

**The City of Emar
among the Late Bronze Age Empires**

History, Landscape, and Society

Proceedings of the Konstanz Emar Conference,
25.–26.04. 2006

Edited by
Lorenzo d'Alfonso, Yoram Cohen,
and Dietrich Sürenhagen

AOAT 349

2008
Ugarit-Verlag
Münster

Late Bronze Age Rural Landscapes of the Euphrates according to the Emar Texts

Hervé Reculeau, FU Berlin

Valley landscapes of the Euphrates underwent drastic changes within the last decades, especially after the river was dammed in Tabqa (1973-1974) and Tišrin (1999); albeit destructive of the present environment, these modern upheavals were also the source of a great increase of knowledge regarding ancient landscapes, according to both archaeology and epigraphy. The whole area of the Great Bend of the Euphrates, nowadays under water, has been thoroughly prospected and numerous salvage excavations were made at major sites¹, and the valley downstream (up to the Halabiyeh-Zalebiyeh area) was surveyed, with a special focus on natural environment and river-based destruction of sites². Multidisciplinary studies aiming at the reconstruction of ancient environments were undertaken on different sites of the area, such as Selenkahiye³, Tell es-Sweyhat⁴ or, in the Bend proper, Tell Munbāqa (Ekalte) where remains of Bronze Age plants were found⁵. At Emar, the time frame of salvage excavations did not allow such data to be collected, although a few remarks were made on the geographical situation of the city and its relationship to the river in its present and reconstructed past location⁶. However, the new Syro-German excavations on the preserved part of the site⁷ fortunately revealed plant remains, which now allow an environmental reconstruction based on the Emar documentation itself⁸.

At the same time, Assyriologists working on the Emar tablets have drawn the attention of the scholars to the numerous indications contained in those texts, which could allow a study on landscapes: among others, Durand's articles focused on landscape terminology⁹, certain terms of West Semitic origin were studied by

¹ For a general impression, see Freedman 1979. For the survey, see Rihaoui 1965 and van Loon 1967.

² Kohlmeyer 1984; *idem* 1986.

³ Boerma 2001.

⁴ Wilkinson 2004.

⁵ Küster 1989.

⁶ Geyer 1990.

⁷ Finkbeiner *et al.* 1999-2000; *idem* 2001; *idem* 2002; Finkbeiner 2002; Finkbeiner, Sakal *et al.* 2004.

⁸ Riehl 2001; Deckers 2005.

⁹ Durand 1989; *idem* 1990a. Important collations and readings of the Emar texts regarding landscapes can also be found in Durand & Marti 2003a.

Pentiuc¹⁰, while the Italian school of historical geography focused on shapes and dimensions of properties, the Emar documentation being first integrated in a general study by Liverani¹¹, before Mori presented a monography on Emar landscapes, both urban and rural¹².

As far as landscape history is concerned, the most important sources are the Emar legal texts, along with similar documents of Ekalte¹³, they are mostly land purchase contracts, complemented by a few testaments mentioning inherited land, which describe transferred plots by enumerating adjacent properties or features on the land's (mainly) four sides. Among numerous personal names corresponding to neighbours or institutions (mostly the City)¹⁴, remarkable features of the landscape lining the plots are mentioned, which are the main source of information on ancient rural landscapes, along with more general topographical indications of territories or irrigation districts. The present study aims at placing this textual evidence in its geographical and anthropological context through a multi-disciplinary approach taking into consideration the latest developments of archaeological and geomorphological studies of the valley, as well as additional textual information dating to the 2nd millennium BCE from this area¹⁵; it focuses on ancient environmental conditions, irrigation practices and land uses.

1. The Ancient Environment of Emar

Paleoenvironmental studies allow to reconstruct LBA conditions globally similar with those presently known, except for the significance of wild flora.

1.1 Late Bronze Age Climate

Tell Meskene nowadays experiences average annual rainfalls of 200-250 mm, which makes it belong to a zone of marginal rain-fed cultivation¹⁶, where irrigation would be at least used as a complementary water source for greater liability. The similarity of Bronze Age and present day climates has been debated among specialists, but it is widely admitted that climatic conditions have been similar, with perhaps a slightly drier phase within the Late Bronze Age¹⁷, and irrigated cultures are at least

¹⁰ Pentiuc 2001.

¹¹ Liverani 1996.

¹² Mori 2003a.

¹³ See for Emar, Mori 2003a, 17-19, and for Ekalte, W. Mayer 2001, 4-7.

¹⁴ See Mori 2003a, 118ff.

¹⁵ A more general study of the valley in the Middle and Late Bronze Age can be found in my Ph.D dissertation: Reculeau 2006. References to this study are given here only by chapters and paragraphs, because it is unlikely that page numbers will remain identical in the forthcoming publication.

¹⁶ See the remarks in Wilkinson 2004, 42.

¹⁷ See Wilkinson 2004, 143, 181 and 187-189.

ascertained in Emar by the cultivation of wine, attested by both texts¹⁸ and plant remains¹⁹.

1.2 Fluvial Dynamics of the Euphrates

The Euphrates is characterized by winter high flows, a massive spring peak and summer lows²⁰, which all influence human settlement and agricultural land use of the valley floor: intermediate peaks in the cold season allow irrigation of winter-crops (mainly barley, but also emmer²¹), which must have been harvested before the spring flow (which could in recent times raise above 5 m²² and inundate most, if not all, of the arable land), whereas the low flows of summer only allow irrigation of crops in the immediate vicinity of the streams, in the absence of water-raising devices.

In the Late Bronze Age, the river experienced a braided-channel flow linked since at least the Middle Bronze Age with an aggradating dynamic, which resulted in the constitution of the terrace level defined “Q_{0b}”²³; in the vicinity of Emar, however, this terrace level has been almost completely destroyed²⁴ by the more recent developments of the river’s dynamics (incision in the first millennium BCE, aggradation from the late Classic/early medieval times on)²⁵, and has to be reconstructed in most places presently occupied by the Q₀₀ terrace.

1.3 A More Developed Natural Vegetation

An important ecological dissimilarity between present-day and Bronze Age landscapes lies in the role played by wooded areas within the valley floor: instead of the present scarce and disseminated groups of poplar trees, the Early Bronze Age charcoals of Emar allow to reconstruct a more extensive riverine gallery forest, which included a greater variety of tree species than today: beside poplars, willows and tamarisks, alders, ashes and elms could also be found²⁶; this testifies for a more complete ecological succession within the gallery forest. Those elements, confirmed by similar samples from the Euphrates²⁷ and Habur²⁸ valleys, allow to reestimate the

¹⁸ See Wilkinson 2004, 38-47, and Mori 2003a, 134ff.

¹⁹ See Riehl 2001 and Deckers 2005.

²⁰ For a general description, see Sanlaville 1985, and, for a more detailed analysis of inter- and intra-annual variations of the river’s flow, Reculeau 2002, 527-532.

²¹ The predominance of barley among winter cereals, common in the area, is confirmed at Emar by EBA plant remains; see Riehl 2001, 160-161 and 164.

²² Wilkinson 2004, 21; Reculeau 2002, 529-531.

²³ See Geyer & Monchambert 2003, 43-47, as reinterpreted in Reculeau 2006, chapter 1.2.1.3, and in accordance with the chronology estimated for the downstream part of the river by Verhoeven 1998.

²⁴ See the topographical description in Geyer 1990, 109-110.

²⁵ See Reculeau 2006, Chapter 1.2.1.3.

²⁶ Deckers 2005.

²⁷ Wilkinson 2004, 17.

meaning of the “forests” (^{GIŠ}TIR / *qištu*) found in several Emar texts as describing parts of the gallery forest, which could be individualised by personal names, such as “the forest of Aḫi-ḫe” (*Emar* 147:1) or the one “of Ekida” (TSBR 9:4). More than a simple topographical description, this suggests the possibility of private appropriation of (at least) parts of the forest, as is also implied by the mention of a “forest” among inherited properties in ETBLM 15:7²⁹.

2. Water for Emar: the Organization of Irrigation Agriculture

Unlike what occurred in other areas, such as the MBA Mari kingdom³⁰ or on the lower Ḫabur under Assyrian rule³¹, irrigation at Emar appears to have been small-scale with the water diverted from numerous locations, either natural or (at least partly) anthropized.

2.1 The Absence of Large Scale Irrigation

Neither excavations nor surveys in the vicinity of Emar have been able to locate remains of Bronze Age irrigation structures³², and their mentions in cuneiform texts are scanty: as a matter of fact, many documents, primarily linked to irrigation canals, must be reexamined. Such is particularly the case for TSBR 86, considered by Arnaud as a confirmation of irrigation rights³³, the text has been recently reinterpreted by Durand as the confirmation of a barber’s privilege³⁴. Such is also the case for the *yardānu*, seen as a canal³⁵ but which is in fact a wadi (see here, 3.1.), or for the *me’dilu*, interpreted by Arnaud as a derivation (from a canal or river)³⁶, which is in fact a strictly urban feature³⁷. Canals are, in fact, only mentioned in the Emar texts as distributory channels (PA_s) in lists of persons³⁸ and in three cases in landscape descriptions. The first text, TSBR 55, mentions a place called “The-Two-Channels” (*Nārītān*), probably named after two small canals deriving from a ditch (*kimartu*, see 3.3.). The second example is mentioned in TSBR 85, where a channel

²⁸ Frey & Kürschner 1991.

²⁹ A description such as “the Woods” (*qištātu*), mentioned as neighbouring a field in HIR 14:5, should however be understood as a purely descriptive denomination of a wooden area, whose location was, for the ancient Emarites, obvious.

³⁰ See lastly Reculeau in print.

³¹ See Ergenzinger & Kühne 1991.

³² The canals south of Emar, mentioned in Geyer (1990, 114) are most probably, as indicated by T. J. Wilkinson (quoted *ibid.*), Ummeyad, a period when a canal (the Nahr Maslama), is mentioned in the area.

³³ Arnaud 1991, 141-142; see Mori 2003a, 116.

³⁴ Durand & Marti 2003a, 162-163.

³⁵ See the historiographic point by Mori 2003a, 115-116.

³⁶ Arnaud 1991, 12.

³⁷ Mori 2003a, 59.

³⁸ In *Emar* 209, RE 95 and qualifying a defendant in a legal process, in ETBLM 1.

derives from a well³⁹, and the third occurs in TSBR 9, where two streams (ÍD) are mentioned, probably two branches or parts of a meander of the river⁴⁰. A last example can be found in RE 24:1, but its interpretation is problematic. Beckman suggested a reading “a-šà *ma-la ma-šú-ú i-na* íd bal-ri” “A field on the opposite side of the river”⁴¹, but this interpretation is difficult: it would imply an inversion of the ÍD and BAL.RI signs, and the reading does not fit Beckman’s autography. Any suggestion without collating the document is tentative, but a reading such as “ÍD^d*UTU*-*gam*-ri*”, could be proposed, describing a channel named after a PN, which is however unattested. It seems nevertheless possible to refute the idea of a large-scale irrigation network in the area of Late Bronze Emar⁴².

2.2 Small-scale Irrigation Practices and the Meaning of “KÁ/*bābu*”

Irrigation was practiced at Emar through the sole use of small-scale devices, which can be traced in the documentation by mentions of “irrigations districts”, described as “doors” (KÁ/*bābu*). This logogram, traditionally understood as describing a city door⁴³, has been recently reinterpreted by Durand as describing “the place where one could have access to the river”⁴⁴, a meaning which has to be broadened to every kind of access to water. This reality, which can also be found in additional documentation and periods⁴⁵, must therefore be clearly distinguished from urban doors, which are always described as “KÁ.GAL/*abullu*”. The study of their names show a wide pattern of possibilities, including naming after gods, people or places, as have long been acknowledged. It suggests, however, a frequent use of descriptive names, given in reference to landscape features, and especially water sources which fed the irrigation district or wet zones in which they were encased, as already pointed out by Durand for PdA 65⁴⁶.

KÁ Named after a Geographic Name (GN)

KÁ-districts explicitly named after geographical places are quite rare: among them are places identified by the determinative KI but otherwise unknown, such as Išpaḫat (TSBR 6) or Zumnān (TSBR 19), whereas others are linked to places

³⁹ TSBR 85:1-4: (1) A-ŠÀ *ma-la ma-šú-ú i-na* KÁ* *ku-la-ti*, (2) *i-na* KÁ* *a-wi-ri* 3 GĀN 1 *ši-id-du*, (3) *ša* GĀN GĪD-DA-ŠĪ *ru-up-ši* KASKAL-nu, (4) *ša i-na ku-la-ti il-la-ku a-di* ÍD *na-aḫ-ba-ti*.

⁴⁰ TSBR 9:7-8: (7) SAG.KI.1.KÁM-ma ÍD: DUMU.MEŠ ¹*a-za-li-lu*, (8) SAG.KI.2.KÁM-ma ÍD.ḪÁ-ma.

⁴¹ Beckman 1996a, 41.

⁴² For a globally similar appreciation, see Mori 2003a, 115, although I would not use the term “network” for describing these devices.

⁴³ See recently, and among others, Mori 2003a, 140.

⁴⁴ Durand & Marti 2003a, 144-145.

