

NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF EMAR LEGAL TABLETS *

by FRANCESCO DI FILIPPO

Controlling the southern end of the great bend of the Euphrates, Emar was one of the major centres of the region known as Aštata in the Hittite sources¹. Textual evidence from Ebla and Mari indicates that the city was an important trade point on the east-west route from at least the mid-third millennium. However, the salvage excavations of the 1970s yielded important data mainly about the Late Bronze Age occupation². During this period Emar was one of the sites subjected to Hittite power in Northern Syria. This control was formally executed by the rulers of Karkemiš, who appear to have been personally involved in Syrian subjects' affairs during the entire 13th century. By contrast, and with the exception of Ugarit, the Hittite Great King's authority was only nominal and in the Emar tablets he never appeared to be personally active.

During the 1971 salvage excavations of the Late Antique and Islamic vestiges of ancient Meskéné-Balis, a survey (in the area later renamed "Chantier A") brought to light some characteristic Late Bronze Age shards and a cuneiform tablet³. The following year Margueron initiated the investigation of the Late Bronze Age levels of the site. Between 1972 and 1976 a large number of cuneiform tablets were unearthed. Almost 1900 tablets and fragments yielded approximately 800 documents which were published by Arnaud in 1985-87⁴. Another significant portion of the Emar *corpus*, almost 300 texts, was illegally unearthed and acquired on the antiquities market⁵:

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Abbreviations are those of the CAD. Figure 1 shows abbreviations of texts from antiquity market, whereas tablet from Emar excavations are indicated by *siglum* RAE.

¹ For a general overview of the Middle-Euphrates region and the ancient Emar-Aštata Land see Arnaud 1980 and 1987b, Bunnens 1989, Margueron 1982 and 1994, Yamada 1994b, Chavalas (ed.) 1996, Fleming 2000 and Adamthwaite 2001.

² Even though Margueron (1994) assumed that the Late Bronze Age city was re-located by the Hittite rulers, the Syro-German investigations at tell Meskéné brought to light evidence also of an Early end Middle Bronze Age occupation (see Finkbeiner 1999/2000, 2001, 2002).

³ Margueron 1975c, p. 73 and Beyer 2001, p. 5.

⁴ Arnaud 1985, 1986 and 1987a.

⁵ Some tablets from the antiquity market have been published several times: see Pruzsinszky 2003 for a complete index of these documents.

<i>year</i>	<i>author(s)</i>	<i>published in</i>	<i>sigla</i>	<i>num.</i>
1982	M. Sigrist	JCS 34	--	2
1983	J. W. Meyer & G. Wilhelm	DM 1	DM	1
1983	J. Huehnergard	RA 77	RA	5
1984	D. Arnaud	AO 2	--	3
1984	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 6	--	1
1986/1987	M. Yabroudi	AAAS 36-37	--	1
1987	D. Arnaud	AO 5	AO	16
1988	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 10	ASJ 10	7
1988	G. Beckman	JCS 40	JCS	3
1989	F. Fales	see Fales 1989	FL	4
1989/1990	H. Gonnet & F. Malbran-Labat	Anatolica 16	AO 28366	1
1990	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 12	ASJ 12	16
1991	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 13	ASJ 13	26
1991	D. Arnaud	see Arnaud 1991	TBR	101
1991	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 13	--	6
1992	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 14	ASJ 14	8
1992	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 14	ASJ 14	1
1992	S. Dalley & B. Tossier	Iraq 54	IRAQ	5
1992	D. Arnaud	SMEA 30	SMEA	27
1993	M. Sigrist	see Sigrist 1993	RK	7
1994	A. Tsukimoto	ASJ 16	--	1
1995	D.I. Owen	see Owen 1995	OWEN	1
1996	G. Beckman	see Beckman 1996a	RE	97
1996	D. Arnaud	Semitica 46	SEMITICA	2
2000	J. G. Westenholz	see Westenholz 2000	BMLJ	32

Fig. 1 – Synopsis of the tablets acquired on the antiquity market and related to Late Bronze Age Emar.

The cuneiform tablets of Emar illustrate socio-economic, literary and cultic aspects of the Middle Euphrates valley during the Late Bronze Age. They exemplify both the nature of a considerably homogeneous society and the way such a local culture interacted with the new Hittite administrative system in northern Syria. Most of these texts, except for a considerable number found in Temple M1⁶, are legal texts: purchase deeds, wills, adoption records and some atypical contracts. However, despite the homogeneous legal character of the documents, the shape and *ductus* of the tablets show significant discrepancies. At least two scribal schools have been identified. Alongside the local “Syrian” scribal tradition a “Syro-Hittite” school developed: the linguistic practice, layout of tablets and seals of the latter are noticeably different⁷. Such a diarchy may provide important information on the city’s social structure, since the two schools seem to represent independent patterns in the overall Emar community. The activities of the autochthonous city authority, the elders and the city deity *Ninurta*, as well as the “limited” local Royal

⁶ Arnaud (1986 and 1987a) classify literary, scholastic and cultic tablets from RAE 363 to RAE 793. Temple M1 also yielded Hittite tablets (see Salvini and Trémouille 2003 and the Hittite letter BMLJ 32) and Hurrite documents, but the latter are still unpublished.

⁷ For a detailed overview of the two scribal traditions see Wilcke 1992, Seminara 1998 and Faist 2002.

Family⁸, are mentioned almost exclusively by Syrian tablets. On the other hand, the newcomer Hittite administrative system appears to have a prominent position only in Syro-Hittite texts. As well as for the highest authorities in Emar society, the two scribal traditions also offer significant evidence about common people. They seem to be a sign of different substrata of Emar community: for example, people who appear as agents or witnesses in documents of one school are never mentioned in those of the other in the same capacity⁹.

These tablets partly emerged from uncontrolled digging and have been broken up and dispersed by dealers. However Emar records reflect the activities of “private” citizens and it is reasonable to use the term *private archives*. As stated by K. Veenhof during the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, even if some *private archives* contain a number of older documents and their chronological depth at times is surprising, these kinds of archives usually “*consist of documents covering the activities of the last generation or two, frequently not more than fifty years*”¹⁰. Looking at the time range of the Emar archives, whose *terminus ante quem* is the second year of the reign of the Babylonian king Melišipak (1187)¹¹, the core of the legal tablets should be dated approximately between 1235 and 1185 B.C. However, the chronology of Emar tablets still presents several problems, since neither scribal tradition used date formulas on legal tablets¹².

Today, attempts to propose a coherent chronology for these tablets has led scholars to develop different sequences based on prosopography, scribes’ careers and family genealogies. At the moment three chronological hypotheses have been proposed. The first one suggests that the two scribal traditions only partially overlapped: the chronological time range of the Syrian tablets would be from 1400 to 1220, whereas the Syro-Hittite school would have developed from 1275 to 1210¹³. The “middle time range” hypothesis argues that the entire corpus was composed between 1310 and 1187¹⁴. The last one would date the Emar tablets to the second half of the 13th century¹⁵.

It is evident that the three proposals mentioned above deal mainly with the *absolute chronology* of the entire *corpus*. In contrast, issues dealing with the *relative sequence* of texts are still open to debate and, alongside some reflections on absolute dates, they are the main topic of this work.

I suggest it is possible to exploit the genealogical sequences of the most important families mentioned by texts to characterize different time-phases of the Emar

⁸ See Fleming 1992a.

⁹ This topic is of primary importance to trace a synchronism between Syrian and Syro-Hittite tablets. See below for further considerations.

¹⁰ Veenhof 1986, p. 30.

¹¹ See Arnaud 1975a and tablet RAE 26. See also Beckman (1996a, p. 32-34): an “Assyrian” tablet (RE 19) coming from the antiquity market mentions Emar (an Emariote of Emar) and is dated by the eponymate of Bēr-nāšir to the reign of Assyrian king Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179).

¹² See Zaccagnini (1995) about the “chronological” meaning of the frequently mentioned *date formula* concerning years of war and distress.

¹³ Skaist 1998, p. 67.

¹⁴ Arnaud 1975a, p. 87-92.

¹⁵ Yamada 1994a and Adamthwaite 2001.

tablets¹⁶. These families are the dynasty of Karkemiš, the diviner family of Temple M1 and the “Overseers of the land” sequence on one hand, and the Emar “Royal Family”¹⁷ on the other. The latter is the foremost genealogy sample in the Syrian school tablets, whereas the other three are mentioned in the tablets of the Syro-Hittite tradition almost exclusively and they represent the most valuable source for the city’s history.

Furthermore, even if the two traditions are roughly contemporaneous, as I hope to point out later, several problems limit an understanding of such a synchronism. The nature of the tablets, that is their subdivision in two scribal schools, suggests that the Syro-Hittite texts should be treated separately from the Syrian tablets.

Finally, I will discuss the statistical distribution of tablets for each generation and their relationship with the archaeological context. I hope to show that this will make it possible to match Veenhof’s theory to the chronology of the Emar legal archives.

Syro-Hittite tablets

Syro-Hittite tablets represent the most important evidence for our inquiry, since they record the activities of the kings of Karkemiš and a wide range of people somehow related to the Hittite bureaucratic system. It represents a primary working tool, because sometimes their chronology is known elsewhere outside Emar, in Karkemiš, Ugarit and Hattusa itself.

Those men, kings and officials, are predominantly connected to the activities of Zū-Ba’la’s family. It is the family of the diviners of Temple M1, whose genealogy is the best attested in Emar sources. The study of the parallel three sequences of diviners, officials and kings of Karkemiš represents the first section of this paper. It also illustrates the way Hittite power interacted with local government institutions.

<i>Kings of Karkemiš</i>		<i>Temple M1</i> ¹⁸	<i>LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA</i> ¹⁹
I	Ini-Tešup	I IM-mālik	Puhi-Šenni
	↓	↓	
II	Talmi-Tešup	II Zū-Ba’la	Mutri-Tešup
	↓	↓	↓
III	Kuzi-Tešup	III Ba’al-qarrād	Laheia
		↓	
		IV Ba’al-mālik	Ahī-mālik
		↓	
		V Zuzu and Ipqi-Dagān	

Fig. 2 – Reduced genealogical trees and chronological sequence of the “Overseers of the Land” (the figure doesn’t synchronize yet the generations). The [↓] points out a father to son relationship.

¹⁶ I use the term *generation* for these phases as an analytical tool, even though where these generations fit in the absolute chronology and their length of time is sometimes unclear.

¹⁷ For this family see Fales 1991 and Fleming 1992a.

¹⁸ Such a reduced family tree is confirmed by a great number of data: anyway further genealogical branches are not yet accordingly identified. For a complete picture see Yamada 1998. *Contra* see D’Alfonso 2000, p. 277.

¹⁹ For this office see Beckman 1995. A certain Tuwariša is mentioned only once as “Overseer of the land” in ASJ 14 45. The tablet is part of Kutbu’s *family dossier* (see below – Appendix 3): since this dossier should belong to Ahī-mālik’s phase (LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA), is it possible to assume that this latter official bore two names (Ahī-mālik and Tuwariša)? As regards, it is remarkable that all the “Overseers of the land” did not carry Semitic names.

I. Šahurunuwa²⁰ and Ini-Tešup are contemporary with Zū-Ba'la, LÚ.HAL of Temple M1.

Such a relationship has been deduced from RAE 201, a tablet drafted during Ini-Tešup's reign, and concerning both Zū-Ba'la's real estate rights and some property provisions for his own family. The core of the document looks like a will, with which Zū-Ba'la provides for his relatives' future. For this purpose the diviner remembers the way he acquired part of his own fortune as a royal grant, originally established by Šahurunuwa and confirmed by Ini-Tešup with RAE 201. As regards the first lines of the tablet, it concerns a very useful prologue which places those events in their historical context and depicts a chronological range for Zū-Ba'la's activities.

According to RAE 201, it is possible to outline Zū-Ba'la's career as follows:

1. The prologue of the tablet mentions Muršili II and Šahurunuwa in the same context. Muršili II urged Šahurunuwa to let Zū-Ba'la acquire some real estate rights from a certain Ba'al-mālik²¹. It means that such an event (but not the tablet itself) has to be dated between Muršili's ninth year of reign and the first decade of the XIII century²². At the same time we can assume that Zū-Ba'la's activities began at least during the first years of the XIII century, so that when RAE 201 was drafted the diviner priest was already old²³.

