

The Economy of Emar I

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[Among the texts discovered in the archives of Emar there are a lot of contracts for the sale of agricultural land. This article focuses on the prices of fields to understand which variables could be influenced by. Since the documentation of the city of Emar has spanned about 150 years, the price variation has been studied diachronically.]

Keywords: Emar, economy, field price.

This article is the first of some contributions, part of a larger study dealing with the economy of Emar and focused on the sale contracts concerning slaves, houses, orchards, vineyards and fields which will be here discussed.

1. *Field Property sales*

The archives of Emar provided a considerable number of sale contracts, both in Syrian school style and in Siro-hittite style, dealing with various fields for agricultural purpose, but this paper focuses only on those indicated in the texts by the sumerogram A.ŠA₃¹. The sale contracts normally give location, adjoining properties, surface, and price of the sold field, but as Table 4 (below pp. 279-283) and Table 3 (below pp. 277-278) show, not every deed provides or preserves all these data.

The units of measurement in use at Emar were different from the standard Sumero-babylonian system: at Emar, as well as in Assyria, the *ikū* was not only a surface unit of measurement but also a linear unit corresponding to a square's side whose surface is 1 *ikū* and probably synonymous with *ašlu*. About the submultiples of *ikū* different views have been proposed², but here Mori will be followed. In her

1. The A.ŠA₃.KIRI₆.GEŠTIN (vineyard) and KIRI₆.NUMUN (orchard) will be discussed in a future article.

2. Mori 2003, 104-105. For two different reconstruction s. Adamthwaite 2001, 158-162, Chambon 2008. According to Chambon the difference in the areas and prices of the sold fields are the following:

Text	Area	Area (by Mori)	Price <i>ikū</i> ²	Price <i>ikū</i> ² (Mori)
ASJ14	2,2	2,1	22,73	24,19
E 147 a + b + c	22,85	20,3	1,31	1,48
E 163 a + b	2,04	2,08	49,08	48,07
RE 2	1,88	1,25	0,8	1,2
RE 64	0,5	0,17	6	18
TBR 18	1,3	0,94	8,46	11,65
TBR 58	0,08	0,17	93,33	42
TBR 7	1,50	1,36	13,33	14,69
ZA90 6 a + b	1,98	1,56	100,79	127,86

reconstruction the *šiddu*, corresponding to 6 *ašlu/ikû* in the Sumero-babylonian system, is a sub-multiple of *ikû* in the Emar system. Others units of measurement are the *ammatu* (cubit), GIR₃ (foot) and GI (reed). The relationship among the units is the following:

$$1 \text{ ikû} = 6 \text{ šiddu} = 36 \text{ GIR}_3 = 3 \text{ ammatu} = 120 \text{ GI}$$

In Table 3 only the texts giving sizes and prices of the sold fields are listed: 40 texts for an amount of 49 sold fields. The prices are given in silver *shekels* (*sh.*) : 1 mina = 60 *shekels*.

Table 4 lists, for each field sale contract yielded in Emar, the contracting parties the adjoining properties and the location of the sold field.

In the field sale contracts E 12, E 149, TBR 16, TBR 17, RE 52, Iraq 54 4, only listed in Table 4, the prices are lost. Other two field sale contracts, E 3 and E 115, have been found in the Emar archives, but they are not considered here because the prices recorded refer not only to the sold field but to an amount of different real estate properties (a vineyard in E 3 and a house in E 115).

The fields' prices range from 1,5 *shekels* (RE 2) to 215 *shekels* (Hirayama 15/AuOr-5 6) with an average of 62,65 *shekels*. The surface areas range from 0,17 square *ikû* (RE 64, TBR 58) to 30 square *ikû* (ASJ10 D a, E 137 c, RE 24) with an average of 6,63 square *ikû*. The prices for square *ikû* (*s. i.*) range from 1 *shekel* (E 137 c, RE 24, TBR 38, TBR 62,) to 127,86 *shekels* (ZA90 6 a + b) with an average of 29,85 *shekels*.

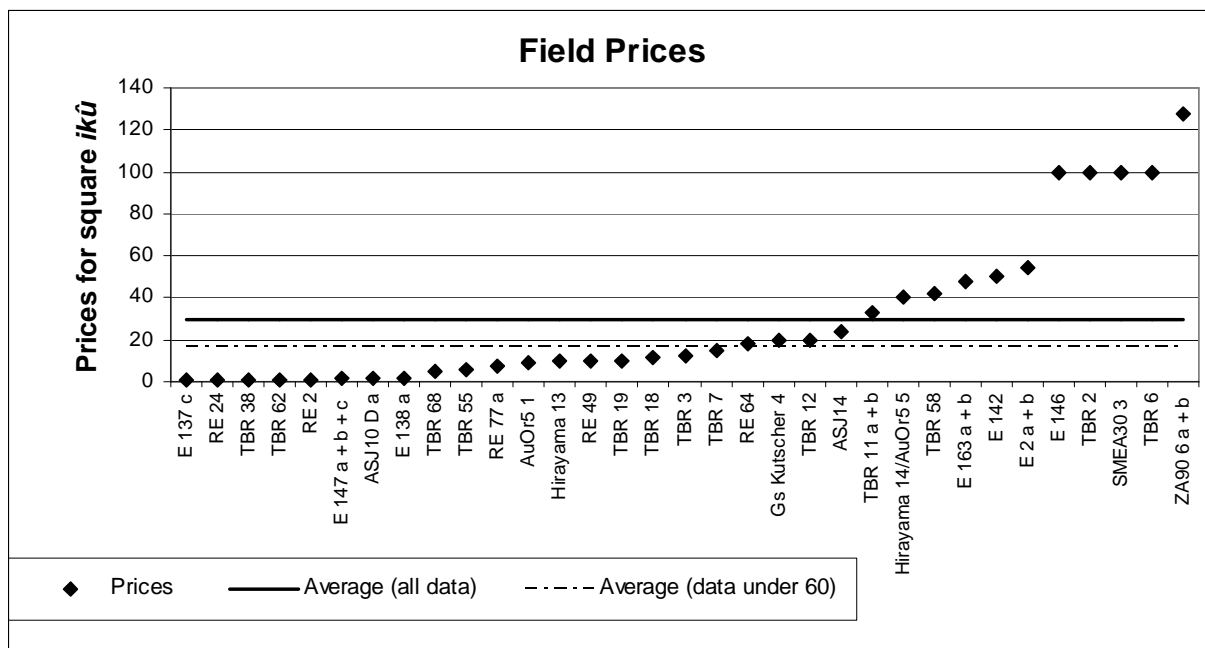


Figure 1

Figure 1, which lists the fields' prices for square *ikû* in increasing order, shows that most of deeds (i. e. 85 %) record prices for square *ikû* under 60 *sh.*, and 21 (i. e. 64 %) have prices under o equal to 20 *sh.*

The only outstanding difference concern TBR 58 but this does not affect the achievements of this study.

Conversely only in 5 sale contracts prices are more than 60 *sh.*, reaching 100 *sh.* for square *ikû* or more. Taking into account only the texts recording prices under 60 *sh.* *s. i.* the average decreases to 16,33 *shekels* for square *ikû*. It is clear that, as Figure 2 shows, most of the field sale contracts at Emar had low prices with almost the half of the deeds recording prices for square *ikû* under or equal to 10 *shekels*.

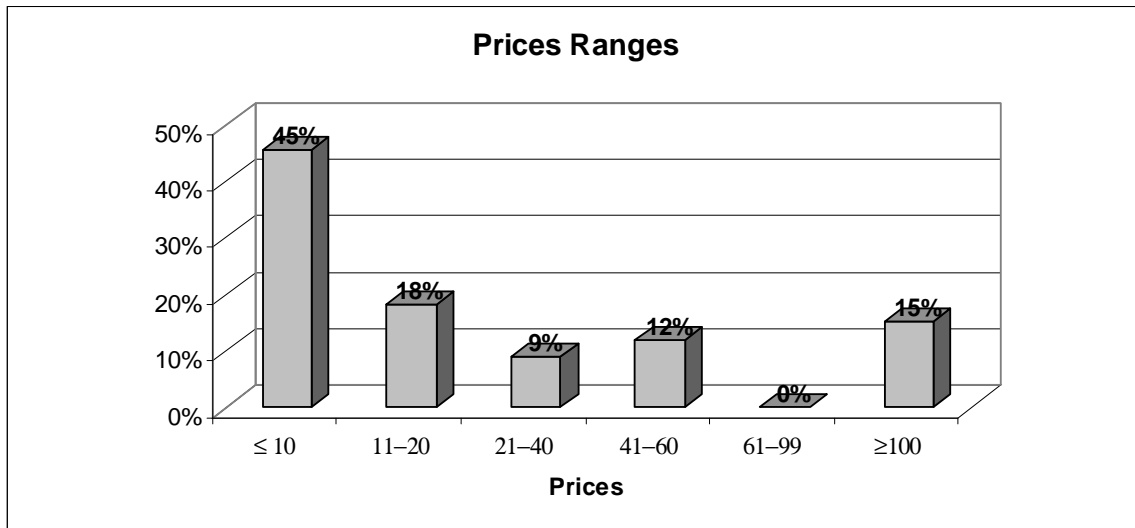


Figure 2

The first question is which features affect the value of fields, namely size, location, kind of field, status of seller.

a) Surface Area

Concerning the first point, the following graphic listing the fields' prices recorded in the sale contracts (bars), according to the surface areas sorted in ascending order, shows that there is no direct connection between the field size and the price. It results that the bigger fields have not the highest prices as, for example, the field recorded in TBR 6 which, with a surface area of 1,5 square *ikû*, has a price (150 *shekels*) greater than the one of the field sold in RE 24 (30 *shekels*) which had a surface area of 30 square *ikû*. This outcome is the first evidence that there were many differences in the value among the fields and therefore other features had an influence on the fields' prices. As a result, we must consider as a parameter of the value of the fields the price for square *ikû*³ instead of the price recorded in the sale contracts.

b) Location

Very often, the texts give geographical and topographical references that indicate the location of the sold field. Those references denote either towns and settlements or specific geographical locations like watercourses. One of the most common towns named in the sale contracts is Rabban⁴ (ASJ14, E 2⁵, RE 2,

3. S. Table 3.

4. For this town s. Mori 2003, 111.

5. It is here assumed that the writing ^{URU}*ra-ab-ba*^{KI} in E 2 has to be interpreted as a *lapsus calami* of the scribe for Rabban.