⁴⁵ A detailed study is far beyond the scope of the present paper; see Reculeau 2006, Chapter 2.2.1.

⁴⁶ Durand & Marti 2003a, 144-145, whose readings of PdA 65 we follow here.

designed elsewhere in the documentation with this determinative, such as Bin^εātu⁴⁷ or Rabbān⁴⁸. To this category belong also districts described as those of a village (URU), such as the one of Yaššunu⁴⁹, Izbu⁵⁰ or a lost GN⁵¹. These were apparently mostly small settlements, some of them being both a GN and a topographical description (*lieux-dits*), such as “The Clay-Pit” (Kullatu), which is most probably to be understood both as an actual clay-pit⁵² and a hamlet named after it⁵³.

KÁ Named after a Personal Name (PN)

Several examples mention a KÁ district named after a personal name: should we consider, following Durand for Ahī-mālik in PdA 65:6, that these were important landlords of the district⁵⁴? It is a possibility, although none of the important Emarites known to us (mostly the royal family and the diviner’s family) seems to have given his name to an irrigation district. Another possibility would be that people who opened certain areas gave their names to it. Examples are few: besides Ahī-mālik, people who gave their names to irrigation districts are Amzaḥi, son of Itūr-Dagān (TSBR 20) and (the sons of) Nuza (TSBR 11 and 12), where a clan denomination is perhaps to be preferred. One could also add to the list a few obscure examples, such as Yaḥšuka (RE 73:23), Šimala⁵⁵, TU-Ba^εla⁵⁶ and Gatti⁵⁷.

KÁ Named after a Divine Name (DN)

Three irrigation districts were named after deities: NIN.KUR (RE 21:8), “Dagān-Lord-of-the-Prophets-called”⁵⁸ (maybe commemorating more a theophany than the god himself), and Latarak (TSBR 98:11) to which can be added *Bēl Burqa*⁵⁹, if this is the designation of a god⁶⁰. A unique mention of the Yardānātu (*Emar* 137:1) can also be quoted, but this is a special case, since it concerns a divinized natural phenomenon (see 3.1.).

⁴⁷ PdA 65:1: 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ* KÁ* *bi-in-a-ti**. The GN marked by KI can be found in RE 86:24.

⁴⁸ PdA 65:13: KÁ* *ra-ab-ba-AN/IL*?

⁴⁹ RE 35:1-2: HIR 14:1-2 and ETBLM 7:8-10.

⁵⁰ Iraq-54 4:1-2, TSBR 36:13-14, 27-28.

⁵¹ RE 6:10: ʾÉ¹ *tu-gu-ru i-na KÁ-bi URU ta*-[].

⁵² So Arnaud 1991, 141-142.

⁵³ So Mori 2003a, 111.

⁵⁴ Durand & Marti 2003a, 144.

⁵⁵ PdA 65:8: KÁ* *ši-ma-la*.

⁵⁶ PdA 65:11: KÁ* *tu-ba-la*.

⁵⁷ PdA 65:14: KÁ* *ga-at-ti**.

⁵⁸ *Emar* 140:1, following the interpretation of Durand, 1990a, 61.

⁵⁹ RE 73:10, for which Beckman’s copy does not suggest anything missing after QA.

⁶⁰ The name is unclear to me, and there is no DINGIR determinative.

KÁ Named after Natural Realities

A great number of districts are named after elements of their neighbouring landscape, mainly describing realities of the major river bed. Such is case for the districts of “the depression”⁶¹, “the basin”⁶² and the “*hurru*-depression” (TSBR 9:1-2 and RE 73:30). In the immediate vicinity of the river were probably located the districts of “dead-waters(?)”⁶³ and “fishy(?)” (if not based on a Nunia PN)⁶⁴. In the low terrace were also located the districts of “(land revealed) after the flood”⁶⁵, “puddle”⁶⁶ and “flooding”⁶⁷.

Probably located higher, on the Q_{0a} terrace, existed a district of “Bad-woods”⁶⁸ and one of “Bad-lands(?)”⁶⁹, the contact zone between the terrace and the valley slope being represented by the district of “the *Yardānātu*-wadi”⁷⁰, the one of “The Clay-Pit”⁷¹, and, possibly, the one of “the Stone”⁷². In the immediate vicinity of Emar was located the district “of the Urban Ditch”⁷³, and the one of “Sunrise”⁷⁴ can only be located somewhere eastward, probably on the left bank of the river.

KÁ Named after Irrigation Devices

A few districts can be directly linked to small scale irrigation devices, such as “The Round Ditch”⁷⁵ or “The Well”⁷⁶.

KÁ Named after a Field-Type?

Finally, a district can be understood as named after a particular type of field, the “*Awîru*-field”⁷⁷, if it is not simply a PN⁷⁸.

⁶¹ PdA 65:4: KÁ* *ḥa-ba-² a*-ti**.

⁶² TSBR 68:2: 1 *me* A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *i-na* KÁ *ši-il₅-la*; PdA 65:7: KÁ* *ši-la*.

⁶³ PdA 65:3: KÁ* *a-me-et*.

⁶⁴ PdA 65:15: KÁ* *nu-ni-ia*.

⁶⁵ *Emar* 168:32': A.ŠÀ *ma-la ma-šú-[ú]* *ṛi-na* KÁ *ni-ḥa-si*. For this interpretation and the following two, see Reculeau 2006, Chapter 2.2.1.

⁶⁶ *Emar* 168:36': SAG.KÁM 2 KÁ *sà-a-ḥi-p[ī]*.

⁶⁷ *Emar* 171:1-2: (1) *ki-ir-ši-tu₄ ma-la ma-šú-ú*, (2) *i-na pi-is-ḥi ša* KÁ *si-ir-ḥa-na*.

⁶⁸ PdA 65:5: KÁ* *ḤUL*²-i-ši*.

⁶⁹ PdA 65:10: KÁ* *maš-kat*.

⁷⁰ TSBR 58:1, *Emar* 137:1 and 12, *Emar* 168:8' and *Emar* 206:1.

⁷¹ TSBR 85:1-2: (1) A.ŠÀ *ma-la ma-šú-ú i-na* KÁ* *ku-la-ti*.

⁷² TSBR 36:18-19: (18) 4 *aš-lu₄ ša* 45 GÁN.MEŠ, (19) *i-na e-bir₃ (NAM)-ta-a-an i-na* K[Á]-*bi ka-pi*.

⁷³ PdA 65:9: KÁ* *ḥa-ri¹²-it*.

⁷⁴ *Emar* 168:22'-23': (22') SA[G-KÁM-2] KASKAL-*nu [ša a-na le-et]*, (23') KÁ *ni-pi-ḥu il*-[la-ak]*.

⁷⁵ RE 17:1: A.ŠÀ.ḤÁ *a-na* KÁ-*bi ki*-ma-ar-ti*.

⁷⁶ TSBR 62:1: (1) A.ŠÀ *ma-la ma-šú-ú i-na* KÁ *be-e³-ri*; ETBLM 5:24: É *tu-gu₃-rù i-na* KÁ TÚL-*ṛi¹*; PdA 65:2: KÁ* *bé-e³*-ri*.

⁷⁷ TSBR 85:1-2: (1) A.ŠÀ *ma-la ma-šú-ú i-na* KÁ* *ku-la-ti*, (2) *i-na* KÁ* *a-wi-ri*.

3. From the Slope to the River: a Vertically Organized Land Use

The profile of the valley and its natural constraints, as well as the use of small-scale irrigations devices, led to a differentiated use of soils and spaces, which can be traced from the plateau onwards.

3.1 The Slope and Wadis

The first recognizable element in the landscape is the slope linking the high steppe plateau to the steep-sided valley. In the area of Emar, the difference between the plateau and the valley bottom is ca. 80 m, and the slope is sheer, the transitional Pleistocene terraces having here almost entirely disappeared, especially upstream from the site⁷⁹. This slope was described by the ancient inhabitants of the valley as “the mountain”, noted in Emar texts by the logogramm *hur.sag*, which is said to be bordering the back of a ruin⁸⁰ in *Emar* 171 and the one of a house in RE 70, as well as neighbouring a field located in the irrigation district of the *Yardānātu*-wadi in Fs-Kutscher 4; the “*hur.sag qa-aš-šu*” of RE 7:6, though obscure, is probably to be related to the same reality.

Because one of the peculiarities of the valley around Emar is the quasi-absence of Pleistocene terraces, it is not surprising that texts reveal a limited use of wells and underground waters, which in other parts of the valley are present on these high terraces. Few attestations relate to the district of “Clay-Pit” (*Kullatu*), where a *tugguru* equipped with a well is mentioned in *Emar* 115 and where was found a *nahbatu*-canal (TSBR 85) which must be related to the verb *habû*, “to draw water”⁸¹ and to the area so described in TSBR 7. This indicates a localisation of this hamlet and its land somewhere in the contact zone between the slope and the highest Holocene terrace. Other wells are mentioned, perhaps in Bin’ātu (ETBLM 5) and in Rabbān (HIR 16, ETBLM 9); however, at least in the last case, the communal territory spread from the lowest part of the valley to the zone of wells, near the slope.

It appears that certain parts of the slope could be individualized, such as the “Crests”, described at Emar by the term *gab’u* (*Emar* 8 and 9) and its variant *giba’u*⁸² (*Emar* 147, TSBR 7; see figure 1). Parallel uses of this term in the Mari texts do not suggest a general meaning of “slope” or “cliff”, but rather a particularly steep part of it, which, according to the topography, should tentatively be sought North-West of the site. On its South-Eastern side, a particular feature is represented by a major wadi, correlated with two smaller ones, which are likely to have been designated in Emar texts with the proper noun ‘Down-hurtler(s)’ (*Yardānu* /

⁷⁸ The PN is known at Emar, but the use of this term as a field designation is attested at Nuzi; see CAD A/2, *awīru*, 523b.

⁷⁹ Geyer 1990, 109-110.

⁸⁰ For this meaning of *kiršitu*, see Mori 2003a, 48-53.

⁸¹ See Arnaud 1991, 12, although the translation “aiguade” does not fit the meaning of the logogramm *ÍD*, which describes a canal, not a cistern.

⁸² We follow the suggestion by Durand (1990a, 62), which suits the topography of the described plots better than the reed-marsh suggested by Arnaud (1986, 161).

Yardānātu, the singular form referring to the big wadi, the collective to several of them: see figure 1). All attestations of these terms can indeed be located in one and the same place, and the fact that it was a strictly local Emarite reality explains that the term was unknown in archives from other sites of the Euphrates, whereas the divine form, attested once (in *Emar* 137:1), echoes of similar practices in wadi designation known from the Mari texts⁸³.

3.2 The Holocene Terraces: Forest, Gardens and Fields

The highest level of Holocene terraces (Q_{0a}) was mainly covered with the gallery forest, which in the area of Emar, where the valley is rather narrow (from 4 to 7 km for the whole alluvial plain), probably bordered the slope, at least in some places. The forest could be chopped down to make room for cultivated land, such as the fields described by *Emar* 147 as belonging to “the forest of Aḫī-ḫe”, which can be located in the area North-West of Emar, near the “Crests” (*Emar* 147:13), which indicates also a location next to the slope.

A major opposition is made in texts between fields inscribed in constituted rural unities, whose access to water was probably more secured and whose maintenance more regular, and unevenly located plots: the first ones were described as “cultivated land” (*mēreštum*)⁸⁴, whereas the second ones were known as “disseminated (land)” (*sipḫu*)⁸⁵. The categorization of plots depended probably on local conditions which escapes us almost completely and no systematic organization could be found: a town such as Rabbān, for instance, had on its territory both “cultivated” (*Emar* 3) and “disseminated” (ASJ-14) land.

One particular aspect of the interaction of trees and farmland was the *coltura promiscua* developed in gardens, where fields were integrated to orchards (G^{IS}KIRI₆.NUMUN) or orchards with vine climbing trees (G^{IS}KIRI₆.GEŠTIN): if it is not a documentary illusion, the first ones appear to have been mostly located in the immediate vicinity of Emar, in what could be described as a peri-urban horticulture ring, whereas the second ones were located in different areas of the valley, the territory of Rabbān appearing as a particularly propitious one⁸⁶. Oddly enough, large numbers of vine-planted orchards were located in the immediate vicinity of the river in the flood plain⁸⁷.

⁸³ For a complete analysis of these phenomena, see Reculeau 2006, Chapter 3.1.2.3.

⁸⁴ The interpretation “land under cultivation”, suggested by Mori (2003a, 131) does not fit the use of this expression in the Mari documentation (especially ARM XXIII 467), which shows that it is a particular type of field. It must therefore be distinguished from the “sown field” (A.ŠA zēri, as in *Emar* 82), which indeed represents a field sold with its harvest, as indicated by Mori (2003a, 131).

⁸⁵ For this meaning, see Durand & Marti 2003a, 147 n. 2, although the connection with the system of irrigation districts (KÁ / *bābu*) may not be as systematic as indicated.

⁸⁶ See the gardens of this type sold in *Emar* 1:1-10, *Emar* 3:1-9, TSB 51:1-2, HIR 16:1-9, RE 6, RE 9 and RE 16.

⁸⁷ See, for example, RE 1:3-5 or ETBLM 5:8.

