

**ATTI DEL II CONGRESSO
INTERNAZIONALE DI HITTITOLOGIA**

a cura di
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STUDIA MEDITERRANEA

9

ESTRATTI

Gianni Iuculano Editore
PAVIA 1995

Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: the View from Maşat and Emar¹

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Sometime in the 13th century a high-ranking Hittite official whose name and title have not been preserved wrote to the Great King: "However difficult it has been for me on this mission, and whatever has happened to me, I have in no instance found fault with the command. (Indeed) the gods of Your Majesty carried me away (i.e., rescued me?). I have, rather, taken up that very command of which you, Your Majesty, my lord, approve. This year has been wasted(?), (but) during this year there will be no further difficulty. May my 'friends' not [seek(?)] any further to call attention to me. May they not write in a timely fashion(?) seeking disapproval or approval for me. May they not broadcast untruth(?) about me. May they leave me alone! And when I bring back (the results of) the command to Your Majesty, the Sun-Goddess of Arinna will treat (me) graciously for the sake of Your Majesty, my lord, (so that it will be said:) 'Nothing has been done which should be considered a crime.' Let this tablet be saved, so that on the day when I meet Your Majesty, my lord, they may interrogate me on the basis of this tablet."²

¹ I have employed the abbreviations listed by H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute* Vol. L-N (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1989), xv-xxx. In addition, note:

ActaSum – *Acta Sumerologica* (Hiroshima)

AuOr – *Aula Orientalis* (Barcelona)

Emar 6 – texts published by D. Arnaud in work cited in note 11 below

Hirayama – texts published by A. Tsukimoto in work cited in note 12 below

HKM – texts published by S. Alp in work cited in note 4 below

HZ – C. Rüster and E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (Wiesbaden, 1989)

Maşat – work of S. Alp cited in note 4 below

Msk – excavation number of tablets recovered by French expedition to Meskene-Emar

RE – texts published by G. Beckman in work cited in note 14 below

TBR – texts published by D. Arnaud in work cited in note 12 below.

² KUB 40.1 rev.¹ 18-31 (CTH 203):

18 [a]m-mu-uk-ma ke-e-da-ni KASKAL-¹šī¹ GIM-an GIM-an na-ak-ke-e-eš-ki-it

19 GIM-an-za¹ GIM¹-an ki-iš-ḫa-ḫa-at ta-pár-ri-ia-an-¹ma¹ UL ku-e-da-ni-ki pí-di

This excerpt from a letter both long and difficult of interpretation serves to illustrate the situation of a subordinate of the Hittite ruler posted in the field. He was entirely dependent upon the favor of his monarch, whose unquestioned instructions were to guide his activities. During his absence from Hattuša, however, an official might become the object of court intrigues concerning the performance of his duties. He could defend himself – however inadequately – only by letter and hope to present his case in person upon his return to the capital.

This glimpse into the life of a Hittite administrator piques our curiosity about the day-to-day functioning of Hittite rule outside the capital, but until recently we have had relatively little material on the basis of which to investigate this question. We could turn only to the normative regulations contained in several instruction texts from the Boğazköy archives³ and to information gleaned from the historical narratives of annals and treaties, and from a number of letters, most far less lively than that from which I just quoted.

Within the past decade, however, two new archives have become available which shed light on Hittite government in frontier areas. The first of these sources comprises the 96 letters and 19 miscellaneous administrative records recently published by Sedat Alp⁴ from Maşat Höyük, ancient Tapikka,⁵ east of Hattuša. These tablets date to the period immediately preceding the reign of Šuppiliuma I, that is, to the first half of the 14th century.⁶

20 wa-aš-da-nu-nu-[u]n DINGIR.MEŠ dUTU^ši-mu a-u-wa-an a[r-ḥa d]a-ir
 21 [i]a-pár-ri-ia-an-ma a-pu-un-pát DIB-un dUTU^ši-za¹ [EN-]A ku-in ma-a-la-a-ši
 22 ka-a-aš-ma MU.KAM-za pár-ku-wa-ia-pát tar-na-an-za ke-e-da-ni MU.KAM-ti
 23 na-ak-ki-ia-tar Ú-UL nam-ma ku-iš-ki e-eš-zi

24 nu-mu-za am-me-el lú.meš a-ru-uš le-e nam-ma pa-ra-a ka-ni-iš-šu-wa-an-zi x [
 25 mar-kiš-ki-wa-an-zi-ia-mu-za ma-¹a¹-la-wa-an-zi RI-za le-e ḥa-ad¹-¹ra¹-an-zi
 26 a-u-wa-an UGU-mu-za ¹le¹-e dam-me-¹um¹-ma-an wa-tar-na-ḥi-eš-kán-zi
 da-a-li-[i]a-<an->du-m[u]
 27 nu-kán GIM-an ta-[pá]r-ri-ia-an A-[N]A dUTU^ši EGIR-an-da ú-da-ah-ḥi
 28 dUTU uruTÚL-na-ma A-NA dUTU^ši EN¹-IA še-er SIG₅-in KIN-zi
 29 wa-aš-da-nu-wa-an-wa UL ku-it-ki ¹i¹-[i]a-an ki-i ¹TUP¹-PUPAP-an-a[u]
 30 nu GIM-an dUTU^ši EN-IA [a]n-da-a[n K]AR-ia-mi nu-mu-za ke-e-da-ni [UD-ti]
 31 ke-e-ez-za tup-pi-az-za kat-ta [p]u-nu-uš-ša-an-du

For an edition of this letter, see A. Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16, 68-76 (Nr. 45), and cf. C. Kühne, *ZA* 62 (1972): 237f. For lines 18-20, cf. *CHD* L-N, 110, and for line 21, *CHD* L-N, 127. I have tentatively interpreted RI-za in line 25 as standing for an adverbial ablative form of the unknown Hittite word corresponding to Akkadian *adanmu* – see *HZ* Nr. 32.

³ See in general *CTH* 251-267, although some of this material is more concerned with the personal loyalty of the subordinates to the Great King than with the character of their duties.

⁴ *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), and *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991). The latter volume contains copies of the administrative texts as well as of the correspondence.

⁵ For this identification, see S. Alp, *Maşat* 42f. and the literature there cited.

⁶ The texts were recovered from the third Hittite level of the site, and two of them, *HKM*

The second corpus is the tablets uncovered by excavators, licit and illicit, at Meskene on the Middle Euphrates, which during the years of the Hittite Empire was the site of Emar, a principal city of the Hittite border province of Aštata. Most of these texts, which were written in the late 13th and very early 12th centuries,⁷ were composed in an Akkadian dialect which reveals the slight influence of the local West Semitic tongue.⁸ Several Hittite and Hurrian records turned up as well,⁹ and Sumerian is employed in many of the scholarly materials.¹⁰ The Akkadian and Sumerian texts found by the French expedition were edited in timely fashion by Daniel Arnaud,¹¹ and many of those which made their way into private collections have already been studied by others.¹²

Although there are a significant number of literary compositions and rituals¹³ among the Emar material, the majority of the tablets are administrative and economic in character. I am aware of almost 700 texts and fragments of this sort,

4 and 14, bear the impression of a seal of Tuḫaliya II/III, the father of Šuppiluliuma I – see S. Alp, *Maşat* 48-50 and 109-112. The bulla with the impression of the seal of Šuppiluliuma I proving this filiation (S. Alp, *Maşat* Abb. 3 and Tafel 3) was found in the later second Hittite level, according to T. Özgüç, "Excavations at the Hittite Site, Maşat Höyük: Palace, Archives, Mycenaean Pottery", *American Journal of Archaeology* 84 (1980): 308, and "Maşathöyük. B. Archäologisch", *RLA* 7: 445.

