

advanced computer program with the aim of setting up a collaborative system, which we certainly hope will be productive and fruitful.

Lastly, given the size and vastness of work on the project, which we deem important in itself, and useful to those who work in Hittitology, we would like to say to all scholars who wish to participate and contribute to the work that we are preparing that it would be welcome and appreciated once the importance and usefulness of it has been perceived.

A FAMILY PLOT: THE ZU-BALA FAMILY OF DIVINERS AND HITTITE ADMINISTRATION IN THE LAND OF AŠTATA*

Yoram COHEN**

It has been assumed that the city of Emar was re-located from the Euphrates river-valley to the top of Tell Meskéné following the Hittite conquest of the land of Aštata.¹ However, recent archaeological research suggests that the city of Emar rested on the same location prior to the Hittite conquest. With the renewal of excavations at Emar conclusive evidence of the older layers of the city has been found from as early as the Early Bronze Age IV, or at least from the early Middle Bronze Age.² Therefore, it is now evident that Emar after the Hittite takeover was not founded on virgin soil, but was rather built on top of previous occupation layers.

The discovery of the previous occupation of Tell Meskéné need not, however, alter our impression of the upheaval the city underwent as a result of the Hittite conquest and consequent rule. The Hittite takeover, to begin with, resulted in a great change in the city administration. The employment of Syro-Hittite tablets, along with their Syro-Hittite script, and the use of seals bearing legends in Hittite hieroglyphic are the most concrete evidence of Hittite presence. The appearance of top Hittite officials in the capacity of witnesses or even arbitrators throughout legal documents strengthens one's awareness of their impact on the city.³ Recently, it has been suggested that with the Hittite conquest a new dynasty replaced the former dynasty of Emar,⁴ initiating a change in the dating system of legal documents.⁵ Finally, the Hittite influence on

Sincere thanks are due to J.D. Hawkins for reading with me the Emar seals, R. Pruzsinszky for sending me her dissertation on the Emar onomastics, (now published as Pruzsinszky 2003) and I. Singer for his numerous comments and suggestions. All opinions expressed here are naturally the author's responsibility. Abbreviations follow those found in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary; notice in addition: *ActaSum* 12 and 14 = Tsukimoto 1990 and 1992, *AulaSupp* = Arnaud 1991, *Emar* = Arnaud 1985-1987, *SMEA* 30 = Arnaud 1992, and CM = Westenholz 2000.

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¹ Margueron 1975 and recently Margueron and Sigrist 1997.

² Finkbeiner and Leisten 2000.

³ See Arnaud 1987, Beckman 1992, and more recently Adamthwaite 2001.

⁴ Skaist 1998.

⁵ Fleming 2000:202ff.

the religious life of the city cannot be ignored, as several documents inform us of the administration of the Hittite cult by the locals.⁶

It was during the Hittite rule of Emar that the Zu-Bala family of the diviners rose to prominence, although the exact circumstances of its ascendancy are lacking.⁷ What can be reconstructed more fully, however, are the family's strong ties with the Hittite officials, which are documented from the days of Zu-Bala, the family patriarch, until its last generation. In this regard, it is the aim of this paper to discuss here a previously unaccounted for feud among the members of this prominent family. The protagonists of this feud were Ba'al-malik, the chief diviner of the third generation of the Zu-Bala family, and his uncle, Kapi-Dagan.⁸ It will be seen how the two fell into a dispute, which eventually involved top Hittite officials. Their story, as will be recounted here, will demonstrate the full potential of Hittite involvement in the local affairs of the city, and therefore will have, I believe, direct implications on our understanding of Hittite rule in the province of Aštata and elsewhere.

