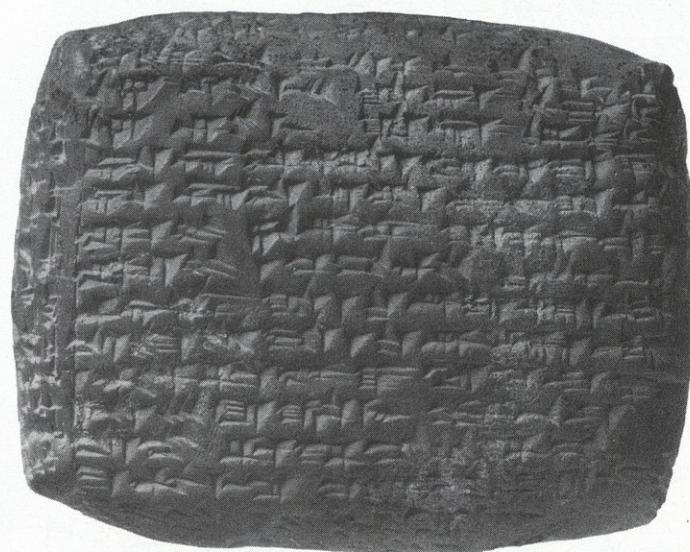


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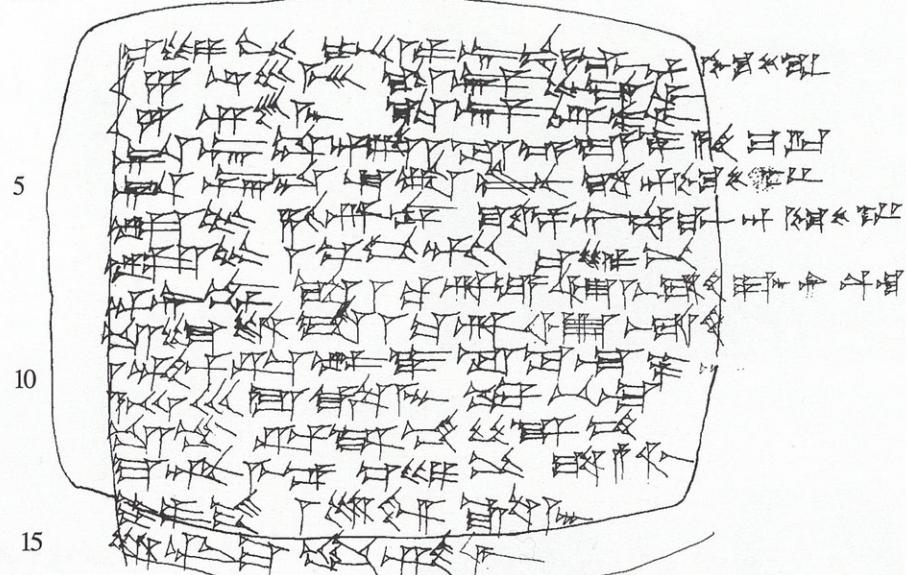


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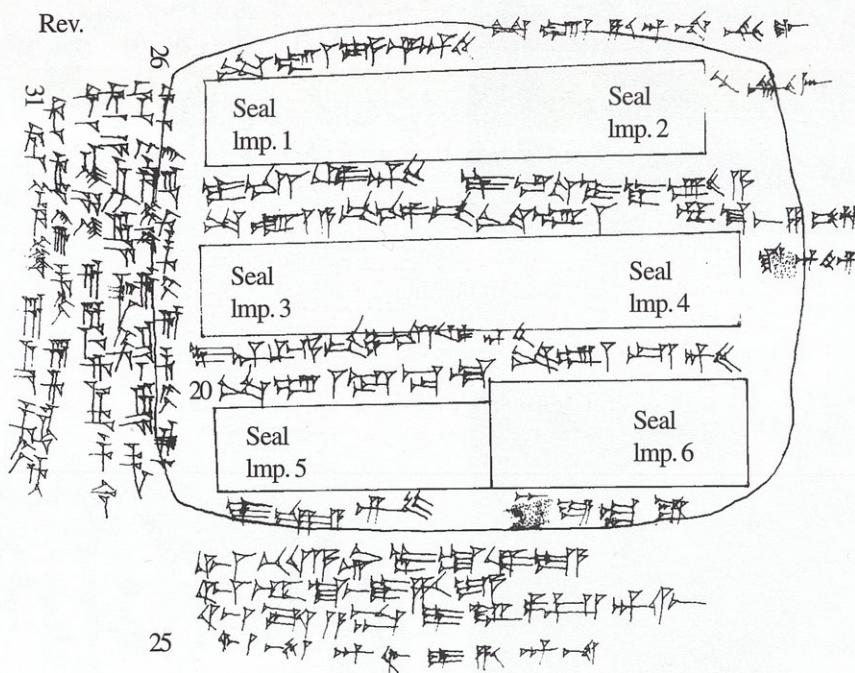


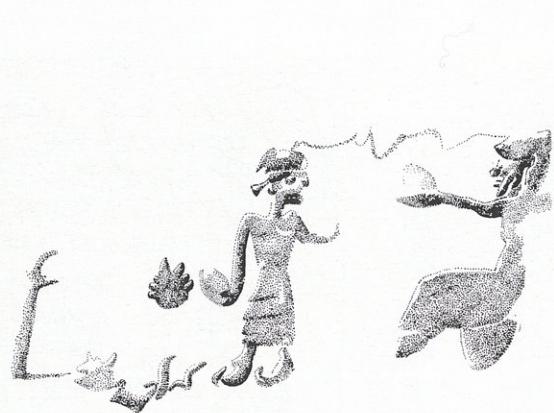


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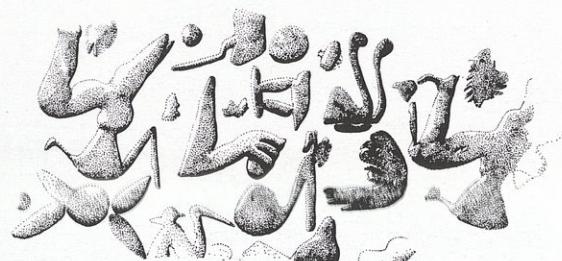


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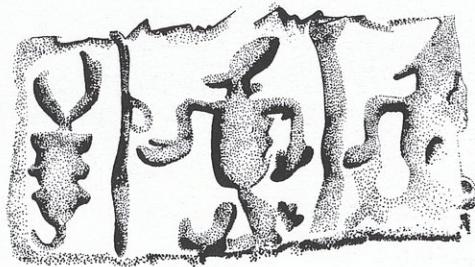
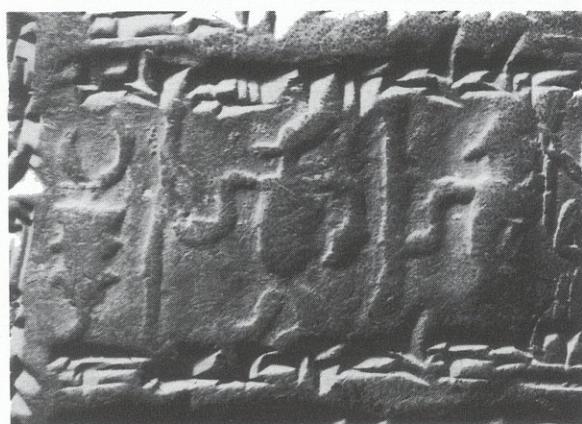




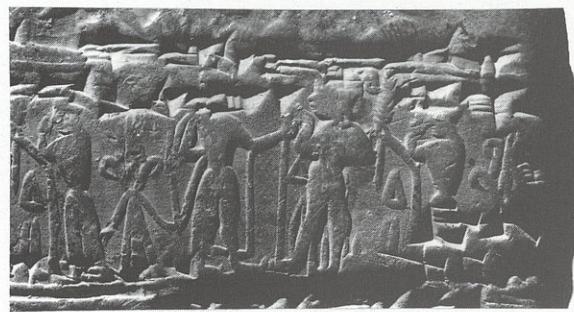
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Seal Impression 2



Seal Impression 3



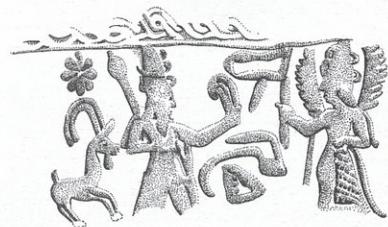
Seal Impression 4



Seal Impression 5



Seal Impression 6



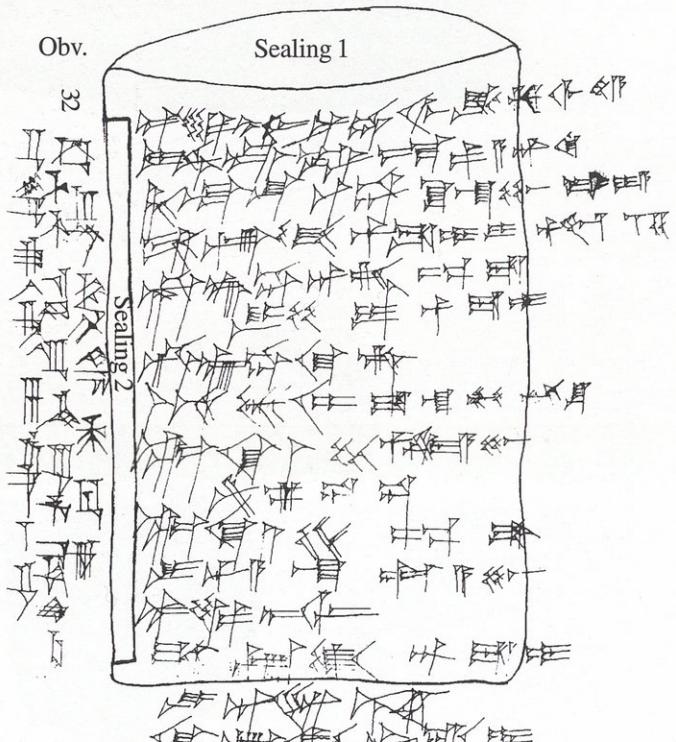




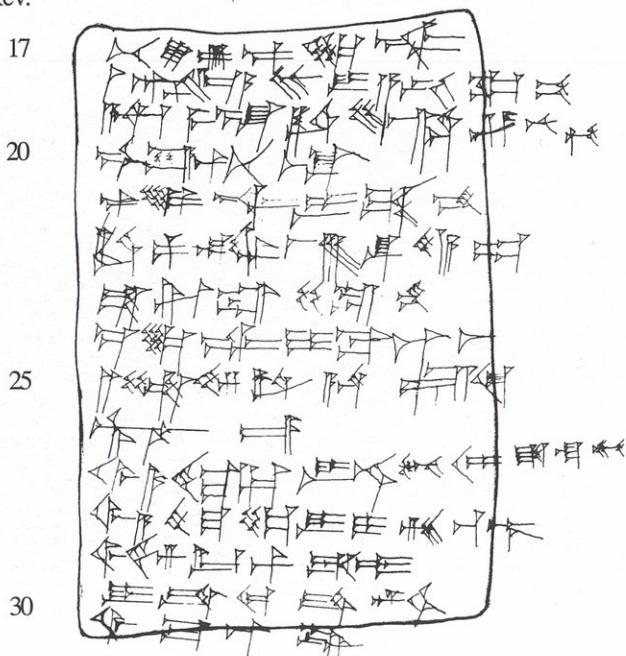
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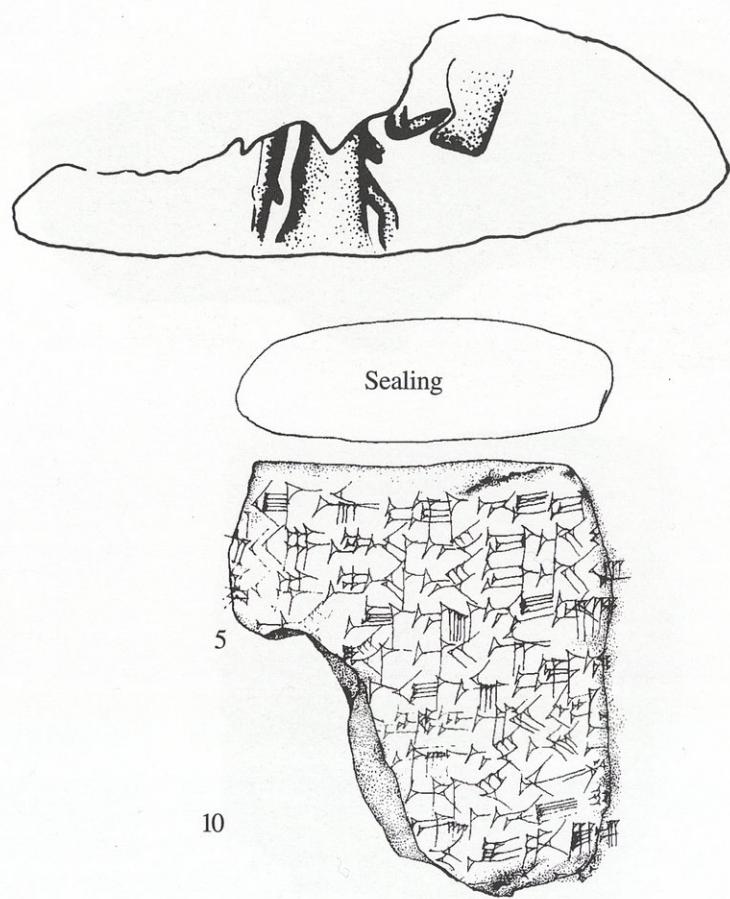
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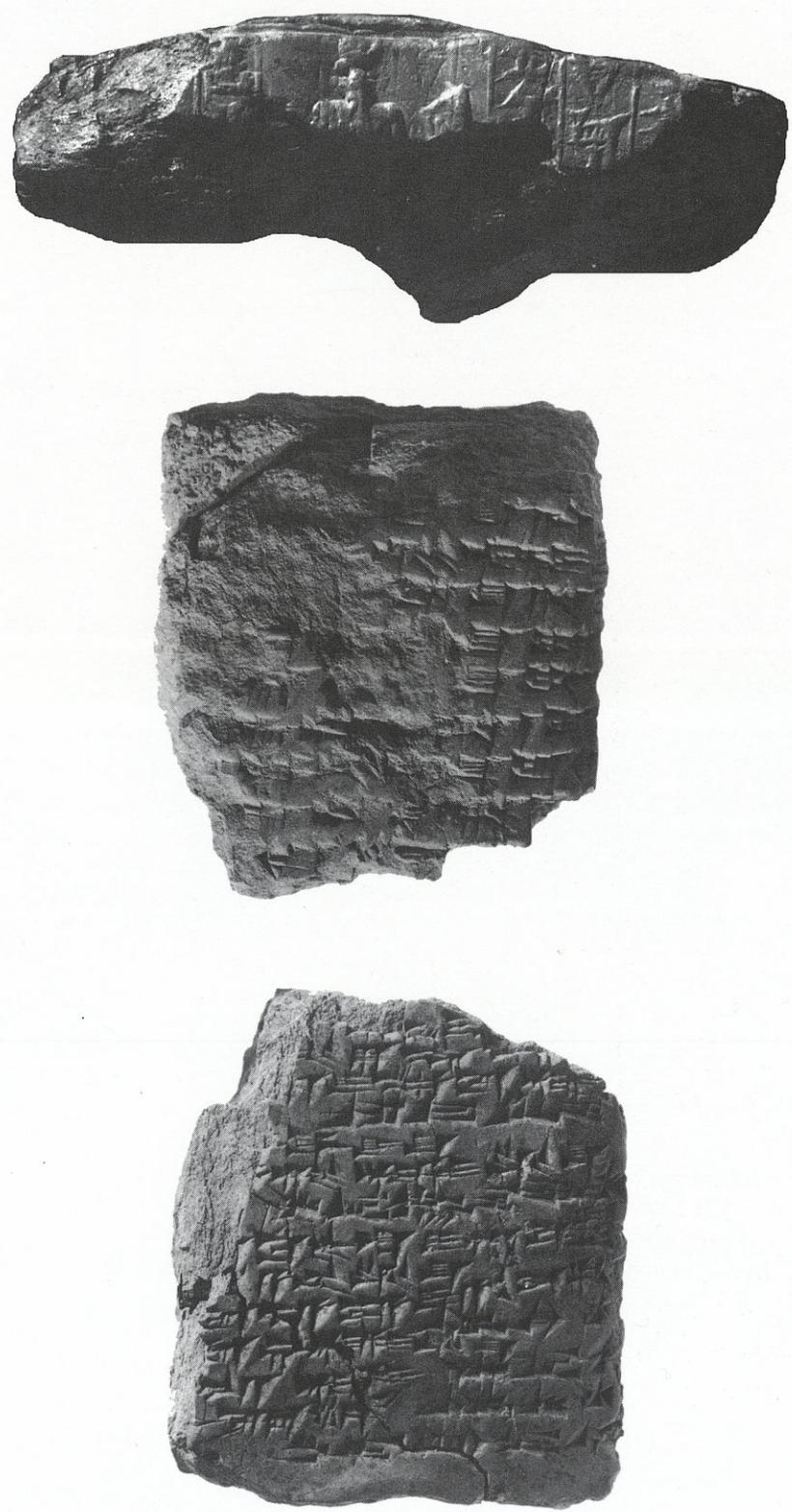