RE 5, TBR 2, TBR 11 b) where at least six fields were located. Among those deeds, only RE 2 records a low price⁶ (1,2 *sh. s. i.*), whereas the others have prices that range from 24,19 to 100 *shekels* for square *ikû*. Now, it is difficult explaining these evidences, namely if the fields in Rabban had a good value or not, but having such a range of prices one may not infer a direct influence of this location on the sale price. Besides, since the price average of the Rabban fields is 42,65 *shekels* for square *ikû*, we may anyway assume that some fields of good value were located in Rabban.

A similar range stands out for the others topographical references,⁷ Išpahat (TBR 6 = 100 *sh. s. i.*), Zumman (TBR 19 = 10 *sh. s. i.*), Uri (TBR 38 = 1 *sh. s. i.*), Iššunu (Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5 = 40 *sh. s. i.*, RE 35), Eqar (TBR 3 = 12,5 *sh. s. i.*, E 137 = 1 *sh. s. i.*), Behri (TBR 62 = 1 *sh. s. i.*) and Še'lla (TBR 68 = 5 *sh. s. i.*), but those attestations are too scanty to allege any conclusions. Notwithstanding, the prices of the fields located in those small settlements are generally low except for TBR 6 and Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5.

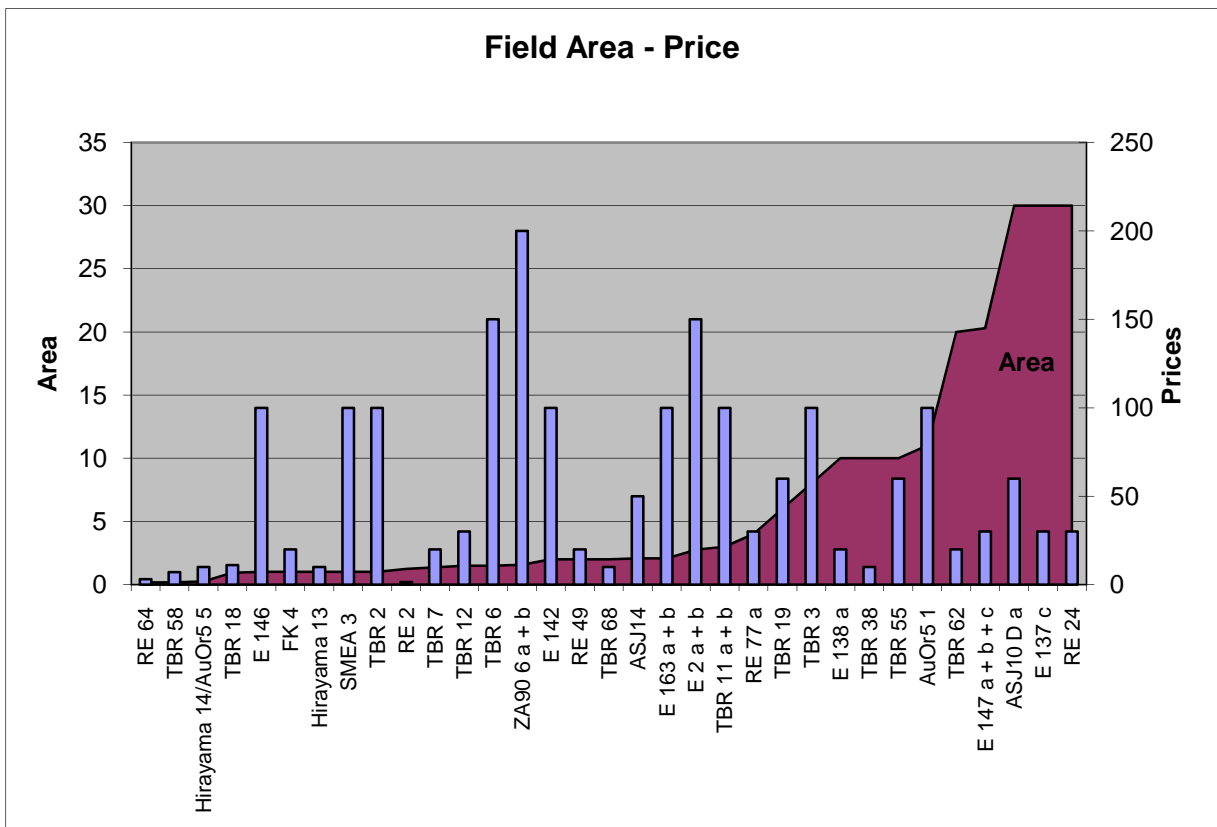


Figure 3

More interesting to our purpose are the geographical references. The term *raqqatu*, the river plane⁸ or a type of soil formed by the accumulated deposit of the river on the plain⁹, attested as the location of

6. In RE 5 the measures are lost. Note that TBR 2 record the same field previously sold in TBR 11 b.

7. For these settlements s. Mori 2003, 111-113.

8. Ibid., 113-114.

9. Reculeau 2008, 138.

several fields (E 146, Hirayama 13, RE 49, SMEA30 3), seems to point to a rather good price, probably due to the easy access to the irrigation water. The fields situated by the “*raqqatu ša marī Yahhi-ilu*” had a particularly high value as E 146 and SMEA30 3 testify, both recording a price of 100 *shekels* for square *ikū*. Further, the text Hirayama 7 seems to evidence the good value of the fields in the river plain because the King of Emar grants the diviner Mašruhe a field in that area and it should imply that it was an extremely good gift. Conversely, both Hirayama 13 and RE 49 record a price of only 10 *shekels* for square *ikū* but in these cases no other references are given than the simple “*raqqatu*” unlike the aforementioned E 146 and SMEA30 3. Thus, as for other location, not all fields located in the river plane had the same value.

On the contrary, the fields located on the *balītu*¹⁰ (E 137, E 138) had low prices (respectively 1 and 2 *shekels* for square *ikū*); this would sustain the rendering of the term *balītu* with “dead meander of the river” where the access to the irrigation water was probably more difficult. The low value of the *balītu*’s area is strengthened by TBR 36 which records a pay off of a debt of 70 *shekels* with several fields located by the *balītu*, which had a wide surface (4 *ašlu ša* 38 *ikū*.MEŠ, 2 *ašlu ša* 22 *ikū*.MEŠ, 4 *ašlu ša* 45 *ikū*.MEŠ).

A further geographical indication is *hurru* attested in TBR 9, TBR 16, TBR 17 and TBR 18 that has been regarded in various ways¹¹. Unfortunately, the price for square *ikū* can be calculated only for TBR 18¹² (11, 65 *shekels*) thus on this only evidence no hypothesis on the value of this kind of field could be alleged. Anyway one may assume that the fields recorded in TBR 16 and TBR 17 had approximately the same low value as the field in TBR 18 because they were in the same place, *ina hurri ša Yabnil*, supporting a reading of *hurru* as a landscape where a salinization of soil had taken place and consequently the prices were low.

A particular area of the Emar landscape was indicated by the term *iardānu* (FK 4, RE 64, RE 77 b, TBR 58, ZA90 6 a, b), unknown from other archives in the Middle Euphrate region and regarded as “canal/water course”¹³ or as a “wadi”¹⁴. The fact that the surface of each field located by *iardānu* does not exceed 1 square *ikū*, can substantiate Recelau’s hypothesis that all those indications refer to the same place, located, according to his Emar landscape reconstruction, on the slope at the South-Eastern side of the town, where presumably there was not place enough for huge fields. Despite of the scanty surface area, the *iardānu*-wadi was a good location for agricultural purpose because the deeds, all of them sealed under the kings Pilsu-Dagan and Elli, record prices from 18 to over 100 *shekels* for square *ikū* with an average of 51,96; indeed ZA90 6 registers the highest price for square *ikū* recorded in the Emar texts.

Several deeds (AuOr5 1, Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5, RE 64, TBR 6, TBR 11 a, TBR 12, TBR 19, TBR 58, TBR 62, TBR 68)¹⁵ mention a place indicated by the sumerogram KA₂, literary gate¹⁶, which has been interpreted by Durand¹⁷ as the place where one could have access to the river water. Obviously, the access to the irrigation water was an essential factor to agricultural purposes but the texts do not testify any particular price increase for the fields located by a KA₂. Indeed, the prices range from 1 (TBR 62) to 100 (TBR 6) *shekels* for square *ikū* with an average of 27,84.

