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HITTITE ADMINISTRATION IN SYRIA IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEXTS FROM ḪATTUŠA, UGARIT AND EMAR

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Although the Hittite state of the Late Bronze Age always had its roots in central Anatolia,¹ it continually sought to expand its hegemony toward the southeast into Syria, where military campaigns would bring it booty in precious metals and other goods available at home only in limited quantities, and where domination would assure the constant flow of such wealth in the form of tribute and imposts on the active trade of this crossroads between Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Aegean.

Already in the seventeenth century, the Hittite kings Ḫattušili I and his adopted son and successor Muršili I conquered much of this area, breaking the power of the "Great Kingdom" of Ḫalab and even reaching distant Babylon, where the dynasty of Ḫammurapi was brought to an end by Hittite attack. However, the Hittites were unable to consolidate their dominion over northern Syria and were soon forced back to the north by Hurrian princes, who were active even in eastern Anatolia.² Practically nothing can be said concerning Hittite administration of Syria in this period, known to Hittitologists as the Old Kingdom. During the following Middle Kingdom (late sixteenth-early fourteenth centuries), Hittite power was largely confined to Anatolia, while northern Syria came under the sway

¹ During the past quarter century research in Hittite studies has proceeded at such a pace that there currently exists no adequate monographic account of Anatolian history and culture of the second millennium. The most recent editions of the standard English-language histories, however, have been somewhat revised to take account of advances in knowledge. See O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Harmondsworth, 1952; 2nd ed. 1954; repr. with revisions 1990); and J.G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* (London, 1975; 2nd ed. 1986). For a shorter, but more up-to-date, presentation, see H. Klengel, ed., *Kulturgeschichte des alten Vorderasien* (Berlin, 1989) 234-267. Numerous essays by experts on various aspects of the history and civilization of ancient Anatolia will appear in J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York: Scribners, 1993), and a useful and well-illustrated introduction to the field is to be found in a special issue of *BA* 52/2-3 (1989), edited by R.L. Gorney: *Reflections of a Late Bronze Age Empire: The Hittites*, which contains contributions by several scholars.

² S. de Martino, "I Hurriti nei testi dell'Antico Regno," *Seminari* [dello Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici] anno 1990 (Roma, 1991) 71-83.

of the Hurrian state of Mitanni.³ One of the Hittite rulers of this period, however, a certain Tudḫaliya, does seem to have reasserted Hittite claims over Ḫalab.⁴ But his success was ephemeral.

Not so that of Šuppiluliuma I, founder of the Hittite Empire (or New Kingdom) in the first half of the fourteenth century. This greatest of Hittite monarchs destroyed the realm of Mitanni and absorbed the greater portion of its territories, extending Hittite dominion in Syria from the western reaches of the Khabur basin in the northeast to the upper end of the Beq'a valley in the south.⁵ While his son and second successor Muršili II had to suppress a major uprising in this region,⁶ and the later rulers Muwatalli II⁷ and Tudḫaliya IV⁸ confronted serious challenges from Egypt in the south and Assyria in the east, respectively, most of northern Syria remained securely in Hittite hands until the general collapse of the Late Bronze Age state system in the early twelfth century.⁹

Our primary sources for the history of the Hittite Empire in Syria are cuneiform tablets, chiefly from three sites: 1) the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša (Boghazköy) in central Turkey, where the central administrative archives of the Hittite imperial bureaucracy were uncovered; 2) the Syrian coastal emporium of Ugarit (Ras Shamra), where the archives of the local rulers include correspondence with the Hittite Great King and his representatives in Syria, as well as various edicts and day-to-day records involving the imperial administration; and 3) the outlying commercial town of Emar on the middle course of the Euphrates (present-day Meskeneh) and various settlements in its environs, from which many records of private individuals, as well as the technical library of a local priest, have been recovered.