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Sealing

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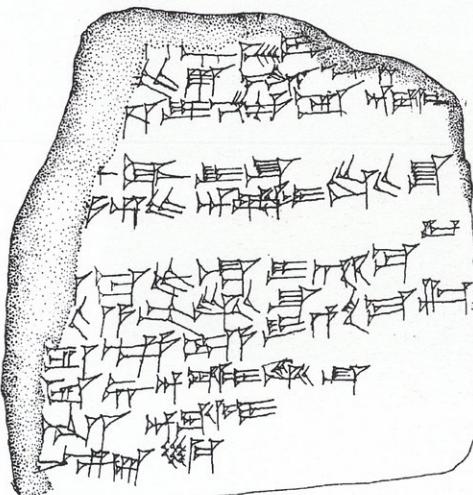
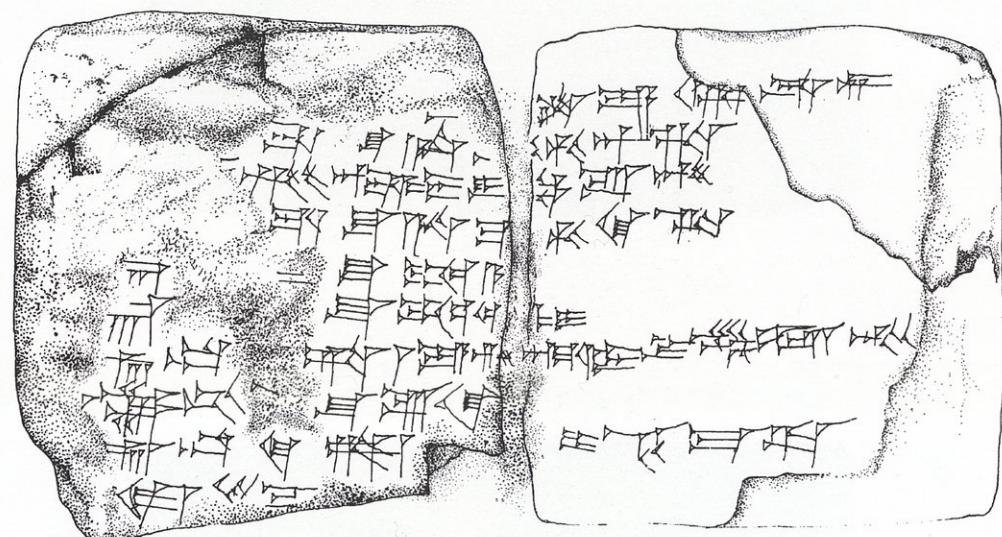
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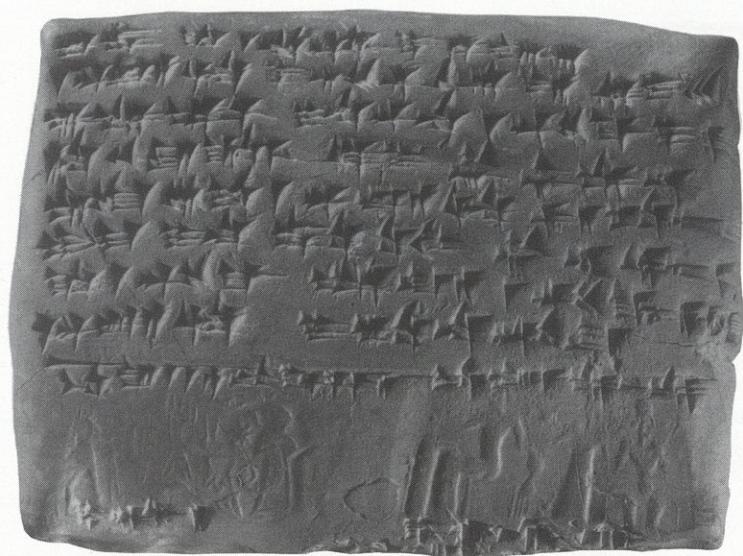
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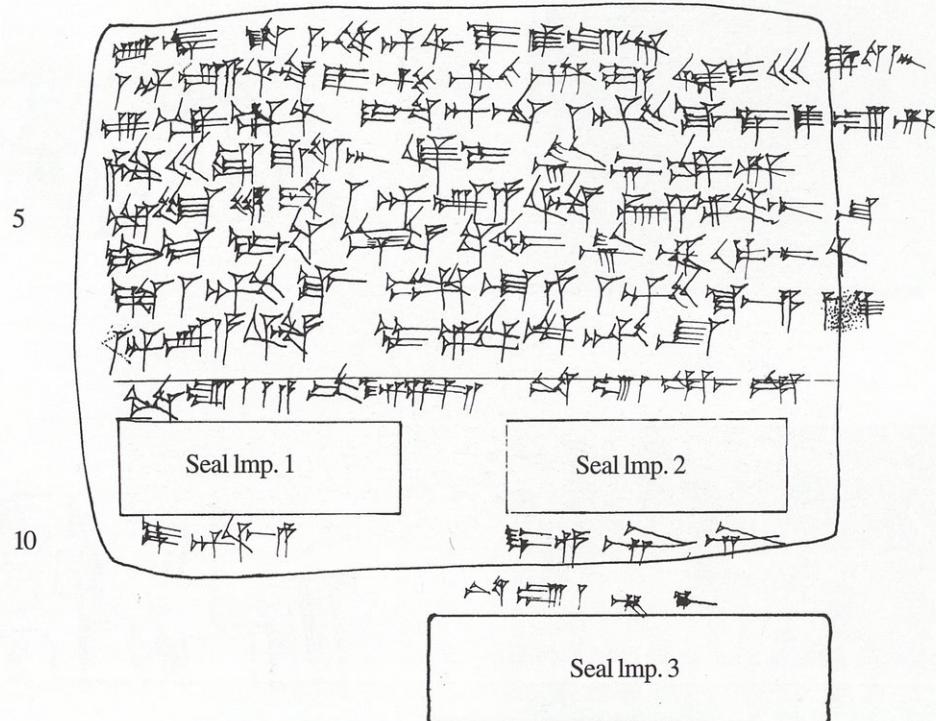
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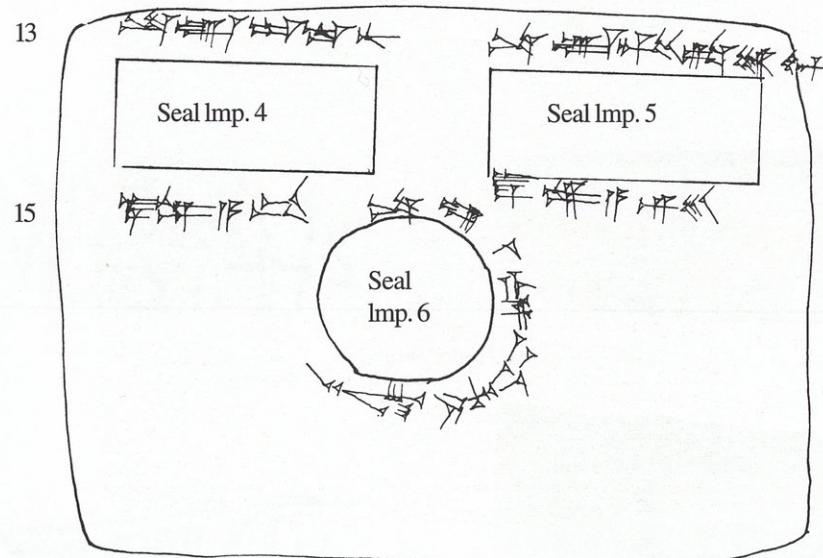




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Seal Impression 1



Seal Impression 2



Seal Impression 3



Seal Impression 4



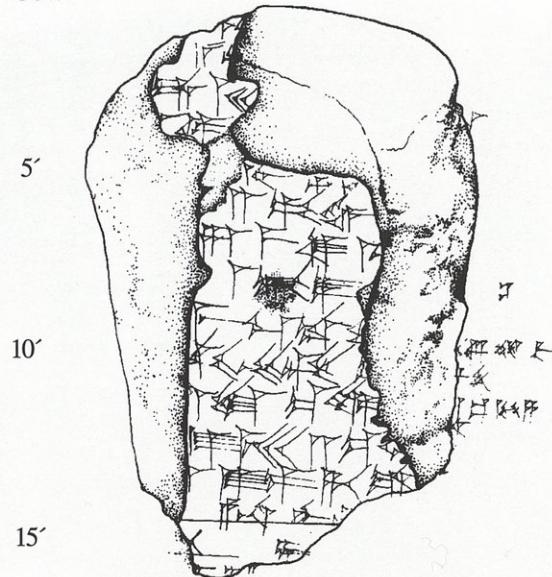
Seal Impression 5



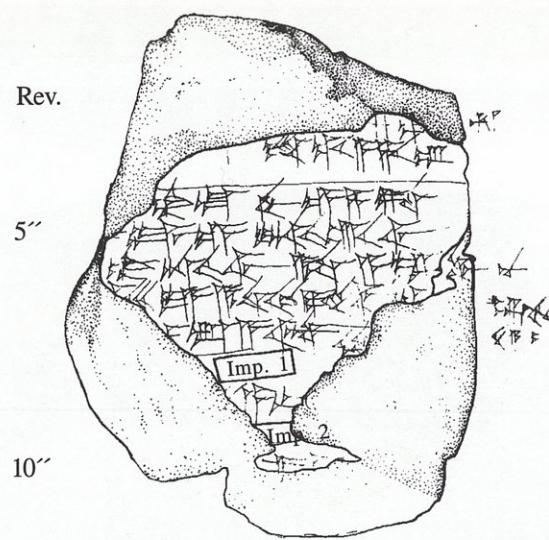
Seal Impression 6



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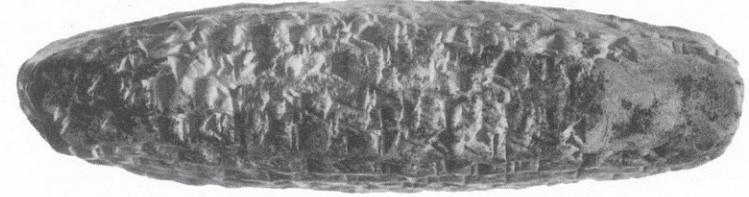
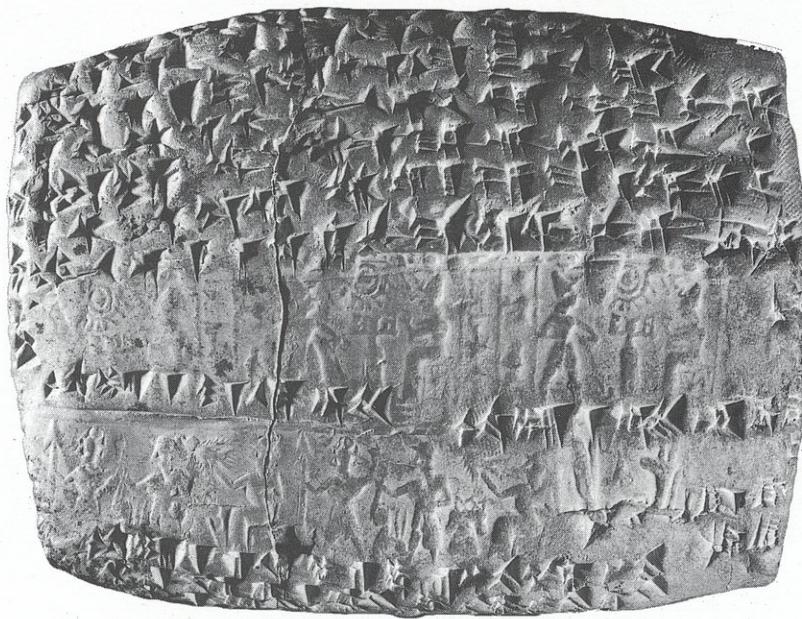
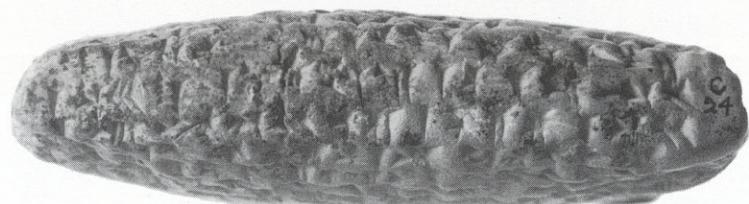
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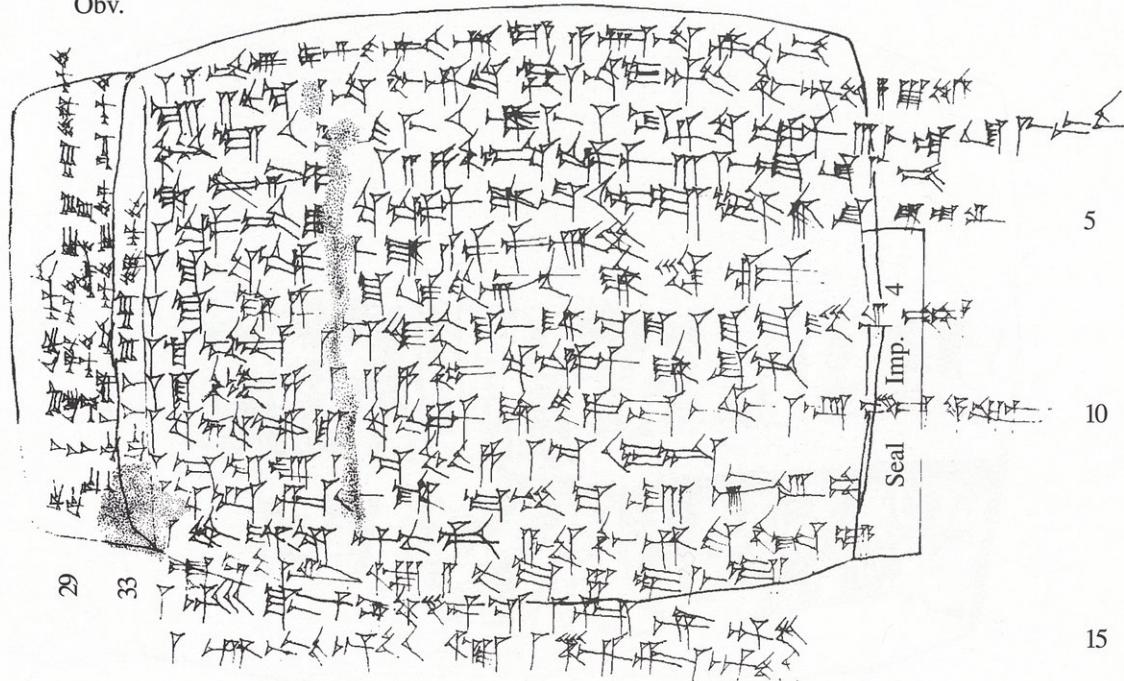
Signet Ring Impression 1



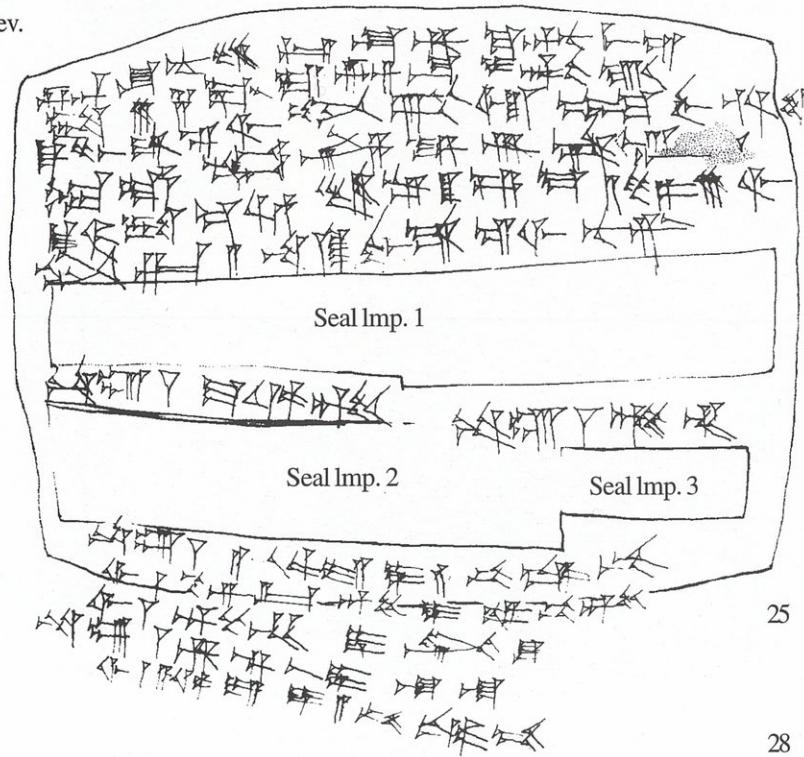
Signet Ring Impression 2

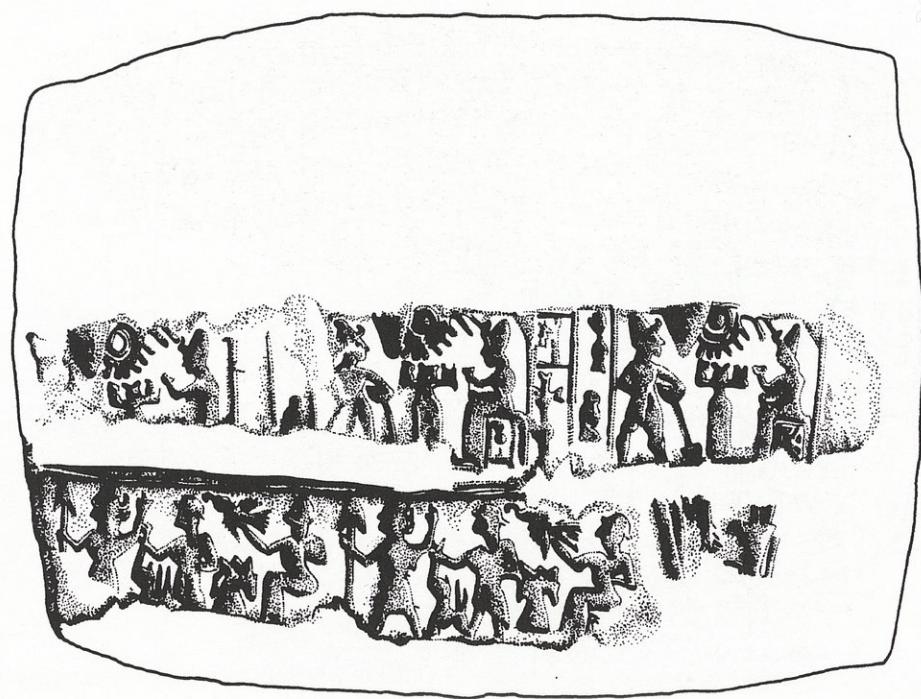


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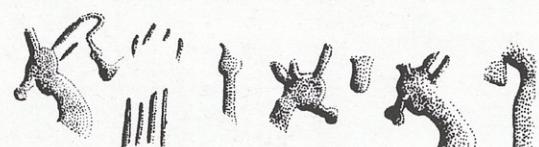