In order to unravel the intricacies which led to the strife between Ba'al-malik and Kapi-Dagan, it is necessary that we retrace our steps and outline the succession of chief diviners in the family. We go back, therefore, to the time of the family patriarch, Zu-Bala the diviner, and meet him specifically when he settled his inheritance. In *Emar* 201 Zu-Bala mentions that, once he is gone, Ba'al-qarrād, his eldest son, will inherit the household and the family gods,⁹ thus ensuring that this son will inherit his property and presumably his title along with its cultic obligations.¹⁰ Ba'al-qarrād indeed became the chief diviner,¹¹ and in the spirit of his father continued to run the business of the family,¹² while supervising the administration of the cult in the city.¹³ He, like his father, made clear who will be left in charge after his death. In his will, ME 109 (= *SMEA* 30, 7), he specified the following stipulation. The inheritance is to be given to the eldest son, Šaggar-abu. If Šaggar-abu dies, the inheritance and

the title of the diviner will pass not to Ba'al-qarrād's next son in line, but rather specifically to his son Ba'al-malik.¹⁴

ù a-nu-ma^{md}30-a-bu-ma dumu-ia gal ù ki-i
šeš gal ha.la i-laq-qu-ú ù^{md}30-a-bu a-kán-na-
ma' lil-qì ù šum-ma^{md}30-a-bu ba.ug, ù i-na šà
dumu.meš-ia gal ù tur ia-nu ù šum-ma^{md}30-a-
bu ba.ug, ù^{md}im-ma-lik lú.ḫal ša dingir.meš
šu-ú-ut (II. 13-19)

"And now, Šaggar-abu is my
eldest son, as the eldest brother
takes (his) share, so may Šaggar-
abu take (his). And if Šaggar-abu
dies, then among my sons, there
will be no senior or junior; and
so if Šaggar-abu dies, then Ba'al-
malik will be the diviner of the
gods."

And indeed this is what had come to pass. Šaggar-abu inherited the title and office from his father Ba'al-qarrād.¹⁵ However, Šaggar-abu did not live for long and after he died, Ba'al-malik became the diviner of the gods and took hold of center stage. This was not to be easily achieved because, and here is where our plot thickens, Kapi-Dagan, Ba'al-malik's uncle, was constantly scheming in the wings. Before the story of the two is unraveled, we need to ask who was Kapi-Dagan and what do we know about him.

Kapi-Dagan was Ba'al-qarrād's brother, as stated explicitly in the latter's will, ME 109.¹⁶ He was, as seen from additional sources, an active individual in his own right. He is mentioned in numerous documents in the city bearing the title lú.ḫal or dumu ḫal.¹⁷ On many of these documents, he also impressed his own seals, no less than three, one of which was a round stamp-seal bearing the hieroglyphic legend Kapi-tà-k[a] SCRIBA SACERDOS.¹⁸ In addition, it is known that Kapi-Dagan sired two sons,

⁶ The Hittite influence on the religious and cultic sphere of Emar was the subject of several studies; see Arnaud 1987, and Laroche 1980 and 1988; additional interpretations can be found in Fleming 2000 and Cohen 2003. Further details are provided below.

⁷ See recently Yamada 1998, Singer 1999, and Adamthwaite 2001.

⁸ See fig. 1. a synoptic genealogical tree of the Zu-Bala Family.

⁹ See van den Toorn 1994.

¹⁰ The patriarch Zu-Bala was designated azu (or uzú) in the Hittite letters (see Singer 1999:66), and lú.maš.šu.gid.gid in *Emar* 201:4 (which was written in Carchemish). The cultic duties of the lú.ḫal.s and their economic benefits were discussed extensively by Fleming 1992:87-92 and 2000:29-32. Notice that although people other than the Zu-Bala family bear the title of the diviner, none are entitled to the full title lú.ḫal ša dingir.meš ša^{ma}E-mar 'the diviner of the gods of the city of Emar'.

¹¹ Titled dumu ḫal in CM 8:10 and lú.ḫal in *Emar* 207:26, 211:15. and 265:2.

¹² E.g., *Emar* 206, 207, 209 and other documents.

¹³ E.g., *Emar* 265, 275, 363, 364, and 366; for his seal, see Beyer 2001:84 [A62].

¹⁴ All five sons of Ba'al-qarrād are mentioned in his will (II. 3-5) in descending age, starting with the eldest: "[^{md}30]-a-bu^{ma}Zu-Aš-tar-ti^{ma}im-ma-lik^{ma}Qi-ri-^{ma}kur ù^{ma}en-ur.sa[g] 5 dumu.meš-ia '[Šaggar]-abu, Zu-Aštarti, Ba'al-malik, Qiri-Dagan, and Bēlu-qarrād] (are) my five sons'.