While most of the relevant material from Ḫattuša and Ugarit has been published, and the epigrapher of the more recently-discovered Emar texts has made the Akkadian

³ G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter* (Darmstadt, 1982) 23-58. This volume has been translated as *The Hurrians* (London, 1989).

⁴ *KBo* 1.6 obv. 15-18 (*CTH* 75), edited by E.F. Weidner, *PKD* 82-83. See also O. Carruba, "Beiträge zur mittelhethitischen Geschichte I. Die Tudḫalijas und die Arnuwandas," *SMEA* 18 (1977) 137-174.

⁵ The most important textual source for the military and diplomatic activities of Šuppiluliuma I is the account of his reign composed by his son (*CTH* 40). See the edition by H.G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II," *JCS* 10 (1956) 41-68, 75-98, 107-130. An historical interpretation of the conqueror's Syrian campaign is presented by K.A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (Liverpool, 1962).

⁶ The revolt of much of Syria in the ninth year of his reign is chronicled in his *Annals* (*CTH* 61), edited by A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Muršilis* (Leipzig, 1933; *MVAG* 38/6. Repr. Darmstadt, 1967) 106-131.

⁷ The confrontation with Egypt culminating in the famous battle of Kadesh is best known to us from Egyptian sources. For a thorough discussion see W.J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985; *SAOC* 42; 2nd ed. 1990).

⁸ Our understanding of the struggle between Ḫatti and Assyria in the late thirteenth century has become clearer due to the recent discovery at Ugarit of a letter with significant historical implications: S. Lackenbacher, "Nouveaux documents d'Ugarit. I.-Une lettre royale," *RA* 76 (1982) 141-156. For the historical interpretation of this text see I. Singer, "The Battle of Niḫriya and the End of the Hittite Empire," *ZA* 75 (1985) 100-123; and "Dating the End of the Hittite Empire," *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 413-421.

⁹ H.A. Hoffner, "The Last Days of Ḫattuša," *Berytus* 39/40 (forthcoming), with full bibliography of the extensive secondary literature.

documents from the official excavations of that site available in timely fashion,¹⁰ hundreds of tablets from this area are in private collections¹¹ or remain on the art market. As these texts gradually become known to scholarship,¹² our picture of life and society in Hittite Syria correspondingly becomes clearer.¹³

Four major deficits in our documentation must also be acknowledged: We do not have pertinent archives from the cities of Carchemish, Ḫalab, Sumur, or Waššukkanni. The first city, one of the most important in second millennium Syria, was long ago identified as Jerablus on the Euphrates, and was indeed partially excavated in the early years of this century, but no tablets from the second millennium were found, and its location on the sensitive Turkish-Syrian border has precluded further investigation.¹⁴ Ancient Ḫalab lies inaccessible beneath the modern city of Aleppo.¹⁵ Sumur, likely capital of Amurru, is probably Tell Kazel on the southern Syrian coast. Preliminary excavations there have turned up only a few suggestive indications of the presence of Hittite imperial government.¹⁶ Finally, the location of Waššukkanni, chief city of Mitanni, is still one of the most hotly-debated questions in Ancient Near Eastern archaeology.¹⁷

Although other polities, such as Ḫalab, Mukiš, Niya-Nuḫašše,¹⁸ Tunip¹⁹ and Kinza, played a role in Hittite Syria, the most important dependencies were Carchemish, Ugarit, Mitanni, Aštata, and Amurru. Carchemish was the seat of a cadet line of the Hittite royal house, founded when Šuppiluliuma installed his son Piyaššili, who also bore the Hurrian name Šarri-Kušuḫ, as king of this city. Throughout the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries the king of Carchemish served as Hittite "viceroy" in Syria. In time of peace he was the

¹⁰ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata: Emar VI.1-4. Les textes sumériens et accadiens* (Paris, 1985-87).

¹¹ I am currently preparing an edition of more than 90 tablets from Emar and its environs in the collection of Jonathan Rosen of New York City (cited here as *RE*).