⁷ Emar 6, 26 is dated to the second year of Meliṣipak of Babylon, c. 1187 B.C.E. See D. Arnaud, "Les textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent", *Syria* 52 (1975): 88f.

⁸ See C. Wilcke, "AḪ, die 'Brüder' von Emar. Untersuchungen zur Schreibertradition am Euphratknie", *AuOr* 10 (1992): 116, who speaks of the "wohl kanaanäische Muttersprache der Schreiber" of Emar. However, D. Arnaud, "Contribution de l'onomastique du Moyen-Euphrate à la connaissance de l'Émariote", *SEL* 8 (1991): 23-46, shows that the local language also shared certain phonetic and morphological traits with the Arabic dialects.

⁹ E. Laroche, "Documents hittites et hourrites", in D. Beyer, ed., *Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux, 1972-82*, 53-60 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982).

¹⁰ See M. Civil, "The Texts from Meskene-Emar", *AuOr* 7 (1989): 5-25, on the lexical material, and C. Wilcke, "Die Emar-Version von 'Dattelpalme und Tamariske' – ein Rekonstruktionsversuch", *ZA* 79 (1989): 161-90, on one of the literary texts. D. Arnaud presents an edition of the scholarly material in Part 4 of the work cited in the following note.

¹¹ *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.1-3. Textes sumériens et accadiens* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), and *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.4. Textes de la bibliothèque*. Transcriptions et traductions (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987).

¹² The most important groups of these texts are those treated by D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze récent* (Barcelona: Editorial Ausa, 1991), and by A. Tsukimoto, "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection", *ActaSum* 12 (1990): 177-227; 13 (1991): 275-333; and 14 (1992): 289-310.

¹³ See note 10 as well as D. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); M. Dietrich, "Das Einsetzungsritual der Entu von Emar (Emar VI/3, 369)", *UF* 21 (1989): 47-100; and E. Laroche, "Observations sur le rituel anatolien provenant de Meskene-Emar", in F. Imparati, ed., *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, 111-17 (Firenze: Edizioni Librerie Italiane Estere, 1988).

both published and unpublished. I myself have recently completed the edition of a group of 97 tablets and a dozen bullae from the vicinity of Emar presently in a private collection.¹⁴ I therefore felt this to be an opportune occasion to assemble the data presented by the Maşat and Emar texts concerning Hittite administration of peripheral regions.

The scholar seeking to interpret and compare the Maşat and Emar archives is confronted by a number of methodological difficulties. First there is a basic incongruity: the corpora of texts differ in date by more than a century, and their characters are radically different. The Maşat texts are the records of the Hittite staff of a military outpost in a undeveloped region of Anatolia, while the majority of the Emar tablets deal with the private legal and economic activities of the cosmopolitan native population of a commercial emporium who indeed lived within a Hittite protectorate, but whose culture stood at a higher level than that of their masters. It is unlikely that the accident of discovery is responsible for this documentary situation. That is, there were undoubtedly never any private archives at Maşat, nor a formal Hittite record office at Emar.

In addition, there are the problems inherent in the reconstruction of any ancient administration, for which, of course, no contemporary "organizational charts" are available. Indeed, within the Hittite bureaucracy there was at no time a strict division of duties, but only hierarchical relationships and general areas of responsibility. And then there is the uncooperative nature of our documentation: Sometimes an official is simply mentioned by name, and on other occasions only a title is given. These professional designations themselves may also be written in different ways, here phonetically and there by means of a heterogram, or here with the Sumerogram *ugula* and there with *gal*, for instance. Furthermore, homophony of personal names complicates the task of the prosopographer,¹⁵ especially since patronymics are rare in Hittite documents and are not always provided in the Emar material. Finally, the accident of discovery does indeed play a role here, for the texts at our disposal certainly do not record all of the individuals and officials who made up the administrations of Tapikka and Emar.

That said, my remarks will cover three points: first, I will outline the concerns of the administration at each site, a topic studied simply on the basis of the contents of the records themselves, particularly the letters. Second, I will sketch out the hierarchy of officials in each organization. In approaching this problem I asked, among other questions: who gives orders to whom, who takes precedence in witness lists (at Emar only), who comes first in letter salutations, and what forms of address are employed in correspondence? At this point in my investigations I have included in my charts only those administrators directly attested within the two archives themselves. Third, I will consider the degree to which the native

¹⁴ *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, forthcoming. The glyptic material has been studied by Dr. Nancy Leinwand.

¹⁵ The basic prosopographic tool is E. Laroche, *NH*, which is now out of date. Supplements are E. Laroche, "Les noms des hittites: supplement", *Hethitica* 4 (1981): 3-58; J. Tischler, "Beiträge zur hethitischen Anthroponymie", *Fs Neumann* 439-53; and G. Beckman, "A Contribution to Hittite Onomastic Studies", *JAOS* 103 (1983): 623-27.

population in each area participated in government.

Space will not permit more than a summary presentation of my results. I must also emphasize that my inquiry is still at a preliminary stage and that many details remain to be worked out, especially in regard to the vast Syrian material. I realize that the entire enterprise has its risks – after all, with the exception of Richard Beal's recent study of the Hittite military,¹⁶ such a project of synthesis has not yet been attempted even for the Boğazköy texts, which have been available for so much longer. I am, of course, heavily indebted to the many fine studies of individual bureaucrats and particular offices by Fiorella Imparati¹⁷ and her students, and to Franca Pecchioli Daddi's indispensable *Mestieri*.¹⁸

MAŞAT (see Figure I)

Like all Hittite records, those of Maşat are not dated, but we may conclude that they cover only a relatively short period because the incumbents in the highest offices do not change. Perhaps we are dealing with about a decade. The two chief administrators in question¹⁹ are Kaššu, the UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ, "military inspector,"²⁰ and Ħimuilu, the *BĒL MADGALTI* (*auriyaš išha-*), "district governor."²¹ As already described by Sedat Alp, the attested responsibilities of the military inspector include the mobilization and command of regional troops, the organization of large-scale public works, the pursuit of fugitives, and the reception of peace delegations from the Kaška people and their prompt dispatch to the royal court. The district governor is active in matters of border security, dispensing of justice, general oversight of royal property, and administration of agriculture, including the cultivation of the local estates of king and nobility. In fact, the attested duties of the *BĒL MADGALTI* correspond quite well to those detailed in the

¹⁶ *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992). See especially the chart on p. 527.