¹⁵ Šaggar-abu's title and position are known from his colophons of the Mesopotamian scholarly texts; e.g., in *Emar* 538 (S^a Paleographic Syllabary) he is called: lú.ḫal ša dingir.meš ša^{ma}E-mar 'the diviner of the gods of the city of the Emar'.

¹⁶ ME 109:31: igi^{ma}Ka-pi-^{ma}kur šeš-ia 'Witness: Kapi-Dagan, my brother'. The 1st person sg. pronominal suffix on šeš (= aḫū) can only refer to the speaker of the text, who is Ba'al-qarrād, and not to the scribe of the will, as already noticed by Arnaud 1992:206, n. 31. Therefore, Kapi-Dagan is to be acknowledged as the brother of Ba'al-qarrād. The other sons of Zu-Bala (and Baal-qarrād's brothers) are mentioned in II. 28-29. Apart from Ba'al-qarrād's will, another document leaves no doubt as to his identity. A legal dispute, *ActaSum* 14:43, lists the "sons" of Zu-Bala, among whom Kapi-Dagan is mentioned, followed by Ba'al-malik, his nephew. See Tsukimoto 1992:291. Notice that Šaggar-abu is not named in this document because he was probably dead when it was drafted.

¹⁷ His title lú.ḫal is found in *Emar* 43, 93, 122, and 285, and CM 12. Documents in which he appears as a witness titled dumu ḫal are *Emar* 118, *ActaSum* 12:11, ME 30 (= *AulaSupp.* 72), ME 81 (= *AulaSupp.* 70), and the inventory list *Emar* 99 (read l. 11': [...Ka]-pi-^{ma}kur dumu ḫal).

Bēlu-qarrād and Imlik-Dagan, and they too play a part in our story.¹⁹ Both, like their father, took the title *dumu ḫal*,²⁰ having at their disposal personal seals engraved with the titles SACERDOS SCRIBA and SCRIBA.²¹ Kapi-Dagan and his sons, one should note, are the only persons among the Zu-Bala family to have engraved their professional titles on their personal seals. Now, with the information about this impressive and ambitious branch of the Zu-Bala family at hand, we can proceed to investigate what led to the strife between Kapi-Dagan and Ba'al-malik.

Kapi-Dagan was involved in the Zu-Bala family business since the days of his brother Ba'al-qarrād.²² When his nephew Šaggar-abu was presumably the head of the family, both seem to have been responsible of the city's cult administration. They wrote a joint letter to the Hittite overlord, a certain Adda,²³ concerning a request of sacrificial oils intended for the gods, possibly as part of the celebration of the Hittite cult.²⁴ When Ba'al-malik took over the position of the diviner, after Šaggar-abu died, in no way did Kapi-Dagan's interest in the family subside. First we find Kapi-Dagan and Ba'al-malik as witnesses on a sale document, ME 81 (= *AulaSupp.* 70). Then we see both uncle and nephew accountable for a large treasure of the city's principal goddess, Astart.²⁵ The inventory list of the treasure was found in the temple itself, approved of with the seal of the Hittite representative, a certain Ari-Šarruma.²⁶ The two are mentioned yet again in an inventory list of a large and valuable deposit of votive effects. These valuables, some of which belonged to Kapi-Dagan, were secured in the hands of Ba'al-malik.²⁷ Kapi-Dagan's son, Bēlu-qarrād is very likely to have crossed paths with Ba'al-malik as well. Both individuals stamped their

¹⁸ This seal appears on CM 12 and *Emar* 211, a purchase document of Ba'al-qarrād, Kapi-Dagan's brother. See Singer 2000:87. For the impression, see Beyer 2001:155 [C6] and, better preserved, Westenholz 2000:151, seal impression no. 6. His two other seals are Syro-Hittite cylinder seals. The first is seen on ME 30 (= *AulaSupp.* 72). See Gonnet 1991:205-6. Singer 2000:87, and Beyer 2001:67 [A32]. The second is impressed on *Emar* 43, 118, and 122, ME 81 (= *AulaSupp.* 70), and *ActaSum* 12:11. See Beyer 2001:68 [A33].