10. For this term s. Mori 2003, 115.

11. Lastly Ibid., 114, Reculeau 2008, 138.

12. TBR 9 has no size indications and in TBR 16 and TBR 17 the price is lost.

13. Mori 2003, 115-116.

14. Reculeau 2008, 136-137.

15. Also RE 35 quotes KA₂ of Iššunu, probably the same town found in Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5, but the price for square *ikū* cannot be calculated. Note that in RE 64 and TBR 58 the KA₂ is located by *iardānu* whereas in Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5, TBR 19, TBR 6, TBR 62 and TBR 68, the KA₂ is located by a Town.

16. Mori 2003, 112-113.

17. Durand - Marti 2003, 144-145.

Other topographical references are too discordant or too scanty to be evaluated. For example the fields located on the “opposite bank of the river”, RE 24, TBR 11, TBR 12¹⁸, record respectively prices of 1, 33,33 and 20 *shekels* for square *ikû* but the two quite similar prices, 33,33 and 20, refer to fields both located near the “KA₂ of Nuza” therefore that location was probably a better place for agriculture than the location of the field recorded in RE 24. Nevertheless one may not assume a general high or low value for agricultural purpose to the “opposite bank of the river”. References as *nahlu* “wadi” (E 149), GIŠ.TIR “forest” (E 147), or unclear indication as *qa-az-ri* (E 142), *hi-ib-i* (TBR 7) and *Bi-iQ-mi* (E 2) are too seldom attested in order to understand their influence on the fields’ prices. As far as *hi-ib-i* is concerned, the term is related to the verb *habû*, “to draw water”¹⁹, the field’s area indicated as *ina hibi* probably had an easy access to water (maybe a well), but it’s worth mentioning that the field had not a high price as expected.

The texts give further information about the location of the fields in the list of adjoining properties, but unfortunately none of the more common references seems to affect the fields’ prices. Several texts (ASJ14, E 142, E 163 a b, RE 2, TBR 2, TBR 11 b, TBR 19, ZA90 6 a b)²⁰ deal with fields located on the banks of the Euphrates which record both high prices and low prices, with an average of 49,32 *sh. s. i.*, and it is noteworthy that only RE 2 (1,2 *sh. s. i.*) and TBR 19 (10 *sh. s. i.*) evidence prices under 20 *sh. s. i.* This means a good value of the fields located on the Euphrates River, due to the access to irrigation water. For all other references as well, no important differences can be recognized among the adjoining properties.

Location	Field	Prices for square <i>ikû</i>
Topographical Location		
Rabban	RE 2	1,2
	ASJ 14	24,19
	TBR 11 b	33,33
	E 2	54,55
	TBR 2	100
Eqar	E 137	1
	TBR 3	12,5
Išpahat	TBR 6	100
Zumman	TBR 19	10
Uri	TBR 38	1
Iššunu	Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5	40
Še’lla	TBR 68	5
Behru	TBR 62	1

18. For TBR 9 the price for square *ikû* cannot be calculated.

19. Reculeau 2008, 136.

20. Also E 12, E 149 a and RE 52 list the Euphrates river, but for them the price for square *ikû* cannot be calculated.

Geographical location		
<i>Raqqatu</i>	Hirayama 13	10
	RE 49	10
<i>raqqatu ša marī Iahi-ilu</i>	E 146	100
	SMEA30 3	100
<i>Balītu</i>	E 137 c	1
	E 138 a	2
<i>Hurru</i>	TBR 18	11,65
<i>Iardānu</i>	RE 64	18
	FK 4	20
	TBR 58	42
	ZA 90 6 a b	127,86
KA ₂ of Behru	TBR 62	1
KA ₂ of Še'lla	TBR 68	5
KA ₂ of Tuk[...]	AuOr5 1	9,09
KA ₂ <i>iardānu</i>	RE 64	18
KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza	TBR 12	20
KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza	TBR 11 a	33,33
KA ₂ <i>iardānu</i> KI.TA	TBR 58	42
KA ₂ of Išpahat	TBR 6	100
Opposite bank of the river	RE 24	1
	TBR 12	20
	TBR 11	33,33

Table 1

c) Type of field

Some deeds indicate the type of sold field with the terms *siphu* (ASJ14, E2, E 142) and *merištu* (E 147, TBR 55): the former has been regarded as “disseminated field” by Durand²¹, connected to the irrigation system of KA₂²², Mori²³, instead, considers it as a type of cultivation technique; the latter term was probably a “cultivated land”²⁴. These two type of fields had surely a different value because for *siphu* fields small surface area²⁵ (it doesn't exceed 3 square *ikū*) and quite high prices (24,19, 54,54, 50 *shekels* for square *ikū*) are generally attested; conversely the two *merištu*-fields sold in the Emar texts had big

21. Durand - Marti 2003, 147

22. Actually no *siphu* fields are located in the vicinity of a KA₂.

23. Mori 2003, 132-133

24. Ibid., 131; Reculeau 2008, 137 n. 84

25. E 194 records a *siphu*-field of 14 square *ikū* but the context is not clear for the incompetence of the scribe (Arnaud).

surface area and low prices (1,48 and 6 *shekels* for square *ikû*). It is clear that, although the meaning of the terms *siphu* is so far not well understood, the value of the *siphu*-fields was surely higher as compared with *merištu*-fields.

d) Sellers and Buyers

The Emar sale contracts, quoting seldom a person as buyer or seller more than once, as I noticed elsewhere²⁶, do not give evidence for any influences on the fields' prices by the contracting parties, even though members of the royal family were involved. Indeed the prince Iššur-Dagan brother of the king Pilsu-Dagan appears twice in the field sale contracts (E 137, E 138) as buyer and in both deeds low prices are attested, but no control of the royal family can be assumed because those fields were located near a dead meander of the river which, as above pointed out, is closely related to low prices²⁷. Another person who is attested more than once in the field sale contracts is Ir^cam-Dagan son of Illatu (E 2, E 3, E 4), but unfortunately only for E 2 the price for square *ikû* can be calculated. The last person attested more than once as buyer is Karbu son of Zu-Eia in the aforementioned texts TBR 11 and TBR 12.

As for the sellers, no one seems to affect the fields' prices. In fact only the king Elli and a certain Marianni appear more than once: Elli sold two fields either under or over the price average (TBR 12: 20 *sh. s. i.*; E 142 :50 *sh. s. i.*) and Marianni, who sold two fields both for low prices (Hirayama 13: 10 *sh. s. i.*; TBR 38: 1 *sh. s. i.*), must not be regarded as forced to sell because he was, as his father, an Hittite officer and he appears as owner of several fields in the lists of adjoining properties. Apart from the cases discussed below (f), most texts give no evidence for the reason of selling and it is impossible to understand if the sale was forced under economic distress of the seller, but it could be presumed and some low prices could come out from that situation.

The fact that only the family of Illatu, with Ir^cam-Dagan, among the great families of Emar, is attested in the field sale contracts is worth mentioning. No member of the families of Apili, Hima, Milki-Dagan, Awiru, Kutbe, whose the excavation yielded private archives, appears as buyer or seller of any field²⁸.

The more documented seller in the Emar field sale contracts are Ninurta and the Elders that appear in 28 tablets for a whole of 34 sold fields²⁹. Differently from the other real estate sale deeds (houses e.g.) which at times give the indication that the property on sale was expropriated by Ninurta and the Elder for a crime (*hiṭu*), no such an information is given for the field sale contracts. The prices of the field sold by Ninurta and the Elder range from 1 *šh. s. i.* (RE 24) to 127, 86 *sh. s. i.* (ZA 90 6) with an average of 41,61 *shekels* for square *ikû*.

26. Viano 2010.

27. In E 137 Iššur-Dagan bought several properties (2 orchards, 1 field, 2 *kiršitu*) from various sellers for low prices, but no evidences exists that the sale was forced under hardness because among the sellers appears the king, the Iššur-Dagan's brother, Pilsu-Dagan; conversely economic difficulties of the other sellers cannot be excluded at all: probably the tablet was a collation of previous sales.