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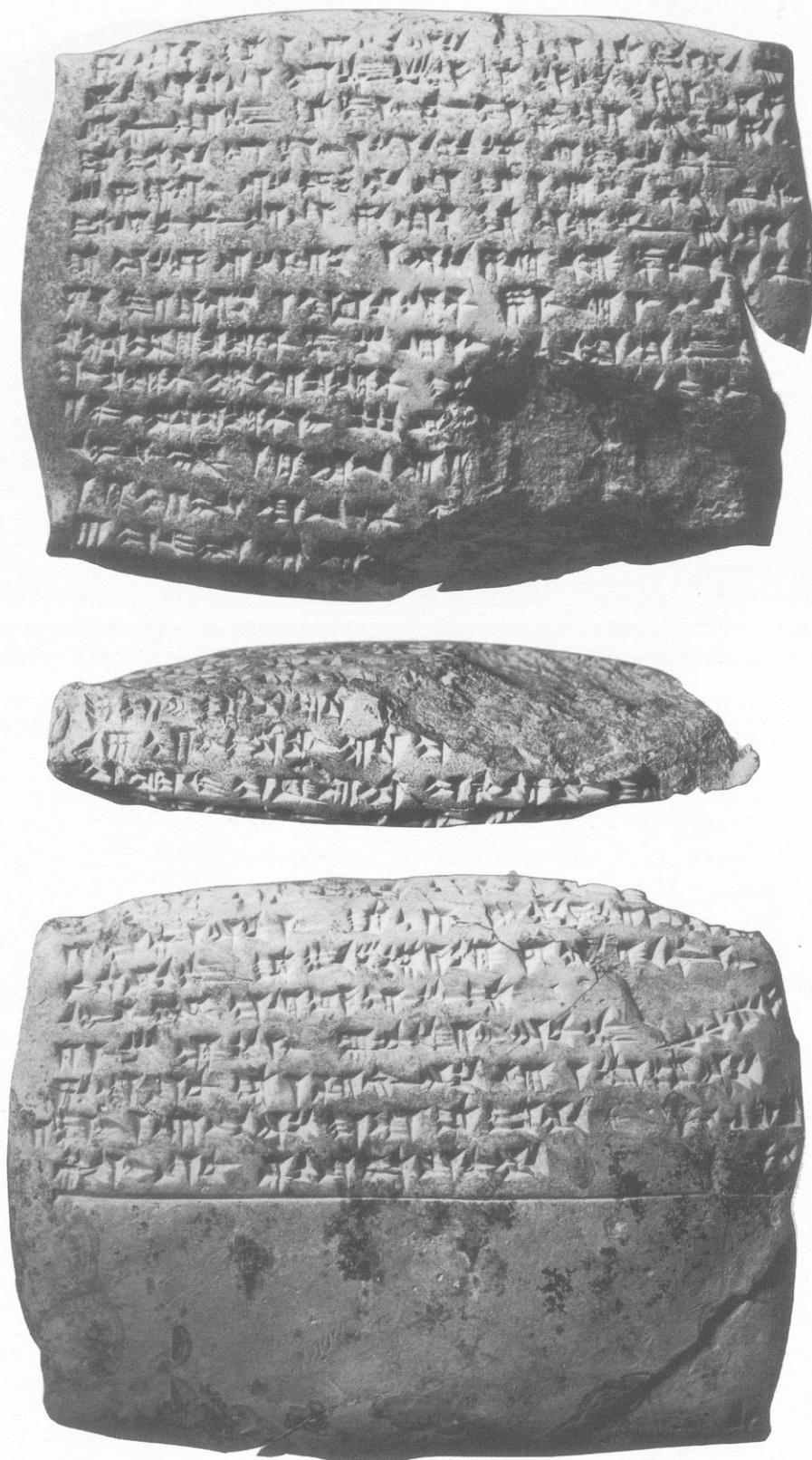




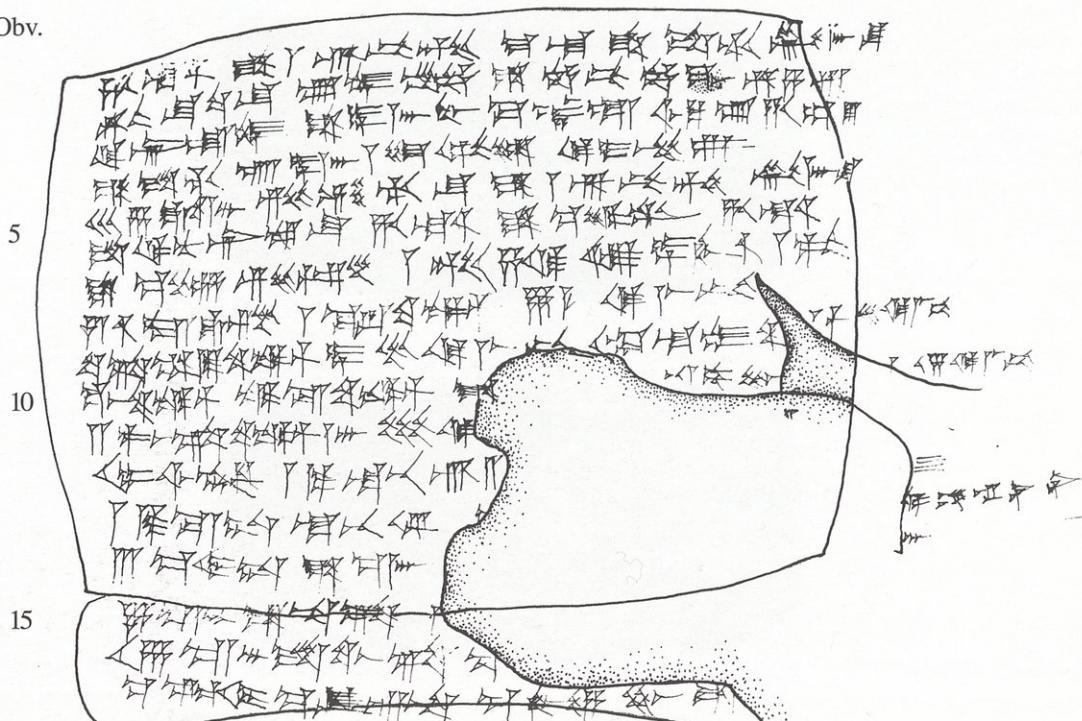
Seal Impressions 1-3



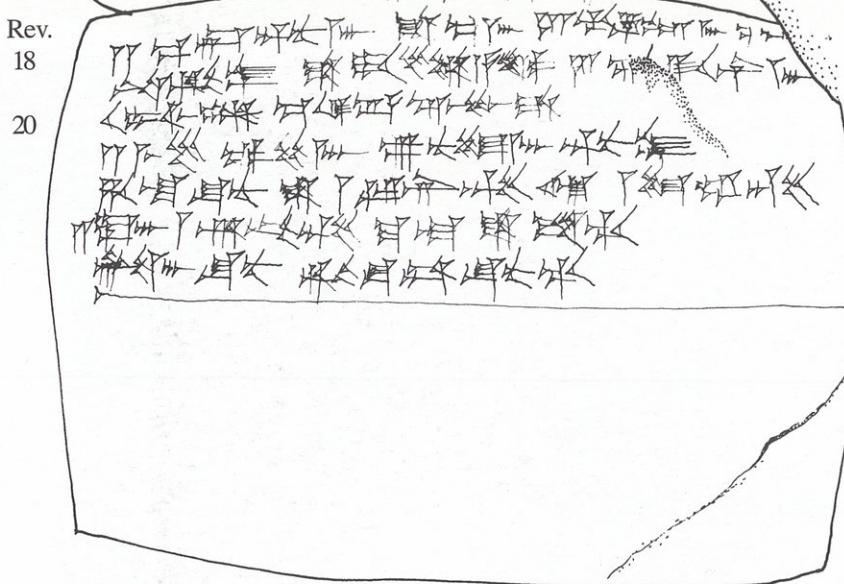
Seal Impression 4



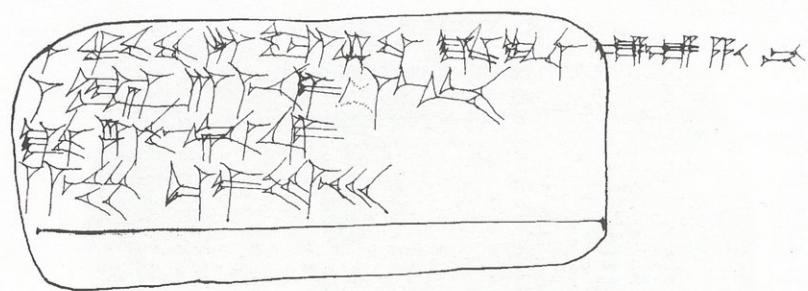
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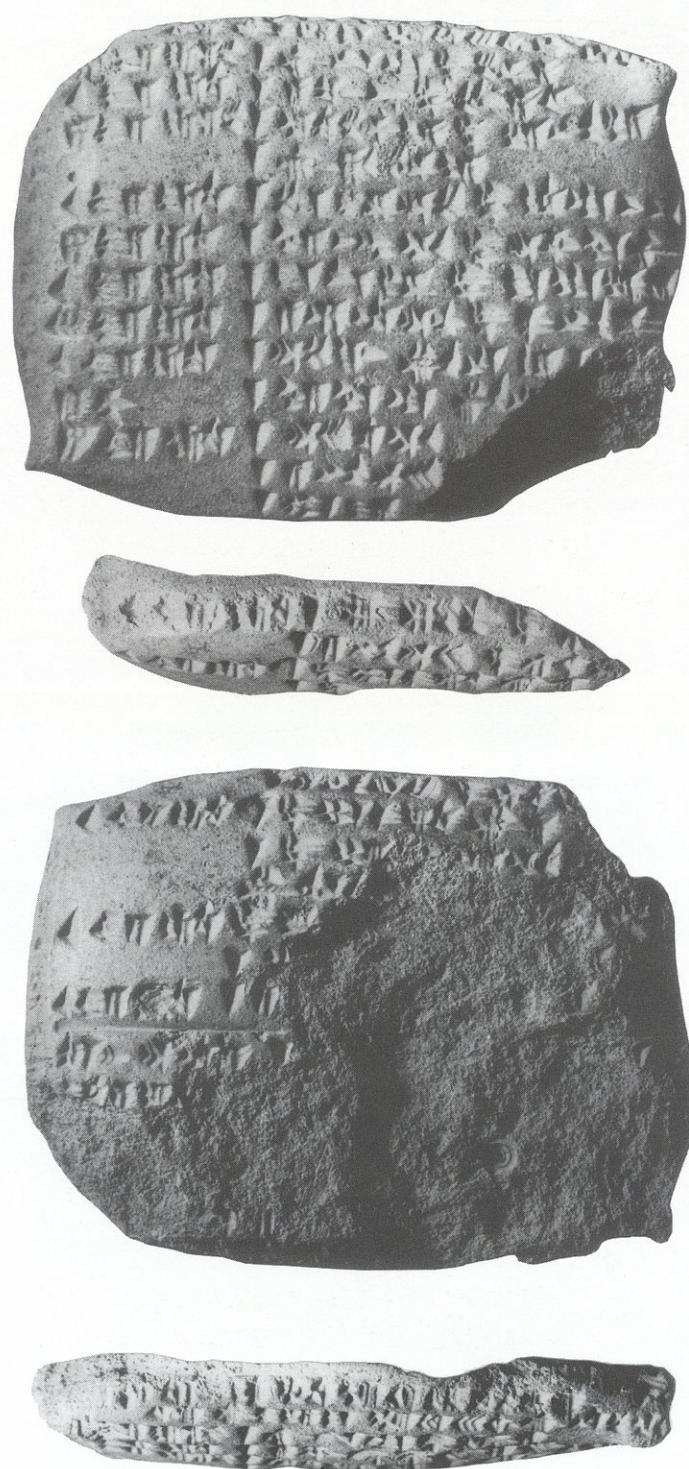


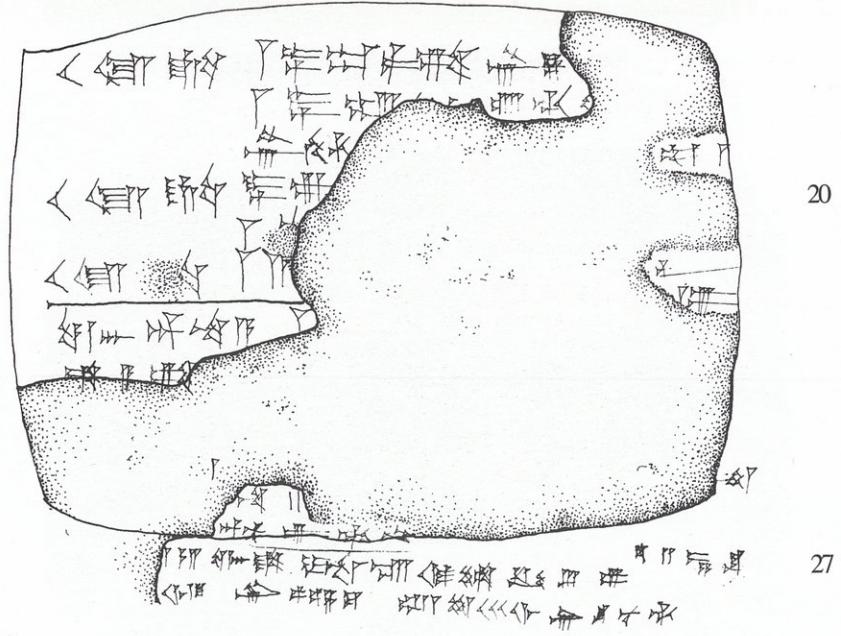
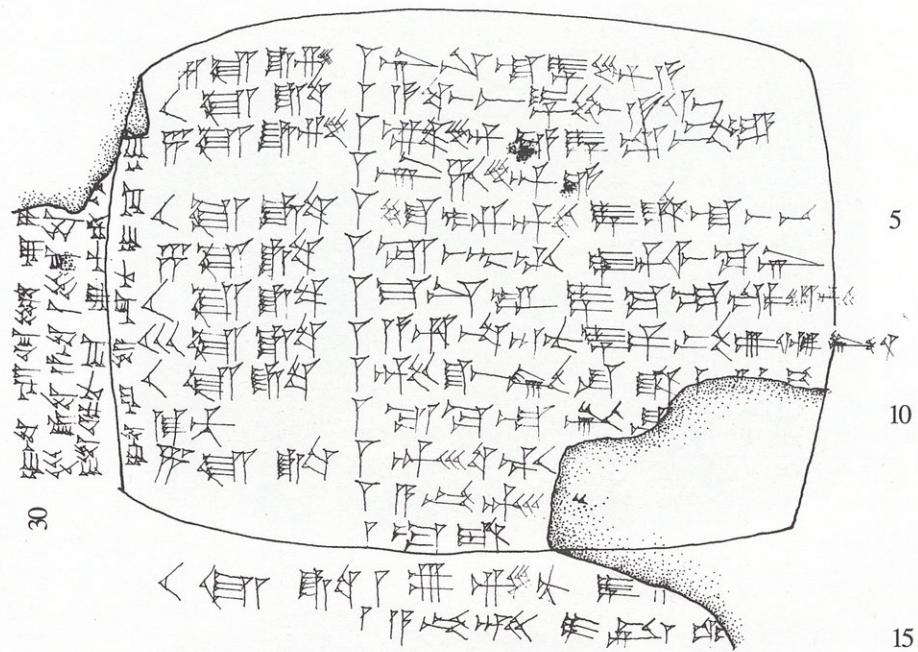
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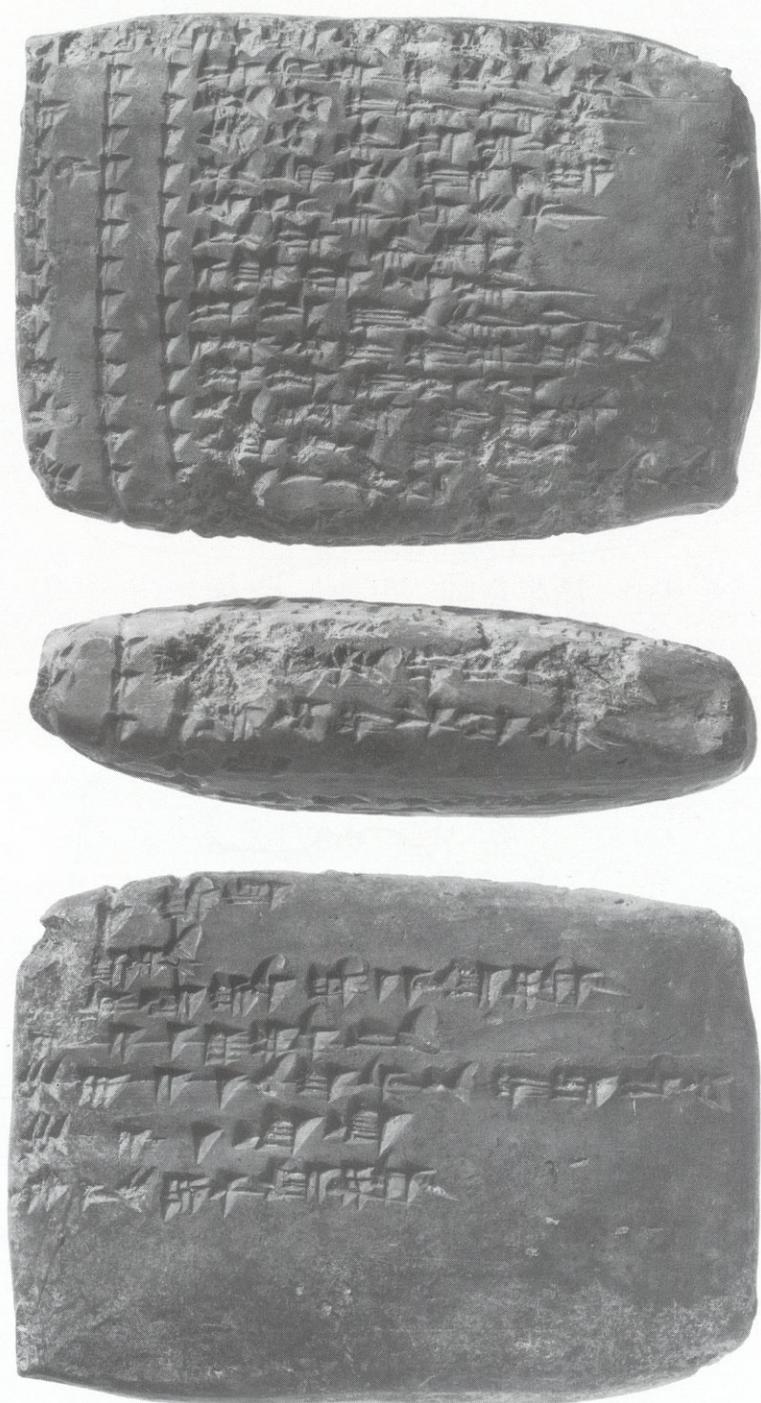