The subject mentioned above is also underlined by the following evidence.

2. Zū-Ba'la already had several sons (RAE 201 l. 49).
3. All the records concerning Zū-Ba'la, especially those coming from the Temple M1 archive, belong to tablets dealing with *de cuius* wills only: the Emar corpus shows us something that could be considered as an "extended will". Tablet RAE 201, except for its first lines, tells us the way Zū-Ba'la acquired part of his fortune. Furthermore, it is a deed which outlines hereditary rights of Zū-Ba'la's sons and wives (l. 24-51). Document RAE 202 is a similar record drafted *ana pāni* Ini-Tešup. Finally, Arnaud named fragments RAE 203 and RAE 204 as "fragment de testament"²⁴.

These documents have to be dated at the end of his career because of their specific character.

According to this evidence the diviner is contemporary of Ini-Tešup only for a few years, at the end of his life. Moreover, at the moment there are no tablets, except for the Hittite letters Msk 73.1097 and BMLJ 32, which should be dated to Zū-Ba'la's earlier phase.

On the other hand it is most likely that RAE 201 was composed at the very beginning of Ini-Tešup's reign because of the impression of Ini-Tešup's stamp seal

²⁰ Šahurunuwa appears only in tablet RAE 31.

²¹ RAE 201 (l. 6-10): *it-ti* ^dUTU-ši [...] // *ù* ^mMur-ši-[DINGIR-li] // *a-na* ^mŠa-hu-[ru-nu-wa] // LUGAL KUR URU [Kar-ga-miš] // *iq-[b]* *ji* .. ; about Ba'al-mālik's identity see Yamada 1998 and D'Alfonso 2000.

²² According to the "reduced" chronology (see G. Wilhelm and J. Boese 1987) this episode should be set between 1310 and 1290.

²³ The Hittite letters Msk 73.1097 (see Laroche 1982, Yamada 1998, Hagenbuchner 1989 and D'Alfonso 2000) and BMLJ 32 (with references and bibliography) must be dated at this earlier period. The two letters probably have been drafted during Šahurunuwa's reign (see Salvini and Trémouille 2003, p. 230). Zū-Ba'la should have spent much of his life during this phase.

²⁴ Arnaud 1986, p. 214-215.

(C1). This seal was impressed on five tablets found at Emar and two from Ugarit²⁵. Unfortunately most of these tablets, both from Emar and Ugarit, can not be dated exactly. However, one of them shows some interesting items. As usual, text OWEN 1 is opened by a well known introduction formula, which mentions the reigning king and his genealogy (*a-na pa-ni ṡI-ni-ṡIM* ...), and it is followed by the declaration by one of the parties. Even though the tablet seems to show a usual pattern, it is Ini-Tešup's mother and not the king himself who settles the dispute. As D'Alfonso interpreted these lines, maybe Ini-Tešup's mother solved the quarrel because the king himself was too young to take care of such a matter²⁶. His royal authority is recognized both by the parties and underlined by the standard incipit, but on this tablet it seems merely representative. Moreover, OWEN 1 has another peculiarity: the tablet ends with a colophon which mentions high officials, whose aim seems to be to guarantee the act and to avoid litigation²⁷. The same colophon, or a similar one, appears all the times where associated with stamp seal C1²⁸. I agree with D'Alfonso when he supposes that any further C1 seal evidence, as well as RAE 201, have to be dated to the first period of Ini-Tešup's reign²⁹.

II. *Ini-Tešup, LUGAL Karkemiš, is contemporary with Ba'al-qarrād, LÚ.HAL of Temple M1, Zū-Ba'la's son and successor.*

The tablet RAE 201 is important also to trace events concerning Ba'al-qarrād's chronology:

1. Ba'al-qarrād is introduced by his father Zū-Ba'la as his eldest son in RAE 201. We can assume that Ba'al-qarrād and Ini-Tešup himself were of the same age: moreover, even if they were not of the same age exactly, it is important to point out that tablet RAE 201 shows both Ini-Tešup and Ba'al-qarrād on the point of embarking their own careers.
With RAE 201 we look at Ini-Tešup as a young man, at the very beginning of his reign, when he carried out his duties alongside his mother and some important officials. On the other hand, in the same text, we find the first evidence concerning Ba'al-qarrād. Zū-Ba'la says "the sons of 'Dagān-lā'i must divide my house and all my properties according to the city (customs)", and "Ba'al-qarrād is my eldest son"³⁰. According to tablet RAE 201, Zū-Ba'la designated 'Dagān-lā'i's sons as heirs. Ba'al-qarrād, as the eldest, would have gained his title some time later.
2. Contemporary relationship between King of Karkemiš and LÚ.HAL of Emar is also proved by two purchase deeds: RAE 206 and RAE 207. Ba'al-qarrād is the

²⁵ Beyer 2001, p. 151. Stamp seal C1 appears on five tablets at Emar: RAE 201, RAE 187, OWEN 1, RE 85 and ASJ 12 13. The same seal was already known from Ugarit, even if from this site two different matrixes were found (Schaeffer 1956, p. 23 fig. 29 and p. 22 fig. 22). The seal-matrix analyzed by Beyer, as well as those impressed on OWEN 1 and RE 85 (Owen 1995: 580-584), should be the same discussed by Schaeffer in 1956 p. 23 fig. 29.

²⁶ D'Alfonso 2001, p. 271-273.

²⁷ Ini-Tešup's evidence (not related to C1 seal) shows the king's presence as the only necessary guarantee: see i.e. RAE 206 and RAE 207.

²⁸ They are RAE 201, RAE 187, RE 85 and OWEN 1.

²⁹ D'Alfonso 2001, p. 269-273.

³⁰ RAE 201: l. 49-50.

purchaser on both the deeds, while Ini-Tešup represents the unique mentioned Hittite authority. It is important to point out that these two tablets do not show any witness list, therefore Ini-Tešup's seal³¹ is the only reliable guarantee. Some years have elapsed since the events illustrated by RAE 201. Now Ba'al-qarrād is LÚ.HAL and acts directly in his own interests. Ini-Tešup is no longer supported by other Hittite officials: the period characterized by the C1 seal is over and now the king carries out his duties alone, with his new cylinder seal A3³².

<i>Karkemiš</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Diviner's family</i>
Šahurunuwa	Msk 73.1097 - BMLJ 32	Zū-Ba'la
Ini-Tešup [young]	RAE 201	Zū-Ba'la [old] \ Ba'al-qarrād [young]
Ini-Tešup	RAE 206 – RAE 207	Ba'al-qarrād

Fig. 3 – Preliminary synchronic table.

III. *Some problems dealing with contemporary dating of Ini-Tešup and Ba'al-qarrād.*

The three documents mentioned above underline that Ba'al-qarrād and Ini-Tešup were contemporaries as they specifically mention both the men in the same context. However, some other documents inform us about Ba'al-qarrād's activities, even if they do not mention Ini-Tešup. Could it be possible to synchronize each of Ba'al-qarrād's activities exclusively within Ini-Tešup's reign? To answer this question, Emar records show us three further pieces of evidence. These are BMLJ 8, SMEA 7, and the events covered by RAE 211 and by RAE 212.

3. Tablet BMLJ 8 is a purchase deed similar to RAE 206 and to RAE 207, in which the diviner purchases a field (GIŠ.KIRI₆.NUMUN³³). These three tablets make use of unusual legal terminology, script and phrases, which are different from the customary formulas found in Emar texts. The only three tablets which show Ba'al-qarrād's purchasing activity seem to be deeply rooted in the Karkemiš juridical custom and linguistic usage³⁴. The nature of BMLJ 8 is exactly the same if compared with RAE 206 and RAE 207³⁵. However RAE 206 and RAE 207 are sealed by Ini-Tešup's seal³⁶, whereas tablet BMLJ 8 has a witness list composed only of ordinary people. For this reason it looks like other Syro-

³¹ Beyer 2001, p. 48-49 (cylinder seal A3). See below.

³² It appears at Ugarit on RS 17.59 (Schaeffer 1956, p. 23-26 fig. 30, 32, 33): it is a tablet which shows Ini-Tešup at the same time as Ammistamru and Tudhaliya IV. Probably the king of Karkemiš adopted seal A3 in an advanced period of his reign. D'Alfonso (2001, p. 271 and 275) supposes such a cylinder seal was in use in the second half of XIII century.

³³ For this particular kind of field see Westenholz 2000, p. 26.

³⁴ See Westenholz 2000, p. 26: "does this suggest that these atypical formulae originated in Karkemiš?".

³⁵ The nature of these texts is also underlined by their relationship with RAE 168. This tablet, unfortunately not well preserved, is a "land registry" found in Temple M1 and dealing with some real estates probably belonging to the diviner family: RAE 206 is one of those purchase deeds recorded by RAE 168: 8-12; the field sold with BMLJ 8 seems to be similar with another RAE 168 portion (l. 3-7).

³⁶ Beyer 2001, p. 48-49 (seal A3).

Hittite deeds found at Emar. Why did this change happen? Why did Ini-Tešup's seal disappear from BMLJ 8 even though nature, language and, probably, place of provenance of the three tablets are exactly the same?

4. Tablet SMEA 7 is the Ba'al-qarrād's will. If we compare this document with the Zū-Ba'la's "extended will", we can point out their distinctive character. Whilst Zū-Ba'la acts *ana pāni* Ini-Tešup, so that his rights are subscribed and safeguarded by the highest authority of the whole Syrian Kingdom, Ba'al-qarrād's will doesn't mention either kings of Karkemiš or any Hittite official. Tablet SMEA 7 appears as a typical private citizen's deed, as we can see throughout the Middle-Euphrates *corpus*. The complete witness list consists of Ba'al-qarrād's brothers and ordinary people³⁷. As for BMLJ 8, it is hard to explain why the diviner did not consider the king's seal necessary for one of the most important deeds of his life, with which he settled his inheritance and chose his own successor.
5. Finally, we have to direct attention to RAE 211 and RAE 212. The first document concerns the purchase of a slave and his family, in which Ba'al-qarrād is the main party. The second tablet concerns a quarrel in which Ba'al-malik, Ba'al-qarrād's son and successor, defended his right to inherit that slave family. Even if some time has elapsed between the drafting of two tablets, this period probably was not so long because nearly all the people mentioned are the same: the original seller, the slave family and roughly all the witnesses. Only Ba'al-qarrād is no longer mentioned in RAE 212, and that is because his son tells us about his death: *ù ki-i-me-e mdIM-UR.SAG EGIR-ki ši-im-ti-šu il-lik* (RAE 212: 4-5). This evidence states that RAE 211 and RAE 212 have been drafted during a short lapse of time. Moreover, RAE 211 was written in a period close to Ba'al-qarrād's death.

On the other hand, witness lists of RAE 211 and RAE 212 seem to be very different if compared with the evidence of the others Ba'al-qarrād's sets. Instead of Ini-Tešup or private citizens mentioned above, a set of Hittite officials is mentioned in the tablet for the first time.

The most important individual of the list is a certain Piha-Tarhunta DUMU Uppa[ramuwa]. Probably he was a high Hittite official of Karkemiš: as Upparamuwa's son, he was one of Ini-Tešup's grandsons³⁸.

As regards Emar chronology, can we believe that Piha-Tarhunta carried out his duties during the same period as Ini-Tešup? Is it possible that Piha-Tarhunta

³⁷ See Yamada 1998, p. 329.

³⁸ See Laroche NH n. 971. Imparati 1987, p. 193. See also Adamthwaite 2001, p. 45-49.

We have some more information about his father both from Ugarit and from Hattusa. From the Syrian coastal city we know that Upparamuwa was born from Ini-Tešup (See RS 17.423. Singer 1999, p. 684, believes that the unnamed king of the letter is Ini-Tešup. See also Hagenbuchner 1989 and Imparati 1987, p. 192.), whereas the evidence from the capital shows such an individual alongside his father in the witnesses lists of CTH 106 (KBo 10 +), in the "Bronze Tablet" (Bo 86/299) and in CTH 225 (see van den Hout 1995, with bibliography). Thus, Upparamuwa's generation and that of his father Ini-Tešup partly overlapped: this relationship seems to be placed in the late period of Ini-Tešup's rule (RS 17.423), which corresponds to Ibiranu's reign at Ugarit.

was old enough to act legally as witness in the same historical phase of his grandfather Ini-Tešup?