¹² See, for example, D. Arnaud, "La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: l'administration d'après trois lettres inédites," *AuOr* 2 (1984) 179-188; "La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé," *AuOr* 5 (1987) 211-241, and the Emar tablets in the Hirayama Collection, edited by A. Tsukimoto: "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (I)," *ASJ* 12 (1990) 177-259, and "Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II)," *ASJ* 13 (1991) 277-333.

¹³ For the history of Hittite Syria in this period consult the relevant chapters of H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. I-III* (Berlin, 1965-70), and his supplemental "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Nordsyriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.," *AoF* 2 (1975) 47-64. Although these works were written before the publication of the Emar tablets, Klengel has briefly discussed these latter sources in "Die Keilschrifttexte von Meskene und die Geschichte von Aštata/Emar," *OLZ* 83 (1988) 645-653. See also in general S.D. Waterhouse, "Syria in the Amarna Age: A Borderland between Conflicting Empires," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965).

¹⁴ J.D. Hawkins, "Karkamiš," *RLA* 5 (1980) 426-446.

¹⁵ H. Klengel, "Ḫalab," *RLA* 4 (1975) 50-53.

¹⁶ M. Dunand et al., "Fouilles de Tell Kazel, Rapport préliminaire," *AAAS* 14 (1964) 3-14.

¹⁷ See the literature listed by G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1978; *RGTC* 6) 480; and also A. Dobel et al., "Neutron Activation Analysis and the Location of Waššukkanni," *Or* 46 (1977) 375-382.

¹⁸ M.C. Astour, "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš-Nuḫašše-Nii by Šuppiluliuma," *Or* 38 (1969) 381-414.

¹⁹ M.C. Astour, "Tunip-Hamath and Its Region: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Central Syria," *Or* 46 (1977) 51-64.

The frontier of Hittite Syria over against Egyptian possessions in Syro-Palestine was guarded by Amurru,²⁸ and by the smaller state of Kinza, of which relatively little is known.²⁹ After the conclusion of the great peace treaty between the Ḫatti of Ḫattušili III and the Egypt of Ramses II in the mid-thirteenth century, Amurru served as the hub of diplomatic and trade contacts between the two great powers, and the local ruler was responsible for furthering the traffic in diplomats, sumptuous gifts, and brides.³⁰

Given the slowness of communication in this age and the fact that all movement into or out of the core Hittite area was severely restricted during the winter months, the Hittite state throughout its history tended to grow by the association of vassal units rather than through their full political and economic integration into the central structure. In fact, the Hittites usually preferred to rule distant areas through the agency of members of the dynasties whom they had defeated.³¹

These kings assumed certain obligations toward Ḫatti and were bound by treaty to the person of the Hittite Great King. The primary duties imposed upon vassals in these treaties were the payment of tribute, the providing of military assistance when required, the renouncing of all independent foreign contacts, the extradition of fugitives from Ḫatti (of ordinary peasants and artisans as well as of disgruntled members of the ruling class), and the guarantee of the succession to the Hittite throne of the Great King's designated heir.³²

This system was indeed employed in Hittite Syria, for most of whose states treaties are attested.³³ Should respect for the oaths upholding these agreements be insufficient to secure loyalty and obedience, the Hittites might resort to military action and the replacement of the recalcitrant vassal, should he indeed survive the war.³⁴ There might also be a punitive redrawing of borders upon the successful outcome of the campaign. Thus, during the initial establishment of Hittite rule, much of Mukiš was presented by Šuppiluliuma to Ugarit, which had had the good sense to pledge its allegiance to the conqueror earlier.³⁵ Conversely, when Ugarit herself later joined the Syrian rebellion against Muṣšili II, her southern dependencies of Siyannu and Ušnatu were removed from her jurisdiction and made directly subordinate to the king of Carchemish.³⁶ There can also be little doubt that the

²⁸ I. Singer, "A Concise History of Amurru," apud S. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian* (Atlanta, 1991) vol. 2, 135-195.

