

from M. W. Chavalas, ed., *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1996)

EMAR AND ITS ARCHIVES

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THE RECOVERY of the cuneiform civilizations of the ancient Near East had begun already in the 1840's with the excavations of P. E. Botta and of H. A. Layard in northern Mesopotamia, the heartland of ancient Assyria. Before the end of the nineteenth century much work had also been carried out in the south of the Land of the Two Rivers, yielding thousands of tablets and corresponding quantities of information concerning ancient Babylonia and the even earlier culture of Sumer. In contrast, little was then known about the history and cultures of Syria prior to the first millennium B.C.E., when the region came within the purview of Biblical and Greek writers. This situation has been greatly rectified in our own century¹ by four major discoveries of cuneiform texts within the boundaries of the contemporary state of Syria: at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) a few kilometers

1. A convenient survey of Syrian archaeology is provided by the exhibition catalogue edited by H. Weiss, *Ebla to Damascus* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1985). A useful collection of essays on recent philological and historical research concerning ancient Syria is *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, eds. M. W. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes (Malibu: Undena, 1992 = *BiMes* 25).

north of Latakia in 1929,² at Tell Hariri (ancient Mari) near the Iraqi border on the Euphrates in 1933,³ at Tell Mardikh (ancient Ebla) in the vicinity of Aleppo in 1974 and 1975,⁴ and at Meskene (ancient Emar) about 85 kilometers west of the provincial capital of Raqqa on the middle course of the Euphrates from 1972 through 1976.⁵ As witnesses to Semitic cultures antedating that of Israel, all of these collections of tablets have captured the attention of students of the Hebrew Bible.⁶

The particular focus of this volume is on the finds on the Middle Euphrates, an area which had been little explored archaeologically until the plans of the Syrian government to erect a dam at Tabqa, approximately 45 kilometers west of Raqqa, called forth an international campaign to salvage the archaeological record of that portion of the river valley soon to be submerged under the newly-created Lake Assad.⁷ While tablets were recovered at several other sites in the region, including 14 at Tell Hadidi (ancient Azu)⁸ and 81 at Mun-

2. *Ugarit in Retrospect. 50 Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, ed. G. D. Young (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981).

3. *Mari in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*, ed. G. D. Young (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992).

4. P. Matthiae, *Ebla. An Empire Rediscovered* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981).

5. *Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux 1972-1982*, ed. D. Beyer (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982).

6. See, for example, P. C. Craigie, "Ugarit and the Bible: Progress and Regress in 50 Years of Literary Study," in *Ugarit in Retrospect*, 99-111; A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); A. Archi, "The Epigraphic Evidence from Ebla and the Old Testament," *Biblica* 60 (1979) 556-66; J. Huehnergard, "Biblical Notes on Some New Akkadian Texts from Emar (Syria)," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47 (1985) 428-34; and A. Tsukimoto, "Emar and the Old Testament. Preliminary Remarks," *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 15 (1989) 3-24.

7. O. Rouault and M. G. Masetti-Rouault, *L'Eufrate e il tempo. Le civiltà del medio Eufrate e della Gezira siriana* (Milan: Electra, 1993), especially A. Bounni, "La politica archeologica siriana nella Gezira e lungo l'Eufrate," pp. 14-15.

8. R. H. Dornemann, "Tell Hadidi: A Millennium of City Occupation," *AASOR* 44 (1979) 113-51, especially pp. 144-46. The tablets from this site are to be published by R. Whiting.

bāqa (ancient Ekalte),⁹ by far the largest group was that excavated by the French expedition to Emar under the direction of archaeologist Jean Margueron and published by the team's epigrapher Daniel Arnaud. These include over 450 practical documents in addition to hundreds of tablets and fragments from a temple library.¹⁰ Beyond these texts, over 250 cuneiform records from the vicinity of Emar have found their way onto the antiquities market and have been treated by various scholars, including the official epigrapher Arnaud and myself.¹¹ Most of these stray records can be firmly connected with the excavated Emar archives through prosopographic analysis.