To answer these questions we have enough evidence just from the Emar *corpus*. As we saw above, it is possible to draw attention to at least two phases concerning Ba'al-qarrād's generation. The first strictly matches the activities of diviner and Ini-Tešup (RAE 201, RAE 206 and RAE 207), in that it is possible they embarked on their own careers almost at the same time (see II.1.). The second phase is characterized both by the disappearance of Ini-Tešup and by records usually drafted at the end of an individual's life³⁹. Since Zū-Ba'la's times, the diviner family and the Karkemiš royal dynasty had a favoured relationship, thus it is hard to explain why this disappearance happened.

More than one scenario could explain Ini-Tešup's disappearance from Ba'al-qarrād's deeds. The first concerns the diviner's family falling from grace: in an undefined period of Ba'al-qarrād's life something happened which broke his favoured relationship with Karkemiš, even though there is no evidence to support this theory. However it doesn't explain yet why Talmi-Tešup never appears elsewhere at Emar or why the Karkemiš kings did not find some other *political* figures in the city.

On the other hand such a discrepancy could be explained as follows. During Ba'al-qarrād's life Ini-Tešup *could have found his destiny* and his son, Talmi-Tešup as King, changed the political relationship with the minor Syrian cities. Instead of the King, a large number of Hittite officials would now deal with the economic matters of his subjects, whatever the previous relationship with the crown had been. It is not by chance that in this phase we see an increased number of officials dealing with matters carried out earlier by Ini-Tešup himself (at least at Emar)⁴⁰. Since the role of the diviners did not appear to decline during Ba'al-mālik's generation (it increased according to tablets found at Meskéné), it is hard to believe that such a family fell from grace. At the most, their favoured relationship could have changed from a direct one to a mediated one.

Presumably this is the reason why the evidence related to Ba'al-qarrād's deeds is so incoherent. During an early part of his life (RAE 201, RAE 206 and RAE 207) he was contemporary with Ini-Tešup, and such a relationship is deeply underscored by a direct connection. In a later phase, Ini-Tešup died and his successor Talmi-Tešup let his bureaucratic system take care of matters also including old family friends. This period should be characterized by SMEA 7, RAE 211 and probably BMLJ 8.

³⁹ It is possible to assume this second phase as approaching to the end of Ba'al-qarrād's generation, since it concerns his will (SMEA 7) and text RAE 211 (linked to RAE 212, in which his son tells us "... when my father died").

⁴⁰ Deeds are no longer settled *ana paṇi* Ini-Tešup, but *ana paṇi* PN LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA. Witness lists are no longer characterized by the presence of the King (or his seal) but by a wide range of "Hittite officials". These offices already existed during Ini-Tešup's reign, but their rate of recurrence is much higher during this new phase. Among them, the Overseer would have acquired the main prerogatives of the Kings of Karkemiš.

IV. *Talmi-Tešup, LUGAL Karkemiš, is contemporary with Ba'al-mālik LÚ.HAL of Temple M1, Ba'al-qarrād's son and successor.*

If Talmi-Tešup's career began during Ba'al-qarrād's generation, it is clear it continued during Ba'al-mālik's one⁴¹. Even though such a synchronism is never clearly expressed, according to the sequence of Karkemiš Kings and Emar diviners, it is hard to imagine a different pattern.

After Ini-Tešup the names of the Kings of Karkemiš disappear from Emar. As a result, to outline how the generations of Talmi-Tešup and Ba'al-mālik overlapped, it is necessary to find a phase-marker to trace an overview of the new generation. For this purpose, we can consider as phase-marker the sequence of "Overseers of the Land" (LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA) and, among them, the person named Mutri-Tešup⁴².

One of the first records concerning Mutri-Tešup is illustrated by RAE 211 and RAE 212. As a consequence his career seems to overlap Talmi-Tešup's one⁴³. The picture drawn by RAE 211 and RAE 212 confirms Mutri-Tešup as active during the last phase of Ba'al-qarrād's generation as well as at the beginning of Ba'al-mālik's one.

Unfortunately further tablets dealing with Mutri-Tešup's activities do not reveal any useful relationship with the dynasty of Karkemiš or the Diviners family⁴⁴.

<i>Karkemiš</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Diviner's family</i>	<i>LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA</i>
Ini-Tešup [young]	RAE 201	Zū-Ba'la [old] \ Ba'al-qarrād [young]	Puhi-Šenni
Ini-Tešup	RAE 206 - RAE 207	Ba'al-qarrād	Puhi-Šenni or Mutri-Tešup
Talmi-Tešup	RAE 211 - SMEA 7 - BMLJ 8	Ba'al-qarrād [old]	Mutri-Tešup
Talmi-Tešup	RAE 212	Ba'al-mālik [young]	Mutri-Tešup

Fig. 4 – Preliminary synchronic table.

V. *Kuzi-Tešup, LUGAL Karkemiš, is contemporary with Ba'al-mālik LÚ.HAL of Temple M1, Ba'al-qarrād's son and successor.*

Even though Kuzi-Tešup is never openly mentioned in tablets unearthed at Emar, we can presume that part of the generation of the last known king of Karkemiš was contemporary with some events that occurred at Emar at the end of the *archives'* life.

⁴¹ Since 1975 (Arnaud 1975a) such a relationship has been widely accepted.

⁴² For the title "Overseer of the Land" (and its relationship with the Hittite *bēl madgalti*) see Beckman 1992 and 1995.

⁴³ During Ini-Tešup's reign a certain Puhi-Šenni was "Overseer of the Land" (see i.e. RAE 201), whereas it seems that from the beginning of Talmi-Tešup's generation Mutri-Tešup held the office.

⁴⁴ Mutri-Tešup is mentioned as follows. As a witness (or his seal): RAE 205 (seal C20), RAE 211 (seal I2), RAE 212 (seal B46), TBR 36, TBR 76, TBR 84 (seal B46), SMEA 13, ASJ 13 21, ASJ 14 44. In many cases deeds were drafted *ana pāni* Mutri-Tešup: RAE 205, RAE 252, TBR 36, TBR 84, SMEA 13, ASJ 14 44; although Mutri-Tešup's name is not clearly mentioned, the same individual could appear in RE 56. Finally, he is recorded by the letter RAE 264.

The relationship with the diviner Ba'al-mālik is based on the chronological sequence drawn up until now, which has been built on the parallel development of the sequences of Karkemiš Kings and Emar Diviners. In order to clarify this point, the relationship expressed by the paragraph title is only hypothetical, since, as for point IV, there are no tablets mentioning these two men as contemporary. Anyway, some evidence points to the relationship between Kuzi-Tešup and Ba'al-mālik as being more than a simple hypothesis.

1) Firstly, we have to consider some evidence concerning the sequence of the "Overseers of the Land". As stated above, Mutri-Tešup seems to have embarked on his own career at the end of Ba'al-qarrād's generation (see IV). We assume this phase to be the beginning of Talmi-Tešup's reign.

His son Laheya held the same office presumably after his father's death and, according to the few available tablets, for a short period⁴⁵. He is mentioned in some records concerning Ba'al-mālik's activities. It is possible to assume that Laheya's tenure of this office also overlapped with Talmi-Tešup's rule at Karkemiš.

Finally, at the end of Emar *archives*, a certain Ahī-mālik should be placed⁴⁶. Such an "Overseer of the Land" doesn't have any direct connection with the Kings of Karkemiš nor with the Diviner family. However the presence of this further official, as much as the further step in the "Overseers of the Land" sequence, makes us believe that in Karkemiš a change of rule took place and that Ahī-mālik himself indicates such a change.

2) Tablet ASJ 14 46⁴⁷ starts with *ana pāni Kunti-Tešup* DUMU.LUGAL and ends with a cuneiform legend and five impressions of the same seal, which make clear the identity of the prince: Kunti-Tešup, son of Talmi-Tešup, King of Karkemiš. The document deals with a matter concerning Kunti-Tešup himself, his wives and sons and makes us believe that he was already old. As a consequence, the chronological overview of the tablet ASJ 14 46 has to be dated to a mature phase of his father's reign or even to the next generation, the one of his brother Kuzi-Tešup⁴⁸. Even if it is impossible to specify an exact dating for the tablet, this record is important because it indicates the presence of one of Talmi-Tešup's sons at Emar. His presence dates the tablet itself to a period between the end of XIII century and the beginning of the XII.

⁴⁵ Laheya is contemporary with Ba'al-mālik: RAE 217, RAE 218, RAE 219 and RAE 220. All these tablets deal with only one deed: RAE 218, RAE 219 and RAE 220 are merely *tickets* (foot printed on clay). The proper deed is recorded by RAE 217 (purchase of slaves, whom feet printed on clay belong to). He appears also in RAE 90, TBR 72 and ASJ 14 46 (where the name has been written Naheya: see below).

⁴⁶ In full agreement with the solution proposed by Singer (see Westenholz 2000 p. 8 and p. 81-82): since Ahī-mālik borrowed Laheya's ring seal in BMLJ 2, the scholar believes that such a tablet could reveal the earlier phase of Ahī-mālik's office, at the moment he succeeded his predecessor. Later, Ahī-mālik himself adopted a personal ring seal with his name (the one impressed on tablet ASJ 13 36. The new LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA is one of the sons of a certain Ea-damīq (TBR 24 and ASJ 13 36).

⁴⁷ The tablet is known since 1981 (Hawkins 1988 p. 99, n.1). Although the tablet comes from the antiquities market, it is sure that it belongs to the Emar *corpus*.

⁴⁸ For the identification of Kuzi-Tešup and Kunti-Tešup as brothers see Hawkins 1988. For a different opinion see Skaist (1998, p. 48 n. 16): "I find it difficult to accept that Talmi-Tešup had two sons with almost the identical name".

But how should we correlate this document to the Emar relative chronology? At first, the main character of ASJ 14 46 is a certain 'Ba'la-ummī, the wife of Kappupu (son of Kamma). Such a man appears also in tablets RAE 279 and RAE 319 which belong to Ba'al-mālik's generation⁴⁹.

On the other hand, tablet ASJ 14 46 mentions a certain Naheya as "Overseer of the Land". According to Yamada, this person could be the well known Laheya mentioned above⁵⁰.

So, if Laheya/Naheya is really the same individual, this is a primary evidence to correlate Ba'al-mālik and Laheya's activities to an advanced phase of Talmi-Tešup's reign, or even to the following generation at Karkemiš.

To summarize the above, from the evidence from ASJ 14 46, firstly we are able to confirm the synchronic relationship between a portion of Ba'al-mālik's generation and Laheya's activities (V.1), and secondly such a link has become even clearer through the relationship with the Karkemiš dynastic sequence. As stated above, it is impossible to understand if Talmi-Tešup's reign was still in existence in this phase or if it was already over. Anyway, Kunti-Tešup's appearance in ASJ 14 46 strongly suggests that the synchronism Ba'al-mālik / Laheya should be placed in an advanced phase of Karkemiš history, probably close to Kuzi-Tešup's years of reign. After Laheya's tenure of his office, a certain Ahī-mālik became Overseer of the Land of Emar. I believe this new phase should be dated to Kuzi-Tešup's years of reign.

3) Finally, Kuzi-Tešup's *presence* at Emar could be demonstrated thanks to a photograph of a fragmentary bulla brought to the British Museum in 1981. It is comparable to the well preserved ones found at Lidar Höyük and published by Sørenhagen⁵¹. All this matrixes carry the name, title and genealogy of Kuzi-Tešup. If the fragmentary bulla came from the ancient site of Emar, as Hawkins proposed⁵², it would definitively assure the synchronism between a portion of the Late Bronze site of Meskéné and the last known reign of Karkemiš.

⁴⁹ In RAE 279 the name is written "Káp-pu-pu, on RAE 319 "Kap_x-pu-pu, while ASJ 14 46 bring "Kà-pu-pí. The two tablets, lists of men related with barely provision, preserve large portion each of the other, so that some portions of texts can be supposed to belong to a common original matrix. According with that, it is important to outline that tablet RAE 279 quotes a certain Zū-Aštarti DUMU LÚ.HAL, whereas parallel lines on RAE 319 show Zū-Aštarti DUMU Ba'al-qarrād. Since the two tablets came from Temple M1 archive and since, as stated by Fleming (2000 p. 37 and n.82), *they* deal with barely disbursement for the installation of NIN.DINGIR priestess, it is sure that such a Zū-Aštarti is one of Ba'al-mālik brothers, both Ba'al-qarrād's sons.