²⁹ Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* II (1969) 156-177.

³⁰ See the thoughts of I. Singer, "A Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impression from Tel Aphek," *TA* 4 (1977) 178-190. As the southernmost major Hittite vassal, Amurru was certainly instrumental on the Hittite side of this exchange.

³¹ On Hittite diplomatic practice in general see G. Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie occidentale (1600-1200 av. J.C.)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1974; *PIOL* 6).

³² V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (Leipzig, 1931).

³³ Actual treaty documents have been preserved in regard to Amurru (*CTH* 49, 62, 92, 105), Ḫalab (*CTH* 75), Carchemish (*CTH* 50, 122), Mitanni (*CTH* 51, 52), Nuḫašše (*CTH* 53), and Ugarit (*CTH* 46, 66). For other polities, such as Kinza and Aštata, a treaty relation is mentioned in other types of text.

³⁴ See, for example, T.R. Bryce, "Tette and the Rebellions in Nuḫassi," *AnSt* 38 (1988) 21-28.

³⁵ See n. 18 above.

³⁶ M.C. Astour, "The Kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnatu," *UF* 11 (1979) 13-28.

function of the Hittite garrisons sometimes assigned to vassal kingdoms was as much to keep an eye on the activities of the local ruler as to protect his life.

But the Hittites preferred less coercive measures. The most important of these was the marriage alliance.³⁷ Such ties are known in respect to Mitanni, whose first vassal ruler Šattiwazza was married to a daughter of Šuppiluliuma I, as well as for Ugarit, whose final king ʿAmmurapi married—and later divorced—Eḫli-Nikkalu, probably the daughter of Šuppiluliuma II.³⁸ But the most intricate marriage ties were with Amurru: its king Bentešina and his son Šaušgamuwa each married a daughter of the Hittite Great King Ḫattušili III, while the latter's son Nerikkaili was betrothed to a daughter of Bentešina, apparently the bridegroom's own niece. Political and familial relationships became yet more complicated in the next generation, when the daughter of Bentešina, and granddaughter of Ḫattušili III, became the wife of ʿAmmistamru II of Ugarit. When as the result of some unexplained offence, the woman was divorced and her irate husband sought to punish her even more severely, the matter became an international incident, ultimately adjudicated by her brother Šaušgamuwa of Amurru, her cousin Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti, and her more distant cousin Ini-Teššup of Carchemish.³⁹

But what of day-to-day administration? As mentioned earlier, although the Great King of Ḫattuša might on occasion intervene in Syrian affairs and could be appealed to in the final instance, the highest political and military authority in Hittite Syria was ordinarily the king of Carchemish.⁴⁰ His participation in judicial and economic affairs is manifest in documents from Ugarit and Emar. For example, the king of Carchemish whose activities are best known to us, Ini-Teššup, adjudicated disputes between Ugarit and Amurru on the one hand,⁴¹ and between Ugarit and Siyannu-Ušnatu on the other.⁴² He also concluded an agreement with ʿAmmistamru II of Ugarit concerning compensation in the case of the murder of a merchant,⁴³ and arranged for the resurveying of the borders of Ugarit.⁴⁴ In at least two instances he received complaints concerning false imprisonment by high administrators of the port town.⁴⁵ Various documents from Ugarit and from Emar relating to private affairs—disputes at law, sales of real property, and testaments—are said to have been composed “in the presence of Ini-Teššup.”⁴⁶ It is not clear whether this situation

³⁷ The Hittites also established such bonds with their equals, Egypt and Babylonia. See F. Pintore, *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli xv-xiii* (Roma, 1978) 33-78.

³⁸ M.C. Astour, “King Ammurapi and the Hittite Princess,” *UF* 12 (1980) 103-108.

³⁹ See Singer, “Amurru” (1991) 174-175, with full bibliography on this matter.