At present, the earliest known mention of Emar is in records from Ebla dating to the twenty-fourth century B.C.E.,¹² when it was the seat of a monarchy alternately beholden to Mari downstream or to Ebla itself. Similarly, in the nineteenth century, Mari and Ebla's political successor Aleppo disputed control over the city, now seemingly ruled by a council of elders.¹³ The interest of the regional powers in domination over Emar may be explained by its strategic location at the juncture of two trade routes between Mesopotamia to the southeast and Syro-Palestine, Anatolia, and the Aegean beyond to the north and west. Throughout premodern history, trad-

9. Preliminary discussions of the cuneiform epigraphic material are: W. Mayer, "Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbāqa 1984," *MDOG* 118 (1986) 126-31; "Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbāqa 1986," *MDOG* 120 (1988) 48-49; "Der antike Name von Tall Munbāqa, die Schreiber und die chronologische Einordnung der Tafelfunde: Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbāqa 1988," *MDOG* 122 (1990) 45-66 and "Die Tontafelfunde von Tall Munbāqa/Ekalte 1989 und 1990," *MDOG* 125 (1993) 103-6. On the likelihood that this material is contemporary with that from Emar—and not to be dated more than a century earlier as maintained by Mayer—see Cl. Wilcke, "AḪ, die Brüder von Emar. Untersuchungen zur Schreibertradition am Euphratknie," *AuOr* 10 (1992) 124-25.

10. Published in *Emar* 6. Parts 1-3 present the archival material and Part 4 the literary and scholarly texts.

11. See Table I.

12. A. Archi, "Imār au III^{ème} millénaire d'après les archives d'Ebla," *MARI* 6 (1990) 21-38.

13. J.-M. Durand, "La cité-état d'Imār à l'époque des rois de Mari," *MARI* 6 (1990) 39-92.

ers could either proceed from this point northwest along the Euphrates toward northern Syria or head out to the southwest for Palestine via Tadmor/Palmyra. Such activity is attested in the Roman period, for example, when the town known as Barbalissus occupied the site of the earlier Emar.¹⁴

In the Late Bronze Age to which all but one¹⁵ of the tablets found at Emar belong, the town was part of the empire established by the Anatolian Hittites. Indeed, it was the chief city of the border province known as the Land of Aštata, which faced their powerful rival Assyria, and as such it was protected by a number of fortified outposts, two of which (Tell Faq'ous¹⁶ and Tell Fray¹⁷) were also explored during the salvage campaign.

The Emar of this period was a new foundation on the cliffs overlooking the river valley from the west,¹⁸ the older town on the floor of the valley itself having apparently been abandoned due to a change in the course of the Euphrates.¹⁹ This new construction was carefully laid out around a regular grid of streets and reveals the influence of its imperial patrons through elaborate terracing foreign to the region but quite similar to building techniques practiced at the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša in central Anatolia. We may be confident that it is to this very site which the Hittite king Muršili II of the mid-fourteenth century refers in his Annals: "When I arrived in

14. A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates. A Topographical Itinerary* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1927) 314-18 (Appendix VIII) discusses the Classical and Arabic sources mentioning the site. An excellent map of the Middle Euphrates region in Roman times is given as Abb. 18 (p. 13) in J. Wagner, *Die Römer an Euphrat und Tigris, Antike Welt, Sondernummer 1986*.

15. *Emar 6, 536* is an Old Babylonian letter.

16. J. Margueron, "Aux marches de l'empire hittite: Une campagne de fouille à Tell Faq'ous (Syrie), citadelle du pays d'Aštata," in *La Syrie au Bronze Récent, XXVII^e CRRRA*, ed. M. Yon (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 47-66.

17. A. Archi, "Materiale epigrafico ittita da Tell Fray," *SMEA* 22 (1980) 31-32.

18. J. Margueron, "Un exemple d'urbanisme volontaire à l'époque du Bronze Récent en Syrie," *Ktéma* 2 (1977) 33-48.

19. B. Geyer, "Une ville aujourd'hui engloutie: Emar. Contribution géomorphologique à la localisation de la cité," *MARI* 6 (1990) 107-19.

Aštata, I went up to the city of Aštata. I built a fortress, and furthermore I provided it with a garrison."²⁰

Late Bronze Age Emar was occupied for about 150 years. Arnaud has placed its violent destruction in about 1187 B.C.E., on the basis of a tablet dated to the second year of the Kassite king Melišipak of Babylon,²¹ and a record in a private collection, in all probability from Emar, bears a dating by the Assyrian eponym system²² which would confirm Arnaud's point. In any event, there can be little doubt that Emar met its end as a result of the catastrophic displacement of populations known to modern scholars as the invasions of the "Sea Peoples" which ushered in the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean.²³

Politically, thirteenth-century Emar was once again governed by a line of kings, which we can follow through at least four generations.²⁴ The local monarch was the vassal of the King of Carchemish, himself the cousin and viceroy of the Hittite Great King. In addition, a number of Hittite imperial officials were active in Aštata,²⁵ most importantly the Overseer of the Land, who seems to

20. *KBo 4.4 ii 60-63*. ed. A. Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933) 118-21.