⁵⁰ Yamada 1995, p. 303 and n. 24. Furthermore, the name Naheya is hardly known at Emar: it appears only in RAE 130 (just as a patronymic) and, in any case, such a name is never associated with the title LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA or with any other office.

⁵¹ Sørenhagen 1986, Hawkins 1988 and Beyer 2001, p. 151-153.

⁵² Hawkins 1988, p. 99 and n. 1. The picture of bulla was brought to the British Museum in 1981 alongside the picture of the tablet ASJ 14 46 obverse.

<i>Karkemiš</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Diviner's family</i>	<i>LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA</i>
Ini-Tešup [young]	RAE 201	Zū-Ba'la [old] \ Ba'al-qarrād [young]	Puhi-Šenni
Ini-Tešup	RAE 206 – RAE 207	Ba'al-qarrād	Puhi-Šenni or Mutri-Tešup
Talmi-Tešup	RAE 211 - SMEA 7 - BMLJ 8	Ba'al-qarrād [old]	Mutri-Tešup
Talmi-Tešup	RAE 212	Ba'al-mālik [young]	Mutri-Tešup
Talmi-Tešup	RAE 217	Ba'al-mālik	Laheya
Kuzi-Tešup		Ba'al-mālik	Ahī-mālik

Fig. 5 – Synchronic table.

However, even if it's possible to propose a sequence from Ini-Tešup to Kuzi-Tešup and to match such a sequence to Emar history, how could it be possible to relate Emar tablets to the diachronic overview outlined above? I suggest that the tablets related to the end of the city's history could be linked to our sequence through the activities of Ahī-mālik, the last "Overseer of the Land", and through the tablets which mention the witnesses who usually appear together with him.

The "Overseer of the Land" Ahī-mālik and *his* witnesses are regularly mentioned in records related to four *family dossiers* set up by Skaist in his study⁵³. As Skaist suggests, the collections are more or less contemporary, but his chronological overview is not acceptable if related to the main evidence of the corpus. He links these *family dossiers* with the Diviner family, setting up a four point systematic scheme. The first point shows the most important discrepancy, whereas the following three points, strictly bound to the first, are significant and can be confirmed.

Skaist pointed out that tablet TBR 25 and TBR 44 mention an unusual date formula, concerning the year in which "the TAR-WU/PI troops surrounded the city (of Emar)". He identifies the witness Ibni-Dagān DUMU LÚ.HAL in TBR 44 as one of Ba'al-qarrād's brothers and therefore suggests that it represents synchronic evidence between the last generation of the *Awiru family dossier* (Bulālu) and the second generation of the Diviners family (Ibni-Dagān / Ba'al-qarrād). However, if we broaden the synchronic chart adopted by Skaist, it is possible to outline how such synchronism is questionable. Tablet RAE 205 refers both to Ibni-Dagān, who in this case is certainly one of Ba'al-qarrād's brothers, and to Mutri-Tešup, the "Overseer of the Land". On the other hand, a tablet belonging to the *Awiru family dossier* (TBR 20) shows a certain Arwu⁵⁴, Bulālu's father, in a contemporary relationship with Kili-Šarruma, who was one of Mutri-Tešup's sons. In a schematic way the relationships of tablets RAE 205 and TBR 20 are summarized as follows:

⁵³ See Skaist 1998, p. 52 and Dietrich 1992. The same table is proposed here as Appendix 3.

⁵⁴ See Pruzsinszky (2003) for the reading Ar-yu ('Aryu).

<i>Diviners family</i>		<i>Overseer family</i>		<i>Family dossier</i>
Zū-Ba'la (Ba'al-qarrād) / Ibni-Dagān		RAE 205	Mutri-Tešup Kili-Šarruma	(Awiru) Arwu Bulālu
			TBR 20	

Fig. 6

The figures that Skaist would like to combine in a unique generation, Bulālu and the Ibni-Dagān of the Diviner family, really appear to belong to different phases of Emar history. It doesn't mean that his first hypothesis is incorrect: the two tablets dated by "the TAR-WU/PI troops surrounding the city (of Emar)" seem to depict exactly the same historical period. The problem concerns only the identity of the witness named Ibni-Dagān in TBR 44: as a matter of fact another person named Ibni-Dagān was known to be a diviner's son (DUMU Zū-Aštarti in RE 11). This latter Ibni-Dagān is the owner of the same ring seal impressed on tablet TBR 43 (see Gonnet 43b) and very similar to the ring seals on tablet TBR 44 (Gonnet 44a and 44b). As a result it is certain that the witness Ibni-Dagān named in TBR 44 is not Zū-Ba'la's son.

The relationship system as put forward by Skaist, except for the first of his four point systematic scheme, illustrates a significant synchronic picture of the later period of Emar history. It is associated to Ahī-mālik's activities and for this reason it should be dated to Kuzi-Tešup's years of reign at Karkemiš.

What is interesting for our purpose is the picture obtained from the presence of Ahī-mālik, *his* witnesses and figures mentioned in the four *family dossiers*. Such an image points to an extensive linkage system, which represents the main core of Emar *corpus* datable tablets. For the provisional purpose of this study, all the tablets mentioning the persons cited above will be recognized as contemporary⁵⁵.

Syrian tablets

The purpose of drawing a chronological picture of the "Syrian tablets" is strictly related to the genealogical tree of the Emar Royal Family. Such an attempt becomes complicated, mainly due to the character itself of the documentation. Syrian tablets are characterized by a reduced number of legal typologies, nearly all purchase deeds, the legal form of which is strictly formalized in three sections. The first section mentions the object, its boundaries, the owner and the purchaser. The

⁵⁵ See appendix 3. All the persons in bold are mentioned on tablets of the linkage scheme collected by the presence of Ahī-mālik himself and/or *his* witnesses. The direct relationship with the "Overseer of the Land" is outlined by the label <Ahī-mālik>. Even if all the family dossiers mention two generations (eponyms never appear as active actors), these dossiers do not cover a very long lapse of time: both the presence of uncles and nephews on the same tablets (i.e. ASJ 13 22) and their relationship with Ahī-mālik linkage system, point to a limited period for the four *family dossiers*.

second one opens by repeating the name of the buyer and shows the acquisition method (sometimes bound to a ritual) and vindication clauses. The third section completes the deed with a witness list. This last segment is the most important for the chronological background, because it is the main source of knowledge about the Royal Family Tree. Moreover, every time it appears, people related to this family are mentioned in a leading position among witnesses: usually the first person on the list is the reigning king.

Even though fundamental, such evidence doesn't say anything about those persons' *deeds*, so that there are no indications of the Royal Family's personal activities. The available evidence is strictly limited and not descriptive. Such evidence only records the presence and/or the absence of individuals. If compared to Syro-Hittite records, it is clear that Syrian tablets are not very revealing: for instance it is impossible to understand if a particular presence refers to the beginning or the end of an individual's life, or if someone's absence merely indicates a different period. That is the reason why the Royal Family's chronological picture can be divided only into a largely schematic genealogical pattern⁵⁶.

Late Bronze Emar Royal Family and its generations

First three generations of Emar King's genealogy correspond to the family tree as follows:

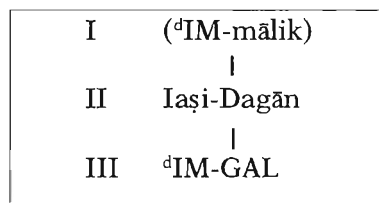


Fig. 7

The (shortened) family tree is mainly based on the work done by Arnaud and Skaist. The first scholar points out the relationship between Ba'al-kabar and his father Iaši-Dagān⁵⁷. Recently Skaist has been able to indicate an earlier ancestor's identity (^dIM-mālik), thanks to the different readings he gave to illegally unearthed texts published by Beckman (RE) and Arnaud himself (TBR)⁵⁸.

This genealogy is nowadays widely accepted by scholars working on Emar tablets.

- ^dIM-mālik never appears in an active role, but he is known only as a patronymic.
- Iaši-Dagān⁵⁹ is never mentioned in tablets from regular excavations. The wide

⁵⁶ See Arnaud 1975, Fales 1991, Beckman 1996, Skaist 1998 and Adamthwaite 2001.

⁵⁷ Arnaud 1975, p. 89.

⁵⁸ A. Skaist 1998, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Iaši-Dagān appears in TBR 1, RE 2, RE 16, RE 34 as the leading witness. An individual with the same name is mentioned in TBR 19 (it will be discussed later). Tablets RAE 163 and RE 32 show the name, but probably it is an homonymous. Only tablet RAE 163: 12-13 mentions Iaš[i-Dagān] DUMU ^dIM-mālik as one of the parties, but it is sure we are not dealing with the Royal Family.

chronological range revealed by the Temple M1 archives never mentions such a man in an active role⁶⁰.

- ^dIM-GAL⁶¹ is the first with an active role during the time span documented by the tablets from the French excavations.

According to the three arguments outlined above, is it possible to suppose that the Temple M1 archive (and the other ones unearthed in regular excavations) was also contemporary with Iaši-Dagān's activities? Could his generation be useful in understanding the length of the Emar archives' life? What we are dealing with is one of the main questions in our study and an attempt to answer it follows.

Emar texts list a lot of names followed by the patronymic DUMU ^dIM-GAL (or DUMU LUGAL). Therefore the family tree outlined above (fig. 7) has to be improved by adding a further generation, mentioning only ^dIM-GAL's most important sons (IV) and the sequence of kings as proposed by Arnaud. The V generation will be presented as well.

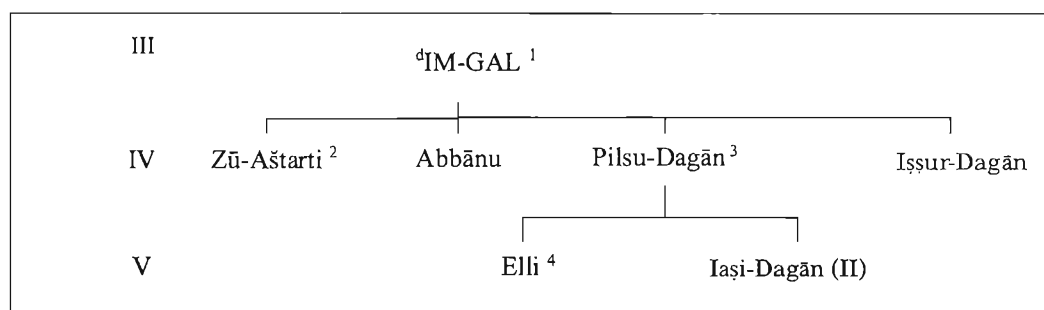


Fig. 8

Since 1975, a long time before all the corpus was published, Arnaud has stated: “Zū-Ašstarti a, sans doute, succédé à son père, comme aîné ...”⁶². Later, his brother Pilsu-Dagān would have gained the title LUGAL. However, Arnaud did not explicitly mention how he arrived at such a genealogical chain: there are no texts from Meskené or from the antiquity market which mention Zū-Ašstarti as the first heir of his father Ba'al-kabar. Therefore, I presume, Arnaud has been able to arrive at such a royal sequence through the position of witnesses within the witness lists⁶³. Furthermore, since Elli is the only king mentioned for the fifth generation, Arnaud presumably believed that he was the successor of his father Pilsu-Dagān.

⁶⁰ Dietrich (1992, p. 26) supposes that Iaši-Dagān's activities are to be dated to the period earlier than the Hittite re-location. About the city “re-location”, it is important to point out some evidence brought to light by U. Finkbeiner (1999/2000): he supposes that the ancient city of Emar was never “re-located” by the Hittite Kings. As a result, the hypothesis proposed by Dietrich is important here because it underscores the gap between the historical period in which Iaši-Dagān should have acted and the Temple M1 archaeological context.

⁶¹ Ba'al-kabar is mentioned by RAE 1 and RAE 14 (Chantier A); RAE 144, RAE 156 (Temple M1); TBR 1, TBR 2, TBR 3, TBR 4, TBR 11, TBR 86; RE 14, RE 16, RE 52.

⁶² Arnaud 1975, p. 89.

⁶³ See also Fales 1991, p. 89.