⁴⁰ Consider the actions taken by Muršili II in *CTH* 63: H. Klengel, “Der Schiedsspruch des Muršili II. hinsichtlich Barga und seine Übereinkunft mit Duppi-Tešup von Amurru (KBo III 3),” *Or* 32 (1963) 32-55. It should be noted that the measures taken here are not to become final until the king of Carchemish has been consulted.

⁴¹ *PRU* IV, 134ff.

⁴² *PRU* IV, 161ff.

⁴³ *PRU* IV, 152ff.

⁴⁴ *PRU* IV, 188; cf. also *PRU* III, 6-7.

⁴⁵ *PRU* VI, 35-38.

⁴⁶ Ugarit: *PRU* IV, 165-169, 292-293. The first group of texts is made up of legal cases in which the King

involved the travel of the parties in these transactions to Carchemish, or whether the king rather made a periodic circuit of the area under his jurisdiction.⁴⁷

Active throughout Hittite Syria were officials designated by the Sumerographic term *dumu.lugal*, literally "Son of the King"—the Hittite reading is uncertain. Although this turn of phrase may indicate that the higher echelons of the Hittite administration were generally occupied by persons of royal descent, it is quite clear that not all holders of this title were offspring of the reigning Great King.⁴⁸ Texts from Ḫattuša, Ugarit, and Emar demonstrate that the "Sons of the King" were very high ranking officials, often dispatched by the Hittite King to perform particular political or administrative tasks.⁴⁹ They do not seem to have been permanently posted to any single locality. Guy Bunnens has aptly compared them to the Carolingian *missi dominici*.⁵⁰

At Ugarit we encounter "Sons of the King" redrawing the borders of the state,⁵¹ arbitrating between the queen and a tax official,⁵² and even ordering King ʿIbiranu to make the required appearance before his sovereign, the Great King.⁵³ In the Emar documents the *dumu.lugal* are most often found as witnesses to various transactions in real estate⁵⁴ and slaves.⁵⁵ Their preeminence is signaled by their invariable position at the head of the list of witnesses.

In moving down the administrative hierarchy to more local officials, our sources are extensive enough to allow relatively detailed discussion only of the governments of Ugarit and of the region of Emar, that is, the Land of Aštata. Since the administration of Ugarit has already been extensively studied by others,⁵⁶ I will confine myself here to a few remarks concerning the governance of Aštata. This area was the province of an official designated

of Ugarit is one of the litigants, while the final, fragmentary, tablet deals with a dispute between two high officials. Emar: *Emar VI*, 18, 177, 202; *RE* 54, 55.

⁴⁷ In favor of the first alternative is Text B treated by A. Tsukimoto, "Sieben spätbronzezeitliche Urkunden aus Syrien," *ASJ* 10 (1988) 157-160, in which three persons agree to settle their affairs "upon our arrival in Carchemish" (rev. 6'-7': *nēnu ina ʾmKarkamiš ina kašādini*), but this may be atypical since those involved are all Hittite bureaucrats. In another text, however, persons who are certainly native Syrians include in a contract the following clause concerning a possible litigant: "let him (go) to the city of the king and swear" (*Hirayama 5* [*ASJ* 12 (1990) 185-186], left edge 12-13: *ana uru šarri litmani*). This is more likely a reference to Carchemish than to either Emar or Ḫattuša.

⁴⁸ F. Imparati, "'Signori' e 'figli del re'," *Or* 44 (1975) 80-95.

⁴⁹ F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita* (Roma, 1982) 503-512.

⁵⁰ "Emar on the Euphrates in the 13th Century B.C. Some Thoughts about Newly Published Cuneiform Texts," *AbN* 27 (1989) 27.

⁵¹ *PRU III*, 6f.

⁵² *PRU IV*, 189.

⁵³ *PRU IV*, 191.

⁵⁴ For example *Emar VI*, 182 and *Hirayama 3*.