¹⁷ This work is scattered throughout many journals, *Festschriften*, and conference volumes. See for example, "Armaziti, attività di un personaggio nel tardo impero ittita", pp. 79-94 in the Pugliese Carratelli volume (see note 13 above), and "Auguri e scribi nella società ittita", in S. F. Bondi, et al., eds., *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, 255-69 (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori). An important synthesis is "Aspects de l'organisation de l'état hittite dans les documents juridiques et administratifs", *JESHO* 25 (1982): 225-67. See also my "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia", in J. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York: Scribners, forthcoming).

¹⁸ *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'anatolia ittita* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1982).

¹⁹ For attestations of these and all other persons, see S. Alp's index, *Maşat* 456-65.

²⁰ See S. Alp, *Maşat* 71-74. On this office in the tablets from Boğazköy, see F. Daddi Pecchioli, "Il *hazan(n)u* nei testi di Hattusa", *OA* 14 (1975): 118-22.

²¹ See S. Alp, *Maşat* 60f. A thorough discussion of the activities of this officer as documented in the texts from the capital is to be found in F. Imparati, *Una concessione di terre da parte di Tudhaliya IV*, 62-66 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977). V. Korošec, "Das hethitische Recht in seiner Stellung zwischen Osten und Westen", *Südost-Forschungen* 15 (1956): 36, compares the *BĒL MADGALTI* to the Carolingian margrave.

relevant instruction text.²² While the responsibilities of the military inspector and the district governor indeed overlap in the military realm, the latter official alone is concerned with legal affairs and with agriculture.

Kaššu and Himuili seem to have been approximately equal in rank, and were consequently rivals. Their bad personal relations are obvious from the correspondence.²³ Both men, however, stood far beneath the Great King. Thus Kaššu castigates his counterpart (and his associates?) concerning some messengers whom the latter has failed to dispatch: "Why don't you (pl.) send me the messengers? Are (they) referred to as *your* (sg.) servants? Do not the messengers (rather) belong to our lord, (as) the land belongs to our lord?"²⁴

As Emmanuei Laroche demonstrated some years ago, local authorities within Anatolia were no more than the surrogates of the Great King, exercising little in the way of independent initiative.²⁵ Rather, their role was to provide the monarch with the information needed to issue his orders, which they then dutifully carried out. This is most definitely the picture painted in the Mašat letters, where the Hittite king intervenes directly in many affairs, concerning himself above all with troop movements.²⁶ Interestingly, three letters from Tapikka deal with the performance of oracles, and in addition a fragmentary oracle report was found in the archive.²⁷ Such material is also known from Emar²⁸ and Alalakh,²⁹ suggesting that divination was an integral part of Hittite administration on the provincial level as well as in the capital.³⁰

The Great King also sent out emissaries to investigate various matters in the Anatolian hinterland. The best-attested of these itinerant officials in the Mašat

²² CTH 261 – see E. von Schuler, *Dienstanw* 36-59.

²³ See especially HKM 55 and 56.

²⁴ HKM 55:29-33:

²⁹ ^{lú.meš}TE₄-MI-IA-mu ku-wa-at Ú-UL

³⁰ u-i-eš-ki-it-ta-ni tu-e-el

³¹ ÌR.MEŠ ^{da²-ri¹-ia-an-zi} ^{lú.meš}TE₄-M[I]

³² Ú-UL ŠA BE-LÍ-NI KUR-ia

³³ ŠA BE-LÍ-NI

²⁵ "Pouvoir central et pouvoir local en Anatolie hittite", in A. Finet, ed., *Les pouvoirs locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les régions adjacentes*, 138-43 (Bruxelles: Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique, 1982).

²⁶ HKM 3, 6, 7, 35, 36, 37, 42, 43, 70, 71, 75, 88, 89(?), and 96.

²⁷ Letters discussing augury: HKM 47, 48, and 49. KIN-oracle fragment: HKM 115. Cf. also HKM 38.

²⁸ Msk 74.92 + 102 + 110 (Hurrian language hepatoscopy), unpublished, but translated and depicted in photo by E. Laroche, "Documents hittites et hourrites" (note 9 above), 54f.

²⁹ AT 454 (CTH 577 – Hittite language "oracles mixtes"), translated by O. R. Gurney in D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Texts*, 116-18 (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953).

³⁰ E. Laroche, "Emar, étape entre Babylone et le Hatti," in J. Cl. Margueron, ed., *Le Moyen-Euphrate*, 240-44 (Leiden: Brill, 1980) discusses the implications of the Hurrian divination text found at Emar for the role played by the Middle Euphrates region in the transmission of Mesopotamian culture to Anatolia.

letters are Hulla and Pišeni, the latter of whom is seemingly also mentioned in the contemporary Indictment of Madduwata (CTH 147).³¹ That is, he was active at both extremes of the Hittite realm. As shown by the correspondence, other high administrators at the Hittite court also intervened in the affairs of Tapikka. The most important of these officials is a certain Hattušili, whom Sedat Alp regards as one of the highest men in contemporary Hattuša.³² I believe that he might be the GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ, "chief scribe," of other documents, given his particular interest in the economic well-being of a Mašat scribe.³³

A number of other individuals also exercise significant authority in the region of Tapikka, for example Pippappa and Pulli in military matters, and Huilli and Pallanna in civil affairs. Unfortunately we do not learn their occupational titles. It is possible that one of the latter individuals was the MAŠKIM.URU, "city superintendent,"³⁴ an official whom instruction and land donation texts lead us to expect in the Anatolian provinces, but who does not in fact appear in the recovered Mašat documents. While the HAZANNU, "mayor," and AGRIG, "steward," are likewise absent, I believe that the first office was restricted to the capital of Hattuša,³⁵ and the second is found in historical and administrative records only in an earlier period.³⁶ We do, however, read of an "administrator of the (local) palace of His Majesty."³⁷

Of course, the backbone of the provincial administration was its scribes (see Figure II), and we must not forget that many of the other administrators had probably also received scribal training.³⁸ Only three individuals bearing the scribal designation seem to have been active at Mašat, while seven others from the central authority are attested in the Mašat texts. It is very interesting to note that three of these ten men bear Akkadian names, and thus belong to the group of experts in literacy imported from Syria or Mesopotamia.³⁹ Scribes were entitled to special

³¹ See S. Alp, *Mašat* 64 (Hulla) and 87f. (Pišeni).

³² *Mašat* 58.

³³ See below, note 40.

³⁴ See F. Imparati, *Una concessione* (note 21 above) 65-75.

³⁵ See H. Otten, "Aufgaben eines Bürgermeisters in Hattuša", *BagM* 3 (1964): 91-95 and the article of Daddi Pecchioli cited in note 20 above. All but one of the attestations of the HAZANNU in connection with a particular town listed in *Mestieri* 449f. concern Hattuša, and it is not at all certain that the exception, KUB 2.7 i 14' (CTH 626), actually deals with a "mayor" of Hišarluwa, as interpreted by Pecchioli Daddi.