However, despite Arnaud's description, some records are still open to debate. There are some problems, for example, dealing with Zū-Ašartī's own scribe and with some witness lists as well.

At first, if we compare the witnesses of Zū-Ašartī, Pilsu-Dagān and Elli, quoted in the corresponding deeds, there is a bizarre resemblance between Zū-Ašartī's and Elli's ones. Pilsu-Dagān's ones, however, are quite different. Such a similarity should link the two brothers' lists, but there are no witnesses in common. By contrast, the witness lists of Zū-Ašartī and his nephew do have names in common, even though it has been suggested that their two reigns were not consecutive.

The first and most important witness we are dealing with is Zū-Eya DUMU Ahī-mālik who, together with his brother Ibni-Dagān, appears in both sets of lists (Zū-Ašartī and Elli).

<i>Ibni-Dagān</i> ⁶⁴	<i>Zū-Eya</i> ⁶⁵	1 st Witness	Scribe
	RAE 17	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
	RAE 97	Elli	Iš-Dagān
RAE 141	RAE 141	Elli	Iš-Dagān
RAE 142	RAE 142	Elli	Iš-Dagān
TBR 11	TBR 11	Elli	Iš-Dagān
TBR 12	TBR 12	Elli	Iš-Dagān
	TBR 55	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
TBR 59	TBR 59	Elli	Iš-Dagān
TBR 60		Elli	Iš-Dagān
TBR 62	TBR 62	Elli	Iš-Dagān
TBR 82	TBR 82	Elli	Iš-Dagān
SMEA 2	SMEA 2	Iaši-Dagān II	Imlik-Dagān
	RA 2	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
RE 8	RE 8	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
	RE 9	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
RE 23	RE 23	Elli	Iš-Dagān
RE 28	RE 28	Iaši-Dagān II	Imlik-Dagān
RE 79	RE 79	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
	ASJ 12 8	Zū-Ašartī	Imlik-Dagān
BMLJ 6	BMLJ 6	Elli	Iš-Dagān
BMLJ 11	BMLJ 11	Elli	Iš-Dagān

Fig. 9

This also applies to the witnesses:

- Ahī-abu son of Bēlu-mālik, who appears in RE 8 and RE 79 (Zū-Ašartī) and in BMLJ 11 (Elli).

- Iš(bi)-Dagān son of Šim'u quoted in RAE 17 and RA 2 (Zū-Ašartī) and in SMEA 2 (Iaši-Dagān II).

It is peculiar that all these persons are never mentioned in lists with Pilsu-Dagān as the leading witness. If Zū-Ašartī really became king before his brother

⁶⁴ This man could be the same mentioned in RE 54. See below "synchronism ..." section.

⁶⁵ The same Zū-Eya seems to be mentioned by BMLJ 8. The deed is a purchase record with which Ba'al-qarrād (the Diviner) acquires a field. Zū-Eya son of Ahī-mālik and Iššur-Dagān are mentioned among the owners of the adjoining properties. See below "synchronism ..." section.

Pilsu-Dagān, why are all these individuals never mentioned during Pilsu-Dagān's reign? On the other hand, they appear again during Elli's generation.

The second point mentioned above deals with a certain Imlik-Dagān. He appears to be the only scribe who wrote Zū-Aštarti's tablets. At the same time he wrote two documents which show one of Pilsu-Dagān's sons as the leading witness, a certain Iaši-Dagān (II)⁶⁶.

Tablet	Name	Title	1 st Witness
RAE 17	Im-l[ik]- ^d Da-gan	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
RAE 256	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
TBR 55	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
RE 8	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
RE 9	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
RE 79	Im-lik-[^d KUR]	L[Ú.DUB.SAR]	Zū-Aštarti
RA 2	Im-lik- ^d Da-gan	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
ASJ 12 8	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zū-Aštarti
RE 28	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.[DUB.SAR]	Iaši-Dagān II
SMEA 2	Im-lik- ^d KUR	LÚ.DUB.SAR	Iaši-Dagān II

Fig. 10

The pattern I have adopted above is still appropriate here. The issue concerns the presence of the scribe Imlik-Dagān during Zū-Aštarti's years of reign, his disappearance during Pilsu-Dagān's years of reign and his reappearance during Iaši-Dagān II's generation (the same of Elli: V).

According to this evidence, the Royal Family's IV generation could be interpreted in another way. Pilsu-Dagān could have been the first successor of his father Ba'al-kabar. There are far more records naming Pilsu-Dagān rather than Zū-Aštarti or Abbānu, as the leading witness. Therefore it is clear that the fourth generation of the Emar Royal Family is widely represented by his presence. After Pilsu-Dagān's

⁶⁶ According with Beckman (1996a) tablet RE 28 has been written by the scribe Iš-Dagān: but if RE 28 is compared with witnesses list of RA 2 and RAE 17, it is possible to propose a different solution.

RE 28	RA 2	RAE 17
[Ia-š]i- ^d KUR DU[MU Pīl]-su- ^d KUR []-sa?- ^d KUR D[UMU ...] Iš-^dKUR LÚ.[DUB.SAR] [^d I]m-ma-lik DUM[U Iš-šur]- ^d KUR [Z]u-e-ia DUMU A-hi-ma-lik Ib-ni- ^d KUR ŠEŠ-šu Im-lik-^dKUR LÚ.[DUB.SAR]	Zu-[Aš]-tar-ti DUMU ^d IM-GAL A-bi-ra-šap ŠEŠ-šu Zu-e-ia DUMU A-hi-ma-lik A-hi-ia DUMU Iš-šur- ^d KUR Ab-ba-nu DUMU He-mi-ia Ad-da DUMU Hi-in-na Iš-^dKUR DUMU Ši-im-i Im-lik-^dKUR LÚ.DUB.SAR	Zu-Aš-[tar-ti DUMU ^d IM-GAL] A-bi-[ra-šap ŠEŠ-šu] Ab-ba-[nu ŠE]Š-[šu-ma] Zu-e-i[a] DUMU A-hi-ma-lik La-te-[ia DUMU Maš-]a Iš-b[i-^d]a-gan DUMU Ši-im-i Im-l[ik]-^dKUR LÚ.DUB.SAR

Usually scribes of Syrian tradition are mentioned at the end of the tablet and not in the middle of a list. A new reading would integrate the name Imlik-Dagān, exactly at the end of RE 28, with the title *scribe*, whereas the one named Iš(bi)-Dagān could be the same son of Šim'u as found in RA 2 and RAE 17.

death Zū-Aštarti probably had an extremely short inter-reign, presumably because he usurped his nephew Elli⁶⁷.

The debate about IV and V generations of the Emar Royal Family, I believe, is still open⁶⁸. It can not be solved because of the lack of further unambiguous proof. For the purposes of this study, the two generations mentioned above will be considered without internal divisions. Therefore, the IV generation, the most problematic, due to the presence of Pilsu-Dagān, Abbānu and Zū-Aštarti, will be considered as a unique phase.

VI. Synchronism between “Syrian” and “Syro-Hittite” sources

Despite the great numbers of texts unearthed at tell Meskéné and from the antiquity market, the synchronism between the “Royal Family” and the Hittite bureaucratic system in northern Syria strictly depends on a small number of records.

As stated in the introduction, the diarchy of the two scribal schools of Emar also reflects a particular social subdivision. People who appear as agents or witnesses in documents of one school are never mentioned in those of the other in the same capacity⁶⁹. However, the *corpus* yields a relevant exception. Usually, a typical sale contract registers the object, the measurements of the real estate and the adjoining properties in order to identify the former properly. The description of the adjoining properties in the deeds only illustrates their landscape⁷⁰. Therefore the problem described above involving both the parties and the witnesses does not arise. As a result, people who appear in the description of the list of adjoining properties represent the only available evidence to match the Syro-Hittite genealogies to the “Royal Family”.

The most important synchronism is based on the relationship between Iššur-Dagān, Pilsu-Dagān’s brother, and Ba’al-qarrād (diviner of Temple M1). Tablets RAE 206, BMLJ 8 and SMEA 7 underline such an association⁷¹.

- RAE 206. Iššur-Dagān appears among the owners of the adjoining field bought by Ba’al-qarrād; the tablet is then sealed by Ini-Tešup (seal A3). Such a record represents the most important evidence of the overall *corpus*, since it points out the relationship between the Royal Family’s IV generation and the Diviner family’s III one. Moreover, such a synchronism could be dated to an advanced phase of Ini-Tešup’s generation (see section II.2.).

⁶⁷ It is not a case that the reign of Zū-Aštarti is documented only by a little amount of records. Zū-Aštarti’s reign is the only one with inner troubles: an attempt of *coup d’état* as recorded on tablet RAE 17. For a reading of this tablet see Adamthwaite 2001, p. 233 (with bibliography).

⁶⁸ Furthermore, see the problem brought to light by RAE 8 and RAE 9: the witness lists of these two tablets show as leading witnesses, respectively, Pilsu-Dagān and his son Elli. Despite the usual pattern, it is clear that RAE 8 (Pilsu-Dagān) “... est, de façon patente, postérieur au texte n° 9 (Elli) ... le n° 9 décrit l’achat au dieu Ninurta par Agalli des trois premières maisons décrites dans n° 8” (Durand 1989a, p. 172).

⁶⁹ Since the two scribal traditions are roughly contemporaneous, this problem does not depend on a different chronology of records. Such a matter will be the object of a future paper.

⁷⁰ That is the same as a river or a hill, etc.

⁷¹ Another synchronism could be underlined by tablet ASJ 14 43, in which are involved Zū-Ba’la’s sons and Iššur-Dagān (see Yamada 1993). Anyway, I suppose that the Zū-Ba’la’s family mentioned by this tablets is not the same than the Temple M1 diviners. Tablets ASJ 14 43 and RAE 194 indicate a certain Šurši as Zū-Ba’la’s father, whereas tablets Msk 73.1097 and RAE 201 point out a certain Ba’al-mālik as the father of the Temple M1 diviner (see Yamada 1998).

- **BMLJ 8.** Ba'al-qarrād acquires a field adjoining the properties of Iṣṣur-Dagān and of Zū-Eya son of Ahī-mālik. Those men confirm the synchronism outlined above, so the relationship between the Royal Family's IV generation and the Deviner family's III one could be dated to the Talmi-Tešup's years of reign⁷².

- **SMEA 7.** This record is the will of Ba'al-qarrād. In this tablet Iṣṣur-Dagān is mentioned one more time. He is almost certainly one of Pilsu-Dagān's brothers⁷³. As for BMLJ 8, this record places the synchronism between the Royal Family's IV generation and the Deviner family's III one during Talmi-Tešup's years of reign.

- **RE 54.** At last we have a synchronism between Ini-Tešup and the above mentioned Zū-Eya son of Ahī-mālik.

As a result Iṣṣur-Dagān's activities, and presumably the whole IV generation of the "Royal Family", could be dated from an undefined period in Ini-Tešup's reign to the beginning of Talmi-Tešup's one (see Appendix 6).

Conclusions

α) Chronological distribution of Syro-Hittite tablets

The attempt to portray a chronological picture of Emar legal tablets will be summarized here with the statistical distribution based on the three Karkemiš generations mentioned above⁷⁴:

<i>Kings of Karkemiš</i>	<i>PHASE-MARKER</i>
.0 Šahurunūwa ⁷⁵	→ the <i>archive's</i> life does not encompass his generation
.1 Ini-Tešup ⁷⁶	→ Hešmi-Tešup ⁷⁷ (Ini-Tešup's brother) → Marianni ⁷⁸ , DUB.SAR.MAH → Puhi-Šenni ⁷⁹ , DUB.SAR.MAH and "Overseer of the Land" → the diviner Zū-Ba'la + Ba'al-qarrād
.2 Talmi-Tešup ⁸⁰ [never mentioned]	→ the diviner Ba'al-qarrād (when Ini-Tešup himself doesn't appear) → Mutri-Tešup (and <i>his</i> witnesses), "Overseer of the Land" → Laheya / Naheya (Mutri-Tešup's son), "Overseer of the Land" → Kili-Šarruma (Mutri-Tešup's son)
.3 Kuzi-Tešup ⁸¹ [never mentioned]	→ Ahī-mālik (and <i>his</i> witnesses), "Overseer of the Land" → the four Family Dossiers (and people usually mentioned in these records)

Fig. 11

⁷² See section III.3.