3.3 Open Spaces of the Alluvial Plain

The lower part of the alluvial plain, incised from 1 to 2 m in the Q_{0a} terrace, was in the LBA represented by the Q_{0b} terrace, constituted at that time. It was generally designed, all along the Euphrates, as the *hamqum*, “the low-part of the valley”⁸⁸ (see figure 1), attested once in Emar (TSBR 3:8) as *‘anqu*. It was in fact (as humid environments always are) a complex reality whose face would change within the year and from one year to another, depending on the particular dryness or humidity and on the height of the river. Despite their changing nature, these areas were favorable to agriculture: the flooding would flatten them and in the same time destroy natural vegetation, by wetting the soils and washing them from salts. The counterpart of these favourable locations was that they were subject to the river’s vagaries and had to be harvested before the flood destroyed the crops.

One particularly sought-after type of soils was the accumulated deposits of the river, either in convex parts of meanders or after a change in its flow, known in the Euphrates’ documentation as *raqqatu* (see figure 1), a synonym of the more frequent *ušallum* (derived from sumerian U.SAL)⁸⁹, which were used for sowing fields⁹⁰ and planting gardens as well⁹¹. In a small-scale irrigation agriculture like the one practiced in Emar, access to water during the low levels of the Euphrates was crucial for sustaining trees and summer crops. This explains the frequent mentions of water reserves, which could be used for irrigation purposes. Among them are dead meanders of the river (*balītu*)⁹² (see figure 1), seasonally refilled with water by the flood, as well as several kinds of humid depressions (*hurru*)⁹³, either natural or (re)-dug. These could either be used as water reserves or cultivated areas⁹⁴, probably depending on their depth and width, the cultivated ones being shallow depressions which were wet longer than the neighbouring plain. A few other terms are known, mostly describing ditches, probably artificial: such is the case of *qīru* (RE 86), glossed by the term *šuttetu*⁹⁵, which also describes a “well” (TÚL) in RE 6, and the case of *kimartu* (TSBR 55, RE 17 and ETBLM 11), which is to be linked to the

⁸⁸ See Durand 1990c, especially 119.

⁸⁹ For a general analysis of these terms and a translation as “river deposits” (french: *atterrissement*) in lieu of the usual “water-meadow” and neighbouring terms, see Reculeau 2006, Chapter 3.3.2.1.

⁹⁰ In *Emar* 146, *Emar* 169, SMEA-30 3, HIR 7 and RE 49.

⁹¹ In ETBLM 5 and RE 1.

⁹² *Emar* 137:22-27, *Emar* 168:24'-28', *Emar* 138, TSBR 3, TSBR 15, HIR 43 and ASJ-10 F. The reading of the term as *balītu*, not **malītu*, nor **balittum*, as been demonstrated by Durand 1990a, 60, *idem* 1990c, 121; the Mari parallels, as well as the topographical descriptions of the Emar texts, allow no other interpretation.

⁹³ The meaning “marshy depression” proposed Mori 2003a, 114, is overall similar, although we would reject the term “marshy” for agronomical reasons, since no field could have been cultivated in such a place, as is indicated by texts where fields are located in (*ina*) the depression (TSBR 16, 17 and 18, all referring to the “depression of Yabni-El”). The parallel with **A.SUG* in Terqa texts (suggested by Buccellati 1990, 161-162) is to be abandoned, since this logogram is most probably to be read ÍD* (see Charpin 2002, 82).

⁹⁴ See Mori 2003a, 114.

⁹⁵ See Pentiuc 2001, 148.

kawārum from Mari texts⁹⁶, and describes some kind of round ditch. One particular case is represented by the *nahrapu*⁹⁷ (*Emar* 194, HIR 43 and RE 86), which represents the gorge formed by the outflow of water in certain places.

To sum up, Emar texts, when read after the results obtained by archaeologists, climatologists and geographers, offer a great variety of information concerning ancient landscapes, allowing a rather detailed reconstitution of the city's ancient environment, both natural and man-shaped. The Emarite countryside was marked by the important place of the gallery forest now almost completely destroyed. This disappearance is the result of a millennia-long process, which had began much before the Late Bronze Age, but which can nevertheless be traced in this period by the existence of agrar land established in lieu of ancient wooden areas. The narrowness of the higher Pleistocene level of terrace around Emar, as well as the dependance on local water sources, from which small-scale irrigation devices were derived, led ancient people to till and plant open spaces in the lower part of the valley, even though these were under the threat of the Euphrates's vagaries, and especially its flood.

⁹⁶ See Durand *apud* Birot 1993, 113, n. 51.

⁹⁷ For this reading, instead of the usual **na'rabu*, see Reculeau 2006, Chapter 3.3.3.3.

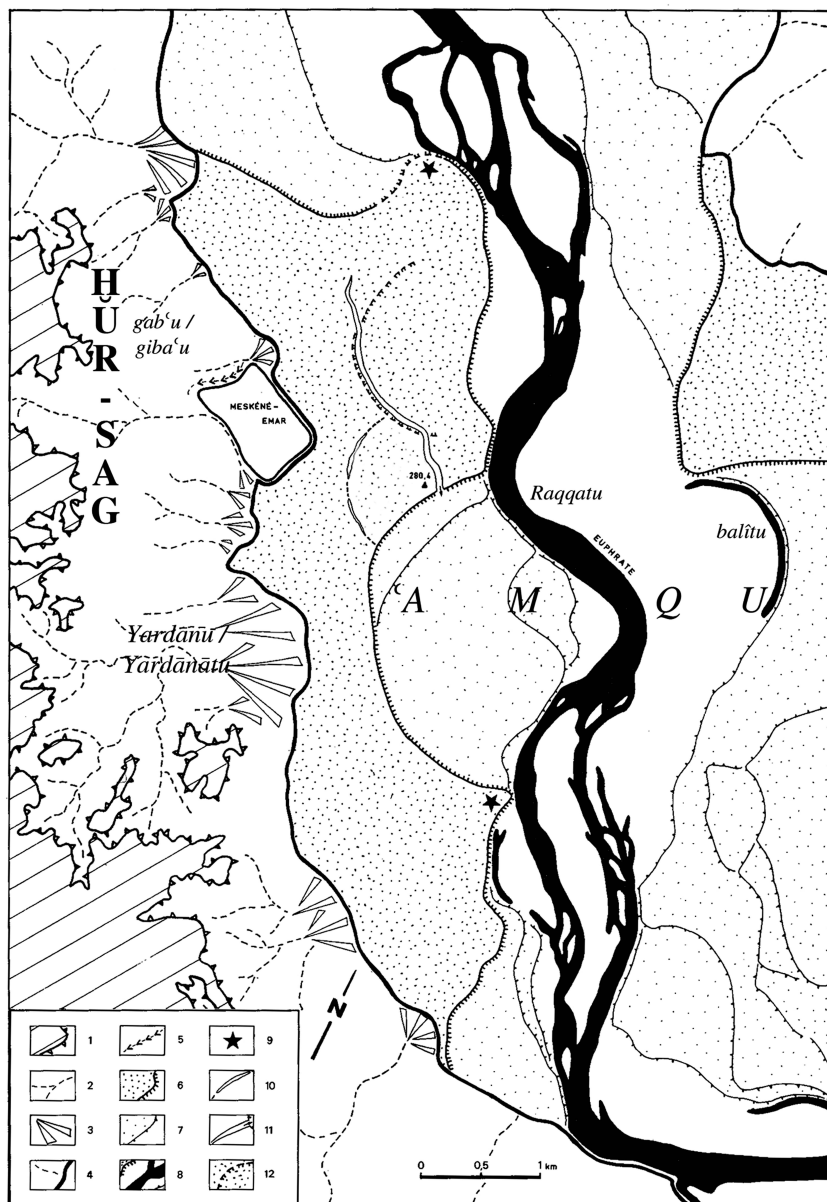


Figure 1. Schéma géomorphologique de la région de Meskéné.

1 : plateau et sa falaise de bordure ; 2 : wadi sur la zone intermédiaire (glacis et *bad-lands*) ; 3 : cône de déjection ; 4 : limite basse des reliefs encaissant le fond de vallée holocène ; 5 : vallon artificiel ; 6 : terrasse holocène ancienne et son talus (Qo) ; 7 : terrasses historiques et leurs talus (Qoo) ; 8 : l'Euphrate et son lit majeur normal ; 9 : môle de résistance probable ; 10 : levée de terre ; 11 : chenal de décrue ; 12 : tracé probable d'anciens méandres.

Bibliography

Abdul-Amir, S.J.

- 1997, Assyrian Frontier Sites on the Middle Euphrates. New Evidence from the Al-Qadisiya (Haditha) Dam Region in the Western Desert of Iraq, in: H. Hauptman & H. Waetzoldt (Eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. (XXXIX RAI, Heidelberg 1992)*, (HSAO 6), Heidelberg, 219-221.

Adamthwaite, M.R.

- 1993, Emar's Window on the Old Testament: A Preliminary View, *Buried History* 29, 75-93.
- 1994, New Bronze Age Texts from the Middle Euphrates. A Review Article: *Abr-Nahrain* 32, 17-27.
- 1996, Ethnic Movements in the Thirteenth Century B.C. as Discernible from the Emar Texts, in: G. Bunnens (Ed.), *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East (Abr-Nahrain Supplement 5)*, 91-112.
- 2000, A Twin Calendrical System at Emar and its Implications for the Israelite Calendar, *ANES* 37, 164-182.
- 2001, *Late Hittite Emar: The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town*, Louvain.

Akkermanns, P. & Wiggermann, F.

- Forthcoming, The Middle Assyrians *dunnu* at Tell Sabi-Abyad: Architecture and Texts, in: O. Rouault & M.G. Masetti-Rouault, *After the Empire: Crisis of the Monarchy in Northern Mesopotamia and in Anatolia (XIII-X century B.C.)*, Lyon.

Alexander, R.L.

- 1986, *The Sculpture and the Sculptors of Yazilikaya*, Newark – London – Toronto.

Andrews, C.

- 1978, A family for Anhai?, *JEA* 64, 88-97.

Archi, A.

- 1990, Imâr au III^{ème} millénaire d'après les archives d'Ebla, *MARI* 6, 21-38.
- 2001, The Forms and Levels of Comparison. The Rituals of Emar and the Syrian Tradition, in: Th. Richter, D. Prechel & J. Klinger (Eds.), *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalistische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Saarbrücken, 19-28.

Arnaud, D.

- 1975a, Le textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent, *Syria* 52, 87-92.
- 1975b, Catalogue des textes cunéiformes trouvés au cours des trois premières campagnes à Meskéné Qadimé Ouest (Chantiers A, C, E, et trouvailles de surface), *AAAS* 25, 87-93.
- 1980, Les textes suméro-accadiens de Meskéné (Syrie) et l'Ancien Testament, *Bulletin de la Société Ernest-Renan* 197, 116-118.
- 1984, La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: l'administration d'après trois lettres inédites, *AuOr* 2, 179-188.
- 1986, *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.3. Textes sumériens et accadiens*, Paris.
- 1987, Les Hittites sur le Moyen-Euphrate : protecteurs et indigènes, *Hethitica* 8, 9-27.
- 1991, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent*, (*AuOr Supplementa* 1), Barcelona.
- 1992, Tablettes de genres divers du moyen-Euphrate, *SMEA* 30, 195-245.
- 1996, Mariage et remariage des femmes chez les syriens du moyen-Euphrate à l'âge du Bronze Récent d'après deux nouveaux documents, *Semitica* 46, 7-16.
- 2003, Prolégomènes à la rédaction d'une histoire d'Ougarit III: Ougarit et Tukulti-Ninurta, *SMEA* 45, 7-20.

Astour, M.C.

- 1965, New Evidence of the Last Days of Ugarit, *AJA* 69, 253-258.
- 1996, Who was the King of the Hurrian Troops at the Siege of Emar?, in: M.W. Chavalas (Ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda (Md.), 25-56.

Aurenche, O.

- 1996, Villages d'été, villages d'hiver: un modèle peu connu d'occupation de l'espace dans la vallée de l'Euphrate (20^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.), in: M. Fortin & O. Aurenche (Eds.), *Espace naturel, espace habité en Syrie du nord (10^e-2^e millénaire av. J.-C.). Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université Laval (Québec) du 5 au 7 mai 1997*, Québec – Lyon, 35-42.

Aurenche, O., Bazin, M. & Sadler, S.

- 1997, *Villages engloutis. Enquête ethnoarchéologique à Cafer Hüyük (vallée de l'Euphrate)*, Lyon.

Balza, M.E.

- 2006, Ai vertici dell'amministrazione ittita in Siria: il LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA Mutri-Tešub, in: C. Mora & P. Piacentini (Eds.), *L'Ufficio e il documento. I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell'amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente*, Milano, 373-384.

Beckman, G.