21. "Les textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent," *Syria* 52 (1975) 88-89.

22. *RE* 19 is from the eponymate of Bēr-nāšir (reign of Ninurta-apil-ekur). For the particulars of this dating, see my commentary to this piece in *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (forthcoming).

23. The most recent extensive consideration of this problem is T. and M. Dothan, *People of the Sea. The Search for the Philistines* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

24. See my Family Tree of the Royal Family of Emar in *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, and compare M. Fales, "Notes on the Royal Family of Emar," *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offerts à Paul Garelli*, eds. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations) 81-90.

25. I discuss the Hittite bureaucracy in Syria in "Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: The View from Maşat and Emar," *Atti del II. Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Studia Mediterranea* 9, eds. O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, and C. Mora (Pavia: Gianni Iuculano editore, forthcoming), and "Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Ḫattuša, Ugarit and Emar," *BiMes* 25 (1992) 41-49.

have been in charge of the defense of this sector of the empire's frontier, and worthies bearing the title of Prince (dumu.lugal), who were dispatched on special missions by the Kings of Carchemish and of Ḫatti. Despite his subservience to the Hittite authorities, the King of Emar exercised real authority within his own realm, as demonstrated by his intervention in various economic affairs of his subjects, as well as by his frequent witnessing of their contracts.

At the head of the local religious establishment, which apparently enjoyed a significant degree of independence from the monarchy, was the priest bearing the title "diviner" (lúḫal). We have some evidence that the imperial authorities in Carchemish on occasion intervened directly in the "diviner's" sphere of activity, bypassing the Emariote king.²⁶ It is also most interesting that a number of deities of the Hittite masters were incorporated into local Syrian ritual.²⁷ But since D. Fleming considers the city's cult at some length in another essay in this volume, I will simply mention here that it was the "diviner's" personal or institutional library which contained the literary texts recovered at Emar.²⁸

The economy of Emar at this time, as in other epochs, was undoubtedly based chiefly on trade, although relatively few records of this activity have come down to us. One text, however, does document the payment of the ransom for a local man—sixty shekels of silver "by the weights of Amurru" on the Mediterranean coast—to a merchant from Tadmor/Palmyra,²⁹ while another represents the settling of accounts between a local trader and an Assyrian from the town of Šuwadika on the lower reaches of the Ḫabur River to the east.³⁰ And a letter sent to Ugarit discusses whether the lawsuit of

26. See *Emar* 6, 268, a letter in which Agal-Šimegi, apparently a religious official of Carchemish, corresponds directly with the "diviner" Zu-Ba'la concerning the installation of a priest of Ninkur.

27. R. Lebrun, "Divinités louvites et hourrites des rituels anatoliens en langue akkadienne provenant de Meskene," *Hethitica* 9 (1988) 147-55.

28. D. Arnaud, "La bibliothèque d'un devin syrien à Meskéné-Emar (Syrie)," *CRAI* 1980:375-87.

29. *Emar* 6, 21. See D. Arnaud, "Emar et Palmyre," *AAAS* 32 (1982) 83-88.

30. *Emar* 6, 127. See J.-M. Durand, "Hauts Personnages à Emar," *NABU* 1989/53.

a person referred to only as “the man of Emar” comes under the jurisdiction of the ruler of Ugarit or under that of the king of Siyannu just to the south.³¹ Although no details of the dispute are given, in this era such a legal case transcending political borders could have arisen only in connection with commerce.