⁷³ In this tablet Iṣṣur-Dagān does not appear in the list of adjoining properties of a field, but he is the owner of "four tablets of his house". As Arnaud (1992, p. 206) states, the four tablets should be the older records (original deeds) related with Iṣṣur-Dagān's purchases. However, tablet SMEA 7 does not mention the way such four documents entered into Ba'al-qarrād's possession.

⁷⁴ See Appendix 4.

⁷⁵ RAE 31.

⁷⁶ RAE 18, 177, 186(?), 187 (seal C1), 201, 202, 206 and 207 (seal A3); SMEA 5; RE 54, 55, ASJ 12 13 (seal A3); OWEN 1.

⁷⁷ RAE 18, 19, 182 (seal A4); TBR 30; ASJ 12 3; ASJ 13 29; FL 66.

⁷⁸ RAE 201; TBR 37, 38; ASJ 12 13.

⁷⁹ RAE 181, 201; TBR 56; ASJ 10 2; FL 66; AO 28366.

⁸⁰ See Appendix 7.

⁸¹ See Appendix 7.

The picture presented in Appendix 4 suggests an increase in the *presence* of Kings of Karkemiš in the Emar archives throughout the period. However, it is necessary to point out that Appendix 4 summarizes all the available tablets, including those from the antiquity market. By contrast, focusing our inquiry on tablets from regular excavations, the picture above changes substantially. For instance, according to evidence from Chantier T⁸² and Chantier V⁸³, it is possible to point out a different distribution pattern (see Appendix 5). Digging areas mentioned above produced Syro-Hittite documents which are exclusively related to the later phase of Emar chronology. Nearly all of them are connected with Kuzi-Tešup's generation.

By contrast, the distribution pattern from Temple M1's evidence shows a largely uniform development. There is not a significant change in the number of datable tablets from the temple archive during the period.

Consequently, it is possible to underline some aspects related to the different methods of tablet keeping, depending on whether they are *private archives* or *storehouse archives*. Private archives are intended as "the total of records accumulated during the time a particular task was performed by an institution or person", whereas storehouse archives are "a collection or a repository of older records no longer in use but preserved for their historical value and stored separately"⁸⁴.

Looking at records from Chantier T, it is possible to presume that tablets concerning family businesses were not retained for long. Nearly all the Syro-Hittite tablets unearthed in this area have to be dated to the last generation of Karkemiš Kings (the last period of the city life)⁸⁵. The *Family of Hēma* (Chantier T – Appendix 3), *preferred* to perform his business according to Syro-Hittite legal custom. Furthermore, even though this family is represented by two generations, their tablets could be dated to the Kuzi-Tešup's phase almost exclusively. It is certain that this family dossier does not mention people related to Ini-Tešup's phase. Older records which were no longer needed were normally thrown away in due course or put to secondary use. In fact the evidence shown by Chantier T reveals that the *Family of Hēma* followed this practice of keeping only records in use. As a result these records faithfully reveal the events which took place in the archaeological phase from which the tablets themselves come.

On the contrary the tablets found in Temple M1 are distributed throughout the Syro-Hittite period in statistically regular numbers. The three *generations* of Kings

⁸² The archaeological survey in the Area T brought to light two house-buildings: in the N-E angle of the main room of one of these buildings a broken jar was found and, around it, some cuneiform tablets laid down (it is yet unclear if all the tablets came from a unique find-spot). See J. Margueron 1982, p. 240.

⁸³ Digging operation in Area V unearthed three building of domestic use and 27 cuneiform tablets (and fragments): anyway it is not clear where the tablets come from, if all the amount belongs to an unique building or, more probably, if all the buildings in area V yielded private archives. See J. Margueron 1982, p. 240

⁸⁴ See Veenhof 1986, p. 7.

⁸⁵ It is important to point out that the overall *corpus* coming from Chantier T belongs to the last period of Emar history. The archive(s) preserves 24 tablets and some fragments: among them 20 records are Syro-Hittite deeds, whereas the remaining four tablets are Syrian texts (RAE 94, 95, 96, 97) which mention Elli's generation exclusively (the last known king of Emar).

of Karkemiš are represented by an equal number of tablets: 11 for Ini-Tešup, 11 for Talmi-Tešup and 9 for Kuzi-Tešup. This could indicate that Diviners also kept some records no longer in daily use in storage. Almost certainly Temple M1 served as a repository for archives in the narrow sense (*storehouse archive*). For instance, most of the older legal documents preserved in the temple deal with Zū-Ba'la's "extended will" (see III.3). These records represent the source of a *status* and of a series of privileges, the root of which originate from the Great King himself. It is interesting to point out that the other tablets, dated to Ini-Tešup's reign and from the same spot, are also wills⁸⁶.

As a result, the large number of Syro-Hittite tablets related to Kuzi-Tešup's generation (Appendix 4) could then indicate that most of the documents from residential areas and from the antiquity market are *private archives*. They probably conform to the conservation pattern already outlined for the "private archives" of the Chantier T. This could explain why most of the records naming Ini-Tešup had been stored in fact in the *storehouse archive* Temple M1⁸⁷.

Leaving aside further considerations related to ancient archival practice, the value of these older records as chronological phase-markers needs to be reduced because most of them appear to be epigraphic relics. By contrast, the daily legal practice, as determined by Chantier T and Chantier V, portrays a very different background. Tablets from houses and *private archives* belong to a very short period, which embraces only the generations of Talmi-Tešup and Kuzi-Tešup.

β) A further "Royal Dynasty" and the Syrian tablets chronological distribution.

Skaist offered some evidence concerning the existence of a more ancient royal family of Emar⁸⁸, with which he greatly lengthened the chronological time span of the Syrian tablets:

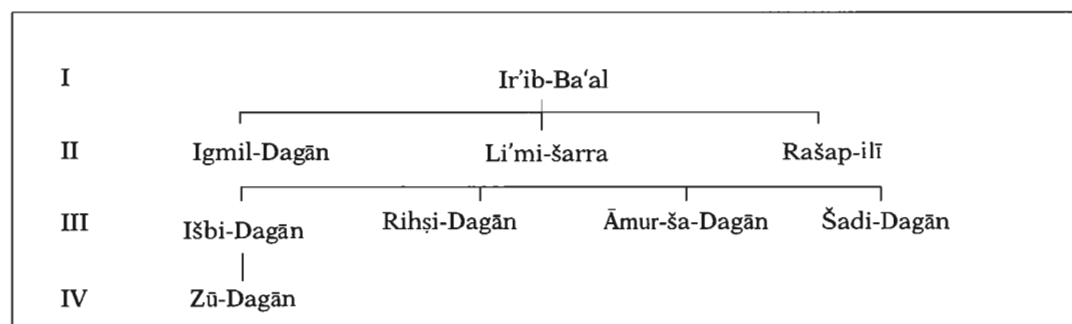


Fig. 12

The scholar linked the two royal dynasties in a chronological sequence based mainly on the evidence from tablet TBR 19. The document is a purchase deed drafted by the scribe Alal-abu and mentions some characters elsewhere known to

⁸⁶ See RAE 177, 181, 182, 186 and 187.

⁸⁷ Ini-Tešup appears also in tablets unearthed in Chantier A, the "Palace" area.

⁸⁸ Skaist 1998, p. 60-64.

be associates of Iaši-Dagān I (Royal Family): Ilī-abī son of Li'mi-šarra and Addiya son of Dāda⁸⁹. Thus, as Skaist himself suggests, "*it would seem reasonable then that there was not a very large gap, if any, between the two dynasties*". The scholar assumes that TBR 19 represents the last years of the reign of Ir'ib-Ba'al's dynasty. When Šuppiluliuma conquered Emar, he replaced the old king's family with a new one, that is the Iaši-Dagān I family⁹⁰. According to the picture proposed by Skaist, the chronological relationship between the two families should match the IV generation of the older dynasty (Zū-Ba'la) and the II generation (Iaši-Dagān) of the new one: thus the older royal dynasty should have reigned from 1400 b.C., the date attributed to the eponym Ir'ib-Ba'al.

Although Ir'ib-Ba'al's family seems to be in fact more ancient than Royal Family, some problems still remain concerning its synchronic relationship.

First of all there is no substantial evidence about the identity of the Iaši-Dagān mentioned in TBR 19. A man with the same name and patronymic appears in tablet RAE 163. This tablet comes from regular excavations and does not mention the King of Emar⁹¹.

In addition, the career of the scribe Dagān-bēlu offers further evidence against Skaist's hypothesis. Five tablets were drafted by this scribe: three of them mention both Igmil-Dagān and his brothers (II family generation)⁹², whereas the remaining two documents cite Iaši-Dagān and his son Ba'al-kabar (Royal Family II and III generations)⁹³. Obviously, it does not mean that the two sets are strictly contemporary, but it is possible to assume they are not too far apart in time from one another. According to Skaist, if the Ir'ib-Ba'al's family is in fact the eldest, the chronological link should be summarized as follow⁹⁴:

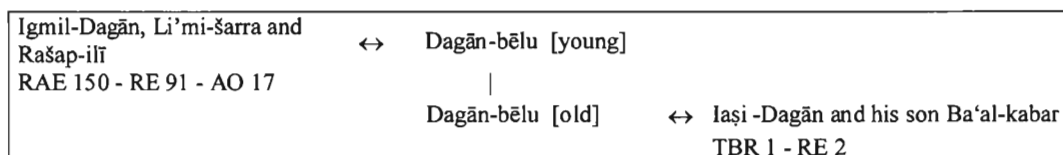


Fig. 13

Finally there is further evidence for understanding the chronological link between the two dynasties. A certain Dagalli son of Ir'am-Dagān⁹⁵ appears in text RAE 2, alongside Pilsu-Dagān and Abbānu (IV), and in RAE 148, a deed in which

⁸⁹ All the men mentioned appear in RE 34 as well. The scribe Alal-abu looks like the same of tablet SEMITICA 2.

⁹⁰ A. Skaist 1998, p. 64. The author set those events in a period around the 1325 (according to the "reduced" chronology proposed by G. Wilhelm and J. Boese)

⁹¹ The name Iaši-Dagān is often mentioned at Emar: moreover tablet TBR 19 did not well preserved the divine element of the name.

⁹² RAE 150, AO 17 and RE 91.

⁹³ TBR 1 and RE 2.

⁹⁴ This kind of relationship will be discussed still later with further evidence.

⁹⁵ Both the name and patronymic are not often attested at Emar: the entire *corpus* knows only five persons named Dagalli.

the witness list mentions Li'mi-šarra's sons (III) as the leading witnesses⁹⁶. As above we underscored a link between the II and the II/III generations, such a further element is able to relate III and IV families generations.

<i>Ir'ib-Ba'al family</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>link</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>Royal Family</i>
Igmil-Dagān, <u>Li'mi-šarra</u> and Rašap-ilī RAE 150 - RE 91 - AO 17	II	Dagān-bēlu (DUB.SAR)	II / III	Iaši-Dagān and his son Ba'al-kabar TBR 1 -
Sons of <u>Li'mi-šarra</u> RAE 148	III	Dagalli son of Ir'am-Dagān	IV	Pilsu-Dagān and Abbānu RAE 2

Fig. 14

Although the study carried out by Skaist is important because it identifies an earlier royal dynasty of Emar, a possible revision can be proposed concerning the diachronic depth that the scholar assumed for those events (and exclusively based on tablet 19 TBR). In addition, using the different synchronic relationship shown above (figure 14), Skaist's historical overview is still partially appropriate. The relationship outlined in figure 14 shows the first person explicitly mentioned as king, Ba'al-kabar⁹⁷ (or at least Iaši-Dagān⁹⁸), to be contemporary with Li'mi-šarra. The latter is Ir'ib-Ba'al's only son who is clearly titled king⁹⁹. Thus the change of dynasty promoted by the Hittite Great King should have involved the period related to Li'mi-šarra's years of reign (II generation) and not the Zū-Ba'la's generation (IV). The new dynasty, the well known Royal Family, would have acquired its new rule in a phase presumably related to Iaši-Dagān's generation, as already stated by Skaist, or even during Ba'al-kabar's generation¹⁰⁰.

On the other hand, the study of the diachronic distribution of tablets from the regular excavations is also significant in tracing the chronological relationship between the two dynasties.