28. Only the Illatu family is attested on Syrian deeds, whereas the other families appear in Syro-hittite texts.

29. This number takes into account the texts without a price as well.

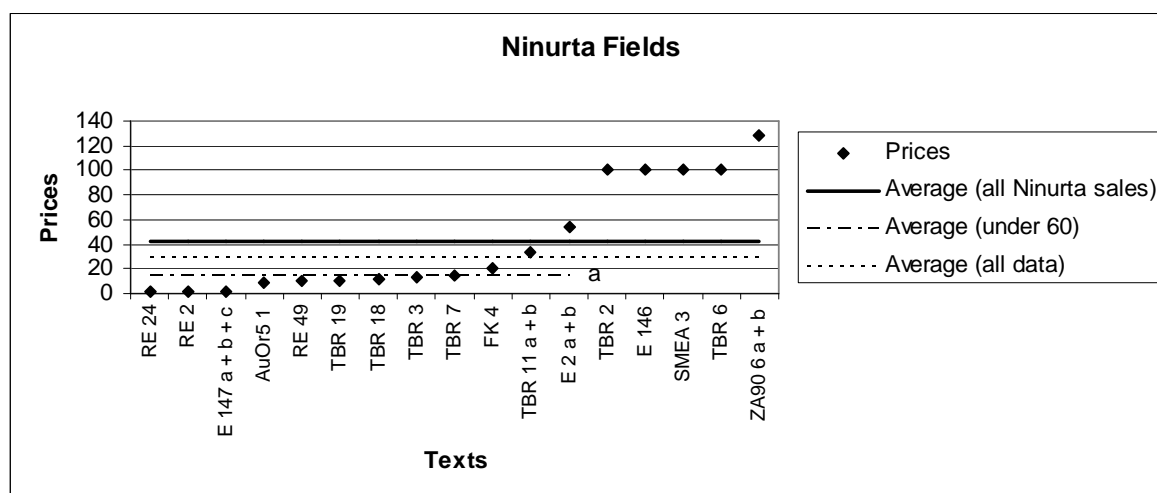


Figure 4

The average price of Ninurta fields is higher than the average price of the other fields, but it is worth noting that the only fields with prices over 60 *sh.* for square *ikû* shown in Figure 1 are sold by Ninurta³⁰. As Figure 4³¹ shows, most of the prices of Ninurta's sales (i.e. 65 %) are under 40 *shekels* for square *ikû*, and taking into account only the deeds with prices under 60 *sh. s. i.* the average is 14,96 *sh. s. i.* Nevertheless, the price range is so huge that a direct influence (i.e. political) on the field market by Ninurta must not be assumed. Conversely, one may allege that Ninurta and the Elders owned the best fields but they could sell fields of every value. Moreover the role of Ninurta and the Elders as sellers does affect neither the location nor the dimension of the sold field: indeed Ninurta and the Elders sell fields in different locations³² with surface areas recorded from 0,94 square *ikû* (TBR 18) to 30 square *ikû* (RE 24). Although Ninurta and the Elders sold fields located in many places, it is clear that they had a strong connection with the city of Rabban because in seven³³ out of eight sale contracts concerning fields in Rabban they appear as the seller.

Unlike Ninurta and the Elder, when the seller is a private citizen low prices are recorded (ASJ10 D, E 137, E 138, E 163, Hirayama 13, Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5, RE 64, RE 77 a, TBR 38, TBR 55, TBR 58, TBR 62, TBR 68)³⁴ with a range from 1 to 48 *shekels* for square *ikû* and an average of 14,12 *sh. s. i.* Conversely tree out of five of the biggest fields (ASJ10 D, E 137, TBR 62) are sold by private citizens³⁵ but only one (E 137) is bought by a member of the royal family. Therefore it seems that the deals among private citizens reached lower prices than the transactions involving an institution.

Turning to the royal family business, only tree deeds record sales by one of its members, and it is worth noting that those fields had small surface areas (ASJ14 = 2,4 square *ikû*; E 142 = 2 square *ikû*; TBR

30. I was not able to find any reason for those prices which probably depend on the quality of the sole; anyway it is worth noting that all they are small fields and two of them (E 146, SMEA30 3) are located in the same place, the *raqqatu* of the son of Iahi-ilu.

31. Figure 4 only lists the texts for which prices for square *ikû* can be calculated.

32. S. Table 4.

33. E 2, E 3, RE 2, RE 5, RE 52, TBR 2, TBR 11.

34. Also ASJ10 G, Hirayama 15/AuOr5 6, RE 35, RE 77 b, record sales by private citizens but the price for square *ikû* cannot be calculated.

35. It is worth nothing that Ir'am-Dagan bought only small fields (E 2 a = 2,25 square *ikû*; E 2 b = 1,33 square *ikû*; E 3 = 3 square *ikû*).

12 = 1,5 square *ikû*). On the other hand the prince Işşur-Dagan, who is the member of the royal family more active in the field market and the only one involved as buyer, seems to have bought quite big fields (E 137 c = 30 square *ikû*; E 138 a = 10 square *ikû*) but no conclusion can be based on such a small number of data. Similarly, the fact that the fields sold by the royal family (ASJ14 = 24,19 *sh. s. i.*; E 142 = 50 *sh. s. i.*; TBR 12 = 20 *sh. s. i.*), as pointed out above, were sold for values both high and low, could be interpreted as evidence that the royal family had no influence on fields trades.

Therefore, the texts do not allow to relate someone of the contracting parties with specific typology of sold fields, like surface and location also because the occurrences are too few to judge, but concerning Ninurta, and maybe the private citizens, a connection with a price level could be alleged. Moreover, as previously noted, the lack of references on the context of the sale, precludes understanding if the price was affected by the economic situation of the seller.

f) Distress situation

Some texts mention a particular event, namely the year of distress or famine (E 138, Hirayama 15/AuOr 5 6, Iraq 54 4, RE 64, RE 35, TBR 58) or the year when the troops of Hurri attacked (RE 77, TBR 9), which could have forced people to sell real estate under economic difficulties. Unfortunately for only four contracts (E 138 a, RE 64, RE 77 a, TBR 58) the price for square *ikû* can be calculated but it is enough to assume that those situations had not affected the fields' prices because their range, under those circumstances, was from 2 to 46,66 *shekels* for square *ikû*. In addition in E 138, the seller is the king Pilsu-Dagan who was obviously not forced to sell. The other contracts, indeed, record sale prices of 30 (RE 35), 200 (TBR 9) and 215 (Hirayama 15/AuOr 5) *shekels* similar to sales under normal conditions.

2. Price fluctuation

After having dealt with the features affecting the fields' prices, this paper will focus attention on the fluctuation of the prices during the whole period of the Emar documentation. The aim of this point is viewing if any changes in the fields' prices have taken place trough the over 150 years of the Late Bronze Age Emar history, and which were the motives³⁶.

First, it requires placing our texts in a chronological sequence, and though the goal of this article is not discussing the chronology of the legal texts of Emar, which is very complicated, an excursus on the chronological placement of each text is here necessary:

ASJ10 D

The King Pilsu-Dagan heads the witness list and is followed by Elli and other sons.

ASJ10 G

This text is a Syrian tablet probably belonging to the first dynasty of Emar. The lines 15-16 report [1]^{TU}*Hi-ar* // [... ^d]KUR that probably must be regarded as the "year date of *Ip-hur-dDa-gan*" which is found in Hirayama 33 and Hirayama 2 as well. Both those texts had been written by the scribe Rašap-ilī and the first witness of Hirayama 2 is the second king of the first dynasty Igmil-Dagan.

36. Only those texts, for which the square *ikû* price can be calculated, will be taken into account.

ASJ14

This tablet, as Cohen and d'Alfonso³⁷ pointed out, was probably a later copy. In support to this hypothesis, I regard the price of 5/6 GIN₂ (l. 15) as a mistake for 5/6 *ma-na* that the scribe made while he was copying from the original tablet, because a price of 5/6 of silver shekel would be too little for a field and is not attested elsewhere whereas 5/6 of silver *mina* is common (E 110, E 2, E 3). Nevertheless I think that there is no reason to assume a change of the first witness in the light of no other attestation as they proposed³⁸. In my opinion³⁹, ASJ14 is a later copy of an original tablet dating to Ba'al-Kabar son of Elli who I regard as the father of the king Iaši-Dagan; however, according to both views, the first draft goes back to the beginning of the second dynasty.

AuOr-5 1

This tablet was probably written at the beginning of the second dynasty: one of the witnesses *A-[b]u-Da DUMU A-bi-[HAR]*⁴⁰ is also found in texts dated either to the king Iaši-Dagan (TBR 1) or to his son Ba'al-kabar I (TBR 2, TBR 4, RE 14). In addition in TBR 1 a certain Rašap-TI son of Uggal appears, who is also found in AuOr5 1 but the patronymic is lost. Therefore this tablet is dated to the end of the reign of Iaši-Dagan or to the beginning of the reign of Ba'al-kabar I.

E 2

The first witness is Abbanu followed by his brother Pilsu-Dagan.

E 4

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness.

E 137

This tablet records purchases of real estate by the prince Iaši-Dagan and in addition the king Pilsu-Dagan, who is one of the sellers, also appears as first witness followed by his son Elli.

E 138

As the former text this tablet records a purchase by Iaši-Dagan and the first two witnesses are the king Pilsu-Dagan and his son Elli.

E 142⁴¹

The first two witnesses are the king Elli and his brother Iaši-Dagan.

E 146

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness. This tablet goes back to the last part of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan because the scribe is Ea-damiq who worked under Elli as well, and almost all the witnesses appear in documents drawn up under Elli: for example this tablet is the only one drawn up under Pilsu-Dagan in which the third witness Appau son of Ikun-Dagan appears, who is most attested in Elli's documents (E 147, FK 4, Iraq54 4, RE 24, RE 5, SMEA30 4).

37. Cohen - D'Alfonso 2008, 10.

38. At this regard s. Ikeda 1999, 180-181 for a similarity in the witness list between ASJ14 and the other texts of the scribe Abi-kapi. The witnesses in E 139 and RE 81 which Cohen - D'Alfonso 2008, 9-10, regard as other cases of changing of only the first witness, could be simply homonyms, as usually in the royal families, of witnesses of deeds drawn up under Pilsu-Dagan.