- 1985, Three Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar, *JCS* 40, 61-68.
- 1986, Inheritance and Royal Succession among the Hittites, in: H.A. Hoffner Jr. & G. Beckman (Eds.), *Kaniššuwat. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, (Assyriological Studies 23) Chicago, 13-30.
- 1988, Three Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar, *JCS* 40, 61-68.
- 1992, Hittite Administration in Syria in the Light of the Texts from Hattuša, Ugarit and Emar, in: M.W. Chavalas & J.L. Hayes (Eds.), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, Malibu, 41-49.
- 1995, Hittite Provincial Administration in Anatolia and Syria: the View from Mašat and Emar, in: O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri & C. Mora, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, Pavia, 19-37.
- 1996a, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, Padova.
- 1996b, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 7), Atlanta.
- 1996c, Family Values on the Middle Euphrates in the Thirteenth Century B.C.E., in: M.W. Chavalas (Ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda (Md.), 57-79.
- 1997, Real Property Sales at Emar, in: G.D. Young, M.W. Chavalas & R.E. Averbeck (Eds.), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons, Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*, Bethesda (Md.), 95-120.
- 1999, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd Edition, (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 7), Atlanta.
- 2002, The Pantheon of Emar, in: P. Taracha (Ed.), *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Warsaw, 39-54.

Bellotto, N.

- 1995, I LU.MEŠ.ah-hi-ia a Emar, *AoF* 22, 210-228.
- 2000, La struttura familiare a Emar: alcune osservazioni preliminari, in: E. Roa (Ed.), *Patavina Orientalia Selecta*, Padova, 187-198.
- 2004, Le adozioni con matrimonio a Nuzi e a Emar, *Kaskal* 1, 129-137.
- Forthcoming, *Le adozioni a Emar*, Padova.

Bellotto, N. & Ponchia S.

- 2006, Note sul ruolo dei testimoni nella stesura dei documenti legali siro-mesopotamici tra il II e il I millennio a.C., in: C. Mora & P. Piacentini (Eds.), *L'Ufficio e il documento. I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell'amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente*, Milano, 385-398.

Belmonte, J.A.

- 2004, El espacio urbano de Emar según la documentation cuneiforme, *Huelva Archeológica* 19, 207-232.

Ben-Barak, Z.

- 1988, The Legal Status of the Daughter as Heir in Nuzi and Emar, in: M. Heltzer & E. Lipinski (Eds.), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)*, Leuven, 87-97.

Beyer, D.

1982, Le sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa, roi de Karkémish, in: M. Yon (Ed.), *La Syrie au Bronze Récent. Protohistoire du Levant, Recueil publié à l'occasion du cinquantième de la découverte d'Ougarit-Ras Shamra (Extraits de la XXVIIe Rencontre assyriologique Internationale, Paris, juillet 1980)*, Paris, 67-78.

2001, *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar IV. Les sceaux*, (OBO Series Archaeologica 20), Fribourg.

Biot, M.

1993, *Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qattunân*, (ARM XXVII), Paris.

Boerma, J. A. K.

2001, Environmental Conditions, in: M. Van Loon (Ed.), *Selenkahiye. Final report on the University of Chicago and University of Amsterdam Excavations in the Tabqa Reservoir, Northern Syria, 1967-1975*, (PIHANS 91), Istanbul, 2.5-2.23.

Boese, J. & Wilhelm, G.

1979, Aššur-dān I., Ninurta-apil-Ekur und die mittellassyrischer Chronologie, *WZKM* 71, 19-38.

Boyer, G.

1939, Son ongle en guise de sceau, in: J. Friedrich, J.G. Lautner, G. Miles & T. Folkers, *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden, 208-218.

Briant, P.

2002, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake (Ind.).

Brinkman, J. A.

1977, Appendix: Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period, in: A.L. Oppenheim & E. Reiner (Eds.), *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, Chicago, 335-346.

1976, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History. Vol. I: A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

1983, Middle Babylonian Chronology and the Statistics of the Nippur Archives, *ZA* 73, 67-74.

Buccellati, G.

1990, The Rural Landscape of the Ancient Zôr: The Terqa Evidence in: B. Geyer (Ed.), *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, (BAH 136), Damas, 155-169.

- Bunnens, G.
1989, Emar on the Euphrates in the 13th Century B.C. Some Thoughts about Newly-Published Cuneiform Texts, *Abr-Nahrain* 27, 23-36.
- Burrows, M.
1937, The Complaint of Laban's Daughters, *JAOS* 57, 259-276.
- Bryce, T.
1998, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford.
2005, *The Kingdom of The Hittites, 2nd Edition*, Oxford.
- Cadelli, D.
1994, Lieux boisés et bois coupes, in: D. Charpin & J.M. Durand (Eds.), *Florilegium Marianum III. Recueil d'études à la memoire de Maurice Birot*, Paris, 159-173.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E.
1996, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad, (BATSH IV / Texte 1)*, Berlin 1996.
1999, Nebenlinien des assyrischen Königshauses in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jts. v. Chr., *AoF* 26, 210-222.
- Forthcoming a, Assur und Hatti. Zwischen Allianz und Konflikt, in: G. Wilhelm (Ed.), *Ḫattusa-Boğazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des alten Orients. VI. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Würzburg 2006, (ICDOG VI)*, Wiesbaden.
- Forthcoming b, Überlegungen zum mittellassyrischen Kalender. Mit einem Exkurs zur mittellassyrischen Eponymenliste, *AoF*.
- Forthcoming c, The Middle-Assyrian Domination of NE Syria: The Written Sources, in: P. Matthiae, W. Orthmann et al. (Eds.), *Archeology and History of Syria, vol. I*.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E. & Chambon, G.
2006, Maßangaben und Zahlvorstellung in archaischen Texten, *AoF* 33, 189-214.
- Carter C.W.
1962, *Hittite Cult-Inventories*, Chicago.
- Chambon, G.
2006, Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate 7. Ecritures et pratiques métrologiques: la Grande mesure à Mari, *RA* 100, 101-106.
- Chambon, G. & Marti, L.
2003, Sur le sens de *uppušum*, *NABU* 2003/5.
- Charpin, D.
1983, Relectures d'ARM VIII: Complements, *MARI* 2, 61-74.

- 1986, Transmission des titres de propriété et constitution des archives privées en Babylonie Ancienne, in: K.R. Veenhof (Ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden, 4-8 July 1983)*, Istanbul, 121-140.
- 2002, Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate, I. Le 'royaume de Hana': textes et histoire, *RA* 96, 61-92.
- 2003, La toponymie en miroir, *RA* 97, 1-34.
- 2004, Histoire politique de la Mesopotamie, in: P. Attinger, W. Sallaberger & M. Wafler (Eds.), *Mesopotamien: die altbabylonische Zeit* (OBO 160/4), Göttingen and Fribourg, 1-485.
- Charpin, D. & Durand, J.M.
1997, Assur avant l'Assyrie, *MARI* 8, 373-376.
- Charpin, D. & Ziegler, N.
2003, *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite. Essai d'histoire politique*, Florilegium marianum V, (Mémoires de *NABU* 6), Paris.
- Chavalas, M. W.
2002, Assyriology and Biblical Studies: A Century and a Half of Tension, in M. W. Chavalas & K. Lawson Younger (Eds.), *Mesopotamia and the Bible*, Grand Rapids (Michigan), 21-67.
- Cifola, B.
2004, The Titles of Tukulti-Ninurta I. after the Babylonian Campaign: A Re-evaluation, in: G. Frame (Ed.), *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*, Leiden, 7-16.
- Cohen, Y.
2002, *Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society*, (THeth 24), Heidelberg.
2003, Review of D. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, Winona Lake (Ind.) 2000, *OrNS* 72, 267-274.
2004, Kidin-Gula – The Foreign Teacher at the Emar Scribal School, *RA* 98, 81-100.
2005a, Change and Innovation in the Administration and Scribal Practices of Emar during the Hittite Dominion, *Tel Aviv* 32, 192-203.
2005b, A Family Plot: The Zu-Bala Family of Diviners and Hittite Administration in the Land of Ashtata, in: O. Suel (Ed.), *Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 02-08, 2002*, Ankara, 213-224.
2005c, Feet of Clay at Emar: A Happy End?, *OrNS* 74, 165-170.
Forthcoming, *The Scribes and Scholars of Emar* (HSS).
- Cohen, Y. & Singer, I.
2006, A Late Synchronism between Ugarit and Emar, in: Y. Amit, E. Ben Zvi, I. Finkelstein & O. Lipschits (Eds.), *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, Winona Lake (Ind.), 123-139.

Collins, B.J.

2006, A Note on Some Local Cults in the Time of Tudḫaliya IV, in: Th.P.J. van den Hout (Ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV*, Leiden 39-48.

Cooper, J. S., Schwartz, G. & Westbrook, R.

2005, A Mittani Era Tablet from Umm el-Marra, in: D. Owen & G. Wilhelm (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 15, Bethesda (Md.), 41-56.

d'Alfonso, L.

1999, Tarhuntašša in einem Text aus Emar, *AoF* 26, 314-321.

2000, Syro-Hittite Administration at Emar: New Considerations on the Basis of a Prosopographic Study, *AoF* 27, 269-295.

2001, Further Studies on the Ini-Tešub Sealing. Part II: A Prosopographic Approach, *AoF* 28, 267-275.

2002, Review of J.G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets*, (CM 13), Groningen, 2000, *OLZ* 97, 519-527.

2004, Gli Ittiti sul Medio Eufrate alle prese con la fonetica semitica (XIII sec. a.C.), *Kaskal* 1, 45-58.

2005, *Le procedure giudiziarie ittite in Siria (XIII sec. a.C.)*, Pavia.

2007, The Treaty between Talmi-Teššub King of Karkemiš and Šuppiluliyama Great King of Ḫatti, in: D. Groddek & M. Zorman (Eds.), *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 203-220.

Forthcoming, Urban Environment at 13th Century Emar: New Thoughts about Area A Building Complex, in: R. Eichmann & H. Kühne (Eds.), *Fourth International Congress of Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Berlin.

Dalley, S.

2000, Shamshu-ilu, Language and Power in the Western Assyrian Empire, in: G. Bunnens (Ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, (ANES Supplement 7), Louvain – Paris – Sterling (Virginia), 79-88.

Dalley, S. & Teissier, B.

1992, Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere, *Iraq* 54, 83-111.

Dardano, P.

2006, *Die hethitischen Tontafelkataloge aus Ḫattuša (CTH 276-282)*, (StBoT 47), Wiesbaden.

Da Silva, A.

1993, La symbolique des vêtements dans les rites du mariage et du divorce au Proche Orient ancien et dans la Bible, *BCSMS* 26, 15-21.

Dassow, E.

2002, Lists of People from Alalah IV Administrative Archives, *UF* 34, 835-911.

David, M.

1927, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht*, Leipzig.

Deckers, K.

2005, Anthracological Research at the Archaeological Site of Emar on the Middle Euphrates, Syria, *Paléorient* 31.2, 152-166.

Deller, K., Fadhil, A. & Ahmad, K.M.

1994, Two New Royal Inscriptions Dealing with Construction Work in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, *BaM* 25, 459-472.

de Martino, S.

1982, La posizione del coppiere presso la corte ittita, *SCO* 32, 305-318.

2000, Il regno hurrita di Mittani: profilo storico politico, *La Parola del Passato* 55, 68-102.

Del Monte, G.F.

1981, Note sui trattati fra Ḫattusa e Kizuwatna, *OA* 20, 203-221.

Del Monte, G.F. & Tischer, J.

1978, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (RGTC 6), Wiesbaden.

Del Olmo Lete G. & Montero Fenollos, J.-L. (Eds.)

1999, *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates. The Tishrin Dam Area*, (*AuOr Supplementa* 15), Barcelona.

Démare-Lafont, S.

2003, Droit comparé dans les sociétés du Proche-Orient ancien, *Annuaire de l'E.P.H.E., Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques* 17 (2001-2002) Paris, 16-24.

De Odorico, M.

1995, *The Use of Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, (SAAS 3), Helsinki.

Dietrich, M.

1990, Die akkadischen Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar, *UF* 22, 25-48.

Dietrich, M. & Loretz, O.

1969, Die Weingärten des Gebietes von Alalah im 15. Jahrhundert, *UF* 1, 61-65.

2004, Alalah-Texte der Schicht VII (I): Historische und juristische Dokumente, *UF* 36, 43-150.

Di Filippo, F.

2004, Notes on the Chronology of Emar Legal Tablets, *SMEA* 46, 175-214.

Dornemann, R. H.

1980, Tell Hadidi: An Important Center of the Mitannian Period and Earlier, in: J.Cl. Margueron (Ed.), *Le Moyen-Euphrate: Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, Strasbourg, 217-234.

1980, Tel Hadidi: A Millennium of Bronze Age City Occupation, in: D.N. Freedman (Ed.), *Archeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project – Euphrates Valley, Syria* (AASOR 44), 113-151.

Durand, J.M.

1982, Relectures d'ARM VIII, I. Collations, *MARI* 1, 79-89.

1985, La situation historique des *šakkanakku*: nouvelle approche, *MARI* 4, 147-172.

1988, Les anciens de Talhayûm, *RA* 82, 97-113.

1989, Review of Arnaud, D., *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI. Textes sumériens et accadiens*, vols. 1-3, Paris (1986), *RA* 83, 163-191.

1990a, Review of Arnaud, D., *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI. Textes sumériens et accadiens*, vols. 1-3, Paris (1986), *RA* 84, 49-85.

1990b, La cité-État d'Imâr à l'époque des rois de Mari, *MARI* 6, 39-92.