¹⁹ Their affiliation is explicitly given in *Emar* 93:16, 19-20.

²⁰ In *Emar* 243 (see Arnaud's hand-copy, rather than the transliteration), and in *Emar* 246:3'-4'.

²¹ Bēlu-qarrād had two ring-seals engraved with the title SACERDOS SCRIBA (Beyer 2001:122 [B4]), impressed on *Emar* 57, 93 and 243, and the title SCRIBA (ibid.:128 [B21]), found on *Emar* 246. Imlik-Dagan made use of one of his father's circular seals as Beyer suggests. It reads SACERDOS SCRIBA and is impressed on *Emar* 93 (Beyer 2001:154 [C4]); Imlik-Dagan is also mentioned as a *dumu ḫal* in *Emar* 22:1.

²² His name and seal are found on *Emar* 211, a purchase document of Ba'al-qarrād.

²³ Apart from *Emar* 261, Šaggar-abu wrote three additional letters to Adda, the Hittite overlord: *Emar* 258, 259, and 260. He is almost certainly the author of ME 53 (= *AulaSupp.* 96), a letter directed to the overseer of the land.

²⁴ Compare *Emar* 271, a letter requesting from one of the family members (the personal name is missing) that nourishment reach the 'gods of the land of Hatti'.

²⁵ *Emar* 43 which has the seals of both men. See Beyer 2001:68 [A33], 88 [A69].

²⁶ Beyer 2001:139 [B53].

seals on dockets which document the delivery of silver to a certain Haya intended, presumably, for the fabrication of cult items.²⁸ It is very probable that because of such joint responsibilities, Ba'al-malik and Kapi-Dagan had a fall out. The letter *Emar* 264, which was written by Ba'al-malik to a Hittite official, cannot but be a testimony to the rivalry between the uncle and nephew, our final piece of evidence concerning the two:

Emar 264

obv.

1 <i>a-na</i> ^m <i>Pi-ra-ti</i>	To Pirati,
2 <i>en-ia qí-bi-ma</i>	my lord, speak.
3 <i>um-ma</i> ^m <i>im-ma-lik</i>	Thus Ba'al-malik
4 <i>arad-ka-ma</i>	your servant.
5 <i>a-na</i> <i>gír.meš en-ia iš-tu</i>	From afar twice seven times I fall at the feet of
6 <i>ru-qiš-šú 7.meš am-qut</i>	my lord.
7 <i>it-ti en-ia</i> ⁱ <i>mi-nu-me-e</i>	With my lord all
8 <i>šul-ma-nu</i> ⁱ <i>té'-ma li-te-er-ra</i>	is well. May he send a message to me.
9 <i>a-nu-ma</i> ^m <i>Ka-pi-⁴kur</i>	Now, may my lord know (that)
10 <i>dingir.meš ša en-ia iq-ta-bi</i>	Kapi-Dagan refuses to hand over
11 <i>la ú-ma-ag-gur</i> ₁₆	(the allocations for)
12 <i>na-da-ni en-ia lu-ú i-de</i> ₄	the gods about which my lord has spoken. Then,
13 <i>ú ninda.meš kaš še.meš</i>	may my lord know (that)
	the bread, the beer.

²⁷ *Emar* 285:11-12: *ri-ik-su kù.babbar ša iš-tu na₄.kisib* ^m*Ka-pi-⁴kur* *lú.ḫal ka-an-ku* 'bundles of silver which are sealed with the seal of Kapi-Dagan, the diviner...'; 16-18: *ú-mu-tu-ú an-mu-tu₄ gibil ša* ^m*[i]m-ma-lik* *dumu ḫal ip-qi-du₁ x[* 'These (are) the new utensils which [Ba']al-malik, son of the diviner, deposited...' (the translation is not certain here because of the poor preservation of the tablet).

²⁸ The dockets are *Emar* 56 (sealed with Ba'al-malik's seal; see Beyer 2001:88 [A69]), and *Emar* 57 (sealed with Bēlu-qarrād's seal).

rev.