39. Viano 2007, 246-254

40. Collation of *-[HAR]* by Pruzsinszky 2003.

41. See my remarks in Viano 2007, 257-258.

E 147

The king Elli is the first witness.

E 163

This fragmentary tablet gives no evidence in order to date it, but just as hypothesis we can accept the identification, pointed out by di Filippo, of Iašši-Dagan son of Ba'al-malik with the same person who heads the witness list in TBR 19 (s.).

FK 4

This tablet was written under the king Elli who heads the witnesses list, and probably at the beginning of his reign because the king is followed by the aforementioned Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu⁴² who is active under the king Pilsu-Dagan; in addition that tablet was drawn up by the scribe Ea-damiq who worked under both kings.

Hirayama 13

The tablet is sealed with the Ini-Tešup seal⁴³.

Hirayama 14/AuOr-5 5

The buyer's name Abī-lī'mu son of Abī-bēlu is found in AuOr5 3: 23 as witness but this identification is unsure and no other dating indication is given. The witnesses of AuOr-5 3 are also listed in TBR 14 and ZA89 4 drawn up under Irīb-Ba'al, the first king of the first dynasty.

Hirayama 15/AuOr-5 6

The buyers Kunanu and Še'[i-Dagan] sons of Abudda are found in RE 4, the former as buyer and the latter as witness. RE 4 was drawn up by the scribe Alal-Abu who also wrote TBR 19 which has Zū-Ba'la, the last king of the first dynasty, as first witness.

RE 2⁴⁴

This text could be dated to a period ranging from the reign of Igmil-Dagan to the reign of Iašši-Dagan because it was drawn up by the scribe Dagan-bēlu who worked especially under the king Igmil-Dagan (E 150, AuOr-5 17/Hirayama 28, RE 91), but also wrote TBR 1 where the king Iašši-Dagan heads the witness list. Because of an overlap between the two dynasties⁴⁵ and the only presence of the Ninurta seal, I suggest to date, with reservation, RE 2 approximately to the end of the first dynasty.

RE 5

The king Elli is the first witness.

42. The presence of Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu is very helpful to evaluate the duration of kings rule because he is attested from the time of Abbanu (E 2, E 3, TBR 5) as buyer of real estate properties, up to the reign Elli (e.g. FK 4); this means that the reign of Pilsu-Dagan was shorter than the mass of documents may lead to believe.

43. Tsukimoto 1990, 205 n. 3. The chronological placement of the Siro-hittite tablets is under discussion: both Di Filippo 2008, 57-62 and Cohen - D'Alfonso 2008, 16-19, place Ini-Tešup reign contemporaneous to the last part of the Emar dynasty with a range from Zu-Aštarti up to over Ba'al-kabar II; if this hypothesis is true, would testify a change in the scribal practice from the Syrian to Syro-hittite style concerning the real estate sale deeds, because E 82, TBR 38, Hirayama 13 and TBR 68, the only attested Syro-hittite field sale contracts would take place in the last part of the Emar history.

44. See my remarks on the identity of the first witness Iaši-Dagan son of Ba'al-malik in Viano 2007, 246-247.

45. Cohen - D'Alfonso 2008, 6, Di Filippo 2004, 196-198

RE 24

The king Elli is the first witness.

RE 35

This text gives no prosopographic link with other texts but it was recorded in a year of distress, *i-na* MU^{HLA} *nu-kur-ti* KALA.GA, as well as the aforementioned Hirayama 15/AuOr-5 6, thereby I assume that two texts were contemporaneous.

RE 49

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness. This text records the same witnesses found in TBR 7 (s.)

RE 64

This text only gives the reference that was drawn up in a distress condition (*a-na dan-na-ti*) as well as TBR 58 (s.)

RE 77

The buyer Zūzānu son of Ikū(n)-Ra is also found as witness in several texts, E 1, E 4, E 157, E 159, RE 29, all drawn up under the king Pilsu-Dagan, but E 1 that belongs to the reign of Ba'al-kabar I. Inasmuch as E 1 goes back to Ba'al-kabar I, RE 77, quoting the siege of the Hurrian troops as the tablets TBR 9 and Hirayama 7 drawn up under the king Pilsu-Dagan, gives the evidence that this episode took place at the beginning of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan.

SMEA30 3

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness. This tablet was drawn up by Ea-damiq, the same scribe of E 146 (s.) with which it shares the witnesses, Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu, Abqi-naïla son of Hiemi, Ahimalik son of Hari.

TBR 2

The king Ba'al-kabar I is the first witness.

TBR 3

The king Ba'al -kabar I is the first witness.

TBR 6

The prince Abbanu son of Ba'al-kabar and brother of Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness.

TBR 7

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness. Inasmuch as Ibnia son of Abika, the third witness, appears in texts drawn up under Elli (RE 24, SMEA30 4) and under Ba'al-kabar II (RE 81, TBR 13) as well as Ipqi-Dagan son of Apila⁴⁶, the last witness, who figure in TBR 13, this tablet goes back to the end of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan.

TBR 9

The king Pilsu-Dagan is the first witness.

46. Both witnesses, Ibnia son of Abika and Ipqi-Dagan son of Apila, are witnesses, also together, in several texts drawn up under Pilsu-Dagan, respectively E 137, E 140, E 180, E 305(?), RE 3 and RE 3.

TBR 11⁴⁷

The king Elli is the first witness.

TBR 12

The king Elli is the first witness.

TBR 18

The first dynasty king Li'mi-šarru is the first witness.

TBR 19

The last king of the first dynasty, Zū-Ba^ola, is the first witness.

TBR 38

This tablet belongs to the Marianni's archive like Hirayama 13 (s.).

TBR 55

The king Zū-Aštarti⁴⁸ is the first witness.

TBR 58

This text is hard to date whether to the reign of Pilsu-Dagan or that of his son Elli because it was drawn up by the scribe Dagalli who worked under both kings (Pilsu-Dagan: Hirayama 16; Elli: Hirayama 1). Even the year formula *a-na dan-na-ti* cannot help us because the same formula is found in TBR 57, another text of Dagalli. Considering that the first witness of TBR 58, Baba son of Addia, is also found in two texts (TBR 5, TBR 6) where Abbanu heads the witness list and in another one (Hirayama 7) drawn up under Pilsu-Dagan⁴⁹, and given that most of the texts which quote "year of distress" took place during the reign of Pilsu-Dagan, I prefer dating this text to his rule.

TBR 62

The king Elli is the first witness.

TBR 68

This syro-hittite tablet lists among the witnesses Himia son of Kutbe who probably must be regarded as the same person found in TBR 66 belonging to the Kutbe-family archive; this hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the presence in TBR 68 of a certain Alal-abu son of Ameru who appears as witness in another text of the Kutbe-archive (RE 13) and in some other texts belonging to private archives: E 117 belonging to the Milki-Dagan's archive, E 76 and E 85 belonging to the Hima's archive, TBR 24 and TBR 25 belonging to the Arwu archive. As I pointed out⁵⁰, those archives were contemporaneous and date to the last part of the Emar history.

47. The field b is the same purchased in TBR 2 under the king Ba'al-kabar I because probably the name of the ancient owner was held, s. Mori 2003, 126-127.

48. I regarded Zu-Aštarti as predecessor of Pilsu-Dagan (Viano 2007, 251) because of the presence of Abbanu in his texts, but, according to general view (Di Filippo 2004, Cohen - D'Alfonso 2008, 7) he followed Pilsu-Dagan; as support to this last view I noted that SMEA30 2, a tablet drawn up by Imlik-Dagan who is the only scribe attested under Zu-Aštarti, has as first witness Imlik-Dagan son of Pilsu-Dagan. In spite of the fact that Zu-Aštarti is the successor of Pilsu-Dagan the absence of Abbanu from the Pilsu-Dagan's documentation (but not from Zu-Aštarti's texts) remains an open question.

49. Divon 2008, 106.

50. Viano 2007.

ZA90 6

The king Elli is the first witness.

3. *Chronological sequence:*

The placement of each text inside the sequence of each period of reign is hypothetical, and it is based on the above observations.