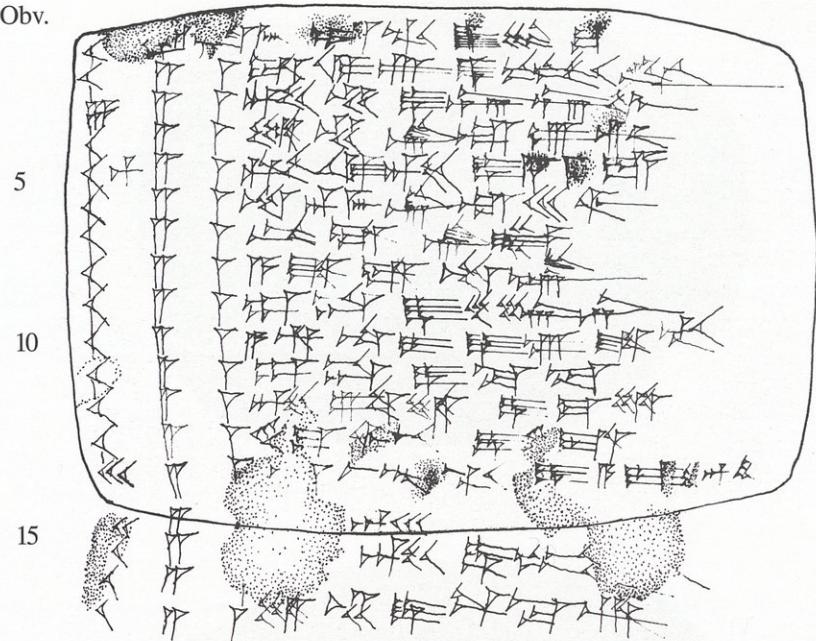




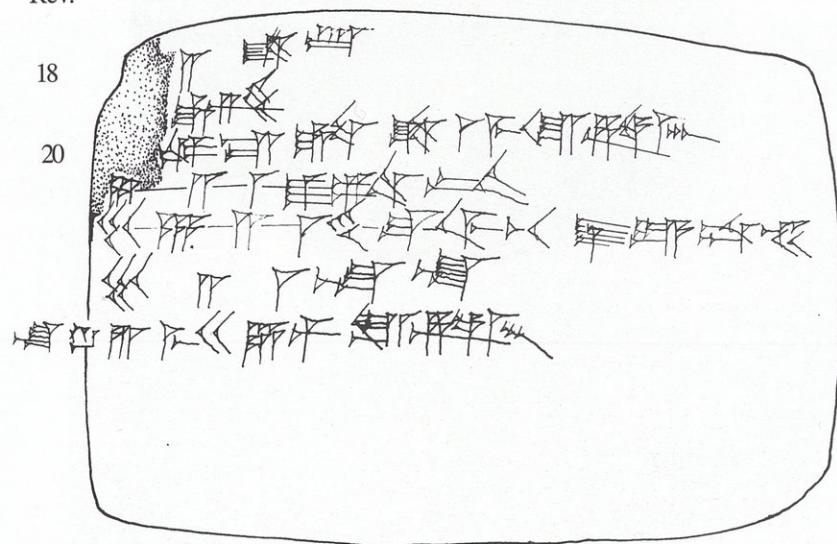


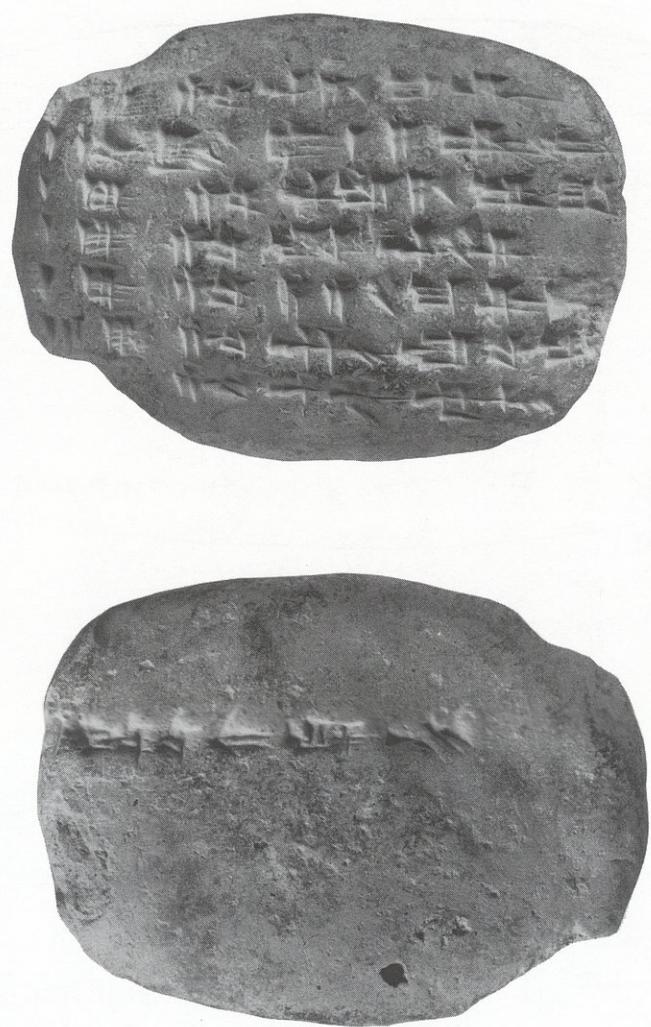


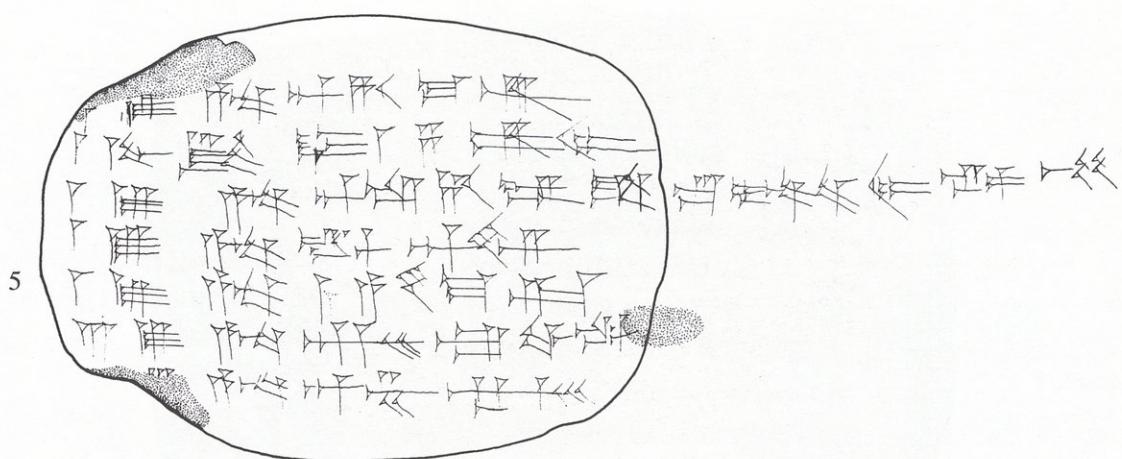
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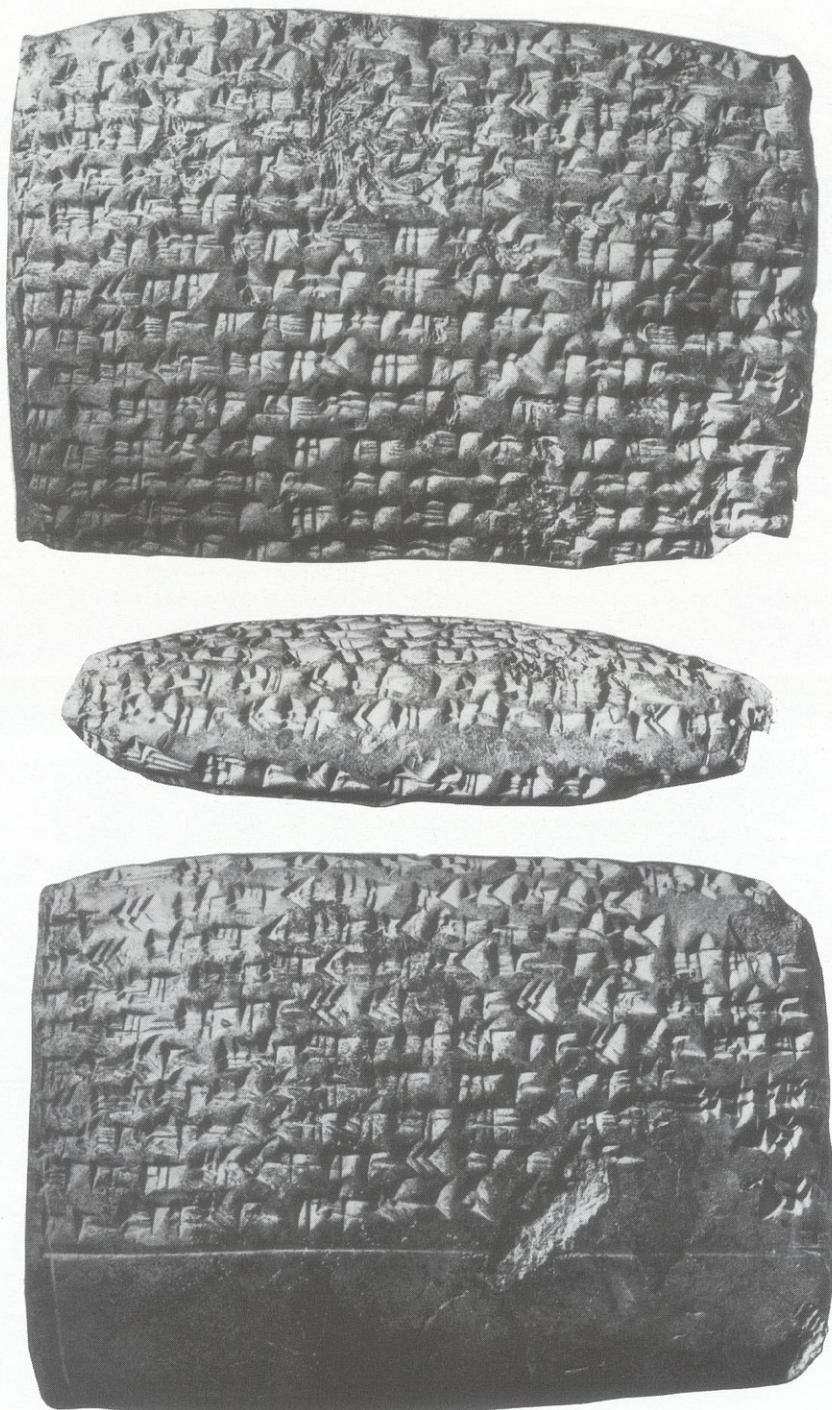


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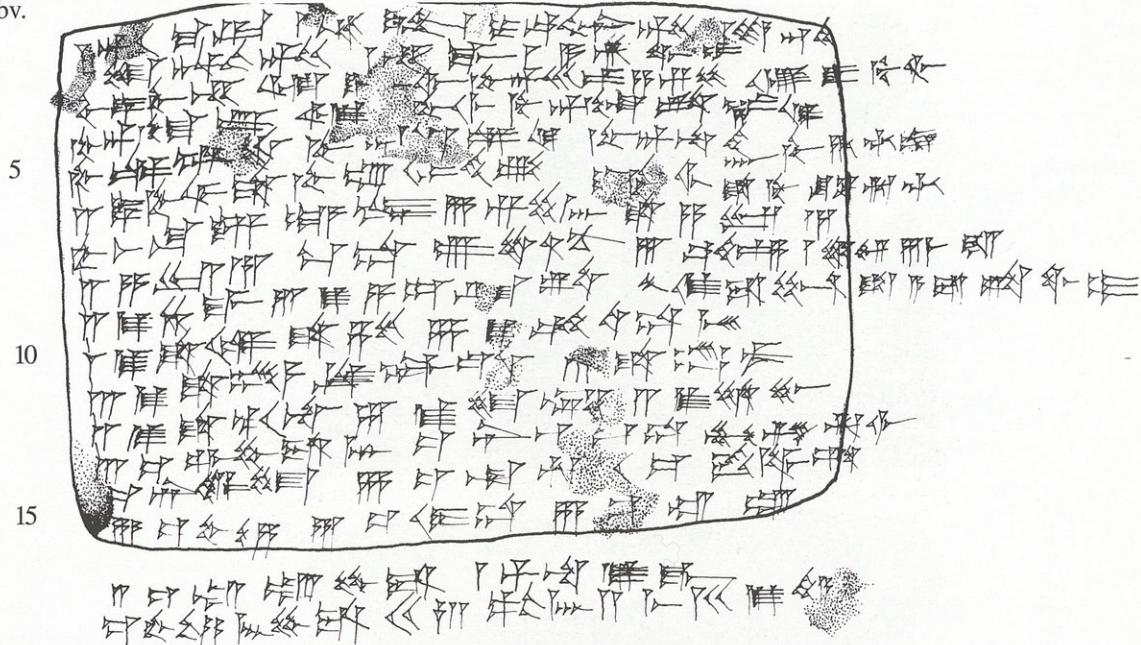