In order to do this some methodological aspects have to be outlined. The progression of the Royal Family's generations will be considered as a chronological phase-marker. All the tablets mentioning people linked in anyway with the most important figures of a generation will be associated with their active period. Thus, for instance, all the tablets mentioning Zū-Aštarti will be attributed to the period characterized by the *prominent figure of the generation*, who is in fact his brother

⁹⁶ For the reading of this name see Pruzsinszky 2003, p. 184, and Seminara 1994.

⁹⁷ For instance tablet RE 14.

⁹⁸ Skaist (1998, p. 58-59) already supposed Iaši-Dagān was the King of Emar: according to the publication of Emar seals corpus (Beyer 2001) Skaist hypothesis seems to be fairly correct since on tablet TBR 1, where Iaši-Dagān is the leading witness, is impressed the dynastic seal (seal E 2a). See also the relationship between royalty and "dynastic seal" as stated by Yamada (1993 and 1994, p.61 n. 20).

⁹⁹ See RK 6: *i-na U₄.ME-ti ša 'Li-LUGAL* (l. 1) and *LUGAL ù URU E-mar* (l. 20) as equivalent for IGI *'Li-LUGAL ù URU E-mar* (l. 36).

¹⁰⁰ Skaist assumes that Šuppiluliuma was the Great King who promoted the change of dynasty: most probably, his son Muršili is a better candidate. Furthermore, as Skaist supposed (1998, p. 62 and n. 44-45), still remains possible that Ir'ib-Ba'al, eponym of the older Dynasty, could have paid tribute to an unknown king of Mittani.

Pilsu-Dagān. The IV generation of the Royal Family of Emar will be classified only by the presence of the most important brother, Pilsu-Dagān.

According to the pattern just described, we are going to point out the diachronic distribution of tablets found at Meskéné during the 1970s digging operations.

There are 69 legal tablets of the Syrian scribal tradition from the excavations¹⁰¹. Among these, 16 documents are extremely poorly preserved, whereas 53 tablets could be divided according to the following three typologies:

1	Mentioning the Royal Family	37 tablets
2	Mentioning Ir'ib-Ba'al's dynasty	5 tablets
3	Without any explicit relationship with the two families.....	11 tablets

According to the documents coming from Temple M1, the picture doesn't change in its statistical meanings:

1	Mentioning the Royal Family	21 tablets
2	Mentioning Ir'ib-Ba'al's dynasty	4 tablets
3	Without any explicit relationship with the two families	6 tablets

The following step is shown by Appendix 2, where the Syrian tablets found in Temple M1 have been divided according to the two dynasties' genealogical sequences.

Firstly, the outline proposed by Appendix 2 confirms the contemporary relationship between the generations of Ba'al-kabar (III) and Ir'ib-Ba'al's sons (II).

It reveals that the Temple M1 archive stored Syrian tablets which are mostly linked to the IV and V generations of the Emar Royal Family. Still maintaining some statistical discrepancies, the storehouse's life is characterized by tablets related to Pilsu-Dagān and Elli. By contrast the small number of records which concern older generations should be classified as epigraphic relics, which are typically found in *storehouse buildings*. These relics are still of great use because, if the synchronism between the generations of Ba'al-kabar (III) and of Ir'ib-Ba'al's sons (II) is correct, they help confirm such a relationship through the common pattern of diachronic distribution. The storage of these records in Temple M1 can not indicate a period so distant in time for Ir'ib-Ba'al's dynasty, as Skaist proposes. The gap between the generations of Ba'al-kabar (III) and of Ir'ib-Ba'al's sons (II) could not be explained adequately.

Finally, if we broaden our analysis by including all the Emar tablets, both those from Meskéné and from the antiquity market, the total number of Syrian tablets reflects the same stationary pattern detected for Temple M1 (Appendix 4). Percentages for the generations of Pilsu-Dagān (27,9%) and Elli (24,2%)¹⁰², are of great use in understanding the evolutionary trend of the overall *corpus*:

¹⁰¹ See Appendix 1.

¹⁰² Elli's generation includes also the one of his son Ba'al-kabar II: see Appendix 4.

<i>Kings of Karkemiš</i>	%	<i>term of comparison</i>	<i>Royal Family</i>	%	time span of Emar archives
Šahurunuwa	0,2%	[not available]	Ba'al-kabar I	2,5%	
Ini-Tešup	6,4%	[Išsur-Dagān]	Pilsu-Dagān	10,5%	
Talmi-Tešup	8,5%		Elli (+Ba'al-kabar II)	9,9%	
Kuzi-Tešup	21%	[not available]			

Fig. 15 – Synchronic table with percentages (on the amount of 435 legal records).

Such a synchronic table demonstrates the late development of the Syro-Hittite tradition at Emar. At the beginning of the archives' life only a small number of individuals used the new legal practices. Most of the older Syro-Hittite documents mention Hittite officials or people somehow related to the authority of Karkemiš¹⁰³. Only later the Syro-Hittite tradition was used systematically for the drafting of deeds. At the same time a small reduction in the proportion of Syrian deeds is discernible. Therefore it is possible that the new legal practice began to replace the older Syrian tradition.

γ) *The conservation pattern in legal practice*

As I hope it is clear from the previous pages, it is possible to date Emar archives to the period from 1240, approximately the beginning of Talmi-Tešup's reign at Karkemiš, to 1185¹⁰⁴. It fits in with Veenhof's idea that archives usually "*consist of documents covering the activities of the last generation or two, frequently not more than fifty years*"¹⁰⁵. However we have to clarify such an assumption.

At first, even if most records statistically belong to a fifty year period, some tablets of both the scribal traditions mention some individuals which no doubt were active during an older phase than the core of Emar corpus. It is possible to explain such a trend by involving further elements of comparison. Those older records have a very low incidence in the total amount of datable tablets and, as we have assumed before, their find-spot is of great interest. Whereas the *storehouse archive* (Temple M1) covers three generations of kings of Karkemiš, the domestic context indicates a very short time span for *private archives*. As a result those older documents could testify as both epigraphic relics in a homogeneous chronological background and/or as particular kind of records which were kept stored for their

¹⁰³ Moreover most of these earlier records belong to the Karkemiš scribal tradition: it shows different linguistic and phonetic features both from the local dialect and from the hybrid Syro-Hittite linguistic usage. See Wilcke 1992, p. 119-120, and Seminara 1998, p. 21 and p. 123 ff., who believes that a large amount of tablets supposed to be of Ini-Tešup's generation belong to the Karkemiš tradition: RAE 182, 201, 202, 207, 212, 257; ASJ 12 3; TBR 30, RE 55.

¹⁰⁴ Absolute chronology concerning the sequence of the Kings of Karkemiš is still open to debate. Hawkins (1980, p. 431) supposes a seventy years period for both the reigns of Šahurunuwa and Ini-Tešup: as a result, since Šahurunuwa's office took begin during the 9th year of Muršili II, Talmi-Tešup's reign should have begun around the 1240 B.C.

¹⁰⁵ Veenhof 1986, p. 30.

historical value. Moreover, some elements of Ancient Near East legal practice are also of great use in tracing such a trend.

As Charpin suggests, “*lorsqu’un bien foncier changeait de mains, le nouveau propriétaire reçût de son prédécesseur ses titres de propriété, non seulement lors d’une vente, mais aussi lors d’un échange, d’un héritage ou d’une dot*”¹⁰⁶. These older records are known by the Akkadian expression *tuppāt* (or *kanīkāt*) *ummātim*. They reflect the custom of conveyance of real estate that usually entails the physical transfer of the original deeds. Charpin states that such a legal practice never appears as an established praxis: it is known exclusively through some cases where the impossibility or failure to transfer the original deed caused a *lawsuit*. As a result, sometimes the purchaser made the scribe draw up a deed with special contingency clauses¹⁰⁷.

As far as Emar evidence is concerned, I believe that a similar legal practice could be identified in both scribal traditions. Even though at Emar such a formula (*tuppāt ummātim*¹⁰⁸) is never expressed explicitly¹⁰⁹, what we want to point out is the related legal background. As usual, the transaction is recorded from the purchaser’s standpoint. Sometimes among the deed’s contingency clauses we can read: *šumma tuppū šanūm-ma illā u hepi*¹¹⁰, that is “if another tablet appears, it will be broken (to be invalid)”¹¹¹. As in Charpin’s evidence, the Emar scribes underscore the same purchasers’ obsession¹¹². The present purchaser is worried because a fur-

¹⁰⁶ Charpin 1986, p. 121.

¹⁰⁷ For instance YOS 13 95: “*kanīkat ummātim* concerning 1 ½ SAR of the present house have been lost If someone will see them in PN₁’s basket, or in PN₂’s one, or wherever they are, they are PN₃’ and PN₄’s property, the purchasers”.

¹⁰⁸ The word *ummātim* is a plural for *ummum* “mother”: the original meaning shifts to “le point d’origine”, “l’état antérieur”. See Charpin 1986, p. 138.

¹⁰⁹ As Charpin (1986) suggests such a custom is widely documented throughout the overall Babylonian *koinè*. It is not a typical trait only for the Old Babylonian period. See for instance Maidman 1979.

¹¹⁰ See for instance RAE 8: 42-43, RAE 158: 29-31, ASJ 12 7: 49-50 (*tup-pu ša-nu-um-ma // i-pu-uš-ma ù he-pi*) and ASJ 16 1: 38-39 (*tup-pa-tu, ša pa-na-nu // ú-ul tup-pu [h]e-pa-a*). For a general overview of this clause see Dombardi 1996, p. 114-116, about “die hepi-Klausel”.

¹¹¹ Such a formula is derived from the Old Babylonian legal tradition, even if the older practice prefers a form with a present N (*ihheppi*) despite the Emar custom with a stative (*hepi*): see CAD H, p. 171-172 and Seminara 1998, p. 364. Probably the Middle Euphrate legal practice (Syrian tradition) acquired this formula long time before than the Syro-Hittite tradition, which took this clause to loan from the former. Even if the topic requires further investigations, till now it is possible to point out a preliminary evolution. At first the formula appears in the “Mittanian” *corpus* from Munbaqa (see for instance tablet number EKA 2, 21 and 91: in W. Mayer 2001). Moreover, it seems possible to trace an evolution inside the Emar *corpus* as well. Some Syro-Hittite tablets quote a really characteristic and uncommon praxis. In tablet RAE 123: 5-9, actors are in worry since an older tablet, sealed by Ninurta, could be a potential danger: they need the older record for the correct identification of the property and its chain of previous owners. The same trend is underscore by the letter TBR 95. The *lawsuit* is about an older tablet sealed by Ninurta against the new owner’s rights. The two Syro-Hittite tablets, I suppose, show the problematic interaction between the legal substrates held by the scribal tradition. The value of the older title sealed by Ninurta (which belongs to the Syrian tradition exclusively) looks like a practice that the Syro-Hittite custom did not provide.

¹¹² See for instance tablet TBR 24: 16-17, “the tablet concerning this *kiršitu* is lost: *šum-ma il-la-a he-pi*”, and TBR 33: 20-22, “now the older tablet (*tup-pu la-be-ru*) concerning this house is lost: *šum-ma i-na EGIR U₄-mi ú-še-lu-šu tup-pu an-nu-ú i-hap-pé-e-šu*”.

ther or older tablet could appear and invalidate his acquired rights, so, when necessary, a relevant clause is added¹¹³.

As Charpin suggests, our knowledge about such a legal practice also indicates the way some private archives developed. Even though some *private archives*' chronological time depth is sometimes surprising, it probably depends on the presence of *tuppāt ummātim* (older records) and *contemporary deeds* in the same archaeological context. Since the present owner usually acquires both the real estate and the previous deeds (tablets), we should be extremely careful dating private archives with prosopographic methodologies and lacking a well documented archaeological find-spot¹¹⁴.

Francesco Di Filippo
Via Monte Nevoso, 16
I – 00141 Roma

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¹¹³ The formula "*šumma tuppū šanūm-ma illā u hepi*" is not frequently mentioned. For this reason it seems to be part of contingency clauses (*naturalia negotii*), that are free agreements between actors: such agreements are already previewed by the legal practice and parties can include them without restraints. Is it possible to assume that this clause is introduced when the seller only does not transfer the original title (the tablet with which the seller himself acquired the object)? In this case the similarity between OB evidence and Emar's one should match much strictly.