We possess much fuller information concerning agriculture in the vicinity of Emar, which took the form primarily of barley production on individually-held fields, and of the cultivation of vineyards and vegetable gardens. We can say little about the disposal of the surplus on the market which certainly existed or about taxation of natural produce by the state, although the recovered field lists may have been compiled to aid in the latter enterprise.³²

The local population of Emar was basically of North West Semitic stock, to judge by the language from which the majority of attested personal names were drawn,³³ although certain lexical and morphological similarities to the Arabic dialects have also been observed. Approximately 80% of the collected names belong to this group. Other languages represented in the onomasticon include Akkadian and Hurrian, as well as the Indo-European Anatolian tongues of Hittite and Luwian.³⁴

The relevant cuneiform documentation is composed for the most part in a peripheral Akkadian dialect strongly marked by the local West Semitic substratum.³⁵ On the whole it more closely resembles the Middle Babylonian language of contemporary southern Mesopotamia than does that of the earlier Canaanite Amarna letters. What I would refer to as the “scribal dialect” of Emar—for

31. RS 17.143 = PRU IV 217. See A. Goetze, “The Syrian Town of Emar,” *BASOR* 144 (1957) 25-26.

32. *Emar* 6, 168-69.

33. D. Arnaud, “Contribution de l’onomastique du Moyen-Euphrate à la connaissance de l’Émariote,” *SEL* 8 (1991) 23-46.

34. R. Zadok, “On the Onomastic Material from Emar,” *WO* 20/21 (1989/90) 45-61.

35. R. Zadok, “Notes on the West Semitic Material from Emar,” *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 51 (1991) 113-37. J. Huehnergard presented a paper on “Northwest Semitic Vocabulary in Akkadian Texts from Emar” at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago.

there is no strong evidence that it was ever actually spoken—is the language of the practical records and of the rituals. But a more standard Akkadian and the traditional literary language of Sumerian are employed in the scholarly materials.³⁶ Two Hittite-language letters and a handful of divination records in Hurrian have also been recovered, though not yet published.³⁷

To conclude this quick survey of language use, mention should be made of the practice by which local Syrians had their names engraved on their personal cylinder or stamp seals in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script of their Anatolian overlords.³⁸ This “fad”—if I may call it that, for I believe that even fewer Emariotes could understand the hieroglyphs than were literate in cuneiform—has proven very beneficial to the modern philologist, because comparison of the same names expressed side-by-side in the two writing systems has made it possible to assign phonetic values to several hitherto-obscure hieroglyphic signs on the one hand,³⁹ and to determine the local reading of a number of cuneiform ideograms on the other.⁴⁰

As already mentioned, over 700 documents pertaining to the legal and economic activities of the local population of Emar and its vicinity have been published or are in press. These include sales of real estate (fields, vineyards, gardens, houses, empty lots), transactions involving slaves, loans, sureties, receipts, lawsuits of various

36. On the Mesopotamian material see Cl. Wilcke, “Die Emar-Version von ‘Dattelpalme und Tamariske’—ein Rekonstruktionsversuch,” *ZA* 79 (1989) 161-90; and M. Civil, “The Texts from Meskene-Emar,” *AuOr* 7 (1989) 5-25.

37. For the moment see E. Laroche, “Documents hittites et hourrites,” in D. Beyer, ed., *Meskéné-Emar* 53-55. On the basis of the photograph included here, the Hittite letter *Msk* 73.1097 has been transliterated and translated as No. 23 in A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter. Texte der Hethiter* 16 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1989) 40-44.

38. E. Laroche, “Les hiéroglyphes hittites de Meskéné-Emar: un emprunt d’écriture,” *CRAI* 1983: 12-23. The seals have been studied by D. Beyer, *Recherches sur les empreintes de sceaux d’Emar*, diss. Strasbourg 1988. A revised version of this work is to appear as Volume IV of the Emar final report.

39. E. Laroche, “Les hiéroglyphes de Meskéné-Emar et le style ‘Syro-Hittite’,” *Akkadica* 22 (1981) 5-14.

40. See H. Gonnet, “Les légendes des empreintes hiéroglyphiques anatoliennes,” in D. Arnaud, *TBR* 198-208.

types, royal decrees, letters, and inventories of storerooms, as well as records from the practice of family law (adoptions, arrangements for marriages, testaments, and divisions of property). See Table I for a list by type of tablets from Emar,⁴¹ other than those from the French excavations published in *Emar 6*.⁴²

It is interesting to observe that a large proportion of these practical records were found in a single temple—that presided over by the “diviner” just mentioned (Temple M₁)⁴³—although they document the personal business of literally hundreds of different individuals. This suggests that the deity of this temple, whose identity is unfortunately still uncertain,⁴⁴ oversaw a sort of central record office for Emar. We can only speculate as to the purpose of such an archive, which by no means reflects common practice in the ancient Near East, where collections of records of this type were usually kept by individual families.⁴⁵ We may, however, be grateful to the god or goddess and to the human servants of this religious establishment for having gathered for our ultimate benefit such a bountiful source of information about life on this stretch of the Euphrates thirty-three centuries ago!