Text	Tablet	Price for square <i>ikû</i>	Date	Scribe
Hirayama 14 /AuOr-5 5	S	40	Irib- Ba'al (?)	
TBR 18	S	11,65	Li'mi-šarru	Eḥli-Kuša
TBR 19	S	10	Zu-Ba'la (king)	Alal-abu
E 163 a + b	S	48	// TBR 19 (?)	
RE 2	S	1,2	End first dynasty (?)	Dagan-bēlu
ASJ14	S	24,19	Ba'al-kabar son of Elli	Abī-kāpī
AuOr5 1	S	9,09	Iaši-Dagan - Ba'al-kabar I	
TBR 3	S	12,5	Ba'al-kabar I	Abī-kāpī
TBR 2	S	100	Ba'al-kabar I	
E 2 a + b	S	54,55	Abbanu	
TBR 6	S	100	Abbanu	Abī-kāpī
RE 77 a	S	7,5	Pilsu-Dagan	Ba'al-gamil
E 137 c	S	1	Pilsu-Dagan	Bēlu-malik
E 138 a	S	2	Pilsu-Dagan	Iš-Dagan
E 146	S	100	Pilsu-Dagan	Ea-damiq
SMEA30 3	S	100	Pilsu-Dagan	Ea-damiq
ASJ10 D a	S	2	Pilsu-Dagan	
TBR 7	S	14,69	Pilsu-Dagan	
RE 49	S	10	Pilsu-Dagan	
TBR 58	S	42	Pilsu-Dagan - Elli	Dagalli
RE 64	S	18	// TBR 58	
TBR 55	S	6	Zu-Aštarti	Imlik-Dagan
FK 4	S	20	Elli	Ea-damiq
E 147 a + b + c	S	1,48	Elli	Ea-damiq
RE 24	S	1	Elli	Ea-damiq
E 142	S	50	Elli	Iš-Dagan
TBR 11 a + b	S	33,33	Elli	Iš-Dagan
TBR 12	S	20	Elli	Iš-Dagan
TBR 62	S	1	Elli	Iš-Dagan
ZA90 6 a + b	S	127,86	Elli	Iš-Dagan
Hirayama 13	SH		10 Ini-Tešup	
TBR 38	SH		1 Ini-Tešup	
TBR 68	SH		5 Ba'al-malik (diviner)	

Table 2

The following diagram shows the fluctuation of the fields' prices.

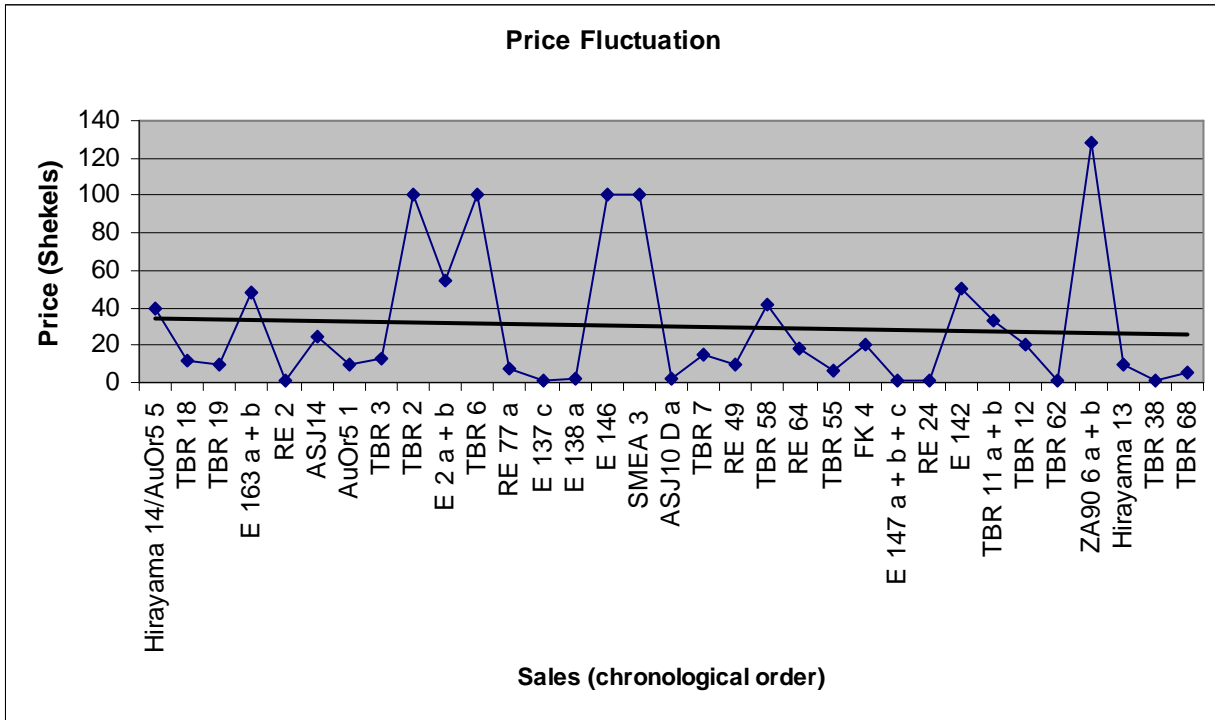


Figure 5

As the diagram shows, the fields' prices have nearly no fluctuation in the long period as the trend line confirms⁵¹, conversely a strong variation took place in the short period, namely among fields sold approximately in the same time, as the first part of this article has shown.

In order to understand better the trend of the fields market, the price average during each period is remarkable:

Period	Price average for square <i>ikû</i>
<i>I dynasty:</i> Hirayama 14 /AuOr-5 5; TBR 18; E 163; TBR 19; RE 2	22,17
<i>First generation II dynasty:</i> ASJ14; AuOr-5 1; TBR 3; TBR 2	36,45
<i>Pilsu-Dagan and Zu-Aštarti:</i> E 2; TBR 6; RE 77; RE 64; TBR 58; E 137; E 138; E 146; SMEA30 3; ASJ10 D;TBR 7; RE 49; TBR 55	35,21

51. The decrease down-going of the trend line depends on the chronological placement of each text during each period of reign that as I above noted is unsure. Placing the texts otherwise, I experienced that the trend line could be horizontal as well.

<i>Elli:</i> FK 4; E 147; RE 24; E 142; TBR 11; TBR 12; TBR 62; ZA90 6	31,83
<i>SH:</i> TBR 38; Hirayama 13; TBR 68	5,333

Besides the three Syro-hittite texts, the other deeds (i.e. Syrian texts) show a substantial stability of the fields' price without outstanding decline or increase of the price average during the Emar history. The only substantial change in the Syrian deeds prices is the increase from the first dynasty to the first part of the second dynasty, but considering the two sets of documents together because of the scarcity of texts from the second set and the likely overlapping of the two dynasties⁵², an average of 28,51 *shekels* for square *ikû* results, that does not bear off a lot from the other price averages. Notwithstanding it is worth noting that the only case of sale of the same field in different periods, the former under the king Ba'al-kabar I (TBR 2) and the latter under the king Elli (TBR 11), records a decrease of the price because in the first transaction the field, with an area of 1 square *ikû*, was sold for 100 *shekels* and in the second transaction it was sold for the same price but together with another field of 2 square *ikû*. Probably a real decrease of the price took place, but it is less strong than it appears, because the other field sold in the second instance was located in the same place of the field sold in TBR 12 for a price of only 20 *shekels* for square *ikû*. This means that from the first transaction, which records a price of 100 *shekels* for square *ikû*, the decrease could be evaluated as about 20 %, maybe also related to the soil's production⁵³. Another interesting point is that in both transactions the sellers are Ninurta and the Elders implying a reacquisition by them after the first sale for an unknown reason.

Concerning the Syro-hittite texts, the lower price average could depend on the small size of such deeds, but because those documents were probably contemporaneous with the Elli texts one may count together both deeds, resulting an average price of 24,61 *shekels* for square *ikû*. Otherwise if these deeds are factually revealing of the economic situation of that period, one may assume that a fall in the field market took place at the end of Emar history, maybe related with the consolidation of the Hittite power which could have brought a change in the economic balance of the town, but those deeds are too few to draw such a result.

General conclusions will be taken at the end of the set of articles on the economy of Emar, when the data from other deeds of sale (i.e. house, orchard etc.) will be available. For now I am trying only to present the result of this research just as a working-progress hypothesis. The diagram has shown a stability of the fields market because both high and low prices were present in every period⁵⁴. As I pointed out elsewhere⁵⁵, the existence of a long tradition of collective powers had so strongly influenced the Emar society, that neither a military aristocracy rose as the entourage of the local king, nor a large-landed-estate ownership came into being. Therefore the stability of the fields' prices could be related to a small-properties-based ownership which did not strongly affect the field market.

52. Di Filippo 2004, 196-198.

53. The sale's price of the second trade is more similar to the prices recorded in most of deeds and TBR 2, as we noted above is belongs to the five sale contracts recording prices over 60 *shekels* for square *ikû*.