¹¹⁴ Charpin 1986, p. 138-140.

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Appendix 1*. Syrian tablets from regular excavations

<i>tablet</i>	<i>site</i>	<i>1st witness</i>	<i>tablet</i>	<i>site</i>	<i>1st witness</i>
RAE 1	Palace	Ba'al-kabar	RAE 148	T. M1	sons of Li'mi-šarra
RAE 2	Palace	Abbānu	RAE 149	T. M1	Li'mi-šarra
RAE 3	Palace	Abbānu	RAE 150	T. M1	Igmil-Dagān
RAE 4	Palace	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 151	T. M1	
RAE 8	Palace	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 152	T. M1	
RAE 9	Palace	Elli	RAE 153	T. M1	Igmil-Dagān
RAE 10	Palace	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 154	T. M1	
RAE 11	Palace	Abbānu	RAE 155	T. M1	
RAE 12	Palace	Li'mi-šarra	RAE 156	T. M1	Ba'al-kabar
RAE 13	Palace		RAE 157	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 14	Palace	Ba'al-kabar	RAE 158	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 15	Palace		RAE 159	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 17	Palace	Zū-Aštarti	RAE 160	T. M1	Elli
RAE 20	Palace	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 161	T. M1	
RAE 40	Surface		RAE 162	T. M1	
RAE 94	T	Elli	RAE 163	T. M1	
RAE 95	T	Elli	RAE 164	T. M1	
RAE 96	T		RAE 166	T. M1	
RAE 97	T	Elli	RAE 171	T. M1	
RAE 109	V		RAE 172	T. M1	Elli
RAE 110	V		RAE 176	T. M1	
RAE 111	V		RAE 180	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 125	V	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 183	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 126	V	Abbānu	RAE 184	T. M1	
RAE 130	V		RAE 185	T. M1	Elli
RAE 137	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 188	T. M1	
RAE 138	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 189	T. M1	
RAE 139	T. M1	Elli	RAE 190	T. M1	
RAE 140	T. M1	Elli	RAE 195	T. M1	
RAE 141	T. M1	Elli	RAE 197	T. M1	
RAE 142	T. M1	Elli	RAE 244	T. M1	Elli
RAE 144	T. M1	Ba'al-kabar	RAE 250	T. M1	
RAE 145	T. M1		RAE 253	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān
RAE 146	T. M1	Pilsu-Dagān	RAE 256	T. M1	Zū-Aštarti
RAE 147	T. M1	Elli			

* In bold fragmentary tablets.

Appendix 2. Royal Family: tablets from French excavation and their distribution.

<i>gen.</i>	<i>tablet</i>	<i>site</i>	<i>find-spot</i>	<i>1st witness</i>	<i>relative amount</i>
III	RAE 1	Palace	Jar 7238	Ba'al-kabar	
	RAE 14	Palace	Jar 7336	Ba'al-kabar	
	RAE 144	T. M1	--	Ba'al-kabar	
	RAE 156	T. M1	--	Ba'al-kabar	4
IV	RAE 4	Palace	Jar 7238	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 8	Palace	Jar 7238	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 10	Palace	Jar 7238	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 20	Palace	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 125	V	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 137	T. M1	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 138	T. M1	M I SE	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 146	T. M1	M I SO	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 157	T. M1	M I SE	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 158	T. M1	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 159	T. M1	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 180	T. M1	M I NE	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 183	T. M1	--	Pilsu-Dagān	
	RAE 253	T. M1	--	Pilsu-Dagān	[14]
	RAE 2	Palace	Jar 7238	Abbānu	
	RAE 3	Palace	Jar 7238	Abbānu	
	RAE 11	Palace	Jar 7238	Abbānu	
	RAE 126	V	--	Abbānu	[4]
	RAE 17	Palace	Jar 7340	Zū-Aštarti	
	RAE 256	T. M1	--	Zū-Aštarti	[2] = 20
V	RAE 9	Palace	Jar 7238	Elli	
	RAE 94	T	--	Elli	
	RAE 95	T	--	Elli	
	RAE 97	T	--	Elli	
	RAE 139	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 140	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 141	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 142	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 147	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 160	T. M1	M I SO \ M I SE	Elli	
	RAE 172	T. M1	--	Elli	
	RAE 185	T. M1	M I SO	Elli	
	RAE 244	T. M1	--	Elli	13

<i>gen.</i>	<i>tablet</i>	<i>site</i>	<i>find-spot</i>	<i>1st witness</i>	<i>relative amount</i>
II	RAE 150	T. M1	--	Igmil-Dagān	
	RAE 153	T. M1	--	Igmil-Dagān	[2]
	RAE 12	Palace	Jar 7238	Li'mi-šarra	
	RAE 149	T. M1	M I SO	Li'mi-šarra	[2] = 4
III	RAE 148	T. M1	--	sons of Li'mi-šarra	1

Family of Awiru

Family of Hēma (Cantier T)

(Hēma)

Dagān-kabar Dagān-tali'

Dagān-kabar
<Ahī-mālik>

(Milkī-Dagān)

Dagān-kabar **Ahī-Dagān**

Ahī-Dagān Milkī-Dagān

(Kutbu)

Ba'al-gāmil	Zū-Aštarti	Zū-Ba'la	(Ahī-mālik)	Hemiya	(Daqqanu)
		┌───────────┐			
Bēlu-mālik					
		Zū-Aštarti	Zū-Ba'la	Hemiya	[...]
		<Ahī-mālik>			

* See note 55.

Appendix 4. Statistical distribution of the Emar legal tablets.

SYRIAN TABLETS				SYRO-HITTITE TABLETS			
<i>gen.</i>		<i>All tablets</i>	<i>datable tablets</i>	<i>gen.</i>		<i>All tablets</i>	<i>datable tablets</i>
	Royal Family	165 tab.	106 tab.		Karkemiš	270 tab.	156 tab.
1 st	Iaši-Dagān	3,00%	4,80%	1 st	Ini-Tešup	10,40%	17,90%
2 nd	Ba'al-kabar	6,70%	10,50%	2 nd	Talmi-Tešup	13,70%	23,70%
3 th	Abbānu	4,20%	6,70%	3 th	Kuzi-Tešup	33,70%	58,40%
	Zū-Aštarti	4,80%	7,60%				
	Pilsu-Dagān	18,80%	29,50%		<i>on total amount</i>	57,80%	100%
	generation	27,90%	43,80%				
4 th	Elli	23,00%	36,20%				
	Iaši-Dagān II	1,20%	1,90%				
	generation	24,20%	38,10%				
5 th	Ba'al-kabar II	1,80%	2,90%				
	<i>on total amount</i>	63,60%	100%				
	Dynasty of Ir'ib-Ba'al	165 tab.	106 tab.				
1 st	Ir'ib-Ba'al	1,20%	10,50%				
2 nd	Igmil-Dagān	3,60%	31,60%				
	Li'mi-šarra	4,80%	42,10%				
	generation	8,50%					
3 th	sons of Li'mi-šarra	1,80%	15,80%				
	<i>on total amount</i>	11,50%	100%				

Appendix 5. Syro-Hittite tablets: digging areas and *generations*

Chantier T		Temple M1			
<i>tablet</i>	<i>generation</i>	<i>tablet</i>	<i>generation</i>	<i>tablet</i>	<i>generation</i>
RAE 75	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 167	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 241	Kuzi-Tešup
RAE 76	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 168		RAE 243	Kuzi-Tešup
RAE 77	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 169		RAE 246	Kuzi-Tešup
RAE 78	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 177	Ini-Tešup	RAE 248	
RAE 79	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 181	Ini-Tešup	RAE 252	Talmi-Tešup
RAE 80	Talmi-Tešup	RAE 182	Ini-Tešup	RAE 257	
RAE 81	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 186	Ini-Tešup	RAE 258	
RAE 82	Talmi-Tešup	RAE 187	Ini-Tešup	RAE 259	
RAE 83	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 194		RAE 260	
RAE 84	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 196		RAE 261	
RAE 85	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 199		RAE 262	
RAE 86	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 200	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 263	Talmi-Tešup
RAE 87	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 201	Ini-Tešup	RAE 264	Talmi-Tešup
RAE 88	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 202	Ini-Tešup	RAE 265	Ini-Tešup
RAE 89		RAE 203		RAE 266	Talmi-Tešup
RAE 90	Talmi-Tešup	RAE 204		RAE 267	
RAE 91		RAE 205	Talmi-Tešup	RAE 268	
RAE 92		RAE 206	Ini-Tešup	RAE 269	
RAE 93	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 207	Ini-Tešup	RAE 270	
RAE 101	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 208		RAE 272	
Chantier V		RAE 209	Ini-Tešup		
<i>tablet</i>	<i>generation</i>	RAE 210			
RAE 112	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 211	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 113	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 212	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 114	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 213	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 115	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 214	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 116	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 215	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 117	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 216			
RAE 118	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 217	Talmi-Tešup		
RAE 119	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 221	Kuzi-Tešup		
RAE 120	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 224	Kuzi-Tešup		
RAE 121	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 225	Kuzi-Tešup		
RAE 122		RAE 226	Kuzi-Tešup		
RAE 123		RAE 228			
RAE 124		RAE 229			
RAE 127		RAE 240			
RAE 128	Kuzi-Tešup	RAE 241	Kuzi-Tešup		
RAE 131		RAE 243	Kuzi-Tešup		

Appendix 6. Hypothetical table of synchronisms: the unique confirmed synchronism is underscored by bold line.

<i>Karkemiš dynasty</i>	<i>Diviner's family</i>	<i>Royal Family</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>Ir'ib-Ba'al Dynasty</i>	<i>absolute date</i>
		(Ba'al-mālik)	I	Ir'ib-Ba'al	
		Iaši-Dagān	II		
Šahurunuwa	Zū-Ba'la [young]	Ba'al-kabar	III	Igmil-Dagān - Li'mi-šarra - Rašap-ilī	
Ini-Tešup	Zū-Ba'la [old]				
Ini-Tešup	Ba'al-qarrād [young]	Iššur-Dagān (Pilsu-Dagān)	IV	sons of Li'mi-šarra	
Talmi-Tešup	Ba'al-qarrād [old]	Iššur-Dagān (Pilsu-Dagān)	IV		
Talmi-Tešup	Ba'al-mālik [young]	Elli	V		
Kuzi-Tešup	Ba'al-mālik [old]	Elli and Ba'al-kabar II	VI		1185 b.C.

Appendix 7.

<p>.2 Talmi-Tešup [never mentioned]</p>	<p>→ the diviner Ba‘al-qarrād (when Ini-Tešup himself does not appear): see section I.1.</p> <p>→ Mutri-Tešup (and <i>his</i> witnesses), “Overseer of the Land”: RAE 205, 211, 212, 252, 264; TBR 36, 76, 84; SMEA 13; RE 56; ASJ 13 21; ASJ 14 44.</p> <p>→ Laheya / Naheya (son of Mutri-Tešup), “Overseer of the Land”: RAE 90, 217, 218, 219, 220; TBR 72</p> <p>→ Kili-Šarruma (son of Mutri-Tešup): RAE 61, 263, 266, 287; TBR 20, 97; SMEA 8; ASJ 14 48; BMLJ 28, 29</p>
<p>.3 Kuzi-Tešup [never mentioned]</p>	<p>→ Ahī-mālik (and <i>his</i> witnesses), “Overseer of the Land” RAE 85, 289; 24, TBR 33; RE 12; ASJ 13: 36; BMLJ 2 & witnesses: RAE 7, 16, 76, 84, 85, 86, 93, 115, 117, 118, 167, 200, 221, 225; TBR 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33, 68, 74, 78, 85, 94; AO 9, 11; RE 10, 12, 13, 25, 68; ASJ 12 9; ASJ 13 22, 36, 37, 41; IRAQ 1 ; BMLJ 2; RK 1, 2, 3</p> <p>→ the four Family Dossiers (as much as people usually mentioned in these records):</p> <p>a. Family of Kutbu: RAE 83, 116, 119, 167; TBR 66; SMEA 7; RE 10, 13; ASJ 13: 20, 22, 36, 37, 40, 41; ASJ 14: 45; RK 1, 2</p> <p>b. Family of Hēma: RAE 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88</p> <p>c. Family of Milkī-Dagān: RAE 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121</p> <p>d. Family of Awiru: TBR 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26</p>