41. I wish to thank Joan Goodnick Westenholz for permission to cite tablets in the collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem.

42. J. Huehnergard kindly supplied me with his listing of the *Emar 6* texts by type for use while we await the publication of D. Arnaud’s commentary on this corpus.

43. See the listing of texts by place of discovery in *Emar 6*, part 3, p. 5.

44. The deity’s name is written with the Sumerogram ^dNIN.URTA. D. Arnaud, “Traditions urbains et influences semi-nomades à Emar, à l’âge du bronze récent,” in *Le Moyen-Euphrate: Zone de Contacts d’échanges: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 Mars 1977*, ed. J. C. Margueron (Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1980) 253, believes that this writing conceals Aštar, while D. Fleming, “Baal and Dagan in Ancient Syria,” *ZA* 83 (1993) 94-97, sees a god *Bēl māti*, “Lord of the Land” (epithet), here.

45. K. Veenhof, “Cuneiform Archives. An Introduction,” *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, XXX^e CRRA, ed. K. R. Veenhof (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1986) 23-30.

Table I
CATALOGUE OF SCATTERED EMAR TEXTS⁴⁶

I. Real estate transactions

A. Concerning field(s)

1. Sales: *ActaSum* 10, Text D, *ActaSum* 14, *AuOr* 5, nos. 1-3, *GsKutscher*, no. 4, *Hirayama* 13 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 5), 14, 15 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 6), *Iraq* 54, no. 4, *RE* 2, 5, 24, 35, 49, 52, 64, 77, *TBR* 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16-19, 38, 55, 58, 62, 68, *SMEA* 30, no. 3
2. Gift: *RE* 86
3. Cultivation contract: *TBR* 85

B. Concerning vineyard

1. Sales: *Hirayama* 16, *RE* 16, *SMEA* 30, nos. 4, 17, *TBR* 51
2. Gift: *RE* 1
3. Rental: *RE* 90

C. Concerning garden

BLMJ-C 20

D. Concerning house(s)

1. Sales: *ActaSum* 13, Texts B, D(?), *AuOr* 5, nos. 7, 9, *BLMJ-C* 15-18, *Hirayama* 7-11, 12 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 4), *RE* 9, 12, 20, 29, 34, 54, 59, 70, 79, 80, *SMEA* 30, nos. 2, 4, *TBR* 4, 5, 8, 10, 20, 33, 37, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65-67, 82
2. Gifts: *Hirayama* 47 (= *ActaSum* 6 = *SMEA* 30, no. 6), *TBR* 29, 47
3. Exchanges: *AuOr* 5, no. 10, *Hirayama* 6, *RE* 4
4. Confirmation of ownership: *RE* 54, 55
5. Redemption: *BLMJ-C* 19

E. Concerning lot

1. Sales: *Hirayama* 1-3, *GsKutscher*, no. 3, *RE* 3, 11, 14, 29, 31, 33, 38, 43, 68, 71, 81, 86, 91, *TBR* 1, 13, 14, 24, 64, 81, *SMEA* 30, no. 5
2. Gifts: *RE* 22, *TBR* 31

46. Where a tablet has been published in more than one place, it is cited throughout my essays by the first designation given in this Table. *Hirayama* 42 and *SMEA* 30, no. 11 are probably from Tell Munbāqa and have not been included here.