³⁶ See I. Singer, "The AGRIG in the Hittite Texts", *AnSt* 34 (1984): 97-127. According to the material presented by Singer, the role of this official in administration seems to cease after the close of the Old Kingdom.

³⁷ *HKM* 31:13-15: ŠA É UTUŠI . . . lu^uma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-ia-aš EN(-aš).

³⁸ See H. Otten, "Hethitische Schreiber in ihren Briefen", *MIO* 4 (1956): 179-89, who shows that the common practice by which Hittite bureaucrats addressed one another with the phrase "my good brother" (ŠEŠ.DÜG.GA-IA) or similar familial appellations probably goes back to their shared school days. In any case, such language is used by or of individuals for whom the scribal title is not attested – see A. Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16, 163f.

³⁹ See G. Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattuša", *JCS* 35

privileges, as Hattušili informs Himuili: "There in your administrative district there is only one scribal household, but in your town the others continually oppress (him – the scribe). Are there *šahhan* and *luzzi* (obligations) for scribes? Why (then) does he perform them there? Now pay attention! – They shall not continue to oppress him. If (this is) not (resolved), I'll go and speak about it in the palace."⁴⁰

The administrators of Tapikka were closely tied to the capital. Many of them travelled frequently between the two sites,⁴¹ and the correspondence reveals their participation in intrigues at court.⁴² In the short letters which the Mašat scribes append to the missives written for their superiors, they often ask their counterparts in Hattuša to supervise or report upon the condition of their own families and property back in the capital.⁴³

At the bottom of our hierarchy are the largely anonymous local populations, Hittite and Kaška. We encounter the Hittites as participants in the redistributive system documented by the scanty administrative texts from Mašat, which deal with the storage and disbursement of foodstuffs and seed grain,⁴⁴ as well as of agricultural implements and possibly weapons.⁴⁵ Hittites living in the region also served as troops and spies. Kaška are attested as enemy raiders to be repulsed and as members of delegations seeking peace,⁴⁶ in groups presumably like the one led by Ašhapala.⁴⁷ There is absolutely no evidence for the participation of the local population in the government of Tapikka. All of the "elders" appearing in the texts seem to be members of the aforementioned Kaška delegations.⁴⁸

EMAR⁴⁹
(see Figure III)

The archives at Emar cover a far longer period than those of Mašat, with at least four generations of native kings represented – see Figure IV. Here defense against enemy incursions was also a primary concern of the local authorities, since Aštata

(1983): 97-114.

⁴⁰ *HKM* 52:10-18. For transliteration, see S. Alp's edition, *Mašat* 215-17, and also "Die Verpflichtungen *šahhan* und *luzzi* in einem Mašat-Brief," *Or NS* 59 (1990): 107-13.

⁴¹ See, for example, *HKM* 17:4-8 and ABoT 65 (*CTH* 199 – A. Hagenbuchner, *THeth* 16, Nr. 123), which very probably belongs to the Mašat archive – see H. G. Güterbock, "Ein hethitischer Brief aus Mašat bei Zile", *AnDergi* (1944): 399-405. In *HKM* 14, 15, and 16 officials are summoned into the presence of His Majesty, but the location of the audience is not stated.

⁴² See *HKM* 10:47-52 and *HKM* 63.

⁴³ See, for example, *HKM* 2 lk. Rd. 1f.; 3:21-23; 37 Rs. 3f. and 60:36f.

⁴⁴ *HKM* 103, 109-111.

⁴⁵ *HKM* 104-07.

⁴⁶ For example, *HKM* 10:18-22.

⁴⁷ *CTH* 270 – see H. Otten, "Die Eidesleistung von Ašhapala", *RHA* 67 (1960): 121-27.

⁴⁸ For references see S. Alp, *Mašat* 435 s. v. ^{lu}ŠU.GI.

⁴⁹ See already G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Hattuša, Ugarit, and Emar", in M. W. Chavalas and J. L. Hayes, eds., *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, 41-49 (Malibu: Undena, 1992).

stood on the front line of the Hittite empire over against both Assyria and Babylonia.⁵⁰ To be noted too is a strong interest in the collection of local and imperial revenues⁵¹ and in the supply of the regional cult with offering materials.⁵² Agricultural production, on the other hand, seems to have been left largely to the individual household, judging from the hundreds of sale documents dealing with fields, gardens, and orchards.

As texts from Boğazköy and Ugarit have amply demonstrated, the King of Karkamiš served as the viceroy of Syria on behalf of his Anatolian cousin and overlord.⁵³ Four generations of Karkamiš rulers are attested in the Emar tablets, Ini-Teššup by far most frequently.⁵⁴ No political or military activities of Kings of Karkamiš are documented at Emar, but several texts concerning private affairs, including real estate sales, wills, and legal cases, are said to have been written "in the presence of Ini-Teššup." In many instances the simple term *lugal* refers to the ruler of Karkamiš, as in the following annotation appended to the record of a lawsuit: "When the King comes, they shall set this case before the King."⁵⁵ This is

⁵⁰ See G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration" 44.

⁵¹ *TBR* 14:19-24.

19 *i-nu-ma* diš *a-ra*-[*na lugal*]

20 3 sig₇ kù.babbar 7 *me-ti* guškin

21 *uru*^{ki} *i-ri-šu*

22 *ki ir-ši-ti* ù *é.ḫi.a*

23 *a-na* kù.babbar ù guškin

24 *id-di-nu-ma*

25 kù.babbar ù guškin *a-na a-ra-na lugal*

26 *id-di-nu*

"When the city (of Emar) was asked for 30,000 (shekels) of silver and 700 (shekels) of gold for the cashbox [of the king], they sold vacant lots and houses for silver and gold and paid the silver and gold to the cashbox of the king." Cf. also *TBR* 15:5'-9'. It is uncertain whether *lugal* in this context refers to the King of Karkamiš or to the local monarch, but even in the latter case such an enormous sum of precious metals was probably intended for the payment of the imperial tribute.

⁵² See the administrative letters Emar 6, 261, 264, and 268.

⁵³ See D. Hawkins, "Karkamiš – The mid-IInd millennium B.C.", *RLA* 5: 428-34; H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B. C. A Handbook of Political History*, 120-28 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992); and G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration" 46f.

⁵⁴ *Šarri-kušuh* (only in genealogies): Emar 6, 31:1; 177:2; 201:3; 202:3; *Šahurunuwa*: Emar 6, 31:1; 177:1; 201:2, 8, 15; 202:2; *RE* 85:2; *Ini-Teššup*: Emar 6, 18:1; 177:1 (restored); 201:1, 19, 23, 35; 202:1; *RE* 54:1; 55:1, 10; 85:1; *Talmi-Teššup*: Emar 6, 267:2 (? – restored); *Hirayama* 46: seal legend. In addition, *Talmi-Teššup* and *Kuzi-Teššup* appear on Rosen bulla A, a duplicate of the Karkamiš royal seal originally published by D. Sürenhagen, "Ein Königssiegel aus Kargamis", *MDOG* 118 (1986): 183-90 and further explicated by J. Hawkins, "Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš", *AnSt* 38 (1988): 99-108. Rosen bulla A appears to be the piece of which Hawkins examined only a photograph – see p. 99, n.1.