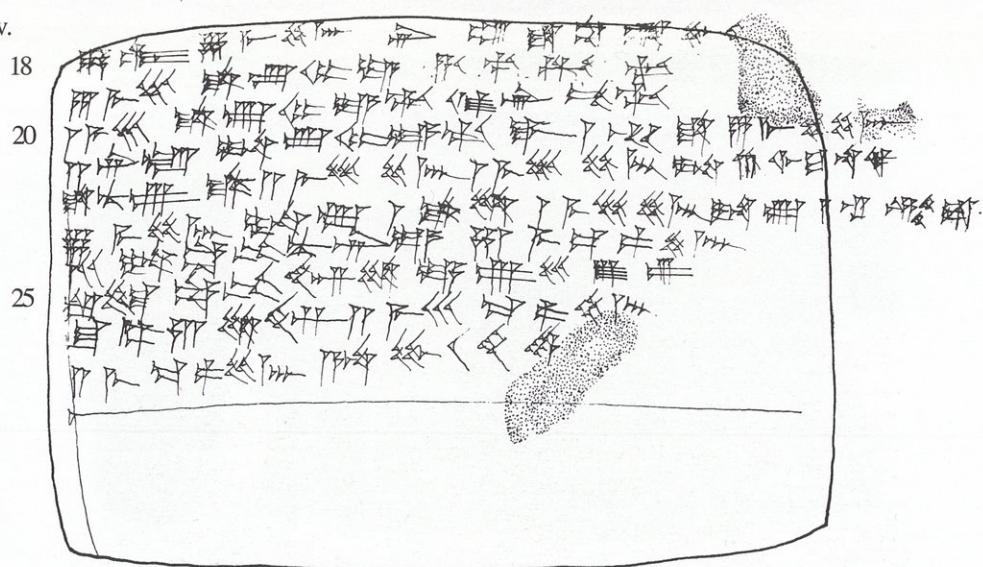


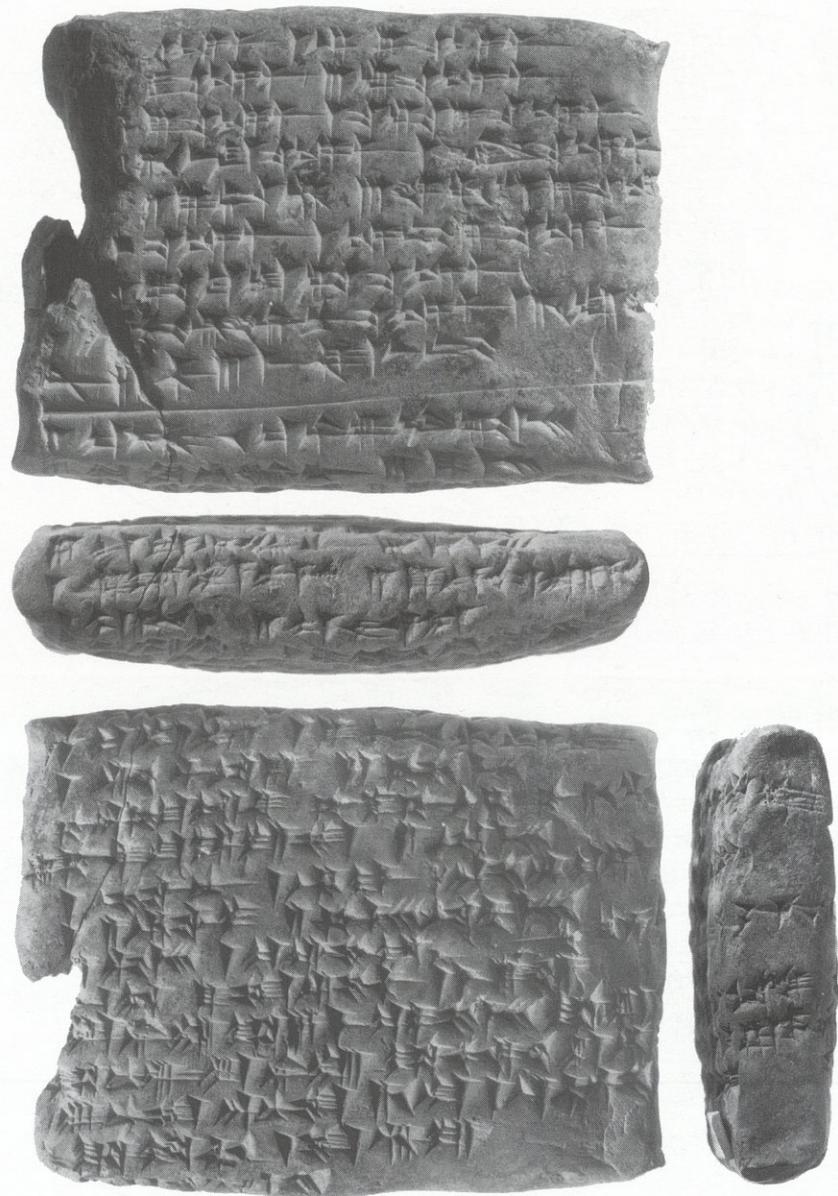


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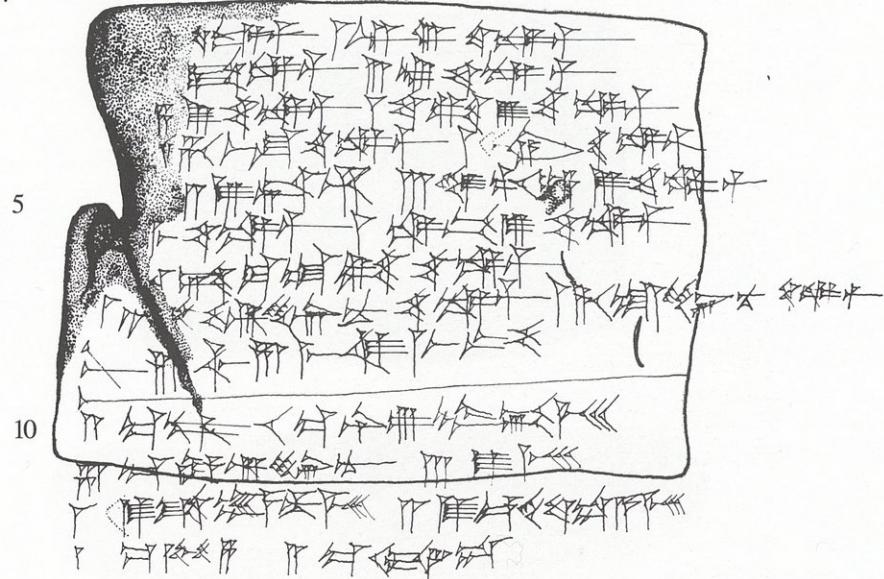


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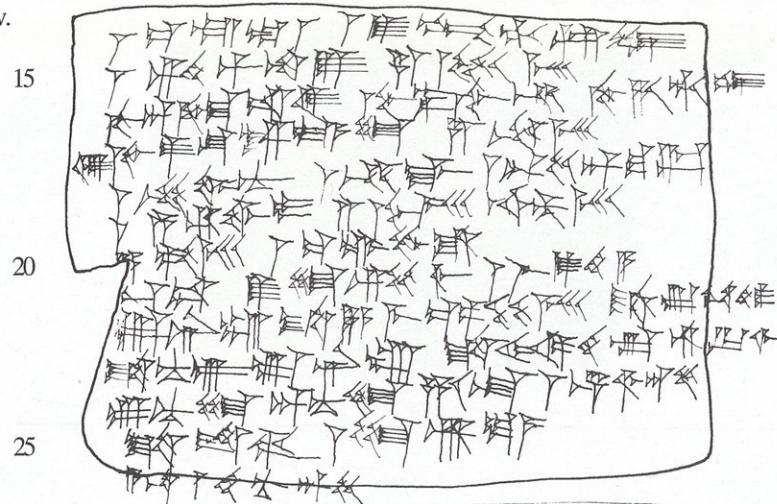




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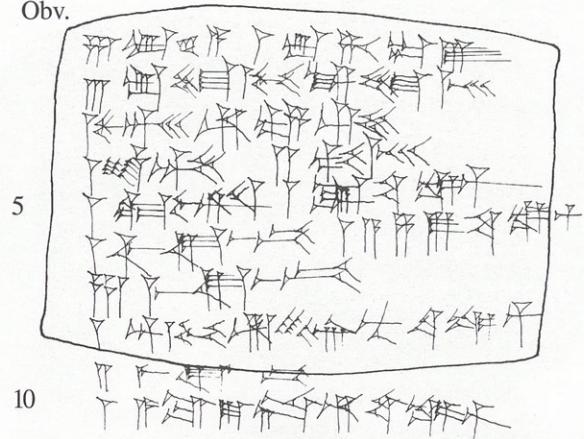


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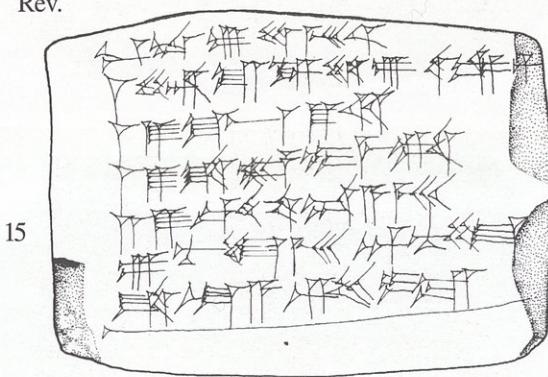


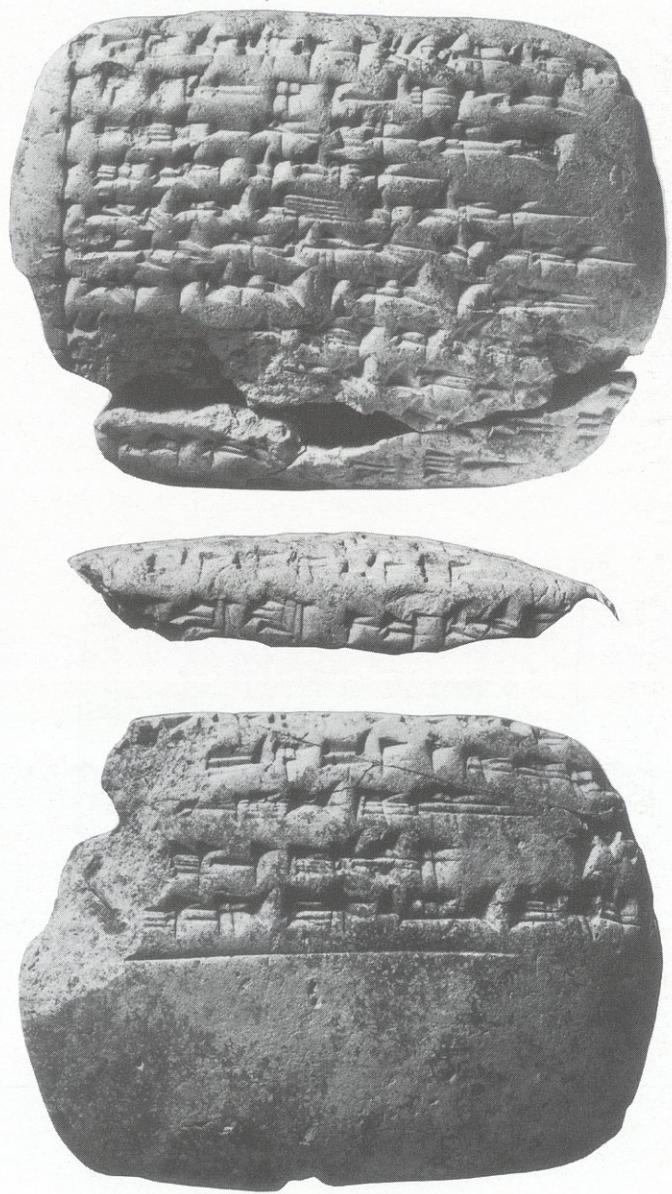


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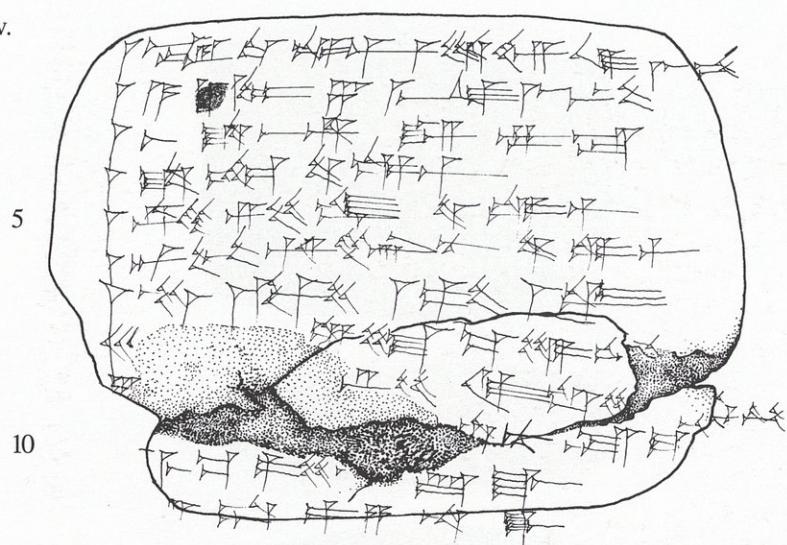


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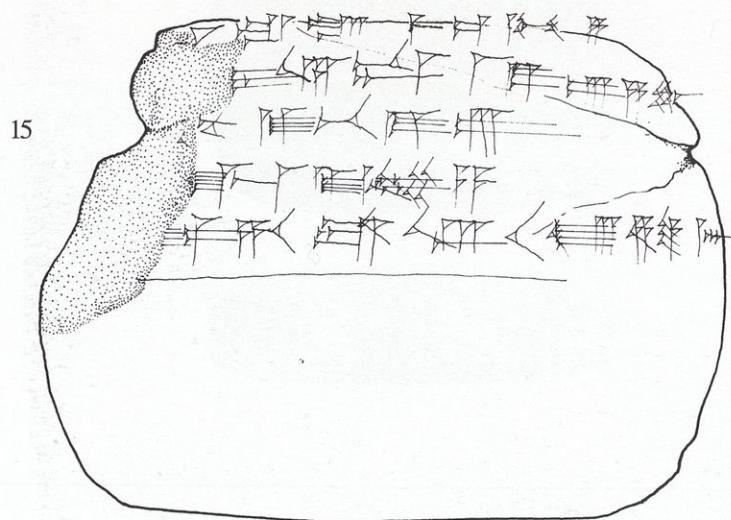




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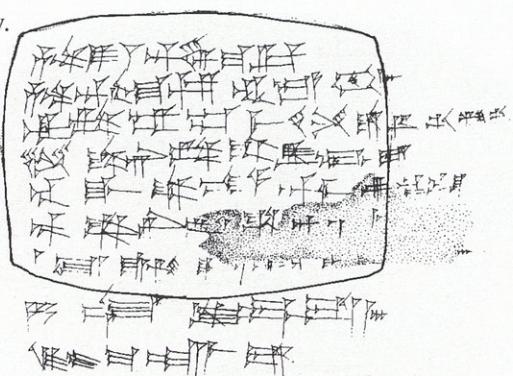
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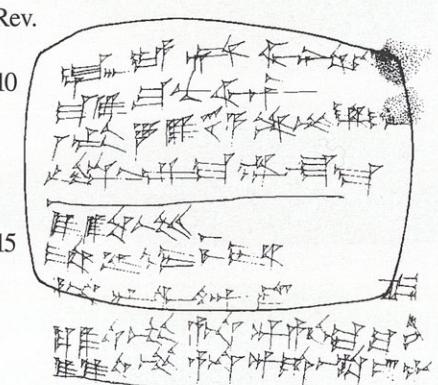
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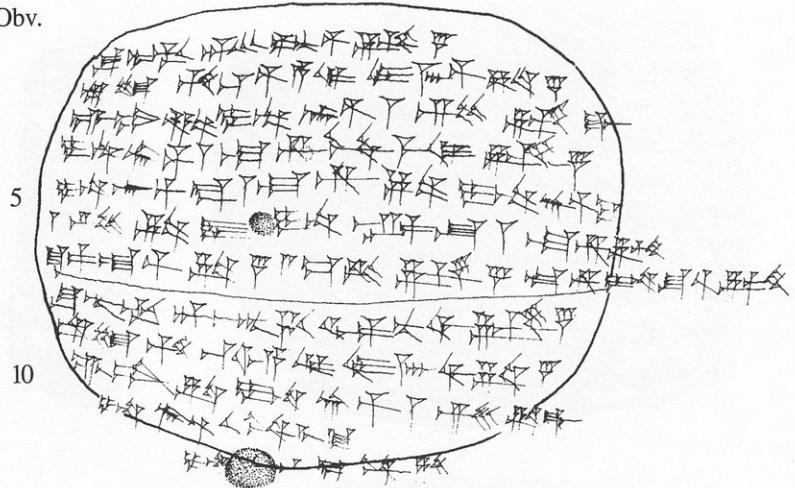
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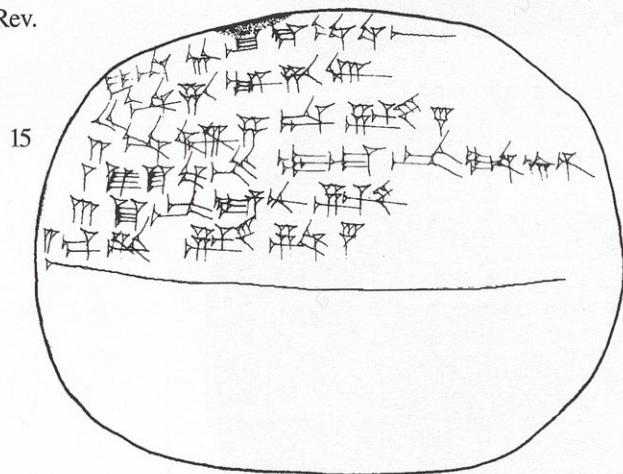