- F. Sale of *ḥaba'u*-building: RE 7
- G. Gift of temple(?): *ActaSum* 10, Text C
- H. Concerning *é.udun*: *Hirayama* 5 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 8)
- I. Concerning "KI.KÁ": *Hirayama* 4 (= *JCS* 40, no. 2), *TBR* 63
- J. Uncertain: *ActaSum* 10, Texts F, G, RE 51, *SMEA* 30, no. 18

II. Records concerning household affairs

- A. Marriages: RE 6, 61, 67, 76, *TBR* 21-23, 70
- B. Adoptions: *AuOr* 5, no. 14, *Hirayama* 46, *Iraq* 54, no. 1, *Prima dell'alfabeto*, no. 67, RE 10, 13, 25, 26, 30, 41, 63, 82, 87, 88, *SMEA* 30, nos. 9, 15, *TBR* 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 48, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78
- C. Testaments: *ActaSum* 13, Text C, *ActaSum* 16, *AuOr* 5, nos. 13, 15, *BLMJ-C* 24, *Hirayama* 21-23, 24 (= *RA* 77, no. 3), 25 (= *RA* 77, no. 1), 26 (= *RA* 77, no. 2), 27 (= *RA* 77, no. 4), 29-31, 46, *Iraq* 54, nos. 2, 6, *Prima dell'alfabeto*, no. 66, RE 8, 15, 18, 23, 28, 37, 39, 42, 56, 57, 69, 85, *TBR* 28, 35(?), 41, 45, 50, 69, 71, 73, 76, *SMEA* 30, nos. 7, 8, 10, 14
- D. Disinheritance: *Hirayama* 28 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 17)
- E. Divisions of property: *BLMJ-C* 25, *DaMitt* 1, *Hirayama* 32, RE 21, 94 (= *AuOr* 5, no. 16 = *JCS* 34, no. 1), *TBR* 30, 80
- F. Concerning labor
 - 1. Labor contracts: RE 19, *TBR* 25, 26
 - 2. Manumissions: RE 27, 66, *TBR* 32
 - 3. Concerning slaves: *ActaSum* 10, Text E, *AuOr* 5, nos. 11, 12, *GsKutscher*, nos. 1, 2, *Hirayama* 17, 18 (= *JCS* 40, no. 1), 19, 20, 40, 41, 45, *Iraq* 54, no. 5, *TBR* 44, 52, 79
- G. Records of debts
 - 1. Loans: *Hirayama* 33, 34, *JCS* 40, no. 3, *Prima dell'alfabeto*, no. 65(?)
 - 2. Concerning debt servitude: *Hirayama* 35 (= *RA* 77, no. 5), 36, 37
 - 3. Concerning debt forgiveness: *Hirayama* 38
 - 4. Repayment: *ActaSum* 10, Text A, *Hirayama* 39 (= *SMEA* 30, no. 12)
 - 5. Guarantees: *ActaSum* 13, Text A, *TBR* 27, 34

6. *ḥarrānu*- agreement: *GsKutscher*, no. 5

7. General: *RE* 58, 65, 72, 75, 84, 89, 96, *TBR* 49

III. Legal cases: *ActaSum* 10, Text B, *BLMJ-C* 22, 23, *Hirayama* 43, 44, *SMEA* 30, no. 13, *TBR* 36, 83, 84

IV. Administrative records

A. Lists of persons: *ActaSum* 13, Text F, *GsKutscher*, no. 7, *Prima dell'alfabeto*, no. 68, *RE* 36, 46-48, 50, 62, 73, 74, 78, *SMEA* 30, no. 24; *TBR* 98-100

B. Concerning corvée duties: *RE* 60, 95(?) (= *JCS* 34, no. 2)

C. List of fields: *RE* 17

D. Concerning irrigation rights: *TBR* 86

E. Lists of sheep: *BLMJ-28*, *SMEA* 30, no. 25

F. Taxation registration: *RE* 92

G. Cult inventories: *BLMJ-C* 31-33, 35, *Hirayama* 48, *TBR* 97

H. Other: *BLMJ-C* 27, 34, 36, *Iraq* 54, no. 3, *SMEA* 30, no. 26

V. Miscellaneous Records

A. Letters: *AuOr* 2, nos. 2, 3, *RE* 83, 97 (= *SMEA* 30, no. 1), *TBR* 94, 95, 96 (= *AuOr* 2, no. 1)

B. Vow: *BLMJ-C* 29

C. Ritual: *BLMJ-C* 30; *Hirayama* 49, 50

D. Establishment of temple: *TBR* 87

E. Appointment as priest: *GsKutscher*, no. 6

F. Uncertain: *ActaSum* 13, Text E, *RE* 32, 40, 44, 45, 53, *SMEA* 30, nos. 16, 19- 23, *TBR* 88-93

VI. Scholarly Texts

A. Lexical: *ActaSum* 9

B. Magico-medical: *SMEA* 30, no. 27

C. Uncertain: *TBR* 101