1990c, Problèmes d'eau et d'irrigation au royaume de Mari: l'apport des textes anciens, in: B. Geyer (Ed.), *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, *BAH* 136, Damas, 101-142.

1992, Unité et diversité au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite, in: D. Charpin & F. Joannès, *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*, Paris, 97-128.

1998a, *Documents épistolaires du Palais de Mari. Tome II*, Paris.

1998b, Réalités amorrites et traditions bibliques, *RA* 92, 3-39.

2005a, *Le Culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie ammorite*, (FM VIII), Paris.

2005b, Le nom de NIN-URTA à Émar, *NABU* 2005/62, 68-69.

Durand, J.M. & Marti, L.

2003a, Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate 2. Relectures de documents d'Ekalte, Émar et Tuttul, *RA* 97, 141-180.

2003b, Vue de dot elle est belle!, *NABU* 2003/49.

2005, Chroniques du Moyen-Euphrate 5. Une attaque de Qatna par le Sûhum et la Question du 'Pays de Mari', *RA* 99, 123-132.

Edel, E.

1994, *Die agyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazkoi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I-II*, Opladen.

Eder, C.

2004, Assyrische Distanzangaben und die absolute Chronologie vorderasiens, *AoF* 31, 191-236.

Eidem, J.

1997, Inscriptions, in: D. Oates, J. Oates & H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak, vol.1; The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Period*, London (British School of Archaeology In Iraq) , 39-46.

Einwag, B.

2000, New Discoveries at Tall Bazi, Syria, in: P. Matthiae *et al.* (Eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Rome, 397-410.

Einwag, B. & Otto, A.

2001, Tall Bazi 1998 und 1999 – Die letzten Untersuchungen in der Weststadt: *DaM* 13, 65-88.

Endesfelder, E.

1979, Zur Frage der Bewässerung im pharaonischenägypten, *ZÄS* 106, 37-51.

Ergenzinger, P. J. & Kühne, H.

1991, Ein regionales Bewässerungssystem am Hābūr, *BATSH* 1, 163-190.

Eyre, C. J.

1994, The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt, *JEA* 80, 57-88.

Faist, B.

2001, *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jh. v.Chr.*, (AOAT 265), Münster.

2002, Die Rechtsordnung in Syrien nach der hethitischen Eroberung: Wandel und Kontinuität, in: H. Blum, B. Faist, P. Pfälzner & A.-M. Wittke (Eds.), *Brückenland Anatolien? Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*, Tübingen, 129-146.

2006, Zur Häusertypologie in Emar. Archäologie und Philologie im Dialog, in: M. van Ess, B. Faist & R. Dittmann (Eds.), *“Es ist schon lange her. Das freut uns um so mehr”*. *Vorderasiatische Beiträge für Uwe Finkbeiner*, (Baghdader Mitteilungen 37), 471-480.

Faist, B., Justel, J. J. & Vita, J.-P.

2003, Bibliografía de los Estudios de Emar, *UF* 35, 191-230.

2006-, *Bibliography of Emar Studies*, <http://www.iciop.com/emar/en/index.html> (01.2008).

Fales, M.

1991, Notes on the Royal Family of Emar, in: D. Charpin & F. Joannès (Eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offerts à P. Garelli*, Paris, 81-90.

Finkbeiner U.

2002, Neue Ausgrabungen in Emar, *Alter Orient aktuell* 3, 4-7.

Finkbeiner, U. *et al.*

1999-2000, Emar and Balis 1996-1998. Preliminary Report of the Joint Syrian-German Excavation with the Collaboration of the Princeton University, *Berytus* 44, 5-34.

2001, Emar 1999 – Bericht über die 3. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen, *BaM* 32, 41-110.

2002, Emar 2001 – Bericht über die 4. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen, *BaM* 33, pp. 109-146.

Finkbeiner U., Sakal, F. *et al.*

2004, Emar 2002 – Bericht über die 5. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen, *BaM* 34, 9-100.

Finkelstein, J. J.

1968, An Old Babylonian Herding Contract and Genesis 31:38 f., *JAOS* 88, 30-36.

Fleishman, J.

1992, Offences Against Parents Punishable by Death: Towards a Socio-Legal Interpretation of Ex. 21:15,17, *The Jewish Law Annual* 10, 7-37.

Fleming, D.

1992a, A Limited Kingship: Late Bronze Emar in Ancient Syria, *UF* 24, 59-71.

1992b, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar. A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion*, (HSS 42), Atlanta (Ga).

1992c, The Rituals from Emar: Evolutions of an Indigenous Tradition in Second-Millennium Syria, in: M.W. Chavalas & J.L. Hayes (Eds.), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, Malibu, 51-61.

1993a, LÚ and MEŠ in ^{lu}na-bi-i^{mes} and its Mari Brethren, *NABU* 1993/2-4.

1993b, The Etymological Origins of the Hebrew *nābî*: The One Who Invokes God, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 55, 217-224.

1993c, *Nābû* and *munabbīātu*: Two New Syrian Religious Personnel, *JAOS* 113, 175-183.

1995, More Help from Syria: Introducing Emar to Biblical Study, *Biblical Archaeologist* 58, 139-147.

1996, The Emar Festivals: City Unity and Syrian Identity under Hittite Hegemony, in: M.W. Chavalas (Ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda (Md.), 81-121.

1997, Rituals from Emar, in: W.W. Hallo (Ed.), *The Context of Scripture. Vol. I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, Leiden, 427-443.

1998, Mari and the Possibilities of Biblical Memory, *RA* 92, 41-78.

1999, The Israelite Festival Calendar and Emar's Ritual Archive, *RB* 106, 8-34.

2000, *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House*, Winona Lake (Ind).

- 2002a, Schloen's Patrimonial Pyramid: Explaining Bronze Age Society, *BASOR* 328, 73-80.
- 2002b, Review of J. G. Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets*, (Cuneiform Monographs 13), Groningen, 2000, *JESHO* 45, 365-376.
- 2002c, Emar: On the Road from Harran to Hebron, in: M. W. Chavalas & K. Lawson Younger (Eds.), *Mesopotamia and the Bible*, Grand Rapids (Michigan), 222-250.
- 2004, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance*, Cambridge.
- Franke S. & Wilhelm G.
 1985, Eine mittellassyrische fiktive Urkunde zur Wahrung des Anspruchs auf ein Findelkind, *Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 4, 19-26.
- Freedman, D.N. (Ed.)
 1979, *Archeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project – Euphrates Valley, Syria*, (AASOR 44).
- Freu, J.
 1998, La fin d'Ugarit et de l'Empire Hittite. Données nouvelles et chronologie, *Semitica* 47, 17-39.
 2003, De la confrontation à l'entente cordiale: les relations assyro-hittites à la fin de l'âge du Bronze (ca. 1250-1180 av. J.C.), in G. Beckman et al., (Eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, pp. 101-108.
- Frey, W. & Kürschner, H.
 1991, Die aktuelle und potentielle natürliche Vegetation im Bereich des Unteren Hābūr (Nordost-Syrien), *BATSH* 1, 87-103.
- Freydank, H.
 1974, Zwei Verpflegungstexte aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, *AoF* 1, 55-89.
 1991, *Beiträge zur mittellassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte*, (SGKAO 21), Berlin.
 1992, Das Archiv Assur 18764, *AoF* 19, 276-321.
 2005, Zu den Eponymenfolgen des 13. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. in Dūr-katlimmu, *AoF* 32, 45-56.
 2006, Anmerkungen zur mittellassyrischen Texten. 5, *AoF* 33, 215-222.
- Freydank, H. & Saporetti, C.
 1979, *Nuove attestazioni dell'onomastica medio-assira*, (Incunabula Graeca LXXIV), Rome.

- Gasche, H., Armstrong, J.A., Cole, S.W., & Gurzadyan, V.G. (Eds.)
1997, *Dating the Fall of Babylon. A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*, (MHES II, Mem. IV), Ghent.
- Gavin, C.
1981, The Nuzi Collections in the Harvard Semitic Museum, in: M.A. Morrison & D.I. Owen (Eds.), *Studies in the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, (SCCNH 1), Winona Lake (Ind.), 137-153.
- Gelb, I.
1979, Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia, in: E. Lipiński (Ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, vol. I, (OLA 5), Leuven, 1-97.
- Gelb, I., Steinkeller, P., & Whiting, R.
1991, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient kudurrus*, (OIP 104), Chicago.
- van Gessel, B.H.L.
1998, *Onomasticon of the Hittite Pantheon*, Leiden – New York – Köln.
- Geyer, B.
1990, Une ville d'aujourd'hui engloutie: Emar. Contribution géomorphologique à la localisation de la cité, *MARI* 6, 107-119.
- Geyer, B. & Monchambert, J. (Eds.)
2003, *La basse vallée de l'Euphrate syrien du Néolithique à l'avènement de l'Islam, Mission Archéologique de Mari VI*, BAH 166, Beyrouth, IFPO.
- Giorgieri, M.
2002, Birra, acqua, olio: paralleli siriani e neo-assiri ad un giuramento ittita, in: S. de Martino & F. Pecchioli Daddi (Eds.), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, (Eothen 11), Florence, 299-320.
- Giorgieri, M. & Mora, C.
1996, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a.C.*, (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 32), Como.
- Gonnet, H.
1991, Les Légendes des empreintes hiéroglyphiques anatoliennes, in: D. Arnaud, *Textes Syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent*, (AuOr Supplementa 1), 198-214.
- Gordon, C.H.
1935, Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancien Testament, *RB* 44, 34-41.
1937, The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets, *BASOR* 66, 25-27.

1981, *Erēbu* Marriage, in: M.A. Morrison & D.I. Owen, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, (SCCNH 1), Winona Lake (Ind.), 155-160.

Greenberg, M.

1962, Another Look at Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim, *JBL* 81, 239-248.

Greenfield, J.C.

1982, *Adi balū*. Care for the Elderly and its Rewards, *AfO* 19, 309-316.

Greengus, S.

1969, The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract, *JAOS* 89, 505-532.

Grosz, K.

1981, Dowry and Brideprice in Nuzi, in: M.A. Morrison & D.I. Owen (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, (SCCNH 1), Winona Lake (Ind.), 161-182.

1987, Daughters Adopted as Sons at Nuzi and Emar, in: J.-M. Durand (Ed.), *La femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique, Compte rendu de la XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris, 81-86.

Gunkel, H.

1901, *Genesis*, Göttingen.

Gurney, O.R.

1949, Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu, *Iraq* 11, 131-149.

Güterbock, H.G.

1954, Review of C. L. Woolley & R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum. Part 3: The Excavations in the Inner Town – The Hittite Inscriptions*, London 1952, *JNES* 13, 102-114.

Haas, V.

1970, *Der Kult von Nerik*, Rome.

1994, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden – New York – Köln.

1998, *Die hurritischen Ritualtermini in hethitischem Kontext (ChS I/9)*, Rome.

1998-2001, *Neri(ka)*, *RIA* 9, 229-231.

Hackett, J.A. & Huehnergard, J.

1984, On Breaking Teeth, *HTR* 77, 259-275.

Hagens, G.

2005, The Assyrian King List and Chronology: A Critique, *OrNS* 74, 23-41.

Harris, R.

1955, The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (Tutub), *JCS* 9, 31-120.

Hawkins, J.D.

1980, Karkamiš, *RIA* 5, 426-446.

1982, The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia, in: J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond, & E. Sollberger (Eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III, part 1, Cambridge, 372-441.

1988, Kuzi-Tešub and the 'Great Kings' of Karkamiš, *AnSt* 38, 99-108.

1995a, Karkamish and Karatepe: Neo-Hittite City-States in North Syria, in: J.C. Sasson (Ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2, New York, 1295-1308.

1995b, 'Great Kings' and 'Country Lords' at Malatya and Karkamiš, in: Th. P.J. Hout & J. de Roos (Eds.), *Studio historiae ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, (PIHANS 74), Leiden, 73-86.

2000, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Volume. I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, (UISK 8/1; CHLI) Berlin – New York.

2001, Urḫi-Tešub, *tuhkanti*, in: G. Wilhelm (Ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie; Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, Wiesbaden, 167-179.

2002, Anatolia: The End of the Hittite Empire and After, in: E.A. Braun-Holzinger & H. Matthäus (Eds.), *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Möhnesee-Wamel, 144-151.

Hazenbos, J.

1996, Die in Kuşaklı gefundenen Kultinventare, *MDOG* 128, 95-104.

2003, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.*, Leiden – Boston.

Hecker, K.

1996, Zur Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschrift, in: D.I. Owen & G. Wilhelm (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians vol. 8: Richard F. S. Starr Memorial Volume*, Bethesda (Md.), 291-303.

1997, Über den Euphrat (Ortsbezugene Restriktionen in aA Kaufurkunden), *Archiv Anatolicum* 3, 157-172.

Heltzer, M.

1977, The Metal Trade of Ugarit and the Problem of Transportation of Commercial Goods, *Iraq* 39, 203-211.

1978, *Goods, Prices and the Organization of Trade in Ugarit*, Wiesbaden.

1998, New Light from Emar on Genesis 31. The Theft of the Teraphim, in: M. Dietrich & I. Kottsieper (Eds.), *'Und Moses schrieb dieses Lied auf'. Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schuelern und Kollegen*, Münster, 357-362.