⁵⁵ Emar 6, 33:32-34:

32 ù *ki-i lugal il-la-ka*

33 ù *di.ku₅ an-na-a a-na pa-ni lugal*

apparently a reference to a periodic visit paid by the viceroy to the towns under his jurisdiction.

Various civil and military officials of the viceregal court appear as witnesses in Emar contracts, as do emissaries of the King of Karkamiš. Some of these individuals as well as offices are also found in documents from Ugarit, and this wider attestation provides a criterion which allows us to distinguish them from servants of the local ruler.⁵⁶ In addition, when regional administrators are represented in witness lists, they always stand before all other witnesses.

Every "son of the king" (Sumerogram *dumu.lugal*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *INFANS+REX*⁵⁷ – see Figure V.B) mentioned in the Emar texts belongs to the court of Karkamiš.⁵⁸ The majority of these men bear Hurrian personal names. As in Hittite texts from Anatolia, the term *dumu.lugal* is ambiguous, sometimes indicating the actual offspring of the current king, and sometimes a high official of lesser parentage.⁵⁹ Documents from Ugarit show that the *dumu.lugal* were active in Syria as royal inspectors and trouble-shooters, but at Emar they are thus far attested only as witnesses to various sales of slaves and real estate.⁶⁰

The Hittite imperial official in charge of the entire Land of Aštata was the *ugula.kalam.ma*, "overseer of the land," on occasion written simply *ugula* (see Figure V.A). From the fragmentary correspondence preserved for this official, we know that he traveled widely in fulfilling his responsibilities, which included military intelligence, administrative oversight, the witnessing of legal transactions, and participation in the local cult.⁶¹ The similarity of his duties to those of the *BĒL MADGALTI* in Anatolia is striking. The majority of the known incumbents in this office bear Hurrian names, although the West Semitic *Aḥī-malik* also appears in the list. This indicates that the local Semitic population was being integrated into the imperial ruling class. In this connection we should also note that in other Emar documents the individuals *Abī-Šamaš* and *Ḫiliya(?)* are each called "the man of

³⁴ *i-šak-ka-nu*

⁵⁶ The *dumu.lugal* *Tili-Šarruma* appears at RS 17:28:5f. and 18:114:5 and 7, as well as in the Emar text *Hirayama* 47:1 and 13.

⁵⁷ See M. Marazzi, *Il geroglifico anatolico*, 115 (Roma: Dipartimento di Studi Glottologico-antropologici, Università "La Sapienza", 1990).

⁵⁸ **Hešmi-Teššup**: Emar 6, 19:1; *Hirayama* 3; seal legend; 29:10; **Kunti-Teššup**: Emar 6, 267:1; *Hirayama* 46:1, 7; **Laiya**: E. Laroche, *Hethitica* 5 (1983):46f.: seal inscription; **Piḫa-muwa**: Emar 6, 212: seal inscription; **Piḫa-Tarḫunta**: Emar 6, 212: seal inscription; **Tili-Šarruma**: *Hirayama* 47:1, 13f.; **Tuwata-ziti**: Emar 6, 181:18; **Zulanna**: Emar 6, 211:1; **reading uncertain**: *TBR* 37: seal inscription; 38: seal inscription. The seals of Laiya, Piḫa-muwa, and Piḫa-Tarḫunta are discussed by D. Beyer on pp. 153f., 267, and 228f. of the work cited in note 76 below.

⁵⁹ See F. Imparati, "'Signori' e 'figli del re'", *Or NS* 44 (1975): 80-95. Far too many seals bearing the title *INFANS+REX* are attested from the Empire period for all of their owners to be the offspring of the contemporary Great King or of the King of Karkamiš. Indeed, the *Piḫa-muwa* mentioned in the previous note is expressly identified in the cuneiform label to his seal as the son of one *Kiliya* (Emar 6, 212:29f.).

⁶⁰ For references, see G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration" 47.

⁶¹ See "Hittite Administration" 48.

Hatti,"⁶² a usage probably indicating their membership in this elite.

The local kingship of Emar was in all probability the creation of the Hittite overlords, since in the Old Babylonian era this polity seems to have been ruled by a collegium of elders.⁶³ Perhaps the first member of this line – as yet not identified in the texts, which all come from a later time – was installed by Muršili II⁶⁴ when under his direction the new city of Emar was built just upstream from its earlier site.⁶⁵ That the Emariote monarchy exercised real power is shown, for example, by the granting of irrigation rights by the king,⁶⁶ and by the queen's establishment of a household for a craftsman she assigns to the nearby town of Šatappi.⁶⁷ Most often, however, the city's king appears at the head of a group of witnesses to a contract.⁶⁸ This local ruler is usually designated simply as lugal, but on occasion he is also called lugal.kur, "king of the land,"⁶⁹ in order to distinguish him from his lord in Karkamiš.

The Emariote royal family was quite extensive. My list (see Figure IV)⁷⁰ is certainly very incomplete, presenting only the reigning kings of each generation and some of their brothers. None of the latter ever bears the title dumu.lugal, but rather each is referred to only as the son of a particular king identified by name. This usage serves to differentiate the local princes from the dignitaries of Karkamiš discussed earlier. As far as can be determined, the names of all members of Emariote royalty belong to the local West Semitic language. It is uncertain just what *tartannu* might imply at Emar, but it is unlikely that it designated the heir apparent to the throne,⁷¹ since the sole individual known to bear this title, Šaggar-abu, is not attested as either a king or a prince.⁷²

Numerous civil and military officials served under the Emariote king. To date we know the names of 15 *hazannu*, "mayors" (see Figure V.C), and it is therefore likely that this office changed hands with some frequency. The texts reveal nothing of the duties of the *hazannu*. Most of the personal names of the holders of this title

⁶² Emar 6, 112:19 (Abī-Šamaš); Emar 6, 115:24 (Hili[ya?]).

⁶³ See J.-M. Durand, "La cité-état d'Imār à l'époque des rois de Mari", *M.A.R.I.* 6 (1990): 55f. and in his review of Emar 6, *RA* 83 (1989): 170, n. 23.

⁶⁴ See the Annals for this monarch's ninth year: "When I arrived in Aštata, I went up to the city of Aštata and I raised up a fortress, and I provided it with a garrison." For the text, KBo 4.4 ii 60-63 (*CTH* 61), see A. Götze, *AM* 118-21.

⁶⁵ See B. Geyer, "Une ville aujourd'hui engloutie: Emar. Contribution géomorphologique à la localisation de la cité", *M.A.R.I.* 6 (1990): 107-10.