14 kaš geštin.meš udu.ḫi.a	the wine, the sheep,
15 i.giš.meš ša dingir.meš	and the sacrificial oil for the gods,
16 at-tu-ia	which belong to me,
17 ^m Ka-pi- ^d kur ša-bi-it	Kapi-Dagan is withholding.
18 en-ia lu-ū i-de ₄	May my lord know if in the future there is
19 šun-ma ar-ka-nu mi-im-mu	something new happening (i.e., I will notify my
20 a-su-ur ¹ -ri iš-šu i-ba-aš-ši	lord of any news). ^c
21 en-ia lu-ū i-dī	
22 a-mu-ma ^m Ka-pi- ^d kur	Now Kapi-Dagan said to me: "I will go to the king
23 a-na pa-ni-ia iq-ta-bi	so that he will produce a tablet of the
24 ma-a a-na li-it lugal	<i>bārû</i> office." Now, may my lord decide and not
25 a-lak-mi ṭup-pa ša ba-ru-ut-ti ^a	allow him in doing it!
26 ep-pa-aš-ma	(About) the former command of <M>utri-Te(ššub):
27 ù en-ia li-iz-zi-iz-ma	He does not hand over the donkey belonging to
28 e-pe-ši o o o	Mutri-Teššub.
29 la-a ú-maš-šar-šu	
30 a-wa-at ^m <Mu>-ut-ri-it-Te ^b a-na	
pa-ni	
31 1 anše ša ^m Mu-ut-ri- ^d 10-ub	
32 la-a i-na-an-di-in	

^aThe crux of the letter lies in reading of the word *ba-ru-ut-ti*. Arnaud suggests the reading *ma-ru-ut-ti* but acknowledges that *ma-* can be read as *ba-*. Judging by his hand-copy, the sign looks like **ba** (cf. the **ba** sign in l. 20: *i-ba-aš-ši*), rather than **ma**. As for the lemma *bārûtu* ('the *bārû* office') – it is documented in *ActaSum* 12:7 (*ba-ru-tu₄-šu*), and in this letter it fits contextually better, no doubt, than Arnaud's *māruttī*, '(a tablet) of adoption'. In Emar, as in other peripheral dialects of this period, the abstract suffix *-itti* (or in its Assyrian/Western Periphery form *-utti*) was very productive. See Seminara 1998:102-104.

^bIt is very probable that the writing ^m*ut-ri-it-te* is a scribal mistake of the name ^m<M>utri-Te(ššub), the well-known Hittite official who is mentioned in the following line.

^cThe translation here follows Arnaud's reading.

We need to ask what are the objectives of this letter and what does it tell us about the Hittite involvement in Emar? We read that Ba'al-malik informs a certain Hittite official Pirati about the misdoing of his uncle. He relates how the uncle acted against the interests of the Hittites when he refused to hand over the sacrificial allocations meant for the Hittite cult contrary to what was demanded by the Hittite official (ll. 9-15).²⁹ In addition, toward the end of the letter, Ba'al-malik emphasizes that Kapi-Dagan disregarded the command of Mutri-Teššub, the governor of the land.³⁰ Embedded within these accusations against Kapi-Dagan, lies Ba'al-malik's chief worry: he wishes to convince Pirati that Kapi-Dagan's petition concerning the office of the *bārû* must not reach the king, that is, the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish.³¹ It was seen above how Kapi-Dagan gained prominence since the days of his brother, Ba'al-qarrād. He was certainly a man of economic power lending his seals to various documents while ostentatiously bearing the titles *lú.ḫal* and *dumu ḫal*, and most telling, allowing his sons, Bēlu-qarrād and Imlik-Dagan, to use these titles as well. It is not a far cry to believe that he was trying to usurp Ba'al-malik's role as the chief diviner of the city, knowing that there would have been much to gain from holding onto the prestigious title. The fact that Ba'al-malik was not in direct line of succession may have spurred him to take the initiative against his own nephew. It is obvious, therefore, that the intention of Kapi-Dagan's petition was that the viceroy draw a tablet effectively annulling Ba'al-malik's hold on the *bārû* office, and by so transfer it him.³²