Herbordt, S.

2005, *Die Prinzen- und Beamten siegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbulln aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*, Mainz.

Hoffner, H.

1974, *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*, New Haven.

1992, Syrian Cultural Influence in Hatti, in: M.W. Chavalas & J.L. Hayes (Eds.), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, Malibu, 89-106.

Hoskisson, P. I.

1991, Emar as an Empirical Model of the Transmission of Canon, in: K.L. Lawson Younger Jr., W.W. Hallo & B. Batto (Eds.), *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective. Scripture in Context IV*, Lewiston, 21-32.

van den Hout, Th. P.J.

1995, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*, (StBoT 38), Wiesbaden.

2001, Zur Geschichte des jüngeren hethitischen Reiches, in: G. Wilhelm (Ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongress für Hethitologie*, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999, (StBoT 45), Wiesbaden, 213-223.

Houwink ten Cate, Ph.H.J.

1992, The Hittite Storm-God: His Role and His Rule According to Hittite Cuneiform Sources, in: D.J.W. Meijer (Ed.), *Natural Phenomena. Their Meaning, Depiction and Description in the Ancient Near East*, Amsterdam – Oxford – New York – Tokyo, 83-148.

Huehnergard, J.

1983, Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar, *RA* 77, 11-43.

1985, Biblical Notes on Some New Akkadian Texts from Emar (Syria), *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47, 428-434.

1988, Northwest Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the AOS, Chicago.

1999, On the Etymology and Meaning of Hebrew *nābî*, *Eretz-Israel* 26, 88-93.

2001, Review of G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, Padova, 1996, *OrNS* 70, 133-136.

Ikeda, J.

1998, The Akkadian Language of Emar: Texts Related to a Diviner's Family, in: Sh. Izre'el, I. Singer & R. Zadok (Eds.), *Past Links. Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, (Israel Oriental Studies 18), Winona Lake, (Ind.), 33-61.

1999, Scribes in Emar, in: K. Watanabe (Ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East*, Heidelberg, 163-185.

Imparati, F.

1987, La politique extérieure des Hittites: tendances et problèmes, *Hethitica* 8, 187-207.

Jakob, S.

2005, Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung. Nichtassyrier im mittellassyrischen 'Westreich', in: W.H. van Soldt et al. (Eds.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48th RAI, Leiden 1-4 July 2002*, Leiden, 180-188.

Joannès, F. (Ed.)

2001, *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Mésopotamienne*, Paris.

Justel, J.J.

2006, ASJ 16/51 (= HCCT-E 51), document from Ekalte, *NABU* 2006/28, 25-26.

Kämerer, Th.

1994, Zur sozialen Stellung der Frau in Emār und Ekalte als Witwe und Waise, *UF* 26, 169-208.

Kammenhuber, A.

1990, Marduk und Santa in der hethitischen Überlieferung des 2. Jt.s v.Chr., *OrNS* 59, 188-195.

Kelly-Buccellati, M.

1986, Sealing Practices at Terqa, in: M. Kelly-Buccellati (Ed.), *Insight Through Image: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, (BiMes 21), Malibu, 133-142.

Kienast, B.

1980, Kauf in Alalakh und Ugarit, *RIA* 5, 530-541.

1984, *Das altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht*, Wiesbaden.

Klengel, H.

1965, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z., Teil 1: Nordsyrien*, (Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 40), Berlin.

1974, 'Hungerjahre' in Ḫatti, *AoF* 1, 165-74.

1975, Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Nordsyriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z., *AoF* 2, 47-64.

1988, Die Keilschrifttexte von Meskene und die Geschichte von Astata/Emar, *OLZ* 83, 645-653.

1992, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History*, Berlin.

1999, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, (HdO), Leiden-Boston-Köln.

2001a, Einige Bemerkungen zur hethitischen Herrschaftsordnung in Syrien, in: G. Wilhelm (Ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, (StBoT 45), Wiesbaden, 255-271.

- 2001b, Nochmals zur Rolle der Herrscher von Halab und Karkamiš in der hethitischen Großreichszeit, in: Th. Richter, D. Prechel & J. Klinger (Eds.), *Kulturgeschichte. Altorientalistische Studien für V. Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Saarbrücken, 191-196.
- 2002, Karkamis in der hethitischen Großreichszeit. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick, in: *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter, Katalog der Ausstellung, Bonn 18. Januar-28. April 2002*, Bonn, 164-167.
- 2003, Einige Bemerkungen zur Struktur des hethitischen Staates, *AoF* 30, 281-289.
- Klinger, J.
1996, Untersuchungen zur Rekonstruktion der hattischen Kultschicht (StBoT 37), Wiesbaden.
- Koehler, L. & Baumgartner, W.
1967, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, (Lieferung I), Leiden.
- Kohlmeyer, K.
1984, Euphrat-Survey. Die mit Mitteln der Gerda Henkel Stiftung durchgeführte archäologische Geländebegehung im syrischen Euphrattal, *MDOG* 116, 95-118.
1986, Euphrat-Survey. Zweiter Vorbericht über die mit Mitteln der Gerda Henkel Stiftung durchgeführte archäologische Geländebegehung im syrischen Euphrattal, *MDOG* 118, 51-65.
- Koschaker, P.
1936, Randnotizen zu neueren keilschriftlichen Rechtsurkunden, *ZA* 9, 196-232.
- Kraus, F.R.
1973, *Vom Mesopotamischen Menschen der Altbabylonischen Zeit und seiner Welt*, Amsterdam – London.
- Kühne, C.
1995, Ein mittelasyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte, in: W. Orthmann et al. (Eds.), *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien I*, Saarbrücken, 203-225.
1999, Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction, in: G. Wilhelm & D. Owen (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 10, Bethesda (Md.), 203-221.
- Kühne, H.
1994, The Urbanization of the Assyrian Provinces, in: S. Mazzoni (Ed.), *Nuove fondazioni nel Vicino Oriente antico: realtà e ideologia*, Pisa, 55-84.
1995, The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Habur, in: M. Liverani (Ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Rome, 69-85.

- 1998, Tall Šēḫ-Hamad – The Assyrian city of Dūr-Katlimmu. A Historic-Geographical Approach, in: H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (Ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Wiesbaden, 279-307.
- 2000, Dur-Katlimmu and the Middle Assyrian Empire, in: O. Rouault & M. Wäfler, (Eds.), *La Djéziré et l'Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av. J.-C. Tendances dans l'interprétation historique des données nouvelles*, (Subartu VII), Turnhout, 271-279.
- Kümmel, H.M.
1989, Ein Kaufvertrag mit mittellassyrischer līmu-Datierung, *ZA* 79, 191-200.
- Küster, H.
1989, Bronzezeitliche Pflanzenreste aus Tall Munbāqa, *MDOG* 121, 85-91.
- Lacheman, E.R. & Owen, D.I.
1981, Texts from Arrapha and from Nuzi in the Yale Babylonian Collection, in: M.A. Morrison & D.I. Owen (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, (SCCNH 1), Winona Lake (Ind.), 377-432.
- Lackenbacher, S.
1991, Chapitre III: Lettres, in: P. Bordereuil (Ed.), *Une bibliothèque au Sud de la ville: Les textes de la 34 campagne (1973)*, (*Ras Shamra-Ugarit VII*), Paris, 27-64.
2002, *Textes akkadiens d'Ugarit: Textes provenant des vingt-cinq premières campagnes*, (LAPO 20), Paris.
- Lafont, B.
1991a, Un homme d'affaires à Karkemiš, in: D. Charpin & F. Joannès (Eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris, 275-286.
1991b, Nuit dramatique à Mari: Excursus (sur la valeur de la canne à Mari), in: J.-M. Durand, *Florilegium Marianum: recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury*, (FM I), Paris, 102-105.
- Landsberger, B.
1954, Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter', *JCS* 8, 31-71.
- Laroche, E.
1980, Emar: étape entre Babylone et le Hatti, in: J.Cl. Margueron (Ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate, zone de contacts et d'échanges, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10-12 Mars 1977*, Leiden, 235-244.
1981, Les hiéroglyphes de Meskéné-Emar et le style 'syro-hittite', *Akkadica* 22, 5-14.
1982, Documents hittites et hurrites, in D. Beyer (Ed.), *Meskéné/Emar. Dix ans des travaux: 1972-1982*, Paris, 53-60.

- 1983, Les hiéroglyphes hittites de Meskéné-Emar: un emprunt d'écriture, *CRAIBL* (janvier – mars), 12-23.
- 1988, *Observations sur le rituel anatolien provenant de Meskene-Emar*, in: F. Imparati (Ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a G. Pugliese Carratelli* (Eothen 1), Firenze, 111-117.
- Lebrun, R.
1988, Divinités louvites et hourrites des rituels anatoliens en langue akkadienne provenant de Meskéné, *Hethitica* 9, 147-155.
- Leemans, W.F.
1988, Aperçu sur les textes juridiques d'Emar, *JESHO* 31, 207-242.
1992, Le droit d'Emar, ville sur le Moyen-Euphrate, au XIII^e siècle av.J.Chr., *Oosters Genootschap in Nederland* 19, 3-33.
- Lewis, T. J.
1995, *Teraphim*, in: K. van der Toorn, B. Becking & P.W. van der Horst (Eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden, 1588-1601.
- Lewy, H.
1938, La mesure de l'*Imēru* dans les textes de Nuzi, *RA* 35, 33-35.
- Lion, B.
2000, Les mentions des 'prophètes' dans la seconde moitié du II^e millénaire av. J.-C., *RA* 94, 21-32.
- Lipiński, E.
1992, Arcanes et conjonctures du marché immobilier à Ugarit et à Emar au XIII^e siècle av. n.è, *AoF* 19, 40-43.
- Liverani, M.
1960, Karkemiš nei testi di Ugarit, *RSO* 35, 135-147.
1974, The *kūmanu* measure as 1/4 of 1 ikû, *Assur* 1, 11.
1975, Communautés de village et palais royal dans la Syrie du II^e millénaire, *JESHO* 18, 146-164.
1977, Segni Arcaici di individuazione personale. A proposito del motivo del riconoscimento nei Tragici greci, *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 105, 106-118.
1979, Ras Shamra. II. Histoire, in: H. Cazelles & A. Feuillet (Eds.), *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 53, Paris, 1295-1348.
1983, Communautés rurales dans la Syrie du II^e millénaire a.C., *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions* 41, 147-185.
1996, Reconstructing the Rural Landscape of the Ancient Near East, *JESHO* 39, 1-41.
1988a, *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*, Rome – Bari.
1988b, The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur / Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm, *SAAB* 2, 81-98.

- Loon, M. N., van
1967, *The Tabqa Reservoir Survey 1964*, Damascus.
- Loretz, O.
1992, Die Teraphim als 'Ahnen-Götter-Figur(in)en' im Lichte der texte aus Nuzi, Emar und Ugarit, *UF* 24, 133-178.
- Luciani, M.
1999, Zur Lage Terqa in schriftlichen Quellen, *ZA* 89, 1-23.
1999-2001, On Assyrian Frontiers and the Middle Euphrates, *SAAB* 13, 87-114.
- Machule, D.
1990, Tall Munbaqa. Die spätbronzezeitliche Stadtanlage und die Häuser, in: P. Matthiae, M. van Loon & H. Weiss (Eds.), *Resurrecting the Past: A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Istanbul, 199-214.
- Maidman, P.
1976, The Tehip-tilla Family of Nuzi: A Genealogical Reconstruction, *JCS* 28, 131-132.
1979, A Nuzi Private Archive: Morphological Considerations, *Assur* 1/9, 179-86.
1995, Nuzi: Portrait of an Ancient Mesopotamian Provincial Town, in: J.M. Sasson, (Ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. II, New York, 931-947.
- Malul, M.
1988, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*, (AOAT 221), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Margueron, J.-Cl.
1975, Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouille à Meskéné-Emar (1972-1973), *AAAS* 25, 73-86.
1980, Emar: un exemple d'implantation hittite en terre syrienne, in: J.-Cl. Margueron (Ed.), *Le moyen-Euphrate: zone de contacts et d'échanges*, Leiden, 285-314.
1982a, Aux marches de l'Empire Hittite: une campagne de fouille a Tell Faq'ous (Syrie), citadelle du pays d'Aštata, in: M. Yon (Ed.), *La Syrie au Bronze Récent*, Paris, 47-66.
1982b, Rapport préliminaire sur les 3^e, 4^e, 5^e, et 6^e campagnes de fouilles à Meskene-Emar, *AAAS* 32, 233-249.
1985, Une nouvelle 'maquette architecturale' syrienne du Bronze Récent, in: J.-L. Huot, M. Yon & Y. Calvet (Eds.), *De l'Indus aux Balkans : Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*, Paris , 165-175.
- Mayer, G.
1984, Kesep. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 4, col. 289.
- Mayer, W.
2001, *Tall Munbāqa – Ekalte II. Die Texte*, (WVDOG 102), Saarbrücken.

Mazzoni, S.

2000, Crisis and Change: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Syria, in: P. Matthiae, A. Enea, L. Peyronel & F. Pinnock (Eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Rome, May 18th-23rd 1998)*, Rome, 1043-1055.

McClellan, Th. L.