⁵⁵ *Emar VI*, 211. Cf. D. Arnaud, "Humbles et superbes à Emar (Syrie) à la fin de l'âge du Bronze récent," in A. Caquot and M. Delcor, eds., *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (Kevelaer, 1981; *AOAT* 212) 2-3.

⁵⁶ M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982). See also his *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

as the "Overseer of the Land," written sumerographically *ugula.kalam.ma*,⁵⁷ or on occasion simply ^l*ugula*.⁵⁸ He was apparently responsible for the entire southeastern region of Hittite Syria and traveled about from town to town in the performance of his duties, to judge from correspondence recovered at Emar.⁵⁹ His attested activities include military intelligence,⁶⁰ administrative oversight,⁶¹ and the witnessing of various legal transactions,⁶² as well as (probably passive) participation in the local cult.⁶³ In witness lists he follows any "Son of the King" who might be present.

Native authority at Emar was held by the local king,⁶⁴ as well as by the collegium of city elders,⁶⁵ acting in most cases in conjunction with (the temple of?) the god whose name is written with the Sumerogram ^dNIN.URTA.⁶⁶ These elders seized and resold the property of delinquent citizens⁶⁷ and guaranteed various other legal transactions.⁶⁸

Lawsuits are attested before the local king,⁶⁹ before a group called "the great ones" (^l*ú.meš gal*),⁷⁰ who may be identical to the elders, and before a "Son of the King."⁷¹ Most

⁵⁷ See Arnaud, "Administration" (1984) 182, n. 9, and Bunnens, "Emar" (1989) 25-26. This official appears in the following texts (in full writing): *Emar* VI, 90, 181, 252, 259, 262, 263, 289(?), 460, *RE* 56, and M. Fales, ed., *Prima dell'alfabeto* (Venezia, 1988; *Studi e documenti* 4) 203-204, No. 66.

⁵⁸ Arnaud, "Administration" (1984) 181-182, No. 1; and 186-187, No. 3.

⁵⁹ H.A. Hoffner has pointed out to me the great similarity between the duties of this official and those of the *BĒL MADGALTI*, "margrave, district governor," in Hittite Anatolia. On this latter official see the instructions text (*CTH* 261) edited by E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* (Graz, 1957; *AfO* Beiheft 10) 36-59.

⁶⁰ *Emar* VI, 263.

⁶¹ *Emar* VI, 262.

⁶² *Emar* VI, 90, 181, 252, *RE* 56, and Fales, *Alfabeto* (1988) No. 66. Cf. also Arnaud, "Administration" (1984) 186-187, No. 3.

⁶³ *Emar* VI, 460.

⁶⁴ For the line of kings, see D. Arnaud, "Les textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent," *Syria* 52 (1975) 89-90.

⁶⁵ W.F. Leemans, "Aperçu sur les textes juridiques d'Emar," *JESHO* 31 (1988) 213-217.

⁶⁶ The identity of the West Semitic deity hidden behind this Sumerian writing is uncertain. It is remarkable that this ideogram is not employed as a theophoric element in any personal name from Emar and its environs known to me. Presumably one of the phonetically-written divine names is its equivalent, yet with the exceptions of Dagan and Ba^cal, who are not in question here, no single deity is so frequently attested in personal names as to correspond to the prominence displayed by ^dNIN.URTA in the contracts and thus in the life of the city of Emar.

⁶⁷ In many instances (e.g., *Emar* VI, 143-155), parcels of real property are sold by the "elders of the city of Emar" (^l*ú.meš šibūr* ^{ur}*Emar*) and the deity ^dNIN.URTA. Since there are far too many transactions of this type for them to represent a selling-off of temple property, and since no sales to ^dNIN.URTA are known, these actions must entail the disposal of some sort of delinquent property. On judicial matters at Emar in general see D. Arnaud, "Traditions urbaines et influences semi-nomades à Emar, à l'âge du bronze récent," in J.-Cl. Margueron, ed., *Le Moyen Euphrate* (Leiden, 1980) 245-264.