54. ZA90 6 shows that high prices do not only belong to early times.

55. Viano 2010.

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TABLES

Text	Tablet	Location	Measurements	Area	Price	P.ikû ²	Buyer	Seller
ASJ10 Da	S	NG	NG	30	60	2	NP	NP
ASJ10 G	S	NG	NG	?	20	?	NP	NP
ASJ14	S	<i>Rabban</i>	2 ikû x 1 ikû 4 GI ša ikû	2,1	50 ⁵⁶	24,19	NP	FR
AuOr5 1	S	KA ₂ of <i>Tuk[</i>	11 ikû x 1 ikû	11	100	9,09	NP	NIN
AuOr5 2	S	NG	NG	?	11			NIN
E 137 c	S	<i>Eqar (ina muhhi balītu)</i>	10 ikû x 3 ikû	30	30	1	NP/FR	NP
E 138 a	S	<i>balītu</i> of the sons of <i>Sihha</i>	NG	10	20	2	FR	NP
E 142	S	<i>qa-az-ri</i>	2 ikû (?) x 1 ikû (?)	2	10	50	NP	FR
E 146	S	<i>raqqatu</i> of the son of <i>Iahi-ilu</i>	1 ikû x 1 ikû	1	100	100		NIN
E 147 a+b +c	S	Wood of <i>Ahihe</i>	a: 6 ikû 2 šiddu ša ikû x [x] + 1 ikû 2 šiddu 8 GI b: 6 ikû x ½ ikû 2 GI c: 8 ikû 2 šiddu ša ikû	20,3	30	1,48	NP	NIN
E 163 a+b	S	NG	a: 1 ikû + [x] x 1 ikû b: 1 + [x] x 1 ikû 3 GIR ₃	2,08	100	48,07	NP	NP
NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP	NP
E 4	S	?	?	?	200		AI	NIN
FK 4	S	<i>yaradani</i> KI.TA	1 ikû x 1 ikû	1	20	20	NP	NIN
Hirayama 13	SH	<i>raqqatu</i>	1 ikû x 1 ikû	1	10	10	NP	NP
Hirayama 14 AuOr 55	S	KA ₂ of <i>Iaššunu</i>	½ ikû x ½ ikû	0,25	10	40	NP	NP
Hirayama 15 AuOr 56	S	NG	NG	?	215	?	NP	NP
RE 2	S	<i>Rabban</i>	1 ½ ikû x 5 šiddu ikû	1,25	1,5	1,2	NP	NIN
RE 24	S	Opposite bank of the river	30 ikû.HI.AŠU. NIGIN ₂ . NA	30	30	1	NP	NIN
RE 35	S	KA ₂ of <i>Iaššunu</i>	NG	?	30	?	NP	NP
RE 49	S	<i>Raqqatu</i>	2 ikû x 1 ikû	2	20	10	NP	NIN
RE 5	S	<i>Rabban</i>	?	?	20	?	NP	NIN
RE 64	S	KA ₂ of <i>iardāni</i>	2 ikû x 3 matahu ša ikû	0,17	3	18	NP	NP
RE 77 a	S	NG	NG	4	30	7,5	NP	NP

⁵⁶. For the price s. the comment on the chronological placement of this text below.

RE 77 b	S	In the middle of the orchard of <i>iardānu</i>	NG	?	30	?	NP	NP
SMEA303		<i>raqqatu</i> of the son of <i>Iahi-ilu</i>	1 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	1	100	100	NP	NIN
TBR 11a+b	S	a: Opposite bank of the river near the KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza b: Rabban	a: 2 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i> b: 1 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	3	100	33,33	NP	NIN
TBR 12	S	Opposite bank of the river near the KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza	1 ½ <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	1,5	30	20	NP	FR
TBR 18	S	<i>hurru</i> of <i>Iabnil</i>	2 <i>ikû</i> x 3 šiddu x 2 šiddu 4 GIR ₃	0,94	11	11,65	NP	NIN
TBR 19	S	KA ₂ of <i>Zumnan</i>	6 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	6	60	10	NP	NIN
TBR 2	S	<i>Rabban</i>	[x] <i>ikû</i> x [x] <i>ikû</i>		100		NP	NIN
TBR 3	S	<i>Eqar</i>	4 <i>ikû</i> x 2 <i>ikû</i>	8	100	12,5	NP	NIN
TBR 38	SH	<i>Uri</i>	10 <i>ikû</i>	10	10	1	NP	NP
TBR 55	S	I ₇ -dan <i>ina Qalbati</i>	10 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	10	60	6	NP	NP
TBR 58	S	KA ₂ <i>yardani</i> KI.TA	2 <i>ikû</i> x 3 GIR ₃ .H.I.A <i>matahu</i>	0,17	7	42	NP	NP
TBR 6	S	KA ₂ of <i>Išpahat</i>	1 ½ <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	1,5	150	100	NP	NIN
TBR 62	S	KA of <i>Behru</i>	2 <i>ašlu</i> ša 7 <i>ikû</i> . H.I.A.TA.AM ₃ x 1 <i>ašlu</i> ša 6 <i>ikû</i> x 3 + 1 <i>ikû</i> ŠU. NIGIN ₂ 20 <i>ikû</i> . H.I.A	20	20	1	NP	NP
TBR 68	SH	KA of Še'illa	1 ME ⁵⁷ or 2 ¹ < <i>ikû</i> >	2	10	5	NP	NP
TBR 7	S	<i>ina hibi</i>	1 <i>ikû</i> 1 šiddu x 1 <i>ikû</i> 1šiddu	1,36	20	14,69	NP	NIN
TBR 9 a+b	S	a: Town on the opposite bank of the river near KA ₂ of <i>hurru</i> b: <i>hurru</i>	NG	?	200		NP	NIN
ZA90 6a+b	S	a:Yardani KI.TA b:Yardani KI.TA (siphu)	a: 1 <i>ikû</i> 5 GI ša <i>ikû</i> x 3 šiddu 5 GI ša <i>ikû</i> b: 1 <i>ikû</i> x 1 <i>ikû</i>	1,56	200	127,86	NP	NIN

Table 3

⁵⁷. For this reading s. Beckman 1997, 100 n. 34.

Text	Location	Buyer	Seller	US ₂ .SA.DU AN.TA	US ₂ .SA.DU KI.TA	SAG 1 KAM ₂	SAG 2 KAM ₂
ASJ10 D	NG	Še?[...]	Sons of Dagan-[...]	?	?	?	?
ASJ10 G	NG	NP	Šaggar-kabar son of Kati	?	?	?	?
ASJ14	Rabban	Zu-Ba'la son of Rubi-Dagan	Ba'al-kabar son of Elli	Dagan-li son of Ibbisu	Išbi-Dagan son of Baši	Euphrates	Ba' al-kabar son of Elli
AuOr5 1	KA ₂ of Tuk[Ibni-Dagan	NINURTA	?	field of [...]	field of the City	field of the City
AuOr5 2	NG	Sons of Abdi-Išhara	NINURTA	?	Išbi-Dagan son of Baši	?	?
E 2 a	Rabban (<i>ina</i> Bi-Iq-mi)	Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu	NINURTA	Sons of Zabihi	Sons of Amurru	Išbi-Dagan son of Napšu	Dagalli son of Ir,am-Dagan
E 2 b	Rabban (<i>ina</i> ZI-IB-hi)	Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu	NINURTA	Sons of Dagalli son of Ir,am-Dagan	Sons of Attuwa	Awiru son of Illatu	The City
E 3	Rabban	Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu	NINURTA	field of Išmah-Dagan son of Imittu	field of Sons of Ilī-ahu	field of Išbi-bēlu son of Dagan-li	orchard of Išbi-bēlu son of Dagan-li
E 4	?	Ir'am-Dagan son of Illatu	NINURTA	?	?	?	?
E 12	?	?	NINURTA	Euphrates	field of Sons of Bēlu-[...]	field of Taklu son of Šamšu	Sons of [...]
E 82	NG	Dagan-talih son of Hima	Ba' al-na[...]	?	?	?	?
E 137 c	Eqar (<i>ina muhhi balītu</i>)	Išsur-Dagan	Rašeia son of Kidanu	KASKAL	<i>balītu</i>	The City	<i>Balītu</i>
E 138 a	<i>balītu</i> of the sons of Sihha	Išsur-Dagan	Tagia son of Amur-ša-Dagan	Šadi-Dagan son of Nāna	The City	KASKAL	Dagalli son of Apili, Sons of Maia
E 142	<i>qa-az-ri</i>	Itti-Šaggar	Elli	The City	Sons of Bukkata	Euphrates	The City
E 146	<i>raqqatu</i> of the son of Iahi-ilu	Ba'al-hamis son of Ba'al-bārū	NINURTA	Ipqi-[...]	Itūr-Dagan	Dagan-abu son of Abate	The City
E 147 a	Wood of Ahihe	Ilī-bēlu son of Ma-[x]-na	NINURTA	Abia son of Kukku	Zadamma son of Kukku	Zadamma son of Kukku	The City
E 147 b	Wood of Ahihe	Ilī-bēlu son of Ma-[x]-na	NINURTA	The City	Nukra	Rašap-abu son of Allaki	Hill
E 147 c	Wood of Ahihe	Ilī-bēlu son of Ma-[x]-na	NINURTA	The City	Rašap-abu son of Allaki	The City	The City
E 149 a	wadi of [x]	Baia	NINURTA	KASKAL	field of Abi-[...]	KASKAL	Euphrates
E 149 b	wadi of [x]	Baia	NINURTA	field of [x]	field of [x]	KASKAL	?