1997, Houses and Households in North Syria, in: C. Castel, M. al-Maqqissi & F. Villeneuve (Eds.), *Les maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux débuts de l'Islam*, Beyrouth, 30-59.

Meek, T. J.

1935, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts* (HSS 10), Cambridge.

Melchert, C.

1993, *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon (Lexica Anatolica 2)*, Chapel Hill.

Michel C.

2000, A propos d'un testament paléo-assyrien: une femme de marchand 'père et mère' des capitaux, *RA* 94, 1-10.

2001, *Correspondance des marchands de Kanish*, (LAPO 19), Paris.

Mieroop, M., van de

1999, Thoughts on Urban Real Estate in Ancient Mesopotamia, in: M. Hudson & B.A. Levine (Eds.), *Urbanisation and Land Ownership in the Ancient Near East*, Cambridge, 253-287.

Millard, A.R. & Wiseman, D.J.

1983, *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives*, Winona Lake (Ind.).

Miller, J.M.

2004, *Studies in the Origins, Development and Interpretation of the Kizzuwatna Rituals* (StBoT 46), Wiesbaden.

Miller, J. M. & Hayes, J. H.

1986, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, Philadelphia.

Mora, C.

1987, *La glittica anatolica del II millennio A.C.: Classificazione tipologica. Vol 1: I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica*, (StudMed 6) Pavia.

1988, I proprietari di sigillo nella società ittita, in: *Stato Economia Lavoro nel Vicino Oriente antico*, Milan, 249-269.

1992, Artistes, artisans et scribes entre Kargamiš et Ḫatti au XIII^e siècle, in: D. Charpin & F. Joannès (Eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien – Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*, Paris, 241-249.

1993, Lo 'status' dei re di Kargamiš, *OrNS* 62, 67-70.

- 1998, Osservazioni sull'uso del 'geroglifico anatolico' in Siria nel II millennio a.C., in: M. Marazzi (Ed.), *Il Geroglifico anatolico. Sviluppi della ricerca a venti anni dalla sua "ridecifrazione". (Atti del Colloquio e della tavola rotonda Napoli-Procida, 5-9 giugno 1995)*, Napoli, 195-218.
- 2003, On Some Clauses in the Kurunta Treaty and the Political Scenery at the End of the Hittite Empire, in: G.M. Beckman, R.H. Beal & G. McMahon (Eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake (Ind.), 289-296.
- 2004, Sigilli e sigillature di Karkemiš in età imperiale ittita I. I re, i dignitari, il (mio) Sole, *OrNS* 73, 427-450.
- 2005, Sigilli e sigillature di Karkemiš in età imperiale ittita. II. I sigilli dei principi e dei funzionari: caratteristiche, uso, funzioni, in: M. Perna (Ed.), *Studi in onore di E. Fiandra*, Napoli, 229-244.
- Forthcoming, Principi di Karkemiš a Ḫattuša: attività e rapporti con il potere ittita, in: A. Archi & R. Strauss (Eds.), *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittitologia*, Rome.
- Mora, C. & Giorgieri, M.
2004, *Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re assiri ritrovate a Ḫattuša*, Padova.
- Moran, W.L.
1992, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore – London.
- Mori, L.
2003a, *Reconstructing the Emar Landscape*, Rome.
2003b, The *ḫabu* building in Emar and Ekalte, *NABU* 2003/52, 60-62.
- Morrison, M. A.
1983, The Jacob and Laban Narrative in Light of Near Eastern Sources, *Biblical Archaeologist* 46, 155-164.
- Muffs, Y.
1969, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*, Leiden.
- Müller, M. & Marzahn, J.
2000, Fünf altassyrische Texte aus dem Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin, in: J. Marzahn & H. Neuman (Eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica: Festschrift für Joachim Olsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, (AOAT 252), Münster, 285-309.
- Na'aman N.
1984, Statements of Time-Spans by Babylonian and Assyrian Kings and Mesopotamian Chronology, *Iraq* 46, 115-123.

Neu, E.

- 1995, Hethiter und Hethitisch in Ugarit, in: M. Dietrich & O. Loretz (Eds.), *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. Vorträge gehalten während des Europäischen Kolloquiums am 11.-12. Februar 1993 Bd. 1: Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, (ALASP 7) Münster, 115-129.

Nougayrol, J.

- 1968, Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit, in: J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud & C.F.A. Schaeffer (Eds.), *Mission de Ras Shamra (Tome XVI). Ugaritica V*, Paris, 1-446.

Oppenheim, A. L.

- 1935a, Studien zu den altbabylonischen Stadtrechten, *Or* 4, 145-174.
 1935b, Ein Beitrag zum Kassiten problem, *Analecta Orientalia* 12, 276-274.
 1936, Der Eid in den Rechtsurkunden aus Susa, *WZKM* 43, 242-262.
 1955, Siege Documents from Nippur, *Iraq* 17, 69-89.

Orthmann, W.

- 1975, *Der alte Orient*, (Propylaen Kunstgeschichte 14) Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Vienne.

Otten, H.

- 1967, Ein hethitischer Vertrag aus dem 15./14. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (KBo XVI 47). *IstMit* 17, 55-62.
 1988, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV.*, (StBoT Beiheft 1) Wiesbaden 1988.

Otten, H. & Souček, V.

- 1969, *Ein althethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar* (StBoT 8), Wiesbaden.

Otto, A.

- 2006, Wohnhäuser als Spiegel sakraler Bauten?, in: P. Butterlin, M. Lebeau & B. Pierre (Eds.), *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens. Dimensions de l'expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien. Volume d'hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron*, (Subartu VII), Brüssel, 487-496.

Ottosson, M.

- 1973, 'ākal', *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 1, col. 252-259.

Owen, D.

- 1995, Pasūri-Dagan and Ini-Teššup's Mother, in: Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, & M. Sokolof (Eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake (Ind.), 573-584.

Paradise, J.

1987, A Daughter as Son at Nuzi, in: D.I. Owen & M.A. Morrison, *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 9/1*, (SCCNH 2), Winona Lake (Ind.), 203-213.

Paul, S.M.

1980, Adoption Formulae: A Study of Cuneiform and Biblical Legal Clauses, *MAARAV* 2, 173-185.

Pecchioli Daddi, F.

2005, Die mittelhethitischen išḫiul-Texte, *AoF* 32, 280-290.

2006, The System of Government at the Time of Tuthaliya IV, in: Th.P.J. van den Hout, (Ed.), *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuthaliya IV*, Leiden, 117-130.

Pedersén, O.

1998, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500-300 B.C.*, Bethesda (Md.).

Pentiuc, E.

2001, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar*, (HSS 49) Winona Lake (Ind.).

Pettinato, G.

1978, L'atlante geografico del Vicino Oriente Antico attestato a Ebla e ad Abu-Salabikh (I), *OrNS* 47, 50-73.

Pfälzner, P.

1997, Keramikproduktion und Provinzverwaltung im mittellassyrischen Reich, in: H. Waetzoldt & H. Hauptmann (Eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*, (HSAO 6), Heidelberg, 337-345.

Pitard, W.T.

1996, Care of the Dead at Emar, in: M.W. Chavalas (Ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda (Md.), 123-140.

Podany, A.

2002, *The Land of Hana. Kings, Chronology, and Scribal Traditions*, Bethesda (Md.).

Polvani, A.M.

2005, *The Deity IMIN.IMIN.BI in Hittite Texts*, *OrNS* 74, 181-194.

Pomponio, F.

1996, Acribia ed errori nella Lista Reale Assira, *A.I.U.O.N* 56, 159-165.

Porten, B. & Yardeni, A.

1989, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Newly Copied, Edited, and Translated into Hebrew and English. 2. Contracts*, Winona Lake (Ind.) – Jerusalem.

Postgate, J.N.

1975, Some Old Babylonian Shepherds and Their Flocks, *JSS* 20, 1-21.

1979, On some Assyrian Ladies, *Iraq* 41, 89-103.

1992, The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur, *World Archaeology* 23, 247-263.

2001, System and Style in Three Near Eastern Bureaucracies, in: S. Voutsaki & J. Killen (Eds.), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States*, (Cambridge Philological Society 27), Cambridge, 181-194.

Powell, M.A.

1987-90, Masse und Gewichte, *RIA* 7, 457-517.

Pruzinszky, R.

2003, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar*, (SCCNH 13) Bethesda (Md.).

2004, Evidence for the Short Chronology in Mesopotamia? The Chronological Relationship between the Texts from Emar and Ekalte, in: H. Hunger & R. Pruzinszky (Eds.), *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEEM 2000*, Vienne, 43-50.

2005, Zum Verständnis der assyrischen Distanzangaben: Beiträge zur assyrischen Chronologie, *SAAB* 14 (2002-2005), 23-31.

2006a, Šamši-Adads I. 'neue' Regierungsdaten und assyrischen Distanzangaben, in: E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, & A. Schwab (Eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, (OLA 149/3), Leuven, 73-79.

2006b, Ein bibliographischer Wegweiser zur absoluten mesopotamischen Chronologie des 2. Jts. v.Chr, in: M. Bietak (Ed.), *Ägypten und die Levante / Egypt and the Levant. Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete* XV, Vienne, 181-201.

Puhvel J.

1984-, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, Berlin.

Radner, K.

2006, Provinz; C. Assyrien, *RIA* 11, 42-68.

Reculeau, H.

2002, Lever d'astres et calendrier agricole à Mari, *Florilegium Marianum* VI, (*Mémoires de NABU* 7), Paris, 517-538.

2006, *Les paysages ruraux des vallées du Moyen-Euphrate et de ses affluents au IIe millénaire av. n. è.*, Ph. D., Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

Forthcoming, Environnement et occupation de l'espace (2): les sédentaires, in: Tell Hariri/Mari, *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*.

Redford, D. B., (Ed.)

2001, *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.

Renger, J.

1977, Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia, in: Mc.G. Gibson & R. Biggs (Eds.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Malibu, 75-88.

Riehl, S.

2001, Vorbericht der archäobotanischen Bestandsaufnahme in Emar, *BaM* 32, 157-172, Pl. 1-2.

Rihaoui, A.K.

1965, Étude préliminaire sur la sauvegarde des monuments dans la région du barrage de l'Euphrate, *AAAS* 15, 99-111.

Röllig, W.

2004, Eponymen in den mittelasyrischen Dokumenten aus Tall Šēḫ-Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu, *ZA* 94, 18-51.

Rost, L.

1961, Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen, *MIO* 8, 161-217.

Rouillard, H. & Tropper, J.

1987, *Trpym*, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d'après 1 Samuel XIX 1-17 et les textes parallèles d'Assur et de Nuzi, *VT* 37, 340-361.

Sallaberger, W.

1999, Ur III-Zeit, in: P. Attinger & M. Wäfler (Eds.), *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, (OBO 160/3), Göttingen, 121-390.

2001, Zu einer Urkunde aus Ekalte über die Rückgabe der Hausgötter, *UF* 33, 495-499.

2003, Review of M.R. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar: The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town*, Leuven, 2001, *ZA* 93, 273-278.

Sallaberger, W., Einwag, B., & Otto, A.,

2006, Schenkungen von Mittani-Königen an die Einwohner von Bašīru. Die zwei Urkunden aus Tall Bazi am Mittleren Euphrat, *ZA* 96, 69-104.

Salvini, M. & Tremouille, M.-C.

2003, Les textes hittites de Meskéné/Emar, *SMEA* 45, 225-271.

Sanlaville, P.

1985, L'espace géographique de Mari, *MARI* 4, 15-26.

Saporetti, C.

1979, *Gli eponimi medio-assiri*, Malibu.

Sasson, J.M.

1966, Canaanite Maritime Involvement in the Second Millennium B.C., *AJA* 86, 126-138.

1998, About 'Mari and the Bible', *RA* 92, 97-123.

Schiavone, A.

2005, *IUS. L'invenzione del diritto in Occidente*, Torino.

Schloen, J.D.

2001, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol. Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2), Winona Lake, (Ind).

Schmidt, B.B.

1996, The Gods and the Dead of the Domestic Cult at Emar: A Reassessment, in: M.W. Chavalas (Ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda (Md.), 141-163.

von Schuler, E.

1957, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte*, Graz.

Seeher, J.

2000, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 1999, *AA* 2000, 355-374.

2002, Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattuša 2001, mit einem Beitrag von Hans Günter Jansen, *AA* 2002, 59-78.

Selman, M.J.

1976, The Social Environment of the Patriarchs, *Tyndale Bulletin* 27, 114-136.

1983, Comparative Customs and the Patriarchal Age, in: A.R. Millard & D.J. Wiseman, *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives*, Winona Lake (Ind.), 91-139.

Seminara, S.

1996, Il 'lugalato' da Ebla a Emar. Sopravvivenze emarite della terminologia e della prassi eblaite della gestione del potere, *AuOr* 14, 79-92.

1998, *L'accadico di Emar*, (MVS 6), Rome.

Van Seters, J.

1975, *Abraham in History and Tradition*, New Haven – London.

Seux, M.-J.

1967, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris.

Siegelová, J.

1986, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente*, Prague.

Sigrist, M.