⁶⁶ *TBR* 86.

⁶⁷ Emar 6, 361. Cf. J.-M. Durand, "La fortune d'un cuisinier", *NABU* 1989/111 (d).

⁶⁸ Emar 6, 20:33 and *passim*.

⁶⁹ For example, *TBR* 98:4: ^mgur.^dkur dumu.lugal.kur. The West Semitic name Itūr-Dagan is unlikely to have been bestowed upon a son of the ruler of Hattuša or of Karkamiš.

⁷⁰ Space limitations preclude giving textual references for the individuals here as well as for most of the persons listed in Figures V and VI. Consult the indices to D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens* (note 12 above) and G. Beckman, *Rosen Collection* (note 14 above). Unfortunately there is no published index to the material from the French excavations (Emar 6).

⁷¹ See G. Wilhelm, "*Talerdennu, Talurtannu, Talurtanu*", *UF* 2 (1970): 277-82.

⁷² Emar 6, 128:26f. and 221:12 (written dumu *tar-ta-ni*).

are West Semitic.

A great many scribes are attested in the Emar texts (see Figure VI),⁷³ and these bureaucrats were probably organized in a collegium, given the existence of a gal lú.mešdub.sar, "chief of scribes."⁷⁴ Once again, the names of these individuals are for the most part West Semitic, although a few Akkadian and Hurrian personal designations are also found. There are no Anatolian (Hittite or Luwian) names on this list.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, many scribes, and indeed many other individuals resident at Emar, made use of the Hieroglyphic Luwian script on their seals.⁷⁶ In light of Clelia Mora's recent observations concerning the contribution of northern Syria to the development of this writing system and its associated artistic motifs,⁷⁷ we might well consider the entire complex a creation of the multi-ethnic imperial administration rather than of the Anatolian rulers themselves.

The local military establishment is poorly attested in the Emar texts, but this is to be expected given the character of our documentation. We do encounter a "head of the chariotry,"⁷⁸ and a *kartappu*, "charioteer,"⁷⁹ as witnesses or sealers. Indications of some of the activities of the local soldiery are the mention of a failed military coup,⁸⁰ and occasional references to an unsuccessful but onerous siege of the city by Hurrian troops.⁸¹ Since this latter event took place in the final decades of the 13th century, well after the demise of Mittanni as an independent power, it was perhaps the work of Hanigalbateans under Assyrian hegemony.

Other authorities are also in evidence at Emar, in particular the elders of the city, who functioned in association with the temple of the deity whose name is hidden behind the Sumerogram ⁴NIN.URTA.⁸² This group seems to have represented communal authority at Emar, and was probably the descendant of the local government of the Old Babylonian period. In the texts, the elders and temple are attested most frequently repossessing real property from delinquent persons and reselling these same houses or fields to new owners.⁸³ Since the local king plays no role in these transactions, I have recognized a quasi-independent position within city government for the elders and god. It is also possible that this body

⁷³ See the list of scribes in the Emar 6 texts provided by C. Wilcke, *AuOr* 10 (1992): 126f.

⁷⁴ Emar 6, 212:26 (Zulanna); cf. also ugula lúdu[b.sar.meš], Emar 6, 315:4.

⁷⁵ No. 49, Maša-muwa, was a member of the imperial staff at Karkamiš.

⁷⁶ See E. Laroche, "Les hiéroglyphes de Meskéné-Emar et le style 'Syro-Hittite'", *Akkadica* 22 (1981): 5-14 and D. Beyer, *Recherches sur les empreintes de sceaux d'Emar*, Thèse de Doctorat, Strasbourg 1988.

⁷⁷ "Artistes, artisans et scribes entre Kargamiš et Hatti au XIII^e siècle," in D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes, et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, 241-49 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992).

⁷⁸ lúgal gišgigir.meš: Emar 6, 117:22 (Šaggar-abu); gal lú.meš gišgigir: *TBR* 34:16 (Madgali-Dagan).

⁷⁹ *TBR* 77:17 (Aya'hu).

⁸⁰ See Emar 6, 17.

⁸¹ See G. Beckman, "Hittite Administration" 44 n. 23.

⁸² See D. Fleming, *Installation* (above note 13) 248-52. D. Arnaud, *TBR* p. 15, has recently restated his view that this writing indicates the god Aštar.

⁸³ "Hittite Administration" 48 with n. 67.

oversaw a sort of central record office, since the contracts from Emar, which involve literally hundreds of different persons, were excavated not in individual houses, but rather in a limited number of locations in the public area of the town.⁸⁴

Most of the religious and scholarly texts uncovered at Emar belonged to the library of a certain Zū-Ba'la, called ^{l6}HJAL, "diviner,"⁸⁵ who apparently presided over one of the four temples excavated by the French (Temple M₁).⁸⁶ Although it is not certain just which deity was at home in each structure, several sanctuaries are mentioned in the texts, in addition to numerous types of priests associated with various divinities.⁸⁷ The relationship of this clergy to the other local authorities is unclear, but since the king of Emar is of almost no importance in the local cult, I have also posited a semi-autonomous religious establishment for the city. Each temple had its own internal personnel hierarchy, which may be dimly glimpsed in the ritual texts.

The Hittite Great King, of course, presided over the entire structure of the Hittite empire. In the Emar material, only the city's rebuilders Muršili II is mentioned by name, in a retrospective context.⁸⁸ Otherwise we occasionally find simply the title ^dUTU^{si}, "My Sun" = "My/Your/His Majesty". Although the person of His Majesty was usually quite distant, a native Syrian subject might nonetheless appeal to him, presumably after having exhausted all possibilities for satisfaction at a lower administrative level. This is clearly demonstrated by one of the few Hittite-language tablets from Meskene, a letter from His Majesty to a certain Alziyamuwa, not otherwise attested but obviously a Hittite official. The monarch orders his subordinate not to seize the house of the previously-mentioned diviner Zū-Ba'la, and thus not to turn this property over as planned to Palluwa, another Hittite bureaucrat. To judge from the phraseology of the text, Zū-Ba'la had received a personal audience before the Great King, where he successfully defended his property from rapacious imperial legates.⁸⁹

Thus, in contrast to the situation at Maṣat, the local Syrians were largely in charge of their own affairs, subject to the supervision and occasional abuse of the imperial authorities. Natives were even beginning to find places for themselves in the Syro-Hittite bureaucracy. This foreshadows the ethnic situation in the later so-called "Neo-Hittite" successor states of Early Iron Age Syria, in which Semitic and Anatolian elements mingled in a common culture.

In the future, as more material from the Middle Euphrates region is published

⁸⁴ See Emar 6, Part 3, page 5 for the distribution of officially-excavated texts by the structure from which they were recovered.

⁸⁵ See D. Arnaud, "La bibliothèque d'un devin syrien à Meskéné-Emar (Syrie)", *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1980: 375-87.

⁸⁶ See J. Cl. Margueron, "Architecture et urbanisme", in *Meskéné-Emar* (note 9 above), 29-33.