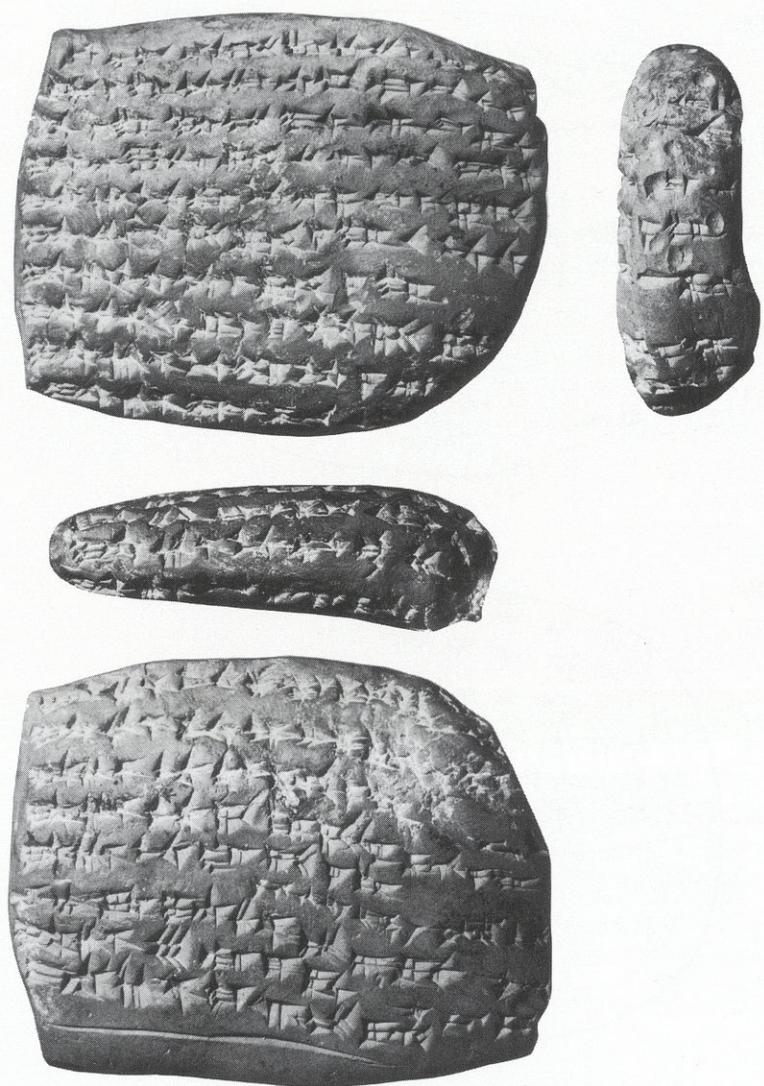


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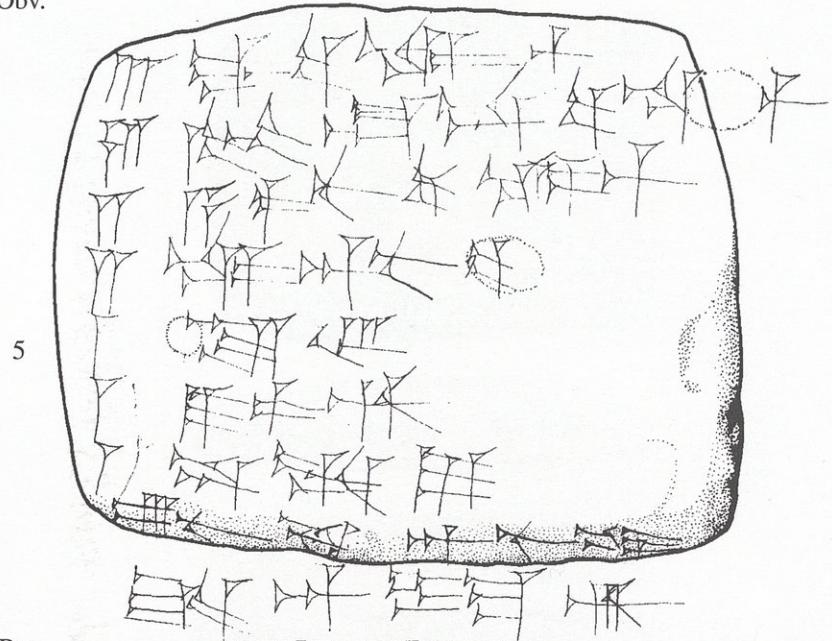


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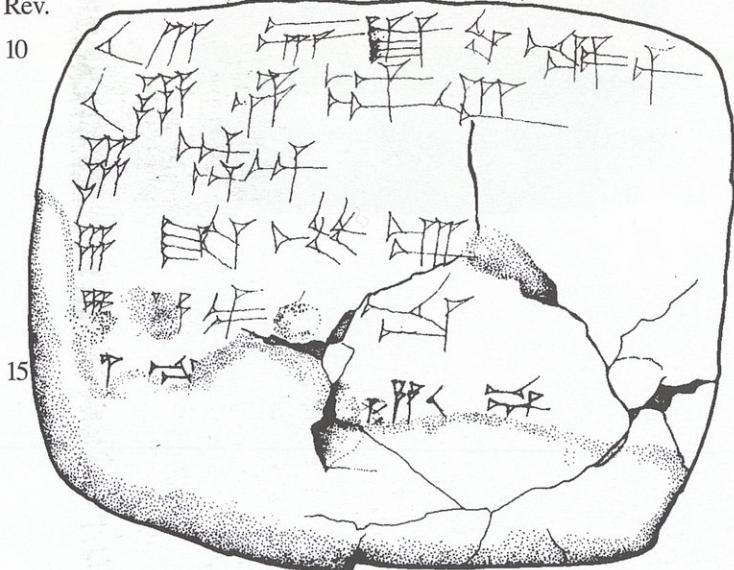


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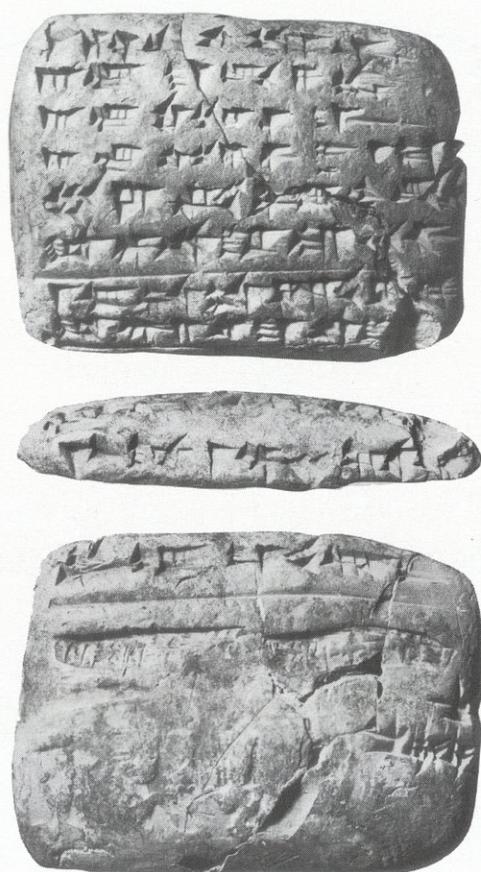
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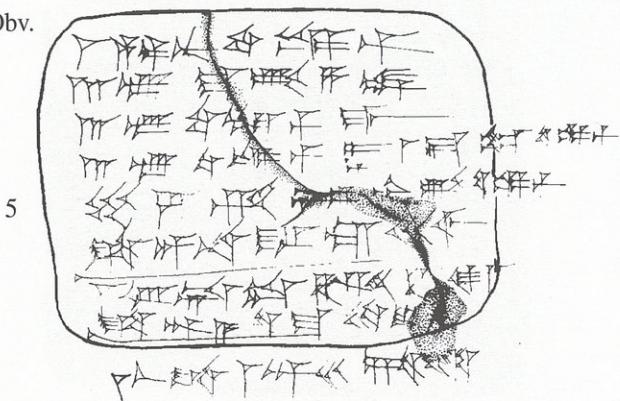


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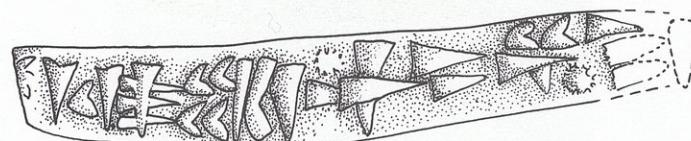
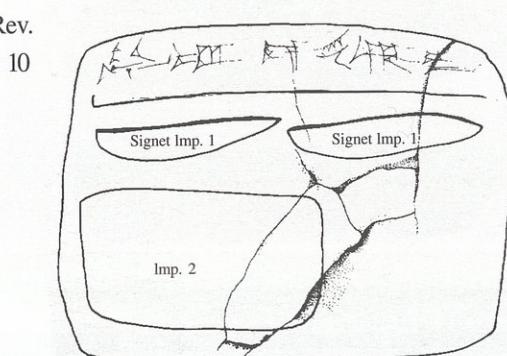
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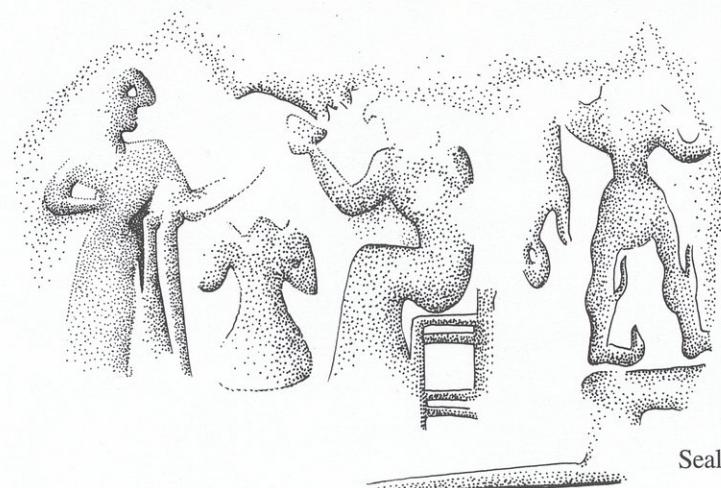
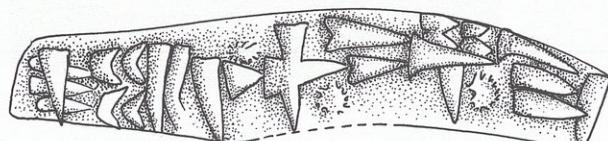
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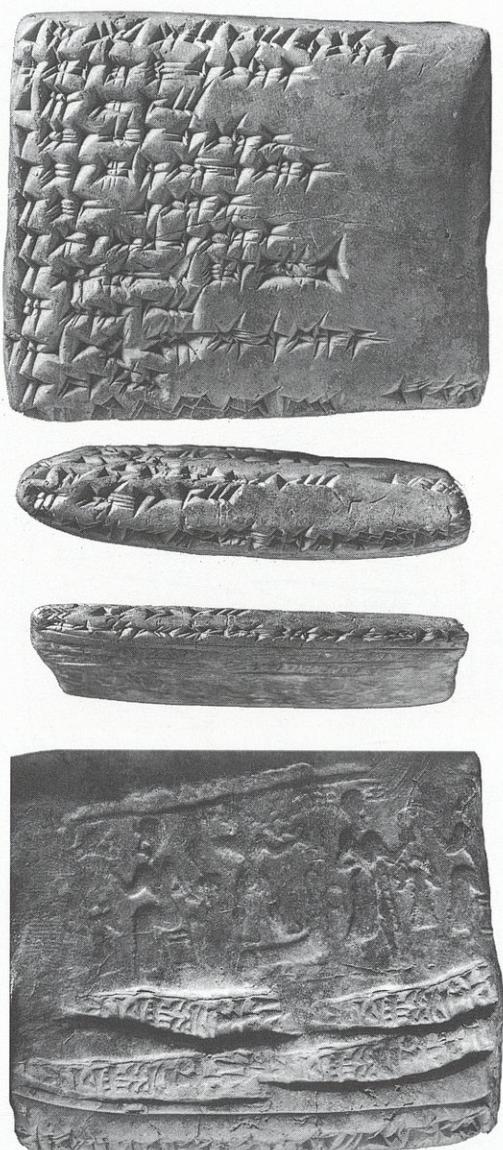
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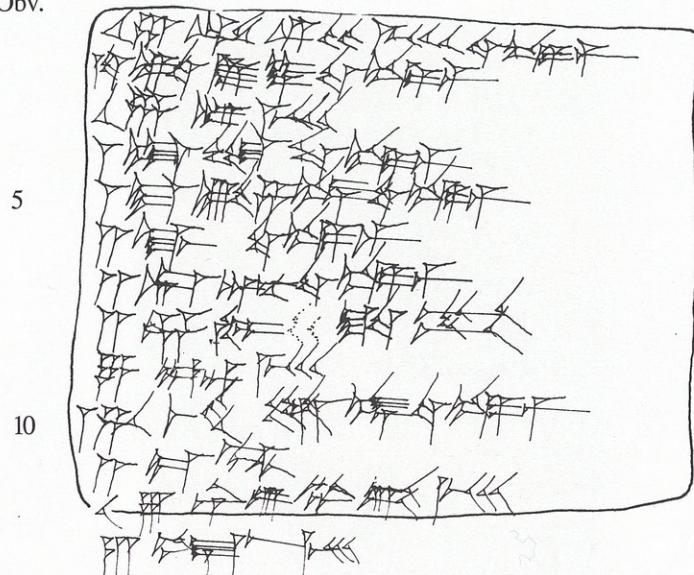
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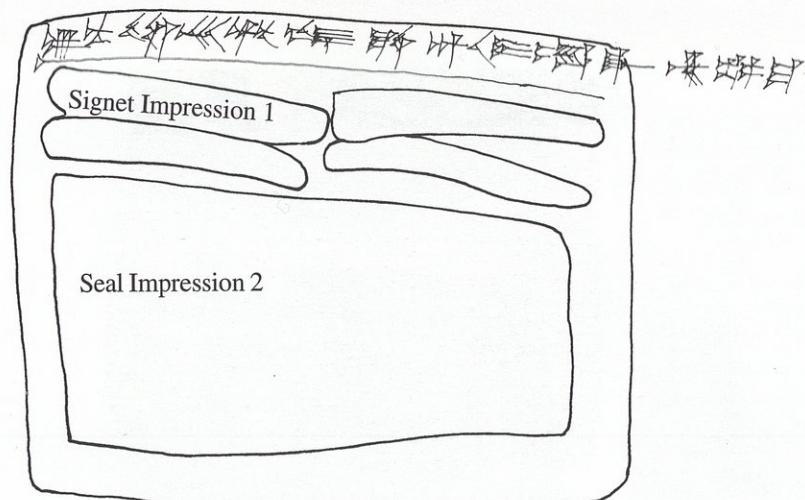
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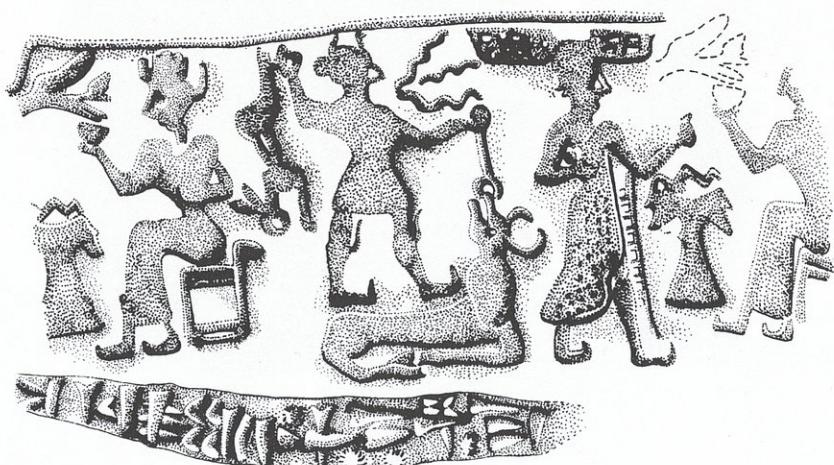
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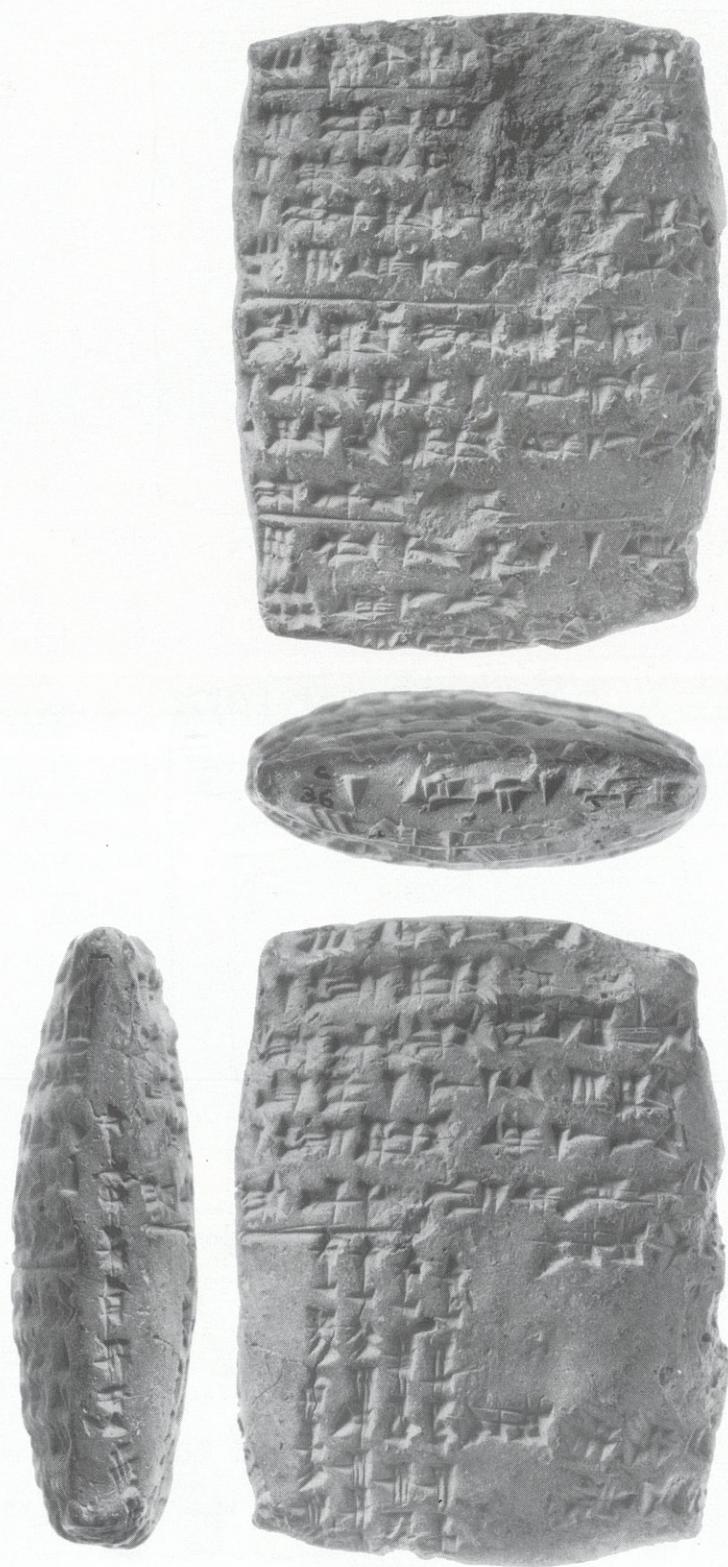
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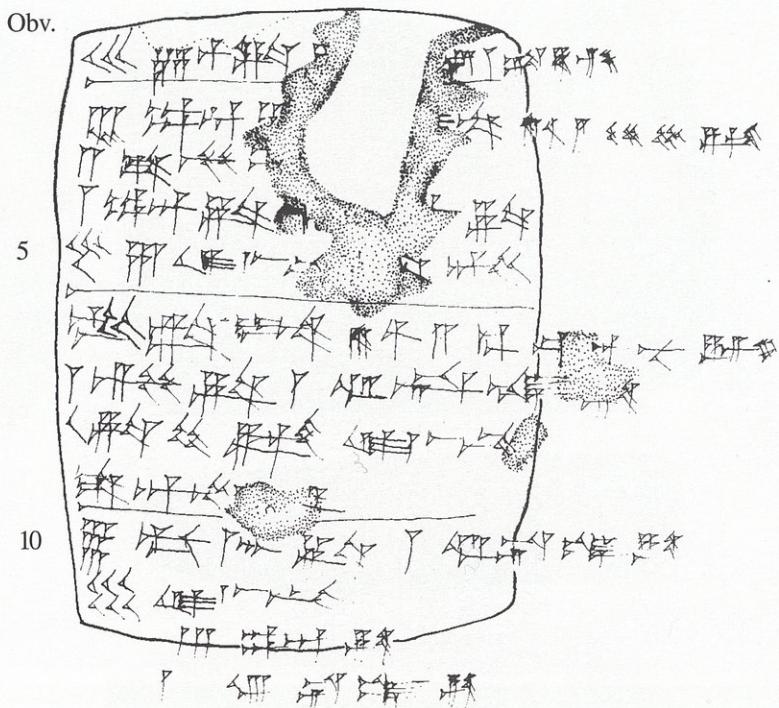
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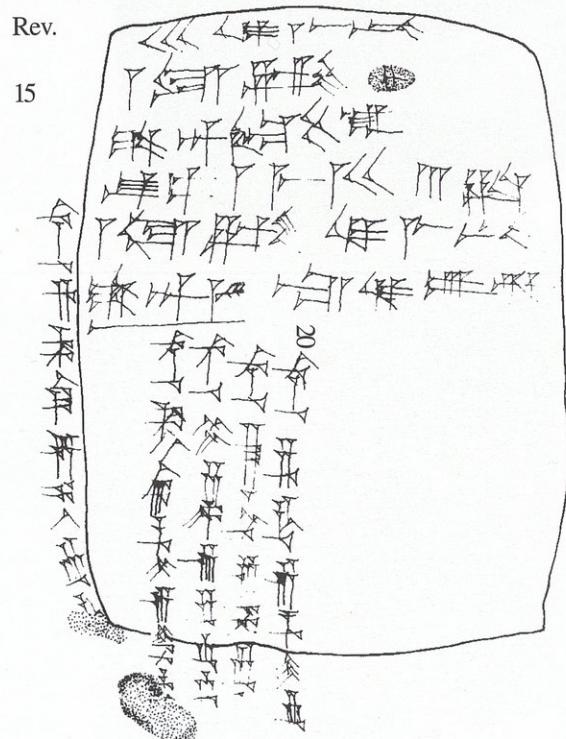
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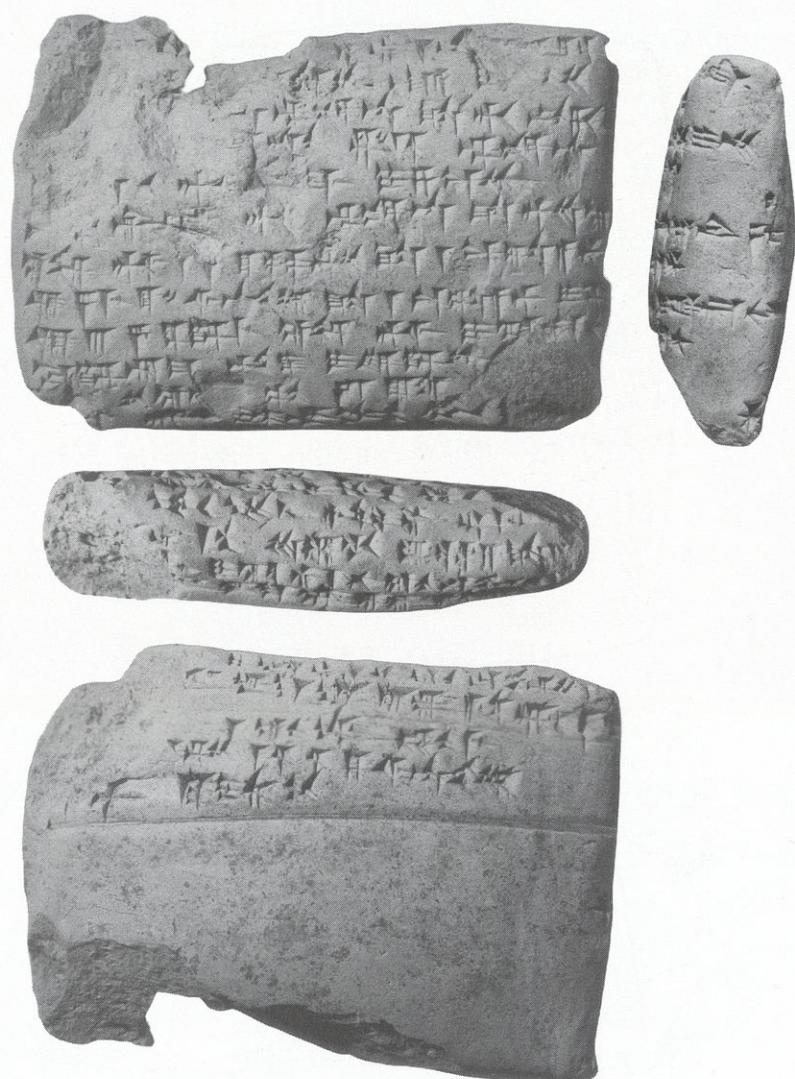