Text	Location	Buyer	Seller	US ₂ ,SA.DU AN.TA	US ₂ ,SA.DU KI.TA	SAG 1 KAM ₂	SAG 2 KAM ₂
E 163 a	NG	Iša-Dagan son of Iaši-ilu	Ilī-Da, Iašši-Dagan sons of Ba'al-malik	?	?	field of [x]	Euphrates
E 163 b	NG	Iša-Dagan son of Iaši-ilu	Ilī-Da, Iaši-Dagan sons of Ba'al-malik	field of [x]	Iaši-Dagan son of Ba'al-malik	KASKAL	Euphrates
E 168 g	KA ₂ of Nihasi	- ⁵⁸	-	Ia ^ḥ šuru son of Aiahu	Iššur-Dagan son of Ba ^ḥ al-kabar	KASKAL	KA ₂ of Sahipi
FK 4	<i>yaradani</i> KI.TA	Aštar-abu son of Igmul-Dagan	NINURTA	Išbi-bēlu son of Urbili	Iribu son of Zu-Ba'la	Mountain	Iašši-Dagan son of Ia ^ḥ anu-Dagan
Hirayama 13	<i>Raqqatu</i>	Ahī-hamis son of Iatūr-Ba'al son of Lāla	Marianni son of Tarhunta-manaddu	Marianni son of Tarhunta-manaddu	Ahī-hamis son of Iatūr-bēlu son Lāla	Marianni	Marianni
Hirayama 14/AuOr5 5	KA ₂ of Iaššunu	Abī-li, mu son of Abī-Ba' l	Amurša son of Abda	Sons of Eštabi	?	The City	The City
Hirayama 15/AuOr5 6	NG	Kunanu, Še' i-Dagan sons of Abudda	Ir'ibu son of Abī-ilu	Zu-Ba'la son of Wakli	The City	Abduda son of Še, um-malik	The City
Hirayama 7	<i>raqqatu</i> of KA ₂ of [x]	Mašruhe (beneficiary)	Pilsu-Dagan (donor)	Sons of Dagan-ma	The City	Pilsu-Dagan	The City Sons of Dagan-ma
Iraq54 4	NG	Aštar[...] son of Zak[...]	NINURTA	field of He[...] son of Kulli, Sons of [x], Sons of [x], Sons of [x]	?	?	?
MFA 1977	Kullati	Pasuri-Dagan (beneficiary)	-	Ilī-abi son of Tuhnani, Milki-Dagan son of Turia	Tūra-Dagan son of Daqani	LUGAL	?
RE 2	Rabban	Iaši-Dagan son of Abda-malik	NINURTA	Alal-abu son of Ea-damiq	Abī-kāpī, Zu-Ba'la sons of Ahu-mišu	Vineyard of Ba'al-kabar	Euphrates
RE 5	Rabban	Baba son of Rašap-ili	NINURTA	Ahu-ummišu, [...] -ma sons of Ahī-mi	Elli son of Pilsu-Dagan	Elli (lugal)	Elli (lugal)

⁵⁸. No buyer and seller are given because this deed is a list of properties.

Text	Location	Buyer	Seller	US ₂ .SA.DU AN.TA	US ₂ .SA.DU KI.TA	SAG 1 KAM ₂	SAG 2 KAM ₂
RE 24	Opposite bank of the river	Milki-Dagan, Hinna-Ba'al sons of Itur-Dagan	NINURTA	Tūra-Dagan (diviner)	Tuqaku son of Biqlati	Išbi-bēlu son of Ahī-sarri	The City
RE 35	KA ₂ of Iššunu	Ba'al -abu son of Šadī-Dagan	Riši-dagan son of Šadī-Dagan	?	?	?	?
RE 49	<i>raqqatu</i>	NP	NINURTA	The City	The City	The City	<i>qadištu</i> Priestess
RE 52	Rabban	[...] -da son of Abu-Da	NINURTA	Limi-Dagan son of Iahnu-be	The City	Sons of Mukna	Euphrates
RE 64	KA ₂ yaradani	Ibbilu son of Itūr-Da[gan?]	Ba'al ka[bar] son of Muhra-ahu	?	?	?	?
RE 77 a	?	Rašeia	Huppara	?	?	?	?
RE 77 b	In the middle of the orchard of Irdani	Zūzānu, Hemi sons of Ikūn-Ra	Sons of Zu ^a	?	?	?	?
RE 86	Binati	Zu-Ba,la son of Kuwazi	?	?	Sons of Nukra	Desert	?
SMEA303	<i>raqqatu</i> of the son of Iahi-ilu	Rašap-abu	NINURTA	Iašuru-da,i son of Dagan-ta[lik]	Sons of Abī-bēlu	The City	The City
TBR 2	Rabban	Iphur-Dagan son of Ba'al - bēlu	NINURTA	Ba'al -kabar son of Iaši-Dagan	Na'ami-Šalamu son of Šapira	Ir'ib-Ba'al son of Napšu	Euphrates, The City
TBR 3	Eqar	Bēlī son of Dašubni	NINURTA	The City	KI.KA of Bēlī son of Dašubni	Valley	KASKAL ša UGU <i>balītu</i>
TBR 6	KA ₂ of Išpahat	Ir'ib-Ba'al, Ahī-malik son of Dunnu	NINURTA	Itanuwu, Imlik-Dagan son of Milki-bēlu	The City	Nubi-Dagan son of Kulišta	The City
TBR 7	<i>ina hibi</i>	Tahhu son of Ubādu	NINURTA	The City	Sons of Attia	The City	<i>ki-pa-u₂</i>
TBR 9 a	Town on the opposite bank of the river near KA ₂ of <i>hurru</i>	Kamūdu son of Dagan-ma[lik]	NINURTA	People of Ame, Wood of Ekida	Nāna brother of the king	River of the sons of Azalilu	Rivers
TBR 9 b	<i>ina hurri</i> : Same place of TBR 9 a (?)	Kamūdu son of Dagan-ma[lik]	NINURTA	?	?	?	?

Text	Location	Buyer	Seller	US ₂ .SA.DU AN.TA	US ₂ .SA.DU KI.TA	SAG 1 KAM ₂	SAG 2 KAM ₂
TBR 11 a	Opposite bank of the river near the KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza	Karbu son of Zū-Eia	NINURTA	The City	The City	The City	The City
TBR 11 b	Rabban	Karbu son of Zū-Eia	NINURTA	Ba ^c al-kabar son of Iaši-Dagan	Na ^c ami-Šalamu son of Napšu	Ir ^c ib-Ba ^c al son of Napšu	Euphrates, The City
TBR 12	Opposite bank of the river near the KA ₂ of the sons of Nuza	Karbu son of Zū-Eia	Elli	The City	The City	The City	The City
TBR 16 a	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Milki-Dagan son of Ihi-Rāmu	NINURTA	field of Zu-Anna son of Iarīb-Dagan	field of Šamaš-gamil, field of Igmuli, field of Dagan-malik, field of Ikūn-Dagan sons of Ihi-Rāmi	field of Amur-ša son of Līmī-malik	KASKAL
TBR 16 b	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Milki-Dagan son of Ihi-Rāmu	NINURTA	field of Iarib-Dagan son of Igamma	field of Zu-Anna son of Iarīb-Dagan	field of Amur-ša	KASKAL
TBR 16 c	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Milki-Dagan son of Ihi-Rāmu	NINURTA	field of Dagn-bēlu son of Šumianni	field of the sons of Babani	field of Idaha	KASKAL
TBR 17 a	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Ikūn-Dagan, Šamaš-gamil, Igmulu, Dagan-malik sons of Ihi-Rāmu	NINURTA	field of Milki-Dagan Ihi-Rāmu	field of Zu-Ba ^c la son of Abī-Rašap	field of Amurša	KASKAL
TBR 17 b	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Ikūn-Dagan, Šamaš-gamil, Igmulu, Dagan-malik sons of Ihi-Rāmu	NINURTA	field of Zu-Anna son of Iarīb-Dagan	field of Zu-Anna son of Iarīb-Dagan	field of Amurša	KASKAL
TBR 18	<i>hurru</i> of Iabnil	Men of Abī-Rašap son of Hinna-Ba ^c al	NINURTA	The City	KASKAL	Sons of Ammani	Sons of Addalika
TBR 19	KA ₂ of Zumnan	Šaman-la-Ba ^c al son of Izbu	NINURTA	Euphrates	<i>ana</i> Rihši-Dagan son of Līmī-malik	<i>ana</i> the sons of Šamaš-abu son of Zikra-Aštar, Addia son of Dādu	<i>ana</i> the sons of Šamaš-abu son of Zikra-Aštar, Addia son of Dādu

Text	Location	Buyer	Seller	US ₂ .SA.DU AN.TA	US ₂ .SA.DU KI.TA	SAG 1 KAM ₂	SAG 2 KAM ₂
TBR 38	Uri	Hinnu-Dagan son of Abī-kāpī	Marianni son of Tarhunta- manaddu	Sons of Iphu	field <i>qa-az- zu</i>	field of Zūzu son of Bēlu- malik	Sons of Bidau
TBR 55	<i>I₇-dan ina Qalbati</i>	Zu-Asdi son of Bēlu-malik	Aba son of Rašeia	Aba son of Rašeia	Sons of Aba	<i>ki-ma-ar-tu₄</i>	Aba son of Rašeia
TBR 58	<i>KA₂ yardani KI.TA</i>	Nāna son of Itūr-Da	Ilī-abu son of Muhra- ahu	Nana	Son of the daughter of Mahiši	Abī-kāpī son of Dagan- bēlu	Ea-damiq son of Abī- kāpī
TBR 62	<i>KA</i> of Behru	Igmil- [...]	Sons of tūdu, Sons of Mimi	Pappa son of Kunani	Sons of Itūr- ilī son of Hatta	The City	Bēlu-malik son of Ea- damiq
TBR 68	<i>KA₂ of Še'lla</i>	Tahhu son of Abī-ikki	Dagan-abu son of Nahiru	?	?	?	?
ZA90 6 a	<i>yardani KI.TA</i>	Atteia son of Še'i-bēlu son of Ibna	NINURTA	The City	LUGAL	The City	Euphrates
ZA90 6 b	<i>yardani KI.TA</i>	Atteia son of Še'i-bēlu son of Ibna	NINURTA	The City	LUGAL	Še'i-bēlu son of Baba	Euphrates

Table 4