So much for the objective of this letter. What does it tell us about the scope of Hittite involvement in the affairs of the city? Two cardinal points emerge from this document. First, it is obvious that Kapi-Dagan and Ba'al-malik shared some responsibilities in the management of the Hittite cult in the city. Thus we are confronted yet again with concrete evidence of the influence of Hittite rule on the Emar cult and its administration. Secondly, it was seen that the relationship between the two relatives had deteriorated to a point whereby Kapi-Dagan threatened to

²⁹ It is best to understand ll. 9-12 (*Kapi-Dagan ilī ša bēlīa iqtabi lā umaggur nadāni*) as a condensed phrasology for "Kapi-Dagan refuses to give (the allocations for) the gods about which my lord has spoken about". The allocations (bread, beer, wine, etc.) are specified in the next few lines.

³⁰ For this official, see Yamada 1998:331 and Beyer 2001:48-49.

³¹ The title *lugal* (l. 24) refers to the viceroy of Carchemish, not to the Hittite king residing in Hattuša. See Beckman 1995:27, 31.

³² It is clear that the word *bārûtu* in the letter refers to the office held by the Emar diviners. Although the title of the diviner is always written logographically in administrative texts, the lexical lists from the city offer us these equations:

ḪAR-ra=*ḫubullu* II (*Emar* 542), 167': *māš-šu-gíd-gíd* = *ba-ru-u*

S^a Vocabulary (*Emar* 537), 290: *ḫal* = *ba-ru-u*

Silbenvokabular. (*Emar* 603), 97-101: *i-zu, a-zu, zu-zu* = *ba-rū-u, mu-dī i.m[ēš]*

have the position of the diviner taken from Ba'al-malik and transferred to him by the viceroy at Carchemish. This letter, therefore, requires that we understand that although the title of the diviner and the job that went along with it were hereditary, as was demonstrated throughout, it was within the power of the viceroy at Carchemish to bypass the local tradition and appoint a person of his desire to the *bārû* office. This implies that the Hittites under certain conditions could have easily interfered with the local hierarchy of power, and installed persons of their choice in whatever capacities they saw fit. Undoubtedly, Kapi-Dagan knew this when he unhesitatingly threatened to petition the viceroy. Far from an empty threat, Ba'al-malik tried to avert his uncle's plans by writing this letter to Pirati.

No further documentation is available to tell us how this family feud ended, and we can only imagine Pirati's response. However, we know that eventually it was Ba'al-malik who won out, or at least curtailed his uncle's ambitions. He defended the title of the diviner of the gods, and was not overturned by the machinations of Kapi-Dagan. He was, ultimately, to run very efficiently the family business,³³ while being actively engaged in the scribal school as many of his colophons inform.³⁴ It is here where we draw the curtain on our story and offer a brief conclusion.

As a rule it is known that the Hittites avoided involving themselves with religious personnel of conquered territories. At Hittite provincial centers, other than Emar, such as Kizzuwatna and Aleppo, Hittite princes assumed priestly roles, but only rarely did they interfere with the local religious affairs.³⁵ Could it be, however, that under certain circumstances the Hittites willingly regulated the local religious institutions of a conquered city? The feud between Ba'al-malik and his uncle Kapi-Dagan would certainly have presented such an opportunity. Following this, it was suggested above, on the basis of Skaist 1998, that the royal dynasty of Emar was replaced with the Hittite takeover of the city. Is it not conceivable then that the Zu-Bala family rose to prominence as a consequence of direct Hittite intervention? While one cannot at present offer a definitive answer to this question, it is hoped that this paper sharpened our perspective on the means, methods and scope of Hittite rule in the Syrian province of Aštata, while presenting a hitherto undetected family affair among the Zu-Bala diviners of the city of Emar.

³³ See, e.g., *Emar* 214, 215, and 224.

³⁴ He is responsible for a considerable number of scholarly compositions in the school, among which are the HAR-ra=*lubbullu* lexical list and the omen series *iqqur-īpuš*.

³⁵ Beckman 1992:47-49 and Klengel 1998:372-373.

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Figure 1

A Synoptic Genealogical Tree of the Zu-Bala Family