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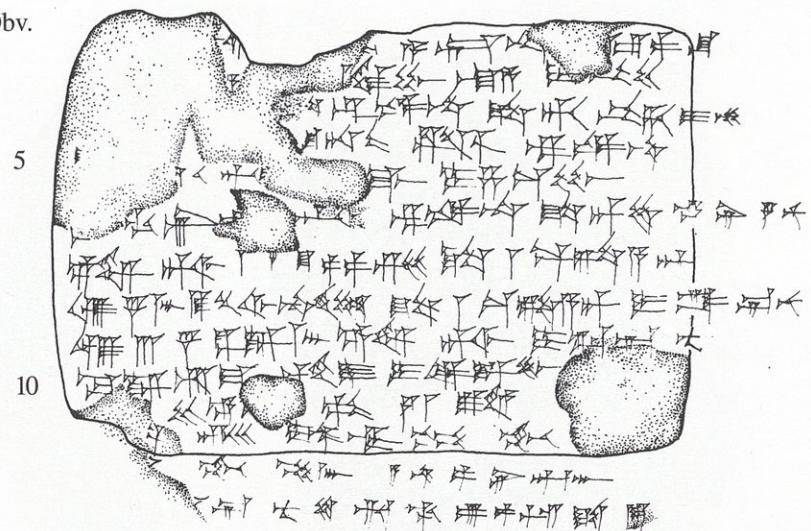


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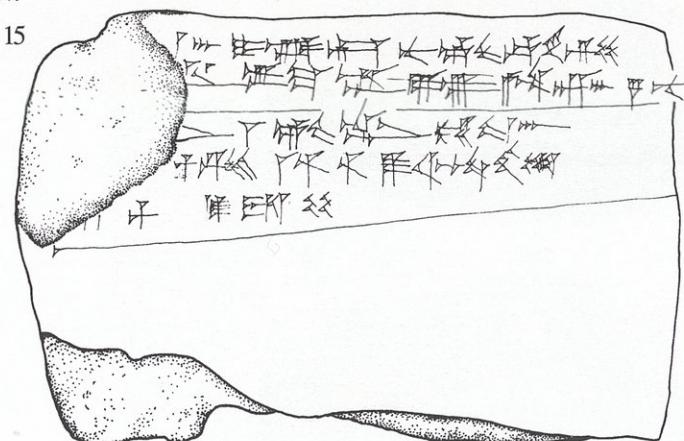


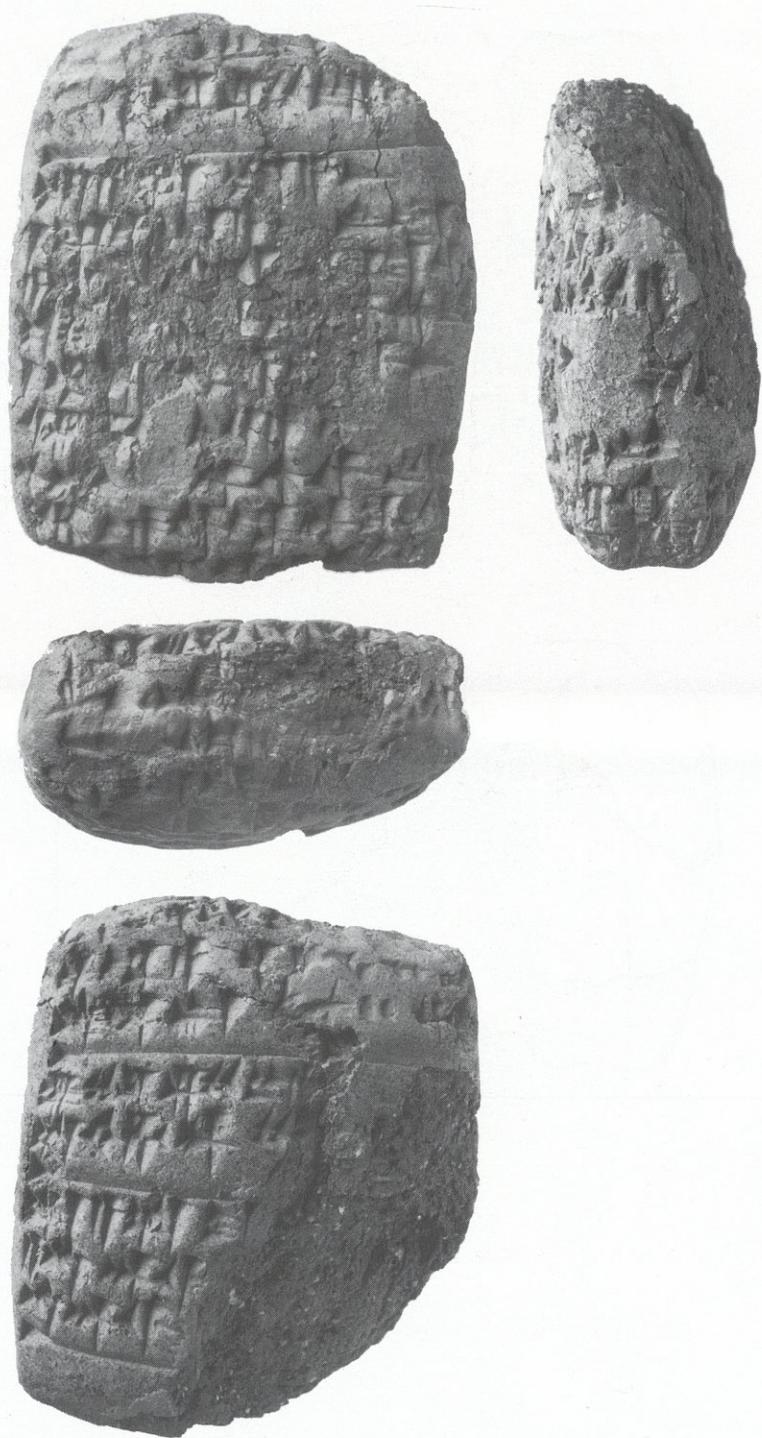


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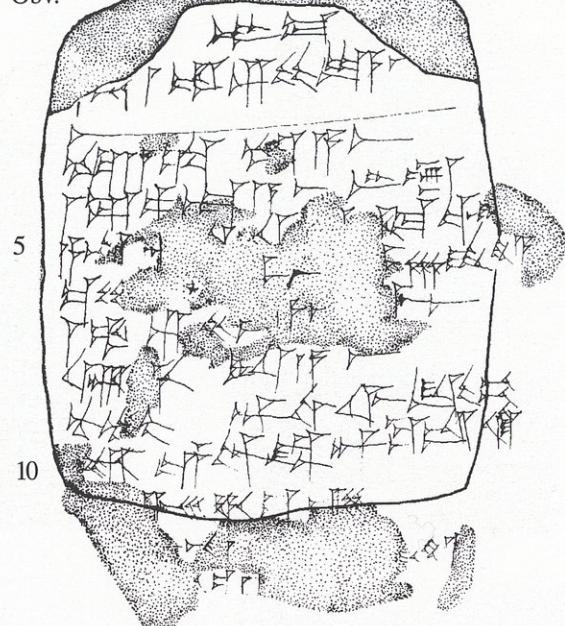


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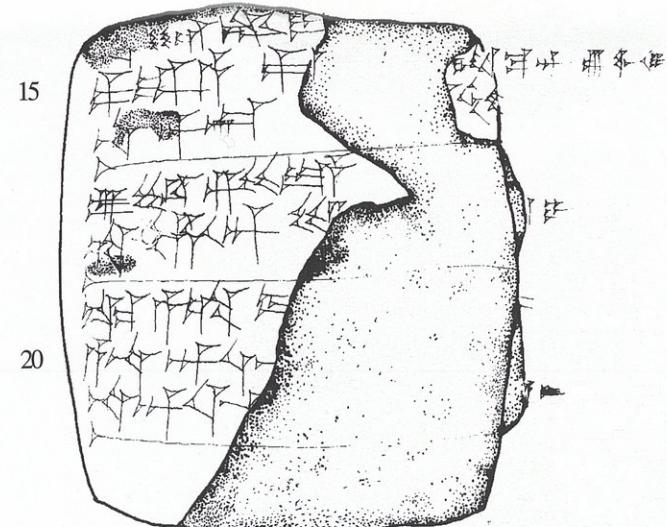