⁶⁸ The seal which D. Beyer, "Quelques vestiges de l'imagerie émarite du Bronze Moyen," *MARI* 6 (1990) 94, n. 7, has identified as that of ^dNIN.URTA (p. 95, No. 4; p. 96, No. 1) appears on the upper edge of many tablets from Emar, while the anepigraphic design which he recognizes as that of the dynastic seal (in four exemplars thus far known) is found even more frequently on the left edges of the tablets.

⁶⁹ *Emar* VI, 212, *RE* 21. Note that the local king also often heads the list of witnesses to sales of real property.

⁷⁰ *Emar* VI, 28, 252.

frequent by far, however, are cases brought to the attention of the king of Carchemish.⁷² It is not possible to determine how a certain official came to be responsible for a given matter, or to follow any particular case through appeal from instance to instance. It is also puzzling why a particular type of transaction is sometimes carried out before the local king and his court, sometimes before a Hittite official, and sometimes before what is to all appearances a group of ordinary citizens.⁷³

Finally, the Emar documents mention a fair number of other bureaucrats who, judging by their personal names, seem to be Syrian natives rather than Anatolian imperial officials. Among these are scribes⁷⁴ (including the "chief scribe"⁷⁵ and the "great scribe"⁷⁶), the "mayor" (*ḥazannu*),⁷⁷ and the "lord of the storehouse."⁷⁸ Little can be gleaned from our sources concerning their duties and responsibilities.

In summary, the Hittites did not impose a uniform system of government upon all of their Syrian realm. Rather, they installed a thin layer of imperial bureaucracy over the societal structures which they found upon their conquest, structures which could differ greatly from one another. (The activities of the Emariote elders, for instance, do not seem to be paralleled at Ugarit.) This picture, by the way, is in harmony with what we know about Hittite rule in outlying regions of Anatolia as well.

In normal times, the Syrian locals directed their own economic and internal political affairs, while rendering unto the Hittite Great King his due in tribute and services. It seems that Hittite authorities were active as judges or witnesses under three sets of circumstances: First, when the rulers of local Syrian polities were themselves parties to a dispute, this would of course necessitate imperial adjudication, since their treaties with Ḫatti denied vassals recourse to military force among themselves. Secondly, if a native of sufficient wealth and prestige was unable to obtain satisfaction from the local authorities in some matter, he might turn to a "Son of the King," the king of Carchemish, or even the King of Ḫatti. Finally, a member of the local community might find it advantageous to put the prestige of the imperial service behind a legal settlement by arranging for the presence of a Hittite official at the head of his witnesses.

Further study of the ever-increasing number of published texts from the middle Euphrates region of this period, as well as their careful comparison with materials from Ugarit, will doubtlessly allow the refinement of the picture sketched here.

⁷¹ A. Tsukimoto, "Eine neue Urkunde des *Tili-Šarruma*, Sohn des Königs von Karkamiš," *ASJ* 6 (1984) 65-74.

⁷² *Emar VI*, 18, 19, 31, 177, 194, 201, 202, *RE* 54, 55, 85.

⁷³ For example, *Emar VI*, 130, 144, 148 (but note the presence of the *ḥazannu* in this document).

⁷⁴ Typical is the inclusion of "Ba^c-al-malik, son of Imlik-Dagan, scribe," among the witnesses of *Emar VI*, 90. More than seventy-five occurrences of this title are to be found in the published Emar texts. It is, however, interesting to note that in the majority of recorded transactions, scribes do not sign their work, or at least do not append their professional designation to their names should they appear among the witnesses.

⁷⁵ *Emar VI*, 212. Note also the "overseer of scribes" in *Emar VI*, 315 (fragmentary).

⁷⁶ *Emar VI*, 201.

⁷⁷ *Emar VI*, 148, 149, 150, 157, 253, 254, *RE* 16, 24, 34, 39, etc.

⁷⁸ *Emar VI*, 186, 212.