⁸⁷ See D. Fleming, *Installation* 80-105.

⁸⁸ Emar 6, 201:7.

⁸⁹ This record has not yet been published, but see the photograph and preliminary translation by E. Laroche in *Meskéné-Emar* (note 9 above) 54. Itamar Singer informs me that there is a duplicate of this text in the collection of the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem.

and analyzed, and as more peripheral sites in Anatolia yield their treasures, it will undoubtedly be possible to fill in and correct the outline which I have presented here. Will the first new light be shed by the tablets of Ortaköy?⁹⁰

⁹⁰ See A. Süel, "Ortaköy: Eine hethitische Stadt mit hethitischen und hurritischen Tontafelentdeckungen", in H. Otten et al., eds., *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, 487-91 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992). On p. 490 Süel reports: "bis jetzt konnten wir 1867 Tontafeln und Fragmente feststellen."

Figure I.
Administrative Hierarchy as reflected
in the Mašat Texts

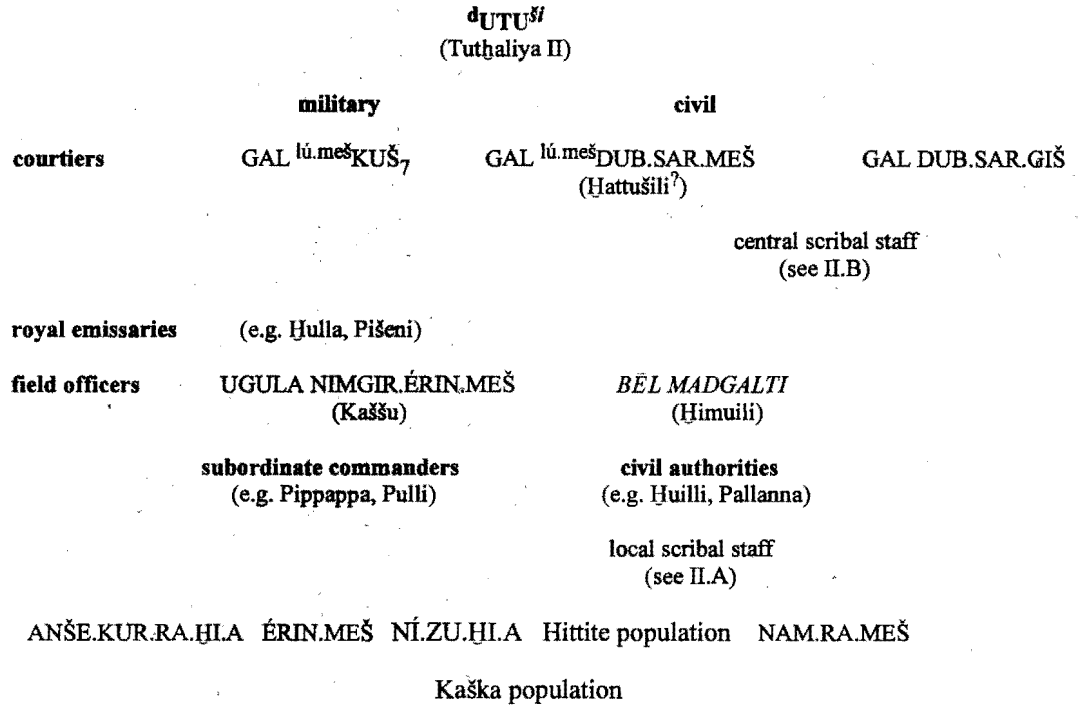


Figure II.
Scribes in the Mašat Texts

- A. *Mašat*
1. Adad-bēlī
 2. Uzzu
 3. Walwanu

- B. *Hattuša*
1. Haššammili
 2. Hattušili
[GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ?]
 3. Ilī-kakkabu
 4. Mār-ešre
 5. Šanda
 6. Šurihili
 7. Tarḫumiya