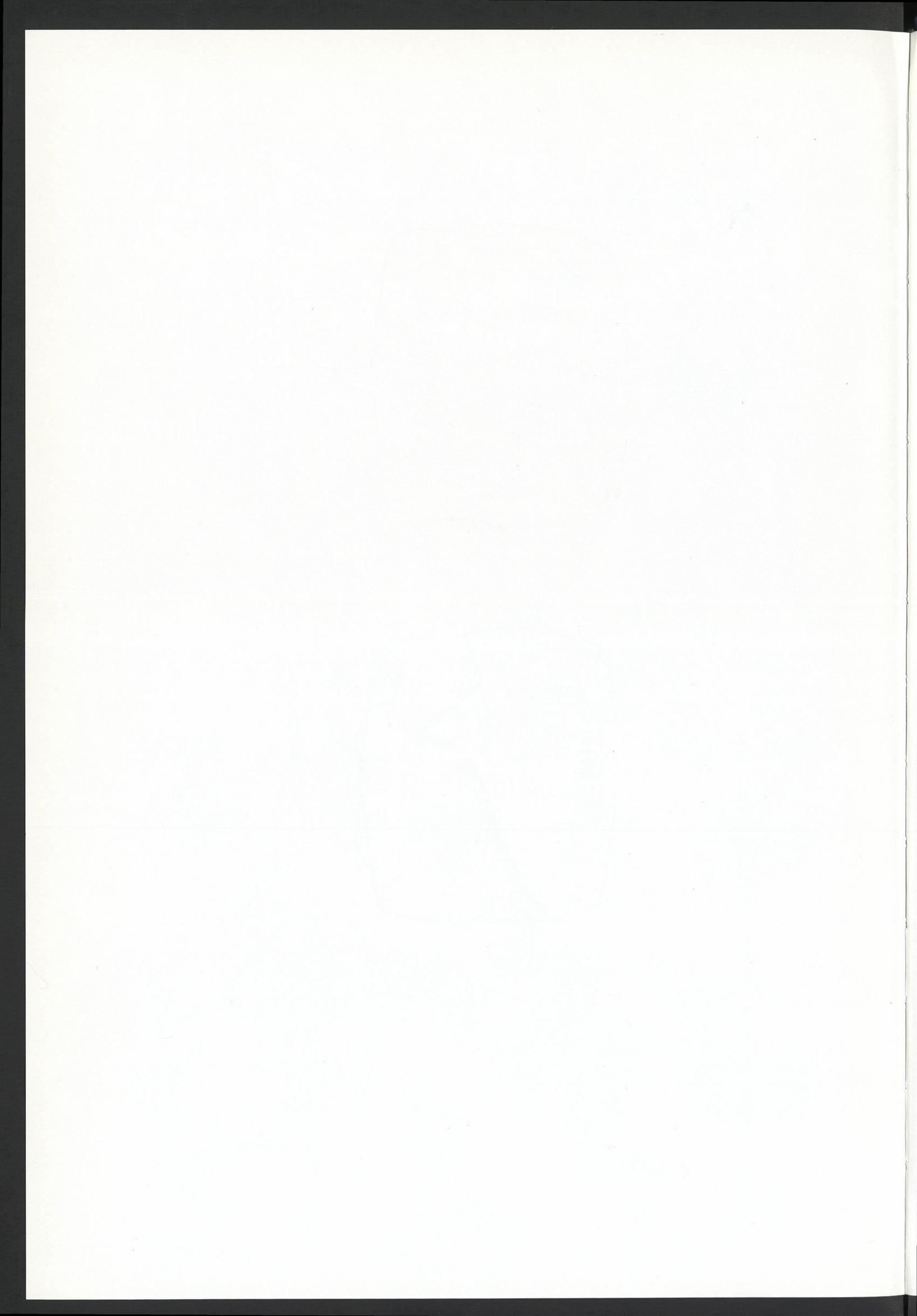


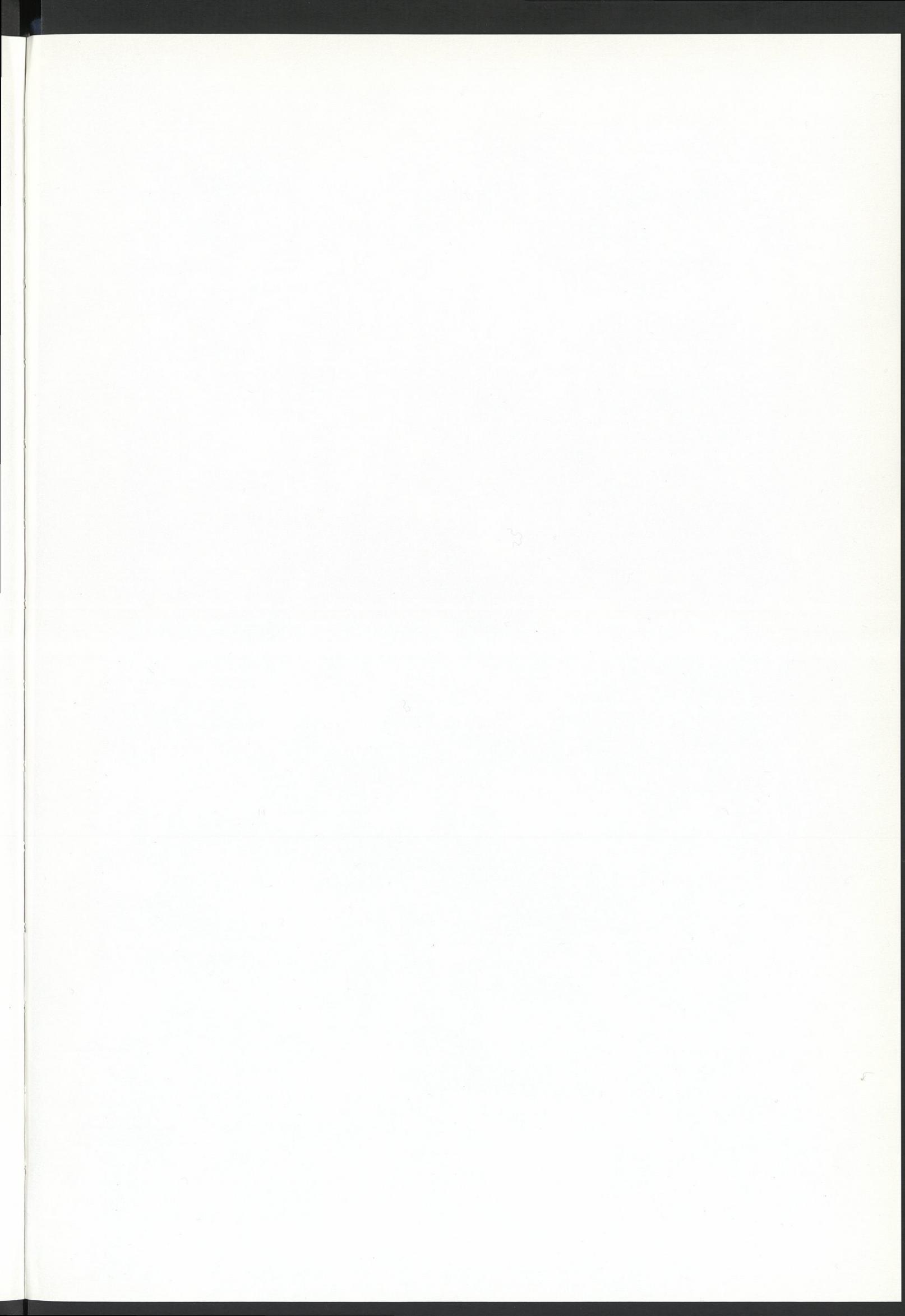
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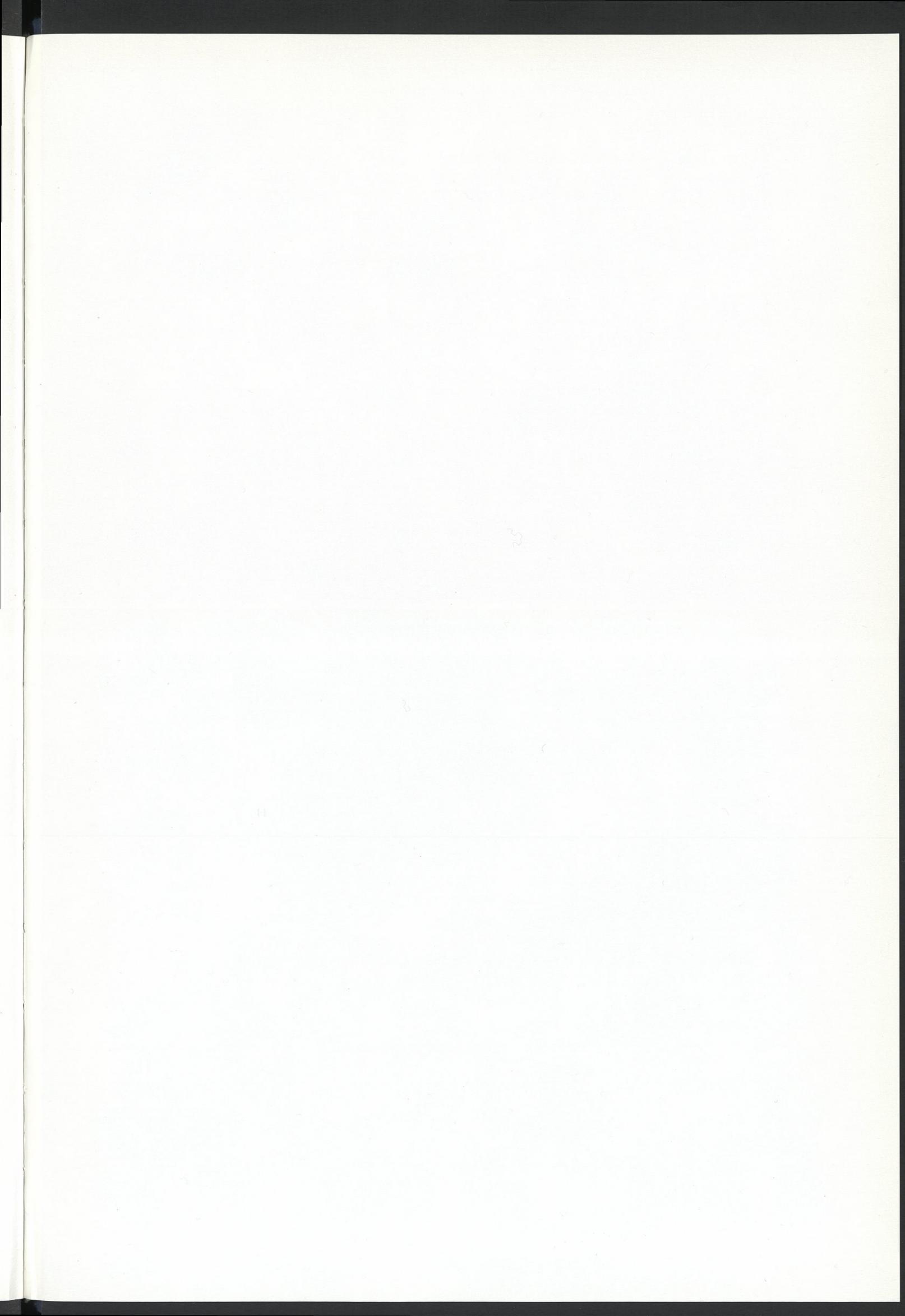
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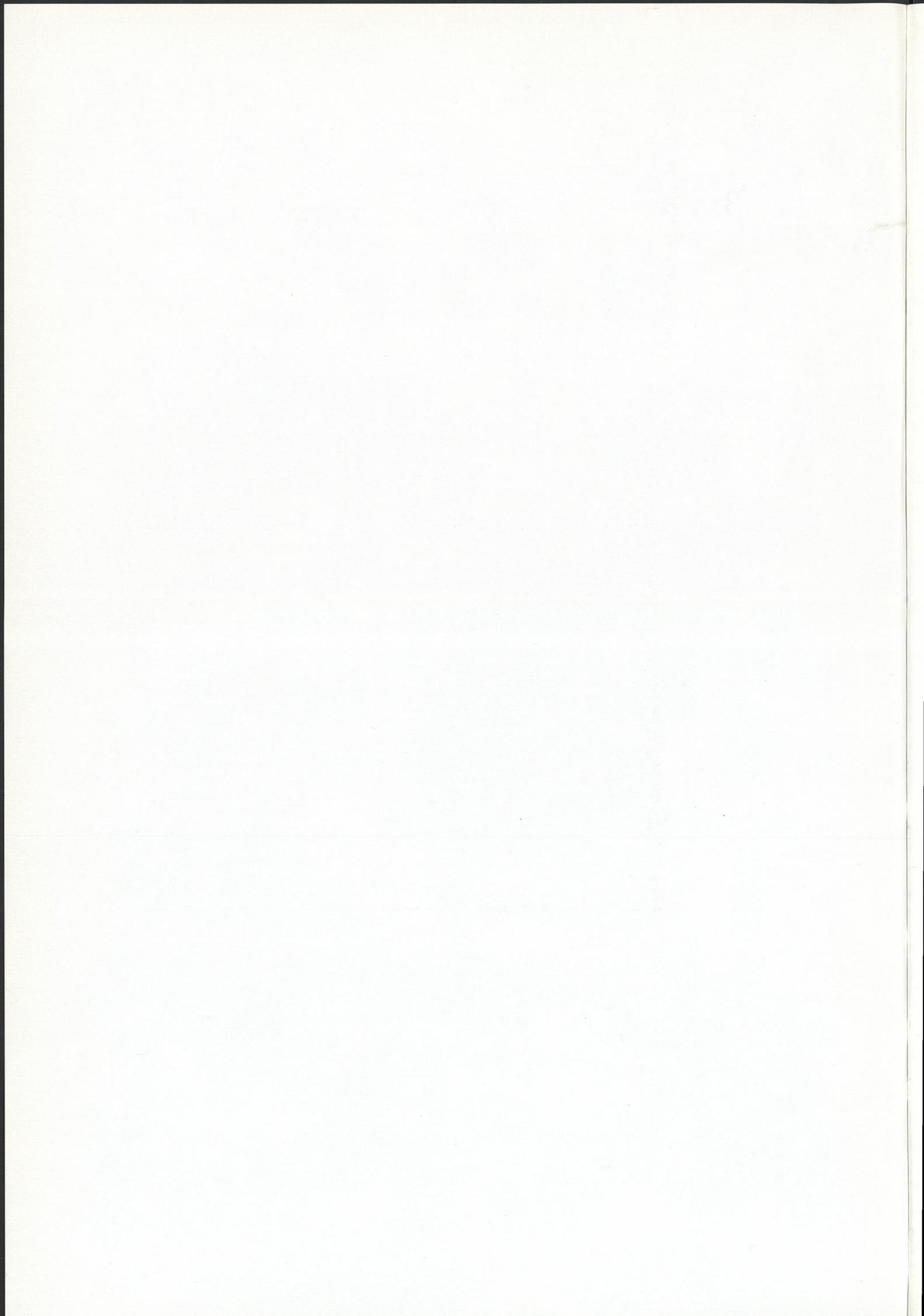


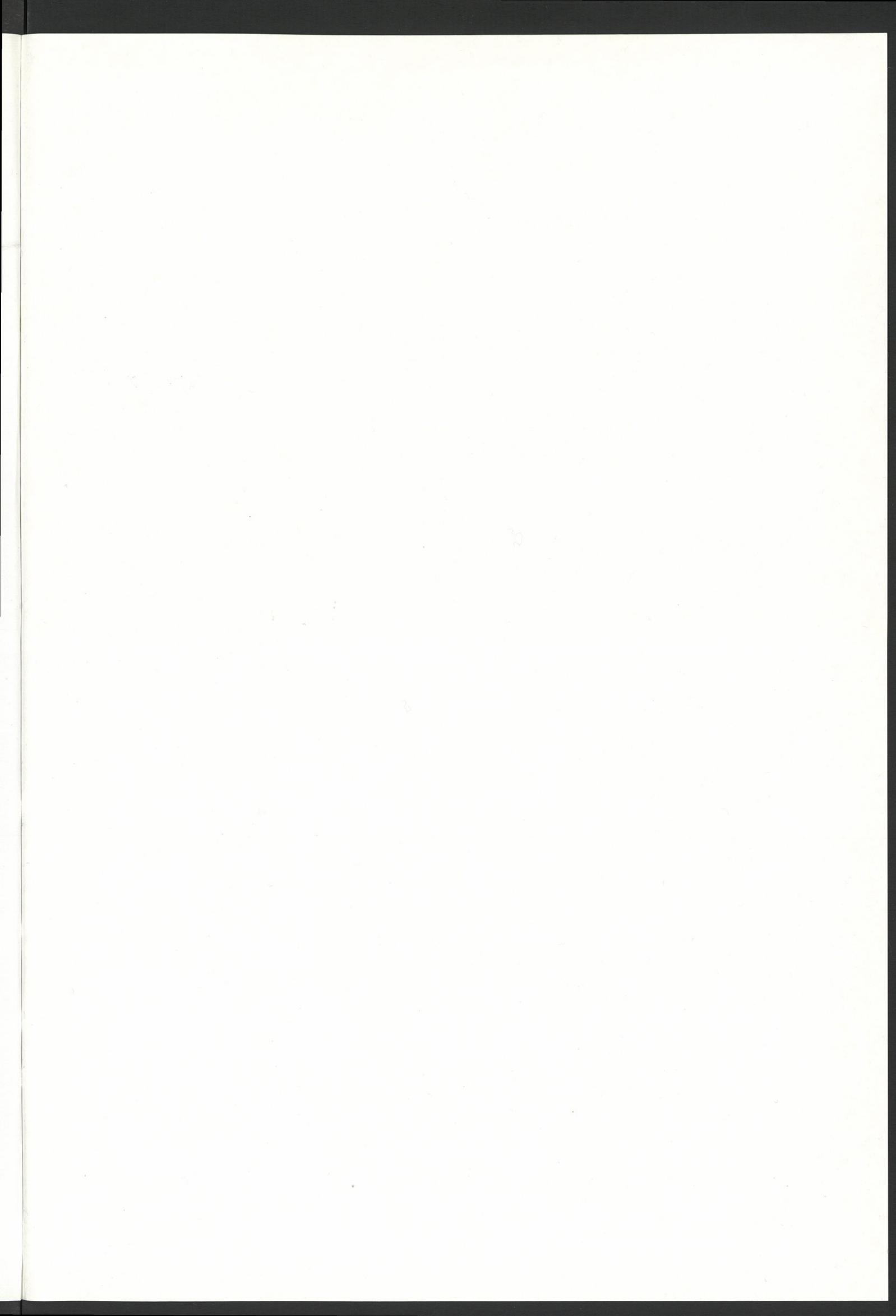














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