- 1993a, Gestes symboliques et rituels à Emar, in: J. Quaegebeur (Ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, (OLA 55), Leuven, 381-410.
 1993b, Seven Emar Tablets, in: A.F. Rainey (Ed.), *kinattūtu ša dārāti*, Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume, Tel Aviv, 165-187.

Singer, I.

- 1995, Borrowing Seals at Emar, in: J.G. Westenholz (Ed.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem, 57-64.
 1996, Great Kings of Tarhuntašša, *SMEA* 38, 63-71.
 1998, From Ḫattuša to Tarhuntašša: Some Thoughts on Muwatall's reign, in: S. Alp & A. Suel (Eds.), *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology*, Ankara, 535-541.
 1999, A Political History of Ugarit, in: W.G.E. Watson & N. Wyatt (Eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, (HdO I/39) Leiden – Boston – Köln, 603-733.
 2000a, The Hittite Seal Impressions, in: J.G. Westenholz, *Cuneiforms Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets*, Groningen, 81-97.
 2000b, A New Hittite Letter from Emar, in L. Milano, S. de Martino, F.M. Fales, & G.B. Lanfranchi (Eds.), *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East: Geography and Cultural Landscapes, Volume 2* (CRRAI 44), Padova, 65-72.
 2001, The Treaties between Karkamiš and Hatti, in: G. Wilhelm (Ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*, (StBoT 45) Wiesbaden, 635-641.
 2002, *Hittite Prayers*, (Writings from the Ancient World 11), Atlanta.
 2003, The Great Scribe Taki-Šarruma, in: G.M. Beckman, R.H. Beal & G. McMahon (Eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake (Ind.), 341-348.
 2003-2005, *Piḫaššaš(š)i-*, *RLA* 10, 559-560.

Skaist, A.

- 1990, The Sale Contracts from Khafajah, in: J. Klein & A. Skaist (Eds.) *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, Ramat Gan, 255-276.
 1998a, The Chronology of the Legal Texts from Emar, *ZA* 88, 45-71.
 1998b, A Hurrian Term at Emar, in: D.I. Owen & G. Wilhelm (Eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, Volume 9: General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 10/2*, Bethesda (Md.), 169-171.
 1999, Review of G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen*, Padova (1996), *BiOr* 56, 124-127.
 2001, Emar, in: R. Westbrook & R. Jasmow, (Eds.), *Security for Debt in Ancient Near Eastern Law*, (Culture & History of the Ancient Near East 9), Leiden – Boston – Köln, 237-250.
 2005a, The Order of the Rulers of Emar, in: Y. Sefati, P. Artzi, C. Cohen, B.L. Eichler, & V.A. Hurowitz (Eds.) *An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, Bethesda (Md.), 568-574.

2005b, When did Ini-Tešub succeed to the Throne of Carchemish?, *UF* 37, 609-619.

Snell, D.C.

1983-84, The Cuneiform Tablet from El-Qitar, *Abr Nahrain* 22, 159-170.

van Soldt, W. H.

1991, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*, (AOAT 40), Kevelaer.

Souček, V. & Siegelová, J.

1974, Der Kult des Wettergottes von Ḫalap in Ḫatti, *ArOr* 42, 39-52.

Soysal, O.

2004, *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung*, Leiden – Boston.

Spanier, K.

1992, Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim: Her Struggle for Family Primacy, *VT* 42, 404-412.

Speiser, E. A.

1964, *Genesis. Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, (The Anchor Bible), New York.

Speiser, E.A. & Pfeiffer, R.H.

1936, *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts*, (AASOR 16), New Haven.

Starke, F.

1997, Sprachen und Schriften in Karkamis, in: B. Pongratz Leisten, H. Kühne & P. Xella (Eds.), *ana šadi Labnāni lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittellmeischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*, (AOAT 247), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 381-395.

Steele, F. R.

1943, *Nuzi Real Estate Transactions*, (AOS 25), New Haven.

Steinkeller, P.

1989, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17), Wiesbaden.

1999, Land-Tenure Conditions in Third-Millennium Babylonia: The Problem of Regional Variation, in: M. Hudson & B. Levine (Eds.), *Urbanisation and Land Ownership in the Ancient Near East*, Cambridge (Mass.), 289-329.

Strauß, R.

2006, *Reinigungsrituale aus Kizzuwatna*, Berlin – New York.

Streck, M. P.

2000, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonische Zeit Bd. 1, Die Amurriter: Die onomastische Forschung: Orthographie und Phonologie, Nominalmorphologie*, Münster.

Sürenhagen, D.

1986, Ein Königssiegel aus Karkamis, *MDOG* 118, 183-190.

Symington, D.

1991, Late Bronze Age Writing-Boards and Their Uses: Textual Evidence from Anatolia and Syria, *AnSt* 41, 111-123.

Tani, N.

1999, Osservazioni sui processi ittiti per malversazione, in: S. de Martino & F. Imparati, *Studi e Testi II*, (Eothen 10), Florence, 176-192.

Tanret, M.

2000, The Field and the Map: Of Ghosts and Fictive Neighbours, in: L. Milano, S. de Martino, F.M. Fales & G.B. Lanfranchi (Eds.), *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East – Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7-11 July 1997. Part II: Geography and Cultural Landscapes*, (HANE/M 3/2) Padova, 159-162.

Tenu, A.

2003, *L'expansion médio-assyrienne*, Diss., Paris.

2006, Le Moyen Euphrate à l'époque medio-assyrienne, in: A. Tenu, Chr. Kepinski & O. Lecomte (Eds.), *Studia Euphratica – Le Moyen Euphrate iraquien révélé par les fouilles préventives de Haditha*, (Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès vol. 3), Paris, 217-245.

Thompson Th. L.

1974, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, Berlin.

Tischler, J.

1991-1994, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar Teil 3, T,D*, Innsbruck.

2001, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar Teil 2, P*, Innsbruck.

Toorn, K., van der

1990, The Nature of Biblical *teraphim* in the Light of Cuneiform Evidence, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 52, 203-222.

1994, Gods and Ancestors in Emar and Nuzi, *ZA* 84, 38-59.

1995, The Domestic Cult at Emar, *JCS* 47, 35-49.

1996, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel*, Leiden.

Trabazo, J.V.G. & Groddek, D.

2005, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription KUB 58*, (DBH 18), Wiesbaden.

Trémouille, M.-C.

1997, *^dHebat, une divinité syro-anatolienne*, Firenze.

Tropper, J. & Vita, J.-P.

2004, Texte aus Emar, in: B. Janowski & G. Wilhelm (Eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge. Band 1: Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben*, Gütersloh, 146-162.

Tsukimoto, A.

1989, Emar and the Old Testament – Preliminary Remarks, *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 15, 3-24.

1990, Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (I), *ASJ* 12, 177-227.

1991, Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II), *ASJ* 13, 275-333.

1992, An Akkadian Field Sale Document Privately Held in Tokyo, *ASJ* 14, 311-315.

Undenheim, T.L.

2001, *Late Bronze Age Middle Euphrates Wills in the Context of Their Ancient Mesopotamian Analogues: A Window on Emar Society*, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion.

Veenhof, K.R.

1986, Cuneiform Archives: An Introduction, in: K.R. Veenhof (Ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden, 4-8 July 1983)*, Leiden, 1-36.

Verhoeven, K.

1998, Geomorphological Research in the Mesopotamian Flood Plain, in: H. Gasche & M. Tanret (Eds.), *Changing Watercourses in Babylonia*, *MHEM* V/1, Ghent - Chicago, 159-245.

Viano, M.

2007, Problemi di datazione di alcuni testi legali di Emar, *KASKAL* 4, 245-259.

Vita, J.P.

1998, Datation et genres littéraires à Ugarit, in: F. Briquel-Chatonnet & H. Lozachmeur, (Eds.), *Proche-Orient ancien. Temps vécu, temps pensé*, Paris, 39-52.

2002, Warfare and the Army at Emar, *AoF* 29, 113-127.

Wahl, H.M.

1997, *Die Jakobserzählungen. Studien zu ihrer mündlichen Überlieferung, Verschriftung und Historizität*, Berlin – New York.

Weidner, E.

1959, *Die Inschriften Tukultī-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger*, (AfO Beiheft 12), Graz.

Wenham, G.J.

1994, *Genesis 16-50*, (World Biblical Commentary vol. 2), Dallas.

Werner, P.

1994, *Die Entwicklung der Sakralarchitektur in Nordsyrien und Südostkleinasien vom Neolithikum bis in das 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, Munich – Vienne.

2004, *Tall Munbāqa – Ekalte III. Die Glyptik*, (WVDOG 108), Saarbrücken.

Werner, R.

1967, *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle*, (StBoT 4), Wiesbaden.

Westbrook R.

1991, The Phrase 'his heart is satisfied' in Ancient Near Eastern Legal Sources, *JAOS* 111, 119-224.

2001, Social Justice and Creative Jurisprudence in Late Bronze Age Syria, *JESHO* 44/1, 22-43.

Westenholz, A.

1999, The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture, in: W. Sallaberger & A. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, (OBO 160/3), Freiburg - Göttingen, 17-117.

Westenholz, J.G.

2000, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets*, (CM 13), Groningen.

Westermann, C.

1981, *Genesis. 2. Teilband, Genesis 12-36*, Neukirchen - Vluyn.

Wiggermann, F.A.M.

2000, Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley. The Case of the Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad, in: R.M. Jas (Ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*, (MOS Studies 3), Leiden, 171-231.

Willeke, C.

1986, Familiengründung im alten Babylonien, in: E.W. Müller (Ed.), *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*, Munich, 213-317.

1992, Aḫ, die 'Brüder' von Emar. Untersuchungen zur Schreibtradition am Euphratknie, *AuOr* 10, 115-150.

Wilhelm, G.

1989, *The Hurrians*, Warminster.

1997, *Kuṣaklı-Sarissa. Keilschrifttexte aus Gebäude A*, Rahden.

1998-2001, Name, Namengebung. D. Bei den Hurritern, *RIA* 9, 121-127.

2004, Generation Count in Hittite Chronology, in: H. Hunger & R. Pruzsinszky (Eds.), *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEEM 2000, Wien 8th-9th November 2002*, (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), Wien, 71-79.

Wilhelm, G. & Boese, J.

1987, Absolute Chronologie und die hethitische Geschichte des 15. und 14. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., in: P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987. Part 1* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature), Gothenburg, 74-117.

Wilkinson, T. J.

2004, *On the Margin of the Euphrates. Settlement and Land Use at Tell es-Sweyhat and in the Upper Lake Assad Area, Syria*, (OIP 124), Chicago.

Willi-Plein, I.

2002-2003, Anmerkungen zur Frage der Herkunft des Terafim, *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 15-16, 172-175.

Winter, I.

1983, Carchemish *ša kišad puratti*, *AnSt* 33, 177-197.

Wiseman, D. J.

1953, *The Alalakh Tablets*, (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2), London.

1954, Supplementary Copies of Alalakh Tablets, *JCS* 8, 1-30.

Woolley, C.L.

1952, *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum. Part 3: The Excavations in the Inner Town*, London.

Yamada, M.

1993a, Division of a Field and Ninurta's Seal: An aspect of the Hittite Administration in Emar, *UF* 25, 453-460.

1993b, "Arana Documents" from Emar, *Orient* 29, 139-146.

1994, The Dynastic Seal and Ninurta's Seal: Preliminary Remarks on Sealing by the Local Authorities of Emar, *Iraq* 56, 59-62.

1996, The Eponymous Years and Ninurta's Seal: Thoughts about the Urban Authority of Emar, in: H.I.H Prince Takahito Mikasa (Ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolia and Syria in the Second and Third Millennium B.C.*, Wiesbaden, 297-308.

1998, The Family of Zū-Ba'la the Diviner and the Hittites, in: Sh. Izre'el, I. Singer & R. Zadok (Eds.), *Past Links. Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, (Israel Oriental Studies 18), Winona Lake (Ind.), 323-334.

2006, The Hittite Administration in Emar: The Aspect of Direct Control, *ZA* 96, 222-234.

Yamada, S.

1994, The Editorial History of the Assyrian King List, *ZA* 84, 11-37.

2003a, Notes on the Genealogical Data of the Assyrian King List, *Eretz-Israel* 27, 265-275.

2003b, Tukulti-Ninurta I's Rule over Babylonia and its Aftermath – A Historical Reconstruction, *Orient* 38, 153-177.

Yaron, R.

1962, The Schema of the Aramaic Legal Documents, *JSS* 2, 33-61.

Yoshida, D.

1996, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnengottheiten bei den Hethitern*, (THeth 22), Heidelberg.

Zaccagnini, C.

1979a, *The Rural Landscape of the Land of Arraphé*, Rome.

1979b, Notes on the Nuzi Surface Measures, *UF* 11, 849-856.

1992, Ceremonial Transfers of Real Estate at Emar and Elsewhere, *VO* 8/2, 33-48.

1995, War and Famine at Emar, *OrNS* 64, 92-109.

1999, Economic Aspects of Land Ownership and Land Use in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria from the Late Third Millennium to the Neo-Assyrian Period, in: M. Hudson & B.A. Levine (Eds.), *Urbanization and Land Ownership in the Ancient Near East*, vol. II, Cambridge (Mass.), 331-352.

Zadok, R.

1991, Notes on the Emar Documentation, *OLP* 22, 27-55.