Figure III.
Administrative Hierarchy as reflected in the Emar Texts

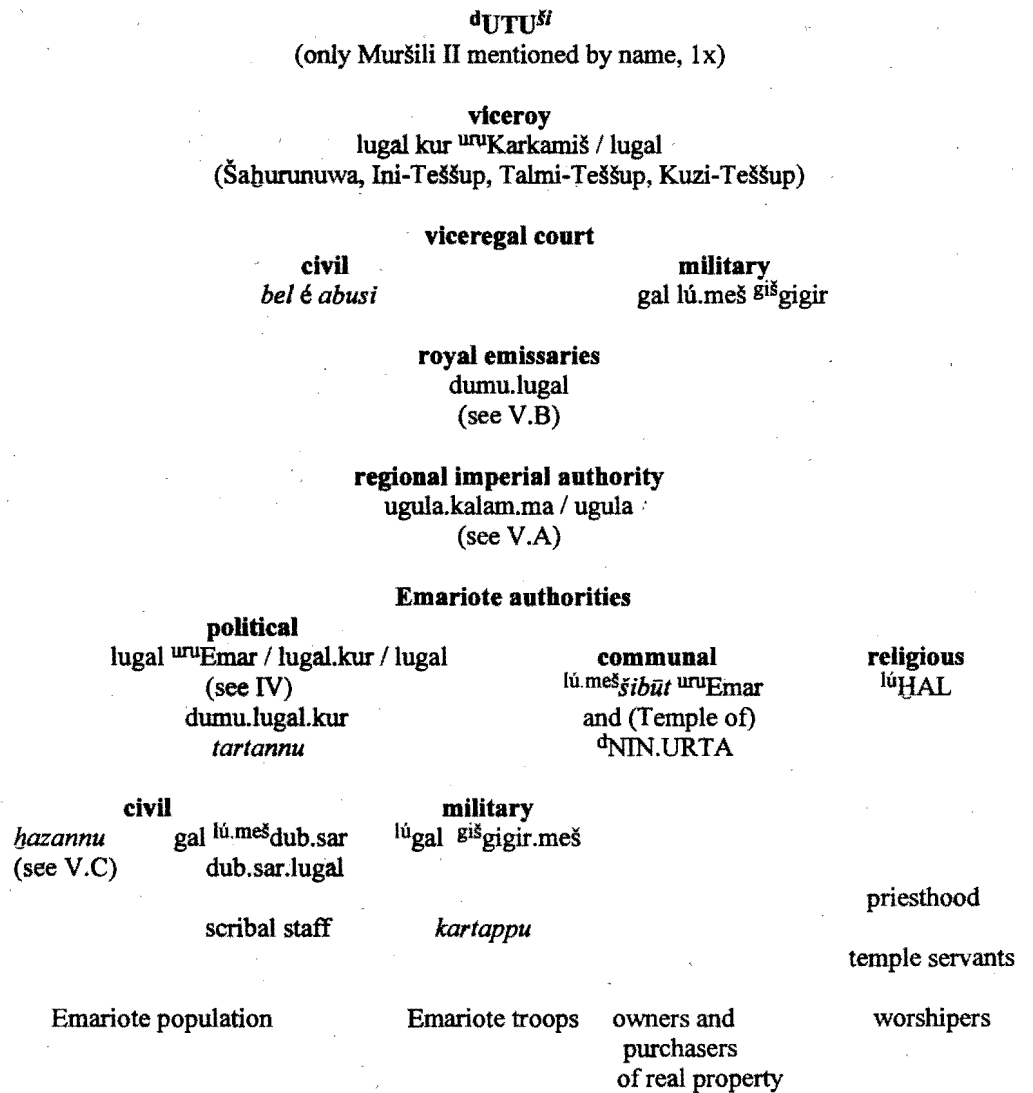


Figure IV.
The Royal Family of Emar

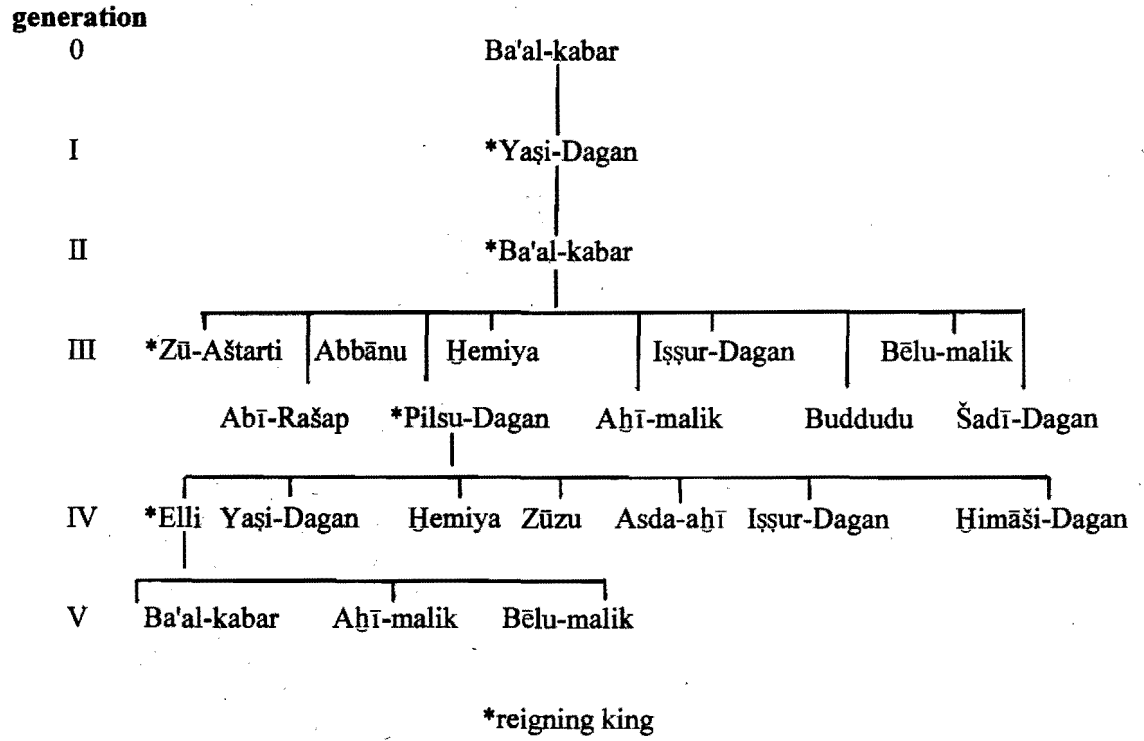


Figure V.
Some High Officials attested at Emar

A. *ugula.kalam.ma*

1. Aḫī-malik
2. Laḫeya [same as B.3?]
3. Mudri-Teššup
4. Naḫiya
5. Puḫi-šenni
6. Tuwariša

B. *dumu.lugal*

1. Ḫešmi-Teššup
2. Kunti-Teššup
3. Laiya [same as A.2?]
4. Piḫa-muwa
5. Piḫa-Tarḫunta
6. Tili-Šarruma
7. Tuwata-ziti
8. Zulanna

C. *ḫazannu*

1. Abbānu*
2. Abī-Rašap
3. Aḫī-malik
4. Ba'al-bēlu
5. Dagan-kabar
6. Dagan-ma
7. Ikki-Dagan
8. Ir'ibu
9. Marduk(?)*
10. Mašae
11. Mūdu
12. Muḫra-aḫu
13. Pilsu-Dagan
14. Rībi-Dagan*
15. Zū-Ba'la

*written *dumu ḫazanni*

Figure VI.
Scribes in the Texts from Emar†

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1. Abbānu | 38. Ir'ib-Ba'al |
| 2. Abda [same as No. 6?] | 39. Iš-Dagan |
| 3. Abī-ḥamis | 40. Išma'-Dagan* |
| 4. Abī-kāpī | 41. Kāpī-Dagan |
| 5. Abiu | 42. Kidin-Gula* |
| 6. Adda | 43. Kili-Šarruma |
| 7. Aḥī-malik | 44. Lala |
| 8. Aḥī-mi | 45. Mādī-Dagan |
| 9. Alal-abu | 46. Marduk-muballit |
| 10. Ali-malik | 47. Mār-šer'ua |
| 11. Apil-Sīn | 48. Maryanni‡ |
| 12. Ba'al-bēlu* | 49. Maša-muwa‡ |
| 13. Ba'al-gamil | 50. Mašru-ḥamis |
| 14. Ba'al-malik | 51. Mašrutu |
| 15. Ba'al-tali' | 52. Puḥi-šenni‡ [dub.sar.mah] |
| 16. Baba | 53. Rašap-abu* |
| 17. Bēlu-malik | 54. Rašap-ilī |
| 18. Burāqu | 55. Rībi-Dagan* |
| 19. Dagalli | 56. Sīn-aḥam-iddinam |
| 20. Dagan-Ba'al | 57. Šaggar-abu [or Sīn-abu(?)] |
| 21. Dagan-bēlu | 58. Ta'e |
| 22. Dagan-tari' | 59. Tuku- ^{dé} .ḥur.sag* |
| 23. Duppi-Teššup§ [dub.sar.giš] | 60. Tūra-aḥu |
| 24. Ea-damiq | 61. Ṭabiya |
| 25. Eḥli-kuša | 62. Zimrī-Dagan |
| 26. Ḥemiya | 63. Zū-Aštarti |
| 27. Ḥillarizi | 64. Zū-Ba'la* |
| 28. Ḥimāši-Dagan | 65. Zulanna |
| 29. Ḥinni-ili | |
| 30. Hubābu | |
| 31. Ibni-Dagan | † 6 fragmentary names not included |
| 32. Iddin-Nabium | * attested only as scribe of literary text |
| 33. Ikūn-Dagan | ‡ active in Karkamiš |
| 34. Ilī-aḥu | § active in Šatappi |
| 35. Iliya | |
| 36. Imlik-Dagan | |
| 37. Ipqi-Dagan | |